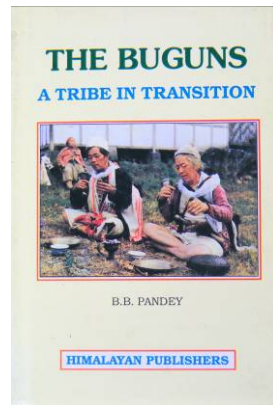


Bugun, a language isolate of Arunachal Pradesh



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1. Introduction

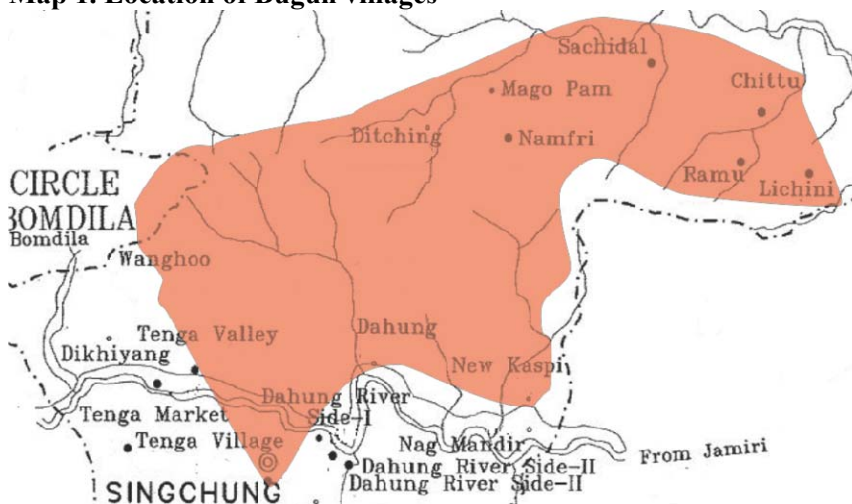
The Bugun language, also known as Khowa, spoken in some ten villages in West Kameng District, Arunachal Pradesh, has been barely documented. The Bugun numbered 800 in 1981, but current estimates put them at around 1700 speakers¹. The only published source is Dondrup (1990) which is orthographic and should be used with care.. Some phonetically transcribed data appears in the Appendix to Abraham *et al.* (2005) and Madhumita Borborah of Tezpur University has recorded a wordlist and sample sentences as part of an unpublished study of the phonology as well as publishing a reader for children. Barbora & Wangno (2015) is a sociolinguistic study of language maintenance. Lander-Portnoy (2012) is what looks like a dissertation, a write-up on Bugun phonology, based on a wordlist taped by the Living Tongues Institute in 2011. Other material has been presented on Bugun in scattered form in conference presentations and detailed in Lieberherr & Bodt (2017). Pandey (1996) is part descriptive ethnography, part hagiography, and again should be used with care.

The present material was recorded in Tenga in January 2011 from Mr. Iglo, who is a native of Chittu village, and secretary of the Bugun Welfare Society². Despite being a small ethnolinguistic group, the Bugun are quite active in promoting their culture. They have an active Bugun Youth Association and in December 2011, the first music video in the Bugun language was on the point of being issued³.

Inasmuch as Bugun is mentioned at all, it is assumed to be Sino-Tibetan (e.g. Ethnologue 2018). Van Driem (2001:473) refers to unpublished and unavailable work by Roland Ruttger relating Bugun to the Mey [=Sherdukpen] cluster. The resultant grouping named 'Kho-Bwa'. Typically, this material does not usually evaluate the alternative hypothesis of borrowing. More detailed material has recently been published in Lieberherr & Bodt (2017) and this will be evaluated in a revised version of this paper. On the larger question of membership of Tibeto-Burman, the evidence for this is weak to non-existent. Indeed, given Bugun is surrounded by languages with a more credible claim to Sino-Tibetan status, it is remarkable there are not more loanwords. Although not central to the material in this paper, it seems most reasonable to treat it as a language isolate.

Map 1 shows the location of all Bugun villages shown on administrative maps. However, some villages mentioned in Dondrup (1990) could not be located.

Map 1. Location of Bugun villages



¹ Bugun may be the only language in this region to have contributed a loanword into English. The Bugun *liocichla* (*Liocichla bugunorum*) is an endemic bird species first described in 2006.

² Thanks to Dr. Dorje Karma, then Chief Veterinary Officer of Rupa, for help in making contact and conducting the fieldwork.

³ Not too much hope for an exposition of Bugun culture should be sought in these productions, as they have the sound of a Hindi musical backing track, despite the language of the songs.

Bugun society is structurally similar to many others in the region, patrilineal, patrilocal (Pandey 1996).

2. Phonology

The phonology of Bugun is quite similar to other languages in the area. Bugun has a large number of consonant clusters, as well as nasalised vowels, but a reduced tonal system, probably only contrasting Level and Rising. This paper presents a preliminary summary of the evidence to date.

Consonants

The following are contrastive phonemes in initial position;

	Bila- bial	Labio- dental	Alveo- olar	Alveo- palatal	Pala- tal	Velar	Glottal
Plosive	p b		t d		c j	k g	ʔ
Nasal	m		n		ɲ	ŋ	
Fricative	(β)	f v	s z	ʃ ʒ			h
Trill			r				
Lateral			l				
Approximant	w	(v)			y		

Apart from these, Bugun has a contrastive series of aspirated fricatives and an affricate, thus;

p^h t^h k^h tʃ^h

Table 1 shows examples of contrast illustrating the phonemic status of the aspirated series;

Table 1. Examples of contrast with aspirated consonants

Bugun	Gloss	Bugun	Gloss
t ^h ap	village	táp	difficult
tʃ ^h ó	daughter-in-law	tʃó	millet
kk ^h a	crab	ka	my
k ^h o	water	ko	I
ete p ^h ok	branch	pok	son-in-law

Bugun, phonetically at least, has palatalised and labialised consonants, thus;

flya youth
blya work

suɲwa ten
ebwe sing

It seems most likely these arise from iV and uV sequences. Indeed, speakers often realise transitional forms such as *bliya* for ‘work’. Thus;

bliá → bliya → blya
suɲwa → suɲuwa → suɲwa

Words with initial vowels are relatively uncommon in Bugun, and *uamɔŋ* ‘catfish’ seems to be unique in having a sequence of two vowels which have not assimilated.

Bugun also permits semi-vowels as syllable codas, as shown in Table 2;

Table 2. Semi-vowels as syllable codas

Bugun	Gloss
esay	black
ray	cane
t ^h ey	that
idʒoy	yellow
lapaw p ^h iŋ	rock
syew	dance
niaw	milk
kow	dry

Bugun has an initial labial approximant, [ʋ], which is in free variation with the bilabial fricative [β].

v~ βua	come / go
v~ βiaran p ^h o	athlete
v~ βek	old

In root-initial position, where there is a V- prefix, /g/ may be realised as /ɣ/, as in;

eyɣa dark

However, in word-final and root-medial position, voicing distinctions in velars and dentals are lost. Thus

emut~d	grey
zit~d	offering
tsimut~d	honeybee
p ^h atak~	shirt'
tuk~g	sit
mak~ge	imperative

Syllable-final nasals are /ŋ/ and /m/. It is likely that nasalised vowels are free variation with final /ŋ/ as in other regional languages such as Koro.

Vowels

Bugun probably has seven phonemic vowels;

	Front	Central	Back
Close	i		u
Close-Mid	e		o
Open-Mid	ɛ		ɔ
Open		a	

All of these vowels can be nasalised phonetically. However, as suggested in the previous discussion of velar nasals, vowel nasalisation may not be underlying.

Although it seems likely that all vowels can be lengthened, examples of contrast are scarce. The following is a clear case for the low central vowel.

rak	look
raak	bow

4. Morphology

5. Syntax

6. The classification of Bugun

7. Conclusions

Appendix: Comparative Wordlist

The lists follow approximately the order in the language guides, as these were used as elicitation tools. Additional words have been added and the individual sublists re-ordered alphabetically.

Body parts

Gloss	Bugun	Rupa	Comment
arm	wa ʃyo	ik	
back	haduŋ	like ^h	
beard	man	suŋk(ə)ra	
belly	lui sio	sliŋ	
blood	əfoy	ha(a)	
body	syaw	ki, li	
bone	əzeŋ	skik	
brain	mzaw	əŋi	
breast	niəŋ	yij	
breath	msteya	bik	
buttocks		bəteŋ	
chest	lu tóó	miaw	
chin	ʃam	gamde	
	skaw		
ear	k ^h ʒ̄	g ^h iŋ	for Bugun cf. Kojo Puroik <i>kun</i> , (Kuki-Chin) Anal <i>kəna</i> , Khumi <i>knoó</i> , Zeme Naga <i>kon</i> , Tangkhul <i>kha nā</i> , Kadu <i>kəna</i> ,
elbow	wa dzuŋ	ik li	
entrails	lui syaw	ala	
eye	ɲep	kivi	
eye-brow		kibi ʃaŋ	
eyelid		kibi skuk	
face	mzia	bo	
faeces ⁴	ẽi	ya	
fat	eyòó	oyo	
finger		ik ʃi	
finger, index	wa tsen	ik mini	
finger, fore		ik mo	
finger, middle		ik ʃuŋ	
foot, see leg			
forehead	k ^h úáŋ	bəkaw	
goitre		draw	
gum		sijni	
hair	ka	gəzaŋ	
	dzyom		
hand <i>see</i> arm	wa tian		
head	k ^h ru ^k	k ^h rūk	
heart	eliŋ	zli	
heel		la ki	

⁴ dung, excrement, manure, shit, stool

Introduction to Bugun Roger Blench Preliminary draft

Gloss	Bugun	Rupa	Comment
kidney		sliŋ kravi	
knee	lök myək		
lap		dē	
leg	lway pĩã	la	?
lip		bəʃaw skuk	
liver	əʃiŋ	aʃčē	
lungs	rii	sliŋ sruk	
marrow	ihyuŋ		
mole		zik	
mouth	ʃyam	nəʃaw	
nail			
navel	rii	zliŋbra	
neck	yùŋá	ortuŋ	
nipple			
nose	əpʰuŋ	nə pʰuŋ	cf. Puroik pok (NB ŋ → k is regular)
palm		ik ʃápar	
penis	lo	lök	
pubic hair	la man	smi	
pupil		kibi aram	
pus		anə	
rib	izeŋ	here ^h	
saliva	tean	taa	
scalp		kapliŋ	
scrotum			
shoulder	habim	ləpa ^h	
skin	ʃaw kuŋ	skuk	
spleen	əsiŋ	sle	
	lyəŋ		
stomach (internal)	lui	karbu	
sweat	hapu wa	?	
tear	mk ^{ho}	kibi ənə	
thigh	la fə	ləpu	
thumb	wa nua	ikbo	
toe	loai		
	psen		
tongue	rii	lap ^{hon}	Bugun related to Tibeto-Burman forms with <i>-li</i> , e.g. Lepcha <i>'ali</i> , Kinnauri, Chepang <i>le</i> , probably OC <i>?lyet</i> .
tooth	sɲen	tokʃe	? cf. Hruso <i>utu</i> , Miji <i>tʰu</i> ,
urine	kaʃe	zi	
vagina	tabe	ʃopi	
vein	rreŋ	ha tok	
waist		mo k ^{hap} k ^{hi} ŋ	
wrist	wa təŋ		

Persons, family

Gloss	Bugun	Rupa	Comment
adult		dʒuɲu	
ancestor		asu	
bachelor	mlea flea		
aunt	ga mno	atiŋ	
bastard		dafla	
boy	ba fuə	dʒuhu	
brother	ga fuə	biki	
brother-in-law	ga baw	ara	but also husband, people of other tribes
child	ani	nini	
clan		ruŋ	
corpse			
co-wife, first			
co-wife, second			
daughter	ga dmi	dimi	
elder brother			
elder sister			
enemy			
family		p ^h udu mudu	
father	afuə	aʃi	(high caste)
father		apə, abə	(low caste)
father and son		p ^h udu	
father and sons		p ^h uduta	
father-in-law	ga kən	azaŋ	
fathers and sons		p ^h uduk ^h i	
friend	ga gyaŋ	rok	
girl	dmi	dʒimi	
grandfather	ga ʃin	asu	
grandmother	ga moy	ebi	(high caste)
grandmother		ayo	(low caste)
grandson	ga ʃaw	ʃidu	
grand-daughter	ga ʃaw	afuə	
husband			
man		dʒiriŋ	
married man			
married woman			
mother	amuə	emi	
mother and daughter		mudu	
mother and daughters		muduta	
mother-in-law	ga moy	aŋi	
mothers and daughters		muduk ^h i	
neighbour	ga həs po	korpo	
old man	priəŋ	dʒiman	
old woman	mriəŋ	dʒohomat	
orphan			
parent		p ^h amə	
person			
person specifier		-du suffix	(vocative)
relatives		ŋi ʃan	
sister	ga mi nuə	məriŋ	
sister-in-law	ga fi	azu	
son	ka ti fuə	du	
uncle	ga fnu	aʃe	

Gloss	Bugun	Rupa	Comment
village chief		t ^h ik abo	
village informer		katfunpo	
villager		t ^h ikpo	
widow	msyuj	murej	
widower		p ^h urej	
wife		əyu	
woman			
you children		ninidu	
young girl	mlea	dʒondʒi	
young man	flea	dʒiju	
younger brother			
younger sister			
youth			

Agriculture

Gloss	Bugun	Rupa	Comment
agriculture		rek	
cutting jungle			
fallow land			
field			
jhum/swidden		lurek	
jungle		dʒaŋse	
kitchen-garden		kī	
land			
sowing			
wetland cultivation		k ^h oo rek	
water channel		k ^h oo roŋdi	

Crops

banana	səŋ	msuj	
barley		p ^h lu	
bean	mawey	sokpi	
cucumber	bsiə	bubuj	
chili pepper	ʃalyaw	moŋ ɔ̃	
eggplant	mantòò	mantə	
fruit	mlyaj	mlaj	
garlic	muaŋ	moŋ siŋ	
ginger		moŋ ʃu	
gourd	krɔ̃	law	
laisag greens	marerɛ	p ^h eza	
lemon		mkē	
lime		cin	
maize	ʃpəŋ	p ^h ent ^h aŋ	
mango		am	< Hindi
millet	tɛɔ̃ɔ̃	gcam	
millet			

Gloss	Bugun	Rupa	Comment
millet			
onion	məŋ sʷo	ʃooŋ	
orange		ʃfalup	
paddy		nse	
peanut			
potato	bomadziə	dzu	
pumpkin	abùúŋ	buŋgla	
rice	ɲen	ndop	
rice, cooked	ɲen ʃo		
soya bean	mawe man	siyuk	
sugar-cane	nirá	mʃi	
sweet potato		iŋ ʃaga doŋ	
taro	təʷo		
tomato	bilàhi	bilati	< Assamese
walnut	mangòó	mku	
wheat	təu kaw	buku	
wild fruit		mɭaŋ ha	

Foods

bread		p ^h em	
butter	suwani	mo	
cheese	praŋ	ʃfro	
dry meat	ipiye kaw	su ɔ̃	
egg	ʃferi	bʃfayun	
fish	ũã	ɲu	
flour		nfa ^h	
food		ha	
meat	ipiyə	su	
milk			
oil	tòó	too	
salt	sruwə	hũ	
sugar	ʃini	sini	<Hindi

Stimulants

beer, wine	p ^h uak	p ^h ak	? < Tibetan
betel leaf		pan alap	< Hindi
betel nut		sali	
opium	kani	kani	
spirits	àrá	p ^h öt k ^h o	aró < Assamese
tobacco	makaw	tanti	

Natural world

Gloss	Bugun	Rupa	Comment
ashes		ba mi	
big river		k ^h o dok	
boulder			
cave	wo	k ^h e	
clay	ɲasǎy	dehek	
cliff	sǒp	ʃop	
cloud	ska maŋ		
coal		ba k ^h ɔ̃	
cold		aʃan	
current			
darkness		cf. night	
dust			
fire	boay	ba(a)	
flame			
flood		k ^h o raaba	
fuel			
firewood, half-burned		ba smu	
ground, soil			
hill		lu	
ice	saprə		
jungle	dʒabum	dʒaŋse	
lake	k ^h o lyɛp	k ^h o k ^h ank ^h a	
lightening	ha klam	nimi va tappa	
lunar eclipse			
march?			
moon, month	habiə	namblu	
moon, full		ʃa saŋku	
mountain	hum		
mud	ɲa ʃɛk		
night, darkness	habio	p ^h uŋsaŋ	
pass			
peak		lu kumu	
plain			
plateau	lyɛp	hi	
pond			
rain	hapiə	nimi	
rainbow	hray ya maŋ	p ^h aŋ k ^h la	
ridge			
river	k ^h o rəŋ		
riverbank		k ^h o roŋ	
sand	ɲəfali		
sandy			
sandy soil		mkɔ	
sea			
shell			

Gloss	Bugun	Rupa	Comment
sky	hakun ʃaw	nimi	
slope	hum rəŋ	lək	
small weeds		dʒaŋ	
smell, odour			
smoke	boay kaw	ba kʰi	
snow	hayun	nii	
soil		sə	
solar eclipse			
sound			
spring	kʰagam	sosi	
star	tsa dyəŋ	zik	
stone	lbaw	liŋ	
storm		buyuk	
stream		kʰo gdu	
stump			
sun	hnay	nini	
sunlight		niʃik	
sunrise		nini satpa	
sunset		nini gomba	
thatch			
thunder		same	
valley	kərən	gtəʔ	
water	kʰo	kʰo	
water vapour		ləŋpo	
water, stagnant		kʰoo gəmsi	
water, xx		kʰo dʒamʃu	
waterfall	kaswəŋ		
wave		kʰo yappa	
wind	hasam	nsom	
winter	ha kən ʃow	tʰon	

Metals

Gloss	Bugun	Rupa
aluminium		hayaŋ
brass	mray	rə
bronze	ltó	zəŋ
gold	tsan	sī
iron	ʃigə	sē
silver	nman	ɲiŋ

Plant parts

Gloss	Bugun	Rupa	Comment
bamboo	mway	ma	
bark	hīŋ ku		
branch	hīŋ tōŋ	hiŋ apʰoŋ	

Gloss	Bugun	Rupa	Comment
bud		mintu apɔ	
bush	sěj		
cane	ray	ki	
creeper, vine	ma bitɔŋ		
flower	buŋa	mintu	
grass	seŋ	ɕzɔŋ	
fruit	woy	əwa	
leaf	rap	alap	Widespread in regional Tibeto-Burman languages, e.g. Lepcha <i>lɔp</i> , Jingpho <i>làp</i> , Rawang <i>fəláp</i> . Probably also related are the Tibeto-Burman roots with no final, such as Mikir <i>lò</i> . Also in regional isolates such as Kman <i>lap</i> , Meyor <i>alap</i> . Tawang Monpa has <i>palap</i> .
nut			
pip		aram	
root	hiŋ ruŋ		
pip/stone		aram dapa	
seed			
thorn	hiŋ mgyaw	bzaw	
tree	hiŋ	hiŋ tiŋ	
trunk			
wood		hiŋ	

Animal parts

Gloss	Bugun	Rupa	Comment
horn	əriɔŋ	k ^h eŋ	
hoof	lɔʃɛn	ladro	
tail	inyoi	aŋa	
hump	paduŋ mabəp		
tusk		ɲɛ	
udder			
fur	aman	skuk	
feather			
wing		ləpaŋ	

Animals

Gloss	Bugun	Rupa	Comment
Domestic			
animal	ʃabəmbə maraw	simʃan	
domestic animal	hɔ̃bə maraw	nor	
horse	stuə	stu	
stallion		stu ap ^h u	
mare		stu umu	
mule		gre	
ass, donkey	bəmbaw	boŋbi	
cow	sbuə	spu	
bull	suwə puə	suɔ	

calf	suwə duə	
mithun	syemwa	smu
buffalo	ʃdʒu	zge
yak		zzi
pig	uow	swak
boar		swak ap ^h u
sow		swak'mu
sheep	sdʒóó	ska
goat	sfi	zē
billy-goat		zē ap ^h u
nanny-goat		zē'mu
dog	teay	bt ^h a
cat	niam	ɲambi
hen	key mwa	bʃfamʉ
cock	key puə	bʃap ^h ɔ
drake		gelendi ap ^h u
duck	asóó	gelendi amu

Wild animals

Mammals

barking deer	ʃʃfay	ski
bat	havyap	
bear	stəŋ	stun
deer		zik
elephant	ɲaton	ston
flying squirrel	ʃʃfiəp	
fox	ʃʃalua	
leopard	ɲafloŋ	
lion		səŋge
monkey	stun	zduŋ
musk deer	ʃʃfay maŋ	sambaw
pangolin	stəm	san dʒokstu
porcupine		
rat	t ^h uŋ	stop
rhinoceros	sèi	
sambar deer	szǎ	zan
squirrel	ʃʃfaŋ	stop ʃʃaŋka
tiger	mteuə	p ^h uŋ
wild cat	dʒabum mlyan	sangutu
wild dog		

Birds

bird	fùá	hu
crow	amoy	
sparrow	fùá hǎ	bʃlǎ
peacock		mawza
hornbill	pne gtuŋ	? <
vulture	kʃfam kiyi	
kite	kʃfam	
wildfowl	fre, əbv	dʒaŋse bʃfa
nest	fùá rúŋ	kok
pigeon	fùá gtaw	praw

Insects

insect	pʃo	
ant		sandʒok
bee	dtʃaw	bʃfemu
	ʃʃimun (large)	
beeswax, honeycomb		ʃʃi k ^h o
butterfly	ʃʃaŋ nuŋ	ʃʃampin
caterpillar		
centipede		
cockroach		
earthworm	datií	
firefly		
honey	k ^h o dtʃaw	ʃʃi
housefly		bcin
leech		
mosquito	ʃʃimun	kronʃʃuŋ
spider		presuŋ

Reptiles etc.

snake		bcam
frog		rigutu
lizard		ʃʃam ʃʃi pala
gecko		
tortoise		
turtle		
crab		

Fish

fish		ɲuu
------	--	-----

Abstracts

<u>Gloss</u>	<u>Shergaon</u>	<u>Rupa</u>	<u>Comment</u>
name			
life			
death			
crime			
peace			
soul			
art		zoo	
joking		mijan	
depth		egi	
war		mak	
place		at ^h õ	
work		blad	

Pronouns

Gloss	Bugun	Rupa	Comment
I, me	gòó	gu	
you	nòó	noŋ	
he, she, it	vay	wa, yaa	
she			
we	gatuə	ga	
you pl.	natuə	na	
they	ətuə	war	
my		guŋ	
my own		gu dʒi uŋ	
our		ga uŋ	

Demonstratives

this		tagi	
these		tʰitʰik	
that			
those		tʰaŋtʰik	

Interrogatives

How many?		nipāy	
How much?		nipāy	
What?		muwa	
When?		adūa	
Which?		ja	
Who?		ji	
Why?		murara	murarau market u na ba? why did you go to the market?

Quantity

some		alaŋay	
anyone		paraŋ	
all		zebdaŋ	
all		gaŋpu	
whoever			
whatever			
many, much		zebdaŋ, matfaŋ	
nothing		niruŋbe	
a little, few			

Numerals

Gloss	Bugun	Rupa	Comment
one	dzyo	han	
two	ŋəŋ	nik	Widespread Tibeto-Burman root, palatal in some Arunachal Pradesh languages, e.g. Idu kəŋi, Mema
three	im	uŋ	ni ? cognate with widespread with Tibeto-Burman #sum, if initial fricative is lost.
four	bvi	bsi	
five	uwə	k ^h u	
six	rəp	kit	
seven	mlyə	sit	for Bugun cf. Puroik lye

Gloss	Bugun	Rupa	Comment
eight	m̩la	sardʒat	for Bugun cf. Puroik m̩la
nine	dge	dʰikʰi	
ten	sùŋá	sõ	
eleven	sna dʒyɔ	sahan	
twelve	sna ɲěŋ	sijnik	
thirteen	sna ìm	su uŋ	
fourteen	sna bvi	sam bsi	
fifteen	sna gua	saŋ kʰu	
sixteen	sna rap	sai kit	
seventeen	sna m̩lya	sai sit	
eighteen	sna m̩la	sa sardʒat	
nineteen	sna dge	sa dʰikʰi	
twenty	aʃak	kay, ɲi sõ	
twenty-one		kay la han	
twenty-two		kay la ɲi	
thirty	aʃak	ne kay la sõ	
	dʒyɔ		
forty	sna bvi	kʰa ɲi	
fifty	sna gua	kʰa ɲik la	
		sõ	
sixty		kʰa uŋ	
seventy		kʰa uŋ la sõ	
eighty		kʰa bsi	
ninety		kʰa bsi la	
		sõ	
hundred	yem dʒa	dʒo ay	
two hundred		dʒo ɲik	
thousand	hadʒə	re haza	< Hindi
	dʒa		
first		go pu sa	
first		akʰoŋ sa	
first		kʰruk sa	'head'
second		dʒa li kʰiŋ	
		ga	
last		li kʰiŋ sa	
once		dʒora	
once upon a		akʰuŋ	introducer phrase for folktales
time		akʰuŋ	
twice		kor ɲik	
thrice		kor uŋ	
single		handa	
single		acõ	
double		aɲi	
double		adukmu	
full		pʰiŋdi	
half		likʰe	
pair		cõ	
two pairs		cõ ɲik	

Adjectives

Gloss	Bugun	Rupa	Comment
alive		ahaŋ	cf. 'healthy, alive, brave'
alone		handa	
bad	avia	bdʒabk ^h an	
bare legged		terk ^h oŋ	
barren, infertile		kamu	suffix
beautiful, charming		aledu	
big, wide, broad, thick		ado ^k	
bitter			
brave		ahaŋ	cf. also 'alive'
broad			
broken			
can, be able			
cheap		aɖʒa	
clean		asam	
clear		saŋsaŋ	
cold	teay	aʃan	
comfortable		akit	
cruel		aŋu	
daily		kepɔ	
dangerous		huŋmi	
dark		p ^h uŋsaŋ	
dark		p ^h uŋsip ^h u	
dead		ik ^h an	
deaf		beŋa	
deep		agi	
different		abē	
different		susu	
different		yuŋdaŋ	
difficult		adik	
difficult		adik	
dirty		zapmi	
dry		ɔʔɔ	
dull, faded, bleached		zapmi	
dumb		ɖʒuʔum	
dusty, sandy		blaso	
dutiful			
easy		akitdu	
empty			
exact, true, correct		k ^h rikduŋ	
expensive		goŋdok	
expensive, dear		runji	
false		ste	
famous		azeŋdok	
far			
fast			
fat		adok	also large, important
fat		bokpək	
ferocious		huŋmi	
foolish		ɖʒuʔum	also 'dumb'
fresh		oho	
friendly		roksi	
full (basket)		asaw	

generous			
good	via	adʒab	blad adʒab good work
good-looking, attractive		aɲudu	
great, distinguished (man)		dʒiriŋ ak ^h aw	
guilty			
hard		aɲu	
haughty			
healthy		ahaŋ	cf. 'strong, alive'
heavy		ali	
high		adʒo	
hollow		hoŋdor	
honest		daŋbu	
hot	tæk	aɲik	
humble		adʒam	
hungry			
ill, sick		natpu	
important		gakdok	
impossible		bloŋma	
intelligent		rikpu adʒap	
invisible		boɲfik ^h an	
jolly, smiling		saŋledu	
kind		adʒab	
late		yek ^h an	
lay down		hink ^h an	
lay down		lek ^h an	
lean		azoŋdu	
least		alaŋay	
left		bik ^h e	
light in weight		aruŋdu	
lonely			
long	p ^h yaŋ	areŋ	
magical			
main			
many, more, very		seɲoŋ	
married (man)		ayu lu k ^h an	
miserable		adik	
modest			
muddy		guɲfũ	
naked		k ^h ak ^h li	
narrow		adʒom	
native		gadʒi	
native		rũdʒi	
near			
new			
next		li k ^h iŋga	
Northern		dʒaŋta	
old (persons)		azek	
old (thing)		aman	
old man		dʒiman	
old woman		dʒuhumat	
only			
open (place)		saŋsaŋ	
pitiabile		hemit ^h eŋ	
plain, lowland		hi	
poisonous		dikpɔ, dikɲɔ	

polite		
poor		azõõ, azon
private		runđzi, gadzi, wardzi
ready		sarkan
rich		ʃikpu
right side		aʃota
right, correct		asaw
ripe		yunʃk ^h an
robust		asey
rocky		siŋsiŋ(ba)
rotten		
rough		asey
round (face)		gormu
round (object)		braw lili
sacred		asam
safe		atõ
same		atu
shallow		
sharp		aʃaw
sharp		aʃaw
short	dum	atuŋdu
shy		wank ^h an
silent		zizi
sincere		aron
sinful		dikpu ʃon
slippery		k ^h ley stan
small		aʃandu
smooth		aŋidu
soft		aduŋdu
steep		lõ
strong		ahaŋ
stumblingly		dakuduku
sweating		gʃik
sweet		
sweet		aʃi
tall		ađõ
tasty		ablo
thick		at ^h a ^k
thin		aʃab
thin, lean		reŋkoŋ
thirsty		
tired		kor rakpa
true		asaw
ugly (body)		azõ
ugly (face)		smu azõ
uncleared (field)		asey
useful		fan tok k ^h an
useless		fan btok k ^h an
valuable		gaktok
weak		ahaŋ bo
well		ađab
western		nobta, nobʃok
wet		asiŋ
whole		zebdaŋ
wicked		tabsi k ^h an

cf. 'healthy, alive'

cf. 'important'

wide		
wild		
wise		yonta
wise, prophetic		kep ^h o
worst		bdzapsaw
wrong		bfjik
yearly		tunḡeram
zigzag		ʃilokʃilik

lumu bfjikba romo la I took the wrong road

Colours

Gloss	Bugun	Rupa	Comment
black	at ^h ay	aʃuŋ	
blue	ɛ.ɛ		
brown		p ^h ekar	
green	ɛp ^h i	oho	
red	ɛʃek	ehe ^k	
white	amüŋ	azõ, azoŋ	
yellow	ɛdžöy	aha	

Verbs

Gloss	Bugun	Rupa	Comment
abandon, leave		ʃfoŋ muba	
absent, to be		bramba	
abuse		riba	
ache		nuŋba	
acquit			
act		propa	
admire			
advise			
afraid, to be		huŋba	
agree			
always, do s.t.		menerba	
angry, to be		zlikba	
answer			
arise			
arrange			
arrest			
arrive			
ashamed, to be		wanba	
ask for		kimõ	wan kimõ ask for [for s.t.]
assault			
assemble			
assure			
attack		ʃfomba	
attain			
bad, harmful, to be		bjabba	
bake, cook		ha rapa	
bathe		k ^h ruk ʃeba	
bathe		k ^h ruk ʃẽmba	
be, is, are		ba	

Gloss	Bugun	Rupa	Comment
be ill		nuba	
beat (person)		mokpa	
beat		sitpa	
become useless		bdʒabba	
beg		lamba	
begin, start		ʃuba	
believe			
belong		gu rapa	
bend		kuŋba	
bet			
bind		hokpa	
bite		kuba	
bite		remba	
bitter, to be		ʃakba	
blame		riba	
blaze		wotpa	ba wotpa the fire is blazing
block, obstruct		daŋba	
blow		mikpa	
boil		ʃawba	
borrow		k ^h iba	
break (cup)		ʃamuba	
break, snap		gatpa	
breathe in		keŋba	
breathe		bik	
bright, to be		wotba	
bring		naaba	
broadcast seeds			
build		zeŋba	yam zeŋba house is being constructed
burn		haaba	
bury		yinba	
buy		ʃaba, ʃamo	
call			gui Roger anba I am called Roger
call		k ^h an ba	
carry		k ^h on kamba	
catch		zomba	
cheat, lie		wotpa	
chew		ʃapa	
clean (pot)		ʃeymɔ	
clean field		zaŋmɔ	also dʒaŋmɔ
clear jungle		zaymɔ	
climb up		dʒaŋmɔ	
close		hanmɔ	
Don't close		dahan, bahan	
closed, to be		hanba	
cold, become		canba	dʒo ʃanbɔ the tea is getting cold
collect (money)		dikmɔ	
collect		k ^h rok ^h pa	
comb		kimɔ	no kimɔ you comb [your hair]
come back		keramba	
come	taguɔ	əgɔ	
command, order			wai andukpa I told him [to go]
complete		dʒooŋba	
condole, offer		duŋam	
condolence			

Gloss	Bugun	Rupa	Comment
contribute			
cook			
correct			
cough		ʃik ^h an	
count		gekpa	
cover		teŋma	
crack		ʃaŋpa	sk^han ʃaŋpa the plate cracked
cross (river)		ʃanba	
cross path, meet		pad ^h ik ^h an	
crush stone		liŋ ʃaaba	
cut		ʃekpa	
cut down		ʃek dokpa	
damage		bdʒabba	simʃa na rekba bdʒabba ramne animals destroyed the field
dance		suba	
decide			
defeat		punk ^h an	
defend		gopk ^h an	
dehusk			
deliver (child)		keba	
deliver (goods)		ʃiba	
deny		mnuba	
descend		kuta yiba	
desire		ʃepa	
detest s.t. dirty		zappa	
detritus		sapsu	
dibble			
die	ifa	iba	
dig		ʃokpa	
dirty things		zapmi	
disappoint			
discuss in a group		dʒuŋba	
dishonest, spoiled, worn out		bdʒabba	
dislike		bigiba	
disobey		mnuba	cf. ‘deny’
distribute		yiba	
disturb		daŋba	wa gui daŋbo he is disturbing me
divorce		gadipa	
do		propa	
drag		keŋba	
dream		baan	
dress		yotʃi	nini yotʃipa [I] dress the child
drink	naŋ	liŋba	
Don't drink		dliŋ, bliŋ	
drive		kipa	
drunk, to be		liŋba	
earn		sakma	
eat	mʃiə	ʃuma	
eat meat		kuba	
eat soft food		ʃuba	
elect		ʃeeba	
embrace		yokdipa	
encircle		kiimpa	

Gloss	Bugun	Rupa	Comment
end		zokpa	
enquire		zikpa	
enter		janba	
envy			
escape		tøndoy	
escape		tomupa	
evaporate		lõŋpo sapo	the water dried up
exhibit, show		ɲuba	
expect		moma, momtinba	
explain		soŋɣiba	
extinguish		omɔ	ba omɔ extinguish the fire!
fall (tree)		gromdupa	buyuk a gromdupa
fall down (object)		hīmupa	ɣfaluk hīmupa the orange fell down
fall down (person)		hīdipa	
fall down (person)		yawdipa	
fear		kuŋba	guŋi kuŋba I am afraid
feel joyful		saŋ ledu	
feel		moma	
fell (tree)		gromdupa	
fill (solid)		ɣokpa	
fill liquid		likpa	
find		sawba	
finish		tomba	as in ‘the road ends here’
finish, run out		dʒoŋkpa	as substance in a container
float		hawba	
flow		hawba	kʰo hawba the river is flowing
fly		canba	
follow		tintenba	
forget		pla uŋpa	
free s.o.		cɔuŋpa	
fry			
furious		zlikba	cf. ‘angry’
gain, profit			
gather			
gather together		kʰrokmo	
get free, escape		tɔuŋpa	
get loose		tøndoy	
give	pʰii	ɣiba	
glitter		wotpa	
go, go away	guafɔ	uŋmo	
go along with,		zi tēm̄ba	
accompany			
go down far		(la)buta	i.e. where the river is going
go down		kuta	
go down		yiba	
go out			
go up far		laŋta	i.e. towards the head of the river
go up		kiŋta	
grant		ɣiba	
grow		siŋba	
guard		lanba	
guide		yōcipa	as in explain, tell
halt		dʒawba	

Gloss	Bugun	Rupa	Comment
hang		zēmba	
harvest			
hatch (egg)			
hate		blapuba	
have		ba	
hear		yopa	
help		romba	
hide		ukpa	both tr. and intr.
hit		mokpa	
hit		sitpa	
hold		zomba	
hope		tinba	
hungry		hak ^h uŋba	
hunt		loba	
imitate		pedakpa	
imprison		zomba	
inform		amba	
inhale		keŋba	
intend		tinba	
intermix		za umpa	things mixed inextricably
intoxicate		tikpa	
irrigate			
join into a group		tokpa	
join two things together		dzorba	
journey		kēmba	
jump		ʃawba	
keep inside bag		ʃoba	
keep		ruba	
kick		la ki rapa	
kill	ua	odukpa	
kiss		ʃup rapa	
kneel			
knock		rumba	kow bæ rumba knock on the door
know		danba	
laugh		zaaba	
lay egg		keba	<i>bfa ayuŋ keba</i> the hen laid an egg
learn			
learn		k ^h ruk ^h pa	
lend		k ^h iʃiba	
lick		nepa	
lie, tell			
lie down		k ^h inba	
lift			
light s.t.		dakba	ba dakma light the fire
listen		nuba	
live		dʒawba	
look after		lanba	
look		lanba	
lost, to be		dʒumuba	
love			
mad, to be		rawba	
make a circle		k ^h orhinba	
make mistake			
make too much noise		ziŋba	

Gloss	Bugun	Rupa	Comment
make		zeŋba	
manure			
marry		aŋfam zoŋba	
measure		ʃfoɓa	
meet		siba	way sima I met him
melt		ziba	
milk		ɲiŋ	
mingle		bo umpa	
misplaced		dʒũ dõy	
mistake		bʃiŋkpa rampa	wa bʃiŋkpa rampa he has made a mistake
mix, blend		bopa	
move		zeeba	
need		ʃfeʔmba	
obey		nuba	
occupy forcefully, snatch		k ^h awba	
occupy, be resident		goŋba	
omit		pla uŋpa	
open		doŋmo	
Don't open		dodoŋ, bodoŋ	
open (door)		dõ dõmo	
pack down		dammõ	
palpitate		dukduk rapõ	
peel		hõmo	
persuade		dʒipa	
pity		hẽk ^h an	
play		loba	
plough		woma	
pluck		ʃiŋmo	
point		yõndaŋfi	
pour		likmo	
praise		tõpa	
praise		totpõ	
pray		sõn tapa	
prefer		giba	
press down		dammõ	
prevent s.o. from doing s.t.		gokpa	
print		par mokpa	
profit			
promise		ʃũʃukpa	
pull		k ^h eŋ, keŋba	
Don't pull		dk ^h eŋ, bk ^h eŋ	
punish			
purchase		ʃaaba	
push		riba	
quake (as earthquake)		kpa	
quake		k ^h ik ^h an	
quarrel		ya d ^h ik ^h an	
question		zik ^h an	
rain n.		nimi k ^h o	
raise		kaŋdukpa	
reach		waŋba	
read		k ^h ropa	
reap			

Gloss	Bugun	Rupa	Comment
recognise		ēpa	
regret			
remember		grandʒi rapa	
repair			
repay			
report		sodokpa	
resemble		handa	
rest			
return		keramba	
ride		ēm̄ba	
ripe, to be		yur̄ba	
rise		sappa	
roam around		kēm̄ba	
roast		riba	
rotten, to be		humuba	
rub		niŋba	
run		ʃaaba	ko t ^h iba ʃamo run to that side
sad, to be		zooba	
satisfied, to be		saŋba	
save		tōndoy	
saw		seda	
say		amō	
scatter		hēm̄o	
search		samō	
see		lanmō	
sell		ʃōŋram	
send		ʃōŋmō	
sew		ʃakmō	
shake		yēm̄o	
shame		wanba	
sharpen		zimō	
shine		wotmō	
shoot		rekmō	
shout		homō	
show		ɲumō	
shut		hanmō	
sick, to be		nuba	
sing		tamō	
sit down		diŋmō	
Don't sit		didin̄, bidin̄	
slander n.		ʃarku	
slap		ʃapər	
sleep		dʒin̄mō	
slip		k ^h lendipa	
smell		niŋba	
smoke (cigarette)		keŋmō	
smoke (meat)		liŋba	
snatch		kawba	
sneeze			
snore			
snow n.		niyi	
sow		loba	
sow		pikpa	
speak			

Gloss	Bugun	Rupa	Comment
spirit, soul		ayuk	
spit		kepa	
stand up		kiba	
stand up		ziŋba	
steal		yawba	
store		ruba	
suffer		adik ga	
surprise		hoʃoba	
surrender			
surround		k ^h orhinba	
swear		ʃuŋba	
sweep house, to ‘broom’		zemo	
sweep		zepa	
swim		boŋ p ^h iŋ rapa	k^ho boŋ p^hiŋ loba play in the water
take	ria	kaŋba	
take		ʃuuma	
take away		temo	
taste		ʃaamo	
teach		yomba	
teach		yoŋba	
teach		yōʃiba, yōba	
tear		do dokpa	
tear		ze dukpa	
tell			
thank		aŋo ay ray	
thief		diyaw	
think		kinba	
throw			
thunder		nimi hukpa	‘sky thunders’
tie			
travel		kēmba	
travel		ŋekor	
trust		lo depa	
try		ruŋo	
turn on light			ba waŋ ray turn on the light
twist		kipa	
understand		gawba	
undress		tikpa	
unmatching, be		bk ^h rik ^h pa	
untie		sō dōmo	
untie		sō dukpa	
urinate		zi tōnba	
vomit		yokpa	
wail		kepa	
wait		ʃōpa, zōpa	
wake up			
walk		ropa	
want		ʃepa	
wash s.t.		ʃēm̄ba	
watch over		lanba	
water v.		k ^h o likpa	
weave			
wear		yokpa	
wed		aʃam zoŋba	

Gloss	Bugun	Rupa	Comment
weed			
weep			
whistle		hiiba	
wipe			
wish			
work		ropa	
worship		k ^h uriŋ	
wrestle			
write		zooba	
yawn			
year	staw	tuj	tù ^g ún

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