## CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Affixes and Special Words (0.0)</th>
<th>18</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Noun and Noun Phrase Affixes (0.1)</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plurals, etc. (0.11)</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Case Suffixes (0.12)</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Final Noun Suffixes (0.14)</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Derivational Noun Suffixes (0.15)</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shapes and Positions—Derivational (0.16)</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Categorizing Prefixes (0.17)</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verb Suffixes (0.2)</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Principle Verb Suffixes (0.21)</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tense-Aspect Suffixes (0.211)</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imperative Affixes (0.215)</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Subordinating Suffixes (0.216)</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nominalizing Suffixes (0.218)</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Terminal Verb Suffixes (0.31)</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adverbial Affixes (0.4)</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adverbial Affixes: General, Inflectional (0.41)</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adverbial Affixes: Shapes, Size, Location (0.42)</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adverbial Affixes: Movement, Insertion (0.43)</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adverbial Affixes: Separate, Together, Cover, Pieces (0.44)</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adverbial Affixes: Time, Speed (0.45)</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adverbial Affixes: Strength, Quantity (0.46)</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adverbial Affixes: Personal, Human (0.47)</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lexicon</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Adverbial Affixes: Derivational</em> (0.48)</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Echoes (0.5)</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interjections (0.6)</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relatively Non-Language Like. (0.62)</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Language-Like Exclamations, Mandi (0.64)</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Language-Like Exclamations, Bengali (0.66)</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kata Jik-Se, Wife-Husband Words (0.7)</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>GRAMMATICAL AND FUNCTION WORDS</strong> (1.0)</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Postpositions (1.1)</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Space (1.11)</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Time (1.12)</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cause (1.13)</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With, Without, In Addition To, Instead, By Means Of, (cf. 2.11 Location) (1.16)</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comparisons, Like, Such (1.17)</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Questions and Answers (1.2)</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Question Words (1.21)</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Answers (1.24)</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Classifiers and Measures (1.3)</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Classifiers, General (1.31)</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Classifiers, Shape (1.32)</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Classifiers, Time Units (1.33)</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Classifiers: Bunches, Bundles, Loads (1.34)</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Classifiers: Groups (1.35)</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Classifiers: Weights and Measures (1.36)</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Classifiers: Pieces and Parts (cf. 3.347 Portions, Parts, 0.44 Adverbial Affixes: Pieces; 5.87 Parts of Objects) (1.37)</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Classifiers, Miscellaneous (1.38)</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conjunctions and Relatives (1.4)</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Demonstratives (1.5)</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pronouns (1.6)</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pronouns: Personal (cf. 1.5 Demonstratives) (1.62)</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pronouns: Reflexive, Relative, Indefinite (1.64)</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>SPACE AND TIME</strong> (2.0)</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Space (cf. 1.5 Demonstratives, 1.11 Post positions: space) (2.1)</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Location (cf. 1.16 Shapes and positions–derivational) (2.11)</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Here, There, Somewhere (2.13)</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Direction, Movement (cf. 0.43 Adverbial Affixes: Movement) (2.14)</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Size, Fit (cf. 6.4 Shapes of the Body) (2.2)</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Size (2.21)</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Lexicon

Size (Using Classifiers) (2.211) 59
Large (2.213) 61
Small (2.215) 62
Fit, Squeeze, Pass Through, Crowded (cf. 9.276 Leak; 9571 Insert) (2.22) 63
Loose, Tight (2.23) 65
Beside, Close, Spaced Out (cf. 9.536 Separate, Select; 9.63 Join, Stick) (2.25) 65
Full, Empty (2.26) 66
Shape (2.3) 67
Shape (cf. 0.16 Shapes and Position–Derivational, 0.42 Adverbial Affixes: Shape, Size, Location, 6.4 Shapes of the Body, 1.32 Classifiers, Shape, 964 Change Shape) (2.31) 67
Flat, Level (2.311) 67
Long, Thin, Pointed (2.312) 67
Geometrical (2.313) 68
Curved, Coiled (2.315) 68
Slanting (2.317) 68
Straight, Bent (cf. 9.348 Bend, Bow) (2.318) 69
Shape, Misc. (2.319) 70
Dimensions (2.34) 70
Holes (2.38) 71
Time, General (2.5) 71
Time, Abstract (cf. 0.2 Verb Suffixes, 112 Post Positions: time) (2.51) 71
Periods and Points During the Day (2.52) 72
Amounts of Time (cf. 1.33 Classifiers, Time Units) (2.53) 73
Time Relative to the Present (2.6) 74
Now (2.61) 74
Earlier, Before, Ago, Last (2.62) 74
After, Later, Future, Next (2.63) 75
Days (2.65) 75
Week, Month, and Year (2.66) 76
Time: Speed, Frequency (2.7) 76
Frequency (2.71) 76
Speed (2.72) 77
Slowly (2.724) 77
Quickly (2.726) 78
Suddenly (2.728) 78
Names of Time Units (2.8) 78
Day Names (2.81) 79
Month Names (2.82) 79
Seasons (2.84) 80
QUANTITY, QUALITY, SENSORY (3.0) 81
Quantity, Amounts, Number (3.3) 81
Amounts (3.34) 81
   Enough, Not Enough (3.341) 81
   Much, Lots, Very (3.342) 82
   All, Whole, Entire, Most (3.343) 83
   Only (3.344) 84
   Few, A Little (3.345) 84
   Some, Nothing (3.346) 84
   Portions, Parts (cf. 1.37 Classifiers: Pieces and Parts, 5.87)
      Parts of Objects) (3.347) 85
   Misc. (Some, Comparative, etc.) (3.348) 86
Each, Every (3.35) 86
Mandi and A-chik Numbers (3.37) 86
Bengali Numbers (3.38) 87
Quality, Probability, etc. (3.4) 87
   Probability (3.42) 87
   Similar and Different, Kind, Various (3.43) 87
      Similar (3.433) 87
      Different (3.435) 88
      Various, Kinds, Other (3.437) 88
Accuracy, Reality, Purity, Truth (cf. 7.25 Untruths, Lies; 7.26 jokes) (3.44) 88
Quality, Evaluative (3.45) 88
   So-So (3.453) 88
   Positive Evaluation (3.455) 89
   Negative Evaluation (3.457) 90
Light and Vision (3.5) 90
   See, Watch, Show, Search (cf. 9.42 Eye Gestures). (3.51) 90
      See (3.512) 90
      Watch, Search, Stare (3.514) 91
      Show (3.516) 91
Color (3.53) 92
   White, Light (3.531) 92
   Warm Colors (3.532) 92
   Cold Colors, Black (3.534) 93
   Color: Mixed, Patterns (3.538) 93
   Color: Other (3.539) 94
Clarity and Visibility (cf. 3.714 Clean, Clear; 657 Washing and Grooming) (3.54) 95
Brightness, Shine, Shadow, Dullness, Darkness (cf. 5.42 Fire and Lights) (3.55) 95
   Bright, Light (cf. 5.425 Shine, Flair Up) (3.554) 95
Lexicon

- Shine (3.556) 95
- Dark, Dim, Shade, Shadow (3.558) 96
- Sensory, Except Visual (3.6) 96
  - Hearing and Sound (cf. 7.29 Non-language Uses of Voice) (3.62) 96
  - Hear, Listen (3.622) 96
  - Quiet, Silent (3.626) 98
  - Loud, Noisy, Disturbing (3.628) 98
- Touching and Feeling (cf. 8.94 Pain, Itching, Burning) (3.64) 99
- Texture and Surface, Sharp, Smooth, etc. (3.66) 99
  - Texture: Rough, Smooth (3.662) 99
  - Texture: Hard, Soft (3.664) 100
  - Texture: Sharp, Dull (3.666) 101
  - Texture: Sticky, Tough, Crumbly. (3.668) 101
- Temperature (3.67) 102
  - Temperature: Hot, Warm (3.673) 102
  - Temperature: Cold (3.675) 102
- Taste and Smell (3.68) 103
  - Tastes (3.682) 103
  - Strong Tastes, Excessive (3.684) 104
  - Bland, Watery (3.686) 105
  - Smell, Odors (3.688) 105
- Miscellaneous Qualities (3.7) 106
  - Cleanliness, Purity, Order, Mess (3.71) 106
    - Clean, Clear (3.714) 106
    - Dirty (cf. 6.58 Body Dirt and Mess) (3.716) 106
    - Mess, Tangle, Disorder (3.718) 107
- Strength of Things (cf. 7.56 Strength of People, Endurance, Forcefulness) (3.72) 108
- Weight (3.73) 108
- Age (3.74) 109
- Difficult, Easy (3.75) 109
- Importance, Primacy (3.76) 109

NATURE (4.0) 110
- Environment and the Elements (4.2) 110
  - Sky, Stars, Sun, Moon (4.21) 110
    - Sky, Stars (4.212) 110
    - Sun and Moon (4.214) 110
    - Compass Directions (4.218) 112
  - Land (4.23) 112
    - Land, World, Nature (cf. 5.11 Fields) (4.231) 112
    - Upland (4.232) 112
    - Dirt, Stones, Mud (4.24) 113
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Topic</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dirt, Earth (4.242)</td>
<td>113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stones, Lumps of Earth (4.244)</td>
<td>113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mud (4.246)</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dust (4.248)</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>River, Lakes, Seas (cf. 9.27 Water, Wetness) (4.25)</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rivers (4.252)</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sea, Lakes, Tanks, Puddles, Springs (4.253)</td>
<td>114</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weather (4.3)</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clouds, Precipitation (4.32)</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clouds, Clear Sky (4.323)</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rain, Light Rain (4.325)</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rain Hard, Long (4.327)</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dew, Fog, Hail, Ice (4.329)</td>
<td>116</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flood (4.33)</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thunder and Lightning (4.34)</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thunder (4.342)</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lightning (4.344)</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wind (4.36)</td>
<td>117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Earthquakes (4.37)</td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Animals, Wild (4.4)</td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Animals in General (4.40)</td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mammals, Wild (4.41)</td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cats (4.416)</td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primates (4.418)</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mammals, Other (4.419)</td>
<td>119</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Birds (4.43)</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reptiles (4.44)</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lizards (4.441)</td>
<td>123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Snakes (4.443)</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turtles (4.445)</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frogs and Toads (4.447)</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fish and Shellfish (4.45)</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fish (4.454)</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shellfish (4.458)</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Insects, Bugs, Worms (4.46)</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General (4.461)</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flies and Mosquitoes (4.462)</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bees, Wasps (4.463)</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spiders (4.464)</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ants (4.465)</td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leeches (4.466)</td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Worms, Centipedes, Caterpillars (4.467)</td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vermin (4.468)</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Lexicon

Beetles and Misc. (4.469) 129
Animal Parts, Stages, Products (cf. 6.2 Body parts, human) (4.47) 130
Body Parts, Birds (4.471) 130
Body Parts, Insects (4.472) 131
Animal Body Parts, Other (4.473) 131
Stages of Insect Maturation (4.474) 131
Animal Products (4.475) 131
Animal Noises (4.476) 132
Animal Actions (4.48) 133
Animal Actions, Misc. (4.482) 133
Flying, Flapping Wings (4.486) 134
Animal Actions: Eating, Foods (4.487) 135
Animal Actions: Wag Tail (4.488) 135
Actions Towards Animals (4.49) 136
Plants, Mostly Uncultivated (4.6) 136
Trees (4.63) 136
Forest (4.630) 136
Trees, Uncultivated (cf. 5.22 Cultivated trees) (4.632) 138
Bamboo (4.637) 141
Shrubs (4.64) 142
Herbs, etc., Wild (4.65) 143
Grass (4.652) 143
Tubers, Wild (cf. 5.27 Cultivated Tubers) (4.653) 143
Vines (4.655) 144
Herbs: Misc. (4.656) 145
Hay, Straw, etc. (4.66) 146
Plant Parts (4.67) 147
Stem, Trunk (4.670) 147
Branch (4.671) 147
Sticks (cf. 5.833 Tools: Sticks) (4.672) 148
Wood, Bark (4.673) 148
Sap, Juice (4.674) 149
Leaves (4.675) 149
Buds, Flowers, Fruit (4.676) 149
Grain, Seeds (4.677) 149
Roots (4.678) 150
Bamboo Parts (4.679) 150
Maturation, Ripening, Stages of Growth, Rotting and Decay (4.69) 150
Living, Fresh (4.690) 150
Grow, Sprout, Bloom (4.691) 151
Unripe (4.692) 151
Lexicon

Ripe (4.694) 151
Overripe, Dry, Rotten (4.696) 152

SUBSISTENCE, ARTIFACTS (5.0) 153
Farming (5.1) 153
Fields (cf. 4.23 Land) (5.11) 153
Dry Fields (5.112) 153
Slash and Burn Fields (5.113) 154
Wet Fields (5.114) 154
Land Measures (5.12) 155
Planting (cf. 4.677 Grain, seeds) (5.14) 155
Cultivating (5.15) 156
Plowing (5.154) 156
Removing Weeds (5.156) 156
Harvesting (5.16) 156
Crops, Cultivated Plants (5.2) 157
Cultivated Trees and Fruits (5.22) 157
Cultivated Plants, Mostly Vegetables (5.23) 158
Rice (5.25) 160
Cultivated Tubers (cf. 4.653 Wild Tubers) (5.27) 161
Decorative Flowers (5.28) 162
Nonfood Crops (5.29) 162
Animals, Domestic (5.3) 163
Cattle (5.33) 163
Domestic Animals, Other (5.35) 163
Cooking and Eating (cf. 5.2 Crops, 3.68 Taste and Smell) (5.4) 164
Foods and Drinks (not crop names) (5.40) 164
Meat and Fish (5.401) 164
Rice Preparations (5.403) 164
Condiments, Ingredients (5.405) 165
Purchased Foods and Snacks (5.408) 166
Other Foods (5.409) 166
Fire and Lights, Lighting and Extinguishing (5.42) 167
Fire (5.421) 167
Smoke (5.422) 167
Materials and Equipment for Fires (5.423) 167
Light, Burn, Extinguish (5.424) 168
Shine, Flare Up (5.425) 169
Warm Up (5.426) 169
Tobacco and Smoking (5.429) 169
Cooking and Eating Equipment (cf. 5.85 Basketry) (5.43) 170
Pots, Pottery (5.432) 170
Dishes (5.434) 171
Fishing Gear (5.843) 189
Hunting Gear, Weapons (5.845) 190
Basketry and Bamboo Objects, Parts, Methods (cf. 5.639
   Bamboo Building Materials) (5.85) 190
Baskets and Mats (5.852) 190
Basketry: Parts (5.854) 191
Basketry and Bamboo: Styles and Methods (5.856) 192
Vehicles (5.86) 194
Parts of Objects (cf. 1.37 Pieces and Parts; 3347 Parts of
   Objects; 5854 Basketry: Parts) (5.87) 194
   Bicycle parts (5.872) 196
Materials (5.88) 197

HUMAN BEINGS (6.0) 198
Body Parts (6.2) 198
   Body, General (6.21) 198
   Head (6.22) 198
   Limbs (6.23) 200
      Arms (6.233) 200
      Hands and Fingers (6.235) 200
      Legs (6.237) 201
      Feet and Toes (6.238) 201
   Torso (6.24) 202
      Neck (6.241) 202
      Back and Hips (6.243) 202
      Front of the Body (6.245) 202
      Genitals (6.249) 203
   Hair (cf. 6.561 Bodily Decorations, Hair) (6.25) 203
   Hairless, Bald (cf. 6.552 Naked) (6.26) 204
   Body Parts: Internal Organs (6.27) 204
   Bones (6.28) 205
   Body Parts: Skin, Fluids, Body Dirt. (6.29) 205

Shapes of the Body (cf. 2.3 Shape, 9.34 Positions of the Body)
   (6.4) 206
   Body Shapes: Face (6.42) 206
   Body Shapes: Big, Tall (6.44) 207
   Body Shapes: Small, Short, Thin (6.46) 208
   Body Shapes: Fat (6.48) 208

Clothing and Adornment (6.5) 209
   Clothing (6.52) 209
      General, Cloth Objects (6.521) 209
      Headgear (6.522) 210
      Footwear (6.523) 210
Lexicon

Clothing, Women’s (6.526) 210
Clothing, Men’s (6.527) 210
Dressing, Wearing (6.53) 211
Naked, Without Jewelry (cf. 6.26 Hairless) (6.552) 212
Ornaments, Jewelry, Bodily Decoration (6.56) 213
Hair (cf. 6.25 Hair) (6.561) 213
Ear, Nose Ornaments (6.562) 213
Necklace (6.563) 213
Bracelets, Rings, Ankle Rings (6.564) 214
Cosmetics (6.565) 214
Washing and Grooming (cf. 3.71 Cleanliness, Mess) (6.57) 214
Body Dirt and Mess (cf. 3.716 Dirty) (6.58) 215
Cloth, Cloth Objects, Sewing, Bedding, etc. (6.59) 215
Bedding (6.591) 216
Thread, Cloth (6.594) 216
Sewing and Weaving (6.598) 216
Kinship and Family (6.6) 217
Kinship Terms (6.61) 217
Older Generations, Male (6.611) 217
Older Generations, Female (6.612) 218
Own Generation, Male (6.614) 218
Own Generation, Female (6.615) 219
Younger Generation (6.617) 219
Kinship Sets (6.62) 220
Kin Groups, Lineage, etc. (6.63) 221
Related Maharis (6.631) 221
Near and Distant Kin (6.634) 222
Kinship Statuses: Next, Youngest, etc. (6.64) 222
Marriage, Divorce, Family (6.65) 223
Marriage and A’kim (Lineage Bond) (6.651) 223
Second Marriage, Replacement (6.652) 223
Divorce, Breaking the Lineage Bond (6.655) 224
Family Behavior and Obligations (6.657) 224
Life Cycle (6.7) 225
Sex, Menstruation (6.72) 225
Conception and Pregnancy (6.74) 225
Birth, Life (6.77) 226
Stages of Maturation (cf. 4.69 Plant Maturation, 6.82 Age and Gender Categories) (6.78) 227
Death, Funerals (6.79) 227
People (6.8) 228
Age and Gender Categories (6.82) 228
Adults and General (6.821) 228
Babies and Children (6.822) 228
Adolescents (6.824) 229
Old People (6.828) 229
Friends (6.83) 229
Castes, Tribes, Ethnicity (6.89) 229

HUMAN QUALITIES: MIND, INTELLECT, EMOTIONS (7.0) 231
Language (7.1) 231
General, Language and Dialect (7.11) 231
Oral Language (7.12) 231
Language: Logic, Accuracy (7.13) 232
Language: Speed, Fluency (7.14) 232
Voice Quality, Volume (7.15) 233
Names, Naming (7.18) 234
Untruths, Lies (7.25) 234
Jokes (7.26) 235
Insults (7.27) 236
Written Language (7.28) 236
Non-Language Use of Voice (cf. 9.44 Mouth Gestures, 3.62 Hearing and Sound) (7.29) 237
Speech Acts (7.3) 238
Converse, Discuss (7.31) 238
Question, Answer, Reply (7.32) 238
Agree, Promise, Pledge, Refuse, Reject (7.33) 238
Inform, Explain, Describe, Reveal (7.34) 239
Accuse, Challenge, Demand, Scold, Harass, Object (cf. 8.32 Quarrel and Get Along, 836 Threaten and Fight) (7.36) 239
Advise, Encourage, Warn (7.37) 240
Request, Invite, Tempt (7.38) 240
Misc. Speech Acts (7.39) 240
The Mind (7.4) 241
Think, Believe, Know, Understand (7.41) 241
Suspect, Presume, Guess, Hope (7.42) 241
Attitude (7.43) 241
Intelligence, Stupidity (cf. 7.55 Ability, Skill) (7.44) 241
Remember, Forget (7.45) 242
Attentive, Perceptive (7.47) 242
Intend, Plan, Expect, Foresee (7.48) 242
Human Qualities (7.5) 243
Ability, Skill (cf. 7.34 Intelligence, Stupidity) (7.55) 243
Strength of People, Endurance, Forcefulness (cf. 3.72 Strength of Things) (7.56) 243
Emotions (7.7) 245
Lexicon

Joy, Happiness (7.721) 245
Like, Love, Affection (7.722) 245
Lust, Desire, Greedy, Selfish, Generous (7.723) 245
Desire, Want, Hope, Try (7.725) 246
Need, Must (7.726) 246
Sympathize, Pity (7.741) 247
Sorrow, Regret, Sadness (7.742) 247
Lonely, Miss (7.743) 247
Dislike, Disgust (7.744) 247
Shame, Shyness, Embarrassment and its Lack (7.745) 248
Brave (7.746) 248
Proud, Boastful (7.748) 248
Startled (7.763) 248
Fear, Worry (c.f. 9322 Tremble, Shake, Shiver) (7.764) 249
Anger (cf. 8.32 Quarrel, Get Along) (7.766) 249
Sleep, Consciousness, Fatigue (cf. 9.343 Sleeping and Lying Positions) (7.9) 250
Fatigue, Boredom, Laziness (7.94) 250
Sleep, Unconsciousness, Dreams (7.96) 250
Wakefulness, Consciousness (7.97) 251

SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS (8.0) 252
Government and Law (8.1) 252
Officials (8.12) 252
Legal Cases (8.13) 252
Laws, Rules, Customs (8.14) 253
Settlement of Cases, Compensation (8.15) 253
Political Districts: Villages, Cities, Districts, Nations (8.2) 253
Quarrel, Fight, War and Peace (8.3) 254
Quarrel and Get Along (cf. 7.36 Accuse; 7.766 Anger) (8.32) 254
Naughtiness, Crime, Criminals (8.33) 255
Thievery (8.34) 255
Threaten, Fight (8.36) 255
Economics (8.4) 255
Occupations, Jobs (cf. various social institutions, 8.12 Officials) (8.41) 255
Land, Property (cf. 5.11 Fields) (8.42) 256
Property (8.423) 256
Rent, Mortgage, Sharecropping (8.425) 256
Property, Other (8.427) 257
Work, Wages (8.43) 257
Work (cf. 7.94 Fatigue, Boredom, Laziness) (8.433) 257
Wages, Payment (8.435) 258
Money, Wealth, Buying and Selling (8.44) 258
Wealth and Poverty (8.441) 258
Prices, Value, Money (8.442) 259
Buying, Selling (8.444) 259
Borrowing, Lending (8.446) 259
Currency (8.447) 260
Miscellaneous Economic (8.449) 260
Society, Organizations (8.48) 260
Religious and Ceremonial Life (8.5) 261
Participants and Sects (8.51) 261
Ideas, Concepts (8.52) 261
Gods and Spirits, Sacred Figures (8.54) 262
Acts and Ceremonies (cf. 8.8 Games, Festivals, 8.83 Music,
   Song, Dance) (8.56) 262
   Sangsarek Acts and Ceremonies (8.562) 262
   Christian Acts and Ceremonies (8.564) 264
   Acts and Ceremonies, Other (8.566) 264
Ceremonial Equipment (8.58) 265
Education (8.6) 266
Games, Recreation, Festivals, Music (cf. 8.56 Acts and Ceremonies)
   (8.8) 266
   Games, Sports (8.81) 266
   Music, Song, Dance (cf. 3.62 Hearing and Sound) (8.83) 267
   Musical Instruments (8.85) 268
Illness (cf. 7.94 Fatigue) (8.9) 269
   Sickness, Health, Doctors, Patients (8.91) 269
   Diseases and Conditions (8.92) 270
   Symptoms (cf. 7.29 Non-language Uses of Voice; 7.94 Fatigue)
   (8.93) 270
   Pain, Itching, Burning, etc. (cf. 3.64 Touching, Feeling) (8.94) 271
   Skin Diseases, Injuries, Swellings (8.95) 271
   Skin Diseases and Conditions (8.953) 271
   Injuries, Blemishes, Pimples, Boils (8.955) 272
   Swellings (8.956) 273
   Lameness, Deformations (8.96) 273
   Stomach Problems (cf. 9.49 Excretion) (8.97) 274
   Treatments, Medicines (8.99) 274
VERBS (9.0) 276
   Aspect, Modals, Auxiliaries, Start, Finish (9.1) 277
   Core Verbs (9.11) 277
   Begin, Prepare (9.13) 277
   End, Finish (9.14) 277
Lexicon

Inanimate States and Actions (9.2) 278
States, Movement, Actions (9.21) 278
Open, Closed (9.211) 278
Fall, Bend Over (cf. 9.326 Stumble, Fall down) (9.212) 279
Reverse, Turn Over, Revolve (9.214) 279
Fly About, Swirl, Flap (9.216) 280
Shake, Move Back and Forth (9.218) 280
Hanging and Swinging (9.25) 281
Hang and Swing: Transitive (9.253) 281
Hang and Swing: Intransitive (9.255) 281
Hang and Swing: Adverbs (9.257) 281
Water, Wetness, Dryness (cf. 4.25 Rivers, Lakes; 4.325 Rain) (9.27) 282
Water, Wet, Dry (9.272) 282
Flow, Rise and Fall of Water (9.273) 282
Leak, Pour (9.276) 282
Actions with Water (9.277) 283
Water: Miscellaneous (9.279) 284
Break, Come Apart, Take Apart (9.28) 285
Break, Intransitive (9.282) 285
Break, Transitive (cf. 9.573 Cutting) (9.284) 286
Tear, Torn, Shabby, Worn (9.29) 287
Torn, Worn, Intransitive (9.292) 287
Tear, Tear Off, Transitive (9.294) 288
Body Use (9.3) 288
Go, Come (9.312) 288
Arrive, Leave, Enter, Exit (9.313) 289
Return, Back and Forth (9.315) 289
Run (9.316) 290
Meet, Pass, Avoid (9.317) 290
Climb, Jump, Go Up or Down (9.318) 291
Misc.: Wander, Wiggle, Crawl, etc. (9.319) 291
Smaller motions (9.32) 292
Step, Kick (9.321) 292
Tremble, Shake, Shiver (cf. Shake 9.515) (9.322) 293
Restless (9.324) 293
Stumble, Fall Down (cf. Fall, Bend Over 9.212) (9.326) 294
Reverse, Turn Around (9.327) 294
Follow, Wait (9.328) 295
Positions of the Body, Hide (cf. Shapes of the Body 6.4) (9.34) 295
Sleeping and Lying Positions (9.343) 296
Hide (9.344) 296
Sit (9.345) 297
Stand (9.346) 297
Bend, Bow (9.348) 298
Miscellaneous Positions (9.349) 299
Gestures (9.4) 299
Head Gestures (9.41) 299
Eye Gestures (9.42) 300
Mouth and Nose Gestures (cf. 7.29 Non-language Uses of Voice; 5.47 Eating and Drinking; 6.42 Body Shapes: Face) (9.44) 301
Blow, Breathe, Cough, Sneeze (9.45) 302
Hand Gestures (9.46) 302
Foot and Leg Gestures (cf. 9.321 Step, Kick) (9.47) 303
Sweating, Excretion (9.49) 303
Manipulations (9.5) 304
Move, Turn, Twist, etc. (9.51) 304
Move, Push, Pull (9.511) 304
Shake, Move Back and Forth (cf. 9.322 Tremble, Shake, Shiver, Intransitive) (9.515) 305
Take, Bring (9.519) 306
Hold, Collect (9.53) 307
Get, Grab, Catch (9.531) 307
Lift, Hold, Carry (9.532) 309
Gather, Collect, Pile Up, Mix (9.535) 310
Separate, Select, Sort, Divide (9.536) 310
Lose, Lost, Leave Out, Omit (9.538) 311
Throw, Throw Away, Drop, Let Go, Scatter (cf. 9.72 Give, Take, 9.276 Leak Pour) (9.54) 311
Hit, Touch, Scratch, Wipe (9.55) 313
Bump, Pat, Touch (9.552) 313
Hit, Knock Forcefully (9.553) 314
Scratch, Scrape, Rub (9.554) 314
Apply, Wipe (9.556) 315
Knock Off, Brush Off, Scrape Off (9.557) 316
Cutting and Digging (9.57) 316
Stab, Pierce, Poke, Insert (cf. 2.22 Fit) (9.571) 317
Pull Out, Extract (9.572) 319
Cutting (cf. 9.28 Break, Come Apart, Take apart) (9.573) 320
Digging (9.576) 322
Crush (9.578) 323
Miscellaneous Tool Use (9.58) 324
Manipulations: Focus on the Object (9.6)
Open (9.60) 324
Shut, Close, Enclose (9.61) 324
Cover, Uncover, Spread Over, Spread Under (9.62) 325
Join, Stick (cf. 9.536 Separate, Select) (9.63) 326
Change Shape (cf. 2.31 Shape) (9.64) 326
   Fold, Bend, Curl (9.641) 326
   Stretch, Sag (9.642) 327
   Roll Up, Bunch Up, Turn (9.645) 327
   Pile, Pile Up (9.647) 327
Change Shape, Misc. (9.649) 328
Wrap, Tie, Untie (cf. 5.453 Food Wrapping) (9.65) 328
Measure (9.66) 330
Press, Pressure (9.67) 330
Locative: Put, Etc. (9.68) 330
Human Relations (9.7) 331
   Give, Take (cf. 9.53 Hold, Collect; 9.54 Throw Away, Let Go) (9.72) 331
   Help, Guide, Guard, Encourage, Correct, Defend (9.73) 331
   Orders, Obligations, Obedience (9.75) 332
   Obstruct, Block Off (9.77) 332
   Annoy, Pester, Annoyance, Patience (9.78) 333
0.0 AFFIXES AND SPECIAL WORDS

The dialects of Garo have few prefixes, but many hundreds of suffixes. Plurals, case suffixes, final noun suffixes, principal verb suffixes and terminal verb suffixes are relatively few in number, but individually they are very common. They are central to the grammar of the language and their use is described in Volume I.

0.1 Noun and Noun Phrase Affixes

0.11 Plurals, etc.

-dang  ns. plural marker: me-chik-dang women.
-drang  ns. plural marker, synonym of -rang: bol-pang-drang trees.
-jil-ma  ns. a crowd of, lots of, for people or animals: a-chak-jil-ma a lot of dogs.
-mang  ns. plural marker for a few pronouns, (A·chik): na-si-mang you plu.; bi-si-mang they; u-a-mang those.
-ong  ns. plural marker that indicates a person along with his, her, or their closest people, usually their family members: Ra-ben-ong Raben and his family.
-ra-ra  ns. lots, all over the place, all around: nok-ra-ra houses everywhere; ka-rang-ra-ra dirt everywhere, filthy; kim-il-ra-ra hairy, lots of hair.
-rang  ns. plural marker: man-de-rang people; nok-rang houses.
-tang  ns. own, self, selves: song-tang own village; nok-tang own house.

0.12 Case Suffixes

-a  cm. nominative case marker, marks the subject of a clause or sentence. Used only with monosyllabic pronouns: ang-a I.
-bak-sa  cm. with, along with, (A·chik).
-cha  cm. instrumental case marker that marks the instrument or means by which something is accomplished, with, by means of: sai-kel-cha by bicycle, (A·chik: -chi).
-chi  cm. locative case marker showing position in space, or movement toward or from a location; in, on, to, from: bat-cha re-ang-ing-a? where are (you) going? (A·chik: -chi).
-cha-na  cm. toward, in the direction of, (an augmented locative).

-cha-ni  cm. from, in the direction from, (an augmented locative).

-cha-ni-ko  cm. an augmented locative used with transitive verbs indicating the direction from: bat-cha-ni-ko ra'-ba-a? from where was it brought?

-chi  cm. locative marker showing position in space, or movement toward or from a location; in, on, to, from, (A'chik).

-chi  cm. instrumental case marker that marks the instrument or means by which something is accomplished, with, by means of: sai-kel-cha by bicycle, (A'chik).

-git-a  cm. like, in that way, resembling: man-di-git-a like a person.

-ko, -ku  cm. accusative case marker that marks the direct object of a clause or sentence: ang-ko me.

-ming  cm. a case marker meaning with, along with, together with: ang-ming with me.

-na  cm. dative case marker that marks the indirect object of a clause or sentence; to, for: ang-na to me.

-na  cm. an augmentation for locatives indicating direction toward, and that is used with -o or -cha to give -o-na, -cha-na to toward, in the direction of.

-ni  cm. genitive case marker that marks a possessive; 's: ang-ni my; meng-gong-ni the cat’s.

-ni  cm. an augmentation for locatives indicating direction from, and that is used with -o or bfcha to give -o-ni or -cha-ni from: u'-cha-ni re'-ba-a came from there.

-ni-ko  cm. an augmentation for locatives that is used in a clause with a transitive verb and that indicates the direction from which something comes. It is used with -o or -cha to give -o-ni-ko or -cha-ni-ko from: u'-cha-ni-ko ra'-ba-a brought (it) from there.

-o, -u, -no, -nu  cm. temporal or spatial locative case marker that marks the location of an event in time or space, in, at, on: am-bun-o tomorrow; te-bil-o on the table. -o, -u pes. nominalizing suffix; when, at the time of: ang-ko sing-o a-gan-chak-na man-no-a when (you) ask me, (I) will be able to answer.

-o-na, -no-na  cm. an augmented locative meaning toward, until, up to the time: Ep-ril-o-na until April.

-o-ni, -no-ni  cm. an augmented locative meaning from, since: Dha-ka-o-ni from Dhaka.

-o-ni-ko, -no-ni-ko  cm. an augmented locative used with transitive verbs that indicates the direction from which something comes: ba-no-ni-ko ra'-ba-a? from where was it brought?
0.14 Final Noun Suffixes

-**ba** *ns.* also.
-**de** *ns.* shows a contrast or difference from what has gone before; on the other hand, but.
-**in** *ns.* foregrounding suffix, emphatic.
-**sa, ha** *ns.* only.

0.15 Derivational Noun Suffixes

The derivational noun suffixes have a very different role in the language than the other noun suffixes. They are less productively (freely) suffixed than the others, but they form conventional words to which the other suffixes can then be added. Derivational noun suffixes are used to build up the vocabulary, but they are less central to the syntax than the other noun suffixes. A substantial number of derivational noun suffixes indicate something about the shape or position of the words that they form, and these are given separately in section 0.16.

-**bi-bom** *dns.* rounded, of long things, cylindrical, not flat, of tree trunks, unsplit firewood, posts, people's arms, etc.: *bol-bi-bom* unsplit firewood.
-**bi-dil** *dns.* vine.
-**bi-du** *dns.* vine.
-**bi-ma** *dns.* female, of animals: *do-bi-ma* hen.
-**bi-pa** *dns.* male, of animals: *do-bi-pa* cock, rooster.
-**bik** *dns.* intestines, internal organs: *bi-bik* intestines; *bik-ma* stomach; *bik-chra* membrane of the intestine.
-**bo, bu** *dns.* swelling, swollen: *ja-bo* swollen foot; *git-ok-bo* goiter; *ri-bo* swollen testicles.
-**dik** *dns.* pots: *me-dik* rice pot; *sam-dik* curry pot. *cp.* categorizing prefix for pots: *dik-tom* rice beer brewing pot; *dik-te* smallish pot for water, etc.
-**dil** *dns.* long and thin: *ja-dil* root; *bi-dil* vine.
-**ding** *dns.* long and thin: *kil-ding* thread; *wa-ding* thin flexible bamboo tie strips; *ri-ding* pole for holding cloth to dry. *ding* *cls.* classifier for long thin things: hairs, cords, strings, pieces of cane, wire, roads, etc.
-**gi-si** *dns.* old and dried out, of plants, wood, trees.
-**gip-a** *dns.* used with kinship terms when talking about someone, but not when addressing someone: *Nel-son-ni pa-gip-a* Nelson's father.
-**go-ra** *dns.* thicket: *wa-go-ra* bamboo thicket; *bring-go-ra* thick forest.
-**kam-bi** *dns.* top, tip: *bol-kam-bi* tree top; *wal-kam-bi* tips of flames.
-**kan-ta** *dns.* lacking a limb or tail: *jak-kan-ta* lacking an arm; *jak-si-kan-ta* missing a finger; *chu-kan-ta* incomplete.
-ki- dns. dirt, esp. body dirt, dung: ging-ki nose dirt, snot; mik-ki eye dirt; wa-ki tooth dirt, tartar; wal-ki coals from a fire; ki-bit-bit dung beetle; su-dap-ki-ki dirty, unwashed.

-kok dns. the one who: chau-kok thief; mat-u-kok greedy person; siik-kok teacher; ken-kok coward.

-kong dns. scooped out, hollow: ring-kong hollow log used to feed animals; bol-kong-bang hole in a tree trunk; kong-kep area inside the curl of the edge of the ear.

-mil-ong dns. bare, without clothes or jewelry: ku-mil-ong-a naked above the waist; na-mil-ong without earrings; jak-mil-ong without a bracelet; ja-chok ku-mil-ong barelegged.

-mrang, -mrang-mrang dns. resembling, somewhat: git-chak-mrang, git-chak-mrang-mrang reddish; gip-bok-mrang whitish.

-na-wang dns. with a big opening, a basket shape characterized by a wide mouth; with a gaping mouth, stupid.

-nok dns. building: wa-si-nok house built of split bamboo; tat-nok building for weaving; skul-nok school building; ran-a-nok kitchen building.

-nol dns. place to keep animals, goat shed, place for chickens: wak-nol pig sty; do-nol chicken coop.

-pa dns. male human: dal-am-pa a man with a high opinion of himself; rak-am-pa a very strong man; ra-song-pa a proud man.

-pi-sa dns. young animal, occasionally used for young of plants; small example of objects: mong-ma-pi-sa baby elephant; jak-si-pi-sa little finger.

-ri-ri dns. beautiful, well done: ni-to-ri-ri beautiful to see; pang-si-ri-ri beautiful, the way the world looks in the bright moonlight; ra-ja-ri-ri well done; chu-ak-ri-ri very high.

-rong-rong dns. clean, pure: gip-bok-rong-rong pure white; chi-rong-rong clean, clear; git-chak-rong-rong bright red.

-sa dns. a pair of kinsmen: at-chu-sa a grandfather and his grandchild; ma-ma-sa a mother’s brother and his sister’s child; ma-ni-sa a mother-in-law and her son- or daughter-in-law.

-sa-ge dns. former, deceased: Rong-jeng-sa-ge the deceased Rongjeng.

-ska dns. of their own kind, that sort of person: tro-ska contemporaries, of the same generation; jat-ska of the same ethnic group.

-wang dns. open: ku-wang crazy person (who lets mouth hang open); wak-wang open, spread apart, of shirts, doors.

0.16 Shapes and Positions—Derivational

-bong dns. round, fat, large in the midsection: wa bi-am-bong midsection of bamboo; ok-bong-bong wider at the midsection than the
Lexicon

- **en**ds: *kal-bong* someone who eats too much, a glutton; *ja-ram-bong* full moon; *tim-bong* wide, of rice fields.

- **chok** *dns.* long and pointed: *ja'-pa-ku-chok* heal of foot; *gol-chok* arrow, stake; *do-chok* a kind of bird with a pointed back-end.

- **dam** *dns.* place: *dong-dam* living place; *mang-ru-dam* grave; *dam-dam* *adv.* always at the same place. *cls.* classifier for places: villages, fields, houses, windows, doors.

- **gro** *dns.* length: *bol-gro* ridgepole; *bi-gro* length. *-gro- aa.* length, long dimension: *rat-gro-a* cut lengthwise; *git-chit-gro-a* tear lengthwise.

- **jang-chi** *dns.* middle: *wal-jang-chi* midnight; *nak-jang-chi* center of the house; *bon-jang-chi-a* end in the middle, when half done; *ma’-jang-chi* middle-sized tiger; *jak-si-jang-chi* middle finger, ring finger.

- **-jat-chi, -jat-chi-o** *dns.* middle: *sal-jat-chi-o* middle of the day; *wal-jat-chi-o* middle of the night.

- **ma** *dns.* big, large: *ta-ma* a large edible tuber; *mi-ma* a large grained variety of rice; *ja-dil-ma* large roots; *bi-rot-a-ma* large pimple.

- **pong** * dns.* cylindrical: *bi-pong* handle of a tool; *jak-pong* upper arm.

- **ram** *dns.* place, location: *chu-ram* sleeping place; *gop-ram* grave, burying place; *at-chi-ram* birthplace.

- **sam** *dns.* side, beside: *ha-sam* side of a field; *nok-sam* area beside a house; *chi-sam* water edge.

- **tom** *dns.* round, bunched: *jak-tom* fist; *dik-tom* large round pot; *a-tom* stomach. *-tom- aa.* round, make round: *jak-tom-a* make a fist; *ka-tom-a* tie in a bundle. *tom- cls.* for bellies, round things.

- **tong** *dns.* long and cylindrical: *gan-tong* a cut stalk of a plant such as manioc; *ging-tong* snout of a pig; *jak-tong* forearm; *wa-tong* length of bamboo. *-tong- aa.* cut or separate, esp. of long and cylindrical pieces: *den-tong-a* cut crosswise, cut in two, of a log, etc.; *tet-tong-a* break apart, of string, linear things; *chik-tong-a* bite off.

**0.17 Categorizing Prefixes**

Perhaps these should not be called “prefixes”, since, unlike most morphemes that we call “prefixes”, the categorizing prefixes cannot be productively attached to all the words of some large grammatical class. Their role in Garo is much like that of English *-berry of raspberry, cranberry, and strawberry*. In Garo, such forms almost always come at the beginning rather than at the end of words, and they have a much more prominent place in Garo than in English. Hundreds of compounds begin with one of these morphemes. Many, but by no means all, of them can also be used independently as nouns that have the meaning of the category. *Nok*, for example, can not only be used as a categorizing prefix in words for various
parts of houses but also by itself as a noun meaning simply ‘house’ in general. Na-, on the other hand, is used as the first syllable of many kinds of fish, but it is never used alone. The general word for ‘fish’ is na-tok.

a- cp. prefix used as a part of several kinship terms: a-bi elder sister; a-da elder brother; a-chu grandfather; used optionally with a-no younger sister.

am- cp. prefix for kinds of mats: am-da-ri a fine kind of mat. am n. mat.

ang- cp. prefix used optionally with some kinship terms: ang-jong younger brother; ang-gri cross-nephew, man’s sister’s son, woman’s brother’s daughter.

bi- cp. prefix for plant parts and internal body parts: bi-gil skin; bi-ka liver: bi-chi juice; bi-jak leaf.

bol- cp. prefix for varieties of trees and parts of trees: bol-bi-jak leaves of trees. bol n. tree.

chi- cp. prefix for watery things: chi-bol puddle; chi-da-ri flowing stream; chi-dek pond, wide place in a stream; chi-ga spring. chi n. water.

dik- cp. categorizing prefix for pots: dik-tom rice beer brewing pot; dik-te smallish pot for water, etc. -dik dns. pots: me-dik rice pot; sam-dik curry pot.

do-, du- cp. prefix for types of birds and things related to birds: do-reng hawk; do-chi egg; do-bik bird’s intestines. do, do-o n. bird, domestic fowl.

ga- cp. prefix for plant parts: ga-gong stem of a leaf; ga-brong central part of a tree trunk or the tough central portion of some fruits; ga-git-tong stubble, stalks of plants.

gol-, gol, go-ol cp. categorizing prefix for sticks: gol-chok arrow; gol-a-reng long pole. gol, go-ol n. stick.

ha-, a- cp. prefix for land, soil, countryside: ha-kin-te lumps of earth; ha-ba fields; a-gi-sak world. ha, ha-a n. earth, ground, soil.

ja- cp. prefix for parts of the legs and feet: ja-git-ok ankle. ja-a, ja n. leg, foot.

kok- cp. prefix for types of baskets: kok-si fish basket. kok n. basket.

ku- cp. prefix for the mouth and surrounding area: ku-sik mouth; ku-sim-ang beard; ku-chil lip. ku- cls. for mouths, words, bits of language; mouthful of solid foods; doors, gongs; single split sticks of firewood.

mat- cp. prefix for some mammals: mat-cha tiger; mat-ma water buffalo; mat-chok deer; mat-ram a fish-eating wild cat.

na- cp. prefix for varieties of fish: na-tok fish; na-kam dried fish.
**Lexicon**

**nok-** *cp.* prefix for types and parts of houses: **nok-pan-te** young men’s house; **nok-kap** house site. **nok** *n.* house, building.

**ri-** *cp.* prefix for male genitals and their parts: **ri-gong** penis; **ri-spil** testicles.

**rong-** *cp.* prefix for stones: **rong-kol** cave; **rong-krek** small lumps of hard earth; **rong-te** rock.

**sam-** *cp.* prefix for grass and small herbs: **sam-si** crab-grass; **sam-mik-chip** sensitive plant.

**si-** *cp.* prefix for female genitals and their parts: **si-sim-ang** female pubic hair; **si-ku-chil** genital labia.

**sil-** *cp.* prefix for iron objects; **sil-dang-kep** tongs.

**ta-** *cp.* prefix for varieties of tubers: **ta-mil-ang** sweet potatoes; **ta-bol-chu** manioc; **ta-ting** arum.

**te-**, **ti-** *cp.* prefix for various fruits: **te-rik** banana; **te-brong** jackfruit; **te-ga-chu** mango; **bi-te**, **bi-ti** fruit.

**wa-** *cp.* prefix for bamboo parts, varieties, and object made from bamboo: **wa-ma** a large variety of bamboo; **wa-si** split bamboo matting; **wa-kop** one half of a split length of bamboo. **wa**, **wa-a** *n.* bamboo.

**wal-** *cp.* prefix for things connected with fire: **wal-ku** smoke; **wal-si-ri** flames; **wal-tot** device to start fire by friction. **wal**, **wa-al** *n.* fire.

### 0.2 Verb Suffixes

#### 0.21 Principle Verb Suffixes

These have a claim on being the most important suffixes in the language, for they come closest to being obligatory. With the single exception of equational sentences, every sentence must have at least one word with a principal verb suffix. They are described in detail in Chapter 6 of Volume I.

#### 0.211 Tense-Aspect Suffixes

**-a** *pvs.* neutral, unmarked tense-aspect marker. In addition to present time, it often shows habitual action, and can even imply past or future: **kat-ing-a** is running; **ga-ak-a** falls.

**-a-ha** *pvs.* past tense marker, *(A'chik)*. Mandi has no simple equivalent but uses **-a-ming**, formed from the neutral **-a** and the terminal suffix **-ming**.

**-a-ha-jok** *pvs.* past tense marker for relatively remote time.

**-gen** *pvs.* future, *(A'chik equivalent of Mandi -no-a).*

**-gin-ok** *pvs.* immediate or intentional future, *(A'chik equivalent of Mandi -na-jok).*
-jok pvs. indicates a change of state, for an action or condition that happened in the past but whose results continue in the present: kat-jok has run; kat-ja-jok does not run any more; ga'ak-jok fell, has fallen.

-na-ba-gin-ang pvs. will probably: re'-ba-na-ba-gin-ang will probably come.

-na-jok pvs. immediate or intentional future: kat-na-jok about to run, intends to run; kat-ja-na-jok will run no more, does not intend to run any more; ga'ak-na-jok is about to fall.

-no-a, -nu-a, -no pvs. future tense: kat-no-a will run; ga'ak-no-a will run, (A'chik: -gen).

-pit-chi pvs. only, just.

-te pvs. doing and doing, continuing.

0.215 Imperative Affixes

-bo pvs. imperative: ring-bo drink!; a-song-bo-ne please sit down!

-bo-da pvs. emphatic or abrupt imperative.

-bo-ne pvs. polite imperative.

-et pvs. imperative: dak-et do it.

-kan, -ka-na pvs. third person imperative, let her, let him, let them: bi-a re'-ang-kan let her go, she can go. -kan, -ka-na pvs. subordinating suffix used esp. with verbs of telling or ordering: kat-kan-a bi-a hit-a he ordered (him) to run.

-kan-bo, -ka-na-bo pvs. third person imperative, equivalent to -kan or -ka-na.

-na-be pvs. negative imperative, (A'chik).

0.216 Subordinating Suffixes

-e, -i pvs. suffix that subordinates one verb or clause to the one that follows; having, being: ang-a nok nap-e, a-song-jok having entered the house, I sat down.

-e-min-a, -i-min-a, -e-ming pvs. subordinating suffix, elaborated equivalents of -e, having, being: cha-e-min-a, ang-a ok-ka-jok having eaten, I'm full.

-kan, -ka-na pvs. subordinating suffix, esp. with verbs of telling or ordering: kat-kan-a bi-a hit-a he ordered (him) to run. pvs. third person imperative, let her, let him, let them: bi-a re'-ang-kan let her go, she can go.

-mit-ing-o pvs. while, at the time of: chol-a gan-mit-ing-o while wearing a shirt.

-na pvs. infinitive: i-ang-na ha'-sik-be-ing-a (I) want very much to go.

-o-ba pvs. although, even if: bi-a sok-ba-ja-o-ba, nik-ja-no-a even if (he) arrives, (we) will not see him.
-o-de *pus.* if: sok-ba-ja-o-de, nik-ja-no-a if (he) doesn’t arrive, (we) will not see (him).
-o-sa, o-ha *pus.* only if: bi-a sok-ba-o-sa, nik-no-a (we) will see (him) only if he arrives.

0.218 Nominalizing Suffixes

- a *pus.* nominalizing suffix that puts verbs into a form that is usable as a noun or as a modifier of a noun: dal-a me-a-sa big man.
-a-ni *pus.* nominalizing suffix that forms abstract nouns from verbs: cha-a-ni food, from cha-a eat; chan-chi-a-ni ideas, from chan-chi-a think.
-gi-ja *pus.* the one who is not, those who are not; negative of the -a nominalizer; words suffixed with -gi-ja can be used either as a noun or to modify a noun: dal-gi-ja nok the house that is not big; dal-gi-ja-ko nik-jok (I) saw the one that is not big.
-gi-ja-gip-a *pus.* negative of the -gip-a nominalization, allowing words to which it is suffixed to be used as a noun or to modify a noun; the one who is not, those who are not: kat-ang-gi-ja-gip-a man-de the man who does not run away.
-gip-a *pus.* nominalizing suffix, the one who, those who: pi-sa-ko chik-gip-a a-chak the child-biting dog, the dog that bites the child.
-jok-o, -jok-o-no *pus.* nominalizing suffix indicating when, after which: ang-ni chi ring-jok-o, na-a ring-bo when my tea has been drunk, you drink; mi jo-jok-o-no koi bal-ing-a when frying rice it bursts into puffs.
-na-jok-o, -na-jok-o-no *pus.* when about to, when intending to: nang-ni cha-na-jok-o ang-ko o-kam-bo when you intend to eat, call me.
-o, -u *pus.* nominalizing suffix, when, at the time of: ang-ko sing-o a-gan-chak-na man-no-a when (you) ask me, (I) will be able to answer.

0.31 Terminal Verb Suffixes

-chim *ts.* an A-chik suffix that is equivalent, in part, to Mandi -ming, but not used for a simple past; past perfect, conditional, (A-chik): re-ang-a-chim had gone.
-da *ts.* particle that strengthens an imperative: nap-bo-da do come in!
-kon *ts.* perhaps, probably: nam-ku-ing-a-kon (it) is probably still good.
-ma *ts.* question marker that forms yes-no questions: neng-jok-ma? are you tired? ma? qw. what (did you say)?
-mo *ts.* a question marker anticipating agreement: ga-ak-jok-mo? (it) has fallen, hasn’t it?, (A-chik).
-na *ts.* quotative particle, it was said, someone said, I heard: sok-ba-no-a-na I heard that (he) will arrive.

-ne *ts.* a particle that softens an imperative or a request, and makes it more polite: ang-a nap-na-ne? may I please come in?; seng-bo-ne please wait.

-ni *ts.* question marker that forms yes-no questions, a less common synonym of -ma.

-ro *ts.* indicates a correction to a previous statement or presumption: ang-a Chu-ni-a-cha i'-ang-jok-ro I did too go to Chunia.

-a-ha-ming *ts.* locates a past event before some other event: re'-ang-a-ha-ming had gone, (A‘chik).

-a-ming *ts.* suffix formed from the neutral tense-aspect marker -a with the past-conditional -ming; indicates past time: ching-a i'-ang-a-ming we went.

-jok-ming *ts.* a pair of suffixes that combine to indicate a time previous to some other time, had: ching-a re'-ang-jok-ming we had gone.

-ming *ts.* a terminal suffix that follows one of the tense-aspect markers and that indicates a conditional or a previous time.

-na-jok-ming *ts.* present or future conditional or future perfect, referring to an action happening before some specified time in the future: ching-a re'-ang-na-jok-ming we will have gone.

-no-a-ming, nu-a-ming *ts.* conditional, would have: ching-a i'-ang-no-a-ming we would have gone.

-ai *ts.* strengthens a statement or suggests a correction to a previous statement: cha'-jok-ai (I) have, indeed, eaten.

-bai *ts.* contraction of imperative -bo with emphatic -ai.

-jai *ts.* contraction of negative -ja and emphatic -ai: i-a bol-de dal-jai this tree isn’t big!

-mai *ts.* contraction of past marker -ming and emphatic -ai.

-nai *ts.* contraction of quotative -na and emphatic -ai: do'-til-eng indoik-e mik-u-jok-nai it really is said that the do-tileng bird calls like this.

### 0.4 Adverbial Affixes

Adverbial affixes form one of the most distinctive features of the Garo language, and there are hundreds of them, many more than are listed here. They refine the meaning of verbs in all sorts of ways. Those that are used most freely are listed in 0.41 as “General, Inflectional”. Most of these can be used with any verb in the language and several can be used together in the same verb. Their order is almost entirely fixed. They work together closely with the principal verb suffixes and refine their meaning. They are described in more detail in the first section of Chapter 7, Volume I.
0.41 Adverbial Affixes: General, Inflectional

-a-ri  aa. just, simply, merely: gal-a-ri-no-a (he) will simply throw (it) away.
-a-ring  aa. contraction of -a-ri- just, and -ing- progressive: dak-a-ring-a just doing.
-ang  aa. shows movement away from the speaker, in that direction: i-ang-a go; bil-ang-a fly away.
-ba  aa. shows movement toward the speaker, in this direction: re-ba-a come; bil-ba-a fly in this direction, fly here.
-bat  aa. more than, exceed, go across: ga-bat-a step across, step over; jro-bat-a swim across; cha'-bat-a eat more; dal-bat-a bigger.
-be-, -bi  aa. very, a lot: jang-be-a very noisy; cha'-be-a eat a lot.
-bru  aa. falsely, pretending: in-bru-a tell wrongly; jom-bru-a pretend to be sick; dak-bru-a pretend; ni-bru-a see, watch, without being noticed.
-cheng  aa. first, before doing something else: cha'-cheng-a first (before something else); i-ang-cheng-a go first, go ahead; a'-ba-cheng-a begin, (cf. -so-).
-dil  aa. lead, guide, show the way, cause: cha'-dil-a feed; ken-dil-a frighten; ha-bu-dil-a give someone a bath; dong-dil-a care for a baby or small child.
-et-, -it  aa. causative: nam-et-a make good, improve; chip-et-a close, cause to be closed, (A'chik: -at-).
-grik  aa. mutually, each other: a-gan-grik-a converse, talk to each other; sin-grik-a like each other; grong-grik-a meet each other.
-ing  aa. progressive, indicates action in progress or a continuing state: grap-ing-a crying; bu-ing-a telling lies, joking, (A'chik: -eng- ).
-it-, -et  aa. causative, (A'chik: -at-).
-ja  aa. no, not, negative particle: ding-ja not hot; grap-ja does not cry.
-kal  aa. more: nam-kal-a better; chu-kal-a sleep more.
-ku  aa. still, anymore: jom-ku-ing-a still sick; sa-dik-ku-ja-ing-a not hurting yet.
-ja- aa. not yet: nom-ku-ja not yet soft; man-ku-ja can’t yet.
-man- aa. able, get, accomplish, finish: ku-man-a able to speak, speak well; bil-man-a have the strength for; nik-man-a discover, notice.
-pa- aa. with, along with: don-pa-a put together; a-gan-pa'-a speak along with; i'-ang-pa'-a go together, go with.
-pil  aa. return, reverse, again: i'-ba-pil-a come back, return; pang-pil-a reversed, upside down; am-pil-a turn away, turn around; wal-pil-a come back, return; tang-pil-a come to life again; gi-sik ra'-pil-a change one’s mind.
-so- \( aa. \) first, before others, ahead, wait: \( i\)-ang-so-a go first, go ahead; seng-so-a wait for; ni-chak-so-a wait for, look out for; cha-so-a eat before someone else; a-gan-so-a announce, tell ahead of time, (cf. -cheng-).

-srang- \( aa. \) completely: \( i\)-ang-srang-a completely gone, gone for good.

-tai- \( aa. \) again: grap-tai-a cry again, (A-chik).

-tok- \( aa. \) all, everything: nik-tok-a see everything; nam-tok-a all are good.

### 0.42 Adverbial Affixes: Shapes, Size, Location

Sections 0.42 through 0.47 offer a good sample of adverbial affixes. The categories are rough and ready but they will suggest the range and variety of meanings that these affixes can convey. Collectively they are exceedingly common, but no single one of them has a particularly high frequency. Each is used with a somewhat narrower range of verb bases than are the general and inflectional affixes listed in section 0.41, but they can be productively joined to with any semantically appropriate verb stem.

-chok- \( aa. \) pointed: ran-chok-a thin, scrawny, of people; ku-chok-a pointed, of a mouth, pen, animal’s nose, crescent moon; ru-chok-a long and pointed; ok-chok-a bulging, of a distorted circle; rep-chok-a, den-chok-a, rat-chok-a carve a point.

-chon- \( aa. \) small, used with classifiers to form verbs meaning small, of things so classified: rong-chon-a small of round things; king-chon-a small of flat things.

-chrit- \( aa. \) in stripes, striped; into long pieces: sal-chrit-a striped, as cloth, as a tiger; den-chrit-a chop into pieces; mat-chrit-a cut slightly, scratch.

-dal-, -dal- \( aa. \) big, used with numeral classifiers to indicate big, of things so classified: king-dal-a big of thin flat things.

-dam-dam- \( aa. \) at the same place: cha-dam-dam-a eat at the same place; dong-dam-dam-a stay at the same place.

-dep- \( aa. \) flat, flatten: chi-dep-a flat, of noses; pil-dep-a flat; su-dep-a caught or pinched, pounded into a bamboo tube; ku-dep-a flat mouth; rim-dep-a push with a finger to test ripeness of fruit.

-ket-chi- \( aa. \) to the side, crosswise: chit-ket-chi-a cut bamboo strips crosswise to the inner and outer edges; ni-ket-chi-a look to the side; pit-ket-chi-a cut off with a cut perpendicular to the surface.

-kim-bak- \( aa. \) shortened, abbreviated, partly, half way: den-kim-bak-a cut a little, partly; cha-kim-bak-a eat a bit, not finish; wal-kim-bak-a half the night; rat-kim-bak-a cut part way through.

-kip- \( aa. \) upside down, closed up in: sin-kip-a turned upside down; king-kip-a turned over; jak-kip-a hold in a closed hand.
-ro-, -ru-  aa. long: mang-ro-a long in the body; chang-ro-a tall, of people, trees; ja-ro-a long, of pant legs, shirt tails, for a long time.
-tom-  aa. round, make round: jak-tom-a make a fist; ka-tom-a tie in a bundle. tom- cls. for bellies, round things. -tom dns. round, bunched: jak-tom fist; dik-tom large round pot; a-tom stomach.
-tong-tang-  aa. direct, straight, not roundabout, short cut, abbreviated; bat-tong-tang-a take a short cut; kat-tong-tang-a run straight, directly; tong-tang-tong-tang, tong-tang-ga-tang adv. briefly, abbreviated.

0.43 Adverbial Affixes: Movement, Insertion

-bit-  aa. bring along, take along: ke-bit-a take along something that is hanging; rim-bit-a take a person along.
-cha-  aa. get up, grow, come to life: ni-cha-a look up, with head up; di-cha-a get someone up from sleep; bol-cha-a tall; tang-cha-pil-a come back to life. vi. grow, develop; sprout, as from a tree stump.
-chak-  aa. fit, have enough place for: ga-chak-a fit, of the feet; jak-chak-a fit in the hands, have time for; chu-chak-a place for sleeping; dong-chak-a fit, sufficient place for; cha-chak-a enough space for eating, for the food; at-chong-chak-a enough space for sitting (as on a bus).
-do-, -du-  aa. up, upward: ga-do-a climb; sal-do-a pull up, as in drawing water; bil-do-a fly up; chrok-do-a jump up; chil-do-a lift up onto the head or shoulders.
-jit-  aa. move: ka-jit-a move something that is tied, especially an animal; de-jit-a move, put in a different place.
-jot-, -jot-jot-, -jrot-  aa. insert, tight, squeezed in the middle: sik-jot-a, sik-jrot-a plant in between other plants; song-jot-a replace a post; jaang-jot-jot-a be squeezed, narrower in the middle than at the ends; sal-jot-jot-a pull hard, as when tying string; rim-pi-jot-a, rim-pi-jrot-a grab in the middle, squeeze in the middle.
-ket-  aa. filled, squeezed tight, stuck: gap-ket-a filled up tight, no more space, squeezed in; dap-ket-a push wet mud into cracks, bury; jot-ket-a insert, plug up; chang-ket-a stuck, crowded, choke; nap-ket-a enter and stay.
-nap-  aa. enter, go into: chu-nap-a enter for sleeping, sleep together, a way of initiating a marriage; sik-nap-a squeeze in forcefully, as into a house or bus; kat-nap-a run in and take shelter, hide; til-nap-a fly onto a person, fly into the eye, of dust or an insect.
-on-  aa. down, downward: chok-on-a get down, get off, as from a bus; ni-on-a look down; sik-on-a push down; bil-on-a fly down; di-on-a take a pot off the fire; sik-on-a push down.
-pak-  aa. along the way, while going, along with: bre-pak-a buy along the way; i-ba-pak-a go by way of; ring-pak-a drink along the way; dong-pak-a stop along the way; sap-pak-a swoop down and take, like a hawk.

-pru-  aa. through, cut through, pierce: rat-pru-a cut through; ga-pru-a step through; dok-pru-a knock a hole through; su-pru-a pierce, as a wound to get out a thorn.

-rik-  aa. follow, in passing: kin-a-rik-a listen to something passing; ja-rik-a follow; hai-rik-a recognize; dong-rik-a stay behind; gi-sik ra-rik-a remember; nik-rik-a see in passing, see something moving; a-gan-rik-a speak to someone who is passing; man-rik-a recover something lost; rim-rik-a hold someone back, prevent from going; dong-rik-a pregnant; ki-sang rik-ba-a chase behind.


-rok-  aa. scrape, scrape off, knock off, remove, rub: dok-rok-a knock one thing against another, as to clear dirt from a basket; rep-rok-a cut off peel; dang-rok-a scrape out, as dirt or weeds; rim-rok-a rub, rub with the palm, massage, pet an animal; rep-rok-a carve off bits from the surface; ot-rok-a sweep.

-rong-rong-  aa. through a hole, leak: gip-u-rong-rong-a fit through something small, such as a sieve; ki-rong-rong-a have diarrhea; ga-ak-rong-rong fall through.


-ska-  aa. in turn, in return: in-ska-a say in turn, reply.

-srap-  aa. catch up with: kat-srap-a run and catch up with; rim-srap-a catch, as a chicken, a thrown object; in-srap-a catch the points of a conversation, have a dialogue.

-sret-  aa. slip away: cha-sret-a slip from the mouth; rim-sret-a slip from the hand.

-wen-wen-  aa. in circles: kat-wen-wen-a run in circles; bil-wen-wen-a fly in circles.

-wil-, -wil-wil-  aa. in circles: kat-wil-wil-a run in circles; an-seng-wil-wil-a dance in circles; rat-wil-wil-a cut around, as cutting stripes around a handle; ting-wil-wil-a surround, as the walls of a house; dong-wil-wil-a surround, by people.

0.44 Adverbial Affixes: Separate, Together, Cover, Pieces

-chang-  aa. close off, block off: dim-chang-a make a partition; ting-chang-a enclose, separate.
-dap-  *aa.* cover, cover over, pile on, wrap:  
  grip-dap-a pile up, set on top;  
  ru-dap-a pour over;  
  on-dap-a put on top, in basket weaving;  
  ha-dap-a bury;  
  at-chong-dap-a sit on, cover something by sitting on it;  
  pin-dap-a cover, as with a blindfold;  
  mit-dap-a close, as a bottle;  
  gan-dap-a tuck in;  
  wil-wil-dap-a wrap around;  
  on-jet-dap-a put something heavy on top of something else.

-drak-  *aa.* break apart, separate, peel off:  
  pek-drak-a spread apart, of legs or toes;  
  o-drak-a peel, remove peel, skin;  
  jot-drak-a poke and tear off, of paper, cloth;  
  dok-drak-a knock out of the way;  
  bit-drak-a spread slightly apart, as thatch, clothing;  
  pit-drak-a split, as firewood.

-gal-  *aa.* take off, get rid of, throw away:  
  sal-gal-a put away, as sleeping mat;  
  king-gal-a uncover;  
  su-gal-a wash clothes;  
  wak-gal-a vomit.

-gat-  *aa.* add, cover, put on top:  
  so-gat-a push into fire;  
  de-gat-a lift, load;  
  ra-gat-a adopt a child.

-gep-  *aa.* tied together:  
  ka-gep-a tie together;  
  cho-gep-a tie up in a folded banana leaf bundle.

-gok-, -go-ok-  *aa.* broken apart, separated:  
  dok-gok-a hit and separate, knock off, as the handle of a tool;  
  rong-gok-a break off a round thing, such as a glass bottom;  
  gil-gok-a cracked and peeling, of skin.

-grang-  *aa.* widely spaced:  
  ap-grang-a widely spaced of basket pieces, made with open spaces;  
  wa-grang-a nicked, not continuously, of a knife blade;  
  ka-grang-a tied together with open spaces, of a fence.

-grim-  *aa.* together:  
  pin-grim-a thatch together, in a group of people;  
  nam-grim-a get along, be friendly;  
  in-grim-a talk at the same time.

-grip-  *aa.* cover, shut in:  
  on-grip-a cover, of clouds;  
  ku-grip-a cover, of a pot.

-jep-  *aa.* cover:  
  rim-jep-a cover with the hand;  
  ga-jep-a cover with the feet.

-kring-krang-  *aa.* uncontrolled, incompletely, scattering around:  
  cha-kring-krang-a get up quickly throwing covers around;  
  go-kring-krang-a throw around in an uncontrolled way;  
  ru-kring-krang-a take down and scatter around, of old thatch;  
  kam-kring-krang-a incompletely burned;  
  pin-kring-krang-a incompletely thatched.

-ku-rak-  *aa.* into pieces, separate:  
  be-ku-rak-a broken into pieces;  
  pit-ku-rak-a split into pieces.

-mit-chi-  *aa.* into small pieces:  
  den-mit-chi-a chop into small pieces;  
  chit-mit-chi-a tear into small pieces;  
  ak-mit-chi-a tear off into small pieces.

-ok-  *aa.* come apart, take apart, separate:  
  sal-ok-a pull out;  
  go-ok-a come apart, come loose;  
  po-ok-a take off, take out, of hats, corks;  
  sol-ok-a carve, as a memorial post.

-ot-  *aa.* let go of, separate from:  
  rong-ot-a take out something round, as a banana from its skin;  
  sil-ot-a push out, as the hand out of a sleeve;
rimsikok-let something escape from one's hand, as a bird one is trying to catch.

-pin-ek- aa. crush: chapsin-ek-a chew into pieces; gapin-ek-a knock down (plants) by walking on them; rimpin-ek-a crush in the hand; jompin-ek-a sick all the time, crushed by disease.

-pri-, -pri-pri- aa. into pieces: akpri-a tear into pieces; gopri-a scatter; denpri-a, denpri-pri-a cut into many small pieces; gitchiptpri-a full of tears; champri-a worn out and in pieces.

-si-ri- aa. gentle, into small pieces: pit-si-ri-a split into small pieces; bisi-ri-a cracked finely, of glass, cup, pot, etc.; ja-si-ri-a on tip-toes; gilsiri-a shed skin, peel off bark.

tet- aa. break off:akiteta pluck off, of flowers, leaves, etc.; sateta pull apart; chikteta bite off.

tip- aa. cover: katip-a cover by tying something over; rimiteta cover with the hands; mttip-a cover over, plug up.

tong- aa. cut or separate, esp. of long and cylindrical pieces: dentonga cut crosswise, cut in two, of a log, etc.; tet-tonga break apart, of string, linear things; chiktonga bite off. tong dns. long and cylindrical: gantonga a cut stalk of a plant such as manioc; gingtonga snout of a pig; jaktong forearm; watong length of bamboo.

0.45 Adverbial Affixes: Time, Speed

dang- aa. with sufficient time, often used with a negative: dangja with insufficient time; rimdang-a finish working, without interruption; cha-dang-a time to eat; a-lap-dang-ja can’t manage to talk, because of interruptions, etc.; chokdang-ja no time to finish writing.

gai-gal-, -gagal- aa. quickly, carelessly, throw away: agangalgal-a speak quickly; dongalgal-a put down quickly, carelessly; aktetgagal-a pick quickly, carelessly, incompletely; pe-gagal-a break and throw away.

-git-ik- aa. suddenly, unexpectedly: sigitik-a die suddenly; sokgitikarijok just arrived unexpectedly; walo-ni dip-at jomgitik-a, ibana manja-jok since nighttime he has been unexpectedly sick and couldn’t come. gitikgitak adv. suddenly, unexpectedly.

-jem-jem- aa. repeatedly constantly: katemjem-a run a lot; dokjemjem-a hit constantly; i-angjemjem-a go repeatedly.

-jring- aa. often, repeatedly, always, constantly, regularly: cha-jring-a always eat; i-angjring-a go all the time.

-rik-rik- aa. repeatedly, piece by piece, constantly, progressively: gu-rikrik-a turn again and again; amrikrik-a want continuously; burikrik-a lie constantly; bangrikrik-a more and more, increase, of prices; dilrikrik-a grow poorer and poorer; dorikrik-a go up and up.
-ring- aa. at the correct time: sok-ring-a arrive at the right time; most often used in the negative: sok-ba-ring-ja not arrive on time; re-ang-ring-ja not go on time.
-ru-ru- aa. for a long time, forcefully: kim-ru-ru-a thunder that seems to move across the sky; dong-ru-ru-a be in the same place for a long time; ak-ru-ru-a pluck for a long time.
-tip-tip- aa. thoroughly, repeatedly: dok-tip-tip-a pat, hit several times, as to soothe a child; ka-tip-tip-a tie thoroughly; ba-ji-tip-tip-a thoroughly tangled; wen-tip-tip-a very tangled; chot-tip-tip-a tear to pieces, of string, etc.

0.46 Adverbial Affixes: Strength, Quantity
-bek-, -bek-bek- aa. freely, forcefully: ron.-bek-a give freely, even against the receiver’s will; wa-bek-bek-a rain a lot, keep raining.
-brap- aa. strong, excessive, uncontrolled: mik-brap-a be dazzled by; ka’-brap-a taste badly, especially from too much salt; ching.-brap-a shine brightly, of a hurricane lamp, fire, etc.; go-brap-a throw, broadcast (seeds) in an excessive or uncontrolled way.
-chet-, -chet-chet- aa. tightly: rim’-chet-chet-a grab hard; gip-ak-chet-a embrace tightly; wen-chet-a wind around tightly.
-chi-rot- aa. a little, a bit: git-tam-chi-rot-a pee just a little; ke-em-chi-rot-a defecate just a little.
-chip- aa. sufficiently, completely, very: ding-chip-a very hot; so-chip-a burn completely.
-chrak- aa. forcefully, uncontrolled: bi-chrak-a break off, as branches in the wind; ki-chrak-a defecate vigorously; ken-chrak-a comb vigorously, as to get out lice; pik-chrak-a pull out strongly, as a tree by its roots, with stones, etc.
-drak- aa. strongly: ring-drak-a drink a lot; wa-drak-a rain heavily; mik-u-drak-a make a loud noise; ring-drak-a sing loudly.
-jep-jep-, -je-jep- aa. hard, forcefully, into pieces: ga’-je-jep-a step with pressure, stamp on; dok-jep-jep-a keep hitting, break into small pieces; chik-jep-jep-a chew hard, chew into pieces.
-jet-, -jet-jet- aa. hard, forcefully: ga’-jet-a, ga’-jet-jet-a grab, hold tight, with feet or legs; on-jet-a, on-jet-dap-a put something heavy on top of something else; sik-jet-a, sik-jet-jet-a push hard, press hard.
-jol-jol-, -jo-jol- aa. via, completely, systematically, continuously: a-gan-jol-jol-a speak continuously, speak at the same time; dok-jol-jol-a hit repeatedly, hit many things; chi-jol-jol along the water, via the water; kat-jol-jol-a run constantly, all the time.
-jret- aa. tightly: ka-jret-a tie tightly; sal-jret-a pull tightly; ga’-jret-a step on hard; sep-jret-a wring out water; pa’-jret-a press medicinal herbs onto the body.
-kam-  
aa. completely, thoroughly: rim'-kam-a keep working, not rest;  
wa-kam-a rain continuously; ron'-kam-a give everything; bam-kam-a  
bent thoroughly over; dong-kam-a live, dwell, stay for a long time.

-kam-  
aa. in a strong degree, very: min-ku-ak-a very ripe; ka-ku-  
ak-a very bitter; sin-ku-ak-a want very much.

-mi-si-  
aa. very, a lot, much: ro'-mi-si-a very long; ak-mi-si-a plucked  
a lot; dal-mi-si-a very big; ring'-mi-si-a sing a lot.

-min-ek-  
aa. soft, squash, crush: jot-min-ek-a poke and make soft,  
crush; ga-min-ek-a step on and squash; rim-min-ek-a squash in the  
hand.

-pak-pak-  
aa. a lot, fast: wa-pak-pak-a rain heavily; ki-pak-pak-a  
defecate a lot.

-prak-  
aa. a lot, strongly, completely: ru-prak-a pour lots of water;  
bi-prak-a break completely; gi-prak-a peeling, of skin; a-gan-prak-a  
explain, say fully; kam-prak-a burn strongly.

-rak-  
aa. strong, fast: gong-rak-a fast; mik-rak-a wake up, strong in  
the eyes; mang-rak-a healthy, strong of body; ding-rak-a strong, of  
long slender things like string; jak-rak-a quick, fast, esp. in working  
with one’s hands, quick at eating.

-sek-  
aa. by force, forcefully: sal-sek-a pull away, take someone by force;  
jik-sek-a steal a wife, take someone else’s woman; ra-sek-a take by  
force.

-srok-  
aa. lightly, loosely, gently, partially, incompletely: dok-srok-a  
hit lightly; ha-bu-srok-a bathe quickly or partially; a-gan-srok-a  
tell partially, not everything; ka-srik-a tie loosely; ken-srok-a comb slowly  
and carefully.

-tat-  
aa. forcefully: dok-tat-a hit forcefully; sik-tat-a grab by force, as  
sons-in-law in the old days; ni-tat-a stare.

0.47 Adverbial Affixes: Personal, Human

-bing-bang-  
aa. carelessly: a-gan-bing-bang-a talk carelessly, without  
thinking; ja-bing-bang-a stumble; cha-bing-bang-a eat carelessly or  
in ignorance.

-git-chi-  
aa. in an insulting way: ka-ding-git-chi-a laugh insultingly;  
in-git-chi-a insult by saying something.

-gok-  
aa. bent over: deng-gok-a bow deeply; geng-gok-a sleep with  
knees drawn up; bam-gok-a bow head or body, bent over, of people.

-gop-  
aa. bent over: chu-gop-a sleep with legs bent up; bi-gop-a  
fallen over, of a tree; bam-gop-a bow deeply, bend over, of people.

-kin-ap-  
aa. comfortable, pleasant: rim-kin-ap-a pleasant to touch,  
soft; dong-kin-ap-a in a good state, comfortable; chu-kin-ap-a sleep  
well, comfortably; pin-kin-ap-a spread comfortably, as a blanket; chu-  
kin-ap-a comfortable for sleeping.
-trip-trip- *aa.* by many, collectively: dok-trip-trip-a hit by many; cha-trip-trip-a eat by many, as insects eat wood; chik-trip-trip-a bit by many, as bees sting people.

0.48 Adverbial Affixes: Derivational

These are the least productive of the adverbial affixes, and they are the most tightly bound to their verb bases. A verb base together with a derivational adverbial affix forms a verb stem. Verb stems act, in most respects, much like verb bases, and they have well defined and conventional meanings. Many derivational affixes are transparently derived from independent verb bases. Some are spelled here with glottal stops. This reflects their derivation from independent verbs, but when used as affixes they most often become the second syllable of a word, and in this position the glottal stop is always dropped. The glottal stop does appear when following a two syllable verb base, however. The derivational affixes vary more in their meaning from one verb to another than do the adverbial affixes listed in earlier sections, but no rigid line sets the derivational affixes apart from the others.

-brekt- *aa.* soft, excessively soft: ki'-brek-a have diarrhea; rim'-brek-a grab with the hands and crush, when eating; nom'-chi-brekt-a cooked too softly; ging-brekt-brekt having a runny nose.

-brot- *aa.* rub, rub against: rim'-brot-a kneed sore muscles, rub off, so as to clean; ga'-brot-a scrape with the foot; not-brot-a rub against something in order to scratch, as an animal does.

-bu- *aa.* excrete inappropriately: git-tam-bu-a wet one’s pants; ke'-em-bu-a defecate in clothes, on a mat like a baby, etc.; el'-bu-a spit up, of a baby.

-chat- *aa.* having to do with emotions, probably derived from cha-'a eat: mik-chat-a love, eat with eyes; kat cha'-a ashamed; ka'-cha-a speak angrily, bawl out.

-chak- *aa.* accept, receive: ra-chak-a accept, receive: ku-ra-chak-a agree, promise; an-chak-a take into the body, be sick; wak-chak-a open mouth to receive food from another; ni-chak-a midwife, one who sees and receives; nok-chak-a accept into one’s home; rim'-chak-a catch a thrown object.

-chak- *aa.* on behalf of, for another person, support: hai-chak-a be understanding, perceptive; ron-chak-a give help; a-gan-chak-a answer, reply; dok-chak-a hit back; ka'-sa-chak-a sympathize; ku-chak-a agree, promise, answer; bi'-chak-a pray for someone; dak-chak-a help; ken-chak-a afraid for someone else; peng-chak-a defend.

-chip- *aa.* without seeing, hidden, shut off: su-chip-a pierce into blindly, without seeing: git-tam-chip-a went one’s pants, wet one’s bed;
rim- -chip-a grab something not seen; sin- -chip-a cool off when the clouds cover the sun.

-chot - aa. finish: cha- -chot-a eat up; bon- -chot-a finish (a job, etc.);
mat- -chot-a finish.

-chot-, -chot-chot - aa. slurp, smack: ku- -chot-a kiss, smack; ring-
chot-a, ring-chot-chot-a slurp, suck on a straw; cha- -chot-chot-a
suckle, suck the breast.

dam-bu - aa. plentifully, lots: mil-dam-bu-a fat, of people, cattle;
ring-dam-bu-a drink a lot; ki- -dam-bu-a defecate plentifully.
dat - aa. touch, bump, strike, hit forcefully: pa- -dat-a touch with palm
of hand; mik-dat-a be dazzled with glare; ni- -dat-a stare.
dip - aa. pause: dong-dip-a stop, pause; cha-deng-dip-a stand for a
bit, pause while walking; na- -dip-a stop hearing for a bit.
gak - aa. fall: gong-gak-a fall off, fall apart, of tools, posts: gak-gak-a
flop, droop, like the head of a small baby, (cf. ga-ak- vi fail).
gek-, -gek-gek - aa. forcefully, in quantity: ru-gek-a pour in a large
 quantity, filter ashes to get soda; ding-gek-a very hot; mal-gek-a very
tame, of an animal; ka- -ding-gek-gek-a laugh loudly, constantly; jom-
gek-gek-a whimper, groan when sick; du- -gek-gek-a feed by force.
gil-gil - aa. on the surface: kam-gil-gil-a burn on the surface; wi- -gil-
gil-a plow shallowly.
gro - aa. lengthwise, on the long dimension: rat-gro-a cut lengthwise;
 git-chit-gro- tear lengthwise; -gro dns. long: bol-gro ridgepole; bi-gro
length.

grop - aa. fall over, collapse: wil-grop-a fall over, as crops in the wind;
bi-grop-a collapse, of walls, houses, trees.
grot - aa. scrape, rub: not-grot-a rub up against something in order to
scratch oneself; mat-grot-a scrape body against something; ge- -grot-a
plant between other plants so as to fill in gaps.
jip - aa. with fanning, flapping: grang-jip-a flap wings slowly; jak-jip-a
beckon, wave.
kan-di - aa. in part, partially: cha- -kan-di-a eat some, leave some; si-
kan-di-a die before time, partway through (normal) life; tong- -kan-di
partway.

kep - aa. hold, grab, squeeze: jak-kep-a hold in a closed fist; pak-sik-
kep-a carry under the arm; ja- -kep-a hold between one’s feet; dang-kep
tongs.

kil-ak - aa. open: sal-kil-ak-a pull open; o-kil-ak-a open a box, covered
pot, etc.; king-kil-ak-a pull up pant leg, skirt, open a book.

krang - aa. open, with space between: ting-krang-a open, of umbrellas;

kang- -krang-a off the ground, as a tree that has fallen only partway;
de- -krang-a resting with one end off the ground, hold a foot in the air.
-krep-  *aa.* crush: rîm'-krep-a grab and crush; dok-krep-a crush by hitting; so'-krep-a cremate, burn a dead body.

-mik-brang-  *aa.* without seeing, fail to notice: i'-mik-brang-a go the wrong way, make a wrong turn; su'-mik-brang-a stab without seeing what is stabbed; ni'-mik-brang-a look past, not notice, miss seeing.

-min-tal-  *aa.* asleep, of body parts, (pins and needles): ja'-min-tal-a leg is asleep; jak-min-tal-a arm is asleep.

-mong-song-  *aa.* most important, main, primary: cha'-mong-song-a eat enough; nok-mong-song main building, house of the senior couple of a household.

-neng-  *aa.* tired: bil-neng-a tired; mik-neng-a don’t want to see, tired of seeing; ja'-neng-a have tired legs; ku'-neng-a tired voice.

-nik-  *aa.* look upon, consider, regard: chon-nik-a feel small, feel inferior, have an inferiority complex; dal'-nik-a look up to, respect, see as large; nom'-nik-a appear to be easy; nam-nik-a like, love, see as good; seng'-nik-a show off, act smart.

-ot-  *aa.* call attention to, pay attention: jak-si-ot-a point to, show; sim-il-ot-a smell, test by smelling; dong-ot-a touch with a finger to call attention; ni-ot-a watch, look at.

-pak-  *aa.* shove, bump, push aside: jit-pak-a shove something to make it move; sik-pak-a push a short distance, knock over; ga'-ping-pak-a push with the foot, kick away; net-pak-a flick off, brush off, with hand or broom; dok-pak-a knock off, as fruit from a tree; han'-pak-a abort (spontaneously), miscarry.

-pang-pil-  *aa.* reversed, backward: jak-pang-pil-a with hand held behind the back; ni-pang-pil-a look backward, over one’s shoulder; di-pang-pil-ek-a upside down.

-pret-  *aa.* explode, burst, make noise, break apart: dok-pret-a hit and break something, as a coconut; gam'-pret-a make a lot of noise, like a gun, airplane; ga'-pret-a burst or squash something with the foot; kim-pret-a thunder; chrik-pret-a scream loudly, squeal, of pigs.

-prong-  *aa.* swirling about in the air: cho-prong-a winnow; dok-prong-a brush off, as dirt from one’s arm; man'-prong-a blow around, of dust, fluff, etc.; sip-prong-a blow off dust, dirt.

-sal-  *aa.* stretch, pull: han'-sal-a stretch the body, as after sleeping; sur-sal-a a slow, stretched out singing style.

-sok-  *aa.* arrive, reach: rang'-sok-a get one’s breath; am-sok-a confident, able to manage; chu-sok-a enough, enough to reach; mik-sok-a hope, suspect.

-sot-  *aa.* kill: ra-sot-a kill by cutting; ak-sot-a kill by twisting neck; rim'-sot-a kill by grabbing, choking; kim-sot-a end an a'-kim relationship between two lineages, (cf. so'-ot-a *vt.* kill).
-srip-, -sip-  aa. slurp, swirl in the mouth: ku-srip-a swirl water in mouth to rinse it; sal-srip-a suck, as on a straw, have a stuffy nose; ring-srip-a slurp, as tea.

-srot-  aa. slip: rim-srot-a let slip with hand; ga-srot-a slip with the feet.

-sru-  aa. overflow: git-u-sru-a boil over; chi-sru-sru overflow, of water from a pot; ki-sru-a have diarrhea; ki-si-sru-a fart a lot.

-su-su-  aa. in part, incomplete: rim-su-su-a do in part, not all; wat-su-su-a weave only part (of a basket).

-su-  aa. wash: jak-su-a wash hands; mik-su-a wash face; su-gal-a wash clothes, dishes, etc.

-tap-  aa. stick to, apply, attach: ma-tap-a apply to the skin, as medicine; sik-tap-a sew on a patch; ga-ak-tap-a fall onto; pa-tap-a glue to, stick to, attach.

-tep-  aa. wrap in folded leaves: cho-tep-a wrap in folded banana leaves; so-tep-a cook in folded banana leaves.

-tim-  aa. stealthily, attentively, continuously: dong-tim-a wait, stay and guard, watch over; ni-tim-a watch attentively, continuously; si-kal-tim-a hunt stealthily; kat-tim-a run off and hide; kin-a-tim-a listen secretively; chok-tim-a write regularly, constantly; i-ang-tim-a go all the time.

-ting-  aa. strike, bump into: nang-ting-grik-a bump into each other; ga-ting-a kick, push with the foot; dok-ting-a strike, knock.

-ting-dat-  aa. bump, strike: su-ting-dat-a strike, poke; ga-ting-dat-a kick something, as a football, push with the feet; nang-ting-dat-a bump into, as into a tree when walking; cha-ting-dat-a bump into, collide.

-to-  aa. good, tasty, beautiful, comfortable: gan-to-a comfortable to wear; ni-to-a beautiful to see; kin-a-to-a beautiful to hear; jak-kal-to-a good to use, comfortable to use; ring-to-a good to drink.

-tring-trang-  aa. thoroughly torn or taken apart, completely: ru-tring-trang-a take completely apart, of a roof, fence, etc.; git-chit-tring-trang-a torn in many places, tattered.

-wak-  aa. scoop: bak-wak-a scoop out dirt with a hoe; chok-wak-a scoop water (with hand, plate, spoon, etc.); su-wak-a scrape up dirt.

-wak-  aa. soft, spoiled: ka-wak-a too strong in taste, too much salt, etc.; re-wak-a soiled, dirty, from ink, dust, etc.; chi-wak-a cooked too soft, of tubers, etc.

-wang-  aa. open wide: pa-wang-a open, of an umbrella; jak ba-wang-a hold the arms wide.

0.5 Echoes

The echoes listed here are but a small fraction of the total number available to speakers. Indeed, since echoes can be at least semi-productively formed, it is impossible to list them all. The examples are meant to suggest their flavor. The selection is biased in favor of the more conventionalized and less freely generated echoes, and these conventional echoes sometimes deviate more from the word they echo than do those that are more productively constructed. The examples are listed together with the echoed word because it is in the nature of echoes that they are used only with an antecedent. The antecedents can be used without their echoes, of course, but the echoes come very easily to speakers. Some echoes, but by no means all, have an independent existence as words in their own right, but their meaning as echoes may not be exactly the same as when used alone. A few echoes have been borrowed from Bengali along with their antecedent words. As the examples demonstrate, echoes almost always have the same number of syllables as their antecedents, they generally share some vowels or consonants, and they often share complete syllables. Identical suffixes are often used with both the echoed word and its echo. Speakers greatly enjoy the rhetorical flourishes that echoes make possible.

a-sek-ki  pro. echo in a-mik-ka a-sek-ki someone.
a'-pi-a  vi. echo in chol-i-a a'-pi-a getting along, not rich, not poor.
au'-cha-a  n. echo in a-je-a au'-cha-a a chanting type of song.
ang-ga-ri  n. echo in cha-wa-ri ang-ga-ri son-in-law.
ang-ka-a  vt. echo in ku-mong-a ang-ka-a consult, discuss, agree.
be-suk  n. echo in o-suk be-suk sick. <B
bok-a  vi. echo in nam-a-bok-a good; reflects the association of whitness with goodness.
bor-ga  n. echo in ba-gi bor-ga sharecropping. <B
cha-a  vt. echo in dok-a cha-a and den-a cha-a attack.
cha'-nap-a  vi. echo in ni-to-a cha'-nap-a good to look at and to eat, beautiful and tastes good.
cha'-si-a  vi. echo in cha'-dik-a cha'-si-a taste bad, bad to eat.
chak-ka-a  vi. echo in ding-du-a chak-ka-a have a fever.
chang-rik-a  vt. echo in peng'-rik-a chang-rik-a block off.
chu-peng-a  vt. echo in chu-peng-a dong-peng-a lie on a path to block it.
dan-dan-o  lw. echo in se-pang-o dan-dan-o near: se-pang-o dan-dan-o al-ap-e gol-po-e dong-na nam-a It is fine to sit close and to chat and tell stories, is fine.
de-chi-a  vt. echo in de-bri-a de-chi-a shake, toss about.
don-sam-a  vt. echo in don-u-a don-sam-a hide.
dong-si-a  vi. echo on dong-dik-a dong-si-a in a bad state, uncomfortable.
dong-su-sak-a  vi. echo in dong-ru-rak-a dong-su-saki-a unable to sit still, restless.
el-ok-a  vi. echo in bu-su-a el-ok-a cough.
ga-dom-a  vi. echo in me-li-a ga-dom-a get along well, without quarrelling. <B

gar-a  vi. echo in nap-a gar-a visit, (lit. enter step): nap-grik-a gar-grik-a visit back and forth.
gin-a  vt. echo in dok-a gin-a create, by god.
Gin-gip-a  n. a name for the Christian God, usually an echo in Dok-gip-a Gin-gip-a the forger.
gong-rak-e  adv. echo in jak-rak-e gong-rak-e quickly, fast.
ha-si  n. echo in ha-kim ha-si the relation between two lineages formed by a marriage.
in-grik-a  vi. echo in ni-ri-a in-grik-a get along badly, quarrel.
ja-ka-ri  n. echo in ja-ju-mang ja-ka-ri dream.
ja-chan-a  vt. echo in ja-rik-a ja-chan-a follow another person’s tracks.
ja-rik-i  n. echo in bi-sim-ol ja-rik-i rice that ripens late and that is left at the first harvest to be collected later.
jak-sel-a  vi. echo in an-sel-a jak-sel-a healthy.
jam-ap  n. echo in nok-kap jam-ap house site, plot.
ka-dik-a  vt. echo in sik-dik-a ka-dik-a catch and tie up a thief.
ka-dik-a  vt. echo in sik-dik-a ka-dik-a catch and tie up a thief.
kat-chi  n. echo in mit-e kat-chi spirits.
ki-rong  n. echo in a-tot ki-rong property of a single individual, as opposed to family property.
kur-chot-a  vt. echo in kur-dim-a kur-chot-a kiss, smack.
kur-ma-sa  vt. echo in ku-mi-si ku-ma-sa whisper.
ma-dok-a  vt. echo in ma-ring-a ma-dok-a miss someone, long for.
mai-ja  vi. echo in dong-ja mai-ja don’t have, doesn’t exist, or with any other negative verb.
mat-te, mat-ti  n. echo in ma-su mat-te cattle.
mesa-a  vi. echo in grika mesa-a dance with sword and shield.
mi-ring  n. echo in ha-king mi-ring property, possessions, implying the possessions of a rich person.
mik-ta  
\text{n.}  \text{echo in gi-sik mik-ta mind.}

min'-ti-sa  
\text{n.}  \text{echo in ak-ki-sa min'-ti-sa a little.}

mok-at  
\text{n.}  \text{echo in chok-at mok-at door.}  \text{<B}

ni-sam-a  
\text{vt.}  \text{echo in ni-rok-a ni-sam-a look after for: ni-to-a ni-sam-a beautiful.}

ni-si-a  
\text{vi.}  \text{echo in ni-dik-a ni-si-a ugly to look at.}

no-sta  
\text{n.}  \text{echo in na-sta no-sta breakfast, snack.}  \text{<B}

pal-ong-gi  
\text{adv.}  \text{echo in al-ong-gi pal-ong-gi without possessions.}

pu-ti  
\text{n.}  \text{echo in na-ti pu-ti grandchild.}  \text{<B}

rak-rak-a  
\text{vi.}  \text{echo in tak-tak-a rak-rak-a make a tapping sound, as the sound of beating a finger on the table, of typing.}

rang-sing-do-a  
\text{vi.}  \text{echo in bi-ka so-a rang-sing-do-a angry.}

rep-a  
\text{vt.}  \text{echo in sol-a rep-a carve off surface.}

sa-chak-a  
\text{vt.}  \text{echo in ron-chak-a sa-chak-a contribute.}

sel-sel-a  
\text{vi.}  \text{echo in del-del-a sel-sel-a have the sound of a broken machine, bad drumhead.}

si-a  
\text{vi.}  \text{echo in tok-a si-a spotted.}

sin-ing-a  
\text{vt.}  \text{echo in kal-ak-a sin-ing-a fool around, lead astray, as what a husband does with another woman.}

so-a  
\text{vi.}  \text{echo in bo-a so-a fool around, joke.}

sur-ru-ru  
\text{adv.}  \text{echo in jot-ru-ru sur-ru-ru poke into.}

tang-nap-a  
\text{vi.}  \text{echo in at-chi-a tang-nap-a be born.}  \text{vi.}  \text{get into, fit into a hole; enter into, as a bug in the eye, insect into fire; go to live with, as a new son-in-law; change groups, change ethnicities, as when a Mandi becomes a Bengali.}

tat-chi  
\text{n.}  \text{echo in chat-chi tat-chi kinsmen.}

tek-rak-a  
\text{vt.}  \text{echo in rong-kal-a tek-rak-a joke, tease, fool around.}

ton-tro  
\text{n.}  \text{echo in mon-tro ton-tro ritual chant.}  \text{<B}

wa-da  
\text{n.}  \text{echo in wa-chi wa-da rainy season.}

wa-wil-a  
\text{vt.}  \text{echo in ku-ching-a wa-wil-a threaten.}

\textbf{0.6 Interjections}

By definition, interjections are words that are poorly integrated into the syntax of the language. They are not generally incorporated into sentences. Such words often express emotions or attitudes, and they have no need of syntactic ties to other words. Some interjections conform to the conventional phonology of the language, but some do not. Those that deviate from the usual phonology are listed in section 0.62, and it is in their nature that conventional spelling is incapable of accurately representing their unconventional sounds. Those that conform more closely to the usual phonological patterns of Mandi are listed in section 0.64.
0.62 Relatively Non-Language Like.

- *int.* no (an ill-defined and quite variable vocalization including a rising intonation with slight voicing that is terminated abruptly with a glottal stop).

- *int.* yes. (a vocalization that can be a vowel or an m, with the distinguishing feature being a glottal stop in its middle).

*ai-a* *int.* isn’t that so?, an expression that seeks and expects, agreement. This is characterized by a gently falling intonation, and it can have any fairly neutral vowel or even be represented by m.

*ai-ma* *int.* ow!, an expression used when hurt.

*ai-ow!* *int.* ow!, like *ai-a*, this is an expression of pain, but it is likely to be pronounced more slowly, and to be associated with pain that is less sharp but longer lasting.

*che, che-che-che-che* *int.* don’t! an expression of dislike, disapproval and disgust; sometimes used with children as a reprimand.

*de* *int.* indication of agreement to a request.

*de-de-de-de* *int.* comforting sound made to a crying baby.

*ha* *int.* word used when giving something to someone, here, please take it,

*iis, i-si* *int.* yuck, expression of disgust.

*m* *int.* a murmur made in agreeing to an order or request; it may begin with a nondescript vowel.

*u-a* *int.* pause form, used when hesitating.

0.64 Language-Like Exclamations, Mandi

*ai-au* *int.* oh my, dear me, wow!, an expression of surprise, wonder, or dismay.

*ak-kai* *int.* an expression indicating that one has misspoken, made a mistake; I mean.

*bil-e* *int.* I suppose, it is said.

*da-nang* *int.* oh dear!, alas!, how sad!, an expression of dismay or sympathy.

*ha-ri, ha-ri-bo, a-ri-bo* *int.* lets go!, an expression used to encourage the start of an activity.

*ha-we, ha’-wi, ho-’we, a’-we, a-we, we, u-e, hu-e-ro, ho* *int.* yes.

*hai, hai-bo, hai-ba-bo* *int.* lets go!, an expression used to get action started.

*hai-da* *int.* I don’t know, (A-chik).

*i-a* *int.* an expression that fills time while gathering one’s thoughts.

*ka-cha-ra* *int.* bravo!, shouted while dancing with a head hunting sword.

*ka’-sa-pa’e* *int.* please, a somewhat artificial translation from English.

*ke-ma ka’-bo, ke-ma ka’-pa-bo* *int.* a somewhat artificial translation of English ‘excuse me’.
**Lexicon**

**ma int.** what?, what did you say?

**ma'-bai, ma'-ki, mai-ba int.** hesitation form used when collecting one's thoughts.

**mit-tel-a int.** somewhat artificial translation of English ‘thank you’.

**mu-a-hai int.** what’s this?, what’s happening?

**nam-e dong-a-ma? int.** how are you?, are you alright? a greeting that is probably a fairly recent innovation, but one that is used more often than the other artificial translations of English courtesy forms, (A-chik: nam-eng-a-ma?).

**sa-di-a int.** dear me!

**sal-nam int.** somewhat artificial translation of English ‘good day’.

**te int.** yes, indicates generalized agreement rather than specific confirmation of a question.

**wal-nam int.** a somewhat artificial translation of English ‘good night’.

### 0.66 Language-Like Exclamations, Bengali

Because interjections are used outside of much syntactic context, they are easy to borrow, and Mandis have borrowed many from Bengali.

**ar-ki int.** that is the way it is, concluding pause form, (lit. what else?). <B

**at-cha int.** fine, okay, right, yes. <B

**bap-a-ri-bap, ba-ba, o-ba-ba int.** exclamations showing surprise or wonder. <B

**ho-ri-ho-ri int.** get away, move! <B

**ki ja-ni? int.** who knows? <B

**mo-ne-hoi int.** I suppose so. <B

**na int.** no. <B

**no-mo-skar int.** a Hindu greeting. <B

**sal-a int.** brother-in-law, a scolding word, used as an insult. <B

### 0.7 Kata Jik-Se, Wife-Husband Words

These compounds are formed from pairs of words with related meanings, but the compound has a more abstract meaning than either of its constituent words. The Mandis themselves refer to these paired words as ka-ta jik-se which means, literally, ‘wife-husband words’, and this name is, itself, an example of what it describes, since when used together the compound means ‘couple, spouses’. Typical examples are given here, but there are many others.

**a-ma-ang-jong n.** members of one’s own matrilineal kin group, (lit. mother-younger brother).

**am-bi-at-chu n.** grandfather and grandmother, old people, ancestors.
an'-tam-pring  n. all the time, (lit. evening-morning).
do-mat, du-mat  n. animals generally, both wild and domestic, (lit. birds and squirrels).
dok-a sik-a  vt. play musical instruments, (lit. beat and blow).
gan-a chin-a  n. clothing, general term.
hai'-man-a ku-man-a  vph. clever, good at language.
han jak, han'-o jak-o  n. entire body, on the whole body: han-jak nam-a healthy.
mat-cha mak-bil  n. wild animals, (lit. tigers and bears).
me'-dik sam-dik, mi'-dik sam-dik  n. cooking pots and pans, (lit. rice-pot curry-pot).
nok-jam  n. property, (lit. house-granary).
sok-me ja'-ping  n. breasts and thighs, temptations for men.
1.0 GRAMMATICAL AND FUNCTION WORDS

1.1 Postpositions

1.11 Space

a'-sam-o  *pp.* beside, next to, (follows genitive -ni): ang-ni a'-sam-o beside me.

bak  *pp.* side, position, in the direction of, (follows locative -cha): a-ma-cha bak on the maternal side; mik-kang-cha bak toward the front; u'-cha bak on that side.

gi-sep-o  *pp.* between, among, (follows genitive -ni).

ja'-pang, ja'-pang-o  *pp.* near, beside, at the base of, (follows genitive -ni). ja'-pang *n.* foot of a mountain.

ja'-sam-o  *pp.* beside, (follows genitive -ni).

jak-ra-cha bak  *ppp.* on the right hand side.

jang-gil-o, jang-gil-cha  *pp.* behind, in back of, (follows genitive -ni), (A.chik).

jol-jol, jo-jol  *pp.* via, along a path, road, river, (follows nominative): chi jol-jol along the water; bring jol-jol via the forest; a-sam jol-jol along the edge, of a field, etc. -jol-jol-, -jo-jol- *aa.* via, completely, systematically, continuously: a-gan-jol-jol-a speak continuously, speak at the same time; dok-jol-jol-a hit repeatedly, hit many things; kat-jol-jol-a run constantly, all the time.

ka'-ma, ka'-ma-o, ka'-ma-cha  *pp.* below, under; down river, (follows genitive -ni).

ket-chi-o, ket-chi-cha  *pp.* at the side of, beside, on the side, (follows genitive -ni). -ket-chi- *aa.* to the side, crosswise: chit-ket-chi-a cut bamboo strips crosswise to the inner and outer edges; ni-ket-chi-a look to the side; pit-ket-chi-a cut off with a cut perpendicular to the surface.

ki'-sang-o, ki'-sang-cha  *pp.* behind, in back of, (follows genitive -ni), (lit. at the buttocks of).

kok-kim-a-o  *pp.* underneath, (follows genitive -ni), (A.chik).

mik-kang-o, mik-kang-cha  *pp.* in front of, in the presence of, (follows genitive -ni).
ning-.a, ning-.a-o, ning-.a-cha pp. inside, of a house, box, mouth; under, a table, under ground, (follows nominative): ang-ni bik-ma ning-a-o inside my stomach.
sak-a-o, sak-a-cha pp. above, on top of, beyond, (follows genitive -ni): nok-ni sak-a-o on top of the house.
sak-a-pong, sak-a-pong-o pp. top, on top, on the surface of, (follows genitive -ni): chi-ni sak-a-pong-o on the surface of the water.
sam-ba-o pp. near, beside, from nearby, (follows genitive -ni), (A’chik).
se-pang, se-pang-o, si-pang, si-pang-o, si-pang-cha pp. near, close by, (follows genitive -ni).

1.12 Time
dip-at, dip-et, stip-at, stip-et pp. 1. since, (follows augmented locative -o-ni): me-ja-o-ni dip-at since yesterday; jak be-o-ni dip-at gam rim-na man-ja-ing-jok I haven’t been able to work since breaking my arm. 2. until, up to, as long as, (follows augmented locative -o-na): am-bin-o-na dip-at until tomorrow; chu-ti-o-na dip-at until the holidays; man-a dip-at as much as possible.
kim-king pp. until, up to, (follows dative -na): sal-ja-chi-o-na king-king until noon.
po-re, po-re-po-re, por, por-por, po-ro pp. after, (follows genitive -ni): i-ni po-re after this. <B
skang pp. before, (follows dative -na): ang-na skang mi cha-bo eat before me.

1.13 Cause
a-sel, a-sel-o, ha-sel-o pp. because of, for the reason, (follows genitive -ni): in-i a-sel because of this.
-et-, -it- aa. causative: nam-et-a make good, improve; chip-et-a close, cause to be closed, (A’chik: -at-.
gan-da pp. 1. as for, concerning, by contrast, instead, on the other hand, (follows nominative): ang-a gan-da i-ang-na man-ja as for me, I cannot go. 2. because of, therefore, on account of, (follows dative -na or occasionally genitive -ni): ang-na gan-da because of me.
gim-in pp. because of, due to, (follows genitive -ni): neng-be-a-ni gim-in because of being very tired.
mik-ta pp. because, on account of, for that reason, (follows genitive -ni).
Echo in gi-sik mik-ta mind.
pal pp. because, on account of, (follows genitive -ni).
1.16 With, Without, In Addition To, Instead, By Means Of, (cf. 2.11 Location)

a-gre *pp.* except for, other than, in addition to, (follows genitive -ni: na-song-ni a-gri other than you all, in addition to you. *adv.* too, excessively.

gin-ang *pp.* with, including, along with, (follows nominative): ang-a gin-ang along with me.

gri *pp.* without, (follows nominative): ang-a gri without me.

grim *pp.* together, close together, in a group, thick with, (follows -ming): ang-ming grim together with me. -grim- *aa.* together: pin-grim-a thatch together, in a group of people; nam-grim-a get along, be friendly; in-grim-a talk at the same time.


1.17 Comparisons, Like, Such

bat-e, bat-i *pp.* more than, (follows dative -na): ang-na bat-e dal-a bigger than me.

stip-at, stip-et, dip-at *pp.* as much as.

1.2 Questions and Answers

1.21 Question Words

ba-, bat- *qw.* what? combining forms only, not used with the nominative but with most other case markers; bat- is used only before locative -cha and its augmented forms.

ba-dak-a *qw.* how?, what kind of?

ba-di *qw.* how?, which way?: ba-di ra-ma? which road?


ba-di-ta *qw.* how many, how much, (A·chik).

ba-dik-e, ba-dik-i, bai-dik-e, ba-dik-e dak-a *qw.* how?, in what way?: ba-dik-e dak-e chu-no-a? how do (you) sleep? (on your back, side, etc.).

ba-gip-a *qw.* which?, which of several?, of people or things: ba-gip-a me-chik? which women?; ba-gip-a-na ron-no-a? to whom will you give it?; ba-gip-a-ko ra-no-a? which will you take?; ba-gip-a-ba-gip-a? which ones?

ba-git-a *qw.* in which way, by what route?

ba-no-na *qw.* where to?

ba-no-ni *qw.* where from?
ba-o, ba-no qw. where, where at?: bo-stu-ko ba-no don-a-ming? where (did you) put the things?: ba-no-ba-no where all (is it)?.


ba-sok-o qw. when? (A-chik).

bai-sik, bai-sik qw. how much?, how many?: bai-sik ni ro-a? how long?: bai-sik a-rim-jok? how late? Often used with a classifier plus -sa one: bai-sik kan-sa te-bil how many tables?: bai-sik gles-sa chi how many glasses of water?: bai-sik sal-sa? how many days?

bai-sik ba-ji-jok, bai-sik ba-ji-a qw. what time is it? (lit. how much has (the clock) struck?).

bat-cha qw. where?, where to?, where from?: bat-cha dong-a where is (it)?; bat-cha-na re-ang-ing-a? where are (you) going?: bat-cha-ni i-ba-ing-a? where are (you) coming from?

-ma ts. question marker for yes-no questions.


mai qw. what? (alternate of mu-a, (primarily A-chik).


-na ts. isn’t it?, question particle which often anticipates a positive answer.


sa-gip-a qw. who?: which?, of several people; sa-gip-a-ko nik-jok which person (did you) see?

sa-sa qw. who all?

sa-wa qw. who? (A-chik).

1.24 Answers

– int. no. (an ill-defined and quite variable vocalization including a rising intonation with slight voicing that is terminated abruptly with a glottal stop).

– int. yes. (a vocalization that can be a vowel or an m, with the distinguishing feature being a glottal stop in its middle).

de int. indication of agreement to a request.

ha-we, ha-wi, ho-we, a-we, a-we, we, u-e, hu-e-ro, ho int. yes.

hai-da int. I don’t know, (A-chik).

hai-ja vi. (I) don’t know.
m  int. a murmur made that shows agreement to an order or request, it may begin with a nondescript vowel.

na  int. no, not. <B

te  int. yes, indicates generalized agreement rather than specific confirmation of a question.

1.3 Classifiers and Measures

Classifiers are defined here as any morpheme that can be followed directly by a number. Defined in this inclusive way, classifiers come in many varieties, and several types can be distinguished. The time units are unique in occurring without a noun. Weights and measures refer to a fixed quantity, and many are borrowed. Some of the most common classifiers suggest something about the shape of the things counted. In addition to those listed in the following sections, the name of any container can be used as a classifier that specifies the amount that can be held in that container. Those grouped in section 1.31 are the most commonly used classifiers.

1.31 Classifiers, General

ak-, sak-    cls. classifier for people, occasionally for ghosts, spirits, gods.
chang-    cls. classifier for number of times, the number of times something has been done.
dam-    cls. classifier for places: villages, fields, houses, windows, doors.
-dam    dns. place: dong-dam living place; mang-ru-dam grave; dam-dam always at the same place.
ge-, gi-    cls. general classifier, residual category classifier for objects that lack any other clear classifier, esp. for small man-made objects, pens, cups, houses, etc., (A’chik).
kan-    cls. general classifier, residual category classifier, esp. for man-made objects that lack any other clear classifier: shoes, glasses, hats, ears, houses, doors, lights, letters, books, baskets, etc.
mang-    cls. classifier for animals, including mammals, birds, insects, etc., occasionally for ghosts, spirits: tam-pi mang-sa one fly.
iming-    cls. classifier for incorporeal and abstract things, diseases, songs, colors, spirits, ideas.
rang-    cls. classifier for number of times.
ro-kom-    cls. classifier for kinds, varieties. <B

1.32 Classifiers, Shape

ding-    cls. classifier for long thin things: hairs, cords, strings, pieces of cane, wire, roads, etc.
dot-    cls. classifier for posts, lengths of bamboo, stalks, unsplit pieces of firewood, rice seedlings, etc.
king- *cls.* classifier for flat things, ears, leaves and esp. for paper and things made from paper, including books, but not cloth.

kol- *cls.* classifier for holes such as windows, doorways, holes in the ground or in a tree.

pang- *cls.* classifier for trees, stalks, individual trunks of a banana plant, plants, rice seedlings.

pat- *cls.* classifier for things made of cloth, shirts, lunggies, quilts; for units of paper money, taka.

pel- *cls.* classifier for flat things such as boards and things made from boards, furniture; for flat pieces of firewood.

pong- *cls.* classifier for long cylindrical things, biris, cigarettes, memorial posts, blowing horns (which have a long cylindrical mouthpiece), injections (because they are administered with a cylindrical needle). *-pong* 

dns. cylindrical: bi-pong handle of a tool; jak-pong upper arm.

rong- *cls.* classifier for round and spherical things, for large pots, fruit, eyes, coins.

tom- *cls.* classifier for bellies, round things. *-tom* *aa.* round, make round: jak-tom-a make a fist; ka-tom-a tie in a bundle. *-tom* *dns.* round, bunched: jak-tom fist; dik-tom large round pot; a-tom stomach.

tong- *cls.* classifier for lengths, pieces cut crosswise, of bamboo, wood, firewood, part of a broken pencil, lengthwise section, slices of a banana. *-tong* *aa.* cut or separate, esp. of long and cylindrical pieces: den-tong-a cut crosswise, cut in two, of a log, etc.; tet-tong-a break apart, of string, linear things; chik-tong-a bite off. *-tong* *dns.* long and cylindrical: gan-tong a cut stalk of a plant such as manioc; ging-tong snout of a pig; jak-tong forearm; wa-tong length of bamboo.

1.33 Classifiers, Time Units


bil-si- *cls.* classifier for years. *n.* year.

gon-ta- *cls.* classifier for hours. *n.* bell, gong.

ja- *cls.* classifier for months.

sal- *cls.* classifier for days. *n.* day, daytime; 24 hours; sun.

sop-ta- *cls.* classifier for weeks.

wal- *cls.* classifier for nights.

1.34 Classifiers: Bunches, Bundles, Loads

bu-ja- *cls.* classifier for loads, bundles that can be carried such as loads of firewood, thatch, etc. *<B*

chong- *cls.* classifier for an entire banana plant that consists of several stalks.
**dol-**  
*cls.* classifier for rolled up bundles of leaves, usually banana leaves to be used as dishes.

**gal-wang-**  
*cls.* classifier for small bunches of bananas, about eight fruit.

**gip-ak-**  
*cls.* classifier for loads, as firewood.

**kan-da-**  
*cls.* classifier for small bunches of bananas, about eight fruit.

**mu-ri**  
*cls.* classifier for tied bundles of rice stalks. <B

**pal-**  
*cls.* classifier for leaf bundles, portions of rice or curry held in a banana leaf.

**pek-**  
*cls.* classifiers for packs of cigarettes. <E

**sreng-**  
*cls.* classifier for single bunches of thatch.

### 1.35 Classifiers: Groups

**al-i-**  
*cls.* classifier for a collection of four fruit, esp. for bananas. <B

**chong-bak-**  
*cls.* classifier for close bunches of growing fruit or plants, litchis, onion plants, beans.

**dol-**  
*cls.* classifier for sides, teams, groups of people. <B

**jo-ra-, ju-ra-, jur**  
*cls.* classifier for pairs, teams of animals. <B

**ma-**  
*cls.* classifier for groups of chicks with a mother hen.

**ma-**  
*cls.* classifier for hundreds, generally for takas, the Bangladeshi currency unit.

**tim-**  
*cls.* classifier for groups of animals, people, houses, small mounds of earth, etc.

### 1.36 Classifiers: Weights and Measures

Two kinds of measures are grouped together in this section. The traditional measures of length and size all seem to have been based upon parts of the human body. The modern weights and measures have been borrowed, some from other languages of the subcontinent, others from English or from international usage. These are now widely used in marketing but the traditional measures continue to be used when less precision is needed.

**cho-om-**  
*cls.* classifier for the amount that can be held in an open hand.

**do-ra-**  
*cls.* classifier for unit of weight equal to 5 seers, about five kilos. <B

**iin-chi-**  
*cls.* classifier for inches. <E

**jak-am-, jak-em-**  
*cls.* classifier for the amount held in a closed hand.

**jap-ak-**  
*cls.* classifier for armsful, as leaves, firewood, etc.

**ke-ji-**  
*cls.* classifier for kilograms. <E

**kru-**  
*cls.* classifier for spans from the thumb to the end of the middle finger or little finger.

**man-de-, man-di-**  
*cls.* classifier for the height of a person: **man-de-gin-ing** twice as tall as a person.
man-de-ming jak-ming  cls. classifier for the height from the ground to the tip of a person’s upstretched fingers, (lit. person-with-arm-with).

mik-  cls. classifier for units of measure from the tip of the middle finger to the elbow, cubit.

mik-tom-  cls. classifier for units of length from the elbow to the end of the clenched fist.

mon-  cls. classifier for maunds, a measure of weight, 40 seers, about 37 kilograms. <B

put-  cls. classifier for feet, 12 inches. <E

ser-, sel-  cls. classifier for seers, an Indian unit of weight, approximately one kilogram. <B

1.37 Classifiers: Pieces and Parts (cf. 3.347 Portions, Parts, 0.44 Adverbial A±xes: Pieces; 5.87 Parts of Objects)

gil-  cls. classifier for crosswise slices, as loops of pineapple, etc.

kon-dok-  cls. classifier for sections, rooms.

ku-rak-  cls. classifier for the split pieces of a length of bamboo, for lengthwise pieces of papaya, etc.

ku-  cls. classifier for mouths, words, bits of language; mouthful of solid foods; doors, gongs; single split sticks of firewood. ku- cp. prefix for the mouth and surrounding area: ku-sik mouth; ku-sim-ang beard; ku-chil lip.

ma-  cls. classifier for the number of pieces crossed together by a perpendicular piece in weaving a basket, for small pieces of areca nut.


pak-  cls. classifier for halves, half an areca nut, half a fruit, half lengthwise pieces of bamboo; sal pak-sa half a day; le-ka pak-sa one side of a piece of paper; the other side: ra-ma pak-sa the other side of the road.

pak-sa  n. the other side, of a road, etc.; half: sal pak-sa half a day.] C99:63, ba-tor pak-sa cha, on the other side of the ba-tor(dike). 137 dem-cls classifier for folds.

pak-sam-  cls. classifier for sides, as sides of a sheet of paper, of a coin.

pak-tang-  cls. classifier for sides, of a coin, a sheet of paper, (same as pak-sam).

pet-tang-  cls. classifier for buttocks.

pu-ta-  cls. classifier for drops; spots, as spots of color on a lunggi; forehead cosmetic spots. <B

sri-  cls. classifier for lengthwise slices, of papaya, etc. sri-a vt. to slice lengthwise.

tal-i-  cls. classifier for rice fields, single rice fields surrounded by a dike.

tim-  cls. classifier for sections (git-tim) of a village.
tin-  cls. classifier for chunks, pieces of things, as pieces of meat, tubers, lumps of earth, etc.
ting-chang-  cls. classifier for sections of a building divided by a barrier:
ting-chang-gin-i two sections of a building, two rooms.
weng-  cls. classifier for lengths of bamboo between two nodes.

1.38 Classifiers, Miscellaneous

This last group of classifiers consists merely of those that do not fit comfortably into any of the groups given above. Perhaps their major interest is to show how impossible it is to devise an entirely logical classification.

bil-  cls. classifier for hits or kicks.
bol-  cls. classifier for trees, axes, bamboo knives, drums.
dang-ga-  cls. classifier for takas, units of currency: dang-ga-bri four taka.
do-ba-  cls. classifier for rice fields, area surrounded by a dike.
geng-  cls. classifier for rice seedlings, blades of grass, thatch.
gong-  num. two takas, a two taka note; an idiosyncratic and idiomatic meaning where ‘one taka’ would seem to be a more reasonable translation, (cf. gong-bing-a five takas).
grok-  cls. classifier for amounts drunk at one time.
ja-gam-  cls. classifier for steps, foot prints.
jak-  cls. classifier for leaves: i-sal jak-sa one banana leaf.
nok-  cls. classifier for families, households, for what is held in a house.
pil-  cls. classifier for coins.
poi-  cls. classifier used in chants at sacrifices.
sam-  cls. classifier for any bilateral body part, hands, eyes, etc.
song-  cls. classifier for villages.
teng-  cls. classifier for the steps of a ladder.
ti-  cls. classifier for pots, water jugs (gim-bi), etc.
tot-  cls. classifier for drops, freckles, anthills, heads, mountains.

1.4 Conjunctions and Relatives

Conjunctions are less prominent in Garo than in English, and many of the jobs that conjunctions do in English are accomplished by suffixes in Garo. This section lists only words, not suffixes. Many of the words that do act like conjunctions seem, in origin at least, to be constructed from a number of parts, though the parts have generally been glued quite tightly together into conventional forms. In the absence of their own conjunctions, Garos, especially Mandis, have borrowed a few from Bengali.

a-ro-ba  conj. moreover, used only in positive sentences. <B
ar  conj. and, in addition. <B
**ar-ba** *conj.* any more, used only in negative sentences as not any more:

*ar-ba dong-ja* there isn’t any more.

**i-ni-ku-no, in-i-ku-no, hin’-i-ku-no** *conj.* then, moreover, in addition.

**i-ni gim-in** *conj.* therefore, for that reason; a semi-lexicalized form that acts like a conjunction.

**i-ni-ko, hi-ni-ko, i-ni-ko, in-i-ko** *conj.* then, in addition, moreover.

**i-no, hi-no, in-o, i-o** *conj.* then, and then, at that time.

**in-dak-e, in-dak-i, in-di-dak-e, hin-di-dak-e, in-dik-e** *conj.* in this way, like this; this looks like a complex morphological form with an underlying meaning something like ‘doing like this’ but it has been well lexicalized.

**in-di-ba, hin-di-ba** *conj.* but, however: **re-ang-na ha-sik-a in-di-ba man’ja** (I) want to go but cannot.

**in-di-o-ba hin-di-o-ba** *conj.* but anyway, in spite of: **dok-be-jok in-di-o-ba grap-ja** (he was) hit a lot but even so doesn’t cry.

**in-i-ko, hin-i-ko** *conj.* in addition, moreover.

**je-mon, je-mon-je** *conj.* for example, for instance. &lt;B

**jo-di** *conj.* if. &lt;B

**kin-tu** *conj.* but, however. &lt;B

**ong-ja-o-ba** *conj.* or, if not.

**tar-por, tar-pore, ta-ba-de, tar-ba-de, tar-ba-de-se, ta-har, tar** *conj.* then, after that. &lt;B

**to-bu, to-bu-o-ba, to-bu-ba, tao, tao-ba, to-be, to-ba** *conj.* but anyway, in spite of. &lt;B

**u-ni-ko, u-ni-ko** *conj.* besides, in addition, and then.

**u-ni-ku-no, u-ni-ku-no** *conj.* in addition.

**u-no, hu-no, u-no** *conj.* then, and then, at that time.

### 1.5 Demonstratives

**ha-wa, a-wa** *dem.* that far one, way over there.

**ha-wa-dang, a-wa-dang** *dem.* those far ones, way over there.

**hai-wa, ai-wa** *dem.* that distant one, the one way over there.

**i-a** *dem.* this: **i-a song** this village. it (close): **i-a dal’-a** it is big, this is big. this (for units of time): **i-a bil-si-o** this year; **i-a ja-o** this month;

**i-a sop-ta-o** this week. **i-, i-** combining form: **i-ni nik-jok** (I) saw this; **i-ni gim-in** because of this; **i-git-a dak-bo** do like this.

**i-a-dang, i-a-drang, i-a-rang, i-dang, i-drang** *dem.* these.

**u-a** *dem.* that, it; combining form **u-**: **u-cha den’-bo** cut with that;

**u-ni sam-ba-o** beside that. **u-a int.** pause form, used when hesitating.

**u-a-dang, u-a-drang, u-a-rang, u-dang, u-drang** *dem.* those.
1.6 Pronouns

1.62 Pronouns: Personal (cf. 1.5 Demonstratives)

an-ching pro. we inclusive, you and I, you and we, (A’chik).
ang-a pro. I; combining form: ang-: ang-ko me; ang-ni my.
bi-a pro. he, she; combining forms: bi-; bi-ko him, her; bi-na to him, to her; bi-ni his, her.
bi-si-mang pro. they.
bi-song pro. they: bi-song-ko them; bi-song-ni their.
ching-a pro. we exclusive, I and someone, but not you, us; combining form: ching-.
i-song pro. they, (variant of bi-song).
na-a pro. you singular; combining form: nang-; nang-ko you accusative; nang-ni your.
na-ching pro. we inclusive, you and I, you and we.
nan-ong, na-ong pro. you plural, (mainly Modhupur, same as na-song).
nana-si-mang pro. you plural, (A’chik).
nana-song pro. you plural: nana-song-ni your, plural.
nang- pro. combining form of na-a you singular.
un-a-mang pro. they, (A’chik).

1.64 Pronouns: Reflexive, Relative, Indefinite

a-mik-ka pro. an unknown or hypothetical person; someone.
a-na-ri n. someone else; extra person; non-relative, outsider.
a-sek-ki pro. echo in a-mik-ka a-sek-ki someone.
ak-gip-in pro. someone else.
han-tang, an-tang, han-tang-tang pro. self, selves, oneself, reflexive pronoun.
ja-wa pro. someone else; ja-wa-ni someone else’s; ja-wa-na for someone else.
je pro. relative pronoun, that which, whatever, whoever: je-ko whatever, whomever (accusative); je-cha, je-o, je-no wherever; je-ni whomever; je-git-a somehow, however, in whatever way; je-sik-ni to whatever extent.
<\B
ke-o pro. anyone, someone; ke-o-ba with negative means nobody: ke-o-ba sok-ba-ku-ja nobody has arrived yet. <\B
2.0 SPACE AND TIME

2.1 Space (cf. 1.5 Demonstratives, 1.11 Post positions: space)

A concern for space, and for the shapes and positions of the objects which occur in space, pervades the Mandi language. Space, shape and position are important for demonstratives, postpositions, adverbial affixes, classifiers, and for any number of nouns, verbs, and adverbs. The words given in the sections that follow are relatively general terms, but many words for space, shape, and position will be found in other sections as well.

2.11 Location (cf. 1.16 Shapes and positions—derivational)

a-gal-ni-gal adv. from top to bottom, from here to there, all the way.
bi-ap n. place, location, (A’chik).
bik-bi-grik n. halfway along a road, halfway point, middle point of a tree; half-filled, of a basket.
chel’-a vi. far, distant.
dam-dam adv. always at the same place; dam-dam a-chong-a always sit in the same place; cha-na dam-dam am-ing-a always wanting to eat in the same place. -dam-dam- aa. regularly at the same place; cha-dam-dam-a eat at the same place; dong-dam-dam-a stay at the same place.
dan-dan-o lw. echo in se-pang-o dan-dan-o near: se-pang-o dan-
dan-o al-ap-e gol-po-e dong-na nam-a to sit close, chatting and telling stories, is fine.
grim-grim adv. together, along with: ang-ming grim-grim kat-ang-jok ran away along with me.
ha-dam, a-dam n. location, place; place to sit; site, house site.
ha’-dam-san-o lw. together, in the same place.
ha’-dok, a-dok n. place, region, area, location, such as a field, village, country.
ha’-pa-o lw. on the ground, ground level, as opposed to upper stories.
hon-dim-a, on-dim-a vi. short, low, near the ground, of a house, tree, post, hill; opposite of chu-a-a, chu-ak-a.
ja’-ting-rik-i n. bottom to top, whole thing.
jai-ga, ja-ga, ja-gai  n. place, location. <B
jak-a-si  n. left, left hand, the opposite kin group to one’s own: jak-a-si-
  cha bak, on the left side.
jak-ra  n. right-hand; first, oldest child, first rice beer from a batch.
kam-bi  n. end, tip, extreme point; top of the head; flower bud, leaf bud,
  end of a growing vine, top of a tree.
kang-krang-a  vi. not touching, off the ground, as a tree that has fallen
  only partway; squat with buttocks well off the ground; sit with one’s back
  away from a wall.
nal-sa-nal-bat  adv. on opposite sides, across from each other, that side
  and this side, on both banks of a river.
pak-sa-cha, pak-sa-cha-pak, pak-sa-o  lw. beyond, on the other side
  of: ra-ma pak-sa-cha on the other side of the road.
rik-i  n. top, tree top.
rik-i ben-chot  n. top end, very top.
rik-ong  n. edge, border; border between nations; bank, of a river or tank,
  etc.; border of cloth; edge of a bed, mat, well.
rim-pi-rim-pi  adv. very high, very far.
sak-a  n. upper place, upland.
sak-a-pong, sak-a-pong-o  n. top, surface; on top of, on the surface of.
se-pang, se-pang-o, si-pang, si-pang-o, si-pang-cha  pp. near, close
  by, (follows genitive -ni).
se-pang-grik  adv. close to each other.
se-pang-se-pang  adv. in the surrounding area, nearby.
ta-rim-e  adv. along with, together with.
wal-mik-o  lw. at a great distance, (lit. in smoke).
wil-wil-e  adv. on all sides, surrounding, around the outside, as rice in
  beer pot; in circles.

2.13 Here, There, Somewhere

ba-no-ba, bat-cha-ba, bat-cha-bai  adv. somewhere, some place or
  other; with negative: nowhere, anywhere: bat-cha-ba dong-ja there are
  none anywhere.
gim-ik jai-ga-o  lw. in every place, everywhere.
i-cha bak, i-cha-bak-a  ppp. on this side, here.
i-cha-i-cha  adv. here and there.
i-no, in-o, i-a-no, i-a-o, i-o  lw. here.
in-cha-in-cha  adv. here and there.
u-cha bak  ppp. on that side, there.
u-no, un-o, u-a-no, u-a-o, u-o  dem. there, at that place.
2.14 Direction, Movement (cf. 0.43 Adverbial Affixes: Movement)

a-sam jol-jol adv. along the edge, as when walking, when planting crops.
bai-rep-rep adv. one after the other.
cha-a vi. get up, grow, develop; sprout, as from a tree stump. aa. get up, grow, come to life: ni-chaa look up, with head up; di-chaa get someone up from sleep; bol-chaa tall; tang-chaa pil-a come back to life.
-doo, -duu adv. up, upward: ga-do-a climb; sal-do-a pull up, as in drawing water; bil-do-a fly up; chrok-do-a jump up; chil-do-a lift up onto the head or shoulders.
ja-man-ja-man adv. one following after the other.
ki-sang-cha-na adv. backwards.
ki-sang-ki-sang adv. one following the other, single file.
mik-kang-cha-na adv. forwards.
-on adv. down, downward: chok-on-a get down, get off, as from a bus; ni-on-a look down; sik-on-a push down; bil-on-a fly down; di-on-a take a pot off the fire; sik-on-a push down.
on-dim on-chok adv. up and down, of roads, of birds flying, of people of different heights walking in a file; uneven, of ground.
rutu-rot-rutu-rot adv. falling here and there, as bits from a torn sack, from a running nose, of a child’s drool, blood from a wound.
skang ja-man adv. one after the other, as two people walking.
tim-ing-tim-ang adv. this way and that.

2.2 Size, Fit (cf. 6.4 Shapes of the Body)

2.21 Size (Using Classifiers)

The words in this section are formed by a rather eccentric construction. A morpheme that is otherwise used as a numeral classifier is joined to the intransitive verb chon-a ‘small’ or daal-a ‘big’ to form words meaning ‘small’ and ‘big’ of something for which the classifier is appropriate. rong-daal-a ‘big of round things’, king-chon-a ‘small of flat things’ etc. Some classifiers can also be used with -ma ‘big’ or with -si-si ‘very small’, which are otherwise noun suffixes. These also form words meaning ‘big’ or ‘small’ of things appropriate to the classifiers. Many classifiers can be used in this way, but the construction does not seem to be entirely productive and words formed with -ma and -si-si are more restricted than those with daal-a and chon-a. Occasionally, classifiers join with other words for size than the
four most common ones. Most of the words that are formed in this way are
intransitive verbs, but some closely related adverbs can be found as well.
The examples will give a good idea of the range of these words.

**ap-chon-a**  *vi.* narrow, of spaces, doorways, roads between houses, etc.

**ap-dal-a**  *vi.* wide, of spaces.

**ap-si-si**  *adv.* very narrow.

**bol-chon-a**  *vi.* small, of bamboo knife, axe, etc.

**bol-dal-a**  *vi.* big, of drums, of tools with handles.

**bol-ma**  *vi.* big, of bamboo knives, axes, tools with handles.

**chong-dal-a**  *vi.* big, of tubers, of clumps of plants with many growing
sprouts.

**chong-ma-chong-ma**  *adv.* big, of things growing in clumps, tubers,

bamboo, bananas, used when there are more than one.

**ding-chon-a**  *vi.* thin, of long things, string, vines.

**ding-dal-a**  *vi.* big around, of long things, string, rope, vines.

**ding-si-si**  *adv.* thin, of thread.

**ding-sreng-a**  *vi.* thin, of string, wire, bamboo strips, etc.  *

**ding-sreng-sreng**  *adv.*


thin, of string, wire, etc.

**gil-chon-a**  *vi.* small, of flattish things, fried cakes, boards, mats, but not

for things as thin as those classified by  *

**king-**  *gil-chon-gil-chon**  *adv.*

**gil-dal-a**  *vi.* big, of flattish things.

**gil-ma-gil-ma**  *adv.* big, of flattish things, in large flakes, as for peeling

bark; used for more than one thing.

**jak-chon-a**  *vi.* small, of leaves.

**jak-ma-jak-ma**  *adv.* big, of leaves, for more than one.

**king-chon-a, king-chon-king-chon**  *vi.* small of flat things, of mats,

winnowing baskets, leaves, paper, books.

**king-dal-a**  *vi.* big of flat things, of paper, banana leaves, boards, ears,

bread, paper, books.

**king-ma, king-ma-ma, king-ma-king-ma**  *adv.* large of flat things,

paper, cloth, leaves, winnowing basket, mat, etc.;  *

**king-ma-a**  *vi.*

**kol-chon-a**  *vi.* small, of holes:  *

**kol-chon-chon**  *adv.*

**kol-dal-a**  *vi.* big, of holes.

**kol-ma**  *vi.* big, of holes.

**ku-chon-a**  *vi.* small, of mouths, firewood; speak quietly.

**ku-dal-a**  *vi.* big, of mouths, firewood;  *

**ku-dal-e bol-a** speak loudly.

**mang-kan-dik-a**  *vi.* short in the body, of animals.

**mang-ro-a**  *vi.* long in the body, of animals; long in the torso, of people.

**ol-chon-a**  *vi.* small, of a bunch of bananas.

**ol-dal-a**  *vi.* big, of a bunch of bananas.
pang-dal-a  vi. big, of trees.
pat-chon-a  vi. narrow, of cloth pieces.
pat-dal-a  vi. large, wide, of cloth.
pel-dal-a  vi. wide, of flat things, boards, firewood, chests, hips, stools:
pel-dal-dal  adv.
pel-dang-dang  adv. wide, of flat things, of hips.
pil-dal-a  vi. big, of coins, earrings.
pong-dal-a  vi. big, of cylindrical things, gourd dippers, cigarettes.
rong-chon-a  vi. small, of round things, fruit, eyes, pots.
rong-dal-a  vi. big, of round things, fruit, eyes, pots, breasts; to swell up, grow round, of fruit, breasts, sores; rong-dal-ing-a growing round and large, of fruit, of breasts, as a stage of maturation, jokingly of testicles:
tor-mus ko-mil-a-na-bat-e rong-dal-a watermelons are bigger than oranges.
rong-get-a  vi. bulge, have a roundish protrusion; pregnant.
rong-gop-rong-gop  adv. relatively large, of small round things such as ripe fruit, rice grains, sugar, thread.
rong-ma-rong-ma  adv. large of round things when there are more than one.
rong-mi-sep  adv. small, of round things, of hail stones.
tin-chon-a  vi. small, of chunky things, of tubers, meat, lumps of dirt, etc.
tin-dal-a  vi. big, of chunky things, of tubers, heads, etc.
tom-dal-a  vi. big, of round bunches, balls of string, cloth bundles: do-ri wen-jok-o do-ri tom-dal-ing-a when the string is wound, the string gets big and round.
tong-dal-a  vi. big around, of long cylindrical things, sticks, tails.
tot-chon-a  vi. small, of heads, of lumps of earth.
tot-dal-a  vi. large, of ant hills, tubers, mountains, and esp. heads, big headed.
tot-ma-tot-ma  adv. big, of tubers, mountains, etc., used for more than one.

2.213 Large
chang-ro-a  vi. tall, of people, trees.
chat-a  vi. thick, of cloth, books, thatch, clouds, etc.
chim-chim cham-cham  adv. intermediate, neither very tall nor very short, neither fat nor skinny.
chu-a-a  vi. high, tall, of trees, people, buildings, hills, mountains; rise, of a sloping road. n. height, one of the three spatial dimensions, along with gro length, and gip-eng width.
chu-ak-a  vi. tall, of hills, buildings, people; high, of the position of fruit on tree, etc.
dal-a  vi. big, large. -dal-, -dal-  aa. big, used with numeral classifiers to indicate big, of things so classified: king-dal-a big of thin flat things.
dal-mi-si-a  vi. very big.
dal-pi-pi  adv. very big.
dal-pret-a vi. fat, wide, grow large rapidly.
dal-ro-ro-a  vi. grow rapidly, high, tall.
dam-bol-a  vi. big, chubby, of bamboo shoots, bananas, children. dam-bol-bol  adv.
dok-ro-a  vi. tall, of trees, bamboo, people.
gop-ma-a vi. very fat, chubby, of people, animals. gop-ma, gop-ma, gop-ma-ru-ru  adv.
ja-ro-a, ja-ru-a  vi. long, of pant legs, lunggis, shirttails; for a long time.
jak-ro-a, jak-ru-a  vi. long, of shirt sleeves.
-ma  dns. big, large: ta-ma a large edible tuber; mi-ma a big grained variety of rice; ja-dil-ma large roots; bi-rot-a-ma large pimple.
ro-a, ru-a  vi. long in space or time, of roads, houses, stories, time periods, etc.; tall, of people, trees, posts. -ro-, -ru-  aa. long: mang-ro-a long in the body; chang-ro-a tall, of people, trees; ja-ro-a long, of pant legs, shirttails, for a long time.
ro-reng-ro-reng  adv. long and beautiful.
ro-mi-si-a, ru-mi-si-a vi. very long, in space or time.
tim-bong, tim-bong-tim-bong, tim-bing-tim-bong  adv. wide, of rice fields.
ing-a  vi. deep, of water, of holes; far in from an edge: mik-tik-kol ting-a have deep or sunken eyes, as when tired.
we-gil-gil-a, wi-gil-gil-a  vt. plow shallowly.

2.215 Small
ba-a, pa-a  vi. thin, of paper, etc.
ba-deng-deng, ba-chi-deng-deng  adv. thin and flat, of cloth, paper, egg shells, etc.
ba-dip-dip, ba-chi-dip-dip  adv. thin and flat, of cloth, paper, etc.; gone down, of a swelling. ba-chi-dip-a, ba-dip-dip dak-a vi.
bal-bik-bik, bal-chi-bik-bik  adv. very thin, of cloth.
bal-deng-deng, bal-chi-deng-deng  adv. thin, of cloth, fried bread.
bek-tok-a  vi. short, of people, sticks, string. bek-tok, bek-tok-tok  adv.
chep-chep-a  vi. shallow, not deep, of water that has receded.
chon-a  vi. small, little. -chon-  aa. small, used with classifiers to form verbs meaning small, of things so classified: rong-chon-a small of round things; king-chon-a small of flat things.
chong-top-a  vi. short and small, of clothes, houses: chong-top, chong-top-top  adv.
jol·kep, jol·kep·kep *adv.* narrow, esp. of fields, (same as ap·chon·a).
kal·dek·kal·tek *adv.* small, esp. of animals.
kal·tang·a *vi.* short, too short to fit, of sleeves, pants, pen cover, etc.
kan·dam·a *vi.* short, of people.
kan·dok·a, kan·dik·a *vi.* short, of people, animals, string, sticks, posts, days, etc. short of speaking, briefly.
kan·tang *n.* short sleeved.
kan·tong·a *vi.* short.
ken·dok·a *vi.* short, of sticks, shirts, etc.
kil·erep·kil·erep *adv.* small bits of flat things such as bits of paper or cloth.
-kim·bak· *aa.* shortened, abbreviated, partly, halfway: den·kim·bak·a cut a little, partly; cha·kim·bak·a eat a bit, not finish; wal·kim·bak·a half the night; rat·kim·bak·a cut partway through.
mik·chil, mik·chil·chil, mik·chil·mik·chil *adv.* very small, tiny; in a very small way: mik·chil dakk·den·a cut into tiny pieces.
sak·gil·gil *adv.* shallowly, of plowing.
se·em·a, sem·sem·a *vi.* tiny, like millet grains or mustard seeds; fine, of powder; thin, of cloth; fine rain, drizzle. se·em·chik·chik, se·em·se·em, sem·sem dakk·a *adv.*
tam·bik, tam·bik·bik *adv.* short.
tong·kandi *adv.* partial, unfinished; incomplete, as a bamboo without a top, half of a bamboo pole, butt of a cigarette, a life cut short by death before the proper time.
tong·kap·a *vi.* abbreviated, shortened of speaking; short of objects such as a shoulder bag, of distance along a road. tong·kap, tong·kap· tong·kap *adv.* quickly, briefly, as speaking in an abbreviated way.

2.22 Fit, Squeeze, Pass Through, Crowded (cf. 9.276 Leak; 9571 Insert)

chak·a *vi.* fit, have space for, not overflow; take shelter, from sun, rain.
-chak· *aa.* fit, have enough space for: ga·chak·a fit, of the feet; jak·chak·a fit in the hands, have time for; chu·chak·a fit onto for sleeping, as onto a mat, bedstead, of adequate size for sleeping: chu·chak·gip·a cho·ki a bedstead the size for sleeping; dong·chak·a fit, sufficient place for; cha·chak·a enough space for eating, for the food; at·chong·chak·a enough space for sitting, as on a bus.
chang·ket·a *vi.* squeezed into, crowded; tight, of bracelets, etc.; stuck, too tight to pass through; closed in and can’t get out; stuffy, of nose, throat.
dang·a, tang·a *vi.* fit, big enough, of clothes, bracelet; fit through, a door, a narrow place.
et-et-a  vi. tight, squeezed; unable to pass through, as an arm into a bracelet, a cork into a bottle, etc.

ga-ak-ro-rot-a  vi. leak or overflow, spill along the way as something is carried, of water, rice, etc.

ga-ak-rong-rong-a  vi. fall through.

ga-chak-a  vt. fit, of the feet, as on a pedal: pedil-ko ja-pa-cha
gachak-e gu-rai-ing-a turning, fitting the feet on the peddle, (lit. fittingly turn the peddle with the feet).

gip-u-a  vi. leak through, pass through, as through a sieve; ooze, of a wound.

-ket-  aa. filled, squeezed tight, stuck: gap-ket-a filled up tight, no more space, squeezed in; dap-ket-a push wet mud into cracks, bury; jot-ket-a insert, plug up; chang-ket-a stuck, crowded, choke; nap-ket-a enter and stay.

kong-kep-skep  adv. full, no space, too many things to fit.

nap-rong-rang-a  vi. fit through, pass through freely.

rong-rong-a  vi. leak, as from a sack; fit in or through a hole. -rong-
rong-  aa. through a hole: gip-u-rong-rong-a fit through something small, such as a sieve; ga-ak-rong-rong fall through; ki-rong-rong-a have diarrhea.

ru-rot-a  vi. fall through, leak while being moved, as through a hole in a bag being carried.

sik-nap-a  vt. put into, squeeze in forcefully, as into a house or bus: motor es-es-ten man-diko sik-nap-e chak-it-a the bus assistant makes the people fit (into the bus) by squeezing them.

sik-sep-ga-sep  adv. crowded, squeezed in, as in a bus: sik-sep-ga-sep
motor ga-hat-a get onto the bus by crowding. sik-sep-a  vt. stick something into a fold in one's clothing, ear, etc.; tuck or poke in, as shirt at the waist, a tool into rafters, a card into a book; stick in and attach, like a pen with a clip.

sket-sket  adv. crowded, bumping into each other, filled up, without space, as fruit on a branch, people in a bus.

tang-rong-rang-a  vi. fit easily into or through, as through a sieve; loosely fitting, as bracelets, sometimes used for bigger things than gip-u-a which is used only for fine things.

te-rak-rak, ti-rak-rak  adv. suitable size, not too big, not too small.

2.23 Loose, Tight

A sense of shape is conveyed through numeral classifiers, adverbal affixes, and derivational noun suffixes, as well as by independent words. In addition to the words listed here, a remarkable number of more specialized words describe shapes of the body and the shapes of parts of the body.
dil-dek-ga-dek  adv. loose, of a tool handle, post, etc.
go-ok-a vi. come apart, come loose, come out of, of a tool handle, cork; fall out, be pulled out, plucked, of hair, feathers; fall down, of a lunggi; -gok- aa. separated, broken apart.
je-et-je-et adv. tight, of shoelaces, thatch, of a fully inflated football.
le-la-le-la adv. loose, as of a tool handle, table leg; lacking stiffness, limp, as of a paralyzed hand.
ring-rang-ga-rang adv. shaky, wobbly, of a rocking boat, a bamboo bridge; flutter, of leaves; restless, constantly moving, of people; flicker, of reflections in metal, a TV screen, water.
rok-rak-a vi. loose, not tight, as a tool handle; wobble, of a pole in the ground; loosely tied, loose, of ripe fruit on a tree. rok-rak-ga-rak adv.
rok-rek-a vt. loosen, shake loose, as a tooth, a pole in the ground, tool handle, furniture: loose and rattling, of the seeds of su-ri fruit: make something move back and forth, like a post in a hole. rok-rek-ga-rek adv. loose, not tight, as a handle.
rok-rek-it-a vt. cause to move back and forth, of a tree or post that wobbles.
rong-rang-a vi. loosely fitting, as bracelets. rong-rang-ga-rang adv.: tang-rong-rang-a loosely fitting.

2.25 Beside, Close, Spaced Out (cf. 9.536 Separate, Select; 9.63 Join, Stick)

bi-dil bi-dil adv. growing densely, of vegetables or fruit.
bi-tom-bi-tom, tom-bi-tom-bi adv. crowded, touching, of fruit on the branches.
chap-chap adv. side by side, touching.
chrap-chrap adv. crowded together, as of people at a market; growing close together, of fruits and vegetables; wearing a lot of jewelry.
dam-san, dam-han adv. the same, together, in the same place.
dang-dang-a vi. spaced out, at some distance from one another, of fruit, houses, trees; separated, not touching, of people sleeping, sitting, walking. dang-dang, dang-dang-grik, dang-dang-dang-dang adv. separated, not touching, of people sleeping, sitting, walking.
dik-a vi. thick, tight together, of growing things, plants, hair: kim-il dik-a thick body hair.

gan-chat-a vi. dense, thick, crowded, of clouds, fog, forest, people.
-grang- aa. widely spaced: ap-grang-a widely spaced of basket pieces, made with open spaces; wa-grang-a nicked, not continuously, of a knife blade; ka-grang-a tied together with open spaces, of a fence.
heng-a vi. woven loosely, with open spaces, of baskets, cloth. heng-e-heng-e, heng-gri-heng-gri adv. widely spaced, of the pieces of a basket.
ja'-pang-ja'-pang  adv. beside one another, in the nearby area.
ket-chi-grik-a  vi. side by side.
-krang-  aa. open, with space between: ting-krang-a open, of umbrellas;
kang-krang-a off the ground, as a tree that has fallen only partway;
de-krang-a resting with one end on off the ground, hold a foot in the air.
nang-chrap-a  vi. grow in large amounts, of fruit, vegetables.
rit-dang-ban-dang  adv. separately, doing things in different ways, different ideas, disorderly, disagreeing, speaking at the same time, confused, tangled.
srap-srap, srap-e-srap-e  adv. going together, follow one another closely, of people or animals. srap-a  vi. catch up with, find someone; often in negative: srap-ja cannot catch up. -srap-  aa. catch up with: kat-srap-a run and catch up with; rim-srap-a catch, as a chicken, a thrown object; in-srap-a catch the points of a conversation, have a dialogue.
tom-be-tom-be, tom-bi-tom-bi  adv. crowded together, as in a bundle, as fruit on a branch.

2.26 Full, Empty

al-ga  adv. uncovered, empty. <B
bal-ang-ga  n. empty of a cup, pot, a bus without people; not shut in, exposed to air, outside; open as a door or pot, an open truck: bal-ang-ga
dak-a come open, as when a bottom of a glass falls off.
bang-bang  adv. empty, of a hole or a building; clear of trees, open field; open door.
bo-rai-a  vt. load, fill, put in; wrap up, as in sacks. <B
bul-ang-bul-ung  adv. open, with nothing.
chi-chang-chang, chi-chang-chi-chang  adv. empty, of pots, etc.; having gaps in a field of planted crops; gone, disappear, of rice seedlings under water.
gap-a  vi. full, of any container.
gap-et-a  vt. fill, cause to be full.
gap-ket-a  vi. filled up tight, no more space, squeezed in, as in a bus, filled with clouds: gim-bi chi-cha gap-ket-a the water pot is filled full with water.
jak-ra-ra  adv. empty, empty handed; not pregnant.
krang-a, krang-krang-a, krang-krang dak-a  vi. empty, of a pot without water, etc.; completely clean; clear, of clouds; clear the mind, forget.
2.3 Shape

2.31 Shape (cf. 0.16 Shapes and Position–Derivational, 0.42 Adverbial Affixes: Shape, Size, Location, 6.4 Shapes of the Body, 1.32 Classifiers, Shape, 964 Change Shape)

2.311 Flat, Level

-dep- aa. flat, flatten: pel-dep-a flat; chi-dep-a flat, of noses; su-dep-a caught or pinched, pounded into a bamboo tube; ku-dep-a flat mouth; rim-dep-a push with a finger to test ripeness of fruit.

pel-a vi. flat. pel- cls. classifier for flat things such as boards and things made from boards, furniture; for flat pieces of firewood.

pel-chep-chep adv. flat.

pel-deng-a vi. flat. adv.: pel-deng-deng, pel-deng-pel-deng. pel-deng-a vi. flat. pel-deng-dep, pel-dep-pel-dep adv.

so-man, so-man-so-man adv. level, even, smooth; equal in age, size, quality, etc. <B

2.312 Long, Thin, Pointed

-chok- aa. pointed: ran-chok-a thin, scrawny, of people; ku-chok-a pointed; ru-chok-a long and pointed; ok-chok-a bulging, of a distorted circle; rep-chok-a, den-chok-a, rat-chok-a carve a point. -chok dns. long and pointed. ja-pa-ku-chok heel of foot; gol-chok arrow, stake; do-chok a kind of bird with a pointed back end.

don-dang-dang adv. long and thin, tall and thin.

-chrit- aa. in stripes, striped; into long pieces: sal-chrit-a striped, as cloth, a tiger; den-chrit-a chop into pieces; mat-chrit-a cut slightly, scratch.

chu-eng-a vi. sharply pointed, as a needle, thorn, pointed stick.

-dil dns. long and thin: ja-dil root; bi-dil vine.

-ding dns. long and thin: kil-ding thread; wa-ding thin, flexible bamboo tie strips; ri-ding pole for holding cloth to dry. ding- cls. classifier for long thin things: hairs, cords, strings, pieces of cane, wire, roads, etc.

gol-ki-dang-dang, gol-ki-ki adv. thin, stick-like.

kan-dok-kan-dok adv. into lengths.

ko-i-chong-a vi. coming up to a peak, as an ant hill. ko-i-chong-chong adv.

ku-chok-a vi. pointed, with a protruding mouth, as the nose of an animal such as a dog, the end of a pen, of a crescent moon, of a field with pointed corners. ku-chok-chok adv.

pong-sreng-sreng adv. long of cylindrical things.
ro'-chok-a, ru'-chok-a vi. long and pointed.
ro'-rek-a vi. long and thin, of cylindrical things, shaped like bamboo.
   ro'-rek-rek, ru'-rek-rek adv. long of cylindrical things, smaller in diameter than ro'-rong-rong.
ro'-reng-a, ru'-reng-a vi. long, of cylindrical things, sticks, pens.
   ro'-reng-ro'-reng adv.
ro'-rok-a, ru'-rok-a vi. somewhat elongated, like a banana, pineapple, or a foot; tall, of trees; long of body parts such as fingers, face, arms, legs), a bit shorter than ro'-reng-a, neither very long nor very short. ro'-rok-ro'-rok adv.
ro'-rong-a, ru'-rong-a vi. cylindrically shaped, like a tin can, the trunk of a papaya tree. ro'-rong-rong adv.
sri-sri adv. in lengthwise slices.
tap-pa-reng-reng adv. sharp, sharply pointed, as a needle, thorn, etc.

2.313 Geometrical

da-wil-a vi. round of objects, circular. da-wil-wil adv.
gul-gul-a vi. round, spherical; round fried wheat balls. <B
jang.-jot-a, jang.-jot-jot-a vi. narrow, narrower at the middle than at the ends; thin waisted. jang.-jot, jang.-jot-jot adv.
ku'-eng-ku'-chok adv. a shape with sharp corners, as a triangle, diamond.
ok-bong-a vi. wider at the middle than at the ends, as some rice fields, some baskets; bulging section of a memorial post. ok-bong, ok-bong-bong adv.
tam.-bing-a vi. round, like a football, wheel, ankle bones, end of a flash light, sun, full moon, looped bamboo strip, egg, water pot. tam'-bing-bing, tam'-bing-jret-jret adv.
tim-bing-tim-bang adv. having equal height and width, as a square.

2.315 Curved, Coiled

go-re-a, gu-ri-a vi. turning, curving, of a road; turn around, revolve like watch hands; go around, walk around, circle something; surround; wander, wander around.
kon'-dau-la adv. circling, encircling, twisted around, of a road, snake, as a dog sleeps.
wel-wel-a vi. wind around, of a road that goes around a hill, of a winding group of rice fields.
wen-chet-a vt. wind around, of a snake, of a vine that winds around a tree.

2.317 Slanting

dé'-gang-a, di'-gang-a vi. resting with one end on the ground.
de-gang-git-a, di-gang-git-a  adv. slanting, as a partly fallen tree; sticking up, of a dog's tail.
de-gang-grik-a  vi. leaning against each other, as two trees.
de-kang-a, di-kang-a, de-krang-a  vi. keep off the ground, hold in the air, as a foot, or as someone sleeping with one foot off the bed.
gang-git-a  vi. pointed up, like a dog's tail.
geng-gang-bak-gang  adv. disorderly, as branches piled around.
gong-grot-grot, gong-got-got  adv. bent over, curled, as bending rice plants, a bird's tail.

2.318 Straight, Bent (cf. 9.348 Bend, Bow)

bi-gop-a  vi. fallen over and on the ground, of trees.
deng-gok-a  vi. bow deeply, bend over, of people; with the head bent down; let the head flop when falling asleep; curl up with knees drawn up and face down; bent over, of rice plants.
dim-breng-a  vi. straight, direct, of roads, a house wall; in line, like areca palms; stand erect; having a direct and clear manner of speaking.
dim-breng-dim-breng  adv.
dim-breng-chot-chot  adv. very straight, as a house wall or pineapple rows.
gang-bik-a  vi. bend somewhat but less than gong-jol-a.
git-ching-a  n. bent over but less than gang-jol, of a tree, wall, etc.; tipped, of a cooking pot; a bit past noon when sun bends down past its high point.
gok-gok-a  vi. bend, of trees; with head down, bend over, bend head or bend from waist.
gol-dak-a  vi. straight, stick like, sticking up straight, as an uncurled dog's tail; lazy, never bending to work.
gong-ge-a, gong-gi-a  vi. bent, as wire or cord; curved, winding, of a road; zigzag; less tightly bent than gong-jol-a but more than gang-bik-a curving back and forth.  adv. gong-ge-gong-dang.
gong-ge-bak-a  vi. curve back and forth, waving, zigzag, of roads, lines of trees, when walking).
gong-ge-gong-got, gong-gi-gong-got, gong-ge-gong-grot  adv. winding back and forth, of a road, a line of trees, when running, writing; twisted, of a bamboo piece; zigzag.
gong-jol-a  vi. bent way over, as in the wind, of trees, bamboo, rice plants; bent more tightly than gong-ge-a, but not fallen all the way to the ground.
kong-krot-a  vi. bent, curved, as an umbrella handle; curly, of hair; curled up, of a magazine cover, a dog's tail; curled up position in sleeping, sitting; with bent legs.
rong-a  vi. straight, of roads, of a line of trees, etc.; straight speaking, truthfully.

ta-ling-ling, ta-ling-ta-rot  adv. in a line, very straight, as a line of areca palms, of a road; very smooth; straight speaking.
tong-tang  adv. straight, direct, of a road; short cut. -tong-tang  aa. direct, straight, not round about, short cut, abbreviated: bat-tong-tang-a take a short cut; kat-tong-tang-a run straight, directly. tong-tang-tong-tang, tong-tang-ga-tang  adv. briefly, abbreviated.
wa-rek-rek, wa-re-rek  adv. in a straight line.

2.319 Shape, Misc.

-bi-bom  dns. rounded, of long things, cylindrical, not flat, of tree trunks, unsplit firewood, posts, people’s arms, etc.: bol-bi-bom unsplit firewood.
chong-rong-a  vi. having the proper proportion of height and width, of a basket; not too high and not too squat.
-gil-gil  aa. on the surface: kam-gil-gil-a burn on the surface; wi-gil-gil-a plow shallowly.
git-dap-a  vi. in layers, one on top of the other, piled up. git-dap-git-dap  adv.
ku-wang-a  vi. large mouthed, of baskets; let the mouth hang open, as in surprise or by a crazy person.
mit-dap-mit-dap  adv. in layers.
prot-chu-chu  adv. high and fat, of a straw stack, of a pile of things:
  bik-ma prot-chu-chu having a very big and round belly.
rik-kot-rik-kot  adv. wrinkled, of skin, ground.
rong-ret-a  vi. out of shape, sideways, twisted, often of a body part, leg, arm, finger; dislocated, of bones; not meeting, of roads, of people going in opposite directions; wrong way in traveling. rong-ret-ga-ret  adv. inconsistent, disorganized, as when speaking in an inconsistent and disorganized way.
tim-ing-tim-ang  adv. unevenly, of a road with high and low spots; speak unevenly with many pauses.
-tom  aa. round, make round: jak-tom-a make a fist; ka-tom-a tie in a bundle. tom  cls. for bellies, round things. -tom  dns. round, bunched: jak-tom fist; dik-tom large round pot; a-tom stomach.
tot-ting-a  vi. be lumpy, bumpy.

2.34 Dimensions

bi-gro, bi-gru  n. length, the longer dimension: bi-gro ro-a, gip-eng-pang kan-dok-a length is long, across is short.
chu-a-a  vi. height, one of the three spatial dimensions.
chu-ak-si-si, chu-ak-ri-ri  vi. very high.
Space and Time

gip-eng  n. width, one of the three spatial dimensions.
gip-eng-pang  n. turned sideways, crosswise; perpendicular; not saying things straight.
gro, gru  n. length, one of the three spatial dimensions. -gro- aa. lengthwise, on the long dimension: rat-gro-a cut lengthwise: git-chit-gro-tear lengthwise. -gro dns. length: bol-gro ridgepole; bi-gro length.
gro-gro, gru-gru  adv. lengthwise: gro-gro bil-a vt. roll up starting from the long dimension.
gro dak-e  adv. lengthwise.

2.38 Holes

ap-grang-a  vi. widely spaced, made with open spaces between pieces, of baskets, etc.
chet-chring-chet-chrang  adv. with holes, as very thin cloth such as gauze, of old thatch that one can see through.
ha-gop, a-gop, gop-ang  n. big hole, larger than a-kil-ok; low spot of land within a hilly area.
ha-kil-ok, a-kil-ok  n. hole, specifically a hole in the ground but extended to any hole; nostril, ear hole; eye of a needle.
ha-kol, a-kol, hang-kol, ang-kol  n. hole, in the ground or in any object.
kol-ma-ma  n. big hole.
-kong- dns. scooped out, hollow: ring-kong hollow log used to feed animals; bol-kong-bang hole in a tree trunk; kong-kep area inside the curl of the edge of the ear.
pu-pa-pu-pa  adv. with lots of holes, as a screen.
re-el-a  vt. make a hole, bore a hole.

2.5 Time, General

2.51 Time, Abstract (cf. 0.2 Verb Suffixes, 112 Post Positions: time)
a-mul, a-mul-o  n. period of time; era. <B
ba-ji, ba-ji-o  n. o’clock, hours of clock time. <B
boi-os  n. age, number of years one has lived. <B
-ring- aa. at the correct time: sok-ring-a arrive at the right time; most often used in the negative; sok-ba-ring-ja not arrive on time; re-ang-ring-ja not go on time.
so-moi  n. time. <B
ta-riik  n. date, day of the month. <B
tro, tru  n. era, generation, belonging to the same era, of the same age.
tro-ska, tru-ska, tro-sang-ga  n. contemporaries, people of same age, same generation.
2.52 Periods and Points During the Day

More and more Mandis wear wristwatches and regulate their day by clock time, but their parents and grandparents needed other ways to specify the time of day. People can still use an elaborate vocabulary that states the time of day without mentioning hours or minutes.

an-tam, an-tam-o n. late afternoon, evening, the time past midday.
an-tam-cha-pak n. the time before sunset.
an-tam-git-tu n. dusk.
an-tam-gro-gro, an-tam-gru-gru n. the time around sunset.
an-tam-pang n. dusk, time after the sun has set but while it is still light; the evening star.
cham-o lw. at that time.
chok-on-o, sal chok-on-o lw. sunset, time when the sun goes down.
di-sal-o-ni di-sal-o-na, in-di-sal-o-ni in-di-sal-o-na lw. from this time to that time, (said while pointing to two places in the sky marking where the sun would be at the times referred to).
git-ching-a n. a bit past noon when sun bends down past its high point; bent over but less than gang-jol, of a tree, wall, etc.; tipped, of a cooking pot.
git-il-o lw. a bit past noon.
jrang-a, jrang-ba-a vi. shine; become morning twilight; light, bright, get lighter as clouds clear up, as lamps are turned on; burn up strongly, of fire, lamps.
na-ba-a, sal na-ba-a vi. sun rises, appears.
na-jak-a n. early morning, time when the sun is not quite up.
pring, pring-o n. morning, in the morning, (A-chik).
pring wal-ni n. tomorrow morning.
sal na-na skang nph. before sunrise.
sal si-a n. end of the day, (lit. sun dies).
sal wel-a vi. the time past noon.
sal-an-tam-o n. time when the sun begins to move lower in the sky, late afternoon.
sal-chu-gra-gra n. time when the sun is well up, but not way up, one or two hours after sunrise.
sal-jat-chi, sal-jang-chi-o, sal-jat-chi-o n. in middle of the day, noon.
seng-na git-tu n. early morning, morning twilight.
sim-sam-sim-sam n. twilight, partly but not fully dark.
sim-sim-a vi. the time of growing dark, after the sunset. an-tam-sim-sim adv.
wol n. night. wol-a vi. become night. wol-cls. classifier for nights.
wal seng-a vi. grow light at dawn, (lit. night brightens).
wal-jat-chi, wal-jang-chi n. midnight.
wal-ni n. morning, this morning.
wal-ni gro-gro, wal-ni gru-gru n. the time at or following sunrise.
wal-ni-ni n. early morning.
wel-a vi. pass noon, or pass midnight.

2.53 Amounts of Time (cf. 1.33 Classifiers, Time Units)

Mandi has a remarkable number of ways to say ‘all day’: sal-si-si, sal-tat, sal-prak, sal-gim-ik. I have never discovered any difference in meaning among these.

an-ti n. week, market. cls. classifier for weeks, (A’chik).
an-tam-pring n. all the time, (lit. evening-morning).
bai-a vi. last a long time, endure.
bo-chor n. year, years. <B
cha-song n. generation, era, one’s time of life.
-dang- aa. with sufficient time, often used with a negative: dang-ja with insufficient time; rim-dang-a finish working, without interruption; cha-dang-a time to eat; a-lap-dang-ja can’t manage to talk, because of interruptions, etc.; chok-dang-ja no time to finish writing.
diin n. day, today. <B
dik-dik-prak adv. for a short time.
dik-dik-sa, dik-dik-ha adv. for a little while, a short time, for just a moment.
donk-kam-a, dong-kam-kam-a, dong-kam-kam-a-ri adv. for a long time, of rain, sleep, residence, etc.
gon-ta, ghon-ta n. bell, gong. gon-ta- cls. classifier for hours. <B
ha-rim-a, a-rim-a vi. late, delayed, a long time.
ja n. month.
ja-ro-bi-a adv. month after month, a long time.
mas n. month. <B
ok-ke, da-o-ni ok-ke adv. not for long.
rong-ge-rong-ge adv. a long time, late.
rong-rong, rong-rong dak-a adv. late, delayed, take a long time.
-ru-ru- aa. for a long time, forcefully: kim-ru-ru-a thunder that seems to move across the sky; dong-ru-ru-a be in the same place for a long time; ak-ru-ru-a pluck for a long time.
sal n. day, daytime; 24 hours, sun.
sal-gim-ik adv. the whole day.
sal-pak-sa adv. half a day.
sal-prak adv. all day, the whole day.
sal-sa dong-e adv. omitting one day, after skipping one day.
sal-sa-wal-sa  n. one day and one night.
sal-si-si  adv. all day, the whole day.
sal-tat  adv. all day, the whole day.
sop-ta  n. week. cls. classifier for weeks: sop-ta-prak, sop-ta-rik-it, sop-ta-jring every week, each week; sop-ta-gin-i two weeks. <B
teng-kap teng-kap  adv. quickly, briefly, immediately, at once, right away.
wal-kim-bak-a  adv. half the night, late at night.
wal-ni-wal-ni, wal-ni rik-kit  adv. every morning.
wal-pak-sa  adv. half the night, part of the night.
wal-si-sal-si  adv. all night and all day.
wal-si-si  adv. all night.
wal-tat  adv. whole night.

2.6 Time Relative to the Present

Many of the words in the following sections refer to points in time. Since they locate things in time, it is natural for them to be locatives and when they end with -o they appear to be formed from an underlying noun with a locative case marker tacked on. As locatives, they are used very much like adverbs, however, and a few words locate points in time without a case marker. These need to be considered adverbs, although they are unusual among adverbs in not being subject to any sort of reduplication. It seems misleading to consider some of these to be locative words and others adverbs, since they perform the same sorts of functions in a sentence. Wal-ni ‘morning’, for example is rarely used with a locative case marker, while ar-tam-o ‘afternoon, evening’ almost always has one. Nevertheless, the two words enter into larger constructions as if they form a balanced pair. The odd pair da-an ‘in a little while, very soon’, and da-an-o ‘a little while ago, just now’, the first referring to the future, the second to the past, are distinguished only by the presence or absence of a locative -o.

2.61 Now

da- , da-o  adv. now.
da-o-ro-ro  adv. now-a-days.
i-ni so-moi-o  adv. at this time.

2.62 Earlier, Before, Ago, Last

a-ge  n. before, ago, in the past. <B
-cheng-  aa. first, before doing something else: cha-cheng-a eat first, (before something else); i-ang-cheng-a go first, go ahead; a-ba-cheng-a begin, (cf. -so-).
**Space and Time 75**

**cheng-o** lw. before, earlier, some time ago, in the past, in earlier times.

**da-al wal-ni, da-sal wal-ni** adv. this morning.

**da-an-o** lw. a little while ago, just now.

**da-sel-o** lw. at an earlier time.

**da-si wal-o** lw. last night.

**da-si-o, da-si** lw. a while ago, long ago, formerly, longer ago than **da-an-o**.

**me-ja an-tam-o, me-ja-o an-tam-o** lw. last evening, yesterday evening.

**me-ja wal-ni, me-ja-o wal-ni** adv. yesterday morning.

**me-ja wal-o, me-ja-o wal-o** lw. last night.

**re-ang-gip-a** n. previous, last, former: **re-ang-gip-a bil-si** last year;

**re-ang-gip-a Ro-bi-bar-o** last Sunday.

**skang, skang-o** lw. before, earlier, ago, in earlier days.

**-so-** aa. first, before others, ahead, wait: **i-ang-so-a** go first, go ahead;

**seng-so-a** wait for; **ni-chak-so-a** wait for, look out for; **cha-so-a** eat before someone else; **a-gan-so-a** announce, tell ahead of time, (cf. **-cheng-** before doing something else).

**teng-re, teng-ri teng-re-teng-re, teng-ri-teng-ri** adv. early, soon, fast, quickly.

### 2.63 After, Later, Future, Next

**da-al wal-o, da-sal wal-o** lw. tonight.

**da-an** adv. in a little while, a little while from now.

**i-a wal-o** lw. tonight.

**mik-kang** n. next, coming: **mik-kang ja-o, ja-mik-kang** next month;

**mik-kang-gip-a** adv. next, coming: **mik-kang-gip-a bil-si-o** next year;

**mik-kang-gip-a ja-o** next month.

**re-ba-gip-a** n. next, the one that comes: **re-ba-gip-a ja-o** next month;

**re-ba-gip-a Ro-bi-bar-o** next Sunday.

### 2.65 Days

**am-bin-o, am-bun-o, am-bin, am-bun** lw. tomorrow, in the future, next, after a while.

**am-bin-o dong-e** adv. the day after tomorrow, the day after **am-bin-o**, (lit. omitting tomorrow).

**am-bin-o sal-sa-ni ja-man-o** lw. one day after tomorrow, day after tomorrow.

**am-bin-o ni wal-ni-o** lw. tomorrow morning.

**am-bin-o ni wal-o, am-bin-o wal-o** lw. tomorrow night.


**me-ja-o, mi-ja-o** n. yesterday.
me-ja-o-na skang  n. day before yesterday.
min-i-o  lw. day before yesterday, some time ago.
re'-ang-gip-a Ro-bi-bal-o  lw. last Sunday, (lit. going Sunday).
re'-ba-gip-a Ro-bi-bal-o  lw. next Sunday, (lit. coming Sunday).
sal-a-gip-in  n. another day; sal-a-gip-in i-ba-bo come on another day.
sot-ni-o, sot-mi-o  lw. day after tomorrow.

2.66 Week, Month, and Year

bil-si git-al  nph. new year.
bil-si git-cham  nph. last year.
da'-bil-si, da'-a bil-si  n. this year.
da'-ska-ri, da'-sik-ka-ri  n. last year.
da'-ska-ri chang-ha-o  nph. year before last.
i-a  dem. this, for time units: i-a bil-si-o this year; i-a ja-o this month;
i-a sop-ta-o this week.
ka-ri, ka-ri-o  lw. next year.
ka-ri chang-ha-o  nph. year after next.
ka-ri ka-rang-o  nph. next year.
ki-sang  n. last, previous, most recent: ja ki-sang last month.
re'-ang-gip-a  n. last, just past: re'-ang-gip-a ja-o last month.

2.7 Time: Speed, Frequency

2.71 Frequency

-an-ti  dns. every: sal-an-ti every day; sop-ta-an-ti every week.
ba-sik-o-ba, ba-sok-o-ba  adv. whenever, sometime; never (with a negative verb): ba-sik-o-ba re'-ba-no-a will come sometime; ba-sik-o-ba re'-ba-ja-no-a will never come.
bai-sik-bai-sik, ba-sik-ba-sik  adv. sometimes.
bar-bar  adv. again and again, repeatedly. <B
chang-e-chang-e  adv. alternate times, every other time; sal-ha chang-e-chang-e every alternate day; man-di chang-e-chang-e every alternate person.
da-an-da'an  adv. often, again and again.
da-o-ba, da-a-ba  adv. now also, again, moreover, and in addition.
dong-e-dong-e  adv. now and then, at intervals.
je so-moi-o  lw. whenever, at whatever time. <B
jem-jem-a  vi. regularly, repeatedly, often: jem-jem-a-ri bol-ing-a always talking. jem-jem adv.: jem-jem i-jam-ing-a repeatedly yawning. -jem'-jem-  aa. repeatedly constantly: kat-jem-jem-a run a lot; dok-jem-jem-a hit constantly; i-ang-jem'-jem-a go repeatedly.
-jring dns. every: sal-a-jring every day; sop-ta-jring every week. aa.
often, repeatedly, always, constantly, regularly: cha-jring-a always eat;
i'-ang-jring-a go all the time.
jring-jring, jring-na adv. always, repeatedly, constantly, daily.
jring-jrot adv. repeatedly, daily.
ma-je-ma-je, ma-ji-ma-ji adv. now and then, sometimes. <B
pang-na adv. always, (A'chik).
pang-na-ba adv. never, when used with a negative verb, (A'chik).
pil-tai-a vi. repeat, again and again. pil-tai-pil-tai adv.
-prak num. every, each: sop-ta-prak every week; bil-si-prak every year.
prak-prak adv. continuously, freely, openly, without hesitation, without
shyness or fear. prak-prak mik-u-ing-a vph. noisy, loud, as the noise
of water flowing on steep ground, crackling noise of splitting wood, of
tearing cloth.
-rik-kit num. every: ja-rik-kit every month; bil-si-rik-kit every year;
sal-a-rik-kit every day; sop-ta-rik-kit every week; wal-a-rik-kit, wal-
rik-kit every night.
-rik-rik- aa. repeatedly, piece by piece, constantly, progressively: gu-
ri-rik-rik-a turn again and again; amr-rik-rik-a want continuously;
bur-rik-rik-a lie constantly; bang-rik-rik-a more and more, increase,
of prices; dil-rik-rik-a grow poorer and poorer; do-rik-rik-a go up and
up.
sal-a-jring adv. every day.
sal-a-rik-kit adv. every day.
wal-ni-wal-ni, wal-ni-rik-kit adv. every morning.

2.72 Speed

2.724 Slowly

dik-im-dik-im adv. slowly, ponderously, as elephants walk.
ja-rip-rip adv. walk slowly but without resting.
jak-ka-sin-a vi. work slowly.
ka-sin-a vi. slow, quiet, calm, slow down; cold to the touch; cool down
after a fever.
ka-sin-chok-chok adv. very slowly, softly, quietly.
ka-sin-ka-sin, ka-sin-sin, ka-sin-e-ka-sin-e adv. slowly, carefully,
quietly.
ka-sin-min-min-a vi. very slowly, quietly.
min-min adv. very slowly, in working, in walking.
sru-sru adv. gradually, slowly, esp. of leaking: chi sru-sru ong-kat-
ing-a water is coming out slowly; as something might leak as one walks
along the road.
2.726 Quickly

bak-bak  *adv.* quickly, (A’chik).
bing-ding-bing-dang  *adv.* rapidly, as on a bicycle.
bing-si-bing-si  *adv.* quickly, very fast, of running, of a strong wind.
dal-sot-sot-a  *vi.* grow rapidly; a challenge by children: ‘I am bigger than you’.
-gal-gal-, -ga-gal-  *aa.* quickly, carelessly, throw away: a-gan-gal-gal- a speak quickly; don-gal-gal-a put down quickly, carelessly; ak-tet-ga-gal-a pick quickly, carelessly, incompletely; pe-gal-gal-a break and throw away.
gong-rak-a  *vi.* fast, rapidly, as when walking, running.
gong-rak-sak-sak  *adv.* quickly, while running quickly.
jak-rak-a  *vi.* quick, fast, esp. of work with the hands; quick at eating.
ping-chri-ping-chri  *adv.* rapidly, of running, jumping, swimming, riding a bike, etc.
rak-e-rak-e  *adv.* fast, strong, of talking, walking, etc.
rip-ak-rip-ak  *adv.* quickly, all at once, of collecting things, of using ones hands: rip-ak-rip-ak, rip-ak-sam-bak speaking quickly.
skok-skok, skok-ba-kok  *adv.* too quickly, carelessly, especially of eating, drinking.
ta-ra-ta-ri  *adv.* quickly, early. <B
ta-rak-a  *vi.* quick, fast, as of speaking; strong.
tap  *adv.* quickly, used in commands: tap i’-ba come quickly!; tap ra-a bring it right away!
tap teng-re  *adv.* fast, quickly, right away.
teng-re, teng-ri, teng-re-teng-re, teng-ri-teng-ri  *adv.* early, soon, fast, quickly.

2.728 Suddenly

at-tak-ka  *adv.* suddenly, quickly. <B
gik dak-e  *adv.* suddenly.
-git-ik-  *aa.* suddenly, unexpectedly: si-git-ik-a die suddenly; sok-git-ik-a-ri-jok just arrived unexpectedly; wal-o-ni dip-at jom-git-ik-a, i-ba-na man’-ja-jok since the nighttime he has been unexpectedly sick and couldn’t come. git-ik-git-ak  *adv.* suddenly, unexpectedly.
git-ik-git-ak  *adv.* suddenly, unexpectedly.

2.8 Names of Time Units

2.81 Day Names

All Garos, even those who live in the center of the Garo Hills where they are furthest from the Bengali-speaking plains, use the Bengali names
for the days of the week. Markets that are held every seventh day probably
go back to pre-British times, and if so, they have been imposing a seven
day cycle on the Garos for a long time. Mandis and other Garos do pro-
nounce these words in a distinctive way and the words are given here as
the Mandis pronounce them, not as they would be pronounced by native
Bengali speakers. Unlike Western month names, western names for the
days of the week are rarely used, probably because the exact equivalence
of the Western and Bengali weekday names makes it unnecessary to have
two sets.

Ro-bi-bal, Ro-bi-bar  n. Sunday. <B
Som-bal  n. Monday. <B
Mong-gol-bal  n. Tuesday. <B
But-bal  n. Wednesday. <B
Bi-sut-bal, Bri-hos-pot-ti-bar  n. Thursday. <B
Suk-ro-bal  n. Friday. <B
So-ni-bal  n. Saturday. <B

2.82 Month Names

The Bengali names for the months are still widely used by the Mandis
and other Garos, particularly for describing points in the agricultural cycle,
and for the parallel cycle of blossoming and ripening of wild plants. At least
among Mandis, the names of the months are more variable in pronunciation
than the names of the weekdays. Just why the month that includes part
of March and part of April should have so many variants I have no idea,
but I have heard all of those given here. The Western months are also in
wide use today. They are always used for the school calendar and for the
Christian religious cycle.

Boi-sak  n. the Bengali month that overlaps April and May. <B
Joi-sto, Jo-sto, Jo-sti  n. the Bengali month that overlaps May and
June. <B
A-sar, A-sal  n. the Bengali month that overlaps June and July. <B
Sra-bon  n. the Bengali month that overlaps July and August. <B
Bat-dro, Bha-dro, Bat-ro  n. the Bengali month that overlaps August
and September. <B
A-siin  n. the Bengali month that overlaps September and October. <B
Kar-tiik, Ka-tiik, Ka-ti  n. the Bengali month that overlaps October
and November. <B
Ok-ro-hai-on, Ok-ran, O- Gron, Ok-rai-on  n. the Bengali month that
overlaps November and December. <B
Pus  n. the Bengali month that overlaps December and January. <B
Mak  n. the Bengali month that overlaps January and February. <B
Pal-gun  n. the Bengali month that overlaps February and March. <B
Choit, Choit-tro, Choit-tri, Chot-tri, Chu-et, Chot-ro  n. the Bengali month that overlaps March and April. <B

2.84 Seasons

ding-ka-ri  n. hot season.
ha-ran, a-ran, ha-ran-ka-ri  n. dry season, the time of dried earth.
hu-hu-dok-dok  n. dry season, when the ground is hard and dry.
sin-ka-ri  n. cold season.
wa-chi, wa-chi-ka-ri  n. rainy season.
wa-da  n. echo in wa-chi wa-da rainy season.
3.0 QUANTITY, QUALITY, SENSORY

3.3 Quantity, Amounts, Number

3.34 Amounts

3.341 Enough, Not Enough

ban-dang-a vi. too short, insufficient, of cloth, string, etc.
bun-dik-a vi. run out, be finished, insufficient, not enough.
chip-a vi. sufficient, enough, esp. for seasonings such as salt, soda, oil, etc.
so-chip-a burn completely.
chip-ku-ek-a n. more than enough; too much, of seasonings such salt in a curry, of water when mixing mud for house building.
chong-top-top, chong-to-top, chong-top-e gan-a vi. small, short, of clothing; pull up to make short.
chu-ong-a vi. sufficient, enough.
dak-ri adv. almost, almost enough, almost done, not quite, not much left, not a great distance: dak-ri pin-jok almost thatched; dak-ri cha-jok eaten almost enough; dak-ri dal-jok almost old enough, almost grown.
gil-gip-a vi. enough to cover.
gip-a vi. big enough or long enough; sufficient to fully cover, reach, of cloth, thatch, etc.
ja-rim-a vi. long of pant legs, sleeves; large, of clothes.
nam-sang, nam-hang adv. most, more than half, almost, almost done, good enough, adequate, good but not excellent.
tik-a vi. enough, as of food being given out to a crowd: cha tik-jok tea is sufficient.
3.342 Much, Lots, Very

am-pu-pu  adv. many, especially of piled up things, but also of cows, stars.

bang-a  vi. much, many.

bang-e  adv. a lot, much, very: bang-e man-ja-no-a will not be able to do much.

bang-rik-rik-a  vi. more and more, increase, of prices, things: chu bang-rik-rik-a-ring-a there keeps being more and more rice beer.

-bat-  aa. more than, exceed, go across: ga-bat-a step across, step over;

-jro-bat-a swim across: cha-bat-a eat more.

-be-, -bi-  aa. very, a lot: jang-be-a very noisy: cha-be-a eat a lot.

be-si, bi-si  adv. much, lots, more, very. <B

bi-chap-bi-chap  adv. lots, of piled up things, of children.

bi-rom-bi-tom, rom-bi-tom-bi  adv. lots, plentiful, of fruit on a tree, of things tied in bundles.

bra-bra  adv. in large numbers, of people, birds, dogs, etc.

bra-dim-dim, bra-bra-dim-dim  adv. lots, of chicks.

cha-trip-trip-a  vt. eat by many, as insects eat bamboo, cloth, books:

cha-trip-trip-e chik-a bite by lots of people.

chru-chru  adv. in large numbers, of people.

dai-dai  adv. a lot: dai-dai mik-ka wa-ing-a raining a lot.

dam-bu, dam-bu-bu, dam-bu-dam-bu, dam-pu, dam-pu-dam-pu  adv. a large quantity, lots, much; fat: sam-bi-jak dam-bu-bu lots of curry; dam-bu rak-rak good, fine, of fine fat children, animal or plants such as bamboo shoots. -dam-bu-  aa. plentifully, lots: mil-dam-bu-a fat, of people, cattle; ring-dam-bu-a drink a lot; ki-dam-bu-a defecate plentifully.

dong-sak-sak  adv. have a lot of possessions, well off: dong-sak-sak cha-ing-a eating well.

hil-hil  adv. lots, of people, animals: man-di hil-hil dong-a there are lots of people.

hil-im hil-im  adv. in large numbers, of people, animals.

jal-a  vi. increase in numbers, spread; swarm, of insects such as lice that come in large numbers; crowd, of people.

jal-pret jal-ro-ro-a  vi. lots of people, children, kinsmen; crowded.

jap-u-jap-u  adv. plentiful, esp. of leaves or clothes, or of things in piles.

jil-ma  n. crowd, lots, of people, animals, not used for inanimate things.

-jil-ma ns.: a-chak-jil-ma a lot of dogs.

jrak-jrak  adv. lots, in flocks, esp. for chicks, sometimes for children.

-kal-  aa. more: nam-kal-a better; chu-kal-a sleep more.

-kam-  aa. completely, thoroughly: dong-kam-a live, dwell, stay for a long time; wa-kam-a rain continuously; rim-kam-a keep working, not rest; ron-kam-a give everything; bam-kam-a bent thoroughly over.
krim-kru *adv.* many people, especially children; many kinsmen: ang-su
ang-de krim-kru many children and grandchildren.

-ku-ak-a *aa.* in a strong degree, very: min-ku-ak-a very ripe; ka-ku-
ak-a very bitter; sin-ku-ak-a want very much.

-mi-si- *aa.* very, a lot, much: ro'-mi-si-a very long; ak-mi-si-a plucked
a lot: dal'-mi-si-a very big; ring'-mi-si-a sing a lot.

-o-nek *adv.* many. <B

pak-ma *n.* most, more than half, majority: pak-ma-in pin-jok most of
it is thatched.

-pak-pak- *aa.* a lot, fast: wa-pak-pak-a rain heavily; ki'-pak-pak-a
defecate a lot.

pra-pra *adv.* in great numbers, of birds, ants, people.

sra-sra, sra-e-sra-e *adv.* in large numbers, fall in large amounts, as rice
grain.

-srang- *aa.* completely: i'-ang-srang-a completely gone, gone for good.

sri-sra *adv.* in large amounts, of rain, birds or flying insects, earth lumps.

 teng-gil *adv.* very, very much, excessive.

-tip-tip- *aa.* thoroughly, repeatedly: dok-tip-tip-a pat, hit several times,
as to soothe a child; ka-tip-tip-a tie thoroughly; ba-ji-tip-tip-a thor-
oughly tangled; wen-tip-tip-a very tangled; chot-tip-tip-a tear (e.g.
string) to pieces.

-trip-trip- *aa.* by many, collectively: cha'-trip-trip-a eat by many, as
insects eat wood; chik-trip-trip-a bite by many, as bees sting people;
dok-trip-trip-a hit by many.

3.343 All, Whole, Entire, Most

be-bak, be-bak-in *n.* all. <B

dim-dak, dim-dak-in *n.* every, all.

gim-ik *n.* all, every.

-jol-jol-, -jo-jol- *aa.* via, completely, systematically, continuously: a-
gan-jol-jol-a speak continuously, speak at the same time; dok-jol-jol-a
hit repeatedly, hit many things; kat-jol-jol-a run constantly, all the time.

jol-jol, jo-jol *pp* via, along a path, road, river, (follows nominative): chi
jol-jol along the water, via the water; bring jol-jol via the forest; a-sam
jol-jol along the edge, of a field, etc.

ma-man-ti *n.* everything, all sorts, lots, of various kinds, (A-chik).

nok-pi-song-pi *n.* whole village.

pil-ak *n.* all, whole, (A-chik).

rek-tek *adv.* completely; often with negative as none at all: rek-tek
dil-jok utterly poor; mi-rong rek-tek ong'-ku-ja-no-a there will not
yet be any rice at all.

rik-kit-rik-kit, rik-kit-dang-kit *adv.* everything, this and that, all sorts
of things.
sal-gim-ik n. all day, whole day.
-si-si dns. all, whole, very; song-si-si whole village; ap-si-si very narrow;
sal-si-si all day.

sop n. all. <B

srang-e adv. clearly, completely, of speaking, seeing, hearing, understanding: na-chil srang-e kin-a ears hear clearly; srang-e hai'-ku-ja don’t yet clearly understand.

ting-ting-rok-rok-a, ting-ting-pak-rok-a vi. complete, thorough: ting-ting-pak-rok-e chok-a write down everything; ting-ting-rok-rok-e cha-jok ate up everything.
-tok- aa. all, everything: nik-tok-a see everything; nam-tok-a all are good.

-tring-trang- aa. thoroughly torn or taken apart, completely: ru-tring-trang-a take completely apart, of roof, fence, etc.; git-chit-tring-trang-a torn in many places, tattered.

3.344 Only

-a-ri- aa. just, simply, merely: si-a-ri-jok (he) simply died.
ak-sa, ak-sa-han adv. only, alone, of people.
ma-mang adv. only, just, merely: i'-ang-a ma-mang (he) simply went.

-pit-chi pvs. only, just.
sak-sa-han, sak-san num. only; alone, of people.

3.345 Few, A Little

ak-ki, ak-ki-ak-ki, ak-ki-sa n. a little, a bit, a small amount.
ak-ki-min-chi n. a tiny bit.

ak-ki-sa, ok-ki-sa n. a little: ak-ki-sa-ko ron'-bo give a little.

-chi-rot- aa. a little, a bit: git-tam-chi-rot-a pee just a little; ke-em-chi-rot-a defecate just a little.

chi-rot-chi-rot adv. a little, a small amount; little by little.
jak-ra-ra adv. empty, empty-handed; not pregnant.

kom n. few, little. <B

kom-i-a vi. lessen, reduce, as to come down in price. <B

min'-ti-sa n. echo in ak-ki-sa min'-ti-sa a little.


ak-ki-sa, ok-ki, ok-ki-ok-ki n. a little, a small amount.

3.346 Some, Nothing

a-di-ta n. some, a certain amount, (A'chik).
dong-e adv. leaving out, skipping, omitting: am-bin-o dong-e skipping tomorrow.
ma-ming-ba, ma-mung-ba  n. something; nothing, with a negative verb:
ma-ming-ba dong-ja it is nothing, it doesn’t matter.
ma-mai  n. with a negative verb: nothing: ma-mai dong-ja there is
nothing. qv. what all?: ma-mai nik-jok? what all did (you) see?
mit-am  n. some.
ra-e  adv. including, having to do with, taking into account, on account
of that: ang-ko ra-e kam rim-bo include me in your work.

3.347 Portions, Parts (cf. 1.37 Classifiers: Pieces and Parts, 5.87
Parts of Objects)

bak  n. portion, part, share, as portions that are divided among several
people.
bi-tin  n. piece, chunk, of meat, sugar, soap, sweets, etc.
chu-kan-ta  adv. incomplete, of an object, a song; with the top missing,
of a tree, bamboo).
gal-e-gal-e  adv. in part, omitting parts: gal-e-gal-e cha-a eat part,
leave part.

-kan-di-  aa. in part, partially: cha-kan-di-a eat some, leave some; si-
kan-di-a die before time, part way through (normal) life: tong-kan-di
part way.

ki-rot-ki-rot, ki-rot-bak-rot  adv. a bit here, a bit there, as in giving
things in bits rather than all at once.

-ku-rak-  aa. into pieces, separate: be-ku-rak-a broken into pieces; pit-
ku-rak-a split into pieces.

-mit-chi-  aa. into small pieces: den-mit-chi-a chop into small pieces;
chit-mit-chi-a tear into small pieces; ak-mit-chi-a tear off into small
pieces.

pri-pri  adv. into pieces: -pri-, -pri-pri-  aa. into pieces: ak-pri-a tear
into pieces; go-pri-a scatter; den-pri-a, den-pri-pri-a cut into many
small pieces; git-chit-pri-pri-a full of tears; cham-pri-a worn out and
in pieces.

-si-ri-  aa. gentle, into small pieces: pit-si-ri-a split into small pieces;
bi-si-ri-a cracked finely, of glass, cup, pot, etc; ja-si-ri-a on tiptoes;
gil-si-ri-a shed skin, peel off bark.

-su-su-  aa. in part, incomplete: rim-su-su-a do in part, not all; wat-
su-su-a weave only part (of a basket).

tong-kan-di  adv. partial, unfinished; incomplete, as a bamboo without
a top, half of a bamboo pole, butt of a cigarette, a life cut short by death
before proper time.

tong-pri-tong-pri  adv. into bits, into small pieces.

tong-tang-e, tong-tang dak-e  vt. crosswise, clear across: tong-tang-
e den-a, tong-tang dak-e den-a cut crosswise, cut clear across.
tong-tang-tong-tang  adv. clear across.
3.348 Misc. Quantities, Some, Comparative, etc.

a-ro *adv.* more, additional, again. <B
a-ro-a-ro *adv.* in addition; more and more. <B
ba-di-a *vi.* to exceed, be more than, go beyond, be bigger than.
chang-tong *adv.* half filled, of a basket, pot, etc.: *gil-as chang-tong chi* one half glass of water.
ki-sang-tap *adv.* less than half filled, of a basket, etc., with only a little in the bottom.
prai *adv.* almost, mostly; approximately. <B

3.35 Each, Every

rik-kit *n.* each, every: man-de rik-kit every person. -rik-kit *num.* each, every (when used with a classifier): man-de sak-rik-kit each person; a'-ba dam-rik-kit each field; sal-a-rik-kit each day; ja-rik-kit each month.
-sro, -sru *ns.* each, generally for distributing things: pil-sa-sro one coin each; tang-ka pat-gin-i-sro two takas each; mi rang-tal-sa-sro one plate of rice each; kap-sa-sro ron-bo give one cup each.

3.37 Mandi and A’chik Numbers

Garos living in India have a full set of numbers in their own language which they use for most purposes, but few Bangladeshi Mandis can count beyond five in Mandi. Numbers are most often used in school and in marketing, both places that are dominated by the Bengali language. Mandis control the full complexity of the Bengali number system, not only the numbers themselves, but also arithmetical terminology. I have not included this Bengali vocabulary here. The only native Mandi word for arithmetical manipulation that I have ever encountered is chan-a ‘count’. The modern A’chik number system is described in Chapter 10 of Volume I, along with a sketch of a now dying alternative.

a-dra *n.* half.
pak-sa *n.* half, the other side: sal pak-sa half a day.
jak-ra *n.* first, oldest child, first rice beer; right-hand.
-sa *num.* one.
-gin-i, gin-ing *num.* two. gin-i-gip-a *n.* second.
-git-tam *num.* three. git-tam-gip-a *n.* third.
-bri *num.* four. bri-gip-a *n.* fourth.
-dok *num.* six, (A’chik).
-sin-i *num.* seven, (A’chik).
-chet *num.* eight, (A’chik).
-sku *num.* nine, (A’chik).
-chi-king *num.* ten, (A·chik).

sot- *num.* prefix for tens in counting, as sot-bri forty, sot-chet eighty, etc., (A·chik).

kol-grik, kol *num.* twenty, (A·chik).


kol-a-chi *num.* thirty, (A·chik).

kol-chang-gin-i *num.* forty, (lit. 20 x 2).

kol-chang-gin-i pat-sa *num.* forty-one.

kol-chang-git-tam *num.* sixty, (lit. 20 x 3).

kol-chang-bri *num.* eighty, (lit. 20 x 4).

kol-chang-bong-a, kol-i bong-a *num.* twenty-five, (A·chik).

kol-a-chi *num.* thirty, (A·chik).

kol-chang-gin-i *num.* forty, (lit. 20 x 2).

kol-chang-gin-i pat-sa *num.* forty-one.

kol-chang-git-tam *num.* sixty, (lit. 20 x 3).

kol-chang-bri *num.* eighty, (lit. 20 x 4).

kol-chang-bong-a *num.* one hundred, (lit. 20 x 5).

ma•sa *num.* one hundred.

rit-cha-sa *num.* one hundred, (mainly A·chik).

3.38 Bengali Numbers

poi-la *adv.* first. <B

pro-tom, pol-tom *n.* first, beginning. <B

lak, lo-ko *num.* one hundred thousand. <B

3.4 Quality, Probability, etc.

3.42 Probability

-kon *ts.* probably, maybe.

-na-ba-dong-a *pvs.* probably.

-na-ba-gin-ang *pvs.* probably.

3.43 Similar and Different, Kind, Various

3.433 Similar

ap-san *n.* same, together, alike, (A·chik).

bai-bai *adv.* similarly, in the same way, as before, in a familiar way, same place, same condition, same time; serially, in order, one after another, along with.

dam-san, dam-han *n.* same, together, in one place.

i•chik-chik *dem.* like this.

in-chik *dem.* this much, like this.

in-dak-a *dem.* in that way, like that.

in-di-sik, in-di-sik-sik, in-di-sik-ni *dem.* like this, this much.

so-man, so-man-so-man  *adv.* the same in age, size, quality, etc.; level, smooth. <B

### 3.435 Different

al-a-da  *adv.* different, separate. <B
ding-dang  *adv.* different: ding-dang-ding-dang  *adv.* different from each other, (Archik: ding-tang).
ding-dang-ga-dang  *adv.* separately, doing things in different ways, disorderly.

### 3.437 Various, Kinds, Other

ro-kom, ro-hom  *n.* kind, type, variety. <B

### 3.44 Accuracy, Reality, Purity, Truth (cf. 7.25 Untruths, Lies; 7.26 jokes)
a-dot  *n.* original, genuine, real; personal name given by parents, in contrast to baptismal name. a-dot-e  *adv.* really, (same as a-sol-e). <B
a-sol-e  *adv.* really, truly, actually. <B
be-be, bi-bi  *adv.* truly, really, correctly.
chek-chek  *adv.* surely, really, real, genuine; pure colored, of a single color.
chong-mot  *n.* actual, real. -chong-mot-  *aa.* really, certainly.
em-ne  *adv.* for no reason; for practice rather than real, just happens. <B
hang-jang  *adv.* without reason, with no purpose, randomly, hurriedly.
kak-ket  *adv.* true, correct.
ram-ram  *adv.* ordinary, normal, usual.

### 3.45 Quality, Evaluative

#### 3.453 So-So

al-a-mal-a  *adv.* so-so.
bang-e nam-ja  *vph.* not very good.
nam-bru-a  *vi.* fairly good, not very good.
nam-hang, nam-sang  *adv.* good enough, adequate, good but not excellent; most, more than half, almost, almost done.

#### 3.455 Positive Evaluation

English is rich in words that convey a sense of ‘good’: fine, swell, nice, great, wonderful, lovely, delightful, neat, cool, and many others. Not being
content with the words given to them, every new generation of English
speakers coins a few more. This is one area where Mandi is comparatively
impoverished, for it has only two general terms: nam-a the very common
word for ‘good’, and to-a. As an independent verb to-a means ‘taste good’
but as an adverbial affix it conveys a more general idea of ‘pleasant for
the senses’: ni-to-a ‘beautiful to look at’; kin-a-to-a ‘beautiful to hear’; a-
song-to-a ‘comfortable for sitting’, and many others. Mandi has a number
of more specialized words that convey a sense of approval, but in spite of
searching, I have never found anything approaching the variety of words
used in English. We can speculate on the nature of Mandi culture that
makes their vocabulary so limited in this area, but perhaps it is English
that needs the explanation. Mandis have a matter-of-fact attitude toward
the world and perhaps they have no reason to gush about their delight and
admiration. From a Mandi viewpoint, the efflorescence of English words
must seem a wasteful self-indulgence.

ben-dol-dol  adv. fat and fine, of small children.
bil-ting-a  vi. well wrapped, protected; well thatched, well fenced; having
a well tucked in cloth. bil-ting-ting  adv.
bok-a  vi. white. echo in nam-a bok-a good; reflects the association of
whiteness with goodness.
dam-bu rak-rak  adv. good, fine, large, of a fine fat child, animal, or
plants such as bamboo shoots.
ka-sim-ang-ka-sim-ang  adv. beautiful sounding, touching, of speaking,
as one might speak to evoke pity, of music that makes one sad.
-kin-ap-  aa. comfortable, pleasant: rim-kin-ap-a pleasant to touch,
soft; dong-kin-ap-a in a good state, comfortable; chu-kin-ap-a sleep
well, comfortably; pin-kin-ap-a spread comfortably, as a blanket; chu-
kin-ap-a comfortable for sleeping.
nam-a  vi. good.
nam-e-man-chan  adv. very good, excellent.
nam-et-a  vt. improve, make good.
nam-grim-a  vi. get along well.
nam-kal-a  vi. better.
nam-pak-a  vi. very good.
ni-sam-a  vi. echo in ni-to-a ni-sam-a beautiful.
ni-to-a, ni-tu-a  vi. beautiful to look at.
ni-to-a cha’nap-a  vi. good to look at and to eat, beautiful and tastes
good.
ni-to-et-a  vt. beautify, make beautiful.
-ri-ri  dns. beautiful, well done: ni-to-ri-ri beautiful to see; pang-si-ri-
ri beautiful, the way the world looks in the bright moonlight; ra-ja-ri-ri
well done; chu-ak-ri-ri very high.
to-a  vi. good tasting: ja-ba to-be-a the curry tastes very good; to-e nik-a like the taste of, (lit. see the taste as good). -to- aa. good for the senses: gan-to-a comfortable to wear; ni-to-a beautiful to see; kin-a-to-a beautiful to hear.
to-nik-a, to-e nik-a  vt. like the taste of.

3.457 Negative Evaluation

-dik-  aa. ugly, unpleasant. dong-dik-a in a bad condition, as having a dirty body, uncomfortable; ni-dik-a ugly to see; kin-a-dik-a ugly to hear.
dong-si-a  vi. echo in dong-dik-a dong-si-a in a bad state, uncomfortable.
nam-ja  vi. bad.
i-si-a  vi. echo in ni-dik-a ni-si-a ugly to look at. ni-dik ni-si, ni-dik ni-si dak-a  adv. in an ugly manner.

3.5 Light and Vision

3.51 See, Watch, Show, Search (cf. 9.42 Eye Gestures).

3.512 See

mik-brak-mik-brak  adv. seeing ahead of time, seeing early, as when someone comes from a distance.
mik-mel-a, mik-on mel-a  vi. see badly, see unclearly, out of focus.
mik-on an-dal-a  vi. see badly, (lit. eyes dark).
na-a  vi. appear, show up, turn up, of people, fruit at the market, etc.; become visible; rise, as sun, moon; erupt, come out, swell up, of skin diseases, pimples, etc.
a-da-ret-a  vi. appear in part but not fully, of the rising sun or moon, of the sun coming from behind clouds.
a-nu-prot-a  vi. come through, appear through.
nik-a  vt. see, dream about. vi. look like, have the appearance of.
  -nik-  aa. look upon, consider, regard: chon-nik-a feel small, feel inferior, have an inferiority complex; dal-nik-a look up to, respect, see as large; nom-nik-a appear to be easy; nam-nik-a like, love, see as good; seng-nik-a show off, act smart.
nik-dik-a  vt. ugly to look at; catch sight of, see briefly, see unexpectedly, see someone who does something bad, catch in the act, as a thief.
nik-et-a  vt. see at a distance.
nik-mal-a *vt.* see each other regularly, as of two people who work regularly together, as lovers.
nik-man-a *vi.* notice, discover, notice the absence or presence of something.
nik-rik-a *vt.* see something that is moving, see in passing.
pil-ip-pil-ap nik-rik-a *adv.* catch a glimpse of.
sik-nang-a *vt.* catch in the act, as a thief or adulterer.

### 3.514 Watch, Search, Stare

nem-a *vt.* look for, search.
nem-mik-brang-a *vt.* look past, not notice, miss seeing.
ni-a *vt.* look at; watch, test, try, attend to with one of the senses: kin-a-e
     ni-bo listen!; rim-e ni-a feel.
ni-bru-a *vi.* see poorly, not want to see, not try to see.
ni-chak-a *vt.* watch for someone or something, look for someone; wait for someone, of a midwife waiting for a baby, of participants in a sacrifice waiting for the priest to return to the house.
ni-chol-wi-a *vt.* peek, sneak a look.
ni-gak-a *vt.* stare at.
ni-git-chi-a *vt.* see unintentionally, catch sight of; look at something bad, as seeing someone who is very sick.
ni-ket-chi-a *vt.* look to one side.
ni-mik-brang-a *vt.* look around without seeing, look past, not notice, miss seeing.
ni-on-a *vt.* look down, bend down to look.
ni-pak-a *vt.* look at on the way, look at in passing.
ni-pang-pil-a *vt.* twist around to look backwards, look over one’s shoulder.
ni-pil-a *vt.* look back, look over one’s shoulder.
ni-rik-a *vt.* watch someone leaving.
ni-so-a, ni-su-a *vt.* wait for, look out for.
ni-tat-a, ni-dat-a *vt.* stare at.
ni-tim-a *vt.* watch attentively, continuously.
ni-wat-a *vt.* stare at, look at nothing else.

### 3.516 Show

bik-kot-a *vt.* show, reveal, as showing hands from the sleeve; extract, excavate, dig up, as root crops; take apart; discover, find out.
jak-si-ot-a *vt.* point to, point out, show.
nik-dil-et-a *vt.* show where something can be seen.
pin-ik-a, pin-ik-et-a *vt.* show, point to, point out.
3.53 Color

Forms of Garo that escaped heavy Bengali influence had, at least until recently, just four well established color terms: *gip-ok* ‘white’, *gi-sim* ‘black’, *git-chak* ‘red’, and *rim-it* ‘yellow’. The first three of these are all formed with an ancient, but now frozen prefix, and they share some unusual syntactic features associated with words having this prefix, that are described in Chapter 11 of Volume I. *Rim-it* stands out as different from the other three, and perhaps it is a relatively late addition to the language, but it is firmly established among all groups of Garos that I have known. *Tang-sik-a*, derived presumably from *tang-a* ‘green’ in the sense of ‘unripe’, has occasionally been pressed into service as a term for ‘green’ color, but it is much less well established than the other four color terms. Bangladeshi Mandis supplement their four basic terms with a large number of compounds that refine their meanings, and with several words borrowed from Bengali: *niil* ‘blue’, *ko-e-ri* ‘dark brown’ and others. All this corresponds very closely to the famous Berlin-Kay color-sequence. (Berlin and Kay (1969). Of course, Mandis can also describe a color by mentioning an object that has the color.

3.531 White, Light

**bok-a** vi. white.
**bok-chi-gam-gam** adv. clean and white, very white, of cloth, paper.
**bok-chi-jam-bok-chi-jam, bok-chi-jam-jam** adv. thoroughly white, clean and white.
**bok-chi-pal-pal** adv. very white.
**bok-dim-dim-a** vi. very white.
**bok-jam-jam** adv. clean and white, as cloth, paper.
**bok-ku-ku-a** vi. pure white, completely white: **bok-ku-ku** adv.: **kin-i bok-ku-ku dak-jok** hair has turned completely white.
**bok-nel-a** vi. fade, of colors; whitish, somewhat white, dirty white.
**bok-pal-pal** adv. pure white, very white, clean and white, of cloth, paper.
**bok-rim-it** adv. pale colored, pale green, pale rose.
**gang-gip-bok** adv. somewhat white, off white, light colored, gray, even darkish gray.
**gip-bok, gip-bok-a, bok-a** vi. white, light colored.
**gip-bok-rong-rong** adv. pure white.

3.532 Warm Colors

**gang-git-chak** adv. somewhat red, reddish, dark red.
**gang-rim-it** adv. somewhat yellow, yellowish; occasionally blue or green.
Quality, Quantity, Sensory

**git-chak**, **git-chak-a** *vi.* red; by extension: reddish brown, orange.
**git-chak-gip-bok** *adv.* pinkish, salmon colored, (lit. red-white).
**git-chak-mrang-a** *vi.* reddish, such as the color of middle-sized tiger
(mat-cha) that is neither striped nor spotted; color of the sky at sunset.

**git-chak-mrang-mrang** *adv.*
**git-chak-rim-it** *adv.* orange, (lit. red-yellow).
**git-chak-rong-rong** *adv.* bright red.
**git-chak-sri-sri** *adv.* very red, bright red.
**han-git-chak**, **an-git-chak** *n.* light complexion but light within the
local range rather than pale like Europeans, (lit. body-red).
**rim-it**, **rim-it-a** *vi.* yellow; by extension: light brown, orange-brown,
green, occasionally blue.
**rim-it-jrang-jrang** *vi.* completely yellow.
**rim-it-jri-jri** *adv.* bright yellow.
**rim-it-rim-it dak-a** *adv.* yellowish.

### 3.534 Cold Colors, Black

**gang-gi-sim** *adv.* blackish, any dark color; or any cool color, even if light.
**gi-sim**, **gi-sim-a**, **sim-a** *vi.* black; by extension: any cool color, even blue
or green; any dark color.
**gi-sim-mrang-mrang** *adv.* blackish, blue, green.
**gi-sim-pru-pru** *adv.* very black, pure black.
**ko-e-ri** *n.* dark brown, purple. <B
**niil** *n.* blue. <B
**sim-chi-rik-rik** *adv.* pure black.
**sim-chi-ru-ru** *adv.* pure black; smooth, shiny but not bright.
**sim-dim-dim** *adv.* dark appearance of trees and shrubs as seen from far
away and therefore looking dark.
**sim-kel-tong-a** *vi.* very black, of people, dogs, etc.
**sim-ku-ak-a** *vi.* very black, of people, dogs, etc.
**sim-pru-a** *vi.* very black, pure black, like the soot on pots; very dark, of
people, dogs, etc.; very dark complexion. **sim-pru-pru.** *adv.*
**sim-rik-a** *vi.* dark, blackish, ash gray, dark blue, dark green. **sim-rik-
sim-rik** *adv.*
**tang-sik-a** *vi.* green colored, greenish; not yet dead, of plants.

### 3.538 Color: Mixed, Patterns

**bok-ku-bok-ku** *adv.* incompletely white, white here and there, as graying
hair, a powdered face.
bok-sim-bok-sim adv. mixed white and black.
brem-brem, brim-brin adv. mixed colors as in a striped, checked or plaid pattern, baskets made with both dark and light strips.
bren-tak-tak, bren-tik-tik, brem-tak-tak, brem-tik-tik adv. of mixed colors, with spots of varied colors or a delicate pattern, especially when seen from a distance.
brim-brim, brem-brem adv. of several colors, as in a striped, checked or plaid pattern, baskets made with both dark and light strips.
brim-kong-tok, bring-kong-tok, brem-kong-tok adv. mixed colors, as red, white, black, etc., as a tiger, a three-colored dog.
bring-chang-tok adv. having mixed colors.
chang-bok-a vi. mixed colors but including some white, of cloth, some animals; a bamboo decoration where part of the green surface is scraped away from both sides of the nodes.
kong-brim adv. of mixed colors, having several different colors, as black, white and red, of a tiger or dog.
kong-tok-a, kong-brim-kong-tok-a vi. mixed colors, as in a lunggi pattern. kong-tok-kong-tok adv.
mat-cha-ki-brin-a vi. black mixed with gray or white, of hair, (lit. mixed tiger dung).
pu-ta-pu-ta adv. in drops, spotted, like a leopard.
re-em-re-em adv. having a small pattern, as the creases in one’s skin.
rik-en-rik-en adv. a zigzag pattern; wrinkles of the skin; uneven, pitted.
sal-chrit-a vi. striped, as striped cloth, as a tiger.
si-a vi. echo in tok-a si-a spotted.
tok-a vi. spotted, as a leopard or a pattern on cloth. vt. apply a spot, as colored cosmetic forehead spot, blood on an altar, flour spots on walls at festivals.

3.539 Color: Other
gip-bok gi-sim dak-a adv. in black and white, not colored.
mik-brok-a vi. dull, faded; fade, loose color, loose initial shine or glaze, grow dull.
na-gap-a vi. match, of clothes; get along, of people, (same as mel-i-a).
pit-nek n. any of various impure, often muddy colors: off-white, tan, gray, brown, dirty pink, dirty yellow, lightly colored, faded.
rong n. color, variety, type; suit in cards. <B
rong rak-a vph. be permanent color, strong color.
sol-srim n. medium complexion within the local range, neither very light, nor very dark in complexion.
tang-si-ru-ru, tang-sik-ru-ru adv. fine bright color.
3.54 Clarity and Visibility (cf. 3.714 Clean, Clear; 657 Washing and Grooming)

chi-chang-chang  adv. disappear, gone, of rice seedlings under water; empty, clear of objects; having gaps in a field of planted crops.
gong-ge-a-o  lu. around the bend, out of sight.
mik-mak-mik-mak, mik-met-mik-met  adv. poorly seen due to smoke or fog.
rim-a- rim-a, rim-ang- rim-ang  adv. see or hear partially, unclear, blurred, as from far away.
rim-pit- rim-pit  adv. see poorly because something is far away.
rim-ra- rim-ra, rim-ra- ga-ra  adv. vaguely, blurry, unclear, see badly, as from far away, in a fog, under water.
ru-ang- ru-ang, su-ang- su-ang  adv. see or hear dimly, in the distance.

3.55 Brightness, Shine, Shadow, Dullness, Darkness (cf. 5.42 Fire and Lights)

3.554 Bright, Light (cf. 5.425 Shine, Flair Up)

ja-seng-a  vi. light, opposite of dark, as a room with windows; clear up, become light, as from lamps or at dawn.
jrang-a  vi. be light, in contrast to darkness; become light, of twilight, moonlight, when clouds clear up, when lamps are turned on; burn up strongly, of fire, lamps.
mik-brap-a  vi. be dazzled by bright light, get into the eyes, of bright lights.
mik-brap-it-a  vt. shine on, dazzle someone: ang-a nang- ko lait net-e mik-brap-it-a shining a light, I dazzle you.
mik-chret-a  vi. be dazzled from brightness.
mik-dat-a, sal mik-dat-a  vi. dazzled with glare, blinded by getting the sun in the eyes: na- a lait net-e ang- ko mik-dat-it-a shining a light, you dazzled me.
pang- si- ri- ri  adv. beautiful, the way the world looks in the bright moonlight.
sal ding- a  vph. sunlight, as opposed to shade.
seng- a  vi. bright, brilliant, shine, grow light as at dawn; alert, smart, clever.

3.556 Shine

ching- a  vi. shine, not necessarily brightly, of sun, moon, fire, candles, flashlight, TV screen, gold; light up, flame up.
ching- brap-a  vi. shine brightly, of hurricane lamp, lightning, fire, shiny metal.
ching-chet-ching-chet, ching-chret-ching-chret  adv. shine like a TV screen or reflections in metal, like oily hair; flicker, sparkle.
ching-chot-ching-chot  adv. shine, shiney, like a TV screen, pig fat, beautiful cattle.
chret dak-a, chret-chret dak-a  vph. shine suddenly, as the sun coming from clouds, a flashlight turned on; flare up, of a match, etc.
jil-au-a  vi. flare up, of a fire; flash lightning.
jil-jeng jil-jeng  adv. shiny, flickering, of a TV screen, pig fat, beautiful cattle.
jing-jang-a  vi. shine, flash, of lightning, shiny metal, a mirror.
jing-jet-jing-jet  adv. flicker, as reflecting metal, jewelry, a TV screen.
net-a  vt. turn on, shine, with a light, candle, burning sticks, etc., in order to see; shine on, illuminate: lait-cha net-e ni-ing-a, chau-kok-ko see the thief by shining a light.
ni-dat-a, sal ni-dat-a  vt. bright sun, (lit. the sun stares).
ni-tat-e dong-a, sal ni-tat-e dong-a, ni-dat-e dong-a  vt. shine on strongly, (lit. the sun stares).
ri-rau-ri-rau  adv. flashing, of lightning, of reflections from a tin roof, the surface of water, a TV screen. ri-rau-a vi.
rik-rak-a  vi. reflect, shine, of a mirror, tin roof, metal, water, TV. rik-rak-rik-rak  adv.
ring-rang-ga-rang  adv. flicker, of reflections in metal, a TV screen, water; shaky, wobbly, of a rocking boat, a bamboo bridge; flutter, of leaves; restless, constantly moving, of people.
teng-a  vi. shine.

3.558 Dark, Dim, Shade, Shadow

an-dal-a  vi. be dark, dark of the night, of a closed room.
dim-il-a  adv. dim, not bright; dim-il-e ching-a shine dimly.
ja-gring  n. shadow, reflection in a mirror or water.
mre-o-mre-o  adv. faintly, dimly, not bright, of a fire: mre-o-mre-o ni-a see dimly, as a sick or dying person might see.
sal-ik-kim  n. shade, as offered by a tree, house, etc. sal-ik-kim-a  vi. be shady, become shady.

3.6 Sensory, Except Visual

3.62 Hearing and Sound (cf. 7.29 Non-language Uses of Voice)

3.622 Hear, Listen

kin-a-a  vt. hear, listen.
kin-a-rik-a  vt. listen to something passing or moving: nang-ni a-gan-a-ko ang-a kin-a-rik-e chok-ing-a I am listening and writing your speech.

ba-jin-a  vi. to sound, make a sound, as a musical instrument: ang-a har-mon-i-ko ba-jin-et-a I play (cause to sound) the harmonium. <B
dal-dal  adv. making noise, banging, of banging on tin roofs, bamboo pieces knocking together, water flowing on steep ground, of drums, of chopping wood.
del-del-a  vi. have the rough sound of a broken machine, a broken water pot; make insufficient noise, as a bad drum head; hoarse, as when one cannot speak or sing properly due to a cold, or from drinking too much rice beer: git-ok del-del-a throat is hoarse.
dup-dup, dip-dip  adv. noise of a banging rice pounder.
gam-a  vi. make a noise, to sound, of thunder, drums, etc.
jang-a  vi. make a pleasant sound, as a drum, bell, gong, voice; good speaking.
jik-jik-a  vi. noise of smacking made by babies at the breast.
ka-sim-ang-ka-sim-ang  adv. beautiful sounding, touching, of speaking, as one might speak to evoke pity, of music that makes one sad or thoughtful.
kin-a-dik-a  vi. ugly in sound, opposite of kin-a-to-a beautiful to hear.
kin-a-si-a  vi. sound bad, sound ugly, (same as kin-a-dik-a).
kin-a-to-a  vi. beautiful to hear, nice sounding.
kre-o-kre-o  adv. with a crackling sound, of dry leaves being crushed, an egg breaking, of shrimp, of eating food that is not fully cooked.
lil-lil-a  vi. make a noise, of an engine, of thunder.
mik-u-a  vi. sound, make a noise; cry of any animal, meow, bleat, moo, etc.; sound, of musical instrument, machine, etc.; squeak.
mik-u-drak-a  vi. make a loud noise, of a dog, a squeaking ox cart, an airplane.
nang-chak-a  vi. make a loud noise in the ear, like a gun: chan-dal na-chil-o nang-chak-ing-a the gun is making a loud noise in (my) ear.
reng-reng-a  vi. ring, as a gong rings.
se-len-sel-a  vi. echo in del-del-a sel-sel-a have the sound of a broken machine, bad drum head.
su-del-a, git-ok su-del-a  vi. having a hoarse voice.
tak-tak-a, tak-tak-a rak-rak-a  vi. make a tapping sound, as the sound of beating a finger on the table, of typing.
tal-tal-a  vi. make the noise of falling water.
tek-tek-a  vi. make a non-ringing sound when struck.
teng-teng-a  vi. make a ringing sound when struck, squeaking sound made by squirrels.
tim-tim-a vi. make a loud noise, of thunder, of rice being ground in a mill, of a tube well, motor, train. tim-tim adv.: tim-tim mik-u-a make a sound of thunder, etc.
wek-wak-a vi. noisy, with much talking.

3.626 Quiet, Silent
dol-a vi. make insufficient noise, of a drum.
jrip-a vi. silent, quiet, of people, animals, machines. jrip-jrip adv. silently, quietly, secretly.
jrip-jrang adv. soundlessly, silently.
ka-sin-chip-chip adv. very softly, quietly; very cold, of things, people.
rin-a-rim-a, rin-ang-rin-ang adv. faintly, dimly heard or seen, unclear, blurred, as from distance, or by bad hearing, by fog.
su-ang-su-ang adv. hear or see dimly, in the distance.
si-wil, si-wil-si-wil adv. quietly, softly, so as not to be heard.
srok, srok-srok, srok-srok-e, srok-e-srok-e, sruk, sruk-sruk adv. quietly, secretly.

3.628 Loud, Noisy, Disturbing
The wealth of terms for disturbing noises, especially for noisy and disturbing children, suggests that Mandis see this as a considerable problem.
gam-pret-a vi. sound loudly, of thunder, airplane, gun.
gam-ru-ru-a vi. make much noise, noisy.
gek-gak-a vi. talk a lot, chatter; disturb with noise, of animals. gek-gak-gek-gak adv.: a-chak gek-gak-gek-gak dak-e sing-ing-a the dog is barking noisily.

3.629 Loud, Noisy, Disturbing
The wealth of terms for disturbing noises, especially for noisy and disturbing children, suggests that Mandis see this as a considerable problem.
gam-pret-a vi. sound loudly, of thunder, airplane, gun.
gam-ru-ru-a vi. make much noise, noisy.
gek-gak-a vi. talk a lot, chatter; disturb with noise, of animals. gek-gak-gek-gak adv.: a-chak gek-gak-gek-gak dak-e sing-ing-a the dog is barking noisily.
gek-gak-a, na-chil gok-chip-a vi. disturbed in the ears, tired of too much noise, don’t want to hear: bol-a-ko kin-a-e na-chil gok-chip-a hearing the noise, the ears are disturbed.
hil-hil-tim-tim-a vi. make a loud noise, like machinery, like a rice mill, airplane.
jang-a-tang-a, jang-be-tang-be-a vi. noisy, be noisy.
jang-be-a vi. very loud, noisy.
jang-e, jang-i adv. loud, disturbing, of pigs, loudspeakers. jang-e bol-a,
jang-i bol-a sph. speak loudly, as when under the influence of rice beer.
jang-ting-a vi. loud, make a loud noise.
jek-jak-a vi. make noise, make a disturbance, as by children or when everyone talks together; talk a lot, as when drunk; talk at the same time.
ka-so-a, ka-su-a vi. noisy, unpleasantly loud, disturbing.
ka'-so-chip-a vi. unpleasantly loud, of dogs, children, airplanes, etc.
ka'-so-ka'-rek adv. noisy, of children.
na-dip-dak-a vi. be disturbed by noise, as by airplanes.
prak-prak mik-u-ing-a vph. noisy, loud, as the noise of water flowing on steep ground, crackling noise of splitting wood, of tearing cloth.
tang-pret-a vi. exploding noise, of bamboo bursting, of a bomb, a firecracker.
ting-gil-ting-gil adv. loudly, of talking, crying, laughing.
ting-ku-ting-ku adv. loud, of a rice pounder, a squealing pig, of angry talking.
ting-pret-a vi. noise and flying off of bamboo when it burns and bursts; loud, of crying or shouting.

3.64 Touching and Feeling (cf. 8.94 Pain, Itching, Burning)

chim-it-a vi. be asleep, of one's leg, etc., pins and needles. ja'-chim-it-a vi. asleep, of the legs. jak-chim-it-a vi. asleep, of the arms.
grep-grep adv. hurting as well as itching, of an insect bite.
ja'-min-tal-a vi. asleep, of legs.
jak-min-tal-a vi. asleep, of arms.
ka-kit-a vi. itch.
ka-kit-chu-a vi. feel tickled; have buzzing in the ear.
me-sak-a, mi-sak-a vi. burn, sting, as from nettles or the stinging hair of a poisonous caterpillar; git-dok me-sak-a feeling in throat after eating ta-ring (arum).
rem-bu-a, rem-bu-bu-a vt. tickle, shake someone to call attention.
rim-e na-a vt. feel, test by feeling.
rim-kin-ap-a vi. pleasant to touch, feel soft or good.
rim-to-a vi. nice feeling, feel good to the touch.
sa'-dik-a vi. hurt, ache, be painful; burning taste of chilies.
sa'-dik-srim-a vi. a little painful, not very painful.
-srok- aa. lightly, loosely, gently, partially, incompletely: dok-srok-a hit lightly; ha-bu-srok-a bathe quickly or partially; a-gan-srok-a tell partially, not everything; ka-srok-a tie loosely; ken-srok-a comb slowly and carefully.

3.66 Texture and Surface, Sharp, Smooth, etc.

3.662 Texture: Rough, Smooth

bu-rop-bu-top adv. rough in texture, of wood, ground, etc.
mik-a-a, mik-a-a srak-srak vi. slightly rough or uneven, not smooth or slippery.
min-ik-a, min-ik-min-ik  vi. level, even, smooth without lumps, as the mud of a rice field that is ready for transplanting.

mrik-a  vi. smooth, as well-combed hair. mrik-mrik, mrik-dil-dil  adv.

rik-en-rik-en  adv. uneven, pitted, wrinkles of the skin; a zigzag pattern.

rik-kap-rik-kap  adv. not smooth, bumpy, rough, of boards, cloth.

rik-ki-rik-kot  adv. rough, uneven, of boards, roads, the ground, food containing hard bits.

rim-il-a  vi. slippery, smooth.

rim-il-tet-tet  adv. very smooth, worn smooth, like a fine mat, smooth metal; shiny, like silk.

sal-srik-a  vt. make smooth, as by scraping a knife, rub clean, scrape rice into the hole of a teng-ki.

skem-a  vi. adv. gritty, texture of sand. skem-skem  adv. mixed with sand or dirt, of food that is not good to eat.

srak-srak, mik-a srak-srak  adv. intermediate between rough and smooth, not slippery.

-srot-  aa. slip: rim-srot-a let slip with hand; ga-srot-a slip with the feet.

3.664 Texture: Hard, Soft

-brek-  aa. soft, excessively soft: ki-breka have diarrhea; rim-breka grab with the hands and crush, when eating; nom-chi-breka cooked too softly; ging-breka-breka having a runny nose.

dil-dok-dil-dok  adv. very soft, like butter, curds, European bread.

dip-u dip-u  adv. very soft.

min-ek-a  vi. tender, soft, of well-cooked rice, breasts; a bit over-ripe but still edible. -min-ek-  aa. soft, squash, crush: jot-min-ek-a poke and make soft, crush; ga-min-ek-a step on and squash; rim-min-ek-a squash in the hand.

nom-a  vi. soft, easy, inexpensive.

nom-breka  vi. very soft, of mud, fruit.

nom-mineka  vi. very soft, too soft, of mud, fruit; cooked with too much water, of rice, tubers.

nom-rik-nom-rik  adv. neither very hard nor very soft, the texture of body flesh.

rak-a  vi. hard, strong, tough, difficult: dam rak-a expensive. rak-e- rak-e  adv. fast, strong, of talking, walking, etc. -rak-  aa. strong, fast: gong-rak-a fast; mik-rak-a wake up, strong in the eyes; mang-rak-a healthy, strong of body; ding-rak-a strong of long slender things, like string; jak-rak-a quick, fast, esp. in working with one’s hands, quick at eating.

rang-tang-tang  adv. hard, well inflated, of a football or tire; angrily.
rin-ok-a  vi. not too hard and not too soft, of cooked rice; not too wet and not too dry; speaking slowly and with fine language; smooth. rin-ok-rin-ok  adv.
rong-ting-gi-rong-tang-ga, rong-ting-rong-tang  adv. neither very hard nor very soft, as rice cooked without enough water.
skot-a  vi. intermediate between hard and soft, not too hard and not too soft, of fruit, things cooking; not fully ripe; intermediate between tight and loose. skot-skot  adv.

3.666 Texture: Sharp, Dull

chat-a  vi. dull, not sharp.
da-reng-a  vi. very sharp.
dam-bok-a  vi. blunt, dull, not sharp; round rather than pointed, of a face.
hul-a, ul-a  vt. sharpen, make sharp.
mat-a  vi. sharp, cut, scarred. vt. wound, make a slicing cut.
sit-a  vt. grind a tool with sand to sharpen it.
srang-srang  adv. sharp, of a knife; fluently, clear, clearly, exactly, as speaking clearly.
wa-min-a  vi. dull, blunt, not sharp.
wil-a  vt. sharpen, sharpen tools against a stone.

3.668 Texture: Sticky, Tough, Crumbly.

a-wek-a  vi. soft, sticking together but not very sticky.
dip-ik-a  vi. powdery and dry, very fine. dip-ik-dip-ik  adv.
dip-it-a  vi. tough, of wood that doesn’t break when chopped, of wood that is a bit green and flexible; tough to chew, like beef, chewing gum.
ga-au-a  vi. easily separated, flake off, of skin, bark; break apart readily; open up, of plant husks; not tough.
gra-a  vi. not sticky, of dry flour, dirt, rice, etc.
ma-skap-a  vi. sticky.
rong-gri-rong-gra  adv. not sticky, (same as gra-a).
sit-tap-a  vi. sticky, of tree sap, of flour mixed with water, etc.; stick like glue. sit-tap-sit-tap  adv.
sram-a  vi. crumbly, brittle, easily breakable, the texture of dry dirt, dried leaves, fried foods, puffed rice.
tek-rak-a  vi. crumbly, like leaves.
tek-sram-tek-sram  adv. crumbly, brittle.
3.67 Temperature

3.673 Temperature: Hot, Warm

bom-bom, bom-bom dak-a  *adv.* lukewarm, neither very hot nor very cold, of water, food.
bret-bret  *adv.* pleasantly warm, of the sun, the weather.
ding-a  *vi.* hot.
ding-bil-a  *vi.* to be hot personally, become hot, of people.
ding-bru-ding-bru  *adv.* a bit warm, of people.
ding-chip-a  *vi.* very hot.
ding-ding  *adv.* while hot, as for food that is hot for eating.
ding-gek-a  *vi.* very hot, as a very hot day, very hot water.
ding-nik-a, ding-e nik-a  *vi.* find it hot, seem hot.
ding-rit-a  *vi.* somewhat hot, of people.
gek-gek  *adv.* very hot, of the sun, of water: *gek-gek dak-e chi ding-et* heat the water very hot.
sal-bret-bret  *adv.* not very hot, comfortable.
sal-chak-a  *vi.* warm oneself in the sun.
sal-chi-bil-a  *vi.* not hot, of weather on a cloudy day.
wal-chak-a, wal chak-a  *vi.* warm oneself or one’s hands at the fire.

3.675 Temperature: Cold

chik-a  *vi.* biting cold; bite, by people, mosquitoes, etc.; bite by spirits (mit-e) when they cause disease.
chik-chip-chip  *adv.* very cold, personally.
chik-jim-a  *vi.* adv. very cold, as water gets cold from standing, or like a tin-roofed house in winter. *chik-jim-jim, chik-jrim-jrim adv.*
chik-ok-a  *vi.* very cold, of food or water. *chik-ok-ok adv.*
chik-tot-a  *vi.* very cold, of hands, etc., of hail, of a tin-roofed house in winter: *jak chik-tot-a-na wal-o hang-a* for very cold hands, warm them at the fire.
ka-sin-chip-chip  *vi.* very cold, of things, people; very softly, quietly.
sin-a  *vi.* personally cold, of people.
sin-chik-sin-chik  *adv.* somewhat cool, of people.
sin-chip-a  *vi.* cool off, of weather, as when clouds cover the sun.

3.68 Taste and Smell

3.682 Tastes

While the older Garo color terminology is considerably more restricted than that of English, I have had the impression that Mandis have at least
Quality, Quantity, Sensory

as rich a vocabulary for tastes as we do, and perhaps an even richer one. They have words which are readily translatable as ‘sweet, sour, bitter, fatty’ and ‘chili hot’. In addition there are several words whose meanings I have had trouble learning because, in the absence of edible or at least lickable samples, I have had trouble figuring out just how people use them. When told that bre-o-a and mel-a mean ‘the taste of orange skins’, do I take that to mean ‘puckering”? They have words which they tell me describe the feeling of the teeth after eating sour foods, and others for the feeling in the throat after eating a particular kind of tuber. I have eaten this tuber and I have eaten sour things, but I do not have a clear sense of what the feeling is that I am supposed to attend to. There are words for bland and watery flavors, and for excessively strong flavors. This terminology deserves more study than I have been able to give it.

bre-o-a vi. an unpleasant taste like that of bel fruit or orange skins.
bre-o-bre-o adv. mildly bre-o-a, not strongly so.
cha-e ni-a vt. taste, test by tasting.
chi-rik-chi-rik adv. a bit sweet; a bit wet, of ground.
chi-a vi. sweet. n. sweets, candy.
chi-cheng-me-seng adv. sweet and sour.
chi-chik-chi-chik adv. a little sweet.
chi-chim-it-a vi. very sweet.
chi-ka-wak-a vi. very sweet, too sweet.
chi-rik-chi-rik adv. mildly sweet.
chi-rim-bak-a vi. very sweet.
chip-a vi. sufficient, enough, of cooking ingredients such as salt, soda, oil, etc.
gim-a, wa gim-a vi. feeling of the teeth after eating sour things.
ha-nem-a vi. tasting of dirt that is mixed into food.
jro-a, jru-a vi. spicy, chili-hot, burn from taste or touch of chilies.
jro-jro dak-a adv. a little chili-hot.
ka-a vi. bitter.
ka-brap-a vi. taste of too much salt or soda.
ka-bre-o-a vi. mixed bitter and bre-o-a taste.
ka-chi-a vi. taste that combines bitter and sweet.
ka-kim-a vi. a bit bitter, not very bitter. ka-kim-ka-kim adv.
ka-ku-ak-a vi. very bitter.
ka-me-seng vi. taste that combines bitter and sour.
ka-teng-gil-a vi. very bitter.
ka-teng-kil-ok-a vi. very bitter, too bitter to eat.
me-sak-a, mi-sak-a, git-dok me-sak-a vi. feeling in throat after eating arum (ta-ring); itch, irritated, have an eruption on the skin, burn from touching the hairs of a mang-tip worm or mak-kal-ri-gi plant.
me-seng-a, mi-seng-a vi. sour.
me-l’a vi. slightly rotten with a somewhat bitter or almost burning taste, like sap or citrus peel, of bad fruit or bad rice beer.
mit-im-a vi. fat, fatty tasting.
mit-im-mit-im dak-a adv. a little fatty.
rim’-gek-a, rim’-gek-gek-a vt. grab by the throat; feeling in the throat that comes from eating arum (ta’-ring), a tuber; grab and hold with force.
rim’-sot-a vi. grab by the throat, kill by choking; feeling in the throat after eating arum (ta’-ring), a tuber.
ring-e ni-a vt. taste a liquid, test by tasting.
si-sa-a vi. burning feeling in the mouth and throat or on skin after eating or touching chilies.
so-so-a, su-su-a vi. painful, from chilies that burn when tasted, or esp. for burning in a wound.
spak-a vi. a bad puckering taste, as that of areca nut when eaten alone, like some very unripe fruits.
tap-a, tap-e ni-a vt. taste a bit in order to sample, test by licking from a finger or palm.
tap-seng-tap-seng adv. a little sour but good tasting.
to-a vi. good tasting: ja-ba to-be-a the curry tastes very good; to-e nik-a like the taste of. -to-a aa. good for the senses: ni-to-a beautiful to look at; kin-a-to-a beautiful to hear; cha-to-a taste good to eat; ring-to-a taste good to drink; jak-kal-to-a good to use, comfortable to use.
to-nik-a, to-e nik-a vt. like the taste of.
wa wil-a vi. the feeling of one’s teeth after eating sour things, (lit. sharpen the teeth).
wa-gim-a vi. the feeling of the teeth when eating sour things.

3.684 Strong Tastes, Excessive

I find it odd that a language needs three synonyms or near synonyms for ‘tasting of too much salt or soda’: brap-a, gek-a and nang-chrak-a. It may be that there are subtle difference of meaning among these words, but if so, they have escaped me. For no obvious reason, a single idea has attracted many alternative expressions.

brap-a vi. taste too strongly, esp. of salt or soda. -brap-a aa. strong, excessive, uncontrolled: ka’brap-a taste badly, especially from too much salt; mik-brap-a be dazzled with glare; ching-brap-a shine, of a hurricane lamp, fire, etc.; go-brap-a throw, broadcast in an excessive or uncontrolled way.

bre-o-mi-si-a vi. very bre-o-a, not good to eat.
**Quality, Quantity, Sensory**

**char-nap-a** *vi.* taste so-so, not very good to eat.
**gek-a** *vi.* taste too strongly of salt, soda, or chilies.
**nang-chrak-a** *vi.* taste badly because of too much soda or salt.

**-wak-** *aa.* soft, spoiled: **ka-wak-a** too strong in taste, too much pepper, salt, etc.: **chi-wak-a** cooked too soft, of tubers, etc.; **re-wak-a** soiled, dirty from ink, dust, etc.

### 3.686 Bland, Watery

**-brok-** *aa.* mess up, spoiled, rotten, dirty, unpleasant, tasteless, bland, faded: **rim-brok-a** mix with the hand; **kit-brok-a** stick the hand in and grab; **su-brok-a** stab with a spear; **so-brok-a** rotten, not good to eat; **chi-brok-a** tasteless, bland, insipid, watery, without enough sugar, salt, soda, etc., often used for rice beer; **mik-brok-a** fade, lose color, grow dull; **at-chong-brok-a** sit in a messy place.

**chi-brek-a** *vi.* watery, of rice beer; tasteless, bland, insipid.
**chi-wak-a** *vi.* cooked too soft, of tubers, etc.

**mik-del-bok-bok** *n.* soft, of a person, of someone who doesn’t want to work; lacking strength or taste, of a curry without enough soda or spices.

### 3.688 Smell, Odors

Mandi has a word for ‘stink’ (**so-eng-a**) and another for ‘smell good’ (**sim-il-a**), but none for whatever it is that these two have in common. All smells, it seems, can be assigned to one of the two categories.

**bo-ol-a** *vi.* rotten, of eggs.
**ging-si-mrang, ging-si-mrang-ging-si-mrang, ging-si-mrang-mrang** *adv.* good smelling, fragrant, good smell enters the nose.
**ging-sik-a** *vt.* give a strong feeling in the nose from the smell of chilies or smoke or just before sneezing, (lit. penetrate the nose). **ging-sik-ging-sik** *adv.*

**han-dil, an-dil** *n.* bad odor of the body.
**ka-mang-ka-mang, ka-mrang-ka-mrang** *adv.* good smelling.
**kal-ting-a** *vi.* rotten and smelly, stinky, as of half bad meat; rancid.
**sal-srip-a** *vt.* check a smell, sniff with the nose for something that smells good; sniffle with a cold; suck water with trunk, by an elephant; slurp, suck.

**se-eng-a** *vi.* smell bad, stink, (A·pal, A·chik), (same as **so-eng-a**).
**sim-il-a** *vi.* smell pleasant, fragrant.
**sim-il-e nik-a** *vph.* like the smell of, notice the good smell of.
**sim-il-ot-a** *vt.* smell, test by smelling, sniff something.
**sim-il-ot-e ni-a** *vt.* test by smelling.

**so-eng-a, su-eng-a** *vi.* smell badly, stink, (A·chik: **se-eng-a**).
so-eng-kal-ting-a, su-eng-kal-ting-a, su-eng-a-kal-ting-a  vi. rotten, smelly, of food or of someone who does not wash.

3.7 Miscellaneous Qualities

3.71 Cleanliness, Purity, Order, Mess

3.714 Clean, Clear

chi-rong-a  vi. clean, of hands, body, cloth, etc.; ground or fields cleared of grass, weeds, leaves. chi-rong-rong  adv.

chi-rong-gil-a, chi-rong-gil-gil-a  vi. clean, of cloth, house, etc.; cleaned and plastered, house, courtyard; clear, of grass, etc. chi-rong-gil-gil  adv.

grik-a  vi. clear, not muddy or cloudy, of liquids.

grik-jang-jang  adv. clean, clear, of water.

mik-chi-rong-rong  adv. beautifully bathed, cleaned.

po-ri-skar, po-ri-skal  vi. clean. <B

-rong-rong-  dns. clean, pure: gip-bok-rong-rong  pure white; chi-rong-rong  clean, clear; git-chak-rong-rong  bright red.

rong-tal-a  vi. clean, clear, (A’chik): gi-sik rong-tal-a  clear in the mind, know.

srang-a  vi. clear up, be clear, of water, (same as grik-a); of clouds, (same as krang-a); of hearing, of a headache: gi-sik srang-a  clear up, of the mind, leaving no worries or problems. ku-pa srang-a  vi. clear in language, honest. srang-e  adv. clearly, completely, of speaking, seeing, hearing, understanding: na-chil srang-e kin-a  ears hear clearly; srang-e hai.-ku-ja  don’t yet understand completely, not yet clear.

tal-a  vi. be clean, clear.

tap-jang-jang  adv. clear, of liquid.

3.716 Dirty (cf. 6.58 Body Dirt and Mess)

ha re-wa-a, a’-re-wa-a  vi. dirty with earth.

ha’-kin-chi re-wa-a  vi. dirty from dust.

ha’-nem-a, a’-nem-a  vi. mixed with dirt, tasting of dirt, of food.

kal-si-kal-tok, kal-ti-kal-tok, kal-ok-kal-tok  adv. soiled, dirty, spotted, of people, cloth, etc.

kal-tok-tok  adv. dirty, soiled.

kim-il-a, chi kim-il-a  vi. dirty, cloudy, of liquids.

ma’-bak-a, na’bak-a  vi. dirty, soiled from dust, muck, etc., of people and things.

moi-la  n. dirt, rubbish, waste. <B

re-wa-a, re-wak-a  vi. soiled, spotted, dirty, from ink, mud, dust, etc.

re-wa-se-wa  adv. spoiled, filthy from dung, mud, etc.
skem-skem  adv. mixed with sand or dirt, of food that is not good to eat.
so-dap-gek-gek, su-dap-gek-gek  adv. very dirty, rotten, unwashed.
so-dap-ki-ki, su-dap-ki-ki  adv. dirty, unwashed.
so-dap-prong-prong, su-dap-prong-prong, so-dap-prang-prang  adv. dirty, unwashed.

3.718 Mess, Tangle, Disorder

Here is an area where Mandi is rich in words. Does this large vocabulary imply that the absence of order is a matter of special concern to the Mandis?

ba-je-a, ba-ji-a  vi. tangled, disordered; messed up, dirty; caught, as in a trap or net; restricted, as not being allowed to enter a forest; caught between the teeth. <B
ba-je-tip-tip-a  vt. tangle badly, as a string: ang-a do-ri-ko ba-ji-tip-tip-a I tangled the string.
bal-ru-ru-a  vt. mess up, jumble up, make a mess, as by searching; cause damage.
bing-bang, bing-bang-bing-bang  adv. carelessly, disorderd, tangled, dirtied; without control, abruptly, doing something without knowing, a bit crazy: bing-bang a-gan-ing-a talking in a careless, disordered way.
bing-bang bol-a  vph. speak carelessly, thoughtlessly, in a confused way. -bing-bang- aa. carelessly; a-gan-bing-bang-a talk carelessly, without thinking; ja-bing-bang-a stumble; cha-bing-bang-a eat carelessly or in ignorance. bing-bang-a vi. be tangled, disordered, dirty.
chik-ap-a, wa-ring-o chik-ap-a  vi. get caught in the teeth or on the roof of the mouth. chik-ap-chik-ap adv.
chik-chik-chrak-chrak  adv. quickly, carelessly, messily, disorderly.
chip-bu rim-bu  vi. messy.
jip-u, jip-u-jip-u  adv. messy, piled up this way and that, of cloth, leaves.
pang-kim-pang-kam  adv. messy, esp. of uncombed hair, beard, but also for things in the house.
rik-king-rik-king  adv. lumpy, as a field after plowing; scattered, disorderly.
rip-eng-dam-beng  adv. this way and that, inconsistent, disorderly, going here and there, in speaking, in moving about.
rip-ing-rip-ang  adv. disorderly, thrown here and there, of objects, of messily planted rice, of speaking in a disordered way.
se-ra-be-ra  adv. confused; every which way; jumbled and messed up. <B
sit-tip-a  vi. wound up, tangled.
tip-tip-a  vi. tangled, with much winding, of string, etc.
wen-tip-tip-a, wen-wen-tip-tip-a  adv. wrap something long, as a bandage; tangled, of string, wind thoroughly around and around. wen-wen-tip-tip adv.
wen-wen-a vt. wind, wrap around, tangle.

3.72 Strength of Things (cf. 7.56 Strength of People, Endurance, Forcefulness)

bil n. strength.
bil-ak-a vi. strong; grow serious, of a disease.
-brap- aa. strong, excessive, uncontrolled: ka’-brap-a taste badly, especially from too much salt; go-brap-a throw, broadcast in an excessive or uncontrolled way; mik-brap-a be dazzled with glare; ching-brap-a shine, of a hurricane lamp, fire, etc. brap-a vi. taste too strongly, esp. of salt or soda.
-chet-, -chet-chet- aa. tightly: rim’-chet-chet-a grab hard; gip-ak-chet-a embrace tightly; wen-chet-a wind around tightly.
-chrak- aa. forcefully, uncontrolled: bi’-chrak-a break off, as branches in the wind; ki’-chrak-a defecate vigorously; ken’-chrak-a comb vigorously, as to get out lice; pik-chrak-a pull out strongly, as a tree by its roots.
ding-rak-a vi. strong, of long thin things, string, jute, etc.
-drak- aa. strongly: ring-drak-a drink a lot; wa-drak-a rain heavily; mik-u-drak-a make a loud noise; ring’-drak-a sing loudly.
-jep-jep-, -je-jep- aa. hard, forcefully, into pieces: ga’-je-jep-a step with pressure, stamp on; dok-jep-jep-a keep hitting, break into small pieces; chik-jep-jep-a chew hard, chew into pieces.
-jret- aa. tightly: ka-jret-a tie tightly; sal-jret-a pull tightly; ga’-jret-a step on hard; sep-jret-a wring out water; pa’-jret-a press on medicinal herbs.
jur n. force: jur dak-e forcefully, insistently. <B
-prak- aa. a lot, strongly, completely: ru-prak-a pour lots of water; bi’-prak-a break completely; gil-prak-a peeling, of skin; a-gan-prak-a explain, say fully; kam-prak-a burn strongly.
rak-a vi. hard, strong, tough, difficult: dam rak-a expensive. rak-e-rak-e adv. fast, strong, of talking, walking, etc. -rak- aa. strong, fast: gong-rak-a fast; mik-rak-a wake up, strong in the eyes; mang-rak-a healthy, strong of body; ding-rak-a strong of long, slender things, like string; jak-rak-a quick, fast, esp. in working with one’s hands, quick at eating.

3.73 Weight

cheng-a vi. light in weight.
je’-et-je-et adv. heavy; tight, of shoelaces, thatch, of a fully inflated football.
-jet-, -jet-jet-  aa. hard, forcefully: ga'-jet-a, ga'-jet-jet-a grab, hold tight, with feet or legs; on-jet-a, on-jet-dap-a put something heavy on top of something else; sik-jet-a, sik-jet-jet-a push hard, press hard.

3.74 Age

bu-ra-a  vi. old, grow old, of men, animals. <B
bu-ri-a  vi. old, grow old, of women. <B
-gi-si  dns. old and dried out, of plants, wood, tree.
git-al  vi. new.
git-cham, git-cham-a  vi. old, of things.
pi'-sa, di'-sa  n. young animal, occasionally used for young of plants:
   mong-ma-pi'-sa baby elephant; te'-rik pi'-sa young banana plant;
a small example of objects: jak-si-pi'-sa little finger; child, (A'chik: bî-sa). -pi'-sa  dns. profit, interest on a loan.

3.75 Difficult, Easy

al-tu-a  vi. easy, (A'chik).
nom'-a  vi. easy, soft, inexpensive.
rak-a  vi. difficult, hard, strong, tough, expensive.
rak-dam-dam  adv. sitting firm, not movable.

3.76 Importance, Primacy

a-dik-sit-dik  adv. urgent.
a-gre  adv. too, excessively. pp. except for, in addition to, (follows genitive or dative).
-be-, -bi-  aa. very, a lot: jang-be-a very noisy; cha'-be-a eat a lot.
bil-ong-a, bil-ong-en  vi. important, strong, very, serious, of a disease. bil-ong-e, bil-ong-e-in  adv.: bil-ong-e ni-ri-ing-a seriously quarrelling.
kup, ku-bi  adv. very. <B
mong-song  n. most important, main, primary. -mong-song-  aa. main, primary: cha'-mong-song-a eat enough; nok-mong-song main building, house of the senior couple of a household.
nam-en  adv. very.
-srang-  aa. completely: i'-ang-srang-a completely gone, gone for good.
4.0 NATURE

4.2 Environment and the Elements

4.21 Sky, Stars, Sun, Moon

4.212 Sky, Stars

I have always been surprised that Mandis have so few words to describe the night sky. With artificial lighting confined to simple flashlights and to oil and kerosene lamps, the stars can be dazzling on a moonless and cloudless night, and I would expect endless stories to be told about them. The stars known in English as the ‘Milky Way’, ‘Orion’s belt and sword’ and ‘the Pleiades’, as well as the planet Venus have names, but I have never been able to elicit names for any other planets, stars, or collections of stars. Except for the sun, moon, and clouds, people seem uninterested in the sky.

a-bi-sa sak-sin-i  n. the constellation of the Pleiades, (lit. seven sisters).
a-sek-ki  n. star.
an-tam-pang  n. evening star; dusk, evening, time after the sun has set but while it is still light.
do-sat-til a-sek-ki, du-sat-til a-sek-ki  n. the constellation of the Pleiades.
dong-gip-eng dong-gru  n. the stars of Orion’s belt and sword, (lit. being across, being long).
ma-ni-tang dong-gip-eng dong-gru  n. the belt and sword of the constellation Orion, (lit. mother-in-law, across, long, implies that the son-in-law is carrying his mother-in-law).
rak-a-si  n. shooting star, name of a mit-e (spirit).
sil-ga  n. sky.

4.214 Sun and Moon

ja-but-chum  n. dark of the moon, time before the new moon, (lit. old lady moon).
ja-jong  n. moon.
ja-jong or-dek, ja-or-dek, ja-ni or-dek  n. quarter moon.
ja-kam-bi  n. quarter moon.
ja-min-ok-a, ja-jong min-ok-a, ja-ko min-ok-a  vph. eclipse of the
moon; be stupid, (lit. swallow the moon, from the fable that an eclipse
comes when a monster swallows the moon).
ja-ram-bong  n. full moon.
kur-weng-a  vi. curved, of a crescent moon, a crooked smile, a twisted
face. kur-weng-weng  adv.
Na-wang min-ok-a  vph. eclipse, (lit. swallowed by Na-wang, a monster).
sal  n. sun, day, daytime; 24 hour period. sal- cls. classifier for days.
sal min-ok-a, sal-ko min-ok-a  vph. eclipse of the sun, (lit. swallow the
sun).
si-a, ja-jong si-a  vi. be the dark of the moon, (lit. moon dies).

4.218 Compass Directions

In the two years that I lived in the Garo Hills, I knew of, but never
managed to learn, the terms for the four points of the compass. The hill
Garoos seemed to have a keen sense of direction. They could point,
apparently accurately, to distant villages, but my failure to learn their compass
terms could only have been due to the rarity with which the people I knew
used them. When, many years later, I began to live among Mandis in
Bangladesh I learned their terms for the compass points almost immedi-
ately because they were used constantly. Their terms, however, were bor-
rowed from Bengali. The native Garo terms that I had been told about
earlier in the Garo Hills were known to some Mandis in Bangladesh but
they were as rarely used there as they had been in the hills. The difference
between the two areas must be due to the difference in their topography.
Bangladeshi Mandis live in flat country with few distinctive topographical
landmarks. They need the compass directions to keep themselves oriented.
Bangladeshi Mandis have even borrowed the Bengali practice of orienting
their houses, more or less, to the compass. Houses in the Garo Hills have
to be built to conform to the slope of the land, and they can face in any
direction at all.

I was always puzzled by sal-gro ‘north’ and sal-gip-eng ‘south’. gro
and gip-eng mean, respectively ‘length’ and ‘breadth’, but I could not un-
derstand what these have to do with ‘north’ and ‘south’. Mijenma, a senior
lady from the village of Gaira in Bangladesh, offered what strikes me as
a plausible explanation. Sal-gro ‘north’ describes the relatively long path
that the sun takes through the sky in the summer when the sun is in the
north. Sal-gip-eng ‘south’ describes the shorter path that it takes during
the winter.
dok-kiin  n. south. <B
pos-chiim, pot-chiim  n. west. <B
pup, pur-bo  n. east. <B
ut-tor  n. north. <B
sal-a-ram  n. east, (mainly A·chik).
sal-gip-eng, sal-gip-eng-pang  n. south, the southern (shorter) path of the winter sun, (mainly A·chik).
sal-gro  n. north; the northern (longer) summer path of the sun, (mainly A·chik).
sal-i-ram  n. west, (mainly A·chik).

4.23 Land

4.231 Land, World, Nature (cf. 5.11 Fields)

ha·ba  n. cultivated land, fields.
ha·gil-sak, a·gil-sak  n. world, earth.
ha·pal, a·pal  n. low land; flat land, land used for wet rice in contrast to slash and burn; specifically: the area of north Mymensingh where Mandis live.
ha·rang, ha·drang  n. ground, land.
rong·kol  n. cave.

4.232 Upland

ha·bri, a·bri  n. mountain, large hill.
ha·chik, a·chik  n. mountain, hill, upward slope as of a road.
ha·ding, a·ding  n. cultivatable land that is higher than its surroundings, land that does not flood.
ha·ga, a·ga  n. land that is slightly higher than its surroundings, land that does not flood; dry land, in contrast to a pond or lake.
ha·gop, a·gop, gop-ang  n. big hole, larger than an a·kil-ok, low spot of land within a hilly area.
ha·kong, a·kong  n. low place between hills that is wider than a ha·sing-sep; valley.
ha·rong-ga, a·rong-ga  n. uplands, hills; specifically: the uplands of the Garo Hills.
ha·sak-a, a·sak-a  n. high land, hill tract.
ha·sing-sep, a·sing-sep  n. pass, low area between two hills that is narrower than a ha·kong.
ha·sol-sol, ha·so-sol, a·sol-sol  n. slope of a mountain, slope down.
ha·ting-gak  n. an upward slope, rise.
ja·pang  n. base of a mountain, place near the foot of the mountain.
ja·pang, ja·pang-o  pp. near, beside, at the base of, (follows genitive -ni).
ja-rek  n. edge of mountains, foot of a mountain, base of a mountain.
ja-ting  n. base of a mountain; base of a tree, banana plant, etc.; stubble after rice grain is cut; back end, as the back end of a pen.
ra-ma a-sol-sol  nph. downward slope of a road.

4.24 Dirt, Stones, Mud

4.242 Dirt, Earth

ha-, a-, ha-a, a-a, ha  n. earth, ground, soil, land. ha-, a-  cp. categorizing prefix for land, soil, countryside: ha-kin-te lumps of earth; ha-ba fields; a-gil-sak world.
ha-an-cheng  n. soil mixed with sand.
ha-gi-sim, a-gi-sim, ha-gil-gi-sim, ha-mang-gi-sim  n. dark earth, such as earth of a field for wet rice, (lit. black earth).
ha-gip-ok, a-gip-ok, ha-gil-gip-ok, ha-mang-gip-ok  n. grey colored earth from rice fields used to smear on a house, (lit. white earth).
ha-git-chak, ha-mang git-chak  n. the ordinary yellow to rust-brown soil found in the raised area of Modhupur; earth used to build roads, (lit. red earth).
ha-git-ting, a-git-ting  n. unburned ground, ordinary ground, in contrast to a fireplace; an area of a slash and burn field that escapes the fire, (lit. raw earth).
ha-ka-ki, a-ka-ki  n. a kind of earth that lacks sand and that is hard when dry but very sticky when wet.
ha-keng-krack, a-keng-krack  n. hard clay.
ha-mang, a-mang  n. soil, earth, what is dug out when digging a hole: ha-mang ha-mang dak-e so-eng-a smelling of soil, as water from a well may smell.
han-cheng, an-cheng  n. sand.

4.244 Stones, Lumps of Earth

Mandis in Bangladesh, though far from the sea coast, live on land that must once have been delta, and stones are rare to non-existent. The Garo Hills, by contrast, have abundant stones. Garo dictionaries give numerous words for ‘stones’, many of them compounds formed with the categorizing prefix rong-. If the Mandis I spoke with knew many of these words they used them so rarely that I never noticed or learned them. My impression is that their language is as impoverished for words for stones as their countryside is impoverished for the stones themselves.

ha-kin-te, ha-kin-ti, a-kin-te  n. lumps of earth that are bigger than rong-krek.
ha-rong-gi-rong-ga  n. soil of mixed types, red, white, black.
ha-rong-gra  n. earth with small hard lumps, (same as rong-krek).
ha-rong-krek  n. dirt with small hard lumps.
rong-krek, rong-kek  n. small lumps of hard earth.
rong-te, rong-ti  n. stone, rock, big stone; the flat (lower) grindstone; the weight used on a balance scale.
sil-ki  n. pebbles, small hard glassy black stones.

4.246 Mud

be-dol, be-dor  n. mud, clay. <B
ha-pek, a-pek, ha-dip-ek, a-dip-ek  n. mud.
ha-rim-il-a, a-rim-il-a  n. slippery ground.
ha-stap, a-stap, ha-stap-a  n. sticky mud.

4.248 Dust

dil-ing-dil-ing  adv. swirling about, as dust.
dul-a  n. dust. <B
ha-gin-dil-a, a-gin-dil-a  n. dust, particularly dust that is flying in the air.
ha-kin-chi, a-kin-chi  n. loose dust, the fine dirt that grinds off top of packed dried earth.

4.25 River, Lakes, Seas (cf. 9.27 Water, Wetness)

4.252 Rivers

chi-bi-ma  n. river, (Achik).
chi-da-ri  n. flowing stream.
chi-dek  n. pond, wide place in a stream.
chi-ga  n. spring, place where water is obtained from a stream or pond.
chi-git-ok  n. narrow place in a water channel or river, (lit. water-neck).
chi-ret  n. water channel leading to or from rice fields.
chi-rik-ing, chi-rik-ong  n. bank of a river, pond, etc., shore.
chi-ring  n. small stream.
chi-ring kal-dek  n. small stream, esp. the upper end of a stream.
chi-ring-chi-dek  n. rivers and ponds, wet places.
chi-sam, chi a-sam  n. water edge, bank.
gang  n. river, smaller than a no-di. <B
nal  n. tributary of river, pipe, food path, barrel of a gun. <B
no-di  n. river, larger than a gang. <B

4.253 Sea, Lakes, Tanks, Puddles, Springs

chi-bil-ok  n. a place where water collects, puddle, water hole.
chi-bol  n. puddle.
chi-mik  n. spring, water source.
chi-ting-kil-ok  n. water hole, puddle.
ha-ta-ru, a-ta-ru  n. deep muddy place, swamp.
ku-ri  n. a low or deep spot in a pond, low place in rice fields where water
     collects; small tank that goes dry in the dry season; place, as in some
     place names. <B
pa-gar, pa-gal  n. small tank, pond; hole from which dirt has been taken
     and that collects water. <B
pu-kur, pus-kin-i  n. large tank or pond that holds water all year without
     drying up, bigger than a pa-gar. <B

4.3 Weather

In both Mandi and English some words for weather are nouns and
some are verbs, but the nouns of one language do not always correspond to
nouns in the other. Westerners are surprised that Mandi has two words for
‘rain’: mik-ka a noun and wa-a a verb. It is entirely normal to say
mik-ka wa-ing-a which means, literally, ‘the rain is raining’. All words for thunder
and lightning that I have encountered in Mandi are verbs, while English
‘lightning’ can only be a noun and ‘thunder’ can be used as either a noun
or verb. ‘Hail’ and ‘dew’ are expressed by nouns in Mandi and it lacks
verbs for these specific meanings. The only words I know for ‘earthquake’
are verbs.

4.32 Clouds, Precipitation

4.323 Clouds, Clear Sky

bik-chat-a  vi. be thick, of clouds.
bik-sring-a  vi. cover thinly, of clouds.
chat-a  vi. thick with clouds.
ga-dil-a, ga-del-a  n. cloud: ga-dil-a gri cloudless.
gan-chat-a  vi. dense, thick, crowded, of clouds, fog, forest, people.
gil-kri-a  vi. clear up, of clouds, dirty water.
krang-a, krang-krang-a, krang-krang dak-a  vi. clear up, of weather,
     clouds, or a mess; clear out of the mind, forget; empty, of a pot without
     water, etc.
mit-tip-a  vt. close up, cover, of clouds over the sun, a window hole; close
     a bottle, plug up a hole, put on a screw top; bury.

4.325 Rain, Light Rain

bal-mik-a  vi. drizzle.
gra-gra *adv.* light shower: mik-ka gra-gra wa-ing-a it is raining lightly.
mik-ka *n.* rain.
mit-chi ga-ak-a *vph.* a bit of rain falls.
on-a *vi.* come down, of rain, fog, dew.
rip-rip-a, mik-ka rip-rip-a *vi.* rain a few drops.
rit-tik-e-rit-tak-e ga-ak-a *adv.* rain just a bit.
se-em-se-em, sem-sem dak-a *adv.* fine rain, drizzle. wa-sem-sem-a *vi.*
tip-a *vi.* stop raining, dry up, stop flowing, of puddles, pools, streams, breast, well, etc.
wa-a *vi.* rain.

4.327 Rain Hard, Long

ba-du-ri-a *vi.* rain hard, pour, rain for a long time.
pek-bek-a *vi.* rain heavily.
bi-te, mik-ka bi-te *n.* falling rain, raindrops, (lit. fruit): mik-ka bi-te
rong-ma-rong-ma ga-ak-ing-a big raindrops are falling.
dai-dai *adv.* a lot: dai-dai mik-ka wa-ing-a raining a lot.
jek-jek-a *vi.* rain long but lightly.
jik-jik *adv.* rain heavily: mik-ka jik-jik on-ing-a rain is falling heavily.
on-drak-a, on-drak-drak-a *vi.* rain heavily.
on-prak-prak-a, on-drak-pak-a *vi.* rain heavily.
wa-bek-bek-a, wa-pak-pak-a *vi.* rain for a long time.
wa-drak-a, mik-ka wa-drak-a *vi.* rain heavily.
wa-kam-a *vi.* rain continuously.

4.329 Dew, Fog, Hail, Ice

bo-rop *n.* ice, snow. <B
chi-tok-tak, chi-tok-tak dak-a *adv.* dripping, of dew.
gu-ri *n.* fog, mist.
gu-ri an-dal-a *vph.* thick fog, dark fog.
gu-ri on-a, gu-ri pin-a, gu-ri dak-a, gu-ri ga-ak-a *vph.* there is fog, it is foggy.
on-wak-a, gu-ri on-wak-a *vi.* be thick, of fog.
rip-on-chi *n.* dew.
rit-a, stil rit-a *vi.* rumble, sound of hail preparing to fall; boil.
stil *n.* hail.
stil bal-wa dak-a *vph.* hail with wind.
4.33 Flood

**du-a**, **chi du-a** *vi.* to flood.

**rip-a** *vi.* flood, rise, of water level; sink, disappear under water; dive under water. *vt.* rub on, apply to the head, as soap, water; **sko rip-a** wash hair.

4.34 Thunder and Lightning

4.342 Thunder

**gam-pret-a** *vi.* sound loudly, of thunder, airplane, gun.

**gul-gul-a**, **mik-ka gul-gul-a** *vi.* thunder softly.

**hil-hil-a**, **il-il-a** *vi.* loud noise, rumble of thunder, rumble like an engine.

**kim-a** *vi.* to make a noise, as thunder; make a sound.

**kim-bing-a** *vi.* to thunder in the distance.

**kim-cha-a** *vi.* to thunder.

**kim-pret-a** *vi.* thunder, powerful thunder clap.

**kim-ru-ru-a** *vi.* long lasting thunder, thunder which sounds as if it moves across the sky. *vi.* echo in **kim-pret-a** **kim-ru-ru-a** thunder.

**lil-lil-a** *vi.* make noise, of thunder, an engine.

**sau-sau-e** *adv.* softly, of thunder that anticipates rain.

**tim-tim-a** *vi.* make a noise of thunder, of rice being ground in a mill, of a tube well, motor, train.

4.344 Lightning

**ching-brap-a** *vi.* shine brightly, of fire, lightning, a lamp, shiny metal.

**el-ep-a**, **hel-ep-a** *vi.* lightning.

**go-pret-a**, **gu-pret-a** *vt.* strike, of lightning; throw hard and break.

**jil-au-a** *vi.* lightning; flare up, of a fire.

**jing-jang-a** *vi.* flash, of lightning; shine, of metal or a mirror.

**li-lap-a** *vi.* lightning.

**ri-rau-a** *vi.* flash, of a mirror or flashes of lightning. **ri-rau-ri-rau** *adv.*

**ring-rang-a** *vi.* small amount of lightning.

4.36 Wind

**bal-chi-ding-ding** *adv.* as a gentle breeze, pleasant breeze.

**bal-min-dri** *n.* small circular wind that makes dust swirl.


**bal-wa** *n.* breeze, wind.

**bal-wa mik-ka dak-a** *vph.* wind and rain.

**man-a** *vt.* what wind does, blow: **bal-wa man-ing-a** a wind is blowing.

**man-prong-a** *vt.* blow up, blow around, of dust, cotton fluff, etc.
4.37 Earthquakes

bang-gu-ri-a vi. earthquake, to be an earthquake.
ha-gip-u-a, a-gip-u-a vi. open up, of the ground in an earthquake.
mit-il-mit-il dak-a vph. shake back and forth in an earthquake.

4.4 Animals, Wild

4.40 Animals in General

-bi-ma dns. female, of animals; do-bi-ma hen.
-bi-pa dns. male, of animals; do-bi-pa cock, rooster.
do-bring, du-bring n. birds of the forest.
do-mat, du-mat n. animals generally, both wild and domestic, (lit. birds and squirrels).
ma-su mat-ti n. cattle.
mat-bring, mat-brung, mat-bu-rung n. forest animals, esp. mammals, but not including birds or insects.
mat-cha mak-bil n. wild animals, (lit. tigers and bears).
mat-te, mat-ti n. a loner, human or animal, rogue male that stays alone.
 n. echo in ma-su mat-te cow, cattle.
-pi-sa dns. young animal, occasionally used for young of plants; small example of objects: mong-ma-pi-sa baby elephant; jak-si-pi-sa little finger.
ri-bo n. a lone male not attached to a group, as a-mak ri-bo lone macaque, (lit. swollen genitals).

4.41 Mammals, Wild

4.416 Cats

bi-ja-ri n. a species of wild cat with long claws, a bit bigger than a domestic cat, edible.
gri-tong n. a wild cat that is bigger than a mat-cha-a-rek.
ma-ju-ru n. a wild striped forest cat that is bigger than a gri-taog but not as big as mat-cha-am-gip-a.
mat-cha n. tiger, leopard, any of several kinds of large cats.
mat-cha dal-gip-a, mat-cha-am-gip-a n. tiger, largest of the wild cats.
mat-cha ma-jang-chi n. middle sized mat-cha, (same as mat-cha-sal-rong).
mat-cha-a-rek n. leopard, the smallest of three sizes of mat-cha, spotted.
mat-cha-a-ro-pa  

n. Royal Bengal tiger, the largest of the tigers, (same as mat-cha-am-gip-a).

mat-cha-am-gip-a  

n. tiger, the largest of three sizes of mat-cha, striped.

mat-cha-sal-rong  

n. the middle-sized of the three large cats.

mat-chu-ri  

n. civet cat, a small, red and black, long tailed and bad smelling wild cat.

mat-chu-ri gri-tong  

n. big variety of mat-chu-ri.

mat-chu-ri kal-dek  

n. small variety of mat-chu-ri.

mat-chu-ri wa-rik-i  

n. smallest variety of mat-chu-ri.

4.418 Primates

ha-mak, a-mak  

n. monkey, macaque.

mak-kre, mak-kri  

n. macaque, monkey.

mik-kong  

n. macaque, (same as ha-mak).

rang-gol, ha-mak rang-gol, nang-gol  

n. long tailed monkey, langur monkey, hanuman monkey.

u-ru, hu-ru, ha-mak u-ru  

n. gibbon.

4.419 Mammals, Other

be-ji  

n. mongoose.<B

bel  

n. jackal, (Modhupur).

bel si-jel  

n. large type of jackal with a long tail and black around its mouth, (Modhupur).

gil-we, gil-wi  

n. very shy monkey-sized animal that lives in trees.

ha-ti  

n. elephant.<B

kor-gus  

n. rabbit.<B

ma-rak-ha  

n. barking deer.

ma-su ma-rong  

n. wild cattle.

mak-bil  

n. bear.

mat  

n. squirrel.

mat-chok  

n. deer.

mat-chu- teng  

n. a small kind of squirrel with a long snout.

mat-da-bu  

n. a large kind of squirrel.

mat-ek-a  

n. rabbit, (same as kor-gus).

mat-mat-chi  

n. porcupine.

mat-ram  

n. otter, a one or one and a half foot high fish-eating mammal.

me-se, mi-si  

n. mouse, rat.

me-se da-bu  

n. rat, large sized me-se that makes tunnels in the ground like a mole.

me-se rong-kan-tek  

n. mouse, small sized me-se that lives in the roofs of houses.

me-se wa-gong  

n. a kind of rat that is smaller than a me-se da-bu.
meng-chut n. mouse-sized animal with a long nose, stink-rat, shrew.
mong-ma n. elephant.
na-chik-grong n. barking deer, (same as ma-rak-ha).
pui-ta, pu-ti-a n. rabbit, (same as kor-gus). <B
si'-jel n. a large variety of jackal.
si'-ol, si'-al n. jackal, (A-pal).
wak-bring n. a kind of wild pig, different from the domesticated wak-
man-di.

4.43 Birds

Most A'chik bird names begin with the categorizing prefix do'. In
the Mandi spoken in Modhupur, many names for birds get along without
this prefix (du-, as it is pronounced in Modhupur). This is partly because
many bird names have been borrowed from Bengali, but a number of names
without du- seem not to be Bengali in origin. Mandis have given me an
enormous number of bird names, but I am not enough of an birder to
identify these with any confidence, except by very general categories such
as ‘swallow’, ‘owl’, or ‘hawk’. Such identifications as I give rely upon the
knowledge of the Mandis and they must be taken as tentative. I believe
most of them are correct, but I cannot vouch for every one. The Bengali
names were given to me by Mandis and I have transcribed them as my
consultants pronounced them, with no attempt to bring them into line
with the pronunciation of native Bengali speakers or with Bengali spelling.

I did once take a bird book to Modhupur, The Book of Indian Birds by
Sálim Ali (1955). I showed the pictures to Mandis who identified as many
as they could. The English names that I give with some bird names are
taken from this book, as identified by Mandi speakers. No more than in any
other area of vocabulary is there complete agreement among Mandis about
how the names should be applied, and their identification of the pictures is
a long way from authoritative. The English and Bengali names are given
only to assist identification, not to give scientifically defensible equivalents.

Many birds are known to the Mandis that were not pictured in my bird
book, and for many, no Mandi that I asked knew a Bengali equivalent. All
I have been able to do in this case is give a clumsy description of the bird.

As in English, bird names attract onomatopoeia. Several bird names
imitate, or are felt to imitate, the call of the bird. U-du-a-da is an owl
that calls “u-du” at night. “Til-e-reng” is the call of the do-til-eng, a
woodpecker.

bit-e-de-o n. a ground-living bird (lapwing, plover).
bok n. king stork, a long billed stork. <B
bok-gip-bok n. largest kind of stork (bok).
bok-kal-dek n. a small type of black and white stork.
chan-cho-ra cham-cho-ra  n. small sparrow-like bird, (grey tit, munia), (Beng. cho-roi).

che-ru-ru, chi-ru-ru  n. bird that lives in holes in the ground, smaller than a dove, dark blue or black.

chi-dau-dau  n. a black bird that is bigger than a dove.

da-ra-gang-get  n. a bird, (rufous-backed strike).


do-a-kin-ti, du-a-kin-ti  n. a small bird that lives in trees.

do-a-mik, du-a-mik  n. ash-colored bird that lives in holes in the ground and that gives a message to people (me-me-me) before kinsmen arrive.

do-ang, du-ang  n. black faced eagle-like bird that associates with me-mang (ghosts) and whose cry is a warning of death.

do-bak  n. bat, the flying mammal.

do-bi-ma, du-bi-ma  n. hen, female bird.

do-bi-pa, du-bi-pa  n. cock, rooster, male bird.

do-bil-dok, du-bil-dok  n. a bright green bird, edible, (blue throated barbet), (Beng. tu-kur).

do-bit-bit, du-bit-bit  n. bird that is larger than a dove and somewhat black, (Beng. bul-bul paki).

do-bring, du-bring  n. wild foul.

do-bu-buk  n. a kind of bird, (crow-pleasant).

do-chi-rong, du-chi-rong  n. a turmeric colored bird the size of dove, that builds its nest in fork of tree branches, (golden oriole).

do-chok, du-chok  n. a small bird, the size of a chan-cho-ra, with pointed back end, that builds hanging and swinging nests in trees, (Beng. bu-bui pa-ki).

do-chong-dang, du-chong-dang  n. a long-legged ground-living bird slightly smaller than a do-grik.

do-di, du-di  n. peacock, (Beng. moi-ur).

do-ding-di, du-ding-di  n. a small dark blue bird the size of a chan-cho-ra that builds a small hanging nest, (purple sun-bird).

do-gep, du-gep, do-gep-gep  n. duck.

do-grik, du-grik  n. large ground-dwelling bird, with 'grik' as its call.


do-ja-rak, du-ja-rak  n. duck, (same as do-gep).

do-ja-rak gang-si, du-ja-rak gang-si  n. a type of duck that is larger than an ordinary do-ja-rak.

do-jeng-gim, du-jeng-gim  n. a bird the size of a do-ma-sik-i that lives in groups.

do-jil-ma, du-jil-ma  n. a common bird that comes in big flocks, a bit black and the size of du-ku-ru pigeon.
do'-ka, du'-ka  n. crow.
do'-ka-si  n. a kind of bird, (grey junglefowl).
do'-ka-sim-ek, du'-ka-sa-mek  n. a kind of crow, smaller than a do'-ka, (Beng. chu-to-ka, dar-ka).
do'-ku-ru, do'-kru, du'-ku-ru  n. pigeon, dove, joking term for ri-gong penis.
do'-ku-ru-kal-dek  n. smaller variety of dove.
do'-ku-ru-rong-ru  n. larger variety of dove.
do'-ma, du'-ma  n. a long tailed bird, (same as du'-pa-jong-gol).
do'-ma-sek-i, du'-ma-sek-i  n. a bird, larger than chan-cho-ra, with white and black on its wings that is more visible when flying; the bird pictured on the two taka Bangladeshi note, (Beng. du-el).
do'-man-di  n. domestic fowl.
do'-mi-sel, du'-mi-sel, do'-mi-sal  n. junglefowl, kind of bird in which female has a short tail, male a long one, (Beng. bon-mu-ru).
do'-pa-jong-gol, du'-pa-jong-gol  n. bird with a long black tail, (pied-crested cuckoo).
do'-pat-chi, du'-pat-chi  n. swallow, a chan-chora sized bird that flies in circles.
do'-pi-sa, du'-pi-sa  n. chick, baby bird.
do'-pin-chep, du'-pin-chep  n. sparrow like bird with nests made from curled up leaves, yellow, with a call sounding like `chep-chep-chep', (babbler).
do'-pit, du'-pit  n. a small bird, similar to a chan-cho-ra, (spotted myna).
do'-po, du'-pu  n. owl, (A.chik).
do'-po-mik-del-ong  n. a large-eyed owl.
do'-po-tot-ting, du'-pu-tot-ting  n. large black owl that lives in trees, (Beng. pe-sa).
do'-rang-ding  n. a small yellow bird, the size of a chan-chora, that flies in high circles.
do'-reng, du'-reng  n. hawk, kite, a big black bird that soars and then swoops down to get meat, (Beng. chiil).
do'-reng-chi-jeng  n. smallest of three kinds of hawks.
do'-reng-gan-tong  n. largest of three kinds of hawks.
do'-reng-se-na  n. a reddish-colored hawk.
do'-reng-wal-gu-si, du'-reng-wal-gu-si  n. middle-sized of three kinds of hawks.
do'-rim-it  n. a kind of bird, (chestnut bellied nuthatch).
do'-sik, du'-sik  n. parakeet that can be trained to talk, with curved red beak and long tail, larger than a do'-ma-sek-i. Makes holes in trees, (Beng. ti-a pa-ki).
do-til-eng, du-til-eng n. woodpecker, red, yellow and some black, a bit smaller than a dove.
do-tip, du-tip n. a very small bird.
ha-rong, a-rong n. heron, (grey heron), (Beng. sa-ros).
hai-gil-a, har-gil-a n. stork, large, gray, long-billed bird that eats fish and eels, as big as a so-gon vulture, (adjutant stork). <B
ho-ri-gol n. wild pigeon, mixed green and yellow-colored bird that eats banyan fruit, (common green pigeon). <B
ku-ru-ak n. red eagle, dives for fish, shrimp, snakes, (Beng. igol pa-ki).
ma-da-gong-gil-ek n. an egg-eating forest-dwelling bird, bigger than common myna.
ma-sul-eng-ga n. kingfisher, small blue bird that catches fish. <B
moi-na n. myna bird, (Beng. sa-me). <B
pe-cha, pe-sa n. owl. <B
pi-prot, pi-prot-ki-sang n. common forest-living bird, bigger than a du-ma-sek-i, colored white, and black or gray, with red rear.
pi-prot-mak-bil n. big variety of pi-prot bird that lives in the forest.
ping-gi-ra n. a black-colored bird that is the size of a dove, (drongo).
po-ki n. bird. <B
sa-ma-po-ki n. a robin-like bird, said to be able to talk, (Beng. sa-ma). <B
se-ru, se-ruk n. any of several kinds of myna birds. <B
se-ru-a-bil-ek n. a kind of myna bird, (grayheaded myna).
se-ru-a-pal n. kind of myna with yellow eyes, and habits like an American robin, a bit smaller than the similar common myna.
se-ru-gin-ti n. medium-sized myna.
se-ru-man-di n. common myna bird with yellow eyes and the size and habits of an American robin, lucky bird, (Beng. sal-iik).
so-gon, su-gon n. vulture. <B
u-du-a-da n. a kind of owl that calls u-du at night, (brown fish-owl).
wa-ki-chong-prot n. a bird, (hoopoe).

4.44 Reptiles

4.441 Lizards

a-ring-ga n. a large water lizard.
dot-mi, dot-ni n. type of lizard, about 20 cm. long, that lives in holes in trees and says, 'kak-ku', or, 'dot-me'.
ga-ra n. a small lizard with a red throat that lives in the forest.
git-u-ra n. a water lizard that is a bit smaller than an a-ring-ga.
kan-chi-dik n. small, common house lizard.
map-pru n. large long-tailed forest lizard that lives in trees.
mit-dil-wak  n.  jungle lizard, smaller than a map-pru, about 30 cm. long; a fat woman.

4.443 Snakes

chi-ni-chip-pu  n.  a nonpoisonous water snake.
chip-pu  n.  snake, general term.
chip-pu-bol-gi-si  n.  a small snake that bites.
chip-pu-gram  n.  a black poisonous snake.
chip-pu-ja-da  n.  large snake, python.
chip-pu-ri-ti  n.  cobra.
chong-brang-chong-mit-chang  n.  a snake with rings of colors that, it is said, can be counted in such a way that if one ends on chong-mit-chang it is good luck, but if ending on chong-brang it is bad luck.
tum-rang-tum-bit-chang  n.  a kind of striped snake, (same as chong-brang-chong-mit-chang).

4.445 Turtles

chep-a  n.  a small variety of edible turtle that lives in water, (Beng. kat-tu-a).
chi-jong  n.  a large turtle, larger and flatter than a chep-a, (Beng. ka-sim).
chi-jong-man-di  n.  a kind of turtle, a kind of chi-jong.
chi-jong-sim  n.  a type of black turtle, a kind of chi-jong.
gut-a-ma-ra  n.  a kind of turtle, a kind of chi-jong.
kang-kil-ak-a  n.  small kind of turtle with hard shell.
kat-tu-a  n.  an edible turtle, smaller than, and a different species from, chi-jong, (same as chep-a). <B

4.447 Frogs and Toads

beng  n.  frog.
beng-bil-ek  n.  a small frog.
beng-bil-ok  n.  a type of frog with a high-pitched croak that is a bit bigger than a beng-bil-ek.
beng-bong  n.  a large type of frog, with a deep croak.
da-ling-ja-wek  n.  black water-living frog-like animal that puffs up in anger.
dip-il-ok  n.  frog-like animal that lives on land, even in people’s houses, and that is seen and heard in the rainy season.
ga-wa beng  n.  a large kind of frog, (same as beng-bong).
gan-dra-k  n.  a white jumping frog-like reptile, about 20 cm. long that lives in trees in the forest, and makes a ga-ak sound in the rainy season.
4.45 Fish and Shellfish

I have not been able to make any serious moves to identify fish. I have heard several dozen names for various kinds of fish, but I have never knowingly seen most of them, and I would have been unlikely to know an English, Bengali, or Latin name for a fish even if one had been thrust upon me. Almost all of the descriptions that I give for fish have been given to me by someone rather than based upon my own observations. As with bird names, I have sometimes added a Bengali equivalent, and as with bird names also, the fish names are transcribed as my Mandi consultants pronounced them. They are not transliterations of Bengali spelling. Na- is a categorizing prefix that is used with many names of fish. Some names that do not have this prefix are sometimes or almost always followed by na-tok which is the general name for ‘fish’. This recalls the irregular and variable way in which we always say ‘crayfish’, often say ‘codfish’ or ‘tuna fish’ but never say ‘salmonfish’. Many Bengali fish names have found their way into the language of the Modhupur Mandis. I have not included most of them in the list since I can neither identify nor describe them. Nevertheless, I have included most of the fish names that I have heard that appear to be older Mandi rather than borrowed, even though I can give neither a Bengali nor an English equivalent, and even though my descriptions are very sketchy.

4.454 Fish

be-da-ku-ak na-tok  n. kind of fish with large mouth.
chi-chi-top-a  n. an inedible kind of fish that can puff up its belly.
da-na-pa-ri na-tok  n. a fish said to live in holes and that is similar to na-dang but smaller. <B
han-cheng-bit, na-cheng-bit  n. a kind of edible fish that is smaller than a sardine.
kar-pu  n. a kind of fish, carp. <B
kui-cha, kut-chi-a  n. eel.
mul-a, mul-a na-tok  n. a small white fish that is without ‘whiskers’ (ku-sim-ang), (Beng. dang-ki-na). <B
na-chi-gol-dang  n. kind of fish, similar to sai-tan but white, (Beng. bai-la).
na-chi-kal-tok  n. kind of fish with white patches on its skin; a skin disease characterized by small depigmented areas.
na-dang  n. a type of fish that is as long as an arm.
na-ku-dep  n. a kind of fish, (Beng. ma-gur).
na-ma-su  n. a kind of fish with a flat mouth, (Beng. ti-mi).
na-rim-il  n. a slippery kind of fish, (same as sing-gi na-tok).
na-rong  n. a large kind of fish.
na-su-deng-ga n. a kind of fish with a long mouth, (Beng. kai-ka).
na-tok n. fish, general term.
put-ka mach n. a fish that puffs up if you blow on it. Children make a ball from it and play with it. <B
sai-tan n. kind of fish, (Beng. ta-ki).
sal-gon-da-ri n. a long and striped kind of fish, (Beng. go-sul).
sing-gi na-tok n. small stinging fish, edible.
upol n. a kind of fish, (same as sai-tan).

4.458 Shellfish
a-pi n. clam.
a-pu n. a large type of snail, 4–5 cm.
chot-chru, chot-chu-ru, chot-ru n. small edible snail, 1–2 cm.
hang-ki, ang-ki n. crab.
na-tik n. edible freshwater shrimp.
spru, spu-ru n. small edible snail, (A pal, A chik), (same as chot-chru).

4.46 Insects, Bugs, Worms

The number of insect names seems endless, and one who is not an expert in insects cannot be expected to identify more than a small fraction of them, even when a specimen is available for inspection. Insects do fall rather readily into familiar categories, for the Mandis recognize pretty much the same categories as English speakers do. Many of the categories have general names such as, bi-ja ‘bee’, gu-ang ‘spider’, a-guk ‘grasshopper’ and so on. These words are used both as general terms for insects of one type and as prefixes in more specific names. I have given the terms that have come to my attention, and I have probably included the names of the most frequently talked about insects, but the list could surely be multiplied several times over by someone who finds insects more fascinating than I do.

4.461 General
mal-gip-a n. crawlers, crawling animals, snakes, insects, etc.

4.462 Flies and Mosquitoes
chap, chap-ma-git-ok n. large fly that eats blood, especially of cattle.
gan-ti n. a small fly that makes a noise but does not bite.
gang-gu-a n. mosquito.
sang-et, sang-ret n. firefly.
su-sam n. small biting fly, gnat.
tam-pi n. fly.
tam-pi-a-mak  n. a small fly that bites cows and sometimes people.
tam-pi-rong-reng, rong-reng  n. big blue fly that eats dung, horsefly.
tam-pi-sim-ik  n. tiny non-biting fly that comes out in swarms, gnat.

4.463 Bees, Wasps

bi-ja  n. bee.
bi-ja-a-ma  n. a large variety of stinging bee that builds its hive along
tree branches; a beehive of this type.
bi-ja-kol  n. a kind of bee that builds its hive in a hole in a tree; the hive
of this kind of bee.
bi-ja-si-ik  n. a stinging red bee-like insect that does not produce edible
honey, (wasp?).
bom-bin-eng, bong-bin-eng  n. bumblebee that stings and makes its
nest in a tree hole.
chi-gring  n. a reddish finger-sized wasp that builds nests from dirt,
sometimes on houses.
kal.-mik  n. a small variety of bee that makes very good honey.
meng-meng-ka-ri  n. small bee-like insect, that makes no honey and does
not sting, but makes lots of buzzing sound.
ong  n. a large stinging hornet that builds a very large nest with an opening
at the bottom.

4.464 Spiders

gu-ang  n. spider.
gu-ang-dom-dom-pa  n. a large kind of spider that lives in the forest
and builds large round nests. Said to be able to catch birds.
gu-ang-jap-jap  n. a type of spider that comes into houses.
ha.-ning-gu-ang, a.-ning-gu-ang, gu-ang-ha.-ning  n. a poisonous
ground living spider.
nok-ni gu-ang  n. a small type of spider that lives in people’s houses.

4.465 Ants

Since early in my acquaintance with the Mandis, I have been puzzled
by the proliferation of names for various kinds of ants. Oddly, they have no
single general term that corresponds to our ‘ant’, but only a large number of
terms for specific kinds of ants. They have plenty of experience with ants of
many kinds—black, red, red-on-one-end-black-on-the-other, big, small, with
wings, without wings and so on, and Mandis certainly recognize the general
similarities of the class. So many different kinds of ants are dignified by
their own name that one has to wonder what special role ants could have
in Mandi culture to attract so much attention, but I have never been able
to detect any such role. Ants can be a nuisance, just as they can to non-
Mandis, and some varieties have a painful or itching bite, but they are not
dangerous and they figure no more than dozens of other animals either in
myths or in the attention they receive from people. The many names for
ants are enough to undermine a linguistic anthropologist’s faith that lexical
euxberance reflects cultural importance. I list only some of the words I have
heard at one time or another.

**at-ching** *n.* stinging black ants that cause itching, bigger than **sim-il-chak** but smaller than **ket-chi-ra**.

**breng-gu** *n.* small red or black ant living in the ground that bites and
causes itching, similar to an **at-ching**.

**gong-gang** *n.* a large type of stinging black ant.

**ha’-kin, a’-kin** *n.* type of white ant that builds large ant hills, and that
bores into and lives in the mud walls of houses.

**ket-chi-ra, ket-chra, ki-chra** *n.* a red ant that appears in large swarms
and that has a painful but non-poisonous bite. It makes nests in folded
leaves.

**kom-pru** *n.* a big kind of black stinging ant that comes out in rainy
season, (same as **gong-gang**).

**rang-sal-git-chak** *n.* kind of red ant that is larger than **smil-chak**, (same
as **breng-gu**).

**se-ram-pu** *n.* kind of red or black ant, (same as **sim-il-chak**).

**sim-al** *n.* tiny red or black ant, (A’pal), (same as **sim-il-chak**).

**sim-il-chak** *n.* tiny red or black ant that swarms in large numbers and
often lives in houses.

### 4.466 Leeches

**el-u** *n.* biting water leech, a few inches long.

**ru-at** *n.* land leech, smaller than a water leech.

### 4.467 Worms, Centipedes, Caterpillars

**chik-il** *n.* reddish and very poisonous ground-dwelling worm without legs,
that bites people, and can kill like a snake, as much as 20 cm. long.

**jong-kang-ku** *n.* inchworm.

**jong-sip-in** *n.* a large hairless leaf-eating caterpillar with colored spots.

**jong-su** *n.* a small caterpillar with stinging hairs that causes an itch.

**kan-chi-ri** *n.* worm that lives in ground and makes knobly little dirt
piles, does not bite.

**kan-chi-ri chon-gip-a** *n.* a small kind of **kan-chi-ri**, smaller than
**kan-chi-ri ron-da**.

**kan-chi-ri ron-da** *n.* long thin worm, a large variety of **kan-chi-ri**, about 15 cm long.
mang-gu-ak  n. a small, nonbiting centipede.
mang-gu-ak git-chak  n. a small type of centipede, that sometimes lives in roofs.
mang-gu-ak jol-si  n. a small and thin, but long centipede that lives in the ground.
mang-gu-ak mi-bram  n. a small type of centipede, that appears in large numbers.
mang-gu-ak pil-dep  n. small black centipede.
mang-gu-ak ron-da  n. a large type of centipede.
mang-tip  n. a small caterpillar with stinging hairs that irritate the skin when touched, smaller than a jong-su.
n-ron-chi  n. a white insect that lives in dung and does not bite.
reng-si  n. a ground-dwelling worm that eats cloth, earth-needle, (same as sil-eng-si).
sil-eng-si  n. kind of ground-dwelling worm that eats cloth, (same as reng-si).
sin-a-ru  n. a poisonous kind of centipede.
sin-a-ru-du-ka  n. a black centipede, less poisonous than sin-a-ru-git-chak.
sin-a-ru-git-chak, sin-a-ru-dal-gip-a  n. a large very poisonous centipede.
sol-sol-a  n. silkworm.

4.468 Vermin
dip-a  n. bed bug.
ma-mon-chi  n. very small red tick-like insect that bites the naval, eyes, and ears, and causes itching.
n-rik-et  n. tick, insect that bites people and cattle, and grows round as it fills with blood.
tik  n. louse, head louse.

4.469 Beetles and Misc.
al-ang  n. flying green finger-sized leaf-eating insect.
cheng-ga-ru, cheng-ga-ri  n. flying insect, similar to, but larger than a po-da-neng or mai-jing-jing, that makes noise in April and May evenings.
gan-di  n. a small, smelly beetle.
ha-da-su-rang, ha-du-srang  n. dragonfly.
ha-guk, a-guk  n. grasshopper.
ha-guk-a-reng  n. a large kind of grasshopper.
ha-guk-ging-srok  n. a kind of grasshopper with a long head.
ha-guk-gok-chi-ri, ha-guk-gok-si-ri, a-guk-gok-chi-ri n. a small but long kind of grasshopper.
ha-guk-ma-du-pa n. a big type of grasshopper.
ha-guk-mit-im n. a small type of grasshopper.
jong-chret n. a small insect that lives in thatch and eats paper and cloth.
jong-dol n. ground-dwelling insect, larger than a grasshopper, that makes noise in evening.
jong-mot n. small bug, hardly 3 mm. long, that eats small channels in bamboo or wood.
jong-tim-brot n. black insect that lives in the earth and curls up, the size of a finger joint.
ka-ra-o, ka-ra-u n. a bad smelling cockroach that is larger than an ordinary sel-uk cockroach, and that lives in people’s houses and eats things.
ki-bit-bit n. dung beetle.
mai-jing-jing n. noisy, finger-sized insect.
pak-ma-ri n. butterfly.
po-da-neng n. finger-sized insect that makes noise during the daytime in April or May.

4.47 Animal Parts, Stages, Products (cf. 6.2 Body parts, human)

Many of the terms that are used for human body parts are used for the corresponding parts of animals, of course, but animals have some special parts which need their own names. Only terms that are unique to animals or that have a somewhat different meaning when applied to animals than to humans are given here.

4.471 Body Parts, Birds

am-pat-ti, am-pan-ti n. bird’s gizzard.
do-bik, du-bik, do-bi-bik n. bird’s intestines, used in divination.
gang-chu n. outer (distal) part of a bird’s wing.
gang-pak n. the part of a wing that is close to the body.
gang-ping n. upper part of a wing, part near the body.
grang n. wing, feather.
ja-ping n. thigh of a bird; upper part of a human leg, thigh.
ka-bak n. breast of a bird, front of the body.
aa-gring n. cock’s comb.
pe-chu, pi-chu n. bird’s crop.
4.472 Body Parts, Insects

bi-ri  n. stinger of an insect such as a bee.
ga-teng  n. insect’s leg; stick or small branch that has been cut off.
grong  n. feelers of an insect, horn of cattle, deer, etc.
ja-git-teng  n. large leg of an insect; leg of a bird; human leg.
jak-pa  n. end part of an insect leg, palm of the hand.
jak-si  n. distal portion of an insect leg; finger.
jang-gil  n. back of an insect, back of anything.
ki-sam-bu  n. the back end of an inchworm; anus.
ku-sik  n. front end of an inchworm, mouth.

4.473 Animal Body Parts, Other

bi-king  n. turtle shell; shell of an insect; do-chi-bi-king eggshell; mes
        bi-king matchbox; sko-bi-king skull.
bu-su  n. fish bone, thorn.
chep-a bi-king  n. shell of a chep-a (small turtle).
chu-ri  n. long, thin, knife-shaped and reddish internal organ of pigs, near
        the liver; knife.
ging-tong  n. the snout of an animal, esp. a pig’s snout.
grong  n. horn of cattle, deer, etc., feelers of an insect.
ja-skil  n. claw, toenail.
   -kan-ta  dns. lacking a limb or tail: jak-kan-ta lacking an arm; jak-si-
        kan-ta missing a finger.
ki-me, ki-mi  n. tail; the projecting upper part of the top of a house
        post cut to fit a cross piece.
ki-sang-ti  n. hind end of an animal; buttock.
sin-chi  n. the hump of cattle.
wa-ching  n. tusk, of an elephant or pig, canines of a dog.

4.474 Stages of Insect Maturation

bi-jong  n. grub of a bee, immature bee that lives in a cell of a comb; the
        part of the hive where the young grow.
ge-gak, ge-gat  n. late stage of a maturing insect that is able to fly.
jong-king  n. immature grub of a ground dwelling insect.
jong-men  n. grub, larva, early stage of an immature insect, before na-di.
na-di  n. a stage of a maturation of a bee or other insect when the wings
        begin to grow but it still cannot fly; grub.

4.475 Animal Products

a-no  n. egg yolk.
beng-ki, bi-ja beng-ki  n. beeswax.
bi-ja-a-ma  n. beehive of the type that is attached to a tree branch; the kind of stinging bee that builds these hives.
bi-ja-bit-chi  n. honey, (lit. bee-juice).
bi-ja-kol  n. beehive located in a hole in a tree; the kind of bee that makes these hives.
bi-jong  n. part of the hive where the young grow; grub of a bee.
bi-kil-ap, do-chi bi-kil-ap  n. the membrane inside the shell of an egg.
bi-rang, bi-ja-bi-rang  n. honeycomb.
bi-stil  n. egg yolk.
bi-tip  n. nest, cocoon.
bi-top  n. nests of some insects, such as wasps and biting red ants, that are made in folded tree leaves.
do-stil, du-stil  n. egg yolk.
gip-ok  n. egg white.
gu-ang-sring  n. spider web.
gu-bol  n. cow dung. <B
ha-pru, ha-pu-ru, ha-pru-tot, a-pru  n. big anthill made by a-kin ants.
hang-ki ha-kil-ok, hang-kil-ok  n. crab hole.
ket-chi-ra bi-top, ket-chi-ra bi-tip  n. nest of leaves made by red ants, with jong-men (grubs) inside.
ma-su-ke-em-a, ma-su-ki  n. cow dung.

4.476 Animal Noises

Many of the terms that name animal calls and cries have a somewhat onomatopoetic character. They generally seem to have a clear and normal phonological structure, but when actually pronounced, speakers often give them an extra intonation or rhythm, much as English speakers may lengthen and exaggerate the vowel in ‘moo’.

am-a  vi. roar, as a tiger.
bet-bet-a  vi. call by a bull or male goat to a female.
chrik-pret-a  vi. scream loudly; squeal by pigs.
drok-a  vi. cluck of a hen when calling her chicks.
ga-ak-a  vi. crow, the cry of a crow.
gi-sik-a  vi. crow, cock’s crow.
gring-a  vi. howl, of dogs, jackals.
hop-a, hu-ap-a  vi. cry made by animals such as a barking deer.
im-be-a  vi. bleat of a calf.
im-bo-a  vi. moo, sound made by a calf or cow.
mik-u-a  vi. cry made by any animal, meow, bleat, moo, etc.; sound, make
a noise; sound, of a musical instrument or machine; squeak.
ok-gil-a  vi. noise made by a bull when wanting to lock horns.
ran-a  vi. growl, roar, of a dog, tiger, etc.; purr, of a cat.
ro-rot-a, ru-rot-a  vi. cackle, sound made by a hen when she lays an egg.
sing-a  vi. bark, of dogs; ask a question.
tik-tik-a, dik-dik-a  vt. cluck, sound made by hen to call her chicks.
ing-ku-ting-ku  adv. squeal of a pig; loud, of a rice pounder, of angry
talking.
ul-guk-a  vi. noise made by tiger.

4.48 Animal Actions

4.482 Animal Actions, Misc.

ba- a, pa- a  vi. perch, of birds; cling, of flies, as on a wound.
bal-a, bal-o-rot-a, bal-u-rot-a  vt. carry in the mouth or beak, like a
dog or bird: bal-e kat-a, bal-e ra-ang-a carry off in the mouth.
bam-a  vt. sit on eggs, brood.
bil-a  vt. make a hole in the earth or mud, by a worm or animal; burrow;
pierce, penetrate.
bu-del-a  vi. stand on end, as the hair on a dog.
cha-tip-tip-a  vi. gather in large numbers, flock, swarm, of animals or
people.
cha-bil-a  vi. come to surface and open mouth, of fish.
chi-a, bit-chi chi-a  vt. lay eggs, by birds, insects.
dang-brit-a  vt. scrape backwards with feet, as a dog scrapes the ground
or a bird scrapes when looking for food.
del-a  vt. sting, as bees.
del-kom-tet-a  vt. sting while curled up.

gae-brit-a  vt. scrape back with feet, as a bird scrapes the ground when
looking for food.

gae-chrak-a, ga-chi-chrak-a  vt. push back grain with feet like birds;
scratch up dirt like dog.

gae-min-ek-a  vt. step on and squash, as a cow steps on rice plants; mix
with the feet, as mud and water.


gae-pin-ek-a  vt. step on something and crush it, as cattle step on rice
plants.

gae-tek-a  vt. kick, by an animal, cow, goat, etc.; stretch out a leg quickly,
kick out once.
geng-kon-a  vi. curl up and turn, as a dog turns when lying down.
gil-si-ri-a, gil-sri-a  vt. shed, as a snake sheds its skin; peel, peel off bark; peel off loose skin, as from a skin disease: chip-pu bi-gil gil-si-ri-ing-a
the snake is changing its skin.
git-ik-a  vi. move, squirm, wiggle, of people or animals; be shaken, as in an airplane.
jal-a  vi. swarm, of animals or insects such as lice that come in large numbers, increase in numbers; crowd, of people.
ke-a, ki-a  vt. butt with horns.
ke-grik-a  vt. push or fight each other with horns, as buffalo.
kon-a  vi. curled up, like a snake, dog, cat; coiled up in a circle or spiral, as a string.
ma-rai-a  vi. whine, seek attention, pester, as a hungry baby, or a dog that rubs against someone.
mal-gek-a  vi. be very tame, of an animal.
mik-gau-a, mik-gek-a  vi. open eyes, as when puppies first open their eyes.
not-brak-a, not-brok-a  vt. rub a part of the body against something in order to scratch it, of cows, buffalo or even people.
not-grot-a  vt. rub up against something in order to scratch, generally used for animals.
rit-im-pil-a  vi. grow new skin, of a snake; grow, get new leaves or bark; sprout, as from a tree stump.
ro-a, ru-a  vi. mate, of animals, not used for people.
sa-a  vt. build a nest, build a hive, by birds or bees, on a branch or on the ground but not a hanging nest.
se-l-pu-a  vi. stand on end, of hair.
tat-a  vt. prick with spikes but without poison, as by some fish; pick at, hurt with thorns; poke a thorn into infected flesh.
top-a  vt. build a hanging hive, by bees.

4.486 Flying, Flapping Wings

bil-a  vi. fly, of birds, insects, airplanes; fly about in the air, of paper, leaves, etc.
bil-cha-a  vi. fly up from a surface, take off.
bil-chok-a  vi. fly down.
bil-du-a  vi. fly up.
bil-jeng-jeng-a  vi. fly with slowly flapping wings.
bil-on-a  vi. fly down.
bil-pak-pak-a  vt. fly with flapping.
bil-ru-rat-a  vi. fly back and forth.
bil-wen-a, bil-wen-wen-a, bil-wil-wil-a  vi. fly in circles.
dim-a  vi. swarm, settle down in large numbers, of insects, etc.
jip-a, grang jip-a  vt. flap wings slowly, soar; fan.
pak-pak-a  vt. wave hand up and down; grang pak-pak-a flap wings quickly, as when preparing to take off; flap ears, of a dog; slap the upper arm against the side.
pil-ip-pil-ip, pil-ip-pil-ip dak-a  adv. flutter in the wind, of cloth, of feathers on a bird.
sap-a  vi. swoop down, dive, as hawks swoop down to grab meat.
sap-srak-a  vt. dive to catch, as a hawk catches baby birds: du-reng du-pi-sa-ko sap-srak-a the hawk dives to get the baby bird.

4.487 Animal Actions: Eating, Foods

a-dal  n. food given to animals, especially that given to pigs; bait. <B
cha-che gin-di, cha-chi gin-di  n. food for pigs made from rice husks.
chik-wak-a  vt. bite and hold on as an animal does, bite off pieces as one eats an apple or banana.
gak-a  vt. peck, as a bird pecks at rice; nibble at, of people.
gat-a  vt. eat holes in paper or cloth, of insects.
pu-a  vt. drill or eat holes in wood, fruit, etc., of worms or birds; make a hole, as with a chisel; plant with a digging stick.
ring-gil-a  vt. root up ground with the snout, like a pig; move food around with the nose, like a cow.
su-a, so-a  vt. peck, peck at, by birds.
su-grik-a  vt. peck at each other, of birds.
su-kul-ot-a  vt. pecking, by birds.
su-tet-a, su-tet-e cha-a  vt. peck like a bird, peck and pick up or carry off.

4.488 Animal Actions: Wag Tail

dok-chrak-a, ki-me-cha dok-chrak-a  vt. knock down, knock off with the tail, as brushing off flies, of cows, buffaloes.
dok-ro-rek-a, ki-me dok-ro-rek-a  vt. wag tail, move tail back and forth, of cows, dogs, cats.
dok-rok-a  vt. brush off, as a cow brushes off flies with its tail; knock one thing against another, as when knocking dirt from a basket; slap dirt off.
dok-srap-a  vt. knock off, brush off, as a person might flick off dirt with a cloth.
gi-gang-gil-a, ki-me gi-gang-gil-a  vt. raise up tail, as a cow does when eliminating.
rak-rak-a  vt. wag, of a dog’s tail; swing knees or feet back and forth, of people.
rek-rek-a  _vt._ move back and forth; wag tail, swish tail like a cat getting ready to pounce; shake (as a fruit tree to knock down fruit): **ki-mi-ko a-chak rek-rek-a** the dog wags (its) tail.

### 4.49 Actions Towards Animals

- **a-dal-a, ha-dal-a** _vt._ feed animal, esp. pigs. &lt;B
- **bai-bai-bai** _int._ call to cattle to tell them to turn left when driving them. &lt;B
- **chan-a** _vt._ track, follow tracks, as when hunting animals.
- **da-ni da-ni** _int._ call to cattle to tell them to turn right when driving them. &lt;B
- **du-a, a-dal du-a** _vt._ feed domestic animals, bait birds.
- **ha-rik-a, ha-rik-et-a** _vt._ chase away, drive away: **ma-su-ko ha-rik-ing-a** driving away cattle.
- **rak-ki-a** _vt._ keep, maintain; guard, take care of, as a small baby or animals.
- **ri-sip-il gin-ang** _n._ uncastrated, (lit. with testicles).
- **rik-a, rik-et-a** _vt._ drive away, chase away animals.
- **rik-pak-a** _vt._ drive away animals, pigs, birds, cattle.
- **rik-ru-ru-a** _vt._ drive away, drive animals far away.
- **sep-a,** _vt._ milk a cow; wring out water, squeeze out, as water from wet clothes, juice from fruit.
- **si-kal dak-a, si-kar** _vt._ hunt, go hunting. &lt;B
- **si-kal-tim-a** _n._ hunt quietly, stealthily.
- **sik-keng-krot-a** _vt._ catch and hold tightly, by force, with arms or hands, as when catching and holding a pig or person.
- **skrik-a** _vt._ remove skin, peel off skin.
- **so-sim-prak-a** _vt._ blacken with fire, scorch, as when a pig is scorched to clean it and remove hair during butchering.
- **wat-a** _vt._ let animals run loose; let go, release; send a letter, etc.; settle, finalize; fire from a job; quit smoking; supply; abandon, throw away; weigh.

### 4.6 Plants, Mostly Uncultivated

#### 4.63 Trees

#### 4.630 Forest

- **ba-ang-a** _n._ thin, of forest; empty of trees.
- **bi-pang** _n._ tree; a tree or bush that grows with a single trunk or central stalk; trunk of a tree or banana plant; stalk of even a small plant such as mustard.
bol n. wood; tree. bol- cp. categorizing prefix for names of types of trees.
   bol- cls. classifier for trees, axes, bamboo knives (at-te), drums.
bol-bi-pang n. tree.
bol-grim n. dense with trees.
bol-pang n. tree.
bring-go-ra n. thicket, thick forest.
chi-rang-rang adv. clear, of growing things; bare, of fallen leaves.
   -go-ra dns. thicket: wa-go-ra bamboo thicket; bring-go-ra thick forest.
pang-si-dim-dim n. lacking trees or bamboo, without growing things,
   empty of plants or buildings, bare.
pang-si-ru-ru, pang-si-rim-rim n. cleared, especially of trees and
   brush, clear and nice.
re-jap n. reserved forest, reserved seat on a bus. <E

4.632 Trees, Uncultivated (cf. 5.22 Cultivated trees)

I became interested in tree names and inquired about them more exten-
sively than I asked about most other natural categories, and this is why
so many names for trees are listed here. Even so, the list is surely far from
complete. Many tree names start with the categorizing prefix, bol-, but
the Modhupur Mandis call a fair number of trees by names borrowed from
Bengali. I find this surprising, since the Mandis are, in origin, a forest peo-
ple who might be expected to know more about their trees than their less
forested neighbors. Still, the forest origin of the Mandis is shown by the
ability of people I spoke with to give Mandi names for the great majority of
trees that I asked about, while they often acknowledged ignorance of their
Bengali names. This is one area where people have gained their knowledge
through the medium of the Mandi language and where knowledge of Mandi
words remains clearly superior to that of their Bengali equivalents.

I have had most of these trees pointed out to me as I walked through
the forest with Mandi friends, but I have not been able to make any careful
botanical identification. When I give Bengali equivalents for Mandi names,
these are simply the names that Mandis have given me, and I cannot vouch
for the accuracy of any particular identification. Mandis do have a wide and
deep knowledge of the forest and its products, however, and I believe their
reports are largely accurate. As with birds and fish, where I give Bengali
equivalents, they are transcribed as Mandis pronounced them for me, and
these pronunciations are likely to deviate substantially from the pronunci-
ation of a native speaker of Bengali. Names that are (to a linguist) clearly
borrowed, are sometimes, though not always, given slightly different pro-
nunciations when they are said to be “Mandi” words than when described
as “Bengali” words.
When distinguishing trees from one another, I always tend to ask about their size and shape, the form of the leaves, the type of bark and so on. Mandis are much more inclined to explain the uses to which the wood can be put or the degree of edibility of their fruit. Mandis take the characteristics of bark and leaves so much for granted that they never think to mention them. They did think I might need some instruction on what the wood of each species might be used for. Nevertheless, I have given very rough descriptions of many of the trees, hoping these descriptions might offer someone a first step toward identification.

**a-du-rak**  
*n.* medium-sized tree with opposite leaves that are sour when cooked.

**a-ga-chi**  
*n.* a beautiful flowering tree with huge leaves and slightly reddish pea-sized buds in January, and later yellow-red flowers, good red wood, trunk mottled with white, (Beng. *a-juk-i*). <B

**a-ga-ja-ri**  
*n.* a large tree with somewhat whorled leaves, (Beng. *ja-rul*).

**a-gen-dra**  
*n.* a medium-sized tree with fruit that is edible if cooked, (Beng. *ping-gi-la*).

**am-bi-ri**  
*n.* tree with a mottled trunk, sour but edible fruit and short almost needle-like leaves; as with a *gim-bil* tree, a cow may be tied to it by a dead person on the way to *Chik-mang*, the place where dead people go.

**am-bil-et-tong**  
*n.* tree with sour edible fruit.

**am-sup-a-ri**  
*n.* tree with flaky eucalyptus-like bark and sweet white edible fruit, (Beng. *pe-ra, so-brì*).

**ba-ba-ri**  
*n.* tree with red flowers and 25 cm. round leaves said to cause a rash, (Beng. *bew-la*).

**ban-chan**  
*n.* sal tree, (Beng. *gojari*).

**ban-duk-ri**  
*n.* tree with light bark and 10 cm. leaves, (Beng. *bas-ku-ra*).

**ben-a**  
*n.* small tree with fruit ripening in April is sold to traders, and from which oil is extractd, 25 cm. hand like leaves. <B

**bo-ga**  
*n.* kind of tree, probably a locust, with locust like leaves and long, skinny, inedible pods.

**bo-kul**  
*n.* variety of tree with fragrant flowers. <B

**bol-a-chan-chok**  
*n.* small forest tree with 12 cm. pointed oval leaves that is used for rafters.

**bol-bit**  
*n.* common large tree with large plain leaves. Good for handles of bamboo knives, (Beng. *poi-ru-ja*).

**bol-bret**  
*n.* a large forest tree with sumac-like leaves, and good heartwood. The leaves are cooked with pork to add flavor.

**bol-chu**  
*n.* tree with a thorny trunk, long narrow leaves, and a cottony inedible fruit that ripens in February.
bol-dim-it  n. tree with dark trunk and no heartwood, (Beng. gan-di-go-ja-ri).

bol-do-reng  n. big tree with heart shaped leaves, (Beng. kai-ka).

bol-du-bak  n. tree with roundish 10 cm. leaves, good for firewood.

bol-du-kak-ki  n. large kind of tree that gives sap.

bol-kak-ka-ru  n. big tree with mottled trunk and 3 cm. leaflets on 20 cm. leaves.

bol-mat-ra  n. a large tree with long slender pods, inedible fruit, and 20 cm. oval leaves. Good for firewood, (Beng. dut-krus).

bol-pil-eng  n. tree with yellow flowers, little green five sided fruit, and 20 cm. undistinguished leaves.

bol-pru  n. very large tree with horizontally marked trunk and tiny, almost fern-like leaflets on compound leaves, (Beng. ses-ra).

bol-sal  n. sal tree, (Beng. go-ja-ri).

bol-si-bret  n. large tree with ugly crinkly 15 cm. lozenge shaped leaves and inedible fruit.

bol-sil  n. very large tree with dusty trunk, leaves like a sal tree and good, very hard, hearwood, (lit. iron-tree).

bol-srem  n. large tree with small, somewhat holly-like, shiny green leaves, without fruit but cattle eat its leaves.

bol-u-ri  n. tree with 15 cm. leaves, orange flowers that bloom in January, and inedible fruit.

bu-su-bal-ma  n. a kind of tree with very large thorns, (Beng. mon-kan-ta).

but-bu-ri bu-su  n. small thorn tree with 2 cm. round leaves and edible small round fruit.

chram  n. a tree with a very sour fruit, (Beng. cham-bol).

gak-gil  n. large tree with gray trunk, small round leaves and small inedible fruit, good for firewood, (Beng. si-riis).

gam-ba-ri  n. large tree with fairly large lozenge-shaped leaves. good hearwood and good for making drums, (Beng. jo-gin-i-chok-ra).

gan-di-go-ja-ri  n. a tree with large fibrous leaves, bunches of soft purple grape-like fruit; not the same and not as valuable as the go-ja-ri. <B

gim-bil  n. tree with oval reddish 20 cm. leaves that are used to wrap biris. This is the tree to which one ties his cow on the trip to Chik-mang after death, (Beng. kum-bir).

go-ja-ri  n. sal tree, (shorea robusta). <B

gok-a-rek  n. small tree, the size of sugar cane, that grows beside river with big flowers.

ja-riul  n. tree with pale trunk, leafless in January but with little round fruit and beautiful flowers. <B
**jam n.** tree with light, much incised bark and twisted trunk and branches:
a small variety has willow like leaves, a larger variety has 15 cm. dark green
leaves, edible fruit in July. <B

**jam-bu n.** larger variety of **jam** tree. <B

**jam-ti-ti n.** smaller variety of **jam** tree. <B

**ji-ga n.** a flowering tree, leafless in winter but with red or green bulbous
hard fruits at end of the branches. <B

**ji-ga-a-gu-ru n.** a red variety of **ji-ga** tree.

**ji-ga-du-mi n.** a variety of **ji-ga** tree.

**ka-nil-eng-ga n.** tree with five lobed sour green edible fruit, liked by
pregnant women. <B

**ka-si, ka-si bol, ka-si-jak-srem n.** a medium sized thorny tree with
small, somewhat willow-like leaves, lots of little round fruit eaten by birds,
and good heartwood for posts, (Beng. *kui-ra-ka-ta*).

**kan-tap n.** tree with 25 cm. fuzzy indented leaves and small round
inedible fruit.

**kang-ka-ri n.** small tree with 2 cm. round leaf, edible sour, puckering,
or slightly sweet red fruit when ripe, (A’pal). (same as **te-seng-ki**).

**ke-ri ng bol n.** small tree with three-part leaves and large inedible fruit.

**kel-wi n.** tree with rather dusty yellowish bark, thin 15 cm. seed pods
and smallish 2 cm. leaflets on 20 cm. leaf, (Beng. *ko-roi*).

**ken-ti-ri n.** very small-leafed flowering tree, with sour fruit liked by
pregnant women, (Beng. *te-tul*).

**ko-dom n.** undistinguished tree with ordinary 15 cm. leaves and inedible
fruit. <B

**kon-jon n.** a locust tree with flowers, small oval leaflets on compound
leaves, and long skinny edible fruit that is sometimes eaten with dahl,
(Beng. *sa-di-na*).

**ma-kan-chi n.** tree with 20–30 cm. lozenge shaped leaves.

**ma-su ri-sip-il n.** tree with 12 cm. leaflets on 40 cm. forked leaf, (lit.
cattle testicles), (Beng. *pi-tras*).

**man-dal n.** small tree with large poplar-like leaves and colorful flowers,
with thorns on the trunk and branches; used to build fences.

**men-di-ka-ta n.** small tree with small opposite leaves, that is planted
and cut off to make fences. <B

**o-mak n.** largish tree with lovely flowers, the bark of which is used to
make tump lines, (Beng. *ga-ton*).

**o-ro-la n.** a tree, not found in Modhupur and known only from stories; it
is said to grow wild and to bear an edible fruit.

**pak-kram n.** tree with a pale trunk.

**pi-prot-ki-sang n.** tree with red, somewhat sumac-like fruit in the cold
season; named for the bird of the same name.
prap  n. banyan tree, (Beng. bot).
ra'-kol-kat-a  n. a knobby trunked tree with edible fruit that is ripe in July.
rang-i, rang-ri  n.  largish tree with willow-like leaves and somewhat spotted bark, (Beng. ga-ton).
se-reng-ki bu-su  n.  thorny tree with small sour leaves that are cooked with curry.
seng-su  n. large tree with small leaves.
sin-a-ru  n.  large tree with light colored trunk and strong golden colored wood that is good for posts, (Beng. su-nal-u). <B
sok-chon  n. tree with white sap and 12 cm. whorled leaves.
su-ri  n. large tree with good wood, a few vertical cuts in the bark, and fruit that has a nut-like core, (Beng. boi-ra).
su-stim  n. tree with shaggy reddish bark, and 30 cm. pods that are ripe in April and eaten by cows but rarely by people, (Beng. chu-ka-ko-la).
su-mit-cheng  n.  large tree with very thorny trunk and vaguely sumac-like leaves that are used in cooking, and oil is made from the fruit.
tal  n. kind of palm tree with fan-like leaves, the fruit of which is cooked but not eaten raw. <B
te-kring, ti-kring  n. tree with willow-like leaves and red sour fruit that is ripe in July, and wood that is good for house posts, (Beng. ne-ar).
te-na-rang, ti-na-rang  n. tree with a lemon-sized edible fruit that looks like a gourd but is soft, and that is bitter when unripe, (Beng. pa-hai-ra bo-roi).
te-seng-ki, ti-seng-ki  n. tree with 2 cm. round leaf, edible red sour fruit that is a bit sweet when ripe in May, (same as kang-ka-ri).
te-seng-ki-mak-bil, ti-seng-ki-mak-bil  n. tree with pointed oval leaves and edible fruit ripe in May, (Beng. jong-la bo-roi).
wak-kin-te, wak-kin-ti  n. kind of tree that looses leaves in the cold season, (Beng. but-tum).

4.637 Bamboo

It would be hard to exaggerate the importance of bamboo to the Man-dis. It is in much shorter supply in Modhupur now than it used to be, so it is no longer used to build houses, but many smaller household objects are still made from bamboo, and a number of men use bamboo strips to make lovely baskets that they continue to use themselves or that they sell for the international crafts market. Many varieties of bamboo are known. People even know the names of some types of bamboo that are not grown locally.

ba-hi-ni  n. a very large variety of bamboo, (same as rang-gi). <B
ba-lu-ka-ja-wa  n. type of bamboo that is good for basketry.
bo-ro-a  n. a very large variety of bamboo that is very good for making baskets, (Beng. bu-rak). <B
kes-ki wa  n. medium sized variety of bamboo that is good for basket making. <B
tol-a  n. a large and dark kind of bamboo that is good for making baskets. <B

wa-, wa, wa'-a  n. bamboo. wa'- cp. prefix for bamboo parts, varieties, and object made from bamboo: wa'-ma a large variety of bamboo; wa'-si split bamboo matting; wa'-kop one half of a split length of bamboo.
wa-go-ra  n. thick growing bamboo.
wa-kan-ta  n. a thorny variety of bamboo that grows wild, (Beng. kan-tai). <B
wa-pang  n. bamboo ‘trunk’, stalk of bamboo.
wa-rik-i  n. the top of bamboo.
wa-ru-ri  n. a kind of bamboo said to grow in the Garo Hills.
wa-sim  n. a kind of bamboo, said to grow in Agartola.
wa-srep  n. small variety of bamboo said to grow in the Garo Hills.
wa-ti-ri, wa-tri  n. a smallish variety of bamboo, about 4 cm. diameter.

4.64 Shrubs

The small number of names for shrubs that are given here is no more than a hint of what might be listed. Mandis have large numbers of names for them, but only someone with more botanical knowledge and interest than I have could begin to make a useful list of them.

bal-ma bu-su  n. thorny shrub with opposite plain leaves.
bol-sep, bol-srep, bol-sep-pra, bol-srep-pra  n. a meter tall shrub with willow-like leaves.
du-ja-gip-i  n. a meter tall shrub with laurel-like leaves which are first warmed in fire and then pressed onto the skin medicinally.
kang-kang-pret  n. bush with tiny doubled leaves facing each other.
mak-kal  n. shrub with opposite dark 20 cm. long leaves that are used for fish poison.
me-mang-ka-chi, mi-mang-ka-chi  n. bush with skinny half-meter prickly stalks with slightly red tipped ends, small scattered leaves and .5 cm. seeds scattered up and down the stalks; used as medicine to apply to sore limbs.
sam-gol-dak  n. small wild woody shrub, a foot or so high with edible but somewhat bitter leaves.
te-pak-krong  n. big bush or small thorny tree up to about 3 meters tall, with little round green fruit, a weed, not eaten.
4.65 Herbs, etc., Wild

4.652 Grass

a-gal n. a kind of grass that makes long-lasting thatch.
am-pang n. thatch, thatching grass.
am-pang-man-di n. a very tall type of grass that is the best type for thatch, thatching-grass.
am-pang-pang-si n. a short variety of grass that is used for thatching.
bin-da-su-ba am-pang n. a tall grass that grows in clumps and has spreading seeds on top, and that can be used for thatch.
che-sul n. grass growing in the fields that grows high in high water.
du-bil-a n. a kind of short grass that is eaten by cows and goats and is useful for stopping blood. <B

gai-a n. a kind of short grass eaten by cows.
gong n. a reed with stalks of finger thickness, almost lily like leaves, and as tall as a person. Central part can be eaten.

jeng-gim n. a plant that grows in water at the ends of rice fields, taller than a man and of finger thickness. Used to make fences.
neng-ra-bon n. a very fine short grass with tiny burrs.
sam n. grass, herb; medicine; curry. sam- cp. prefix for grass and small herbs: samsi crab-grass; sam-mik-chip sensitive plant.
sam-si n. crabgrass.

4.653 Tubers, Wild (cf. 5.27 Cultivated Tubers)

Mandis cultivate a number of tubers and they also have extensive knowledge of wild tubers. They know what each looks like, how it grows, and whether or not it is edible. Their knowledge of tubers, both wild and cultivated, is so extensive that it can seem that one needs only to scratch through their rice eating exterior to find a tuber eating society lurking just behind. Today, however, tubers come poor second to rice as a part of the diet.

am-peng n. a wild but edible jungle tuber.
steng n. a wild tree-climbing vine with a large edible tuberous root that, if eaten, is filling.
ta-ak n. a large inedible wild tuber.
ta-git-chak n. an edible wild tuber.
ta-ja n. an edible wild tuber.
ta-mi-sel n. an edible wild jungle tuber.
ta-nu n. a large inedible wild tuber.
4.655 Vines

Many names for vines include a bi-du or bi-dil. These resemble categorizing prefixes such as bol- ‘tree’ except that, mysteriously, they come at the end of the word, rather than at the beginning, where categorizing prefixes normally belong. Why vines should be burdened with what acts like a suffix, instead of having a normal prefix, I have no idea.

-bi-dil  

-bi-du  

bu-su-du-bik  n. somewhat rose-like vine with lots of little thorns, but different from bu-su-sil-kring.

bu-su-sil-kring  n. somewhat rose-like vine with lots of little thorns but different from bu-su-du-bik.

but-bu-ri  n. a large, wrist-sized vine with curved thorns that catch clothes.

dot-ni-jara-pa-bi-du  n. a tree-climbing vine.

du-sim-a-bi-du, du-jong-ma  n. large and very long vine, up to 5 cm. in diameter and with deep longitudinal cuts in its bark, with edible sour tips.

gi-la, gi-la-bi-du  n. a large woody vine with a fruit, said to be poisonous enough to be deadly if eaten. <B
go-long  n. vine with huge bean-like pods and red seeds.

ka-ku-bi-dil, ka-ku-bi-du  n. wild pencil-sized vine with indented heart shaped leaves that are 10-20 cm. long and edible.

kim-bal-o-bi-du  n. a thorny vine, thick as a thumb with 30 cm. leaves with parallel veins.

ma-ri-bi-du  n. the largest vine that grows in Modhupur, woody and as thick as a person’s leg, it has 25 cm. leaves, red sap, and grows wild in the forest: ma-ri-bi-du sek-i the red sap of ma-ri-bi-du that is drunk as a cure for watery diarrhea.

mak-kal-ri-gi  n. vine that causes severely irritated skin if touched.

mi-gong  n. a long vine with 40 cm. rather water lily like leaves with a ‘v’ cut at tip, (Beng. kan-chon).

pa-sim  n. thin cultivated vine with little clumps of leaves along it that can be cooked with meat.

pal-wang-bi-du  n. a rather tree like vine, with straight, but not standing, sections, and fern-like leaves and leaflets.

re, ri  n. cane.

re-du-ra, ri-du-ra  n. kind of cane used in basket making.

re-ma, ri-ma  n. a large type of cane.

re-man-di, ri-man-di  n. variety of cane used in basket making.

ro-a-tik-bi-du, ru-a-tik-bi-du  n. a thin vine with much indented fern-like or fingered leaves, the middle finger being longest.
rok-ra-bi-du  n. slender vine with long narrow leaves.
sa-wil  n. a large vine with yellow flowers and a big fruit; used for pot scrapers.
si-ti-ri-bi-dil, si-ti-ri-bi-du  n. a thin wild vine with 3-5 cm. edible scalloped leaves with indented bottom, and many-branched small greenish whitish flowers.
steng  n. a wild tree-climbing vine with a large edible tuberous root that, if eaten, is filling.
te-rik-gal-wang  n. pencil-sized vine with 10 cm. oval leaves, used to make the rims and vertical corner pieces of baskets, and as a substitute for cane, (Beng. ba-no-rel).

4.656 Herbs: Misc.

a-kon  n. a large coarse plant with dusty white appearance, 12 cm. stalks and variable leaves up to 12 cm, inedible. Two kinds, one with white, one with lavenderish flowers. Used as a medicine to apply to skin.

bol-do-tek  n. plant that grows in trees and that has little red seeds that birds eat.

bol-na-gil  n. an edible lichen that grows on dead and dried out trees and that can be eaten with men-da.

chi-rot-ta  n. bitter-tasting weedy plant, 60 cm. tall with purplish leaves, that is planted, dried, and later boiled into a bitter drink that is good against malaria and kala-azar.

dam-bong  n. an edible mushroom.

do-reng-gang-pak  n. plant that grows in trees, with big, long, and strongly toothed leaves.

do-tek-mi  n. plant growing on tree branches with long, thin, almost needle like 3-5 cm. leaves and red to orange flowers but no roots, (Beng. por-ga-cha).

dom-kol-os  n. little white-flowered bitter-tasting inedible wild herb, probably a mint. <B

dom-kol-os-git-chak  n. an herb with white and pale purple flowers.

e-ren-chi  n. a small edible fungus that grows on trees, distinct from bol-na-gil.

gam-ba  n. 30 cm. a weedy herb with ugly, crinkly, fuzzy, leaves and tiny white-purplish flowers; bad smelling, dies down in the rainy season.

gam-ba dal-gip-a  n. an 8 cm. weedy wild plant with smelly and fuzzy edible leaves.

gam-ba-jak-ma  n. plant with large lettuce-like leaves.

gam-ba-jak-sem  n. little purple flowered inedible plant with small leaves.

kung-chut  n. bright red plant, about two feet high with vivid colored flower stalks.
ma-su-a-gong  n. smelly 30 cm. tall weed with 10 cm. long, very skinny pods and leaves with six leaflets.
mi-si-na-chil  n. small leafed herb, (lit. mouse ear).
no-gri, mat-cha no-gri  n. plant with lovely yellow or orange, sweet pea-like flowers on 1.5 meter stalks that grows in the forest.
sam-ak-ki  n. a ragged 1–2 meter plant with 15 cm. fuzzy, dark green, slightly heart-shaped leaves with lighter colored leaves in the middle.
sam-ja-liq  n. a small pinkish-flowered plant with clover-like leaves, small five-petaled yellow flowers, and a red stalk, inedible.
sam-jang-gi  n. low herb with 8 cm. slightly indented leaf; the rubbed leaf is good on wounds, (Beng. pa-tor-chu-na).
sam-mik-chip  n. sensitive plant, a little plant with tiny leaves that close up when touched.
sam-sim-a-ri  n. tall plant with little, slightly violet, everlasting-like flowers. The stems are used to make light fences, and crude walls and partitions, and the crushed leaves are rubbed on wounds.
sam-su-eng  n. small, slightly smelly herb.
sam-tak-a-ri  n. little herb with small white flowers in clusters, much indented leaves, and burrs.
sam-tam-pret  n. a jungle plant, used by an herbal doctor (ko-bi-raj).
sam-ti, sam-ti-bi-te  n. a 1 meter high plant with round burrs that are smaller than a pea but that catch clothing, different from sam-tak-a-ri.
si-chu  n. cactus.
si-tap-pu  n. somewhat chili-like plant with little yellow flowers, 3 cm. lantern shaped fruit; grows wild and is also a garden weed, but edible.
su-kang  n. cactus-like plant with long sharp leaves on straight but leaning meter high stalk.

4.66 Hay, Straw, etc.
bi-dang  n. rice straw.
jeng  n. leaves, grass and small plants growing close to the ground, especially when used as food for cattle.
kel, ker  n. rice straw after grain has been removed. <B
pal-a  n. haystack, straw stack, a carefully stacked pile of rice straw, not just a heap.
sam-cheng, sam-cheng bol-cheng  n. old unwanted plants and leaves that have fallen from trees, rubbish.
4.67 Plant Parts

4.670 Stem, Trunk

bi-am-bong, bi-am-bing  n. midsection of a bamboo or tree trunk, above the ja-ting base, but below the rik-i top.
bi-bak  n. stem, of fruit, leaf, flower.
bi-dil  n. the long growing stem of climbing vines such as gourds, squash, etc., (same as bi-du). -bi-dil dns. vine.
bi-dil-ni sang-gong  n. tendrils, (lit. bracelet of vines).
bi-du  n. the long growing stem of climbing vines such as gourds, squash, etc., (same as bi-dil). -bi-du dns. vine.
bi-pan-tu  n. stem of a fruit or a leaf.
bi-pang  n. tree; a tree or bush that grows with a single trunk or central stalk; trunk of a tree or banana plant; stalk of even a small plant such as mustard.
bol-ot-chong  n. stump of a tree, the part left when a tree is cut.
ga-git-tong, ga-tong  n. stubble, stalks of plants left after harvest.
ga-teng, ga-git-teng, ga-git-tong  n. stick or small branch that has been cut off; manioc stalk that can be planted; stubble, stalks left after harvest; leg of an insect.
gan-tong  n. stick, cut stalk of a plant such as manioc, stick of firewood.
hul-a  n. dried jute stalks, used for carrying fire, firebrand. <B
ja-ting  n. stubble left after harvesting; base of a tree, banana plant, etc.; base of a mountain; back end, of a pen, etc.
mi-bram  n. edible middle part of the stalks of a banana plant.
na-ra, na-ra-deng-ga  n. stubble, the bottom of rice stalks left standing after harvest. <B
na-ra-ja-ting  n. rice stubble left after stalks have been cut.
rong-dik, te-rik rong-dik  n. the thick part at the base of a banana trunk, (lit. banana-round pot).
sang-gong, bi-dil-ni sang-gong  n. tendrils, (lit. bracelet of vines).
ta-bi-dil  n. vine of a tuber plant.
wa bi-am-bong  n. the middle section of a length of bamboo, between the root and the top.

4.671 Branch

bi-pek  n. small branch of a tree: a-bol bi-pek small firewood; bi-pek-ja-si twig, (lit. branch-toe).
bi-rik-i  n. top of a plant.
bol-chek-si  n. twig of a tree.
bol-dail, bol-dal, dail, dal, dail-a, dal-a  n. branch, limb, tree branch. <B
bol-kam-bi n. very top of a tree, top of the rik-i.
bol-pek-chrap n. fork of a tree where limbs divide.
bol-rik-i n. tree top.
bu-su n. thorn, fish bone.
chong-brong n. clump with stalks that divide from the base, such as the several stalks of a banana plant often do.
dal, dail, dal-a n. side branch of tree or plant. <B
gam-ra n. fork in a tree where branches divide.
jak-sil n. tendrils of plants.
pek-chrap n. growing close together, parallel, as tree trunks or branches.
wa-chek-si n. twig of bamboo.
wå-ni kun-cha n. small side branches of bamboo.

4.672 Sticks (cf. 5.833 Tools: Sticks)

bol-gan-tong, gan-tong, bol-tong n. log, stick.
bol-tong n. long stick, log; memorial post.
ga-teng, ga-git-teng, ga-git-tong n. stick or small branch that has been cut off; manioc stalk that can be planted; stubble, stalks left after harvest; foot of an insect.
gan-tong n. stick, rough unworked stick of wood, cut stalk of a plant such as manioc; stick of firewood.
gol-, gol, go-ol n. stick. gol- cp. categorizing prefix for sticks:
gol-chok arrow; gol-a-reng long pole.

4.673 Wood, Bark

bi-gil n. bark, peel, pod, skin of humans and animals, leather.
bi-kil-ap n. bark, shell husk of coconut, areca nut, etc.; harder than bi-gil.
bi-kop n. peel, of banana, etc.; segment of a garlic clove.
bol-gop-ang n. hole in a tree.
bol-kil-ok n. hole in a tree.
bol-kong-bang n. hole in a tree.
chel-i n. chips from chopping, small and thin. <B
ga-brong n. central part of a tree trunk; the tough central portions of some fruits (such as pineapple, jackfruit); the soft central portion of some kinds of sticks, pith.
gol-ding-ding n. chips of wood.
gol-si-ri n. chips, as from wood or bamboo.
kong-bang, bol-kong-bang n. hole in a tree trunk, hollow space at base of a tree or higher up.
ku-ro, ku-ru n. heartwood, hard central wood.
4.674 Sap, Juice

bit-chi  n.  juice, as fruit juice, sap, honey; egg.
sek-ki  n.  sap, tree sap.

4.675 Leaves

bi-jak  n.  leaf.
bol-bi-jak  n.  leaf of a tree.
e-chu, i-chu  n.  tip, end portion of a banana leaf, used in some traditional ritual offerings.  e-chu an-a, i-chu an-a vph.  spread out the end portion of a banana leaf (at the base of an altar as part of a sacrifice).
e-gong, i-gong  n.  midrib of a banana leaf.
gu-a-si  n.  side vein of a leaf; rib bone.
he-sal, hi-sal, ri-sal, i-sal  n.  banana leaf.
he-sip-a, hi-sip-a  n.  banana leaves.

4.676 Buds, Flowers, Fruit

bi-bal  n.  flower, blossom.
bi-te, bi-ti  n.  fruit; pod such as that of mustard when seeds are still in place.
bol-dim  n.  sprouts, green twigs, green stalks.
ge-na-si bi-gil  n.  edible pod of ge-na-si beans.
kam-bi  n.  top of head; flower bud, leaf bud, end of a growing vine; end, tip, extreme point; top of a tree.
kil-ap  n.  cotton fluff after the seed has been ginned out; the cottony part of a bol-chu tree.
pul  n.  flower; diamond-shaped ‘flower’ pattern of basket weaving.  <B
reng-si  n.  string of flowers, fruit, fish, etc.; a string or stick on which to hang flowers, etc.; needle.
sam bit-e, sam bit-i  n.  a little round burr.
so-bok, te-rik so-bok  n.  banana bud or flower.

4.677 Grain, Seeds

be-bu, bi-bu  n.  a defective rice grain that has a husk but no inner seed.
bi-gra  n.  rice husks, corn tassels, dried and seedless pods of mustard, etc. that are useless and thrown away.
bi-gron  n.  pit of fruit, seeds in a pod of beans, of chili, etc.; not used for seed to be planted.
bi-ma  n.  rice grains with husks still on, especially those few remaining after most have had their husks removed.
bi-rong  n. grain, the edible grain of rice that lies inside the husk; iris of the eye; coin.
bit-chi-ri, bit-chri  n. seed for use in planting, not a general term for all seeds.
cha-che, cha-chi  n. rice husks, chaff.
jal-a  n. rice seedling before transplanting.
kil-gon, kil-gron  n. cotton seed.
kil-te, kil-ti  n. cotton ball before ripening, before it has burst.
kol-om, kol-om ka-ti  n. cutting, sprout to be used in planting. <B ku-sim-ang  n. tassel at the end of a corncob; beard.
mik-sik, pu-ra mik-sik  n. bits of rice grain that have been broken when pounded and that are given to chicks to eat.
ta-bit-chi-ri  n. the top part of a tuber that is not eaten but that can be planted.
ta-sko, ta-sku  n. the top part of a tuber that is not eaten but that can be planted, cutting, (lit. tuber-head).

4.678 Roots
ja-dil  n. root; the part of the root that is above ground; tendon of hands and feet.
ja-dil ja-si, ja-dil-ni ja-si  n. small roots, (lit. root-toes).
ja-dil-ma  n. large roots.
ja-ting  n. base of a tree, banana plant, etc.; base of a mountain; stubble after rice grain is cut; back end, of a pen, etc.
wa-ja-ting  n. roots of bamboo.

4.679 Bamboo Parts
bi-sil  n. the green outer surface of bamboo, green edge of a bamboo strip.
bi-sit-eng  n. swelling at a node of bamboo where a side branch grows out.
bi-sku, bi-suk-ku  n. node of bamboo, swelling at a node of bamboo where a side branch grows out, thick base of the branch.
gi-ro, gi-ru  n. node of bamboo, branch that sticks out from a node of bamboo; joint of body, protruding bones such as ankle bones, knee. <B me-a, mi-a  n. edible bamboo shoots.
wa riki  n. top part of growing bamboo.

4.69 Maturation, Ripening, Stages of Growth, Rotting and Decay

4.690 Living, Fresh
dal-dal, dal-dal-ding-ding  adv. fresh, of food, ready to eat.
git-tang-a, git-tang  vi. living, not dead.
4.691 Grow, Sprout, Bloom

**bal-a** vi. bear flowers, bloom; pop, of corn.

**bal-spu-a** vi. open, of a bud, later stage than **chong-a** but before **bal-a**.

**cha-a** vi. get up, rise, grow, develop; sprout, as from a tree stump. **aa.** get up, grow, come to life: **ni-cha-a** look up, with head up; **di’-cha-a** get someone up from sleep; **bol-cha-a** tall; **tang-cha-pil-a** come back to life.

**cha-pil-a** vi. grow again, grow back, as shoots from a stump.

**chong-a** vi. sprout, grow up from roots or from a cut trunk.

**rit-im-a, rit-im-pil-a** vi. grow, get new leaves or bark, sprout, as from a tree stump; grow new skin, of a snake.

4.692 Unripe

**a-cha-ri-a** vi. almost ripe, a bit riper than **bri-a**.

**bi-sim-ol** n. rice that ripens late and that is left at the first harvest to be collected later.

**bri-a** vi. nearly ripe, riper than **ga-dom** stage, but not quite **min-a**.

**ga-dom** adv. stage of maturation when fruit is filling out, riper than **ga-stu** but not yet **bri-a**.

**ga-stu** n. very early stage of maturation of fruit or vegetable when it is still very small, earlier than **ga-dom**.

**git-ting** vi. green, unripe, raw, uncooked.

**ja-rik-i** n. echo in **bi-sim-ol ja-rik-i** rice that ripens late and that is left at the first harvest to be collected later.

**reng-si-a** vi. at the **ga-stu** stage of early maturation.

**rong-bok-a** vi. rice that is almost but not fully ripe, riper than **bri-a**.

**rong-chon-mit-ing** adv. while small, an early **ga-dom** stage of maturation.

**rong-git-chak-a** vi. almost ripe, especially of rice, riper than **bri-a**.

4.694 Ripe

**min-a** vi. ripe, of crops, fruit; oozing, of a wound; cooked enough, done; turn white, of hair.

**min-chi-a** vi. very ripe and soft.

**min-chu-ek-a** vi. very ripe and soft, as bananas.

**min-ku-ak-a** vi. very ripe.

**nang-a** vi. produce, bear fruit, etc.: **bi-te nang-ba-ing-jok** the fruit has become ripe.

**nang-chek-chek-a** vi. ripe, of fruit, rice, etc.; fine, rich, plentiful, well developed; stage of rice beer when it is well mixed and good to drink.

**rit-ok-rit-ok** adv. falling by themselves, of fruit.
4.696 Overripe, Dry, Rotten

gang-gil-a vi. fall over, as crops in the wind; fall down, lie down, esp. fall on one’s back.
-gi-si dns. old and dried out, of plants, wood, tree.
jrong-a vi. die down, of plants, almost dead.
min-dam-bek-a vi. over ripe, left too long before harvesting.
min-min-ek-a vi. a bit too ripe, very soft.
mon-dol-a vi. die down, about to die, of plants.
ming-a vi. knocked down, damaged, as crops from trampling animals or wind and rain.
ren-di-a vi. dried out and in poor condition for eating, of fruit and vegetables.
rin-ek-sin-ek, rin-ek-a-rin-ek-a adv. knocked down, smashed down, as rice plants that are knocked over; sick and unable to stand up.
si-dip-it-a vi. partly dead, but still a bit green, of plants.
sim-a vi. spoiled, smelly, not good to eat, of old rice.
sim-sim-sim-sim adv. starting to turn bad but not completely rotten, as old rice.
skot-a vi. intermediate between hard and soft, not too hard and not too soft, of fruit, things cooking; not fully ripe; intermediate between tight and loose. skot-skot adv.
so-a, su-a vi. rot, rotten.
so-brok-a, su-brok-a vi. completely rotten, not good to eat.
so-pok-a, su-pok-a vi. starting to turn rotten. so-pok-so-pok adv.
so-prot-a, su-prot-a vi. rotten, soft and old, full of holes, as wood when eaten by insects.
u-bit-chet-a vi. dried out before ripening, of fruits and vegetables that remain on dying plants.
wil-a, wil-grop-a vi. fall over, as crops in the wind.
5.0 SUBSIDENCE, ARTIFACTS

5.1 Farming

5.11 Fields (cf. 4.23 Land)

Modhupur Mandis recognize three kinds of cultivated land: ha'-ba ‘slash-and-burn fields’; pal-an ‘dry fields on land that is too high for the irrigation needed by rice, but that, with the help of fertilizer, no longer requires long fallow periods’; and a'-pal ‘irrigated rice fields’. As would be expected, the contribution of the Bengali language is considerably greater for wet fields than for dry.

5.112 Dry Fields

a-bat n. cultivation. <B
a-bat ko-ri-a vph. cultivate. <B
ba-gan n. a garden, for perennial crops or for crops planted in careful rows such as tea, pineapple, sugar cane, flowers. <B
ba-sra, ba-sra ha'-ba n. uncultivated but open area with short grass but without trees. <B
ha'-, ha, a'-, ha'-a, a'-a n. earth, ground, soil. ha'-, a'- cp. categorizing prefix for land, soil, countryside: ha'-kin-te lumps of earth; ha'-ba fields; a'-gil-sak world.
ha'-ba, a'-ba n. agricultural land, land used for either wet rice cultivation or for slash and burn.
ha'-ba-rim-rim, a'-ba-rim-rim n. lots of fields, fields everywhere.
ha-ding, a-ding n. cultivatable land that is higher than its surroundings, land that does not flood.
ha'-king, a'-king n. the plot of land to which the members of a village had cultivation rights during the period of slash and burn agriculture, whose title was held by the man known as the ha'-king nok-ma.
ha'-ma, a'-ma n. common land of a whole family, in contrast to the ha'-tot which is an individual’s plot.
ha'-rong-rong, a'-rong-rong n. sloping land.
**5.113 Slash and Burn Fields**

ha'-ba hu'-a, a'-ba o'-a  
vt. cultivate by slash and burn.

ha'-breng, a'-breng, ha'-beng  
n. slash and burn fields in their second year of use.

ha'-dal, a'-dal, ha'-ba git-dal  
n. first year slash and burn fields.

ha'-gal, a'-gal  
n. old abandoned slash and burn fields.

ha'-ji-ri, a'-ji-ri  
n. abandoned slash and burn field, field that has reverted to forest, old dark jungle.

ho'-a, hu'-a, o'-a, u'-a, ha'-ba ho'-a  
vt. clear forest for slash and burn cultivation.

ho'-pa-a, hur-pa-a, o'-pa-a  
vt. clearing along with someone else, clearing together by slash and burn.

kil-a, ha'-ba kil-a  
vt. stage of clearing after burning a field, when unburned or partially burned bits that remain are gathered into piles for further burning.

net-kri-a  
vt. clear around the edge of an area to be burned so fire will not spread beyond it; *wal kam-na ken-e net-kri-a* clear the edge for fear of fire burning.

**5.114 Wet Fields**

bait  
n. low land between higher banks, where rice can be grown, but that has water for only part of the year. <B

ban  
n. dam, barrier in a water channel. <B

bat-ol, bat-or  
n. dike between rice fields, (same as hal-i). <B

chi-rip-a a'-pal  
uph. an area that can be used for rice in the dry season but that has too much water for cultivation in the wet season.

dren  
n. small constructed irrigation channel. <B

gu-na  
n. a bulge from a bait (set of wet rice fields), the end of a narrowing bait. <B

gup  
n. the end of a bait (group of rice fields).

ha'-ba-ku, a'-ba-ku  
n. a width of field worked by one person moving along, as when planting rice.
ha-pal, a-pal n. wet rice land, in contrast to slash and burn fields; plains, lowland; specifically: the region of north Mymensingh where Mandis live.

hal-i, al-i n. dike between rice fields. <B

ka-ni n. barb; point, corner, such as a corner of a rice field, of a piece of paper; bottom corner of a basket. <B

ku-ri n. low or deep spot in a pond, low place in rice fields where there is water; tank smaller than a pu-kur that goes dry in the dry season. <B

sko, sku n. the end of a rice field; head.

tal-i n. rice paddy, a single wet rice field within a dike. tal-i- cls. for rice fields.

tim-bong, tim-bong-tim-bong, tim-bing-tim-bong adv. wide, of rice fields.

5.12 Land Measures

dis-mel, dis-mil n. decimal, 1/100 acre, smallest unit of land, (same as ko-ra), 435.6 sq ft. <E

e-kor n. acre, unit of land measure, 100 decimals. <B

ka-da n. a land measure of varying size, but in Modhupur 4.8 acres, which is 16 pa-ki. <B

ko-ra n. a land measure, 1/100 acre, the smallest measure of land, (same as dis-mel). <B

pa-ki n. thirty decimals of land, three-tenths of an acre. <B

re-kot n. land records. <E

sot-tang-so n. a land measure, 1/100 acre, 1/30 pa-ki, (same as ko-ra or dis-mel). <B

5.14 Planting (cf. 4.677 Grain, seeds)

ge-a, gi-a vt. plant into a hole, plant seeds individually or a few at a time, for maize, trees, etc., plant rice seedlings; contrasts with go-a sew, broadcast.

dge-bot-a, gi-bot-a vt. plant between other plants so as to fill in gaps.

dge-jrot-a, gi-jrot-a, gi-jot-a vt. plant between other plants, so as to fill in gaps, as to replace rice seedlings that have died.

ge-a, gu-a vt. broadcast seeds, plant; throw, scatter; cast fishnet; deal out cards; shoot gun.

dgo-brap-a, gu-brap-a vt. sew excessively, broadcast excessively, in a less controlled manner than go-a.

dgo-chrak-a vt. throw or broadcast vigorously, forcefully, as rice grains, so that they fly all over the place; even less controlled than go-brap-a.

dja-rat-a vt. transplant, esp. for trees.

djal-a go-a vph. broadcast rice seed in a seedbed for growing jal-a (rice seedlings).
jal-a-ko ru-a-sik-a  vph. transplant rice seedlings.
kol-om, kol-om ka-ti  n. cutting, sprout, to be used in planting. <B
rek sal-a  vt. made a line, a row, as when plowing or when planting.
ru-a sik-a  vt. transplant rice seedlings.
sik-a  vt. plant by inserting the plant into the soil, especially for rice seedlings.
sik-jrot-a, sik-jot-a  vt. plant in between other plants, fill in the gaps in a planted field.

5.15 Cultivating

5.154 Plowing

al-a-a  vt. cultivate by plowing: ba-gan ge-na-skang al-a-a plow before planting the garden; bait-ko al-a-a, pal-an-ko-ba al-a-a plow the wet fields, also plow the dry fields.
bu-a  vt. cut through the dirt, of a plow; pierce, prick.
hal, al  n. set of cattle, yoke, plow, and plowman; team and equipment needed to plow. <B
hal we-a, al wi-a  vt. plow, cultivate by the plow. <B
hal-a, al-a  vt. to plow. <B
we-a, wi-a  vt. plow: a-ba-ko hal-cha we-a plow the fields with a plow.

5.156 Removing Weeds

ba-si-a  vt. weed, remove weeds; sort, separate, choose, collect; collect, of grass for cows; sort out unhusked grain; scoop oil from the top of a cooking pot.
dang-a  vt. cultivate, with a git-chi (small hoe), take out weeds.
ho-rut-chok-a, hur-rut-chok-a  vt. clear roughly with an at-te (bamboo knife), cut out weeds.
jot-chrak-a  vt. remove weeds by cutting underground with a se-ni (flat-bladed digging tool).
ni-rai-a  vt. take out weeds, cultivate, esp. with a se-ni (flat bladed digging tool). <B
ot-a, ha-ba ot-a  vt. rake up debris in fields; sweep, clean up.
sam ba-si-a  vph. remove weeds; sort.

5.16 Harvesting

ak-a  vt. pick, pluck, flowers, fruit, leaves, etc.
ak-git-tal  n. newly picked, as new fruit.
ak-mi-si-a  vt. pick, pluck a lot.
ak-ru-ru-a  vt. pluck for a long time.
ak-tet-a  vt. tear off, pluck off vigorously, of flowers, leaves.
ak-tet-ga-gal-a, ak-ga-gal-a  vt. pluck quickly, carelessly, incompletely.
ak-tot-a  vt. pluck off, of petals, etc.
de-bri-a, di-bri-a  vt. shake, toss, with hands, feet, or a tossing tool, to shake the rice grains off the stalk: ka-rail-cha ker-ko de-bri-a toss the rice straw with a tossing tool.
jot-chring-chri-a  vt. poke into something and lift it up, as dirt with a shovel, as straw with a tossing tool, in order to shake out grain.
mol-on-a  vt. knock off the last grains from rice plants by driving cattle over them.
mu-ri  n. tied bundle of rice stalks. mu-ri- cls. classifier for tied bundles of rice stalks. <B
mu-ri ka-a  vt. tie in a bundle, of rice stalks.
nak-a  vt. walk over stalks of cut rice in order to knock off the rice grains, by people.
ok-rip-pong-a  vt. pull away, pluck, of harvesting cotton.
pik-a  vt. pull out by the roots, plants from earth, rice seedlings for transplanting; pluck, as gray hairs from one's head, down from birds.
pik-chrak-a  vt. pull out vigorously, as plants by roots with stones, dirt, etc., perhaps with some noise.

5.2 Crops, Cultivated Plants

A glance through the lists of various kinds of crops that are named by the Mandis will suggest the relative importance of different categories. There are many kinds of fruit trees and large numbers of vegetables. Rice and tubers have attracted enough words to warrant categories of their own. The large number of Bengali borrowings suggest that many crops have been introduced within the last few generations, bringing their Bengali names with them.

5.22 Cultivated Trees and Fruits

a-ta-pol  n. custard apple. <B
bel-et-ti  n. bel fruit from tree with 5 cm. somewhat pointed leaves.
cham-bil  n. a citrus fruit somewhat like a jam-bu-ra (pomelo).
de-but-a-ru bi-pang  n. tree with whorled, vaguely poinsettia like leaves, planted by the forest department. <B
gu-a  n. areca palm, areca nut.
jam-bu-ra  n. pomelo, a large citrus tree and fruit.
jau  n. tree with inedible fruit but planted by people because they find it pretty. <B
joi-pol, jol-poi, joi-na  n. nutmeg tree. <B
ka-go-ji, ka-gu-ji  n. a small variety of lime. <B
kai-jol, ke-jur  n. a palm tree that is tapped for its sap. <B
ko-mil-a, ku-mil-a  n. orange tree, orange fruit. <B
le-bu  n. large green lime. <B
le-chu, li-chu  n. litchi fruit. <B
mat-chok-grong te-rik  n. kind of banana that is sometimes cooked, but sometimes eaten raw, (lit. deer-horn banana).
mel-e-ri-a bi-pang  n. tall skinny tree with somewhat sparse leaves that is planted by forest department; a kind of eucalyptus. <B
mo-du  n. papaya, honey. <B
na-rang  n. orange tree, orange fruit.
na-ri-kel, nai-rol  n. coconut. <B
pe-pe  n. papaya. <B
su-ri-bit-e  n. fruit of the wild su-ri tree, that has a nut like core.
te-, ti-  cp. prefix for various fruits: te-rik banana; te-brong jackfruit;
  te-ga-chu mango; bi-te, bi-ti fruit.
te-brong, ti-brong  n. jackfruit.
te-ga-chu, ti-ga-chu  n. mango.
te-mat-chu, ti-mat-chu  n. lime, (same as le-bu ).
te-rik, ti-rik  n. banana.
te-rik so-bak  n. the large edible bud of a banana tree.

5.23 Cultivated Plants, Mostly Vegetables

a-na-ros  n. pineapple. <B
ak-ka-ru  n. a kind of squash.
ang-gur  n. grape. <B
ba-da ko-pi  n. cabbage. <B
ba-dam  n. peanut. <B
ba-ring  n. eggplant, brinjal.
ba-ring bel-a-ti  n. tomato, (lit. foreign eggplant).
bi-jak ko-pi  n. cabbage.
bil-ik  n. short green beans with narrow, edible pods.
cha-pa-ta  n. tea leaves. <B
chi-rot-ta  n. bitter tasting weedy plant, 60 cm. tall with purplish leaves, that is planted, dried, and later boiled into a bitter drink that is good against malaria and kala-azar.
dail, dal  n. pulse, dahl. <B
de-ros  n. small green vegetable, lady finger, okra. <B
deng-ga  n. a red spinach-like vegetable of which the leaves are eaten, larger than lal-sak. <B
e-ching, i-ching  n. ginger.
ga-jur  n. carrot. <B
gan-di mo-sol-a  n. a dill-like crop with tiny whitish spray flowers, which is grown and eaten.
ge-na-si, gi-na-si  n. a green bean with a broad pod that is eaten along with the seeds.
go-min-da, gu-min-da  n. a round squash that lies on ground when growing.
go-ru, gu-ru  n. a plant with edible leaves, (same as men-da).
gom  n. wheat. <B
grit, grik  n. sugar cane.
gu-a-mu-ri mo-sol-a  n. caroty looking plant with an edible fruit. <B
jal-ik  n. chili pepper.
jal-ik bal-ju-ri  n. a long variety of chili pepper.
jal-ik do-bi-ma  n. a large round variety of chili pepper.
jal-ik do-bi-ma gi-sim  n. a black fruited chili pepper.
jal-ik do-mi  n. a variety of chili pepper with long fruit.
jal-ik man-di  n. a variety of chili pepper, said to be found in A'rongga but not in A'hiba.
jal-ik mi-sek-ki  n. a small and strong variety of chili pepper.
jal-ik na-reng-ku-la  n. a variety of chili pepper.
jing-ka  n. a long striped vegetable used in cooking. <B
jung-ki-ba-ring  n. a thorny plant, a small kind of brinjal or eggplant.
ka-rek  n. beans with a long narrow edible pod.
ka-rek gi-sim  n. a long kind of black bean.
ka-rek gip-bok  n. a long kind of white or ash-colored bean.
ke-sa-ri  n. a kind of dahl. <B
koi-sak  n. a fairly bland green leafy vegetable, a climbing plant with red stalks and 2 cm. heart shaped rather succulent and edible leaves. <B
kou-jon bi-jak  n. edible leaves of the kou-jon (locust?) tree.
lal-sak  n. edible spinach-like leaves of a small reddish plant. <B
lau, rau  n. gourd, a long edible squash that hangs from a climbing vine. <B
man-de ba-ring  n. a small type of eggplant that was cultivated in the past.
me-ga-ru, mi-ga-ru  n. an edible grain, Job’s-tears or pop sorghum.
me-kop, mi-kop  n. maize.
me-a, mi-a  n. edible bamboo shoots.
men-da  n. sour vegetable with large buds and edible leaves and outer flower petals.
men-du  n. a yellow flowered pea with edible seeds.
mi-si-mi, mi-si  n. millet.
mu-su-ri, mu-su-ri dail  n. red dahl.
mul-a sak  n. edible radish leaves, greens of mul-a.
na-sin-do-ki  n. garlic.
ol-ko-pi, ul-ko-pi  n. a member of the cabbage family with a bulbous, edible stalk.
pa-sim-bi-dil  n. thin cultivated vine with little clumps of leaves along it that can be cooked with meat.

pal-ong-sak  n. a small, 15 cm. diameter vegetable that has odd white and brown flowers on a stalk, and with star-like spreading edible leaves.

pul-ko-pi  n. cauliflower.  <B

ra-ja-gu-ru, ra-ja-gu-ru men-da  n. a vegetable with tiny green-pink lantern-shaped flowers on a stalk that gets smaller toward the top, and 5 cm. leaves. A kind of men-da.

ro-sun, ro-sin, ra-sin, na-sin  n. onion, garlic.  <B

ro-sun gip-bok, na-sin gip-bok  n. garlic.

ro-sun git-chak, na-sin git-chak  n. onion.

sil-so, sil-su, sul-so  n. mustard, mustard seed.

so-sra, so-sa, su-sra, su-sa, su-su-ra  n. cucumber.

su-a-biin, su-a-piin  n. soybean.  <E

su-na-muk dail  n. a variety of dahl, the only kind grown in Modhupur.  <B

ta-kri, ta-kri dail  n. white dahl, a variety of dahl.  <B

tom-ba ba-ring  n. tomato, (same as ba-ring bel-a-ti).  <E

tor-mus  n. watermelon.  <B

5.25 Rice

In addition to the traditional varieties of rice whose names are given here, other new high-yielding varieties have been introduced along with their names. The rice that Mandis call i-ri is named for the International Rice Research Institute (IRRI), and one of its varieties is called chai-niis i-ri, presumably because China has played some part in its origin. Bi-ar e-ga-ro (BR-11, e-ga-ro being Bengali for ‘eleven’) is grown, as well as many others with less exotic names.

Mi is the word for both unhusked rice and cooked rice in all dialects of Garo that I know of. In A’chik husked but uncooked rice is me-rong. In Mandi, the change of syllable final e to i has had the effect of making it look more closely related to mi, as if mi-rong is a kind of mi.

a-mon  n. one of the three paddy crops, (June-December).  <B

aus, a-su  n. one of the three paddy crops (March-July).  <B

ba-si-ras  n. variety of rice now in use, grown as an a-mon crop.  <B

bo-ro, bu-ru, bu-ro  n. one of the three paddy crops (January-June).  <B

i-ri, i-ri mi  n. a new variety of rice from IRRI, the International Rice Research Institute.  <E
jal-a n. rice seedling during stage when it grows in a seedbed. <B
kal-i-ji-ra n. a small variety of rice that has black husk and a good smell, grown as an a-mon crop. <B
me-rong, mi-rong n. husked rice.
me-rong-cheek-cheek n. rice that is free from husks, well cleaned rice.
mi n. rice plant, unhusked rice, cooked rice.
mi-bi-pang, mi-pang n. rice plant.
mi-go-ra n. thick uncut rice plants.
mi-kot-chu n. a traditional variety of rice grown by slash and burn methods, one kind of mi-man-de.
mi-ma n. big-grained variety of rice, one kind of mi-man-de.
mi-man-de, mi-man-di n. hill rice, dry rice, traditional rice grown by Mandis, of which there are several types.
mi-mil n. sticky rice that has been cooked by steaming, cooked mi-mit-im.
mi-mit-im n. a variety of sticky rice before it has been husked, the kind of rice that, when cooked, will be called mi-mil, a traditional rice from slash and burn times, one kind of mi-man-de.
mi-mit-im mi-rong n. husked but uncooked sticky rice.
mi-na-tik n. a traditional kind of rice from slash and burn times, one kind of mi-man-de.
mi-pang, mi-bi-pang n. rice plant, bigger than a jal-a (seedling).
mi-pi-sa n. a traditional kind of rice from slash and burn times, one kind of mi-man-de.
mi-pil-ek, mi-bil-ek n. very soft boiled rice, rice cooked with lots of water, which can be eaten with gu-ru-ma native sugar or milk.
reng-gun-mi n. a variety of rice that is no longer used.
ro-a, ru-a n. rice seedling after removal from seedbed or after transplanting: ro-a sik-a transplant rice.
sa-rang, mi-sa-rang n. a traditional kind of hill rice, one kind of mi-man-di.

5.27 Cultivated Tubers (cf. 4.653 Wild Tubers)
a-mak-greng n. a kind of cultivated tuber, (lit. monkey bone).
al-u-gu-ta n. white potatoes. <B
mul-a n. a large radish; the plant has four-petaled white or slightly lavender flowers, and edible greens in addition to the white or reddish edible root. <B
sal-gom n. a large kind of radish, a round, red and bulbous root crop.
ta-a n. any of several edible tubers.
ta-bi-rot n. white potato, (same as al-u gu-ta).
ta-bol-chu, ta-bil-chu n. manioc, cassava.
ta'-dam-bu  n. a large-leafed cultivated tuber.
ta'-jong  n. a large bulbous cultivated tuber.
ta'-ma  n. a large edible tuber.
ta'-man-de  n. a variety of cultivated tuber.
ta'-mat-chi  n. a cultivated vine with edible root the size of a fist or a bit larger; said to be the favored tuber of the Mat-chi people, a sub-group of Garos who have never been seen, but who are reported never to wash, to eat cats and dogs, and perhaps to live in the Garo Hills.
ta'-mil-ang  n. sweet potato.
ta'-ring  n. huge-leafed tuber, arum.
ta'-rip-u  n. vine with pea-like pods, and an edible white fleshy tuber.
ta'-ru-ri  n. a kind of cultivated tuber.
ta'-tu-rak  n. a small round cultivated tuber.

5.28 Decorative Flowers

Some families grow flowers in their courtyards. They are always cared for by the women or their daughters. Most of their names have come from Bengali or from English, suggesting that flower growing is a relatively recent activity.
dal-ia  n. dahlia. <E
gen-da-pul  n. marigolds, small yellow flowers.
gon-do-ras  n. gardenia. <B
gul-ap  n. rose. <B
jo-ba-pul, jo-ba-bi-bal  n. hibiscus. <B
ka-gos-pul  n. bougainvillea. <B
kol-a-pul  n. a beautiful orange flower. <B
kos-mos  n. an ornamental flower, cosmos. <E
li-li-pul  n. lily, a decorative flower. <E
men-di-pul  n. ornamental plant with a tall stiff woody stalk.
mol-i-ka-pul  n. white many-petaled flower. <B
noi-on-ta-ra  n. a five-petaled white or purple flower, phlox. <B
pat-ta-ba-hor, pat-ta-ba-kor  n. two kinds ornamental plants, one with yellow speckled leaves, one with yellow or red striped leaves. <B
tol-si, tol-si-gip-bok  n. 1 meter tall spicy smelling plant with purple or dark green leaves, and many small green or dark purple flowers in whorls on 12 cm. stalks.

5.29 Nonfood Crops

a-ra  n. a kind of plant that is grown and tended by a ko-bi-raj or guni-al (herbal doctor) and that is said to be used to kill people: a-ra gi-si dried a-ra, a slow acting form of the plant; a-ra git-ang fresh a-ra, a quick acting form of the plant. a-ra on-a give poison, as by an herbalist.
kil n. cotton.
kil-chi-ri n. a good variety of cotton.
kil-teng n. ordinary variety of cotton.
pat n. jute, burlap, jute thread. <B

5.3 Animals, Domestic

5.33 Cattle

Mandi dialects with little influence from Bengali had no words designating specific gender or age categories for animals. ‘Cow’, ‘bull’, and ‘calf’ in A’chik are mat-chu-bi-ma, mat-chu-bi-pa and mat-chu-bë-sa ‘cattle-female’, ‘cattle-male’ and ‘cattle-child’ respectively. These three words are still used in Modhupur, but the vocabulary has been enriched by borrowing a number of terms from Bengali that designate particular ages and sexes of animal species.

ba-sur n. calf, young cow. <B
ma-su n. cow, bull, cattle, (A’chik: mat-chu).
ma-su gen-da, ma-su pi-sa, ma-su ba-sur n. calf.
mat-te, mat-ti n. a loner, human or animal, rogue male that stays alone.
  n. echo in ma-su mat-te cow, cattle.

5.35 Domestic Animals, Other

Sheep, horses, and geese have not been traditional domestic animals for the Mandis or other Garos, and all three are now named by borrowed words. For ‘water buffalo’, only occasionally kept by Mandis, older Garo mat-ma, which can also mean ‘wild buffalo’, competes with borrowed moisi.
a-chak n. dog.
a-chak gol-dang n. a large type of dog.
a-chak ka-si n. a castrated dog.
be-ra n. sheep. <B
do-mok an-dra n. uncastrated male goat.
do-mok-me-ra, do-mok-be-ra n. sheep.
ra-gak n. domestic duck.
ra-gak-gang-si n. goose.
go-ra, gu-ra n. horse. <B
gu-ra, go-ra  n. horse. <B
mat-ma  n. water buffalo, wild buffalo.
meng-go  n. cat, (A-chik).
mo-si, moi-si  n. domestic water buffalo, wild buffalo, (same as mat-ma).
ra-ja-has  n. goose. <B
wak  n. pig.
wak-man-di  n. a small variety of domestic pig that is no longer common.

5.4 Cooking and Eating (cf. 5.2 Crops, 3.68 Taste and Smell)

5.40 Foods and Drinks (not crop names)

5.401 Meat and Fish

a-ra-ra-a  vi. be lacking; be without; often used for foods that lack something, such as spices or meat; empty, of pots.
do be-en  nph. chicken meet.
gran  n. dried, dried in the sun, of meat or fish: wak-gran dried pork;
    mar-su-gran dried beef; kut-chi-a-gran dried eel.
ka-ji  n. a preparation of meat bits, eaten on special occasions, generally with rice beer.
kut-chi-a-gran  n. dried eel.
ma-su be-en  n. beef, (lit. cattle-meat).
mat-tin  n. bundle of a special meat preparation made from a strip from the back of the animal that is rolled in a banana leaf, and may be eaten at a sacrifice and offered to a spirit.
na-kam  n. dried fish of the ordinary kind.
na-tok-gran  n. a kind of dried fish that Mandis prepare themselves by drying in the sun.
wak be-en  n. pork, (lit. pig-meat).
wak-si-ri  n. strips of pork fat.

5.403 Rice Preparations

chu  n. rice beer: chu-bit-chi undiluted rice beer, the first rice beer from the pot; chu ok-ka-a had enough rice beer.
dambi  n. a portion of rice beer for one person, such as might be served in a bottle or glass and given to a guest.
git-chem  n. rice beer that is not the first straining to be taken from the pot.
koi  n. puffed rice, popcorn. <B
mam, mam-mam  n. baby word for rice.
mi-dam-bek n. very soft boiled rice, rice cooked with lots of water that can be eaten with gu-ru-ma (locally made brown sugar) or milk.
mi-ka-sim n. old rice, rice cooked earlier.
mi-pan-chi n. rice and curry mixed and ready to eat.
mi-rim n. rice grains that have been dropped and spilled while eating.
mi-sam n. rice and curry.
mi-si-sam-si n. rice and curry, (same as mi-ja-ba, mi-sam).
mu-ri n. puffed rice. <B
pu-ra n. flour, rice flour, made by soaking rice in cold water and then pounding in a teng-ki (rice pounder); food made from rice flour; powder.
rong-bet, rong-bret n. cracked rice, a snack food made by frying cracked rice dry, without water or oil.
rong-bet gin-di, rong-bret gin-di n. fried cracked rice, cracked finer than ordinary rong-bret, but not as fine as flour.
rong-chu n. flattened rice that is eaten as a snack.

5.405 Condiments, Ingredients

a-ta n. wheat flour; glue. <B
am-bi n. old yeast that is used as seed to make new yeast, (lit. grandmother).
chi-ka-sim n. water that has been kept (often overnight) for use by a ko-bi-raj (herbal doctor).
chi-ni n. sugar. <B
chun n. lime, eaten with betel leaf and areca nut. <B
el-a-chi n. cardamom. <B
gin-di n. dry powder, such as milk powder, flour.
gol-mo-ri n. pepper. <B
gu-ru-ma n. locally produced dark sugar, made by boiling the juice of sugar cane. <B
hol-di, ol-di, hel-di, el-di n. turmeric, turmeric colored, yellow. <B
ka-ri n. soda that is used in cooking, and that is either purchased or made by filtering water through ashes.
ka-ri-chi n. liquid soda solution, used in cooking.
kai-sim, ka-ri-sim, ka-sim, sim n. salt.
kas-tel n. mustard oil, used in cooking. <B
long-go n. cloves, a spice. <B
mik-kol, wan-chi mik-kol n. old yeast used as seed to make new yeast, (same as am-bi).
mo-du  n. honey, papaya. <B
mo-so-la  n. spices. <B
sil-so-ni tel  n. mustard oil.
sim  n. salt, (variant of kai-sim).
spin  n. sesame.
tel  n. oil. <B
wan-chi-gin-di  n. yeast used for making bread.
yeast cake, yeast used for making rice beer; used also to make spots on sacrificial altars.

5.408 Purchased Foods and Snacks

bi-skut  n. biscuit. <E
chi-a  n. sweets, candy. vi. sweet.
krriim bi-skut  n. a kind of purchased bisquet. <E
mi-sti  n. sweets, candy. <B
ro-ti, ru-ti  n. bread. <B

5.409 Other Foods

bi-stil  n. cream that rises to the top of milk, egg yolk.
cha  n. tea: cha-git-chak tea served without milk, (lit. red tea). <B
chi  n. water, liquid: mik-chi tears; han-chi blood; bit-chi juice. cp.
categorizing prefix for watery things: chi-bol puddle; chi-da-ri flowing stream; chi-dek pond, wide place in a stream; chi-mik spring.
da-wek-da-wek  adv. cooked mushily, with too much water. wek-a-wek-a  vi.
do-chi-pu-ra  n. omelet-like dish made with eggs and rice flour.
dut  n. cow’s milk. <B
gul-gul-a  n. round fried wheat balls; round, spherical. <B
ja-ba  n. curry, side dish eaten with rice.
mi-chi  n. liquid from curry, juice, gravy.
mi-ra-mis  n. non-meat foods, vegetarian foods. <B
nom-chi-brek-a  n. too soft and cooked with too much water; weak, without strength, of a person who works badly.
nom-min-ek-a  n. very soft, of mud, fruit; cooked with too much water, of rice, tubers.
pi-ka cha  n. tea served without milk. <B
pi-ta  n. fried cakes eaten at celebrations. <B
sak  n. greens, edible vegetable leaves. <B
sam  n. curry; grass, herb; medicine.
sam-bi-jak  n. vegetables, (lit. grass-leaves).
sok  n. mother’s milk; breast, man’s nipple; animal’s milk when drunk by
a baby animal.
sok-bit-chi  n. mother’s milk, breast milk, (lit. breast-juice).
ta-wek  n. cooked ta-ring, cooked arum.

5.42 Fire and Lights, Lighting and Extinguishing

5.421 Fire

a-gal  n. big fire, forest fire.
ang-gal  n. dead coals, bits of charcoal, lumps of ash.
gil-e-o-gil-e-o  adv. glowing, of coals in a small fire.
ha-dip-u, a-dip-u  n. ashes.
wal-, wal, wa-al  n. fire. wal- cp. prefix for things connected with fire:
wal-ku  n. smoke; wal-tot  n. device to start fire by friction; wal-kam-bi  n. tips of flames; wal-ki  n. burning coals; wal-ki-ra-ra  n. lots of
burning coals, glow strongly; wal-mi-si  n. spark; wal-si-ri  n. flames,
(lit. fire-tongue).

5.422 Smoke

dil-mik-dil-mik  adv. smoky.
dim-prong-dim-prong  adv. smoky, dusty, swirling with a lot of smoke,
blow up in dust.
dim-ak  n. soot, as on the bottom of a cooking pot.
ga-rim-ak  n. layer of smoke and soot that collects on the ceiling.
tip-a  vi. smoke heavily, of a fire; ai-au wal-ku tip-ing-a, bang-en
my gosh, the fire is smoking a lot.

5.423 Materials and Equipment for Fires

bi-king, mes bi-king  n. match box.
chan-kol  n. fireplace, (A’chik).
cho-ka, cho-ka a-kol  n. fireplace.
 gan-chi  n. bed of firewood for cremation.
git-tang-si-si, git-tang-sik-sik  adv. not yet dry, of firewood.
ha-bol, a-bol  n. firewood.
ha-bol bi-pek, a-bol bi-pek  n. small firewood.
haul  n. dried jute stalks, often used for taking a fire from one place to another, firebrand.
ja-bak  n. a carefully piled and orderly stack, of firewood, thatch, etc.
ja-si, a-bol ja-si  n. small firewood, (lit. toe).
ka-ti  n. a small prepared stick, matchstick, stick used to beat gongs. <B
kur-chon-a  vi. small, of firewood, mouths; quiet-voiced.
mes  n. match. <E
wal so-gip-a, wal sur-gip-a  nph. bamboo device to make fire by friction.
wal-bi-ma  n. match.
wal-jem  n. firebrand, a bundle of lighted sticks, used for illumination or to carry fire to another place.
wal-tot  n. bamboo device for kindling fire by friction, match.

5.424 Light, Burn, Extinguish

ching-it-a  vt. light, as a lamp.
kam-a  vi. burn, blaze.
kam-gil-gil-a  vi. burn on the surface only.
kam-kring-krang-a  vi. incompletely burned.
kam-ret-a  vi. burn partly.
kim-it-a, sik-kim-it-a  vt. extinguish, put out, as a fire or match; turn off, hurricane lamp, flashlight.
net-a  vt. turn on, shine with light, candle, burning sticks, etc. in order to see; shine on, illuminate: lait-cha net-e ni-ing-a, chau-kok-ko see the thief by shining a light.
rat-a, wal-e rat-a  vt. make fire by using friction.
ru-kim-it-a  vt. pour on (water) to put out fire.
si-a  vi. go out, of fire, lamp, (lit. die).
si-it-a  vt. extinguish, put out, of hurricane lamp, etc., (lit. cause to die).
sik-pu-pu-a  vt. blow up fire, as by blowing through a tube.
sin-il-a, sin-il-et-a  vt. push forward, of firewood into a fire; direct toward; aim at; extend a hand, as to a child to help her get up: a-bol-ko wal sin-il-a push firewood into a fire.
sip-prong-a, sprong-a  vt. blow; blow up fire; blow off dust, dirt; blow rice beer over a sick person during a sacrifice; fly about in the air, of dust, powder; blow out, of matches, hurricane lamp, etc.
so-a, su-a  vt. burn, ignite, light fire, candle, etc.; feed fire with firewood; singe a pig over fire to remove hair.
so-chip-a  vt. burn completely.
so-e net-a  vt. light, shine, as a hurricane lamp, oil lamp.
so-ga-det-a, so-gat-a  vt. feed firewood into fire.
so-sim-prak-a  vt. blacken with fire, scorch, as when a butchered pig is scorched to clean it and remove its hair.
tot-a vt. strike a match, knock against, hit against; bump heads.
tot-chrak-a vt. strike forcefully, as a match.

5.425 Shine, Flare Up

ching-a vi. shine, not necessarily brightly, of sun, moon, fire, candles, hurricane lamp, flashlight, TV screen, gold; light up, flame up.
ching-dim-dim-a vi. flame up strongly, burn vigorously.
lim-dim-a, wal dim-dim-a vi. burn vigorously, brightly.
ding-chik-il-a vi. burn very strongly.
gil-jik-gil-jik adv. flaming up strongly, putting out heat; rich and having a lot of possessions.
hil-im-nil-im adv. flame up, burn strongly.
jil-au-a vi. flare up, of fire; do lightning.
jra-ojra-o adv. flaming up, burning vigorously, brightly.
jrang-a vi. be light, in contrast to darkness; become light, in twilight, in moonlight, as clouds clear up, as lamps are turned on; burn up strongly, of fire, lamps.

5.426 Warm Up

hang-a vt. hold hands up to the fire to warm them; warm or dry objects such as cloth or paper by holding them up to the fire.
him-a, im-a vt. hold something up to the fire to warm it or dry it, hands to warm, a pot to dry: te-rik bi-jak-ko him-a warm banana leaves at the fire (to soften them so that they do not break); press on, as heated medicinal herbs are pressed on on a sore spot; darken bamboo strips in smoke.

5.429 Tobacco and Smoking

bi-ri n. small cigarette. <B
chong-ket-ta n. butt of a cigarette.
da-ba n. water pipe, for smoking. <B
kol-ki n. pottery top of a water pipe that holds the tobacco. <B
mol-a n. fragrant mixture of tobacco and molasses used for smoking with a water pipe. <B
noi-cha, da-ba noi-cha n. wooden post of a water pipe. <B
si-get, si-gret, si-ga-ret n. cigarette. <E
ta-mak, ta-mak-ku n. tobacco. <B
ta-muk n. tobacco; the tobacco that is used in a water pipe, (same as mol-a). <B
tek-kra, tek-la, ti-kra, ti-kil-a n. little plug of earth placed in the bottom of a kol-ki (pottery pipe bowl) to keep the tobacco from falling through. <B
5.43 Cooking and Eating Equipment (cf. 5.85 Basketry)

These words show the impact of Bengali vocabulary and culture. Basic names for pots are old Garo words, but many of the more specialized objects now used in the kitchen were adopted from the neighboring people, and they have come with their Bengali names. One can use the vocabulary to trace which aspects of food preparation are old Mandi practices and which are more recent acquisitions. Materials to brew rice beer, for example, are entirely Mandi.

5.432 Pots, Pottery

boi-om  n. small, straight-sided pottery storage jar for salt, sugar, etc.
< B
cha-ri  n. large open bowl for holding bathing water.
chi-wa-sing  n. a bamboo tube water container.
chok-kel-a  n. small earthen pot.
dik-ka  n. an earthenware pot together with its cane sling that is used for brewing rice beer.
dik-kil-eng  n. broken pieces of pottery.
dik-ku-li  n. a very small earthenware pot, smaller even than a dik-te pi'-sa.
dik-te, dik-ti  n. smallish pot, often but not necessarily earthenware, for water, etc., smaller than a gim-bi.
dik-te pi'-sa, dik-ti pi'-sa  n. small pot.
dik-te sa-rong  n. middle sized pot, larger than dik-ti pi'-sa.
dik-tom  n. large round open mouthed earthenware pot, used for brewing rice beer. Does not include a cane sling.
dip-dip-ing  n. wooden base for a pot.
ga-bil-a  n. big open bowl, of pottery or metal. < B
gim-bi  n. large water pot, bigger than a dik-te.
gim-bi rong-dal-a  n. large gimbi.
kak-si  n. spouted earthenware pot.
me'-dik, mi'-dik  n. rice cooking pot.
me'-dik sam-dik, mi'-dik sam-dik  n. cooking pots and pans, (lit. rice-pot curry-pot).
pa-ra  n. open earthenware dish, pottery holder for coals that give smoke in sa-sat sur-a ceremony.
pa-ra-pi'-sa  n. small earthenware dish.
rong-dik  n. earthenware storage pot with no neck and a large mouth, used to store rice; the thick part at the base of a banana trunk, (lit. banana-round pot).
rot-a  n. small round metal or earthenware water pot. < B
sa-rong  n. smallish water pot.
sam-dik  n. curry cooking pot.

5.434 Dishes
ba-ti  n. small bowl, saucer. <B
but-ol  n. bottle. <E
gil-as  n. drinking glass. <E
kap  n. cup. <E
ko-ra  n. small bowl. <B
mat-chu-ra  n. stopper for a bottle, cork, bottle cap.
rang-tal  n. plate, dish.
rot-a-rang-tal  n. dishes, cooking utensils.

5.436 Metal Utensils
a-ta-sil  n. a metal ladle, spoon.
bal-ti  n. pail, bucket. <B
bot-na, bot-ni  n. spouted metal or earthen pot, used in latrine. <B
cha-mos  n. spoon. <B
jok  n. water pitcher, jug, usually aluminum. <E
jor-na  n. watering pot. <B
ko-ta  n. can, food tin. <B
ko-i-ra, ko-rai-a  n. round-bottomed cooking pan with two handles, wok.
< B
sil-dang-kep  n. metal tongs, tweezers.
sil-sok  n. a little metal cooking tool, with one sharp end for poking and
one flat end for stirring.

5.438 Miscellaneous Kitchen Equipment
a-kam-pi  n. shell of a snail (a-pi); snail shell used to scrape pots.
al-a-ni  n. pole with cloth knot tied at one end used to push rice into the
hole of a teng-ki (rice pounder).
al-pat  n. wooden rice rake, a pusher with long handle and half moon
shaped end for spreading rice to dry.
ba-sur, ba-sul  n. the smaller of the two grindstones, the stone that is
held in the hand and used against the flat lower stone, (same as rong-te
pi-sa). <B
brak  n. ladle with a scoop, generally made from bamboo, used for stirring
and serving, esp. for curry.
cha-am  n. mortar for pounding rice.
da-kon, da-kin-i  n. a cover for a pot with a central knob to lift it by,
lid. <B
**dang-kep**  *n.* tongs: **sil-dang-kep** iron tongs; **wa-dang-kep** bamboo tongs; **bol-dang-kep** wooden tongs.

**don-chak-gip-a**  *n.* holder, container, storage place, place to put something.

**geng-reng**  *n.* a filter for soda.

**jan-ti**  *n.* central tube of a rice beer pot through which beer is strained.

**me-gon, mi-gon**  *n.* stick for stirring rice.

**mit-chu-ra**  *n.* cork, plug, cap, screw top of a bottle.

**na-kam wa-sing**  *n.* bamboo tube used for storing dried fish.

**pong**  *n.* ladle made from a gourd and used esp. for rice beer.

**reng-si**  *n.* a string or stick on which to hang flowers, fruit, fish, pork, etc.; needle.

**rim-ol, rong-te rim-ol**  *n.* the smaller (upper) grindstone that is held in the hand; rice-pounding pestle.

**rong-te, rong-ti**  *n.* the flat (lower) grindstone; the weight used on a balance scale; stone, rock.

**rong-te-ni pi-sa, rong-te pi-sa**  *n.* the smaller (upper) grindstone that is held in the hands, (lit. stone’s child).

**wa-sing, wa-ni wa-sing**  *n.* bamboo cup, bamboo tube used for storage or for blowing up fire.

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### 5.45 Preparing Food

#### 5.451 Rice

**al-ai-a**  *vt.* sweep rice into hole of a **teng-ki** (rice pounder).  <B

**al-u-a**  *vt.* pound rice by the old method, without roasting it first.

**ba-si-a**  *vt.* sort out unhusked grains of rice individually.

**chim-a-a**  *vt.* first of the three poundings of rice in a rice pounder.

**chip-ok-a**  *vt.* second of the three rice poundings.

**cho-a, cho-sam-a, cho-sram-a**  *vt.* winnow, use a winnowing tray.

**ham-pil-a**  *vt.* sweep rice into the hole of a rice pounder; stir, turn, turn away, turn around, turn over, reverse.  *vi.* turn over, as in bed.

**ja-ri-a**  *vt.* shake with a circular rice tray and with a circular motion, to sort and sift grain.

**jing-jing-a**  *vt.* shake something, as a circular rice tray when sorting rice; shake a finger, fist or knife at someone as a threat.

**ke-rok-a, ki-rok-a**  *vt.* shake a winnowing basket back and forth to separate the rice from the husks.

**ma-ra-a**  *vt.* knock off grain, by cattle.  <B

**ma-si-a, ba-si-a**  *vt.* last stage of husking rice when one gets rid of **bi-ma** (husks that have no grains) by picking them out by hand.

**rit-a**  *vt.* roast rice with some water to prepare it for pounding.
rok-a vt. push rice into the hole of a teng-ki (rice pounder) with an al-pat (push tool); scrape, scrape off, as a dirty pot; shave, cut hair, with scissors or razor. ma-rang rok-a vph. remove evil and pollution (ma-rang): dispose of ma-rang by means of an egg sacrifice using bamboo that has been shaved so as to make a ‘beard’. -rok- aa. scrape, scrape off, knock off, remove, rub: dok-rok-a knock one thing against another, as to clear dirt from a basket; rep-rok-a cut off peel; dang-rok-a scrape out, as dirt or weeds; rim-rok-a rub, rub with the palm, massage, pet an animal; rep-rok-a carve off bits from the surface; ot-rok-a sweep.

sal-srik-a vt. make smooth, as by scraping a knife on bamboo; clean; push rice into hole of a rice pounder with an al-pat (pushing tool).
su-chek-chek-a vi. well and thoroughly pounded and clean, of rice; poke here and there with a tool.
su-gel-gel-a ut. leave rice threshing unfinished, without all the pounding.
su-krep-a ut. pound something in a rice pounder; crush, as fingers get pounded by mistake in a rice pounder.
su-srok-a ut. third and final pounding of rice in a rice pounder, to whiten it.

5.453 Wrapping, Bundles, Portions, Servings

a-git-cha n. another, as an another helping of food, another person.
bi-tin n. piece, chunk, of meat, sugar, soap, sweets, etc.
cho-a, chu-a vt. wrap in a banana leaf by folding it into a rectangular bundle, esp. for servings of rice.
cho-chok-a, chu-chok-a vt. tie up in a folded banana leaf bundle.
cho-gep-a, chu-gep-a vt. tie up in a folded banana leaf bundle, esp.
rice: i-sal-o mi sa-e cho-gep-a tie up the rice in a banana leaf.
cho-tep-a, chu-tep-a vt. wrap in folded banana leaves.
gop-a vt. cook by wrapping food in banana leaves.
mat-tin n. bundle of a special meat preparation made from a strip from the back of the animal that is rolled in a banana leaf, and may be offered to a spirit at a sacrifice.
mi-dap n. wrapped portion of rice, serving.
mi-dap-a ut. wrap up rice.
mi-dap-sam-dap n. serving sized portions of rice and curry, when wrapped in leaves.
mi-pal n. rice portion, serving, share, esp. when wrapped in a banana leaf.
sam-dap n. wrapped up portion of curry, serving. sam-dap-a vi. wrap up curry portions in banana leaves.
sam-pal n. bundle of curry, (same as sam-dap).
srom-a  vt. wrap in a banana leaf so that the sides are brought up to form a mouth that is then tied shut, usually for curry.

tep-a  vt. wrap up as in folded banana leaves, with wrapper folded over,
(same as cho-gep-a).  -tep-  aa.:  cho-tep-a wrap in folded banana leaves; so-tep-a cook in folded banana leaves.

5.455 Brewing Rice Beer (cf. 5.403 Rice Preparation)

chek-a  vt. filter, stain, mix, sift, esp. for filtering rice beer.

kit-bol-bol-a  vt. stir up rice in a beer pot with the hand, in order to spoil it.

nang-chek-chek-a  vi. stage of rice beer when it is well mixed and good to drink; fine, rich, plentiful, well developed, ripe, of fruit, rice, etc.

pu-a  vt. spread over, sprinkle over, as to spread yeast over rice in making beer; pour, let fall from the hand, of dry things, powder; add dry ingredients to food when cooking, of salt, soda, etc.

song-a  vt. brew beer, cook.

wan-ti, chu-wan-ti, wan-chi, chu-wan-chi, man-ti, chu-man-ti  n. yeast cake, yeast used for making rice beer; used also to make spots on sacrificial altars.

5.458 Food Preparation, Misc.

cho-ai-a  vt. get oil from: wak-ni mit-im-ko tel cho-ai-ing-a get oil from pig fat.

dit-a  vt. filter water through ashes to obtain soda; filled with liquid, as water behind a barrier, breasts filled with milk.

nong-chak-a  vt. grind spices, etc. with grindstones: ol-di nong-chak-gip-a rong-ti a stone for grinding turmeric.

o-chrak-a, u-chrak-a  vt. peel skin, remove peel.

o-drak-a, u-drak-a  vt. peel, remove peel.

pe-a, pi-a  vt. grind flour; gin cotton; break; clear fields; make change.

ru-gek-a  vt. filter ashes to get soda, pour a large quantity.

sa-a  vt. serve, pass out food; spread out food to distribute; spread out rice on a mat when making rice beer.

sa-pak-a  vt. distribute cooked rice from a pot before it is wrapped, put out on plates.

sak-ki-a  vt. strain, as milk, to remove dirt, etc.

skong-a  vt. separate from liquid, as cream that rises to the top, or dirt that sinks to the bottom.

ting-ting-a, wa-sing ting-ting-a  vt. pound into, as into a bamboo tube.
5.46 Cooking

_a-kam_ n. burned rice from bottom of a cooking pot.

_bok-bak-a_ vi. boil vigorously, bubble up when cooking; suds up, of soap.

_bok-bok-a-bak_ adv. big rolling boil.

_brenge-a_ vt. cook in a bamboo tube, as is done at sacrifices.

_cha-a_ vt. put on the fire, have on the fire, of a cooking pot.

_cho-bil-a, chu-bil-a, cho-bil-et-a, chu-bil-et-a_ vt. stir.

_chu-ke-a_ vi. over cooked, cooked with too much water.

_gek-a, ru-gek-a_ vt. add to curry, of spices, soda, condiments.

-git-ting_ vi. uncooked, green, unripe, raw.

-git-u-a_ vi. boil noisily, bubble.

-git-u-sru-a_ vi. boil over.

_gon-gon-a_ vt. stir food when cooking, as rice, frying food.

_jo-a_ vt. fry, without water but sometimes with oil, as meat, cakes, cracked rice, etc.

_jo-kram-a, jo-kam-a_ vt. stir up curry when frying; fry, of meat, fish, cakes, etc.

_jo-re-rep-a_ vt. in extra bits, such as onions, to add flavor when frying.

_kam-chok-kam-chok_ adv. good, of well-cooked food, of rice beer.

_ku-grip-a_ vt. cover the mouth of a pot.

_min-da-wek-a_ vi. over cooked.

_nom-bil-a, nom-bil-et-a_ vi. cooked softly, as for children or for old people without teeth.

_pu-a, pu-gek-a_ vt. add dry ingredients to food when cooking, of salt, soda, etc., pour, let fall from the hand, of powder or fine things like rice grains, salt into a curry; sprinkle over, as yeast over rice when making rice beer.

_rit-a_ vt. boil.

_rong-git-ing_ adv. not fully cooked, not yet ready to eat, of rice.

_rong-min-ek_ adv. well cooked, done, of rice.

_rong-teq_ adv. not fully cooked, still somewhat hard, of rice.

_sa-al-a_ n. swell up, as rice when cooking.

_sik-mik-a_ vt. add a little, as condiments for flavoring.

_sik-sim-a_ vt. put something into liquid, as dough into oil, as clothes to soak, sugar to make water sweet.

_so-srom-a_ vt. cook in a tied up banana leaf.

_so-tep-a_ vt. cook in a folded banana leaf.

_song-a_ vt. cook; brew rice beer.

_song-min-ek-a_ vt. cook to softness.

_sru-a_ vi. overflow, boil over. _sru_ aa. overflow: _git-u-sru-a_ boil over; _chi-sru-sru_ overflow, of water from a pot; _ki-sru-a_ have diarrhea; _ki-si-sru-a_ fart a lot.
5.47 Eating and Drinking (cf. 3.682 Tastes)

5.472 Eating

cha-a vt. eat, nurse; eat away at, by water or by a disease; live by means of; erupt, come out, of a skin disease; receive monetary compensation as a result of a legal case.
cha-bing-bang-a vt. eat bad things, from ignorance or carelessness.
cha-brek ring-brek adv. eat and drink when one is not supposed to, as when under a taboo or when food has been forbidden because of illness.
cha-brok-a vi. spoiled by being bitten or chewed on.
cha-chak-a vt. suitable for eating, have enough space for food, as a plate:
rang-tal-o mi cha-chak-a the rice fits on a plate.
cha-chip-chip-a vt. mouth carefully in tasting, suck on something, such as a lozenge.
cha-chip-chip-e ron-a vph. chew food ahead to give to a baby.
cha-chot-a vt. eat up, finish food: mi-ko cha-chot-a finish eating the rice.
cha-dam-a vt. eat regularly in the same place.
cha-dik-a vt. not good to eat, taste bad.
cha-dil-a vt. feed.
cha-e gal-a vt. not finish the food, eat part only, eat some and throw away the rest.
cha-gal-gal-a, cha-ga-gal-a vt. eat quickly.
cha-jring-a vt. always eat, eat regularly.
cha-kan-di-a vt. eat half, eat some and leave some.
cha-kim-bak-a vt. eat just a bit and quit, eat in part, not finish.
cha-kin-ap-a vt. good to eat.
cha-mong-song-a vt. eat enough.
cha-nem-a vt. eat sandy foods.
cha-pa-rik-a dong-pa-rik-a vph. eating and staying at someone else’s place.
cha-pak-a vt. eat along the way, eat while going somewhere.
cha-pek-a vt. eat constantly, everything.
cha-pin-ek-a vt. crush and make soft by chewing.
cha-ring-ja vt. eat late, eat at the wrong time.
cha-rok-rok-a vt. eat here and there, inconsistently, as ants eat wood.
cha-si-a vt. echo in cha-dik-a cha-si-a taste bad, bad to eat.
cha-sim-sim-a vt. eat up, finish.
cha-trip-trip-a vt. eat by many, as by insects when eating bamboo, cloth, books.
chik-a vt. bite, by people, mosquitoes, etc.; bite by mit-i (spirits) when they cause disease; biting cold; cause rash; attack, of laziness.
chik-ak-a *vt.* bite off.
chik-kim-bak-a *vt.* take a bite from and leave some.
chik-ku-rak-a *vt.* bite into pieces.
chik-pin-ek-a *vt.* chew hard, chew and crush.
chik-pret-a *vt.* bite through, make a hole by biting.
chik-sot-a *vt.* bite off, as a pig might bite off its rope.
chik-tet-a *vt.* bite off a piece, eat as a dog eats by grabbing with the mouth.
chik-wak-a *vt.* bite off pieces, as one eats an apple or banana; bite and hold, as an animal does.
cho-ot-cho-ot *adv.* by sucking, on a straw, arm, etc.: *cho-ot-cho-ot* 
dak-e ring-a *drink by sucking.*
chop-a *vt.* suck on snails to eat them.
kal-bong *vt.* someone who eats anything, glutton; place for rubbish, garbage pit.
kre-o-kre-o *adv.* with a cracking sound, of eating food that is not fully cooked, of a dry leaf being crushed, of an egg breaking.
ku-ma-ku-ma *adv.* with a full mouth.
min-ok-a *vt.* swallow; eclipse of sun or moon.
sal-srip-a, sal-sip-a *vt.* slurp, suck; sniff to smell, sniff with the nose for something that smells good; sniffle with a cold; suck water with trunk, of an elephant.
spom-a *vt.* hold inside the mouth without chewing, as water, betel, etc.
srip-srip, srip-e-srip-e *adv.* sloppily, as when eating a liquid or of wet food.
wak-wak-a *adv.* eat very quickly.

5.474 Drinking

garak-grak, grok-grok *adv.* in gulps, of drinking.
ring-a *vt.* drink; take medicine orally, both liquids and pills; smoke tobacco.
ring-chak-a *vi.* fit in, hold, of a drink: *ring-chak-gip-a gil-as* glass that holds the drink.
ring-chot-a, ring-chot-chot-a *vt.* slurp, as tea; suck, as on a straw, drink up; finish drinking with a slurp, as through a straw.
ring-dam-bu-a *vt.* drink a lot.
ring-drak-a *vt.* drink a lot at one time.
ring-gek-a *vt.* while drinking, in the midst of drinking.
ring-pak-a *vt.* drink along the way.
ring-pek-a *vt.* choke on water as when swimming or drinking; somewhat drunk from rice beer.
ring-srip-a, ring-sip-a *vt.* slurp, as when drinking hot tea from a plate, hot soup from a spoon; drink through a straw; drink part but leave part, what a mosquito does when it bites.

5.477 Meals

mi-a-tam *n.* evening rice meal.
mi-pring *n.* morning rice meal.
mi-sal *n.* morning or noon rice meal.
a-na-sta *n.* breakfast, snack, small meal, meal without boiled rice. <B
no-sta *n.* echo in na-sta no-sta breakfast, snack. <B

5.478 Feed, Spit Out Food, etc.

a-dal-a, ha-dal-a *vt.* feed animals, esp. pigs. <B
al-du-a *vt.* provide food for, feed; care for, support, of animals, children.
be-el-a *vt.* take food out of one’s mouth, to throw it away or to give it to a baby after premastication.
be-el-e gal-a *vt.* spit up, of babies.
be-el-e ron-a *vph.* give food to a baby after premasticating it.
bre-a, bri-a *vt.* spit out small amounts, as a bit of dirt, old betel cud.
bre-gal-a *vi.* spit out and throw away.
chik-e gal-a *vph.* bite off and spit out.
cho-cho-a, chu-chu-a *vt.* feed a baby with food that one has already chewed.
chu-chu-pil-a, chu-chu-e du-a *n.* chew and spit out food to prepare it for feeding to a baby.
du-a *vt.* feed solid food, such as rice, to a child or invalid; feed at a festival by putting food directly in someone’s mouth; feed domestic animals, bait birds.
du-gek-gek-a *vt.* feed by force.
el-bu-a, hel-bu-a *vt.* spit out food, vomit a small amount, especially of a baby spitting up milk.
kan-a *vt.* feed, of liquids, including breast milk.
kan-gek-a, kan-gek-gek-a *vt.* force someone to drink, as when serving rice beer.

5.479 Eating and Drinking, Other

cha-chot-chot-a, sok cha-chot-chot-a *vt.* suckle, suck the breast.
ha-nem-a *vi.* mixed with dirt, tasting of dirt, of food.
kang-ket-a *vt.* choke on, as on a fish bone, or on water when drinking; stuck in the throat: ang-a do-greng-ko at-ta-ka kang-ket-a I suddenly choked on a chicken bone.
nim-a  vt. forbid, restrict, as some kinds of food to a sick person; do without: mi-ko nim-bo, sal-ha sal-gin-i avoid rice for a day or two.
rek-keng-a, rik-keng-e cha'-a  vt. eat bones and all.
rok-rok, rok-rok cha'-a  adv. eat up, finish: ang-a rok-rok cha'-tok-jok I ate up everything.

5.48 Hunger, Thirst, Fullness, Intoxication

chu ok-ka-a  vph. had enough rice beer (chu).
han'-cheng-a, an'-cheng-a, han'-jak cheng'-a  vi. feel good, feel light, feel healthy, just barely drunk, (lit. body-light).
ku-min-a  vi. eaten enough, tired of eating.
ku-chi-a, ku-sik ku-chi-a  vt. crave, long for, esp. for tobacco.
ma'-ang, ma'-ang-di'-ang  adv. craving, longing for, as for tobacco; searching for.
mal-ak-mal-ak  adv. crave water, thirsty.
mik-mak-a, mik-mak-ga-mak  vi. slightly drunk, slightly dizzy, a bit confused.
nal-a  vt. eat or drink a lot, gluttonously.
ok-ka-a  vt. satisfied by, eaten enough of, full of, drunk from.
ok-ka-bing-bing  adv. ate lots, full.
ok-ka-mik-mak-a  vt. partly, but not completely full, of food, rice beer; slightly drunk.
ok-kri-a  vt. hungry, hungry for.
pek-a  vt. intoxicated from, surfeited from; the feeling of having eating or drinking a lot, feeling after eating pork fat: ang-a wak-mit-im-ko bang'-e cha'-e pek-a having eaten a lot of pork fat, I am surfeited.
ran-a, git-ok ran-a  vi. thirsty, (lit. throat dry).
ring-pek-a  vi. somewhat drunk from rice beer; choke on water, as when swimming or drinking.

5.6 Buildings

5.62 Building Types

As would be expected, modern types of buildings are named by Bengali words. Even some village buildings are now given Bengali names, but these are buildings with relatively new functions (go-al-i-nok ‘cattle shed’) or buildings whose activities were once done in the family house, e.g. pak-nok ‘kitchen building’. Note that buildings are almost always called by something different from the institution that uses the building, thus: skul means ‘school as an institution’, while skul-nok names the building where
schooling takes place; *gil-ja* ‘church as an institution’, *gil-ja-nok* ‘church building’.

### 5.622 Traditional

**ba-ri** *n.* group of buildings built around a courtyard, compound; the group of people who live in these buildings. <B

**bo-rang, bu-rang** *n.* small house or watching platform in the fields; tree house.

**chi-dik** *n.* bird coop.

**do-’chi-dik, du-’chi-dik** *n.* bird coop, chicken coop, a place to keep a domestic fowl, made of earth or basketry.

**go-al-i-nok, gu-al-i-nok** *n.* cattle shed, cattle house. <B

**ha-bol-nok, a-bol-nok** *n.* woodshed.

**jam** *n.* granary, storehouse.

**ki-’dik** *n.* latrine.

**ko-ar, ko-ra** *n.* fenced in area for animals, pen. <B

**nok** *n.* house, building, household, family. *-nok dns.* buildings: **wa-’si-nok** house built of split bamboo; **tat-nok** building where weaving is done; **skul-nok** school building; **ran-a-nok** kitchen building. **nok-** *cp.* prefix for types and parts of houses: **nok-pan-te** young men’s house; **nok-kap** house site. **nok-** *cls.* classifier for families, households, for what is held in a house.

**nok-di** *n.* small house for a newly married or young couple in the compound of the parents.

**nok-man-di** *n.* traditional style house, long and with the door at one end.

**nok-mong, nok-mong-song** *n.* the main building, main house of a compound, house for the senior couple.

**nok-pan-te** *n.* house for adolescents and unmarried young men.

- **-nol dns.** place to keep animals, goat shed, place for chickens: **wak-nol** pigsty; **do-nol** chicken coop.

**pai-ka-na** *n.* latrine. <B

**pak-nok** *n.* cook house, kitchen.

**ran-a, ran-a-nok** *n.* kitchen building. <B

**wa-’si-nok** *n.* house built of split bamboo.

### 5.624 Building Types, Modern

**dal-an-nok** *n.* brick or masonry house. <B

**gil-ja-nok** *n.* church building. <B

**mos-jiit, mos-jiit-nok, mo-jiit, mos-jiid, mu-jiit, mo-siit** *n.* mosque. <B
skul-nok, i-skul-nok  n. school building. <B
tat-nok  n. weaving place.

5.63 Buildings: Methods, Parts

5.631 Buildings: Methods

be-ra ka-a  vph. build a fence, (lit. tie fence).
chu-chan-a, nok chu-chan-a  vt. mark out the location of house walls and posts in preparation for house building.
de-wal nok  n. house built of mud.
dim’a  vt. make a fence or partition; build walls (be-ra) of bamboo, thatch, sam-sim-a-ri stalks, or mud; hang curtains.
dim-chang-a  vt. put up a mat partition, in a house, across a path.
gan-sang nok  nph. bamboo house built on gan-sang type platform.
go-wek-a  vt. throw mud against a wall to build it up and solidify it during house construction.
ha-ni, a-ni  n. earthen, made of earth, of houses: ha-ni be-ra mud walls.
ku-ta  n. mud, mud house, mud construction. <B
kur-ak-a  vt. scrape off the excess wet mud of a wall during house construction; scratch to hurt, with claws or nails, by people or animals; claw like a cat.
mit-chu-a  vt. plug up, as when filling the holes in drying house walls with mud; close, bottle, bamboo tube, etc.
rik-a  vt. build, esp. for houses.

5.632 Buildings: Roofs

a-ton  n. horizontal and lengthwise roof pieces, usually made from a split half of bamboo, on top of which the thatch is tied.
am-pang  n. thatch, thatching grass.
chal  n. the sides or slopes of a roof, of which houses generally have two or four. <B
gol-a  n. a bundle of thatch. <B
ja’-ku-a  n. first row of thatch at the edge of the eaves.
kal-u-a, am-pang kal-u-a  vi. old thatch, good only as mulch.
kim-bik  n. peak of a roof, ridge, the part of the roof above the ridge-pole where the thatch is bent over it.
kim-bik pi-a  vph. ‘break’ the thatch to bend it over the ridge of the roof.
kop jik-se  n. the pair of half bamboos that run the length of the roof, one below and one above the rafters and to which the thatch is tied, (lit. wife-husband pieces).
kop ran-di  n. a single length of half bamboo that runs the length of the roof, (lit. widow piece).
ku-ti  n. horizontal wooden peg embedded in a mud wall to which the roof is tied: nang-gol ku-ti handle of a plow. <B
min-di-ni  n. the thatch that extends over the gable end of an old fashioned long house.
na-tong  n. the wooden stake which is embedded at the top of a mud wall and to which the roof is tied: na-tong, na-tong-ket the fulcrum around which a rice pounder swings.
nok-king  n. roof.
ru-kring-krang-a  vt. take down old thatch, pouring it down all around.
tong-kru, tong-ku, ting-ku  n. rafter.
wa-rap-a  n. upper rows of thatch.
wa-si-a  n. the second row of thatch just above the eaves.

5.633 Buildings: Posts and Beams
bil-bang  n. horizontal crossbeam of a house, just above the end walls at the gable, or spanning the side walls.
bol-gro, bol-gru  n. ridgepole of a house; backbone of a human or animal.
bol-gro-ni krong nph. post holding up the ridgepole.
chu-sim-ra  n. the main post at the center of an old style Mandi house.
dang-kin-ok  n. the four corner posts of an old fashioned central fire place.
ki-me, ki-mi  n. the projecting upper part of the top of a house post cut to take a crosspiece, (lit. tail).
kim-bik-ni krong nph. post at one end of a house that supports the ridgepole.
krong  n. post.
nok jang-si-ni bil-bang nph. crossbeam that spans the side walls of a house.
pak-ri  n. horizontal house beam running lengthwise, at the level of the eaves or higher, and supporting the roof.
pak-ri-ni krong nph. post in a house supporting the beam called pak-ri.

5.635 Buildings: Rooms
ba-ran-da, ba-ren-da  n. veranda. <B
bal-im  n. veranda of an earth house, earth platform, generally roofed, along the outside wall of a house.
kon-dok  n. sections of a building, areas divided by partitions. kon-dok-cl. classifier for sections, rooms.
nok-kra, nok-ka-ra  n. roofed area, without walls, at front end of a traditional house.
5.636 Buildings: Other Parts

bel-ki  n. piece made of thatching grass, split bamboo, or sam-sim-a-ri stalks, that fills the triangular gable area, above the mud end wall of a house.  <B

chu-ram  n. sleeping place, sleeping mat, (A·chik: tu-ram).

du-dap  n. raised earthen platform forming a fireplace in an old style house.

ha-san  n. brick, dried mud brick.

iit  n. brick.  <B

ja-ti  n. notches on a log used as steps.

jang-ki  n. stairs, an attached ladder such as the ladder leading up to watchhouse; the notched bamboo placed so that a mit-e (spirit) can use it to climb to an altar.

nok-ka-ni  n. outside corner of a house.

nok-sik  n. corner of a room, inside corner of a house.

ong-ga-ri  n. the shelf over an old style central fireplace.

pat-kel  n. brick, dried mud brick.

tok-ta  n. wooden board, plank.  <B

5.637 Buildings: Platform

ga-tim-ra  n. step to a house or veranda, edge of a veranda.

gan-sang  n. platform for an old style bamboo house, platform for sleeping made from boards or bamboo.

ha-ra-gat-a  vt. build an earth platform such as a house platform, a veranda, a shelf, a storage area in the cooking room; pile up dirt.

ma-chang  n. platform on which a house is built.

pi-ra  n. edge of the earth platform of a building.

5.638 Buildings: Walls, Doors, Windows

chok-at  n. door frame.  <B

de-wal  n. wall of an earth house.

do-ga, du-ga  n. door, especially a bamboo lattice door.

do-ga-chol, du-ga-chol  n. doorway.

ha-ni be-ra, a-ni be-ra  n. earth wall.

ja-na-la  n. window.  <B

jiin-jiil  n. door chain.  <B

mok-at  n. echo in chok-at mok-at door.  <B

nok-chol  n. opening in the sidewall of a traditional Mandi long house, where water and objects can be thrown out.

nok-gil  n. back end, back door, of a traditional long house.

nok-jang-chi, nok-jang-chi-o  n. center of the house.
nok-mik-kang  n. front end, front entrance, of a traditional long Mandi house.

pait  class. classifier for layers of mud on a new house, (same as tol-op).

< B

tol-op  n. a course of mud laid down in building a house. tol-op cls.
classifier for courses of mud laid down in house building.

u-gal, u-gar  n. platform for rice or other things, storage area. < B

wa-ni be-ra  n. bamboo wall.

wa-si  n. bamboo which has been cut at the nodes and flattened, and
which is used to make walls and floors of old style houses, split bamboo.

5.639 Bamboo Building Materials (cf. 5.854 Basketry:

dam-beng  n. crosswise and widely spaced pieces of floor support of a
field house that rest on the ja-gra and support the wa-rong.

du-a  n. a thin flexible strip of bamboo, one rougher kind used for tying
by twisting, the other more delicate kind for weaving into a basket.

ja-gra  n. lowest bamboo supports, running lengthwise, of a platform for
a bu-rang (field house), that lie under and hold the dam-beng.

ku-rang, wa-ku-rang  n. a length of bamboo split in half.

wa-ting  n. thin flexible strips of bamboo that are used for tying, coarser
than the strips used to make baskets.

wa-gan-tong  n. length of bamboo.

wa-kop  n. half split length of bamboo, lengthwise bamboo pieces that
are tied above and below the tong-krut (rafters) on to which thatch is
tied.

wa-ku-rang  n. half split length of bamboo.

wa-mi-sol  n. closely spaced layer of bamboo floor support in a bu-rang
(field house), above the dam-beng and just below the wa-si.

wa-rong  n. bamboo lengths spaced close together, as the top layer of a
floor support in a field house.

wa-si  n. bamboo which has been cut at the nodes and flattened, and
which is used to make walls and floors of old style houses, field houses,
etc., split bamboo.

wa-si-ri, wa-sri  n. split length of bamboo used for various purposes
including further splitting to make flexible tie strips; bamboo part of a
pong-si (divining bow).

wa-tong  n. length of bamboo.
5.64 Around the House and other Constructions

5.642 Fences and Wells

**be-ra** *n.* the fence, as around a garden, esp. a fence made from bamboo matting, grass, or stems of **sam-sim-ari** plants: **be-ra** **ka-a** build a fence, (lit. tie fence). <B

*chi-kol* *n.* well of the type that has a hand pump.

*ku-a* *n.* open well, dug well. <B

**song-chi** *n.* fence post; the vertical bamboos used between the wooden posts of an old fashioned bamboo house.

**ti-up-wel, tup-wel** *n.* tube well with a pump that has standard old style up and down handle. <E

5.644 Surroundings of a House

**bai-re** *n.* outside. <B

**bi-ta** *n.* plot, house site, site of a group of buildings; a place without buildings. <B

**dong-dam** *n.* living place.

**ha-dam, a-dam** *n.* location, place, site, house site.

**ha-gat-e, a-gat-i, a-gat-e** *adv.* outside, open, untucked, of a shirt; classificatory rather than close kin, as a cousin-brother rather than a real brother.

**ha-til-a, a-til-a** *n.* courtyard, open area between the houses and buildings of a homestead.

**jam-ap** *n.* echo in **nok-kap jam-ap** house site, plot.

**nok-gi-sep, nok-ni gi-sep-o** *n.* space between houses.

**nok-gil** *n.* space beside a house if there is a door on that wall.

**nok-kap** *n.* house site, place where a house can be built.

**nok-ket-chi, nok-ket-chi-o** *n.* space next to a house.

**nok-kim-a** *n.* space below a house, space below anything.

**nok-ning** *n.* interior, inside of the house.

**nok-sam** *n.* area beside a house; neighbor.

**nok-sil** *n.* neighbor, neighboring houses.

5.646 Roads, Bridges

**dol-ong** *n.* masonry bridge.

**jak-rim-ra** *n.* railing, as on a bridge, (lit. hand-hold).

**jal-ang** *n.* narrow foot bridge made with a log or pieces of bamboo.

**kul, pul** *n.* masonry, brick, or iron bridge for people and vehicles. <B

**ra-ma** *n.* road, path, way, means.

**ras-ta** *n.* road, smaller than a **so-rok**. <B
so-rok  n. road, highway. <B

5.8 Objects, Tools, Artifacts

5.81 Things in General, This and That

Mandis have a remarkable number of ways of saying ‘this and that’. The items listed in this section are only a sample of those I have heard at one time or another. Many have two or more variants, and speakers have their own favorites. Many of these words have a more or less reduplicative form as, indeed, does English this and that.

bos-tu  n. thing, object, (A’chik). <B
ha-bi-ja-bi  n. this and that. <B
ji-niis  n. thing, things, objects. <B
nang-a-nang-ja  n. this and that, various kinds of things.
rik-ki-jem-jem  n. this and that.
rik-ki-kong-si  n. this and that.
rik-kit-dang-kit, rik-kit-rik-kit  ind. everything, this and that, all sorts of things.
rik-si-kok-si  n. this and that.
tak-tuk, tuk-tak  n. miscellaneous work, odd jobs; getting a bit from here, a bit from there. <B

5.82 Furniture (cf. 6.591 Bedding)

ai-na  n. mirror. <B
al-ma-ri, al-mi-ra  n. wooden cabinet for clothes, closet. <B
al-na  n. rack for clothes and clothes. <B
bak-so, ba-sko  n. box. <E
bat-i  n. oil lamp with small central wick. <B
brens, bren-chi, bens  n. bench. <E
cha-bi  n. key. <B
chi-er, cher  n. chair, (A’chik: cho-ki). <E
chiit  n. seat, as on a bus. <E
cho-bi, so-bi  n. picture. <B
cho-ki  n. bedstead, wooden platform. <B
du-ait, du-at, du-et  n. oil lamp. <B
hai-brens, hai-bren-chi  n. tall bench with a back. <E
ham-pok, anr-pok  n. low stool.
jol-oi  n. cloth cradle that is tied between posts of a veranda.
mo-ra  n. a low round stool made from bamboo and cane.
re-ding, ri-ding, re-ding-ga, re-ding-ra  n. horizontal pole hung inside the house to hold clothes.
tal-a  n. lock. <B

te-bil  n. table. <E

tul  n. a stool that is higher than the ordinary kind of am-pok. <B

wa-gong  n. horizontal bamboo pole hung outside, for drying clothes; well sweep.

5.83 Tools (cf. 5.43 Cooking and Eating Equipment)

In addition to the more or less traditional tools given in the next section Mandis who are familiar with carpentry or machinery, also have a large vocabulary for more modern tools. All these tools have been adopted from the neighbors and they have come with their names. Most of their names are Bengali but a few are English. Almost never are native Mandi words extended to new tools or used as constituents of complex new terms: mat-tul ‘screw driver’, bat-tal ‘chisel’, mat-tam ‘carpenters square’, etc. I have heard pi-ni-sing for 'finishing with sand paper' and rens 'wrench', but Bengali words are much more common. Fishing and hunting equipment is mixed. Older, established objects have Mandi names, but those that have been more recently introduced are predominantly named by borrowed Bengali words.

5.831 Cultivating and Digging Tools

chong-go  n. a harrow; a ladder that is separate and movable, not attached. <B

git-chi  n. a small, narrow-bladed hoe, for weeding and digging up roots.

ko-dal, ku-dal  n. big wide hoe for digging out dirt.

kon-ta  n. a digging tool a with long straight wooden handle and a narrow straight blade at the end that is used for smoothing the sides of holes, digging up tubers, etc. <B

mat-ta  n. digging stick.

nang-gol, lang-gol  n. plow. <B

se-ni  n. a small tool used for chopping out weeds that has a wooden handle and a flat iron blade with a curved cutting edge pointing away from the handle.

5.832 Tools: Cutting

at-te, at-ti  n. large, machete-like knife that is used especially for cutting bamboo but also for general cutting and chopping.

at-te gam-ra  n. a tool that is shaped very much like an ordinary at-te (bamboo knife) but that rests on the ground with sharp edge upward and that is used for slicing vegetables, etc., (same as bo-ti).

bil-et  n. razor blade. <E
chak-ku  n. knife, dagger. <B
chu-ri  n. knife; long, thin, knife shaped and reddish internal organ of pigs, near the liver. <B
dap-sul-a  n. a type of at-te (knife) with a long curved blade.
gan-dil-eng  n. knife made from bamboo.
gang-ga  n. a type of at-te (bamboo knife) that has a long curved blade.
gu-gu-ma-ri, at-te gu-gu-ma-ri  n. a large type of at-te (bamboo knife) with a hooked shape.
kat-chi  n. sickle, rice cutting knife.
ke-si, ke-chi  n. scissors. <B
mrit  n. razor, straight razor with a handle.
ru-a  n. axe.

5.833 Tools: Sticks (cf. 4.672 Sticks)
gol-a-reng  n. a long pole, long stick, such as might be used for knocking down fruit.
gol-chok  n. pointed stick, such as is used to insert in a house wall, or to hold a measuring string; arrow.
gol-dik  n. small stick, walking stick or cattle prod, shorter than a gol-a-reng.
la-ti  n. a pole used as a weapon. <B
ma-reng-ga  n. a club to hit someone with, walking stick larger than pa-jun.
man-teng-gin-a  n. a stick, a stick used for hitting.
mang-got  n. small stick such as might be used for a cattle prod; walking stick, cane.
pa-jun  n. stick for hitting a cow, walking stick; the vertical bamboo next to the jang-ki (stairs) of an altar. <B
sing-kam  n. a stick used to support a sagging branch of a tree.
som-bol  n. an old man’s walking stick; means of support, savings, provisions, supplies.

5.835 Tools: Other.
a-min  n. glue.
a-ta  n. glue, wheat flour. <B
bang  n. carrying pole. <B
chong-go  n. a ladder that is separate and movable, not attached; harrow. <B
gi-jip  n. fan.
jal-ang-ka, jang-gil-a  n. a frame to hold climbing plants.
jat-ta  n. stiff broom for use outdoors; spear.
ju-al  n. yoke for cattle. <B
ka-rail  n. a tool consisting of a long pole with a spike on the end, used for tossing straw.
kel-ki  n. small wooden cotton gin.
kol  n. a machine, such as a pump, a rice mill, a sugar cane press. <B
ku-a do-ri  nph. well rope.
ring-kong  n. dish or hollowed log for feeding animals, especially for pigs, feeding trough.
rong-te, rong-ti  n. the weight used on a balance scale; stone, rock; the flat (lower) grind stone.
sal-a  n. a soft and flexible broom, used for indoor sweeping.
sar  n. fertilizer, either natural manure or commercial. <B
teng-ki  n. footoperated rice pounder. <B
wa-kap-kap  n. a device made from two bamboos that clap together to scare away birds.
wak-ring-kong  n. feeding trough for pigs.

5.838 Modern Tools and Machinery

go-ri  n. watch, clock. <B
ha-tur  n. hammer. <B
lait, tos-lait  n. flashlight, torch. <E
mat-tul  n. screwdriver. <B
me-siin  n. machine, such as a rice mill, diesel pump. <E
mo-bel  n. lubricating oil. <B
pam  n. pump. <E
ro-ar pam, ro-al pam  n. rower pump, water pump that is pulled with an oar-like handle. <E
sel-o ma-sin  n. diesel pump. <B
sil-kat-a  n. nail for carpentry.
sil-mi-si  n. small nail, tack.

5.84 Hunting, Trapping, and Fishing Gear, Weapons, (cf. 4.49 Actions Towards Animals)

5.843 Fishing Gear

a-sok  n. bamboo fish trap.
bai-na bail, bai-na pat-i bail  nph. a trap for catching turtles. <B
bail, bai-na bail  n. fish trap. <B
bor-si, bol-si  n. hook, fishhook. <B
jal, jal-i  n. fish net. <B
ka-ni  n. barb of a fish hook; point, corner, such as a corner of a rice field, of a piece of paper; bottom corner of a basket. <B
kus  n. fish-catching fork, with a long bamboo handle. <B
mak-kal  n. a shrub whose dark 20 cm. long leaves are used for fish poison.
te-ta  n. fish catching fork made of metal, shorter than a kus.

5.845 Hunting Gear, Weapons

a-grip  n. a snare for catching birds.
bat-il  n. bow, crossbow, bow of a pong-si used in divination. <B
bon-duk  n. gun. <B
chan-dal  n. gun, (same as bon-duk).
do-nu  n. holder for the arrow in a crossbow. <B
gol-chok  n. arrow, tip of an arrow; stake, pointed stick such as is used to insert in a house wall.
ja-gra, ja-gra-sa, ja-ga-sa, ja-ga  n. snare, a loop trap that catches an animal’s leg.
jang-gi  n. trap; snare for catching birds; any device for catching animals, net, glue, or a covered hole.
jat-ta  n. spear; stiff broom for sweeping outside.
kun-da  n. the back part of a gun that rests against the shoulder, gun stock.
mil-am  n. traditional ceremonial headhunting sword.
sil-ai, sel-ai  n. gun.
spi, sep-pi  n. warrior’s shield.

5.85 Basketry and Bamboo Objects, Parts, Methods (cf. 5.639 Bamboo Building Materials)

5.852 Baskets and Mats

am  n. mat.
am-ru-ri  n. a good kind of mat.
am-tol, am-tol-a  n. a rolled up mat, a mat ready to be put away; a mat placed in a large rolled circle as a place to store rice.
da-kin-i  n. cover for a basket, top, lid. <B
da-ri, am-da-ri  n. a coarse kind of mat.
do-chi-dik, du-chi-dik  n. bird coop, chicken coop, a place to keep a domestic fowl, made of earth or basketry.
do-gring, du-gring  n. a small basket in which domestic fowl can nest, or in which they can be carried to market.
dul-i  n. plain baskets of varied size used for storing rice. <B
ga-chek  n. small basket for onions, chillies, etc.
gen-chi  n. round winnowing tray.
gin-chi-ra  n. sieve, tool for sifting.
gring, do-gring, du-gring  n. a small basket in which domestic fowl can nest, or in which they can be carried to market.
jeng-grang  n. large and rough openwork basket for leaves, etc.
kok  n. basket; mainly A’chik, but occurs in Mandi as a categorizing prefix in compounds for particular kinds of baskets.
kok-kreng  n. roughly made, openly woven, middle sized carrying basket for firewood, etc.
kok-sep  n. small basket generally used to hold small animals, birds, fish, etc.
kok-si  n. basket for holding fish or eels.
apa-ri, am-pa-ri  n. fine type of mat, the kind used to sleep on.
pin-ji-ra  n. cage. <B
ru-an  n. winnowing tray with curved up sides and back, but a flat and open end.
to-ra, tu-ra  n. basket.
to-ra a-ma, tu-ra a-ma  n. large rice basket.

5.854 Basketry: Parts

The large and detailed Mandi vocabulary for the parts that go into making a basket reflect the importance both of bamboo and of the basketry that is made from bamboo.

a-ma  n. vertical pieces in a basket or in split bamboo matting; lengthwise pieces in a mat.
bi-bik  n. inner surface of bamboo that is opposite to green, outer edge; intestines.
bi-ding  n. horizontal pieces of split bamboo, crosswise pieces in a mat.
bi-du-ra  n. horizontal, encircling strips of a basket, horizontal cane pieces of a sling for a pot.
bi-sil  n. green, outer surface of bamboo, green edge of a bamboo strip.
du-a  n. a thin flexible strip of bamboo, one rougher kind is used for tying by twisting, the other finer kind for weaving into a basket.
ja-chok  n. one of four vertical side pieces of a basket; foot piece of a teng-ki; leg, leg of a bird; human leg.
jang-gil  n. green outer edge of a bamboo strip, back of the body.
ki-pat  n. cross pieces, strengthening diagonals, of a basket bottom.
ki-sik  n. bottom corner of a basket.
ma-chong  n. vertical bamboo strips of a basket, vertical cane pieces of a sling for a pot.
mal-a  n. circular cane top of a basket, necklace.
na-bak  n. loops near the rim of a basket for holding the tump line; collar of a shirt; handle of a cup; flap of raw hide to which the rope for holding a drum is attached.
na-gan-di, to-ra na-gan-di  n. a partially-made basket, a basket of which the cane work at the top is not yet done.

na-gi-ra  n. loop on a basket for holding the carrying strap; cane handles for the sling of a rice beer pot.

rik-ong  n. edge, border; edge of a mat, bed, well, etc.; border of cloth; bank of river, tank, etc.; border between nations.

sten  n. bottom corner of a basket on which the basket rests, bicycle stand.

te-rik-gal-wang  n. pencil-sized vine that is used to make the rims and vertical corner pieces of baskets; a substitute for cane.

5.856 Basketry and Bamboo: Styles and Methods

ap-grang-a  vi. widely spaced, made with open spaces between the pieces, of baskets, etc.

bi-mik  n. inscribed decoration on bamboo consisting of parallel lines with crossed lines between them; the diamond pattern formed in basket weaving.

bing-a  vi. woven tightly, of cloth or baskets, without large spaces between pieces.

bing-chip-bing-chip, bing-chip-chip  adv. woven tightly, without spaces between the strips of a basket.

chang-bok-a  vi. having mixed colors, including some white; partly of one color, partly of another, of animals, cloth; esp. bamboo decoration where part of the green surface is scraped away from both sides of the nodes for making an altar.

cheng-a  vt. make the base of a basket.

cheng-kom-a  vt. turn up the bamboo strips when starting the sides of a basket.

chit-ket-chi-a  vt. split bamboo lengthwise, but at right angles to the inner and outer surface.

chit-man-di-a  vt. split bamboo parallel to inner and outer surfaces.

de-a, di-a  vt. put the vertical strip above the horizontal, in basket weaving.

gep-a  vt. tie with two parallel pieces holding something between them, esp. for the encircling pieces of a basket top, between which are held the tops of the vertical side pieces. -gep- aa. tie together: ka-gep-a tie together; cho-gep-a tie up in a folded banana leaf bundle.

ging-gen-a  vt. make a decorative zigzag pattern on bamboo, as for an altar.

grang-a  vi. having open spaces between the pieces, of baskets, etc. -grang- aa. widely spaced: ap-grang-a widely spaced of basket pieces, made with open spaces; wa-grang-a nicked, not continuously, of a knife
blade; ka-grang-a tied together with open spaces, of a fence. grang-grang *adv.*
gring-gring-grang-grang *adv.* woven with spaces between the pieces, of baskets, etc.
heng-a *vi.* woven loosely, with open spaces between the strands, of baskets, cloth. heng-e-heng-e, heng-gri-heng-gri *adv.* widely spaced, of the pieces of a basket.
him-a, im-a *vt.* darken bamboo strips in smoke; hold something up to the fire to warm it or dry it, as one’s hands to warm, a pot to dry; press on, as heated medicinal herbs are pressed on a sore spot.
ka-ma-ti wen-a *vt.* weaving the sides of a basket after the bottom is woven.
ko-a, ku-a *vt.* do cane work, weave cane as part of basket making.
kur-dal-it-a *vt.* enlarge the mouth of a basket, cause to flair.
ma-git-tam *n.* the usual basketry weave where a strip crosses over or under groups of three perpendicular strips.
ma-pil-a *vt.* make a pattern in basket weaving that zig zags, first outward and then back inward.
ma-sa *n.* simple over-under weave, tabby weave, used for rough openwork baskets such as a kok-kreng.
on-dap-a *vt.* put the new, horizontal, strip on top of the old, vertical, strip in basket making; put on top, of rows of thatch; cover with something.
pul *n.* flower; diamond shaped ‘flower’ pattern of basket weaving. <B sak-a-ni wen-a *vt.* weave the top part of a basket.
se-a, bi-mik se-a *vt.* scrape bi-mik decorations on the green surface of bamboo; write, (A’chik).
se-bit-a *vt.* decorate bamboo by scraping and making a ku-sim-ang (beard).
sik-sik-a *vt.* carve, as a memorial post; remove bark, remove surface of wood, bamboo, etc.; scrape with nails to soothe itching or to smooth mud walls; scrape with a tool; rub against something in order to scratch; go repeatedly to a woman in whom a man is interested.
sin-a, ra-sin-a *vt.* cut across very smoothly and evenly, of a stick or, esp. a length of bamboo: tam-bing-bing dak-e ra-sin-et cut it off in a smooth circle!
sol-ok-a *vt.* shape and smooth the surface, as bamboo, but more delicately than sol-a; carve, as a memorial post.
srik-a *vt.* shave, cut with a razor, smooth with a plane; scrape or clean bamboo pieces with an at-te (bamboo knife) in order to smooth them; scrape the the mud of new house walls to make them smooth.
trit-a *vt.* weave tightly, of a basket or cloth, so that adjacent pieces touch: pull up tight, of a sleeve, cloth, a tied string.
**wal-gu-si**  *n.* the color of smoked bamboo strips used in basket making; dark color from smoke, such as collects on the ceilings of houses.

**wat-a**  *vt.* weave basket, work bamboo.

**wat-chit-tik-a**  *vt.* weave a closely woven basket.

**wat-gring-grang-a**  *vt.* weave a basket with open spaces.

### 5.86 Vehicles

As late as the 1950’s, many Garos lived two or three days walk from roads that were wider than a foot path, and they had no wheeled vehicles at all. The terminology now used for wheeled vehicles is all borrowed. The vocabulary that any individual uses corresponds to his experience with vehicles. A mechanic would certainly have a full compliment of words, almost all of them taken from Bengali. Except for bicycle parts (section 5.872), I have included only the most common words.

**bas, bas gari**  *n.* bus. <E

**ben-ga-ri, ben-riik-sa**  *n.* flat-bottomed rickshaw, ‘van’ rickshaw for carrying goods. <B

**cho-a**  *vt.* row or paddle a boat.

**cho-bat-a**  *vt.* row across.

**ga-ri**  *n.* cart, bus, auto, vehicle. <B

**in-jjil, in-jiin**  *n.* engine. <E

**jiip**  *n.* car, auto. <E

**ma-su-ga-ri**  *n.* ox cart.

**mo-si-ga-ri**  *n.* buffalo cart. <B

**mo-tor, mot-ol**  *n.* any kind of a motor vehicle. <E

**riik-sa**  *n.* rickshaw. <B

**ring**  *n.* boat.

**trak**  *n.* truck. <E

**trak bal-ang-ga**  *n.* open truck.

### 5.87 Parts of Objects (cf. 1.37 Pieces and Parts; 3347 Parts of Objects; 5854 Basketry: Parts)

**a-sam**  *n.* edge, of cloth, book, etc., esp. the edge of a field, bank of a river.

**bi-chu**  *n.* point, end, tip, of string, pen, knife, etc.

**bi-ku**  *n.* tip, point of a knife.

**bi-mang**  *n.* middle portion of an object, such as a glass; shape, form; body of a person or thing.

**bi-pong**  *n.* handle of tool, such as a knife, etc.

**bi-sok**  *n.* shaft of a metal tool that is hafted into a handle.

**bi-wa**  *n.* sharp edge of cutting tool. <B
bik-ma, buk-ma  n. body of a pot; stomach, belly.
cha-am  n. mortar for pounding rice, the hole of a teng-ki (foot treadle rice pounder) that holds the grain.
ga-pong  n. handle of a tool, umbrella handle.
git-ok  n. neck of a pot; neck of the body.
ha-sam  n. side of a field.
hul  n. wooden side pieces of a yoke, to which the ropes are attached.
iis  n. the front or forward pointing part of a plow.
ja-pa  n. the foot treadle of a rice pounder; the sole of the foot, foot.
ja-ting  n. back end, of a pen, etc.; base of a mountain; stubble after rice grain is cut, base of a tree.
jang-chi  n. middle, middle portion of an object, such as a glass or a wall; halfway; body of an object: song jang-chi-o in the middle of the village.
-jang-chi  dns. middle: waJ-jang-chi midnight; nok-jang-chi center of the house: bon-jang-chi-a end in the middle, when half done; ma-jang-chi middle sized tiger; jak-si-jang-chi middle finger, ring finger.
kam-bi  n. end, tip, extreme point; top of the head; flower bud, leaf bud, end of a growing vine, top of a tree.
kat-dil-a, gat-dil-a  n. the vertical posts near the front of a rice pounder that guide its fall.
ki-sam-bu  n. bottom of a pot, butt end of something; anus.
ki-sang  n. back end or bottom, as the back of a flashlight, bottom of a basket, glass, pot; buttocks; backside.
ku-ti, nang-gol ku-ti  n. the handle of a plow.
ku-mang  n. end, of a bamboo strip, a piece of thread; point of a pen; mouth of a gun.
ku-sik  n. opening of a pot, mouth.
ku-sik, pal ku-sik  n. tip of the plow blade.
na-bak  n. collar of a shirt; loop on a basket for holding the tump line; handle of a cup; flap of rawhide to which the rope for holding a drum is attached.
na-tong-ket  n. cross piece of a teng-ki (rice pounder), the fulcrum around which the pounder swings.
nal  n. barrel of a gun; pipe; tributary of a river git-ok nal gullet, (lit. neck path). <B
pal  n. the metal front part of a plow; blade.
rik-ing  n. edge, border, of a piece of cloth, stripe along the border; back, non-cutting edge of a cutting tool such as an at-te (bamboo knife); top rim of a basket; edge, lip of the mouth of a pot.
rik-ong  n. edge, border; border between nations; bank of river, tank, etc.; border of cloth; edge of a bed, mat, well.
rim-ol  n. pestle, pounding pole of an old style rice pounder; the piece of a teng-ki (foot treadle rice ponder) that pounds into the hole; rim-ol, rong-te rim-ol the smaller, upper, grindstone that is held in the hand.
ro-si  n. the rope that attaches the yoke to the plow. <B
sil-pan  n. metal collar on the handle of a tool where the knife blade is inserted.
ska-pong, sak-a-pong  n. top part of an object, as the top part of a drinking glass.
sko, sku  n. long front arm of a teng-ki (rice pounder); head.
wa  n. tooth, teeth on the edge of a cutting tool: ka-chi-wa teeth on the edge of a ka-chi (sickle) blade.

5.872 Bicycle parts

I give all these words for bicycle parts not because they are intrinsically important but because they offer a striking example of the way foreign words have been vacuumed into the language. All the names for the bits of a bicycle are borrowed, most coming ultimately from English but probably by way of Bengali. Chak-ka ‘wheel’ is unusual only in being Bengali in origin rather than English. The Mandis in the flat land of Bangladesh, of course, needed a word for ‘wheel’ long before bicycles arrived. I have never heard most of the other words in this list used in any way except for bicycle parts.

bel  n. bell, part of a bicycle. <E
brek  n. brake, part of a bicycle. <E
chak-ka  n. wheel. <B
gi-ar  n. gear of a bicycle. <E
hen-del  n. handlebars. <E
ke-ri-ar  n. carrier of a bicycle. <E
liik  n. leak, of a bicycle tire. <E
pe-del  n. pedal. <E
pok  n. fork, part of a bicycle. <E
prem  n. frame of a bicycle. <E
sai-kel, bai-si-kol  n. bicycle. <E
sitti  n. bicycle seat. <E
spok  n. spoke of a wheel. <E
sten  n. bicycle stand, bottom corner of a basket on which the basket rests. <E
tai-ar  n. tire. <E
tup  n. tube, of a tire. <E
5.88 Materials

bo-gin-a  n. the thin aluminum used for cooking pots.
bol  n. wood; tree. bol-  cp. categorizing prefix for names of types of trees.
   bol-  cls. classifier for trees, axes, bamboo knives (at-te), drums.
chi-rin-ik  n. rust, slippery coating that builds up on an unwashed pot or
   the surface of a wet courtyard.
gu-na, sil gu-na  n. wire.
ka-sa  n. kind of metal, heavier than ordinary aluminum of pots, sometimes
   used for plates, drinking cups, and gongs. <B
ku-ta  n. mud, mud house, mud construction. <B
pi-tol  n. brass, used for very good kitchen ware. <B
rek-ka  n. paper; notebook. <B
ru-pa  n. silver. <B
si-sa  n. lead (the metal).
sil  n. iron. sil-  cp. prefix for iron objects.
sil-chi  n. a hard kind of iron that takes a good cutting edge and that is
   used for at-te (bamboo knives), and some other tools.
sil-git-chak  n. rust.
sil-git-ting  n. a kind of iron that is softer and less suitable for cutting
   tools than sil-chi.
su-na  n. gold. <B
6.0 HUMAN BEINGS

6.2 Body Parts

A western visitor to the Mandis, who knew no better, once asked me what sort of language the Mandis had. “What is it like? Does it have something like five hundred words?” he asked. I sighed inwardly and tried not to sound impatient, but my answer was “They have five hundred words for body parts alone”. I suspected that this might be a bit of an exaggeration and I give only about half that number here, but I have surely missed some. This is one area where native Mandi words still predominate decisively over Bengali, although even here, a few borrowed words can be found.

6.21 Body, General

be-en-bi-mang  n. whole body.
bi-mang  n. body of person or thing; shape, form; middle portion of an object, such as a glass.
han jak, han-o jak-o  n. entire body, on the whole body: han-jak nam-a healthy.
han-, han, an-  n. body, usually used in compounds.
han-rang  n. all body parts.

6.22 Head

chik-ak  n. roof of the mouth.
ging  n. nose, snot.
ging-kol, ging-kil-ok, ging a-kil-ok  n. nostril, (lit. nose hole).
ging-na-bak  n. central septum of the nose.
ging-rik-ing  n. lower edge of the nose and nostrils.
ging-sep  n. outer edge of the nostril, crease on the side of the nostril.
ging-si  n. blood that comes from the nose.
ging-ti, ging-to-ti  n. tip of nose.
ging-ting  n. nose, tip of the nose.
ka-ma-ni ku-chil  n. lower lip.
ka-ma-ni wa  n. lower teeth.
kam-bi  n. top of the head; end, tip, extreme point; flower bud, leaf bud, end of a growing vine, top of a tree.
koi-pal  n. forehead. <B
kong-kep, na-kong-kep  n. the area inside the curl of the edge of the ear.
ku-chil  n. lip.
kus-dim-bok  n. chin.
kus-sep, ku-gi-sep  n. corner of the mouth.
kus-sik  n. mouth; language; opening of a pot, etc.; front end of a worm;
pal ku-sik tip of a plow blade.
mik-del-bok  n. white of the eye.
mik-del-bu  n. white of the eye; an insult.
mik-gil  n. eyelid.
mik-gip-bok  n. white of the eye.
mik-kang  n. face; front, front end, of a flashlight, sweater, etc.; top, of a banana leaf. next, in the future: mik-kang bil-si, mik-kang-gip-a bil-si-o next year; mik-kang ja-o, mik-kang-gip-a ja-o next month; mik-kang Ro-bi-bal next Sunday.
mik-na-geng  n. area beside and in back of the eye, temple.
mik-nok-sik  n. corner of the eye.
mik-on a-no  n. pupil of the eye, black center of eye.
mik-on bi-rong  n. iris of the eye, colored and dark part of the eye, (lit. eye-grain).
mik-on gip-bok  n. white of the eye.
mik-sik-kim  n. forehead, brows, area over the eyes.
na-chil  n. ear.
na-chil a-kol, na-chil a-kil-ok, na-chil-ni a-kil-ok, na-kol  n. ear hole.
na-chil-dang-dang, na-kil-dang-dang  n. with big ears.
na-chil-ja-leng  n. earlobe.
na-kong-kep  n. inner fold of ear that is above and behind the ear hole.
na-teng  n. upper side of the face, upper cheek and temple.
ning-a-ni ku-chil  n. lower lip.
pe, pi, pe-top, pi-top  n. cheek.
sak-a-ni ku-chil  n. upper lip.
sak-a-ni wa  n. upper teeth.
sko, sku  n. head; end of a rice field, long arm of a rice pounder (teng-ki).
sko kam-bi, sku kam-bi  n. top of the head.
sko rik-i, sku rik-i  n. top of head.
sre, sri, si-ri  n. tongue.
sre ja-ting, sri ja-ting  n. back of the tongue, base of the tongue.
sre-bak, sri-bak  

n. back of the tongue; the part of a traditional man’s loin-cloth that hangs down in front, front flap.

ta-ru  

n. baby’s soft spot, fontanel.

wa  

n. tooth, teeth on the edge of a cutting tool: ka-chi-wa teeth on the edge of a ka-chi (sickle) blade.

wa-chu  

n. front teeth, incisors and canines.

wa-gam  

n. molars, back teeth.

wa-ring  

n. gums of the mouth.

6.23 Limbs

6.233 Arms

jak  

n. hand, arm. jak- cp. prefix for parts of the hands and arms. jak- cls. classifier for leaves: i*-sal jak-sa one banana leaf.

jak-brak  

n. inside of the upper arm, armpit.

jak-gam-bu  

n. forearm.

jak-kom-peng  

n. a crippled arm.

jak-mit-chi  

n. pulse, as felt in the wrist.

jak-pak  

n. inside of the upper arm.

jak-pong, jak-prong  

n. upper arm.

jak-sku  

n. elbow.

jak-tong  

n. forearm, lower part of forearm, wrist.

-pak  

dns. area of body where the limbs meet the torso: jak-pak inside of the upper arm; si*-pak inside of the upper part of a woman’s leg; ri-pak the inside of the upper part of a man’s leg; gang-pak the part of a bird’s wing that is close to the body. pak- cp. prefix for the area of the shoulder and armpit: pak-krong shoulder; pak-wal armpit; pak-sim-ang underarm hair; pak-sik-kep-a hold or carry under the arm.

pak-krong  

n. shoulder.

pak-wal  

n. armpit.

rok, ja*-si-ni rok, jak-si-ni rok  

n. veins, tendons of the toes, fingers.

6.235 Hands and Fingers

ja*-dil, jak-si-ni ja*-dil, ja*-si-ni ja*-dil  

n. tendons of fingers or toes.

jak-chi-ni jak-si  

n. any of the three middle fingers.

jak-git-ok  

n. wrist, (lit. arm-neck).

jak-pa  

n. palm of the hand; end of an insect leg.

jak-pa-jang-gil  

n. back of hand, (lit. palm-back).

jak-si  

n. finger; distal segment of an insect leg.

jak-si dal-gip-a  

nph. thumb.

jak-si-a-ma  

n. thumb, (lit. mother-finger).

jak-si-bi-ma  

n. thumb, (lit. female-finger).
jak-si-chon-gip-a  n. little finger.
jak-si-gi-ro  n. joints of fingers.
jak-si-jang-chi, jak-si-ma-jang-chi  n. middle finger, ring finger.
jak-si-ku-ti  n. tip of finger.
jak-si-ot-ra  n. index finger.
jak-si-pi-sa  n. little finger.
jak-skil  n. fingernail, claw.
jak-sku  n. elbow.
jak-tom  n. fist.

6.237 Legs

ja-  n. leg, foot, usually in compounds. cp. prefix for parts of the legs and feet: ja-git-ok ankle.
ja-chok  n. entire leg, upper and lower; leg of bird; one of the four vertical side pieces of a basket; foot treadle of a teng-ki (rice pounder).
ja-git-teng  n. leg; leg of a bird; large leg of an insect, (same as ja-chok).
ja-kom-peng  n. crippled leg.
ja-ku-ak  n. back of knee.
ja-pak  n. inside of the upper leg.
ja-pat-ti  n. lower leg, esp. the back of the lower leg, calf.
ja-ping  n. thigh, upper leg, thigh of a bird.
ja-ping bol-ma  n. the thick upper part of the thigh, especially a large one.
ja-ping-tong  n. upper part of the thigh.
ja-rik-ing  n. shin, front part of the lower leg, (lit. leg-edge).
ja-sku  n. knee.
ja-sku-gi-ro, ja-sku-gi-la  n. kneecap.
ja-teng, ja-teng-ga  n. leg, esp. the leg from the knee down.

6.238 Feet and Toes

ja-chok-gi-ro  n. ankle bones.
ja-gam  n. step; footprint, tracks. ja-gam-cls. classifier for steps, foot prints.
ja-git-ok  n. ankle, (lit. leg-neck).
ja-git-ok-gi-ro  n. round ankle bones at the sides of the ankles.
ja-kin-chok  n. heel, (A’pal).
ja-kol  n. footprint, hole left by foot.
ja-mik, ja-mik-gi-ro  n. ankle bones.
ja-pa  n. foot; sole of foot; the foot treadle of a rice pounder.
ja-pa-gi-ro, ja-chok-gi-ru  n. round ankle bones.
ja-pa-jang-gil  n. top of foot, (lit. back of sole).
ja-pa-kur-chok  n. heel.
202

ja' si " toe. a bol ja' si " small bits of firewood, (lit. toe-wood).
ja' si-bi ma " big toe.
ja' si-ja' dil, ja' si-ni ja' dil " tendons of the toes, (lit. toe-root).
ja' skil " toenail, claw.

6.24 Torso

6.241 Neck

git-ok " neck, throat; narrow place, neck of a pot. dns. narrow place:
ja' git-ok " wrist; ja' git-ok " ankle; chi' git-ok " narrow place in a stream.

6.243 Back and Hips

ja' dot-chi " the bone at the side of the hip, the head of the femur.
jang-gil " back, back of body, back of an insect; back side of an object;
green outer edge of bamboo; bottom of a banana leaf.
kang-ka-ri " lower back, small of the back, (A pal).
kap-pi " lower back, small of the back.
ki' sam-bu " anus; back end of an object, filter of a cigarette, back end
of an inch worm; bottom of a pot.
ki' sang " buttocks, backside; bottom or back end of an object, as a
flashlight, basket, glass, pot. last, previous, most recent: ja ki' sang " last
month.
ki' sang-ti " hind end of an animal, animal's buttocks.
ki' sing-kop " lowest area of the back, area at the back of the pelvis.
ki' ting, ki' sang-ti ki' ting " hard point at lower middle back of the
pelvis, coccyx.
ko' mor, ku' mor, ko' mol " waist. <B

6.245 Front of the Body

bik-ma, buk-ma " belly, stomach; body of a pot.
che-pang, chi-pang " lower part of the belly, below the naval.
chel, chel-gok, chel-tong " chest of the body.
gan-du-ri " navel, belly button.
kar-bak " front of the body; breast of a bird.
ka' kol " depression in the chest over the lower breast bone.
ok " stomach, (mainly A'chik but used in some Mandi compounds).
ok-dip-ra " soft area under the sides of the ribs, further front than
ok-sam-beng.
ok-sam-beng " soft area at the side of the body below the ribs.
ok-sik-ki  n. soft area at the side of the body below the ribs.
sok  n. breast; man's nipple; mother's milk, animal's milk when drunk by
    a baby animal.
sok-kit-e, sok-kot-e  n. nipple.
sok-me, sok-mi  n. woman's breast.
sok-me ja-ping  n. breasts and thighs, the parts that tempt men.

6.249 Genitals
do-ku-ru, du-ku-ru  n. joking term for ri-gong penis, (lit. pigeon).
gol-teng  n. joking term for penis, (lit. stick).
ri-gong  n. penis.
ri-gong sil-a  vt. retract the foreskin.
ri-jang  n. testicles. ri-jang bong-got-bong-got  nph. a way of joking
    about a little boy's testicles.
ri-ku-chil  n. foreskin, (lit: penis-lip).
ri-pak  n. inside of the upper part of a man's leg.
si-, si, si-i  n. female genitals. si-  cp. prefix for female genitals and their
    parts: si-sim-ang female pubic hair; si-ku-chil genital labia; si-kot-i
    clitoris.
si-pak  n. inside of a woman's upper thigh.

6.25 Hair (cf. 6.561 Bodily Decorations, Hair)
cha-chu-ra  n. whorl of hair, top of the head.
ging-kol-ni kim-il  n. nostril hair.
ja-kim-il  n. hair on legs.
kim-il  n. body hair, fur of an animal, small feathers, down.
kim-il-ra-ra  adv. hairy.
kin-i  n. hair of the head.
kin-i-ki-chrot  n. tuft of hair, hair bit at middle back of head, just above
    neck, the Hindu hair tuft.
kur-sim-ang  n. beard; tassel of a corn cob.
kur-sim-ang chap-cheng  n. small chin beard.
mik-gil mik-sram  n. eyelashes.
mik-kim-il  n. eyebrow, (same as mik-sim-ang).
mik-sim-ang  n. eyebrow.
mik-sram  n. eyelash, very small.
pak-kim-il, pak-wal-kim-il  n. underarm hair.
pak-sim-ang  n. underarm hair.
ri-sim-ang  n. male pubic hair.
sak-a  vt. braid hair or string; make rope; spin; twist cloth, etc.
si-sim-ang  n. female pubic hair.
tik ra-ma  n. part in the hair, (lit. louse path).
tik-kin-i  n. hair whorl. <B

6.26 Hairless, Bald (cf. 6.552 Naked)

chi-kil-ang-a  vi. bald, without hair. chi-kil-ang adv.
ka-kil-ang  adv. having no hair; bare, ground without grass.
ko-chi-rok, sko ko-chi-rok  adv. with shaven head, bald, without hair.
ko-ka-rok, ku-ka-rok, sku ko-ka-rok  adv. bare, hairless, bald; bare
     ground as in a courtyard between houses.
ko-ka-rong, ku-ka-rong  adv. hairless.
ko-ku-rang-rang  adv. bald.

6.27 Body Parts: Internal Organs

Knowledge of the internal organs comes largely from the experience
of slaughtering. I was once quizzing a man about human internal organs
and he admitted his ignorance by saying “I suppose we have the same
things inside us as pigs do, but I don’t really know.” Men in Modhupur
butcher pigs regularly, but this is not enough to give everyone confidence
about naming all the parts. I have stood by pigs as they were being de-
constructed and asked for the names of everything that I recognized. My
questions have stimulated considerable discussion among the butchers and
bystanders. They are clear about the lungs, stomach, intestines, and liver,
but even the heart and the kidneys can be confused. Men are willing to
accept the judgment of anyone who speaks with confidence, especially if
he is an older and respected member of the community, so a few minutes
of discussion and debate is usually all that is needed to reach a consensus,
but different groups on different occasions do not always come to the same
consensus. As a result, certainty eludes me. As I have become aware of how
variably terms can be used, even by neighbors, I have grown less surprised
that the names of internal organs sometimes drift a bit chaotically. The
dictionaries of even closely related languages may assign apparent cognates
to different bits of the anatomy, but even Mandis who have lived most of
their lives in the same village use the words in varied ways. The mere act
of writing a dictionary and choosing one word for ‘heart’ may solidify that
word in that meaning. The Mandis I know in Modhupur are not literate
enough in their own language to let anything like a dictionary get in their
way when talking, and hoping for consistent connections between words and
meanings now strikes me as misplaced. The words given here have emerged
with a reasonable consensus, but not all these words are known by every-
one, and some are surely applied, now and then, to something other than
the organ given here. There is no Mandi Academy to dictate standards.
6.28 Bones

bi-king, sko-bi-king, sku-bi-king n. skull.
bol-gro, bol-gru, jang-gil bol-gro, jang-gil-ni bol-gro n. backbone of a human or animal; bol-gro ridgepole of a house.
chel-chik n. breastbone, especially of a bird or pig. <B
cheng-kin-a n. jawbone, mandible, pig jaws that are hung up as trophies.
gi-ro, gi-ru n. joint of the body, protruding bones such as ankle bones, knee; node of bamboo; bump, branch that sticks out from a node of bamboo. <B
greng n. bone.
gu-a-si n. rib bone; side vein of a leaf.

6.29 Body Parts: Skin, Fluids, Body Dirt.

bi-bil n. afterbirth, (same as sa-tip).
bi-gil n. skin of humans and animals, bark, peel, pod, leather.
bi-jol n. mucus; the pale material, without blood, that comes with a newborn baby.
gang-ma n. white pus that can be squeezed from pimples.
ging-gre, ging-gri n. pus, nasal mucus, phlegm.
ging-ki n. nose dirt, snot, dried snot, (lit. nose-dung).
git-tam-a n. urine. vi. urinate.
han-chi, an-chi n. blood, (lit. body-water).
ke-em-a n. dung; excrement. vi. defecate.
-ki-  *dus.* dirt, especially body dirt, dung: *ging-ki* nose dirt, snot; *mik-ki* eye dirt; *wa-ki* tooth dirt, tartar; *wal-ki* coals from a fire; *ki-bit-bit* dung beetle: *su-dap-ki-ki* dirty, unwashed.

**kram-chi** *n.* sweat, perspiration, (A'chik *gram-chi*).

**kur-chi** *n.* saliva; bubbles.

**mik-chi** *n.* tears, (lit. eye-water).

**mik-ki** *n.* eye dirt, (lit. eye-dung).

**mik-ki-brekk, mik-ki-brekk-brekk** *adv.* with lots of eye dirt.

**mit-im** *n.* body fat, grease. *mit-im-a* *vi.* fat, fatty tasting. *mit-im-dak-a* *adv.* a little fatty.

**na-chil-ke-em-a, na-chil-ki** *n.* ear wax, (lit. ear-dung).

**ri-met** *n.* semen.

**sa-tip** *n.* afterbirth.

**sip-it-sip-it** *adv.* with abundant sweat, perspiration.

**sok-bit-chi** *n.* breast milk, mother’s milk, (lit. breast-juice).

**wa-ki** *n.* tooth dirt, tartar, (lit. tooth-dung).

### 6.4 Shapes of the Body (cf. 2.3 Shape, 9.34 Positions of the Body)

Mandi has an elaborate vocabulary for various facial and bodily shapes. I have never inquired about these words without my list growing longer, and I have surely missed many. There seem to be many near synonyms, though I may fail to understand the subtle differences between some of them. I have the sense that different speakers have their own favorites and that there will be almost as many word choices as there are speakers. As in so many other areas, words given to me confidently by some people are denied by others. I have tried to leave out the truly idiosyncratic.

#### 6.42 Body Shapes: Face

**chi-dep-a, ging chi-dep-a** *vi.* flat, of noses. *chi-dep** *adv.*

**dam-bok-a** *vi.* round, rather than pointed, of a face; blunt, dull, not sharp.

**ging-brak, ging-brak-brak** *adv.* flat-nosed.

**ging-brong, ging-brong-brong dak-a** *adv.* having a large nose or large nostrils.

**ging-chep-ta** *adv.* flat-nosed, characteristic nose shape of Mandis.

**ging-chi-deng-deng** *adv.* long-nosed.

**ging-dep, ging-chi-dep-dep** *adv.* flat-nosed, short-nosed. **ging-chi-dep-a** *vi.*

**ging-do-reng, ging-do-reng-reng** *adv.* having a long nose, hawk nose.

**ging-ro-a, ging-ru-a** *vi.* long-nosed, pointed-nosed.
**ku-chil-dang-dang** **adv.** having big lips.

**ku-chok-a** **vi.** have a pointed face; with the mouth pointed out; with a pointed nose, of a meng-chut (stink-rat) or a dog; pointed, as a pen, a crescent moon, the corners of a field; less sharply pointed than chu-eng-a.

**ku-chot-chot** **adv.** small-mouthed, of a person, basket, pot.

**ku-dam-bot-a** **vi.** having a flat face, flat chin.

**ku-dep-a, ku-chil ku-dep-a** **vi.** have a flat mouth.

**ku-weng-a** **vi.** curved, of a mouth when twisted to one side, when crying; curved of a crescent moon. **ku-weng-weng** **adv.**

**mik-chok-a** **vi.** having a long face, a pointed face. **mik-chok-chok** **adv.**

**mik-dam-bak-a** **vi.** wide and round-faced, considered beautiful. **mik-dam-bak-bak** **adv.**

**mik-jol-a** **vi.** having a long narrow face, a pointed face. **mik-jol-jol** **adv.**

**mik-srok-a** **vi.** long-faced, thin-faced. **mik-srok-srok dak-a** **adv.**

**mik-srong-a** **vi.** long-faced, good looking. **mik-srong-srong dak-a** **adv.**

**mik-tam-bik-a, mik-tam-bing-a** **vi.** round-faced. **mik-tam-bik-bik** **adv.**

**mik-tam-bik-bik** **adv.**

**na-grang-grang** **adv.** sticking out, of ears.

**-na-wang** **dns.** with a big opening, a basket shape characterized by a wide mouth; with a gaping mouth, stupid.

**pe-bok-a, pi-bok-a** **vi.** round-cheeked, puffy-cheeked. **pe-bok-bok, pi-bok-bok** **adv.**

**ro-chok-a, ru-chok-a** **vi.** long and pointed, of a face.

**rong-sep-a** **vi.** having small eyes, like Mandis.

### 6.44 Body Shapes: Big, Tall

**bol-cha-a** **vi.** tall, of people.

**chel dal-a** **vi.** have a large chest.

**chel-ting-a** **vi.** have a large and deep chest.

**cheng-dang-a** **vi.** tall and thin, skinny, of a person; long and straight: do cheng-dang-a long-legged bird. **cheng-dang-dang, cheng-dang-si-si** **adv.**

**chong-dang-dang** **adv.** tall and thin.

**chu-a-a** **vi.** high, tall, of trees, people, buildings, hills, mountains; rise, of a sloping road; one of the three spatial dimensions, along with gro length and gip-eng width.

**dal-ang-bol-chang** **adv.** having a large body, tall and stocky.

**gol-a-rang** **adv.** tall and thin, of people.

**gol-dang-dang** **adv.** tall, like a stick, of a long pole, rude when referring to people.

**han dal-a** **vi.** big, of a body.
**han'-pel-dang** *adv.* having a body that is wide, but thin from front to back.

**rik-kak-rik-kak** *adv.* bony, having no flesh on one’s bones.

**ro'-ot-ro'-ot dak-a, dam-bu ro'-ot-ro'-ot** *adv.* big, of a baby.

**ro'-rok-a, ru'-rok-a** *vi.* somewhat long, of body parts, fingers, face, arms, legs, nose; somewhat elongated, like a banana, pineapple; tall, of trees; not as long as **ro'-reng-a**, neither very long nor very short.

**6.46 Body Shapes: Small, Short, Thin**

**ben-dok-dok** *adv.* short, of a person or of things.

**ben-tong-tong** *adv.* short and fat, squat, of people, animals, round things.

**bu-ti-a, bu-ti-ti** *vi.* short and fat, squat, of people, animals, things. <B

**cheng-chon-a** *vi.* narrow waisted, constricted in middle. **cheng-chon-a** *adv.*

**dam'-bak-a, dam'-bak-bak** *vi.* stocky, squat, low, of children; low, flat, of noses like those of Mandis, of low bushy plants, the back end of a pen; not tall, of a **gim-bi** (water pot).

**dam'-bet-a, dam'-bet-bet, dam'-bret-a, dam'-bret-bret** *vi.* short, of people; flat, of noses.

**gol'-ki, gol'-ki-ki** *vi.* skinny, thin, not fat, of a dog, baby, people; like a stick.

**gol'-kreng-a** *vi.* tall and skinny, thin, not fat, of a person. **gol'-kreng-kreng** *adv.*

**han'-chon-a** *vi.* small bodied.

**ja'-wek-a** *vi.* short legged, not tall, having big calves of the legs, regarded as ugly. **ja'-wek-wek dak-a** *adv.*

**kan'-dam-a** *vi.* short, of people.

**kan'-dok-a** *vi.* short, of people, animals, string, sticks, posts, days, etc.; short of speaking, briefly.

**keng'-krang-a** *vi.* thin, skinny, of animals. **keng'-krang-krang, keng'-krang-si-si** *adv.*

**kong-kang, kong-kang-kang, kong-krang** *adv.* thin, of a person, so that bones show.

**ran'-chok-a** *vi.* thin, of people. scrawny, (lit. dry pointed).

**rang'-kap-kap** *adv.* flat, hollow, of a belly, very thin, (opposite of **rong-dal-a**).

**6.48 Body Shapes: Fat**

**bel-dom-dom** *adv.* very fat, strong.

**bel-bok-bok** *adv.* fat, of people, cows, etc.

**ben'-tong-a** *vi.* large, fat, of people, things. **ben-tong-tong** *adv.*
bik-ma rong-dal-a vph. round-bellied, having eaten well.
chon‘-drok-ben‘-drok adv. short and fat, of people.
dam‘-bu rak-rak adv. good, fine, large, of a fine fat child, of bamboo shoots.
dam‘-bu-bu adv. fat, of people.
dil‘-gep-dil‘-chi adv. short and fat, of people.
gop-ma, gop-ma-ma adv. very fat, chubby, of people or animals. gop-
ma-a vi.
gop-ma-a vi. very fat, chubby, of people, animals. gop-ma, gop-ma-
ma, gop-ma-ru-ru adv.
han bi-bom n. having a round chest, round limbs.
han mil-a vi. fat, of bodies.
han‘-dal-a, han dal‘-a vi. big, fat.
mil-a vi. fat.
mil-dam-bu-a vi. fat, of people, cattle, etc.
ok-ma-ru-ru adv. big-bellied, of people, animals.
ok-pel-pel adv. fat, of people.
prot-chu-chu, bik-ma prot-chu-chu adv. having a very big and round belly.

6.5 Clothing and Adornment

6.52 Clothing

6.521 General, Cloth Objects

bek n. bag, shoulder bag. <E
chep-pi n. pocket, shoulder bag.
cho-sim-a, chos-ma n. eyeglasses. <B
de-bra, di-bra n. carrying cloth for a baby.
gam-cha n. small cloth, towel, napkin, loincloth, woman’s top cloth, cloth worn on head, cloth used by little girls as a short skirt. <B
gan-a chin-a n. clothing, general term.
gan-ding-chin-ding n. clothes, garments, lower and upper garments.
gen-ji n. tee-shirt, undershirt, knit shirt. <B
jep n. pocket. <B
jol-oi n. cloth cradle that is tied between two posts of a veranda. <B
ki-tap n. diaper, baby napkin.
na-bak n. collar of a shirt; loop of a basket for holding tump line; handle of a cup; flap of rawhide to which the rope for holding a drum is attached.
po-sak, poi-sak, po-sak-po-ri-chot n. clothing, dress, garments. <B
ru-mal n. handkerchief, small cloth.
sat-ri n. umbrella. <B
sui-tar  n. sweater.  <E
ta-wal   n. towel.  <E
tup-il-a  n. bundle of things tied in a cloth.  <B

6.522 Headgear

ka-di    n. turban, the turban worn by a priest.
ko-ka    n. turban.
ko-ping  n. head cloth, esp. one worn by a woman, may be tied under the
         chin.
ko-tip, ku-tip  n. man’s turban; head cloth wrapped over forehead and
tied in back; top of memorial post.
mat-tul  n. large round hat, worn to keep off rain.  <B
pa-gu-ri, pa-gri  n. turban.  <B
to-pi, tu-pi  n. hat, cap.  <B
to-pi gil-gep  n. hat with a visor.

6.523 Footwear

ja-kop  n. sandal, shoe, wooden sandals.
jut-ta  n. rubber shoes.  <B
mo-ja, mu-ja  n. socks.  <B
sen-dil  n. sandal.  <E

6.526 Clothing, Women’s

chat-or, chat-ol  n. woman’s outer cloth, wrapped over the top part of
the body and outside of the skirt.  <B
da-bil-a  n. wrap around skirt, machine woven, and generally thinner and
a bit shorter than a dok-ban-da.
dok-ban-da, dok-man-da  n. a Garo woman’s wrap around skirt cloth
of traditional design.
dok-sa-ri  n. wrap around skirt, simpler than a dok-ban-da.
ga-gu-ri, ga-gri  n. girl’s underpants.  <B
pe-ti-kot  n. woman’s undergarment.  <B
prok  n. dress, frock.  <E
re-king, e-king, he-king, ri-king  n. woman’s wrap-around skirt.
sa-ri  n. sari, woman’s wrapped outer garment.  <B

6.527 Clothing, Men’s

an-dar-pen  n. man’s underpants.  <E
chol-a  n. sewn shirt, as opposed to gen-ji (knit undershirt), sweater.
gan-do, gan-du  n. old-fashioned man’s loincloth, (same as reng-ti).
hap-pen, pen  n. short pants, half pants.  <E
ki-pil-a  n. the part of a traditional gan-do (loincloth) that goes between
the legs and tucks in at the waist in back.

kut  n. cont. <E

leng-got  n. man’s underwear, similar to reng-ti (old fashioned loincloth).

<B

long-pen  n. long pants. <E

lunggi  n. man’s tube-like skirt. <B

pen-ta-long  n. long pants. <E

pul-pen  n. long pants. <E

reng-ti, leng-ti  n. old fashioned man’s loincloth. <B

sre-bak, sri-bak  n. front flap, the part of a traditional man’s loin cloth
that hangs down in front; back of the tongue.

sut-kut  n. fine clothes. <E

6.53 Dressing, Wearing

Westerners who learn Mandi are startled to discover that they need to
learn a whole clutch of different verbs where English is content with ‘wear’.
The verb must be chosen to be appropriate to the type of clothing and the
part of the body where it is worn: head gear, foot gear, clothes above the
waist, clothes below the waist, and so forth. Early learners are less likely to
notice that the same verbs can be used both in the meaning of ‘get dressed’
and of ‘being dressed’ or ‘wearing’. Chin-a can either mean ‘put on (a
top cloth)’ or ‘wear (a top cloth)’. If the difference between putting on
and wearing is crucial, Mandis express it by verbal suffixes, not by distinct
words.

chin-a  vt. wear, put on, get dressed, be dressed, esp. for clothes worn
above the waist and for garments that are wrapped, shirt, chador, top
cloth; ba-ra-ko chin-a drape cloth to provide shade.

chin-dik-a vi. not good for wearing, of an upper or wrapped garment.

chin-to-a vi. good for wearing, of an upper or wrapped garment.

ga-a  vt. wear or put on, of shoes, socks; step.

gan-a  vt. wear, put on of clothes, esp. those worn below the waist: un-
derpants, pants, lunggi, loincloth leng-ti, but also sari; put on or wear
jewelry of all sorts, necklace, earrings, bracelet, watch, etc.; wear, dress
oneself, in contrast with pat-a dress someone else.

gan-dap-a  vt. wear on top, on the outside.

gan-dik-a vi. uncomfortable, not good for wearing.

gan-sit-a vi. change clothes, esp. after a bath.

gan-to-a vi. comfortable, good for wearing.

ja-pa-rip-rip  adv. with cloth covering down to the feet.

jot-a  vt. put on, wear, as a hair clip, a feather in a turban; insert, poke
into, with a finger, a stick, etc., as a feather into a turban; insert a stick
through leaves to hold them together.
ka-a \( vt. \) put on, wear, of a turban; tie; make friends; build a fence, a barrier in a stream.

king-kil-ak-a, king-krack-a \( vt. \) pull up, pant legs, lunggi, skirt; open, of flat things, books.

krok-a \( vt. \) put on or wear, of something that requires insertion of a body part rather than wrapping, such as a shirt, sweater, socks, pants, etc.

krok-dik-a \( vi. \) not good for wearing, as of dirty clothes, uncomfortable of clothes.

krok-to-a \( vi. \) good for wearing, comfortable.

mal-a \( vt. \) put on jewelry, put on around neck, wear at neck. <B

ok-a \( vt. \) take off clothes that require insertion, of shoes, hat, shirt, lunggi; unbutton; pull out, of plugs, corks, plants when weeding; disconnect.

ol-a \( vt. \) wear na-rik-i (old-fashioned large women’s earrings) as protection against headhunting; carry or hold from a tump-line).

pat-a \( vt. \) dress another person; esp. dress someone in jewelry; tie together cattle for a yoke; ku-tip pat-a bestow a turban as a symbol of office, create a headman, (lit. clothe with the turban). pat- \( cls. \) classifier for things made of cloth, shirts, lunggies, quilts; for units of paper money, takas.

pot-a \( vt. \) tuck in, as a shirrtail or the back part of a loincloth; insert a feather in the hair or turban.

sal-kil-ak-a \( vt. \) pull open, pull up sleeves, open shirt front.

sik-a \( vt. \) put on, wear, of a hat, bracelet; insert, put in, stick in, sew, poke, jab: ru-a sik-a plant rice seedlings in mud; give, provide the jang-gi (life, soul) by the creator.

sik-krok-a \( vt. \) put on, wear, of hats, bracelets, rings, socks, shoes, belt; put through, as an arm through a sleeve, the loop a of handbag, an open window; insert, as an object into thatch, or a bit into a brace; hang a loop over something; attach plow in the middle of a jual (yoke); climb into skin, (in mythology).

sin-tik-a, stik-a \( vt. \) put on, wear on the head, of hats, glasses; grab in the hair, of burrs; cover, as a rice pot.

tom-a \( vt. \) pull up, gather up, gather into a bunch, as a sleeve, pants, lunggi, etc.; gather, collect, call together, pile up, rake into a pile; wind up, thread; bend together, of legs, waist or, esp. arms.

u-du-ri-a \( vt. \) wear a cloth, such as one’s sari, over one’s head in modesty.

6.552 Naked, Without Jewelry (cf. 6.26 Hairless)

ja-chok ku-mil-ong \( nph. \) bare legged.

jak-mil-ong, jak-kim-il-ong \( n. \) bare arms, without a bracelet, with short sleeves.

ko-mil-ong-a, ku-mil-ong-a, ko-mil-ong dong-a \( vi. \) naked above the waist.
-mil-ong  *dus.* bare, without clothes or jewelry.
mol-ong-ga  *adv.* fully naked, without clothes, like a small child.
na-mil-ong  *n.* without earrings, without a necklace.
na-pin-tak-tak  *n.* without earrings.
pet-ta-rong, pet-ta-rong-rong, pet-rong-rong  *adv.* naked above the
waist; hairless, either naturally or shaved.

6.56 Ornaments, Jewelry, Bodily Decoration

6.561 Hair (cf. 6.25 Hair)

be-ni  *n.* braid. <B
bu-dak-a  *vi.* thick, long, plentiful, of hair.
ka-bik, kin-i ka-bik  *n.* string for tying hair in a knot.
kong-krot-kong-krot  *adv.* curl, curly, of hair.
sit-a, tik ra-ma sit-a  *vt.* make a part in the hair.

6.562 Ear, Nose Ornaments

ging-bi-bal  *n.* nose ornament, (lit. nose flower).
na-dam-bi  *n.* earring worn at the top of the ear.
na-dil-eng, na-ding-dil-eng  *n.* ear ornament worn at the bottom of the
ear.
na-ding-di  *n.* dangling ear ornament.
na-ding-dil-ep, na-dong-dil-ep  *n.* hanging lower ear ornament of
present style, not a ring.
na-rik-ki  *n.* big earrings, once worn by women, that hung in bunches from
the earlobe or from a strap over the head, and that may have offered some
protection against headhunters.
na-tap-si  *n.* an ear ornament.
nak-pul  *n.* nose jewel, ornament worn at the side of the nose. <B
ot-tong-ga  *n.* earring worn at top of ear.
pa-sa, ging-ni pa-sa  *n.* round ear ornament inserted in the nose, not a
ring. <B

6.563 Necklace

an-tek-ka  *n.* an old-fashioned metal neck ornament worn as protection
during headhunting.
mal-a  *n.* necklace, neck ornament; circular cane piece at the top of a
basket. <B
rik-bok  *n.* old fashioned full necklace of long white cylindrical pieces, said
to have been worn by both men and women.
rik-mat-chu  *n.* old-fashioned full necklace, similar to *rik-bok* but with
red cylindrical pieces rather than white.
rik-pil-deng, pil-deng n. oldfashioned coin necklace.
sil-it-ing n. an ornament of silver, gold or other metal that was worn around the neck by either men or women.
suk-ki-so-ra n. necklace made from coins.

6.564 Bracelets, Rings, Ankle Rings

ang-gut n. finger ring. <B
ang-ti n. ring, finger ring. <B
boil-a n. old style large thick bracelets. <B
ja‘-kong-krang n. ankle ornament with bells.
ja‘-srang n. children’s ankle bells.
jak-si-tam n. finger ring.
ka-ta ba-ju n. upper arm rings.
san-tok n. old-fashioned broad silver wrist bracelet.
sang-gong n. woman’s bracelet, bangle; plant tendrils.

6.565 Cosmetics

li-pi stiik n. lipstick. <E
po-liis, nel po-liis n. nail polish. <E
sen-dur n. colored cosmetic spot on forehead. <B
tok-a vt. apply a spot, as colored cosmetic spot to the forehead, blood on an altar, flour spots on walls at festivals. vi. spotted, as a leopard, a pattern on cloth.

6.57 Washing and Grooming (cf. 3.71 Cleanliness, Mess)

au-a vi. bathe, (A·chik).
chop-chop-a vt. pound clothes lightly against a board or rock when washing them.
dok-sit-tap-a vt. hit hard, as to flail clothes against something hard when washing them.
dok-srap-a, dok-sap-a vt. hit hair, slap hair, when washing it.
ha-bu-a, a-bu-a vi. take a bath, bathe.
ha-bu-dil-a, a-bu-dil-a vt. bathe, give someone a bath: ang-a pi‘-sa-ko ha-bu-dil-jok I bathed the child.
ha-bu-srok-a, a-bu-srok-a vi. bathe quickly or partially, gently.
ja‘-su-a vi. wash one’s feet.
ja‘-su-et-a vt. wash someone else’s feet.
jak-su-a vi. wash hands.
ken-a vt. brush, comb hair.
ken-chrak-a vt. comb vigorously, as when itching, or to get rid of lice.
ken-srok-a vt. comb gently.
ki‘-gol n. leaves or a piece of bamboo used to clean excrement.
ki-wa  n. leaves or a small piece of bamboo used to clean excrement.
ki-wi-a  vt. clean excrement with a stick or leaves.
mal gal-a  vph. the first washing of new cloth, getting rid of the starch.
im-chi gal-a  vt. the first washing of new cloth to be rid of the starch.
mik-sem-pru, mik-sem-pru-pru  adv. without washing or bathing, with
a dirty face.
mik-su-a  vi. wash face.
mrik-a, mrik-mrik  vi. smooth, as of well combed hair.
sa-ban  n. soap. <B
sam-pil  n. comb for the hair.
sit-a, tik ra-ma sit-a  vt. make a part in the hair.
-su-  aa. wash: jak-su-a wash hands; mik-su-a wash face; su-gal-a
wash things, clothes, dishes.
su-gal-a  vt. wash things, such as clothes or dishes.
wi-a  vt. clean excrement.

6.58 Body Dirt and Mess (cf. 3.716 Dirty)

bu-dak-bu-si  adv. with long uncombed unkempt hair.
bu-rang bu-jang  adv. messed up, messy, of hair.
bu-rin-eng bu-sin-eng, bu-sin-eng bu-sin-ang  adv. messy, of hair,
uncombed.
gak-jak-gak-si  adv. messy, of hair, uncombed.
ging-brekk, ging-brekk-brekk, ging-ki-brekk  adv. having a runny nose,
having a face covered with snot.
han-dil so-eng-a  vph. dirty of the body, unbathed, bad odor.
ka-rang  n. dirt on the body; filth.
kal-si-a, kal-si-kal-tong  adv. dirty of the body, needing a bath; dirty, of
cloth that needs a wash.
ki-ka-rok  n. bits of dirt in the hair, dandruff.
ma-bak-a  vi. dirty, soiled, from dust, muck, etc., of people and things.
mik-pit-i ging-pit-i  adv. dirty face, with nose dirt and eye dirt.
pang-kim-pang-kam  adv. messy, esp, of hair, beard, but also for things
in the house.
so-mi-si so-ma-sa  adv. how the body is without bathing.
stik-a, kin-i stik-a  vi. tangled, of hair, vines; uncombed.
su-su-sa-sa  adv. dirty of the body, unbathed.

6.59 Cloth, Cloth Objects, Sewing, Bedding, etc.

6.591 Bedding

Except for ko-dam ‘pillow’ all the words that Mandis use for bedding
are derived from Bengali, and even for ‘pillow’, the Bengali word bo-lis
competes with the native *ko-dam*. The predominance of Bengali words suggests that, however Mandis managed to sleep in the past, their present practices have been acquired from Bengalis.

**bal-iis** *n.* pillow. <B
**bal-iis-war** *n.* pillow cover. <B
**biis-na, bi-cha-na** *n.* bedding. <B
**ket-ta** *n.* a blanket made by tying layers of thin cloth together. <B
**ko-dam, ku-dam** *n.* pillow.
**kom-bol** *n.* blanket, woven of heavy thread. <B
**lep** *n.* thick padded quilt with cotton stuffing. <B
**mo-sa-ri, mu-su-ri, mu-sul, mu-sur** *n.* mosquito net. <B
**to-sok, tu-sok** *n.* mattress. <B

### 6.594 Thread, Cloth

**ba-ra** *n.* cloth, clothes.
**do-ri** *n.* string, rope, esp. jute rope. <B
**kil-ap** *n.* cotton fluff after seeds have been ginned out; the cottony portion of a *bol-chu* (kind of tree).
**kil-ding** *n.* fine string, thread, including jute thread.
**ku-mang** *n.* end, of a piece of thread, of a bamboo strip; point, of a pen; mouth of a gun.
**rik-ong, ba-ra rik-ong** *n.* cloth edge.

### 6.598 Sewing and Weaving

**bing-a** *vi.* woven tightly, of cloth or baskets, without large spaces between pieces.
**gut-am, but-am** *n.* button. <B
**ji-ip-ji-ip** *adv.* good quality, of cloth, shirt, lunggi, etc.
**ku-mang sik-a** *vph.* insert an end into something, as to thread a needle.
**ma-gin-i** *n.* weaving system in which each thread or bamboo strip crosses two perpendicular pieces together.
**reng-si** *n.* needle; string or stick on which to hang flowers or other things; string of flowers, fruit, fish, etc.
**reng-si a-kil-ok** *n.* eye of a needle.
**rik-a** *vt.* spin thread, etc.
**sak-a** *vt.* braid, hair, string; make rope; spin; twist cloth, etc.
**sik-rit-chu-a** *n.* sew together, of two pieces of cloth.
**sik-tap-a** *n.* sew on a patch, as on a blanket.
**sil-eng-si** *n.* needle, (same as *reng-si*).
**sil-eng-si a-kil-ok** *n.* eye of a needle.
6.6 Kinship and Family

6.61 Kinship Terms

Garo kinship terms, including the terms that are used by the Mandis, can be understood as making three basic distinctions: 1. Generation, 2. Sex, and 3. Membership in a marriage group. Only the third of these will be at all strange to non-Mandis. The two marriage groups are those with which marriage is allowed and those with which marriage is forbidden. Each person belongs to the marriage group of his or her mother, and each person should marry into the opposite group. There are a few complications, but in general, it follows from these simple rules that brothers and sisters, one’s mother, mother’s mother, and their brothers and sisters, all belong to one’s own marriage group. The father, father’s mother, mother’s father and the mothers and brothers and sisters of all these people would belong to the opposite group. By following out in any direction, it is possible to calculate which marriage group any kinsman belongs to. As long as everyone marries someone from the opposite kin group from one’s own, each kinsman must belong to a particular marriage group. Except for the generations of the grandparents and grandchildren, people in different marriage groups are always called by different terms. Thus the mother’s sister’s children and the father’s brother’s children belong to one’s own kinship group and they are called by the same terms as siblings. Father’s sister, and mother’s brother’s wife belong to the same group as each other and they are called by the same term, while mother’s sister, and father’s brothers wife belong to the other group and are called by another term. Beyond this, some distinctions are made in relative age, and the terms for brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law are particularly complex, but most of the terms can be understood as expressing the three basic distinctions.

6.611 Older Generations, Male

a-pa n. father.
a-wang, wang-gip-a n. father’s younger brother, mother’s younger sister’s husband, stepfather.
at-chu, at-chu-gip-a n. grandfather.
baba n. dad, father, (intimate). <B
ho-bit-e, hu-bit-i, o-bit-e n. father-in-law.
ma-ma, ma-ma-gip-a, ma-ma-tang n. mother’s brother. <B
mo-sa n. man of the opposite marriage group, brother-in-law, wife’s mother’s brother, sister’s daughter’s husband.
nang-pa n. your father.
pa-a, pa-gip-a n. father.
pa-jong n. father’s older brother, mother’s older sister’s husband.

6.612 Older Generations, Female

a ma n. mother, mom.
ai n. mom, mother, (familiar and intimate).
am-bi n. grandmother.
ja-man-ni a ma, a pa n. stepmother, stepfather.
ama, a ni n. father’s sister, mother’s brother’s wife, mother-in-law.
ma-de, ma-di, a-de, a-di n. mother’s younger sister, father’s younger brother’s wife, aunt, stepmother.
ma-gip-a n. mother.
ma-jong, a-jong n. mother’s older sister, father’s older brother’s wife.
a’gi-pa n. mother.
nang-ma n. your mother.

6.614 Own Generation, Male

a-da, a-da-gip-a, a-da-tang n. elder brother, mother’s elder sister’s son, elder father’s elder brother’s son, elder parallel cousin-brother.
a-da-gip-i n. oldest brother, oldest of two or more brothers.
ang-ga-ri n. echo in cha-wa-ri ang-ga-ri son-in-law.
ang-jong, jong-gip-a, jong-tang n. younger brother, mother’s younger sister’s son, father’s younger brother’s son, younger parallel cousin-brother.
ang-sa-du, sa-du n. wife’s sister’s husband.
ang-se, se n. husband.
bo-ning, ang-bo-ning n. man or woman’s younger sister’s husband, spouse’s older brother, reciprocal term between men.
da-da n. older brother, term of address.
gu-me, gu-mi, gu-me-gip-a, gu-mi-gip-a n. man or woman’s older sister’s husband.
jog-jong n. little brother, baby brother, affectionate name for a baby boy.
jong-sa-ri n. wife’s younger brother, husband’s younger brother.
nang-jong n. your younger brother.
ok-cham-e n. parent’s of one’s children-in-law, parents of a child’s spouse.
sa-du, sa-du-gip-a n. wife’s sister’s husband; sa-du dal-gip-a wife’s older sister’s husband; sa-du chon-gip-a wife’s younger sister’s husband; sa-du-sa husbands of sisters.
se, si, se-gip-a, si-gip-a n. husband.
6.615 Own Generation, Female

**a-bi, a-bi-gip-a, a-bi-tang** n. elder sister, mother’s elder sister’s daughter, father’s elder brother’s son, elder cousin-sister.

**a-bi-gip-i** n. oldest sister, oldest of two or more sisters.

**a-no, no, a-no-gip-a, no-gip-a, no-tang** n. younger sister, mother’s younger sister’s daughter, father’s younger brother’s daughter, younger cousin-sister.

**ang-sa-ri, sa-ri** n. sister-in-law.

**bo-ji, bu-ji** n. man’s older brother’s wife, wife’s older sister. <B

**di-di** n. older sister, female teacher, primarily a term of address. <B

**je-was** n. wife’s older sister, (same as bo-ji). <B

**jik, jik-gip-a, jik-tang, ang-jik** n. wife.

**jik-git-e, jik-git-i** n. younger wife, second wife.

**jik-pang-ma** n. first wife, senior wife, as opposed to jik-git-e.

**jik-skang** n. first wife, former wife.

**no-no** n. little sister, affectionate name for a baby girl.

**no-sa-ri** n. wife’s younger sister.

**sa-ri** n. sister-in-law, used reciprocally between any sisters-in-law.

6.617 Younger Generation

**ang-de, ang-di, de, di, de-gip-a, di-gip-a** n. child as a kinship term, son, daughter, man’s brother’s child, woman’s sister’s child.

**ang-gri, gri, gri-gip-a, gri-tang** n. man’s sister’s son, woman’s brother’s son, nephew.

**ang-su, su-gip-a** n. grandchild.

**bo** n. bride, daughter-in-law. <B


**de-me-chik, de-me-chik-gip-a, di-mi-chik** n. daughter.

**de-pan-te, di-pan-ti** n. son.

**ja-mai** n. bridegroom, son-in-law. <B

**nam-chik, ang-nam-chik** n. man’s sister’s daughter, woman’s brother’s daughter, cross-niece, niece, daughter-in-law.

**nok-krom** n. male heir, resident son-in-law.

**nok-na** n. heiress, daughter who inherits property and cares for her parents.

6.62 Kinship Sets

Mandis and other Garos use many kinship terms in pairs to refer to a particular group of kinsmen. For example **am-bi ‘grandmother’ and at-chu ‘grandfather’** are joined in **am-bi-at-chu** which can mean ‘grandparents’ but can also refer to ‘older people’ generally, or even to ‘ancestors of earlier
generations’. In mixed-sex pairs, the word for the woman is usually put first, as jik-se ‘wife and husband, couple’. -sa is a suffix that widens a terms meaning to include those people who refer to someone by that term: a-bi-sa means ‘older sister and her younger siblings’, ‘a woman and everyone to whom she is a-bi older sister’.

a-bi-a-da n. older sisters and brothers.
a-bi-sa n. a set of siblings, the oldest being female; a woman or girl and her younger brother or sister; wives of two brothers.
a-da-sa n. a set of siblings, the oldest of whom is male; a boy or man and his younger brothers and sisters.
a-de-a-wang n. mother’s younger sister and her husband; father’s younger brother and his wife.
a-jong-pa-jong n. mother’s older sister and her husband; father’s older brother and his wife.
a-ma-a-pa n. mother and father, parents.
a-ma-ang-jong n. members of one’s own matrilineal kin group, (lit. mother-younger brother).
a-pa-at-chu n. father and grandfather.
am-bi-at-chu n. grandfather and grandmother, old people, ancestors.
am-bi-sa n. grandmother and grandchild.
at-chu-sa n. grandfather and grandchild.
jik-se n. wife and husband, couple.
jong-a-da n. brothers, younger and older.
ma-ma-sa n. mother’s brother and his sister’s child.
ma-ni-sa, a-ni-sa n. a mother-in-law and her son- or daughter-in-law.
ma-a-pa-a n. parents, mother and father.
ma-ning-sa n. mother and child.
o-a-bi n. sisters, younger and older.
o-jong n. younger sisters and brothers.
nok-sa-gri n. husbands of two sisters, (same as sa-du-sa).
pa-gip-a-na’-gip-a n. parents.
pa-wa-sa, pa-ning-sa n. father and child.
-sa dns. a pair of kinsmen: at-chu-sa grandfather and grandchild; ma-ma-sa mother’s brother and sister’s child; ma-ni-sa mother-in-law and child-in-law.
sa-du-sa n. husbands of sisters.
se-jik n. couple, husband and wife, less used than jik-se.
wang-sa n. uncle and niece or nephew.
6.63 Kin Groups, Lineage, etc.

a-bi-ong  n. elder sister and her people.
a-bi-sa ma’-drang  n. a set of sisters.
a-ma-cha-bak  n. maternal side of the family.
a-mong  n. a mother and her family.
a-pa-cha-bak  n. paternal side of family, kinsmen on paternal side.
a-pong  n. father and his people.
chat-chi  n. kin, kinsman.
jak-a-si  n. the opposite kin group, left, left hand.
ma  n. matrilineal kin group, (same as ma-chong).
ma-ha-ri  n. kin group, lineage, named group, such as Nok-rek, Cham-bu-gong, etc.
ma-chong  n. kin group, lineage, named group, such as Nok-rek, Cham-bu-gong, etc.
ma’-drang  n. lineage, (same as ma-chong).
nang-mong nang-pong  n. your parents and their kinsmen.
pa-chat-chi  n. father’s kinsmen.
tat-chi  n. echo in chat-chi tat-chi kinsmen.

6.631 Related Maharis

Mandi families are organized into matrilineal lineages that are known as ma-chongs or ma-ha-ris. A person’s ma-chong includes his brothers and sisters, his mother and her brothers and sisters, his mother’s mother and her brothers and sisters, the children of all those sisters, and so on. Each person belongs to just one ma-chong but has ties to many others through his kinsmen: to his father’s ma-chong, his wife’s ma-chong and so on. These relationships are named. For example, a man refers to the men of his wife’s ma-chong as his chra

a-bi-a-no  n. women of one’s own matrilineal group; sisters.
a-ma-sa-ri  n. women of one’s husband’s matrilineal kinship group.
a-pa-bo-ning  n. men of one’s husband’s lineage.
chra, chra-tang, chra-gip-a  n. men of a man’s wife’s lineage.
chra dal-gip-a  n. the important male member of one’s wife’s lineage.
jik-chol  n. the women of a man’s wife’s lineage, (same as nok-chik).
ma-nok  n. members of one’s own lineage, especially the women: mother, sisters, mother’s sisters, etc.
no-ma  n. female members of one’s own lineage, (lit. younger sister and mother).
nok-chik  n. a woman’s female lineage mates, mother, sister, etc.; a man’s wife’s female lineage mates, wife’s sisters, etc.
6.634 Near and Distant Kin

ang-bak  *n.* close kinsman.

bik-ma rong-ding-dang  *nph.* classificatory kinsmen, not real siblings, (lit. different bellies).

bik-ma rong-sa  *nph.* from the same womb, true siblings, (lit. one stomach).

chat-chi-ang-bak  *n.* directly related kin, close kinsmen.

ha’-gat-e, a’-gat-i, a’-gat-e  *n.* classificatory rather than close kin, as a cousin-brother rather than a real brother, not kam-dak; outside, open; untucked, of a shirt.

kam'-dak  *n.* real kin, immediate kin, closely related.

tom-sa, a-tom tom-sa, bi-bil tom-sa  *n.* of one womb, having the same mother, true siblings.

6.64 Kinship Statuses: Next, Youngest, etc.

a-  *cp.* a prefix used as a part of several kinship terms: a-bi elder sister; a-da elder brother; a-chu grandfather; optionally with terms such as a-no younger sister.

ang-  *cp.* prefix used optionally with some kinship terms: ang-jong younger brother; ang-gri cross-nephew.

cha-chon  *n.* last child, youngest of a set of siblings.

de-bring  *n.* illegitimate child, (lit. jungle child).

de-chap, di-chap  *n.* twin.

de-jak-ra, di-jak-ra  *n.* first child, oldest child.

de-kim-bal, di-kim-bal  *n.* one’s next younger sibling.

de-srong, di-srong  *n.* twin.

-gip-a  *dns.* suffix for kinship terms when used for reference rather than as terms of address: Nel-son-ni ma’-gip-a Nelson’s mother.

-gip-i  *dns.* oldest sibling, oldest brother or oldest sister.

git-i  *n.* younger siblings.

ja’-sin  *n.* next younger sibling.

ma-ji-la  *n.* middle child, middle one. <B

ma’-jang-chi  *n.* middle child, neither the youngest nor oldest child.

ran-da  *n.* widower.

ran-di  *n.* widow.

sok-pak  *n.* the last child, last baby, youngest of a set of siblings.

sok-sin  *n.* the next child, next youngest, (same as ja’-sin).

-tang  *dns.* a suffix used with kinship terms that makes them terms of reference rather than as terms of address: am-bi-tang grandmother; gri-tang nephew.
6.65 Marriage, Divorce, Family

6.651 Marriage and a-kim (Lineage Bond)

A Garo marriage forms a union, not only between two people but between two ma-chongs ‘lineages’ as well. The lineage relation is called a-kim and there is a considerable terminology to describe this important connection.

a-kang-a, ra-kang-a vt. have a claim on a kinship group that should supply a spouse; claim an object.
bi-a-a, bi-a ka-a vt. marry, get married. <B
don-a, nok-na don-a vt. give one’s nok-na (heiress daughter) to the man who becomes one’s nok-rom (son-in-law and heir).
dong-a vt. be married to: ang-a jik-ko dong-jok I have married a wife.
ha-kim, a-kim n. relation between two lineages that is formed and perpetuated by marriage.
ha-si n. echo in ha-kim ha-si the relation between two lineages formed by a marriage.
jik-sek-a vt. marry by starting to live together without formal steps; steal a wife; take someone else’s wife.
kat-e chak-a vph. run away and hide, as when a young man tries to avoid marriage.
kim-a vt. marry, get married: me-chik me-a-sa-ko kim-a the woman marries the man.
kim-at kim-chi n. the relation of kin groups formed by marriage, the relation of an individual to his or her spouse’s kin group: ang-a Re-ma-ni kim-at kim-chi I am married to the Re-ma lineage.
kut me-ris n. civil marriage, court marriage, a marriage performed by a judge. <E
ra-ma song-a, ra-ma song-cheng-a vi. make the first inquiries about a marriage proposal, (lit. cook the path, prepare the path).
rim-tat-a vt. grab by force, as when capturing a son-in-law.
ron-a, bi-a ron-a vt. marry, officiate at a marriage.
sik-tat-a vt. hit, fight, grab by force in the way sons-in-law were once captured.

6.652 Second Marriage, Replacement

chap-a, dong-na chap-a vt. give a second spouse; attach, join, put beside; pile up, as leaves, cloth, paper; attach, join.
chap-e rim-a vph. bring as a second wife.
dong-chap-a vt. add a wife; attach, join, put beside; pile up, as leaves, cloth, paper, give a second wife to a man.
gat-a  vt. give a second spouse or replacement spouse; place on, load, put on top of; cover, as one’s head; put or carry on the shoulder or head; build a mud house; set trap; hang clothes, hang up jaw bones as trophies; attach a *ju-al* (yoke).

ja-chol ka-a  vph. agree, esp. about marriage arrangements and marriage replacements.

kim-chap-a  vt. add a second wife.

6.665 Divorce, Breaking the Lineage Bond

chi-ret den-a  vt. break a-*kim*, break the connection between intermarried kin groups (*chi-ret*, water channel, is a metaphor for the connection).

dok-pak-a  vt. action of a wife’s kinsmen when they take her away because they don’t like her husband; knock off, slap off.

gal-grik-a  vt. mutually dispose of, divorce each other.

ha-wal wat-a, a-wal wat-a  vt. break the lineage bonds by divorce, give up the rights to ha-*kim*, (lit. send away the land and fire (*ha-wal*).

jik gal-a, jik-ko wat-a  vt. divorce, (lit. throw away one’s wife).

kim-sot-a  vt. end a a-*kim* relationship that a marriage forms between two lineages.

sal-sek-a, sal-ek-a  vt. pull someone away; take back a woman by a wife’s kin when they dislike her husband.

se-gal-a, se-ko gal-a  vt. divorce, (lit. throw away one’s husband).

6.657 Family Behavior and Obligations

ba-rik-a  vt. take care of, carry, of a baby or small child.

de-a, di-a  vt. belong to named kin group, (e.g. Cham-bu-gong, Sang-ma), assign to a lineage (*ma-chong*): *ang-ko Nok-rek de-a* I am a Nokrek, I belong to the Nokrek lineage.

dil-e re-a, kim-e chu-a  vph. a way of describing a husband and wife as a couple, (lit. lead in walking, sleep as married).

dong-dil-a  vt. take care of baby or small child, as by child nurse.

ga-ak-a  vi. count as kin, belong in a kinship relation, be a part of, fall into; fall down, of people or objects.

gi-sil-a  vi. separate from parents in eating and economic arrangements but not necessarily change residence, of a young married couple.

gro nang-e pi-sa man-a  vph. have an illegitimate child, (lit. commit an offense, get a child).

ke-a, ki-a  vt. permitted to marry, belonging to correct kinship groups; appropriate, as appropriate to eat with right hand: *ang-a Ma-rak-ko dong-na ki-ja* it is inappropriate for me to marry a Marak.

kra-a  vi. be correct, right, suitable, appropriate, fit, competent, allowed to marry: *Sang-ma-ming Ma-rak-ming dong-na kra-a* for Sangma and Marak to marry each other is correct.
**Krim-kru** *adv.* with many people; with many children and kinsmen: *ang-ni ang-su ang-di bang-a krim-kru* my grandchildren and children are many.

**Ma’-dong** *n.* incest, sexual relations or marriage within a named lineage.

**Ma’-sik-a, ma’-sik-a-sik-a** *vi.* belonging to the same *ma’-chong* (lineage).

**Nok-dong-gip-a** *n.* a replacement spouse, one who marries a widow or widower; successor, esp. the successor of the *a’-king nok-ma* (title holder of the village land).

**Po-ri-bar** *n.* family. <B

**Ra’-a** *vt.* belong to a kin group such as *Cham-bu-gong* or *Sang-ma*:

**Ang-a Ma-rak-ko ra’-a** I belong to Marak.

**Ra’-gat-a, de ra’-gat-a** *vt.* adopt a child, esp. a sister’s daughter, so that in the absence of a true daughter she can care for her adopted parents and inherit their property.

**Tang’-nap-a** *vi.* change groups, enter a new group, as when a son-in-law joins his wife’s family; change ethnicity, as when a Mandi becomes a Bengali or vice versa; get into, fit into a hole, enter into, as a bug in the eye, an insect into fire. *vi.* echo in *at-chi-a tang’-nap-a* be born, be reborn.

### 6.7 Life Cycle

#### 6.72 Sex, Menstruation

**Be-wal, bi-wal, ja-na be-wal, me’-chik-ni be-wal** *n.* menstruation, (lit. custom, monthly custom, women’s custom).

**Bik-ma rat-a** *vi.* pain and sickness associated with birth or menstruation.

**Gang-a** *vi.* sexually excited, aroused.

**Him-him-a, him-him-grik-a** *vi.* have sexual relations.

**Ja re-a, ja-na re-a** *vph.* menstruate, (lit. month goes).

**Ju-a, ju-grik-a** *vi.* have sexual relations.

**Nang-rim-a, nang-grim-a** *vi.* get along well, united, have a good relationship, often with implication of an illicit sexual relationship.

**Sek-a** *vt.* have sex in violation of proper rules, either premarital or adultery.

**To-re-a, tu-ri-a, tu-ri-grik-a** *vi.* have sexual relations.

#### 6.74 Pregnancy

**Bik-ma gin-ang, buk-ma gin-ang** *nph.* pregnant, (lit. stomach-with).

**Dong-rik-a** *vi.* be pregnant, stay behind.

**Jak-ra-ra** *vi.* empty, empty handed, not pregnant.
jang-gi ron-a, jang-gi sik-a, jang-gi sik-et-a  vph. give life, give the soul (jang-gi), by God or a spirit.
ok-gin-ang-a  vi. pregnant.
ok-o ki-a  vi. be pregnant, (lit. hang in the belly).
seng-o ki-a  vph. be pregnant.

6.77 Birth, Life

at-chi-a  vi. be born.
at-chi-pil-a  vi. be reborn, come to life again.
at-chi-ram  n. birthplace.
ba-a  vt. give birth, bear child; carry child in cloth on hip, back or front.
bi-jol  n. the pale material, without blood, that comes with a new born baby; mucus.
chu-gim-ik  n. all, total, whole, complete; a good full life.
dai  n. midwife. <B
du-a  vt. give birth, of animals: wak pi-sa-ko du-a give birth to piglets.
han-o ra-a  vph. deliver baby, as a midwife, (lit. take the body).
han-pak-a  vi. abort spontaneously, miscarry.
hang-ki ma na-tik  nph. boy or girl? Question asked at a birth about the gender of the newborn baby, (lit. crab or shrimp?).
jak no-gip-a  n. midwife.
ji-bon  n. life, lifetime. <B
jon-mo, jor-mo  n. birth. <B
min-su  n. material that comes with a new baby and that includes blood along with the pale secretions (bi-jol), pus, bloody pus: min-su gal-a clean away the blood and dirt of a new baby.
ni-chak-gip-a  n. midwife, (lit. one who watches and waits for someone).
rim-chak-gip-a  n. one who receives, esp. a midwife.
sim-ak-pil-a  vi. come alive again.
tang-a  vi. live, alive.
tang-cha-a  vi. come to life.
tang-cha-pil-a, tang-pil-a  vi. come to life again.
tang-cha-rik-rik-a  vi. come to life again.
tang-et-a  vt. care for, save, (lit. cause to live).
tang-nap-a  vi. be reborn; change groups, enter a new group, as when a son-in-law joins his wife’s family; change ethnicity, as when a Mandi becomes a Bengali or vice versa; get into, fit into a hole, enter into, as a bug in the eye, an insect into fire). ec. echo in at-chi-a tang-nap-a be born.
6.78 Stages of Maturation (cf. 4.69 Plant Maturation, 6.82 Age and Gender Categories)

bal-jak *adv.* maturing of young people; having long hair; with widely spread branches.

bu-ra-a *vi.* old, grow old, of men.

bu-ri-a *vi.* old, grow old, of women.

chon-kim-a *vi.* filled out but not yet tall, a stage of growth.

dil-ding bal-jak *adv.* become an adolescent, mature.

mang-meng-et-na-jok *vt.* about to reach the irritating, (complaining) stage, a stage of child development.

o-chol *adv.* old and weak, lame, unable to walk. <B

rong-dal-ing-a *vi.* growing round and large, of fruit; of breasts, as a stage of maturation; jokingly of testicles.

sok cha-mit-ing *adv.* while nursing, a stage of child development.

sok-me cha-mit-ing *adv.* during the time of small growing breasts, a stage of maturation.

6.79 Death, Funerals

ak-sot-a *vt.* kill by twisting the neck.

bi-ba bon-chot-a *vi.* dead, (lit. breath is finished).

gop-ram *n.* grave, burying place.

ha-dap-a, a-dap-a, dap-a *vt.* bury, as a body.

ja-ra-gat-a *vi.* the return procession, from the grave after a burial, or from the site of a sacrifice, sometimes with drum or other music, and dancing.

jang-gi gal-a *vph.* die, (lit. throw away the jang-gi soul).

ku-ak-ku-ak *adv.* with the mouth open and gasping when nearly dead and when the jang-gi (soul, life force) is about to leave the body; the similar mouth gesture of fish.

ma-ri-a *vt.* kill, murder. <B

mang-gi-si, man-di mang-gi-si *n.* dead person, dead body, corpse.

mang-ri-a *vi.* go to a funeral in a procession, carrying a pig, rice beer, drums, etc.

mang-ru-dam *n.* graveyard.

mang-sok-a *vi.* echo in mang-ri-a mang-sok-a go to a funeral with pig, beer, drums, etc.

pu-ju-a *n.* lay out, a sick person on a mat, a baby in a hanging cradle; esp. lay out and prepare a dead body.

ra-sot-a *vt.* kill by cutting, slicing, as one kills a chicken.

rim-sot-a *vt.* kill by choking, grab the throat, feeling in the throat after eating ta-ring (arum, a tuber).
si-a  vi. die; go out, of fire, lamp: git-ok si-a be hoarse, (lit. throat dies);
gro si-a settle a legal case; ja-jong si-a dark of the moon, (lit. moon
dies).
si-chang-a  vi. die in the middle of life, die ahead of time.
si-et-a  vt. kill, cause to die: gro si-et-a settle a case, (lit. cause the case
to die).
si-git-ik-a  vi. die suddenly.
si-kan-di-a  vi. die before time, before full age.
sor-krep-a, sur-krep-a  vt. cremate, burn a dead body.
sor-ot-a  vt. kill.

6.8 People

6.82 Age and Gender Categories

6.821 Adults and General

-kok  dns.  the one who: chau-kok  thief; mat-u-kok  greedy person;
siik-kok  teacher; ken-kok  coward.
-ma  dns.  female human.
man-de, man-di  n.  person, human being; specifically, a member of the
Garo ethnic group.  cls.  classifier for the height of a person: man-de
gin-t twice as tall as a person.
man-de-ska, man-di-ska  n.  fellow humans, fellow Garos.
me-a, mi-a  n.  man, male; me-a pi-sa  male child, boy.
me-a-sa, mi-a-sa  n.  man, adult male.
me-chik, mi-chik, me-chik-sa  n.  woman, adult female; me-chik
pi-sa  woman-child, girl.
-pa  dns.  male human: dal-am-pa  a man with a high opinion of himself;
rak-am-pa  a very strong man; ra-song-pa  a proud man.

6.822 Babies and Children

a-wa, a-wa di-sa, a-wa gen-da  n.  small baby, (A-chik, A-pal), (same
as gen-da ).
a-wa git-chak  n.  new born baby, infant, (lit. red baby).
bis-a  n.  child, (A-chik), (same as di-sa, pi-sa).
gen-da  n.  infant, baby who is not yet walking.  <B
ko-ka, ku-ka  n.  a little boy, older than a gen-da but not yet a pan-te.
    Used in calling.  <B
ko-ki, ku-ki  n.  a little girl, older than a gen-da but not yet a me-tra.
    Used in calling.  <B
na-rik-tam-bik, na-ruk-tam-buk, na-rik-tem-bik, na-ruk-tem-buk
n.  small children, used in joking.
pi'-sa, di'-sa  n. child, (A·chik: bi'-sa). -pi'-sa dns. young animal, occasionally used for young of plants; a small example of objects: mong-ma-pi'-sa baby elephant; jak-si-pi'-sa little finger; te'-rik pi'-sa young banana plant; profit, interest on a loan.

6.824 Adolescents

me'-tra, mi'-tra  n. unmarried woman, young woman, adolescent girl.
no-mil, nu-mil  n. young unmarried woman, adolescent girl, (A·chik), (same as me'-tra).
pan-te, pan-ti  n. bachelor, unmarried youth, adolescent boy.

6.828 Old People

bu-chu-ma  n. old woman, (A·chik).
bu-de-pa, bu-di-pa  n. old man, (A·chik).
bu-ra  n. old man, husband. <B
bu-ri  n. old woman, wife. <B
-sa-ge, -sa-gi  dns. former, deceased: Rong-jeng-sa-ge the deceased Rongjeng.

6.83 Friends

ba-ju  n. friend.
ba-ju-bak-e  adv. going as friends, as side by side, holding hands, or with arms around shoulders.
bi-sa  n. friend, special friend.
bi-sa ka-a  vph. make friends, of men.
bon-du  n. friend. <B
cham-e  n. friends of the opposite sex, often with the implication of illicit behavior.
ka-a  vt. make friends; tie; put on, wear, for turban; build a fence, barrier in a stream.
rip-eng  n. friend, (A·chik).
tra-ska, tru-ska, tro-sang-ga  n. contemporaries, people of same age, same generation.

6.89 Castes, Tribes, Ethnicity

Dozens of other tribe and caste names could, of course, be included here, the number being limited only by the knowledge of the speakers. I have included only those that are regularly used by the people of Modhupur.

a-di-ba-si  n. aboriginal, tribal, native. <B
A'-beng, Am'-beng  n. the Garo subgroup occupying the western part of the Garo Hills, as well as the Garos of Bangladesh.
A'-bi-ma  n. the name that the Garos of Modhupur use for themselves.
A'-chik  n. used by many Garos as a term for their own ethnic group, but used by the Modhupur Garos to refer more specifically to those living in the Garo Hills, and to the dialect that is perceived to be in use there.
A'-pal  n. the word used by the Garos of Modhupur to name the Garos who live along the Indian border in the north Mymensingh area of Bangladesh.
A'-rong-ga, Ha'-rong-ga n. the word used by the Garos of Modhupur as a name for the Garos of the Garo Hills.
dom  n. Hindu caste that raises and sells pigs. <B
Ga-ro  n. the word used by non-Garos to refer to those who more often refer to themselves as Man-de, Man-di or A'chik.
Gu-ru-sot-o  n. the Hindu denomination of the Mandai people and of the Hindu Garos. <B
jat  n. group, ethnic group, tribe; caste; species, kind, variety. <B
jat-ska  n. belonging to one’s own group.
Mat-chi  n. a subgroup of Garos who have never been seen by the Modhupur people, but who are said never to wash and to eat cats and dogs. Some believe them to have lived in or near to Modhupur at an earlier time.
-ska  dns. of their own kind, that sort of person: tro-ska contemporaries, of the same generation; jat-ska of the same ethnic group.
7.0 HUMAN QUALITIES: MIND, INTELLECT, EMOTIONS

7.1 Language

The importance of language is shown by the very large number of words that are used to talk about it. The following categories deal with the style of language, the quality of the voice, oral and written language, lies, and jokes.

7.11 General, Language and Dialect

ba-sa, bha-sa  n. language, way of speaking. <B
kas  n. ordinary, unrefined; daily language; a form of language regarded as poor or improper. <B
ku-bi-bal, song-ni ku-bi-bal  n. ordinary way of speaking, village dialect.
ku-sik  n. language; mouth; opening of a pot, etc.; front end, front end of a worm: pal ku-sik tip of a plow blade.
man-de-ku, man-di-ku, man-de-ku-sik  n. the Mandi language, the Garo language.
na-gap-a  vi. go together, of dialects that are similar, of matching clothes; get along well together, of friendly people.

7.12 Oral Language

a-gan-a  vt. talk, speak, say.
a-gan-a-bak-bak-a vi. speaking a lot, continuously.
a-gan-dik-a  vt. speak of things that are not good, and which it is not nice to speak about; say things badly, in an unpleasant way.
a-gan-et-a  vt. cause to talk, make talk; tell, inform.
a-gan-jol-jol-a vi. go around and speak to everyone.
a-gan-rik-a  vi. speak to someone who is passing by.
bol-a  vi. talk, inform. <B
gol-po  n. story. <B
in-a  vi. say, it was said, when reporting another’s speech; tell, order.
in-et-a  vt. tell, inform: ang-a nang-ko dok-no-a in-et-a I tell you (that) I will hit you.
in-grim-a vi. talk at the same time; say the same thing.
kep-kep-dang-dang adv. talking constantly, repeatedly.
ku-ak-ma adv. spoken language, as contrasted with writing or singing.
ku-chon-a vi. with a quiet, soft voice; small, of mouths.
ku-pa n. language, speech, voice; language used at a legal meeting.
ku-rang n. voice.

7.13 Language: Logic, Accuracy

a-gan-bing-bang-a vi. talk carelessly; talk without thinking, not seriously.
a-gan-chong-mot-a vi. speak correctly.
a-gan-sit-tong-a vi. speak some, partially.
a-gan-srok-a vi. tell a little but not everything, conceal.
ba-nai-e a-gan-ing-a vph. make up, not speak in a straight way, exaggerate.
bik-bat-a vi. make a mistake when talking, weaving, etc.
bing-bang bol-a vph. speak carelessly, thoughtlessly, in a confused way.
bol-sit-ong-a vi. speak briefly, partially.
gong-ge bak-e bol-a vph. talk indirectly, in a curved way, not sticking to the subject.
ja-ja-a vi. speak forgetfully, with errors, hesitate, make mistakes.
rip-ling-rip-ang adv. disorderly; saying any old thing, speak badly; thrown here and there, as messily planted rice.
rong-ret-ga-ret adv. inconsistent, disorganized, as when speaking in an inconsistently and disorganized way.
srang-srang adv. fluently, clearly, exactly, as speaking clearly; sharp, of a knife.
srong-a vi. straight speaking, truthful; straight, of roads, a line of trees, etc.
ta-ding-ding adv. straight speaking; very straight, as a straight road, a line of trees; very smooth, straight speaking.

7.14 Language: Speed, Fluency

a-gan-chrak-a vi. speak forcefully, speak openly, without holding back.
a-gan-ga-gal-a vi. speak carelessly, speak quickly; speak before the proper time.
a-gan-rik-rik-a vi. speak continuously, repeatedly.
chrak-chrak adv. speak or act freely, without holding back, without fear.
in-ga-gal-a vi. talk quickly, carelessly.
jau-jau-a vt. speak to others without much care, as at a drinking party.
ku-man-a vi. able to speak; often negative: ku-man-ja speak badly, stutter.
**7.15 Voice Quality, Volume**

**ku-pret-a** *vi.* speak fluently, speak without shyness.

**pol-pol-pal-pal** *adv.* speaking quickly and loudly.

**prak-e-pruk-e** *adv.* in any old way, carelessly, without thinking, esp. of speaking: **prak-e-pruk-e in-ing-a** speak without holding back, speak out in any way, speak carelessly.

**rau-rau-tau-tau** *adv.* speaking loudly and rapidly: **rau-rau-tau-tau dak-e bol-a kin-a-to-ja** it sounds badly to speak loudly and rapidly.

**rep-rep-tep-tep** *adv.* quickly, thoughtlessly, loudly, as when arguing.

**rip-ak-rip-ak, rip-ak-sam-bak** *adv.* speaking quickly.

**rit-tong-ban-tong** *adv.* speaking quickly and loudly, as when arguing.

**ro-e-ro-e a-gan-a, ru-e-ru-e a-gan-a** *vi.* speak for a long time, say a lot, stretch it out, speak slowly.

**sra-rit-tep** *adv.* abundantly, of speaking quickly and fluently, of hail.

**tong-kap, tong-kap-tong-kap** *adv.* quickly, briefly, as speaking in an abbreviated way. **tong-kap-a vi.** abbreviated, shortened of speaking.

**tong-tang-ga-tang** *adv.* in an abbreviated, shortened, way.

**tong-tang-tong-tang** *adv.* made short or brief, as when speaking, as of pieces cut crosswise.

**wel-wel-a** *vi.* talk lots, talk continuously, as when drunk.

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**bu-ba-ra-ra** *vi.* unable to speak, dumb.

**chrik-a** *vi.* scream, shout.

**chrik-e bol-a, chrik-pret-e bol-a** *vph.* speak very loudly, shout.

**chrik-pret-a** *vi.* scream loudly; squeal, of pigs.

**gek-gak-a** *vi.* talk a lot, chatter; disturb, make much noise, of animals.

**gek-gak-gek-gak adw.: a-chak gek-gak-gek-gak dak-e sing-ing-a** the dog is barking noisily.

**git-ok-srang-ja** *vi.* speak quietly, unclearly, hoarse.

**jang-e bol-a, jang-i bol-a** *vph.* speak loudly, as when under the influence of rice beer.

**ka-sim-ang-ka-sim-ang** *adv.* beautiful sounding, touching, of speaking, as one might speak to evoke pity, of music that causes emotions.

**ka-srok-e, ka-srok-ka-srok** *adv.* speaking beautifully, softly, as when telling story.

**ku-dal-a, ku-dal-e bol-a** *vi.* speak loudly, with large voice.

**ku-ma-sa** *adv.* echo in **ku-mi-si ku-mi-sa** whisper.

**ku-mi-si-a** *vi.* whisper.

**ku-ra-ma** *n.* voice, quality of one’s voice, way of talking.

**ku-rak-a, ku-rak-e bol-a** *vi.* shout, speak loudly, (lit. strong in language).

**ku-rang** *n.* voice: **bi-ni ku-rang kin-a-to-a** his voice is beautiful.
pak-krang chuk-krang \textit{adv.} speak loudly, angrily, rapidly: \textbf{pak-krang} chuk-krang \textit{dak-e bol-a kin-a-to-ja} speaking in a loud and angry way sounds unpleasant.

seo-seo-e bol-a \textit{vph.} having a hoarse voice.

sur-sal-e bol-a \textit{vph.} speak slowly, in a stretched out style, comparable to the stretched style used in some singing.

ting-ku-ting-ku \textit{adv.} loud, of angry talking, of a rice pounder, of a squealing pig.

tu-ta-ban-ta \textit{adv.} stutter, stammer.

wa-dang-ku-dang \textit{adv.} speaking quickly and loudly, as when arguing, or shouting angrily.

7.18 Names, Naming

\textbf{a-dot-ni bi-ming} \textit{nph.} name given by parents; name actually used, as contrasted with baptismal name.

\textbf{a-sol-ni bi-ming} \textit{nph.} name given by parents, (lit. real name).

\textbf{bap-tis-mon-ni bi-ming} \textit{nph.} Christian name, name given at baptism, as contrasted with name in daily use.

\textbf{bi-ming, bi-mung} \textit{n.} name, personal name, name given by parents or at baptism, not including the lineage name.

\textbf{dak-nam} \textit{n.} name actually used in daily address, usually the same as the \textit{a-dot-ni bi-ming} that is given by the parents, as opposed to formal baptismal name.

\textbf{de-a, di-a} \textit{vt.} belong to a named kin group, assign to a ma-chong (lineage) such as Nok-rek, or to an exogamous group such as Ma-rak: \textit{ang-ko Ma-rak di-a} I am a Marak, Marak names me.

\textbf{don-a} \textit{vt.} call, name, give a personal name: \textit{ang-ko Ming-ji don-a} I am named Mingji, (lit: `Ming-ji' names me).

\textbf{don-jri-a} \textit{vt.} rename: \textit{bi-ming-ko don-jri-a} give a new name.

\textbf{gat-a} \textit{vt.} give a name, confer a name at baptism.

\textbf{ming-a} \textit{vt.} name, call, for personal names, not for family or lineage names: \textit{Ming-ji ang-ko ming-a} I am named Ming-ji, (lit. Ming-ji (is the name that) names me).

\textbf{ming-kil-ak-a} \textit{vt.} call people by the wrong name, when joking.

\textbf{ok-gam-a} \textit{vt.} call, name, (A-chik, A'pal).

\textbf{pe-a, pi-a} \textit{vt.} call by name: \textit{bi-ming pi-e ring-gam-a} call by name.

\textbf{ring-gam-a} \textit{vt.} call, call out, cry out to someone, call together, call by personal name.

7.25 Untruths, Lies

\textbf{a-gan-bu-a} \textit{vi.} speak falsely, say what isn't true, speak incorrectly; use broken language, as when Bengalis try to speak Mandi.
bo-\text{-}a, bu-\text{-}a \text{ vi.} speak incorrectly, say something untrue, whether in error, in jest, or in order to deceive.

bo-\text{-}a ra-\text{-}a \text{ vi.} speak untruthfully, joke and have fun.

bo-\text{-}bru-a, bo-\text{-}bru-e bol-a \text{ vi.} fool around, joke.

bo-\text{-}du-a \text{ vi.} speak badly of, say bad things about, squeal on someone.

bo-\text{-}rik-rik-a \text{ vi.} speak falsely constantly.

bo-\text{-}srok-a \text{ vi.} tell only part, not all, conceal, stingy with the truth.

bru-a, in-bru-a \text{ vi.} tell wrongly;
jom-bru-a \text{ pretend to be sick; dak-bru-a \text{ pretend; ni-bru-a \text{ see, watch, without being noticed.}}}

dak-bru-a, dak-am-bru-a \text{ vi.} pretend.

don-u-a ku-pa-a \text{ vt.} not say everything, hold some things back.

ja-ja-a \text{ vi.} hesitate, make mistakes, speak with errors.

jot-du-a \text{ vt.} echo in bo-du-a jot-du-a \text{ report bad things about someone, (lit. pierce upward).}

so-a \text{ vi.} echo in bo-a so-a fool around, joke.

tol-a \text{ vi.} say something untrue, whether by error or to deceive, (A\text{-chik}).

\section*{7.26 Jokes}

al-a-si \text{ n.} teasing about improper behavior, as when teasing a boy about his relationship with his grandmother.

bu-\text{-}rok-a \text{ vi.} joke, tease.

kal-ak-a \text{ vt.} joke, play with; fool around, bother, of young people who do not obey parents, of ghosts who frighten people, of men with women.

man-de-bi-ma, man-de-bi-pa \text{ n.} animal-woman, animal-man, a way of joking by adding suffixes ordinarily used for animals to the word for person.

re-jil-a \text{ vi.} joke, tease, especially among some kinsmen, as between brothers-in-law, or with a grandchild.

ri-jang bong-got-bong-got \text{ nph.} a way of joking about a little boy’s testicles.

rong-got \text{ n.} joking about a little boy’s testicles.

rong-kal-a \text{ vi.} joke, tease, fool around.

si\text{-}ka-ka-rok \text{ n.} a joke for little girls.

sin-ing-a \text{ vi.} echo in kal-ak-a sin-ing-a \text{ fool around, lead astray, as what a husband does with another woman.}

tek-rak-a \text{ vi.} echo in rong-kal-a tek-rak-a joke, tease, fool around.

\section*{7.27 Insults}

A large number of conventional insults have been reported to me, most directed specifically either to men or to women, and most of them suggesting some unfortunate state of their genitals. I have never heard, or at least
never understood, one of these in actually use. I suspect they are enjoyed more often in the imagination than in either anger or in joking repartee, though it is also possible that my presence would inhibit their expression.

**a-chak pot-a** *vt.* accuse someone of acting like a dog.

**a-no ku-wang** *vt.* an insulting way of referring to a stupid woman, (lit. little sister, big mouth).

**do-sil-ek** *n.* an insulting name, implying that someone has no modesty.

**git-chi-** *aa.* in an insulting way: **ka-ding-git-chi-a** laugh insultingly;

**in-git-chi-a** insult by saying something.

**in-tat-a** *vt.* insult.

**ja-da su-brok** *n.* an insult for stupid people.

**je-a, ji-a** *vt.* criticize, insult, say bad things about, dislike. **gro je-a** *vi.* make arguments, talk at a legal meeting.

**mik-del-bu** *n.* white of the eye, an insult.

**na-ku ja-da** *n.* insult given to a stupid man, as stupid as a fish.

**nam-ja gat-a** *vph.* speak badly of, say bad things about.

**ri-dam-bu-bu** *n.* insult given to a man, (lit. big penis).

**ri-jang-jot-jot** *n.* insult for men.

**ri-ka ka-rok** *n.* insult for a man with no hair.

**ri-mik-del-bu** *n.* insult to a man.

**ri-na-wang** *n.* insult given to men, (lit. penis-wide mouthed).

**ri-su-brok** *n.* insult given to men, (lit. penis-rotten).

**sa-wi-a** *vt.* insult, scold, bawl out, give bad words.

**si-dal-dal-a** *vi.* an insult for women, large vulva.

**si-dam-bu-bu** *n.* insult for a woman, (lit. big vulva).

**si-jang-bong-got** *n.* an insult for a big-bellied little girl.

**si-mik-del-bu** *n.* insult to a woman.

**si-na-wang** *n.* insult for a women, (lit. big mouthed vulva).

**si-so-brok** *n.* insult given to women, (lit. vulva-rotten).

**si-tek** *n.* an insult for men.

### 7.28 Written Language

Most words that concern the written language, are taken from Bengali. This is to be expected in Bangladesh where Mandis are far more likely to be literate in Bengali than in their own language. Thus it seems odd that the Mandi verb for ‘write’, **chok-a**, does not appear to be borrowed.

**boi** *n.* book. <B

**chi-ti** *n.* letter, written message. <B

**chok-a** *vt.* write, (A’chik: si-a).

**chok-mik-bru-a** *vt.* write in part, not all.

**chok-tim-a** *vt.* write regularly, constantly.
ka-gos  n. paper. <B
ka-li  n. ink. <B
kat-pen-sil, kat-kol-om  n. pencil. <B
ko-bi-ta  n. poem, poetry. <B
ko-ta  n. words, what is said. <B
kol-om  n. pencil, pen. <B
lek-ka, le-ha  n. written things. <B
lek-ka-po-ra  n. reading and writing, literacy. <B
lek-ki-a  vt. write. <B
po-ra  n. reading, lesson. <B
po-ri-a  vt. read, study. <B
po-ri-dil-a  vt. help to read, teach to read.
rek-ka  n. notebook, paper. <B
se-a, si-a  n. write, (Archik).

7.29 Non-Language Use of Voice (cf. 9.44 Mouth Gestures, 3.62 Hearing and Sound)

a-ha-hu-a, a-hu-hu-a  vi. a stylized whooping shout that was made during a Sangsarek festival.
chot-chot-a  vi. whimper, groan.
chrik-a  vi. scream, shout.
gek-gek-a, jom-gek-gek-a  vi. groan when sick, whimper.
gi-jo-a, gi-ju-a  vi. make a disturbance, fuss, screech, make noise, of children, of flocks of birds.
grap-a  vi. cry, weep, wail for the dead.
gu-gu-a, grap-gu-gu-a, grap-a-gu-gu-a  vi. cry in loneliness, wail for a dead person; miss, be lonely for.
ha-wak-ha-wak grap-a  vi. cry a lot, loudly, of a baby wanting to nurse.
jek-jak-a  vi. make noise, make a disturbance, as by children; talk a lot, talk at the same time, as when drunk.
ka-ding-a  vi. laugh, smile.
ka-ding-gek-gek-a, ka-ding-gak-gak-a  vi. laugh heartily, constantly.
ka-ding-rek-rek-a  vi. laugh very loudly.
ka-ting-wak-wak-a  vi. laugh a lot.
ka-si-roc-e grap-a  uph. cry quietly, wail softly, as when someone dies, a high, quiet whine. ka-si-rok-rok adv.
kus-ga-ri  adv. lots of crying, as by a child.
kuneng-a  vi. tired voice.
kusim-ok-a  vi. whistle.
ma-am-a  vi. groan in suffering, make shivering sounds.
mo-mo-a, mu-mu-a, mo-a \(vi\). soothe, as by humming to a baby or by rocking or bouncing it gently.
ring-ring-ri grap-a \(vi\). a high moaning cry.
su-i ron-a, su-i sik-a \(vph\). a piercing whistle made by blowing over a bent finger; louder than ku-sim-ok-a.
ting-pret, ting-pret-ting-pret \(adv\). loudly, of crying or shouting, of bursting or burning bamboo. ting-pret-a \(vi\).

7.3 Speech Acts

The categories listed here concern the uses to which language is put. We discuss, question, promise, inform, explain, accuse, advise, tempt, and so on. The uses of language are many and varied, of course, and they defy any sort of exact categorization. Overall it would seem that Mandis use language for pretty much the same purposes as the rest of us do, but someone else will have to worry about whether the categories that I have found useful here really reflect Mandi culture or whether I have imposed them from my own culture.

7.31 Converse, Discuss

a-gan-grik-a \(vi\). talk to each other, converse.
a-gan-pa-a \(vi\). speak along with.
al-ap-a \(vi\). talk, converse, discuss. <B
bol-grik-a \(vi\). converse, talk.
chan-a \(vt\). count.
ku-chim-mong-a \(vi\). discuss carefully.
ku-pa-a \(vi\). speak at a legal meeting, have a dialogue, talk with, converse.
ku-rit-chu-a \(vi\). repeat what another person has said, gossip, rumor.

7.32 Question, Answer, Reply

a-gan-chak-a \(vt\). answer, reply: nang-ni ko-ta-ko ang-a a-gan-chak-a I answered your words.
in-chak-a \(vi\). reply, answer.
ku-chak-a \(vi\). respond, answer, agree, promise.
ra-chak-grik-e a-gan-a \(vph\). answer back and forth, dialogue.
sing-a \(vi\). ask, question, question witnesses at a legal meeting; bark, of dogs.
sing-e ni-a \(vi\). ask in order to find out, inquire.
sing-rik-a \(vt\). ask a question of someone who is passing.

7.33 Agree, Promise, Pledge, Refuse, Reject

ang-ka-a \(vi\). echo in ku-mong-a ang-ka-a consult, discuss, agree.
gong-ge-a, gong-gi-a, gong-ge-git-ik-a vi. disobey, disagree, not accept another’s word, (lit. not straight, crooked).

je-chak-a, ji-chak-a vt. refuse, deny.

kin-a-chak-a vt. agree, follow what one hears.

ku'-mik-chet-a, ku'-mit-chet-a, mik-chet-a vi. swear, pledge, promise.

ku'-mong-a vi. agree, talk over and come to an agreement discuss.

ku'-ra-chak-a vi. agree, promise; pledge, as pledge to give a sacrifice (man-sa).

ku'-wat-a vi. promise, as promise to give a man-sa (sacrifice, ceremony).

ma-ni-a vt. follow instructions, obey, do as another suggests; worship.

ra'-chak-a vt. obey, follow orders, advice, or instructions; accept, agree, receive, of objects; catch a thrown object.

re'-el-a vt. fail to obey, defy, not follow instructions: re'-el-e i'-ang-a go, in spite of instructions.

rit-dang-ban-dang adv. disagreeing; speaking at the same time; confused, tangled, unsystematically, disorderly.

7.34 Inform, Explain, Describe, Reveal

a-gan-e don-a vi. announce, inform, tell about an event beforehand; inform of one’s intention.

a-gan-e rou-a vi. inform, give information, tell.

a-gan-prak-a vt. explain, speak out, say fully, hold nothing back; declare, proclaim.

a-gan-so-a, a-gan-su-a vi. announce, tell ahead of time, speak first.

ja-nap-a vi. inform.

pe'-e a-gan-a, pi'-e a-gan-a vt. explain, break down the topic and explain.

pe'-prak-e a-gan-a, pi'-prak-e a-gan-a vi. explain, speak fully, break it down completely and explain.

rik-ang-a vi. go to inform, deliver a message.

tap-srang-tap-srang adv. clearly, of speaking, explaining.

7.36 Accuse, Challenge, Demand, Scold, Harass, Object (cf. 8.32 Quarrel and Get Along, 836 Threaten and Fight)

a-mut-a vt. accuse.

bo'-dap-a vi. pile a falsehood on a falsehood, exaggerate.

bot-a vt. provoke, pick a fight, challenge, cause someone to be angry, annoy, quarrel.

ham'-chel-a, am'-chel-a vt. want, demand, take by force.

ham'-chrak-a, am'-chrak-a vt. demand, take by force.

jing-jing-a vt. shake a finger, fist or knife at someone as a threat; shake something, as a circular rice tray when sorting rice.
ka'-cha-a  vt. speak angrily, scold angrily, bawl out, insult.

pot-a  vt. accuse; threaten, make angry, make claim on, often in a legal sense.

7.37 Advise, Encourage, Warn

bu-jai-a  vi. advise, encourage, urge. <B
ku-chi-kan-a, ku-chi-ron-a  vph. give advice.
ku-ron-a  vt. warn, advise, give information.
mal-mok-a  vt. encourage, soothe, give comfort, as to a fussing child.

7.38 Request, Invite, Tempt

bi-a  vt. ask, request, pray.
bot-a pal-a, bot-ing-a pal-ing-a  vt. tempt, as a girl might tempt a boy by winking or by showing a bit of breast or thigh.
mal-et-a  vt. tempt, attract, (lit. cause to crawl).
mol'-mol-a  vi. request, beseech.
mong-a, mo'-ong-a  vt. ask someone to accompany, urge someone to go along, take along; urge someone to do something, attract: ang-a nang'-ko mong'-ing-a I am asking you to go along.

ni-mon-tron, mi-mon-tron  n. invitation. <B
top-top-a  vi. pat with the hand, as to soothe a child.

7.39 Misc. Speech Acts

chak-e-chak-e  adv. speak on behalf of, defend.
ke-ma ron-a  vt. forgive, give forgiveness.
tong-reng-ma gip-peng-pang  adv. speaking from opposite sides when disputing at a bi-char (legal meeting).
wa-ra-chak-a  vt. defend someone, resist, deny someone else’s guilt.

7.4 The Mind

Mandi and other forms of Garo have a rather restricted number of verbs that are specialized for the activities of the mind. Ai-a or its A’chik synonym ui-a ‘know, understand’, chan-chi-a ‘think, believe, Suppose’, and ma’-si-a ‘understand’ just about complete the inventory. Even these can overlap and grade into each other in their meanings in a way that can be disconcerting to a non-Mandi. The glosses I give suggest only their most central uses. These three words are supplemented by numerous compounds and conventional phrases, however. These are often metaphorical in nature and many of them make use of the noun gi-sik ‘mind’. I have found it exceedingly difficult to pin down the meanings of these verbs and phrases. Even those Mandis who are most fluent in English do not find it at all easy to offer English equivalents for their Mandi words, and it is very difficult
to extract clear definitions in a monolingual Mandi conversation. I have included those words in which I have reasonable confidence, but additional work is needed to delimit their meanings more precisely.

7.41 Think, Believe, Know, Understand

be-be ra-a, bi-bi ra-a vt. believe, take to be true.
chan-chi-a vt. think, believe, suppose. chan-chi-pil-a, gi-sik chan-
chi-pil-a vi. change one’s mind.
gi-sik n. the mind.
gi-sik cham-a vph. think about, think over.
gi-sik chon-a vph. not know much; narrow minded, (lit. mind-small).
gi-sik mik-ta vph. good mind, good character, knowing, knowledgeable.
gi-sik ra-pil-a vph. change one’s mind, (lit. take back the mind).
gi-sik-pil-a vi. reform, turn over a new leaf, (lit. reverse the mind).
hai-a, ai-a vt. know, understand.
ma-si-a vt. understand, (A’chik).
mik-ta n. echo in gi-sik mik-ta mind.
rong-git-ting rong-min-ek adv. misunderstand, (lit. undercooked-
overcooked).
ui-a vt. know, (A’chik).

7.42 Suspect, Presume, Guess, Hope

gi-sik ken-chak-a vph. suspect.
gi-sik sim-sak-a vph. suspect.
mik-sok-a vt. hope, look out for, suppose, suspect, expect, (lit. eye-reach).

7.43 Attitude

chon-nik-a vt. look down on; look down on oneself, feel inferior, (lit. see
as small).
dal-nik-a vt. look up to, respect; feel superior, (lit. see as big).
mik-on kra-a vi. become familiar with someone or something by having
often seen him or it: ang-a mik-on kra-e Dhaka-cha nik-ba-jok I
have come familiar with Dhaka by visiting it.
nom-nik-a vt. appear to be easy, appear soft.
rak-nik-a vt. regard as hard, difficult; appear to be difficult.
seng-nik-a vt. feel smart about oneself; show off.

7.44 Intelligence, Stupidity (cf. 7.55 Ability, Skill)

but-i n. cunning idea, plan; intelligence, cleverness. <B
dal-am-pa n. a man with a high opinion of himself, with a superiority
complex.
gi-sik rak-a *vph.* intelligent, (lit. mind strong).

**gi-sik sok-a** *vph.* smart, (lit. the mind reaches); **gi-sik sok-ja** not smart.

**hai-man-a ku-man-a** *vph.* clever, good at language.

**ja-da** *n.* stupid man, fool, insane man. <B

**ja-di** *n.* stupid woman, incompetent woman, insane woman. <B

**na-wang-ku-wang** *adv.* looking around, looking back and forth; crazy, not working, foolishly.

**seng-a** *vi.* alert, smart, clever, intelligent; bright, brilliant, shine, grow light as at dawn.

7.45 **Remember, Forget**

**gi-sik ra-a, gi-sik ra-rik-a** *vph.* remember.

**gu-al-a** *vi.* forget.

**hai-rik-a** *vi.* recognize.

**tap-tu-a** *vt.* forget.

7.47 **Attentive, Perceptive**

**gi-sik nang-a** *vph.* be interested in, concerned with, attentive.

**gi-sik ron-a** *vph.* pay attention, give one’s mind to something, (lit. give the mind).

-ot- *aa.* call attention to, pay attention: **jak-si-ot-a** point to, show;

**sim-il-ot-a** smell, test by smelling; **dong-ot-a** touch with a finger to call attention; **ni-ot-a** watch, look at.

-tim- *aa.* stealthily, attentively, continuously: **dong-tim-a** wait, stay and guard, watch over; **ni-tim-a** watch attentively, continuously; **si-kalk-tim-a** hunt stealthily; **kat-tim-a** run off and hide; **kin-a-tim-a** listen secretively; **chok-tim-a** write regularly, constantly; **i-ang-tim-a** go all the time.

7.48 **Intend, Plan, Expect, Foresee**

**grip-grap** *adv.* unexpectedly, quickly: **grip-grap an-dal-a, du-at sa-ra** surprisingly dark without a lamp.

**hai-chak-a** *vt.* anticipate, expect.

**mang-sok-a** *vi.* plan, intend. echo in **mang-ri-a mang-sok-a** go to a funeral with pig, beer, drums, etc.

**mang-song-a, ming-song-a** *vt.* plan, intend.

**mik-sok-a** *vt.* expect, look out for.

**sim-sak-a** *vi.* careful, think ahead.
7.5 Human Qualities

7.55 Ability, Skill (cf. 7.34 Intelligence, Stupidity)

-**bing-bang-** aa. carelessly: a-gan-bing-bang-a talk carelessly, without thinking, ja-bing-bang-a stumble, cha-bing-bang-a eat carelessly or in ignorance.

**chang-a** vi. know how, skilled, (A-chik).

**ham-sok-a, am-sok-a** vi. confident, feel oneself to be capable; able to, manage, have the courage or patience for.

**jak-chak-a** vi. fit in the hands; manage to do; have time for; often in negative: jak-chak-ja busy, doesn’t fit into hands, have no time for.

**jak-ma** n. technique, skill; the bad skill of a thief.

**jak-sram-a** vi. work rapidly, able to get a lot done.

**man-a** vi. be able, can; find, get, accomplish, achieve, finish: bal-wa

man-ing-a wind blows; sol-di man-ing-a have a cold. -**man-** aa. be able accomplish, finish: ku-man-a able to speak, speak well; bil-man-a have the strength for; nik-man-a discover, notice.

**man-chak-a** vi. succeed against opposition, overcome, manage; win at sports.

**man-chek-chek-a** vt. can do well.

**man-pit-chi** vi. get a little, not much.

**man-pran-ja** vi. can’t get everything finished.

**sap-a** vi. know how to, be good at, be expert at; do systematically and with good results.

7.56 Strength of People, Endurance, Force (cf. 3.72 Strength of Things)

**am-chak-a, ham-chak-a** vt. stand, endure, put up with, often used in the negative: ham-chak-ja can’t stand.

**am-sok-a** vi. have patience for, have the ability, manage, able to cope.

-**bek-, -bek-bek** aa. freely, forcefully: ron-bek-a give freely, even against the receiver’s will; wa-bek-bek-a rain a lot, keep raining.

**bil** n. strength.

**bil-man-a** vi. have strength to, have the means to; often used in negative as bil-man-ja lack the means.

**bil-rak-a** vi. strong, of a person.

-**chak** vi. endure, put up with, suffer, bear, stand, take refule: chak-chik-a put up with, tolerate, endure, stand suffering.

**dong-chik-a** vi. endure.

**dong-chip-chip-a** vi. endure, remain quiet.

**dra-e** adv. forcefully, against another’s will, without permission.
Lexicon

-gek-, -gek-gek-  *aa*. forcefully, in quantity: *ru-gek-a* pour in large quantity, filter ashes to get soda; *ding-gek-a* very hot; *mal-gek-a* very tame, of animals; *ka'-ding-gek-gek-a* laugh loudly, constantly; *jom-gek-gek-a* whimper, groan when sick; *du-gek-gek-a* feed by force.

**ham-chak-a, am-chak-a**  *vt.* stand, endure, put up with; often used in the negative: *ham-chak-ja* can’t stand.

**han-’chak-a**  *vi.* endure, put up with, yield; take into the body, as a disease, get sick; become pregnant.

**jur**  *n.* force: *jur dak-e* forcefully, insistently. <B

**kreng-ding-a**  *vi.* strong, forceful.

**nom-’chi-breka**  *v.* weak, without strength, works badly, of a person; soft, cooked with too much water, of rice.

**rak-am-pa**  *n.* a very strong man.

**rak-sot-sot**  *adv.* strong in language, not accepting what another person says.

*sek-*  *aa.* by force, forcefully: *sal-sek-a* pull away, take someone by force; *jik-sek-a* steal a wife, take someone else’s woman; *ra-sek-a* take by force.

-tat-  *aa.* forcefully: *dok-tat-a* hit forcefully; *sik-tat-a* grab by force, as sons-in-law in the old days; *ni-tat-a* stare.

### 7.7 Emotions

For the most part, I find little difficulty about matching Garo emotion terms to those in English, and my strong impression is that Garos are not only subject to much the same emotions as the rest of us, but also give them names that translate easily into other languages, even one as distant as English. Two points might give some comfort to relativists who believe that emotions are culturally constructed and that terminologies are unlikely to coincide. First, Garos strongly dislike a lack of modesty, and they have several ways of describing people who are judged to have too little. My favorite is *mik-gil dong-ja* literally meaning ‘having no eyelids’ and suggesting the failure to look away or to look down in modesty. Second, the language has several words, *sim-bra-a* being one example, that have a central meaning of ‘miss’, ‘be lonely for’. These can be used in a straightforward way to express the loneliness one feels in the absence of friend or kinsman. However, *sim-bra-a* and some of its synonyms can also be used to express the emotion evoked by some kinds of beautiful music. In this case the emotion is described as a pleasant one. Perhaps ‘nostalgia’ gets at the somewhat contradictory senses of pleasant memories and the pain of separation, but I have never felt that I fully understood the meaning of these terms. Otherwise, I find the ways in which Mandis express joy, anger, desire, pride, bravery, fear, and the rest to be profoundly lacking in exotic mystery.
7.721 Joy, Happiness

han'-seng-a, an'-seng-a  vi. happy, joyful, dance, celebrate.
ku-si  n. happiness. <B

7.722 Like, Love, Affection

ka'-sa-a  vt. love, as one feels toward one's children, sympathize with, miss.
mal-a-ni sam  n. love potion, to make someone want to be with another, (lit. medicine to make someone crawl).
mik-cha-a  vt. like, love, be attracted to, like with the eyes, like things, esp. like a member of the opposite sex.
nam-nik-a, nam-e nik-a  vt. like.
nang-rim-a  vi. get along well, associate with, often with implication of an illicit sexual relationship.
sin-a  vt. like, want to, be attracted to.
sin-grik-a  vt. like each other, want each other, of a man and woman.
sin-ku-ak-a  vt. want very strongly, esp. of a man for a woman or vice versa.
sin-wak-a  vt. want very strongly, of a man for a woman or vice versa.

7.723 Lust, Desire, Greedy, Selfish, Generous

The number of words that are available suggest, correctly, that Mandis find lust to be a topic of considerable interest. Mik-si-a, mik-ni-a, mik-bok-a and mat-u-a can all mean 'want badly, desire' in a quite general sense, but all of them often suggest, more specifically, a yearning for a member of the opposite sex. If there are subtle differences in meaning among these terms, they escape me. Speakers simply tell me that they all mean the same thing.

gon'-gon-a  vi. come persistently to someone to get something, as a child to a parent; as a young man or young woman comes persistently to the other; pester.
mat-u-a  vt. greedy, covet, yearn for a person or thing, fall in love.
mik-bok-a  vt. desire, covet, greedy for, lust after.
mik-ni-a  vi. greedy.
mik-sil-ek-a  vt. lust after, be lustful.
a-si-a  vt. greedy, lust for, long for something.
al-ak-si  vi. selfish, stingy.
al-nam-a  vi. generous.
mat-u-kok  n. a greedy person, one who wants everything.
7.725 Desire, Want, Hope, Try

The words in this section are less explicitly sexual in their meaning than those in 7.723, but their meanings overlap somewhat.

a-sa  n. hope, expectation. <B
bok-a  vt. want, demand.
ches-ta dak-a, ches-ta ka-a, ches-ta rim-a, ses-ta dak-a  vt. try, make attempt. <B
gam gok-a, gam-u gok-a  vph. hard-working, eager, enthusiastic.
gok-a  vi. want to, be inclined, enthusiastic.
gok-gip-a  n. hard working person, eager person.
gong-a  vi. be inclined, want to do something.
ha-sik-a, a-sik-a  vt. want to, wish to, desire, (usually with an infinitive verb compliment): ko-bol-ko kin-a-na a-sik-a want to hear the news.
ha-sik-a-git-a, a-sik-a-git-a  adv. according to one’s wishes, on purpose, voluntarily.
ha-sik-en, a-sik-en  adv. according to one’s wishes, on purpose, (A’pal).
ham-a, am-a  vt. 1. want, desire, ask for, (usually with a noun object):
ja-ba am-ing-a want curry. 2. be about to, on the point of, almost, (usually with a verbal compliment): si-na am-ing-a about to die.
ham-bru-a, am-bru-a  vt. pretend to want.
ham-chak-a, am-chak-a  vt. want on behalf of someone else.
ham-chel-a, am-chel-a  vt. want, demand, take by force.
ham-grik-a, am-grik-a  vt. want each other.
ham-rik-a, am-rik-rik-a  vt. want more and more.
jo-ton ka-a  vt. try, attempt.
ka-dong-a  vt. hope.
ma-ang, ma-ang-di-ang  adv. craving, longing for, as for tobacco; searching for.
mal-a  vi. want to be with, to come to lovingly, as a child comes to his grandfather, or as an animal pet comes to its owner; crawl of children, lizards, bugs, etc.
mik-si-a  vi. desire, want, hope for.
sik-a  vt. wish, (A’chik).
sik-a-tang  adv. willingly, according to one’s own wish.

7.726 Need, Must

la-gi-a, na-gi-a  vt. need. <B
nang-a  vt. must, need, require.
tek-ki-a  vi. lack something, without money or rice; in need. <B
7.741 Sympathize, Pity

cha-bak-a vi. go to someone for pity, as a child who asks for comfort.
duk ong-chak-a vph. sympathize, feel grief for.
gi-sik ong-chak-a vph. sympathize, feel grief for.
ka-sa-chak-a vt. sympathize with, pity.

7.742 Sorrow, Regret, Sadness

gi-sik jom-a, gi-sik-o jom-a vph. upset, unhappy, (lit. sick in the mind).
gi-sik sa-a, gi-sik-o sa-a vph. be upset, unhappy, (lit. sick in the mind).
ja-cha-a vi. disappointed, unsatisfied.

7.743 Lonely, Miss

gu-gu-a, grap-gu-gu-a, grap-a-gu-gu-a vi. miss, be lonely for, long for; cry in loneliness, wail for the dead.
ka-sim-ang-ka-sim-ang adv. beautiful sounding, touching the emotions, as speaking that evokes pity, as music that makes one sad.
ku-min-dik-a vi. alone, with no one to talk to.
ma-dok-a vt. echo in ma-ring-a ma-dok-a miss someone, long for.
ma-ring-a vi. miss, be lonely for, cry for someone, want to see someone.
mang-wa-a vi. miss someone sadly, mourn for a dead person.
ru-ang-ru-ang, gi-sik ru-ang-ru-ang adv. very lonely, miss strongly, homesick, deep sorrow, deep thinking, anxiety; the way one feels with some kinds of music.
sim-bra-a vi. miss, be lonely for, worry about, homesick, have nostalgia for.
sin-dik-a vi. be lonely, lack companionship, gloomy, sad. sin-dik-dik adv.

7.744 Dislike, Disgust

eng-ki-a vi. not like to, escape doing, dislike, avoid: kam-na eng-ki-a not like to work.
je-a, ji-a vt. dislike, criticize, insult, say bad things about.
mik-neng-a vt. tired of seeing, don’t want to see, dislike, (lit. eye-tired).
mik-si-mik-ot adv. dislike, not want to see.
mit-chi-a vt. have disgust for, be repelled by, as of bad things to eat, as Hindu feelings for lower castes.
ni-na a-sik-ja vph. dislike, (lit. not want to look at).
ni-na man-ja vph. dislike, (lit. unable to look at).
su-rek-su-chek adv. with disgust.
7.745 Shame, Shyness, Embarrassment and its Lack

kra cha-a vi. modest, embarrassed, ashamed.
kra cha-na gu-al-a vph. lacking modesty, (lit. forget to be modest).
kra dong-ja vph. show no shame.
man-de-gil-we n. a shy person, one who does not want to show his face, like a gil-we, an animal known for its shyness.
mik-chip-mik-kem adv. embarrassed, blinking, closing and opening eyes in embarrassment.
mik-gil dong-ja, mik-gil gri vph. have no modesty, too forward in behavior, shameless, (lit. without eyelids).
mik-gil nap-a vph. get to know, become acquainted with, overcome shyness, feel free with, (lit. enter the eyelids, get into the eye).
mik-gil si-a vi. embarrassed, with eyes down in shame, (lit. eyelids die).
mik-kang pin-ik-na kra cha-a vph. ashamed to go to someone, (lit. ashamed to show one’s face).
mik-ra-chak adv. having no shame.
na-teng git-chak adv. having no shame, (lit. red cheeks).
ra-song-si-si dak-a vph. boastful, show off, lacking modesty.

7.746 Brave

ken-a gri ppp. without fear, fearless.
pa-a vi. brave, fearless.
pran-a vi. brave, able to, manage, reach.
sang-chak-a vi. brave, courageous.

7.748 Proud, Boastful

dal-a-sot-sot adv. conceited, boastful.
ra-song n. praise, pride, good fortune, glory; ra-song dak-a give honor with clasped hands.
rai-song-ma, ra-song-ma n. a proud woman, boastful woman, show-off.
rai-song-pa, ra-song-pa n. a proud man, a boastful man, show-off.

7.763 Startled

ja-gip-u-a vi. be startled, jump with fright, as when hearing a sudden noise.
ja-gok-a vi. shout out with fear.
tang-pil-dat-a vi. jump back, jump away in fright, as when seeing a snake.
to-jot *adv.* startled.
tu-tu-rak-rak *adv.* startled, jump with fright.

**7.764 Fear, Worry (c.f. 9322 Tremble, Shake, Shiver)**

bi-pot *n.* danger, trouble, calamity, disaster. <B

*gi-sik su-ang-su-ang* *vph.* without hope, frustrated.

*han’-srik han’y-srik, an’-srik-an’-srik* *adv.* nervous, slightly afraid.

*ja-brang-a, gi-sik ja-brang-a* *vi.* terrified.

*ja-jeong-a* *vi.* be worried, a little frightened.

*ken-a* *vi.* be afraid.

*ken-chak-a* *vi.* afraid for someone else.

*ken-dil-a* *vt.* frighten, cause someone to be afraid.

*ken-ja-brang-a* *vi.* terrified, helpless with fear.

*ken-ja-gok-a* *vi.* scream with fear.

*ken-kok* *n.* coward.

*ken-sik-a* *vi.* nervous, worried, a little scared. *ken-sik* *adv.*

*srang-a, gi-sik srang-a* *vi.* without worries; unable to tell a lie, clear of mind.

*ting-ting-a, gi-sik ting-ting-a* *vi.* anxious, worried.

*tom-tom-a, gi-sik tom-tom-a* *vi.* calm, peaceful, without worries.

**7.766 Anger (cf. 8.32 Quarrel, Get Along)**

Speakers have given me an astonishing number of words that, they tell me, mean ‘angry’. I have not included them all because I have not heard them in use and have no sense of their exact connotations. My impression is that *ka’-o-nang-a* is most common word for ‘angry’ among A’chik speakers, while *bi-ka so-a* is more common among Mandis. The wealth of words that deal with anger might lead one to suppose that Mandis are continually churning with anger, but this would be a mistake, and I have no explanation for their extensive vocabulary.

*bi-ka so-a, bi-ka su-a* *vt.* angry at.

*bi-ka so-bru-a* *vi.* pretend to be angry.

*hel-hel* *adv.* a little angry.

*ka-cha-a* *vt.* speak angrily, scold angrily, bawl out, insult.

*ka’-o-nang-a* *vt.* angry at.

*ka’-o-nang-dik-a* *vt.* angry at.

*kal-nim-a* *vi.* not eat due to anger or loneliness.

*ku-rang-ku-dang* *adv.* speak angrily, in an ugly way.

*ma-si-a ma-tat-a* *vi.* angry.

*mang-gra-a* *vi.* angry, wanting to fight, of people and animals.

*rang-kan-ta* *n.* someone who gets angry easily.
rang-ki-rang-ki, rang-ki-rang-dat  adv. speak loudly and angrily.
rang-si-rang-dang  adv. speak angrily, in an ugly way.
rang-sing do-a  vi. echo in bi-ka so-a rang-sing do-a.
rang-tang-tang, rang-tang-rang-tang  adv. angrily; hard, well inflated, of a football or tire.

7.9 Sleep, Consciousness, Fatigue (cf. 9.343 Sleeping and Lying Positions)

7.94 Fatigue, Boredom, Laziness

a-rat-a  vi. bored; tired of.
al-si-a  vi. lazy; al-si-a chik-a be bitten by laziness. <B
bil-neng-a  vi. tired.
gol-dak-a  vi. lazy, never bending to work; straight, stick-like, sticking up, like dog’s tail.
ja-neng-a  vi. tired, of the legs, as from walking.
jak-neng-a  vi. tired, of the hands.
neng-a  vi. tired. -neng-. aa. tired: bil-neng-a tired; mik-neng-a don’t want to see, tired of seeing; ja-neng-a have tired legs; ku-neng-a tired voice.
neng-sit-tap-a  vi. very tired.
neng-tak-a  vi. rest, take a rest.
neng-wak-a  vi. very tired. vi. echo in neng-si neng-wak-a very tired.
ren-da-mok-a  vi. lazy.
rim-rim-tim-tim  adv. lacking strength, tired, unable to work because of pregnancy.

7.96 Sleep, Unconsciousness, Dreams

chu-a  vi. sleep.
chu-dil-a  vi. lead to sleep, put to sleep, as a child.
chu-kel-dap-a  vi. sleep all day.
chu-kin-ap-a  vi. good for sleeping, comfortable; sleep well, comfortably.
chu-nap-a  vi. sleep together, of a man and woman, one acknowledged way of initiating a marriage.
chu-ram  n. sleeping place, sleeping mat, (A·chik: tu-ram).
chu-stim-a  vi. doze, nod off to sleep.
deng-gok-a  vi. let the head flop when falling asleep; with the head bent down; bow deeply, bend over, of people; curl up with knees drawn up and face down; bent over, of rice plants.
e-jam-a, i-jam-a, hi-jam-a, hi-jam-jam-a  vi. yawn.
gak-u-a, sko gak-u-a  vi. nod, nod repeatedly, fall asleep so that head nods; bend down.
heng-gok  n. snore. heng-gok ra-a  vph. snore, (lit. take a snore).
ja-ka-ri  echo. in ja-ju-mang ja-ka-ri dream.
ju-mang, ja-ju-mang  n. dream. ju-mang nik-a  vph. have a dream, (lit. see a dream). ju-mang-cha nik-a  vph. have a dream, (lit. see in a dream). ju-mang-cha a-gan-a  vph. speak by a dream.
mik-gil jom-a  vph. sleepy, doze, (lit. heavy eyelids).
mik-git-il-a  vi. dizzy.
rem-rem-a  vi. feel sleepy; blinking in sleepiness; with drooping eyelids.
ru-reng-reng  adv. lie out straight and quiet, knowing nothing, in sleep, sickness, or death.
si-a, ju-mang-cha si-a  vt. give instructions in a dream in which the dreamer is told what to do: si-pil-a dream again, repeat, of a dream in which instructions are given.
si-sim-ak-a  vi. faint, (lit. die–wake up).
tu-chak-ram  n. sleeping space, (A’chik).
tu-si-a  vi. sleep, (A’chik).
tu-stim-a  vi. nod off to sleep, doze, (A’pal).
wal-chu-a, wal-o chu-a  vi. spend the night, as when one sleeps at a kinsman’s house.

7.97 Wakefulness, Consciousness

cha-mi-sa-a, sa-mi-sa-a  vt. wake someone up, arouse someone from sleep, get someone up.
chu-a-sim-ak-a  vi. wake up.
de-cha-a, di-cha-a  vt. get up, as a baby from sleep; lift up, help someone to sit up; put up, put away, of mats, etc.
mik-au-a  vi. wake up, open eyes.
mik-gil rak-a, mik-gil-ak-a  vi. not needing to sleep, wakeful, awake, (lit. strong eyelids).
mik-gil-ak-a  vi. wake up, open eyes, wakeful, be awake.
mik-git-tal-a  vi. awake, conscious.
mik-rak-a  vi. wake up; wakeful, not need to sleep, fail to sleep at night; not shy, (lit. eyes strong).
tu-a-sim-ak-a  vi. wake up, (A’pal).
wal-seng-a  vi. lie awake at night, unable to sleep.
8.0 SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS

No area has been more impacted by borrowed words than those grouped here under ‘social institutions’. Mandis cannot discuss modern government, the economy, or their Christian religion without a flood of Bengali words. I have included a good many of these, but I have given priority to the older Mandi vocabulary. The hundreds of new words should not hide the fact that Mandis have always had to talk about religious, legal, and economic activities. The new forms of these activities, including Christianity, national politics, and the modern economy, all exploit Bengali words to the fullest.

8.1 Government and Law

8.12 Officials

ba-nai-a *vt.* choose, select, appoint an official to office; build, prepare, construct, create, make. <B
cher-men *n.* union chairman, local elected leader. <E
ha-king nok-ma *n.* the man who held the title for the village land during the time of slash and burn agriculture.
ku-tip pat-a *vph.* give symbol of power, create a headman, (lit. wrap the turban).
mang-got sol-a, mang-got ra-a *vph.* give symbol of power, create a headman, (lit. carve the staff, take the staff).
mat-bor *n.* headman, village leader, head person. <B
nem-bar, mem-bar *n.* member of the union (local district) council. <E
po-liis *n.* police. <E
sko-tong, sku-tong *n.* headman, leader, (A'chik).
sor-dar *n.* agent of a village head, speaker at village bi-char (legal meetings). <B

8.13 Legal Cases

bi-chal, bi-char, bi-sar *n.* meeting to settle a legal dispute, village trial. <B
gro, gru  vi. legal case, an offense that leads to a legal case. gro nang-a vph. commit an offense, such as theft or adultery, that leads to a legal case.

je-a, gro je-a  vi. make arguments, talk at a legal meeting.

kap-pa gro, ku-pa gro  n. legal case, a dispute that becomes subject to formal arbitration.

ma-mil-a  n. legal case, especially one that goes to a government court.

nang-chek-chek-a, gro nang-chek-chek-a  vi. a legal case, including one arising from improper behavior between a man and a woman.

sak-ki  n. witness at a legal case. <B

sal-a  vt. conduct a legal case, pull out the arguments; pull; pull in order to lengthen, stretch; play a harmonium; draw a line; pump a 'rower' pump; adjust or a a sari.

sal-iis  n. gathering of people to settle a legal case, (same as bi-char).

sing-a  vt. question witnesses at a legal meeting; ask question; bark, of dogs.

8.14 Laws, Rules, Customs

be-wal, bi-wal  n. habit, custom, convention.

ni-om  n. law. <B

ri-ti ni-ti  n. law, custom. <B

8.15 Settlement of Cases, Compensation

cha-a  vt. receive monetary compensation as as a result of a legal case; eat, live by means of, nurse; erupt, come out, of a skin disease; eat away at by water or by a disease.

gam-a, gam-et-a, gro gam-a, gro gam-et-a, gam-a si-a  vt. pay a fine, give money in compensation after a legal dispute.

gam-chak-a  vi. collect money from the participants in order to pay compensation in settlement of a dispute.

gro cha-a  vph. receive monetary compensation as a result of a legal case.

mi-mang-sa  n. agreement, reconciliation, settlement of a legal case. <B

ron-a  vt. pay, as compensation in a legal dispute; give, put, give a loan; marry, officiate at a marriage; take an examination, what students do.

si-a, gro si-a  vi. settle a legal case, (lit. case dies). si-a vi. echo in gam-a si-a  pay a fine.

si-et-a, gro si-et-a  vt. settle a case, (lit. cause the case to die.

8.2 Political Districts: Villages, Cities, Districts, Nations

des  n. country, nation, land. <B
el-ek-ka  n. an administrative district. <B

git-tim  n. section of a village comprising several houses or clusters of houses, neighborhood.

ha-dok, a-dok  n. area, region, location, as a field, a community, a country.

ha'-song, a-song  n. country, nation, native place.

pa-ra  n. section of a village, neighborhood. <B

so-hor  n. city. <B

song  n. village.

song-dong-a  vt. settle a village.

song-nok  n. settlement, the entire village area.

song-pi nok-pi  n. the whole village.

ta-na  n. police district, police station. <B

8.3 Quarrel, Fight, War and Peace

8.32 Quarrel and Get Along (cf. 7.36 Accuse; 7.766 Anger)

bo-bil  n. enemy.

bot-a  vt. provoke, pick a fight, challenge, cause someone to be angry, annoy, quarrel.

cha-grik-a  vi. get up to face one another in a quarrel.

dong-rim-a  vi. be peaceful, without quarrelling.

gi-si-a  vi. echo in ni-ri-a gi-si-a quarrel, get along badly

in-grik-a  vi. converse, often angrily; echo in ni-ri-a in-grik-a get along badly, quarrel.

in-grik-bu-a  vt. quarrel in jest.

ku-mong-a  vt. agree, consult, discuss; talk over and come to an agreement.

me-li-a, mi-li-a  vi. get along well, not fight, peaceful, good relationship; go together well, of things, words. <B

mik-mal-a  vi. get along well, well acquainted.

na-gap-a  vi. get along well together as friendly people; match of clothes; dialects that are similar.

nang-rim-a, nang-grim-a  vi. get along well, have a good relationship, often with implication of an illicit sexual relations.

nang-rim-it-a  vt. reconcile, cause to get along well.

ni-ri-a  vt. quarrel, dispute, get along badly.

rit-dang-ban-dang  adv. disagreeing, speaking at the same time, confused, tangled, unsystematically, disorderly.

weng ku-weng  adv. arguing, disputing.
8.33 Naughtiness, Crime, Criminals

da-kait, da-kat n. dacoit, robber, bandit. <B
da-ra n. man of bad character.
da-ri n. naughty girl, female adulterer.
deng-gu n. bad person, naughty person; often used affectionately for children, rascal.
gong-ge-a, gong-gi-a, gong-ge-git-ik-a vi. disobey, disagree, not accept another’s word, (lit. not straight, crooked).
to-kai-a vt. cheat, overcharge, not pay back money that is owed. <B
to-re-kok, tu-ri-kok n. rapist.

8.34 Thievery

chau-a vi. steal, commit thievery; do something in secret.
chau-kok, cha-a-kok n. thief.
chol-a vt. steal, rob.
chol-kok n. thief.
ol-u-kok n. thief.
sik-nang-a vt. catch in the act, as a thief or adulterer.

8.36 Threaten, Fight

bol-im-bol-tim adv. vigorously, actively, of fighting by people, children, dogs.
cha-a vt. echo in dok-na cha-a or den-a cha-a attack.
dak-grik-a vi. fight.
ding-a vt. attack, fight, wage war, snarl in defiance.
ding-grik-a vi. echo in dak-grik-a ding-grik-a fight, threaten, wage war.
dok-grik-a vi. fight, (lit. hit each other).
heng-a, eng-a vt. threaten to hit.
ku-ching-a vt. threaten.
mang-cha-a vt. angry at, wanting to fight, of animals or people: ang-ko a-chak mang-cha-ing-a the dog is angry at me.
peng-chak-a vt. defend someone else against attack.
wai-wil-a vt. echo in ku-ching-a wai-wil-a threaten.

8.4 Economics

8.41 Occupations, Jobs (cf. various social institutions, 8.12 Officials)

a-wil-i n. a person without a fixed home, one who wanders.
be-pa-ri n. man who goes to villages to buy crops, pedlar. <B
cha-kol, chak-kol cha-kor  n. worker, laborer. <B
cha-kri, cha-ku-ri  n. wage earning job, especially with the government. <B
gar-jen  n. guardian, person responsible for someone else, as a parent. <E
gat  n. guard, forest guard. <E
gil-i-geng-i cha'-gip-a  n. beggars, (lit. those who eat by begging).
jo-mi-dar  n. landlord. <B
ka-mal, ka-mar, sil-ka-mal  n. blacksmith. <B
ka-nil-a  n. worker, laborer. <B
ma-gi-a-ri  n. beggar. <B
ma-ha-jon, mo-ha-jon  n. money lender. <B
mal-iik  n. owner, boss. <B
nok-kol  n. servant, worker.
nok-ma-gip-a  n. owner, the employer of a worker.
po-res-tar  n. forester. <E
ren-jar  n. kind of forest officer, ranger. <E
riik-sa-wal-a  n. rickshaw peddler. <B

8.42 Land, Property (cf. 5.11 Fields)

8.423 Property

a-tot  n. property of a single individual, including land, goods, rice, etc.; agricultural plot used by a single member of a family, often by a young unmarried person.
ha'-ba nok-dang, a'-ba nok-dang  n. land and house, property of a household, even of a poor household.
ha'-ba song-ba, a'-ba song-ba  n. property, (lit. fields and village).
ha'-king, a'-king  n. the plot of land to which the members of a village had cultivation rights during the period of slash and burn agriculture, whose title was held by the man known as the ha'-king nok-ma.
ha'-wal, a'-wal  n. all property rights, (lit. land and fire): ha'-wal wat-a to break the lineage bonds when divorce occurs, (lit. send away the land and fire).
ki-rong  n. echo in a-tot ki-rong, property of a single individual, as opposed to family property.
nok-jam  n. property, (lit. house-granary).
som-pot-i, soi-som-pot-i, som-pot  n. property. <B

8.425 Rent, Mortgage, Sharecropping

ba-gi  n. shares in sharecropping. <B
ba-gi ron'-a, ba-gi on'-a  vph. give land to another to work in return for a 1/2 share of the harvest; give to a sharecropper.
**8.427 Property, Other**

**bak on-et-a, bak ku-ri-a** vt. divide, as animals, as land to children in inheritance, give shares, (lit. give portions).

**ma-at-a** vt. divide, apportion, property, meat, money, etc.

**nok-dang, a-ba-nok-dang** n. land and house, property of a household.

**nok-gip-a** n. owner, God.

**som-bol** n. means of support, savings, provisions, supplies; an old man’s stick.

**su-al-a** vt. divide, apportion, share, esp. for property and goods other than money.

**8.43 Work, Wages**

**8.433 Work (cf. 7.94 Fatigue, Boredom, Laziness)**

**ba-ra** n. labor given in exchange: **ba-ra ron-a** give labor to be returned later; **ba-ra ra-a** receive labor from another that is to be paid back later; **ba-ra chot-a** repay labor. **ba-ra-a** vi. exchange labor, give labor in expectation of a later equivalent return. <B

**ba-ra-grik-a** vi. exchange labor back and forth.

**chak-kol, cha-kol** n. worker. <B

**chu-ti** n. holiday, leave. <B

**dak-am-a** vi. work badly, leave unfinished.

**git-tang-gi-si** n. exchange labor, the first day is **git-tang** (living), the day the labor is returned is **gi-si** (dead).

**ha-jak, a-jak** n. reciprocal labor, labor to be paid back, labor exchange.

**ha-jak ron-a** vt. give work for pay.

**jak-ma gam-u** vph. working with hands, work hard, not lazy, as at basket making, gardening, etc.

**ka-a** vt. do, work, (A’chik, A’pal).

**kam, gam, gam-u** n. work, labor. <B

**kong-si-kong-rok** adv. doing lots of work, work hard, busy.
mik-si-ging-si  adv. lots of work, many jobs to do.
rim-dang-a  vph. finish working, without interruption. often negative:
   rim-dang-ja disturbed, interrupted.
rim-ga-gal-a  vt. work quickly.
rim-kam-a  vt. keep working, not rest.
so-so-jeng-jeng, su-su-jeng-jeng  adv. going from this to that without finishing anything, having too much work.
tak-tuk, tuk-tak  n. odd jobs; a bit from here, a bit from there, as when looking for things.
u-hu-bu-hu  adv. having lots of work, too much work.
wat-a  vt. fire from a job; let go, release; settle, finalize; quit smoking; send a letter, etc.; let animals run loose; abandon, throw away; weigh.

8.435 Wages, Payment

ba-ri-a  vi. increase, as wages. <B
bet-ton  n. pay, wages to a worker; school fee. <B
chuk-ti, chuk-ti-potro  n. agreement, especially a written agreement, as with a worker about time and wages; promise. <B
ko-ros  n. money wages. <B
ma-gin-a  adv. working without money wages, but often with food provided, as with a work group for building a roof where friends are given food and rice beer but no money. <B
nok-kol gam-a  vph. work for wages, work as a servant.

8.44 Money, Wealth, Buying and Selling

8.441 Wealth and Poverty

a-pi-a  vi. echo in chol-i-a a-pi-a getting along, not poor.
al-ong-gi pal-ong-gi  adv. without possessions.
cha-pa-rok dak-pa-rok  adv. survive by working here and there; inconsistent, lazy.
dil-a  vi. poor, impoverished.
dil-gang-gil-a  vi. very poor, without anything.
dil-nok-kol-a  vi. very poor, without anything.
dil-rik-rik-a  vi. grow poor.
dil-tek-tek-a  vi. very poor, without anything.
gol-teng-teng  adv. very poor, without clothes, implies having so few clothes that the gol-teng (stick, i.e. penis) shows.
ka-ting-ting  adv. well off, with plenty of money, property, food; without worries.
nok-ma  n. rich person, wealthy person; traditional village leader, headman.
nok-ma cha-a  vt. be rich, not poor.

8.442 Prices, Value, Money

a-ma  n. monetary principal, as contrasted with interest.
a-ma gal-a  vph. lose, take a loss in buying and selling.
ba-ra  n. payment, rent, fare, bus fare. <B
dam  n. price. <B
gus  n. bribe. <B
lap  n. benefit; profit, as profit in business. <B
lap cha-a  vph. take a profit, (lit. eat profit). <B
lus-kan  n. loss, opposite of profit. <B
nok-san  n. loss, as from buying and selling. <B
nom-a, dam nom-a  n. inexpensive.
pi-sa  n. monetary interest, profit.
rak-a, dam rak-a  vt. expensive, (lit. hard price).
sut, sud  n. interest on a loan. <B

8.444 Buying, Selling

ba-ding-a  vt. peddle, travel about selling things.
ba-ki bre-a  vph. buy on credit.
bep-sa, be-bo-sa  n. business. <B
bre-a, bri-a  vt. buy.
bre-git-chi-a, bri-git-chi-a  vt. buy something bad, as when cheated.
bre-pak-a, bri-pak-a  vt. buy as one goes somewhere, buy along the way.
bre-rik-a, bri-rik-a  vt. buy from someone passing, as from a peddler.
pal-a  vt. sell.
pal-ding-a  vt. peddle, sell by walking around with one’s goods; prostitute oneself.
pal-rik-a  vt. sell to one who is passing.
pal-sit-ong-a  vt. sell everything.
sre-a, sri-a  vt. exchange, trade.
sre-grik-a, sri-grik-a  vt. exchange, trade.
tek-ki-a pal-ing-a  vt. sell when in need, as when selling crops cheaply before they are ripe, selling cattle when needing rice.

8.446 Borrowing, Lending

bot-a, jin-ang bot-a  vph. lend money or rice for interest.
chot-a  vt. pay off a debt of money, goods, or labor, return labor in labor exchange; give back.
jin-ang  n. loan, of money, rice, etc.: jin-ang bot-a make a loan for interest, as of rice or money, lend; jin-ang chot-a pay back a loan; jin-ang ra-a take a loan, borrow; jin-ang sro-a take a loan, borrow.
ju-gai-a  vt. supply, support, in return for payment or when supporting a child or an indigent person. <B
on-cheng-a  vt. loan an object that must be returned.
ra-a, jin-ang ra-a  vt. take a loan, receive a loan, borrow.
riin, run, lun  n. loan of money, as from a savings club. riin ra-a  vph. take a loan, receive a loan. <B
sro-a, sru-a, jin-ang sro-a  vt. borrow at interest, as rice, money.
sut cha-a  vph. take interest, charge interest like a money lender. <B
wal-pil-a  vt. come back, return. vt. return, as a loan, give back.

8.447 Currency

a-dul-i, a-dil-i  n. eight annas, half a rupee. <B
dang-ga bi-rong  n. coins, (lit. money grains).
jak-sam  n. five taka, (lit. one hand).
kan-di  n. three takas.
pat-sa, dang-ga pat-sa  n. one taka.
poi-sa  n. coins, small change. <B
rep-a  n. half-taka coin, eight anna coin.
suk-ki, sik-ki  n. four anna coin, quarter-taka. <B
ta-ka  n. taka, Bangladeshi unit of currency. <B		
tang-ka  n. money, especially paper money, (A·pal, A·chik). <B

8.449 Miscellaneous Economic

an-ti  n. market, week, (A·chik).
ba-jar, ba-jal  n. bazaar. <B
bo-dol dak-a  vph. exchange, trade. <B
do-kan, do-han, du-kan, du-han  n. shop. <B
geng-a  vt. echo in gil-a geng-a beg.
gil-a  vt. beg for alms, collect money in church.
ha-ti, a-ti  n. market, week.

8.48 Society, Organizations

dol-  cls. classifier for sides, teams, groups of people. <B
so-mas, so-maj  n. society, social group. <B
so-mi-ti  n. organization, committee, club. <B
so-mo-bai  n. cooperative: so-mo-bai so-mi-ti cooperative club. <B
son-choi, son-choi so-mo-bai  n. the type of club that collects savings money. <B
8.5 Religious and Ceremonial Life

8.51 Participants and Sects

dor-mo n. religion, denomination. <B
gu-ni-al, gu-ni-ar n. powerful ko-bi-raj (herbal doctor) who can use mon-tros (chants) and medicines to kill people. <B
Gu-ru-sot-o n. the denomination of the Mandai people and of the Hindu Garos. <B
ka-mal n. priest of the traditional religion.
ko-bi-ras, ko-bi-raj n. herbal doctor.
mat-cha-du, mat-cha-bet, mat-cha-brek n. a human being who is able to change into a tiger.
pa-dal, pa-dar n. Catholic father, priest. <E
pa-dri n. Anglican priest. <E
pa-lok n. Protestant preacher, (same as pa-mong).
pa-mong n. Protestant preacher.
pas-tor n. Protestant preacher. <E
Sang-sa-rek n. the Mandi name for the traditional religion of the Garos, (A’chik: Song-sa-rek).
skal n. an evil person who can kill people by magic, rather than by reciting a chant (mon-tro).
Song-sa-rek n. the A’chik name of the traditional religion of the Garos, (Mandi: Sang-sa-rek).
to-rom n. religious denomination. <B

8.52 Ideas, Concepts

a-si n. fortune, fate, luck; augury, as when judged from an inspection of bird’s intestines: a-si-mal-ja, a-si-nam-ja bad luck, bad omens; a-si nam-a good luck, good omens.
at-chi-pil-a vi. be reborn, come to life again.
dok-a vt. create, by gods; beat, knock, hit; make, forge iron tools.
ga-a, ma-rang ga-a vph. have effect, comes, is present, of ma-rang taboo, bad omen.
gin-a vt. echo in dok-a gin-a create, by god.
jang-gi n. life, soul, vital essence of a person.
jang-gi sik-et-a, jang-gi sik-a, jang-gi ron-a n. put in life, give life or the soul, in creating a human being, by a spirit or God.
ma-rang n. pollution, taboo, blood, misfortune, evil, crime.
sal-gi n. heaven. <B
sik-a vt. provide the jang-gi (life, soul) by the creator; put on, of hat, bracelet; insert, put in, stick in, sew, poke, jab, plant in mud.
8.54 Gods and Spirits, Sacred Figures

Ba-gip-a Bi-rom-bi n. the creator, the mit-e (spirit) who made the earth and who is now equated with the Christian God (I-sol).
Dak-gip-a n. name of a mit-e (spirit) that is coupled with Ta-ta-ra as Ta-ta-ra Dak-gip-a.
Dal-gip-a n. a big spirit (mit-e).
do-ang, du-ang n. a black-faced eagle-like bird that associates with me-mang (ghosts) and whose cry is a warning of death.
Dok-gip-a n. forger, maker of iron tools, used as a name for the Christian God.
Gin-gip-a n. a name for the Christian God, usually an echo of Dok-gip-a the forger: Dok-gip-a Gin-gip-a.
Go-e-ra n. name of a mit-e (spirit) that makes thunder.
I-sol n. the Christian God. <B
kat-chi n. echo in mit-e kat-chi spirits.
Ku-ri mit-e n. a mit-e (spirit) that makes people crazy.
mat-mi-mang n. a me-mang (ghost) that frightens people, especially on the road at night.
me-mang, mi-mang n. ghost, beings that are invisible but that frighten people.
mit-e, mit-i n. spirits, gods, unseen beings that create things, cause thunder, etc., and cause disease when they bite.
Na-wang n. a monster with a very large mouth and, some say, a large belly, who is credited with causing eclipses by swallowing the sun or the moon. Na-wang min-ok-a vph. eclipse, (lit. swallowed by Na-wang).
nok-gip-a n. God, owner.
nok-ni mit-e n. the spirit of the house.
rong-tal-gip-a n. holy spirit, (lit. clean one).
soi-tan n. satan, devil. <B

8.56 Acts and Ceremonies (cf. 8.8 Games, Festivals, 8.83 Music, Song, Dance)

8.562 Sangsarek Acts and Ceremonies

A-ha-hu-a n. the traditional festival, one part of which is a stylized whooping shout that sounds like a-ha-hu-a.
amu-a vt. sacrifice, make a ceremonial offering to the mit-e (spirits) of rice, curry, etc., place before an altar.
chin-a vt. offer, make a ceremonial offering to the mit-e (spirits) of rice, curry, etc., place before an altar; serve to people, as rice beer or rice.
chu-ga-ri-a n. the offering of rice beer when it is poured over other food offerings during a sacrifice.
do-bik ni-a, du-bik ni-a *vt.* inspect the fowl’s intestines for omens, esp. the inspection for omens that is a central part of a marriage ceremony.

do-dok-a, du-dok-a *vt.* kill a domestic fowl; name given to the traditional marriage ceremony at which a chicken sacrifice is the central event, and where the intestines are inspected for omens.

e-chu an-a, i-chu an-a *vph.* spread out the end portion of a banana leaf at the base of an altar as part of a sacrifice.

gal-a *vt.* pour rice beer as an offering at a sacrifice; throw away, dispose of; divorce.

ja-ra-gat-a *vi.* the return procession from the grave after a burial, or from the site of a sacrifice, which may include drum or other music and dancing.

jok-a, ma-rang jok-a *vt.* be rid of ma-rang (taboo).

krit-a *vt.* sacrifice to spirits, (same as a-mu-a).

ma-rang wat-a *vph.* get rid of pollution (ma-rang) as by an offering of an egg.

mang-ri-a *vi.* go to a funeral in a procession, carrying a pig, rice beer, drums, etc.

me-mang gam, mi-mang gam *n.* funeral, ceremony for the dead, (lit. ghost work).

ni-chak-a *vt.* watch for someone, look for someone; wait for someone, of participants in a sacrifice waiting for the priest to return to the house, of a midwife waiting for a baby.

rok-a, ma-rang rok-a *vph.* remove ma-rang (evil and pollution); dispose of ma-rang by means of an egg sacrifice using bamboo that has been shaved so as to make a ‘beard’.

Rong-chu-gal-a *vt.* a traditional festival that involves the throwing of rong-chu (flattened rice).

ru-dit-a *vt.* pour a bit of rice beer onto the ground as an offering for the mit-e (spirits).

ru-gal-a, ru-e gal-a *vi.* ceremonial offering of rice beer to spirits, by pouring and throwing.

sa-sat so-a *vt.* burn a kind of incense (sa-sat) that was formerly made from wood of the sal tree, but is now purchased, to produce smoke for an offering to the mit-e (spirits).


sim-a, sim-a ni-a *vph.* a procedure in which the names of the mit-e (spirits) are recited while holding a broken black thread which swings when the correct mit-e has been named, thereby revealing which mit-e caused a sickness.
tet-a, kil-ding tet-a vt. a ceremony in which a thread is strung from a sick person to outside the house. When the thread is broken the mit-e (spirit) can no longer come to the sick person.
wal-du-ka-a vt. set the time for a ceremony, fix the date.
Wan-a, Wan-gal-a vi. hold the traditional autumn festival that was the major annual ceremony of the Garos. Wan-gal-a n.
Wan-kim-bak-a, Wan-kel-tap-a vi. perform a partial or shortened Wan-gal-a festival.
Wan-ma-a, Wan-mang-song-a vi. do the full form of the Wan-gal-a festival.

8.564 Christian Acts and Ceremonies

bap-tis-mon, bap-tis-mol n. baptism (for Catholics). <E
bi'-am-a, bi'-a vt. pray.
bi'-ap-a vi. pray.
bi'-chak-a vi. pray for someone, pray on behalf of.
bo-ro-diin n. Christmas, (lit. big day). <B
chak-a, chak-a kang-a vt. contribute money, rice, or a pig as contribution to a wedding or sacrifice.
nap-bol-a vi. be baptized (for Baptists).
pra-to-na n. prayer. <B
ra'-bru-a vt. follow without belief, as religious rules.
rip-bol-a n. full immersion baptism, for Baptists.

8.566 Acts and Ceremonies, Other

ban-a vt. use a mon-tro (chant) to perform magic that can kill someone. <B
ja'-sru-a vt. injure by means of a mon-tro (chant) that can kill or cause blindness.
ku'-man-si-a vt. pledge to give a man-sa (ceremony) if a sick person gets well.
man-sa n. a ceremony regarded as Christian, but much like a Sangsarek sacrifice, that may be done to cure a disease, or in fulfillment of a promise to give thanks when a sick person has recovered. <B
mon-tro n. a non-Christian ceremonial chant, incantation. <B
pan-chi-ni n. a ceremony before a wedding, when pan (betel leaf) and chi-ni (sugar) are offered to guests. <B
to-a, to-a gan-a, tu-a gan-a vi. do evil magic, with medicines rather than with a ritual chant, in order to cause someone to die.
ton-tro n. echo in mon-tro ton-tro ritual chant. <B
wak dok-a n. a celebration in which grown children thank their parents for the gift of land.
8.58 Ceremonial Equipment

be-di  n. church altar. <B
cham-bil  n. rounded part of memorial post.
chek-rek  n. bamboo post with split and flared top that can hold things, used in sacrifices.
chi-sol  n. Christian cross.
del-ang  n. small spirit house that is built in front of a house when someone dies.
dip-il  n. fence around a sam-ba-si-a (altar).
do'-ra-song, du-ra-song  n. the bird that is killed in order to inspect the intestines for omens, specifically the bird sacrificed in a marriage ceremony.
ga-mi-pong  n. altar for sacrifice.
ga-mi-pong-ri-ding  n. horizontal bamboo that is a part of an altar.
ga-kang  n. flat rear part of an altar.
gen-gen-a  vt. make a waving pattern on the bamboo for an altar by scraping off the green color.
gu-a-re  n. the fence around an altar.
gul  n. the fence around an altar.
jak-sil  n. a part of a kim-a (memorial post) that encircles the post.
jang-ki  n. notched bamboo that a mit-e (spirit) can use to climb to an altar; stairs, ladder, as to a watch house.
ka-a, gu-a-re ka-a  vph. build the fence around an altar; tie.
kim-a  n. memorial post that is set up to honor a dead person.
mi-kak-si  n. leaves sticking out on top of an altar for a sacrifice to nok-ni mit-e (house spirit).
no-gri  n. small metal bells tied to a pole and used by a priest during the ja-ra-gat-a (return walk from a sacrifice).
ok-bong-a  n. bulging section of a kim-a (memorial post); wider at the middle than at the ends, as some rice fields, some baskets.
pa-ra  n. pottery holder for coals used in the sa-sat so-a ceremony, open earthenware dish.
pak-ram  n. place where rong-chu (flattened rice) is poured in the rong-chu gal-a ceremony; place where something is poured; place where waste is thrown.
pong-si  n. device made from a thread hanging from a horizontal bamboo bow, used in the kil-ding tet-a ceremony for identifying the spirit responsible for a person's illness.
rang-sip-pok  n. part of a memorial post; a kind of rang (gong).
sa-sat  n. an incense made from the wood of the sal tree and burned for its fragrant smoke in some Sang-sa-rek ceremonies: Sa-sat so-a the ceremony in which sa-sat is burned.
sam-bi-si  n. poison mixed with food to kill someone, as by a gu-ni-al.
tok-kol  n. a separate upright bamboo piece of an altar, a vertical bamboo post.
wa-dang  n. length of bamboo, often decorated and with leaves still attached, that is used as part of an altar in a sacrifice.

8.6 Education

bo-ro-wan  n. the upper level of class one in primary school, (lit. big-one).
i< B, E
di-di  n. female teacher, older sister, primarily a term of address. i< B
kil-as  n. class. i< E
ma-star  n. teacher. i< E
po-rai-a  vt. teach: pi-sa-ko ma-star po-rai-a the master teaches the children. i< B
po-ri-a  n. read, study. i< B
po-ri-ka  n. test, examination. i< B
ra-a, po-ri-ka ra-a  vt. give an examination, what teachers do, receive the exam paper, (ra-a take).
ron-a, po-ri-ka ron-a  vt. take an examination, what students do, hand or give it in.
siik-kiit-o  n. educated. i< B
sin-ing-a  vt. teach, learn: na-a ang-na Man-di ku-sik-ko sin-ing-a you are teaching me the Mandi language.
ski-a  n. teach, learn, (A·chik).
ti-char  n. teacher. i< E

8.8 Games, Recreation, Festivals, Music (cf. 8.56 Acts and Ceremonies)

8.81 Games, Sports
da-gai  n. playing field, a field marked by lines for playing games such as ha-du-du or football. i< B
gul-a  n. name of a children’s running game.
ha-du-du  n. children’s running game played in a space marked by lines on the ground. i< B
jiit-ti-a, jit-ti-a  vi. win, as at sports. i< B
kal-a  vt. play games, cards, sports.
su-sa-a  vi. compete, race: kat-su-sa-a race by running.
tok-ki-a  vi. lose, as at sports or a legal case. i< B
8.83 Music, Song, Dance (cf. 3.62 Hearing and Sound)

a-je-a, a-ji-a  vi. sing a chanting song done at a sacrifice or other celebration, usually along with rice beer drinking.

au-cha-a  vi. echo in a-je-a au-cha-a a chanting type of song.

ba-jin-a  vi. to sound, make a sound, as a musical instrument: ang-a har-mon-i-ko ba-jin-et-a I play (cause to sound) the harmonium. <B

bai-skup  n. movies, cinema; an old fashioned word now largely replaced by si-ne-ma. <B

dim-dim-a  vi. to make a sound, of drums.

do-ro-a, du-ru-a  vi. sing a kind of competitive chant.

dok-a sik-a  vt. play musical instruments, (lit. beat and blow).

gan  n. song. <B
giit  n. song, (A’chik).
go-re ro-a, gu-ri ru-a  vi. do a circle dance, in which women stand in the center and men circle around them.
grik-a  vt. do a war dance with headhunting sword and shield, in which one shouts out while dancing.

han-seng-wil-wil-a  n. dance joyfully in a circle, as in a kiir-ton.

ka-si-rok ka-si-rok  adv. beautiful sounding, of some music.

kiir-ton  n. a type of circle dance. <B

ku-sol sal-a  vi. speak or sing in a beautiful slow style; dragged out, stretched out.

me-sa-a  vt. echo in grik-a me-sa-a dance with sword and shield.

ring-a  n. sing.

ring-dim-dim-a  vt. sing a lot, continuously.

ring-drak-a  vt. sing loudly.

ring-mi-si-a  vt. sing a lot, for a long time.

ro-a, ru-a  vt. dance, as a kir-ton.

ro-gat-a, ru-gat-a  vi. dance done at a sacrifice for the spirits when the dancers return to the house from the altar.

ro-ring-ro-ring, ru-ring-ru-ring, ro-ring-ring  adv. stretched out in time, of a tune, a kind of very beautiful music; stringy, running, like raw egg, runny dough, sap.

se-re-jing  n. a light-hearted type of song based on the story of Serejing and her lover, Waljam.

si-ne-ma  n. cinema, movies. <E

sik-a  vt. blow, play horn, whistle, flute; use a bamboo tube to blow up a fire.

sil-pi  n. singer. <B

Wal-jam  n. Serejing’s boyfriend, from well-known songs.
8.85 Musical Instruments

a-du-ri, a-dru n. musical horn made from a buffalo horn attached to a long bamboo blowing tube.
a-sam-kat-a n. a kind of rang (musical gong).
ba-rat n. long strips of hide that run along the length of a drum and tie the end pieces tight.
bang-si n. flute, played to the side.
cheng-chap n. cymbal.
da-ma n. drum.
dok-a-sik-a-ni n. musical instruments, (lit. things beaten and blown).
du-ri-si n. a kind of rang (gong).
gol-ka-tek n. a small stick used to beat gongs.
gol-ka-ti n. a small stick used to beat a drum or gong.
har-mo-ni n. harmonium. <E
im-bing-gi, am-bing-gi n. reed of a sa-nai (small musical horn).
ka-ti, gol-ka-ti n. a small prepared stick used to beat gongs; match stick. <B
kram n. type of drum, a bit smaller than da-ma and with one end that tapers to a small size.
kram-ni pi-sa n. very small and sacred drum, (same as na-tuk), (lit. child of the kram).
ma-mu-ri n. thong that encircles the end of a drum and that holds the end pieces.
mat-gil n. cowhide that is stretched over the end of a drum.
na-bak n. flap of raw hide to which the rope for holding a drum is attached; collar of a shirt; loop of a basket for holding tump line; handle of a cup.
na-gra n. a type of drum with a pottery base. <B
na-tuk n. very small and sacred drum.
pi-pi n. whistle, a child’s toy.
rang n. gong, a traditional musical instrument.
rang-bet-ul n. a kind of rang (gong).
rang-dil n. a kind of rang.
rang-kong-si n. a kind of rang.
rang-mi-sil n. a kind of rang.
rang-sip-pok n. a kind of rang (gong); part of a memorial post.
sa-nai n. small reed horn, made of wood with a flared end.
sing-ga n. musical horn made from a buffalo horn and blown without a bamboo blowing tube. <B
sing-gi-ma-ri n. a kind of rang (gong).
so-ras n. a stringed musical instrument. <B
u-tak-ka-ru n. large, three-holed bamboo flute. <B
wa-pek  n. bamboo part that joins an a-du-ri (musical horn) to its handle.
wi-sal  n. whistle used in football. <E

8.9 Illness (cf. 7.94 Fatigue)

8.91 Sickness, Health, Doctors, Patients

be-suk  n. echo in o-suk be-suk sick. <B
bil-ak-a  vi. grow serious, of a disease; strong.
bil-ong-a, bil-ong-en  vi. serious, a disease that grows serious; important, strong, very.
gri-a, jom-a gri-a  vi. get better after being sick, improve.
han cheng-a, han'-cheng-a, han'-jak cheng-a  vi. healthy, feel good, feel light; slightly drunk, (lit. body-light).
han chrim-a, han'-chrim-a  vi. feel bad, (lit. body-heavy).
han'-chak-a  vt. take into the body, as a disease, get sick; become pregnant; accept, endure, put up with.
han'-jak nam-a  vi. healthy, (lit. body-hand-good).
han'-jrim-a  vi. weak, sick; lazy, not feel like working, (lit. body-heavy).
han-sel-a, an'-sel-a  vi. healthy of body.
jak-sel-a  vi. echo in an'-sel-a jak-sel-a healthy.
jo-bra-a  vi. mildly sick.
jom-a  vi. be sick, suffer, have fever.
jom-a gri-a  vi. improve after an illness.
jom-bru-a  vi. pretend to be sick.
jom-cha-deng-a  vi. sick on and off, intermittently, (lit. sick-stand).
jom-ket-a  vi. sick all the time.
jom-ok-a  vi. a little sick.
jom-pek-ing-a  vi. repeatedly sick.
jom-pin-ek-a  vi. sick all the time.
jom-ren-di-a  vi. mildly sick, a bit sick.
ko-bi-ras, ko-bi-raj  n. herbal doctor. <B
mang-rak-a  vi. strong in body, healthy, without disease or weakness.
nam gek-a  vi. well off, well to do, in health or possessions.
o-suk  n. illness, sickness. <B
ru-gi, ro-gi  n. sick person, patient. <B
sa-a  vi. in pain, sick.
sa-ren-di-a  vi. somewhat sick.
sel-a  vi. improve in health, recover.
set-ta-a  vi. improve in health.
8.92 Diseases and Conditions

ba-ring gi-sim n. kala azar.

ga-na n. blind. <B

ko-re, ku-ri n. crazy person.

kol-e-ra n. cholera. <E

ku-wang n. crazy person, having mouth agape.

mel-e-ri-a n. malaria. <E

na-gok n. deaf.

pa-gol, pa-gil-a n. crazy person, one who speaks incoherently. <B

san-da n. film over the eye, cataract. <B

sol-di n. cold, snuffles. <B

8.93 Symptoms (cf. 7.29 Non-language Uses of Voice; 7.94 Fatigue)

chak-ka-a vi. echo in ding-du-a chak-ka-a have a fever.

chang-ket-a vi. have a stuffy nose or throat; stuffed up, blocked off.

ding-du-a vi. have a fever, feel hot.

ging-chi-mik-chi ong-kat-ing-a vph. with running nose and eyes, as from smoke or a cold.

han-ding-a vi. have a fever.

jo-ol-a, jol-a vi. flow, of water; rise or fall, as when water covers roads in the rainy season, recede, of flood water; ooze, as from the ear; run, of the nose.

ka-sro-ka-sro dak-a adv. unable to eat much due to feeling in throat, discomfort in the chest after eating.

kam-du-a vi. echo in ding-du-a kam-du-a, hot, feverish.

ku-rom-ku-tom adv. so sick and weak that getting up and walking is very difficult.

man-a vi. what a head cold does; sol-di man-a have, suffer, from a cold, running nose.

mik-chi-mrang, mik-chi-mrang-mrang adv. with running eyes.

mik-kol ting-a vi. deep eyes, as when tired.

mik-on sa-a vi. having painful inflamed eyes.

na-dip-a, na-chil na-dip-a, na-dip dak-a vi. interrupted in hearing by noise; ring in the ears, buzz, have noise in the ears; slightly deaf, not hear well.

rin-ek-ri-n-ek, rin-ek-a-ri-n-ek-a adv. condition of someone who is sick and weak and cannot get up; knocked down, smashed down, as rice plants that are knocked over.

rit-ek-a-rit-ek-a vi. sick and weak and unable to get up.

si-a, git-ok si-a vi. hoarse voice, (lit. throat dies).

su-del-a, git-ok su-del-a vi. hoarse, cannot speak properly.
ting-a, mik-tik-kol ting-a vph. have deep or sunken eyes, as when tired.

8.94 Pain, Itching, Burning, etc. (cf. 3.64 Touching, Feeling)

ding-il-a ding-cha-a vi. burning on skin from touching chilies, (same as si-sa-a).
jro-a, jru-a vi. spicy, chili hot, burn from taste or touch of chilies.
ka-kit-a vi. itch.
ka-kit-chu-a vi. feel tickled; have buzzing in ear.
me-sak-a, mi-sak-a vi. itch, irritated, have an eruption on skin, burn from touching the hairs of a mang-tip worm or mak-kal-ri-gi plant:

git-dok me-sak-a feeling in throat after eating ta-ting (arum).

-ka-min-tal-aa. asleep of body parts, pins and needles: ja-min-tal-a leg is asleep; jak-min-tal-a arm is asleep.
sa-dik-a vi. hurt, ache, be painful; burning taste of chilies.
sa-kam-a vi. painful.
si-ri ang-ki-sa dak-a vph. have a sore on the tongue.
si-sa-a vi. burn in the mouth from eating chilies, burn on the skin from touching chilies.
sko sa-dik-a, sku sa-dik-a vi. headache.
tap-ma-tap-ma, tap-pu-tap-pu adv. come out, of the rash from the touch of a mang-tip worm.

8.95 Skin Diseases, Injuries, Swellings

8.953 Skin Diseases and Conditions

cha-a vt. erupt, come out, of a skin disease; eat away at by water or by a disease; eat, live by means of, nurse; receive monetary compensation as a result of a legal case.

cha-gek-a, jong cha-gek-a vi. have a serious skin disease, as a disease that covers the body.
gil-chrak-a vt. peel away skin, as from a burn or a wound.
gil-gok-a vi. peel off, of bark; lose skin, shed skin, peel, as from a burn or injury.
gil-min-ik-a vi. improve, flatten, of skin after a disease.
gil-prak-a, gil-ru-ru-a, gil-prak-gil-ru-ru-a vi. peeling and oozing, as from a burn.
gil-si-ri-a, gil-sri-a vt. shed, as a snake sheds its skin; peel, peel off bark; peel, of loose skin, as from a skin disease: chip-pu bi-gil gil-si-ri-ing-a the snake is changing its skin.
gip-u-a vi. ooze, of a wound; leak, let through, as through a sieve.
hang-ki-sa-a, ang-ki-sa-a vi. to have a skin ulcer, rash, open skin sore ulcer. hang-ki-sa-a, ang-ki-sa-a n.

ja'-bik n. a severe sore on the sole of the foot.

ja'-gek cha'-ing-a vph. cracks open between the toes.

ja'-ka-bok n. condition in which patches of the skin are depigmented, leukoderma.

ja'-pa bret-a vph. cracked sole of the foot.

ja'-pa ku-chok bret-a vph. cracked heels.

ja'-si git-ok chot-a vi. cracks under the toes, athlete’s foot.

ka-rok n. skin disease, of animals or people, eczema.

ka-wak n. an itching skin disease.

kat n. an itching skin disease.

ku'-chil bret-a vph. chapped lips, (lit. lip bursts).

ku'-gi-sep ang-ki-sa dak-a n. rash at corner of mouth, cold sore.

mik-gi-sim n. black eye.

min-pre-ta vi. ooze, of a sore in the ear or on the body, (lit. ripe-burst).

na-rip-pu-a vi. come out, of a rash, such as a pox or from the poisonous touch of a mang-tip worm.

na-chi-kal-tok n. a skin disease characterized by depigmented areas; a kind of fish with white patches on its skin.

o-chrak-a, u-chrak-a vt. peel off skin, remove peel.

ong'-kat-a vi. come out, of skin diseases; come out, appear, emerge.

so-ek-a, su-ek-a vi. rash between toes: ja'-si so-ek-a the toes get a rash.

8.955 Injuries, Blemishes, Pimples, Boils

bi-rot n. pimple, boil, pox.

bi-rot-a-ma n. large pimple, boil.

bi-rot-ma-mong n. boil, large variety of bi-rot.

bi-rot-mi-song, bi-rot-mi-srong, bi-rot-mi-si-rong n. small and painful pimple.

gang-ma n. blackhead of the skin.

gil-sin-ik-a vi. be slightly cut, slightly wounded skin.

ging-sot-ti n. small blemish, pimple on the nose.

ku-ak-chrak-a vt. scratch badly: meng-gong ang-ko ku-ak-chrak-a the cat scratched me badly.

ma-ga n. scar, as from wound, vaccination or from the skin disease called hang-ki-sa-a; skin blemish; worn place on bark where cows have been tied.

mat-a vi. wounded, cut with slicing wound, scarred; sharp, able to cut.

mat-chin-da-ri-a vt. cut slightly, cut a little.

mat-chrak-a vt. scratch, as by a cat.
mat-chrit-a, mat-srit-a  vt. cut slightly, cut a little; scratch, by people or animals.
mik-sot-ti  n. pimple on the eyelid, stye.
pa-ri  n. wound, sore, infected sore.
si'-son-ta  n. wart, mole, skin blemish.
si'-sot-ti, si'-sot-ta  n. disease characterized by pea sized pimple-like lumps on the skin.
tap-ol-a  n. blister.

8.956 Swellings

ba-du-si du-a  vph. swelling at the groin, at top of leg.
ba'-dip-dip, ba'-chi-dip-dip  adv. gone down, of a swelling; thin and flat, of cloth, paper, etc. ba'-chi-dip-a, ba'-dip-dip dak-a  vi.
ba'-rang-rang  adv. go down, of swelling.
-bo, -bu  dns. swelling, swollen: ja'-bo swollen foot; git-ok-bo goiter; ri-bo swollen testicles.
bo-a, bu-a  vi. swell up, of a body part. -bo  dns. swelling: ja'-bo swollen foot; git-ok-bo goiter; ri-bo swollen testicles.
bo-ri-bo-ri  adv. swollen, of the body.
chep-a  vi. to go down, of a swelling, flatten.
chi-bo-del-a  vi. swell up, as legs after making a long journey.
dok-bo, dok-bu, git-ok-bu  n. goiter, (lit. neck-swelling).

8.96 Lameness, Deformations

ja'-ding-a  vi. limp.
jak-si ge-dok  n. six fingers, having six fingers on one hand, said to occur among Bengalis but not Mandis.
-kan-ta  dns. lacking a limb or tail: jak-kan-ta lacking an arm; jak-si-kan-ta missing a finger; chu-kan-ta incomplete.
ko-ra-a, ku-ra-a  vi. with congenitally twisted feet, limp. <B
kong-dep-a  vi. limp, lame.
kot-tin-a, mang-got-cha kot-tin-a  vi. walk with a stick, as an old
person: kot-tin-i ram-a ri-a walk with a stick.
neng-ra  n. a lame person.
rong-ret-a  vi. out of shape, sideways, twisted, often of a body part,
leg, arm, finger; dislocated, of bones; not meeting, of roads, of people
going in opposite directions; wrong way in traveling. rong-ret-ga-ret
adv. inconsistent, disorganized, as when speaking in an inconsistently
and disorganized way.

8.97 Stomach Problems (cf. 9.49 Excretion)
bik-ma re-a, bik-ma kat-a  vi. diarrhea, (lit. stomach goes, stomach
runs).
chi-gal-a  vi. vomit.
hel-bu-a, el-bu-a  vi. spit up a small amount, like a baby.
ki-sam-bil-ak  n. disease when something like skin comes out of the anus.
kri-mi, kri-mi jo-ong  n. disease characterized by worms coming out
from the anus. <B
ok man-a  vi. sick to the stomach.
ok re-a  vi. diarrhea, (A’pal).
ok sa-a  vi. have a stomach ache.
wak-gal-a  vi. vomit, (A’chik).

8.99 Treatments, Medicines
a-ron  n. an large coarse inedible plant with a dusty white appearance
that is used as a medicine to apply to the skin.
ba-sek-tom-iks  n. vasectomy. <E
biis  n. poison. <B
chi-rot-ta  n. bitter tasting weedy plant, .5 meter-tall with purplish leaves,
that is planted, dried, and later boiled into a bitter drink that is good
against malaria and kala azar.
du-ja-gip-i  n. a meter tall shrub with laurel-like leaves which are first
warmed in fire and then pressed onto the skin medicinally.
him-a, im-a  vt. press on, as heated medicinal herbs are pressed on on
a sore spot; hold something up to the fire to warm it or dry it, hands to
warm, a pot to dry; darken bamboo strips in smoke.
jak-su-a  vt. injection, (lit. arm pierce).
kat cha-a-ni sam  nph. leaves of a species of small tree or large bush
that are ground with water to rub on the skin to treat the skin disease
called kat.
kat-sam  n. a bush about a meter tall, with an odd yellow flower on top
and long pods with an x-like cross section, the leaves of which are ground
with water to rub on skin to relieve kat, an itching skin disease.
ma-ri-bi-du sek-i  n. the red sap of ma-ri-bi-du (a large vine) that is drunk as a cure for watery diarrhea.

ma'-tap-a  vt. apply to the skin as medicine; paste, stick, paste up.

nak-da-na  n. a very bitter herb that is eaten as cure for bad stomach and diarrhea.

pa'-jret-a  vt. press on, as medicinal herbs on a sore spot or a wet cloth on a feverish forehead; push down, as a button switch on a flashlight.

sam  n. medicine; grass, herb; curry.

sam-bol  n. medicine that is drunk or injected.

sam-jang-gi  n. a low herb whose leaves are used medicinally on wounds.

sam-sim-a-ri  n. tall plant whose crushed leaves are rubbed on wounds.

sam-sim-a-ri bit-chi the juice from the sam-sim-a-ri plant that is used medicinally on wounds.

sep-u-a  vt. press out, squeeze out, as pus.

su.-prot-a, bu-su su.-prot-a  vt. pierce and make a hole, esp. to get out a thorn or pus.

su-pru-a  vt. pick or pierce an infection or a wound to extract puss or to work out a thorn or splinter.

tat-a  vt. prick, pick at; poke something into infected flesh; hurt with thorns or spikes but without poison, as by ging-gi and teng-ra fish.
9.0 VERBS

If any area of the Mandi vocabulary is going to reveal cultural differences from other languages, I expect it to be the verbs. Since Mandis do not easily use the same words both as nouns and as verbs in the way that comes so easily to English speakers, they often need verbs with more delicate meanings than those typical of English. Obvious examples are the many verbs for wearing and carrying, where the particular things worn or the particular style of carrying must be specified in the verb. To be sure the phonological structure of the language imposes rather narrow limits on the number of basic one-syllable verbs that are possible, but Mandi has an enormous number of compound verbs that express a great range of meanings, often with impressive specificity. I believe I have captured a considerable majority of the one-syllable verbs used by Mandis, though I have surely not captured the full range of all their meanings. The proportion of the Mandi compounds that I include is much lower, of course, but those that are included here should give a good idea of the way they are used. In no area of the vocabulary is it more difficult to discover and stick to coherent categories in which words of related meaning can be gathered. A large number of verbs could be equally well placed in several different categories, and a few find no comfortable place at all.

This section is entitled ‘Verbs’ but this is slightly misleading. The majority of its entries are indeed verbs, but adverbs are very closely related to verbs and many are included here as well. Since many adverbial affixes are transparently derived from verbs, I have also included a number of them. Even an occasional noun can be found here when it has a meaning that fits most easily in a category that is otherwise heavily populated by verbs. Nor are verbs confined to this section. Many are found in categories given in earlier sections, and these are not repeated here unless there is some particular reason to do so. In spite of these limitations, I believe that browsing among these categories is the best way to gain a sense of the special ways in which meaning is conveyed in Mandi.
9.1 Aspect, Modals, Auxiliaries, Start, Finish

9.11 Core Verbs

The real core verbs are few in number, but I also include a number of compounds that are constructed from them.

**dak-a** *vt.* do, make, behave, act as; be like, look like.

**dak-jring-a** *vt.* always do.

**dong-a** *vi.* there is, there are; have, belong; be at, reside, dwell; be married to.

**dong-ba-a** *vi.* stay for a while, stop while passing.

**dong-bing-bang-a** *vi.* exist in a confused, mixed up way.

**dong-chak-a** *vi.* stay at temporarily, live at for a while, dwell at, reside.

**dong-cheng-a** *vi.* be somewhere first, stay first.

**dong-dam-a** *vi.* be in a place, dwell.

**dong-dang-a** *vi.* be at a place regularly; stay, dwell; often negative: **dong-dang-ja** too busy or restless to stay in the same place, always moving.

**dong-kam-a** *vi.* reside, live for a long time at, stay permanently.

**dong-pak-a** *vi.* stop on the way.

**dong-rik-a** *vi.* stay, stay behind, be pregnant.

**dong-ru-ru-a** *vi.* be some place for a long time in idleness.

**dong-wil-wil-a** *vt.* surround, as people stand around someone or something.

**man.-a** *vi.* be able, can, find, get, accomplish, achieve; blow, of wind: **bal-wa man.-ing-a** the wind is blowing; **sol-di man.-ing-a** have a cold.

**man.-rik-a** *vt.* get back something given away or lost, recover; obtain, receive, keep; inherit.

**ong.-a** *vi.* be, exist, be equivalent to.

**ong.-pa-a** *vi.* be together.

9.13 Begin, Prepare

**a.-ba-cheng-a** *vt.* begin.

**ba-nai-a** *vt.* prepare, build, construct, create, make; choose, select, appoint to an office. <B


9.14 End, Finish

**bon.-a** *vi.* done, come to an end, finished, used up.

**bon.-chot-a** *vi.* finished, of a job, etc; used up.

**bon.-dik-a** *vi.* run out, be finished, insufficient, not enough.

**bon.-dil-a** *vt.* complete, finish.
9.21 States, Movement, Actions

bal-ang-ga  n. not shut in, exposed to air, outside; open as a door or pot, an open truck; empty, of a cup, pot; a bus without people: bal-ang-ga
dak-a come open, as when a bottom of a glass falls off.
chip-a  vi. closed, of doors, boxes, eyes, etc. -chip- aa. without seeing, hidden, shut off: su-chip-a pierce into blindly, without seeing: git-tam-chip-a went one’s pants, wet one’s bed; rim-chip-a grab something not seen; sin-chip-a cool off when the clouds cover the sun.
chrop-a  vi. closed, of an umbrella; together, of parallel parts, such as fingers or legs.
ha-gat-e, a-gat-i, a-gat-e  adv. open, untucked, of a shirt; outside; classificatory rather than close kin, as a cousin-brother rather than a real brother.
krip-a  vi. closed, of an umbrella, covered, of a pot, basket.
kul-i-a  vi. to be open, as a box, shop. <B
o-a, u-a  vi. open, of doors, boxes, etc.
pa-wang-a  vi. be open, of an umbrella.
wang-a, ku-wang-a  vi. open mouth wide, open mouthed, as in astonishment. -wang- aa. open wide: pa-wang-a open, of an umbrella; jak ba-wang-a hold the arms wide. -wang- dns. open: ku-wang crazy person who lets mouth hang open. wang-wang adv. open, spread apart, as shirts, doors.
9.212 Fall, Bend Over (cf. 9.326 Stumble, Fall down)

be'-gop-a, bi'-gop-a vi. bend over and break but not break apart.
be'-grop-a, bi'-grop-a vi. collapse, of walls, houses, trees.
be-wak-a, bi'-wak-a vi. break down, collapse, of earth.
bol-gong n. broken tree, fallen tree.
chok-on-a vi. go down, set, of the sun; jump down.
drin-a vi. slide down, break down; collapse, of earth, of wells, river banks, house walls.
gang-gil-a vi. fall over, as crops in the wind; fall down, lie down, esp. fall on one’s back.
gip-ik-a vi. come out by the roots; fall over so that roots come out, as a tree in the wind.
gong-brap-a vi. fall over, as heavy rice plants in the rain or wind.
gong-jol-a vi. bent way over, as trees, bamboo, rice plants in the wind.
grin-a vi. slide down, collapse, of earth.
grop-a vi. fall down, collapse, as a house collapses from age; break, of pots, rice plants. -grop- aa. fall over, collapse: wil-grop-a fall over, as crops in the wind; bi'-grop-a collapse, of walls, houses, trees.
ku-rak-a vi. break, fall to pieces, as an earthen wall. ku-rak- cls. classifier for the split pieces of a length of bamboo, for lengthwise pieces of papaya, etc. -ku-rak- aa. into pieces, separate: be'-ku-rak-a broken into pieces; pit-ku-rak-a split into pieces.
mring-a vi. knocked down, damaged, as crops from trampling by animals or from wind and rain.
pang-pik-a vi. come out by the roots, fall over so roots come out.
ru-rong-a vi. fall, of leaves, over-ripe fruit, badly tied thatch; tumble down, as a pile of firewood.
seng-chok-a vi. upside down, with the head down: seng-chok-e ong-on-a come down headfirst, as a woodpecker or squirrel.
wil-a, wil-grop-a vi. fall over, as crops in the wind.

9.214 Reverse, Turn Over, Revolve

go-re-a, gu-ri-a vi. turn around, revolve, like clock hands; turning, curving, of a road; wander about, stroll. <B
king-gal-a vt. uncover, take off cloth, cover of a pot, etc., turn right side up, as a boat.
-kip- aa. upside down, closed up in: sin-kip-a turned upside down;
king-kip-a turned upside down over; jak-kip-a hold in a closed hand.
pang-pil-a vi. reversed, backward, upside down, of car, boat, basket, batteries; inside out; fall over, of a person: ang-a ring-ko pang-pil-it-a I turned the boat upside down. -pang-pil- aa. reversed, backward:
jak-pang-pil-a with hand held behind the back; ni-pang-pil-a look backward, over one's shoulder; di-pang-pil-ek-a upside down.
pang-pil-chu-pil  adv. reversed.
pang-pil-ek-a  vi. turned over.
pang-pil-ek-chu-pil-ek  adv. upset, reversed, capsized; said to be the way Mandis speak Bengali.
pang-pil-tai'-a  vi. turn over.
sin-kip-a  vt. turn upside down, of a pot, basket, etc.
ul-tai-a  vt. turn over, upset. <B

9.216 Fly About, Swirl, Flap

bil-a  vi. fly about in the air, of paper, leaves, etc.; fly, of birds, insects, airplanes.
dil-ing-dil-ing  adv. swirling about, as dust.
dim-prong-dim-prong  adv. smoky, dusty, swirling with a lot of smoke, blow up in dust.
mik-nap-a, mik-on-o mik-nap-a  vi. get into the eyes, enter the eye, as dirt, dust.
pil-ip-pil-ip, pil-ip-pil-ip dak-a  adv. flutter strongly in the wind, of cloth, of feathers on a bird.
prong-a  vi. to fly about in the air, of light things such as dust, powder, cotton fluff. -prong-  aa. swirling about in the air: cho-prong-a winnow; dok-prong-a brush off, as dirt from one's arm; man-prong-a blow around, of dust, fluff, etc.; sip-prong-a blow off dust, dirt.
rip-pong-rip-pong  adv. flying about in large quantity, of such things as feathers, cotton.
tang-a  vi. fly through the air, of things thrown, kicked, etc., but not so far as til-a.
til-a  vi. fly or move as a result of a push or throw, further than tang-a; rise up, as a spark.
til-nap-a  vi. fly onto a person, fly into the eye.

9.218 Shake, Move Back and Forth

Shake back and forth seems to be an area that invites reduplication, not only for adverbs but for verbs as well.
jing-jeng-ga-jeng  adv. shake, swing back and forth, of curtains, a flexible bridge, a plant frame.
peng-reng-peng-cheng  adv. rocking back and forth, like a boat or a flimsy bridge.
pil-eng-pil-eng, pil-eng-pil-ung  adv. rock back and forth, of a boat; flap back and forth, of paper, etc.
pok-pek-a  vi. slosh back and forth, of water in a pot when being carried, of people riding a bus; make jerking movements with the head, as when a pig eats.

ring-reng-a  vi. swing, rock back and forth, like a boat or a bamboo bridge; wiggle back and forth, like a weak chair. ring-reng-ring-reng, ring-reng-ga-reng  adv.: ang-a do-ri-ko ring-reng-ga-reng ka-ding-de-a I tie up the string swingingly.

9.25 Hanging and Swinging

9.253 Hang and Swing: Transitive

chring-chri-a  vt. lift up, hang up, as cloth to dry.
go-ring-ri-a  vt. swing something in a circle, as on the end of a string.
ka-ding-de-a  vt. hang by tying with a string or rope, suspend.
sin-te-a, sin-ti-a  vt. hang from a loop, or strap, as from shoulder; hang from a hook, as an umbrella, cane; fly a flag.
sti-a, sit-ti-a  vt. hang from a strap or hook, (same as sin-te-a).

9.255 Hang and Swing: Intransitive

bing-bang-a  vi. hang, especially of fruit that has not fallen; caught without falling all the way; hang from a hook.
ding-de-a, ding-di-a, ding-de-ding-de  vi. hang by a hook, strap, etc.
jol-u-ru  adv. hanging down, like a tiger’s tail, hair from the head, a long beard, shirt tails.
mo-jim-a, mu-jim-a  vi. swing, shake, move back and forth, of a pendulum, a child in a hanging cloth cradle, leaves in the wind, the earth in an earthquake, people squirming back and forth.
o-jim-a, u-jim-a  vi. swing, as in a cradle.
ring-ri-a  vi. hang loosely, dangle, as fruit that is about to fall, like a broken branch, an injured arm. ring-ri-ring-ri  adv.

9.257 Hang and Swing: Adverbs

ro-ring-ro-ring, ru-ring-ru-ring  adv. stringy, like raw egg or runny dough; running, of sap, dripping egg white; stretched out in time, of a tune. ro-ring-a, ru-ring-a  vi.
dil-dek-ga-dek  adv. swing, wobble, move back and forth, of a bamboo bridge, loose post, etc.
9.27 Water, Wetness, Dryness (cf. 4.25 Rivers, Lakes; 4.325 Rain)

9.272 Water, Wet, Dry


chi-jim-a vi. damp, moist, as an earth floor in the rainy season, or from a slightly leaking water pot.

chi-ra-ra adv. watery, water everywhere.

chi-rik-chi-rik adv. a bit wet, of ground; a bit sweet, of food.

chi-ska-pong n. water surface.

chim-chim-a vi. damp, of wood, straw, etc.

chrip-chrip adv. completely wet or oily, drenched, full of oil.

dim-a, dim-dim-a vi. damp, slightly wet. dim-e-dim-e adv.

him-a, ima vt. hold something up to the fire to dry it, as a pot; hold hands to the fire to warm them; press on, as heated medicinal herbs are pressed on a sore spot; darken bamboo strips in smoke.

ma-jim-a vt. make wet, as to settle dust.

ram-a vt. put out to dry in the sun.

ran-a vi. dry out, become dry, of objects, hair, etc.; git-ok ran-a vi. thirsty, (lit. throat dry).

ran-sik-ap-a vi. dry out, of the throat from talking, of a wound.

rip-u-a vt. dry out over a fire, of meat, fish: wak be-en-ko wal-o rip-u-a pig meat dries at the fire.

so-si-a vi. wet.

9.273 Flow, Rise and Fall of Water

ga-tim-a, chi ga-tim-a vi. fall, of water, water rushing downward, flow into a hole.

gol-gol-a vi. flow, fall, of water, as when poured from a pot or when a pot leaks.

jol-a, jo-ol-a vi. flow, of water; rise or fall, as when water covers roads in the rainy season, recede, of floodwater; ooze, as from the ear; run, of the nose.

srok-a vi. recede, of water from a high point.

tip-a vi. dry up, stop raining, stop flowing, of puddles, pools, streams, rain, breast, well, etc.

9.276 Leak, Pour

bra-a vt. pour into, not necessarily to fill, as water into a pot.
chi-sru-sru  adv. spill over, of water from a pot that is being carried; fall through a leak.
gi'-ak-ro-rot-a  vi. leak or overflow, spill along the way, as one carries something, of water, rice, etc.
pak-a  vt. empty out, pour out quickly, of either solids or liquids; dump.
pak-ru-ru-a  vt. pour out, empty out.
pu-a  vt. pour, let fall from the hand, of powder or fine things like rice grains, salt into a curry; sprinkle over, as yeast over rice when making rice beer.
rong-rong-a  vi. leak, as from a sac; fit in or through a hole. -rong- rong- aa. through a hole: gi-p-u-rong-rong-a fit through something small, such as a sieve; gi-ak-rong-rong fall through; ki-rong-rong-a have diarrhea.
ru-a  vt. pour liquid, slower and more carefully than pak-a; take down, take apart, of thatch, a fence, a basket; take down a house.
ru-brap-a  vt. pour over.
ru-dap-a  vt. pour over, as water over the head when bathing.
ru-kring-krang-a  vt. pour all around, pour down old thatch.
ru-prak-a  vt. pour lots of water, as from a bucket over the head when bathing: chi ru-prak-e a-bu-ing-a bathe by pouring water.
ru-rot-a  vi. fall through, leak, as through a hole in a bag being carried.
ru-srip-a  vt. pour off water leaving solid sediment behind, decant.
sel-a  vi. leak, of liquids through a roof, a pot, etc.
sel-gol-gol-a  vi. leak a lot, rapidly.
sru-sru  adv. gradually, progressively, slowly, as leaking slowly: sru-sru ong-kat-ing-a gradually coming out; one after another.
tot-a, chi tot-a  vi. drip.
tot-tot-a  vi. drip, leak slightly.

9.277 Actions with Water

chok-wak-a  vt. scoop up water with the hand, plate, spoon, etc.
chu-song-e ni-a  vt. measure the depth of water.
ko-a, ku-a  vt. draw water up from an open well, dip out water.
pe-a, pi-a  vt. draw water from tube well, use a water pump with an up and down handle.
sat-a  vt. ladle out, scoop out, as water when fishing.
sat-pak-a  vt. scoop out water with bigger scoops than for chok-wak-a.
sep-a, sep-jret-a  vt. wring out water, squeeze out water from wet clothes; squeeze out juice from fruit; milk a cow.
sik-brok-a  vt. put something into water, cause to be wet, step into water.
sik-sim-a *vt.* put something into liquid, as clothes to soak, sugar to make water sweet, dough into oil.

sim-a, sim-sim-a *vt.* soak, immerse, dunk, submerge, as cloth, pots, a tea bag, fish in water so they don’t die; wash hair.

skong-a *vi.* separate from liquid, as cream that rises to the top or dirt that sinks to the bottom.

tap-ping-a *vt.* make a noise by splashing water.

9.279 Water: Miscellaneous

ba-sa-a, ba-si-a *vi.* float. <B

bal-beng-a *vi.* float.

bal-ju-ri-a *vi.* float.

chi-rin-ik *n.* the slippery coating that builds up in an unwashed pot, the surface of a wet courtyard, rust.

chu-sim-a *vi.* lie down and get wet or muddy, as an animal in a pond, a pig in the mud.

dit-a *vi.* filled with liquid, water behind a barrier, breasts with milk; filter through ashes to obtain soda.

grik-a *vi.* clear, not muddy or cloudy, of liquids.

jim-a *vi.* dissolve, as salt in water, candy in the mouth; soak, melt, disappear.

jin-ong-a *vi.* separate from a liquid; settle out of water; rise to the top, as cream or fat; collect in one place.

jro-a, jru-a *vt.* swim, of people, fish, etc.

jro-bat-a *vt.* swim across.

kim-il-a, chi kim-il-a *vi.* dirty, cloudy, of liquids.

ong-mi-sep-a *vi.* seep out, come out of the ground in small amounts, of water in a spring.

ong-pok-pok-a *vi.* come out, appear in large amounts, of water from a spring, rice and other grains when maturing.

rip-a *vi.* dive under water, sink, disappear under water, flood, rise, of river water. *vt.* rub on, apply to the head, as soap, water: sko rip-a wash hair.

srang-a *vi.* clear up, of water, (same as grik-a); of clouds, (same as krang-a); of hearing, of a headache; gi-sik srang-a clear up of the mind, leaving no worries or problems; ku-pa srang-a clear language, unable to tell lies. srang-e *adv.* clearly, completely, of speaking, seeing, hearing, understanding: na-chil srang-e kin-a ears hear clearly; srang-e hai’-ku-ja don’t yet understand completely, not yet clear.

-sru- *aa.* overflow: git-u-sru-a boil over; chi-sru-sru overflow, of water from a pot; ki’-sru-a have diarrhea; ki’-si-sru-a fart a lot. sru-a *vi.* overflow, boil over.
**Verbs**

**top-a vi.** collect, of water; swell up, of a burn, blister.

### 9.28 Break, Come Apart, Take Apart

Words for breaking illustrate the delicate distinctions of meaning that are characteristically conveyed by Mandi verbs. Not only are different verbs required for transitive and intransitive meanings, but different verbs are needed for breaking different kinds of things.

#### 9.282 Break, Intransitive

**be-a, bi-a vi.** break, of solid things such as walls, pots; not used for linear things like string, etc.

**be-chil-ak-a, bi-chil-ak-a vi.** cracked, as wood.

**be-chrak-a, bi-chrak-a vi.** break off roughly, as branches from a tree in the wind.

**be-dip-a, bi-dip-a vi.** cracked, of glass, of a branch that is not separated.

**be-drak-a, bi-drak-a vi.** break apart, of baskets, pottery, etc.

**be-king-ben-da, bi-king-ben-da vi.** chipped, as the rim of a pot.

**be-ku-ak-a, bi-ku-ak-a vi.** completely broken up, as glass, a lump of earth, a chopped log, etc.

**be-ku-weng-a, bi-ku-weng-a vi.** chipped.

**be-prak-a, bi-prak-a vi.** completely broken, as a pot, a tree, a dam in a water channel.

**be-pri-a, bi-pri-a vi.** break into small pieces, completely broken.

**be-rik-ken-a, bi-rik-ken-a vi.** chipped along the edge, dented, of iron tools, pots.

**be-si-ri-a, bi-si-ri-a vi.** cracked, of a glass, cup, pot, etc.

**be-tong-a, bi-tong-a vi.** break into two pieces, broken off.

**be-tong-tang-a, bi-tong-tang-a vi.** broken completely apart.

**bret-a vi.** burst, burst open, split, crack.

**chot-a vi.** break, come apart, tear apart, disconnect, of linear things such as string.

**chot-pri-pri-a vi.** torn to bits, of string.

**chot-tip-tip-a vi.** torn to bits, of string.

**chot-tong-a vi.** broken off, broken in two, torn clear through, of linear things such as string.

**gau-a vi.** come off, crack open, of wood when chopped, of rice husks in a rice pounder; easily separated, flake off, break apart readily, of skin, bark; open up, of plant husks; not tough.

**-gok-, -go-ok- aa.** broken apart: separated: dok-gok-a hit and separate, as to knock off a handle; rong-gok-a break off a round thing, such as a glass bottom; gil-gok-a cracked and peeling, of skin.
gong'-gak-a *vi.* broken apart, fall off, of tool handles, of posts after being eaten by ants, of fruit or branches from a tree.
ja'-dok-a *vi.* break apart, of old posts or dying trees, after being eaten by ants, etc.
ja'-gok-a *vi.* die, of a tree; weaken, of a post.
kur-weng-brak-brak *adv.* with edge broken and out of shape, as the mouth of a pot, etc.
rong-gok-a *vi.* break off, of a round thing, such as a glass bottom, the neck of a pot.
wa-grang-a *vi.* nicked, of an axe, or knife blade but less continuously nicked than bi-rik-ken-a; widely spaced, with gaps, as teeth may have gaps.

9.284 Break, Transitive (cf. 9.573 Cutting)

chit-grang-grang-a *vt.* split clear apart.
dok-pret-a *vt.* hit hard, often with a stick or tool, in order to break something such as a coconut.
dok-pri-a *vt.* hit and break into pieces, as bricks, earth.
pe-a, pi-a *vt.* break, take apart; hatch; change money; clear or cultivate a dry field with bamboo knife, hoe, or plow; construct a new rice field; grind flour at a mill; gin cotton; draw water from a deep well, use a water pump with an up and down handle.
pe-ga-gal-a, pi-ga-gal-a *vt.* break and throw away.
pe-gom-a, pe-gop-a *vt.* break and bend over but not break apart, of plants.
pe-prak-a, pi-prak-a *vt.* break completely.
pe-wak-a, pi-wak-a *vt.* break down, cause to collapse, destroy.
prak-a *vt.* break, tear open, split apart, break into pieces.
pret-a *vt.* break apart; split bamboo more coarsely than chit-a; cause something to burst open, as a bamboo wall, bamboo tube; break up, as a mud wall. -pret-a *aa.* cause to explode, burst, make noise, break apart.
dok-pret-a *hit and break something, as a coconut; gam-pret-a make a lot of noise, like a gun, airplane; ga-pret-a burst or squash something with the foot; kim-pret-a thunder; chrik-pret-a scream loudly, squeal, of pigs.
rim-pret-a *vt.* break open, break with hands.
tet-a *vt.* break, of string or other linear things. -tet-a *aa.* break off: ak-tet-a pull off, of flowers, leaves, etc.; sal-tet-a break by pulling, as string; chik-tet-a bite off a piece. kil-ding tet-a *vt.* a ceremony in which a thread is strung from a sick person to outside the house. When the thread is broken the mit-e (spirit) that is causing the disease can no longer come to the sick person.
tet-tip-tip-a  vt. break, of string and other linear things.
tet-tong-a  vt. break apart, of string and linear things.
tom'-pri-tom'-pri  adv. piece by piece, when breaking or tearing into pieces.

9.29 Tear, Torn, Shabby, Worn

9.292 Torn, Worn, Intransitive

cha-ram-a  vi. worn out, no good anymore, of clothes, bag, football.
cha-ram-pri-a  vi. old of things that tear easily, of clothes, fishnets, thread.
cham-pri-a  vi. worn out, no good anymore, of cloth, clothes, string, bags, tires, footballs.
cham-a  vi. worn down; become dull, of tools; worn smooth, of shoes, stools, roads, pots, etc.
drak-a  vi. badly torn, in tatters, of cloth, fences, mats, baskets. -drak-aa. break apart, separate, peel off: pek-drak-a spread apart, of legs or toes; o-drak-a peel, remove peel, skin; jot-drak-a poke and tear off, of paper, cloth; dok-drak-a knock out of the way; bit-drak-a spread slightly apart, as thatch, clothing; pit-drak-a split, as firewood.
git-chit-a  vi. torn, torn off, of cloth; broken up, of a fence.
git-chit-drak-a  vi. badly torn, with large tears, of cloth, baskets.
git-chit-pri-pri-a, git-chik-pru-pru-a  vi. with lots of tears, but not torn into pieces. git-chit-pru-pru  adv.
git-chit-tong-a  vi. torn apart.
git-chit-tring-trang-a  vi. torn in many places but not into pieces, tattered.
gol'-ki, gol'-ki-ki, gol'-ki-rek-rek  n. something neglected, shabby, lean and thin, esp. a dog, but even a person.
gru-a  vi. unravel, like knitting.
ken-ta-a  vi. raggedy, shabby, of cloth, old houses, pots, jokingly of people.
so-drak-sa-drak  adv. tattered, torn.
tek-rak-a  vi. crumbly, like leaves.
tring-trang  adv. thoroughly torn, into pieces, of cloth, etc. -tring-trang-aa. thoroughly, completely: ru-tring-trang-a take completely apart, of roof, fence, etc.; git-chit-tring-trang-a torn in many places, tattered.
-tring-trang-aa. thoroughly torn or taken apart, completely: ru-tring-trang-a take completely apart (of roof, fence, etc.); git-chit-tring-trang-a torn in many places, tattered.
9.294 Tear, Tear Off, Transitive

ak-mit-chi-a vt. tear off into small pieces, of paper, leaves.
ak-pri-a vt. tear into pieces, of paper, leaves, cloth, especially to tear off the first piece.
ak-tong-a vt. pull into two pieces, of cloth, string, ripe banana: break off bigger pieces by hand; kill a bird by stretching the neck.
chit-a vt. tear, of cloth or paper; split bamboo when making strips.
chit-drak-a vt. tear off.
chit-mit-chi-a vt. tear into small pieces.
chit-pri-a, chit-pri-pri-a vt. tear into small pieces.
chit-pri-pri-gal-a vt. tear to pieces and throw away.
chit-tong-a, chit-tong-tong-a vt. tear off, tear clear through.

9.3 Body Use

9.312 Go, Come

-ang- aa. shows movement away from speaker, in that direction; bil-ang-a fly away.
-ba- aa. shows movement toward speaker, in this direction: re-ba-a come; bil-ba-a fly in this direction, fly here.
bat-a vi. go beyond, cross water or a road, exceed, pass, be more, increase: ra-ma bat-jok crossed the road. -bat- aa. more than, exceed, go across: ga’-bat-a step across, step over; jro-bat-a swim across; cha’-bat-a eat more.
bit-in-a vi. back up, go backwards.
i-a vi. go, come, (same as re-a).
i-ang-a vi. go.
i-ang-chek-a, i-ang-sek-a vi. go ahead, pass by.
i-ang-jem-jem-a vi. go repeatedly.
i-ang-jol-jol-a vi. go continuously, without stopping.
i-ang-jring-a vi. go often, repeatedly.
i-ang-pa’a-a vi. go along with, accompany.
i-ang-pil-a vi. go back, return.
i-ang-srang-a vi. gone completely, gone for good.
i-ba-a vi. come.
i-ba-bru-a vi. come when not expected, at a bad time.
i-ba-pa-a vi. come with, accompany.
i-ba-pak-a vi. come by way of, do on the way.
i-ba-pil-a vi. come back, return to here.
i-tong-tang-a vi. go straight, directly, take a short-cut.
re-a, ri-a vi. go, come.
Verbs 289

re'-ang-a vi. go, move away.
re'-ba-a, ri'-ba-a vi. come.
re'-jring-a vi. come regularly, often.

9.313 Arrive, Leave, Enter, Exit

jok-a vi. escape, get loose, get out, by people, animals, water, things.
ma-rang jok-a vt. be rid of ma-rang (taboo, pollution).
nap-a vi. enter, go in, come in; set, of the sun, moon.
nap-ket-a vi. enter and stay, not come out. -nap aa. enter into: chu-
nap-a enter for sleeping, sleep together, a way of initiating a marriage;
sik-nap-a squeeze in forcefully, as into a house or bus; kat-nap-a run in
and take shelter, hide; til'-nap-a fly onto a person, fly into the eye, of
dust or an insect.
ong-kat-a, hong-kat-a vi. come out, appear, emerge; come out, of skin
diseases.
sok-a vi. arrive, reach. -sok aa. arrive, reach: rang-sok-a get one's
breath; am-sok-a confident, able to manage; chu-sok-a enough, enough
to reach; mik-sok-a hope, suspect.
sok-dik-a vi. arrive unexpectedly, without warning, at the wrong time.
sok-tik-a vi. fully arrive; often negative: sok-tik-ja not quite arrive, not
quite reach.
tang-nap-a vi. get into, fit into a hole; enter into, as a bug in the eye,
insect into fire; enter deeply, as into a forest; go to live with, as a new
son-in-law; change groups, change ethnicity, as when a Mandi becomes a
Bengali. vi. echo in at-chi-a tang-nap-a be born.
ting-nap-a vi. enter deeply, as into a forest.

9.315 Return, Back and Forth

gar-a, ga-grik-a vi. echo in nap-a gar-a, nap-grik-a gar-grik-a visit
back and forth.
i'-ru-ra'-a, i'-ru-rat-a, hi'-ru-rat-a vi. go back and forth, commute.
pil-a vi. return, go back, come back; transform, as from human to a
tiger and back again. -pil aa. return, reverse, again: i'-ba-pil-a come
back, return; pang-pil-a reversed, upside down; am-pil-a turn away,
turn around; wal-pil-a come back, return; tang-pil-a come to life again;

gi-sik ra'-pil-a change one’s mind.
re'-ru-ra'-a, re'-ru-rat-a vi. go back and forth, travel back and forth, of
people.
ru-ra-ga-ra adv. inconsistent, in speaking or moving; move back and
forth; irregular.
back and forth: bil-ru-rat-a fly back and forth; i'-ru-rat-a go back and
forth, commute; don-ru-ra-a move things back and forth; mal-ru-ra-a crawl back and forth.

wal-pil-a vi. come back, return. vt. return, as a loan, give back.

9.316 Run

kat-a vi. run, run away.
kat-dim-dim-a vi. run a lot, this way and that, as children do.
kat-ding-dang-a vi. run off in various directions, to different places, run here and there.
kat-gil-gil-a vi. run around and around, back and forth, as children.
kat-gring-grang-a vi. run off in all directions.
kat-jem-jem-a vi. run repeatedly.
kat-jol-jol-a vi. run constantly, all the time.
kat-jring-a vi. run repeatedly.
kat-mik-brang-a vi. run off in fear.
kat-mrak-a vi. run through a field and destroy crops, as animals may do.
kat-nap-a vi. run and enter, rush in; run in and hide, take shelter.
kat-pek-a vi. running repeatedly.
kat-rat-a, kat-ru-ru-a vi. run back and forth.
kat-ru-ru-a vi. run fairly fast.
kat-sek-a vi. run a race.
kat-sit-tap-a vi. run away.
kat-srap-a vi. run and catch up with.
kat-tong-tang-a vi. run straight, directly.
kat-wen-wen-a vi. run around, all over the place.
kat-wil-wil-a vi. run in circles, run all over the place.

9.317 Meet, Pass, Avoid

gel-a vt. avoid, go a long way round so as not to meet.
gel-grik-a vi. avoid each other, pass each other on the road going in opposite directions.
grong-a vt. meet.
grong-grik-a vi. meet each other.
re-ping-grik-a vi. pass, of two people going in opposite directions.
re-sek-a vt. pass, of one person by another when going in the same direction, overtake.
-srap- aa. catch up with: kat-srap-a run and catch up with; rim-srap-a catch, as a chicken, a thrown object; in-srap-a catch the points of a conversation, have a dialogue.
9.318 Climb, Jump, Go Up or Down

bing dak-e chrok-a vph. jump high and long, (bing seems always to be pronounced with a distinctively high and long intonation).
cha-chrok-a vi. jump, jump up and down.
chrok-a vi. jump, of frogs, children, etc.
chrok-du-a vi. jump up.
do-a, du-a vt. climb, go up: ha-bri-ko do-a climb the mountain. -do-, -du- aa. up, upward: ga-do-a climb; climb up, as a tree; get on, as a bus; sal-do-a pull up, as in drawing water; bil-do-a fly up; chrok-do-a jump up; chil-do-a lift up onto the head or shoulders.
do-rik-rik-a, du-rik-rik-a, do-ry-rik-a vi. climb to the top, climb up and up.
ga-a vi. climb up, as a hill or tree; work, function, of an object such as a pen; have effect, comes, is present, as in ma-rang ga-a pollution, bad omen, under taboo.
ga-do-rik-rik-a vi. climb to the top.
ga-kat-a, ga-hat-a vi. climb; get on, as a bus; ride, as a bicycle, bus, etc.
ga-rik-rik-a vi. climb to the top.
ho-on-a, hong-gon-a, o-gon-a, ong-on-a vi. get down, get off, from a chair, bus, ox cart, train; climb down, from a tree, mountain.
orr-chok-a vi. climb down headfirst, like a woodpecker; put down point first.
til-ak-til-ak chrok-a vph. jump up and down in joy and excitement.

9.319 Misc.: Wander, Wiggle, Crawl, etc.

bat-tong-a, bat-tong-tang-a vi. take a shortcut.
deng-deng-a vi. squirm as one might try to escape capture; be restless, wiggle the way a small child wiggles, jump around; flail with limbs.
ga-git-ik-a vi. squirm, of baby; take action, move around briskly doing things; move limbs vigorously.
go-re-a, gu-ri-a vi. wander about, stroll; turn around, revolve, like watch hands; turning, curving, of a road; go around, walk around, circle something; surround. go-re-go-re, gu-ri-gu-ri, gu-ri-e-gu-ri-e adv. wandering about; revolving. <B
gu-rung-ga-rang adv. roaming around aimlessly.
han-pi-a, an-pi-a vt. stretch the body, as after sleeping.
han-sal-a, an-sal-a vi. stretch the body, as after sleeping, (lit. body-pull).
ja-gam ga-a vph. take steps.
ja-ku re-a vi. go on foot, walk.
ja-teng ga-a vi. take steps.
jit-a  vi. move, shift one’s location, as to give someone room to sit; change residence.
jom-a  vi. move stealthily. jom-e-jom-e  adv. moving stealthily.
mal-a  vi. crawl, of children, lizards, bugs, etc.; want to be with, come to lovingly, as a child comes to his grandfather, or an animal pet to its owner.
mal-am-a  vi. crawl, of children, lizards, bugs, etc.
mal-dim-dim-a  vi. crawl quickly.
mal-ru-rat-a  vi. crawl back and forth.
re-am-a, i-am-a  vi. wander, roam, take a walk.
re-tong-tang-a  vi. take a short cut.
ro-am-a, ro-om-a, ro-o-a  vi. wander, stroll.
ro-rim-a  vi. come or go in large numbers, in a crowd of people, cattle, etc.

9.32 Smaller motions

9.321 Step, Kick

ga-a  vi. step; wear, put on, of shoes, socks.
ga-bat-a  vt. step across; cross border.
ga-brok-a  vt. step into, water, mud, dung; tread in, as one mixes water and dirt by walking in it, in order to make mud.
ga-brot-a  vt. scrape with the foot, scrape with the foot in order to separate, as grain from the stalks; scrape the feet together.
ga-chep-chep-a  vi. keep tramping on.
ga-dap-a  vi. step on, stand on.
ga-gil-wak-a  vt. get cut or injured by stepping on something.
ga-jep-a, ga-jep-jep-a  vt. step with pressure; stamp on; walk in such a way as to drive fish into a net.
ga-jet-a ga-jet-jet-a  vt. grab tight, hold tight with legs or feet.
ga-ting-a  vt. kick lightly, kick a stationary object, stretch out a leg.
Verbs 293

ga-ting-dat-a  vi. kick strongly, kick something so that it moves, as a football; kick or push with the foot.

9.322 Tremble, Shake, Shiver (cf. Shake 9.515)

Perhaps it is iconically appropriate that most verbs for tremble and shake are reduplicative. The repetition of the syllables may point to the repetition of the movement, though of course vast numbers of reduplicative Mandi words do not refer to repetitive actions.

dek-dek-a  vi. twitch, jerk, of a newly killed animal.
dil-dil-a  vi. tremble, shake, from cold, fear, anger.
dil-dil-kep-kep  adv. tremble with cold or fright.
han-sim-mo-a  vi. shiver, shake, from cold or fear.
jek-ju-jek-ju mo-jim-a  vph. shake back and forth, as in an earthquake or in a shaking tree.
jil-jil-a  vi. shake, tremble, from illness or cold.
jok-jok-a  vi. shake, bounce, as when riding in a bus or rickshaw; shake jerkily, bounce in walking; bounce, as a child in play; bounce up and down on a tree branch. jok-jok, jok-jok-chi-chi  adv.
kep-kep-a  vi. tremble with fright, especially of the lips and mouth.
tep-tep-a  vi. shiver from cold or fright.
til-til-a  vi. shake with cold or fear, shiver.

9.324 Restless

Like trembling, restlessness encourages reduplicated words. I have been given a good many words for restlessness other than those listed here, but I omit those that I have not had confirmed by more than a single speaker. It seems that Mandis see restlessness as a problem. They find wiggling children who refuse to sit still to be a particular annoyance.

bil-ding-bil-dang  adv. restless, going this way and that; disorganized; not consistent; scattered, as when things go all over the place.
dong-ru-rak-a, dong-ru-rak-a dong-su-sak-a  vi. restless, active, can’t sit still.
il-sik-il-dang  adv. wiggle, not stay quiet.
a-ti-ek-a, a-ti-ek mik-ti-ek  vi. restless, going this way and that; looking back and forth constantly, alert.
ring-rang-ga-rang  adv. constantly moving; flicker, of reflections in metal, a TV screen, water; shaky, wobbly, of a rocking boat, a bamboo bridge; flutter, of leaves; restless, constantly moving, of people.
rip-eng-dam-beng  
*adv.* going here and there, disorderly, inconsistent in direction of movement or in language.

su-su-sa'-sa  
*adv.* restless, wiggly, not stay quiet.

### 9.326 Stumble, Fall Down (cf. Fall, Bend Over 9.212)

**dol-ok**  
*adv.* fall slowly or gently, without damage or injury.

**ga'-ak-a**  
*vi.* fall, fall down, of people or things; fall into, be a part of; count as kin, as belong in a kinship relation.  
**-gak-**  
*aa.* fall: **gong-gak-a** fall off, fall apart, of tools, posts; **gak-gak-a** flop, droop, like the head of a small baby.

**ga'-ak-chak-a**  
*vi.* fall into: **ha mi-o ga'-ak-chak-a, cha-na nam-ja-jok** dirt falls into the rice (so it is) no longer good to eat.

**ga'-ak-dap-a**  
*vi.* fall onto, as a tree branch might fall on one’s head, as bombs fall.

**ga'-srot-a**  
*vi.* slip with the feet, scrape with the feet.

**-gak-**  
*aa.* fall: **gong-gak-a** fall off, fall apart, of tools, posts; **gak-gak-a** flop, droop, like the head of a small baby, (cf. **ga'-ak-**).

**gang-gil-a**  
*vi.* fall down, lie down, esp. fall on one’s back; fall over, as crops in the wind.

**gang-rang-a**  
*vi.* fall, on the back or side.

**git-chil-a**  
*vi.* slip and fall down, of a person, esp. fall on one’s face.

**go-jron-a, gu-jron-a**  
*vi.* fall down flat, from sickness or pain.

**ja'-bing-bang-a**  
*vi.* stumble.

**ja'-git-ot-a**  
*vi.* stub toe.

**ja'-gu-a**  
*vi.* stumble into a hole and fall; do something accidentally that is undesirable.

**srot-a**  
*vi.* slip, slide. **srot-srot adv.** in a sliding manner: **srot-srot dak-e i'-ang-a** slide along, slip while going.  
**-srot-**  
*aa.* slip: **rim'-srot-a** let slip with hand; **ga'-srot-a** slip with the feet.

**su-tek-a**  
*vi.* fall down frontward, head first, hit head against the ground.

**tim-ang-a**  
*vi.* step into a hole; get into trouble by doing something wrong.

### 9.327 Reverse, Turn Around

**di-pang-pil-ek-a**  
*vi.* upside down, as a person with feet in air and head on ground.

**go-re-go-re, gu-ri-gu-ri, gu-ri-e-gu-ri-e**  
*adv.* wandering about; revolving.  
*B<

**go-re-rik-rik-a, gu-ri-rik-rik-a**  
*vi.* turn again and again; follow someone around repeatedly.

**ham'-pil-a, am'-pil-a**  
*vt.* turn, turn away, turn around, turn over, reverse; stir; sweep rice into pounder hole.  
*vi.* turn over, as in bed.

**tik-a, jang-gil tik-a**  
*vi.* turn one’s back.
-wen-, -wen-wen- aa. wind around, go around in circles: kat-wen-wen-a run around; bil-wen-a fly in circles.

wil-wil-a vi. turn around, revolve, go in circles; circle around others, surround, all around. -wil-, -wil-wil- aa. in circles kat-wil-wil-a run in circles; an-seng-wil-wil-a dance in circles; rat-wil-wil-a cut around, as cutting stripes around a handle; ting-wil-wil-a surround, as by the walls of a house; dong-wil-wil-a surround, by people.

9.328 Follow, Wait
drip-drip adv. following one another, one by one or in groups, of people or animals.
i-rik-a, hi-rik-a, re-rik-a vi. follow, follow after, go behind.
ja-chan-a vi. echo in ja-rik-a ja-cha-na follow another person.
ja-rik-a vt. follow behind another person.
ki-sang-chak-a vi. follow behind; fall behind, cannot keep up.
ni-chak-su-a vt. wait for.
re-rik-a vi. follow.
-rik- aa. follow, along the way: kin-rik-a listen to something passing;
ja-rik-a follow; hai-rik-a recognize; dong-rik-a stay behind; gi-sik ra-rik-a remember; nik-rik-a see in passing, see something moving;
a-gan-rik-a speak to someone who is passing; man-rik-a recover something lost; rim-rik-a hold someone back, prevent from going; dong-rik-a pregnant.
rik-pa-a vi. follow after.
rik-u ni-a vph. watch from behind, watch as a person or animal goes away.
seng-so-a, seng-su-a vt. wait for.
srap-a vi. catch up with, find someone; often in negative: srap-ja cannot catch up. -srap- aa. catch up with: kat-srap-a run and catch up with;
rim-srap-a catch, as a chicken, a thrown object; in-srap-a catch the points of a conversation, have a dialogue, srap-srap, srap-e-srap-e adv. going together, follow one another closely, of people or animals.
srap-nik-grik-a vi. catch up with and see each other.

9.34 Positions of the Body, Hide (cf. Shapes of the Body 6.4)

9.343 Sleeping and Lying Positions

When a Mandi friend first gave me a list of positions in which people sleep, I thought I was speaking with someone who had an idiosyncratic fascination with the subject. The vocabulary seemed too elaborate to be conventionalized. Later, however, I heard other speakers use some of these terms, and others were confirmed when I asked about them. Indeed, I never
discussed these terms without receiving two or three additions to my list. Mandis simply seem to enjoy the diversity of positions in which people can sleep. I have no idea what the reasons for this fascination are, and I have never had any hint that it comes from any sort of sexual interest. Mandis are as amused and obsessed by sex as the rest of us but I see no specific sexual connotation for all these ways of sleeping. Many of the expressions are regular constructions from smaller bits, but they are conventional and well-known. Whatever the reason, the vocabulary is certainly elaborate.

chip-ik-a  vi. lie or sleep face down, a sleeping position of small babies.
chu-chik-a, chu-gop-a, chu-chik-gop-a  vi. sleep curled up, with knees drawn up and face down.
chu-pel-gap-e chu-a  vph. sleep face down.
chu-rim-rim-a  vi. sleep badly, tossing and turning.
gang-pang-a  vi. on one’s back, sleep on one’s back.
geng-gok-a  adv. curled up, sleep with knees drawn up and face down.
gong-ting-grik-e chu-a  vph. sleep back to back.
ja-chok kong-krot-e chu-a  vph. sleep with legs curled up.
ja-git-ap-a  vi. with crossed legs, of one person when sitting, or two people in bed.
jang-gil tik-rik-e chu-a  vph. sleep back to back.
ket-chi-e chu-a, ket-chi-chu-a  vph. sleep on one’s side.
kong-krot-e chu-a  vph. sleep in a curled-up position.
ku-ang-dak-e chu-a  vph. sleep with an open mouth.
ku-mit-tip-e chu-a  vph. sleep with a closed mouth.
kur-wang-e chu-a  vph. sleep with one’s mouth open.
mik-kang-grik-e chu-a  vi. sleep facing each other.
mik-tal-a  vph. lie on one’s back; mik-tal-e chu-a sleep on one’s back.
mik-ting-grik-e chu-a  vph. sleep with one person facing another’s back.
tom-e chu-a  vph. sleep with arms folded.
tu-re-tu-chik-gop-a  vi. in the position for sex.

9.344 Hide

-chip-  aa. without seeing, hidden, shut off: su-chip-a pierce into blindly, without seeing; git-tam-chip-a went one’s pants, wet one’s bed; rim-chip-a grab something not seen; sin-chip-a cool off when the clouds cover the sun.
don-sam-a  vt. echo in don-u-a don-sam-a hide.
don-u-a  vt. hide, conceal. don-u-a ku-pa-a vt. not say everything, hold some things back.
mit-tin-a  vi. be out of sight, hidden.
nap-sik-a, nap-sik-et-a  vi. hide, in embarrassment or fear.
rim-tip-a  vt. cover with the hands so anther cannot see, (esp. cover part of face or mouth in embarrassment); cover a hole (pot, glass, etc.).
tim-e tim-e  adv. secretly, in hiding. -tim- aa. stealthily, attentively, continuously: dong-tim-a wait, stay and guard, watch over; ni-tim-a watch attentively, continuously; si-kal-tim-a hunt stealthily; kat-tim-a run off and hide; kin-a-tim-a listen secretly; chok-tim-a write regularly, constantly; i-ang-tim-a go all the time.

9.345 Sit

a-song-a  vi. sit, sit down, (A'chik).
at-chong-a, a-song-a  vi. sit, sit down.
at-chong-brok-a  vi. sit in a messy place.
at-chong-chak-a  vi. sit when sitting, enough room to sit.
at-chong-chak-a-ni  n. things for sitting, chairs, stools, etc.
at-chong-chong-chrong-a  vi. sit low, as on low stool.
at-chong-chong-prot-a  vi. squat.
at-chong-chrot-a, at-chong-chong-chrot-a  vi. squat, squat deeply but without one's butt touching the ground.
at-chong-dam-bak-a  vi. squat with butt touching something, as on a low stool.
at-chong-dam-dam-a  vi. sit for a long time.
at-chong-dap-a  vt. sit on something, cover something by sitting on it.
at-chong-ti-ti-a  vi. sit briefly, lightly; perch.
at-chong-wek-a  vi. sit badly, in a bad place, uncomfortably.
cha-kat-ru-ra-a  vi. stand up and sit down repeatedly.
cho-chong-a  vi. sit, a child's word that is used mainly with and by children.
dang-dang  adv. separated, not touching, of people sleeping, sitting, walking.
gat-a, ja-chok gat-a  vi. sit with ankles or lower legs crossed, with one ankle resting on the other, sleep with legs crossed.
ja-pil-dem-a  vi. cross legged, sit with legs folded.
ja-sim-il-a, ja-sim-il-e dong-a  vi. sit with legs stretched out in front, either crossed or uncrossed.
kang-krang-krang, kang-krang-chi-krang, kang-krang-e at-chong-a  adv. squat with buttocks well off the ground.
ki-sang song-a  vph. sit down (rude, lit. post one's butt).
ki-song-a  vi. echo in at-chong-a ki-song-a sit down (rude).

9.346 Stand

cha-deng-a  vi. stand, stand up.
cha-deng-dip-a  vi. stand for a bit, pause while walking.
cha-kat-a vi. stand up, get to standing position; get up from sleeping, be standing.
cha-kat-tim-a vi. stand up very quickly.
cha-kring-krang-a vi. get up quickly, suddenly, throw off coverings while getting up quickly.
cha-sri-sra-a, cha-kat-sri-sra-a vi. rise, jump up, get up suddenly from sitting or lying, as when startled.
de-deng-a vi. standing, (children’s language).
dim-breng-a vi. stand erect; straight, direct, of roads, a house wall; in line, like areca palms; having a direct and clear manner of speaking.
dim-breng-dim-breng adv.
ga-deng-si-a vi. on tiptoe.
gol-krang-krang dak-e cha-deng-a vi. stand up straight.
gol-tak-tak-e cha-deng-a vi. stand up straight.
gut-gut kel-ing-a vi. play a game involving hopping on one foot.
ja-chrang-chrang adv. stand with knees sharply bent, but not down to a deep squat.

9.348 Bend, Bow

bam-a vi. bow, less deeply than bam-gok-a, lean forward, lean over from the waist.
bam-e dong-a vph. bow down, crouch down, as when frightened.
bam-e ra-ma re-a vph. walk bent, as an old person.
bam-gok-a, bam-gop-a, bam-gok-gok-a vi. bow head or body, bow deeply, bent over, of people.
bam-kam-a vi. bent thoroughly over.
bam-kom-a vi. bow, curl up, curl up in fright.
deng-gok-a vi. bow deeply, bend over, of people; with the head bent down; let the head flop when falling asleep; curl up with knees drawn up and face down; bent over, of rice plants.
gang-get-a, gang-git-a vi. bend one’s back to the front or side; bent over, as an older person; bent up, of a dog’s tail.
-gok- aa. bent over: deng-gok-a bow deeply; geng-gok-a sleep with knees drawn up; bam-gok-a bow head or body, bent over, of people.
gong-ting-a vi. bend to the front at the waist.
-gop- aa. bent over: chu-gop-a sleep with legs bent up; bi-gop-a fallen over, of a tree; bam-gop-a bow deeply, bend over, of people.
gu-riong-chok-a vi. lean way over so butt is highest.
kang-kip-a, kang-kip-kang-kip vi. adv. bend forward at the hips, as when dancing.
kom-a vi. bend, make oneself small; cower in fear, as a dog, as someone in the presence of a powerful person.
kom'-si-a *vi.* crumple up small, as when sick or cold. **kom'-si kom'-jom dak-a *adv.*

kong'-krot-a *vi.* curled up position when sleeping or sitting; with bent legs; bent, curved, as an umbrella handle; curly, of hair; curled up, as a magazine cover, a dog’s tail.

9.349 **Miscellaneous Positions**

chrop-a *vt.* together, of parallel parts, such as fingers or legs; closed, of an umbrella.

dan-dan-a *vi.* lean back, lean against.

di'-kang-a, di'-kang-a *vt.* keep off the ground, hold in the air, as a foot; as someone sleeping with one foot off the bed.

ja'-gang-a, ja'-gang-e dong-a *vi.* sit or stand with knees or legs spread apart.

ja'-git-ap-a *vi.* with crossed legs, of one person when sitting, or two people in bed.

ja'-sku-tiing-a *vi.* kneel, sit with knees on the ground; poke with the knee.

ja'-chrok-a *vi.* with arms close to the sides of the body or folded closely on the chest.

ja'-pang-pil *adv.* with hands held behind the back.

jing-jing-a *vi.* hang by the hands or the knees.

ket-chi-e *adv.* on the side. **ket-chi-e chu-a, ket-chi-chu-a vph.** sleep on one’s side.

ki'-sang tik-a *vph.* with one’s back toward, turn one’s back, (lit. with the buttocks toward).

kong-a *vt.* hold an arm or arms out straight toward the front or side; stretch fingers out straight; stretch tight, of cloth, rope, hide over a drum.

mik-kang-a, mik-kang-grik-a *vi.* face to face, face one another.

pek-drak-a *vi.* spread apart: ja'-chok pek-drak-a with legs spread apart.

ja'-grik-a *vi.* back to back.

ja'-sku ting-a *vi.* kneel.

ba-wang-a, ja'-ba-wang-a *vi.* hold arms out wide, stretch arms straight out to the side.

9.4 **Gestures**

9.41 **Head Gestures**

dok-dek-a *vi.* waggle the head from side to side, a gesture of agreement.
**dok-nek-a** *vi.* waggle the head from side to side but more slowly than **dok-dek-a**, turn the head to the side just once, a gesture of agreement.

**gak-gak-a** *vi.* flop backwards, droop, as the head of a small baby droops when carried in a cloth.

**gak-u-a, gak-u tak-a, sko gak-u-a** *vi.* nod, nod repeatedly, fall asleep so that the head nods; bend down.

**gok-gok-a** *vi.* with head down, bend over, bend head or bend from waist, bend of trees.

**na-reng-reng-a** *vt.* shake head.

**na-tek-mik-tek** *adv.* moving head from side to side, looking in all directions, of dogs, people.

**ni-cha-a** *vi.* with head up, look up.

**ni-git-u-a** *vi.* direct the face upward, look way up, higher than **ni-cha-a**.

**rong-reng-a, na-rong-reng-a** *vi.* shake head, indicate ‘no’.

### 9.42 Eye Gestures

**dap-a** *vt.* close eyes; cover, bury.

**del-ong-del-ong** *adv.* with big eyes, with open eyes.

**mik-brek, mik-brek-brek** *adv.* with eyes partly closed.

**mik-chi-ding-ding** *adv.* stare.

**mik-chip-a** *vi.* close eyes.

**mik-chip-mik-kem** *adv.* blinking, closing and opening eyes in embarrassment.

**mik-dat-mik-dat** *adv.* staring, a bit angrily.

**mik-del-brok-brok, mik-del-bok-bok, mik-del-bu-bu** *adv.* having big eyes, ugly-looking eyes, as when angry.

**mik-del-ong, mik-del-ong-rong, mik-del-rong-rong** *adv.* staring with large eyes, ugly.

**mik-gil-ak-a** *vi.* have open eyes; wakeful, wake up, be awake.

**mik-gip-eng** *adv.* looking sideways, look out of the corner of the eye.

**mik-git-ching-a** *vi.* look out of the corner of the eye.

**mik-jap mik-jap** *adv.* staring in curiosity or desire.

**mik-kel dap-a, mik-kel-kel dap-a** *vi.* eyes gummed up with eye dirt, eyes in bad shape.

**mik-kem-a, mik-krem-a** *vi.* wink or blink seductively; flirt. **mik-krem-mik-chip** *adv.*

**mik-ol-sim-sim** *adv.* eyes looking downward, in anger or in shame.

**mik-rep-rep-a** *vi.* blink constantly, from dirt or disease; blink seductively.

**mik-sel-a** *vi.* wink with one eye.

**mik-sep-a, mik-sep-sep-a** *vi.* with nearly-closed eyes. **mik-sep-sep** *adv.*

**mik-sil-ep** *adv.* with eyes partly closed.
Verbs

mik-sim-dik-dik  adv. looking down in anger or shame.

mik-wat-ging-wat  adv. looking rapidly back and forth.

ni-ket-chi-a  vi. look to the side.

ni-on-a  vi. look down, bend down to look.

ni-rong-ret-a  vi. look to the sides.

sik-a, mik-gil sik-a  vi. close the eyelids, (lit. insert the eyelids).

9.44 Mouth and Nose Gestures (cf. 7.29 Non-language Uses of Voice; 5.47 Eating and Drinking; 6.42 Body Shapes: Face)

a-him-a, a-ham-a  vi. clear throat.

chik-kap-a  vi. grab or hold in the teeth; hold by squeezing.

-chot-, -chot-chot-  aa. slurp, smack; ku-chot-a kiss, smack; ring-chot-a, ring-chot-chot-a slurp, suck on a straw; cha'-chot-chot-a suckle, suck the breast.

et-a  vi. wipe away or push away in order to dispose of, esp. of mucus from the nose, but also sticks from a fire. et-e gal-a wipe and throw away.

ging et-a  vi. blow nose.

hak-a  vi. cough up and spit. <B

hel-bu-a, el-bu-a  vi. spit up a small amount, like a baby.

ka'-ding-sim-ik-a  vi. smile.

ku-chot-a  vt. make a smacking noise to a child to soothe it. echo in ku'-dim-a ku-chot-a kiss, smack.

ku-dim-a  vt. kiss, as a baby; make a smacking noise to a child to soothe it.

ku-mit-tip-a  vi. close lips, purse lips.

ku-srip-a  vt. swirl water in the mouth to rinse it.

ku-wang-a, ku-sik-ko wang-a  vph. let the mouth hang open, as in surprise or by a crazy person; large-mouthed, of baskets.

ku-weng-a  vi. curved, of a mouth when twisted to the side or when crying; curved of a crescent moon. ku-weng-weng  adv.

na-wang  vi. with open mouth, stupid; with a big opening, a basket shape characterized by a wide mouth.

on-a, ku-chi on-a  vi. drool.

rang-ra-a  vi. belch.

ring-srip-a, ring-sip-a, ra-srip-a  vt. slurp, as when drinking hot tea from a plate, hot soup from a spoon; drink through a straw; drink part but leave part, what a mosquito does when it bites.

sal-srip-a  vt. slurp, suck; check a smell, sniff with the nose for something that smells good; sniffle with a cold; suck water with the nose, by an elephant.

sil-a  vt. draw skin back and reveal, draw back the lips to reveal the teeth, retract the foreskin: wa-ki sil-a reveal tooth dirt.
spom-a  vt. hold inside the mouth without chewing, as water, betel, etc.
srak-a  vt. lick.  srak-e-srak-e  adv.
-srip-, -sip-  aa. slurp, swirl in the mouth:  ku'-srip-a  swirl water in
mouth to rinse it;  sal-srip-a  suck, as on a straw, have a stuffy nose;
ring-srip-a  slurp, as tea.
stu-a  vt. spit.
ti'-ik-a  vi. hiccups.
wa-chrek-chrek  adv. with teeth showing.
wk-eng-eng  adv. with teeth showing.
wk-ram-a  vi. show teeth, as when talking.
wk-wang-a, kw-wang-a  vi. open mouth wide, open mouthed, as in aston-
ishment.  -wang-  aa. open wide:  pa-wang-a  open, of an umbrella;  jak
ba-wang-a  hold the arms wide.  -wang-  dns. open:  ku'-wang  crazy
person who lets mouth hang open.  wk-wang  adv. open, spread apart,
as shirts, doors.
wk-chak-a  vi. open mouth to receive food from another.

9.45 Blow, Breathe, Cough, Sneeze

at-ching-a  vi. sneeze.
bw-ba wat-a  vi. breathe out, exhale; die.
bw-su-a  vi. cough.
el-du-el-du dak-a  vph. take deep breaths; gasp, as when sick.
el-ok-a  vi. echo in bw-su-a  el-ok-a  cough.
gu-su-a  vi. cough, (A-chik).
kel-ok-kel-ok  adv. coughing repeatedly.
rang-du-a, rang-du-rang-du dak-a  vi. breathe deeply, breath heavily.
rang-sip-it-a  vi. breathe:  rang-sip-it-gi-ja  hold one’s breath.
rang-sok-a  vi. get one’s breath, able to breathe:  pin-bru-o  rang-sok-
ja  (I) can’t breathe when covered.
sik-pu-pu-a  vt. blow up fire, as by blowing through a tube.
sip-po-po-a, spo-po-a  vt. blow up a fire.
sip-prong-a, sprong-a  vt. blow off dust, dirt; blow rice beer over a
sick person during sacrifice; blow up fire; blow out, of matches, hurricane
lamp, etc.  vi. fly about in air, of dust, powder, etc.
sip-prong-chak-a, sprong-chak-a  vt. blow through a wa-sing  (bam-
boo tube), to blow up a fire.
spo-a, spu-a  vt. blow, as on a fire, either to make it burn, or to extinguish
a flame.

9.46 Hand Gestures

an-tal-a, jak-pa an-tal-a  vi. hold the hand open, as to receive something.
bing'-chip-chip-a, jak-si bing'-chip-chip-a  vi. with fingers close together.
dang-ot-a  vt. poke someone, touch with a finger to call attention.
jak stik-a  vt. fold hands.
jak-jip-a  vi. beckon, wave, with palm downward, (lit. hand-fan).
jak-kip-a  vi. bend fingers tightly against the palm.
jak-pa bri-a  vph. shake hands.
jak-pa dok-a  vi. clap hands.
jak-si-ot-a  vi. point, point to, show.
jak-tom-a  vi. make a fist.
kip-a, jak kip-a  vt. bend the fingers to press against palms; grab or hold something in the fist.
rim.-jep-a  vi. cover over with the hand.
rim.-sret-a  vt. let slip from the hand; rub off with the hand, stroke off.
sil-a, jak-si sil-a  vt. point.
sil'-ot-a jak-ko sil'-ot-a  vt. push the hand out of the sleeve.
sin-il-a  vt. direct toward; extend a hand, as to a child to help her get up; aim at, of a weapon; push forward, as firewood into a fire.
tik-tak-a  vt. tap, as with the tip of a finger.

9.47 Foot and Leg Gestures (cf. 9.321 Step, Kick)

gar-tek-a  vt. stretch out a leg quickly, kick out once; kick by an animal, cow, goat, etc.
ja'-chri-a, ja'-chi-ri-a, ja'-si-ri-a  vi. stand on tiptoe, walk on tiptoes.
rak-rak-a  vt. swing knees or feet back and forth; wag, of a dog’s tail: ja'-chok-ko rak-rak-a swing the feet; ja'-git-teng-ko rak-rak-a swing the knees, legs.

9.49 Sweating, Excretion

-bu-  aa. excrete inappropriately: git-tam-bu-a wet one’s pants; ke'-em-bu-a defecate in clothes, on a mat like a baby, etc.; ef'-bu-a spit up, of a baby.
git-tam-a  vi. urinate. n. urine.
git-tam-chi-rot-a  vi. pee just a little.
git-tam-chip-a  vi. pee in pants, wet one’s bed.
git-tam-prak-a  vi. pee a lot.
ke'-em-a  vi. defecate. n. feces, dung.
ke'-em-chi-rot-a  vi. defecate just a little.
ki'-a  vi. defecate, (A’chik).
ki'-bong-bet-a  vi. defecate vigorously, have diarrhea.
ki'-brek-a  vi. have diarrhea.
ki'-chrak-a  vi. defecate forcefully, have diarrhea.
ki-\text{-}dam-bu-a \textit{vt.} defecate plentifully or in the wrong place, as children do.
ki-\text{-}jil-jil-a \textit{vi.} defecate a lot.
ki-\text{-}jrot-a \textit{vt.} defecate a little in the wrong place as by a child.
ki-\text{-}pak-pak-a \textit{vi.} defecate a lot.
ki-\text{-}pring \textit{n.} morning defecation.
ki-\text{-}rong-a, ki-\text{-}rong-rong-a \textit{vi.} diarrhea.
ki-\text{-}ru-ru-a \textit{vi.} defecate plentifully.
ki-\text{-}si-a \textit{vi.} fart.
ki-\text{-}si-sru-a \textit{vi.} have diarrhea, lots of defecation.
kram-chi-a \textit{vi.} sweat, perspire. \textit{n.} perspiration.
su-bu-a \textit{n.} urinate, (A\text propName). 

9.5 Manipulations

9.51 Move, Turn, Twist, etc.

9.511 Move, Push, Pull

chan-et-a \textit{vt.} put a pot on the fire.
chrинг-chри-a \textit{vt.} lift up, hang up, as cloth to dry.
de-\text{-}jit-a, de-\text{-}jit-a \textit{vt.} move, put in a different place.
de-on-a, di-on-a \textit{vt.} remove from the fire, as a pot of rice.
don-ru-ra-a \textit{vt.} move, change something’s position, move things back and forth.
jak-chik-su-a \textit{vt.} poke with the elbow.
\text{-}jit-a \textit{aa.} move: ka-jit-a move something that is tied, especially an animal;
de-\text{-}jit-a \textit{move}, put in a different place.
jit-pak-a \textit{vt.} shove a thing or a person to make it move.
ka-e sal-a \textit{vph.} pull by a rope, of a dog, cow, etc.
ka-jit-a \textit{vt.} move something that is tied, esp. an animal.
mo-jim-it-a \textit{vt.} move, swing, shake.
nel-a \textit{vt.} shove, poke, with the shoulder or upper arm.
pak-a \textit{vt.} shove, poke, esp. with the shoulder or upper arm: pak-grik-a strike shoulders and upper arms against each other. \text{-}pak- aa. shove, bump, push aside: jit-pak-a shove something to make it move; sik-pak-a push a short distance, knock over; ga-ping-pak-a push with the foot, kick away; net-pak-a flick off, brush off, with hand or broom; dok-pak-a knock off, from fruit from a tree; han-pak-a abort spontaneously, miscarry.
ra-ron-a \textit{vt.} take down, put down, unload; separate; reject, as to reject someone who is not of the right kin group.
ro-on-a \textit{vt.} take down, take out, remove.
ru-a \( vt. \) take down, take apart, of old thatch, a fence, a house, a basket.

ru-ra-a \( vt. \) move an object from one place to another; irregular, inconsistent.

sal-a \( vt. \) pull; pull in order to lengthen, stretch; play a harmonium; draw a line; pump a ‘rower’ pump; adjust a sari; conduct a legal case, pull out the arguments. \(-sal- \( aa. \) stretch, pull: han-sal-a \) stretch the body, as after sleeping; sur-sal-a \) a slow, stretched-out singing style.

sal-chet-chet-a \( vt. \) pull tightly.

sal-ding-dang-a \( vt. \) pull in various directions.

sal-do-a, sal-du-a \( vt. \) pull up, as to draw water with a bucket from an open well.

sal-gom-a \( vt. \) pull down, bend down, as tree branches.

sal-i-bot-a \( vt. \) drag something along the ground.

sal-jot-jot-a \( vt. \) pull hard, as when tying a string.

sal-jret-jret-a \( vt. \) pull tightly.

sal-ok-a \( vt. \) pull out.

sal-on-a \( vt. \) pull down.

sal-tet-a \( vt. \) break by pulling, as a string.

sal-tik-a \( vt. \) pull on, pull out, esp. of hair.

sik-do-a \( vt. \) push up, push forward, as a flashlight switch.

sik-do-do-a \( vt. \) push.

sik-on-a \( vt. \) push down, press down.

sik-pak-a \( vt. \) push, shove; knock over.

sik-ru-ru-a, sik-ru-ru-et-a \( vt. \) push forward, push hard.

sin-chak-a \( vt. \) support, prop up, as a banana plant with a post, as the beans of a house.

su-sim-pok-a \( vt. \) set down firmly, often angrily, as an object, or a child who is fussing.

sal-gom-a \( vt. \) pull down, bend down, as a tree branch.

sik-gang-pang-a \( vt. \) knock over, make a person or animal fall down on its back.

skon-a \( vt. \) throw into water.

wil-it-a \( vt. \) knock over, of growing rice.

9.515 Shake, Move Back and Forth (cf. 9.322 Tremble, Shake, Shiver, Intransitive)

bal-chi-chi-a \( vt. \) echo in bal-ru-ru-a bal-chi-chi-a \) shake in the mouth, like a dog.

bal-ru-ru-a \( vt. \) shake in the mouth, like a dog.

bik-bik-a \( vt. \) shake, as yeast in a winnowing basket.

chi-chi-a \( vt. \) shake, shake back and forth, as a tree to loosen fruit, as straw to let stalks and impurities blow away.
chok-chok-a vt. shake, as in a bottle; stir back and forth fairly slowly, as when cleaning things in a container with water, as a basket with fish.
de-bri-a, di-bri-a vt. shake, toss about with the hands, feet, or a tool to separate seeds from the stalks.
de-chi-a vt. echo in de-bri-a de-chi-a shake, toss about.
dem-dem-a, dem-dem-a vt. bounce a child in one's hands.
ja-ri-a vt. sift by shaking vigorously, what is done to rice in a gen-chi (round rice tray).
jik-jik-a vt. shake, as a fish line, a gourd when straining rice beer; bounce a child in play, tickle.
jing-jing-a vt. shake something, as a circular rice tray when sorting rice; shake a finger, fist, or knife to threaten.
jip-a vt. fan; fan drying rice to blow away the chaff; flap wings. ji-ja. with fanning, flapping: grang-jip-a flap wings slowly, soar; jak-jip-a beckon, wave.
jok-jek-a vt. shake, as medicine, a tree branch.
mo-chi-chi-a, mu-chi-chi-a vt. shake, as a tree to get fruit, a person in order to awaken.
mo-mo-a, mu-mu-a, mo-a vt. rock in one's arms, bounce on one's back so as to soothe a child.
mo-rek-rek-a, mu-rek-rek-a vt. shake, as a tree to get fruit.
rek-rek-a vt. move back and forth; wag tail, swish tail like a cat getting ready to pounce; shake, as a fruit tree to knock down fruit: bal-wa bol-bi-jak-ko rek-rek-a the wind shakes down the leaves.
rok-rek-it-a vt. cause to move back and forth, of a tree or post that wobbles.
sal-do-det-a vt. pull back and forth.

9.519 Take, Bring

ra-a vt. bring, get, take, receive objects: gro ra-a receive a fine, get compensation; jin-ang ra-a take a loan, receive a loan, borrow; po-ri-ka ra-a give an examination, what teachers do, receive the exam paper.
ra-ang-a vt. take, take away.
ra-ba-a vt. bring, bring in this direction.
ra-ba-gal-gal-a vt. bring quickly.
ra-bit-a vt. bring along, take along, of objects in one's hands, as an animal takes something in its mouth.
ra-chap-a vt. put or take along, take one thing with another thing.
ra’-jring-a  vt. keep taking, continuously taking.
ra’-nap-a  vt. bring in, take in, as into a house.
ra’-sek-a  vt. take by force, remove a thing or a person by force, as when a family takes back a member from an unsuitable marriage.
rik-a-a  vt. take something from one place to another; pile up, collect in one place, as in a basket.
rim-a  vt. take, bring, for people.
rim-bit-a  vt. bring, take along, as a child, friend, or dog.
rim-chap-a  vt. go together, take someone along.
rim-pak-a  vt. meet someone on the way and take him along.

9.53 Hold, Collect

9.531 Get, Grab, Catch

cha-gip-ak-a  vt. climb with one’s arms around, as when climbing a tree.
chik-kap-a  vt. hold by squeezing between the teeth, in a clipboard.
de-ep-a  vt. squeezed, or pinched and hurt, between two things, as by tongs, by a hammer, by a rice pounder.
gip-ak-a  vt. embrace, hug, by people or things; carry child in arms or on hip without a carrying cloth; take on the breast, take on the knee.
gip-ak-chet-a  vt. embrace tightly, closely, wrap arms around, grab and hold something or someone, as a child, a lover, a victim.
gip-ak-grik-a  vt. mutually embrace.
kang-kon-te-a  vt. pull or grab by a handle, hook, or loop, as by an umbrella handle.
kep-a  vt. hold or pinch, as with tongs; pinch, of a crab. -kep- aa. hold, grab, squeeze: jak-kep-a hold pinched in a nearly-closed fist; pak-sik-kep-a carry under the arm; ja’-kep-a hold pinched between one’s feet; dang-kep tongs.
kim-brok-a  vt. put one’s hand in and grab, as from a hole or pot.
kin-ok-a  vt. put one’s hand into a hole and grab, grope.
kip-a, jak kip-a, jak-ko kip-a  vt. bend the fingers to press against palms, grab or hold something in this way.
kit-brok-a  vt. stick one’s hand in and grab.
man’-rik-a  vt. get back something given away or lost, recover; obtain, receive, keep; inherit.
man-sit-tong-a  vt. get everything.
ra’-chak-a  vt. accept, receive objects; catch a thrown object; obey, follow orders or instructions, take advice.
ra’-rik-a  vt. keep for a while; care for temporarily, as when one gives food to an adult; obtain from a passing peddler.
rim-rik-a  vt. hold someone back, prevent from going.
rim-'a  vt. catch, capture, grab, hold, touch, handle; work; lead a legal case; follow the law.
rim-'brok-a  vt. spoil by grabbing, as with dirty hands.
rim-'chak-a  vt. catch a thrown object; receive a newly born baby.
rim-'chak-gip-a  n. one who receives, esp. a midwife.
rim-'chak-ra  n. something one grabs and holds regularly, something for holding, handle, handle of a pump.
rim-'chet-chet-a  vt. grab hard.
rim-'chip-a, rim-'chip-et-a  vt. grab or catch something that is not seen, as catching fish in a trap.
rim-'deng-deng-a  vt. hold lightly pinched between the fingers.
rim-'dep-a  vt. push with finger or thumb, to test ripeness of fruit, to kneed sore muscles.
rim-'gek-a, rim-'gek-gek-a  vt. grab and hold with force, grab by the throat; feeling in the throat that comes from eating arum (ta-ting), a tuber.
rim-'jang-jot-a  vt. grab in the middle or narrow part, squeeze in the middle, grab by the wrist.
rim-'jret-a  vt. squeeze hard with the hand.
rim-'jrot-a, rim-’jrot-jrot-a, rim-’jot-a  vt. grab and squeeze hard.
rim-'min-ek-a  vt. squash in the hand.
rim-’pi-jot-jot  vt. grab hard.
rim-’pi-jrot-a, rim-’pi-jot-a  vt. grab hard, as a stick, as someone’s throat.
rim-’rik-a  vt. hold back, not let go, not allow to escape.
rim-’sik-kap-a, jak-o rim-’sik-kap-a  vt. hold tight in the hands.
rim-’sik-ok-a, rim-’sik-ot-a  vt. let something escape from one’s hand, such as a bird one is trying to catch.
rim-’srap-a  vt. manage to catch, as a chicken or a thrown object.
se-’et-a  vt. pinch something between two fingers, either to hurt it or to hold it.
sik-a  vt. grab, hold, capture, seize, get, obtain; make a legal case; catch thieves.
sik-dik-a  vt. catch, catch in the act, as a thief; catch someone in adultery.
sik-keng-krot-a  vt. catch and hold tightly, by force, with arms or hands.
tik-ot-a  vt. flick something with a finger; pinch off a bit with fingers or nails; scratch with one nail or claw in order to hurt, by people or animals.
tok-a  vt. catch by a sudden motion, as one catches an insect under the hand, as a cat leaps to surprise its prey.
9.532 Lift, Hold, Carry

Mandi has no single word that corresponds to English ‘carry’. There is no way to avoid specifying the manner in which the carrying is accomplished. but the same words can be used for ‘lift’ and for ‘hold’. The difference between ‘lift’, ‘hold’, and ‘carry’ can be shown by verb suffixes, but these are used only when this fine distinction is needed.

ba-a *vt.* carry a child, on the hip, back, or front, esp. with a carrying cloth; give birth.
ba-rik-a *vt.* take care of, carry a baby or small child.
ba-tom-a *vt.* carry a child in the arms or on the back without a carrying cloth.
chil-a *vt.* lift or carry on the shoulder or head, generally of heavy objects such as a log or a shoulder pole, lift with the shoulder.
chil-do-a *vt.* lift up with the head or shoulders; come out from under a covering blanket.
de-a, di-a *vt.* lift up, carry, raise; take photo; put away, move, especially bedding and clothes in the morning; lift the vertical strip while weaving a basket in order to slip the horizontal strip underneath; fly a flag; belong to named kin group, (e.g. Cham-bu-gong, Sang-ma), assign to a lineage (ma-chong): ang-ko Nok-rek de-a I am a Nokrek, I belong to the Nokrek lineage.
de-gat-a, di-gat-a *vt.* lift something heavy, as a roof frame, put in place, load, help someone to pick up a load.
de-tom-a, di-tom-a *vt.* lift or carry in the arms, esp. for heavy things.
de-tom-brot-a *vt.* lift or carry something large and heavy.
gat-a *vt.* place on, load, put on top of; cover, as the head; put or carry on shoulder or head; build up mud walls; set a trap; hang (clothes, jawbones); attach; give a second or replacement spouse; be in or on (a cradle).
ke-a, ki-a *vt.* hold or carry by hanging, as by a strap from the waist or shoulder, of things wrapped in a hanging cloth; carry a large pot on the hip.
ke-bit-a, ki-bit-a *vt.* bring along, of things that hang, of something wrapped in a cloth or tucked into something: O-ses ri-spil ki-bit-ing-a Oses comes with his hanging testicles.
ol-a, hol-a *vt.* carry or hold from tump line; wear na-rik-i (bunch of large earrings) as protection against head hunting.
pak-sik-kep-a *vt.* hold or carry under the arm.
ra-du-a *vt.* lift up, take up, bring up.
rip-e-a, rip-i-a *vt.* carry on the shoulder, as a log.
tom-a *vt.* lift up, lift out, as a baby from a cloth cradle, hold in the hands.
9.535 Gather, Collect, Pile Up, Mix

**brin-a** *vt.* mix, mix together, as rice and curry, cement and sand.

**chim-ong-a** *vt.* gather things, collect; gather people together.

**chong-prot-a** *vt.* gather in piles. **chong-prot-chong-prot** *adv.*

**ga-brok-a** *vt.* tread in, as one treads in water with dirt to make mud for building; step into, water, mud.

**kol-a, kol-am-a** *vt.* pick up small things, as from the ground, gather.

**kol-am-a** *vt.* pick up, lift up, gather, of small things from the ground; collect fallen fruit.

**rik-a-a** *vt.* pile up, collect in one place, as in a basket; take something from one place to another.

**rik-rok-a** *vt.* scrape together, scrape into a pile.

**rim-breka** *vt.* grab with the hands, as when eating.

**rim-brin-a** *vt.* mix with the hand, as rice and curry.

**tim-ka-a** *vi.* gather, gather together; be together, of a number of people.

**tir-dik-a** *vi.* gather, come together in a crowd.

**tom-a** *vt.* gather, bunch up, collect, call together, pile up, rake into a pile, as rice; wind up thread; pull up, gather up, gather into a bunch, of a sleeve, pant leg, lunggi, etc.; bend together, of legs, waist or, esp., arms.

**tom-do-a** *vt.* gather upward, bunch upward, of cloth, lunggi, shirt.

9.536 Separate, Select, Sort, Divide

**ba-nai-a** *vt.* select, appoint to an office; choose; build, prepare, construct, create, make. *<B*

**ba-si-a, ba-chi-a** *vt.* sort out, choose, select; sort out what is not wanted; remove weeds, collect, of grass for cows; sort out unhusked grain; scoop oil from the top of a cooking pot.

**dok-gok-a** *vt.* hit and separate, as to knock off a handle.

**-drak-** *aa.* break apart, separate, peel off: **pek-drak-a** spread apart, of legs or toes; **o-drak-a** peel, remove peel, skin; **jot-drak-a** poke and tear off, of paper, cloth; **dok-drak-a** knock out of the way; **bit-drak-a** spread slightly apart, as thatch, clothing; **pit-drak-a** split, as firewood.

**ma-at-a** *vt.* divide, apportion, as property, meat, money, etc.

**-ok-** *aa.* come apart, take apart, separate: **sal-ok-a** pull out; **go-ok-a** come apart, come loose; **po-ok-a** take off, take out, of hats, corks; **sol-ok-a** carve, as a memorial post.

**ro-se-a, ru-si-a** *vt.* choose, sort, select out the bad ones.

**su-al-a** *vt.* divide, apportion property, goods.

**ting-a** *vt.* separate by spreading a barrier, as to line the bottom of a bird basket with leaves or straw to catch bird droppings or to receive eggs; stretch skin over drum end.
ting-chang-a  vt. enclose, separate off, as with leaves or cloth for layers in a basket or with a wall or a fence.  ting-chang- cls. classifier for sections of a building divided by a barrier:  ting-chang-gin-i two sections of a building, two rooms.

ting-ting  adv. built strongly against thieves, of walls, fences.
ting-wil-wil-a  vt. surround, as with the walls of a house.

-tong-  aa. cut or separate long and cylindrical pieces:  den-tong-a cut crosswise, cut in two, of a log, etc.;  tet-tong-a break apart, of string, linear things;  chik-tong-a bite off.  -tong  dns. long and cylindrical:  gan-tong a cut stalk of a plant such as manioc;  ging-tong snout of a pig;  jak-tong forearm;  wa-tong length of bamboo.

9.538 Lose, Lost, Leave Out, Omit

brang-a  vi. loose one’s way, get lost.
don-ba-a  vt. leave behind.
don-e  adv. leaving behind, leaving out, omitting:  sal-sa don-e min-no-a will be ripe in two days, (lit. omitting one day).
don-gu-al-a  vt. forget where one has put something.
dong-e  adv. left behind, skipping, omitting.
gim-a-a  vi. be lost, of things.
gim-a-et-a  vt. lose, cause to be lost.
i-mik-brang-a  vi. take the wrong road, get lost, go carelessly, go where one should not go.
jok-a  vi. escape, get loose, get out, by people, animals, water, things.
ma-rang jok-a  vt. be rid of ma-rang (taboo).

-mik-brang-  aa. without seeing, fail to notice:  i-mik-brang-a go the wrong way, make a wrong turn;  su-mik-brang-a stab without seeing what is stabbed;  ni-mik-brang-a look past, not notice, miss seeing.

9.54 Throw, Throw Away, Drop, Let Go, Scatter (cf. 9.72 Give, Take, 9.276 Leak Pour)

cha-sret-a  vt. let slip from the mouth.
gal-a  vt. throw away, dispose of; divorce; pour rice beer as an offering at a sacrifice.  -gal- aa. take off, get rid of, throw away:  sal-gal-a put away, as sleeping mat;  king-gal-a uncover;  su-gal-a wash clothes, dishes, etc.;  wak-gal-a vomit.
gal-ga-gal-a  adv. throw away carelessly, without waiting.
gal-o-rot-a, gal-u-rot-a  vt. drop things along the way, as from the hand or from a torn sack.
go-a, gu-a  vt. throw, scatter; broadcast seeds, plant; cast fishnet; play out cards; shoot gun.
go-ba-rip-rip-a  vt. scatter, throw around.
go-et-a  vt. throw.
go-gak-a  vt. throw at: rong-te-cha do-ko go-gak-a throw at the bird with a rock.
go-kring-krang-a  vt. throw around, throw in an uncontrolled way, throw roughly, in various directions or off to the side.
go-pret-a  vt. throw hard and break; strike, of lightning.
go-pri-pra-a  vt. scatter, throw around but more gently than go-sri-sra-a.
go-rim-rim-a  vt. roll along the ground.
go-ring-rang-a  vt. throw back and forth, swing back and forth.
go-sreng-a  vt. pass to someone by rolling or sliding along the ground.
go-sri-sra-a  vt. throw things around, this way and that, as small children do with rice when eating, scatter.
go-stap-a  vt. throw forcefully to the ground.
go-tat-a  vt. throw at forcefully, with stones, sticks, etc., as at people, dogs, pigs: rong-te-cha a-chak-ko go-tat-a throw a stone at the dog.

jak-wat-a  vt. let drop from hand; let go of: ang-a ko-lom-ko jak-wat-a I let the pen slip and fall.

-kring-krang aa. uncontrolled, incompletely, scattering around: cha- kring-krang-a get up quickly throwing covers around; go-kring-krang-a throw around in an uncontrolled way; ru-kring-krang-a take down and scatter around, of old thatch; kam-kring-krang-a incompletely burned; pin-kring-krang-a incompletely thatched.

-ot- aa. let go of, separate from: rong-ot-a take out something round, as a banana from its skin; sil-ot-a push out, as the hand out of a sleeve; rim-sik-ok-a let something escape from one’s hand, as a bird one is trying to catch.

pu-a  vt. pour, let fall from the hand, of powder or fine things like rice grains; add dry ingredients such as salt, soda, etc. to food when cooking; sprinkle over, as yeast over rice when making rice beer.

rim-sik-ok-a, rim-sik-ot-a  vt. let something escape from one’s hand, such as a bird one is trying to catch.

rim-sret-a  vt. let slip from the hand; rub off with the hand, stroke off.

rim-srot-a  vt. not succeed in grabbing, let slip from the hand.

-sret- aa. slip away: cha-sret-a slip from the mouth; rim-sret-a slip from the hand.
tap-skot-a  vt. not hold on to, let slip from the hand, let go.
9.55 Hit, Touch, Scratch, Wipe

9.552 Bump, Pat, Touch

cha-dat-a, cha-ting-a, cha-ting-dat-a  vt. bump into, collide.
cha-skap-a  vi. touching, in contact.
dang-ot-a  vt. poke someone, touch with the finger to get attention.
-dat-  aa. touch, bump, strike, hit forcefully: pa-dat-a touch with the palm of the hand; mik-dat-a be dazzled with glare; ni-dat-a stare.
dok-tap-a, dok-tep-a  vt. pat with an open palm.
dok-ting-a  vt. tap, knock, especially something that resounds, as to test the soundness of a pot; knock on a door.
dok-tip-tip-a  vt. slap an opening, as to cover someone’s mouth to prevent him from speaking; slap an ear; pat, slap several times: pat a child to soothe him; slap a basket to knock things into place.
dok-tok-tok-a  vt. tap, knock, as on a door; clean off body with repeated slapping motions; knock a log to see if it is hard; knock something such as a basket to loosen the dirt inside; knock with something held in hand, like a stick.
nang-a, nang-ting-a, nang-ting-dat-a  vt. touch, bump into something, as a tree; hit a mark, hit with something, as with something thrown.
nang-chap-a  vi. touch, be touching, lean against.
nang-chap-grik-a  vi. touch each other, foul in football.
nang-dat-a  vt. bump into, collide, touch hard, press to the point of hurting, bump into with body; knock two things together.
nang-git-ot-a  vt. touch lightly or quickly.
nang-it-a  vt. touch, bump, hit, cause things to touch or bump.
nang-ting-grik-a  vt. bump into each other, as when playing football.
nel-grik-a  vt. strike shoulders against each other, as in bed, in scuffling.
pa-dit-a  vt. come very close, esp. to something hot.
pak-grik-a  vt. strike shoulders and upper arms against each other.
rim-ek-a  vt. touch with the palm of the hand, handle.
tak-a  vt. hit, strike, poke, beat, tap, as one taps the smallest kind of drum; tap of a woodpecker; carve, as a memorial post or the notches in a log to be used as steps.
ting-a  vt. poke people or things, as with hand or elbows.  -ting-  aa. strike, bump into: nang-ting-grik-a bump into each other; ga-ting-a kick, push with the foot; dok-ting-a strike, knock.
-ting-dat-  aa. bump, strike: su-ting-dat-a strike, poke; ga-ting-dat-a kick something, as a football, push with the feet; nang-ting-dat-a bump into, as into a tree when walking; cha-ting-dat-a bump into, collide, bump something with one’s body.
top-top-a  vt. pat with the hand, as to soothe a child.
9.553 Hit, Knock Forcefully

cha-trip-trip-e dok-a, cha-grip-e dok-a  vph. hit one person by many people, as people might do to a thief.
dok-a  vt. beat, knock, hit, tap, beat drum; make, forge iron tools; create, as a god creates people.
dok-ak-a  vt. hit forcefully, with hand or stick.
dok-chak-a  vt. hit back, return a hit.
dok-chap-a  vt. hit at the same time, as the ball in football.
dok-chap-grik-a  vt. knock two things together.
dok-chepechep-a  vt. hit repeatedly in order to break or damage.
dok-chrak-a  vt. knock with the hand or stick; hit and cause to move; knock down, as fruit from a tree: ki-me dok-chrak-a knock down, knock off with the tail.
dok-drak-a  vt. knock open, as a door, knock out of the way.
dok-gok-a  vt. hit and separate, as to knock off a handle.
dok-jem-jem-a  vt. hit continuously.
dok-jol-jol-a, dok-jo-jol-a  vt. hit one after another as one moves along.
dok-kak-kak-a, kak-kak-e dok-a  vt. tap with a knuckle, knock.
dok-kam-a, dok-kam-kam-a  vt. hit constantly.
dok-pra-a  vt. hit and break into pieces.
dok-pru-a  vt. knock a hole through.
dok-rip-ak-a  vt. hit everything.
dok-sik-a-a  vt. return a hit, hit back.
dok-sim-sim-a  vt. strike a lot, repeatedly.
dok-srok-a  vt. hit lightly, as an older child hits a younger child, as cobwebs are hit with a broom.
dok-tat-a  vt. beat forcefully, beat to death.
su-dep-a  vt. pound, as with a hammer; pound into a bamboo tube; pound a finger in a rice pounder.
tot-a  vi. knock against, hit against, strike against, bump heads; mes tot-a strike a match.
tot-grik-a  vt. bump heads against each other, as one might do to two other people.

9.554 Scratch, Scrape, Rub

brik-a  vt. scratch one’s self to soothe.
brik-et-a  vt. scratch someone else to soothe.
-brot-  aa. rub, rub against: rim-brot-a kneed sore muscles, rub off so as to clean; ga-brot-a scrape with the foot; not-brot-a rub against something in order to scratch, as an animal does.

bu-chrak-a, bu-su bu-chrak-a  vt. scratch, as by thorns.
Verbs

-grot-  aa. scrape, rub; not-grot-a rub up against something in order to
scratch oneself; mat-grot-a scrape body against something; ge-grot-a
plant between other plants so as to fill in gaps.

kur-ak-a vt. scratch to hurt, with claws or nails, by animals or people;
claw like a cat; scrape off the excess wet mud of a wall during house
construction.
nong-a vt. rub, kneed, as muscles; smear on; mix, as rice and curry when
eating; grind finely.

rim-brot-a, rim-brot-brot-a vt. kneed, of sore muscles; rub, as when
washing vegetables.

rim-dep-a vt. push with a finger or thumb, to kneed sore muscles, to
test the ripeness of fruit.

rim-rok-a vt. rub, rub along, rub with the palm, massage, kneed sore
muscles, soothe by stroking; rub in order to clean; rub someone’s arm in
requesting, beseeching; pet an animal; brush off dirt from body.
sal-srik-a vt. make smooth, as by scraping a knife on bamboo, clean;
scrape rice into the hole of a rice pounder.
sik-sik-a vt. scratch, scrape with finger nails or a tool, to soothe itching,
to smooth mud walls; carve, as a memorial post; remove bark, remove the
surface of wood, bamboo, etc.; rub against something in order to scratch;
go repeatedly, as to a woman in whom one is interested.
tik-ot-a vt. flick something with a finger; pinch off bit with fingers or nails;
scratch with one nail or claw in order to hurt (by people or animals).

9.556 Apply, Wipe

mrak-a, mrok-a vt. wipe off, clean off, sweep off, lick off.
mrok-a vt. wipe up, as collecting food from a dish; clean off, as a dish
with ashes; clean a place for drying rice.
on-a, hon-a, ron-a vt. apply paint, give; put; pay fine, compensation;
give a loan; officiate at a marriage; take an examination (what students
do), hand in an examination, (see ron- for compounds).
pa-a vt. apply, smear on, as paint, as medicine on skin; attach, as a poster
on a wall.
rep-pi-a vt. smear mud on a wall, plaster with mud.
rip-a vt. rub on, apply to the head, as soap, water: sko rip-a wash hair.
vi. dive under water, sink, disappear under water; flood, rise, of river
water.
rip-ak-a vt. rub or smear on, of powder, nail polish, medicine on skin;
rub oil on gongs to make them look fine.
rip-ak-tip-tip-a vt. spread on plentifully, as oil on the body, powder on
the face.
sit-a vt. apply, anoint, paint, smear on, as medicine or oil on the skin;
paint or scribble on a wall, etc.
**tok-a**  *vt.* apply a spot, as colored cosmetic spot on the forehead, blood on an altar, flour spots on walls at festivals. *vi.* spotted, as a leopard, a pattern on cloth.

**9.557 Knock Off, Brush Off, Scrape Off**

**dok-pak-a**  *vt.* knock off, as fruit from a tree; shake off; slap off, brush off, as dirt with the hand; action of a woman’s kinsmen when they take her back because they don’t like her husband.

**dok-prong-a**  *vt.* hit, slap, slap off dust with the hand or a cloth.

**dok-rok-a**  *vt.* knock off, knock one thing against another, as to clear dirt from a basket; slap dirt off; brush off, as a cow brushes off flies with its tail.

**dok-sap-a**  *vt.* slap off with a cloth.

**dok-tok-tok-a**  *vt.* clean off body with repeated slapping; knock something such as a basket to loosen the dirt inside; tap, knock, as on a door; knock a log to see if it is hard; knock with something held in hand, like a stick.

**net-pak-a, net-pak-e gal-a**  *vt.* flick off, brush off with hand or broom, of dirt, unwanted food, etc.; push aside, as when people push through a crowd.

**not-a**  *vt.* scour, scrub, scrape, of skin, pots, etc.; clean by scrubbing, clean teeth.

**rik-kit-a, rik-kot-a**  *vt.* scrape out, scrape off hard material when cleaning a pot.

**rok-a**  *vt.* scrape, scrape off, as a dirty pot; shave or cut hair, with scissors or razor; push rice into the hole of a *teng-ki* (rice pounder) with an *al-pat* (push tool). *ma-rang rok-a*  *vph.* remove *ma-rang* (evil and pollution); dispose of *ma-rang* by means of an egg sacrifice using bamboo that has been shaved so as to make a *ku-sim-ang* (beard). *-rok-aa.* scrape, rub, scrape off, knock off, remove: *dok-rok-a* knock one thing against another, as to clear dirt from a basket; *rep-rok-a* cut off peel; *dang-rok-a* scrape out, as dirt or weeds; *rep-rok-a* carve off bits from the surface; *ot-rok-a* sweep.

**9.57 Cutting and Digging**

**9.571 Stab, Pierce, Poke, Insert (cf. 2.22 Fit)**

Mandi seems to have more words for insertion than a language should need, and the ways in which meanings are allotted seem quite idiosyncratic. *sik-a* is to ‘insert fairly forcefully’. The only way to plant a rice seedling is by *sik-a*. *Su-a* involves a bit of cutting. You must *su-a* rather than *sik-a* a hypodermic needle. *Bu-a* may go less deeply than *su-a* and it is especially appropriate for what thorns do. You should *pot-a* your shirt tail so that it
is no longer hanging out. You can also pot-a a feather into your turban, but jot-a is a better word for inserting a feather or a hair clip into your hair, for it is less forceful than dat-a and less pointed than su-a. Dat-a is what you do when you pound in a nail. Pu-a and pru-a focus on the hole that is produced, but re-el-a is even more explicit, and it is the right word to use when you drill a hole. Mit-tip-a and mit-chu-a, on the other hand, are to insert one thing so as to plug up another thing. These words are not interchangeable. You have to use the right one for the action you want to talk about. Phrases made from one of these verbs together with an indefinite object are so conventionalized as to count as lexical items: ru-a sik-a ‘plant rice seedlings’; ki-me pot-a ‘insert a feather into one’s turban as decoration’.

bit-a vt. make a hole in the earth or mud, by a worm or animal; burrow; pierce, penetrate.
bu-a vt. pierce, prick; penetrate by a bu-su (thorn); cut through the dirt, by a plow.
bu-ket-a vt. pierce and stay in, as a thorn.
bu-prot-a vt. pierce into.
bu-pru-a vt. pierce through.
dat-a vt. pound into, as a nail, as dried fish into a bamboo container, as a stake into the ground; insert a tool blade into a handle.
dat-ket-a vt. insert tightly and leave in, as nails, poles into a hole.
dat-sik-a vt. pound or push into, as post into the ground, dirt into a hole in the wall.

jot-a vt. insert, poke into, with a finger, a stick, etc., as a feather into a turban; put on, wear, as a hair clip, a feather in a turban; insert a stick through leaves to hold them together; less forceful than dat-a, less pointed or cutting than su-a. -jot-, -jot-jot-, -jrot- aa. insert, be tight; squeezed in the middle: sik-jot-a, sik-jrot-a plant in between other plants; song-jot-a replace a post; jang-jot-jot-a be squeezed, narrower in the middle than at the ends; sal-jot-jot-a pull hard, as when tying string; rim-pi-jot-a, rim-pi-jrot-a grab in the middle, squeeze in the middle.

jot-chring-chri-a vt. poke into something and lift it up, dirt with a shovel, straw in order to toss with a ka-rail (tossing tool).

jot-dik-a vt. poke someone to call attention.

jot-drek-a vt. poke and tear off, of paper, cloth.

jot-ge-gel-a vt. poke back and forth clumsily, as children might do it, as with a stick in a hole or in the branches of a tree, wood into a fire.

jot-ket-a vt. insert, plug up.

jot-prot-a vt. poke through.

jot-ru-ru-a vt. poke into, as poke with a stick into a tree or a nest.
jot-tap-a  vt. insert, as thatch to repair a hole in the roof.

-jrot-, -jot-, -jot-jot-  aa. insert, be tight; squeezed in the middle:
sik-jot-a, sik-jrot-a plant in between other plants; song-jot-a replace a post; jang-jot-jot-a be squeezed, narrower in the middle than at the ends; sal-jot-jot-a pull hard, as when tying string; rim-pi-jot-a, rim-pi-jrot-a grab in the middle, squeeze in the middle.

mit-chu-a  vt. plug up, fill a hole; close up a bottle, bamboo tube, etc.
mit-tip-a  vt. close up a bottle, plug up a hole, put on a screw top; close, of a window hole, of the clouds over the sun; bury; be closed, shut, without holes.

pot-a  vt. tuck in, as a shirrtail or the back part of a loincloth; insert a feather in the hair or turban: ki-me pot-a ‘insert a feather’.

pru-a  vt. pierce, as a wound to get out pus or to work out a sliver. -pru-aa. through, cut through, pierce: rat-pru-a cut through; ga-pru-a step through; dok-pru-a knock a hole through; su-pru-a pierce, as a wound to get out a thorn.

pu-a  vt. make a hole, as with a chisel; drill or eat holes in wood, fruit, etc., by worms or birds; plant with a digging stick.
re-el-a  vi. make a hole, bore a hole.
sik-a  vt. insert, put in, poke, jab; sew; plant, esp. for rice in mud; put on, wear, of things requiring insertion such as a hat or bracelet; give life, provide the jang-gi (life, soul) by the creator; ru-a sik-a ‘transplant rice seedlings; mik-gil sik-a close eyes, (lit. put into the eyelids).
sik-jot-a, sik-jrot-a  vt. plant between other plants, fill in the gaps in a planted field.
sik-ket-a  vt. insert forcefully, of something tight, insert and leave in, as a hearing aid, a bit into a brace, chunks of mud into the cracks of a drying wall of a new house.
sik-krok-a  vt. insert, as an object into thatch, or a bit in a brace; put on, wear, of hats, bracelets, rings, socks, shoes, belt; put through, as an arm through a sleeve, the loop of a handbag, an open window; hang a loop over something; attach a plow in the middle of a jual (yoke); in mythology: climb into a skin.
sik-sep-a  vt. stick something into a fold in one’s clothing, ear, etc.; tuck or poke in, as shirt at the waist, a tool into rafters, a card into a book; stick in and attach, like a pen with a clip. sik-sep-ga-sep adv. crowded, squeezed in, as in a bus: sik-sep-ga-sep motor ga-hat-a get onto the bus by crowding.
song-a  vt. set up, as post.
song-jot-a  vt. replace a post.
spok-a  vt. insert one cylindrical thing into another, as a small bamboo into the end of a larger one to make a longer pole, stack glasses, put on the cap of a pen, plug up as with a cork in a bottle.

su-a  vt. peck, peck at, of birds.

su-a  vt. pierce, stab, spear; inject medicine; cut open; pound rice, husk; pound into a tube; bite, of snakes.

su-brok-a  vt. to spear, stab with a spear, pierce.

su-chek-chek-a  vt. poke here and there with a tool; well and thoroughly pounded and clean, of rice.

su-chip-a  vt. pierce into blindly without seeing.

su-drik-a  vt. poke and tear.

su-mik-brang-a  vt. stab without seeing what is stabbed.

su-prot-a  vt. pierce, make a hole, esp. in order to get out a thorn or pus.

su-rik-rik-et-a  vt. pound or stab steadily, as when pounding rice; add lots of wood to a fire.

su-ru-ru  adv. echo in jot-ru-ru su-ru-ru poke into.

su-tat-a  vt. pound into, fill up, as dried fish into a bamboo tube, mud into cracks in a house wall.

su-tat-a  vt. strike, poke, with elbow, knee, hand or stick.

9.572 Pull Out, Extract

bik-ong-kat-a  vt. take out with the hand, as tubers from the ground, as the breast in order to nurse.

go-ok-a  vi. come apart, come loose, come out of, as a tool handle, cork; fall out, be pulled out, plucked, of hair, of feathers; fall down, of a lunggi; -gok- aa. separated, broken apart.

jok-et-a  vt. let loose, allow to escape.

ok-a  vt. pull out, of plugs, corks, plants when weeding, etc.; unbutton; take off clothes that require insertion, of shoes, hat, shirt, lunggi; disconnect. -ok- aa. come apart, take apart, separate: sal-ok-a pull out; go-ok-a come apart, come loose; po-ok-a take off, take out, of hats, corks; sol-ok-a carve, as a memorial post.

ong-kat-dil-a  vt. cause to come out, make something come out, squeeze out.

pik-a  vt. pull out by the roots, as plants from the earth, as rice seedlings for transplanting; pluck, as gray hairs, as bird down.

po-ok-a  vi. come off, of a hat; come out, as a cork.

rong-ot-a  vt. take out something round, as a banana from its skin, an eye from its socket; dig up; expose the genitals.

rong-kat-a  vt. take out, remove from.
9.573 Cutting (cf. 9.28 Break, Come Apart, Take apart)

bak-bak-a vt. cut off bark: bol-bi-gil-ko at-te-cha bak-bak-a cut off the tree bark with a bamboo knife.
bik-a vt. carve, cut into shape, cut hair, carve a tooth on the top of a memorial post.
chem-a vt. cut branches into pieces, usually after the branches are off the tree.
chit-a vt. split, cut into thin pieces, esp. for bamboo; tear, of paper, cloth.
chit-ket-chi-a vt. split bamboo lengthwise, but at right angles to the inner and outer surface.
chit-man-di-a vt. split bamboo parallel to inner and outer surfaces.
chrit-a vt. split, as to cut into pieces with a bamboo knife; the split that comes after the first and coarser den'-ku-rak-a, which is to split the bamboo into halves, but before the more delicate chit-a.
den'-a vt. cut, chop, cut by striking blows.
den'-bak-bak-a vt. cut off bark.
den'-chech-cek-a vt. make small chops, here and there, as when chopping the nodes while preparing split bamboo.
den'-chrit-a vt. split into a few pieces, esp. of bamboo lengths.
den'-drak-a vt. chop into many pieces.
den'-jem-jem-a vt. cut into small pieces.
den'-kil-ot-a vt. make small cuts or chips with the tip of an at-te (bamboo knife).
den'-kim-bak-a vt. cut partway through.
den'-kip-a vt. bang the point of an at-te (bamboo knife) into something like a tree in order to hold it when resting.
den'-ku-rak-a vt. split into two halves, esp. of lengths of bamboo.
den'-mit-chi-a vt. cut into small pieces, of wood, etc.
den'-pret-a vi. chop into two pieces, chop open, as a coconut; split bamboo in half lengthwise.
den'-pri-a, den'-pri-pri-a vt. cut into lots of small pieces, of meat, wood, branches, etc.
den'-pri-den'-mit-chi-a vt. cut into lots of pieces.
den'-pru-a vt. cut a hole through.
den'-tak-tak-a vt. chop many little cuts into something with a bamboo knife.
den'-tong-a vt. cut across, cut through, cut into lengths, of a log or stick.
den'-wak-a vt. cut a lot, cut through.
ji-jem-a vt. echo in git-ak-a ji-jem-a cut into pieces.
git-ak-a vt. cut into small pieces, of things such as meat or tobacco.
git-ak-pri-pri adv. cut into very small pieces.
mat-kil-ot-a vt. cut a little, not much.
Verbs

pit-a  vt. split, chop firewood; split bamboo; cut into small pieces.
pit-drak-a  vt. split, as firewood, as a length of bamboo.
pit-ket-chi-a  vt. split off a thin strip of bamboo with a cut perpendicular to the surface.
pit-ku-rak-a, pit-ku-rang-a  vt. split lengthwise into pieces with an axe; split bamboo.
pit-man-di-a  vt. split off a thin strip of bamboo with a cut parallel to surface.
pit-si-ri-a, pit-chi-ri-a  vt. split into small pieces, esp. bamboo.
pret-a  vt. split coarsely, more coarse than chit-a, usually for bamboo; cause something to burst open as a bamboo wall, a bamboo tube; break up, as a mud wall. -pret- aa. cause to explode, burst, break apart, make noise: dok-pret-a hit and break something, as a coconut; gam.-pret-a make a lot of noise, like a gun, airplane; ga.-pret-a burst or squash something with the foot; kim-pret-a thunder; chrïk.-pret-a scream loudly, squeal, of pigs.
ra-  vt. cut by slicing, used in compounds only, (same as rat-, which see for compounds).
rat-a  vt. cut by slicing; cut with sickle as one harvests rice; cut off mud from a house wall to smooth it.
rat-gro-a, rat-gru-a  vt. cut lengthwise.
rat-kim-bak-a, ra-kim-bak-a  vt. cut part way through.
rat-ku-rak-a  adv. cut once lengthwise.
rat-pru-a, ra-pru-a  vt. cut a hole through.
rat-si-ri-a, ra-si-ri-a  vt. cut into small pieces, as pork, pineapple.
rat-srik-a, ra-srik-a  vt. make a careful slicing cut.
rat-tim-bang-a, ra-tim-bang-a  adv. cut in half crosswise.
rat-tong-a, ra-tong-a  vt. cut crosswise into two separate pieces.
rat-wak-a, ra-wak-a  vt. cut off, slice off, as a piece of meat.
rat-wil-a, ra-wil-a, rat-wil-wil-a  vt. cut around, as when skinning an eel, when cutting a stripe around a handle; girdle a tree.
rep-a  vt. cut finely, chop up fine, make fine cuts from the surface, cut off, as skin from fruit; carve off surface, peel; echo in sol-a rep-a carve off surface.
rep-chok-a, den-chok-a, rat-chok-a  vt. carve a point.
rep-rok-a  vt. carve off bits from the surface of something, as from a potato or tuber, so as to cook it.
rit-am-a  vt. trim, cut off larger branches of a standing tree.
sol-a  vt. carve, cut off pieces, esp. from the surface, to reduce the size of a wooden piece; scrape off mud from the walls of a new house to make them smooth; remove bark, trim, whittle; skin an animal.
sol-ok-a  vt. carve, as a memorial post; shape and smooth the surface, more delicate than sol-a.
sol-srok-a  vt. make smooth by cutting or carving a little bit from the surface; polish.
sot-a  vt. chop, cut firewood.
sot-ku-rang-a  vt. chop lengthwise.
sot-tong-a  vt. chop across, into lengths, chop into two parts, of a log, stick, etc.; cut clear through.
sri-a  vt. to slice lengthwise.  sri-sri  adv. in lengthwise slices:  sri-sri dak-e rat-a cut lengthwise.  sri-cls.  classifier for lengthwise slices, of papaya, etc.
srik-a  vt. shave, cut with a razor; scrape or clean the surface, as with an at-te (bamboo knife) or hoe; scrape in order to make smooth, of bamboo strips, of the mud of new house walls; smooth with a plane.
tak-a  vt. carve, as the notches in a log to be used as steps, as a memorial post; hit, strike, poke, tap, as one taps the smallest kind of drum; the tap of a woodpecker.
tak-tak den-a  vph. make small chops, carve in several places, as the top of a memorial post.
teng-a  vt. carve, as a memorial post, or the notches in a log to be used as steps.
tong-rang-tong-rang  adv. into several crosswise slices.

9.576 Digging

If you want the dirt, you bak-a. If you want the hole, you kit-a, unless you are going to plant a post into it, in which case you cho-a. If you want the tuber that has been under the earth, you bik-kot-a.

bak-a, ha-bak-a  vt. dig, chop out dirt in order to use it for something, often with a large ko-dal (digging hoe).
bak-chek-chek-a  vt. cut a lot of dirt into small pieces.
bak-gin-di-a  vt. chop earth finely.
bak-rok-a  vt. scrape together with a ko-dal (hoe), as dirt, weeds, etc.; scrape, scoop out and move dirt.
bak-wak-a  vt. scoop dirt, scoop out.
bik-kot-a  vt. extract, excavate, dig up, as root crops; show, reveal, as showing hands from the sleeve; take apart; discover, find out.
bil-a  vt. dig out in order to get such things as tubers, bamboo roots.
bil-du-a  vt. dig up.
cho-a  vt. dig a hole, as for a post or to harvest root crops.
dang-a  vt. cultivate with a git-chi (small hoe), dig out weeds.
dang-rok-a  vt. scrape out dirt or weeds, but more gently than simple dang-a.
dap-a  vt. bury, fill a hole; cover; close eyes.  -dap- aa. cover, cover over, pile on, wrap:  ha-dap-a bury; grip-dap-a pile up, set on top;
ru-dap-a pour over; on-dap-a put on top of crossing pieces when basket weaving; at-chong-dap-a sit on, cover something by sitting on it; pin-dap-a cover, as with a blindfold; smooth over furrows of a plowed field; sal-ko ga-dil-a pin-dap-ing-a the clouds cover the sun; mit-dap-a close, as a bottle; gan-dap-a tuck in; wil-wil-dap-a wrap around; on-jet-dap-a put something heavy on top of something else.

dap-ket-a *vt.* fill a hole with dirt, push mud into the cracks of a drying house wall; bury.

dap-pu-a *vt.* bury, esp. to bury a body; fill a hole, put something small into the ground.

den-sot-a *vt.* dig, as a channel for water to flow.

den-wat-a *vt.* dig, as a water channel to let water through.

king-ring-king-ring *adv.* digging, of plowing, hoeing, of a pig rooting.

kit-a *vt.* dig a hole such as a grave, tank or well; pull out of a hole, dig up.

kit-chrak-a *vt.* scratch up dirt, of dogs.

kong-a *vt.* dig by scooping and scraping rather than by chopping.

-wak- *aa.* scoop: bak-wak-a scoop out dirt with a hoe; chok-wak-a scoop water (with hand, plate, spoon, etc.); su-wak-a scrape up dirt.

9.578 Crush

bin-ek-a *vi.* crushed, of crops knocked down by cattle, etc.; squashed, of bananas, etc; ground up, broken up, as dry earth; softened, as cooked meat.

dok-dep-a, dok-dep-dep-a *vt.* beat flat, flatten, crush.

ga-krep-a *vt.* step on and crush.

ga-min-ek-a *vt.* mix up, crush up with feet, as mud with water; step on and crush, as a cow steps on rice plants.

-krep- *aa.* crush: rim-krep-a grab and crush; dok-krep-a crush by hitting; so-krep-a cremate, burn a dead body.

-min-ek- *aa.* soft, squash, crush: jot-min-ek-a poke and make soft, crush; ga-min-ek-a step on and squash; rim-min-ek-a squash in the hand.

pin-ek-a *vt.* crush. -pin-ek- *aa.* crush: cha-pin-ek-a chew into pieces; ga-pin-ek-a knock down (plants) by walking on them; rim-pin-ek-a crush in the hand; jom-pin-ek-a sick all the time, crushed by disease.

rep-sem-sem-a *vt.* cut into very small pieces, crush.

rim-pin-ek-a *vt.* cut into very small pieces, crush.

rim-pin-ek-a *vt.* crush and mix with hand, as mud and water.

su-krep-a *vt.* pound, crush, as fingers getting pounded by mistake in a rice pounder.
9.58 Miscellaneous Tool Use

chok-a *vt.* to spoon, lift with a spoon, put in with a spoon.
jak-kal-a *vt.* use.
jak-kal-to-a *vi.* good to use, comfortable to use.
kang-a *vt.* support, as to prop up a banana plant with a pole.

ot-a, hot-a *vt.* sweep, rake, clean up. *ha-ba* ot-a *vph.* rake up debris in fields.

ot-e gal-a *vt.* sweep and throw away, clean out and throw away: *na-chil-ki-ko* ot-e gal-a clean out and get rid of earwax.

9.6 Manipulations: Focus on the Object

9.60 Open

-kil-ak-a *aa.* open: *sal-kil-ak-a* pull open; *o-kil-ak-a* open, as a box, a covered pot, door, trunk, book, skin of a banana, jackfruit; *king-kil-ak-a* open, of flat things, books; pull up, of pant legs, lunggi, skirt.

king-tal-a *vt.* open up, of books, of flat things previously folded, of clothes to dry.

o-drak-a, u-drak-a *vt.* peel, remove peel.
o-et-a, u-et-a *vt.* open, cause to be open, of doors, etc.
o-kau-a, u-kau-a *vt.* open, of doors; take off, of covers, bottle caps.
on-a, sat-ti on-a *vt.* put up over one’s head, of an umbrella. *on-e dong-a* *vi.* be open, of an umbrella.
ting-krang-a *vt.* open, as an umbrella; hold out flat, of cloth.

9.61 Shut, Close, Enclose

ket-a *vt.* close with hook or latch, but not with a lock.
king-kip-a *vt.* turn over, turn upside down, of baskets, pots, small objects; capsize a boat; esp. to turn over a basket, plate, etc. in order to enclose something under it; put on the cover of a pot.

mit-chu-a, mit-tu-a *vt.* close, plug up, a bottle, bamboo tube, etc.; fill up, as stuffing mud into the cracks of drying house walls.

mit-tip-a *vt.* close up, cover, of a bottle, a window hole, of the clouds over the sun; plug up, put on a screw top; bury; be closed, shut, without holes.

tal-a tek-a *vph.* closed with a lock.
tek-a *vt.* close, shut, lock door; fasten with a button; shut up in two bamboo halves; close a bottle, etc. with a cap.
9.62 Cover, Uncover, Spread Over, Spread Under

**an-a** vt. spread under, spread out, of things that go under something else, as mats, mattresses, banana leaves as plates.

**-dap- aa.** cover, cover over, pile on, wrap: **grip-dap-a** pile up, set on top; **ru-dap-a** pour over; **on-dap-a** cover with something; put the new, horizontal strip on top of the old, vertical strip in basket-making; put on top, of rows of thatch; **ha-dap-a** bury; **at-chong-dap-a** sit on, cover something by sitting on it; **pin-dap-a** cover, roof with thatch, sun by clouds, bed with a blanket, cover with a blindfold; smooth over furrows of a plowed field: **sal-ko ga-dil-a pin-dap-ing-a** the clouds cover the sun; **mit-dap-a** close, as a bottle; **gan-dap-a** tuck in; **wil-wil-dap-a** wrap around; **on-jet-dap-a** put something heavy on top of something else.

**gat-a** vt. place on, load, put on top of; cover, as one’s head; put or carry on the shoulder or head; pile up, as cloth; build a mud house; set trap; hang clothes, jawbones; attach; give a second or replacement spouse; put into a cradle; give a name to someone, as at baptism: **ja-chok gat-a** sit with ankles or lower legs crossed: **man-di pi-sa jo-loi gat-e mo-jim-a** the baby having been put in the cloth cradle, rocks. **-gat- aa.** add, cover, put on top: **so-gat-a** push into fire; **de-gat-a** lift, load; **ra-gat-a** adopt a child.

**grip-a** vt. cover, pot, basket, close up, shut in: **da-kon-cha mi grip-a** cover rice with a lid; **grip-e don-a** enclose, as in a cage. **-grip- aa.** cover:

**on-grip-a** cover, of clouds; **ku-grip-a** cover, of a pot.

**grip-et-a** vt. cover, as rice pot.

**-jep- aa.** cover: **rim-jep-a** cover with the hand; **ga-jep-a** cover with the feet.

**ka-tip-a** vt. cover by tying, as a banana leaf is tied over a rice beer pot, as eyes are blindfolded with a cloth; wind with string; wrap around.

**king-gal-a** vt. uncover, take off cloth, cover of a pot, etc., turn right side up, as a boat.

**king-kip-a** vt. turn over, turn upside down, of baskets, pots, small objects; capsize a boat; especially to turn over a basket, plate, etc. in order to enclose something under it; put on cover, of a pot.

**king-kip-dap-a** vt. place a plate, basket, etc. upside down over another thing in order to cover it.

**on-grip-a** vi. covered, as with clouds, cloudy: **ga-dil-a on-grip-e dong-a** cloudy.

**pin-a** vt. cover with, spread over, as with a blanket, thatch on a roof: **bi-a lep-ko pin-e chu-a** he sleeps with a blanket spread over (him).

**pin-bru-a** vt. cover too much, as of hair covering the face, a blanket hiding the head.
pin-dim-a  *vt.* spread over two or more things or people: *ba-*ra *pa-ta-*sa-ko man-di ak-gin-i *pin-dim-e* chu-a two people sleep under one blanket.

pin-grim-a  *vt.* be covered together, when two or more things or people are covered by the same object; cover together when several people work together to cover something.

pin-kin-ap-a  *vt.* spread comfortably, as a blanket.

ting-a  *vt.* separate by spreading a barrier, as to line the bottom of a bird basket with leaves or straw to catch bird droppings or to receive eggs; stretch skin over drum end.

-tip-,  -tip-tip-  *aa.* cover: *ka-tip-a* cover by tying something over;

rim-tip-a  cover with the hands, esp. to cover one’s mouth in embarrassment; cover the nose against a smell; cover a hole, a pot, glass, etc.;

mit-tip-a  cover over, plug up; *dok-tip-tip-a* pat, slap several times;

wen-tip-tip-a  wind around with a lot of turns, thoroughly.

9.63 Join, Stick (cf. 9.536 Separate, Select)

pa-sik-kap-a  *vi.* stick, be stuck to, as a poster on a wall; well dressed, with well-matching clothes.

rit-chu-a  *vt.* join, attach together, as bamboo pieces, sections of house beams, cloth by sewing.

sik-chap-a  *vt.* sew together.

sit-tap-a  *vi.* sticky, of tree sap, of flour mixed with water, etc.; stick like glue.  *sit-tap-sit-tap adv.*

tap-a  *vt.* dot with glue, make a thumbprint.  *-tap- aa.* stick to, apply, attach: *ma-tip-a* paste, stick, paste up; apply to the skin, as medicine;

sik-tap-a  sew on a patch; *ga-ak-tip-a* fall onto; *pa-tip-a* glue to, stick to, attach.

9.64 Change Shape (cf. 2.31 Shape)

9.641 Fold, Bend, Curl

be-dem-a, bi-dem-a  *vi.* folded, bent sharply, of harder things than dem-a, but not broken apart.

dem-a, dem-et-a  *vt.* fold, of cloth, paper, etc.; bend, kneel.

kom-a  *vi.* bend, make oneself small, cower, as a dog in fear, as a person in the presence of someone powerful.

kom-tet-a  *vi.* curl up tightly, of a person or an animal when strongly resisting someone who is pulling.

kon-a  *vi.* coiled up in a circle or spiral, as string; curled up, as a snake, dog, cat.
pe-dem-a, pi-dem-a  vt. fold, bend sharply, of harder things than dem-a.

9.642 Stretch, Sag

ding-ding  adv. tightly stretched, without wrinkles, of cloth, string.
dol-dop-a  vi. sag, of a string, cloth cradle; opposite of kring-a.
kring-a  vi. stretched tight, of cloth, rope, hide over a drum; stretch an arm or arms out straight toward the front or side; stretch fingers out straight.  kring-kring, kring-kring dak-a  adv. stretched tight, of cloth or string, without wrinkles.
sal-kring-a  vt. stretch out, of arms, cloth, string.

9.645 Roll Up, Bunch Up, Turn

bil-a  vt. roll up, as a mat; wrap.  bi-gro bai-bai bil-a  vt. roll up, starting from the long dimension.  gip-eng-pang bil-a  vt. roll up starting from the short dimension.  gro-gro bil-a  vt. roll up starting from the long dimension.
bil-e-rep-a  vt. bunch up, of cloth, paper.
bil-e-rim-a  roll up neatly, of a mat, cloth, paper.
dol-a  vt. roll up.  dol-cls. classifier for rolled-up bundles of banana leaves or other leaves to be used to eat from.
go-rai-a, gu-rai-a  vt. turn, turn around, as the knob of a hurricane lamp; stir tea, etc.  <B
nong-rep-rep-a  vt. roll, rub, between or on the hands.
sak-sel-a, sak-sel-sel-a  vt. twist string, cord, bamboo tie strips.
tol-a  vt. roll up.
tol-chep-a  vt. bunch up, roll cloth in a bunch.
tol-rep-rep-a  vt. roll something small between the palms.
tol-rim-rim-a  vt. bunch up, roll up in the hands.
tom-bil-bil-a  vt. bunch up, crumple up, as cloth, paper.
tom-rep-rep-a  vt. bunch up.
tom-rop-rop-a  vt. form into a ball, as paper, leaves, mud.

9.647 Pile, Pile Up

bi-chap-bi-chap  adv. lots of piled-up things, lots of children.
chap-a  vt. place in layers, pile up, as leaves, cloth, paper; attach, join; put beside, put together; give a second wife to a man.  -chap-aa. join, attach, pile up:  ka-chap-a tie together;  nang-chap-a touching;  nangchap-grik-a touching each other;  dong-chap-a give a second wife to a man;  ra-chap-a take together; take something with something else;  sik-chap-a sew together.
chong-a  vt. pile up, make a stack, as of thatch, straw, firewood, ashes.
chong-pok-a  vt. stack up, as plates, pots, glasses, etc.
-dap  aa. cover, cover over, pile on, wrap: grip-dap-a pile up, set on top cover over, as with a plate; ru-dap-a pour over; on-dap-a put on top, in basket weaving; ha-dap-a bury; at-chong-dap-a sit on, cover something by sitting on it; pin-dap-a cover, as with a blindfold; mit-dap-a close, as a bottle; gan-dap-a tuck in; wil-wil-dap-a wrap around; on-jet-dap-a put something heavy on top of something else.
gat-a, ba-ra gat-a  vt. hang cloth over a pole, pile up.
gat-dap-a  vt. put on top of; pile up, as dirt.
gat-krang-a  vt. build one layer on top of the one below, as the layers of crossing pieces supporting a floor.
git-dap-a  vi. in layers, one on top of the other, piled up. git-dap-git-dap adv.
jap-a, jap-et-a  vt. put one on top of the other, pile up, of cloth, blankets.
jong-ju-a  vt. stack up, of plates, pots, glasses, baskets, etc.
mit-dap-mit-dap adv. piled layer on layer.

9.649 Change Shape, Misc.

bit-drak-a  vt. spread slightly apart, as thatch, clothing: bit-drak-bit-drak-e nem-ing-a spread apart so as to search between.
dok-pil-deng-a  vt. beat flat.
dok-pil-dep-a  vt. beat flat.
gin-dil-gin-dil adv. grinding up into dust, of dirt, earth.
on-dim-it-a  vt. make lower, make shorter, of a post.
tom-bil-a  vt. make something swell up, as when a potter makes a pot, when ants make nests.

9.65 Wrap, Tie, Untie (cf. 5.453 Food Wrapping)
a-mak ki-pret ka-a vph. a way of tying together two crossing roof pieces, so that the visible parts of the tie strips run parallel, contrasting with ka-stong-a where the visible parts cross.
bil-ting-a  vi. well wrapped, protected; well thatched, well fenced; having a well-tucked in cloth. bil-ting-ting adv.
de-a, di-a, de-du-a  vt. fly, of a flag: ni-san-ko di-du-a fly a flag.
eng-a  vt. untie, untied.
ga-jret-a  vt. tie tightly on the foot, as shoelaces; step on hard.
ge-eng-a  vt. come untied, be untied, of string, lunggi.
gep-a  vt. tied with two parallel pieces holding something between them, especially the encircling pieces of a basket top.
ka-a  vt. tie, tie with string, rope, or by twisting with flexible bamboo strips; put on, wear, of a turban; build by tying, of a fence, a barrier in a stream; make friends.
ka-bai-bai  adv. still tied.
ka-bang-a  vi. tied strongly, of a fence; often negative: ka-bang-ja weakly tied.
ka-chap-a  vt. tie to, tie on to, attach by tying.
ka-chim-ot-a  vt. tie into a bundle.
ka-dik-a  vt. echo in sik-dik-a ka-dik-a catch and tie up a thief.
ka-gep-a  vt. tie together, as a fence.
ka-gop-a  vt. tie in a bundle, as thatch; tie in a cloth.
ka-grang-a  vt. tie together with large open spaces, of a fence.
ka-jit-a  vt. move something that is tied, esp. an animal.
ka-jot-jot-a  vt. tie tightly.
ka-jret-a  vt. tie tightly.
ka-keng-krot-a  vt. tie tightly.
ka-rak-a  vt. tie tightly, strongly: am-pang ka-rak-ja-o-de ru-rong-a if thatch is not tied strongly it tumbles down.
ka-rik-rik-a  vt. retie, as loose thatch; tie again and again.
ka-rip-rip-a, ka-tip-tip-a  vt. tie lots and well. ka-rip-rip adv.
ka-rit-chu-a  vt. tie together, as string.
ka-ru-ru-a  vt. tie in many places, repeatedly.
ka-srok-a  vt. tie, loosely, tie with a knot that is easily untied, like a slipknot.
ka-steng-a  vt. tie with a knot that is not easily untied, not a slipknot.
ka-stik-a  vt. tie tightly.
ka-stong-a  vt. a way of tying together two crossing roof pieces so that the visible parts of the tie strips cross each other; contrasts with a-mak ki-pret-a where the visible parts of the tie strip run parallel.
ka-tip-tip-a  vt. tie thoroughly.
ka-tom-a  vt. tie up in bundle; tie in a cloth; pack.
ru-tring-trang-a  vt. take completely apart, of a roof, fence, house, mat.
sik-krok-a  vt. put a loop over; put on, wear, of hats, bracelets, finger rings, socks, shoes, belt; put an arm through a sleeve, a loop of a handbag, an open window; in mythology: climb into skin; hang a loop over a hook or nail, attach a plow to the yoke.
string-a  vt. string up, hang, as a mosquito net, a rope.
wen-a wen-wen-a  vt. wind, as string, wrap around, wind around with a lot of turns, thoroughly wind around and around: do-ri-ko wen-wen-a wind the string. -wen-, -wen-wen- aa. wind around, go around in circles: kat-wen-wen-a run around; bil-wen-a fly in circles.
wen-tip-tip-a, wen-wen-tip-tip-a  vi. wrap something long, as a bandage; tangled, of string. wen-wen-tip-tip adv.
wil-wil-dap-a  vt. wrap around, as with a cloth or rope.
9.66 Measure

mik-to-a, mik-tu-a  vt. measure, cloth, etc. by forearm lengths (mik).

su-song-a, su-song-e ni-a  vt. measure the depth of water.

to-a, tu-a  vt. measure the length, weight, etc.

to-song-e ni-a, tu-song-e ni-a  vt. measure depth of water with a pole.

9.67 Press, Pressure

je-et-je-et dak-ing-a, on-jet-jet-a  vt. place something heavy on, press hard.  je-et-je-et  adv. tight, of shoelaces, thatch, of a fully inflated football.  -je-et-, -jet-  aa. heavily, with pressure: sik-jet-a press down hard, squash; on-jet-a, on-jet-dap-a put something heavy on top of something else.

pa-jret-a  vt. press on, as medicinal herbs on a sore spot; push down, as a button switch on a flashlight.

sik-jet-a, sik-jet-jet-a, sik-jret-a  vt. push hard, press hard; press down, as on a flashlight switch; squash, as an insect; hold down with hands; press in order to squeeze out, as a pimple; tie tightly.


de-a, di-a, de-cha-a  vt. put away, move, as a sleeping mat and bedding after use.

de-on-a, di-on-a  vt. remove from the fire, as a pot: mi-ko wal'-ni-ko di-on-a take the rice from the fire.

don-a  vt. put, place, put aside, omit.

don-bek-a  vt. leave something with someone whether or not it is wanted, as to leave someone with a crying child; leave something carelessly, without permission.

don-chak-a  vt. put in, keep in for storage, as things in a trunk, salt in a jar; shut up in, as a bird in a cage.  don-chak-gip-a.  n. holder, container, storage place, place to put something.

don-dap-a  vt. put on top of.

don-gal-a, don-gal-gal-a, don-ga-gal-a  vt. put down carelessly.

don-pa-a  vt. put together.

gat-a  vt. place on, load, put on top of; cover, as one's head; put or carry on the shoulder or head; pile up, as cloth; build a mud house; set a trap; hang clothes, jaw-bones; attach; give a second or replacement spouse; put into a cradle; give a name to someone, as at baptism: ja-chok gat-a  sit with ankles or lower legs crossed; man-di pi-sa jo-loi gat-e mo-jim-a the baby having been put in the cloth cradle, rocks.  -gat-  aa. add, cover, put on top: so-gat-a push into fire; de-gat-a lift, load; ra-gat-a adopt a child.
gat-su-a  vt. place on first, as set out food before people come.
on-a  vi. come down, of rain, fog, dew: ku-chi on-a drool: on-et-a vt. put down, set down, as a load from the head, shoulders, etc.; put over one’s head, of an umbrella. -on- aa. down, downward: chok-on-a get down, get off, as from a bus; ni-on-a look down; sik-on-a push down; bil-on-a fly down; di-on-a take a pot off the fire; sik-on-a push down.
on-krop-a, on-krop-dap-a  vt. drop onto.
on-sit-tu-a  vt. set down firmly.
sal-gal-a  vt. pull away, pull off; put away, as a blanket.

9.7 Human Relations

9.72 Give, Take (cf. 9.53 Hold, Collect; 9.54 Throw Away, Let Go)

-chak- aa. accept, receive: ra-chak-a accept, receive: ku-ra-chak-a agree, promise; an-chak-a take into the body, be sick; wang-chak-a open mouth to receive food from another; ni-chak-a midwife, one who sees and receives; nok-chak-a accept into one’s home; rim-chak-a catch a thrown object.
ma-gi-a  vt. beg, ask for alms. <B
nok-chak-a  vt. take someone into one’s home; give shelter.
on-kam-a  vt. give finally, not to take back.
on-ki-rot-a  vt. give a little but not all, as money.
ra-chak-a  vt. accept, receive, as objects; catch a thrown object; obey, follow instructions, orders or advice.
ron-a, on-a, hon-a  vt. give, put; apply, as paint; pay a fine, compensation; give a loan; po-ri-ka ron-a take an examination (what students do), hand or give in the exam; bi-a ron-a perform a marriage, officiate at a marriage.
ron-bek-a  vt. give forcefully, even against the will of the receiver.
ron-kam-a, on-kam-a  vt. give something that is not to be returned, give finally.
wat-a, wat-et-a  vt. let go, release; settle, finalize; fire from a job; quit smoking; send a letter, etc.; let animals run loose; abandon, throw away.
gip-u-a  vt. leak, let through, as through a sieve; ooze, of a wound.

9.73 Help, Guide, Guard, Encourage, Correct, Defend

chak-a  vt. support, stand by, help protect; speak well of someone: chak-a
kang-a contribute money, rice or a pig as contribution to a wedding or sacrifice. chak-chak-e  adv. speak on behalf of, defend. -chak- aa. on behalf of, for another person, support: hai-chak-a be understanding,
perceptive; **ron-chak-a** give help; **a-gan-chak-a** answer, reply; **dok-chak-a** hit back; **ka-sa-chak-a** sympathize; **ku-chak-a** agree, promise, answer; **bi-chak-a** pray for someone; **dak-chak-a** help; **ken-chak-a** afraid for someone else; **peng-chak-a** defend.

**dak-dil-a** vt. show how, lead.

**dil-a** vt. guide, lead, show how. **-dil aa.** lead, guide, show the way, cause: **cha-dil-a** feed; **ken-dil-a** frighten; **ha-bu-dil-a** give someone a bath; **dong-dil-a** care for a baby or small child.

**dong-dil-a** vt. care for, look after a child, kinsman: **gend-a-ko dong-dil-a** care for the baby.

**dong-tim-a** vt. wait, stay and watch; guard, look after.

**dong-tim-gip-a** n. defender, guardian, one who watches.

**jil-a** vt. care for, support, have responsibility for children, old people, animals.

**kreng-a** vi. independent, not taking directions from others.

**kreng-chak-a** vi. defend, protect.

**mit-tang-a** vt. care for, look after, bring up, feed, as children or old people.

**ni-rok-a** vt. observe, guard, look after, watch over, for children, animals, garden, but for a shorter time than **jil-a**.

**ni-rok-ki-a** vt. guard, observe, care for.

**ni-sam-a** vt. echo in **ni-rok-a ni-sam-a** look after, care for.

**rak-ki-a** vt. keep, maintain; guard, take care of, as a small baby or animals.

**ron-chak-a, ou-chak-a** vt. give help, with money, rice, etc.; contribute, as food for a wedding.

**sa-chak-a** vt. echo in **ron-chak-a sa-chak-a** contribute.

**si-dil-a** vt. neglect, fail to care for, (lit. lead in dying).

### 9.75 Orders, Obligations, Obedience

**gong-ge-a, gong-gi-a, gong-ge-git-ik-a** vi. disobey, disagree, not accept another’s word, (lit. not straight, crooked).

**hit-a, it-a, it-et-a** vt. order, command.

**ma-ni-a** vt. follow instructions, obey, do as another suggests; worship.

**ra-chak-a** vt. obey, follow orders, advice, or instructions; accept, agree, receive, of objects; catch a thrown object.

**re-el-a** vt. disobey, defy, not follow instructions.

### 9.77 Obstruct, Block Off

**bang-kang-a** vt. prohibit, prevent, deny passage, obstruct.

**beng-a** vt. block the way, prohibit.
Verbs 333

**chang-a** *vt.* physically block the way, as against animals; hinder. -chang-aa. close off, block off: ting-chang-a enclose, separate; dim-chang-a make a partition.

**chang-rik-a** *vt.* prevent from going, hold back.

**chu-peng-a** *vt.* echo in dong-peng-a chu-peng-a lie on a path to block it, (chu-a lie, sleep).

**kang-a** *vi.* blocked off, obstructed, as by crowded things, by people on a bus, by a tree across the road, by something stuck in the throat; difficult, of a song.

**kang-dik-kang-si** *adv.* so crowded with things or people that it is difficult to get by.

**peng-a** *vt.* block off, hinder, prevent, stop, protect, block from view.

-peng-aa. obstruct: chang-peng-a block off physically, block the way; dong-peng-a obstruct, block with one’s presence.

**peng-rik-a** *vt.* hold back, prevent from going, hold in fish by blocking a stream.

9.78 Annoy, Pester, Annoyance, Patience

**jek-jak-a** *vi.* make noise, make a disturbance, as by children; talk a lot, as when drunk; talk at the same time.

**kal-ak-a** *vt.* play with, fool around, bother, of young people who do not obey parents, of ghosts who frighten people, of men with women; joke, fool around.

**ma-rai-a** *vi.* whine, seek attention, pester, as a hungry baby or a dog that rubs up against someone.

**man-dik-a** *vi.* be disturbed, annoyed, bothered, as by pestering children; having too much work. man-dik-man-si dak-a *adv.*

**mang-kal-a** *vt.* play games, tease, fuss with, fool around, do mischief; annoy, disturb, as children do: di-sa-ko mang-kal-a joke, fool around with the child.

**mang-meng-a** *vi.* irritated, tired, impatient, fussy, whining.

**mang-meng-dil-a** *vt.* annoy, make impatient.

**mang-meng-mang-chip** *adv.* be annoyed, pestered.
Two

Survival Word List

The 150 suffixes and words in this list are meant as no more than a survival vocabulary for those wanting to get started speaking the language. These words will allow nothing more than a sort of pidgin Garo, but they are all very common and they will all be needed very early. The list includes many more suffixes than would be found in a similar list for English, but this simply reflects the nature of the Garo language. It is impossible to say much of anything without using a lot of suffixes. Like the rest of these volumes, the list is especially characteristic of the Mandi dialect, but I have given Achik equivalents when they are different.

Contents

Suffixes (0.0) 336
Grammatical and Function words (1.0) 337
Space and Time (2.0) 338
Quantity, Quality, Sensory (3.0) 338
Nature (4.0) 339
Subsistence, Artifacts (5.0) 340
Human Beings (6.0) 340
Human Qualities: Mind, Intellect, Emotions (7.0) 342
Social Institutions (8.0) 343
Verbs (9.0) 343
0.0 Suffixes

-rang  *ns*. plural marker: *man-de-rang* people.

-cha,  *cm*. instrumental case marker that marks the instrument or means by which something is accomplished, with, by means of. (Archik: -chi).

-cha,  *cm*. locative case marker showing position in space, or movement toward or from a location. (A-chik: -chi).

-git-a  *cm*. like, in that way, resembling: *man-di-git-a* like a person.

-ko  *cm*. accusative case marker that marks the direct object of a clause or sentence: *chol-a-ko ron-bo* ‘give (him) the shirt’.

-na  *cm*. dative case marker that marks the indirect object of a clause or sentence; to, for: *pi-sa-na ron-bo* ‘give (it) to the child’.

-ni  *cm*. genitive case marker that marks a possessive; ’s: *man-de-ni chol-a-ko pi-sa-na ron-bo* ‘give the man’s shirt to the child’.

-o,  *cm.* temporal or spatial locative case marker that marks the location of an event in time or space, in, at, on: *te-bil-o dong-jak* ‘(it) is not on the table’.

-o-na,  *no-na*  *cm*. an augmented locative meaning toward, until, up to the time.

-o-ni,  *no-ni*  *cm*. an augmented locative meaning from, since.

-ba  *ns*. also.

-a  *pvs*. neutral, unmarked tense-aspect marker, present time, habitual.

-jok  *pvs*. indicates a change of state, for an action or condition that happened in the past but whose results continue in the present: *kat-jok* has run; *kat-ja-jok* does not run any more.

-no-a,  *nu-a,  no*  *pus*. future tense: *kat-no-a* will run; *ga-ak-no-a* will run, (Archik: -gen).

-na-jok  *pus*. immediate or intentional future, about to, intend to: *kat-na-jok* ‘about to run’.

-bo  *pus*. imperative: *a-song-bo* sit down!

-ma  *ts*. question marker that forms yes-no questions: *neng-jok-ma*? are you tired?, have you become tired?’.

-et-,  *it-,  aa*. causative: *nam-et-a* make good, improve; *chip-et-a* close, cause to be closed, (Archik: -at-).

-grik-  *aa*. mutually, each other: *a-gan-grik-a* converse, talk to each other; *grong-grik-a* meet each other.

-ing-,  *aa*. progressive, indicates action in progress: *grap-ing-a* crying, (Archik: -eng-).

-ja-  *aa*. no, not, negative particle: *ding-ja* not hot; *grap-ja* does not cry.
-ku- aa. still, anymore: jom-ku-ing-a still sick.
-ku-ja- aa. not yet: man’-ku-ja cannot yet.

1.0 Grammatical and Function words

mik-kang-o, mik-kang-cha pp. in front of, in the presence of.
skang pp. before): ang-na skang before me.
gim-in pp. because of, due to: neng-be-a-ni gim-in because of being very tired.

ba-o, ba-no qw. where, where at?: bo-stu-ko ba-no don-a-ming? where (did you) put the things?: ba-no-ba-no where all (is it)?.
ba-sik-o, ba-sik-o, (ba-sak-o) qw. when?: ba-sik-o-na? until when?;
ba-sik-o-ni? since when?: ba-sik-o ba-sik-o when all?.
bai-sik, ba-sik qw. how much?, how many?: bai-sik-ni ro-a? how long?: bai-sik a-rim-jok? how late? Often used with a classifier plus -sa one: bai-sik kan-sa te-bil how many tables?: bai-sik gles-sa chi how many glasses of water?: bai-sik sal-sa? how many days?
sa, (sa-wa) qw. who?: sa-ni nok whose house?: sa-na nam-nik-a? who (does she) like?: sa-sa neng-ing-a who all is tired?.
ha-we, ha-wi, ho-we, a-we, a-ye, hu-ye-ro, ho (we) int. yes.

ak-, sak- cls. classifier for people, occasionally for ghosts, spirits, gods.
kan-, (ge-) cls. general classifier, residual category classifier, esp. for man-made objects that lack any other clear classifier: shoes, glasses, hats, ears, houses, doors, lights, letters, books, baskets, etc.
mang- cls. classifier for animals, including mammals, birds, insects, etc., occasionally for ghosts, spirits: tam-pi mang-sa one fly.

ar, (a-ro) conj. and, in addition. <B
in-di-ba, hin-di-ba conj. but, however: re-ang-na ha-sik-a in-di-ba man-ja (I) want to go but cannot.

i-a dem. this, it: i-a song this village. i-a dal-a it is big, this is big.
i-ni gim-in because of this.
u-a dem. that, it: ur-cha den-bo cut with that; u-ni sam-ba-o beside that.

ang-a pro. I; combining form: ang-: ang-ko me; ang-ni my.
bi-a  pro. he, she; combining forms: bi-; bi-ko him, her; bi-na to him, to her; bi-ni his, her.
bi-song  pro. they: bi-song-ko them; bi-song-ni their.
ching-a  pro. we exclusive, I and someone, but not you, us; combining form: ching-.
na-a  pro. you singular; combining form: nang-: nang-ko you accusative; nang-ni your.
na-ching  pro. we inclusive, you and I, you and we, (Achik: an-ching).
a-song  pro. you plural: na-song-ni your, plural, (Achik na-sim-ang).

2.0 Space and Time

chel-a  vi. far, distant.
dal-a  vi. big, large.
chon-a  vi. little, small.
i-no, in-o, i-a-no, i-o lw. here.
u-no, un-o, u-a-no, u-o, adv. there, at that place.
da-, da-o  adv. now.
un-o, un-on lw. then.
wal-ni  n. morning: (Achik pring). an-tam, an-tam-o  n. late afternoon, evening, the time past midday.
sal  n. day, daytime, sun.
wai  n. night.
me-ja-o  n. yesterday.
am-bin-o, am-bun-o, am-bin, am-bun (kin-al-o) lw. tomorrow.

3.0 Quantity, Quality, Sensory

bang-a  vi. much, many.
gim-ik  n. all, every.
ok-ki-sa, ok-ki, ok-ki-ok-ki, (on-ti-sa, on-ti-ti)  n. a little, a small amount.
-sa  num. one.
-gin-i, gin-ing  num. two.
-git-tam  num. three.
-bri  num. four.
-bong-a  num. five.
dam-san, (ap-san)  vi. same.

ing-dang, (ding-tang)  adv. different.
Survival List

**gip-in**  *n.* other, another.

**al-a-mal-a**  *adv.* so-so.

**nam-a**  *vi.* good.

**nam-ja**  *vi.* bad.

**nik-a**  *vt.* see. *vi.* look like, have the appearance of.

**ni-a**  *vt.* look at; watch, attend to with one of the senses.

**kin-a-a**  *vt.* hear, listen.

**gi-sim, gi-sim-a, sim-a**  *vi.* black; by extension: any cool color, even blue or green; any dark color.

**gip-bok, gip-bok-a, bok-a**  *vi.* white, light colored.

**git-chak, git-chak-a**  *vi.* red; by extension: reddish brown, orange.

**rim-it, rim-it-a**  *vi.* yellow; by extension: light brown, orange-brown.

**nom-a**  *vi.* easy, soft, inexpensive.

**ding-a**  *vi.* hot.

**sin-a**  *vi.* personally cold, of people.

**git-al**  *vi.* new.

**git-cham, git-cham-a**  *vi.* old, of things.

**nam-en**  *adv.* very.

**-be- aa.**  *very.*

**4.0 Nature**

**ja-jong**  *n.* moon.

**sal**  *n.* sun, day, daytime; 24 hour period.

**ha-ı, a-ı, ha-a, ha**  *n.* earth, ground, soil, land, (*Achik a-ı-a*).

**mik-ka**  *n.* rain.

**wa-a**  *vi.* rain.

**mat-cha**  *n.* tiger, leopard, any of several kinds of large forest cats.

**do-ı, do**  *n.* bird; specifically: domestic fowl, more broadly any bird at all, prefix for varieties of birds, (*Achik do-ı-o*).

**chip-pu**  *n.* snake, general term.

**na-ıtok**  *n.* fish, general term.

**jong-ı, jong**  *n.* bug, worm, insect, (*Achik jo-ı-ong*).

**bring**  *n.* forest, jungle, (*Achik bu-rung*).

**wa-ı, wa**  *n.* bamboo, (*Achik wa-ı-a*).

**bi-jak**  *n.* leaf.

**bi-bal**  *n.* flower, blossom.

**bi-te, bi-ti**  *n.* fruit.
5.0 Subsistence, Artifacts

ha'-ba, a'-ba  n. agricultural land, land used for either wet rice cultivation or slash and burn.
te'-ga-chu  n. mango.
te'-rik  n. banana.
jal-ik  n. chili pepper.
me-rong, mi-rong  n. husked rice.
mi  n. rice plant, unhusked rice, cooked rice.
ma'-su  n. cow, bull, cattle, (A'chik mat-chu).
a-chak  n. dog.
do'-mok  n. goat, (A'chik do'-bok).
meng-gong  n. domestic cat, (A'chik meng-go).
wak  n. pig.
chi  n. water, liquid.
chu  n. rice beer.
cha  n. tea. <B
ja-ba  n. curry, any side dish eaten with rice, (A'chik sam, bi-jak).
na-kam  n. dried fish of the ordinary kind.
do'-bit-chi, du'-bit-chi, do'-chi, du'-chi  n. egg, bird’s egg.
wal'-, wal  n. fire, (A'chik wa'-al).
wal'-ku-a  n. smoke.
ha'-bol, a'-bol  n. firewood.
kam-a  vi. burn, blaze, what a fire does.
so'-a  vt. burn, ignite, light fire, candle, what one does to a fire; feed fire with firewood.
song'-a  vt. cook; brew rice beer.
cha'-a  vt. eat, nurse.
ring-a  vt. drink, smoke tobacco.
at-te  n. large, machete-like knife that is used especially for cutting bamboo but also for general cutting and chopping.
am  n. mat.
to-ra, tu-ra  n. basket, (A'chik kok).

6.0 Human Beings

ging  n. nose, snot, (A'chik ging-ting).
ku-sik  n. mouth; language.
mik-kang  n. face; front.
**Survival List**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mik-on</td>
<td>n. eye, <em>(A-chik mik-ron)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na-chil</td>
<td>n. ear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sko</td>
<td>n. head</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wa</td>
<td>n. tooth, teeth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jak</td>
<td>n. hand, arm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ja-*</td>
<td>n. leg, foot, usually in compounds: *ja-<em>git-ok</em> ankle, *(A-chik ja-<em>a)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>git-ok</td>
<td>n. neck, throat; narrow place, neck of a pot.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jang-gil</td>
<td>n. back, back of body, back side of an object.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ki-*sang</td>
<td>n. buttocks, backside; bottom or back end of an object.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bik-ma, buk-ma</td>
<td>n. belly, stomach.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sok</td>
<td>n. breast, man’s nipple; mother’s milk.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kin-i</td>
<td>n. hair of the head.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be-en</td>
<td>n. meat, flesh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>greng</td>
<td>n. bone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ar-*chi, haur-chi</td>
<td>n. blood, <em>(lit. body water)</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bi-gil</td>
<td>n. skin of humans and animals, bark, peel, pod, leather.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ha-bu-a, a-bu-a</td>
<td>vi. take a bath, bathe.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jak-su-a</td>
<td>vi. wash hands.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mik-su-a</td>
<td>vi. wash face.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ba-ra</td>
<td>n. cloth, clothes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a-pa</td>
<td>n. father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>at-chu, at-chu-gip-a</td>
<td>n. grandfather.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma-ma, ma-ma-gip-a, ma-ma-tang</td>
<td>n. mother’s brother. &lt;B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a-ma</td>
<td>n. mother, mom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>am-bi</td>
<td>n. grandmother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a-da, a-da-gip-a, a-da-tang</td>
<td>n. elder brother, mother’s elder sister’s son, elder father’s elder brother’s son, elder cousin-brother.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ang-jong, jong-gip-a, jong-tang</td>
<td>n. younger brother, mother’s younger sister’s son, father’s younger brother’s son, younger cousin-brother.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>se, se-gip-a</td>
<td>n. husband.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a-bi, a-bi-gip-a, a-bi-tang</td>
<td>n. elder sister, mother’s elder sister’s daughter, father’s elder brother’s son, elder cousin-sister.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jik, jik-gip-a</td>
<td>n. wife.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no, no-gip-a, no-no, a-no</td>
<td>n. younger sister, husband’s or wife’s younger brother’s wife.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>su, su-gip-a, ang-su</td>
<td>n. grandchild.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cha-ri</td>
<td>n. son-in-law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>de-me-chik, de-me-chik-gip-a</td>
<td>n. daughter.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>de-pan-te</td>
<td>n. son.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
gri, gri-gip-a, gri-tang, ang-gri  n. cross nephew, woman’s brother’s son, man’s sister’s son.

chat-chi  n. kin, kinsman.

tang-a  vi. live, alive.

si-a  vi. die; go out, of fire, lamp: git-ok si-a be hoarse, (lit. throat dies); gro si-a settle a legal case; ja-jong si-a dark of the moon, (lit. moon dies).

man-de  n. person, human being; specifically, a member of the Garo ethnic group. cls. classifier for the height of a person: man-de gin-i twice as tall as a person.

me’-a-sa  n. man, adult male.

me’-chik, me’-chik-sa  n. woman, adult female; me’-chik pi’-sa woman-child, girl.

di’-sa, pi’-sa  n. child, (A’chik bi’-sa).

me’-tra  n. unmarried woman, young woman, adolescent girl.

pan-te  n. bachelor, unmarried youth, adolescent boy.

7.0 Human Qualities: Mind, Intellect, Emotions

a-gan-a  vt. talk, speak, say.

bi-ming, bi-mung  n. name, personal name.

ming-a  vt. name, call, used for personal names, not for family or lineage names: Ming-ji ang-ko ming-a I am named Ming-ji, (lit. Ming-ji (is the name that) names me).

grap-a  vi. cry, weep, wail for the dead.

ka’-ding-a  vi. laugh, smile. ring-a  n. sing.

ai’-a, hai’-a  vt. know, understand, (A’chik ui-a).

be-be ra’-a  vt. believe, take to be true.

chan-chi-a  vt. think, believe, suppose.

gi-sik ra’-a, gi-sik ra’-rik-a  vph. remember.

gu-al-a  vi. forget.

man’-a  vi. be able, can; find, get, accomplish, achieve, finish: bal-wa man’-ing-a wind blows; sol-di man’-ing-a have a cold. -man’- aa. be able accomplish, finish: ku-man-a able to speak, speak well; bil-man-a have the strength for; nik-man-a discover, notice.

nam-nik-a  vt. like, love.

am’-a, ham’-a  vt. want, desire, ask for, (usually with a noun object).

ha’-sik-a, a’-sik-a  vt. want to, wish to, desire, (A’chik sik-a).

nang-a  vt. must, need, require.

ken-a  vi. be afraid.

bi-ka so-a, ka’-o-nang-a  vt. angry.
neng-a vi. tired.
chu-a, tu-a vi. sleep, (A·chik tu-si-a).

8.0 Social Institutions

song n. village.
nok n. house, building, household, family.
ra-ma n. road, path, way, means.
deng-gu n. bad person, naughty person; often used affectionately for children, rascal.
dil-a vi. poor, impoverished.
bre-a, bri-a vt. buy.
pal-a vt. sell.
ka-mal n. priest of the traditional religion.
me-·mang n. ghost, beings that are invisible but that frighten people.
mit-e n. spirits, gods, unseen beings that cause disease when they bite.
jom-a vi. be sick, suffer, have fever.

9.0 Verbs

dak-a vt. do, make, behave, act as.
dong-a vi. there is, there are; have, belong; be at, reside, dwell.
ong-a vi. be, exist, be equivalent to.
re-a, i-a vi. go, come.
re-ba-a, i-ba-a vi. come.
re-ang-a, i-ang-a vi. go, move away.
nap-a vi. enter, go in, come in.
sok-a vi. arrive, reach.
kat-a vi. run, run away.
grong-a vt. meet.

at-chong-a vi. sit, sit down, (A·chik a-song-a).
cha-kat-a, cha-deng-a vi. stand, stand up.
ra-a vt. bring, get, take, receive objects.
rim-a vt. catch, capture, grab, hold, touch, handle; work.
gal-a vt. throw away, dispose of; divorce;
dok-a vt. beat, knock, hit, tap, beat drum.
den-a vt. cut, chop, cut by striking blows.
rat-a vt. cut by slicing.
on-a, ron-a vt. give; put; apply, as paint; pay compensation.
dil-a vt. guide, lead, show how.
ma-ni-a vt. follow instructions, obey, do as another suggests; worship.
THREE

INTERMEDIATE WORD LIST

With about 1000 words, this list provides a slightly less impoverished vocabulary than the survival list given just above. It is only a fraction of the vocabulary that any fluent speaker uses, of course, but a surprising amount can be communicated with 1000 words and bit of ingenuity. Each learner will have his or her special needs, and nobody should imagine that all the words on this list have to be learned before branching out into more specialized vocabulary that happens to be of most interest to that learner. The list is supposed to be no more than a guide to help the learner move along.

CONTENTS

Affixes and Special Words (0.0) 348
   Noun and Noun Phrase Affixes (0.1) 348
   Verb Suffixes (0.2) 349
   Adverbial Affixes (0.4) 351
   Interjections (0.6) 352

Grammatical and Function words (1.0) 353
   Postpositions (1.1) 353
   Questions and Answers (1.2) 354
   Classifiers and Measures (1.3) 354
   Conjunctions and Relatives (1.4) 355
   Demonstratives (1.5) 355
   Pronouns (1.6) 355
Space and Time (2.0) 356
  Space (2.1) 356
  Size, Fit (2.2) 356
  Shape (2.3) 357
  Time, General (2.5) 357
  Time Relative to the Present (2.6) 358
  Time: Speed, Frequency (2.7) 358

Quantity, Quality, Sensory (3.0) 359
  Quantity, Amounts, Number (3.3) 359
  Quality, Probability, etc. (3.4) 359
  Light and Vision (3.5) 360
  Sensory, Except Visual (3.6) 361
  Miscellaneous Qualities (3.7) 362

Nature (4.0) 363
  Environment and the Elements (4.2) 363
  Weather (4.3) 363
  Animals, Wild (4.4) 363
  Plants, Mostly Uncultivated (4.6) 365

Subsistence, Artifacts (5.0) 366
  Farming (5.1) 366
  Crops, Cultivated Plants (5.2) 367
  Animals, Domestic (5.3) 368
  Cooking and Eating (5.4) 369
  Buildings (5.6) 371
  Objects, Tools, Artifacts (5.8) 371

Human Beings (6.0) 372
  Body Parts (6.2) 372
  Shapes of the Body (6.4) 374
  Clothing and Adornment (6.5) 374
  Kinship and Family (6.6) 375
  Life Cycle (6.7) 377
  People (6.8) 378

Human Qualities: Mind, Intellect, Emotions (7.0) 378
  Language (7.1) 378
  Speech Acts (7.3) 379
  The Mind (7.4) 379
  Human Qualities (7.5) 379
  Emotions (7.7) 380
  Sleep, Consciousness, Fatigue (7.9) 380
Intermediate Word List 347

Social Institutions (8.0) 380
  Government and Law (8.1) 380
  Quarrel, Fight, War and Peace (8.3) 381
  Economics (8.4) 381
  Religious and Ceremonial Life (8.5) 381
  Games, Recreation, Festivals, Music (8.8) 382
  Illness (8.9) 382

Verbs (9.0) 382
  Aspect, Modals, Auxiliaries, Start, Finish (9.1) 382
  Inanimate States and Actions (9.2) 383
  Body Use (9.3) 384
  Gestures (9.4) 385
  Manipulations (9.5) 385
  Manipulations: Focus on the Object (9.6) 388
  Human Relations (9.7) 388
0.0 Affixes and Special Words

0.1 Noun and Noun Phrase Affixes

- dang ns. plural marker: me-chik-dang women.
- drang ns. plural marker, synonym of -rang: bol-pang-drang trees.
- ong ns. plural marker that indicates a person along with his, her, or their closest people, usually their family members: Ra-ben-ong Raben and his family.
- ra-ra ns. lots, all over the place, all around: nok-ra-ra houses everywhere; ka-rang-ra-ra dirt everywhere, filthy; kim-il-ra-ra hairy, lots of hair.
- rang ns. plural marker: man-de-rang people; nok-rang houses.
- tang ns. own, self, selves: song-tang own village; nok-tang own house.
- cha cm. instrumental case marker that marks the instrument or means by which something is accomplished, with, by means of: sai-kel-cha by bicycle, (A-chik: -chi).
- cha cm. locative case marker showing position in space, or movement toward or from a location; in, on, to, from: bat-cha re-ang-ing-a? where are (you) going? (A-chik: -chi).
- cha-na cm. toward, in the direction of, (an augmented locative).
- cha-ni cm. from, in the direction from, (an augmented locative).
- cha-ni-ko cm. an augmented locative used with transitive verbs indicating the direction from: bat-cha-ni-ko ra-ba-a? from where was it brought?
- git-a cm. like, in that way, resembling: man-di-git-a like a person.
- ko, ku cm. accusative case marker that marks the direct object of a clause or sentence: ang-ko me.
- ming cm. a case marker meaning with, along with, together with: ang-ming with me.
- na cm. dative case marker that marks the indirect object of a clause or sentence; to, for: ang-na to me.
- na cm. an augmentation for locatives indicating direction toward, and that is used with -o or -cha to give -o-na, -cha-na to toward, in the direction of.
- ni cm. genitive case marker that marks a possessive; ’s: ang-ni my; meng-gong-ni the cat’s.
- ni cm. an augmentation for locatives indicating direction from, and that is used with -o or -cha to give -o-ni or -cha-ni from: u-cha-ni re-ba-a came from there.
-ni-ko cm. an augmentation for locatives that is used in a clause with a transitive verb and that indicates the direction from which something comes. It is used with -o or -cha to give -o-ni-ko or -cha-ni-ko from: u-cha-ni-ko ra'-ba brought (it) from there.

-no cm. locative case marker, an alternate of -o that can be used only with a limited number of pronouns and demonstratives.

-no-na cm. alternate of -o-na toward, used with some pronouns.

-no-ni cm. alternate of -o-ni from, used with some pronouns.

-o, -u, -no, -nu cm. temporal or spatial locative case marker that marks the location of an event in time or space, in, at, on: am-bun-o tomorrow; te-bil-o on the table. -o, -u pvs. nominalizing suffix; when, at the time of: ang-ko sing-o a-gan-chak-na man-no-a when (you) ask me, (I) will be able to answer.

-o-na, -no-na cm. an augmented locative meaning toward, until, up to the time: Ep-ril-o-na until April.

-o-ni, -no-ni cm. an augmented locative meaning from, since: Dha-ka-o-ni from Dhaka.

-o-ni-ko, -no-ni-ko cm. an augmented locative used with transitive verbs that indicates the direction from which something comes: ba-no-ni-ko ra'-ba-a? from where was it brought?

-ba ns. also.

-de ns. shows mild contradiction to expectation, on the other hand, but.

-ha, -sa ns. only.

-in ns. foregrounding suffix, emphatic.

-sa, -ha ns. only.

-bi-ma dns. female, of animals: do'-bi-ma hen.

-bi-pa dns. male, of animals: do'-bi-pa cock, rooster.

-pi-sa dns. young animal, occasionally used for young of plants; small example of objects: mong-ma-pi-sa baby elephant; jak-si-pi-sa little finger.

0.2 Verb Suffixes

-a pvs. neutral, unmarked tense-aspect marker. In addition to present time, it often shows habitual action, and can even imply past or future: kat-ing-a is running; ga'-ak-a falls.

-jok pvs. indicates a change of state, for an action or condition that happened in the past but whose results continue in the present: kat-jok has run; kat-ja-jok does not run any more; ga'-ak-jok fell, has fallen.

-na-jok pvs. immediate or intentional future: kat-na-jok about to run, intends to run; kat-ja-na-jok will run no more, does not intend to run any more; ga'-ak-na-jok is about to fall.
-no-a, -nu-a, -no pes. future tense: kat-no-a will run; ga’-ak-no-a will run, (A’chik: -gen).

-bo pes. imperative: ring-bo drink!; a-song-bo-ne please sit down!

-bo-da pes. emphatic or abrupt imperative.

-bo-ne pes. polite imperative.

-kan, -ka-na pes. third person imperative, let her, let him, let them: bi-a re’-ang-kan let her go, she can go. -kan, -ka-na pes. subordinating suffix used esp. with verbs of telling or ordering: kat-kan-a bi-a hit-a he ordered (him) to run.

-na-be pes. negative imperative, (A’chik).

-e, -i pes. suffix that subordinates one verb or clause to the one that follows; having, being: ang-a nok nap-e, a-song-jok having entered the house, I sat down.

-e-min-a, -i-min-a, -e-ming pes. subordinating suffix, elaborated equivalents of -e, having, being: cha’e-min-a, ang-a ok-ka-jok having eaten, I’m full.

-e-ming, -i-ming, -e-min-a pes. subordinating suffix, elaborated equivalents of -e, having, being: man-de-na ken-e-ming, kom’e dong-a being afraid of the man, (he) is cowering.

-kan, -ka-na pes. subordinating suffix, esp. with verbs of telling or ordering: kat-kan-a bi-a hit-a he ordered (him) to run. pes. third person imperative, let her, let him, let them: bi-a re’-ang-kan let her go, she can go.

-mit-ing-o pes. while, at the time of: chol-a gan-mit-ing-o while wearing a shirt.

-na pes. infinitive: i-ang-na ha’-sik-be-ing-a (I) want very much to go.

-o-ba pes. although, even if: bi-a sok-ba-ja-o-ba, nik-ja-no-a even if (he) arrives, (we) will not see him.

-o-de pes. if: sok-ba-ja-o-de, nik-ja-no-a if (he) doesn’t arrive, (we) will not see (him).

-o-sa, o-ha pes. only if: bi-a sok-ba-o-sa, nik-no-a (we) will see (him) only if he arrives.

-a pes. nominalizing suffix that puts verbs into a form that is usable as a noun or as a modifier of a noun: dal-a me-a-sa big man.

-a-ni pes. nominalizing suffix that forms abstract nouns from verbs: cha’a-ni food, from cha’a eat; chan-chi-a-ni ideas, from chan-chi-a think.

-gi-ja pes. the one who is not, those who are not; negative of the -a nominalizer; words suffixed with -gi-ja can be used either as a noun or to modify a noun: dal’-gi-ja nok the house that is not big; dal’-gi-ja-ko nik-jok (I) saw the one that is not big.
-gi-ja-gip-a  

Negative of the -gip-a nominalization, allowing words to which it is suffixed to be used as a noun or to modify a noun: the one who is not, those who are not:  kat-ang-gi-ja-gip-a man-de the man who does not run away.

-gip-a  

Nominalizing suffix, the one who, those who: pi-sa-ko chik-gip-a a-chak the child-biting dog, the dog that bites the child.

-jok-o, -jok-o-no  

Nominalizing suffix indicating when, after which: ang-ni chi ring-jok-o, na-a ring-bo when my tea has been drunk, you drink; mi jo-jok-o-no koi bal-ing-a when frying rice it bursts into puffs.

-na-jok-o, -na-jok-o-no  

When about to, when intending to: nang-ni cha-na-jok-o ang-ko o-kam-bo when you intend to eat, call me.

-o, -u  

Nominalizing suffix, when, at the time of: ang-ko sing-o a-gan-chak-na man-no-a when (you) ask me, (I) will be able to answer.

-chim  

A’chik suffix that is equivalent, in part, to Mandi -ming, but not used for a simple past; past perfect, conditional, (A’chik): re-ang-a-chim had gone.

-kon  

Perhaps, probably: nam-ku-ing-a-kon (it) is probably still good.

-ma  

Question marker that forms yes-no questions: neng-jok-ma? are you tired? ma? qw. what (did you say)?

-mo  

A question marker anticipating agreement: ga-ak-jok-mo? (it) has fallen, hasn’t it?, (A’chik).

-na  

Quotative particle, it was said, someone said, I heard: sok-ba-no-a-na I heard that (he) will arrive.

-ni  

Question marker that forms yes-no questions, a less common synonym of -ma.

-a-ming  

Suffix formed from the neutral tense-aspect marker -a with the past-conditional -ming; indicates past time: ching-a i-ang-a-ming we went.

-jok-ming  

A pair of suffixes that combine to indicate a time previous to some other time, had: ching-a re-ang-jok-ming we had gone.

-na-jok-ming  

Present or future conditional or future perfect, referring to an action happening before some specified time in the future: ching-a re-ang-na-jok-ming we will have gone.

-no-a-ming, nu-a-ming  

Conditional, would have: ching-a i-ang-no-a-ming we would have gone.

0.4 Adverbial Affixes

-a-ri-  

Just, simply, merely: gal-a-ri-no-a (he) will simply throw (it) away.
-ang-  aa. shows movement away from the speaker, in that direction: i-ang-a go; bil-ang-a fly away.
-ba-  aa. shows movement toward the speaker, in this direction: re'-ba-a come; bil-ba-a fly in this direction, fly here.
-be-  aa. very, very much: dal'-be-a very big.
-bat-  aa. more than, exceed, go across: ga'-bat-a step across, step over; jro-bat-a swim across; cha'-bat-a eat more; dal'-bat-a bigger.
-bru-  aa. falsely, pretending: in-bru-a tell wrongly; jom-bru-a pretend to be sick; dak-bru-a pretend; ni-bru-a see, watch, without being noticed.
-cheng-  aa. first, before doing something else: cha'-cheng-a first (before something else); i'-ang-cheng-a go first, go ahead; a'-ba-cheng-a begin, (cf. -so-).
-dil-  aa. lead, guide, show the way, cause: cha'-dil-a feed; ken-dil-a frighten; ba-bu-dil-a give someone a bath; dong-dil-a care for a baby or small child.
-et-, -it-  aa. causative: nam-et-a make good, improve; chip-et-a close, cause to be closed, (A'chik: -at-).
-grik-  aa. mutually, each other: a-gan-grik-a converse, talk to each other; sin-grik-a like each other; grong-grik-a meet each other.
-ing-  aa. progressive, indicates action in progress or a continuing state: grap-ing-a crying; bu-ing-a telling lies, joking, (A'chik: -eng- ).
-it-, -et-  aa. causative, (A'chik: -at-).
-ja-  aa. no, not, negative particle: ding-ja not hot; grap-ja does not cry.
-ku-  aa. still, anymore: jom-ku-ing-a still sick; sa-dik-ku-ja-ing-a not hurting yet.
-ku-ja-  aa. not yet: nom'-ku-ja not yet soft; man'-ku-ja can’t yet.
-man-  aa. able, get, accomplish, finish: ku'-man-a able to speak, speak well; bil-man-a have the strength for; nik-man-a discover, notice.
-pil-  aa. return, reverse, again: i'-ba-pil-a come back, return; pang-pil-a reversed, upside down; am-pil-a turn away, turn around; wal-pil-a come back, return; tang-pil-a come to life again; gi-sik ra'-pil-a change one’s mind.
-srang-  aa. completely: i'-ang-srang-a completely gone, gone for good.
-tok-  aa. all, everything: nik-tok-a see everything; nam-tok-a all are good.

0.6 Interjections

de  int. indication of agreement to a request.
iis, i-si  int. yuck, expression of disgust.
ai-au  int. oh my, dear me, wow!, an expression of surprise, wonder, or dismay.
ha'-we, ha'-wi, ho'-we, a'-we, a-we, we, u-e, hu-e-ro, ho  int. yes.
hai, hai-bo, hai-ba-bo  int. lets go!, an expression used to get action started.
ma  int. what?, what did you say?
at-cha  int. fine, okay, right, yes. <B

1.0 Grammatical and Function words

1.1 Postpositions

gi-sep-o  pp. between, among, (follows genitive -ni).
ka'-ma, ka'-ma-o, ka'-ma-cha  pp. below, under; down river, (follows genitive -ni).
ket-chi-o, ket-chi-cha  pp. at the side of, beside, on the side, (follows genitive -ni). -ket-chi- aa. to the side, crosswise: chit-ket-chi-a cut bamboo strips crosswise to the inner and outer edges; ni-ket-chi-a look to the side; pit-ket-chi-a cut off with a cut perpendicular to the surface.
ki'-sang-o, ki'-sang-cha  pp. behind, in back of, (follows genitive -ni), (lit. at the buttocks of).
mik-kang-o, mik-kang-cha  pp. in front of, in the presence of, (follows genitive -ni).
ning-a, ning'-a-o, ning'-a-cha  pp. inside, of a house, box, mouth; under, a table, under ground, (follows nominative): ang-ni bik-ma ning-a-o inside my stomach.
sak-a-o, sak-a-cha  pp. above, on top of, beyond, (follows genitive -ni): nok-ni sak-a-o on top of the house.
se-pang, se-pang-o, si-pang, si-pang-o, si-pang-cha  pp. near, close by, (follows genitive -ni).
king-king  pp. until, up to, (follows dative -na): sal-ja-chi-o-na king-king until noon.
skang  pp. before, (follows dative -na): ang-na skang mi cha'-bo eat before me.

-et-, -it-  aa. causative: nam-et-a make good, improve; chip-et-a close, cause to be closed, (A’chik: -at-).

gan-da  pp. 1. as for, concerning, by contrast, instead, on the other hand, (follows nominative): ang-a gan-da i-ang-na man'-ja as for me, I cannot go. 2. because of, therefore, on account of, (follows dative -na or occasionally genitive -ni): ang-na gan-da because of me.
gim-in  pp. because of, due to, (follows genitive -ni): neng-be-a-ni gim-in because of being very tired.
1.2 Questions and Answers

**ba-gip-a** *qw.* which?, which of several?, of people or things:  
*ba-gip-a me-chik?* which women?;  
*ba-gip-a-na ron-no-a?* to whom will you give it?;  
*ba-gip-a-ko ra-no-a?* which will you take?;  
*ba-gip-a-ba-gip-a?* which ones?

**ba-o, ba-no** *qw.* where, where at?:  
*bo-stu-ko ba-no don-a-ming?* where (did you) put the things?;  
*ba-no-ba-no where all (is it)?*

**ba-sik-o, ba-sak-o, bai-sik-o** *qw.* when?:  
*ba-sik-o-na?* until when?;  
*ba-sik-o-ni?* since when?;  
*ba-sik-o ba-sik-o when all?* (A’chik: ba-sok-o).

**bai-sik, ba-sik** *qw.* how much?, how many?:  
*bai-sik-ni ro-a?* how long?;  
*bai-sik a-rim-jok?* how late? Often used with a classifier plus -sa one:  
*bai-sik kan-sa te-bil* how many tables?;  
*bai-sik gles-sa chi* how many glasses of water?;  
*bai-sik sal-sa?* how many days?

**bat-cha** *qw.* where?, where to?, where from?:  
*bat-cha-dong-a* where is (it)?;  
*bat-cha-na re-ang-ing-a?* where are (you) going?;  
*bat-cha-ni i-ba-ing-a?* where are (you) coming from?

**-ma** *ts.* question marker for yes-no questions.


**sa** *qw.* who?:  
*sa-ni nok* whose house?;  
*sa-na nam-nik-a?* who (does she) like?;  
*sa-sa neng-ing-a* who all is tired? (A’chik: sa-wa).

**sa-gip-a** *qw.* who?, which?, of several people:  
*sa-gip-a-ko nik-jok* which person (did you) see?

**a-we, a-we, we, u-e, ha-we, ha-wi, ho-we, hu-e-ro, ho** *int.* yes,  
(A’chik: we).

**de** *int.* indication of agreement to a request.

**ha-we, ha-wi, ho-we, a-we, a-we, we, u-e, hu-e-ro, ho** *int.* yes.  
(hai-ja *vi.* (I) don’t know.

1.3 Classifiers and Measures

**ak-, sak-** *cls.* classifier for people, occasionally for ghosts, spirits, gods.

**chang-** *cls.* classifier for number of times, the number of times something has been done.

**kan-** *cls.* general classifier, residual category classifier, esp. for man-made objects that lack any other clear classifier: shoes, glasses, hats, ears, houses, doors, lights, letters, books, baskets, etc.

**mang-** *cls.* classifier for animals, including mammals, birds, insects, etc., occasionally for ghosts, spirits: *tam-pi mang-sa* one fly.

**ming-** *cls.* classifier for incorporeal and abstract things, diseases, songs, colors, spirits, ideas.

**rang-** *cls.* classifier for number of times.
ro-kom-  cls. classifier for kinds, varieties. <B

ding-  cls. classifier for long thin things: hairs, cords, strings, pieces of
cane, wire, roads, etc.

king-  cls. classifier for flat things, ears, leaves and esp. for paper and
things made from paper, including books, but not cloth.

pong-  cls. classifier for long cylindrical things, biris, cigarettes, memorial
posts, blowing horns (which have a long cylindrical mouthpiece), injec-
tions.

rong-  cls. classifier for round and spherical things, for large pots, fruit,
eyes, coins.

bil-si-  cls. classifier for years. n, year.
gon-ta-  cls. classifier for hours. n. bell, gong.
ja-  cls. classifier for months.
sal-  cls. classifier for days. n. day, daytime; 24 hours; sun.
sop-ta-  cls. classifier for weeks, (Archik an-ti).

1.4 Conjunctions and Relatives

ar  conj. and, in addition. <B

i- ni gim-in  conj. therefore, for that reason; a semi-lexicalized form that
acts like a conjunction.

in-dak-e, in-dak-i, in-di-dak-e, hin-di-dak-e, in-dik-e  conj. in this
way, like this; this looks like a complex morphological form with an un-
derlying meaning something like ‘doing like this’ but it has been well
lexicalized.

in-di-ba, hin-di-ba  conj. but, however: re-ang-na ha-sik-a in-di-ba
man-ja (I) want to go but cannot.

u- ni-ko, u-ni-ko  conj. besides, in addition, and then.

u- no, hu- no, u-no  conj. then, and then, at that time.

1.5 Demonstratives

ha-wa-dang, a-wa-dang  dem. those far ones, way over there.

hai-wa, ai-wa  dem. that distant one, the one way over there.

i-a  dem. this: i-a song this village. it (close): i-a dal-a it is big, this is
big. this (for units of time): i-a bil-si-o this year; i-a ja-o this month;
i-a sop-ta-o this week. i-, i- combining form: i- ko nik-jok (I) saw
this; i- ni gim-in because of this; i-git-a dak-bo do like this.

u-a  dem. that; it; combining form u-: u- cha den-bo cut with that;

u- ni sam-ba-o beside that. u-a  int. pause form, used when hesitating.

1.6 Pronouns

an-ching  pro. we inclusive, you and I, you and we, (A’chik).
ang-a pro. I; combining form: ang-: ang-ko me; ang-ni my.
bi-a pro. he, she; combining forms: bi-; bi-ko him, her; bi-na to him, to her; bi-ni his, her.
bi-song pro. they: bi-song-ko them; bi-song-ni their.
ching-a pro. we exclusive, I and someone, but not you, us; combining form: ching-.
na-a pro. you singular; combining form: nang-; nang-ko you accusative; nang-ni your.
na-ching pro. we inclusive, you and I, you and we.
na-ong, no-ong pro. you plural, (mainly Modhupur, same as na-song).
na-song pro. you plural: na-song-ni your, plural.
nang-pro. combining form of na-a you singular.
no-ong pro. you plural, (mainly Modhupur, same as na-song); combining form: nong-.
ar-tang, han-tang, ar-tang-tang pro. own, self, selves, oneself; the reflexive pronoun.
ja-wa pro. someone else; ja-wa-ni someone else’s; ja-wa-na for someone else.

2.0 Space and Time

2.1 Space

chel-a vi. far, distant.
jak-ra n. right, right hand.
jak-asi n. left, left hand, the opposite kin group to one’s own: jak-asi-cha bak, on the left side.
se-pang, se-pang-o, si-pang, si-pang-o, si-pang-cha pp. near, close by, (follows genitive -ni).
i-no, in-o, i-a-no, i-a-o, i-o lw. here.
u-no, un-o, u-o adv. there, at that place. Locative of u-a.

2.2 Size, Fit

chu-ak-a vi. tall, of hills, buildings, people; high, of the position of fruit on tree, etc.
dal-a vi. big, large. -dal-, -dal- aa. big, used with numeral classifiers to indicate big, of things so classified: king-dal-a big of thin flat things.
ro-a, ru-a vi. long in space or time, of roads, houses, stories, time periods, etc.; tall, of people, trees, posts. -ro-, -ru- aa. long: mang-ro-a long in the body; chang-ro-a tall, of people, trees; ja-ro-a long, of pant legs, shirttails, for a long time.
ba-a, pa-a vi. thin, of paper, etc.
gip-u-a  vi. leak through, pass through, as through a sieve; ooze, of a wound.
go-ok-a  vi. come apart, come loose, come out of, of a tool handle, cork; fall out, be pulled out, plucked, of hair, feathers; fall down, of a lunggi; -gok- aa. separated, broken apart.
gap-a  vi. full, of any container.
gap-et-a  vt. fill, cause to be full.
jak-ra-ra  adv. empty, empty handed; not pregnant.

2.3 Shape

chu-eng-a  vi. sharply pointed, as a needle, thorn, pointed stick.
ku-chok-a  vi. pointed, with a protruding mouth, as the nose of an animal such as a dog, the end of a pen, of a crescent moon, of a field with pointed corners. ku-chok-chok  adv.
da-wil-a  vi. round of objects, circular. da-wil-wil  adv.
ok-bong-a  vi. wider at the middle than at the ends, as some rice fields, some baskets; bulging section of a memorial post. ok-bong, ok-bong-bong  adv.
tam-bing-a  vi. round, like a football, wheel, ankle bones, end of a flash light, sun, full moon, looped bamboo strip, egg, water pot. tam-bing-bing, tam-bing-jret-jret  adv.
dim-breng-a  vi. straight, direct, of roads, a house wall; in line, like areca palms; stand erect; having a direct and clear manner of speaking. dim-breng-dim-breng  adv.
gong-ge-a, gong-gi-a  vi. bent, as wire or cord; curved, winding, of a road; zigzag; less tightly bent than gong-jol-a but more than gang-bik-a curving back and forth. adv. gong-ge-gong-dang.
chu-a-a  vi. height, one of the three spatial dimensions.
gro, gru  n. length, one of the three spatial dimension. -gro- aa. lengthwise, on the long dimension: rat-gro-a cut lengthwise; git-chit-gro-tear lengthwise. -gro dns. length: bol-gro ridgepole; bi-gro length. gro-gro, gru-gru  adv. lengthwise: gro-gro bil-a  vt. roll up starting from the long dimension.
ha-kol, a-kol, hang-kol, ang-kol, ha-kil-ok, a-kil-ok  n. hole, specifically a hole in the ground but extended to any hole; nostril, ear hole; eye of a needle. n. hole, in the ground or in any object.

2.5 Time, General

so-moi  n. time. <B
an-tam, an-tam-o  n. late afternoon, evening, the time past midday.
sal-jat-chi, sal-jang-chi-o, sal-jat-chi-o  n. in middle of the day, noon.
wal n. night. wal-a vi. become night. wal- cls. classifier for nights.
wal-ni n. morning, this morning, (A*chik pring-o).
wal-ni-ni n. early morning.
dik-dik-sa, dik-dik-ha adv. for a little while, a short time, for just a moment.
gon-ta, ghon-ta n. bell, gong. gon-ta- cls. classifier for hours. <B ja n. month.
sal n. day, daytime; 24 hours, sun.
sal-si-si adv. all day, the whole day.

2.6 Time Relative to the Present

da-, da-o adv. now.
-cheng- aa. first, before doing something else: cha-cheng-a eat first, (before something else); i-ang-cheng-a go first, go ahead; a ба-cheng-a begin, (cf. -so-).
cheng-o lw. before, earlier, some time ago, in the past, in earlier times.
da-al wal-ni, da-sal wal-ni adv. this morning.
da-si wal-o lw. last night.
da-si-o, da-si lw. a while ago, long ago, formerly, longer ago than da-an-o.
me-ja an-tam-o, me-ja-o an-tam-o lw. last evening, yesterday evening.
me-ja wal-ni, me-ja-o wal-ni adv. yesterday morning.
me-ja wal-o, me-ja-o wal-o lw. last night.
skang, skang-o lw. before, earlier, ago, in earlier days.
-so- aa. before, first, ahead of, before someone else.

am-bin-o, am-bun-o, am-bin, am-bun lw. tomorrow, in the future, next, after a while.
am-bun-o, am-bun, am-bin-o, am-bin lw. tomorrow.
me-ja-o, mi-ja-o n. yesterday.
mi-ja-o, me-ja-o n. yesterday.
min-i-o lw. day before yesterday, some time ago.
sot-ni-o, sot-mi-o lw. day after tomorrow.
da-bil-si, da-a bil-si n. this year.
da-ska-ri, da-sik-ka-ri n. last year.
ka-ri, ka-ri-o lw. next year.

2.7 Time: Speed, Frequency

da-o-ba, da-a-ba adv. now also, again, moreover, and in addition.
ka-sin-a vi. slow, quiet, calm, slow down; cold to the touch; cool down after a fever.
gong-rak-a vi. fast, rapidly, as when walking, running.
jak-rak-a vi. quick, fast, esp. of work with the hands; quick at eating.
ta’-rak-a vi. quick, fast, as of speaking; strong.

3.0 Quantity, Quality, Sensory

3.3 Quantity, Amounts, Number

chu’-ong-a vi. sufficient, enough.
nam-sang, nam-hang adv. most, more than half, almost, almost done, good enough, adequate, good but not excellent.
bang-a vi. much, many.
-bat- aa. more than, exceed, go across: ga’-bat-a step across, step over; jro-bat-a swim across; cha’-bat-a eat more.
jil-ma n. crowd, lots, of people, animals, not used for inanimate things.
-jil-ma ns.: a-chak-jil-ma a lot of dogs.
pak-ma n. most, more than half, majority: pak-ma-in pin-jok most of it is thatched.
-srang- aa. completely: i’-ang-srang-a completely gone, gone for good.
dim-dak, dim-dak-in n. every, all.
gim-ik n. all, every.
-tok- aa. all, everything: nik-tok-a see everything; nam-tok-a all are good.
-a-ri- aa. just, simply, merely: si-a-ri-jok (he) simply died.
ak-sa, ak-sa-han adv. only, alone, of people.
ma-mang adv. only, just, merely: i’-ang-a ma-mang (he) simply went.

3.4 Quality, Probability, etc.

-a-ri- adv. only, just, merely: i’-ang-a ma-mang (he) simply went.
ak-sa, ak-sa-han adv. only, alone, of people.
ma-mang adv. only, just, merely: i’-ang-a ma-mang (he) simply went.

-a-ri- adv. only, just, merely: i’-ang-a ma-mang (he) simply went.
ak-sa, ak-sa-han adv. only, alone, of people.
ma-mang adv. only, just, merely: i’-ang-a ma-mang (he) simply went.

mit-am n. some.
a-ro adv. more, additional, again. <B
-sa num. one.
-gin-i, gin-ing num. two. gin-i-gip-a n. second.
-git-tam num. three. git-tam-gip-a n. third.
-bri num. four. bri-gip-a n. fourth.
-bong-a, -bing-a num. five. bong-a-gip-a n. fifth.

-kon ts. probably, maybe.
dam-san, dam-han  n. same, together, in one place.
in-dak-a  dem. in that way, like that.
ding-dang  adv. different: ding-dang-ding-dang  adv. different from each other. (Arch: ding-tang).
be-be, bi-bi  adv. truly, really, correctly.
bi-bi, be-be  adv. truly, really, correctly.
chong-mot  n. actual, real. -chong-mot-  aa. really, certainly.
kak-ket  adv. true, correct.
al-a-mal-a  adv. so-so.
nam-a  vi. good.
ni-to-a, ni-tu-a  vi. beautiful to look at.
to-a  vi. good tasting: ja-ba to-be-a the curry tastes very good; to-e nik-a like the taste of, (lit. see the taste as good). -to-  aa. good for the senses: gan-to-a comfortable to wear; ni-to-a beautiful to see; kin-a-to-a beautiful to hear.
-dik-  aa. ugly, unpleasant. dong-dik-a in a bad condition, as having a dirty body, uncomfortable; ni-dik-a ugly to see; kin-a-dik-a ugly to hear.
nam-ja  vi. bad.
ni-dik-a  vi. ugly to see.

3.5 Light and Vision

na-a  vi. appear, show up, turn up, of people, fruit at the market, etc.; become visible; rise, as sun, moon; erupt, come out, swell up, of skin diseases, pimples, etc.
nik-a  vt. see, dream about. vi. look like, have the appearance of. -nik-  aa. look upon, consider, regard: chon-nik-a feel small, feel inferior, have an inferiority complex; dal-’nik-a look up to, respect, see as large; nom-’nik-a appear to be easy; nam-nik-a like, love, see as good; seng-nik-a show off, act smart.
nem-a  vt. look for, search.
ni-a  vt. look at; watch, test, try, attend to with one of the senses: kin-a-e ni-bo listen! rim-’e ni-a feel.
ni-tim-a  vt. watch attentively, continuously.
pin-ik-a, pin-ik-et-a  vt. show, point to, point out.
bok-a  vi. white.
gip-bok, gip-bok-a, bok-a  vi. white, light colored.
git-chak, git-chak-a  vi. red; by extension: reddish brown, orange.
han‘-git-chak, an‘-git-chak  n. light complexion but light within the local range rather than pale like Europeans, (lit. body-red).
rim-it, rim-it-a  vi. yellow; by extension: light brown, orange-brown, green, occasionally blue.
gi-sim, gi-sim-a, sim-a  vi. black; by extension: any cool color, even blue or green; any dark color.
han‘-gi-sim, an‘-gi-sim  n. dark complexion, (lit. body-black).
ja-seng-a  vi. light, opposite of dark, as a room with windows; clear up, become light, as from lamps or at dawn.
sal ding-a  vph. sunlight, as opposed to shade.
seng-a  vi. bright, brilliant, shine, grow light as at dawn; alert, smart, clever.
ching-a  vi. shine, not necessarily brightly, of sun, moon, fire, candles, flashlight, TV screen, gold; light up, flame up.
net-a  vt. turn on, shine, with a light, candle, burning sticks, etc., in order to see; shine on, illuminate: lait-cha net-e ni-ing-a, chau‘-kok-ko see the thief by shining a light.
an-dal-a  vi. be dark, dark of the night, of a closed room.
ja-gring  n. shadow, reflection in mirror or water.
sal-ik-kim  n. shade, as offered by a tree, house, etc. sal-ik-kim-a  vi. be shady, become shady.

3.6 Sensory, Except Visual
kin-a-a  vt. hear, listen.
kin-a-to-a  vi. beautiful to hear, nice sounding.
mik-u-a  vi. sound, make a noise; cry of any animal, meow, bleat, moo, etc.; sound, of musical instrument, machine, etc.; squeak.
srok, srok-srok, srok-srok-e, srok-e-srok-e, sruk, sruk-sruk  adv. quietly, secretly.
ka‘-kit-a  vi. itch.
sa-dik-a  vi. hurt, ache, be painful; burning taste of chilies.
rim-il-a  vi. slippery, smooth.
min-ek-a  vi. tender, soft, of well-cooked rice, breasts; a bit over-ripe but still edible. -min-ek- aa. soft, squash, crush: jot-min-ek-a poke and make soft, crush; ga‘-min-ek-a step on and squash; rim‘-min-ek-a squash in the hand.
nom‘-a  vi. soft, easy, inexpensive.
rak-a  vi. hard, strong, tough, difficult: dam rak-a expensive. rak-e-rak-e  adv. fast, strong, of talking, walking, etc. -rak-  aa. strong, fast: gong-rak-a fast; mik-rak-a wake up, strong in the eyes; mang-rak-a
healthy, strong of body; **ding-rak-a** strong of long slender things, like string; **jak-rak-a** quick, fast, esp. in working with one’s hands, quick at eating.

**ding-a** *vi.* hot.

**chik-a** *vi.* biting cold; bite, by people, mosquitoes, etc.; bite by spirits (mit-e) when they cause disease.

**kar-sin-a** *vi.* cold, of things.

**sin-a** *vi.* personally cold, of people.

**chi-a** *vi.* sweet. *n.* sweets, candy.

**jro-a, jru-a** *vi.* spicy, chili-hot, burn from taste or touch of chilies.

**kar-a** *vi.* bitter.

**me-seng-a, mi-seng-a** *vi.* sour.

**mit-im-a** *vi.* fat, fatty tasting.

**to-a** *vi.* good tasting; **ja-ba to-be-a** the curry tastes very good; **to-e nik-a** like the taste of. **-to aa.** good for the senses: **ni-to-a** beautiful to look at; **kin-a-to-a** beautiful to hear; **cha-to-a** taste good to eat; **ring-to-a** taste good to drink; **jak-kal-to-a** good to use, comfortable to use.

**sim-il-a** *vi.* smell pleasant, fragrant.

**so-eng-a, su-eng-a** *vi.* smell badly, stink, (A-chik: se-eng-a).

### 3.7 Miscellaneous Qualities

**bil** *n.* strength.

**rak-a** *vi.* hard, strong, tough, difficult; **dam rak-a** expensive. **rak-e-rak-e** *adv.* fast, strong, of talking, walking, etc. **-rak- aa.** strong, fast: **gong-rak-a** fast; **mik-rak-a** wake up, strong in the eyes; **mang-rak-a** healthy, strong of body; **ding-rak-a** strong of long, slender things, like string; **jak-rak-a** quick, fast, esp. in working with one’s hands, quick at eating.

**cheng-a** *vi.* light in weight.


**git-al** *vi.* new.

**git-cham, git-cham-a** *vi.* old, of things.

**nom-a** *vi.* easy, soft, inexpensive.

**rak-a** *vi.* difficult, hard, strong, tough, expensive.

**bil-ong-a, bil-ong-en** *vi.* important, strong, very, serious, of a disease. **bil-ong-e, bil-ong-e-in** *adv.* **bil-ong-e ni-ri-ing-a** seriously quarrelling.

**mong-song** *n.* most important, main, primary. **-mong-song- aa.** main, primary: **cha-mong-song-a** eat enough; **nok-mong-song** main building, house of the senior couple of a household.

**nam-en** *adv.* very.
-srang-  aa. completely: i-ang-srang-a completely gone, gone for good.

4.0 Nature

4.2 Environment and the Elements

a-sek-ki  n. star.
sil-ga  n. sky.
ja-jong  n. moon.
sal  n. sun, day, daytime; 24 hour period. sal-  cls. classifier for days.
ha-gil-sak, a-gil-sak  n. world, earth.
ha-pal, a-pal  n. low land; flat land, land used for wet rice in contrast to slash and burn; specifically: the area of north Mymensingh where Mandis live.
ha’-rong-ga, a’-rong-ga  n. uplands, hills; specifically: the uplands of the Garo Hills.
a-, a-, ha’, ha’, ha, ha  n. land, ground, soil, (see ha- for all compounds).
ha-, a-, ha’, a’, ha, ha  n. earth, ground, soil, land. ha-, a’- cp. categorizing prefix for land, soil, countryside: ha’-kin-te lumps of earth; ha’-ba fields; a’-gil-sak world.
han-cheng, an-cheng  n. sand.
rong-te, rong-ti  n. stone, rock, big stone; the flat (lower) grindstone; the weight used on a balance scale.
chi-rik-ing, chi-rik-ong  n. bank of a river, pond, etc., shore.

4.3 Weather

ga-dil-a, ga-del-a  n. cloud: ga-dil-a gri cloudless.
mik-ka  n. rain.
wa-a  vi. rain.
rip-on-chi  n. dew.
bal-wa  n. breeze, wind.
bang-gu-ri-a  vi. earthquake, to be an earthquake.

4.4 Animals, Wild

-bi-ma  dns. female, of animals; do-bi-ma hen.
-bi-pa  dns. male, of animals; do-bi-pa cock, rooster.
mat-bring, mat-brung, mat-bu-rung  n. forest animals, esp. mammals, but not including birds or insects.
-pi-sa  dns. young animal, occasionally used for young of plants; small example of objects: mong-ma-pi-sa baby elephant; jak-si-pi-sa little finger.
mat-cha  

n. tiger, leopard, any of several kinds of large cats.

a-mak  
rang-gol, ha-mak  
rang-gol,  
a-mak nang-gor  
n. langur, long-tailed monkey, hanuman ape.

ha-mak, a-mak  
n. monkey, macaque.

nang-gol, rang-gol  
n. long-tailed monkey, langur monkey.

bel  
n. jackal, (Modhupur).

ma-rak-ha  
n. barking deer.

mak-bil  
n. bear.

mat  
n. squirrel.

mat-chok  
n. deer.

me-se, mi-si  
n. mouse, rat.

meng-chut  
n. mouse-sized animal with a long nose, stink-rat, shrew.

mi-si, me-se  
n. mouse, rat, (see me-se for compounds).

mong-ma  
n. elephant.

do-, do-o, do, du-, du-u, du  
n. bird; specifically: domestic fowl, more broadly any bird at all. Combining form: do-, du-. cp. prefix for varieties of birds.

do-til-eng, du-til-eng  
n. woodpecker, red, yellow and some black, a bit smaller than a dove.

kan-chi-dik  
n. small, common house lizard.

map-pru  
n. large long-tailed forest lizard that lives in trees.

chip-pu  
n. snake, general term.

beng  
n. frog.

na-tok  
n. fish, general term.

ang-ki, hang-ki  
n. crab.

chet-chru, chot-chu-ru, chot-ru  
n. small edible snail, 1-2 cm.

na-tik  
n. edible freshwater shrimp.

jong-, jong  
n. bug, worm, insect, (A’chik: jo-ong).

gang-gu-a  
n. mosquito.

tam-pi-rong-reng, rong-reng  
n. big blue fly that eats dung, horsefly.

bi-ja  
n. bee.

gu-ang  
n. spider.

at-ching  
n. stinging black ants that cause itching, bigger than sim-il-chak but smaller than ket-chi-ra.

ha-kin, a-kin  
n. type of white ant that builds large ant hills, and that bores into and lives in the mud walls of houses.

ru-at  
n. land leech, smaller than a water leech.

dip-a  
n. bed bug.

na-sik-et  
n. tick, insect that bites people and cattle, and grows round as it fills with blood.

tik  
n. louse, head louse.
Intermediate Word List

a-guk, ha-guk n. grasshopper, (see ha-guk for compounds).
a-guk, ha-guk n. grasshopper.
pak-ma-ri n. butterfly.
grang n. wing, feather.
na-gring n. cock’s comb.
busu n. fish bone, thorn.
ja-skil n. claw, toenail.
ki-me, ki-mi n. tail; the projecting upper part of the top of a house post cut to fit a cross piece.
bi-ja-bit-chi n. honey, (lit. bee-juice).
bi-tip n. nest, cocoon.
a-pru, ha-pru-ru, ha-pru-tot, a-pru n. big anthill made by a-kin ants.
mik-u-a vi. cry made by any animal, meow, bleat, moo, etc.; sound, make a noise; sound, of a musical instrument or machine; squeak.
sing-a vi. bark, of dogs; ask a question.
bam-a vt. sit on eggs, brood.
del-a vt. sting, as bees.
bil-a vi. fly, of birds, insects, airplanes; fly about in the air, of paper, leaves, etc.
wat-a vt. let animals run loose; let go, release; send a letter, etc.; settle, finalize; fire from a job; quit smoking; supply; abandon, throw away; weigh.

4.6 Plants, Mostly Uncultivated

am-pang n. thatch, thatching grass.
bi-pang n. tree; a tree or bush that grows with a single trunk or central stalk; trunk of a tree or banana plant; stalk of even a small plant such as mustard.
bol n. wood; tree. bol- cp. categorizing prefix for names of types of trees.
bol-cls. classifier for trees, axes, bamboo knives (at-te), drums.
bol-pang, bol-bi-pang n. tree.
bring n. forest, jungle. (A'chik: bu-rung).
dam-bong n. an edible mushroom.
ma-ri-bi-du n. the largest vine that grows in Modhupur, woody and as thick as a person’s leg, it has 25 cm. leaves, red sap, and grows wild in the forest.
o-mak n. largish tree with lovely flowers, the bark of which is used to make tump lines, (Beng. ga-ton).
re, ri n. cane.
sam n. grass, herb; medicine; curry. sam- cp. prefix for grass and small herbs.

wa-, wa, wa'-a n. bamboo. wa- cp. prefix for bamboo parts, varieties, and object made from bamboo.

bi-du n. the long growing stem of climbing vines such as gourds, squash, etc., (same as bi-dil). -bi-du dns. vine.

bi-gil n. bark, peel, pod, skin of humans and animals, leather.

bi-jak n. leaf.

bol-bi-jak n. leaf of a tree.

bi-bal n. flower, blossom.

bi-te, bi-ti n. fruit; pod such as that of mustard when seeds are still in place.

bit-chi-ri, bit-chri n. seed for use in planting, not a general term for all seeds.

bu-su n. thorn, fish bone.

cha'-che, cha'-chi n. rice husks, chaff.

e-sal, i-sal, re-sal, hi'-sal n. banana leaf.

gol-', gol, go'-ol n. stick. gol- cp. categorizing prefix for sticks: gol-chok arrow.

jeng n. leaves, grass and small plants growing close to the ground, especially when used as food for cattle.

ja'-dil n. root; the part of the root that is above ground; tendon of hands and feet.

git-ting vi. green, unripe, raw, uncooked.

min-a vi. ripe, of crops, fruit; oozing, of a wound; cooked enough, done; turn white, of hair.

nang-a vi. produce, bear fruit, etc.: bi-te nang-ba-ing-jok the fruit has become ripe.

5.0 Subsistence, Artifacts

5.1 Farming

ha-, ha, a-, ha-a, a-a n. earth, ground, soil. ha-, a- cp. categorizing prefix for land, soil, countryside: ha'-kin-te lumps of earth; ha'-ba fields; a'-gil-sak world.

ha'-ba, a'-ba n. agricultural land, land used for either wet rice cultivation or for slash and burn.

ha'-tot, a'-tot n. land allotted to a single individual to use, often to a young person; property of an individual, including land, goods, rice, etc.

ha'-ba git-dal, a'-dal n. first year slash and burn fields.
ha-dal, a-dal, ha-ba git-dal  n. first year slash and burn fields.
ha-pal, a-pal  n. wet rice land, in contrast to slash and burn fields; plains, lowland; specifically: the region of north Mymensingh where Mandis live.
ge-a, gi-a  vt. plant into a hole, plant seeds individually or a few at a time, for maize, trees, etc., plant rice seedlings; contrasts with go-a sew, broadcast.
go-a, gu-a  vt. broadcast seeds, plant; throw, scatter; cast fishnet; deal out cards; shoot gun.
ak-a  vt. pick, pluck, flowers, fruit, leaves, etc.
pik-a  vt. pull out by the roots, plants from earth, rice seedlings for transplanting; pluck, as gray hairs from one’s head, down from birds.

5.2 Crops, Cultivated Plants

gu-a  n. areca palm, areca nut.
jam-bu-ra  n. pomelo, a large citrus tree and fruit.
mo-du  n. papaya, honey. <B
na-rang  n. orange tree, orange fruit.
na-ri-kel, nai-rol  n. coconut. <B
nai-rol, na-ri-kel  n. coconut. <B
te-brong, ti-brong  n. jackfruit.
te-ga-chu, ti-ga-chu  n. mango.
te-rik, ti-rik  n. banana.
a-na-ros  n. pineapple. <B
ak-ka-ru  n. a kind of squash.
al-u-gu-ta  n. white potatoes (Archik al-u). <B
ba-dam  n. peanut. <B
ba-ring  n. eggplant, brinjal.
bil-ik  n. short green beans with narrow, edible pods.
dail, dal  n. pulse, dahl. <B
deng-ga  n. a red spinach-like vegetable of which the leaves are eaten, larger than lal-sak. <B
e-ching, i-ching  n. ginger.
ja-jur  n. carrot. <B
gi-na-si, ge-na-si  n. a green bean with a broad pod that is eaten along with the seeds.
go-min-da, gu-min-da  n. a round squash that lies on ground when growing.
gom  n. wheat. <B
e-ching, i-ching  n. ginger.
jal-ik  n. chili pepper.
ka-rek  n. beans with a long narrow edible pod.
kil  n. cotton.
lau, rau  n. gourd, a long edible squash that hangs from a climbing vine. <B

mul-a  n. a large radish; the plant has four-petaled white or slightly lavender flowers, and edible greens in addition to the white or reddish edible root. <B

me-ga-ru, mi-ga-ru  n. an edible grain, Job’s-tears or pop sorghum.

me-kop, mi-kop  n. maize.

me-a, mi-a  n. edible bamboo shoots.

men-du  n. a yellow flowered pea with edible seeds.

mi-si-mi, mi-si  n. millet.

ro-sun, ro-sin, ra-sin, na-sin  n. onion, garlic. <B

ro-sun gip-bok, na-sin gip-bok  n. garlic.

ro-sun git-chak, na-sin git-chak  n. onion.

sil-so, sil-su, sul-so  n. mustard, mustard seed.

ta-a  n. any of several edible tubers.

ta-bol-chu, ta-bil-chu  n. manioc, cassava.

ta-mil-ang  n. sweet potato.

ta-ring  n. huge-leaved tuber, arum.

to-ma-to, to-me-to, to-mo-to  n. tomato, (same as ba-ring bel-a-ti. <E

jal-a  n. rice seedling during stage when it grows in a seedbed. <B

me-rong, mi-rong  n. husked rice.

mi  n. rice plant, unhusked rice, cooked rice.

mi-mil  n. sticky rice that has been cooked by steaming, cooked mi-mit-im.

mi-mit-im  n. a variety of sticky rice before it has been husked, the kind of rice that, when cooked, will be called mi-mil, a traditional rice from slash and burn times, one kind of mi-man-de.

mi-rong, me-rong  n. husked but uncooked rice.

5.3 Animals, Domestic


ma-su  n. cow, bull, cattle, (A’chik: mat-chu).

ma-su gen-da, ma-su pi-sa, ma-su ba-sur  n. calf.

a-chak  n. dog.


wak  n. pig.
5.4 Cooking and Eating

**na-kam**  n. dried fish of the ordinary kind.

**wak be-en**  n. pork, (lit. pig-meat).

**chu**  n. rice beer: **chu-bit-chi** undiluted rice beer, the first rice beer from the pot.

**mu-ri**  n. puffed rice. <B

**chi-ni**  n. sugar. <B

**gu-ru-ma**  n. locally produced dark sugar, made by boiling the juice of sugar cane. <B

**hol-di, ol-di, hel-di, el-di**  n. turmeric, turmeric colored, yellow. <B

**ka-ri**  n. soda that is used in cooking, and that is either purchased or made by filtering water through ashes.

**kai-sim, ka-ri-sim, ka-sim, sim**  n. salt.

**ro-ti, ru-ti**  n. bread. <B

**cha**  n. tea: **cha-git-chak** tea served without milk, (lit. red tea). <B

**chi**  n. water, liquid: **mik-chi** tears; **han-chi** blood; **bit-chi** juice.

**ja-ba**  n. curry, side dish eaten with rice.

**sok-bit-chi**  n. mother’s milk, breast milk, (lit. breast-juice).

**a-bol, ha-bol**  n. firewood.

**ching-a**  vi. shine, not necessarily brightly, of sun, moon, fire, candles, hurricane lamp, flashlight, TV screen, gold; light up, flame up.

**cho-ka, cho-ka a-kol**  n. fireplace.

**ha-bol, a-bol**  n. firewood.

**ha-dip-u, a-dip-u**  n. ashes.

**hang-a**  vt. hold hands up to the fire to warm them; warm or dry objects such as cloth or paper by holding them up to the fire.

**mes**  n. match. <E

**kam-a**  vi. burn, blaze.

**kim-it-a, sik-kim-it-a**  vt. extinguish, put out, as a fire or match; turn off, hurricane lamp, flashlight.

**net-a**  vt. turn on, shine with light, candle, burning sticks, etc. in order to see; shine on, illuminate: **lait-cha net-e ni-ing-a, chau-kok-ko** see the thief by shining a light.

**si-a**  vi. go out, of fire, lamp, (lit. die).

**so-a, su-a**  vt. burn, ignite, light fire, candle, etc.; feed fire with firewood; singe a pig over fire to remove hair.


**wal-ku-a**  n. smoke. vi. to smoke, of a fire.

**dik-ka**  n. an earthenware pot together with its cane sling that is used for brewing rice beer.
dik-te, dik-ti  n. smallish pot, often but not necessarily earthenware, for water, etc., smaller than a gim-bi.
dik-ton  n. large round open mouthed earthenware pot, used for brewing rice beer. Does not include a cane sling.
gim-bi  n. large water pot, bigger than a dik-te.
me-dik, mi-dik  n. rice cooking pot.
rang-tal  n. plate, dish.
rong-dik  n. earthenware storage pot with no neck and a large mouth, used to store rice; the thick part at the base of a banana trunk, (lit. banana-round pot).
sam-dik  n. curry cooking pot.
bal-ti  n. pail, bucket. <B
cha-mos  n. spoon. <B
cha-am  n. mortar for pounding rice.
dang-kep  n. tongs: sil-dang-kep iron tongs; wa-dang-kep bamboo tongs; bol-dang-kep wooden tongs.
pong  n. ladle made from a gourd and used esp. for rice beer.
rim-ol, rong-te rim-ol  n. the smaller (upper) grindstone that is held in the hand; rice-pounding pestle.
wa-sing, wa-ni wa-sing  n. bamboo cup, bamboo tube used for storage or for blowing up fire.
cho-sam-a  vt. winnow.
mi-pal  n. rice portion, serving, share, esp. when wrapped in a banana leaf.
dit-a  vt. filter water through ashes to obtain soda; filled with liquid, as water behind a barrier, breasts filled with milk.
git-ting  vi. uncooked, green, unripe, raw.
jo-a  vt. fry, without water but sometimes with oil, as meat, cakes, cracked rice, etc.
rit-a  vt. boil.
song-a  vt. cook; brew rice beer.
cha-a  vt. eat, nurse; eat away at, by water or by a disease; live by means of; erupt, come out, of a skin disease; receive monetary compensation as a result of a legal case.
chik-a  vt. bite, by people, mosquitoes, etc.; bite by mit-i (spirits) when they cause disease; biting cold; cause rash; attack, of laziness.
min-ok-a  vt. swallow; eclipse of sun or moon.
ring-a  vt. drink; take medicine orally, both liquids and pills; smoke tobacco.
du-a  vt. feed solid food, such as rice, to a child or invalid; feed at a festival by putting food directly in someone’s mouth; feed domestic animals, bait birds.
kan-a  vt. feed, of liquids, including breast milk.
ok-ka-a  vt. satisfied by, eaten enough of, full of, drunk from.
ok-kri-a  vt. hungry, hungry for.
pek-a  vt. intoxicated from, surfeited from; the feeling of having eating or drinking a lot, feeling after eating pork fat: ang-a wak-mit-im-ko
   bang-e cha-e pek-a having eaten a lot of pork fat, I am surfeited.

5.6 Buildings

ba-ri  n. group of buildings built around a courtyard, compound; the group of people who live in these buildings. <B
chi-dik  n. bird coop.
jam  n. granary, storehouse.
nok  n. house, building, household, family. -nok dns. buildings: wa-si-
   nok house built of split bamboo; tat-nok building where weaving is done;
   skul-nok school building; ran-a-nok kitchen building. nok- cp. prefix for types and parts of houses: nok-pan-te young men’s house; nok-kap
   house site. nok- cls. classifier for families, households, for what is held in a house.
   nok-pan-te  n. house for adolescents and unmarried young men.
rik-a  vt. build, esp. for houses.
am-pang  n. thatch, thatching grass.
nok-king  n. roof.
krong  n. post.
do-ga, du-ga  n. door, especially a bamboo lattice door.
be-ra  n. the fence, as around a garden, esp. a fence made from bamboo matting, grass, or stems of sam-sim-a-ri plants: be-ra ka-a build a fence, (lit. tie fence). <B

chi-kol  n. well of the type that has a hand pump.
a-til-a, ha-til-a  n. courtyard, space between houses and buildings of a homestead.
nok-sil  n. neighbor, neighboring houses.
jal-ang  n. narrow foot bridge made with a log or pieces of bamboo.
ra-ma  n. road, path, way, means.
so-rok  n. road, highway. <B

5.8 Objects, Tools, Artifacts

am-pok, ham-pok  n. low stool.
bii pong  n. handle of tool, such as a knife, etc.
cho-ki  n. bedstead, wooden platform. <B
jol-oi  n. cloth cradle that is tied between posts of a veranda.
git-chi  n. a small, narrow-bladed hoe, for weeding and digging up roots.
at-te, at-ti  n. large, machete-like knife that is used especially for cutting bamboo but also for general cutting and chopping.
kat-chi  n. sickle, rice cutting knife.
ru-a  n. axe.
mil-am  n. traditional ceremonial headhunting sword.
spi, sep-pi  n. warrior’s shield.
am  n. mat.
gin-chi-ra  n. sieve, tool for sifting.
ru-an  n. winnowing tray with curved up sides and back, but a flat and open end.
to-ra, tu-ra  n. basket, (Achik kok).
wat-a  vt. weave basket, work bamboo.
bas, bas gari  n. bus. <E
ben-ga-ri, ben-riik-sa  n. flat-bottomed rickshaw, ‘van’ rickshaw for carrying goods. <B
ga-ri  n. cart, bus, auto, vehicle. <B
riik-sa  n. peddle rickshaw. <B
sai-kel, bai-si-kol  n. bicycle. <E

6.0 Human Beings

6.2 Body Parts
an-, han-, han  n. body, usually used in compounds.
bi-mang  n. body of person or thing; shape, form; middle portion of an object, such as a glass.
ging  n. nose, snot.
kur-chil  n. lip.
kur-sik  n. mouth; language; opening of a pot, etc.; front end of a worm; pal kur-sik tip of a plow blade.
mik-gil  n. eyelid.
mik-kang  n. face; front, front end, of a flashlight, sweater, etc.; top, of a banana leaf. next, in the future: mik-kang bil-si, mik-kang-gip-a bil-si-o next year; mik-kang ja-o, mik-kang-gip-a ja-o next month; mik-kang Ro-bi-bal next Sunday.
na-chil  n. ear.
na-chil a’-kol, na-chil a’-kil-ok, na-chil-ni a’-kil-ok, na-kol  n. ear hole.
pe, pi, pe-top, pi-top  n. cheek.
sko, sku  n. head; end of a rice field, long arm of a rice pounder (teng-ki).
wa  n. tooth, teeth on the edge of a cutting tool: ka-chi-wa teeth on the edge of a ka-chi (sickle) blade.

jak  n. hand, arm. jak- cp. prefix for parts of the hands and arms. jak- cls. classifier for leaves: i-sal jak-sa one banana leaf.
pak-krong  n. shoulder.
jak-git-ok  n. wrist, (lit. arm-neck).
jak-pa  n. palm of the hand; end of an insect leg.
jak-si  n. finger; distal segment of an insect leg.
jak-si-bi-ma  n. thumb, (lit. female-finger).
jak-skil  n. fingernail, claw.
jak-sku  n. elbow.

ja- n. leg, foot, usually in compounds. cp. prefix for parts of the legs and feet: ja-git-ok ankle.
ja-chok  n. entire leg, upper and lower; leg of bird; one of the four vertical side pieces of a basket; foot treadle of a teng-ki (rice pounder).
ja-ping  n. thigh, upper leg, thigh of a bird.
ja-sku  n. knee.
ja-git-ok  n. ankle, (lit. leg-neck).
ja-git-ok-gi-ro  n. round ankle bones at the sides of the ankles.
ja-pa  n. foot; sole of foot; the foot treadle of a rice pounder.
ja-si  n. toe. a-bol ja-si  n. small bits of firewood, (lit. toe-wood).
ja-skil  n. toenail, claw.

git-ok  n. neck, throat; narrow place, neck of a pot. dns. narrow place:
jak-git-ok wrist: ja-git-ok ankle; chi-git-ok narrow place in a stream.
jang-gil  n. back, back of body, back of an insect; back side of an object;
green outer edge of bamboo; bottom of a banana leaf.
ki-sang  n. buttocks, backside; bottom or back end of an object, as a flashlight, basket, glass, pot. last, previous, most recent: ja ki-sang last month.
bik-ma, buk-ma  n. belly, stomach; body of a pot.
chel, chel-gok, chel-tong  n. chest of the body.
gan-du-ri  n. navel, belly button.
sok  n. breast, man’s nipple; mother’s milk, animal’s milk when drunk by a baby animal.
sok-me, sok-mi  n. woman’s breast.

kim-il  n. body hair, fur of an animal, small feathers, down.
kim-i  n. hair of the head.
ku-sim-ang  n. beard; tassel of a corn cob.
chi-kil-ang-a  vi. bald, without hair. chi-kil-ang adv.
be-en  n. meat, flesh, body; meat of a vegetable in contrast to the leaves.
bi-bik  n. intestines; inner edge of bamboo that is opposite to the green outer edge.
bi-ka  n. liver.
ka-rong-ti  n. heart.
greng  n. bone.
an-chi, han-chi  n. blood, (lit. body water).
bi-gil  n. skin of humans and animals, bark, peel, pod, leather.
git-tam-a  n. urine. vi. urinate.
ke-em-a  n. dung; excrement. vi. defecate (Achik ki).
ku-chi  n. saliva; bubbles.
mit-im  n. body fat, grease. mit-im-a vi. fat, fatty tasting. mit-im-
mit-im dak-a adv. a little fatty.

6.4 Shapes of the Body

ging-chep-ta  adv. flat-nosed, characteristic nose shape of Mandis.
bol-cha-a  vi. tall, of people.
chu-a-a  vi. high, tall, of trees, people, buildings, hills, mountains; rise, of a sloping road; one of the three spatial dimensions, along with gro length and gip-eng width.
kan-dok-a  vi. short, of people, animals, string, sticks, posts, days, etc.; short of speaking, briefly.
ran-chok-a  vi. thin, of people. scrawny, (lit. dry pointed).
imil-a  vi. fat.

6.5 Clothing and Adornment

de-bra, di-bra  n. carrying cloth for a baby.
gam-cha  n. small cloth, towel, napkin, loincloth, woman’s top cloth, cloth worn on head, cloth used by little girls as a short skirt. <B
ru-mal  n. handkerchief, small cloth.
ko-tip, ku-tip  n. man’s turban; head cloth wrapped over forehead and tied in back; top of memorial post.
dok-ban-da, dok-man-da  n. a Garo woman’s wrap around skirt cloth of traditional design.
sa-ri  n. sari, woman’s wrapped outer garment. <B
lung-gi  n. man’s tube-like skirt. <B

chin-a  vt. wear, put on, get dressed, be dressed, esp. for clothes worn above the waist and for garments that are wrapped, shirt, chador, top cloth; ba-ra-ko chin-a drape cloth to provide shade.
ga-a  vt. wear or put on, of shoes, socks; step.
gan-a  vt. wear, put on of clothes, esp. those worn below the waist: underpants, pants, lunggi, loincloth leng-ti, but also sari; put on or wear
jewelry of all sorts, necklace, earrings, bracelet, watch, etc.; wear, dress oneself, in contrast with pat-a dress someone else.

ka-a *vt.* put on, wear, of a turban; tie; make friends; build a fence, a barrier in a stream.

krok-a *vt.* put on or wear, of something that requires insertion of a body part rather than wrapping, such as a shirt, sweater, socks, pants, etc.

ok-a *vt.* take off clothes that require insertion, of shoes, hat, shirt, lunggi; unbutton; pull out, of plugs, corks, plants when weeding; disconnect.

pat-a *vt.* dress another person; esp. dress someone in jewelry; tie together cattle for a yoke; ku-tip pat-a bestow a turban as a symbol of office, create a headman, (lit. clothe with the turban). pat- *cls.* classifier for things made of cloth, shirts, lunggias, quilts; for units of paper money, takas.

sik-a *vt.* put on, wear, of a hat, bracelet; insert, put in, stick in, sew, poke, jab: ru-a sik-a plant rice seedlings in mud; give, provide the jang-gi (life, soul) by the creator.

sang-gong *n.* woman’s bracelet, bangle; plant tendrils.

a-bu-a, ha-bu-a *vi.* bathe, take a bath.

jak-su-a *vi.* wash hands.

ken-a *vt.* brush, comb hair.

mik-su-a *vi.* wash face.

sam-pil *n.* comb for the hair.

su-gal-a *vt.* wash things, such as clothes or dishes.

ba-ra *n.* cloth, clothes.

6.6 Kinship and Family

a-pa *n.* father.

a-wang, wang-gip-a *n.* father’s younger brother, mother’s younger sister’s husband, stepfather.

at-chu, at-chu-gip-a *n.* grandfather.

ma-ma, ma-ma-gip-a, ma-ma-tang *n.* mother’s brother. <B
or-bit-e, u-bit-i, ho-bit-e *n.* father-in-law.

pa-a, pa-gip-a *n.* father.

pa-jong *n.* father’s older brother, mother’s older sister’s husband.

a-jong, ma-jong *n.* mother’s older sister; father’s elder brother’s wife.

a-ma *n.* mother, mom.

a-ni, ma-ni *n.* father’s sister, mother’s brother’s wife, mother-in-law.

am-bi *n.* grandmother.

ma-ni, a-ni *n.* father’s sister, mother’s brother’s wife, mother-in-law.

ma-de, ma-di, a-de, a-di *n.* mother’s younger sister, father’s younger brother’s wife, aunt, stepmother.

ma-gip-a *n.* mother.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a-da</td>
<td>elder brother, mother’s elder sister’s son, elder father’s elder brother’s son, elder parallel cousin-brother.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a-da-gip-a</td>
<td>younger brother, mother’s younger sister’s son, father’s younger brother’s son, younger parallel cousin-brother.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a-da-tang</td>
<td>man or woman’s younger sister’s husband, spouse’s older brother, reciprocal term between men.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gu-me</td>
<td>man or woman’s older sister’s husband.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gu-mi</td>
<td>daughter-in-law.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gu-me-gip-a</td>
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de-me-chik, de-me-chik-gip-a, di-mi-chik  n. daughter.
de-pan-te, di-pan-ti  n. son.
gri, gri-gip-a, gri-tang, ang-gri  n. cross nephew, woman’s brother’s son, man’s sister’s son.
nam-chik, ang-nam-chik  n. man’s sister’s daughter, woman’s brother’s daughter, cross-niece, niece, daughter-in-law.
nok-krom  n. male heir, resident son-in-law.
su-gip-a, ang-su  n. grandchild.

a-ma-a-pa  n. mother and father, parents.
am-bi-at-chu  n. grandfather and grandmother, old people, ancestors.
jik-se  n. wife and husband, couple.
chat-chi  n. kin, kinsman.
jak-a-si  n. the opposite kin group, left, left hand.
ma’-chong  n. kin group, lineage, named group, such as Nok-rek, Cham-bu-gong, etc.

chra, chra-tang, chra-gip-a  n. men of a man’s wife’s lineage.

ang-bak  n. close kinsman.
kam’-dak  n. real kin, immediate kin, closely related.
de-chap, di-chap  n. twin.
de-jak-ra, di-jak-ra  n. first child, oldest child.
jik-sek-a  vt. marry by starting to live together without formal steps; steal a wife; take someone else’s wife.
kim-a  vt. marry, get married: me-chik me-a-sa-ko kim-a the woman marries the man.

chap-a, dong-na chap-a, dong-chap-a  vt. give a second spouse; attach, join, put beside; pile up, as leaves, cloth, paper; attach, join.
gal-grik-a  vt. mutually dispose of, divorce each other.
jik gal-a, jik-ko wat-a  vt. divorce, (lit. throw away one’s wife).
se-gal-a, se-ko gal-a  vt. divorce, (lit. throw away one’s husband).
ma’-dong  n. incest, sexual relations or marriage within a named lineage.

6.7 Life Cycle

at-chi-a  vi. be born.
ba’a  vt. give birth, bear child; carry child in cloth on hip, back or front.
tang-a  vi. live, alive.
ak-sot-a  vt. kill by twisting the neck.
ra-sot-a  vt. kill by cutting, slicing, as one kills a chicken.
si-a  vi. die; go out, of fire, lamp: git-ok si-a be hoarse, (lit. throat dies); gro si-a settle a legal case; ja-jong si-a dark of the moon, (lit. moon dies).
so’-ot-a  vt. kill.
6.8 People

man-de, man-di  n. person, human being; specifically, a member of the Garo ethnic group.
me-a, mi-a, me-a-sa, mi-a-sa  n. man, adult male; me-a pi-sa male child, boy.
me-chik, mi-chik, me-chik-sa  n. woman, adult female; me-chik pi-sa woman-child, girl.
gen-da  n. infant, baby who is not yet walking. <B
pi-sa, di-sa  n. child, (A-chik: bi-sa). -pi-sa dns. young animal, occasionally used for young of plants; a small example of objects: mongma-pi-sa baby elephant; jak-si-pi-sa little finger; te-rik pi-sa young banana plant; profit, interest on a loan.
me-tra, mi-tra  n. unmarried woman, young woman, adolescent girl.
pan-te, pan-ti  n. bachelor, unmarried youth, adolescent boy.
bu-ra  n. old man, husband. <B
bu-ri  n. old woman, wife. <B
ba-ju  n. friend.

7.0 Human Qualities: Mind, Intellect, Emotions

7.1 Language

ku-sik  n. language; mouth; opening of a pot, etc.
man-de-ku, man-di-ku, man-de-ku-sik  n. the Mande language, the Garo language.
a-gan-a  vt. talk, speak, say.
bol-a  vi. talk, inform. <B
in-a  vi. say, it was said, when reporting another’s speech; tell, order.
bik-bat-a  vi. make a mistake when talking, weaving, etc.
bim-ming, bi-mung  n. name, personal name, name given by parents or at baptism, not including the lineage name.
de-a, di-a  vt. belong to a named kin group, assign to a ma-chong (lineage) such as Nok-rek, or to an exogamous group such as Ma-rak:
ang-ko Ma-rak di-a I am a Marak, Marak names me.
mia-a  vt. name, call, for personal names, not for family or lineage names:
Ming-ji ang-ko mia-a I am named Ming-ji, (lit. Ming-ji (is the name that) names me).
ring-gam-a  vt. call, call out, cry out to someone, call together, call by personal name.
bo-a, bu-a  vi. speak incorrectly, say something untrue, whether in error, in jest, or in order to deceive.
-bru-  aa. falsely, pretending; in-bru-a tell wrongly; jom-bru-a pretend to be sick; dak-bru-a pretend; ni-bru-a see, watch, without being noticed.

re-jil-a  vi. joke, tease, especially among some kinsmen, as between brothers-in-law, or with a grandchild.

boi  n. book (Archik ki-tap). <B


kol-om  n. pencil, pen. <B

chrík-a  vi. scream, shout.

grap-a  vi. cry, weep, wail for the dead.

ka’-ding-a  vi. laugh, smile.

kur-sim-ok-a  vi. whistle.

7.3 Speech Acts

a-gan-grik-a  vi. talk to each other, converse.

a-gan-chak-a  vt. answer, reply: nang-ni ko-ta-ko ang-a a-gan-chak-a I answered your words.

sing-a  vi. ask, question, question witnesses at a legal meeting; bark, of dogs.

je-chak-a, ji-chak-a  vt. refuse, deny.

ma-ni-a  vt. follow instructions, obey, do as another suggests; worship.

ka-chak-a  vt. speak angrily, scold angrily, bawl out, insult.

mal-mok-a  vt. encourage, soothe, give comfort, as to a fussing child.

bi’-a  vt. ask, request, pray.

7.4 The Mind

ai’-a, hai’-a  vt. know, understand.

be-be ra’-a, bi-bi ra’-a  vt. believe, take to be true.


gi-sik  n. the mind.

seng-a  vi. alert, smart, clever, intelligent; bright, brilliant, shine, grow light as at dawn.

gi-sik ra’-a, gi-sik ra’-rik-a  vph. remember.

gu-al-a  vi. forget.

sim-sak-a  vi. careful, think ahead.

sin-ing-a  vt. teach, learn: na’-a ang-na Man-di kur-sik-ko sin-ing-a you are teaching me the Mandi language.

7.5 Human Qualities

man’-a  vi. be able, can; find, get, accomplish, achieve, finish: bal-wa man’-ing-a wind blows; sol-di man’-ing-a have a cold.
bil  n. strength.
bil-man-a  vi. have strength to, have the means to; often used in negative as bil-man-ja lack the means.
chak-a  vt. endure, put up with, suffer, bear, stand, take refuge: chak-chik-a put up with, tolerate, endure, stand suffering.

7.7 Emotions

an'-seng-a, han'-seng-a  vi. happy, joyful; dance, celebrate.
nam-nik-a, nam-e nik-a  vt. like.
sin-a  vt. like, want to, be attracted to.
mat-u-a  vt. greedy, covet, yearn for a person or thing, fall in love.
al-ak-si  vi. selfish, stingy.
am-a, ham-a  vt. want, desire, ask for, (usually with a noun object)
m-i-ko am-a want rice; be about to, on the point of, almost, (usually with an infinitive verb complement) cha-na am-a about to eat.
a-sik-a, ha-sik-a  vt. want to, wish to, desire, (usually with an infinitive verb complement): ko-bol-ko kin-na na a-sik-a want to hear the news.
ka-dong-a  vt. hope.
nang-a  vt. must, need, require.
ka-sa-chak-a  vt. sympathize with, pity.
sim-bra-a  vi. miss, be lonely for, worry about, homesick, have nostalgia for.
kra cha-a  vi. modest, embarrassed, ashamed.
ken-a  vi. be afraid.
bi-ka so-a, bi-ka su-a  vt. angry at.

7.9 Sleep, Consciousness, Fatigue

neng-a  vi. tired. -neng-. aa. tired: bil-neng-a tired; mik-neng-a don’t want to see, tired of seeing; ja-neng-a have tired legs; ku-neng-a tired voice.
neng-tak-a  vi. rest, take a rest.
chu-a  vi. sleep.
heng-gok  n. snore. heng-gok ra-a vph. snore, (lit. take a snore).

8.0 Social Institutions

8.1 Government and Law

bi-chal, bi-char, bi-sar  n. meeting to settle a legal dispute, village trial.
<B
be-wal, bi-wal  n. habit, custom, convention.
ha-song, a'-song  n. country, nation, native place.
song  n. village.

8.3 Quarrel, Fight, War and Peace

bo-bil  n. enemy.
me-li-a, mi-li-a  vi. get along well, not fight, peaceful, good relationship; go together well, of things, words. <B
ni-ri-a  vt. quarrel, dispute, get along badly.
deng-gu  n. bad person, naughty person; often used affectionately for children, rascal.
dak-grik-a  vi. fight.
ku-ching-a  vt. threaten.

8.4 Economics

a-tot  n. property of a single individual, including land, goods, rice, etc.; agricultural plot used by a single member of a family, often by a young unmarried person.
nok-jam  n. property, (lit. house-granary).
dil-a  vi. poor, impoverished.
nok-ma  n. rich person, wealthy person; traditional village leader, headman.
bre-a, bri-a  vt. buy.
pal-a  vt. sell.
a-ti, ha-ti  n. market, market place, bazaar (A'chik an-ti).

8.5 Religious and Ceremonial Life

ka-mal  n. priest of the traditional religion.
Sang-sa-rek  n. the Mandi name for the traditional religion of the Garos, (A'chik: Song-sa-rek).
jang-gi  n. life, soul, vital essence of a person.
sik-a  vt. provide the jang-gi (life, soul) by the creator; put on, of hat, bracelet; insert, put in, stick in, sew, poke, jab, plant in mud.
I-sol  n. the Christian God. <B
me-mang, mi-mang  n. ghost, beings that are invisible but that frighten people.
mit-e, mit-i  n. spirits, gods, unseen beings that create things, cause thunder, etc., and cause disease when they bite.
a-mu-a  vt. sacrifice, make a ceremonial offering to the mit-e (spirits) of rice, curry, etc., place before an altar.
chin-a  vt. offer, make a ceremonial offering to the mit-e (spirits) of rice, curry, etc., place before an alter; serve to people, as rice beer or rice.
do-bik ni-a, du-bik ni-a *vt.* inspect a fowl’s intestines for omens, esp. the inspection for omens that is a central part of a marriage ceremony.
do-dok-a, du-dok-a *vt.* kill a domestic fowl; name given to the traditional marriage ceremony at which a chicken sacrifice is the central event, and where the intestines are inspected for omens.
gal-a *vt.* pour rice beer as an offering at a sacrifice; throw away, dispose of; divorce.
Wan-a, Wan-gal-a *vi.* hold the traditional autumn festival that was the major annual ceremony of the Garos. **Wan-gal-a n.**
kim-a *n.* memorial post that is set up to honor a dead person.

**8.8 Games, Recreation, Festivals, Music**

ring-a *n.* sing.
sik-a *vt.* blow, play horn, whistle, flute; use a bamboo tube to blow up a fire.
a-du-ri, a-dru *n.* musical horn made from a buffalo horn attached to a long bamboo blowing tube.
da-ma *n.* drum.
rang *n.* gong, a traditional musical instrument and valued heirloom.

**8.9 Illness**

jom-a *vi.* be sick, suffer, have fever.
a-gok *n.* deaf.
sol-di *n.* cold, sniffles. &B
ka-kit-a *vi.* itch.
sa-dik-a *vi.* hurt, ache, be painful; burning taste of chilies.
sko sa-dik-a, sku sa-dik-a *vi.* headache.
ang-ki-sa-a, hang-ki-sa-a *vi.* open sore, skin ulcer.
ong-kat-a *vi.* come out, of skin diseases; come out, appear, emerge.
rip-om-a *vi.* swell up, of parts of the body.
bik-ma re-a, bik-ma kat-a *vi.* diarrhea, (lit. stomach goes, stomach runs).
chi-gal-a *vi.* vomit.
sam *n.* medicine; grass, herb; curry.

**9.0 Verbs**

**9.1 Aspect, Modals, Auxiliaries, Start, Finish**

dak-a *vt.* do, make, behave, act as; be like, look like.
dong-a *vi.* there is, there are; have, belong; be at, reside, dwell; be married to.
**dong-ba-a** vi. stay for a while, stop while passing.

**man-a** vi. be able, can, find, get, accomplish, achieve; blow, of wind:
- **bal-wa man-ing-a** the wind is blowing; **sol-di man-ing-a** have a cold.

**ong-a** vi. be, exist, be equivalent to.

**a’-ba-cheng-a** vt. begin.

**ta-ri-a** vt. prepare. vi. get ready.

**bon’-a** vi. done, come to an end, finished, used up.

**bon’-chot-a** vi. finished, of a job, etc.; used up.

**chon’-a** vt. finish, complete, use up.

### 9.2 Inanimate States and Actions

**chip-a** vi. closed, of doors, boxes, eyes, etc. **-chip-a** aa. without seeing, hidden, shut off: **sur-chip-a** pierce into blindly, without seeing; **git-tam-chip-a** went one’s pants, wet one’s bed; **rim-chip-a** grab something not seen; **sin-chip-a** cool off when the clouds cover the sun.

**o-a, u-a** vi. open, of doors, boxes, etc.

**ran-a** vi. dry out, become dry, of objects, hair, etc.; **git-ok ran-a** vi. thirsty, (lit. throat dry).

**so-si-a** vi. wet.

**tip-a** vi. dry up, stop raining, stop flowing, of puddles, pools, streams, rain, breast, well, etc.

**ru-a** vt. pour liquid, slower and more carefully than **pak-a**; take down, take apart, of thatch, a fence, a basket; take down a house.

**ko-a, ku-a** vt. draw water up from an open well, dip out water.

**ku-a, ko-a** vt. draw water up from an open well, dip out water.

**dit-a** vi. filled with liquid, water behind a barrier, breasts with milk; filter through ashes to obtain soda.

**jro-a, jru-a** vt. swim, of people, fish, etc.

**be-a, bi-a** vi. break, of solid things such as walls, pots; not used for linear things like string, etc.

**be-tong-a, bi-tong-a** vi. break into two pieces, broken off.

**bret-a** vi. burst, burst open, split, crack.

**chot-a** vi. break, come apart, tear apart, disconnect, of linear things such as string.

**chot-tong-a** vi. broken off, broken in two, torn clear through, of linear things such as string.

**cham-a** vi. worn down; become dull, of tools; worn smooth, of shoes, stools, roads, pots, etc.

**chit-a** vt. tear, of cloth or paper; split bamboo when making strips.
9.3 Body Use

-ang-  aa. shows movement away from speaker, in that direction; bil-ang-a fly away.
-ba-  aa. shows movement toward speaker, in this direction: re-ba-a come; bil-ba-a fly in this direction, fly here.
i-a  vi. go, come, (same as re-a).
i-ang-a  vi. go.
i-ang-pil-a  vi. go back, return.
i-ba-a  vi. come.
i-ba-pil-a  vi. come back, return to here.
re-a, ri-a  vi. go, come.
re-ang-a  vi. go, move away.

jok-a  vi. escape, get loose, get out, by people, animals, water, things.

ma-rang jok-a vt. be rid of ma-rang (taboo, pollution).

nap-a  vi. enter, go in, come in; set, of the sun, moon.

ong-kat-a, hong-kat-a  vi. come out, appear, emerge; come out, of skin diseases.
sok-a  vi. arrive, reach. -sok- aa. arrive, reach: rang-sok-a get one’s breath; am-sok-a confident, able to manage; chu-sok-a enough, enough to reach; mik-sok-a hope, suspect.
pil-a  vi. return, go back, come back; transform, as from human to a tiger and back again. -pil- aa. return, reverse, again: i-ba-pil-a come back, return; pang-pil-a reversed, upside down; am-pil-a turn away, turn around.
wai-pil-a  vi. come back, return. vt. return, as a loan, give back.

kat-a  vi. run, run away.
grong-a  ut. meet.

chrok-a  vi. jump, of frogs, children, etc.

ga-do-a, ga-du-a  vi. climb, climb up, as a tree; get on, as a bus.

jit-a  vi. move, shift one’s location, as to give someone room to sit; change residence.

mal-a  vi. crawl, of children, lizards, bugs, etc.; want to be with, come to lovingly, as a child comes to his grandfather, or an animal pet to its owner.

ga-a  vi. step; wear, put on, of shoes, socks.

ga-ak-a  vi. fall, fall down, of people or things; fall into, be a part of; count as kin, as belong in a kinship relation. -gak- aa. fall: gong-gak-a fall off, fall apart, of tools, posts; gak-gak-a flop, droop, like the head of a small baby.

am-pil-a, ham-pil-a  vi. turn, turn away, turn around; turn over, as in bed; reverse; vt. turn over, turn around, stir, sweep rice into a teng-ki hole.
ja-rik-a  vt. follow behind another person.

at-chong-a, a-song-a  vi. sit, sit down.

cha-deng-a  vi. stand, stand up.

cha-kat-a  vi. stand up, get to standing position; get up from sleeping, be standing.

dim-breng-a  vi. stand erect; straight, direct, of roads, a house wall; in line, like areca palms; having a direct and clear manner of speaking.

dim-breng-dim-breng  adv.

bam-a  vi. bow, less deeply than bam-gok-a, lean forward, lean over from the waist.

9.4 Gestures

at-ching-a  vi. sneeze.

bu-su-a  vi. cough.

jak-si-ot-a  vi. point, point to, show.

git-tam-a  vi. urinate. n. urine.

ke-em-a  vi. defecate. n. feces, dung.

9.5 Manipulations

ra-ron-a  vt. take down, put down, unload; separate; reject, as to reject someone who is not of the right kin group.

ja-ri-a  vt. sift by shaking vigorously, what is done to rice in a gen-chi (round rice tray).

ra-a  vt. bring, get, take, receive objects: gro ra-a receive a fine, get compensation; jin-ang ra-a take a loan, receive a loan, borrow; po-ri-ka ra-a give an examination, what teachers do, receive the exam paper.

ra-ang-a  vt. take, take away.

ra-ba-a  vt. bring, bring in this direction.

ra-sek-a  vt. take by force, remove a thing or a person by force, as when a family takes back a member from an unsuitable marriage.

man-rik-a  vt. get back something given away or lost, recover; obtain, receive, keep; inherit.

rim-a  vt. catch, capture, grab, hold, touch, handle; work; lead a legal case; follow the law.

sik-a  vt. grab, hold, capture, seize, get, obtain; make a legal case; catch thieves.

ba-tom-a  vt. carry a child in the arms or on the back without a carrying cloth.

chil-a  vt. lift or carry on the shoulder or head, generally of heavy objects such as a log or a shoulder pole, lift with the shoulder.
ke-a, ki-a  vt. hold or carry by hanging, as by a strap from the waist or shoulder, of things wrapped in a hanging cloth; carry a large pot on the hip.

oi-a, hol-a  vt. carry or hold from tump line; wear na-rik-i (bunch of large earrings) as protection against head hunting.

rip-e-a, rip-i-a  vt. carry on the shoulder, as a log.

brin-a  vt. mix, mix together, as rice and curry, cement and sand.

chim-ong-a  vt. gather things, collect; gather people together.

tom-a  vt. gather, bunch up, collect, call together, pile up, rake into a pile, as rice; wind up thread; pull up, gather up, gather into a bunch, of a sleeve, pant leg, lunggi, etc.; bend together, of legs, waist or, esp., arms.

brang-a  vi. lose one’s way, get lost.

jok-a  vi. escape, get loose, get out, by people, animals, water, things.

ma-rang jok-a  vt. be rid of ma-rang (taboo).

gal-a  vt. throw away, dispose of; divorce; pour rice beer as an offering at a sacrifice. -gal- aa. take off, get rid of, throw away: sal-gal-a put away, as sleeping mat; king-gal-a uncover; su-gal-a wash clothes, dishes, etc.; wak-gal-a vomit.

go-a, gu-a  vt. throw, scatter; broadcast seeds, plant; cast fishnet; play out cards; shoot gun.

jak-wat-a  vt. let drop from hand; let go of: ang-a ko-lom-ko jak-wat-a I let the pen slip and fall.

nang-a, nang-ting-a, nang-ting-dat-a  vt. touch, bump into something, as a tree; hit a mark, hit with something, as with something thrown.

dok-a  vt. beat, knock, hit, tap, beat drum; make, forge iron tools; create, as a god creates people.

brik-a  vt. scratch one’s self to soothe.

ku.-ak-a  vt. scratch to hurt, with claws or nails, by animals or people; claw like a cat; scrape off the excess wet mud of a wall during house construction.

nong-a  vt. rub, kneed, as muscles; smear on; mix, as rice and curry when eating; grind finely.

rim-rok-a  vt. rub, rub along, rub with the palm, massage, kneed sore muscles, soothe by stroking; rub in order to clean; rub someone’s arm in requesting, beseeching; pet an animal; brush off dirt from body.

rip-ak-a  vt. rub or smear on, of powder, nail polish, medicine on skin; rub oil on gongs to make them look fine.

not-a  vt. scour, scrub, scrape, of skin, pots, etc.; clean by scrubbing, clean teeth.

bu-a  vt. pierce, prick; penetrate by a bu-su (thorn); cut through the dirt, by a plow.
**dat-a** *vt.* pound into, as a nail, as dried fish into a bamboo container, as a stake into the ground; insert a tool blade into a handle.

**sik-a** *vt.* insert, put in, stick in, poke, jab; sew; plant, esp. for rice in mud; put on, wear, of things requiring insertion such as a hat or bracelet; give life, provide the *jang-gi* (life, soul) by the creator; *mik-gil sik-a* close eyes, (lit. put into the eyelids).

**song-a** *vt.* set up, as post.

**su-a** *vt.* pierce, stab, spear; inject medicine; cut open; pound rice, husk; pound into a tube; bite, of snakes.

**go-ok-a** *vt.* come apart, come loose, come out of, as a tool handle, cork; fall out, be pulled out, plucked, of hair, of feathers; fall down, of a lunggi; *-gok-* *aa.* separated, broken apart.

**ok-a** *vt.* pull out, of plugs, corks, plants when weeding, etc.; unbutton; take off clothes that require insertion, of shoes, hat, shirt, lunggi; disconnect. *-ok-* *aa.* come apart, take apart, separate: *sal-ok-a* pull out; *go-ok-a* come apart, come loose; *po-ok-a* take off, take out, of hats, corks; *sol-ok-a* carve, as a memorial post.

**bik-a** *vt.* carve, cut into shape, cut hair, carve a tooth on the top of a memorial post.

**chit-a** *vt.* split, cut into thin pieces, esp. for bamboo; tear, of paper, cloth.

**den-a** *vt.* cut, chop, cut by striking blows.

**pit-a** *vt.* split, chop firewood; split bamboo; cut into small pieces.

**rat-a** *vt.* cut by slicing; cut with sickle as one harvests rice; cut off mud from a house wall to smooth it.

**sol-a** *vt.* carve, cut off pieces, esp. from the surface, to reduce the size of a wooden piece; scrape off mud from the walls of a new house to make them smooth; remove bark, trim, whittle; skin an animal.

**sot-a** *vt.* chop, cut firewood.

**bak-a, ha-bak-a** *vt.* dig, chop out dirt in order to use it for something, often with a large *ko-dal* (digging hoe).

**bik-kot-a** *vt.* extract, excavate, dig up, as root crops; show, reveal, as showing hands from the sleeve; take apart; discover, find out.

**bil-a** *vt.* dig out in order to get such things as tubers, bamboo roots.

**cho-a** *vt.* dig out, as for a post or to harvest root crops.

**dap-a** *vt.* bury, fill a hole; cover; close eyes. *-dap-* *aa.* cover over, pile on, wrap: *ha-dap-a* bury; *grip-dap-a* pile up, set on top; *ru-dap-a* pour over; *on-dap-a* put on top of crossing pieces when basket weaving; *at-chong-dap-a* sit on, cover something by sitting on it; *pin-dap-a* cover, as with a blindfold; smooth over furrows of a plowed field; *sal-ko ga-dil-a* *pin-dap-ing-a* the clouds cover the sun; *mit-dap-a* close, as a bottle; *gan-dap-a* tuck in; *wil-wil-dap-a* wrap around; *on-jet-dap-a* put something heavy on top of something else.
bin-ek-a  *vi.* crushed, of crops knocked down by cattle, etc.; squashed, of bananas, etc; ground up, broken up, as dry earth; softened, as cooked meat.

jak-kal-a  *vt.* use.

**9.6 Manipulations: Focus on the Object**

**an-a**  *vt.* spread under, spread out, of things that go under something else, as mats, mattresses, banana leaves as plates.

**gat-a**  *vt.* place on, load, put on top of; cover, as one’s head; put or carry on the shoulder or head; pile up, as cloth; build a mud house; set trap; hang clothes, jawbones; attach; give a second or replacement spouse; put into a cradle; give a name to someone, as at baptism: *ja'-chok gat-a* sit with ankles or lower legs crossed: *man-di pi-sa jo-loi gat-e mo-jim-a* the baby having been put in the cloth cradle, rocks.  *-gat-a* add, cover, put on top: *so'-gat-a* push into fire; *de'-gat-a* lift, load; *ra'-gat-a* adopt a child.

**pin-a**  *vt.* cover with, spread over, as with a blanket, thatch on a roof: *bi-a lep-ko pin-e chu-a* he sleeps with a blanket spread over (him).

**bil-a**  *vt.* roll up, as a mat; wrap.  *bi-gro bai-bai bil-a* roll up, starting from the long dimension.  *gip-eng-pang bil-a* roll up starting from the short dimension.  *gro-gro bil-a* roll up starting from the long dimension.

**chap-a**  *vt.* place in layers, pile up, as leaves, cloth, paper; attach, join; put beside, put together; give a second wife to a man.  *-chap-a* join, attach, pile up: *ka-chap-a* tie together; *nang-chap-a* touching; *nang-chap-grik-a* touching each other; *dong-chap-a* give a second wife to a man; *ra'-chap-a* take together; take something with something else; *sik-chap-a* sew together.

**eng-a**  *vt.* untie, untied.

**ka-a**  *vt.* tie, tie with string, rope, or by twisting with flexible bamboo strips; put on, wear, of a turban; build by tying, of a fence, a barrier in a stream; make friends.

**to-a, tu-a**  *vt.* measure the length, weight, etc.

**don-a**  *vt.* put, place, put aside, omit.

**9.7 Human Relations**

**on-a, hon-a, ron-a**  *vt.* give; put; apply, as paint; pay a fine, compensation; give a loan; officiate at a marriage; take an examination (what students do); hand in an examination, (see ron- for compounds).

**ra'-chak-a**  *vt.* accept, receive, as objects; catch a thrown object; obey, follow instructions, orders or advice.
ron-a, on-a, hon-a  vt. give, put; apply, as paint; pay a fine, compensation; give a loan; po-ri-ka ron-a take an examination (what students do), hand or give in the exam; bi-a ron-a perform a marriage, officiate at a marriage.

wat-a, wat-et-a  vt. let go, release; settle, finalize; fire from a job; quit smoking; send a letter, etc.; let animals run loose; abandon, throw away.

dak-chak-a  vt. help.

dil-a  vt. guide, lead, show how. -dil- aa. lead, guide, show the way, cause: cha-dil-a feed; ken-dil-a frighten; ha-bu-dil-a give someone a bath; dong-dil-a care for a baby or small child.

dong-tim-a  vt. wait, stay and watch; guard, look after.

jil-a  vt. care for, support, have responsibility for children, old people, animals.

ma-ni-a  vt. follow instructions, obey, do as another suggests; worship.

bang-kang-a  vt. prohibit, prevent, deny passage, obstruct.

peng-a  vt. block off, hinder, prevent, stop, protect, block from view. -peng- aa. obstruct: chang-peng-a blocked off; dong-peng-a obstruct; chu-peng-a prevent, obstruct.

mang-kal-a  vt. play games, tease, fuss with, fool around, do mischief; annoy, disturb, as children do: di-sa-ko mang-kal-a joke, fool around with the child.
390 Intermediate Word List
This list provides a way of finding a Mandi word that is needed to express a meaning, but it is not an English to Mandi dictionary. Rather, it is an index to the Lexicon, which forms the first and largest part of this volume. One should not expect an English word to be translatable by just one simple equivalent word in Mandi, but instead, the various meanings of an English word are likely to be expressed by a number of different Mandi words. Similarly, some meanings of several English words may be expressed by the same word in Mandi. This means that to use this list effectively, you must look for the Mandi word in the Lexicon. The numbers in the entries here will guide you to the appropriate section. There you are likely to find several words with related meanings, and you can look for the word that best suits the meaning that you want to express.

**abandon**: wat-a *vt* (9.72)
**abbreviated**: -kim-bak-* aa (2.215), tong*-kap-a *vi* (2.215), tong*-kap-a *vi* (2.215), tong*-tang-ga-tang *adv* (7.14)
**able**: ham-sok-a *vi* (7.55), man*-a *vi* (7.55)
**aboriginal**: a-di-ba-si *n* (6.89)
**about to**: ham*-a *vt* (7.725)
**above**: sak-a-o *pp* (1.11)
**accept**: ra*-chak-a *vt* (9.531)
**accompany**: i*-ang-par*-a *vi* (9.312)
**accomplish**: chur-sok-a *vt* (9.14)
**accusative**: -ko *cm* (0.12)
**accuse**: a-mut-a *vt* (7.36), pot-a *vt* (7.36)
**ache**: sar-dik-a *vi* (8.94)
**acre**: e-kor *n* (5.12)
**act**: dak-a *vt* (9.11)
actual: chong'-mot n (3.44)
actually: a-sol-e adv (3.44)
adam's apple: git-ok-do-chi n (6.241)
add to curry: gek-a vt (5.46)
add: sik-mik-a vt (5.46)
addition: a-gre pp (1.16)
additional: a-ro adv (3.348)
advice: ku-chi kan-a vph (7.37)
advise: bu-jai-a vs (7.37)
afraid: han-srik-han-srik adv (7.764), ken-a vi (7.764)
after: ja-man pp (1.12), po-re pp (1.12)
afternoon: ar-tam n (2.52)
again: -tal- aa (2.71), a-ro adv (3.348), da-o-ba adv (2.71), pil-a vi (9.135)
age: boi-os n (2.51)
ago: a-ge n (2.62), cheng-o lw (2.62), skang lw (2.62)
agree: kin-a-chak-a vt (7.33), ku-chak-a vi (7.32), ku-mong-a vi (7.33),
kur-raj-chak-a vi (7.33)
agreement: chuk-ti n (8.435), mi-mang-sa n (8.15)
aim: sin-il-a vt (9.46)
alike: ap-san n (3.433)
alive: tang-a vi (6.77)
all day: sal-prak adv (2.53), sal-si-si adv (2.53)
all night: wal-si-si adv (2.53)
all: -tok- aa (3.343), be-bak n (3.343), dim-dak n (3.343), gum-ik n (3.343),
sop n (3.343)
almost: dak-ri adv (3.341), ham-a vt (7.725), nam-hang adv (3.453), prai
adv (3.348)
alone: ak-sa adv (3.344)
along with: -pa- aa (0.41), gin-ang pp (1.16)
along: -jol-jol- aa (3.343)
also: -ba ns (0.14)
alternate: chang-e-chang-e adv (2.71)
aluminum: bo-gin-a n (5.868)
always: jring-jring adv (2.71), pang-na adv (2.71)
among: gi-sep-o pp (1.11)
ancestors: am-bi-at-chu n (6.62)
and: ar *conj* (1.4)
angry: bi-ka so-a *vt* (7.766), hel’-hel *adv* (7.766), ka’-o-nang-a *vt* (7.766)
animals wild: mat-bring *n* (4.40), mat-cha mak-bil *n* (4.40)
animals: dor-mat *n* (4.40), mang- *cls* (1.31)
ankle bells: ja’-srang *n* (6.564)
ankle: ja’-git-ok *n* (6.238)
announce: a-gan-e don-a *vi* (7.34)
annoy: bot-a *vt* (7.36), mang-kal-a *vt* (9.78), mang-meng-dil-a *vt* (9.78)
annoyed: man’-dik-a *vi* (9.78)
anoint: sit-a *vt* (9.556)
another: a-git-cha *n* (5.453), gip-in *n* (3.437), gip-in *n* (3.437)
answer: a-gan-chak-a *vt* (7.32), in-chak-a *vi* (7.32), ku’-chak-a *vi* (7.32)
antihill: ha’-pru *n* (4.475)
anticipate: hai’-chak-a *vt* (7.48)
anus: ki’-sam-bu *n* (6.243)
anxious: ting-ting-a *vi* (7.764)
anymore: -ku- *aa* (0.41)
anywhere: ba-no-ba *adv* (2.13)
apart: ok-a *vt* (9.572)
appear: na-a *vi* (3.512), nik-a *vt* (3.512), ong’-kat-a *vi* (9.313)
apply: pa-a *vt* (9.556), sit-a *vt* (9.556)
appoint: ba-nai-a *vt* (9.13)
apportion: ma’-at-a *vt* (8.427), su-al-a *vt* (8.427)
appropriate: ke’-a *vt* (6.657), kra-a *vi* (6.657)
approximately: prai *adv* (3.348)
area: ha’-dok *n* (2.11)
areca: gu-a *n* (5.22)
argue at legal meeting: je-a *vt* (7.27)
ard pit: pak-wal *n* (6.233)
ard: jak *n* (6.233)
aroused: gang-a *vi* (6.72)
arrive: sok-a *vi* (9.313)
arow: gol’-chok *n* (5.845)
arum: ta’-ring *n* (5.27)
ash: ang-gal *n* (5.421)
ashe: har’-dip-u *n* (5.421)
ask, request: bi’-a *vt* (7.38)
ask question: sing’-a *vi* (7.32)
ask: ham’-a *vt* (7.725)
asleep (legs: chim-it-a *vi* (3.64)
at: -o *cm* (0.12)
athlete’s foot: ja’-si git-ok chot-a *vi* (8.953)
attach: chap-a vt (9.647), pa'-a vt (9.556), rit-chu-a vt (9.63)
attack: ding-a vt (8.36)
attempt: ches-ta dak-a vt (7.725)
attention: gi-sik ron-a vph (7.47)
attract: mal-et-a vt (7.38), mong-a vt (7.38)
 augury: a-si n (8.52)
aunt (FaSi): ma-ni n (6.612)
aunt (MoOlSi): ma'-jong n (6.612)
aunt (MoYoSi): ma'-de n (6.612)
 auto: ga-ri n (5.86)
avoid: eng-ki-a vi (7.744), gel-a vt (9.317)
 awake: mik-gil rak-a vi (7.97), mik-gil-ak-a vi (7.97)
 away: -ang- aa (9.312)
 axe: ru-a n (5.832)
 baby napkin: ki-tap n (6.521)
 baby: a-wa git-chak n (6.822), a-wa n (6.822), gen-da n (6.822)
bachelor: pan-te n (6.824)
 back and forth: ru-ra-ru-ra adv (9.315), ru-rat-ru-rat adv (9.315)
 back to back: tik-grik-a vi (9.349)
 back up: bit-in-a vi (9.312)
 back: jang-gil n (6.243)
 backbone: bol-gro n (6.28)
 backwards: ki-sang-cha-na adv (2.14)
 bag: bek n (6.521)
 bait: a-dal n (4.487), du'-a vt (4.49)
bald: chi-kil-ang-a vi (6.26), ko-ka-rok adv (6.26)
bamboo surface: bi-sil n (4.679)
bamboo: war- n (4.637)
banana bud: te-rik so-bak n (5.22)
banana flower: so-bak n (4.676)
banana leaf: he-sal n (4.675)
banana: te-rik n (5.22)
bandid: da-k(3,5),(997,996)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Mandi</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Mandi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>base of mountain:</td>
<td>ja-pang n (4.232)</td>
<td>basket:</td>
<td>kok n (5.852), to-ra n (5.852)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bathe:</td>
<td>ha-bu-a vi (6.57), ha-bu-dil-a vt (6.57)</td>
<td>bawl out:</td>
<td>sa-wi-a vt (7.27)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beautiful to hear:</td>
<td>kin-a-to-a vi (3.624)</td>
<td>beautiful:</td>
<td>ni-to-a vi (3.455), pang-si-ri-ri adv (3.554)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>because:</td>
<td>a-sel pp (1.13), gan-da pp (1.13), gim-in pp (1.13), mik-ta pp (1.13), pal pp (1.13)</td>
<td>bend over:</td>
<td>gok-gok-a vi (9.41)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beg:</td>
<td>gil-a vt (8.449)</td>
<td>beggar:</td>
<td>ma-gi-a-ri n (8.41)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>belfruit:</td>
<td>bel-ki n (5.636)</td>
<td>belch:</td>
<td>rang-ra-a vi (9.44)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bell:</td>
<td>bel n (5.872), gon-ta n (2.53)</td>
<td>belong:</td>
<td>dong-a vi (9.11)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>below:</td>
<td>ka-ma pp (1.11)</td>
<td>below:</td>
<td>ka-ma pp (1.11)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bed:</td>
<td>be-gop-a vi (9.212)</td>
<td>benefit:</td>
<td>lap n (8.442)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
bent: -gok- aa (9.348), gong-ge-a vi (2.318), kong- krot-a vi (2.318)
beseech: mol- mol-a vi (7.38)
beside: -sam dns (0.16), av- sam-o pp (1.11), ja- sam-o pp (1.11), ket-chi-o pp (1.11)
besides: ur-ni-ko conj (1.4)
between: gi-sep-o pp (1.11)
beyond: pak-sa-cha lw (2.11), sak-o pp (1.11)
bicycle: sai-kel n (5.872)
big around: ding-dang adv (3.435)
big: -ma dns (2.213), dal- a vi (2.213), rong-dal-a vi (2.211)
bird basket: do- gring n (5.852)
bird coop: chi-dik n (5.622), do- chi-dik n (5.852)
bird: do- n (4.43)
birth: ba- a vt (6.77), jon-mo n (6.77)
birthplace: at-chi-ram n (6.77)
biscuit: bi-skut n (5.408)
bit: ak-ki n (3.345)
bite: chik- a vt (5.472), chik- ku- rak- a vt (5.472)
bitter: ka- a vi (3.682)
black eye: mik- gi- sim n (8.953)
black head: gang- ma n (6.29)
black: gi- sim vi (3.534)
blackish: gi- sim- mrang- mrang adv (3.534), sim- rik- a vi (3.534)
blacksmith: ka- mal n (8.41)
bladder: si- chu n (6.27)
blades of grass: geng- cls (1.38)
bland: - brok- aa (3.686), chi- brek- a vi (3.686)
blanket: ket- ta n (6.591), kom- bol n (6.591), lep n (6.591)
blaze: kam- a vi (5.424)
bleat: im- be- a vi (4.476)
blink: mik- kem- a vi (9.42), mik- rep- rep- a vi (9.42)
blinking: mik- chip- mik- kem adv (7.745), rem- rem- a vi (7.96)
blister: tap- ol- a n (8.955)
blotted: ping- a vi (8.956)
block the way: chang- a vt (9.77), dong- peng- a vt (9.77)
block: beng- a vt (9.77), peng- a vt (9.77)
blocked: kang- a vi (9.77)
blow nose: ging et- a vi (9.44)
blow off: sip- prong- a vt (5.424)
blow out: sip-prong-a vt (9.45)
blow up fire: sip-prong-chak-a vt (9.45)
blow: sik-a vt (8.83), sip-prong-a vt (9.45), spo-a vt (9.45)
blue: nil n (3.534)
blurred: rim-a-rim-a adv (3.54)
board: tok-ta n (5.636)
boastful: dal-a-sot-sot adv (7.748), ra-song-si-si dak-a vph (7.745)
boat: ring n (5.86)
body: be-en n (6.27), bi-mang n (6.21), han- n (6.21)
boil ove: git-u-sru-a vi (5.46)
boil: bi-rot n (8.955), bi-rot-ma-mong n (8.955), bok-bak-a vi (5.46), git-u-a vi (5.46), rit-a vt (5.46)
bone: greng n (6.28)
book: boi n (7.28)
border: rik-ing n (5.87), rik-ong n (2.11)
bore hole: re-el-a vt (2.38)
bored: a-rat-a vi (7.94)
born: at-chi-a vi (6.77)
borrow: jin-ang n (8.446), ra-a vt (9.519), sro-a vt (8.446)
boss: mal-iik n (8.41)
bothered: man-dik-a vi (9.78)
bottle: but-ol n (5.434)
bougainvillea: ka-gos-pul n (5.28)
bounce: jik-jik-a vt (9.515), jok-jok-a vi (9.322)
bow: bam-a vi (9.348), bam-gok-a vi (9.348), bat-il n (5.845), deng-gok-a vi (9.348)
bowl, large: cha-ri n (5.432)
bowl: ba-ti n (5.434), cha-ri n (5.432), ga-bil-a n (5.432)
box: bak-so n (5.82)
boy: ko-ka n (6.822)
bracelet: san-tok n (6.564), sang-gong n (6.564)
braid: be-ni n (6.561), sak-a vt (6.25)
brain: ta-ning n (6.27)
branch: bi-pek n (4.671), bol-dail n (4.671)
brand: hul-a n (5.423), wal-jem n (5.423)
brass: pi-tol n (5.88)
brave: pa-a vi (7.746), sang-chak-a vi (7.746)
bread: ro-ti n (5.408)
brack: be-a vi (9.282), be-tong-a vi (9.282), chot-a vi (9.282), pe-a vt (9.284), tet-a vt (9.284)
brackable: sram-a vi (3.668)
brackfast: na-sta n (5.477)
brack of bird: ka-bak n (4.471)
breast: sok n (6.245), sok-me n (6.245)
breathe deeply: rang-du-a vi (9.45)
breathe: rang-sip-it-a vi (9.45)
breeze: bal-si-ri-a vi (4.36), bal-wa n (4.36)
brew: song-a vt (5.46)
bribe: gus n (8.442)
brick: ha-san n (5.636)
bride: bo n (6.617)
bridegroom: ja-mai n (6.617)
bridge: dol-ong n (5.646), jal-ang n (5.646), kul n (5.646)
briefly: teng-kap teng-kap adv (2.53)
bright sun: ni-dat-a vt (3.556)
bright: seng-a vi (3.554)
brilliant: seng-a vi (3.554)
bring up: mit-tang-a vt (9.73)
bring: ra-a vt (9.519), ra-ba-a vt (9.519), rim-a vt (9.519)
brinjal: ba-ring n (5.23)
brittle: sram-a vi (3.668)
broadcast rice: jal-a go-a vph (5.14)
broadcast: go-a vt (9.54)
broken off: be-tong-a vi (9.282)
broken: gong-gak-a vi (9.282)
brood: bam-a vt (4.482)
broom: sal-a n (5.835)
brother, elder: a-da n (6.614)
brother, younger: ang-jong n (6.614)
brother-in-law: (WiSiHu) sa-du, ang-sa-du n (6.614)
brother in law: bo-ning n (6.614), gu-me n (6.614)
brother: da-da n (6.614), jo-jong n (6.614)
brown: ko-e-ri n (3.534)
brush: ken-a vt (6.57)
bubble: bok-bak-a vi (5.46)
bubbles: ku-chi n (6.29)
bucket: bal-ti n (5.436)
bud: kam-bi n (4.676)
buffalo: mo-si n (5.35)
bug: jong-n (4.461)
build hive: top-a vt (4.482)
build nest: sa-a vt (4.482)
build: ba-nai-a vt (9.13), dim-a vt (5.631), gat-a vt (9.62), rik-a vt (5.631)
building: nok n (5.622)
bumble bee: bom-bin-eng n (4.463)
bump: cha-dat-a vt (9.552), gi-ro n (6.28), nang-a vt (9.552)
bumpy: rik-kap-rik-kap adv (3.662)
bunched: -tom- aa (2.319)
bunches: sr-e cls (1.34)
bundles: pal- cls (1.34)
burlap: pat n (5.29)
burn brightly: dim-dim-a vi (5.425)
burn: kam-a vi (5.424), si-sa-a vi (8.94), so'-a vt (5.424)
burning feeling: si-sa-a vi (8.94)
burning: ding-il-a ding-cha-a vt (8.94)
burr: sam bit-e n (4.676)
burrow: bit-a vt (9.571)
burr: sam-tak-a-ri n (4.656), sam-ti n (4.656)
burst: bret-a vt (9.282), pret-a vt (9.284)
bury: dap-a vt (9.576), dap-ket-a vt (9.576), dap-pu-a vt (9.576), ha'-dap-a vt (6.79)
bus: bas n (5.86), ga-ri n (5.86)
busy: jak-chak-a vi (7.55)
but: in-di-ba conj (1.4), kin-tu conj (1.4), to-bu conj (1.4)
butt of cigarette: chok-ken-da n (5.429)
butt: chong-ket-ta n (4.482), ke-a vt (4.482)
butterfly: pak-ma-ri n (4.469)
buttocks: ki-sang n (6.243)
button: gut-am n (6.598)
buy on credit: ba-ki bre-a vph (8.444)
buy: bre-a vt (8.444)
by means of: -cha cm (0.12)
cabbage: ba-da ko-pi n (5.23), bi-jak ko-pi n (5.23)
cackle: ro-rot-a vt (4.476)
cactus: si'-chu n (4.656)
cage: pin-ji-ra n (5.852)
calf: ba-sur n (5.33), ma'-su gen-da n (5.33)
call out: ring-gam-a vt (7.18)
call: don-a vt (7.18), ming-a vt (7.18), ok-gam-a vt (7.18), pe'-a vt (7.18), ring-gam-a vt (7.18)
calm: ka'-sin-a vi (2.724), ton'-tom-a vi (7.764)
can for food: ko-ta n (5.436)
can: man'-a vi (7.55)
candy: ni-sti n (5.408)
cane: ko-a vt (5.856), re n (4.655)
canine teeth: wa-chu n (6.22)
cap: to-pi n (6.522)
capable: ham-sok-a vi (7.55)
capsize: king-kip-a vt (9.62)
capsized: pang-pil-ek-chu-pil-ek adv (9.214)
capture bridegroom: rim-tat-a vt (6.651)
capture by force: sik-tat-a vt (6.651)
capture: rim-a vt (9.531), sik-a vt (9.531)
care for: ba-rik-a vt (9.532), dong-dil-a vt (9.73), jil-a vt (9.73), mit-tang-a vt (9.73), ra-rik-a vt (9.531), rak-ki-a vt (9.73)
careful: sim-sak-a vi (7.48)
carelessly: -gal-gal- aa (2.726), a-gan-bing-bang-a vi (7.13), bing-bang adv (3.718), chik-chik-chrak-chrak adv (3.718), prak-e-pruk-e adv (7.14), skok-skok adv (2.726)
carrot: ga-jur n (5.23)
carry baby: ba-rik-a vt (9.532)
carry by tump line: ol-a vt (9.532)
carry child: ba-tom-a vt (9.532)
carry in mouth: bal-a vt (4.482)
carry on shoulder: chil-do-a vt (9.532)
carry under arm: pak-sik-kep-a vt (9.532)
carry: de-tom-a vt (9.532), de-tom-brot-a vt (9.532), gat-a vt (9.62)
carrying cloth: de-bra n (6.521)
carrying pole: bang n (5.835)
cart: ga-ri n (5.86)
carve surface: rep-a vt (9.573)
carve: bik-a vt (9.573), sik-sik-a vt (9.554), sol-a vt (9.573), tak-a vt (9.573), teng-a vt (9.573)
case, legal: gro vi (8.13)
cassava: ta-bol-chu n (5.27)
cast: go-a vt (9.54)
caste: jat n (6.89)
cat: meng-gong n (5.35)
catch up: kat-srap-a vi (9.316), srap-a vi (9.328)
catch: ra-chak-a vt (9.531), rim-a vt (9.531), rim-chak-a vt (9.531), sik-a vt (9.531)
caterpillar: jong-sip-in n (4.467), jong-su n (4.467), mang-tip n (4.467)
cattle shed: go-al-i-nok n (5.622)
cattle: ma-su n (5.33), ma-su mat-ti n (4.40)
cauliflower: pul-ko-pi n (5.23)
causative: -et- aa (0.41), -et- aa (1.13)
cause: dil-a vt (9.73)
celebrate: hau-seng-a vi (7.721)
centipede: mang-gu-ak n (4.467), sin-a-ru n (4.467)
chaff: cha-che n (4.677)
chair: chi-er n (5.82)
chairman: cher-men n (8.12)
challenge: bot-a vt (7.36)
change ethnicity: tang-nap-a vi (6.77)
change mind: gi-sik ra-pil-a vph (7.41)
change money: pe-a vt (9.284)
channel: chi-ret n (4.252), dren n (5.114)
chant: mon-tro n (8.566)
chapped lips: ku-chil bret-a vph (8.953)
charcoal: ang-gal n (5.421)
chase away: rik-a vt (4.49)
chase: ha-rik-a vt (4.49)
chatter: gek-gak-a vi (7.15)
cheat: to-kai-a vt (8.33)
cheek: pe n (6.22)
chick: dor-pi-sa n (4.43)
chicken coop: do-chi-dik n (5.852)
child: ang-de n (6.617), bi-sa n (6.822), pi-sa n (6.822)
chili hot: jro-a vi (3.682)
chili: jal-ik n (5.23)
chin: ku-dim-bok n (6.22)
chipped: be-king-ben-da vi (9.282), be-kuweng-a vi (9.282), be-rik-ken-a vi (9.282)
chips: chel-i n (4.673), gol-ding-ding n (4.673), gol-si-ri n (4.673)
choke: khangket-a vt (5.479)
choose: ba-nai-a vt (9.13), ba-si-a vt (9.536)
chop: den-a vt (9.573), pit-a vt (9.573), sot-a vt (9.573)
Christmas: bo-ro-diin n (8.564)
chubby: gop-ma-a vi (6.48)
chunk: bi-tin n (5.453)
chunks: tir-cls (1.37)
church: gil-ja-nok n (5.624)
cigarette: bi-ri n (5.429), si-get n (5.429)
cinema: si-ne-ma n (8.83)
circular: da-wil-a vi (2.313)
city: so-hor n (8.22)
civil marriage: kut meris n (6.651)
civit cat: mat-chu-ri n (4.416)
claim: a-kang-a vt (6.651), pot-a vt (7.36)
clam: a-pi n (4.458)
clap: jak-pa dok-a vi (9.46)
claw: jak-skil n (6.235), ku-ak-a vt (9.554)
clay: be-dol n (4.246), har-keng-kruk n (4.242), har-pek n (4.246)
clean off: mrak-a vt (9.556)
clean: chi-rong-a vi (3.714), not-a vt (9.557), po-ri-skar vi (3.714), tal-a vi (3.714)
clear, of liquids: grik-a vi (3.714)
clear throat: a-him-a vi (9.44)
clear up: gil-kri-a vi (4.323), krang-a vi (4.323)
clear: bang-bang adv (2.26), kil-a vt (5.113), srang-a vi (3.714), tal-a vi (3.714)
clearly: srang-a vi (3.714)
clever: hai-man-a ku (0.7), hai-man-a ku-man-a vph (7.44)
cleverness: but-i n (7.44)
climb: do-a vt (9.318), ga-a vi (9.318), ga-kat-a vi (9.318)
clock: go-ri n (5.838)
close eyes: mik-chip-a vi (9.42), sik-a vi (9.42)
close: grim pp (1.16), grip-a vt (9.62), ket-a vt (9.61), mit-chu-a vt (9.61), mit-tip-a vt (9.61), tek-a vt (9.61)
closed: chip-a vi (9.211), krip-a vi (9.211)
closet: al-ma-ri n (5.82)
cloth bundle: tup-il-a n (6.521)
cloth rack: al-na n (5.82)
cloth: ba-ra n (6.594), gam-chan n (6.521)
clothes: ba-ra n (6.594), gan-ding-chin-ding n (6.521)
clothing: po-sak n (6.521)
cloud: ga-dil-a n (4.323)
cloudy, of liquids: kim-il-a vi (3.716)
cloves: long-go n (5.405)
club: ma-reng-ga n (5.833), so-mi-ti n (8.48)
cluck: drok-a vi (4.476), tik-tik-a vt (4.476)
coals: wal-ki n (5.421)
coat: kut n (6.527)
cobra: chip-pu-ri-ti n (4.443)
coccyx: ki-ting n (6.243)
cock’s comb: na-gring n (4.471)
cock: do-bi-pa n (4.43)
cockroach: ka-ra-o n (4.469), sel-uk n (4.469)
coconut: na-ri-kel n (5.22)
cocoon: bi-tip n (4.475)
coiled: kor-a vi (9.641)
coins: pil-cls (1.38), poi-sa n (8.447)
cold season: sin’-ka-ri n (2.84)
cold sore: ku’-gi-sep ang-ki-sa dak-a n (8.953)
cold: chik-a vt (5.472), chik-jim-a vi (3.675), sin’-a vi (3.675), sol-di n (8.92)
collapse: be-grop-a vi (9.212), be-wak-a vi (9.212), drin-a vi (9.212), grin-a vi (9.212), grog-a vi (9.212)
collar: na-bak n (5.87)
collide: cha-dat-a vt (9.552)
color: rong n (3.539)
comb, honey: bi-rang n (4.475)
comb of cock: na-gring n (4.471)
comb: ken-a vt (6.57), sam-pil n (6.57)
come back: pil-a vi (9.315)
come loose: go-ok-a vi (9.572)
come out: ong-kat-a vi (9.313)
come to life: tang-cha-a vi (6.77)
come: i-a vi (9.312), i-ba-a vi (9.312), re-a vi (9.312), re-ba-a vi (9.312)
comfortable for sleeping: chu-kin-ap-a vi (7.96)
comfortable: -kin-ap- aa (3.455), gan-to-a vi (6.53), krok-to-a vi (6.53)
commit: gro vi (8.13)
committee: so-mi-ti n (8.48)
compensation: gam-a vt (8.15), gro char-a vph (8.15)
complete: ting-ting-rok-rok-a vi (3.343)
completely: -sam- aa (3.342), -srang- aa (3.342)
compound: ba-ri n (5.622)
conceal: a-gan-srok-a vi (7.13), bo-srok-a vi (7.25), don-u-a vi (9.344)
conceited: dal-a-sot-sot adv (7.748)
confident: ham-sok-a vi (7.55)
confused: se-ra-be-ra adv (3.718)
constantly: jenr-jem-a vi (2.71), jring-jring adv (2.71)
construct: ba-nai-a vt (9.13)
contemporaries: tro n (2.51)
continuously: -jol-jol- aa (3.343), prak-prak adv (2.71)
contrast: gan-da pp (1.13)
contribute: ron-chak-a vt (9.73)
convention: be-wal n (8.14)
converse: a-gan-grik-a vi (7.31), al-ap-a vi (7.31), bol-grik-a vi (7.31)
cook house: pak-nok n (5.622)
cook: song-a vt (5.46)
cooked: min-a vi (4.694)
cooking pot: sam-dik n (5.432)
cooking pots: me-dik sam-dik n (5.432)
coop: chi-dik n (5.622)
cooperative: so-mo-bai n (8.48)
cork: mat-chu-ra n (5.434), mit-chu-ra n (5.438)
corner of house: nok-ka-ni n (5.636)
corner of room: nok-sik n (5.636)
corner: ka-ni n (5.843)
corpse: mang-gi-si n (6.79)
correct: kak-ket *adv* (3.44), kra-*vi* (6.657)
correctly speaking: a-gan-chong-mot-*a vi* (7.13)
correctly: be-be *adv* (3.44)
cosmos: kos-mos n (5.28)
cotton fluff: kil-ap n (4.676)
cotton gin: kel-ki n (5.835)
cotton seed: kil-gon n (4.677)
cotton: kil n (5.29)
cough up: hak-*a* *vi* (9.44)
cough: bu-su-*a* *vi* (9.45)
count: chan-*a vt* (7.31)
country: des n (8.22), ha-song n (8.22)
couple: jik-se n (6.62)
courageous: sang-chak-*a vi* (7.746)
courtyard: ba-ri n (5.622), ha-til-*a n* (5.644)
cousin-brother: a-da n (6.614), ang-jong n (6.614)
cousin-sister: a-bi n (6.615), a-no n (6.615)
cover with: pin-*a vt* (9.62)
cover: -tip-*aa* (9.62), da-kon n (5.438), dap-*a vt* (9.576), grip-*a vt* (9.62),
grip-dap-*a vt* (9.647), ka-tip-*a vt* (9.62), ku-grip-*a vt* (5.46), mit-tip-*a vt* (9.61)
covered: krip-*a vi* (9.211)
covet: mat-u-*a vt* (7.723), mik-bok-*a vt* (7.723)
cow dung: ma-su-ke-em-*a n* (4.475)
cow: ma-su n (5.33)
coward: ken-kok n (7.764)
crab: hang-ki n (4.458)
crabgrass: sam-si n (4.652)
crack: bret-*a vi* (9.282)
cracked: be-chil-ak-*a vi* (9.282), be-dip-*a vi* (9.282), be-si-ri-*a vi* (9.282)
cradle: jol-oi n (6.521)
crave: ku-chi-*a vt* (5.48)
craving: ma-ang *adv* (7.725)
crawl: mal-*a vi* (9.319), mal-am-*a vi* (9.319)
crazy: na-wang-ku-*wang adv* (7.44)
cream: bi-stil n (5.409)
create: ba-nai-*a vt* (9.13)
creator: Ba-gip-A Bi-rom-bi n (8.54)
credit: ba-ki bre-*a vph* (8.444)
cremate: so-krep-*a vt* (6.79)
crescent moon: ku-weng-a vi (9.44)
crippled: jak-kom-peng n (6.233)
crop of bird: pe-chu n (4.471)
cross: chi-sol n (8.58), ga-bat-a vt (9.321)
crossbow: bat-il n (5.845)
crossed legs: ja-git-ap-a vi (9.349)
crosswise: gip-eng-pang n (2.34), ket-chi-o pp (1.11)
crouch: bam-e dong-a vph (9.348)
crow: do-ka n (4.43), ga-ak-a vi (4.476), gi-sik-a vi (4.476)
crowd: jil-ma n (3.342)
crowded: chang-ket-a vi (2.22), chrap-chrap adv (2.25), kang-a vi (9.77),
  kang-dik-kang-si adv (9.77), sket-sket adv (2.22)
crumble: sram-a vi (3.668)
crumble: kom-si-a vi (9.348)
crush: pin-ek-a vt (9.578), rim-pin-ek-a vt (9.578)
crushed: bin-ek-a vi (9.578)
cry of animal: mik-u-a vi (3.624)
cry: grap-a vi (7.29)
cubit: mik-cls (1.36)
cucumber: so-sra n (5.23)
cultivate: a-bat ko-ri-a vph (5.112), dang-a vt (5.156), ha'-ba hu'-a vph
  (5.113), hal we-a vt (5.154), ni-rai-a vt (5.156)
cultivation: a-bat n (5.112)
cunning: but-i n (7.44)
cup, bamboo: wa-sing n (5.438)
cup: kap n (5.434)
cupboard: al-ma-ri n (5.82)
curl: bam-kom-a vi (9.348), geng-kon-a vi (4.482)
curled: kon-a vi (9.641)
curly: kong-krot-a vi (2.318), kong-krot-kong-krot adv (6.561)
curry: ja-ba n (5.409)
curve: gong-ge-bak-a vi (2.318)
curved: gong-ge-a vi (2.318), kong-krot-a vi (2.318), ku-weng-a vi (9.44)
custard apple: a-ta-pol n (5.22)
custom: be-wal n (8.14)
cut by slicing: rat-a vt (9.573)
cut: den-a vt (9.573), mat-a vi (3.666), rat-a vt (9.573)
cutting: kol-om n (5.14), ta-sko n (4.677)
cylindrical things: pong-cls (1.32)
cylindrical: -bi-bom dns (2.319), tong-cls (1.32)
cymbal: cheng-chap n (8.85)
dacoit: da-kait n (8.33)
dad: ba-ba n (6.611)
dagger: chak-ku n (5.832)
dahl: dail n (5.23)
daily: jring-jring adv (2.71)
dam: ban n (5.114)
damp: chi-jim-a vi (9.272), chim-chim-a vi (9.272), dim-a vi (9.272)
dance: grik-a vt (8.83), han-seng-a vi (7.721), kiir-ton n (8.83), ro-a vt (8.83)
dandru®: ki-ka-rok n (6.58)
danger: bi-pot n (7.764)
dangle: ring-ri-a vi (9.255)
dangling: dol-deng-dol-deng adv (9.257)
dark complexion: han-gi-sim n (3.534)
dark of moon: si-a vi (6.79)
dark: an-dal-a vi (3.558)
date: ta-riik n (2.51)
dative case: -na cm (0.12)
daughter in law: bo n (6.617), nam-chik n (6.617)
daughter: de-me-chik n (6.617)
day after tomorrow: sot-ni-o lw (2.65)
day: sal n (4.214)
daytime: sal n (4.214)
dazzled: mik-brap-a vi (3.554), mik-dat-a vi (3.554)
dead body: mang-gi-si n (6.79)
dead: bi-ba bon-chot-a vi (6.79)
deaf: na-dip-a vi (8.93), na-gok n (8.92)
decant: ru-srip-a vt (9.276)
decayed: -sa-ge dns (6.828)
deceive: bo-a vi (7.25)
decimal: dis-nel n (5.12)
declare: a-gan-prak-a vt (7.34)
dee: ting-a vi (2.213)
deer: mat-chok n (4.419)
defecate: ke-em-a n (6.29), kr-a vi (9.49)
defend verbally: chak-e-chak-e adv (7.39)
defend: kreng-chak-a vi (9.73), peng-chak-a vt (8.36), wa-ra-chak-a vt (7.39)
defender: dong-tim-gip-a n (9.73)
delayed: ha-ri-a vi (2.53)
deliver baby: han-o ra-a vph (6.77), jak-o ra-a vph (6.77)
demand: bok-a vt (7.725), han-chrak-a vt (7.36)
denomination: dor-mo n (8.51), to-rom n (8.51)
dense: bol-grim n (4.630), gan-rom-a vi (4.323)
densely: bi-dil bi-dil adv (2.25)
dent:: be-rik-ken-a vt (9.282)
deny: bang-lang-a vt (9.77), je-chak-a vt (7.33)
desire: ha-sik-a vt (7.725), ham-a vt (7.725), mik-bok-a vt (7.723)
destroy: pe-wak-a vt (9.284)
develop: cha-a vi (4.691)
devil: soi-tan n (8.54)
dew: rip-on-chi n (4.329)
dialogue: ra-chak-grik-e a-gan-a vph (7.32)
diaper: kir-tap n (6.521)
diarrhea: bik-ma re-a vi (8.97), ki-breke vi (9.49)
die down: jrong-a vi (4.696)
die: si-a vi (6.79)
diesel pump: sel-o ma-sin n (5.838)
different: al-a-da adv (3.435), ding-dang adv (3.35), gap-in n (3.437)
difficult: rak-a vi (3.664)
dig out: bil-a vt (9.576)
dig up: bik-kot-a vt (9.576)
dig: bak-a vt (9.576), cho-a vt (9.576), kit-a vt (9.576), kong-a vt (9.576)
digging stick: mat-ta n (5.831)
dike: bat-ol n (5.114), hal-i n (5.114)
dimly: mre-o-mre-o adv (3.558)
dinner: mi-a-tam n (5.477)
direct object: -ko cm (0.12)
direct: -tong-tang- aa (0.42), tong-tang adv (2.318)
directly: kat-tong-tang-a vi (9.316)
dirt: ka-rang n (6.58), moi-la n (3.716)
dirty with earth: ha re-wa-a vi (3.716)
dirty: bing-bang adv (3.718), kal-si-a adv (6.58), kim-la vi (3.716),
ma-bak-a vi (3.716), re-wa-a vi (3.716), so-dap-gek-gek adv (3.716)
disagree: gong-ge-a vi (8.33)
disappear: jim-a vi (9.279)
disappointed: ja-cha-a vi (7.742)
disaster: bi-pot n (7.764)
discover: bik-kot-a vt (9.576), nik-man-a vi (3.512)
discuss: al-ap-a vi (7.31), ku-chim-mong-a vi (7.31), ku-mong-a vi (7.33)
disgust: mit-chi-a vt (7.744), su-rek-su-chek adv (7.744)
dish, earthenware: pa-ra n (5.432)
dish: rang-tal n (5.434)
dishes: rot-a-rang-tal n (5.434)
dislike: eng-ki-a vi (7.744), mik-neng-a vt (7.744), ni-na man-ja vph (7.744)
disobey: gong-ge-a vi (8.33)
disordered: bing-bang adv (3.718)
disorderly: chik-chik-chrak-chrak *adv* (3.718) rip-ing-rip-ang *adv* (7.13), rik-king-rik-king *adv* (3.718), rip-eng-dam-beng *adv* (3.718), rit-dang-band-dang *adv* (8.32)
dispute: ni-ri-*a vt* (8.32)
dissolve: jim-*a vi* (9.279)
distant: chel-*a vi* (2.11)
district: el-ek-ka *n* (8.22)
disturbed: man-rik-rik-rik-rik-*a vi* (8.32), rim-rik-rik-rik-*a vi* (9.433)
disturbing: kar-so-rik-*a vi* (3.628)
dive: rip-*a vi* (9.279), sap-*a vi* (4.486)
divide: bak on-et-*a vt* (8.427), nav-at-*a vt* (8.427), su-al-*a vt* (8.427)
divorce: gal-*a vt* (9.54), gal-jom-*a vt* (6.555), hv-wal *n* (9.433), jik gal-*a vt* (6.655)
dizzy: mik-git-il-*a vi* (7.96), mik-mak-*a vi* (5.48)
do: dak-*a vt* (9.11), ka-*a vt* (8.433)
dog: a-chak *n* (5.35)
domestic foul: dor-man-di *n* (4.43)
done: bon-*a vi* (9.14), mat-chot-*a vt* (9.14), ses *adv* (9.14)
door chain: jiin-jiil *n* (5.638)
door frame: chok-at *n* (5.638)
door: dor-*ga n* (5.638)
doorway: dor-ga-chol *n* (5.638)
dove: dor-gu-gu *n* (4.43), dor-ku-*ru n* (4.43)
down: kim-il *n* (6.25)
downward: on-*a vi* (9.68)
doze: chu-stim-*a vi* (7.96), mik-gil jom-*a vph* (7.96), tu-stim-*a vi* (7.96)
dragonfly: ha-da-su-rang *n* (4.469)
draw water: ko-*a vt* (9.277)
dream about: nik-*a vt* (3.512)
dream: ja-din-*a vi* (7.96), ju-mang *n* (7.96)
drenched: chirp-chirp *adv* (9.272)
dress, get dressed: gan-*a vt* (6.53)
dress someone else: pat-*a vt* (6.53)
dress: prok *n* (6.526)
dressed: chin-*a vt* (6.53)
dried eel: kut-chi-gran *n* (5.401)
dried fish: na-kam *n* (5.401)
dried out: -si-*dhs* (3.74)
dried: gran *n* (5.401)
drink: ring-*a vt* (5.474)
drip: tot-*a vi* (9.276)
drive away: rik-*a vt* (4.49), rik-pak-*a vt* (4.49)
drizzle: bal-mik-*a vi* (4.325), se-em-se-em *adv* (4.325)
drop onto: on-krop-a *vt* (9.68)
drop: jak-wat-a *vt* (9.54)
drops: pu-ta- *cls* (1.37), tot- *cls* (1.38)
drum: da-ma *n* (8.85), kram *n* (8.85)
drunk: han cheng-a *vi* (8.91), mik-mak-a *vi* (5.48)
dry season: hav-ran *n* (2.84)
dry up: tip-a *vi* (9.273)
dry: ram-a *vt* (9.272), ran-a *vi* (9.272)
duck: do-gep *n* (4.43), do-ja-rak *n* (4.43), ga-gak *n* (5.35)
dull colored: mik-brok-a *vi* (3.539)
dull: cham-a *vi* (9.292), chat-a *vi* (3.666)
dumb, can’t speak: bu-ba-ra-ra *vi* (7.15)
dump: pak-a *vt* (9.276)
dung beetle: ki-bit-bit *n* (4.469)
dung: gu-bol *n* (4.475), ke-em-a *n* (6.29), ma-su-ke-em-a *n* (4.475)
dunk: sim-a *vt* (9.277)
dusk: an-tam-git-tu *n* (2.52)
dust: dul-a *n* (4.248), hav-gin-dil-a *n* (4.248)
dusty: dim-prong-dim-prong *adv* (5.422)
dwell: dong-a *vi* (9.11), dong-chak-a *vi* (9.11), dong-dam-a *vi* (9.11)
early morning: wal-ni-ni *n* (2.52)
early: ta-ra-ta-ri *adv* (2.726)
earlier: cheng-o *lv* (2.62), skang *lv* (2.62)
earrings, big: na-rik-ki *n* (6.562)
earthen: hav-*n* (5.631)
earthquake: bang-gu-ri-a *vi* (4.37)
east: pup *n* (4.218), sal-a-ram *n* (4.219)
easy: al-tu-a *vi* (3.75), nom-*a* *vi* (3.75)
eat up: cha-chot-a *vt* (5.472)
eat: cha-a *vt* (5.472)
eclipse: ja-min-ok-a *vph* (4.214), sal min-ok-a *vph* (4.214)
eczema: ka-rok *n* (8.953)
edge: a'-sam *n* (5.87), bi-wa *n* (5.87), rik-ing *n* (5.87), rik-ong *n* (2.11)
educated: siik-kiit-o *n* (8.6)
eel: kui-cha *n* (4.454)
egg: do-bit-chi *n* (4.475)
eggplant: ba-ring *n* (5.23)
eight anna coin: rep-a n (8.447)
eight annas: a-dul-i n (8.447)
eight: -chet num (3.3708)
elbow: jak-sku n (6.233)
elephant: ha-ti n (4.419), mong-ma n (4.419)
embarassed: mik-gil si-a vi (7.745)
embrace: gip-ak-a vt (9.531)
emerge: ong-kat-a vi (9.313)
emphatic: -in num (0.14)
empty: bal-ang-ga n (2.26), bang-bang adv (2.26), chi-chang-chang adv (2.26), jak-ra-ra adv (2.26), pak-a vt (9.276)
enclose: grip-a vt (9.62), ting-chang-a vt (9.536)
encourage: bu-jai-a vi (7.37), mal-mok-a vt (7.37)
end: bi-chu n (5.87), ku-mang n (5.87)
endure: bai-a vi (2.53), chak-a vt (7.56), ham-chak-a vt (7.56), han-chak-a vi (7.56)
enemy: bo-bil n (8.32)
enough: chip-a vi (3.341), chur-ong-a vi (3.341), gip-a vi (3.341), hem-hem adv (3.341), tik-a vi (3.341)
enter: nap-a vi (9.313)
enthusiastic: gam gok-a vph (7.725), gok-a vi (7.725)
equal: so-man adv (2.311)
equivalent: ong-a vi (9.11)
era: a-mul n (2.51), cha-song n (2.53), tro n (2.51)
escape: jok-a vi (9.313)
esophagus: git-ok-nal n (6.27)
even: min-ik-a vi (3.662)
evening: ar-tam n (2.52)
every: dim-dak n (3.343), gim-ik n (3.343), rik-kit n (3.35)
everything: -tok- aa (3.343), rik-kit-rik-kit adv (3.343)
everywhere: gim-ik jai-ga-o hw (2.13)
evil: ma-rang n (8.52)
exaggerate: ba-nai-e a-gan-ing-a vph (7.13), bo-dap-a vi (7.36)
examination: po-ri-ka n (8.6)
excavate: bik-kot-a vt (9.576)
exceed: ba-di-a vi (3.348), bat-a vi (9.312)
excellent: nam-e-man-chan adv (3.455)
except for: a-gre pp (1.16), sa-ra pp (1.16)
excessive: teng-gil adv (3.342)
excessively: a-gre adv (3.76)
exchange: sre-a vt (8.444), sre-grik-a vt (8.444)
excrement: ke-em-a n (6.29)
exhale: bi-ba wat-a vi (9.45)
exist: ong-a vi (9.11)
expect: hai-chak-a vt (7.48), mik-sok-a vt (7.42)
expectation: a-sa n (7.725)
expensive: rak-a vi (3.664)
expert: sap-a vi (7.55)
explain: a-gan-prak-a vt (7.34), pe'-e a-gan-a vt (7.34), pe'-prak-e a-gan-a vi (7.34)
extinguish: kim-it-a vt (5.424), si-it-a vt (5.424)
extract: bik-kot-a vt (9.576)
eye of needle: sil-eng-si a' kil-ok n (6.598)
eye: mik-on n (6.22)
eyebrow: mik-kim-il n (6.25)
eyeglasses: cho-sim-a n (6.521)
eyelash: mik-sram n (6.25)
eyelashes: mik-gil mik-sram n (6.25)
eyelid: mik-gil n (6.22)
face: mik-kang n (6.22)
fade: bok-nel-a vi (3.531), mik-brok-a vi (3.539)
faint: si-sim-ak-a vi (7.96)
faintly: mre-o-mre-o adv (3.558)
fall down: git-chil-a vi (9.326), go-jron-a vi (9.326)
fall onto: ga-ak-dap-a vi (9.326)
fall over: gong-brap-a vi (9.212)
fall: ga-ak-a vi (9.326), ru-rong-a vi (9.212)
falsely: -bru aa (7.25)
familiar: mik-on kra-a vi (7.43)
family: har-ma n (5.112), nok n (5.622), po-ri-bar n (6.657)
fan: gi-jip n (5.835), jip-a vt (9.515)
far: chel-a vi (2.11)
fare: ba-ra n (8.442)
fart: ki-si-a vi (9.49)
fast: bing-si-bing-si adv (2.726), gong-rak-a vi (2.726), jak-rak-a vi (2.726), rak-a vi (3.664), ta-rak-a vi (2.726), teng-re adv (2.726)
fat: bel-dom-dom adv (6.48), gop-ma-a vi (6.48), mil-a vi (6.48), mil-dam-bu-a vi (6.48)
fate: a-si n (8.52)
father: a-pa n (6.611), ba-ba n (6.611), pa-a n (6.611)
fatty: mit-im n (6.29)
fearless: ken-a gri ppp (7.746), pa'-vi vi (7.746)
feather: grang n (4.471)
feed animals: du-a vt (4.49)
feed: al-du-a vt (5.478), du-a vt (5.478), kan-a vt (5.478)
feeding trough: ring-kong n (5.835), wak-ring-kong n (5.835)
feel: rim’e ni-a vt (3.64)
feelers: grong n (4.473)
female: -bi-ma dns (4.40)
fence post: song-chi n (5.642)
fertilizer: sar n (5.835)
festival: Wan-a vi (8.562)
fever: ding’-du-a vi (8.93), han’-ding-a vi (8.93), jom-a vi (8.91)
few: kom n (3.345)
fields: hâ’-ba n (5.112)
fight: dak-grik-a vi (8.36), ding-a vt (8.36), dok-grik-a vi (8.36)
fill: bo-rai-a vt (2.26), gap-et-a vt (2.26)
filled: dit-a vt (5.458), sket-sket adv (2.22)
filter: chek-a vt (5.455), dit-a vt (5.458), geng-reng n (5.438), ru-gek-a vt (5.458)
filtr: ka-rang n (6.58)
filthy: re-wa-se-wa adv (3.716)
find out: bik-kot-a vt (9.576)
find: man-va vi (7.55)
fine, pay: gam-a vt (8.15)
fine: se’-em-a vi (2.215)
finger mail: jak-skil n (6.235)
finger: jak-si n (6.235)
finish: bon’-dil-a vi (9.14), chon-a vt (9.14), man’-a vi (7.55)
finished: bon’-a vi (9.14), bon’-chot-a vi (9.14), mat-chot-a vt (9.14), ses adv (9.14)
fire: a-gal n (5.421), wal’- n (5.421)
firebrand: hul-a n (5.423), wal’-jem n (5.423)
firefly: sang’-et n (4.462)
fireplace: chan-kol n (5.423), cho-ka n (5.423)
firewood: har’-bol n (5.423)
first: -cheng- aa (2.62), -so- aa (2.62), poi-la adv (3.3801), pro-tom n (3.3801)
fish fork: kus n (5.843), te-ta n (5.843)
fish hook: bor-si n (5.843)
fish net: jal n (5.843)
fish trap: bail n (5.843)
fish: na-tok n (4.454)
fist: jak-tom n (6.235), jak-tom-a vi (9.46)
fit: chak-a vi (2.22), dang-a vi (2.22), jak-chak-a vi (7.55), tang’-rong-rang-a vi (2.22)
fail: deng-deng-a vi (9.319)
flaming up: jra-o-jra-o adv (5.425)
flair: jil’-au-a vi (4.344)
flake: ga'-au-a vi (3.668)
flames: wal'-si-ri n (5.421)
flap wings: pak-pak-a vt (4.486)
flapping: bil-jeng-jeng-a vi (4.486), bil-pak-pak-a vt (4.486)
flash light: lait n (5.838)
flash: ri'-rau-a vi (4.344)
flat: -dep- aa (2.311), chi-dep-a vi (6.42), pel-a vi (2.311), pel-deng-a vi (2.311), pel-dep-a vi (2.311)
flatten: chep-a vi (8.956), dok-dep-a vt (9.578), ro'-op-a vi (8.956)
flesh: be'-en n (6.27)
flicker: jin'-jet-jin'g-jet adv (3.556), ring-rang-ga-rang adv (9.324)
flickering: jil'-jeng jil'-jeng adv (3.556)
fret: mik-kem-a vi (9.42)
float: ba-sa-a vi (9.279), bal-beng-a vi (9.279), bal-ju-ri-a vi (9.279)
flood: du-a vi (4.33), rip-a vi (9.279)
flour: a-ta n (5.405), gin-di n (5.405)
flower: bi-bal n (4.676), pul n (4.676)
fluently: ku'-pret-a vi (7.14)
flute: bang-si n (8.85)
flutter: pil-ip-pil-ip adv (9.216)
fly about: prong-a vi (9.216)
fly: bil-a vi (4.486), chap n (4.462), tam-pi n (4.462), til'-a vi (9.216)
fog: gu-ri n (4.329)
fold hands: jak stik-a vt (9.46)
fold: dem'-a vt (9.641)
folded: be'-dem-a vi (9.641)
folds: pak-sa n (1.37)
follow orders: ra-chak-a vt (9.531)
follow tracks: chan-a vt (4.49)
follow: r'-rik-a vi (9.328), ja'-rik-a vt (9.328), ki'-sang-chak-a vi (9.328), rik-pa-a vi (9.328)
fontanel: ta-ru n (6.22)
fool around: kal'-ak-a vt (7.26), mang-kal-a vt (9.78), rong-kal-a vi (7.26)
fool: ja-da n (7.44)
foolishly: na-wang-ku'-wang adv (7.44)
foot of mountains: ja'-rek n (4.232)
foot print: ja'-gam n (6.238), ja'-kol n (6.238)
foot: ja- n (6.237)
for example: je-mon conj (1.4)
forbid: nim-a vt (5.479)
force: jur n (7.56)
forcefully: -chak- aa (3.72), -sek- aa (7.56), -tat- aa (7.56), dra-e adv (7.56), jur n (7.56)
forearm: jak-gam-bu n (6.233)
forehead: ko-pal n (6.22)
foreskin: ri-ku-chil n (6.249)
forest: bring n (4.630)
forester: po-res-tar n (8.41)
forge: dok-a vt (9.553)
forget: gu-al-a vi (7.45)
forget: ke-ma ron-a vt (7.39)
fork of tree: bol-pek-chrap n (4.671), gam-ra n (4.671)
former: -sa-ge dns (6.828)
fortune: a-si n (8.52), ra-song n (7.748)
forwards: mik-kang-cha-na adv (2.14)
four anna coin: suk-ki n (8.447)
four: -bri num (3.3704), al-i- cls (1.35)
fragrant: ging-si-mrang adv (3.688), sim-il-a vi (3.688)
friend: ba-ju n (6.83), bi-sa n (6.83), bon-du n (6.83)
friends: cham-e n (6.83)
frighten: ken-dil-a vt (7.764)
frog: beng n (4.447)
from: -cha cm (0.12), -cha-ni cm (0.12), -cha-ni-ko cm (0.12), -o-ni cm (0.12), -o-ni-ko cm (0.12)
front of body: ka-bak n (6.245)
front: ka-bak n (6.245), mik-kang n (6.22), mik-kang-o pp (1.11)
fruit: bi-te n (4.676)
fry: jo-a vt (5.46)
fulcrum: na-tong n (5.632)
full moon: ja-ram-bong n (4.214)
full of: ok-ka-a vt (5.48)
full: gap-a vi (2.26)
function: ga-a vi (9.318)
funeral: me-mang gam n (8.562)
fur: kim-il n (6.25)
fuss with: mang-kal-a vt (9.78)
fuss: gi-jo-a vi (7.29)
fussy: mang-meng-a vi (9.78)
future tense: -na-jok pvs (0.211), -no-a pvs (0.211)
gable: bel-ki n (5.636)
gallbladder: bi-kit n (6.27)
garden: ba-gan n (5.112)
gardening: gon-do-ras n (5.28)
garlic: na-sin-do-ki n (5.23), ro-sun gip-bok n (5.23)
garments: po-sak n (6.521)
gasp: el-du-el-du dak-a vph (9.45)
generation: cha-song n (2.53), tro n (2.51)
generous: al-nam-a vi (7.724)
genitals, female: si-n n (6.249)
genitive: -ni cm (0.12)
gently: -srok- aa (3.64)
genuine: a-dot n (3.44), chek-chek adv (3.44)
get along well: me-li-a vi (8.32)
get back: man-r-rik-a vt (9.11)
get on bus: ga-kat-a vi (9.318)
get: man-a vi (7.55), rav-a vt (9.519), sik-a vt (9.531)
ghost: me-mang n (8.54)
gibbon: u-ru n (4.418)
gin: pe-a vt (9.284)
ginger: e-ching n (5.23)
girl: ko-ki n (6.822)
give birth: du-a vt (6.77)
give help: ron-chak-a vt (9.73)
give: ron-a vt (9.72)
gizzard: am-pat-ti n (4.471)
glass: gil-as n (5.434)
glimpse: pil-ip-pil-ap nik-rik-a adv (3.512)
gloomy: sin-dik-a vi (7.743)
glory: ra-song n (7.748)
glue: a-min n (5.835)
glutton: kal-bong vt (5.472)
gnat: su-sam n (4.462), tam-pi-sim-ik n (4.462)
go back and forth: i-ru-ra-a vi (9.315)
go back: i-ang-pil-a vi (9.312), pil-a vi (9.315)
go down: chep-a vi (8.956)
go in: -nap- aa (0.48)
go: i-a vi (9.312), i-ang-a vi (9.312), re-a vi (9.312), re-ang-a vi (9.312)
goat: do-mok n (5.35)
god: dok-gip-a n (8.54), i-sol n (8.54)
goiter: dok-bo n (8.956)
gold: su-na n (5.88)
gong: gon-ta n (2.53), rang n (8.85)
good at: sap-a vi (7.55)
good enough: nam-hang adv (3.453)
good: nam-a vi (3.455)
goose: ga-gak-gang-si n (5.35), ra-ja-has n (5.35)
gossip: kur-rit-chu-a vi (7.31)
gourd ladle: pong n (5.438)  
gourd: lau n (5.23)  
grabc: rim-a vt (9.531), sik-a vt (9.531)  
grain: bi-rong n (4.677)  
grains: bi-ma n (4.677)  
granary: jam n (5.622)  
grandchild: ang-su n (6.617)  
grandfather: at-chu n (6.611)  
grandmother: am-bi n (6.612)  
grape: ang-gur n (5.23)  
grass: a-gal n (4.652), sam n (4.652)  
grasshopper: ha-guk n (4.469)  
grave: gop-ram n (6.79)  
graveyard: mang-ru-dam n (6.79)  
gravy: mi-chi n (5.409)  
greedy: mat-u-a vt (7.723), mik-bok-a vt (7.723), mik-ni-a vi (7.723)  
green: git-ting vi (4.692), tang-sik-a vi (3.534)  
greens: sak n (5.409)  
grind: nong-a vt (9.554), pe-a vt (9.284)  
grindstones: ba-sur n (5.438)  
gritty: skem-a vi (3.662)  
groan: chot-chot-a vi (7.29), gek-gek-a vi (7.29), ma-am-a vi (7.29)  
grape: kin-ok-a vt (9.531)  
ground: ha- n (4.242)  
group: jat n (6.89)  
groups: tim- cls (1.35)  
grow: cha-a vi (4.691)  
growing: rong-dal-a vi (2.211)  
growl: ran-a vi (4.476)  
grub: bi-jong n (4.474), jong-men n (4.474)  
guard: dong-tim-a vt (9.73), gat n (8.41), ni-rok-a vt (9.73)  
guardian: dong-tim-gip-a n (9.73), gar-jen n (8.41)  
guide: dil-a vt (9.73)  
gullet: git-ok-nal n (6.27)  
gun: bon-duk n (5.845), chan-dal n (5.845), sil-ai n (5.845)  
habit: be-wal n (8.14)  
hail: stil n (4.329)  
hair of body: kim-il n (6.25)  
hair of head: kin-i n (6.25)  
hairless: ka-kil-ang adv (6.26), ko-ka-rok adv (6.26)  
half taka coin: rep-a n (8.447)  
half way: bik-bi-grik n (2.11), jang-chi n (5.87)  
half: a-dra n (3.3700), bon-jang-chi-a vt (9.14), pak-sa n (2.52)
halves: pak- cls (1.37)
hammer: ha-tur n (5.838)
hand: jak n (6.233)
handkerchief: ru-mal n (6.521)
handle: bi-pong n (5.87), ga’-pong n (5.87), rim’-a vt (9.531), rim’-chak-ra n (9.531)
handles: na-gi-ra n (5.854)
hang up: chring-chri-a vt (9.253)
hang: ding-de-a vi (9.255), ka-ding-de-a vt (9.253), ring-ri-a vi (9.255),
       sring-a vt (9.65)
hanging: dol-deng-dol-deng adv (9.257)
hanuman: ha-mak rang-gol n (4.418)
happiness: ku-si n (7.721)
happy: han’-seng-a vi (7.721)
hard: rak-a vi (3.664)
harmonium: har-mo-ni n (8.85)
hat: to-pi n (6.522)
hatch: pe’-a vt (9.284)
have: dong-a vi (9.11)
hawk: do’-reng n (4.43)
haystack: pal-a n (4.66)
he: bi-a pro (1.62)
head ache: sko sa’-dik-a vi (8.94)
head: sko n (6.22)
headhunting sword: mil’-am n (5.845)
headman: mat-bor n (8.12), nok-ma n (8.441), sko-tong n (8.12)
healthy: han cheng-a vi (8.91), han’-jak nam-a vi (8.91), han’-sel-a vi
       (8.91), mang-rak-a vi (8.91)
hear: kin-a-a vt (3.622)
heart wood: ku-ro n (4.673)
heart: ka’-rong-ti n (6.27), ka’-tong n (6.27)
heaven: sal-gi n (8.52)
heavily: je’-et-je’-et dak-ing-a vt (9.67)
heavy: chrim-a vi (3.73), je’-et-je’-et adv (3.73)
heel: ja’-pa-ke’-chok n (6.238)
heir: nok-krom n (6.617)
heiress: nok-na n (6.617)
help: chak-a vt (9.73)
hen: do’-bi-ma n (4.43)
herb: sam n (4.652)
here: i’-no lw (2.13)
heron: ha-rong n (4.43)
hibiscus: jo-ba-pul n (5.28)
hiccup: ti-ik-a vi (9.44)
hidden: mit-tin-a vi (9.344)
hide: don-u-a vt (9.344), kat-nap-a vi (9.316), nap-sik-a vi (9.344)
hiding: tim-e tim-e adv (9.344)
high land: ha-sak-a n (4.232)
high: chu-a-a vi (2.213)
highway: so-rok n (5.646)
hill tract: ha-sak-a n (4.232)
hill: ha-bri n (4.322), ha-chik n (4.232), ha-sak-a n (4.232)
hills: ha-rong-ga n (4.232)
hinder: chang-a vt (9.77), peng-a vt (9.77)
hit: dok-a vt (9.553), nang-a vt (9.552)
hive: bi-ja-kol n (4.475)
hoarse: git-ok-srang-ja vi (7.15), seo-seo-e bol-a vph (7.15), su-del-a vi (3.624)
hoe: git-chi n (5.831), ko-dal n (5.831)
hold back: rim-rik-a vt (9.531)
hold: ol-a vt (9.532), rim-a vt (9.531), sik-a vt (9.531), tom-a vt (9.532)
hole: ha-gop n (2.38), ha-kil-ok n (2.38), ha-kol n (2.38)
holes: kol-cls (1.32)
holiday: chu-ti n (8.433)
holly spirit: rong-tal-gip-a n (8.54)
homesick: ru-ang-ru-ang adv (7.743), sim-bra-a vi (7.743)
honey: bi-ja-bit-chi n (4.475)
hook: bor-si n (5.843), ket-a vt (9.61)
hope: a-sa n (7.725), ka-dong-a vt (7.725), mik-sok-a vt (7.42)
horn, musical: sa-nai n (8.85)
horn: a-du-ri n (8.85), grong n (4.473), sing-ga n (8.85)
hornet: ong n (4.463)
horse fly: tam-pi-rong-reng n (4.462)
horse: go-ra n (5.35)
hot season: ding-ka-ri n (2.84)
hot: ding-a vi (3.673), gek-gek adv (3.673), jro-a vi (3.682)
hours: gon-ta n (2.53)
house, masonry: dal-an-nok n (5.624)
house lizard: kan-chi-dik n (4.441)
house spirit: nok-ni mit-e n (8.54)
house: nok n (5.622)
household: nok n (5.622)
how many?: ba-di-sik qw (1.21)
how much?: ba-di-sik qw (1.21)
how?: ba-dak-a qw (1.21), ba-di qw (1.21), ba-dik-e qw (1.21)
however: in-di-ba conj (1.4), kin-tu conj (1.4)
howl: gring-a vi (4.476)
hug: gip-ak-a vt (9.531)
human being: man-de n (6.821)
hump of cattle: sin-chi n (4.473)
hundred: rit-cha-sa num (3.3799)
hungry: ok-kri-a vt (5.48)
hunt: si-kal dak-a vt (4.49)
hurriedly: hang-jang adv (3.44)
hurt: sar-dik-a vi (8.94)
husband: ang-se n (6.614), bu-ra n (6.828), se n (6.614)
husk: bi-kil-ap n (4.673)
husked rice: me-rong n (5.25)
husks: bi-gra n (4.677), cha-che n (4.677)
I: ang-a pro (1.62)
ice: bo-rop n (4.329)
if: jo-di conj (1.4)
ignite: so-a vt (5.424)
immediately: teng-kap teng-kap adv (2.53)
immerse: sin-a vt (9.277)
impatient: mang-meng-a vi (9.78)
imperative: -bo pes (0.215)
important: bil-ong-a vi (3.76), mong-song n (3.76)
impoverished: dil-a vi (8.441)
improve in health: sel-a vi (8.91)
improve: gri-a vi (8.91), jom-a gri-a vi (8.91), nam-et-a vt (3.455)
in addition: i-ni-ko conj (1.4)
in front of: mik-kang-o pp (1.11)
in: -o cm (0.12)
incantation: mon-tro n (8.566)
incest: ma-dong n (6.657)
inchworm: jong-kang-ku n (4.467)
incisors: wa-chu n (6.22)
inclined: gok-a vi (7.725), gong-a vi (7.725)
including: ra-e adv (3.346)
incomplete: tong-kan-di adv (3.347)
inconsistent: rip-eng-dam-beng adv (3.718), rong-ret-a vi (2.319), ru-nga-ra adv (9.315)
increase: ba-ri-a vi (8.435), bang-rik-rik-a vi (3.342), bat-a vi (9.312), jal-a vi (3.342)
index finger: jak-si-ot-ra n (6.235)
direct object: -na cm (0.12)
dividual's land: ha-tot n (5.112)
infant: a-wa git-chak n (6.822), a-wa n (6.822), gen-da n (6.822)
inform: a-gan-e don-a vi (7.34), a-gan-e rou-a vi (7.34), in-et-a vt (7.12), ja-nap-a vi (7.34)
inherit: man-rik-a vt (9.11)
inject: su-su-a vt (9.571)
injection: jak-su-a vt (8.99)
injure: ja-sru-a vt (8.566)
ink: ka-li n (7.28)
inquire: sing-e ni-a vi (7.32)
insane: ja-da n (7.44)
insect: jong-n (4.461)
insert: -jrot- aa (9.571), jot-a vt (9.571), jot-ket-a vt (9.571), pot-a vt (6.53), sik-a vt (9.571), sik-ket-a vt (9.571)
inside: ning-a pp (1.11)
insipid: chi-brek-a vi (3.686)
insistently: jur n (7.56)
instead: gan-da pp (1.13)
instrumental: -cha cm (0.12)
insufficient: bori-dik-a vi (9.14)
insult: in-tat-a vt (7.27), je-a vt (7.27), sa-wi-a vt (7.27)
in insultingly: -git-chi- aa (7.27)
in intelligence: but-i n (7.44)
in intelligent: gi-sik rak-a vph (7.44)
intend: mang-sok-a vi (7.48), mang-song-a vt (7.48)
interest, monetary: pi-sa n (6.822)
in ter est: sut n (8.442)
in ter ested: gi-sik nang-a vph (7.47)
in ter rupted: rim-dang-a vph (8.433)
in testines: bi-bik n (6.27)
in tox icated: pek-a vt (5.48)
in ter ir able: mi-k-on bi-rong n (6.22)
in iron: sil n (5.88)
irregular: ru-ra-ga-ra adv (9.315)
irritated skin: me-sak-a vi (8.94)
irritated: mang-meng-a vi (9.78)
it ch: ka-kit-a vi (3.64), me-sak-a vi (8.94)
jackal: bel n (4.419), sir-ol n (4.419)
jackfruit: te-brong n (5.22)
jaw bone: cheng-kin-a n (6.28)
Job’s tears: me-ga-ru n (5.23)
join: chap-a vt (9.647), rit-chu-a vt (9.63)
joint: gi-ro n (6.28)
joints: jak-si-gi-ro n (6.235)
joke: bor-bru-a vi (7.25), bu-rok-a vi (7.26), re-jil-a vi (7.26), rong-kal-a vi (7.26)
joyful: han-seng-a vi (7.721)
jug: jok n (5.436)
juice: bit-chi n (4.674)
jumble: bal-ru-ru-a vt (3.718)
jump: cha-chrok-a vi (9.318), cha-sri-sra-a vi (9.346), chrok-a vi (9.318)
jungle: bring n (4.630)
just: -a-ri- aa (3.344), -pit-chi pvs (3.344)
key: jat n (5.82)
kind: jat n (6.89), ro-kom n (3.437)
kinds: ro-kom- cls (1.31)
kingsman: ang-bak n (6.634), chat-chi n (6.63)
kiss: ku-chot-a vt (9.44), ku-dim-a vt (9.44)
kitchen: pak-nok n (5.622), ran-a n (5.622)
knee: ja-sku n (6.237)
kneed: nong-a vt (9.554)
kneel: ja-sku-ting-a vi (9.349), ting-a vi (9.349)
knife: chak-ku n (5.832), chu-ri n (5.832)
know how: sap-a vi (7.55)
know: hai-a vi (7.41)
knowledgeable: gi-sik mik-ta vph (7.41)
laborer: cha-kol n (8.41), ka-mil-a n (8.41)
lack: tek-ki-a vi (7.726)
lacking: a-ra-ra-a vi (5.401)
ladder: chong-go n (5.835), jang-ki n (5.636)
ladle: a-ta-sil n (5.436), brak n (5.438), pong n (5.438), sat-a vt (9.277)
lame person: neng-ra n (8.96)
lame: kong-dep-a vi (8.96), o-chol adv (6.78)
lamp: ba-i n (5.82)
land, of village: ha-kin-te n (4.244)
land measure: pa-ki n (5.12), sot-tang-so n (5.12)
land:  ha- n (4.242), ha-ga n (4.232)
landlord:  jo-mi-dar n (8.41)
language:  ba-sa n (7.11)
languor:  ha-mak rang-gol n (4.418), rang-gol n (4.418)
large:  -ma dgs (2.213), dal-a vi (2.213)
larva:  jong-men n (4.474)
last:  me-ja wal-o lw (2.62)
last night:  me-ja wal-o lw (2.62)
late:  ha-rim-a vi (2.53)
laugh:  ka-ding-a vi (7.29)
leaf:  bi-jak n (4.675), bol-bi-jak n (4.675)
lay eggs:  chi-a vt (4.482)
layers:  chap-a vt (9.647), git-dap-a vi (9.647), mit-dap n (5.854)
laugh:  ka-ding-a vi (7.29)
lead:  dil-a vt (9.73), si-sa n (5.88)
leader:  mat-bor n (8.12), nok-ma n (8.441), sko-tong n (8.12)
leak, of a tire:  liik n (5.872)
leave behind:  don-ba-a vt (9.538)
leave out:  don-e adv (9.538)
leech:  el-u n (4.466), ru-at n (4.466)
left:  jak-a-si n (2.11)
leg:  ja- n (6.237), ja-chok n (6.237), ja-git-teng n (6.237), ja-teng n (6.237)
legal case:  gro vi (8.13), kap-pa gro n (8.13), ma-mil-a n (8.13), sal-iis n (8.13)
lend:  bot-a vph (8.446), jin-ang n (8.446)
length:  gro n (2.34)
lengthwise:  gro dak-e adv (2.34)
leopard:  mat-cha n (4.416)
lessen:  kom-i-a vi (3.345)
lesson:  po-ra n (7.28)
let go:  rim-sik-ok-a vt (9.54), tap-skot-a vt (9.54)
let property:  me-di ron-a vph (8.425)
letter:  chi-ti n (7.28)
leukoderma: ja-ka-bok n (8.953)
level: mín-ik-a vi (3.662), so-man adv (2.311)
lichen: bol-na-gil n (4.656)
lick: srak-a vt (9.44)
lid: da-kon n (5.438)
lie: boy-a ru-a vi (7.25)
life: jang-gi n (8.52), ji-bon n (6.77)
lifetime: ji-bon n (6.77)
lift: chil-a vt (9.532), de-a vt (9.532), de-gat-a vt (9.532), de-tom-brot-a vt (9.532), tom-a vt (9.532)
light, not dark: jrang-a vi (3.554)
light complexion: han-git-chak n (3.532)
light fire: sor-a vt (5.424)
light weight: cheng-a vi (3.73)
light: ja-seng-a vi (3.554)
lightly: -srok-aa (3.64)
lightning: el-ep-a vi (4.344)
like this: in-dak-e conj (1.4)
like: -git-a cm (0.12), mik-cha-a vt (7.722), nam-nik-a vt (7.722), sin-a vt (7.722)
lily: li-li-pul n (5.28)
limb: bol-dail n (4.671)
lime: chun n (5.405), ka-go-ji n (5.22), le-bu n (5.22), te-mat-chu n (5.22)
limp: ja-ding-a vi (8.96), kong-dep-a vi (8.96), le-la-le-la adv (2.23)
lineage bond: ha-kim n (6.651)
lineage: ma-chong n (6.63), ma-ha-ri n (6.63)
lip: ku-chil n (6.22)
liquid: chi n (5.409)
listen: kin-a-a vt (3.622), kin-a-tim-a vt (3.622)
litchi: le-chu n (5.22)
literacy: lek-ka-po-ra n (7.28)
little finger: juk-si-pi-sa n (6.235)
little while: dik-dik-sa adv (2.53)
little: ak-ki n (3.345), ak-ki-sa n (3.345), chon-a vi (2.215), kom n (3.345), ok-ki-sa n (3.345)
live: tang-a vi (6.77)
liver: bi-ka n (6.27)
living: git-tang-a vi (4.690)
lizard: a-ring-ga n (4.441), dot-mi n (4.441), git-u-ra n (4.441), kan-chi-dik n (4.441), map-pru n (4.441)
load: bo-rai-a vt (2.26), de-gat-a vt (9.532), gat-a vt (9.62)
loads: bu-ja-cls (1.34)
loan: jin-ang n (8.446), on-cheng-a vt (8.446), riin n (8.446)
location: bi-ap n (2.11), ha'-dam n (2.11), ha'-dok n (2.11), jai-ga n (2.11)
locative: -cha cm (0.12), -chi cm (0.12), -o cm (0.12)
lock: tal-a n (5.82), tek-a vt (9.61)
locked: tal-a tek-a vph (9.61)
log: bol-gan-tong n (4.672), bol-tong n (4.672)
loin cloth: gan-do n (6.527), reng-ti n (6.527)
lonely: gu-gu-a vi (7.743), ma'-ring-a vi (7.743), ru-ang-ru-ang adv (7.743), sim-bra-a vi (7.743), sin'-dik-a vi (7.743)
long, of clothes: ja'-ro-a vi (2.213)
long for: na-si-a vt (7.723)
long pants: pul-pen n (6.527)
long time: ja'-ro-a vi (2.213)
long: chong-dang-dang adv (2.312), ro'-a vi (2.213), ro'-rek-a vi (2.312)
look after: dong-tim-a vt (9.73), mit-tang-a vt (9.73), ni-rok-a vt (9.73)
look at: ni-a vt (3.514)
look down on: chon-nik-a vt (7.43)
look for: nem-a vt (3.514), san-di-a vt (3.514)
look like: nik-a vt (3.512)
look out for: mik-sok-a vt (7.42)
look up to: dal'-nik-a vt (7.43)
look up: ni-cha-a vi (9.41)
loop: na-bak n (5.87), na-gi-ra n (5.854)
loose: dil-dek-ga-dek adv (2.23), gor-ok-a vi (9.572), le-la-la-la adv (2.23), rok-rak-a vi (2.23)
loosen: gor-ok-a vi (9.572), rok-rek-a vt (2.23)
lose: a-ma gal-a vph (8.442), gim-a-et-a vt (9.538), tok-ki-a vi (8.81)
loss: his-kan n (8.442), nok-san n (8.442)
lost: brang-a vi (9.538), gim-a-a vi (9.538)
lots: -ra-ra ns (0.11), be-si adv (3.342), dam-bu adv (3.342)
loud: jang-e adv (3.628), jang-ti-ga vi (3.628), ka'-so-a vi (3.628), prak-prak adv (2.71)
loudly: ting-pret adv (7.29)
louse: tik n (4.468)
love potion: mal-a-ni sam n (7.722)
love: ka'-sa-a vt (7.722), mik-cha-a vt (7.722)
low land: ha'-pal n (4.231)
low: hon-dim-a vi (2.11)
lower back: kap-pi n (6.243)
luck: a-si n (8.52)
lukewarm: bom-bom adv (3.673)
lungs: ka-sop n (6.27)
lust: mik-bok-a vt (7.723), mik-sil-ek-a vt (7.723), na-si-a vt (7.723)
macaque: ha-mak n (4.418), mak-kre n (4.418)
machine: kol n (5.835), me-siin n (5.838)
magic: ban-a vt (8.566)
main: mong-song n (3.76)
maintain: rak-ki-a vt (9.73)
maize: me-kop n (5.23)
majority: pak-ma n (3.342)
make friends: bi-sa ka-a vph (6.83)
make: dak-a vt (9.11), dok-a vt (9.553)
male: -bi-pa dns (4.40)
man (male): me-a n (6.821), me-a-sa n (6.821)
manage: ham-sok-a vi (7.55), jak-chak-a vi (7.55), man-chak-a vi (7.55)
Mandi language: man-de-ku n (7.11)
mandible: cheng-kin-a n (6.28)
mango: te-ga-chu n (5.22)
manioc: tu'-bol-chu n (5.27)
many: bang-a vi (3.342)
marigolds: gen-da-pul n (5.28)
market: ha-ti n (8.449)
marry: bi-a-a vt (6.651), kim-a vt (6.651)
massage: rim-rok-a vt (9.554)
mat: am n (5.852), da-ri n (5.852), pa-ti n (5.852)
match: mes n (5.423), wa!-bi-ma n (5.423), wa!-tot n (5.423)
mate: ro-a vi (4.482)
mattress: to-sok n (6.591)
mature: dil-ding bal-jak adv (6.78)
maturing: bal-jak adv (6.78)
auds: mon-cls (1.36)
meal: mi-a-tam n (5.477)
means: ra-ma n (5.646)
measure: miik-to-a vt (9.66), to-a vt (9.66)
meat: be-en n (6.27)
meet: grong-a vt (9.317)
melt: jim-a vi (9.279)
member of council: nem-bar n (8.12)
membrane: bik-chrap n (6.27)
memorial post: kim-a n (8.58)
menstruate: ja re'-a vph (6.72)
menstruation: be-wal n (6.72)
merely: -a-ri-aa (3.344)
mess: bal-ru-ru-a vt (3.718)
messed up: se-ra-be-ra adv (3.718)
messily: chik-chik-chrak-chrak adv (3.718)
messy hair: bu-rang bu-jang adv (6.58), bu-rin-eng bu-sin-eng adv (6.58)
messy: chip-bu rim-bu vi (3.718), jip-u adv (3.718), pang-kim-pang-kam adv (3.718)
meteor: rak-a-si n (4.212)
middle child: ma-jii-la n (6.64)
middle finger: jak-si-jang-chi n (6.235)
middle portion: bi-mang n (6.21)
middle: jang-chi n (5.87)
midnight: wal-jat-chi n (2.52)
midwife: dai n (6.77), jak no-gip-a n (6.77), ni-chak-gip-a n (6.77)
mildly sick: jom-ren-di-a vi (8.91)
milk, mother’s: sok-bit-chi n (6.29)
milk of cow: dut n (5.409)
milky way: mat-ma ra-ma n (4.212)
millet: mi-si-mi n (5.23)
mind: gi-sik n (7.41)
mirror: ai-na n (5.82)
mischief: mang-kal-a vt (9.78)
mist: gu-ri n (4.329)
mistake: bik-bat-a vi (7.13)
mix: brin-a vt (9.535)
mixed colors: kong-brim adv (3.538)
moist: chi-jim-a vi (9.272)
molars: wa-gam n (6.22)
mole: si-son-ta n (8.955)
money lender: ma-ha-jon n (8.41)
money: dang-ga n (8.447)
mongoose: be-ji n (4.419)
monkey: ha-mak rang-gol n (4.418), ha-mak n (4.418), mak-kre n (4.418), rang-gol n (4.418)
month: mas n (2.53)
moo: im-bo-a vi (4.476)
moon: ja-jong n (4.214)
more and more: bang-rik-rik-a vi (3.342)
more: -kal- aa (3.342), a-ro adv (3.348), ba-di-a vi (3.348), bat-e pp (1.17), be-si adv (3.342)
moreover: a-ro-ba conj (1.4), i-ni-ku-no conj (1.4)
morning star: ping-pang n (4.212)
morning: wal-ni n (2.52)
mortar: cha-am n (5.87)
mortgage: buk-re-han n (8.425), sut-re-han n (8.425)
mosquito net: mo-sa-ri n (6.591)
mosquito: gang-gu-a n (4.462)
most: nam-sang adv (3.341), pak-ma n (3.342)
mother-in-law: ma-ni n (6.612)
mother: a-ma n (6.612), ma-gip-a n (6.612), na-gi-pa n (6.612)
mountain pass: ha-sing-sep n (4.232)
mountain: ha-bri n (4.232), ha-chik n (4.232)
mourn: mang-wa-a vi (7.743)
mouse: me-se n (4.419)
mouth: ku-sik n (6.22)
move back and forth: mo-jim-a vi (9.255)
move: de-jit-a vt (9.511), jit-a vi (9.319)
movies: si-ne-ma n (8.85)
much: -mi-si- aa (3.342), bang-a vi (3.342), bang-e adv (3.342), be-si adv (3.342), dam-bu adv (3.342), teng-gil adv (3.342)
mucus: bi-jol n (6.29)
mud construction: ku-ta n (5.631)
mud: be-dol n (4.246), ha-dip-ek n (4.246), ha-pek n (4.246), ha-stap n (4.246)
murder: ma-ri-a vt (6.79)
mustard oil: kas-tel n (5.405), sil-so-ni tel n (5.405)
mustard: sil-so n (5.23)
myna: moi-na n (4.43), se-ru n (4.43), se-ru-man-di n (4.43)
nail: jak-skil n (6.235)
naked: ko-mil-ong-a vi (6.552), mol-ong-ga adv (6.552), pet-ta-rong adv (6.552)
name, Christian: bap-tis-mon-ni bi-ming nph (7.18)
name, familiar, personal: dak-nam n (7.18)
name: bi-ming n (7.18), don-a vt (7.18), ming-a vt (7.18)
napkin: gam-cha n (6.521)
narrow: ap-chon-a vi (2.211), ap-si-si adv (2.211), jang-jot-a vi (2.313), pat-chon-a vi (2.211)
nation: des n (8.22), ha-song n (8.22)
native place: ha-song n (8.22)
native: a-di-ba-si n (6.89)
naughty: deng-gu n (8.33)
navel: gan-du-ri n (6.245)
near: se-pang pp (1.11)
neck: git-ok n (6.241)
necklace: mal-a n (6.563)
need: la-gi-a vt (7.726), nang-a vt (7.726)

needle: reng-si n (6.598), sil-eng-si n (6.598)

negative imperative: da-wil-a vi (2.313)

negative: -ja- aa (0.41)

neglect: si-dil-a vt (9.73)

neighborhood: git-tim n (8.22), pa-ra n (8.22)

nephew: ang-gri n (6.617)

nervous: han-srik-han-srik adv (7.764), ken-sik-a vi (7.764)

nest: bi-tip n (4.475)

nests: bi-top n (4.475)

net: jal n (5.843)

neutral tense: -a pus (0.211)

never: ba-sik-o-ba adv (2.71)

new born: a-wa git-chak n (6.822)

new: git-al vi (3.74)

next year: ka-ri lw (2.66)

next: a’-sam-o pp (1.11)

nibble: gak-a vt (4.487)

nicked: wa-grang-a vi (9.282)

niece: nam-chik n (6.617)

night: wal n (2.52)

nine: -sku num (3.3709)

nipple: sok n (6.245), sok-kit-e n (6.245)

nod: chu-stim-a vi (7.96), gak-u-a vi (9.41)

noise: gam’-a vi (3.624), kim-a vi (4.342), tim-tim-a vi (3.624)

noisy: gam’-ru-ru-a vi (3.628), jang-a-tang’-a vi (3.628), jang-be-a vi (3.628), ka’-so-a vi (3.628), prak-prak adv (2.71), wek-wak-a vi (3.624)

nominative: -a cmn (0.12)

noon meal: mi-sal n (5.477)

noon: sal-jat-chi n (2.52)

normal: ram-ram adv (3.44)

north: sal-gro n (4.219), ut-tor n (4.218)

nose jewel: pa-sa n (6.562)

nose: ging n (6.22)

nostalgia: sim-bra-a vi (7.743)

nostril: ging-kol n (6.22)

not very good: bang’-e nam-ja vph (3.453)

not yet: -ku-ja- aa (0.41)

not: -ja- aa (0.41)

notice: nik-man-a vi (3.512)

nowhere: ba-no-ba adv (2.13)

nutmeg: joi-pol n (5.22)

o’clock: ba-ji n (2.51)
obey: ma-ni-a vt (9.75), ra’-chak-a vt (9.531)
objective case: -ko cm (0.12)
objects: ji-niis n (5.81)
observe: ni-rok-a vt (9.73)
obstruct: bang-kang-a vt (9.77), dong-peng-a vt (9.77), peng’-a vt (9.77)
obstructed: kang-a vi (9.77)
observe: sik-a vt (9.531)
odd jobs: tak-tuk n (8.433)
odor of body: hair-dil n (3.688)
offer: chin-a vt (8.562)
offering: a-mu-a vt (8.562), ru-gal-a vi (8.562)
often: da’-an-da’-an adv (2.71), jem-jem-a vi (2.71)
oil, lubricating: mo-bel n (5.838)
oil lamp: du-ait n (5.82)
oil: tel n (5.405)
oily: chirp-chrip adv (9.272)
okay: at-cha int (0.66)
old woman: bu-ri n (6.828)
old: git-cham vi (3.74), o-chol adv (6.78)
omens: a-si n (8.52)
omit: don-a vt (9.68)
omitting: don-e adv (9.538)
on time: -ring- aa (2.51)
on top: sak-a-o pp (1.11), sak-a-pong pp (1.11)
on: -o cm (0.12)
one: -sa num (3.3701)
one: hair-tang pro (1.64)
onion: ro-sun git-chak n (5.23)
only: -pit-chi pres (3.344), -sa ns (0.14), ak-sa adv (3.344), ma-mang adv (3.344)
ooze: gip-u-a vi (2.22), min-pret-a vi (8.953)
open eyes: mik-uu-a vi (7.97)
open: bal-ang-ga n (2.26), king-kil-ak-a vt (6.53), king-tal-a vt (9.60)
or: ong-ja-o-ba conj (1.4)
orange: ko-nil-a n (5.22), na-rang n (5.22)
order: in-a vi (7.12)
ordinary: ram-ram adv (3.44)
organization: so-ni-ti n (8.48)
original: a-dot n (3.44)
Orion’s belt: dong-gip-eng dong-gru n (4.212)
other: a-gre pp (1.16), gip-in n (3.437)
Otter: mat-ram n (4.419)
outside: bai-re n (5.644), hair-gat-e adv (5.644)
outsider: a-na-ri n (1.64)
overcome: man-`chak-a vi (7.55)
overflow: ga-ak-ro-rot-a vi (2.22)
overturned: pang-pil-ek-a vi (9.214)
owl: do-po n (4.43), pe-cha n (4.43)
own: -tang ns (0.11)
owner: mal-iik n (8.41), nok-gip-a n (8.427), nok-ma-gip-a n (8.41)
paddle: cho-a vt (5.86)
paddy field: tal-i n (5.114)
pail: bal-ti n (5.436)
painful: sa-`dik-a vi (8.94)
paint: sit-a vt (9.556)
pairs: jo-ra- cls (1.35)
palm tree: kai-jol n (5.22), tal n (4.632)
palm: jak-pa n (6.235)
pants: pul-pen n (6.527)
papaya: mo-du n (5.22), pe-pe n (5.22)
paper: ka-gos n (7.28), rek-ka n (5.88)
parakeet: do-`sik n (4.43)
parents: a-ma-a-pa n (6.62), ma-`a-pa-a n (6.62), pa-gip-a-na-`gip-a n (6.62)
part (hair): sit-a vt (6.57)
part in hair: tik ra-ma n (6.25)
part: sit-a vt (6.57)
partial: tong-kan-di adv (3.347)
partially: -srok- aa (3.64)
partly: -kim-bak- aa (2.215), gal-e-gal-e adv (3.347)
pass, mountain: ha-sing-sep n (4.232)
pass: bat-a vi (9.312), i-ang-chek-a vi (9.312), re-`ping-grik-a vi (9.317), re-sek-a vt (9.317)
past tense: -a-ming ts (0.312), -jok pvs (0.211)
past: a-ge n (2.62)
pat: dok-tap-a vt (9.552), dok-tip-tip-a vt (9.552)
paternal: a-pa-cha-bak n (6.63)
path: ra-ma n (5.646)
patient: ru-gi n (8.91)
pause: dong-dip-a vi (9.14)
pay attention: gi-sik ror-a vph (7.47)
pay off: chot-a vt (8.446)
pay: bet-ton n (8.435)
payment: ba-ra n (8.442)
pea: men-du n (5.23)
peaceful: dong-rim-a vi (8.32), me-li-a vi (8.32), tom-`tom-a vi (7.764)
peacock: do-di n (4.43)
peak: kim-bik n (5.632)
peanut: ba-dam n (5.23)
pebbles: sil-ki n (4.244)
peck: gak-a vt (4.487), su-a vt (9.571)
pedal: pe-del n (5.872)
peddle: ba-ding-a vt (8.444), pal-ding-a vt (8.444)
pedlar: be-pa-ri n (8.41)
peel off: o-chrak-a vt (8.953)
peel: bi-kop n (4.673), gil-chrak-a vt (8.953), gil-gok-a vi (8.953), gil-si-

ri-a vt (4.482), gil-si-ri-a vt (4.482), o-drak-a vt (5.458), rep-a vt (9.573),
skrik-a vt (4.49)
peg: ku-ti n (5.632)
pen: kol-om n (7.28)
pencil: kat-pen-sil n (7.28), kol-om n (7.28)
penis: ri-gong n (6.249)
people: ak-cls (1.31)
pepper: gol-mo-ris n (5.405)
perch: at-chong-ti-ti-a vi (9.345), ba-a vi (4.482)
period: a-mul n (2.51)
permitted to marry: ke-a vt (6.657)
person: man-de n (6.821)
perspiration: kram-chi n (6.29)
perspire: kram-chi-a vi (9.49)
pester: ma-rai-a vi (9.78)
pestle: rim-ol n (5.87)
pet: rim-rok-a vt (9.554)
pick a fight: bot-a vt (7.36)
pick up: kol-a vt (9.535), kol-am-a vt (9.535)
pick: ak-a vt (5.16)
picture: cho-bi n (5.82)
piece: bi-tin n (5.453)
pieces: -mit-chi- aa (3.347), pri-pri adv (3.347), tin- cls (1.37)
pierce: bu-prot-a vt (9.571), bu-pru-a vt (9.571), pru-a vt (9.571), su-a vt
(9.571), su-pru-a vt (8.99)
pig selling caste: dom n (6.89)
pig: wak n (5.35)
pigeon: do-gu-gu n (4.43), do-ku-ru n (4.43), ho-ri-gol n (4.43)
pile up: jap-a vt (9.647), tom-a vt (9.535)
pile: chong-a vt (9.647), rik-a-a vt (9.535)
piled: bi-chap-bi-chap adv (3.342)
pillow cover: bal-iis-war n (6.591)
pillow: bal-iis n (6.591), ko-dam n (6.591)
pimple: bi-rot n (8.955), ging-sot-ti n (8.955)
pinch: kep-a vt (9.531), se-et-a vt (9.531)
pineapple: a-na-ros n (5.23)
pipe: da-ba n (5.429), nal n (5.87)
pity: ka.-sa-chak-a vt (7.741)
place: -ram dns (0.16), bi-ap n (2.11), dam-cls (1.31), don-a vt (9.68), ha-dam n (2.11), ha-dok n (2.11), jai-ga n (2.11)
places: dam-cls (1.31)
plan: mang-sok-a vi (7.48), mang-song-a vt (7.48)
plank: tok-ta n (5.636)
planter: rep-pi-a vt (9.556)
plate: rang-tal n (5.434)
platform: gau-sang n (5.637)
play flute etc: sik-a vt (8.83)
play musical instruments: ba-jin-a vi (3.624)
play: kal-a vt (8.81)
playing field: da-gai n (8.81), mat n (5.112)
pledge: ku-man-si-a vt (8.566), ku-mik-chet-a vi (7.33), ku-ra-chak-a vi (7.33)
Pleiades: a-bi-sa sak-sin-i n (4.212), do-sat-til a-sek-ki n (4.212)
plentiful: nang-chek-chek-a vi (4.694)
plow: al-a-a vt (5.154), hal we-a vt (5.154), hal-a vt (5.154), nang-gol n (5.831), we-a vt (5.154)
pluck: ak-a vt (5.16), ok-rip-pong-a vt (5.16), pik-a vt (9.572)
plucked: go-ok-a vi (9.572)
plug up: jot-ket-a vt (9.571), mit-chu-a vt (9.61)
plug: mit-chu-ra n (5.438)
plural: -dang ns (0.11), -drang ns (0.11), -rang ns (0.11)
pocket: jep n (6.521)
pods: bi-gra n (4.677)
poem: ko-bi-ta n (7.28)
point to: jak-si-of-a vt (3.516), pin-ik-a vt (3.516)
point: bi-chu n (5.87), bi-ku n (5.87), ka-ni n (5.843), sil-a vt (9.46)
pointed: -chok aa (2.312), chu-eng-a vi (2.312), chu-chok-a vi (2.312)
poison for fish: mak-kal n (5.843)
poison: biis n (8.99), sam-bi-si n (8.58)
poke: jot-a vt (9.571), jot-prot-a vt (9.571), nel-a vt (9.511), sik-a vt (9.571), sur-ting-dat-a vt (9.571), ting-a vt (9.552)
police: po-liis n (8.12)
polish: sol-srok-a vt (9.573)
pollution: ma-rang n (8.52)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Mandi</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pomelo:</td>
<td>jam-bu-ra</td>
<td>433</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pond:</td>
<td>chi-dek</td>
<td>4.252</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>poor:</td>
<td>dil-a</td>
<td>8.441</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pop corn:</td>
<td>koi</td>
<td>5.403</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pop:</td>
<td>bal-a</td>
<td>4.691</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>porcupine:</td>
<td>mat-mat-chi</td>
<td>4.419</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pork:</td>
<td>wak be-en</td>
<td>5.401</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>portion:</td>
<td>bak</td>
<td>3.347</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>portions:</td>
<td>pal-cls</td>
<td>1.34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>possessive:</td>
<td>-ni cm</td>
<td>0.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>post:</td>
<td>krong</td>
<td>5.633</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pot, earthen:</td>
<td>chok-kel-a</td>
<td>5.432</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pot, large:</td>
<td>dik-ka</td>
<td>5.432</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pot for rice beer:</td>
<td>dik-tom</td>
<td>5.432</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pot:</td>
<td>dik-te</td>
<td>5.432</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>potatoes:</td>
<td>al-u-gu-ta</td>
<td>5.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pots:</td>
<td>me-dik sam-dik</td>
<td>5.432</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pound into:</td>
<td>dat-a</td>
<td>9.571</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pound rice:</td>
<td>su-a</td>
<td>9.571</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pounding pole:</td>
<td>rim-ol</td>
<td>5.87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pour off:</td>
<td>ru-srip-a</td>
<td>9.276</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pour over:</td>
<td>ru-brap-a</td>
<td>9.276</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pour rain:</td>
<td>ba-du-ri-a</td>
<td>4.327</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pour:</td>
<td>bra-a</td>
<td>9.276</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>powder:</td>
<td>gin-di</td>
<td>5.405</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>powdery:</td>
<td>dip-ik-a</td>
<td>3.668</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pox:</td>
<td>bi-rot</td>
<td>8.955</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>praise:</td>
<td>ra-song</td>
<td>7.748</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pray:</td>
<td>bi-am-a</td>
<td>8.564</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prayer:</td>
<td>pra-to-na</td>
<td>8.564</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>preacher:</td>
<td>pa-mong</td>
<td>8.51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pregnant:</td>
<td>bik-ma gin-ang</td>
<td>6.74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prepare:</td>
<td>ba-nai-a</td>
<td>9.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>present tense:</td>
<td>-a</td>
<td>0.211</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>press:</td>
<td>par-jret-a</td>
<td>9.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pretending:</td>
<td>dak-bru-a</td>
<td>7.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prevent:</td>
<td>bang-kang-a</td>
<td>9.77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>price:</td>
<td>dam</td>
<td>8.442</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prick:</td>
<td>bu-a</td>
<td>9.571</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pride:</td>
<td>ra-song</td>
<td>7.748</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>priest:</td>
<td>ka-mal</td>
<td>8.51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>primary:</td>
<td>mong-song</td>
<td>3.76</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
principal: a-ma n (8.442)
probably: -na-ba-dong-a pvs (3.42)
proclaim: a-gan-prak-a vt (7.34)
produce: nang-a vi (4.694)
profit: lap n (8.442), lap cha’-a vph (8.442)
progressive: -ing- aa (0.41)
prohibit: bang-kang-a vt (9.77), beng-a vt (9.77)
promise: ku-chak-a vi (7.32), ku-mik-chet-a vi (7.33), ku-ra-chak-a vi (7.33), ku-wat-a vi (7.33)
property, individual: a’-tot n (8.423)
property: ha’-ba song-ba n (8.423), nok-dang n (8.427), som-pot-i n (8.423)
prostitute: pal-ding-a vt (8.444)
protect: chak-a vt (9.73), kren-g-chak-a vi (9.73), peng-a vt (9.77)
protected: bil-ting-a vi (9.65)
provoke: bot-a vt (7.36)
pubic hair, female: si-sim-ang n (6.25)
pubic hair, male: ri-sim-ang n (6.25)
puckering taste: spak-a vi (3.682)
puddle: chi-bil-ok n (4.253), chi-bol n (4.253), chi-ting-kil-ok n (4.253)
puffed rice: koi n (5.403), mu-ri n (5.403)
pull open: sal-kil-ak-a vt (6.53)
pull out: ok-a vt (9.572), pik-a vt (9.572)
pull tightly: sal-jret-jret-a vt (9.511)
pull up: sal-do-a vt (9.511), tom-a vt (9.535)
pull: sal-a vt (9.511)
pulse: dail n (5.23), jak-mit-chi n (6.233)
pump: pum n (5.838), ro-ar pum n (5.838), sel-o ma-sin n (5.838)
pupil of eye: mik-on n (6.22)
purple: ko-e-ri n (3.534)
pus: gang-ma n (6.29)
push forward: sin-il-a vt (9.46)
push hard: sik-jet-a vt (9.67)
put on shoes: ga-a vi (9.321)
put up with: ham-chak-a vt (7.56), han’-chak-a vi (7.56)
put: don-a vt (9.68), rou-r-a vt (9.72)
quarrel: bot-a vt (7.36), ni-ri-a vt (8.32)
quarter moon: ja-jong or-dek n (4.214), ja-kam-bi n (4.214)
question marker: -ma ts (0.31)
question: sing-a vi (7.32)
quick: jak-rak-a vi (2.726), ta’-rak-a vi (2.726)
quickly: -gal-gal aa (2.726), at-tak-ka adv (2.728), bing-si-bing-si adv (2.726), gong-rak-e adv (0.5), gong-rak-sak-sak adv (2.726), rip-ak-rip-ak adv (2.726), ta-ra-ta-ri adv (2.726), tap adv (2.726), teng-kap teng-kap adv (2.53), teng-re adv (2.726)
quiet: jrip-a vi (3.626), ka-sin-a vi (2.724)
quietly: ka-sin-chip-chip adv (3.626), si-wil adv (3.627), srok adv (3.627)
quilt: lep n (6.591)
rabbit: kor-gus n (4.419), pui-ta n (4.419)
rack: al-na n (5.82)
rafter: tong-kru n (5.632)
raggedy: ken-ta-a vi (9.292)
railing: jak-rim-ra n (5.646)
rain drops: bi-te n (4.327)
rain: ba-du-ri-a vi (4.327), mik-ka n (4.325), wa-a vi (4.325)
rainy season: wa-chi n (2.84)
raise: de-a vt (9.352), mit-tang-a vt (9.73)
rake: al-pat n (5.438), ot-a vt (9.58)
rancid: kal-ting-a vi (3.688)
ranger: ren-jar n (8.41)
rapidly: gong-rak-a vi (2.726)
rapist: to-re-kok n (8.33)
rash: na-rip-pu-a vi (8.953)
rat: me-se n (4.419)
raw: git-ting vi (4.692)
razor: mrit n (5.832)
reach: gip-a vi (3.341), sok-a vi (9.313)
read: po-ri-a vt (7.28)
ready: ta-ri-a vt (9.13)
real: a-dot n (3.44), chong-mot n (3.44)
really: a-sol-e adv (3.44), be-be adv (3.44), chek-chek adv (3.44)
reason: a-sel pp (1.13)
reborn: at-chi-pil-a vi (8.52)
recede: srok-a vi (9.273)
receive: ra-a vt (9.519), ra-chak-a vt (9.531), rim-chak-a vt (9.531)
recognize: hai-rik-a vi (7.45)
reconcile: nang-rim-it-a vt (8.32)
reconciliation: mi-mang-sa n (8.15)
records: re-kot n (5.12)
recover: sel-a vi (8.91)
red ant: ket-chi-ra n (4.465)
red: git-chak vi (3.532)
reddish: gang-git-chak adv (3.532), git-chak-mrang-a vi (3.532)
reduce: kom-i-a vi (3.345)
reed: gong n (4.652)
reflect: rik-rak-a vi (3.556)
reflection: ja-gring n (3.558)
reform: gi-sik-pil-a vi (7.41)
refuge: chak-a vt (7.56)
refuse: je-chak-a vt (7.33)
region: ha-dok n (2.11)
regularly: jem-jem-a vi (2.71)
release: wat-a vt (9.72)
religion: dor-mo n (8.51)
remember: gi-sik ra-vph (7.45)
remove: ro-on-a vt (9.511)
rename: don-jri-a vt (7.18)
rent: me-di n (8.425), me-di ra-vph (8.425)
repeat: pil-tai-a vi (2.71)
repeatedly go: i-ang-jem-jem-a vi (9.312)
repeatedly: -jring dns (2.71), bar-bar adv (2.71), jem-jem-a vi (2.71), jring-jring adv (2.71)
repelled: mit-chi-a vt (7.744)
reply: a-gan-chak-a vt (7.32), in-chak-a vi (7.32)
request: bi-a vt (7.38), mol-mol-a vi (7.38)
require: nang-a vt (7.726)
resembling: -git-a cm (0.12)
reside: dong-a vi (9.11), dong-chak-a vi (9.11), dong-kam-a vi (9.11)
resist: wa-ra-chak-a vt (7.39)
respect: dal-nik-a vt (7.43)
respond: ku-nik-a vi (7.32)
rest: neng-tak-a vi (7.94)
return: chot-a vt (8.446), i-ang-pil-a vi (9.312), i-ba-pil-a vi (9.312), pil-a vi (9.315), pil-a vi (9.315), pil-a vi (9.315), wal-pil-a vi (9.315)
reverse: ham-pil-a vt (9.327)
reversed: pang-pil-a vi (9.214)
revolve: go-re-a vi (9.214), wil-wil-a vi (9.327)
rib: gu-a-si n (6.28)
rice and curry: mi-sam n (5.403), mi-si-sam-si n (5.403)
rice plant: mi n (5.25)
rice pot: me-dik n (5.432)
rice pounder: teng-ki n (5.835)
rice seedling: jal-n (4.677), ro-a n (5.25)
rich person: nok-ma n (8.441)
rich: nok-ma cha-a vi (8.441)
rickshaw: riik-sa n (5.86)
ride: ga-kat-a vi (9.318)
ridge: kim-bik n (5.632)
right away: teng-kap teng-kap adv (2.53)
right hand: jak-ra n (2.11)
right: kra-a vi (6.657)
ring finger: jak-si-jang-chi n (6.235)
ring for finger: ang-gut n (6.564), jak-si-tam n (6.564)
ring: ang-gut n (6.564)
ringing: teng-teng-a vi (3.624)
ripe: bri-a vi (4.692), min-a vi (4.694), nang-chek-chek-a vi (4.694)
rise: cha-a vi (4.691), cha-sri-sra-a vi (9.346), na-a vi (3.512)
river: chi-bi-ma n (4.252), gang n (4.252), no-di n (4.252)
road: ra-ma n (5.646), ras-ta n (5.646), so-rok n (5.646)
roam: re-am-a vi (9.319)
roar: am-a vi (4.476), ran-a vi (4.476)
robber: da-kait n (8.33)
rock: ring-reng-a vi (9.218), rong-te n (4.244)
rogue: mat-te n (5.33)
roll up: dol-a vt (9.645), tol-a vt (9.645)
roll: bil-a vt (9.645), go-rim-rim-a vt (9.54)
roof of mouth: chik-ak n (6.22)
roof: nok-king n (5.632)
rooster: do-bi-pa n (4.43)
root: ja-dil n (4.678), ring-gil-a vt (4.487)
rope: do-ri n (6.594)
rose: gul-ap n (5.28)
rot: so-a vi (4.696)
rotten: bor-ol-a vi (3.688), kal-ting-a vi (3.688), so-brok-a vi (4.696)
rough: bu-rop-bup-top adv (3.662), rik-kap-rik-kap adv (3.662), rik-ki-rik-kot adv (3.662)
round things: rong-cls (1.32)
round: -tom-aa (2.319), da-wil-a vi (2.313), gul-gul-a vi (2.313), tam-bing-a vi (2.313)
rounded: -bi-bom dns (2.319)
row: cho-a vt (5.86)
rower pump: ro-ar pam n (5.838)
rub: nong-a vt (9.554), rim-rok-a vt (9.554), rip-a vi (9.279)
rubbish place: kal-bong vt (5.472)
rubbish: mo-la n (3.716)
rumor: kur-rit-chu-a vi (7.31)
run, nose: ging-chi-mik-chi ong-kat-ing-a vph (8.93)
run away: kat-a vi (9.316), kat-sit-tap-a vi (9.316)
run: kat-a vi (9.316)
rust: chi-rin-ik n (5.88), sil-git-chak n (5.88)
sacrifice: a-mu-a vt (8.562), krit-a vt (8.562)
sad: sin’-dik-a vi (7.743)
sag: dol-dop-a vi (9.642)
said: in-a vi (7.12)
sal tree: bol-sal n (4.632), go-ja-ri n (4.632)
saliva: ku-ri n (6.29)
salt: kai-sim n (5.405)
same: ap-san n (3.433), bai-bai adv (3.433), dam-san adv (2.25)
sand: har-cheng n (4.242)
sandal: ja-kop n (6.523), sen-dil n (6.523)
sap: bit-chi n (4.674), sek-ki n (4.674)
sari: sa-ri n (6.526)
satan: soi-tan n (8.54)
satisfied: ok-ka-a vt (5.48)
saucer: ba-ti n (5.434)
save: tang-et-a vt (6.77)
savings: som-bol n (8.427)
say: a-gan-a vt (7.12), in-a vi (7.12)
scar: ma-ga n (8.955)
scarred: mat-a vi (3.666)
scatter: go-pri-pra-a vt (9.54), go-sri-sra-a vt (9.54)
scattered: rik-king-rik-king adv (3.718)
school building: skul-nok n (5.624)
scissors: ke-si n (5.832)
scold: kar’-cha-a vt (7.36), sa-wi-a vt (7.27)
scoop: bak-wak-a vt (9.576), sat-a vt (9.277), sat-pak-a vt (9.277)
schorch: so’-sim-prak-a vt (5.424)
scrape off: rik-kit-a vt (9.557)
scratch: brik-a vt (9.554), bu-chrak-a vt (9.554), ku’-ak-a vt (9.554), mat-chrit-a vt (8.955)
scrawny: ran-chok-a vi (6.46)
scream: chrik-a vi (7.15)
screetch: gi-jo-a vi (7.29)
screw driver: mat-tul n (5.838)
scrub: not-a vt (9.557)
search: nem-a vt (3.514), san-di-a vt (3.514)
seat: chiit n (5.82), siit n (5.872)
second wife, give: dong-chap-a vt (6.652)
second: -gin-i num (3.3702)
secretly: srok adv (3.627), tim-e tim-e adv (9.344)
see: nik-a vt (3.512)
seed: bit-chi-ri n (4.677)
seedling, rice: ro-a n (5.25)
seedling: jal-a n (4.677)
seedlings: geng- cls (1.38)
seeds: bi-gron n (4.677)
seep: ong-mi-sep-a vi (9.279)
seers: ser- cls (1.36)
seize: sik-a vt (9.531)
select: ba-si-a vt (9.536)
self: -tang ns (0.11), han-tang pro (1.64)
selfish: al-ak-si vi (7.724)
sell: pal-a vt (8.444)
semen: ri-met n (6.29)
send: wat-a vt (9.72)
sensitive plant: sam-mik-chip n (4.656)
separate: al-a-da adv (3.435), gi-sil-a vi (6.657)
separated: -gok- aa (9.282)
servant: nok-kol n (8.41)
serve: chin-a vt (8.562), sa-a vt (5.458)
serving: mi-dap n (5.453), mi-pal n (5.453), sam-dap n (5.453)
sesame: spin n (5.405)
set, of: nap-a vi (9.313)
set down: on-a vi (9.68)
set up household: gi-sil-a vi (6.657)
set up post: song-a vt (9.571)
settle legal case: si-a vi (6.79)
settle out: jin-ong-a vi (9.279)
settle: song-dong-a vt (8.22), wat-a vt (9.72)
settlement: mi-mang-sa n (8.15), song-nok n (8.22)
seven: -sin-i num (3.3707)
sew: sik-a vt (9.571)
sexual relations: jur-a vi (6.72), to-re-a vi (6.72)
sexually aroused: gang-a vi (6.72)
shabby: gol-ki n (9.292), ken-ta-a vi (9.292)
shade: sal-ik-kim n (3.558)
shadow: ja-gring (3.558)
shady: sal-ik-kim n (3.558)
shaft: bi-sok n (5.87)
shake hands: jak-pa bri-a vph (9.46)
shake head: na-reng-reng-a vt (9.41), rong-reng-a vi (9.41)
shake: bik-bik-a vt (9.515), chi-chi-a vt (9.515), chok-chok-a vt (9.515),
dec-bri-a vt (5.16), dil-dil-a vi (9.322), han-sim-mo-a vi (9.322), jik-jik-a
vt (9.515), jil-jil-a vi (9.322), jing-jing-a vt (9.515), jing-jeng-ga-jeng adv
(9.218), jok-jek-a vt (9.515), jok-jok-a vi (9.322), mo-chi-chi-a vt (9.515),
mo-je-jek-a vt (9.515), mo-jim-a vt (9.255), mo-rek-rek-a vt (9.515),
rek-rek-a vt (9.515), rem-bu-a vt (9.515)
shaky: ring-rang-ga-rang adv (2.23), ring-rang-ga-rang adv (9.324)
shallow: chep-chep-a vi (2.215)
shameless: kha cha-na gu-al-a vph (7.745), mik-gil dong-ja vph (7.745)
share: bak n (3.347), su-al-a vt (8.427)
sharecrop: ba-gi ron-a vph (8.425)
sharecropping: ba-gi n (8.425)
sharp: da-reng-a vi (3.666), mat-a vi (3.666), sim-pram-a vi (3.666),
slang-srang adv (3.666), tap-pa-reng-reng adv (2.312)
sharpen: hul-a vt (3.666), wil-a vt (3.666)
shave: rok-a vt (9.557), srik-a vt (9.573)
she: bi-a pro (1.62)
shed skin: gil-si-ri-a vt (4.482)
sheep: be-ra n (5.35), do-mok-me-ra n (5.35)
shell: a-kam-pi n (5.438), bi-kil-ap n (4.673), bi-king n (4.473)
shelter: nok-chak-a vt (9.72)
shield: spi n (5.845)
shin: ja-rik-ing n (6.237)
shine: ching-a vi (3.556), chret dak-a vph (3.556), jing-jang-a vi (4.344),
net-a vi (3.556), rik-rak-a vi (3.556), seng-a vi (3.554), teng-a vi (3.556)
shiny: jil-jeng jil-jeng adv (3.556)
shirt: chol-a n (6.527), gen-ji n (6.521)
shiver: han-sim-mo-a vi (9.322), tep-tep-a vi (9.322), til-til-a vi (9.322)
shoe: ja-kop n (6.523)
sneakers, rubber: jut-ta n (6.523)
sneakers: jut-ta n (6.523)
shoot: go-a vt (9.54)
shooting star: rak-a-si n (4.212)
shop: do-kan n (8.449)
shore: chi-rik-ing n (4.252)
short cut: i-tong-tang-a vi (9.312), re-tong-tang-a vi (9.319)
short pants: hap-pen n (6.527)
short: ban-dang-a vi (3.341), ben-dok-dok adv (6.46), hon-dim-a vi (2.11),
kal-tang-a vi (2.215), kan-dok-a vi (2.215), ken-dok-a vi (2.215)
shorten: or-dim-it-a vt (9.649)
shortened: -kim-bak- aa (2.215), tong-kap-a vi (2.215)
shoulder: pak-krong n (6.233)
shout: chrik-a vi (7.15), ku-rak-a vi (7.15)
shove: nel-a vt (9.511), sik-pak-a vt (9.511)
show how: dak-dil-a vt (9.73), dil-a vt (9.73)
show off: ra-si-ra-wak dak-a vph (7.745), rai-song-pa n (7.748), seng-nik-a vt (7.43)
show up: na-a vi (3.512)
show: pin-ik-a vt (3.516)
shower: gra-gra adv (4.325)
shrew: meng-chut n (4.419)
shut in: don-chak-a vt (9.68)
shut: tek-a vt (9.61)
sick person: ru-gi n (8.91)
sick: jom-a vi (8.91), sa-a vi (8.91)
sickle: kat-chi n (5.832)
side: -sam dns (0.16)
sides: pak-sam- cls (1.37)
sideways: gip-eng-pang n (2.34)
sieve: gur-chi-ra n (5.852)
silent: jrip-a vi (3.626)
silently: jrip-jrang adv (3.626)
silk worm: sol-sol-a n (4.467)
silver: ru-pa n (5.88)
similarly: bai-bai adv (3.333)
simply: -a-ri- aa (3.344)
since: -o-ni cm (0.12)
sing: ring-a n (8.83)
singe: so-a vt (5.424)
singer: sil-pi n (8.83)
sink: rip-a vi (9.279)
sister, elder: a-bi n (6.615)
sister, younger: a-no n (6.615)
sister-in-law, of a man: bo-ji n (6.615)
sister-in-law: no-sa-ri n (6.615), sa-ri n (6.615)
sisters: a-bi-a-no n (6.631), a-bi-sa ma-drang n (6.63)
sit: a-song-a vi (9.345), at-chong-a vi (9.345)
site: bi-ta n (5.644), ha-dam n (2.11), nok-kap n (5.644)
six: -dok num (3.3706)
skill: jak-ma n (7.55)
skin: bi-gil n (6.29), sol-a vt (9.573)
skinny: keng-kraa-va vi (6.46)
skirt, man: lunggi n (6.527)
skirt: dok-ban-da n (6.526), re-king n (6.526)
sky: sil-ga n (4.212)
slanting: de-gang-git-a adv (2.317)
slap: dok-tip-tip-a vt (9.552)
slash and burn: ha-ba hu-a vph (5.113)
sleep together: chu-nap-a vi (7.96)
sleep: chu-a vi (7.96), tu-si-a vi (7.96)
sleepy: mik-gil jom-a vph (7.96)
slices: gil-cis (1.37), sri-a vt (9.573)
slide down: grin-a vi (9.212)
slide: drin-a vi (9.212)
slightly: mik-a-a vi (3.662)
slippery ground: ha-rim-il-a n (4.246)
slippery: rim-il-a vi (3.662)
slope down: ha-sol-sol n (4.232)
slope up: ha-ting-gak n (4.232)
slope: ha-chik n (4.232), ra-ma a-sol-sol vph (4.232)
slow: ka-sin-a vi (2.724)
slush: ring-srip-a vt (5.474), sal-srip-a vt (5.472)
smacking: jik-jik-a vi (3.624), kur-dim-a vt (9.44)
small: chon-a vi (2.215), chong-top-a vi (2.215), mik-chil adv (2.215),
rong-chon-a vi (2.211), sil-mi-si n (5.838)
smart: gi-sik sok-a vph (7.44)
smear on: pa-a vt (9.556), sit-a vt (9.556)
smear: nong-a vt (9.554), rep-pi-a vt (9.556)
smell badly: so-eng-a vi (3.688)
smell pleasant: sim-il-a vi (3.688)
smell strongly: ging-sik-a vt (3.688)
smell: sal-srip-a vt (5.472), sim-il-ot-a vt (3.688)
smelly: kal-ding-a vi (3.688)
smile: ka-ding-a vi (7.29), ka-ding-sim-ik-a vi (9.44)
smoke: ring-a vt (5.474), tip-a vi (5.422), wal-ku n (5.421), wal-ku-a n (5.422), wal-mik-a vt (5.422)
smoky: dim-prong-dim-prong adv (5.422)
smooth: min-ik-a vi (3.662), mrik-a vi (3.662), rim-il-a vi (3.662), rin-ok-a vi (3.664)
snack: na-sta n (5.477)
snail: a-pu n (4.458), chot-chru n (4.458), spru n (4.458)
snake: chip-pu n (4.443)
snare: a-grip n (5.845), ja-gra n (5.845)
sneeze: at-ching-a vi (9.45)
sniff: sal-srip-a vt (5.472), sim-il-ot-a vt (3.688)
sniffle: sal-srip-a vt (5.472)
sniffles: sol-di n (8.92)
snore: heng-gok n (7.96)
snot: ging n (6.22), ging-ki n (6.29)
snout: ging-tong n (4.473)
snow: bo-rop n (4.329)
so so: a-da-ma-da adv (3.453), al-a-ma-l-a adv (3.453)
soak: jim-a vi (9.279), sim-a vt (9.277)
soap: sa-ban n (6.57)
society: so-mas n (8.48)
socks: mo-ja n (6.523)
soda: ka-ri n (5.405)
soft spot, baby’s: ta-ru n (6.22)
soft: a-wek-a vi (3.668), dil-dok-dil-dok adv (3.664), dip-u dip-u adv (3.664), min-ek-a vi (3.664)
soil: ha- n (4.242), ha-mang n (4.242)
soled: ma-bak-a vi (3.716), re-wa-a vi (3.716)
sole of foot: ja-pa n (6.238)
some: mit-am n (3.346)
somehow: je pro (1.64)
someone else: ja-wa pro (1.64)
someone: a-mik-ka pro (1.64)
sometimes: ba-sik-o-ba adv (2.71)
somewhere: ba-no-ba adv (2.13)
son-in-law: cha-wa-ri n (6.617), ja-mai n (6.617)
son: de-pan-te n (6.617)
song: a-je-a vi (8.83), gan n (8.83), giit n (8.83)
soot: dim-ak n (5.422)
sootie: mal-mok-a vt (7.37), rim-rok-a vt (9.554)
sore: hang-ki-sa-a vi (8.953), pa-ri n (8.955)
sort out: ba-si-a vt (9.536)
soul: jang-gi n (8.52)
sound: ba-jin-a vi (3.624), gam-a vi (3.624), gam-pret-a vi (3.628), jang-a vi (3.624), kim-a vi (4.342), mik-u-a vi (3.624)
soundlessly: jrip-jrang adv (3.626)
sour: me-seng-a vi (3.682)
south: dok-kiin n (4.218), sal-gip-eng n (4.219)
soy bean: su-a-biin n (5.23)
spaced: ap-grang-a vi (2.38)
spans: kru- cls (1.36)
spark: wal-mi-si n (5.421)
sparrow like: chan-cho-ra cham-cho-ra n (4.43)
speak incorrectly: bo-a ra-a vi (7.25)
speak: a-gan-a vt (7.12)
spear: jat-ta n (5.845), su-a vt (9.571)
species: jat n (6.89)
spherical: gul-gul-a vi (2.313)
spices: mo-so-la n (5.405)
spicy: jro-a vi (3.682)
spider: gu-ang n (4.464)
spin thread: sak-a vt (6.25)
spin: rik-a vt (6.598)
spinach like vegetable: deng-ga n (5.23)
spirit house: del-ang n (8.58)
spirits: mit-e n (8.54)
spit up: el-bu-a vt (5.478)
spit: ber-el gal-a vt (5.478), bre-a vt (5.478), hak-a vi (9.44), stu-a vt (9.44)
split bamboo: wa-si n (5.638), wa-si-ri n (5.639)
split: bret-a vi (9.282), chit-a vt (9.294), chrit-a vt (9.573), den’ku-rak-a vt (9.573), pit-a vt (9.573)
spoiled: -brok- aa (3.686), re-wa-se-wa adv (3.716), sim-a vi (4.696)
spoon: cha-mos n (5.436)
spot: tok-a vi (3.538), tok-a vt (6.565)
spots: pu-ta- cls (1.37)
spotted: re-wa-a vi (3.716), tok-a vi (3.538), tok-a vt (6.565)
spouses: jik-se n (6.62)
spread: an-a vt (9.62), bit-drak-a vt (9.649), jal-a vi (3.342), pin-a vt (9.62), sa-a vt (5.458)
spring: chi-ga n (4.252), chi-mik n (4.253)
spinkle: pu-a vt (5.46)
sprout: cha-a vi (4.691), chong-a vi (4.691), kol-om n (5.14)
sprouts: bol-dim n (4.676)
squash: -min-ek- aa (9.578), ak-ka-ru n (5.23), go-min-da n (5.23), lau n (5.23), rau n (5.23), rim-min-ek-a vt (9.531)
squashed: bin-ek-a vi (9.578)
squat: dam-bak-a vi (6.46)
squeak: mik-u-a vi (3.624)
squeal: chrk-pret-a vi (7.15)
squeeze: rim-jret-a vt (9.531)
squeezed: -ket- aa (2.22)
squirm: deng-deng-a vi (9.319), gar-git-ik-a vi (9.319), git-ik-a vi (4.482)
squirrel: mat n (4.419)
stab: sur-a vt (9.571)
stack: jong-ju-a vt (9.647)
stain: chek-a vt (5.455)
stairs: jang-ki n (5.636)
stake: na-tong n (5.632)
stalk: gan-tong n (4.670)
stalks: pang- cls (1.32)
stammer: tu-ta-ban-ta adv (7.15)
stamp: ga-jep-a vt (9.321)
stand suffering: chak-a vt (7.56)
stand: cha-deng-a vi (9.346), cha-kat-a vi (9.346)
star: a-sek-ki n (4.212)
stare: mik-chi-ding-ding adv (9.42), ni-gak-a vt (3.514), ni-wat-a vt (3.514)
startled: ja-gip-u-a vi (7.763)
stay behind: dong-rik-a vi (9.11)
stay: dong-chak-a vi (9.11), dong-dang-a vi (9.11)
steal: chau-a vi (8.34), chol-a vt (8.34)
step on: ga-dap-a vi (9.321)
step: ga-a vt (9.321), ga-tim-ra n (5.637)
steps: ja-ti n (5.636), teng- cls (1.38)
stick: bol-gan-tong n (4.672), bol-tong n (4.672), gan-tong n (4.670), gol-n (4.672), gol-dik n (5.833), par-sik-kap-a vi (9.63)
sticking: a-wek-a vi (3.668)
sticky rice: mi-mil n (5.25), mi-mit-im n (5.25)
sticky: ma-skap-a vi (3.668), sit-tap-a vi (3.668)
still: -ku- aa (0.41)
sting: del-a vt (4.482)
stinger: bi-ri n (4.472)
stingy: al-ak-si vi (7.724)
stink rat: meng-chut n (4.419)
stink: so-eng-a vi (3.688)
stinky: kal-ting-a vi (3.688)
stir: cho-bil-a vt (5.46), chok-chok-a vt (9.515), go-rai-a vt (9.645),
gon-gon-a vt (5.46), ham-pil-a vt (9.327)
stirring stick: me-gon n (5.438)
stocky: dam-bak-a vi (6.46)
stomach ache: ok-sa-a vi (8.97)
stomach: a-tom n (6.27), bik-ma n (6.245)
stone: rong-te n (4.244)
stool: ham-pok n (5.82), mo-ra n (5.82), tul n (5.82)
stop: dong-dip-a vi (9.14)
stopper: mat-chu-ra n (5.434)
storage pot: rong-dik n (5.432)
store: don-chak-a vt (9.68)
storehouse: jam n (5.622)
stories: mit-dap n (5.854)
stork: bok n (4.43), hai-gil-a n (4.43)
story: gol-po n (7.12)
straight: -tong-tang- aa (0.42), dim-breng-a vi (2.318), tong-tang adv (2.318), wa-rek-rek adv (2.318)
strain: sak-ki-a vt (5.458)
straw stack: pal-a n (4.66)
straw: bi-dang n (4.66), kel n (4.66)
stream: chi-da-ri n (4.252), chi-ring n (4.252)
strength: bil n (7.56)
stretch: haar-sal-a vi (9.319)
stretched: ding-ding adv (9.642), kring-a vi (9.642)
string up: sring-a vt (9.65)
string: do-ri n (6.594), kil-ding n (6.594)
stringy: ro-ring-ro-ring adv (9.257)
striped: sal-chrit-a vi (3.538)
stroke: rim-sret-a vt (9.46)
stroll: ro-am-a vi (9.319)
strong: bil-ak-a vi (3.72), bil-ong-a vi (3.76), bil-rak-a vi (7.56), mang-rak-a vi (8.91), rak-a vi (3.664), ta-rak-a vi (2.726)
stubble: ga-git-tong n (4.670), na-ra n (4.670)
study: po-ri-a vt (7.28)
stumble: ja-bing-bang-a vi (9.326), ja-gu-a vi (9.326)
stump: bol-ot-chong n (4.670)
stupid: ja-da n (7.44)
stutter: ku-man-a vi (7.14), tu-ta-ban-ta adv (7.15)
style: mik-sot-ti n (8.955)
subject case: -a cm (0.12)
submerge: sim-a vt (9.277)
succeed: man-chak-a vi (7.55)
suck: chop-a vt (5.472), sal-srip-a vt (5.472)
suckle: cha-chot-chot-a vt (5.479)
suddenly: -git-ik- aa (2.728), at-tak-ka adv (2.728), git-ik-git-ak adv (2.728)
suds: bok-bak-a vi (5.46)
suffer: chak-a vt (7.56), jom-a vi (8.91)
sufficient: chur-ong-a vi (3.341), gip-a vi (3.341), hem-hem adv (3.341)
sugar cane: grit n (5.23)
sugar: chi-ni n (5.405), gu-ru-ma n (5.405)
suitable: kra-a vi (6.657)
sun: sal n (4.214)
sunlight: sal ding-a vph (3.554)
supper: mi-a-tam n (5.477)
supplies: som-bol n (8.427)
supply: ju-gai-a vt (8.446)
support: chak-a vt (9.73), jil-a vt (9.73), kang-a vt (9.58), sin’-chak-a vi (9.51), som-bol n (8.427)
suppose: chan-chi-a vt (7.41), mik-sok-a vt (7.42), mo-ne-hoi int (0.66)
surely: chek-chek adv (3.44)
surface: chi-ska-pong n (9.272), sak-a-pong pp (1.11)
surfeited: pek-a vt (5.48)
surround: dong-wil-wil-a vt (9.11), wil-wil-a vi (9.327)
surrounding: wil-wil-e adv (2.11)
suspect: mik-sok-a vt (7.42)
swarm: dim-a vi (4.486)
swear: ku-mik-chet-a vi (7.33)
swell up: han bo-a vi (8.956), na-a vi (3.512), rip-om-a vi (8.956)
swell: bo-a vi (8.956), chi-bo-del-a vi (8.956), han’-o chi du-a vph (8.956), sa-al-a n (5.46)
swelling: ba-du-si du-a vph (8.956), bi-sit-eng n (4.679)
swim: jro-a vt (9.279)
swing in circle: go-ring-ri-a vt (9.253)
swinging: dol-deng-dol-deng adv (9.257)
swirl: ku-srip-a vt (9.44)
swirling: dil-ing-dil-ing adv (4.248)
swollen: bo-ri-bo-ri adv (8.956), ping-a vi (8.956)
swop down: sap-a vi (4.486)
sword: mil-am n (5.845)
sympathize: gi-sik ong’-chak-a vph (7.741), ka’-sa-chak-a vt (7.741)
table: te-bil n (5.82)
taboo: ma-rang n (8.52)
tail: ki-me n (4.473)
taka: ta-ka n (8.447)
take along: ra’-chap-a vt (9.519)
take out: rong-kat-a vt (9.572)
take: ra’a vt (9.519), ra’-ang-a vt (9.519), rim-a vt (9.519)
taking account: ra’e adv (3.346)
talk: a-gan-a vt (7.12), al-ap-a vi (7.31), bol-a vi (7.12)
tall: bol-cha-a vi (6.44), chang-ro-a vi (2.213), chu-ak-a vi (2.213)
tame: mal-gek-a vi (4.482)
tangled: ba-je-a *vi* (3.718), bing-bang *adv* (3.718), sit-tip-a *vi* (3.718), stik-a *vi* (6.58), tip-tip-a *vi* (3.718)
tank: pa-gar *n* (4.253), pu-kur *n* (4.253)
tapping: rak-rak-a *vi* (0.5), tak-tak-a *vi* (3.624)
tartar: wa-ki *n* (6.29)
tassel: ku-*sim-ang* *n* (6.25)
taste bad: cha-*dik-a* *vt* (5.472)
taste: cha-*e ni-a* *vt* (3.682), ring-*e ni-a* *vt* (3.682), tap-*a* *vt* (3.682)
taste good: to-*a* *vi* (3.682)
taste strongly: gek-*a* *vi* (3.684)
tasteless: -brok-*aa* (3.686), chi-breka-*a* *vi* (3.686)
tattered: drak-*a* (9.292), git-chit-triang-*a* *vi* (9.292), so-drak-sa-drak *adv* (9.292)
tea: cha *n* (5.409)
teach: po-rai-*a* *vt* (8.6), sin-ing-*a* *vt* (8.6), ski-*a* *n* (8.6)
teacher: di-di *n* (8.6), ma-star *n* (8.6), ti-char *n* (8.6)
team: hal *n* (5.154)
tear: chi-*a* *vt* (9.294)
tears: mik-chi *n* (6.29)
tease: bu-*rok-*a *vi* (7.26), mang-kal-*a* *vt* (9.78), re-jil-*a* (7.26), rong-kal-*a* *vi* (7.26)
teasing: al-*si* *n* (7.26)
tee shirt: gen-ji *n* (6.521)
tell: a-gan-*e ron-*a* *vi* (7.34), in-*a* *vi* (7.12)
temple: na-teng *n* (6.22)
tempt: bot-*a pal-*a *vt* (7.38), mal-*et-*a *vt* (7.38)
ten: -chi-king *num* (3.3710)
tender: min-*ek-*a *vi* (3.664)
tendons: ja-*dil* *n* (6.235), ja-*si-ja-*dil* *n* (6.238), rok *n* (6.233)
tendrils: jak-*sil* *n* (4.671), sang-gong *n* (4.670)
tens: sot-*num* (3.3710)
terrified: ja-brang-*a* *vi* (7.764), ken-ja-brang-*a* *vi* (7.764)
test: ni-*a* *vt* (3.514), po-ri-*ka* *n* (8.6)
testicle: ri-sip-*il* *n* (6.249)
that way: in-dak-*e conj* (1.4)
that: u-*a dem* (1.5)
thatch: a-gal *n* (4.652), amr-*pang* *n* (5.632), ja-*ku-a* *n* (5.632)
thatching grass: amr-*pang-man-*di *n* (4.652)
that: i-*ni-ko* *conj* (1.4), i-*no* *conj* (1.4), i-*ni-ku-no* *conj* (1.4), tar-por *conj* (1.4), u-*no* *conj* (1.4)
there are: dong-*ba-* *vi* (9.11)
there is: dong-*ba-* *vi* (9.11)
there: u-no dem (2.13)
therefore: gan-da pp (1.13), i-ni gim-in conj (1.4)
these: i-a-dang dem (1.5)
they: bi-song pro (1.62)
thick: chat-a vi (2.213), dik-a vi (2.25)
thicket: bring-go-ra n (4.630)
thief: chaun-kok n (8.34), chol-kok n (8.34)
thin of forest: ba-ang-a n (4.630)
thin: ba-a vi (2.215), ba-deng-deng adv (2.215), ba-ang-a n (4.630),
ding-chon-a vi (2.211), ding-sri-sri adv (2.211), gol'-kreng-a vi (6.46),
keng-krang-a vi (6.46), ran-chok-a vi (6.46)
things: ji-niis n (5.81)
think: chan-chi-a vt (7.41)
third: -git-tam num (3.3703)
thirsty: ran-a vi (9.272)
thirty: kol-a-chi num (3.3730)
this and that: nang-a-nang-ja n (5.81)
this: i-a dem (1.5)
thorn: bu-su n (4.671)
thorough: ting-ting-rok-rok-a vi (3.343)
thread: kil-ding n (6.594)
threaten: heng-a vt (8.36), ku-ching-a vt (8.36)
three: -git-tam num (3.3703)
throat: git-ok n (6.241)
throw around: go-jron-a vt (9.326), go-sri-sra-a vt (9.54)
throw at: go-gnk-a vt (9.54), go-wek-a vt (5.631)
throw away: gal-a vt (9.54)
throw to ground: go-stap-a vt (9.54)
throw: go-a vt (9.54)
thumb print: tap-a vt (9.63)
thumb: jak-si dal-gip-a nph (6.235), jak-si-bi-ma n (6.235)
thunder: gul'-gul-a vi (4.342), hil'-hil-a vi (4.342), kim-cha-a vi (4.342),
kim-pret-a vi (4.342)
tick: na-sik-et n (4.468)
tickle: lek-gu-a vt (3.64)
tickled: ka'-kit-chu-a vi (3.64)
tie loosely: ka-srok-a vt (9.65)
tie strips, bamboo: dur-a n (5.854)
tie: ka-a vt (9.65)
tiger: mat-cha n (4.416)
tight: chang-ket-a vi (2.22), je'-et-je'-et adv (3.73), je'-et-je'-et dak-ing-a
    vt (9.67), kring-a vi (9.642)
tightly: -jret- aa (3.72)
time: so-moi n (2.51)
times: chang- cls (1.31), rang- cls (1.31)
tin for food: ko-ta n (5.436)
tiny: mik-chil adv (2.215), se-em-a vi (2.215)
tip: bi-chu n (5.87), bi-ku n (5.87)
tiptoe: ga-deng-si-a vi (9.346), ja-chri-a vi (9.47)
tire: tai-ar n (5.872)
tired of: a-rat-a vi (7.94)
tired: bil-neng-a vi (7.94), mang-meng-a vi (9.78), neng-a vi (7.94)
to: -cha cm (0.12)
tobacco: ta-mak n (5.429)
today: da-sal n (2.65)
toe: ja-si n (6.238)
toeail: ja-skil n (6.238)
together: -ming cm (0.12), -pa- aa (0.41), ap-san n (3.433), dam-san adv (2.25), grim pp (1.16), grim-grim adv (2.11), ta-rim-e adv (2.11)
tolerate: chak-a vt (7.56)
tomato: to-ma-to n (5.23)
tomorrow: am-bin-o lw (2.65)
tongs: dang-kep n (5.438), sil-dang-kep n (5.436)
tonight: i-a wal-o lw (2.63)
too: a-gre adv (3.76)
tooth dirt: wa-ki n (6.29)
tooth: wa n (6.22)
top: bi-rik-i n (4.671), rik-i n (2.11), sak-a-pong pp (1.11), ska-pong n (5.87)
torch: lait n (5.838)
torn apart: git-chit-tong-a vi (9.292)
torn: drak-a vi (9.292), git-chit-a vi (9.292), so-drak-sa-drak adv (9.292)
toss: de-bri-a vt (5.16)
touch: nang-a vt (9.552), rim-a vt (9.531)
touching: cha-skap-a vi (9.552), chap-chap adv (2.25)
tough: dip-it-a vi (3.668), rak-a vi (3.664)
toward: -cha-na cm (0.12), -o-na cm (0.12)
towel: gam-cha n (6.521)
track: chan-a vt (4.49)
tracks: ja-gam n (6.238)
trade: sre-a vt (8.444), sre-grik-a vt (8.444)
tramping: ga-chep-chep-a vi (9.321)
transform: pil-a vi (9.315)
transplant: ja-rat-a vt (5.14)
trap: jang-gi n (5.845)
tree top: bol-kam-bi n (4.671)
**tree:** bi-pang n (4.630), bol-bi-pang n (4.630), bol-pang n (4.630)
**trees:** pang- clv (1.32)
**tremble:** dil-dil-a vi (9.322), jil-jil-a vi (9.322), kep-kep-a vi (9.322)
**trial:** bi-chal n (8.13)
**tribal:** a-di-ba-si n (6.89)
**tribe:** jat n (6.89)
**trim:** rit-am-a vt (9.764)
**true:** kak-ket adv (3.44)
**truly:** a-sol-e adv (3.44), be-be adv (3.44)
**trunk:** bi-am-bong n (4.670)
**try:** ches-ta dak-a vt (7.725), jo-ton ka-a vt (7.725), ni-a vt (3.514)
**tube, bamboo:** wa-sing n (5.438)
**tubers:** tar-a n (5.27)
**tuck in:** pot-a vt (6.53)
**turban:** ka-di n (6.522), ko-ka n (6.522), ko-tip n (6.522), pa-gu-ri n (6.522)
**turmeric:** hol-di n (5.405)
**turn around:** wil-wil-a vi (9.327)
**turn on light:** net-a vt (3.556)
**turn one’s back:** tik-a vi (9.349)
**turn over:** king-kip-a vi (9.62), pang-pil-ek-a vi (9.214), pang-pil-tai-a vi (9.214), ul-tai-a vt (9.214)
**turn:** geng-kon-a vi (4.482), go-rai-a vt (9.645), ham'-pil-a vt (9.327)
**turtle:** chep-a n (4.445), chi-jong n (4.445), kat-tu-a n (4.445)
**tusk:** wa-ching n (4.473)
**tweezers:** sil-dang-kep n (5.436)
**twenty:** kol-grik n (3.3720)
**twig:** bi-pek n (4.671), bol-chek-si n (4.671), bol-dim n (4.676)
**twilight:** sim-sam-sim-sam n (2.52)
**twin:** de-chap n (6.64), de-srong n (6.64)
**twist:** sak-a vt (6.25)
**twitch:** dek-dek-a vi (9.322)
**two:** -gin-i num (3.3702)
**type:** ro-kom n (3.437)
**ugly sounding:** kin-a-dik-a vi (3.624)
**ugly:** nik-dik-a vt (3.512)
**ulcer:** hang'-ki-sa-a vi (8.953)
**umbrella:** sat-ti n (6.521)
**unbutton:** ok-a vt (9.572)
**uncastrated:** ri-sip-il gin-ang n (4.49)
**uncle (FaOlBr):** pa-jong n (6.611)
**uncle (FaYoBr):** a-wang n (6.611)
uncle (MoBr): ma-ma n (6.611)
unclear: rim-a-rim-a adv (3.54)
uncombed: bu-rin-eng bu-sin-eng adv (6.58), stik-a vi (6.58)
uncontrolled: -chrak- aa (7.56)
uncooked: git-ting vi (4.692)
uncover: king-gal-a vt (9.62)
under: ka-ma pp (1.11)
underarm hair: pak-sim-ang n (6.25)
undergarment: pe-ti-kot n (6.526)
underneath: kok-kim-a-o pp (1.11)
underpants: ga-gu-ri n (6.526)
undershirt: gen-ji n (6.521)
understand: hai-a vt (7.41)
underwear: leng-got n (6.527)
uneven: rik-ki-rik-kot adv (3.662)
unexpectedly: -git-ik- aa (2.728), git-ik-git-ak adv (2.728), grip-grap adv (7.48)
unfinished: tong-kan-di adv (3.347)
unhappy: gi-sik jom-a vph (7.742), gi-sik sa-a vph (7.742)
unload: ra-ron-a vt (9.511)
unmarried woman: me-tra n (6.824)
unmarried youth: pan-te n (6.824)
unravel: gru-a vi (9.292)
unrefined: kas n (7.11)
unripe fruit: ga-stu n (4.692)
unripe: git-ting vi (4.692)
unsatisfied: ja-stu n (4.692)
unsystematically: rit-dang-ban-dang adv (8.32)
untie: eng-a vt (9.65)
until: -o-na cm (0.12), king-king pp (1.12)
unwashed: so-dap-gek-gek adv (3.716)
upland: sak-a n (2.11)
uplands: ha-rong-ga n (4.232)
upper place: sak-a n (2.11)
upset: gi-sik jom-a vph (7.742), pang-ek-chu-ek-chu adv (9.214), ul-tai-a vt (9.214)
upside down: di-pang-pil-ek-a vi (9.327), pang-pil-a vi (9.214)
upward: -do- aa (2.14), do-a vt (9.318)
urge: bu-jai-a vi (7.37), mong-a vt (7.38)
urgent: a-dik-sit-dik adv (3.76)
use: jak-kal-a vt (9.58)
used up: bon-a vi (9.14)
usual: ram-ram adv (3.44)
valley: ha'-kong n (4.232)
varieties: ro-kom- cls (1.31)
variety: jat n (6.89), ro-kom n (3.437)
vegetable leaves: sak n (5.409)
vegetables: sam-bi-jak n (5.409)
vegetarian food: mi-ra-mis n (5.409)
vein of leaf: ga'-gong n (4.675), gu-a-si n (6.28)
veins: rok n (6.233)
veranda: ba-ran-da n (5.635), bal-im n (5.635)
very: -be- aa (3.342), -mi-si- aa (3.342), bang-e adv (3.342), be-si adv (3.342), bil-ong-a vi (3.76), kup adv (3.76), nam-en adv (3.76), teng-gil adv (3.342)
via: -jol-jol- aa (3.343)
village: song n (8.22)
villages: song- cls (1.38)
vines: bi-dil n (4.670), bi-du n (4.670)
voice: ku'-ra-ma n (7.15), ku'-rang n (7.12)
voluntarily: ha'-sik-a-git-a adv (7.725)
vomit: chi-gal-a vi (8.97), el-bu-a vt (5.478), wak-gal-a vi (8.97)
vulture: so-gon n (4.43)
wag: dok-ro-rek-a vt (4.488), rek-rek-a vt (9.515)
wages: bet-ton n (8.435), ko-ros n (8.435)
waggle head: dok-dek-a vi (9.41)
wail: grap-a vi (7.29)
wast: ko-mor n (6.243)
wait for: ni-chak-su-a vt (9.328), ni-so-a vt (3.514)
wait: dong-tim-a vt (9.73), ni-chak-a vt (3.514), seng-so-a vt (9.328)
wake up: cha-kring-krang-a vi (9.346), chu-a-sim-ak-a vi (7.97), mik-au-a vi (7.97)
wakeful: mik-gil rak-a vi (7.97), mik-gil-ak-a vi (7.97), mik-rak-a vi (7.97)
walk: re'am-a vi (9.319)
waist: de-wal n (5.638)
waander: re'am-a vi (9.319), ro-am-a vi (9.319)
want: gok-a vi (7.725), gong-a vi (7.725), ham'a vt (7.725), sin-a vt (7.722)
warm: bret-bret adv (3.673), ding'-bru-ding'-bru adv (3.673)
warn: ku-ron-a vt (7.37)
wart: sir-son-ta n (8.955)
wash face: mik-su-a vi (6.57)
wash feet: ja-su-a vi (6.57)
wash hands: jak-su-a vi (6.57)
wash things: su-gal-a vt (6.57)
wasp: chi-gring n (4.463)
watch house: bo-rang n (5.622)
**watch:**  go-ri *n* (5.838), ni-*a* *vt* (3.514), ni-chak-*a* *vt* (3.514), ni-rik-*a* *vt* (3.514)
**water buffalo:**  mat-ma *n* (5.35), mo-si *n* (5.35)
**water pipe:**  da-ba *n* (5.429)
**water tight:**  chi-ting-ting *adv* (9.276)
**water:**  chi *n* (5.409)
**watermelon:**  tor-mus *n* (5.23)
**watery:**  chi-brek-*a* *vi* (3.686)
**wave:**  jak-jip-*a* *vi* (9.46), pak-pak-*a* *vt* (4.486)
**waving:**  gong-ge-bak-*a* *vi* (2.318)
**way:**  ra-ma *n* (5.646)
**we inclusive:**  na-ching *pro* (1.62)
**we:**  ching-*a* *pro* (1.62)
**weak:**  nom-*chi-brek-*a* *v* (7.56)
**wealthy person:**  nok-ma *n* (8.441)
**wear hat, bracelet:**  sik-krok-*a* *vt* (6.53)
**wear turban:**  ka-*a* *vt* (9.65)
**wear:**  chin-*a* *vt* (6.53), gw-*a* *vi* (9.321), gan-*a* *vt* (6.53), krok-*a* *vt* (6.53), sik-*a* *vt* (9.571)
**weave basket:**  wat-chit-tik-*a* *vt* (5.856)
**weave cane:**  ko-*a* *vt* (5.856)
**weaving place:**  tat-nok *n* (5.624)
**weed:**  ni-rai-*a* *vt* (5.156)
**week:**  sop-ta *n* (2.53)
**weep:**  grap-*a* *vt* (7.29)
**well:**  chi-kol *n* (5.642), ku-*a* *n* (5.642)
**west:**  pos-chiim *n* (4.218), sal-i-ram *n* (4.219)
**wet land:**  bait *n* (5.114)
**wet:**  ma-*jim-*a* *vt* (9.272), so-si-*a* *vi* (9.272)
**what for?:**  mo-*na* *qw* (1.21)
**what time?:**  hai-sik *qw* (1.21)
**what?:**  ba-*qw* (1.21), ma *int* (0.64), ma-*qw* (1.21), mu-*qw* (1.21)
**whatever:**  je *pro* (1.64)
**wheat:**  gom *n* (5.23)
**wheel:**  chak-ka *n* (5.872)
**when?:**  ba-sik-*o* *qw* (1.21)
**whenever:**  je so-moi-*o* *lw* (2.71)
**where from?:**  ba-no-*ni* *qw* (1.21), bat-cha *qw* (1.21)
**where to?:**  ba-no-*na* *qw* (1.21), bat-cha *qw* (1.21)
**where:**  ba-*o* *qw* (1.21)
**which way?:**  ba-git-*a* *qw* (1.21)
**which?:**  ba-gip-*a* *qw* (1.21)
**while:**  -mit-ing-*o* *pvs* (0.216)
whimper: chot-chot-a vi (7.29), gek-gek-a vi (7.29)
whine: ma-rai-a vi (7.29), pi-pi n (8.85), su-i ron-a vph (7.29)
whisper: ku-mi-si-a vi (7.15)
whistle: ku-kin-a vi (7.29), pi-pi n (8.85), su-i ron-a vph (7.29)
white ants: ha-kin n (4.465)
white: bok-a vi (3.555), gip-bok vi (3.531)
who?: sa qw (1.21), sa-gip-a qw (1.21)
whorl: cha-chu-ra n (6.25), tik-kin-i n (6.25)
why?: mai-na qw (1.21), mor-na qw (1.21)
wide: ap-dal-a vi (2.211), pat-dal-a vi (2.211), pel-dal-a vi (2.211), tim-bong adv (2.213)
widely spaced: ap-grang-a vi (2.38)
widely: ap-grang-a vi (2.38)
widow: ran-di n (6.64)
widower: ran-da n (6.64)
wife’s sister’s husband: sa-du n (6.614)
wife: jik n (6.615), jik-git-e n (6.615)
wiggle: deng-deng-a vi (9.319), git-ik-a vi (4.482), ring-reng-a vi (9.218), il-sik-il-dang adv (9.324)
wiggly: rik-rik-rak-rak adv (9.324)
wild animals: mat-bring n (4.40)
wild foul: do-bring n (4.43)
willingly: sik-a-tang adv (7.725)
win: jiit-ti-a vi (8.81), man-chak-a vi (7.55)
wind: bal-wa n (4.36), wen-a wen-wen-a vt (9.65)
window: ja-na-la n (5.638)
wing: grang n (4.471)
wink: mik-kem-a vi (9.42), mik-sel-a vi (9.42)
winnow: cho-a vt (5.451)
winnowing tray: ru-an n (5.852)
wipe off: mrak-a vt (9.556)
wire: gu-na n (5.88)
wish: ha-sik-a vt (7.725), sik-a vt (7.725)
with: -cha cm (0.12), -ming cm (0.12), -pa- aa (0.41), gin-ang pp (1.16)
without reason: em-ne adv (3.44), hang-jang adv (3.44)
without: gri pp (1.16), sa-ra pp (1.16)
witness: sak-kì n (8.13)
wobble: dil-dek-ga-dek adv (9.258)
wobbly: ring-rang-ga-rang adv (2.23)
woman, unmarried: me-tra n (6.824)
woman: me-chik n (6.821)
wood pecker: do-til-eng n (4.43)
wood: bol n (4.630)
woodshed: ha'-bol-nok n (5.622)
words: ko-ta n (7.28)
work: ga-a vi (9.318), ka'-a vt (8.433)
worker: cha-kol n (8.41), chak-kol n (8.433), ka-mil-a n (8.41)
world: ha'-gil-sak n (4.231)
worm: jong- n (4.461), kan'-chi-ri n (4.467), reng-si n (4.467)
worn out: cha-ram-a vi (9.292), cham-pri-a vi (9.292)
worn: cham-a vi (9.292)
worried: ja-jreng-a vi (7.764), ken-sik-a vi (7.764), ting-ting-a vi (7.764)
worry: sim-bra-a vi (7.743)
worship: ma-ni-a vt (9.75)
wound: mat-a vi (3.666), pa-ri n (8.955)
woven tightly: bing'-a vi (5.856)
wrap: bil'-a vt (9.645), cho'-a vt (5.453), ka-tip-a vt (9.62), tep-a vt (5.453), wil-wil-dap-a vt (9.65)
wrapped: bil'-ting-a vi (9.65)
wrinkles: rik-en-rik-en adv (3.662)
wrist: jak-git-ok n (6.235)
write: chok-a vt (7.28), lek-ki-a vt (7.28), se-a n (7.28)
yawn: e-jam-a vi (7.96)
year: bo-chor n (2.53)
yearn: mat-u-a vt (7.723)
yeast: chu-wan-chi n (5.455), wan-ti n (5.455)
yellow: rim-it vi (3.532)
yellowish: gang-rim-it adv (3.532), reng-rim-it adv (3.532), rim-it-rim-it dak-a adv (3.532)
yes: ha-we int (1.24)
yesterday: me-ja-o n (2.65)
yoke: ju-al n (5.835)
yolk: a-no n (4.475)
you plural: na'-ong pro (1.62), na'-si-mang pro (1.62), na'-song pro (1.62)
you singular: na'-a pro (1.62), nang- pro (1.62)
young men's house: nok-pan-te n (5.622)
young: pi'-sa n (6.822)
REFERENCES


THE LANGUAGE
OF THE
MODHUPUR MANDI (GARO)

Vol. II: The Lexicon

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Ann Arbor, Michigan April 2003
Table of Contents

ONE   The Lexicon                         1
TWO   Survival Word List                 335
THREE Intermediate Word List            345
FOUR  English Index of Mandi Words      391
REFERENCES                                457
INTRODUCTION TO VOLUME II

When I first went to live among the Mandis in Bangladesh I had no
intention of making a study of the lexicon, but I wanted to gain some
fluency in the language and I began to collect words for my own use. As
the words accumulated I found it helpful to sort them into rough semantic
categories: kinship terms here, body parts there, trees in some other place.
Gradually, I became fascinated by, even addicted to, the search for words,
and as my lists grew, I kept looking for ways to sort them. I even hoped
that a plausible sorting might reveal something about the workings of the
language, and not merely reflect my own preconceptions of how words ought
to be organized.

My methodology was simplicity itself. When a category grew big
enough to become cumbersome, I looked for a way to divide it into smaller
but still coherent categories. This worked well enough for some areas. Kin-
ship terms fell naturally into those for men and for women, and for older and
younger generations. Mandi names for animals could be sorted, as easily as
English words, among birds, fish, land animals and bugs. Vast areas of the
vocabulary fell into no such clear categories, however, and there were many
hundreds of words that would fit easily in three or four different places. A
disturbing number seem to fit nowhere at all. What does one do with a
word that can mean ‘messy’ of possessions or ‘confused’ of an argument?
To extend a word’s meaning from messy objects to messy language is rea-
sonable enough, but it makes categorization itself more than a little messy.
My only recourse has been to include such words in more than one category,
occasionally in three or four. Still, I did try to keep the multiplication of
entries under some sort of control. Any native speaker could easily double,
and then redouble, the length of most of the categories. Some categories
are certainly more complete than others. I doubt if I have missed many
kinship terms except for the odd idiosyncratic term from a dialect that I have never encountered, and I have not included all the Bengali kin terms that Mandis sometimes use as alternates for their own. I certainly have a much higher proportion of mammals than of insects or fish, but it is in the more abstract areas of the vocabulary, verbs and adverbs in particular, where the limitations are most severe. Thousands of words are still out there waiting to be written down.

This volume is made up of several lists.

1. The first and largest part of Volume II consists of my word collection, organized by the categories that emerged as it grew. Most of its words are those used by the Mandis who live in the Modhupur area of Bangladesh, but they share most of their words with other dialects. In order to suggest how the dialects differ, I have given some Achik equivalents, but I have not done this systematically, and anyone who wants to know more about the more “standard” Achik dialect should turn to one of the Garo dictionaries.

The remaining lists are intended primarily for people who want to learn to speak Mandi or another dialect of Garo:

2. A survival vocabulary of about 250 of the most common and useful words. This is intended as a guide for people who want to get started with learning the language. Where the dialects differ, I have done my best to give Achik equivalents along with the Mandi forms.

3. A somewhat longer, but still basic vocabulary list of almost 1000 words. This is meant to give some guidance to people who want to move beyond the most basic level. Different learners will have different needs, of course, and nobody should be confined by my judgement about which words are most important. The words each person needs can always be sought in the full list.

4. The final list of this volume is an English index to the full Mandi word list. Superficially, this may look like an English to Garo word list, or even a short English to Garo dictionary, but it cannot be used without referring to the full Mandi list. The entries on the fourth list will lead you to the Mandi words that overlap in meaning with the English word, but many will not be exact equivalents. Since a single English word may have meanings that are divided among several Mandi words, you will have to look up the Mandi words in the full list in order to find the best word for your needs.

One important way in which the vocabulary of Mandi differs from that of dialects spoken in the Garo Hills is that it has been even more heavily influenced by Bengali. Mandis feel absolutely free to incorporate any Bengali word into their speech that they think their listeners will understand. This means, in principle, that the entire vocabulary of Bengali is available for use by the Mandis. To fold an entire Bengali dictionary into a Mandi
word list would be absurd, of course, but to include no Bengali words at all would give a terribly false picture of the language as it is actually spoken. The impossible problem is to decide which Bengali words to include and which to leave out.

In an attempt to keep sheer bulk under control, I have taken a somewhat restrictive approach. I have, for example, included only the most common of the Bengali numbers. Bengali has an extraordinarily complex number system and there seems little point in copying that whole system into a work that focuses on Mandi. On the other hand, I have included the Bengali names for the days of the week, which are the only words that Mandis ever use for them. I also include the names of the twelve Bengali months. Mandis now use the western calendar for some purposes, but they continue to use the Bengali months to describe their agricultural cycle, and it would be artificial to leave them out. I welcome words that are used for the daily activities of the farming villages where I have lived, but I omit large swathes of Bengali vocabulary that are used for religion, government and politics, education and learned subjects, and all aspects of urban life. I have included the Bengali words that seem to me to be best established and least avoidable for those who still live in predominantly agricultural villages. I have simply had to use my judgment.

I have spelled borrowed Bengali words to reflect the pronunciation that I have heard from Mandis. This is often quite different from their pronunciation by native speakers of Bengali, and it is even further from a transliteration of Bengali spelling. Some borrowed words are well established and have gained a consistent conventional pronunciation when used in Mandi sentences. Other words vary chaotically. I have included some of the alternative pronunciations, but by no means all. Some borrowings are revealed by their telltale phonology, but many are not. My own skills in Bengali do not go beyond a sort of rudimentary pidgin, so I have generally had to rely on my consultants to know which words have been borrowed. Their reports, unfortunately, are not always consistent. Occasionally I have been given synonymous pairs, only to have one Mandi speaker attribute one of them to Bengali, while another speaker points to the other. More often, fortunately, Mandis know perfectly well which words are borrowed. They have had plenty of experience speaking to Bengalis so they know which words work and which do not. It is more likely that I have failed to recognize some words as having come originally from Bengali than that I have mistakenly attributed unborrowed words to Bengali, though it is all too likely that I have made both kinds of errors.

As with Bengali, I spell words that are taken from English in the way that I have heard them pronounced by Mandis, and as I pronounce them myself when I speak Mandi. As a speaker of English, I have much more
confidence in my own ability to spot borrowings from that language. “<B” indicates that the word is borrowed from Bengali, while “<E” marks the word as coming from English.

One problem that Mandi poses for the word collector is that a high proportion of its words are built up from two or more meaningful parts – from smaller morphemes. Words constructed from a half dozen meaningful pieces are by no means rare. Speakers construct words on the fly, just as English speakers construct phrases on the fly. It is no more possible to speak Mandi without constructing new words than it is to speak English without constructing new phrases. This means that Mandi words are not really the same sorts of units as English words. Obviously, a Mandi word list cannot include all the words that could be constructed. Such a list would never end. Ideally, one should list “lexical items” the conventionalized bits from which longer sequences are constructed. Such a list would have to include affixes that are never used as independent words, but it would also have to include many words that contain several morphemes, but whose overall meanings have become so conventionalized that they are not fully predictable from the meaning of their parts. Unfortunately, it is impossible for this non-native speaker to judge conventionality in a reliable and consistent way. I doubt very much if native speakers could do so either.

In fact, the list includes many words whose meanings are largely, or even completely, predictable from their parts. Native speakers should be able to construct many of these words without having heard someone else use them first. Such words need to be listed because they illustrate the processes of word formation and, in fact, even if native speakers could make them up, they do not have to. They have heard these words from other speakers, and they do not need to make them up fresh every time they are needed.

The available English to Garo dictionaries are not well designed for foreign learners. They tend to give Garo definitions of English words rather than Garo equivalents. This is useful for the Garo speakers for whom the dictionaries were written, but it is confusing for the English speaking user. The Garo to English dictionaries are much more useful, and three reliable ones have been published (Nengminza 1988, Marak 1946 and later, Holbrook 1998). All these report on the Achik dialect, and all of them include many words not found in this volume. For many purposes, these dictionaries will be more useful than the list given here, especially for those primarily interested in the Achik form of the language. This new list has several complimentary strengths.

1. First, since this list is organized by semantic categories, the reader can find the particular area of meaning in which he is interested and find a range of words that deal with the topic. Of course, the lists are not
“complete”. It would be quite impossible to give complete lists because the borders between the categories are so porous. Still, an inspection of the categories will suggest the sorts of things that Mandis have found interesting enough to deserve names, and an inspection of the words in a single category will suggest the ways in which meanings are organized in one of the many and varied areas of life.

2. Second, this list focuses on a different dialect than the published dictionaries. Virtually all earlier published works on the Garo language have dealt with the dialect that was originally spoken in the far northeastern corner of the area of Garo settlement. This was the dialect spoken by the first educated Garo speakers, and it is the dialect upon which the written language is based. It is the dialect that, thanks to its educated speakers and the written language, has become a sort of de facto standard for educated Garos in India. Even in Bangladesh, it is recognized as having a special status and it is sometimes regarded as “better” than other ways of talking, though Bangladeshi Mandis rarely speak it with any ease, and rarely attempt to do so.

The dialect of the Modhupur Mandis is spoken near the southern extreme of the Garo area, about as far from the northeastern area as any Garos live. The Modhupur dialect and “standard” Achik are also probably about as different as any two dialects of Garo can be. (This does not include Ruga and A-tong which must count as separate languages.) With a bit of good will, even Achik and the dialect of Modhupur are mutually intelligible with no more than an occasional misunderstanding. A comparison between the vocabulary represented here and that found in other published accounts of Garo will give some idea of the extent of variability. In order to suggest how the dialects differ, I have included a few distinctively Achik words, but I have made no attempt to be systematic or complete. These Achik words, and the varied pronunciations that are used, are often understood by Bangladesh Mandis, even though they are rarely used.

3. Third, I give more attention to variability than the published dictionaries. While Garo is not hugely variable from one region to another, other kinds of variability are great. Speakers within what seems to be a single culturally homogeneous village may pronounce some words in several different ways. It is simply not possible to list all the alternatives, so Garo dictionaries, like dictionaries of other languages, give an impression of greater homogeneity than the language really has. As with many other languages, the process of developing a writing system for Garo has tended to bring some standardization. Some forms have found their way into the dictionaries while others have not. The forms that get written tend to be seen as, in some way, “correct”. Like any written list, mine fails to convey the full variability of the language, but I have made more effort than others
to record alternative forms. This should give some idea of the range of variation that is to be found in the language.

4. Finally, I have included more affixes in my list than can be found in the published dictionaries. Garo dialects have many hundreds of affixes. They form a crucial component of the words. Since new words can be freely constructed by using these affixes, they are as much building blocks of larger constructions as are the words of English. They deserve their place in a list of the language’s lexical items. Affixes such as -no-a ‘future’, that need to be suffixed to something else, are shown with an initial hyphen. Prefixes, such as the na-, which is never used alone but that serves as the first syllable of many names for varieties of fish, are shown with a final hyphen. Affixes, such as -ing- ‘progressive’, that occur in the middle of a word, and that need something both before and after, are shown with hyphens at both ends. Most of the bits that need two hyphens are adverbial affixes.

Many of the conventions used in Volume I are used here as well. I use the same spelling conventions for transcribing the language. “Mandi” continues to stand for the dialect of Garo spoken in Bangladesh and particularly for that of the Modhupur region. “Archik” refers to the dialect originally based on that of the northeast corner of the Garo Hills that served as the basis of the written language and that has influenced the dialect of educated Garos in India. Other conventions used in this Volume will be found in the table on the next page.
ABBREVIATIONS AND CONVENTIONS

aa. adverbal affix
adv. adverb
cls. classifier
cm. case marker
conj. conjunction
cp. categorizing prefix
dem. demonstrative
dns. derivational noun suffix
ec. echo word
int. interjection
lw. locative word
n. noun
ns. noun suffix
nph. noun phrase
num. number, numeral
pp. postposition
ppp. postpositional phrase
pro. pronoun
pvs. principal verb suffix
qw. question word
ts. terminal (verb) suffix
vi. intransitive verb
vph. verb phrase
vt. transitive verb

lit. literally
esp. especially
plu. plural

<B borrowing from Bengali
<E borrowed from English

initial '-' suffix
final '-' prefix
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Abima.</td>
<td>The Modhupur Garos and their dialect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arpal</td>
<td>The North Mymensingh Garos and their dialect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arrongga</td>
<td>The area of the Garo Hills in India</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Achik</td>
<td>Written Garo and the dialect upon which it is based</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mandi</td>
<td>The dialect of Garo spoken in Bangladesh</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>