

A Sociolinguistic Survey of Kinnauri

*spoken in Kinnaur District, Himachal Pradesh,
India*

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Preface

This sociolinguistic survey of Kinnauri was conducted from February to April 1998. It was actually a follow-up survey, to expand on preliminary research conducted by Webster and Webster in 1991. At that time Kinnaur District was closed to outsiders, so the previous research was conducted from Shimla, Himachal Pradesh. However, Kinnaur District was opened to outsiders in 1992, making it possible for further research to take place. Using their work as a starting point, we headed into Kinnaur District to assess language development needs in the Kinnauri language.

For this survey, language research was conducted in the lower part of Kinnaur District. However, data was not gathered north of Morang village, where (due to proximity with the India-China border) an inner-line permit is required for travel.

We loved the beauty of Kinnaur district, though the travel was quite a challenge. The friendliness of the people, and their willingness to answer scores of questions, kept us motivated despite late winter transportation problems.

Kinnauris are known for their excellent singing and dancing. This made local festivals a delight. Hopefully this research will benefit them by providing a clearer understanding of their cultural and linguistic uniqueness. We pray that the Kinnauris will go on singing their songs and dancing their dances for generations to come.

We would like to thank our language helper, Vicki Singh. He took care of us during the first few weeks of research. Also, we owe gratitude to Nirmal Dass Negi, manager of the Baspa Guest House, Sangla. Despite a full-time teaching job, he spent numerous hours with us, huddled over a tape recorder in sub-freezing temperatures, translating texts.

And thanks to the Kinnauri people, gems of the Himalayas. We feel privileged to have been able to visit your world.

For the survey team,
Wendy Chamberlain
Kathmandu, Nepal
1 May 1998

1. Introduction

1.1 Geography

Kinnaur District is hauntingly beautiful, and very isolated. It is bordered by three towering mountain ranges: the Dhauladars, Zaskar Mountains, and the Greater Himalayas (*Map 2*). These ranges have created deep river valleys where the Kinnauris live. "Hilly Bushahr (northern Shimla District) and Kinnaur comprise the section of the deep Satluj Valley where the Satluj River descends through the Great Himalayan Range... offering lush, monsoon-drenched vistas ribbed with ancient paths." (Swift 1990: 304).

The Satluj and Baspa rivers divide southern Kinnaur into three main geographical areas, with the northern part of Kinnaur making up a fourth region¹ (see *Map 4. Data sites*):

The *Lower Satluj* region, comprising the area south of both the Satluj and Baspa.

The *Kailash* region, which includes the area north of the Baspa, and south east of the Satluj.

This region is named for the prominent mountain range around which the villages are located.

The *Kalpa* region, made up of the villages north and west of the Satluj, from the Wangtu river to Pangri village.

Upper Kinnaur, includes the area north of the inner line, to the borders with China (Tibet Autonomous Region), and Spiti.

Kinnaur is situated in a strategic area, with proximity to ancient trade routes between India and Tibet. "Located on the Indo-Tibetan border, it is surrounded by Tibet to the East, Gharwal Himalaya to the south, Spiti valley to the north, and Kullu to the west." (Agarwala 1997: 23). Due to its border location, Kinnaur is host to a large contingent of the Indian military.

Lower Kinnaur is affected by the Indian monsoon, with the rains lessening further up the Satluj valley. The monsoon rains rarely reach beyond Jangi, so the landscape of Upper Kinnaur is dry and barren. "The area above 5,200 meters remains permanently under snow all year round, and the area above 4,250 meters is covered by snow more than six months a year. The remaining area between 4,250 and 2,000 meters is covered by snow from anything between three and nine months of the year." (Bajpai 1991: 16-17). Landslides are a chronic problem in Kinnaur, isolating villages and closing roads. They are caused by melting snow, floods, and erosion. Due to the continuous snowfall and frequent landslides, Kinnaur is one of the most difficult to access regions in India.

"The area of Kinnaur is 6,553 square kilometers with a population of 60,000². The density of population is 9 persons per square kilometer." (Negi 1995: 26). It seems unpopulated by India's standards, yet the majority of the land is uninhabitable. Kinnaur is considered a cold desert climate, which is "situated between 31°05'50" and 32°05'15" north latitude and between 77°45' and 79°00'35" east longitude. It is about 80 kilometers in length and nearly 65 kilometers in breadth." (Bajpai 1991: 13).

1.2 History

The fascinating history of the Kinnauri people reaches back so far as to be incorporated in ancient Indian literature. In fact, "the Vedas and Puranas, the legal work of Manu (Manusmriti) or the literary work of Kalidas (Raghuvansha) and even religious works like the Ramayana and Mahabharata - have referred to the Kinnauris in some form or the other." (Bajpai 1991: 1). In Kinnaur District itself, the villagers are very aware of this rich history. There are many landmarks or natural features attributed to various religious figures, particularly the Pandavas brothers and Arjuna from the Mahabharata. "In the Mahabharata, India's epic poem, the Pandavas (five brothers who battle their cousins) were forced into twelve years of exile in the forests. The terms of the exile were that if they should be discovered during this time, they must then pass another twelve years in the

¹ A small fifth region, referred to as Pandrabis revenue division, exists north of the Satluj river, and west of Wangtu river.

² According to more recent census data, the population is 71,270.

forest. Local legend records that a portion of their exile was lived in the village of Morang, just above the eastern bank of the Satluj in upper Kinnaur." (Swift 1990: 326).

In addition to Kinnaur's important role in Indian history, it is also an important region in Tibetan history. Kinnaur was a part of the pre-Tibetan kingdom of Shangshung³. This kingdom "had ruled much of present-day western and central Tibet for some centuries. The Bön⁴ religion of the royal period (seventh to ninth centuries) is said to have come from Tagsig (Iran) via Shangshung, and Shangshung is the probable source of other early components of Tibetan civilization." (Samual 1993: 50). Kinnaur has a rich tradition of interaction with Tibet. Traditional summer trade routes, such as the Hindustan-Tibet road, led from India through Kinnaur to Tibet where grain, sugar, and cotton were exchanged for salt, wool, and yak tails. "In the Tibetan-Ladakhi-Moghul war of 1681-1683, Raja Kehri Singh (then King of Bushahr) sided with Tibet. The importance of his role was very crucial. At the end of the war Tibet rewarded him for his help by giving him all of upper Kinnaur beyond the Satluj which was occupied by them during the war. It also signed a commercial treaty conferring on traders from Bushahr the right of free trade and movement in Tibet." (Bajpai 1991: 32)

In more recent history, Kinnaur (then a part of the Bushahr Kingdom) was still being governed by a King when India became independent in 1947. Many Kinnauris wanted to stay independent of India. However, after Independence, the Shimla Hill States made a last and unsuccessful attempt to survive as independent entities in early February 1949. The chiefs met at Solan under the chairmanship of Raja Durgha Singh of Solan to draft a constitution to form a separate union of states. But the attempt failed for want of popular support. "In the meantime, a State Reorganization Commission was appointed. Under its recommendations Himachal Pradesh was finally established in 1955. Kinnaur region of Bushahr was first merged with Mahasu district, but on 21 April 1960, the Chini tehsil of Mahasu district was made the new district of Kinnaur." (Bajpai 1991: 38-39).

Kinnauris are very proud of their history. The people can trace genealogies for their kings for over 124 generations. The recent Chief Minister of Himachal Pradesh was said to be a direct descendant in this lineage.

1.3 People

The name "Kinnaur" can be traced back to an ancient Sanskrit reference, found in the 'Amarkosa', to a race of demigods called the "Kinnars". They were mythical singers and dancers, reported to be part bird and part human.

The speakers of Kinnauri call themselves Kinnauris, and (in combination with other non-caste groups of Kinnaur) are considered a Scheduled Tribe by the Indian government. The Kinnauris come from either Rajput or Thakur castes. Harijans (low caste groups) living in Kinnaur, such as carpenters, metalsmiths and cobblers, speak a different language. These groups are designated as Scheduled castes. The low castes are called Ores (carpenters), Sonar and Lohar (metalsmiths), and Chamang (cobblers and weavers). This sociolinguistic survey focuses on the standard Kinnauri language (referred to as "Kinnauri" throughout this report), although at least eight different mother tongues are spoken by the people of Kinnaur District.

Kinnaur's population is made up almost entirely of Scheduled Tribes and Castes. The 1991 census indicates a population of 71,270 in Kinnaur. Other sources list the number of Scheduled Castes in Kinnaur at 6,331 (Government of HP 1988: 19). So approximately 65,000 people fall under the Scheduled Tribe designation.

Sufficient information regarding the number of schools and education levels in Kinnaur was difficult to find. However, we found that most villages have, at least, a primary school (up to 5th standard). Secondary schools are less than a day's journey from any given village. There is even a

³ "Shan-shun is the part of Tibet now called Guge (Western Tibet), and Knaor (Kinnaur) or upper Besahr (Bushahr)." (Das 1984: 4).

⁴ Bön is the pre-Buddhist religion of Tibet. It is a shamanist religious system. When Buddhism came to Tibet, it was overlaid on the Bön religion, creating the building blocks for modern Tibetan Buddhism.

college located in Rekong Peo, the district headquarters. Hence, the literacy rates in Kinnaur are quite high for "tribal" India. The 1991 Census shows an overall literacy rate of 58.36 percent. 72.04 percent of Kinnaur males are literate, as are 42.04 percent of the females. (Balokhra 1995: 153). Every family we spoke with claimed that they sent their children to school, and local sources in each village suggested that 90 percent or more of all children attend school regularly. These numbers are even more striking given the fact that there were no schools in Kinnaur until 1962. Before that, people from the Kalpa region had to hike fifteen days to the nearest school (in Rampur-Bushahr).

Today, Kinnaur is a relatively prosperous region. Its prosperity is due, primarily, to the abundance of cash crops such as apples, apricots, grapes, almonds, and chilgozas (local pine nuts). Although there is not a lot of arable land, these crops grow well in Kinnaur. One bushel of apples can sell for as much as 500 Indian Rupees (approximately \$15 US). A kilogram of chilgoza nuts sells for approximately the same price. As a result, the Kinnauris have more wealth than most other Scheduled Tribes in India. The prosperity in Kinnaur is reflected in people's houses. These are large structures, often up to three stories tall⁵. Houses are built entirely of wood, and have beautiful decks overlooking apple and apricot orchards. Television satellite dishes top the skyline of every village. Electricity and water are available to every house, and roads link almost every village to the national highway.

Development has been a high priority for the Indian government since Kinnaur District was designated in 1960. A significant impact on the economy and environment of Kinnaur is being made by a large government hydroelectric project. "The town of Bhabanagar, with a population of 3,500 is of recent origin, set up for the construction of the 120 Megawatt hydel project on the Wanger (Wangtu) tributary of the Satluj." (Sanan and Swadi 1998: 110). This project employs thousands of people from Kinnaur, and outsiders. It has introduced improved roads and bridges, better electrical infrastructure, many high wage jobs, and availability of commercial goods in the local markets. It's true that economic development during the past 35 years has been dramatic. While that development has brought outside cultural influence into the region, Kinnauri culture remains strongly visible. If anything, the new wealth has increased the splendor with which they celebrate religious festivals.

The Kinnauri dress is very distinct from the rest of Himachal Pradesh. The most common element is the Kinnauri cap (called 'thepang'), made of wool, with a bright green strip of velvet running along the brim. It is worn by men and women, young and old, and is adorned with flowers on festive occasions. The Kinnauri cap has become fashionable throughout Himachal Pradesh. In the state capital, Shimla, non-Kinnauri politicians and businessmen are often seen wearing the distinctive Kinnauri cap. In addition to the cap, the Kinnauri men wear "woolen shirts, long coats and woolen pajamas, mostly of gray color. Ladies wear woolen sari, full sleeved blouse, and a shawl. Women often wrap around their waist a scarlet colored cloth of about five to eight meters in length." (Bajpai 1991: 47-48). Western clothes are becoming increasingly common for men, and women are increasingly wearing *salwar kamiz* (loose pants with long loose shirt), common throughout north India. However, even when wearing these non-traditional clothes, Kinnauris continue to wear their traditional cap.

1.4 Religion

Kinnaur District, according to our informal observations and questionnaires, has extremely unique religious practices. While predominantly Hindu-based in lower Kinnaur, upper Kinnaur is almost entirely Tibetan Buddhist. Between the two areas exists a thorough mixture of the two religions. Many people claimed that they were Buddhist Hindus, or some other similar combination. Several informants became confused when we asked what religion they followed, and would settle on "our village gods" as an answer. We observed Buddhist prayer flags on Hindu temples. Often a Buddhist gumpa⁶ shares a courtyard with a Hindu temple, and a small temple to house the village gods. Kapadia writes, "A fusion of Hinduism and Buddhism exists almost in totality. Every village

⁵ It is common for the lowest floor to be used for housing livestock like cattle, dzomos (yak and cattle cross breed), sheep, and goats, during the long Kinnauri winter.

⁶ Buddhist temple.

has a temple and gumpa, and all worship both. Various primitive traditions, beliefs and superstitions survive." (Kapadia 1994: 182). Bajpai also mentions the existence of the village gods:

At present the situation is that village gods and their retinue still go very strong and, side by side, there exists lamaistic Buddhism and a local version of Hinduism. The Buddhist temple of the Tibetan style and traditional abode of the village deity stand peacefully side by side. All the ceremonies, religious or otherwise, are performed by Lamas⁷ both in Hindu and Buddhist families. The contents of the functions are all Brahminical in tradition." (Bajpai 1991: 51).

However, it is interesting to note a total absence of Brahmins in Kinnaur.

Religious festivals involve a lot of singing, dancing, and drinking the local liquor in the temple courtyards. The traditional dances and songs of Kinnaur are extremely beautiful, and can last for hours. Men and women form a line and dance in unison around the local gods. They wear special flowers and leaves in their hair, which reportedly makes them able to enter into the presence of a village deity.

While conducting research, we attended a religious festival in the village of Sangla. Following several hours of singing and dancing, the devotees then carried their gods around the temple courtyard. The following observation sums up what we saw:

Devtas (the village deities) are represented by facial images, hammered out of gold and silver, which are fitted together around a wooden core. On the top, overflowing on all sides, is a mass of long hairy strands of wool. Most *devtas* are mounted on a *rath*, a conveyance consisting of two long poles, with the *devtas* seat in the middle. Seated on their *raths*, held aloft by representatives of chosen households, they respond to the queries of the devotees. Moving up and down on their poles, they tilt right or left to indicate their response. (Sanan and Swadi 1998: 40).

While doing our research, we were surprised to note the lack of Christian influence in the district. Moravian missionaries had based out of both Kalpa (then Chini) and Puh for many years, until the beginning of this century. However, "despite early Christian missions at Puh and other parts of the region, Christianity has not been able to spread very much. The missionary influence is seen in the habits of cleanliness and the use of a refined form of knitting was acquired by the people from the missionaries." (Bajpai 1991: 52).

1.5 Language

1.5.1 Introduction

There are eight languages indigenous to Kinnaur District, Himachal Pradesh. Of these languages, five are classified as *Himalayish* languages, two are *Tibetan* related languages, and one is an *Indo-Aryan* language. (Grimes 1996: 580, 583, 599, 600).

Referring to the Himalayish languages, Sharma (1988: 4) states that geographically these languages:

...stand at the juncture of Indo-Aryan and Tibeto-Burman languages and historically, it is a curious amalgam of linguistic elements of Indo-Aryan, Austro-Asiatic, and Tibeto-Burman. Moreover, consequent to its topographical peculiarities, racial fusion and influences from the heterogeneous languages of the neighboring areas, its different valleys have developed their own linguistic varieties which in some cases have become mutually unintelligible to one another.

Indo-Aryan language varieties are spoken by the Scheduled Caste (SC) communities throughout Kinnaur, while the other seven languages are spoken regionally by the Scheduled Tribe (ST) communities.

⁷ Tibetan Buddhist priest.

1.5.2 Kinnauri language

The Kinnauri language has also been referred to as *Kanauri*, *Kanauryanuskad*, *Kanawari*, *Kanoreanu Skad*, *Kanorin Skad*, *Kinnaurayanuskad*, *Koonawure*, *Malhesti*, *Milchan*, *Milchanang*, and *Milchang* in different sources. Grimes (1996: 583) summarizes Grierson's (1906) classification of Kinnauri as *Sino-Tibetan*, *Tibeto-Burman*, *Bodic*, *Bodish*, *Himalayish*, *Kinnauri*.

The Kinnauri language is spoken as a mother tongue by approximately 48,788⁸ people, 72 percent of the overall population. Kinnauri is the main language spoken from Chauhra (in the southwest) to Sangla (southeast), and north along the Satluj river valley to Morang (see *Map 3. Language Boundaries*). In addition, it is spoken as a mother tongue in several villages of the upper Ropa river valley.

Bailey (1915: 46) described the Kinnauri-speaking region, saying:

Kinnauri is spoken in the Satluj Valley and sub-valleys for a distance of 100 miles measured along the river banks. It begins at a point two miles beyond Sarahan, which is 18 miles from Rampur and 90 miles from Shimla, and extends to beyond mile 192 from Shimla. It includes the whole Satluj basin for that distance.

An additional 15-20,000 people in Kinnaur district speak Kinnauri as a second language. In most cases, when Kinnauris from different language groups meet, they speak in Kinnauri.

The variety of Kinnauri spoken in the Pandrabis region has been referred to as *Lower Kinnauri*. Bailey writes "Lower Kinnauri is spoken on the north bank of the Satluj for 12 miles, from mile 92 to mile 104 (i.e. Pandrabis). It is closely allied to the standard dialect, but differs from it in a number of particulars." (Bailey 1915: 46). (For the purpose of this report, Lower Kinnauri will be included with the Kinnauri language, with distinctions being noted if relevant.) In addition, Sharma points out that "dialectal variations in Kinnauri are attestable at all levels of linguistic expressions... the local variations are noticeable in different valleys of Kalpa, Nichar, and Sangla." (Sharma 1985: 7). These variations correspond to the first three geographical regions mentioned in 1.1 *Geography*, where they are referred to as the *Lower* (Nichar), *Kailash* (Sangla), and *Kalpa* regions.

Along with the Tibeto-Burman aspects of the Kinnauri language, influences of both the Indo-Aryan and Austro-Asiatic (Munda) language families have been noted. Grierson wrote:

On and about the ethnographic watershed between Tibetan and Aryan there is dotted a series of small dialects which are of a different nature. They are mainly of a Tibeto-Burman stamp, but besides, they have those characteristic features which have been mentioned in connection with the pronominalized languages... The most characteristic dialect of this group is the so-called Kinnauri, spoken in Kinnaur. We find there more traces of the influence of a non-Tibeto-Burman substratum than in any other Himalayan dialect. (Grierson 1906 [1967]: 427).

He goes on to indicate peculiar elements (such as semi-consonants, the counting system, pronoun usage, verb forms, and some vocabulary) which the Kinnauri language has in common with Munda languages of east-central India. Sharma also mentions that "there is a positive evidence that the lower most stratum (of Kinnauri) pertains to the old Indo-Aryan and the uppermost to Tibeto-Burman." (Sharma 1985: 11).

1.5.3 Other languages of Kinnaur District

In addition to the main Kinnauri language several other languages are indigenous to Kinnaur District. Though these languages were not the primary focus of this sociolinguistic survey, preliminary information is included about the languages to help gain a general idea of the needs for future survey and language development in Kinnaur District.

⁸ Sanan and Swadi (1998) lists village populations based on the 1991 Indian census. Populations for each ST language group have been calculated by adding the populations of the villages within the language-speaking area, and subtracting a proportionate percentage of the total SC population.

1.5.3.1 Chitkuli

As with the Kinnauri language, Chitkuli is classified as *Sino-Tibetan, Tibeto-Burman, Bodic, Bodish, Himalayish, Kanauri*. (Grimes 1996: 583). Chitkuli is also seen as having elements of Tibeto-Burman, Indo-Aryan, and Munda languages.

The Chitkuli language is spoken only in Rakchham and Chitkul villages, located at the upper end of the Baspa River. The total population of Chitkuli speakers is approximately 1,060. Bailey states that "the inhabitants of these two villages speak a dialect of Kinnauri which is very different from other Kinnauri dialects, including Standard Kinnauri -- so different that it is not understood by people from any other part of Kinnaur." (Bailey 1915: 78).

Chitkuli diverges from the Kinnauri language, particularly in regards to vocabulary, but also some grammatical elements are distinct. The people of Chitkul are quick to point out that they can speak the languages of other Kinnauris, but no other Kinnauris can speak their language.

1.5.3.2 Thebarskad

The communities of central Kinnaur, from Jangi village up to the Ropa Valley speak three different language varieties, which collectively are called Thebarskad by several scholars⁹. The Thebarskad languages are classified as *Sino-Tibetan, Tibeto-Burman, Bodic, Bodish, Himalayish, Kanauri*. (Grimes 1996: 580, 599, 600). The Jangrami, Sumcho, and Sunnam language varieties make up the Thebarskad grouping. For this report, these three varieties will be referred to as separate languages.

These languages also contain the Tibeto-Burman, Indo-Aryan, and Austro-Asiatic elements attested to in the Kinnauri language. However, the further north the language, the greater the Tibetan influence is seen. These varieties, while related to standard Kinnauri, are reportedly unintelligible with Kinnauri.

Jangrami

Jangrami is a Thebarskad variety spoken by approximately 1,990 people living in the villages of Jangi, Lippa, and Asrang. Though many scholars simply include Jangrami under the heading 'Thebarskad', it has been noted by others, including B.R. Sharma (1985: 117), and Bajpai (1991: 43). It has also been referred to as *Jangiam* and *Jangshung*¹⁰.

Sumcho

The Sumcho language variety is spoken by approximately 2,174 people. Sumcho occupies the region from Spillo village, north to the lower Ropa river valley. The language variety has been mentioned by several scholars, including Gerard (1841) who referred to it as the "*Lubrung and Kanum dialect*".

Sunnam

Sunnam is another Thebarskad language, spoken exclusively in Sunnam village, located in the Ropa river valley. Approximately 558 people speak this language. Sunnam is mentioned by B.R. Sharma (1985: 117) who calls it *Sungnami*. Bajpai (1991: 43) refers to it as *Sangnaur*. The name "Sunnam" is taken from the modern spelling of Sunnam village.

1.5.3.3 Tibetan-related

In addition to the five Himalayish languages, there are two languages in Kinnaur which are related to Tibetan. These two languages are referred to in this report as Kinnaur Bhoti and Tukpa.

Kinnaur Bhoti

⁹ See for example, Gerard 1841, Grierson 1906, Bailey 1911, and Sharma 1985.

¹⁰ The connection between Jangshung, and Zhang-zhung, the traditional language of the Bön religion (said to have its origin in Kinnaur), is an interesting topic for further investigation.

Kinnaur Bhoti (or simply Bhoti¹¹) is spoken by approximately 5,998 people. It is the mother tongue in northern Kinnaur, from Puh to the borders with Tibet and Spiti. These communities share many racial, cultural, religious, and linguistic features with Tibetans.

Grierson classifies Kinnaur Bhoti (referred to as *Nyamkat*) as a variety of Central Tibetan, "closely related to Spiti and Jad (Tehri Garhwal Bhoti)" (Grierson 1906: 86). Thus, its language classification can be summarized as *Sino-Tibetan, Tibeto-Burman, Bodic, Bodish, Tibetan, Central*. Other names which have been given for Kinnauri Bhoti include: *Nyamkat, Myamskad, Bhotea, Upper Kinnauri, Myamkat, Bud-kat, Bod-skad, Sangyas, and Sangs-rgyas*.

¹¹ Bhoti is used as an abbreviation in this report. In fact, Bhoti is an umbrella term, used to refer to dozens of Tibetan-related languages scattered throughout the Himalayas. It is important to distinguish Kinnaur Bhoti from these other Bhoti varieties.

Tukpa

Tukpa is the name given to the Tibetan-related languages spoken in the Upper Tukpa revenue division of Kinnaur district. Approximately 723 people, living in the villages of Nisang (in the Gyamthing river valley), Charang and Kunnu (in the Tirung river valley), speak this language.

Tukpa is closely related to Kinnaur Bhoti, but appears to be more influenced by the Kinnauri language than Bhoti is. Few scholars mention the Tukpa language variety. However, people from within Kinnaur readily distinguish it from Kinnaur Bhoti.

1.5.3.4 Harijan Kinnauri

Harijan Kinnauri is an Indo-Aryan language spoken as a mother tongue by approximately 6,331 Scheduled Caste (SC) Kinnauris. Speakers of the language stated that Harijan Kinnauri is related to the Pahari languages of Himachal Pradesh. If this is true, Harijan Kinnauri can be classified with the Pahari languages as *Indo-European, Indo-Iranian, Indo-Aryan, Western, Pahari*.

Whereas the other languages of Kinnaur are all geographically based, Harijan Kinnauri is spoken by SC communities in villages throughout the entire district. Members of different castes, such as Ores, Chamangs, and Sonars, claim to speak the same language. Several scholars have mentioned this language variety including B.R. Sharma (1985: 116-117), D.D. Sharma (1988: 6-7), and Bajpai (1991: 42). It has been alternately referred to as *Harijan Boli* (language of the Harijans), and by the names of the castes speaking it (for example, *Ores Boli*). "Harijan" refers to all low caste groups throughout India, so it is important to clarify that the language is not spoken by all Harijans in India. For this reason, the designation *Harijan Kinnauri* has been applied in this report.

2. Purpose and goals

This sociolinguistic survey was conducted to assess the extent of intelligibility and acceptability of the Kinnauri language, in order to determine the need for Kinnauri language development¹². An effort was also made to gather basic information regarding other languages spoken in Kinnaur District, Himachal Pradesh. Therefore, the following goals were established:

1. Dialect area goals:
 - a. To define dialect area boundaries within the Kinnauri language area.
 - b. To locate a centrally understood variety of the Kinnauri language.
 - c. To determine dialect intelligibility among Kinnauri varieties.
2. Language use, attitude and vitality goals:
 - a. To assess language use among Kinnauri speakers, in several common speech domains.
 - b. To determine the attitude of the Kinnauri-speaking people towards regional varieties of Kinnauri.
 - c. To identify Kinnauri attitudes towards Hindi, the regional language of education, marketing, and government.
 - d. To understand attitudes among Kinnauri speakers toward literature (existing or hypothetical) in their mother tongue.
 - e. To assess the likely vitality of the Kinnauri language.
3. Bilingualism goals:
 - a. To assess self-reported Hindi bilingualism levels among Kinnauri speakers.
 - b. To estimate bilingual ability based on education levels among Kinnauri speakers.
4. Kinnaur language information goals:
 - a. To gain preliminary information on other languages indigenous to Kinnaur district.
 - b. To determine inter-group language use between ethnolinguistic communities of Kinnaur District.

The survey was directed into three main areas of study, corresponding to the first three goal categories stated above. Information regarding other Kinnaur languages was gathered as part of the dialect area and language use studies.

2.1 Dialect area study

2.1.1 Lexical similarity study

An attempt was made to assess levels of vocabulary variation within the Kinnauri language. This required a study of *lexical similarity* between vocabularies from locations throughout the Kinnauri-speaking region. Lexical similarity is the percentage of words between varieties that resemble each other in sound and meaning. The lexical similarity between Kinnauri varieties was calculated by means of comparing equivalent words using a standardized 210-item wordlist (based on Blair 1990: 28-29). Lexical similarity counting procedures are discussed in Appendix B. Wordlists from the other languages of Kinnaur were also included in this study.

2.2.2 Dialect intelligibility study

Some differences exist between regional varieties of the Kinnauri language. Recorded Text Testing (RTT) was used to assess intelligibility levels among the Kinnauri varieties. Standard RTT procedures are discussed in Appendix C. A brief questionnaire was elicited after the RTT's to assess attitudes towards the regional varieties.

¹² Possible aspects of "language development" include developing a writing system for the language, mother tongue literacy programs, and translation of literature into the language.

2.2 Language use, attitudes, and vitality study

This survey undertook to study which languages Kinnauris use throughout their daily life. Also, an attempt was made to determine their attitudes towards Kinnauri varieties and Hindi, and to assess the likely vitality of the Kinnauri language. From this information it is possible to make inferences about the vitality of the Kinnauri languages, and the potential acceptance and use of materials translated into Kinnauri. Questionnaires were used to help determine these factors. The questionnaires are shown in Appendix D.

In an attempt to understand inter-group language use between the language communities of Kinnaur, mother tongue subjects from each of the languages were asked some questions. Observation was also used to help clarify inter-group communication issues.

2.3 Bilingualism study

Self-reported levels of bilingualism in Hindi were assessed through questionnaires, observation, and government statistics regarding education and literacy rates in Kinnaur.

3. Dialect area study

3.1 Lexical similarity study

3.1.1 Introduction

Though there are eight languages indigenous to Kinnaur District, this project concentrates on the main Kinnauri language. Within this language, there is limited variation based on geography. Wordlists were collected from ten locations representing different regions of the Kinnauri-speaking area. In addition to this data, wordlists were gathered (either first hand, or incorporated from previous research efforts) from each of the other languages in Kinnaur District. For this survey, language data was gathered in order to measure lexical similarity among the languages of Kinnaur, and their varieties.

One method of measuring lexical similarity is to compare the vocabulary of the speech varieties. In this survey, percentages of lexical similarity among the Kinnauri languages were calculated by collecting and comparing a standardized 210-item wordlist. Wordlists were transcribed using the International Phonetic Alphabet shown in Appendix A. Lexical similarity counting procedures and the wordlists are given in Appendix B. Calculations were made using the *WordSurv* (Wimbish 1989) computer program.

3.1.2 Lexical similarity study results

For this survey 12 wordlists were collected from 11 sites in Kinnaur District. An additional seven wordlists were gathered by Webster and Webster in 1991. An effort was made to check these wordlists. In addition, two wordlists representing major languages found in the region (Hindi and Tibetan) were included. Figure 1 gives the language names, classifications, and locations of the wordlists compared in this study.

Figure 1. Wordlist language names, locations, and language classifications.

Language	Village	Region	Admin. Block	Lg. Classification
Kinnauri	Nigulsari	Lower	Nichar	Himalayish, Kinnauri
"	Kachrang	Pandrabis	Nichar	"
"	Nichar	Lower	Nichar	"
"	Punang	Lower	Nichar	"
"	Chagaon	Kalpa	Nichar	"
"	Sangla	Kailash	Sangla	"
"	Kothi	Kalpa	Kalpa	"
"	Pangi	Kalpa	Kalpa	"
"	Ribba	Kailash	Kalpa	"
"	Morang	Kailash	Morang	"
Chitkuli	Rakchham	Kailash	Sangla	Himalayish, Kinnauri
"	Chitkul	Kailash	Sangla	"
Jangrami	Lippa	Upper	Morang	"
Sumcho	Spillo	Upper	Morang	"
"	Kanam	Upper	Morang	"
Sunnam	Sunnam	Upper	Puh	"
Tukpa	Nisang	Upper	Puh	Tibetan
Bhoti	Puh	Upper	Puh	"
Tibetan	standard			"
Harijan Kinnauri	Chagaon	Kalpa	Nichar	Indo-Aryan, Pahari
Hindi	standard			Indo-Aryan

3.1.2.1 Kinnauri lexical similarity

The percentage of lexical similarity among the 10 Kinnauri wordlist samples compared for this study are shown in Figure 2. Locations have been arranged geographically, from southeast to northwest.

Figure 2. Lexical similarity among Kinnauri language samples.

Nigulsari Kinnauri									
81	Kachrang Kinnauri								
86	84	Nichar Kinnauri							
83	81	88	Punang Kinnauri						
82	81	88	88	Chagaon Kinnauri					
78	78	84	86	87	Sangla Kinnauri				
78	79	82	84	85	86	Kothi Kinnauri			
76	78	82	83	82	86	90	Pangi Kinnauri		
78	79	84	85	83	90	85	87	Ribba Kinnauri	
78	76	80	82	81	86	83	84	86	Morang Kinnauri

Lexical similarity percentages range from 76-90 percent between the Kinnauri varieties. The lowest percentages come from the border villages of Nigulsari, Kachrang, and Morang. Excluding these three samples, it is seen that the lexical similarity between the non-border sites never falls below 82 percent.

Nigulsari, which is located near to the border between the Kinnauri-speaking area, and the Bushahri Pahari-speaking region, shows relatively low lexical similarity with the other Kinnauri varieties, particularly those from the opposite end of Kinnaur (i.e., Sangla, Kothi, Pangi, Ribba, and Morang). However, it groups at 86% with Nichar, the headquarters of the administrative block in which Nigulsari is located.

Kachrang is located in Pandrabis revenue division, the poorest region of Kinnaur. There are no roads to the villages in this region, but all require hikes of at least five kilometers, and most involve crossing the river by rope bridges. The relatively low lexical similarity between the Kachrang sample and the other samples is likely due to the historic isolation and poverty of this region. Of the other wordlists, it groups closest with Nichar (84%), the headquarters of the administrative block in which Kachrang is located. As with Nigulsari, Kachrang lexical similarity percentages fall into the 70's with the Kinnauri samples from further up the valley.

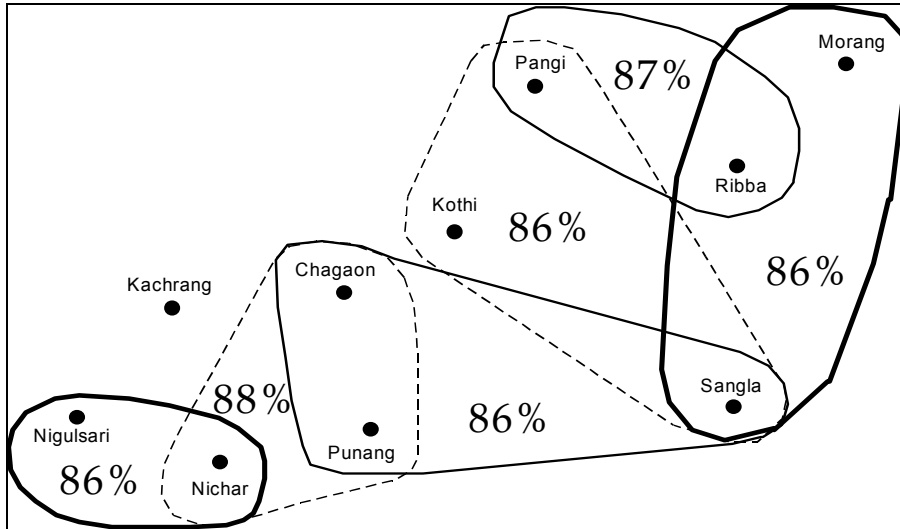
Nichar, Punang, and Chagaon, located in the central region of the lower Satluj valley, all show 88% lexical similarity with one another. Similarly, Chagaon, Punang, and Sangla all group at 86-88%. These three villages are all located in the region where the Baspa river joins to the Satluj river. Sangla also groups at 86% or higher with the samples from the Kalpa block. Historically, Kalpa and Sangla were the political centers of Kinnaur, and to this day these villages and the area between them is viewed as the heartland of Kinnaur. Pangi and Ribba, both located along the upper part of the Satluj, share an 87% lexical similarity.

Morang, Ribba, and Sangla, all located around the Kailash mountain range (southeast of Satluj river and north of Baspa river), share lexical similarities of 86 and above. Morang, however, has relatively low lexical similarity percentages with other varieties from Kinnaur, falling into the 70's with languages from the southwestern parts of Kinnaur. Morang will be further discussed below, in section 3.1.2.2 *Lexical Similarity Among All Languages of Kinnaur*.

From these results, the language varieties can be seen as a geographically based continuum. By grouping locations with lexical similarities of 86 percent or higher, these geographical groupings are apparent (see Figure 3).

The variety of Kinnauri spoken in Sangla appears to be similar to the majority of other locations. This could be due to its geographical location which places it into groupings with other towns in the Kailash region, the Kalpa region, and the Baspa-Satluj confluence.

Figure 3. Map of lexical similarity clustering of Kinnauri varieties.



3.1.2.2 Lexical Similarity Among All Languages of Kinnaur

The percentage of lexical similarity among the eight Kinnauri languages and varieties of each, as well as Hindi and Tibetan are shown in Figure 4. As much as possible, samples have been arranged by language, and by geographical location (southwest to northeast).

Figure 4. Lexical similarity chart of all Kinnaur languages.

Nigulsari Kinnauri										Kinnauri																	
81	Kachrang Kinnauri																										
86	84	Nichar Kinnauri																									
83	81	88	Punang Kinnauri																								
82	81	88	88	Chagaon Kinnauri																							
78	78	84	86	87	Sangla Kinnauri																						
78	79	82	84	85	86	Kothi Kinnauri																					
76	78	82	83	82	86	90	Pangi Kinnauri																				
78	79	84	85	83	90	85	87	Ribba Kinnauri																			
78	76	80	82	81	86	83	84	86	Morang Kinnauri																		
47	49	50	51	49	51	49	51	51	54	Rakchham Chitkuli				Chitkuli													
45	47	45	48	47	49	46	47	48	51	89	Chitkul Chitkuli																
43	45	49	49	47	48	46	48	47	49	52	50	Lippa Jangrami				Thebarskad											
45	48	49	49	47	50	50	53	51	51	46	44	71	Spillo Sumcho														
42	44	47	45	45	44	47	49	47	48	43	42	69	92 Kanam Sumcho														
34	36	38	37	37	36	37	40	38	41	39	38	61	67	64	Sunnam Sunnam												
19	20	20	19	21	20	21	21	21	31	22	22	27	27	26	30	Nisang Tukpa				Tibetan							
16	16	18	17	17	15	16	17	17	26	19	21	22	24	24	29	69	Puh Bhoti										
10	10	10	10	11	10	10	10	11	16	12	13	17	15	15	19	39	41	Tibetan									
22	22	23	22	23	23	24	24	23	27	21	17	17	16	15	14	10	7	3	Harijan IA								
17	16	18	16	18	16	17	18	16	20	14	13	11	12	11	11	8	7	4	51	Hindi							

Morang Discussion

Morang is located at the northern edge of the main Kinnauri-speaking region. Directly across the Satluj river is Jangi, the first of the Jangrami-speaking villages. The next village to its north (15 Km away) is Spillo, the first of the Sumcho-speaking villages.

Given this location, it is not surprising that Morang shares relatively low lexical similarity with the other Kinnauri samples. It might be expected that the proximity to both Jangrami and

Sumcho-speaking areas would influence the speech variety in Morang. If this were true, Morang would most likely show higher lexical similarity with Jangrami and Sumcho language samples, than do the other Kinnauri samples. However, this is not the case. Morang shows 49% similarity with Jangrami, and 48-51 percent with Sumcho. The other Kinnauri wordlist samples show 45-49% with Jangrami, and 42-51 with Sumcho. Thus, Morang does not show a significant increase in lexical similarity with Jangrami or Sumcho as compared with other Kinnauri samples.

What may be significant, however, is the lexical similarity between Morang and the Tibetan language varieties, as compared with the other Kinnauri samples. While the other Kinnauri samples show 19-21 percent similarity with Tukpa and 15-18% percent with Bhoti, Morang shows 31 percent with Tukpa and 26 percent with Bhoti. These results suggest that while Morang is not influenced by the languages of Jangrami or Sumcho, it could be influenced by the Tibetan-related languages of Kinnaur.

A likely explanation is Morang's location relative to the Tukpa-speaking villages. Morang is in the west-central part of the Tukpa revenue division, midway between the Tukpa-speaking villages of Nisang and Charang. It could be that the Tukpa influence accounts for a higher percentage of Tibetan-related vocabulary in the Morang wordlist, as compared with other Kinnauri samples.

Chitkuli lexical similarity

The two Chitkuli samples group at 89 percent with one another. The lexical similarity range of Chitkuli with the other languages, suggests that Chitkuli is a distinct language. Generally, lexical similarities of 60 percent or higher suggest that dialect intelligibility may be an issue, and further dialect intelligibility testing is often useful. However, with other languages the Chitkuli samples share lexical similarities from just 17 percent (with Harijan Kinnauri), to the low 50's (with Kinnauri and Jangrami samples).

Thebarskad lexical similarity

From the Thebarskad language varieties, two samples of Sumcho were gathered, one from Spillo (in the south of the Sumcho region), and Kanam (north Sumcho). These samples group at 92 percent. A sample was also taken from Lippa village. The sample was checked with people from both of the other Jangrami-speaking villages, Asrang and Jangi, and should be of the Jangrami language variety. The Sunnam language variety is spoken exclusively in Sunnam village. A sample of that variety is also included in this study.

Among the three Thebarskad varieties, lexical similarities range from 61 to 71. These numbers suggest that the three varieties may not be mutually intelligible. Further testing is needed to assess the degree of intelligibility between these varieties.

Tibetan variety lexical similarity

A Tukpa sample from Nisang is included in this project. A Kinnaur Bhoti wordlist from Puh village is also included in this study. A Tibetan wordlist sample is presented to help identify the relatedness of these varieties to central Tibetan. The Tukpa sample from Nisang, and the Puh Bhoti sample group at 69 percent. This result suggests that dialect intelligibility testing would be useful to assess the degree of intelligibility between the Tukpa and Bhoti speech varieties. However, the varieties group at just 39-41 percent with central Tibetan, indicating that intelligibility is unlikely with that language.

Indo-Aryan lexical similarity

A sample of Harijan Kinnauri taken from a goldsmith in Chagaon is included for this study. This sample groups at 51 percent with Hindi. The Harijan sample shows 22-27 percent lexical similarity with Kinnauri, 17-21 with Chitkuli, 14-17 with the Thebarskad samples, and 3-10 percent with the Tibetan samples. Thus it is quite distinct from any of the other Kinnaur languages.

3.1.2.3 Summary of lexical similarity study

Based on a lexical similarity study, the languages of Kinnaur can be roughly divided into five language groupings: Kinnauri, Chitkuli, Thebarskad, Tibetan, and Indo-Aryan.

The Kinnauri grouping, by far the largest language grouping in Kinnaur District, shows some lexical similarity variation between villages. These variations appear to be primarily geographically based. The similarities between varieties range from 76 to 90 percent. Dialect intelligibility testing is necessary to help determine the intelligibility levels between speech varieties from throughout the Kinnauri-speaking region. Such a study was conducted and will be discussed in *section 3.2 - Dialect Intelligibility Among Kinnauri Varieties*, of this report.

The Thebarskad grouping can be further divided into Jangrami, Sumcho, and Sunnam language varieties. Dialect intelligibility testing would be useful among these varieties to help assess the level of intelligibility between the varieties.

The Tibetan varieties can also be subdivided into Tukpa and Bhoti. In this case also, intelligibility testing is necessary to clarify the level of intelligibility.

From this study, both Chitkuli and Harijan Kinnauri appear to be quite distinct languages from the other language varieties spoken in Kinnaur.

3.2 Dialect intelligibility study

3.2.1 Introduction

The Satluj and Baspa rivers divide the Kinnauri-speaking area into three regions, the *Lower Satluj*, *Kailash*, and *Kalpa* regions (see *section 1.1 Geography* and *Map 4* for details). The results of language attitude questionnaire responses, in combination with the results of a lexical similarity study suggest that there may be variation between varieties of Kinnauri, which basically correspond to these regions. To determine if these language variations affect the ability for speakers of one variety to understand those of other varieties, dialect intelligibility testing was conducted. Through the use of Recorded Text Tests (RTT), an attempt was made to assess the intelligibility levels between the Kinnauri spoken in these three regions. Standard RTT procedures and the RTTs developed for this study are shown in Appendix C.

Three Kinnauri towns were selected as sites for intelligibility testing:

Nichar was selected as the test site from the Lower Satluj region. Nichar is the administrative headquarters of this region. Results from a lexical similarity study suggest that Nichar is a good representative of the speech varieties of Lower Satluj. This town is located at the end of a 16 Km link road from the main highway.

Sangla was chosen, based on the results of the lexical similarity study, as the Kailash region test site. It is a relatively large town (population 2737) located 18 Km up a link road from the main highway. From questionnaires and informal interviews, it is apparent that Sangla is the most prestigious of the Kailash region towns. In addition, several subjects throughout Kinnaur mentioned Sangla as the purest Kinnauri speech variety.

Kalpa village was identified to represent the Kalpa region¹³. It is a town of over 2000 people, located 800 meters up the mountain side from the Kinnaur district headquarters, Rekong Peo. Until the early 1960s, Kalpa itself was the administrative headquarters. Due to its location central to the traditional and present political center of Kinnaur, in combination with questionnaire responses which often pointed out Kalpa as the purest Kinnauri-speaking area, testing was conducted in Kalpa.

¹³ The actual text was collected from the village of Tilangi, 5 kilometers from Kalpa. Testing was conducted in Kalpa.

The primary focus of this project was the Kinnauri language. Though dialect intelligibility testing would be useful among Bhoti and Tukpa language varieties, as well as among the Thebarskad language varieties (Jangrami, Sumcho and Sunnam), such testing was not conducted.

3.2.2 Intelligibility testing results

The results of intelligibility testing within the Kinnauri language area are shown in Figure 5. Average scores of 80 percent or higher, with relatively low standard deviations, typically indicate that subjects from the test point should be able to adequately understand the speech variety used on the text. However, scores of 60 percent or lower indicate that subjects at the test point may have difficulty understanding the speech variety represented by the text.

Figure 5. Kinnauri dialect intelligibility testing results.

	Text			
	Nichar	Kalpa	Sangla	
<i>Ave</i>	96.5%	89.5%	79.0%	Nichar Subjects
<i>StDev</i>	4.7	9.0	11.0	
<i>Num</i>	10	10	10	
<i>Ave</i>	87.5%	96.1%	90.0%	Kalpa Subjects
<i>StDev</i>	12.8	5.3	8.2	
<i>Num</i>	10	18 ¹⁴	10	
<i>Ave</i>	95.0%	90.5%	95.8%	Sangla Subjects
<i>StDev</i>	7.1	8.0	6.0	
<i>Num</i>	10	10	18	

3.2.2.1 Nichar Results

Subjects from Nichar scored an average of 96.5 percent on the text from Nichar (a test in which subjects and text come from the same village is referred to as a Hometown Test, or HTT), with a standard deviation of 4.7. Thus, all subjects scored well on the test, indicating both that the text is an understandable representative of the language from that area, and that the subjects tested were all competent to participate in the testing procedures.

Nichar subjects scored 89.5% (9.0 StDev) on the Kalpa text. These scores indicate that the language variation found in the Kalpa text is intelligible to the Nichar subjects. It should be noted that one question on the Kalpa text was fully or partially missed by 60 percent of the Nichar subjects. This question required the subject to respond with the ages of two girls mentioned in the text. These results may indicate that Nichar Kinnauris are not using the Kinnauri numerical system actively, and perhaps are shifting to the Hindi counting system instead.

Finally, the Nichar subjects scored just 79 percent, with a high 11.0 standard deviation on the Sangla test. These scores suggest that some people in Nichar may have trouble understanding the speech variety represented in the Sangla text. Education level may be a factor affecting the scores of Nichar subjects on the Sangla test. The four subjects with low education levels¹⁵ averaged just 70 percent, while the six subjects with higher education levels averaged 85 percent. Also, the final question requires subjects to respond /mɛɾ/ which means "clarified butter" in Kinnauri. This form is not used in Nichar. Thus, the scores reflect at least some vocabulary differentiation between Nichar and Sangla speech varieties.

¹⁴ Hometown test scores for Kalpa and Sangla each have a sample of 18, as opposed to only 10 for Nichar. In Nichar, all 10 subjects used for "validating" the HTT were also available to take the Sangla and Kalpa RTTs. However, in each of the other locations, only two subjects involved in HTT validation were also available for RTT testing.

¹⁵ For this report, "low education level" refers to subjects who have studied to 5th standard or lower, that is, those who haven't gone beyond primary school.

3.2.2.2 Kalpa Results

Though the Kalpa subjects scored fairly well on the Nichar text (87.5 percent), the high standard deviation of 12.8 indicates that while some subjects scored high on the test, others scored fairly low. In fact, three Kalpa subjects scored 70 %, while the other seven each scored from 90% or

above. However, no common demographics exist among these three subjects (2 males, 1 female; 2 young, 1 old; 3 high education) which would explain their scores. Nor are there common vocabulary elements in the missed questions which would lead to these results.

The Kalpa subjects scored 90 percent with an 8.2 standard deviation on the Sangla test. These results suggest that the Kalpa people had very few problems understanding the Sangla speech variety.

3.2.2.3 Sangla Results

The subjects from Sangla scored 90% or above on all three texts, with standard deviations of 6.0-8.0. This suggests that the Sangla subjects were well able to understand the text than the Nichar subjects did on the Sangla text.

har text than the Nichar subjects did on the Sangla text.

3.2.2.4 Summary of intelligibility testing results

Dialect intelligibility testing between Kinnauri varieties from Nichar, Kalpa, and Sangla, reveals that in almost all cases the varieties should be intelligible throughout Kinnaur. The one possible exception is the result showing that Nichar subjects scored relatively lowly on the Sangla text test. This may mean that Kinnauris from Nichar would have some trouble understanding language materials developed on the Sangla speech variety.

Subjects from all three locations consistently scored well on both the Kalpa and Nichar texts. This suggests that Kinnauris from throughout the Kinnauri-speaking region should be able to adequately comprehend materials based on these varieties.

3.2.3 Post-Recorded Text Test questionnaire results

After listening to each text and answering the comprehension questions, RTT subjects were asked six post-RTT questions relating to their perceptions of the Kinnauri varieties. These questions, and subject responses are shown below in Figure 6-11.

Figure 6. Post-RTT Question #1: Where do you think this story is from?

	Kalpa Text		Nichar Text		Sangla Text	
	Correct	Inc.	Correct	Inc.	Correct	Inc.
Kalpa Subjects	83%	17%	40%	60%	50%	50%
Nichar Subjects	70%	30%	50%	50%	40%	60%
Sangla Subjects	90%	10%	30%	70%	50%	50%
OVERALL	82%	18%	40%	60%	47%	53%

For the most part, subjects from all three locations were able to correctly identify the location of the Kalpa text. However, this data is likely skewed, because the story teller mentions where she lives on the text. In all locations, less than 50 percent of the subjects could correctly locate either the Nichar or the Sangla texts. In fact, only 50 percent of the subjects from each location correctly located their hometown text. These results suggest that Kinnauris do not readily link speech varieties with specific locations.

Figure 7. Post-RTT Question #2: Is the Kinnauri spoken in this story good Kinnauri?

	Kalpa Text		Nichar Text		Sangla Text	
	Good	Bad	Good	Bad	Good	Bad
Kalpa Subjects	100%	-	100%	-	100%	-
Nichar Subjects	100%	-	100%	-	100%	-
Sangla Subjects	100%	-	90%	10%	100%	-
OVERALL	100%	-	97%	3%	100%	-

The results of these questions show that the Kinnauris overwhelmingly thought that all three texts were good examples of the Kinnauri language. Out of 38 subjects who responded to this question, only one subject responded negatively towards any of the stories.

Figure 8. *Post-RTT Question #3: Is this the same way as you speak Kinnauri in your village?*

	Kalpa Text		Nichar Text		Sangla Text	
	Same	Diff.	Same	Diff.	Same	Diff.
Kalpa Subjects	94%	6%	90%	10%	90%	10%
Nichar Subjects	40%	60%	56%	44%	40%	60%
Sangla Subjects	90%	10%	70%	30%	100%	-
OVERALL	79%	21%	72%	28%	82%	18%

Many subjects from Kalpa and Sangla thought that the three texts were the same as their local variety of Kinnauri. However, Nichar subjects were not so positive. Less than half of the Nichar subjects thought that the Kalpa or Sangla texts were the same as their local variety. In fact, only 56 percent of the Nichar subjects thought that the text from Nichar represented their local variety.

Figure 9. *Post-RTT Question #4: Is the Kinnauri in this story pure or mixed?*

	Kalpa Text		Nichar Text		Sangla Text	
	Pure	Hindi mix	Pure	Hindi mix	Pure	Hindi mix
Kalpa Subjects	100%	-	100%	-	100%	-
Nichar Subjects	88%	12%	86%	14%	75%	25%
Sangla Subjects	70%	30%	75%	25%	72%	28%
OVERALL	89%	11%	85%	15%	81%	19%

The Kalpa subjects responded that all three texts are pure. Almost all Nichar subjects responded that the texts were pure, though more Nichar subjects viewed the Sangla text as being mixed with Hindi than the other two texts. About a quarter of all Sangla subjects viewed all three texts as being mixed with Hindi. These results possibly indicate that Hindi use is more practiced in Kalpa, and less in Sangla and Nichar. Kalpa's location near to Rekong Peo (government headquarters for Kinnaur District, where Hindi is heavily used) may account for these results.

Figure 10. *Post-RTT Question #5: How much of this story did you understand?*

	Kalpa Text		Nichar Text		Sangla Text	
	Full	Some	Full	Some	Full	Some
Kalpa Subjects	94%	6%	90%	10%	90%	10%
Nichar Subjects	89%	11%	86%	14%	89%	11%
Sangla Subjects	100%	-	100%	-	89%	11%
OVERALL	94%	6%	92%	8%	89%	11%

Almost all subjects from each location felt that they fully understood each of the texts. This suggests that the Kinnauri subjects felt comfortable with their ability to understand the various speech varieties. Of particular note is the result that the Nichar subjects felt they understood the Sangla text equally as well as they did the Kalpa and Nichar texts. This is higher than might be expected, given their actual RTT score of 79%, in contrast with their scores of 89.5% and 96.5% on the other texts.

Figure 11. *Post-RTT Question #6: Which of the three texts contains the best Kinnauri ?*

	Kalpa is Best	Nichar is Best	Sangla is Best
Kalpa Subjects	40%	20%	60%
Nichar Subjects	71%	-	71%
Sangla Subjects	40%	20%	88%
OVERALL	48%	15%	72%

In all three locations, the majority of subjects said they liked the Kinnauri spoken in the Sangla text best. It should be noted, however, that the Sangla text was very interesting and well told, whereas the other two stories were arguably of lesser quality. Though an attempt was made to clarify that the question asks for the best example of the language, not the best story, such influence may be skewing these results.

Almost half of the subjects responded that the Kalpa text is best, whereas only 15 percent of all subjects replied that the Nichar text has the best Kinnauri language. It is particularly interesting that no Nichar subjects suggested that the Nichar variety was best. Likewise, though they scored just 79% on the Sangla text, it is interesting that a majority of the Nichar subjects said that the Sangla text contained the best Kinnauri.

3.2.3.1 Summary of post-RTT questionnaire results

The Post-RTT answers suggest that Kinnauri-speaking people view the three speech varieties from Kalpa, Nichar, and Sangla, very similarly. Simply by listening to the texts, most subjects were not able to locate the source of any of the texts. All three texts were considered to be good examples of the Kinnauri language by subjects from all three locations. For the most part, the texts were viewed as pure, though it is possible that Hindi-mixing is more common in Kalpa than in the other locations. Finally, most subjects felt comfortable with their ability to understand all three texts.

Many subjects preferred the variety of Kinnauri used in the Sangla text, though this may be skewed by the quality of the text itself. About half responded positively to the Kalpa speech variety. Overall, very few subjects preferred the Nichar speech variety.

The results suggest that while variation may exist between the Kinnauri speech varieties, the varieties are all viewed as one language community. Attitudes appear to be more positive towards the speech varieties from Sangla and Kalpa than from Nichar.

4. Language use, attitudes, and vitality study

4.1 Procedures

In this survey, a Language Use and Attitudes Questionnaire (LUAQ) was used to assess language use, attitudes, language vitality, and bilingualism. Questions were asked in Hindi, with Kinnauri translation used for elicitation from people with low Hindi ability. Copies of the questionnaires and subject responses are found in Appendix D. Bilingualism results are discussed in section 5. *Bilingualism*.

4.2 Discussion of sample

The LUAQ was administered to 74 Scheduled Tribe subjects in eight sites: Nigulsari, Kachrang, Nichar, Punang, Chagaon, Sangla, Rekong Peo, and Pangli. An attempt was made to obtain a stratified sample from each community studied. The stratification was based on three variables: gender, age and education level. The overall sample obtained for this study is shown in Figure 12.

Figure 12. Sample distribution of LUAQ subjects (sample size = 74).

	Young Adult (15-30 years)		Mature Adult (31+ years)		TOTAL
	Low Ed (0-5)	High Ed (6+)	Low Ed (0-5)	High Ed (6+)	
Female	10 (14%)	8 (11%)	18 (24%)	2 (3%)	38 (51%)
Male	3 (4%)	16 (22%)	8 (11%)	9 (12%)	36 (49%)
Sub Total	13 (18%)	24 (32%)	26 (35%)	11 (15%)	
TOTAL	37 (50%)		37 (50%)		

Over half the young people in the sample are educated (almost half the young women, most of the young men). Most of old people in the sample are uneducated. Women, in general, had lower levels of education than men -- only ten percent of old women went beyond fifth standard (primary school) and of the 18 'uneducated' old women, 14 stated that they had had no formal education at all. Only about one fourth of the women in the sample have been educated beyond fifth standard. Not surprisingly, the samples from the most remote sites have the lowest education rates (the samples from Pangli, Chagaon, and Kachrang are each around 70 percent "low education" subjects). With the exception of one subject from Nigulsari, all the young uneducated subjects came from these three sites.

Figure 13. Languages spoken by LUAQ subjects (sample size = 74).

	Total
Kinnauri	74 (100%)
Hindi	72 (97%)
Other	21 (28%)

All subjects claimed Kinnauri ability, and all but two (97 percent) claimed to have at least some ability in Hindi. Almost all old-age subjects who reported limited or no ability in Hindi were women.

4.3 Results

4.3.1 Language use

4.3.1.1 Questionnaire results

A study of language use describes which speech varieties a community uses in different domains. Domains are social situations in which the use of one language variety is considered more appropriate than another (Fasold 1984: 183).

Figure 14. Domains of language use.

Domain	Question	Response				sample size
		Kinnauri	K & H	Hindi	Other	
<i>Home</i>	...with spouse	81%	11%	9%	4%	47
	...with children	53%	35%	12%	-	43
	...with parents	91%	7%	1%	-	69
<i>Village</i>	...with friends	59%	30%	11%	-	74
	...with old people	96%	3%	1%	-	74
	...by children while playing	38%	46%	16%	1%	74
<i>Market</i>	...at the market	5%	26%	68%	1%	73
<i>Religion</i>	...for Puja	73%	17%	10%	1%	70
<i>Songs</i>	...to sing songs	68%	32%	-	-	72

There is a clear generational difference in the use of Kinnauri and Hindi in the answers given. Although almost all subjects (88 percent, combining Kinnauri and K & H columns) said that they use Kinnauri with their children, nearly half (47 percent) claimed to use at least some Hindi with their children. More than half (62 percent) of the subjects stated that children use Hindi to some degree while playing¹⁶. However, with spouses, parents, and older people in general, Kinnauri was the most common choice. These results indicate that Hindi use is increasing among young Kinnauris.

Kinnauri is the most common language for religious activities (73 percent exclusively, and 90 percent overall). All subjects replied that they use Kinnauri for singing songs. However, Hindi is clearly the language of the market place.

Overall, very few subjects replied that they use Hindi exclusively in any domains other than the market. This indicates that while Hindi is used by some Kinnauris in many domains, it is in addition to, not instead of, the use of Kinnauri.

4.3.1.2 Inter-group language use

An attempt was made to determine languages used for inter-group communication between speakers of the various Kinnauri languages. This information was gathered primarily through informal interviews. For example, subjects were asked, "When you (a Sumcho speaker) meet a Chitkuli speaker, what language do you use?" Figure 15 shows languages used for inter-group communication (IGC) between the language communities of Kinnaur.

Figure 15. Languages used for inter-group communication (IGC) by Kinnaur language groups.

Kinnauri is used for IGC between:

- Kinnauri and Chitkuli speakers
- Kinnauri and Jangrami speakers
- Kinnauri and Sumcho speakers
- Kinnauri and Sunnam speakers
- Kinnauri and Tukpa speakers
- Chitkuli and Jangrami speakers
- Chitkuli and Sumcho speakers
- Chitkuli and Sunnam speakers
- Chitkuli and Tukpa speakers
- Jangrami and Sunnam speakers
- Jangrami and Tukpa speakers
- Sumcho and Sunnam speakers
- Tukpa and Sunnam speakers

Hindi is used for IGC between:

- Bhoti and Chitkuli speakers
- Bhoti and Jangrami speakers
- Bhoti and Kinnauri speakers
- Bhoti and Sumcho speakers
- Bhoti and Tukpa speakers

Sumcho is used for IGC between:

- Sumcho and Jangrami speakers
- Sumcho and Tukpa speakers

Kinnauri is used for inter-group communication between most language groups in Kinnaur. This is not only the case when one of the groups is Kinnauri-speaking, but also between other pairs of language groups, such as Chitkuli and Jangrami.

¹⁶ One man explained that children use 'Kinnauri' when they are nice and Hindi when they fight'.

Sumcho is used as a link language between Sumcho speakers and speakers of the Jangrami and Tukpa languages. In the case of Sumcho-Jangrami communication, this choice is possibly an indication of some inherent intelligibility between these languages, not acquired intelligibility (second language learning). However, further survey is needed to adequately assess this.

Bhoti speakers are much less likely to use Kinnauri as a link language, but rather will use Hindi when speaking to Kinnauris from other language speaking areas. Speakers of the Harijan language use the various local languages when communicating with members of those groups.

It is clear that in addition to being the mother tongue of a large portion of the Kinnaur population, Kinnauri is also learned and used as a second language by many communities. A future study of bilingualism and attitudes of non-Kinnauri speakers towards the Kinnauri language is recommended to assess acceptability of Kinnauri language materials within these communities (see section 6. *Summary and recommendations*).

4.3.2 Language attitudes

While studying language attitudes an attempt is made to assess people's perceptions of their own language as well as other languages with which they are in contact. By looking at the way a language is perceived and used, it is possible to determine how positive the subjects are towards that language.

Figure 16. Attitudes towards the Kinnauri language.

Question 1: Where is the best Kinnauri spoken? (sample size = 68)

Kalpa	Sangla	Chagaon	Nichar	Pangi	All Places	Local
35 (51%)	17 (25%)	5 (7%)	4 (6%)	3 (4%)	10 (15%)	22 (38%)

Question 2: Where is the worst Kinnauri spoken? (sample size = 57)

Pandrabis	Nichar	Ribba-Morang	Outside ¹⁷	Local
13 (23%)	5 (9%)	4 (7%)	35 (61%)	4 (7%) ¹⁸

Question 3: Is the Kinnauri in your village pure? (sample size = 74)

Yes	No
66 (89%)	8 (11%)

A few subjects (15 percent) considered that the Kinnauri language is spoken equally well throughout the language area, even though some of these acknowledged that it varies from village to village. After Kalpa, the administrative center of the region, the most common response from the subjects was to name their own village (Local) as speaking good Kinnauri. In addition, 25 percent of the subjects mention Sangla as a good variety of the Kinnauri language.

The language varieties from two areas stand out as being seen negatively: 23 percent of the subjects who responded to this question mentioned the Pandrabis variety as "the worst", and another 9 percent mentioned Nichar. Combining these results, nearly a third of all subjects responding to this question mentioned that the varieties from the lower Satluj are bad examples of Kinnauri. This parallels the results above, which indicate that the upper regions of Kalpa and Sangla are viewed more positively than the lower regions of Nichar and Pandrabis.

More than half of subjects who responded mentioned regions outside of the Kinnauri-speaking area as places where the Kinnauri language is spoken badly. Such responses, though they reflect a certain amount of confusion on the part of the subjects, are still of interest. The inability of subjects to pinpoint specific Kinnauri-speaking areas as bad examples of Kinnauri suggest that they perceive the regional Kinnauri varieties area as good.

¹⁷ Thirty-five subjects replied with names of regions outside of the Kinnauri-speaking area.

¹⁸ Two of the four subjects who stated that their variety of Kinnauri was bad were single young women working in a handloom cooperative in Pangi, and were outspokenly unhappy with not just their language, but their lives in general.

Most of the subjects (89 percent) considered the Kinnauri in their village to be 'pure'. Several subjects stated that they considered their Kinnauri variety to be mixed with Kinnauri from other villages. Such a response indicates that perhaps the subjects had some confusion on this question. However, it also reflects that while they perceive some difference between the Kinnauri varieties, they consider them all to be one language.

Figure 17. Attitudes regarding language use by children.

Question 1: What language should a mother speak with her children? (sample size = 74)

Kinnauri	K & H	Hindi	English
35 (47%)	13 (18%)	26 (35%)	3 (4%)

Question 2: How is it if a child speaks Hindi in the home? (sample size = 74)

Good	Bad
62 (84%)	12 (16%)

Question 3: Do young people like the Kinnauri language? (sample size = 72)

Yes	No
61 (85%)	11 (15%)

Almost half of the subjects said only Kinnauri should be used by mothers in speaking to their children - a similar figure to the 53 percent who reported using only Kinnauri to speak to their children (see figure 14). Overall, 66 percent (combining Kinnauri and K & H columns) of the subjects said mothers should use Kinnauri with children. Slightly fewer (53 percent overall) said at least some Hindi was good to use with children.

The vast majority of subjects (84 percent) felt positive towards the use of Hindi by children in the home, while only 16 percent a negative response. This corresponds to the results that almost half the subjects use Hindi to some degree with their children (Figure 14). Also, judging from the responses to the previous question, most subjects consider Hindi use by children in the home acceptable or even desirable but not necessarily between mother and child.

The answers suggest that language attitudes lean more towards Hindi than the actual language use in this domain. Several subjects expressed the opinion that Hindi is 'more modern' - but a surprising cross-section of the community (male and female, educated and uneducated, young and old) expressed a dislike for Hindi use in the home.

Despite an eagerness for Hindi use in the home, 85 percent of the subjects considered Kinnauri to be liked by young people. This is also the pattern in the answers given to this question by the young people in the sample: 79 percent of the under-30s stated that young people like Kinnauri. Some subjects (9 percent) qualified their positive answers by suggesting that although young people like Kinnauri they are speaking Hindi, an observation reflected by two thirds of the subjects reporting that children use Hindi to some degree while playing (see Figure 14).

Figure 18. Attitude issues affecting cultural maintenance.

Question 1: How is it if a Kinnauri speaker marries a non-Kinnauri speaker? (sample = 72)

Good	Not Good
58 (81%)	14 (19%)

Question 2: Is it good for a child to learn and follow local customs? (sample size = 74)

Good	Not Good
67 (91%)	7 (9%)

The majority of subjects believe that it is okay for Kinnauris to marry non-Kinnauri speakers. Communication problems were most frequently given as the reason why cross-cultural marriages are not good. Some subjects suggested that the couple could communicate in Hindi, while others commented that it would only take a few years to learn Kinnauri. Such results suggest that the cultural boundaries are not very rigid in modern Kinnaur.

Almost all subjects replied that it is good for children to learn and follow Kinnauri customs. Six of the seven subjects who were negative towards teaching Kinnauri customs were young and most were educated. Several subjects suggested that while it is important to maintain their

traditional culture, it is also good to learn the outside culture. These results suggest that though outside cultural influence has inroads into the Kinnaur region, most Kinnauris are interested to maintain their own customs.

Figure 19. Attitudes towards Kinnauri language development.

Question: If there were books or newspapers available in Kinnauri would you want to read them? (sample size = 68)

Yes	No
66 (97%)	2 (3%)

Of the 68 subjects who responded to the question, 97 percent expressed a desire to read books or newspapers in their own language. This shows a positive attitude towards development of Kinnauri as a written language.

Overall, this data indicates that Kinnauri speakers have positive attitudes towards their language. Hindi, the language of commerce and education, is increasingly used with each generation. However, Hindi does not appear to be negatively affecting attitudes towards the Kinnauri language.

4.3.3 Language vitality

Language vitality refers to the prospect that a language will or will not be used by a language community in the future. Though vitality is difficult to measure, it is possible to make some inferences about the future use of a language variety.

4.3.3.1 Questionnaire results

Several questions on the LUAQ were asked regarding language vitality.

Figure 20. Language vitality issues.

Question 1: What language do children learn to speak first? (sample size = 73)

Kinnauri	K & H	Hindi
68 (93%)	3 (4%)	2 (3%)

Question 2: Are there people in this town who don't speak Kinnauri? (sample = 74)

Yes	No
35 (47%)	39 (53%)

Question 3: After 100 years what language will people here speak¹⁹? (sample = 69)

Kinnauri	K & H	Hindi	H & English
55 (80%)	2 (3%)	12 (17%)	2 (3%)

All subjects (who responded) said that Kinnauri is the first language of children. Four percent suggested that Hindi is learned simultaneously with Kinnauri.

When asked if there was anyone in the village who does not speak Kinnauri, 53 percent of the subjects said "no". Another 47 percent answered that outsiders do not speak Kinnauri, some specifying those who marry in and those who are in the area for business. Some subjects reported that Kinnauris who leave the area for school or work sometimes lose fluency in Kinnauri.

Most subjects were confident of Kinnauri being spoken in 100 years' time to some extent. A few subjects suggested that Hindi will eventually replace Kinnauri due to Hindi-medium schools.

Kinnauri is learned as the first language by all Scheduled Tribe residents of the Kinnauri-speaking area, and the people expect the language to continue being used for years to come. Based on these results, it is expected that Kinnauri will be spoken actively in Kinnaur for the foreseeable future.

¹⁹ Also expressed as "After 100 years, will the people here still speak Kinnauri?" on some occasions. Answers of "Yes", are included in the Kinnauri column. Answers of "No" are included in the Hindi column.

4.3.3.2 Evaluating indicators of separateness

In addition to evaluating language vitality based on subject questionnaire responses, it is useful to look at issues related to the separateness of a group from the groups that surround it, as well as the permeability of barriers which maintain that separation.

O'Leary (1997: 8) states that "one way of developing hypotheses regarding the ethnolinguistic vitality of any language group is to look at various indicators of separateness. Indicators of separateness which have proven useful in looking at language groups in India can be classified into several major categories of possible separation: linguistic, official, cultural, racial, socioeconomic, geographic, and political."

In the case of the Kinnauri-speaking people, the outside culture most likely to affect change is the Hindi-speaking, Hindu culture of northern India. Figure 21 shows levels of separateness between the Kinnauris and the north Indian culture (NIC).

Figure 21. Separateness of Kinnauris from north Indian culture (NIC).

Separation type	Level of separation	Factors affecting separation
Linguistic	HIGH	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Different language family from Hindi. • Kinnauri is the largest minority language in the District, others are not influential.
Official	HIGH	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Kinnauris are recognized by government as a Scheduled Tribe. • Kinnauris are counted separately from NIC in census.
Cultural	MID	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Distinctive dress, and separate pantheon of deities from NIC. However, NIC religious tradition is making inroads into Kinnaur. • Cultural barriers are somewhat permeable. • Marriage is acceptable between Kinnauris and NIC.
Racial	MID	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Kinnauri racial features are somewhat distinct from NIC.
Socio-economic	HIGH	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Education is readily available locally. • Economic resources are plentiful in the district. • Some Kinnauris work alongside outsiders, though most do not. • Economic advancement is possible from within Kinnaur. • Traditional occupation of farming has been modified to yield higher profit crops, thus maintaining tradition and increasing wages.
Geography	HIGH	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mountains, valleys, and frequent landslides create physical separation from NIC. • Development attributes such as electricity, water, hospitals, and public transportation are readily available. • Most NIC groups find the Kinnauri climate and geography restrictive to settlement.
Political	HIGH	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Kinnauris are recognized as a distinct community by the Indian government. • Kinnauris are well represented in local, regional, and national politics. The HP state chief minister is from Kinnaur.

Kinnauri separation based on linguistic and geographic factors is particularly strong. Politically, Kinnauris are well represented in government positions and the Himachal Pradesh government has done a good job developing Kinnaur district since its official recognition in 1960. Schools, electricity, and roads are in almost every village. In addition, Kinnaur is blessed with natural resources and a climate suitable for the growth of cash crops, sales of which necessitate interaction with outsiders. These factors, while exposing the Kinnauris to Hindi and the north Indian culture, also allow the Kinnauris to be economically self-sufficient. Most Kinnauris seldom need to travel to other regions to sustain their economic livelihood.

The Kinnauri culture is very strong, with festivals, songs, language, and costume all being indigenous. However, the barriers between their culture and others appear fairly permeable, opening the possibility of cultural influence from mainstream north India.

Evaluating the Kinnauri situation in regard to these seven factors, Kinnauris show a moderately high level of separation from the mainstream north Indian culture. This level of separation concurs with results of questioning regarding the vitality of Kinnauri, showing a fairly high level of expected ethnolinguistic vitality for the Kinnauri language and culture.

5. Bilingualism study

5.1 Procedures

A study of bilingualism gauges subjects' ability to understand and speak in a language other than their mother tongue. In this survey, information was gathered to help assess how well Kinnauri-speaking people perceive their able to use and understand Hindi.

To determine self-reported Hindi bilingual ability, bilingualism questions were included on a Language Use and Attitudes Questionnaire (LUAQ). Questions were asked in Hindi, with mother tongue translation used for communication with subjects who had limited Hindi ability. Refer to the discussion of LUAQ sample (section 4.2 *Discussion of sample*), for a description of the sample obtained for this study. Copies of the questionnaires and subject responses are shown in Appendix D.

5.2 Results

Subjects were asked if there is anyone in their village who does not speak Hindi. Most (79 percent) of the subjects responded that old people (60+ years old) in the village do not know Hindi well. Twenty-one percent suggested that everyone in their village can speak at least some Hindi. Kinnauris perceive that everyone in Kinnaur, under 60 years of age, can speak Hindi, as can some over 60. It should be noted, however, that an indication of ability to speak Hindi does not specify level of ability in that language.

Demographic variables which often impact bilingual ability are education level, gender, and age. Results of bilingual questioning are presented in Figures 22-24 to show the impact of these variables on subject responses. Scores reflect the percentage of each demographic subgroup answering a particular way.

Many Kinnauris use a simplified variety of Hindi for market purposes and basic communication with outsiders. However, the variety of Hindi used on Indian television is perceived as standard Hindi. Televisions are in nearly every Kinnauri home. Given the accessibility of Hindi television programs, it is useful to assess how well subjects feel that they can understand these programs, as a gauge of their perceived ability to understand standard Hindi.

Figure 22. Comprehension of standard Hindi.

*Question: When you watch Hindi television, how much do you understand?*²⁰

Amount understood	Gender		Age		Education Level		TOTAL
	Male	Female	Young	Mature	Low	High	
All	26 (72%)	16 (55%)	25 (69%)	7 (59%)	14 (47%)	28 (80%)	42 (65%)
Some	2 (6%)	3 (10%)	4 (11%)	1 (3%)	3 (10%)	2 (6%)	5 (8%)
Very little	8 (22%)	10 (34%)	7 (19%)	11 (38%)	13 (43%)	5 (14%)	18 (28%)
Sample size	36	29	36	29	30	35	65

Most male subjects (72%) said that they can understand all the Hindi they hear on television. About half (55%) of the female subjects were confident in their ability. Young people were slightly more confident of their ability than were older subjects. Educated subjects were more likely to be confident in their Hindi comprehension (80%) than uneducated subjects (47%). These results suggest that education level, age, and gender are all demographic indicators of perceived Hindi comprehension levels among Kinnauri speakers.

In addition to understanding Hindi, production of the language is an important issue in assessing self-reported bilingual ability. Subjects were asked to evaluate their ability to speak in Hindi in comparison with their ability to speak in Kinnauri. This question was sometimes confusing to the subjects. Some said that they speak Kinnauri and Hindi equally well, yet also said that they

²⁰ Eight subjects, who replied that they do not watch television, are not included in this sample. Of these, all are females, all are uneducated, and 7 of 8 are over 30 years of age. They cited their busy lives, full of household and field chores, as the reason they do not watch television.

can not understand television Hindi²¹. Also, some subjects responded with a confused look and an answer of "yes", indicating a low degree of confidence in their answers. Responses relating to self-reported Hindi ability are shown in Figure 23.

Figure 23. Self-reported Hindi ability.

Question: Can you speak Hindi as well as you speak Kinnauri?

	Gender		Age		Education Level		TOTAL
	Male	Female	Young	Mature	Low	High	
Yes	19 (61%)	21 (66%)	23 (72%)	17 (55%)	17 (55%)	23 (72%)	40 (63%)
No	12 (39%)	11 (34%)	9 (28%)	14 (45%)	14 (45%)	9 (28%)	23 (37%)
Sample size	31	32	32	31	32	31	63

More than half of the subjects responded that their ability in Hindi equals their ability in Kinnauri. Gender does not appear to have a sizable impact on self-reported Hindi ability. However, both youth and higher education levels do.

Literacy rates in a second language also indicate ability in that language. It is important to remember, however, that some people are able to "read" in languages they don't know how to speak. For example, in Kinnaur many road signs are written in English (script and language). Though many Kinnauris are able to read and interpret these signs, relatively few are able to speak English. Figure 24 shows self-reported literacy ability among the subjects. No attempt was made to gauge their actual competence at reading and writing.

Figure 24. Literacy ability.

Question: What languages are you able to read and write?

	Gender		Age		Education Level		TOTAL
	Male	Female	Young	Mature	Low	High	
Hindi	35 (95%)	16 (44%)	29 (78%)	22 (61%)	16 (42%)	35 (100%)	51 (70%)
English	18 (49%)	7 (19%)	18 (49%)	7 (19%)	1 (3%)	24 (69%)	25 (34%)
Other	6 (16%)	3 (8%)	5 (14%)	4 (11%)	1(3%)	8 (23%)	9 (12%)
None	1 (3%)	21 (58%)	8 (22%)	14 (39%)	22 (58%)	-	22 (30%)
Sample size	37	36	37	36	38	35	73

All subjects with reported literacy ability (70 percent) had ability in Hindi²². Several other languages, including English, Tibetan, Urdu, Sanskrit, and Panjabi were also mentioned by some subjects. Only one male subject was illiterate, while 58 percent of the females reported themselves as illiterate. Young people show slightly higher levels of Hindi literacy, and significantly higher (50 percent versus 18 percent) literacy rates in English, than did older subjects. Education significantly affects self-reported literacy ability. All educated subjects were reportedly literate, as opposed to 42 percent of the uneducated subjects.

Thus, young educated men are the most likely subgroup to be literate, while older uneducated females are the least likely.

5.2.1 Summary of bilingualism results

More than half of all subjects questioned were positive about their ability to understand and speak Hindi. Seventy percent of the subjects reported themselves literate in Hindi. For each question, education appears to be an important demographic indicator of bilingual ability among Kinnauri-speakers. When discussing bilingualism in Nepal, Webster (1995) states "education is very likely the single most important factor contributing to acquisition of Nepali. The more education subjects have, the higher their proficiency in Nepali." This conclusion can also be applied to the relationship between education and Hindi proficiency among Kinnauris speakers.

²¹ This may indicate that the "Hindi" they are referring to is a trade Hindi, rather than the standard variety used on television.

²² There have been successful Hindi adult literacy courses in Kinnaur District. One subject, an 81-year old woman who had never been to a formal school, read daily from Hindi translations of the Hindu holy books.

6. Summary and recommendations

6.1 Summary of findings

6.1.1 *Dialect area study*

The languages of Kinnaur District can be roughly divided into five groupings: Kinnauri, Thebarskad (Jangrami, Sumcho, and Sunnam), Tibetan related (Bhoti and Tukpa), Chitkuli, and Harijan Kinnauri.

6.1.1.1 Kinnauri language

Kinnauri, by far the largest language in Kinnaur District, shows lexical variation based on geographical location. Sangla village appears to have a fairly central variety of the language, sharing a high proportion of lexical items with several regions throughout the area. The lexical similarities between varieties range from 76 to 90 percent. Dialect intelligibility testing was conducted to help determine the intelligibility levels between the Kinnauri varieties.

The results of dialect intelligibility testing between Kinnauri varieties from the *Lower Satluj* (Nihar), *Kailash* (Sangla), and *Kalpa* regions, showed that the different varieties should be intelligible in each region. One possible exception is that Kinnauris from Nihar may have some trouble understanding language materials developed in the Sangla speech variety. Subjects from all three locations consistently scored well on both the Kalpa and Nihar texts. This suggests that Kinnauris from throughout the Kinnauri-speaking region should be able to adequately comprehend materials based on the Kalpa and Nihar varieties.

In contrast, most subjects preferred the variety of Kinnauri used in the Sangla text, though this may be skewed by the quality of the text itself. About half responded positively to the Kalpa speech variety. Overall, very few subjects preferred the Nihar speech variety. These results suggest that while variation may exist between the Kinnauri speech varieties, the varieties are all viewed as one language community. Attitudes appear to be more positive towards the speech varieties from Sangla and Kalpa than from Nihar. So, if one combines the positive attitude towards the Kalpa variety, and the fact that subjects scored well on the Kalpa text, it is likely a source dialect for language development.

6.1.1.2 Other languages of Kinnaur District

The Thebarskad grouping of languages can be further divided into Jangrami, Sumcho, and Sunnam language varieties. These languages shared lexical similarities from 61 to 71 percent. The scores indicate that dialect intelligibility testing would be useful among the Thebarskad languages to help assess the level of intelligibility between them.

The Tibetan varieties can also be subdivided into Tukpa and Bhoti. In this case also, testing is necessary to clarify the level of intelligibility. Both Chitkuli and Harijan Kinnauri appear to be distinct languages from the other language varieties in Kinnaur.

6.1.2 *Language use, attitude, and vitality study*

Based on responses to questions regarding use of the Kinnauri language, it is actively used by the majority of Kinnauris in all domains other than at the market, where most Kinnauris speak Hindi.

Kinnauri speakers have positive attitudes towards their language and its use. Hindi, the language of commerce and education, is increasingly used with each generation. However, this use does not appear to be negatively affecting attitudes towards the Kinnauri language.

Kinnauri is learned as a first language, it is spoken by all Scheduled Tribe residents of the Kinnauri-speaking area (over 90% of the population in this region), and the people expect the language to continue being used for years to come. From these results, it is expected that Kinnauri

will be spoken actively throughout the foreseeable future. Also, the factors of separation from Hindi culture predict a high level of ethnolinguistic vitality.

6.1.3 Bilingualism study

More than half of all subjects questioned were positive about their ability to understand and speak Hindi. Education appears to be a strong demographic indicator of bilingual ability in Kinnaur.

6.2 Recommendations

By looking at factors such as lexical similarity, dialect intelligibility, language use, attitudes, vitality, and bilingualism, it is possible to make some recommendations regarding the development of language materials in the languages of Kinnaur.

6.2.1 Kinnauri

Though reported bilingualism levels are fairly high among Kinnauris, this appears to reflect ability to use basic levels of Hindi, not language choices when communicating heartfelt issues. Particularly among the less educated segments of society, Hindi is unlikely to successfully communicate such things adequately. Kinnauris appear to have strong attitudes towards their language and indications suggest that they will continue to speak the language for years to come. They will likely be very receptive towards Kinnauri language development.

Based on these findings, it is recommended that language development be conducted in the Kinnauri language.

Attitudes appear most positive towards the varieties of Kinnauri spoken in the Sangla and Kalpa areas. However, subjects from Lower Kinnaur exhibit some difficulty understanding the Sangla variety.

For these reasons, it is recommended that a Kinnauri language learner work to learn the variety of Kinnauri spoken in the Kalpa area. However, care should be taken to avoid Hindi mixing, which may be influenced in Kalpa by its proximity to the district headquarters, Rekong Peo.

6.2.2 Other Kinnaur languages

Further survey is necessary to assess the language development needs of each of the other languages in Kinnaur District. In each case a study should be made regarding issues of language use, attitudes, and vitality. Currently a permit is required for visiting the areas which speak these languages (except for Chitkuli and Harijan), and is valid for only one week at a time. Such constraints are significant in planning future survey work.

6.2.2.1 Thebarskad

Further lexical similarity study is not necessary among the Thebarskad languages. However, dialect intelligibility testing between the three varieties would prove very useful. Such testing could be done with just one test point per language, for example, Lippa (Jangrami), Kanam (Sumcho), and Sunnam. In addition, a study of Kinnauri bilingualism and attitudes study would be useful among the Thebarskad peoples, in order to assess their likely understanding and acceptance of language materials developed in Kinnauri.

6.2.2.2 Tibetan related

A full survey of the Tibetan related languages of Kinnaur District and surrounding regions is recommended in order to assess the best language for development in these groups.

Further lexical similarity studies need to be conducted. A Tukpa wordlist should be gathered from either Charang or Kunnu villages for comparison with Nisang Tukpa. It would also be useful to gather wordlists from several villages throughout the Bhoti-speaking area of Kinnaur District. A complete study should also incorporate wordlist samples from Spiti and the Jad Bhoti of Tehri

Gharwal²³. Dialect intelligibility testing will be necessary, but details should be based on the results of further lexical similarity study. Aspects of language use, attitudes (towards Bhoti, Hindi, and Tibetan), and vitality must also be assessed.

6.2.2.3 Chitkuli

Due to acquired intelligibility it is possible that the Chitkuli speakers could adequately understand materials developed in the Kinnauri language. However, attitudes towards that language and Kinnauri bilingualism levels should be calculated first. Such a study should be easy to conduct, since only two villages speak the language, and both are accessible without obtaining a special permit.

6.2.2.4 Harijan Kinnauri

Bilingual ability in Hindi and the various Kinnaur languages needs to be assessed among Kinnaur District's Harijan community. A dialect area study of Harijan Kinnauri, as spoken by different castes throughout the district would also be useful. In addition, a lexical similarity study (and perhaps dialect intelligibility testing) needs to be conducted to assess how Harijan Kinnauri relates to the other Pahari languages of Himachal Pradesh.

²³ Based on classification of all three languages as central Tibetan, and Grierson's comment that all three appear to have aspects in common.

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Figure 1. Wordlist language names, locations, and language classifications.

Language	Village	Region	Admin. Block	Lg. Classification
Kinnauri	Nigulsari	Lower	Nichar	Himalayish, Kinnauri
"	Kachrang	Pandrabis	Nichar	"
"	Nichar	Lower	Nichar	"
"	Punang	Lower	Nichar	"
"	Chagaon	Kalpa	Nichar	"
"	Sangla	Kailash	Sangla	"
"	Kothi	Kalpa	Kalpa	"
"	Pangi	Kalpa	Kalpa	"
"	Ribba	Kailash	Kalpa	"
"	Morang	Kailash	Morang	"
Chitkuli	Rakchham	Kailash	Sangla	Himalayish, Kinnauri
"	Chitkul	Kailash	Sangla	"
Jangrami	Lippa	Upper	Morang	"
Sumcho	Spillo	Upper	Morang	"
"	Kanam	Upper	Morang	"
Sunnam	Sunnam	Upper	Puh	"
Tukpa	Nisang	Upper	Puh	Tibetan
Bhoti	Puh	Upper	Puh	"
Tibetan	standard			"
Harijan Kinnauri	Chagaon	Kalpa	Nichar	Indo-Aryan, Pahari
Hindi	standard			Indo-Aryan

B. Lexical similarity data

B.1 Procedure for counting lexical similarity

A standard list of vocabulary items was collected from speakers at key locations for each of the languages studied in this survey. This list is presented in section B.2, along with the word lists elicited during this survey. A phonetic chart presenting the transcription conventions used in this reports is shown in Appendix A.

In standard procedure, the 210 words are elicited from a person who has grown up in the target locality. The list is then collected a second time from another speaker. Any differences in responses are examined in order to identify (1) incorrect responses due to misunderstanding of the elicitation cue, (2) loan words offered in response to the language of elicitation when indigenous terms are actually still in use, and (3) terms which are simply at different places along the generic-specific lexical scale. Normally, a single term is recorded for each item of the word list. However, more than one term is recorded for a single item when synonymous terms are apparently in general use or when more than one specific term occupies the semantic area of a more generic item on the word list.

The word lists are compared to determine the extent to which the vocabulary of each pair of speech forms is similar. No attempt is made to identify genuine cognates based on a network of sound correspondences. Rather, two items are judged to be phonetically similar if at least half of the segments compared are the *same* (category 1) and of the remaining segments at least half are rather similar (category 2). For example, if two items of eight segments in length are compared, these words are judged to be similar if at least four segments are virtually the same and at least two are rather similar. The criteria applied are:

Category 1

- a. Contoid (consonant-like) segments which match exactly
- b. Vovoid (vowel-like) segments which match exactly or differ by only one articulatory feature
- c. Phonetically similar segments (of the sort which frequently are found as allophones) which are seen to correspond in at least three pairs of words

Category 2

All other phonetically similar pairs of segments which are not, however, supported by at least three pairs of words

Category 3

- a. Pairs of segments which are not phonetically similar
- b. A segment which is matched by no segment in the corresponding item

After pairs of items on two word lists had been determined to be phonetically similar or not, according to the criteria stated above, the percentage of items judged similar was calculated. The procedure was repeated for each pair of dialects and languages. The pair by pair counting procedure was greatly facilitated by the use of *Wordsurv*, a computer program designed for this purpose.

The word list data and transcribed texts as included in the subsequent appendices are field transcriptions and have not undergone thorough phonological and grammatical analysis.

B.2 Notes on word list presentation.

Word lists are presented on the following pages. The elicitation(s) from each site are listed below that the word number and English gloss. Each line is arranged showing site name and language variety. A letter follows, which indicates the grouping of that elicitation. For example, all lines with the letter "a" are considered to be phonetically similar and are grouped together. Following the number comes the actual elicitation, written using the International Phonetic Alphabet, shown in Appendix A.

B.3 Word lists

1. body

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	dæŋ
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	dæŋ
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	dæŋ
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	de'eŋ
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	deΛŋ
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	deɜŋ
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	deΛŋ
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	deΛŋ
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	deŋ
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	deΛŋ
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	a	deɜŋ
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	a	d ^h eŋ
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	a	deeŋ
Spilo <i>Sumcho</i>	a	deΛŋ
Kanam <i>Sumcho</i>	a	deeŋ
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	a	deeŋ
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	b	zugbo
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	g	zoho
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	b	sukpo
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	d	dei
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	f	ʃʌrɪr

2. head

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	bal
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	bəl
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	bal
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	bəl
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	bəl
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	bəl
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	bəl
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	bəl
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	bəl
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	bəl
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	e	pitʃe
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	e	pitʃe
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	e	piʃe
Spilo <i>Sumcho</i>	e	piʃe
Kanam <i>Sumcho</i>	e	piʃe
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	e	piʃe
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	b	go
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	b	go
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	b	go
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	d	mudko
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	f	sɪr

3. hair

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	kre
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	kre
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	kre
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	kre
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	kre
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	kre
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	kre
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	kre
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	kre
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	kre
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	c	kre
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	c	kre
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	c	kre
Spilo <i>Sumcho</i>	c	kre
Kanam <i>Sumcho</i>	c	kre
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	c	kre
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	e	t ^h e
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	e	tɛ
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	e	ta
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	a	bɛ:
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	a	bəl

4. face

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	g	ʃʌkʌl
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	h	sto
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	h	sto
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	h	sto?
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	h	sto
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	to
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	to
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	h	sto
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	to
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	to
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	d	muk ^h ɜŋ
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	d	mʌk ^h ʌŋ
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	c	momi
Spilo <i>Sumcho</i>	c	mōmi
Kanam <i>Sumcho</i>	c	moi
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	c	momi
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	b	holoŋ
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	f	ŋonoŋ
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	a	doŋba
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	e	mū
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	e	mūh

5. eye

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	mɪŋ
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	mɪg
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	mɪgə
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	mɪk ^h
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	mɪgo ^ɿ
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	mɪg
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	mɪg
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	mɪk ^ɿ
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	mɪg
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	mɪg
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	b	mɪ
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	b	mɪ
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	b	mɪ
Spilo <i>Sumcho</i>	b	mɪ
Kanam <i>Sumcho</i>	b	mɪ
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	b	mɪ
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	b	mɪk
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	b	mɪk
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	b	mɪk
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	a	ɛk ^h ɪ
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	a	ɛŋk ^h

6. ear

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	k ^h ɛŋʌŋ
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	k ^h ɛŋʌŋ
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	k ^h ɛŋəŋ
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	kɛŋeŋ
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	k ^h ɛŋʌŋ
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	k ^h ɛŋʌŋ
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	k ^h ɛŋʌŋ
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	k ^h ɛŋʌŋ
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	k ^h ɛŋʌŋ
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	k ^h ɛŋʌŋ
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	f	rots
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	f	rots
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	e	ret
Spilo <i>Sumcho</i>	d	repeŋ
Kanam <i>Sumcho</i>	d	repeŋ
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	d	repeŋ
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	c	nɛmɔʒok
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	c	nɛmɔʒok
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	a	amtʃo
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	b	kɛŋ
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	b	kɛŋ

7. nose

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>d</i>	tʰəkotʃ
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>d</i>	təkuts
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>d</i>	stekuts
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>d</i>	takuts
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>d</i>	stakuts
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>d</i>	təkuts
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>d</i>	takuts
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>d</i>	təkuts
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>d</i>	təkuts
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>d</i>	təkəs
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	<i>c</i>	rim
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	<i>c</i>	rim
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	<i>d</i>	tekus
Spilo <i>Sumcho</i>	<i>a</i>	mur
Kanam <i>Sumcho</i>	<i>a</i>	mur
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	<i>a</i>	mur
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	<i>b</i>	ne
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	<i>b</i>	ne
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	<i>b</i>	naku
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	<i>b</i>	nəgʌ
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	<i>b</i>	nek

8. mouth

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>d</i>	kʰəkʌŋ
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>d</i>	kəkʌŋ
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>d</i>	kʰəkʌŋ
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>d</i>	kʰəgəŋ
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>d</i>	kʰəkʌŋ
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>d</i>	kəkŋ
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>d</i>	kəkʰʌŋ
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>d</i>	kʰəkʌŋ
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>d</i>	kəkən
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>d</i>	kʰəŋ
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	<i>a</i>	ʔe
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	<i>a</i>	e
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	<i>a</i>	e
Spilo <i>Sumcho</i>	<i>b</i>	əkot
Kanam <i>Sumcho</i>	<i>c</i>	əkun
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	<i>a</i>	e
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	<i>d</i>	kʰe
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	<i>d</i>	ke
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	<i>d</i>	kʰa
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	<i>e</i>	mū
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	<i>e</i>	mūh

9. tooth

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>b</i>	gʌre
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>b</i>	gere
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>b</i>	gere
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>b</i>	gero
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>b</i>	gero
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>b</i>	gero
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>b</i>	gʌre
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>b</i>	gəʃ
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>b</i>	gero
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>b</i>	ger
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	<i>c</i>	soe
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	<i>c</i>	soe
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	<i>c</i>	soe
Spilo <i>Sumcho</i>	<i>c</i>	sue
Kanam <i>Sumcho</i>	<i>c</i>	sue
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	<i>c</i>	sue
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	<i>c</i>	so
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	<i>c</i>	soʷ
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	<i>c</i>	sɔ
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	<i>a</i>	dən
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	<i>a</i>	dənt

10. tongue

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>b</i>	le:
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>b</i>	le:
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>b</i>	le
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>b</i>	le:
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>b</i>	le
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>b</i>	le
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>b</i>	le
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>b</i>	le
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>b</i>	le
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>b</i>	le
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	<i>b</i>	le
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	<i>b</i>	le
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	<i>b</i>	le
Spilo <i>Sumcho</i>	<i>b</i>	le
Kanam <i>Sumcho</i>	<i>b</i>	le
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	<i>b</i>	le
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	<i>c</i>	tse
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	<i>c</i>	tʃi
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	<i>c</i>	tʃilip
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	<i>a</i>	dʒib
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	<i>a</i>	dʒibʰ

11. breast.(chest)

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>f</i>	ʃtugʻ
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>d</i>	nuni
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>f</i>	ʃtug
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>f</i>	ʃtukʰ
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>h</i>	tseti
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>d</i>	nuni
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>f</i>	tukʻ
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>f</i>	ʃtukʻ
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>d</i>	nuni
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>f</i>	tugʻ
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	<i>c</i>	kju
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	<i>d</i>	nuni
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	<i>d</i>	ntunu
Spilo <i>Sumcho</i>	<i>e</i>	piuʔ
Kanam <i>Sumcho</i>	<i>e</i>	pipi
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	<i>e</i>	pibi
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	<i>a</i>	ebu
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	<i>a</i>	bu
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	<i>0</i>	no entry
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	<i>b</i>	jekʰə
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	<i>g</i>	stʌn
<i>Comment nuni = breast</i>		
<i>Comment stug = chest</i>		

12. stomach

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>c</i>	pətʌŋ
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>c</i>	pətiŋ
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>c</i>	pətiŋ
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>c</i>	pətiŋ
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>c</i>	pətiŋ
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>c</i>	pətiŋ
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>c</i>	pətʌŋ
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>c</i>	pətʌŋ
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>c</i>	pətʌŋ
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>c</i>	pətiŋ
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	<i>a</i>	dən
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	<i>a</i>	dʰənd
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	<i>b</i>	kok
Spilo <i>Sumcho</i>	<i>b</i>	kʰok
Kanam <i>Sumcho</i>	<i>b</i>	kʰok
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	<i>b</i>	kʰok
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	<i>d</i>	tope
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	<i>d</i>	tʰurpe
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	<i>e</i>	tʃokə
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	<i>c</i>	peɟ
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	<i>c</i>	peɟ

Appendix B: Lexical similarity data - page 4

13. arm

Nigulsari *Kinnauri* a be'ŋ
 Kachrang *Kinnauri* b go
 Nichar *Kinnauri* b gudə
 Punang *Kinnauri* d kɪts
 Chagaon *Kinnauri* b gud
 Sangla *Kinnauri* b gudə
 Kothi *Kinnauri* b gud^ə
 Pangi *Kinnauri* b gut
 Ribba *Kinnauri* b guɔd
 Morang *Kinnauri* b gud
 Rakchham *Chitkuli* e ləu
 Chitkul *Chitkuli* e ləu
 Lippa *Jangrami* d kjuɔ
 Spilo *Sumcho* b gut
 Kanam *Sumcho* b guɔt
 Sunnam *Sunnam* e lə
 Nisang *Tukpa* e ləkpe
 Puh *Bhoti* e ləkpe
 Lhasa *Tibetan* e lakpa
 Chagaon *Harijan* a bei
 Standard *Hindi* c hət^h

Comment *gudə* = *arm*

Comment *k^hits* = *upper arm*

14. elbow

Nigulsari *Kinnauri* a krüns
 Kachrang *Kinnauri* a krüts
 Nichar *Kinnauri* a krünts
 Punang *Kinnauri* a grunts
 Chagaon *Kinnauri* a krüts
 Sangla *Kinnauri* a kruts
 Kothi *Kinnauri* a krutʃ
 Pangi *Kinnauri* a krüts
 Ribba *Kinnauri* a krut
 Morang *Kinnauri* a kruts
 Rakchham *Chitkuli* a kruts
 Chitkul *Chitkuli* c nu
 Lippa *Jangrami* f toŋro
 Spilo *Sumcho* f toŋke
 Kanam *Sumcho* f toŋke
 Sunnam *Sunnam* g ts^hik
 Nisang *Tukpa* d puŋmo
 Puh *Bhoti* c nurɔɔ
 Lhasa *Tibetan* 0 no entry
 Chagaon *Harijan* a krüts
 Standard *Hindi* b kuɦani

15. palm

Nigulsari *Kinnauri* b hɛstɛklɔŋ
 Kachrang *Kinnauri* b hɛstɛklɛn
 Nichar *Kinnauri* b hɛstɛklɔŋ
 Punang *Kinnauri* b hɛstɛklɔŋ
 Chagaon *Kinnauri* b hɛstɛklɔŋ
 Sangla *Kinnauri* b hɛstɛklɔŋ
 Kothi *Kinnauri* b hɛstɛklɔŋ
 Pangi *Kinnauri* b hɛstɛklɔŋ
 Ribba *Kinnauri* b hɛstɛklɔŋ
 Morang *Kinnauri* b hɛt^hɛlɔŋ
 Rakchham *Chitkuli* b hɛt^hɛlɔŋ
 Chitkul *Chitkuli* c lɛktɪl
 Lippa *Jangrami* c lɛktɪl
 Spilo *Sumcho* c lɛktɪl
 Kanam *Sumcho* c lɛktɪl
 Sunnam *Sunnam* c lɛktɪl
 Nisang *Tukpa* c lɛktɪl
 Puh *Bhoti* c lɛkpeŋɛŋ
 Lhasa *Tibetan* a bartɪl
 Chagaon *Harijan* b hɛstɛklɔŋ
 Standard *Hindi* b hɛt^hɛli

16. finger

Nigulsari *Kinnauri* e prɛtʃ
 Kachrang *Kinnauri* e prɛtso
 Nichar *Kinnauri* e prɛtse
 Punang *Kinnauri* e prɛtsɔ
 Chagaon *Kinnauri* e prɛtsɔ
 Sangla *Kinnauri* e prɛts
 Kothi *Kinnauri* e prɛts
 Pangi *Kinnauri* e prɛtsɛ
 Ribba *Kinnauri* e prɛts
 Morang *Kinnauri* e prɛts
 Rakchham *Chitkuli* d kentʃɔŋ
 Chitkul *Chitkuli* d kentʃɔŋ
 Lippa *Jangrami* b brɛnt
 Spilo *Sumcho* b brɛnt
 Kanam *Sumcho* b brɛnt
 Sunnam *Sunnam* b brɛn
 Nisang *Tukpa* c zugu
 Puh *Bhoti* c dzu
 Lhasa *Tibetan* c dzuku
 Chagaon *Harijan* a uŋt^hi
 Standard *Hindi* a ɔŋgɔli

17. fingernail

Nigulsari *Kinnauri* d tʃene
 Kachrang *Kinnauri* d tʃine
 Nichar *Kinnauri* d tʃin
 Punang *Kinnauri* d tʃin
 Chagaon *Kinnauri* d tʃino
 Sangla *Kinnauri* d tʃɪŋ
 Kothi *Kinnauri* d tʃin
 Pangi *Kinnauri* d tʃin
 Ribba *Kinnauri* d tʃin
 Morang *Kinnauri* d tʃin
 Rakchham *Chitkuli* d ʃɪŋtʃi
 Chitkul *Chitkuli* 0 no entry
 Lippa *Jangrami* d tʃɪn
 Spilo *Sumcho* d tʃin
 Kanam *Sumcho* d tsɪŋ
 Sunnam *Sunnam* d ʃɛn
 Nisang *Tukpa* e sirmo
 Puh *Bhoti* e sirmu
 Lhasa *Tibetan* e simu
 Chagaon *Harijan* c noʃ
 Standard *Hindi* a nek^hun

18. leg

Nigulsari *Kinnauri* a beŋ
 Kachrang *Kinnauri* a bɔŋ
 Nichar *Kinnauri* a bɔŋɛ
 Punang *Kinnauri* a beŋ
 Chagaon *Kinnauri* a beŋ
 Sangla *Kinnauri* a beŋ
 Kothi *Kinnauri* a beŋ
 Pangi *Kinnauri* a beŋ
 Ribba *Kinnauri* a beŋ
 Morang *Kinnauri* a beŋ
 Rakchham *Chitkuli* a boŋ
 Chitkul *Chitkuli* a boŋ
 Lippa *Jangrami* a beŋ
 Spilo *Sumcho* a pɛŋkon
 Kanam *Sumcho* a beŋkon
 Sunnam *Sunnam* a beŋ
 Nisang *Tukpa* b kɛŋba
 Puh *Bhoti* b kɛŋbɛ
 Lhasa *Tibetan* b kɛŋba
 Chagaon *Harijan* d rɔɔɔ
 Standard *Hindi* c pɛr

Appendix B: Lexical similarity data - page 5

19. skin

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	bodʒ
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	h	vode
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	0	no entry
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	bod ^h
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	kul
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	bod ^o
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	b ^h od
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	b ^h od ¹
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	bod
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	e	ʃe
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	a	bət
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	a	bət
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	c	pekpe
Spilo <i>Suncho</i>	c	pekpe
Kanam <i>Suncho</i>	c	pakpe
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	c	pakpe
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	c	pekpe
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	d	pa ^h u
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	c	pekpe
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	b	k ^h el ^{ok} ¹
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	b	k ^h el

20. bone

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	heɾaŋ
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	haɬaŋ
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	heɾoŋ
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	heɾeŋ
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	heɾaŋ
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	heɾeŋ
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	heɾaŋ
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	heɾaŋ
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	heɾeŋ
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	heɾaŋ
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	b	heɾaŋ
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	b	heɾaŋ
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	c	heɾko
Spilo <i>Suncho</i>	c	heɾko
Kanam <i>Suncho</i>	c	heɾko
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	c	heɾko
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	e	ruɡbe
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	e	ruɡok
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	e	ruko
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	c	heɾ ¹ ko
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	d	haɬi

21. heart

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	j	stiŋ
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	f	monaŋ
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	l	tseti
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	k	tʃeb ^h
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	k	tsab
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	m	zuje
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	m	ziwe
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	j	stiŋ
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	m	zuje
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	dil
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	e	kju
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	e	kju
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	h	ʃuʃe
Spilo <i>Suncho</i>	h	ʃoʃe
Kanam <i>Suncho</i>	h	ʃuʃe
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	h	ʃuʃe
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	i	sem
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	g	niŋ
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	0	no entry
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	d	jekere
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	a	dil

22. blood

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	plets
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	polets
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	polets
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	poledz
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	polets
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	polets
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	polets
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	polets
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	pɛlets
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	polets
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	b	pole
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	a	kun
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	b	polet
Spilo <i>Suncho</i>	d	ʃ ^w i
Kanam <i>Suncho</i>	d	ʃ ^w i
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	d	ʃ ^w i
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	e	t ^h ek
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	e	tek
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	e	t ^h a
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	b	polets
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	a	k ^h un

23. urine

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	skali
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	skali
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	skali
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	kali
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	skali
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	kali
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	kali
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	kali
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	kali
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	kali
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	e	retʃe
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	e	retʃo
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	h	t ^h ani
Spilo <i>Suncho</i>	g	ʃuti
Kanam <i>Suncho</i>	g	ʃuti
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	a	dʒ ^h e
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	f	ʃegri
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	i	t ^h ibi
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	j	tʃiŋba
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	c	mütʃ
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	c	mut

24. feces

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	kɔʃerno
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	ki
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	k ^h ʌ
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	ki
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	ki
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	k ^h i
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	ki
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	ki
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	ki
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	ki
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	b	k ^h i
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	b	k ^h i
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	b	ki
Spilo <i>Suncho</i>	b	k ^h i
Kanam <i>Suncho</i>	b	k ^h i
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	b	k ^h i
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	c	tʃekpe
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	c	kjakpa
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	a	gu
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	e	ʈaʈi

Appendix B: Lexical similarity data - page 6

25. village

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	gɔniŋ
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	deʃʌŋ
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	deʃʌŋ
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	de:ʃʌŋ
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	deʃʌŋ
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	deʃʌŋ
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	deʃʌŋ
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	deʃʌŋ
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	deʃeŋ
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	deʃʌŋ
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	a	deʃeŋ
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	a	deʃeŋ
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	a	deʃeŋ
Spilo <i>Sumcho</i>	a	deʒʌŋ
Kanam <i>Sumcho</i>	a	deʃeŋ
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	a	deʃeŋ
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	d	jul
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	d	jul
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	0	no entry
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	a	deʃ
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	c	gəʊ

26. house

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	kʰim
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	kʰim
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	kim
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	kim
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	kim
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	kʰim
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	kim
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	kʰim
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	kim
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	kim
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	c	kim
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	c	kim
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	c	kim
Spilo <i>Sumcho</i>	c	kʰjuum
Kanam <i>Sumcho</i>	c	kʰjuum
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	c	kʰuŋ
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	b	kɛŋbe
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	b	kɛŋbe
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	0	no entry
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	a	gʰɔr
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	a	gʰʌr

27. roof

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	k	tseprʌŋ
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	k	tseprʌŋ
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	duɛrɔŋ
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	mʌltʰeŋ
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	mʌltʌŋ
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	k	tseprʌŋ
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	mɛltʌŋ
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	mɛltʰʌŋ
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	k	tseprʌŋ
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	muntʌŋ
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	e	ʃwol
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	e	ʃol
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	c	kjæm
Spilo <i>Sumcho</i>	c	kʰjʌm
Kanam <i>Sumcho</i>	j	tʃʌmi
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	c	kʰʌm
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	b	kɛŋdik
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	g	tɛŋ
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	0	no entry
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	d	mʌltʰʌŋ
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	i	tʃʰʌt

Comment *mʌltʰeŋ* = grass/mud

Comment *tseprʌŋ* = slate roof

28. door

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	g	pitʌŋ
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	g	pitʌŋ
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	g	pitɔŋ
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	g	pitɛŋ
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	g	pitʌŋ
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	g	pitɛŋ
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	duɛrʌŋ
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	doɛrʌŋ
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	duɛrʌŋ
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	g	pitɛŋ
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	g	pitɛŋ
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	g	pitɛŋ
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	g	pitɛŋ
Spilo <i>Sumcho</i>	g	pitɛŋ
Kanam <i>Sumcho</i>	g	pitɛŋ
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	g	pitɛŋ
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	d	goza
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	d	gu
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	0	no entry
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	c	dwɛrtoˀ
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	b	dʌrvɛzɛ

29. firewood

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	ʃiŋ
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	ʃiŋe
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	ʃiŋ
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	ʃiŋ
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	ʃiŋ
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	ʃiŋ
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	ʃiŋ
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	ʃiŋ
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	ʃiŋ
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	ʃiŋ
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	d	ʃiŋ
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	d	ʃiŋ
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	d	ʃiŋ
Spilo <i>Sumcho</i>	d	ʃiŋ
Kanam <i>Sumcho</i>	d	ʃiŋ
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	d	ʃiŋ
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	d	ʃiŋ
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	d	ʃiŋ
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	0	no entry
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	e	zʊkɔɛ
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	a	idʰʌn

30. broom

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	kutʃiŋ
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	kutʃʌŋ
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	kutʃʌŋ
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	kutʃʌŋ
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	kutʃʌŋ
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	kutʃʌŋ
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	kutʃʌŋ
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	kutʃʌŋ
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	kutʃiŋ
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	kutʃʌŋ
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	c	kutʃʌŋ
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	c	kutʃʌŋ
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	c	kutʃeŋ
Spilo <i>Sumcho</i>	c	kutʃʌŋ
Kanam <i>Sumcho</i>	c	kutʃeŋ
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	c	kutʃʌŋ
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	c	kutʃeŋ
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	d	oŋmu
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	0	no entry
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	e	ʃuni
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	b	dʒʰɛdʱu

31. mortar

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>b</i> k ^h ɛniŋ
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>g</i> ut ^h əni
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>b</i> kəniŋ
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>b</i> kəniŋ
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>b</i> k ^h ɛniŋ
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>b</i> kɛ:niŋ
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>b</i> kəniŋ
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>d</i> k ^h utəni
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>b</i> kəniŋ
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>b</i> k ^h ɛniŋ
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	<i>b</i> k ^h ɛnɛŋ
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	<i>f</i> kʌskotɛŋ
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	<i>b</i> kəniŋ
Spilo <i>Sumcho</i>	<i>g</i> kutʌni
Kanam <i>Sumcho</i>	<i>g</i> kutʌni
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	<i>g</i> kutʌni
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	<i>b</i> kəniŋ
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	<i>i</i> tuŋ
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	<i>0</i> no entry
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	<i>h</i> ok ^h li
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	<i>c</i> k ^h ʌɾʌl

32. pestle

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>d</i> musəliŋ
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>d</i> muslʌŋ
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>d</i> mus ^o luŋ
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>d</i> musləŋ
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>d</i> muslʌŋ
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>d</i> mus ^o lɛŋ
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>d</i> mus ^o lʌŋ
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>d</i> muslʌŋ
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>d</i> musliŋ
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>a</i> bikpu
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	<i>d</i> musɛləŋ
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	<i>f</i> undi
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	<i>c</i> kulmetʃet
Spilo <i>Sumcho</i>	<i>0</i> no entry
Kanam <i>Sumcho</i>	<i>a</i> berku
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	<i>a</i> berke
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	<i>c</i> kulmetʃet
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	<i>e</i> tʃɛr
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	<i>0</i> no entry
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	<i>0</i> no entry
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	<i>d</i> musʌl

33. hammer

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>a</i> g ^h ʌniŋ
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>a</i> g ^h oŋʌŋ
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>a</i> g ^h ʌnoŋ
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>a</i> g ^h oŋ ^h ɛŋ
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>a</i> g ^h oŋʌŋ
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>b</i> g ^h ʌnto
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>a</i> goŋʌŋ
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>d</i> t ^h oro
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>b</i> g ^h ʌnto
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>b</i> gont ^h u
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	<i>c</i> hʌt ^h oɟi
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	<i>a</i> gontʌŋ
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	<i>b</i> gontut
Spilo <i>Sumcho</i>	<i>d</i> t ^h oro
Kanam <i>Sumcho</i>	<i>d</i> t ^h oro
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	<i>d</i> t ^h oro
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	<i>d</i> t ^h oru
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	<i>d</i> t ^h orok
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	<i>0</i> no entry
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	<i>b</i> g ^h onto?
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	<i>c</i> hʌt ^h oɟi

Comment g^hʌniŋ = big hammer
Comment t^hɛɟu = small hammer

34. knife

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>e</i> tʃɛku
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>e</i> tsek ^h u
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>e</i> tseku ⁱ
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>e</i> tseku
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>e</i> tseku
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>e</i> tʃɛku
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>e</i> tʃɛku
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>e</i> tʃɛku
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>b</i> kuɪ
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>e</i> tʃɛku
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	<i>e</i> tseku
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	<i>e</i> tseku
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	<i>e</i> tseku
Spilo <i>Sumcho</i>	<i>e</i> tʃɛku
Kanam <i>Sumcho</i>	<i>e</i> tseku
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	<i>e</i> tʃɛku
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	<i>e</i> tʃɛku
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	<i>d</i> t ^h i
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	<i>0</i> no entry
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	<i>c</i> kurtsɔ
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	<i>e</i> tʃɛku

35. axe

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>c</i> leste:
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>c</i> leste
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>c</i> lesta
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>c</i> leste
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>c</i> lasta
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>c</i> leste
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>c</i> leste
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>c</i> leste
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>c</i> leste
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>c</i> lakte
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	<i>c</i> leste
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	<i>c</i> leste
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	<i>c</i> leste
Spilo <i>Sumcho</i>	<i>c</i> lekta
Kanam <i>Sumcho</i>	<i>c</i> laktak
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	<i>c</i> lekte
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	<i>d</i> tere
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	<i>d</i> tɛri
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	<i>e</i> tat ^h i
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	<i>a</i> kret ^h ɔ
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	<i>b</i> kulhɛɟi

36. rope

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>a</i> baʃ
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>a</i> buʃ
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>a</i> baʃ
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>a</i> baʃ
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>a</i> buʃ
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>a</i> baʃ
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>a</i> buʃ
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>a</i> baʃ
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>a</i> baʃ
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>d</i> takbe
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	<i>b</i> lɛt ^h
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	<i>b</i> lʌt
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	<i>d</i> t ^h ɛkpe
Spilo <i>Sumcho</i>	<i>d</i> t ^h ɛkpe
Kanam <i>Sumcho</i>	<i>d</i> t ^h ɛkpe
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	<i>d</i> t ^h ɛkpe
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	<i>d</i> t ^h ɛkpe
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	<i>d</i> takpe
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	<i>d</i> tɔkpa
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	<i>c</i> reʃtɔ
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	<i>c</i> rʌsi

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37. thread

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	g	rɛd
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	g	ridz
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	g	rid
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	g	rid
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	g	rid
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	g	rid
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	g	rid
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	g	rid
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	g	rid
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	g	rid
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	b	bus
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	b	bus
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	b	buʃ
Spilo <i>Suncho</i>	f	ot
Kanam <i>Suncho</i>	f	o ^w t
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	a	b ^h i
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	d	kupe
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	d	kutpe
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	d	kupa
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	c	d ^h ego
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	c	q ^h ago

38. needle

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	k ^h eps
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	kepts
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	kets
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	kepts
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	kjepts
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	kjepts
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	k ^h jep
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	kjeb
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	k ^h ep
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	kjep
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	a	k ^h ep
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	a	k ^h ep
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	a	k ^h ep
Spilo <i>Suncho</i>	a	k ^h jep
Kanam <i>Suncho</i>	a	k ^h ep
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	a	k ^h ep
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	a	k ^h ap
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	a	k ^h ap
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	a	kəp
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	c	sjuni
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	c	sui

39. cloth

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	gɛse
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	gɛse
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	f	kaɾaɾi
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	gɛsa
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	f	kaɾaɾɛ
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	f	kaɾaɾɛ
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	gase
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	dzaɳ
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	f	kaɾaɾɛ
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	gɛsaŋ
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	g	let ^h
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	g	let
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	f	kaɾaɾɛ
Spilo <i>Suncho</i>	f	kaɾaɾɛ
Kanam <i>Suncho</i>	f	kaɾaɾɛ
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	f	kaɾaɾɛ
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	h	ɳambu
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	i	rɛ
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	0	no entry
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	j	zurke
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	f	kaɾaɾa

40. ring

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	mūdi
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	mūdi
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	mūdi
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	mundi
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	mundi
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	mundi
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	k ^h egon
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	mundi
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	munde
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	k ^h ejorts
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	c	məndi
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	c	mundi
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	b	ləksəp
Spilo <i>Suncho</i>	b	ləksap
Kanam <i>Suncho</i>	b	ləksap
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	b	laksap
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	d	surtup
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	d	surtup
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	f	tsiko?
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	a	k ^h ejni
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	e	tʃ ^h al:ɛ

41. sun

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	w ^h ɛɳ
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	ven
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	vin
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	june
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	june
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	june
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	june
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	june
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	june
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	junex
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	a	bjɛɳɳ
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	a	bjɛɳɳ
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	e	nimuk
Spilo <i>Suncho</i>	e	ni
Kanam <i>Suncho</i>	e	ni
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	e	ni
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	e	ɳie
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	e	ɳime
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	e	njima
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	b	dɔ
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	f	suɾaɖʒ

42. moon

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	golsaŋ
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	golsaŋ
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	kolsaŋ
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	golsaŋ
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	golsaŋ
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	^h golsaŋ
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	golsaŋ
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	golsaŋ
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	gɔɛlsaŋ
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	golsaŋ
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	d	golsaŋ
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	d	golsaŋ
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	d	golsəŋ
Spilo <i>Suncho</i>	d	golsaŋ
Kanam <i>Suncho</i>	d	golsaŋ
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	d	golsaŋ
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	e	ləkɛr
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	f	ler
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	a	dawa
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	c	dzot
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	g	tʃənd

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43. sky

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	sɔrgaŋ
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	sɑrgaŋ
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	sɑrgaŋ
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	sɑrgaŋ
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	surgɑŋ
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	sɔrgəŋ
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	sɔrgaŋ
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	sɔr ³ gɑŋ
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	sɔrgaŋ
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	sɔrgaŋ
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	c	sɔrgəŋ
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	c	sɔrgaŋ
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	c	sɔrgaŋ
Spilo <i>Sumcho</i>	b	nəm
Kanam <i>Sumcho</i>	b	nəm
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	b	ɲam
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	b	nəm
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	b	ɲam
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	b	nəm
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	c	sɛrgõ
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	a	əkɛʃ

44. star

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	skɛrɛ
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	skɛrɛ
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	skɛrɛ
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	sker
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	sker
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	kɛr
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	kɛr
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	sker
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	kɛr
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	kɛr
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	a	kɛ:r
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	a	kɛr
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	a	kɛr
Spilo <i>Sumcho</i>	a	kɛrme
Kanam <i>Sumcho</i>	a	kɛrme
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	a	kɛrme
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	a	kɛrme
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	a	kɛrma
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	a	karma
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	b	tero
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	b	sitere

45. rain

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	lɛginmo
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	gɔ ¹ niŋ
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	g ^w eniŋ
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	goeniŋ
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	gɔ ¹ niŋ
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	gweniŋ
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	gweniŋ
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	lɛgets
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	gɔ ¹ niŋ
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	lɛgets
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	c	gɔ ¹ niŋ
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	c	goniŋ
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	g	tʃ ^h ɛrbe
Spilo <i>Sumcho</i>	g	tʃɛrvɛ
Kanam <i>Sumcho</i>	g	tʃ ^h ɛrbe
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	g	tʃɛrba
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	e	men
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	g	tʃɛrbe
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	g	tʃ ^h arpa
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	b	gjentɔ
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	a	bɛriʃ

46. water

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	ti
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	ti:
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	ti
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	ti
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	ti
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	ti
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	ti
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	ti
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	ti
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	ti
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	b	ti
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	b	ti
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	b	ti
Spilo <i>Sumcho</i>	b	ti
Kanam <i>Sumcho</i>	b	ti
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	b	ti
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	c	tʃ ^h u
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	c	tʃ ^h u
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	c	tʃ ^h u
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	a	peni
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	a	peni

47. river

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	h	sɑmudrɑŋ
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	gɑrɑŋ
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	gɛrɔŋ
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	ŋgɛrɛŋ
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	gɛrɑŋ
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	^h gɛrɛŋ
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	gɛrɑŋ
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	gɛrɑŋ
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	gɛrɑŋ
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	ŋɛlɑŋ
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	d	kulɛŋ
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	c	gɛrɑŋ
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	c	gɛrɛŋ
Spilo <i>Sumcho</i>	a	ɛt ^h ɑŋ
Kanam <i>Sumcho</i>	e	luŋpɛ
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	e	luŋpɛ
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	c	gɛrɛŋ
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	i	sɛŋho
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	b	djuktʃ ^h u
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	h	sɑmdrɛŋ
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	g	ɲɑdi
<i>Comment gɛrɑŋ = stream</i>		
<i>Comment sɑmdrɛŋ = river</i>		

48. cloud

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	du ^h ŋ
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	dujɑŋ
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	e	dzu
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	e	dzu:
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	e	dzu
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	e	^h dzu
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	e	dzu ^h
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	e	dzu ^h
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	e	dzu ^h
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	e	dzu ^h
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	e	dzu
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	c	duɛsɑŋ
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	e	dzu ^h
Spilo <i>Sumcho</i>	e	dzu ^h
Kanam <i>Sumcho</i>	e	dzu ^h
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	e	dzu ^h
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	f	mukp ^h ɛ
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	f	mukpɛ
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	g	tiŋp ^h ɛ
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	a	bedo
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	a	badɑl

49. lightning

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	biziŋ
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	bizul
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	bizul
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	bizul
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	bizul
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	bizul
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	bidzuli
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	bizul
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	bizil
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	bizal
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	b	bizəl
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	b	bizilroŋ
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	b	bizil
Spilo <i>Suncho</i>	b	bizil
Kanam <i>Suncho</i>	b	bizil
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	b	bizil
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	e	loŋmer
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	e	loŋmer
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	c	doke
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	b	bidzul
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	a	bidzali

50. rainbow

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	h	tiponjəl
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	g	tileŋ ^ə mets
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	g	tilenmets
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	g	tileŋmets
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	g	tilrenmets
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	g	tileŋmets
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	g	tileŋmets
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	g	tilem:ets
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	brabits
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	e	meremets
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	g	tileŋp ^ə ets
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	f	noten
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	e	moreŋmet
Spilo <i>Suncho</i>	e	mureŋmurti
Kanam <i>Suncho</i>	e	mureŋmurti
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	e	mureŋmurti
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	c	dʒe
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	c	ʒek
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	c	dʒæ?
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	g	tir ^ə ŋmets
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	d	indr ^ə d ^h anuf

51. wind

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	e	le:n
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	e	len
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	e	len
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	e	le:n
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	e	len
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	e	len
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	e	len
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	e	len
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	e	len
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	e	len
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	e	len
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	e	len
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	e	len
Spilo <i>Suncho</i>	e	len
Kanam <i>Suncho</i>	e	len
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	e	len
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	d	lektek
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	d	laɡde
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	d	ʔakpa
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	a	begur
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	c	hawe

52. stone

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	e	reg
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	e	reg
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	e	^h rAg
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	e	rek
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	e	reg ^ɿ
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	e	rɜg ^ə
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	dok ^h eŋ
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	e	ro
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	e	rek
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	e	rAk
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	e	re
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	e	re
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	f	kolon
Spilo <i>Suncho</i>	e	re
Kanam <i>Suncho</i>	e	re
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	d	galen
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	a	due
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	a	due
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	a	do
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	c	dzent ^h o
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	g	pa ^h :ar

53. path

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	f	om
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	f	om
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	f	om
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	f	om
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	f	om
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	f	om
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	f	om
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	f	om
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	f	om
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	f	om
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	f	om
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	c	katʃ ^ə lom
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	f	om
Spilo <i>Suncho</i>	f	om
Kanam <i>Suncho</i>	f	om
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	f	om
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	b	lem
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	b	ɲilem
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	b	kaŋlam
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	a	bet ^ə
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	h	reŋte

54. sand

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	beliŋ
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	beliŋ
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	beliŋ
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	b ^h eliŋ
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	b ^h eliŋ
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	beliŋ
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	b ^h eleŋ
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	e	retilaŋ
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	hom
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	b ^h elaŋ
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	a	beliŋ
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	a	beliŋ
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	a	belen
Spilo <i>Suncho</i>	b	b ^h eme
Kanam <i>Suncho</i>	b	beme
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	e	rete
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	d	pije
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	b	peme
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	h	tʃ ^h ema
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	e	rete
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	a	belu

55. fire

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>b</i>	me
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>b</i>	me
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>b</i>	me
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>b</i>	me?
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>b</i>	me
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>b</i>	me
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>b</i>	me
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>b</i>	me
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>b</i>	me
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>b</i>	me
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	<i>b</i>	mē
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	<i>b</i>	mē
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	<i>b</i>	me
Spilo <i>Sumcho</i>	<i>b</i>	me
Kanam <i>Sumcho</i>	<i>b</i>	mē
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	<i>b</i>	mē
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	<i>b</i>	me
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	<i>b</i>	me
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	<i>b</i>	me:
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	<i>a</i>	eg
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	<i>a</i>	eg

56. smoke

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>a</i>	dumΛŋ
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>a</i>	dumΛŋ
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>a</i>	dumΛŋ
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>a</i>	dumΛŋ
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>a</i>	dumΛŋ
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>a</i>	dumŋ
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>a</i>	dumΛŋ
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>a</i>	dumΛŋ
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>a</i>	dumΛŋ
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>a</i>	d ^h uΛŋ
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	<i>c</i>	k ^h u
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	<i>c</i>	k ^h u
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	<i>c</i>	k ^h u
Spilo <i>Sumcho</i>	<i>c</i>	k ^h u
Kanam <i>Sumcho</i>	<i>c</i>	k ^h uh
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	<i>c</i>	k ^h uh
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	<i>d</i>	t ^h uβe
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	<i>d</i>	tutpe
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	<i>a</i>	twua
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	<i>a</i>	d ^h ū
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	<i>a</i>	d ^h ūe

57. ash

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>a</i>	bəspe
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>a</i>	bospə
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>a</i>	bAspe
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>a</i>	bAspe:
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>a</i>	bAspe
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>a</i>	bospə
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>a</i>	bospə
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>a</i>	bAspe
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>a</i>	mebAspe
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>a</i>	bospə
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	<i>a</i>	bospə
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	<i>a</i>	bospə
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	<i>a</i>	bospə
Spilo <i>Sumcho</i>	<i>e</i>	melinɣpatɪŋ
Kanam <i>Sumcho</i>	<i>e</i>	melinɣpatɪŋ
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	<i>e</i>	melinɣpedɪŋ
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	<i>d</i>	mæniŋt ^h ewə
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	<i>b</i>	koxtAl
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	<i>b</i>	koʈel
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	<i>h</i>	tser
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	<i>g</i>	rək ^h

58. mud

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>g</i>	lə:s
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>g</i>	ləs
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>g</i>	ləs
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>g</i>	ləs
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>g</i>	ləs
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>g</i>	ləs
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>h</i>	mΛt ^h eŋ
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>h</i>	met ^h iŋ
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>g</i>	ləs
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>h</i>	met ^h eŋ
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	<i>a</i>	buseŋ
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	<i>0</i>	no entry
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	<i>e</i>	kələ
Spilo <i>Sumcho</i>	<i>h</i>	pet ^h iŋ
Kanam <i>Sumcho</i>	<i>e</i>	kələ
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	<i>f</i>	kAlAg
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	<i>j</i>	tʃikor
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	<i>d</i>	dzop
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	<i>b</i>	dakpa?
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	<i>j</i>	tsik ^h er
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	<i>i</i>	miṭi

59. dust

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>g</i>	putʃulɪŋ
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>g</i>	putʃutɪŋ
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>g</i>	putʃulɪŋ
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>g</i>	p ^h Artʃutɪŋ
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>d</i>	dΛnderu
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>b</i>	denoreŋ
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>d</i>	dΛndɔ
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>d</i>	dΛndo
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>g</i>	putʃAtɪŋ
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>0</i>	no entry
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	<i>e</i>	ho
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	<i>f</i>	mæteŋ
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	<i>g</i>	pitʃΛciŋ
Spilo <i>Sumcho</i>	<i>g</i>	putʃΛliŋ
Kanam <i>Sumcho</i>	<i>g</i>	putʃΛliŋ
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	<i>a</i>	butsup
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	<i>h</i>	putsup
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	<i>h</i>	puzup
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	<i>i</i>	t ^h ɛ:ka
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	<i>g</i>	putʃut ^h iŋ
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	<i>c</i>	d ^h ul

60. gold

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>c</i>	zɛŋ
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>c</i>	zΛŋ
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>c</i>	zɛŋ
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>c</i>	zɛŋ
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>c</i>	zΛŋ
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>c</i>	zɛŋ
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>c</i>	zΛŋ
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>c</i>	zΛŋ
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>c</i>	zɛŋ
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>c</i>	zΛŋ
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	<i>c</i>	zɛŋ
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	<i>c</i>	zɛŋ
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	<i>c</i>	zɛŋ
Spilo <i>Sumcho</i>	<i>c</i>	zɛŋ
Kanam <i>Sumcho</i>	<i>c</i>	zɛŋ
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	<i>c</i>	zɛŋ
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	<i>a</i>	ser
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	<i>a</i>	ser
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	<i>0</i>	no entry
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	<i>b</i>	sone
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	<i>b</i>	sone

61. tree

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	botʌŋ
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	botʌŋ
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	botʌŋ
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	mbothʌŋ
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	botʌŋ
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	botŋ
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	botʌŋ
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	botʌŋ
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	botʌŋ
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	botʌŋ
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	c	pʌŋ
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	c	pʌŋ
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	b	botʌŋ
Spilo <i>Suncho</i>	b	botʰʌŋ
Kanam <i>Suncho</i>	b	botʌŋ
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	b	botʌŋ
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	c	pʌŋ
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	c	pʌŋ
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	e	ʃiŋdoŋ
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	a	bʰud
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	d	peɖ

62. leaf

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	pʌʃʌŋ
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	pʌʃʌŋ
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	pʌtʌroŋ
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	e	paʰkʌŋ
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	pʌtʌrʌŋ
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	pʌʃʌŋ
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	pʌtʌrʌŋ
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	pʌtʌrʌŋ
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	pʌʃʌŋ
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	pʌʃʌŋ
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	d	pʌtʌrʌŋ
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	a	ho
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	d	pʌʃʌŋ
Spilo <i>Suncho</i>	d	pʌʃʌŋ
Kanam <i>Suncho</i>	d	pʌʃʌŋ
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	d	pʌʃʌŋ
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	a	hok
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	a	hok
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	c	lo:ma
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	d	pʌʃʌŋ
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	d	pʌʃʌŋ

63. root

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	dʒilʌŋ
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	dʒilʌŋ
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	dʒilʌŋ
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	dʒilʌŋ
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	dʒilʌŋ
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	dʒilʌŋ
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	dʒilʌŋ
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	dʒilʌŋ
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	dʒilʌŋ
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	dʒilʌŋ
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	b	dʒilʌŋ
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	b	dʒilʌŋ
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	b	dʒilʌŋ
Spilo <i>Suncho</i>	b	dʒilʌŋ
Kanam <i>Suncho</i>	b	dʒilʌŋ
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	b	dʒilʌŋ
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	d	pʌʃʌŋ
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	f	tekpʌ
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	0	no entry
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	b	dʒil
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	c	dʒʌʃ

64. thorn

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	tso
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	tso
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	tso
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	tsoʔ
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	tsʌʃ
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	tso
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	tso
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	tso
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	tso
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	tso
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	b	tsʌʃ
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	b	tsʌʃ
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	b	tsʰʌʃ
Spilo <i>Suncho</i>	b	tswe
Kanam <i>Suncho</i>	b	tswe
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	b	tsʌʃ
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	c	tsʰʌʃma
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	c	tsʰʌʃma
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	c	tʃʰema
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	a	kʌŋʃ
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	a	kʌŋʃ

65. flower

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	u:
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	u:
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	u:
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	u
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	u
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	u:
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	u
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	u
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	u
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	u
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	e	uts
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	e	uts
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	e	ut
Spilo <i>Suncho</i>	a	mentʰʌʃʌʃ?
Kanam <i>Suncho</i>	a	mentʰʌʃʌʃ?
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	a	mentʰʌʃʌʃ?
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	a	mendok
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	a	mendok
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	b	metʰʌʃʌʃ?
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	c	pʰul
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	c	pʰul

66. fruit

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	pʰʌʃʌŋ
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	pʰʌʃʌŋ
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	pʰʌʃʌŋ
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	fʌʃʌŋ
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	pʰʌʃʌŋ
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	pʰʌʃʌŋ
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	pʰʌʃʌŋ
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	fʌʃʌŋ
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	fʌʃʌŋ
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	pʰʌʃʌŋ
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	a	pʰʌʃʌŋ
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	0	no entry
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	a	pʰʌʃʌŋ
Spilo <i>Suncho</i>	a	polʌŋ
Kanam <i>Suncho</i>	d	uʃʌʃʌŋ
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	a	pʰʌʃʌŋ
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	a	pʰʌʃʌŋ
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	0	no entry
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	c	ʃintoʃʌʃʌŋ?
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	a	pʰʌʃʌŋ
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	a	pʰʌʃʌŋ

67. mango

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	em
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	em
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	em
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	em
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	em
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	em
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	em
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	em
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	em
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	em
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	a	em
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	a	em
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	a	em
Spilo <i>Suncho</i>	a	em
Kanam <i>Suncho</i>	a	em
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	a	em
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	a	em
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	0	no entry
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	0	no entry
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	a	emi
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	a	em

68. banana

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	kele
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	kele
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	kele
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	kele
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	kele
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	kele
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	kele
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	kele
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	kele
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	kele
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	a	kele
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	a	kele
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	a	kele
Spilo <i>Suncho</i>	a	kele
Kanam <i>Suncho</i>	a	kele
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	a	kele
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	a	kele
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	a	kele
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	0	no entry
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	a	kele
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	a	kele

69. wheat

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	dzΛd
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	zot
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	zod
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	zod ^h
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	zot ¹
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	zod ^o
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	zot
Panki <i>Kinnauri</i>	0	no entry
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	zot
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	zot
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	e	oze
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	e	oze
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	e	rozet
Spilo <i>Suncho</i>	e	rozAt
Kanam <i>Suncho</i>	e	rozAt
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	e	rozAt
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	a	t ^h o
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	a	t ^h o
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	a	toʃip
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	c	gju
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	c	gehū

70. millet

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	e	kodro
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	k ^h ɛuni
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	e	kodro
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	e	kodΛro:
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	e	kodro
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	e	kodre
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	e	kodro
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	e	kodre
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	bɛdʒΛre
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	e	kodro
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	a	bɛdʒΛre
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	a	bɛdʒΛre
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	b	bres
Spilo <i>Suncho</i>	e	kodro
Kanam <i>Suncho</i>	0	no entry
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	0	no entry
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	g	t ^h ɛ ^w
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	a	bɛdʒΛrΛ
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	f	muntʃa?
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	e	kodro
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	c	dʒΛvɛr

71. rice

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	d ^h en
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	rel
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	rel
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	rel
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	rel
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	rel
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	rel
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	rel
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	rel
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	rel
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	b	kusu
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	f	tʃigle
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	c	relt
Spilo <i>Suncho</i>	c	rel
Kanam <i>Suncho</i>	c	rel
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	c	rel
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	a	de
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	a	de
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	0	no entry
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	e	tʃewəl
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	e	tʃawəl

72. potato

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	helgΛŋ
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	helgΛŋ
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	hel ^o gŋ
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	helgΛŋ
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	helgΛŋ
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	hel:ŋ
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	helu
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	helu
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	helΛgΛŋ
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	elu
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	a	elu
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	a	helu
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	a	helu
Spilo <i>Suncho</i>	a	helu
Kanam <i>Suncho</i>	a	helu
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	a	helu
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	a	helu
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	a	elu
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	c	ʃokɔ?
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	a	Λlu
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	a	elu

73. eggplant

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>a</i>	bæŋɡʌn
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>a</i>	bæŋɡʌn
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>a</i>	bæŋɡʌn
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>b</i>	ʃugʌtʌɾi
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>a</i>	bæŋɡʌn
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>a</i>	bæŋɡʌn
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>a</i>	bæŋɡʌn
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>a</i>	bæŋɡʌn
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>a</i>	bæŋɡʌn
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>a</i>	bæŋɡʌn
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	<i>a</i>	bæŋɡʌn
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	<i>a</i>	bæŋɡʌn
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	<i>a</i>	bæŋɡʌn
Spilo <i>Sumcho</i>	<i>a</i>	bæŋɡʌn
Kanam <i>Sumcho</i>	<i>a</i>	bæŋɡʌn
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	<i>a</i>	bæŋɡʌn
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	<i>a</i>	bæŋɡʌn
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	<i>0</i>	no entry
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	<i>0</i>	no entry
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	<i>a</i>	bæŋɡʌn
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	<i>a</i>	bæŋɡʌn

74. groundnut

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>a</i>	mʊŋpʰʌli
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>a</i>	mʊŋpʰʌli
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>a</i>	mʊŋpʰʌli
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>a</i>	mʊŋpʰʌli
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>a</i>	mʊŋpʰʌli
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>a</i>	mʊŋpʰʌli
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>a</i>	mʊŋpʰʌli
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>a</i>	mʊŋpʰʌli
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>a</i>	mʊŋpʰʌli
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>a</i>	mʊŋpʰʌli
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	<i>a</i>	mʊŋpʰʌli
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	<i>a</i>	mʊŋpʰʌli
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	<i>0</i>	no entry
Spilo <i>Sumcho</i>	<i>a</i>	mʊŋpʰʌli
Kanam <i>Sumcho</i>	<i>a</i>	mʊŋpʰʌli
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	<i>a</i>	mʊŋpʰʌli
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	<i>a</i>	mʊŋpʰʌli
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	<i>a</i>	mʊŋpʰʌli
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	<i>0</i>	no entry
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	<i>a</i>	mʊŋpʰʌli
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	<i>a</i>	mʊŋpʰʌli

75. chili

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>b</i>	pipili
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>b</i>	pipili
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>b</i>	pipili
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>b</i>	pipili
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>b</i>	pipili
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>b</i>	pipili
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>b</i>	pipili
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>b</i>	pipili
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>b</i>	pipili
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>b</i>	pipili
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	<i>b</i>	pipili
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	<i>b</i>	pipili
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	<i>b</i>	pipili
Spilo <i>Sumcho</i>	<i>b</i>	pibili
Kanam <i>Sumcho</i>	<i>b</i>	pipili
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	<i>b</i>	pipili
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	<i>b</i>	pipili
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	<i>b</i>	pipili
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	<i>c</i>	sipen
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	<i>b</i>	pipili
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	<i>a</i>	mɪɾɪʃ

76. turmeric

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>c</i>	hʌldʒʌŋ
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>c</i>	hʌldi
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>c</i>	hʌldi
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>c</i>	hʌldi
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>c</i>	hʌldi
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>c</i>	hʌldi
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>c</i>	hʌldi
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>c</i>	hʌldi
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>c</i>	hʌldi
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>c</i>	hʌldi
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	<i>c</i>	hʌldi
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	<i>c</i>	hʌldi
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	<i>e</i>	pigboʃer
Spilo <i>Sumcho</i>	<i>c</i>	holdi
Kanam <i>Sumcho</i>	<i>c</i>	holdi
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	<i>c</i>	hʌldi
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	<i>c</i>	hʌldi
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	<i>c</i>	hʌldi
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	<i>a</i>	ge:se
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	<i>c</i>	hʌldi
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	<i>c</i>	hʌldi

77. garlic

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>c</i>	lʌsnʌŋ
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>c</i>	lʌsnʌŋ
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>b</i>	ɡrosnʌŋ
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>c</i>	lʌsnʌŋ
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>c</i>	lʌsnʌŋ
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>c</i>	lʌsnʌŋ
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>c</i>	lʌsnʌŋ
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>e</i>	lʌsni
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>c</i>	lʌsnʌŋ
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>c</i>	lʌsnʌŋ
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	<i>d</i>	lonʒŋ
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	<i>c</i>	losʌnʌŋ
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	<i>e</i>	lʌsʌn
Spilo <i>Sumcho</i>	<i>f</i>	tsemi?
Kanam <i>Sumcho</i>	<i>e</i>	lʌsʌn
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	<i>f</i>	tsʰʌmi
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	<i>a</i>	ɡogbʌ
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	<i>a</i>	ɡokpʌ
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	<i>a</i>	ɡokpʌ
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	<i>e</i>	lʌsʌn
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	<i>e</i>	lʌhsʌn

78. onion

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>a</i>	pʰe:ze
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>a</i>	pʰe:dz
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>a</i>	pʰe:z
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>a</i>	pʰe:dz
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>a</i>	pʰe:dz
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>a</i>	pʰe:dz
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>a</i>	pʰe:dz
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>a</i>	pʰe:dz
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>a</i>	pʰe:dz
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>a</i>	pʰe:z
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	<i>a</i>	pʰe:dz
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	<i>a</i>	pʰe:dz
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	<i>a</i>	pʰe:dz
Spilo <i>Sumcho</i>	<i>a</i>	pʰe:z
Kanam <i>Sumcho</i>	<i>a</i>	pʰe:z
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	<i>a</i>	pʰe:dz
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	<i>a</i>	pʰe:dz
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	<i>a</i>	pʰe:dz
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	<i>0</i>	no entry
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	<i>a</i>	pʰe:dz
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	<i>a</i>	pʰe:dz

79. cauliflower

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	p ^h ulgobi
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	p ^h ulgobi
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	p ^h ulgobi
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	p ^h ulgobi
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	p ^h ulgobi
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	p ^h ulgobi
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	p ^h ulgobi
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	p ^h ulgobi
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	p ^h ulgobi
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	ɸulgobi
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	a	p ^h ulgobi
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	a	p ^h ulgobi
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	a	p ^h ulgobi
Spilo <i>Suncho</i>	a	p ^h ulgobi
Kanam <i>Suncho</i>	a	p ^h ulgobi
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	a	p ^h ulgobi
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	a	p ^h ulgobi
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	a	p ^h ulgobi
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	0	no entry
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	a	p ^h ulgobi
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	a	p ^h ulgob ^h i

80. tomato

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	tʌmetɛri
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	tʌmetʌr
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	tʌmetʌr
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	tʌmetʌr
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	tʌmetʌr
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	tʌmetʌr
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	tʌmetʌr
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	tʌmetʌr
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	tʌmetʌr
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	tʌmetʌr
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	a	tʌmetʌr
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	a	tʌmetʌr
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	a	tʌmetʌr
Spilo <i>Suncho</i>	a	tʌmetʌr
Kanam <i>Suncho</i>	a	tʌmetʌr
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	a	tʌmetʌr
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	a	tʌmetʌr
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	a	tʌmetʌr
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	0	no entry
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	a	tʌmetʌr
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	a	tʌmetʌr

81. cabbage

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	bʌndʌgobi
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	bʌndgobi
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	bʌndgobi
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	gobi
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	bʌndgobi
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	bʌndgobi
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	bʌndgobi
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	bʌndgobi
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	bʌndgobi
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	bʌndgobi
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	a	bʌndgobi
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	a	bʌndgobi
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	a	bʌndgobi
Spilo <i>Suncho</i>	a	bʌndgobi
Kanam <i>Suncho</i>	a	bʌndgobi
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	a	bʌndgobi
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	a	bʌndgobi
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	a	bʌndgobi
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	b	loŋkopetʃe
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	a	bʌndgobi
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	a	bʌndgob ^h i

82. oil

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	telʌŋ
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	telʌŋ
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	telon
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	telʌŋ
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	telʌŋ
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	telʌŋ
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	telʌŋ
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	telʌŋ
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	telʌŋ
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	telʌŋ
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	d	teleŋ
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	d	teleŋ
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	b	mʌti
Spilo <i>Suncho</i>	b	mʌti
Kanam <i>Suncho</i>	b	mʌti
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	b	mʌti
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	a	mergu
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	a	merko
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	c	num
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	d	tel
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	d	tel

83. salt

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	tse
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	tse
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	tse
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	tse:ʔ
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	tse
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	tse
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	ts ^h e
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	tse
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	ts ^h e
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	tse
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	c	ts ^h e
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	c	ts ^h e
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	c	ts ^h e
Spilo <i>Suncho</i>	c	tse
Kanam <i>Suncho</i>	c	ts ^h e
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	c	ts ^h e
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	c	tse
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	c	tse
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	c	tse
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	a	lun
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	b	namak

84. meat

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	ʃe
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	ʃe
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	ʃe
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	ʃe
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	ʃe
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	ʃe
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	ʃe
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	ʃe
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	ʃe
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	ʃe
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	b	ʃe
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	b	ʃe
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	b	ʃe
Spilo <i>Suncho</i>	b	ʃe
Kanam <i>Suncho</i>	b	ʃe
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	b	ʃe
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	b	ʃe
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	b	ʃe
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	b	ʃe
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	a	mɛs
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	a	mɛs

85. fat

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>d</i>	tsʌs
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>d</i>	tsʌs
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>d</i>	tsʌs
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>d</i>	tsʌs
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>d</i>	tsʌs
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>d</i>	tsʌs
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>d</i>	tsʌs
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>d</i>	tsʌs
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>d</i>	tsʌs
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>d</i>	tsʌs
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	<i>d</i>	tʃʰʌs
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	<i>d</i>	tʃʌs
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	<i>d</i>	tsʌs
Spilo <i>Suncho</i>	<i>d</i>	tʃʌs
Kanam <i>Suncho</i>	<i>d</i>	tʃʌs
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	<i>d</i>	tsʰʌ
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	<i>c</i>	tʃʰilu
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	<i>c</i>	tʃilu
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	<i>c</i>	tsi:lu
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	<i>a</i>	bʌ:
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	<i>e</i>	tʃʌrbi

86. fish

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>a</i>	mʌtʃʌli
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>a</i>	mʌtʃʰʌli
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>a</i>	mʌtʃʰli
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>a</i>	mʌtʃʌs
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>a</i>	mʌtʃʌs
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>a</i>	mʌtʃʌs
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>a</i>	mʌtʃi
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>a</i>	mʌtʃʌs
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>a</i>	mʌtʃi
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>a</i>	mʌtʃʌs
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	<i>a</i>	mʌtʃ
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	<i>a</i>	mʌtʃʌli
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	<i>a</i>	mʌtʃʌli
Spilo <i>Suncho</i>	<i>a</i>	mʌtʃʌs
Kanam <i>Suncho</i>	<i>a</i>	mʌtʃʌs
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	<i>a</i>	mʌtʃʌs
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	<i>a</i>	mʌtʃʌli
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	<i>a</i>	mʌtʃʌs
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	<i>b</i>	ɲja
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	<i>a</i>	mʌtsi
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	<i>a</i>	mʌtʃʰli

87. chicken

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>b</i>	murgʌʃʌ
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>a</i>	kukʌri
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>a</i>	kukʰʌrʌs
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>a</i>	kukʌri
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>a</i>	kukʌri
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>a</i>	kukʰri
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>a</i>	kukʌri
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>a</i>	kukʌri
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>a</i>	kukʌri
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>a</i>	kukʌri
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	<i>a</i>	kukuri
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	<i>a</i>	kukʌri
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	<i>a</i>	kukʌri
Spilo <i>Suncho</i>	<i>a</i>	kukʌri
Kanam <i>Suncho</i>	<i>a</i>	kukʌri
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	<i>a</i>	kukʌri
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	<i>a</i>	kurkuni
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	<i>a</i>	kukʌri
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	<i>c</i>	tʃjaʃa
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	<i>a</i>	kukʌri
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	<i>b</i>	murgi

88. egg

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>d</i>	litʃʌ
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>d</i>	litʃʌ
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>d</i>	litʃʌ:
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>d</i>	lidʒ
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>d</i>	litʃ
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>f</i>	ʃʌrʌŋ
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>d</i>	litʃ
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>d</i>	lit
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>e</i>	lilitʰ
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>a</i>	ʌŋdʌ
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	<i>a</i>	ʌndʌ
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	<i>a</i>	ʌnde
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	<i>d</i>	litŋ
Spilo <i>Suncho</i>	<i>e</i>	lili
Kanam <i>Suncho</i>	<i>e</i>	lili
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	<i>h</i>	tum
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	<i>c</i>	gõẽ
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	<i>c</i>	gõẽ
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	<i>c</i>	goŋa
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	<i>a</i>	ʌŋdʌ
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	<i>a</i>	ʌŋdʌ

89. cow

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>f</i>	hʌʒ
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>g</i>	ʌŋ
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>g</i>	ʌŋ
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>g</i>	ʌŋ
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>g</i>	ʌŋ
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>g</i>	ʌŋ
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>g</i>	ʌŋ
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>g</i>	ʌŋ
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>g</i>	ʌŋ
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>g</i>	ʌŋ
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	<i>h</i>	muretʰ
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	<i>j</i>	retʰ
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	<i>g</i>	ʌŋ
Spilo <i>Suncho</i>	<i>j</i>	ret
Kanam <i>Suncho</i>	<i>j</i>	ret
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	<i>a</i>	bʰʌlɛŋ
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	<i>a</i>	pʰʌlɛŋ
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	<i>i</i>	pʰɛ
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	<i>i</i>	pɛ:tʃu
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	<i>c</i>	gej
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	<i>c</i>	gej

90. buffalo

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>a</i>	bʰʌs
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>a</i>	bʰʌs
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>a</i>	bʰʌs
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>a</i>	bʰʌs
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>a</i>	bʰʌs
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>b</i>	dɛmɪs
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>b</i>	dɛmʌs
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>a</i>	bʰʌs
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>0</i>	no entry
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>a</i>	bʰʌs
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	<i>a</i>	bʰʌs
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	<i>a</i>	bʰʌs
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	<i>0</i>	no entry
Spilo <i>Suncho</i>	<i>0</i>	no entry
Kanam <i>Suncho</i>	<i>0</i>	no entry
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	<i>0</i>	no entry
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	<i>0</i>	no entry
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	<i>a</i>	bʰʌs
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	<i>d</i>	maje
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	<i>0</i>	no entry
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	<i>a</i>	bʰʌs

91. milk

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	k ^h ɛɾʌŋ
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	k ^h ɛɾʌŋ
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	k ^h ɛɾʌŋ
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	k ^h ɛɾʌŋ
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	k ^h ɛɾʌŋ
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	k ^h ɛɾʌŋ
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	k ^h ɛɾʌŋ
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	k ^h ɛɾʌŋ
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	k ^h ɛɾʌŋ
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	k ^h ɛɾʌŋ
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	c	k ^h ɛɾʌŋ
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	c	k ^h ɛɾʌŋ
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	d	p ^h ɛl
Spilo <i>Suncho</i>	d	pel
Kanam <i>Suncho</i>	d	pel
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	d	pel
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	b	home
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	b	home
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	b	o:ma
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	a	dud ^h
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	a	dud ^h

92. horns

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	rod
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	rut ^ɿ
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	rud
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	rud
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	rudo ^ɿ
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	rud ^ə
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	rud
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	rut ^ɿ
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	rud
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	rut ^ɿ
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	c	rutʃu
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	c	rutʃu
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	c	rutʃo
Spilo <i>Suncho</i>	c	rutʃo
Kanam <i>Suncho</i>	c	rutʃo
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	a	brutʃo
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	a	retʃo
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	a	retʃo
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	a	ɹa:ʃo
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	d	ʃɪŋ ^h ɔ
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	d	siŋ

93. tail

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	g	puntsiŋ
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	g	pũtsiŋə
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	g	pʌntsiŋ
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	i	tʃʌɾi
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	g	puntsiŋ
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	g	pʌntsiŋniŋ
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	g	pʌntsiŋniŋ
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	e	pek ^h un
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	g	pʌntsiŋniŋ
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	g	pʌntsiŋniŋ
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	a	mets
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	a	mæts
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	b	mekon
Spilo <i>Suncho</i>	b	mekon
Kanam <i>Suncho</i>	b	mekon
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	b	mekon
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	d	ŋəwə
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	c	ŋəwə
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	h	ʃuku?
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	g	pũʃ ^h i
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	g	pũtʃ ^h

94. goat

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	bək ^h oɾ
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	bəkor
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	b ^h əkɔr
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	bəkor
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	bəkor
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	bəkor
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	bak ^h oɾ
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	bəkor
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	bəkɛr
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	bəxor
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	b	lə
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	b	lə
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	b	lə
Spilo <i>Suncho</i>	b	lei
Kanam <i>Suncho</i>	b	lə
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	b	ləmɛ
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	b	rɛmɛ
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	b	rɛmɛ
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	b	ɹa
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	a	bəkʌri
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	a	bakʌri

95. dog

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	k ^w i
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	k ^w i
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	k ^w i
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	k ^w i?
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	k ^w i
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	k ^w i
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	k ^w i
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	ku ^w i
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	k ^w i
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	k ^w i
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	a	k ^h wi
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	a	k ^h wi
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	a	k ^w i
Spilo <i>Suncho</i>	a	k ^h wi
Kanam <i>Suncho</i>	a	kwi
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	a	kui
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	a	k ^h i
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	a	k ^h i
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	0	no entry
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	b	kuɾɛ
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	b	kuɾɛ

96. snake

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	səpos
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	səpəs
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	səpəs
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	səmpəs
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	səmpʌs
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	səp ^h ɛs
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	səpəs
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	səpəs
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	səpəs
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	səpəs
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	d	səpɛ
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	d	səpɛ
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	d	səpəs
Spilo <i>Suncho</i>	d	səbəs
Kanam <i>Suncho</i>	d	səbəs
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	d	səbəs
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	e	t ^h ug ^h ʌn
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	b	dul
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	b	du:hul
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	d	səmp
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	d	səp

97. monkey

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	bandəros
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	bəndəʁes
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	bandəʁas
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	bandəʁes
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	bandəʁes
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	bandəʁes
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	bandəʁes
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	bandəʁes
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	bandəʁes
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	bandəʁes
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	a	bəndəʁe
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	a	bandəʁe
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	a	bandəʁas
Spilo <i>Suncho</i>	a	bandəʁas
Kanam <i>Suncho</i>	a	bandəʁas
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	a	bandəʁu
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	e	tiu
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	e	tiu
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	c	piu:
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	a	bandəʁ
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	a	bandəʁ

98. mosquito

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	tsetsi
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	tsetig
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	tsetsi
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	tsetig ^h
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	tsetig
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	tsetig ^o
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	tsatɛ
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	k ^h oʝaŋ
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	gudʒaʁ
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	k ^h oʝaŋ
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	c	matʃ ^h aʁ
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	0	no entry
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	d	tseti
Spilo <i>Suncho</i>	d	tset ^h i
Kanam <i>Suncho</i>	0	no entry
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	0	no entry
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	0	no entry
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	c	matʃaʁ
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	e	tukdaŋ
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	c	matʃɛri
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	c	matʃ ^h aʁ

99. ant

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	rog
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	rog
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	rɔg ¹
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	kokonik
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	kokonig
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	krɔg ^o
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	kɔnkɔnɛ
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	kɔŋkɔni
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	f	tsiti
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	kɔŋkɔnig
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	a	kukɔnɛ
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	a	kukɔnɛ
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	a	kɔŋgɔnɛ?
Spilo <i>Suncho</i>	a	kɔŋkɔŋɛ
Kanam <i>Suncho</i>	a	kɔŋkɔŋɛ
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	a	kɔŋkɔnɛ
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	a	kɔŋkɔnɛ
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	e	timebu
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	d	tɔ:ma
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	f	tʃit ^h ɛ
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	f	tʃit̪i

100. spider

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	bɔtɔks
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	bɔtɔks
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	bɔtɔks
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	bɔtɔks
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	bɔtɔk
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	bɔtɔks
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	botok
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	boto
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	bɔtɔks
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	butuks
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	a	bɔtɔks
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	0	no entry
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	a	butuk
Spilo <i>Suncho</i>	a	bɔtɔk
Kanam <i>Suncho</i>	c	dɛ ^j
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	c	dɛ ^j
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	a	butukse
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	e	gɛbu
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	i	tɔ:m
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	a	bɔtɔks
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	f	maʎaɖi

Comment *bɔtɔks* = *small spider*

Comment *dʒɛmbu* = *big spider*

101. name

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	nɛmaŋ
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	nɛmaŋ
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	nɛmuŋ
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	nɛmaŋ
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	nɛmaŋ
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	nɛ:miŋ
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	nɛmaŋ
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	nɛmaŋ
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	nɛmaŋ
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	min
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	a	min
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	a	min
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	a	min
Spilo <i>Suncho</i>	a	min
Kanam <i>Suncho</i>	a	min
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	a	min
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	a	min
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	a	min
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	a	miŋ
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	c	nɛu
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	b	nɛm

102. man

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	f	mi
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	f	mi
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	f	mi
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	k	tʃɛŋmi
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	f	mi
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	dekris
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	f	mi
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	f	mi
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	k	tʃɔŋmi
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	f	mi
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	b	bojuŋ
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	b	boʔɛŋ
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	c	bonjuŋks
Spilo <i>Suncho</i>	f	mi
Kanam <i>Suncho</i>	c	bondʒok
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	i	poʃaʁi
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	f	mi
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	k	toŋmi
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	e	kjoga
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	g	mor ^d
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	a	ɛɖami

Comment *dekris* = ~25 yr old man

Comment *mi* = any age man

Comment *tʃɛŋmi* = young man

103. woman

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	k	tʃetsmi
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	k	tʃetsmi
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	k	tsetsmi
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	k	tʃetʃʌs
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	k	tʃesmi
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	k	tʃətʃəs
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	k	tʃetsʌs
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	k	tʃetʃʌs
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	k	tʃesmi
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	k	tsetse
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	f	mɔriŋ
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	f	moriŋ
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	g	maŋiŋks
Spilo <i>Sumcho</i>	d	jomʌlək
Kanam <i>Sumcho</i>	g	muntʃiŋ
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	l	wiʃʌri
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	i	pomo
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	e	kememu
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	0	no entry
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	c	deni
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	h	ɔʃʌt

Comment tʃetʃəs = unmarried
Comment tʃʌsmi = married

104. child

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	tʃeŋ
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	f	tselo
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	tʃʌŋə
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	tʃeŋ
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	tʃʌŋ
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	tʃeŋ
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	tʃʌŋ
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	tʃʌŋ
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	tʃʰeŋ
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	tʃʌŋ
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	a	eʃi
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	a	eʃi
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	d	tʃʰeŋk
Spilo <i>Sumcho</i>	d	tʃʰeŋ
Kanam <i>Sumcho</i>	d	tʃʰeŋ
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	d	tʃʰeŋ
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	h	tugu
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	e	tʃiʃe
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	c	pu:goʔ
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	g	tsigʌ
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	i	bʌtʃʰe

105. father

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	bəbe
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	bəbe
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	bəbe
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	mboe
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	bue
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	bəpu
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	bobe
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	bue
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	bobe
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	bəbu
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	b	eu
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	b	eu
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	a	epe
Spilo <i>Sumcho</i>	a	epe
Kanam <i>Sumcho</i>	a	epe
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	a	epe
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	b	eu
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	a	epe
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	a	paba
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	a	bue
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	a	bep

106. mother

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	e:u
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	e:u
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	eu
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	e:me
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	eu
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	e:me
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	e:me
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	e:me
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	e:me
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	e:me
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	b	e:me
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	b	e:me
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	b	e:me
Spilo <i>Sumcho</i>	b	e:me
Kanam <i>Sumcho</i>	b	e:me
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	b	e:me
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	b	e:me
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	b	e:me
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	b	e:me
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	b	ʌme
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	b	me

107. older brother

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	f	teget ^h e
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	f	tegete
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	ete
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	at ^h e
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	ete
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	f	tegete
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	ete
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	ete
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	f	tegete
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	eʃo
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	f	tejete
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	f	teete
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	a	eʃo
Spilo <i>Sumcho</i>	g	tʃetʃo
Kanam <i>Sumcho</i>	a	eʃo
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	a	eʃo
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	a	eʃo
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	a	eʃo
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	h	tʃiŋp ^h o
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	c	dide
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	b	bʌdʒeb ^h ei

108. younger brother

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	beits
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	beits
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	beʃts
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	beʃtʃ
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	beʃts
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	bejɛts
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	bejɛdʒ
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	beije
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	beijɛts
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	beije
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	a	beje
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	a	beije
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	b	betet
Spilo <i>Sumcho</i>	b	bete
Kanam <i>Sumcho</i>	b	bete
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	b	bete
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	c	no
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	c	no
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	d	tʃiŋp ^h o
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	a	bej
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	a	tʃʰoteb ^h ei

109. older sister

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>c</i>	de ⁱ
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>c</i>	de ⁱ
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>c</i>	de ⁱ
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>d</i>	de ^h dz
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>d</i>	deuts
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>f</i>	dotse
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>d</i>	deu
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>d</i>	deuts
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>d</i>	dowets
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>0</i>	no entry
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	<i>b</i>	etʃi
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	<i>b</i>	ete
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	<i>a</i>	epu
Spilo <i>Suncho</i>	<i>a</i>	epu
Kanam <i>Suncho</i>	<i>a</i>	epu
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	<i>b</i>	etʃe
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	<i>b</i>	etʃe
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	<i>b</i>	etʃi
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	<i>i</i>	tʃinmə
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	<i>c</i>	daɦi
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	<i>e</i>	didi

110. younger sister

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>b</i>	got ^h obe ^t s
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>b</i>	be ^t s
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>b</i>	be ^t s ⁱ
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>b</i>	be ^t ʃ
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>b</i>	be ^t s
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>b</i>	be ^t s
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>b</i>	bejets
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>b</i>	bejets
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>b</i>	be ^t ets
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>b</i>	be ^t s
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	<i>b</i>	beje
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	<i>b</i>	beije
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	<i>c</i>	betet
Spilo <i>Suncho</i>	<i>f</i>	ʃink
Kanam <i>Suncho</i>	<i>c</i>	bete
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	<i>c</i>	bete
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	<i>d</i>	nə
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	<i>d</i>	nəmu
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	<i>g</i>	tʃunmə
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	<i>a</i>	bəɦn
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	<i>a</i>	baɦan

111. son

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>f</i>	tʃaŋ
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>f</i>	tʃeŋ
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>f</i>	tʃaŋ
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>f</i>	tʃ ^h eŋ
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>f</i>	tʃaŋ
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>f</i>	tʃ ^h eŋ
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>f</i>	tʃaŋ
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>f</i>	tʃaŋ
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>f</i>	tʃ ^h eŋ
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>f</i>	tʃaŋ
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	<i>a</i>	etʃi
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	<i>a</i>	etʃ ^h i
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	<i>f</i>	tʃ ^h eŋk
Spilo <i>Suncho</i>	<i>f</i>	tʃ ^h eŋ
Kanam <i>Suncho</i>	<i>f</i>	tʃ ^h eŋ
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	<i>f</i>	tʃ ^h eŋ
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	<i>d</i>	tugu
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	<i>d</i>	t ^h o
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	<i>i</i>	p ^h u
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	<i>c</i>	jenə
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	<i>b</i>	beʃe

112. daughter

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>g</i>	tʃeme
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>g</i>	tʃime
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>g</i>	tʃime ^ˀ
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>g</i>	tʃimet
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>g</i>	tʃime ^ˀ
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>g</i>	tʃime
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>g</i>	tʃime
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>g</i>	tʃ ^h ime
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>g</i>	tʃ ^h ime
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>g</i>	tʃ ^h ime
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	<i>0</i>	no entry
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	<i>a</i>	etʃ ^h iŋ
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	<i>h</i>	tsemet
Spilo <i>Suncho</i>	<i>h</i>	tsemet
Kanam <i>Suncho</i>	<i>h</i>	tsemet
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	<i>h</i>	tsaŋmet
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	<i>e</i>	pomo
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	<i>e</i>	pomu
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	<i>e</i>	p ^h o:mu?
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	<i>d</i>	ləʃi
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	<i>b</i>	beʃi

113. husband

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>c</i>	dets
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>c</i>	dets
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>l</i>	tʃoŋmi
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>c</i>	dets
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>c</i>	dets
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>c</i>	dets
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>c</i>	dets
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>c</i>	dets
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>c</i>	dets
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>c</i>	dets
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	<i>c</i>	dets
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	<i>c</i>	dets
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	<i>h</i>	puruŋks
Spilo <i>Suncho</i>	<i>h</i>	pruŋk
Kanam <i>Suncho</i>	<i>g</i>	p ^h uŋ
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	<i>e</i>	k ^h owe
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	<i>j</i>	tekbo
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	<i>f</i>	məkpe
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	<i>k</i>	tjok ^h a
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	<i>d</i>	dekrə
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	<i>i</i>	pəti

114. wife

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>f</i>	goine
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>m</i>	tsets
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>f</i>	gone
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>f</i>	goine
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>f</i>	goine
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>f</i>	^h gone
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>f</i>	gone
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>f</i>	goine
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>f</i>	goine
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>f</i>	gore
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	<i>b</i>	bore
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	<i>b</i>	bore
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	<i>h</i>	kone
Spilo <i>Suncho</i>	<i>f</i>	gone
Kanam <i>Suncho</i>	<i>f</i>	gone
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	<i>c</i>	bone
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	<i>l</i>	tʃerme
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	<i>j</i>	neme
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	<i>g</i>	kimen
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	<i>d</i>	dekre
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	<i>k</i>	pətni

115. boy

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	g	tʃʌŋɐ
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	h	tseɭo
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	g	tʃʌŋ
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	g	tʃɐŋ
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	g	tʃʌŋ
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	dekɾets
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	g	tʃʌŋ
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	g	tʃɐŋ
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	dekɾets
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	g	tʃʌŋ
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	b	dɛɛtʃi
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	b	dɛɛtʃʰi
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	g	tʃʰɛŋk
Spilo <i>Suncho</i>	g	tʃʰɛŋ
Kanam <i>Suncho</i>	g	tʃʰɛŋ
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	g	tʃʰɛŋ
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	i	tugu
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	f	tʰo
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	0	no entry
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	e	sokɾu
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	c	ɭɑɳkɐ

116. girl

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	i	tʃimi
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	i	tsime
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	i	tʃimet
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	i	tʃimet
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	h	tsetsets
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	h	tʃetsets
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	i	tʃime
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	i	tʃime
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	h	tsetsets
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	h	tsetse
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	d	mɔɾiŋɛtʃi
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	b	duatʃʰi
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	i	tsemet
Spilo <i>Suncho</i>	i	tsemet
Kanam <i>Suncho</i>	i	tsemet
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	i	tʃʌŋmet
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	f	nɔ
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	g	pomu
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	0	no entry
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	a	deni
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	c	ɭɑɳki

117. day

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	e	leʰ
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	e	leʰ
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	e	leʰ
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	e	leʰ
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	e	leʰ
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	e	leʃ
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	e	leʰ
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	e	leʰ
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	e	lei
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	e	leʰ
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	g	niri
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	g	niri
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	a	dɛɛr
Spilo <i>Suncho</i>	a	dier
Kanam <i>Suncho</i>	a	dier
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	g	nir
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	f	ŋimo
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	h	ʃɛk
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	f	ŋjima
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	c	duse
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	b	dm

118. night

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	e	retij
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	e	retij
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	e	retij
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	e	retij
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	e	retij
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	e	retij
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	e	retij
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	e	retij
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	e	retij
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	e	retij
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	b	muni
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	b	muni
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	b	munje
Spilo <i>Suncho</i>	a	gɔŋk
Kanam <i>Suncho</i>	a	gɔŋ
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	c	ole
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	g	tsʰɛmo
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	a	goŋmu
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	h	tseɳmu
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	e	retʃi
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	e	ret

119. morning

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	e	som
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	e	sʌm
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	e	som
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	e	som
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	e	som
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	e	som
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	e	som
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	e	som
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	e	som
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	e	som
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	g	tseŋmo
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	g	tseŋmo
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	c	ɳʌmʌt
Spilo <i>Suncho</i>	c	ɳemʌt
Kanam <i>Suncho</i>	c	ɳʌmʌt
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	c	ɳʌmʌt
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	b	ŋɛɾo
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	b	ŋɛɾok
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	d	ʃɔkpa
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	a	dʊtʰi
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	f	sʌwɛɾɐ

120. noon

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	leʰ
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	leʰ
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	e	mɛdʒʌleʰ
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	bɾɛɛɾleʰ
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	leʰ
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	e	mɛdʒɳleʃ
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	bɾɛɛɾleʰ
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	leʰ
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	e	mɛdʒɳleʰ
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	leʰ
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	i	niri
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	i	niribɛɾɳ
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	h	ɳimɛ
Spilo <i>Suncho</i>	i	nir
Kanam <i>Suncho</i>	i	nir
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	i	nir
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	h	nʰimutʊŋ
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	c	dʒɛɾʌ
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	g	ŋinkun
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	f	mʌdʒduseʰ
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	b	dɔɾʌɾ

121. evening

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>j</i>	ʃupelʌŋ
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>j</i>	ʃupelʌŋ
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>j</i>	ʃupoks
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>j</i>	ʃupe
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>j</i>	ʃupʌks
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>j</i>	ʃupe
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>j</i>	ʃupe
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>j</i>	ʃupʌks
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>j</i>	ʃupets
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>j</i>	ʃuve
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	<i>e</i>	otʃɛbæɾʌŋ
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	<i>e</i>	otʃɛbæɾʌŋ
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	<i>b</i>	kɔŋks
Spilo <i>Suncho</i>	<i>b</i>	gõŋse
Kanam <i>Suncho</i>	<i>b</i>	gõŋse
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	<i>d</i>	ole
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	<i>c</i>	komo
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	<i>f</i>	pʰirok
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	<i>b</i>	gɔŋto
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	<i>a</i>	beʃ
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	<i>i</i>	ʃem

122. yesterday

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>f</i>	mē
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>g</i>	moʃ
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>f</i>	mē
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>f</i>	mē
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>f</i>	mē
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>f</i>	mē
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>f</i>	mē
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>f</i>	mē
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>f</i>	mē
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>a</i>	taŋ
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	<i>f</i>	nej
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	<i>f</i>	ne
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	<i>j</i>	temer
Spilo <i>Suncho</i>	<i>i</i>	ʃireŋ
Kanam <i>Suncho</i>	<i>i</i>	ʃireŋ
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	<i>h</i>	nəmto
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	<i>a</i>	deŋ
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	<i>a</i>	deŋ
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	<i>d</i>	ka:səŋ
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	<i>b</i>	hiz
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	<i>e</i>	kʌl

123. today

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>d</i>	toro
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>d</i>	toro
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>d</i>	toro
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>d</i>	toro
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>d</i>	toro
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>d</i>	toro
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>d</i>	toro
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>d</i>	toro
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>d</i>	toro
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>d</i>	toro
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	<i>c</i>	tʰen
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	<i>c</i>	tʰen
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	<i>b</i>	deriŋ
Spilo <i>Suncho</i>	<i>d</i>	toro
Kanam <i>Suncho</i>	<i>d</i>	toro
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	<i>b</i>	deriŋ
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	<i>b</i>	teriŋ
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	<i>b</i>	teriŋ
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	<i>b</i>	taɾiŋ
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	<i>a</i>	ədʒ
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	<i>a</i>	ədʒ

124. tomorrow

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>d</i>	nēb
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>d</i>	nēb
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>d</i>	nʌb
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>d</i>	nʌbʌ
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>d</i>	nʌb
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>f</i>	nəsuum
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>f</i>	nəsom
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>f</i>	nəsəm
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>f</i>	nəsuum
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>f</i>	nəsom
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	<i>g</i>	obi
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	<i>g</i>	obi
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	<i>c</i>	nɛʃro
Spilo <i>Suncho</i>	<i>c</i>	nɛʃro
Kanam <i>Suncho</i>	<i>a</i>	hɛʃro
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	<i>c</i>	ɲɛʃro
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	<i>e</i>	nɛŋmo
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	<i>e</i>	nɛŋmo
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	<i>i</i>	səŋɲin
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	<i>b</i>	kʰɛle
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	<i>b</i>	kʌl

125. week

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>c</i>	hɛpte
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>c</i>	hɛpte
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>c</i>	hʌpte
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>c</i>	hɛpte
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>d</i>	tɪʃdɛɾ
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>d</i>	tɪʃdɛɾ
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>d</i>	rɛɪdɛɾ
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>c</i>	hʌpte
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>c</i>	hʌpte
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>c</i>	hʌpte
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	<i>c</i>	sɛpte
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	<i>d</i>	tɪʃdɛɾ
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	<i>e</i>	ʃɪʃtɛɾ
Spilo <i>Suncho</i>	<i>c</i>	hʌpte
Kanam <i>Suncho</i>	<i>c</i>	hʌpte
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	<i>c</i>	hʌpte
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	<i>a</i>	dunɛŋ
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	<i>a</i>	dundɛk
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	<i>f</i>	sʌkor
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	<i>c</i>	sɛptʌ
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	<i>c</i>	hʌftʌh

126. month

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>b</i>	gol
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>b</i>	gɔl
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>b</i>	gɔl
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>b</i>	gol
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>b</i>	gol
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>b</i>	gol
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>b</i>	gol
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>b</i>	gol
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>b</i>	gol
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>b</i>	gol
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	<i>b</i>	gol
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	<i>b</i>	igol
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	<i>c</i>	le
Spilo <i>Suncho</i>	<i>c</i>	le
Kanam <i>Suncho</i>	<i>c</i>	le
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	<i>c</i>	le
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	<i>a</i>	dɛ
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	<i>a</i>	dɛ
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	<i>0</i>	no entry
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	<i>e</i>	mʌhɪnʌ
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	<i>e</i>	mʌhɪnʌ

127. year

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	berʃʌŋ
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	borʃʌŋ
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	borʃʌŋ
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	baɽʃeŋ
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	borʃʌŋ
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	boʃŋ
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	boʃʌŋ
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	boʃʌŋ
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	boʃʌŋ
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	boʃʌŋ
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	a	boʃeŋ
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	a	boʃeŋ
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	a	boʃeŋ
Spilo <i>Suncho</i>	a	boʃeŋ
Kanam <i>Suncho</i>	a	boʃeŋ
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	a	boʃeŋ
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	b	lo
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	b	lo
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	0	no entry
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	a	boʃ
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	c	seɽ

128. old

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	e	uʃk
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	e	uʃk
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	omts
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	e	uʃk
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	e	uʃk
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	e	uʃk ^h
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	e	uʃk
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	e	uʃ
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	e	uʃk
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	e	uʃk
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	a	hwi
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	a	hui
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	a	husi
Spilo <i>Suncho</i>	e	uʃi
Kanam <i>Suncho</i>	e	uʃi
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	b	niŋpe
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	b	niŋbe
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	b	niŋbe
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	b	ŋjinpa
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	d	pureno
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	d	purene

129. new

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	nʷŋ
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	nʷŋ
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	nʷŋ
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	niug ^h
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	niug
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	nʷok ^h
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	ŋjūk
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	ŋjūk
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	niug
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	ŋjūŋ
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	a	hwi
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	d	nuiŋ
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	d	nui
Spilo <i>Suncho</i>	d	nui
Kanam <i>Suncho</i>	f	serpe
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	e	nuni
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	g	sōe
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	g	some
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	f	sarpa
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	d	nō
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	d	naʃe

130. good

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	ʌbʌl
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	ʌbʌl
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	dəm
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	dəm
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	dʌm
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	dɛm
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	ʌl
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	dəm
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	dəm
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	dəm
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	k	zoj
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	k	zoʷi
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	h	merk
Spilo <i>Suncho</i>	e	epo
Kanam <i>Suncho</i>	e	epo
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	e	jepo
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	e	epo
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	d	dimu
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	f	jakpo
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	a	bōlō
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	b	bʌdʒe

131. bad

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	i	mēdʒ
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	i	mēz
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	h	mēri
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	e	k ^h otseŋ
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	e	kortsʌŋ
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	h	mēri
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	h	mēri
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	h	mēri
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	h	mēri
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	e	k ^h otsʌŋ
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	j	mʌʃʌɽu
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	j	mʌʃʌɽu
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	d	hēlʌm
Spilo <i>Suncho</i>	d	hēlʌm
Kanam <i>Suncho</i>	d	hēlʌm
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	d	hēlʌm
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	b	epominduk
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	a	eki
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	m	tukpa
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	h	mēri ^ə
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	c	gʌnd:ɛ

132. wet

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	l	spʌniŋ
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	l	spʌŋg ^ɿ
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	l	spʌŋg ^ɿ
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	k	spɪnik
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	k	spɪndʒ
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	f	pɪntʃ
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	f	pɪntʃ
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	f	pɪntʃ
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	f	pɪntʃ
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	n	tis
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	j	sotɔp ^ɿ
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	0	no entry
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	n	tisi
Spilo <i>Suncho</i>	n	tisi
Kanam <i>Suncho</i>	i	sosɔ
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	m	t ^h iko
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	e	lompe
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	d	lenti
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	e	lonpa
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	h	sino
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	b	b ^h ige

133. dry

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	f	tseɽdz
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	f	tseɽdz
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	f	tseɽz
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	f	tʃeɽts
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	f	tseɽz
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	f	ts ^h əts ^h əɽ
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	f	ts ^h ʌtsʌ
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	f	ts ^h ɛrk ^h
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	f	ts ^h ɛts
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	kʌmpo
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	b	p ^h ɔj
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	e	sugidi
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	b	posi
Spilo <i>Suncho</i>	b	p ^h osi
Kanam <i>Suncho</i>	b	p ^h osi
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	c	p ^h otoke
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	a	kɛmpo
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	a	kɛmpu
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	a	kɛmpa
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	d	ʃük ^h o
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	d	suk ^h ɛ

134. long

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	ləmos
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	lʌmʌs
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	lʌmʌs
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	ləmes
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	lʌmʌs
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	ləmes
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	ləmes
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	ləmes
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	ləmes
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	ləmes
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	c	ruj
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	c	rui
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	c	rui
Spilo <i>Suncho</i>	d	ʃui
Kanam <i>Suncho</i>	d	ʃui
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	e	ʃuko
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	b	riŋbu
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	b	riŋbo
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	b	riŋpu
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	a	lʌmbɔ
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	a	lʌmbɛ

135. short

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	e	tʃotos
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	lekɛts
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	geɽ ^h ots
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	geɽodz
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	geɽo
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	geɽots
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	zigits
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	dzigits
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	zigits
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	geɽots
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	g	ʌtsi
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	g	ʌtsi
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	e	tsuɽ
Spilo <i>Suncho</i>	a	tsigit
Kanam <i>Suncho</i>	a	tsigit
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	a	tsigit
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	f	tʃuŋun
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	f	tun
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	f	tunɽun
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	d	loɽʌ
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	e	tʃ ^h oɽɛ

136. hot

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	b ^h ok
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	bok
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	bok
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	bɔk
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	bok
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	bɔk ^h
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	bɔk
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	bɔk
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	bɔk
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	bɔk
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	i	tɛtɛɾɛ
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	f	t ^h ɛɛ
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	c	kosʌɾɛ
Spilo <i>Suncho</i>	c	kosʌɾɛ
Kanam <i>Suncho</i>	c	kosʌɾɛ
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	c	kosʌɾɛ
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	e	tomu
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	e	tonmu
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	g	tsa:po
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	d	njɛto
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	b	gʌɾʌm

137. cold

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	g	tʃik
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	g	tʃik
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	g	tʃik
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	g	tʃik
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	lisk
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	lis
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	lis
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	lisk
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	lis
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	soi
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	d	soj
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	d	soi
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	d	soi
Spilo <i>Suncho</i>	a	k ^h ɛt ^h i
Kanam <i>Suncho</i>	a	k ^h ɛti
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	b	kʌtʃo
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	f	t ^h ɛŋmo
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	f	tɛŋmo
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	0	no entry
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	d	ʃio
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	e	t ^h ʌŋɽɛ

138. right

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	zɛk ^h ʌŋ
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	zɛk ^h ʌn
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	zɛk ^h ʌŋ
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	dzɛkɛŋ
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	zɛk ^h uŋ
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	zɛk ^h ŋ
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	zɛk ^h ʌŋ
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	dzɛk ^h ʌŋ
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	dzɛk ^h uŋ
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	zɛk ^h ʌŋ
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	b	zɛk ^h ɛŋ
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	b	zɛk ^h ʌŋ
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	b	zɛkɛŋ
Spilo <i>Suncho</i>	b	zɛkɛŋ
Kanam <i>Suncho</i>	b	zɛkɛŋ
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	i	zɛŋ
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	f	sɛlek
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	e	ʃʌhwɛ
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	c	jeɔpa
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	a	dɛjɛ
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	a	dɛɦɛ

139. left

Nigulsari *Kinnauri* *f* k^hoʒiŋ
 Kachrang *Kinnauri* *f* koʒʌŋ
 Nichar *Kinnauri* *f* koʒʌŋ
 Punang *Kinnauri* *f* koʒʒeŋ
 Chagaon *Kinnauri* *f* k^hoʒʌŋ
 Sangla *Kinnauri* *f* koʒʌŋ
 Kothi *Kinnauri* *f* k^hoʒʌŋ
 Pangi *Kinnauri* *f* k^hoʒʌŋ
 Ribba *Kinnauri* *f* koʒʌŋ
 Morang *Kinnauri* *f* k^hoʒʌŋ
 Rakchham *Chitkuli* *f* k^hoʒʒeŋ
 Chitkul *Chitkuli* *f* k^hwɛʒʌŋ
 Lippa *Jangrami* *b* delan
 Spilo *Suncho* *b* delan
 Kanam *Suncho* *b* delan
 Sunnam *Sunnam* *b* delan
 Nisang *Tukpa* *d* jolek
 Puh *Bhoti* *e* jonme
 Lhasa *Tibetan* *e* jonpa
 Chagaon *Harijan* *f* kodʒʌŋ
 Standard *Hindi* *a* bɛʒe

140. near

Nigulsari *Kinnauri* *l* uʃko
 Kachrang *Kinnauri* *d* n^hoʒʌŋ
 Nichar *Kinnauri* *d* n^hoʒoŋ
 Punang *Kinnauri* *d* n^hɛʒʌŋ
 Chagaon *Kinnauri* *e* nirō
 Sangla *Kinnauri* *d* neŋ
 Kothi *Kinnauri* *d* neʒʌŋ
 Pangi *Kinnauri* *d* neʒʌŋ
 Ribba *Kinnauri* *d* neʒʌŋ
 Morang *Kinnauri* *d* neʒʌŋ
 Rakchham *Chitkuli* *i* piŋɛ
 Chitkul *Chitkuli* *i* piŋɛ
 Lippa *Jangrami* *c* nemo
 Spilo *Suncho* *c* nemō
 Kanam *Suncho* *k* tusiŋ
 Sunnam *Sunnam* *c* njemo
 Nisang *Tukpa* *f* njio
 Puh *Bhoti* *c* nimu
 Lhasa *Tibetan* *j* t^hi:la
 Chagaon *Harijan* *e* nir
 Standard *Hindi* *g* naɖʒik

141. far

Nigulsari *Kinnauri* *d* vərko
 Kachrang *Kinnauri* *d* vərko
 Nichar *Kinnauri* *d* vərɔ
 Punang *Kinnauri* *d* wɛrk
 Chagaon *Kinnauri* *d* vərko
 Sangla *Kinnauri* *d* wɛrk^h
 Kothi *Kinnauri* *d* vərɔ
 Pangi *Kinnauri* *d* vɛrg^ɿ
 Ribba *Kinnauri* *d* wɛr
 Morang *Kinnauri* *o* no entry
 Rakchham *Chitkuli* *b* horkju
 Chitkul *Chitkuli* *b* horkju
 Lippa *Jangrami* *d* wɛrk
 Spilo *Suncho* *d* wɛɖi
 Kanam *Suncho* *d* wɛɖi
 Sunnam *Sunnam* *d* wɛrko
 Nisang *Tukpa* *c* tekriŋbo
 Puh *Bhoti* *c* tekriŋ
 Lhasa *Tibetan* *c* takriŋpo
 Chagaon *Harijan* *a* dur
 Standard *Hindi* *a* dur

142. big

Nigulsari *Kinnauri* *c* teg^ɿ
 Kachrang *Kinnauri* *c* teg^ɿ
 Nichar *Kinnauri* *c* teg
 Punang *Kinnauri* *c* te:g
 Chagaon *Kinnauri* *c* teg
 Sangla *Kinnauri* *c* teg^a
 Kothi *Kinnauri* *c* teg
 Pangi *Kinnauri* *c* teg
 Ribba *Kinnauri* *c* teg
 Morang *Kinnauri* *c* teg
 Rakchham *Chitkuli* *c* tey
 Chitkul *Chitkuli* *c* tey
 Lippa *Jangrami* *c* te
 Spilo *Suncho* *c* tʃe^j
 Kanam *Suncho* *c* tʃe^j
 Sunnam *Sunnam* *b* ʃeŋ
 Nisang *Tukpa* *d* tʃepo
 Puh *Bhoti* *d* tʃepu
 Lhasa *Tibetan* *e* tʃiŋpo
 Chagaon *Harijan* *a* boɖo
 Standard *Hindi* *a* baɖɛ

143. small

Nigulsari *Kinnauri* *b* getots
 Kachrang *Kinnauri* *c* lek^hɛ
 Nichar *Kinnauri* *b* geto
 Punang *Kinnauri* *b* geto:
 Chagaon *Kinnauri* *b* getot^ɿ
 Sangla *Kinnauri* *b* geto
 Kothi *Kinnauri* *a* zigits
 Pangi *Kinnauri* *a* dzigits
 Ribba *Kinnauri* *a* zigits
 Morang *Kinnauri* *b* getots
 Rakchham *Chitkuli* *i* ʌtsi
 Chitkul *Chitkuli* *i* ʌtsi
 Lippa *Jangrami* *h* tsut
 Spilo *Suncho* *a* tsigit
 Kanam *Suncho* *a* tsigit
 Sunnam *Sunnam* *a* tsigit
 Nisang *Tukpa* *g* tʃuŋun
 Puh *Bhoti* *g* tʃun
 Lhasa *Tibetan* *g* tʃuŋtʃuŋ
 Chagaon *Harijan* *d* loɖo
 Standard *Hindi* *f* tʃ^hoɖɛ

144. heavy

Nigulsari *Kinnauri* *d* lig^ɿ
 Kachrang *Kinnauri* *d* lig
 Nichar *Kinnauri* *d* lig
 Punang *Kinnauri* *d* lik
 Chagaon *Kinnauri* *d* lig^ɿ
 Sangla *Kinnauri* *d* li:k^h
 Kothi *Kinnauri* *d* lig^ɿ
 Pangi *Kinnauri* *d* lik
 Ribba *Kinnauri* *d* lig
 Morang *Kinnauri* *d* lik^ɿ
 Rakchham *Chitkuli* *d* li
 Chitkul *Chitkuli* *d* li
 Lippa *Jangrami* *d* lik
 Spilo *Suncho* *d* li
 Kanam *Suncho* *d* li
 Sunnam *Sunnam* *d* liko
 Nisang *Tukpa* *f* tʃiŋte
 Puh *Bhoti* *f* tʃiŋti
 Lhasa *Tibetan* *b* dzipo
 Chagaon *Harijan* *c* g^hoɖko
 Standard *Hindi* *a* b^heri

145. light

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	e	laŋ
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	e	laŋg
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	e	laŋ
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	e	leŋgits
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	e	laŋgits
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	e	leŋgits
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	e	laŋgits
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	e	leŋgits
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	e	leŋgits
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	e	laŋgits
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	c	jej
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	c	jey
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	e	leŋgit
Spilo <i>Suncho</i>	d	le ^h nt
Kanam <i>Suncho</i>	d	le ^h nt
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	b	jaŋkit
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	b	jeŋpo
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	b	jeŋmo
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	b	jaŋpo
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	f	le ^w ko
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	a	halke

146. above

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	g	t ^h og
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	g	tog ^ɿ
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	g	t ^h ug
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	g	t ^h og ^ɿ
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	g	t ^h ug
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	e	rege
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	f	t ^h we
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	f	t ^w e
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	f	ten
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	f	tə
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	c	kəl
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	c	kəl
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	h	t ^h oriŋ
Spilo <i>Suncho</i>	h	t ^h oriŋ
Kanam <i>Suncho</i>	h	t ^h oriŋ
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	g	toktso
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	d	k ^h etok
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	d	ketok
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	g	t ^h oklɑ
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	b	gef
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	i	upar

147. below

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	g	jog
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	g	jog ^ɿ
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	g	jug
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	g	jog ^ɿ
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	g	jug
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	e	je ^t laŋ
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	f	juə
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	f	jo ^w e
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	e	je ^t laŋ
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	f	ju ^w e
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	l	po
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	l	po
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	h	jor
Spilo <i>Suncho</i>	j	open
Kanam <i>Suncho</i>	j	open
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	g	jugum
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	c	gup
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	g	jok
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	a	ʔoʔla
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	k	pəɖ
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	i	nitʃe

148. white

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	tʃog
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	tʃog ^ɿ
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	tʃog
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	t ^h og ^ɿ
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	t ^h ok
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	t ^h ok ^h
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	t ^h ok
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	t ^h og
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	t ^h og
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	t ^h o
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	e	ts ^h ei
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	e	ts ^h ei
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	e	ts ^h ejk
Spilo <i>Suncho</i>	e	tse ^j
Kanam <i>Suncho</i>	e	tse ^j
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	e	tseŋi
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	a	kəro
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	a	kero
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	a	karmo
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	b	ʃuklə
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	c	saɸed

149. black

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	e	rok
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	e	rək
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	e	rok
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	e	rok
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	e	rok
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	e	rək ^h
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	e	rok
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	e	rok
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	e	rog
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	e	rok ^ɿ
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	b	k ^h e ^j
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	b	k ^h e ^j
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	b	k ^h ei
Spilo <i>Suncho</i>	b	k ^h ei
Kanam <i>Suncho</i>	b	k ^h e ⁿ
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	b	k ^h eni
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	d	nekpo
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	d	nekpo
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	d	nakpo
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	b	k ^h eo
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	a	kele

150. red

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	f	ʃw ^w ig ^ɿ
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	f	ʃw ^w ig ^ɿ
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	f	ʃw ^w ig
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	f	ʃw ^w ik
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	f	ʃw ^w ig ^ɿ
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	f	ʃwik ^h
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	f	ʃw ^w ik
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	f	ʃw ^w ig
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	f	ʃw ^w ig
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	f	ʃw ^w i
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	b	mē ^j
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	b	mē ^j
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	b	mēŋk
Spilo <i>Suncho</i>	b	mē ^j
Kanam <i>Suncho</i>	b	mē ⁿ
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	b	maŋi
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	c	mərbo
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	c	mərwo
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	c	marpo
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	d	rət ^h o
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	a	lel

151. one

Nigulsari *Kinnauri* c id
 Kachrang *Kinnauri* c id
 Nichar *Kinnauri* c id
 Punang *Kinnauri* c id
 Chagaon *Kinnauri* c id
 Sangla *Kinnauri* c id
 Kothi *Kinnauri* c id
 Pangi *Kinnauri* c id
 Ribba *Kinnauri* c id
 Morang *Kinnauri* c id
 Rakchham *Chitkuli* b i
 Chitkul *Chitkuli* b i
 Lippa *Jangrami* c id
 Spilo *Sumcho* c it
 Kanam *Sumcho* c it
 Sunnam *Sunnam* d ti
 Nisang *Tukpa* e tʃik
 Puh *Bhoti* e tʃik
 Lhasa *Tibetan* 0 no entry
 Chagaon *Harijan* a ek
 Standard *Hindi* a ek

152. two

Nigulsari *Kinnauri* c niʃ
 Kachrang *Kinnauri* c niʃ
 Nichar *Kinnauri* c niʃ
 Punang *Kinnauri* c niʃ
 Chagaon *Kinnauri* c niʃ
 Sangla *Kinnauri* c niʃ
 Kothi *Kinnauri* c niʃ
 Pangi *Kinnauri* c niʃ
 Ribba *Kinnauri* c niʃ
 Morang *Kinnauri* c niʃ
 Rakchham *Chitkuli* c niʃi
 Chitkul *Chitkuli* c niʃi
 Lippa *Jangrami* c niʃ
 Spilo *Sumcho* c niʃ
 Kanam *Sumcho* c niʃ
 Sunnam *Sunnam* c niʃi
 Nisang *Tukpa* c ɲi
 Puh *Bhoti* c ɲi
 Lhasa *Tibetan* c ɲi
 Chagaon *Harijan* a do
 Standard *Hindi* a do

153. three

Nigulsari *Kinnauri* b ʃum
 Kachrang *Kinnauri* b ʃum
 Nichar *Kinnauri* b ʃum
 Punang *Kinnauri* b ʃom
 Chagaon *Kinnauri* b ʃum
 Sangla *Kinnauri* b ʃum
 Kothi *Kinnauri* b ʃum
 Pangi *Kinnauri* b ʃum
 Ribba *Kinnauri* b ʃum
 Morang *Kinnauri* b ʃum
 Rakchham *Chitkuli* a homo
 Chitkul *Chitkuli* a homo
 Lippa *Jangrami* a hum
 Spilo *Sumcho* a hum
 Kanam *Sumcho* a hum
 Sunnam *Sunnam* b sum
 Nisang *Tukpa* b sum
 Puh *Bhoti* b sum
 Lhasa *Tibetan* 0 no entry
 Chagaon *Harijan* c tin
 Standard *Hindi* c tin

154. four

Nigulsari *Kinnauri* b pu
 Kachrang *Kinnauri* b pi
 Nichar *Kinnauri* b pi
 Punang *Kinnauri* b pi
 Chagaon *Kinnauri* b pu
 Sangla *Kinnauri* b pi
 Kothi *Kinnauri* b pi
 Pangi *Kinnauri* b pi
 Ribba *Kinnauri* b pi
 Morang *Kinnauri* b pi
 Rakchham *Chitkuli* b pi
 Chitkul *Chitkuli* b pi
 Lippa *Jangrami* b pi
 Spilo *Sumcho* b pi
 Kanam *Sumcho* b pi
 Sunnam *Sunnam* b pi
 Nisang *Tukpa* a ʒi
 Puh *Bhoti* a dʒi
 Lhasa *Tibetan* a ʃi
 Chagaon *Harijan* c tʃer
 Standard *Hindi* c tʃer

155. five

Nigulsari *Kinnauri* a ɲe
 Kachrang *Kinnauri* a ɲe
 Nichar *Kinnauri* a ɲe
 Punang *Kinnauri* a ɲe
 Chagaon *Kinnauri* a ɲe
 Sangla *Kinnauri* a ɲe
 Kothi *Kinnauri* a ɲe
 Pangi *Kinnauri* a ɲe
 Ribba *Kinnauri* a ɲe
 Morang *Kinnauri* a ɲe
 Rakchham *Chitkuli* a ɲe
 Chitkul *Chitkuli* a ɲe
 Lippa *Jangrami* a ɲe
 Spilo *Sumcho* a ɲe
 Kanam *Sumcho* a ɲe
 Sunnam *Sunnam* a ɲei
 Nisang *Tukpa* a ɲe
 Puh *Bhoti* a ɲe
 Lhasa *Tibetan* a ɲa
 Chagaon *Harijan* b pɛntʃ
 Standard *Hindi* b pɛntʃ

156. six

Nigulsari *Kinnauri* a tog^ɿ
 Kachrang *Kinnauri* a tug
 Nichar *Kinnauri* a tug
 Punang *Kinnauri* a tug^ɿ
 Chagaon *Kinnauri* a tuk
 Sangla *Kinnauri* a tuk^h
 Kothi *Kinnauri* a tuk
 Pangi *Kinnauri* a tuk
 Ribba *Kinnauri* a tug
 Morang *Kinnauri* a tuk
 Rakchham *Chitkuli* a tu
 Chitkul *Chitkuli* a tu
 Lippa *Jangrami* a tu
 Spilo *Sumcho* a tu
 Kanam *Sumcho* a tu
 Sunnam *Sunnam* a tugi
 Nisang *Tukpa* a truk
 Puh *Bhoti* a tok
 Lhasa *Tibetan* a t^hu:
 Chagaon *Harijan* b tʃ^he
 Standard *Hindi* b tʃ^he

157. seven

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	e	tɨʃ
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	e	stɨʃ
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	e	stɨʃ
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	e	tɨʃ
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	e	stɨʃ
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	e	tɨʃ
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	e	tɨʃ
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	e	stɨʃ
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	e	tɨʃ
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	e	tɨʃ
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	e	tɨʃ
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	e	tɨʃ
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	c	ʃɨʃ
Spilo <i>Suncho</i>	c	ʃɨɨʃ
Kanam <i>Suncho</i>	c	ʃɨɨʃ
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	b	ŋɛʃɨ
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	a	dun
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	a	dun
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	a	duɨn
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	d	set
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	d	set

158. eight

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	rɛ ^ɛ
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	ræ
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	rɛ ^ɛ
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	ræʔ
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	ræ
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	rɛ
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	ræ
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	ræ
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	ræ
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	ræ
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	d	rɛ
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	d	ræ
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	b	gjet
Spilo <i>Suncho</i>	b	gʲet
Kanam <i>Suncho</i>	b	gʲet
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	c	kæi
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	b	get
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	b	get
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	c	keʔ
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	a	ɛʈʰ
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	a	ɛʈʰ

159. nine

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	sgu ⁱ
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	zgui
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	sgu ⁱ
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	g ^{wi} ʔ
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	sgu ⁱ
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	gwi
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	gui
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	gui
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	gui
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	gui
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	a	gwi
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	a	gui
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	a	gu
Spilo <i>Suncho</i>	a	gu
Kanam <i>Suncho</i>	a	gu
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	a	gui
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	a	gu
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	a	gu
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	a	gu
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	b	no
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	b	no

160. ten

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	sɛ ^ɛ
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	sɛ ⁱ
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	sɛ ⁱ
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	sɛ ⁱ
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	sæ
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	sɛ
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	sæ
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	sæ
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	sæ
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	sæ
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	c	sje
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	c	sæ
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	d	tʃ ^{wi}
Spilo <i>Suncho</i>	c	sɛ
Kanam <i>Suncho</i>	c	sɛ
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	d	tʃui
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	d	tʃu
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	d	tʃu
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	d	tʃutəm̩ba
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	a	dʌs
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	a	dʌs

161. eleven

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	sid
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	si:d
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	sid
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	siʔid
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	siʔid
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	sihid ^o
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	si ^h id
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	si ^h id
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	sigid
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	sigid
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	c	sigit ^h
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	c	sigit
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	d	tʃuti
Spilo <i>Suncho</i>	b	seit
Kanam <i>Suncho</i>	b	seit
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	d	tʃuti
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	d	tʃukʃik
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	d	tʃukʃit
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	d	tʃutʃik
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	a	gjarʌh
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	a	gjarʌh

162. twelve

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	sonɨʃ
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	sonɨʃ
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	sonɨʃ
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	sonɨʃ
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	sonɨʃ
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	sonɨʃ
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	sonɨʃ
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	sonɨʃ
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	sonɨʃ
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	sonɨʃ
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	b	sonɨʃ
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	b	sonɨʃ
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	c	tʃunis
Spilo <i>Suncho</i>	b	senɨʃ
Kanam <i>Suncho</i>	b	senɨʃ
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	c	tʃunɨʃ
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	c	tʃunɨʃ
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	c	tʃunɨʃ
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	c	tʃunɨʃ
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	a	bɛrʌh
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	a	bɛrʌh

163. twenty

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>b nize</i>
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>b nize</i>
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>b nize</i>
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>b nize:</i>
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>b nize?</i>
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>b nize</i>
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>b nize</i>
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>b nize</i>
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>b nize</i>
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>b niʃu</i>
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	<i>b nize</i>
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	<i>b nize</i>
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	<i>b nize</i>
Spilo <i>Suncho</i>	<i>b nize</i>
Kanam <i>Suncho</i>	<i>b nize</i>
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	<i>b niʃe</i>
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	<i>b niʃu</i>
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	<i>b niʃu</i>
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	<i>b niʃu</i>
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	<i>a bis</i>
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	<i>a bis</i>

164. hundred

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>b re</i>
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>b re</i>
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>b re</i>
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>b re:</i>
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>b re</i>
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>b re</i>
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>b re</i>
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>b re</i>
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>b ire</i>
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>b re</i>
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	<i>b re</i>
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	<i>b ire</i>
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	<i>b hΛre</i>
Spilo <i>Suncho</i>	<i>a gje</i>
Kanam <i>Suncho</i>	<i>a gje</i>
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	<i>a gje</i>
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	<i>a gje</i>
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	<i>a gje</i>
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	<i>a gjet^hamba</i>
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	<i>c so</i>
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	<i>c so</i>

165. who

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>a het</i>
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>a het</i>
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>a het</i>
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>a hed^o</i>
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>a het</i>
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>a het^h</i>
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>a het</i>
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>a het</i>
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>a het</i>
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>a het</i>
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	<i>c su</i>
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	<i>c su</i>
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	<i>c su</i>
Spilo <i>Suncho</i>	<i>d uŋ</i>
Kanam <i>Suncho</i>	<i>d uŋ</i>
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	<i>c suh</i>
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	<i>c su</i>
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	<i>c su</i>
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	<i>0 no entry</i>
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	<i>b kun</i>
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	<i>b kɔn</i>

166. what

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>c tʃo</i>
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>c tʃag^o</i>
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>c tʃo</i>
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>c tʃAd^h</i>
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>c tʃAt^ɿ</i>
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>b t^hi</i>
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>c tʃud</i>
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>b t^hed^ɿ</i>
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>b t^hAd</i>
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>b t^hu</i>
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	<i>a k^he</i>
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	<i>a k^he</i>
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	<i>a k^he</i>
Spilo <i>Suncho</i>	<i>c tʃe</i>
Kanam <i>Suncho</i>	<i>c tʃe</i>
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	<i>a k^he</i>
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	<i>c tʃi</i>
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	<i>c tʃi</i>
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	<i>a kɛ:re</i>
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	<i>a kɛ:</i>
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	<i>a kje</i>

167. where

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>d hem</i>
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>d hem</i>
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>d hΛm</i>
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>d hem</i>
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>d hΛm</i>
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>d hem</i>
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>d hem</i>
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>d hΛm</i>
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>d hem</i>
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>d hem</i>
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	<i>b go</i>
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	<i>b go</i>
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	<i>b goe</i>
Spilo <i>Suncho</i>	<i>a eme</i>
Kanam <i>Suncho</i>	<i>a eme</i>
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	<i>b goe</i>
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	<i>g kendu</i>
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	<i>f keɛ</i>
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	<i>e ka:pa</i>
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	<i>h kiɛ</i>
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	<i>j kaɬe</i>

168. when

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>g t^hɛɾΛŋ</i>
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>h tever</i>
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>g teɾΛŋ</i>
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>g teɾΛŋ</i>
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>g t^hɛɾΛŋ</i>
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>g teɾŋ</i>
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>g teɾΛŋ</i>
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>g t^hɛɾΛŋ</i>
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>g teɾΛŋ</i>
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>f nΛm</i>
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	<i>a hemi</i>
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	<i>a heme</i>
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	<i>b ileŋke</i>
Spilo <i>Suncho</i>	<i>i taɿpe</i>
Kanam <i>Suncho</i>	<i>i taɿfe</i>
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	<i>c inu</i>
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	<i>f nem</i>
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	<i>f nΛm</i>
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	<i>d katjo</i>
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	<i>e kebi</i>
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	<i>e kaɬ</i>

169. how many

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	k to
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	j t ^h e
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	k t ^h o
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	i tete ^{re} :
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	j t ^h e
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	i tete
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	i tete
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	i tete
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	i tetA ^{re}
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	i tere
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	b henA ^ŋ
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	b henA ^ŋ
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	c ile ^ŋ
Spilo <i>Suncho</i>	h tetʃe
Kanam <i>Suncho</i>	n tatʃe
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	a ene
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	l tse ^l
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	m tsAM
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	d kartjo?
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	g kitig
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	f kitne

170. what kind

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	a hale
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	a heles
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	a helisk
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	a heles
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	a heles
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	a hɛlɛ
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	a hele
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	a hele
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	a helesk
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	h t ^h u
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	a hele
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	a hele
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	a hele
Spilo <i>Suncho</i>	a ɛle
Kanam <i>Suncho</i>	a eli
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	e k ^h ɛ ^h
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	k tsukhodzɛ
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	i tsoktʃɛ
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	d kanʃe?
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	b ebek ^h ɛ
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	c kɛsɛ

171. this

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	c zu
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	c dʒu
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	c dʒu
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	c dʒo
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	d hodʒo
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	d hudʒu
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	c dʒuŋ
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	c dʒu
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	c dʒu
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	a ɛn
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	e hojo
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	e hoʃo
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	f ui
Spilo <i>Suncho</i>	c dʒi
Kanam <i>Suncho</i>	c dʒi
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	f ui
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	f uni
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	f ui
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	b di
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	d hɔɔ
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	g je

172. that

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	f nu
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	a do
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	f no
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	f nɔ
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	e hono
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	e hūnū
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	f nu
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	f nu
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	f nu
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	g ɔ:
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	f nɔhojo
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	d hoʃo
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	f nue
Spilo <i>Suncho</i>	f no
Kanam <i>Suncho</i>	f ɔno
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	l uru
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	k uni
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	j pɔp ^h i
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	h pa:ki
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	c hɔsɔ
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	m voh

173. these

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	e nugo
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	d dʒugo
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	e hnugo
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	d dʒo
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	e honugo
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	e hudʒugo
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	d dʒuŋ
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	d dʒuŋ
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	d dʒugɛ
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	a ɛn
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	f hojo
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	0 no entry
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	k tirebɛŋ
Spilo <i>Suncho</i>	d dʒi
Kanam <i>Suncho</i>	0 no entry
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	0 no entry
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	l uniktun
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	c die
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	b di:ŋi
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	f hɔɔ
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	h in

174. those

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	b dogo
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	b dogo
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	d hnugo
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	f nɔ
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	d honugo
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	d hūnūgɔ
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	g nuŋ
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	g nuŋ
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	g nuge
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	h ɔ:
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	f nɔhojo
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	0 no entry
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	f nɔrwɛŋ
Spilo <i>Suncho</i>	f no
Kanam <i>Suncho</i>	0 no entry
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	0 no entry
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	l udiktun
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	k pɔp ^h ie
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	i partso
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	e hɔsɔ
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	m ve

175. same

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	ididAske
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	idideske
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	ididAsk
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	brɛbɛAɾ
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	ididesk
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	brɛbr
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	irukʃit
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	idirAŋ
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	e	ruŋse
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	brɛbɛAɾ
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	d	irɔŋse
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	d	irunʃeʃe
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	g	tʃikpɛ
Spilo <i>Suncho</i>	e	ruk ^h i
Kanam <i>Suncho</i>	e	ruk ^h i
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	f	tio
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	e	rukʃi
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	g	tʃiktʃori
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	g	tʃikpa
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	b	ekrusi
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	b	ekse

176. different

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	etsietsi
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	etsietsi
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	a ^h kisim
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	k ^h etsi
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	etsi
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	k ^h etsi
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	k ^h etsik ^h etsi
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	k ^h etsik ^h etsi
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	k ^h etsi
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	k ^h etsi
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	c	k ^h ets
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	c	k ^h ets
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	e	kezo
Spilo <i>Suncho</i>	c	k ^h etso
Kanam <i>Suncho</i>	g	mɛruk ^h i
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	e	kezo
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	h	sosososo
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	h	soso
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	f	lɔkɔr
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	c	k ^h etsik ^h etsi
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	d	fAɾAk

177. whole

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	sɛros
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	i	tsei
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	i	tse ⁱ
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	sɛres
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	i	tsei
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	sɛres
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	pure
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	pure
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	sɛdes
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	sɛres
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	i	tsɛj
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	i	ts ^h e ⁱ
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	h	tʃ ^h o
Spilo <i>Suncho</i>	d	sɛres
Kanam <i>Suncho</i>	b	pure
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	c	sebut
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	f	t ^h ɛkbo
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	g	tɔli
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	a	gaŋtsa
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	b	pure
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	b	pure

178. broken

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	ʒAɬts
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	dʒAɬts
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	rAɬts
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	ʒ ^l Aɬʒ ^l ug ^ɿ
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	ʒug ^ɿ
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	dʒʒɛdʒʒɛ
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	ʒugʒug
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	hɛghɛg
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	rAɬse
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	hrAghɛɾAɬ
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	a	dɛ ^j
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	a	dɛ ^j
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	a	dɛke
Spilo <i>Suncho</i>	a	dɛu
Kanam <i>Suncho</i>	a	dɛʃi
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	d	gʒɛktʃɛ
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	f	tʃɛkbo
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	f	tʃɛkpo
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	f	tʃakpa
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	e	tʃɛɾ
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	e	tʃɛ

179. few

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	dok ^h ɛn
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	dokɪts
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	m	t ^h o
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	domrits
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	domrits
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	domrits
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	geto
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	geto
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	geto
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	get ^h o
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	g	k ^h ɛk ^h e
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	o	tʃɛtA
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	i	molan
Spilo <i>Suncho</i>	d	g ^h ɛt ^o
Kanam <i>Suncho</i>	o	tʃɛtʃɛ
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	j	mun
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	n	tiptʃik
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	k	ɲun
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	f	kaʃɛ
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	f	kɛ
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	h	kuɬ ^h

180. many

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	m	t ^h Aŋ
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	h	mɪAɬ ^ɿ
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	h	m ^ɿ luk
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	g	kus
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	h	muluk
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	bodi
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	h	muluk
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	bɛri
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	bɛri
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	boɾi
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	n	ʒɛ
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	n	ʒ ^l ɛ
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	h	moluK
Spilo <i>Suncho</i>	e	gop ^ɿ
Kanam <i>Suncho</i>	e	gop
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	e	gop
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	a	bɛriduk
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	f	jom
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	i	mɛŋpo
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	d	gʒɛk ^ɿ
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	b	bɪɬut

181. all

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	j	tse ⁱ
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	j	tse ⁱ
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	j	tse ⁱ
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	j	tse ⁱ
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	j	tse ⁱ
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	j	tseki
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	j	tse ⁱ
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	j	tso ⁱ
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	j	tse ⁱ
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	j	tse ⁱ
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	j	tse ⁱ
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	j	tse ⁱ
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	i	tʰo
Spilo <i>Suncho</i>	a	ɛtʌŋk
Kanam <i>Suncho</i>	e	siŋ
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	a	ɛtʌŋ
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	g	təkbo
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	g	təkpo
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	j	tsəŋmə
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	f	sʌberi
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	d	sere

182. eat

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	dzo
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	ze ^u
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	zo
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	dze ^o
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	dze
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	dzo
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	dzo
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	dze ⁱ
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	dzo
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	0	no entry
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	a	zeu
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	a	zeu
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	a	zeu
Spilo <i>Suncho</i>	a	zeu
Kanam <i>Suncho</i>	a	zeu
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	a	ze ^j
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	d	sole
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	a	sə
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	c	sartʃe
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	b	k ^h əo
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	b	k ^h əjə

183. bite

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	brʌg
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	brɛg
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	brʌg
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	brɛg ^a
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	brʌgbrʌg
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	gɛʃ
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	gɛʃ
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	h	tʃiktʃi
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	gɛrʌsrʌn
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	0	no entry
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	h	tʃu
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	h	tʃu
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	h	tʃi
Spilo <i>Suncho</i>	g	suɛtʃe ^w
Kanam <i>Suncho</i>	g	suɛtʃe ^w
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	c	gʌmtʌk
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	e	muk
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	e	muk
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	f	sogjɛp
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	h	tsʌbe
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	d	kɛtɛ

184. hunger

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	bʌbʌtek ^ɿ
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	e	upɛsɪŋ
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	e	upɛsɔŋ
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	e	ūpɛsʌŋ
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	f	ɔntʃis
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	e	upɛsɪŋ
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	f	on
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	f	ɔn
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	e	meupɛsɪn
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	0	no entry
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	d	kre
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	d	kre
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	c	dokredɛf
Spilo <i>Suncho</i>	f	ɔn
Kanam <i>Suncho</i>	f	ɔntut ^h ɔrenia
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	g	tokʌri
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	g	togri
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	g	togri
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	g	tək
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	a	b ^h uk ^h ɔ
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	a	b ^h uk ^h ɛ

185. drink

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	tʌŋ
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	tʌŋ ^ɿ
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	tʌŋ
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	tʌŋ
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	tʌŋi
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	tʌn
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	tūi
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	tʌŋin
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	tʌŋz
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	0	no entry
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	c	tʌŋ
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	c	tʌŋ
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	c	tʌm
Spilo <i>Suncho</i>	c	tʌŋ
Kanam <i>Suncho</i>	c	tʌŋ
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	c	tʌŋ
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	c	tʌŋ
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	c	toŋ
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	c	tʌnpa
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	a	dʒut ^h
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	b	pije

186. thirst

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	f	titestɛs
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	tiskɛ
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	f	titastʌs
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	skɛr
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	tiskɛr
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	tiskɛrmu
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	skɛr
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	tiskɛr
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	tiskɛrsdɛ
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	0	no entry
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	e	ti:mɪʃi
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	e	timɪʃi
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	d	tiskɛr
Spilo <i>Suncho</i>	d	tiskɛr
Kanam <i>Suncho</i>	d	tikɛrot ^h ɔre
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	d	tikɛrɛ
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	b	komri
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	b	komdi
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	a	k ^h ʌkoŋ
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	g	tʃis
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	c	pjɛsɛ

187. sleep

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	b'ojeg
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	jʌg
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	jʌg
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	jeg
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	jʌge
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	jəgi
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	jʌgnu
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	jəgin
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	jeg
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	0	no entry
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	f	noni
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	f	non
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	f	njuun
Spilo <i>Suncho</i>	f	njon
Kanam <i>Suncho</i>	f	njon
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	c	gudʒin
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	f	njol
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	e	jæl
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	f	nɪnpjælpa
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	h	sut ^h
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	g	so:

188. lie down

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	brʌl
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	brɪnbɔt
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	brɪnbjo
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	brɪnbio
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	brɪn
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	brɪnbɪn
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	brɪnbɪ
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	brɪnbɪ
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	brɪndɪʃ
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	0	no entry
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	a	brɪnrūn
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	e	lættɪ ^h
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	a	brɪnse
Spilo <i>Suncho</i>	a	brɪndʒo
Kanam <i>Suncho</i>	a	brɪntɪk
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	c	gudʒɪn
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	i	tetɪkʃuk
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	d	kjɛŋkjɛŋleso
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	g	njalwa
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	f	lɛmnʌʃ
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	e	leʃe

189. sit

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	f	toʃ
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	f	toʃ
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	f	toʃ
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	f	tuʃ
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	f	tuʃɪ
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	f	toʃɪn
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	f	toʃɪ
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	f	toʃɪ
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	f	toʃ
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	0	no entry
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	e	pɔsɪn
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	e	pɔs
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	e	pɔs
Spilo <i>Suncho</i>	e	pɔs
Kanam <i>Suncho</i>	e	pɔs
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	e	pɔ
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	d	dod
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	d	dot
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	c	depa
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	b	bɛʃ
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	a	bæʃ ^h o

190. give

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	k	rʌn
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	k	rʌn
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	k	rʌŋ
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	h	kjo
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	h	kji
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	g	ken
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	i	lodʒē
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	g	keɪ
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	h	kjo
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	0	no entry
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	a	dɛsɪn
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	a	dɛs
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	g	k ^h es
Spilo <i>Suncho</i>	g	k ^h e
Kanam <i>Suncho</i>	g	k ^h e
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	g	k ^h e
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	m	tɔt
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	f	kɛri
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	l	tepa
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	b	de
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	c	dɪʃe

191. (it) burns

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	bogo
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	bɔk
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	e	lɔktʃɪm
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	bɔkbɔk
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	bɔkbɔk
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	e	lektʃɪs
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	bɔk
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	e	lektʃo
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	e	lektʃ
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	0	no entry
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	c	duro
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	c	duro
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	e	lɔktʃe
Spilo <i>Suncho</i>	b	mebɛru
Kanam <i>Suncho</i>	f	rostɪʃ
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	f	roʃɪn
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	g	toksonʒ
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	g	tok
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	h	tsɪkpa
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	d	dzɛl
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	d	dʒʌli

192. die

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	ʃieg
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	ʃiu
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	ʃi
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	ʃiu
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	ʃɪʃi
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	ʃiu
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	ʃiu
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	ʃɪʃi
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	ʃiu
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	0	no entry
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	c	ʃju
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	c	ʃiu
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	c	ʃiu
Spilo <i>Suncho</i>	c	siu
Kanam <i>Suncho</i>	c	siu
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	c	ʃɪʒe
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	c	ʃi
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	c	ʃi
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	c	ʃipa
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	b	morele
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	b	maro

193. kill

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	kʰəkuli
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	e	sɛrnu
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	kuʎo
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	kuʎ
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	kuʎmu
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	kulin
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	pɛreo
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	e	sɛi
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	e	set
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	0	no entry
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	h	tʰɛt
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	h	tʰɛtʃ
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	e	set
Spilo <i>Suncho</i>	e	setme
Kanam <i>Suncho</i>	e	setme
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	e	setkʌkir
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	e	setsoŋ
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	g	sʌtoŋ
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	f	sɛ:pʌ
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	c	moɾɛɽ
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	c	mɛro

194. fly

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	dʒɛpet
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	pɛket
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	ʎʌb
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	ʎɛp
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	f	sɛrts
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	ʎɛpmu
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	ʎɛpeno
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	ʎɛbi
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	c	ʎɛptʃ
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	0	no entry
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	c	ʎʌpɜ
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	c	ʎʌp
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	c	ʎʌptʃ
Spilo <i>Suncho</i>	c	ʎɛ
Kanam <i>Suncho</i>	c	ʎʌptiʃ
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	c	ʎʌp
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	e	pʌrsoŋ
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	e	pʌr
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	e	pʌrʌ
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	g	tʰuɽ
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	h	uɾgʌʃi

195. walk

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	f	wɛn
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	h	pɛi
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	f	ʌin
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	f	junʌ
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	e	ʎɛbʎɛb
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	f	ʎyni
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	bin
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	h	pɛi
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	h	pɛ
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	0	no entry
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	f	ʎyn
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	h	pɛtʃ
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	f	juni
Spilo <i>Suncho</i>	b	doŋ
Kanam <i>Suncho</i>	b	doŋniʃ
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	b	doŋ
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	b	dugu
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	b	do
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	g	kuŋbapoba
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	d	hʌd
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	i	tʃʌle

196. run

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	dored
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	tʰuret
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	tʰuret
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	tʰorenʌ
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	tʰuret
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	dores
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	binbin
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	doresi
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	tʰures
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	0	no entry
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	b	tʌrʒu
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	b	tʌritʃ
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	f	kʎɛmʃ
Spilo <i>Suncho</i>	e	hɛsɛldoŋ
Kanam <i>Suncho</i>	g	krʌltiʃ
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	g	krʌlte
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	d	gʌokpɛdugu
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	d	gʌok
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	c	dʒukpʌ
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	b	tʰuɽ
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	b	dʌdɛ

197. go

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	bio
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	bʰot
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	bʰɛʌ
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	bʰɔ
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	bʒu
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	bin
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	bin
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	bi
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	biu
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	0	no entry
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	g	rotʃ
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	g	rotʃ
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	d	dʒo
Spilo <i>Suncho</i>	d	dʒo
Kanam <i>Suncho</i>	d	dʒo
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	c	de
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	h	soŋ
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	h	soŋ
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	d	dʌowa
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	f	nʌʃ
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	d	dʒɛo

198. come

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	dʒo
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	dʒɛɾ
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	ʒoʌ
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	dʒɛɾɛ
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	dʒiɾʌ
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	ʌdʒɛn
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	dʒɛn
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	dʒɛn
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	dʒʌɾ
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	0	no entry
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	e	dʒɛ
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	c	dʰɛtʃ
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	c	de
Spilo <i>Suncho</i>	d	dʒiɾɛ
Kanam <i>Suncho</i>	d	dʒiɾɛ
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	g	rɛʌ
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	h	ʃok
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	h	ʃok
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	f	joŋkiʒi
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	b	ɛtsɛle
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	a	ɛʒo

199. speak

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	e	lat
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	g	riŋ
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	betes
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	bətesɪ
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	betes
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	beteʃin
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	g	riŋin
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	g	reŋin
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	batesin
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	0	no entry
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	e	lot ^h
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	e	loʌtʃ
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	e	lot
Spilo <i>Suncho</i>	i	tsel
Kanam <i>Suncho</i>	g	rin
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	i	tsel
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	f	noleŋ
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	j	urteŋ
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	d	ketʃəʃepa
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	b	bol
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	b	bole

200. listen

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	e	rʌntʃ
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	g	təs
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	e	rʌntʃ
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	e	rontʃ
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	e	rondʒ
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	g	tʰəsɪn
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	e	rʌntʃin
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	e	rontʃin
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	e	rondʒ
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	0	no entry
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	e	ruŋʃ
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	e	ruŋtʃ
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	a	go
Spilo <i>Suncho</i>	e	ruŋk ^h
Kanam <i>Suncho</i>	e	ruŋtʃ
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	a	gonore
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	d	piun
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	d	pion
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	c	kəa
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	f	sunele
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	f	sune

201. look

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	k ^h ju
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	k ^h ju
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	k ^h iu
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	k ^h ū
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	k ^h ju
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	k ^h en
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	k ^h jen
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	k ^h jen
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	k ^h jo
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	0	no entry
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	c	ʃjɛw
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	c	ʃiɛtʃ
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	b	k ^h on
Spilo <i>Suncho</i>	b	k ^h on
Kanam <i>Suncho</i>	b	k ^h oniʃ
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	b	k ^h ʌ
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	f	t ^h o
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	f	to
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	f	toŋsoŋ
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	c	ʃɛw
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	a	dek ^h ɛ

202. I

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	gʌ
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	gʌ
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	gʌ
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	gʌ
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	gʌ
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	gə
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	gʌ
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	gʌ
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	gʌ
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	b	gʌ
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	b	gɛ
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	b	g ^h ɛ
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	b	gɛ
Spilo <i>Suncho</i>	b	gi
Kanam <i>Suncho</i>	b	gi
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	b	gi
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	f	nɛ
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	e	mʌŋ
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	0	no entry
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	c	hū
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	d	mæ

203. you (informal)

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	ke
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	ke
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	ke
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	ke
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	ke
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	ke
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	ke
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	ke
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	ke
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	a	ke
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	a	ken
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	a	ken
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	a	ken
Spilo <i>Suncho</i>	a	ke
Kanam <i>Suncho</i>	a	ke
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	d	ŋen
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	b	k ^h et
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	b	kjot
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	c	keran
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	e	tu
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	e	tum

204. you (formal)

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	ki
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	ki
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	ki
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	k ^h i
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	ki
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	ki
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	ki
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	ki
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	ki
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	d	ki
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	d	kin
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	d	kin
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	c	gjem
Spilo <i>Suncho</i>	b	giɾʌŋ
Kanam <i>Suncho</i>	b	giɾʌŋ
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	j	uni
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	f	njt
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	f	nit
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	e	koŋla
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	h	tume
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	a	əp

205. he

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>d nu</i>
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>a do</i>
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>d nu</i>
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>d nō</i>
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>d onō</i>
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>b hunu</i>
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>b hunu</i>
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>b hodo</i>
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>0 no entry</i>
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>0 no entry</i>
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	<i>c imi</i>
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	<i>0 no entry</i>
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	<i>0 no entry</i>
Spilo <i>Suncho</i>	<i>a do</i>
Kanam <i>Suncho</i>	<i>0 no entry</i>
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	<i>0 no entry</i>
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	<i>0 no entry</i>
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	<i>0 no entry</i>
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	<i>0 no entry</i>
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	<i>b hōsō</i>
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	<i>0 no entry</i>

206. she

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>h nu</i>
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>a doⁱ</i>
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>h nu</i>
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>h nō</i>
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>d honugo</i>
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>d hunu</i>
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>d hunu</i>
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>d hodo</i>
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>h nu</i>
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>h nu</i>
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	<i>e imi</i>
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	<i>b ho^j</i>
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	<i>h nō</i>
Spilo <i>Suncho</i>	<i>a do</i>
Kanam <i>Suncho</i>	<i>a do</i>
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	<i>k uru</i>
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	<i>j uni</i>
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	<i>i p^hi</i>
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	<i>g moran</i>
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	<i>c hōsō</i>
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	<i>l vāh</i>

207. we (inclusive)

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>c kiʃe</i>
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>c kiʃutseⁱ</i>
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>c keʃetseⁱ</i>
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>n tseⁱk^hi</i>
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>c kiʃeiʃum</i>
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>i niʃotsek^hi</i>
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>c keʃʌŋ</i>
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>c kiʃʌŋ</i>
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>c keʃiŋe</i>
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>c kiʃeŋ</i>
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	<i>d kjeŋsetʃe</i>
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	<i>d kjaŋ</i>
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	<i>l orweŋ</i>
Spilo <i>Suncho</i>	<i>l ureŋ</i>
Kanam <i>Suncho</i>	<i>l ureŋ</i>
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	<i>l okpʌŋ</i>
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	<i>k njuʒuŋ</i>
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	<i>f meʃʌk</i>
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	<i>h nantso</i>
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	<i>m temriʃo</i>
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	<i>b hām</i>

208. we (exclusive)

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>e kiʃeʃʌm</i>
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>f kuʃuʃum</i>
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>d keʃeʃuŋ</i>
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>e kiʃeniʃ</i>
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>e kiʃeniʃ</i>
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>e kiʃeŋ</i>
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>l tʃeⁱ</i>
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>e kiʃe</i>
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>i niʃe</i>
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>e kiʃeŋ</i>
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	<i>e kjeŋʃi</i>
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	<i>e kjeŋse</i>
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	<i>i niŋʌŋ</i>
Spilo <i>Suncho</i>	<i>i niŋpeŋ</i>
Kanam <i>Suncho</i>	<i>i niŋpeŋ</i>
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	<i>c juŋeʌŋ</i>
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	<i>k njuʒuŋ</i>
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	<i>g meʃʌk</i>
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	<i>j ŋantso</i>
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	<i>m tʌmdi</i>
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	<i>b hām</i>

209. you (all)

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>d kitseⁱ</i>
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>d kitʃeⁱ</i>
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>d kitseⁱ</i>
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>d kinoʔ</i>
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>d kisi</i>
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>d kino</i>
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>d kino</i>
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>d kine</i>
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>d kinenu</i>
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>i niŋeŋ</i>
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	<i>d kise</i>
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	<i>c kentʃʌŋ</i>
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	<i>d kimʌŋ</i>
Spilo <i>Suncho</i>	<i>b giʌŋpeŋ</i>
Kanam <i>Suncho</i>	<i>b giʌŋpeŋ</i>
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	<i>h ŋeŋpʌŋ</i>
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	<i>g niʃeʒuŋ</i>
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	<i>g niʃʌk</i>
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	<i>c kerantso</i>
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	<i>j tumri</i>
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	<i>a eplog</i>

210. they

Nigulsari <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>f nugotseⁱ</i>
Kachrang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>a dugō</i>
Nichar <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>f nugotseⁱ</i>
Punang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>i nō</i>
Chagaon <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>f honugo</i>
Sangla <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>a dzugo</i>
Kothi <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>f nugo</i>
Pangi <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>a dogo</i>
Ribba <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>f nuge</i>
Morang <i>Kinnauri</i>	<i>j ɔdɔgʌŋ</i>
Rakchham <i>Chitkuli</i>	<i>g imise</i>
Chitkul <i>Chitkuli</i>	<i>e hoʃjomi</i>
Lippa <i>Jangrami</i>	<i>i norweŋ</i>
Spilo <i>Suncho</i>	<i>a dorʌŋ</i>
Kanam <i>Suncho</i>	<i>i noreŋ</i>
Sunnam <i>Sunnam</i>	<i>m urtepʌŋ</i>
Nisang <i>Tukpa</i>	<i>l uniguŋ</i>
Puh <i>Bhoti</i>	<i>k p^hie</i>
Lhasa <i>Tibetan</i>	<i>h korantso</i>
Chagaon <i>Harijan</i>	<i>d hōseri</i>
Standard <i>Hindi</i>	<i>n ve</i>