Sociolinguistic survey of selected Rajasthani speech varieties of Rajasthan, India
Volume 1: Preliminary overview

Nelson Samuvel
Marshall Joshua
Binoy Koshy
Binny Abraham
Juliana Kelsall, Series Editor
Sociolinguistic survey of selected Rajasthani speech varieties of Rajasthan, India

Volume 1: Preliminary overview

Nelson Samuvel, Marshall Joshua, Binoy Koshy, and Binny Abraham

Juliana Kelsall, Series Editor

SIL International®
2012
Abstract

The purpose of this survey was to gain a better understanding of the major present-day speech varieties of Rajasthani spoken in India, in order to assess potential needs for further language development. The speech varieties covered include Dhundari (ISO 639-3: dhd), Godwari (ISO 639-3: gdx), Hadothi (ISO 639-3: hoj), Marwari (ISO 639-3: rwr), Merwari (ISO 639-3: wry), Mewari (ISO 639-3: mtr), Mewati (ISO 639-3: wtm), and Shekhawati (ISO 639-3: swv). Background research was done during December 2001 and the fieldwork was carried out from January through May 2002. In this report, we summarise extensive background research and information from interviews with Rajasthani scholars and poets. We collected sociolinguistic data from speakers of several Rajasthani dialects using wordlists, Recorded Text Testing (RTT), questionnaires, and observations. Our findings were that the speakers of many Rajasthani varieties often perceive their varieties as related dialects, and also report that they can understand one another. However, the lexical similarity study done in this survey indicated that these dialects appeared to be fairly different from one another. The results of an RTT developed in Jodhpur Marwari (perceived as the central variety of Marwari) showed that this variety was not well understood by subjects from six test points representing six other major Rajasthani dialects. The vitality of present-day Rajasthani speech varieties in India appears fairly strong. Hindi is perceived as being valuable for education and economic advancement. However, observations and self-reported information collected during this survey indicate that, aside from those who are well educated, many speakers of Rajasthani dialects are probably not bilingual enough in Hindi to use complex written materials in that language.
Contents

Introduction to the Series

1 Introduction
   1.1 Geography
   1.2 History
   1.3 People
      1.3.1 Marwari or Rajput
      1.3.2 Scheduled Tribes
      1.3.3 Population and literacy trends
      1.3.4 Mother tongues
   1.4 Language
      1.4.1 Name and origin
      1.4.2 Literature
      1.4.3 Current situation
      1.4.4 Linguistic classification of Rajasthani dialects
      1.4.5 Geographic classification of Rajasthani dialects
      1.4.6 Language development
   1.5 Previous research
   1.6 Purpose and goals

2 Dialect areas
   2.1 Lexical similarity
      2.1.1 Introduction
      2.1.2 Procedures
      2.1.3 Site selection
      2.1.4 Results and analysis
      2.1.5 Conclusions
   2.2 Dialect intelligibility
      2.2.1 Introduction
      2.2.2 Procedures
      2.2.3 Site selection
      2.2.4 Results and analysis
      2.2.5 Conclusions

3 Language use, attitudes, and vitality
   3.1 Introduction
   3.2 Procedures
   3.3 Questionnaire sample
   3.4 Results and analysis
3.4.1 Language use
3.4.2 Language attitudes
3.4.3 Language vitality
3.5 Conclusions
4 Bilingualism
4.1 Introduction
4.2 Questionnaires
4.3 Informal interviews and observations
4.4 Conclusions
5 Summary of findings and recommendations
5.1 Summary of findings
5.2 Recommendations
  5.2.1 For further research
  5.2.2 For language development
  5.2.3 For literacy
Appendix A. Maps
Appendix B. Wordlists
References
Introduction to the Series

According to an old saying, ‘The dialect, food, water, and turbans in Rajasthan change every twelve miles.’ Indeed, the state of Rajasthan in western India is a region of rich cultural and linguistic diversity. Eight languages from this area are covered in this six-volume series of sociolinguistic surveys. In both the *Linguistic survey of India* (Grierson 1906) and the *Ethnologue* (Lewis 2009), these languages are classified as Indo-European, Indo-Iranian, Indo-Aryan, Central Zone, Rajasthan. At that point, the classification terms diverge, as seen in this table:

**Classifications and ISO codes for the eight languages covered in this series**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Linguistic survey of India (Grierson 1906)</th>
<th>Ethnologue (Lewis 2009)</th>
<th>ISO 639-3 code</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Marwari</td>
<td>Western Rajasthani</td>
<td>Marwari</td>
<td>rwr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Godwari</td>
<td>Western Rajasthani</td>
<td>Marwari</td>
<td>gdx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mewari</td>
<td>Western Rajasthani</td>
<td>Marwari</td>
<td>mtr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shekhawati</td>
<td>Western Rajasthani</td>
<td>Marwari</td>
<td>swv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Merwari</td>
<td>Central-eastern Rajasthani</td>
<td>Marwari</td>
<td>wry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhundari</td>
<td>Central-eastern Rajasthani</td>
<td>Marwari</td>
<td>dhd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hadothi</td>
<td>Central-eastern Rajasthani</td>
<td>Unclassified</td>
<td>hoj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mewati</td>
<td>North-eastern Rajasthani</td>
<td>Unclassified</td>
<td>wtm</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Grierson also includes Bikeneri under Western Rajasthani. Bikaner (alternatively spelled Bikener) is a district where Marwari is spoken.

*Grierson also includes Ajmeri under Central-eastern Rajasthani, but not Merwari itself. Ajmer is a district where Merwari is spoken.

‘Rajasthani’ has long served as a cover term for many of the speech varieties of this region. In spite of significant linguistic divergence, use of this term has continued to this day, sometimes by mother tongue speakers as well as by scholars and those who are seeking official recognition of Rajasthani as a Scheduled Language of India. The definition of ‘language’ versus ‘dialect’ presents challenges to researchers. These challenges are compounded by the numerous different terms used by census takers, scholars, and mother tongue speakers themselves.

In the introduction to the print version of the *Ethnologue*, Lewis (2009:9) notes,

> Every language is characterized by variation within the speech community that uses it. Those varieties, in turn, are more or less divergent from one another. These divergent varieties are often referred to as dialects. They may be distinct enough to be considered separate languages or sufficiently similar to be considered merely characteristic of a particular geographic region or social grouping within the speech community. Often speakers may be very aware of dialect variation and be able to label a particular dialect with a name. In other cases, the variation may be largely unnoticed or overlooked.

In these surveys, the researchers used a multi-pronged synchronic approach to describe the current sociolinguistic situation of the eight languages under consideration. Lexical similarity within and between languages was assessed using a 210-item wordlist. The phonetic transcriptions of these wordlists are presented in appendices to the reports. In many instances, intelligibility of selected speech varieties was investigated using recorded oral texts. Orally-administered questionnaires provided insights into language use patterns, language attitudes, perceived similarities and differences among speech varieties, and self-reported bilingual proficiency. Community levels of bilingualism were investigated using
sentence repetition testing. The results make a significant contribution to a broader and deeper understanding of the present-day sociolinguistic complexities in Rajasthan.

The researchers travelled many kilometres by train, bus, motorcycle, and on foot. They interviewed regional scholars, local leaders and teachers, and large numbers of mother tongue speakers, meeting them in large cities as well as in rural villages. It is the researchers’ sincere hope that the information presented in these volumes will be useful in motivating and supporting continued development efforts in these languages.

Juliana Kelsall, Series Editor
1 Introduction

1.1 Geography

Rajasthan is known as a land of kings. It is also a land of desert, lakes, jungles, and vibrant colours. It is famous for its battle-scarred forts and palaces. This land has a rich heritage, history, and natural beauty. It has an unusual diversity in all its people, customs, culture, costumes, music, manners, dialects, food, and physiography, and also shows great variety in climate, soil, vegetation, and mineral resources. Rajasthan is situated in the north-western part of the Indian Union (Map 1, Appendix A). It is between north latitudes 23º 30' to 30º 11', and east longitudes 69º 29' to 78º 17’. The state covers a distance of 869 kilometres from west to east and 826 kilometres from north to south. The total area of Rajasthan is 342,239 square kilometres. It occupies 10.41 per cent of the country’s total area, which gives it second position in the country in terms of area. However, the population is only 56,473,122 or 5.2 per cent of the total Indian population. Rajasthan can be divided into six major regions, based on geographical distinction, as follows:

- Western arid region
- Semi-arid region
- Aravalli region
- Eastern region
- South-eastern region
- Chambal ravine region

The western arid region is characterised by desert, which extends across the border into Pakistan. This region covers Jaisalmer district, the north-western part of Badmer and Jodhpur districts, south-eastern Bikaner district, south-western Churu district, and the western part of Nagaur district. This is the largest region in the state.

The semi-arid region is situated on the west of the Aravalli range. It covers the districts of Jalore, Pali, south-eastern Jodhpur and Nagaur, Sikar, Jhunjhunu and the north-eastern part of Churu. The southern part of this region is watered by the Luni River, but the northern part has inferior drainage.

The Aravalli region is 688 kilometres from north-east to south-west. It covers almost all of Udaipur district, the south-eastern part of Pali and Sirohi districts, and the western part of Dungarpur district. The mountains and hills of the Aravalli range dominate the majority of this region. The Aravalli range divides the state into two broad geographical areas. One is desert and other is fertile land.

The eastern region includes the districts of Jaipur, Alwar, Sawai Madhopur, Bhilwara, Bundi, Alwar, Bharatpur, and the north-western part of Kota. This region is mainly watered by the Bavas River and its tributaries.

The south-eastern region covers the districts of Banswara, Chittorgarh, Jhalawar, and Kota. The Kota-Jhalawar area consists of stony uplands, but the Chambal River and its tributaries have formed an alluvial basin in Kota.

The Chambal ravine region lies along the Chambal River. Here it forms the boundary between Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh.

The western and north-western part of Rajasthan shares an international boundary with Pakistan; Sindhi is spoken in this region. Punjab, where Punjabi is spoken, borders Rajasthan to the north. Haryana and Uttar Pradesh are to the north-east and east; Haryanvi and Braj Bhasha are spoken in those areas. Madhya Pradesh is on the south and south-east; Malvi is the main regional language there. Gujarati, where Gujarati is spoken, lies to the south-west (Arya and Arya 2001:3, Kanwar 1996:3, Mathew 1996:658).

1.2 History

Rajasthan has a vast history and glorious past. The state name Rajasthan appeared only from the time of the Indian independence struggles. The history of Rajasthan is mainly the history of Mewar, Marwar, Jaipur, Kota, Bundhi, and Bharatpur states. With the war of the Indian resistance (the Dasranjana war), the history of Rajasthan began to take its concrete form (Chouhan 1996:1,3).

In the past, the constituent regions of the present Rajasthan were known by different names. Many times, due to a change in rulers, the boundaries of the separate regions also changed. The name Rajputana seems to have been used first in 1800 by George Thomas in his Military Memoirs, for the simple reason that Rajput Chiefs ruled it. In 1829, Colonel Tod, in his well-known book Annals and antiquities of Rajasthan, used the word Rajasthan for it because it consisted of princely states (Maheswari 1980:1).

‘The present state of Rajasthan is a combination of 21 big and small princely states. The process of the integration of these states was completed in stages. The final stage was on 1 November 1956, when Ajmer, Abu and Sunnel districts of the Bhanpura Tehsil\(^1\) of Mandsore district of the former Madhya Bharat were linked to the union. Thus, the present state of Rajasthan came into being’ (Maheswari 1980:2).

1.3 People

1.3.1 Marwari or Rajput

The main people group in Rajasthan is the Marwari or the Rajput. Table 1 gives a list of Rajput clans and descriptions.

\(^1\)A tehsil consists of a city or town that serves as its headquarters, possibly additional towns, and a number of villages. As an entity of local government, it exercises certain fiscal and administrative power over the villages and municipalities within its jurisdiction. It is the ultimate executive agency for land records and related administrative matters. Its chief official is called the tehsildar or talukdar.
Table 1. Rajput clans and descriptions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clan</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rathor</td>
<td>The most illustrious of all the tribes of Surajbansi Rajputs, and by far the most numerous of all Rajput classes in Marwar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhati</td>
<td>Next to the Rathor, the most numerous of all the Rajput tribes in Marwar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chohan</td>
<td>The most valiant of the whole Rajput race, and once very powerful. Adamitily of all the tribes of Surajbansi Rajputs, and by far the most numerous of all Rajput classes in Marwar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kuchwaha</td>
<td>Fourth in serial order, having a percentage of 5.69 and forming a seventeenth part of the whole Rajput population in Marwar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sisodia</td>
<td>Famous branch of Gelot Rajputs, to which the ancient house of Udeypore belongs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Punwar</td>
<td>One of the four Agnicula races. They were once the most powerful race, to which belonged Bikram and Bhoi, the greatest Rajas of ancient India, whose names are household words even up to the present day.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Solunkhi</td>
<td>Seventh in numerical order among all the Rajput tribes, bearing a percentage of 2.86 only. They are of the Agnicula race, and another name for them is Chaluk.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parihar</td>
<td>Said to be the Agni-Bansi Rajputs, being derived from Agni-Kund like the Chohans, Punwars and Solunkhis. They were once a very powerful tribe and ruled at Kabul, from where they migrated to Ajuchia and then to Marwar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tunwar</td>
<td>Claim their descent from Raja Judhishtra of the Pandu family. Their number in Marwar, as compared with other Rajput tribes, is very small.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jhala</td>
<td>Branch of Makwana Rajputs, to which the ruling family of Jhalawar belongs. They are found in very small numbers in Marwar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gujar</td>
<td>Third caste of the group. Military and dominant; the Jats and the Rajputs exceed them in point of number. The Gujars are not regarded in Marwar as a dominant caste, being chiefly cattle-breeders and dealers, though they were once very powerful in Gujarath.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jat</td>
<td>The most numerous caste in Marwar, even surpassing the Rajputs in point of number. They constitute a greater portion of the husbandmen in Marwar, being nearly one-fourth of the total agricultural population of the country.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaim-Khanis</td>
<td>They were originally Chohan Rajputs. They came to Marwar from Shekhawati and are mostly found in the eastern Parganas of Didwana, Merta and Nagor. Sindhi: the Sindhis form a large part of the Musalman Rajputs in Marwar. They are mostly found in Sheo, Mallani and Sanchor, where they are chiefly cultivators and herdsmen. They originally belonged to the Yadu family of Chanderbansi Rajputs, but now consist of various tribes such as Bhati, Sodha, Tunwar and Rathor.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malis</td>
<td>Though included among the agricultural castes, they also follow other occupations. They form a very industrious class of market gardeners.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pital of Kalbi</td>
<td>The same as the Kalbis, though they returned separately to Marwar. They follow no other profession than cultivation, and are called Chowdris.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bishnoi</td>
<td>They were originally Jats, and owe the foundation of their sect to Jambhaji, a Punwar Rajput who was born in 1451 AD and led the life of an ascetic and celibate.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sirvi</td>
<td>The chief class of minor agriculturists. Their total number in Marwar, ascertained from the present census, is 55,757. There are two chief divisions of Sirvis called Kharia and Jenewa.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The theories about the origin of Rajputs can be classified into certain categories. The most ancient theory is that they are the progeny of sun, moon and fire. The reference to solar and lunar dynasties is not traceable in the earliest Indian literature i.e. the Vedas (1500–1000 BC) and the Jatakas (3rd century BC) but can be traced back to Mahabarata, Bhagvatapurana (9th century AD)’ (Ratnawat and Sharma 1999:40). The Rajputs form the chief military and dominant class in Marwar and stand highest in the list of castes as regards their numerical importance, bearing a proportion of 9.71 per cent to the total population, and of 11.25 per cent to the total number of Hindus (Singh 2000).
The Rajputs have been the ruling race of India from time immemorial and are therefore termed Rajputs or the sons of rajas. Formerly, they were also known by the name of Kshatriyas, and belonged to the two ancient solar and lunar dynasties. The former ruled at Ajudhia, and the latter at Piryag (now Allahabad). Generations went by till after the great Mahabharata war, when foreign inroads ravaged the country, the two families lost their power, and the spread of Buddhism in India added more to their weakness. Other castes rose and occupied the kingdoms founded by the Rajputs. To get rid of these usurpers, the Bashisht muni and other rishis, as is commonly believed, performed the ceremonies of jagat Abu, and produced agnibans Rajputs from agnikund. This formed the third dynasty of Rajputs, which dates its origin to a period nearly 2,500 years back. It consisted chiefly of Punwars, Chohans, Solunkhis and Parihars. The ancient dynasties of Sorajbanis and Chundarbansi Rajputs also revived, and their various branches, such as Rathores, Sisodias and Kuchhwayas and Tunwars, Bhatis and Jarichas, established their authority in Gujarat and Rajputana. Many branches of Punwas, Chohans, Solunkhis and Parihars are also found in Marwar. Some of them are mere cultivators, but a few still possess a very small portion of land and are called Bhomias (Singh 2000).

There are also some Musalman Rajputs in Marwar. They are called Musalman-Sepahis, but only nominally so, as they scarcely differ in their customs and manners from the Hindu Rajputs. They are, for the most part, the Bhatis and Chohans, who were forced into conversion during the Mohammedan period, and are generally found in the western and eastern parts of the country. Several Rajput clans that are found in Marwar are Rathor, Bhati, Chohan, Kuchwaha, Sisodia, Punwar, Solunkhi, Parihhar, Tunwar, Jhala, Gujar, Jat, Kaim-khanis, Sindhi, Malis, Pital of Kalbi, Bishnoi, and Sirvi (Singh 2000).

1.3.2 Scheduled Tribes

The highest concentration of Scheduled Tribes in Rajasthan is found, according to the 1981 Census of India, in Banswara and Dungarpur districts, where their proportion to the total population of the districts comes to 72.63 and 64.44 per cent, respectively. Other districts with higher proportions are Udaipur (34.33 per cent), Sirohi (23.11 per cent), Sawai Madhopur (22.67 per cent), Bundi (20.11 per cent), Chittorgarh (18.16 per cent), and Kota (14.83 per cent). Table 2 shows the populations and percentages of the Scheduled Tribes of Rajasthan according to the 1981 Census of India.

---

2Scheduled Tribes are tribal groups that have been officially recognised by the Government of India and listed in the Constitution. They are therefore eligible for certain types of government assistance.
Table 2. Scheduled Tribes of Rajasthan according to 1981 Census of India

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of the tribal/sub-tribal groups</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>% of total tribal population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mina</td>
<td>2,069,456</td>
<td>49.47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhil, Bhil Garasia, Dholi Bhil, Dungri Bhil, Dungri Garasia, Mawasi Bhil, Rawal Bhil, Tadvi Bhil, Bhagalia, Bhilala, Pawra, Vasava, Vasava</td>
<td>1,861,502</td>
<td>44.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Garasia (excluding Rajput Garasia)</td>
<td>121,939</td>
<td>2.915</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saharia, Sehria, Seharia</td>
<td>41,427</td>
<td>0.990</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Damor, Damaria</td>
<td>30,603</td>
<td>0.732</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhil Mina</td>
<td>18,687</td>
<td>0.446</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhanka, Tadvi, Tetaria, Valvi</td>
<td>16,238</td>
<td>0.388</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naikda, Nayaka, Cholivale, Nayaka, Kapadia, Nayaka, Mota Nayaka, Nana Nayaka</td>
<td>10,287</td>
<td>0.246</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kathodi, Katkari, Dhar Kathodi, Dhar Katkari, Son Kathodi, Son Katkari</td>
<td>2,541</td>
<td>0.061</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koli Dhar, Tokre Koli, Kolcha, Kolgha</td>
<td>1,881</td>
<td>0.045</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patelia</td>
<td>1,724</td>
<td>0.041</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Konka, Kokni, Kukna</td>
<td>165</td>
<td>0.004</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others (unspecified)</td>
<td>6,674</td>
<td>0.161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>4,183,124</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Among these Scheduled Tribes, the five major groups are the Mina, the Bhil, the Garasia, the Saharia, and the Damor. They are considered major because of their numerical strength and because their concentration is in definite regions. As a matter of fact, racially and historically there are two major groups of tribal people, namely the Minas and the Bhils. If a hierarchy of the tribal groups in the state were made in terms of sociocultural and demographic variables, the Minas would occupy the first rank, followed by the Bhils and other tribal groups (Dhoshi 1992:1–50).

**Mina**

The Minas, who ruled over some of the jagirs and thikanas of the former states of Jaipur and Alwar, are basically an agricultural community. They are more concentrated in the districts of Jaipur, Sawai Madhopur and Udaipur, where 51 per cent of their population resides. They are also found in the districts of Alwar, Chittorgarh, Kota, Bundi, Tonk and Dungarpur.

The Minas are known by different names with varying spellings. Some of the variations are Meena, Mina Thakur, Chowkidar Mina, Zamindar Mina, Pardeshi Rajput, and Rawat. There are numerous clans of Minas, of which 14 are found only in Marwar. These are Chhapila, Jep, Jarwal, Bagri, Pakhri, Bundus, Manotal, Bansunwal, Chitta, Nogara, Sira, Bungrani, Chindra, and Osar.

Development programmes for the Minas are implemented through the Modified Area Development Agency (MADA). The development area of MADA is extended to 13 districts, principally including Alwar, Dholour, Bhilwara, Chittorgarh, Jaipur, and Sawai Madhopur. The MADA area consists of 2,939 villages distributed over 38 blocks.

Though Rajasthan is the home state of the Minas, they are also found in smaller numbers with varying nomenclature in the states neighbouring Rajasthan. These states are Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Haryana, and Punjab. They are not recognised as a Scheduled Tribe in all these states. For instance, they are known as Pardeshi Rajput in the state of Uttar Pradesh. Their status in Uttar Pradesh is that of a
backward community. In Madhya Pradesh, they are included in the list of Scheduled Tribes and are known as Rawat. One stigma attached to the tribe is that they eat all kinds of meat and drink liquor (Dhoshi 1992:1–50).

**Bhil**

Though the Bhils are spread broadly all over Rajasthan, their major concentration is in the districts of Udaipur, Banswara and Dungarpur, where about 60 per cent of their total population in the state resides. In the district of Banswara they number 437,261, in Udaipur 315,911, in Dungarpur 242,917, and in Chittorgarh 66,176. Within these districts, Kherwara, Kotra-Phalasia, Girwa, Gogunda, Nathdwara, Kumbhalgarh, Mavli and Rajasamand tehsils of Udaipur, all the tehsils of Banswara and Dungarpur, Mandalgarh tehsil of Bhilwara, and Bainsrogarh tehsil of Chittorgarh district are among those where the concentration of Bhils is very high. (Dhoshi 1992:1–50). Since a survey has been done in the Bhili language family, detailed information is not discussed here. For more information on the languages of the Bhils, refer to ‘The Bhil Country of India: A sociolinguistic study of selected peoples and languages’ (Maggard et al. 2000).

**Garasia**

In Rajasthan, the Garasias are found in the districts of Sirohi, Udaipur, and Pali. Their highest concentration is in the tehsils of Abu Road and Pindwara of Sirohi district. In Udaipur district, they are located in Kota, Gogunda, and Kherwara tehsils. Bali and Desuri tehsils of Pali district also have Garasias. They are also found in the neighbouring state of Gujarat, namely, Mahi Kantha and Rewa Kantha districts (Dhoshi 1992:1–50). For further information on this language, refer to ‘A sociolinguistic profile of Garasia dialects’ (Cain 1988).

**Saharia**

The Saharia are also known as Seharia, Sehria, and Sahariya. They constitute the only primitive tribe of the state. There is a special programme for this most backward tribal group, which is known as the Saharia project. Nearly all (99.2 per cent) of the Saharias of Rajasthan live in Sahabad tehsil of Kota district. Jhalawar, Udaipur, Dungarpur, Sawai Madhopur, Jaipur, and Bharatpur are other districts where some Saharias live. They are believed to have been part of the Bhils at one time. The Muslim rulers of Sahabad may have given them their present name. Sehr in Persian means ‘jungle’; perhaps because these people lived in the jungle, they came to be called Saharias, meaning residents of the jungle (Dhoshi 1992:1–50).

**Damor**

The Damors are also known as Damaria. They migrated from Gujarat and continue to retain their age-old practices. Their social contacts in terms of marriage with the Gujarati Damors still continue. The Damors are a very small community located on the Rajasthan-Gujarat border in Dungarpur district. Though their pocket of major concentration is in the district of Dungarpur, they are also found in the districts of Churu, Ganganagar, and Udaipur.

Since their migration from Gujarat, their original homeland, some of the Damors of the Rajasthan-Gujarat border area have continued to speak Gujarati in their own modified form. A majority of them, however, speak Wagdi, which is a language found in the Dungarpur region. The Damors living in other areas of the state have taken to the local languages and dialects (Dhoshi 1992:1–50).
1.3.3 Population and literacy trends

The population of Rajasthan, according to the 1981 Census of India, resides in 201 towns and 34,968 villages. There are towns ranging in size from a little over 2,000 people to over 500,000 people and villages ranging from less than 200 to about 10,000. About 80 per cent of the population of Rajasthan lives in rural areas and the remaining 20 per cent in urban areas. At the district level, however, as many as 17 districts have higher proportions of rural populations and nine districts have higher urban populations, mainly due to physiographic conditions. The arid and semi-arid areas of the state are very sparsely populated, while in the eastern plains where there is plenty of water and good soil, there are high concentrations of population. Table 3 gives an overall picture of Rajasthan population trends according to the 2001 Census of India.

Table 3. Rajasthan population trends according to the 2001 Census of India

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>56,473,122 (+) 28.33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>29,381,657 (+) 27.51%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>27,091,465 (+) 29.23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Population 0–6 years</td>
<td>% of Population</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>10,451,103 18.51%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>5,474,965 18.63%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>4,976,138 18.37%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of Literates</td>
<td>% of Literates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>28,086,101 61.03%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>18,279,511 76.46%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>9,806,590 44.34%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

We may observe from these figures that the overall male population is slightly higher than the female population, and the proportion of literates is much lower among females (44.34 per cent) as compared to males (76.46 per cent).

Table 4 shows the literacy rates for India and Rajasthan, comparing the 1991 and 2001 census results. Literacy rates increased considerably from 1991 to 2001, especially among females in Rajasthan. Nevertheless, female literacy in Rajasthan still lags behind the national average for females in India.

Table 4. Literacy rates in India and Rajasthan according to the 1991 and 2001 Censuses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>India</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>65.38%</td>
<td>75.85%</td>
<td>54.46%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>52.21%</td>
<td>64.13%</td>
<td>39.29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Difference (in % points)</td>
<td>+13.17%</td>
<td>+11.72%</td>
<td>+15.17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rajasthan</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>61.03%</td>
<td>76.46%</td>
<td>44.34%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>38.55%</td>
<td>54.99%</td>
<td>20.44%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Difference</td>
<td>+22.48%</td>
<td>+21.47%</td>
<td>+23.90%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5 shows literacy rates in the districts of Rajasthan according to the 1991 and 2001 Censuses.
Table 5. Literacy rates in the districts of Rajasthan according to the 1991 and 2001 Censuses of India

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>State District</th>
<th>Literate Persons</th>
<th>Literacy Rate 1991</th>
<th>Literacy Rate 2001</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Males</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rajasthan</td>
<td>28,086,101</td>
<td>18,279,511</td>
<td>9,806,590</td>
<td>38.55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Ganganagar</td>
<td>971,073</td>
<td>602,408</td>
<td>368,665</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Hanumangarh</td>
<td>832,914</td>
<td>516,594</td>
<td>316,320</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Bikaner</td>
<td>779,087</td>
<td>508,820</td>
<td>270,267</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Churu</td>
<td>1,035,567</td>
<td>628,118</td>
<td>407,449</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Jhunjhunun</td>
<td>1,167,470</td>
<td>699,796</td>
<td>467,674</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Alwar</td>
<td>1,513,203</td>
<td>1,013,010</td>
<td>500,193</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Bharatpur</td>
<td>1,078,484</td>
<td>737,620</td>
<td>340,864</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Dhaulpur</td>
<td>466,410</td>
<td>320,036</td>
<td>146,374</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Karauli</td>
<td>619,452</td>
<td>418,745</td>
<td>200,707</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Sawai Madhopur</td>
<td>523,262</td>
<td>371,242</td>
<td>152,020</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Dausa</td>
<td>662,975</td>
<td>447,188</td>
<td>215,787</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Jaipur</td>
<td>3,076,311</td>
<td>1,919,293</td>
<td>1,157,018</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Sikar</td>
<td>1,339,192</td>
<td>814,816</td>
<td>524,376</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Nagaur</td>
<td>1,312,641</td>
<td>866,456</td>
<td>446,185</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Jodhpur</td>
<td>1,340,097</td>
<td>905,259</td>
<td>434,838</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Jaisalmer</td>
<td>204,262</td>
<td>146,961</td>
<td>57,301</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Barmer</td>
<td>913,794</td>
<td>597,329</td>
<td>316,465</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Jalor</td>
<td>530,957</td>
<td>375,365</td>
<td>155,592</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Sirohi</td>
<td>372,052</td>
<td>247,456</td>
<td>124,596</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Pali</td>
<td>817,333</td>
<td>544,748</td>
<td>272,585</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Ajmer</td>
<td>1,181,350</td>
<td>750,904</td>
<td>430,446</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Tonk</td>
<td>519,814</td>
<td>364,595</td>
<td>155,219</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Bundi</td>
<td>440,487</td>
<td>298,623</td>
<td>141,864</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Bhilwara</td>
<td>845,002</td>
<td>572,808</td>
<td>272,194</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Rajasmand</td>
<td>451,867</td>
<td>297,235</td>
<td>154,632</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Udaipur</td>
<td>1,273,644</td>
<td>809,149</td>
<td>464,495</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Dungarpur</td>
<td>423,744</td>
<td>283,846</td>
<td>139,898</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Banswara</td>
<td>525,378</td>
<td>361,488</td>
<td>163,890</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>Chittaurgarh</td>
<td>814,449</td>
<td>545,076</td>
<td>269,373</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>Kota</td>
<td>985,197</td>
<td>602,593</td>
<td>382,604</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>Baran</td>
<td>505,055</td>
<td>337,236</td>
<td>167,819</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>Jhalawar</td>
<td>563,578</td>
<td>374,698</td>
<td>188,880</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.3.4 Mother tongues

Table 6 gives detailed information about the mother tongues spoken in Rajasthan, according to the 1991 Census of India.
Table 6. Mother tongues reported in Rajasthan according to the 1991 Census of India

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mother Tongue</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Percentage of Total State Population</th>
<th>Rural</th>
<th>Urban</th>
<th>Proportion Rural</th>
<th>Proportion Urban</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 Hindi</td>
<td>17,110,759</td>
<td>38.883</td>
<td>11,632,204</td>
<td>5,478,555</td>
<td>67.98</td>
<td>32.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Rajasthani</td>
<td>13,098,078</td>
<td>29.764</td>
<td>10,756,163</td>
<td>2,341,915</td>
<td>82.12</td>
<td>17.88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Marwari</td>
<td>3,828,472</td>
<td>8.7</td>
<td>3,333,247</td>
<td>495,225</td>
<td>87.06</td>
<td>12.94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Wargi</td>
<td>2,155,753</td>
<td>4.899</td>
<td>2,094,967</td>
<td>60,786</td>
<td>97.18</td>
<td>2.82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Mewari</td>
<td>2,075,532</td>
<td>4.716</td>
<td>1,959,609</td>
<td>115,923</td>
<td>94.41</td>
<td>5.59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Hadothi</td>
<td>1,235,077</td>
<td>2.807</td>
<td>1,141,157</td>
<td>93,920</td>
<td>92.4</td>
<td>7.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 Dhundari</td>
<td>964,954</td>
<td>2.193</td>
<td>934,736</td>
<td>30,218</td>
<td>96.87</td>
<td>3.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 Urdu</td>
<td>951,304</td>
<td>2.162</td>
<td>149,589</td>
<td>801,715</td>
<td>15.72</td>
<td>84.28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 Punjabi</td>
<td>832,162</td>
<td>1.891</td>
<td>649,839</td>
<td>182,323</td>
<td>78.09</td>
<td>21.91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 Bagri</td>
<td>593,294</td>
<td>1.348</td>
<td>540,984</td>
<td>52,310</td>
<td>91.18</td>
<td>8.82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rajasthani</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 Sindhi</td>
<td>333,811</td>
<td>0.759</td>
<td>92,218</td>
<td>241,593</td>
<td>27.63</td>
<td>72.37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 Malvi</td>
<td>241,032</td>
<td>0.548</td>
<td>233,705</td>
<td>7,327</td>
<td>96.96</td>
<td>3.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 Mewati</td>
<td>96,831</td>
<td>0.22</td>
<td>96,274</td>
<td>557</td>
<td>99.42</td>
<td>0.58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 Braj</td>
<td>56,242</td>
<td>0.128</td>
<td>48,427</td>
<td>7,815</td>
<td>86.1</td>
<td>13.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhasha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 Sondwadi</td>
<td>7,948</td>
<td>0.018</td>
<td>7,932</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>99.8</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other MT Total</td>
<td>424,741</td>
<td>0.964</td>
<td>267,826</td>
<td>156915</td>
<td>80.86</td>
<td>19.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All Mother Tongue Total</td>
<td>44,005,990</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>33,938,877</td>
<td>10,067,113</td>
<td>77.12</td>
<td>22.88</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

We may observe from Table 6 that apparently a large number of people are subsumed under the general heading Rajasthani, though several other Rajasthani dialect names (Marwari, Wargi, Mewari, Hadothi, Dhundari, Bagri Rajasthani, Mewati) also appear separately.

1.4 Language

1.4.1 Name and origin

The name Rajasthani is often used as a cover term to refer to all the languages and dialects spoken in Rajasthan today (Bora 1994:53). The old popular name was Maru Bhasha, used by Gopal Lohari in his Ras-Vilas in 1587. It is believed that up to the 16th century, Gujarati and Rajasthani (Dingl)\(^3\) were one language and had the same origin. Some sources (Karnising Publication 128) say that Rajasthani was originally a single language, which was widely used in the Rajputana region (present-day Rajasthan) and had a well developed body of literature.

---

\(^3\) According to sources interviewed during this survey, Dingl is a name for the old form of the Rajasthani language, which is the poetic form used in Rajasthani literature.
1.4.2 Literature

‘The period, c. 700–1200 AD, in Rajasthan was one of considerable literary activity. The works composed by different authors during this phase throw a flood of light on the political, social, economic and religious conditions of Rajasthan’ (Ratnawat and Sharma 1999:8). ‘For the period c. 1000–1200 AD, there are a number of chronicles or kavyas, which offer us useful glimpses into the history and culture of the period. The most significant amongst such writings is the Prithvirajavijaya, composed by Jayanaka, which deals with the history of Chahamanas up to 1119 AD’ (Ratnawat and Sharma 1999:9).

Another view of the gradual progression and growth of Rajasthani literature divides it into three different periods:

- The early period (900–1400 AD)
- The medieval period (1400–1857 AD)
- The modern period (1857 onwards)

The basics of Rajasthani came into evidence in the 9th century (that is, around 900 AD). During the medieval period, a large amount of literature was in the form of poetry rather than prose. Rajasthani literature can be divided into three separate traditional modes or styles, namely the Charan, the Jain, and the populist.

The Charans of Sindh migrated to Maru Pradesh, where some of them took to employing the local language of the region for their compositions; this caused a new trend in the literature of the Rajasthani language and much literature was produced during this time. This was the time when the rulers of Rajasthan were involved in fighting with one another. The political atmosphere was quite uncertain. The literature produced during this time consisted in good measure of love poetry and romantic tales, and of poems glorifying the brave that could inspire the warriors on the battlefields. The literary works of the Jains of this time also consisted mainly of love themes along with treatises on religion. The Rajputs of Mewar and Marwar were always ready to defend their honour and their freedom, and this is reflected in much of their poetry.

In 1535, Bithu Suja Nagarajot wrote *Rav Jaitsi Ro Chand*, which relates the defeat of Humayun’s brother, Kamaran, at the hands of Jaitsi, the prince of Bikaner. Since its language has good flow and its style is very powerful and splendid, it is regarded as a bright jewel in the crown of the Rajasthani literature of this period. Rathod Prithvi Raj (1549–1600) is counted among the important writers of the Charan style. His book *Krishan Rukmani Rajasthani Veli* is the most famous work in the Rajasthani language.

The Terah Panthi sect of the Jains wrote most of their books in Rajasthani although some influence of Gujarati is evident in them. The Shvetambars, one of the main Jain sects, have generally employed Rajasthani for their compositions. The Gachchha poets, from a sub-sector of the Shvetambars, used Rajasthani as the chief language of their writings.

The Bhakti Movement has also influenced Rajasthani literature. If we examine Rajasthani literature in its political and social context, we find on the one hand a strong current of heroic sentiment and on the other, alongside it, the gentler flow of the Bhakti trend as well.

There is also much folk poetry in Rajasthani, such as Nihal De, Pabu Ji Ke Pavade and Goga Ji Chauhan. Most of the poems are steeped in hero worship, which was a chief characteristic of medieval Rajasthan.

‘The formation of Rajasthan Sahitya Akademi in Udaipur in 1958 and the publication of its journal Madhumati, gave new impetus to the work of the writers of Rajasthan. The establishment in 1972 of Rajasthan Bhasa Sahitya Sangam (Akademi) at Bikaner as a separate unit of the Akademi and the publication from 1973 of its journal in Rajasthani Jagati Jot are further steps in the cause of Rajasthani language and literature. The recognition of Rajasthani as an independent modern literary language by the Sahitya Akademi, New Delhi and the starting of
a separate Rajasthani Department in the University of Jodhpur have further promoted the cause of Rajasthani’ (Maheswari 1980:244).

There is a variety of Rajasthani literature available in Rajasthan government archives.

### 1.4.3 Current situation

The government of Rajasthan adopted Hindi as the language of education but both Hindi and Rajasthani as the official state languages. It is difficult to give a clear picture of which Rajasthani speech variety represents this official Rajasthani. As a result of studying different written sources and interviewing a number of Rajasthani academic scholars, the surveyors concluded that Marwari, as spoken in Jodhpur district, is considered to be the standard form of Rajasthani.

There have been a number of attempts to have Rajasthani made one of the Scheduled Languages of India. As a result, Rajasthani scholars formed a committee representing all the dialects of Rajasthani. They developed a common written system based on the old literature and published a number of books. The radio and television departments of Rajasthan have Rajasthani broadcasts every day. In schools, it is reported to be a common situation that, though the medium of instruction is in Hindi, and the materials are in Hindi, the subjects are taught in the local languages until 10th standard or even sometimes until 12th standard.

People who speak other dialects but have an awareness of the prestige of Marwari are recognising that they may need to sacrifice their own dialect variations for the sake of restoring Rajasthani as a language. Consequently, it appears that Marwari will continue to serve as the standard form of what people refer to today as the Rajasthani language.

### 1.4.4 Linguistic classification of Rajasthani dialects

Dhundari, Godwari, Marwari, Merwari, Mewari, and Shekhawati have been classified as Indo-European, Indo-Iranian, Indo-Aryan, Central Zone, Rajasthani, Marwari (Lewis 2009). Hadothi and Mewati have been classified as Indo-European, Indo-Iranian, Indo-Aryan, Central Zone, Rajasthani, Unclassified (Lewis 2009).

Table 7 shows how Rajasthani dialects are classified according to Grierson, while Table 8 lists other languages related to Rajasthani, also according to Grierson (1906:1–62).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Marwari</td>
<td>Dhundari</td>
<td>Malvi</td>
<td>Agarwati</td>
<td>Nimadi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mewari</td>
<td>Therawati</td>
<td>Rangadi</td>
<td>Mewathi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dadki</td>
<td>Khadi Jaipuri</td>
<td>Sondwari</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhali</td>
<td>Katodi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bikeneri</td>
<td>Rajawati</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wagri</td>
<td>Ajmeri</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shekhawati</td>
<td>Kishangari</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kheradi</td>
<td>Soursari</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Godwari</td>
<td>Nagarchal</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Devdwari</td>
<td>Hadothi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 8. Other languages related to Rajasthani according to Grierson

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Punjabi, Eastern</td>
<td>Punjab</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lohar, Gade</td>
<td>Gujarat, Rajasthan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lambadi</td>
<td>Many states</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gujar</td>
<td>Himachal Pradesh, Punjab, Rajasthan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bagri</td>
<td>Haryana, Punjab, Rajasthan</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.4.5 Geographic classification of Rajasthani dialects

According to various scholars, another way to classify the present-day dialects of Rajasthani is to divide them along geographic lines into several major circuits. Table 9 lists these dialects and circuits, which are shown on Map 3 (Appendix A).

Table 9. Rajasthani dialects grouped according to geographic circuits

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dialects/Circuits</th>
<th>Districts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Marwari</td>
<td>Jodhpur, Jaisalmer, Barmer, Bikaner, Churu, Pali</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Merwari</td>
<td>Ajmer, Nagaur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shekhawati</td>
<td>Sikar, Jhunjhunun, Churu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Godwari</td>
<td>Jhalor, Sirohi, Pali</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mewari</td>
<td>Chittaurgarh, Udaipur, Rajsamand, Bhilwara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhundari</td>
<td>Jaipur, Dausa, Tonk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hadothi</td>
<td>Kota, Bundi, Baren, Jhalawar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mewati-Braj</td>
<td>Alwar, Bharathpur, Madhura (UP), Gurgaon (Haryana)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wagri</td>
<td>Banswara, Dungarpur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bagri/Desert</td>
<td>Ganganagar, Hanumangar</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Bagri is spoken in the region referred to as the Desert circuit.

Marwari circuit

This desert area is considered to be ancient Rajputana or the traditional Marwad kingdom. Since ancient times, the area’s speech variety has been known as Marwari (alternately spelled as Marvari or Marwadi). During this survey, people reported that within this circuit, there are four major dialects, designated according to four of the district names. Jodhpuri is considered to be the pure and standard form of Marwari; most of the Rajasthani-Marwari literature has been produced in this variety. Jaisalmeri, Barmeri and Bikaneri are the other three reported varieties of Marwari. Marwari has a number of poets and writers, as well as quite a number of language and cultural research centres. There are some institutes that are focused on collecting and preserving old manuscripts. The Rajasthan government archives include thousands of Marwari manuscripts from the 9th century onward. Marwari literature has a strong influence on Rajasthani literature.

Merwari circuit

This circuit covers Ajmer and Nagaur districts, and borders the Marwari circuit. People here consider themselves to be Marwari speakers, though the name Ajmeri (referring to one of the districts of this
circuit) has also been used for this speech variety. Although Merwari had its own literature in the past, the present day situation is not favourable to develop any literature in this dialect.

**Shekhawati circuit**

Shekhawati circuit consists of two small districts called Jhunjhunu and Sikar, and also part of Churu. The speech variety here differs from Standard Marwari; the people refer to their mother tongue as Shekhawati-Marwari and identify themselves in general as Marwari speakers. Sikar Shekhawati is reportedly the standard form of this circuit's Rajasthani dialect; the other reported form is Jhunjhunu-Churu Shekhawati. Shekhawati has contributed to the body of Rajasthani literature and has many poets and writers, even though it has a smaller population compared to the other circuits.

**Godwari circuit**

The name for Godwari circuit was apparently derived from an ancient clan; this is not widely known among the local people today. The Godwari circuit consists of three districts (Jhalor, Pali and Sirohi) located on the Aravalli range. Godwari has four main varieties called Balvi, Khuni, Sirohi and Madahaddi. At present, Godwari has few poets and writers and very little literature of its own.

**Mewari circuit**

The Mewari circuit consists of four major districts, which are Udaipur, Chittaurgarh, Bhilwara and Rajsamand. These districts also contain a large number of Bhili and Wagri speakers. Mewari is reported by speakers to be separate from Standard Marwari but equal to Marwari in terms of Rajasthani literature. It has its own research institutes, both government and private.

**Dhundari circuit**

Dhundari circuit consists of Jaipur, Dausa, and Tonk districts. Dhundari writers have contributed a lot to Rajasthani literature. As in Shekhawati, Dhundari speakers also identify themselves as Marwari speakers, though they recognise that their form differs from Standard Marwari. They call their dialect Dhundari-Marwari.

**Hadothi circuit**

Hadothi circuit includes the districts of Kota, Baren, Bundi, and the northern part of Jhalawar. According to Sharma (1991:142), Hadothi can be divided into two dialects, Standard Hadothi (spoken in Kota, Baren and Jhalawar districts) and Northern Hadothi (found in Bundi district). There are many Hadothi poets and writers; much Hadothi literature was found during this survey.

**Mewati-Braj circuit**

The Mewati-Braj circuit contains the highest Muslim population in Rajasthan. The Rajasthani dialect here is different from other dialects of Rajasthani. Mewati is considered a Muslim dialect; ‘Mew’ means Muslim, and this dialect was reported to include many Urdu words. It is found not only in Rajasthan but also in Gurgaon district of Haryana and Mathura district of Uttar Pradesh. Braj speakers are also found in this area, so it is called the Mewati-Braj circuit. Braj and Mewati speakers consider their mother tongues to be different from each other. Mewati has relatively less literature than the other Rajasthani dialects.
Wagri circuit

Wagri circuit is basically a tribal belt associated with Gujarat and Madhya Pradesh. Wagri speakers are culturally related to the Bhili family but linguistically more closely related to Rajasthani varieties. This area includes the districts of Banswara, Dungarpur and some parts of Udaipur. This language was previously surveyed (Varenkamp 1991); it was found that Wagri is a distinct language needing its own language development programme. Wagri has many poets and writers, and also a notable amount of literature.

Bagri region (Desert circuit)

The Bagri region includes Ganganagar and Hanumangarh, the northernmost districts of Rajasthan. Culturally, politically, and linguistically, the majority of Bagri speakers are spread across Pakistan, Punjab, and Haryana; less than 20 per cent of Bagri speakers are in Rajasthan. Ganganagar and Hanumangarh districts are included along with the Desert circuit, since geographically these two districts have desert features. Bagri serves as the regional language of these districts. Bagri speakers are mostly from Scheduled Castes4 and identify themselves as different from the speakers of the other Rajasthani dialects. There is little literature available in the Bagri dialect.

1.4.6 Language development

Radio/television programmes and audio cassettes

All India Radio (AIR) has a daily radio broadcasts in Rajasthani5 from its local stations, based on the regional dialects. There is a daily television broadcast in Rajasthani, including news, serials, and songs, as in the other state languages in India.6 Audiocassettes of Rajasthani folksongs are available in almost all dialects spoken in Rajasthan and are used widely.

Education materials (primary and adult)

Primary education materials and literacy materials have been published in Marwari by Rajasthan research institutes.7 Marwari written materials are widely published and used by millions of people. A number of books and dictionaries have been published by government and private publishers, not only in Marwari but in all of the major Rajasthani dialects as defined by circuit.

A nine-volume dictionary of Rajasthani8 and small dictionaries are available at major bookstalls.

---

4 Scheduled Castes are low-caste groups that have been officially recognised by the Government of India and listed in the Constitution. They are therefore eligible for certain types of government assistance.
5Rajasthani refers here to Marwari, as well as other major dialects.
6Along with national television broadcasting, all the state languages have regional programmes in allotted timings. This is true in Rajasthan too, even though Rajasthani has not yet been added to the Scheduled Language list.
7Rajasthan research institutes in Bikaner have produced literacy materials. These were tried in the Marwari region but, due to the lack of teachers and lack of interest among the local people, this effort was given up.
8This Rajasthani dictionary is a compilation of entries from all the dialects of Rajasthani.
Other materials

Other than educational materials, there are also thousands\(^9\) of books in Marwari, Mewari, Hadothi, Mewati, and Wagri.

1.5 Previous research

Some sociolinguistic surveys have previously been carried out in Rajasthan, and data from those projects was utilised in this survey. The surveys and information about them are listed in Table 10.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of survey</th>
<th>Primary location</th>
<th>People groups covered</th>
<th>Compiler of report</th>
<th>Year(s) of fieldwork</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Southern Marwari translation need survey</td>
<td>Jodhpur, Sikar, and Jhunjhunun</td>
<td>Marwari, Shekhawati, Mewari</td>
<td>Varenkamp</td>
<td>1990</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1.6 Purpose and goals

The purpose of this survey research was to gain a better understanding of the major present-day dialects of Rajasthani in order to assess potential needs for further language development in these speech varieties. Specific goals and methods used were:

Goal 1: To research the reported names and locations of the major present-day dialects of Rajasthani.
   Research tools: informal interviews, questionnaires, and library research.
Goal 2: To find out what materials are available in the major dialects of Rajasthani.
   Research tools: library research and visits to research institutes.
Goal 3: To study the relationship between Marwari and other major present-day dialects of Rajasthani.
   Research tools: wordlists, Recorded Text Testing (RTT), and post-RTT questionnaires.
Goal 4: To assess the language use, language attitudes and language vitality among mother tongue speakers of the major present-day dialects of Rajasthani.
   Research tools: questionnaires and observations.
Goal 5: To assess the bilingual ability of Rajasthani speakers in the state language, Hindi.
   Research tools: questionnaires and observations.

---

\(^9\)During this survey, the researchers visited more than ten research institutions and government archives where a large number of Rajasthani written materials were seen.
2 Dialect areas

2.1 Lexical similarity

2.1.1 Introduction

A common method of measuring the relationships among speech varieties is to compare the degree of similarity in their vocabularies. This is referred to as lexical similarity. Speech communities that have more terms in common (thus a higher percentage of lexical similarity) are more likely to understand one another than speech communities that have fewer terms in common, though this is not always the case. Since only elicited words and simple verb constructions are analysed by this method, lexical similarity comparison alone cannot indicate how well certain speech communities understand one other. It can, however, assist in obtaining a broad perspective of the relationships among speech varieties and give support for results using more sophisticated testing methods, such as comprehension studies.

2.1.2 Procedures

The method used in determining lexical similarity in this project was a 210-item wordlist,\(^\text{10}\) consisting of items of basic vocabulary, which has been standardised and contextualised for use in surveys of this type in South Asia.

Each wordlist was compared with every other wordlist, item by item, to determine whether the words were phonetically similar. Those words that were judged similar were grouped together. Once the entire wordlist was evaluated, the total number of word pair similarities was tallied. This amount was then divided by the total number of items compared and multiplied by 100, giving what is called the lexical similarity percentage.

This process of evaluation was carried out according to standards set forth in Blair (1990:30–33) and facilitated through the use of a computer program called WordSurv (Wimbish 1989). This program is designed to perform the counting of word pair similarities quickly, and to calculate the lexical similarity percentage between each pair of wordlist sites. For a fuller description of counting procedures used in determining lexical similarity, refer to Appendix B.

2.1.3 Site selection

Rajasthan is home to many speech varieties. As described in section 1, Marwari, Merwari, Shekhawati, Godwari, Mewari, Dhundari, Hadothi, Mewati, Wagri, and Bagri are all reported dialects of Rajasthani that correspond to geographical regions. To account for the geographic spread, wordlist sites were selected at distances of approximately 50 kilometres from one another. Sites were also selected to represent the reported varieties within each major present-day dialect of Rajasthani (as described in section 1). Thirty-nine wordlists were compared for this lexical similarity study. (Refer to Map 4, Appendix A for locations.) Thirty-four wordlists were collected in this survey and five others were utilised from the previous surveys done in this area for the comparison. These include the three Wagri wordlists (Varenkamp 1991) as well as Gujarati and Hindi. Table 11 gives the speech variety and location of the wordlists utilised in this project. Appendix B provides further information about each wordlist and its informant, as well as phonetic transcriptions of the wordlists.

\(^{10}\)The total number of vocabulary items compared is sometimes less than 210 for some wordlists, usually because a certain item is not familiar to the informants, the proper word cannot be obtained, or a particular item is deemed inappropriate to elicit at a certain site.
### Table 11. Speech variety and location of wordlists utilised in this project

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Geographic Dialect/Circuit</th>
<th>Speakers’ Designation</th>
<th>Village</th>
<th>Tehsil</th>
<th>District</th>
<th>State</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rajasthani</td>
<td>Marwari</td>
<td>Marwari</td>
<td>Manai</td>
<td>Jodhpur</td>
<td>Jodhpur</td>
<td>Rajasthan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rajasthani</td>
<td>Marwari</td>
<td>Marwari</td>
<td>Magira</td>
<td>Barmer</td>
<td>Barmer</td>
<td>Rajasthan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rajasthani</td>
<td>Marwari</td>
<td>Chatrel</td>
<td>Jaiselmer</td>
<td>Jaiselmer</td>
<td>Jaiselmer</td>
<td>Rajasthan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rajasthani</td>
<td>Marwari</td>
<td>Marwari</td>
<td>Kathriasar</td>
<td>Bikaner</td>
<td>Bikaner</td>
<td>Rajasthan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rajasthani</td>
<td>Merwari</td>
<td>Marwari</td>
<td>Munduva</td>
<td>Munduva</td>
<td>Nagaur</td>
<td>Rajasthan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rajasthani</td>
<td>Merwari</td>
<td>Rajasthan</td>
<td>Ajmer</td>
<td>Ajmer</td>
<td>Ajmer</td>
<td>Rajasthan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rajasthani</td>
<td>Merwari</td>
<td>Marwari</td>
<td>Dourai</td>
<td>Ajmer</td>
<td>Ajmer</td>
<td>Rajasthan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rajasthani</td>
<td>Merwari</td>
<td>Marwari</td>
<td>Munduva</td>
<td>Munduva</td>
<td>Nagaur</td>
<td>Rajasthan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rajasthani</td>
<td>Marwari</td>
<td>Rajasthan</td>
<td>Ajmer</td>
<td>Ajmer</td>
<td>Ajmer</td>
<td>Rajasthan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rajasthani</td>
<td>Shekhawati</td>
<td>Bagathpura</td>
<td>Dandarangar</td>
<td>Sikar</td>
<td>Rajasthan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rajasthani</td>
<td>Shekhawati</td>
<td>Chalkoi</td>
<td>Churu</td>
<td>Churu</td>
<td>Rajasthan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rajasthani</td>
<td>Shekhawati</td>
<td>Badgaon</td>
<td>Udaipur Wati</td>
<td>Jhunjhunu</td>
<td>Rajasthan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rajasthani</td>
<td>Godwari</td>
<td>Marwari</td>
<td>Khor</td>
<td>Pali</td>
<td>Pali</td>
<td>Rajasthan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rajasthani</td>
<td>Godwari</td>
<td>Marwari</td>
<td>Guda</td>
<td>Sirohi</td>
<td>Sirohi</td>
<td>Rajasthan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rajasthani</td>
<td>Godwari</td>
<td>Marwari-Koti</td>
<td>Arana</td>
<td>Abu Road</td>
<td>Sirohi</td>
<td>Rajasthan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rajasthani</td>
<td>Godwari</td>
<td>Lohari</td>
<td>Mt Abu</td>
<td>Abu Road</td>
<td>Sirohi</td>
<td>Rajasthan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rajasthani</td>
<td>Mewari</td>
<td>Mewari</td>
<td>Gorana</td>
<td>Jhadoel</td>
<td>Udaipur</td>
<td>Rajasthan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rajasthani</td>
<td>Mewari</td>
<td>Sangadhur</td>
<td>Khumbalgar</td>
<td>Rajasamand</td>
<td>Rajasthan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rajasthani</td>
<td>Mewari</td>
<td>Mewari</td>
<td>Kanauj</td>
<td>Badesar</td>
<td>Chittorgarh</td>
<td>Rajasthan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rajasthani</td>
<td>Mewati</td>
<td>Mewati-Dingl</td>
<td>Godada</td>
<td>Hindoli</td>
<td>Bundhi</td>
<td>Rajasthan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rajasthani</td>
<td>Bagri</td>
<td>Bagri</td>
<td>Mirzawa</td>
<td>Ganganagar</td>
<td>Ganganagar</td>
<td>Rajasthan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rajasthani</td>
<td>Bagri</td>
<td>Makkasar</td>
<td>Hanumangar</td>
<td>Hanumangar</td>
<td>Rajasthan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wagri-Bhil</td>
<td>Wagri</td>
<td>Wagri</td>
<td>Kherwar</td>
<td>Udaipur</td>
<td>Rajasthan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wagri-Bhil</td>
<td>Wagri</td>
<td>Sangwara</td>
<td>Sangwara</td>
<td>Dungarpur</td>
<td>Rajasthan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wagri-Bhil</td>
<td>Wagri</td>
<td>Sialder</td>
<td>Dungarpur</td>
<td>Dungarpur</td>
<td>Rajasthan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Garasia-Bhil</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Garasia-Bhili</td>
<td>Takya</td>
<td>Abu Road</td>
<td>Sirohi</td>
<td>Rajasthan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haryanvi</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>Bangaru</td>
<td>Khedhadi</td>
<td>Hissar</td>
<td>Haryana</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hindi</td>
<td>---</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gujarati</td>
<td>---</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.1.4 Results and analysis

Using the lexical similarity counting procedures described in Blair (1990:30–33), two speech varieties showing less than 60 per cent similarity are unlikely to be intelligible and may be considered as two different languages, or at least as very different dialects (Blair 1990:20). For speech varieties that have greater than 60 per cent similarity, intelligibility testing should be done to determine their relationship.

Table 12 shows the lexical similarity percentages matrix of all speech varieties compared in this survey. Table 13 summarises the ranges of similarity between the major speech variety groupings.
### Table 12. Lexical similarity percentages matrix of all speech varieties

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Marwari – Manai, Jodhpur</th>
<th>Marwari speech varieties</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>63 Marwari – Magira, Barmer</td>
<td>Merwari speech varieties</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63 69 Marwari – Chathrel, Jaisalmer</td>
<td>Godwari speech varieties</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62 58 57 Marwari – Kathariyasar, Bikaner</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62 Marwari – Jhuniya, Ajmer</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68 72 55 52 68 80 67 69 71 Shekhawati – Bagathpura, Sikar</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66 70 62 59 56 59 71 54 57 61 57 58 72 65 57 68 Mewari – Gorana, Udaipur</td>
<td>Mewari speech varieties</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70 62 61 57 63 72 57 59 63 59 61 73 64 59 66 68 81 Mewari – Sangad, Rajsamand</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65 57 56 58 65 69 59 62 66 59 58 67 57 52 62 71 75 Mewari – Kannauj, Chitthorgarh</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65 59 56 62 64 71 61 64 65 58 62 71 59 51 61 69 71 72 Mewari – Kalnsas, Bhilwara</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54 53 54 60 64 62 62 63 73 67 67 70 64 51 46 51 56 58 59 61 Dhundari – Pathalvas, Jaipur</td>
<td>Dhundari speech varieties</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59 56 53 59 70 64 65 65 72 66 70 66 53 50 57 63 64 64 63 77 Dhundari-Dingl – Bambore, Tonk</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59 57 54 60 65 67 60 61 64 60 63 67 54 46 59 64 63 67 71 69 71 Hadothi – Pathera, Baren</td>
<td>Hadothi speech varieties</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57 54 54 60 64 66 58 56 66 59 66 63 54 48 54 59 61 63 66 69 73 81 Hadothi – Sakranja-Charlawar</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57 53 50 56 61 61 57 56 65 58 66 58 52 44 51 60 61 62 64 68 71 73 74 Hadothi – Dhevpara, Kota</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59 53 50 55 62 66 66 64 58 60 63 52 48 55 64 64 65 71 64 70 75 71 70 Hadothi-Dingl – Godada, Bundhi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53 55 54 61 59 61 56 51 57 60 70 60 52 47 57 57 54 58 57 62 63 70 63 58 59 Mewati – Chirkhana, Alwar</td>
<td>Mewati speech varieties</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53 33 53 55 58 61 58 53 60 60 70 58 48 44 54 57 56 57 56 66 67 66 66 63 59 81 Mewati – Karauli, Alwar</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52 50 50 56 58 58 58 50 58 59 66 58 46 45 50 51 50 55 51 63 62 61 61 57 52 78 80 Mewati – Gulpada, Bharathpur</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48 53 50 50 33 53 59 56 55 48 57 57 61 57 46 42 53 52 49 52 53 59 60 62 61 53 52 69 69 71 Braj Bhasha – Bichuva, Bharathpur</td>
<td>Braj Bhasha speech varieties</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48 50 49 54 55 56 48 56 60 63 54 45 39 49 50 47 52 50 59 59 56 57 51 49 69 68 70 79 Braj Bhasha – Sikrori, Bharathpur</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61 55 54 66 69 62 60 58 69 73 76 62 49 47 50 57 58 57 57 63 65 60 62 59 55 65 63 63 62 61 Bagri – Mirzawala, Ganganagar</td>
<td>Bagri speech varieties</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63 51 54 66 68 61 61 57 71 75 73 63 51 49 54 54 56 56 57 63 65 60 59 57 56 66 60 61 60 58 81 Bagri – Makkaras, Hanumangarh</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57 51 52 47 48 58 46 43 47 44 50 63 64 58 65 70 61 55 57 49 50 52 49 48 50 49 46 44 43 42 42 46 Wagri – Kherwar, Udaipur</td>
<td>Wagri speech varieties</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53 50 48 41 44 51 38 38 41 36 41 56 58 54 56 60 55 50 50 41 41 43 42 43 43 40 36 37 39 39 37 40 39 82 Wagri – Sagawra, Dungarpur</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52 50 50 40 46 55 42 39 43 38 43 55 60 54 59 63 58 52 52 45 44 47 46 44 44 42 41 40 40 38 39 43 82 81 Wagri – Sialder, Dungarpur</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49 50 47 40 44 49 42 39 44 40 43 53 58 55 58 58 50 48 45 46 47 47 43 42 43 46 43 39 38 41 42 64 56 60 Garasia Bhil – Takya, Sirohi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50 51 50 55 58 62 55 52 61 65 73 60 53 47 52 56 55 59 59 68 66 63 65 62 58 68 67 63 60 60 63 65 45 40 39 42 Haryanvi – Bangaru, Hissar</td>
<td>Other languages</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52 56 53 55 56 60 55 45 54 57 66 61 51 45 54 54 54 55 55 54 56 60 60 63 56 51 77 72 74 71 65 62 61 52 43 43 44 68 Hindi (standard)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54 54 52 49 55 58 48 46 49 30 50 51 61 59 51 54 55 56 52 53 47 45 51 51 46 50 53 49 51 50 49 51 51 70 64 63 50 51 61 Gujarati (standard)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 13. Ranges of lexical similarity between the major speech variety groupings

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variety</th>
<th>Marwari (57–69%)</th>
<th>Merwari (49–74%)</th>
<th>Shekhawati (51–68%)</th>
<th>Godwari (50–60%)</th>
<th>Mewari (56–61%)</th>
<th>Dhundari (53–60%)</th>
<th>Hadothi (50–60%)</th>
<th>Mewati (50–61%)</th>
<th>Braj (48–54%)</th>
<th>Bagri (51–66%)</th>
<th>Wagri (40–57%)</th>
<th>Garasia (40–50%)</th>
<th>Haryanvi (50–55%)</th>
<th>Hindi (52–56%)</th>
<th>Gujarati (49–54%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Marwari</td>
<td>57–69%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Merwari</td>
<td>49–74%</td>
<td>60–73%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shekhawati</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>58–80%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Godwari</td>
<td>50–60%</td>
<td>44–70%</td>
<td>45–69%</td>
<td>58–70%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mewari</td>
<td>56–72%</td>
<td>54–66%</td>
<td>57–66%</td>
<td>51–73%</td>
<td>69–81%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhundari</td>
<td>53–60%</td>
<td>62–70%</td>
<td>66–73%</td>
<td>46–66%</td>
<td>56–64%</td>
<td>77%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hadothi</td>
<td>50–60%</td>
<td>57–67%</td>
<td>58–66%</td>
<td>44–67%</td>
<td>61–71%</td>
<td>64–73%</td>
<td>73–81%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mewati</td>
<td>50–61%</td>
<td>51–61%</td>
<td>57–70%</td>
<td>45–60%</td>
<td>50–58%</td>
<td>62–67%</td>
<td>52–67%</td>
<td>78–81%</td>
<td>79%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Braj</td>
<td>48–54%</td>
<td>48–59%</td>
<td>56–63%</td>
<td>39–57%</td>
<td>47–53%</td>
<td>59–60%</td>
<td>51–62%</td>
<td>68–71%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bagri</td>
<td>51–66%</td>
<td>58–69%</td>
<td>69–76%</td>
<td>47–63%</td>
<td>54–58%</td>
<td>63–65%</td>
<td>55–62%</td>
<td>60–66%</td>
<td>58–62%</td>
<td>81%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wagri</td>
<td>40–57%</td>
<td>38–58%</td>
<td>36–50%</td>
<td>54–65%</td>
<td>50–70%</td>
<td>41–50%</td>
<td>42–52%</td>
<td>36–49%</td>
<td>37–43%</td>
<td>39–46%</td>
<td>81–82%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Garasia</td>
<td>40–50%</td>
<td>39–49%</td>
<td>40–44%</td>
<td>53–58%</td>
<td>48–58%</td>
<td>45–46%</td>
<td>42–47%</td>
<td>43–46%</td>
<td>38–42%</td>
<td>41–42%</td>
<td>56–64%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haryanvi</td>
<td>50–55%</td>
<td>52–62%</td>
<td>61–73%</td>
<td>47–60%</td>
<td>55–59%</td>
<td>66–68%</td>
<td>58–65%</td>
<td>63–68%</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>62–65%</td>
<td>39–45%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hindi</td>
<td>52–56%</td>
<td>45–60%</td>
<td>54–66%</td>
<td>45–61%</td>
<td>54–55%</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>51–63%</td>
<td>72–77%</td>
<td>65–71%</td>
<td>61–62%</td>
<td>43–52%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gujarati</td>
<td>49–54%</td>
<td>46–55%</td>
<td>49–51%</td>
<td>51–61%</td>
<td>52–56%</td>
<td>45–47%</td>
<td>46–51%</td>
<td>49–53%</td>
<td>49–50%</td>
<td>51%</td>
<td>63–70%</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Within each of the major present-day dialects of Rajasthani, most of the lexical similarity percentages were near or above the 60 per cent threshold suggested by Blair. The Marwari and Godwari varieties showed the greatest variation (57 to 69 per cent and 58 to 70 per cent respectively), while the Mewati (78 to 81 per cent), Bagri (81 per cent) and Wagri varieties (81 to 82 per cent) were the most similar.

Comparisons among these Rajasthani dialects showed lower lexical similarity percentages. Though ten wordlists were rechecked with other mother tongue speakers, more than half of the wordlists could not be rechecked due to time constraints. Some lexical similarity percentages may have been higher if such checking could have been done.

In general, Rajasthani speech varieties located closer together tended to show higher lexical similarities than varieties that are farther apart. This sometimes occurred within geographic groupings and sometimes across the groupings. (For example, the range of lexical similarity between Shekhawati and Bagri varieties was 69 to 76 per cent; between Dhundari and Hadothi varieties it was 64 to 73 per cent.)

As a whole, the Rajasthani speech varieties that were studied appeared to be fairly distinct from Hindi and Gujarati. The lexical similarity with Hindi was 45 to 66 per cent, except for Mewati, which was 72 to 77 per cent. The higher percentages with Mewati may be because Mewati speakers use Urdu for
religious purposes in their day-to-day lives, and Urdu is closely related to Hindi. The lexical similarity of the Rajasthani varieties with Gujarati was 46 to 56 per cent, except for Godwari (51 to 61 per cent) and Wagri (63 to 70 per cent). The Godwari and Wagri language areas are on the border of Gujarat.

### 2.1.5 Conclusions

In general, the lexical similarity percentages tended to be higher within each Rajasthani dialect, confirming the previous groups. Many of the lexical similarity percentages between the major Rajasthani dialect groupings were near or just below the 60 per cent threshold mentioned by Blair, so they may be considered separate languages or dissimilar dialects. These wordlist comparisons indicated possibly greater differences between the Rajasthani dialects than many speakers seemed to perceive. Therefore, dialect intelligibility testing was needed to further clarify the relationships among these dialects.

Based on lexical similarity comparisons and speakers’ perceptions, the findings of this survey are consistent with earlier findings that Wagri-Bhil, Garasia-Bhil and Haryanvi represent languages that are distinct from these Rajasthani dialects.

### 2.2 Dialect intelligibility

#### 2.2.1 Introduction

The definition of a ‘language’ and a ‘dialect’ is not always clear. The two terms have been used in many different ways. Common usage often applies the term ‘language’ to the large, prestigious languages, which have an established written literature. The term ‘dialect’ is then used for all other speech varieties. Some linguists use ‘language’ to refer to speech varieties that share similar vocabularies, phonological and/or grammatical systems. Many times, the sense in which the two terms are used can vary.

The researchers believe that an important factor in determining the distinction between a language and a dialect is how well speech communities can understand one another. Low intelligibility\(^1\) between two speech varieties, even if one has been classified as a dialect of the other, impedes the ability of one group to understand the other (Grimes 2000:vi). Thus comprehension testing, which allows a look into the approximate understanding of natural speech, was an important component of this research.

#### 2.2.2 Procedures

Recorded Text Testing (RTT) is one method to help assess the degree to which speakers of related linguistic varieties understand one another. A three- to five-minute natural, personal-experience narrative is recorded on minidiscs from a mother tongue speaker of the speech variety in question. It then is evaluated with a group of mother tongue speakers from the same region by a procedure called Hometown Testing (HTT). This ensures that the story is representative of the speech variety in that area and is suitable to be used for testing at other sites.

Mother tongue speakers from other locations and differing speech varieties then listen to the recorded stories and are asked questions, interspersed in the story, to test their comprehension. Subjects are permitted to take tests of stories from other locations only if they perform well on a hometown test. This ensures that the test-taking procedure is understood.

Ten is considered the minimum number of people to be given this test, and subjects’ responses to the story questions are noted down and scored. A person’s score is considered a reflection of his

---

\(^1\)Intelligibility is a term that has often been used to refer to the level of understanding that exist between speech varieties. O’Leary (1994) argues that results of recorded text testing should be discussed as comprehension scores on texts from different dialects, not as intelligibility scores nor as measures of ‘inherent intelligibility’. Thus the term intelligibility has been used sparingly in this report, with the term comprehension used more frequently.
comprehension of the text, and the average score of all subjects at a test point is indicative of the community’s intelligibility of the speech variety of the story’s origin. Included with the test point’s average score is a calculation for the variation between individual subjects’ scores, or standard deviation, which helps in interpreting how representative those scores are.

After each story, subjects are asked questions such as how different they felt the speech was from their own and how much they could understand. These subjective post-RTT responses give an additional perspective for interpreting the objective test data. If a subject’s answers to these questions are comparable with his or her score, it gives more certainty to the results. If, however, the post-RTT responses and test score show some dissimilarity, then this discrepancy can be investigated.

For a fuller description of Recorded Text Testing, refer to Casad (1974) and Blair (1990).

### 2.2.3 Site selection

Jodhpur Marwari is considered the standard variety of Marwari; Marwari is considered the standard form of Rajasthani. Therefore in this study, the main objective was to investigate the comprehension of Jodhpur Marwari among speakers of the other major Rajasthani speech varieties, namely Dhundari, Godwari, Hadothi, Mewari, Mewati, Shekhawati, and Merwari. In order to accomplish this, comprehension tests were developed in seven locations. Map 5 (Appendix A) shows these test sites and Table 14 summarises the information about the test stories.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of story</th>
<th>Geographic dialect/circuit</th>
<th>Village</th>
<th>District</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Festival story</td>
<td>Marwari</td>
<td>Manakalav</td>
<td>Jodhpur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Snake story</td>
<td>Shekhawati</td>
<td>Piprali</td>
<td>Sikar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Travel story</td>
<td>Godwari</td>
<td>Bagseen</td>
<td>Sirohi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lion story</td>
<td>Mewari</td>
<td>Dindoli</td>
<td>Chittorgarh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tablet story</td>
<td>Dhundari</td>
<td>Dhigariya</td>
<td>Dousa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wild story</td>
<td>Hadothi</td>
<td>Dhevpura</td>
<td>Kota</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Well story</td>
<td>Mewati</td>
<td>Chirkhana</td>
<td>Alwar</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Manakalav (Standard Marwari)**

Responses to language information questionnaires, interviews with scholars, and informal interviews indicated that the standard central variety of Marwari is considered to be the Jodhpur Marwari dialect, located in Jodhpur district within an approximate radius of 40 kilometres from Jodhpur town. Manakalav is a village situated 20 kilometres from Jodhpur town and two kilometres from Manai village, where the wordlist representing Standard Marwari was collected and rechecked. The story representing the Jodhpur dialect of Marwari was collected from a mother tongue speaker of Jodhpur Marwari who belongs to the Rajput caste. This story was tested in all seven sites.

---

12 Attempts to include Merwari speakers in the testing were made in four villages, but unfortunately all were unsuccessful. Bagri was not included in the testing since the majority of Bagri speakers live outside of Rajasthan.

13 This story was developed and used first as a Hometown Test. Since the recording volume was low, the researchers were not able to dub from the original recording to make the subsequent RTTs. The ‘Festival story’ was then written down and re-recorded with the same storyteller, who did the reading as naturally as possible.
Piprali (Shekhawati)

Sikar is considered to be the standard variety of Shekhawati. Piprali is a comparatively large village with a population of more than 5,000. It is approximately 26 kilometres from Sikar, the district headquarters. It lies in the centre of the Shekhawati area and is approximately ten to 12 kilometres from Bagathpura village, where the Sikar Shekhawati wordlist was collected and checked.

Bagseen (Godwari)

Bagseen is situated approximately eight kilometres from Sirohi, the district headquarters, and represents the Khuni variety of Godwari. According to people interviewed during this survey, the Khuni variety has a larger population than the other reported varieties of Godwari. However, which variety is considered standard is not known. Bagseen was selected as a test site because it is geographically centred for the Khuni variety. Most of the speakers interviewed called their speech variety mixed Marwari or corrupted Marwari.

Dindoli (Mewari)

Dindoli is located almost in the centre of the Mewari circuit, 35 kilometres from Chitthorgarh. This village has a population of more than 8,000 people with all government educational facilities up to higher secondary in English and Hindi medium, and four private schools. People from many different castes live here and speak Mewari as their mother tongue.

Dhigariya (Dhundari)

This village is located 15 kilometres away from Dousa, which is the geographic centre of Dhundari circuit. Though no wordlist was collected from Dousa district, the nearest wordlist is from Pathalvas in Jaipur district. The distance between these two villages is approximately 25–30 kilometres. Dhigariya contains a large number of Gujars and Rajputs. Though this village has had a secondary school for the last 30 years, the literacy rate is reportedly still below 50 per cent.

Dhevpura (Hadothi)

Dhevpura is a relatively large village, with a population of around 2,000. It is located approximately 20 kilometres from Kota, which is considered a centre of Hadothi language and culture. This village has comparatively more Had Rajputs and fewer people from other castes. Kota district is considered to represent standard Hadothi.

Chirkhana (Mewati)

This village is situated 12 kilometres from Alwar city, which is traditionally considered the standard Mewati area. Chirkhana’s population is approximately 90 per cent Muslim; Mewati is considered to be a Muslim dialect of Rajasthani.

2.2.4 Results and analysis

Table 15 shows the RTT results. The columns of the table list each story used for testing, and the rows list the dialect groups among whom testing was done.
Table 15. Recorded Text Testing (RTT) results

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>STORIES PLAYED</th>
<th>SPEAKERS TESTED</th>
<th>Festival story</th>
<th>Snake story</th>
<th>Travel story</th>
<th>Lion story</th>
<th>Tablet story</th>
<th>Wild story</th>
<th>Well story</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Marwari</td>
<td>avg 98, sd 3, n 11</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>avg 67, sd 20, n 10</td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>avg 61, sd 16, n 10</td>
<td></td>
<td>99</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>avg 54, sd 16, n 10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>99</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>avg 54, sd 25, n 13</td>
<td></td>
<td>99</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>avg 45, sd 21, n 10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>96</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mewati</td>
<td>avg 45, sd 24, n 11</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>97</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>avg</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>avg</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>11</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In interpreting RTT results, three pieces of information are necessary. The first is the average percentage (shown as ‘avg’ in Table 15), which is the average of all the participants’ individual scores on a particular story at a particular test site. Also necessary is a measure of how much individuals’ scores vary from the community average, called standard deviation (shown as ‘sd’ in Table 15). The third important piece of information is the size of the sample, that is, the number of people that were tested (shown as ‘n’ in Table 15). To be representative, a sample should include people from significant demographic categories, such as both men and women, younger and older, and educated and uneducated.

The relationship between test averages and their standard deviation has been summarised by Blair (1990:25) and can be seen in Table 16.

Table 16. Relationship between test averages and standard deviation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Average Score</th>
<th>Standard Deviation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>Situation 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Many people understand the story well, but some have difficulty.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Situation 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Many people cannot understand the story, but a few are able to answer correctly.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Since results of field-administered methods such as recorded text testing cannot be completely isolated from potential biases, O'Leary (1994) recommends that results from RTTs not be interpreted in terms of fixed numerical thresholds, but rather be evaluated in the light of other indicators of intelligibility such as lexical similarity, dialect opinions, and reported patterns of contact and communication. In general, however, RTT mean scores of around 80 per cent or higher with accompanying low standard deviations (usually 10 and below; high standard deviations are about 15 and above) may be taken to indicate that representatives of the test point dialect display adequate understanding of the speech variety represented by the recording. Conversely, RTT means below around 60 per cent are interpreted to indicate inadequate comprehension.

**Hometown test results**

The hometown tests developed in all seven locations had high average scores (96 to 100 per cent) with low standard deviations (0 to 5), indicating that these texts could be used to test comprehension of these dialects in other locations. Post-HTT questionnaire responses indicated that hometown test subjects felt that the HTT texts were good samples of their respective dialects and not mixed with any other languages.

**RTT results**

The objective of this study was to find out how well Jodhpuri Marwari could be understood by speakers of the other major Rajasthani dialects. Average RTT scores for the Jodhpuri Marwari Festival story among the seven dialect groups tested were relatively low, ranging from 45 to 67 per cent, with high standard deviations from 16 to 24. These results indicate that many people could not understand the story, though a few were able to answer the comprehension questions correctly. The few RTT subjects whose individual scores were 80 per cent or higher on the Jodhpur Marwari text have a history of contact with speakers from the Jodhpur area, often by travelling there for work. (Based on responses to the pre-RTT questionnaire, not more than 25 per cent of the subjects have travelled widely to other dialect areas or distant places; some have lived in other places for a few years.)

**Pre-RTT questionnaire results**

The pre-RTT questionnaire included a question about what the subject called his or her mother tongue. A review of the responses showed that most subjects referred to their mother tongue by the respective geographic dialect names. A notable exception was that all the Godwari subjects claimed that their mother tongue is Marwari, but that it is a little different from Standard (Jodhpur) Marwari. Shekhawati and Dhundari speakers also reported that their mother tongue is a mixed form of Marwari, indicating a desire to be considered part of the larger Marwari group.
Post-RTT questionnaire results

In what language do you think the story was told?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Shekhawati</th>
<th>Godwari</th>
<th>Mewari</th>
<th>Dhundari</th>
<th>Hadothi</th>
<th>Mewati</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Marwari</td>
<td>7 (70%)</td>
<td>10 (91%)</td>
<td>8 (62%)</td>
<td>7 (58%)</td>
<td>7 (64%)</td>
<td>3 (28%)</td>
<td>42 (63%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Our language</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1 (7%)</td>
<td></td>
<td>3 (23%)</td>
<td></td>
<td>1 (1%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mixed language</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2 (16%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2 (3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other language</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>11 (16%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do not know</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1 (7%)</td>
<td>5 (42%)</td>
<td>1 (13%)</td>
<td>4 (36%)</td>
<td>12 (17%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total no. of subjects</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These results indicate that a majority (63 per cent) of the tested subjects identified the text as Marwari. Nearly all of the Godwari subjects made this identification, while relatively few Mewati subjects were able to do so. Among Shekhawati speakers, one subject said that the text is Rajasthani. Apparently it was not difficult for most of the subjects to identify the language of the text correctly since they may have exposure to standard Marwari through daily radio and television broadcasts, as well as through geographic proximity and contacts with speakers.

Where do you think the storyteller is from?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Shekhawati</th>
<th>Godwari</th>
<th>Mewari</th>
<th>Dhundari</th>
<th>Hadothi</th>
<th>Mewati</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Marwari region</td>
<td>5 (50%)</td>
<td>7 (63%)</td>
<td>9 (69%)</td>
<td>7 (58%)</td>
<td>4 (36%)</td>
<td>4 (36%)</td>
<td>36 (53%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neighbouring region to respective region</td>
<td>4 (40%)</td>
<td>4 (37%)</td>
<td>2 (16%)</td>
<td>5 (42%)</td>
<td>4 (36%)</td>
<td>3 (27%)</td>
<td>13 (19%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Do not know</td>
<td>1 (10%)</td>
<td>4 (37%)</td>
<td>2 (16%)</td>
<td>5 (42%)</td>
<td>3 (27%)</td>
<td>4 (36%)</td>
<td>19 (27%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total no. of subjects</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

About half of the subjects (53 per cent) were able to say correctly where the storyteller was from, while 27 per cent said they did not know. Even subjects from the geographically closer dialects such as Shekhawati and Godwari had some difficulty identifying the speaker's place of origin. However, a higher percentage of Mewari subjects (69 per cent) were able to state this. This could be because more than half of the Mewari subjects have travelled to the Marwari region, and because Marwari and Mewari have had a fair amount of influence on each other.

---

14One Mewati subject said that the text is Gujari, and another said it is Minawati, the language of the Mina tribe.
15When the researchers asked what the subject meant by Rajasthani, the subject clarified that ‘it is Jodhpur Marwari.’
What helps you know the storyteller is from that place?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>By the way they speak the language</th>
<th>I know the language</th>
<th>No response</th>
<th>Total no. of subjects</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Shekhawati</td>
<td>7 (70%)</td>
<td>2 (20%)</td>
<td>1 (10%)</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Godwari</td>
<td>8 (73%)</td>
<td>2 (18%)</td>
<td>1 (9%)</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mewari</td>
<td>11 (85%)</td>
<td>2 (15%)</td>
<td></td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhundari</td>
<td>6 (50%)</td>
<td>1 (8%)</td>
<td>5 (42%)</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hadothi</td>
<td>7 (63%)</td>
<td></td>
<td>4 (37%)</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mewati</td>
<td>5 (45%)</td>
<td>2 (Other reasons)</td>
<td></td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>44 (65%)</td>
<td>7 (10%)</td>
<td>17 (25%)</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*aThe subjects had travelled to the area where the language style was like this.

Most subjects (65 per cent) understood that the story was in Marwari by the way the language was spoken. In every location, subjects said that Marwari is a sweet language and one can enjoy the way Marwari is spoken even if the hearer is a stranger to Marwari.

Is the speech good?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>No response</th>
<th>Not asked</th>
<th>Total no. of subjects</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Shekhawati</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Godwari</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mewari</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhundari</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hadothi</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2 (18%)</td>
<td>2 (18%)</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mewati</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2 (18%)</td>
<td>2 (18%)</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>50</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4 (6%)</td>
<td>4 (6%)</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Overall, most subjects (74 per cent) felt that the speech in the story was good. The strongest positive opinions were seen among the Shekhawati, Godwari, and Mewari subjects. In contrast, Hadothi subjects expressed a more negative view. It is interesting that the subjects with more positive attitudes also scored slightly higher on the RTT.

(If not good) what is not good about it?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>NA</th>
<th>Mixed</th>
<th>Not asked</th>
<th>Total no. of subjects</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Shekhawati</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Godwari</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mewari</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhundari</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hadothi</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2 (18%)</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mewati</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>54</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2 (3%)</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Those subjects who felt that the speech was not good (especially the Dhundari, Hadothi, and Mewati subjects) said that the language of the text was mixed. Since many of these subjects were not able to identify the language of the story, this response may also indicate their perception that Standard Marwari is indeed different from their own dialects, which other people often perceive as mixed.

**Is the speech pure?**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>No response</th>
<th>Not asked</th>
<th>Total no. of subjects</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Shekhawati</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Godwari</td>
<td>9 (82%)</td>
<td>2 (18%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mewari</td>
<td>11 (85%)</td>
<td>1 (7%)</td>
<td>1 (7%)</td>
<td></td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhundari</td>
<td>9 (75%)</td>
<td>3 (25%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hadothi</td>
<td>3 (27%)</td>
<td>4 (36%)</td>
<td>2 (18%)</td>
<td>2 (18%)</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mewati</td>
<td>2 (18%)</td>
<td>7 (63%)</td>
<td>2 (18%)</td>
<td></td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>44 (62%)</td>
<td>17 (25%)</td>
<td>5 (7%)</td>
<td>2 (6%)</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The responses to this question were consistent with the trends seen in the answers to the previous questions. Overall, a majority (62 per cent) of the subjects said that the story’s speech was pure. Once again, Shekhawati, Godwari and Mewari subjects had more positive views, while Hadothi and Mewati subjects did not.

**If not pure) in what way is the speech not pure?**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>NA</th>
<th>Words and pronunciation/style</th>
<th>Mixed</th>
<th>Not asked</th>
<th>Total no. of subjects</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Shekhawati</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>(100%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Godwari</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>(82%)</td>
<td>2 (18%)</td>
<td></td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mewari</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>(93%)</td>
<td>1 (7%)</td>
<td></td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhundari</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>(75%)</td>
<td></td>
<td>3 (25%)</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hadothi</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>(27%)</td>
<td>4 (36%)</td>
<td>4 (36%)</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mewati</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>(63%)</td>
<td>2 (18%)</td>
<td></td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>(74%)</td>
<td>7 (10%)</td>
<td>2 (3%)</td>
<td>9 (13%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Subjects who answered this question mainly said that the speech is not pure in terms of the words and pronunciation/style. The exception was the Godwari subjects who felt that the speech was impure because they perceived it as mixed.
Is the storyteller’s speech a little or very different from your speech?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Only small variation</th>
<th>Little different</th>
<th>Very different</th>
<th>Total no. of subjects</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Shekhawati</td>
<td>3 (30%)</td>
<td></td>
<td>7 (70%)</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Godwari</td>
<td>3 (27%)</td>
<td>2 (19%)</td>
<td>6 (54%)</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mewari</td>
<td>6 (46%)</td>
<td>3 (23%)</td>
<td>4 (31%)</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhundari</td>
<td>8 (67%)</td>
<td></td>
<td>4 (33%)</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hadothi</td>
<td>8 (73%)</td>
<td></td>
<td>3 (27%)</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mewati</td>
<td>9 (82%)</td>
<td></td>
<td>2 (18%)</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>36 (53%)</td>
<td>5 (7%)</td>
<td>27 (40%)</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Overall, about half (53 per cent) of the respondents said that the storyteller's speech varied only slightly from their own mother tongue, while 40 per cent said that it was very different. Interestingly, although a majority of the Shekhawati and Godwari subjects said that the speech is good and pure, they acknowledged that the text language is very different from their mother tongue. The responses from the Mewati and Hadothi subjects were also notable; although many said the text was not good and pure, they expressed the opinion that their mother tongue is only a little different from what they heard on the test tape. It is also interesting that the subjects who perceived the text as very different generally had higher RTT scores, while those who said there was only a small variation had lower RTT scores.

(If different) in what way is it different?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Style and pronunciation</th>
<th>Words and style</th>
<th>Words and pronunciation</th>
<th>Not asked</th>
<th>Entirely different</th>
<th>Total no. of subjects</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Shekhawati</td>
<td>2 (20%)</td>
<td>8 (80%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Godwari</td>
<td>2 (18%)</td>
<td></td>
<td>9 (82%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mewari</td>
<td>2 (16%)</td>
<td>6 (46%)</td>
<td>5 (38%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhundari</td>
<td></td>
<td>10 (83%)</td>
<td>2 (17%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hadothi</td>
<td></td>
<td>6 (54%)</td>
<td>1 (9%)</td>
<td>1 (9%)</td>
<td>3 (30%)</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mewati</td>
<td>9 (82%)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1 (9%)</td>
<td>1 (9%)</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>15 (22%)</td>
<td>31 (44%)</td>
<td>15 (22%)</td>
<td>4 (6%)</td>
<td>4 (6%)</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Responses to this question varied, but most subjects mentioned some combination of pronunciation, words, and style. Some did not specify, but simply said that the language of the text was ‘entirely different’.
How much of the story did you understand?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Very little</th>
<th>Half</th>
<th>More than half</th>
<th>Fully</th>
<th>Total no. of subjects</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Shekhawati</td>
<td>2 (20%)</td>
<td>1 (10%)</td>
<td></td>
<td>7 (70%)</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Godwari</td>
<td>1 (9%)</td>
<td>6 (54%)</td>
<td></td>
<td>4 (37%)</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mewari</td>
<td>3 (24%)</td>
<td>5 (38%)</td>
<td>5 (38%)</td>
<td></td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhundari</td>
<td>6 (50%)</td>
<td>2 (17%)</td>
<td>4 (33%)</td>
<td></td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hadothi</td>
<td>8 (72%)</td>
<td>1 (9%)</td>
<td>2 (18%)</td>
<td></td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mewati</td>
<td>6 (54%)</td>
<td>5 (46%)</td>
<td></td>
<td>22 (32%)</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>26 (38%)</td>
<td>12 (18%)</td>
<td>8 (12%)</td>
<td>22 (32%)</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Except for a majority (70 per cent) among Shekhawati subjects, few subjects from the other dialects said that they understood the text fully. Shekhawati subjects had the highest average RTT score (67 per cent, with a high standard deviation of 20); however, their results still indicate that intelligibility is probably inadequate. Overall, 56 per cent of the subjects said they understood very little or half of the story. The trend of these responses is mostly consistent with actual RTT scores; in general, subjects from the dialect groups that had lower average RTT scores also had higher percentages of the response that they understood very little of the story. This was especially true among Mewati subjects, who had the lowest RTT average (45 per cent) and highest standard deviation (24); all of these subjects said they understood very little or half of the story.

How many times have you gone to the area where you said the storyteller is from?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Once</th>
<th>Two or more times</th>
<th>Not at all</th>
<th>Total no. of subjects</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Shekhawati</td>
<td>4 (40%)</td>
<td>4 (40%)</td>
<td>2 (20%)</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Godwari</td>
<td>3 (27%)</td>
<td>2 (18%)</td>
<td>6 (55%)</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mewari</td>
<td>10 (77%)</td>
<td></td>
<td>3 (33%)</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhundari</td>
<td>3 (25%)</td>
<td></td>
<td>9 (75%)</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hadothi</td>
<td>1 (9%)</td>
<td>1 (9%)</td>
<td>9 (82%)</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mewati</td>
<td>8 (73%)</td>
<td></td>
<td>3 (27%)</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>11 (17%)</td>
<td>25 (37%)</td>
<td>32 (46%)</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*This question was only asked to subjects who named a place where they thought the storyteller was from.*

About half (54 per cent) of the subjects said they had travelled to the storyteller’s region at least once. (About half of the subjects thought the storyteller was from the Marwari region.) Among all the dialect groups, it appears that Mewari subjects have the most contact with Marwari speakers. Only Dhundari and Hadothi subjects do not appear to have much exposure to the Marwari region. This may be due to geographic factors. The Dhundari region is somewhat distant from the Marwari region. Since it is located in the centre of Rajasthan, it has its own facilities, so people do not have much need to travel to the Marwari region. The Hadothi region is divided from the Marwari region by the Aravalli mountain ranges.

---

*The exception was Godwari subjects, whose RTT average (61%, standard deviation 16) was lower than that of the Shekhawati subjects.*
How often do people from that area come to your village?*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Very often</th>
<th>Sometimes</th>
<th>Never</th>
<th>Total no. of subjects</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Shekhawati</td>
<td>5 (50%)</td>
<td>2 (20%)</td>
<td>3 (30%)</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Godwari</td>
<td>5 (45%)</td>
<td>2 (18%)</td>
<td>4 (37%)</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mewari</td>
<td>3 (23%)</td>
<td>4 (31%)</td>
<td>6 (46%)</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhundari</td>
<td>2 (17%)</td>
<td>3 (25%)</td>
<td>7 (58%)</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hadothi</td>
<td>4 (36%)</td>
<td>2 (18%)</td>
<td>5 (45%)</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mewati</td>
<td>4 (36%)</td>
<td>4 (36%)</td>
<td>3 (27%)</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>23 (34%)</td>
<td>17 (25%)</td>
<td>28 (41%)</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*This question was only asked to subjects who named a place where they thought the storyteller was from.

A little over half (59 per cent) of the subjects reported that people from the storyteller’s region (identified as the Marwari region by about half of subjects) come to their place for business purposes. The remaining subjects (41 per cent) reported that people from the storyteller’s region never come to their local areas.

2.2.5 Conclusions

Based on these RTT and post-RTT results, it is appears that Jodhpur Marwari is not adequately understood by speakers from the Shekhawati, Godwari, Mewari, Dhundari, Hadothi, and Mewati dialects as represented in this study. These results indicate that speakers of these dialects would have difficulty in using Marwari language materials effectively, unless they had the opportunity and motivation to learn Marwari or to have Marwari materials adapted to their own dialects.

3 Language use, attitudes, and vitality

3.1 Introduction

A study of language use patterns attempts to describe which languages or speech varieties members of a community use in different social situations. These situations, called domains, are contexts in which the use of one language variety is considered more appropriate than another (Fasold 1984:183).

A study of language attitudes attempts to describe people’s feelings and preferences toward their own language and other speech varieties around them, and what value they place on those languages. Ultimately these views, whether explicit or unexpressed, will influence the results of efforts toward literacy and the acceptability of literature development.

Language vitality involves looking at indications of whether people seem likely to continue to speak their mother tongue in future generations, or whether they might shift to another language. Though it is difficult to predict with any certainty whether people will maintain their mother tongue or not, it is possible to make some inferences based on the present language use and attitudes reported by them.

3.2 Procedures

Orally administered questionnaires were the primary method for seeking answers to these questions. In addition to a Language Use, Attitudes, and Vitality (LUAV) questionnaire, informal interviews and observations were also used. The questions were asked in Hindi and in different Rajasthani dialects with the help of local interpreters, depending on the dialect in which they were elicited.
Before administering the LUAV questionnaire, a preliminary sociolinguistic questionnaire (SLQ) was used with key people representing the major Rajasthani dialects. This was done in order to find out about some general perceptions and attitudes before proceeding with further research. Many questions from the SLQ were also included in the LUAV.

### 3.3 Questionnaire sample

The LUAV questionnaire was administered to subjects at nine sites. A total of ninety-five subjects representing seven of the major dialects of Rajasthani answered the questionnaire (table 17).

**Table 17. LUAV questionnaire sample**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Geographic Dialect/Circuit</th>
<th>District</th>
<th>Number of Subjects</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Marwari</td>
<td>Jodhpur</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shekhawati</td>
<td>Sikar</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Godwari</td>
<td>Sirohi</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mewari</td>
<td>Chittorgarh</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhundari</td>
<td>Dausa</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hadothi</td>
<td>Kota</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mewati</td>
<td>Alwar</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 18 shows the distribution of the questionnaire subjects according to the demographic variables of sex, age, and education.

**Table 18. Sample distribution of LUAV questionnaire subjects**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>No formal education (0)</th>
<th>Primary educated (1st –5th)</th>
<th>High school educated (6th–10th)</th>
<th>Secondary educated (11th +)</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male (total of 73)</td>
<td>Younger (17–35)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Middle (36–50)</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Older (51 and above)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female (total of 22)</td>
<td>Younger (17–35)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Middle (36–50)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Older (51 and above)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>95</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

We can observe from table 18 that the LUAV questionnaire sample is skewed towards younger, educated, male subjects. This must be kept in mind when interpreting the results. It is assumed that the educated young men will usually represent the part of the population most willing to change, most influenced by outside forces, and least attached to their mother tongue. Informal interviews indicated that a common
trend among Rajasthani speakers that the literacy rate for men is increasing. Education levels are increasing among the younger generations as compared with the older, and this is reflected in the sample. Castes and tribes were not separated in the sample or analysis. Though many castes and tribes live among the Rajasthani speakers, except Wagri, it was learned that their speech is not considered different from that of the speakers in the sampled villages.

In some cases, women and the uneducated were reluctant to answer the questionnaire. When the women had difficulty answering some of the questions, the language helpers or onlookers sometimes suggested some possible answers. Though this may have helped to reassure the women, it probably further skewed some of the results. Although limited in sample size and scope as far as the population of Rajasthan is concerned, these LUAV questionnaire results do contribute to the overall picture of the sociolinguistic situation in this region.

3.4 Results and analysis

In detailing the results, data will be presented summarising the responses of all the subjects. This should give an indication of the general opinions of the entire sample. If data from a particular dialect group displayed a notable divergence from the full sample, that data will also be presented.

3.4.1 Language use

Table 19 summarises the domains of language use reported by questionnaire subjects. Results are shown indicating the percentage of subjects who gave a particular response. Categories of answers are separated into MT (mother tongue), Hindi, MT&H (mother tongue and Hindi), and Outside (a language other than Hindi, such as Arabic, Urdu, Sanskrit, or English).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Domain</th>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Response</th>
<th>MT</th>
<th>Hindi</th>
<th>MT&amp;H</th>
<th>Outside</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Home</td>
<td>What language do you use.... with family members?</td>
<td></td>
<td>91%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intra group</td>
<td>In the village?</td>
<td></td>
<td>86%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inter group</td>
<td>With neighbouring villagers?</td>
<td></td>
<td>75%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inter group</td>
<td>With friends belonging to different language/dialect groups who visit you at home?</td>
<td></td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government</td>
<td>With a government official if he speaks your language?</td>
<td></td>
<td>96%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government</td>
<td>With a government official if he speaks Hindi?</td>
<td></td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>82%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intra group</td>
<td>Do children use while they play?</td>
<td></td>
<td>92%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religion</td>
<td>In private prayer?</td>
<td></td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Market</td>
<td>In the market?</td>
<td></td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>18%</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Culture</td>
<td>In marriage songs?</td>
<td></td>
<td>80%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>In school? *</td>
<td></td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>56%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Uneducated subjects were not asked this question, so the percentages of responses add up only to 90 per cent.

For almost all of the domains studied, the mother tongue was the language reportedly used by the majority of subjects. A high percentage of subjects (91 per cent) responded that they use their mother tongue in the home. Five out of the seventeen Marwari subjects said they speak both Marwari and Hindi with their parents (it was not ascertained how much Hindi those parents understood). Four out of these five informants are young educated men who have a lot of contact with outsiders, as they are involved in
various businesses. In the Mewati sample, one young man and one young woman claimed that they speak only Hindi at home. This may reflect a negative attitude towards the Mewati dialect, which is considered a Muslim dialect; Hindus prefer to say they speak only Hindi. One forty-year-old informant, who mentioned he uses either Mewati or Hindi at home, expressed the opinion that Mewati is not much different from Hindi.

The mother tongue appears to be widely spoken in the village (as reported by 86 per cent of the subjects), with neighbouring villagers (75 per cent), by children while they play (92 per cent) and for singing songs at village marriages (80 per cent). It is also significant that nearly all subjects (96 per cent) choose to speak their mother tongue with government officials if the officials speak it too. Even highly educated subjects reported this strong use of their respective Rajasthani dialects.

Mewati subjects reported less use of their mother tongue for personal prayer than subjects from other communities; only two out of fifteen said that they use their mother tongue for private prayer. This may be because most Mewati speakers are Muslims and they use mostly Urdu or Arabic for their personal prayer. Subjects from other dialect areas had varied responses. About half responded that they speak their mother tongue when they pray; others said that all the Hindu religious books are written in Hindi so they have to use Hindi when they pray.

The second most widely used language as reported by subjects in this sample is Hindi. Thirty-six per cent responded that they use Hindi at the market. In many marketplaces where the speakers of Rajasthani dialects go, the merchants are outsiders who do not speak any Rajasthani dialect. This is likely the reason why a large number of subjects responded that they speak Hindi at the market. Another domain where Hindi is used is speaking with government officials who speak Hindi rather than a Rajasthani dialect (82 per cent). When other people belonging to different language/dialect groups visit them at home, 40 per cent of the subjects responded that they use Hindi with them, while 42 per cent said they use both Hindi and their mother tongue. Finally, language use in school appears to vary: 56 per cent said Hindi is used, 21 per cent said the mother tongue, and 11 per cent said both the mother tongue and Hindi. People interviewed by the surveyors often said that even though the medium of education is Hindi, teachers are forced to use the local speech variety to explain the lessons to the students because only then can they understand.

### 3.4.2 Language attitudes

**Attitudes towards Rajasthani speech varieties and Hindi**

**Where is pure [mother tongue] spoken?**

Most of the people, including the educated subjects, reported their own dialect area, but many subjects suggested that Jodhpur is the location of pure Marwari or Rajasthani. Of all the varieties, Jodhpur Marwari appears to be the most highly regarded, perhaps because it has a long literary tradition and the highest population of speakers of all the major dialect groups.

**Where is your language spoken exactly the same as the way you speak it? Where is your language spoken differently? (The subjects were then asked how they felt about different speech varieties.)**

All the subjects except the Mewati speakers generally showed positive attitudes towards their own speech varieties and towards the other varieties. Mewati is considered to be a Muslim dialect; the Hindus in the area do not have a positive attitude towards Mewati even though it is also their mother tongue. Many of the subjects reported that they have difficulty understanding Rajasthani speech varieties other than their own.
What language is best for the mother to use when she speaks to her child?

Most of the informants (89 per cent) said that the mother tongue is best for mothers to speak with their children. The seven subjects who felt that Hindi is best are more educated and reported using Hindi in their homes.

What language do you want your children to learn first?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subjects' Mother Tongue</th>
<th>Mother Tongue (%)</th>
<th>Hindi (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Shekhawati</td>
<td>64%</td>
<td>36%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Godwari</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>45%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hadothi</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marwari</td>
<td>47%</td>
<td>53%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mewari</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>57%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mewati</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>67%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhundari</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>43%</strong></td>
<td><strong>57%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There is interesting variation in the responses. Overall, 43 per cent of the subjects stated that their children should learn the mother tongue (their respective dialects of Rajasthani) first, while 57 per cent said the children should learn Hindi first. All the Dhundari subjects preferred that their children learn Hindi first, while 64 per cent of the Shekhawati respondents and 55 per cent of the Godwari subjects favoured their mother tongue. The researchers observed that, according to the understanding of some subjects, the mother tongue comes naturally, so children need to focus only on learning Hindi. Other subjects may also favour Hindi because it is seen as a language for advancement.

Would you be happy if your child spoke only Hindi?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subjects' Mother Tongue</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Godwari</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>67%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shekhawati</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>55%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mewari</td>
<td>57%</td>
<td>43%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marwari</td>
<td>65%</td>
<td>35%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mewati</td>
<td>73%</td>
<td>27%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hadothi</td>
<td>75%</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhundari</td>
<td>78%</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>67%</strong></td>
<td><strong>33%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Overall, a majority of the subjects (67 per cent) responded that they would be happy if their child spoke only Hindi. Many subjects, even the educated, commented that it would be good if their children spoke their traditional mother tongue as well as Hindi. It is interesting to note that these responses generally parallel the responses to the question ‘What language do you want your children to learn first?’, though not completely. Specifically, we can observe that more of the Shekhawati and Godwari subjects, who expressed more preference for their children to learn the mother tongue first, also said they would not be happy if their children spoke only Hindi. In the same way, more of the Dhundari subjects, who all preferred that their children learn Hindi first, said they would be happy if their children spoke only Hindi.
If the younger generation in your village did not speak your language at all, how would an older person feel?

Based on the responses, it appears that there was variation in how this question was asked of the subjects. Most of the older respondents felt that they did not understand Hindi very well, so they would not like a situation where younger people spoke only Hindi. Overall, nearly all subjects reported that older people would feel bad if younger people spoke Hindi in front of them. Six people (all educated young subjects) said that they would be happy if the younger generation spoke Hindi with them.

Is your language better than other languages?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subjects’ Mother Tongue</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>No</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mewari</td>
<td>99%</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shekhawati</td>
<td>82%</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hadothi</td>
<td>80%</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhundari</td>
<td>78%</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marwari</td>
<td>76%</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Godwari</td>
<td>67%</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mewati</td>
<td>63%</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>72%</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Responses to this question suggest that subjects from all seven dialect groups studied have a positive attitude towards their respective mother tongues. A high percentage of subjects (63 to 99 per cent within each dialect group, averaging 72 per cent overall) believe that their language is better than other languages, including Hindi.

Attitudes towards language development

What kind of books would you prefer to read in your language?

About half (51 per cent) of the subjects reported that they were interested in reading religious materials, stories, historical books, etc. in their mother tongue. Most of these people are comfortable using their mother tongue in relation to their religious activities. About one-fourth (29 per cent) of the subjects were only interested in Hindi materials.

Would you like to have newspapers in your mother tongue?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No need for MT newspaper</td>
<td>51%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Need Hindi newspaper</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No interest</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not asked/answered</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Through informal interviews, the researchers came to know that there are newspapers available in some of the Rajasthani dialects, although people are often not aware of it. About half of the subjects (51 per cent) felt there was no need for mother tongue newspapers, while 21 per cent said they preferred newspapers in Hindi.
How do you think it would be if you had a school in your mother tongue as the medium of instruction?

While 37 per cent of the subjects answered in favour of their respective mother tongue as the medium of instruction for schools, 15 per cent said this would not be good. Thirty-two per cent of the subjects preferred to continue with the present Hindi medium schools. Another eight per cent of the subjects had mixed opinions such as, ‘English and Hindi mediums are good for education,’ ‘Urdu is good,’ and ‘both Hindi and mother tongue are needed.’ Various people informally reported that in most of the schools, their respective mother tongues are fairly widely used, even though they are not the official medium of education.

Would you like your children to learn to write and read your language?

A majority of subjects (57 per cent) said that they would like to see their children learn to read and write in their mother tongue. Some said they would like it, but there is no possibility for this. Another 41 per cent responded that they would not like to see their children learn to read and write in their mother tongue. Some of the subjects had the idea that their mother tongue is only for speaking within the group, not for writing.

If someone wanted to teach you how to read and write your language, how would you help?

A majority of subjects (63 per cent) indicated a willingness to help if mother tongue literacy classes were started, though about one-fourth (23 per cent) said they would do so only if the literacy class were in Hindi.

Do you listen to the radio/television when programmes come on in your language?

Many of the subjects (81 per cent) answered that they do listen to radio or television programmes that are broadcast in their mother tongue, while some (17 per cent) said they were not interested in such programmes.

3.4.3 Language vitality

Do young people in your village feel good about your language?

Almost all of the questionnaire subjects agreed that the younger people feel good about their own speech variety. However, in informal interviews, some suggested that if Rajasthani became a scheduled language (that is, an official language of India), they would also be proud.

When the children of this village grow up and have their own children, do you think those children will speak your language?

A majority of the subjects (61 per cent) gave the opinion that the future generation will continue to speak their language. A few subjects said that ‘even after a thousand years’ they would speak their

17 Though the question was asked in this way, the answers were given instead as what language they prefer to have used in school.
mother tongue, whereas another few said that their mother tongue would be mixed with Hindi. About one-fourth (26 per cent) of the respondents said that, in the future, people will not continue with their language, and they will speak only Hindi. Five per cent said that the future generation would speak both Hindi and the local speech variety, while eight per cent answered that their children's children may or may not use their language in the future. It was also noted that since the medium of education in Rajasthan is Hindi, some were not sure about what the future language situation might be. From these responses, it is clear that many subjects, though not all, feel that their Rajasthani varieties will continue at least for the near future.

**Would you allow your son or daughter to marry someone who did not know your language?**

Often, language attitudes are reflected by a community's willingness to have its members marry speakers of differing languages. This study, however, found that the majority of subjects (83 per cent overall) in the seven dialect groups surveyed expressed openness to such mixed marriages, as long as the other language is known to them and the caste is in common. Almost all the subjects from all the groups responded that a couple could get along with each other as long as they know Hindi. One exception was a male subject from the Marwari-speaking area who stated that he would not allow his children to marry someone who did not speak Marwari, not even if the person were a Hindi speaker.

### 3.5 Conclusions

Based on questionnaire responses, informal interviews, and observations, we conclude that at the present time, Rajasthani speech varieties are widely used in the key domains of home, village, and religion. Attitudes toward Hindi are positive, but the use of Hindi by speakers of Rajasthani dialects, as represented in this survey, is mainly limited to domains such as the market, school, and interactions with government officials. In other words, for the most part, Hindi is the language of choice only in those situations where people must interact with those who do not speak any Rajasthani dialect. Although Hindi could be considered a prestige language of the region, the attitudes of Rajasthani dialect speakers towards their respective mother tongues are also positive. Overall, these results show positive indications for the maintenance of Rajasthani speech varieties in the foreseeable future. In terms of vernacular language development, the results were mixed. Interest was expressed in the current mother tongue radio programmes and television broadcasts, and in the possibility of vernacular books on various subjects, but not in vernacular newspapers. Opinions about mother tongue education and literacy work also varied; it is likely that promotional activities would need to be part of any such programmes initiated among these Rajasthani dialect groups.

### 4 Bilingualism

#### 4.1 Introduction

This chapter will discuss certain social aspects of language found among the ethno-linguistic groups in the area surveyed, exploring the topic of bilingualism. Various sources of information were utilised in examining this topic, such as official census data, results from previous sociolinguistic surveys, interviews—both informal and formal—with members of the community and those working among them, and observations from brief but frequent and significant times in villages.

Bilingualism refers to the knowledge and skills acquired by individuals [that] enable them to use a language other than their mother tongue (Blair 1990:52). A second language may be acquired either

---

18These subjects were from the Shekhawati dialect.
formally (as in a school setting) or informally through other types of contact with speakers of the second language. Bilingual ability is not normally uniformly distributed within a community, as it is dependent on many different social characteristics. However, there can be exceptional cases where a community restricted to a small geographical area and small population have acquired fairly uniform bilingual ability. Blair (1990:51) further points out,

The goal of a study of community bilingualism is to find out how bilingual the population of a community is. Bilingualism is not a characteristic, which is uniformly distributed. In any community, different individuals or sections of the community are bilingual to different degrees. It is important to avoid characterising an entire community as though such ability were uniformly distributed. It is more accurate to describe how bilingualism is distributed throughout the community.

Motivation and opportunity are two of the most important factors that produce bilingualism. Different individuals and sections of a community are proficient to varying degrees, depending on their motivation and on the nature and extent of their contact with the second language. Insights into a community’s motivation to learn a second language can often be gained by identifying the domains in which the second language is used and the underlying attitudes promoting them to do so. Language use and attitude studies can reveal such insights. The motivation may be economic, religious, altruistic or for self-preservation. The community will become as bilingual as it deems necessary in order to satisfy its self-interest. However, people cannot become bilingual unless they have contact with the second language in some context. This contact is related to certain demographic factors such as education, age, and sex. In reality, these are not totally independent variables but are often interrelated.

Hindi is one of the official languages of India and a lingua franca throughout north India. It is also the official language of some states in north India. People like Hindi because of its perceived prestige. They generally say, ‘If you know Hindi, you can go anywhere in India.’ There is a great amount of literature available in Hindi. The media is also dominated by the use of Hindi in India. Hindi can be heard almost round the clock over radio broadcasting and television channels. Hindi has a great influence in India, except in some of the southernmost parts.

Hindi is the official state language and medium of instruction in schools in Rajasthan. Since it has a great influence in this area, it was important to assess bilingual proficiency in Hindi before considering a language development programme in any of the Rajasthani dialects. The main methods used to gauge bilingualism in Hindi in this study were questionnaires and observations.

### 4.2 Questionnaires

As shown previously in table 19, the main domains in which subjects reported using Hindi involved interactions with outsiders, that is, in the market, in school, and with government officials who do not speak any Rajasthani dialect. Some subjects also reported using Hindi with neighbouring villagers and in private prayer. Since the state language is Hindi, all government correspondence needs to be addressed in Hindi. The official medium of instruction is also Hindi. For these reasons, many speakers of Rajasthani dialects need to learn Hindi at least to some degree.

To determine self-reported Hindi bilingual ability, bilingualism questions were included on the LUAV questionnaire. Biodata questions also revealed some information about bilingualism.

**How many languages do you speak?**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Monolingual</th>
<th>Bilingual</th>
<th>Multilingual</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>16 (17%)</td>
<td>47 (50%)</td>
<td>32 (33%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
All of the bilingual subjects reported varying abilities in Hindi. In the case of the multilingual subjects, they seemed to be relatively more fluent in Hindi. Their third languages were often closely related varieties, such as Urdu for Mewati speakers and Gujarati for Godwari speakers. The languages mentioned by bilingual and multilingual subjects were Hindi, Urdu, Gujarati, Braj, Arabic, Punjabi, and English.

**How did you learn Hindi?**

The majority of subjects (51) mentioned school, while 12 said it was through contact and six said they took the personal initiative of reading books and mingling with Hindi speakers. Also, many stated that they learned Hindi through whatever medium was available, including radio and television. Sixteen people admitted that they could not speak Hindi.

All of the subjects said that they are able to follow the Hindi that is used when the news is comes on All India Radio and the Doordarshan television channel. Some admitted that they are not able to understand Hindi fully, and only through the context can they grasp the message.

**Are there any situations in which you are not able to answer in Hindi?**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Able to answer</th>
<th>Not able to answer</th>
<th>Do not know Hindi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>62 (65%)</td>
<td>17 (18%)</td>
<td>16 (17%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Most subjects reported that they have not experienced the situation of not being able to answer in Hindi when they needed to, but some said that there had been situations when they were not able to respond in Hindi.

**What kind of Hindi books are Rajasthani speakers using now?**

Thirty-six of the subjects (38 per cent) said they read religious materials, while three people (3 per cent) said that they read only agricultural materials. The rest reported that they read all the Hindi magazines, newspapers and available books, which are affordable for them.

**4.3 Informal interviews and observations**

Informal interviews with many local teachers revealed that the teachers use their local speech varieties to explain the subjects to the students, even up to the 12th standard.

As the researchers visited more than 75 villages during this survey, they had a difficult time conversing in Hindi with older people, both men and women, since the older people did not understand very much Hindi. Though many subjects reported that they are able to understand Hindi, the researchers observed that often, people were not able to distinguish between Hindi and their own Rajasthani speech variety. We observed that, in general, only the younger, educated generation seems to be able to use Hindi adequately. Other segments of the population of Rajasthani dialect speakers, especially women and older people, are much more likely to be illiterate in Hindi and unable to use Hindi except perhaps for the most basic communication, such as buying something at the market.

Confirming the questionnaire results, we also observed that speakers of Rajasthani dialects use Hindi mainly with outsiders, with whom they are not able to communicate using their own speech varieties. Since most of the local government officers are from the respective local areas, Rajasthani dialects are often used in government interactions as well.
4.4 Conclusions

As is the common notion all over north India, Rajasthani dialect speakers also consider Hindi as the only medium for entering into the mainstream of society. Therefore, there is strong motivation among some people to learn Hindi, primarily for instrumental purposes such as education and employment. At the same time, as discussed in sections 3.4.1 and 3.4.2, there is also the desire among speakers of Rajasthani dialects to maintain their mother tongue, especially for sentimental uses such as family, intra-group communication, religion use.

A more detailed study of Hindi proficiency among Rajasthani dialect speakers, using a research tool called the Sentence Repetition Test (Radloff 1991) would give a clearer picture of Hindi bilingualism in these communities. However, the preliminary conclusion that is possible based on questionnaires, informal interviews, and observations is that many Rajasthani dialect speakers, especially women and the uneducated, are probably not able to understand Hindi well enough to be able to use materials in that language effectively.

5 Summary of findings and recommendations

5.1 Summary of findings

The speakers of many Rajasthani varieties often perceive their varieties as related dialects, and also report that they can understand one another. In contrast to these general perceptions, the lexical similarity study done in this survey indicated that these dialects appeared to be fairly different from one another. Comprehension testing was needed in order to further clarify the linguistic relationships among these dialects. Marwari is considered to be the standard form of Rajasthani, and Jodhpur Marwari is perceived as the central variety of Marwari. The results of a comprehension test developed in Jodhpur Marwari showed that this Rajasthani variety was not well understood by test subjects from among six other major Rajasthani dialects, namely Shekhawati, Godwari, Mewari, Dhundari, Hadothi, and Mewati. Therefore, we conclude that materials in Jodhpur Marwari probably could not be effectively used by the speakers of these dialects.

The Language Use, Attitudes, and Vitality study indicated that speakers of the major Rajasthani dialects are continuing to use their mother tongue in the key domains of home, village, and religion. Hindi is mainly used for interactions with outsiders. It is perceived as being valuable for education and economic advancement. However, observations and self-reported information collected during this survey appear to indicate that, aside from those who are well educated, many speakers of Rajasthani dialects are probably not bilingual enough in Hindi to use complex written materials in that language.

5.2 Recommendations

5.2.1 For further research

Although this survey represents a significant advance in the understanding of the sociolinguistic situation among the major present-day Rajasthani dialects, there are still areas where further research is needed.

If language developers still have doubts, on the basis of Hindi comprehension, about the need for mother tongue language programmes, then Sentence Repetition Testing to assess community levels of bilingualism in Hindi would help to further clarify this need.

The intelligibility of Jodhpur Marwari was tested among six major Rajasthani dialect groups (Shekhawati, Godwari, Mewari, Dhundari, Hadothi, and Mewati), but testing could not be carried out among Merwari speakers. Testing was also not done within or between these dialect groups; several of these groups reportedly have more than one variety. Lexical similarity data indicated that some of these
varieties may be different enough to pose barriers to comprehension. Language developers who want to
conduct work in these dialects would do well to conduct dialect intelligibility testing as an initial step in
their respective language programmes. This will accomplish two objectives:

(1) It will help to clarify the relationships among the major Rajasthani dialects further. If intelligibility is
inadequate, it will confirm the need for separate mother tongue language programmes. If intelligibility is
adequate and two or more dialect groups could share materials, it will help language developers avoid
duplicating their efforts.

(2) It will help ensure that the variety chosen for a dialect’s development will be understood as widely as
possible among the dialect speakers. For example, Godwari reportedly has four main varieties known as
Khuni, Balvi, Sirohi, and Madahaddi. During this survey, a hometown test was developed in the Khuni
variety. Testing this among speakers of the other varieties would help to show whether those speakers
could potentially use materials in the Khuni variety.

5.2.2 For language development

Many factors combine to make Marwari the main focus for continued language development efforts.
These factors include:

- Marwari is spoken as the mother tongue by many different caste groups.
- Marwari has the highest reported population of speakers among the major present-day Rajasthani
dialects.
- Marwari is the lingua franca for most of Rajasthan.
- Marwari already has a long literary tradition.
- Marwari has strong potential to continue to be the central form of the official state language referred
to as Rajasthani.
- Marwari speakers, writers, and leaders desire to see Rajasthani, in the form of Marwari, recognised
  by the national government as a scheduled language.

It is also important to remember that this survey has shown that at the present time, speakers from six
other major Rajasthani dialects (Shekhawati, Godwari, Mewari, Dhundari, Hadothi, and Mewati)
probably cannot understand Marwari well enough to use materials in that dialect. This may change in
future generations as further efforts are made to develop and promote Marwari among the speakers of all
the Rajasthani dialects. However, language developers who wish to reach the present generation will
probably find that their efforts will be more effective if they develop materials in the respective dialects.
Determination of which dialects and varieties to develop may be facilitated by further research into
intelligibility, as described in 5.2.1.

5.2.3 For literacy

Census information and observations during this survey indicate that there is still a notable proportion of
Rajasthani dialect speakers who are illiterate, especially among women and the uneducated. Therefore,
in order to enable people to use written materials that may be developed in their respective Rajasthani
dialects, it is recommended that mother tongue literacy programmes be carried out as well, using the
Devanagari script. Literacy workers should take into account that most speakers of Rajasthani dialects
regard Hindi as the language of education. Promotion of mother tongue literacy will therefore need to be
a significant component of the literacy efforts. It is likely that people will also desire materials that will
help them transition into Hindi.
Appendix A. Maps

Map 1. Location of survey area
Map 2. Rajasthan road map
Map 3. Location of Rajasthani dialects
Map 4. Wordlist locations
Map 5. HTT and RTT locations
Map 6. LUAV, SLQ, and LIQ locations
Appendix B. Wordlists

Lexical similarity counting procedures

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

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

Category 1
- Contoid (consonant-like) segments that match exactly
- Vocoid (vowel-like) segments that match exactly or differ by only one articulatory feature
- Phonetically similar segments (of the sort that are frequently found as allophones) that are seen to correspond in at least three pairs of words

Category 2
- All other phonetically similar non-vocalic pairs of segments that are not supported by at least three pairs of words
- Vowels that differ by two or more articulatory features

Category 3
- Pairs of segments that are not phonetically similar
- A segment that is matched by no segment in the corresponding item and position

Blair (1990:32) writes, ‘In contextualizing these rules to specific surveys in South Asia, the following differences between two items are ignored: (a) interconsonantal [a], (b) word initial, word final, or intervocalic [h, ñ], (c) any deletion which is shown to be the result of a regularly occurring process in a specific environment.’

The following table summarises lower threshold limits for considering words of a specified length (number of segments or phones) as phonetically similar:

---

10 This description of lexical similarity counting procedures is partially adapted from that found in Appendix A of O’Leary (1992).
Some modifications to the lexical similarity grouping procedures summarised in Blair were applied to the wordlists compared in this study. The need for this came about for several reasons. First, the wordlists were often not checked with a second mother tongue speaker of each speech variety. Second, the wordlists could not always be consistently elicited. In addition, the field workers’ phonetic transcription ability varied with skill, experience and their own language background.

**Modifications to the lexical similarity grouping procedures**

1. As seen in the previous table, two words with two segments each must have both segments in category 1 to be considered similar. Since the rationale for the distribution is that at least half of the segments compared should be category 1, this principle was applied to two-segment words so that a distribution of 1-1-0 was considered similar.

2. Additional comparisons considered as category 1:
   - aspirated and unaspirated sounds
   - lengthened and non-lengthened sounds
   - nasalised and non-nasalised vowels
   - nasalised vowels and nasal consonants
   - word-initial pre-vocalic [h] and [s], since these are used interchangeably in many locations

3. Root-based groupings: Wordlists were not always consistently elicited. In some cases, generic terms appear to have been given, while in other cases, more specific terms have been given. Also, verb forms were not elicited consistently with regard to person or tense. Because of these factors, it was often necessary to group words based on what appears to be a common root morpheme, rather than based on words as a whole. This applied to the following glosses: 16, 29, 50, 57, 74, 75, 79, 81, 105, 110, 182–189, 191–197, 200 and 201.

4. Loose consonantal groupings: The researchers eliciting the words may hear and transcribe the sounds slightly differently and probably with increasing ability to distinguish similar sounds as they gain experience. Thus, some consonant correspondences have been liberally grouped as similar. Those considered category 1 include:
   - [d, t]  [s, ʃ, ]  [s, ts, tf]  [b, β]  [b] with [v, v, w]  [v, v]

5. Metathesis: In the case of metathesis, words were grouped as similar.

After pairs of items on two wordlists had been determined to be phonetically similar or dissimilar according to the criteria stated above, the percentage of items judged similar was calculated. This procedure was repeated for all linguistic varieties under consideration in the survey. The pair by pair counting procedure was greatly facilitated by use of the *WordSurv* computer program. It should noted
that the wordlist entries are field transcriptions and have not undergone through phonological and grammatical analysis.

Two glosses (number 23 ‘urine’ and number 24 ‘faeces’) were disqualified and removed from the wordlist transcriptions that follow. These words were considered inappropriate in most elicitation situations. One potentially inappropriate gloss (number 11 ‘breast’) was replaced with the word ‘chest’.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Symbol</th>
<th>Geographic Dialect/Circuit</th>
<th>Speakers’ Designation</th>
<th>Village</th>
<th>Tehsil</th>
<th>District</th>
<th>State</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>Marwari</td>
<td>Manai</td>
<td>Jodhpur</td>
<td>Jodhpur</td>
<td>Rajasthan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J</td>
<td>Marwari</td>
<td>Magira</td>
<td>Barmer</td>
<td>Barmer</td>
<td>Rajasthan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K</td>
<td>Marwari</td>
<td>Chatrel</td>
<td>Jaisalmer</td>
<td>Jaisalmer</td>
<td>Rajasthan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H</td>
<td>Marwari</td>
<td>Kathariasar</td>
<td>Bikaner</td>
<td>Bikaner</td>
<td>Rajasthan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O</td>
<td>Merwari</td>
<td>Munduva</td>
<td>Munduva</td>
<td>Nagaur</td>
<td>Rajasthan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>Rajasthani</td>
<td>Ajmer</td>
<td>Ajmer</td>
<td>Ajmer</td>
<td>Rajasthan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r</td>
<td>Marwari</td>
<td>Dourai</td>
<td>Ajmer</td>
<td>Ajmer</td>
<td>Rajasthan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>Marwari</td>
<td>Jhuniya</td>
<td>Kekri</td>
<td>Ajmer</td>
<td>Rajasthan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>Shekhwati</td>
<td>Bagathpura</td>
<td>Dandarangar</td>
<td>Sikar</td>
<td>Rajasthan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>Shekhwati</td>
<td>Chalkoi</td>
<td>Churu</td>
<td>Churu</td>
<td>Rajasthan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>Shekhwati</td>
<td>Badgaon</td>
<td>Udaipur</td>
<td>Wati</td>
<td>Jhunjunu</td>
<td>Rajasthan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G</td>
<td>Godwari</td>
<td>Khor</td>
<td>Pali</td>
<td>Pali</td>
<td>Rajasthan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L</td>
<td>Godwari</td>
<td>Guda</td>
<td>Sirohi</td>
<td>Sirohi</td>
<td>Rajasthan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u</td>
<td>Marwari-Kotii</td>
<td>Arana</td>
<td>Abu Road</td>
<td>Sirohi</td>
<td>Rajasthan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td>Lohari</td>
<td>Mt Abu</td>
<td>Abu Road</td>
<td>Sirohi</td>
<td>Rajasthan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Mewari</td>
<td>Gorana</td>
<td>Jhadol</td>
<td>Udaipur</td>
<td>Rajasthan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y</td>
<td>Mewari</td>
<td>Sangadkhurd</td>
<td>Khumbalgarh</td>
<td>Rajasthan</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>w</td>
<td>Mewari</td>
<td>Kanauj</td>
<td>Badesar</td>
<td>Chittorgarh</td>
<td>Rajasthan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>z</td>
<td>Mewari</td>
<td>Kalnsas</td>
<td>Bandeda</td>
<td>Bhilwara</td>
<td>Rajasthan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s</td>
<td>Dhundari</td>
<td>Pathalvas</td>
<td>Bassi</td>
<td>Jaipur</td>
<td>Rajasthan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>Dhundari</td>
<td>Baramore</td>
<td>Tonk</td>
<td>Tonk</td>
<td>Rajasthan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>Hadothi</td>
<td>Pathera</td>
<td>Baren</td>
<td>Baren</td>
<td>Rajasthan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W</td>
<td>Hadothi</td>
<td>Pakrana</td>
<td>Khanpur</td>
<td>Jhalawar</td>
<td>Rajasthan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Z</td>
<td>Hadothi</td>
<td>Dhevypura</td>
<td>Digod</td>
<td>Kota</td>
<td>Rajasthan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>X</td>
<td>Hadothi-Dingl</td>
<td>Godada</td>
<td>Hindoli</td>
<td>Bundhi</td>
<td>Rajasthan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q</td>
<td>Mewati-Braj</td>
<td>Chirkhana</td>
<td>Alwar</td>
<td>Alwar</td>
<td>Rajasthan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R</td>
<td>Mewati-Braj</td>
<td>Karauli</td>
<td>Nagar</td>
<td>Alwar</td>
<td>Rajasthan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td>Mewati-Braj</td>
<td>Guilpada</td>
<td>Nagar</td>
<td>Bharatpur</td>
<td>Rajasthan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>Mewati-Braj</td>
<td>Bichuva</td>
<td>Roobas</td>
<td>Bharatpur</td>
<td>Rajasthan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U</td>
<td>Mewati-Braj</td>
<td>Sikroori</td>
<td>Kumher</td>
<td>Bharatpur</td>
<td>Rajasthan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>Bagri</td>
<td>Mirzawala</td>
<td>Ganganagar</td>
<td>Ganganagar</td>
<td>Rajasthan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>Bagri</td>
<td>Makkasar</td>
<td>Hanumanganar</td>
<td>Hanumanganar</td>
<td>Rajasthan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>Wargi</td>
<td>Kherwar</td>
<td>Kherwar</td>
<td>Udaipur</td>
<td>Rajasthan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>Wargi</td>
<td>Sangwara</td>
<td>Sangwara</td>
<td>Dungarpur</td>
<td>Rajasthan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c</td>
<td>Wargi</td>
<td>Sialder</td>
<td>Dungapur</td>
<td>Dungarpur</td>
<td>Rajasthan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v</td>
<td>Garasia-Bhili</td>
<td>Takya</td>
<td>Abu Road</td>
<td>Sirohi</td>
<td>Rajasthan</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>Haryanvi</td>
<td>Khedhadi</td>
<td>Hissar</td>
<td>Haryana</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h</td>
<td>Hindhi (Standard)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g</td>
<td>Gujarati (Standard)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Wordlist transcriptions

1. body
gat    [B]
dil    [ACDEFGHIJKMN OPWXYZaerstuwyz]
dil    [b]
dan    [Y]
deha   [V]
férir  [KLU]
farir  [eight]
far    [a]
sérir  [HQTcy]
de    [v]
beden  [RSu]
η      [a]
ŋ      [P]

2. head
sr    [ABEHh]
sir   [FQT]
matʰa [GJLNTWYZabetwyz]
matʰe [DKO]
matʰo [CHIMXrsv]
matʰu [cu]
matʰũ [g]
kʰapдоų [A]
kopdi [P]
ten    [T]
tët    [Q]
tëtʰ   [R]
muçuə [UV]
munŋə [S]
muçuə [UV]
muçukuə [a]

3. hair
bal    [BGJLNQTYehtuy]
bal    [AEPRSUWXZ]
balč  [F]
balű [Ds]
bar   [V]
baľ    [g]
bal    [AEPSUWXZ]
balć  [F]
balę  [s]
wal   [abv]
wal   [ac]
dźınd   [K]
dźındja [H]
runțfa  [Gw]
runța  [DI]
runțfa  [Gw]

4. face
mõ    [U]
mõh   [g]
mõh   [g]
mõh   [S]
mõh   [QRTh]
moqʰũ [g]
moqo  [b]
moqo  [a]
muqu  [Lcu]
muqu  [Lcu]
muqu  [Lcu]
muqu  [Lcu]
muŋđa [W]
muŋđa [W]
muŋđa [QWRTh]
muŋđa [QWRTh]
muŋđa [QWRTh]
muŋđa [QWRTh]
muŋđa [QWRTh]

5. eye
akʰ  [ADQVbw]
akʰ  [ADQVbw]
akʰ  [HJ]

raunțfaa  [z]
kes    [MOPr]
kef    [G]
dząta  [w]
łoția  [c]
mö    [U]
mõh   [g]
mõh   [A]
mõh   [Ab]
moqo  [b]
moqo  [a]
muqo  [Lcu]
muqo  [Lcu]
muqo  [Lcu]
muqo  [Lcu]
muqo  [Lcu]
muŋđa [W]
muŋđa [W]
muŋđa [W]
muŋđa [NGrw]
muŋđa [NGrw]
mundja [t]
mundja [t]
mundja [GJKOXYZersy]
mundja [GJKOXYZersy]
omijara [H]
omijaraʰ [M]
tţero  [g]
tjašara [h]
tʰapdoę [Dw]
tʰobdı [P]
tʰobdoę [C]
tenţa  [T]
tekʰel [z]
sekel  [V]
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>8. mouth</th>
<th>9. tooth</th>
<th>10. tongue</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mõh</td>
<td>[g]</td>
<td>d3uban</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mu</td>
<td>[BFLPQRv]</td>
<td>d3ib</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mů</td>
<td>[A]</td>
<td>d3ib</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>můh</td>
<td>[ETh]</td>
<td>d3ib-h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mů'</td>
<td>[S]</td>
<td>d3ib-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>móh</td>
<td>[V]</td>
<td>d3ib-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>móo</td>
<td>[U]</td>
<td>d3iwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>móo</td>
<td>[b]</td>
<td>d3iwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moqû</td>
<td>[a]</td>
<td>d3iwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>můnûa</td>
<td>[Ww]</td>
<td>d3iwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>můnûo</td>
<td>[CDN]</td>
<td>d3iwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>můqû</td>
<td>[c]</td>
<td>d3iwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mu'dja</td>
<td>[t]</td>
<td>d3iwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>můndô</td>
<td>[Ir]</td>
<td>d3iwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>můnda</td>
<td>[Y]</td>
<td>d3iwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>můnda</td>
<td>[GJKOXZesy]</td>
<td>d3iwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>můndô</td>
<td>[M]</td>
<td>d3iwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bekô</td>
<td>[H]</td>
<td>d3iwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>helêk</td>
<td>[UV]</td>
<td>d3iwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t̪obdji</td>
<td>[P]</td>
<td>d3iwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d3ebedê</td>
<td>[u]</td>
<td>d3iwa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>6. ear</th>
<th>7. nose</th>
<th>8. mouth</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kan</td>
<td>[ABDEFGHJKMPQS TUVWYaeghsuvwyz]</td>
<td>kan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kanô</td>
<td>[b]</td>
<td>kanô</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kon</td>
<td>[Ltu]</td>
<td>kon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kenpedḥ</td>
<td>[R]</td>
<td>kenpeød</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kanedő</td>
<td>[Ng]</td>
<td>kanedq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kanedê</td>
<td>[O]</td>
<td>kanedê</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kanađê</td>
<td>[CZ]</td>
<td>kanađê</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kanedô</td>
<td>[r]</td>
<td>kanedô</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>konôq</td>
<td>[I]</td>
<td>konôq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kanêq</td>
<td>[Ng]</td>
<td>kanêq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kanađê</td>
<td>[O]</td>
<td>kanađê</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kanađê</td>
<td>[CZ]</td>
<td>kanađê</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kanôq</td>
<td>[X]</td>
<td>kanôq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kanlo</td>
<td>[c]</td>
<td>kanlo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>7. nose</th>
<th>8. mouth</th>
<th>9. tooth</th>
<th>10. tongue</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nak</td>
<td>[EFJKLNOPQSTUW XYZeghsruwyz]</td>
<td>nak</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nak-h</td>
<td>[ABDGHIMSVt]</td>
<td>nak-h</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ńak</td>
<td>[C]</td>
<td>ńak</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nac</td>
<td>[H]</td>
<td>nac</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ponê</td>
<td>[v]</td>
<td>ponê</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nakura</td>
<td>[c]</td>
<td>nakura</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nokoru</td>
<td>[a]</td>
<td>nokoru</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nokuru</td>
<td>[b]</td>
<td>nokuru</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>net'u</td>
<td>[R]</td>
<td>net'u</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ńak</td>
<td>[C]</td>
<td>ńak</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nac</td>
<td>[H]</td>
<td>nac</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ponê</td>
<td>[v]</td>
<td>ponê</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nakura</td>
<td>[c]</td>
<td>nakura</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nokoru</td>
<td>[a]</td>
<td>nokoru</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nokuru</td>
<td>[b]</td>
<td>nokuru</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>net'u</td>
<td>[R]</td>
<td>net'u</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
11. chest

hīقود [D]
cia [A]
çino [H]
çino [C]
siŋa [QTX]
siŋa [U]
siŋe [Sw]
siŋaŋa [t]
ţiŋet [L]
ţiŋeti [EKMRXZetvycz]
ţįati [GJNabhgrs]
tį'ati [ABDFIOPVWu]

12. belly

pet [h]
petʰ [g]
peți [ABCDEFHGIJKLMNOPQ RSTUVWXYZaerstuvyz]
ōdișara [v]
odʒiro [a]
odelnjə [c]
udʒira [b]
udar [w]

13. arm

ba [F]
bążh [Mn]
âtʰ [a]
haț [CDEGIKQRVWXZcetvycz]
hațʰ [BJLNOTbghu]
hațʰə [Y]
keńđa [A]
baũũ [H]
baŋluj [D]
badʒu [SU]
budʒa [Pw]

14. elbow

akünji [H]
irēki [K]
irkanji [J]
irkuńji [I]
kʰunji [OZtwy]
koni [Wu]
kohänji [S]
kohänji [h]
kohnji [BU]
koni [ABFPabvz]
könji [g]
könji [I]

15. palm

hetʰ [Q]
âțʰali [c]
âțʰeli [a]
heitâli [GHM]
heitâli [I]
heitâli [r]
heit'edî [S]
heit'ela [Z]
heit'elî [AEFKLOPQRTXYestvwyz]
heit'elô [Nw]
heit'elî [BDWghy]
heit'elî [u]
heit'elî [b]
heit'ereți [V]
heit'irițăi [U]
puńțje [C]

16. finger

ungâli [LYZ]
ungâli [c]
ûgülü [h]
angâli [W]
angâli [ADJOQRSTw]
angâlija [eyz]
angli [CEFGHKMXg]
angâli [CEFGHKPgv]
angâli [b]
angâli [u]
angâli [r]
angâlija [N]
âgli [u]
âgli [a]
ânggerița [UV]
ângâli [It]
ângâleri [B]
ângâli [w]

17. fingernail

nekʰ [GIJKLMOhtvwy]
nekʰ [g]
nekʰ [abc]
nukʰ [WYez]
nohô [V]
nho [S]
nûh [QT]
nô [U]
nu  [DEFNPRXZs]
nū  [H]
nūh  [QT]
nowera  [u]
nekhun  [h]
nakhun  [ABr]
noter  [C]

18. leg
tangdā  [DO]
tangde  [C]
tangdī  [r]
tangdāa  [I]
tang  [BRSZw]
tāg  [Mh]
pāg  [ACDEGHJKLMN OPXYZcgstuwyz]
peg  [v]
pog  [ab]
pam  [U]
pāv  [QRTe]
pāv  [SW]
pējē  [Vh]
pārī  [h]
kūdīb  [D]
lat  [F]

19. skin
kāal  [ABMNQRSTUVYZs]
kālo  [P]
kālēdi  [Dv]
kālēdi  [w]
samḍī  [c]
samāḍa  [b]
somḍa  [t]
sobādī  [a]
tjemḍa  [O]
tjemāḍī  [W]
tjāmḍi  [FI]
tjāmāḍī  [EGHJKMXegry]
tjāmāḍa  [wz]
tjāmṭi  [C]
tjemāḍa  [h]
tjōbdī  [L]
tjōbdū  [u]

20. bone
haḍ  [H]
haḍa  [E]
heḍ̣a  [V]
heḍ̣i  [r]
haḍ  [FNQR]
haḍi  [ABKTe]
haḍ̣a  [DPSZs]
haṛ  [UW]
haḍ̣di  [h]
ār[ko  [a]
heṭka  [b]
haḍ̣ka  [JOYcy]
haḍ̣ki  [G]
haḍ̣kō  [ILMvw]
haḍ̣kū  [g]
haḍ̣kja  [CTX]
haḍ̣kọ  [z]
haṛkọ  [u]

21. heart
no entry  [b]
ḍī  [A]
ḍīl  [NX]
ḍīl  [I]
ḍīl  [BFGHJMOQRSTYZegtuyz]
gopaḍa  [U]
hija  [Kw]
hijō  [G]
iijō  [I]
hirḍa  [I]
hirḍa  [Lh]
hirḍa  [Lh]
rōḍa  [g]
rōḍa  [a]
ke[edža  [Ps]
ke[edža  [W]
ka[ḍa  [C]
ka[edʒ  [G]
ka[ødʒa  [r]
ka[ødʒa  [DE]
dōṭa  [v]
dʒgər  [V]
měn  [w]

22. blood
lehu  [BV]
lohi  [Ww]
lai  [EFsu]
lohi  [MPg]
loi  [GHg]
lo'  [DJKLNOXYZetvyz]
loji  [ACI]
lui  [abc]
kun  [QRSTUVahr]
regt  [M]
rektrō  [h]
surki  [Q]
25. village

gem   [c]             dagla   [C]
gam   [AEJKRTUVYbgtv] majje   [A]
gamə  [Py]           nəllje   [L]
gäm   [M]            weča   [ab]
gammə [L]          dʒʊʊpədi   [U]
gom   [au]          dʒʊpədi   [K]
gaũ    [bh]        dʒumpaði   [O]
gav   [G]         bedi   [t]
gavi   [Hr]       daqa   [bc]
gäu   [BF]       dadnū   [a]
gāv   [DNOQSTWeswz] hadomen   [b]
gāv   [I]        heliën   [v]
gāvda   [CZW]   hukawd   [u]
gāvdija   [X]   pāt   [a]

26. house

helisi   [D]       bu'na   [R]
gorer   [ABCDEFGHIKMNPOQRSTU VWXYeghrsvy] beņo   [w]
görə    [t]           banç   [Y]
görə̱   [abc]       banę̱   [NW]
görə̱ [u]       banę̱   [s]
mekan   [Sw]     banu   [e]
makhan   [Q]   barəņa   [P]
makan   [DZh]    barņa   [B]
teveli   [A]   barņo   [D]
tepro   [H]     barno   [Fz]
dʒʊpəda    [Zz]   bārnū   [Lg]
dʒʊpəda   [J]   bəunu   [X]
kʰoja   [L]     vanač   [v]
guavdo   [X]   ʤərvadʒ0   [UV]
kʰoʃəru   [c]       ʤərvadʒə   [Ky]

27. roof

sат    [Y]        kemad   [u]
tʃat    [I]       kamaḏ   [bt]
tʃat    [BM]    kamar   [c]
tʃaṭ    [EFPSy]   kamaq   [a]
tʃaṭ  [h]           kamar   [c]
tʃan    [DQsw]   kevart   [S]
tʃan    [RTr]   kīcaʁ   [W]
tʃana   [z]        kivaq   [QT]
tʃanadź   [H]   kjaqə   [IQTbt]
[əbəɾa]   [WZ]   kūaḏa   [Aabt]
tʃaptər   [NV]   kʰiaqə   [AIQTr]
tʃapəɾa   [J]     kuvəɾə   [CS]
tʃapəɾi   [e]      uɾə   [I]
tʃapəɾo   [X]        uɾə   [MO]
tʃapəɾu   [g]       haqə   [G]
 الاسلام [A]  moqə   [D]
29. firewood

benšti [F]
kekođa [b]
lekdji [NP]
lekdji [EJOTWrt]
lekdija [UV]
lekoja [v]
lakdji [Bce]
lakđu [Lg]
lakđu [a]
lekdji [Sw]
lakđi [KQRh]
lakdja [X]
lati [GH]
lati [D]
tfedi [A]
tfeđi [D]
kanči [A]
tinja [C]
tinja [w]
tinja [w]
tinka [Y]
tika [XZ]
tinka [y]
inđena [T]
badža [z]
bešeta [I]
bešta [Mr]
bešco [sw]
kerpa [u]

30. broom

bašt [I]
bšari [EFP]
bšuari [Dy]
bohare [R]
bohari [S]
buara [WYZew]
buari [BQOTsz]
bšari [r]
buari [C]
buhari [AMQ]
baruca [N]
baruca [X]
heptjœhari [Y]
vohari [V]
havaranji [L]
savaranji [g]
haovanji [L]
havanji [u]

31. mortar

okšeri [S]
okšeli [R]
okšoli [GJQTehw]
okšari [U]
okši [NWZ]
ukaši [r]
ukšela [v]
ukšela [BMy]
ukšeli [K]
ukšelope [L]
ukšo [u]
ukšelo [OP]
ukšelo [D]
ukši [AEFX]
ukšu [I]
unku [H]
unkšelo [Y]
kšelluža [V]
kšere [z]
kšœni [g]
kššel [h]
pateko [a]
pateko [g]
hamšašta [t]
mamšašta [C]
mirson baťo [bc]

32. pestle

muša [Y]
muša [I]
musla [w]
musel [ACFKNQXz]
musel [MPrsy]
muselo [BDGHOZ]
museli [ERTWe]
muset [S]
musoi [h]
musari [V]
33. hammer
etodji [a]
het'odja [DEGLIRX]
het'oda [CLQUVw]
het'odi [ABKMNOPSTWYbesu]
het'odia [H]
het'odjo [Zt]
het'orj [cr]
het'odi [ghyz]
g'gan [h]
guna [b]
d'umra [u]
takja [b]
takla [c]

34. knife
seku [u]
seku [ac]
saku [Y]
tjekado [H]
tjekku [ADEFGKLMOPQ
RSTUVWXZesy]
tjaku [BNhz]
tjak [g]
tjeka [H]
tjekuto [J]
siri [abt]
suri [cv]
tjaro [g]
tjuri [Cgh]
tjorio [H]
tjorjo [I]
tjuri [r]
datado [bc]

35. axe
kara'dji [Y]
kara'dji [Taey]
koua'dji [I]
kuadji [P]
koala'dji [UV]
kouadji [Ww]
koua'dji [D]
kuhadji [g]
kuwa'dji [BEFMz]
kuwa'djo [Gu]
kuwa'dji [b]
kercadji [s]
kercadjia [I]
kercadjia [O]
koadji [P]
koada'ji [D]
kuhadji [g]
kua'd [A]
kuva'dji [I]
kuvari [v]
kexcadji [N]
kova'dji [h]
karwa'dqi [X]
koro'adi [QS]
kurehe'dji [R]
koadjia [CL]
k'a'dji [JK]
k'ada'dji [r]
koadi [P]
k'a'dji [JK]
k'a'dji [H]
k'ara'dji [Zt]
tjatija [T]
kori [g]

36. rope
ra [v]
rassi [h]
resa [B]
ras [C]
rjas [X]
rujjo [w]
ra'dji [I]
radq [L]
rahdi [M]
ranegu [b]
rando'dji [K]
beri [A]
doru [g]
do'i [V]
do'i [Yabctu]
do'ki [J]
37. thread

38. needle

39. cloth

40. ring

41. sun
| suədʒ | [E] |
| suədʒ | [a] |
| suədʒ | [HXgh] |
| suɾa | [Y] |
| suɾə | [g] |
| suɾədʒ | [ABGLJNz] |
| suɾə | [C] |
| suɾə | [E] |
| suɾədʒ | [HXgh] |
| suɾə | [g] |
| suɾə | [C] |
| tʃuria | [e] |
| čen | [XYv] |
| čin | [KR] |
| geranə | [t] |
| daɾo | [bc] |
| tawdə | [u] |
| bausi | [b] |

### 42. moon

| tʃeŋ | [I] |
| tʃeŋ | [R] |
| tʃaŋ | [ABDEFGJLNOPQTrsy] |
| tʃah | [h] |
| tʃah | [t] |
| saŋ | [Y] |
| tʃeŋ | [I] |
| tʃaŋ | [ABDEFGJLNOPQTrsy] |
| tʃah | [h] |
| tʃah | [t] |
| tʃeŋ | [I] |
| tʃeŋda | [SUV] |
| tʃeŋdi | [C] |
| tʃanda | [g] |
| tʃanda | [ABDEFGJLNOPQTrsy] |
| tʃando | [M] |
| tʃandə | [g] |
| tʃendi | [C] |
| tʃent | [R] |
| sɔndər | [v] |
| səɾəma | [a] |
| səɾəmadʒi | [u] |
| tʃəɾəma | [w] |
| tʃandəma | [XZe] |
| tʃandəma | [HWHz] |
| tʃandəma | [b] |
| sod | [a] |
| ʒuali | [bc] |
| punim | [bc] |
| bausi | [ac] |

### 43. sky

| tʃerə | [U] |
| tara | [FGHIKLMPQRWXYZbcdeghrstvyz] |
| tare | [D] |
| tare | [J] |
| tarc | [V] |
| taro | [g] |
| tara | [CENOS] |
| tare | [ABw] |
| tari | [T] |
| tarə | [u] |
| nektər | [H] |

### 44. star

| mbə | [t] |
| me | [DEuv] |
| mea | [s] |
| mbe | [r] |
| mi | [B] |
| mej | [I] |
| mia | [T] |
| me? | [F] |
| meʔ | [UV] |
| meha | [Qa] |
| mehə | [HK] |
| mia | [T] |
| nihe | [R] |
| mehoʔ | [S] |
| beriʃ | [Z] |
| baris | [Q] |
| baraʃ | [h] |
| varkə | [y] |
| warʃa | [h] |
| bərsa | [S] |

### 45. rain

| mbə | [t] |
| me | [DEuv] |
| mea | [s] |
| mbe | [r] |
| mi | [B] |
| mej | [I] |
| mia | [T] |
| meʔ | [F] |
| meʔ | [UV] |
| meha | [Qa] |
| mehə | [HK] |
| mia | [T] |
| nihe | [R] |
| mehoʔ | [S] |
| beriʃ | [Z] |
| baris | [Q] |
| baraʃ | [h] |
| varkə | [y] |
| warʃa | [h] |
| bərsa | [S] |
46. water
pani [ABCDEFGHJKNOP QRSTWZXbcgswyz]

47. river
neDi [I]
neDdi [I]
neDi [ABDFGHJLORTy]
neNDi [w]
neNDi [CQWXZersz]
naDi [c]
naLI [E]
naDI [gh]
neDI [MNP]
neNDI [V]
neDji [b]
neU [Kv]
nai [a]
veLO [Y]
vaLO [b]
veLO [Y]
waLO [u]
NEHer [U]
NEHer [S]

48. cloud
bedeLE [E]
bedEL [I]
bedAL [H]

49. lightning
bIZ [c]
WIDZ [Luv]
bidZALI [h]
bidZALI [BKQy]
bidZeLl [S]
bidZeLl [Ms]
bidZALi [I]
bidZALI [N]
bidZALI [ADEGHLOPRTXrwz]
bidZALI [Ge]
bidZALI [FZ]
bidZALI [UV]
vidZALI [a]
vidZALI [Ygt]
vidZALI [b]
k^Jan [J]

50. rainbow
no entry [b]
TUHRU [v]
D^Enuj [I]
D^Enuk [D]
D^Enus [S]
D^Enus [V]
D^Enuj [HJMNQRYZey]
D^Enujbano [W]
D^Enujwano [D]
D^Enuju [a]
D^Enujc [c]
MdraD^Enus [h]
MdraD^Enus [AEGOPUrsuwz]
inđredženus [F]
me'g'đ'anguja [g]
d'endje [K]
d'uni [c]
setřenki [C]
țark'ahanj [T]
t'irk'ahanj [B]
voțarijo [L]
cetřenkijo [X]
kareñ [t]

51. wind
t'f'ekær [R]
bål [WZ]
bel̓ [Be]
b̲a[l̓] [s]
b̲jo [N]
bjar [UV]
b'l'ro [KMXrz]
bajri [D]
bajço [GJLOXw]
b̲ajço [I]
vairo [GYtuvey]
vajre [G]
wairi [c]
wairo [ag]
awaharo [b]
paucaŋ [g]
pauvaŋ [g]
pone [Q]
pun [EF]
punaŋ [AHP]
huca' [S]
huca [T]
havarr [g]
haça [h]

52. stone
be'̓a [P]
be'̓e [Ae]
be̓ [EZ]
bat'jo [HLYt]
bată [W]
bat'c [DMXsy]
bato [bc]
bat̓ [r]
b̲ete [w]
b̲aľa [FNS]
b̲ajc [CGIJKOuvz]
pat'jo [a]
pet'ter [BQTU]
pat'̓ər [gh]
p̲et̓er [V]

t'ola [T]
lođ [R]
degged [F]
paña [c]
panno [b]
pat̓o [a]
pono [a]

den̓ [I]
gedo [Z]
ra [EF]
re [A]
goa [A]
goa [D]
mareg [GHIJKLMOt]
marc̓k [u]
ked̓ [g]
kal̓ [B]
geo [X]
gel [RU]
gela [e]
geo [Dsyz]
ge [HY]
ge [r]
ge [CTW]
ge [CNPZw]
gat̓ [u]
vaŋ [ab]
waŋ [gv]
wat̓ [c]
resta [V]
rasta [h]
raśča [O]
raso [g]
ped̓ [G]
đeđa [S]
đeđa [V]
đagađa [QT]
herije [t]

53. path

den̓ [I]
gedo [Z]
ra [EF]
re [A]
goa [A]
goa [D]
mareg [GHIJKLMOt]
marc̓k [u]
ked̓ [g]
kal̓ [B]
geo [X]
gel [RU]
gela [e]
geo [Dsyz]
ge [HY]
ge [r]
ge [CTW]
ge [CNPZw]
gat̓ [u]
vaŋ [ab]
waŋ [gv]
wat̓ [c]
resta [V]
rasta [h]
raśča [O]
raso [g]
ped̓ [G]
đeđa [S]
đeđa [V]
đagađa [QT]
herije [t]

54. sand
bud̓e [N]
but̓a [r]
buda̓ [s]
but̓a [r]
breći [EF]
reta [QT]
reći [cgh]
reći [u]
reći [B]
re̓ [a]
re̓ [Zb]
55. fire

la'i [r]
ag [BLNQVWWabcghsuv]
jog [X]
ated [T]
ata [RS]
ata [U]
bad [CIKwz]
bahdi [J]
va'di [GYt]
va'di [y]
wadi [c]
bast [P]
ba's [ADEFH]
agn [M]
agni [g]
'aj [D]
laj [O]
'au'ta [c]

56. smoke

d'auvai [r]
d'u'a [EIQRSTUYhstw]
d'unji [ADN]
d'u'ō [FKMP]
d'u [u]
dū [H]
d'u'a [EIQRSTUYhstw]
du'a [BGLV]
d'u'ō [FKMP]
d'ō [Jv]
d'onja [s]
d'unji [ADN]
d'o'a'do [Oz]
d'uoado [c]
d'uhaado [b]
d'umaado [g]
tuhaado [a]
d'u'maado [g]

d'un'ada [We]
d'un'ada [CZ]
ge[r] [a]

57. ash

rakʰ [FKQRTUVgh]
rakʰ'ja [g]
rakʰ [ABEPS]
rakʰ'ar [v]
rakʰ'ri [y]
rakʰ'ja [g]
rakʰ'ri [Y]
rakʰ'ra [a]
rok'oro [c]
beni [D]
ba'n [J]
ban [Ze]
ban [ACNWXz]
ban [w]
ban [Hr]
ba'ni [O]
va'ni [My]
bon [I]
vo'ni [G]
vo'ni [Lu]
vo'ni [t]
madzəni [s]
madzəni [N]
hir[i] [b]

58. mud

gə'p [Yvy]
gə'p [c]
kedə [N]
kedə [W]
kedə [AEHPe]
kedə [GMXz]
ka'd [g]
ka'd [DiSt]
ka'da [CFJr]
ka'da [uw]
ka'da [O]
ka'da [g]
ka'da [a]
kedə [QRSTU]
kedə [QRSTV]
kitə [eg]
kitə [K]
τjik [A]
τjikə'da [B]
59. dust

60. gold

61. tree

62. leaf
pan [CHKs]
pana [y]
pano [b]
pān [M]
pān [U]
pān[a] [a]
pān[a] [LYtuv]

63. root
mu [g]
mu[ə] [a]
mu[ɔ] [v]
mu[u] [c]
dʒuːd [EFGHIJKNP]
QRTVYZehrtwz]
dʒuːd [DOW]
dʒuːd [ABCs]
ʤuː [S]
ʤuː [U]
ʤuː [u]
ʤuː [L]
ʤuː[a] [y]
musɑː [X]

64. thorn
kaːtə [cr]
keɾ [w]
kanʃa [FV]
kanʃə [OSU]
kāntə [J]
kāntə [NRTYeh]
kātə [EQt]
kātə [ADGMWY]
kʃə [Xtvu]
kʃə [I]
kʃə [a]
kanʃo [H]
kanʃə [K]
cuːə [Cz]
juːə [P]
suː [R]
suːə [Bs]
sur [U]
ʤuːl [Z]
hol [a]
hul [b]
hur [L]

65. flower
ϕul [gh]
ful [ABENOPu]

pʰul [DFGHJKLQRS]
TUVWZrstwyz]
pʰulɔ [Ybv]
pʰulɔ [ac]
pʰul [DFGHJKLQRS]
TUVWZrstwyz]
pʰul [CM]
pʰulɔ [Ybv]
pʰul [ac]
pʰulɔ [X]
begɔr [D]
tədɔ [X]
peʃab [Z]
peʃamb [e]

66. fruit
no entry [b]
ϕəl [g]
fe[l] [EP]
pʰəl [HIMNXYcestvwz]
pʰəl [D]
fe[l] [ABOu]
pʰəl [FGJKLQRSTUVWZehry]
fe[l] [ABOu]
fe[l] [EP]
pʰəl [FGJKLQRSTUVWZehry]
pʰəl [HIMNXYcestvwz]
pʰəl [D]
reʃal [C]

67. mango
am [ABDEFGHNPRSTUVhrs]
amba [CJz]
ambo [GIKZ]
ambo [MOWe]
ambo [It]
ɔbɔ [L]
ɔmbɔ [It]
keɾi [MQYabcgy]
keɾi [v]
keɾi [uw]

68. banana
keɾə [c]
keɾo [I]
keɾa [HQSTWYZesvwz]
keɾo [ab]
keɾo [ACDEFGJKLOXtu]
keɾu [g]
kela [NRUWhy]
keɾe [BP]
69. wheat
geu  | [IWrs]
gewu | [Z]
gahu | [MQTy]
gau  | [e]
gau  | [GGLz]
gehu | [JKRhwv]
geu  | [ADNU]
ge   | [c]
ge   | [O]
gehu | [V]
gau  | [Xg]
ghu  | [S]
g5u  | [t]
gou  | [u]
gac  | [Y]
gau  | [b]
gau  | [astuvw]
kenk | [ABDEHP]
kenk | [Q]
kenk | [F]
d6on | [u]
Dan  | [r]

70. millet
badzari| [a]
bad3ra | [r]
bad3re | [BLNQRTWZewyz]
bad3ri | [FGIOPtuv]
bad3ro | [ACDEMSUVXYs]
bazari  | [bc]
d3awar | [H]
d3uwar | [KL]

71. rice
soka  | [v]
soka  | [abc]
Tfokba | [w]
Tjoka | [LYgytz]
Tfokba | [M]
Tjojo | [B]
Tjamel | [R]
Tjamun | [UV]
Tjavel | [DFIPWZs]
Tjavel | [S]
Tjavelo | [ACEHKLOe]
Tjaval | [GNRg]
Tjavelo | [JMXr]
Tjamel | [R]

72. potato
ulu   | [Ds]
alu   | [HKQTbc]
alu   | [A]
alu   | [BCEFGJLMNOPS UVWXZaehtuvwyz]
alu   | [RY]
ba'taka| [ac]
ba'taka| [g]
bo'ta'ta| [b]

73. eggplant
be'ta | [z]
be'teu | [A]
be'tau | [BP]
be'taka| [a]
be'ta  | [WZ]
be'ta  | [z]
be'ta  | [e]
be'te'u| [A]
be'tau | [BP]
be'ta  | [WZ]
be'ta  | [z]
be'ta  | [e]
be'ngna| [C]
be'ngna| [E]
be'ngna| [FKLNV]
be'ngna| [BHQRSTUs]
b'e'ngan | [h]
gi'ge'na | [u]
re'ngana| [Y]
re'ngana| [a]
re'ngana| [b]
rin'ga'ni | [GMy]
rin'ga'ni | [Jg]
rin'ga'ni | [vw]
rino'o | [c]
rung'na | [t]
be'ta  | [e]
be'ta  | [X]
ke'tu | [Q]
74. groundnut

75. chili

76. turmeric

77. garlic
78. onion

gența [B]
gəțja [A]
pjadʒ [FQRSTUVh]
pjadʒo [Eu]
dungli [abc]
dungali [gv]
gența [B]
kenđa [JNOPXyz]
kenđ [M]
kańda [a]
kańda [erw]
kań [CDGKHYS]
kanța [RWZw]
końd [It]
kađa [c]
kođa [L]
kođa [u]
koń [It]

79. cauliflower

fulgobi [h]
fulgobi [ANOsu]
gobi [BDEHIJKLMRXZW]
gobi [CFWbv]
pulgobi [GQTheyz]
pulgobi [PSUVcrt]
ľauwar [g]
ľauwar [a]

80. tomato

tematêr [C]
tematêr [ADFHPU]

81. cabbage

beŋdʒobi [BFQRS]
beŋdʒobi [PUV]
beŋdʒobi [a]
gobi [Ecv]
gobi [b]
kəbdi [g]
penagobi [V]
pətəgobi [ACDGBKMOPTXrstuwyz]
pətəgobi [a]
kerem keːla [NZ]
kerem keːla [W]
kerem kelle [I]
karam karlo [e]

82. oil

tel [Jbcgh]
tel [ABCDFGHJKLMNPORSTUVWXYZahrstvwyz]
tel [EXe]
tjal [Q]
tjiŋə [S]
heriju [u]

83. salt

ľoŋə [Jt]
luj [FKMNOrswy]
lunj [ACDEGHIPrZ]
lunj [V]
non [S]
non [V]
nun [Z]
nun [UW]
numə [BQRTez]
mețbo [b]
mit(h)u [a]  matjeli [Es]
mit(h)ũi [g]  matʃɔli [g]
mitɔ [Luv]  matʃɔli [u]
mitu [c]  matʃɔlo [b]
memak [h]  matʃɔli [a]
gera [r]

84. meat
mas [BEGJPQWestv]  87. chicken
mãs [DFKMNOUV]
got [y]  kukɔði [F]
gos [Zcu]  kukɔði [O]
gos [RSagz]  kukɔði [P]
goʃ [r]  kukɔdù [Y]
gos [Qh]  kukɔðɔ [v]
gos [ATY]  kukɔði [C]
guʃs [R]  kukudìj [ag]
maʃi [H]  kukudø [b]
çeškar [X]  kükdi [I]
jiʃi [b]  kukaðìj [Me]
sisi [ac]  morgi [ABDHNPQRSTUWZhs]

85. fat
vesa [A]  88. egg
çeɾbi [t]  ŋʉdã [ABCNPQRSTUWZhrz]
serbi [Y]  ŋʉɗe [D]
sarbi [c]  ŋʉɗe [w]
tʃerbi [ABDEFGHJKLMNØPRSTUWZerswyz]
  ŋʉɗo [EFOSWXes]
tʃəɾbi [gh]  ŋʉɗo [b]
tʃəɾbi [ab]  ŋʉɗa [ABCNPQRSTUWZhrz]
tʃəɾbi [c]  ŋʉɗø [EFOSWXes]
baʃi [C]  iʃo [c]
maʃ [v]  idʒæ [t]
maʃo [c]  idʒo [v]
resa [u]  idʒ [u]

86. fish
meʃli [J]  89. cow
mesɔli [L]  ŋɗa [GJy]
mesli [c]  ŋɗo [HIKLMY]
meʃ[ɔ]li [GHMz]  ŋɗu [g]
meʃ[ɔli] [AP]  ŋʉdã [ABCNPQRSTUWZhrz]
meʃ[ɔli] [FMNQRUVXZe]  ŋʉɗe [D]
meʃ[ɔli] [D]  ŋʉɗe [w]
meʃ[ɔli] [Nhw]  ŋʉɗo [EFOSWXes]
metʃi [GKS]  ŋɗo [b]
meʃ[jia] [C]  ŋɗa [GJy]
meʃ[ji] [BI]  ŋɗo [HIKLMY]
metsaadji [L]  ŋɗu [g]
maseʃi [V]  ga [EFHIJu]
maseʃɔ [v]  ŋɛu [A]
90. buffalo

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>romanized</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>buffalo</td>
<td>b^9e [u]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b^9e [ltu]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bes [D]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b^9es [e]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b^9es [r]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b^9af [C]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b^9es [AGKZs]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b^9es [X]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b^9es [B]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>k^9o [P]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ko^9o [H]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ro^9o [I]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>q^9bi [Y]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>q^9bo [uv]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>q^9bi [c]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>q^9bi [ab]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>q^9bu [L]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>d^9o [O]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

91. milk

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>romanized</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>milk</td>
<td>d^9 [BCDEFGHIJLMNOPQ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>RTUVWXYZcerstuvwyzy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>d^9 [Aabgh]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>d^9 [S]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

92. horns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>romanized</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>horns</td>
<td>hig [u]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sin [GHPQTht]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sing [ABEFKNRSUVs]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hingd^9 [a]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>hingd^9 [y]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

93. tail

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>romanized</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tail</td>
<td>pot^9 [RT]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pu^9t [P]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pu^9t [Q]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pu^9t [V]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pu^9t [AEFGHSs]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pu^9t [JKUh]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pu^9t [B]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pu^9t [O]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pu^9t [D]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pu^9t [I]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pu^9t [r]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pu^9t [C]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pu^9t [Xeg]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pu^9t [W]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pu^9t [LYtuz]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pu^9t [w]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pu^9t [v]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pu^9t [MNZ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pu^9t [b]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pu^9t [c]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pu^9t [a]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pu^9t [r]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pu^9t [Xeg]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pu^9t [W]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pu^9t [LYtuz]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pu^9t [MNZ]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
94. goat

96. snake

97. monkey
98. mosquito

100. spider

99. ant

101. name

102. man
maŋač [T]
maŋaš [g]
maŋus [E]
maŋə [U]
meŋača [V]
meŋič [S]
marə [e]
adəmi [UV]
admi [GJLQTYabchv]
amći [t]
puruŋ [h]
log [Nrz]
meñe[k [NWYZuwy]
meñes [R]
meñe [CXY]
maŋaš [ABF]
maŋač [T]
maŋaš [g]
maŋus [E]

103. woman
lege¹ [MYZrswy]
logeji [I]
lugaji [BFN]
luge¹ [EGJKOXez]
lugeji [ADHP]
lugeji [C]
strı [gh]
aurət [h]
ba'lı [v]
ba'ra [e]
beiri [c]
berə [G]
boiri [a]
bo'ri [b]
behrbani [T]
berbani [QRS]
biroć [u]
bıroč [t]
ba'li [v]
ba'ra [e]
bajar [W]
beiri [c]
berə [G]
bera [G]
bjař [L]
bejjər [UV]
ba'ra [e]
beiri [c]
bera [G]
bejjər [UV]

104. child
ʃoʃo [u]
sora [Y]
soro [bc]
sorə [Lv]
suru [a]
tʃoʃora [ABNUtwz]
tʃoʃoro [GHKXZsy]
ʃoʃa [u]
soro [bc]
sorə [Lv]
suru [a]
tʃoʃora [ABNUtwz]
tʃoʃoro [GHKXZsy]
tʃokra [L]
tʃokrə [g]
tʃoʃora [ABNUtwz]
tʃoʃore [V]
tʃoʃoro [GHKXZsy]
batʃja [h]
betək [MS]
betək [W]
bəlak [AQRTe]
təŋger [D]
tiŋkro [H]
təber [D]
təber [CFI]
təber [JMry]
təger [D]
təber [EO]
təber [D]
təber [CFI]
təber [JMry]
tərə [EO]
tərə [P]

105. father
ba [v]
bebu [BH]
bepu [A]
bepu [D]
baba [F]
bap [ACDEGIKLMPQ
RSTWXaehsuyz]
bapa [cgt]
bapo [b]
bapu [w]
piša [gh]
pişadzi [r]
dʒisa [J]
106. mother

a' [Yabcv]
ma [ABCDEGHIKN
OPQRTXaghtuy]
ma' [STWZes]
mā [M]
mejja [V]
maji [R]
mau [F]
maṭa [h]
emma [U]
ba [a]
ba' [LOrwz]
ma [ABCDEGHIKN
OPQRTXaghtuy]
ma' [STWZes]
mā [M]
babi [JK]
maji [R]
dʒidʒi [XZ]

108. younger brother

no entry [MOYuz]
bei [r]
bā' [etv]
bei [r]
bajā [WZ]
bejō [D]
bajō [WZ]
bajja [Uw]
bā'ajī [ABHLR]
bā'ajja [P]
bā'ajo [C]
bā'ijo [Fs]
bē'ejja [Uw]
bā'ajī [ABHLR]
bā'ajja [P]
nanobā'ai [GMbcg]
nono pai [a]
tjō'otabā'ai [JKQRTh]
tjō'otabā'eq [S]
tjō'otobā'a' [EIM]
hankjobā'ā' [y]
dʒidʒibaj [X]
loḍkj [N]
lala [V]
bei [r]
bā'qā [r]
bajō [WZ]
bejō [D]
bē'ejja [Uw]
bā'ajī [ABHLR]
bā'ajja [P]

107. older brother

bā' [BJLOQT]
bā' [I]
bā'ajo [HXu]
bā'ajo [z]
beu [O]
bā'ajo [HXu]
bejō [r]
bā'ejja [UV]
bā'ajo [HXu]
bā'ajo [z]
bā'aidʒi [F]
bajisab [CGw]
mọtobā'ai [bc]
mọtobā'ai [Egt]
muṭo pai [a]
beṛbāi [r]
beṛabāeq [S]
baṛabā'ai [KRh]
�다 [Yv]
�다 [Zey]
�다 [W]
�고 bā'aj [P]
�고 bā'aji [A]
�고 bā'aji [D]
110. younger sister

no entry

111. son

112. daughter

113. husband
114. wife

| amdi       | [t]          | tjoκro   | [g]          |
| aşmi       | [F]          | tjoκra   | [W]          |
| piştum     | [U]          | tjoora   | [CNw]        |
| bin         | [r]          | tjoore   | [DORUVZy]    |

116. girl

| şori       | [u]          | suri     | [a]          |
| şori       | [L]          | tjoκri   | [Wg]         |
| suri       | [a]          | tjoκri   | [FIJKRSTZeyz]|
| laqki      | [Qh]         | teŋkeri  | [E]          |

117. day

| den         | [CGNWXYZcerstwyz] |
| den         | [v]             |
| din         | [ABDEFHJKLMNOPQRSTVWYzerstwyz] |
| dina        | [U]             |
| diivas      | [gh]            |
| diwos       | [a]             |
| daqo        | [ab]            |
| daoro       | [L]             |
| dijaqo      | [u]             |

115. boy

| şora       | [u]          | raçt     | [c]          |
| sora       | [Y]          | raçt     | [PUagh]      |
| soro       | [bc]         | rejaçt   | [X]          |
| soros       | [Lv]         | raçt     | [ABCDEFHJKLMNOQRSTVWYzerstwyz] |
| suro       | [a]          | vaŋdara  | [V]          |
| tjoçra     | [IMst]       | raçtara  | [u]          |
| tjoçra     | [CNw]        | raçrara  | [b]          |
| tjoçra     | [DORUVZy]    | raçtrai  | [g]          |

118. night

| teqaka     | [BWZe]       |
| teqakav    | [X]          |
| teqake     | [r]          |
| teqako     | [z]          |
| teqakav    | [N]          |
| havereti   | [G]          |

119. morning

| tjoçra     | [ABHJS]      |
| tjoçra     | [ABHJS]      |
| tjoçra     | [FGKTXerz]   |
| tjoçra     | [IMst]       |
| tjoçra     | [IMst]       |
| tjoçra     | [ABHJS]      |
| tjoçra     | [FGKTXerz]   |
| tjoçra     | [g]          |
| tjoçra     | [IMst]       |
at/uni0250n   [I]
at/uni0259/uni0273/uni0250   [D]
at/uni02B0/uni0250/uni0273/uni0259   [EFP]
/uni0254t/uni02B0/uni0254m/uni0259nju  
[300x-6290]85
h/uni0254̃d/uni0292   [u]
h/uni0254d/uni0292   [t]
hod/uni0292   [L]
đeneđtjaki   [X]

122. yesterday
ka/uni02D0le   [B]
kel   [PRTUVVwh]
kle   [C]
kle   [b]
kelle   [I]
kal   [X]
kal   [ADEFGHJKOSTZaersv]
kale   [MYgtz]
ka/uni02D0/uni0292    
[abcdefghijklnopqrstuvwxyz]
ka/uni02D0/uni0292/uni0259   
ka/uni02D0/uni0292e/uni2071   
ka/uni02D0/uni0292/uni0259   
ka/uni02D0/uni0292em   
jad/uni0292   
/kali   [O]

123. today
a/uni02D0/uni0292    
[abcdefghijklnopqrstuvwxyz]
a/uni02D0/uni0292/uni0259   
a/uni02D0/uni0292e/uni2071   
a/uni02D0/uni0292/uni0259   
a/uni02D0/uni0292e/uni2071   
jad/uni0292   

124. tomorrow
ka/uni02D0/uni0292    
ka/uni02D0   [b]
kal   [FHJOQTYZacehz]
kale   [GMgt]
per/uni027Aja   [K]

125. week
hefta   [EFy]
heptā   [HIjK]
heptā   [X]
hepta   [D]
heptā   [I]
haftā   [ABOQRSTY]
septā   [GMz]
septā   [s]
saptā   [gh]
heptā   [D]
heptā   [I]
haftā   [GMz]
hoρτο   [a]
septā   [s]
adviadijā   [t]
atwađiuj   [g]
hatwađiuj   [L]
hatwađiuj   [v]
hatwađiuj   [G]
hatđađo   [c]
hatđeđa   [u]
artvar   [K]
adžain   [W]
atđin   [R]
hat   [b]
setđin   [Zw]

126. month
mah   [A]
mah Ça   [U]
meh vertical   [PV]
mehın   [S]
127. year

sal [AEFIJNQRSTZhrz]
beras [V]
beres [W]
berf [DMOs]
berf [U]
bars [H]
beres [W]
veres [Q]
verf [BTXe]
verf [NP]
verf [C]
verf [h]
verf [g]
veres [Q]
verf [BTXe]
verf [NP]
verf [NP]
verf [C]
verc [u]
verf [h]
verf [g]
verf [NP]
var [GVYty]
vara [v]
varc [L]
verf [C]

128. old

pereña [W]
peranç [Nes]
puranç [P]
puranç [UVZ]
purana [Rh]
puranç [ABD]
puranç [CEOSX]
puranc [r]
puranç [FQT]
dzunse [DJLYty]
dzuni [K]
dzunç [GIKMytvwyz]
dzunu [b]
dzuna [uw]
dzuni [O]
bofì [O]
bofi [H]

129. new

naja [A]
naji [T]
njeç [DQSUVZrs]
nêu [b]
nêu [GIKLMYtvwyz]
naja [J]
navo [a]
nawo [c]
njeç [F]
naja [h]
nêu [g]
njeja [PR]
njì [O]
nuje [X]
tadże [B]
no [e]
nù [H]
nua [W] begadju [C]
nuo [D] k'arab [b]
nuo [I] k'arab [c]
nuo [CEN] k'arab [LYZgh]

130. good
bedjiu [ANUr] k'harp [a]
badija [J] k'ot'a [w]
bed'ija [S] kec [v]
bord'ija [RZh] k'od3a [K]
boji'a [a] kod3a [I]
t'okko [Ds] kod3a [F]
t'oko [NOz] retar [H]
t'oku [H] hugla [J]
t'ok [P] hugli [y]
t'okka [e] huglo [I]
saras [g] nehdo [K]

131. bad
mad [E] pid3ono [v]
bejo [Ne] polarau [g]
djo [W] b'ina [t]
bj [V] b'iniu [u]
bko [bc] b'ini [Lg]
bo [U] b'incqa [K]
bij [ARS] b'id3 [R]
bid3a [S]
bid3 [W]
bid3ijd [D]
gila [Vh]
gilb [F]

132. wet
ut [DFIO] pol [Y]
putro [H] ula [CQyz]
putro [K] ula [ew]
hakro [I] ulw [BP]
sunaro [F] ula [AH]
hac [u] ale [s]
ha [LYctvwy] al [MNUZr]
maluk [Q] pid3ono [v]
b'alo [M] polarau [g]
esel [c] b'ina [t]
esel [ab] b'iniu [u]
tadzu [b] b'incqa [K]

lil [Yb]
lil [J]
lilu [a]

133. dry

hukə [w]
hukə [y]
hukə [a]
huki [c]
hukə [KLYtv]
hukə [b/uni028Ak/uni02D0a]
hukə [b/uni028Ak/uni0254]
hukə [b/uni028An]
sukə [EXsz]
sukə [BW]
sukə [JKL]
suggə [U]
sukə [MPQSe]
sukə [F]
sukə [g]
ukə [C]
hukə [u]
hukə [G]
hukə [I]
sukə [r]
sukə [AH]
hukə [G]
sukə [O]
sukə [D]
sukə [r]
sukə [AH]
hukə [a]
hukə [KLYtv]
sukə [EXsz]
sukə [JKL]
suggə [U]
suggə [Z]
sukə [J]
sukə [H]
hukə [I]
hukə [b]
hukə [g]
hukə [w]
sukə [r]
sukə [H]

134. long

lambə [Y]
lemba [QRVwz]
lembe [BP]
lembi [JTU]
lembo [ADEFGHNOSWesy]
lembo [K]
lembu [c]
labo [v]
lambo [b]
lambo [MN]
lembu [Z]
lama [h]
lembu [c]
labo [v]
lambo [b]
lambo [MN]
lembu [gt]
lemba [C]
lembu [u]
lemba [I]
lembu [a]
lemba [I]
lemba [B]
lemba [D]
lemba [X]

135. short

toko [b]
tōku [c]
tuku [a]
tükü [Gg]
satu [Y]
sotə [c]
tfo][a [Zhs]
tfo][e [BRW]
tfo][i [JKOTXe]
tfo][k [K]
tfo][p [MNU]
tfo][a [AFQSy]
tfo][k [K]
tfo][k [r]
tfegu [V]
tfengə [A]
tfiggə [D]
ottə [O]
ottə [APs]
mədra [H]
tenə [D]
tenja [C]
nenə [E]
nanka [Lv]
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>136. <strong>hot</strong></th>
<th></th>
<th>138. <strong>right</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>taød</strong> [GM]</td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>đejo</strong> [AD]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>tećo</strong> [E]</td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>đaja</strong> [Bh]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>tačo</strong> [ADFHVXZes]</td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>đajñō</strong> [S]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>tačo</strong> [C]</td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>đačo</strong> [CV]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>tača</strong> [E]</td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>đačo</strong> [S]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>tača</strong> [QW]</td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>đača</strong> [W]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>tača</strong> [BNRS]</td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>đehina</strong> [Oh]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>tača</strong> [ADFHVXZes]</td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>đača</strong> [Bh]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>tača</strong> [P]</td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>đawve</strong> [W]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>tača</strong> [C]</td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>đawve</strong> [W]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>tača</strong> [E]</td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>đawve</strong> [W]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>gėram</strong> [Rh]</td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>dʒamna</strong> [U]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>gėrem</strong> [Tg]</td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>dʒemna</strong> [Vb]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>gėrm</strong> [a]</td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>dʒemnu</strong> [U]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>una</strong> [w]</td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>dʒimañø</strong> [Mvy]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>una</strong> [Ov]</td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>dʒimañø</strong> [Mvy]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>una</strong> [r]</td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>dʒimlañø</strong> [R]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>una</strong> [u]</td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>dʒimlañø</strong> [R]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>una</strong> [GRJKLYtz]</td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>dʒimlañø</strong> [R]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>unu</strong> [y]</td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>dʒimañø</strong> [Mvy]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>unu</strong> [c]</td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>dʒimañø</strong> [Mvy]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>unu</strong> [ab]</td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>dʒimañø</strong> [Mvy]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>tir</strong> [R]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>cilb</strong> [AZs]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>hilb</strong> [Cz]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>hile</strong> [w]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>šile</strong> [B]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>šilo</strong> [e]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>šido</strong> [S]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>šilo</strong> [R]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>šilo</strong> [Q]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>šilo</strong> [N]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>šilo</strong> [UV]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>šilo</strong> [X]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>šilo</strong> [GKMt]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>šilo</strong> [Yab]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>šilo</strong> [c]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>šilo</strong> [v]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>šilo</strong> [JLy]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>šilo</strong> [PQTW]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>šilo</strong> [AEHO]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>137. <strong>cold</strong></th>
<th></th>
<th>139. <strong>left</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>tir</strong> [R]</td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>bejo</strong> [A]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>cilb</strong> [AZs]</td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>baja</strong> [P]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>hilb</strong> [Cz]</td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>bajñō</strong> [S]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>hile</strong> [w]</td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>baja</strong> [Bh]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>šile</strong> [B]</td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>bavaljo</strong> [DX]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>šilo</strong> [e]</td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>bavaljo</strong> [C]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>šido</strong> [S]</td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>bava</strong> [E]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>šilo</strong> [R]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>šilo</strong> [Q]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>šilo</strong> [N]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>šilo</strong> [UV]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>šilo</strong> [X]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>šilo</strong> [GKMt]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>šilo</strong> [Yab]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>šilo</strong> [c]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>šilo</strong> [v]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>šilo</strong> [JLy]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>šilo</strong> [PQTW]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>šilo</strong> [AEHO]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
140. near

ahnu [c]  
harma [c]  
åare [s]  
åre?re [B]  
åre [B]  
pas [h]  
pase [g]  
pahë [a]  
pase [g]  
bëde [w]  
bâde [Yyz]  
bâde [L]  
nâdzik [Th]  
nâdzik [SV]  
nâzik [Rg]  
kene [DEGMrIt]  
kene [O]  
kene [a]  
kene [N]  
këni [AK]  
këne [b]  

141. far

dur [AEFQRSUZeghs]  
dûrë [W]  
dûrë [v]  
atëre [r]  
atëre [N]  
atë [C]  
parë [P]  
parë [B]  
andëre [H]  
âtre [D]  
ûgo [D]  
ûgo [u]  
ago [GIO]  
aî'go [J]  
heği [K]  
hal'go [Mt]  
hal'go [Mt]  
alego [H]  
hulgi [K]  
hal'go [Mt]  
harego [L]  
setë [a]  
seti [Yy]  
sitti [c]  
tje'ti [Mwz]  
tje'ti [X]  
veglu [a]  
veglu [b]  
wëglo [c]
142. big
beq [BPQ]
beq [ANORSTUVXest]
beq [W]
baq [h]
om [wz]
om [DZ]
om [GHIJKLy]
om [EFMOuv]
om [c]
om [Yg]
muet [R]
beq [r]
am [C]
om [DZ]
om [GHIJKLy]
om [EFMOuv]
om [c]
om [Yg]
om [wz]
om [DZ]
om [b]
om [GHIJKLy]
om [EFMOuv]
om [c]
om [Yg]
ner [D]
om [a]

143. small
ting [w]
sot [Y]
tjo [h]
tjo [BQ]
tjo [AJNORTUVXes]
tjo [P]
tjoi [K]
tjo [EFMSW]
tjo [r]
nan [abc]
nanu [gy]
nana [t]
nennu [I]
nek [G]
nekk [u]
nonkko [c]
nanuk [L]
nenku [u]
nonkko [c]
poco [Cz]
lojo [H]
tjojo [D]
nahpko [v]

144. heavy
bar [F]
bad [J]
bari [GKLNObschu]
badj [P]
dari [E]
dad [A]
dad [I]
pari [a]
paro [v]
don [NY]
don [DZy]
don [B]
don [M]
don [OUVrt]
don [We]
don [w]
bar [F]
barum [H]
bad [J]
dad [E]
dad [I]
paro [v]
aro [C]
daga [T]
daga [R]
fake [Q]
la [X]
om [z]

145. light
hejak [PSW]
hejke [J]
hejko [ADGIQr]
hejka [B]
heji [R]
hejke [R]
hekko [FO]
hekko [J]
hekko [ADGIQr]
hekko [R]
hekko [FO]
hekku [g]
hekko [EX]
hekko [PSW]
hekko [J]
hekko [ADGIQr]
hekko [R]
hekko [FO]
helka  [Hhu]  nitʃε  [EHJNOQSTVghrw]
helki  [KT]  nitʃε  [IU]
helko  [UV]  nitʃa  [DK]
halkü  [g]  nitʃa  [z]
heḷava  [B]  nitʃa  [AFGZuz]
helka  [Hhu]  nitfu  [y]
heḷi  [R]  tparama  [N]
heḷki  [KT]  tələ  [X]
pʰarek  [CMz]  təlε  [BCRε]
bʰora  [Y]  tələ  [s]
bʰorč  [LNe]  pentʰe  [Y]
bʰoru  [y]  ɛtə  [I]
pʰora  [w]  heṭe  [M]
pʰori  [t]  ɛtə  [I]
pʰoro  [c]  ɔŋə  [R]
pʰorč  [Zs]
pʰoru  [abv]
patʃə  [Q]
kemédia  [w]

146. above
upər  [BEMNRSUVW]  ɗ⁴uwaɔ  [u]
upe  [QRght]  ɗ⁴alɔ  [J]
upara  [X]  ɗ⁴aįi  [O]
ucős  [v]  ɗ⁴ohɔ  [Q]
uso  [L]  ɗ⁴olə  [BST]
uso  [b]  ɗ⁴ora  [V]
usu  [ac]
ūtʃɔ  [D]  ɗ⁴ora  [U]
ūtʃə  [AIRZuw]  ɗ⁴orə  [GM]
ūtʃa  [Pyl]  ɗ⁴ɔɾə  [r]
ūtʃɔ  [AIRZuw]
ụtʃa  [MQS]  ɗ⁴olɔ  [c]
ụtʃə  [CFNOr]  ɗ⁴o  [b]
ụtʃo  [CFNOr]  ɗ⁴o  [a]
ūtʃo  [AGHJ]
ụtʃo  [D]  safd  [h]
ụtʃio  [K]  ʋtʃə  [K]
ụtʃja  [Yz]  ḃaɡaçɔ  [L]
ụtʃjo  [AGHJ]  ɗ⁴olɔ  [c]
ụdʒar  [e]
maʃə  [s]
matʃe  [Y]
matʃə  [a]

147. below
neso  [b]
niso  [c]
nicős  [v]
nisɔ  [L]
nise  [t]
nisu  [a]
nitʃa  [PW]

148. white

149. black
kaʃə  [L]
kalə  [BDFPRVWY]
kalı  [O]
kalɔ  [bc]
ka[o] [ACEGHJKLMQ XZerstu vwyz]
ka[u] [a]
ka[ũ] [g]
ka[la] [NSTh]
kara [U]
sau[a] [N]

150. red
lal [ADEFJOQRSTVaghrstuw]
lal [BPU]
lal [ADEFJOQRSTVaghrstuw]
lalo [H]
rat[a]o [b]
rat[o] [HKc]
rat[u] [a]
rat[ã] [w]
rat[e] [NW]
rat[ç] [CGILMXYZez]
rat[o] [HKc]
rat[u] [a]
rat[ã] [w]
rat [y]
rat[e] [NW]
rat[ç] [CGILMXYZez]
la[lo] [H]
pil[b] [v]

151. one
ek [Bbcgh]
ek [ABCDEFHJKLMNOPQ RSTUVWXZerstu wvyz]
hek [KM]

152. two
do [h]
do [ABCDEFHJKLMNOPQ RSTUVWXZrstuvwyz]
dol [e]
be[a]
be [GKLbcg]
bi[u]

153. three
tran [b]
trã [g]
trei [c]
tre [u]
tin [ABCDEFHJKLMNOPQ RSTUVWXZahrstuvwyz]

154. four
far [Zau]
siar [c]
tfar [ABCDEFHJKLMNOPQ RTUVWXbeghrstuvwyz]
tfar [S]

155. five
paâ[t] [ABGHv]
pânt[t] [CDEFINOPSVUWrsw]
pâ[t] [JKRTYZyz]
pâ[t] [MQXegh]
pans [b]
pos [u]
pôs [Lt]
pons [c]
pôs [a]

156. six
se [Y]
sæ [u]
so [abc]
sç [v]
tje [KQXZertyz]
tje [CI]
tjeh [MT]
tjê [ABDEFGJLNO PRSVUWshw]
tjê [gh]
tjêa [H]
tjê [ABDEFGJLNO PRSVUWshw]
tjê [gh]

157. seven
hat[ç] [GILabctuvy]
sat[ç] [ABCDEFHJKLMNOPQ RSTUVWXZehrgsrwz]
șat [C]
sât [ABCDEFHJKLMNOPQ RSTUVWXZehrgsrwz]

158. eight
at [ACDEFGHJKLMNOP RSTUVWXZerstuvwyz]
at [BQabcgh]
### 159. nine

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nine</th>
<th>[E]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>no</td>
<td>[B]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n[ADFNOPRSUVWZrsuvwy]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no</td>
<td>[J]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no</td>
<td>[a]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n[High]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n[High]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n[c]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n[High]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n[High]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n[High]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n[High]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no</td>
<td>[E]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no</td>
<td>[a]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>no</td>
<td>[J]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 160. ten

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ten</th>
<th>[ABDEFGHJKLMNOPQRSTUVWXYZberstuvwyz]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>des</td>
<td>[c]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>des</td>
<td>[gh]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>des</td>
<td>[a]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>des</td>
<td>[ABDEFGHJKLMNOPQRSTUVWXYZberstuvwyz]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>desa</td>
<td>[C]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>des</td>
<td>[c]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>des</td>
<td>[gh]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 161. eleven

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Eleven</th>
<th>[Mtvy]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a기어</td>
<td>[g]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g'ara</td>
<td>[a]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gjar</td>
<td>[b]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gjar</td>
<td>[UVu]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gjar</td>
<td>[ADEXKNOPSTWrw]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gjarh</td>
<td>[BF]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>igjar</td>
<td>[IY]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e기어</td>
<td>[c]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e기어</td>
<td>[g]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e기어</td>
<td>[a]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gar</td>
<td>[b]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gjar</td>
<td>[GHJLQRXZehsz]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gjar</td>
<td>[UVu]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gjar</td>
<td>[ADEXKNOPSTWrw]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gjarh</td>
<td>[BF]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g'ara</td>
<td>[a]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gjar</td>
<td>[GHJLQRXZehsz]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gjar</td>
<td>[UVu]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gjar</td>
<td>[ADEXKNOPSTWrw]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gjarh</td>
<td>[BF]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gjar</td>
<td>[C]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 162. twelve

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Twelve</th>
<th>[cg]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bara</td>
<td>[a]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bare</td>
<td>[GIJKLMPQRTXYZehsz]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bareh</td>
<td>[b]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bare</td>
<td>[ABDEHNOSWrstw]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bareh</td>
<td>[F]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bare</td>
<td>[UVu]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bara</td>
<td>[a]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bare</td>
<td>[GIJKLMPQRTXYZehsz]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bareh</td>
<td>[b]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bare</td>
<td>[ABDEHNOSWrstw]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bareh</td>
<td>[F]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bare</td>
<td>[UVu]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bağres</td>
<td>[C]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bağre</td>
<td>[UVu]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 163. twenty

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Twenty</th>
<th>[ABCDEFGHJKLMNOPQRSTUVWXYZberstuvwyz]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>vis</td>
<td>[LYbgtu]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vis</td>
<td>[c]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vis</td>
<td>[vyl]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vis</td>
<td>[LYbgtu]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 164. one hundred

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>One hundred</th>
<th>[abc]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ho</td>
<td>[CGILOYtuwyz]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>so</td>
<td>[Bjgh]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>so</td>
<td>[ADEFNMNOPQRSTUVWXYZberstuvwyz]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ső</td>
<td>[K]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sō</td>
<td>[H]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>çekəp</td>
<td>[X]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sekađa</td>
<td>[Wz]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sēkađa</td>
<td>[Z]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 165. who?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Who?</th>
<th>[h]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kon</td>
<td>[Sgu]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kon</td>
<td>[ABQR]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kon</td>
<td>[T]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kon</td>
<td>[UV]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kon</td>
<td>[ab]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kon</td>
<td>[CEIOP]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kon</td>
<td>[FKLMYZctvw]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuna</td>
<td>[H]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuna</td>
<td>[DGJNWXesy]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ko’i</td>
<td>[z]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 166. what?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>What?</th>
<th>[V]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ka</td>
<td>[U]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ke  [ABEP]
kì  [FJKz]
kìa  [h]
kìjë  [H]
ko  [t]
ko’u  [u]
ko’i  [G]
ka  [V]
kê  [U]
ke  [ABEP]
k’a  [L]
kèha  [RS]
ktj  [r]
kuji  [I]
kaha  [QT]
kaj  [CNORYew]
kaji  [D]
kajì  [X]
kàj  [MWZsy]
kja  [h]
kjë  [H]
jû  [g]
hûhê  [v]
hô  [b]
hû  [ac]

167. where?
kàdê  [B]
kàdê  [C]
kàdê  [N]
kèha  [U]
ke/te  [FIO]
ktêti  [u]
kahâ  [QRSTW]
ketê  [V]
kahâ  [h]
kha/te  [AEGH]
kha/te  [DLMYwy]
kê/te  [P]
kêa  [K]
kida  [v]
kàdê  [s]
kha/so  [Ze]
kha/so  [t]
kha/so  [X]
ke/te  [r]
kio  [b]
ket  [J]
kija  [J]
kjâ  [g]
kJê  [a]
ki  [c]

168. when?
kàdê  [CLJ]
kàdê  [AEFGLMPTYrsyw]
kàdêk  [WZ]
kàdijâ  [Xz]
kaštak  [e]
ke/te  [u]
kedî  [v]
ked  [QS]
kàdê  [CLJ]
kàdê  [AEFGLMPTYrsyw]
kàdji  [Xz]
kedî  [v]
ked  [u]
kìdô  [KR]
ked  [QS]
kàdô  [N]
kàdô  [AEFGLMPTYrsyw]
kànê  [DO]
kànê  [I]
kere  [a]
kìdô  [KR]
kere  [a]
kjarâ  [g]
kàdêk  [WZ]
kìdô  [KR]
kàdê  [CLJ]
kedî  [v]
kedî  [v]
kenî  [c]
kere  [a]
kìdô  [KR]
kìdô  [AEFGLMPTYrsyw]
kedî  [v]
kedî  [v]
ke/te  [a]
ke/te  [b]
ke/te  [b]
ke/te  [ht]
ke/te  [r]

169. how many?
ke/te  [Z]
ke/te  [g]
kûtûne  [B]
kûtûne  [h]
kûtô  [ARS]
kûtô  [U]
kûtêk  [V]
kiṭa  [IO]
kîṭe  [JT]
kîṭi  [K]
173. these

dʒu [a]
a [g]
aː [abc]
ja [Cw]
je [ABGKLPRTVXZehrtuz]
ji [QU]
jo [NYy]
ɔ [FM]
e [DEIVO]
i [Ss]
je [ABGKLPRTVXZehrtuz]
vo [Hv]
vu [z]

174. those

bɛ [h]
be [DEIVOr]
bɛ [P]
ve [ABGMTXhuz]
pela [b]
pɛlu [a]
pelā [g]
va [CHWe]
vo [JKLYatvy]
vo [Nw]
vo [QR]
oː [c]
u [SZs]
be [DEIVOr]
bɛ [P]
bɔ [FN]
be [h]
va [CHWe]
ve [ABGMTXhuz]

175. same

hɛrki [c]
hɛrke [b]
hɛrko [a]
sarika [z]
sarā [g]

176. different

nala [e]
nalɔ [Z]
narɔ [I]
nal/=a [Q]
necka [A]
necke [P]
njari [F]
njarɔ [BHOstz]
njaro [CDENXuw]
177. whole

cabat [T]
sabut [BMQR]
habu [v]
sabt [AS]
sabu [BMQR]
segə [E]
sarə [N]
septi [D]
septə [O]
sabə [Fs]
pura [KYhz]
purə [Ph]
puro [GHJTej]
puro [I]
puru [a]
puro [GHJTej]
sarə [N]
pura [KYhz]
sara [S]
hadə [t]
hadə [b]
hadə [acu]
sadə [V]
sadə [U]
sara [S]
sarə [N]
akʰu [g]
akə [CGXY]
kəbri [L]
dədə [W]
tjokomadəkə [Z]
heːtu [a]
tiːar [r]
heːnə [w]

179. few

duːdu [c]
toːdi [T]
toːdi [EMetz]
toːdi [O]
toːdi [AHJQ]
toːda [IKPbh]
toːda [F]
toːdə [Lg]
toːdu [a]
toːrə [UV]
tuːde [B]
toːde [w]
toːda [IKPbh]
tuːde [B]
toːɗi [Y]
toːɗi [G]
tarə [v]
toːdiə [Y]
toːɗə [S]
toːɗə [NW]
təməsa [s]
tʃənəsə [D]
tʃinifijə [Z]
tʃenjog [C]
kə [L]
180. many

many

181. all

182. eat!, he ate
183. bite!, he bit
pedilijë [B]
kaľo [K]
kľadj [bc]
kľadju [b]
kľag: [s]
kľagj [ACEFNOP]
kľagj [I]
kľagj [DMZ]
kľajgj [U]
kľaragj [g]
kaľo [K]
kaľo [t]
kaľač [J]
kaľo [H]
kaľa [v]
kaľš [Y]
kaľač [J]
kaľa [lhr]
kaľa [QT]
kaľagj [UV]
kaľagj [W]
kaľájgj [R]
kaľa[ľa] [e]
kaľáj[ľa] [S]
kaľo [H]
kaľš [Y]
kaľšu [b]
beťskë [D]
beťsko [XZ]
beťskošerj [Yy]
beťskošerj [w]
čätjë [G]
toko [K]

džubjö [u]
džubu [L]
kämpstu [a]
kľadj [bc]
kľatù [b]

184. he is, he was hungry
bšug [c]
bšuk lagi [I]
bšuk [AWhv]
bšuk e [Be]
bšukleg [Nu]
bšuklegrjhe [S]
bšuk o [GHM]
bšukjo [g]
bšukamaru [O]
bšuklegrej [V]
bšuklegrejhe [U]
bšukleq [E]
bšuklegj [DFKLXswy]
bšukleqj [P]
bšuklhej [JY]
bšuklagi [t]
bšuklagj [CQTz]
bšuklagihe [R]
bšuklagj [b]
pšug lagri [r]
bšuk [AWhv]
bšuk e [Be]
bšuklegr [Nu]
bšuklegrjhe [S]
bšuk o [GHM]
puk b lagi [a]

185. drink!, he drank
pi [gh]
pjej [Ev]
pive [O]
pivehe [D]
pivje [B]
pidge [b]
pide [c]
pidu [ab]
pie [GJ]
pije [I]
pijerijö [u]
pile, pilio [H]
pino [w]
pio, pilio [K]
pira [t]
piro [Q]
pirhe [ST]
pirhe [R]
### 186. he is, he was thirsty

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Sound</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tafa ąa</td>
<td>[e]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>te ąaįi</td>
<td>[C]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tįį</td>
<td>[v]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tesaļęge</td>
<td>[s]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teslegetıņe</td>
<td>[N]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>täslegi</td>
<td>[Zz]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>täslagri</td>
<td>[r]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>täsajlagarihe</td>
<td>[A]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tisajo</td>
<td>[B]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tislegę</td>
<td>[E]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tislegıįi</td>
<td>[O]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tislagi</td>
<td>[P]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tislagihe</td>
<td>[HT]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tislagirıťe</td>
<td>[X]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tislagieįjį</td>
<td>[D]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tislegę</td>
<td>[F]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ter lagį</td>
<td>[a]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>terus legi</td>
<td>[w]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taraľagi</td>
<td>[L]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tarlagi</td>
<td>[GYt]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tarlagiri</td>
<td>[y]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ter</td>
<td>[c]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teralegru</td>
<td>[u]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tır lagį</td>
<td>[I]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tirlagi</td>
<td>[J]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tirso</td>
<td>[M]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ter lagį</td>
<td>[a]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>taraľagi</td>
<td>[L]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tarlagi</td>
<td>[GYt]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tarlagiri</td>
<td>[y]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tır lagį</td>
<td>[b]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tırąąjo</td>
<td>[g]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trislagi</td>
<td>[K]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pis</td>
<td>[Q]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pislegrihe</td>
<td>[S]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pislagrhe</td>
<td>[R]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pjašaťa′</td>
<td>[h]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pjaslegreje</td>
<td>[UV]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 187. sleep!, he slept

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Sound</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>so</td>
<td>[h]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sui</td>
<td>[g]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sorćo</td>
<td>[Q]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 188. lie down!, he lay down

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Sound</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hugjä</td>
<td>[rw]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pedąahua</td>
<td>[P]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pedże</td>
<td>[B]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paqir</td>
<td>[g]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>legđę</td>
<td>[C]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>luałgo</td>
<td>[T]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>modąqjo</td>
<td>[Y]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>loątgo</td>
<td>[QR]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lońriotńju</td>
<td>[e]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lońröc</td>
<td>[U]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lụtįćą</td>
<td>[v]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lęt</td>
<td>[h]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lętqo</td>
<td>[SV]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lećąo</td>
<td>[N]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lińędţhe</td>
<td>[E]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lińgāc</td>
<td>[F]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lińįśo</td>
<td>[t]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pleadoq</td>
<td>[s]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pleadoqč</td>
<td>[y]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

**Notes:**
- Sounds in square brackets indicate approximate pronunciations.
- The text includes a mix of languages, likely indicating a focus on linguistic studies or a dictionary entry.
### 189. sit down!, he sat down

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bego</th>
<th>le de [K]</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bec</td>
<td>le de &quot;[t]&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bec</td>
<td>le de &quot;[h]&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bec</td>
<td>le de [AX]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bec</td>
<td>le de [Bs]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bec</td>
<td>le de [G]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bec</td>
<td>le de [VW]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bec</td>
<td>le de [CDEFNOPRSTUZer]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bec</td>
<td>le de [Q]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bec</td>
<td>le de [HILYz]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bijo</td>
<td>le [JM]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bec</td>
<td>le [u]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Behe</td>
<td>le [a]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Behe</td>
<td>le [c]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Behe</td>
<td>le [v]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Behe</td>
<td>le [t]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Behe</td>
<td>le [h]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bo</td>
<td>le [G]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bo</td>
<td>le [b]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bed</td>
<td>le [Iwy]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bo</td>
<td>le [b]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bed</td>
<td>le [AX]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bed</td>
<td>le [Bs]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Padgia</td>
<td>le [e]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bes</td>
<td>le [g]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bes</td>
<td>le [k]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Birad</td>
<td>le [M]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Birad</td>
<td>le [D]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 190. give!, he gave

| De | le [e] |
| Dei | le [O] |
| De | le [DEKhw] |
| De | le [ABCH] |
| De | le [Q] |

### 191. it burns, it burned

| Sil | le [D] |
| Sil | le [M] |
| Sil | le [E] |
| Sil | le [B] |
| Sil | le [Ae] |
| Sil | le [V] |
| Sil | le [QR] |
| Sil | le [S] |
| Sil | le [h] |
| Sil | le [GNWYsuz] |
| Sil | le [O] |
| Sil | le [y] |
| Sil | le [K] |
| Sil | le [L] |
| Sil | le [I] |
| Sil | le [J] |
| Sil | le [F] |
| Sil | le [g] |
| Sil | le [b] |
| Sil | le [X] |
| Sil | le [P] |
| Sil | le [Hvw] |
| Sil | le [GNWYsuz] |
| Sil | le [O] |
| Sil | le [y] |
| Sil | le [K] |
| Sil | le [a] |
| Sil | le [b] |
192. don't die!, he died
mergje   [BF]
mergjo   [ACDHNPRWXZeryz]
mergho   [EOQSTUVs]
merijjo   [G]
merijrjo   [K]
mari   [c]
mar   [gh]
maridzo   [d]
moridzo   [b]
muos   [u]
muhjo   [J]
muhjjo   [t]
muhjno   [J]
samagjo   [z]
k^ujo   [c]
tfelgeje   [I]

193. don't kill!, he killed
herdjo   [D]
merdjo   [V]
merdjo   [w]
merdijjo   [FQRXe]
merijo   [K]
mar   [Mgh]
mardjjo   [S]
mardjo   [DE]
margeljo   [Z]
mario   [b]
marjo   [B]
mardjo   [AGLWtuv]
marnjo   [I]
marnakjo   [yz]
marnjo   [b]
mardo   [R]
ordjo   [r]
orkjo   [H]
punjjo   [C]
k^utjo   [JY]
koutja   [P]
kuttjo   [a]
kutja   [N]
196. **run!**, he ran

begd̄3a [Q]
bad [WZ]
bagč [r]
bagčič [T]
bąag [FNVew]
bąagd̄3a [OPRS]
bąagč [ADXs]
badʒ [BE]
dədz̄3u [a]
dədz̄dĭo [b]
dədz̄d̄o [b]
dəĕd̄ [h]
dəd̄d̄ [Q]
dəd̄d̄d̄ [GKLYtyz]
dəd̄ [HMg]
dəd̄d̄č [IJU]
dəd̄apč [u]
repet dʒa [C]
rodžd̄e [Y]
tom [v]
dəm̄m̄u [c]
nəo [I]

197. **go!**, he went

dʒa [AEFHMNORT UVWZaehuvy]
dʒabra [L]
dʒabre [r]
dʒabro [t]
dʒɑŋt̄re [O]
dʒaο [CGIRSwz]
dʒaοdjĭo [b]
dʒaοt̄jo [D]
paradʒa [Y]

198. **come!**, he came

a [FMs]
udʒaο [D]
aʔ [V]
adj [AEHNOQPRSTUXsw]
adʒ [B]
aji [e]
ao [I]
aro [J]
au [h]
auč [r]
auro [Ou]
av [gyl]
avč [b]
avč [Yv]
avr̄ [K]
avr̄č [Lt]
avidʒo [b]
avo [Gaz]
avu [c]
à [W]
hina [T]
ūa [C]

199. **speak!**, he spoke

bol [AFHIOPQSVWeghvswz]
boļ [E]
boļ [r]
boļ [GITt]
boļ [J]
boļre [L]
boļ [BKMYZy]
bul [a]
ke [Ou]
ke [W]
kə [N]
kə [N]
kəedja [D]
kə [W]
kə [N]
kə [N]
kə [X]
bəta [R]
watê kide '[c]
lola '[C]
kaikarc '[T]
wat korje '[b]
wat koro '[a]
watê kide '[c]

200. listen!, he heard
huná [IK]
huná [O]
hunójja [C]
hunój [Iw]
hunú [GY]
hunó [z]
huno [rt]
sono [U]
suna [APS]
sunólijo [D]
sunjó [N]
sunjó [Z]
sunjó [BX]
sunjó [EJMoesw]
sunli [T]
sun [Vh]
suná [FW]
suni [Z]
sunílio [H]
suno [QR]
amlo [b]
hemeja [y]
hamlu [b]
hombalju [a]
hoberijó [L]
hobljió [u]
hombliju [c]
sabó [g]
hó [J]
ke [V]

201. look!, he saw
dekh [Vh]
dekh'[a [Q]
dekhiriodjó [Z]
dekhiró [y]
dekhiró [BCv]
dekhiró [AEFGIJKLMN OPUWYestwz]
dekhiró [D]
dekhiró [X]
dekhiró [RST]
dekhiró [r]
dekhiró [H]
d30jú [g]

202. I (1st person singular)
me [ABDNOQRSVs]
me [EFP]
mã [h]
meh [Tr]
mê [IM]
mê [h]
mhû [H]
mô [L]
mu [WYZuw]
muh [ty]
mû [CGXacevz]
mhû [H]
mohô [b]
muh [ty]
hû [JKog]
mirô [U]
mohô [b]
mohô [b]
mouve [V]

203. you (2nd person singular, informal)
t'á [u]
t'ã [Iw]
tô [B]
tó [NQRSTUabghrst]
tôn [ACDEGHJKL MOPXYZevyz]
touve [V]
tum [Fh]

204. you (2nd person singular, formal)
ap [BHJMQRSTUghw]
te [CGK]
tô [V]
te [CGK]
t'e [ADEFILNOPXrstuz]
t'a [XYZy]
t'â [W]
t'e [ADEFILNOPXrstuz]
tene [w]
taro [Y]
tató [e]
tamo [c]
tome [g]
tomo [ab]
205. he (3rd person singular, masculine)

- ve [s]
- vo [ABGHLMNWXatzwvy]
- vo [J]
- vu [QRTXez]
- wo [Kch]
- ve [s]
- ve [u]
- vo [ABGHLMNWXatzwvy]
- vo [J]
- vu [QRTXez]
- wo [h]
- u [S]
- be [D]
- bo [CEFIOPr]
- bu [UV]
- te [g]
- polo [ab]

206. she (3rd person singular, feminine)

- ba [CDIOPr]
- be [E]
- bo [F]
- bu [V]
- be [U]
- u [S]
- va [BGHLMWXyeuwyzy]
- ve [stv]
- ve [A]
- vo [a]
- vo [NZa]
- vu [QRT]
- wo [h]
- ve [stv]
- wo [h]
- wi [c]
- wō [JK]
- ve [A]
- wi [c]
- te [g]
- poli [ab]

207. we (1st person plural, inclusive)

- apa [C]
- apo [s]
- āp [D]
- āpa [OP]
- hepa [r]
- apa [C]
- apē [s]
- apē [Zceg]
- āpa [OP]
- hepa [r]
- hepa [r]
- harā [u]
- sarē [B]
- saraj [C]
- ma [WYy]
- me [AGHIx]
- me: [E]
- meh [KL]
- mefi [F]
- mhe [M]
- makē [w]
- meņa [z]
- makē [w]
- moņ [t]
- mesāra [N]
- hem [JQRSTUV]
- hām [Ih]
- hām [v]
- hām [a]
- harā [u]
- hām [v]
- am [b]
- hām [v]

208. we (1st person plural, exclusive)

- āme [g]
- hem [QTh]
- hāmā [v]
- ām [a]
- āme [g]
- hem [QTh]
- hāmā [v]
- ām [a]
- āme [g]
- hem [QTh]
- hāmā [v]
- ām [a]
- āme [g]
- hem [QTh]
- hāmā [v]
- ām [a]
209. you (2nd person plural)

be [F]
tā [ey]
tē [CGKr]
tē: [ADHILOPsu]
tē: [EXz]
tēu [Q]
tō [t]
tū [JSTz]
tū [Y]
tēsara [Z]
tēsēb [N]
tēmē [g]
tōmē [v]
tōmo [ab]

210. they (3rd person plural)

be [CDEIOPUVry]
be: [F]
se [P]
u [Ss]
va [e]
ve [GMNQRTWYZtuz]
vē [BH]
vi [v]
v"a [Xe]
we [Lh]
va [e]
ve [GMNQRTWYZtuz]
vē [BH]
vi [v]
vo [b]
vc [AKa]
vō [J]
v"a [Xe]
ve's [L]
vanō [w]
ō [g]
pela [c]
po [ab]
je [Q]
References

Dhoshi. 1992. (Full bibliography information not available.)
Ratnawat, Shyam Singh and Krishna Gopal Sharma, eds. 1999. History and culture of Rajasthan (from earliest times up to 1956 AD). Jaipur: Centre for Rajasthan Studies, University of Rajasthan.