

# **THE HRUSO LANGUAGE: GRAMMAR SKETCH AND WORDLIST**

## **WORKING DOCUMENT ONLY**

[Preferably don't use before consulting me]

Roger Blench  
McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research  
University of Cambridge  
Correspondence to:  
8, Guest Road  
Cambridge CB1 2AL  
United Kingdom  
Voice/ Ans (00-44)-(0)1223-560687  
Mobile worldwide (00-44)-(0)7847-495590  
E-mail [rogerblench@yahoo.co.uk](mailto:rogerblench@yahoo.co.uk)  
<http://www.rogerblench.info/RBOP.htm>

**Thrizino, 26 March, 2018**

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

<b>ACRONYMS AND CONVENTIONS</b> .....	2
<b>1. INTRODUCTION</b> .....	1
<b>2. PHONOLOGY</b> .....	2
<b>3. MORPHOLOGY</b> .....	3
<b>4. GRAMMAR SKETCH</b> .....	4
<b>4.1 Nouns</b> .....	4
4.1.1 Number marking .....	4
4.1.2 Gender suffix.....	4
4.1.3 Nominal prefixes.....	4
<b>4.2 Pronouns</b> .....	5
<b>4.3 Verbal system</b> .....	6
<b>4.4 Demonstratives</b> .....	7
<b>4.5 Interrogatives</b> .....	8
<b>4.6 Conditional</b> .....	10
<b>4.7 Adjectives and comparison</b> .....	10
<b>4.8 Numerals</b> .....	10
<b>4.9 Quantity</b> .....	11
<b>5. DATASHEETS</b> .....	11
<b>Body parts</b> .....	12
<b>Persons, family</b> .....	14
<b>Houses and architecture</b> .....	15
<b>Household items</b> .....	16
Dress.....	16
Tools etc. ....	17
<b>Weaving</b> .....	17
<b>Agriculture</b> .....	18
<b>Crops</b> .....	18
<b>Foods</b> .....	19
Stimulants.....	19
<b>Disease</b> .....	19
<b>Professions</b> .....	20
<b>Fishing etc.</b> .....	20
<b>Religion</b> .....	20
<b>Social transactions</b> .....	21
<b>Festivals</b> .....	21
<b>Months</b> .....	22
<b>Natural world</b> .....	22
<b>Communications</b> .....	23
<b>Metals</b> .....	23
<b>Plant parts</b> .....	23
<b>Wild plants</b> .....	24
<b>Animal parts</b> .....	24
<b>Animals</b> .....	25
Domestic .....	25
<b>Wild animals</b> .....	26
Mammals.....	26
Insects.....	27
Reptiles etc. ....	27
Fish.....	28
<b>Abstracts</b> .....	28
<b>Pronouns</b> .....	28
<b>Numerals</b> .....	29

<b>Adjectives</b> .....	<b>30</b>
<b>Colours</b> .....	<b>33</b>
<b>Verbs</b> .....	<b>34</b>
<b>Adverbs</b> .....	<b>40</b>
Place .....	40
Directions .....	40
Time .....	41
Adverbs of manner .....	42
<b>Exclamations</b> .....	<b>42</b>
<b>6. THE CLASSIFICATION OF HRUSO</b> .....	<b>42</b>
<b>6.1 General</b> .....	<b>42</b>
<b>6.2 Resemblances to Miji, the ‘Hrusish’ hypothesis</b> .....	<b>42</b>
<b>6.3 Resemblances to Koro</b> .....	<b>44</b>
<b>6.3 Resemblances to reconstructed Tibeto-Burman</b> .....	<b>44</b>
<b>7. CONCLUSIONS</b> .....	<b>45</b>
<b>REFERENCES</b> .....	<b>45</b>

### TABLES

Table 1. Hruso consonants	3
Table 2. Hruso vowels	3
Table 3. Examples of gender-marking suffix	4
Table 4. Hruso pronouns	5
Table 5. Hruso possessives	5
Table 6. Hruso numerals	10
Table 7. Possible Hruso ~ Miji, Bangru cognates	43
Table 8. Hruso resemblances to Koro	44
Table 9. Hruso cognates with reconstructed Tibeto-Burman	44

### ACRONYMS AND CONVENTIONS

#	quasi-reconstruction
*	regular reconstruction
C	consonant
C <sub>1</sub>	first consonant
IPA	International Phonetic Association
N	nasal

## 1. Introduction

The Hruso (ꠘoso) people live in some twelve villages in Thrizhino circle, East Kameng District, Arunachal Pradesh, Northeast India. They are known in the literature as ‘Aka’ or some variant (‘Angka’ etc.) but Hruso is a fair representation of their autonym and will be used in this paper, except in reference to historical sources. The first records of contact with the outside world date from 1829, when an Aka chief was imprisoned in Guwahati, a few years after the British assumed control of Assam (Macgregor 1885). Relations between the Aka and the authorities have long been fractious and raid and counter-raid form part of the historical record. However, the perplexing nature of the language has drawn the attention of scholars since the middle of the nineteenth century, and has been the source of much unfounded speculation, in part due to a lack of reliable data.

The earliest record of the language of the Hruso is Hesselmeyr (1868) who also noted the existence of two languages with this name. Campbell (1874) includes Hruso data, collected under unknown circumstances, but a more substantial record is Anderson (1896) who worked directly with a speaker he names as Japho. The Linguistic Survey of India (Volume III, Pt i) has samples of Aka vocabulary, phrases and text, authored by Payne, collected in Darrang in 1900. Schubert (1964) is a vocabulary, apparently collected in the field, but also compiling previous transcriptions of the same word. The transcriptions appear to be extremely simplified and do not reflect the complex sounds of Hruso. Simon (1993) is an ‘Aka language guide’ published as part of the series published by the Directorate of Research in Itanagar. Grewal (1997: 103 ff.) has an interesting parallel grammar sketch of both Aka (i.e. Hruso) and ‘Miri-Aka’, apparently based on original fieldwork. None of this literature has anything approaching a transcription resembling modern linguistic standards. Anderson (2010) quotes some Hruso data in his study of Koro.

The two Aka languages have been a source of confusion since the earliest period. The situation is that there are indeed two languages under this label, Hruso proper and Koro. The Koro language is spoken in Bana and surrounding hamlets, east of Thrizhino on the Seppa road. Its ‘discovery’ was announced with some hoopla in 2010 (Anderson 2010), despite the 1868 records. Far from being ‘hidden’, as the publication suggests, the Koro had already made music videos to try and draw attention to their culture. Bana is moreover on the mobile phone network, so there is indeed potential to carry out fieldwork over the phone. Koro is apparently unrelated to Hruso, despite the two peoples being considered part of a single ethnic group. Post & Blench (2011) argue that Koro is related to Milang, a language previously considered Tani, in a new phylum they call Siangic.

Konow (1902) may be the first author to offer definite proposals linking some Hruso glosses to other Tibeto-Burman languages, while admitting that ‘radical phonetical laws’ make recognising cognates difficult. Shafer (1947) in the only serious attempt to classify Hruso, distinguishes Hruso A and Hruso B, and notes that they are very distinct. His Hruso B is not Koro, but Miji, which accounts for the idea found in the literature that there is a ‘Hrusish’ group. Bodt & Lieberherr (2015) have given this idea new currency with their wordlist of Bangru. They include comparative data from Miji and Hruso and propose starred forms representing reconstructions of ‘Proto-Hrusish’. While there are certainly some lookalikes between the two languages, many of these are only visible to the eye of faith.

Shafer (1947) considered Hruso was Sino-Tibetan on no very good grounds, both because of the poor quality of transcriptions and because his discussion conflates Hruso proper with Miji. Shafer considered Hruso had undergone phonetic ‘degeneration’, whatever that might be, although a better description might be that it has an extremely rich consonant inventory. Cognates with Sino-Tibetan languages are very few and involve sometimes highly *ad hoc* rules. Given that the Hruso regularly intermarry with the Miji, their immediate neighbours to the west, there has indisputably been some borrowing. However, Miji itself is of uncertain genetic status, and resemblances with Hruso are limited, given their long association. A more detailed consideration of the genetic affiliations of Hruso is considered in a separate paper in preparation.

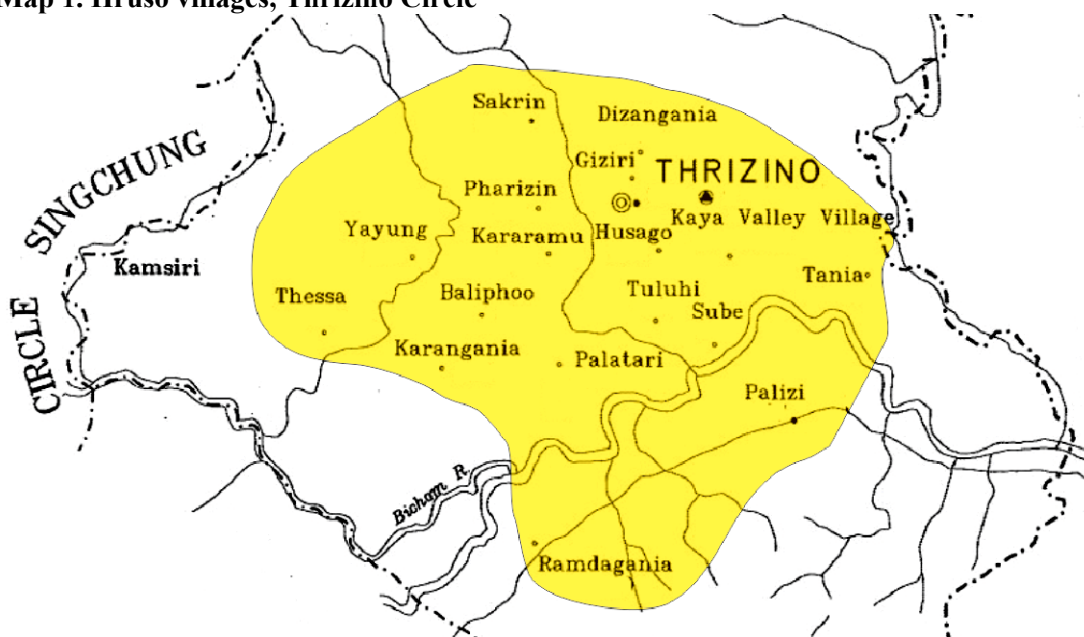
Aka may be a term of Assamese origin, while Hruso appears to be an autonym and should thus be preferred. Ethnically, Hruso has been grouped with the Koro Aka of East Kameng, but linguistically with Miji (Shafer 1947). The divergent nature of Hruso has long been noted (e.g. in Grierson 1909) as has its complex

fricative phonology. The only published argument concerning its affiliation to Tibeto-Burman is Shafer (1947) which is problematic because of its confusion between what Shafer calls ‘Hruso A’ and ‘Hruso B’. Hruso A is clearly Miji and Hruso B Hruso proper. Recent published data is confined to Simon (1993) but new fieldwork in November 2011 has comprehensively improved the database and transcription of Hruso<sup>1</sup>. Sun (1993) mentions a language called Lövai (=Bangru) spoken on the Tibetan border, as possibly related to Hruso<sup>2</sup>. However, recent fieldwork has provided evidence for a previously undocumented Miji community in Sarli circle on the Tibetan border, Bangru (Ramnya 2012; Bodt & Lieberherr 2015). Newly collected material on Bangru from March 2018 is cited in this paper. Of all the languages considered here, Hruso has the fewest roots that can plausibly be related to Sino-Tibetan. Shafer’s arguments are fairly weak, and it is more credible to treat these as regional borrowing than evidence for genetic affiliation<sup>3</sup>.

This document presents field data collected in November and December 2011. My thanks to Serwa Dajusow who has acted as a patient informant in Rupa over several days in November and who contacted his family and friends in Thrizino to welcome me there. In December 2011, Safo Dizhito helped me in Thrizino both by visiting individual villages to record material culture and music, and recording more extended wordlists.

The Hruso [roso] (=Aka) language is spoken in Thrizino Circle, West Kameng and had 2947 speakers in the 1981 census. Map 1 shows the main Hruso villages identified in November 2011. Kamsiri village is also identified as Hruso but is actually inhabited by Puroik who have come under Hruso influence.

**Map 1. Hruso villages, Thrizino Circle**



## 2. Phonology

The unusual sounds of Hruso have been remarked upon since the earliest publications, with exhortations to listen to ‘natives’ to pronounce them correctly. Hruso has an extremely rich consonant inventory in the regional context, and it is hard to avoid the suspicion that these sounds are in some way iconic, intended to emphasise the ethnic separation of the people. Remarkably there is no evidence that this has carried over to neighbouring Koro, despite the conjunction of the two in a single ethnic nexus. Hruso has many sounds that

<sup>1</sup> Roger Blench would like to thank Serwa for being an enthusiastic and patient informant for Hruso

<sup>2</sup> Anderson (2010) also mentions Lövai, but this may only be a rehearsal of Sun’s statement.

<sup>3</sup> However, there is a strong perception of ethnic unity between Hruso and Miji, to the extent that a joint dictionary project has been locally mooted, a chimæric project for two languages with approximately 5% common lexicon.

Hruso wordlist and grammar sketch Roger Blench. Main text

occur in only a few instances, as well as many surface realisations of underlying phonemes, so it may well be a still larger vocabulary would show further rare phonemes.

The phonetic inventory of Hruso is very large and many phonetic variants are very rare. It is quite likely that a much larger vocabulary sample would turn up yet more idiosyncratic sounds. Hruso consonants are shown in Table 1, together with their labialised and palatalised counterparts;

	<b>Bilabial</b>	<b>Labial - dental</b>	<b>Dental</b>	<b>Alveolar</b>	<b>Palato-alveolar</b>	<b>Palatal</b>	<b>Velar</b>	<b>Uvular</b>	<b>Glottal</b>
Plosive	p p <sup>v</sup> p <sup>h</sup> b b <sup>v</sup>			t t <sup>h</sup> d		c ɕ ʃ ʃ <sup>j</sup>	k k <sup>w</sup> g g <sup>y</sup> k <sup>h(y)</sup>		
Nasal vd	m m <sup>j</sup>			n		ɲ ɲ <sup>w</sup>	ŋ		
Fricative		f v (v <sup>j</sup> )		s (s̄) z (z̄)	ʃ (ʃ̄) ʒ	ʒ	x ɣ	ɣ	h h <sup>j</sup>
Affricate				ts (ts̄) ɕ	tʃ̄ dʒ̄	te te <sup>w</sup>			
Flapped				r r <sup>h</sup>					
Lateral				l		ɭ			
Approximant				ɹ		y	w		

The vowels of Hruso are shown in Table 2;

<b>Vowels</b>	<b>Front</b>	<b>Central</b>	<b>Back</b>
Close	i ī		u uu ũ
Close-Mid	e ě	ə, ɘ	
Open-Mid			ɔ ɔ̄
Open		a ā	

There is a phonetic contrast between the mid-vowels [ɔ] and [o], [ɛ] and [e] but no minimal pairs have been discovered. Similarly, /ə/ sometime sounds like the high-central vowel /i/ but it is probably not contrastive. A vowel which seems to be ‘extra-systemic’ is the schwa with retracted tongue root /ɘ/. This occurs in core vocabulary, but is apparently rare. There appear to be no clear examples of contrastive long vowels.

Other transcriptions of Hruso (Barrington, Schubert, Simon) insert many more central vowels into words where the present analysis treats them as epenthetic. Hruso permits words with very long strings of consonants, for example;

tree sp.               brzbrm  
earthworm           bskz̄  
bloodsucking fly   sdz̄m

Nasalised vowels are rare and it is possible they are in free variation with syllables with a nasal coda, as in Koro.

kitchen-garden   teadz̄ǝ̃

### 3. Morphology



Hruso wordlist and grammar sketch Roger Blench. Main text

Even more marked is a prefix for body parts marked by a central vowel, either ə- or i- and possibly with ε as an allomorph;

beard	əgamu	gum	əga ɤtəə	rib	əʃədu
bone	əkəbe	hand	əkzə	skin	ətəə
buttocks	əsakʃə	head	εk <sup>hy</sup> ɛ	stomach, belly	ilhu
chest	əldzɛts	intestines	əlhubə	tear	ənɪsə
chin	əgadɾɔ	jaw	əga k <sup>hr</sup> ə	throat	ədɪm
eye	əni	kidney	ɪmtə	tongue	əzlbra
face	ək <sup>hr</sup> ə mɔ	leg	əʃi	tooth	ətu
fat	əbi	liver	ɤdzə	vagina	itəə
finger	əkɪdzə	lungs	əsəli	vein	ildu
forehead	ətlandʒi	marrow	əmənɪ	wrist	əkzəbié
scalp	əkəndru	navel	ək <sup>h</sup> umbe		

V- prefixes can be deleted or coalesce if the noun follows a possessive;

no ʔni  
I eye  
my eye

Simon (1993) discusses Hruso as if nouns had case markers. Hruso does not have case, but patients are followed by the appropriate pronoun to mark the object of an action (see § below).

#### 4.2 Pronouns

Hruso pronouns are invariant, regardless of their position in the sentence. The basic set is given in Table 4;

**Table 4. Hruso pronouns**

Singular	Hruso	Plural	Hruso
I, me	nə	we	ni
you	ba	you pl.	dʒə
he, she, it	i, yi	they	na

The pronouns are also used as possessive adjectives;

he nə kako  
this my book  
This is my book

By suffixing -ʃi to the pronoun, possessive nouns are formed;

he i noʃi  
this it mine  
This is mine

Similarly;

**Table 5. Hruso possessives**

Singular	Hruso	Plural	Hruso
I, me	noʃi	we	niʃi
you	baʃi	you pl.	dʒoʃi
he, she, it	iʃi	they	naʃi



However, possession in the case of two nouns is not marked.

### 4.3 Verbal system

Hruso is probably best understood as having an aspectual system with completive and incompletive the underlying distinction.

no yo Rupa gə dʒin kwe mɛ  
I today Rupa to go CONT  
I'm going to Rupa today

Future action is marked with *dʒo* following the verb;

no draha Rupa gə dʒi dʒo mɛ  
I tomorrow Rupa to go FUT EVD  
I'll go to Rupa tomorrow

no ʃlə i gə dʒo  
I dog it beat FUT  
I will beat the dog

no fu Rupa gə dʒi u  
I yesterday Rupa to go PAST  
I went to Rupa yesterday

no ʃlə i gəm bi  
I dog it beat COM  
I beat the dog

no ʃlə i gəm kwebi  
I dog it beat PRES  
I am beating the dog

i ne kako ă dʒə da  
he me book one give COM  
he gave me one book

i ne kako a dʒi bi  
he me book one give PRES  
he is giving me a book

i ne kako a dʒi dʒo  
he me book one give FUT  
he'll give me one book

no Itanagar gə dʒin kwe mɛ  
I I. to go CONT  
I am going to Itanagar

no Itanagar ɣə dʒo  
I I. to go past  
I went to Itanagar

no Itanagar γə dʒidʒo  
I I. to go FUT  
I will go to Itanagar

no Itanagar γə dʒin gudru  
I I. to go PRES always  
I always go to Itanagar

no Itanagar γə maɟʒu kɛ̃ hwaʔ dʒɛ̃  
I I. to go never not go  
I never go to Itanagar

no Itanagar go dʒiku  
I Itanagar from come  
I've come from Itanagar

no vetsi yo ʃə i ʃɛs kyaw  
I knife with wood the cut  
I cut the wood with a knife

i no bo ʃiɣa do  
he me for work do  
He did the work for me

#### Imperative

The imperative is marked with an auxiliary *we* following the verb;

age dʒi we  
here come IMP  
Come here!

Negative imperatives have *dʒu* preceding the verb;

age dʒu dʒi we  
here not come IMP  
Don't come here!

#### 4.4 Demonstratives

The basic demonstratives of Hruso are;

this he these tse  
that goto those goto

The demonstrative always precedes the noun it qualifies and the noun must be marked for number when it is unspecified. If a specific number is given there is no number marking. Thus;

he ʃlə tse ʃlə na  
this dog these dog -s

goto ʃlə goto ʃlə na  
that dog those dog -s

he ʃlə gyu he ʃlə gyu ksə  
this dog black this dog black two  
i.e. these two black dogs

#### Locatives

i ayi dʒiku da  
he here come past  
he came here

i gə dʒi da  
he there go past  
he went there

ba tse i no bo ʃiɣa dabe  
you this it me for work do!  
you do this work for me

#### 4.5 Interrogatives

Interrogative markers precede the verb they qualify and must have a clause or sentence-final question marker. The question markers have two forms, be..a and ya. The exact distinction between them is not yet clear. The interrogatives so far recorded are;

What?	ha, haɲa
Where?	ha gə
When?	key, keya
How much, many?	kɲa
Who?	dʒòá
Why?	hàdó

A single word sentence consisting only of an interrogative suffixes a final -a to the stem. Thus;

When? kèy.á?  
Which? hàsè.á

#### Examples

What? haɲa

goto nəná haɲa?  
that man what?  
What man is that?

Who? dʒòá

goto nəná dʒòá  
that man who?  
Who is that man?

Why? hado

ba hado Rupa gə dʒi ɲa?  
you why Rupa to go Q  
Why did you go to Rupa?

Where?

ba ha gə dʒin kwe be a  
you where go present Q  
Where are you going?

When?

ba key dʒi le be a?  
you when come CONT Q  
When are you coming?

When? key

ba key dʒi ku dʒowa  
you when come FUT  
When will you come?

ba key dʒi ku ɲa?  
you when come IMPFT  
When did you come?

i key dʒə da  
he when die PFT  
When did he die?

Single word question. *he kako dʒə tea* Which book is this?

hase ba tea  
which you one  
Which one is yours?

ba ha daŋ kwe ya  
you what do present Q  
What are you doing?

How much, many? kɲa

χu kɲa dɔ́á?  
water how much is there?  
How much water is there?

kɲa nəná ɲe |ugə dɔ́á?  
How many man house inside are there?  
How many people are inside the house?

#### 4.6 Conditional

no Rupa gə dʒidʒe midʒe ba so i tva dʒiɔ  
 I Rupa to going if your son he meet FUT  
 If I go to Rupa I will meet your son

ba ɲe gə ka wən da medʒe ka dʒiɔ da ʃo be  
 you home to go want go go please  
 If you want to go home, please go

#### 4.7 Adjectives and comparison

Adjectives are invariant but can both precede and follow the noun;

river, big ɣu doo big river  
 man, tall nəna pzu tall man

But;

big man deú nəná

Comparison is expressed with a sentence final fo;

ʃlyə i afa i deú fo  
 dog it cat it big than  
 The dog is bigger than the cat

afa i ʃlyə i aʃð sa fo  
 cat it dog it small than  
 The cat is smaller than the dog

#### 4.8 Numerals

Table 6 shows the basic Hruso numerals. I have added cognates in other languages, especially Miji, since this is one area where Hruso seems to have interacted with neighbouring languages.

**Table 6. Hruso numerals**

Gloss	Hruso	Comment
one	ǎ	
two	ksə	
three	ðə	cf. Miji <i>gətʰən</i>
four	pi	cf. Milang <i>pə</i> , poss. Miji <i>bli</i> , Koro <i>kople</i> , CTB *b.liy
five	pom	
six	ʒɛ	
seven	mrə	cf. Miji <i>mya?</i>
eight	skzə	cf. Miji <i>sigiʰ</i>
nine	stʰə	cf. Miji <i>sətʰən</i>
ten	ɛə	cf. Miji <i>tən</i> , Bangru <i>rəŋ</i> ,
eleven	ɛiə ǎ	
twenty	bʃa	
twenty-one	bʃayə ǎ	
thirty	ðə ɛə	

forty	pi kə	
fifty	pom ə kə	
sixty	ʒɛ̃ kə	
seventy	mrə kə	
eighty	skzə kə	
ninety	sðə kə	
hundred	fug ə	
thousand	hazeya	< Indo-Aryan

Intriguingly, the terms for ‘first’, ‘second’ seem unrelated to the count forms;

first    ovo    i ovo dʒiku ta. he arrived first  
second    tsfuŋ    i tsfuŋ dʒiku ta. he arrived second

These do not seem to form a regular series and no word for ‘third’ could be elicited. The word for ‘last’ fills the same slot in a sentence;

last    fum    i fum dʒiku ta. He was the last to arrive

For multiple actions, the numeral is preceded by *əlya* and has a special lexeme for ‘once’, but with two and above, the ordinary numerals are used;

once    tsə    no əlya tsə tudʒen. I was once drunk.  
twice    ksə    no əlye ksə ho h<sup>w</sup>un be. I have seen you twice  
thrice    etc.

Hruso has a word meaning ‘single, unique’, *akasa*, but this is not part of a series of multiples, in other words there are non words for ‘double, triple’.

single    akasa    joba akasa du. flower single have. i.e. it has a single flower

#### 4.9 Quantity

full    guda    tola χu guda. cup water full  
half    əʃa    χu tola itʃɛ duba. water cup half is. Cup is half-full of water.

### 5. Datasheets

Transcription

This version of the wordlist uses symbols taken from the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA). To read them easily they can be converted as follows;

ɟ    j  
tʃ    c, ch  
ŋ    ng  
ɲ    ny  
ɔ    open ‘o’ as in ‘pot’  
ə    like ‘ir’ in English ‘bird’  
~    nasalisation. Sounds like the vowel in French *vin*.

**Body parts**

Gloss	Hruso	Comment
ankle, back of	əfī lgam	‘foot’ + ?
ankle, side of	əfī gbe	
anklebones	əfī vʷɛ	
arm	opo	
back	utzbǒ	
beard	əgamu	
blood	ṣə	cf. Dirang Monpa <i>zi</i> , Padam <i>iyi</i> , Ao <i>azəʔ</i> , Champhung <i>azi</i> ,
body	usə	
bone	əkəbe	
brain	ɛk <sup>h</sup> yě m̥ni	
breast	ap <sup>h</sup> u	cf. Koro <i>apu</i> . CV- prefix for body parts, plus a Tibeto-Burman root for ‘breast, milk’ etc. discussed by Matisoff (2008: 104 ff.) under *pa and *m-pup. The high back vowel and aspiration is somewhat puzzling; Xixia has <i>pʰə</i> , but otherwise a low central vowel is standard.
breath	l <sup>h</sup> u	
buttocks	əsakfə	cf. OC *sək, W Tani *sak,
calf	əfī lbu	
back of thigh	uɣu lbu	
cheek	uk <sup>h</sup> ru musə	
chest	əldzets	
chin	əgadɾə	? cf. Koro <i>gumdu</i> , Mey <i>gamde</i> ,
ear	ɔfu	
elbow	opo vʷɛ	
eye	əni	cf. Koro <i>ni</i> , Dirang Monpa <i>rniŋ</i> , some Tani <i>ni(k)</i>
eye-brow	əni mu	
eyelid	əni tɛə	‘eye + skin’
face	ək <sup>h</sup> rə mǒ	
faeces <sup>4</sup>	ztsu	cf. Bangru <i>lai(teai)</i> , Bugun <i>tsee</i> , Mey <i>teaa</i> ,
fat	əbi	
finger	əkɪdzə	cf. Miji <i>mgi tsɔʔ</i> ,
fist	əkzə mk <sup>h</sup> rə	
flesh	usǒ	
foot	əfī	
forehead	ətlandzi	
scalp	əkəndru	
gum	əga ətɛə	retract tongue schwa

<sup>4</sup> dung, excrement, manure, shit, stool

Hruso wordlist and grammar sketch Roger Blench. Main text

Gloss	Hruso	Comment
hair	ɛk <sup>hy</sup> ɛ tɛə	
hand	əkzə	
head	ɛk <sup>hy</sup> ɛ	? cf. Miji <i>gu</i> , Monpa <i>go</i> , Bugun <i>k<sup>h</sup>ruk</i> , Idu <i>ikrūyā</i> , Proto-Tangkhalic <i>*kow</i> ,
heart	ulzə	cf. Bugun <i>ələləbau</i> .
heel	əfɪ tuŋə	
intestines	əlhubə	lh sequence
jaw	əga k <sup>h</sup> rə	
kidney	imtsə	
knee	əfɪ lba	
leg	əfɪ	
lip	únzə	
liver	ədzə	
lungs	əsəli	
marrow	əməŋi	
mole	li me fu	
	ɛə	
moustache	unzumu	
mouth	unzu	
nail	əgzitɛə	
navel	ək <sup>h</sup> umbɛ	
neck	unu g <sup>w</sup> ɔ́	
nipple	ap <sup>h</sup> u	
	nzulbǎ	
nose	unfu	
palm	əkzi p <sup>h</sup> ra	
penis	u o	cf. P-Tani <i>*mrak</i> , Idu <i>əlùkù</i> , Miji <i>məlò?</i> . Possibly compare the etymon <i>*m/b-lan</i> in Matisoff (2008: 198) with more specific comparison Tawra <i>mlǒ</i> , Tshangla <i>loŋ</i> . Given the Hruso V- prefix for body parts this is conceivably simply a Tshangla loan.
pubic hair	u omu	
pus	ɲɛm	
rib	əfǎdù	
saliva	zɛχu	
scalp	ɛk <sup>hy</sup> ɛn	
	k <sup>h</sup> ò	
shin	əfɪ rba	
shoulder	opodza	
skin	ətɛə	
skull	ək <sup>hy</sup> ɛ rbe	
stomach,	ilhu	
belly		
sweat	ntʃasə	
tear	ənɪsə	cf. Koro <i>nifì</i> ,
testicle	u o sə	
thigh	ùgùlùbù	
throat	ədǎm	
thumb	əkzien	
toe	əfɪ tsa	



Gloss	Hruso	Comment
tongue	əzlbra	
tooth	ətu	cf. Bangru <i>metu</i> , E Miji <i>tə</i> , Puroik <i>kətuəŋ</i> , Mey <i>nut<sup>h</sup>uŋ</i> ,
urine	mk <sup>h</sup> ro	
vagina	itəə	
vein	ildu	
waist	spəm ko	<i>spiw pio</i> = ‘wearing belt’
wrist	əkzəbié	

### Persons, family

Gloss	Hruso	Comment
ancestor	ak <sup>h</sup> i àú	? ‘head’ + ‘father’
aunt		
bachelor, male	muk <sup>h</sup> um uɣdɔ	
bachelor, female	mimsa uɣdɔ	
boy	muk <sup>h</sup> sa	
younger brother	ɲu	
brother-in-law	ulu	
children	aŋasa	
offspring	aɣə	
clan	ɲasi	sàmàsàmà
corpse	ɲimo	
daughter	săm	
elder brother	aye	
elder sister	àmà	cf. Miji <i>amona</i> , Bangru <i>məmwa</i> .
enemy	vérù	
family	ɲáŋi	
father	àú	cf. Miji <i>abo</i> . Konow (1902) relates this to the widespread # <i>abo</i> root, but the absence of any consonant makes this highly uncertain.
father-in-law	àp <sup>ɥ</sup> è hù	
father’s sister	àmà	cf. Koro <i>ama</i> ‘father’s sister’
friend	dʒo	cf. Miji <i>mɔʒo</i> , Bangru <i>mudʒua</i> .
girl	mimsa	
grandfather	àú muk <sup>h</sup> rɔ	
grandmother	àɲú muk <sup>h</sup> rɔm	
grandson	sàú	
grand-daughter	săm	
husband, male	muɣu	‘her husband’ /fi
man	nèná	cf. Miji <i>ɲu</i> , Bangru <i>ɲəvə</i> ,
mother	àŋi	cf. Koro <i>aye</i> , Bangru <i>anɛ</i> , Miji <i>aŋi</i> .
mother-in-law, mother’s elder sister	ap <sup>ɥ</sup> ɛ	
mother’s younger sister	aeə	
neighbour	ɤafɔpi ɣampi	
old man	muk <sup>h</sup> rɔ	
old woman	muk <sup>h</sup> rɔm	
orphan, young male	sapɤə sa	
orphan, young female	sapɤəm sa	

Gloss	Hruso	Comment
person	nə́ná	cf. Nah <i>ni</i> , Miji <i>ju</i> , Bangru <i>nəvə</i> .
relatives	dʒa fɪdɾo	
sister	ɲim	
sister-in-law	ləm	
son, grandson	sàú	cf. Tshangla <i>za</i> ,
uncle, paternal	ak <sup>hyi</sup>	
mother's younger brother	asə <sup>h</sup>	
mother's elder brother	ap <sup>ye</sup> hu	
village	ɲe tɛə	
village chief	ɲe tɛə go kio	
widow	mɔʒəm	
widower	mɔʒo	
wife, woman	mim(i)	his wife <i>ufum</i> . cf. Koro <i>mimi</i> ,
younger brother	(ə)ɲu	Konow (1902) compares to Kuki-Chin <i>nai/nau</i> 'younger sibling'
younger sister	(ə)ɲim	cf. Koro <i>ɲimi wa</i> ,

### Houses and architecture

Gloss	Hruso	Comment
ceiling	stə	
post, vertical	yuk fə gǝm	
cattle yard	tsimɰi na yɔɲe	
door	ɲe kɛsə	
fence	f <sup>ha</sup>	
floor	ɲe ləsa	
guest room	kom	
granary	ɲe tɛə	cf. Miji <i>ɰun</i> , Old Chinese *ts <sup>h2</sup> an.
hearth	ɰuk <sup>h</sup> ɛ	
house	ɲe	cf. Miji <i>nɛ</i> , Bangru <i>ne</i> .
kitchen	avada tso ɲě	
ladder to ceiling	mélgù	
latrine, toilet	z̄tsu ɲě	
pigsty	vòɰə	
post, centre	ɲe k <sup>hu</sup>	
chicken laying box	dʒo t <sup>ho</sup>	
poultry yard	dʒo kɰə	
rafter, crossways	yu kɰə	
roof	ɲe lsə	
room	ɲe tk <sup>hu</sup>	
tray over hearth	lge	
veranda	ɲe dză	
wall	fə	

Gloss	Hruso	Comment
<b>Household items</b>		
alcohol jar	tsɣfə	
bamboo container	balɔ̃	for local wine
basket, rice	bié	
basket, oranges	mə	loosely woven
bed, wooden frame	(dʒmu) byòò	‘sleeping + place’ also Hindi <i>bistoy</i>
book	kakə	
box, wooden	pakəs	
broom	ɲesi	cf. Miji <i>nam fwe</i> ,
comb	tr <sup>h</sup> k <sup>h</sup> a	
cooking pot	bòóg təm	
cup	tola	
frying pan	sulko	
folded leaf	labzə ɣɲi	for fermenting soya beans
ladle for water	ktso	
lamp, pine torch	mufə	
mat	ɛətəə	
mortar	vu u	cf. Tshangla <i>lu</i> ,
needle	sɣə	
paper	kakəsə	cf. Koro <i>kako</i> ,
pestle	mʌe	
pillow	dʒək <sup>w</sup> ĩ	cf. Koro <i>dʒukire</i> ,
plate	parbila	< Assamese
shelf	kama tr <sup>h</sup> ə	
spoon	dzoba	
thread	mɲfɲ	
trivet, large	ok <sup>h</sup> ro	
trivet, small	əfɪ ʒu	
winnowing tray	məzè	
<b>Dress</b>		
bag	kapɣa	
bamboo cap	msrga	
bangle, small	kɔ̃zsă	commercial
bangle, ancient, big	gɔ̃zə	ancient
bead	ɛfɛ	
belt	sp <sup>o</sup>	
clothing, cloth	g <sup>y</sup> ɛ	cf. Koro <i>gile</i> , Miji <i>getoj</i> , Bangru <i>gi</i> ,
comb	tek <sup>h</sup> a	
coat	pəlu	
dress	ʃa si pəlu	
ear-ring	fu ba  ɲim	
hat	ɛk <sup>h</sup> yě	
head-dress, men	ɛk <sup>h</sup> yě glo	
head-dress, women	ɛk <sup>h</sup> yě tɛu	bound down the back

Hruso wordlist and grammar sketch Roger Blench. Main text

Gloss	Hruso	Comment
necklace	ɤʃe fə	bead
pin	katsǎ	
pipe	mukte <sup>wi</sup>	
raincoat	bu	
ring	gʈslié	
shoe	ʃta	
silver head-dress	ɤaga	costly
sword	kefəɲe	
trousers	patəlǎ	? < Fr. pantaloón or E. pantaloón
underwear	wópù	
walking stick	dəl bo	

Tools etc	Hruso	Comment
arrow I	mɔʒa	birds
arrow II	mtɛĩ	large animals
axe	puɔʒe	
bow	kiĩ	cf. 'eagle'
bullet	tsoglo	
dao	vetsə	cf. Bangru <i>ve tsn</i> ,
dao handle	vetsə ʃə	
dao, large	vetsətɛǎ	
dao, medium	vetsfa	
dao, small	vetsasa	knife, cutting
gun	mibyə	
gunpowder	kayə	
hammer	martǎl	< Fr. via Hindi
hoe	yəkʃən ko	
digging stick	kuɔ	
quiver	tvo	
seed, seedling	əzi	<i>o əzi</i> 'paddy seed'. ? PTB <i>*sey</i> .
shield	gwofu	
sickle	vetso tɛǎ	also <i>vetsasa</i> .
spear	ɤzudzu	

Weaving

Gloss	Hruso	Comment
loom	geʃo	
shuttle		
slay		
thread		
cotton		
wool		
spin		
cloth		
design		
border		
weave		

sew  
 spinning wheel  
 scissors  
 embroidered bag  
 carpet  
 blanket  
 cane

ktʃiyo

## Agriculture

Gloss	Hruso	Comment
field	vi	
jungle, forest	sɨm	
kitchen-garden	teadzǎ	
land	nǎ	

## Crops

banana	wʲlo	plant wʲloŋ
brinjal	kaʃo	
bean	lápràprà	< Assamese
cassava	lmo	
cucumber	mʌi	
chili pepper	adəʰ	cf. Koro
garlic	msəʰ	
ginger	tkʰrin	
gourd		
jungle greens	pʲem dʒi	
cultivated	pʲe dzu	
leaves		
lemon	mtzə	
maize	sbě	
mango	ǎm	< Hindi
millet	kʰsə	
millet	lkʰrin	
orange	narin	< Hindi
paddy	o	? cf. Miji ɛ,
potato	alu	< Hindi
pumpkin	drobzə	
rice, uncooked	o lkə	
rice, cooked	ava	
soya bean	labzə	
sugar-cane	dgo	
sweet potato	alu	‘potato + sweet’
	dʒinteu	
taro	tʰrə	cf. Austroasiatic *tro
tomato, cherry	bəgna	? ‘Bikaner’
tuber sp.	alu ʃokrə	‘potato + root’ ? cassava

walnut	magudʒɛ	< Assamese ?
wheat	p <sup>h</sup> u	cf. Koro <i>pu</i> , ? < Tibetan

### Foods

butter	smyɛ	
dry meat	fu k <sup>h</sup> ro	
egg	dʒɛdʒɛ̃	
fish	sə	‘trill s’
food	ʃɛdʒɛ	
meat	fu	cf. Bangru <i>su<sup>h</sup></i> ,
milk, mother	ap <sup>h</sup> u	‘cow’s milk’ <i>fu lhu ap<sup>h</sup>u</i>
oil		
salt	ku	cf. Miji <i>lu</i> , Bangru <i>ruu</i> . Possibly a cultural loan

### Stimulants

beer, wine	sə	cf. Koro <i>sai</i> , Miji <i>ʃaŋ</i> , Bangru <i>teii</i> , possibly all borrowings from Tibetan <i>ʃaŋ</i>
strained wine	sə uχu	<i>səuχu</i> in usual speech
tobacco	mkteu	also ‘smoke’

### Disease

Gloss	Hruso	Comment
blind person, man	ən dzo	
blind person, woman	ən dʒɛ̃m	
boil	lugs	
cold, to have	msə	
cough	k <sup>h</sup> yo	
deaf person, man	ofu vo	
deaf woman	ofu vām	
disease, sickness, illness	səno	
doctor, traditional	dagde	priest mgòó
dysentery, diarrhoea	luyɔ	
fever, to have	ək <sup>h</sup> rinǎ	
goitre	odum sùú	
lame man	ɨfliàú	
lame woman	ɨfliām	
leprosy	tabwin	
madman	tayàú	
madwoman	tayām	
measles	msəɬ(i) pʃèó	? < ‘measles’
medicine	doya	
pain	no	
ringworm	ʃeye bulko	‘lip + insect + come’
scabies, itching	sudzu	cf. Bangru <i>kədzu</i> ,
sneeze	təo	
tapeworm	lo gsə	

vomiting	mmàú
wound	sado

**Professions**

Gloss	Hruso	Comment
blacksmith	vets tɛo	
goldsmith	ʃdo	
guest	tuməna	
hunter	sumdo	
hunting group	p <sup>h</sup> so	
fishing group	huʎu	
slave, servant	k <sup>h</sup> ulo	
thief	tsa k <sup>y</sup> u tɛo	
soldier	tumo dona	

**Fishing etc.**

Gloss	Hruso	Comment
fishing	huvyu	
fisherman	tsə ʃu nna	
fishnet	tɛəmo	
fish-trap, big	hudzə	
fish-trap, small	tvo pio	
hook	akə	
hunting spring trap	liɛ tu	
fall trap I	tɛɛ	
bird trap	mudɿu	
bird lime	tɛɛdʒɛn kʃo	
fall trap II	mədzə pio	rats, birds

**Religion**

Gloss	Hruso	Comment
bell	snsa	bronze bells, traded from Monpa
horsetail fiddle	bʒva	
dance	ɲukʃdɔ	
drum	ʃɛ də	
flute	sləl	
gong	bɛla	
jews' harp	du	

**Social transactions**

Gloss	Hruso	Comment
marriage	g̃zə	
brideprice I	mim u go	‘woman + cost’
brideprice II	mim u d̃zə	
divorce	b.ãw	
grave	nogo	

**Festivals**

Hruso	Gloss
ne f̃idə	in January, celebrates good weather, hunting
g̃zdə	merit ceremony
suw̃u f̃idza gyu	atonement ceremony, when a guilty person pays a fine
b̃zvdə	feasting ceremony when people travel to another village for special work
hup <sup>h</sup> u k̃ɔ	ceremony to protect village from bad things (disease etc.)
huge k̃ɔ	ceremony to protect ponds where villagers take water
opie t̃so	festival for the new rice, where villagers are fed before the family is fed. Dec-Jan
rdm t̃so	festival for the end of the rice. Feb-March

Hruso	Gloss
	paired sticks used by priest to mark ceremonies
fus pu	bamboo tube used to collect mithun blood after sacrifice
bela	brass bowl from Assam used in marriage transactions and to serve important guests
bela i f̃to	brass bowl on stand
u k <sup>h</sup> rə	iron cooking pot stand, comes in two-four sizes
li gyɛ	raft of bamboo suspended above the hearth used for drying meat, chili etc.
t̃sə u	basket use to filter traditional wine
b̃iɛ	conical back basket used by women
m̃ɲɔ̃	back basket used by men, different shape
χte <sup>w</sup> i	back pack for men with hair on back
k <sup>h</sup> i	bow
m̃dzà	plain arrow
m̃t̃sə	poison arrow, poison comes from a plant
tuvə	quiver
	hand-guard for archer
msr ga	Aka traditional hat
	special hat for priest no different name
mu go	priest
mu sutu	priest bag of amulets
	shrine of poles and flags
ytə	mat
vetsə bsə	long sword
vetsə uk <sup>h</sup> u	sheath for sword
wəf	shield. Also the name for the goral



**Months**

**Gloss Hruso Comment**

June    ðʎu  
 July    ozə

**Natural world**

**Gloss Hruso Comment**

ashes	mi ɣum	
cave	vla	
clay	nə ktzə	powdered clay nelmo
cloud	mum	cf. Miji <i>myemye</i> , PTB form is <i>*r.mew</i> .
coal	msəlba	
cold, cool	nuŋu	
darkness	nku	
day	ɲátò	
dust	ɲálmò	
fire	mi	cf. PTB <i>*mey</i> Dirang Monpa <i>mi</i> , Koro <i>mila</i> , Miji <i>may</i> , Kman <i>mə<sup>ma</sup>y</i> , Padam <i>əmə</i> .
flood	hulʃo	
firewood	ʃo	
ground, soil	nə	cf. Miji <i>naʔ</i> , Bengni <i>no</i> , Bugun <i>ɲak</i> ,
ice	ltszə	
jungle	səm	
lake, sea	stgʎi	
landslide	voko	
lightening	ɲe dzə lɔo	
moon, month	hubě	
moon, full	hubɛ tʃzə	
mountain, hill	pf <sup>h</sup> u	cf. Miji <i>p<sup>h</sup>u</i> ,
high mountain	pf <sup>h</sup> u yuzu	
mud	nə gɬzə	cf. Miji <i>na dzo</i> ,
night, darkness	ɲekʎi	
peak	pf <sup>h</sup> u ikɛdru	
plain	u grə	
pond	hugʎi	
rain	ɲe dzə eu	poss. cf. Bangru <i>ɲidi</i> ,
rainbow	ɲe lg <sup>h</sup> ro	
river	ɣo	= ‘water’.
river, big	ɣù dòò	
riverbank	ɣù dzà	
sand	baʎi	< Assamese <i>bālu</i> ‘sand’
sky	ɲe dzə	cf. Miji <i>na dʒaŋ</i> ,
slope	nə tsʔə	
smell, odour	ɕʃin	

Gloss	Hruso	Comment
smoke, steam	mkteu	
snow	teùjə̀	
star	ltsə	cf. Miji <i>dətsuŋ</i> , Bangru <i>lüfü</i> .
stone	kun	
storm	lòó	storm is coming <i>lòó kòó</i> .
stream	χu sà	
sun	dru	? cf. Miji <i>dʒo</i> , Bangru <i>dʒu?</i> ,
thunder	ɲe dzə bio	
valley	fu ga g <sup>w</sup> o	
water	χo	cf. Bugun, Mey <i>k<sup>h</sup>o</i> , Puroik <i>kua</i> ,
waterfall	χu f <sup>h</sup> àú	cf. Puroik <i>kuasua?</i> ,
wind, air	ɲa dzəlu	

### Communications

Gloss	Hruso	Comment
road	ɣabə	
metal road	aɭi ɣabǒ	
footpath	ɣabə mi	
suspension bridge	lǎ	
footbridge	dgu	

### Metals

Gloss	Hruso	Comment
gold	ʃə	
iron	sə	also ‘bamboo’. cf. Bangru <i>səə</i> , Miji <i>sen</i> . Proposed PTB * <i>syam</i> , but iron is not old enough to be found at this level and must be a widespread regional loanword.
silver	lmu	

### Plant parts

Gloss	Hruso	Comment
bamboo	sə	also ‘iron’
bark	ʃo ɲi tɛə	
branch	ʃəvǒ	
bush	ʃən ya ʃosa	‘small tree’
cane	ʃa	cf. Miji <i>fu</i> , Bangru <i>fuu</i> .
creeper, vine	go	
flower	ʃo (ɲi) ba	cf. E Miji <i>gəbo</i> , Bangru <i>məbuaa</i> , Bugun <i>əbuə</i> , Puroik <i>məbuai?</i> ,
grass	susə	
fruit	ʃedʒɛ	
leaf	ʃə iʒɛ	
root	ək <sup>h</sup> rə	cf. E Miji <i>mək<sup>h</sup>ən</i> ,
pip/stone	əsə	= ‘seed’
stump	ʃo tɛə	
thorn	k <sup>h</sup> su	cf. W Miji <i>gzu</i> , Bangru <i>kəzət</i> ,

Gloss	Hruso	Comment
tree	ʃən	cf. Idu <i>āsī</i> , Kman <i>sə̃ŋ</i> ,
walnut	magun ʃən	
orange	narin ʃən	
banana	wlʷə	
tree sp.	ʦuldʒən	jamun tree
tree sp.	ʃəʒn	firewood
tree sp.	mufōó	pine tree
tree sp.	fōbrə̀zə̀	used for ceremonies, smells sweet, H. <i>dup</i>
tree sp.	ʃbi	deer eat the fruits
tree sp.	ɲɛ bidʒɛ	edible fruits
	mɛ̀ budʒɛ	edible fruits
tree sp.	pʃɛ wn	timber used for furniture
tree sp.	ktʂʷə, ktʃɛ	edible nut, very oily
tree sp.	zɔ̀ə la fo	edible fruits
tree sp.	lo dɯɲ	firewood
tree sp.	mɲi i yɛn	firewood
tree sp.	mndʒɛ	edible fruits
tree sp.	brzbrm	when the flowers appear it is time to sow rice seeds. also brz iyɛn
tree sp.	brz	firewood
tree sp.	hogin	timber used for furniture
tree sp.	tʰʷə ɲi mu vɔ̀	expensive timber used for posts
tree sp.	ʃə nn	no use
tree sp.	ʃo pɛsa	expensive timber used for posts
tree sp.	ʃə ʒn	expensive timber used for posts
tree sp.	tuk ʃɛn	firewood
tree sp.	pʷɛ tɛən	edible fruits and leaves
tree sp.	flɔɲ	timber used for furniture
tree sp.	z̄sə	timber used for furniture
tree sp.	məɲimu	timber used for furniture
trunk	ʃə ɲi tɛə	

### Wild plants

Gloss	Hruso	Comment
plant sp.	dʒəŋlɲ	edible leaves
plant sp.	ateə akpia	fruit eaten
plant sp.	logo dʒɛn	used for wrapping food
plant sp.	wəm ʃɛ	used for wrapping food, rice etc.
plant sp.	lgrn	beautiful red flowers
plant sp.	pʷɛ dba	edible leaves

### Animal parts

Gloss	Hruso	Comment
horn	uʂzu	cf. Miji <i>m/ʒɔ̀</i> , Bangru <i>məʃu</i> ,
hoof	əʃidzə	
tail	əyim	
beak	msə utu	short msətu
hump	əgəbi	~ əkəbi

Gloss	Hruso	Comment
udder	ful hu apu	
fur	ɔmu	
feather	ɔmu	cf. Miji <i>momyu</i> , Bangru <i>mumuŋ</i> .
wing	ətpɔ	

## Animals

Gloss	Hruso	Comment
<b>Domestic</b>		
animal	səm tʃi	
horse	f(u-)gra	
mare	fgra mɲi	
donkey	fù bábù	
cow	fu lhu impɪ	
calf, female	fu lhu impɪsa	
bull	fu lhu ŋ busa	
mithun	fu	cf. Koro <i>su</i> , Miji <i>fu</i> and widely in the region
mithun, male	fù <sup>R</sup> ú	
mithun, female	fu ɲi	
small male	fùú sa	
small female	fu nsa	
yak	fu bzə	
pig	vo	cf. Bugun <i>wək</i> , Proto-Kuki-Chin <i>*wok</i> , Proto-Tangkhalic <i>*hwok</i> , mature male cf. jungle pig
boar	vo fu	
castrated pig	vo kla	
piglet	vo ɲisa	
sow	vo ɲi	
sheep	fu glu	
ram	fu glu mbu	
goat	ks(ə)	
castrated goat	ks əkla	
billy-goat	ks əmbu	
nanny-goat	ks impɪ	
dog	ʃluɔ	
male dog	ʃluɔ mbu	
bitch	ʃluɔ mɲi	
cat	aʃa	cf. Hruso <i>asa</i> . Presumably a borrowing but from which language?
hen, chicken	dʒo	
cock	dʒo mɔ	
female chick	dʒon sa	
duck	osa	
female duck	osa mɲi	
drake	osa mbu	

**Wild animals**

**Mammals**

wild animal	sm ʃi	
barking deer		
bat	vam nɛ	
bear	s̄tɔ	cf. Miji <i>tsā</i> , Bangru <i>sətɛō</i> .
deer	fum	
elephant	atɛə	cf. Miji <i>atei</i> but <Hindi ?
flying squirrel	mkzə	
fox	āl	
goral	wof	
jungle buffalo	fub ʒə	
otter	s̄zɛ	locally called ‘seal’
leopard	ɤʃʃts	tiger + spotted ts = spotted but also equals ‘star’
monkey	ʃɔf(ù)	
monkey sp.	yem tsə	long tail, white hair
longhorn deer	fum tsə	
pangolin, anteater	mudzu	
porcupine	mudzo	spine <i>pəkən</i>
rat	ʒmə	
house-rat	nè gò ʒmó	
jungle rat	sn be ʒmə	
white rat	ʒmə gro	‘white mouse’ mostly found in river
bush rat	ʒmə gyɛ ʒmə	
	gə	
shrew	ʒmə trə tsə	
squirrel	fu gi	big
squirrel	pse sn sa	small
tiger	ɤʃʃu	cf. Koro <i>faru</i> ,
wild cat	mu fu sa	
wild pig	fu fu	
wolf	fum su	
wild dog	sn be ʃluə	jungle + dog

**Birds**

bird	mùsú	
eagle	kii	cf. ‘bow’
crow	p{dram	
sparrow		plye [? not confirmed]
parrot	páʃō	
hornbill	gd.u	
kite	kii tsó	
wildfowl	tʒə	
owl	kòkyé	Considered an evil bird
bird nest	mùs’ ɛ̀dzə	
bird sp.	fi sàdzó	
bird sp.	wù lò pǎy	

bird sp.	ṣiye	
bird sp.	musu k <sup>h</sup> təə	It appears in spring and summer and its cry is considered to presage the death of someone. Not an owl.
bird sp.	pàm là fùgró	
bird sp.	pzglu	very tasty to eat
fishing eagle	χù kí	water + eagle

### Insects

insect	buī	l has friction. cf. E. Miji <i>biluŋ</i> , Bangru <i>bəluŋ</i> ,
ant	ʃn	cf. Miji <i>ʃni</i> , Bangru <i>səni</i> .
ant sp. I	ʃn tsu	very small 'red ant'
ant sp. II	ʃn mʃŋ vamu	leaves a sticky trace
ant sp. III	ʃn gyu	'black ant' biting, poisonous
bedbug		
bee, honey	mədʒə du	cf. Koro <i>adʒa</i> ,
butterfly,	trəps	
moth		
caterpillar	ʃblu	white grub that lives inside rotten wood
centipede		
cockroach	trumʃə	
dragonfly	pandʒapsə	pandʒap is also a name for Punjabi and etymologically connected to them (? maybe)
earthworm	bskz̄	
firefly	hmlð	
flea	sgz̄ə	
housefly	plbɛ	wdʒə is 'to fly' vb.
bloodsucking	sdzm	
fly		
leech	lɪv <sup>v</sup> ɛ̄	
louse	ʃə <sup>ɹ</sup>	cf. nit. cf. Bangru <i>sa</i> , PTB <i>*s(y)ar</i> .
biting insect	mɬə	at night
nit	ʃə <sup>ɹ</sup>	Hindi <i>jumra</i>
maggot		
mosquito	ṣiym	
spider I	ape grm	= ʃaŋga
spider II	ʃaŋgá	= ape grm
wasp	godʒə	
woodworm	ʃn mə	
biting fly	mudʒə	When bitten you swell up and have to call a shaman who recites and prayer and requests the sacrifice of a mithun
biting insect	gotali	bites you and you swell up. ?<LWC
biting insect	kʃŋ	bites and chases you to the river

### Reptiles etc.

snake	bz̄ə	
snake sp. I	z̄tə	cobra
snake sp. II	nəbz <sup>(y)</sup> ə, nəbzə	
snake sp. III	zmə	
snake sp. IV	z̄ʃaba	python
frog, general	ʃdza	cf. W Miji ʒo, Bangru <i>dza</i> ,
frog I	ʃdza dʒomo	edible

Hruso wordlist and grammar sketch Roger Blench. Main text

---

frog II	pɔɔ	edible
lizard	bznt̩i	
chameleon	dʒadzɪk <sup>hr</sup> ɔ	
tortoise, turtle	adzuya	
snail	svankɔ	
crab	gdzɔ	Also a name for the Bangni of Seppa (NB this is a pejorative expression)

**Fish**

fish	t̩ɔ	
fish sp. I	ʃɪkɾɛm	
fish sp. II	sla t̩ɔ	
fish sp. III	mùmúp	
fish sp. IV	ʃiɔ	
fish sp. V	ɲàw	not confirmed

**Abstracts**

Gloss	Hruso	Comment
name	ɛɲɪn	
life	ʃòó	
death	z̩u	
crime	suxu	‘commit crime’
be faulty	da tru	
soul	wlo	
war	tumo	
money	bvo	
place	bɣòò	
work	ʃɪyà	

**Pronouns**

Gloss	Hruso	Comment
I, me	nɔ	cf. Proto-Tani *ɲo, Bangru ɲo, Koro n̩ɛ,
you	ba	
he, she, it	yi	cf. Miji <i>ayi</i> ,
we	ɲi	cf. Miji <i>ani</i> ,
you pl.	dʒɔ	cf. Miji <i>dʒe</i> ,
they	na	

**Demonstratives**

this	he...i	<i>he kun (i)</i> ‘this stone’
these	hena	<i>aɲasa na</i> ‘these children’ <i>he kun na</i> ‘these stones’
that	goto...i	<i>goto n̩nà i</i> ‘that man’ <i>goto kun (i)</i> that stone
those	goto...na	<i>goto aɲa na</i> ‘those children’ <i>goto kun na</i> ‘those stones’ you use the <i>i</i> as a specifier to point to a very specific stone, without it the sentence is a bit more vague

Gloss	Hruso	Comment
<b>Interrogatives</b>		
How many?	kpa	cf. Miji <i>k.pa. kpa nəná je [ugə dɔ́á?</i> lit. How many men house inside there? How many people are inside the house?
How much?	kpa	<i>χu kpa dɔ́á?</i> How much water is there?
What?	hapa	cf. Tshangla <i>həŋ. goto nəná hapa?</i> What man is that?
When?	key	ba key dʒi ku dʒowa When will you come? ba key dʒi ku pa? When did you come? i key dʒə da When did he die?
When?	keya	Single word question
Which?	ha sɛá	Single word question. <i>he kako dʒətɛa</i> Which book is this? <i>hase ba tɛa</i> Which one is yours?
Who?	dʒɔ́á	<i>goto nəná dʒɔ́á</i> Who is that man?
Why?	hado	ba hado Rupa gə dʒi pa? Why did you go to Rupa?

**Quantity**

some	kagwa...na	nəná kagwana Rupa go dʒi kta. Some men came from Rupa. <i>goto nəná i kagwa fu Rupa go la kta.</i> These men brought some mithuns from Rupa
a little, few	mi	<i>je gə ava? mi do ba bi</i> House inside rice little there is. There is little rice in house
many, much	ape	<i>je gə ava? ape do.</i> There is much rice in the house.
all	vió	<i>vió nəná dʒə ba bi.</i> All men die.
anyone	dʒun da(n)	<i>dʒun dan dan dafi dʒo ba bi hei.</i> Anyone can do it!
nothing	ha dʒe ni	<i>ha dʒe ni je gə.</i> There is nothing in the house.

**Numerals**

Gloss	Hruso	Comment
one	a	
two	ksə	
three	ðə	cf. Miji <i>gətʰən</i> ,
four	pi	cf. Milang <i>pə</i> , poss. Miji <i>bli</i> , Koro <i>kople</i>
five	pom	cf. Miji <i>bunə</i> , Bangru <i>puŋu</i> .
six	zě	
seven	mrə	cf. Miji <i>myah</i> , Koro <i>rō</i> , Puroik <i>lye</i>
eight	skzə	cf. Miji <i>sigi<sup>h</sup></i> , Bangru <i>səgay(k)</i> ,
nine	s <sup>h</sup> ə	cf. Miji <i>sətʰən</i> , Bangru <i>sətəŋ</i> ,
ten	kə	
eleven	kiə ă	
twelve	kiə ksə	
thirteen	kiə zðə	
fourteen	kə ʃə pi	
fifteen	kə ʃə pom	
sixteen	kə ʃə yě	
seventeen	kə ʃə mrə	
eighteen	kə ʃə skzə	
nineteen	kə ʃə sðə	
twenty	bʃa	
twenty-one	bʃayə ă	
thirty	ðə kə	
forty	pi kə	



Gloss	Hruso	Comment
fifty	pom ə kə	
sixty	ʒɛ̃ kə	
seventy	mrə kə	
eighty	skzə kə	
ninety	sðə kə	
hundred	fug ə	
two hundred	fug ksə	
three hundred	fug ðə	
four hundred	fug bi	
five hundred	fug pom	
six hundred	fu <sup>g</sup> ʒɛ̃	
seven hundred	fug mrə	
eight hundred	fug skzə	
nine hundred	fug <sup>s</sup> ðə	
thousand	hazeya	
first	ovo	i ovo dziku ta. he first come past
second	tsfuŋ	i tsfuŋ dziku ta. he was the second to arrive
third		don't really have this series
last	fum	i fum dziku ta. He was the last to arrive
once	əlya	no əlya tsə tudʒen. I was once drunk.
twice		no əlye ksi ho h <sup>w</sup> un be. I have seen you twice
thrice		etc.
single	akasa	ʃoba akasa du. flower single having. It has a single flower
double		not really
full	guda	tola χu guda. cup water full
half	əfja	χu tola ifje duba. water cup half is. Cup is half-full of water.
pair		
two pairs		

### Adjectives

Gloss	Hruso	Comment
afraid	ʒòú	no χu dèú i ʒòú I am afraid of water no χu deu i zeda I water big it fear
afraid	yyeda	no χfə i yyeda I tiger it afraid i.e. I am afraid of the tiger
alive	əfə	no ə fəda I am alive
angry		no lo ʃə ʒə da I am angry
alone	akasa	no a ka sa (da) I am alone
ashamed	nimsum	no nimsum da I feel ashamed
bad	mawu	he nəná yi ʃpio mawu wa This man dem very bad is. This man is very bad
barren	ʃpʃə	he p <sup>f</sup> u i ʃpʃə da wa. This land is barren
infertile	kʃm <sup>y</sup> u	he fu hu yen i kʃəmi da ba. This cow female it infertile is.
beautiful, charming	òósa	goto mimsa ho oosa da. That girl is beautiful
big, thick, very	dèú	
bitter	kumteo	cf. 'sour'. cf. PTB *b-ka-(n/m/ŋ)
blunt	əʒə nu	vetə əʒə ni. knife is blunt
brave	boʃu	he nəná ʃpio boʃu du. This man is very brave.
fearless	ma ʒo	
broken in two	χlyə	he fo χlyə daba. This stick has broken.

Hruso wordlist and grammar sketch Roger Blench. Main text

Gloss	Hruso	Comment
broken in pieces	gakwi	<i>he tola gakwi daba.</i> The cup is broken
cheap	ugo [to	lit. cost low.
clean	gdʒo	
clever	butsədu	he nəná
cold	nuŋu	
comfortable	sobida	
crooked, zigzag	k <sup>h</sup> nu	
cruel	mawu	also ‘bad’
daily, forever, always	ʃüwáfüwà	
dangerous		
dark	nku	
dead	dzu	
deaf	ufuvǒ	
deep	zu	
different	ǒtiǒtiò	
difficult	maʃu	
dirty	ɲiskn	
dishonest	ǒtiɲu	
drunk	kɔʒo	
dry	k <sup>h</sup> ro	
dull, faded, bleached	ɲiskn	
dumb	mlyǒ	
dusty, sandy		
easy		
empty	ɔfɔgla	
exact, true, correct		
expensive, dear	ogɔnlu	
false	mʔlo	
famous	nana daw ksə	
far		
fast		
fat	dʔu	
fertile	nɔrbi	
ferocious		
foolish	ʃimataku	
flat	zɛ	
fresh	əkɔm	
friendly	əɔʒo	unfriendly əɔʒo mǒ
full (basket)	ku	
generous	matak zu	
good		
good-looking, attractive		
great, distinguished (man)		
guilty	da ʃu	
happy	mʃu	
hard	gro	rolled ‘r’
haughty		
healthy	uzəko	
heavy	lu	cf. Bugun <i>əlai</i> , Mey <i>ʔalai</i> , E Miji <i>məley</i> ,
high	yizu	
hollow	ɔfɔgla	cf. ‘empty’
honest	usu	bǎmba
hot	ʃu	

Hruso wordlist and grammar sketch Roger Blench. Main text

Gloss	Hruso	Comment
humble	l̥imé imyú	also 'soft'
hungry	ukusʷu	
ill, sick		
important		
impossible	mafʷu	
kind	samasama	
late	madzɨfɔ	
lean		
least		
left	fuvə	
light in weight	ltə	
lonely		
long	pzu	
lost	mə θabi	
low	əlagə	
lukewarm		
mad	paðo	
main		
many, more, very		
married (man)		
mean	ta zit zu	
miserable		
modest		
muddy		
naked	u gə	
new	əkʰən	
old	ʔəme	
poor	tapzə	check
private		
ready		
rich	lgǔ	check
right (side)	tsɕə	
right, correct	umsǔ	
ripe	ɲu	
robust		
rocky		
rotten	kɯŋa zabi	
rough	krrakrro	rolled 'r'
round (face)	udʒu	
round (object)	ɲaksu	
sacred	kɕɔ	
safe	basu	
same		
shallow		
sharp	əzə du	vetsə əzə du. knife is sharp
short	əfɛ	
shy	ɲimsn	check
sick	usəno	
silent		
sincere		
slippery	bläblü	like a fish
slow		
small		
smooth	l̥imé imyú	

Hruso wordlist and grammar sketch Roger Blench. Main text

Gloss	Hruso	Comment
soft, polite	l̥imé imyú	also 'humble'
sour	teo	mə ʒə ʃpio teo da. the lemon is very sour
spicy		
stale	kɲàú	
steep		
straight	uto	
strong	go	
sweating		
sweet	zntsʷu	
tall		
tasty		
thick	zu	
thin, lean	aʃɔnsa	
thirsty	lk <sup>h</sup> ro	
tired	koyu	
true	əmsǒ	
ugly (body)		
ugly (face)	poŋzu	
uncleared (field)		
unhappy	ma mʃu	
useful	zakʷevu	
useless	zekar	
valuable	okoʎu	
weak	hamaʎu	
well		
western		
wet	kzu	
whole		
wicked		
wide	κòó	he ʃʌzə κàà da. This garden is wide.
wild		
wise		
wise, prophetic		
worst		
wrong		
yearly		

**Colours**

Gloss	Hruso	Comment
black	gʷu	
blue		as green
green	dzu	
red	dzu	cf. Miji <i>mʃ<sup>h</sup>u</i> ,
white	gro	? cf. Miji <i>mgran</i> ,
yellow		as white

## Verbs

Gloss	Hruso	Comment
abandon, leave	fǎú	
abuse	fěú	
ache	ŋòú	
admire	fřòó	??
advise	zerdzu	
afraid	yyòó	
agree	θu	
angry, to be	lusuzu	
answer		
answer, tell	t <sup>h</sup> ru	
grow (like children)	ʃlu	
arise from chair	gdzɫ <sup>y</sup> u	
arrange	dagdo i we	make something proper
arrest, catch	lige lo	
arrive	ɖʒiku	
ashamed, to be	ɲimʃn	
ask for	p <sup>h</sup> u	cf. mountain
assemble	ɖʒi kě ho	
attack	tmodo	
bad, harmful, to be	mawu	
bake, cook	k <sup>h</sup> ùù	cf. k <sup>h</sup> u <sup>k</sup> u, Miji k <sup>h</sup> u, Bangru kuu,
bark	p <sup>t</sup> su	
bathe	usə tɛo	‘flesh bath’
be, is, are		
beat (person)	yu	
beg	p <sup>h</sup> u	cf. ‘buy’
begin, start	me dʒeba	no tu me dʒeba I am starting to drink no tsa me dʒeba I am starting to eat
believe	vek su	
belong	fǐ	he no fǐ wa this is mine
bend	f <sup>h</sup> k <sup>h</sup> ɲu	no ʃobo f <sup>h</sup> k <sup>h</sup> ɲu I bent the stick
bet	vi dʒo	ba ha vi dʒo wa? What will you bet? literally ‘keep’
bind	pe go	no ʃa pe go dʒo wa. I will bind up the cane. no ʃa pe goŋ kwe wa. I am binding up the cane. no ʃa pe go mba. I bound up the cane.
bite	t <sup>h</sup> o	
bitter, to be	kumtɛo	e.g fruit. f <sup>h</sup> ɔ̄ sour.
block, obstruct road	da fio	da fio prevent as in two persons fighting.
block river	fiu v <sup>y</sup> u	
blow	mu	
blow (wind)	l̄vu	ɲadzə l̄vu ‘wind blows’. cf. l̄vu copulate.
boil	lun kòí	fiu lun kòí wa. water is boiling
borrow	gudzu	no gudzu lo wa. I borrowed it.
break (e.g. cup)	panu	tola panu. The cup broke. no tola panu wa. I broke the cup
break, snap	f <sup>h</sup> k <sup>h</sup> làú	
breathe out	ltu sàó	
breathe in	ltu me	
breathe	ltu	
bring	lɔ	
broadcast seeds	uṣ t <sup>h</sup> rɔ	lit. ‘seed sow’
build	do	
burn	f <sup>h</sup> òú	

Hruso wordlist and grammar sketch Roger Blench. Main text

Gloss	Hruso	Comment
bury	w̄u	
buy	p <sup>h</sup> u	cf. 'beg'. <i>p<sup>h</sup>u lo</i> buy it!
call	balo	
carry	giú	
catch	see above	
cheat, lie	mlo 'lie' dako tsu	<i>mlamfo</i> 'cheating, lying' describes a child who behaves sullenly when annoyed with parents. If it were female, <i>dako tsum</i> .
chew	ʃapsu	
clean (pot)	dagɔ́zàú	
clear (jungle)	damsɔ	<i>sn be damsɔ</i> 'jungle is cleared'. <i>no ne damsɔ dzo wa</i> . I cleaned my house
climb down	ʎaho	
climb up	lil <sup>y</sup> u	
close	ɔ́gòó	<i>no nikesə dugòó dzo</i> . I closed the door
close, near	insa	<i>Thrizino yoo Sak<sup>h</sup>ə insa ba wa</i> . T is close to S.
cold, become	nuŋu	<i>nuŋ le ba</i> . It is becoming cold.
collect (money)	la kewe	<i>no bo la keŋ ko e wa</i> . I am collecting the money.
comb	ʃ <sup>h</sup> u káá	
come		<i>i bajar gɛɛ dzu ku ta wa</i> . He came to the market <i>gɛɛ</i> = 'common, tasteless etc.'
come back	ka ku e	<i>kufɔ ka ku e</i> . Come quickly.
come here!	agadzɛ	
command, order	ɔ́g <sup>y</sup> òó	
complete	ɔ́f <sup>y</sup> áú	
contribute	ʃ <sup>h</sup> keho	
copulate	l <sup>y</sup> u	cf. 'blow (wind)'
cough	k <sup>h</sup> yòó	
count	ŋu	
cover	gudzu	
crack	zɛkùhù	
cross (river)	ɔ́zilòú	
cross path, meet		
cut	ʃɛk <sup>hw</sup> i <sup>h</sup> u	
cut down		
dance	ɲuksǎ	
decide	pɔ́ɔ́zu	
defeat	fòó	
defend	ɤaksu	
dehusk		
deliver (child)	ayə sɔ	lit. child deliver.
deliver (goods)		
deny	maɔ́zu zgáú	
descend	lɪgáú	
desire		
die	θuu	
dig	novə	
disappoint	mʃu	
discuss in a group	pɔ́ɔ́zu	
dishonest, spoiled, worn out		
dislike, hate	ma hwo əndɔ	

Hruso wordlist and grammar sketch Roger Blench. Main text

Gloss	Hruso	Comment
disobey	zo matsu	
distribute		
disturb	dava tapu	
divorce	nimi teáá ku	
do	dòú, davèi	
drag	ɖʒilo	
dream	temyo	cf. Miji <i>taymə</i> , Bangru <i>teemə</i> , Old Chinese * <i>C.məŋ.s</i> , PTB * <i>r.man</i> , Kman <i>tā àmùŋ</i> , Idu <i>ēmò</i> ,
dress	ɖʒɛʃebě	
drink	tùú	
drive	kʰràú	
drunk, to be		
eat	sabe	cf. Miji <i>fɪu</i> , Khispi <i>tɛʰa</i> , Mey <i>teu</i> , Bugun <i>tsiə</i> , Kman <i>fɪa</i> , Hruso <i>sa</i> ,
eat meat		
eat soft food		
encircle		
end		
enter	ɖʒimi wɛ	
jealous		
escape	basa hu	
evaporate		
exhibit, show		
expect	leksʷu	
explain	tʰru	
extinguish	ɖaɲàú	
fall down (object)	gàú	
fall down (person)		
fear	ʒo	cf. 'live'
feel		
fill liquid	da kuwě	
find	ʃlo	but also 'seek'
finish, run out		
float	ldo	
flow	fʰkʰo	
fly	uɖʒo	
follow	fum kasə	
forget	koʃàú	
free s.o.		
fry		
get loose		
give	ɖzu	
go, go away		
go along with,		
accompany		
go down		
go out		
go up		
grind, crush	ri	cf. Miji <i>ri</i> , Bangru <i>rày</i> ,
grow	ʃu	
guard	bvaktʂʷu	
guide	ʃɖʒu	
halt	da kʰo	
hang	θàú	
harvest		

Hruso wordlist and grammar sketch Roger Blench. Main text

Gloss	Hruso	Comment
hatch (egg)	gʷàú	
have	dùú	cf. Miji <i>də</i> , Bangru <i>durɔʔ</i> , Written Tibetan <i>dug</i> .
hear		
help	pʰòó	
hide	mʃùú	
hit	grʰu	
hold	ɕʒigo	
hope	zeksu	
hungry		
hunt	pʰðo	
ill, be	uso nòó	lit. 'flesh + paining' <i>no uso na da wa</i> I am sick
imitate	taʃu idǒ	
imprison	paɕʒi gəʃu	
inform	ɲi tkʰu	
inhale, breathe in	olu glu ta hǔ	
join two things together	lami	
journey	ɕʒu	
jump	gyo	
keep inside bag		
keep	ðʷo	
kick	kɕʒu	
kill	ʃu	
kiss	bvubvu do	
kneel	zθu	
knock	nekəske kaka do	
know	dahu	
laugh	nm vɔdǒ	
lay egg		
learn		
lend	ʃkʷu	
lick	zrbas fə	
lie, tell	mləú	
lie down	yu	
lift	lo	cf. Bangru <i>lɔŋsi</i> ,
light s.t.		
like	uvʷàú	
listen	θu	
live	ʒo	cf. 'fear'. cf. Bangru <i>dʒu</i> ,
look	fiə	check
look after		
lost, to be		
love		
mad, to be		
make mistake	da tru	
make	θo	
marry		
measure	ppo	
meet	tvo	
melt	lhu	friction 'l'
milk		
mingle(d)	gigli	



Hruso wordlist and grammar sketch Roger Blench. Main text

Gloss	Hruso	Comment
move	ɖʒòú	
need	zu	
obey	ʒo vtsu	
obstruct	da kʰòú	
omit		
open	vawě	
pack down	ʃu	
peel	əʃə	
persuade, convince	zedʒu	
pity	nəlvo	
play	stu	
pluck	ʃkʌú	
point	pɲúú	
pound		
pour	pʰwàú	
praise	tʰro	
pray	kʰgʰu	
prefer	malo	
prevent s.o. from doing s.t.		
promise	ɲi mdʒu	
pull		
punish	zoze tsʷu	
push	zɛu	
put		
quake		
quarrel	pʃě	
raise		
reach		
read	ɲu	
reap	teo	
recognise	fəsu	
regret	kʃo	
remember	lʷehu	
repair	daktu	
resemble	fəði	
rest	ka klʷo	
return	ʒgu	
ride	lilʷu	
ripe, to be		
roam around		
roast	fo	
rotten, to be		
rub	ɖʒnàú	
run	gɖzèú	
sad, to be		
satisfied, to be		
save	basàú	
saw		
say	teèú	
scatter	ʃu	check
see	ho	
seek, search, look for	ʃlo	

Hruso wordlist and grammar sketch Roger Blench. Main text

Gloss	Hruso	Comment
sell	dʒu	
send	k <sup>h</sup> yu	
sew	k <sup>h</sup> ru	see ‘shoot’
shake	so	
sharpen	əʒə	
shine	mtsòú	
shoot	k <sup>h</sup> ru	
shout		
show		
shut		
sick, to be		
sing	ngu	
sit down	xowɛ, ɣo ~ ro	
slap		
sleep	dʒmu	cf. E Miji <i>dʒi</i> , Mey <i>dʒiŋ</i> , Old Chinese <i>*ts<sup>h</sup>im?</i>
slip		
smell s.t.	sohu	
smoke (cigarette)		
smoke (meat)		
sneeze		
snore		
sow		
speak	ʃ <sup>h</sup> edʒo	
spit	mdʒu	
split		
stab	kʃi	
stand up	gudʒu	
steal	pa k <sup>h</sup> ʃu	check
store		
suck		
surprise		
surrender	teàú	
surround	bafəpi wampi	
swallow		
swear	ʃa dʒǎ	
sweep house, to ‘broom’	je tsu	
swell		
swim	ɣu dʒo	
take	lo	cf. Miji <i>lu</i> , Bangru <i>lu</i> , Proto-Tani <i>*lan</i> , Tshangla <i>la</i> ,
take away		
taste	la hu	cf. ‘try’
teach	da dʒu	
tear	pa ðu	
tell	ʃ <sup>h</sup> e	Miji <i>ʃa</i> , Bangru <i>ʃatə</i> ,
thank	uda biʃu	
think		
throw		
tie		
trust	ʒekʃu	
try	la hu	cf. ‘taste’
twist	əʃu	

Hruso wordlist and grammar sketch Roger Blench. Main text

Gloss	Hruso	Comment
understand	zsu	
undress		
untie	maŋɛgo	
urinate	mk <sup>h</sup> ròu	
vomit	mmâu	cf. Miji <i>mə</i> , Bangru <i>mu</i> ,
wait	yək <sup>h</sup> u	
wake up		
walk	dzu	
want	tsu	
wash s.t.	teo	
watch over		
weave	t <sup>h</sup> iyɔ	cf. Kman <i>thò?</i> , Old Chinese <i>*tək</i> , Written Tibetan <i>thags</i> , Khispi <i>dak</i> , Proto-Central Naga <i>*tak</i> .
wear		
weep		
whistle	mdzu	
wipe		
work	kando	
worship		
wrestle	li k <sup>h</sup> ě	
write	yyu	
yawn	aka θo	

**Adverbs**

Gloss	Hruso	Comment
<b>Place</b>		
here	ái	
there	skə	
where		
above, on top	ɛdʒugə	
under, below	vamgə	
within, inside	uɭgə	
in front	ɔvə gə	
behind	fun gə	
up	flafla gə	
down	ɛám gə	
outside	ɲepskə	
put around		
circle		
up there		
down there		
on this side		
on that side		
everywhere		

**Directions**

North  
 South  
 West

Gloss	Hruso	Comment
East		
<b>Time</b>		
after		
afternoon		
again		
always		
anytime		
at present		
autumn		
before	apkgə	check
dawn, sunrise	dru ga byo	
day	dʒidu	
day after tomorrow	pək <sup>h</sup> a	
day before yesterday	faha gə	
evening		
forenoon		
formerly		
in a moment		
long ago		
midnight		
month	hukdĕ	
month, last day		
month, last ten days		
morning	paɣǎ	
next year		
night, last		
noon, mid-day		
now	wanka	
rarely		
spring	ɲedziɫu	
summer	ɲɛɟu	
sunset	dru gǎw	
then		
today	yo	
tomorrow	d <sup>h</sup> rakǎ	
tomorrow morning		
tonight		
two days after tomorrow		
week	yɛ gi mɾə	
when		
winter	ɲɛɲu	
year	oɕʒɛ	
year, last		
year, this		
yesterday	fu	
yet		

**Adverbs of manner**

Gloss	Hruso	Comment
correctly		
how		
loudly		
not		
quickly		
quietly, close-mouthed		
repeatedly		
slowly		
suddenly		
surely		
thus, like this		
truly		

Hruso	Gloss	Comment
samasama	different, varied	
juwafuwa	day after day, continually	
juwaduwa	day after day, continually	
limelime	softly, gently	
krakro	hard, dry, brittle (like wood)	
blablu	slippery	
blublu	very clean	
jalajili	zigzag (of walking)	
pala'pali	describes moving the head from side to side or rocking a baby from side to	
knakmu	zigzag (of path)	
dbladdlu	describes when throwing a spear and it just misses the target	
dugladuglu	describes the weaving of a drunk	

**Exclamations**

Gloss	Hruso	Comment
No!	ma	
Yes!	am	< Hindi

**6. The classification of Hruso**

**6.1 General**

**6.2 Resemblances to Miji, the ‘Hrusish’ hypothesis**

Shafer (1947) lies at the root of the hypothesis of a ‘Hrusish’ subgroup of Tibeto-Burman, conjoining Miji and Hruso. This idea is reprised in Bodt & Lieberherr (2015) as part of a study of Bangru. Table 7 shows a table of the most plausible Hruso ~ Mijiic cognates, based on my own data. As the commentary indicates, at least some of these are regional lexemes (many cited from Bodt & Lieberherr (2015)), not confined to the putative Hrusish.

**Table 7. Possible Hruso ~ Miji, Bangru cognates**

Gloss	Hruso	W Miji	E Miji	Bangru	Comment
ant	sɿni	ʃni		səni	cf. Bugun <i>ʃiniŋ</i> ,
bake, cook	k <sup>h</sup> ùù	k <sup>h</sup> u		kuu	
bear	sṽɔ	tṽṽ		sətəḍ	cf. Puroik <i>sətəm</i> , Bugun <i>sət<sup>h</sup>um</i> ,
broom	ɲesi	nam			
		ʃwe			
cane	ʃa	ʃu		ʃuu	cf. proto-Tani * <i>soŋ</i>
clothing, cloth	g <sup>v</sup> ɛ	geləŋ		gi	cf. Koro <i>gile</i>
cloud	mum	myemye			PTB * <i>r.mew</i> .
dream	temyo	taymə		teemə	cf. PTB * <i>r.may</i> , Chinese * <i>C.məŋ.s</i> , Kman <i>tā àmùŋ</i> , Idu <i>ēmò</i> ,
eat	sa.be	ʃu	ʃu	ʃu	cf. Miji <i>ʃu</i> , Khispi <i>tə<sup>h</sup>a</i> , Mey <i>təu</i> , Bugun <i>tsiə</i> , Kman <i>ʃa</i>
eight	skzə	səge?	ʃəge?	səgay(k)	cf. Khispi, Mey <i>sarge</i> .
fire	mi	may	may	mee, mii	cf. PTB * <i>may</i> , Dirang Monpa <i>mi</i> , Koro <i>mila</i> , Miji <i>may</i> .
five	pom	buŋə	puŋu	puŋu	
flower	ʃoba	wo vɔ?	gəbo	te poa, BL məbuaa	cf. Bugun <i>əbuə</i> , Puroik <i>məbuai?</i> ,
friend	ɖɔ	mɖɔ	məɖɔ	mudzua	
frog	ʃɖa	ʒo	ɖzou	dzə	
fur, feather	ɔmu	məmyu		mumuŋ	Probably cognate with widespread Tibeto-Burman roots for ‘hair’. e.g. PTB * <i>g-mul</i> .
ground, soil	nɔ	na?	na?	no?	cf. Bengni <i>no</i> , Bugun <i>ɲak</i> , Mey <i>k<sup>h</sup>nɔ</i> ,
have	dùú	də		durə?	cf. Written Tibetan <i>dug</i> .
house	ɲe	nɛ	nam	ne	cf. Koro <i>ɲe</i> , Galo <i>namə</i> . Widespread Kuki-Chin * <i>in</i> by metathesis?
How many?	kɲa	k.ɲa	k <sup>h</sup> əɲa	kunu. ruro	
insect	buḽ	biθɔ	biluŋ	bəluŋ (səni)	
knife, dao	vətə	vay ʃn	vayʃoŋzi	vɛ tsn	
live	ʒo		ɖzu		
louse	ʃəŋ			sa	cf. PTB * <i>s(y)ar</i> .
man, person	nəná	ɲu		ɲəvə	
meat	fu	ʃʃuŋ	sikiyuŋ	su <sup>h</sup>	
mithun	fu	ʃu		su?	cf. Koro <i>su</i> ,
mother	əɲ	əɲi	əɲe	ane	
mountain, hill	p <sup>h</sup> u	p <sup>h</sup> uŋ	poŋ	gaŋ, BL səpii	
nine	st <sup>h</sup> ə	st <sup>h</sup> ən	ʃət <sup>h</sup> ən	sətəŋ	
person	nəná	ɲu	ɲiyə	ɲəvə	cf. Nah <i>ɲi</i> ,
seven	mrə	mia?	mia?	m <sup>w</sup> oy	
sister, elder	àmà	amona	ʔama	məmwa	
star	ltsə	dətsuŋ	məʃoŋ	lütʃü	
			biyaŋ		
thorn	k <sup>h</sup> su	gzu	(k <sup>h</sup> ə/gə)zau	kəzət	
tooth	ətu	mtr	tə	mətù	

Gloss	Hruso	W Miji	E Miji	Bangru	Comment
vomit	mmàú	mə		mu	

### 6.3 Resemblances to Koro

Koro shares a small number of lexical items with its neighbours, Mijiic and Hruso. These are not numerous enough to posit any genetic relationship, and are presumably borrowings, although the direction of such loans is not established. Given the close cultural convergence between these three neighbouring peoples, the small number of similarities is quite remarkable. Table 8 shows the correspondences so far identified between Koro and Hruso, with notes on the further distribution of roots.

**Table 8. Hruso resemblances to Koro**

Gloss	Hruso	Koro	Commentary
beer, wine	ṡə	sai	cf. Miji <i>fəŋ</i> , Bangru <i>təii</i> , possibly all borrowings from Tibetan <i>fəŋ</i>
breast	ap <sup>h</sup> u	apu	cf. V- prefix for body parts, plus a Tibeto-Burman root for ‘breast, milk’ etc. discussed by Matisoff (2008: 104 ff.) under * <i>pa</i> and * <i>m-pup</i> .
cloth	g <sup>y</sup> ε	gile	probably a borrowing into Koro
elder brother	àmà ‘father’s sister’	àmà súŋ	cf. E Miji <i>ʔama</i> ‘elder sister’,
eye	əŋi	ŋirám	cf. ‘tail’. The <i>-ram</i> element has no external cognates but cf. Hruso, Dirang Monpa <i>rniŋ</i> , some Tani <i>ni(k)</i>
girl	mimsa	mimiŋa	
penis	u o	mlak <sup>h</sup> (GA)	cf. P-Tani * <i>mrak</i> , Idu <i>àlùkù</i> , Miji <i>málòʔ</i> ,
tear	əŋisə	ŋi fi	possibly a compound ‘body + water’
tiger	ʔfə	ʔfaru	Not CTB. ? cf. Hruso,
younger brother	ŋu	nè súŋ	

This is not an extensive list in the light of the strong cultural convergence between Hruso and Koro, and argues that the two languages have no relationship except contact resulting in a small number of borrowings.

### 6.3 Resemblances to reconstructed Tibeto-Burman

As noted, clear correspondences with reconstructed Tibeto-Burman are not many. Table 9 shows the most plausible of these.

**Table 9. Hruso cognates with reconstructed Tibeto-Burman**

Gloss	Hruso	Comment
bitter	kumteo	cf. PTB * <i>b-ka</i> -(n/m/ŋ)
cane	ʃa	cf. proto-Tani * <i>soŋ</i>
chicken	ɖʒo	cf. Tibeto-Burman * <i>dow</i> ‘bird’
eight	skzə	cf. Miji <i>səgeʔ</i> , Bangru <i>səgay(k)</i> , Khispi, Mey <i>sargε</i> .
fire	mi	cf. PTB * <i>may</i> , Dirang Monpa <i>mi</i> , Koro <i>mila</i> , Miji <i>may</i> .
fur, feather	əmu	cf. PTB * <i>s/r/g-mul</i> ‘hair’, Bangru <i>mumuŋ</i> ,
cloud	mum	PTB * <i>r.mew</i> .
dream	təmyo	cf. PTB * <i>r.maŋ</i> , Miji <i>taymə</i> , Bangru <i>teemə</i> , Old Chinese * <i>C.məŋ.s</i> , Kman <i>tā əmùŋ</i> , Idu <i>ēmò</i> ,
louse	ʃə <sup>ɰ</sup>	cf. Bangru <i>sa</i> , PTB * <i>s(y)ar</i> .

There are two possible explanations for this limited set. Either;

- a) Hruso is not Tibeto-Burman
- b) Morphological changes have been so extensive as to make cognates unrecognisable

The data is really not extensive or reliable enough to draw any definite conclusions.

## 7. Conclusions

Hruso is a language with a remarkable consonant system, dissimilar to all the neighbouring languages. Despite attempts to establish a 'Hrusish' subgroup of Tibeto-Burman, the evidence for this remains weak. Indeed the evidence for a Tibeto-Burman affiliation is hardly overwhelming. This paper argues that Hruso is better treated as an isolate unless more convincing arguments are forthcoming.

## References

- Abraham, Binny, Kara Sako, Elina Kinny & Isapdaile Zeliang 2005. *A Sociolinguistic Research among Selected Groups in Western Arunachal Pradesh Highlighting MONPA*. Unpublished report.
- Anderson, J.D. 1896. *A short vocabulary of the Aka language*. Shillong: Assam Secretariat.
- Anderson, Gregory D.S. 2014. *On the classification of the Hruso (Aka) language*. Paper presented at the 20th Himalayan Languages Symposium, Singapore, July 16 2014.
- Anderson, Gregory D.S. and Ganesh Murmu 2010. Preliminary notes on Koro, a "hidden" language of Arunachal Pradesh. *Journal of Indian Linguistics* 71:1–32.
- Baxter, William & Sagart, Laurent 2014. *Old Chinese: A New Reconstruction*. Oxford: OUP.
- Benedict, Paul King 1972. *Sino-Tibetan: a conspectus ("STC")*. Contributing editor, J. A. Matisoff. Princeton-Cambridge Series in Chinese Linguistics #2. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Benedict, Paul King 1976. Sino-Tibetan: another look. *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 96, 2: 167-197.
- Blench, Roger. 2014. The origins of nominal affixes in MSEA languages: Convergence, contact and some African parallels. In *Languages of Mainland Southeast Asia: The State of the Art*, Nick J. Enfield & Bernard Comrie (eds), 550–577. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Blench, Roger & Post, Mark W. 2014. Rethinking Sino-Tibetan phylogeny from the perspective of North East Indian languages. In *Trans-Himalayan Linguistics*, Thomas Owen-Smith & Nathan W. Hill (eds), 71-104. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Bodt, T.A. & Ismael Lieberherr 2015. First notes on the phonology and classification of the Bangru language of India. *Linguistics of the Tibeto-Burman Area*, 38(1): 66-123.
- Bradley, David 1997. Tibeto-Burman languages and classification. In: *Tibeto-Burman languages of the Himalayas*. D. Bradley (ed.) 1-72. Pacific Linguistics A-86. Canberra: Australian National University.
- Burling, Robbins 2003. The Tibeto-Burman languages of Northeastern India. In: Thurgood, Graham and Randy J. LaPolla (eds.) *The Sino-Tibetan languages*. 169-191. London and New York: Routledge.
- Ethnologue 2018. *The Ethnologue: languages of the world*. 16th edition. Dallas: Summer Institute of Linguistics.
- Galo Welfare Society. 2009. *Galo-English Dictionary*. Itanagar: Galo Welfare Society.
- Grewal, D.S. 1997. *The tribes of Arunachal Pradesh*. 2 vols. Delhi: South Asia publications.
- Grierson, G.A. ed. 1909. *Linguistic Survey of India. Volume III, 1, Tibeto-Burman family*. ?
- Handel, Zev 2008. What is Sino-Tibetan? Snapshot of a Field and a Language Family in Flux. *Language and Linguistics Compass*, 2/3: 422–441.
- Hesselmeyr, C.H. 1868. The hill-tribes of the Northern Frontier of Assam. *JASB*, XXXVII: 192-208.
- Kennedy, R.S. 1914. *Ethnological report on the Akas, Khoas, Mijis and Membas of Tawang*. Shillong: Government Printer.
- Konow, Sten 1902. Note on the Languages Spoken between the Assam Valley and Tibet. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, (1902): 127-137.
- Lewis, P. ed. 2018. *Ethnologue: a guide to the world's languages*. Dallas: SIL.
- Lǐ, Dàqīn 李大勤. 2003. 崩如语概况 Bēngū-yǔ gaikuang (Bangru language overview). 民族语文 *Minzu Yǔwen* (Minority Languages) 5: 64-80.
- MacGregor, C.R. 1884. Notes on the Akas and Aka land. *JASB*, xx: 198-212.



- Matisoff, James A. 2003. *Handbook of Proto-Tibeto-Burman: system and philosophy of Sino-Tibetan reconstruction*. Berkeley, Los Angeles, & London: University of California Press.
- Shafer, Robert 1947. Hruso. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 12(1):184-196.
- Shafer, Robert 1955. Classification of the Sino-Tibetan languages. *Word*, 11(1): 94–111.
- Shafer, Robert 1966/1967. *Introduction to Sino-Tibetan* (Part I: 1966, Part II: 1967). Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
- Schubert, Johannes 1964. Hrusso-Vokabular. Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin. *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung*, 10: 295-35
- Singh, K.S. 1995. *People of India: Arunachal Pradesh*. Vol. XIV. Calcutta: Anthropological Survey of India.
- Sinha, R. 1962. *The Akas*. Itanagar: Government of Arunachal Pradesh.
- Stonor, C.R. 1952. The Sulung tribe of the Assam Himalayas. *Anthropos*, 47:947-962.
- Sun, T.-S. J. 1993. *A Historical-Comparative Study of the Tani Branch of Tibeto-Burman*. PhD Dissertation. Department of Linguistics. Berkeley, University of California.
- Thurgood, Graham and Randy J. LaPolla (eds.) 2003. *The Sino-Tibetan languages*. Routledge Language Family Series. London and New York: Routledge.
- Van Driem, George 2001. *Languages of the Himalayas: An Ethnolinguistic Handbook of the Greater Himalayan Region containing an Introduction to the Symbiotic Theory of Language*. 2 vols. Leiden: Brill.
- Verrier, Elwin. *India's North-East Frontier in the Nineteenth Century*. Madras: Oxford University Press.
- Weedall, Christopher 2013. *A Grammar of Sajolang a language of Arunachal Pradesh, NE India*. Thesis Proposal Seminar handout. s.l.
- Weedall, Christopher 2014. *Sajolang (Miji) syllables: Preliminary observations of the syllable structure*. North East Indian Linguistics (NEIL), 8. Canberra, Australian National University: Asia-Pacific Linguistics Open Access.