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# **DESIA**

**A TRIBAL ORIYA DIALECT OF KORAPUT ORISSA**

**Dr. KHAGESWAR MOHAPATRA**

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**D E S I A**  
**A TRIBAL ORIYA DIALECT OF ORISSA**  
**[Grammar, Text and Dictionary]**

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## FOREWORD

Professor Khageswar Mahapatra's study of the Desia language—the Desia dialect of Oriya—should be of interest to several kinds of scholar—as well as to those outsiders working in the Koraput district of Orissa (in an earlier period part of the Madras Presidency)—most of them from coastal central Orissa—wanting to know more about this chief local dialect. But Koraput has not been a popular place with these people—the administrators and businessmen from the coastal districts—it being considered an unhealthy, 'Jungly', and generally unpleasant place—a place to get out of as soon as one can. There have been exceptions of course; the distinguished novelist Gopinath Mohanty, who spent many years in Koraput, set a couple of his novels (about tribals—'Porojas') there. Students of Oriya will have to examine another 'southern' dialect, one different from the Southern Oriya of Berhampur and the Ganjam region. Desia, for instance, differs from the other Oriya dialects in lacking all the aspirates of standard Oriya (and Indo-Aryan). It also lacks the retroflex  $\eta$  and—, which lack is characteristic of 'central' (i.e. the central border region between 'North'—roughly, Indo Aryan, and 'South, i. e. Dravidian) India. Indo-Aryanists will want to know something about the south-western most Indo-Aryan language of mainland India, a frontier language fronting not only the border of Telugu-speaking Andhra, but in contact with several other languages in what is still—and probably has long been—a highly multilingual region, one of the regions in 'central' [i. e. no] Himalayan or extreme northeastern (Assam, Meghalaya, etc.) ] India of greatest linguistic diversity. In Koraput at least five different Munda languages are spoken, as well as that many or more tribal Dravidian languages, this in addition to varieties of Telugu, and standard (coastal) Oriya and several other (presumably closely related to Desia) Indo-Aryan dialects. The Dravidianists and the Munda linguists have, as usual, preceded the students of 'tribal', 'substandard' or 'offbeat dialectal'—Indo-Aryan in coming to Koraput to do linguistic research. There is at least one reason why Desia ought to have been studied first and the results of the study made available to the Dravidianists and Mundalogists : it is clear, at least for the study of the Munda languages of the region Gutob (Gadba), Remo (Bonda), Gta (Didayi), Sora (Saora) and Gorum (Parengi), that these languages have been heavily influenced by Desia. How heavily was not fully apparent until Dr. Mahapatra's work appeared. Not merely laxicon (Gutob and Gorum have borrowed particularly heavily, and where Dravidian borrowings were noted in these languages it now looks as if most of these have come through Desia), but verbal categories, and pieces of syntax and semantics of some of these Munda languages have obvious sources in Desia. If there was—or is—a Munda influence on Desia, not much evidence of it has been noted so far. Desia, as Dr. Mahapatra shows, is very

close to 'Bhatri'. More and better work is now needed on the various dialects of 'Halbi' in order to provide a reliable and reasonably full description—and some notion of the history of—these southwestern and southcentral interior Indo-Aryan languages. The historic connections of these—claims on behalf of Marathi, Hindi (Chhatisgarhi) and Oriya have been mad—are still unclear.

The region—like most regions in India—has been long known to history but not a great deal of its history has been worked out. There has been some, but not much anthropological work done on particular groups (i. e. the Sora and the Bonda) in the area, but we know practically nothing about the complex interactions of the many different (and I don't mean only linguistically different) social groups in Koraput. Like other regions, this one is changing (some parts of it at a very rapid rate)—in the wake of the building of hydroelectric projects, airplane factories, etc., and the influx of outsiders (mostly people from outside Orissa) that these developments have brought with them.

Professor Mahapatra has also collected a rich sample of texts in Desia, most of them not included in this volume. The song types, their contexts and occasions, are common to many of the groups of the region and no doubt to a wider region. Most of the speakers of the Munda languages of Koraput are bilingual in their own languages and in Desia. Some of them are giving up their own languages in favour of Desia. Nobody has tried to do for Koraput and e.g., the adjacent district of Srikakulam in Andhra, the sort of typological study that John Gumperz and associates did on the Maharashtra-Karnataka border. The situation here—and Koraput also shares a long border with the Bastar District of Madhya Pradesh (Andhra, but not Srikakulam, farther south also shares a long border with Bastar) is more complex; for one thing there are many more languages, and one more linguistic family represented. For any such areal study too—and such studies are very much worth doing—Dr. Mahapatra's book will be an indispensable source.

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I simply remember today my informants—Dundu Aita, Murli, Balaram, Kari, Ghasi and Dobek—who taught me their language, gave me their pleasant company in the hills and dales of Koraput and sacrificed the warmth of their home and hearth to share with me the bitter winter days in Delhi and Aligarh. I have really no words to express my feelings for them.

K. M.

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## INTRODUCTION

'DESIA' (Skt. Desya) means 'native', 'aboriginal' or 'indigenous'. The primitive inhabitants of the hilly regions of Koraput are generally known as 'Desia' or the 'sons of the soil'. Their language, a dialect of Oriya has been, therefore, denominated as 'Desia', or the speech of the region.

### I

Koraput is the land of the aborigines. According to the 1961 Census as many as 51 tribal and 73 scheduled caste communities live there and constitute respectively 60·9 and 12·4 per cent of the total population of the district. In addition to this, of the rest bulk of population nearly 10% come under the Backward class. These people, taken together, are a heterogenous mixture of three different ethnological groups, such as Aryan, Dravidian and Austric, and speak a large variety of dialects which are not mutually intelligible. It has been very correctly stated by R. C. S. Bell (District Gazetteer, Koraput, 1945) that—"The languages of the district form a veritable Babel". In this sparsely populated small stretch of land as many as 20 different languages are spoken and people living side by side in a village speak altogether different dialects. A list of the important languages of the area is given below:

(A) Aryan Group—1. Oriya (908766) dialects—Desia,

Bhatri (133211)  
Jharia (2032)

2. Marathi dialect—Halbi (1886)
3. Chhatisgarhi dialect—Laria (539)

(B) Dravidian Group—

4. Telugu (86097)
5. Kui (162518)
6. Pengu (1254)
7. Kondh (79034)
8. Parji (83914)
9. Koya (31052)
10. Gondi (18098)
11. Konda (10930)

(C) Munda Group—12. Gadba (31791)

12. Par enga (6702)
14. Bonda (4677).
15. Dideyi (1978)
16. Saora (55418) including Lodha—16628)

Santali, Bhumij, Maheli, Mirdha, Mundari etc. are also current in the district, though these are spoken by minorities.

In this peculiar multilingual situation these people had the need for a common language for their inter-community social transactions. Of the languages listed above, Oriya had the benefit of being chosen as the 'lingua franca' of the region because of its royal patronage and cultural dominance.

We learn from the history of Koraput that after the Silavamsi kings, who carved out a dominion in modern Koraput region and founded their capital at Nandapur, the Suryavamsi Kings of Orissa established suzerainty over that kingdom. Shri Vinayak Deo who succeeded Pratap Ganga Raju, the last king of Silavamsa, in 1448 is supposed to be a scion of the Suryavamsa and the Nandapur kingdom was conferred to him as a mark of favour by Kapileswar Deva. (Ref. Dr. N. K. Sahu—Koraput district Gazetteers, 1966, P. 59). It is probable that from the advent of the kings of Oriya descent dates the begining of Oriya influence and the spread of Oriya language in Koraput region. (Ref. Bell. Op. Cit. P-23).

But Oriya spoken in Koraput differs to a great extent from the standard Oriya speech of the coastal districts of Orissa. In the words of R. C. S. Bell "Oriya as spoken by the hill tribes in the Koraput district differs so much from the Oriya of other parts of the province as to be almost unintelligible to a new-comer". His explanation of this difference is that "Oriya now spoken in Ganjam and Koraput is the form of the language which was generally spoken in Orissa a century ago. The Oriya of Cuttack has been influenced by literary experiments and so has tended to discard words which had humble association or were considered to be characteristic of the lower classes. Koraput has long been isolated from the influence of modern Oriya literature and has thus retained the old form of the language unchanged". (Ref. op. cit. P. 56-57). But it seems there are other reasons too behind the creation and preservation of this regional Oriya speech in Koraput.

Firstly, in consideration of the peculiar archaic and tribal nature of Koraput-Oriya, we can deduce that although the cause of Oriya was boosted from the advent of the Suryavamsi rule, the language had gained currency in this part of the country at a much earlier time. It may have originated from a very old form of the language which can be identified with the Odri Vibhasā. According to Markandeya, an Oriya grammarian of the 16th A. D., the Odri Vibhasa is a mixed dialect 'which comes off by adding local words of the Odra country and of Sauraseni etc. to Sabari, alone' (Ref. Prakrtasarvasvam, edited by Dr. K. C. Acharya, Utkal Univeristy Ph. D. Thesis, P. 97.) The Sutra and its commentaries are as follows

's'abaryām evaudri yogāt taddesyasaurasenyādeh' taddesānām odra-desapadānām sauresanyādipadānām ca yogāt sankarāc chābaryām eva audrī sidhyati. (15.9)

Needless to say, the Desia dialect has the above characteristics of the Odri Vibhasa or Apabhramsa. It has affinities with the tribal languages which is indicated as Sabari Vibhasa and with Chhatisgarhi which through Eastern Hindi is descended from the Sauraseni Apabhramsa. In Grierson's opinion, all these Vibhasas' 'Sakari, Chandali, Sabari, Audhri and Abhiri—these are all degradations—levelling down—of Magadhi, or Sauraseni, or of both' (Ref. The Prakrit Vibhasa, JRAS, 1918) In the absence of ample material evidences of the Odri Vibhasa, even if it is not possible to proceed any further with this hypothesis, still it seems in all probability that Desia does represent a form of Oriya of the pre-Suryavamsi period.

Secondly, this area being a sort of meeting place of Marathi, Eastern Hindi (Chatisgarhi) and Oriya there has been a situation of language osmosis. This situation has been well described by Stenkonow when discussing the position of Halbi, Bhatri and other minor dialects of the area, he says, 'These dialects are the only one which can claim to be intermediary between Marathi and Oriya. \*\*\*They are not organic links, but merely mechanical mixtures of all the Aryan languages which meet in the eastern part of the Central province.' (L.S.I. Vol. Vii, P. 339) Under this circumstance, the Oriya of Koraput, having absorbed in it some of the peculiarities of Marathi and Chatisgarhi dialects, has much differentiated itself from the standard Oriya dialect. Grierson, who found a trace of Desia in the form of Bhatri dialect, has remarked that "Bhatri is really a corrupt form of Oriya, with a few Marathi and Chatisgarhi forms intermingled". (L. S. I. Vol. V, Pt. II. P. 434).

In this connection it is to be remembered here that prior to the reign of Suryavamsa, the Koraput—Bastar region was not a fully non-Aryan tract and the Aryan-tongues were never unknown to the people of this region. Aryaniation must have began here centuries back, at least starting from the time of Kharavela who recruited soldiers for his army from this part of his territory during his invasion against the Rathikas and Bhojakas. It can be well imagined that the early Aryan settlers of this region introduced an Aryan language which is probably the same or a branch of the older Aryan language from which Oriya had originated. In course of time that Aryan speech took a peculiar regional shape due to its close contact with the tribal languages of the area and long isolation from the influence from the influence of the fast developing other Aryan speeches. The regional tribal Indo-Aryan speech was later on fittingly named as 'Desia'. Subsequently this speech was more and more Oriya oriented under the royal patronage of the Oriya kings of Nandapur.

Thirdly, the tribal dialects of the Munda and Dravidian families and the neighbouring Telugu language have rendered considerable influence on the Oriya dialect of Koraput and it has been corrupted to a great extent in the mouth of the tribal speakers.

On account of all these factors the Oriya speech of Koraput area has assumed a regional and tribal appearance and has been called as 'Desia'.

## II

Desia, the tribal Oriya dialect of Koraput, is the mother-tongue of the Aryans and the Aryanised tribals and the second natural language of the peoples of the non-Aryan communities who are by birth bilinguals.

The following caste-communities speak Desia as their mother tongue.

### (1) Scheduled Caste and Other Backward Caste group —

Rona, Domb (121173), Chandala (3798), Ghasi (4284), Paik, Mali, Goud, Thoria, Bauri (1134), Dhakkdo, Dhuliya, Kalingi, Jaggali (1053), Boipari, Lohara, Valmiki (721), Sundi, Haddi (5474), Pan (5266).

It may be noted here that among these, Thorias are found only in Kasipur area, but others are scattered allover the district, occasionally concentrating at particular localities. Jaggali and Kalingi communities Desia speech is considerably Telugu oriented. Among these communities Rona, Paik, Mali, Goud, Dhakkado, Dhuliya, Lohara, Boipari are Hinduised and observe restriction on food and wear sacred thread.

## (2) Scheduled Tribe group —

Bhottoda, Pentiya, Holva, Omnatya, Matia, Bhumia, Kondh (Jharia) Mahali.

Excepting the last two tribes, Jharia and Mahali who are sections of Kandha and Santal respectively, all other tribes originally belong to the Gondi stock and subsequently Aryanised to a certain extent. They have a long tradition of their settlement in Bastar-Koraput region. In their primitive period they were supposed to be speaking a form of Gondi. But at present they have all adopted dialects of the regional Indo-Aryan languages, such as Oriya, Marathi, Chatisgarhi etc. Grierson has categorically stated that Bhatri and Halbi, the language of the Bhottadas and Holvas, are dialects of Oriya and Marathi respectively. The language of the Jharia Parajas is Halbi mixed Desia. About the language of the Pentiyas Shri Gopinath Staphy reports. "It is reported in Gazetteer that their language is Haluva which the Pentiyas of Jeypur do not admit. They speak Oriya and admit Oriya to be their only language" (Adivasi, 1963-64, No. 3, P. 161). Rest of the tribes, Omnatya, Matia, Bhumia and Mahali, speak almost pure Desia.

The following non-Aryan communities speak Desia as a second language. (The first number on the side indicate total population and the second number indicates the number of Desia speakers).

Tribes (1)	Total population (2)	Speakers of Tribal speech (3)	Speakers of Desia as second language (4)	Speakers of Desia as natural language (5)
Bagata ..	1,374	(Telugu—683))	..	691
Bonda ..	4,677	Remo	4,254	..
Dharua ..	4,888	Gondi	..	4,884
Dideyi ..	1,978	Gota	1,978	...
Gadba ..	42,560	Gutob —	31,791	23,653
Gond ..	55,272	Gondi —	18,098	12,970
Jatapu ..	10,583	Koya —	5,971	1,238
Kondadora ..	15,808	(Telugu — 9,069)	(2,217)	5,552
Kondh ..	2,71,698		..	49,191
		Jharia —	2,032	1,735
				..

Tribes (1)	Total population (2)	Speakers of Tribal speech (3)	Speakers of Desia as second language (4)	Speakers of Desia as natural language (5)
		Kondh — 78,457	20,882	..
		Konda — 10,930	668	
		Koya — 22,079	6,877	..
		Kui — 1,03,299	23,139	..
Kotia ..	3,447	Kondh	..	23,446
Koya ..	53,590	Koya — 53,152	9,828	438
Mirdha ..	732	Kharia	..	509
Munda ..	5,892	Munda	..	5,000
Parenga ..	6,702	Gorum — 767	767	5,382
Paroja ..	1,41,694		..	52,281
		Parji — 83,901	13,751	..
		Kui — 3,221	1,423	..
		Pengu — 1,254	115	..
Santal ..	990	Santali	..	983
Saora ..	36,329	Saora — 24,401	3,310	10,517
Sabara (Lodha) ..	17,583	Saora — 4,348	1,945	11,798

(Reference—1961 District Census Hand-Book, Koraput and Census of India, 1961, Vol. I, Pt. II-C (ii) Language Tables).

*Note—*

1971—CENSUS FIGURES (*Koraput*)

Total Population	.. 20,43,281
Scheduled Tribes	.. 11,51,231 (56·34%)
Scheduled Castes	.. 2,74,115 (13·41%)

## Major Tribes

Bagata	..	21
Bhottada	..	1,90,979
Bhumia	..	61,501
Bhuiya	..	6,262
Bonda	..	5,334
Dharua	..	6,318
Dideyi	..	2,154
Gadba	..	46,237
Gond	..	66,991
Halva	..	5,501
Jatapu	..	7,802
Kondh	..	3,25,144
Kondadora	..	8,129
Kotia	..	7,022
Koya	..	58,912
Mahali	..	110
Matya	..	2,594
Munda	..	1,517
Omanatyा	—	17,245
Parenga	—	3,029
Paroja	—	1,93,736
Pentia	—	4,349
Santal	—	1,677
Saora	—	28,359
Sabara (Lodha)	—	35,430
Unclassified	—	55,203

## III

Desia is spoken within an area of 7,571 Sq. miles comprising the subdivisions of Koraput Sadar, Jeypore, Nawarangpur and Malkangiri in the district of Koraput. This district lying between 20°3' and 17.50' north latitudes and 81°27' and 84°1 east longitudes resembles the shape of the Roman letter 'y'. Desia is roughly spoken in the area covered by the left horn and the tail of the alphabet.

Desia speaking areas can be divided into the following three tracts to demarcate local variations of the dialect —

1. Nandapur area —(Padwa, Lamtaput, Nandapur, Semliguda, Pottangi Koraput, Laxmipur).
2. Nawarangpur area—(Nawarangpur, Umarkote, Papdahandi, Tentulkhundi).
3. Malkangiri area —(Govindpali, Chitrakonda, Mathili).

The main reason behind the local variations is concentrated habitation of a particular community in a particular locality. Other minor reasons are— influence of neighbouring languages, isolation by natural barrier and contact with modern civilization through establishment of industries, Government offices and educational institutions.

Nandapur may be treated as the focal area of the dialect. This place was the main centre of culture in the Koraput region since the 14th century A. D. when the Silavamsi kings first established their capital at Nandapur. Their successors, the Oriya kings of Suryavamsa continued to rule from Nandapur till Vira Vikram Deva, the seventh king of the dynasty (1637-1669) transferred the Capital to Jeypore. Hence, Desia spoken in and around Nandapur seems to be the real form of the dialect.

The early Oriya settlers of Nandapur originally came to the place as the soldiers and attendants of the Oriya kings . In the words of R. C. S. Bell. "They fitted themselves into the scheme of life in the district and adopted many of the hillman's easy-going ways as well as some of the rusticities of his speech" (Ref. op. cit. P. 63). Their descendants are now found among such castes as Rona, Mali, Goud, Paik, Kumar etc.

The Ronas occupy a superior position in the social hierarchy. According to tradition their ancestors came to Nandapur in the good old days and took military service under the kings there. Their caste name Rona is derived from the Sanskrit word 'रण' meaning 'battle' as they were a warrior class. They do not accept food from any other caste or tribe except the Bramhins. Even when they pay visit to their relatives, families including those of married daughter, they do not eat from their cooking, but cook their own food in new pots. (Ref. Notes on the Ronas of Koraput, B. Chowdhury, Adibasi — 1964-65, No. 2, P. 51). Because of this sort of status consciousness, they have maintained a sort of cultural solidarity in the midst of the multifarious tribal communities. Naturally, their speech has been less corrupted from the influence of the surrounding languages. Desia spoken by the Ronas represent the standard form of the dialect.

The Desia speech of the Ronas of Nandapur forms the basis of the present study on the Desia dialect of Koraput.

Dundu Hanthal who belongs to the Hanthal (Snake) exogamous clan of the Rona society, and who lives just in front of the famous Silavamsi throne of 32—steps in Nandapur served as the main informant for the dialect. He thinks of himself to be 45 years old. He has learnt to read and write Oriya but has not achieved enough proficiency. He works as a professional ‘Disari’ in his spare times. Above all, he is very proud of his Desia language and their Aryan Non-Aryan mixed cultural heritage.

#### IV

This work on the Desia dialect contains three sections—Grammar, Text and Dictionary.

In the Grammar-section a description of the language has been given under these three sub-sections—Phonemics, Morphology and Syntax. Efforts have been made to point out the main differences between Oriya and Desia in the ‘Notes’ provided with each of the items.

In the Text-section the items have been carefully compiled to include materials of varied interest and importance. It could not be possible to provide translation of all the items for fear of increasing the bulkness of the work. However, almost all the words occurring in the text have been included in the dictionary.

In the Dictionary-section cognates from other languages have been given with a view to throwing some light on the historical background of the dialect. The main objectives have been to show—the archaic and tribal nature of Desia, its affinities with Halbi and Chattisgarhi, and the influence of the Non-Aryan languages, particularly of Telugu on it.

Brief sketches of the two other contiguous dialects of Oriya, namely, Bhatri and Jharia—have been given in the appendix.

**DEΣΙΑ**  
**A TRIBAL ORIYA DIALECT**

**SECTION-I**  
**GRAMMAR**

**O. Phonemic Inventory****O. 1. Segmental Phonemes****O. 1. 1. Vowels**

i	—	u
e	ə	o
a		

**O. 1. 2. Consonants**

p	t	t̪	c	k
b	d	d̪	j	g
		s		
m	n		N	
l				
r	t̪			
w			y	

**O. 2. Suprasegmental Phonemes**

Nasalization	—	indicated by /—/ at the top
Length	—	indicated by /.../ after vowels
Juncture	—	indicated by /-/- within words
Stress	—	indicated by /, / on the side

**O. 3. Evidence for Contrasts**

In order to establish the Phonemic Inventory contrast between suspected pairs of phonemes is set out in the following matrices. The number in the cells refer to the examples.

**O. 3. 1. Vowel Contrast**

	i	e	ə	a	o	u
i	1					
e			2			
ə	3			4	5	6
a						
o						
u					7	

**O. 3. 2. Vowel—Semivowel Contrast**

i	u
y	8
w	9

## 0. 3. 3. Consonant Contrast

	p	b	t	d	t̪	ɖ	c	j	k	g	s	m	n	N	l	r	ʈ
p	10																
b														11			
t			12	13	14												
d				15	16	17											
t̪					18												19
ɖ															20	21	
c							22			23							
k									24								
g														25			
m												26					
n													27	28			
l															29		
r						30											30

*Examples—*

1. i/e	ila-sickle ela-happened ki-what ke-who	mis-mix mes-moustache
2. e/a	ek-one ak-call se-he sa-companion	ɖeli-post ɖali-pulses
3. ə/e	əla-fire-torch ela-happened kajə-itch kaje-therefore	cər-ford cer-root
4. ə/a	əki-tonsil āki-eye kəila-said kaila-ate	pər-other par-cave kəcə-owl kāca-ripe

5. ə/o	əl-tremble ol-hang gət-town goɪ-leg	əsna-eaves ocna-bed sæe-hundred soe-sleeps
6. ə/u	əja-habit uja-right pər-other pur-flood	kajə-itch kasu-coin
7. u/o	ur-fly bauni-pad on head au-steam	ɔr-wear kaoni-food ao-come
8. i/y	gai-cow kəili-I told	gay-sings gəyil-bison
9. u/w	lua-a bird buari-son's wife	melwa-wild-cat palwani-new leaves to come out
10. p/b	par-cave pabli-rock cap-press	bar-twelve babli-I thought cab-bite
11. b/m	bəira-deaf dəbri-bell-metal cup cab-bite	məira-piper dumri-ficus glomerata cam-skin
12. t/d	tin-three sətər-seventeen sət-true	din-day sədər-front-yard səd-dig-out
13. t/t̪	tali-plate putla-pupil bərət-plough-string	tali-rafter puṭla-blossomed bərət-pimple
14. t/ʈ	tuma-bottle-gourd təger-thread bitər-inside bat-rice	ḍuma-ghost ḍəgər-tunnel biḍər-to fice baṛ-fence
15. d/t	dek-see bed-pierce mutra-who urinates	ṭek-lift bet-pick up muṭla-log
16. d/ɖ-ɾ	duma-fat bəḍru-pestle kəḍki-rough məḍ-wine	ḍuma-ghost biḍru-very fleet kəṛki-mattock məṛ-corpse
17. d/j	duar-door padra-characterless sud—pure	juar-salutation pajra-water spring suj-to repay

18. t/d-ɾ	teN-stick bat-way ciṭka-cricket buṭru-bullocks to low	deN-tall baṭ-fence ciṭka-sparkes biṭru-very fleet
19. t/r	tək-to peck kaṭna-wine-vessel bat-way	rək-to grate karna-gully bar-twelve
20. d/r	dua-ladle mər-die məṛdi-pestilence birḍa-bamboo lath	rua-cotton məṛ-corpse caṛri-divorced woman bidru-very fleet
21. ḍ/ɾ	camḍa-covered pavilion reḍi-heel, sole gaṛra-ram	camṛa-skin baṭ-i-loan puḍra-buffalo-calf
22. c/j	cani-thatch kacra-dirt mac-fish	jani-priest kejra-rat maj-rinse
23. c/s	car-ash ocna-bed mac-fish	sar-substance əsna-eaves mas-month
24. k/g	kaṭa-hare bakra-room nak-nose-	gaṛa-wasp bagra-cracked (pot) nag-a snake
25. g/N	bag-tiger dəgər-tunnel agt-i-holding,firmlly	baN-break dəNgər-mountain aNṭi-finger
26. m/n	mal-creeper kam-work jənpa-jute jənəm-birth	nal-gully kan-ear jəmka-pendant jəman-police
27. n/N	jən-moon ənka-spoon punla-sifted	jəN-thigh oNga-load in one side pəNla-cheated
28. n/l	nua-new kan-ear piṭna-hammer	luu-iron kal-pit piṭla-beaten
29. l/r	rua-cotton par-cave parka-two-pice-coin	luu-iron pal-plough-share pəlka-hollow
30. r/d-ɾ	ar-and camṛa-cobbler rua-cotton kərka-wall-niche	aṛi-bone camṛa-skin dua-ladle kəṛki-mattock

## 0.3.4. Nasalization Contrast

i/ɪ	iṭla-rinded	e/ɛ	bet-pick up
	िṭla-brick-oven		beṭ-hunting
e/ə	kəsa-bitter	a/ā	aṭ-eight
	kəsa-bell-metal		āṭ-tight
o/ə	meona bai-cousin	u/ū	kut-pound
	saṭta-village nobility		kūṭ-pillar

## 0.3.5. Length Contrast

i/i	jila-daughter	e/e	seṭa-that
	ji..la-lived		se..ṭa-that yonder
ə/ə	səria-field in the valley	a/a	kali-yesterday
	sə..ria-town people		ka..li-cigar
o/o	poṛai-having burnt	u/u	kura-hoof
	po...ṛai-dirty		ku..ra-mist

## 0.3.6 Juncture Contrast

kərsi	cow-dung cake
-kər-si	he will do
ḍumba	ghost
ḍum-bar	—to dive to fetch water
purni	—lotus
pur-ni	—please enter
daria	ila sharp sickle
dari	aila brought away
rampəṛ	scratch
ram-pəl	apple

## 0.3.7. Stress contrast

'pala/seedling	'kəla/soot
pala'/go away	kə'la/he did
'duar/door	'sapa/clean
du'ar/you carry	sapa'/whole lot

## I. SEGMENTAL PHONEMES

### 1. Description of Segmental Phonemes

#### 1.1. Contrastive Feature Chart

##### (i) Consonants

	Bi-Labial	Dental	Cerebral	Palatal	Velar
<b>Stops</b>					
Voiceless	p	t	t̪	c	k
Voiced	b	d	d̪	g	g̪
<b>Continuous</b>					
Fricative		s			
Nasals	m	n			N
Lateral		l			
Flap		r̪-t̪			

##### (ii) Semi-vowels

w	y
---	---

##### (iii) Vowels

	Front	Central	Back
High	i		u
Mid	e	ə	o
Low		a	

#### 1.2. List of Phonemes with descriptive statement.

##### 1.2.1. Consonants

All the stops have aspirated allophones which freely vary with their non-aspirated counterparts. Aspiration is marked by [h]. e. g. [ ph, bh, th, dh, t̪h, d̪h, ch, jh, kh, gh ]

/p/ Voiceless bi-labial stop	/pej/—gruel
/b/ Voiced bi-labial stop	/bətu/—ball
/t/ Voiceless dental stop	/tiga/—wire
/d/ Voiced dental stop	/daru/—wood
/ʈ/ Voiceless retroflexed stop	/ʈali/—rafter
/ɖ/ Voiced retroflexed stop	/ɖal/—leaf
/c/ Voiceless alveo-palatal stop	/car/—ash
/j/ Voiced alveo-palatal stop	/jəi/—fire
/k/ Voiceless velar stop	/kasu/—coin
/g/ Voiced velar stop	/gajəl/—bangle
/s/ Voiceless alveolar grooved fricative	/sima/—tin
/m/ Voiced bi-labial nasal	/mal/—creeper
/n/ Voiced alveolar nasal	/nini/—small

It has allophonic variations before homorganic stops which assume the quality of the stop that follows.

(n) occurs before cerebrals	/tənd/—mouth
(n) occurs before dentals	/bənd/—pond
(n) occurs before alveo-palatals	/sənj/—evening
/N/ Voiced velar nasal	/rəN/—red
/l/ Voiced alveolar lateral	/ʃege/—near
/r/ Voiced alveolar flap	/rua/—cotton
//ʈ/ Voiced retroflexed flap	/gaʈ/—river
w/ Voiced frictionless bilabial continuant	/uwa/—a fruit

Its allophonic variant assumes the phonetic value of non-syllabic /u/.

/jwar/—salutation
y/ Voiced frictionless palatal continuant

It has an allophone with the phonetic value of non-syllabic /i/.

## 2.2. Vowels

There are six-way contrast in vowel qualities. All of them exhibit certain general allophonic characteristics

- (a) Each has a lengthened counterpart of the same quality. Length can be taken to be phonemic when it is contrastive.

(b) Each vowel can occur both oral and nasal. Nasalization is phonemic.

(c) Oral vowels become slightly nasalized when occurring contiguous to a nasal phoneme.

(d) Except /a/ and /o/ each has a weak-voiced short quality.

/i/ Voiced high close front unrounded vocoid. /piri/—straw

Allophones—Nasalized (ī)

Long (i..) or (ii)  
Short (i)

/e/ Voiced mid close front unrounded vocoid. /keta/—idiot

Allophones—Nasalized (ē)  
Long (e..) or (ee)  
Short (e)

/ə/ Voiced mid close central unrounded vocoid. /kəce/—owl

Allophones—Nasalized (ə̄)

Long (ə̄) or (ə̄ə̄)  
Short (ə̄)

/a/ Voiced low open central unrounded vocoid. /par/—cave

Allophones—Nasalized (ā)  
Long (a..) or (aa)

/o/ Voiced mid close back rounded vocoid. /gopena/—sling

Allophones—Nasalized (ō̄)  
Long (o..) or (oo)

/u/ Voiced high close back rounded vocoid. /duma/—fat

Allophones—Nasalized (ū̄)

Long (u..) or (uu)  
Short (ū)

## 2. Distribution of Segmental Phonemes

### 2.1. Distribution in general

#### 2.1.1. Distribution of Vowels.

All the vowels, oral and nasal, occur in all positions—initial, medial and final positions with the exception that the nasal qualities of /e/ does not occur initially and of /o/ occurs only medially.

Weakly voiced short vowel qualities occur in the transition that takes place between consonants which cluster at syllable borders.

Long vowels contrast with short qualities only in the initial syllables.

Vowels		Initial	Medial	Final
Oral	Nasal			
i		/ir/fibre	/bil/hole	/ai/yawn
	i	/isa/envy	/dija/eye-ball	/si/sew
u		/uʃ/fly	/bul/roam	/au/vapour
	u	/uc/high	/duuri/mist	/mu/face
e		/e̯u/Head	/bel/sun	/se/he
	e		/lej/tail	/d̩e/jump
o		/or/wear	/bol/tell	/po/son
	o		/jaola/twin	
ə		/ə̯u/cave	/bəl/good	/kəcə/owl
	ə	/əs/duck	/bəra/bumble-bee	/gə/wheat
a		/aɪ/bone	/bal/hair	/nua/new
	a	/asia/funny	/sap/snake	/sua/millet
Short	Long			
i			/milimicika/glow-worm	
	i		/piila/he drank	
u			/guḍuri/hillock	
	u		/duurə/doubling	
ə			/tenḍeka/chameleon	
	e		/leeji/numb	
ə			/cəkəni/leaf cup	
	ə		/məəl/costly	

### 2.1.2. Distribution of Consonants

All except/N, ŋ, y, w/occur initially before vowels.

All except/N/occur medially in between vowels and after or before one other consonant.

All except/w/occur finally.

/N/ occurs medially before consonants only.

/d/ occurs medially when preceeded by /n, r/ or followid by /r/, and finally after nasals only.

Allophones of /n—(n, ŋ, n)—occur only before homorganic stops.

Non-syllabic allophones of /y,w/occur as transitions-/y/ between front vowels,/w/ between back vowels.

Aspirated allophones of stops occur only in final position of closed and stressed syllables.

Consonants	Initial	Medial	Final
/p/ (p) (ph)	/Pakna/-stone	/kəpur/-elbow joint	/pap/sin /kəmph/-phelgum
/b/ (b) (bh)	/bakna/-riddle	/kabaṛ/-work	/lab/-gain /lobh/-greed
/t/ (t) (th)	/tuk/-spit	/pəṭer/-leaf	/but/-much /rəth/-car
/d/ (d) (dh)	/duk/-pain	/pəḍem/-palm	/būd/-root /sudh/-pure
/ʈ/ (ʈ) (ʈh)	/ṭali/-rafter	/kuṭum/-kinsman	/baṭ/-way /kaṭh/wood
/ɖ/(ɖ) (dh)	/ɖal/-leaf	/əɖər/-roar /biɖru/-fleet /birɖa/bamboolath	/ɖənd/punishment
/c/ (c) (ch)	/cati/-mushroom	/pacura/-blood lessness	/kac/-glass /mich/-false
/j/ (j) (jh)	/jati/-caste	/pajuri/-roof frame	/kaj/-work /bojh/-heavy
/k/ (k) (kh)	/kal/-pit	/kakər/-cold	/pak/-near /nəkh/-nail
/g/ (g) (gh)	/gal/-cheek	/jəgəl/-moss	/pag/-turban /bagh/-tiger
/m/ (m)	/mal/-creeper	/jəman/-police	/jəm/-death-god
/n/ (n) (ñ) (ɳ) (ɳ)	/nal/-gully	/jənəm/-birth /bincna/-fan /maɳdu/-a delicacy /anɳni/-intestine	/jən/-moon
/N/ (N)		/daɳra/-youngman /taɳgi/-battle-axe	/kereɳ/-loin cloth
/s/ (s)	/sira/-ink	/kəsər/-free gift	/mas/-month
/l/ (l)	/ləm/-long	/kəlej/-liver	/cal/-skin
/r/ (r)	/rəm/-hair	/kərej/-loan	/car/-ash
/ɻ/ (r)		/ɻeɳe/-earth-worm	/baɻ/-fence
/y/ (y) (œ) (əɪ)		/aya/-mother /gəyeṛa/-dog-fly /gəyil/-bison	/tay/-frying pāṇ
/w/ (w) (ua) (ou)		/molwa/-wild-cat /seruwaṛi/-centiped /gowṛ/-herdsman	

## 2.2 Distribution in Sequence

### 2.2.1. Distribution of Vowels

All the vowels occur in sequence with other vowels

Non-syllabic vocoids /y, w/ occur between the sequences optionally

Sequences of /i-o, ə-a, u-e, u-ə, a-e, a-ə, o-e/ occur only in the inflected forms for certain tenses and cases.

Sequences of some vowels can be better treated as long-vowels

Clusters of syllabic and non-syllabic vowels represent certain complex units which can be treated as diphthongs—/vv/.

### 2.2.1.1. Two-Vowel Sequences are represented in the following matrix. Numbers refer to the list of examples.

V2—i		e	ə	a	u	o
V1—ɪ	—	1	2	3	4	5
e	6	—	7	8	9	10
ə	11	12	—	13	14	15
a	16	17	18	—	19	20
u	21	22	23	24	—	25
o	26	27	28	29	30	—

#### *Examples*

1. nə pie—does not drink
2. bɪər—to throw
3. bian—seed
4. jiuna—living
5. pio—let him drink
6. tei—there
7. neət—let them take
8. seaɪ—that side
9. keʊt—fisherman
10. meonabai—cousin
11. goɪ—iguana
12. əera—cushion for pots
13. nə asi—I shall not come
14. məut—prestige
15. kəoɪa—shell

16. sai—percupine
17. beræ—in the field
18. kaət—let them eat
19. kauṛi—carrying yoke
20. gao—sore
21. mui—I
22. nə sue—does not sleep
23. suət—let them sleep
24. buari—daughter-in-law
25. suo—let him sleep
26. koi—where
27. goerā—flee
28. boət—let them carry
29. boali—bearer
30. kout—funny

2· 1· 2. There are Three-Vowel Sequences of the following types. These sequences are generally found across morpheme boundaries.

i a i	/liai/	to cool hot food
i a u	/nə ciau/	we do not cause to touch
i a o	/ciao/	let him cause to touch
i a ə	/siaət/	let him cause to sew
u a i	/juai/	son-in-law
u a u	/kuau/	we feed
u a o	/kuao/	let him feed
u a ə	/kuaət/	let them feed
ə o i	/nə oiti/	I would not have been
ə o u	/nə ou/	we do not be
ə u e	/nə uət/	let them not be
ə e u	/nə əu/	let him not be
ə a i	/nə aibi/	I shall not come
ə i a	/kəi a/	come, having told
a i a	/taia/	peacock's feather

2· 2· 2. Distribution of Consonants

Consonant clusters never occur in a word initially

Clusters of nasals and homorganic stops (N—S), /s-t/ and /r-k/ only occur in a word finally.

e.g./tənd/—mouth, /jest/—May—June, /murk/—dunce.

Sequences of two and three consonants (—VC—CV—, —VC—CCV—VCC—CV—) occur within a word between syllables, across morpheme boundaries and pre or post junctural positions. These sequences may be of the following three types—

1. Homorganic
2. Identical
3. Heterogonic

2·2·2·1. **Homorganic sequences**, which can be really treated as clusters are constituted of nasal plus corresponding stop (N—S) and they occur prominently in three-consonant sequences—(CVCnC—CV)—/pindri/—shin (CVC—CnCV)—/gərnda/—one piece. Homorganic Nasal—Stop Clusters also occur at intervocalic positions but only between closed syllables—(VCnCV)—/munḍa/—embakment

when they occur in open syllables there is a strong tendency to replace the cluster by the nasalization of the preceding vowel—(CVCnCVC)—(CVCVC)—/pendom/—/pedom/—rice beer /gengət/—/gegət/—to persist

2·2·2. **Sequences of identical phonemes** are found mostly in inflected forms of verbs. There always occurs an open transition in between the contacting consonants.

e. g./kel-la/—he played,/bəs-si/—he will sit. Geminated consonants are very rare and occur only in stressed morphemes.

e. g./kəkkəya/—a sitting position/gaitte galani/—he is singing while going.

2·2·2·3. **Sequence of heterorganic consonants**, barring the single exception of /s—t./, should not be called clusters. as in such situations syllabic division or open transition occurs between the consonants—e. g.

(—VCCV)—(—VC—CV—)/(VCVCV—)paj-ra/-spring/ten-ke/-to that side Again many of the sequences occur due to morphophonemic changes that take place in various morphological constructions, such as, inflection for various tenses and cases—(e. g./mər-si/he will die,/gəc-ke/to the tree), formation of infinitives and verbal nouns—(e. g./kər-bar/ to do,/duk-na/ (fan), operation of vowel-deletion rule in disyllabic roots—(e. g./kurəc/—/kurci/ deli/I poked.

In *Two-Consonant-Sequences* (—C<sup>1</sup> C<sup>2</sup>) all occur as first element (C<sup>1</sup>) and all, except /N/, occur as second (C<sup>2</sup>) element.

In *Three-Consonant-Sequences* two of the consonants always appear in cluster and the other follows or precedes them at the border of a separate syllable The shape of the sequences appear as (—VCC—CV—) or (—VC—CCV—). When the first two cluster they are always homorganic nasal plus stop (N+S) and the third elements that follow are generally /k, t, t, n, s, r, l/.

When the last two cluster they are either homorganic nasal plus stop (N+S) or /s+t/ and only /r/ precedes them as first element.

*Examples—*

(i)—VCnC—CV

nk	t/n	/bankti/crooked,/rənkni/grater
nt	r/l	/təntri/throat,/gənṭla/sufficed
nd	k/r/l/s/tenṭka/cameleon,/munḍra/bald,/mənḍla/circle,/munḍsek/body-deep	
nt	n/r/l	/antni/intestine,/tantra/sly,/tintli/tamarind
nd	n/r/l	/bindna/chisel,/lendra/idler,/ bəndlə/door-frame
mp	r	/tempriya/rude

(ii) -CVCr - CC -

**fondle** /fɔndl/ to fondle

**f** ind /gərnðə / a log of wood

All possible heterogenous two-consonant sequences are represented in the matrix given below :—

The signs in the cell mean as follows:-

(—) indicates cluster between syllables

(o) indicates cluster across morpheme boundaries

(+) indicates cluster across word boundaries

The examples have double number—the first number indicates C<sup>1</sup> and the second indicates C<sup>2</sup>.

**Examples**

1. 2. /nap-bi / I shall measure
3. /nap-ti / I would measure
5. /cip̤ti / off season paddy
6. /kapdu / careless
9. /upka / floating
11. /map-si / he shall measure
13. /dupni / incense
15. /kupli / hillock
16. /kipri / skull
17. /upria/ to spatter
  
2. 2. bab-bi / I shall think
3. /bab-ti / I would think
7. /dob cena / pea
9. /əbka / unmixed
11. /gəbsa- / abortion
13. /babna / thought
15. /tabla / brass-bowl
16. /lobra / greedy
17. /kubra / hunch-back
  
3. 2. /mat-bi / I shall get drunk
3. /mat-ti / I would get drunk
9. /utka / to jump
10. /ət guna / lower intestine
11. /mat-si / he shall get drunk
12. /tutmuṛi / bitter gourd
13. /utna / resting on back
15. /putla / eye ball
16. /satra / father in law

4. 1. /ced pani / cheese water
2. /udba / rising
3. /pind-ti , I would wear
9. /kədka / rough
11. /məd sur / wine
13. /gədni / vaccination
15. /kədli / plantain
16. /badra / ferocious
  
5. 1. /bat paura / gate-keeper
2. /pit-bi / I shall strike
3. /pit-ti / I would strike
8. /pət jəi / chaff-fire
9. /pətkar / fraud
10. /guṭguṭa / to cook
11. /pətsi / a kind of crab
12. /pətmi / to rot
13. /caṭna / basket
15. /kaṭlam / reward
16. /potri / pregnant
  
6. 9. /bənḍka / fatty, dwarf
10. /puḍga / leaf cup
11. /mundsek/ body-deep
15. /gunḍla / tangled
16. /biḍru / very fleet
  
7. 2. /nac-bi / I shall dance
3. /nac-ti / I would dance
9. /picka nə li / sprayer
11. /nac-si / he will dance
13. /ocna / bed
15. /bicliya / slimy
16. /kacra / sweepings

8. 1. /pej pani / food and drink  
     2. /maj-bi / I shall scour  
     3. /maj-ti / I would scour  
     9. /jejka / complication  
     11. /maj-si / he shall scour  
     13. /bujni / right hand  
     15. /bijli / lightning  
     16. /pajra / spring
9. 1. /pūkpāk/to breath and blow  
     2. /tek-bi/I shall raise  
     3 /pokta/ripe  
     5. /ekṭa/alone  
     11. /kiksa/tusk  
     12. /bek muna/bag  
     13. /bakna/riddle  
     15. /sikli/chain  
     16. /dəkra/old man  
     17. /bəkṛa/billy
10. 2. /lag-bi/I shall fight  
     3. /agtu/first  
     6. /ragḍil/loose  
     11. /bigsi/to bloom  
     13. /jogni jatək/almanc  
     15. /kagla ar/collar bone  
     16. /dugra/jealous  
     17. /gagrā/bill hook
11. 1. /əspani/dew  
     2. /kəs-bi/I shall plough  
     3. /susta/healthy  
     5. /istu/god  
     9. /əskṛə/dirt  
     10. /əsguna/nose ornament
11. ikəs-si/he will plough  
     12. /ləsmiya/slender  
     13. /basna/odour  
     15. /nəsla/spoilt  
     16. /təsri/wire
12. 1. /jəm pur/heaven  
     2. /dum-bar/to dive  
     3. /tumta/swollen  
     4. /səmdi/relative  
     5. /kamṭi/split bamboo  
     6. kumḍa/pumpkin  
     7. /gamca/skirt  
     8. /kəmji-/to fade
12. 9. /camka/shell  
     10. /ramguṭa/a string instrument  
     11. /gumsa/blow with fist  
     13. /dumni/spoon  
     15. /bəmli/navy  
     16. /camra/cobbler  
     17. /dumṭi/fatty woman
13. 1. /jənpa/jute  
     2. /sunbuni/a ghost  
     3. /manti/respect  
     4. /an duriya/to swear  
     5. /kon-ṭa/which one  
     7. /rən cuna/powdery  
     8. /banja/nephew  
     9. /ənka/ladle  
     10. /kan gu/ear wax  
     11. /sun-si/he will listen  
     15. /sanli/younger wife

- |                              |                              |
|------------------------------|------------------------------|
| 14· 2. /maN-bi/I shall beg   | 16· 1. /kərpəna/declivity    |
| 3. /maNtiya/begger           | 2. /tərbuj/water melon       |
| 5. /beNti/toad               | 3. /turta/fresh              |
| 6. /diNdinga/watery          | 4. /merda/ceiling            |
| 11. /maN-si/he shall beg     | 5. /pərta bag/a witch        |
| 13. /maNni/begging           | 6. /birda/bamboo lath        |
| 15. /maN-li/I begged         | 7. /tirca/bird's intestine   |
| 16. /tiNri bet—/bird hunting | 8. /turjula/scaffolding      |
| 17. /paNti/gate              | 9. /parka/two-pice coin      |
| 15· 1. /telpu/lustruous      | 10. /nirguli/ear ring        |
| 2. /culbul/to shiver         | 11. /kərsi/cow-dung cake     |
| 3. /kəlta/planing a house    | 12. /kurma/heap              |
| 4. /əldi/yellow              | 13. /girna/a lizard          |
| 5. /gulti/enclosure          | 15. /tarla/rain shielf       |
| 6. /suł daN/carrying staff   | 17· 1. /kərpa/paddy stems    |
| 7. /melcaila/castrated       | 2. /uiba/to fly              |
| 8. /əlji-/to choke           | 3. /burti/sinking            |
| 9. /əlka/wave                | 4. /gordi/ditch              |
| 10. /səlga/a score           | 9. /kuṛka/cup                |
| 11. /əlsi/linseed            | 10. /gəṛga/a kind of rat     |
| 12. /əlma/white ant          | 11. /gəṛsa/a unit of measure |
| 13. /kəlni/starch            | 12. /kəṛma/large pot         |
| 15. /kel-li/I played         | 13. /baṛni/broom             |
| 16. /alra/bothersome         | 15. /gaṛla/fixed             |
|                              | 16. /gaṛra/ram               |

## II. SUPRASEGMENTAL PHONEMES

### 3. Description and Distribution

#### 3.1. Nasalization—/—/

Nasalization occurs with all the vowels. It is phonemic and can be treated as suprasegmental phoneme.

e. g./gao/'sore'—/gāo/'village'. Each oral vowel becomes slightly nasalized when occurring contiguous to a nasal phoneme.

e. g./məisi/ > /m̥eisi/'buffalo'  
 /daN̥ia/ > /dāN̥ia/'youngman'

In such environments nasalization of the vowel is predictable and may not be treated as phonemic.

In nasal plus stop (N+S) sequences nasalization occurs with the preceding vowel at intervocalic positions. It replaces the nasal consonant and a non-phonemic nasal transition follows the nasalized vowel.

[CVCnCV]

/saNkər/

/manda/

/ənda/

> [C̥V-CV]

> /sākər/      'narrow'

> /māda/      'herd'

> /əd̥a/      'pudding'

#### 3.2. Length—/..../

Length or prolongation can be taken to be phonemic as it is contrastive. Two utterances being composed of same articulatory motions render different meanings due to contrast only in the duration of the utterances.

Long and short vowels contrast only within the initial syllable of a word.  
 e. g./jibar/'to go'—/ji..bar/ 'to live'.

It is to be noted here that all the vowels tend to be long in some environments. Although phonetically almost every word contains one long vowel, the non-phonemic long vowels generally occur in the penultimate position of a closed syllable and in the final position of a consonant cluster.

e. g./ələ..p/ 'little', //jəma..n/ 'police', /ba..il/ 'field', /cabra../ 'biting', /ənka../ 'ladle', /pətmi..gala/ 'got rotten'.

#### 3.3. Juncture—/—/

Identical phonemic sequences meaning differently in different utterance medial positions prove the presence of a phonetic phenomena which can be identified as a suprasegmental phoneme of juncture. It occurs at the border places where grammatical units come together. It is phonetically characterised by a slight pause and allophonic features of the segments that precede and follow.

e. g./kərsi/ 'cow-dung cake', /kər-si/ 'he will do'. Sharp juncture is very rare in Desia.

It may be noted here that in slow pronunciation a syllable juncture is predictable. It falls on the first consonant if the interlude contain single consonant [CVCV], but if there are more consonants it falls on the final consonant—[CVCVCV]. That is why in rapid speech the peripheral—C—and not the nuclei—V—is preserved.

e.g./kərəda>kərda/'whip', sikuli>sikli' chain' /pandur>pandra/'fair skin'

### 3.4. Stress—/'/

Stress has phonemic value on a very limited number of words in Desia as it is a predictable phoneme in this dialect.

All monosyllabic utterances carry the highest degree of stress.

In words of more than three syllables there is always secondary stress on some subsequent syllables and usually it falls on that syllable which is farthest from the primarily stressed syllable.

e.g./'par'/—cave;/kə'rek'/ bar/to dig with spade,/gə'e'ta/—tick,/se'ruwali centiped,/ā'dar/dark.

Stress is more distinctive in utterances with consonant/sonant/clusters in the first or second syllable.

e.g./'tənd'/mouth,/as'ti/property,/kənde' k/a bit.

### III. SYLLABLES

#### 4.1. Description of Syllable

The Syllable is the minimum unit of phonological word structure. Every utterance consists of one or more such units. Every syllable consists of a nucleus filled up by a vowel or a combination of vowel plus non-syllabic vocoid (V-VV) and an optional string of consonants as onset or coda.

#### 4.2. Syllable Patterns

The following types of Syllable structure are found in Desia

1. Single Phoneme	V	/a/come, /i.la/sickle
2. Two Phonemes	VC	/ar/and, /ma.ūs/meat
	CV	/se/he, /a.ji/today
3. Three Phonemes	VCC	/ind/walk, ən, d̥ra/male
	CVC	/gər/house, /u. t̥an/boil
	CCV	/ser. st̥a/to fondle, /ma.nda/herd
4. Four Phonemes	CVCC	/kəmb/pillar, /mund.ra/bald
	CCVC	/gər, n̥d̥ek/one piece

#### 4.4. Distribution of phonemes in Syllable Patterns

Syllable Patterns	Fillers
1. V	V—All vowels
2. VC	V—All vowels C—All consonants
3. CV	C—All consonants except/N/ V—All vowels
4. VCC <sup>2</sup>	V—/i,u,ə,a/ C—C <sup>1</sup> —Nasals C <sup>2</sup> —Stops
5. C <sup>1</sup> VC <sup>2</sup>	C <sup>1</sup> —All consonants except/N/ V—All vowels C <sup>2</sup> —All consonants
6. C <sup>1</sup> C <sup>2</sup> V	C <sup>1</sup> —Nasals and/s/ C <sup>2</sup> —Stops V—All vowels
7. C <sup>1</sup> VCC <sup>2</sup> C <sup>3</sup>	C <sup>1</sup> —All consonants except/N/ V—All vowels C <sup>2</sup> —Nasals, /s/ and/r/ C <sup>3</sup> —Stops
8. C <sup>1</sup> C <sup>2</sup> VC <sup>3</sup>	C <sup>1</sup> —Nasals C <sup>2</sup> —Stops V—All vowels C <sup>3</sup> —All consonants

The above account shows that (i) N, r, y, w/and clusters can never occur as onset of syllables, (ii) only clusters of Nasal—Stop and/s/+t/ can occur as onset of non-initial Syllables, (iii) all consonants, clusters of Nasal—Stop, /r/+k/s/+t/ can occur as coda of syllables.

Distribution of phonemes in syllables is represented in the following matrix. Numbers refer to the examples that follow.

*Examples*

1. /ila / sickle  
 2. /una / less  
 3. /esu / this year  
 4. /osə / medicine  
 5. /əru / cave  
 6. /ata / mother in law  
 7. /it / brick  
 8. /uṛi / fly  
 9. /et / sense  
 10. /or / aerial root  
 11. /əl / plough  
 12. /am / mango  
 13. /əp / to admit guilt  
 14. /ubra / excess  
 15. /əd / half  
 16. /ədra / roar  
 17. /uc / high  
 18. /ej / to remember  
 19. /ekta / one only  
 20. /əg / to insert  
 21. /as / you come  
 22. /an / you bring  
 23. /əNte / in self  
 24. /ey / yes  
 25. /po / son  
 26. /bo / sister in law  
 27. /de / give  
 28. /də / jump  
 29. /cə / six  
 30. /ji / live  
 31. /ke / who  
 32. /ga / sing  
 33. /mu / face  
 34. /pəndwa / idler  
 35. /kəya / peg  
 36. /inḍla / walked  
 37. /undbar / to search for  
 38. /əntla / sufficed  
 39. /anṭbar / to thicken  
 40. /pap / sin  
 41. /bab / friendship  
 42. /tin / three  
 43. /dud / milk  
 44. /tan / place  
 45. /deN / tall  
 46. /cac / to scrape  
 47. /jam / guava  
 48. /kan / ear  
 49. /gas / grass  
 50. /sag / curry  
 51. /maj / rinse  
 52. /nak / nose  
 53. /lal / slime  
 54. /rog / disease  
 55. /gərən / making  
 56. /tuwal / Towel  
 57. /gøyil / bison  
 58. /sat / seven  
 59. /mot / load  
 60. /biḍru / very fleet  
 61. /bur / coir  
 62. /bəṛ / big  
 63. /səy / hundred  
 64. /sersta / to fondle  
 65. /jumpa / bunch  
 66. /pənti / bow string  
 67. /tanka / rupee  
 68. /tamba / brass metal  
 69. /mandā / herd  
 70. /tənta / dynamite  
 71. /gendū / silver  
 72. /dəngərani / bean  
 73. /gandē / a vocative word  
 74. /ranḍola / woindower  
 75. /pənd mas / Nov-December  
 76. /bindna / chisel  
 77. /tenḍka / chameleon  
 78. /dənd / pnishment  
 79. /tənṭri / throat  
 80. /dəmoni / the Domb woman  
 81. /canḍ / quick  
 82. /jinkla / pulled  
 83. /kundra / share  
 84. /gantni / stringing together  
 85. /sundri / fine, beautiful  
 86. /murk / dunce  
 87. /nindla / blamed  
 88. /lendra / slow walker  
 89. /rampṛa / scratching  
 90. /jest / May-June  
 91. /ampəṛ / you scratch  
 92. /antir / backyard  
 93. /gengət / to slur  
 94. /ambət / sour  
 95. /cendur / vermillion  
 96. /antar-luga / cloth for the waist  
 97. /gərnḍek / one piece  
 98. /sənkal / to slice, lop.  
 99. /penḍom / rice - beer

#### 4. 4. Distribution of Syllables in Words.

A word may have one to five syllables.

All the above types of syllable can occur at different positions in a word, excepting syllable patterns CCV and CCVC which can never occur word initially.

As regards frequency of occurrence, disyllabic words come first and next in order come monosyllabics, trisyllabics and other larger types.

As regards prominence, it is observed that (i) in disyllabic words when vowels are of same quality in both the syllables the first appears prominent, e.g., /au/ 'vapour', but in a closed syllable the second syllable becomes prominent, e.g. /ələs/ 'lazy', (ii) in trisyllabics the order of prominence is 3 1 2, e.g. /tumeli/ 'hornet'.

Co-occurrence of syllable types are represented in the following matrices

##### (A) Two-Syllable Sequence:—

	V	VC	VCC	CV	CVC	CCV	CVCC	CCVC
V	.. 1	2 ..	..	3	4 .. 5	6 .. 7		
VC	.. ..	.. ..	..	8	9 .. 10	11		
VCC	.. ..	12	..	13	.. ..	.. ..		
CV	.. 14	15	16	17	18 .. 19	20	21	
CVC	.. ..	.. ..	..	22	23	24	..	25
CVCC	.. ..	.. ..	..	26	27	.. ..		

##### Examples

1. /ai/yawn
2. /ait/care
3. /apa/elder sister
4. /utan/ boil
5. /unda/ you take
6. /ələnd/ to set on egg
7. /andar/ dark
8. /ocna/ bed

9. /ərjən / to earn
10. /əlnđe nai / does not set on egg
11. /əlndət nai / do not set on egg (pl)
12. /angwa / armful
13. /əndra / male
14. /sai / percupine
15. /kial / joke
16. /niənt / insufficient
17. /gari / seed-bed
18. /kamar / blacksmith
19. /pəndra / fifteen
20. /busənđ / bulky
21. /kənđek / little
22. /dəkra / oldman
23. /pətkar / fraud
24. /gərnđa / a piece
25. /gərnđek / one piece
26. /tenđka / chameleon
27. /munđsek / body-deep

4. 4. 2. Three—Syllable Sequences—

	V	VC	CV	CVC	CCV
V.V			1		
V.CV	2	3	4		5
V. CV			6		
CV.V	7	8	9		
CV.CV	10	11	12		13
CV.CVC				14	
CVC.CV	15		16	17	18
CVCC.CV	19				
CV.CCV	20		21	22	
CV.CCVC			23		
V.CCV	24		25		

*Examples*

1. /uari-kēti/compound wall
2. /ədua/limbless
3. /udian/east
4. /əruni/deer
5. /ətēn̄ga/pickles
6. /ərgər̄a/barricade
7. /taia/peacock's feather
8. /kuaət/let them feed
9. /tēila/a string instrm
10. /paŋoi/a tree
11. /meŋuar/disobedient
12. /tumeli/hornet
13. /serenda/good
14. /mapərsad/friend
15. /bajnia/drummer
16. /dərtəni/earth
17. /busna-ɖaN/goad
18. /kuʈrunga/wood pecker
19. /ranknia/greedy
20. /tangia/axe
21. /santalu/mild
22. /bandapən/July-August
23. /candalni/weaver's wife
24. /umbai/brazier
25. /əntər̄a/between the legs

4·4·3. Four-Syllable Words are mostly inflected forms of verbs, verbal nouns and plural forms of nouns.

e. g./kuailus/you fed,/akalabat̄a/the washed one,/maījimən/the women-folk

Following types of four-syllable words are available—

V.CV.V.CVC	/alualad/	affectionate
V.CV.CV.CV	/iřimaru/	a bird
VC.CV.CV.CV	/erđabali/	rainbow
CV.V.VC.CV	/maiaNti/	thumb
CV.CV.CVC.CV	/milimicka/	glow-worm
CV.CV.V.CV	/seruali/	centipede
CV.CCV.CV.CV	/dəngərani/	bean
CV.CV.CV.CVC	/tutariđaN/	ploughman's goad
CVC.VC.V.CV	/paNniani/	sorceress
CV.CCVC.CV.CV	/məntərsani/	midwife

4.4.4. Five-Syllable words are rare and mostly of causative forms of verbs

e.g. kəriaila/	caused to comb
tulaila/	gather
/jutiaaila/	stumble

A few nouns of five-syllables are available

e.g. CVCVCVVCV	/jijibaina/	dragon-fly
CVCVVCVCV	/mela-atiya/	spend thrift
CVVCVVVCVC	/tia-məidən/	noon
CVVCVVCCV	/pařialni/	women labourer
VCVCVCVCCV	/isaturuňga/	envious
CVCVCVCVV	/tamakuňja/	slow-walker
VCCVCCVCV	/uljibniya/	weak-minded

4.4.5. Six and seven syllable words are very rare. Such types are only seen in the inflected forms of the verbs in certain tenses.

e.g./pacarte-rəila/	He was asking
/kuaite-rəila/	He was feeding

An example of a six Syllable noun word is/sartikariani/‘go-between the lovers’.

## APPENDIX

## Notes on General Phonological Features

Desia presents certain phonological features which are uncommon in Oriya. The following comments mainly aim at showing those differences as well as throwing some light on Desia phonology in general.

## 1. Deaspiration

Deaspiration is a common tendency in Desia. In a few exceptional cases the aspirated stops optionally occur only at final positions.

e.g. /bhate/—/bat/	'rice	/baghe/—/bag/ 'tiger'
/əndhara/—ādar/	'dark'	/hələ/—/əl/ 'plough'
/nəkhə/—/nəkh/	'nail'	/juddha/—/judh/ 'fighting'

## 2. Reduction of consonant clusters

Consonant clusters do not occur in Desia initially. The initial clusters and also clusters occurring elsewhere, are reduced to single consonants through assimilation of one with the other, insertion of vowels in between clustering consonants or anaptyxis and deletion of consonants.

Assimilation—/əsru/—āsu/'tear'	/rəktə/—rəta/'red'
/ambət/—/amət/sour	/səmbər/—/səmər/deer
/sombar/—səmar/Monday	/budhbar/—budar/Wednesday
/uttanə/—/utna/lying on the back	
/nak-gula/—/nāgul/nose-ring	

Anaptyxis—/mlecchə/—/meləc/goat,	/svadə/—/suad/taste
/pətrə/—/pətər/leaf	/pədmə/—/pədəm/palm
/allhadə/—/alualad/affectionate	/stri/—/tir/wife
/istri/—/isturi/pressing iron.	

## Deletion of consonants—

In homorganic nasal-stop clusters nasal phonemes are dropped through nasalization of the preceding vowel.

/kunci/—/kuci/key	khunṭi/—/kuṭi/post
/mənca/—/maci/scaffolding	/jənta/—/jata/mill-stone
/kumpi/—/kupi/wick-lamp	/mundli/—/muṇḍli/circle

## 3. Loss of consonants

In some cases the vowels in contact are retained while the consonants are dropped and in some cases the consonants are completely lost. Replacement of medial/m/ by nasalization is another remarkable feature.

/m/—/v/—dhume—duā (smoke)	damə—daū (tethering rope)
camər—cər (plume of hair)	komələ—kəl (tender)
dhumeri—dūuri (mist)	jəmbalə—joba (mud)

### Loss of initial consonants—

pəna—əna (udder) ranə—an (oath)  
 tabij—bid (bracelet)  
 slesmə—ləsəm (cold) sməsanə—məsen (graveyard)

### Loss of final consonants—

sabun—sabu (soap) səməyə—səmə (time)  
 bitəsti—bita (one palm length)  
 agətura—agtū (first) ousədhə—osə (medicine)  
 pəlləvə—pala (seedling) bərtəkə—bərət (pimple)  
 koutukə—kəut (humourous)

### Loss of medial consonants—

əgherə—əera (Cushion for pots), əpər—ar (and)  
 rəbibar—rəibar (sunday), dvigunə—duna (twofold)  
 məhaprəsad—mapərsad (friend), məhərgə—mərəg (dear)  
 pitrigrihə—pidər (interior room), təraju—taji (balance)  
 puṭəkini—purni (lotus), niməntrənə—niuta (invitation)  
 kərbərə—kabra (spotted), khərpərə—kapra (potsherd)

### 4. Addition of Consonants

Initial—əsna—rəsən (dirt), ənṭiba—gənṭiba (to suffice)  
 Medial—dhus—duməs (to butt), punal—purnal (water ways)  
 ghusa—gumsa (blow with fist)  
 medḍiyə—merda (ceiling), kaniya—kansiya (side-man)  
 khəni—kəlni (starch)

Final—mukhyə—mukyəm (main), bilə—biṛəm (hole), ənyayə—əniar (harasment)

### 5. Voicing

/k/—/g/—kəntha—gəta (quilt), kəndhi—gədi (inner room)  
 bikəs bigəs (to bloom), akət—agət (to check)  
 /c/j/—suci—suji (needle),  
 /t/—/d/—kətu—kərua (hard), səṇkətə—sākər (narrow)  
 /t/—/d/—puti—pudi (vagina)  
 /p/—/b-m/—bepar—bebar (business), səraf—sarab (goldsmith)  
 paida—baida (instalment), jətiipiṭi—jiṭmit (lizard)

### 6. Metathesis

pisac—picas (fiend), bukuca—bəcka (bundle)  
 mərdən—rəməd (to massage), gərur—rəgər (hawk)  
 meleria—maliaṛ (Malaria), pot—təp (to bury)  
 rəktə—rətka (red), basəkulə—balusa (covered pavilion)

**7. Interchange of /c/ and /s/**

(i) Assibilization—(c—s)

cirla—silra (loose coins), picəl—pisəl (to slid)  
 cətə—saṭu (ladle), cati—sati (rump)  
 ciral—siral (flag), cirua—sirua (torn)  
 mucchə—mes (moustache), kənculi—kəsli (scales)

(ii) Palatalization (s—c)

samuka—camka (shell), sindur—cendur (vermillion)  
 sirə—cir (nerve), selə—cel (spear)  
 sek—cek (to bake), kousikə—kəcə (owl)  
 səncapati—cacapati (puja materials), simenṭ—cimti (cement)

**8. Cerebralization—(t/d—ʈ/ɖ)**

tiləkə—ʈika (mark), tati—ʈati (mat)  
 dəndi—ɖəndi (nose-ring), dis—ɖis-(to be visible)

**9. Palatalization—(t/ʈ/k/s/—c/j)**

tucha—cuca (empty), thoṛi—cəṛ (beard)  
 tundə—cəndi (lip), kuttəni—kucni (retail seller)  
 ksənək—cənek (moment), kharə—car (ash)  
 sənəpəʈə—jənpa (jute)

**10. Change of various consonants—**

/n/—/l/—nənda —ləda (jar), nəi—ləi—(to bend)  
 /m/—/n/—map—nap (to measure)  
 /s/—/n/—nisvas—ninas (breath)  
 /s/—/k/—pasənə—pakna (stone)  
 /b/—/m/—bu—ɖub—ɖum (to dive)

**11. Loss of Vowel—**

Final vowel—Final /ə/ is seldom retained on account of stress on initial syllable.

jərə—jər (fever), kakərə—kakər (cold)

Initial vowel—[Aphaereses]

əgrəjə—gaja (shoot), əlabu —lau (grourd))  
 ənyəkarə —niar (separate), abhanəkə—bakna (riddle)

Internal vowel—

Interior vowels get lost due to contraction, want of stress , morphophonemic changes or simple elision. In disyllabic stems the vowel of the second syllable is normally deleted with the addition of any vowel affix to the stem for some morphological construction

bəhut—-but (much), uneisi—unis (nineteen)  
 kəmaila—kəmela (earned), cauni—cani (thatching)  
 əluguni—əlgəni (rope-hanger).) jamu—jam (guava)  
 khərəya—kərəda (fry), dənəuasi—danəasi (watchman)/

### Assimilation—

Assimilation of one vowel to the sounds of the neighbouring vowel occurs for ease of pronunciation. Normally unstressed vowels are assimilated paldhua—palda (a tree), məhu/—/mu (honey)  
 kaduə—kadə (mud), chamundia—camḍa (covered pavilion) maṭhua/məṭa (crippled.)

### 12. Addition of vowel—

Prothèsis—rət—ərət (to roar)  
 Epethensis—məhətvə—məut (prestige), sapyə —saip (curse)  
 ənyə əin (other), manyə—main (honour )  
 rajyə—(rajə) raji (country)  
 nalua—niula ((eaves), kəhəria—kəiru (brown)

### Addition of final vowel—

/u/—hed—eru (Head), tar—taru (Tar) bhədrə—bəru (uncle), pa (padə)—pau (foot)  
 /o/—ga—gāo (village), gha—gao (sore) nā—nāo (name)

### Addition of medial vowel—

maṇsə maūs (meat), cira—ciuri (cracked)  
 siti—siuṭi (whistle), phəri—pəuri (shield)  
 saṛa—saura (musty mango), bahənə—bauni (pad on head)

### 14. Spontaneous Nasalization.

məyurə—məjur (peacock), jokə—jək (leech)  
 pohola—pəla (coral), mudi—mūdi (an ornament)  
 sap—sāp (snake), akhi—āki (eye)  
 oṭhə—əti (lip), pəksi—pəki (bird)

### 15. Change of Vowels

Change of one vowel to another vowel occurs due to mutation (umlaut), influence of neighbouring vowels (vowel harmony) and compensatory lengthening of short vowels. The quality of a vowel undergoes modification through the influence of a vowel of another quality occurring in the neighbouring syllable. Thus a low vowel gets raised to a high quality or vice versa. Loss of inter vocalic consonants or one element of a cluster is compensated by the lengthening of the vowels.

The following types of vowel change are found in Desia

/i/—/u/—cipur—cupur (to squeeze), həriṇi—əruni (deer) bahiri—bauri (external)

- /e/ bhiṇai—benai (brother in law), sindur—cendur (vermilion)  
 miri—mereaki (squint eyed), bindhəṇa—bedna (punch)
- /ə/—pinj—pəj (to paint)
- /u/—/i/—məhuri—məiri (pipe), chətu—cati (mushroom) chū—ci (to touch)
- /e/—juṭə—jeṭ (tuft of hair), muchə—mes (mousche)
- /o/—kəuṭi—kəoṭa (shell)
- /ə/—jhumuka—jəmka (bunch), hula—əla (fire-torch) ulənd—ələnd  
 (to set on egg), bukuca—bəcka (bundle)
- /a/—sutraṇi—satrani (nurse), gunt—gāt (to string beads)
- /e/—/i/—ghen—gin (to buy), gher—gir (to surround) tentuli—tintli  
 (tamarind), simenṭ—cimṭi (cement) bheliki—bilki (bewilderment)
- /o/—bəṛ hei—baṛoi (carpenter). pəṭri—poṭri (pregnant)
- /ə/—cərei—cərei (bird), slesmə—ləsəm (cold)
- /a/—khelai—kalai (to scorch), ḫengura—ḍangra (kettle-drum) meleria  
 meliar (malaria)
- /o/—/u/ —bhokə—buk (hunger), okal—ukal (vomit)  
 gosṭə—gusṭu (gang), dhok—ḍuk (to gulp)
- /ə/ —khosa—kəsa (hair knot), othə—əti (lip)  
 osər—cəser((heifer), jokə—jək (leech)
- /ə/—/i/ —kərəi—kirḍi (bamboo shoot), khəpuri—kipri (skull)  
 təgg—tiga (wire), kuə—kui kal (well)
- /u/ —dhənu—dunu (bow), ənyə—unu (other)  
 khənənə—kun—(to dig), gəm—gum—(to rot)
- /e/ —dənṭha—det (handle), rəm—rem (to tame)  
 cəna—cena (gram), bəsəni—besni (nose ornament)
- /a/ —əpa—apa (elder sister), bəndhə—bād (pool)  
 prəjjhərə—pajra (water spring), səmkəṭə—sākəṛ (narrow)
- /a/—/i/ —nahakə—naik (village leader)  
 bahal—bail (cultivated land)
- /u/ —pahanta—paūta (dawn), ḫahanı—ḍauni (witch)  
 pahac—pauc (wall-niche), əṛa—əṛu (cave)
- /e/ —lanjə—ləj(tail), kanji—gəji (sour soup)  
 ghabəṛa—gebra (confusion), maṭua—meṭa (crippled)
- /o/ —gha—gao (sore), saantə—sāuta (village leader)  
 jaala—jaṭ'a (twin)
- /e/ —kanthə—kəti (wall), machi—məci (flies)  
 sməsanə—məsən (graveyard)
- /əi/—/e/ —bəirə—ber (enimity)
- /ou/—/o/—ousədhə—osə (medicine)
- /u/ —pouṭi—puṭi (a measure)
- /ə/ —kousike—kəcə (owl), soucə—cəcəm (to rinse)

## II

## MORPHOLOGY

## O. Introduction.

0·0. Morphemes in Desia are of two types—(a) Free and (b) Bound

Free-morphemes are free-forms which can occur independently whereas the bound-morphemes occur as part of the free-forms. The free-morphemes and the combination of bound-morphemes or free and bound morphemes constitute minimum free morphological units which may be called stems. The bound morphemes which participate in the construction of new stems are called *derivational-affixes*. In larger morphological constructions these stems occur in grammatical relationship with each other by means of inflection. The bound-morphemes which constitute the inflection are called *inflectional-affixes*.

Morphological constructions in Desia mainly involve the combination of the stems and affixes through different grammatical processes. The stems form the core of a morphological unit and the affixes occur as its layers of construction. The derivational-affixes form the inner layer and the inflectional-affixes form the outer layer. These affixes are mostly suffix-type, prefix-types are few and rare.

Sometimes it becomes difficult to identify the combining forms of a morphological unit due to the *morphophonemic changes* that take place within the forms and/or across their boundaries. In such cases morphophonemic rules, which are framed on the evidence of recurrence, are applied for proper identification of the combining elements. In Desia the morphophonemic changes are conditioned both phonologically and morphologically. There are various peculiar morphophonemic rules which operate in its morphological constructions.

#### 0·1. Stems—

Stems are differentiated into three form-classes, such as, (a) Substantives (b) Verbs and (c) Particles, on the basis of morphologic criteria as well as criteria of syntactic combinations

The substantives and the verbs are inflected and can occur as the subject or the predicate, but the *particles* are indeclineables and perform certain definite functions according to their position in the sentence. These particles may occur as post-positions indicating cases, as connectives between morphological units and as adverbs. Some of these are only inflected for cases other than the nominative and the accusative cases.

The morphologic criteria which differentiate between the substantives and the verbs are that those stems take suffixes marking person, number, aspects, tense, mood, etc. are *verbs* and those take suffixes showing gender, number and case distinctions are *substantives*.

The substantives are again divided into three sub-classes as (a) Nouns (b) Pronouns and (c) Adjectives. Their difference is mainly functional. Those stems name persons, objects, concepts, etc. are the *nouns*, those describe, qualify and identify the nouns are *adjectives* and those are used as substitutes for the nouns are *pronouns*.

Although each stem primarily belongs to a particular form-class and carry a definite meaning, it can be transformed to another form-class or can take a different meaning in the same form-class through the morphological process of derivation and compounding or change of syntactic position. Leaving aside the syntactic aspect for discussion under Syntax, we find from the morphological point of view the stems are of three-types—(a) Simple, (b) Derivative and (c) Compound.

#### 0·1·1. Simple Stems—

These are made of single morphemes. Examples of such stems are /ka/ 'eat', /kər// 'do', /mac/ 'fish', /kəlia/ 'fox', /se/ 'he', /aji/ 'today', /pəc/ 'back', /ar/ 'and'.

#### 0·1·2. Derivative Stems—

These stems contain at least two elements of which one is the stem or base morpheme and the other is the derivational affix.

There are two types of derivative stems—(i) Primary Derivatives—in which the derivative affix combines with a derivationally bound-form or the base. e.g. /kui+la/ 'rotten', /cel+ka/ 'slices of scrappings', /ni+cət/ 'have-not', /si+kər/ 'to exhale', /si+ut̪i/ 'whistle', /put+la/ 'idol', /put+ra/ 'nephew', /tir+ki/ 'anus', /tir+ca/ 'bird's intestine', /tir+tira/ 'rude', /ata/ 'cover of book', /at̪u/ "loft under the roof".

(ii) Secondary Derivatives—in which the derivative affix combine with a free-stem.

e.g. /əl+iya/ 'plough man', /mu+an/ 'front', ka+ura/ 'gluttonous', /ni+sət/ 'tired', /gor+na/ 'mill-stone', /am+li/ 'sour'.

#### 0·1·3. Compound Stems—

These stems are made of two bases or two stems. When two bases combine the compound stem is called primary or basic compound and when two stems combine these are called secondary or stem compounds. The onomatopoeic stems are the best examples of primary compounds. In the secondary type of compounds the resultant stem normally means to a third object which is somehow or other related to the combining elements.

The following types of compound-stems are found in Desia.

##### [1]. Noun+Noun

at̪u-dəN	'ladder'	(at̪u-loft, dəN-staff)
ař-rəs	'marrow'	(ař-bone, rəs-juice)
ga-gor	'body'	(ga-body, gor-leg)
ərda-pəl	'Adam's apple'	(ərda-myribolan fruit, pəl-fruit)
sək-ərda	'mump'	(sək-gullet, ərda-myrobolan frui)
bal-məni	'boil'	(bal-hair, məni-jewell)
sira-baři	'pcn'	(sira-ink, baři-stick)
ram-pəl	'custard apple'	(ram-Ramchandra, pəl-fruit)
gə-cuna	'flour'	(gə-wheat, cuna-powder)
bek-muna	'bag'	(bek-bag, muna-wallet)

## (2) Noun+Verb

əl-pɔ̄ṛā	'Holi festival'	(əl-Holka, poṛ-to burn)
aka-məra	'unbalanced load'	(aka-load in one side, mər-to die)
bəti-maru	'fire-fly'	(bəti-torch, mar-to strike)
cari-beṛti	'surrounding'	(cari-four, beṛ-to surround)

## (3) Verb—Noun

ḍerna—ḍaN	'ladder'	(ḍer-to lean, ḍaN-staff)
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## (4). Verb+Verb

aljul	'to rock and roll'	(al-to shake, Jul-to swing)
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## (5) Tag-Words

(For examples refer to the Lexical List, Appendix-II)

## (6). Onomatopoetic Words

Nouns—	gun-guti	'mosquito'
	ḍundunga	'musical instrument'
	tətla	'stammerer'
	tutari-ḍaN	'ploughman's prod'
	jijibəina	'dragon-fly'
Verbs-	kulkulai—	'to gargle'
	kirkir—	'to scream'
	gəgəṛ—	'to fumble'
	gəgəṭ—	'to grumble'
	gutguṭ—	'to coo'
	cəcəm—	'to rinse'
	limlim—	'to flicker'
Adjectives-	curcura	'cleaned to the last bit'
	tirṭira	'rude'
	liplipa	'pilable'
	ludluda	'soft and sponzy'

(7) We may note here the following stems in which the combining stems have completely assimilated with each other leaving some vestige of their presence

cəknī	'leaf-cup'	(cətus+koni)
camḍa	'covered pavilion'	(chhaya+məndəpə)
jənpa	'jute'	(sənə—pəṭə)
əldua	'soots'	(ələm+dhumə)
ākar	'jealousy'	(əhəm+kare)
umar	'to low'	(humba+rəvə)
kəṭar	'threshing floor'	(kostə+agarə)

kirsa	'cheese'	(kshirə+sakə)
gəbsai	'to abort'	(gerbhə+sravə)
duar	'to carry'	(dvi+barə)
dunai	'to fold'	(dvi+gunə)
dusər	'to churn'	(dvi+sərə)
pacia	'loin cloth'	(pəscə+pətə)
balusa	'temporary awning'	(base+kulə)

## 0·2. Affixes

### 0·2·1. Inflectional Affixes—

These affixes are added to the stems for indicating various/ grammatical categories such as gender, number, case, tense, mood, aspects etc. and syntactical linkage.

Detail discussion on various types of these affixes shall be made in the context of form-classes with which they have privilege of occurrence.

### 0·2·2. Derivational Affixes—

These affixes are added to create new forms from the base morphemes and the stems.

The following types of derivational affixes are found in Desia. It may be noted here that almost all of these affixes are directly descended from the O.I.A. and M. I. A. sources and are also in use in the standard Oriya dialect.

### 0·2·1. Prefixes—

/ə/ Negative affix	əbujan	'disobedient'
	əmər̥	'unfriendly'
	əsənka	'uncaring' (naked)
/a/ ..	asar	'unreal' (false, bad)
/aṛ/ Semi-nagative	aṛkəsriya	'semi-red' (semi-ripe)
/ni/ Negative affix	nisət	'feeling of hopelessness'
	nikəmāni	'unearning'
	niḍərbi	'have-not'
/bi/ Intensive affix	biḍər	'to be scared'
su/ Affirmative affix	susar	'well-behaved man'
	sujan	'good person'

In a good number of forms the prefixes have been so assimilated with the stems, they no longer appear as separate elements. As for example a list of some such words is given below.

əbka	'unmixed'	—əbikrte
əl j	'to choke'	—upərudhyete
əlga	'separate'	—əlegnə
arla	'clumsy'	—alutite
alət	'to twist, turn'	—alořeyeti
ocai	'to lay bed'	—upəchhadəyeti
pajra	'spring'	—prəjhəre
paper—	'to excercise'	—prəpiřenə
bicel	'slippery'	—bicchələti
begəř	'to spoil'	—bighətite

#### 0·2·2·2. Suffixes—

The following suffixes are more common in Desia. These are added to both the verb-stems and the substantives. In certain cases stem alternation occurs before this kind of suffixes. These changes are mrophologically conditioned.

##### /ə/Forms nouns from verb-stems.

mər	'to die'	mərə	'dying condition'
cip	'to tighten'	cipə	'wedge, chip for tightening'

##### /ək/Pleonastic suffix. Forms nouns and verbs with connected sense.

mər	'to die'	mərək	'oestilence'
bən	'colour'	bənək	'red colour'
mət—	'cracking sound'	mətək	'to crack'
gəm		gəmək	'sweet smell'
bita	'little'	biřek	'small boil'
tel	'to shove'	təlek	'to topple down'
ut	'to overflow'	utək	'to jump'
uř	'to get up'	uřek	'to uproot'
ud	'to come up'	udək	'to spring upward'

## /əN/Pleonastic and adjectival suffix.

—dəgəi	'to stride over'	dəgəN	'walking, with long, strides'
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/ət/Forms adjectives from nouns.	
am	'mango'

amət	'sour'
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## /ət/Forms adjectives from verbstems.

təp	'to warm up'	təpət	'warm'
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## ən/Forms abstract verbal nouns , often indicatees connected concrete objects.

gər	'to make'	gərən	'shape'
(də)	'to burn'	dəen	'burning'
dāt	'tooth'	dātən	'tooth-brush'
(sthirə)	'motionless'	tirən	'calm'
lag	'to come close'	lagən	'sharpness'
pan	'to bewitch'	paNgən	'sorcery'

## /əna/—Compound affix (ən+a—definitive) Forms nouns from vsts. denoting concrete objects and adjectives indicative of function.

The initial /ə/ drops when the affix occurs after consonants and changes to another vowel when it occurs after vowels of different qualities.

kuṭ	'to pound'	kuṭna	'pestle'
gor	'to pulverise'	gorna	'mill-stone'
nis	'to whet'	nisna	'hone'
ji	'to live'	jiuna	'livelihood'
sukai	'to dry'	sukna	'things for drying'
ocai	'to lay bed'	ocna	'bed'

## /əni/—Compound affix (ən+i—pleonastic) Forms nouns and adjectives, often indicating diminutive and pretty aspects.

The initial /ə/ drops after consonants and changes to another vowel after vowels.

kil	'to shut'	kilni	'door-bolt'
kuṭ	'to pound'	kuṭni	'pounding hole'
gəd	'to pierce'	gədni	'vaccination'

ka	'to eat'	kaoni	'subsistence'
pi	'to drink'	Pioni	'thing for drinking'
ji	'to live'	jiuni	'living'
si	'to sew'	siuni	'texture'
bo	'to carry'	bauni	'pad for carrying on head'
kamai	'to earn wage'	kamani	'earnings'
kuɾai	'to pile up'	kuɾani	'act of piling'

/əp/—Pleonastic affix. Forms vsts from roots with slight modification of the sense.

ur	'to scold'	dəp	to threaten
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/əl/—Forms vsts from substantives and verb-roots.

at	'hand'	atəl	'to touch'
ag	'first'	agəl	'to come in front'
bəs	'to sit'	bəsəl	'to collapse'
cab	'to bite'	cabəl	'to chew, grit'
gəd	'fetid'	gədəl	'to dissolve in water'
ud	'to rise up'	udəl	'to leap over'

/əs/—Pleonastic affix. Forms vsts from roots with slight modification in sense—

ug	'to rise up'	ugəs	'to sprout'
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/a/—Forms nouns denoting concrete objects, verbal nouns and adjectives.

cin	'to know'	cina	'mark'
qab	'to cover'	qaba	'canister'
at	'hand'	ata	'ladle'
cikən	'oil'	cikna	'smooth'
məiri	'pipe instrument'	məira	'piper'
ci	'to touch'	cua	'impure'
səmar	'Monday'	səmra	'born-on Monday'
cir	'to cleave'	cira	'wall of cliff'
tuʃ	'to break'	tuṭa	'pollard'

/ai/—Forms adjectives from verbal and nominal bases.

bag	'tiger'	bagai	'tiger-infested'
kira	'worm'	kirai	'worm-infected'
isa	'envy'	isai	'envious'
rog	'disease'	rogai	'sick'
mit	'friend'	mitai	'friendly'
ař	'bone'	ařoi	'bony, juiceless'
mər	'to die'	mərtai	'withered'

/at/—Forms nouns indicating location.

mū	'face'	mūat	
car	'to graze'	carat	Frontyard 'grazing ground'

/an/—Forms nouns and adjectives.

mū	'face'	mūan	'front'
bis	'poison'	bisan	'poisonous'
ut	'to rise'	utan	'boil'
mel	'to unfasten'	melan	'openness'
mis	'to mix'	misan	'addition'
put	'to crack'	putan	'hole, 'eakage'
ud	'to rise'	udian	'east'

/ar/—Forms adjectives and nouns indicating connexion, trade, or profession.

kuli	'wages paid in cash'	'kuliar'	'hired servant'
buti	'wages paid in kind'	butiar	'hired servant'
pila	'child'	Pilarni	'woman with new-born baby'

/al/—Adjectival and pleonastic suffix. Forms Vsts. from nominal bases.

uř	'to fly'	uřal	'to blow in wind'
ař	'high land'	ařal	'riverside land'
pəN	'to fraud'	pəngal	'deceitful'
tip	'to dripdrop'	tipal	'to sprinkle with finger'
isa	'envy'	isal	'to envy'
paiři	'work'	pařial	'work r'

/i/—Pleonastic and diminutive affix. Forms nouns of agent and adjectives.

sət	'truth'	sətəi	'true!'
bəl	'goodness'	bələi	'good!'
kəul	'tenderness'	kəuli	'tender'
kial	'joke'	kiali	wife's younger sister'
ram	'Ramachandra'	rami	'black' headed Munia' (It learns to speak)
təs	'to cultivate'	tasi	'farmer'
cal	'hide'	cali	'bark'
kater	'to cut'	katri	'scissors'
dokan	'shop'	dokani	'shop-keeper'
baar	'outside'	bauri	'external'
/it/—Adjectival affix.			
bac	'to sort out'	bacit	'outcasted'

/iya/—Forms adjectives and agentive nouns.

ələs	'slow'	əlsiya	'lazy'
ās	'to laugh'	āsiya	'funny'
bat	'rice'	batiya	'wage, victuals'
kərət	'saw'	kərtiya	'saw-man'
kəbər	'message'	kəbriya	'messanger'
udəl	'to cross over'	udliya	'elopment'
sel	'spear'	seliya	'sharp-pointed'

/u/—Forms agentive nouns and adjectives indicating nature and potency.

sutrai	'to induce'	sutrau	'persuasive'
gen	'to buy'	genu	'buyer'
kə	'to say'	kəu	'talkative'
kaṭ	'to cut'	kaṭu	'sharp'
paltai	'to return'	paltu	'returnable'
bər	'elder'	bəru	'uncle'

It also renders a vague sense of contempt and prettiness.

cəndə	cendu	'strong and stout'
dep	depu	'mound'
hed	hedu	'Head', 'chief'
jaṭ	jaṭu	'gang'
dagərə	dāgru	'giant size'

/ua/—Adjectival affix. Forms agentive nouns.

car	'ash'	carua	'ash-coloured'
pos	'to rear'	posua	'adopted'
tənd	'mouth'	təndua	'quarrelsome'
keṛ	'play'	keṛua	'player'
kaṭ	'wood'	katua	'wooden sandal'
er	'to pry'	erua	'spy'
ber	'enimity'	berua	'who bears enmity'

/ual/—Compound affix [ua+al—pleonastic] Forms adjectives and nouns indicating nature and profession.

dand	'out side of home-yard'	dandual-gər	'house with side roof'
məd	'liquor'	mədual	'drunkard'
jag	'to watch'	jagual	'guard'
gaṭ	'landing place'	gaṭual	'boat-man'
mer	'to defy'	meruar	'disobedient'

/uk/—Forms adjectives indicating characteristics.

cet	'to realize'	cetuk	'alert'
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/e/—Intensive affix.

kub	kube	'much'
bəṛ	bəṛe	'big'

/ka-ki/—Pleonastic and diminutive affix. Forms abstract and concrete nouns.

cim	'to pinch'	cimka	'pinching'
pil	'offshoot'	pilka	'young shoots'
tel	'to push'	telka	'jolt'
ci ṙ	'to break apart'	ci ṙka	'spurtlings, spark
buti	'dwarfish'	buṭka	'dwarf'
pul	'to swell'	pulka	'corpulent'
ber	'inimity'	berka	'inimical'
cel	'to scrape off'	celka	'sliced scrappings'

/kar, kari, kariya/—Compound affix (kər+i/iya—agentive) Forms agentive nouns

lət	'to copulate'	lətkar	'seducer'
*pət	'to inveigle'	pətkar	'wiced'
*sau	'good'	saukar	'money-lender, superior'
jit	'to win'	jitkari	'winner'
tapi	'trowel'	tapikariya	'mason'
erət	'meaning'	erət kariya	'interpreter'

/kuṛiya/—Compound affix (kuṛ+iya) Forms nouns indicating nature and activity

git	'song'	git kuṛiya	'singer'
tama	'copper'	tama kuṛiya	'pale and vigourless'

/kuliya/—Compound affix (akulə+iya) Forms nouns indicating nature

dər	'fear'	dər-kuliya'	'coward'
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/ga/—Pleonastic and adjectival affix

mərəd	'male'	mərdiga	'manly, brave'
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/ta—ti/—Definitive, diminutive and pleonastic affix

nak	'nose'	nakṭi	'which has prominent nose'.
bak	'curve'	bākṭi	'crooked'
ek	'one'	ekṭa	'single'
gula	'round'	gulti	'circular-fence'
cim	'to pinch'	cimṭa	'pincers'
beN	'frog'	beNṭi	'toad'

/tiya/—Compound affix (ti+iya) Forms adjectives

cor	'thief'	cortiya	'of thief's nature'
-----	---------	---------	---------------------

/da-ɾa-ɾi/—Pleonastic affix. Forms nouns and adjectives indicating location, nature and connection.

kubjə	'hump'	kubṛa	'hunch back'
boba	'dumb'	bobṛa	'dumb'
dāt	'tooth'	datoṛa	'gums'
dui	'two'	duuṛa	'doubling'
tip	'to dripdrop'	tipṛa	'drop'
bap	'father'	bapiṛa	'person drawing sympathy'
cam	'skin'	camṛi	'skinny'
cata	'umbrella'	catəṛi	'rain-hat'
ag	'front'	agaṛi	'forward'
damə	'money'	damṛi	'small coins'
basa	'speech'	basuṛi	'chirping'
sukai	'to dry'	sukeṛi	'dried things'
mər	'to die'	məṛdi	'pestilence'

/ti/—Forms abstract nouns and adjectives :. (Present participial affix)

gən	'to count'	gənti	'account'
man	'to obey'	manti	'respect'
bəs	'to sit'	bəsti	'settlement'
utər	'to alight'	utərti	'descending, sloping'.
cəg	'to climb'	cəgti	'ascending, steep'
ber	'to surround'	cari berṛi	'surrounding'
pəl	'fruit'	pəlti	'with fruits'

/tiya/—Compound affix (ti+iyā) Forms nouns indicating profession

maN	'to beg'	maNtiya	'beggar'
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/tu/—Forms nouns indicating position

ag.	'front'	agtū	'first, pioneer, earlier.'
pər	'unrelated'	pərestu	'belonging to others'.

/na/—Pleonastic and definitive affix

kas	'plou ghing'	kasna	'plough-share'
cor	'thief'	corna	'thief'
tik	'rig ht'	tikna	'right'
gət	'pot' (ghət)	gətna	'pot with food- stuff'
tək	'cheat'	təkna'	'fraud'
bas	'odour'	basna	'fragrance'
səi	'friend'	səina	'friend'
bicar	'consideration'	'bicarna'	'considerationi'

/ni/—Pleonastic and definitive affix

anti	antni	'intestine'
kata	katani	'story'
gotə (gostə)	gotani	'assemblage of cow'
dup	dupni	'incense'
ud—	udəl	udlani bat 'east'
bəs—	bəsəl,	bəslani bat 'west'
baus' bamboo'	bausni	'bamboo-born'
dəngər	'forest'	dəngarani 'akind of wild bean'

/niya/—Compound affix (ən+iya)

kamai	'to eann wage'	kənniya	'labourer'
bajai	'to play drum'	bajniya	'drummer'
jul	'to swing'	julniya	'swinging'
uṛ	'to fly'	uṛniya	'flying'
paN	'to exorcize'	paNniya	'sorcer'

## /pa/—Pleonastic and definitive affix)

—cel	'skin'	cilpa	'wood scrappings'
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## /ra-era/—Forms abstract and agentive nouns

cat	'to lick'	caṭra	'who licks'
cab	'to bite'	cabra	'bitter'
cam	'hide'	camra	'cobler'
mund	'head'	mundra	'bald headed'
ḍak	'call'	ḍakra	'summon'
ka	'to eat'	kaura	'gluttonous'
gun	'to doze'	gunera	'who dozes'
kop	'anger'	kopera	'angry'
par	'to press out wind'	paṭera	'farting'
pui	'to swell'	pulera	'swollen'

## ri-eri/—Compound affix (ra+i)

gəd	'fetid'	gədri	'ugly woman'
kād	'to cry'	kāderi	'who cries'
rād	'to cook'	rāderi	'cook'
petə	'belly'	poṭri	'pregnant'
dis	'to be visible'	disari	'who foresees'
puj	'to worship'	pujari	'priest'
ḍub	'to dive'	ḍubri	'a small metalcup'
məja	'middle'	məjari	'of the middle'
kas	'plough ing'	kasri	'cultivable'

## /riya/—Compound affix (ra+iya)

deba	'left'	debriya	'left-hander'
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## /ru/—Compound affix (ra+u)

ka	'to eat'	kauru	'gluttonous'
mandia	'millet'	mandru	'delicacy made of millet.'

/ia/—Pleonastic and definitive (Past participle affix)  
Forms adjectives.

it	'brick'	i!la	'made of bricks' (oven)
muṭi	'fist'	muṭla	'hammer'
ek	'one'	ekla	'alone'
(nəgnə)	'bare'	nəNglə	'naked'
ut	'to overflow'	utla	'excited'
pac	'to ripe'	pacla	'ripe'
bāc	'to live'	bācla	'living'

/i:/—Pleonastic, diminutive and feminine affix

am	'mango'	amli	'sour'
kupa	'heap'	kupli	'hillock'
bər	'elder'	bəlli	"elder wife"
san	'younger'	sanli	"younger wife"
sit	"cold"	sitli	'cool'
cak	"to taste"	cakli	'who tastes'
bac	"to sort out"	bacli	'discarded'
pətər	'leaf'	pətrali	'of leaf colour' (leaf-like)
ghar		garli	'nape of neck'
dud	'milk'	dudeli	'milching'

/iya/—Compound affix (la+iya—agentive)

buk	'hunger'	bukliya	'hungry'
gup	'to be tangled'	gupliya	'clumsy in speech'
ləi	'to bend'	liuliya	'pliable'
ud—udəl	'to leap'	udliya	'elopement'

/lu/—Compound affix (la+u—agentive)

santi	'peace'	santalu	'peace-loving'
bəd	'door-frame'	bədlu	'ligature'

/as/—Pleonastic affix. Forms nouns denoting connected

mund	'head'	mundisa	'pillow'
		mundsek	'body-deep'

object.

0·2·2·3. The above mentioned derivative suffixes may be summarised in the form of the following chart with five successive positions of the internal constituents—

	I	II	III	IV	V
	ə	i	k	a	a (ya)
	a	a	g	i	
i	i	o	ɳ	u	
	u		t̪		
	e		d̪/ɾ̪		
kar			t̪		
kur			n		
kul			p		
			r̪		
			l̪		
			s		

The fillers in position I only occurs single. Fillers of other positions occur in combination in the following manner—

Fillers—I + II — ai, ia, ua.

I + II + III — ian, ual.

I + III — ək, əN, ət̪, ən, əp, əl̪, əs;  
at̪, at, an, ar, al;  
it̪;  
uk.

I + III + IV — una, uni, əri, eri, eli, uṛa, era, eri, uru, oṛa, oni.

III + IV — ka, ki, ga, ṭa, ṭi, ti, tu, na, ni, pa, la, li, lu, sa,  
d̪a, ṣa, ṣi, ra, ṛi, ru.

III + IV + V — t̪ia, tia, mia, ria, lia.,

/kar/occurs single and in combination with /i/,/ia/;/kur/and/kul/occur with/ia/.

Although the meanings of these suffixes are vague, still the following generalization can be made regarding their functions—

- /ə/ Definitive.
- /a/ Definitive and Connective.
- /u/ Agentive.
- /i/ Diminutive and Definitive.
- /e/ Intensive.
- /ai/ Attributive.
- /iya/ Agentive and Attributive.
- /ua/ Agentive,

The consonantal affixes are pleonastic.

## 1. SUBSTANTIVES

### 1.1. Noun

#### 1.1.1. The Declension of Nouns

Desia nouns have three grammatical categories— gender, number and case. An analysis of noun words shows that the gender, number and case affixes optionally follow the stem one after another. The last element always controls the external distribution of the word.

#### 1.1.1.1. Gender

Gender does not play an important role in the morphology of Desia. as it has no inflectional significance. It expects concord only with the adjectives. [e. g./kana mənus/'blind man'— /kani maiji/'blind woman'].

Nouns, both animate and inanimate, are broadly divided into two categories of gender—masculine and feminine. There is no grammatical gender. Therefore, gender is normally determined by natural sex.

There are three ways of expressing the difference in gender—,

- (i) By using separate words for the categories of gender. e. g./bap/—father /ma—mother.
- (ii) By employing descriptive words like /əndra/'male' and /mai/'female' before the noun words.  
e. g./gāja/'rooster'—/mai kukuja/'hen'; /əndra əs/ 'gander'— /mai əs 'goose'; /əndra gac/'male tree (which does not bear fruit)— /mai gac/ 'female tree'.
- (iii) By suffixing derivative affixes for the conversion of gender.

#### A. Feminine suffixes—

/i/	e.g. /dəkra/oldman	/dəkri/oldwoman
	/bəira/deaf	/bəiri/
	/dənga/tall	/dəngi/
/ni/	/kamar/blacksmith/kamarni/	
	/dəba/washerman	/dobani/
	/mali/gardner	/malni/

#### B. Masculine suffix—

/la/ Stem alternation occurs before this kind of suffixation.

/bāji/barren	/bājola/impotent
/dari/prostitute/darola/lusty person/rangi/widow	/rangola/widower.

**Notes—**

(a) Desia agrees with Oriya in all the aspects of gender discussed above excepting on the following points—

(i) The feminine suffix /ni/ has allomorphic variations in Oriya such as /əni/, /ani/, /ini/, /uni/ and morphophonemic changes occur by the addition of this suffix.

e.g. /core+ni/coreni (thief, fem.)

/doba+ni/dobəni (washerman, fem.)

/cəsa+ni/casuni (farmer, fem.)

/barikə+ni/barikani (barber, fem.)

/panə+ni/paluni (Panə, fem.)

/mali+ni/maluni-maliani (gardner, fem.)

(ii) The masculine suffix /la/ is not found in Oriya.

(b) The sources of the suffixes are as follows—

/i/ O. I. A.-i, ika.

/ni/ O. I. A. -ini.

/la/ O. I. A. -palə (master, keeper, protector)

**1.1.2. Number**

The common plural marker is /mən/. Plurality is expressed by the simple suffixation of the marker to the basic singular forms. (e. g. /maiʃi/ 'woman' /maiʃi mən/ 'women').

The alternative processes are the use of (i) Plural Specifiers or (ii) the numerical or collective adjectival words, which are placed either after or before the noun words.

A list of common plural Specifiers is given below.

/səb/ 'all'; occurs both before and after the noun.

/am səb/ 'all the mangoes'

/səbu am/ 'all the mangoes'

/mada/ 'herd'; occurs both before and after the noun.

/māde lok/ 'many people'

/lok mada/ 'many people'

/sapa/ 'clear to the last'; occurs only before nouns

/sapa lok/ 'all people'

/but/'many, much'; occurs only before nouns.  
 /but-butek lok/'many people'

/ədik/'more'; occurs before nouns./ədik am/'more mangoes'  
 /ənek/'many'; occurs before nouns./ənek am/'many mangoes  
 /gulai/'all'; occurs before nouns./gulai lok/'all men'.  
 /kaimar/Indefinite quantity; Occurs before nouns.  
 /kaimar lok/'so many people'

/jake/'whole' ; occurs after nouns./lok jake/'all people'  
 lok/' peoples'; occurs after nouns./se lok/'they'

Plurality is expressed also by repetition.  
 /gāo gāo/'many villages'.

Duality is expressed by such words which mean a pair. These are placed before the nouns.

/jorek/( yugəm)./jorek am/'two mangoes'.  
 /julek/( yugələ)./julek parua/'a pair of pgeions'  
 /əlek/( hələ). /əlek panðoi/'a pair of shoes'.

Singularity is sometimes indicated by the addition of the numerical word /ek/ 'one' (e. g. /təndek/one gulp, /dalek/ one basketful) or the determiner /ta/ to the noun words. (e. g. /amta/ that mango,/lokta/that man,/pulta/that flower).

#### Notes—

Desia plural marker/mən/ corresponds with Oriya/mane/and Chatisgarhi /mən/. Its source word is possibly (manəvə) or (mənusyə).

Among the Desia plural specifiers only/sapa, gulai, julek/are not used in Oriya.

#### 1.1.3. Case

The cases are expressed in Desia by the addition of the following suffixes and post-positions. These are same for both singular and plural forms.

Case	Affixes	Post-positions
Nom.	—0	
Acc.	—ke	
Instr.		səng-e, at-e
Dat.		kaje, lagi
Abl.	—uni	tan-u, tane-uni, tei-uni
Gen.	—r	
	—ər (after stems ending in consonants)	
Loc.	—0 —e —i (after stems ending in—a.) —0 (after stems ending in —i.)	tan-e, ləg-e

The case-suffixes for Acc., Gen. and Loc. are added to the absolute forms (e. g./gāo/village—Acc./gāoke/, Gen./gāor/, Loc./gāoe/ ; /ātai/in the waist) and the suffixes for Abl. are added to a sort of oblique form in Loc. case (e. g./gēc/tree—/gēce-uni/from the tree,/tei/there—/tei-uni/from there, /tan/place—/tane-uni/from that place)

Another Abl. suffix/—le/ is used optionally in the areas bordering Bastar due to the influence of the Halbi and Bhatri dialects of that region.

The post-positions are added to the genitival forms which serve as the oblique base.

- e. g.—sənge/tangia-sənge/with the axe.
- ate /Murlir ate/by Murli
- kaje, lagi/murlir kaje/for Murli.
- tanu/murlir tanu/from Murli
- lēge/murlir lēge/at Murli.

The post-positions are derived from the basic free-forms with the addition of the Loc. case-affix.

sənge/with the help	sənge/association
/ate/by personal power	/at/ /həstə/hand
/kaje/for the use	/kaj/ /karyə/need
/lagi/to bring into contact	/lēgnə /attachment
/tane/at the place	/tan/ /sthānə/place
/lēge/near	/lēg/ /lēgnə/attachment

#### Notes—

Some of the Desia case affixes and post positions are found in Oriya, either identically or with slight difference. Corresponding to the Desia case suffixes Acc./ke/, Gen./—r/, Loc./—e/ Oriya has—/ku/, /rə/, /e/respectively. Desia Abl. case suffix/—uni/ is unknown to Oriya. It has the affix/—u/. The Abl. affix /nn-nu/of the Midnapur dialect of West Bengal corresponds to the Desia affix. (Ref. Calcutta University Bangla Sahitya Patrika, Vol. 1, 1967—68 'S.W. Bengali')

Oriya post-positions—Instr./dei/, Dat./lagi/, Abl. /tharu-thā/, Loc./thare, pakhe/are comparable to Desia/ate, lagi, tanu, tane, lēge/respectively.

#### 1.2. Pronoun

1.2.1. Desia pronouns belong to two classes—(i) Personal (ii) Non-personal.

These may be further classified under the following groups—

##### (i) Personal Pronouns—

- |                                 |                     |
|---------------------------------|---------------------|
| A. Ist. personal Singular.—     | /mui/ Plural.—/ame/ |
| B. 2nd. personal Singular       | /tui/ Plural /təme/ |
| C. 3rd. personal Proximate      | /e/                 |
| Obviative                       | /se/                |
| D. Interrogative and Indefinite | /ke/                |
| E. Relative                     | /je/                |

## (ii) Non-personal Pronouns—

## A. Demonstrative Proximate

Far  
Remote

/e/—/i/

/se/

/see/ (with length)

## B. Interrogative and Indefinite

Relating to object /kon/(which)  
Subject/kai/ (what)

## C. Relative

/jon/

1.2.2. Pronouns of each of the above categories have two forms—one is the basic-form and the other is oblique-form. Some again have two oblique-forms—one for case—inflection and the other for pronominal derivations.

The basic-forms are a closed class and occur as the subject in sentences.

The oblique-forms are open ended class to which case-affixes and other elements are added. These forms occur in the object position in sentences.

The internal structure of various pronominal-forms are represented in the following chart—

		Base Morpheme	Basic Form	Oblique Form	
				For Case-Inflection	For Pronominal Derivation
1. 1st Pers. Sing.		m—	—ui	—o	—
1a.	Plu.	a-m—	—e	—	—
2. 2nd Pers. Sing.		t—	—ui	—o	—
2a.	Plu.	—əm	—e	—	—
3. Proximate Demnstr.		e—i	—	—a <sup>1</sup>	—
4. Obviative Demnstr.		s—	—e	ta <sup>1</sup>	te
5. Interrogative		k—	—e	—a <sup>2</sup>	—o <sup>3</sup>
6. Relative		j—	—e	—a <sup>2</sup>	—o <sup>3</sup>

## Notes—

1. Plural oblique base is obtained with the addition of nasalization or nasalized/o/and the genitival affix occurs with an augment with /kə/e.g./aəkər/of this man,/taəker/of that man.

2. These forms are also used for the derivation of Interrogative and Relative non-personal pronouns relating to subject with the addition of /i/, e.g./kai/what,/jai/what.

3. Non-personal pronouns are derived from the base with the addition of/n/,e.g./kon/who,/jon/who.]

The above analysis shows that there are altogether eight pronominal base-morphemes in Desia. But the two plural bases(1a.2a) can be treated as derivational leaving the rest six as the actual bases. These are-/m, t,e-i, s, k, j/.

Basic-forms and Oblique-forms are obtained from the base-morphemes with the addition of two types of extension such as-*ui/or/e/in the case of basic-forms;/o/or/a/in the case of oblique-forms, and only one base /s/ has a suppletive allomorph-/s-t/.*

### 1·2·3. Inflection of Pronouns

- (i) There is no inflection for the category of gender.
- (ii) Number is indicated by the addition of plural-markers /mən, lok/, e.g semən, selok/'they'.

This is optional for 1st and 2nd Person,/-ame, təme/, as the category of number is overtly marked in these forms.

The plural-marker is added to the basic-forms, excepting in the case of Interrogative and Relative pronouns in which cases it is added to the oblique-forms, e.g./konmən, jommən/.

- (iii) Case-suffixes and post-positions are same as for the nouns.

The suffixes are added to the oblique-forms and the post-positions to the genitival-forms.

#### Suffixes and Post-positions—

Nom. /

Acc. —ke

Gen. —r

—ər (Occurs with plural-forms only) e.g./amər/our

—kər (Occurs with 3rd pers. plural-forms only)  
e.g./ākər/,/tākər/his.

Instr.—ate

Abl. —tənu,—təne uni

Loc. —təne,—ləge

- (iv) Non-personal pronouns invariably take the determiner /ta/ with the base. This particle behaves like an anaphoric substitute. (e.g./kon pila-ke/-/kon-ta-ke/ 'to which boy').

#### Sample Paradigms

/mūi/'I'

Nom. mūi

ame, amemən

Acc. mo—ke

am—ke, am—mən—ke

Gen. mo—r

am—ər

Instr. mo—r—ate

am—ər—ate, am—mən—ər—ate

Abl. mo—r—tənu

am—ər—tənu

Loc. mo—r—təne

am—ər—təne

/ke/'who'

ke	kon—mən
ka—ke	kon—mən—ke
ka—r	kon—mən—ər
ka—r—ate	kon—mən—ər—ate
ka—r—ṭanu	kon—mən—ər—ṭanu
ka—r—ṭane	kon—mən—ər—ṭane

/kon/'which'

kon—ṭa	kon—mən—ṭa
—ke	—ke
—r	—r
—sənge	
—ṭanu	
—e-i	
—ləge	

**Notes—**

The following differences are remarkable between Desia and Oriya as regards pronouns.

1. The distinction between honorific and non-honorific use of pronouns, which is a characteristic feature in Oriya is entirely absent in Desia. In Oriya the plural forms are honorifically used as singular. Besides that it has a super honorific pronoun/apəṇə/'Your Highness' .

2. In certain cases there are differences in the forms

e.g. Desia—	ke	Oriya—	kie	kei
	kon		ke, u	kou
	jon		jeu,	jou
	kai		kənə,	kise

### 1·2·4. Pronominal Derivatives.

Many types of adjectival and adverbial forms are derived from pronominal bases in the following manner. Pronominal-base, direct or oblique + Signifying morpheme +(Definitive and Pleonastic Particle—k or its variants-ki, ke, etc.).

Signifying morphemes		Probable Source-word
Quantity	... /t/	[behutvə]
Size	... /ṛ/	[sədrsə], [brhətvə]
Place	... /t/	[trə]
	/d/	(trə)
	/i/	[Locative Case Affix]
Time	... /b/	[belə]
Direction	... /n/	[sthənə], [smin]
Manner	... /mt-nt/	[vənt], [mənt]

A list of Desia Pronominal Derivatives with structural analyses is given below in the form of a chart.

Signifying morphemes.	e/i	Pronominal base and Derivatives se/te.	ke/ko/kon.	je/jo/jon.
/t/	e—t—e —k —ki	se—t—e —k —ki	ke—t—e —k —ki	je—t—e —k —ki
/ṛ/	e—ṛ—e i—ṛ—i —k —ki	se—ṛ—e —k —ki	ke—ṛ—e —k —ki	je—ṛ—e —k —ki
/t/	i—t—i — —	se—t—i — —	kon—t—i — —	jon—t—i — —
/d/	e—d—e — —	se—d—e — —	— — —	— — —
/i/	— —	te—i — —	ko—i — —	jo—i — —
/b/	e—b—e — —	te—b—e —k —	ke—b—e —k —	je—b—e —k —
/n/	e—n—e —k —ki	te—n—e —k —ki	ke—n—e —k —ki	je—n—e —k —ki
/mt/	e—mət mt—a —i	se—mət mt—a —i	ke—mət mt—a —i	je—mət mt—a —i

Note--

Desia pronominal derivatives indicating adverbs of place differ from Oriya in which there is no form with the signifying morpheme /d/ and the morphemes /—th—th/ and /hi/ are used in place of /t/ and /i/ e. g. Desia—/tei/ Oriya—/təhi/ /iti/ /ethi—ethi/

### 1.3. Adjectives

Desia adjectives fall into two broad groups:—(1) Descriptive adjectives and (2) Determinatives.

1.3.1. Descriptive adjectives maintain gender concord with the noun they qualify in most cases. Hence these stems are variables whereas the determinatives are invariables.

These adjectives are used both attributively and predicatively. When used attributively they are placed with the nouns they qualify (e. g./təpət pani/warm water) and when used predicatively they occur in the predicate position either to refer to the subject (e. g./e pani təpət/this water is warm) or to the object (e. g./se pani təpət kəla/he made the water warm).

Desia descriptive adjectives are mostly derivative forms which are obtained from nominal and verbal stems with various adjectival suffixes, such as—/əna əni, a, ai, an, al, i, iya, u, ua, ka, na, ra, li/etc.

1.3.2 Adjectives, those that do not describe but point out or indicate individual persons, objects, concepts, etc. are called determinatives. These are not inflected for gender and occur with the nouns. They may be classified in the following way—

1. Pronominals—(a) Possessive—/mor/mine, /tar/his, /tor/your /

(b) Interrogative/Indefinitive—/kon/which.

(c) Relative—/jon/that which—.

(d) Demonstrative—/e/this, /se/that.

2. Pronominal—Derivatives indicating

(a) Quantity—/ete/this much, /sete/ that much.

(b) Size—/eɪe/this big, /sere/that big.

(c) Manner—/emət/like this/semta/like that.

3. Quantitatives:—

(a) Collectives—/səbu/all, /māda/a herd, /gulai/whole, /sapa/entire, /ənek/ many, /but/much.

(b) Fractionals—/ədekl/half, /kəndək/ a portion, /gərñdək/ a slice, /ələp/ little, /pau/a quarter.

(c) Numericals—/ek, dui tin/etc.

1.3.3. It is to be noted here that Desia has no ordinals. It has cardinals up to twenty—/ek, dui, tin, car, pac, cə, sat, at, nə, dəs, egar, bar, ter, cəud, pədər, səul, səter, ətər, unis, kore/. Cardinals beyond twenty are not found in Desia. Further counting is done by adding one, two three, etc. to the scores up to one hundred, for which there is the word /səy/. For example, 22-kore dui (a score and two), 43-dui kori tin (two scores and three), 160-tin kori səy (three score and a hundred).

There is one unit marker /goṭek/ to indicate definite singular. Other numerical definitives are obtained with the addition of the definitive particle /ta/, such as — /duiṭa/ two only, /pācṭa/ five only.

The cardinals also indicate vague numbers in the following manner-  
/atek/about a hand's length,/duiṭa/very few,/carṭa/few,/pācṭa/-/dəṣṭa/  
many,/dui-cariṭa/-/pāc-dəṣṭa/some.

The cardinal /ek/ invariably occurs after the nouns and is suffixed to the stem-e.g./ḍalek/one basketful,/beṛek/one piece of two-anna coin,/gərn-dek/one slice. The derivative suffix /la/ occurs with /ek/ in/ekla/alone.

The cardinals /dui/and/tin/ occurring before the nouns sometimes assimilate with the stem and in such cases the morphemic residues are respectively /du/and/ti/e.g./duuṭa/double ploughing,/duna /two-fold, /dusra /two-string, /tipul/three-variety.

Counting is sometimes done in the following two figurative manners:—

(i) əkərə dəeṛə səlti mādələ/kuke kake dəliya pīpələ ekso raja  
kəṛbi kisə atər kəṭu goṛke nace ture tare unsi bise. [Kilo  
Aita, Kanchana]

(ii) ek mek gənṭə bəkṛə/tipri ṭapra lacer gunḍri/ata mama tī.  
tare/ləd bəd pade ḡel/karla kes/unis bis. (Ghasi Gudiya, Kanangi)e

1.3.4. It may be noted here that besides the adjectives, forms belonging to various other parts of speech also function as adjectives. These may be better treated as Adjective Equivalents.

The following form-classes serve as adjectives.

(1). Noun—Nouns denoting materials and nouns in apposition serve to qualify or identify another noun.

e.g./lua-nəngəl/iron-plough,/iṭa-culi/brick-oven,/dan-kəṭar/paddy threshing  
-floor, /kara-pakna/hail-stone, /səj-bel/evening time, /pul-gac/flower tree,  
/maṇḍia-beṭa/millet-field, /dundu-disari/dundu, the priest.

Nouns in genitival form more commonly serve as adjectivals, e.g. /gəcər-pəl/fruit of the own tree, /atər-dən/cash in own hand, /murlir-gai/murli's cow.

(2). Participles -

Present Partc./cəgti-bat/ascending path,/pəlti-gəc/tree with fruit.

Past Partc. /kuila-am/rotten mango, /poṭa-mac/roasted fish.

Future Partc. /udba-mas/coming month, /kaiba-bat/rice to be eaten,

(3). Adverbs - /pəc-kata/past event, /upər-ḍal/top branch, /kali-sakal  
tomorrow morning.

## 2. Verb

2.0. Desia Verb-forms fall into two categories—(1) Non-Finite forms and (2) Finite forms.

### 2.1. Non-finite Verb-forms

These are constituted of Vsts+Inflectional affixes.

These forms participate in the construction of compound finite Verb-forms (Verbal phrases) and as conjunctives connect the clausal units of a complex sentence.

In Desia the following inflectional-affixes are used for the construction of non-finite verb-forms.

#### 1./—i/Gerundial Perfect

e.g./se moke *deki* pacarla/He, seeing me, asked.

#### 2./—ne/Adverbial Durative. (Its distribution is limited to the vsts. ending with /l/).

e.g./se *palane* aila/He came running.

#### 3./—te/ Adverbial Durative

e.g./bel *baste* soibi/I shall sleep till the sun sets.  
take *marte* marla/He beat him till he died.

#### 4 /—tte/ Adverb of concomitant action.

e.g./se *kaitte* galani/He is going while eating.

#### 5./—le/ Conditional Conjunctive

e.g./tui *dele* neiti/If you give, I would take.

#### 6./—a/ Nominal

e.g./məric *koja* galani/He is going in search of chilies.

#### 7./—i/ Nominal. (Its distribution is limited to causative stems only).

e.g./take *nijai* kəraila/He made him to do weeding.

#### 8./—ba/ Deutero-nominal.

e.g./eṭa *kərba* kəṣṭə /It is difficult to do.

#### 9./—bar/ Infinitive, Verbal derivative genitival adjective.

e.g./se *kəsbar* gala-ace/He has gone to plough.

/kaibar-ṭa. səngei-des/Store the eatables.

*Notes—*

(1) Probable Sources of these affixes are as follows:—

- 1./i/ O. I. A.—ya M. I. A.—ia.
2. /ne/ Nominal Affix-ən+e—Locative
3. /te/ /t/ O. I. A. active participle 'satr' affix in—ənt+e-Locative; Beams (Comp. Grammar Vol. III) derives /te/ from Locative of Pkt. which literally means—'in the act of.'
- 4/tte/ It is a case of morphophonemic doubling of the Durative affix /te/. In Oriya and several other Indo-Aryan languages the adverb of concomitant action is constructed by the repetition of the present participial forms. In Desia that repetition of forms is replaced by the morphophonemic process of doubling the affix.
- 5./le/ Past—l+e—Locative
- 6./a/ O. I. A. past participle in—te M. I. A.—a.
- 7./i/ O. I. A. causative affix—əy/pəy+te—past participle.
- 8 /ba/ O. I. A. future passive participle in—təvyə M. I. A.—əvvə.
- 9 /bar/ Nominal—ba+r—genitival.

(2) There are differences between Oriya and Desia with regard to the following affixes—

Desia—/te/	Oriya—/u/
/ne/	/i/ in repetition of form
/tte/	/u/ in repetition of form
/i/Nominal	/a/
/bar/	/ibaku/

## 2.2 Finite Verb-forms

The structure of the finite verb -forms may be summarised as follows—

[Vst+(Aspect) (Auxl.)+(Tense/Mood)+Person-Number]

This shows that a full verb-form may contain the following five elements—

1. Stem, 2. Aspective affix, 3. Auxilliary Verb, 4. Tense or Mood indicator,
5. Person and Number affix.

According to the number of constituent elements verb forms may be divided in to the following three structural classes—

- (i) Radical Simple-forms—[Vst+P-N]

1. Customary
2. Imperative

(ii) Non-aspective Simple-forms—[Vst+Tense/Mood+P-N].

3. Simple Past
4. Simple Non-past
5. Simple Contingent

(iii) Aspective Compound or Periphrastic-forms—

A. [ (Vst+Aspect)+(Auxl.+Tense/Mood+P-N) ]

6. Past-Imperfective
7. Plu-Perfect
8. Absolute Imperfect Presumptive
9. Absolute Perfect Presumptive
10. Contingent Imperfect Presumptive
11. Contingent Perfect Presumptive

B. [ (Vst+Tense+P-N)+(Auxl.+P-N) ]

12. Present Progressive
13. Perfective

It appears from the above description that in Desia verb-stems have altogether 13 forms of conjugation under 3 structural patterns. Each one of these forms have again 6 separate sub-forms according to three-fold distinction of person and two-fold distinction of number. Hence, a verb-stem, in Desia can have as many as 78 forms.

An analysis of these forms shows that the Vsts. have five categories of inflection—1. aspect 2. tense 3. mood 4. person 5. number.

*Note—*

The structure of the Oriya Finite Verb-forms is same as that of Desia. But Oriya has two extra forms—(i) Habitual Imperfect and (ii) Perfect which have structures like Aspective Periphrastic-forms (iii-B).

### 2.3. Categories of Inflection

#### 2.3.1. Aspect

Aspect indicates duration. Absence of aspect merely reports activity, without indicating that it has or shall have duration.

There is a two-way contrast in aspect in between imperfect and perfect which are mutually exclusive. The *imperfect-aspect* indicates action continuous through a period of time and the *perfect-aspect* indicates completion of the action in a period of time.

Desia Aspective suffixes :—Imperfect—/te/  
Perfect —/i/

**Note—**

1. Aspective verb-forms are compound forms in which the main Vst. occurs with the respective mark and the combining auxiliary Vst. occurs with other categories of inflectional affixes.

2. Probable sources of these affixes are—

/te/ O.I.A. and M. I. A. active participle in—ənt—.

/i/ M. I. A.-ia O. I. A.-ya.

3. Oriya Aspective suffixes are—Imperfect. -/u/, Perfect /i/

**2.3.2. Tense**

Tense indicates the time of occurrence of the activity. In Desia there are only two contrasting temporal categories—past and non-past, which are indicated by the following morphemes—

Past—/l/

Non-Past—/b/, Occurs with 1st pers. sing. and plu. and 3rd pers. plu.

—/s/ Occurs with 2nd pers. sing. and plu. and 3rd pers. plu.

Time-less (Customary) sense is indicated by non-past inflection. (e.g./se dinke bat kaisi/He shall eat rice daily also means 'He eats rice daily').

Temporal categories of the Present and the Future are indicated through syntactic constructions with non-past inflections. As for example the following constructions may be contrasted—

/se kalike kaisi/He will eat tomorrow

/se kaisi ace/He is eating

/se kaila ace/ He has eaten.

**Note—**

1. Probable sources of these tense-indicators are—

/l/ O. I. A. past participle in-tə M. I. A.—də+ill—

/b/. O. I. A. future passive participle (gerundive) in—təvyə M. I. A.—əvvə.

/s/ O. I. A. future affix in-əsi (e. g. kərisyami)

2. Oriya has /l/ for past, /b/ for future but /s/ is occasionally found only in Old-Oriya. For customary, Oriya has a vowel affix whose allomorphs occur with P-N suffixes as/e, u, ə/.

### 2·3·3. Mood

Mood indicates the attitude of the subject towards the activity

In Desia only the Imperative and the Subjunctive moods are indicated by morphological constructions with distinctive inflectional affixes. The following morphemes indicate the moods—

Subjunctive—/t/

Imperative—//

Indicative and Presumptive moods are indicated by various conjugational form.

#### Notes—

1. Desia fully agrees with Oriya as regards moods excepting that Oriya has slightly different morpheme /nt/ as subjunctive affix.
2. The source of the affix/t/is probably O.I.A. present participle in—ənt

### 2·3·4·5. Person and Number

There is three-way contrast between 1st, 2nd and 3rd person and two-way contrast between singular and plural number.

In Desia categories of P-N are jointly marked by the following sets of affixes.

	I	II	III	IIIa	IV
1st pers. sing.	i				
	plu.	u			
2nd pers. sing.	us	u	/	s	
	plu.	as	a	a	s
3rd pers. sing.	a	i	o		e
	plu.	ai	ət		ət
		ay			

#### Explanations:—

Set I affixes are common affixes

II occur with non-past forms

III occur with Imperative forms

IIIa occur with Imperative forms when the verb is allo-benefactive to a 3rd person.

IV occur with customary or auxiliary/ac/ and negative verbs

**Note—**

In contrast with Desia, Oriya has the following sets of P-N affixes

1st pers. sing.	/e/ occurs with customary and permissive forms /i/ elsewhere
plu. (excl.)	/ū/
(incl.)	/a/in future /e/in past and contingent /ənti/ elsewhere
2nd per. sing.	/—/ in Imperative /u/ elsewhere
Plu.	/ə/
3rd pers. sing.	/e/ in customary /u/ imperative /a/ past and contingent /ə/ future /i/ present
plu.	/e/ past, future and contingent /ənti/ elsewhere

#### 2.4 The Auxiliary verb

The auxiliary verbs combine with the main vsts to denote some categories of inflection and mode. These verbs follow the thematic main vst. that occurs with only aspective marks, and take the conjugational affixes of tense, mood person and number.

These are defective stems having limited categories of inflection

Desia has the following two auxiliary verbs

/ac/—Participates in the construction of the Present Progressive and the Perfective forms.

e.g. 1st pers.sing./aci/ plu. /acu/

2nd pers. sing./acus/ /acas/

3rd pers. sing./ace/ /acet/

/rə/—Participates in the construction of the aspective form of past tense and presumptive mood. Hence, it has no conjugation in aspective categories. Its conjugational forms are given in the following paradigm.

1. Negative Customary (I do not remain etc.)

- |                |           |
|----------------|-----------|
| 1st. /nə rəi/  | /nə rəū/  |
| 2nd. /nə rəus/ | /nə ruas/ |
| 3rd. /nə rəy/  | /nə rəət/ |

Imperative (You remain etc.)

- |            |        |
|------------|--------|
| 1st. (rəe) | (rəū.) |
| 2nd. /rə/  | /rua/  |
| 3rd. /rəo/ | /ruət/ |

3. Simple Past (You remained etc.)

- |               |          |
|---------------|----------|
| 1st. /rəili/  | /rəilu/  |
| 2nd. /rəilus/ | /rəilas/ |
| 3rd. /rəila/  | /rəilay/ |

4. Simple Non-past (You shall remain etc.)

- |              |          |
|--------------|----------|
| 1st. /rəibi/ | /rəibu/  |
| 2nd. /rəisu/ | /rəisa/  |
| 3rd. /rəisi/ | /rəibay/ |

5. Simple Contingent (If asked, I would remain etc.)

- |               |          |
|---------------|----------|
| 1st. /rəiti/  | /rəitu/  |
| 2nd. /rəitus/ | /rəitas/ |
| 3rd. /rəita/  | /rəitay/ |

*Notes—*

1. In Nawarangpur dialect the forms are contracted as the medial vowel sequence /əi/-/e/ (e.g. /rəili/-/rəli/).
2. In Oriya the auxiliary verb is /tha/ instead of /rə/
3. /rə/. auxiliary is found in languages like Sindhi and Gujarati

2.5. Inflection of Present Progressive and Perfective Forms.

The construction of these two forms need specific discussion as, unlike other Aspective—periphrastic verb—forms, these two cases show both the main vst. and the auxl. vst. occurring in finite forms. The auxl. verb which participate in the conjugation of these forms is /ac/ and it occurs with P-N categories of inflection.

### 2·51. Present Progressive Construction

Present Progressives indicate activities that commenced before and still continuing. In these forms the main vst. uniformly occurs for all persons and numbers in the 3rd person singular form, with the non-past temporal affix /s/. That /s/ is not an aspective affix is proved by the fact that in the Nawarangpur-dialect of Desia the non-past affix /b/ occurs in place of /s/ in such verbal constructions. In the Nawarangpur-dialect the Pr. Prog. forms are as follows:—

1st./Pers./	Sing.	/kaibice/	Plu/kaibuce/	(/ka/to/eat)
2nd.		/kaibusce/	/kaibasce/	
3rd.		/kaisice/	/kaibaice/	

A comparison of the two dialectal alternant forms shows that in both dialects the main vst. occurs in the Simple non-past form and when in Nawarangpur-dialect the P-N affixes are added to the main Vst. in the other dialect these are added to the auxl. Vst.

An alternative process of constructing these forms is by way of suffixing the verbal modifier -ni/ with the Simple-Past forms. As for example /keli/'I did' — kelinis/'I am doing'. (This modifier may be compared with Oriya completive affix /ni/ and Western-Oriya /nə/, e.g., /kelaṇi/, /kelaṇe/'He has done.') Ref. K. Mahapatra, Indian Linguistics-Vol. XXII—"Functions of -ni-in Oriya verbal System.

### 2·52. Perfective Construction

There are two types of constructions—

(I) [(Vst+Past/1/+P-N)+(Auxl./ac/+P-N)]

This shows that the main Vst. occurs in the Simple-Past form and the Auxl. Vst. occurs with P-N suffixes. Morphophonemic changes occur only in the case of 2nd personal or forms where the P-N suffix /us/ drops the /s/ with the addition of the auxl. verb.

e.g. 2nd pers. sing./kəlus+acus/+ /kəluacus/ You have done. plu. /kəlas+acas/+ /kəla acas/.

(ii) [Vst+Perfective+i)+(Auxl./ac/+P-N)]. e.g./kəri aci/I have done.

#### Notes—

1. The structure of Oriya Pr. Prog. Form is [Vst+Imperfective-u+Auxl-əch +P-N] e.g./kər-u-əch-i/I am doing.
2. Oriya has the (ii) type of perfective construction, e.g. /kərichi/I have done.

## 2.6.— Sample Paradigm.

/ka/ 'to eat'

## 1. Negative Customary. (I do not eat etc.)

## — Singular

1st/nə kai/

2nd/nə kaus/

3rd./nə kae/

## Plural

/nə kaū/

/nə kaas/

/nə kaət/

## 2. Imperative (You eat etc.)

/(kaə)/

/ka/

/kao/

/(kaū)/

/kaa/

/kaət/

## 3. Simple-Past (I ate etc.)

/kaili/

/kailus/

/kaila/

/kailu/

/kailas/

/kailay/

## 4. Simple-Non-Past. (I eat/I shall eat etc.)

/kaibi/

/kaisu/

/kaisi/

/kaibu/

/kaisa/

/kaibay/

## 5. Simple Contingent (If offered, I would eat etc.)

/kaiti/

/kaitus/

/kaita/

/kaitu/

/kaitas/

/kaitay/

## 6. Past-Imperfective (I was eating etc.)

/kaite rəili/

/— rəilus/

/— rəila/

/kaite rəilu/

/— rəilas/

/— rəilay/

## 7. Plu-Perfect (I had eaten etc.)

/kai rəili/

/kai rəilu/

## 8. Absolute Imperfect Presumptive (I shall be eating)

/kaite rəibi/

/— rəisu/

/— rəisi/

/kaite rəibus/

/— rəisa/

/— rəibay/

## 9. Absolute Perfect Presumptive (I shall have eaten)

<i>/kai rəibi/</i>	<i>/kai rəibu/</i>
--------------------	--------------------

10. Contingent Imperfect Presumptive (If offered, I would  
(be eating etc.)

<i>/kaite rəiti/</i>	<i>/kaite rəitu/</i>
<i>/— rəitus/</i>	<i>/— rəitas/</i>
<i>/— rəita/</i>	<i>/— rəitay/</i>

11. Contingent Perfect Presumptive (If offered, I would  
(have eaten etc.)

<i>/kai rəiti/</i>	<i>/kai rəitu/</i>
--------------------	--------------------

## 12. Present Progressive. (I am eating etc)

<i>/kaisi aci/</i>	<i>/kaisi acu/</i>
<i>/— acus/</i>	<i>/— acas/</i>
<i>/— ace/</i>	<i>/— acət/</i>

## 13. Perfective (I have eaten etc.)

<i>/kai aci/</i>	<i>/kai acu/</i>
<i>/— acus/</i>	<i>/— acas/</i>
<i>/— ace/</i>	<i>/— acət/</i>

## 2.7. Negative Transformation

There are two negative morphemes /nə/and/nai/which are used to negate the verb-form, both finite and non-finite.

## 2.7.1. /nə/occurs as prefix with—

(i) the Radical and Non-aspective Simple-forms of the finite verbs (e.g./nə ka/Dont eat,/nə kaili/I did not eat).

(ii) the non-finite verbs (e. g./nə kai/having not eaten,/nə kaile/if he does not eat).

and as prefix or infix with—

(iii) the Aspective Periphrastic-forms other than the Pr. Prog and the Perfective (e. g. nə kərte rəili/I was not doing).

As an infix it occurs between the main Vst. and the Auxl. (e. g./kerte nə rəili/I was not doing).

The following modifications occur in Non-Past forms with /nə/prefixation

(i) The Tense-indicator is deleted. (e. g./nə kərbi/-/nə kəri/I shall not do,/nə kərsi/-/nə kəre/He shall not do).

- (ii) In 2nd and 3rd Personal forms the usual P-N affixes of the Non-past constructions are replaced by a separate set of affixes. In the case of 2nd Person the replacement is done with the P-N affixes for the past-forms, but in the case of 3rd Person a specific set of affixes are used.

e. g. 2nd, pers. sing./nə+kərsu/ /nə kərus/ (cp. past/kəlus/)  
                             plu./nə+kərsa/ /nə kəras/ (cp. past/kəlas/)

3rd	sing./nə+kərsi/ /nə kəre/ plu./nə+kərbay/ /nə kərət/
-----	---

2.7.2./nai/ occurs as a suffix more regularly with the following forms— Imperative (/kər nai/), Non-aspective Simple Past-form (/kəli nai/), Pr. Prog. (/kəri nai/) and Perfectives (/kəri nai/).

In the negative transformation of the Pr. Prog. and the Perfective forms the following features are notable.

- (1) The Auxl./ac/is replaced by its negative counterpart/nai/
  - (2) The main Vst. drops out all its set affixes and takes a separate set of P-N affixes, similar to that of Simple Past-forms. As a result of that there occurs no contrast between the Pr. Prog. and the Perfective negative forms. e. g./kərsi aci/I am doing, and/kəri-kəli aci/I have done/kəri nai/I am not doing/I have not done.

—Notes—

In Oriya negative transformation is also done with /nə/ and /nai, or its variants /nahi, nei, ni/ affixation. /nə/ occurs as prefix or infix and /nai/ occurs as a suffix. /nai/ when occurs in the Pr. Prog. and Perfective forms in place of the Auxl. /əch/ is declineable as it takes P-N affixes. Elsewhere it is indeclineable.

e.g./kərunai/I am not doing/kərunaū/We are not doing/kərinəū/We have not done/kəri nahāti/They have not cp./kelinai/I did not do/kəlu nai/ You did not do.

(For details please refer to the paper 'Negative Conjugation in Oriya' by K. Mahapatra in Orissa Historical Research Society Journal, Vol. VII, No. 1).

## 2.8. Causative Transformation

An ordinary verb-form forms a causative in two ways—(i) through the morphological process of affixing a causative morpheme to the base and/or (ii) through the syntactic process of compounding the causative form of the Vst./ker.(to do) to the nominal derivative form of the Vst.

- e. g. /rād/to cook (i) /rādaila/Caused to cook.  
(ii) /rāda kəraila/ , ,

There are two causative morphemes in Desia—/a/ and /i/ which are in complementary distribution.

### 2.8.1./a/ occurs as a suffix.

Consequent upon this suffixation the following morphophonemic features occur in the verb-forms.

(i) In the Vsts. ending with consonants the causative suffix is extended with the thematic vowel /i/.

e.g. /mar/to beat /marsi/He will beat /maraisi/He will cause to beat.

(ii) In Vsts. of the—CV—Pattern the stem vowel changes in the following manner.

/e/, /o/-/u/ e.g. /kə/to say /kəila/said /kualia  
                           /so/to sleep /soila/slept /suaila/  
                   /e/-/i/. /de/ to give /dela/gave /diaila/  
                   /a/-/u/. /ka/ to eat /kaila/ate /kuaila/

(iii) In Vsts. of the—(C) VCVC—pattern the V<sup>2</sup> is deleted.

e.g. /ələj/to choke /əljaila/  
       /əkar/to dig /əkraila/.

2.8.2. /i/ occurs only with the stems of the pattern—(C) VCVV—as an infix in between the—VV—sequence. Such stems are normally denominatives, intransitives transformed into transitives and primary derivatives.

e.g. /mul/root /mulai/to begin /muliai/to cause to start  
       /pac/to ripe /pacai/to ripen /paciai/ "to ripen.  
       /gu!/ /guai/ to roll up /guiai/ "to roll up

2.8.5. It is to be noted here that causative constructions are not possible with some verbs like /a/ to come, /o/ to be, /ac/to be, /nic/ to deny, and in the case of some verbs causative transformation is possible only by syntactic process.

#### Note.

1. In Oriya the causative morphemes are /a/ or its allomorph /e/
2. The source of /a/ is O. I. A.—apə, M. I. A.—avə.

### 2.9. Passive Transformation

An active verb-form is transformed to a passive form by the syntactic process of compounding a subsidiary verb with the nominal form of the active base. The transformation also necessitates change in syntactic order and concord, such as, the object of the active verb becomes the subject of the passive form and the subject of the active form becomes the agent of the passive form.

In Desia the Vsts./o/. and /ja/ participate in such compounds as subsidiary verbs.

Passive verbs are used where the subject or the 'actor' is not specified.

e.g. /se corke darla/He caught the thief  
       /cor tar-ate dara-oila—The thief was caught by him  
       //cor去做 dara-gala—A thief was caught

## 2.10. The Verb-stem

The Vst forms the base of a verbal construction to which the conjugational affixes are added.

The base is easily identified from the 2nd Person Sing. Imperative forms, e.g./kər/to do/ kər/ you do.

The Vst may be a basic free-form or its derivatives which are obtained through various grammatical processes, such as affixation, internal change, suppletion and juxtaposition. Hence, there are three types of base in Desia—Simple base, Derivative base and Compound base.

### 2.10.1. Simple base

Verb-stems made of single morpheme (roots) taken as base are regarded as simple base.

These stems are of two types—transitive and intransitive. The intransitive form the neutral base and do not take object. They can form active base by being transformed into causative forms. The *transitives* form the active base and can take object.

The shape of these stems are either monosyllabic or disyllabic.

The shape of the monosyllabic stems are as follows:—

Phonemic shape	Evidence
1. V	There are only two stems—/a—to come, /o—to be
2. CV	There are 17 stems in all having following variations in V-position.  V as /ə/—/kə/ to say, /lə/ to bend /rə/ to remain. /a/—/ka/ to eat, /ga/ to sing, /ja/ to go, /pa/ to get, /ba/ to wear long. /i/—/ci/ to touch, /ji/ to live, /sɪ/ to sew. /e/—/de/ to jump, /de/ to give, /ne/ to take. /o/—/do/ to wash, /bo/ to carry, /so/ to sleep.
3. VC (C)	The—V-may be any vowel. /ɔ/ to wear, /ɪnd/ to walk
4. CVC (C)	The—V-may be any vowel. /mər/ to die, /mənd/ to trample.

The structure of the disyllabic stems are as follows:—

1. (C) VCVC	V <sup>1</sup> —any vowel, V <sup>2</sup> /ə/ or /a/. /əgel/ to be excess, /ukal/ to vomit
2. (C) VVC	Among 8 stems available 6 have /u/, 2 have /a/ as V <sup>2</sup> . auj/recline, /tiar/to reprimand, /duar/to carry.

2.10.1.1. *Stem alternations* occur in these types of base in morphological constructions in the following manner:—

(1) All monosyllabic stems ending in vowels, i.e. of [V] and [CV] patterns, are extended with the addition of the thematic vowel /i/ when they take conjugational suffixes other than imperative affix /-/.

e.g./kə/ /kəisi/ He will say, /gai/ /gaili/ I sang, sɪ/ /siisu/ You will sew.

However, the extention does not occur (a) in the stems/ ja, de, ne/before the future tense affix/b/ and (b) in the stems /de, ne/in past tense inflection.

e.g. (a) /ja/ /jibi/I shall go, /de/ /debu/we shall give,/ne/ /nebay/The shall take.

(b)/de/ /deli/I gave,/ne/ /nelus/you took.

(2) The following stems of (V) and (CV) patterns have allomorphic variations in the following manner:—

/e, a/-/i/; /ə, o/-/u/.

The change of stem-vowel occurs mostly in the 2nd Pers. Imp. and Negative customary forms.

Stem	Allomorph	Distribution	Evidences
/a/	/as/	In Perf. forms	/asi-aci/I have come /asi-/rəili/I had come.
		In 2nd Pers. Plu.Imp. 3rd Sing,Plu.	/asa/You come. /aso/Let him come /asət/Let them come
		In Negative forms	/nə-asi/I do not come
/o/	/ə/	In negative forms	/nəy/He is not,/nəū/We are not
	/u/	In negative forms	/nuas/You are not.
		In 2nd, 3rd Pers. Plu. Imp. forms.	/ua/You be,/uət/Let them be.
/kə/	/ku/	In 2nd Pers. Plu. Imp. and Neg. forms	/kua/You tell /nə kuas/You dont tell.
/ka/	/ki/	In verbal nouns	/kia/Eating.
/ja/	/ji/	In 1st Pers. Sing., Plu. 3rd Pers. Plu future forms.	/jibi/I shall go /Jibu/We shall go /Jibay/They shall go /Jibar/Going.
/də/	/di/	In verbal nouns	/diā/You all jump
		In 2nd 3rd Pers. Imp. and Neg. forms/	/dəət/Let them jump /nə-die/He does not jump
/de/	/di/	In 2nd Pers. Plu. Imp. and Neg. forms	/dias/You give/nədias/ Dont-give.
/ne/	/ni/	Do.	/nias/You take/nənias/Dont-
/do/	/du/	Do.	/duas/You wash/nəduas/Dont-
/bo/	/bu/	Do.	/buas/You carry/nəbuas/ Dont-
/so/	/su/	Do.	/suas/You sleep/nəsuas/Dont-
/lə/	/lu/	Do.	/luās/You bend/nəluās/Dont-
/rə/	/ru/	Do.	/rua/You stay/nərua/Dont stay.

3. The stem /ja/ has suppletion in Simple Past-forms as /ga/; e.g. /gali/I went, /galus/ You went.
4. The stems /kər/ and /mər/ drop the final /r/ in Simple Past-forms - e.g. /kəli/ I did, /məli/ I died.
5. In disyllabic stems of the pattern [(C)V CVC] the V<sup>2</sup> is deleted due to the operation of the vowel reduction rules.

- (i) Deletion of /ə/ occurs when any vowel follows as affix. e.g. /ərəj/to earn /erja/earning, /ərju/earning man, /ərjila/he earned, /ərjo/let him earn, /nə-ərje/he does not earn.
- (ii) Deletion of /a/ occurs when /a/ follows as an affix. e.g. /ugər/to open /ugra/opened.

#### 2.10.2 Derivative base.

Verb-stems derived by the combination of derivational affixes to the base morphemes are called derivative base. These are of two types—(1) Primary Derivative base, (2) Secondary Derivative base.

In Primary-derivatives the base-morphemes are derivationally bound-morphemes whereas in Secondary-derivatives the base-morphemes are stems.

Primary Derivatives-Base-morpheme + /i/, ai, iai/.

Examples—/ əl/ /əlai/to sway, / guɪ/ /guiai/to roll up, / oɔ/ /ocai/to lay bed, /\*/cal/calai/to sift, / juɪ/ /juiai/to stumble, / tɪN/ /iŋgai/to erect, / dəg/ /dəgei/to jump, / nɪj/ /nijai/to weed, / ku/ /kui/to rot, / jut/ /jutiai/to join.

#### SECONDARY DERIVATIVES.

##### 2.10.2.1 Denominative-base.

Vsts derived from substantives are called denominatives. The derivation process involves affixation of /i/ or /ai/ with the substantive stem.

e.g. /at/hand	+1 /atəl/to touch
/isa/envy	/isal/to envy
/ag/front	/agəl/to obstruct
/kop/anger	+ai /kopai/to be angry
mul/root	/mulai/to begin
/kam/work	/kamai/to earn wage
/santi/peace	/satai/to make peace
/meləc/he-goat/	/melcai/to castrate

### 2·10·2·2. Causative-base.

The causative-bases are derived from the simple bases by the addition of the causative morphemes /a/or/i/.

/i/occurs with stems of the pattern [(C)VCVV] as an infix between the-VV-sequence, e. g./gurai-/ /guriai-/to rollup. /a/occurs elsewhere, e.g./s -/to sew /se siala/He caused to sew,/kər/to do /se kəraila/He caused to do.

### 2·10·2·3. Negative-base.

The negative-bases are derived from the common Vsts. by prefixing the negative morphemes /nə/or /nai/.

There are two negative verbs in Desia-/nəo/not to be' and/nic/ 'to deny' which are derived from the Vsts./o/and/ac/by the prefixation of/nə/and/nai/ e.g./nəo/ /nə o/

/nic/= /nai+ac-/

In Oriya exactly similiar verbs are found as /nuhe/ /nə+he-/and/nahici /nai+əch-/(The later form is found rarely in ancient poetry)

It may be noted here that—

(1)/nic/has regular conjugation like any other Vsts.

(2)/nəo/has conjugation only in customary category.

The following morphophonemic changes occur in its conjugation for different person and number due to the operation of vowel reduction rule-[ə+o/u=ə/u].e.g:

1st P.Sg	/nə+oi/ /nəi/	Plu./nə+ou/ /nəu/
2nd	/nə+ous/ /nəus/	/nə+usa/ /nuas/
3rd	/nə+oe/ /nəe/	/nə+uət/ /nəət/

#### Note

1.In all the above types of derivative-base having the shape of [(C)VC (C)VV] the final—V—which is invariably/i/,is deleted when vowel-suffixes of P-N category are added for the inflection of Imp. and Negative form e. g./ocai/ to lay bed /nə ocai/I shall not/nə ocaus/You. oca/you do,/ocaət/Let them do

### 2·10·3. Compound-base.

Compound-base is formed by juxtaposing two stems.The first member of the compound may be a verb or a noun stem, but the second member is necessarily a verb stem.The first member occurs in its stem-form or in non-finite verb-form and the second member takes the inflectional affixes of the finite verb-form.

In the compound-base the second Vst only subserves the meaning of the first stem.Hence, the first element is to be treated as main verb and the second as auxiliary or subsidiary verb.

Desia compound-bases may be divided into the following three groups for the convenience of their treatment from morphological as well as syntactical points of view.

#### 2·10·3·1. Conjugational Compound-base.

Desia finite verbs of the aspective categories may be treated to be compound verbal phrases. In these constructions two Vsts. participate. The main Vst. occurs with the aspective affixes as the first member and the auxiliary Vst. occurs as the second member with the inflectional affixes for tense /mood, person and number. The combination of these two stems may be regarded as compound-base.

e.g./kər/ /kərsi aci/I am doing/kəri rəili./I had done.

#### 2·10·3·2. Reduplicative Compound-base.

In these types of base the first member is the reduplicated form of the main Vst. and the second is an explicator. The reduplication may occur in the following three manners—

(i) When the bare stem is reduplicated that indicates simple repetition of the action referred to by the Vst e.g./mar/to beat /mar mar kərsi/He beats repeatedly.

(ii) When the stem is reduplicated with aspective affixes that indicate prolongation of the action.

e. g./marte marte nela/He took him beating incessantly.

(iii) When the reduplicated stem occurs first with the nominal affix/a and next with/i/that indicates reciprocal action or varieties of similar action e.g./mara mari oibai/They will beat each other.

/mara mari Kərbai/they will beat and assault in similar ways.

#### 2·10·3·3. Stylistic Compound-base.

Common simple verbs are sometimes found ineffective in giving expression to certain subtle senses. In those circumstances subsidiary verbs are employed to convey the desired senses. These subsidiary verbs modify or strengthen the meaning of the main verb. Hence, these may be better called as explicators. These are employed to indicate the following senses—ability, completion, compulsion, continuation, commencement or termination of action, suddenness, accomplishment, intensity, probability, ‘prohibition, passiveness, vehemence, intention, causation etc.

A list of some common explicators in Desia is given below.

/a/to come—Abilitive, e.g./kəri-aisi/knows how to do.

Suddenness of commencement or intensive-e.g./dəbli aila/He came fastly.

/ac/to be. Conjugational,-indicative of presnt tense.

e.g./kərsi-aci/I am doing.

/an/to bring. Adverbative, e.g./peli anla/He pushed him in.

/uṭ/to rise up. Intensive, e.g./mati uṭla/He became furious.

/o-/to be. Passive (impersonal) e.g./kia oila/ Eating was done.  
Syntactive,, e.g./Sākər oila/It was narrow.

/kər/to do. Causative. e.g./bāda kəraila/He caused to bind.  
Syntactive. e.g./Kam kəla/He worked.

/Ja/to go. Passive, e.g./Kui gala/It became rot.  
Compleutive.-/kai gala/He devoured.  
Inceptive.-/məri jao/Let it die.

/dar/to hold. Continuative. e.g./kaibar darla/He went on eating.

/de/to give. Intensive. e.g./kai dela/He ate away.

/de/to  
Benefactive. /kuai dela/He fed/  
Syntactive. /kan dela/He eavesdropped.  
Adverbative. /duari dela/He transported.

/ne/to take. Intensive./urli nela/He stripped off.  
Ego—Benefactive. /kai nela/He ate to content.  
Adverbative. /olaite nela/He carried hanging.

/nic/to deny. Negative. e.g./kaibar nicla/He refused to eat.

/pakai/to throw. Adverbative./kādi pakaila/He cried out.  
Benefactive. /soi pakaila/He plunged him into sleep.

/pa/to get. Acquisitive. e.g./deka paila/He found out.  
Syntactive. /kāta paila/The thorn pierced.

/par/to be capable. Abilitive/kəri parsi/ He can do.

/mil/to be available. Acquisitive. /deka milsi/Meeting (with him) is possible.

/rə/to remain. Conjugational. /kəri rəili/I had done.  
Statival /kərte rə/You continue to do.

/lag/to be engaged. Inceptive (involvement)  
e.g./kaibar lagla/He continued in-eating.  
Syntactive./ucaṭ lagla/He felt restless.

There are some specific explicators in Desia which combine with particular nominal or verbal stems to convey certain definite meanings. A list of some such explicators is given below.

/kar/to bring out./əki kar-/to vomit out by inserting finger.

/dar/to hold./kop dar-/to be angry,/mul dar-/to start a work.

/ṭek/to lift./kəkəl ṭek-/to cough.

/ban/to break./əles ban-/to stretch limbs.

/mar/to beat./pani mar-/to rain,/tapli mar-/to clap.  
 /mala mar-/to clean field for plantation.

/paṛ/to tear,/tənd̪ paṛ-/to gape,/ai paṛ-/ to yawn.

/pāc/to plan./ākar pāc-/to be jealous.

/miṭek/to twinkle./āki miṭek-/to wink.

/alət/to turn back./jib alət-/to stutter.

/piṭai/to open./kata piṭai-/to disclose a secret.

/kep/to jump./ulal kep-/to put forth flames.

/oṛ/to put on./pād oṛ-/to set trap.

/bād/to bind./gər bād-/to marry,/ḍabu bād-/to deposit cash  
 /leka bād-/to make an account, )/dos bād-/to accuse.

/mei/to free./kəria mel-/to wear napkin,/gətər mel-/to  
 perform rites to free the spirits,/pilka mel-/to sprout new soots.

/rəc/to make./kəs rəc-/to colour,/kauṛi rəc-/to arrange a load for carrying  
 with a staff.

/beṭ/to pick up./gəti beṭ-/to open a knot.

/kalai/to scorch./giti kalai-/to tickle.

/juj/to wring./tənd̪ juj-/to carry tells.

/puṭ/to bloom./jal puṭ-/to sweat.

/upəṛ/to sprinkle./tuk upəṛ-/to spit out.

/ret/to polish./dāt ret-/to brush.

/pil/to squeeze out./dud pil-/to milk.

/əp/to admit./dos əp-/to admit a fault.

/jik/to drag./nak jik-/to blow out nose,/pani jik-/to draw water from a well.

/taṭ/to sheaf./paṭa taṭ-/to saw.

/capai/to press./pani capai-/to irrigate or hold water in the field.

/uṭ/to rise./pepul uṭ-/to bubble.

/bəs/to sit./buna bəs-/to shrink,/bana bəs-/to paint.

/bur-/to sink./beja bur-/to lose sense, consciousness.

## III

## SYNTAX

3·0. In Desia we come across various types of sentences. We may broadly place them in two categories—(i) Major sentences, and (ii) Minor sentences.

3·1. *Major sentences* may be further divided into the following three types—  
(1) Simple-sentence, (2) Compound sentence and (3) Complex-sentence.

The above division and subdivision of sentences are based on the occurrence of clauses in the sentences.

*Clauses* are the largest constituent units of a sentence. A clause means a 'maximal unit of utterance' which is normally 'carried by a particular intonation—cantour'.

There are two types of clauses—(1) Independent clause and (2) Dependent clause.

An *Independent-clause* can occur in isolation without entering into any further construction. But a *Dependent-clause* occurs only as a part of a larger construction; i. e., a sentence. A structurally independent-clause is treated as a dependent-clause when it occurs in a larger construction containing two or more clauses. This type of subordination of an independent-clause is termed as para-tactic.

Clauses are analysable into its constituents, called, *Phrases*, which are of several types, such as, Noun-phrase, Adverbial-phrase, Emphatic-phrase, Vocalic-phrase, Verb-phrase, etc.

In a sentence where number of clauses are stringed together, the main-clause contains a complete verb-phrase and the subordinate-clauses contain incomplete verb-phrase. Occurrence of other types of phrases is not obligatory in any type of clause.

### 3·1·1. Simple-Sentence.

A simple-sentence is made of a single clause which is a main-clause. The favourite type of construction is Subject-Predicate variety. It may be noted here that the subject can optionally be dropped if the predicate is a verb, because in Desia the subject is implicitly marked in the verb (e. g./kaili/I ate,/kaila/He ate.)

The verb in the predicate position may be an intransitive verb (e. g./muī bəsli/I sat) or a transitive verb with an object (e. g./muī take dekli/I saw him).

In equational constructions where the predicate is not a verb, the predicate attributive may be a noun (e. g./mor nōo kəlupatər/My name is Kalupatar), an adjective (e. g./se maiji bərē cətər/That woman is very shrewd) or an adverbial (e. g./se upre muī təlē/He is at the top and I am at the bottom.)

### 3·1·2. Compound Sentence.

A compound sentence is a combination of two or more simple-sentences with or without connectives. e. g./se asla, muī gali/-/se asla pərē muī gali/I went after he came.

### 3.1.3. Complex Sentence.

Complex-sentences are made of one main-clause and one or more subordinate-clauses which are joined to it by parataxis, i. e., with the help of some special subordinating elements, such as—connective particles other than /ar/ (and)/ je/ (relative), relative pronouns, gerundial verb-forms etc.

#### Characteristics—

(1) Each clause is identified by a tentative or final pause at its end. Normally the main-clause is marked with the final intonation cantour.

(2) The nucleus of a complex sentence is the main-clause which normally occurs at the final position and the prenuclei subordinate-clauses precede it in a sequential order. e. g./se be<sup>tae</sup> jai, el kéri, man<sup>qia</sup> buni sarle ; mu<sup>i</sup> rād-ba<sup>r</sup> kéri, take nei-debi/He, going to the field, ploughing the land, when finishes showing the millet-seeds ; I, cooking the food, shall carry to give him.

(3) If the subordinator is a conditional marker, not more than one subordinate-clause can follow the main-clause. e. g./se dele, mu<sup>i</sup> nebi/I shall take if he gives.

(4) If a subordinator occurs in the subordinate-clause, it is usually followed by certain anaphoristic elements in the main-clause.

e. g./se jene jaisi, mu<sup>i</sup> tene jibi/Wherever he goes, I shall go there.

/se ja kəisi,, mui ta kərbi/What he says, that I will do.

(5) An Independent-clause can parenthetically occur within a major clause as a subordinate-clause.

e. g./se pul-ta, je<sup>ta</sup> toke kali deiaci, seta take deides/

(That flower, which I have given you yesterday, you give that to him).

(6) A dependent-clause without any predicate can occur as a subordinate-clause anaphorically.

e.g./tui aka juāi, tui aka po eisu/You alone will be the son-in-law, you alone will be the son.

### 3.2. Minor Sentence.

Minor sentences are elliptical constructions which do not contain all the constituent elements of a complete clause.

The following types of minor sentences are found in Desia

- (1) Clauses without subject. e. g. /(tui) ao/come !
- (2) Vocatives. e.g./e benai/Oh, friend!
- (3) Fragments of dialogues—

Question—/jaisu/Will you go?

Response—jibi/I shall go,/ā/yes,/nici/No

Greetings—/juar/I salute you.

- Exclamations, Annoucements—/ci/Fie on you,/ba/well-done

### 3.3. Phrase and Word Order.

The sentence, the clause and the phrase are analysable to two of their immediate constituents, such as, topic and comment, subject and predicate, head and attribute. Although there is no restriction on selection of order, the most common habits are—the comment follows the topic, the predicate follows the subject and the attributes follow the head of a construction.

In simple-sentences the topic consists of the subject, and the comment is the predicate. But in complicated sentences the topic may be the object and the comment may include both the subject and the predicate.

- e. g./se bat kaila/He ate rice.
- /se lok-ta-ke, mui dekiaci/I have seen that man.

#### 3.3.1. The Subject.

The subject slot is filled by nominals or equivalent phrases

Besides nouns and pronouns, the following form-classes may occur as subject

Adjectives—e.g./bəŋli kəila/The elder wife told.

Verbal attributes—e. g./səNgeilaṭa bəṭi-an/Bring that which has been stored.

Adverbials—e. g./bitər bəṛe nirməl/The inside is very clean

Verbal-nouns—e. g./siuni bəl nai/Texture is not good.

The noun-phrases occurring as subject are endocentric constructions having nouns as the head, or nucleus. They are of two types—Co-ordinate and Attributive. In *co-ordinate* constructions the heads occur without attributes. They may be *additive* type having two nouns just juxtaposed or joined by a connective, (e. g./maiiji-mənus/ husband and wife,/ma ar pila/mother and child,/po ki ji/son or daughter) or *appositive* type having two nouns serving each other as head and attribute.(e. g./mui papi/I, the sinner,/mali po/member of the gardner's family). In *attributive* constructions the head occurs with some modifying attributes.

The attributive expansions of the head may be anticipatory or sequential

The following types of anticipatory attributive expansions are found in Desia.

Attributive adjectives—e. g./bu.a mākeɪ/ The old monkey.

Demonstratives—e. g./se pila/That boy.

Pronominal derivatives—e. g./emta kata/Such story.

Numerals—e. g./jo,ek am/Two mangoes.

Genitival noun—e. g./gəcər pəl/Own tree's fruit./tar gai/His cow.

Verbal derivatives—e. g./kuila am/Rotten mango,/kaibar lok/The person to eat./cəgti baɪ/Steep path./naṭ-kəru balu/Dancing bear.

Only numerals and the determinative/ta/occur as sequential expansions.

e. g./pila gotek/One boy,/lok-ta/The man

### 3.3.2. The predicate

The predicate slot is filled by verbs or equivalent phrases.

A complete verb occurring as the nucleus can have the following types of expansions—

Demonstratives—e. g./mui seita kəili/I told that.

Negative markers—e. g./nə kəla/,/kəla nai/He did not do.

Noun phrases with case-suffixes—e. g. Instrumental-/mui dəN-sə<sup>1</sup>ge marli/ I beat with the stick.

Locative—/se gāoe ace/He is in the village

Ablative—/tui gəre-uni an/You bring from home

Non-finite verb-forms—

Nominals—/bərə kaa kaila/He ate a real big eating

Infinitives—/se kaibar gala/He went for eating

Gerundials—/mui mari palaili/I ran away having beaten

Conditional—/mui parle kərbə/I shall do if I can

Adverb of concomitant action—/se kaitte galani/He is going while eating.

Finite-verbs—/mui kərbə kəili/I told 'I shall do'.

Adverbials—/ebe aila/He came now,/iti aila/Came here,/enta kəla /Did like this,/etek dela/Gave this much.

In equational constructions the following non-verb forms occur as nuclei in predicate position with or without attributive expansions—

Noun—e. g./seṭa mənus/That is a humanbeing

Adjectives—e. g. / seṭa sundər / That is beautiful.

Adverbials—e. g. / se agtu mui pəc / He is first, I am next.

3.3.3. In objective constructions the normal order is —Subject-Object-Verb. But instances of Object occurring before the Subject are not rare. (e. g. /mui take marli -take mui marli / I beat him) Sometimes the change in order affects the sense to some extent, e. g. / mui am kai-aci / I (not anyone else) have eaten mango./ am mui kai-aci /Mango (not anything else) I have eaten.

If there are two objects the indirect object occurs first.

e. g. / mui take am deli / I gave him mango.

The object may be nominals, endocentric noun phrases, verbs or clauses.

e. g. Nominals—/ se bat kaila / He ate rice.

Noun phrase —/se sukla-bat kaila / He ate dried rice.

Verb —/se kaibake kœila / He told to eat.

Clause —/se kœila sukla-bat kaiba karap / He told it is bad to eat dried rice.

3·3·4. The following diagram represents the favourite order of occurrence of the subject and predicate with possible expansions.

	ji					am kaila			
Ramər	sei	kana	ji	ta	kali	jo̥ek	pakla	am	kaila
object					verb				
subject					predicate				

[ Ram's that blind daughter, yesterday two ripe mangoes ate ]

### 3·4. Agreement

In Desia syntactical constructions, the attributive adjectives, though irregularly, agree with noun as regards gender and the verbs regularly agree with the subject as regards person and number.

e. g. / maijiṭa gəndri / Woman is nasty,

/ mənustagəndra / Man is nasty. / mui kaili / I ate, / tui kailus / You ate, / se kaila / He ate.

When there is-a string of subjects, the verb agrees with the person and number of one of the subjects. Generally, the verb agrees with the 1st pers. when other persons occur along with it and with the 2nd pers. if the 3rd pers., occurs with it e. g. /tui, se ar mui galu / You, he and I went.

/ se ar tui galas / He and you went.

The verb-form governs the selection of any particular case form of the noun or inflectional form of the verb-stem.

e.g. / kœlia take maila / The jackal killed him

/ se kœlia ate mœla / He was killed by the jackal

/ se doila /He washed, / tar doa oila / His washing was done.

### 3. 5. Particles :

The particles which occur with the subject or in the predicate are listed below. Most of these morphemes are unexpandable link words and have different functions depending on their position in the sentence.

#### Interjections —

- / ja / (Note of refusal)
- / ci<sup>h</sup> / (Note of condemnation)
- / ba<sup>h</sup> / (Note of appreciation)

#### Injunctives —

- / be / -e. g. /take des be / Give him.
- / gande / -eg. / kene galusni gande / Where are you going ?

#### Invocatives —

- /e/ -e. g. /e benai / Oh, friend !
- /re/ -e. g. /re benai / Oh, friend !
- /o/-e. g. /o benai / Oh, friend !

#### Emphasizers —

- /se/-e. g. /moke-se kœila / Told me particularly
- /e/-e. g. /mœd e anbi / Shall bring wine too.
- /tœ/ -e. g. /tui tœ kœilus / You, indeed, told !

#### Affirmatives —

- /ā/, /oy/- / əyi - Yes.

#### Negatives —

- /na/, / nai /—/ naini / -No.

#### Interrogatives —

- /kai / What, / ki / What, / kene / Where, / kon / Which etc. e. g. / deisu kay / Will you give ?/ debi ki / Shall I give.

#### Determinatives —

- /ta /—/ ti /-e. g. /lok-ta / That particular man.  
(/ti / indicates diminutive sense.)

#### Modulators —

- /tœ/ -e. g./dele tœ nebi /How can I take unless he gives ?
- /ta / e. g. /moke kœi de ta /Tell me for God-sake.
- /ni / -e. g. /moke de-ni / Please give me.
- / ti / -e. g. /moke de-ti / Give me first.
- / je /-e. g. /tui kœilus je / Did you not tell!

### Adverbatives —

In addition to the pronominal derivatives listed in the section 1. 2. 4. the following may be mentioned here.

Adverbs of time —/aji / today, / kali / tomorrow, / ebe / now, / pœce / afterwards etc.

Adverbs of manner —/dire / slowly, / dape / fastly, / e para / like this, /begi / quickly. etc.

Adverbs of quantity —/ aka / alone, / una / less, / ədik / more, / jak / all, mulke / entire etc.

### Adverbs of place—

/agtū/first, forward/pœc/last, backward,/løge/near,/durke/far,/baar/outside, /bitər/inside,/iti/here, /siti/there,/upər/ top,/təl/bottom/muan/frontyard etc.

### Prepositions and Postpositions—

/unu/other, /arkər/another, /bine/separate, different/søje/certain, /leka/at the rate of ,/para/like, /søte/in truth etc.

### Conjunctives—

Copulatives—/ar—ari/and	e.g./se ai mui/He and I (It is used in narrations)
/puni/again	
/ni/and	e.g./kəlia ni bag ni mərigalai/The jackal and the tiger died.

/misa/also, although  
e.g./dele misa nelanai/Did not take even though offered

Resultatives—/sina,e.g./kəile sina jibi/shall go provided I am told

/mater/but  
/ele/if, /nə-ele/if not

Alternatives—/ki/e.g./bat ki pej/rice or gruel

/na/—bat na pej/ rice or gruel  
/ki-na/—/deisu ki na/will you give or not

Causatives—/kəri/e.g./kai kəri gala/Went having eaten

/boli/—/jibi boli kəili/Told to go

/gini/—because of

/lagi/—for the sake of

kaje/—for the reason

/tebe/—then, for that reason

/səri/—soon after that

e.g./dele səri jibi/shall go as soon as he gives

## APPENDIX

## 3.6. Sample Sentences with Grammatical Analyses

1. /go<sup>t</sup>e tok<sup>i</sup> dui maiji mənus rəilai/

[one girl two wife husband they-stayed.]

There lived a couple with a daughter.

/go<sup>t</sup>e.....mənus/—Attributive noun phrase; Subject.

/go<sup>t</sup>e/one Numerical adjective

/tok<sup>i</sup>/girl Noun

/—/ Copulative/ar/dropped

/dui/two Numerical adj.

/maiji mənus/husband and wife,-Additive noun phrase.

/maiji/woman Noun

/mənus/man Noun

/rəilai/they-stayed,-Finite verb; Predicate

/rə/to stay Verb-root

/i/ —Thematic vowel occurring before affixation

/l/ —Past tense indicator

/ay/ —P-N suffix for 3rd P. Pl.

2. /se mənus gət jibi boli barla/

(That man guest I-shall-go thus he-came-out)

The husband started out for visiting the relatives.

/se mənus/ Attributive noun phrase; Subject.

/se/that Demonstrative

gət jibi/ Parenthetical independent clause.

/—/ /mui/the subject is dropped

/gət/guest/ Noun

/jibi/I-shall-go. Finite verb

/ji/to go Verb-root, allomorph of /ja/.

/b/ Future tense indicator

/i/ P-N suffix for 1st P. Sg.

/boli/thus said Conjunctive particle  
(Quotation marker)

/barla/he-started-out, Finite verb

/bar/to come out'. Verb-root

/l/ Past tense

/a/ P-N suffix for 3rd P. Sg.

3./ ṭoki ar tar ma bejorna ṭane jai āk-marlai.....  
 [girl and her mother bejorna at having -gone they-- shouted]  
 The mother and the daughter going near the bejorna (place at the village out-skirt for throwing impure things) shouted at him from behind.

/ṭoki ar tar ma/	Additive noun phrase; Subject.
/ai/and	Copulative particle
/tar/her, his	Possessive pronoun
/ta/	Oblique base of 3rd P. Pron. /se/
/ṛ/	Genitive case affix.
/bejorna . . jai/	Subordinate clause
/bejorna ṭane/	Noun Phrase
/ṭane/near	Adverb of place
/ṭan/place	Noun
/e/	Locative case affix
/jai/having gone	Non-finite verb
/ja/to go	Verb-root
/i/	Gerundial perfective
āk marlai/shouted	Compound verb
/āk/loud call	Noun
/mar/to beat	Verb-root; here subsidiary verb
/lai/	Past/l/plus 3rd P. Pl. P-N suffix.

4./Patli            gote            barni            gole            māgi-an/  
 (earthen-pot one            broom-stick            one            you-bring)

"Please bring from them (as presents) one earthen-pot and a broom-stick."

/patli. gote/	Object
/gole/one	Unit marker; adj
/—/	/tui/ the subject is dropped
/māgi an/	Verb
māg/ to beg	Verb-root
/i/	Gerundial perfective
/an/to bring	Verb-root
/—/	Imperative suffix for 2nd P. Sg.

5. /anbi            anbi            kəi            se            mənus            bari-gala/

(I-shall -bring having-said that man went away)  
 The man promising them to bring the things went away

/anbi/I-shall bring      Finite verb  
 Vst/an/+/b/future+/i/1st P. Sg.

/kəi/having said      Non-finite verb  
 Vst/kə/to say+/i/ Gerundial perfective

/se mənus/that man Attributive noun phrase; Subject

/bari-gala/went away Finite verbal phrase

/ga/to go            Suppletive form of the verb /ja/in Past

6. /duma sunti-rəila məsne-un/  
(ghost was hearing from the graveyard)

A ghost was listening to them from the graveyard.

/sunti-rəila/he-was listening. Finite verb, Past imperfect

/sun/to hear Verb-root

/ti/ Imperfect aspect

/rə/to remain Auxiliary verb

/məsən/Graveyard Noun

/-ne uni/ Ablative case affix. (Locative-e+uni)

7. /bejornar bərní patli dari-kəri bari-aila Se mənusər gəre/  
of bejorna broom earthen-pot holding came out man's house that-in/.

He came to that man's house carrying the broom-stick and earthen-pot  
from the bejorna.

/dari-kəri/carrying Non-finite verb

/dar/ to hold Verb-root

/kəri/having done Conjunctive particle

/bari-aila/came out Compound finite-verb

/bar/to come out Verb-root

/a/to come Verb-root

/gəre/into the house Noun phrase

/gər/house

/e/ Locative case affix.

8. 'kəila uga! təki aili mui/

(said-he open daughter came I)

He said, 'Open the door, daughter ! I have come back.

/kəila/he said Finite verb

/uga!/open Imperative form with /-/ affix.

/təki/daughter Vocative

/aili/I came Finite verb (Vst/a/+1/past with/i/P—N.)

/mui/I 1st person pronoun.

9./Kapat, uga!lay, take rād-bar kəri delay/

(door they opened to him cooking having done they-gave)

They opened the door, then cooked and served him food.

/rād-bar Tag-word

/rād/to cook verb-root

/bar/to serve "

## 10./ Jete bat dele Kaisi-ace/

(as much rice if-given he -is-eating)

He ate as much rice as they gave him.

/Jete/as much Pronominal adjective from relative pron/Je/

/dele/if given Non-finite conditional verb

/de/to give Verb-root

/Ie/ Conditional conjunctive.

/Kaisi-ace/he is eating Finite verb

/Ka/to eat Verb-root

/i/ Thematic Vowel

/si/ Non-Past tense affix

/ac/to be Auxiliary verb

/e/ P-N suffix for 3rd P.Sg.

## 11./ ṭoki kəila seta baba nəy aya/

(girl told that one father not mother)

The daughter said 'Mother ; that man is not my father.

/seta/that one Demonstrative

/se/he/ 3rd person pron.

/ṭa/ Determinative particle

/nəy/he is not Finite verb

/nə/ Negative morpheme

/o/ to be Verb-root

/e/ P-N suffix for 3rd P.Sg.

## 12./ baba ale moke kəndek deita/

(father if-had-been to-me a-portion he-would-have-given)

'Had he been my father, he would have given me some food.'

/ale/ Conditional conjunctive particle

/moke/to me

/mo/ Oblique base of 1st person/mui/

/ke/ Accusative case affix

/kəndek/ Fractional adj. (/kənd/-piece,/ek/one)

/deita/ Finite verb

/de/to give Verb-root

/ta/ Contingent/ t /+/a/3rd P. Sg. P—N affix.,

13./ seta kai goṭe ḫuma para/

(that-one what one ghost likely)

'That one is most likely a ghost'.

/kai/what Indefinite pron.

/para/like Comparative particle\*

14./ se ma ji ar goṭe gøre jai puri-delai/

(that mother daughter another house-in having-gone entered)

Then the mother and the daughter took asylum in another house.

/se..ji/ Subject

/se/that Demonstrative

/ma-ji/ Additive noun phrase

/ar/ another

/puri-delay/Compound finite verb

/pur/to enter Verb-root

/de/to give Subsidiary verb conveying accomplishment. of  
the action with intensity.

15./ selok kœilai-emti bejorna jai ḫakbar nai/

(they told like-this ,,, having-gone calling-to not)

Those people told them, it was not proper to shout like that near the bejorna

/selok/they 3rd person plural

/se/ Demonstrative

/lok/folk Noun

/emti/like this Pronominal adj. from/e/this

/ᬁakbar/calling Infinitive

/ᬁak/to call Verb-root

/bar/ Infinitive affix (nominal/ba/+r/genitival)

/nai/not negative verb.

**D E S I A**  
**A TRIBAL ORIYA DIALECT**

**SECTION-II**  
**T E X T**

## DESIA-TEXT

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89 items; Informants—same as of (K)

## INTRODUCTION

Desia is a spoken dialect. There is only a single booklet in the dialect entitled 'Nutən Cəit Pərəb Git', published by Bikasa Pratisthan, Jeypur, pages—33, which contains about 70 stanzas of Kindri-git and a story written by Sri Ramanatha Panda. Two other booklets published earlier by the same author under the titles 'Cəit Pərəb Git' and 'Pani marigəla jhai' are standard Oriya compositions having occasional occurrence of Desia words.

The materials complied in the corpus here have been collected straight from the lips of the Desia speakers during the field-studies undertaken in between 1963—67. Most of these were tape-recorded and the rest were noted down in long hand from the speeches of the following persons—

1. Dundu Hanthal—Nandapur, aged 45, literate, Rona by caste, and Disari by profession. He is the main informant and has supplied bulk of materials.
2. Guta Pursuti —Serampur (9 miles from Nandapur), aged 30, illiterate, Rona.
3. Manguli (40) of Thuba, Shakuntala (20) of Khemoduguda and several other middle aged ladies from different villages under Nandapur Block who were taking training in poultry breeding during 1965 summer at Nandapur.
4. Samru Dora (40)—Nandapur, illiterate
5. Guru Mudli (50)—Semla.—4 miles from Nandapur), Parenga
6. Balaram (25) —Guru's son
7. Kilo Aita (50)—Kanchana, Parenga
8. Murli khila (30)—Tikrapada, Gadba
9. Dobek Pujari (25)Oringi (Kudumulguma) Dideyi
10. Ghasi Gudiya (25)Kanangi (Kudumulguma) Dideyi
11. Mangala Mudli (40)Cindri (Koraput), Bareng Paroja
12. Jamadar Naik (45)Kalapadi (Koraput), Bareng Paroja
13. Masamad Kami (40)Jharapali (Malkangiri), Koya
14. Lakhan Naik (25)Milmari (Malkangiri), Goud
15. Dom Majhi (40)—Gatisahi (Nawarangpur), Bhatra
16. Padlabh Bhatra (30)Haunli (Nawarangpur), Bhatra

Informations and specimens were also collected from several other persons who were encountered on the way, at market place, Bus-station, Collectorate and other office premises. Students of Nandapur Middle School provided some materials by participating in the competitions on writing stories and describing seasonal festivals in their own dialect.

The Corpus compiled here contain only selected pieces out of a large body of collected materials.

## DESIA-TEXT

## FOLK-TALES

## I

## Rivalry between the monkey and the jackal for marriage

makər. goṭek am duni duni kaisi-ace/dun-bar-ṭa dunsi-ace, upre toli toli kailani/goṭe pəka pədər ḫəkri, tar nao bejai, jai kudrikəri bə̄si-ace/Kəlia tene-uni kukuta goṭek cabikəri aisi-ace liṭing liṭing/kəlia ḫəkri-ke dekla/—"kaiṭa bə̄lusni ata?"—"moke konta ata boila, moke tə kenai"/pəce enetene dekla/kəlia kəila—"kaiṭa deksi acus ata, mor nāo kəlu patər"/—"am bə̄si-aci/ədek am odərsi-ace, ədek ṭaku ədek cəpa"/—"upre ke acət tebe ata?"/

—"konbele aili, kata ele nə eita ki, mui dunsı-aci boli nə kəsitaki" lok nai/tui cəg kina babu, du:nu joṭek ele beṭi nebi"/

—"mui kemti kəri cəgbə ata ? e odərlə am tui nei nə parus ar cəgi kəri odraile ketek neisu ? gore ke acət je ? tui tə goṭek lok!"/

—"cəg kina, parlapa:a boinebije kaibi goṭe duidin pa:a' /

—"cəgikəri dunle moke kaiṭa deisu ata ?"/

"kaiṭa debi babu, tor dərəm rəile duni de"/

kəlia bicar kəla—"tor ji dan:i oi ace-gulai se:ta dan:i oi ace/tui take ḫaki nə ani tui goṭe lok ailus/mui jai tor jike"/ḥəkri bama oigala—kəlia kemti janla tar ji ace ! koila—"nai babu joṭek duni de ki na/"kolia—"nai mui duni nə dei/tui rə eṭi, mui jai ḫaki anbi tor ji-ke/se am de :ni moke boinebi je gəre səngei debi/dokri-kai boli jai kəisu babu ?/

Kəlia—am beṭla je təmər aya boi boi ṭaki gəlani/

kəlia jorek amdari barigola ḫəkri gəri/makər dunsi ace/ḥəkri kəila/ete pər oilas, ṭaku goṭe, cəpa goṭe odrai delus kailok boli cimra oigali/kəliake kemti kəri ebe ji debi/

ene kəlia ḫəkrir gəre jibake tar ji kəliake kəila—"tui tə kəlia !" "kəlia kəila—" cire gu:seṭi"/take am songe ma:la, palai aila ḫəkri ṭane/kolia kəlia—"nai ata, nicla/ kəila mui rādbə: kəri rəibi, səbulokər kaipai aibar ? tui duni des, təmər ata bəṭo"/ ḫəkri—kaipai ase nai, nicla ?

kəlia—e:ema: am betlus ata ! kemti odərlə ?

ḥəkri—goṭe pəben ailaje kendikor bangipara ailajie am gosri gala būie/ kəlia—kaipai ar cəgbə ta ? e am eka neba lok nai/

kəlia amke mo:bādla/ḥəkri beṭla ḫəlek/kəliake kəila—ṭekides babu mundə/kəlia—mui na pari ata / pəce du: goṭe ṭia eikəri ṭekidela/ kəlia moṭə bādi oila/ agapəca oī barigəlaini / da:gəi ba:teuni deklani / ḫəkri boi na parlani boli ba:te keṭai kəri ḫəkrike ḫala māgla/ kəlia—mor ṭa cənek bo / da:gri —kəlia pusi —tar mui boi naibe/ aya ! tui se kəliake kailagi suagi kəlusni, marikori nəkede ? kəlia—moke kəlia kəisi—acus daNgri ? tor aya tə moke sərpidela, am duni des boli kəila/ mui tə kəlu patər !

dañri—tui tə kəlia, kemti kəri pañti kəri kuaisu moke ? kemti boji deisu

kəlia—ā seta dei na parbi ! tui moke rəibi boli kə/ kuakui oi gøre keñlai/ təokər pəce pəce makər gəlani/ se jai cani upre cəgi dela ace/ kirəake əkari dela, bitre ciñgli kəri aṭu upre utərla / rati oila / dañgri bicarla—naik ke mui jai kəibi, kəlia moke biba ebo boli kəilani/ dañgri jai naik ke kəila—kemti bida ebi ? naik asi pəcarla kəlia—ke : e dangri —ke tui biba eisu/ e gore ke nai / tui eka juāi tui eka po eisu /

kəlia : mui bojibat səbu dei biba ebi /

naik : kebke kər—su ?

kəlia : budar—din cirai debi boji dui din kojalo:a kori mui milaibi /

naik : dañgri —ke kane deisu nan—gula, bauli, tin nake tinta mudi/ dəkrike deisu gū luga / moke pani utrani boli goṭe kədi deisu, naik manti boli pāc—ta —təNka deisu/

kəlia : moke kə nai babu, səbu jəmaibi/

makor səbu sunla : e gialpo kəlia biba oisi ki ?

kəila pəce dəkri—ke kəila—mui kalike goṭe gāo—e jibi ata ! celi anbi budar din səbu dari aibi /

dəkri kəila—tui jomao je kuṭum man, kəniya ne.

Kolia barigola / makər aṭu-e-uni bəkra-e u.ərla

makər—aṭa !

dəkri — ke re babu ?

makər — mui ki ata ! am dunideli beñlus / ebe kolia-ke biba korsu be tor ji-ke, moke nə deus be ? tor gor poñobi / tui ar mo-ke nakra kəlusni ata ! deisu ki nai ?

dəkri —tui tə makər, se kolia / ebə se kajibojı jomaibar golə ace / tui ar kemti biba eisu be ? dui ləkor boji kora, kuṭum ka-ke sorpi debai /

makər — mui boji anbar /

barigala makər / səe ki duisə makər kauti leuṭi boikori bari ailai / makər agtu ani keñtai dela / sərisa mali satsora aṭi sobu dari kɔ.i aila / budar din din kəniya sərəpbake kəlia aisi acət baṭe sunlai : tui to aji ansi acus / makər to biba oilani !

caul gaul piñgidei keñla kəlia / makər kolia cuṭi daradari oigalai / naikər beja buñigala / kake debi kake cañbi ? kəlia māda makər māda jud' kolai / gāo-r lokmən niyaə kori kəlia mənəi boji leuṭai delai / kəliamənke car mari kedlai.

## II

## A faithful dog

saukar goṭe puni kukur posi ace / kukur-ke boṭe portipal korsi / mənus una kaisi sina kukur-ke ḋedik kuaisi / kukur-ke age dei se poce kaisi / goṭe din saukar kēila : aji mui kākia-ke jibi / ari barigala / se kēḍimēnke ḡe neisi ace kākia dari dari / kukur koḍi koḍi bul-lani / saukar-ke sap gote daridela / take bādi kēri jiksi ace / saukar bicarla mui kati darle puji pēkaiti gērda kori / kukur Jane ki ani deisi ? kukur-ke kēila : kati māgi an /

Kukur goṭek ninas-re gōre palaila / saukar-ni dekla kati tane kukur ola eisi / poce se kati betikeri dela / kukur cabla dapre palaila saukar tane / saukar sapke puji dela / kukur-ke juar kēla / aui goṭe din goṭe gariya tēnka kukur dekla / ḋekar ḋekar kola je dekla / palai aila gōre / tene-uni dēbri aila / saukar duli rēila / take uṭaila, ḍaki datigala / joi tēnka deki asi roila se tane se dakinela / ḋekar ḋekar kola je garia disla / saukar bukē piti oila / sēb beti anla / kukur kete dine mōri gala / take neikeri poṭai dela / setane gūḍam ṭeklai /.

## III

## A mendicant's advice on worldly life

babaji goṭe aila / se asi kēri goṭe gaoe catēr-gōre basa oila / caribate bulsi - 'kei nai kari' -bolsi / kici māge nai, mōn ica kēri deie se neisi / kar gore pure nai - duar duar ak marsi / ketedin oigala / saukar pila goṭe alcēna kēla - kaita kēisi ace e babaji ? se jai tar at cap kina dari pakaila - 'kei nai kar' ḋeret moke kē / babaji kēila - rē, rē kēbi, tui ao / babaji basa tane galai / babaji kēila - tui sēklia ḋel joṣsu, tor bai joṣsi, daNra amēn jorbai - sabu ei kēri kete ḋel joṣlasni ? danra kēila - cari ḋel / babaji kēila - pēdae nei jaisa / pēce tor ḋel rēo / kedu kedu bel udi aila belke moke jor ailani, mui napari kēsbar bolikēri tui uti ao ! aisu jemtiki tor maijike oca magsu, ocai delake tui soisu / pu ḍa uḍa kici e nai / tui semti rēisu / mui jetebel aibi setkibel tui utsu, ar ḋeret sēbu jansu.

daNra duli dela semti / maiji radbar kēla / tar mēnuske pani tēpai dela uṭ boli jai utaila / se mēnus ēcetna oi pu ḍa nai uḍa nai oi gēla / maiji mēnus mērigola boli ak mari kadbar darla / babaji aila / maiji kēila - mui ḋra soNge mēri - jibi / kat dia busioi mērijibi / tei uni babaji kēila - kailagi soti jaisu ? e bisa ne kai de, mēri jaisu / maiji kēila - nai mu nē mori, e ḋandra nē oile ar gote ḋandra ke jibi / babaji pēcarla - tui mēribu boilus je ! maiji - nai nēmori boli uṭi-gala / tar bou kadsi ace - mui deur sēnge mērbi / se misa ce capot dēg-upor oikori kādsi ace / babaji kēila - semti kole jibēn bēre kēste jaisi, e bisa ka / se maiji kēila - na i mu nē mōi / tar ma, baba, bai sobu semti kēlai / babaji kēila - pani ana / pani sici dela mōtor poṭi / se daNgra uti kori bosla / babaji pocarla - teir ḋeret toke jana poṭlaki ? tor lokmēn kis boilai ? se gini mui 'kei nai kari' kēisi aci / seta eka ḋeret / pēṭke gobi eite ka ar jai paiti kē / kādike tui pēṭke morao nai /

## IV

## Story of a Son-in-law who lives in the father-in-law's house

gote daNra ke gote saukar gor juai rokla / semti paiti kēru kēru dui bērēs oi gala / poce gote din saukar kēila - nai juai, sobu paiti kolu je, aji bērēs kor paiti gote dinke ciṭai deisu / daNra babla bērēskēr paiti gote

din kaiča cičaibar eisi ? e danči moke nə ræe sina mui nə roi eti / e dančike  
moke loča nai / Kosa bua tas beus sobu koli, goče əl songe komaili, ebe  
boreskor pači goče din mui kemti korbi ? mui nə ræe, kene ele palaibi / poce  
segore uni se gore jai kaba oi bosi ace / se goror baimata goče bar oila - kai  
oilus o aji e mu capra capra oi boslus ? tor satra satri učlaiki ? nai moke  
ke učot nai/tor maiji urla ki ? nai ke kai boli ko : ət nai / moke epača kēlai  
- mui boreskor pači goče din kemti korbi ? goče lok pareki ?

— nai re baya, tui sečake dərikori polaisi acus /

— kai pači tebe ko /

— boreskor pači boile gor-caibata ! borəs keči aile goče din se pači  
korbarča / ujači dei cači deisu / kacra kuar pingi debar eisi sečake tui dori  
polaisi acus ?

— eča !

teiuni se sorda oila / barigala satra satri gore / satra pocarla - kene  
jačsilus juāi, eče pér oilas ? tor mundər pači, tui kaipai bulte rəisu ?

— nai mama se bač gali je segor jai basi deli /

— aji bela beli boreskor pači cičaides /

— korbi mama /

ṭengiya goče darla / cani upre cəgla / gor ujačla / dəkra pingibake gor  
caidela / dui din ki tin din gola ari / satra kēlə-ebe goče pači ace / se pači  
cičaidele puṇḍsube /

— kai pači mama ?

— boreskor purna mačdia nei pingi deisu podae — /

juāi bablani boreskor mačdia ketek duarbi goček lok ? e pači nə pari  
palaibi boli bar oila / goče bin gāoe gola / naik gore jai bosla /

— kene ailus o ? pejguči dias re / pej guči delake naik kēlə - kebe asus  
nai, aji ailus /

— nai bəru, mən bagi gala / goče sunli je amər satra satrir /

— kai kata kēlai je ?

— boreskor purna mačdia mui kemti nei pingbi sečane ?

kēlə kai oila ? kai pači pingbi podae ?

— nai nai, semti koe nai / mui se ərot koidebi / ele boreskor gobor,

take se purna mačdia boila tomor satra/kurma kurma kori podae nei əalsu/  
goče din nə sarle misa arkor din soraidele kai oila ?-ečake! e kētake koila!

teiuni leuti aila/pəce pejpani kaila/ sika kauči sojačla, dala kərli sojačla,  
kəčki goče darla, kot gadi barigala/ bel bosbake pingbar sarai dela/ teiuni se  
gər-juāi morte ji: te se gore kēlə/

**The flower worth of hundred rupees as a marriage-presentation**

goṭe dangṛa goṭe dang,i-ke sutrila sutrila na parla/gote din gala/Kēila-tui moke aitus boile toke sée-ṭonkar-pul deiti/-sée-ṭonkar-pul deisu ?

-ā debi/

bad maramari oilai/

-tui jaisu e bat, jai se jolae bosi-rə/ mui e bat aibi/pani-gar gagri sənge debi/se boat ju je udlia bari jū/pəce barigəlai udliya/ goṭe ki duṭa gāo jiti kor baigolai/ dui din ki caridin rəilai/dan.ir ma babu kojbar gəlai/take jiki kəri gōr dari ailai-nō deū boli/poce dui din rəila ar leuṭ te se danıake bari gala/ dangia tar gəre nei gola/poce jalapati delai, sogərta bādi delai/ tar ma babu kēlai-kirəmara ua nai/kəniake sorpi delai/

aṭ pədor din oigala/poce dangṛi kēila-tui to masek porjont sutrillus, mu nə asi boili/sée-ṭonkar-pul debu boilus je de moke pindbi/pul debi boli kēlus ki mui aili/ dang,a k0ila-eṭa! mui toke nə rəe-boli dangṛa dari dela/ -sée-ṭonkar-pul eka ani deli/tui e raji-purtir lok-ke, naik calan-ke bəsa je tui kə toke sée-ṭonkar-pul dei aci ki nai?

tei niyaə bəsailai/səb kuṭum kēlai-seṭa se sée-ṭonkar pul eka! dang,i cimra oigala/kēila-mor ma babuke jai kəibi se lok kai kēibai/ pcəe jai gore purbake tar ma kēila-səe ṭonkar pul pindlus ṭoki? tar baba misa k0ila semti-eṭa se s0e ṭonka dei anbar eka! tei uni se bari aila dangṛa ṭane/

**The old lady and the jackal**

dui buṭa buṭi rolilai/đokra əl joṭsi-đokri, tui pej an re mui kəsbar nebi-boli dari jaisi/ əle kəse nai, kaiṭa kore nai/ podae neisi, tarla ocai deisi, soi deisi/ đekri pej-bela oile pej neisi/a be tui pej ka-đakle pəce uṭsi, pej kaisi, nəngəl boisi kənde, gore bari aisi/ đokri kəisi-tui kəsus nai, kaiṭa nai, p0dae jai ɖuli deisu/ gore ɖuli rəile kai oila ?

arkər din kēlia goṭe bag goṭe bicar kəlai-e đekra ol ansi ar soi deisi/ake kəmt korū? kēlia kēla- ɖuli rəila bele tui tuṅgi kəri dari palaisu/mui se əl joṭbi je kəsti rəibi/pəce đekrake bag toli darigala/ đekrake nei-toṭri cabi des ar ṭaṭi oite kai des! kəndek goṭ-ke caṭi dela ace Kēliar pai/

kēlia əl joṭla a, kəsi se lagı ace/đekri pej nela- ao be đekria, moke goṭe kuṭagora ace, bel oigalani, begi ao ka/

kēlia kēl-aji kai sag anlus đokri? aji kəndek niman sag ele kaibi, noile nici/ đekri-baji sag-ke amliya koṭi ani aci/

Kolia-ja, se sag mui nici/ kukuṭa goṭe porao je bajbuji kəri dari ao /aji kəsbi ta/

dəkri murmurla-kelebel kukuşa poraibi, kelebel bat rādbi? e pej sag kai rə/ mui rādbař keri ař-bel lēge anbi/

kelia se pej sag kaila/ bagər pai kənde səngai dela pej/ əl-ke melidela ar bəsi dei ace tarla ocai keri/ pəce bag bar aila-kai kəlusni banja?

-nai kəslı je, pej kaili, bəsi aci/dəkra kene gala?

-ede dəkra goř anlini/kaides boli kəilus/

-mui goř nici/bol bol ta kai delusu, ar e goř mui kaibi?

bag musur masər oi bəsla/kelia bica, kəla- e bag kai dela se dəkrake əlt maūs/ ebe se dəkri aile kai bolbar be? bagke kəila-dəkri aile kai bolu be? kemtə kəru kemti nai be? -mui tə kaideli/ebe dəkrike misa kai deū be/tebe se niyə no əise/i

-mui ele kici kai nai, tui kai delusu/nai nai dəkri asu take goṭe kata kəu/

-kai boli?

pəce kata bādbake dəkri asi maři bəsla/ bat maūs anla-abe dəkra, ede anli ka/ kelia kaila-moke ar dəkra boilusni ata? mui tə kəlu patər/to dəkrake tə bag kaila- ede eti soi.rəila/ sede goř goṭe ani aci, koje gāli je/

dəkri mu 1de kapale mari oi keri kādbar darla/ eti jai odərsi, tei jai odərsi goṭe raNni paknae jai mund əsi dela, məri gala/ kelia pake gala/ dəkrike kindra pasla keri dekla/pəce bagke kəila-dəkri mərigala/tui nei kaides/ mui e bolod biki ani buř kərūařke buř kərū/bag kəila-jao tebe, mui e dəkrike kai kai rəibi/kelia əlek bolodke kedinelə/se gāor lok deklai bolodke agətlai/kaipai neisi acus-pəcarla kəlia-dəkrake kaila bag, dəkri pakane əsi oikəri məri gala/ bolod əlek bikb- je ani dosabar keri debi/

-täoker lok kei naini ki? toke kəliake sorpi delai ju puni, jai deku/

gāor lok sobu jařu oikəri bar oilai/dəkrike bag kaisi ace/deklai/ se lok gostu bādlai- kelia gialpə bolod kaiki neisi ace ? ame keri kařsina, e kelia ke goṭe gomat keru/kəliake kəilai je dəkrar gore caul gaul ace, setə betu je bur keri deū/) ədalek caul oila, napa jupa kəlai/ se lok kəilai mərke ani də:n nəkəle kemti eisi? daru pətor kolai/ se kosba pədae daru rəci delai/ dəkrar gor, dəkrir goṭe kap ani songei delai/kəliake kəilai-tui jəi ləgao/ kelia joi lageidela/ jəi lagla/ kelia jai dəkrar jorek parua anla/ goṭek paruake urai delai, gotek joi porai delai/ kəliake kəilai-tui ebař uni se bař pingbar/nə pingle se bag əuma bətə aliya kərsi/ kelia-kərabe tebe moke/

be ədiamən kəliake darlai, julailai julailai gulkna jəi pingai delai/mor banjake joi purai delai boli se bag jai bətbi boli jəi pingi oila/ kelia ni bag ni miste mərigəlai/

## VII

### The cowherd couple and the jackal

gote maiji monus 1oilai/goru dari keri ba 1di magi kaibai/m0nus kəisi— “ja re gouř-ni ba 1diki—kelia kaila man1diki”/dinke kəisi/se maiji dinke asi ba1diki magi neisi/

kelia gotek gote din sunla/aji maijike cab-bi je ma?di-tane se/nai nai eret ta buj bita se gourke/gour tane palaila/kelia-oye bai!

—kaita ?

—temer tir apake sodadin kisu/ajike caridin sunli/aji mui mene bicar keli/teir eret moke koi de, noile se apake cab-bi ma?di/ tui te kelus moke, dari cab-bi eka !

—nai nai mui gote lok sakal-uni goru mel-bi je din jak bel bes-te caraibi/bel gole gore nebi/sede mui keli-ekta gour kai kere gour-hi adar bikol jai magi bulsi/take ke aka saka nai/setake keli-cab-bi boile cab sina/toke mater bol no keri

gour tei-uni goru anla, purai dela/gour-ni ke kelia-ekta gour kai kre..... Kolia sunla/sakaliya ari gour tane palaila/-gaurbai !

—e kelia kaipai asi Koi lagi acus ? toke gour dan sange munde eka marbi/

—hai nai babu, marle mar sina e eret gote koi de ta/moke bel no keri kemta kelus ? koi de—

—take jai cable cabsu sina toke kedi kedi marbi/

—eta !

gour palai aila/kelia jagi reila/gour-nai ke Koila—oi apa tor monus kelia toke cab-bi be/

—cable cab sina, kali ke cab/

kelia bicar kela-e eret kaita ? gote din gaoe jai keri gote barik ke bujla/barik kelia-kalike cab/kelia ari palai aila/maijike soj bele dari pakaila-aji cab-bi, ne ca?i /ene gele ageisi, tene gele ageisi/se maiji ba?di a?i songe mu?de marides keliake ! kelia merigela/maiji gola emnus tane/gour pecarla-kaiki pej anlus nai ? maiji kelia-keliake marli a?i s?age/kelia terepete kerbake mun?de marideli/gour kelia-e git ari ne k?ibe/ebe ja ba?di magi an boli k?ibi/

### VIII

#### Story of the 'Dom' people

ni?gam?en kelia-ja:ti paikmen, se p?lna gaor lok dari aibar ace/ jaipur nebake am kau?i, kau?iya u?ai ansu/paikmen bari g?lai/joria m?nke utai anlai dos lok ke/batiya satiya sika kau?i dari bar ua/j?iamen tiar po?le jaipur jibake dos kau?i am dela/pauntia bar oilai/jau jau k?er?godna-e nei r?da k?lai/s?bu j?ria utrailai-radi kau je c?nek pu?du ta/

ari bat darlai tei-uni kecla jai keri rati soilai/setane sakal-uni utlai je kopiga?/ denga-e galai gatual lengai dela/bagra gati bari g?lai/s?bu kau?i utrailai/

—ma geu ji mor kau? b?re boj ! j?tek ba ka?ud re/ar gote kelia-sukla p?tor ba kata oindu/kaibake ne ee/gote lok ani ci?i dekla-e bana k?eid o/

—nai, kenu ba se bali p?tae topi ded/am kai sarle p?ce ba beti aned ekari keri/

dəslök dəsta am kailai/citi əkari kəri bəti anlai/-dek ti, citi ba kəidu/pəgal poral kəi dū amke mared/citike darlai, kauri boiliai, darigəlai/rəja gore keṭlai/-ame ba nua puṭ-ni, amba anla/

bat-paura caṭi delai/guməstam0n beṭlai/pətər deklai/

—dəsta am nai ! am dəsta nai, kis kəlus ?

—mui toke ba kəin du/ebe se am ke kai delu je ebe keükəru ?

—am kis kəlu ? ja an/

—sukla pətər ba kəta no ee boli ame kaidelu/jəil kəle be piṭle piṭa be, kaidelu/se pətər kemta k0ri dekla ?

musra musri oigalai/guməsta kuli kaṭi delai/

## IX

### The tiger and the Bramhin family

bamun buṭa buṭi rəilai-dəngor tole/po nai pila nai, kici nai/dəkri eisi pet/pərisa gərər apa goṭe maṇḍia cunake bətrai rəila/take adan bəsaila/caul punje pakaidelə/siji aila utare guṇḍke pani godli se adan aiba ṭaṇe rəkeidelə/tei pej golidelə, gāṭinela/se bapṭi pej anla duare, taliṭane ujaṭi kəri nun məric darla je kaite rəila/bamun dəkri gala je pəcarla-kis lo kailus ni ? mui kaile bol eita oiki ? pejṭa setkire məne dari dela je tar at goṭ puligala/pəce bamun dəkra aila-kaiki puli galsuni ? se kəila-nai, pəce ar goṭe din pəcarla/dəkri kəila-məric ke mo ke boṭ sorda lagla/take deki mui puli gali/

bamun bar oīla/goṭe mot luga kəla/muṇḍe gote bādla/moric koja bari gala/jāu jāu.....bag goṭe mala mari dei məric ropi dei ace/məric pol-la ace, jomi jai ace/dəkra tei barigala/ene tene dekla-ke nai/joṭek tolsi ace/bag boila-ke o moric tolbaṭa ?

—mui babu, joṭek tol-lini/

—neisu je kake deisu ?

—mui se kaibi/

—nai, kake debake nelus-ni/

—kake nə dei

—ata gərob bas ei ace/pila oīle tomor, ṭoki oīle mor/

bamun keta oigala/bag lok pasli ace/bag boli dəkra nə jane/-goṭe dəlek para tol/ ṭoki ele an tui/

dəkra tol-la dəlek boi anla gore keṭla/dəkri poṭ para puli duli dei ace/maṇḍia guṇḍ anla, adan bosaila, pej kalaila/nun məric batı kəri dela/dəkri kailake pula utri gala, niman oigala/

cari din ki pāc din jibake goṭe ṭoki gadoila/dekle deki nue sepori toki ela/bamun kəila-ajj jūai aisi be/kemti kəu take deu be eṭe südor ṭoki ke?

bag gorə upre cogi keri kan bauli, sorisa mali, kəja luli, āta sutə pinda ora  
oikéri aila baman ɖekri goṭe bin murkuṭi pila ani dud cabai kori (toŋde kepai  
kéri) bosi ace /

bag-mo dangri boṭ oila ki ?

ɖekri-tor kapal nai, ede goṭe pila oila, ʈoki oinai /

bag-nai boilas acəs/ muiḍakbi ki ?

bag ɖakia—məricbəti ! ʈoki buṭ oi bar oila ar bagər kole pingi oila /

—kemti nai boilas—bar oilaki nai ? kəniya bərtəman ou mui asi nebi

—kəi utigala / buṭa buṭi tuni pəlai /

## X

### Story of the old couple and the bird

dui buṭa buṭi rəlai / take po nai, pila nai—kici nai / din-ke kəsbake  
ɖekra jaisi / ɖekri pej sag kersi, podae pej nei deisi / ɖekra mənemone  
kəisi ace-eṭe maṭ dan ace, kebe kəŋde bat ani de :nai / rə aji ɖekrike kəibi

—ɖekri mui goṭe cōrei deki aci / se gəcor polkae ace / posle bəre soba eisi,  
kəta eisi / po pila noiba lok !

ɖekri kəila—posu re ɖokra !

—tui ja, bat goṭe cangra, goṭe dəna maūs dari ao / maūs təŋdek kao nai  
dulte dari ao /

ɖekri gala / goṭe kuku:ake mərte marla / poṭa poṭi kəla, kaṭ kuṭi kəla / bolkəri  
rād-bar kola / caṛrae se batke ɖal-la, maūs ke ɖal-la ɖənae / ɖekra kəi roila  
—tui jao je pəlka upər ke ace / tui jai bat-ke muŋde bo je ʈia oi rəisu /  
pəlkae uni bar oi kaisi /

ɖekri ɖaksi-a re kuku cərei ! piṭi baṭe—uni ʈia oi ɖakla / ɖekra se jai puri  
ace / se baṭ nei ʈia kərbake se kaila / —kailus kuku ? ɖekra kəisi—ā  
kailis / ɖekri bicarsi—dulte kaila ʈati eite kaila, kai eṭek cərei ace ? ar  
gəre bari gola / dokra utərla / pədae jai kəslani / ɖekri din ɖinga sag pej  
boila, pədae nei dela /

ɖekra—nei delus ɖekri ?

ɖekri—ā, dulte nei debi, kaila /

ɖekra—dinke neides, boṭ ele gəre neū / aji kəŋde bel kəlusu kalike bəiibel ne  
ɖekri—nebi ɖekra /

ar dinne pəce ɖokra əl joṭla, barigala pədae / ɖekri ar anla,—asus kuku ?  
bat ka—peṭ purte bat kaila ɖokra, ɖekri barigala /

ar din ɖekri gala—acus kuku ? ɖekra kaila—cəngia ke pingi dela / dire  
utri keri ɖalae e purla / “cərei kai boj” ! boli sase boi neisi ace ɖekri /  
kemta keri utraibi goṭe lok ? goṭe lok—ke ɖakla— ao re nənai cənek e  
kuku cōreika utrao muŋde—uni, bəre boj ! pəlisa gərər bapṭi palai aila /  
beṭlai ketelok, sai jakər lok palai ailai / utrailai je ɖokra /

## XI

## Story of a husband and wife

maiiji mənus rəilai / ele mailji kəsbake nebi boila / mənus kəila mu  
kuṭa gora kəri radbi. mənus kutbar bəsla / dan kutla kula kojbake gala /  
kula anla / tipa-đan konti songei dela, bari gala /

maiiji əl joṭi kəri bari gala pədae / se puni maikas koji bul-lani /  
nn̄dra tipa—dan sajakə magi bulsi ace—mui dan punbi boli / maiiji maikas koji  
koji ṭaki kori bari aila gōre, mNnus tipa—dan koji koji nn̄ paiknri koṭni ṭane  
bəsla cimuraoi / maiiji aila / mənuske kəila—tui kai ke bəsi acus ?+nai mui  
dan kutli, mərigala / ele tipa—đan kojli je mil-la nai / se gini bəsi aci /  
kaiṭa rādbi ? tui kaiṭa kəlus ?

—mui misa maikas nə paikəri bari aili /

maiiji mənus bicarna kəlai / maiiji ke mənus koila—bayata tui, goṭe maikas  
darle sina goṭe maikas eisi ! maikas daraile pilakas eisi / tipa—đan koi  
songei delus ? maiiji koila—tipa dan bolbaṭa ! angti jak tipa—đan eisi be !

dui lok misi galai / ar ke kar kamke coṭ kəri kəet nai /

## XII

## Story of the old man and the jackals

dui buṭa buṭi rəilai / dəkra dəkri pej sag rādbai, kaibai / Jə oilata  
patli sənge səjari ḍongere bari jibai / se lok mala kərəklai / se ṭane bunlai  
je ḍəngərani, juṭuN, biri, kādul, kākli, bəda, kumḍa / seta paci galaini, aṛ  
kəsliya oi galani, kaiba bətor oilani / ḍokra kəila dəkrike—bunba kərba jinis  
səbu pacigala / mui tei gote kuria kərbi / seti nə jagle kai kaiṭa kai debai /  
mui jagbi tei / tui səkliya, aṭbel loge pej ani uṭi ja /

dəkri rādbai kəri nei deisi / dəkra kuṭia bitre jəi ḍok dəkai kəri, jəike  
piṭi—kara kori soi deisi / kəlia mən tiris ki calis muṇḍ jaṭa oilai /—ju n  
se dəkrar kādul paci ace, seta kau / dinke asi kaū / e ḍokra ar kai kərs  
eamke ?

dəkra ḫuli ace / kəlia mon tollai juruN mon / baṇḍa kəlia kəila—re baya  
mən, juṭuN ke kāca nə kaū, pej duksi / se dəkra tə jəi lagai ace, tei nei  
poṭai kaū / poṭle kaibar eisi, suad eisi / ḫək kəilai-dəkra cetuk rəisi !

dəkra sunsi ace taokər kata—ki nakra acət kəlia mon mor juruN sapa  
sarai delaini !

kəlia mən daṭike joi pake boslai / juṭuNke jəie poṭailai dəkra ṭor kina  
paṭle—mor juṭuN poṭla—bolikəri se beti kaisi, se beti kaisi/ dəkra cimurra  
ḍulsi ace / kəliamən kailai / muṭe car gote ruṇḍaila ar dəkrar ṭiki  
ṭane mari dela, uṭi gala / dəkra kəila—kaṭ aji, ro /

tin cari din kailai / pəce ḍokrike kəila—juṭuN, kākri sob urli kai pakai-  
laini kəlia mada / dəkri kəila—kentar kərsu be tebe ? —nai dəkri, mui  
goṭe paiti kərbi / juṭuN kəri pej gol, kai ele sag sijə nə sijə kər je tui  
dari ao / dəkri koila-anbi /

pœce sag pej misai dœk'i dañigala / dœkra gote musel muñda dari  
barigala agtu / kœila—mui ñuli debi, tui jœi ko ñdek cumai des / kuñiake  
cariberti bañ buni dela, cuñi dela / gote pan'i eka cañi dela / tarla gote  
ocai dela / dœkrike kœila—tœnde guñi pej rœgei des / pindia gamca bete naini,  
anña sodiuni pej rœgai dela / pet tœle musel muñda songei dela /

kœlia manda añbel lœge baiñ ailai / sœbu toli pakailai /  
kuñiae toli anlai/gote kœlia eri dekla—dœkrar pañi sarigala/tirki batœ  
gu bari oila sede/bondar dara oila/ dœkramela be ñdek lok porai rœo,  
ñdek lok ana/

sœbu toli anlai, bitre purlai/ dœkrake mojae kœridelai/cari be,ti bœslai/—  
jœi aji lagañ, lim lim, oisi ate/dat kœri lage nai/jœike puk pak  
kœlai/ mœda oikœri poñai kaibar dari rœilai/ dœkra uñbar sari pañi  
dabi dela/musel muñdae muñde muñde mari mari kœliamOn mœrai  
dela/batœ rœila se bœta/take leje dari dela/lej ciñi gala—moke darsuk  
re dœkrœ? mor nœo bañda kœlia—moke parsu ki?

Se kœlia eka ebe ebe ace/tar osermœn ebe acœt/kœlia boile saip deisi/kœlu  
patœr boile bol kœisi/sedin uni kœlia mœn kœdsi acœt/

## XII

### Story of the Jackal and goddess Earth

mœnus goñe kœsbake el joñi nela/pœdai nei kœsla/pej bela oite/pej bela  
oilake el meli dela ari nœngœl juani sœngei dela/ dantœn gœsi jibi ta boila/  
gañe utœrla/

se kœlia se batœ gala/kœlia ñakla—“e ñelia bai ! e bœret ketek bœlusu ? mu  
kaibi je toke ñabu debi/se kœlia se e kata oisi ace/ kene gala e ñelia bai ? moke  
buk laglani boli se kœlia mœra oisi ace/ðertœni kœila—ka o tui, tœnka gote  
dei kœri ka/oi kaibi ta babu, tœnka gote debi pœce—boli kœlia bœrot ke sœbu  
katri kœri kai dela/—et aseñ nai, aile debi—se kœlia galani/se mœnus aila/nœngœl  
ke dekla—bœret nai/—e bœret kœi oila? se ñertœni kœila—kœlia kœila je galani  
sede/ ñabu debi boila ace/ deisi be se kœila, mui mœgbœ be/tui jai mœg, mui  
jibi be buk lagla boli se mœnus nœngœl boi uti gala/se kœlia pusi kau ta  
bœret kœila boli uti galani/

Se ñertœni—de e bœret ñabu de boli kœlani/se kœlia ene dek tene dek oise  
ace/—kœi ta deklusni ? bœret ñabu de/—a ci gañde ! boli kœlia kœila jœ  
palalani/jeteke/ palaile seteke mœngala/kœi jai tia oile tei mœnglanini, bœret  
ñabu de boli kœlani/olsi katla siñi ñen batœ palaisi ace/se ñertœni bœro.  
ñabu de boli ari kœila/se kœliake olsi kœya gurdì oi aki tane capi oi bœsi  
ace/ari kœila bœrot ñabu de/se kœlia kœila—niman lok-ke delus ki kana lok-ke  
delus ? nai o niman lok-ke deli/—ar take jai mag boli se kœlia kœila/se ñertœni  
aj pai roigala/kœlia batœ kœlia gala, ñertœni batœ ñertœni gala/

## XIV

### The Old man and his four daughters

dui ñokra ñokri roilai puni/takœr pœte puni carœa jiimœn jœnom  
kœlai/semti roigalai puni se jiimœn danœi oilai, se ñokra ñokri ñokra ñokri  
se oigalai/se ñokra puni kœila—oire ñokri, tokimœn gulai sœrek leka danœi

oigalai, bin ḡore ale jibai ki nō jaot/sem̄ti se r̄ibai be? tāoke dekle moke b̄o e birbira lagsi ace/—d̄okri-ro re d̄okra, sene sem̄ti r̄oot ki na, tāokor ica ele to jibai, noile r̄ibai, tui kai geni sem̄ti kēebel tēebel gurgura eisi acus ale? Dokra—nai re d̄okri, tokim̄on-ke mui mari pakaibi noile puji pakaibi sina bin ḡore n̄ogale, tāoke moke s̄ongeibake bol nō lage/kene ale kedi pakaibi/

Dokri—re d̄okra, sem̄ti ua nai, s̄obulok oi darlu ale toke m̄orte mar: pakaibu, kaigini sem̄ot oisi acus?

Sem̄ti r̄igalai/se ḡāor lok puni gulai d̄ongor par pur cog, konta mala maiba, konta daiu korbār, konta, kō̄ekbar, konta nala betbar.. sem̄ti oi puni jilaini kailaini/d̄okra puni ḡore uni bilkul bar oi naini/

Dokri—ale d̄okra, s̄obulok jai k̄ori d̄ongor par mari pakai acot, kō̄oksi act, tui kaigini jaus nai; kemtioikori jiibū kaibū? Dokra—nai re d̄okri, mui kebe nō jai, dan̄im̄on-ke kebe mari pakaile ki nai kene kedi pakaile tabe jai kō̄okbi, marbi sina kebe mui nō jai/moke dekbake b̄o e birbira mu n̄e s̄ongei/

Dokri—sem̄ti k̄or nai re d̄okra dui din ale r̄oot ki na bin ḡor jiba jak̄o/

Sem̄ti r̄igalai/r̄igale goṭe din puni d̄okra k̄oila—na re d̄okri, tāoke ar, kedle nō jaot, uile nō jaot kene kaita kōle kene nō jaot/ju d̄ongre p̄otor jōek laka toli anu, daru jōek laka k̄ori anu, ju/ Dokri—nai re d̄okra, mui asi nō pari, tokim̄on—ke d̄aki nes/

Se d̄okri puni aji p̄otor tolbar jibai be boli dape dape s̄ome s̄ome puni bat rādla, sag rādla, pej k̄orla, tok̄i pilake tāoke b̄osaila puni kuaila/—ja babu, aji jōek laka p̄otor toli ana, t̄om̄or aba daru jōek k̄oro/—jibū tebe aya jibū—car boini puni k̄oilai, k̄or-k̄ond oilai, luga pindlai ōrlai, barigalai/d̄okra puni poce tengiya goṭek dari goṭek tumai pej tumek darla, barigala/jāu jaū d̄okra puni bate jōia oila/—are tokim̄on, aji jōia oili, kaita k̄ori napari, b̄osi r̄ibī, t̄ome upre daru k̄ora, p̄otor tola, utri asa, mui tole b̄osi r̄ibī/

—oi tebe aba, tumar pej tēgiya dar tebe, tole r̄eo, a me toli k̄ori tole utri aibu poce sōge bīi k̄ori ju/—oi tebe/

d̄okra puni tole tumar pej, tengiya puni darla, dan̄im̄on puni/ barigalai/toli toli git gai gai nat k̄ori k̄ori boila puni sem̄ti k̄ori bari galai puni upre c̄ogi c̄ogi k̄ori/puni bat bana oigalai/se dāi manda puni k̄oilai—oho, etedur konbate konbatuti ailuni, abake to cari dei k̄ori uti aliu, ju d̄aki d̄aki k̄ori jai deku—puni ak mari ak mari ailai/aile misa puni kici konti na pōla/tebe d̄okra r̄oila se pōdanae puni goce tēgiyaka tokidela, ar tuma pejke dulce kaidela/ poce ḡore puni gud gud uti gala/ dan̄im̄on ak mari mari aile puni—e baba, koi galus ale ak mar—boli kōile puni se tuma u-u k̄orsi, se tēgiya puni tok̄e k̄orsi/e baba, cari deikori kene ūigalus? se tēgiya puni tok̄e k̄orsi se tumapuni o k̄orsi—nai re tole ace baba kai, ju ki na tolke bet paibu boli se dan̄im̄on koji koji tolke bari ailai/se tēgiya puni goce tok̄i dela ace, tumake puni olai dei ace/nai to re baba kene uti gala, kemot ou be—boli cari bouni kādbar darlai—

cari bounir duk̄o m̄oro kete

cari galala baba aji kemot ou

nuni bolibi san nuni  
 karla pule biba o boli koili nuni  
 karla pule biba noile kai nuni  
 laj māsi koili nuni—

cari bouni puni bicar kalai—ebe ar kemot oū be iti? nai ju be, amor baba to emti inōsta koraila ace, take kai ale gōte saip deū se mōro—pōce cari bouni bar oilai/müe kōndek laka gōrnđa bandi oila/gāe jai kōri odōrlai, morigalai/mōrōt nai puni se bitre se rōgalai/kai se gātual puni gotek donga kelai kelai kori dekla je-oho, erek sundri dan̄imon kon desor ta mon, asi kori emtar oilaini, nai, tāoke jiki nebi/jikla je ḫongae puraila/pani pēte puri rōilake manđi manđi pani bar kēraila, tāoke jibon kēraila/pōce gātual git gai gai darigala-

manđek pani būlı jani kōi de kodom pul  
 mor ma rani jumka ȳali souda kenđek dur-

bolsi puni ar kōndek kelaisi/kelai kelai darigala puni gore/taoke ketek pani kāji, dua poca kēraila/dan̄i boile danri nai semti oikeri puni ujōrlai/eti puni konta sanli konta bōli oi kam kolai kabar kēlai, jiite kaite rōilai/semōn bicar kēlai- amke baba etek inōsta korailus, toke kaibake oron no milo, pindbake bostor no milo, semti oi tui mōr, ḫokrike punidaNri para dan̄i nai semti oi gōtek bin dan̄ia ke jai jio boli taoker ayake sap delai/gōtek dan̄ake puni dēkri utigala ȳanri pasol-la je/se ḫokra puni kaibake ȳōn mile nai pindbake bostor mile nai, semti r̄ okom oi aki kāna budi bana oi ade ḫokra morigala/

## XV

## The story of the old couple and the peacocks

ᬁokra ḫokri puni roilai/semti kāda kuni mac mari jiilaini, kailaini/bōn porbot mari kori mala mari onek porkar kori/kangu, renđe, boda, kakri,biri pacai kori kailaini/kaite roile roile mojurmon puni siki galai/pacba niNba kōtke sobudin puni utrikori se manđia kaibar, dan kaibar siki galai/ᬁokra ḫokri puni kata oilai-nai re ḫokri, amēr malai mojurmon siki galai, kon budi korbi be ? ḫokri koila semti nai re ḫokra, siti gōte kūja bad tui, ar tui soi des, morigala boli kori mui kadbi, mojurmon aile s̄eri tui mar/o ḫokri, semti ale korbi/

ar se ḫokra kūja gōtek puni bandi pakaila/siti jai se soidela/ᬁokri onđa gātla puni/ᬁokrake t̄irki loge, munđe kane lipidela/ ar kadbar bosla-toke ḫokra lok nai, moke ḫokra lok naibar ḫongēr jaliya mojur se mor lok, ḫokra lok... mojurmon puni t̄ikriup nlai-ei suni deko, dadi mola kaiki, apa kadlanı, ale niko suni mojurmon-toke...lok...

-ede o apa kadlanı, dadi morigala kaiki ? jai deko puni, ju-konta pun kūte ḫogei ailai, kon mojur puni paknai ḫogei ailai, ari pake asi kori sunlai/ᬁokri koilani-toke...lok...

-nai o lok bak nai, apake e nai dadike e nai/morigala se, dinek coneck tar  
keř beti kori ame kailu acu, tar goček pap konđek kema kori ame, ju je  
sobu manda, take topi deū, ar se ḫokrike ame posu/

se ḫokra soi ace/setki bele bari ailai mojurmon, gor cari beti bosi delai/..  
toke...lok..'-nai o, take lokbak nai/pacarlai-kai ela je apa, kadlusni ?-nai bobo,  
tomor dadi morigala, mui goček lok kemot oi jiibi, kaibi be kon budi oibi ?

-morigale ar tebe kemot koru apa ? ame nei kori beti toli pinbu setki  
dapre-ja tebe pilamon, gore pura je bar kora be, ar mosne ne boli ḫokri  
koila/səbu mojur mandamon puri delai gor bitre/setki somoyke ḫokri dire  
kori koila-koji taťi ḫab re ḫokra musol bulai des!setki dapre ḫokri kapat  
ᬁabi dela, ḫokra musol beti kori take mar, take mar kori kontake mari no  
parla/goček coťatake darla/ar sobu uťi palailai/se coťatake-tume se mor dan  
kailas, manđia kailas biri kailas, toke aji korbi boli se mojurke porai pakaila/-  
nai re ḫokri aji goček darli be, tar paťi aji koru/ጀokri puni begi begi caul  
doi pakaila, anđi loge bosaila/ጀokra mojur kaťkuť kori pakai radlai/se ḫokra  
puni ḫande bar oi ace/ጀokri puni tar baťae purek maus parek bat kola,  
se ḫokrake puni talae loge talek bat aigor, maus borti kori dela/-ao be  
ጀokra, uda pani, at do-ጀokra se ta talar bat caťi dei ḫokrir bat-dari aila/-  
nai re ḫokra, se ta mor baťa bat, eta tor bakra ede ace, talar bat neikori  
ka, toke butek maus dei aci/nai re ḫokri, aji moke butek maus mon lage  
nai, donar se nebi be, konde para kaibi/

ጀokri bisog oikori atgor mormar oi dela/ጀokra ḫulte kai dela

### Traditional history and myths

#### I

#### RANI DUDUMA

Jani raja buja buji rēlai puni/tāoker peťe duj bai bouni jonam oilai/  
pila koňdek bęt oi ace, tar bouni kędeksan ace/se bura buji mērigalai  
je duj bai bouni rēgalai/semti mac mari kāda kuni kai bar, nəile nai/

goće din tar bai daruke gala/tei uni aibake cōndramali ḫongorke munde  
boi rēila, kauri dēngorke konde boi rēila, pūuga ḫongorke aťai cipai rēila-  
boikeri ailani/tar bouni keňni mala doměke dan kuťi bosi rēila/tar bor  
bai dekla je amor bouni ! əsonka oi dan kuťi bosi ace kemti kərbi be?  
e kand bidi debi boli dunu kaňd jopi kəri jiki caťi dela/se kaňd jai ta  
uporke jai gaťi oila/se dan,i kaiťa porpar kela boli kuťbar aka bosla/tar bai  
kaňd bidljanla nai, biťa ale bidi dekbi boli bita bidi dela/se biťa jai kəri  
se rani piťi baťe jai kəri dom kəri paila/lobodi galake rani pasli dekla-  
e eta mor bai sina cala kela, mui jan'i naparli, nāga oi kuťi bosi rēili,  
mor keře məut gala/por lok dekle oita, mor bai deki dela-boli muselke  
pingi dela, kulake bainike pingi dela/ator müdi, goiər juťiya, ciňi capa sobu  
pingi dela/patluga ḫorgori kəri rangni upre jai kəri rani dudumae jai pingi  
oila/tar bai dobji gala-o mor bouni odri dela-boli jai dekla je upbar burbar  
oisi ace/bal dari jiki delake muđor gigi songe jiki oilake se bal se bode  
pingi dela/ari kəňdji tane bosi kādi pakaila/pēce gorae cəgikori sorbeti bate  
gala/age gala rana məina gore/gala je joi kędeks magla/se maiji gorob oilake

take saip dela-tuj ədek car ruñdaisu ədek culi jaki deisu/tei uni barigala/  
gadba gore gala/tei jai joi mägla/se godobani kœila-e sakal uni koir joi debi ?  
take saip dela-toke sutə nə milə/muñde dunu songe kësa bâdi o/añae bêdu  
rə boli kœidela/ari barigala/guña sima dese/

se rani sëje naga oi munđe bal nai bari gala boñda dese / boñda gäor  
boñdani mën pani gañe jai tula oi acët/se bate rani gala/se boñdani mën  
dumđa oi kéri tia oi acët/se ranike deki kori kata et nai/se rani pacarla je  
kata et nai/kata bujla nai boñda mënör kata/

kai/ pai kata et nai boli mënne pâcla rani-e ranike munđe bal nai boli  
boñdani mën kata oilai/e maiji kon gäor maiji kata na Jane amër kata/  
se rani kœila-mor songe kata uas nai boli mënne pâci kéri saip dela-teme/  
boñda boile boñda oi ja/têmör buk dud munđi jak mali ñabi oi rua, munđ  
munđri oi rua/têmör kâda joñ sôdi goñe ceter ñabi ua gérñda kœidek/  
sëje dumđa oi rua/têmör munus mënke dineke dunu kâđ dari rə ta/  
kaila tane soila tane dunu kâđ rəi jao/saip dei se rani barigala/gödaberi  
jai sid pasli kéri pade puja kailani/bonđamOn, gonđia mën, penjoria mën  
puja delaini/

kuñni malai se ranir bal sumbuña sid pasli ace, ciñi capa, jutiya, musel,  
kula, barni tei sid pasli ace/tar bair goña koj ace/

## II

## Benen Raja

dui bu:a bu:i rëilai puni/se bu:a bu:i din-ke kâda mari anbake jibai  
dëngere/se ñækri goñe bine se ñækra goñe bine semti oi kâda marbai/se  
goñe din ñækri pete oi tibar piña goñe gadoila/se kâda kale/ñækri ñakla-e  
ñækra-boli ñakla/ñækra koila-kaiñare ñækri, ñaksi acus tui?-nai re ñækra,  
cènek ao ta-boli kœila/-kai oilus je ?-nai re ñækra, piña goñe gadoili/-ale  
puni deku boli ñækra gala/-ake nøy bomli soñge ñulai dei utiju re ñækri  
boli ñækra kœila/-oi aka re ñækra, ake keñebel dud kuaibi, keñebel amër  
jiuna dekbi ? boli kata oilai bu:a bu:i/gödla pëter ani gala ñækra/se pëter  
mari anla/tèle goñe ocaj delai/se pilake ñulai delai/tar upre goñe pëter ñab  
dei kéri gëre uti ailai/

se piña të-re të-re oi kâda kale kâdlani/søj oi galani/se pilar kâdbata  
suni bag goñe-kaiñia kâdlani boli se bañe dire suni suni kéri gala/se bag  
mënne bicar kœila-o o kar nör pilake ñulai delai nøy bomli sõnge/mui ake kaile  
pet pure nai ki dâte atle nai/pap lagi jaisi ar kaiki pap boibi boli mënne pâcla/  
-nai kœtrake ñakbi boli kœtrake ñakla/se kœtra ñeri ñeri gala/-nai kœtra,  
e nör pilake tui dud kuaisu/k0tra k0ila-mui dud kuaibi sina, ake ñelñdi  
suaihake kemti korbi mui ?

-nai mëjur ke ñakbi/se ñelñdi soisi boli bag bicar klëa/se bag mëjur ke ñaki  
anla-tème dui lok oi kéri, kœtra rani dud kuao tui ñelñdi soisu/nëile témke  
tia kai tia agbi/se kœtra dud kuaila, mëjur ñelñdi suaila/

semti rëu rëu mase ki dui mas oila/beneñ rëja bu:a bu:, ibet oilai se pilake  
pilake ate pate kéri ruñdai bu:a bu:i sarda oi kéri boi ucari kéri nelai/jai  
baria pakane ñal capor oi basa oilai/se rëja pilake sat muda ñoldi, kë, ma  
tane pani têpailai/ñækra kole ñarlake ñækri ret rëgëri kéri pani gadoila/dokri  
keila-kaiñia kuao be ñækra ? mui pet cekbi/tui kaiñia kœi an-/jibile ñækri/

đekra bari galaje goṭe baria pila pakai ace/se bariake dari pakaila/ baria kēila-kaiṭa rēja mapru tui, kai loṭake darlus tui ?-nai mor ṭane goṭe po goṭe jenəm oīla je tar make dud əe nai/tui dinke dud ani deisu/se baria koila-ani debi/đokra tei uni bari aila/baṭe goṭe kētra beṭ oīla/-kene jai rēilus boli, kēibake đekra kēila toke se kojlini / mor ṭane po goṭe jenəm oi ace, dud deisu/, kētra kēila-ani debi / se jenəm oīla je səbu bēl oisi/ ju babu-boli kua kui oi bari ailai /

se kētra deki se pilake kole sat̄i darla je dud kuaila / se baria kēṭdi ṭane dud dari kēri aila / kētra ke kēila-tui kene ja nai-/mui ar kene jibi ? beṭ oība jak rēijibi / se pila beṭdia oigala / tar nao delai, deu rēja boli đaki delai / dosra mas oilake dosra beṭ bādbake paik paṭaila ḍom rējatui jai benen pərjake đaki ansu boli paik ke paṭaila / se paik sakale uṭi kēri baria pakane gala / benen rēja gore / se paik kēila-nai babu, rēja mapru đakailani toke / benen rēja buṭa kēila-kai pa babu ? ḍor ḍor laglani / paik kēila-nai babu dəsra ukum oīla ke đaki an boli kēila / bar ju, suni kori uṭi aisu tui / tei kai paṭi nai / se paik-ke batiya pəṭek dela, sag ḫal dela, nəki tabla dela, caṭu dela-ne babu se gaṭe nei rādi ka je ao je ju / se paik dari kēri gala, rād baṭ kēla, kaila ar gore gala /-ju be babu, tiar pər tai aibake sōj oisi, bela beli ju/se benen buṭa tiar pəṭla/-ju babu boli baṭ oilai /

rēja gore jai ketlai / benen rēja buṭa se ḍom rēja ke jai juar kēla—kaipai đekra kēlus rēja mapru ? —nai o, dəsra ukum oi ailani/ dəsra beṭ bādbake aisu tui / se cācapati dari aisu/—kai kaiṭa babu ? moke kēidele sina mui jēmaibi/ ḍom rēja kēila—toke jana nai kire buṭa ? bərəske tui bādsu, toke kēi debar ki ? —oi mapru, tui janaile sina oisi nəile moke kemti jana rēisi ? se rēja kēila—tui būi puṭa kēloj, set cēr, patal kumḍa, kaligair dud, mōu pəora rəs dui ḫaba dari aisu / kēidelake se benen rēja buṭa juar kēla ar mū capra kēri gōre uṭi aila / semti pinḍae bəsidela/ se pila deki kēri se pila kēila—kai oilus baba ? mēn capra oi bəslus tui ? —nai bəbə rēja kēila je seta—mēn milski ki ? nə milbaṭa kēile seta milski ? —ao ao pej ka/kaiṭa kēidela je tuimēn capra oilus ? mui aci, toke kai ḫer ? ao ka, ḍor nai/ka je ju, mui dekai debi, toke kai ḫer ?—nai babu, set caūr, būe puṭa kēloj, patal kumḍa, kali gair dud, mēu pəura rəs dui ḫaba dari kēri aisu, dəsra oisi, beṭ bādsu tui boli kēi dela ace/kemti milski bəbə ? —tui kai ḫer, mui aci/ka je ju / ḫala kērlī, sabal, kēki, ṭeṭgiya dar je ju, mui dekai debi/

se đekra pani gadoila, đekri ke pej magi kaila ar bar oilai / jēla jēla cēgi galaini/ —e baṭni bangau / e kāda būd maru boli kēi delani / se đekra baṭni bangaila, kāda marla, patal kumḍa kunla/ —etek rē ta pēce asu boli kēila pila/ gōre uṭi ailai / etki milla, ebe duīṭa ace milaibake / pej pani kai se rati rēilai/sakal pailake pej kai kēri bar oilai/đaba jōrekdarlai/ari galai/kali gaike se rōja pila ḫakla/se ḫak suni palai aila,—iti ḫabek giu deisu/rēja gōre nei debake deisu tui/ebe eka debar, nəile toke bēl nə kēri boli rēja pila kēila/-ame mēu paṭnae jibu / tui dape ani deisu, gōre an deisu, ame e baṭ nə asu / mēu rəs ḫabek darai aibu/dui ba po oi bar galai mēu paṭnae/rani mēcike rēja pila ḫakla/rani mēci mada ṭane unii bar oi gala/—kai pai mapru daklus tui ? —tui ḫabek cikēn deisu rēja gōre nei debake/ ḫabek boile debi, cari ḫaba boile misa debi/—nei deo babu səbu jēmai kēri / buṭake kēila se pila—etki baba ki ari ace ta nai kēkenta rēja ace ale mui deki aiti/nai baba mui misa aibi dekla para/moke bausər kaṭa, bausər pēi kēri deisu/—kai kērsu je tui BoBo ?—nai baba mui kelbi/bit bita kēlake buṭa kērai dela—ede bəbə, kel be tui/

mui cənek nei bet badi aibi/tui ma sənge keli keli rə/mui dape uṭi aibi-/nai baba, mui misa dekla para aibi cənek/-nai bəbə, rəja dekle bəl nə kəre/seṭa kar po boli akar kərsi, mari deisi/-nai, mui aibi aka/tor pəce rəib/-ar ju tebe dekla para ale/ḍəkra goṭe lok ke uṭaila kauṭi nebake/se pila kaḍa pəri dari barla/tar baba kəila—eṭa mən dar nai babu/-nai baba keli keli dari rəibi/tinilok oi baroilai/rəja gəre keṭlai/kauṭiake utrao boli koi dela/rəja gərər paik jai kəidelai benen rəja aila ace/rəja kəila—ja si?gasəne boi anət, dekbar oisi/kaipai semti bəsi acət ? ḍaki ana/

poce si?gasəne nei utrai delai/rəja bar oila/buṭa dui at jamli kəri juar kərbake se pila goi so ge juar kəla/se roja—seṭa goṭe ke boli kəila/kop oigala/—take mar mari kəri sul dei paka/gialpo goi ṭeki moke juar kəla/e mar se mar kəri delaini/se ḍəkra kəilani—nai babu pila lok Jane nai, mara nai/mor po eṭa/—tor po ele misa goi ṭeki juar kərsi ? boli gulai rəja sərər lok bar oilai/mar boile mar bola boli oi galaini/pəce se rəja pila kop oigala/səṭe je sadeb buṭa buṭi, taoker pete jənəm eli, kətra dud kuaila, məjur ələ ḍaila, benen ḍəkra ḍokri posla,—mui goṭe marle koṭe ciṭi jibə bəli subərna kəri rəja pila bausər kə ḫa bausar ciṭki pəura bulaila/səinke mari pakaila/səbu ke sakali nela/ḍom rəja mənke koji mari nela/ḍom goi səbu sarai kəri bari gala/diu:i mali pərbəte jai diuṭi logai, partı jak ujol oilake ḍom goi, koji kəri mari nela/səbu sarai joipure jai bəsəti oila/ebejak benen rəja dəsrake bet badsi ace.

### III

#### BIMA RAJA

rani ḍuḍumae odri tar boini barigala bonḍa raji-se bal pocə kuṭni malae uni bar oi go ai cogi kəri baṭigala sorbeti baṭ-sərbeti baṭe uni jaū jaū barigala guṭasima/baṭe kora gorər lok koste roilai/‘kon gāu eṭa babu ? ‘boli pacarla/nai, eṭa gutasima/ ‘kora gorər lok acot ?’ / ‘kora gorər lok-ke kai loṭa ?’ /nai, amor bondu oibai/amor bəndu to kebe nai, sobu moriaji galai’/ nai, niye tomor jūai ebi/‘nai, amke jana naitoke, kon dese uni asi acus kon des noy amor ani dadi nai puni misa kondine uni mori galai, ebe toke kemti koisi acus ?’/nai, amər babu na koi acət, se koiba bisoy mui aili/’ nai moke jana nai, tui ja konti jaisu ja, juāi potər nai/’ koibake roja risa oila/ se gāor guṭa gore gala/tei jai basa kola-‘nai babu, konde ṭan dia’/se go ake duare bandi dela, piṇḍai jai bəsla/se maiji panipuna delai/at goi doila, bəsla/ ‘kene galai tomər gorər lok ?’ /nai, kosbar gala acot amo satra, amor munus misa səbu jai acot kosbar, cənek bəsa babu, aile kai katake asi acus ke/nai, mui jibi, dui din para raibi je jibi, goṭe loṭake asi aci/ale ro-boli se majji kəila/poce panipuna debake, ‘poṭek caul bəsa, ka je ro’/nai, tomər lok asət, aile katabarta oi roibi/

poce kəsbar lok-ailai/se ḍokra aila, tar po aila, danlamon sabu oi ailai/ eṭa kon gāor ṭa’? maiji koila-kai kata koe nai, cimra oi bəsi ace/“bosirəo”, take poṭek caul debar nai je aya ?’ nai mama deli je niləa mui no kai no rādi boli koila/‘take delus nai ame kemti kaibu ? noki tablamən majmuj kori dias pilamən/ nai nicla mui ketek kori koili ar ketek koibi mama ? boli buari koila/se rati’ oila/ṭati goṭe dia boila roja/delake ocaila soi dela/

sakal paila/se rojapila uṭla/gare jai pani kanji gadoila asi piṇḍai bosla/’ kene jai, roilus babu/‘nai pani gadoibar jai rəili/‘tokipila topei diot nai je tui kaipai sakal uni jai kakor pani gadoi ailua amər gore kai lok na’ki ?/nai mui jai gadoili/

'rati uni buke acus ebe ale jōek mōji debu bosai ka; ja re t̄okipila nōkitabla maji ani dias/nai moke seta arla kora nai/nai amke bisas lagsi/nai, moke bisas lagsi sina tumke nai tome to debu boli koilas ar mui no kai ki?'

pōce kora ḫokra kai boila-ja re, se gōai cogi asi kori ka gore basa kori ace deki kori ao/tar po-ke pāaila/se jai dekla/ kene ailus? nai. tom̄er gore bulbar se aili/ene tene dekla roja bōsi ace/pōce ari dape uti gala/nai baba pindai bōsi ace, taōke ṭatiūta ocai debake kete alond songe bosai acot/'gialpo, amke j̄uai boli k̄ibar tabe! guta ḫokrake jai ḫaki an/gūsa ḫokrake ḫakai pacarla-take kaipai songailus, se gialpo p̄edesike? seta amke tor ji-ke de, purb̄er bondu boli k̄eila! kaipai songai acas? deka, sengaile gāo-ke səni ansi/babu re, got boli k̄eri aila-lok-ke ame kaipai kedbu, rōo ketedin, aji r̄esi kali roisi ari bari jaisi/kon deser lok ki? 'tar gāo nai nāo nai, take ame kai bolikeri kedbu, tome asi. mardar k̄eri keda sina ame n̄ paru; kaita to māge nai, kake dar picka kore nai, take kaipai marbu ?

rejapila æta sunla/se risa oigala/roja koila-ja o take ḫaki ana/selok sebu t̄en dan dari ailai gudgudu/asik̄eri gote capor se rajapilate marlai/'mui kai dos kari aci-moke kaipai marilasni -pōce jai gōai cogla, suborna k̄ela-'benin roja, jani tane mui jonom kori roibi bole mor boini gala bides, mui aili bides mor mama satra acot bolikori mat̄or deka, somali gena-'boli bāusor kanda darla, poi darla, gora enetene bulaila/ekabele molkai kori to mari dela se gāo jak gulai lok, ene mar tene mar, sobuke sakali dela/ se kora gor̄er ji-ke gōai cogaila, gōtek gutapi-lake, gōtek k̄erapilateca ideikori lodbad palaila/jau jau gote bonde gala/pani kaibar boli gōake tebaila, ḫanrike utrila/pani kailai, c̄enek b̄oslai/ari barigalai/ jau jau bima r̄ea gore bari galai/setane r̄egalai/eti rou sina, koraḡerlok-ke səbu bilai debi, setane gōelok no reile bol nai; gutagor̄er gote toki ace, koraḡer̄er gōtek pila ace se dui pilatoki tei gor bādi reet; tāoker jete ji oisi seta ame gāe bōlai nei biba korū/

gōe gōe b̄eres pani jejejri darsi/se bor̄es bima r̄ea konia anbi boli dēnḡer par baslai tas bes arla k̄eri pakaisi/se ō dek neisi, normon-ke ɔdedeis'./

#### IV

#### Kuilm-Kirsani-Kata

[Story of the Parenga ancestry-Balaram Mudli, Semla, Nandapur ]

purbe puni dui bai boini r̄ilei /semti puni r̄oite roilai, jiite jiilai, k̄aite roilei/ jiite k̄aite roile puni ke lok nai ke gōe nai-co ei nai ki cīan nai ki-gōtek kuilm kal boli gōtek r̄ila puni siti/se kuilm kale aka baiboini puni r̄egalai/se baiboini ḡer darlai puni/pila oilai puni jiilai, semon-ke dan̄i anidelai, tāoker j̄iman-ke puni juaike delai-r̄egalai puni/taoke bandu nai ki bandeb nai/gōtek kuilm bōs boli roigalai semti/

pōce puni-nai, ote māt̄ po oilai, etamāt̄ ji oilai, kemti ale gōe bondu korū puni-selok se dui baiboini puni bicar k̄elai/ei, tebe konti ale koji deku/gōe kai at̄ din ki masek jibake puni sōd-boled gōtek puni bari aila/agali dine puni emtari ujol oe nai, kara nō ceke puni, ujal nōy puni, sob adar/adar tane se roigalai-kuilm kal boile kuilm kal/kale se r̄egalai/take kara ale cekai uot nai, pani marai ot nai puni/sentar tane r̄egalai/sōd-b̄elod gōe din inđi jaiti r̄ila/ e dekla-oho, etamon koir lokomēn! iti akas bakas bōne, surij̄er cai nai, semti oik̄eri acot ; nai, ake kon ale gōe adarna kori deku naiki-se bicarla/

'tome kon desər lok asi iti puni acas?"

nai, nai, babu-tui to deku boile səd-bəlod! tui keneuni ailus ki na ajike səe pae ki kemot oigala/amor ma nai ki bapa nai, ame bai boini gordara darlu ar roiluni iti; roigale aka nai soka nai, ma nai ki bapa nai, semti oikəri acu-popila etek acət' konti ale bəndubandeb koru boli kəri amor oilani, konti e;a korbar boli ame bicar korsi acu/'ro ho, mui koi debi tomke bəndubandeb' boila puni/se daN.i puni-'e aka korsi be ! e to boləd ekorsi be; boli at sənge tene Ja-boli pelai dela/pelai debake-' rə, rə, emti se tome roisa sina birkul kai se no ase' boli sođ koila/se dang.ike munus puni kəila-oho, kaigini tui pelai delus ? e goṭe kon debta kaike aila ace-boli kori take Jai baubinoy kori koilake se səd-bəlod aka puni ujol kola puni, bel surij oila puni oila puni/semti oikeri dape bel oila, dape jon oila; semti oikori rati ale Jon udsi, puni dibəs oile bel udsi/ semti oikeri roilai/se aka surij bolikri amər kora bosia bolikori roilai puni se goṭek/-'nai nai, ar songe se məitor koru, etek ji acət tar ji-ke ame anu, amor ji je take deu-semti kori jiu kau bolikori selok bicar kolai/tebe se sođ-bolod ke puni jaikori koilai-nai, tui kaigini mon duk korsu, tor ji je ame anbu, amor ji je tome nia-'nai, tomor nao kai nao bolai oisa ?'

-'nai, ame kirsani bolai debu, tome je kəra bolai dia'-se kuilomkalor lok kəilai/ elək kora bolalai, se kuiləmkələrlok kirsani bolai oilai/ ji boinike kora gəror lok-ke delai, kora gorər ji boini puni kuilom gore delai/semti oikori jiite kaite roilai/

koi koi goṭe kaijibəi lok kaibar lok asi puni konti padek bumi, konti goṭe soria ki goṭek moria, ki goṭek taka ki kebe a:nə emti dei dei soria moria darlai puni/tei ga goṭek puni oigalai/se kuilom gərər puni koilai-ehe, kirsanimon amor tolia para oilani, e;a kemti kəru? nai, ebe kaigini ar-taoke taoker ji boini rooti amor amke se root, bai boli oi deu/puni kuilom-mon kirsanimon bai bolaboli oila,

## V

## ORINGI

(History of a Dideyi village in Kudmulguma,-Dobek Pujari)

purbe amor Əideyimon januwai rəilai/seti se Əideyimon aka roilai/təkor pake duja pot rolila/tar nā sonia pot, monla pot/təke palte rolilai semon/pot roibake seti take osubida ela/seitə kaje se kəl gas kaibake təi mal upre inđi inđi oringir bat aila/age basa kəla kadəmali-siti pani ace, kəl gac ace/kaikai kori sobudine aisi/januwai Əideyimon dinke asi asi kedi nebai/

semti koru koru somon oringike puja andi boikori gulai gər lok ga cañ bariailai/gangapara Əideyimon oringi roilai/seti asi keri təkor songe misi biri kamdam kori kaite roilloi/gangapara donriyamon-ke kamdam korbakə jəmbəzi una ebake emon-ke koilai-babu, tome amor gəke asi amke belakura misa bol kori milo nai/emon koilai ki-kai ela tebe? paik raut asile tola beda ele ame misa debu kasu biñai kori debu, batia satia debu/semti paikraut aile misa semti biñai birai deiti roila januwai Əideyimon goṭe din mone pəclaiame kemti kori iti roibake oisi, amke emon kedbai boli mone pəclai/

Paik raut aile januwai Əideyimon olop olop oziya kata koi kori paik raut sənge katabarta oibai/gangaparıyamon oziya kata bol kori no janlai/semton kukuña dan caul paik rautke debar/se caul januwai Əideyimon māgi songei takor

ator sua caul, musa māus paik-ke debar ar kōibar-babu, gangapa iyamōn sua caul, musa māus tomke delai; ame tor pāi dan caul kuku a kōri deluni-eṭa kentar kōle oisi babu ?

semti koru koru gangapa iamōn janidelai/ame paik-ke debar dan caul kukura sōngai dei tāker sua caul musa māus 'dei amke nindā kōlani'-boli gār lok katabarta oilai/gar lok koilaiki-emon-ke e gāe uni kedi pakau/, emōn rōlie emti kori amke kondēk ale bēlaku a no mile/duita gār lok misi bicar kolai-babu, tome amor gāke no rua, tome rōile amke besi duk kolasni, tome iti roile donu ten dari kori bindi pakaibu, puji pakaibu- boli kōri kedlai kedbake semon misa donu kand dari bar oilai/takor bo, ḫokra muṭadar paraṭa goṭek rōila-se aka sōbu jud mar bindabindi kori kete kete lok morigalai/tebe jānuwai lok se bo, lok-ke dari kanda sōnge puji delai/debake tar munq kandake cabi munq kindri tar gōre bārigala/se mund jai kōri tākor mādake kōila-tome tāokor songe nō paras, semon amke mar dar kori arailai/ajiruni tākor sōnge daradari maramari nō kora-tome seti ca i dei ḫēnger bat ja, seti ame kam kōle, bēlaku a bunabuni kōle amke kale kale anidadi kale natiputi kale kaibar ḫōn pindbar bana milsi-tāokor songe jud kōranai-ajir uni amor gangapa ia se be.aku.ake kaile, aji ca i anidadi kale jebe kam kole ame bōs bu i jao-boli pōrman kola/

sedin tāne uni gangapa iyamōn seti ca i dei ḫōngor bāt jai ḫōngor mari jiilai kailaini/ebe jakē se be.aku.a semōn pōrmanke ḫōri kōri kaita kata koi no parlai/semon masad bādi kōri ebe bai-kuṭum oi kōri jiilaini/sedin tāne uni oringi nāo ela./

## VI

### The Story of the Origin of the Bhatras

Jankiram rōja goṭe rela/se deske tas kōrba-kaje bion māgbake gala kōber gōre/tasimōn kōber gōre run māgbake galai/kōber bol-la ki jamin anle run debi nōele rōjake run debinai; tui mōr dōn-ke suji parus nai//rōja-'kake jamin anbi?', 'kōber- "cōndēr surōjke anle mui run debi"/rōja cōndēr surōjke kēila-'car jati komnia-moke run māgi dia, mui semōn-ke debi'/cōnder surōj jai tia oibeke run dele/bhotra, penga pōrja, andnia ḫōm, bat-e lok-ke rōja bion māgi dela,' 'tome rōja gōre din munq paile tome sistu dias'/ā- bol-le, ani tas kōlai,

sistu ana bolbake tip tip kati kōri gore purai delai, bund bundke kati kōri rojagor gadia tāne bōri delai/rōjake dui boros oigala/kuber run māgbake aila/cōndēr surōjke dari pakaila/ roit dele tō rōja ! roit bol kōri bōcle rōja mōla/rōja roit upre besi duki gala/sorog purne donq bion utrailai/roitke delai buna boli kōri

roitke sistu ana boli koilai/tip tip rōjagor gadia bori delai, būd būdke gore kailai/ajigōrnu cōndēr surōjke gōron lagai run ca.lar nai/segini raja akmōn-ke subōrna pōl anlai/cāri lok ke delai/'e bion buna, poruke moke sistu dias'/rōja goṭe nilu-musa lagaila tāne pesidela/se sōb mōji kaidela/bion ḫōrla naini/gōdbōni nōdi tāle ənumanke bion delai/ənuman car kumq̄a para jagia ace/boros goṭe eigala/sistu banda-rōjabol-la/roitke rōja dari pakailake konti ace kikaru nai ? gadbōni nōdi tōle ace/se biksi ki nai ? nai, biksi/roit sōb gala siti genbakaje/ənuman bol-la ki 'goṭe bat kōkaru goṭe bat suna etki bojonle mui kōkoru debi, suna rōkbī/roitmon dan manq̄ia biki sobu nei take deidelai/roit sōbu kaiba kaje pej nai/'rōja amke dōnq dela, ame palai jibū' boli kōri bari poṭle rajar des tanu/rati asu-kotpaq̄i, noborōnpur birigunga-e tin des bitre asi rōigalai/bat agtu ela, tar poṭce ḫōm, tar poṭce pōria, tar poṭce bōtra ela/

## SOCIAL CUSTOMS AND RITES

## MARRIAGE

## 1. Marriage arranged by parent through negotiation

agtu ma babu məd pita dari jibu/gət boli kəibū/səmdi gəre pita debu, məd rəkəi debu/se gərər səmdi kəisi-aji pita məd anlas, kai lo:a ace səmdi?-nai babu, gət aka ailu/se səmdi kəila - kua babu kua, kai luca gənja kəibas/ila dari asi ka:bake kai dər?-nai babu, təmər bate pul go:tək puti ace/se pulor pai ailu, kai bolsa ? təmke pul gəc rə, amke pul ta lo:a ! pul lo:a to bu:tə ke kai pai neba ?-əi babu, təmər pul ta, pul ke ke nai boli kəibuki ? ke ale pindbata? təmər mən kai boli kəibū !

se rati kata barta oilai, pej pani kailai/sakal pailake bə:i bel pej pani kəri delai/nua səmdike pani təpai delai/kuku:a potai delai/dui bu:a bu:i ke pani duailai/rāda bə:a kəlai/ari məd kācek ani delai/kua pia kəlai/ari dui bu:a bu:i tiari pə:lai -jibu be babu boli, juar bet oi bar oilai/

gəre asi dui din galake rai ba:ia darlai/təuke məd cari kāc, sələp dui tuma dari bi:ai su:tə darai pa:tailai, jo:a patāilai/se dui lok tiari pə:i ar belai bar oilai/ ləgər gāo boli a: bele bar oilai/se bu:a bu:i disarike pacarbar galai/akə caul darai galai/se disari akət deki kəila-nai babu, təki pilar jugəl bi:sı/-əi babu disari tui aka biba kəri debu/-nai babu, bəisak mase biba oisi, mui gitai debi/əi babu, tor aka puci kake nə daru ame/-sərbəna sukrubar dine kada ādi oisi/məngolbar səje anibar oisi kənia-boli kəidela/

se raibaria ailai boli kua kui oilai/se rati se gaor bə: san ke qəki ani məd sur kailai/ci:a pota kata oilai/ kata ci:ani məd anle kəidebu, ebe kəi nə paru boli kəi delai/se rati rəilai/sakal pailake u:tı ailai/asi kəri se bu:tə bu:i ke kəidelai kata ci:ani anle ci:ani debu boli kəidelai, ebe gale cə:nı jaisi be/

se də:kra də:kri kə:tə debake naik babuke kəilai-kə:tə debar eisi babu, kudo kəndə jomaile sına eisi nə ke:təle ari magi rəibi/dəs pu:tı dan kətai rəibi babu boli kata oilai naik sənge/budar din ailake se gərər lok kəilai asa babu, dənər ma babu, dan kə:tə debake asa/se maij mən kə:tə anbake galai/ke dəs man ke pu:tək kə:tə nelai/pəce se mən ani delai caul/sebū nei rəilatə an dei pakailai/se caul napi napi kəri səngei delai/ari go:tə din daru marbake boilai se dine daru mari ani delai/daru maci kəri ku ai delai/ari go:tə din pə:tərke kəilai/se pə:tər ani dia boli kəilai/dui pe:i laka ki tin pe:i lakasi: ani delai/ari go:tə din cam-nəqə kada sal marailai/disari gəre galai/aji jau tebe kənia qəki anbake bolidisari kəila/

gulai gaor dan:a dan:i celi caul dari kəri galai/pu:tək caul, go:tək celi dui so:tənka, gu luga, cacapati dari golai/dan:a dan:i mən git na:t oi galai, se kənia gau galai/soje galai/jai kəri cacapati bine səngei delai/se gau dan:i mən celike lucai delai/sakal pailake caul napake boslai/caul napi delai, guluga delai, sag də:l delai/celike deklai celi nai/dan:i mən lucai/dei acə:t/semon ke qəbu dei celi ke anlai/se gaor bə: san ci:a pota oi boji radi kai qəmsa kel-lai/dan:a dan:i bə:kia bə:kri oi se rati sai sarda oi rəilai/kuku:a qəke kəniake bar kərai delai/baja baid kəri se kənia-bə:tər/lok bor-bə:tər lok bə:i kəri kəniake nei galai/bate nei kəri tebai kəri duli sər bat boli kaibake se kə:tare rəi galai/duli sər bat ani delai/

se kōtare kai din jak ḫemsa kel-lani dan.i mōn/goru duli belke gāu mandāibar  
bel oila/baṭe goṭe kuku/a puji biru kōri disari gau manḍaila/dip tolni bele gōre  
mandaila nai/se rati boji kai ḫeūsa kel-lai/

sakal pai galake bōr kōniake mukuṭ bād-lai/loṭon bulailai/poce kado ḫadi  
kel-lai/kado ḫadi sarai bōr ḫeli gaṭe bōṭlaibake nelai/dan.i mōn boikōri  
bōulai asi boji bat kai ḫemsa keli git maramari koilai/kuṭum bōsi kōnia sōṛpi  
debai/juar bei ḫi jar baṭe tar ḫi jibai/ari at din gale ḫadi bau-anī jibai/dan.i danri  
songe ari gote toki misa dei tin lok ḫi pataibai/pita caul mōd etek darai pataibai/  
se lok se dan.i ma-babu gōre jibai/siti pāc din roi ari uti aibai/asi kōri paiti  
kaba kōri kaibai, ji-bai/

## 2. Love-marriage by Elopement'udlia 'biba'

Dan.i dan.i duilok babu moṭor bādlai/dui at din sutra sutri ḫi ol po a dine  
kata barta at mara mari ḫi roilai/kebke ju boli kuakoi ḫi roilai/pōrob dine dui  
lok misi kōri udlia uti galai/kon ale gao jai roi galai/se dan.i ma babu kojbar/  
amōr ji kene gala kali rati bar oila? jatra dande-uni ḫise nai/kon lok nela ki kon  
dan.i nela koji koji taki galuni/cin nai kobor nai boli se lok kojlaini/koji koji  
napari ṛigalai/poce kobor pali jai jiki anbake galai/ma babu ke deki kōri se  
dan.i dan.i luci delai/teijai bei napai kāda buba ḫi uti ailae/at no din luci roilai/  
se dan.i ar ma babu ḫakbake galai/asa be ju boli kōi ḫaki anlai/gore ani bol jog  
disarike picari luga o ailai/poce dan.i ar ma babu suni kōri galai/jai jiki anu boli  
dui tin lok jata ḫi galai/se kōnia gōre galai/se kōnia neu goroi lok kōniake lucai  
delai/se kōniar ma babu se gāor naik gore galai/selok naik ke koilai—amōr tokike  
babu kar gōre anlai acot, babu kōi dia, no jiki neu/jiki nele kai eisi? take deki ale  
jibu/naik koila nai babu, muideki nai kebe para ale? nai babu ol po a dine ke  
nela ace/ale take deki kari uti jaitu, kaje boje magi kaitu/ji: tai kaitai/kaipai lucai  
acot? ketedin lucaibai? seta kai ṣogorta ḫorlaini/noile mōd sur dari kōri aile  
kōi eisi? sete ḫer ale kaipai nela ace? se naik koila—nai babu mui kōja kōri aibi,  
tome kaipai kōj-sa? mui sor buji tōmke kōibi, dōdi ua nai/nai babu cina kobor  
noile kemti oisi? ja naik babu, kōja/ace ale ame kōi dei jibu, ḫornai, ame ma  
babu asi acu/ kai kata ale kōi deot/

se naik gala / se gōre pacarla—nai babu, ame anu nai, kemta dan.i ale deku  
nai / kai pai lucaibu? se ma babu uti jaiti roilai / baṭe kobor suni leuti ailai / asi  
kōri se gore amatam kōlai / se goroi lok kēlai—nai babu amor se dos / kai kōle  
kōra babu, marbu marbu boile mara / ete din luci roilaboli sātaile sāti uot nai/  
poce naik ailake se naik sātaila—nai babu, tome sete kop oile oisi ki? jete kōle,  
misa pindae bōsot nai ni / amke kōnia aka lo.a / no bosu no u.u / nai babu, cōne  
bōsa, mui gore kata kōibi boli naik kōila / nai babu, nai nai boli nia sina, kop  
oile bōl nai / se ma babu pindae bōslai je mōd ani delai / ḫokra ḫokrike kaibake  
delai / mulke kābar niclai / semti ṛigalai / soj oigala / kar ti ka boile kāot mai /  
buke roi galai / batia delai misa nai ni / se lok aka batia genbake bul-laini/  
se gāoe batia mile nai / semti buke ṛigalai /

se dan.i bar oila / kādi kādi aia babake koilani—mui ta mōn kōri uti aili/  
mui aka iti mōrbake aili kana cōta ḫo, po sina roisi ji ṛoisiki? tome emti cile  
kemti oisi? noile ju boli dan.i koila / dui bu.a bu.i dan.ike at dari jiki nelai/  
tui amke kōi kari gale kai oita? sai sarda kōri mui deti / e gōre aile tor mū no  
deku / se rati rati aka uti galai / se dan.i ke jiki tanī nelai / gore nei kōri dānde  
bar korat nai, ari uti jaisi boli /

semti ṛigala dan.i podae baroe nai / se dan.i mor pōbit gala boli kete lok  
ke sor darlanı / se lok kō ot nai / gōte maske para ḫandke bar korat naini / semti  
ṛigala dan.i / se tar ma kōilani—gor juai dari debu / ame mōrigale e gor duar tome

kaisa / nuni, tui se budi pāc nai / bol oi ro/ja mor kata sun tui / se dan*i* koila—  
mui take aka jibi / dōkri koila—nai te dōkra tokī kōilani take aka jibi boli / se  
dōkra jai dan*i* ke dui capo*i* marla / se dan*i* baroi palaila / pi*t* te palaila go*t*e  
bine gāu / se dan*a* ke kōbor dela / se dan*a* kōbor suni kōri dōbi*i* gala / koi ace ?  
nai cilipu*e* dōra gore ace / begi ja, dan*i* aso boli kōila /

se dan*a* suni kōri jai se gore bōsla para oila / dan*i* dan*a* ke dekla / kon  
gau-uni bai ? pani ūda je gor do je bōs boli āki mara mari oilai / se dan*a* kōila—  
joi kōnde de apa, pika po*a* kōri jibi be mui / kon gau-uni je bai ? —kōmla bai*u*  
uni apa / gai go*t*e dise naike kōjlini / dan*i* kōila—tui gala para o je se bate ro /  
am go*c*e cōgi ro / mui ke ebel sōmo oile mui aibi / dan*a* ūti gala /

soj oilake se dan*i* bōda*i* jibi boli gala ar se bat ūti gala dan*a* tane / tei dui  
lok bī*i* kōri rati ke rate ūti galai / e goror lok kene gala boli kōjlaini / et*a* ale sei  
dan*a* aka asi ro*l*ila, se aka nela / cim*a* oi rōu be / sakal paile se gore jaik*e* deu/  
se rati roilai / ari sakal pailake se gore jai kōidelai / se kōbor suni se dōk*a* gale jao  
boli mōr oilai / tar mu no deki kōila dōkra / go*t*e bōros ebake kōbor delai / ar kai*ta*  
gena bisa kōre naini / inam kōnia oi ji: laini / dōkra dōkri jōlapati pailai nai /

### 3 Love-marrige by Seduction—‘sōgōrt**a** biba’

mai*j*i mōnuske mōn nōile se mai*j*i ar go*t*e manus kōjsi / se dan*a* dan*i* kōjsi /  
se dan*a* sōr dari se mai*j*i ke sutraidia boli kōisi / sutrau ke dābu kasu deisi / se  
sutrai dei dan*a* ke kōile dan*a* sutrau tane aisi / nai cādi palana dīne bar oibi  
boli kōila ace / ro*b*ar dīne tui dui lok oi asi ro*l*isa / mui dāki ani nebi / mor tane  
dekai oi jaisa / konte ro*l*isa ? panigat*or* bat*or* am go*c*e ro*l*isa / sōbu soile se se  
dan*i* bar oisi / olos oi bar oisi / tad*a* ua nai / mui dāki ani dele sōri / mēd ani  
rua-kuak*o*i oi bari galai /

se dan*a* mēd geni kōri ari go*t*e lok sōn dari aila se sutrau tane/take mēd delai/  
se kōila—go*c*e cōgi rua mui dāki debi / e bat*or* ari jai se mai*j*i ke kōi dela / se dan*i*  
tar munus ke, satra satri ke pej pani dela / dan*a* bōkra ke pej dela / gou*t* ke band*i*  
dela / sōbu ke dei kōri se dan*i* kaila / andi patli dōila / sōbu scilake lugapatā mot  
bādla / sutraiba gore gala / se jagi ro*l*ila / dan*i* ke dāki nei ketai dei mēd kai ūti  
aila gore / se dan*a* dan*i* ari go*t*e lok oi tini lok oi bari galai /

satra satri tar mōnus ūti kōri koji bōslai / kene gala kene nai ? kake ūti gala ?  
tui pake soi ro*l*ilu toke jana nai ki ? kukura dāke u oi galai gāu lok / sakal pailake  
se mōnus gau gau koji bōsla / se gau*t* lok-mōn kai*ta* kōilus ni boli kōilai /  
kai*ta* nai boli kōila / konti bet ele nai / gore ūti aila /

dui din galake kōbor paila / bon*ka* pu*or* gasi gore gala ace boli kōbor  
sunlai / take kaipai jiki anu ? gale gale gale gale be / kōnia bol nai / se kōnia  
jiki anle sōdōrke pidōrke nō oe / se gāor lok-ke bōi san-ke dākai kata oi lai /  
naik kōila-kali ke jō*a* ja*ot* /dui lok jai kōi asot / por dīne aibu boli kōisa /  
sōgōrtake aibu / tui bo*a* pania lok, tō*r* gore dip ujol oila, amōr gore nai / ādar  
kalas boli kōisa / jō*a* jau mōn tei jai semti kōilai, ari ūti ailai /

pōce bol asar kata ou boli sōdre bōslai / gun*d* ma*dr*u kōra, caul kōra boli  
naik kōila / se goror lok gun*d* ma*dr*u, sag dal kolai at ped*or* lok, dui tin lok  
kauria caul gaul gun*d* ma*dr*u boibake, ete lok oi sōgōrata genibake bar oilai /  
se gāoe ket*l*ai / jai kōri pōdre basa oilai / se gāor lok deki kōri ailai / sōgōrata  
genbar ailai boli se gāor naik ke kōilai / se naik kōila—tōme cimra oi rua / se  
lok dāki aibai ni / tō*dra* ua nai / mor lōge aibai / aile kōibi mui /

sogorta-genu-mon arko dine naik gore galai / naik ke koilai-asa naik babu/ ame asi dui din oila, tome dekai oilas nai sete gorəb oilas; kata barta oi cīai kori ame uti jibu / naik koila-tome jai rua babu, ebe aibu / mui na jani babu, mui gāo jai roili / mui cōai anlai boli na jani / kebe anlai moke kua poca nai ? tome jai rua, mui aibi /

poce naik calan barik bōlok mon oi bar oi ailai /asi juar bet oikori boslai naik koila-mui suna jana nai / e cor pāti kebe oila mulke na jani / ale babu kai kata ale kua, koji deka / se lok koilai-tomor gāo asi ace koja pai ame ailus kai amke mansa ki · nai se kata bujbake asi acu /

—oi babu, se gair mol ketek oisi kua / gair mol no ḫakle kemti oisi ? suni deku /

—koibi babu, suna / bar kōi mol oila / bar kōi noile no daru /—oi babu, gair mol koi delas / gair mol debu / ani acu ame ar lucbu ki ? ale babu, gair mol sete noe / tikna kata kua / bar kōi boli koilas, co kori debu /

—nai, co kōi no daru / ame koibu egar kōi deisa ki ? noile uti jibu /semti inam ji genot / e tāka geni nele el bōlēd genbu boli kōilu ni ki ?

se gāor naik jai at kōi tāka ani ej i delai / at kōi tāka dari cīi gala boli koi delai / celi gōteani mari kori cedo, kukūa gōte bar pōi caul napi delai / gōte tane rādi kori dui gāor lok bīi kori sotur misani soru misani boli kailai / sōdor bet boli gōte tāka delai / munḍu tāka boli delai / gāl cim̄a oila boli se gōte tāka delai / ari juar betoi uti ailai / tei-uni tar ma babu gōre danta dan̄i galai / kailai ji-lai /

#### Birth Rites

maīji pila gadoile sutrani būi gote r̄osi / pila jōnom oile sutrani būi bōmli kāsi / bōmli-kalkuni seta nei tōpi debai / se maīji bōmli cīla jak gōre kōne r̄oi jibai / bōmli cīigale sutok saraibai / gōr duar lipa puca kori luga pāta sija pora oibai / se maijir ma babu aibai / bōndu bai tar laga lasa lok aibai / caul sag dari aibai / se disari suta potor kori r̄oile disarike ḫaki anibai/ disari koi desi se gōrōr lok koile-dobla kukura, citra kukura, kalia kukura, biribani kukura, badelbani kukura, kadulbani kukura, pīti badon kukura, citra celi, sat bōron pul, lia, mua, gū, kōdli, dud, kōla gun̄, r̄on gun̄, dob gun̄, cata siral-eteke puja korbai / bōmli kale disari korsi / disarike pani tōpai debai/ pani gadoi se disarike nua pacia gōtek pindaibai / se disari kale lipa poca kori dele tei bana leki biru korsi / pilake se majike bōsai adrana deisi/ disari satarbar / puja sarai disari mōd kai uti jaisi /

Se pilarni sutrani būike pani utrai debai / se ḫokri pani gadeisi / nua luga ōsi / se gōre dui man caul rada bāa korbai / bine ari car man caul radbai / rada bāa sari se pilarni maīji bōndki ḫokri oi gāe jibai/ kōmni ultraibar / kalia mali, kalia gajul, kōla sendur, aket caul dupni kuila kukura dim gōte dari jibai / gāe jai bali rundai kumb kori setane kōmni utrai dei bari aibai / gōre rada bāa sari got aibai / bō ḫik ḫokri se pilarni maīji oi tini lok kacek mēd, daru kaūek, potor pendek dari kukura gōte dari senke jaibai / ar got ailani boli koi koi aibai / kōide tan deisa babu boli koibai / se gōre / r̄oiba lok kōn gāu-ni-kōibai / pindai kōide tan dia-boli kōibai / kai gotor lok tome boli koile se lok koibai—nai, ame nagpuror lok/ - ar asa tebe boli ḫaki nebai gōre / daru songei debai / kukura pōrai kāt kūti kori rada bāa kori beti pakaibai/se bōmli kale beti pakaibai / ari bāa sāta korbai / se sōbu kūtum bōsai kai sarai soj bele tika debake tiar pōbai/

am ȳal, dub gas, mutai būai muta upre dipsora sōngeidebai / tar baba agtu ȳika dele poce tar ma babu ȳika debai / gōrke gōe lok asi ȳika dei kēndek laka bat kai jibai/ je aile ȳika dei bat dele kai jibai / sōbu ȳika dei sarile disari nau deisi / mōngol bar dine jōnom elake mōnla boli nau debai / se pilake koibai—tor anibai ki ȳokri ama ki boli bat mecak ate daraibai / anibai boli darai se pila dalre se ȳuma boli kaibai

semti desia mōnōr tiru/ seta ađi darani boli koibai/

### Rites against Child death

mai ji mōnus nan-sōni rōile, pila inđa-bula oīla bele mōrigale, paibar piNgibar oīle, take gurumaike ȳaki ani bōsaibai/se gurumai bōsi kōisi-nai, tōmke nan-sōni ace / se lok kōibai-suta pōtōr kōri de, kaīta ūtaile seta debu /

se gurumai tini bujani kōri sutā badi deisi/ tebe se pila tei-uni rōisi / se pila benđia oīle bāt-biba boli kōi rōisi /gurumai mag mase bāt-biba kōrbi boli kōi rōisi / mag mas aile, gurumai kōidle celi, kukura, parua, patal kumđa, nua patli, gadia, pāt kanda, sōbu jōmaibai/ gurumaike ȳakbar jibai / se gurumai asi somar rati niuta kōrsi / mōgol bar dine bate nei camđa kōraisi / se rati gurumai bōsi nāt kōrsi / niuta kōri sakal paile gōr duar lipa puca kōri guna pani ani pana pani sōngei debu / gāor san bō ke kōibu / gote gote lok ke bōndu bai asi rōibai / dōs man para caul rāda kōraibu / kumra, biri, sag misai rāda boli kōibu/pul mal, lia, mua, cacapati baja baid kōri bate nei camđa kōrbu / bedi pakaibu / tei gurumai bana leksi / cōknī mōnke bata kōrsi, bedi mōn ke sōngei nāt korbar / purtir debta sātari kōri nat kōrsi / nāt kōri puja kōraisi / celi marsi, gadiae bōssi / kandae julsi / sōbu puja kōri dei pilar bal utraisi / no : jiba pila boli bōa rōkōibai, pani rōkōibai, tike debai / poce se pilake nam debai / mūdi bedbai kane je gasi boli dakbai / tei-uni ūti aibai / poce celi kukula pōai rāda bāta kōri kaibai /sōbu kaisari gurumaike ketai debai / celi munđ, manek kadi, pāc tō̄ka, kātlam mōd dei juar bet oi gurumaike pātai debai. /

### DEATH RITES

Lok mōrigole kāda buba oību/ gau mōnke kōbor debu bōndu bai mōnke / se lokmōn aile jōma oi take ȳangia bādbu / mōtakē bar kōrai pan rōkai oldi cikon mōtakē lagaibu ȳangia tane ȳulai bādi nua pācia ȳabi debu / ar boi nebu mōsane nebu / tene daru mari roci rēibai / se upre mēia ke nei sōngei dei ta upre daru roci debu / poce dui muñđe joi lagi debu / joi lagai gale tar nau ȳaki tor gōr pōlla boli kēi bhari aibai / bate cōnek bōsbu / dan debata bata kōri bō lok-ke debu / ja rōibata mōd ani kaibu, sutā bīi kōri debu / ari ūti asi gāe jai pani gadōi gōrē bari jibai / tei purla dol-ke dorson kori debu / se lok mon ūti jibai / tini dine cōnek laka asa boli kōi debai /baāta kātē pāc lok rōi jibai / ābōl oīle se pāc lok mōd sur kai bāta kāt debake jibai / so lok jai mōtakē sōman kōri daru roci pōai debai / sōbu rōncuna kōri pōai dei aibai / asikōri pani gadoi pej pani kai rōi jibai noile kene kene ūti jibai / se mōtakē mola gorōr lok rōila lok ale dan bāti sukaibai / noila lok ale saukar gōrē udar bāi manbai / ar kūta gora kōrbai / gōtē dōsman para oīle manNia cari man para gorbai / sagđal no railo gen bis korbai / tin din cile se lok asi roila lok aibai/bai bōndu sobu lok jōma oi cōknī dōna sii bai / am kōsa jam kōsa kōrbai / gōr duar lipa puca luga pāta sijai bai / dui tini lok nua ađi tane bat sag, rādbai / gotia kūtum aibai cacapati dari aibai / semti oi cōknī dona dari naik calankoibai—gotia kūtum aīlni, ju be būke / asa boli calan ak mar i deisi / sōbu lok jama pōri bar oibai / munus mōn agtu bar oibai poce maiji mōn / munus pila mōsane jibai / bejornae kai kaīta kōri ȳebai / kōsa pita dud kōdli lia bici debai, pana pani sōngei debai, cōknī dōna sōngai deba

caul pakai debai / ari mōsan jibai / mōsane jai car runḍai bine sōngai debai / tei caia debai / cara dei dud kōdli gu; cōndōn lia sōbu cōkni tane songai debai / kōsa pita cici debai, teir bidi bidan cīai ūti aibai / gare asi pani gadoibar maiji mōn bar bai kāda bōba oi bejorna tane ūaoke misa kōsa pita cici debai / ar kādi kādi kōri gāe jibai / pani gadoibai / munus pila pani gadoi / gōre ūti aibai / pōce jar bāte tar bāte oi jibai / rāda sarle asa be kau bol calan ḫaki ani bōsaisi /

Sōbu kaisarile bō̄ bō̄ lok bō̄si kata oibai. Se gōrōr lok-ke ḫaki bujubai-esu kōri deisu kina pōruke kōrsu/se kōisi gōre kadi kōnda rōile kōrbi, nōrōile nō pari;—nai babu mui mila-jaca kōri kōridebi, pōruke kōle ar kaita gōsorsi ? āsba lok āsot tukba lok tukot, rin bāi kōri cīai debi,—ari kōrides tebe/kōridele bōl aka rōile bōl nai / ari kon ale duk oi jaisi / sōbu dine bōl rōisu ki ? senta kōi jar bāt tar oigalai.

dui din galake naik-ke jai kōila-naik babu, koi ale pāc puti dan magi de bāi para, bū kam kōri debi/se naik kōila-nai, mor tane ace nei rō tui, mela kōle deisu / ja kalike sakale ao.

debi boli naik kēi ace jai magi rōibi boli maiji monus kata oilai/sakal pailake maiji monus naik gore galai/se naikor lok tāuke dan beti napi dias—dan̄amōn-ke kōlai/kōti tane uni betai napi delai cari puti dan/se maiji mōnus boi anlai/munus kaūi kōla, maiji munđe buai anla/semti duarlaini cari puti dan-ke/dui tōr asa ja oilai, duarlai/se dan bine songei delai/gōrē dan cari puti kōlki tane uni runḍailai ḫalamōn -ke/at puti dan kuta deu boli kata oilai/naik-ke ḫaki ani aji kuta deu babu boli kōlai naik kōila —calan, ja cari pāc lok ḫaki an/calan jai se pila mōn-ke ḫaklia—asa o, kōta dei bade, cōne asa/se pilamōn ailai/tāke calan napi napi dela, dōs man laka gōrke nei delai/naik calan, kōta-debar pilamōn se gore pej kai ūti galai/se kōta-kut̄ba lok/sōjke. caul nei delai/se lok napi napi kōri ḫalamonke sōngai delai/se din-ke daru ani delai, pōtōr ani delai/pōtōr daru anba lok-ke rādi rōilai, pej pani kuailai.

dur gāu kōbōr delai, ate bāte gāu gau kōb r delai-budar dine asa boli/đōm-mōn kōbōr delai dur gāur lok-ke /bādu bai sōbu lok jōma oilai/đōm baid kōlai/sedin khōnda sal marlai, tar upre camnđa kōlai/dōs bar lok rādba lok oilai/pani kaūia cō sat lok pani ani debake dan̄rimōn tōp̄ai delai, gōtia mōnke pani utrai delai/semōn gadoilai/bō̄ san oi duare bōsi kete lok dōna cōkni sii-lai/đuma cōkni dalek para sii pul cōndōn lia mua gū kōdli nua sōra nua kōndi, siral, dup akōt mausbat cikōn e sōbu dari mōsane galai-baja baid dari galai/mōsane māti mari kōmai bedi pakailai, tei camnđa kōlai/tulsi gōc nōile dōona gōc roplai/tar upre kōndike kōna kōri piñg capai dei sōbu adōrna dei akōt pakailai/pōce gāe asi bū galī mes dāi kurai oi bū kōri ūti ailai/pōce maijimōn būke bar oibai/-kādabuba oi gāe galai/pani gadoi antādormōn cirai oi būgali oi uti ailai/sōj bele adōr bōsi kailai/kai sari pōce đōm—mōnke kaibake delai/sōbu kai saraile se rati demsa kelilai-sakal paite kel-lai/sakal pailake tōp̄o bū kōlai/ari rād bāi kōri kai pi gōtia kuṭum dur gāur lok galai.

mōnus mōrigale deur bou boli luga pakaisi, san bai mōrigale susra pakaisi/duk bolibāta sōbuke, toke boli kōi nōy, đōibō kōribāta sōbur duk/duk kōşčo oi jii ka/tōnđor māti betilus tui/ar dine amke pōrsi babu, suna tōme-boli kuakui oibai, ari juarbet̄ oibai/jar bāte tar bāte bari jibai.

## 6. Celebration on a girl attaining puberty

maiiji ṭoki konia bōrle disarike pacari kori bōsaibu/kon dige boile se  
dige muan kori basaibu/kanđ goṭe tar muane gaī debu/ari sat din oile  
utai kori, kukuṭa ḫake ke no dekla para take gaē nei caři debu/kukuṭa  
celi pōrua nořia pul-mal guř kōdli dud cata siral pipōl pōtōr taři si kori  
gaē jořa sangam-re nei se disari sōni baNsi/sōni bangi ced pani deisi/puja  
bidi kori se konia gaē jaisi/luga-pata sija dua kaca oi gajul kalia mali  
piNgi deisi/pani gadoi gore aisi/duare camnđa kori ruka kumb nua-kondi  
pani ani roibai/kōdli goc, am goc, jam koli goc-e sōbu gaī debu/sōj bele  
bōsai kori tika debai/ika dei sarile disari kōlōs pani bed pōtī mundē rōkoi  
deisi/seṭa ciřigale konia-utani bat kaibai/sōbu lok bōsi kaibai/se dine-uni  
konia-utani boli ciřigala/sutōk sarai debai.

### Seasonal Festivals

#### I. coit pōrōb.

##### A. [Dundu]

coit masor jōn udile, sat aṭ dine ele naik ḫaksi calan-ke/naik koisi—  
calan, gaōr bōr san-,ke ḫak, kata oibar oisi, pōrōb keti ailani/calan koila-  
oi babu, kalike ak marbi sōdōr ḫande/sedin gala ke arkōr dine se calan  
sōdōr ḫande jai ak mari ḫakla -asa o gaōr bōr san duki suki, sōdōre asa,  
kata oibar oisi, pōrōb keti aila/gulai gaōr loksodre asi joma oi boslai/kata  
oilai/naik koila-olia gore taka gote laka manga, duki suki ke dui suuka  
manga/se calan jai maNla/gulai gaōr ṭanka jōmai naik gore nei dela/naik  
tankā ḫabu ejla/kore ṭanka celi geni anu ta,e ja roila ḫabu kukuṭa genu  
disari ke mōd kācek nei de/đe lok celi genbar jaut, dui lok disari gore  
jaut/calan, tui gōrke caul pōrē man, manđia manek mangi mangi kori mor  
gore an/se calan jai mangi mangi ḫeki anla/de lok gale celi genbar/celi  
geni anlai/disari gore jibalok-ke dui man caul, pāc man manđia sag ḫal  
kori kacek mōd taōke paṭailai/selok asot nai serati roi galai/sakal pailake  
disari koi dela jogni deki kori-mōngolbar dine pař debtai jatra kora, sōje dip  
tolni belae bian utra, pura anđi bela bian cina, budubare pōrōb kora,  
gurubare ṭinri bōt kora, sukrubar dine bōt bet kora, sōnibare bōt bet kora/  
ṭinri bet no-pauke bar ua, bōt bōt cari gōrke bar ua.

mōngolbar dine jatra pař debtai/se sōje bian utraibai/pura anđi bela bian  
cimbai/gulai gaōr bian kula tane-biri suā manđia kumđa juuN-ete, bianke  
misai, kula tane sōngeibu, dip lagai nisani tane nebu sobulok/pujari kukuṭa  
pujsi-mapru, pař-debta, nisani mundā, esur tas beusa bōl ei jao-boli se pujari  
nisani tane kukuṭa akot pakaisi/caribaṭe akot pakaisi/san ṭoki gotek kōndi  
tane pani ani roisi, sisagor ṭoki/se pujari sobugor kula ṭanor bian nisani  
/upre sōngeisi misaikori/goṭe kulai rōkoi deisi/kākṛa-pōtōr pīdsi/se nisani  
upre cōgsi/se ṭoki pujari upre pani ḫali deisi/se pujari atja baṭe bian piNgi  
deisi/sepiNgi deba bian sobulok cini cini kori dari jibai/nei kori bārmōnke  
bici debai/se pujari nisani tane sōbu ciřai gore uṭi aisi.

se sakal pailake gulai gāor pōrōb korbai/gor-duar lipa-poca kori sarai  
debai/gaē jai pani gadoi aibai maijimōn/bat rādbai/munus pilake pani  
utrai debai/munuspila panigadoi kori am toli anbai ḫal bangai anbai, nua  
dor nua pōtōr anbai/am pōtōr nua ḫore torōn gūtbai/baṭ goři bādbai/đorōn  
đeli bādbai/pul cōdon dud guř lia cōkni tane baṭa kori pidōr gore nebai/  
druga bōsai ḫuma debta roisi/se tane cōru ṭādbai, kukuṭa pujbai/kukuṭake  
akot pakabai-juar mapru, tōle bōsumoti upre đorōm debta, mata pita ḫuma,  
nua ḫuma, purna ḫuma, at gor bōl rō, đōnre pare saka rō, mundē mari  
piti maiji kōđe keli rō-boli kukuṭa puja deisi/dei sarai kukuṭake pōrāi kađkut  
kori se maūske maiji rādsi/dōna cōkni sii kori goru anba bele se munus

beti pakaisi sobu tane/gore cani upre, goru-sale beti pakaisi/poce coru bat başa korsi/pila kuṭum bosi kori coru bat kaibai/rati oile gaor bōndu bai daki anibat kuaibai/se gørərlok ḫaka-aka oi kai bulbai/semot oi kai bulbai mōd sur kar gore pendom lōda pakai kaibai/gulai rati danra danti ḫemsa kelbai, git gagai oibai/sakal paite gitnat oi sōdor dande rojibai/sakal paile jar gore tar gore bari jibai.

gurubare tinri-bēt boli bar oibai/disari koiace no pauke jaisa/se pilamōn nō pau napi kori bar oilai/baus laṭi dari kori bar oilai/jolamōn-ke cōeimōn-ke kedi kedi marbai/bate ani ḫangiya badi ḫapu tamok siral kori se cōreike carita pila boibai/ak mari o...o..kori boi anbai/gaue ani sōdre cariberti bulai nisani tane sōngei debai/soj oile se cōraike pila mon poṭai sati poṭia kori ḫange olai boikori naik gore sati nei debai ḫdri ḫdri kori/satike bērek ḫabu mangi anbai se ḫabu sōngei roibai

arkor dine bor bet/soj bele bor bet dande bar oibai/gulai gaū lok-pila maiji sōbulok/dunu kad tangi tengiya dari, nōli, barci, cel, kanda, kati sobu dari bar oibai/baja baid moiri ḫol tamok kirdi dom baid dari ḫemsa kel noli kanda dunu kād sōngei dei puja debai/gote kukuṛake aki tane sindi kata gurdi caji debai/dim gotek lak kori bid bai/ene maiji mon deusa kelti roibai/jete munus pilamōn se ḫim-ke bid bai, lacbai/ke se ḫim-ke marile take tika debai/ke deisi tāka gote, ke deisi suuke, ke debai anek/sai sarda kori maijimōn gote maijike ḫal sōmōr boli boi anbai/boi kori git gaibai niali ḫcō je,

aji tōe tōe kalike tōe  
porob sorile ganđike tōe  
tōre..tōre..

tōre mari git gaibai, gore gore buaibai ḫal sōmōr/ke debai anek, ke debai bērek/semti gulai gaū jakə manbai/poce ka pia oibai/ari deusa kelbai/sakal paite kelbai/sedin ḫengor manqbai/pej pani kai kori bar oibai/sedin gulai gaūr gōrke pilamōn jaṭa nalai pani marai akot manbai/kukura pila gote dim gote dari ḫengor tole jibai, puja debai/majimōn gōbōr mari kedbai/gote munus pila nō roṭ, jibai betke/majimōn tōre marbai-aji tōre tōre.../se majimōn bet-kariake paṭai dei gore asi naṇla ḫemsa kelbai/

se bēt-karia donre cogi bēt bulibai/kaṛa kōṭra mari ani majimōn-ke dari dari ṭirki ṭagaibai/panapani kaibai/se rati kōṭra ḫemsa kelbai/sakal paile se kōṭrake kaṭkuṭ kori kundra pakaibai/gōrke nei kaibai/bet buli sarai nō din oile ol bar koraibai/kuṭa gora korbai/poce baaṛa porob kori debai.

#### B.[Gangadhar Sisa, Nandapur M. E. School.]

amor porob boroske terṭa/teiuni borṭa porob coit mase coit porob kerbu se porobke ame paiti nō koru ar kabar nō koru/pila ṭoki maiji monus sōbulok porobke gore roibū, ar mōd pendom kai kori sōdre naṭ korbū/

porob aibake at din roile gaor borlok sōdre bosi kata oibai/pore b korbake gaū bitre koi debai/tar kata majimōn suni caul pendom sōbuṭa gōrmōn-ke kulibuti kori ani roibai/coit porobke amor gāo bitre borṭe nikə/pilatokimōn moirake daki ani sōdre joi lagai dele moira asi ḫol, tamok, kirdi jōi cekai kori baja marile pilamōn tokimōn ḫokra ḫokrimōn asi ḫemsa kelbai/nō kel-le semōn-ke ḫabu genbai pilamōn/

amor baṭe pōrōb boile bōre sarda/pōrōb dine maiji ṭoki gōre cōru rādbai/rādi sarlai boile se batke beti pakaibai ar iṭik bat sōdre nei ca!bai/baṭa kōri sōbu lok goṭek gōre bōsbu ar agtu pendōm kaibu, pōce bat kaibu/gōrōr lok sōbu kaile pōce amor sōmdi gōre bat boi kōri nei debar/semōn misa pōrōb kōle amke bat pendōm ani debai/ani debai boile take gōrōr sōbu lok baṭa kōri kaibu/

pōrōbke at din jakē tokimōn baṭe baṭe jai bōsi rōibai/goṭek lok aite rōile se munuske rōn-mati gōdlai kōri semōn-ke pajer manbai/đabu kasu ki kaita nō dele take rōn-mati gōdlailata tar cōkai cicbai/tebōr gini pōrōb bele got jiba lokmōn đabu kasu dari kōri got jibai/

pōrōb bele cari pāc din gale maijimōn gōrōr munuske betke ḫōnre kedbai/kon munus nō galai ale take gobōr mari kedbai/se munus betke palaisi/munusmōn gale maijimōn gōre munus bes oi rōibai/beṭke gala lok kaita nō anlai ale semōn-ke bōie laġa lagi pakaibai/munusmōn kata nō oi gōre puri culi lōge bōsi debai/ar sakal paile betke jibai/ketek lok nōlimōn dari kōri agtu jai kōri bōsi dekta rōiboi/kai kaita marbaṭamōn aile take nōli sc̄e mari mōrai debai/take boikōri ani gāo lōge lōge take baja mari anbai/baja mari mari ailai boile maijimōn luci debai/munusmōn maijimōn-ke kojbai, ḫislai boile take ḫrbōr kōrbai/

entar amemōn pōrōb kōrbu, bōre nikō sarda kōrbu/sōbu lokmōn git maramari oite rōibai/setamōn sunbake bōre nikō lagsi/cōit pōrōbke aka lokmōn am kaibai/pōrōb nō kōri rōile am nō kaot/

pōrōb sōbuke kōrbar oisi/pōrōb nō kōle kaita ale dekaisi, ke ale mōrbar oisi.

## II. bandapon pōrōb

### A. [Dundu]

bandapon pōrōb punei aile amor pōrōb oisi/boulani jatra oisi sōgor kōrbu bōlōd kōrbu/pul laṭi pul guṛ lia kōdli dud kolōt biri suā kandul manḍia e sōbu sōgōtē purai gulai gāur akōt magi kōri baṭe nebu/baṭe camḍa kōri setane jatra dei kōri uṭi aibu/celike ani kōri poṭai kaṭkuṭ kōri kundra pakai gulai gāur lok duki suki bāṭa kōri kaibu/ari sakal paile gōr duar lipapoca kōri pōrōb kōrbu/kumḍa cōru rādbu/kumḍa ḫir jōna pul ani kōri puja debu/kukurā gōte pujbu pidōr gore/cōru rādi kōri, kukurā poṭai kōri kaṭkuṭ kōri cōru bat sōnge kaibu beti pakaibu-gōre, cani upre, konti parle tei pakaibu/cōru kaiba lok rōile ḫaki ani kuaibu/gāor bōndu baimōn-ke kuaibu/kake boile kake nai, pōrōb dine sōbuke ḫaki kuaibu/ari bāṭa bulai debu, se nō kaibar ele take nei gōre debu/arkōr dine unu gāu bōndu baike maṭs bat rādi dōna sii kōri bat baṭa kōri tati mari dui tini dōna nei debai/tei uni ari pāṭabai/setData baṭa kōri kaibu/separa bandapon pōrōb kōrbu/

### B. (Kilo Aita, Kanchana, Lamtaput)

bandapon mas aila/ailake sōri gāor bōr san—‘ale ao, pōrōb to keti gala, barik-ke dari kōri ak marai deo, kai kaita celi kukurā genbar oisi, eta take ḫaku je kōt’ —bolbake;—dak barik, gāor bōr san-ke pila jilake, ḫak tui katabarta oikōri pōrōb kōridet/ale barik ḫakla/ᬁaklake—’ ailas pilamōn, ketek laka kōru ḫabu ? celi genbar, buṭa genbar oisi, pōrōb goṭek cīra! deu ta keti galani, ajir-uni je kōru pācek oisi’/bolikōri ḫaklai/ᬁaklai je ‘disarike ari pācarile se’ bolikōri ḫisarike pācarbar galai duilok/pacarbar

gale—‘kemti babu, ḫisari babu, kebke amor pōrōb ? ‘bolbake—nai o, ajir din sōmare niuta, mōngalbare pōrōb’ bolikōri-se kōidela/‘kentar o pilamōn, kai boila ? —nai babu sōmar jākōr, mōngolbare pōrōb boli kōri kōila’ /temōt ale kōri deū’ bolikōri celi genlai, buṭa genlai/se sōmar dine jākōr kōlai/jākōr kōri buṭa marlai, celi marlai, pendom gol-lai, bat sag nelai/tei bāta kōlai, kailai, piilai/se s—je jai ari dari ailai/ dari asi kōri soje jai ari caul bōsailai, māts rādlai/bēti pakailai, pendom rōkoilai, tipali pakailai/ar kailai piilai ar soidelai/soideba ke sōri arkōr sakalia mōngolbar sakale panikāji kōri gadoilai/dal pōtōr kai se canimēn-ke kusi delai/nua pani nua kōnđi anlai/pidre sōru rādlai/batsag kōlai/kōri ari bēti pakailai/nua bat bēti pakaikōri ari pendom rōkoilai/nua pendom ar tipal-tipul kōlai/ar se sōru bāta bat kailai/kaa pii oilai/ar batmōn ji-boini tane nelai/dei pakailai/tene-uni ailai sai-sarda kōri/ar ciigala./

### III. osa pōrōb.

#### A. (Dundu)

osa mase pōrōb kōrbu/jar gōre bali debta rōile curkimōn bunaibu/majji sakale uni buke rōi kōri soj bele gaṭor bali kōrlek para runđai ansi/ curkimōn-ke bāta kōri deisi/sige sige kōri bali sōngei deisi/jōna dan balipul boli rōkōi deisi/pani sisrai deisi/dup akōt pakai deisi/ari gōte din gaja oile ǒldi bāti kōri sisrai deisi/se jōna gōc ǒldi gōba para oisi-setā balipul/se balipul oile pōrōb kōrbai/

Sedin gōr duar lipapoca kōrbai/kukuṭa gōtek geni anbai/balipul gōce puja debai/baja baid kōri git gaibai, gumra naṭ kelbai/bōina mari naṭ kōrbai— bōina re bōina,

osa anlu ki bali anlu  
jōdar bian mōla.....

gumra naṭ kōri bali kaṭbai je bali bōulai pōrōb sarai debar./

#### B. (Ghasi Gudia, Kanangi, Balimela.)

osa pōrōb amōr gāoe mulabai/mulai kōri calan kōisi—babure asa, naik calan sōbu runđai kōri—nai pōrōb kōru—kukuṭa makṭa koja-pujarike ku/pujarike kōile—nai mor gōre emti ela ace, gōr nōsi gala ace, mui nō kōri boli kōidela/kōidebake—ā-kai geni aji aka nōssi, etek din nōse nai tor gōre, kemti nōsi jaisi boli pujarike kōilai/pujarike kōibake-kai ela ta tōmo kata ele o, piṭi jau nōsi jau mor ica nai tōmor gāor lokor ica boli se kōila/kōikōri carabaṭa kōla, lipa poca ela/eikōri kukuṭa gōtek nei debake nela, puja kōla, aila/ari gōtek dine-mōngolbar dine ela/mōngolbar din kētēbake-nai celi gōtek gena bol-la/celi genlai cāda uṭai kōri/geni kōri puja ela/puja eikōri gāor lok sōbu jai kōri seti rādi bāi kōri kailai/kaila boile se pujari gōre aisi/gōre uṭi aile bole se ḫab piri dan ani kōri gōre rōksi, sōngaisi/sōngei rōile bole sakale gala bole se dan māgi nei jar bate se kēt bādi debai/ari se hūđi lōge nedai/bat tip̄ai debai/deikōri gōe aibai/ asikōri bat se pōtōr ani, kūreī pōtōr ani upre, cad upre up ṫaibai/up ṫai kōri gōre puri kōri tāke bat pej kaibai./

### IV. dōsra pōrōb

dōsra mas udile pōrōb oisi/sedine gōr lipapoca kōri pani gadoibai/nua pani ani caul doi anibai/andī tane ādan bōsai ādan aile se caul pakai debai/caṭu sōnge kalai debai caul puṭi siji aile gali debai/galidei ḫabna ḫabi debai/pani aṭigale utrai debai/tei uni sag ādan bōsaidebai/se adan aile kumđa kaṭbai, biri tulaibai, kumđa biri eka bele adan aile pakai debai/ᬁabna ḫabi debai/

ugarı cōtu kalai picki dekbai/siji gale mōric əldi ləson bīai kōri baṭibai, se anđi tane pakai debai/cōtu kalai debai/cikōn pakai mōric ləson piaj puṭna pakai debai/se sag pakai debai/se sag siji gale utrai debai./

sōbu rāda baṭa sarai dei kōri se maiji cōru pani anibake jaisi/akot pakai se pani ḫumsi/munđe boikōri cōru pani anbar bele kar songe kata no ḫoy/kata oilē gore piti jaisi boli kata no oot/se pani ani kōri bitōr gore culi tane bōsai joi lagai debar/se cōru ḫadba jakɔ kata no eet/siji gale utrai dei kōri duare bar kōraibai/

pōce se munus' pani gadoi dan kē ansi, tentli toli ansi, kūoi pōtōr toli ansi/anikōri cōru tane nua dan cōpa kuslai pakai deisi/pōce kukurā pujbake pul cōkni, gū cōkni dud, cōdōn, lia cōkni kōri bitōr gore puja kōrsi/kukurā puja sarai kukurā pōai kaṭkū kōri rādbai/pōce at gō doi kūoi pōtre bē̄i pakaisi/gore duare, pidre bē̄i pakai kōri, kūei pōtre bē̄i sai bā̄a kōri jete lok rōile sete lok cōru bat kaibai/corubat kai sarai mukla bat pōce kaibai/kai sarai at doi cōne punđi kōri, goru ani, sale goru bandai, bat baṭa kōri, ḫaki ḫaki ani debai/selōk kai kōri uṭi gale ari, ḫaki ani kuai paṭai debai/baṭa saṭa bulai debai gorke/ke no kaiba lok mui nici boli kōibai/

#### desiamonör pōrōb epaara kōrbai

#### V. diali pōrōb.

diali punei oilē, gor lipa poca kōri pana pani ani songei dei akot dupni dari jibai tas pōdai/akot dupni dei dan kē, manđia kē, suā kē cīai kōri dari aibai/gore ani pidre songei debai/ari caul kuṭi kōri pani cōkti kōri kūmon-ke bana lekbai/sarai kōri kōri bana bōra pōrōb kōrbai/kukurā puji kōri nini patli tane cōru rādi kōri bē̄i pakai kaibai/banabōra pōrōb boli kōri kaibai/

diali mase bana bōribai ari manđia kaṭbai, dan kaṭbai/dan kōop suki gala se dan sindi songe bara bāđibai/sul songe busi kōri boi anbai/anikōri kupa kūaibai/ari manđia kaṭikōri kōop sukaibai/ari suki gale bara bandbu, sulđan, songe busi kōri boi ani kupa maṭu tane kūeibū/maiđimōn pej kōtare pej gōna ani debai/se kōtare jete lok rōile sete baṭa kōri debai/se munus pila kai saraile maiđimōn pōce kaibai/kai saraile bara munđe boi anbai/

gore asi pendom cani dele, tōpae kōri dele-bal semi baji kōri cakna kōri kaibai/se pendom mati jibū/matikōri ke naṭ ke git gai kelbai, ke majijke cogi kelbai/

‘olaibi julaibi marbi calpāi—tui marbi boli kedi anle oibi utna oi!’ separa manđia kuṭani git/

#### VI. pōgun pōrōb.

pōgun mas punei oilē ol jatra oisi/purbai-dol utrai-gol se din ol pōisi/ol pōisi boli desia lokmōn bōe sarda oibai/udlia jibalok dan/a danři kata oi rōibai/bō̄i pōdōr gāor kōndmōn ol daru ani debai/dui kōnd gāor lok daru kōmb ani kōmb gāi kōri ol rōci debai/jani pōrja kandul bajsi/se aka pujari nandōpur gāur/ol pōa ḫande kandulbaji kōri sōbuke deisi/se aka ol daru upre siral bandsi/ol pōa basi dine kaṭni malai bian pakai baria gōte puji deisi ar gūura kōridesi/sei dan dōra mase nua kaibake nandapure gōrke nei debai/deba lok dui ana debai ke debai cari ana, ke debai at ana/dan deba gore magsi ar ḫabu jōmai kōri mōd kai ali juli oi jaisi/jani rōja boli tar naū—pujari/ol pōa ḫande jōria naṭ, gadba naṭ, bes naṭ gote dōs barṭa oi rōisi/bout sarda oisi/kōja, lō̄u, piṭa, kōdli kete dinsu bōsai rōibai/

ol poia basi dine ol bar koraibai/desiamon kolkı duđi mela korba/  
pala pakaiba lok, bea kɔsba lok, mala poiaiba lok, kɔnia anba lok, ke  
bu korba lok—epara desialok pagun porob korbai./

### Agriculture and Farming

#### dad (paddy).

pagun mas oile ol po i saile ol bar koraibu/bea kɔsbu, poda kɔsbu be a  
nibai/bala gari ba bunbu/pala gari kadə kɔri cɔkɔtibu/se kadə kuigale  
dan pulaibu/gote din jakɔ gađe nei tɔpidebu/sɔj oile se dan boi anbu/ani  
kɔri pani debu/sedan gaja oisi/ol jo i nebu, kɔsbu/kɔsi sarai paṭa maraibu/  
kɔt bici debu/tar upre dan pala pakaibu/se pala masek oile bo si/pala bo la  
boli kooibu/

lodi bea, ciuri bea kɔki sɔnge kɔki kɔki kadə mandidebu  
se gas kui gale ari gote tɔr kɔki kɔri paṭa capai pani bandidebu/i  
caci debu/kɔsi kɔri rɔgoia marbu/pani bädidebu/gas jakɔ kui gale  
ari pala mari kɔri gote din boi neikɔri se bea nibrail kɔri ropi debu/buti  
debu—gote din saraibai pala marbake/dui tin lok pala boibai/i imon-ke  
sɔngei debai/arkɔr dine ol tiarbu, bea deki kɔri cari ol ki paɔ ol tiarbu  
ropiba majji bea deki goror lok ca i dɔs bar lok tiarbu/đabu boile đabu  
kadi boile kadi debu/se ɔliyamɔn-ke kaibake dui oli debu/ol palu asi rɔibai/  
se beake kɔsbu, paṭa maribu/poce pala ba i debu bea jakɔ/majimɔn  
kapi kɔri aibai/hɛa jakɔ loi kɔri ropba gɔc dari dari ropbai/bea jako ropi  
sarai nɔngɔl juai boi goṭna andi dari uti aibai/

se pala pasli aile pani bädidebu/se dan masek oile nijani oisi/nijaibar  
oile se gor maijimɔn jibai/danbudke caidei gas gas jiki debai, piNgi debai/

dan ningile i i pali gas ronda katı piNgidebu musa katra marbai boli/  
se dan pacile kaṭbu/kaṭkɔri kɔɔp sɔngeibu/kɔɔp suki gale sindi ḫor  
sɔnge bara bandbu/sul ḫan sɔnge barake busikɔri kɔare boi anbu ar  
kuiaibu/sakale goru meli nei dai sɔnge jori kɔri mandaibu/ari mɔrigale  
ak i sɔnge kalaidebu/goru bar koraidebu payal papri piNgi debu/dan-ke  
gumi ṭeki u albu/’ɔɔli ao bursi pudi ao.. gudugudi ao.. boli pɔbɔn ḫakbu/

kɔtar coru boli coru rādbu, kuku a pujbu/coru bat kuku a maūs  
sɔnge be i nei be i pakaibu/kɔtare beti pakaibu/sobulok bɔsi kɔri  
kaibu/kai sarai dan boi anbai/gau jakɔ lok oi boilai/sɔj bele rāda ba a  
sarai dɔna sii kɔri dan boiba lok-ke ḫaki ani bat debai/bat kai kɔri uti jibai  
dan boi boikcri bɔkɔrbai-kola rɔndob japrak, lipa lipi oi doi bɔkɔra.....

mami batu dan agtu pacsi/nua dan caki deku boli gulai gāur lok jibai  
kaṭbake/jai ate pate kɔri katı sarai debai/bara bandi boi anbai kɔtare/kupa  
kuai dei uti aibai/sakal pailake goru nei dai sɔnge jo i mandai debai/  
ak i mari paslai debai/dui tin tɔr paslai debai/ dan mɔrigalake goru bar kɔrai  
dei payal papri piNgidebai/dan gumi ṭeki debai/pɔbɔn ailake u albai/ari  
kau i kɔri boi anbai/kaṭbar aila lokmɔn-ke manek laka debai/se dan sukai  
kuṭi kaibai./

#### suā — mandia ( millet )

bian pakaibake disarike pacarbu / se disari lokmɔnke jog bi iai bian paka  
kɔraisi / dasi reboti oi rɔile dasɔ nat̄ lok bian pakaibai / pakaile mandia oisi /  
suatire pakaile sua oisi / os puni bärünire bian pakaile gas oisi / separa disari

kɔidele, se ketebete koi rɔisi setkibele bian pakaibu / manḍia, suā, dan ; ɔlsi, kandul, kaNgu, kumḍa mɔji, boda etek misai kuku:a ḳake pujapati dari kasir pɔdae nebu / dui lok noile lok noile gotelok misa nebu / kasir pɔdae nei sɔbu sɔngei dei kuku:a tɔkaibu / 'juar mapru tole bɔsumoti upre dɔrmɔ debɔti' kɔibu ari kuku:a puji debu / rɔkɔt tipai kɔri ari juar kɔri kɔ:ok kɔ:ok kɔri tei bian pakaidei uti aibu / se din kai paṭi nɔ kɔru—macke jibu, noile kādake jibu ; nɔile kene nɔ jaū—separa desiamonɔr tiru/

pɔce kasir pɔdai ḳalbuta gɔcku: mari porai kɔ:okbu, gas marbu / se pɔdake dul dula kɔri kɔsidebu / ari jog pacari disarike gɔtna kaibu / se disari aji nai kalike ka boli koi deisi / piṭ kāda, mac, sindi ki:a, ju:un, sukaila kɔṛdi kaiale maus ete gu:i sag misai kɔri rādaibu / sedine bɔ:i bele sat pauke kaidebar oisi boli kɔidei ɔl jo:i nebu / se maiji radabat̄a kɔri pej gɔtna boi kɔri tumai pani jɔi akɔt darikɔri pɔdai aisi / maiji pani anidele se ɔliya ɔl tebai kɔri dāton gɔs-si/ beti pakai kaisi / goruke kɔnde kɔnde kuai debai / se maiji missa kaisi / kai kɔri du kas mɔrai ɔl meli uṭi aibai / sedin mac kanki:ake jibai, ɖɔnre pare nɔ jaot / ɖɔnre gale 'kɔro' boli nɔjaɔt /

ebe bɔṭor pani aile manḍia bunbake ɔl tiari bunbai / tini ɔl tiari ari ɔl sɔnge cari ɔl oibai / maijike kɔidebai pej rādi kɔri pɔdai ansu / kɔt bicbake carilok tiarbu / kɔt bicba lok kɔt bici pakai—bai cari ɔl kɔsibai / kɔsi sarai datɔn gɔsi pej kaibai / kai sarai se munus manḍia bunbake bɔsbai, maijimɔn ju:gas beti papri pingi debai utɔrti kas kɔsi kɔri a:kire bunbu / manḍia buni sarai goru sau:i anbake jibai / goru sau:i ani manḍaibai / pali ɔlsi pali pali buni sarai nɔngɔl ju:i boi gɔre uṭi aibai / se maijimɔn-ke buti napi debai ɔliya baimɔn-ke pejbat kuaibai / ar jar gɔre tar gɔre uṭi Jibai /

manḍia buna sarile suā buna rɔisi / ɔlsi cari kas kɔri bunbai / suāke cira duu:a kɔri bunbai. /

pani marile se biān akɔrsi / se manḍia bɔ:i ele nijaibai / ḳal mari debai / se manḍia bɔ:i kɔnɔngi jai paci jaisi / paci gale kati:bake jibai / ila dari dari jibai, kati:bai / kɔi:op sukaibai / suki gale sindi sɔnge bandai kɔri bara boi kɔtare ani kuaibai / ke:jona baNgai anbai biri jiki anbai / kak:i, boda, kumḍa toli anbai, sag radi kaibai / se manḍia kupake uja:kɔri sukaibai kɔtare / suki gale goru ani dai sɔnge jori manḍaibai / mɔrigale u:aibai / a:cipbai / tɔsuke tɛn sɔnge tɛn cɔplani boli kɔibai / calni sɔnge calaibai / calai sari ḳala, kɔrli runḍai kɔri sika ba:gia tane jutiae boi anbai gɔre. /

agtu paci jaisi ekpɔbi suā / kāta beta sarai bāra badi kɔri duarbai kɔtare/ dui dauni goru manḍaibai / suā mɔrigale payal papri pingi debai, pɔt kua:i kɔri u:albar darbai / ḳala kɔrli tane runḍaibai / gou:ké ḳaki pɔlo debai / kau:i boi o:e jibai./

### Jena ( maize )

jona, kumḍa, ju:N, semi, bal semi ropba:a tar kɔsi kɔri dui tin kas kɔri nibri kɔri / dui tin lok kɔ:kì dari ḳɔbi marbu / se ḳɔbi maiji pila jona pakai mati ḳabi debai / kumḍa mɔji, ju:un mɔji, semi mɔji kak:i mɔji etek misai ḳɔbi pakaibai / pakai mati debai / mase ki pɔdɔr din oile jona kɔrɔkbar oile kɔ:ki dari kɔ:okbai / ari pɔdɔr din rɔile mati cɔgaibai jona bunde / se jona bɔre bɔra bɔrsi kumḍa, kak:i, ju:un, semi jona aga pɔca oi jursi / jona pacigale jona ke:t anikɔri puja deikɔri jona pɔ:ai itai kɔri beti pakai 'mata pita guru debta jona kaa, bɔrɔsekɔr pɔlmul deisi aci, kop rag kɔra uai san ḳuma, bɔ:i ḳuma, ani dadi puni gusai, gɔgɔmal ḳɔkri ama mansin debi debta kop nɔ kɔra—tɔmɔr ba:or jona deisi acu tɔme rag kɔle bol nai ; bɔndka bu:i kop nɔ kɔra, tɔme delasa ame kailu, debi debta kop nɔ kɔra ; tor mal tɔmke deisi acu' boli koi kɔri sɔbulok bɔsi kaibar gote gote bata kɔri jona. /

**munđa band ba ( dyke construction )**

gaur bō san duki suki oi kata oibai naik calan barik / koibai—e jōi gāke  
 bandi kori be a topi kaū / munđa bandibake aram oibai / naik kōisi—nai o pilamōn,  
 disari go ek darbar oisi, noile se gare ɔsur gotek ace, jetek bandile se ɔsur mari  
 deisi ; disari darle se ɔsurke jōbərpati dei kedi pakaisi, osəpati korsi, take  
 pacari mati mari sub debar oisi. se jog koi asa. / se gaur bō, rōitmōn kōilai tōme  
 aka ja naik barik dui lok oi ja / jibu boli kōilai /

se gōe din disari tane galai / jai kōilai—nai disari babu, gōe katar pae ailu,  
 kōidebu jaita ele seta debu. tui nō dōri kōisu, amor gāor disari kōrbu ; amor  
 pani kaiba gāke munđa bandbu boli pācluni, babu disari kōides jog / se  
 disari kōila—mōngelbar rati oi rōisi, pāutia gōe kuku.a ɖaki rōisi, setki bele  
 māi pakaisa ; purbōdige muan kōri māi pakaisa / selok sunikōri bari ailai /  
 asikōri naik kōila barik ke—gaur lok ke ɖaki des, ɖande asot kata oibar oisi /  
 se barik jai ɖande ak deikōri ɖakla—asa o, ɖande—se gaur bō, san ɖande jai bōslai /  
 se naik kōila—səbulok ailai ? ailu babu / suna mor kata, disari kōila kata /  
 mōngelbar rati pāutiya māi paka boli kōidela, tōme deka, e munđa bandle amke  
 bol, be a tō amke naini, pōda būi aka ace, se munđa bandle bol oisi / se dine  
 jai dui tin lok māi paka boli kōidei se naik ūigala / ari səbulok ūigalai /.

dui din galake se din aīlake mōgolbar din pāutiya mati mari kōri prubo  
 dige muan kōri māi pakai ailai / budbar dineuni gulai gāur lok-bar oi mati  
 māi bar galai / senti māi at dinke mari gadi kōlai, dui pat̄or mati dui gadi kōlai /  
 mari sarai kōri disari gōre galai / jai disarike pacarlai / se disari kōila—budbar  
 dōs pauke mati purai deisa / selok ūti ailai /.

sakale sat pauke cāi nō pauke cāi dōs pau oila / ‘bar ua ju be māi pakaideu’ /  
 setane jai jagi rōlai / dōs pau aīlake dui kōndir lok māi gobgab mari purai  
 delai / māi marimari ol sōnge kuru, sōnge mati jiklaini / e kōndi se kōndi bōrti  
 oigala / bōnd puri ucli galani / se lokmōn kata oilaini—e munđa mari neisi, batia  
 kati deu / batia mari delai / se batia bate pani gala / selok dui pate uni mati mari  
 purai delai / disari gōre galai / disari dekikōri kene aillas’ / nai babu, munđa  
 bandi delu, batia kātidelu ; kaikai ta jōmaibar kōide / se disari kōila—kōla  
 mēnda, baria, nōia pul mal, lia, kōdli, dud, codon ; cōkni siisa, kū ikraisa—nō  
 ta kūti lagsi, nua ađi gōe lagsi, nua gamca lagsi carita—etek milaisa ; rōbar  
 dine jōbōr maridebi, munđ bele marbi—jōt kōri milaisa /.

selok ūti aikōri naik gōre galai / naik-ke kōilai / sōbu jōmai kōri ɖaki galai  
 disarike / se disari ɔso pōtor dari bar oila / sōnge bīi kōri ailai / rōbar dine munđ  
 bele jōbōr marbake galai / kēla mēnda tini dar kōri katrai delai / gōmōa pindai  
 delai / se disari sātarai kōri mendake pujidelai, bariake pujidelai / mēnda munđke  
 mōja munđai topidelai, baria munđke munđa tōle topidelai / kūti tane osə  
 batikōri purai cari bate mōntor pōri maridela / mōja munđai carita kūti  
 maridela / jōbōrpati sarai gulai gāur caul ʈeki ador rādi beīi ‘pakai kailai /  
 se disarike kātlam dei pāt̄ailai / se munđa tebi gala / se gāur duki suki bāta bag  
 kōri tōpilai / be a dui pat̄or kōndi bōslai kōri topi delai / setaneuni se gāu dan  
 ela / dan bat kailai / duki suki bol oi jiilai kailai /.

**gor bād ba ( housebuilding )**

gor bādbar / māi mari jima dei kōri dor lōmai kōlta kōri jimi mari kōri  
 kūtia mari debu / dōs at lōm sat at osar kōri kōti pakaibu / māi mari kōri pani  
 kaūi ani māi tane rōkoi pulaibu / pulile kōki sōnge paslai paslai manđbu /

maṭ i kōmi gale kōti pakaibu / kōti oi gale age mul ḫeli gaṭbu / pōce atu paṭiya pak aibū / aṭu rōcibū / aṭu rōci sarile mul paṭiya pakaibu / musa ḫeli gaṭbu / ari mus a paṭiya pakaibu / ari piṇḍa ḫeli gaṭbu / ari piṇḍa paṭiya pakaibu / ari ātri ḫeli gaṭbu. ātri patiya pakaibu / ari kolisa raina bedi kōri mai ṣondra kōri pakaibu / ari bāus dui pōča kōri mul patiyai cip bādbu / ari saača bādbu / piri dāt bādbu / bādi sarai piri ocai kōri kamti sōnge ḫor ciṇlai piṭi debu/ se ḫor bōsi jaisi / ari se nua gōre basa oibake gōre hom poṭai jōbōi mai se nua patli rādi beti pakai sōbu bōsi kaibai / sedine—tane—uni basa oibu. /

### Hunting

#### I. baria. (boar) —

betke jibarlok noli cel barci dari baroiba i / gulai gāorlok ḫapu tamok gōta banka dari baroibai / gulai gāur pani akot magbai / kukuča pila gote ḫim goṭe dari kōri jibai / ḫōNre jai puja dei ḫogor dei, bōi bōn gouike puja deidoN-re cōgbai /

ᬁōNre cirakansya dōmōk pali roibai, podakansya poda pali ḫreibai, nōjan lok mojai roibai / mojai goṭe goci ḫapu tamol roibai / podakansya, cirakansya tauke misa dari rēibai ḫapu tamok, goṭa, baka / e sobu dari baja baid mari godgōdai mari ak mari anbai / baria, kēṭra palai bulbai / baya oi palai bulbai/ banua tane gale laci debai / dunu kanđ dari jagi ḫreibai / se jotu gale bidi debai, mar. boli kedi bulbai / baria kop oigale lokēr upre dai aisi / marbake ḫōbrai ansi / se bariake ḫak ak dei mar boile mar bolaboli oi ke lacbai, ke bidbaiake cel sōnge busbai - kedibai maramari oi, uṭauñi oi se bariake mōraibai / mōrai kona ḫor mari bariake badi kōri boibai ḫapu tamōk mari / bate goṭe naṭ kōri gaue anbai / sōdre utraibai / maijimonke dari dari ani ḫirki ḫgiaibai / panapani kai keṭe sarda oi gulai gaur lok dom ḫak ani moira bojniya bajai ḫemsa kelbai/ sara rati kelbai / sakal paile se bariake /nei katabeta kōri agtu marla lok-ke sati debar, pace marla lok-ke bimē debai / paresṭilok-ke paṭia debai / ḫōja gore bimo debai / se para baṭa kōri debai / je rēibaṭa kundra pōkaiaketake debai / baṭagōṭa kōri sōbulok kai-bai / mund goṭ boji kōri kaibai seti rēibalok / sōbu kai kōri jar baṭ tar baṭ oi jibai /.

#### II. kara (hare) —

jōn ujolke gulai gāur lok bar oibai / pilamon kaṭa jal dari bar oibai / pablīmon-ke bulbai / kaṭa kaboi dari rēibai / betkariya mon ṣonke ḫan sange mari mari kēri jibai / se bet ḫirka-bet boli ḫan mai bulbai se kaṭa dan sobodre uṭile mar dar kōri nei jale odraibaijale gupai marbai / noile kukurke cabaibai noile kaboi sōnge maridebai, noile dunu kanđ sōnge bididebai. /

kaṭake mari kēri ani poṭai kakuṭ kēri kundra pakai kaibai /se mund goṭke baji kēri jol keri cokni tane betkariyamēn ḫukbai / kaṭamaruke sati debai jale gupai marile take misa sati debai. /

#### III. musa (rabbit) —

ratir bele musa bet jibū / murga baṭi ḫolga mari ḫreibai / se tane jibū lati dari jibumusa jal dari jibū / carilok jal cdi ḫreibai carilok murga baṭi lati sōnge busi anbu / musa palai asi jale gupi jibai / se jaluanon mundē dari picki kēri mōrai debai / gulai rati buli buli musa bet bulbai / caṭnek laka mari ani baji kaibai. /

### Life Sketches

#### I. maiji munus kata (domestic life of a couple)

munus kōila mui kosbake nebi, tui pej oibajak kōt boite rō; mui ol meli aile kai kōri sōnge kōt boū/se ol jōri baari gala / se maiji pej sag rādla ari kōt boibar utigala / kasri pōdai kōt boilani / se munus pej bela jako kōsla ar ol meli kōri nongol juāri boikōri uṭi aila / se maiji at goṭ doikori pej dela munuske / dui lok oi kailai ar cone boslai / munus sika bangiya ḫalamon beṭla / sika sajla / ari dui maiji munus kōt gadi tāne galai / kōt runḍailai / maijike buai dela ar se boila / boineikori kōt kurma kōri rokoi delai / kōt gadi sarai delai, gulai moidan boi sarai delai / gore uṭi ailai /

aṭbeliya pej kaikōri se munus' cone soi rōibi, ṭakla para oigali, ḫuli roibi' boli ḫuli dela / se maiji gaṭe gala / pani ḫumi kōri boi anla / pani anđi utrai sōngei dela kudrai / ari daru maci gala daru bangai anibi je jōi lagaibi boli / culir car runḍai pingi dela / ar jōi lagaila / caul doi basaila / ari sag kaṭbar bōsla / caul siji ailake ḫaṭu kelai dela / se bat utrai dela / sag ādan bosai dela / ādan ailake sag kaṭi pakai dela / siji galake nun moric pakai dela ar siji galake utrai dela / ari pej adan bosai dela / jōi lagai dela / adan ailake bōtraila gund pani sōnge god-lai pej gol-la / se pej onka sōnge pejādi tāne kalai dela / pej siji galake utrai pej kudrai sōngei dela je pani sisrai dela saya bādsi boli / pejbela oilake duilok kailai ari ṭaṭi ocai soilai./

sakal pailake munus ol jōri nela manđia sići podai cira darbake / se maiji pejsag rādla / gobər kacra runḍai bařani pingi dela / pej guṭi kaila / buṭi korki darla / kapat ḫabi dela / se munus kosba tāne gala buṭabuṭi marbake / gas papri pingi delani / pejbela jak kolai, ar ol meli uṭi ailai / munuske pani utrai dela / se pani gadoila / pej baṭa kōri kailai / ari cone punḍai / aṭi beṭa koṭokbar galai / se bera suruN berake gas oləndi deū—boli koṭokbar galai / se lodi noiba tāne kosbake oisi boli koilai / e beṭa esu sūa buni deū be, beṭa dan akrai kōri buni, paṭa pakai bak dan una ac>, buni deū—boli kuakui oilai / kalike koṭua kase buni deū, pani marle ākarsni, dui ol tiarle tin ol ele pejbela sarai dei uṭi aibu, tui pej goṭna an be /

kukuradake ol jōrikor nelai tini ol / pejbela bele sara kōri uṭi ailai / dātan gosi, at goṭ doi, pej bat kai kōri se munus sūa bunbake nela / se maij goru sau-rai kedinela / sūa buni sarai goru mandailai / dan ākrai kado kolai / paṭa mari buni dei gas juṛ ḫadali pingi delai / nal beṭi sukai delai / manđia bunbake agtu kosbai poce kōt bicbai boi sūa biri misai manđia tāne biṭai koribuni debai / pali olsi nei pali pali buni debai /

duki suki desia maiji munus emti se gor kōri roibai kaibai, jiibai. /

#### II - daru kor ba. (collection of firewood)

saklia i uṭi kōri dāton gosi basi pej kai maṭi marbake jibai / maṭi mari sarai gore aibai / pani rokoi oibai / ari pej kai cone punḍi kōri tengiya nisbai / ḫonre bari jibai / ḫonre jai sukla daru kaṭbai / daru kaṭi kōri aNuai ani kuṭaibū / da ru oile mal mari ani jibū / ḫor itai kōri daru rocbu / tia kauri bādi kōri tia korbu / koskosa kona ale pakna sōnge roji debu cikna kōri / ke koibai—asa o, bua be, ju be, sōj oila be.....ame naita, cone rua ta, jagi rua, bādluni / sobu bādi sarai sobulok misi kōri daru boi uṭi aibai gore / se daru ani joi lagaibai /

piri kaṭbu / se piri sukgale muṭa bādbu / ani kōri kuṭaibū / ari gor caibū / purna piri sal caibū, kōti caibū. /

### III. am kai ba (mango eating).

am beți ani cani kori dui paṛa korbai / ari tore kaṭidele cari paṛa oisi / kāca am boṛ bādsi, olop olop boṛ bādi roisi/take toli ani kori dui paṛa kori am oṣonga korbai / take nun, moric, gur, cikon mosla dorob pakai sukaibai / nun andi tane purai songei debai / saaṛa am, pacla am-ke ros pickai roske ṭati tane rokoi debai / dinke ros rokoiti roibai / dōlōm oi suki gale kaṭi kati ḫeṭbai, am saaṛa boli koibai / take bikibai, kaibai /.

am kai pingigidela ṭaku kuṛai roibai / bondapon mase ṭaku cōpi kori se mōjike kuṭbai. / gūḍ kori sukaibai / calni tane se rati suai kori sakale nei koṛkora pani tane oṛi debai / pejbela jakō odi roibai / ari take beți ani kori piṭa porai kaibai / guḍ songe biṭai pej goli kaibai / manḍru sijai kaibai. /

### IV. onḍa gol ba (cooking millet powder pudding)

culi joi lagai debu / tar upre patli tane pani bōsai debu / pani ukli, jaisi, seta ādan aila / setane gunḍ rōkoi debar catu songe gāṭi debar / seta muda oi jaisi/ se ənda kakor ele bāta kori kaibar./

### V. gouṛ kata (the cowherd)

goru caraibar gouṛ darbu / birti poli ciṭai kori darbu / ḫan goṭe daraibu / bol din kori gouṛ celi melaibu/sedine-uni se gouṛ boli ḫakbu / se sakal uni ‘goru mela’ boli ak marsi / goru meli debai / se goru sauṭai neisi ḫongor pare carai, poda baṭai carai ansi / soj oite kuai kori goruke sauṭai ansi / tar maiji bandiman-bake jaisi / gulai gor māgi ansibat donek ke pej donekke debai/dui maiji munus ṭoki pila oi carilok baṭa kori kaibai / se rati soi roibai / sakal paile ari goru mela boli ak marsi / se ak sunikori gaūr lok goru meli debai / bon, porbot, jola, ṭikrr carai ansi / ar goṭani bosaisi / se gouṛni bandi magi ṭoki pilake dei se kaisi ai gouṛke pejanḍi boi kori neisi / goṭani tane nei pej gouṛke deisi/se gour pej kai bōsə roilake oliyapilamon olia goruke beglai beglai bine carailai / dinke beglaibai a sūa bunile sua manḍaibake neisi / pēdai mandia bunle se pēdai neisi / manḍi/ buna baṭ magi kaisi / baṭa dan bunle tei neisi / tei buna bat magi kaisi / kāta beta sarle kōtare goru nei manḍaibai / siti gouṛke ḫaki poḷaoi debai. /

### VI. kumar kata. (the potter)

kumar kumarni dui maiji monus maṭi kumbake jibai / maṭi kuni ḫala kōrli tane runḍaikori boianbai / se maṭi anikori gadi kori kuṭabai / boi boi ani kuṭa debai / se maṭike pani siṣrai debai,—gor songe manḍi pakaibai / ari koṛki songe mar-mar kori gadikari kuṛai deibaus patia songe olbai / ari tulaibai / gori bali baci pakai ari gadi kori gor scnge manḍibaicar misa carmaṭi misai kori gula korbai / se gula nei cōke songei dei cōk kindraibai, andi goṛbai / andi goṛi karai sukai debai / se andi aṭ kosira oigale take muṭla songe piṭbai / piṭi piṭi kori songei debai / se andi suki gale rōn maṭi, am cali kosa misai sijai kori seta songe pojbai poji kori karai sukai debai / ari andi poṛaibai. /

daru roci debai / tar upre andi roci debai / tar upre tar upre matilipi debai payal pakai debai/tei kana r̄esi / soj ele se kana baṭe joi lagai debai / gulai rati jakē kumarmon se ua tane soi jibai / sakal paibajake jagi roibai / se andi pori joi ḫibigale se andi beti ani songei debai / andi genbalok aile se kumar biki / kejake, ḫabuke biki bāji kori kaibai / ari ate nebai, gaumon-ke nebai / separa kumar paiti./

## CONVERSATIONS

Participants—Dundu Hanthal, Nandapur  
Kilo Aita, Kanchana

Subject—Exchange of compliments at a formal meeting

D. tomor gāu esu kemti tas beusa benai ?

[How is the cultivation this year in your village, brother !]

K. amor gāu esu—darbaṭa darla, noibaṭa nai, noibaṭa landatara, darbaṭa darla—se rokom oigala.

(This year, in our village in good lands there was some yield, elsewhere nill, seer wastege. It is so so.)

K. amor baṭe misa pani mare nai ki kici nai; eta boṛe jōjal oigala. ele esu borse tomor gāuke konḍek subida ace, nai ?

(In our side also it neither rained. It became a problem However, it is not so bad in your village this year).

K. seta se darbaṭa darla noibaṭa nai. konbaṭe darla, konbaṭe gaṛ darigala—setkike aka boṛe olkoso oigala.

[That I told you there was not full crop. Somewhere flood washed away. Therefore we are also no less troubled.]

D. tomor gore kete kuṭum acot ?

(How many members are there in your family ?).

K. amor gore ? oibai kai dos lok.

(There are some ten people in our house).

D. dos lok acot; ketṭa ji ace ?

(Ten ; How many daughters you have ?)

K. duiṭa ji, duiṭa po—carīṭa; esur dine bōcaibar górek ace. tas konḍek landatera oigala.

(I have two daughters and two sons, four in all. It will be a real task to feed them this time. Much of our crops got spoiled.

D. kake kake mon-ke delus ?

(To whom you gave them ?...)

K. debar nai ta, tokimon jibai be

(Not yet. They are to go)

D. mod anlai ?

(Has anyone offered you wine for that ?)

K. ubdek ani acot—ol bairke anbai be

(They brought once. Hope, they will bring again at the ploughing time)

- D. semti ele mui aibi—got aibi ā ?  
 (Then I will come, of course, as your guest)
- K. ao  
 (Yes, do come)
- D. pendom pakai deisu  
 (You will give me beer)
- K. pakai debi nai je;  
 (Should I not give you);
- D. mod ani deisu.  
 (You will also give wine.)
- K. mod e anidebi.  
 (Wine too, I shall give.)
- D. disari para aibi.  
 (I may come as a priest.)
- K. mod debu, pendom debu, solop debu. kai kori kai se kata koi deisu.  
 (We will give you wine, beer and salap juice also. You come, drink and advise us regarding the marriage.)
- D. aibi, disari burti koi debi, ā ! konyia gor mandai debi.  
 (Yes, I shall come as the priest and shall perform the wedding.)
- K. ā ao.  
 (Please come.)

## II

Participants—Dundu Hanthal, Nandapur.  
 Muroli Khila, Tikrapara.

Subject—Dispute for land.

- D. sunlus nana, esu borse mui kebe se beja no cari, janlus—noile kiromara ebar eisi—dek, lagi rak!  
 (Do you hear, brother, this year I will not leave you that piece of land. I am prepared to fight for that. Remember this.)
- M. sunlus—sunlus, nana, eta to amo dadi ani kale korbaṭa—toke kemti mui debi ?  
 ame rōjake sistu bādi kori eta komailuni kailuni ol sag kori. ame kaita kaibn toke dele?  
 (Listen brother, this is a deed of our grand-father's time. How can I leave you? We have been paying tax for that and we have been tilling and enjoying the yield since long. If I leave this to you, then what will we eat?)

D. mui e co bɔrɔs sat bɔrɔs bādli nana, bādi kōri mo tane se rekot. ace, rɔsid ace, sitou ace. mui kemti cañi debi ? tor mor jañi lagi jibar oisi.

(I am also paying taxes for the last six to seven years. I have the record, the receipts and the order of allotment with me. How I shall leave that then? I am sure of a dispute between us.)

M. aca, lagle lagø—lagle toke e tanka lagsi sɔrkar repot kōle moke e lagsi cari pɔisa. setkire kai ace se lok sɔrkarɔr sardi debai, tor oisi ki mor oisi bicarna ele.

(If you so desire let there be a dispute. If you take to the court, not only I but also you will have to bear the expenses. Then those people from the Government will decide the ownership of the land.)

D. semti nai nana, salabadi oi jaū; jati jagṛa ele kai lab nai, repot bañ ele kici lab nai. tuimui biñi kōri mɔd sur kai kōri ciña poña oikori pɔcati kori deū.

(That is not the way, brother; Let us compromise it. A dispute won't be profitable to any of us. Let us arrange wine etc. and invite the village council to decide the case.)

M. emti ele kai ela! ḫak, gāor naik bɔr̄ san ke ḫak—car kuṭum ke bɔsai kōri. selok bāñi diot. ame bāñakuta kōle amke—toke butek moke una boli ari marapita oibū.

(Let it be so. You invite the leader and other villagers. Let them distribute the land. If we do it ourselves, we may suspect each other for taking more and quarrel again.)

D. tui ñde lok ḫak, mui ñde lok ke ḫakbi. mui goñe lok ḫakle kata sunbai ki ? tui goñe gāor lok ḫak, mui goñe gāor lok. car kɔñdir maiji munus bosaibar ace na ? no ele kemti oisi?

(Then you invite a section of the people and I shall invite another section. Will they come if I call them alone? It is customary to invite people from all quarters.)

M. aca mui ḫakbi tin kɔnd gāor lok ke āe.

(Alright, I shall invite from three villages.)

.....Afterwards, at the village council....

babumɔn tɔme ailas—ame dui lok tar bumi ki mor bumi koi no paru. tɔme mātɔr ma babu bɔr̄ lok—banti deisa ki goñe lok ke sɔrpi deisa.

(Gentlemen, we two are unable to decide whether the land is his or mine.

We appeal to you all, you decide and give your verdict whether it is to be shared by us or one alone will get.)

D. gāor bɔr̄ san, bāta kɔridele to misa—sɔman bāta kɔridele mor jibon opsi, noile mui take kebe—opbi nai. take munq di pɔr̄a eite maridebi.

(Honourable Members, In case of distribution, if you divide equally I shall forgive him otherwise not. I shall break his skull in to two.)

M. sɔte moke marsu ! moke marle no parus tui. toke kedi kedi mari pɔkaibi mɔrte Jibonre.

(Really! You can not beat me. I shall pursue you and kill.)

- D. a re gojiya tura, toke mui nō cañi—tor bate konti ale jagi kori mari debi.  
 (You little orphan ! I shall never excuse you. I shall be on your way to kill  
 you at any time.)
- M. sotre e tui moke bate marsu—tor mor parbot deku—lago  
 (So you want that ! Let us see who has ability, come forward!)
- D. ketedin lucsu? gøre asi tor jagi kori marbi, maijike mui nebi.  
 (How long you can hide yourself ? I shall kill you right in your house  
 and take your wife.)
- M. satoi !  
 (Is it !)

## III

Participants—Dundu Hanthal, Nandapur.  
 Kilo Aita, Kanchana.

Subject—‘gotor melba’(Ceremony for releasing the spirit of the dead members of  
 the family)

- D. oi benai, tomor lok bak mole ketedinke bu! korsa ki gotor melsa seta ame  
 sunu nai janu nai. keta kori melsa seta koi dia, benai !  
 (Friend, when your people die how do you celebrate the obsequial ceremony  
 that we do not know. Please tell me how you release the spirits.)
- K. seta benai, gotor melbu boli aron kore golek tin boroske akot pokadebar.  
 akot pakai dele sori tas bas soman goru baci soman roile sori, setake poce  
 bana borbabar dumake. bana borbadele—ao pilamón ! etki din oigala, tin  
 boros oigala—seta golek koredet; seta nokole ar lok koti agolsi, goru koti  
 agolsi—seta kori dele se bol ebar eisi—boli kori seta ar poce bana buni  
 borbidebai. borbidele se—nai o, gotek disari golek se dara, disari no darle  
 noe—bolikori disari gotek darbu.  
 (About that my friend, we usually propose to observe that in three years, of  
 course, if the economic condition favours. Firstly, in an assembly of the  
 clan we discuss the matter and convince everyone that if we won't observe,  
 then the spirits might do harm to us and to our cattles. Then we select the  
 spirits and approach a priest to perform the rites.)
- D. disari tané jai kai kai boli kóisa, se disari kai boli koi roisi tom ke, munđa ana  
 bolsa ki gotor mela bolsa ki kai sub dias boli ki kai boli kóisa?  
 (When you go to the priest what exactly you tell him, I mean, how do you  
 name the job ?)
- K. take, disari babu, disari babu,—kai babu !—nai e rököm paiti körbu, gotor melba  
 paiti körbu, ele e paiti golek puni akot kondék dek, akot ani acu, eta kebe  
 eisi kebe nai, gøre kondék jobor mari des ta—bolikori seta koidebu. se disar i  
 —ā ā kori tebe, sobar soje mo nolbar sakal paisi—e dine jobor mari deu—  
 bolikori se disari aisi. aile sori kukuña, makña, baria, kalarom pulmal, guñ  
 kodli kori eta kuti poti kori se disari jomai kori kukuña-pila darsi, buña-pila  
 katsi, celi misa marsi—seta somot paiti korsi je kuti mari deisi. kuti maridele

pōce ar gōtōr arōm eisi.—nai o, por genbar jū be bolikōri por genbar jibai. gōtek tin kōti oisi ki car kōti e si ki sēe eisi ki setā mulōr por geni anbai je aka ar pōce ja roilaṭa genbai.

(We will request him to examine the sunned rice that we shall be carrying with us and fix the day for the ceremony. He would suggest a time at the junction of the Monday and Tuesday. Then he would come to the village on the specified day and sacrificing chicken, buffalo and goat too, would fix the auspicious post in inauguration of the ceremony. Our people would go to purchase the main buffalo, the price for which may be as much as eighty or hundred. )

- D. bōndu bai sōbu jōmai kōri kata oisi ki goṭe gōrōr se kata oisa ? disari dari kōniya anla para kōrsa ?

(This is done collectively or in single families? Does the proceeding is similiar to the wedding ceremony?)

- K. bōndubai sōmōte rundi kōri setā katabarta oībuje—nai pilamōn eta nō kōle nō oe, kōri deu-bolikōri, setā, ā kōri deū tebe—boli kōri setā sōe munq ki ōsi munq ki mōla para setā jōmai kōri setā kōru bole kōru, nō kōle tō noy; setā por genbai ale jāu be disari ke ḫaki anu, disari tāne ari ju be kebke etā munqā gaṭbar oisi, kebke kaitā kōrsi, pagan tolaisi bolikcri se kata kōisi. disari babu, akōt ari dek puni, etā amōr gōtōrke kebke munqā gaṭbar, kebke pagan boli kōri setā pacarbu. —ja o, mōngolbar dine sōje munqā gaṭa, pōgan tola, budar dine gōtōr—boli kōri se disari kōidela, palna palan dine boli kōi dela—mōngolbar dine munqā gaṭa pōgan tola, budbar dine gōtōr.

(Yes, we all sit together and discuss. Then we approach the priest to fix up a day and we do according to his instructions. On the Tuesday we fix the auspicious post and build a small mound and on the Wednesday 'gōtōr' takes place.)

- D. ale mui ar aibi ti benai, dekla para ! aile se bat, bu:a māus kōndek deisa ki? gōtōr tāne kai kaitā kōri bidi bidan kōrsa setā moke kōidia.

(How I wish to come and see your function ! Won't you feed me if I come? Please tell me more about the rites.)

- K. setā bamun baimōn aibai, mit mōitōr aibai, lok bak sōbu, bōndu sōmdi sōbu aibai; sōbu runq̄bai. sapa runq̄le sōri budar dine sōkliā panikāji gadopado oibai, poṭke gadopado kōrbai. gōtek lok sabōl darikōri tei marsi, marle sōri munqā gaṭbai. pagan nōsai debai. pagan ari gōtek gaṭi debai. poṭke pani rōkoibai. rōkoi kōri caṭi (saṭi) bandbai. tei munqai bandbai. ene tene akōt pōkai debai, bat kuai debai.

(All our friends and relatives will come to attend. Then on the Wednesday early in the morning, they will get up, take their bath and will wash the buffalo. Someone will dig out a hole, wherein they will fix the post. They will remove old mounds and build a new one. Then they will pour water on the buffalo, after a wash up they will put on new cloth on it. Then the buffalo will be tied on to the post and will be fed with rice.)

- D. danā danṭi naṭ kōri baid marsa ki nai, setamōn kōus nai, odek lucai deisi acus.

(Do the boys and the girls dance and play drums? It seems you are concealing facts ! )

- K. por mari kori tei baja marbai, tei nat korbai panjiyamən, bəndu səmdi sobu bii kori nat korbai. pendom sur kuaibai. pəda muniai nebadio. neikori tei pəda munḍa gaibai, tei se poke badi debai. tei uni aibai, asikori məsne bat nebai.  
 [Yes, they will dance beating drums and drinking wine. The buffalo will be taken and tied to the outside post. Then they will take rice to the burial ground.]
- D. panjiya boli rəna lok darsa ki pərja lok se oisi ?  
 [Whom do you take as Panjiya, Ranas or the tribals ?]
- K. panjiya bai pərjamən se, pərjamən, gadbamən, amər baimən semti kori məsne bat nei kori tene uni pəgai dei kori aibai. asi kaa pi oibai—pendom kaibai, bat kaibai, sai sarda oikori ari pəda munḍai barijibai. tei pədae nat korbai, gitgaibai aka gote dui gənt. kai tin gənt belake ki se por meli kori baimən-ke sərpi debai.  
 [Panjiyas are our own tribal brothers. Then offering rice in the burial ground, they will return home, eat, drink and do merrimaking. Again they will go to the outside post, there also they will dance for sometime and then present the buffalo to the members of the clan.]
- D. ele gonta darsa ki ar beliya—mund beliya darsa ki konta darsa ?  
 [But you mark time according to clock or sun ?]
- K. dui gonta bole dui gonta ke tin gonta bole tin gonta ke terki bele baimən—ke sərpi dele se lok ene bari jibai.  
 [About time we are not so particular. Finally we present the buffalo and then they take that.]
- D. ke nebai ? [who will take ?]
- K. baimən [Our clan people.]
- D. panjiya baimən nebai—u, mit moitor ke deisa, səmdi ke deisa por sərpi—apni ke juri kaibai?  
 [I see, the Panjiyas, friends and relatives will take. Then what your own people will have ?]
- K. apni ke gotek munḍa bog boli mari debai. seta aila lok səbu puri kori ke gərndek ke dui gərndə para tene jole təle jiki dari jibai.  
 [We will kill another as an offering to the Post. Everyone of us will take away bits from that.]
- D. randi kaisa ki kāca kaisa ? cuca pədai aka bulte rəisa, ten dan dari maikuni oisa, seta mui goṭek dekli gotər, tane sentar se oisa, benai ?  
 [You say as if they eat up the raw meats ! Once I saw at a 'Gatar' the people were behaving like mads. Do you do like that ?]
- K. semtar se oibu kai ! ten dan dari, kar mund put, kar gagoṛ som saṛ (cam caṛ), goṛ ban, at ban—semtar maikuni oijibai. tene jar parla se uṭi jibai.  
 [Oh yes, that is very usual. With sticks in hand, they never care whether the head gets struck, skin gets scratched, leg or hand gets fractured. So they celebrate till the end and then disperse.

**Extracts from Palm-leaf Manuscripts.**

[There are two palm-leaf manuscripts (Pothi) in possession of Dundu Hanthal, Nandapur. These are the only available authentic written records in Desia, observed by me.]

1. *Nolə-bento Pothi*—This is a book on hunting. It contains 133 folios written on the both sides. The script is archaic and provide an interesting study of Oriya calligraphy. Some peculiar characters are cited below as examples.

o—	ତୀ	—	( ୩ )
u—	ତ୍ରୀ	—	( ୭୯ )
jh—	ତ୍ରୀ	—	( ୮୧ )
dh—	ତ୍ରୀ	—	( ୫ )
l—	ଲୀ	—	( ୯ )
ngyo—	ନ୍ୟୋ	—	( ୩୧ )
dwo—	ଦ୍ୱୀ	—	( ୭୪ )
ntu—	ନ୍ୟୁ	—	( ୯୫ )
ntro—	ନ୍ୟୁ	—	( ୯୬ )
mha—	ମ୍ହା	—	( ୩୧ )
anuswar—	ଙ୍ଗ	—	( ୦ )

The extract given below contains the 'mantra' and other rituals to be practised for success in boar-hunting.

2. *DaNgo-Jontrō*—This book contains some mystic devices to spell or charm persons, to cure diseases and to achieve various materials or spiritual prospects. This work is incomplete. As there is no colophon the date and the name of the scribe or the compiler remain unknown. However, the archaic characters in the script indicate its antiquity. The following characters need to be mentioned.

o—	ତୀ	—	( ୩ )
ā—	ଅୀ	—	( ୩୬ )
ji—	ଜୀ	—	( ୩୭ )
lu—	ଙ୍ଗ	—	( ୧୧ )

The extract given below is about a mystic device through which the menstrual flow of a woman is prevented to stop naturally for any length of time, may be untill her death. Mode of transliteration—

Long-i-i-	Long-u—ū	Anusvar-N
Palatal-s—s	Cerebral-s- -s;	Dental-s- -s
Abargya-j-(y)-z	Vocoid-ru- -r	

Nolə-bento Pothi Lekhna

śriramō swarōga/baria zogile nō asile rōbibarōdina mōukankō potro  
duita ḥe aṇi pētō tolōku dei potibē jōgile baria soi/-/om bōlonka satōsari  
satōbizo satō prōbortō satō gōtō bhitorōku ghōuria jōmu/jetejōntun dekhibi

teteko maribi/chalo cɔ̄rai ghoro cahinbi/e soməstodebotaku p̄uza debi/jəntuN mari mauson khaibi sidhɔsouri bentɔku mari/rai t̄hori pae/məhəro benɔ uthia k̄oritha moh̄ro ma/kahar̄ agyan ſri binjɔngiribaseni soddh̄o souri agyɔN/ethiro baṭo/om rudr̄o giri porobote soura souri thai/jəntuN mari mayeso khai/bnəsotropotiki pužadei/pr̄thome sibɔ souri/dutiye/ gozo souri/tritiye uma. cōturtho chatrdha/pōnco me sōbora panco pōre baghua mahar̄/bɔjro mahar/bira mahar/uma mahar/əntəbən̄t̄onko mahar/nəmaste gramodeboti/dəsōme daramuṇi/yekadəsōme urasuṇi/dadəsōme hatiasuṇi/ tero puzare bōnōstropati/cōudə puzare bōn̄o dr̄ga/phəndr̄o puzare pōnco-drga/soulə przare kalikama/sōt̄or puzare gramodeboti/əthor̄ puzare bōsuməti tumbhemane somoste thai/maharōmanon̄thku pičiai/deN/gōnōanggoyol/mrgoscyombhōr/hōriñbaria/gurandi gurandi/kɔ̄rōkuroñi/nilcgojol/jhinko solosoma/musa satɔ pōrbote/n̄/pōnco dr̄ga panc dōnare/mōdə/pōnare pāncōdōnare mōndhōN/po:aboli/phulə condhōnn cōkuli/puṇo kaliki puza mōdə mauṣo condhōnn phul or̄ek phul /mōndhar phul/dudura tōnōn rōkōmēpōncam̄/dōrōkōlī/kōntaikōlī/pōtrōre puza krib̄/mature asint̄o bōsib̄/ye jere heto hele/cōt̄o phut̄oi/obsy zōtun asoi/badəmari zōntu lachi animo/nas̄o kiko.....lagoi/terechā puza/om gramodrga/ye tini dr̄giku bōndhōa mui/sathiye poithi or̄n̄o baridei/kōr̄o zōri mui/aso aso dr̄ga e mukain/nas̄o kōli e bōn̄o dui/pasore pōkai nasore maribi/cousothi jōgnin agyan pai/jibōjontun ku balo dhori anɔ/moh̄oste mōrpibū/pōrōku dōraibu/moh̄ro ɔgnin kumbhinla banɔ/zabōt̄o masok̄ku balo dhori anɔ/aso aso go zogninn yehit̄hare bōsithibū/bōjōraza agya re keñiki nojibū/kaharc anɔ brōhmaN biṣtu mōheswōr̄o/bōjōrazank̄or kōti kōti agyan/

### COLOPHON—

dr̄moti nam̄ səmbhōkshōr̄o pušw̄o kr̄ṣṭo cōtrdəsi rōbi bar/bel̄o upcōy prothumōgho te thare bōrnōghōrire sōrbe. na nōkshetre ye benɔ pōsteke sōdazoye sōmpurno hela zaniguṇa gramore lekhnōnkar̄o rajo ſri siboram patronk̄ hōsth̄o ɔkshōr/sri jōgōnnathōnko cōcōne swarōn̄o/narayen̄ pad̄o swarōn̄o/

### Dango Jəntro

J̄o maikina ocañ hele tahar luga sijaibo/luga karila danḡo chañi nojiki jib̄o/apɔña dekile baño diai phingidebo/pasoli no dekhi asib̄o/se phingila baro asile/se danḡo kañi animo/sōnibar dine sōnjo before/se danḡor tonā kukuña got̄e/kōla rōnḡo gund̄o kōri dupo dupok̄to dōri/nojiki jib̄o jirjira pan̄i dekib̄o/kōnk̄ra pōt̄o got̄e animo/se danḡo sat̄o pōra kōrib̄o/dupo dei jirjira pañire meñ̄a gaiñ̄b̄o/kōk̄ra pōt̄o bañi bñ̄u bñ̄o/kōla rōnḡo bñ̄ti katib̄o/kame kameni ki sumōr̄ib̄o/kukuña puji se bañi upore rōdhīr̄o tōpaib̄o/nisas dhori lat marib̄o bam̄o goñ̄ore/pasoli no deki asib̄o/kebehe tahar rōdhīr̄o en añ̄oi/se bañi ukañi dele bhōlo he/nōhile nas̄o jib̄o/

[A woman at the time of monthly menstruation usually boils her cloth which she stirs with a piece of stick and then goes to the river to wash the cloth leaving the stick on the spot. If you see that stick, pick it up and throw it across the fence to the other side. Then leave the place never looking back. Exactly after a week bring that stick and on a Saturday at the evening hours go to the river with the stick, a cock, black and red powder, incense etc., Bring one Kakrali leaf, split the stick into seven pieces, burn incense, fix up the sticks as posts in the running water and weave a fence with the leaf. Then throw the powders while remembering the woman with concentration. Now kill the cock and sprinkle the blood on it. Check up breathing and kick seven times with the left leg. Then never looking back come away. If this is done, her menstrual flow shall never stop. She will be cured only when the fence is pulled out. otherwise she shall die.]

## MANTRA

[Dundu Hanthal, Nandpur 'disari' is the informant of this mantra. It has the power to cure certain diseases.]

Je mapru tole bōsumoti upre dōrmōdebtā nōr narayōn aji kaila pōri  
kōri bati bōdai ei kōri mapru būa bōire mōt bōiro, gōrōb nisani, būima tākur-  
ani? isor parbōti, dek mapru, dibōsre surj saki ratrōe cōndrō saki mapru,  
kulōdipō saki kōri aji pani ki potōr ki kōli mapru ornō boli kai pani boli  
kai kōri cari āki deki kōri dande buli sai buli būima tākurani lōagi mandi  
kōri ja—ja bat buli ja, dand buli ja—

## SONGS

(A Note on Songs)

Desiyas are great lovers of music. They live to sing and sing to live. They have songs for every occasion and music for all the sentiments. Every Desiya man and woman is a born composer. They do not care much for the art of style or diction. They simply render their feelings into set musical tunes with occasional flashes of wit and humour. Poetry is their natural heritage.

Of all the types of songs they have—Nursery songs, Marriage songs, Sairol songs, songs for various seasonal festivals and ceremonial rites—Kindri song are most popular. Desiyas believe that Kindri songs have a natural origin. The dānī (boy) and the dānī (girl) sat at the opposite walls of the ravine (kōlka) and the songs flew in between them like a mountain spring.

During 'Cēit Pērēb', the new-year festival held at the advent of the Spring season, the country becomes flooded with the music of Kindri songs. Men and women gather at the centre of the village and sing and dance to the beats of drum. "Comely maidens with oiled hair and flower decked knot form a chain as each maiden passing her right hand behind the next girl's back grasps the left elbow of the next but one and dance as they wind in and out, backward and forward" (Bell—Koraput District Gazette). A competitive mood prevails although between the pairs of boys and girls as they sing by way of question and answer. The lovers spell-bound their sweet-hearts by charms of music and win them to marry at the end of the festival.

The Kindri songs have a peculiar pattern. It starts with a prologue that contains salutation to Gods and Goddesses and invitation to the contesting partner with request for a fair deal. Then the boy and girl sing in turn by way of retorting each other. Each stanza starts with an invocative—such as, 're, lo, lobī' with a very high pitch. Then follows the lines of the stanza. Each stanza contains seven metrical lines in the following rhyming order—

A—A/B—(C)—B/D—D.

Number of syllables in A and D—11; in B—8; in C—6+5.

The subject matter of the first two lines is normally a reference to some natural object; the middle lines contain the actual subject in the form of either question or answer; the concluding two lines are called 'cakna' or refrains which lashes out at the opponent with a stroke of irony, wit or satire.

## —‘kindri—git’—

(Prologue)

Jeyo tu kəməla jeyo tu biməla jayo tu soro məngəla  
 Jeyo namə dari gitə mu gaibi kəte dia ənurgala..

e kəte dia onurgala  
 e santə lobi kurei pul,  
 dan məga ! kəlei məga !  
 e kəte dia ənurgala..

pərbətə pərbətə satə pərbətə singasənə mați e nəndəpuro  
 tankə namə dari gitə mu gaibi amo kəte bije koro.  
 debətə asəne pulsə lați juar dərtəni mați  
 mənəcə məndələre debətə jete  
 goti goti kəri kəibi kete

purbe bibisəne debətə tile  
 pəce ləke koți debətə ele  
 auri gołek əuma  
 rəila kəndəni əindənəkula ago rəjagoci bima.

gołoke pandoi atəke cata  
 təme guarilə debi debətə  
 amo gəe ace əkəri buñi  
 tarə gołə tole juarə kəli  
 cəka cəka pani noi gurula  
 mo kəntə kelə sarula

debi asənəre bəcili lia koilirə kəntə dia  
 bərəkua amər git-kuriake ceraibi tia tia.  
 lobi o bəndu,

gaibi kindəri suna kancə əri gəcomule gangabori  
 gołe ga boile səcta gaibi pətəre lekila pəri.  
 lobi je...

ga ga morə gaakə rətənə ga tebe suni deku  
 pəlia utia pədə pişigale kagaj pətəre leku.  
 lobi o bəndu...

gaiç kəndi kəndi kaña bañə bau kole kətəməti  
 pilabelər ki bədu məitor kai gai kelu goti goti.  
 lobi o lobi...

pilabelər ki kindəri lo gitə kindəri je gitə  
 əindəbəle kəribare bolidele əindəbəle kərbar tə.  
 bañə marili julike juli e kunjə bəne buli buli  
 pilabelər kai gitə səkəti çarı deli rəsəkeli...lobi o...

ame guaribu kake  
 ame guaribu take  
 gitə koi deisi moke.

## CAKNA

[‘cakna’ may be taken as refrains of ‘kindri’ songs. While composing songs instantaneously, the composer takes any object that comes in his view to open or conclude a topic. The object referred to may be sometimes significantly connected with the topic. Even if it be unrelated, it reveals the sense of beauty, humour and wit of the composer. Some selected refrains are given below.]

gomari goc ke caci piṭa  
jop kori gorī birā.

I polished the ‘gamari’ tree to make a wooden seat; count on the pebbles as you mutter the name.

nun lage nai kakri sage  
rapti cimki lage.

There is no salt in the cucumber curry, he teases and pinches.

siaṭi potor siilu dona  
mo pake roile sina.

You made a cup of ‘siari’ leaf; what is there unless you stay with me.

dan katigala ekta ila  
mui to bendiya pila.

The single sickle is cutting paddy; I am the single youngman.

kai mismisa e bet bari  
pran gale noe cari.

How polished is this cane stick; one can not ignore it for life.

kari beṛa tole cunor kui  
sarda oiti mui.

The lime quarry is beyond the salty land; I would be pleased...

tāgini siaṭi puṭila tōh  
pode ale kata ko.

The ‘siaṭi’ is blooming cheerfully; please tell me a word.

tor pitṛi baṭe dutura bon  
gurali oisi mon

The ‘dhutura’ forest is behind you; my mind only worries for you.

sindi buṭa tole kabta gure  
jōnōm ailu e monc pure.

The dove is singing under the ‘sindi’ bush; we are burn in this mortal world.

purni potor tol tolila  
toke mor mon bolila.

The ‘purni’ leaf is dancing; I loved you at the first sight.

kumura ropili gobor kate  
mal gala porbote.

I planted a pumpkin in the cow-dung-pit, the creeper went up to the mountain.

juloniya am mare kabor  
saibo koman boe aboi.

Throws slings at the hanging mangoes; saheb officers are strict.

makor julona sorgi male  
upore sorg patal tole.

The monkey swings in the 'sargi' creeper, the heaven is above, the hell below.

jo lagaili sukla kate  
suliya bose ace jekna kule.

Kindled fire with dry woods, Suliya is sitting on the supporting post.

at ta dengor no ta jola  
to mon oile mo mon ela.

Eight mountains and ninesprings, if you agree I too agree.

oska badli moska kara  
bondur mon-ke badla para.

Light is rain, bright is sun, my friend seems to hurt at heart.

jipri panike bat bicol  
saje puti pul ela sakal.

Drizzles make roads slippery; the flower that bloomed in the evening stayed till morning.

nini am goce julna deti  
tumor lagi gatagati.

The stems hang from the little mango tree, For you only there is so much furore.

batri potor barla goba  
ekta roile soba.

The soots are coming out of the 'batri' leaf, it is nice to stay single.

soru pita bedh pol-la goce  
mor mon misa ace.

The litttle bitter-brinjal plant bear fruit, I have a mind too in you.

aca liplipa besar jipa  
kaliya mali totori cipa.

The field is swampy and dampy; the black neck-lace is tight on the neck.

canjal bunla seliya tutu  
cutcie cabla utu.

The weaver made such a cloth that could not protect even the buttock.

turi am punja punja  
am bariare dangi punja niti moli pul konja.

A lot of mango in bunches; we have lots of girl and lots of flower at our back-yard.

## SONGS

1. Joipur lōge jointa giri  
tomori amori e kota to tile  
goto gola din biri  
socone moribu juri.
2. Aso aso mor seto pakela  
tome caii gole ame ekela  
karca bora sare tibu  
tomori bora na sunile bidesa bari jibu.
3. Indraboti noi tamoko dora  
magur macke besoro kora  
cipilire banta kora  
kete sikaibu poro purusoke gororo gosai para.
4. Tote aso koli poina nogaoli bolo boyoso mor gola  
ja rotila komela jomela ta moide biigola.
5. Sojoko sundori sojoko bat  
petra kati tolle roibar ato  
bala bala goai puto  
rokoto manus.....tibaro  
aji elu beto bat.
6. Kalia bolodo goi pokaio  
kota koi delu eie suado  
dia kena bate jai  
antir batke no dele bapa  
juri morijibi mu.
7. coreiku copo kauku passo noire bomoro jalo  
tuke pejo pani dei somoste rokibi ode paai mone roko.
8. Ete dino tilu bimoro bitore kolona notila mote  
roi roi babu kolona kolu no caiu kodacite.
9. Baya mundi tok bhusondo pila jilandji bitore tila,  
roi kori kori bolona kola kolona no buji gola.
10. Siri poroboto sindi guguti  
duri roibake mono bikolo  
da bole da eti  
asile kole doriti.
11. cariai jai bero gola gai  
amor kadomali kolore darile  
pani mari gola jai  
bolo bolo mu.
12. amo nondpuro co copro  
pila belero ki maya muasco  
jikoro cauni boengalo gorro pani  
mare joro coro,  
cudali tere kole doro
13. Tome ono gau ame ono gau  
sindi podake ki ato bosa  
gote gale pani kau  
dekha caa ei rou.
14. Uili sokale cogili porboto  
amo babu don aisi boli  
marili suneli deli  
bate bondialli doli

15. Siri pərobote bunili rai  
doli bondai dia meona bai  
kəkci i singia gai  
dudu kailar paī
16. Gači kəndi kəndi kəpəm goc  
aki maridele kəmane cəsə  
berare korandı maco  
atə sagiare aso.
17. Kəlingo rajirə singi pania  
kəsarə jori ki lagi bəsila  
kəsa bandi tilu cari koniā  
kəsərə upre jori  
cə maso tibə juri.
18. Ene bailpəra ene Nəndəpuro  
pacila amke dət reita  
məjire lagici təta  
kāca am bəye mita.
19. Jolare marili jəla bareng  
jene gole babu təməri etə  
jərone marili betə  
mərijiba kəta sətə.
20. Pətə cəlu cəlu pətə boiri  
təmə lagi babu niti bələna  
gəre gole sırcına  
danqə batə ela məna.
21. Asilare galı u marila başı  
atə ana əabu tıkərə kətai  
sejopuro jila cağı  
jibu be e dessə cari.
22. Rəta rəta kəndi jələkiadəndi  
kəsa bandibaku cəndənəcə pəri  
barəması copakəri  
anəbe niali kəri
23. Nini amo gocə bimərə jəla  
dui səra pulə kəməjigəla  
tei nago sapə məla  
bəndurə gianə məla.
24. Poča maco počaili  
maa bapənku je utəro kəli  
jia maco jiaili  
torə sənge rəi gəli.
25. Səpuro sutə mandiale guta  
təpəla panike goči duəta  
atə ke juarə goči ke pani  
naputai bit bita  
indisailarə duka,  
pita duniarə mani.
26. Tero kəta kəna kebərič bana  
təmə beke mali amo beke mina  
osa mase puči jəna  
kərəmə kəpalə rəile sina.
27. Səru sukua ke munuňa naři  
kəpale əesile keuti milibə  
sətularə kudə bajı  
loka rəile gətə oisi.
28. Əlodia rəngə pərədesia sənqə  
birılı mənusə kussila pulə  
səbu dine tibə naři  
pərapətə jibə naři.
29. Təmetə amoro ame tə təmərə  
təte kəritili golarə harə  
ke naři dine pəro  
məte no kərač duro.
30. Bətəki budələ bučarə caři  
bapa dela gəre no jai muř  
mənəcila paři  
dənsə dəndəre mənə gora gorı təməku asiba paři
31. Amo Nəndəpuro rətnə singasənə kərəte kači kumə  
sundərə kojile keuti milibə ja kəri dela jomə.

- |   |  |               |
|---|--|---------------|
| 32.   | Ate kərəmənga dərmən qəngə<br>atə dəri cəne ləngə                        | sənətə babu ! |
| baṭe baṭe gola bəndia balu<br>nago peni pəra pitəl kərə   | pa-are pəsila kəlu<br>alə jalə gitə caru                                 |               |
| 33. siri pərobətə jaguni joi<br>jalia kosake dekibi boli  | əkarila bəndə goi<br>jətəne magili joi.                                  |               |
| 34. baṭərə gaṭərə belə pətərə<br>debi asənəre giç cəkəni  | gunə cəcə gunəpati<br>kənətə diç sərcəsəti.                              |               |
| 35. Ate jərimuta pədməni tulusa<br>issərə deule manç magiba   | issərə deule jiba<br>gaancə kəri keliba.                                 |               |
| 36. Ete dina tilu bimərə bitərə<br>rəi rəi kəri kələna kəli   | kələna nə tilu mətə<br>tume se puruna bəndu.                             |               |
| 37. Pitai parərə barə dauni<br>bəciçə natire pojəcə pujile  | Nəndəpuruq gəngasani<br>pitai cinibə bəni.                               |               |
| 38. Aləna juluna bərə kəsəna<br>kalia kəsare məndarə pulə   | mati mara bərə dukə<br>atə bulə bərə suko.                               |               |
| 39. Am bəti gali jəla jikərə<br>uāsə ratire cini nə parılı  | dəməke bətili kendu<br>tome se puruna bəndu.                             |               |
| 40. Kədəli ropili dañike dañike məjarə kədəli məla<br>rai cəpa pula bibake gəla bətə bau puşti məla.  |  |               |
| 41. Gəcə goṭə ace nai pətərə<br>se polo cəuti mərci bass<br>nirassə nə kərə mətə<br>beni pəcə dei sərəda kərai etu kərətəcə cite.                                   | pəcə pəliace eka bətərə<br>se polo upəre səbūri asə                      |               |
| 42. siri pərobətə jəciə ariñə<br>aca jəge aji oila bətə<br>cağı dei aji palai gale  | dine dərəsənəcə dine pərija<br>mənə tile cəne jəgə<br>ari na milci pago. |               |
| 43. Pani bitərə macə bicəl<br>danñi jatiña bərə cəcəlo<br>rəngə jinə luga pədi je rebo<br>basəna cikənə ləgai ebo<br>tarə sənge mui pirəti kələ səribə ki nai dino. |  |               |
| 44. Atale cərila citələ mai paare pəsila sai<br>tə pəra gərəni mə gərə tile auri kojəti nai<br>təndəka cəgila ekətə gəce ja ele eu pace.                            |  |               |
| 45. nini cərəiki nəna cərəei<br>mərə babu dənəcə aisi bole  | bəsila əuməri dəle<br>sauñi daribi kole.                                 |               |

- |     |  |   |
|-----|--|---|
| 46. | siri pərəbətə gai moruni<br>moro diş mundə səri jaisi  | gidəni ciuci jəni<br>tikələ katake suni.  |
| 47. | Kökədə mulda jılıqə balədə<br>kəja cırı gini bandili mötə  | məjire bəsai aṭə<br>kai pai nəilus bəṭə.  |
| 48. | Salapuro mali-buruḍə<br>tome gini dela koja mötə   | tāire ləkija laṭi<br>babu ələpə darilu oṭi.   |
| 49. | Dəngərə marili ekai cira<br>jənə jai kori jənə udila<br>mirigo sirai gəre məraibi<br>aji tibi tibi kali ke tibi                            | kandulə kaila cərei kira<br>lagila mirigo sira<br>kene nə guçila para<br>tomə gərə cari kene nə jibi. |
| 50. | Amə khemndəgurıa sələpə gəcə<br>budə barə aṭə kəbərə debi sələp  | sələpə sələpə basə<br>kaibake asə.  |
| 51. | Siri pərəbətə lənəga betəbarı<br>kaṭ mate babu jibü be baurı   | cəito pərəbə dari<br>e para sərəda cari.  |
| 52. | Tini pəisar lekənə kaṭi<br>rai sangə aṭə kəbərə dele   | dui pəisarə cıṭi<br>budəbarə nə piṭi.   |
| 53. | Amə khemndəgurıa re cunərə gərə<br>tume ame sina gāa bulile  | upərə sima paṭia<br>milibə pərə batia.  |
| 54. | Gai tini kəti mȫsi saṭe<br>jibənə pərənə kādi jaisi   | gənəcə jaisi baṭe<br>baburo kuço kərəṭe.  |
| 55. | Pani marigəla kene ki keneki<br>ari dii dino rəsibü tene   | sitəli cogila ene<br>juri mərijibü ene.   |
| 56. | Amə khemndəgurərə lənəcə cəncəsə kāca katigəle lagibə cəcə<br>pacile nalia kəsa<br>pərəbətə para kərili asa<br>amə khemndəgurərə pakna nai | kirupe delə budi bərəsə<br>gitke cakna naṭi.  |
| 57. | Cə kəsa caulə nə kəsa pani<br>amə babu dənə bənətə kəla bele   | nəkire sijəi batə<br>mari dela jərə latə.   |
| 58. | Gələre burili ṭubuka marili,<br>kumaro gələuci qibə,<br>gərə gujə guja dəndə sirojəna  | pədare baari taplı piṭli<br>kake ele bari jibi.   |
| 59. | Gələre burili ṭubuka marili<br>kene jaisabe lalə golapi  | jikili bausə kaṭi<br>e para sərəda cari.  |
| 60. | Garia majili garia dəili garia ujəlo nai<br>kai dine babu bacənə dela muçətə cəcələ nai.   |   |
| 61. | Əldi baṭili kədəli poṭə<br>amə dakətərə babu aisi boli   | pania genili aṭe<br>jagiaci ədəbaṭə.  |

62. Siri pərbəte rəngoni losa taſi piña debi cənek bəcə  
 eikəcəcəkədi kəsa  
 amo mundə baſe kəndə buli gole  
 jibənəke nai asa.
63. Amər qurəba gāarə soləpə gəcə  
 guma sənibarə kəbərə debu  
 amər qurəba gaarə koməla gəcə  
 puni gurubare kəbərə debu  
 soləs cələs basə  
 cələs kaitə asə.  
 koməla basə  
 koməla kaitə asə.
64. Kəlahandi deşə kəla pərbətə  
 kandulə sijake ədə təpətə  
 ləcei dançərə batə  
 tua ningaməna puruna rəito  
 julai cağube gitə.
65. Başə marili juli ke juli  
 məulə beñili buli  
 gəngəs lokə boli elu lał ai—ədikə nə ja puli.
66. Amə bari aże ləka balia  
 Amər babu dənə bərə alia  
 Ka boile to nice  
 jacilamaləke peñi deuci  
 koji bulutae poce.
67. Ağa ağa belə bədərə belə mundə bele bərə kara  
 sənəsənə bele buli asube dungia mangila para.
68. Siripərbətə ləka betəbağı e cikəna təndə babu  
 kəraże əbədə abu çəito masərə dağı  
 asə boile ki kemiti asibu səkələ kütümə çarı.
69. Asə asə morə gagori malə  
 cone nə dekile baibikələ  
 aseti mə kole bəcə  
 koləre bəsai cuma nə debi  
 kande bəi rəsc rəsc.
70. cikəna kurəkuți bəja puto gağı  
 manḍili cikəto mati  
 cikəto matiki nini tələni gorəti gañorə pani.  
 gitə kuijarə tıkələ suni caridelu bətə pani.
71. Başə marili juli ki juli peñiya bunibi boli  
 pila belərə ki gətə mətərərə çəlideli rəsəkeli.
72. kürə rəngə mati kapale geru  
 jibənəcəmərə darigale  
 dənə mali səru səru  
 təmə ame kai kəru.
73. aça lip-lipa bəyar jişa  
 kaliya mali səra, bicar kəra  
 dəya tile təki dəra.



86. Manđia dōngore bənđia kara dim dela mai kapu  
conekor lagi boje cōcōtē cōrē gale nai bapu  
sōru nini boli no kōr ela  
singi mac para jala.

87. Jōrōnia am pōčla leti kōlajita dano mugo pōiti  
odikō dele kaiti  
Osna piyalō ki rōnge jule  
anđali dōriti kōle.

88. esur dineki asila bukō-dal mal kai jiile loko  
cakunđa sagore kōlu jōnōc cōmōnōc suni baruni gōndē  
sei gini babu bisōgo lagila  
caři delu tomor danđe.  
gōc sina Jane kōrōtō babona  
pētōc sina Jane bukō  
nōrōila lok-ke boje inō gōti  
kake janaibi dukō  
amōr duk-dōndōc cōbōc Jane kai pōisani apa Jane  
pōisani apa kemōte Jane kōidele aka sunē.

89. Kōkōtō semla baro kōndō pali  
mōngare bōsigali  
carigala boli nirasō cu kōra  
mōrigale eka gali  
pulōmali oi ciři pōili  
bōduke dekibi boli.

90. Sōru caci cōrei gurila go i dim dela gōc pole  
e para bōcon ari no milsi leuti jōnōm ele  
ate bet bari sōđer tolē  
rōja benđo jiba bele  
damnaāđir rōton sindi  
ame tiba sōda kale.

91. Ate tīki mudi jōmela bōti sōđromoni luga aīke gātī bitek osar pata  
bitek patake malkai anđa tōme bōre mođ mođa  
bana pata deki jōpti asili nōkōra batō cuta.

92. eřek pořek suā caul dekire kutili cuna  
kaibi boile rādai debi mōricor pōrijōna  
uli pōrōjona ira ḫabna  
gupōtō kōrō babona.

93. At ūta no ūta jōla to mōn oile mo mōn ela  
asibi ki pōce pōce  
sōngir upōre kanda pōtē mo mōn je nai nice  
gōla pani ūnebenđi nace  
gagōř bitor pace.

94. Cəit massore bajoi baja  
konağı beşar koi turunja  
gəbar beşar munja  
rati sara sri elar bele Əakila kukuşa ganja  
dəsra dinər rəja bajar  
munq cıigala səe ɔjar  
pani məre jər jəro  
to para gəraki körile durs kapal paşsi moro.
95. Əanəake duşuna danke kasə  
bodə sirabən masə  
suta keli para bəcən dele amo gae cəne ass  
jai koji rebi kādul bəne  
etu kəra məne məne.
96. aisi kəlab pərbətə kaş  
indrabati sənge nəibü saş  
dəməke marili jaş  
təme pətəila kāca müguni səbu kailai cəş  
telenga mañdia jəmək jata  
təme bicar e kata.
97. sərəgi kəməne kāde məina  
deki gora dənə amo dəyena  
koisi ٹikəl kata  
gurç giu misa kələra sagə kaile lagsi pita  
aki kalə kalə mə re jalə  
təmə dəyenake cəta.
98. Jipri panike batə biçələ  
səje pulə puşti ele səkələ  
jəri pcıiboje tole  
rəsikə bəura rəssci nai pulə dine basi ele  
mico may sarç ei səsərç nə pəka makra jale.
99. məisir nao rətənərai      ədal mul kai əcngore roi  
mədare nə mise sei  
məisi oiae bijar putra misai dekiti mui  
təmə məisike uda caşideli gouşər dos nai.
100. corni gaike əipa ləkə  
nə reba lok-ke cişa dəkə  
kata kəibake je tiktika  
upəre sudər tole təkəkə  
səbuke se jini parə  
təme babu dənə bəye cətur parile mo kərə darə.

## A Ballad—'Kuṭni mala'

amo nəndəpur gangasani gaṭo sorbeti deuls aṭo  
 cədən malike munḍe boila kauṛi dəngor kauṛi kəla  
 ar kəṭani malare nela  
 oi jibor dəno rəsikabərəno no ne səbu dino, lobi o.....  
 puṇga dəngor tuṇga kəla ar kəṭoni malare nela  
 tar san boini dan kuṭiti ṛila..kuṭiti ṛila.....  
 tar bɔṛ bai asi sida je dekila..sida lo dekila  
 tar san boini lajō lo oila..lajō je oila.....  
 lugapaṭa dari ɔṛəgoṛi nela..ɔṛəgoṛi nela  
 babu ḫuḍumae pɔṛi məla..bolideli.....  
 tar bɔṛ bai jai cenḍi je darila...  
 serenḍi buta oigala..bolideli.....  
 ḫuḍuma ḫuḍuma ciNgili je gala  
 bonḍa dese jato kəla..kundordəna bonḍa dese jato kəla.

(Balaram Mudli, Semla)

—X—

## A Song—

kaṭar kaṭar baṛ bunilu  
 surijo surijo meṛa gaṭilu  
 ke sindi kiṛa kae lo  
 ke jərənia kae  
 kaṭar baṛ ke dei poṭibu  
 surijo baṛ ke ciri pakaibu  
 ame sindi kiṛa kaibu.  
 tiṭi səruguna beṭi to noe  
 sindi to poṭkəi kaci to noe.....

(Balaram Mudli, Semla).

## Nursery-Songs

am aila ḫale male poṭoi aila cere  
 səbur pilake ḫale male ḫolir pila kole  
 kaNgu-bat rāḍli siṛa sindi kādar jol  
 təmər bɔṛ ana-ke aibi siṛa moke bou bol  
 bou bou bolsu siṛa uje bou nai  
 tin nake müdə gabe kagla tebe bou bol  
 potor tola juu siṛa atale  
 nakta ḫuma cabaiba siṛa tor kapale  
 duka duka boli aisu siṛa gøre  
 ṭati piṛa dari soisu siṛa sale

lat bida marbi sīa toke  
mūt mūt deksu sīa moke

p̄ot̄or tola juu pila d̄ai f̄ongor t̄ele  
bag mama d̄uli ace k̄osom ḡocor tole  
kāa pila soi ace d̄al būta r̄ocai  
kana f̄okra dekla  
pamra oi m̄ola.  
poilāi p̄odae mai-celi m̄ola  
l̄ondēk maus m̄agbar galike

t̄cng-āi bet̄i dela  
mand̄i-āi bet̄i dela

ori ori bol re d̄umri ram ram bol  
alija alija re d̄umri juli ja juli ja.....

aya to gala kāda-kale b̄obo to gala doli male  
d̄oi re babu d̄oi d̄oi

tor baba gala usa usa ansi gaḡa musa  
tor aya gala jōi jōi ansi mimi lōi lōi  
d̄oi re babu d̄oi d̄oi

kum̄da male r̄o b̄obo semi male r̄o  
t̄omō aba gala ace kak̄a-ke  
ani cabai deisi tor d̄umni nake-b̄obo.....

t̄om̄or aya gala ace mac-ke  
ani kuai deisi tor pōsi pēt-ke-b̄obo.....

—‘sairoli’ git—

[‘sairoli’ songs are of very recent origin. Unlike ‘kindri’ songs it was first composed by some local poet who is now forgotten. The evidence of language and tune support this view. But the original composition has been much corrupted and at present it has taken the real colour of folk-songs.]

aji udilare kouli jōn̄o keliba keliba mōn̄o ni  
am̄or sai bate ao re jōn̄o cici debi cōndōn̄o je  
sai go sai guruna mōlipul̄o bicona je jaipul̄o basona.  
ak̄o sak̄o....

cari gale pila juri morib̄o d̄aki nebo songs  
sai go sai jul̄ona mōlipul̄o je....

tet̄eli bāo ki b̄od̄eli bāo	ke bandaila pind̄a
ape sima rani leki patailā	jeteki dan̄i d̄ind̄a
sai go moro sāi r̄o babona nai go....	

landi jet mase hem̄o guluguli kore t̄eraso  
amo kuāo bitore dan̄ia dan̄i pul̄o-ḡoba deki jiba  
sai go....

bandapon masor kouli jōn̄o kore je jijri  
mund̄ore cat̄ōi pit̄ire poura bau mare rau rau  
sai go....

osa masor mami sua caulor kumuia dalor sag  
kōile kōisu bēndia pila carita danī i songe  
sāi go....

sōe tōnka pul kōbor dela baite bauputi mōla  
sōrōgi dantōn kōrili tōnda kisō kisō para lage  
sāi go....

sindi koli kau kau kaṭa koli kau kau  
kaibake kici nō rōile sairoli git gau  
sāi go....

esur cōit pōrōb bōre sarōda amō gōre kandō buba  
tōmō gōre ace batō māuso kaibake mugō bōja  
sāi go....

ene dunu tene dunu pacila tetli dunu  
siri pōrōbōte paiko jujile kandō sōbōdō sunu  
sāi go bole sāi rō babōna nai go....

### Marriege-Songs

#### 1. [Songs sung by the boys of groom's party for teasing the girls of the bride's village.]

piri kuṭu kuṭu mōira, piri kuṭu kuṭi  
kōnia buṭi bōsi ace conḍi murkuṭi  
ila bankti re mōira, ila bankti  
bana luga oṭi ace bitre lenguti  
kōsōm pōṭka mōira, kōsōm pōṭka  
nandpuriya danīimōn-ke pila gudguda  
biri pulani mōira, biri pulani  
nikō kōri puk mōira āṭa julani  
caul cōkni re mōira, caul cōkni  
kōniya pōṭor danīimōn-ke mundē ukuni  
dūmri ludluda re mōira, dūmri ludluda  
kōniya pōṭor danīimōn-ke pila gudguda  
lepor lapor kan re mōira, lepor lapor kan  
kōniya buṭi san oila tar maa-ke an  
titiriya pōl re mōira, titiriya pita pōl  
sarasarī nōile tar ayake bou bol  
kandul pōṭinga re mōira kandul pōṭinga  
kōniya pōṭor danīimōn-ke pila rōtenga  
e ḍōngor tōk mōira, se ḍōngor tōk  
kute cōgi dek mōira, kon dangi nikō.....

#### 2. Miscellaneous

kaṭa kuṭi runḍaili camda tulaili  
gotek jii rōila gini ḫirki nacaili  
ai lo lo loi sa.....  
ai ai bolusu kōile kopaisu  
banaluga gini dele bōlōi bolusu  
ai lo lo loisa kōile kopaisa  
banakōdi gini dele bōlōi bolusa.....

## Proverbs, aphorisms and banter

titir upre purani-tor kata mui jani  
 [I know what you say, it is only to fill in more and more]

jotor motor potor pendha-gor juaike mandia onda  
 [A bunch of useless leaves ! Millet-pudding for the son-in-law who lives  
 in the father-in-laws house'].

dukor upre tenna  
 [To hit one who is already hurt]

bauke pand osi  
 [To set trap to catch the wind]

titi upre purani-joi dela darani  
 [To fill in more into a filled up thing is to flare up the fire]

taNgri munde andi tebe nai  
 [The pot never sets on a bald head]

tor boron ke toke  
 [Your complexion is yours,]

amot mui ke gomot bandha  
 [Like wife like husband]

andi upre teenga  
 [Disorderly stacking of pots is no good]

tor katake-mor mandia jatake  
 [To your words-my millet mill-stone !]

mola poce dela goce-take aka nau ace  
 [Although he died of hanging on a tree, he left a name indeed]

cati ale moci ale sunbai  
 [Even the ants and flies would listen]

kata dei kata jikla para-kaiba batae duli bicla para  
 [To break a promise is to throw dust into the eating bowl]

munuke bijai kurake kai dor ?  
 [After dreanching the head why care to protect the heels]

katla anti mute nai  
 [He (miser) does not even urinates on a wounded finger]

jo capla para kata  
 [His words hurt like fire]

piṭi kara cekaibi  
 [I shall bake your back in the sun (to drag to village-court)]

sunu gagṛe mōci bōsaila  
 [He set flies on a spotless body]

cōgte nebake ṭerake-bilai müa ṭurake  
 [The squint-eyed helps the cat-eyed dwarf to climb up]

sujake sutli bunsu  
 [You are making a rope for the needle]

tar dōya-mor kōya  
 [I am at his mercy]

sale por roile toṭar-gore lok rōile andi toṭar  
 [If there are cows there will be sound in the shed, if there are persons there will be sound in the cooking pots.]

aisu jaisu-enor nai tenor nai moke koisu  
 [You come and go, you have nothing to talk about but to growl at me]

got aile gund nai-mandru sijaile dāt nai  
 [When the guests come we don't have flour, if we prepare a cake they don't have teeth.]

sapke mari dui ḍan-musake ḍangek  
 [Strike the serpent twice and the mouse only once]

dōni morōd bōni.  
 [The wealthy one is the streangthy one]

pata kuṭiai bōsi rōibi bag beti kau boli  
 [Should I sit in a broken house awaiting a tiger to come and devour me]

culi nai rāda-duare goṭa bāda  
 [There is no oven for cooking, but a horse is maintained nevertheless]

ḍōngre ar bag nō ḡy, munḍe ar ukni nō ḡy  
 [Will there be no tigers in forest and lice in hair]

cei gūṛgūṛ bōsi kāṭa-boro lok-ke bōṭ bata  
 [The lion's share is always for the rich people]

caike dekai buke marle oisi ?  
 [To strike at a shadow is but to hit on the ground]

am kai ṭaku joṭla  
 [To offer the stone after eating the mango]

musa poṭai lej kaisi  
 [To eat the tail of a roasted rabbit]

cūjake gūj pōdna  
 [The parched rice needs to be punched with molasses ]

ate dei kane koibar tebe oisi-sutake sutli lōmaile oisi  
 [With an offering in hand speak into the ear, as for lengthening the thread  
 unwind the rope].

mejake dekai bañke koisu.  
 [It is not proper to point at the posts while talking to the fence]

bōtōr panike pōtōr cata  
 [The leaf-umbrella is good for only drizzles]

desia olu-bāie ḫulu  
 [The innocent natives cling to the soil]

ila dari ar kañbake kai ḫor ?  
 [With sickle in hand why be afraid to reap]

tipe rōn bunde burusa, seita serenda kanda  
 [Whose tip is red and root is flappy, that is the best tuber]

sisir panike musri sije.  
 [For crisp cooking little water is best]

gare roi sin dekai pōdai mōli mangsi  
 [Inside the river it exhibits its prowess, but parys for mercy when out of it]

tuñi bañni roisi sina, jalia bañni roisi ki ?  
 [A blunt broom shall remain while a flowery one is weathered]

cai nai bui nai  
 [He does not have land even for the shadow]

muñaila bag sina dari kaisi, kandla bag kaisi ki ?  
 [A growling tiger does not bite.]

ṭakla kañake munđe marla para  
 [It is like hitting on the head of a tired harel

baji sagke kuñiai kaile sina, jiki kaile oisi ?  
 [One should not pull out the leafy-vegetables but pick up only the leaves]

tor mōne ki mor kane ki  
 [When you think in your mind it rings in my ears]

sunake suagi rupake tengna  
 [Gold is loved while silver despised]

gañke dañña bōn-ke mākra.  
 [A village looks lively with young boys as a forest with monkeys]

đokri gale oldi göes-dan̄i para dise  
 [The old lady is smearing turmeric on her cheeks to appear like a girl]

iti tia tei tia-dungiya kondēk dia.  
 [To stand here and there for begging a bit of tobacco]

kaita kolu-catu kindrai delu.  
 [What more you did than churning with a ladle ?]

pitol mudike niti mājōna-sauta goror niti gojona  
 [As the brass ornament gets a rubbing everyday so we get a nagging in the richman's house.]

pōnos pōtor dona, nōna kai rela nōbat pōna, bou cati rela dona  
 [The cup is made of jack-fruit leaf, the brother had a sweet drink, the sister-in-law licked the cup only.]

cīja baga lua kamar gōre, cīji bagigala ma-babu gōre.  
 [The broken iron implements go to the smith, she broke away and went to her parents.]

on̄a muda kapale-somdi aila sakale  
 [A ball of millet-pudding is in his luck if my friend comes early in the morning]

### RIDDLES

Kāca kae kaceli, pacla kae cali  
 e bakna nō kōile marbi calpa:i. (sindi-koli)  
 (The green ones are eaten as whole, the ripe ones are skinned; if you can't tell this riddle I shall give you a slap.—sindi-berry)

bap tia oi roisi, poɔ niayo korsi . (pipol)  
 (Father is standing, sons are judging.—Banyan tree)

guru tia ei roisi, sisɔ buli aisi. (bīom)  
 (Preceptor is standing, disciple is roaming.—Ant-hill)

je je baurā patale gara, e bonostore ke dōnu dara. (salim)  
 (Who in this forest lives in a hole and is armed with bow.—Percupine.)

ji cabri, ma sundri . (cikni)  
 (Daughter is irritating , mother is fair—A type of grass.)

ar nōila matu:s (sindi-kira / tat-gobinda)  
 (Which meat is boneless—A kind of worm)

gotek đokri pułek luga. (łosun)  
 (Which old-lady has several clothings.—Garlic)

gotek ḫokri antri cariberti mutsi. (niula-pani)

(Which old-lady urinates all around the house. —Rain water from the eaves)

kub*ı* balu, jaıke ṭelu. (ila)

(Which hunch-back bear pushes away winter.—Sickle)

bakna to bakna, lua gu cakna. (nun)

(What a riddle, the iron feces is for taste. —Salt.)

pani ḫebəba manıek joba

tei pul pute keıek soba. (dip)

(In a pool with knee-deep mud and water when the flower blooms that looks very nice.—Lamp)

suta para ləmsi, muta para bəs-si. (at)

(What stretches like thread and sits like jar.—Market)

sika baıe kesi binda baıe kesi

gote mundai bandi ace bar mund məisi. (and*i*)

(Twelve buffaloes are tied to one pole.—Pots carried by a carrying staff)

bisər gate bisər bəsaili

nun nəite puıga bəsaili . (dim)

(I set a fishing trap on the water way, I roasted in a leaf-cup without salt. —Egg)

cam tumai puraili, baıus buıtai ḫulaili. (tati)

(I kept the skin inside a gourd-case and slept in the bamboo bushes.—Mat made of bamboo strips)

tinta mənus ke gote gor. (semli pətər)

(One leg only to three persons.—Silk-cotton leaf)

dəs gor dəs nəyən pāc mund tar cari jibən. (məla mənus)

(Which man has ten legs, ten eyes, five heads and four lives.—Dead body carried by four persons).

asilu tu dəsərəth bəsilu kəte

tini muk dəs gor dekilu ki baıe. (kəsiba əl)

(So you came Dasarath and sat on bed; did you see that with three faces and ten legs on the way. —Plough)

sorəg panike pād oı si. (soləp)

(To set trap for the water from heaven.—Salap-wine)

kəlinki rajar məisi, sin darle dud deisi. (soləp)

(The buffalo of the king of Kalki age gives milk if caught at the horns. —Salap-wine)

uk lagai lagai tingaisi

tbil deki deki puraisi. (mali gutba)

(He first straightens up with saliva, then finds out the hole to insert.—Making garland of beads).

kolka podae cilpa nace. (jib)

(A slice of a thing that dances between the cliffs.—Tongue)

gotek maijike tinta cutor. (culi)

(Which lady has three buttocks.—Oven)

upre cikna bitre kira (dumri)

(What looks nice outwardly though the inside is rotten.  
—A kind of fruit called Dumri).

gotek lok gulai rati deksi. (jon)

(Who is the man that keeps looking throughout the night.—Moon)

pila basi roisi, ma kindorsi. (kumar cok)

(The child is sitting while the mother is moving around.—The potter's wheel).

deNGi maijike singe dud. (solop).

(The tall lady has milk in the horns.—Salap tree)

gotek maiji koje lok-ke tia korsi. (ba)

(A single lady keeps twenty men stand by.—Fencing).

iji ace moji, nai jiki rople jie nai. (cati)

(What has got stem but not seed and it does not live if transplanted.  
—Mushroom).

gotek maiji atke naisi. (ba ni)

(Which lady is adorned by hand.—Broom)

bund rotka pul cotka kaile reso, mon-ke aso

goc pobota potor lomta kaile reso, mon-ke aso (dungiya)

(Whose bush is red, flowers are flat, when eaten satiates the soul.—Tobacco).

sosisena sorobena, moji kai copa buna. (modur kanda)

(Eat the kernel, sow the skin.—A kind of sweet root)

upre cata para, tele muta para. (saru kanda)

(What has a top like an umbrella and a bottom like a pot.—A kind of tuber called Saru).

rokotore tolola noyonore kola

epara sundori bone jato kola. (gunjor mali)

(With such blood-red complexion and deep black eyes, who created this beauty in the forest.—

piçol potor solsole, jilki danlı goc tôle. (məric)

(Bunyan leaves shiver in the breeze, the dazzling damsel is there under the tree.—Chilli).

raji partı buli aili, bankti gagoç çarı aili. (koj)

(I wandered throughout the world and left crooked marks of the body.—Foot-prints).

mund noila raja, sok noila montri

dud noila gai, gor noila gouç  
aki noila deksuki.

(Headless king—Crab; throatless minister—Turtoise; milkless cow—Frog; legless cow-herd—Snake; eyeless person—Leech)

at gunçica monçol sap gocke arogora nai

kaike gouç gotani kulus kondek gobor nai. (at)

(The snake encircled the tree but left no stain. Oh, cow-herd, you assembled your cows here but not a bit of dung is found.—Mar ket)

iřita nini corei palkari bose

palkari bangi gale patale döse. (os pani)

(The little bird sits on the tender stems of grass, when the stem is broken it falls down on earth.—Dewdrop).

soru soru cati okarila mati

sočogpuriya ban marile lönka jibö paṭi. (borsa pani)

(The tiny little ants scooped out earth, when the skydwellers shoot even Lanka gets ruined.—Rain shower).

so so sagor bali

kaliya gorake bankore tanı. (cata)

(The black horse is to be pulled from a side.—Umbrella)

sopur sutu gojo mukuta cecle bokol nai

tonde kaidele roş boi jibö, sošare se pol nai. (kara pakna)

(What is that heavenly fruit which has very thin veins, no roughage or rind and looks like a pearl full of juice —Hail Stone).

goc deg deg potor soru

tar pila jila bankti geru. (tentli)

(Trees are big, leaves are small, their childrens are hunch-backed dwarfs.—Tamarind).

ojo oj potor bij barı tenta

sunar mukut rupai denṭa. (kodli)

(Whose leaves are large, sproutings are like spears, the head-dress is made of gold and the handle is of silver.—Plantain).

iri iri kanṭa kōdəmari bas

e bakna nō koile cō cō mas. (pōnōs)

(What smells so nice though its body is thorny ; if you can not tell this riddle serve me for six months.—Jack Fruit.)

iṛi goṭa nini cōci dua eṛek pēṭ

kai jaisu nini cōci rajagor bēṭ. (guli)

(So small is the bird its belly is like a spoon. Where do you go bird, to hunt for the king.—Catridge. Bullet).

utna gor dantri pindā

mənus poṭri maiji ḥindā. (parua)

(In the up-turned house which has uneven veranda, the male lives like a pregnant lady and the female like a man. —Dove)

kata koi koi rōkot kaisi. (bursundi)

(Who drinks our blood while talking.—Dragon fly).

iri iri dabri, pul puṭe kabri. (parka)

(Little little things like flowers.—Coins).

joṭek ol goṭek sōk.

(Two bullocks with one neck.—Bellows)

aku ḫokra gōrōbe dōt. (dādōr)

(Which old man has teeth in the abdomen.—Drum shaped fishing trap)

aṭ ta goṭ nō ta manḍi, jal pakai ace cōṭua maji. (paṭ mākī)

(The fisher-man who has set the net has eight legs and nine knees.—Spider).

deN lejiya gōrenja, pani bitre mund gunja. (kōsira ḫor)

(What is that long-tailed thing that dips face into water. Rope used for pulling water from well.)

aṭe gali baṭe gali, baṭe betli dan

sōbu jōntuke joṭek joṭek kan, se jōntuke goṭek kan. (nōli)

(I roamed about and picked up some paddy. Each animal has two ears but one has only one. -Gun).

rōN rōN ḫis-si, tīN tīN-te pōs-si. (mōric)

(What looks colourful but when enters burns the inside. -Chilli)

at muṭla gunḍui cuṭla, marte marla uṛte uṛla. (gumra)

(Hammering and plugging with hand he went on beating and scolding. -A kind of drum).

uṭ bar kōri odraila dui ate dari jul-la. (cuna baṭba pakna)

(He first laid that flat on the ground, then holding with both the hands began to swing. -Grinding stone).

tikra ḍə̄gre rabon gura

rangai an re jəgənath buṛa. (pania sōnge ukni dekba)

(In the bushy mountain there is the vulture's nest, oh old Jagannath,  
you drive them out. -Combing for lice.)

bok bosi ace daī ke daī ,bokni bosi ace eka

e bakna jebe nō kōile lagsi cō kori tēṇka. (dāt ar jib)

(The egrets are sitting in a row, the she-egret is alone if you don't  
tell this riddle, pay six crores to me. -Teeth and young)

rō tōki ujol bōti ognir mundē pat

e bakna nō kōile barik ganđi cat. (rabon)

(The gullet is red like a bright light, head is fiery with silken tuft; if you  
dont tell this riddle lick the barber's body.-Vulture.)

rō̄ rō̄ ta buṭia ta

jōi ke cari pani ke cari sob ke utia ta (biṣom)

(The dwarf fellow is red in colour. Except fire and water that does not  
care anyone else.-Ant-hill.)

sikar upre silkli, gugur mundē sād

kōsar upre narin bōti, jiba purus ke bād. (Mōd rādba)

(In the complex trap with knots and joints, check the passage of the  
outgoing man.—Liquor distillation.)

kōr kōi gaṛ baus buṭa ar. (ciṭki)

[The current is strong;whose bones are like bamboo bushes—Grass  
hooper.]

leptu kuja keroi maṭi, tin-ta ṭirki cō ta āki.(el belēd)

(The hunch-back is preparing soil; which has got three buttocks and six  
eyes,—A man and plough.

gai pakaila ar, ar pakaila baci. (ḍim)

(The cow delivered only bones and from the bones a baby was born.  
—Egg.)

ek ḍə̄gre bēk mēla, suai ḍə̄gre bas kēla. (pōnēs)

[The egret died in a far off forest, but it smelt in Suai forest.—Jack-fruit.]

Kolin rajir sikli, dari mari kōri jikli. (singani)

[There is a hook of the king of Kalinga which I pressed and pulled.—  
Drawing mucus from nose.]

nake pani kaisi, goṛe punḍsi. (bus)

[What drinks water through nose and inhales through leg.—Bus.]

poraila kākia goce cōgsi. (tangiya)

[The roasted crab climbs the tree.—Axe.]

siri pərbəte bicli liya, bəti kaiba lok-ke dekai dia. (tara)

[I scattered parched rice on the moutain, showed them to pick up and eat.  
Stars.]

snan bojən eka. (jamila)

[Whose bathing and dining is done simultaneously. [A bird]

ek goṇiya paik, munq noila naik. (Cata, kamij)

[Who are the single-legged soldier and headless leader.—Umbrella and shirt.]

pila bele cakna, bəi ele tekna. (baus)

[What is tansteful in its infancy and gives support in its youth.—Bamboo.]

dobra kukuṭa lebri kan, kan-ke dari jiki an. (mula)

[The white cock has hanging ears, pull it out by catching the ears.—Redish.]

agi bosla jitra mundā, bitre posla lenda. (mula)

[The fellow having rough hair sat to defecate and the feces went below under ground.—Redish.]

eti rə re tura pila, mui jibi kosek duri. (gopena)

[You orphan boy, stay here, I shall go miles far.—Slingshot

kənəngi gāor godbouni munđe rəN pat̄

ali juli jaisi ace coud kosər bat̄. (kulur)

[The Gadba girl of kanangi village has red cloth on her head, she is walking in a swinging style the fourteen mile road.—A bird/garuḍo]

jiba səgər jaiti rəisi, gorke kundra porti rəisi. (gar)

[While the moving cart moves on each house gets its share.—River.]

aite capəre, jaite capəre. (kapat̄)

[A slap to go another to come.—Door.]

muṭek rāji kaisi, ar upre deksi. (kəṛki)

[What scoops out a handful and eats, then looks upward.—Spade]

tura pila leje ḫor, jiki tani oi mər. (biṭi)

[The orphan is tied at the tail, It dies of being pulled and puffed. Biṭi/a smoke]

dei oisi, bəti noisi. (jəti lekba)

[You can give but can not pick up.—Wall painting.]

Kənəngi gāor məisi, singe cara dari kaisi. (kākṛa)

[The buffaloesof kanangi village catch and eat the prey with their horns.  
—Crab.]

kənəngi gāor məisi, siN darle me kərsi. (baus kərdi)

[The buffalo of kanangi village cries out if caught at the horn.—Bamboo shoot.]

boci rōile goṭe naū, mōri gale soṭa naū. (baus)

[What is known by one name when alive and by hundred names when dead.—Bamboo]

mənus nœ ki poki nœ, dui goṭ kie. (cycle)

[Who being neither a human-being nor a bird is a bi-ped.—Bi-cycle.]

ai go apa, tucai cōpa, mōlas tōme, jiilu ame. (sap ar kati)

[Oh sister, you are merely the skin as you died so we lived.—The snake speaks to its skin)]

pōdaraji gōdbōnike anṭa cari bēti jet  
gote gote jet ke sœ sœ mot. (pōroi gōc)

[The Gadba women of the plains have matted lock of hair around the waist and each lock has hundreds of knots.—A kind of tree.]

Ere re ek goṭiya, dui goṭiya kene gala

cari goṭiya ke cari dei kōri dōs goṭiyake kōsbake gala.

[Oh one-legged, where is that two-legged fellow ?  
Leaving the four-legged one he has gone to the ten-legged.  
—Tiger asks umbrella abut the farmer with plough.]

# **DESIA**

**A TRIBAL ORIYA DIALECT**

**SECTION-III**  
**DICTIONARY**

The Desia Lexical List contains 3000 entries, including the basic forms and their derivatives. In the Appendix names of some unidentified flora and fauna and some tag-words have been listed.

These items have been sorted out mainly from the body of the compiled Desia-Texts. Other, non-textual, items were collected in the course of filling up various standard lexical-lists (such as H. A. Gleason's Tentative Gloss List, 1959, Revised Munda Lexical List by David L. Stampe, 1963) and from random conversation and elicitation in the field.

The notes given at the end of the entries contain suggestions regarding the possible derivational origin and sources of borrowing and cognate forms from other languages and dialects for facilitating further comparative analyses. The following books and materials have been used to prepare these notes.

A Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages  
R. L. Turner, London, 1962—66.

(Cognates from Indo-Aryan languages have been collected from this source. The hypothetical base-words have been noted with a view to suggesting an Aryan background for the Desia items.)

A Comparative and Etymological Dictionary of the Nepali Language,  
R. L. Turner, London, 1931.

Desinamanala-Hemachandra, Ed. Pischel.

A Dravidian Etymological Dictionary.  
T. Burrow and M. B. Emeneau, London, 1961.

Sora-English Dictionary.  
G. V. Ramamurti, Madras, 1938.

Field Notes on Nahali.

S. Bhattacharya, Indian Linguistics, Vol. 17, 1957.

Chattisgarhi, Halbi, Bhatri Bolion ka Bhasavaigyanika.

Adhyayana. Dr. Bhalchandra Rao Telang, Bombay, 1966.

Kudali.

A. M. Ghatage, Poona, 1965.

The Parji Language.

T. Burrow and S. Bhattacharya, Hertford, 1953.  
Phonology of Parji. (Pre-Publication Draft.)

Nancy Chitick and Beth Morton, Summer Institute of Linguistics, Poona.

Segmental Phonemic Analysis of Halbi dialect. (Pre-Publication Draft)

Miss Betsy Schuyler and Miss Fran Woods  
Summer Institute of Linguistics, Poona.

Segmental Phonemic Analysis of a Tribal Dialect of Oriya.  
(Pre-Publication Draft)

Alice Davis and Judy Eslick

Summer Institute of Linguistics, Poona.

Purnachandra Oriya Bhasakosa. (7 Vols.)

G. C. Praharaja, Cuttack, 1931—40.

Sambalpuri Dictionary. (Manuscript)

Dr. K. B. Tripathi, Cuttack.

(Oriya dialectal words have been collected from the above two works.)

#### Explanation of Signs and Abbreviations.

▲	derived from
▼	becomes
/	alternate (Phonemic)
	alternate (Morphemic)
?	doubtful
*	hypothetical
cp.	comparable
opp.	opposite
A. E.	Alice Davis and Judy Eslick, op. cit.
Arb.	Arabic
Ar. D.	Comparative Dictionary of Indo-Aryan Langs. op. cit.
Beng.	Bengali
Bh.	Bhatri
Ch. G.	Chattisgarhi
DNM.	Desinamamala, op. cit.
Dr.	Dravidian
Dr. D.	Etymological Dictionary of Dr. Langs.; op. cit.
Guj.	Gujarati
H.	Hindi
Hal.	Halbi
Kan.	Kannaṭa (Kanarese)
Mar.	Marathi
Mal.	Malayalam
Mth.	Maithili
N.	Nepali
N. D.	Nepali Dictionary, Turner.; op. cit.
Pers.	Persian
Punj.	Punjabi
Pkt.	Prakrit
POB.	Purnachandra Oriya Bhasakosa, op. cit.
Sind.	Sindhi
Skt.	Sanskrit
T.	Tamil
Tel.	Telugu
O.	Oriya
S. O.	Southern Oriya
W. O.	Western Oriya

ən̩o	other	ənye
əra	circular cushion for placing pots	W. O. əira; Ar. D. əghero-circle.
ək—	to be jealous	S. O. ənkə-guilt, fault, crime Tel. ənkəkaḍu-quarrelsome;
əki-gen- əku-lok	to bear jealousy jealous man	Kharial-hək-envy, jealousy
əki		
əki-kar—	to vomit by inserting finger,	Ta. ənka-to open mouth, gape.
əki-lagai— əkar	to dig out (with the hand)	Ar. D. utkiroti Pk. ukkərōi-digs out; Ta. əkar-to dig, excavate; Bh. okar; S.O. tendency of vomiting.
əg—	to push into	DNM. əgghəbə-to fill; S. O. əngulai-to thrust finger
əgcl—	to be in excess, surplus	W. O. to remain over; Kan. əgglo; Tel. əggoləmu.
əṛgte jii—	to live alone independently	cp. aṅg-vanity; aṅgua-selfish obstinate
əja	habit	
otok—	to detain	Ta. əṭiippu-obstruction; Ar. D. əṭiikk—
əta	greasy, gummy	Ar. D. əṭṭhō
əti	border	Ar. D. əpərvitto—oti (Guj, Sind) lap of dhoti, tucked up part of cloth.; Ta. əti-to flap, twitch; POB. pocket improvised from the folds of garment.
əti	lower lip	W.O; əth
ət̩o	eighteen	
əfər—	to roar	Ar. D. arəṭoti-shrieks Pk. arəḍoi-cries out; O. əḍor bəḍ— incoherent talk.
əḍua ji-ba	bullocks to go after cows for mating	W. O. hərua
əḍeiga	pickles, seasoned mango, neem	Tulu. əḍəngayi-akind of pickle; Kan. əḍe-to season
əṛiai—	to incline to a side	Ar. D. anəməti-bends down; O. əṛiai—

ōtu	cave, hideout	Tel. ōḍḍu-a screen, anything that affords concealment; cp. Saora-ōṭak, Munda-ōṭa, Korku-ura-house; POB. ōṭa-a place where beasts stay.
ōru	small winepot	Ar. D. adhōkō; O. ōṭa-a pot for measuring corn or liquid.
ōkoliya	inconvenient place	W. O. ōrkōliya
ōnda	pudding made of millet powder	Tulu. ōḍḍye-pudding, a cake.
ōṭora	poker	W. O.
ōtguna		
-dar,-tek	to prop up beings)	Ar. D. ōnt̄əgūn̄-lower intestine O. ōnt̄əgu-la
ōc	half	ōrdhō
ōc-	to fetch water flowing or source.	
ōd-	to refrain from	O. rodh-,odhiro — ōboruddha
ōdi oiba	to be impatient	ōdhīrō; O. ōdhī-mental agony
ōdik	more	
ōdua	crippled leg	ōdhīrō
ōna	cow's udder	Ar. D. pr̄as̄evo; O. pōna.
ōniar-kōr,-oi	to torture	hōiraṇ ?
ōnu	baboon	hōnu
main-ōnu	entellus	
ōnek	many	
-mōstur	various	
ōnka	ladle (made of gourd for serving pej)	Tel. ōbōka; W.O.; Skt. ōihōkō
ōp-	to admit guilt	S.O. to confess one's guilt; O. up-to besmear Ar.D. opp—
ōbujan	disobedient	
ōbka	whole, all, unmixed	W. O. ōbga; Halbi. ōbge—only; Mar. ōvgha—whole ōbighnō, ōbikrō
ōbyas lok	favourite	O. ōcōrī
ōmōr	contentious enmity	
ōmūrōk	unfriendly	
ō-	to subside, decrease	O. ohōr-,hōr—
ōcōj	to earn	

—	—	to groan	Mar. <i>pēo</i> ; Kudali. <i>oē</i> O.korōt
—	—	meaning	Ar. D. <i>upərətəti</i>
—	-kariya	interpreter	orthō
—	oruni	deer	O. <i>həcəti</i>
—	orki	large spoon	W. O. <i>ɔrdalu</i>
—	ordabali	rainbow	O. <i>olagi-ular</i> Ar. D. <i>ullələyoti</i>
—	ol—	to shave, lop, scrape	—to draw out, unsheathe
—	ol	plough	O. <i>həlē</i>
—	oliya	ploughman	Ar. D. <i>upərudhyōtē</i> Pk.
—	ol—pota	Holi festival	uaūjjhōđi-obstructs; Parjī,
—	olje—	to choke	ulj-to assemble. W. O. <i>oljhī</i> -to
—	—	—	stick, check.
—	oljōc	to set (on eggs)	POB. <i>ulund</i> -to wallow on ground;
—	ole	insufficient	Ar. D. <i>ullundəti</i> ullendəi
—	olscē	slow, lazy, late	—
—	baN	to stretch limbs	Ar. D. hul—pierce; O. hula
—	olsiya	lazy	Ar. D. həlləti
—	oi	to be late	Skt. <i>lōghu</i> ; Chatisgarhi-olhō
—	ola	firebrand	O. uluka; Kharial-holka; Halbi-
—	olai—	to sway, wag	holk Dr. əlo, əlukkō
—	olu	light (weight)	Ar. D. <i>oləgyōti</i> M. I. A.
—	olka/ulki	wave	aləggōn—adheres to; O.
—	aiba	shiver	ulugu?i
—	olgōni	hanging cloth-rack	hələdi həridra
—	olga	different, separate	oləndhu—əlē dhumō
—	olgai-	to separate	Ar. D. upədikē Pk. olimbhō;
—	oldi oldiya	yellow	Bastar-orma; Halbi-orma.
—	oldua	soot	Ar. D. əlcō Pk. iselē
—	olma	white ant	—
—	olsi	linseed	—
—	—	guizotia abyssi nica	—
—	os	duck	—
—	naga	big size	—
—	buti	small	—
—	—	—	—

os pani	dew	Ar. D. ցազաւ Pk. osa; W. O.os
osok— oskai-	to remove	Pk. սսկե-goes back, ex- cised; DNM. օսօկկի-gone away; O. սկայ-to uproot սրկայ-to move; Ta. օօկկո- տո move; Kol. սցայ-to move slightly horizontally.
osonka	naked	Ar. D. սպօրիա; H. օօրի;
osor	heifer	Halbi-osor; DNM. osoro.
oskoč oskora	nasty	cp. O. օսկօչ Skt. օපօսկօচ-faeces
osguna	nose ornament	O. գողա
osna	eaves of roof	W. O. սշնա; Ar. D. օնցավ- slopping place Pali: օսան- end; Gondi-wesana-thatch, roof.
a-/as-	to come	
ai-		
—par	to yawn, sigh	
ait	care	այօտէ
ailom	wedding presents	
au	steam, vapour	O. հաւ; Halbi-hap
auj-	to bend, recline	Ar. D. ավրյօտի-turns over bends opp. լեկ-to lift.
auli-	noise	Ar. D. առաւ-cry, howl; O. hauli.
-kor	to roar	
ākor-	to sprout, gape	օնկոր
ak		
-mar	to shout, call	Ar. D. հօկքօյտի; O. հակօ.
akoči	hooked pole	Ar. D. օնկութօ-instrument for moving the bolt of a door; O. ակուրի
aka	one load of a kauri	Ar. D. օկսօ-axle, collar-bone.
-mara	one side heavy, un- balanced load.	
ākar	jealousy	
ākriya	jealous	
akal	to wash clothes	O. հօկալ-
āki	eye	
ākiya	evil-eyed	
kor	to cast the evil eye	
āk -poča	eye-lid	
mičk	to twinkle	

āki-gor	ankle	
akra	handle, holder, grip	Kumaoni. ākuṛ-handle of hoe.
ag		
agtu		
agari	first	
agol-	to come in front	
agoṭ-	to hinder, reprimand	O. akot-Ar. D. ḡṭṭkk-
aṅua	armful, things carried in one folded hand	Kan. ḡn-gey, Koda. ḡngay- palm of the hand.
aṅgra	charcoal	O. ḡngar
mōsi-aṅgra		
anti	finger	
cini-anti	little finger	
ac—	to be, to have	
aj—		
ajai—	to lose, mislay	hr.
aji	to-day	
āt—		
ātai—	to coagulate, hold	Skt. ḡṭṭo-dried; Pkt. ḡṭṭoi-
—kōr	to thicken	to become dry; O. antiba
āta	waist	ānt.-to move
at	high land	WO. at-veranda, high land;
atal	land near river side	Ar. D. ḡṭṭalō-watch tower, terrace mound.
at	eight	
at-din	week	O. haṭe
at	market	Tel. atta
ata	cover (of book)	Skt. ḡṭṭo; Tel. attuka
atu	attic room, loft under the roof	
atu-dan	ladder	
adōr	barricade	O. ari Ar. D. adi-row, ridge
ādi	earthen pot	O. handi
—darani	ceremonial change of pots	
—bauṛani	bride's return to husband's home after marriage	
āi	bone	O. haṭc
aṛoi	bony, juiceless	
ar-ṛos	marrow	
ar	half, semi	ordho; Tel. ḡḍ
aṛ-bela	afternoon	
aṛa	a unit of measure 4 pōri = 1 aṛa	Ar. D. aṛhoko

ar—			
āki	to hinder, ward off horizontal, across	Pkt. ḡḍ̪e-crosswise — Dr. ḡḍ̪a-state of being horizontal obstruction.	čcoppē
āki dek—	to look sidewis , blink		
āki pācia	Sari, for females		
at	hand		
atol	to touch, collide		
at maṭi de-	to plaster		
at sagia kōr-	to wave hand; signal		
ata	handle		
ata	wife's mother	Dr. atta, Pkt. ḡtta, Ganjam. ḡta.	
ati	elephant	hōsti	
ādan	steam	Ar. D. adhmano-blowing, puffing; cp. POB. udhani/odhnī-water pot on fire for cooking.	
ādar	dark	ōndhōkarō	
adi de-	to lend land on share basis	ōrdhō	
an	oath	O. rāṇo ragnya, agnyāc Oaths are taken in the name of king Kumaoni-an(vow)	
an duria oi-			
an	to swear	Skt. Antoro-entrail	
ani dadi	to bring	Ar. D. ḡntoro, Ch. Garhi. ḡntori.	
ani bai	great grandfather		
antōra	grandfather	Kudali-apōt-to strike-cloth while washing; Bh. ḡpot; Hal. apt;	
anti/atni	gap between the legs	Ar. D. apōtōti-flies toward	
pota	intestine, viscera	Ar. D. ḡppa	
antri	back yard	S. O. abur ; cp. Arabic-abru	
apt-	to throw raising to a height	Kudali-amboṭ; N. amot-mango preserve; Ar. D. amravorto- inspissated mango juice.	
apa	elder sister	cp. Tel. ama	
abur	prestige, honour	Bhtri, Halbi-aya	
am	mango	ōpōrō/apuro	
amot	sour		
amli		har-	
am pota	mango pickles		
ama	grandmother		
ame	we		
aya	mother		
ar/ari	and (conjunctive)		
ar-	to fail		
arai-	to defeat		

argor/ɔrgɔr	to pull, drag on ground	W. O. hirgir-to drag by force
argoṛa	bar, railing for obstruction	S. O. ḡṛḡoṛ; Ar. D. ḡṛḡoṛ
arda-pəl	Adam's apple	ḥoriṭa phol (myrobalan fruit)
arla -kor	dirty, clumsy, uneasy. to irritate, torture	Ar. D. alutito-agitated, stirred Ganjam-alra.
alɔt	to turn back, squeeze	Parji-to be twined round W. O. to wave a fan; Ar. D. alo- doyoti-stirs, moves.
alam-boji	picnic	Ar. D. alombə alam in many M.l. A. meaning help, support.
alasala -oi	to move, not remain statio- nary.	
aljul -oi	to move, not remain quiet.	
alia -oi	to be tired	Arabic-halak
alualad	affectionate	alhadə
ale	then, if it is so	O. hele
alki	fragile	cp. halka
ās-	to laugh	O. həs-
asiya	funny	
asua	laughing man	
āsor-basor	(family) descendants	əsəm, bəsəm
asa -kor	hope	
asar	June-July	
asar	bad person, false	opp. susar
āsu	tears	
asul -sōnge kɔr	right, correct to do correctly	Arb. əsl
asti	property	Skt. əsti
aspatal	Hospital	
/e	this	
iṛik	this much	
iṭi	here	
k	stingy	
t—	to rind peel a fruit	
it	brick	W. O. hit-to be opened; released; Bh. hitay-; Dr. D.-Ta. ito-to crack, scoop out, crumble; Tel. edaya-to separate.
iṭla	oven made of brick	W. O. iṭali
iṭi	boundary ridge	Skt. ali; O. hiṭ

i nd	to walk	W. O. hind Hal. h̄id-to wander Ar. D. hindote-moves, wanders
inispeti	Inspector	
ir	fibre, pith of wood	Dr. D.-Ta. ir-rib of palm, Mal. mid-rib of palm leaf W. O. ari-sting of insects. Bh. (hōri hōri-green)
iri iri	small	
ila	sickle	Bastar-ira; DNM. illo; Dr. illa; Nahali, Saora. ira-to cut with sickle; Ar. D. ili-a kind of weapon short sword; Mar-ila-curved instrument; Kui-ir to cut gras; Sa, Mu, Ho-ir-to-reap
isa		
-kōr	to envy	
īsai	envious person	
īsliya	envious	
īsal-	to envy	
īsa-dugra	jealous	
-tuūunga	envious	
istū		
-kōr	to worship, honour	isto
sturi	an iron (for pressing clothings)	O. istri.
ua	Dillenia Speciosa	Ar. D. uddalēkō, bōhubaro.
uari kōti	compound wall	Ar. D. ḡoḡhōtōyōti-covers Pk. ohaḍia-; O. uhaṛ-to screen.
uas-adar	dark half of month	omabasya
ukl -	to boil (intr.)	Pkt. ukkōlo - heat utkōlōti ; Dr. D. -Kan. ugo, Tel. ukkō : steam, vapour.
ukal-	to vomit	Ar. D. —utkalo okk -
ukni	louse	utkuṇo
ugs-	to sprout	O. uguiba-to rise up with force udgōmo.
ugsi ai-	to pull oneself up	(as in climbing)
ugař- ugura -tōnda	to open, uncover uncovered insolent	Skt. udghāṭṇo ; DNM. uggo ; Kudali-ugař
uc	high	
ucai-	to lift up	Ar. D. udōncoti - raises

uck-		to get up, spring up	
ucki mor-		to commit suicide by hanging	W. O. ukciba - to suspend ; Hal. usək ; Parji. ucik - to swing.
ucka		excess (in cost)	
ucki		hiccup	Hal. hucki ; Kudali - ucki.
ucəb -kor		festivity to rejoice	
ucəl		to overflow, spill over	ucchələnə
ucal- ucali oi-		to vomit to agitate, be excited	Ar. D. ucchərdəti - vomits
ūcl-		to skin (e. g. fruits)	Ar. D. uccətyöte - separated frim, ucchađyoti - undress, uncover. ucař - to skin ; Hal. ucl- to peel off outside.
ucl-		to bounce, strew with force, spill over violently	
ucať -kor -lag		to rejoice to be excited	
ucar- -ujəl		to carry a baby bright, light	cp. Parji. ucal - cradle
uja -dena		right right arm	Ar. D. rju - straight Mar. ujva- right hand, Kudali. uj
ujar-		to remove thatching-to display, pour out	Pkt. ojharia - thrown aside Mth. ojhərab - to be dishavelled- disorder ; ujjətəti uprooted, laid waste.
ujr- ujrai-		to repair	əbəjjhələyoti - shines ; Hal. ujr - to clean.
ut- utai- uti jiba		to rise, get up to lift, wake up to disappear	
utk-		to uproot, dig out buried things	utkhato
utan		boil	Ar. D. utsthənə - act of rising Mar. uṭhanu - tumour ; Hal upkan.
ur- urniya uṭal-		to fly flying to blow in the wind (tnras)	

ur-	to scold, rebuke	W. O. huṛ - ; Kharial. hur - ; Balangir hurdiba - to quarrel ; Skt. huḍkkə - drunken man.
urp-	to threaten	
und-	to grope for	Ar. D. adhunḍh - search for
undi	mound identified as a deity	DNM. ଉଦ୍ଳେନ୍ଦ୍ରା - a heap, collection ; w. o., huṛi - hillock ; Dr. D.- Kan. ୱଡ଼ି Tel, ୱଡ଼ି - ridge in field, steep bank.
	nisani undi	
ut-	to overflow	Ar. D. utṭo - wet. O; ot̪ - dampness ;
uti por- utla		Ass-ut - to flood uttalə
utk-	to jump, to be restless	O. utkaiba - to jump
uta-	to turn over	ut̪at̪a
utor -kor	reply to retort, respond	
utr-	to alight	utt̪erə
utrai-	to bring down	
utorti	sloping, alighting	
utur-ṭuliya	impatient, excited person	O. utaliya
utna-	lying flat on back	Ar. D. uttano ; Hal, utena ; ut-inverse
uda	you take (exclamatory verb)	
ud-	to rise, come up	ud̪yo
udba mas	next month	
udian bat̪	East	Ch. garhi. udti.
udk- udki jiba	to spring upward	Ar. D. udgomoti - rises
udl-	to cross over (hurdles) to leap	Ar. D. uddaloyoti - bursts, tears uddhvalo Mar. udhali - leap, spring.
udli jiba		
udlai piN-		
udliya -ne	elopement to elope	Pkt. uddaloi / liyo-snatches away uddhvaltı.
udan-	to stretch, to straighten up a crooked thing	Ar. D. uddhano -act of eject O. uchiba.

udar			
-de	to lend		
udari lok	borrower		Ar. D. uddhar̤yoti - raises
udriya			
udas	calm and quiet		
una	less		
-kör	to decrease		
unis	nineteen		
unu	other	cuno	
upk-	to dip up to float		cp. Parji. upk - to emerge utpləbə ; W. O. upliba
upka boji	feast, free of payment		
upr-	to spatter, sprinkle	utpatd	
upor	up, above		
upas	fasting		
ubr-	to be excess		Ar. D. ubbor-swell, urvərō left over, surplus ; DNM. - ubburo Skt. udbrt̄o ; also in Ch. garhi, N.
um-	to be ripe		
umai-	to ripen by storing in hot place	Ar. D. Usmayote : Ass. umai - to sit on egg ; B. umanc - to shimmer	
umbi jiba	to rot	Hal. umawa -cause to ripen	
umbai	brazier, movable oven	usmayito	
umar-	cow to low	Ar. D. humbhar̤vō ; Kharial - humar -	
url-	to skin, strip off to snatch away	Ar. D. ullol̄ti Pkt. ullalei ; O. ular - ; Ta. uri - to peel, strip off.	
urkuṛa	litter rubbish, a ghost who catches children	DNM. ukkurudo-a heap of sweepings, W. O. urkula	
ursul—	to skin	Parji. urc-to skim off, to scrape; Ch. garhi. usole ut+cholli.	
ult	to turn	Pkt. ullot̄o-overturned	
ulta	opposite		
uld-	to unload	Ar. D. udricyote O. ulēn, H. uləcna-to pour out.	

uls-	to shiver, horripilate	
ulsu-pamra	fearsome person	
ulal	flame, hot blast, vapour	ullalo
uli	onion	Dr. ulli-garlic,
uli	a spindle	Ar. D. lud̩ti-rolls; W. O. (spindle shaped as onion)
ulu	light weight	cp. POB. hulgula-slack, loose.
ulu ul;	gentle breeze	Kharial-hulhuli
ulga	loose,	O. hugula
—kɔr	to separate, loosen	Ar. D.—ullgyoti-unfasten; O. ulagiba.
ulag	bare	uləgno
usl—	to look back	DNM utthołla-turning round, utthołɔ potthołla-turning on the sides
usas	light, easy	ut svaso Pkt. usasiō-fr e from distress
usum	warmth	usm
usna	rice from boiled paddy	Ar. D. utsirno.
e	this	
ērek	this big	
etek/etki	this much	
ene/enek	to this side	
ebe	now	
ede	here	
emot/emti/ emtar	like this	
emon	these	
ek	one	
ekla	alone	
ekta	alone	
eka	alike	
ek-ta-maru	unsocial fellow	
egar	eleven	Parji. eja-to count numbers
ej-	to remember	Kharial. heja kɔr-to account
eđu	head (chief)	
et—	to remember	
etu kɔr—	to remember	Ar. D. ḥbhicintyoti; O. het—
etu buř-	to forget	

eri dek- erua	to pry spy	Ar. D. herəti herəko-spy.
ela —kor	to neglect	O. hela böhela
esu	current year	Ar. D. əisəmən-in this year; Ch. garhi-esə.
o-/oi-	to be, to become	(copulative)
oc- ocai-	to spread a bed	Ar. D. upəcchadəyəti Pkt. occhayənc; N. ochyar; Mth. ochauna; O. uchaiba.
ocna	bed	Ar. D. acchadənə-cover for bed; DNM. ucchinəyən-a bed
or-	to get water from flowing source	Dr. D.-Torukkəl-pouring as into mouth, Mal. orukukə-to run down; O. ura-pot tied to date-palm tree for Toddy.
or- pād or-	to set trap	Dr. D-Kota-od. Kan, Tel. oḍḍu- cp. Pali. oddeti-to lay snare
or-	to put on cloth to wear	Pkt. oḍḍənə-cloak upəbes- tənə ; Ch. garhi-oṛhən
orña	shelf above door lintel	O. alənə; N. odan-grooved slip along whih shutters or panels run. Ar. D. ənəpəmənə.
odər-	to fall down, drop down, knock down	T. utir; Kan-udur-to drop off W. O. hədribə-to shrienk.
oda	wet	odə Pkt. oddə
or	aerial root hanging down from branches	Ar. D. əvəbhərəte-sinks into O. ohələ
orsəl	Overseer	
olt-	to poke	ulləṭəti-turns over
olai-	to hang, suspend	Pkt. ohəri- brought down əvəbhərəte-sinks into.
osə	medicine	əphəsənə
osa	August-September	upəvasə; O. Bhadra mas.
osar	broad, wide	Ar. D. əvəsarə-moving aside Pkt. osarə-going away.

kə kəu-lok	to speak, to sing speaker	
kəiru bal	brown, reddish hair	Ar. D. kəsayo, kəpilo; O.kəhəra
kəoul	mild, sweet, soft	—koməlo
kəut	funny	—koutukə
kəoṛa	Cowri shell	—kəpordə—kəbəddi
kəkəṛ	to shrivel up, to be wrinkled, to contract	
kəkəṛi cendi	curly hair	Ar. D. kərkə—Sindhi, Lahanda- kəkṛa-lightish hair
kəkṛa	crippled	
kəkkəl —tek	cough	T. kəkkəl-to vomit; Kota-kək-
kəkliya/kəkla	to cough	to cough; Parji, Hal. kəkl
	who coughs	
kəcə	owl	Skt. kəusikə; Pkt. kosiyo
kəci	bat	
kəcim mac	turtle	—kəcchəpo
kəj kəjri	creeping plant tambourine, flat drum with one side skinned.	
kəjri	date-palm	—khrojuro
kənt -kər	to compare	O. kəntiba
kət— kəti	to oppress cruel, greedy, selfish	T. konṭi-naughty person ; Tel. konṭe-cunning person.
kət kət kər-	to squeak	
kəta	paddy given for husking to others	Ar. D. kuttu-breaking, cutting
kətar	threshing floor	T. koṭtu-to thrash, kottanam- beating the husk from-paddy; Tel.koṭtu-granary; DNM- kottholo-Hal. koṭhar—koṭa- garo.
kəti	grannery	Ar. D. kostho-store room.
kətu/kəti	bundle of tobacco leaves	T. koṭtu-to tie, gather, kotti- bundle. also in Tel.
kər	side	Ar. D. Kəti; Kan. kode, side. position of being last; Tel. kəde; Parji-kədo

kōṭe	pascol-	to turn to a side	
kōṭamata	-dei bōs—	a sitting position	Parji. kalamata-stretching oneself after waking up
kōṭi		white clay	Ar. D. khōṭika—khoṭi-chalk.
kōṭua	—kas	dry, tough, hard dry-ploughing	—kōṭu
kōṭki		mattock, hoe, spade	Ar. D. khudōti—khodd; Hal. kōṭki
kōṭop		cut out paddy stems	Skt. kōlap—Pkt. kōdoppo—Mar. Guj. kōdōp-bundle of plant cut for drying before stacking; Dr. kōṭla—ppu-miscellaneous mass; Parji-kōṭpa-thin stick, twig.
—sōngei—		to keep in row	
kōṭma		pot for warming bathing water	Dr. D. kōṭa, kōṭm-water pot with narrow mouth.
kōṇḍa		paddy husk, barn	Ar. D. Palu-kundōkō, Pkt. kundōgo.
kōṇḍi		small earthen pot (mainly for oil)	Ar. D. Kōṇḍō-basket—N. H. kōṇḍi Kudali. khondi-a measure of corn PO B.a standard measure of 20 seer.
kōṇḍi		bank, coast	Ar. D. skōndō-bank of river ; O. khōṇdi-edge of a deep pit ; Hal.-kō n d; B h a t r i-khōṇḍe; Parji-kudi, kend; Sind. kōndi.
kōṇḍek (+ek)		a portion, little bit	Hal. khindik
kōṭi	—pakai—	wall to plaster walls	Ar. D. kōntha
kōṭra		loosely woven basket used to cover bullock's face	
kōnd		shoulder	
—mundā		root of arm	
kōdka/kōdra		rough, uneven	Kan. kōrōdu-coarse, rough; Skt. khōrō; O. khōdōia.
kōdru		swallow ground	
kōdli		plantain	Ar. D. kōrdētō—Bihari. kadra-
car		flat shape	muddy
mōtni		round shape	
kōn/kon		corner	

kōna	carrying staff	Dr. D.—Mal., Kan, kōna, Tel. ka <sup>l</sup> e-bamboo branch, stick; Gondi. kōni-arrow; cp. Pali. kōnayo-spear, lance
kōnia	marriageable girl	—kōnya
kōnuā	bug (small)	Ar. D. kuno (utku <sup>l</sup> , motku <sup>l</sup> ) an insect living in cloth; Pashto- ko <sup>l</sup> , ku <sup>l</sup> ai-tick, louse.
kōnesti	Constable	
kōpur	elbow joint	Skt. kōphoni; Kudali-kopor; Munda-kurpor.
kōpti	hypocritical, fraudulent	
kōbor	message	Arb.
kōbriya	messanger	
kōm—	to prepare clay by pressing with the feet.	Ar. D. komh—Pkt. kummēnō— wither
kōmj—	to fade, to droop	Ar. D. komh-wither—Si., Mar. komajni; Hal. kumt- flower to fold up.
kōmol	blanket	—kōmbol
kōmai—	to shave	Ar. D. -Pkt. kōmmōi-does barber's work.
kōmai—	to earn	—kamo
kōman dōngor	police reserve forest	—command Ganjam-official tour.
kōman	pillar	Ar. D. skōmbhōnō-prop pillar —O. khōma <sup>l</sup> -foot of hill, valley.
kōmela jōmela	savings	—kamo; jōma (Arb.)
kōmb mul kōmb	trunk, branch main post of house	—skōmbhōh
kōya	peg, stump, cut back stalks.	Tel. Naik, Parji-koyya-rod, stalk, stick; Hal-kōya-broom-straw.
kōr— kōru kōri oi—	to do doer to comb	S. W. koriba
kōrōd— kōrda	to fry fried	Ar. D. khōrō, khōrōtō

kərəf	to snore, groan, blow nose	
kərda mel— kərət —kat	saw to saw	—kərəpəttrə
kərandi caul	coarse rice	
kəria —mel	napkin, waist cloth to wear napkin	DNM. kərəyəri-coarse cloth ; Ar. D. khəndu, khəru O. khəndua.
kəriai—	to grate, scoop, gnaw	Ar. D. korəti.
kərka	wall-niche, coconut shell	Ar. D. kərəka-water vessel
kərda	whip	korədə
kərpəna	cave, chasm, declivity	Dr. D.-Kan. kappu, Tulu. karpu-pit, hole in the ground; Bh. kərpən
kərli	basket (medium size)	Ar. D. kərəti-cup, Pkt. kərodi
kərsi —cena	dried cowdung cake	Ar. D. səkənə-cowdung; Ch. garhi—khərsi —kərisi; W. O. khərsi.
kəl- kclimar— kol	to chew the cud wrist	Ar. D. kəlaci-fore arm—Punj., H. kəlai-wrist, fore arm.
kəla atiya koli	man with bent arm fem.	kola -curved, crooked
kəloj kəla	liver, heart device for pressing oil (pressed linseed/ put into a bag made of ropes for filtering out oil)	ND.-Skt-kaleyakah—Pkt, kaleyə. Ar. D. kolhu-macnine ... for pressing sugarcane and oil seeds
kəlia	jackal	W. O. kulhia; Hal. koleya; Gondi-kolyal; Kui-kolia; Mar. Bh. koleha DNM. kullho ; Pkt. kolhuya kəlya-clever.
kəlisa	rafter	Hal. kelsa; Ar. D. kərənkə- skull, head. Nkərən-rafter, Punj. framework of a thatched house.
kəlka	ravine, between cliffs.	Dr. D. carukka, carriccal- slope, sliding. T. cari-slope.
kəlki	barn, corn-bin	Dr. D. -Kan. kələnji, golge etc.

kəlta		
pəkai	to lay plan for building a house.	Tel. kol̄ta-measurement.
kəlni	washerman's starch	Ar. D. khəli-oil cake O. khəl-Mar. Khəl-starch.
kəlpai	to tear off (bark)	Ar. D. kəlpəyti-trims, cuts.
kəs ař kosriya	red semi-ripe	kəsayə
kəs— kas— mar	to plough	krs kərsə
kasir/kasri—pəda	land for ploughing	
kəsna	plough share	W. O. kənsa krsə
kəsər	gift over a purchase, extra given free,	T. kocuru, Kan., Tel. kosoru
kəsər—	to slip, loose footing	Pkt. khəsəi Skt. skhələnə
kəsa	metal pot	kəmsa-bell metal
kəsa	chignon, hairknot	O. khosa skosoti
kəsa	acid, astringent	kəsayə
kəsu	scabies, dry itch	Pkt. khəsu-itch; Mar. kosera-dry scab of a wound; khərju.
sopur kəsu		Dr. D.-Kui. kəso-itch.
kəsli	scale (of fish, snake)	Ar. D. kənculi, kənchu-slough, snake's skin.—O. kanculi-bodice
ka— kaura	to eat, drink, smoke eater	
kaoni	food (subsistence)	
kadi	fooding, food as payment for service	
kai	what	cp. Kudali-kay
—ke—	for what	
—mař	how much	
—pai, lagi	why	
kaali	cigar	kahalo-drum, musical instr.
kaila		
—oi—	to be ill	katorə Pkt. kayorə-sickly, timid Ar. D. kathəlo/
kau qumba	crow raven	
kauri	carrying yoke; load	Ar. D. kəməthə-bamboo Pkt kəvvədi one who carries a yoke; Ch. garhi.

kau̯iya	who carries	kəba̯i Apv. kōkkađia; Hal. kawər, kañbor.
kakh/kak cipa	arm pit	
kakor	cold	Ar. D. kōrkōr—ice; O. dew frost kōrkōtō
kāk̄a pōtsi mandia rōN	crab	
kākri bada	cucumber	Ar. D. kōrkōtō Pkt. kōkkōdō
kāk̄a pakna	gravel	kōrkōrō kākōr
kāgar	thief	Ar. D. kōnkōrō-vile, bad; kōnkalo poor, miserable.
kagla —ar	a neck ornament collarbone	Ar. D. khōrōko-shoulder blade N. D. khōgalo-distance between tips of middle finger with arms stretched. W. O. necklace
kāc	bottle	Pkt. kaco-glass, crystal
kāc—	to wash and clean	Ar. D. kacc-pull, crush, press
kac—	to kill lice between two finger nails to poke	
kāca —pōtriya rōN	unripe green	Ar. D./kōccō(raw, unripe
kacra	sweepings, dirty	Ar. D. kōccōrō-rubbish
kajo —kor	itch to itch	Ar. D. kōrjōti-oppresses, hurts; W. O. khujri khōrju
kaje	(for that) reason, purpose	karyō
kat— katu	to cut capable of cutting	
kāta	thorn	
katua	wooden sandal	N. kañhua-wooden bowl; O. kōthōu
katna	wine vessel (gourd)	Ar. D. koñtōrō O. kōtōra-cup
katret	contractor	
katlam	reward, presentation	Tel. kañnamu-dowry
kaña	hare	Ar. D. /khōrōbhōkō N. khōrayo Mth. khōreha; W. O. khōra; Singbhum-khecia; In O. Bi, H. castrated young buffalo.

karakuri	twigs	
kaṛi		
kaju bɔlod	carrier bullock	
Kand̄	arrow	
kanda	sword	
kata		
katani	story	kothaneko
katī	knife	
katr—	to chew, cut into pieces	Ar. D. kerto-to trim, clip, slice; Bh. Kudali-to cut
katri	scissors	kortori
katrai—	to crop with scissors	
kād—	to cry, sing, howl, wail	
juri juri		
gun gun		
mur mur		
ak mari		
kado	mud, clay	kord̄
—ādi	auspicious jar set during marriages rites.	
—mali	residue of molasses in brewing pot.	
kadi	fooding	
kādul	Cajanus indicus	Tel. kandi-pigeon pea
kan	ear	
—de	to eavesdrop	
—gu	earwax	
kana	blind	
kana	perforated, forked branch	T. kan, Tel. kanu-bamboo joint
kani	sideway	korn̄o, kornika
kap	sheath, scabbard	skup̄o O.khop̄o
—jiba	to fit, join together	
—de	to patch	
kap	one half	Ar. D. körpö-to-patched garment
kapa†	door	
bangi—	two-fold door	
guia	single door	Dr. D. kappu, kapa-a lump, one gulp; Ar. D. kolpo Guj., Mar.— slice.
kapal	forehead	

kapu	dull	Ar. D. kəbbu-feeble, yielding O. kabu Dr. D.—Tel. kapu— cultivator, rustic. W. O. impolite, rude, toothless.
kapdu	careless	H. kupɔ h-dunce, ignorant; W. O. kebora; cp. Tel. kappu.
kapra	potshred	khərporo
kabaṛ	a stick thrown to knock down fruits	Ar. D. kshep W. O. khəpṛ
kabaṛ (kam kabaṛ)	Work	Bh. kəbari-servant; W. O. kəbar
kabra (kabra citra)	spotted, striped	Ar. D. kərbərə-variegated, spotted
kam	work	
kamai—	to work to earn	kərməpayoti—kəmai-to earn
kamani lok	labourer	kərminika; Ch. garhi-kəmiya
—kər	to earn by serving	Kudali, Bh. kəməy-to earn
kamar	blacksmith	
—muṭla	hammer	musti
kamṭi	split bamboo	kəmətho-bamboo; O. kaməra.
kar / karia	salty	ksharo—kharo-corrosive, alkali; Sinhalese-kəro-infertile land.
kaiba	to rust	
kara	sunlight	
—cek	to shine	
kara pakna	hail, (stone)	kərəko; W. O. kərə
karap	false, vile, bad	Arb.
karji moṭ	money lender's bag	Arb. qərz
karna	canal like gully	(A. E. river bed)
karla jaga	costly place	khərə
kal	to mix together	Ar. D. keləyəti-scatters, throws
kalai—	to scald boiling milk	O. khelei—to spread out, strew; Skt. ṣvākəlkənə-mixing; Dr. kolo-to mix
kalai—	to churn	Ar. khələ-shake, kerəyoti O. keleiba-to sift;
kal	pit, trench	Dr. D. —Tel/kelanku-to stir
—kun	to dig a grave,	khələ
—mar	to dig (a hole)	

dep	rough, undulating	Ar. D. ḥipp̄o
kala	black	
bin kaliya	deep black	
kalamaṭa	to sit cross legged	
kali	tomorrow	
kas	cough	
kāsiya	who coughs	
kas	time or turn of ploughing (ref. kōs)	
kasu	coins	Dr. D. T. kacu, Tel., Mal., Kan-kasu; Coins of less value; Source of 'cash'; cp. Skt. kōs
ki	Interrogative particle	
kial		
—kər	to joke, fondle	Arb. khyal-thought, consideration
kiali	wife's younger sister	
kiksa	tusk	Ar. D. kisku-fore arm
kijai—	to tease, snarl	Ar. D. khiss-snarl, mock; DNM. khōjō-be afflicted
kiṭki	window	Ar. D. khōtkika> khōdokki
kiṭa	worm, maggot	
kiṭai	worm infected	
paṭ	yellow coloured	
bōṭor	winged ants	
paḍri	filthy smelling	
bursa	dragons	
utu	water-born	
kindōr—	to move around in a circuit	Dr. D.—Gadba. kindrōp-tc revolve, to put into circular motion
—utaṛi de—	to turn something	
kipri	skull	◀khōrpōrō
kir kir	to scream	
kirli-āk—	rattle, loud sound	
mara	quarrel	W. O. kirlaiba
kiro—		
—oiba	to quarrel	cp. Parji. kir-to scratch
kira	parrot	◀kīro
kirđa	core, pith of split bamboo (pith of 'birđa')	kōriro kōrdi kirđa
k rđi	musical instrument	Dr. D.-T. kiṭipiṭi, Tel. giḍiya

kirsa	cheese	W. O., Hal., Ch. garhi-khirsā Ar. D.—ksirəsakə.
kil— kilni	to shut door bolt, hook	
kila —caul	wedge, peg unbroken rice	
kili-ar —gət̪i	collarbone wrist	Parji. kili-joint; Dr. D. kili Dr. D. kilo-elbow
kui —	to rot, be overripe	W. O., Bh., Hal.-kuhi; N. D. kuhunu kuthyəti-stink.
kui kal	(Water) well	cp. korku, Nahali
kukuğa —dake	cock	
kukunda	dawn	
kukur	nit, louse egg	
—para	dog	kurkuro. Pkt. kutto
kuc	numb	
kuci	to tuck in	Ar. D. kucyəti
kuci-kaşı	crimped or plaited border of cloth	O. kocha
kucial	key	kuncika
kucni	wicked	N. D. kuçila-ill dressed,kucal- lowdness; POB. bad conduct
kuṭ/kuṭi —mar	retail seller	kuṭṭoni-bawd; W. O. khucni
kuṭ— kuṭni	post	Ar. D. kuto-tree
kuṭna	to nail	
kuṭa	to pound grain	Hal. koṭan
kuṭum	the hole	
kuṭrunga	the pestle	Dr. D. koṭa, kuṭ
kuṭi —mara kör	clitoris	kuṭumbə
kuṭi	family, relatives	
kuṭrum	woodpecker	
kuṭrunga	wall	Hal. khur; Parji-kuḍḍi;Mar. kuḍ
kuṭi —mara kör	to bore a hole through a wall, to steal.	Ar. D.kuḍya; kui-kuṭu; Na-kuḍu
kuṭi	heap, pile	Skt. kuṭe / Kuṭ—heap
kuṭai—	to collect, amass	
kuṭa kura cam	wrinkled skin	
kuṭka	a metal utensil	Ar. D. kuṭ pitcher, kudəpə kuḍərə kuḍika—a measure.

Dr. D.—Tel. kuduka (kuḍu—  
boiled rice) Koda. kuḍike—rice  
pot.

kund	tank, reservoir	Dr. D—Tel.. Kan.-pool Ar. D. kund—water pot.
kundai putla	toy	
kutri	she-dog	
kudr—	to separate mixed up things	Dr. D. —Tel. kuduru
kudra	share	POB. kundura—vegetable selle
kudra	raised platform to place jars. pots.	POB. kudiari-mound. dune
kudri a—	to walk in leisurely manner	Skt. kurdo—to flee by leaping— khoneno
kun—	to dig up, bore	
kup—	to pierce into	kshub O. khob—to ram, poke
kupa	heap, stack. mound	Tel., Gondi, Kui. kuppa-small hillock; DNM. kbumpa-shelter from rain made of grass; Ar. D.—Punj. kupp—stack.
kupi	wick-lamp	Ar. D. kupo, kumpo Pkt. kumpiya—leather oil vessel; O. kumpi.
kupli	hillock	Kui-kupa (ref. kupa)
kube	much	O. khub
kubia	hunch back. stooping	Ar. D. kubro—humpbacked bull
kumda	pumpkin, gourd	kusmando; Beng. kumia
car—	white gourd	
kumb	knobs on the upper circumference of oven	
kums—	sores. ulcers-to grow	cp. Dr. kumai-be distressed putrefy
kur	hoof	kshuro
kura	blade, razor	
kurai—	to shave	
kuura	mist, fog	kuhovrsa, — kuasa; kuheli.
kurc—	to tuck in, poke	Ar. D. koc thrust, Pierce. dig N. kocanu, W. O. korca-wood splinter
kurcali	the diagonal shaft joining plough with yoke	Dr. D. kurcu-to join (tel).
kurud	ladder for levelling	ploughed field
kurupnas	destruction, deluge	
kurma	manure-heap	
kul—	to scoop out, to open	Tel. kutomu—heap

kula p̄lei—	winnowing fan small size	Ar. D. kulyo, Pali-kullo; kulayō—woven texture
kuli kuliar	wage labourer	N. D.—Arb. origin
kulur	eagle	Ar. D. kurōro—osprey; Dr. D.— Parji Konda, Kui. kuluri— crane, heron.
kulkulai—	to gargle	Onomat
kusna	grass scraper	Ar. D. kusi-mattock, spade, etc.
kusru musru	rustling, whisper	
kusl—	to loosen, slacken, untie	Ar. D. khōs-slip; N. D. khosel— nu-to peel, rummage.
ke	who	
kērek	how big	
ketek	how much	
kene	where	
kebe	when	
kemot	how	Alt. kemti, kemtar
keut	fisherman	
keks	to throw down from a height, to dash down	
kecua	earthworm	kinculōkō
keja —bik	to barter	Ar. D. kreyo Mar. keje-barter; W. O. kheja—small heaps for sell.
kejra	fieldmouse	
tupi ket—	mousetrap to arrive reach the end to suffice	Ar. D. khōt̄tyoti—overcomes Mar. khōtne—to come to a stop. Ch. garhi. khōt—durable. O. khetiba.
kē/kel kē kel— kerua —potōr	play to play player paying cards	
ker	ear of corn, spike	Ar. D. kheto—rice straw, khoto khōt̄; H. kerā—tender twig, sapling.
—aujai—	to lie down	
keta	stupid, dunce	Ar. D. ketta-child; W. O. kheta
ked—	to drive away, chase, pursue	PKt. khedōi—drives off; Parji-hunting.

keda/di	branch	skəndɔ; Bh. Hal. kheda
kep—	to leap to attack to gulp	Ar. D. kshepyo—to thrown into; O. khepa-gulp, once, a turn
kepai—	to join, fit in	(ref. kap)
kebṛa	cat like stripped animal	Ar. D. kərburɔ—spotted.
kera pani	cheese water	O. colha
keren	loincloth	Made from the fibers of kerēn tree (ketrunga-Gardenia Latifolia) calotropis gigantea
kel	game	
keli-kel	Ha-do-do (game)	
kes	plume of hair (as of cocks)	
kesu	tail feathers scarf, wrapper	Ar. D. khessɔ Sin. khesu-thick cotton cloth, Ganjam-Bed Sheet
koi	where	
koj	footprint	Pkt. khojjɔ
koj—	to track animals	khojjɔti-tracks, seeks.
koṭe	a score, twenty	Ar. D. 'man' Austro. as having 20 fingers.
kon	which	
—ti	where	cp. Bh. koni lɔgɔr
kop		
kopai—	to be angry	
kopera	angry man	
go-cuna, kud	flour	godhumɔ, O. gohomo
goi	iguana	godhika ; W. O. gue ; O. godhi
goiā	dog-fly, tick	Dr. D.-Kan. godḍa-black-ant ; Tel. gorre cedalu-soldier ant.
goi	herdsman	
bon goi	prehistoric humanbeings	
go <i>go</i>	to fumble	Ar. D.-Guj., Mar. gāgorḍa-out cry, brawl ; ghōbbhōrɔ-to be confused.
go	tree	
goi	troupe (of musicians)	
gojia	sharp, pointed	

gənta	bell	
goti	knot, ligament	
goda	pincer	
godī	trunk	
got-la	sufficient	Ar. D. astoti O. ḡəṭiba
goṭi (goṭi mal)	town	Pkt. ḡoḍḍi-fort
goṭi-		Ar. D. goṭhi ḡhēṭa—mould, form.
goṭi	to mould a shape	
goṭi	make	
goṭi sa	unit of measure	Dr. D.-Kan. ḡorṣe, Tel. ḡorise
	30 puṭi	cp. Pali. kariṣā.
got	relative, kinsman	Ar. D. gotra P., Pkt.-gotta,
gotra	who come on visit	Punj., H.-got
-mel	rites observed to	
	release ancestor's spirit	
gəti	debt-servant	DNM. gutti—a bondage
-acor	man in slavery	
kabari	hired labourer	
gota	quilt made of rags	kontha
god-		Ar. D. godd—to dig Mar. godn-
godni	to prick, pierce	to tatoo.
god-	vaccination	Bhatri-gid.
god	to cut	
-kor	fetid	
gula	to stink, smell bad	
	camphor	
godī	hoghouse (also for domestic	Dr. D. -Tel. ḡondi, kondi-hole, gap
	animals except cattle)	cp. O. kondhi kondoro.
bakra	inner room	
godra	ugly person	
godra baṇḍa)	male	Ar. D. godda—sediment, mud
(godri agri)	female	H., Guj., Mar. ḡodl-to
godlai-	to dissolve, mix	become turbid ; Hal., Parji.
	with water	gonḍr-to wallow in mud as pigs,
		buffaloes ; W. O. gundol-turbid.
gop	donkey	
bag	hyena	

gōn-	to count	
gōnita kōr-	to make account	
gōba	chignon, stalk	Ar. D. gōrbhō—N. gubho-core H. gubhilo-lumpy.
gōbr-	to disarrange, confuse	Ar. D. —ghōbbōr-confused
gōbs-	to abort	gōrbhōsravō, Sinhalese-gōbsava
gōmōk	sweet smell	cp. N., H. ; Dr. D. gōm, gūmō.
gōmat -kōr	to make farce, to ridicule	Arb.
gōyil	bison	Ar. D. gēyōndō-thinoceros.
gōr dānguāl	house	
mōri	without side roof	
—bād	with „ „	
gōrñā	to build a house	
gōrñāi—	log of wood	
gōron	to trim, cut into pieces	N. gerñu—to cut into pieces
gōrōb —kō	eclipse	gōtō
gōl	pride	
gōl—	to boast	
gōli/guila	to churn, pollute	Ar. D. ghōlyōti-stir gogether
gōl—	to leak	Ar. D. gōl-drips
gōli/guila	snail (shell, oyster)	Tel. gulla, Hal. ghula, Parji. gulhi W.O. ghusli, Bastar-gula.
gōs—	to slip, to be dragged	Ar. D. ghōrsō
ga—	to sing	
gai	cow	ghatō
gao	scar, ulcer, wound	
gāo	village	
ga gōr	body	Hal. gaga; W.O. gagor
gagra	billhook	Hal.; Ar. D. gondasi-chopper, cut ting knife, POB. ghagāiba-to cleanse split bamboo.
gagra	tinkling bell	ghōrghōri-girdle of bells
gagri	brass pitcher	gōrgōrō, Pkt. gōggōri
gajōl	bangle	Dr. D. Tel.—gajjelu-tinkling orna- ments.
gajōl mudi	ornaments	cōcōc
gaja	tender shoot	
—mar, tek—	to sprout	

gāja	rooster	Pers.
gaji	scar	Dr. D.—Kan., Tel. gajji-scab, itch
kordai gaji	itch	
—dar	to have scar	
gāt—	to mix, scorch	ghrstō O. ghot—
gaṭu	landing place on a river, mountain	Ar. D. ghottō-quay, ferry
gaṭual	boatman	
gaḍli	nape of the neck	Ar. D. ghaṭo Pkt. ghaḍo; Dr. D. Gadba, konda. gaḍli--neck; cp. Pers. gordən.
gar	river	Ar. D. ghōl-stream, Tirahi. golō-rivulet, Pashai. ghōl-river, Mar. ghōd-ravine; Also godō-ditch. Sindhi. ghar-dry river course.
gar—	to bury, fix	Ar. D. godḍ gar-dig, bury W. O. gaṭiba; gortō.
gara/ɔrgara	door catches	
jal gaṛa	bamboo pole attached to net	
gaṛa	bunch of plantain	ghoṛa ghotōkō
gaṛa	wasp	Dr. D. Parji. gaṛidid-hornet
gaṛra	ram	Ar. D. -Pkt. godḍori-goat, ewe
gande	a vocative particle	Ar. D.-N. gā'u-worthless fellow
gatra	clumsy, trashy	Mar. gadal, H. godla-dirt Ganjam gatra-clean.
gāt—	to string together	gronth
gad/gadia	store, pile, stack	Ar. D. gordō
gadoi— (pani-gadoi)	to bathe;	euphemistically—to give birth
gana	smith's bellows	Pkt. ghanō-mill
gab—	to dilute	Ar. D. gobbo-filling of a hole
gabi de—	to pour out	
gamca—	skirt	
ṭia	underwear	
gar	egg	T. karu, guḍu, Tel. kari, guḍi, Hal. gar W. O. gora.
gara	core, soft inner part of anthill	Ar. D. garu-pulp, pith Mar. gora-lump of the pulp of jack fruit.
bui gara	mine	
gari	castrated testicle	Mar. ghōd, gypsy, gar-testicle

pala gari		O. gara-mud, mortar, kneaded clay.
gari	plantation field	
gariya	metal pitcher	Ar. D. gol'o
gal	cheek	galoyoti-strain off water
gal—	to sift or strain	golo
gala	neck	
gas	grass	
gij/gijor	to mock, make faces at	Hal. gjør-to laugh; N. gija-to mock; Kumaoni. gijaunu-to provoke.
git—	to happen	ghototi—happens
gitai—	to meet	
git	song	Hal. gitkuriya
—kuṛiya	singer	
giti kalai—	to tickle	Pkt. gidhō-vulture; W. O. gidhla.
gid	lark	small bat.
gidər—	to be excited	Ar. D. grdhr-greed, desire.
gina	metal cup, goblet	T. kinnom; Tel. ginniya, ginne—
gini	for that, because of	Hal. gune O. gheni
gini	cymbal	
gir—	to cordon, surround	Ar. D. gher-surround, go round
giri ne—	to fish with a filtering cloth	W. O. gir—
gira	mat made of thin	Dr. D.-Kan. gor-to catch fish;
đəngi	strips of bamboo	Tel. gora-cekka-a drag with
jal	used for fishing	which rivers are cleared; Mundari-gira (fishing net) Na-geri (fishing hook).
girna	a lizard	POB. girika-small rat
gil—	to swallow	giloti
gi	to be overboiled	goloti-melted
gil gila	overboiled	
gilas	tumbler	glass
gu	faeces	
—luga	cloth presented to bride's mother in a wedding.	
gugutā	saplings, bushy	
—kor	to be cloudy	
guc—	to move, to turn aside	Ar. D.-Beng. ghic-drag, pull.
gutgut—	to coo	
guḍam	tomb	Kan. guḍḍa-hill, mound, heap.

gudri	small hillock	
cipti gudri		
gui		Pkt. guđo
bali—	molasses	
ciki—	sticky	
guja	small village	Hal. ; Dr. D. guđđa, guđđa-hill, mountain ; W. O. highland fit for cereal Tel. Kol. guji-hut, hamlet.
guja	nest	Tel. guđu, Gondi. guđa; Hal.-cage
guja	towel	T. kuṭṭai, Kan, guđđe, Tel. guđđa-kerchief, towel, piece of cloth.
gujai-	to wind, roll up tangle a rope	Ar. D. guđo-globe, ball
guji (k) (pani guji)	indicative of some amount of liquid	Tel. guđukku-a single swallow or gulp.
guri	temple	Dr. D. temple, hut, hamlet;
gur-seti	an abuse to woman	W. O.—Tel. godđu-barren woman
gund -kor	powder to pulverise	Ar. D. gunđoko-powder
gunđi	button	Tel. gudi, Parji. guđam; Punj. ghundi, N. ghuti ghunto-button, tag, knot
gunđi	measles	(O. kundia)
gunđu	weights	Dr. D. gunđu-globular thing, stone, Ganjam, gunđo
gunđli -oiba	rounded be twisted, tangled.	Tel. gunđu-round, sperical; Ar. D. gunđelo-ring ( kundelo )
gut-	to string beads	Pkt. gumthono
gud gud-jiba	to flee	Ar. D. gurdoti-leaps, jumps
gudi	brain	Ar. D. gordo-brain; W. O. giđ
gun-	to doze	Tel. kunuku-doze
gunera	dozing person	Tel. gunu, guni-humpback
gun	thread, cord	guđi
-dar	to weave a cord	
guna	big earthen jar	W. O. ; Tel. guna, T. kunai
gunguți	mosquito. eyefly	W. O. ghunghuji

gupi-jiba	to be jumbled up	gupto; gup-to hide, conceal
gupliya	clumsy in speech	Hal. gupli-secret
guba		
pul guba	bouquet	gərbhə gəbha; N. D. gubho
gum-	to rot in the heat	N. D. gumsyaunu-to put aside so as to ripen; Mar. ghumñe-to ferment. Skt. ghorma-heat
gum-		Pers. guman
guman		
gumor (goṭgumor)	a muffled sounding thing in the cattle's neck.	Ar. D.-N. ghum-interlaced bamboo strips; W. O. ghumra
gumi	whirlpool	Tel. gummi-mire, deep mud, Gadba-gummi-pit; DNM gumo-to turn round, W. O. ghum-to whirl round
gumsa	blow with fist	ghusa-thrust, push with fist
gur-	to move round	ghuroti-revolve
gurna kör-	to meditate	gunoyoti-think
gurali	worried	
gurda	a blow with the fist	Kumaoni-guluca-forearm above wrist; POB. guruda-mace
kōkōk gurda	blow by elbow	
gurdi de-	to thrust	gur-to hurt
gurmur-		
gurumai	to chant, hum	
gur-bar	enchanter, diviner	
gul	Thursday	
gula	false, irrelevant	Pers, gul-confusion, noise
gula	dumb	
gula	rounded, unbroken	
daru	unchopped wood	Ar. D. golə
kapat	single door	
guli	all, entire	Bh. gulay; Skt. kuls, D. N.M. guliya-a quantity, a multitude.
gulti	fencing circuit, circular fence	
gustu	association	W. O. gurli-fencing, crib gnurgostc
gusri	hog	grhə-sukoro, ghrsti
gēgot		
-kör	to persist in	
-ko	to slur over anything	Ar. D.-Mar., Guj. gāgorne-outcry, braw
geji (pani)	soup or gruel made of sour rice	Hr. D. kanjika; Dr. D.-Tel., Kan.-ganji

genđu	aluminium, silver	Ar. D. gondi-gong; Dr. D.
muta	metal jar	gindis small metal water vessel.
gen-	to buy	grhñoti
genabisa	purchasings	
genu	buyer	
gebra		O. ghabora-confused
gebrai	to confuse, to commit mistake	
gelpa	a push by neck	Golchosta O. gol ha
-de	to give jolt	
got	cattle-pan	gosthan
gotani		
-kör	to herd cattles	
gote	one, undivided	
gor	leg	Pkt. godđo-foot
gora	horse	ghoto
gorđi	ditch	
gopena	sling	Pkt. gophona-sling, H. , Gui gophon, Hal., Parji-gopenda; Tel guppu-to fling
gob	flat head, buttend	Ar. D. gup-pierce
gobiba-	tobutt	O. gribiba
gobor	cowdung	Ar. D. gorvoro-pulverised
-cora	mixed with water	cowdung for sprinkling to purify.
gor-	to grind, pound pestle	Ar. D. ghrs-rub, pound
gorna	grains	
goru	mill-stone	
bāda bel	kine	Ar. D. gorupo (cowshaped)
cō	twilight	Pali, Pkt. goruva-bull
cō bis	six	Bh. cōkal nōkal
cōit	irrelevant talk	Pkt. cetto
cōut	March-April	O. cohōt; N. cohōk-brightness
cōud	to diffuse, give off fragrance.	
cōk cōk kōr	fourteen	Onomat.
cōka	to chirp	
	shirt	Tel. cōti-jacket, coat; Ar. D. cokka-bran, chaff, Q. cokci

cōkni	square leaf-cup	cōtuskoṇi, Guj. caklo-pot; Hal., W. O.
cōg-	to climb, ride	Ar. D. cōgh-strive after; Parji-cokk, Bh. ceg, Ch. G. cōgh, W. O. cōgh, Naik. sokk Naha i-cokha.
cōgai-	to raise	
cōgti	ascending	
cōgte kō-	to shout at	
cōcom-	to rinse	souco O. chociba.
cōtiya	sparrow	cōtē
cōtu	ladle (stick)	Pkt. cōttu-wooden spoon
cōtli	penis	Dr. D. cuttu; Ar. D. cutaṣ-vulva anus;
—kaṭ	to circumcise	
cōr	beard	tunḍo thōḍo; W. O. chor
cōri	bird	Pkt. cidigo
cōra	purifying cowdung with water	kshora, Sind. choro
cōrua	metal plate, disc	Ar. D. cōru-pot-saucepen H. H. cōrua, Guj. cōruḍi.
cōndi	upper lip, beak, bill	T. cuntu-lower lip; Parji. cond mouth, beak, Kan. cund
manḍja cōndi	husk	W. O. cōnd
—jujani	who carries tales	
cōtur	skillful	
cōnek	a little while	kshōḍo
cōp	sticky juice, gum	Ar. D. curpo-oily; W. O. copc
cōp—	to chop, thrash	O. capo-pressure copp—
cōmok	to cringe in fear to wince	Pkt. comokko-startle, sudden movement.
cōr	ford	T. carōm-scaffolding, Tel. saruvo-bridge, O. caro-improvised bridge.
cōru (bat)	sacred or ceremonial rice.	T., Mal. coru-boiled rice.
cōl—	to tease, annoy	Ar. D. chol-fraud, trick, Mar. teasing.
cōl—	to go	
cōlai—	to paddle	
cāi	shade	
caul	rice (uncooked)	Pkt. caulō
cauliyā	idler, who eats and never works	

cak—	to taste	coks
cakna	which palliates the sense of taste, refrains of riddles	cok& to-eating a relish to promote drinking (Ar. D.) and songs.
cakli	one who tastes	fem.
caṇṇa	wicker basket	Ar. D. congeri
cāc-	to mow, scrape off	Ar. D. tōksotí Pkt. comohci-scrapes, clips.
cacapati	miscellaneous materials for any rites.	
caṭ—	to lick, eat	Pkt. cottei-lick
caṭra	one who licks	cōstc ccks.
caṭu	big ladle	Hal.
—mar	to paddle a canoe	
aṭkā	husks and riſds of grains	
catna	basket, used mainly to carry cowdung	O. cati, cp. Dr. catti-po t.Ar. D. cotte-bamboo matting.
caṭi	ant	T. citcl, Tel. ceda-white ant;
sōpur	tiny	Korku, Hal. -ant
bis	biting	
kōtri		
bōr mundi		
caṭ—	to discard, abandon, wean. forgive, acquit, divorce etc.	chōrdōti
cari	without	
carri	divorcee (fem)	Hal. carri.
cand	quickly, instantly	
candal	weaver	
catcri	rain hat	chōttrō-parasol
cator gōr	choultry, resthouse for pilgrims	Ar. D. sōttrō-asylum, abode
cati	mushroom	
kōtra sin		
iaku		
manoi	from anthill	
bāusni	from bamboo	
bal		
bali		
biṭōk		
sōrgi	tall variety	

can—	to peel (fruit)	Pkt-cha ḥo-ho-sift, strain W. O. nich-, Hal. can
cani	thatch	chadənika, Hal . H. chani.
cap—	to press	Pkt. coppoi
capi dar—	to grab	
capoṛ	slap	Ar. D. corpoto-flat hand, open palm
capli ka—	to chew noisily	Onomat.
cab—	to bite	cəcə
cabol—	to grit, chew thoroughly	
cabra	biting	
cam	skin, hide	
camri	skinny, pliant	Hal. camdi
koli	wart	
puli	tumour	
bet—	to scrape	
camra	cobbler	
camka	shell	O. samuka
camda	covered pavilion awning made of branches	chayaməndə
car	ash	ksharo-corrosive
carua	ash coloured	
car—	to graze, browse	caro
cara	pasture	Pkt. cari-grass; caro-fodder, bait
carat	grazing ground	
cari	four	
cari bat		
behti	around	Hal. carobehti
banda	unit of measure (40 puṭi, 1 banda-10 puṭi)	
cal	hide	cholli-bark, skin
cali	bark	
—utrai-	to peel	
—bet	to skin	
—carai—	to strip off	
calai-	to sift	calono-causing to move
calni	sieve	Pkt.calono-sieve, stainer
calpari	portion of the cheek near about the ears	

ci—	to touch	Ar. 'D. chup-touch, Pkt. chihɔi- Bh. ciai
cuā	monthly menstruation	Ar. D. chupto-touched chuto- impurity, Hal. cutiya
ciuri	swamp	
ciuri	cracked	
cik—	to sneeze	Ar. D. chicka
cikɔn	oil	cikkɔ !ɔ-slippery, unctuous oil, ghee, butter etc.
cikna	smooth, glossy	
—tiūi	oil-press	
mađu cikɔn	sedimented oil	
cikɔl	mud, mire	cikhɔllɔ
—dar—	to make the soil muddy after sowing	
ciki (ciki gu)	stingy	Ar. D. cikkɔ-gummy matter bird-lime; Mar. sap, gum of plant; O/cikɔt
cingɔl—	to leak	Parji. cing-tobe torn; W. O.— chinliba
cinlai—	to push in (through a narrow passage)	Parji. cong-to pierce, kol. Naik song-to enter
cic	to splash out in order to drain	
ciți	notice	
cițka	cricket	Ar. D. cicitingɔ-small venomous insect, chit-sudden movement
cițki munđi	dishevelled head	W.O. chița-dirty
circł	louse-mite, morpion	Dr. D.—Koda-ciri, Kol-sir Gondi-siř, Kurku-cir-nit
cir	to break, terminate,	chid-to cut
cilka	spark, spurtling	chiț-flash
ciingga	bamboo twigs, wattle	Dr. D. Gondi. sinder-bambo splinter, Tel. ciru-to slice, split; W. O. jhiținga
cit	flat, lying on back	Pali. citt. prostrate on back
kɔr—	to flatten	
pațiya	being on the back	
citor	painting	
—kariya	painter	
citol	deer	Ar. D. citrɔlɔ-spotted antelope
cita	paddy insect	Dr. cițti-anything small
cin—	to know	cihnɔyɔti-marks, stamps
cina	mark	cihnɔ

cin—	to catch a falling matter	W.O. chin—; DNM. ci <sup>cc</sup> -to collect; Ar. D. chinn <u>o</u> -cut off chin-to snatch, cinoti, vicinoti-picks.
cini an <sup>t</sup> i	little little finger	Dr. cinna, cinni-small, little. W. O. cini.
cip— cipna cipani	to choke tongs, clamp narrow	Parji.
cipo	wedge chip for tightening.	Dr. cippu-bolt, catch
—bād—	to tie compressing between two pieces of split bamboo.	
cipia cip <sup>t</sup> i cipli cim— cimki de— cimku	rheum of eyes off-season paddy leaf cup to pinch with pincer to pinch pincer	Parji-cip <sup>t</sup> i (Tel.cilipi-small) Dr. D. T. cimintu, kan. cimu <u>tu</u> , Tulu-cimukuni
cimta kati cimi <sup>t</sup> i simura	nut cracker Cement silent, mumb	Dr. D.—T. cumma, Kan.summa-silent quietly; W. O. jhumra-to doze.
cir	nerve	sir <sup>o</sup> ; W. O. chir
cir—	to split rend, cleave	ciroyoti-splits, cirō-strip Singhalese-hiro, irō-line, strek
cira dar	first ploughing	T. cari-slope of mauntain, Tel. cari-cliff, side of a hill,
cira	wall of cliff	Kan. sari-ravine
—kansiya.	person in charge during hunting.	
cirla	small coins, changes	W. O. cilōr; T. cillarai, Tel. Kan. Cillaro.
cilpa	small pieces of wood	W. O. scrappings of wood; Hal. silpa, kui. sipla-splinter, Ar. D. chillo-skin, rind.
cua	pool	Ch. G. cuā-well, Parji-juva, Gondi cuva, Malt-cuwa-well;
cuā	impure	Ar. D. cyotot <sup>o</sup> -oozes, streams forth. (ref.ci—)

cuca	empty, bare, free of cost	Ar. D. tucchyo-empty, vain.
cucunda	musk shrew	chuechundori-musk rat.
cut— cuṇa	to plug plug	H. cuṇa, O. cuṇiba
cutor	anus, buttock	H. cutor; W. O. cutol-buttock, rump; T. cuttu-anus, buttock
cun	limestone	
cunā	powder	curno
pakna	grinding stone slab.	
cupor—	to suck, squeeze, wring out water.	Ar. D. capp-press; cipur—
cupri ka—	to sip noisily	
cum—	to kiss	cubh-pierces; sumbhote Ass.
cuma	kiss	sumaba-to thrust into, cause
joi cumai—	to set fire	to enter.
curcura	all cleared	
curi	knife	Dr. D. T. curi-bore, perforate
curi kiṭa	weevil, wood-borer.	Hal. cukia
curki	small basket	
cur muṛte dar—	to grab firmly	Parji.—to revolve; Pkt. colo-
culbul—	to shiver (as leaves)	volono-fidgeting; N. col bol—
culbulai—	to stir	restlessness.
culi	oven	Dr. origin?
pōka culi	with double oven	
ekta culi	single	
cek—	to bake, foment	sekk-heat, foment, roast.
cek—	to check, obstruct,	O. chek chedo-section, piece.
cendi	hair	Laria-cundi, W. O.—tuft; Hal. condi-comb of cock; Parji. cedi-top-knot; H. coad-coil of woman hair; Skt. cuṇe/Dr. cunda.
cenḍu	strong and stout	POB. a male buffalo.
cet—	to feel, realise	
ced pani	cheese water	
cōdur	vermilion	sinduro

cena	cowdung	sokrto	chogno	choycho
cena	gram, chickpea	O. cena		
cer	root	cor		
—cena	ground nut			
cel	spear	selo		
celi	goat	chagolo		
celka	sliced scraping wood shavings	Ar. D. chillo-skin, rind		
co‡	short	Pkt. chodi		
cota	lame			
co‡a cota	to limp			
in‡—				
cor	to steal			
corna	thief, glutinous			
cortiya	wicked			
jo‡	excess, sufficient.	Hal. juhu/johu jutho		
jo‡i	fire	jyotis-light Pkt-jo-i-fire; Bh. joy; O. jui.		
jo‡k	leech	joluka ; O. joko		
jo‡—	to shine, glitter			
jo‡ki	tonsil	POB. joekki-a small bulbul		
jo‡gol	moss, Hydrilla Verticillata			
jo‡N	thigh	Ar. D. shank-ankle to knee		
jo‡—	to deceive			
—bād—				
jo‡-na	quickly	Pkt. jhoditi-suddenly		
jo‡ (jot jiyad)	animal			
jot kōt	here and there	Bh.		
jotən	careful			
joti lok	fanciful			
jōn	moon	Jyotsna Kumaoni, N. jun,		
k̄eli jōn	crescent moon	Ass. zon.		
ſjōnəm	birth			
—kor—	to give birth			
ona	maize	Tel., Gadba, Gondi, Kuvi— jonna; Parji-jenna. Ar. D.yovo— nalo junelo		

jønpa	jute, cotton string.	ce <sup>u</sup> cito; O. jhu <sup>u</sup> cito
jøbor	the pole fixed as barricade to the movement of dangerous spirits.	
jøba	mud	Parji-joba-mud, mire; Ar. D. jombø-mud; O. jobra-muddy dirty.
Jøm pur	other world	
Jøm—	to assemble	Arb. jømna
Jøman	Police	Pers. Jømanbis-clerk who keeps account of rent.
Jømka	pendant	jhumka jhuppo-cluster
Jør	fever	
Jør—	to soak, absorb	Ar. D. jirøti, Pun-jirna
Jørimuna	penalty, fine	Arb. jurmana
Jøl—	to burn with fire	
Jøla	spring, moat, bog	Dr. D. -Kan, Jøluga, Parji- jølug, Kurku-Zolla; Ch. G. jølhøli jalødharika..
ja—ji—/ga	to go	yati-goes inflectional alternants.
jai	whatever	
Jøola	twin	yamois
—jak	untill	yavøtøkø
jākør	a festival in September preceedidg 'bandapon pørvo'	W. O. priest.
jakøt	jacket	
jaksini	junction	
jag—	to wait to guard, watch	
jagrta	watchful	Bh. jagørøt
agual	watchman	
jagni jøi	brazier	
jac—	to offer	yacote-is aksked, buy, test
jati	quarrel	
ja!i jagra	wrangleing	Pkt. jhogødo
ja!uoī—	to form gang	ja!ho, joto
ja!—	to clean	Ar. D. jha!oti-falls, Pkt. jhadønø-sweeping

jar	grass, shrubs	Ar. D. jhat-forest, arbou.r, Pkt. hjhado-bush, thicket W. O jhar
-por	bison	W. O. jhar
-mali	house gardener	
jarī	swinging basket	O. jhura, Mth. jhori. Bhoj. jhora.
jata	grinder , millstone. stone handmill	Ar. D. yontra, O.jonta kudali-jata.
jata kör—	to compare	Ar. D. yacña-test, O. jāc
jan—	to know	jnānō
japi	tinkling ornament	O.jhumpa
jabi	pocket	Arb.zeb
jabu	continuous rain	
jam	guava Psidium Pyrifera	Ar. D. jombu. Sind. jamu, Balasore O. jhami Ganjam. jami.
jama	jaw	Ar. D. jombho-jaw, cheek, tusk,
-dāt	molar	eye tooth, Ass. Zamu dāt-back tooth, Hal. jomra, W. O. jombhael dāt. (Jomoti-eats)
jamila	pheasant	
jara dan	wild paddy	Ar. D. jhōr-wastes away; POB. jhora—a kind of grass—eihinoitoa colona.
jal	sweat	Ar. D. jhalō-flow, burning
-puṭ—	to sweat lichen	pungent
—kösü		
jal	net	
teka jal/teuni gīra—	boi jal, gunḍri jal	
jali	fringe of cloth	Ar. D. jhōllori-fringe, frill.
ji	daughter	Ass.Ziyari
jii	to live	
jiuna	livelihood	Punj. jiun; Bh. jiyona;Ch. G.- jiura;Ass. Ziyana-water to plant to revive it.
jik- jika tana jiku bōn	to drag, draw, pull, hitch, jerk, draft animals dragging thorny thicket	
jikra	bits of broken pot, potsherds.	W. O. jhinkor

jijar—	to gnaw	POB. jhijar—to canker
jiji	core of fruit	
jijiboina	dragonfly	O. jhiji—chirping cricket
jiṭmiṭi	house lizard, gecko	
jiṭu	sediments, residue	Tel., Kan. jiḍḍu—a substance that is oily, greasy
jit— kari	to win, surpass, excel, overcome winner	
jiṭra	oilless (hair)	Ar. D. jhīnto-hair Pkt. jhōmṭi, Mth. jhenṭi—small bunch of hair, tuft, pubic hair.
jin—	to overtake, excel	
jib aloṭ—	tongue to stutter	
jima	small fish	POB. Jimai, Jimi
jimi— pakai—	foundation firmly. to lay foundation	POB. jumiba-to accumulate
jimri pani	drizzle, gentle shower	W. O. jhiri
jir—	to break, through wear and tear	jirōti-grows old ; jirno.
jlalandi—	bushy jungle	Ar. D. jhillo-a wild plant.
juai—	son-in-law	
uaṭi—	yoke	Ar. D. yugosalō-halo
juar —kōr bet	greeting, paying obeisance to pray, beseech greeting at meeting	
juka—	mishap	W. O. jhukiba-to miss the aim.
jugor—	to steal and eat at random	
jugura—	perishable foodstuff	
juj— jujani kōr	to carry tell	
juṭiya—	toering	
juṭiai—	to stumble, trip in walking	jhōṭōti-falls
jutiai—	to arrange a load	juktō, W. O. juti-tethering rope

jura—	hairknot, chignon	juto Pkt. juða
juñun	Vigna Typisa	Parji. duñga-black dolichas bean
jum-jumər—	to swoon, reel to doze	Hal. jumər, W. O. jhuma; jrmbha
jur—	to grow as to ripe to nature	W. O. jhur-to affect with heat (jurnom juñṇau juna)
juri ji—	to be overripe	
jur—	to plunder, loot	
juriya—	plunderer	
jurða—	cockroach	W. O. jhurla; Dr. D.-kan jirili-jirle (Tel. jeri-centiped) Ar. D. soroto-lizard, chameleon Mar. sorda.
		Pkt. jhulloī
jul—	to nod, swing,	
jurai—	to shake, dangle	
jurok—	to waver, gush, splash out	
julek—	a pair	W. O. juli
jurai—	to chain a cow's legs at milking time.	
jurba-dor—	the chain	
jurka-bet—	noctrunal huntingl	jhal-flash.
je—	Relative pronoun	
jerē—	how big	
jetē—	how much	
jene—	wherever	
jebe—	whenever	
jemoti, jemtar	which manner	
hekna—	prop, support	Hl. cleft branch
jejka—	trouble, complication.	O. jōnjalō
jejenjri—	rainy weather	O. jhōnja
jet—	tuft, matted lock of hair. juto-twisted hair	
jest—	landi jest May-June	
joī—	wherever	

jogar—	to get dressed up	O. joagarō-collection of means and materials.
jogni-jatok—	Book of astronomical calculations, almanac	
jor—	to join	yutoti
jori/joii-gar	streamlet	T. cor-to ooze out, Ham. jor- run in stream.
jōek—	a pair	
jot /jutiai—	to arrange	yukto
jon	Whoever	
t̄ila—	twanging two-stringed mandoline with a dried gourd for sounding-board	
t̄ok—	core of anthill	
t̄ok—	to peck, to cut into pieces, bite (as snake) shatter.	
t̄oklai—	to cause to	
t̄ok—	to cheat	
-oi—	to pretend	
t̄okna—	fraud	
t̄onta—	dynamite	
t̄ɔtri—	throat	
t̄omok-tamok—	drum	
t̄aia	peacock's feather	POB. t̄ahia-fan-shaped nosegay;
t̄ak—	to be tired	Pkt. thokk—stop, tired
t̄akla—punḍla	tired and weary	
t̄akla	large bamboo-mat with raised fringe for drying paddy.	Hal. t̄akra, Bastar. t̄okna basket
t̄antaṇwa	griddle (iron)	
t̄angi	battleaxe	Ar. D. t̄onko-t̄onge-sword
t̄angiyateṇgiya	axe hatchet for hewing wood	
t̄atati	mat, of bamboo laths	T. tatti; kui. tattī-leaf screen; Pkt. tattī- fence.

tan—	to stretch, pull	◀tonoto, tonoyoti
tan	place	
tane	at the place	
tane uni	from	
tap	to smoke, suck	Ar. D. tppo—tap, blow
tapər	dirt that comes floating and settles on the bank.	Mar. tepu-mound, O. tapu.
tapra	joke	
tar—	to signal	
ali	rafter	Sind. tolōn-beam rafter; P O B. qhalī-thatching.
ṭia	upright vertical	
-Oi	to stand	stiti-standing upright, Pkt. thiōo upright.
—kauri	wood arranged in	
—gamca	loincloth	
—mçidan	noon	
ṭik/tikna	right, accurate	
ṭikra	sloppy land	H. tekra-hillock
ṭikol	jest, joke	
ṭiklai—	to instigate	
ṭingai—	to erect, raise up	Ar. D. thingo-tall
ṭingri bet	hunting birds and small game	
ṭip	topmost, highest point.	Kumaoni, N. tippo-hill top
ṭipai—	to drip	
ṭipra pani	driblets, drip drop	
ṭipni	small basket	W. O. tupli,; H. topri
ṭirca	bird's intestine	
ṭiroi	sour (mango)	
ṭirki	anus	◀tikto
—nacai—	to loaf, lounge aimlessly	Bh. W. O.
ṭirtira lok	rude	
tilo	hole	T. ture Kan. turi, W. O. tab-
—musa	fieldmouse	breach in ridge
ṭual	towel, neck cloth	

tut—	to break	◀trutite
tuta	fingerless	
rog	leprosy	
tuta goc	pollard, stump	
tura	orphan	Bh. Munda, Ar. D. thunta
tulai—	to gather, amass, pile up	
tulai—		
tula-bik—	wholesale selling	
tek—	to raise, lift up incite, flatter	
tekai—	to erect, set upright, prop up	
teka oi—	to lie, recline, lean against.	
tekna	supporting wedge	
tekor kira	an edible insect	W. O. tekor-wasp
ten	staff, bludgeon	
tetebori	snail	
tetela	flat	◀Temper
tempriya	boastful	
ter		
teri dek—	to squint	Ar. D. teroko
teraduna	a deformed person, unequal in height, awry.	
tel—	to push, shove	
telok—	to topple down	
telkai ne—	to drive pushing	
tela	bunch, cluster	O. thola
teson	Station	
toki	girl	◀tokɔ-infant
tola	Bassia latifolia	DNM. tolonko, Hal. tora; Parji. tola; W. O. tūl.
dɔkra	old man	Pkt. dukkerɔ
dɔgor	tunnel, path through forest	H. Mth. Guj.—road; Kan. dagoṛu-hole in wall or ground.
dɔgoi—	to jump, walk with	W. O. deg—, Bh. ḍogay; Ar. D.—
	long strides	
ai-	to fly as bird, to swoop.	deg-step, stride.
dɔgo Nɔgo lok	who walks in that manner	
dɔga		verbal Noun

đongor	mountain	DMN. đuŋgoro; Ch. G. ḍogor Ar. D. ṭekko>đungor-hill
—bosol	slope	
đongorani	a kind of bean	đongor+rani
đonga	crater, bucket weaver's shuttle	đroni
đondi	nose-ring	O. đondi
đondason	prostration	
đebi	basin at tree root.	H. ḍabor, Mth. ḍobura, Ass. đabur
đor—	to fear	đor
đerua		
đorkuliya	timid, timorous	
đos—	to cling to, adhere	Kudali-dəsəy-to stidk,
	to be possessed by ghost.	Kalahandi-düs to ignite fire, skhasnu
đauni	witch, sorceres	đakini
cili—	drinks water from the roof	
sunguni—	spirit of woman who died in child birth	
đak—	to call, backon, invite	
đaki ne—	to lead, escort	
đakra	summon	
đak—	to cover	Pkt. ḍhokki-shuts
đakna	lid, cover	W. O. ḍhāken
đagru	big in size	O. ḍagore
đaN	staff peg	Mal. ḍonkōm, Kan. ḍongi, đonge, Pkt. ḍange-stick.
đangiya	coffin	
đaNra	gong	O. ḍengura-kettle drum
đat—	tight	Tel. ḍaṭo-stiffness, Mar. ḍat—tight
đate ko—	to insist	
dar-	togrip, hold firmly	
đatamiti	fully, in whole	Dr. ḍata, ḍata-full, hard.
đanda	sugarcane	W. O., ḍanda —đonda
đandī	shaft joining plough with yoke	O. ḍonda
đanđia	coffin	—danđika
đapu	drum	W. O. ḍhapo
đab-	to shut put a cover on a container, canister	
đaba	lid	W. O. ḍhapni
đabna		

ɖabu	money	Tel. ; Apvr. ḍobbo (Telang)
—bād—	to pay in advance	
ɖal—	to spill, pour out	
ɖal	small leaves	—dələ leaf
—maliya	full of shrubbs	
ɖala	basket, shallow tray	Pkt. ḍələ
ɖia goṭi	threshold, porch	
ɖin ɖinga jol	watery	
ɖija	eyeball	Hal. ḍima-eye
ɖində	unmarried youth	Bh.
ɖim	water bubble	
	egg	ḍimbə
ɖima	pillar made of pebles	Ar. D. dhimmo-lump.
ɖir	tendril, tender shoot.	Pkt. diro-new shoot, Mar.
—mel—	to send out creeping tendrils	
ɖil	loose, lax,	Pkt. ḍhillo-slow.
ɖis—	to be seen, appear in sight	O. disiba
ɖua	ladle, spoon	Pkt. ḍova/doa-wooden spoon, H. doi
duk—	to drink, gulp, sip	O., Ass., Beng.—to enter
ɖugra/u	jealous envious, who does not make equal share.,	
—dugor— (isa-ɖugra)	to complain for more continually	W, O. ḍurj-to peep, look stealthy
ɖuḍi	round paddy storing bale made of straw rope.	O. ḍuli.
ɖuḍi	bud	Hal., Parji
ɖuḍua	earthen winepot	
ɖuḍuN mac	eel	Cp, duṛuka-luffa aegytiaca
ɖuḍuNga	a musical instrument	
ɖunda	kidney	—dub-to sink, dive, ; W. O. dubai
ɖubri	a bell-metal cup	—buḍḍoi (metathesis)
ɖum—	to draw water from the river.	Hal. bamboo spoon
ɖumni	small spoon	N. ḍumma-fat-bellied eating children and cattle ; Mar. ḍumna
ɖuma	ghost	
kirli—		
micri—		
ɖumḍa	naked	
car ɖumḍa	fully uncovered	

đumba-kau	raven	Ar. D. ṭorcksu-hyena; Bastar-turuka Parji-đurki.
đurka	leopard	
đul-	to lie down	Kol. dol-to lie, Kuv. đulinco-to sleep; Bh. đulən
đulai-	to turn back, to wallow roll down.	Tel. đollu-to fall, shake off
đulte	whole lot	
đusom-	to butt with horns.	O. đhus-to ram butt. —đçycete-flies
đeñ-	to jump	
điā	jumping	
đeusa đemsa	a kind of dance	
đekon	bed-bug	Pkt. dhemkuno, Mar., Hal. uđhekun Laria-đekon; DNM đhenkuno
đekal	clod of earth used for pelting.	Mar. đhekal; O. dhela.
đeñ	tall, long, deep.	—tungo
đet	wooden handle of axe	W. O. đhet; Bh.
đetañi	stalk	Parji-đeti; Ar. D. đçntho-stem.
đena	arm, wing	Ar. D. đçyoño-bird's flight.
-pangar-	to open wings as birds.	W. O. penga mar—to move one's limb to gather motion.
đep-pu	mound	Kui-đepa, Parji-đippa.
đebabra	left	Pkt. əvvo; DNM. đobbø; ; Hal. đebri
-đena	left arm	
đebriya	lefthanded person	
đemari oi-	to stand proudly with potruding chest.	
đer	to lean	
đerna ñan	a ladder	
đela car đela bat	four point crossing	
đeli	post	W. O. đili-beam;
mul-	main post	
dulam-	post on which beams rest.	cp. Punj., N., H.-đhɔlkana
đelka	thrash	
-de-	to give a jolt	Ar. D. đovɔrc-string Pkt. dore Skt. doriko
đor	rope, cord	
đol	drum	
đoli	a closed litter for carrying earth.	
đogor	coloured thread	Pkt. toggo-golden thred; Parji taga-wire

tənd	mouth	Ar. D. tundə
-oi-	to shout, brawl	
-kər-	to howl	
-par-	to gape	
-bajai-	to chirp	
təndai	quarrelsome	W. O. toðhei-witch
tətla	stammerer	Hal. totra, Parji-totr, O. thətl
-oi-	to stutter	
top-	to bury	Kol. təpp-to plant seeds; Ar. D. -H. topna-to hide; O. pot.
təpa ranni	rooted stone slab.	—topə
təp-	to be boiled	
təpai-	to boil, warm up.	
təpot	boiled	
təpla	hot	—sthəbirə
təbir	tranquil, slow stream	
təme	you (plural)	Pers.
tərbuj	melon	Ar. D. tərika-skin of milk— Pali. təri-oily substance floating on liquids, Pkt. thərc-cream
təri	oil-sediments	
tərlai-	to wash off	
təl	below	
təlua	ill advised man	
təla kata	bad advice	Ar. D. cərsəti
təs-	to cultivate	
tasi	peasant	—təsə
təsu	corn husk, chaff	Ar. D. təsərcə-reel or rod or shuttle in which thread is wrapped
təsri	wire	Pkt. təvia; H., Kumaoni, Sind.- tai; W. O. earthen pan
tai	flat frying pan	
tak	short	—sthokə; (opp. qən)
taku	not very heavy	Tel. təkwa-less.
təji	weighing balance	Pers. tərazu
tətə	a kind of crocodile.	cp. O. taþora
tar	a sheaf	Dr. D.-Kuwi. taro-to scratch out, Gadba. tarana-to dig, scratch

tati	hot	
tati	cover of leaf -cup	Pali. tōṭṭika-flat bowl
tatiya	flat frying pan	Dr. D.-T. tōṭiam, Tel. tōṭṭā' Ar. D. tapōkō.
tator kata	false, madeup story	
tatra/iya	sly	
tapər	silt	
tapi	trowel	O. thapi-flat piece of wood used by potters for patting clay; N. thapi-mason's patter.
-kariya	mason	
tapenga	a kind of black ant	
-puṛa	its nest (a delicacy)	
tapli	palm	T. toppolisu; O. tali
-mar-	to clap	—tamrika—tambiya-copper vessel <sup>1</sup>
tabla	big pan, brass bowl	—tamrə
tama	copper	
tama kuṛia	slow, weak, delicate	
tamuṛ-	to grope	Wo. tamor, Ch. G. tmor; Tel. tcrumu-to grope, to scrape with a toothed instrument
tar para	alike	
tara	star	
leji-	morning star	
muṭla-	constellation	
pōṇḍka ḍim-	(stars) in pair	
taru	coaltar	
tarla	rain shielf made of leaves.	cp. Kudali. irla
tal	cymbal	
ṭali	plate	—sthali
talu	skull	
talū	long tethering rope for bullocks in threshing.	
tiar—	to command, reprimand.	—toyar. Pers-Arb. (N. D.)
kor—	to make, produce an artifact	
—lok	rich man	
tiga	wire	Parji. tag—thread; Kudali taga— jute; pkt̄rgge—gold thread.
tiri	oil pressing device	ute; Pkt. trggo-gold thread. Dr. D.—T. ṭori-churning, tiri— to turn, revolve; Tel. tiri—twist tirugali-hand mill, Parji. Hal. piṛi oil press.

tintli bela	tamarind pickle	
tin	three	
—guniya ḍor	three—stringed rope	
tip—	to dripdrop	DNM. thippo-drop down;
tiprai—	drop	Parji-tip.
tiprai—	to sprinkle	
tipani de—	to carry water in the hand	
tipal—	to sprinkle with the fingers	Ar. D. topote- sprinkles.
tipul kata	hearsay	
tipliya	who carries tales	
tir	woman	stri
tiron pani	calm and clean water	sthira
tui	you(singular)	
tuk—	to spit	Pkt. thukke-spittle
upiāi	..	..
tūunga		
tūungi-ne	to snatch away	O. turum-to sip with hand
tundri	Trichosanthes Cucumerina	Ar. D. tumburu.
tutari ḍan	prod, goad, ploughers stick.	Ar. D. tottra, Pkt. totto, Man tutati.
tun—	to sew, darn	—tunno-torn cloth.
tun		
—por	to be silent	—tusni
tum	tent	—comu
tuma	bottle gourd	Ar. D. tymbho, Ch. G. tum ṭi
tumta	swollen	
tumeli	yellow wasp, hornet	Tel. tummeda-beetle, Kurukh tumbil; POB. tumbi-a poison ous insect.
turjula	scaffold (spreading paddy over which heat is given from underneath).	
turta	fresh	Hal. turte—tvora; W. O. turti-quick.
tul—	to weigh	toloyoti
tulai—	to test, equalise	
tulna	balance	
tul—	to roll a cigar, to clean with a fan	
tulai—	to card cotton	

uliya	roof, pillars of thatched house.	O. tuli. ridge of a triangular thatch; Mar. tuli beam; W. O. roof.
tei	there	
te <small>e</small> e—	that big	
tene—	that side	
tebe—	thence	
temet—	th <small>a</small> t way	
te <small>re</small> ngi de—	to overload	Bh. te <small>re</small> ga, O. te <small>re</small> ha-awry, unstr aight.
te <small>re</small> nga—	lenga-a	
ten <small>d</small> ka	chameleon	Kan. tonde, Tel. tonda-chameleon, Ch. G. te <small>d</small> ka; W. O. tote-nga; hal. ten <small>d</small> ka-houselizard halam ten <small>d</small> ka- chameleon.
alan ten <small>d</small> ka		
ten—ke	to that side	Hal. Bh. Ch. G.
teb—	to check, stop	—sthombhte
tebai—	to restrain	
ter	thirten	
te <small>i</small> ka-band <small>a</small>	sexy	
terepete	hasty	
telani	earthen griddle	N. tilani-a pot to keep sesamum; O. telauni.
telpu	smart, vigorous	Kan. tolupu, Tel-touku-lustre shine.
tori	chin	Pkt. thu <small>o</small> -tree trunk, branch— tho <small>o</small> di—chin (Ar. D.).
tomna	snout	Hal. thotna
tol—	to pick, raise	—toloyoti, tuloyoti
d <small>o</small> i	brain	—dodhi-curd
dok—	to pant, sob	dhogg-throb, glitter
doki jiba	to blaze, be inflamed	
dokol	possessions	Pers. dokhol
doga	hollow	O. dova-thick and hollow
dorka	shower	O. domka
dod—	not to keep a promise to give	
dodia	cracked, worn	O. dedora
dona	leaf cup	Ar. D. dro <small>o</small> -wooden trough, a measure of capacity —dona in Lahnda, Punj. kumaoni.

dəbor	to run	Ar. D. dəvəti-runs, Pkt. dəvəi
—jiba		
—palaiba		
dəm—	to settle from flowing	Skt. dəmo
dəmai—	to sink, subdue, check	
dəmək	Plain rocky land, terrace on hill top.	
dəməs—	to threaten	
dəmsai—		
dəron		
mul—dəron	main post of a house	Ar. D. dərənən-s-supporting— N. large beam, Mar. main pos
dərob	a thing	—cavəp
ni—dərbi	poor, have-not	
dərəm	kindness, gentle	
—kor	to pity	
dərtəni	Earth	Bh. dərti
dərən	mirror	
dələm	thick (op. patəl)	Pers.-heavy; Pkt. dələ-lump O. dəlka-clod of clay.
dəl dəli—	to shake, quiver,	
dəs	ten	
dəsa-bar	funeral ceremony held after tenth day of death.	
dəsa-suta	sacred thread worn by ladies.	Ar. D. dəsa-unwoven thread; DNM. dəsera-goldenthread
dəsna	steep deep	dhəsə-fall; Mar. dhəs-s t e e p slope; O. dhəsa-a place from which earth is falling down.
dəsra	Sept-October	
dətni	a rope by which bullocks are tethered to go round in treading paddy sheaves chain each other with hands in dance	damən-rope—Pkt. damoni, W.O. daā
dao	distant	
daka	push, strike	
—de	to shove	
dənə	eligible boy	Mar. dhāgəd-rude, loutish
dərə	sting, fang	—damsərə—Pkt. daṛha; O. darhə
dəri	line, row, array	

dan̄asi	watchman, Chowkidar	cōndōpasikō
dāt	tooth	
—gijōr—	to grin, sulk	
—ret—	to brush	
dāton	tooth-brush	—dōntōpavōcō
cīti	its fibres	sisti sīhi-anything chewed and spit out
dātorā	gums	Ar. D. thōntō; Mtb. thōtha-tooth-less
dādōr	a fishing basket.	Hal dandar; Parji-candar
		Ar. D. dōnturo-having projecting teeth.
dadra	cover, cap	Mar.—cloth tied over vessel— Ar. D. dōrdōrō Kumaoni. dadōr—slats on a roof to which tiles are fastened.
—bād	to fasten cover with leaf	
dan	paddy	
dap/re	fast, early	
dape kōr—	to hurry up	
daba	suit	Pers.
—dari	plaintiff	
dam̄i	small coins	drōmmō. Ganjam-damū i-one pie H. damri-1/4 or 1/8 of paisa Kumaoni. dumru-1/16 anna; Shersah introduced copper coins called 'damō', its 1/4 damra and 1/8 damri
dam̄i	heifer, steer	Ar. D. dōmyō-tameable, Pkt. dōmm bullock to be tamed
dar—	to hold, cling to; to bear fruit	
dara-patla	to rape	
dara-muska—	to grab and fight	
darai—	to castrate, geld	
dara	deep-water	H. dhōra-deep
dar	sharp	
dari	prostitute	
darola	lusty person	
daru	wood	darika Pkt. daria-harlot
dik-dik—	to flicker	Pali dari-female slave of war
dig	to shine, dazzle	Ar. D. piece of wood
digol	lustre	dhiksōte-kindles, about tobur

din	day	
dinke	daily, frequently	Nahali-dinoka
din-jiba	to last longer	
dip-toliya	twilight	
diali	Oct-November	
dire	slowly	
disari	priest, doctor	disakarin-directing; Middle Beng.-pilot.
duā	tethering rope	
dari ne—	to lead animals	damon; Pali-dau; Parj. doga
duā	smoke	
—mosla	tobacco	
duar	doorway	
duar—	to carry from one place to another repeatedly.	Hal. to bring.
dui	two	
meona bai	distant cousin	
duuṛa	doubling, second ploughing	dvivrto, dvidharo
duuri	mist	dhumōri, Hal. dhuāri; Mar. dhuri-fumigation. D NM. dhumōri
duk—	to fan	dhuksyote-kindles; Parj. duku; W. O. dhuka-winp dhukiba-to fan
dukna	fan, bellows	Hal. dhukna ; N. dukrōnu.
duk—	to ache, pain	
duka	pain, illness	
jcr duka	fever	
duka de-	to hurt, injure	
duki	poor	
duk duk—	to beat, palpitate	
dukan	shop	Pers
duṇgiya	tobacco	dhumodgarika ?Hal. dungeya
dungei—	to give smoke	
duṭi	basket used for plucking flower.	
d u ṛ u m a /	waterfall	
duḍuma		

dud	milk, breast	
—deti	teat of beasts, nipple of udder.	
—mundi	nipple of breast	
—pol	papeya (anaras)	
—pil—	to milk a cow	
bai	one's own brother	
dun—	to shake (a tree)	DNM. dhum—; Ch. G. dhun—; W.O. jhun—; Ar. D. dhuno—; shake
dunai—	to fold (a cloth)	dviguno duguno; Ch. G. duna;
car duna	four-fold	W.O. duni-double
dunu	bow	dhonu
dupni	incense	dhupono-incensing.
dub—	paddy to abort, i. e. to lose the seed inside	
duma	fat,, inflated thick	Ar. D. dumboko-fat-tailed sheep;
dumri	fem.	Parj. duma-grey
duma-tuma		
dur	far	
duriya		
duruj/durja	daredevil, wicked	durjono
dulam	beam	Hal. dulum; Puri-dula; Ganjam dulam-beam for loft.
duli	dust	
sora bat/	rice taken during marriage rites	
dus—	to refuse a help offered	
dusor—	to churn (curd)	dvisoro-two strings.
dusra dan	churning stick	
upi	knob at the head	
jikni dor	strings	
dusra	separate or different from others	
de—	to give	verbal Noun
dia		
deur	younger brother of husband	devoro
deurani	fem:	Hal. deurani

deul	temple	
dek—	to see, look at	
dekai—	to indicate, point out	
dob	white	dhout <sup>o</sup>
—oiba	to fade colour	
doba	washerman	
—cena	peas	
dos	guilt, fault	
—op—	to admit, confess	Euphemica
—kōr	to rape	
—bād	to accuse	
nu	nine	
nōki	brass or aluminium pot	
nōkh	finger-nail	
nēgol	plough	
—kada	a tuber	
nējor kōr—	to aim at	Arb.
nōriā	coconut	
—rop	coir	
pēnū	husband's sister, wife of husband's younger brother	
nōbat	sugar	Pers.
nōs—	to decay	
nōsai—	to destroy, damage	nōsyōti-perishes
nai kōr—	to forbid, deny	
naik	village headman	
naikni—	fem.	
nāo	name	
nak	nose	
—dōnda	nose bone	
—bil	nostril	
—cena	chickpea	
—jik—	to sniff	
—besni	curb, a noose around mouth	Ar. D. vōsonō-dress
nak <sup>t</sup> i	having nose	

naka	cheat	Tel. Kol. (kuwi. nakka-jackal;
nakai—	to cheat	W.O. forest officer
nakra	defamed, bad	Ar. D. nyɔkarɔ-contempt
nag	cobra	
nagseri	flute	nageswari
nāga	naked	
nagri	characterless woman	
nangul	ear-ring	
nat	dance, drama	
kariya	actor	
nat govind	dramatic entertainment	
nar—	to betray, cheat	Skt. nəkar nar—; W. O. nariba.
	to wag, shake, oscillate.	nətəti; Mthnərəb—to
naṛa	betrayal	refuse
naṛa	handle	
	stalk	
nati	grandson	
natiani	grand daughter in law	
nana	elder brother	Pkt. nənno
nap—	to measure	Ar. D. jnāpyōte-is made known in many N. I. A. nap—
nab	umbilical cord, navel	
nal	gully	
nalua muta	jar with a side hole (spout)	
niyai kōr—	to judge, arbitrate	
niucai—	to sacrifice by sprinkling water.	nirməncon
niuta	invitation	Kum. nyuto, N. niuto, Bhoj. neota
niula pani	rain water dropping from	eaves
niko	good, genuine	Skt. nikto, Pkt. nikko
nin—	paddy plants to send forth flowering spikes	nirgōti Pkt. niggoi-comes out;

nic—	to refuse, deny, resent	Ch. G. nōic ( nai+aci)
nicot	to be in want	Bh.
nij	own	
nijai—	to weed, pull up grass	Ar. D. nirdōti-weeds; Skt. ni-to rectify; Hal. Parj/hinjay; Bh/nijay; Hal. nijani; POB. nijhan mariba-to puddle paddy plants.
nijani		
nidōrbi	poor, have-not	Bh. narela
nida	solid	nirdarōnō
nīda	blame, condemnation	
ninas	breath	Hal.
nini	small mother's sister	Bh., Hal.-nani
nibōr—		
nibīai—	to finish, accomplish	Parj. nibī-to be made read Ar. D. nirvrttō-accomplishe
niman	correct, faultless	Arb. niman-measure
nirguli (kula)	fan made of bamboo laths for bailing out water.	nirgolōnō
nirba	clean, natural, untouched	
niliya	blue	
nis—	to whet, sharpen on a stone.	Ar. D. nisyōti-whets
nisna	hone	Hal. nichna
nisōt lag—	to feel tired, dull, powerless.	—nih sōttvō
nistiya/nistayi	Idler	
nisani—		
ūdi/munḍa	village mark	Pers. nisan-mark
nisni-ḍan	ladder	nihsreni; Kudali-nisani
nua	new	
nun/nun kariya	salt	
ne—	to take	
neura	separated	onyōkarō

pəi	shield	prədhi-felly
pəi	the floating stick on a fishing line, a float	W. O. phui; Bhoj. poi-sugarcane sapling.
pəitai—	to sharpen a blade	O. pəithe-back of palm ; Ar. D. prəghətəkə-something to rub with Bi.-pəita-stick for smoothing plaster.
pəiti	broth of pulses	N. pəito
pəina	a visit to a foreign place	Ar. D. prəyane pəyənə, N. pəhina-guest; prahune. Laria. pəhəna-guest.
pəisa-mundi	a form of marriage	Hal. prəbista mundē
pəuri	anklet	
pəuri	shield	phəri
pəkal	white mark on body of animals	pələksə-white
pək—	to ripen, be putrefied	
pəkai—	to compare	prəksepə
poki	feather	pəksə
pəgun	Feb-March	
pən—	to exaggerate, tell lies, fraud	Palipəgune-clever; Bh. pəngon; W. O. pəngiba-
pəngal	deceitful	to talk inconsistently, to wish ill of others.
pongu-mod	pure and strong wine.	
pəc —keda pəc pəc jiba poca	back; last lagging behind to follow the backyard	
pəc—	to reach	Pkt. pəhuccī-reaches probhuto-much (Ar. D)
pəj—	to paint/	pinj—
pot	chaff	T. potṭu-chaff; Tel. pottō-bark; Parj. pot-grain in embryonic stage; Hal. pɔṭki-wings.
pət̪ ič—	buffalo to wallow in mud	

pota	belly	Dr. potta; Pkt/putta
potki nobat	sugar candy	
potkar	wicked, fraud, impious	N. photti-liar; O. potkiba-to inveigle.
potom—	to be spoiled by getting wet.	
pəd	Nov-December	Hal. pand
pondit-kariya	scholarly	
pōdwa (1)	vagabond, idler	Ar. D. pōndō-eunuch, weakling; O. pōnda-proud, impotent.
pod—	to read	
pora	split, chip, strip	—spatō-a split
poli	a small unit of measure	Ar. D. polo; Tel. pōdi-1½ seer
poloi	a kind of tree	
potor	leaf, page	
potri-kan	ear lobe	
—man—	to collect rice from door to door for a festival.	
poti	bow-string	pōntki-line, row;Parj.—
podom	palm	Hal. pōdōm hat, Parj. pōdōm
pōmek	handful	
pōda	land for wheat, maize, etc.	Ar. D. pōdhōrō-level, straight Hal. pōdōr
—kansiya	man in charge of field side during hunting.	
pōna	right moment, momentuous job.	
pōrō	fifteen	
pōnō	jackfruit	
pōs	lungs	Ar. D. phupphuso-
—puliya	fat person	
pōb	arm, part between two joints	Ar. D. probō-fore part of foot.
pōbit	pure, sacred	<pōvitro
pōr	who is not kin	
pōstu		
pōr—	to swim	Ar. D. protorati-crosses

p̄oru	next year	
p̄oraru	year after next	p̄orosvo; p̄orut-last year, p̄orari-year after next and also year before last.
p̄orj—	to fry with oil and	Ar. D. p̄orijv̄oləti-burns po-
p̄orjna	spices	p̄orj-blazes up
p̄orja	farmer, tenant	
p̄orta-bag	a witch	
p̄orda	scuttle, basket	Ar. D. p̄otigr̄o Mar. podge wooden bowl
pol	fruit, to bear fruit	
p̄olti	tree with fruits	
pol	chaff	Ar. D. caave
p̄ol—	to chop-vegetables	
p̄ola	coral	p̄ollovo; W. O.—
p̄olok	rope on yoke	provalo
p̄olia / t̄inpolia	gratis	
p̄oli	bee wax	N. polo, Kumaoni. polo-bee hive
p̄olok	unsubstantial soft part below the bark.	
p̄olkai	to make hollow	
p̄olka	hollow tree	
p̄oloi	paddy paid to herdsman during harvesting	Ar. D. palo-herdsman; W. O. p̄olai.
p̄oloi	winnowing fan (big)	
pa—	to get; to hit, strike	
poai—	causative	
paik	soldier	Pkt. paikk̄o-footsoldier, messenger.
paiti	Job, daily avocation,	praristi-work
c̄iāi—	to work	
oi-, k̄or-,	to shave	
paitial	labourer	
paida	loan for fixed period (baida-Orangi area) pay foodgrains towards interest of loan.	Arb.-k̄ontor man—to
pau / paula	foot	
pau	a quarter	
pauc	niche in wall	
paura	guard	

paura	guard, watch	probhō
bat—	gate-man	
pak	near, side	cskd
—oi—	to turn aside	
pakri	petal	poksmcn-filament of flower
pakna	stone	pasanq; Bh. Hal, Ch. G.W.O
pag	turban	poggā-head dress
pagor	gap, aperture	O. phanko
pagan	mound over burial site	
pagl—	to chew the cud,	Ar. D. vyagoloyoti, pr̄guro-chew.
paN—	to malign, bewitch	W. O. to wish evil, Ganjam-to encharm, Puri-to subjugate by punishment.;
pangon	magic, sorcery	Mar. pagne- to crush into piece
paNnia	sorcerer, exorcist, wicked, trickster.	Ar. D. probho ngo-breaker, cruiser. Hal. pan pingolō- magic
pangar—	to wrap the body	Pkt. pamgurono-cloth, ga ment pamguroi-covers.
paNi i	gate,raft	W. O. paguri; piəgr̄eho ho'd ng in-front.
pac—	to ripen	
pāca kōr—	to suppurate	
pāc	five	
pac—	to, mediate, resolve imagine.	Ar. D. pōncoti-spreads out arranges O. pāc—
pācar—	to ask	
pacia	loincloth	pescopētō, W. O. pāc
pacura	blood lesness	
pajai—	to sharpen (at the black-smith)..	Arl. D. pr̄jvolelyoti
pāji—pōtōr	almanac	
pājuri	roof-frame	
pajer	toll collected from passersby during festivals.	
pajra	a spring where water—we ls up.	DNM. pōjjhōrō-to flow; Mar. pajhōr.
pājra	rib	
pat—	to get torn	spatoyoti

paṭai	cloth (lady's)	Ar. D. poto-woven cloth; Parj. paṭey; Bh. phoṭoi; Hal.—phoṭoi menstruation cloth;
paṭai—	to send	A . D. prōtistōti Pali. pōtt-hapeti-sends.
paṭa —mar —taṛ	harrow, rake to rake, level to saw	Tr. D. potto-slab, tablet
paṭal—	to fold arms	prōsthāra-spreading out; Ass. pōthali-extending cross wise;
paṭali dar	-to embrace	W. O. putlai-to hug, embrace; O. to wallow together.
patia	the wall plate of a thatched house.	O. patia-wooden plank
musa—	the top ridge of a house	
paṭ-gor	untenanted house	
paṭia-pōda	fallow land, pasture	
paṭia —gor	base socket of arm front leg, rump	Ar. D. sphatō, Pkt. phaṭia
par—	to pass wind from the stomach.	Ar. D. pōrdō-fart
paṭera	man with swollen body	
paṭua	man without work	
panḍoi	shoes	Ar. D. upanōh; Skt. pōnno dhri. Hal. pōnhi-chappal.
panḍra	fairskinned person	Ar. D. panḍu; Bh. Hal. Mar.—
patol	thin, slick, sparse	Ar. D. pōtralō-leafy Pkt.—pōttolō-thin.
patliya		
pati	ridges in between furrows.	Ar. D. patō-breadth Punj.para space between two lines of ploughed land.
patia	thin strip of bamboo lath.	Dr. D.—T. paṭṭai-palmira timber, rafter, Te. patte-bar or span of wood.
patli	earthen pot (medium)	patro pōrato patli, Pers—patila.
pad	foot	
pād	trap	N. D.—Pers. fōnd.; prōbōndhō
—or—	to set	

padri	prostitute	T. paṭiru, poṭti-harlot, lawless, Tel. paḍucu-to prostitute oneself; pərədarəkə ?
padra	(male)	
pani	water, rain	
—mar—	to rain	
tipro—	drizzles	
—kaṭai—, capai—	to irrigate	
—jik—	to soak	
—sar—	to urinate	
—utrani	cloth for the naik in a marriage.	
—guna	large pot to store water.	
—pōtər	worship	
pania	comb	proveni
	weaver's comb in loom	
panu	tax	Tel. pōnnu
panu	the right condition, right moment, season.	Kan. pōṇnu-to make ready, equip, decorate; Tel. pōnnu. to contrive, design, suitability
pap	sin	
papesti	sinner	
papr—	to exorcise, shake out or thrash away water from a wet cloth.	cūciropē
pabli	hill	pərvətə; W. O. pabuli
pamr—	to talk in sleep, to talk irrelevantly.	pamərə-fool, farmer
par—	to be able	
par	cave	Kan. paḍu-place of refuse for animals; poḍoku-crevice, cave-Tel.; POB. paharə-a succession of mounds; paru-low.
para	perhaps, like	pərəm; prayo
parua	pigeon	paravətə
parka	two-paisa coin	Tel. paraka (Srikakulam Dist.)
pal	ploughshare	phalo
pal—	to put forth new leaves	pələvvəyəti; Mar. paləvne N. palaunu, H. paluhna.
paluani cōg—	new leaves to come out	
pal buri	a kind of grass	

pala —gari	plant, seedling, plantation seed bed	polōvō; O. pōla; Hal. palō agarō
Palai— palane jiba	to go away, flee	Bh.- paloyōti
palai—	to repair	Tel-pali ; nib ; T. palli-teeth.
pali	nib	Parj.—boundary, Hal. poil— (Dr. Telang.+poro—illa)
pali	edge, margin, bank	T. i—ppal—this side, hereafter, Skt. paryayo.
pali	once, turn, time.	Pkt. polloṭoi—overturns.
paltu	returnable	Skt. parivōdṛo, O. palōdhua.
palda	Erithrina Indica	Ar. D. pōlā—stalk, straw.
payal	hay, crushed straw	Ar. D. spaso—noose
pas	trap, snare	
—or—	to set	prosmorōti
pasr— pasru	to forget, ignore. forgetful	Ar. D. parsvoḷo Pkt. pasollo— relating to the side ; Parj. Kol. pasar—side.
pasl— paslai— pasli dek—	to take a turn to turn over to look back	
pin—	to throw away, to drop, let go off.	Ar. D. piccōyōti—presses flat; Tel. pisuku—to squeeze, T. pico— kku ;
pick—	to knead, wring, squeeze	Mar. pisa-mad—Sind. pissu-mad pisacc
picki dar— picka nōla	to hold, grip. sprayer, syringe.	
picasi baya	fiend, dried brain	
pit—	to whip, beat to hammer, ram	
piṭna—hammer		
pit—	to divulge make loose'	ignore, miss a target aimed at sphitati
pitī	back	pinḍo—lump, clod,
pinḍa	verandah	Guj. pinḍli, Mar, pinḍi—pinḍo
pinḍri	shin, calf	
pit	bile	
pitōl	brass	pitr—grhō
pidōr	inner room	pinoddhō
pid—	to put on	pippolō—berry
pipol	Ficus religiosa	

pipi—	funenl	Ar. D.—Guj., Lahandaupipi—reed of pipe.
pira	spleen	
piri	straw, thatching grass, thatch, roof.	Kol., Kui.—piri ; Tel. puri ; Ar. D. pi <small>ṭ</small> ito / piri—crushed straw
sum—	thatching grass	
sindi—		
pil	interest, offshoot,	Ar.D.—Guj.—sprout, shoot.
pilka	newly got twigs, shoots	
—mel—	to spread branches while growing up.	
pil—	to milk a cow, squeeze out juice.	Ar. D. p <small>ṭ</small> oycti, Pkt. pilei—Parj. pel.—milk, pid—to milk Gondi—pir ; Kudali. pil—to wring twist, milk.
pila	child	T. pill <i>o</i> , Tel. pill <i>o</i>
pilarni	woman with new baby	
—putai—	to hatch egg	
pisl—	to slid, slip, trip	piccholo—slimmy, slippery.
puk—	to belch, blow	phutko—pkt. phukkoi
puc—	to erase, wipe off	pronchoti
puci	proxy	Tel. puuci—personal recognizance executed by witness to appear in the court on the fixed day of hearing,—POB.
puj—	to sacrifice, offer to god, to kill by cutting the throat.	
pujari	priest	
puj	pus	puyo
put—		
putai—	to make a hole, break, expose a secret, reveal hole.	
putan		
put—	to bloom	
put	hamlets	T. po <small>ṭ</small> ta, Tel. po <small>ṭ</small> tu—hamlet.
puti	unit of measure (20 man-1 puti)	T., Tel. putt <i>i</i> —500 lbs.
putna	condiments used to flavour curry.	
putga	container made of leaves	putko.
putra	buffalo—calf	Ar. D. pa <small>ḍ</small> do Mth. pa <small>ṭ</small> aru
putera	corpulent, swollen body	Ar. D. purodas O. purota roll of rice made of flour pordokor O.—pa <small>ṭ</small> ora—farting.

pund—	to rest, comfort, pant, breathe	Tel. panḍu—to lie down, Parj. pand
punda	breath	
—jik	to inhale	Ar. D. spunt̄ti—expands
—caṛ	to exhale	phunḍo—to smell, inflate.
por punda	who breaths heavily	
sas punda	panting	
putla	idol, image, pupil of eye.	Ar. D. putrōlc
pudi	vagina	Ar. D. putc.—buttocks, Pkt. puttōrō—vulva, Kum. phuddi
pun—	to sift, winnow	Ar. D. punati—purifies ; Ch. G. punne ; DNM. puṇc.
puni	and, again	
punei—ujol	full-moon, bright half of month.	
pudli	muzzle put on cattles	
pur	layer, fold	puro—filling
pur	flood	Hal. phur ; Skt. puro—water, current, lake
—nal	rain water drains, natural waterways	T. punal, Kan. ponal—stream, river, flood.
pur—	to enter	puroyoti—fills
purai—	to shut in, push in,	
puri a—	to blow in, pervade	
pura—āḍi—bel	early night	
puron	full	
purna	old, worn out	
purni	lily, reed	Ar. D. puṭokini—lotus, H. purain
pul	flower	phullō—blossoming
—bosai—	to embroider	
pul—sundri—	twilight	
ādar		
pul—	to swell, puff up, bloat.	
pulera	swollen	
pula—lia	a sweet made of parched rice. O. ukhuṛā	
pulka	hollow, corpulent	
pus	Nov.-December	
pusi	semen	Bh. pusoya; W. O. phusi; Balasore-phusa (anus); Ar. D. pusyo—vigour, prusito-wet N. phusi-semen, Kum.-dirt on penis.

penkar—	to open wings as birds.	Tel. pongotinou-to part wide, Kan. pongo-apart
pej	rice broth, scum of boiled rice.	peyɔ
bedna—	rice and millet mixed	
lai—	only millet	
—bela	forenoon	
pet	belly	
—oi—	to conceive a child	
peti	young hen	postho-young animal penthi
pedom	rice-beer	
penda	cluster, sheaf, tassel.	
pendi	oil-cake	Ar. D. pedo-lump
peri	box	
pepul ut—	to bubble as fluid	Hal. pepul, W. O. phephol-foam
perka	limping, straddling	
pel	rectum	Ar. D. pelɔ
pel—	to push, shove	preloyoti-sets in motion
peli ji—	to dare, disregard	Bh.—
pes—	to send	presoyoti
peson	(Verbal Noun)	
po	son	Ar. D. poto-young animal
po-nati	grandson	
—buari	daughter in law	
pokta	ripe, matured	pokvistho pakoth-riœ
potri maiji	pregnant woman	
por—	to burn, roast	pod—
por	buffalo-bull	prauðho, Pkt. podho-grown
jar-por	bison	up, capable; Mth. pora-stou robust; H. porh-big.
poo ri-poo rai	dirty, ugly	phuhœ-wantonness; W.O.— puhur-filthy, slovenly.
Poti	book	
pos—	to adopt	posoyoti-nourishes
posua po	adopted son	
boi-jal	a circular casting net	vr̥tɔ-round

bōjā	armlet	H. bahuṭā
bōid	medicine	cūpičā
bōciros	enmity	
—kōr	to cast the evil eye	
bōira	deaf	bōdhiro
bōisak	April-May	
bōuni/bōini	sister	
bōura	spinning-top	bhrōmōro
bēura	gnat	
bag—	bumble-bee	
—mōca	dragon-fly	
bōk	crane, egret	
bōkul	bark	cōlkō
bōkṛa	bill-goat	bōrkōrō-kid, lamb; Pkt.—bōkkōda; Bh. bokra.
bōkr—	to prattle, play jokes.	Pkt. bōkkōr-laughter.
bōg—	to ride	Ar. D. volg-leap vōlga-rein, vrōjōti Pkt. voggōi-goes; W.O. bōgh-to ride, climb.
bōnri	whirl-pool	
bōc—	to live	vōncōti—moves
bōcka	bundle, packet	Turkish-buqca; Ass. bokosa— load carried on back
bōta	fingertip	vōrtōk-çsomething round?
—mar—	to snap fingers	Tel. botṭu-drop
bōtoi	tiny	W. O. buṭhi-small; Hal. bōtki— round-shaped
bōtōi lua	a small bird	Ar. D. vōrtōk-quail, partridge O. bhaṭoi
bōr—	to grow	Ar. D. vōfōr-big;
bōrai—	to increase	
bōr—	to attain puberty	euphemical
bōr	aged, elder, senior	
bōtli	elder wife	

bɔradriya	good eater	
bɔ̄t̄ tɔnd̄	loud	
bɔ̄ jiuna	lok/richman	
bɔ̄ munḍi	cāṭi/big black ant, black pismire.	
bɔ̄ gac	banyan tree	
bɔ̄rai	aunt	
bɔ̄ru	father's brother	vɔdṛo-an elder
bɔ̄re mar̄	very big	(mar̄-weight, measure)
oə̄r̄	stone of a fruit	Ar. D. vɔṭo-small lump Pali-vat̄ko-thickening bulb, tuber
bɔ̄ra-sap	viper	vodra
bau—		
dud—		
bɔ̄isi	angling hook	bɔḍiso
bɔnd̄ki	navy	W. O. bundki-naval hole
—dokri	nurse	
..biru	ceremony of cutting the navy of new born babies (bond-to divide, circumcised man, unchaste woman-POB)	
bɔ̄ter	like	vɔt̄
bɔ̄tr—	to moisten, saturate with water.	Sind. vɔtraunu
bɔ̄tor	proper wetness for agricultural operation	Ar. D. vɔpt̄o-sowing, seed land; Bh, Hal., Santali.—
—pani	first rain to start ploughing	
—kira	winged white-ant seen in rainy days	
bɔ̄tai—	to direct, teach, reply.	vɔrt̄o, Pkt. vɔtta-talk.
bɔ̄ti-maru	fire-fly	vɔti-wick, lamp.
bɔ̄to	ball	vɔrtulɔ; cp. Tel. bɔnti, T.—pontu.
	castrated	Skt. vɔdhri
bodra	waste-land	Balasore, bɔdhia-damp; boda-ria-jungly; Guj. vɔgro-waste land; H. bənjor.

bodru-pakna	pestle	vr̥t-bruishing, pestling
bodrek	some amount	POB. bōdariba-to heap up.
bond	door-frame	
bendlu	ligature	POB. bondu—a bit of iron attached to door plate.
bədar	cholera	
bōl—	to exchange	Arb.
bodla-udla		
bōnok	colour	vornoko
—lagai—	to paint	
boni	blood	vorna-red colour
—bədar	dysentery	
bōpu	health, strength	
bobiā	toothless	Mar. bobda-lisping; O. boba—
bōmr—	to talk in sleep	Ar. D. bhōrbhōrō-confused rambling noise.
bōmli	navel	Hal. bhomli, bobali. Nahali-bumbli; kui-bombli
bōms—	to cast greedy eyes	
bōrg—	to bestow	vr̥j-to emit, O. bōrōg-to send to depute.
bōrot	pimple	—vōrtoko-something round. Bastar. boroth, POB. bira.
bōrd—	to exceed a target	
bōrot	string, rope	W. O. bōrli—
bōros	year	
bōros	courage, daring, bold	Ar. D. vōrotre-strap, thong;
—kōr	to encourage	H. bōrot-leather thong, girth
bōrti	full	
bōrai—	to screw, bore	Skt. vōroh, H. bhōros
bōl	good	bhōrōno
bōlōi		
—kō—	to admire	
—pa—	to love	
bōl—	to spin, twist a rope	Ar. D. vōlōti—turns, twists

bəl—	to flow, let go in water.	Ar. D. vohoti; Bh. boray.
bəo	thick, sticky	bəhəl
bəɔlanı-jatra	rituals against epidemic	Hal. bohorani
boloktiar	by force	belatkaro
bəlmot kər—	to compel, persist.	bələvəntə
bəyo lok	coward	
bəyi	dangerous	
bəs	fat	Ar. D. vosa-fat, grease, brain
bəs—	to sit	Ar. D. vəsəti-stays, dwells
bəsija—	to curdle, coagulate, precipitate.	
bəsl—	to demolish, wreck, collapse.	Ar. D bhrsəti-collapse, falls down
bai	brother	
bai—	to carry water	vohoti; O. bohiba-to bale out, bahiba-to lift water.
bai--	to wear long	Ar. D. vyayoyoti-spends
baigon	brinjal	vatingənə
baida	instalment	Bh.—
baimata	an unknown person	
bail	cultivational land	Dr. D-T. vayal, Kan. bayil, Tel. bayulu-paddy field, agricultural tract; Pers. bəhal O. bahal-settled land, confined land.
bau	wind	
ba-duka	storm	
bauri	of outside, outer (one)	ref. bar
bau—	to return	Pkt. vahudia-gone
bauni	turban for carrying load.	Hal. bahnid vohəco
bauli	earring for upper lobe.	
bāus	bamboo	
bāusi	flute	
bāk/bākṭi	curved, twisted	
bāk-tek		Bh. baktə

bāk-ađi	empty jar carried by women to fetch water.	
baka	to hire	Ar. D. bhōrtō Pkt. bhad̄go—hire.
an=		
bakra	room, apartment	Ar. D. vōksōkarō-basket Pkt.=vōkhārō-granery, H. hōkhar=house.
kōta—	entrance room	
gōđi—	inner room	
bakan—	to comment	vyakhānō
bakna	riddles	Ch. G. abhañkō
bag	share	
bagai—	to divide, distribute	bhajoyoti
bag	tiger	
ila dagia=	panther	
maca dia=		
pōrta—		
pōtrali dūrka		
bagai	tiger infested	
bagan—	to slip away stealthy.	Ar. D. bhajjōte=Pkt.=bhōggō fled.
bagar	young she-buffalo	W. O. bōgar-male, bōgari-fem Korku=
bagra	cracked	Ar. D. vighōtōte=is broken; W.O. bōgrai-to scatter heaped up things.
baglai—	to spread around, diffuse.	Ar. D. vilōgno Ass. H. bilēg-to separate. W.O. bigliba.
bāg—	to break	
bāgia	crack, crease	
bāgi	crease	
bangiya	carrying staff	Ar. D. vōchōngō
kōna—	for carrying wood	
sul dāN—	for paddy etc.	
bac—	to choose, sort out.	Ar. D. vrksōte-chooses
bacit/baclī	outcasted	
baca	calf	—ccccac—cytōdg cṣtēc
baci	fem.	
baj—	to fry	Ar. D. bhrjjcti-fries, parch—
baji-sag	frying vegetable	

baj—	to strike, beat a drum.	vadyōte-made to sound
bajniya	drummer	
bājola	impotent	vōndhyō-barren, streile.
bat—	to grind, pound	vōrtōyōti-causes to turn.
<b>bat</b>		
kani—	way	
mōla—	sub way	
qela—	untrodden way	
—dekai—	cross way	
—paura	to lead, guide	
	gate-keeper	
baṭo	elder sister's husband	Hal. bhato bhratr.
bata	open field	Tel. vōttivacant, Parj.—
pōda—		botti-bare ground;
ṭikra—		Ar. D. vāṭe—enclosure, garden
—dan	a kind of paddy	Kan. botta-rice in husk
—porai—	to burn dry leaves	
baṭia	small drain	
<b>baṭ</b> —		Ar. D. vōrtō-dike, dam
bata kor—	to divide, to serve food	Sind. vatiya-dam between fields serving as path.
baḍu	slow, idle	vōtu, vōru
bar	fence, enclosure	vato
bar—	to serve food	Ar. D. Vōndhoyōti-divides
baran—	to sweep	
baṇi	broom	
baṇi	Jacket, Ganji	Ar. AD. vōrdhōni, Pkt. vad— dhōni; Hal. baṇen, boṇa.
banel baṇi		Bodice ? banyan ?
baṇi	loan of food-grains	Ar. D. vōrdhō-giving advance, profit; Dr. D.-T. varakō Tel. varakōmu, Gadba, bari—
kontor-baṇi	loan of money	money advanced to farmers to be received again. O. Ganjam— loan without interest.
baṇoi	carpenter	—vōrdhōki
banda	tailless	Ar. D. vōntō-tailless, bōndō— maimed, impotent; Tel. validi; Hal. Parj.— Bh. pōṇḍki.

bondka	short and fat, dwarf	
bandi	food given to cowherd	
banqari	boys as wage	
	barber	Ar. D.-Pali, bhondu-bald, shaven Pkt. bhondu-shaving.
bat	rice	
mukla—	rice, cooked in middle room	
coru—	rice cooked in inner room	
batiya	salary, victuals	
bat sag de—	to thank, pay regards	
bati	vomit	
bad	challenge, laying wager	
bād—	to tie, pack, bind	
	to adopt an animal	
	to enact a role in drama	
bada-sada		
bād ḥn ḫudi	kainj house	O. sravcō
bada	unit of measure (10	Ar. D. vardōlo-rainy day
	puti—bondek)	(bad-quarrel+ra)
bandapon	July-August	
badol	storm	
badra	ferocious	
bana	loin cloth	vorn, vano-weaving, loom; vorniko—actor's dress. O. bana flag.
bana-bati	mimosa scandeus	
bana ma—	to strain with strainer	
bana bosai—	to carve, paint	
banabor—	to offer food to ghosts and spirits during a festival	
bania	texture of a cloth	Ar. D. vano-weaving
bania-moric	black pepper	vniko> bania
banja	nephew	
ban'ji	neice	
bap	father	Pkt. bappo
—loti	an abusive expression	
bab—	to think, wish, suppose	
bamōn	Bramhin	
bama o—	to be bewildered	<bhrom
baya	insane	
bar	twelve	

<b>bar</b>	outside	
bauri	outside bullock	<bahitiko, Lahanda-bahiri
<b>bat—</b>	to go out	
<b>bara</b>	load (carried on head)	<bharo
<b>baria</b>	boar,	<voraho
<b>barik</b>	village headman's Assistant,	Ar. D-vapokarin-one who shaves
<b>bal</b>	hair (of eye brow)	
—moni	boil	
<b>bali</b>	sand	
—jatra	a festival (starts before Bhadra full-moon for 10 days)	
<b>baliya</b>	cashew nut	Ar. D. bhollato-semecarpus anacardium, Pkt. bholloyo.
<b>balu</b>	bear	
<b>bər—</b>		
<b>sindi—</b>		
<b>balusa</b>	a temporary awning, bower of creepers.	Ar. D. vasakulo-resting place:
<b>bas—</b>	to snatch away,	Ar. D. vyasyoti-throng away
<b>basi ne—</b>	to wash away.	separates; bhrosyoti-falls; POB. bhas-to be ruined.
<b>bas</b>	odour	
<b>kər—</b>	to smell sweet	
<b>basna</b>	fragrant, perfume	
<b>basa</b>	dwelling house, lodging	<vaso-abode
<b>basa</b>	language	
—cor	who does not keep his	Ar. D. vasyote-roars, lows, sings
basuṇi	word chirping	Ar. D. violobwayoti <O. bijohi.
<b>biorbiur—</b>	to throw after	
	swinging around (with a sling shot)—to agitate, mix, scatter.	
<b>bik—</b>	to sell	
<b>bika-bāja</b>		
<b>bigs—</b>	to bloom	
<b>bic—</b>	to scatter	<vincoti
<b>bicol</b>	slippery, slimy	<viccholoti
bicliya		
<b>bicar—</b>	to think, decide, discuss	<vicar-mode of
bicarna	discussion	action, ponder.
<b>bijar</b>	disgusting	Pers. bejar
—lag—	to feel disgusted	

bijli	lightning	
biṭok	small boil	Kalahandi. biṭa—little
biṭa	blunt wooden arrow	Ar. D. viṭa—small piece of stick shaped like a barley corn.
biḍr—	to be scared	Ar. D. vidravayṣti—puts to flight ; Dr. D.—Kan. bidər, Tulu. bedaru
biḍru	very fleet	
bir	tight	
bir—	to dilute, mix, unite ; to accompany, help	Ar. D. viḍoyoti—fastens, make firm ; Parj. bir—join
birk—	to flash, to be startled.	Dr. D.—Kan. bidər—alarmed ; Tulu. bedru—fright Parj. birk ; O. bhōrōkiba
biṭom	ant—hill	bilō ; Guj. virro
bitbita	irritating, vexing	Hal. deep black.
bitor	inside	
bitri	inner	
bita	linear measure—span from outstretched thumb to little finger	vitostī ; Parj.—bitta.
bid	bracelet	tabij
bīd—	to shoot	
bīda	plug, gag	
bīdna	chisel, iron driller	
bin	different, separate, another one.	
bine		
bines	Bean	
biba	marriage	
udliya—	by elopment	
pōisamundi—	by compulsion from the girl's side.	
sōgorta—	by paying compensation to the first husband.	
bimo	spinal meat, the meat around the spine.	
biru	worship	T., Mal. vira—festive celebration
birua	wooden almira	Bureau. Ganjam—
birumoli	butterfly	Ar. D. vorolo—wasp ; O. biruti—
birḍa	bamboo lath, splinter.	Ar. D. vidalo Pkt. bidalo—split bamboo ; Dr. bidir, biduru—bamboo ; Parj. bōṛḍa—bamboo door
—bet—	to split bamboo.	
bil	hole	

bila	Terminalia bellercca	Ar. D. vibhidök, Pkt —bibheb Mar. vehla ;
bilai	cat	viliyote
bokra—	male	vihvölo
bili ji—	to dissolve	Dr. D.—T. vicukku, Tel.—
bilki	tremble, bewilderment	visuku—displeased, disgusted ; Ar. D. visuskö
bis	poison	Ar. D. visorö—spreading ; Hal.—
bisog	disgust	Ar. D. visorö—musty, smell of raw meat ; W/O bisren—fishy smelling.
bisor	a fish trap made of bamboo strips	
bisor/göd bisor	bad smell	
bisas	trust, belief	
—lok	favourite	
buari	younger brother's wife	Ar. D. vodhuti—son's wife, vyavoharika—female slave N. buari—son's wife
büi	floor, ground	Hal. bohari
buk	hunger	
bukliya	hungry	
buke ro—	to fast	
buk—	to howl, bark	Ar. D. bukköti
buk	chest	Ar. D. vrkko—kidney O. buko
buj—	to realize, understand	budhyöte
bujai—	to advise, explain	
bujni at	right hand	bhunjöte—enjoys, eats
buṭa	bush, thicket	Ar. D. buta—bush, plant
buṭi/butka	dwarfish	Hal., Bh.—botki ; Santali— buṭri—tiny ; Ar. D. vontc butt ango—stump bodied ; Mar. butūga ; Parj botṭi
buṭru paṭ—	(bullock) to low	
buṭ—	to sink, immerse, dip	
buṭti bat	west	
buṭ galī	to purify by bathings after death etc	
buṭiya maN—	to collect alms during Puso festival	
but/butek	much	
but din—ji—	to last longer	
buut	ghost	

buti	service, wages	vrtti—wages ; Ch. G. bhutti ;
butiar	slave, servant	Bh. buta, butiar ; W. O. buti—servant.
būd	stalk	Ar. D. bundh—bottom Pali—bundo—root of tree ;
budar	Wednesday	Af. D. varo—appointed time,
budra	born on	one's turn.
bun—	to knit, weave	Pkt. vunano—weaving
buna bōs—	to shrink	
bun—	to do wicker work	
bun—	to scatter, strew, sow	vinyasotti—scatters, vocē—sowing
bumi	land	
bumi bara	property	
bur	coir (cocoanut's)	POB. borō—tope of palm tree
bur—	to remove feathers from a bird's body.	Ar. D. butō—powder Sind. buri feathery excrescences on heads of millet ; Naiki. bur—feathers
buri	grass	
buri pani	drizzle	
buri kāra daru	thin pieces of wood	
bursa	robust	vrsalō ; Kudali. bursa—dirt
bursundi	mosquito	Parj. buronđi ; Santalidhūsri—small flies O. bhusandi—weapon
burustu lok	good person	
bul—	to travel, rove	vyapocclōti—goes away off O. bul—; vr̥jōti—wanders
bulai bik—	to peddle goods	
bulka	fatty	Parj. knot of tree
bus—	fatty	
busna ḍan	to prick, gore	Ar. D. bhrsyōti—falls down O. bhus—
bek	goad	
—muna	neck	
	bag	
begī—	to spoil, be angry	Ar. D. vighotote—flies apart, is marred, broken ; O. bigař—
begl—	to separate out assorted materials, to strain out water, to diffuse.	Ar. D. vigolōti—flows away, viyagmō Pkt. veggelō—separate, N. Mar., Guj.— ; W. O. begol—another.

ben	frog	vyōngō
pureri—		
ṭor:—		
ɔya—		
benti	toad	
bengai	lock	DNM] bengi—having a fence or enclosure ; T. bigamu—key ; Koda—biga—lock.
bengal—	to spread a heaped mass.	O. bengulai—
bengali do—	to rinse	
beci	Bench	
beja	sense, consciousness	Ar. D. vedo—knowledge, mojjon—marrow Punj., Guj. bheja—brain, intellect.
beju	sexless	Ganjam. bejur—eunuch, bejiri—woman having no sign of femininity. viryo—semen
—āgna	male	Tel. bōnjari.
—pudi	fem.	impure things.
bejorna	place in the village outskirts for throwing (A. E.—feed ghosts)	
bejri	tomato	Hal. bhejra—variety of small brinjal ; W. O. veji—tiny
bet—	to meet, to find a thing sought for ; to collect, pick up to offer sacred rice to gods.	
beṭi pak ai—		
bet	presents	O. bheti
bet	hunting	T. vettam, vettu ; Tel. vēṭo
—kariya	hunter	
ber—	to surround, raid	vestōnō
bera	enclosure	Ar. D. vesto Punj. beṭha—court
gar—	low land (for paddy) yard	
soria—	land which can hold water	gobhīrō—deep)
cari bertī	shallow land	
bera	high and dry land	
bet	surrounding on four sides	
betar	two-annas-coin	Tel. beṭa, ḍḍugua
bed—	the number of times a cow has calved.	Tel. vedo—rutting season, vedaru—
bedna pej	to penetrate, mix, to punch	cow in heat; Ar. D. vijatro—birth Kum.—bet—calving, Mar. vet, Guj.—betar.
	gruel made of mixed rice and millet.	vedōti—pierces

benai	sister's husband	bhognipoti.
bebar	business	vyaparo, vyavaharo
bebriya	business man	
ber berua berka	enmity who bears enmity	cicva—hostile
mar—		
dar—	to avenge	
—daru	to stake	
berani	avenger	
bersa	low caste wife	vyavaharika
—ko—	shameless	O. bhesora—ugly
bel	to repeat	
bela	sun	Skt. vela—time, Hal. ber ;
bele	time	Gadba. vele, Kuwi. veđa—sun.
—udiya	during	
—udlani bat	at sun rise	
—bos—	east	
—boslanı bat	sun set	
jir jir—bel	west	
badol pacla—bel		
rata kādia—bel		
—ban—		
bela	to pass time, turn of time	
beli gai	lump	W. O. bhela—clod, lump
belu belu	cow which gives birth many times	O. belia—sportive
besi	repeatedly	
besni	much	Pers. ; Skt. visesɔ ?
mal	purse, wallet	O. bəsɔṇi—hooked pendant for nose Ar. D. vəṣṇo—dress ;
bo/bou	tied to waist	Hal. beson—tied to nose.
bo—	elder brother's wife	bəḍhu
boj	to carry	včhoti
boji	heavy	Ar. D. vəhyo Pkt. vojjho.
tin polia—	feast	bhunj—to enjoy, eat
	feast by contributing share.	
bol—	to tell	Pkt. bolloī—speaks (conjunctive)
boli—	because of, for that, namely, even.	
mistor	friend	mitro

m̥idɔr	yolk	Ar. D. medɔs—fat marrow
m̥idan	noon	—m̥dhyahnu
m̥in	bee wax	
m̥iri	pipe instrument	
m̥ira	piper	
m̥isi	buffalo	
m̥out	prestige, honour	
m̥okɔr	dried rice	
m̥oka	young seedling	Ar. D. m̥arkəkə ; O. makhotra.
m̥ogor	crocodile, alligator	Tel./mokko—young plant,
m̥ongclbar	Tuesday	
m̥ongla	born on that day	
m̥oga	stem,	m̥ongo—mast ; POB. m—a wild tree that grows long without branches.
m̥oca	blue or black marks on body, mole	T. maccu—bluish, maccam—mole
m̥oci	fly	Tel. m̥occa ; Ar. D.—m̥əncika—trough on legs.
m̥ej	core, kernel, pith	m̥oksa
m̥ja	middle	m̥ojjən—marrow
mcjari	of the middle	m̥dhyo
m̥oji	seed	m̥ojjən, m̥dhyo, m̥onjori.
	food=grains	euphemical
m̥ojur	peacock	N. m̥ojur ; Old Awdhi—m̥onjur
m̥otk—	to break a promise	m̥ot—crackle, snap
m̥orɔk	river with strong current.	H. m̥otk—plague.
m̥ora	corpse	m̥rtɔk
m̥it̥i	a ghost	
m̥otam	final fixation of price in a bargain	T. mottam, Tel. mottamu—sum total, aggregate.
m̥od	wine	
m̥od sur		
m̥odual	drunkard	
m̥odur	sweet, tasty	
m̥on	mind	
—kɔr	to like, desire	
—pa—	to love	
—sarda kɔr	to please	
m̥oni muṇḍa	bald head	

məndl—	to hover round	cōloñcōme—circle; Parj. məndl—
məndla	round, circle	
məntər	spell, charm	
—aruni		
—sani	midwife, nurse	
mər—	to die	
mərtai	withered, dried up	
mər pot	between life and death	
mərg	expensive	məhargħo
mərm	male	Pers. mərd
mərdiga	brave	
məriyad	honour	Ar. D. məryada-region, boundary
məric	chillies	
məol	dear, expensive	mulyo
məlu—	sick	məlino
məluia		
məluia	wildcat	Ar. D. məllu-ber; T. muylhare;
pani suna—		
kəstura—		
məlkai—	to flash a sword	Parj. məlk-light to flash; POB. to sprain, wrench
məsən	cemetery	sməsəno
məsniya	a ghost	
məsi	charcoal	Pali. soot, ink, black dye.
məsi anra		
məska məski	wrestle	Ar. D. məsoti-rubs, crushes.
məsr—	to be burnt	
məsrai—	to burn to cook slowly	
mai	feminine	
mai-antā	thumb, toe	
maiiji	womn	
maida bun—	to sow two things at a time.	
main	friendly, courteous	manyo
maus	meat, flesh	
makər	monkey	
makūi	spider	mərkətō, in many languages locust.

makri dor	rope that joins yoke with plough.
makona	a big red ant mōtkuno, Pkt. mōkkuno-bug ?
mag	Jan-February
māg—	to beg, ask for, request. Ar. D. margoti-seeks, asks
māgni	begging
māgtiya	beggar
mac	fish
maca	scaffolding Ar. D. mōnco-stage Dr. D.-T., Tel. maccu-terrace
macaki	circular sore on sole Ar. D. mōncika-trough onleg
maci	scaffolding
māj—	to scour, wash with abrasive Ar. D. mōrjoti-rubs, cleans
maṭ	pulpit, high scaffolding. Ar. D. maṭo-upper story of a house; T. matom-storied house
maṭ luga	two pieces of 'reku' (cloth) sewn together.
maṭi	clay
lip—	to plaster
maṭu	a hole (place for a hunter to lie in ambush)
madu	sediment
madu-cikōn	
mar	betaings
mar kōni	fight
mand-/menḍ-	to stamp, tread on, Ar. D. mōrdōti-pounds, crushes
manḍai-	to thresh crops treading by bullock's feet
manda	pan (earthen) Saora. manḍi/banḍi-cup, dish; O. manḍia-tub.
manḍi	knee Dr. D. -Tel. manḍi (cp. Skt. manḍu-ki-part of elephant's hind leg
—kuṭa	to kneel Parj, maḍi kuṭtel-kneeling position. (Ar. D. kuṭṭha-knee
manḍia	Eleusine Coracana Ar. D. maḍōkc
manḍru	a dish made of millet
mat—	to get drunk —motto
matual	drunkard
mat—/matal—	to churn, stir —mōthōti
mator	but Bh, mantor
madan	cancer like growth on trees. POB.-Ganjam-a-parasital plant growing on the body of another tree.,

māda	herd, of cattles	Tel, Kan, Prj.-mōnda-flock herd
man	unit of measure (1 man—3, 4 or 5 ḡra)	manō-measure
manti kcr—	to show respect	manyōti-honours
manamani	aggrement	manōn-agreeyong
manoi	an unknown man	Parj. mōney-man; manōvo
maporsad	friend	
mama	father in law	Ar. D. mamo-uncle
mar—	to kill, hurt, beat, cut the throat, play an instrument.	
maru	a habitual oppressor	
mar—kundiya	quarrelsome	
mal—	creeper	
mala	forest	Ar. D. malo-forest near the village, Pkt. garden.
—mar—	to clean a field for plantation	
mali	necklace	
kagla-, sōrisa,	sauda-, gini-, dan-mali)	
mali	gardner	malin
malni	fem.	
maliar	Malaria	
mas	month	
masika	monthly menstruation	
mic	lie	
micua	liar	
miṭk	to ogle, make eyes at, blink	Pkt. minconō=blink; Kan. miṭōkiso=blink
mind—	to stamp on with the foot, trample	Ar. D. mrndōti-pounds, treads POB. mindei-thrashing ground,
mit	friend, a crony	
mitai	friendly	
mitana		
mitmi		
mina	locket on a necklace	
mil—	to find, acquire	
milai—	to collect	meloyoti
milimicka	glow-worm	Ar. D. milōti-blink, micc-to wink

mis—	to join. add	
misai—	to include	
misa	also, in addition to.	
mt̄	face	
mt̄at̄	front	
mt̄an		
—cina cini	twilight	
mu/mu-cikon	honey	O. mœu
kaṛi—	of branches	
bil—	of the hole in tree	
—maci	bee	
mui	I	
muka	bundle which can be held in a grip.	Ar. D. mukka-blow with fist; P. O. B. muka-bundle.
mukyom	main, principal, proper	mukhyo
mukl—	to be released	
muklai—	to let go, free	
mukla bat	ordinary rice (not ceremonial)	
mugī	mongoose	Kan., Tel. mungi; Ar. D. mudgabho-bean-coloured.
munna	Moringa Pterygosperma.	Ar. D. murangi; W. O. munga; T. murunkai
mujra	aim at a target	
—pakai—		
—lagai—	to aim at	
muta	a handful, a clutch	T. muṭi-bundle; Ar. D. musti
muṭ mutai	to grab	
muṭi	fist	
muṭla	log of wood	
mutla	load carried on the shoulders.	O. mot̄o
muḍi	idler	Tel. məḍdi-dull, clumsy. O. məṛhia
munḍ	head	Ar. D. mundo-shaved, bald
—pani	water from soaked/rice	murdhōn-head
munḍsek	body-deep	
—bara	load carried on head	
munḍra	shaven-head	mundito
mundisa	pillow	
munḍa	post, stump	POB. lopped tree
munḍa at	length from elbow—joint	to closed fist.

munḍa	reservoir embakment, dam	Parj., Hal., Gadba, Kan.- tank; W. O.-
—bād—	to build a dam	
mut—	to urinate	
mutra	who often urinates	
—guna	bladder	
muta	jar, jug	Tel. muta-small pitcher; Kui
mora	pot with lid	muta-small brass pot; Ar. D.
mud	to close	muta-basket Pkt.-
mūda	covered	
muda kōr—	to fold	
muda oi bōs—	to sit in a particular pose	
mudi de—	to shut	
mudi	nose-ornament, ring.	Ar. D. mudra-signet, ring
mūdikōrū	ornaments	
mūdura mudi	a nose ornament	
mun̄os	man, husband	
murk	rash, violent, dunce	
muruk	body structure, strength	
murki	grey, dirt of body	Tel. muriki, Parj. mur;
murṭu	sad	O. murkutiya-pale. stunted
murḍi	basket used for fishing.	Ar. D. muroṭṭi-wooven basket
mul	cost	
mul	begining	mulyo
—dar—	to begin	
muliai—	"	
mulke	at all, from first to last	
muliya	bangle-dealer	
mulika bania	guardian	
musa	mouse	
gɔṛga—		
koldia—		
kaṛa—		
baṭagol—		
kalat—		
puṭki—		
meona bai	cousin	Hal. mōina-father's sister' son
mek	peg, stake. trellis	Pers mekh, W. O.=

meca	lump, rolled to a ball;	POB. a sweetmeat (Bamra)
meta	cripple	O. meda-dull, sluggish; meta-slow in work —Ar. D.
—oi—	to wither. not grow up	mittɔ-bodily deficit.
met.—	to defy, disobey	Pkt. meḍḍ-
meduar	disobedient. insubordinate	
medusor	ungrateful, brave;	
medusor	daredevil uncaring	
mera	poles in a fence	Ar. D. methi-pillar in thrashing floor—Pkt. meḍhi O. meri.
menda	sheep	Ar. D. menḍhaoram
metan—	to knead, prepare a thick gruel ofboiled stuff.	Parj. mett, Tel. mettu-to smea plaster; Ar. D. mothöt—churni
medri	basket-maker	Ar. D. medɔ-a mixed caste ; T. metvör-basket-maker.
mere-āki	squint-eyed	POB-medɔ-a rick made of straw for storing paddy.
merda	earthen ceiling under the thatch	T. miri-eye-ball, Mal. mirikk to open eye.
mel—	to open up, make empty, let go.	T. metṭol, Tel.meddiyɔ—house with an upper story, flatroof
mela	bare	Ar. D. mell—to leave, Pkt. mello abandon.
—atiya melan	insolent	
jaga	open space	
meloc	castrated goat	—mleccho ; W. O.—
melcai—	to castrate	
mes	moustache	Ar. D. sməsru—M. I. A. mossu ; Mal. misa. Tel. misamu, Kan. mise Kudali. misi, Parj. mecal ; W. O. meccha.
mot	load	Ar. D. muto-bundle, basket ; T. mutte, Tel. muta-bale mutto
motɔ	blunt	
motɔc	to roll up, twist fold, crush.	Ar. D. mutöt-twists
moita	twisted	
morla	rounded shape, circular	—məndɔlo
muṛli kor—	to fly around, move around	
ro—	to remain, stay, dwell	Ar. D. roḥti—Pkt. rohol
roibar	Sun day	
roila	woman born on that day	

rək—	to grate, scrape	Ar. D. rəngəti-moves to and fro, rinkhəti-moves, crawls.
rəkni	grater	
rəkəi—	to pour out water	Ar. D. rəksəti ; Bh. rək, Hal. rək-POB. rukiba-to pour out.
rəkiya kər—	to protect	
rəgor—	to grate, rub, massage	—gorurc?
rəgor	hawk, falcon, eagle	Pkt.-red, Bh—
rəN-	red	
rəc—	to colour	—rəc—
rəngə kər—	to gesture, mimic	
rəc—	to prepare, arrange	—rəc—
rəj—	to wear out by friction	—rəj—
rəj-gos		
rəj kər—	to become cloudy	
rəj dabi de—		
rəta	coloured	—rektə
rətka	red, coloured	
rəd-būi	fertile land	—rcdhyote-is softened ; rəd-to pierce, dig.
rən cuna	powdered	
əm	hair on body, fur	—romən
əməc—	to massage, knead	—mordəməc
rəs	juice. sap	
rəsən	dirt	cp.O.əsəna
rai-dim	small egg of the size of a mustard, underdeveloped egg	
raibarəia	negotiators deputed by the groom's party	
rag-əil	loose, slack	
agiyə	bitter, pungent	—rago-hot like passion
—dar—	to become pungent	
ran—	to crawl as a baby, move in a crooked way.	Ar. D. rəngəti-moves to and fro; ringəti-crawls ; Bh. reŋg-; Parj. rege
rāj—	trellis for training creepers.	O. rənja
raj-butı	dwarf	
—kuja		
raji-purtı	world	
kəta raji		
poda—		
ḍəngər—		

randi	widow	Pkt. rōm̄da
randola	widower	Hal. randela
rati	night	O. gōngōsiuli
moli	a flower	Ar. D. retro —lahanda. return- sandy soil, retro-sand.
rateli-būi	unfertile land	
radaradi	at a stretch	
rād—	to cook	
rada-gor	kitchen	
rāderi	cook	
rap̄—	to scratch	—rōmp̄ti
rapoṭ cimok		
rabon	vulture, hawk	Hal. rawna
rabadi kōr—	to roar continuously	—ravoyoti-roārs
ram guṭa	a string instrument	
ram pol	custard apple, bullock's heart	
rami	black headed munia	Hal.—
rasi	herd	—rasi-heap, mass
rijora	lean	Mar. rugalo-lean and meagre
rin	debt	
riṭ bari		
risa	anger	—irsa
—kōr	to be angry	Ar. D. risyoti-is hurt, suffers wrong— N., Mth. to be angry; Bh.ris—
rose	in anger	
rua	cotton	Pkt.-carded cotton ; H. rui; Hal. baby-hair, fur.
ruc-	to strike mildly	Pkt. romcōi-grinds ;
rundai—	to gather together	Ar. D. runḍo-crowded together
rum—	to pull by the-hair	Tel. remmu-to snatch, pull out as hair; POB.-to uproot furs; rima-animals killed by tiger etc.
reka	petal	Tel. reku-petal; Kol. rekko- leaf.
reku	piece of cloth	Tel.tin or iron sheet
renta	lean person	Guj. regi-weak, cowardly; O. rekta-dried and hardened.
reḍa dan	wild paddy	
reḍi	sole, heel	Ar. D. ḍḍi; Hal. lēri
tet	file	Ar. D. retro—in many N. I. A. file and sand; O. reti

ret—	to brush, polish, rasp	
dāt—	to brush the teeth	
ret rogɔi		
reb—	to cut, behead	Ganjam. rub-to grind corn
rema	palm and cocoanut leaves	
remai—	to tame, cajole, please, to win over	rəmote
reli	persons dealing with hides, a caste	
rog	desease	
rogai	sick person	
rot	Road	
roṭa	coarse, thick,	
rop—	to sow seeds, transplant	ropoyoti
lop	fibre, coir	
ləi	a poisonous creeper having white sap	
ləi—	to stoop down,bow down.	—nəməti
liuliya	which bends downward	
ləuri	mist	
oge	near	Bh. ləgor
—uni	from	
lən—	to wade	longhoyoti-trnsgress,
ləngai—	to ferry on river	leaps over.
lət—	to copulate	Ar. D. lət̪-bad man, ləd̪oti- sports, courts, letyoti-sleep
lət̪kar	characterless	
lət̪iya		Hal. maylətiya.
ləta	sticky, gum	Pkt. lət̪ha-tangled
lərka	clapper made of hollow pieces of bamboo attached to cow's neck.	O. lūka
lənda	a mass of rags used for smearing cow-dung on to walls, floor etc.	Ar. D. lənda-excrement
ləndek	a lump	
lətra	marks of insect bite	Ar. D. ləothora-dirt etc.
lədi	mud	Ar. D. lədd̪-lump Guj., Mar. dung, mass of kneaded dough. W. O. horse-dung.
ləda	beer brewed from mandia	Parj. nənda
əmb—	to be in a line	

ləsa	sap, lymph	O. nəsa-pus, sap
ləsəm	chill	slesmən; W. O. lesm-to cool
ləsmiya	slender, sluggish	down
lai-pej	gruel without rice	Hal. lai-popped grain
lau	gourd	
lak dar—	to-aim at	ləksyo—lak
lag—	to be attached	cnəgo
lagai—	to smear, anoint ; to kindle a fire	
laga oi—	to be massaged	
laga lagi oi—	to fight with each other	
lagon	capable of cutting easily, sharpness.	
lan	long piece of wood	
lad—	to brand, sear, scorch to. shoot.	Ar. D. ləksyōti-distinguishes. marks Mar., N.—
lacuani	a worm having poisonous hair all over the body	
laj	offence	
—de—	to insult	
lata jaga	congested place	Ar. D. lət̪o-tangled
lati	stick, long, tall	Pkt. lət̪hi-stick, rod Praj, Gondi
—ar	spine	
laion/laiom	earthworm	
ar—	to shake, tremble	Ar. D. lət̪oti-shakes, totters.
laçalad	affectionate, pet	Ar. D. —Pkt. lađđia-fondling
anđi-jet	May-june	Hal.—
at-mar—	to kick	Pkt.. lotta-blow with the heel
lāt̪or	Lentern	
ata	creeper	
latai/lata oi	—to lean against	
lata-tenřa	to pile up disorderly	
jad—	to load	lərdøyōti
ladən	loading	
lāda	earthen jar	Ar. D. nando-pot
lamta	boy-servant	POB. who anoints oil on king Hal. ləm̪ti-halter

<b>lal</b>	saliva, slime	Ar. D. lala-saliva, spittle
<b>liai—</b>	to cool down a hot thing	Ar. D. lihōti-licks O. lehiba-sucks.
<b>lika</b>	louse-egg	liksa-nit, young louse
<b>lit̪i</b>	a small bird	lit̪o-small; Bh.—
<b>lit̪in—</b>	to walk leisurely	
<b>lip—</b>	to plaster, smear; to bleach.	lipyōte-is smeared
<b>liplip</b>	pliable, thin and slender	Ar. D. loppo-sudden movement
<b>lib—</b>	to be extinct, extinguished	nirvayōti
<b>liblib—</b>	to flicker	
<b>libai—</b>	to erase, wipe up	
<b>lim—</b>	to wink,	
<b>limlim—</b>	to flicker eyes	
<b>lua</b>	iron	
<b>lua</b>	a small bird	Hal. lawa—a small speckled bird
<b>luc</b>	to hide oneself	Pkt. lukkōi-hides
<b>luclucani—hide</b>	and—seek	
<b>lu<small>k</small>—</b>	to hiccup	
<b>lu<small>k</small>i</b>	hiccup	
<b>ludlud</b>	soft, swamp	
<b>luli</b>	earling for males	Ar. D. lu <small>d</small> ōti—lulōi-to dangle hang, wave
<b>leut—</b>	to return	—nivōrtote-turns back
<b>leuta pau<small>ta</small></b>		
<b>lek—</b>	to write, carve, paint	
<b>leka bād—</b>	to keep records	
<b>lej</b>	—lōnjo	
<b>—katai—</b>	to castrate, dock	euphemistical
<b>leji</b>	numb	—lōjji <small>t</small> o-bashful
<b>len<small>di</small></b>	bits of dung	
<b>len<small>di</small> pipli</b>	black pepper	
<b>lendra</b>	idler, slow walker	
<b>lep<small>ot</small>—</b>	to bend, crouch, ambush	Ar. D. nipōdyōte-lies down
<b>lep<small>ta</small></b>	bent down	to sleep.

lok	people	
lob	greed	
lobra	greedy	
lor— loli	to need, seek, desire nail for fixing plough-share	ločoti; POB. lola-grass clinging to plough share during ploughing (Kharial).
sōina	friend	Bh. —; N. sōheli, Guj. sōhiyar
soul	sixteen	O. solo
sək	bridge	Ar. D. sənkromo, Pkt. sənkomo-
sək	gullet	Ar. D. sənkho-temporal or fronta bone; Punj. throat; Hal. sōk
sōkərda	mumps	
sōkal—	to spit out	
səkal—	to lop, cut into pieces sōnkele;	Ch. G. Ar. D. səmkutoti—bends oneself together P K T.— səmkudia-contracted; O.— samkuliba-to draw in one 'slimb'.
sōgorta	marriage-compensation (to the bride's family)	
sōnge	by, with	sōngo
sōngsei—	to keep, put, save, to arrange	sōngrhnati—seizes; sōngraho— yōti-keeps.
sōj	evening	
sōd	bull	
sōda	trunk	
sot	true	
sōti	really	
—kor	to promise	
sōtē	seventeen	
sōd	a dug out cave	Ar. D. sōmdhi-hole made by theif
—mar—	to make an internal hole	
sōdor	common meeting place	Arb.
sōdrom	plane, levelled ground	
—bera	terrace wall	
—pōda	terrace	
sōni bar	Saturday	
sōnia	born on that day	
sōcon	dream	

sopur	thin, fine, tiny	Mar. small; Bh., Ch. G.—
sobes	sound	
sobu	whole, all	
somes	time, occasion	ycmes
soman —oi—	alike, equal, parallel to resemble	
somer	deer (sambha)	
somar	Monday	
somra	born on that day	
somal—	to endure, take care of	sombharoyti
somudor	sea	
somdi	a relative	sombondhin-connected by marriage; Hal. uncle's son
sor	shaft of an arrow	
sor	middle-man, supporter	
sores	sky, heaven	
sor-on-post—	to surrender, take shelter	
sora	chain, necklace	Pkt., sora-string, garland
soral	channel, narrow lane	Ar. D. soroti-runs, flows
sorp—	to hand over (as in marriage the bride is given over).	somerpoyti
solk	straight	somoksa
solga	announcement made on completion of a score at the counting.	Bh. solgo-full; Tel'. an aggregate of 20.
solnga	straight, without any crease or curve.	Bh.—; O. soronga-slender and tall ( sirnango).
solp	Caryota Urens	(its juice alcoholic)
sa oi — sai	to help, support porcupine	sohay Ar. D. sravidh Pkt. saviho; Hal., W. O.—
saip —karia	curse, imprecation one who curses	—sapyo Khariar—sailori
sairoli	a musical play for girls	
saukar	rich man, creditor, wise man	
sauti dar	to pick up, hold with firm grip.	Ar. D. somthati-stands together

sau—.	to tend, drive cattle	sobdayōti-calls
sauia	musty, putrifid mango	
sauṛa bād—	to tie with two split bamboos on both sides	Ar. D. sōkuṭo Lahanda-saura —constriction, tight.
sākōṛ	narrow	sōmkōṭo; Bh. sākō. Ch.
—oi—	to shrink	G. sākur W. O. sōnkri jiba.
sakal	morning	
sag	curry, vegetables	
—baṛ	garden	
sagia		
at-sagia	to give a signal	sōmjna; Hal.
saj-	to repair	sōjjoyōti-equips, prepares
satū	spoon, stick ladle Pkt.	cōttu-wooden spoon.
sat	seven	
sati	thigh, rump	Dr. D.-Kol, Naiki, sōtto-shoulder blade; POB. sati-hind leg of animals given to king as royalty.
sati-gor	hind leg	
satra	father-in-law	sōtri-dutiful householder ?
sātrani	nurse	O. sutrani
sātai-	to pacify, compromise	santi-peace
sātalu	mild, lazy	
sātar-	to ask for something from god	
sād-	to compose, to mix together intimately	W. O. san-; Ch. G.-O. chōndib
san	young	Ar. D. slaksō Pkt.-sanhō
sanli	younger wife	
sani	prostitute	
sāp	snake	
sapa	all, to the last bit	Arb. safā; Bh.-Hal.-
sapli	victuals for a guest.	surpō supa-winnowing fan, Provisions given in a fan.
sabu	soap	Portuguese
saya	cream, scum of film which forms on the surface of gruel.	Ar. D. sahō-cream; Pkt.-
sar-pōṭor	Playing cards	Ar. D. sari-piece at chess, dice
sar	real, substance, best part	

sar-	to finish, complete exhaust	Ar. D. saroyoti-makes move.
sar bar		
sarai-	to decorate to beautify, repair.	O. sara kör-to level, settle.
sarasari	last, concluding	
sarab	goldsmith	N. D. saraf-money changer, banker Arb)
saral	flood	Ar. D. soroti-runs; flows.
sartikariani	go-between (of lovers)	sarothi
sarda	love, affection, reverence	srodhya-trust
sard-	to make matters plain	O. Sudhariba
sal	and easy	sala-shed
salin/m	cowshed	
ar salim	porcupine	Ar. D. solali-solyofio-poncupine quill; Mar. sayal, salsi.
sasi j-	to soak, absorb	sosoyoti-makes dry
sasu	husband's elder sister wife's elder sister	Hal.-
sasta	cheap	Skt. sosto
si-	to sew	sivyoti-sews
siuni	Verbal Noun	
-de-	to mend garments	
sik-	to learn	Ganjam-
sikani	teaching	Laria-sikriba
sikai-	to persuade	
sikya	jail	
si-kar-	to blow a running nose to exhale	
siuti mar-	to whistle	Ar. D. siṭṭo-whistle
siku	tangled	Ar. D. sikya-rope-sling
sikri jau	gruel made of mixed rice and gram	Pkt. somkhöḍi-cooking of rice
sikli	chain, link	srnkholo
-de-	to fasten door	
-bajai-.	to knock	
-sora	anklet	
sige	full to the brim	srngo ?
sin	horn	
sijai-	to boil, cook	sidhyoti-well cooked
siura	ladder made of single bamboo	Pkt. siḍḍhi-ladder

siri	stem	Ar. D. sitto-ear of corn, straw.
sit	cold	
sitli		
-kiṛa	centipede	
sina	provided (conditional conjunctive)	
sindi	a kind of bushy plant.	Ar. D. sindi-date-palm.
-katra	phoenix sylvestris	Mar.. sid; Parj. cendi
-mugi	mon-goose	
-ḍenḍra		
sima	tin, iron sheet	O. soma-iron ring, Ganjam-simakoyā
-peri	tin box	
sira	ink	Tel—
—baṛi	pen	O. ciralo
siral	flag	O. cir-to tear
sirua-tōṇḍa	having a torn nose, harelip	
sirj-	to cast an evil eye	srj-emit
sirōjona		
sirla	retail selling, loose coins	Dr. D. cillor
sirli	thin and long strips	W. O. sirli O. cir-tear
sil-	to melt	Ar. D. siloti-moves, Kumaoni-to run along the surface; sitoloyoti-HH. silna-to be cool and damp; W. O. sihiliba- to become swampy
sili	wheel	Ar. D. sili-lower timber of a door; Parj. cili-wheel.
sisoṛi/sisli	whistle	N. susilo-whistling susoti
sisua	Lead	O. sisa
sistu	tax, land cess	Tel.
-bād-	to pay taxes	
sisr-	to splash, sprinkle	sisiro-cold
suā	Panicum miliare	syamoko; sukoko-barley, a bearded kind of wheat.
suad	tasteful, pleasant	
sukai-	to dry	susko-dried
sukli	dried	
sukna	things for drying	
sukeṛi	dregs, refuse, sediments	
suk sikla	timid, tender	
sukrubar	Friday	
sukra	born on that day	
sun-	to smell	Pkt. sumghoi srnkhoti

	to repay	Ar. D. udhyoti-purifies Pkt.- sujhōi-becomes clear
suji	needle	suci
sutōk-gōr	delivery place	Ar. D. sutōk-birth
suta	thread	
-jik-	to shrink	
-dar-	to spin	
sutrai-	to seduce, induce, inveigle, (sutroyoti-strings together) court	
sudh	pure, clear, unmixed	
sundī-gāra	wasp	srnoti
sun-	to obey, agree, respond	sunokar
sunari	jeweller	
sunburi	ghost of a pregnant woman	Tel. sara-rice made liquor, Skt. sura
sur	liquor	onomat.
sur surai-	to cry, sob	Tel., Naiki.-
suragali	whirlwind	O. surka
surda	gulp	
sul-dān	carrying staff	
suliya	pointed like a sul (spear)	
susār	sweet, good, gentle	
susta	healthy	Hal.—
susra	elder brother of husband/ wife.	
se	he, that	
serē	that there big	
eti		
sete	that much	
sede	there,	
semot/ti/tar	that way	
semōn	they	
seur̄ oi-	to grunt	W. O. seura-shameless
setua	weak, anemic	svetō-white
ser-kōr-	to sniff, inhale	
seruali	scorpion, centiped	POB. sōrlia
serṣṭa kōr-	to fondle, make affectionate gestures	
selō	leave, permission to deport	Tel.-
So-	to sleep	
soda kōr-	to examine, search	sodhoyoti-purifies.

## ADDENDA

## I. List of flora and fauna

## (1) Varieties of paddy.

karanđi, dud karandj	cendurmundi
kalamoura	celigurdi
kureiseri	jař
götia	jurđi
cipți	tiroi
cilipa	dumri
bondkați	niuli
baigon möji	pöroi
baṭa	pari
mämi baṭa	boč
loda mami	möisi ḫetia
bör bata	sindikoli
baṭa kabri	(3) Varieties of 'mandja.'
baṭa ləcøyi	kaugoři
baṭasundri	cili
baya gunda	pöracili
balu	dəsrabuřel
möli	dud karengä
muā	bör
rənrasel	balu
söpur	mami
əldi söpur	sunadei

## (2) Varieties of mango.

kəlpati	ek pobi
kakuakoli	kalia
kaṭakoli	bör
caul dua	macli
carkoli	mami
cipți	maṭi mami
	loda mami
	sindikoli

## (5) Edible roots- 'kanda'

kəlia  
keda  
taragai  
n̄goñu  
piṭ  
pita  
bɔngali  
baṭ  
mudur  
rani  
sorenda  
saru

## (6). Trees.

kia (Pandanus Odoratissinus)  
keköt  
car koli  
jura  
tek  
    tengiya cina  
qamən (Grewia Elastica)  
    joi damən  
quḍuN  
qumbjɔṛa  
qumri (Ficus Glomerata)  
banjola  
bandən  
bareN  
mədei  
maliN  
rauli  
sorgi (Vatica Robusta)  
saj (Shorea Robusta)

siuna  
sirɔs (Acacia Sirissa)  
boṛi sirɔs  
kanṭa sirɔs

## (7). Flowers.

auli (amələkɔ-Pnyllanthus Myrobalan)

koraṭ (kɔrɔhaṭɔ-Vangueria Spinosa)

gulapi (rose)

tara

turei

dəna (dɔyəña)

bat

mədar (məndarɔ-Erythrina Indica)

moric-

laiṭi-

mai

soetanka pul (O. kaṭhocompa)

simarani

sukli

suruj

## (8) Vegetables.

ati girli

kakı̄ (cucumber; kɔrkɔṭɔ)

kuṛka

cuncunia

tutmuṛi (bitter gourd)

turei (tɔruṭɔ; O. tɔrɔi-lotus root)

penḍi kanda

bana bɔda

mōdrenga

sit kuṭei

semi (simbɔ-kidney bean)

## (9) Fish.

kəksa (W. O. kəksi)  
 koi (Ar. D. kovoyi) Anabus  
 scandens  
 goisi (Cyprinus garra)  
 gai  
 jima (O. toyi)  
 ciṇḍia (ciṇngotō-shrimps)  
 citra  
 ḫuḍun  
 turija  
 kədəkia turija

pakna cəṭu  
 poṭi  
 bəṭu  
 bīḍna karandī  
 benda  
 manḍia siṭi  
 sol (O. scula sculca)  
 Ophiocephalus striatus

## (10) Snake.

kəsriya  
 kacapɔ̄triya  
 kalaṭ (krsn̄a nagɔ̄)  
 gɔ̄lɔ̄ corni  
 ḫəngər citi  
 dəndia (dundubhɔ̄-water-sanke)  
 damna (dhərmən̄-Zamenis  
 mucosus)  
 ɔ̄ṭol damna  
 dunu pəṭti  
 nag (cobra)  
 duli nag  
 tetli nag

teḍn̄ow  
 egn̄e niqe

## (11). Worms and Insects.

ənka  
 gəc  
 goru  
 jiad  
 tekor  
 ḫumri  
 kalia bəura  
 bog bəura  
 bita  
 būi  
 bursa  
 sindi

## (12). Birds.

iḍimaru  
 umaguni  
 koi (wild cock)  
 kapu (dove-təpotɔ̄)  
 kia  
 kuku (Skt. kənkɔ̄; T. kokku-  
 heron)  
 kurma  
 golia (O. kojjvələpati)  
 gunḍri  
 ceka (painted snipe, curlew)  
 jundi rami (O. boṭi)  
 ṭiṭiuna  
 nini  
 bəndia gid  
 badoṭi (bat)  
 benas

## II. List of Tag-Words

(i) Combination with synonymous words

koja-loia	searching and seeking	to collect anyhow
ce-c opot	screams and squabbles	to get away quickly
jala-pada	nets and traps	to entrap anyhow
jika-tana	dragging and pulling	
tola-beda	collection of funds by voluntary and compulsory contributions	
bodu-badeb	friends and relatives	
mōd-sur	wine and liquor	
raji-purti	the whole universe	
ret-rcgor	rubbing and grating	
luga-pata	clothings	

(ii) Combination with anonymous words

kal-dep	pits and mounds	uneasy way
tek-lepoṭ	lifting and laying	dragging with difficulties
bɔ̄r-san	young and old	everybody
bɔ̄l-asar	good and bad	
mila-jaca	earning and begging	
sɔ̄dɔ̄r-pidɔ̄r	common-yard and home-yard	everywhere

(iii) Combination with correlative terms

āsɔ̄r-basɔ̄r	kith and kins	
udar-bāi	borrowing with and without interest	
kota-beta	cutting and stacking	harvesting
kōmela-jōmela	earnings and savings	
kɔ̄sa-bua	ploughing and carrying	Cultivational jobs
kaoni-pioni	eating and drinking	
kata-barta	speaking and reporting	conversations
kadi-kend̄a	grains and chaffs	
kadi-pidi	food and dress	
kāda-buba	crying and howling	
kīa-pɔ̄longa	worms and insects	
kindra-pasla	turning and twisting	(pasla-kindra)
kira-mara	quarelling and beating	
kuṭa-gora	pounding and grinding	
kud-kond̄a	ordinary grains and chaffs	
gōt-gumor	bells and gongs	Musical instruments
jōt-kot	this way and that way	Uncertain movements
jōt-jiad	animals wild and mild	
ji-boini	daughters and sisters	Female-folk

Juar-beṭ	greeting and meeting
takla-punḍla	tired and exhausted
teN-ḍan	sticks and staffs
ḍabu-kasu	rupees and coins
ḍal-mal	leaves and creepers
dara-picka	gripping and squeezing
daru-pot̄or	Woods and leaves
nōki-table	pots and pans
paik-raut	soldiers and commanders
Pani-kāji	water and soup
pani-pot̄or	water and leaf
pita-kōsa	bitter and pungent
pej-pani	gruel and water
bōdu-bai	relatives and family-members
baṭ gaṭ	roads and rivers
baṭi-bōura	balls and tops
bat-sag	rice and curry
bāti-bōdaṛ	vomiting and excreting
mar-kun	beating and killing
maṛ-dar	beating and binding
rāda-baṛa	cooking and serving
sag-ḍal	curry and pulse-soup
sap-serualī	snakes and scorpions
suta-pot̄or	thread and leaf

Cooking utensils  
 Royal retinue  
 Cooking preoccupations  
 Worshiping materials  
 Food taken after a death  
 Viictuals

Playing materials

Diseases

Reptiles  
 Materials for a ritual

(iv) Combination with echo-words

baj-buj	frying
poṛ-par	roasting
pūk-pāk	blowing
moṛ-maṛ	twisting
tipal-tipul	sprinkling
bana-buni	napkins
sara-sari	towārds the end
dun-dan	shaking
pani-puna	water, etc.
maj-muj	rinsing
ṭati-ṭuṭa	mats, etc.
gaṭa-gaṭi	churning
kaṭ-kuṭ	cutting
led-leda	swampy-dumpy
bit-bitā	untasty
mis-misa	black and dark
dul-dula	crumblings
beṭ-bat̄	picking and piling
mac-muca	fish, etc.

## (v) Combination with meaningless ancillaries

oska-məska	pushing and dashing	
aka-saka	help and support	
akas-bakas	heaven and space	
ate-pate	hands and legs	to accomplish anyhow
ulsu-pamra	slow and dull	
usəl-pasəl	tossling and toppling	
kər-kənd	itching and scratching	
kauṛi-leuṛi	loads, etc.	
kacra-kuar	dirts and filth	
kaji-boji	feasting and merry-making	
gado-pado	bathing and washing	
gena-bisa	buying and selling	
cərei-ciən	birds, etc.	
caul-gaul	rice, etc.	
cıra-poṛa	settle and snap	to conclude a bargain
đög-upđor	leaps and jumps	
đal-butə	bushes and shrubs	
tas-bas	cultivation, etc.	
nati-puti	sons and childs	ancestors
punđa-unđa	breathing and sighing	
poṛa-daiə	burning and roasting	
baṭa-gɔṭa	grinding and churning	
baṭa-saṭa	serving and distributing	
batia-satia	victuals, etc.	
bau-binoy	bowing and praying	
buṛ-suṛ	bathing and cleaning	funeral rites
beṛa-kura	land, etc.	
mɔṛ-pɔṭ	doing with risks and hazards	
mapa-jupa	weighing and measuring	
əgo-ləsa	near and dear	
lag-tal	continuing and repeating	
uca-gɔja	stealing and hiding	
sɔṇ-tul	in groups and company	
sai-sarda	fondling and cajoling	
suna-bana	golds, etc.	

**D E S I A**

**A TRIBAL ORIYA DIALECT**

**APPENDIX**

## APPENDIX

## I

## The Bhatri Dialect of Koraput

Sir G. A. Grierson recognised Bhatri as 'a genuine dialect of Oriya'. (L. S. I., Vol. V, Pt. II, P—370). In his opinion "Bhatri is really a corrupt form of Oriya, with a few Marathi and Chhatisgarhi forms intermingled. It may be taken as the connecting link between that language and Halbi, which is a mixture of Marathi and Chhatisgarhi" (ibid, P—434). These observations of Sir Grierson are based on the specimen collected from Bastar. His views would have been slightly modified had he got an occasion to encounter with the Oriya dialects of Koraput, which he missed as that tract being an Agency-area lied beyond the perview of his survey. The language of the Bhattaras of Koraput is far less influenced by Halbi and Chhatisgarhi. It is in fact a variety of Desia with a very few characteristic marks of Halbi.

The Bhattaras originally belong to a non-Aryan stock. They are treated as a subdivision of the great Gond tribe along with Murias (Taylor). According to another tradition, they are believed to be the illegitimate offsprings of the Gonds. (Verrier Elwin-Tribal Myths of Orissa, 1954, P.xxvi). Their traditional history says that they migrated from their original home-land in Deccan to Bastar along with their other three brothers, namely, Muria, Paroja and Gond. Then the Murias settled in the mountains, Gonds in the valleys, parojas in Arangal villages and Bhattaras settled in Odijane. (Dr. Telang, P-533). In course of time they picked up Aryans habits of living and even began to wear sacred thread of the Hindus. During this gradual process of acculturization, they adopted the Aryan speech of the region as their mother-tongue.

On the other hand, about the origin of the Halbas—it is believed through their traditions that they were transformed to human-beings by Lord Siva out of the scare-crows that were placed in the gardens of an Oriya king. They served that king and lived in Puri. In course of time, when a king of that scion retired to forest having contacted leprosy, they also followed him as his personal attendants and later on settled in the Bastar-Koraput region (Dr. Telang, P.359). It is also believed that the Halbas are later immigrants to Bastar than the Bhatras. (S. Bhattacharya—"Halbi and Bhatra of Bastar" in Indian Linguistics, Bagchi Memorial Vol. 1957, P—16).

These traditional myths prove that the tribal Halbas and Bhatras were Aryanised by the early Aryan settlers of Bastar-Koraput region and it naturally follows that their languages must have evolved out of the Aryan speech of that region. Sri S. Bhattacharya has rightly said that "Halbi and Bhatri are two dialects of an Indo-Aryan speech that was spoken in Bastar and the neighbouring regions in olden times" (op. cit.) we may suppose that 'regional tribal Indo-Aryan Speech' to be the Sabari-Sauresani mixed Odhri Apabhramsa or a form of Early-Desia, since Desia means, the language of the region.

Historically, Bastar-Koraput region constituted one single administrative unit from an early period and the present political border of Bastar and Koraput was never so steady till very recent times. Under that circumstance,

this bulk of territory was a homogenous tract, not only politically but also culturally and linguistically. Halbas and Bhatras formed only a part of the vast majority of Desia (native) subjects of that territory where the ruling class has always been viewed as exotics.

In Koraput, Bhatras are found in Nawarangpur Subdivision only. They are more concentrated in Kotpad area which forms the border line between Bastar and Koraput. According to 1961 Census their total number is 157,763. There are also some Bhatras (1,125 in all) in Koksara and Jaypatna Police-Station area of the neighbouring district of Kalahandi.

The dialect of the Bhatras of Kotpad is slightly different from their Nawarangpur counterparts, which are called 'Nilputiya'. The river Indravati may be taken as a natural boundary of the two varieties. The Kotpad-dialect bears some impressions of Halbi affinity.

A short description of the dialect is given below on the basis of the materials collected in between 1965—68 from the following informants—

1. Dom Majhi, Gati Sahi, Nawarangpur
2. Ghasiram Bhatara, Chataundi, Ngpr.
3. Sambaru Goud, Chataundi, Ngpr.
4. Padlabh Bhatra, Hauli, Kotpad
5. Magru Bandagura, Chataundi, Kotpad
6. Dusum Majhi Bandagura, Kotpad
7. Rev. F. L. Prabhu Sahaya, Mission Compound, Kotpad
8. Three travellers from Siuni, Kotpad.

## 1. Phonology

### 1.1. Vowels :—

There are six vowels—/i, u, e, o, a, ɔ/. All the vowels have long positional variants, but the length is non-phonemic. Generally, the vowel in the penultimate position of closed syllables and after consonant clusters is long. (e.g. /duar/ door /əndra/male), Assimilation of vowels and /i/epenthesis are noticeable. All vowels can occur nasalised and nasalization is phonemic (e. g./at/market-/āt/tight;/kut/diplomacy—/kūt/pole ;/kəsa/hair-knot—/kn̩sa-brass-metal). Vowel combination of the following types are found—/iu, ia, io, ai, au, ae, ei eu, ei, əu, ou/.

### 1.2. Consonants :—

/p, t, t̪, c, k, b, d̪, d, j, g, s, m, n, N, l, r, y/

All except /N, y/occur initially before vowels only. All stops have slightly aspirated allophones finally in Tadbhava words (e. g./bagh/tiger/ byagghrə/). /d̪/has a flap allophone /ɾ/ intervocally and finally. (e. g. /gaɾ/ river, /gərnda/a piece). /n/has two allophones [n] before palatals and [ñ] before cerebrals /N/occurs alone only finally and before velars medially (e. g./siN/horn, kangar/poor)Clusters of any types do not occur initally.

## 2. Morphology

### 2.1. Number—

Common plural suffix is/mən/. Besides this, a few nouns of multitude, such as,/səb, gulai, manda/, are added either before or after the nominal absolute to express plurality.

### 2.2. Gender—

There is no grammatical gender. Common feminine affixes are/i, ni/. Otherwise the natural gender is expressed by descriptive words like/əndra/male,/mai/female.

### 2.3. Case-affixes—

Nom—; Acc—ke,e ; Gen.-or ; Loc-e,-ne,-ane, tane Instr//sənge/with,/ate/by hand. Abl.-nu, tan-nu, tanu ; Kotpad dialect-le. Excepting the Acc. case-affixes, other affixes are added to the genitival oblique base of the noun.

### 2.4. Pronouns—

General form	Oblique form
1st person Sg./mui/ Plu./ami/	mo, mor/ /am, amor/
2nd person Sg./tui/ Plu./təme/	/to, tor/ /təm, təmər/
3rd person Sg./se/ /əy/Kotpad Plu./se mən/	/ta, tar/ /tāke, tākər/ Kotpad—/tikər/
Demonstrative—Near-/i, e/  Far—/se/  -/ha/very far	Oblique-/a/  /ta/  /ha/
Relative—/je, jon/	/ja, jar/
Interrogative and/ke, kon/	/ka, kar/
Indefinite	/keni/(something)
Impersonal—/kay/(what)	

Case affixes are added to the oblique base only.

## 2.5. Pronominal Derivatives—

	Demonstr	Relative	Interrogativ
Time—	/ebe/	/tebe/	/jebə/
Place—	/ene/ /iti/ /ede/	/tene/ /siti/ /sede/	/jene/ /jonti/ /jəni/
Quantity—	/etek/	/setek/	/jetek/
Size—	/ēek/	/serek, terek/	/kēek/
Manner—	/emti/	/semti/	/jemti/ (Kotpad-komtar) /kemti/

## 2.6. Enclitics, Definitives and Conjunctives—

/ta, ti/ definitive, /ta/ expletive, /se/ emphatic, /ni/ compleative, /ar/ and,, /misa/ also, /para/ like, /matər/ but, /ale/ conditional.

## 2.7. Verb—

There are altogether 13 verbal forms, of which 5 are simple forms and 8 periphrastic forms. The construction of a simple form is as follows—root + (tense or mood) + person and number. Periphrastic forms are of two types—imperfect and perfect. The construction of an imperfect form is as follows—present participle form of the root ending in—/te/or/ti/ + Auxiliary verb/i e/ + tense or mood + person-number. Perfect forms are constructed in the same manner but the root remains in the past participle form ending in—i:.

However in two periphrastic forms i. e. present imperfect and perfect the construction is different. In these cases the auxiliary verb/ce-se/(ace) is added to the simple future and simple past forms to derive present imperfect and perfect forms respectively.

## 2.7. 1. Tense and Mood indicators—

Future—/s/ for 3rd pers. sg. only  
/b/ for all other persons.

Past— /l/

Contingent/t/

Impemrative—/—/

### 2.7.2. Person—Number markers—

1st pers.	sg.	/—i/ plu. /—u/; for imperative /—u/
2nd	sg.	/—us/; Kotpadi/—is/ /—/ for imperative
	plu.	/—as/; for imperative /—a/
(When the imperative is allo-benefactive to a 3rd person an additional /s/ occurs with imperative forms e. g./ moke de/Give me, but/take des/Give to him.		
3rd	sg.	/i/for future; /o/for imperative ; /a/for other tenses and moods.
	plu.	/ai/; for imperative /ət/.

### 2.7.3. Auxiliary verbs—

(i)/rəiba reba/to remain

	Customary	Imperative	Future	Past	Contingent
I.sg.	nə-rəi	(rəe)	rebi	reli	reti
plu.	nə-rəu	(rəu)	rebu	relu	retu
II.sg.	nə-rəus	rə	rebus	relus	retus
		(Kotpad—rebis		relis	retis)
plu.	nə-ruas	rua	rebas	relas	retas
III.sg.	nə-rəy	rəo	resi	rela	reta
plu.	nə-rəet	rəət	rebay	relay	retay

(ii)/ace ac, ce/to be (Kotpad-/as ase/)

I.sg./ace/	plu./acu/
II. /acus/ /acis/	/acas/
III. /ace/	/acət/

### 2.7.4. Negative verb—

Negative forms are obtained by the addition of negative affixes like/nai, na nə/, in kotpadi/ni/.

### 2.7.5. Causatives—

Causative forms are obtained by the addition of /a/ to the root. In certain cases the roots undergo some change due to operation of morphophonemic rules, e. g./kərbi/I will do /kəraibi/I will cause to do;/kaibi/I will eat,/kuaibi/; /soibi/I will sleep,/suaibi/.

### 2·7·5. Infinitives and Verbal—nouns—

Either the genitive case affix /ər/ or the acc. case affix /ke/ is added to the verbal noun, which is formed by the addition of /i/ba/ to the root, e. g./ka-iba-r, ka-iba-ke/for eating.

### 2·7·6. Conjunctions—

These are formed with the addition of the following participles to the root—  
 (i) perfect /-i/, (ii) continuative present /te-ti/or/ne-ni/, (iii) conditional /le/.e.g./kai/—having eaten, /kaite/while eating, /kaile/if eats.

### 3. Vocabulary—

The vocabulary of Bhatri contains a good number of words which have no use in Desia. A list of a few such words is given below.

/cinla pani/touched-water	/binə/ant-hill
/guli gāo/whole village	/banga/brinjal
/agmi/pregnancy in advance stage	/əndal/to cook rice
/bakan/to find fault with	/ceg/to climb
/buṛki/old she-goat	/təmək-āḍi/kettle drum
/kaṭna/basket	/jəbul/moss
/kaje/because of	/kəmniya/earning person

### Words from Kotpad dialect—

/buil/ox	/baili/woman
/nəngər/plough	/jət/to plough
/pitari anga/back-yard	/ku/well
/teb/to halt	/cəndra/weaver
/di/to give	/ni/to take
/gəd/to cut	/ben/seed
/ceṛe/bird	

### 4. Text—

#### (1) Parable of sower (Mark 4 : 1—9)

gət lok dan bun-ke nikər-la/ay bun-ba-ke kətək ben baṭ ləge ədər-la/ay-ṭa-ke ceṛe-mən beti kaelay/ari kətək kinḍik maṭi-rə-ba pəkna bui-ṭane odər-la/ay-ṭane kube maṭi na-rə-ba-ke jət-ke gaja ela ari bel ud-ba-ke pəṛi-ga-la ari cer na-rə-ba-ke

suki-ga-la/ari kətək kəta-kuṭa ləge ədər-la/ ari kəta-gəc-kuṭa nikri ay səbu-ke cepae-de-la/tebe paci na-ay-la/ari kətək niku-maṭi-re-ba būi-tane ədər-la ari gaja əi baṭ-la ari kube cube paci as-la/ari ay koe-la jar sun-ba-ke kan ace ay sunu/. (Rev. F. L. Prabhu Sahaya, Kotpad) [A man came out for sowing paddy. While sowing some seeds fell on the road. The birds picked up those seeds and ate. A few fell on the rocky land with little soil. As there was not much earth the seeds sprouted quickly but lied down by the sun-rise and then faded away for want of deep roots. Some seeds fell near the thorny bushes. Those bushes grew up and covered the paddy plants and there could not be any crop. Then some fell at places with good soil. Those sprouted, grew up and bore good crop. He (Christ) said—who has ears to hear, let him hear this.]

(2) Parable of Prodigal son (Luke: 15:11-32)

gəṭək lokər dui gəṭa bəṭa rəla/suru bəṭa tar bua-ke bəl-la-bua, mər bag-baṭa məke de/tebe tar buasəbu dən-ke dui-ṭa bəṭa-ke baṭa-kəri-dela/kinḍik din gala-ke suru bəṭa səbu-ke gəṭək-tanə runday-la ari bides uti-gala/ari ay-tane səbu dən-ke məd, məus, dari, juia keli bael-mən səNge bali-pul bādi sarai dela/səbu-ke saraila utare ay dese buk pəi-la/tebe take bəṭe kəstə ela/tebe ay pila ay desər gəṭək saukar ləge asra ne-la/tebe saukar take bəria cəray-ba-ke tar bəṭa tane pəṭay-la/ari bəria-mən jən-ṭa kailay ay-ṭa se kai pet bər-ba-ke mən kər-la/take kəni-na-delay/tebe et kər-la, mor bua gəre cube kəmia-mən acət/, ay-mən-ər kadi ubri-jaisi-ace/.mui e tane buke mər-bi-acı/mui ebe mər bua ləge uti jibi ari bua-ke kəybi-bua, mapru birud ar tər aki ləge dos kər-li/tor bəṭa boli ḫəkay-ebar jəgyə nai/moke gəṭək kəmia para sega/.

(Rev. F. L. Prabhu Sahaya, Kotpad)

[A man had two sons. The younger son told his father—Father, give me my share. Then the father divided his entire property between the two sons. After a few days, the younger son collected everything and moved to a foreign land. There he picked up friendship with women and squandered his property after wine, woman, meat and gambling. Soon after that there was famine. He lived with much hardship. Then he took shelter at a rich man. That man sent him to graze the hogs in his field. He ate to fill up his stomach what the hogs were eating. As he was not given anything more, he thought—There are so many labourers in my father's house who have excess of food, but I am dying of hunger here. I shall go now to my father and tell him—Father, I sinned against you and god. I am not worthy of being called as your son. Please give me shelter as one of your labourers.]

(3) The tiger and the jackal

bag ar kəlia/e kəlia puṭa gat-la/bag pacar-la je ay-ṭa kai kər-bi-acis na/kəlia bəl-la-puṭa gat-bi-acı na/bag kəlia-ke pacar-la-palani aisi-ace/bag bicar kər-la kəlia-ke kai-ba kaje/kəlia bab-la puṭa bitre luk-bi/bag kəila ki-naina moke goṭek gati de, mui ar luk-bi/gati de bol-ba-ke səri cimcima kəri gati kəri take puṭa saN-re bād -la/pəce kəlia sirla buta-ane jəi ḫəsai deləa, ari kəila-jəni bat-e di di kər-le hai batə gəndri gəndri ja/bag gəndri gəndri gala ar jəi capi ebək səri bagər bādən puski gala/puski jibak səri bag bəl-la-kaibi kəlia-ke ḫərai kəri, ar koc-ci-ace/koju koju goṭek siali male kəlia jul-si-ace/bag bab-la ebər kəlia-ke kaibi/bag māg-la-e jul-na-ke moke de boli/kəlia kəila-naina, mor aya buba dinər julna, mui na-dei/bag kəila-naina de eka/kəlia məne bab-la je e batə goṭek gojiya kuṭa ay batə goṭek gojiya kuṭa

gari dei səri julna-kē goṭek bate kətri dela, ari se pani kaibake jibak səri  
bag julna-anə jul-la/julu julu se mal ciṇi-gala/ciṇi-galak səri se gojiya kūta-  
anə busi-oi-kəri məri-gala/kəlia bab-la-bag mər ta/mər-le mui take kaibi/  
bag mər-la, ari kəlia bagər məus kaila/mor kata ciṇ-la/

(Dusum Majhi, Bandagura, Kotpad)

[The tiger and the jackal /The jackal weaved out a packing basket. The tiger asked—what are you doing ? The jackal replied I am making a packing basket. The tiger designed for eating the jackal. The jackal thought of hiding in the basket. The tiger told him—Make one for me, I shall also hide. The jackal made one as soon as possible and fastened the tiger inside it. Then the jackal set fire to the dry bushes and said—you roll down in that direction from which side I make a clicking sound. The tiger went on rolling and catching fire the fastening strings got loosened. The tiger came out and went on searching for the jackal in order to devour it. Then found out the jackal swinging on a 'siali' creeper. The tiger asked to leave him that swing. The jackal said—it belongs to us since the time of our parents, I shall, not give it. The tiger demanded—you must give. The jackal thought in his mind, placed two pointed poles in two sides. on the ground, punched the swing in one side and went away for drinking water. Then the tiger began to swing. The punched creeper broke apart. The tiger getting pierced with the pointed poles died. The jackal thought—let the tiger die, I shall eat him. The tiger died and the jackal ate his flesh. My story ends.]

#### (4) The tiger and the goat.

/pani əndal goṭe tek-la je gai-goru səb pərbətupr-e əcət/ kurupnas kəri bərəs-  
la/celi goṭe bəre, etki etki de ḥig-ər daṇi, se bag-ər par-e puri-dela/pani-caṇi-gala/  
bag dire as-la/celi e-baṭ dek-la/-nai, e;a kaita-boli bag palai-la/kəlia goṭek dek-  
la/se pacar-la-kentar bəs-lus mama?/bag kəila-ūc kapal, tia siN, etek ən daṇi  
əce, tənd-ke labu,labu, kər-si-ce, mui palai as-li/kəlia kəila- e-ṭa celi!/bag-nai  
tə/kəlia-ju ki-na/bag-nai, moke kai-dei-si, nə jay/kəlia-tor laj-ke mor laj- ke misai  
kəri bandu/.....dire dui-lok rangi gəlai/ləge ket-ba-ke to celi bari-pəṇ-la/  
kəila-patər! toke joṭek an-ba-ke kəi-ba-ke tui goṭek an-lus?/se bag pala-pala..../  
se kəlia iti ṭuṭa siti ṭuṭa məri-gala/celir bat celi bagər bat bag gala/.

[Dom Majhi, Gatisahi, Nawarangpur]

[Once when the rains came, the cattles were grazing on the hill. It rained heavily. A big goat, having long beard, took shelter in the tiger's cave. At last the rain abated. The tiger came slowly towards his cave and saw the goat from a distance. Failing to recognise the goat, he got frightened and fled away. On the way a jackal met him and asked to know his troubles. The tiger told—something terrible he saw in his cave—it has big horns, long beard, and it was licking its lips and then he fled away. The jackal said—Oh, that is a goat, let us go and see. The tiger said—No, I wont, it will eat me up. Then the jackal said—Let us tie our tails together and go.....Both of them proceeded slowly. As they were near the cave, the goat came out and said—You jackal, I ordered you to bring two but you brought one? The tiger immediately started running, and the jackal being dragged and crushed died on the way. The goat and the tiger returned to their respective places safely.]

### The dialect of the JHARIYA PARAJA of Koraput

'PARAJA' is a common term for the tribal peoples of Koraput. The word is a corrupt form of the Sanskrit word 'Praja' which means 'the People' or 'the Subjects'. Peoples of divergent ethnological groups, such as Bonda, Dideyi, Gadba of the Munda stock, Koya, Dora, Ollari of the Dravidian stock and Rona, Goud, Mali of the Aryan stock also refer themselves as 'Parajas'. The Parji language which literally means the language of the Parajas is the mother-tongue of only a particular section of the Parajas who are found in Koraput district of Orissa and in some parts of Madhya Pradesh and it belongs to the Dravidian family of languages (Ref. The Paraji Language by T. Burrow and S. Bhattacharya Hertford, 1953). Whatever may be the origin of these peoples, Gonds (according to Russel, Hirralal), or Kondhs (according to Carmichael, Bell), they are a class of aboriginal tribal people who have settled down in Koraput from a very early period and have been acculturized to a great extent by the Aryans of that region. They are divided into four sections—(1) Jhariya or Bad Paraja, (2) Bareng Jhariya Paraja, (3) Pengu Paraja, (4) Celiya or Konda Paraja. The last named sect is equated with the Telegu-speaking Konda-Doras and are no longer treated as a part of the Paraja tribe (Ref. R. C. S. Bell, Koraput District Gazetteer, 1945. P. 73). Among the other three sects of pure Paraja tribe, the Pengu Parajas form a distinct sect as they speak a Dravidian dialect named after them as Pengo or Pengu. According to 1961 Census, there are altogether 1,254 speakers of this dialect. They are concentrated only in Semliguda and Paprahandi P. S. areas. The remaining two sects are more akin to each other as they both speak an Oriya dialect called Jhariya.

The Jhariya Parajas occupy the highest position in the caste hierarchy. They do not eat beef and honour the cows like the Hindus. As tradition goes, these Parajas had their original home-land in Baster region and for that they till now worship Danteswari, the tutelary Goddess of Bastar. The affinity of their language with the Halbi dialect of Bastar region gives an evidence to this tradition. (Ref. Adibasi, 1963-64, Nos. 1 and 3).

The Jhariya dialect has only 2,032 number of speakers according to 1961 census. There is a remarkable fall in the number within only a decade as the number was 2,539 at the time of 1951 census. They have concentrated settlement only in four areas as follows—Koraput P. S.—500, Boipariguda P. S.—503, Kotpad P. S.—507, Bissam Katak P. S.—502. In addition to these there are 23 speakers in Madhya Pradesh and 20 in urban areas of Koraput.

A grammatical sketch of this dialect is given below on the basis of the materials collected from Kilo Genu (Nandpur) Mangala mudli (Cindri) and Jamadar Naik (Kalapari).

#### Morphology of Jhariya

1. Number—Common plural suffix is /mən/.
2. Case—Affixes—

Nom.

Acc. —ke

Instr. səŋge, ate

Abl. —uṇi

Gen. —ər

Loc. —e,-re

The Acc. and Loc. affixes are added to the regular base and the Instr. and Abl. affixes are added to the genitival oblique base of the noun.

### 3. Pronoun—Direct Form

### Oblique Form

#### Personal—

1st, sg. mui	mo/mor
pl. ami	am/amər
2nd, sg. tui	to/tor
pl. təme	təm/təmer
3rd, sg. se	ta
pl. se-mən	tāokər/semənər

#### Demonstrative—

Near— e/i	e
Far se	ta/teo

#### Relative-Je/jon

ja

#### Interrogative ke

ka

#### Impersonal— kāi (what)

ken/kon (which)

Case affixes are added to the oblique base only

#### Pronominal Derivatives

From Demonstr./e-i/, /se/, iti (here), eor (of here), abe (now)  
tei (there), teor-teür (of there),

From Interrog./ke/, kunti (where), keū- kae (where), kəbke (when), kenulis (from somewhere) kiru (from somewhere), kaintar (for what), keñkar (of where).

### 4. Verb—

There are altogether 12 conjugational forms of which four are simple forms and eight are periphrastic forms. The periphrastic forms are constructed with the help of the auxiliary verb /re/. These are of two types-imperfective and perfective. The imperfect aspect is marked by /te-ti/ affix and the perfect aspect by /i/ affix. Present-Perfect forms are formed by adding the auxl./ach/to simple past-form.

### Conjugational Affixes—

(1) Past tense marker /l/  
and

Subjunctive mood marker /t/

Occur with the following P-N affixes.

1st. sg. /e/ pl. /ū/

2nd. /is/ /as/

3rd. /a/ /ay/

(2) Future tense—The following P-N affixes are added to Vsts.

1st, sg., ind-end/ pl./und/

2nd. /si/ /as/

3rd. /id-ed/ /unde-ed/

(3) Imperative mood—The following P-N affixes are added.

2nd.sg./—/ pl. /a/

3rd. /o/ /oy/

### Auxiliary Verbs—

(i) /ac/x 1st.sg./ach/ pl. /acū/

as/ /ase/ /asu/

2nd. /acis/ /acas/

/asis/ /as/

3rd. /ach/ /acət/

/ase/ /at/

(ii) /rə-/ 1st.sg. Past-/rile/ Future-/rəind/ Subjunc./reti/

pl. /relū/ /rəound/ /retū/

2nd.sg. /relis/ /resi/ /retis/

pl. /relas/ /rəas/ /retas/

3rd.sg. /rela/ /rəid/ /reta/

pl. /relay/ /rəinde/ /retay/

### Negative forms—

Negative forms are obtained by prefixing the negative morphemes /nə, ne/or by suffixing /nai/ to the verb forms. There is a negative verb /nic/ which is conjugated like any other verb stem.

### Causative forms—

Causative forms are obtained by the addition of the affix /a/ to the root.

### Non-Finite forms—

Verbal Noun-Root+/u/, /ba/

Durative Participle-Root+/te, ti/

Gerundial Perfect—Root+/i/

Conditional Conjunctive Root+/le/

## 5. Sample Paradigm.

—/kər/‘to do’.

## Past

	Singular	Plural
--	----------	--------

1st.	kərulē	kərulū
2nd	kerulis	kərulas
3rd.	kərula	kərulay

## Future

kərind	kəründ
kərsi	kəras
kəred	kəruđe

## Subjunctive

kərte	kərtū
kərtis	kərtas
kərta	kərtay

## Imperative

2nd.	kər	kəra
3rd.	kəro	kərōy

## Periphrastic Forms—

Imperfect—1st. Sg. kərti-rile, and so on.

Perfect— kəri-ach, and so on.  
kəli-ach, and so on.

## Non-Finite Forms—

Verbal Noun—kəru

Durative— kərti-

Gerundial—Perf-kəri

Conditional conj. kərle

## 6. Sample sentences—

tui kon gāo-r-uṇi ailus ? kai kəru-ke ?

[You which village-of-from came what doing-to]

tui kon-ti resi ?

[You where shall-stay]

dui lok-ke goṭek gər se dei- at-te ki?

[two person-to one house only they-have-given what]

joṛek babu at-ti kāy ?

two gentlemen are (there) what]

mui na pari, se mansi kered  
 [I not able that man shall-do]

gøre ar kaintai jaind ta, iti soind be  
 [house-in again for-what I-shall go, here I-shall-sleep]

ekla to e paiti keru nay  
 [alone this job doing not-possible]

e lok-ke kau-ke dias, iti kaund boluley  
 [this man-to eating-to you-give here we-shall-eat they-said]

mor gau kalapari ach  
 [my village kalapari is]

goṭe pila gaṛ kəndi bəsi-ach  
 [one boy river bank he-is-sitting]

aji pani mared aṭ-bel-ke  
 [today rain shall-rain afternoon-to]

mui kojle mil-li nai)  
 [I when-searched that-was-available not]

pakna goṭe beti-an kanulis  
 [stone one picking-bring from-somewhere]

tui keu jaūlis .? teu-ke mui jaind  
 [you where went there-to I shall-go]

keu geli-ach ki, ase nai se ?  
 [where he-has-gone what comes not indeed]

taō-ke e paiti keri-at-ti  
 [they-to this work they-have-done]

ca kau-ke jai-rəili, eles ela aula  
 [tea drinking-to I-had-gone delay became coming]

mui gele lagi se paiti kerti-rəila mui dekle  
 [I went at-that-time he work was-doing-he I saw]

se-lok aji Jeypur ja-t-ti tui jasi ki ?  
 [they today ' ' they-have-gone you shall-go what]

kerebel ləge as-si be tui ?  
 [when at-that-time shall-come you]

e manai-mən gaṛ-kəndi bəsi-at-ti, kai kəruey  
 [this persons river-bank they-have-sat what they-did mui ne-jani I not-know]

take kəile se kerte-reita  
 [him if-said he would-have-been-doing]

təme ba kaas ki nicas ?  
 [you-all shall-eat or shall-denry]

ma kud-la ki baba kud-la abe as-si ki nay ?  
 [mother called or father called now you-will-come or not]

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