Sociolinguistic survey of selected Rajasthani speech varieties of Rajasthan, India
Volume 2: Mewari

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Juliana Kelsall, Series Editor
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SIL International®
2012
Abstract

The purpose of this sociolinguistic survey of Mewari (ISO 639: mtr) speech varieties was to investigate the potential need for Mewari language development and to determine which variety of Mewari would be most effective for such language development. The fieldwork was conducted during the latter part of 2002. Although self-assessed Hindi bilingual ability was fairly high among Mewari subjects, observations and Hindi Sentence Repetition Testing tended to contradict these perceptions. Even with increasing levels of education and literacy, it is likely that there are still several hundred thousand Mewari speakers (whose total population is more than two million) who would benefit from language development in Mewari. Many subjects identified Chittorgarh Mewari as the standard Mewari speech variety. Comprehension testing of a narrative text from Dindoli village, Chittorgarh district demonstrated that this variety was well understood and accepted by subjects from two test sites, representing Northern and South-western Mewari.
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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, Rajasthani. 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(^a)</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(^b)</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>

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

\(^b\)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) 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

The state of Rajasthan¹ is situated in north-western India (Map 1, Appendix A). The Mewar region comprises the four southern districts of Rajasthan, namely Udaipur, Chittorgarh, Rajsamand, and Bhilwara (Map 2, Appendix A). The Mewar area is between 74° and 75.5° east longitude and between 24° and 26° north latitude. Mewar consists of plains as well as hill areas. This entire region is separated from the Thar Desert of Rajasthan by the Aravalli mountain range. The Aravalli range runs north-east to south-west through the centre of the state of Rajasthan for over 600 kilometres. This range turns lush green during rainy season in the months of June to September. Maps 1–4 in appendix A were prepared by the report authors.

The rivers Som and Mahi and the ranges of the Aravalli hills form the natural boundaries of the Mewar region in the south and west respectively (Somani 2002:1). The region depends upon the rains for its agricultural needs. The people mainly cultivate wheat, maize, mustard, and lentils. Water scarcity is a major challenge for cultivation in this region. A drought generally occurs every three or four years and famine may result. Sometimes, floods due to heavy rains cause great destruction in the state.

The region has, on the whole, a dry climate. Winter lasts from December to February, and is followed by summer which lasts until about the middle of June. Mid-June to mid-December constitutes the south-western monsoon season. The post-monsoon period, from mid-September to the end of November, is one of transition from monsoon to winter conditions.

1.2 People

1.2.1 People groups and religions

Rajputs form one of the major people groups of this area. Then come the Brahmins and Lohars, who were among the original inhabitants of this region. This area is also inhabited by some tribal groups such as the Mina and Wagri Bhil. Religious groups include Hindus, Jains, Sikhs, Muslims, and Christians.

Mewaris are very religious. They mostly believe in Hinduism. They worship several deities and have many gurus. There are many temples all over the region. Meera Bai is a famous Mewari poet known for her extraordinary devotion to Krishna, a Hindu god.

1.2.2 Population and literacy trends

According to the 1991 Census of India, the total number of speakers of Mewari in Rajasthan was 2,075,532. This includes 1,959,609 people (95 per cent) in the rural areas and 115,923 people (five per cent) in the urban areas (table 1). There are also people living outside the state who use Mewari as their mother tongue.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>All of Rajasthan</th>
<th>Rural</th>
<th>Urban</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Males 1,046,342</td>
<td>Females 1,029,190</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹Except as otherwise noted, the information in this section is summarised from Welcome to Rajasthan 1999.
In the Mewar region, Mewari speakers are spread out in about 7,200 villages. Table 2 shows the number of villages in each of the districts of this region.

**Table 2. Number of villages in the four districts of the Mewar region**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>Bhilwara</th>
<th>Chittorgarh</th>
<th>Rajsamand</th>
<th>Udaipur</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Villages</td>
<td>1,620</td>
<td>2,379</td>
<td>982</td>
<td>2,225</td>
<td>7,206</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although there are Hindi medium schools for education in the Mewar region, many of the people are still illiterate. The 1991 census information showed that only 33 per cent of the Mewari population in these four districts were literate, while the 2001 census information showed 38 per cent literacy among these Mewari speakers. The researchers found, through observations and interviews, that people who only know how to write their names are included in this 38 per cent literacy figure.

These days, the government is actively working towards reaching the whole community, especially the younger generation, with basic education and literacy skills. One way this is being done is to send a team to a village in a bus that serves as a mobile school. They stay in the village for a month and invite the children to come to the mobile school, which is painted with the alphabet and pictures used to help with learning. A schoolteacher leads the team. The government also promotes literacy by providing schools in most of the villages.

### 1.2.3 History

Mewar was an old established dynasty when the other kingdoms of Rajasthan were just beginning to develop. Tod (1997:113, 173) says, ‘We can trace the losses of Mewar but with difficulty her acquisitions….It is the only dynasty, which has outlived eight centuries of foreign domination.’

‘It is hard to trace the origin of the term Mewar. But it is believed that it was derived from Mewa or Meda tribe, who had settled here for a pretty long time. The Sanskrit scholars preferred to call it as Medapat’ (Somani 2002:1). When the researchers for this survey interviewed a poet, he explained that *me* means ‘inside’ and *war* means ‘boundary’. Taken together, Mewar thus means ‘within the boundary’.

### 1.2.4 Culture

Most of the Mewari-speaking people groups have a kind of joint family system. They have a very strong social structure and rules. They are socially highly interrelated with each other. The whole village takes part in all kinds of celebrations such as marriages, the birth of children, also in situations where the family is in sorrow because of death.

A person who breaks the law of the society is no longer considered as part of the community but may be allowed to stay in the village. For example, inter-caste marriage is not acceptable to these people and those who do this will not be accepted as members of the society and will not be able to take part in any of the social activities of the village. They may be accepted in the society again after a long period of time.

### 1.3 Language

#### 1.3.1 Classification

Mewari is classified as Indo-European, Indo-Iranian, Indo-Aryan, Central Zone, Rajasthani, Marwari (Lewis 2009). Table 3 shows how Rajasthani dialects are classified according to Grierson (1906:1–62). Here he has classified Mewari under Western Rajasthani.
Table 3. Dialects of Rajasthani according to Grierson

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Marwari</td>
<td>Mewari</td>
<td>Dadki</td>
<td>Bhikeneri</td>
<td>Wagri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mewari</td>
<td>Shekhawati</td>
<td>Kheradi</td>
<td>Godwari</td>
<td>Malwari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dadki</td>
<td>Dholi</td>
<td>Dhanali</td>
<td>Devdhwari</td>
<td>Dhundari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dholi</td>
<td>Bikeneri</td>
<td>Dhali</td>
<td>Dhali</td>
<td>Malwideri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bikeneri</td>
<td>Dadki</td>
<td>Wagri</td>
<td>Wagri</td>
<td>Dhundari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wagri</td>
<td>Shekhawati</td>
<td>Kheradi</td>
<td>Kheradi</td>
<td>Kheradi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shekhawati</td>
<td>Godwari</td>
<td>Malwidi</td>
<td>Godwari</td>
<td>Dhundari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kheradi</td>
<td>Devdhwari</td>
<td>Malwidi</td>
<td>Devdhwari</td>
<td>Dhundari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Godwari</td>
<td>Malwidi</td>
<td>Malwidi</td>
<td>Malwidi</td>
<td>Dhundari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Devdhwari</td>
<td>Malwidi</td>
<td>Malwidi</td>
<td>Malwidi</td>
<td>Dhundari</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The relationship of Mewari with Marwari and other Rajasthani varieties is also important to consider. The information in table 4 is extracted from the Rajasthani preliminary overview report (Samuvel, Joshua, Koshy, and Abraham 2012), which shows the ranges of lexical similarity percentages within Mewari speech varieties and between Mewari varieties and other Rajasthani varieties.

Table 4. Lexical similarity ranges within Mewari varieties and with other Rajasthani varieties

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language varieties</th>
<th>Range of lexical similarity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Within Mewari</td>
<td>69–81%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With Marwari</td>
<td>56–70%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With Merwari</td>
<td>54–72%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With Shekhawati</td>
<td>57–66%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With Godwari</td>
<td>51–73%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With Hadothi</td>
<td>56–64%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With Mewati</td>
<td>50–58%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These figures indicated that in terms of lexical similarity, Mewari varieties are more similar to one another than to other dialects of Rajasthani. This situation is described further in the Rajasthani overview report (Samuvel, Joshua, Koshy, and Abraham 2012).

1.3.2 Reported dialects

Javaliya (1991:81–83) mentions five reported dialects of Mewari, namely Southern, South-western, Western, Northern, and North-eastern. He did not provide a map showing these dialects, but map 4 (Appendix A), prepared by the researchers of this survey, indicates the approximate locations of these reported geographical dialects.

1.3.3 Language development

The researchers for the Rajasthani preliminary overview survey (Samuvel, Joshua, Koshy, and Abraham 2012:23) noted: ‘Mewari is reported by speakers to be separate from Standard Marwari but equal with Marwari in terms of Rajasthani literature. It has its own research institutes, both government and private.’ There is not much literature of recent publication available in this language, though there are Mewari articles appearing regularly in Hindi newspapers. There are some audio materials in Mewari, mostly cultural songs. All India Radio is broadcasting a weekly Mewari radio programme. There are also television channels such as Doordarshan broadcasting programmes in Mewari. The researchers of this
survey were told that some Mewari speakers do not understand the programmes that are broadcast from the centre of Chittorgarh district.

1.4 Previous research

Table 5 shows information about two previous sociolinguistic surveys that were conducted in Rajasthan.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of survey</th>
<th>Primary location</th>
<th>Language groups covered</th>
<th>Report author(s)</th>
<th>Year of fieldwork</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Marwari</td>
<td>Jodhpur, Sikar, and Jhunjhunun districts</td>
<td>Marwari, Shekhawati, Mewari</td>
<td>Varenkamp</td>
<td>1990</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rajasthani</td>
<td>All districts of Rajasthan</td>
<td>Marwari, Mewari, Shekhawati, Godwari, Merwari, Dhundari, Hadothi, Mewati, Braj Bhasha, Bagri, Wagri</td>
<td>Samuvel, Joshua, Koshy, and Abraham</td>
<td>2002</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Dialect intelligibility testing during the Rajasthani survey (Samuvel, Joshua, Koshy, and Abraham 2012) indicated that comprehension of Jodhpur Marwari (considered the standard form of Rajasthani) was inadequate among Mewari speakers. Further dialect intelligibility testing was recommended within the varieties of each Rajasthani dialect as an initial step in any language development programme that might be undertaken.

1.5 Purpose and goals

The purpose of this sociolinguistic survey of Mewari speech varieties was to investigate the potential need for Mewari language development and to determine which variety of Mewari would be most effective for such language development. To fulfil this purpose, the following goals were set.

Goal 1. To discover the populations and locations of Mewari speakers.
   Research tools: background research, informal interviews, and questionnaires.

Goal 2. To find out what materials are available in Mewari.
   Research tools: library research and visits to research institutes.

Goal 3. To study the relationships among reported varieties of Mewari.
   Research tools: wordlist comparisons, Recorded Text Testing (RTT), and questionnaires.

Goal 4. To investigate language use, attitudes, and vitality among Mewari speakers.
   Research tools: questionnaires and observations.

Goal 5. To assess Hindi bilingualism among Mewari speakers.
   Research tools: Hindi Sentence Repetition Testing (SRT), questionnaires, and observations.

2 Dialect areas

2.1 Lexical similarity

2.1.1 Introduction

A common method of measuring the relationship 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, a lexical similarity comparison alone cannot indicate how well certain speech communities understand one another. 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 research instrument used in determining lexical similarity in this project was a 210-item wordlist, consisting of items of basic vocabulary, which has been standardised and contextualised for use in surveys of this type in South Asia. These wordlists were transcribed using the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA).

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 word list 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). For a fuller description of counting procedures used in determining lexical similarity, refer to Appendix B.

2.1.3 Site selection

As mentioned in section 1.3.2, the reported dialects of Mewari are Southern Mewari, South-western Mewari, Western Mewari, Northern Mewari, and North-eastern Mewari (Javalija 1991:81–83). Considering these reported dialects as well as the geographical spread within the dialects, the researchers selected Mewari wordlist sites at a distance of approximately 20 kilometres from one another. Although it was beyond the original scope of this survey, the researchers also took the opportunity to collect wordlists in Wagri-Dhavdi, Marwari, Rajasthani-Dingl, and Malvi at locations found within the traditional Mewari language area. Including these speech varieties helps provide a more comprehensive linguistic overview of this area.

The researchers compared 21 wordlists in this study. Nine wordlists were collected on this survey, another eight were from the Rajasthani survey (Samuvel, Joshua, Koshy, and Abraham 2012), and two were from the Malvi survey (Varghese et. al. 2009). Standard wordlists for Hindi and Gujarati were also included in the comparison. Five wordlists from the Rajasthani survey were rechecked, namely the four Mewari varieties and one Marwari variety. Table 6 lists the languages and locations of the wordlists compared in this study. Map 2 (Appendix A) shows the locations of these Mewari villages.

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2The 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.
3‘Rajasthani-Dingl’ is a broad term for a Rajasthani speech variety. The wordlist informant used this name for his language. It does not indicate identification with a specific dialect of Rajasthani such as Mewari or Marwari.
4A tehsil is an administrative unit that 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 6. Speech varieties and locations of wordlists compared in this study

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Village</th>
<th>Tehsil</th>
<th>District</th>
<th>State</th>
<th>Survey</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mewari-Dhevdi</td>
<td>Gorana</td>
<td>Jhadol</td>
<td>Udaipur</td>
<td>Rajasthan</td>
<td>Rajasthani survey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mewari</td>
<td>Kannouj</td>
<td>Kannouj</td>
<td>Chittorgarh</td>
<td>Rajasthan</td>
<td>Rajasthani survey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mewari</td>
<td>Sangad</td>
<td>Sangad Kala</td>
<td>Rajasamand</td>
<td>Rajasthan</td>
<td>Rajasthani survey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mewari</td>
<td>Padarada</td>
<td>Gogunda</td>
<td>Udaipur</td>
<td>Rajasthan</td>
<td>Present project</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mewari</td>
<td>Dindoli</td>
<td>Rasmi</td>
<td>Chittorgarh</td>
<td>Rajasthan</td>
<td>Present project</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mewari</td>
<td>Kalnsas</td>
<td>Bandeda</td>
<td>Bhilwara</td>
<td>Rajasthan</td>
<td>Rajasthani survey</td>
</tr>
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<td>Mewari</td>
<td>Dholpura</td>
<td>Devgarh</td>
<td>Rajasamand</td>
<td>Rajasthan</td>
<td>Present project</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mewari</td>
<td>Eklingspura</td>
<td>Bhilwara</td>
<td>Bhilwara</td>
<td>Rajasthan</td>
<td>Present project</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mewari-Khadi</td>
<td>Kishangni ka Kheda</td>
<td>Mandalgarh</td>
<td>Bhilwara</td>
<td>Rajasthan</td>
<td>Present project</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wagridi-Dhadvi</td>
<td>Bannoda</td>
<td>Salumber</td>
<td>Udaipur</td>
<td>Rajasthan</td>
<td>Present project</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marwari</td>
<td>Hurda</td>
<td>Hurda</td>
<td>Bhilwara</td>
<td>Rajasthan</td>
<td>Present project</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marwari</td>
<td>Khor</td>
<td>Pali</td>
<td>Pali</td>
<td>Rajasthan</td>
<td>Rajasthani survey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marwari</td>
<td>Ajmer</td>
<td>Ajmer</td>
<td>Ajmer</td>
<td>Rajasthan</td>
<td>Rajasthani survey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rajasthani-Dingl</td>
<td>Kalgav</td>
<td>Rawatbhata</td>
<td>Chittorgarh</td>
<td>Rajasthan</td>
<td>Present project</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malvi-Hindi</td>
<td>Basad</td>
<td>Prathapgarh</td>
<td>Chittorgarh</td>
<td>Rajasthan</td>
<td>Present project</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malvi</td>
<td>Jesingpura</td>
<td>Nimuch</td>
<td>Mandsaur</td>
<td>Madhya Pradesh</td>
<td>Malvi survey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malvi</td>
<td>Bhuynakhedi</td>
<td>Mandsaur</td>
<td>Mandsaur</td>
<td>Madhya Pradesh</td>
<td>Malvi survey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hadcothi</td>
<td>Pathera</td>
<td>Baran</td>
<td>Baren</td>
<td>Rajasthan</td>
<td>Rajasthani survey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hadcothi-Dingl</td>
<td>Godra</td>
<td>Hindoli</td>
<td>Bundi</td>
<td>Rajasthan</td>
<td>Rajasthani survey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hindi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Standard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gujarati</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Standard</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.1.4 Results and analysis

Using the lexical similarity percentage counting procedures described by Blair (1990:30–33), two speech varieties showing less than around 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. If the results of dialect intelligibility testing show that intelligibility is high, then the speech varieties may be referred to as ‘similar dialects.’

Table 7 shows the lexical similarity percentages matrix for the speech varieties compared in this study. The wordlists are arranged by language name and then in a generally descending order. The language, village, and district are given for each wordlist. The language names are the ones given by the word list informants.
Table 7. Lexical similarity percentages matrix of all speech varieties compared in this study

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variety Comparison</th>
<th>Similarity Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mewar-Dhevdi – Gorana, Udaipur</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>97 Mewari – Kannouj, Chittorgarh</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>97 90 Mewari – Sangad, Rajsamand</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>95 90 92 Mewari – Padarada, Udaipur</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>95 96 88 90 Mewari – Dindoli, Chittorgarh</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>91 95 83 84 94 Mewari – Kalsnas, Bhilwara</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90 88 82 84 90 89 Mewari – Dholpura, Rajsamand</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>89 90 82 86 87 89 83 Mewari – Eklingpura, Bhilwara</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85 87 81 82 88 90 82 85 Mewari-Khadi – Kishanji ka Kheda, Bhilwara</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90 87 88 83 78 80 76 75 Wagri-Dhavdi – Bannoda, Udaipur</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85 88 76 80 88 91 83 84 84 71 Marwari – Hurda, Bhilwara</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85 85 86 85 82 83 80 79 78 83 76 Marwari – Khor, Pali</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84 81 78 76 79 82 73 75 76 74 71 79 Marwari – Ajmer, Ajmer</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84 87 79 80 86 85 82 82 84 75 81 74 69 Rajasthani-Dingl – Kalgav, Chittorgarh</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>88 88 83 84 81 79 76 75 74 83 71 81 74 79 Malvi-Hindi – Basad, Chittorgarh</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>88 89 84 82 81 83 79 76 75 82 71 80 75 78 89 Malvi – Jesingpura, Nimuch, MP</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85 86 82 80 79 80 73 72 73 81 68 79 72 77 88 90 Malvi – Bhunyakhedi, Mandsaur, MP</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>78 79 70 72 76 83 72 75 80 69 73 72 70 77 71 74 71 Hadothi – Pathera, Baren</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>77 77 69 71 76 84 69 75 78 66 76 68 67 75 69 70 68 76 Hadothi-Dingl – Godra, Bundi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67 65 62 64 64 65 59 59 63 63 57 65 63 65 65 61 62 63 54 Hindi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65 65 62 63 64 65 60 62 60 63 57 69 61 60 65 63 61 57 53 63 Gujarati</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 8 summarises the lexical similarity ranges within Mewari speech varieties and between Mewari varieties and other speech varieties included in this study.

Table 8. Lexical similarity ranges within Mewari speech varieties and with other speech varieties compared in this study

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language Varieties</th>
<th>Range</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Within Mewari varieties</td>
<td>81–97%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With Wagri-Dhevdi</td>
<td>75–90%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With Marwari</td>
<td>73–91%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With Rajasthani-Dingl</td>
<td>79–87%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With Malvi</td>
<td>72–89%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With Hadothi</td>
<td>69–84%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With Hindi</td>
<td>59–67%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With Gujarati</td>
<td>60–65%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Rechecking wordlists collected during the Rajasthani survey (Samuvel, Joshua, Koshy, and Abraham 2012) resulted in substantial increases in lexical similarity percentages. The four Mewari wordlists from that survey (Gorana, Kannouj, Sangad and Kalsnas) increased from 69 to 81 per cent similar to 83 to 97 per cent similar with this rechecking. The wordlist from Gorana demonstrates the highest lexical
similarities with all other Mewari varieties included in this comparison (85 to 97 per cent), while Kishanji ka Kheda shows the lowest (81 to 90 per cent). The lowest percentage within Mewari varieties (81 per cent) was between Kishanji ka Kheda and Sangad, which are relatively far apart geographically. In general, wordlists from Mewari villages that are closer to one another showed higher lexical similarity percentages. Because detailed information was not available about the boundaries of the reported geographical dialects of Mewari, the researchers could not make a clear determination of which dialects these wordlists would be classified under. However, these wordlists did not show any sharp distinctions based on geographical spread, only a tendency toward gradually decreasing similarity with increasing distance.

As seen in table 8, comparisons of Mewari with the other Indo-Aryan languages of the Mewar region showed generally lower lexical similarity ranges than within Mewari varieties. However, many of these percentages overlapped with the similarity percentages within Mewari varieties. They were also above the 60 per cent threshold at which speech varieties show the potential for intelligibility. Again, the higher percentages tend to be seen between locations that are geographically nearer to each other. For example, Wagri-Dhavdi of Bannoda village, Udaipur district and Marwari of Hurda village, Bhilwara district show relatively high lexical similarity percentages (90 and 91 per cent respectively) with the Mewari varieties nearest to them. The lowest lexical similarities occurred when comparing Mewari with Hindi (59 to 67 per cent) and Gujarati (60 to 65 per cent).

2.1.5 Conclusions

Lexical similarity patterns seen in this study indicate that Mewari speech varieties tend to be slightly more similar to one another than to most of other Indo-Aryan speech varieties of the Mewar region, though many of the percentages overlap. The exceptions are Hindi and Gujarati, which are more lexically distinct from Mewari. The findings from this study indicate the potential for intelligibility among these different languages. However, high lexical similarity percentages do not necessarily guarantee intelligibility; testing is necessary.5

2.2 Dialect intelligibility

2.2.1 Introduction

It is not easy to define the terms ‘language’ and ‘dialect’. These terms are used in different ways. Common usage often applies the term ‘language’ to the large, prestigious languages that 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 language speakers can understand one another. Low intelligibility6 between two speech varieties, even if one has been classified as a dialect of the other, means that at least one group has difficulty in understanding 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.

5In the Rajasthani survey (Samuvel et. al. 2012), a sample of 13 Mewari speakers in Dindoli village, Chittorgarh district, scored only 54 per cent on a Marwari comprehension test of the type described in section 2.2.

6Intelligibility 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.
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 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 in 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.

Although the standard procedure is to develop hometown tests in each test point, that procedure was modified during this survey. Instead of developing separate HTTs in Bhadoo and Nai, the Dindoli ‘Lion story’ was used as both a control test and an RTT. The decision to do this was based on time constraints for the survey fieldwork and on reports from Mewari speakers that they could understand different Mewari varieties fairly well. A short practice story administered before the Dindoli RTT helped to familiarise subjects with the testing procedure.

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 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, the 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 scores 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

The standard form of Mewari is reportedly spoken in the bordering area of Chittorgarh, Rajsamand, and Udaipur districts. The wordlist collected from Dindoli village, Chittorgarh district showed high lexical similarity with the other Mewari word lists collected in the survey area. During the Rajasthani survey (Samuvel, Joshua, Koshy, and Abraham 2012), it was reported that pure Mewari is spoken in the Chittorgarh area. The ‘Lion story’ developed as the Dindoli Mewari HTT on that survey was tested in two other villages on this survey: Bhadoo village in Bhilwara district and Nai village in Udaipur district. These two villages were selected to represent the northern and southern extremes of the Mewari language area. Map 2 (Appendix A) shows the locations of these test points. Time constraints for the survey fieldwork did not allow for testing among Mewari speakers in sites to the west and east.

Dindoli village

Dindoli village is located almost in the centre of the Mewari language area, 35 kilometres from the town of Chittorgarh. It represents the Southern dialect of Mewari. 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.

**Bhadoo village**

Bhadoo, representing the Northern dialect of Mewari, is located about 25 kilometres northwest of Bhilwara, the district headquarters. The total population of the village is around 4,000 according to one village official interviewed during the survey.

**Nai village**

Nai village, representing the South-western dialect of Mewari, is situated about eight kilometres southwest of Udaipur city. The total population of Nai is about 5,500.

### 2.2.4 Results and analysis

**RTT results**

Table 9 shows the Recorded Text Testing (RTT) results.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mewari ‘Lion story’ from Dindoli village</th>
<th>avg</th>
<th>sd</th>
<th>n</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dindoli village, Chittorgarh district</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhadoo village, Bhilwara district</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nai village, Udaipur district</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>10</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 9), which is the mean or 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 9). 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 9). In addition, to be representative of the community, 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 10.
Table 10. 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>High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Situation 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Many people understand the story well, but some have difficulty.</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 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.

The average scores (90 per cent) and standard deviations (6 and 8 respectively) for subjects in Bhadoo and Nai indicated that most people understood the Dindoli text well, while a few had difficulty.

**Post-RTT results**

Post-RTT questions provided further insights into the perceptions and attitudes of the subjects who listened to the Mewari text from Dindoli village. Responses to these questions are discussed here.

**In what language do you think the story was told?**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Village</th>
<th>Mewari</th>
<th>Total number of subjects</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bhadoo</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nai</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All of the RTT subjects in both villages were able to identify the language of the Dindoli ‘Lion story’ as Mewari.

**Where do you think the storyteller is from?**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Village</th>
<th>Mewar area</th>
<th>This village or neighbouring villages</th>
<th>Do not know</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>Total number of subjects</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bhadoo</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nai</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Responses to this question were fairly evenly divided overall. About one-third of the subjects simply said the storyteller was from the Mewar area, while another one-third thought the storyteller was from their own village or a neighbouring village. Of the eight subjects who said they did not know where he is from, six were from Bhadoo, the Northern Mewari location.

**What helps you know the storyteller is from that place?**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Village</th>
<th>Language/dialect</th>
<th>Pronunciation/style</th>
<th>Not applicable/other</th>
<th>Total number of subjects</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bhadoo</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nai</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Half of the subjects said that they were able to recognise the storyteller’s location because of the language/dialect he used. Some subjects gave other reasons, such as his pronunciation/style. The question was not applicable for the eight subjects who said they did not know where the storyteller is from.

**Is the speech good?**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Village</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>Yes, very good</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Total number of subjects</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bhadoo</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nai</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The responses were completely positive when asked if the speech in the story was good. All of the subjects in both of the test sites said that the speech on the recording from Dindoli is good, and one subject even said that it is very good.

**Is the speech pure?**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Village</th>
<th>Yes</th>
<th>Yes, Very clear</th>
<th>No</th>
<th>Total number of subjects</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bhadoo</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nai</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Except for three subjects from Nai village, all of the remaining subjects said that the Dindoli speech they heard on the test tape is pure. The three subjects who felt that it is not pure said that the text is mixed with ‘tribal’ language, that some of the words and pronunciation are different, and that the dialect is different.

**Is the storyteller’s speech a little or very different from your speech?**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Village</th>
<th>No difference</th>
<th>A little</th>
<th>Much difference</th>
<th>Total number of subjects</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bhadoo</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nai</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Just over half of the subjects (13) said the storyteller’s speech was ‘a little different’ from their own; eight subjects in Bhadoo (the Northern location) and five in Nai (the South-western location) expressed this view. Eight subjects said there was ‘no difference’ and one (from Bhadoo) said there was ‘much difference’.
(If different) in what way is it different?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Village</th>
<th>Language/dialect Difference</th>
<th>Pronunciation, words, style</th>
<th>Pure Mewari</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>Total number of subjects</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bhadoo</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nai</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Responses show that some subjects felt that the speech of the Dindoli story was different than their own in a variety of ways: language/dialect, pronunciation, words, or style. Two subjects from Bhadoo still said that the Dindoli speech was pure Mewari.

**How much of the story did you understand?**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Village</th>
<th>All of it</th>
<th>Most of it</th>
<th>A little</th>
<th>Total number of subjects</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bhadoo</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nai</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Nearly all of the subjects (19 out of 22) said that they understood the Dindoli story completely, while two said they could understand most of it. Only one subject expressed less confidence about understanding the story.

### 2.2.5 Conclusions

Comprehension testing of a narrative Mewari text from Dindoli village, Chittorgarh district, indicated that this story was adequately understood by Mewari-speaking subjects in the villages of Bhadoo and Nai. Bhadoo is in Bhilwara district, representing Northern Mewari and Nai is in Udaipur district, representing South-western Mewari. Post-RTT responses of most of the subjects were positive in terms of perceived comprehension of the text and attitudes toward the Dindoli Mewari as represented on the test tape. These findings are in contrast to the statement made to the researchers by someone involved in broadcasting a Mewari programme from the centre of Chittorgarh, who said that some Mewari speakers outside this central area do not understand these broadcasts. However, speakers of the Western and North-eastern dialects of Mewari were not tested; it may be that their comprehension is lower. Based on this testing, the researchers conclude that the Southern Mewari speech variety, as represented by the Dindoli text, has good potential to be well understood and accepted among speakers of Northern and South-western Mewari.

### 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 generally attempts to describe people's feelings and preferences towards their own language, 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 towards literacy and the acceptability of literature development.
Language vitality refers to the prospects for a language to continue to be spoken and passed on to succeeding generations in the future. Language vitality is a key concept in sociolinguistic research. It refers to the overall strength of a language, its perceived usefulness in a wide variety of situations, and its likelihood of enduring through the coming generations. Many variables have been said to contribute to vitality, such as social status of the language, the number of speakers, whether it has a writing system, etc. One of the goals of this survey was to assess the language use and attitudes reported by Mewari speakers, and to look into the vitality of the Mewari language. In other words, are there indications that Mewari will continue to be spoken in the foreseeable future? What might be the potential for the acceptance and use of materials translated into Mewari?

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 Mewari with the help of local people, when possible.

3.2 Questionnaire sample

The LUAV questionnaire was administered to a total of 60 subjects in four sites, each representing one of the reported dialects of Mewari. Subjects in Mohi, Bhadoo, and Nai were interviewed during this survey. The responses of Mewari subjects from Gosunda village to the same questionnaire during a previous survey (Samuvel, Joshua, Koshy, and Abraham 2012) are also included in this analysis. Table 11 provides a summary of information about the LUAV questionnaire locations.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Village</th>
<th>District</th>
<th>Geographical dialect</th>
<th>Number of subjects</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mohi</td>
<td>Rajsamand</td>
<td>Western</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bhadoo</td>
<td>Bhilwara</td>
<td>Northern</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nai</td>
<td>Udaipur</td>
<td>Southwestern</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gosunda</td>
<td>Chittorgarh</td>
<td>Southern</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 12 shows the distribution of the questionnaire subjects according to the demographic variables of sex, age, and education. For the purposes of this research, the age and education categories were defined as follows: educated = 5th standard and above, uneducated = 0 to 4th standard; younger = age 15 to 35, older = age 36 and above.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Male 34 (57%)</th>
<th>Female 26 (43%)</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Educated</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Younger</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Older</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uneducated</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Younger</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Older</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>17 (28%)</td>
<td>19 (32%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The sample is somewhat skewed toward male, younger, and educated subjects. Education levels are increasing among the younger generations, and this is reflected in the sample.
3.3 Results and analysis

3.3.1 Language use

The language use questions drew out the various languages that people reportedly choose to speak in selected domains. Table 13 summarises those responses. Results are shown indicating the percentage of subjects (out of a total of 60 subjects) who gave a particular response. Categories of answers are separated into M (Mewari), Hindi, M&H (Mewari and Hindi), and Other (a language or combination of languages other than Mewari and/or Hindi, such as Urdu or Sanskrit).

Table 13. Domains of language use

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Domain</th>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Response</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>M</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Home</td>
<td>With family members?</td>
<td>93%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Culture</td>
<td>In marriage songs?</td>
<td>85%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intra-group</td>
<td>Children use while they play?</td>
<td>87%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intra-group</td>
<td>In the village?</td>
<td>92%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Intra-inter-group</td>
<td>With neighbouring villagers?</td>
<td>78%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inter-group</td>
<td>When friends of different language/dialect visit you?</td>
<td>23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religion</td>
<td>In private prayer?</td>
<td>52%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government</td>
<td>With government official if he speaks your language?</td>
<td>98%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government</td>
<td>With government official if he speaks Hindi?</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Market</td>
<td>In the market?</td>
<td>65%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>In school?</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The responses of the 60 LUAV subjects indicate that Mewari is reportedly used by a majority of subjects in the domains of home (93 per cent), culture (85 per cent), and intra-group communications (78 to 92 per cent) that were included on the questionnaire. For private prayer, about half of the subjects (52 per cent) said they use Mewari, while one-third (33 per cent) said they use Hindi. Mewari is also reportedly used by nearly all subjects in interactions with government officials if the officials speak Mewari. (If the officials do not speak Mewari, then most subjects use Hindi, although some still try Mewari.) A majority of subjects (65 per cent) also said that they use Mewari in the market, while the remainder said that they use either Hindi or a combination of Hindi and Mewari. Although Hindi is the official medium of education, only 52 per cent of the subjects said that they use Hindi exclusively in school, while 25 per cent said they use Mewari. The remainder said they use Hindi plus Mewari or some other combination of languages. These responses are consistent with what the researchers were told in informal interviews—that teachers must often explain things in Mewari because the children do not fully understand Hindi.

3.3.2 Language attitudes and vitality

Attitudes towards Mewari and Hindi

Where is pure Mewari spoken?

The highest percentages of subjects felt that pure Mewari is spoken in the districts of Chittorgarh (32 per cent) and Udaipur (28 per cent). The districts of Rajsamand and Bhilwara were each named by another
ten per cent of the subjects, while eight per cent of the subjects said that pure Mewari is spoken throughout the Mewar area.

A further breakdown of these results reveals that about 50 per cent of the subjects named their own districts as the place where pure Mewari is spoken. This occurred most often in Gosunda (Chittorgarh district) and Nai (Udaipur district); ten out of the 14 subjects in each of these villages responded this way. Chittorgarh was chosen most often overall, with 32 per cent of the subjects naming that district as the place where pure Mewari is spoken.7

**What language is best for a Mewari mother to use when speaking to her young child?**

A majority of the subjects (82 per cent) responded that Mewari is best, while 15 per cent said that it is Hindi. The rest answered that they would use Hindi or Mewari or both. Thirty-two educated and 17 uneducated subjects said that Mewari is best for a mother to use for communicating with her young child, while only six educated and three uneducated subjects said Hindi. The two remaining subjects said both Mewari and Hindi.

**What language do you want your children to learn first?**

A majority of subjects (62 per cent) responded that they want their children to learn Hindi first, while 32 per cent said that they would like to see their children speaking Mewari first. Some said the children should speak both Mewari and Hindi. Yet another two per cent said that they should learn English first.

**If a young person in your village does not speak your language at all (and speaks only Hindi), how would older people feel?**

Most subjects (92 per cent) said that older people in the village would feel bad if a young person speaks only Hindi in the village, while only seven per cent said that they would feel good.

**Is your language better than other languages?**

Again, a large majority (93 per cent) of the subjects responded optimistically that their language is better than any other language, while three per cent responded that their language is not. The rest of the subjects added that Hindi is also as good as Mewari.

**Attitudes towards language development**

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Religious books</td>
<td>27%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious books and stories</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture, general knowledge, entertainment, etc.</td>
<td>16%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stories</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Any kind of books</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Only Hindi books</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7Ten subjects from Chittorgarh, five from Bhilwara, three from Rajsamand and one from Udaipur said that Chittorgarh is where pure Mewari is spoken.
It is worthwhile to compare the expressed preferences for mother tongue materials with the languages that subjects\(^8\) reported using in certain domains. Six subjects who said they would like to read religious books in Mewari reported using Mewari in their private prayer, while three other subjects who said that they want religious materials in Mewari stated that they use both Mewari and Hindi for their private prayer. Six other subjects reported using Hindi for their private prayer but still said that they want religious materials in Mewari. Two subjects who said they use Hindi in their private prayer expressed interest in religious books and stories in Mewari.

**How do you think it would be to have a Mewari medium school?**

About half of the subjects (57 per cent) responded that it would be good to have a Mewari medium school, while 17 per cent said that Hindi medium is good. Another 13 per cent said that it would not be good to have a Mewari medium school.

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

A majority of the subjects (67 per cent) responded positively to this question, saying that they would like their children to learn to read and write Mewari, while 25 per cent said they would not. Two subjects (three per cent) said that they want their children to learn to read and write both Mewari and Hindi. One subject said, ‘I don’t like Mewari.’ Another person said that it is good that the children learn to read and write Mewari, but Hindi is also good.

**If anyone wants to teach you how to read and write your language, how would you help?**

Most of the subjects (90 per cent) responded in general that they would help if someone wants to teach them to read and write in their language, while seven per cent of them said that they would not help. Two of the subjects said that it would be good to learn to read and write Hindi, while another two subjects said that they do not want to learn to read and write at all.

**Do you listen to radio/television when programmes are aired in your language?**

Nearly all of the subjects (93 per cent) responded that they listen to Mewari programmes when they are available.

**Language vitality**

**Do young people in your village speak Mewari as well as older people?**

Many of the subjects (88 per cent) said that the young people speak Mewari as well as older people, while eight per cent said they do not. One person said during an informal interview that the young people could not speak Mewari as well as the older people do; instead, they often mix in more Hindi words.

Thirty-two of the 36 younger subjects and 21 of the 24 older subjects said that the young people speak Mewari as well as the older people do, while only three of the younger and two of the older subjects said that they do not.

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\(^8\)Subjects who had never been to school (22 per cent) were not asked this question.
Do young people in your village feel good about your language?

Again, many of the subjects (88 per cent) answered that the young people feel good about Mewari, while three per cent of the subjects said that only a few people have such an attitude; seven per cent said that they do not feel good about Mewari. Another subject said that they like both Mewari and Hindi.

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

While 62 per cent of the subjects responded that in the future their grandchildren would also speak Mewari, 37 per cent said they might forget Mewari and switch to Hindi. One subject responded that there is only a little possibility that the coming generations will continue to speak Mewari.

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

A majority of the subjects (67 per cent) said that they would not allow their son/daughter to marry someone who does not know Mewari, but added that they would allow it if he/she is a Hindi speaker. Some of the subjects (ten per cent) said that they would not allow marriage even with a Hindi speaker; seven per cent of the subjects said that they would not allow marriage to a non-Mewari speaker at all, while another seven per cent said that they would allow such a marriage.

There were also a few other interesting responses: one subject said caste is important but not the language, another said they would give their children to those who like them, another said whatever language they speak, they should belong to this community, and finally one said that Hindi or English is good and ‘our language can be learned’.

3.3.3 Informal interviews and observations

The language of most of the women and old people in the villages visited during this survey sounded quite different from Hindi, although sometimes people said that Hindi and Mewari are similar. In the cities by and large, people used Hindi, while in the villages it was mostly Mewari that the people spoke. The city people have to try to speak Mewari when they want to communicate with the Mewari-speaking villagers who come to the cities. Informal interviews with many key people indicate that the Mewari spoken in villages is different from the Mewari spoken in cities. This may be because the Mewari spoken in cities is mixed with other languages, especially Hindi.

3.4 Conclusions

In almost all the domains that subjects were asked about, Mewari was reported to be widely used. In general, Mewari is used to communicate with Mewari speakers, while Hindi is often used with non-Mewari speakers. Most subjects expressed positive attitudes towards their own mother tongue. Many also expressed positive attitudes towards Hindi, which is the language of wider communication and the official medium of education in the Mewar region. Based on informal interviews and observations, it appears that many Mewari speakers are convinced that it is good to know Hindi as well as Mewari in order to have more access to the outside world and have opportunities for jobs and education. However, many have also shown interest in written materials, education, and radio/television programmes in Mewari, although a few subjects felt that Hindi was preferable. Overall, it also appears that the vitality of Mewari is fairly strong at present, based on reported Mewari use as well as mostly positive attitudes toward Mewari.


4 Bilingualism

4.1 Introduction

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). Blair (1990:51–52) notes that 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 has acquired fairly uniform bilingual ability.

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, self-preservation, or it may be altruistic. 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. These are not totally independent variables, but the researchers have examined them individually as well as in combination for the sake of clarity in this discussion.

There are two components for any bilingualism study. The first is to identify the independent variables, those social characteristics that correlate with bilingualism, and their distribution throughout the community. This is found out through a demographic study based either on a government census or on a private census or sample conducted at the time of the survey.

The second step is assessing the dependent variable, the level of bilingualism that occurs in conjunction with the various characteristics, using different tools such as Sentence Repetition Testing (SRT) and self-evaluation questionnaires.

Hindi is the national language 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 sweetness and prestige. It is often said, ‘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 around the clock over radio broadcasting and television channels. Hindi has a great influence in India, except in some of the southernmost parts.

It was important to assess the Hindi bilingual proficiency of Mewari speakers because Hindi is a main language of higher education and economic advancement in the Mewar region. Hindi is the state language and official medium for instruction in schools in Rajasthan. Subsequently, those who have had greater access to education, particularly males and younger people, have likely become more bilingual in Hindi than women and older people who have not had the same opportunities for education.

4.2 Tested levels of bilingualism in Hindi

4.2.1 Procedures

One of the methods for testing bilingual proficiency is Sentence Repetition Testing (SRT). The SRT is a screening tool for a community-wide bilingual profile, not a diagnostic tool to assess an individual’s strengths and weaknesses in a second language. The Hindi SRT (developed by Varenkamp in 1991)
consists of fifteen sentences recorded in Hindi, preceded by three practice sentences. The test starts with short, simple sentences in Hindi, and the sentences become progressively longer and more complex in grammar. The test was administered individually with each subject listening through headphones. The use of headphones had a two-fold purpose. First, the use of headphones helps to screen out distracting noise, enabling the listener to hear the sentences more clearly. Second, the use of headphones prevents onlookers from also repeating the sentences at the same time as the subject. To further ensure accuracy of scoring by the test administrators, the responses of the subjects were recorded and scores were rechecked after completion of the field-testing.

A sample of at least five people should be tested for each category or combination of demographic factors that is selected for investigation by the researchers. Each category is determined considering the likely degree of influence on bilingual ability.

The SRT results are expressed as a point total out of the maximum 45 points. They are also expressed as an equivalent bilingual proficiency level or Reported Proficiency Evaluation (RPE) level. The RPE levels range from 0+ (very minimal proficiency) to 4+ (approaching the proficiency level of a native speaker) (Radloff 1991:152). Table 14 shows the Hindi SRT score ranges with corresponding RPE levels (Varenkamp 1991:9).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hindi SRT score (out of 45)</th>
<th>RPE level</th>
<th>Proficiency description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>44 – 45</td>
<td>4+</td>
<td>Near native speaker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38 – 43</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Excellent proficiency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32 – 37</td>
<td>3+</td>
<td>Very good, general proficiency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26 – 31</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Good, general proficiency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20 – 25</td>
<td>2+</td>
<td>Good, basic proficiency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 – 19</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Adequate, basic proficiency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>08 – 13</td>
<td>1+</td>
<td>Limited, basic proficiency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>04 – 07</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Minimal, limited proficiency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>00 – 03</td>
<td>0+</td>
<td>Very minimal proficiency</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Hatfield et. al. (2007:3) note that,

Development of a Sentence Repetition Test (SRT) (Radloff 1991) has resulted in wide employment of this efficient technique for estimating the bilingual proficiency profile of an entire community. The accepted standard is the Oral Proficiency Interview as developed by the U.S. Foreign Service Institute. The Second Language Oral Proficiency Evaluation (SLOPE) was adapted from it by SIL (1987) to be used in preliterate societies.

Although the RPE uses the same numerical system as the Foreign Service Institute (FSI), the Interagency Language Roundtable (ILR), and SLOPE, it is not identical. Reviews of SRT studies (Hatfield et. al. 2007) have shown that there is not a strict correlation between RPE and these measures of bilingual proficiency. This must be remembered when analysing and interpreting SRT results.

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9Due to problems with the quality of the test tape, the Hindi SRT was re-recorded on 3rd April 2000 with a mother tongue speaker of Hindi. Care was taken in order to have the same intonation, sound and flow of the sentences as on the original test tape. However, since the selected speaker had difficulty in understanding the original introduction, it was modified for the new recording.
4.2.2 **Variables and sampling for SRT**

The variables deemed most likely to influence bilingualism in this study were education, age, and gender. The researchers determined to investigate the variances between subjects from these subgroups: educated (5th standard and above) and uneducated (0 to 4th standard); younger (age 15 to 35) and older (age 36 and above); male and female.

The 'uneducated' category includes people who have attended school through 4th standard; it is likely that completing this level of education would be the minimum necessary for mother tongue Mewari speakers to develop functional literacy skills in Hindi. The reported percentages of 'literate' Mewari speakers probably include people with a range of skills, from the ability to write their names to the ability to read and write fluently in Hindi. Based on the definition of 'educated' used in this study, it seems reasonable to assume that the percentage of 'educated' Mewari speakers is lower than the reported percentages of 'literate' Mewari speakers. The Census of India does not provide statistics according to these educational categories, and time constraints on the survey fieldwork did not allow the researchers to collect this information during their visits to Bhadoo and Bichri.

Care was taken when administering the SRT to attempt to have at least five subjects tested within each cell of the matrix that resulted from the selection of these variables. However, in some instances this was not possible. It was difficult to find older, educated females, and in some cases, female and uneducated subjects were unwilling to take the test because of their professed inability in Hindi. The distribution of all sample subjects among demographic categories is shown in table 15.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 15. Distribution of all SRT subjects among demographic categories</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Male 75 (59%)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uneducated</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.2.3 **Demographic profiles of the SRT sites**

In this survey, the Hindi SRT was administered in two villages in the Mewar region, among mixed communities where Mewari is spoken. Bhadoo in Bhilwara district and Bichri in Udaipur district were the villages (see Map 3 in Appendix A).

**Bhadoo**

Bhadoo is a large and prosperous village situated around 25 kilometres northwest of the district headquarters, Bhilwara. Bhadoo would be considered a semi-urban village since it is developing from a rural to an urban village. Private buses run fairly frequently to this village. The state highway to Rajsamand is some distance from Bhadoo. The majority of the people living here are high caste people such as Rajputs and Brahmins. Bhils are also here, but in small numbers.

**Bichri**

Bichri is an urban village, situated around 13 kilometres northwest of the district headquarters, Udaipur. This village has three schools (two government and one private) and a hospital. As noted in section
1.2.2, the 1991 Census of India found that approximately 95 per cent of Mewari speakers were residing in rural locations and 5 per cent in urban locations. If Hindi bilingualism levels in Bhadoo and Bichri were found to be inadequate, further testing in more remote locations (where there are generally fewer opportunities to learn Hindi) would be unnecessary. The demographic details for Bhadoo and Bichri are summarised in tables 16 and 17. The numbers in these figures are taken from the 1991 Census of India.

Table 16. Demographic profile of Bhadoo village, Bhilwara district (Census of India 1991)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Total population</th>
<th>Literate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>1116</td>
<td>619</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>1174</td>
<td>251</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2290</td>
<td>870</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 17. Demographic profile of Bichri village, Udaipur district (Census of India 1991)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Total population</th>
<th>Literate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>1812</td>
<td>1244</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>1609</td>
<td>624</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>3421</td>
<td>1869</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tables 16 and 17 indicate that, according to the 1991 Census of India, the overall literacy rates in Bhadoo (47 per cent; semi-urban location) and Bichri (65 per cent; urban location) are higher than for Mewari speakers overall (33 per cent for the total population, the majority of whom live in rural locations; see section 1.2.2).

One resident of Bhadoo (secretary to the village head) said that 100 per cent of the people in this village know to write their name and 40 per cent of them can read the newspaper. Another Bhadoo village official said that the current population of the village is 4000 and the literacy rate is 70 per cent. The village head of Bichri reported that the current population of the village is around 3000, and 80 per cent of the people are literate. As in Bhadoo village, the younger generation in this village is also more educated than the older generation. One issue is the definition of ‘literate’. Some people may be considered literate if they can write their names. However, functional literacy goes beyond that basic skill to include the ability to read and understand a variety of materials. Regardless of definitions, there is a trend toward increasing levels of education among the younger generation.

4.2.4 Results and analysis

Tables 18 and 19 show the SRT results for Bhadoo and Bichri according to the separate demographic categories of education, sex, and age. The key for the abbreviations in these figures is: n = number of subjects, avg = average SRT score, sd = standard deviation, r = range of scores, and RPE = corresponding RPE level for the average SRT score.
Table 18. SRT results for Bhadoo subjects according to separate demographic categories

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Education</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Age</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Educated</td>
<td>Uneducated</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n = 37</td>
<td>n = 28</td>
<td>n = 41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>avg = 36</td>
<td>avg = 20</td>
<td>avg = 32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sd = 8</td>
<td>sd = 9</td>
<td>sd = 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r = 17–43</td>
<td>r = 4–40</td>
<td>r = 13–43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RPE = 3+</td>
<td>RPE = 2+</td>
<td>RPE = 3+</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 19. SRT results for Bichri subjects according to separate demographic categories

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Education</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Age</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Educated</td>
<td>Uneducated</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n = 35</td>
<td>n = 27</td>
<td>n = 34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>avg = 32</td>
<td>avg = 17</td>
<td>avg = 29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sd = 9</td>
<td>sd = 9</td>
<td>sd = 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r = 7–43</td>
<td>r = 1–40</td>
<td>r = 6–43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RPE = 3+</td>
<td>RPE = 2</td>
<td>RPE = 3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The results for subjects in Bhadoo and Bichri are fairly similar. RPE levels were identical between the educated, female, and older subgroups in the two sites. There was a half-level difference between the uneducated, male, and younger subgroups. These differences are not significant enough to warrant separate analysis of the findings, so the remainder of the discussion will focus on analysis of results for Bhadoo and Bichri subjects combined. Table 20 shows the combined SRT results according to separate demographic categories.

Table 20. Combined SRT results according to separate demographic categories

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Education</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Age</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Educated</td>
<td>Uneducated</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n = 72</td>
<td>n = 55</td>
<td>n = 75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>avg = 34</td>
<td>avg = 19</td>
<td>avg = 31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sd = 9</td>
<td>sd = 9</td>
<td>sd = 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r = 7–43</td>
<td>r = 1–40</td>
<td>r = 6–43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RPE = 3+</td>
<td>RPE = 2</td>
<td>RPE = 3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Education appears to have the strongest influence on Hindi bilingual ability among the Mewari subjects who were tested. Educated subjects scored at RPE level 3+ (‘very good, general proficiency’) while uneducated subjects scored at RPE level 2 (‘adequate, basic proficiency’). Sex and age seem to show less influence; male subjects (RPE level 3) scored a half-level higher than female subjects (RPE level 2+), as did younger subjects compared to older subjects.

Table 21 shows the SRT results according to three-way combinations of the demographic factors.
Table 21. SRT results according to three-way combinations of demographic categories

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Educated</th>
<th>Uneducated</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Younger</td>
<td>Older</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Male</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n = 31</td>
<td>n = 17</td>
<td>n = 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>avg = 37</td>
<td>avg = 32</td>
<td>avg = 24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sd = 5</td>
<td>sd = 10</td>
<td>sd = 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r = 23–43</td>
<td>r = 6–41</td>
<td>r = 8–40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RPE = 3+</td>
<td>RPE = 3+</td>
<td>RPE = 2+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Female</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n = 22</td>
<td>n = 2</td>
<td>n = 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>avg = 33</td>
<td>avg = 22</td>
<td>avg = 15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sd = 9</td>
<td>sd = 21</td>
<td>sd = 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r = 17–44</td>
<td>r = 7–36</td>
<td>r = 3–29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RPE = 3+</td>
<td>RPE = 2+</td>
<td>RPE = 2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Three subgroups scored at RPE level 3+: younger, educated males; older, educated males; and younger, educated females. The remaining subgroups, including all uneducated subjects, scored at RPE level 2+ or 2.

Only two older, educated females could be tested, since Mewari women who fit into this category are still relatively rare. The high standard deviation (21) is due to the large difference in the scores of these subjects. Because there were only two people in this subgroup, valid comparisons with the other subgroups are not possible.

Looking at the distribution of SRT subjects among RPE levels can provide further insights into the bilingual profile of a community. Table 22 gives these results numerically. Figures 1 and 2 illustrate these distributions among all subjects and among educated versus uneducated subjects.

Table 22. Distribution of SRT subjects among RPE levels

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RPE level</th>
<th>0+</th>
<th>1+</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>2+</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>3+</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>4+</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total (n = 127)</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educated (n = 72)</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uneducated (n = 55)</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>22%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male (n = 75)</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>8%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>26%</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female (n = 52)</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>19%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>12%</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Younger (n = 72)</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Older (n = 55)</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>17%</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The total sample shows an interesting pattern of distribution. There are three ‘peaks’ at RPE levels 2+, 3+, and 4+. The highest percentage of subjects (21 per cent) scored at RPE level 3+, with a range of 2 to 14 per cent at each of the other levels.

Figure 2 shows broad RPE groupings and the percentages of subjects within these groupings.

Higher percentages of uneducated subjects scored at RPE levels 0+ through 3. There was a sharp reversal in this pattern at RPE levels 3+ through 4+. No uneducated subjects scored at the highest RPE level. The highest percentage of educated subjects at any single level was 35 per cent at RPE level 3+. For uneducated subjects, this figure was 24 per cent at RPE level 1+.

Figure 3 shows broad RPE groupings and the percentages of subjects within these groupings.
A majority of subjects within the uneducated, female, and older categories fall into the grouping below RPE level 3+. This is most striking among the uneducated, with 95 per cent of subjects testing at these lower levels. About three-fourths of female and older subjects (73 per cent in each category) also tested below RPE level 3+. This is the case for a majority (57 per cent) of the total sample as well.

Educated subjects are the category with the largest majority (72 per cent) at RPE 3+ and above; 56 per cent of younger subjects and 55 per cent of male subjects are in this grouping. Education does not necessarily guarantee the ‘very good, general proficiency’ of RPE level 3+; the remaining 28 per cent of the educated subjects scored below that level.

**4.2.5 Conclusions**

Since the original development of the Hindi SRT, it has generally been assumed that an RPE level of 3+ (‘very good, general proficiency’) is the minimum necessary to be able to use complex written materials in Hindi effectively. The 127 subjects tested on the Hindi SRT in this survey represent Mewari speakers in one semi-urban and one urban location, where education is more accessible and other modes of learning Hindi are also available. This study did not include subjects from less urbanized locations. At present, it seems likely that there are lower levels of Hindi bilingualism in more interior villages, even where schools are being established. During this survey, the researchers asked teachers in some of the interior villages, ‘Do you use Mewari to explain the lessons to your children in the school?’ The teachers responded, ‘If the children are to understand the lessons, it is necessary to explain them in Mewari.’

Among the Mewari speakers who were tested, education appears to have the greatest influence on bilingual ability in Hindi. This is expected since Hindi is the official medium of education in the Mewar region. With the trend toward increasing levels of education, Hindi bilingual ability probably will continue to increase gradually among Mewaris. However, education cannot be separated completely from the factors of sex and age, since males and younger people have had greater opportunities to attend school. Other factors such as travel, interactions with Hindi speakers, and exposure to Hindi television and radio programmes probably also contribute to bilingual ability, but these factors are difficult to measure and were not part of this study.

The results of this study indicate that educated, male, and younger subjects generally show higher Hindi bilingualism levels than uneducated, female, and younger subjects. The profile of community bilingualism in Hindi that emerges is that many Mewari speakers appear to have ‘basic’ to ‘good’ skills
(as defined by RPE skill level descriptions) suited to meet their needs for communication. However, it seems likely that a majority of Mewari speakers would not be able to use complex written materials in Hindi effectively.

4.3 Self-reported and observed bilingualism in Hindi

4.3.1 Questionnaires

A few bilingualism questions were included in the LUAV questionnaire to assess the self-reported bilingualism levels of the subjects and to investigate the use of Hindi among Mewari speakers.

**How many languages do you speak?**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total subjects</th>
<th>Monolingual</th>
<th>Bilingual</th>
<th>Multilingual</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>6 (10%)</td>
<td>37 (62%)</td>
<td>17 (28%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Most of the subjects (62 per cent) said they were bilingual, while some (28 per cent) said they were multilingual (speaking Marathi, Gujarati and some other neighbouring languages). Only 10 per cent of the subjects were monolingual, speaking only Mewari.

**How did you learn Hindi?**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total subjects</th>
<th>From school</th>
<th>Through contact</th>
<th>NA</th>
<th>Others</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>39 (65%)</td>
<td>10 (17%)</td>
<td>8 (13%)</td>
<td>3 (5%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*NA = not applicable (for the uneducated and those who do not know Hindi).

Most subjects (65 per cent) said that they have learned Hindi in school. It was mostly those who did not go on to secondary school and the uneducated subjects who mentioned that they have learned Hindi through contact or by talking with others.

**What are the main occasions when you use Hindi?**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total subjects</th>
<th>Outside</th>
<th>Government officials</th>
<th>School</th>
<th>Market/working places</th>
<th>NA</th>
<th>Others</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>24 (40%)</td>
<td>8 (13%)</td>
<td>6 (10%)</td>
<td>6 (10%)</td>
<td>8 (13%)</td>
<td>8 (13%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*To outsiders or when going outside the village.

The main occasion mentioned by subjects for using Hindi was with outsiders or when going outside the village. Other situations for using Hindi were speaking with government officials, attending school, and going to the market or work.

**What kind of books do you read in Hindi?**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total subjects</th>
<th>Religious</th>
<th>Stories/novels</th>
<th>All types/no choice</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>NA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>14 (23%)</td>
<td>11 (18%)</td>
<td>10 (17%)</td>
<td>6 (10%)</td>
<td>19 (32%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Of the 41 subjects who are able to read, 14 said that they read religious books in Hindi and 11 of them said that they read novels and stories in Hindi. Ten subjects did not have any specific choice.

**Are you able to fully understand the news in Hindi that is on television and the radio?**

All of the subjects who said they could speak Hindi (54 out of 60) answered ‘yes’ to this question.

**Is there any situation in which you are not able to answer in Hindi?**

Of the 54 subjects who said they could speak Hindi, 31 (57 per cent) said they could always answer in Hindi, while 22 (41 per cent) said that there are situations in which they are not able to answer in Hindi. One subject did not respond to this question.

### 4.3.2 Informal interviews and observations

Although there are Hindi medium schools in the Mewar region, often the teachers have to explain everything in Mewari, especially in the interior villages. The researchers, who also speak Hindi as a second language, were able to interview people from interior villages using Hindi, but there was a communication gap between them. It was not easy for the researchers to communicate with many of the villagers.

### 4.3.3 Conclusions

Ninety per cent (54 out of 60) of the LUAV subjects said they can speak Hindi. They reported doing so in situations that bring them into contact with non-Mewari speakers. All of these subjects said they can understand everything they hear in Hindi in radio and television programmes; 57 per cent said they can respond in Hindi in every situation. Although self-assessed Hindi bilingual ability appears fairly high among Mewari speakers, informal observations and testing with the Hindi SRT tend to contradict these perceptions.

### 5 Summary of findings and recommendations

#### 5.1 Summary of findings

##### 5.1.1 Dialect areas

It appears likely that materials developed in a South-western Mewari dialect, such as Dindoli Mewari, would be adequately comprehensible and acceptable to speakers of the Northern and South-western Mewari dialects. The lexical similarity percentages within the Mewari varieties compared on this survey were fairly high (81 to 97 per cent). These varieties showed 69 to 91 per cent similarity with some of the other regional dialects and languages (Wagri-Dhavdi, Marwari, Rajasthani-Dingl, Hadothi, and Malvi). Similarities were lower with Hindi (59 to 67 per cent) and Gujarati (60 to 65 per cent). Many subjects identified Chittorgarh Mewari as the standard Mewari speech variety. Comprehension testing of a narrative text from Dindoli village, Chittorgarh district demonstrated that this variety was well understood and accepted by subjects from two test sites, representing Northern and South-western Mewari.
5.1.2 **Language use, attitudes, and vitality**

The LUAV questionnaire responses indicated that subjects are using Mewari in key domains such as the home, village and religion. Hindi is occasionally used in those domains, but is mainly reserved for use with non-Mewari speakers. The attitudes of most Mewari subjects towards their mother tongue were very positive, although they strongly preferred Hindi for education. Some subjects felt that Hindi materials were adequate, but several people also expressed interest in Mewari materials and programmes. Although a few subjects thought that future generations might shift to Hindi, many believe that Mewari will continue to be spoken. The vitality of Mewari thus appears strong at the present time.

5.1.3 **Bilingualism**

Although self-assessed Hindi bilingual ability was fairly high among Mewari subjects, informal observations and testing with the Hindi SRT tended to contradict these perceptions. The SRT was administered only in an urban and a semi-urban village, where the results indicated that more than half of the Mewari speakers in those locations, especially the uneducated, probably would not be able to use Hindi materials effectively. Mewari speakers living in more remote locations, with less access to education, are likely to have lower levels of bilingual ability in Hindi than the levels seen in the two test sites on this survey.

Even with increasing levels of education and literacy, it is likely that there are still several hundred thousand Mewari speakers (whose total population is more than two million) who would benefit from language development in Mewari.

5.2 **Recommendations**

5.2.1 **For language development**

Based on the results of the Hindi bilingualism study and the Language Use, Attitudes, and Vitality study among Mewari speakers, the researchers recommend that a Mewari language programme be initiated. Based on the results of the Dialect Areas study, they recommend that this programme be started in a central Mewari variety, such as Dindoli Mewari of Chittorgarh district. Care should be taken to assess the understanding of these materials throughout the Mewar region as they are developed. This would be especially important in the Western and North-eastern dialect areas, where comprehension testing of the Dindoli text could not be conducted due to time constraints on the fieldwork of this survey.

In addition to producing written materials, language developers may find it worthwhile to consider producing audio and video materials, since Mewari subjects expressed interest in radio and television programmes in their mother tongue. Such materials would also be accessible to uneducated Mewari speakers.

5.2.2 **For literacy**

Based on the results of the Hindi bilingualism study, the researchers conclude that several hundred thousand Mewari speakers, especially the uneducated, could benefit from a vernacular literacy programme. Therefore, they recommend that such a programme be initiated. Hindi is highly valued and is the medium of education in the Mewar region, and there are already some Mewari publications available in Devanagri script. Therefore, the researchers recommend use of the Devanagri script in a vernacular literacy programme. Producing diglot materials in Mewari and Hindi may also help in the effectiveness of such a programme for Mewari speakers.
Appendix A. Maps

Map 1. Location of survey area
Map 2. Wordlist, HTT, and RTT sites

Map 2 Word List, HTT and RTT sites
Map 3. LUAV and SRT locations
Map 4. Approximate locations of reported Mewari dialects

Map 4: Approximate Locations of Reported Mewari Dialects
Appendix B. Wordlists

Lexical similarity counting procedures\(^\text{10}\)

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 [ə], (b) word initial, word final, or intervocalic [h, f], (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: 5, 16, 29, 35, 42, 50, 57, 74, 75, 79, 81, 105, 110, 146, 182–189, 191–201, and 209.

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:
   - \[d, t\] \[z, r, r\] \[s, s, s, j\] \[s, ts, tf\] \[p, p\]
   - \[b, \beta\] \[b\] with \[v, v, w\] \[v, v\] \[u, v\]

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’.

Symbols used for wordlists in the wordlist transcriptions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Symbol</th>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Village</th>
<th>Tehsil</th>
<th>District</th>
<th>State</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Y</td>
<td>Mewari-Dhevdi</td>
<td>Gorana</td>
<td>Jhadol</td>
<td>Udaipur</td>
<td>Rajasthan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>w</td>
<td>Mewari</td>
<td>Kannouj</td>
<td>Kannouj</td>
<td>Chittorgarh</td>
<td>Rajasthan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y</td>
<td>Mewari</td>
<td>Sangad</td>
<td>Sangad Kala</td>
<td>Rajsamand</td>
<td>Rajasthan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>Mewari</td>
<td>Padarada</td>
<td>Gogunda</td>
<td>Udaipur</td>
<td>Rajasthan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l</td>
<td>Mewari</td>
<td>Dindoli</td>
<td>Rasmi</td>
<td>Chittorgarh</td>
<td>Rajasthan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>z</td>
<td>Mewari</td>
<td>Kalsas</td>
<td>Bandeda</td>
<td>Bhilwara</td>
<td>Rajasthan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>Mewari</td>
<td>Dholpura</td>
<td>Devgarh</td>
<td>Rajsamand</td>
<td>Rajasthan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>Mewari</td>
<td>Ekingpura</td>
<td>Bhilwara</td>
<td>Bhilwara</td>
<td>Rajasthan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c</td>
<td>Mewari-Khadi</td>
<td>Kishanji ka Kheda</td>
<td>Mandalgarh</td>
<td>Bhilwara</td>
<td>Rajasthan</td>
</tr>
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<td>Wagri-Dhavdi</td>
<td>Bannoda</td>
<td>Salumber</td>
<td>Udaipur</td>
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<td>Hurda</td>
<td>Hurda</td>
<td>Bhilwara</td>
<td>Rajasthan</td>
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<td>Marwari</td>
<td>Khor</td>
<td>Pali</td>
<td>Pali</td>
<td>Rajasthan</td>
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<td>Ajmer</td>
<td>Ajmer</td>
<td>Ajmer</td>
<td>Rajasthan</td>
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<td>Kalgav</td>
<td>Rawatbhata</td>
<td>Chittorgarh</td>
<td>Rajasthan</td>
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<td>Badad</td>
<td>Prathapgarh</td>
<td>Chittorgarh</td>
<td>Rajasthan</td>
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<td>Jesingpura</td>
<td>Nimuch</td>
<td>Mandsaur</td>
<td>Madhya Pradesh</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Bhunyakhedi</td>
<td>Mandsaur</td>
<td>Mandsaur</td>
<td>Madhya Pradesh</td>
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<td>Pathera</td>
<td>Baran</td>
<td>Baren</td>
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<td>Godra</td>
<td>Hindoli</td>
<td>Bundi</td>
<td>Rajasthan</td>
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<tr>
<td>h</td>
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<tr>
<td>g</td>
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## Wordlist transcriptions

### 1. body
- **dil** [GJMXYcejklwyz]
- **ten** [J]
- **cevir** [lw]
- **cevid5** [i]
- **jarir** [egh]
- **serir** [mny]
- **serir** [bf]
- **dehi** [di]
- **beden** [z]
- **t*obda** [j]
- **cek*el** [z]
- **rob*jo** [j]

### 2. head
- **sir** [h]
- **mat*e** [ik]
- **mat*b*a** [GYbcdefmnwyz]
- **mat*b*c** [JMXj]
- **mat*b*ü** [g]
- **b*ed*3a** [w]

### 3. hair
- **bal** [GYcehiklmwnwy]
- **ba** [Xjz]
- **ba** [g]
- **ba** [Xjz]
- **run*ja** [d]
- **run*t*ja** [jw]
- **run*ț*ja** [Yciz]
- **kec** [Ybiklw]
- **kes** [Md]
- **kef** [Jf]
- **d3*ț*a** [w]

### 4. face
- **mõh** [g]
- **mû** [fm]
- **mûh** [h]
- **mok*h** [h]
- **modfi*ü** [g]
- **mun*ḍa** [kzw]
- **mun*ɖ*e** [bi]
- **mun*ɖ*ö** [Jw]
- **mu*ɖ** [k]
- **mun*ɖ*a** [cdgy]
- **mun*ɖ*ö** [j]
- **mun*ɖ*ö** [GXYelny]
- **unj iarou** [M]
- **ť*j*ero** [g]
- **ť*ja*ha*a** [h]
- **t*je*re** [i]
- **t*ɔ*ba*nd*e** [w]

### 5. eye
- **a*kh** [J]
- **a*ŋkj*ja** [Xe]
- **a*kh** [fk]
- **a*kh** [GMYbcdfhilmnwyz]
- **a*ŋkj*ja** [jwz]
- **a*kh*ö** [y]
- **a*ŋkj*ö** [Gg]

### 6. ear
- **kan** [GJMXYbcdefghilmnwnwyz]
- **kon** [G]
- **kan** [GJMXYbcdefghilmnwnwyz]
- **kañ** [k]
- **kañ*ęd*ö** [gw]
- **kañ*ö*je** [Ybcjwz]
- **kañ*ö*da** [k]
- **kañ*ö*č*ö** [X]

### 7. nose
- **nuk** [J]
- **nuk** [XYbcdefghijlmnwnwyz]
- **nuk*h** [GMk]

### 8. mouth
- **mõh** [g]
- **muh** [n]
- **mü** [fklm]
- **mû** [h]
- **mun*ɖ*ö** [bcikw]
- **mun*ɖ*ö** [jlmw]
- **mu*ɖ** [i]
- **mun*ɖ*ö** [d]
- **mun*ɖ*ö** [J]
- **mun*ɖ*ö** [Y]
- **mun*ɖ*ö** [GXYeyz]
- **mun*ɖ*ö** [M]

### 9. tooth
- **dañt** [g]
- **da*č** [Jdmn]
- **da*č** [GMXYbcdfhilmnwyz]
- **d*ęt** [G]
- **be*či*si** [jz]
- **ba*či*si** [w]
10. tongue
dʒi:bi [JMXYbcdfklyz]
dʒi:bi: [G]
dʒi:biə [gh]
dʒi: [i]
dʒe:ban [Jz]
dʒe:ban [Ylw]
dʒe: [G]
dʒivən [m]
dʒevən [Jz]
dʒivən [Ylw]
dʒivən [m]

11. chest
no entry [Jn]
ci:na [i]
și:na [X]
și:na [jkm]
si:ne [w]
sa:ti [k]
tʃe:ti [MYezy]
tʃa:ti [Gdhwv]
tʃa:tiə [bcfiilm]
ʃi: [G]

12. belly
pe:t [h]
pə:t [g]
pə:t [GJMXYbcdefjklmnwyz]
ɔdʒro [i]

13. arm
bã [f]
bãh [Mh]
bãu [c]
hat [GXbdlelmwyz]
hatə [Jghk]
hatəə [Y]
budʒə [w]
kʰuŋə [j]

14. elbow
kʰuŋi [cijkwy]
koh añi [h]
kóni [di]
kóni [g]
kóni [f]
kuní [GJXYbelmz]
kuni [n]
kūni [M]

15. palm
he:təli [GM]
he:t′elī [i]
he:telī [lm]
he:teri [J]
he:t′elī [XYbcejknwyz]
he:t′elə [w]
he:t′elı [dgh]

16. finger
ungəli [Y]
̣guli [h]
̣ngəli [dw]
̣ngəli:jā [ewz]
̣ngli [GMYXbcgkl]
̣nglija [j]
̣ngri [Jmn]
̣nguli [Gg]
̣ngli [Gy]
̣ngli [fw]

17. fingernail
nek [ikn]
nek [GJMbhdjlmwyz]
nek [g]
nek [i]
nek [c]
nek [Yez]
nek [h]
nek [f]

18. leg
[aw:] [fw]
[aw:] [Mh]
peg [GJMYbcdfgijklmnwyz]
pe: [e]
pe: [h]
pe: [h]

19. skin
kʰa:l [MYklwy]
ko:kʰa:di [w]
sama:də [n]
sa:ndi [ik]
samdi [m]
tʃa:me:də [J]
tʃa:mdə [c]
tʃa:madə [fl]
tʃa:madə [dj]
tʃa:madə [GMYbegy]
20. bone

hadddi  [dl]
hadddi  [n]
hadddi  [ey]
hadddi  [Y]
hadddi  [GJ}
hadddi  [j]
hadddi  [i]
hadddi  [h]
hadddi  [n]

21. heart

del  [X]
dil  [fn]
dil  [GMYbegyz]
hija  [w]
hija  [G]
hriqai  [h]
raadai  [g]
keled3e  [jm]
kal3ed3  [G]
kald3a  [b]
kald3e  [k]
kald3o  [l]
kal3d3a  [Ydi]
kald3e  [w]
men  [Jw]
d3iw  [cw]
bhuura  [c]

22. blood

bhi  [w]
lohi  [Mg]
loi  [GJbcdgkl]
loi  [XYeijmyz]
loji  [fw]
lui  [n]
kun  [h]

25. village

gam  [JYdgiklmnwy]
gam  [M]
gaũ  [h]
gav  [Gd]
gav̓  [bceflwz]
gav̓  [J]
gav̓  [jw]
gav̓  [X]
gav̓  [w]
gav̓  [jw]
kẹedè  [cj]

26. house

gfur  [GJMYbcdefghikmnwy]
mengri  [f]
kevła  [G]
medì  [I]

28. door

bęňo  [w]
baňa  [fkl]
baňa  [G]
baňa  [m]
baňa  [y]
barňa  [c]
barnũ  [g]
bannya  [i]
bannya  [fkl]
baňa  [m]
barne  [w]
barňa  [c]
bano  [n]
bano  [Y]
bano  [J]
banu  [e]
bano  [bz]
barnũ  [g]
bano  [n]
bano  [Y]
bano  [J]
banu  [e]
barne  [w]
barnc: [bz]
bañc: [n]
banقن: [Y]
banو: [J]
banع: [e]
barnc: [bz]
bكن: [X]
Darvadza: [y]
Darvaza: [h]
kuna: [m]
kuna: [l]
Kema: [JY]
kuna: [m]
karch: [dfj]
ked: [M]
haچ: [G]
po: [c]

30. broom
bfuari: [y]
buara: [Ycefw]
baru: [Gz]
baru: [J]
baru: [bdl]
baru: [x]
baru: [M]
baru: [w]
baru: [l]
baru: [y]
baru: [Ycefw]
baru: [Gz]
baru: [jk]
baru: [bdl]
baru: [X]
baru: [M]
harndżari: [m]
harndżari: [Y]
harndżari: [n]
savançi: [g]
dżardż: [g]
dżadż: [h]
kuṭja: [w]
kuṭđe: [l]
kuṭđo: [z]
Pəana: [i]
hańe: [k]
san: [k]

31. mortar
ukxę: [l]
uka: [G]
ukxę: [k]
uklı: [Xbfjz]
uklı: [Yiy]
ukra: [n]
ukro: [m]
ünkro: [J]
okali: [Gehw]
ukla: [My]
uklı: [d]
ukla: [k]
ukli: [c]
ukra: [n]
okali: [Gehw]
ukla: [My]
uklı: [l]
uka: [G]
32. pestle

muj [d]
mud [J]
muj [Yi]
mus [ikl]
muj [y]
muj [d]
muj [Yi]
muj [G]
mus [ikl]
muj [y]
mus [b]
mus [fj]
mus [f]
mus [Xz]
mus [Mcy]
mus [e]
mus [h]
mus [b]
mus [fj]
mus [f]
mus [w]
mus [Xz]
mus [Mcy]
mus [e]
mus [b]
mus [fj]
mus [f]
mus [h]
mus [b]
mus [fj]
mus [f]
mut [l]
lok [h]
pater [g]

k'ul [g]
g'eti [m]
hama [n]
homalo [G]
desta [w]

33. hammer

het'oqi [MYbcdefijkl]
het'oqi [k]
hetoqi [J]
hetodi [n]
harodi [ghyz]
g'an [h]
g'anə [m]

34. knife

sinj [y]
sekku [Gkm]
saku [Y]
tseku [GJMXYbcdefijnwy]
taku [hz]
taku [g]
taro [g]
taku [g]
taro [g]
turi [ghj]

35. axe

karađi [n]
karađi [ik]
karađi [J]
karađo [my]
karađi [c]
karađi [Y]
k'arwađi [X]
karađi [ey]
karađi [flw]
karađi [ik]
karađo [my]
karađi [Y]
k'arwađi [X]
karađi [ey]
karađi [flw]
karađi [ik]
karađo [my]
karađi [Y]
k'arwađi [X]
karađi [ey]
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41. sun
hurendʒ [JYbdilwz]
hurendʒ [Gkw]
surendʒ [d]
surendʒ [Mbcejnwy]
surendʒ [Xgh]
surjə [gm]
surendʒ [Gfz]
den [JXYm]
den baudʒi [Ym]
denbarsi [i]
denbardzi [k]
dado [Y]

42. moon
sandə [y]
tjanəd [n]
tjanəd [J]
tjando [g]
tjandə [GYbcdfjlwyz]
tjand baudʒi [z]
tjando [M]
tjandəə [g]
tjandə [G]
sandə [Yk]
sando [y]
tjandə [n]
tjanəd [J]
tjando [g]
tjandə [GYbcdfjlwyz]
tjand baudʒi [z]
tjando [M]
tjadə [h]
tjnad [G]
tjendrema [w]
tjendrema [cm]
tjendraма [Xel]
tjandəə [g]
tjendra ма [h]

43. sky
akaç [bcfjkl]
akaš [g]
akaʃ [Ydhw]

44. star
țara [Jn]
țara [GMXYdeghkzy]
țaro [g]
țara [bcijm]
țate [flw]
țaro [G]

45. rain
me [Gik]
berke [I]
berkəa [Xbcfkwz]
berkəe [Y]
berkəa [Gj]
baraș [h]
berkəe [M]
berkəe [X]
verka [m]
verke [dkl]
varkəe [Yy]
warșa [h]
berfaț [G]
varașə [g]
verfaț [n]
panțpedșirio [J]

46. water
pani [Jn]
pani [GXbcdefgijklmwy]
pini [h]
pəni [GM]
dʒel [w]
dʒəl [h]
b[u] [G]

47. river
neđi [m]
neđi [GYbjlny]
nađi [gh]
48. cloud

bad[ [M]
bad[ [h]
bad[ [Geel]
bad[ [GXYI]
bad[ [fjkwyxz]
vadara [n]
vad[ [g]
vad[ [y]
vad[ [i]
vad[ [m]
vad[ [J]
bad[ [M]
bad[ [b]
bad[ [h]
bad[ [Geel]
bad[ [GXYI]
bad[ [fjkwyxz]
vadara [n]
vad[ [g]
vad[ [y]
vad[ [d]
vad[ [i]
vadaro [J]

49. lightning

bid[ [k]
vid[ [k]
bidzali [h]
bidzli [y]
bidzli [fi]
bidzeji [Mbji]
bidzli [GXYciklz]
bidzlo [e]
vidzari [Jn]
vidzli [d]
vidzri [m]
widzali [Yg]

50. rainbow

dennuk [Yd]
denus [n]
denuj [J]
d"enufj [MYemwy]
d"enufban [n]
d"enek [bcfkyxz]
m"rada"anus [h]
m"red"enufj [Gjlwz]
denus [n]
denufj [J]
d"enufj [MYemwy]
d"enufban [n]
m"rada"anus [h]
m"red"enufj [Gjlwz]
meigfid"anufja [g]
"ctrenkjo [X]
samesola [i]
d"en"adirijo [G]

51. wind

bajro [I]
baira [c]
bairo [MXjyz]
bajro [Xfw]
bajro [b]
belo [e]
veiro [I]
vaio [G]
vaio [GYmy]
vaire [G]
vaio [d]
vaio [k]
veiro [Jn]
waio [g]
pueun [i]
pauwan [g]
pauan [g]
havar [g]
pueun [i]
pauan [g]
havar [g]
hava [h]
belo [e]
vare [i]

52. stone

beq[e [e]
bajo [Y]
baja [d]
baq[e [MXy]
bq[e [w]
bq[e [i]
### 53. path

| b'aţa  | [cm] |
| b'aţa | [n] |
| b'aţu | [fkl] |
| b'aţo | [J] |
| b'aţa | [Gmz] |
| pət'hər | [gh] |
| paņa | [Y] |

### 56. smoke

| ġuā | [d] |
| ġ'ūō | [m] |
| ġ'ua | [Jn] |
| ġ'ūa | [Yhiklwy] |
| ġ'uo | [G] |
| ġ'ūō | [M] |
| ġūa | [G] |
| ġ'ūāda | [Yf] |
| ġ'ūādō | [bjklz] |
| ġ'ūmādō | [g] |
| ġ'ūmādō | [g] |
| ġ'ūndāda | [ce] |
| ġ'ūndādō | [X] |
| geď | [Y] |

### 57. ash

| rak̂b | [gh] |
| rak̂ja | [g] |
| rak̂'oṭi | [n] |
| rek̂'oṭe | [Jf] |
| rak̂'oḍi | [y] |
| rak̂'oḍo | [Y] |
| ruk̂'oḍa | [i] |
| banī | [bcfj] |
| banī | [e] |
| banī | [Xz] |
| banī | [w] |
| b'ānī | [I] |
| ġaṇi | [d] |
| vanī | [Y] |
| vanī | [k] |
| vanī | [km] |
| vanī | [My] |
| van | [y] |
| vanī | [J] |
| banī | [bcfj] |
| banī | [e] |
| banī | [Xz] |
| banī | [w] |
| b'ānī | [I] |

### 58. mud

| ġeďa | [i] |
| ġeďo | [Yy] |
| gadę | [k] |
| kāḍō | [el] |
63. root

god_ [cy]
mul_ [g]
dʒed_ [GJMYbcdefiijnwz]
dʒeθe_ [jlw]
dʒedəla_ [y]
dʒedọ_ [k]
musaọ_ [X]

64. thorn

kọto_ [J]
kerọ_ [w]
katọ_ [j]
kata_ [Ybcefil]
kọtọ_ [n]
kate_ [k]
kọto_ [gmz]
kọọ_ [GMy]
kọọ_ [X]
koțọ_ [G]
culọ_ [z]
huí_ [lw]
huji_ [Y]
hula_ [d]
sui_ [l]

65. flower

ϕul_ [gʰ]
ful_ [cf]
pʰul_ [GJbdkmnwy]
pʰuθ_ [Y]
pʰul_ [GJbdkmnwy]
pʰuθu_ [i]
pʰuθ_ [M]
pʰuθọ_ [Y]
pʰuθẹọ_ [X]
pʰuθẹθe_ [lwc]

pʰuθẹθa_ [j]
ṭẹọ_ [X]
pesamb_ [e]

66. fruit

ϕel_ [g]
pʰel_ [GMYcerikw]
fei_ [fi]
pʰel_ [GJbdhlmn]
pʰel_ [GJbdhlmn]
pʰel_ [GMYcerikw]

67. mango

am_ [hw]
amba_ [c]
amba_ [jyz]
ambo_ [GX]
ambo_ [MYeki]
keri_ [MYg]
keri_ [Jn]
keri_ [bcdfijklmz]
guŋgni_ [i]

68. banana

ke[a_ [Ybcfijwz]
kel_ [GXklz]
ke[u_ [g]
ke[la_ [dhy]
ke[ro_ [Jn]
ke[ro_ [m]
ke[ọ_ [M]

69. wheat

guũ_ [cijklmnmw]
gahu_ [My]
gau_ [e]
gaũ_ [Gz]
geũ_ [h]
geũ_ [Ybdf]
gʰẽũ_ [J]
gʰaũ_ [Xg]
d̪an_ [k]

dʒer_ [J]
dʒu₄ar_ [n]
bedʒeri_ [g]
bedʒari_ [h]
badʒra_ [f]
badʒre_ [bdelwzy]

71. rice
soka [my]
soke [k]
suka [i]
tʃʊka [bl]
tʃʊka [w]
tʃʊksa [M]
sawel [G]
tʃɛwel [h]
tʃawel [dj]
tʃawel [cfwz]
tʃawel [e]
tʃawel [Gg]
tʃawelɔ [MX]
tʃawer [n]

72. potato
alu [n]
allu [dl]
alu [GJMXbcfhiikmwyz]
alu [Y]
bəjaka [g]

73. eggplant
beʃa [z]
bɛʃa [e]
bɛʃa [X]
bɛʃtʃa [f]
bɛʃtʃa [c]
bɛŋgɛŋ [jz]
bɛŋgɛn [h]
reŋgɛŋa [Yi]
reŋgɛŋa [GMbcdy]
reŋgɛŋa [g]
reŋgɛŋa [Gw]
reŋgɛn [klz]
reŋkɛŋa [J]
bidʒaru [Jn]
bidʒaru [m]

74. groundnut
mũmpʰɛli [n]
mũmpʰɛli [G]
mũmpʰɛli [y]
mũmpʰɛli [M]
mũmpʰɛli [ɔ]
mũmpʰɛli [MXY]
mũmpʰɛli [J]

75. chili
meres [i]
meretʃ [c]
mersa [Yk]
mersa [G]
mersa [G]
mɛɾʃja [Yw]
mɛɾʃja [Jn]
mɛɾʃfe [f]
mɛɾʃʃi [d]
mɛɾʃʃa [jʃ]
mɛɾʃʃa [b]
mɛɾʃʃa [m]
marəʃʃja [ce]
maɾʃʃe [z]
maɾʃʃa [y]
maɾʃʃu [g]
miraʃʃ [M]
murtsi [ʃ]
petʃkaʃi [X]

76. turmeric
heʃɛd [dfwz]
heʃedi [y]
heʃdi [Gcjk]
heʃad [i]
heʃaʃə [Mb]
heʃaʃi [e]
heʃdi [h]
heʃado [XY]
hereʃd [Jn]
hereʃd [m]
haʃdɔ [g]
77. garlic
leçen [Yeyz]
leçenə [X]
lehən [Y]
lejən [n]
lesnə [bcdfjglw]
lesnə [GM]
lesnə [Jikmz]
leçen [Yeyz]
leçenə [X]
lehəson [h]
lesnə [bcdfjglw]
lesnə [GM]
lesnə [Jikmz]
leson [h]

81. cabbage
bendəgobi [J]
bend gobi [f]
gobfii [h]
kabudʒ [g]
penəgobi [Y]
penəgobi [i]
petța gobi [Jn]
petțegobi [GMXbcdfjklmwy]
karam karlo [e]

78. onion
pjadʒ [h]
dungaši [g]
kanđa [n]
kand [J]
kəŋda [Xbjyz]
kəŋdə [M]
kanđe [k]
kanđa [cdefiw]
kanđa [GYIm]
kanța [w]
kondə [G]

82. oil
tel [gh]
tel [GJMYbcdhjklmnwy]
tel [Xe]

79. cauliflower
fulgobfii [h]
fulgobi [fj]
obi [MXYblwy]
obi [Jcdimnz]
p'ulgobi [behwyzy]
p'ulgobi [Gk]
ľauwar [g]

83. salt
luŋ [JMXbcdfjklmwy]
luŋə [G]
luŋ [Y]
ņuŋə [ez]
mït'ũ [g]
nemak [h]

84. meat
maç [mz]
mas [Gefjly]
maʃ [b]
mâs [Mci]
mâʃ [J]
mas [Gefjly]
mâs [Mci]
mâs [G]
got [Ydikly]
ghios [m]
gos [JYcgjwz]
gof [l]
gost [h]
çekar [X]
çikar [n]
beţi [i]

85. fat
serbi [GYkm]
tjërbi [GJMXcdeflinwy]
tjërbi [b]
tjärbi [gh]
har [k]
boţi [j]

80. tomato
tenətr [n]
tenətr [J]
tenətr [bilm]
tenətr [Yy]
tenə [G]
taməñer [j]
tamɨñer [w]
teməñer [g]
tenəter [GMXcdefhwkz]
oklija [e]
86. fish
mesə:li [G]
mesi [k]
metʃə:li [Mz]
metʃi [MXekw]
metʃi [chw]
metʃi [G]
metʃli [f]
mase:li [Yy]
masi [m]
matʃali [g]
matʃa:li [Jn]
matʃa:ri [cdl]
matʃli [b]

gaj [Gbcdj]lz]
gâ:ji [M]
gâ:ja [z]
d³:andʒi [X]
d³:anddo [k]
d³:aðu [Y]

90. buffalo
b³:e [Jn]
b³:e [Gkmw]
b³:es [e]
b³:es [GY]
b³:ejš [X]
b³:es [Mbfghj]-

b³:ej [d]
b³:as [c]
b³:as [j]
ño:bi [Y]
ño:bu [i]
k³:obi [k]

du³ [GJMXYbcdefijklmnw]
du³:a [gh]

87. chicken
kokə:do [J]
kukdi [bcfjkm]
kukaçi [GXnym]
kukaçu [Y]
kukuçi [g]
kũkdi [Ydlw]
kũkaçi [Me]
murgi [h]

du³ [GJMXYbcdefijklmnw]
du³:a [gh]

88. egg
unça [cfhjlmz]
unçe [w]
unçö [Xem]
inça [Gdky]
inçë [Yi]
inçö [MYblz]
inçö [Gw]
inçû [i]
inçû [g]
inçö [Xem]
imö [Jn]
inça [Gdky]
inçë [Yi]
inçö [MYblz]
inçö [Gw]
inçû [i]
inçû [g]

89. cow
ga [Gbikm]
gə [Jn]
geu [ewz]
gâ [y]
gej [f]
gai [gh]

91. milk
du³ [GJMXbcdefijklmnw]
du³:a [gh]

92. horns
hîn [Gy]
hing [G]
sîn [h]
cînda [f]
hînda [J]
hînda:do [n]
hînda [dílmjy]
hînda: [Y]
hîngre [w]
jînda [MXez]
sînda [bcj]
hînda [dílmjy]
hînda [Y]

93. tail
pûč [k]
pûs [G]
pûtʃ [GYc]
pûtʃ:a [hly]
94. goat

**tet**a  [y]
**tet**u  [k]
**tet**i  [Ylz]
**sali**  [iky]
**sal**a  [Y]
**tfali**  [Xbcdej]
**tfal**i  [flwyz]
**bekeri**  [GJMey]
**bekeri**  [bl]
**bakeri**  [gh]
**bakro**  [g]
**bokdi**  [m]
**boka** [n]

95. dog

**tegde**  [w]
**tegdo**  [n]
**tekda**  [Yi]
**tekda**  [m]
**tegad**  [J]
**dgad**a  [Mz]
**tegde**  [w]
**tegdo**  [n]
**tegad**  [J]
**kute**  [M]
**kut**a  [G]
**kut**a  [G]
**kutra**  [i]
**kutro**  [GYk]
**kut**a  [h]
**gunduk**  [Mcky]
**gundukda**  [Ybcfkw]
**guntka**  [Xez]

96. snake

**hap**  [n]
**hap**  [GJbdijkmwn]
**hap**  [Ylyz]
**sap**  [Xcej]
**sap**  [GMrgh]

97. monkey

**ben**er  [Y]
**ba**n**ura**  [e]
**ban**re  [cf]
**ban**  [MXbdjlywz]
**ban**ar  [h]
**bon**  [G]
**van**  [Yy]
**van**  [g]
**vand**  [k]
**vand**  [im]
**vand**  [G]
**vand**  [Jn]
**mol**  [ji]
**mol**  [blz]

98. mosquito

**m**et**er**  [f]
**me**t**er**  [JXelz]
**mas**er  [Gky]
**maseru**  [Y]
**masru**  [i]
**mat**er  [Gm]
**mat**  [MYbcdjw]
**mat**  [h]
**ku**  [l]
**ku**  [z]
**tsek**  [n]

99. ant

**kidi**  [GJMXYbcdfgijklmnwyz]
**t**i**ti**  [eh]
**m**ako  [k]
### 100. spider

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<td>ke'ota</td>
<td>[k]</td>
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### 101. name

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### 102. man

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<td>məak</td>
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<td>manusja</td>
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<td>amdi</td>
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<td>log</td>
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### 103. woman

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<td>stiri</td>
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<td>baira</td>
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<td>berə</td>
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### 104. child

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### 105. father

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### 106. mother

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<td>[e]</td>
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107. older brother

bābā [M]
bājo [X]
bājo [z]
bāj [G]
bājo [X]
bājo [z]
bājja [i]
bajsab [Gbdlw]
motōbāi [gl]
bačabāi [h]
dūā [Jn]
dūṭa [j]
dūço [Y]
dūço [cemy]
dūçe [l]
dūce [fk]
dūço [bw]
moṭa dūḍo [m]

110. younger sister

(by name) [JYcdjlwz]
baṇa [Xe]
ben [fkm]
beχana [wy]
behan [z]
baṇa [Xe]
bena [Y]
nanibēn [g]
bejīn [i]
beīn [M]
ben [fkm]
sōṭibēn [k]
tjōṭībēn [n]
tjōṭibōhīn [Jh]
tjōṭibēn [Gl]
tjōṭībēn [b]

111. son

beṭa [MYbhikyz]
beṭo [c]
beṛ [G]
sorē [Y]
sōre [k]
tjōṭora [Jfjmn]
tjōṭora [lw]
tjōṭera [deiw]
tjōṭoro [Xz]
tjōṭo [G]
sorē [k]
tjōṭora [Jfjmn]
tjōṭora [lw]
tjōṭoro [g]
tjōṭera [deiw]
tjōṭoro [Xz]
tjōṭo [G]
dikaro [g]
tjōṭoro [g]
purtā [l]
purtāra [Mg]
puṭ [c]
[abir [z]

109. older sister

dīḍi [Yh]
dīḍīḍa [dkly]
dīḍīḍi [JMYeijkmnwz]
dīḍīḍibāi [c]
dīḍīḍibaj [X]
motībēn [Gg]

112. daughter

beṭi [GMYbchikyz]
potri [hw]
potari [g]
113. husband
log  [Xcfjz]
d̞unji  [m]
d̞unji  [JMYglwy]
mati  [cj]
pati  [h]
gurkedfieni  [bw]
g̞erwa [k]
g̞erwa [Ybcdfijlzw]
g̞erwa [e]
admi  [Gny]
pambne  [k]
paw̞a  [l]
mati  [cjw]
vin̞di  [G]

114. wife
lugoi  [ijmz]
luoxj  [Gbdflk]
luoffi  [w]
luoxi  [Jn]
lugaj  [Xy]
lugaji  [Y]
patni  [gh]
garwali  [ez]
garwali  [M]
g̞erwari  [J]
g̞erwa [GYbcjkl]
bu  [G]
bo  [l]
bair̞o  [M]
or̞a  [n]

115. boy
sora  [Yiky]
sor̞o  [G]
tft̞or̞o  [M]
tft̞ora  [bcdiwl]
ft̞ore  [Jfjy]
tjoro  [GXez]
tjora  [n]

tf̞ora  [m]
sor̞o  [G]
tft̞or̞o  [M]
tft̞ora  [bcdiwl]
ft̞ore  [Jfjy]
tjaro  [GXez]
joko  [g]
tjora  [n]
tjora  [M]
ledka  [l]
lo̞dka  [h]
t̞aber  [j]
b̞uje  [j]

116. girl
sori  [G]
sori  [Yiky]
tf̞ori  [GJMdfljw]
tjokri  [g]
tjori  [Xenyz]
tjori  [bm]
ledki  [h]
t̞abri  [j]
baji  [j]

117. day
đen  [GJXYbcdefjklmnwyz]
dada  [i]
den  [GJXYbcdefjklmnwyz]
đim  [Mfh]
divas  [gh]

118. night
rat  [n]
rat  [Jgh]
rat  [X]
rat  [GMYbcdefjklmnwyz]
vndara  [Y]
vndaro  [lw]
rat̞ri  [g]

119. morning
ted̞aka  [ce]
ted̞aka  [X]
ted̞ake  [j]
ted̞ako  [z]
hovere  [Jn]
hovere  [Y]
hovere  [M]
havari  [y]
havere  [i]
havere  [k]
121. evening/afternoon

120. noon

122. yesterday
### 123. today

| kel  | [Gdhlmw] |
| kāle | [lw] |
| kal  | [cefk] |
| kāle | [MYgz] |
| kāle | [b] |
| kālo | [y] |
| kāl  | [j] |
| kāl  | [X] |
| gālkal | [g] |
| hāvera | [i] |

### 124. tomorrow

| kāle | [n] |
| kāle | [J] |
| kāl  | [dimw] |
| kāle | [lw] |
| kāl  | [efhlz] |
| kāle | [GMy] |
| kāle | [Ybi] |
| kāl  | [c] |
| ḍādāke | [X] |
| ṭēqka | [c] |
| ṭēqke | [z] |
| hāvera | [y] |
| hāvera | [k] |
| hāvera | [bj] |

### 125. week

| aḍǎm | [Jn] |
| ḍḥidin | [Glw] |
| sēṭdīn | [lWz] |
| ḥafṭa | [y] |
| ḥephta | [h] |
| ḥephta | [X] |
| ḥephta | [Jdiklm] |
| ḥepṭo | [n] |
| ḥepṭo | [bj] |
| ḥafṭa | [Y] |
| ḥafṭa | [GMy] |
| sēpta | [cefmw] |
| sēpto | [m] |
| sēpto | [bj] |
| sēpta | [z] |

### 126. month

| meino | [n] |
| mejna | [d] |
| maino | [YM] |
| māhino | [Mg] |
| māhina | [h] |
| minu | [bj] |
| mine | [f] |
| mino | [J] |
| mino | [GYcelwz] |

### 127. year

| sal | [n] |
| sal | [cfhklwz] |
| bereṣ | [bc] |
| bereṣ | [Yjklw] |
| bereṣ | [Mz] |
| veṣ | [Xe] |
| veṣ | [d] |
| veṣ | [h] |
| veṣ | [g] |
| veṣ | [ikm] |
| veṣ | [d] |
| veṣ | [h] |

### 128. old

| peraṇo | [e] |
| puraṇe | [fx] |
129. new
neje  [f]
neva  [dikl]
neva  [GJMYklmnwy]
naja  [h]
nave  [h]
navü  [g]
nuevo  [bwz]
nüvo  [l]
nc  [e]
nui  [c]
naja  [h]
nave  [h]
navü  [g]
nőo  [j]
nuevo  [bwz]
nüvo  [l]
nui  [c]
naja  [h]
nñoca  [j]

det  [X]

130. good
begdac  [fjmw]
begdaca  [h]
sako  [G]
tfokka  [z]
tfoko  [z]
tfokkaja  [e]
tfokkakà  [G]
saras  [g]
tfokọ  [b]
tfokọ  [M]
tfokọ  [Xjz]
tfokọa  [h]
atfokọa  [c]
atfokọo  [k]
hauu  [dl]
hauu  [Jn]
hau  [m]

hau  [Ykwy]
b'ala  [M]
rupala  [i]
rupala  [k]
rupaĉ  [Ylw]
bera  [c]
bera  [e]
boda  [n]
buro  [J]
buru  [MXz]
bundça  [G]
buro  [J]
buru  [MXz]
k'erab  [J]
k'erab  [fikm]
k'arab  [gh]
k'oţa  [w]
k'oţo  [G]
hugi  [y]
hugilo  [z]
hugilo  [Ylw]
sugla  [df]
suglo  [j]
suglo  [bck]
cuaka  [z]
sugla  [df]
suglo  [bck]
begeđgio  [z]
vegeđgio  [Y]

132. wet
alo  [Jn]
ula  [iy]
ulo  [e]
alca  [Ycz]
alca  [bkm]
alca  [M]
palaraću  [g]
b'inauß  [g]
b'ina  [G]
gila  [h]
lila  [Yi]
b'idegjua  [f]

133. dry
hoca  [diw]
hoca  [k]
hoko  [Jn]
hoko  [bj]
hugjo  [z]
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136. Hot
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137. Cold
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138. Right
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baru [bdklw]
bara [G]
baru [m]

163. twenty
b'is [bj]
bis [MXefhjlywz]
qi [y]
qi [Gyiiklmw]
qi [Jdn]

164. one hundred
ho [Jimn]
ho [GYblwyz]
jo [d]
so [gh]
so [Mcfzl]
cekde [j]
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165. who?
k'une [z]
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166. what?
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kuj [Jjkln]
kuje [m]
kuji [i]
kuji [Yde]
kuji [c]
kaj [X]
kaj [My]
k'aj [f]
ija [h]
ju [g]

167. where?
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ket'e [d]
ket'u [G]
ket'ta [f]
ket'e [n]
kaa [h]
ka're [i]
ka're [bc]
ka'sa [e]
ka'ata [MYywz]
ka'ata [X]
kaa [g]
kaa [b]

168. when?
ked [c]
ked'i [l]
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ked [Jbdfkmnw]
kedja [b]
kedje [f]
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ka'tak [e]
ka'arei [g]
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kinda [lw]
169. how many?
keiṭła [g]
kűthane [h]
kưṭara [d]
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keṭrokJk [bz]
keiṭla [g]
kıṭc [y]
kıṭsara [M]

170. what kind?
kiṃkįdo [G]
kikk [G]
kikker [d]
kevidʒat [g]
kuąako [X]
kećjok [Ylwz]
kećiukuK [y]
keićia [X]
kaīsa [h]
keje [f]
kıska [Y]
keći [Y]
keći [X]
kećejan [wz]
keće [f]
kistęreK [h]
kıspreka [h]
keņıtseteiti [m]
keņıtūre [n]
keņțareri [M]
kįjap [j]
keći [beeik]
kećjok [Ylwz]
keće [Jn]
keći [X]
kećejan [wz]
kaīsa [h]
keje [f]

171. this
ja [e]
je [dfi]
jo [Jn]
j [XYbcjklwy]
a [g]
ja [e]

172. that
pelų [g]
ve [c]
uo [GMYdiklywz]
uu [Xfen]
vo [J]
w [w]
wo [h]
u [bcjim]
uc [GMYdiklywz]
uu [Xfen]
vo [J]

173. these
a [g]
ja [w]
je [GXcdefhilz]
je [l]
je [k]
ja [w]
je [GXcdefhilz]
je [l]
ji [Jmnw]
je [k]
jo [Yjwy]
jo [Yjwy]
[o] [M]
[o] [M]
uu [z]
jane [b]

174. those
b [h]
va [e]
ve [GMXcdfhijklwy]
va [e]
ve [GMXcdfhijklwy]
ui [Jkmn]
uo [Yy]
pelã [g]
vané [b]

175. same
ek’eriko [J]
ek’erike [n]
huri ka [w]
sarika [z]
huri ka [w]
sarika [z]
sorkü [g]
ek k’eriki [m]
ekbarika [y]
ek’erko [i]
ek’eriko [k]
eka[rka] [Y]
ek’eriko [J]
ek’hérike [n]
ek’dʒęŋŋa [G]
ke dżęćja [ej]
kedżiço [M]
kedżecjo [w]
kedżecjo [X]
soman [h]
baraber [Jz]
baraber [d]
ek’semam [d]
eki [br]
ekiβhaṭ [c]
vaki vaj [c]
joıdʒ [l]
ve čoko vići [z]

176. different
ña’a[para] [n]
nala [e]
nara [d]
njała [f]
njač [f]
njarunjara [J]
njar [bjz]
njarč [XYwy]
njarę [klm]
njaři [c]
naço [G]
φerki [h]
vleq [i]
awlageloq [h]
bñima [h]
dʒudʒi [M]
dʒudi [g]
badʒubadʒu [J]

177. whole
habu [i]
sabuṭ [M]
pura [JYhńz]
punja [h]
purò [Gey]
purc [f]
purá [c]
sehi [d]
sāi [Y]
aka [c]
aka’[a] [bj]
aka’[ô] [bjw]
aka’û [g]
aki [k]
ako [n]
ako [GXYlmz]
tińda [c]
tjebka [c]

178. broken
udura [J]
tuṭ [w]
tuṭa [dfhijj]
tuṭi [lm]
tuṭc [e]
tuṭç [Y]
tuṭa [dfhijj]
tuṭgjo [z]
tuṭi [lm]
tuṭjo [e]
tuṭç [Y]
tuṭɛç [GM]
tuṭelj [g]
tuṭjo [e]
tuṭjadɛ [bk]
tuṭadɔ [w]
tuķedɔ [y]
tuṭedɔ [GM]
tuṭjadɛ [bk]
ti’iкра [c]
banği [i]
bfaŋgi [k]
bhaŋa [G]
bangi [i]
bangikjɔ [m]
bangikjɔ [m]
bânelgu [g]
p’uṭa [Yi]
p’uṭjeja [c]
p’uṭi [l]
p’uṭio [n]
p’uṭjo [z]
71

puṭ [w]
puṭija [Xz]
fuṭna [j]
aḍa [z]

179. few
ṭenjɔ [w]
tjinjok [b]
ṭoḍe [w]
ṭoḍi [Y]
ṭoḍa [Mez]
ṭoḍk [G]
ṭoḍo [Jn]
ṭoḍɔ [Gm]
ṭoḍū [g]
ṭoḍok [G]
ṭodkuk [Y]
ṭoḍu [w]
ṭoḍa [Mez]
ṭoḍa [hi]
ṭoḍo [Y]
ṭoḍo [Jn]
ṭoḍɔ [Gm]
ṭoḍ [g]
ṭoḍok [G]
tjinjok [b]

180. many
narej [Ydf]
narɔ [bw]
naroj [dfl]
naro [z]
nerɔ [y]
geŋe [ z]
geŋoi [n]
ɡanɔ [Y]
ɡanu [e]
ɡeŋe [k]
ɡeŋu [g]
ɡeŋo [J]
ɡeŋɔ [Gbckj]
he:ɔ [lmw]
he:o [i]
naro [bw]
naro [z]
nerɔ [y]
bahut [h]

jan [X]
gousarɔ [M]
dʒada [d]
dʒadu [f]
dʒiada [j]
kub [Y]

no entry [g]
heɡri [n]
hep [fz]
ḥar[e] [j]
ḥa[re] [d]
ṣa[e] [ce]
heɡle [k]
heɡlei [z]
heɡa [b]
ṣa[re] [ce]
heɡle [k]
heɡlei [Y]
heɡlai [l]
heɡri [n]
heŋla [iw]
heŋlu [Y]
heɡal[e] [y]
ha[^l]a [b]
ha[ŋ][e] [m]
se[ga]l[e] [M]
sal[a] [b]
hauṭu [f]
san[ḍa] [X]
seb [Jdkm]
sab [h]
ha[ŋ] [G]
saŋ [G]
purɔ [z]

182. eat!, he ate
kʰa [Gghlz]
kʰeilo, kʰeigjo [n]
kʰeilo, kʰeilo [J]
kʰadʒa [lw]
kʰati [my]
kʰale [el]
kʰale [w]
kʰac [GMcdiz]
kʰɔ [Yik]
dʒimɔ [b]
dʒimɔ [Xbfjk]
### 183. bite!, he bit

- k'agjo [c]
- k'aijo [Mmz]
- k'araq [g]
- ka[t] [h]
- ka[t]ka[t] [e]
- ka[t]ki[t] [f]
- ka[to, ka[t]lijo] [J]
- ka[t] [Y]
- k'aq [k]
- be[t]koberino, be[t]koberio [n]
- be[t]ko [Xw]
- be[t]koberjo [Ylyz]
- be[t]kaberna [w]
- ba[t]ka, ba[t]koberlia [J]
- ba[t]ke barlija [f]
- b'etkoberjo [j]
- b'etkoberio [b]
- dase berjo [i]
- dat[o] [G]
- dase berja [i]
- dase berjo [G]
- dase berjo [i]
- di[ra] [d]

### 184. he is, he was hungry

- b'uk [h]
- b'uk[e] [ei]
- b'uk'emerjo [m]
- b'uk'o [GM]
- b'ukjo [g]
- b'uklegi [Xwy]
- b'uklei [Y]
- bfiuklagi [Gk]
- bfiuklagri, bfiuklaguri t'li [n]
- bfiuklagri, bfiuka[o] [J]
- bfiuklagri [bcdfjlx]

### 185. drink!, he drank

- pi [gh]
- pi[de] [i]
- pie [G]
- pij [G]
- pile, pili[do] [n]
- pile, pilije [J]
- pirje [i]
- pirija [Ymyz]
- pirijatje [Xe]
- pi[r]e [f]
- pi[r]o [bcdjklw]
- pi[ve] [M]

### 186. he is, he was thirsty

- t'eslagri [bcj]
- t'eslagri [fl]
- t'a[fa]ja [e]
- t'slagi [z]
- t'eslagri he [d]
- t'eslagri [bcj]
- t'slagi [z]
- t'eslagri he [d]
- t'slagiritje [X]
- t'era legi [i]
- t'er legi [m]
- t'er lagri [kw]
- t'eres legi [Ywy]
- t'erlagi, t'erlagri t' [n]
- t'erlagi, t'arlagi t'ii [J]
- t'arlagi [GY]
- t'arlagiri [y]
- t'ara[o] [g]
- t'ira [M]
- pjasahi, pjasati[a] [h]

### 187. sleep!, he slept

- ho[je] [f]
- hudjo [d]
- hugjo [l]
- huidjo, hujgjo [J]
- huirjo [m]
- huiro [Y]
- huidjoao, hujgio [n]
- hugjo [k]
- hugjo [b]
- hu[t]a [i]
- huto [GYbkmwy]
- huto [e]
- hutoro [w]
- so [h]
- su[t]o [Mj]
- sugjo [c]
- sui [g]
- su[t]o [z]
- tjori[st]je [X]
- tjori[st]ju [e]

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

- pa[d]ir [g]
- le[t] [h]
- lo[t]riotju [e]
- u[d]o hogo [z]
- u[d]o ogio [bc]
- u[d]o[vei]jio [y]
- u[d]o[ve]jio [f]
189. sit down!, he sat down
bo [G]
bejjo [M]
bej' [h]
bed'dʒa [j]
bed'ādʒa [X]
beṭ [d]
beṭ'dʒa [bceflz]
beṭo [Yz]
beṭć [k]
beid'ʒa [Y]
beid'ʒaɔ, beigjo [n]
baid'ʒo [im]
bed'ʒa [wy]
bid'ʒa, bigiĝo [J]
padγja [e]
bes [g]
birad'ʒo [M]

190. give!, he gave
dède [e]
dèdjo, dejddo [n]
dàide [m]
dè [Gbchw]
dèdo, dèdço [f]
dède [klz]
dèd'e [Xd]
dèdć [Ybj]
dèvć [M]
dide, didido [J]
dć [G]
ap [g]
lào [Yy]
urđe [j]
urla [z]
al'dʒe [i]
alć [i]

191. it burns, it burned
dʒełağa [e]
dʒełlj Conj [f]
dʒəl [h]
beʃarijotje [X]
beʃdjo [i]
beʃarijo [GYlwz]
beʃirijo [i]
beʃirć [ky]
beʃjo [bcdfj]
beririo, berigijo [J]
beʃirjo [m]
baʃ [g]
lagri [f]
laj lagri [j]
həgliro, həglijgo [n]
haglijjo [m]
silgo [M]

192. don't die!, he died
mergiŋa [df]
mergiŋo [MXbcf]wyz
merijęgü [i]
merijo [Y]
merijodo [G]
merjego [i]
merjo [G]
meʃirmar, merigo [J]
meʃirmero, merigejo [n]
mar [gh]
samagjo [z]
kə'ebgiŋo [bj]
cant ogjo [w]

193. don't kill!, he killed
merdʒo [d]
merdidjo [w]
merdʒja [Xe]
mergie [f]
meʃımari, marınak'jo [J]
meʃımaro, merijo [n]
mar [Mgh]
marajo [j]
marjo [Gim]
marnękjo [cil]
marnakjo [byz]
amćo [k]
kuʃadje [f]

194. fly!, it flew
udarićo [d]
udrja [k]
udırhe [y]
195. walk!, he walked

tjelɔ [j]
tjelɔ [f]
tjelɔ [Yg]
tjelɔ [Melw]
tjelɔ, tjaljogjo [J]
tjelɔ [Xbcz]
tjelɔ [h]
tsalɔ, tsalijo [n]
alɔ [G]
hejɔ [k]
hejɔ [k]
sało [m]
tjelɔ [j]
tjelɔ [f]
tjelɔ [Yg]
tjalɔ [Xbcz]
g^um [h]
hejɔ [k]
hejɔ [k]
hejɔ [Yiy]
hejɔ [Yiy]
serjo [X]
gelɛ [d]

196. run!, he ran

bagɔ [j]
b^ag [ewz]
b^agdzɔ [fl]
b^agdzɔ [Xbc]
qodo, qodiqjo [J]
qodo [h]
qoodɔ [GYyz]
qod [GMdgil]
qodo [bm]
qodrjo [l]
rɔdãde [Y]
qameæ [i]

197. go!, he went
dʒa [Mcefgjmyw]
dʒapro, gajo [J]
dʒavo, gejo [n]
dʒao [Gbdijz]
dʒapo [G]
dʒo [y]
perədʒa [Y]
porədʒa [l]
tʃaldʒa [X]
qajɛ [k]

198. come!, he came

a [Ml]
udʒa, aŋgja [J]
udʒa, vŋgjo [n]
vuŋ [G]
adʒa [Xbcfjw]
aji [e]
ac [bd]
au [h]
av [bgmy]
avo [GYiz]
ura ac [l]
hauɛɛ [k]

199. speak!, he spoke

bol [cdefghmwz]
bol, boljo [Jn]
boljo [i]
bolo [Gjkw]
boloŋo [G]
bolrjo [l]
bol [MYy]
ke [Yb]
keo [b]
kʰo [X]

200. listen!, he heard

hunjo [w]
hunjo [GY]
hunjo [bl]
huŋo, hunjo ɗo [n]
hunja [f]
hunjo [fk]
huŋo, hunjo ɗo [n]
hunja [G]
hunjo [mz]
sunjɛ [X]
sunjə [Mcejwz]
sun [h]
hunjə [d]
hunjə [w]
hunjjo [GY]
hunjə [bl]
hunjə, hunjiɗį [J]
hunj [f]
hunjə [fk]
hunjə, hunjiɗį t’o [n]
sunj [X]
sunj [Mcejw]
sabfia [g]
hamja [y]
hamjə [Yk]

201. look!, he saw
dekh [h]
dekh, dek’ilido [J]
dek’i [i]
dek’iɾc [y]
dek’hə [GMYbceklmzw]
dek’iio [X]
dek’o, dek’jo tə [n]
dek’jve [f]
dik’jə [c]
detjə [d]
dojũ [g]
tjogrijo [j]

202. I (1st singular)
me [Gdijz]
məj [h]
mə [M]
mu [Ybcikmnwy]
mũ [GJXeflz]
hũ [g]

203. you (2nd singular, informal)
t’əa [m]
t’ẽ [cl]
t’ũ [Ydfijklwz]
tu [Jbghn]
tu [GMXey]
tum [h]

204. you (2nd singular, formal)
ap [Mghj]
te [G]
t’əa [Xy]
t’ä [Ylw]
t’e [Xdk]

205. he (3rd singular, masculine)
tə [n]
t’e [bfijmz]
t’i [J]
t’ü [Gc]
tənə [w]
tətə [e]
təməi [g]

206. she (3rd singular, feminine)
av [bcjz]
ə [f]
u [Xemn]
v [J]
ų [GMYdiklwz]
u [Xemn]
v [J]
wa [h]
wo [h]
te [g]

207. we (1st plural, exclusive)
ap [bc]
apŋe [eg]
ma [Ykmwy]
me [GMXbdfjmnnz]
mi [JK]
ham [h]
herej [I]

208. we (1st plural, exclusive)
upədoj [lz]
apidoi [k]
äməi [g]
ma [MYeimy]
me [Gbcdfnwz]
mebeje [X]
mi [J]
hem [h]

209. you (2nd plural)
t’evənə [j]
tə [emy]
<table>
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<td>[d]</td>
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<td>[J]</td>
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<tr>
<td>tu</td>
<td>[z]</td>
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<td>[h]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ap</td>
<td>[M]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

210. they (3rd plural)

| be    | [y]  |
| bo    | [l]  |
| va    | [e]  |
| vē    | [Xe] |
| ve    | [GMYcdfijkz] |
| ve    | [b]  |
| vi    | [mnw] |
| we    | [h]  |
| wi    | [J]  |
| t̥e̞o | [g]  |
References


