

Hill Korwa of Kado Pani

Outline Grammar, Text and Glossary

Masato Kobayashi

Language Consultants

Pandri Bai and Phaguwa Ram

2025

Kotoba Books



Villagers of Kado Pani (2014)



Mrs. Pandri Bai (top left), Mr. Phaguwa Ram (top middle) and their family

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Preface

1 Fieldwork

This project started with the insight of my Kurux collaborator, the late Bablu Tirkey (1980–2015). While traveling together in Kurux-speaking areas to document Kurux folktales in 2009, Bablu's elder sister, Lakshmania, who resides in Jashpur District, Chhattisgarh, shared an intriguing story. She mentioned meeting Hill Korwa beekeepers who spoke a language she did not understand. This sparked our curiosity.

In March 2012, Bablu, Tetru Oraon, and I visited three villages in that area, Harrapath, Kado Pani and Remne. We confirmed that the villagers, including young children, still actively spoke Hill Korwa, a Kherwarian Munda language. This discovery surprised us, as Hill Korwa was considered critically endangered in both Jharkhand and Chhattisgarh. However, we were unable to find collaborators of linguistic fieldwork in these villages at that time.

In 2013, the late Jagdeo Ram Bhagat, Bablu's uncle and a former teacher at a Korwa school in Patia (Jashpur District), introduced us to one of his former students from Kado Pani, Mrs. Pandri Bai. Pandri pursued higher education and now works as a school teacher in Jashpurnagar. Even though she uses Hindi at home and in her professional life, she remains fluent in Hill Korwa. During our first visit, she shared a two-hour-long life story in Hill Korwa, parts of which are transcribed in the Texts section of this volume with her kind permission.

In February 2014, Bablu Tirkey, Tetru Oraon, and I visited Pandri's family in Kado Pani, staying with them and recording villagers' folktales. During this visit, we met Mr. Phaguwa Ram, Pandri's younger brother, who works for the village council of Sonkyari. Both Mrs. Pandri Bai and Mr. Phaguwa Ram graciously volunteered to serve as language consultants for our research. From that point onward, we visited them annually to learn more about the Korwa language. However, progress was often slow due to various obligations and unforeseen emergencies.

In Jashpur District, Hill Korwa is spoken in the villages of Harrapath, Gidha, Chatain Pokhra, Hundrupath, Chhatori, Remne, and Kado Pani. During our preliminary visit, we observed significant dialectal variation in Hill Korwa. While this variation is an important aspect to address in a descriptive study, we decided to focus our description on the dialect spoken in our consultants' village, Kado Pani (N. 23 03'60", E. 83 55'08"), Sonkyari Village, Manora Block, Jashpur District, Chhattisgarh.

Words from Bahl's *Korwa Lexicon* (1962), which have been incorporated into our Glossary, were collected in Dumartoli near Jashpurnagar. By contrast, Barker's *The Phonemes of Korowa* is based on the dialect of Shankargarh Thana in Surguja District.

2. Language Name

In his description of Korwa, Grierson [Konow] (1906: 148) identifies Erīgā as a sub-tribe of the Korwas. However, according to our consultants, this term is used exclusively by outsiders. They themselves prefer the name *pahārī korvā* ("Hill Korwa"), which they use to distinguish their group from the *dihārī korvā* ("Plains Korwa").

3. Previous Studies

Volume 4 of Grierson's *Linguistic Survey of India*, prepared by Sten Konow, contains a concise grammar and language specimens (Grierson 1906: 147–166). Barker (1953) described the phonology of Korwa in eastern Surguja. Bahl (1962) compiled a lexicon of approximately 2,500 Korwa words, from a dialect closely related to that of Kado Pani. This work is particularly valuable as it documents inherited words no longer in active use, as well as culturally sensitive terms not easily elicited through interviews. Bahl's lexicon was later typed in by Donegan and Stampe (see Bibliography). Prasad (2000) and George (2014a) have produced Korwa phrase books, contributing to the study of the language.

4. Corpus

The grammatical description in this work is based on elicitation interviews conducted with our consultants and on the transcripts of our recordings. Those transcripts are referred to by the following italicized abbreviations. Six of these transcripts are presented in Chapter 2.

Bamboo Shoots: Bhinsari Bai, 'Woman who went to cut Bamboo Shoots'.

Recorded on March 11, 2015.

Brothers: Sudhni Bai, 'Brothers challenging each other'. March 10, 2015.

Cattle: Dulu Ram, 'Grazing Cattle'. February 1, 2014.

Father-in-Law: Mangalnath Ram, 'Treating Father-in-Law'. Recorded on February 1, 2014.

Firefly: Bandhu Ram, 'Firefly's Idea'. March 10, 2015 (p. 77ff.).

For our Children: Bandhu Ram, 'For our Children'. February 25, 2018.

Hungry Wolf: Phaguwa Ram, 'Story of a Hungry Wolf'. February 1, 2014.

Jackal: Bhinsari Bai, 'An Old Man and a Jackal'. February 1, 2014 (p. 71ff.).

Millipede: Bandhu Ram, ‘Millipede’s Idea’. February 2, 2014.
My Life: Pandri Bai, ‘Story of my Life’. March 17, 2012 (p. 115ff.).
Tiger: Sudhni Bai, ‘Sister-in-Law who is a Tiger’. February 1, 2014 (p. 85ff.).
Tiger and Cat: Bandhu Ram, ‘A Tiger and a Cat’. March 11, 2015.
Twin: Sudhni Bai, ‘King and His Abandoned Twins’. Recorded on February 1, 2014 (p. 63ff.).
Wolf: Phaguwa Ram, ‘Story of a Smart Wolf’. February 1, 2014 (p. 98ff.).

5. Abbreviations

1: first person	ITJ: interjection
2: second person	LOC: locative
3: third person	MID: middle
ABL: ablative	NEG: negative
ALL: allative	NPST: non-past
BEN: benefactive	OBJ: object suffix
CAUS: causative	ONOM: onomatopoeia
CLF: classifier	PL: plural
CMPL: completive	POS: possessive
COMP: complementizer	PRF: perfect
COP: copula	PROH: prohibitive
CORR: correlative	PROP: proper noun
DAT: dative	PST: past
DU: dual	Q: question marker
ECHO: echo word	RED: reduplicant
EX: exclusive	REFL: reflexive
FILL: filler	SBJV: subjunctive
FIN: finiteness suffix	SDH: sandhi element to break hiatus
GEN: genitive	SG: singular
IFX: infix	TOP: topic
IN: inclusive	

6. Acknowledgments

We wish to express our heartfelt thanks to our Korwa consultants. We are grateful to our teachers, the late Dr. Ram Dayal Munda, Dr. Toshiki Osada, and Mrs. Madhu Purti, who taught us Mundari in the summer course held by the Research Institute for Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa in 2001 and have encouraged us to work on Munda linguistics ever since. Dr. Osada and Mrs. Purti went through the manuscript twice, providing valuable

suggestions and comments. Without their guidance and encouragement, it would have been impossible to finish this book. We also extend our gratitude to Dr. Ganesh Murmu, who facilitated our interviews and ensured safe travel arrangements, and Dr. Gregory Anderson for providing us with digitized tape recording of Hill Korwa recorded by the University of Chicago. We owe our profound thanks to the late Bablu Tirkey, the late Jagdeo Ram Bhagat, and Dr. Tetru Oraon, who organized our trips. We are especially thankful to Bablu's sisters Lakshmania and Manju, for hosting us during our stays.

We dedicate this book to the memory of Phaguwa's son, Tikeshwar Ram, who bravely battled cancer and passed away on August 22, 2017, at the tender age of five. His inexhaustible patience and cheerfulness continue to inspire us.

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Chapter 1. Outline Grammar

§1 Phonemes: Vowels

Hill Korwa has five oral vowels, /a/, /i/, /u/, /e/ and /o/, along with their nasalized counterparts, /ã/, /ĩ/, /ũ/, /ẽ/ and /õ/. Among these, /a/ is the most frequent vowel, appearing almost four times more often than /e/, the least common vowel. Although oral and nasal vowels seldom make minimal pairs, such as Bahl's *gãḍa* 'weaver caste'¹ vs. *gaḍa* 'to dig', they are not considered free variants in most words and are therefore treated as distinct phonemes. There is no phonemic length contrast, as we will discuss below. While some speakers produce [ə], we consider it an allophone of /a/ (see §3).

Table 1.1: Hill Korwa vowels

a (ā)	i (ī)	u (ū)	e (ē)	o (ō)
ã (ã)	ĩ (ĩ)	ũ (ũ)	ẽ (ẽ?)	õ (õ)

a) Vowel Length

Bahl (1962) marks length contrast between /a/ vs. /ā/, /i/ vs. /ī/, and /u/ vs. /ū/. Final /a/, /i/, and /u/, are almost always long. However, there are practically no minimal pairs of words distinguished solely by vowel length. For example, Bahl's *hãḍā?* 'to boil with a bubbling noise' and *hãḍā?* 'to dry something by heating' are probably variations of the same labile verb. This suggests that Bahl's length contrasts may reflect the orthographic conventions of the Devanagari script rather than true phonemic length contrasts.²

Even though there are no minimal pairs based solely on vowel length, long vowel symbols <ā ī ū ē õ> are used here. First, loanwords from Hindi, such as *rājā* 'king' and *rōj* 'daily', include long vowels. Second, inherited words sometimes contain vowels pronounced consistently as long in specific paradigms, such as *sēna* 'go, went' from *sen* 'to go'.

Vowels are also lengthened in specific phonological contexts, such as in monosyllabic (C)VC words like /roṭ/ [ro:t] 'big', /bar/ 'two' [ba:r], and /ub/ 'hair' [u:b], as well as in base-final open syllables preceding suffixes, e.g., *aṭu* 'to leave' ~ *aṭū-terīa* 'left him/her' (see below). Such lengthened vowels are allophonic and need not be marked as long. Nasalized long vowels

¹Note that Bahl's nasal vowels *ã ī ū ē õ* before a stop often represent oral vowels followed by a nasal consonant, just like Hindi vowels with *anusvār*.

²Cf. that Sadri, the Indo-Aryan language spoken in the Hill Korwa area, also lacks vowel length contrasts.

mainly occur in loanwords, such as *pās* ‘five’.³ /ẽ/ does not occur in our corpus.

b) Vowels with Lengthening and Falling Tones

The vowel in a monosyllabic verb or noun base is often pronounced long, e.g., *ūt* ‘curry’, *jū-ter-a* ‘drank’. In compound and control verbs, the vowel in the first verb base is lengthened, e.g., *jēl-jom* ‘watch’, *jūr-uḏuṇ* ‘run out’.

When a suffix beginning with a consonant follows a verb base or a noun ending in a vowel, or the object suffix *e* attached to a verb base ending in a consonant, or when a suffix beginning with a vowel follows a verb base or a noun base ending in a single consonant, the vowel in the pre-suffix syllable is often lengthened and receives stress realized as a falling tone, e.g., *tula* ‘to make’, *tu lā-ter-a* PST-FIN; *tora* ‘to go away’, *to rā-ku* ‘they went’; *ara* ‘son-in-law’, *a rā-laṇ* 1DU.IN ‘our son-in-law’; *oṅgol* ‘to think’, *oṅg l-ē-tan* OBJ-NPT; *jel* ‘to look’, *jēl-a* FIN.⁴ This lengthening tends to apply to a vowel in the initial or peninitial syllable. A lengthened base-final *e* or the object suffix *e* is often diphthongized as [ei] (see d below).

c) Diphthongs

Barker (1953: 30f.) identifies diphthongs involving /w/ and /y/, such as *bajaw* ‘be tired’ and *hoy* ‘wind’. He lists sequences of two syllable nuclei, /ie/, /iə/, /iu/, /ee/, /ea/, /eu/, /ae/, /ui/, /ue/, /ua/, /oe/, and /oa/ (Barker 1953: 51f.).

In the dialect of Kado Pani, /ao/ (= Barker’s /aw/) as in *kʰulao* ‘opened’ is a diphthong. So are /au/ as in *jau?* ‘cooked rice’, /oe/ as in *goek* ‘to die’ and /oy/ as in *goy* ‘look!’. In contrast, sequences like /ae/ as in *hāek* ‘he, she, it’ from *hanik*, /ai/ as in *lain* ‘child’ from *lapik*, and /ia/ as in *miad* ‘one’, are disyllabic.

d) Splitting of /e/

When a base-final /e/ in an open syllable is lengthened, it is pronounced [ei], as in *a weḗ-ta* ‘can, to be able’ (Bahl *ave*), *deḗ-hor* ‘later’ (Bahl *dē-hor*), and *jo m-eḗ-ta* ‘eat(s) it’ (/jom-e-ta/).

§2 Phonemes: Consonants

Hill Korwa has 33 consonants (Table 1.2). There are four classes of stops: voiceless unaspirated, voiceless aspirated, voiced unaspirated and voiced

³Bahl (1962) gives a minimal pair *āḏ* ‘a wild fruit’ vs. *āḏ* ‘to spoil something in making it’, but since Bahl writes VNC as *VC*, it might rather be a contrast between *aṇḏ* and *āḏ*.

⁴According to Barker (1953: 32), the vowel length is a concomitant feature of stress, which differs depending on tempo and focus, e.g., normal /‘sabeme/ ‘catch him!’ vs. emphatic speech /sa‘be:me/ ‘catch HIM!’

aspirated. These four-way contrasts occur in labial, dental, retroflex, palato-alveolar, and velar stops. Hill Korwa also has a phonemic glottal stop /ʔ/.

Aspirated and unaspirated stops rarely make minimal pairs, but there are a few contrasting cases found in Bahl's lexicon, such as *pak^hī* 'to be divided into half' vs. *pakī* 'fast (ref. to color)'; *p^hūl* 'womb' vs. *pūl* 'bridge'; *d^harī* 'edge, border of a garment' vs. *darī* 'a carpet'; *dīṇḍ^hā* 'pellet' vs. *dīṇḍā* 'batchelor'.

b) Nasals

The nasals /m/ and /n/ occur in word-initial, medial and final positions and are fully phonemic. /ɲ/ also occur in all positions, but rarely forms minimal pairs, such as *ɲam* 'to find' and *nām* 'name'. /ŋ/ occurs word-finally and medially but rarely as the onset of medial syllables, e.g., *taɲik* 'to wait for'. In such cases, /ŋ/ can be explained as a variant of /ɲg/. /ŋ/ and /ɲ/ contrast in medial syllable onsets, as in *aɲu* 'to dawn' (Bahl) vs. *aɲu* 'to cause to drink'. In some words, final /ŋ/ and /ɲ/ are interchangeable, e.g., in *iɲ* ~ *ijn* 'I'; *siɲ* ~ *siɲ* 'tree' (Bahl 1953: 27). Retroflex /ɳ/ is an allophone of *ɭ* after a nasalized vowel or of *n* before a retroflex stop.

Table 1.2: Hill Korwa consonants

	labial	dental	retroflex	palato-alv.	velar	glottal
vl. unasp.	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>ɭ</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>k</i>	ʔ
vl. asp.	<i>p^h</i>	<i>t^h</i>	<i>ɭ^h</i>	<i>c^h</i>	<i>k^h</i>	
vd. unasp.	<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>ɖ</i>	<i>j</i>	<i>g</i>	
vd. asp.	<i>b^h</i> [b ^{h̃}]	<i>d^h</i> [d ^{h̃}]	<i>ɖ^h</i> [ɖ ^{h̃}]	<i>j^h</i> [j ^{h̃}]	<i>g^h</i> [g ^{h̃}]	
nasal	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	(<i>ɳ</i>)	<i>ɲ</i>	<i>ŋ</i>	
liquid		<i>r l</i>	<i>ɭ, ɭ^h</i> [ɭ ^{h̃}]			
fricative		<i>s</i>				<i>h</i> [ɦ]
glide	<i>w</i>			<i>y</i> [j~ɟ]		

(alv: alveolar; asp: aspirated; unasp.: unaspirated; vd: voiced; vl: voiceless)

a) Glides

The glide /w/ and /y/ occur in syllable onsets, as in *wek* 'to come', *bayao* 'be confused'. /ɟ/ is a suffix-initial variant of /y/. Onset /y/ can also be an allophone of /ɲ/ as in *yel*~*nel*.

b) Flap and Trill /r/

Barker (1953: 29) distinguishes the flap /r/ [ɾ] from the trill /r̄/ [r̄], which occurs in word-initial and coda positions, as in *sir̄* 'vein' (Bahl *sīr̄*). Barker

cites a minimal pair: *wer* ‘to sow’ vs. *weṛ* ‘to swim’. However, we could not confirm this contrast.

c) Checked Stops and the Glottal Stop

Final voiceless unaspirated stops /b/, /t/, /t̪/ and /k/ in inherited morphemes are pronounced without release, e.g., *apik* ‘to sleep’, *bek* ‘to spit’, *beret* ‘to wake up’, *reṭ* ‘to cover’, and *ob* ‘ash’. Unreleased /k/ occurs only after front vowels /i/ and /e/, and is palatalized to /j/ when followed by a vowel-initial suffix or clitic, e.g., *karek* ‘to do what’ → *karej-a* ‘will do what’; *munḍaik* ‘sweet potato’ + =e 3SG → *munḍaij* =e. *k* itself is pronounced with palatalization, but speakers consider it to be a velar sound.⁵ The alternation between *k* and *j* is regular and purely phonological.

After back vowels /a/, /u/ and /o/, the unreleased velar stop is realized as a glottal stop /ʔ/. This /ʔ/ alternates with /g/ when followed by the object suffix *-e*, e.g., *joʔ* ‘to chase’ vs. *jog-e-a* ‘chases it’. However, /ʔ/ does not alternate before the clitic =e, e.g., *jonoʔ* ‘broom’ + =e 3SG → *jonoʔ* =e. This alternation between ʔ and g only in verb bases and not in nouns or productive suffixes such as intransitive *-uʔ* or genitive *-raʔ*, indicating that the alternation is morphologized rather than purely phonological.

Some ʔ originates from Proto-Kherwarian *b: In *duṛuʔ* (also *duṛub*, Barker 1953: 15) ‘to sit’ and *uduʔ* ‘to tell, to explain’, the corresponding Mundari words have final /b/, i.e., Mundari *dub* and *udub*. But *harub* ‘to turn upside down and put in’ corresponding to Mundari *harub* ‘to put a lid’ always ends in a labial.

There are released final stops in loanwords, such as *bʰīt* ‘wall’, *sab* ‘all’ (vs. *sab* ‘to catch’). Released final stops are not limited to loanwords. In morphemes such as *roṭ* ‘big’, *-goṭ* CLF, the possessive suffix *-t* as in *ara-t* {son.in.law-POS} ‘his/her son-in-law’, the final stop is released.

d) Aspiration

Voiceless aspirated stops /pʰ/, /tʰ/, /t̪ʰ/, /cʰ/, /kʰ/, voiced aspirated stops /bʰ/, /dʰ/, /d̪ʰ/, /jʰ/, /gʰ/, and /t̪ʰ/, occur primarily in Indo-Aryan loanwords. E.g. *pʰaruā* ‘shoulder’ (Bahl), *tʰakao* ‘to be tired’, *maṭʰa* ‘butter’, *cʰuṭki* ‘second wife’, *bʰācā* ‘sister’s son’ (Bahl), *dʰaṅgri* ‘girl’, *dʰiṅki* ‘husking pedal’, *sōjʰ* ‘straight’, *saṅgʰra* ‘help’, *paṭʰaʔ* ‘to study’. Native Kherwarian words also have aspirated stops, e.g., *akʰriṅ* ‘to sell’ (cf. Mundari *akiriṅ* id.).

Some loanwords appear unaspirated, e.g., *barca* ‘spear’ vs. Hindi *barchā*; *adom* ~ *adʰa* ‘some other’ (Bahl), if they both come from Sadri *adhā*, Hindi *ādhā* ‘half’. Barker (1953: 60) cites *bukʰ* ‘hunger’ correspond-

⁵Barker (1953: 39) writes *kaṛig-ta* with unglottalized /g/ instead of Bahl’s *kaṛiʔ*.

ing to Hindi *b^hūk^h*.⁶

§3 Allophonic Alternations

a) Schwa [ə]

Barker (1953: 33) considers [ə] to be an independent phoneme, which occurs in unstressed open syllables, or in stressed syllables, usually before nasals, as in *tətəŋ* ‘to be thirsty’, *ratəŋ* ‘hail’, *səkkəm* ‘leaf’ (Barker; *k* is secondarily geminated). We also observed that some elderly speakers distinguish [ə] from [a], as in *məna* ‘that’. However, following our consultants, who do not have the distinction, we analyze [ə] as a free variant of /a/.

b) /e/ and /a/, /e/ and /o/

The past suffix *-ter* has a free variant *-tar*, e.g., *ayum-tar-a* = *ayum-ter-a* ‘heard’.

Some words show fluctuation between /e/ and /o/, e.g., *ero* ~ *oro* ‘not’, *otoŋ* ~ *oteŋ* ‘to get going’.

c) High and Mid Vowels

In suffixes, the feature [±high] is often uncontrastive, allowing both high and mid vowels to occur: *idan-e-a* ~ *idan-i-a* ‘he/she is’, *idan-ko-a* ~ *idan-ku-a* ‘they are’, *mī-ŋoŋ* ~ *mī-tuŋ* ‘one piece’.

In roots, Hill Korwa tends to have mid vowels where other Kherwarian languages, such as Mundari, have high vowels: Hill Korwa *dereŋ* vs. Mundari *diriŋ* ‘horn’; *getek* vs. Mundari *giti?* ‘to sleep’; *sebel* vs. Mundari *sibil* ‘to taste’; *sereŋ* vs. Asuri *siriŋ* ‘to sing’; *sokol* vs. Mundari *sukul* ‘smoke’.⁷

When adjoining suffixes contain vowels with differing [±high] values, assimilation often occurs, causing mid vowels to raise to high vowels, e.g., *joʔ-kiq-iŋ-a* ‘you chased me’ for /joʔ-keq-iŋ-a/. The high vowel umlaut in Hill Korwa is less regular than in other Kherwarian languages such as Mundari.

d) Final /ŋ/ and /ɲ/

/ŋ/ and /ɲ/ are free variants in morpheme-final position, e.g., *iŋ* ~ *iɲ* ‘I’.

e) Deaffrication of Affricates

/c/ is pronounced [tʃ] or [ts], and also as [s] (Barker 1953: 9f.). This deaffrication is complete in some lexemes, such as *pās* ‘five’ from Indo-Aryan *pāc*, *qeksi* ‘kettle’ from *qekcī*, *karsoli* ‘ladle’ from *karcul*.

/j/ is pronounced [dʒ], [dʒ] or [z] (Barker 1953: 21–22).

⁶Bahl (1962) gives the fluctuating pair *qibarī* ‘small oil lamp’ vs. *q^hibarī* ‘small lamp made of tin’ corresponding to Hindi *q^hibrī* ‘lamp’, but in this case Sadri also has both *qibrī* and *q^hibrī*.

⁷Osada (1996: 254) explains this correspondence from Proto-Kherwarian *CiCi-.

f) /ŋ/ and /Ṽɽ/

Retroflex /ŋ/ alternates with /ɽ/ preceded by a nasalized vowel, e.g., *sayaŋi* ~ *sayāṛi* ‘lady’; *baŋao* ~ *bāṛao* ‘to be made, to be possible’; *daŋa* (Bahl 1962) ~ *dāṛa* ‘to walk around’.

g) /w/-Cluster

Barker (1953: 30) documents word forms with the consonant cluster /gw/, e.g., *eme-gwoḍ* for our *eme-god* {give-CMPL}, *gwadyena* for our *go-jena* ‘died’. These forms might indicate dialectal variation or represent older pronunciation of these words.

h) /ɲ/ and /y/, /m/ and /w/

Initial /ɲ/ is often realized as /y/, especially in the dialect of Remne, e.g., *ɲam* ~ *yam* ‘get’, *ɲel* ~ *yel* ‘look’ (Grierson 1909: 149). Medial /ɲ/ also changes to /y/ or is deleted between vowels. This change is complete in the word *laɲik* ‘child’ (Grierson, Barker, Bahl), pronounced *lain* in Kado Pani. In the word *naw* ‘name’, probably a loan from Indo-Aryan *nām*, original /m/ has shifted to /w/.

i) /kʰ/ and /j/

Final /kʰ/, which occurs after /i/ and /e/ and is palatalized as [cʰ] in coda position, is realized as /j/ before vowels, e.g., /wekʰ-ed-a/ → *wej-ed-a*.

j) /dʒ/, /tʃ/ and /r/; /d/ and /d/

The /dʒ/ in the perfect suffix *-keḍ* occasionally becomes /tʃ/ or /r/ between vowels, e.g., *dupilkerā* ‘carried’ (Grierson 1909: 150; Barker 1953: 29). The /dʒ/ in the past suffix *-teḍ* also alternates with /r/ between vowels, e.g., *kata-teḍ* vs. *kata-ter-a* ‘spoke’.

Bahl (1962) gives several words where final /d/ is realized as /dʒ/, e.g., *asiḍ* ‘to stop breathing’ vs. *asiḍ-u?* ‘to be on one’s dying breath’ (Bahl).

In this connection, Korwa has /dʒ/ or /tʃ/ corresponding to /d/ or /t/ in the final position in Mundari and Santali words (Barker 1953: 8), e.g., Korwa *maḍ* vs. Mundari *mad* ‘bamboo’.

§4 Morphophonology

a) Syncope of the last base vowel

A vowel in the final closed syllable of a polysyllabic verb base is deleted when a vowel-initial suffix follows, e.g., *sobo?* ‘to shove’ → *sobg-eɲ-me* ‘shove on me’; *karek* ‘to do’ → *karj-e* ‘do to it’; *jalām* ‘to lick’ → *jalm-eɲ-ta* ‘licks me’; *homor* ‘to ask’ → *homr-e* ‘to ask it’; *halaɲ* ‘to come across’ → *halɲ-e* ‘come across it’. *godar* ‘to scrape’ → *godr-e* ‘scrape it’. Syncope does not occur in the verb bases *dohon* ‘to be’ and *amiɲ* ‘to clean’.

Root-final *-ao* becomes *-aʔ* before the suffix *-ta*, e.g., *jɪyao* ‘to live’ → *jɪyaʔ-ta* ‘live/lives’.

b) Open-Syllable Lengthening

In disyllabic forms (including clitic phrases) with an open first syllable, the vowel in the first syllable is often lengthened, e.g. *hōɽ* = *e* {man-3SG} for /hoɽ = e/; *jōm-a* {eat-FIN} for /jom-a/; *sēn-a* {go-FIN} for /sen-a/.⁸

c) Deletion of /n/

Judging from the alternation between the past suffix *-en*, as in *wej-en-a* ‘came’, with *-ɛ*, as in *goʔ-ɛ-a* ‘took’, *tora-ɛ-a* ‘went away’ or *katao-ɛ-a* ‘said’, /n/ in this suffix seems to be deleted. In the same vein, the demonstrative pronoun *hǎek* ‘he, she, it’ was originally *hanik*, judging from Grierson’s *heni*. The exact conditions for this process remain unclear.

d) Apocope of /a/

Final /a/, especially the finiteness marker *-a*, is optionally deleted, e.g., *nīr-ɛan* ‘ran’ vs. *uɖao-ɛan-a* ‘flew up’; *han mela* ~ *hana mela* ‘at that time’; *paɽ^hao-ne* for *paɽ^hao-nen-a* (with loss of final /n/).

e) Loss of Final /n/

The non-past suffix *-ta* and the past suffixes *-ne* and *-ɛa* are also pronounced *-tan*, *-nen* and *-ɛan*, respectively. We analyze this as the optional deletion of word-final /n/. This rule is fed by Apocope, so *jom-tan-a* ‘eat(s)’ → *jom-tan* → *jom-ta*. *doho-nen-a* ‘was’ → *doho-nen* → *doho-ne*.

f) Intervocalic voicing

Morpheme-final voiceless unaspirated stops, which are checked in final or preconsonantal position, become voiced when followed by a vowel-initial suffix, e.g., *wek* ‘to come’ vs. *wej-a* ‘comes’.

§5 Nominal Stem

The nominal stems of Hill Korwa function as absolute (nominative-accusative) noun forms. They take case and possessive suffixes, clitics, and postpositions, and combine with other nominal stems to form compound nouns. Nominal stems with possessive suffixes also behave like nominal stems, e.g., *caɽlom-to-raʔ* {tail-POS-GEN} ‘of its tail’ (*Wolf*); *haɽ-t-am-re* {field-POS-2SG-LOC} ‘in your field’ (*Jackal*). Hill Korwa nominal stems are formed in the four primary ways.

a) Monomorphemic (Unanalyzable) Nouns

Examples: *hoɽ* ‘man’, *heɽe* ‘skin’.

⁸It is also possible that the lengthened vowels in *jōm-a* and *sēn-a* signal the past tense.

b) Nominal Stems Derived by Affixation

Examples: *jono?* ‘broom’ from *jo?* ‘to sweep’, and *anab* ‘washing’ from *ab* ‘to wash’ (Bahl), both with the nominalizing infix *-nV* (see §6); *tir-waha* ‘archer’ from *tir* ‘arrow’, and *haɽwaha* ‘ploughman’ from *haɽ* ‘field’, with the agent suffix *-waha*. *gogo?-ik* ‘porter’ (Bahl) from *go?* ‘to carry’ with the human suffix *-ik* and reduplication.

c) Verbal Nouns by Zero Conversion

Examples: *jau?* ‘meal’ from *jau?* ‘to cook’, *elay* ‘radiation emanating from fire’ from *elay* ‘to radiate heat’ (Bahl).

d) Nominal Compounds

Examples: *sermo-hor* ‘above’ from *sermo* ‘sky’ and *hor* ‘side’.

§6 Infixation

a) The emphatic infix *-nV*

All independent words, including loanwords (i.e. nouns, verbs, pronouns, adjectives and adverbs), can be highlighted using the infix *-n*. After an initial (C)V₁-, *-n* followed by V₁ (denasalized if nasal) is inserted. Although the exact semantic function of *-nV* is difficult to generalize, it is a productive process for marking focus or specificity. Some infixed forms acquire independent meanings, as in *mini* ‘the same’ from *mi* ‘one’.

Examples:

mi ‘one’ → *mini* ‘the same’

aek ‘oneself’ → *anaek* (— *mante*) ‘spontaneously’

bar ‘two’ → *banar* ‘both’

baɽhiya ‘fine’ → *banarhiya* ‘excellent’

am ‘you’ → *anam*

abu ‘we.IN’ → *anabu*

hãek → *hãnaek*

karatrik ‘of where’ → *kanaratrik*

ekle ‘alone’ → *enekle* ‘all by oneself’

sahi ‘real’ → *sanahi* ‘seriously’.

Verbs:

jom-ta → *jonom-ta*

=*me eme* → =*me eneme* ‘give!’

b) The Nominalizing Infix *-nV*

The infix *-nV* also derives nouns from verbs, a feature found in other Kherwarian languages, e.g., *jono?* ‘broom’ from *jo?* ‘to sweep’.

c) The Infix *-pV*

While the infix *-pV* in Mundari derives reciprocal forms, Hill Korwa *-pV*, its putative cognate, does not seem to have a consistent meaning. It attaches to both nouns and verbs. E.g.

sayãṭ-ku ‘old people’ → *sapayãṭ-ku* ‘ancient people’

jono? ‘broom’ → *jopono?* ‘a kind of grass for making brooms’ (Bahl)

daram ‘to meet someone’ → *daparam* ‘to help each other’ (Bahl).

§7 Reduplicated Nouns and Adjectives

A few adjectives and adverbs are formed by full reduplication (repetition) of the base, e.g., *lolo* ‘hot’ from *lo* ‘to burn’; *roṭ roṭ* ‘very big’ (Bahl) from *roṭ* ‘big’; *sermo sermo* ‘exaggeratingly’ (Bahl) from *sermo* ‘sky, above’.

There are also fully reduplicated words which do not have single-ton counterparts, e.g., *siliḍ siliḍ* ‘dead of night’ (Bahl); *dʰuŋgiã dʰuŋgiã* ‘smoky’ (Bahl); *hegeṭ hegeṭ* ‘repeatedly’ (Bahl); *betel betel* ‘small insects’ (Bahl); *ḍaṇḍã ḍaṇḍã raŋg* ‘color stripes’ (Bahl).

Partial reduplication of the initial CVC or CV is found in *cil-cila* ‘what on earth, anything’ from *cila* ‘what’, and *ba-bar* from *bar* ‘two’, respectively.

§8 Nominal Suffixation

-æk ‘a human suffix. See §9.

-kun ‘and so on’ e.g., *da?-kun* ‘water and so on’, *mase-kun* ‘urad beans and so on’, *seŋgel-kun* ‘fire and so on’.

-tuku ‘and others’: The third-person plural possessive suffix *-tuku* (§17) has the meaning ‘and others’ when there is no antecedent, e.g., *in-aya-apaŋ-tuku* ‘my parents and others’ (*My Life* 1’13).

Possessive *-t*: See §17.

Diminutive *hon*: *hon* ‘child, young’ is attached after nouns and serves as a diminutive suffix, e.g., *saḥan hon-ko* ‘kindlings’ from *saḥan* ‘firewood’; *ḍubʰã hon* ‘a small metallic cup’ (Bahl) from *ḍubʰã* ‘large cup’; *ḍoḍʰã hon* ‘a small ditch’ (Bahl) from *ḍoḍʰã* ‘pit’.

§9 Adjectives

There are no special suffixes Hill Korwa adjectives have in common. Except for the suffixation of *-æk* to derive adjectives modifying human nouns (see below), Hill Korwa adjectives do not show morphological alternation either. An exception is *rōṭ* ‘big’ which becomes *roṭa* when modifying nouns, e.g., *rōṭ idan-e-a* ‘it is big’ vs. *roṭa ḍali* ‘a big basket’, *roṭa buḍi* ‘big digging stick’.

a) Human adjective suffix *-æk*

When modifying a human noun, the human suffix *-æk* is added to adjective or nominal bases (Grierson 1909: 151 ‘noun of agency’), e.g., *rōṭæk* ‘wagaṇ’ ‘my elder brother’ from *rōṭ* ‘big’; *huḍiṇæk* ‘bohoṇ’ ‘my younger brother’ from *huḍiṇ* ‘small’; *kare-æk* ‘hili’ ‘sister-in-law of where’ from *kare* ‘where’. In *gujuṭæk* ‘hoṭ ‘dead person’ (Millipede 10’06), *-æk* is attached to a non-past finite verb form *gujuṭa* ‘dies’.

b) Deverbative human adjective suffix *-ik*

Bahl gives agent nouns or adjectives formed from verbs with *-ik*, as in Santali *-ic* (Anderson 2007:17): *ase jom-ik* ‘hoṭ ‘beggar’ (Bahl) from *ase jom* ‘to live on begging’; *sereṇ-ik* ‘hoṭ ‘musician’ (Bahl) from *sereṇ* ‘to sing’. *cacalao-ik* ‘hoṭ ‘driver’ (Bahl) from *calao* ‘to drive’ with reduplication; *gogoṭ-ik* ‘porter’ (Bahl) from *goṭ* ‘to carry’ with reduplication. *gujuṭa-ik* ‘hoṭ ‘dead man’ from *gujuṭa* ‘is dead’.

c) Inanimate adjective suffix

For inanimate nouns, a similar formation with verb reduplication and the suffix *-te* is found in *jajaūṭe oṛāṭ* ‘kitchen’ (Bahl).

§10 Compound Nouns and Adjectives

Compound nouns and adjectives are formed by juxtaposing two bases. While compounds normally consist of free forms, some compounds consist of shorter base forms, e.g., *eṇḡ-ap* ‘parents’ (Bahl) from *eṇḡa* ‘mother’ and *apa* ‘father’; *mail-daṭ* ‘water with scurf’ from *maila/ mail* ‘scurf’ and *daṭ* ‘water’.

a) Coordinative compounds (‘A and B’)

eṇḡa-apa ‘parents’, and *eṇḡ-ap* id. (Bahl); *eṇḡa-hon* ‘mother (goat) and its young’; *waser-peska-muṇḍæk* ‘tuber, turnip(?) and yam’.

b) Determinative compounds

The first member can be a verbal base, as in *aṇu ipil* {dawn-star} ‘morning star’ from *aṇu* ‘to dawn’, or a numeral as in *bar-gagri* ‘two potfuls (of)’. *heher-hoṭ* {steal-person} ‘thief’ (Bahl) from *heher* ‘to steal’. *kūl-d^haṇḡri* {tiger-girl} ‘young female tiger’; *d^haṇḡri-lain* {girl-child} ‘girl’; *ḍiṇḡ^ha-lain* {boy-child} ‘boy’; *dūd-ik* {milk-excrement} ‘excrement of milk’.

c) Possessive compounds (‘B of A’)

iṇ-aya {1SG-mother} ‘my mother’, *alaṇ-oṛaṭ* {1DU.IN-house} ‘our house’ (see §17); *mase-kud^ha* {urad-heap} ‘heap of urad beans’; *maṭ-daṭ* {gruel-water} ‘gruel’.

d) Echo words

Hill Korwa has many echo words as in other South Asian languages. The echoed element, which usually comes after the base, is formed by replacing the initial CV of the base by *j^ha-* etc., but there appears to be no default pattern. *kariya-mariya* ‘blackish’ from *kariya* ‘black’; *apan-j^hapan* ‘each’ from *apan* ‘oneself’.

e) Echoed expressives

Many expressives are formed by repetition and mutation of the initial CV of the second element. There is no default pattern of mutation. E.g. *ucud-acaq* ‘heap, mound’ (Bahl); *kac-kic* ‘snip!’ *kābā? kūbū?* ‘full-breasted’ (Bahl); *jāb jūb* ‘to walk in mud’ (Bahl); *haṭā kaṭā* ‘(of person) stout’ (Bahl); *roḍo-boḍo* ‘rambling together’; *suru-k^huru* ‘to huddle together’; *tayāṅ bayāṅ?* ‘to move around aimlessly’ (Bahl); *āṭā ūṭū* ‘uneven land’ (Bahl); *akal-sakal* ‘to be unconscious (before death)’ (Bahl); *aleaṇ j^haleaṇ* ‘walking lazily’ (Bahl);

§11 Noun: Cases

In Hill Korwa, arguments of a verb, i.e. the subject and the direct object, are not marked for their cases. Instead, the subject and the object are judged primarily from marking of the object on the verb and of the subject on the verb or on the preceding word, and secondarily from the unmarked word order of Subject-Object-Verb. In the following example, the subject is marked by the pronominal clitic on the verb, and the object by the object suffix after the verb base *marwa*.

- (1) am *iṇ* marwa-eṇ-ta =m
 you I kill-1SG-NPT =2SG
 “You are going to kill me” (Tiger 4’45)
 (Mundari: am *aṇ* goeṭ-ta-ṇ =me.)

For adjuncts, Hill Korwa has a few case suffixes. Genitive *-ra?* (see §17), locative *-re*, instrumental-ablative *-te*, and ablative *-ate*, are phonologically dependent on their hosts, and we treat them as case suffixes. Other markers, such as comitative *sude*, dative *lagin*, directive *aṅgi*, form their own stress domains, and we treat them as postpositions.

a) Genitive

The genitive suffix is *-ra?* when the modified noun is inanimate, *-rik^h* when singular animate, *-rikina?* when dual animate, and *-rikua?* when plural animate, e.g., *pok^hra-ra? da?* {pond-GEN water} ‘water of the pond’ (Hungry Wolf 7’35); *am-ra? jān* {you-GEN life} ‘your life’ (Tiger 4’18); *æk^h-ra? kucu* {self-GEN bag} ‘[his] own bag’; *am-rik^h aṇa* {you-GEN grand-

father} ‘your grandfather’ (*Firefly* 5’24); *am-rikina?* *beṭa-beṭi-kin* {you-GEN.DU boy-girl-DU} (*Twin* 6’52); *gāḍ-rikua?* *ayumi-ku* {village-GEN.PL woman-PL} ‘women of the village’ (*Bamboo Shoots* 0’00).

The genitive suffixes occur after pronouns as well as nouns, as in *iṇ-ra?* ‘my’, *ale-ra?* ‘our.EX’, and nouns with or without number and possessive suffixes, as in *caṭlom-to-ra?* *pīb* {tail-POS-GEN pus} ‘pus from its tail’ (*Wolf*, 6’11).

b) Instrumental and ablative

Judging from the Mundari ablative suffix *-ate*, the original ablative suffix of Hill Korwa was *-ate* and the original instrumental was *-te*. Due to case syncretism, *-te* now covers ablative, instrumental and comitative meaning (‘from, with, than’), encroaching the domain of *-ate*. Even the same speaker uses *-te* and *-ate* interchangeably, e.g., *iṇ-ate rōṭaek* ‘elder than I’ (*My Life* 14’00) vs. *iṇ-te huḍiṇ* ‘younger than I’ (*My Life* 26’59).

Ablative: *bajar-te* ‘from the market’; *isga-te* ‘out of jealousy’, *hāsu-te* ‘out of pain’; *dosor aṇgi-te* ‘from a different side’; *iṇ-te huḍiṇ* ‘younger than I’. Instrumental: *hana paisā-te* ‘with that money’. Comitative: *sayāṛi-te katao-ḷ-a* ‘talked to the lady’.

c) Locative

The locative suffix is *-re*. *-re* can be nominalized or adjectivized by attaching the plural suffix *-ko/ku*, e.g., *harrapāt-reko pahaṛi-koṛwa lain-ko* ‘those of Harrapat, the Hill Korwa girls/ the Hill Korwa girls of Harrapat’.

Location: *oṛa?* *re* ‘at home’, *ōt-re* ‘on the ground’, *guḍa-re* ‘in a goat-pen’. Manner: *na uṛi-re* ‘this way’.

§12 Postposition

-aṇgi ‘to, towards’ expresses direction of movement.

-ka ‘at, with, to the place of’: *-ka* is often attached to human nouns and marks destination of the verbal action.

- (2) *seṇgel ase =kin sēn-a hanaek* ‘*ḍaṅgri-lain-ka*
 fire beg =3DU go-FIN she girl-child-ALL
 “They went to the girl’s place to beg for fire” (*Bamboo Shoots* 1’53)
 (Mundari: *akin kuṛi hon-ta?* *seṇgel asi =kin sen-ke-n-a*)

-cere ‘at the place of, with’

- (3) *iṇ =hō iṇ-apaṇ -cere =ṇ udu?* *pe-ta=ṇ*
 I too I-father -with =1SG explain-2PL-NPT=1SG
 “I will also tell my father about you guys” (*Cattle* 2’07)
 (Mundari: *aṇ =o apu-ṇ-ta?* *re (kaji) =ṇ udub-a-pe-a*.)

penda-re ‘under, below’, e.g., *patroŋga penda-re* ‘under dry leaves’ (*Tiger and Cat* 1’40).

-laga or *-lagin* is a dative suffix meaning ‘for, for the sake of, due to’. E.g. *iŋ-lagin* ‘for me’; *wek-laga* ‘for coming’; *cila-laga* ‘for what, why’.

-lek^he ‘like’, e.g., *p^haŋa-lek^he oŋa?* ‘a house like rubbles’

-sude (Bahl *sudā*) has comitative meaning (‘with’). *hola =iŋ jagua-suden* = *iŋ jumaon-en-a* ‘I met Jagua yesterday’; *iŋ bablu-sude =ŋ wek-ta* ‘I will come with Bablu’.

§13 Adverb

An adverbial phrase is formed with *maʔan* ‘that way’ *tonoŋ maʔan* ‘in any way’; *anaek^h mante* ‘of itself, spontaneously’. There are locative and temporal adverbs: *sermohor*, *nethor* ‘above’, *nochor* ‘below’; *nuhu* ‘now’, *agua* ‘before’, *deihor-te* ‘later’; *mand^herma* ‘day before yesterday’ (Bahl), *hola* ‘yesterday’, *tisiŋ* ‘today’, *gapa* ‘tomorrow’, *āŋū?* ‘tomorrow’ (Bahl), *miāŋ* ‘day after tomorrow’ (Bahl), *termāŋ* ‘fourth day from tomorrow’ (Bahl), *terdūi*, *tersermo* ‘fifth day from today’ (Bahl); *kalom* ‘year after next’, *niskālom* ‘next year’.

The word for ‘yes’ is *hā* ‘yes’. In negative answers, *bai-a* ‘No, I don’t’ occurs in declarative negation and *eroʔ-a* ‘no, I won’t’ (Barker 1953: 33 *ero=iŋ*) for modal or hypothetical context, e.g. *bai-a=ŋ goy! am jalām goek^h ŋet-kye-ŋ-ta*. — *ero!* ‘No, I am not going (with you)! You would lick and kill me.’ “No, I wouldn’t!” (*Tiger* 5’11).

§14 Personal Pronouns

Hill Korwa has personal pronouns of the first and second persons, singular, dual and plural numbers (see Table 1.3). There is no distinction by gender. For the first-person dual and plural, there are distinct forms for inclusive and exclusive reference, depending on whether the addressee(s) is/are included in their referents. Distal demonstrative pronouns (*maek^h* etc.) or anaphoric demonstrative pronouns (*hāek^h* etc.) serve as third-person pronouns.

When the third-person subject is referred to in the same sentence again, the reflexive pronouns *aeke^h* SG, *akin* DU and *aku* PL are used instead of the demonstrative pronouns.

§15 Pronominal Clitics and Suffixes

Pronominal clitics of the first and second persons are the same as the corresponding independent pronouns except that the initial vowels are dropped or changed (see Table 1.4).

The first-person pronominal clitic is *=ŋ* (= *ŋ*) after a vowel, and *=iŋ* (= *iŋ*) or *=eŋ* (= *eŋ*) after a consonant. In the second-person, *=m* appears

Table 1.3: Personal Pronouns

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1	<i>iŋ</i>	<i>aliŋ</i> EX <i>alaŋ</i> IN	<i>ale</i> <i>abu</i>
2	<i>am</i>	<i>aba</i>	<i>ape</i>
3	<i>maekʰ</i>	<i>makin</i>	<i>maku</i>

Table 1.4: Pronominal Clitics

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1	<i>=(i/e)ŋ</i>	<i>=liŋ</i> EX <i>=laŋ</i> IN	<i>=le</i> <i>=bu</i>
2	<i>=(i/e/o)m</i>	<i>=ba</i>	<i>=pe</i>
3	<i>=e</i>	<i>=kin</i>	<i>=ku</i>

after a vowel, as in *cila-laga=m* ‘why’, and *=em*, *=im* or *=om* after a consonant, as in *daʔ=om* or *mās=im*. *=me* also occurs in interrogative clauses, as in the following example.

- (4) *kare-ʔa maŋɖar =me baja-ta*
 where-GEN drum =2SG beat-NPT
 ‘What drum (lit. drum of where) are you beating?’ (Wolf 11’01)
 (Mundari: *kota-raʔ dumaŋ =em saŋi-ta-n-aʔ*)

For the third person, there are unique pronominal clitics, singular *=e*, dual *=kin* and plural *=ku*.

Note that the dual and plural imperative clitics, *=ba* and *=pe*, are isomorphic as the pronominal clitics.

When attached to a word immediately preceding a verb, a pronominal clitic marks the agent of the verb. When the verb is clause-initial, the pronominal clitic occurs as a proclitic, e.g., *=e jog-e-a* {=3SG chase-OBJ.3SG-FIN} ‘He chased it’ (Jackal 3’31). Alternatively, they may be attached after a verb, e.g., *oteŋ =iŋ* {go =1SG} ‘I will go’ (Twin 0’27); *ul iŋ goɖ-agu-ta=iŋ* {mango I cut-bring-NPT=1SG} ‘I will cut and bring mangoes’ (Twin 0’27).

Hill Korwa also has pronominal suffixes (Table 1.5), a set of morphemes almost identical to the pronominal clitics, which are attached to nouns either with or without *-t* and mark possessors of their referents (see §17).

Yet another set of similar suffixes is the object suffix of verbs, for which see §31.

Table 1.5: Pronominal Suffixes

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1	-(i/e) <i>n</i>	-(a) <i>liŋ</i> EX -(a) <i>laŋ</i> IN	-(a) <i>le</i> -(a) <i>bu</i>
2	-(a) <i>m</i>	-(a) <i>ba</i>	-(a) <i>pe</i>

§16 Reflexive Pronoun

ækʻ, or *anaekʻ* extended with *-nV-*, serves as the reflexive pronoun for all persons. Note that in (5), the suffix marking the object (§30) is not first-person *-iŋ*, but third-person *-e*.

- (5) *iŋ anaekʻ* = *iŋ neŋʻ-ter-e-a*
 I self =1SG beat-PST-OBJ.3SG-FIN

“I beat myself” (elic.)

(Mundari: *aŋ ge* = *ŋ dal-en-ta-n-a*, with reflexive *-en*.)

When the subject is referred to in the same sentence repeatedly, *ækʻ* is used.

- (6) *naekʻ aekʻ-raʻ kucu dohon-a haŋɖa* = *e solŋ-e-a*
 this self-GEN bag be-FIN there =3SG put.in-OBJ-FIN
 “This [man] put it in *his* bag which was there” (*Father-in-law* 0ʻ37)
 (Mundari: *niyaʻ taila-re* = *ʔ jogao-ke-d-a*.)

§17 Possession Markers

Hill Korwa has the following four ways of marking possession between NP’s. For clausal possession, see §51.

a) Direct suffixation

Some kinship terms or body-part nouns take pronominal suffixes directly, e.g., *era-ŋ* ‘my wife’, *apa-ŋ* ‘my father’, *waga-ŋ* ‘my brother’, *ara-laŋ* ‘our son-in-law’, *ɖokra-ŋ* ‘my husband (lit. old man)’, *hili-ŋ* ‘my sister-in-law’, *horo-m* ‘your body’.

b) Compounding with a personal pronoun

It is possible to form a possessive compound with a personal pronoun as its first member. This kind of marking is limited to inalienable possessions such as kinship terms, the name, and also the house: *am-lain-kin* ‘your two children’, *iŋ-ara* ‘my son-in-law’, *iŋ-naw* ‘my name’, *iŋ-oŋaʻ* ‘my house’.

c) Possessive suffix *-t* and a pronominal suffix

The possessive suffix *-t* is attached to nouns in general, including nominal compounds. When followed by a pronominal suffix (§15), it marks

possession by the referent of the clitic, e.g. *oʔaʔ-t-am* ‘your house’, *kohŋda-t-am* ‘your pumpkin’, *jīw.jahān-t-ale* {circumstances-POS-1PL.EX} ‘our living conditions’. Note that the third-person singular form is *-t*, or *-to* after a consonant, and the third-person dual and plural form are *-tukin* and *-tuku*, respectively. After a consonant, *-at* is also found, as in *ah-at* ‘mouth’ (Barker 1953: 24).

The suffix *-t* is attached after the plural or dual suffix, e.g. *lain-kin-t-ijn* ‘my two children’, *siri-ku-t-am* ‘your goats’, *cuʔu-ku-t-alan* {mouse-PL-POS-1DU.IN} ‘the mice of us two’.

When *-t* is used by itself without a pronominal suffix, it functions as a ‘third person singular possessive suffix’ (Barker 1953: 21). This is typically found in kinship terms, as in *ara-t* ‘his/her son-in-law’ from *ara* ‘son-in-law’. *-t* used by itself alternates with the allomorph *-to* when attached to a base ending in a consonant, e.g., *koʔar-to* ‘grandchild’, *hon-to* ‘kid (of a goat)’. *-t/-to* also occurs with general nouns, such as *dʰar-to* ‘blade’ from Hindi *dʰār*, or *gad-to* ‘its sap’, and Barker (1953: 61) calls it a ‘partitive suffix’.

The third-person singular *-t* also occurs when there is no explicit possessor in the context, such as *dokra-t* ‘the old man’ and *sayāʔri-t* ‘the old lady’ (*Firefly*, 3’32). In such cases, *-t* is interpreted as marking definiteness or specificity (§58).

d) Genitive suffix

The genitive suffix *-raʔ* occurs both after a noun and a pronoun and signals possession, belonging, membership, inclusion and other noun-noun relationship, e.g., *ij-raʔ oʔaʔ* {I-GEN house} ‘my house’ (*Tiger* 2’05); *sāt kūa-raʔ daʔ* {seven well-GEN water} ‘water of seven wells’ (*Twin* 6’47). The Sadri genitive marker *-kar* is also used after inherited words as well as loanwords, e.g., *ara-j-kar vidyā* ‘my son-in-law’s wisdom’ (*Millipede* 6’51).

Like the demonstratives, this suffix shows concord with the number of the animate head noun and alternates with the allomorphs, singular *-rik*, dual *-rikina*, and plural *-rikua* (§11).

§18 Demonstratives

Demonstratives with *na-*, *ma-* and *hā-* signal proximal deixis, distal deixis, and anaphora, respectively (Table 1.6).

a) Animate demonstratives in *-ek*

Proximal *naek* ‘this’, distal *maek* ‘that’ and anaphoric *hāek* ‘that’ are used as demonstrative pronouns and adjectives with singular animate referents, e.g. *naek* ‘hoʔ’ ‘this man’, *maek* ‘urik’ ‘that cow’. Demonstratives

Table 1.6: Demonstrative Pronouns

	Singular	Dual	Plural	Inanimate
Proximal	<i>naek</i> ^ʔ	<i>nakin</i>	<i>nakua</i>	<i>naʔa</i>
Distal	<i>maek</i> ^ʔ	<i>makin</i>	<i>makua</i>	<i>māna</i>
Anaphoric	<i>hāek</i> ^ʔ	<i>hakin</i>	<i>hakua</i>	<i>hana</i>

show concord with animate referent nouns in number, e.g., *hāek*^ʔ *goʔiya* ‘that guest’, *hakina goʔiya-kin* ‘those two guests’, *hakua goʔiya-ku* ‘those guests’.

b) Inanimate demonstratives

naʔa, *mana* and *hana* are used for proximal, distal and anaphoric inanimate referents, respectively.

nandōraʔ ‘all these’, *mandōraʔ*, *handōraʔ* ‘all those, various’

c) Demonstrative adverbs

Place: *naŋda* ‘here’, *maŋda*, *haŋda* ‘there’.

Time: *ab*, *nana juar* ‘now’; *namelak* ‘these days’ (Bahl); *han mela*, *han kʰane*, *hana-re*, *mana juar* ‘then, at that time’, *hana juar* ‘now, at this moment’; *naʔa uʔi* ‘this way’, *han uʔi* ‘that way’; *hanaʔna* ‘then, after that’.

Direction: *nāraʔ* ‘this way’, *māraʔ* ‘that way’; *nandor* ‘hither’ vs. *hator* ‘thither’ (Bahl).

Extent: *naʔamin*, *namin* ‘this much’, *manamin* ‘that much’, *hamin* ‘that much’.

d) Demonstrative verbs

iya seems to mean ‘to do like this’, e.g., *cila-laga =ba iya-ki-a na uʔi* ‘“Why did you do this?”’ (*Bamboo Shoots* 4’11).

e) Demonstrative interjections

Forms calling attention are formed with demonstratives and *-hen(a)*, e.g., *nehena*, *naehena*, *nanhen* ‘look this’; *maehen* ‘look that’. *-hen* also derives the interrogative verb *kare-hen-a* ‘where is it?’ (§35).

§19 Interrogatives and Indefinites

a) Interrogatives

cila ‘what’, *cila-laga* ‘for what, why’, *cila-te* ‘with what, how’; *iye* ‘who’; *tumis* ‘when’; *tumijn* ‘how many’; *kare* ‘where’; *kara* ‘which’, *kara-angi* ‘which way, whither’, *kara-uʔi* ‘how’.

b) Indefinites

cila ‘some’, e.g., *sakam penda ja cila* ‘under leaves or something’ (*Tiger and Cat* 1’33); *kara* ‘some’, e.g., *kara rajj-re sompa-teq-i-a* ‘She married her off in some country’ (*Firefly* 6’20); *kahĩ* ‘some’, e.g., *kahĩ hoq* ‘some person’; *tonoŋ* ‘some’, e.g., *tonoŋ-uŋi* ‘somehow’; *kono* ‘someone, something’; *iyehama* ‘someone’; *mandōra?* ‘various’

§20 Template of a Verb

a) Maximal template of a Hill Korwa verb

A Hill Korwa verb has maximally six slots.

₁CAUS ₂BASE-₃BEN-₄TENSE/ASP-₅OBJ-₆FIN

Of these slots, only the verb base (BASE) is obligatory. The first slot, CAUS, is occupied by the causative prefix *ece-* in productive causative formation. The second slot is always occupied by the verb base. The verb base includes bases extended with reduplication (§23) or the *-nV* infix (§6), compound bases like *jo?* *bolo* ‘to chase and corner’, and bases with explicator verbs like the completive *godq*. When used by itself with the imperative clitic, the verb base signals the imperative. The third slot, BEN, is occupied by the benefactive suffix *-wa* when there is an overt beneficiary of the verbal action. The fourth slot is occupied by a tense or aspect marker, which is a portmanteau suffix and also signals transitivity. The fifth slot is for the direct object or the experiencer of a transitive verb. The subject marker of a few verbs such as *idan* ‘to be, to exist’ and *kowa* ‘to be absent’ also occurs in this slot (§31). The sixth and the last slot is occupied by the finiteness suffix *-a* or *-ik*, or the non-past suffix *-ta*. The finiteness suffix *-a* often drops.

Examples: *jo?*-*kiq-ijn-a* {₂chase-₄PRF-₅1SG-₆FIN} ‘chased me’; *bolo-godq-ter-i-a* {₂{corner-CMPL}-₄PST-₅3SG-₆FIN} ‘has cornered it’; *kata-got-wa-q-a* {₂{tell-CMPL}-₃BEN-₅3SG-₆FIN} ‘told him’ *jau?*-*wa-lan-a* {₂cook-₃BEN-₅1DU.IN-₆FIN} ‘cooks for us two’; *ece-jom-bu-ta* {₁CAUS-₂eat-₅1PL.IN-₆NPT} ‘makes us eat’.

b) Exceptions

When two objects are marked on ditransitive verbs in the non-past, the suffix denoting the indirect object comes after *-ta*, followed by the finiteness suffix *-a*, while the direct object is marked in the slot OBJ, e.g., *idi-go?*-*wa-e-ta-m-a* {bring-carry-BEN-OBJ-NPT-2SG-FIN} ‘I will bring it along for you’ (*My Wedding* 0’42)

In the following forms, the benefactive *-wa* occurs before the tense/aspect marker, after which the indirect object is marked, unlike *kata-got-wa-q-a* above: *=me eme-wa-godq-en* {=2SG give-BEN-CMPL-1SG} ‘give

it to me' (*Wolf* 6'29); *udu²-wa-ter-in-a* {talk-BEN-PST-1SG-FIN} '(he) told me (that)' (*Firefly* 4'28).

§21 Verb Root

The verb root is an unanalyzable part of a verb base which denotes verbal action. Hill Korwa verb roots are either monosyllabic or disyllabic, with the templates CV, (C)VC and (C)V(C)CV(X).

CV: *si* 'to plough', *lo* 'to burn', *de* 'to give' (Bahl). *-go* CMPL and *-wi* as in *sebel wi* 'to have an agreeable taste' might originally be verb roots.

(C)VC: *um* 'to bathe', *sen* 'to go', *nam* 'to find'.

(C)VVC: *sāl* 'to sing'.

(C)VCV: *tula* 'to make'.

(C)VCCV: *lambu* 'to sink', *sompa* 'to marry off'.

(C)VCVC: *iyam* 'to cry', *duṛub* 'to sit', *cala²* 'to shoot', *dewer* 'to return'.

(C)VCCVC: *reṅka²* 'to moan', *artiṅ* 'to steal'.

(C)VCVV: Some verbs, mostly those borrowed from Indo-Aryan, have the shape (C)VCVV: *jiyao* 'to live', *lagao* 'to attach', *banao* 'to become', *bayao* 'to be confused', *b^heṭao* 'to meet, to get', *t^hakao* 'to be tired'.

§22 Verb Base

When a verb root is extended by suffixation or by compounding, it forms an extended root, which can take the same set of affixes as a simple root. We call simple and complex roots 'verb bases'.

a) Affixation

Although it is not easy to draw a line between derivation and inflection, verbs extended with unproductive affixes can be counted as verb bases, e.g., *akiriṅ* 'to sell' with the causative prefix *a-*; *buta²* 'to work' from *buta* 'job'.

b) Compounding

Compounding of verb bases such as *ase-jom* 'to live on begging' from *ase* 'to beg' and *jom* 'to eat' is highly productive in Hill Korwa (§40). There are also explicator verbs such as completive *goḍ* and middle *jom* (§39).

c) Conversion from nouns

As in other Munda languages, Hill Korwa has a productive process of zero conversion, and many nouns serve as verbs without suffixation, e.g., *c^hawaputa-ne* 'had children' from *c^hawa-puta* 'children'; *k^harca-ṛ-a* 'spent money' from *k^harca* 'expense'; *kahāni-ta* 'tell a story' from *kahāni* 'story'; *baha* 'to decorate with flowers' from *baha* 'flower'; *biāṛ* 'to transplant paddy' from *biāṛ* 'paddy seedlings' (Bahl); *buca²* 'to make a hole' from *buca* 'hole' (Bahl); *ara²* 'to make someone one's son-in-law' from *ara*

‘son-in-law’; *serep* ‘to sing’ from *serep* ‘song’; *jau?* ‘to cook’ from *jau?* ‘cooked rice, meal’.

The direction of derivation is not clear in some pairs, such as *apik* ‘sleep’ and ‘to sleep’; *hikiq* ‘hiccup’ and ‘to hiccup’ (Bahl); *gutali* ‘tickling sensation’ and ‘to tickle’ (Bahl).

The semantic process of derivation is not always straightforward. For example, Bahl gives pairs such as *med* ‘to have an eye disease’, and the base noun, *med* ‘eye’, where the meaning of the verb cannot be easily inferred from that of the noun.

d) Conversion from phrases

Phrases are also converted to verbs, e.g., *na?a-u?i* ‘this way’ → *na?a-u?i-?an-a* ‘became like this’ (Firefly, 4’20); *kara-lek^he* ‘like what’ → *kara-lek^he-n* ‘what shall I do?’.

§23 Reduplication of Verbs

a) Reduplication of initial CV

When the initial CV of the verb base is reduplicated, the form often has repetitive or continuative meaning compared to its unreduplicated counterpart. For example, the reduplicated form *jojom-ta* in (7) refers to the full board of the school dormitory and has repetitive connotation, while *jom-ta* in *am cila* = *m jom-ta* ‘What do you eat (to pass such nice stool)?’ (Wolf 7’48) and *jonom-ta* in *am cila do* = *m jonom-ta* ‘(Seriously,) what do you eat?’ (Wolf 9’11) rather denotes habitual eating.

- (7) *in do tisin ba?hiya =n jojom-ta*
 I TOP today fine =1SG eat.RED-NPT
 ‘I have fine meals today’ (My Life 25’20)
 (Mundari: *an do tisin bese maja =n jom-e-a*.)

In (8), reduplicated *sasab* refers to the crane’s repeated catching, while the unreduplicated *-nV* form *sanab* in *alin mer =ko ewali?a sanab* ‘[The Dihari Korwa girls] did not let us two even touch the food they cooked’ (My Life 8’22) refers to touching of food, which never took place.

- (8) *bukli ewa-?-a sasab*
 crane give-PST-FIN catch.RED
 ‘[The wolf] let the crane catch [the mice it drove]’ (Hungry Wolf 0’16)
 (Mundari: *ko? (cu?u) =e? sab-rika-ja-?-i-a*.)

In the following examples, some are semantically distinct from unreduplicated forms, but no obvious semantic difference is found in others.

jojom-ta ‘(cattle) keep eating grains’ (*Cattle* 0’43) from *jom* ‘to eat’. Continuative or repetitive.

gogo?-a ‘took (a piece of meat)’ (*Wolf* 2’18) from *go?* ‘to take, carry’. No difference.

naŋam ‘to search (for their missing daughter)’ (*Bamboo Shoots* 4’07) from *naŋ* ‘to find’. Continuative or conative.

nepel-pe-ta ‘I will watch out for you’ (*Wolf* 10’22) from *nepel* ‘to look’. Continuative.

jajau?-tan ‘cooked (in a hurry)’ (*Tiger* 1’42) from *jau?* ‘to cook’. Expeditive.

cocorao-laga ‘in order to steal’ (*Bamboo Shoots* 4’46) from *corao* ‘to steal’. No difference.

susudita ‘I am aware’ (*My Life* 3’18) from *sudi* ‘to know’. Continuative.

gogo? ‘to be pregnant’ (Bahl), probably from *go?* ‘to carry’. Continuative.

b^hib^hili ‘to lay egg’ (Bahl), from *sim b^hili* ‘egg’.

There are also verbs that appear to be reduplicated but have no unreduplicated bases, e.g., *raraŋ* or *ruruŋ* ‘to be cold’, *tataŋ* ‘to be thirsty’, *bubul* ‘to be good (of rice beer)’, *cucuŋ* ‘to urinate’, *dudu* ‘to drink milk’.

b) Reduplication by the CVC template

dobqobo ‘to be close (ref. to weather)’ (Bahl); *kilkilā?* ‘to run with a fluttering noise (of a cock)’ (Bahl).

c) Full reduplication

d^hōgor d^hōgor ‘to make a buzzing sound like bees’ (Bahl); *caṭob caṭob* vt. ‘to click repeatedly’ (Bahl); *depel depel* ‘to be not able to swim’ (Bahl).

§24 Light Verbs

While Hill Korwa has a productive process of zero conversion from nouns to verbs, it is also possible to form verb phrases from adjectives and action nouns with the light verb *jua?* ‘to become’, e.g., *k^hus jua?* ‘to feel happy’ (along with *k^husi* ‘to be happy’); *simd^ha jua?* ‘to become wet’ (Bahl). In *perek^h jua?* ‘to become full’ from *perek^h* ‘to fill’, *jua?* intransitivizes the transitive verb *perek^h*. The verbs are usually intransitive, but there are also transitive ones, such as *parom jua?* ‘to jump across’ (Bahl; cf. Hindi *pār honā*).

There are also cases where *jua?* does not cause conversion or intransitivization, e.g., *geted jua?* ‘to go to sleep’ (Barker 1953: 72) from *getek^h* ‘to sleep’, *bul jua?* ‘to be drunk’ from *bul* id., *gwəd jua?* ‘to die’ (Barker 1953: 37) from *goek^h* id. Barker (1953: 44f.) notes an aspectual difference between forms with and without *jua?*, i.e. *mahak-ta* ‘it gives an odor’ vs.

mahak juaʔ-ta ‘it is about to give an odor’; *ged-ta* ‘he cuts’ vs. *ged juaʔ-ta* ‘it is about to be cut’.

karwe ‘to do’, probably borrowed from Sadri *karek* ‘to do’, is also used productively with action nouns, e.g. *vikās karwe* vi. ‘to develop’ from *vikās* ‘development’, *napae karwe* vt. ‘to improve’ from *napae* ‘well’.

§25 Infinitive

In addition to the imperative usage (§43, a bare verb base also serves as an infinitive, i.e. a form denoting an action noun, a complement of a verb or auxiliary, or an adverb expressing purpose and intent.

(9) *seŋgel ase* =kin *sēn-a*

fire beg =3DU go-FIN

‘They went to beg for fire.’ (*Bamboo Shoots* 1’53)

(Mundari: *seŋgel asi* =kin *sen-ke-n-a*.)

(10) *paɽʰaʔ man* =hō *mer laga-ʔ-a*

study mind too NEG be.attached-PST-FIN

‘[I] did not feel like studying (lit. mind to study was not attached)’

(*My Life* 27’10)

(Mundari: *paɽao-re ji* =o *ka lagao-a*.)

As an action noun, a verb base can also take postpositions, e.g., *paɽʰaʔ-lagin* ‘in order to study’, *wekʰ-laga* ‘for coming’.

§26 Finiteness Marker -a

Verb forms (bases and tense/aspect and other suffixes) with the suffix *-a* serve as the finite verb. *-a* does not occur in non-finite forms such as converbs. It does not occur in the imperative, but it is optional in prohibitive forms with *aha*, and in question. The verbs in interrogative sentences often lack *-a*, as in (64) in §52, or (68) in §53. Even in declarative clauses, *-a* is often absent in the surface forms: it might not be obligatory, or might be deleted due to the word-final apocope (§4). *-a* is also invisible after verb bases ending in *a*, possibly due to coalescence, such as *tora* ‘to go away’ and *ida* ‘to be’.

The function of *-a* appears to be a marker of indicative predication. It occurs in the last slot of an inflected verb (FIN, §20), attached after all other suffixes.

c) *-gan*

-gana, *-gan* or *-ga* is found in past negative contexts, with the negator *mer*, e.g. *awe-gan* ‘could’; *sudi-ga* ‘knew’; *doho-ga* ‘was’ (might be from *dohoʔ*); *goʔ-ga* ‘took’; *patiao-gan* ‘trusted’. Since *-a* also occurs with *mer* in past contexts, *-gan* and *-a* might belong together.

- (11) han-mela haʃtal =hũ mer *banao-gana*
 that-time hostel too NEG be.made-PST
 “At that time, [construction of] the hostel *was not even finished*” (*My Life* 6’29)
 (Mundari: *en-samae hostel =o ka bai-aka-n tai-ke-n-a.*)

d) *-i(k)*

-ik’ is attached to past suffixes *-ter* and *-(a)q*, and marks finite verbs: *-adik*’ as in *katao-adik*’ ‘spoke’; *-dik*’ as in *aʃu-dik*’ ‘left’; *-teri(k)*’ as in *jom-tirik*’ ‘ate’.

goted-ik’/*goter-ik*’ from *go* + *-ted* + *-ik*’, marks completion of the verbal action (§39) as in the following examples. *goted(i)-a* with the finiteness marker *-a* is also found. *-gadik*’ from *-gaq* + *-i(k)*’ also has completive connotation (see §39).

- (12) hana jonoʔ jom-gotedik’ hæk’ and^{ha}
 that broom eat-CMPL he blind
 “The broom ate *up* the blind [brother]” (*Tiger* 9’32)
 (Mundari: *hena jonoʔ en jala=eʔ jom-caba-ki-ʔ-a.*)

- (13) net =laŋ gotedi
 kill =1DU.IN CMPL
 “(Brother,) let us do away (with your wife)” (*Tiger* 7’28)
 (Mundari: *goeʔ-ki-a =laŋ.*)

d) Finite verbs without finiteness markers

In narrative contexts, finite verbs are sometimes used without finiteness markers, e.g., *hæk’ baŋʔo sengel agu sodortet*. “*ne go karekuhen*” “That wolf brought back fire. ‘Hey, where are [our mice]?’” (*Hungry Wolf* 1’13). Such verbs without finiteness markers are considered converbs used as finite verbs in storytelling.

§27 Transitivity

Most verb bases of Hill Korwa are unmarked for transitivity, and portman-teau tense suffixes such as *-ked* and *-ted/-ter/-tar* (§38), and/or object suffixes (§31), mark transitivity. For the transitivity of compound verbs, see §40.

a) Transitive and intransitive suffixes

Of the morphemes constituting verbal bases, *-ʔ* often occurs with intransitive verbs. There are pairs of verb bases contrasting in final *-ao* and *-aʔ*, such as *utrao* ‘to put something down’ vs. *utraʔ* ‘to come down’; *uqao* vt.,

vi. ‘to fly’ vs. *uḍaʔ* vi. ‘to fly’; *jumao* ‘to get together, to gather’ vs. *ju-maʔ* ‘to meet’; *jiyao* ‘to live’ vs. *jiyaʔ* ‘to live’ (*jiyaʔ-ba* ‘live!’); *katao* ‘to speak’ ~ *kataʔ* ‘to speak’; *bahalao* (Bahl) ‘to amuse’ vs. *bahalaʔ* (Bahl) ‘to be amused’. In the pairs *utrao* vs. *utraʔ* and *bahalao* vs. *bahalaʔ*, *-ao* and *-aʔ* serve to mark transitivity and intransitivity, respectively. However, *-ao* also occurs with intransitive verbs such as *jiyao* ~ *jiyaʔ* ‘to live’. *-ʔ* contrasts not only with verbs ending in *-ao*, but also with verb bases with the object suffix *-e*, e.g., *kataʔ-ta* ‘speak’ vs. *katae-ta* ‘to say (something)’. *kataʔ-ta* occurs in monologue, as in the following example.

- (14) hæk’ ayumi =e *kataʔ-tan* oh jama =ku goʔ-tan
 that woman =3SG speak-NPT oh.my all =3PL carry-NPT
 ‘That woman *said [to herself]*, ‘Oh my! They are all carrying bam-
 boo shoots [leaving me behind]!’” (*Bamboo Shoots*, 0’15)
 (Mundari: *en kuṛi kaji-n-ta-n-a ci oho soben-ko-te goʔ-e-ka.*)

The default object suffix *-e* transitive verbs intransitive or labile verb roots overtly (cf. §31 b), e.g., *caba* ‘to be finished’ → *caba-e* ‘to finish something’. *-e* in such verbs are analyzed as a transitive marker, for it occurs with both animate and inanimate direct objects, e.g., *maṇḍar* =e *bajae-ta* ‘beats a drum’ (*Wolf* 10’47).

b) Incorporated suffixes

Some verbs are combined with certain suffixes so tightly that the combination is taken as a verb base. For example, *dohon* ‘to stay, to be’ always ends in *n* before *-ta* in Kado Pani, while *doho-ta* occurs in the Chicago audiotapes.

§28 Transitivity Alternations

Of the types of causative and non-causative alternations mentioned in Haspelmath (1993),⁹ labile alternation and anticausative alternation are predominant in Hill Korwa, as we see below.

a) Causative alternation

Transitive verbs formed from an intransitive verb base and the object suffix *-e*, or the causative prefix *ece*, fall under the causative alternation, e.g. *caba* ‘to end, to be finished’ → *caba-e* ‘to finish something’; *salao* ‘to get lost’ → *ece salao* ‘to lose’; *wikās karwe* vi. ‘to develop’ → *wikās ece karwe* vt. ‘to develop’; *paṭʰao* ‘to study, to read’ → *paṭʰae* ‘to teach’.

⁹Haspelmath, Martin. 1993. More on the typology of inchoative/causative verb alternations. In Comrie, Bernard and Maria Polinsky (eds.), *Causatives and Transitivity*, Amsterdam: John Benjamin, 87–120.

b) Anticausative alternation

The anticausative suffix *-oʔ/-uʔ*, which signals spontaneity of the action, and the reflexive suffix *-n*, derive intransitive from transitive verbs, e.g.,

uqun ‘to take out something’ → *uqnuʔ* ‘to come out’; *ayum* ‘to hear, listen’ → *ayumuʔ* ‘to be audible’; *oko* ‘to hide’ → *oko-n* ‘to hide oneself’; *cāra* vt. ‘to stop’ → *cāra-n* vi. ‘to stop’; *baʔi* vt. ‘to roll’ → *baʔi-n* vi. ‘to roll’.

c) Equipollent alternation

A few pairs show both transitive and intransitive markers, e.g. *doho-n* ‘to live, to stay, to be’ vs. *doho-ʔ* ‘to put, to place’, both from *doho* ‘to live, to stay, to be’; *napae wek* vi. ‘to improve’ vs. *napae karwe* vt. ‘to improve’.

In addition, verb pairs ending in *-ao* in the transitive and *-aʔ* in the intransitive, can also be considered equipollent alternation: *kaʔhuao* vt. ‘to freeze’ → *kaʔhu-aʔ* vi. ‘to freeze’; *qubao* vt. ‘to sink’ → *qub-aʔ* vi. ‘to sink’; *ʔagʰalao* vt. ‘to melt’ → *ʔagʰalaʔ* vi. ‘to melt’; *gʰumao* vt. ‘to turn’ → *gʰu-m-aʔ* vi. ‘to turn’; *gorao* vt. ‘to dissolve’ → *gor-aʔ* vi. ‘to dissolve’; *hilwao* vt. ‘to rock’ → *hilwaʔ* vi. ‘to rock’; *juʔao* vt. ‘to connect’ → *juʔ-aʔ* vi. ‘to connect’; *jumao* vt. ‘to collect’ → *jumaʔ* vi. ‘to collect’.

d) Suppletive alternation

A few verbs make transitive-intransitive pairs with different lexemes, e.g., *bʰeʔao* ‘to be available’ vs. *nam* ‘to get’; *goek* ‘to die’ vs. *neʔ* ‘to kill’.¹⁰

e) Labile alternation

Many inherited verb bases function as transitive or intransitive verbs depending on the suffix they take. For example, *perek* *-ki-a* ‘filled’ is intransitive while *perek* *-keq-a* is transitive.

gaŋ ‘to boil’; *jʰura* ‘to dry’; *bereʔ* ‘to get up/ to wake up’; *iʔik* ‘to go out/ to put out’; *lo* ‘to burn’; *rap* ‘to be destroyed/ to destroy’; *perek* ‘to become full/ to fill’; *caba* ‘to finish’; *suru* ‘to begin’; *bel* ‘to spread’; *rem* ‘to rise/ to raise’; *badal* ‘to change’; *gik* ‘to open’; *siq* ‘to break’; *siŋ* ‘to close’; *haʔiŋ* ‘to split’; *ō* ‘to swell’; *duʔuʔ* ‘to sit/ to seat someone’; *boro* ‘to fear/ to scare’.

§29 Causative Verb

a) The causative prefix *a-*

While Hill Korwa has many labile verbs, a few verbs have the prefix *a-*, which is found in causative verbs in other Munda languages (Anderson 2007:

¹⁰*goek* ‘also has transitive meaning (‘to kill, to cause someone to die’). See §40.

29), e.g., *apu* ‘to cause to drink’ from *ju* ‘to drink’; *ajo* ‘to feed’ appears to be connected with *jom* ‘to eat’. While *akiriŋ* ‘to sell’ has no counterpart without *a-* (cf. *kija* ‘to buy’), cognate words such as Mundari *kiriŋ* ‘to buy’ points to a causative origin.

b) Causative verbs with *ece*

A more productive way to derive a causative verb is to add *ece* before the main verb (cf. Santali *oco* added *after* the main verb). *ece-jel* ‘to show’ from *jel* ‘to see’; *ece-tula* ‘to repair’ from *tula* ‘to make’ (cf. Hindi *banānā*); *ece-buta* ‘to make/let someone work’. The causee is marked with an object suffix, e.g. *ece-ju-bu-ta* ‘make(s) us drink’.

In contrast to *ajo*, *k^hiao* ‘to feed’, *ece-jom* ‘to cause to eat’ in the following example refers to the unpleasant consumption of stones the speakers were maneuvered into.

- (15) *diri ece-jom-bu-ta*
 stone CAUS-eat-1PL.IN-NPT
 “[That guy] *made us eat* stones” (Wolf 9’38)
 (Mundari: *diri ge jom-rika-bu-a.*)

c) Lexical causative verbs

Most of the lexical causative verbs are loanwords from Indo-Aryan causative verbs, e.g., *k^hiao* ‘to feed’ from Sadri *k^hiyāek* id.; *badalwao* ‘to cause to be changed’ from Hindi *badalvānā* id.

§30 Subject Marking

a) Subject marking

The animate subjects of most Hill Korwa finite verbs and converbs are marked by the pronominal clitics (§15, Table 1.4), attached either after a word preceding the verb, or after the verb itself.

There are a few verbs that mark their subjects with object suffixes, e.g. *idan* ‘to be, to stay’ (see §31).

b) Exceptions on the position of pronominal clitics

As discussed in §40, compound verbs, including nonce combinations, are treated as single words, and pronominal clitics are not attached between their constituents, e.g., *ab =e duru? aŋgu-teŋna* “Now, she sat down and passed the night” (*Firefly* 3’51).

When the pronoun *hāek* ‘or *naek*’ occurs immediately before the verb, the pronominal clitic *=e* is absent, e.g., *naek katae-tan* “It said” (*Jackal* 2’52); *hāek ayum-ŋam-teŋ-ik^h-ke katao-e-tan* “He heard her crying voice and talked to her” (*Firefly* 4’10).

Table 1.7: The object suffixes with the verb *sab* ‘to catch’

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1	<i>sab</i> ʔ- <i>kiq</i> - <i>ij</i> - <i>a</i>		
EX		<i>sab</i> ʔ- <i>keq</i> - <i>liŋ</i> - <i>a</i>	<i>sab</i> ʔ- <i>keq</i> - <i>le</i> - <i>a</i>
IN		<i>sab</i> ʔ- <i>keq</i> - <i>laŋ</i> - <i>a</i>	<i>sab</i> ʔ- <i>keq</i> - <i>bu</i> - <i>a</i>
2	<i>sab</i> ʔ- <i>keq</i> - <i>me</i> - <i>a</i>	<i>sab</i> ʔ- <i>keq</i> - <i>ba</i> ʔ- <i>a</i>	<i>sab</i> ʔ- <i>keq</i> - <i>pe</i> - <i>a</i>
3	<i>sab</i> ʔ- <i>keq</i> - <i>e</i> - <i>a</i>	<i>sab</i> ʔ- <i>keq</i> - <i>kin</i> - <i>a</i>	<i>sab</i> ʔ- <i>keq</i> - <i>ko</i> - <i>a</i>

§31 Object Marking

a) Object suffix

While Hill Korwa verbs do not take suffixes marking subjects, animate objects are marked with object suffixes, *-(i/e)ŋ* 1SG, *-liŋ* 1DU.EX, *-laŋ* 1DU.IN, *-le* 1PL.EX, *-bu* 1PL.IN, *-m(e)* 2SG, *-ba* 2DU, *-pe* 2PL, *-e/-i* 3SG, *-kin* 3DU, *-ku/ko* 3PL. See Table 1.7 for the actual forms. In the second-person singular, the suffix is *-me* after a consonant-final morpheme, and *-m* after a vowel-final morpheme. In the third-person singular, *-e* becomes *-i* when it is attached to a verb base whose last vowel is a high vowel, e.g., *agu-i* ‘to bring’ and *isin-i* ‘to cook’.

In compound verbs, the object suffix is attached to the final one. *ŋel-ʔawe-tiq-ij*-*a* ‘(he) can see me’ (Barker 1953: 36), where *-ij*, the object of *ŋel* ‘to see’, occurs after *awe* ‘can’.

b) *-e* without overt object

-e (*-i* after a high vowel) also occurs when there is no overt object. In such cases, it functions as a transitive marker, e.g. *ata-e* ‘to roast’ vs. *ata* id.; *kata-e* ‘to say’ vs. *kata* ‘to speak’; *gaqa-e* ‘to dig out something’ vs. *gaqa* ‘to dig’; *oŋgl-e* ‘to think something’ vs. *oŋgol* ‘to think’. Cf. the reflexive suffix *-n* which just signals intransitivity in some verbs such as *kuda-n* ‘to go back’ vs. *kuda* vt. ‘to return’ (§32).

c) Position of the object suffix

The object suffixes occur before the non-past suffix *-ta* or the finiteness suffix *-a*, after past *-aq*, *-teq* and perfect *-keq*: *katao-aŋ*-*ta* ‘spoke to me’, *taŋgi-m*-*ta* ‘wait for you’, *katao-aq*-*ij*-*a* ‘spoke to me’, *joʔ-kiq*-*ij*-*a* ‘chased me’, *goek* ʔ-*goŋ*-*kye*-*m*-*a* ‘have killed you’, *aŋu-ter*-*i*-*a* ‘left him’.¹¹

The object suffix also occurs after *-ta* in ditransitive verbs when OBJ, the slot before *-ta*, is filled by another object suffix referring to the direct object.

¹¹ *-e* occurs before *-aq* in *goʔ-e-aq*-*a* ‘carried it’ (*Bamboo Shoots* 0’41).

- (16) *mi-sag^ha =ɨn sonolon agu-i-ta-m-a*
 one-bucket =1SG rice.beer.IFX bring-OBJ-NPT-2SG-FIN
 ‘I will bring *you* a bucket of rice beer’ (*Wedding* 1’13)
 (Mundari: *mid caɬu ili =ɨn agu-a-m-a*.)

When the benefactive suffix *-wa* is added to the verb base, the object suffix follows it, e.g., *udu²-wa-m-ta* ‘tells you’. Note that the tense/aspect suffixes *-ter* and *-goɖ* intervene *-wa* and the object suffix (§20), e.g., *udu²-wa-ter-iɲ-a* ‘told me’ (*Firefly*).

In compound verbs, the object suffix is added after the last verb.

- (17) *wek^ʼ=me ɖega-so-ɲ=me*
 come=IMP jump-try-1SG=IMP
 ‘Come on! Try and jump over *me*’ (*Hungry Wolf* 8’03)
 (Mundari: *mar, hiju²=me, kuɾil-parom-iɲ=me*.)

d) Dative object marking

As mentioned in §20 and §39, *-wa* marks the beneficiary of a verbal action overtly, while the direct object is marked by an object suffix, e.g., *k^hiao-me-ta* ‘feed you [to tigers as their food]’ vs. *k^hiao-wa-ɲ-ta* ‘gave me food’ (*Tiger*).

However, with the verb *ewa* ‘to give’, indirect objects fill the slot OBJ, e.g., *ewa-ter-iɲ-a* (*My Life* 13’00), *ewa-ɖ-iɲ-a*, *ewa-ɲ-a* ‘gave me [something]’.

e) Object suffix marking the subject

In a few verbs, subjects are marked by object suffixes, such as *idan* ‘to be’ (e.g., *idan-ko-a* ‘they are’); *darwa* ‘to come’ (Barker 1953: 28 *darwa-ɲ-a* ‘I’ll come’); *oten/otoɲ* ‘to get going’;¹² *tora* ‘to go away’; *lek^he* ‘to be like’, as in *kara-lek^he-(re)ɲ* ‘what shall I do?’, *-lek^he-m* 2SG, *-lek^he-i* 3SG, etc. The subjects of such verbs are not marked by a pronominal clitic, but a pronominal suffix after the verb, in the object position: *tora-ɲ-a* ‘I went’, *tora-m-a* ‘you went’, *tora-e-a* ‘he/she/it went away’ (*tora* when inanimate), etc.

- (18) *oɾaʔ =e tora-e*
 house =3SG go.away-3SG
 ‘He *went* home’ (*Jackal* 1’54)
 (Mundari: *oɾaʔ-te =ʔ senoʔ-ja-n-a*.)

¹² *oten* shows both orders, *oten-iɲ* and *oten-a =ɨn*.

f) Object marking and animacy

The transitive tense/aspect suffixes *-ter* and *-keq* take object suffixes when the object is animate, e.g., *agu-keq-a* ‘brought (rice etc.)’ vs. *agu-kiq-i-a* ‘brought (person or animal)’. Object marking is found with animals, as in *mi-toŋ kutu asulkeq-i-a* =*n* ‘I kept a dog,’ *bar-toŋ kutu-kin asul-keq-kin-a* =*n* ‘I kept two dogs,’ *pe-toŋ kutu-ku asul-keq-ko-a* =*n* ‘I kept three dogs,’ but may also be left out, e.g., *biŋ* =*e* *net-keq-a/net-kiq-i-a* ‘He killed a snake.’

§32 Reflexive, Anticausative or Intransitive Suffixes

Hill Korwa has a reflexive pronoun *-n* and intransitive or middle suffix *-oʔ/-uʔ*, which partly overlap in function.

a) Reflexive *-n*

The reflexive suffix *-n*, or *-en* after a consonant, derives a reflexive base from a transitive verb, e.g., *oko-n* ‘to hide oneself’ from *oko* ‘to hide’; *baŋi-n* ‘to roll oneself’ from *baŋi* ‘to roll’. In *caŋa-n* ‘to stand’ from *caŋa* ‘to stand something up’ and *kuda-n* ‘to go back’ from *kuda* ‘to return’, the function of *-n* is to mark intransitivity.

-n is also found in existential verbs. In *ida-n* and *kowa-n*, *-n* does not have any analyzable meaning. These two verbs mark the subject by object suffixes, and *-n* in these verbs might not be the reflexive suffix. *ida-n* ‘to be, to stay’ (subject marked by an object suffix) from *ida*; *kowa-n* ‘not to exist’ from *kowa* id.; *doho-n* ‘to be, to live’ from *doho* ‘to put, to place’ ‘to be’.

b) *-oʔ/-uʔ*

The primary function of the intransitive suffix *-oʔ/-uʔ* is to signal spontaneity of the verbal action, as in *nel-uʔ* ‘to be visible’ from *nel* ‘to look’. It derives intransitive from transitive verbs, as in *rem-uʔ* ‘to get up, to rise’ from *rem* ‘to raise’; *uqŋ-uʔ* ‘to come out’ from *uqŋ* ‘to take out’; It also marks reflexiveness of the verbal action, e.g., *um-oʔ* ‘to take bath’ from *um* ‘to bathe’; *areʔ-uʔ* ‘to bail out water on oneself’ (Bahl) from *arek* ‘to bail out water’, and has passive meaning in some cases, as we discuss in §50. As for the pairs *guj-uʔ* ‘to die’ from *goek* id., and *asid-uʔ* ‘to be on one’s dying breath’ from *asid* ‘to stop breathing’ (Bahl), both verbs are intransitive and there is little difference in meaning.

-oʔ/-uʔ has denominative function and derives a verb from a noun in the following pairs: *nakiʔ-uʔ* ‘to comb’ from *nakiʔ* ‘a comb’ (Bahl); *bororʔ-uʔ* ‘to slip’ from *bororʔ* ‘slippery or oily feeling’ (Bahl).

§33 Reciprocal Verb

-hoŋeŋ or *-hoŋiŋ* (Bahl *hoŋeŋ*) denotes reciprocity or distributiveness of the verbal action, e.g., *nel-hoŋeŋ* ‘to look at each other’ from *nel* ‘to look’; *ãjod-*

hoɽeɪŋ ‘to kiss each other’ from *ãjod* ‘to kiss’ (Bahl); *lin-hoɽeɪŋ* ‘to fight each other’ (Bahl) with unclear *lin*.¹³ *katao-hoɽiŋ* in the following example has reciprocal meaning.

- (19) bare-mese =kin katao-a *hoɽiŋ*-tan
 brother-sister =3DU speak-FIN DISTR-NPT
 “The brother and sister talked *to each other*.” (Twins 4’09)
 (Mundari: *misia-barea* =kin *japagar-ta-n-a*, from *jagar* ‘to speak’)

In contrast, ‘the brothers’ in the following example try to kill the tiger wife together, and *hoɽiŋ* can only be interpreted as distributive.

- (20) nuhu do =kin *net hoɽiŋ*-ta
 now TOP =3DU kill DISTR-NPT
 “Now *each of* the brothers is killing her.” (Tiger 8’31)
 (Mundari: *naa? do kula*=kin *goe?-ja-?-i-a*. Cf. *gopoe?-ta-n-a* ‘killing each other’)

§34 Negation and Prohibition

a) Predicational negation

Hill Korwa has two predicational negators, *mer* and *ero/ oro*. *mer* often denotes negation of a completed action. However, despite the completive connotation of *mer*, the verbs occurring with it often end in non-past suffixes, *-ta*, *-a*, or *-ga* (§26).

- (21) ale do *mer* =le awei-tan
 we.EX top NEG =1PL.EX be.able-NPT
 “We cannot [excrete as you do]” (Wolf 8’29)
 (Mundari: *ale do ka* =le *daɽi-a*.)

ero or *oro* is used when the verbal action has not taken place yet, as in the following examples. Despite its incomplete meaning, *oro* or *ero* usually occurs with verbs with the past suffix *-nen* or *-ter*.

- (22) am-lain-kin am-suda *oro* =kin doho-*ne*
 you-child-DU you-with NEG =3DU stay-PST
 “Your children *will not* stay with you.” (Twin 7’03)
 (Mundari: *am-a? hon-kin am-lo? ka* =kin *tai-n-a*.)
- (23) ab do *oro* =ɲ tām-*ne*
 now TOP NEG 1SG stagger-PST
 “I *will not* fall down now” (Cattle 1’08)

¹³ Along with reciprocals with *-hoɽeɪŋ*, Bahl gives *ninda daparam* ‘to help each other in weeding’ from *ninda* ‘weeds’ and *daram* ‘to meet someone’.

- (24) dosor naw *ero* =iŋ kataʔ-ter-a
 other name NEG =1SG speak-PST-FIN
 “I *will not* call [her] by other names” (*My Life* 0’32)
 (Mundari: *eʔaʔ nutum-te do ka* =n raʔ-i-a.)
- (25) na oʔaʔ-re *ero* =laŋ doho awe-ter-a
 this house-LOC NEG =1DU.IN stay can-PST-FIN
 “We *will not* be able to stay in this house” (*Bamboo Shoots* 6’30)
 (Mundari: *ne oʔaʔ-re ka* =laŋ tai-daʔi-a.)

For the verb of absence and negative copula *kowa*, see §35.

b) Prohibitive

The prohibitive adverb *aha*, followed by a pronominal clitic, is placed before the verb, which consists of the verb base, and optionally the finiteness suffix *-a*.

- (26) hana-uʔi am *aha* =m hoy-aʔ
 that-way you PROH =2SG become
 “Don’t be like that” (*Millipede* 7’34)
 (Mundari: *en-ka do alo* =m rika-a.)
- (27) *aha* =m iyam-a
 PROH =2SG cry-FIN
 “Don’t cry” (*Firefly* 4’51)
 (Mundari: *alo* =m iyam-a.)

When used with a first-person dual or plural subject, *aha* has negative hortative meaning (‘let us not ...’).

- (28) naʔa jonoʔ *aha* =laŋ goʔ
 this broom don’t =1DU.IN take
 “Let us *not* take this broom.” (*Tiger* 7’57)
 (Mundari: *ne jonoʔ ka* =laŋ idi-i-a.)

§35 Existential Verb

Hill Korwa has two existential verbs, *ida/idan* and *doho/dohon*, and a verb of non-existence *kowa*.

The present forms of *idan* are given in Table 1.8. When the subject of *idan* is animate, it is marked by an object suffix. *ida* also denotes existence, but it does not show concord with the subject. It is the only non-past form for inanimate subjects, e.g., *oʔaʔ-re kursi ida* “There is a chair at home.” *ida* and *idan* do not have past or perfect forms.

Table 1.8: Inflection of the existential verb *idan*

	Singular	Dual	Plural
1	<i>idan-ijn-a</i>		
EX		<i>idan-lij-a</i>	<i>idan-le-a</i>
IN		<i>idan-laj-a</i>	<i>idan-bu-a</i>
2	<i>idan-me-a</i>	<i>idan-baʔ-a</i>	<i>idan-pe-a</i>
3	<i>idan-i-a</i>	<i>idan-kin-a</i>	<i>idan-ku-a</i>

doho has a non-past form, *dohon-ta*, and a past form, *dohon-e(n-a)*. In the past, it is in suppletion with *idan* and *ida*.

Non-existence is expressed by the verb *kowa* ‘not to be’, with subject marking by object suffixes, e.g., *kowa-ijn-a* ‘I am not’, *kowan-e-a*, *kowa-e-a* ‘he/she/it is not’, *kowa-ku-a* ‘they are not’, etc.

Hill Korwa also has an interrogative existential verb *kare-hen* ‘where is’, which takes a pronominal suffix after *kare*, e.g., *kare-jn-hen* ‘where am I?’, *kare-m-hen* ‘where are you?’, *kare-e-hen* ‘where is he/she/it?’, *kare-pe-hen* ‘where are you (pl.)?’, *kare-ku-hen* ‘where are they?’.

§36 Copula

a) Copula verbs *hawē*, *hake* and *nālake*

The uninflecting copula *hawē* is used for all persons and numbers.

(29) *mana indra abu-raʔ hawē*

that well we.IN-GEN COP

‘That well is ours’ (elic.)

(Mundari: *hana kua abu-aʔ ge* with no copula)

The negative copula is *nālake* for all persons and numbers.

b) Existential verbs *ida* and *dohon*

As discussed in §47, the existential verbs *ida* and *dohon* denote changeable properties or state. However, *dohon* is also used in copular clauses denoting permanent properties, e.g., *hāekʰ hoʔ kumhār dohon-a* ‘He is a potter’ (*Wolf* 4’41).

§37 Tense: Non-Past

The non-past suffix *-ta* signals the present state or action, an ongoing action, planned future, intent, and predictions, e.g., *ul =ij god-agu-ta=jn* ‘I will cut and bring a mango [for you]’ (*Twin* 0’27).

In contrast, the finiteness marker *-a* is attached to the verb base when denoting future in general, e.g., *kara-uʔi =jn karej-a* ‘What shall I do?’

(*Twin* 0'27). However, it would be misleading to call *-a* a future marker, for it also occurs in past narrative contexts, e.g., *hāekʷ buaʔ rōj =e wej-a* 'That jackal came/used to come every day' (*Jackal* 0'13). Forms in *-a* without tense markers are unmarked finite verb forms, which may be called the aorist or the historical present.

To denote a near future event ('be about to, be going to'), *-wala* from the Hindi propriative suffix *-vālā* is added after a verb base, followed by the existential verb *ida*.

- (30) *mana gaɽi nuhu jaspur sen-wala ida*
 that car now PROP go-about.to be
 "That car is now going to Jashpur." (elic.)
 (Mundari: *en gaɽi naaʔ jaspur-te senoʔ-ta-n-a*.)

§38 Tense: Past

Hill Korwa has several morphemes that mark the past tense, or the perfective aspect. Verbs do not combine with any markers freely, but there are lexical restrictions regarding which suffixes can attach to a certain verb. For example, *sen* 'to go' combines with *-ed* but not with *-ki* or *-(n)en*, while *wek* 'to come' combines with *-ed*, *-ki* and *-nen*.

-ked and *-ter* are portmanteau suffixes and also denote transitivity.

a) Perfect *-ked*, *-ki*

Transitive *-ked* (or *-ker*), and intransitive *-ki*, denote the perfective aspect, in contrast to past *-ted*/*-ter* (see §60 for examples).

-ked and *-ki* occur with verbs which do not have a perfective lexical aspect, e.g., *agu-ked-a* 'brought', *oko-ki-a* 'hid', *jom-ked-a* 'ate', *joʔ-ked-a* 'chased', *net-ker-a* 'killed', *tula-ked-a* 'made', *biah-ked-a* 'married', *sab-ker-a* 'caught', *haɽar-ker-a* 'stalled'.

b) Past *-ter*, *-ted*

Among the past morphemes, *-ter* (*-tar*) or *-ted* (*-teɽ*) occurs most often. It is limited to transitive verbs, while *-en* or *-nen* is attached to intransitive verbs. It refers to the simple past or the past perfect. Examples: *agu-ter-a* 'brought', *aɽu-ter-a* 'left', *aɽikʷ-ter-a* 'cheated', *aru-ter-a* 'cooked', *asul-ter-a* 'kept', *idi-ter-a* 'brought', *um-ter-a* 'bathed', *eme-ter-a* 'gave', *ewa-ter-a* 'gave', *kata-ter-a* 'spoke', *nam-ter-a* 'found', *net-ter-a* 'killed', *nu-ter-a* 'drank', *toʔaʔ-ter-a* 'cut', *tula-ter-a* 'made', *banao-tar-a* 'made', *sodor-ter-a* 'arrived'.

c) *-en*, *-ɛ*, *-ɛan*, *-nen*

The suffixes *-en*, *-ɛ*, *-ɛan*, and *-nen* occur in past contexts. In Barker's text, *dej-yen-a* and *dekʷ-nen-a* 'got on' in *loharaɽaga-re =liɽ rel =liɽ dej-*

yen-a ‘at Lohardaga we boarded a train’ vs. *rel =liŋ dek`-nen-a* ‘we got on a train’ (Barker 1953: 71), and *sodor-nen-a* and *sodor-yen-a* ‘arrived’ in *=liŋ sodor-nen-a te oŋa?* *=ku ewaŋ-liŋ-a* ‘on our arrival, they gave us houses’ vs. *han-do =le sodor-yen-a oŋa?-re* ‘then we arrived home’ (Barker 1953: 71, 79), are apparently in interchangeable contexts. Barker (1953: 78) also gives transitive *-yed* in *kōsoŋa =le gwoŋ?-yed-a* ‘We took the rice beer’.

According to our consultants, *-en* denotes the perfective aspect while *-nen* refers to the past, as discussed in §60.

While *-ted* is limited to transitive verbs, these suffixes occur only with intransitive verb bases, e.g., *dohon-en-a* ‘stayed’, *g^haŋao-en-a* ‘decreased’, *goj-en-a* ‘died’, *caba-ŋ-a* ‘ended’; *jiyao-nen-a* ‘lived’, *k^hulao-nen-a* ‘opened’, *hoya-nen-a* ‘became’, *karek`-nen-a* ‘did what’, *wek`-nen-a* ‘came’.

To the verb root *sen* ‘to go’, there is no form with *-en*, but instead *sēn-a* denotes the past progressive. Similarly, the past progressive form of *jom* ‘to eat’ is *jōm-a*.

For the suffix *-gan*, which occurs in past negative contexts, see §26.

d) *-ed*, *-(a)d* or *-d*

-ed or *-ad* (*-d* after a vowel-final verb base), is found after a few verbs of motion: *sen-ed* ‘went’, *wej-ed* ‘came’, *darwa-d* ‘came’, *aŋu-d* ‘left’ (often found in compound verbs).

-ed appears to have past meaning like *-ter*, and it occurs particularly when referring to an action in the past anterior to another. In the following example, where a lady explains how her husband got injured, *wej-ed-a* refers to an event prior to his injury.

- (31) *aliŋ do atin-jom =liŋ wej-ed-a*
 we.DU.EX TOP dig-eat =1DU.EX come-PST-FIN
 ‘We came here to dig and eat (tubers)’ (*Firefly* 4’28)
 (Mundari: *aliŋ do atin nangen =liŋ hiju?-aka-n-a*.)

The suffix *-wad* as in *ha`tin-wad?-ku?-a* ‘passed out to them’ (Barker 1953: 78) also marks the past and probably belongs with *-ad*, even though it might be a variant of the benefactive/completive suffix *-gad*.

e) *ʔ* (hiatus breaker)

ʔ also occurs in past contexts, e.g., *ayume-ʔ-a* ‘heard’, *ewa-ʔ-a* ‘gave’, *kija-ʔ-a* ‘bought’, *kija-ʔ-a* ‘bought’, *hoya-ʔ-a* ‘became’. However, we do not analyze this *ʔ* as a past suffix (cf. Kobayashi 2021: 148). Since the finiteness marker *-a* often occurs in past narrative contexts as we discuss below, it is simpler to analyze */ʔ/* as a hiatus breaker, which is epenthesized when *-a* comes after a verb ending in */a/*.

f) *-a*

As mentioned in §37, verb bases followed directly by the finiteness marker *-a* sometimes refer to past events. The past usage of *-a* is especially common in narratives, and we can call it aorist or historical present. E.g., *iyam-ta* ‘(I) am crying’ vs. *iyam-a* ‘(she) cried’ (*Firefly* 4’46, 51); *p^{her} kənia-a oɾaʔ-re toŋa-le-a* ‘Then we went to the bride’s house’ (Barker 1953: 78).

g) *-ja*

Barker (1953: 44f.) calls the suffix *-ja* as in *mer =e cawɬ-ja* ‘he did not step’ ‘contingentive’ in contrast to *-gaɖ* in *mer =e cawɬ-gaɖ-a* ‘he did not step’.

§39 Explicator Verbs

a) Completive *-goɖ* and *-goteɖ*

The verb *goɖ* ‘to break’, and *go* ‘to do something completely’ followed by the past suffix *-teɖ*, add completive meaning when combined with other verbs, e.g., *oko-goɖ-me* ‘shut me up (in the goat pen)!’, *buɖao-goɖ-a* ‘drowned (and died)’, *jom-goteɖ-i* ‘ate up’.

b) Benefactive *-gaɖ*

The suffix *-gaɖ* often occurs when the verbal action benefits someone.

- (32) c^huɬki hāekʔ mer k^hiao-gaɖ-ikʔ
 younger he NEG feed-BEN-FIN
 “He did not let the younger queen eat the mango” (*Twin* 0’44)
 (Mundari: *huɾiŋ-niʔ do ka =e kiao-ki-ʔ-a.*)
- (33) iŋ-naw mer =ku lik^hao-gaɖ-a
 I-name NEG =3PL write-BEN-FIN
 “[My parents] did not register my name” (*My Life* 2’04)
 (Mundari: *aŋ-aʔ nutum ka =ko ol-ke-d-a.*)

In the following examples, where the verbs imply destruction, *-gaɖ* is interpreted to mark the completive aspect.

- (34) siri-ku mener =ku coɬ-goekʔ-gaɖ-kin
 goat-PL NEG =3PL tread-kill-CMPL-3DU
 “There the goat did not tread on them and kill them” (*Twin* 2’32)
 (Mundari: *merom-ko ka =ko tega-goeʔ-ke-d-kin-a.*)
- (35) mener =ko marwao-gaɖ-kin
 NEG =3PL kill-CMPL-3DU
 “They did not kill (the babies)” (*Twin* 3’06)
 (Mundari: *ka =ko goeʔ-ke-d-kin-a.*)

c) Benefactive *-ewa* or *-wa*

The verb *ewa* ‘to give’, or its truncated form *-wa*, adds benefactive meaning to the verbal action. The beneficiary or the indirect object is marked by an object suffix after *-wa/-ewa*, e.g., *jauʔ-wa-laŋ-a* {cook-BEN-1DU.IN-FIN} ‘cooks for us two’; *kʰiao-wa-ŋ-ta* {feed-BEN-1SG-NPT} ‘feeds me’. *-ewa/-wa* and the object suffix are intervened by *-ter* and *-goɖ* (§31), e.g., *ewa-ter-iŋ-a* ‘gave me’.

i) Permissive *ewa*

The permissive is expressed by the verb *ewa* ‘to give’ followed by a verb base (i.e. infinitive) of the main verb, as in the following examples.

- (36) *haku jauʔ =ku jauʔ-a aliŋ mer =ko ewa-liŋ-a sanabʰ*
 they meal =3PL cook-FIN we.EX NEG =3PL give-1DU.EX-FIN touch.IFX
 “They cooked food [but] did not *let* us two *touch* it.” (*My Life* 8ʹ22)
 (Mundari: *inku maŋɖi-ke-n-a. aliŋ maŋɖi-caɖu ka =ko sab-rika-ke-ʔ-liŋ-a.*)

- (37) *baŋɖo siyo-ko =e uɾ-ʰuri bukli ewa-ʔ-a sasabʰ*
 wolf mouse-PL =3SG dig-collect crane give-PST-FIN RED.catch
 “Digging and collecting mice, the wolf *let* the crane *catch* them”
 (*Hungry Wolf* 0ʹ16)
 (Mundari: *baŋɖo cuɖu-ko =e ur-ke-d-ko-a. ad koʔ =e sab-rika-ke-d-ko-a.*)

d) Middle voice with *jom* ‘eat’

jom, which means ‘to eat’ when used by itself, signals that the agent of the verb benefits by, or receives the results of, the verbal action, e.g., *nel-jom =me* ‘watch (for your own sake)’ (*Tiger* 3ʹ31); *ŋir-jom =me* ‘run away (to save your own life)’ (*Tiger* 8ʹ37); *hẽwe jom* ‘to bear a child’ (Bahl).

e) Continuative

-darwa ‘to come’ signals continuation of a verbal action up to the present, e.g., *jom-darwa-ta* ‘I have been eating’.

So does *-ɖai* ‘to keep on ...ing’, e.g., *gaɖa ɖai* ‘keep on digging’ (*Firefly* 2ʹ11), *aɾaʔ-ɖai-ŋ-tan* ‘abandon and ignore me (lit. keep abandoning me)’ (*Twin* 2ʹ04).

When used as an explicator verb, *sen* ‘to go’ signals continuation to the future (‘go on ...ing’), e.g. *jiyao-sen* ‘go on living’.

g) Conative *-so* ‘try and ...’

-so combines with another verb and denotes that the verbal action is conative or probative. E.g. *ŋu-so* ‘try and drink’; *ɖega-so* ‘try and jump’.

h) Reciprocal/distributive *hoɾiŋ*

hoɾiŋ denotes that the verbal action is directed towards, or conducted by, each of the subjects. See §33 for examples.

f) Habitual *hewa* ‘have a habit of ...ing’

nū hewa ‘have a habit of drinking’

Expeditive *-baʔ* ‘to do quickly’, *-gini* ‘get used to ...ing’, e.g. *jom-baʔ* ‘to eat quickly’, *jom-gini* ‘to be in the habit of eating quickly’ (Bahl).

soga, in *eme soga* ‘to hesitate to give’ (Bahl).

§40 Compound Verbs

a) Coordinative compound verb

There are quite a few coordinative compound verbs consisting of two temporally consecutive actions (‘to do A and B’). Since the first verb has no suffix, and since clitics do not occur in between, the two verbs are considered to form one verb base. E.g. *godʔ-agu* ‘pluck and bring’; *siŋ-reʔ* ‘to shut and cover’; *joʔ-bolo* ‘to chase and corner’; *or-uɖuŋ* ‘to pull and take out’; *sab ʔ-rahao* ‘to catch and hold’; *kata-uduʔ* ‘to explain’ from *kata* ‘to say’ and *uduʔ* ‘to talk’. There are also combinations of three verbs, e.g., *nir uɖuŋ joʔ-aʔ-a* ‘came out and went away running’ (Tiger 0’32).

Compounding of verbs is not limited to idiomatic combinations such as *kata-uduʔ* ‘to explain’. Almost any pair of verbs that are temporally consecutive can form a compound verb, e.g., *neʔ-agu* ‘to kill and bring (game)’; *topo-ŋet* ‘to fall in and die’; *ik ʔ-aʔu* ‘to defecate and leave’.

b) Compound verbs with non-compositional meaning

While many compound verbs have compositional meaning (‘to do A’ + ‘to do B’ → ‘to do A and [then] B’), others have developed additional meaning or meaning different from the sum of the meaning of the constituents, e.g. *bal-aʔu* {kindle-leave} ‘to arson’; *ayum-ŋam* {hear-find} ‘to find out something by hearing it’; *apik ʔ-aɖik* {sleep-cheat} ‘to pretend to be sleeping’ (Bahl); *ŋam-uɖuŋ* {find-take.out} ‘to find out’ (Bahl); *ayum-idi* {hear-bring} ‘to listen without answering’ (Bahl).

c) Verb-framed or satellite-framed

According to Talmy’s typological distinction, Hill Korwa would rather be grouped under verb-framed languages. While there are directional adverbs such as *bʰitri* ‘inside’ or *bahri* ‘outside’ (both loanwords), motions such as ‘go in’, ‘go out’, ‘go back’, and ‘go down’, are expressed by different verbs, i.e., *bol*, *uɖŋ-oʔ*, *kudan*, and *utraʔ*. However, these verbs or their transitive counterparts combine with some verbs and function like adverbs, e.g., *or* ‘to pull’, *or-uɖuŋ* ‘to pull out’, *or-bolo* ‘to pull in’, and *or-utrao* ‘to pull down’.

d) Transitivity of compound verbs

Compound verbs of transitive and intransitive verbs sometimes have transitivity different from that of the original verb.

awir sodor (*Firefly* 5'03) from *awir* 'to lead' and *sodor* 'to arrive' means 'to lead and take someone to the destination'.

geṭek' aṭu 'to leave someone asleep', from intransitive *geṭek* 'to sleep' and transitive *aṭu* 'to leave'.

goek normally means 'to die', but it also has transitive meaning ('to kill'), especially when it is the second member of a compound verb, as in *sobo? goek* 'to shove and kill' (*Firefly*), *coṭ goek* 'to tread and kill' (*Twin*), *jalam-goek* 'to lick and kill' (*Tiger*), *gil goek* 'to beat someone to death' (Bahl).¹⁴

Similarly, *net* normally means 'to kill', but it means 'to die' in *topo-net* 'to fall in (hot water) and die' (*Bamboo Shoots*).

§41 Auxiliary and Control Verbs

Hill Korwa does not have modal auxiliaries as a distinct syntactic category, for there is no syntactic difference between modal verbs such as *awe* 'to be able' and other control verbs such as *caba* 'to finish'.

The control verbs of Hill Korwa occur after complement verbs. Unlike compound verbs, pronominal clitics can occur between the complement verb and the control verb, indicating that the two verbs are separate words.

awe 'be able, can' occurs with animate subjects and signals their ability. It also occurs without complement verbs.

- (38) hana kija =hō iṇ-aya-apaṇ mer =kin awe-a
 that buy too I-mother-father NEG =3DU be.able-FIN
 "My parents *could* not even buy them" (*My Life* 14'39)
 (Mundari: *ena kiṛiṇ-o enḡa-n apu-n-kiṇ ka =kiṇ daṛi-a.*)

awe also signals the permissive mood.

- (39) kalom =liṇ wek' awei-ta?
 tomorrow =1DU.EX come be.able-NPT
 "Can we two come the day after tomorrow?" (Elic.)
 (Mundari: *kalom =liṇ hiju? daṛi-a ci?*)

liṛiṇ 'to forget to ...': *jom liṛiṇ-ḡan* 'forgot to eat' (*Wolf* 2'33)

sudi 'to know how to..., to be able to': *krikeṭ enej =eṇ sudi-ta* "I know [how] to play cricket" (elic.)

¹⁴Alternatively, the second verb, *goek*, might be intransitive and describe the result of the transitive action denoted by the transitive first verb, e.g., 'to tread on someone and caused him to die as a result'.

suru ‘to start ...ing’: *hakin ab uḍaʔ* = *kin suru-nen* ‘They started taking off’ (Twin 4’51).

haṭar ‘to stop ...ing’

- (40) *aru haṭre-i* = *me*
 cook stop-OBJ.3SG=IMP.2SG
 “Stop cooking!” (Father-in-Law 3’08)
 (Mundari: *isin hoka-ta* = *m*.)

helaʔ ‘to start ...ing’: *haku ikʔ* = *ku hela-ʔ-a* ‘They started pooping’ (Wolf 7’34).

caba ‘to finish ...ing’

- (41) *paric^{ha}* = *le* *lik^{ha} caba-ter-a*
 exam =1PL.EX write finish-PST-FIN
 “We finished taking the exam” (My Life 9’15)
 (Mundari: *parikfa ol* = *le caba-ke-d-a*.)

§42 Converb

When two clauses, usually with the same subject, are in coordinative conjunction, the verb of the first clause can become a converb, formed with the suffix *-na/-ne* or *-ka/-ki* often attached to the tense stem, i.e. *-teṭki*, *-teṭka*, *-eṭna*, *-nenna*, *-nenka*.

Converbs take the same case suffixes and pronominal clitics as the corresponding finite verbs. While *-g^hañi* signals that the action of the suffixed verb is concurrent with the main clause (§54), a converb refers to verbal action prior to the main clause.

a) *-na*

The suffix *-na*, analyzed by Barker as a marker of the ‘recent time’ (Barker 1953: 37), is attached to the past or perfect forms minus the finiteness suffix *-a*.

- (42) *wej-eṭ-na* = *e* *katae-tan*
 come-PST-CVB =3SG speak-NPT
 “(The younger queen) came back and said” (Twin 0’51)
 (Mundari: *hijuʔ-ke-d-ci* = *iʔ kaji-ta-n-a*.)
- (43) *anga aur iskaṭ* = *ko* *kija-teṭ-na* = *ko* *agu-aṭu-ter-a*
 shirt and skirt =3PL buy-PST-CVB =3PL bring-leave-PST-FIN
 “Having bought a shirt and a skirt, they brought them to me and left them” (My Life 12’07)
 (Mundari: *iskaṭ blauj* = *ko kiriṇ-ke-d-ci* = *ko agu-a-n-a*.)

The converb can come after the main clause.

- (44) ale-rik⁷ mese-le =ba teke bolo-tr-i-a =ba
 we.EX-GEN sister-1PL.EX =2DU throw sink =2DU
net-kiq-ik⁷-na
 kill-PRF-FIN-CVB
 “You two threw and sank our little sister’s body, *after killing her!*”
 (*Bamboo Shoots* 4’17)
 (Mundari: *ale-a? misi =ben goe?-ki-?-ci =ben hulaŋ-ader-ta-?-i-a.*)

b) *-ka* and *-ki*

-ka and *-ki*, added after a tense/object suffix or directly after a verb base, also serve as converbs, e.g., *wej-et-ka* ‘having come’; *jau?-te?-ki* ‘having cooked rice’. The *-ka* converb is also used as a conditional clause, as in the following example.

- (45) iŋ *sodor-ke?-me-ka* mi-goŋ biŋi-m =me ewa ja
 I make.reach-PRF-2SG-CVB one-CLF daughter-your =2SG give Q
 “If I take you to your home, will you give me one of your daughters?”
 (*Millipede* 7’16)
 (Mundari: *judi aŋ oŋa?-te =ŋ idi-me-redo miyod hon-me-kuŋi oma-a-ŋ=me.*)

c) Bare past/perfect stem

Verb bases with past or perfect suffixes also serve as converbs as they are, e.g., *=e jau?-teŋ⁷ uduŋ-teŋ⁷* ‘having cooked, having taken out rice’ (*Tiger*).

d) Change of subjects

Although not common, it is possible to mark the converb and the finite verb for different subjects.

- (46) hanate seŋgel =me ase-keŋna =laŋ rapa? jom
 from.there fire =2SG beg-CVB =1DU.IN roast eat
 “After you bring fire, let us cook and eat it” (*Hungry Wolf* 0’44)
 (Mundari: *han-ta?-ate am seŋgel au-ki-ate =laŋ rapa?-jom-e-a.*)

§43 Modality: Imperative and Hortative

a) Imperative

The imperative is signaled by a bare verb base with an imperative clitic, either after the verb or after the preceding word. The imperative clitics are the same as pronominal clitics of the second person and the first person inclusive, except that the second-person singular is *=me*. E.g. *dohon=pe* 2PL ‘stay!’, *wek⁷=ba* 2DU ‘come!’, *duŋu?=me* 2SG ‘sit down!’, *eme-goŋ⁷=me*

2SG ‘give!’. The clitic attaches to the preceding word in the following example.

- (47) pač^hi-re iŋ =*me* harub^ʔ-reŋ^ʔ
 basket-LOC I =2SG put.in-cover
 “Put me in that bamboo basket and cover it!” (*Jackal* 1’07)
 (Mundari: *jampa-te harub-ta-iŋ*=*me*.)

In a compound verb, the imperative clitic is added before or after the verb complex.

- (48) kohoŋɕa goʔ-ader-oko-e=*me* sayãŋi
 pumpkin take-bring.in-hide-OBJ=IMP old.woman
 “Take the pumpkin in and hide it, darling” (*Bamboo Shoots* 8’27)
 (Mundari: *kakaru goʔ-ader-ta*=*m* *ar uku-ta*=*m*, buŋia.)

The clitic =*me* is not limited to the imperative, but it also occurs in interrogative clauses (§15). For the prohibitive, see §34.

b) Hortative

The pronominal clitics of the first person dual and plural inclusive with a verb base signal the hortative mood.

- (49) jër.jaŋjair-te =*bu* jiyaʔ goy
 root-with =1PL.IN live ITJ
 “Let’s go, *we will* live on roots” (*Firefly* 1’09)
 (Mundari: *red ranu-te* =*bu* *jid-e-a*.)

Non-past finite verb forms can also have hortative meaning, e.g., *abu hō do* =*bu rit-jom-a* “We will also crush and eat [stones]” (*Wolf* 8’00); *nanʔa paisā* =*bu dohoʔ-ta* “We will keep this money” (*My Life* 26’00).

The particles (or defective verbs) *do* ‘let’s go!’, *dabu* ‘come!’, *da* ‘go!’, and *jū* ‘go!’ (Bahl), combine with the imperative clitics =*me*, =*ba* and =*pe*, and also with first-person dual and plural inclusive clitics, corresponding to the number of the addressee, e.g., *do-me*, *do-laŋ* ‘let’s go!’ *dabu*, *dabu-me* ‘come!’, *dami* ‘go!’, *dā-pe* ‘go ahead!’

§44 Modality: Deontic

A verb base followed by the existential verb *ida* forms an impersonal clause denoting deontic modality.

This reveals an interesting difference between compound verbs and control verbs. In the following pair, *ase-jom* ‘beg and eat’ and *uɕaʔ suru* are both combinations of two verb bases, but the former is a compound verb and the latter is a control verb and its complement. The pronominal clitic =*bu* occurs before *ase-jom* in the former, while =*kin* is found between *uɕaʔ* and

suru in the latter, showing that *ase-jom* is one word: *daʔ jauʔ =bu ase-jom-ta* ‘We can ask her for water and food’ (*Tiger* 2’51) *hakin ab uqaʔ =kin suru-nen* ‘They started taking off’ (*Twini* 4’51).

§45 Ellipsis

Hill Korwa is a *pro*-drop language, and verb arguments can be left out if they are recoverable from the context. Verbs can also be elided. In the following example, the negator *ero* holds the place of the elided verb *ula-e-ta*,

- (50) *ip ula-e-ta ja ero-e ja*
 I vomit-OBJ-NPT Q NEG-OBJ Q
 ‘Shall I vomit or not?’ (*Tiger and Cat* 3’35)
 (Mundari: *ap ula-i-a (kaʔ-uʔuʔ-e-a) ci kaʔ*)

§46 Existential Clause

Existential clauses are formed with the existential verbs *ida*, *idan* ‘to be’, *hoya* (Bahl) and *doho-n* ‘to stay, live’, and *kowa* ‘not to be’ in the negative. While *ida* does not inflect, *idan* and *kowa* show concord with the subject, marked by an object suffix (see §35, Table 1.8), e.g., *ip jaspur-re idan-ip-a* ‘I am in Jashpur’ (elic.) vs. *naŋda do ip =ip ekla ida* ‘I am all by myself here’ (*Wolf*, 2’46). The following are examples of *dohon* and *ida*.

- (51) *ape lain-ku mini dur =pe dohon-ta*
 you.PL child-PL same path =2PL stay-NPT
 ‘You kids *are* on the same path!’ (*Cattle* 5’53)
 (Mundari: *ape hon-ko miyad-hora-te =pe sen-aka-d-a.*)
- (52) *am-oʔaʔ kare ida*
 you-house where be
 ‘Where *is* your home?’ (*Tiger*, 2’03)
 (Mundari: *am-aʔ oʔaʔ do kotaʔ*)

§47 Copular Clause

Hill Korwa distinguishes two kinds of copular clauses, i.e., identifying and descriptive. An identifying copular clause expresses unchangeable properties such as name. In identifying copular clauses, the copula verb is *hake* or *hawe*, and *nālake* in the negative, e.g., *ip-naw sud’ni hake goy* ‘My name is Sudhni,’ *nae do saram hon hawe* ‘This is a fawn,’ but *dohon* is sometimes used, too (§36). *hake*, *hawe* and *nālake* are all uninflecting.

When describing changeable properties or temporary state of the subject, the existential verb *ida/ idan* and *hoya* (Bahl), and *kowa* in the negative, serve as copula verbs. While *ida* is uninflecting, *idan*, *hoya* and *kowa* show concord with the subject by the object suffix (§35). The following examples illustrate this contrast.

- (53) naek' kukra tumin rōt *idan-e-a*
 this chicken how big be-3SG.OBJ-FIN
 “How big *would* this chicken *be*?” (*Jackal*, 1'29)
 (Mundari: *ne sim ciminaŋ maraŋ bai-oʔ-a?*)
- (54) naʔa oʔa? baŋe-rōt *ida*
 this house big-big be
 “This house *is* big.” (elic.)
 (Mundari: *nea oʔaʔ maraŋ-ge-a*)

§48 Experiencer Subjects

Among verbs of perception, *tataŋ* ‘to feel thirsty’, and *bʰukʰ*, *bonoʔ* ‘to feel hungry’ mark the experiencer by an object suffix, e.g., *tataŋ-kiq-in-a* ‘I felt thirsty’. Verbs such as *kʰusi* ‘to rejoice’ marks the experiencer as the subject, e.g., *iŋ =iŋ kʰusi-a* ‘I rejoiced’ (elic.), while *lagao* ‘to feel’ is impersonal, e.g., *iŋ do dukʰ lagao-ki-a* ‘I felt sad’ (elic.).

As mentioned in §31, a handful of verbs such as *idan* ‘to be’ and *tora* ‘to go away’ mark their subjects by object suffixes.

§49 Valency

There are two verbs of giving, *ewa* and *eme*, which show different valency, just like English *give* and *donate*. *ewa* takes an object suffix referring to the indirect object, as in the following example.

- (55) paisa =ko ewa-ŋ-a
 money =3PL give-1SG-FIN
 “[They] give *me* money.” (*My Life* 25'31)
 (Mundari: *paisa-ko =ko om-a-ŋ-a*.)

On the other hand, the indirect object is not expressed by an object suffix in the case of *eme*, as in the following two examples.

- (56) iŋ-aya-apaŋ =iŋ *eme-wa-ʔ-a*
 I-mother-father =1SG give-BEN-PST-FIN
 “I *gave* (the money) to my parents (*My Life* 25'31)”
 (Mundari: *aŋ-aʔ enŋa-ŋ apu-ŋ-ta-kin =iŋ om-a-kin-a*.)
- (57) : mi-hoŋ biŋi =ŋ *eme-ter-a*
 one-CLF daughter =1SG give-PST-FIN
 “I *gave* [you] my daughter” (*Millipede* 7'27)
 (Mundari: *aŋ-aʔ miyad kuŋi-hon =iŋ om-ad-i-a*.)

§50 Passive

As mentioned in §32, the suffix *-o?* forms reflexive or intransitive verb bases from transitive ones. Since this suffix backgrounds the agents of the original verbs, this suffix also derives passive verbs, as in *ayum-u?* ‘to be heard, to be audible’ from *ayum* ‘to hear, listen’. In the following example, *tomb-o?* ‘to peck oneself/ to be pecked’ is judged to have passive meaning (‘to be pecked’), for it is a farmer that is pecking the jackal with the sickle.

- (58) hana datrom-te tomb-og-e-a do =e katae-a
 that sickle-with peck-PASS-OBJ.3SG-FIN then =3SG speak-FIN
 “Pecked with that sickle, [the jackal] said” (*Jackal* 1’27)
 (Mundari: *hana datrom-te tomba?-i-a mente =? kaji-ta-n-a.*)

§51 Phrasal Possession

a) Possession within an NP

The genitive suffix *-ra?* or *-a?* covers a broad range of relationships between NP’s, such as possession, source, material, and part-and-whole relationship, e.g., *iŋ-ra? o?a?* ‘my house’, *sāt kūa-ra? da?* ‘water from seven wells’, *carlom-to-ra? pīb* ‘the pus of its tail’.

b) Clausal Possession

As in many other South Asian languages, possession is expressed by *be*-type predicates in Hill Korwa.

- (59) iŋ-rikua lain-ku kowa-ku
 I-GEN.PL child-PL be.not-3PL
 “I have no children” (*Twin* 0’18)
 (Mundari: *aŋ-ta?-re hon-ko baŋ-ko-a.*)
- (60) iŋ-cere pacās rupia dohon-e
 I-with fifty rupees be-PST
 “I had fifty rupees” (*My Life* 26’11)
 (Mundari: *aŋ-ta?-re pacas taka tai-ke-n-a.*)

§52 Question

a) Interrogative question

Interrogatives listed in §19 occur *in situ*. The finiteness suffix *-a* or the nonpast suffix *-ta* may be absent in questions.

- (61) hana suwer-mas-ka iye jom-gote-d-a
 that pig-meat-ACC who eat-CMPL-FIN
 “Who ate up that pork?” (*Wolf* 2’46)
 (Mundari: *en sukuri jilu okoe jom-ke-d-a.*)

- (62) naek' kukṛa tumin rōṭ idan-e-a
 this chicken how big be-3SG-FIN
 “How big would this chicken be?” (*Jackal* 1'29) =(53)

- (63) han cila hawe
 that what COP
 “What is that?” (*Brothers* 0'38)
 (Mundari: *hana do cana?*)

- (64) boh.re bʰagwān kara-urī =n dewer sodor
 oh.my god what-way =1SG return arrive
 “Oh God, how shall I go home?” (*Millipede* 6'38)
 (Mundari: *oho?-re bogman cilika =n ruuṭa.*)

b) Question marker *ja*

Yes-no question is marked by the particle *ja* which occurs in sentence-final position with rising tone.

- (65) ē mitr nepel-ta ja
 ITJ friend see-NPT Q
 “Can you see it, friend?” (*Hungry Wolf* 3'00)
 (Mundari: *e hale, lel-am-ta-d-a-m ci?*)

ja also occurs with interrogatives.

- (66) cila =e jom-ta ja
 what 3SG eat-NPT Q
 “What does he seem to be eating?” (*Wolf* 9'18)
 (Mundari: *cana =? jom-ta-n-a?*)

For the cohortative use of *ja*, see §61.

c) Rhetorical question

Questions sometimes function as negative assertion.

- (67) iye ece-buta-ko-a
 who CAUS-work-3PL-FIN
 “Who will give them a job? [—Nobody!]” (*My Life*, 29'10)
 (Mundari: *okoe kami-rika-ko-a?*)

§53 Coordinative and Subordinate Conjunction

a) Cumulative conjunction

aru or *aur* ‘and’ marks cumulative conjunction, e.g., *eko-rupe mer =en utʰao-e-a aur han =in gōg-na* “I did not take a single rupee for myself, and brought the whole scholarship of fifty rupees home” (*My Life* 25'31).

When the case suffix *-te* ‘from, with’ follows a finite verb, it serves as a connective particle, e.g., *=liŋ sodornena -te* ‘on our arrival’ (lit. ‘we arrived and’, Bahl 1953: 71).

b) Disjunctive conjunction

The question marker *ja* (§52) serves as a disjunctive conjunction (‘or’).

- (68) *karil* *=eŋ goʔ ja hana laŋikʼ ja =ŋ goʔ*
 bamboo.shoots =1SG take Q that child Q =1SG take
 “Shall I take the bamboo shoots home, *or* shall I take the baby home?”
 (*Bamboo Shoots* 0’31)

(Mundari: *helta oʔaʔ-te =ŋ idi-i-a kare hon oʔaʔ-te =ŋ idi-i-a.*)

Hill Korwa does not seem to have inherited adversative conjunctions, and no conjunction appears in an adversative context, e.g., *naŋda do =bu kām so-taʔ-a mer hoy-a-ga na* ‘Here we tried and worked, [but] there was no crop, was there?’ (*Firefly* 1’22). *lekin* ‘but’, a Hindi loanword, overtly expresses adversative conjunction.

§54 Temporal Clause

a) *kʰane* ‘when’

kʰane ‘time, when’ follows a verb base or a verb stem and functions as a conjunction forming a temporal clause.

- (69) *daʔ wej-eʔ kʰane iŋ oʔaʔ-re =ŋ dohon-e*
 water come-PST when I house-LOC 1SG be-PST
 “I was at home *when* it rained.” (elic.)

(Mundari: *daʔ gama hijuʔ-ta-n-re oʔaʔ-re =ŋ tai-ke-n-a.*)

Adverbs *hana kʰane* ‘at that time’, *hana mela* ‘at that time’, *hanaʔna* ‘then’, *hante do* ‘then’, and *do* ‘then’, connect two finite clauses.

The converb also marks an action prior to that of the main verb (§42).

b) *-gʰaŋa*, *-gʰaniya*, *-gʰaŋi*

-gʰaŋa, *-gʰaniya* or *-gʰaŋi* also follows a verb base and forms a clause signaling simultaneous or concurrent action.

- (70) *iŋ oʔaʔ-raʔ istʰiti ŋel-gʰaŋa iŋ paʔʰaʔ man mer lagaʔ-a*
 I house-GEN situation see-when I study mind NEG attach-PST-FIN
 “*When* I saw the situation at my house, I did not feel like studying.”
 (*My Life*, 13’45)

(Mundari: *aŋ-aʔ-raʔ istiti lel-ke-ate/lel-picid paʔao ka mone-jaʔ-iŋ-tai-ke-n-a.*)

- (71) *iŋ-lagin kāpi-pen =ko kija-gʰaŋa =ko ewa-ŋ-a*
 I-for notebook-pen =3PL buy-while =3PL give-1SG-FIN

“Every time they buy pen and notebooks, they gave them to me” (*My Life* 35’15)

(Mundari: *aŋ-naŋgen kopi-pen kiŋiŋ-ke-ate* =*ko om-a-ŋ-a.*)

-*g^haŋa*, -*g^haniya* or -*g^haŋi* also denotes consecutive actions, as in the following example.

(72) *aŋ halan-g^hāri* =*ŋ haɖur-jom*

I pick.up-while =1SG scrape-eat

“I will pick it up, scrape and eat it” (*Twin* 1’11)

(Mundari: *aŋ kopa-haŋagu-i-a ad* =*iŋ halan-ke-ci jom-e-a.*)

§55 Conditional and Concessive Clauses

a) Conditional clause

Conditional clauses are formed with the conjunction *hole*, attached after a verb base.

(73) *deĩ-dur tonon gatar* =*ku wek’ hole anama iŋ* =*me*
later some direction =3PL come then you.EPH I =IMP.2SG
war-eŋ =*me sompa-iŋ*
send-1SG =IMP.2SG marry.off-1SG

“If [someone] comes from somewhere later [to ask for my hand], send me there [for marriage] and marry me off” (*Firefly* 6’02)

(Mundari: *tayom-te jaa-taʔ-ate* =*ko hijuʔ-ja-n-re goŋ-ta-ŋ=me.*)

(74) *daʔ uyuʔ hole bahri ero* =*ŋ uɖuŋ-ne*
water fall then outside NEG 1SG go.out-PST

“If it rains, I will not go out” (elic.)

(Mundari: *daʔ gama-ta-n-re bahar-te ka-ŋ uŋuŋ-a.*)

The topic marker *do* also forms a conditional clause with a bare verb base, as in *oĩ-re* =*lan dohon do alan* =*ku marwa enɖa-lan-ta* “If we live on the ground, they will kill us and throw us away” (*Twin* 4’25), while *do* with a finite verb forms a temporal clause, as in *madam katao-eŋ-a hana* =*iŋ ayum-a do paŋ^haʔ man hō lagaʔ-a* “When I listened to what my teacher said, I felt like studying” (*My Life* 27’10).

It is also possible to form a conditional or temporal clause without *hole* or *do*. In the following examples, clauses containing only bare verb bases serve to mark condition or time, like English conditionals with the imperative such as *Seek, and ye shall find*.

(75) *ik-me* =*ŋ nam ik-me* =*ŋ jom-ta hoŋom* =*eŋ nam hoŋom*
dung-2SG =1SG find dung-2SG =1SG eat-NPT body =1SG find body

=eɲ jom-ta

=1SG eat-NPT

“If I *find* your dungs, I will eat them. If I *find* your body, I will eat it” (*Tiger and Cat* 7’01)

(Mundari: *judi am-a? i? nam-ja-n-re i? jom-e-a. judi am-a? hoɣomo nam-ja-n-re ena=n jom-e-a.*)

- (76) am sen anam ɲam goy iɲ sen iniɲ ɲam goy

you go you.IFX find ITJ I go I.IFX find ITJ

“[When/If] you go out, you will find food. [When/If] I go out, I will do so.” (*Firefly* 5’52)

(Mundari: *am ge sen-re-do am ge jom-nam-e-a. aɲ-o sen-re-do aɲ-o jom-nam-e-a.*)

b) Concessive clause

A concessive clause is formed with a verb base and *hole* =hō ‘even if’.

- (77) da? uyʉ? hole =hō bahri =ɲ sen-ta

water fall then =even outside =1SG go-NPT

“Even if it rains, I will go out.” (elic.)

(Mundari: *da? gama-ta-n-re =o bahar =eɲ senog-a.*)

§56 Final and Causal Clause

To express purpose or intent, Hill Korwa uses a verb base serving as an action noun followed by the postposition *laga* ‘for’, instead of using subordinate clauses with finite verbs. The arguments of the verb base take the same cases as in finite clauses.

- (78) ul =e goɖ-agu-teɭ banar ayumi-kin =e k^hiao-laga
mango =3SG cut-bring-PST both woman-DU =3SG feed-for
c^hawa-puta hoyʉ?-laga
child-son become-for

“He cut and brought a mango *in order to* give it to the two queens, so that they would have children” (*Twin* 0’40)

(Mundari: *hon-gaɲa hoba-nangen uli god-agu-ke-ate baran kuɾi-kin kiao-ke-d-kin-a.*)

- (79) iɲ goʉ-laga =ja cila-laga g^haɽi-g^haɽi seɲgel =kin ase-ta

I take-for =Q what-for time-time fire =3DU beg-NPT

“Why do [those boys] ask for fire so many times? *For* kidnapping me, maybe?” (*Bamboo Shoots* 2’33)

(Mundari: *idi-nangen ci cana?-nangen kane-kane seɲgel =kin asi-ja-ʉ-a.*)

Reason is expressed by *hana-lagin* ‘therefore’, as in *am-biṭi esel idan-e-a hana-lagin am-biṭi naw iṇ paṇḍri maʔan =iṇ katao-e-ta* ‘Your daughter is light-skinned. So I will call her by the name ‘Pandri (White)’” (*My Life* 0’21).

§57 Relative Clause

Relative clauses are not easy to find in our corpus. Hill Korwa often uses two independent clauses instead of a dependent relative clause, as in the following example.

- (80) aekʼ-raʔ kucu dohon-a haṇḍa =e solṇe-a
 self-GEN bag be-FIN there =3SG put.in-FIN
 “He had a bag. He put [the bread] in it” (*Father-in-Law* 0’37)
 (Mundari: *aeʔ-taʔ-re taila tai-ke-n-a. en-re ge =ʔ sanju-ke-d-a.*)

Hill Korwa also has gapped relative clauses. In the following example, there is no overt relativizer, and *biṭi-t* ‘daughter’, antecedent of the relative clause *anaekʼ tula-ter-i-a* ‘[he] himself cooked’, is gapped in the relative clause.

- (81) hækʼ anaekʼ tula-ter-i_i-a biṭi_i-t kahai jom-kye-a
 he himself make-PST-OBJ-FIN girl-POS why eat-SBJV-FIN
 “Why would he eat his daughter that he cooked himself?” (*Father-in-Law* 3’58)
 (Mundari: *aeʔ ayaʔ hon-te kuṛi apan-te ṭeo-ki-ʔ-i-a. cilika-re-do =e jom-daṛi-a?*)

The following sentence can be interpreted as two independent clauses, but it is also possible to consider that a manner adverb corresponding to *han-uṛi* ‘that way’ is gapped in the first clause.

- (82) pahil ale —_i jiyao-ne han-uṛi_i ape jiyao-sen ja
 formerly we.EX live-PST that-way you.PL live-go Q
 “Will you go on living *as* we used to? (lit., Formerly, we were living. Will you go on living that way?)” (*For our Children* 2’10)
 (Mundari: *sida ale tain-tan-saʔ-re ape senoʔ-a ci?*)

The Sadri relative pronoun, *je* ‘which, who’, is also used as an overt relativizer. In the following free relative clause, *je* is repeated to mark exhaustiveness (‘whoever’). The distal demonstrative *haku* ‘they’ serves as a resumptive pronoun.

- (83) *je je* =pe sudi-ta haku muṇḍaej =eṇ ewa-pe-ta
 REL REL =2PL know-NPT they sweet.potato =1SG give-2PL-NPT

“For *those* of you *who* have learned [to read], I will buy sweet potatoes” (*My Life* 6’55)

(Mundari: *okoe okoe* =*pe itu-i-a inku sanga* =*n om-a-pe-a*.)

§58 Definiteness

a) Possessive marker -*t*

When the possessive marker -*t* (-*to* after consonant-final nouns) without a pronominal suffix is attached to a noun, it usually means that the referent of the noun belongs to, or is related to, someone already introduced in the context. -*t* is found with nouns referring to Given Information. For example, *sokola-t* ‘its stem’ (*Twin* 1’03) and *na here-t* ‘this hide’ (*Wolf* 9’54) refer to the stem of a mango and the hide of a goat which are topics of the respective contexts.

-*t* without a pronominal suffix is also attached to a human noun which is already introduced in the context. In the following two examples, *batki* ‘first queen’ and *sayāṛi* ‘lady’, which occur without -*t* when they were first introduced, are referred to with -*t* when they are mentioned later in the narratives. In such cases, the possessive suffix -*t* functions as a marker of definiteness. Use of -*t* is fairly regular with human nouns, especially kinship terms, but it is not obligatory in other nouns, unlike definite articles such as English *the*.

- (84) *hāek’ batki-t* =*e k^hiao-tet*
 he first.wife-POS =3SG feed-PST
 “[The king] gave [the mango] to *the* first queen” (*Twin* 0’44)
 (Mundari: *ae? ay-a? sida kuṛi* =*? kiao-ki-?-a*.)

- (85) *sayāṛi-t* =*hō enekle jiya-?-a*
 lady-POS too alone live-PST-FIN
 “The lady also lived on her own” (*Firefly* 6’30)
 (Mundari: *ay-a? kuṛi* =*o eskal ge tain-ja-n-a*.)

As an interrogative for ‘which’, Hill Korwa has *kara*, and *karat* with possessive -*t* (§17). *karat* seems to be used when the options are limited. For example, while there are indefinite options for the way to go in the question *kara hor* =*laṅ sen-ta* “Which way shall we go?” (*Cattle* 2’10), *karat* in *ab hāek’ dokra do karat hor* =*e rem-u?-na* “Now which side of the body is the old man going to [light and] lift up?” (*Firefly* 3’45) refers to one of two options.

§59 Deixis and Anaphora

As mentioned in §18, Hill Korwa has three-way distinction of the demonstratives: proximal *na-*, distal *ma-* and anaphoric *hā-*.

a) Proximal *na-*

The *na-* demonstratives refer to what is close to the speaker, e.g., a vulture which found abandoned babies says, *ē nakin do manuwa lain-kin hawe* ‘Oh, *these* are human children!’ (Twin 3’31). In *naṇḍa =ba dohon ayumi-kin* ‘Stay *here*, queens’ (Twin 0’27), the speaker refers to where he is now.

Even when the referent is not close to the speaker, *na-* is used to express the speaker’s antipathy. For example, in the monologue *nae do beṭa-beṭi bar-hoṭ idan-a-kin do* ‘She (the younger co-wife) had two babies!’ (Twin 1’55), the older queen employs proximal *nae* to express jealousy towards her co-wife, who is probably not present.

Along with *hā-*, *na-* is used for anaphoric reference. For example, when an old man, referred to by *hāek* ‘he, she, it’, is chasing a jackal, the latter is referred to by *naek* ‘it’, in *naek katae-tan raha=me re ḍokra* ‘This [jackal] said to [the old man], ‘Hey, stop, uncle!’’ (Jackal 2’52).

na- is also used when referring to what is going to be told, as in *naḍa uri =ṇ katae-ta* ‘I am talking *this* way’ (Jackal 0’00).

b) Distal *ma-*

ma- demonstratives refer to what is distant from the speaker, what is close to the addressee, or what is considered to belong to the addressee’s domain.

In *mana jono? aha=m go?* ‘Don’t take that broom!’ (Tiger 8’59), the speaker is trying to dissuade his brother from taking up a broom on the road. Since the brother is reaching out for the broom, it is considered closer to him than to the speaker. In *ḍokra mana haṭ-t-am-re =ṇ ik-aṭu-ta* ‘Uncle, I will poop on *that* field of yours’ (Jackal 1’42), the field belongs to the addressee and hence is in his domain. In *nahĩ babu maṇḍa =m getek haṭar-ko* ‘No, son, stay sleeping *there* and stall them’ (Fawn 1’52), a doe tells its fawn from afar to stay where the latter is, so *maṇḍa* refers to a place close to the addressee.

c) Anaphoric *hā-*

The *hā-* demonstratives such as *hāek* ‘he, she, it’ and *haṇḍa* ‘there’ refer to what has already been introduced in the context. For example, in the beginning of the *Story of the Smart Wolf*, the wolf is first introduced as *mi-ṭoṇ baṇḍo* ‘a wolf’, and after that it is referred to by *hāek* ‘it’.

§60 Aspect

a) Past and perfect

Transitive *-keḍ* (or *-ker*), and intransitive *-ki*, denote the perfective aspect, in contrast to past *-teḍ*. In the following pair 86 and 87, the speakers use *net-ker-a* when they explain to a villager that they just caught a python

and are looking for fire to cook it, while *net-ter-a* is a part of the narrative which simply states that the brothers caught a mouse.

- (86) mi-*tuŋ* aɟgar =liŋ *net-ker-a*
 one-CLF python =1PL.EX kill-PRF-FIN
 “We (*just*) killed a python (and want to cook it).” (*Bamboo Shoots* 2’03)
 (Mundari: *miyad tunil biŋ* =liŋ *goeʔ-ki-ʔ-i-a.*)
- (87) mi-*tuŋ* guɖu =kin *net-ter-a*
 one-CLF mouse =3DU kill-PST-FIN
 “They killed a mouse.” (*Bamboo Shoots* 1’48)
 (Mundari: *miyad guɖu* =kin *goeʔ-ki-ʔ-i-a.*)

In the following pair, the wolf uses *agu-keɖ-a* when it tells villagers that it brought game to share with them, while *agu-ter-a* in the second sentence has past perfect sense, for the man had brought a rock and had heated it before he invited a guest.

- (88) mi-*tuŋ* januwar =iŋ *agu-keɖ-a*
 one-CLF animal =1SG bring-PRF-FIN
 “Look, I have brought game (that I hunted).” (*Wolf* 1’18)
 (Mundari: *miyad januar* =iŋ *au-ki-ʔ-i-a.*)
- (89) mi-goɭ kuruɾ =e *agu-ter-a*
 one-CLF rock =3SG bring-PST-FIN
 “He had brought a rock (beforehand)” (*Father-in-Law* 6’25)
 (Mundari: *miyad bid diri* =ʔ *au-ke-d-a.*)

In the following pair, *goʔ-teɭ-* refers to the marriage of a king as a past event, while *goʔ-ker-* implies that the king is still married.

- (90) babar-hoɭ ayumi-kin =eŋ *goʔ-ker-a*
 two.RED-CLF woman-DU =1SG take-PRF-FIN
 “I have taken two wives” (*Twin*, 0’18)
 (Mundari: *baria kuɾi-kin jogao-ke-d-kin-a.*)
- (91) cʰuɭki baɭki *goʔ-teɭ-kin-a* =e
 younger elder take-PST-3DU-FIN =3SG
 “[The king] took two wives, a younger and an elder” (*Twin* 0’00)
 (Mundari: *maray-niʔ huɾiŋ-niʔ baran-kin* =eʔ *jogao-ke-d-kin-a.*)

In the first sentence of the following pair, the narrator confirms with *tula-kiɖ-i-a* the horrifying event that the father killed his own daughter, while *tula-ter-e-a* in the second sentence describes the butchering of a chicken

before inviting his guest. *tula-kiq-i-a* refers to a recent event while *tula-ter-e-a* has past anterior sense.

- (92) *hã apaŋ =e tula-kiq-i-a*
 yes father =3SG make-PRF-OBJ-FIN
 “Yes, the father (killed and) *cooked* (his own daughter)” (*Father-in-Law* 3’34)
 (Mundari: *he, apu-te =ʔ isin-ki-ʔ-i-a.*)
- (93) *kukʃa =e tula-ter-e-a*
 chicken =3SG make-PST-OBJ-FIN
 “He *had cooked* a chicken (before inviting his father-in-law)” (*Father-in-Law* 2’17)
 (Mundari: *sim =iʔ isin-ki-ʔ-i-a.*)

In the following pair, *adik`-keq-a* is uttered when the speakers suspect an ongoing cheat, while *anaɖik`-teʃ-le-a* refers to a lie told the day before.

- (94) *me adik`-keq-a ja*
 NEG cheat-PRF-FIN Q
 “Aren’t you *fooling* us?” (*Wolf* 11’10)
 (Mundari: *ka =m hiʃi(beda)-ke-d-le-a ci?*)
- (95) *am anaɖik`-teʃ-le-a*
 you cheat-PST-1PL.EX-FIN
 “You *cheated* us.” (*Wolf* 9’11)
 (Mundari: *am do hiʃi(beda)-ke-d-le-a.*)

b) *-en* and *-nen*

-en and *-nen* occur in similar past contexts. According to our consultants, *-nen* as in *duar kʰulao-nen-a* occurs in questions (“Was the door open?”), whereas *-en* as in *duar kʰulao-en-a* is used when telling someone that the door *is* open. We can generalize that *-nen* refers to a past event while *-en* points to the result of a past event; in other words, *-nen* and *-en* seem to signal the past and the perfect or resultative, respectively.

While *-nen* refers to the past, it also occurs with the negative *ero*, which signals negation of an incomplete event (§34).

c) Anterior *-eq*

The suffix *-eq* is attached to verbs of motion, such as *sen* ‘to go’ and *wek`* ‘to come’. While forms with other suffixes such as *wek`-nen-a* and *wej-en-a* are also possible, forms with *-eq* appear when referring to an action prior to another.

- (96) haʔna =kin *sen-eq-a* tʰānā =kin uduʔ-ter-a
 then =3DU go-PST-FIN police.station =3DU tell-PST-FIN
 “They *went* to the police station *and* reported” (*Bamboo Shoots* 4’28)
 (Mundari: *ena-te tana =kin sen-ke-d-ci =kin udub-ke-d-a.*)

d) Lexical aspect and choice of past/perfect suffixes

Verbs of movement show contrasts in lexical aspect. *sen* ‘to go’ is neutral with respect to aspect. *tora* ‘go away’ (Bahl) denotes a perfective aspect and does not take any tense/aspect suffix, e.g., *tora-ku* ‘they went away’, *tora-e* ‘he went away’. In contrast, *otoŋ/ oteŋ* ‘get going’ (Bahl ‘follow’), has imperfective lexical aspect and does not cooccur with the nonpast suffix *-ta*, e.g., *otoŋ-a* ‘is ready to go’.

§61 Sentence-final Particles

a) *ma* ‘please’ ‘look’

The clitic *ma*, added to an imperative form, expresses request.

- (97) hã do goʔ sodor goɖ-ɛŋ=me *ma*
 yes then take reach CMPL-1SG=IMP.2SG please
 “Okay, then *please* take me to my home” (*Millipede* 7’23)
 (Mundari: *he do oʔaʔ-te idi-ŋ=me, mar.*)

ma is also found in a declarative sentence. Its function seems to be to call listeners’ attention gently.

- (98) ab =iŋ kahāni-ta =ŋ *ma*
 now =1SG tell-NPT =1SG look
 “Listen, now I will tell it.” (*Firefly* 0’11)
 (Mundari: *naaʔ =ŋ kaji-a-m-a, mar.*)

b) *goy* ‘look!’, ‘listen!’, ‘okay?’

goy is a clitic used when calling addressee’s attention.

- (99) ab =iŋ oro =ŋ sen-ta urik’ sarao *goy* anam =pe sen *goy*
 now =1SG NEG =1SG go-NPT cattle graze ITJ you.EPH =2PL go EPH
 “Listen, I will not go to graze cattle now. You guys go, *okay?*” (*Cattle* 6’07)
 (Mundari: *naaʔ uʔiʔ gupi-te ka =ŋ sen-a ape senoʔ=pe.*)

- (100) mana-uʔi do *goy* akʰan nuhu ŋel-ɛŋ=me ja =iŋ gujuʔ-ta
 that-way TOP ITJ now now look-1SG-IMP.2SG Q 1SG die-NPT
 “Look, just that way, I am going to die [and revive] now. Will you watch me?” (*Millipede* 10’25)
 (Mundari: *han-te lel-e=me naaʔ naaʔ ge =ŋ goeʔ-en-a.*)

c) *ja* Q, ‘or’

ja is a question marker (§52). When added after an imperative, it signals cohortative request. See above (100) for an example.

As an evidential marker, *ja* signals that the statement is the speaker’s conjecture, as in the following example.

- (101) hækʰ pipĩoŋ ja =e ara-ter-a *ja*
 he firefly Q =3SG make.son.in.law-PST-FIN Q
 “He seems to have made a firefly his son-in-law” (*Firefly* 2’44)
 (Mundari: *ae? ipiŋi-piyuŋ ara-te =? bai-n-a jaa?*.)

§62 Topic and Focus

It is not easy to decide from the word order whether Hill Korwa has the cleft construction. While there is no obvious change in the word order, focused elements are marked by the infix *-nV* (§6), as in the following examples.

- (102) agar caŋlom anam jom-keŋ-a
 if tail you.IFX eat-PRF-FIN
 “Hey tail! *Is it you* that ate [my pork]?” (*Wolf* 3’17)
 (Mundari: *agar am cadlom =me jom-ke-re*.)
- (103) anam to jau?-aŋu-ta etra din
 you.IFX TOP cook-leave-NPT so.many day
 “*It is you* who cooked food and left it for so many days!” (*Tiger* 1’57)
 (Mundari: *nimiŋ din am ge maŋdi=m bai-ke-d-a*.)
- (104) am sen anam ŋam goy iŋ sen iniŋ ŋam goy
 you go you.IFX find ITJ I go I.IFX find ITJ
 “When you go out, *you* will find food. When I go out, *I* will do so.”
 (*Firefly* 5’52)

In the following example, *nae* is focused with the infix *-nV*. Moreover, the discourse particle *ma*, which is usually found at the end of a sentence (§61), occurs after *nanae*, indicating that *nanae* is in fact fronted from its original sentence-initial position.

- (105) *nanae* ma jau?-wa-laŋ-a =e
 she.IFX look! cook-BEN-IDU.IN-FIN =3SG
 “Look, *this is she* who has been cooking for us” (*Tiger* 2’30)
 (Mundari: *mar, ini? isin-a-laŋ-a-e?*.)

§63 Animacy

In our corpus, inanimate things do not become the subject of a dynamic verb so often. In *ber hækʰ to sēn-a =e aŋu-laŋ-ta* “The sun set and is leaving us alone” (*Firefly* 2’03), the sun is treated as an animate subject.

There are impersonal verbs which do not take the experiencer or patient as their subjects, e.g., *paɽ^haʔ man hõ laga-ʔ-a* “I felt like studying” (*My Life* 27’10), and *ʰra-reɽ-laŋ-ta* “We got stuck in the dark” (*Firefly* 2’27)

Chapter 2. Texts

§1 King and His Abandoned Twin

Told by Mrs. Sudhni Bai. Recorded in her house in Kado Pani on February 1, 2014.

0'00 mi-hoɽ rāja =e dohon-en-a =e do cʰoɽki baɽki
one-CLF king =3SG be-PST-FIN =3SG TOP younger.wife first.wife
goʔ-teɽ-kin-a =e
take-PST-3DU.OBJ-FIN =3SG

There was a king. He has taken two wives, a younger and an elder.

0'08 do hāekʰ rāja lain-ku mer hoy-a do kata-e-tan
then he king child-PL NEG become-FIN then say-OBJ-NPT
The king did not have any children. He said,

0'18 bohre babar-hoɽ ayumi-kin =eɲ goʔ-ker-a iɲ-rikua lain-ku
oh.my two.RED-CLF woman-DU =1SG take-PRF-FIN I-GEN.PL child-PL
kowa =ku
be.not =3PL

“Oh my! I have taken two wives, [yet] I have no children.”

0'26 accʰā kara.uɽi =ɲ karej-a
well how =1SG do.what-FIN
“Well, what shall I do?”

0'27 do hāekʰ mi-hoɽ ɖokra-tukin malik-tukin =e kata-e-tan
then he one-CLF old.man-of.3DU master-of.3DU =3SG say-OBJ-NPT
accʰā naɲɖa =ba dohon ayumi-kin oteɲ-iɲ ul iɲ
well here =2DU stay woman-DU get.going-1SG mango I
goɖ-agu-ta=ɲ
cut-bring-NPT=1SG

The king (lit. their guru) said, “Wait here, queens. I will go, cut a mango and bring it back.”

0'40 accʰā ul =e goɖ-agu-teɽ banar ayumi-kin =e kʰiao-laga
well mango =3SG cut-bring-CVB two.IFX woman-DU =3SG feed-for
cʰawa-puta hoy-a-laga
child-son become-for

He cut a mango and brought it back, in order to give it to his two queens, so they could have children.

- 0'44 do hāek' baŋki-t =e k^hiao-teŋ c^hoŋki hāek' mer
 then he first.wife-POS =3SG feed-PST younger.wife he not
 k^hiao-gaŋ-ik'
 feed-BEN-FIN
 He gave [the mango] to the older queen, but not to the younger one.
- 0'51 do hāek' umu? =e sen-eŋ-a =e wej-eŋna =e
 then he take.bath =3SG go-PST-FIN =3SG come-CVB =3SG
 kata-e-tan ka ūl =ba agu-ter-a
 say-OBJ-NPT COMP mango =2DU bring-PST-FIN
 [The younger queen] had gone to take a bath. When she returned, she
 said, “Did you two bring back a mango?”
- 0'57 pe-ne hoŋ =bu jom-keŋna =bu lain-ku?-a
 three-IFX person =1PL.IN eat-CVB =1PL.IN have.child-SBJV-FIN
 maŋan kahi-ke do =iŋ mer baŋaŋ-iŋ gaŋ-iŋ-a
 QUOT say-CVB then =1SG not divide-1SG BEN-1SG-FIN
 “You said, ‘The three of us will eat the mango and have children’. But
 [you] did not share it with me!”
- 1'03 =ba jom goŋer-a =e ŋel-tan sokola-t naek' kata-e-tan
 =2DU eat CMPL-FIN =3SG see-NPT stem.end-POS she say-OBJ-NPT
 “You two have eaten it.” She saw the stem end [of the mango] and
 said,
- 1'08 ohre nehen ma =ba jom-goteŋ-a
 oh.my this look! =2DU eat-CMPL-FIN
 “My goodness! You two have eaten it!”
- 1'11 acc^hā de maŋan aŋ halaŋ g^hāŋi =ŋ haŋur jom haŋ-e
 well FOC that.way I pick.up while =1SG scrape eat pick.up-3SG
 g^hāŋi haŋur jōm-a =e
 while scrape eat-FIN =3SG
 “Fine, I will pick it up, scrape it, and eat [whatever is left].” She ate
 the mango, scraping it clean.
- 1'17 do hānaek'-ke hoyā-nen-a bar-hoŋ jawa mane mi-hoŋ
 then she.IFX-for become-PST-FIN two-CLF twin namely one-CLF
 d^hŋg^ha-lain mi-hoŋ d^haŋgri-lain hoyā-ne
 boy-child one-CLF girl-child become-PST
 Then [the younger queen] gave birth to twins — a boy and a girl.
- 1'31 na hakin ab hāek' rāja =e kata-e-tan bohre baŋki aij
 this they.DU now that king =3SG say-OBJ-NPT oh.my first.wife today

do c^huilc^hula-ke hæk' mās to ūl =iŋ k^hiao-ter-i-a aru
 then peel-CVB she meat TOP mango =1SG feed-PST-OBJ-FIN and
 hāe-ke lain-ku mer hoy-a-ga
 she-for child-PL not become-FIN

After that, the king said, “Oh my! The elder queen, for whom I peeled the mango and gave the fleshy pulp, did not have any children.”

- 1'46 c^hoŋki aek' sokola-te haqur-wane hæk' do mi-hoŋ beŋa
 younger.wife self stalk-from scrape-CVB she TOP one-CLF son
 mi-hoŋ biŋi lain =kin hoy-a-ki-a
 one-CLF daughter child =3DU become-PRF-FIN

“[But] the younger queen, who scraped and ate [the mango's] stem, has given birth to two babies — a boy and a girl.”

- 1'55 hæk' baŋki isga-te kata-e-tan naek' do beŋa-beŋi
 she elder jealousy-from say-OBJ-NPT this TOP son-daughter
 bar-hoŋ idan-a-kin do
 two-CLF be-FIN-3DU TOP

The older queen spoke out of jealousy, “She has two babies!”

- 2'04 herel hō hera hō idana-kin-a asul-hara-kin do naek' rāja
 boy too girl too be-3DU-FIN support-bring.up-3DU then he king
 iŋ =e aŋaʔ-ɖai-n-tan
 I =3SG let.go-keep-1SG-NPT

“A boy and a girl. If the king raises them, he will forsake me.”

- 2'09 sē.nahi nakina lain-kin oten-iŋ eŋɖa-aŋu-t-kin
 come.on these.DU child-DU go-1SG throw-leave-PST-3DU
 “Well, I will take these children and abandon them.”

- 2'16 ka =e goʔ-kin-a =e acc^hā ēk.din
 CMPL =3SG take-3DU.OBJ-FIN =3SG well one.day
 eŋɖa-aŋu-t-kin
 throw-leave-PST-3DU.OBJ

She took them away. Well, she abandoned them one day.

- 2'24 eng-a-t kata-e-tan otoŋ-a =iŋ na uŋi-re do naek' lain
 mother-POS say-OBJ-NPT go-FIN =1SG this way-LOC TOP this child
 [ero] =e jiao-nen-a
 NEG =3SG live-PST-FIN

The mother(’s co-wife) thought, “I will go now. The children will not survive (if I leave them) like this.”

- 2'32 siri-ku guɖa-re ader-teŋ-kin haŋɖa hū siri-ku mener =ku
 goat-PL pen-LOC put.in-PST-3DU there too goat-PL not.IFX =3PL

coṭ-goek'-gaḍ-kin
tread-kill-BEN-3DU.OBJ

She placed the babies in a goat pen. There the goats did not trample or kill them.

- 2'40 hante do ar hāek' enḡa-t =e kata-e-tan boh naṇḡa hō
then TOP and she mother-POS =3SG say-OBJ-NPT oh.my here too
mener =kin goek'-gan
not.IFX =3DU die-PST

Then the mother('s co-wife) said, "They did not die here either."

- 2'46 acc^hā kara =ṇ karek'-kin gae b^hāes-ku c^hiur dohon-a ne
well what =1SG do-3DU.OBJ cattle buffalo-PL path be-FIN ITJ
"What should I do with them?" There was a road where cattle and
buffaloes passed.

- 2'51 naek' kata-e-tan nh gae b^hāes-ko =ku pār-tan haṇḡa c^hiur
this say-OBJ-NPT ITJ cattle buffalo-PL =3PL pass-NPT there path
=ṇ maṇḡao aṭu-kin
=1SG put.down leave-3DU.OBJ

She thought, "I will leave them on this road, where the cows and buffaloes pass."

- 2'56 do gae b^hāes-ku k^hur-te =ku coṭ-goek'-goṭ-kin-ta
then cow buffalo-PL hoof-with =3PL tread-kill-CMPL-3DU-NPT
The cows and buffaloes will trample them with their hooves and kill them.

- 2'59 acc^hā haṇḡa =e idi-teṭ-kin haṇḡa hō gae b^hāes-ku =ku
well there =3SG bring-PST-3DU there too cow buffalo-PL =3PL
paṇjrao-yan =ku ṭāk-teṭ-kin ka
pass.by-PST =3PL watch-PST-3DU CMPL

Well, she took the babies there [and left them. However,] the cows and buffaloes saw [the babies] and walked around them, avoiding them.

- 3'06 mener =ko marwao-gaṭ-kin
not.IFX =3PL kill-CMPL-3DU
They did not kill the babies.

- 3'09 hana?na aru =e kata-e-tan oh nakina lain-kin tononḡ
after.that again =3SG say-OBJ-NPT ITJ these child-DU any
uṭi-karle mer =kin guju?-ta kara.uṭi =ṇ karek'-kin
way-by.means.of not =3DU die-NPT how =1SG do-3DU

After that she said, "Oh well, somehow they were not killed. What should I do now?"

- 3'22 acc^{bā} hanaʔna mi-goʔ gedna =i uḍa-wej-eḍ-a =i
 well after.that one-CLF vulture =3SG fly-come-PST-FIN =3SG
 nel-pam-teʔ-kin hanaʔna hæ̃kʰ kata-e-tan
 look-find-PST-3DU after.that it say-OBJ-NPT
 Then a vulture came flying by, noticed the babies and said,
- 3'31 e nakin do manuwa lain-kin hawe
 ITJ these TOP human child-DU COP
 “Oh, these are human children!”
- 3'35 otop-ij goʔ-kin =ij asul-hara-kin
 go-1SG take-3DU =1SG support-bring.up-3DU
 “I will take them and raise them.”
- 3'41 hanaʔna hæ̃kʰ goʔ-e-aʔ-kin
 after.that it take-OBJ-PST-3DU.OBJ
 After that the vulture took the children away.
- 3'44 acc^{bā} karkaʔ sakam ḍasna =i tula-ter-a
 okay plant.name leaf mat =3SG make-PST-FIN
 It made a mat out of *karkaʔ* leaves.
- 3'50 watna sakam dabna =i tula-ter-a asul-hara-teʔ-kin
 Asan leaf cover =3SG make-PST-FIN support-bring.up-PST-3DU
 haʔna macua hæ̃kʰ kata-e-tan
 then FILL it say-OBJ-NPT
 It made a comforter out of *asan* leaves and cared for them. Then it said,
- 3'59 man =ba lain-kin ab do =ij asul-hara goʔ-teʔ-ba
 look =2DU child-DU now TOP =1SG support-bring.up take-PST-2DU
 =ba purnao-yan-a ab do man jiyaʔ-ba
 =2DU grow.up-PST-FIN now TOP that live-2DU
 “Look, children! I raised you, and now you have grown up. It’s time for you to live [on your own].”
- 4'09 acc^{bā} =kin katao-a hoʔij-tan macua bare-mese rōʔaekʰ
 okay =3DU say-FIN RECIPR-NPT FILL brother-sister elder
 bare-t aru huʔijækʰ mese-t
 brother-POS and younger sister-POS
 The brother and sister, the elder brother and the younger sister, discussed [their situation].
- 4'20 ne dada kara.uʔi =lan jiyaʔ-a
 ITJ brother how =1DU.IN live-FIN

“Brother, how shall we live?” [the sister asked.]

- 4'25 *ōt-re =laŋ dohon do ise.tuse barābaran kair-ke alaŋ*
 ground-LOC =1DU.IN stay TOP variously by.all.means do-CVB 1DU.IN
=ku marwa eŋḍa-laŋ-ta
 =3PL kill throw-1DU.IN.OBJ-NPT
 “If we stay on the ground, they will harm us in various ways, kill us,
 and throw us away.”

- 4'33 *sē.nahi alaŋ do-laŋ ḍena paīk =laŋ jamao aur sermo*
 well 1DU.IN let's.go-1DU.IN wing feather =1DU.IN collect and above
=laŋ meṭra sermo =laŋ meṭra
 =1DU.IN fly.around above =1DU.IN fly.around
 “Let us leave.” They collected bird feathers, saying “Let us fly
 around.”

- 4'46 *banar bare-mese paīk-dena =kin dena =kin jamao-ter-a*
 two.IFX brother-sister feather-wing =3DU wing =3DU collect-PST-FIN
 Both the brother and sister gathered feathers.

- 4'51 *hana?na hakin ab uḍa? =kin suru-nen hana?na han ab hāek'*
 after.that they.DU now fly.up =3DU begin-PST after.that that now he
uḍa-?-a =kin
 fly.up-SDH-FIN =3DU
 They started taking off and flew up.

- 5'07 *do hāek' eṅga-t rāja =e katao-a sereṅ-te*
 then she mother-POS king =3SG say-FIN song-by
 [As they ascended,] their mother sang a song to the king.

- 5'15 *nel-kin=me nel-kin=me rāja sermo-re do c^hatair*
 look-3DU.OBJ=IMP look-3DU.OBJ=IMP king above-LOC TOP parasol
p^hul-re meṭair meṭair maʔan
 flower-LOC rotate rotate QUOT
 “Look at them! Look at them! A parasol high above, spinning like
 flowers.”

- 5'27 *nel-kin=me rāja sermo-re do sarge-c^hatair*
 look-3DU.OBJ=IMP king above-LOC TOP sky-parasol
 “Look, King! High above, a parasol in the sky.”

- 5'34 *p^hul-re meṭair meṭair maʔan rāja =e katao-aṭ*
 flower-LOC rotate rotate QUOT king =3SG say-PST
 “Spinning like flowers.” She sang it to the king.

- 5'38 haʔna rāja =e katao-aʔ bohre iŋ-lain-kin hawe
 then king =3SG say-PST oh.my I-child-DU COP
 Then the king said, "Oh, they are my children!"
- 5'47 oh.re kara lek^he-re =ŋ utrao-kin hakin
 oh.my what like-LOC =1SG take.down-3DU.OBJ they.DU
 lain-kin-t-iŋ
 child-DU-POS-1SG
 "How can I bring my children down from up there?"
- 5'56 hanaʔna hāck^ʔ mane ka-bid^hi lagao-ter-a
 after.that he namely what-means apply-PST-FIN
 What did he do then?
- 6'05 jama-aŋgi jait.saga-ku sab-ku oʔaʔ-re =kin meʔrao-sen g^haniya
 all-side society-PL all-PL house-LOC =3DU rotate-go while
 manaʔan =kin sereŋ sēn-a
 that.way =3DU sing go-FIN
 As the sibling hovered everywhere around their house, they kept singing.
- 6'15 han-uʔi =kin sereŋ sēn-a =kin han-han-re hakin =e
 that-way =3DU sing go-FIN =3DU that-LOC they.DU =3SG
 utrao-teʔ-kin-a-e eŋga-t
 take.down-PST-3DU.OBJ-FIN-3SG mother-POS
 As they continued singing, the mother brought them down from the sky.
- 6'30 eŋga-t =e utrao-teʔ-kin ka hakin mane umoʔ
 mother-POS =3SG take.down-PST-3DU CMPL they.DU namely take.bath
 =e goʔ-kin-a
 =3SG take-3DU-FIN
 After she took them down, she bathed them and brought them to the house.
- 6'39 umoʔ =e goʔ-teʔ-kin hanaʔna eŋga-t =e kata-e-tan
 take.bath =3SG take-PST-3DU after.that mother-POS =3SG say-OBJ-NPT
 After bathing them, their mother said [to the king],
- 6'47 sāt kūa-raʔ daʔ =om buraʔ agu hanaʔna nahwā =e
 seven well-GEN water =2SG scoop.up bring after.that bathe =3SG
 d^howai-ke
 wash-CVB
 "Fetch water from seven wells, and wash and bathe your son and daughter."

- 6'52 am-rikina? beṭa-beṭi-kin sāt paṭan-ra? kursi(uparem)
 you-GEN.DU son-daughter-DU seven layer-GEN chair
 baiṭ^hao-kin duṭub-kin gaḍi-re =m dek'-keṭ-kin
 seat-3DU.OBJ seat-3DU.OBJ tub-LOC =2SG place-PRF-3DU
 "Seat your son and daughter on the board of a chair with seven para-
 sols, and lift them up in a tub."
- 7'03 hana?na am-lain-kin am-suda oro =kin dohon-e
 then your-child-DU you-with NEG =3DU stay-FIN
 "(Otherwise) your children will not stay with you."
- 7'09 han-uṭi sāt kūa-ra? da? =e agu-teṭ naek' um-teṭ-kin
 that-way seven well-GEN water =3SG bring-PST he bathe-PST-3DU
 han hō enḡa-t baṭha-jom =e sen-eḡ-a
 that too mother-POS search-eat =3SG go-PST-FIN
 [The king] fetched water from seven wells, and bathed the children.
 Meanwhile, their mother went out to search for food.
- 7'20 hæk' =kin meṭrao jam-ter-a
 she =3DU hover find-PST-FIN
 She found the children hovering in the air again.
- 7'24 hæk' baṭha-jom baṭha-jom-re hæk' meṭrao jam-ter-ik'
 he search-eat search-eat-LOC she hover find-PST-FIN
 While she went to search for food, she found them hovering around.
- 7'30 hæk' wej-eṭna sabun =e agu-teṭna sāt kūa-ra? da? =e
 he come-CVB soap =3SG bring-CVB seven well-GEN water =3SG
 bura?-agu-teṭ
 scoop.up-bring-PST
 The king returned with soap, and water water from the seven wells.
- 7'36 hana?na rāja-rāni banar-hoṭ beṭa-biṭi =kin um-ter-a
 after.that king-queen two.IFX-CLF boy-girl =3DU bathe-PST-FIN
 Then both he and the queen bathed their son and daughter [together].
- 7'43 um-teṭkinna sāt paṭan sāt manjil-ra? gaḍi-re =kin
 bathe-CVB.3DU seven layer seven storey-GEN tub-LOC =3DU
 dek'-teṭ-kin
 place-PST-3DU
 After bathing them, they placed the children in a tub with seven levels.
- 7'50 na hakin =kin baiṭ^hao-teṭ-kin enḡa-apa ha?na henkin
 then they.DU =3DU seat-PST-3DU mother-father then they.DU
 jiyao-jagao-nen han-kin naha rāja-kin nakinhen ab^hi na
 live-eat-PST they-DU this king-DU look.them.DU now this

caba-ya k^hatam-ker-a =e
 end-PST end-PRF-FIN =3SG

The parents seated them there, and from then forward, they lived and ate together. The story came to an end.

§2 *An Old Man and a Jackal*

Told by Mrs. Bhinsari Bai. Recorded in Kado Pani on February 1, 2014.

0'00 do naʔa uʔi =ɲ kata-e-ta ayum=me hole
 then this way =1SG speak-OBJ-NPT listen=IMP then
 Listen, I will tell you a story.

0'06 mi-hoʔ ɖokra hæʔkʰ sim-ku =e asul-ter-a
 one-man old.man he chicken-PL =3SG support-PST-FIN
 There was an old man who kept chickens.

0'13 do hæʔkʰ buaʔ rōj =e wej-a rōj
 then that jackal daily =3SG come-FIN daily
 Every day, a jackal would come around.

0'17 do hæʔkʰ ɖokra =e jog-e-a =e jog-e-a =e do
 then that old.man =3SG chase-OBJ-FIN =3SG chase-OBJ-FIN =3SG then
 =e kata-e-a raha=me =re ɖokra
 =3SG say-OBJ-FIN stop=IMP =ITJ old.man
 The old man would chase it away. Then the jackal said to the old man,
 “Hey, stop, uncle!”

0'22 malhan-t-am =eɲ jom-ta belonʔi-t-am =eɲ jom-ta
 hyacinth.bean-POS-2SG =1SG eat-NPT tomato-POS-2SG =1SG eat-NPT
 “[If you keep chasing me,] I will eat your hyacinth beans or your tomatoes.”

0'24 maʔan=e kata-e-a hæʔkʰ buaʔ kata-e-a hæʔkʰ ɖokra
 QUOT =3SG speak-OBJ-FIN that jackal speak-OBJ-FIN that old.man
 =e katao-ʔ-a
 =3SG say-SDH-FIN
 The jackal said this to the old man [and left].

0'28 to obʰ na obʰ =e akiɖ-ʔ^huʔi-ter-a haɳɖa
 then ash this ash =3SG scoop.up-pile.up-PST-FIN there
 Then, the old man gathered some ashes in one spot there.

0'33 hæʔkʰ ɖokra =e til-aʔu-ter-i-a hæʔkʰ sayāʔi
 the old.man =3SG hide-leave-PST-OBJ-FIN that lady
 The lady (the old man's wife) hid him [in the ashes].

- 0'36 na hæk' bua? sodor-ne bilwa ac^hā malhan-t-en =e
 this that jackal arrive-PST cat well hyacinth.bean-POS-self =3SG
 god-teṭna hana ɖokra =e eṇḁa-reḁ-ter-a ob'-te hana-re
 cut-CVB that old.man =3SG throw-hide-PST-FIN ash-with that-LOC
 hæk'
 she
 [When] the jackal arrived[, the couple's] cat had picked at the hyacinth
 beans, [and the lady] had hid the old man in the ashes.
- 0'46 hana =e to gasi?-god-a pus maʔan
 that =3SG then break.wind-CMPL-FIN ONOM QUOT
 Then [the man] farted, making a "Poo."
- 0'49 isin-i-a isin-i-a cakom cakom =e jom-baʔ-ka
 cook-OBJ-FIN cook-OBJ-FIN EXP EXP =3SG eat-do.quickly-CVB
 [Hearing the noise, the jackal thought] "[The beans] are cooked!" In
 a hurry, the jackal gobbled up the beans noisily.
- 0'52 hana hæk' ɖokra =e bandi rem-ne bua? =e joʔ-a
 then that old.man =3SG suddenly rise-PST jackal =3SG chase-FIN
 Then the old man suddenly rose (from the ashes) and started chasing
 the jackal.
- 0'57 bua? =e joʔ-a =e joʔ-a =e raha=me =re do
 jackal =3SG chase-FIN =3SG chase-FIN =3SG stop=IMP =ITJ then
 ɖokra hun jog-eṇ-ta sim-ku-t-am =eṇ jom-ta
 old.man ITJ chase-1SG.OBJ-NPT chicken-PL-POS-2SG =1SG eat-NPT
 As he chased it, [the jackal said,] "Hey, stop, uncle! If you keep chas-
 ing me, [then] I will eat your chickens."
- 1'02 hæk' sayāṭi-te katao-ʔ-a sayāṭi nakua sim-ku =m
 that lady-to speak-SDH-FIN lady these chicken-PL =2SG
 ader-ku=me
 get.in-3PL.OBJ=IMP
 The old man called out to his wife, "Dear, bring the chickens inside!"
- 1'07 naʔa ɖali-re pach'i-re iṇ =me harub'-reṭ'
 this basket-LOC basket-LOC I =IMP.2SG cover-shut.in
 "Put me in this bamboo basket, covered it with a lid and shut me in
 [their place]."
- 1'11 aru mi-ṭoṇ datrom =me agu-aṭu
 and one-CLF sickle =IMP.2SG bring-leave
 "And bring me a sickle, and leave it [with me]."

- 1'13 maʔan haʔna =e harub'-reʔ aʔu-ter-i-a sim-ku-t
 QUOT after.that =3SG put.in-cover leave-PST-OBJ-FIN chicken-PL-POS
 =e ader-e-aʔ-ku oʔaʔ-hor
 =3SG(?) get.in-OBJ-PST-3PL.OBJ house-side
 Then the old woman put him in [the basket], covered it with a lid, left him there, and brought the chickens inside.
- 1'19 haʔna hæk' buaʔ sodor-ne =e dunde-tan mer =e
 after.that that jackal arrive-PST =3SG hold.up-NPT NEG =3SG
 awei-tan
 be.able-NPT
 Then the jackal arrived [and tried to pick up the basket,] but could not lift it.
- 1'25 hæk' kukʔa =e to-tomboʔ-a
 that chicken =3SG RED-peck-FIN
 [Inside the basket,] the [old man, disguised as] a chicken, pecked at the jackal (with the sickle).
- 1'27 mane hana datrom-te tomb-og-e-a do =e kata-e-a
 namely that sickle-with peck-PASS-OBJ-FIN then =3SG speak-OBJ-FIN
 Pecked with the sickle, the jackal said,
- 1'29 bāpre naek' kukʔa tumin rōt idan-e-a je mer =e
 ITJ.oh.my this chicken how big be-OBJ-FIN REL NEG =3SG
 awe-n-ta
 be.able-REFL-NPT
 “Oh my! How big must this chicken be?” The jackal couldn't even [carry the chicken].
- 1'33 kahi-ke ab =e gog-e-a gog-e-a =e sitra dohon-e
 say-CVB now =3SG carry-OBJ-FIN carry-OBJ-FIN =3SG tatter be-PST
 esiq-tet'
 wear.out-PST
 Speaking so, it was now taking [the basket] away. The worn-out [handle] which was there [to carry the basket] broke.
- 1'38 aru =i jog-e-a joʔ joʔ =e
 and =3SG chase-OBJ-FIN chase chase =3SG
 joʔ-dakao-ter-i-a buaʔ kata-e-a
 chase-run.to.ground-PST-OBJ-FIN jackal speak-OBJ-FIN
 The old man chased the jackal, finally running it to the ground. The jackal said,

- 1'42 raha=me =re dokra mana haɾ-t-am-re =ɲ
 stop=IMP =ITJ old.man that field-POS-2SG-LOC =1SG
 ikʰ-aɬu-ta
 defecate-leave-NPT
 “Hey, stop, uncle. (If you keep chasing me,) I will poop on your field.”
- 1'45 hana-te kudana
 that-with return-FIN
 Then it went back.
- 1'48 hanaʔna haɾ-re hækʰ dokra kae man-te cʰura-kun
 after.that field-LOC that old.man some idea-with knife-and.so.on
 =e biɾahao-aɬu
 =3SG bury-leave
 The old man [had] buried knives and so on in the field as part of a plan.
- 1'54 haʔna hækʰ han oɾaʔ =e tora-e
 after.that he that house =3SG go.away-3SG
 After [setting it up], he went back home.
- 1'57 hækʰ buaʔ sodor-ne naekʰ joɬsoy-a kackic =e ged-e-a
 that jackal arrive-PST this scratch-FIN EXP =3SG cut-OBJ-FIN
 akatkit
 EXP
 The jackal arrived and scratched the [field]. Snip! [The knife or something] cut him. Clink!
- 2'00 dokra cinila =e lagao-aɬu-d-a
 old.man what.IFX =3SG attach-leave-FIN
 “What on earth has the uncle set up here?”
- 2'02 hanʔa aru pʰir hanaʔate hækʰ dokra =e
 after.that further again thereupon that old.man =3SG
 joʔ-saɬao-ʔ-a haɾ-t-in
 chase-make.leave-SDH-FIN field-POS-REFL
 Then the old man [started] chasing the jackal again, and made [the jackal] flee from his field.
- 2'07 raha=me =re dokra nuhũ siri-ku-t-am =eɲ artɨn-ta abʰi
 stop=IMP =ITJ old.man now goat-PL-POS-2SG =1SG steal-NPT now
 “Hey, stop, uncle! [If you chase me,] I will steal your goats.”
- 2'11 pʰir aru haku siri-ku dʰarna-teɬʰ siri-ku =e artɨn-a
 again again those goat-PL start.running-PST goat-PL =3SG steal-FIN

Then again, [the jackal] darted toward the goats and stole some.

- 2'17 ukar.bād-re hāek' dokra =e kata-e-tan naku siri-ku ader
 after.that-LOC that old.man =3SG speak-OBJ-NPT these goat-PL get.in
 oko-ku=me sayāṭi
 hide-3PL.OBJ=IMP lady

After that the old man said [to his wife], “Dear, bring the goats inside and hide them.”

- 2'22 naʔa guḍa-re ip =me siṇ-red' oko-god=me
 this goat.pen-LOC 1SG =IMP.2SG shut.in-cover hide-CMPL=IMP
 “Shut me in the goat pen, cover it, and hide me there.”

- 2'25 haṇḍa =e siṇ-red'-ter-i-a
 there =3SG shut.in-cover-PST-OBJ-FIN

There she shut him in [the goat pen] and covered him.

- 2'27 do mi-ṭoṇ ṭempa ece-sab-ka hana-te dereṇ to kahi-ke
 then one-CLF stick CAUS-catch-PST that-with horn then say-CVB
 piṭao saḍa-ʔ-a =e
 kill go.away-SDH-FIN =3SG

Then he made [her] take up a stick, kill [the goat] with it shouting ‘Horn!’, and go away.

- 2'34 tob jahi-ke bāpre rōṭ =e idan-e-a kʰasi goy kanara-uri
 then go-CVB ITJ.oh.my big =3SG be-3SG-FIN wether ITJ what.IFX-way
 goʔ-jom-kuʔ-a kahi-ke
 carry-MID-SBJV-FIN say-CVB

Then [the jackal] went and said, “Oh my! This is a big wether. How will I carry it [all by myself]?”

- 2'41 =e dʰusa saḍa-ʔ-a
 =3SG head.butt take.away-SDH-FIN

[The jackal] gave [the dead goat] a head-butt and [tried to] drag it away.

- 2'43 =e or-uḍuṇ-ter-ik`na =e gog-e-a gog-e-a pʰir
 =3SG pull-take.out-PST-CVB =3SG carry-OBJ-FIN carry-OBJ-FIN again
 hāek' dokra =e kalṭʰao-nen aru hāek' buaʔ =e joʔ-a=e
 that old.man =3SG turn.over-PST and that jackal =3SG run-FIN=3SG
 [The jackal] was pulling out [the dead goat] and taking it away. Then the old man, [who had been hiding under the dead goat,] turned it over and started chasing the jackal.

- 2'49 =e jog-e-a=e jog-e-a=e haʔna abʰi
 =3SG chase-OBJ-FIN=3SG chase-OBJ-FIN=3SG after.that now

- joʔ-ter-ikʔ
chase-PST-FIN
He chased and chased, and then he chased it some more.
- 2'52 naekʔ kata-e-tan raha=me re ɖokra
this say-OBJ-NPT stop=IMP ITJ old.man
This [jackal] said to him, "Hey, stop, uncle!"
- 2'56 am joʔ-kiɖ-iŋ-a kohoŋɖa-t-am =eŋ jom-ta
you chase-PRF-1SG.OBJ-FIN pumpkin-POS-2SG =1SG eat-NPT
You've chased me [enough. If you keep chasing me,] I will eat your pumpkins.
- 3'00 kohoŋɖa-t-eŋ-re ab sayãɽi-t =e katao-a
pumpkin-POS-1SG-on now lady-POS =3SG speak-FIN
About his pumpkin, he spoke to his wife.
- 3'03 dauɽa =m agu sayãɽi waka-aɽu-ŋ=me
basket =2SG bring lady hang-leave-1SG.OBJ=IMP
"Bring a basket, dear. [Put me in it,] hang it up, and leave me there."
- 3'05 mana kohoŋɖa =me goɖ-ader-oko-e=me
that pumpkin =IMP.2SG cut-take.in-hide-OBJ=IMP
"Then cut the pumpkin, take it inside, and hide it."
- 3'08 hækʔ waka-aɽu-ter-i hana kohŋɖa =e ader-oko-e-a
she hang-leave-PST-OBJ that pumpkin =3SG take.in-hide-OBJ-FIN
She hung [him in the basket] and left him, and took the pumpkin inside and hid it.
- 3'13 ukar.bād-re hækʔ buaʔ =e sodor-ne
after.that-LOC that jackal =3SG arrive-PST
After that, the jackal arrived.
- 3'16 hækʔ ɖokra =e artiŋ-a
it old.man =3SG steal-FIN
It stole the old man [disguised as a pumpkin].
- 3'18 do ikʔ sēn-a ladapada ladapada
then defecate go-FIN EXP EXP
It went defecating, making squishy sound.
- 3'22 ohre naʔa kohŋɖa-kar sebel =re naʔa kohŋɖa-kar sebel etna
ITJ this pumpkin-GEN taste =ITJ this pumpkin-GEN taste this.much
mĩɽʰ
sweet

Ah, the taste of this pumpkin! The taste of this pumpkin [must be] so sweet!

3'27 =e kata-te[na p^{hir} hāek' dokra naek' bua? =e jo?-a
 =3SG speak-CVB again that old.man this jackal =3SG chase-FIN
 When [the jackal] said that, the old man [came out of the basket and] started chasing the jackal again.

3'31 =e jog-e-a jog-e-a mane mi-ʈoŋ dobra da?-re
 =3SG chase-OBJ-FIN chase-OBJ-FIN namely one-CLF pond water-LOC
 jo? bolo-god-ter-i
 chase corner-CMPL-PST-OBJ
 He chased and chased, cornering the jackal against the water of a small pond.

3'38 do hāek' mane jo?-bolo-ter-i-a do hāek' =e
 then he namely chase-corner-PST-OBJ-FIN then it =3SG
 karek'-nen-a ki hāek' mane haku=i banao-ya
 do.what-PST-FIN COMP it namely fish=3SG become-PST
 He chased and cornered [the jackal against the pond]. Then what did it do? It transformed itself into a fish.

3'46 haku =i banao-nen kar.bād-re eʈa? ho?-ku =ku
 fish =3SG become-PST after.that-LOC other man-PL =3PL
 arek'-ter-i naku jom-goter-ik' caba-yan-a
 empty-PST-OBJ these eat-CMPL-OBJ finish-PST-FIN
 [The jackal] became a fish. Then other villagers bailed out the water of the pond and ate it. The story came to an end.

§3 Firefly's Idea

Told by Mr. Bandhu Ram. Recorded in Kado Pani on March 10, 2015.

0'00 mi-goʈoŋ pahil sāt-juga-a? kahāni dohon-en-a aur kathā goyʈ
 one-CLF former truth-era-GEN story be-PST-FIN and story ITJ
 dohon-en-a hana
 be-PST-FIN that

This is a story from very olden times, the Golden Era.

0'11 ab iŋ kahāni-ta =ŋ ma ab iŋ mer =iŋ liʈiŋ-aḍ hole
 now I tell-NPT =1SG look! now I not =1SG forget-PST if
 Listen, I will now tell it, if I haven't forgotten it.

0'16 sapayāṭ-ku kahāni ahana goyʈ
 old.person.IFX-PL story it ITJ
 It is a story of ancient people.

- 0'21 ka pahil juge-re =ko dohon-en-a
 COMP former era-LOC =3PL be-PST-FIN
 They lived in a distant past.
- 0'27 baḡe baḡe =ku dohon-en-a sapayāṭ-ku
 big big =3PL be-PST-FIN old.person.IFX-PL
 The people of olden times were large.
- 0'33 se haku do =ku dohon-en-a =ku kām k^heti jōm-a
 then those TOP =3PL be-PST-FIN =3PL work cultivation eat-FIN
 Those people used to get food by cultivation work.
- 0'37 =ku kām kām =ku kām buḡao-goḡ-a =ku kahī k^heti-bari
 =3PL work work 3PL work die-CMPL-FIN =3PL anywhere cultivation
 mer hoyā-ʔ-a
 not become-SDH-FIN
 Even though they worked and worked, they began dying one by one.
 There was no crop.
- 0'44 se hanku kām buḡao-goḡ-a do mer hoyā-ʔ-a
 then those work die-CMPL-FIN then not become-SDH-FIN
 They worked and died. There was no crop.
- 0'46 ukar.bād-re hanku katao-aṭ ne goy lain-ku kara.uṭi =bu kām
 after.that-LOC those talk-PST ITJ ITJ child-PL how =1PL.IN work
 jiyaʔ-ta goy
 live-NPT ITJ
 Then they discussed their plight. “Look, children, how shall we work
 and survive?”
- 0'52 kara.uṭi cila =bu jiyaʔ-jage-ta
 how what =1PL.IN live-ECHO-NPT
 “How shall we survive?”
- 0'58 bohre lain-ku do-bu atiṇ-jom goy aman
 ITJ child-PL let's.go-1PL.IN dig-eat ITJ that
 “Well, children, let's dig and find something to eat! Let's go!”
- 1'03 =bu kām jom-ta do mer hoyāʔ-ta ta =bu sē.nahī
 =1PL.IN work eat-NPT then not become-NPT then =1PL.IN isn't.it
 do-bu ab =bu
 let's.go-1PL.IN now =1PL.IN
 “We used to get food from cultivation, but there was not enough crop.
 Let's go now!”

- 1'09 kanda-kuila cil-cila jēr-jānjair gāet-lakōa jēr-jānjair-te
 root-tuber RED-what root-root tuber.name-tuber.name root-with
 =bu jiya? goy
 =1PL.IN live ITJ
 "Let us live on tubers and roots, like *gaet* and *lakoa*."
- 1'16 do-bu hamā apan-apan =bu jel-idi-jom
 let's.go-1PL.IN ITJ self-self =1PL.IN look-bring-eat
 "Come on, each of us will search for tubers, bring them back, and eat them."
- 1'22 ab naṇḍa do =bu kām so-taḍ-a mer hoy-a-gan-a
 now here TOP =1PL.IN work try-PST-FIN not become-PST-FIN
 "Here we have tried and worked [hard in the fields], but there is no crop."
- 1'25 se apan-apan gaḍa jom =ku sēn-a =ku
 then self-self dig eat =3PL go-FIN =3PL
 Each of them went out to dig for tubers to eat.
- 1'30 jama-ku tora-ku ab apan-j^hapan atij-jom tora-ku
 all-3PL go-3PL now self-ECHO dig-eat go-3PL
 They all went out, each digging for tubers to eat.
- 1'37 apan-apan pahāṭ se bar-hoṭ ḍokra ḍukri =kin
 self-self jungle from two-CLF old.man old.woman =3DU
 hakin =ku aṇa?-aṭu-ḍ hakin ekla =ku
 they.DU =3PL abandon-leave-PST they.DU alone =3PL
 higar-goṭ-teṭ-kin
 become.separate-CMPL-PST-3DU
 [Among them were] an old man and an old woman. They became separated from the others and were left behind.
- 1'45 ukar.bād-re hakin waser-peska-monḍaek'-te =kin
 after.that-LOC they.DU tuber.name-tuber.name-tuber.name-with =3DU
 atij atij =kin atij and^hra-yan
 dig dig =3DU dig became.dark-PST
 After being left behind, they continued digging for tubers, taros, and yams. Then it had become dark.
- 1'54 tabu wek'-laga =kin bayao-yan hakin do be-aigina
 then come-for =3DU be.confused-PST they.DU TOP without-fire
 kaṭ^hi be-sengelna j^hori-re
 firewood without-fire brushwood-LOC
 Then the couple felt lost, unable to find their way back to the others.

They had no fire for their firewood or brushwood.

- 2'00 ne sayãɽi kara.uɽi =laŋ dewer-ta
 ITJ lady how =1DU.IN go.home-NPT
 “How shall we go home, dear?”

- 2'03 do-me ber hãek' to sën-a =e aɽu-laŋ-ta
 let's.go-2SG sun that TOP go-FIN =3SG leave-1DU.IN-NPT
 do-laŋ dewer jom-ta jama =ko dewer-yan-a
 let's.go-1DU.IN go.home eat-NPT all =3PL go.home-PST-FIN
 “The sun has set, leaving us all alone. Let us go home and have dinner.
 Everyone has gone home.”

- 2'11 do ab hãek' ɖokra-t =e.. kata-e-tan sayãɽi =laŋ gaɖa
 then now that old.man-POS =3SG speak-OBJ-NPT lady =1DU.IN dig
 ɖai =laŋ aŋ ɽukaʔ-t-a-laŋ perek'-juaʔ-a =laŋ gaɖa-e
 keep=1DU.IN I basket-POS-1DU.IN fill-become-FIN =1DU.IN dig-OBJ
 tobe.do
 let's.go.on
 The old man replied, “Dear, let's keep digging until our baskets are
 full.”

- 2'22 =laŋ goʔ-ɽuɽiwa ne =laŋ haneʔna ma =laŋ jom
 =1DU.IN bring-pile.up ITJ =1DU.IN after.that look! =1DU.IN eat
 idi-ter-a
 bring-PST-FIN
 “Let us gather and pile up the tubers. Afterward, we'll eat them.” He
 was taking her along.

- 2'27 and^hra-reɽ-laŋ-ta sayãɽi do-me gaŋ jom ida
 become.dark-shut-1DU.IN-NPT lady let's.go-2SG boil eat be
 “Dear, it is getting dark, and we are still here. Let's go—we need to
 boil and eat the tubers!”

- 2'33 are do-me do =iŋ sudi-tan nahĩ
 ITJ let's.go-IMP let's.go =1SG know-NPT ITJ
 “Let's go. I have an idea.”

- 2'36 mi-hoɽ ara-laŋ mi-goɽuŋ buid =e ewa-ter-iŋ-a hana
 one-CLF son.in.law-1DU.IN one-CLF idea =3SG give-PST-1SG-FIN that
 buid-re =laŋ sen-ta
 idea-LOC =1DU.IN go-NPT
 “Our son-in-law gave me a good idea. We will use it to get home.”

- 2'44 do hãek' ara-t hãek' pipĩoɽ ja =e
 then he son.in.law-POS he firefly Q =3SG

ara-ter-a ja
make.son.in.law-PST-FIN Q
He had a son-in-law. He seems to have made a firefly his son-in-law.

2'52 hānaek' macua=e ara-ter-a do hāek' ab
 he.IFX FILL =3SG make.son.in.law-PST-FIN then he now
 He made it his son-in-law.

2'55 hana dēya-t gatar seŋgel sēn-a hānaek' katao-aŋne
 that rear-POS body fire go-FIN he.IFX speak-CVB
 The firefly burns with fire at the rear part of its body. It had told [the
 old man how he lights up himself.]

2'58 ki in-ara han-uŋi sē[n-a] katao-wa-d-ŋin-a
 COMP I-son.in.law that-way go-FIN tell-BEN-PST-1SG-FIN
 “My son-in-law told me [how he] goes that way.”

3'03 do häek' hanʔa buid-re dohon-en hanʔa ayum-ta teʔkan ber
 then he that idea-LOC be-PST that hear-NPT CVB sun
 buɕao-nenka ɖokra-t =e katao-a
 drown-CVB old.man-POS =3SG speak-FIN
 “He uses that idea (of lighting his own bottom) to live.” [The old man]
 had heard that, and he spoke after the sun set.

3'11 sayāri man nuhu do ara-iŋ-kar-re =iŋ katao-wa-m-ta
 lady that now TOP son.in.law-I-GEN-LOC =1SG talk-BEN-2SG-NPT
 “Dear, now I will tell you that [idea] of our son-in-law.”

3'18 man nuhu do man iŋ sobg-eŋ=me ja iŋ-dei-gatar
that now TOP that I shove-1SG=IMP Q I-rear-body
“Would you shove the [torch] in my rear end now?”

3'22 sobge-n=me ja iŋ-deŋ-gatar iŋ ece deŋ-gatar hole senŋel
 shove-1SG=IMP ITJ 1SG-back-body 1SG FILL back-body then fire
 uɖŋuʔ-ta hanʔa marsal-re =laŋ sen-ta
 come.out-NPT that light-LOC =1DU.IN go-NPT
 “Will you shove [a torch into] me, my rear end? Then fire will come
 out of my back. We will find our way home with that light.”

3'32 do hæk' sayãŕi-t baŕea-rōŭa buđi rem-tet
 then she old.woman-POS big-big digging.stick raise-PST
 Then the old woman picked up a large digging stick.

3'38 dokra-t han do haŋda hæck' deĩ soboʔ goek'-goted
old.man-POS that then there she back stick kill-CMPL

She shoved it into the old man's rear [to plant a torch but ended up] killing him.

- 3'45 ab =e sobo? goek'-goteḍ ikar.bād-re do ab häek' ḍokra
 now =3SG stick kill-CMPL after.this-LOC then now he old.man
 do karat hor =e rem-u?-na =kin wek'

TOP which side =3SG raise-REFL-CVB =3DU come

Now she stuck the torch into her husband and killed him. Now which side of the body will he [light and] lift up, and [how can] they go back home?

- 3'51 sayāṭi-t häek' ab haṇḍa ab =e ḍuṭu? anḡu-teṭna
 lady-POS she now there now =3SG sit dawn-CVB
 Now the woman collapsed, sitting there [in shock] all night.

- 3'57 ab häek' sayāṭi-t häek' han-ra? iyam-tan kahī hoṭ naha mata
 now she lady-POS she that-GEN cry-NPT some person now that
 macua mi-hoṭ
 FILL one-CLF

Now the woman was crying over what had happened. Then a man [arrived].

- 4'10 cuamana häek' cele hoṭ dohon-en-a häek'
 who.knows that what person be-PST-FIN he
 ayum-ṇam-teḍ-ik'-ke katao-e-tan
 hear-get-PST-FIN-CVB speak-OBJ-NPT

Who knows who he was? Hearing her cries, he asked,

- 4'17 cila-laga =m iyam-ta sayāṭi
 what-for =2SG cry-NPT lady
 "Why are you crying, madam?"

- 4'20 se cila-laga =ṇ iyam-ku?-a iṇ do naehena ḍokra-ṇ
 ITJ what-for =1SG cry-SBJV-FIN I TOP look.this old.man-1SG
 na?a-uṭi-yan-a
 this-way-PST-FIN

"Why I am crying? I did this to my husband."

- 4'25 ka =e karek'-nen-a naek'
 COMP =3SG do.what-PST-FIN this
 "What on earth happened to him?"

- 4'28 aliṇ do atin jom =liṇ wej-eḍ-a han-mela =e
 we.1DU.EX TOP dig eat =1DU.EX come-PST-FIN that-time =3SG
 kata-udu?-wa-ter-iṇ-a arat-kar
 say-talk-BEN-PST-1SG-FIN son.in.law-GEN

“We came here to dig tubers to eat. At that time he told me about an idea of our son-in-law.”

- 4'35 =e uduʔ-wa-ter-i-a hanʔa buid-re mane iŋ nehen =e
 =3SG talk-BEN-PST-3SG-FIN that idea-LOC namely I this =3SG
 kata-uduʔ bed^hawa-ter-iŋ-a
 say-talk give.the.idea-PST-1SG-FIN
 “[Our son-in-law] told [him about it], and my husband explained it to me.”

- 4'42 soboʔ-ɛ-a gotedʒi-a ka nahen ɖokra-ŋ do =e
 stick-PST-FIN CMPL-FIN COMP this old.man-1SG TOP =3SG
 goj-ɛ-a
 die-PST-FIN
 “I stuck [a digging stick] into him. And now my husband is dead.”

- 4'46 hana-laga-m =aŋ iya-m-ta kara.uʃi =ŋ sen kara dur =iŋ sen
 that-for- =1SG cry-NPT how =1SG go which way =1SG go
 “That is why I am crying. How shall I go back, and which way [should I take]?”

- 4'51 kahi-ke mane iya-m-a do hæ̃k' mi-hoʃ kata-teɖ aha =m
 say-CVB namely cry-FIN then he one-person speak-PST don't =2SG
 iya-m-a
 cry-FIN
 Saying this, she wept. Then the man said, “Don't cry.”

- 4'56 iŋ am =iŋ goʔ-me-ta ar =iŋ uduʔ-wa-m-ta hana dur
 I you =1SG take-2SG-NPT and =1SG talk-BEN-2SG-NPT that road
 =me sen
 =IMP.2SG go
 “I will take you, and I will show you the way. Take that way.”

- 5'03 se hæ̃k' mata dur macua hane awir sodor-teɖ-i
 then he that road FILL that take.along arrive-PST-3SG
 He guided her along a road and sent her back.

- 5'09 ika.r.bād-re hāi koʃar-to oʃaʔ macua =e awir
 after.this-LOC he granddaughter-POS house FILL =3SG take.along
 sodor-tr-i-a
 arrive-PST-3SG-FIN
 After that he sent her to her granddaughter's house.

- 5'12 do koʃar-to oʃaʔ =e awir sodor-ter-ik'-ka
 then granddaughter-POS house =3SG take.along arrive-PST-FIN-CVB

katao-wa-e-tan

speak-BEN-3SG-NPT

After he sent her to her granddaughter's house, [the woman] told [her granddaughter],

- 5'19 neka koʃar-ɨn natnin =ɨn kara.ʉɰi am kata-udu?
say granddaughter-1SG granddaughter =1SG how you say-talk
bed^{ha}?-ter-a
give.an.idea-PST-FIN

“Listen, my granddaughter, how shall I explain [what I’ve done]?”

- 5'24 man am-rikʻ aja do =ɨn soboʻ goekʻ-goʻteɖ-i-a
that you-GEN grandfather TOP =1SG stick die-CMPL-3SG-FIN

“I stuck [a digging stick into] your grandfather and killed him.”

- 5'29 hanʔa am kata-ter-a hanʔa ʉɰi =ɨn salao-teɖ do
that you say-PST-FIN that way =1SG bang.down-PST then
goekʻ-(n)aʈu-d-ɨn-a
die-leave-PST-1SG-FIN

“He(?) told me to do it. I struck him with the digging stick like that. He died and left me alone.”

- 5'36 kara.ʉɰi =ɨn jiyao
how =1SG live
“How shall I live now?”

- 5'38 hækʻ koʃar-to kata-teɖ
that granddaughter-POS say-PST
The granddaughter said,

- 5'42 tumin ka hanɖa-naɖa dāɽa cuwer-kuʔ-a
how.much COMP there-here roam turn.around-SBJV-FIN
“How much longer will you roam here and there?”

- 5'45 sayāɽi naɖa ma mi-re =laɲ jiyaʔ
lady here look! one-LOC =1DU.IN live
“Grandma, let us stay here together.”

- 5'49 =laɲ jiyaʔ-ta sē.nahĩ ki
=1DU.IN live-NPT shall.we COMP
“We’ll live [together], wo’nt we?”

- 5'52 am sen anam ɲam goy ɨɲ sen ɨniɲ ɲam goy
you go you.IFX find ITJ I go I.IFX find ITJ
“When you go out, you can find food. When I go out, I will do the same.”

- 5'56 aur mi-re suru-k^huru =laŋ
and one-LOC huddle.together =1DU
“Let us huddle together in one place.”
- 5'58 aru jom-ta mi-re =laŋ jiyaʔ-ta
and eat-NPT one-LOC =1DU.IN live-NPT
“Let us eat and live together.”
- 6'02 aur deī-dur tonon gatar =ku wek^h hole anama in =me
and back-way any body =3PL come if you.IFX I =IMP.2SG
war-eŋ =me sompa-in kahi-ke hæk^h jiyaʔ-teŋ
send-1SG =IMP.2SG marry.off-1SG say-CVB she live-PST
kataoa-ter-a
speak-PST-FIN
“If someone comes later [to ask for my hand], you can send me there [for marriage] and marry me off.” She said that to her grandmother.
- 6'13 =e jiyao-nen-a =kin jagao-nen-a ka hæk^h sompa-teŋ-i-a
=3SG live-PST-FIN =3DU eat-PST-FIN then she marry.off-PST-3SG-FIN
They lived and ate together. [The woman] married off her granddaughter.
- 6'20 =e sompa-teŋ-i ikar.bād-re cuamana kara raj-re
=3SG marry.off-PST-3SG after.this-LOC who.knows which country-LOC
sompā-teŋ-i-a kara gāō-re
marry.off-PST-3SG.FIN which village-LOC
She married her off. [To someone] in some country, in some village, she married off her granddaughter.
- 6'26 han tohō hæk^h sayāŋi-t mer sudi-ga
that too she lady-POS not know-PST
[Even] the old woman herself did not know [where her granddaughter had gone].
- 6'30 sayāŋi-t hō enekle jiya-ʔ-a hante koŋar-to hō
lady-POS too alone.IFX live-SDH-FIN then granddaughter-POS too
enekle jiya-ʔ-a
alone.IFX live-SDH-FIN
The old woman lived on her own. The granddaughter also lived on her own.

§4 Sister-in-Law who is a Tiger

Told by Mrs. Sudhni Bai. Recorded on February 1, 2014, in her residence in Kado Pani.

- 0'00 mi-goŋ bare-mese-kin bar-hoŋ =kin dohon-e ne
 one-CLF brother-sister-DU two-person =3DU be-PST ITJ
 There were two siblings, a brother and a sister.¹
- 0'10 hakua haŋwaha-ku rōj =ku sēn-a haŋ sī-ne
 those ploughman-PL daily =3PL go-FIN field cultivate-PST
 Those ploughmen went to plough the fields every day.
- 0'13 do hæk' dīŋg^h?a oŋa?-re mi-goŋ kūl-d^hangŋi =e wēk'-na
 then that boy house-LOC one-CLF tiger-girl =3SG come-CVB
 [One day,] a young female tiger came to that boy's house.
- 0'22 =e luŋuŋ-e-?-a j^haŋp^haŋ huŋu =e uduŋ-e-a
 =3SG husk.rice-OBJ-SDH-FIN in.a.hurry rice =3SG take.out-OBJ-FIN
 c^haŋkara naek' luŋuŋ-e-a naek' jau?-aŋu-a
 bamboo.rice.bin this husk.rice-OBJ-FIN this cook-leave-FIN
 She took rice from a bamboo rice bin, winnowed it, cooked it, and left it there.
- 0'32 naek' nīr-uduŋ jua?-a
 this run-go.out do-FIN
 She went out running, and ran away.
- 0'35 na hæk' haŋwaha hæk' and^ha =e sodor-a naek'
 then that ploughman that blind =3SG arrive-FIN this
 kata-e-ta
 speak-OBJ-NPT
 When the ploughman, who was blind, returned [home], he said,
- 0'40 nē goy c^hoŋka cila neka iye jau?-aŋu-ŋ-a
 ITJ ITJ young.one what ITJ who cook-leave-PST-FIN
 "Say, dear, who cooked [this rice] and left?"
- 0'44 agar goy hili wek'-ta hili
 if ITJ sister.in.law come-NPT sister.in.law
 "Maybe it's sister-in-law. Sister-in-law came!"
- 0'48 kanara-trik' hili koy hili goy hili
 where.IFX-GEN(?) sister.in.law ITJ sister.in.law ITJ sister.in.law
 "Sister-in-law from where?" "[Who knows?] Sister-in-law, sister-in-law!"
- 0'54 ēk dīn =e kata-e-ta rōj =kin wek'-ŋam-a han-uŋi
 one day =3SG speak-OBJ-NPT daily =3DU come-get-FIN that-way

¹ Should be 'brothers'.

One day [the younger brother] said, —[the mysterious sister-in-law] was coming that way every day—.

- 1'00 ē and^ha dada kare-æk' hili wek'-ta acc^hā tisiŋ
 ITJ blind elder.brother where-of sister.in.law come-NPT well today
 oko-n =laŋ goy
 hide-REFL =1DU.IN ITJ
 “Say, brother! Who is she, and where does she come from, this sister-in-law? Let us hide today [and find out].”

- 1'08 haʔna hæκ' boho-t kata-e-ta acc^hā dada
 after.that that younger.brother-POS say-OBJ-NPT well elder.brother
 dami am haŋ-sīne
 go! you field-cultivate
 After that the younger brother said, “Well, let’s do this, brother! You go to the field and plough [as usual]!”

- 1'13 iŋ nuhũ tisiŋ =iŋ oko-n-ta
 I now today =1SG hide-REFL-NPT
 “Now I will hide today.”

- 1'16 iye wek'-ta alaŋ-oʔaʔ-re kelwa =e jauʔ-aʔu-ta
 who come-NPT 1DU.IN-house-LOC lunch =3SG cook-leave-NPT
 “Who comes to our house to cook and leave meals? [I will see.]”

- 1'20 aru =laŋ wek'-ta do haʔaʔ-re rem-aʔu-ta
 again =1DU.IN come-NPT then winnow.basket-LOC lift-leave-NPT
 “When we come home again, we’ll leave [one of us] in a winnowing basket.”

- 1'27 oko-ki-an hæκ' ece
 hide-PRF-FIN(?) he this.way
 [The younger brother] was hiding this way.

- 1'30 baʔe-roʔa ɖali-re harub'-reʔ oko-ki-an hæκ'
 big-big basket-LOC put.in-cover hide-PRF-FIN(?) that
 boho-t
 younger.brother-POS
 The younger brother hid himself in a very large basket, covering it [with a lid].

- 1'33 hæκ' waga-t and^ha haʔuwahi tora-e
 that elder.brother-POS blind cultivate go.away-3SG
 The elder brother went out to work in the fields.

- 1'36 do =e wej-e[ka mata =e kata-e-tan
 then =3SG come-CVB after.that =3SG say-OBJ-NPT
 Then [the tiger] came.
- 1'42 =e jau?-te[ʔ uduŋ-te[ʔ huɽu luŋuŋ-te[ʔ jʰaɽpʰaɽ jajau?-tan
 =3SG cook-PST take.out-PST rice husk-PST in.a.hurry cook-NPT
 basan-te[ʔ agi-ka[ʰi-te[ʔ =e basan-te[ʔ min-re
 boil.water-PST fire-fuel-PST =3SG boil.water-PST one-LOC
 senjel-kun =e jagar-te[ʔ min-re
 fire-and.so.on =3SG burn-PST one-LOC
 She cooked, taking rice and winnowing it. She cooked it quickly,
 boiling water, making a fire with firewood, fanning the flames and so
 on.
- 1'50 abʰi jau?-te[ʔki uɽiyao-te[ʔki
 now cook-CVB prepare-CVB
 While she was cooking, he prepared [himself to act],
- 1'52 naʔa hoɽ =e ɲiɲir uduŋ-ʔ-a ki hækʰ
 now man =3SG run.IFX come.out-SDH-FIN COMP he
 erwel-to jʰapa-e[ʔne sab-ter-iŋ-a
 husband's.younger.brother-POS dart-CVB catch-PST-1SG(?) -FIN
 After that, the younger brother burst out [of the basket], ran toward
 her and caught her.
- 1'57 nē hili kare =m sen-ta anam to jau?-a[ʔu-ta
 ITJ sister.in.law where =2SG go-NPT you.IFX TOP cook-leave-NPT
 etra din
 so.many day
 “Say, sister-in-law, where are you going? It’s you who has been cook-
 ing food and leaving it for us all these days!”
- 2'01 nahĩ iŋ do iŋ-oɽa? =iŋ sen-ta
 no I TOP I-house =1SG go-NPT
 “No, I am just going back to my house.”
- 2'03 ka am-oɽa? kare ida
 then you-house where be
 “Say, where is your home?”
- 2'05 iŋ-ra? oɽa? baɽetan pahā[ʔ-re ida goy
 I-GEN house very.far jungle-LOC be ITJ
 “Well, my home is deep in a very remote jungle.”
- 2'09 muruk dara-ara-re ida iŋ-oɽa?
 very heart.of.mountain(?) -LOC is I-house

“My house is on a distant, remote mountain.”

2'12 nahī aha =m sen aha =m sen
no don't =2SG go don't =2SG go

“Oh no, don't go, don't go.”

2'14 ka =e saprahaō haṭar-ka-e-a
then =3SG catch stall-PRF-OBJ-FIN

He held onto her and prevented her from leaving.

2'16 naek' sodor-ne-n waga-t and^ha naek' kata-e-ta nē
this arrive-PST-ITR elder.brother-POS blind this say-OBJ-NPT say
c^hoṭe iye jaug-e-a
little who cook-OBJ-FIN

The elder brother came back and asked, “Say, dear brother, who has been cooking [all this time]?”

2'23 naehin iṅ do hili hili-ṅ sap-rahao haṭar-ker-a
this I TOP sister.in.law sister.in.law-1SG catch-hold stall-PRF-FIN
hili naek' kata-e-ta
sister.in.law this say-OBJ-NPT

The [younger brother] replied, “This is my sister-in-law [here]. I am holding onto her and am stalling her.”

2'30 nē and^ha nanaek' ma jau?-wa-laṅ-a =e nanaek' ma
say blind she.IFX look! cook-BEN-1DU.IN-FIN =3SG she.IFX look
“Look, brother, this is the one who has been cooking for us [every day].”

2'34 acc^hā do naek' iye hor =laṅ ika-e-ta
okay then she who side =1PL.IN marry.off-OBJ-NPT
“Okay, then whose wife shall she be?”

2'40 rōṭ hor ja =laṅ ika-e-ta ja boho-t hor ja
big side Q =1DU.IN marry.off-OBJ-NPT Q younger.brother-POS side Q
wagat hor ja nahī goy
elder.brother side Q isn't.it ITJ
“Shall we make her [your wife,] the younger brother's, or shall we make her [my wife,] the elder brother's?”

2'47 huḍiṇaek' hor =bu ika-e nihī.do da?-kun
younger.one side =1PL.IN marry.off-OBJ then water-and.so.on
ase-jom ero bāṭao-ne
beg-eat not be.all.right-PST
“If we make her the younger brother's wife, it will become inappro-

priate [for the elder brother] to ask her for water or food (because of the taboo relationship).”

- 2'51 rōʔaek' hor =bu ika-e nihĩ.do da? jau? =bu
 elder.one side =1PL.IN marry.off-3SG then water food =1PL.IN
 ase-jom-ta
 beg-eat-NPT

“If we make her the elder brother’s wife, both of us can ask her for water and food.”

- 2'57 acc^hā hanik' and^ha-ka =ku helao-goteq-ik'
 okay that blind-ALL =3PL send-CMPL-FIN
 Well, they [decided to] give the [tiger girl] to the elder brother [as his wife].

- 3'00 hāek' kūl d^haŋgɿ ab hante do =ku biah-keq-e
 she tiger girl now then TOP =3PL marry-PRF-FIN
 Then they married off the tiger girl [to the elder brother].

- 3'05 na rōj hāek' kelwa-biyari-wa-ku-a =e hana?na deĩhorte
 then daily she lunch-supper-BEN-3PL-FIN =3SG that after
 =e kata-e-tan
 =3SG say-OBJ-NPT
 From then on, she cooked lunch and supper for them every day. Then [one day,] she said,

- 3'16 ē erwel-ɛp tisiŋ aliŋ do guɿya
 ITJ husband's.younger.brother-1SG today we.1DU.EX TOP guest
 =liŋ sen-ta
 =1DU.EX go-NPT
 “Say, brother-in-law, today we two are going as guests.”

- 3'22 guɿya =ba sen-ta hā aya-tuku-ka ac^hā tora-kin
 guest =2DU go-NPT yes mother-POS.3PL-ALL well go.away-3DU
 “You two are going as guests?” “Yes”, to her mother’s place. Well, they set off.

- 3'28 =kin sēn-a do hāek' boho-t kata-god-a
 =3DU go-FIN then that younger.brother-POS say-CMPL-FIN
 They were on their way. The younger brother had warned,

- 3'31 dek^hbē and^ha nel-jom=me nē do tisiŋ hili am =e
 look.IMP blind look-MID=IMP this TOP today sister.in.law you =3SG
 k^hiao-me-ta
 feed-2SG-NPT

“Look, brother! Watch carefully. Today, the sister-in-law will feed you [to the other tigers].”

- 3'37 k^hiao-me-ta =e and^ha am tisiŋ
 feed-2SG-NPT =3SG blind you today
 “Brother, today she plans to feed you [to the other tigers].”

- 3'40 nēgo cele =ko cele k^hiao-wa-ŋ-ta
 hey what =3PL what.sort.of feed-BEN-1SG-NPT
 “Dear, what food are they going to give me?”

- 3'41 aek^ʔ jait-sagā-ko =e ra^ʔ-ko-ta goy
 she caste-fellow-PL =3SG call-3PL-NPT ITJ
 “She will invite people of her own caste.”

- 3'46 acc^hā =kin sēn-a
 okay =3DU go-FIN
 Well, they (i.e., the elder brother and the tiger) were on their way.

- 3'49 do na uŋi =kin sēn-a =kin sēn-a dūr-re
 TOP this way =3DU go-FIN =3DU go-FIN way-LOC
 They continued on their way. Then as they traveled,

- 3'53 j^hari da^ʔ =kin sodor-a doka haŋɖa =kin um-o^ʔ-a
 waterfall water =3DU reach-FIN then there =3DU bathe-REFL-FIN
 They reached a waterfall. They bathed there.

- 3'57 do =e kata-goɖ-wa-e-a hāek^ʔ boho-t
 then =3SG tell-CMPL-BEN-3SG-FIN he younger.brother-POS
 The younger brother had cautioned him [earlier].

- 4'00 man=me goy waga-t and^ha am
 be.careful=IMP ITJ elder.brother-POS blind you
 “Be careful, brother!”

- 4'03 nochor =me um-o^ʔ ja sermohor hili =m helao
 below =IMP.2SG bathe-REFL Q above sister.in.law =2SG send
 “When you bathe, go below [the waterfall]. And send sister-in-law above.”

- 4'06 am nethor aha =m hela^ʔ-a neto do =e jalam
 you above don't =2SG go-FIN otherwise TOP =3SG lick
 puɖid-kye-m-ta
 tear-SBJV-2SG-FIN
 “Don't go above. Otherwise she will lick you and tear you apart.”

- 4'11 hana?na herel-to and^{ba} nethor häek' kül-d^{ba}angɽi nochor =e
 after.that husband-POS blind above that tiger-girl below =3SG
 um-o?-ta
 bathe-REFL-NPT
 However, the husband took a bath above, while the tiger girl took a bath below.
- 4'21 lekin mardao-hoɽiŋ-a mail utra-?-a
 but massage-DISTR-FIN scurf come.off-SDH-FIN
 As they were rubbing themselves, [the man's] scurf washed off and fell [into the water].
- 4'24 hana?na nochor-te häek' kül-d^{ba}angɽi mail-da? =e jalam jalam
 after.that below-from that tiger-girl scurf-water =3SG lick lick
 caraɽ-caraɽ jalam jalam
 ONOM lick lick
 Then the tiger girl, standing below, began licking and lapping up the scurf-laden water.
- 4'31 häek' herel-to and^{ba} =e jalam sodor-tetka =e kata-gotet
 that husband-POS blind =3SG lick reach-CVB =3SG say-CMPL
 When she reached her husband, still licking the water, he said,
- 4'34 nēgo cila laga =m jalm-eŋ-ta goɽa-kusi
 hey what for =2SG lick-1SG-NPT whole-buttocks
 “Hey, why are you licking up my buttocks?”
- 4'45 naek' kata-e-ta am iŋ marwa-eŋ-ta na uɽi-re do
 he say-OBJ-NPT you I kill-1SG-NPT this way-LOC TOP
 He said, “You are going to kill me this way, aren't you?”
- 4'53 =kin kudae-a mer =kin sene-ga na boho-t =e
 =3DU return-FIN not =3DU go-FIN this younger.brother-POS =3SG
 katao-a
 say-FIN
 They came back and decided not to go. The elder (lit. younger) brother said,
- 4'55 e.goy sahi =m kata-e-a =e jalam goj-eŋ-a hana aru
 ITJ really =2SG say-OBJ-FIN =3SG lick kill-1SG-FIN that again
 =e kata-e-tan
 =3SG say-OBJ-NPT
 “You were right. She (almost) killed me by licking.”
- 5'05 dosor din tora-kin =e dada do-laŋ goy aru gutya
 other day go.away-3DU =3SG brother let's.go-1DU.IN ITJ again guest

They two set off on another day, saying “Let’s go for a visit.”

- 5’11 bai-a =ɲ goy am jalam goek’ ɲet-kye-ɲ-ta
say.no-FIN =1SG ITJ you lick kill kill-SBJV-1SG-NPT
“I am not going. You will lick me and kill me.”

- 5’16 ero aru hanaʔna jʰari-re =kin um-uʔ-ta
no again then waterfall-LOC =3DU take.bath-REFL-NPT
“No, I won’t.” Then they took baths at the waterfall again.

- 5’20 accʰa do hante do aru han-uʔi jalam uɖɲ-e-a nahĩ hana
well TOP then TOP again that-way lick go.up-OBJ-FIN no that
din =e kata-wa-e-tan
day =3SG speak-BEN-3SG-NPT
The tiger rose up to lick [his buttocks] that way again. [The younger brother] had reminded him on that day.

- 5’30 am do andʰa =ɲ katao-m-a sermohor aha =m um-uʔ-a
you TOP blind =1SG say-2SG-FIN above don’t =2SG bathe-REFL-FIN
nochor =om helaʔ sermohor daʔ-re hili um-uʔ-ta
below =2SG go above water-LOC sister.in.law bathe-REFL-NPT
“I told you, brother. Don’t bathe above. Go below. Then let sister-in-law bathe above.”

- 5’37 me =m bujʰao-a bʰai ma =e jalam
not =2SG understand-FIN brother look =3SG lick
goek’-goʔ-kye-m-a
kill-CMPL-SBJV-2SG-FIN
“Don’t you understand yet, brother? Look, she would lick you and kill you.”

- 5’40 hana din nochor =e um-ne aek’ sermohor
that day below =3SG bathe-PST self above
On that day, he bathed below while the tiger girl bathed above.

- 5’45 ka =kin um uɖɲ-nenna ab =kin salaʔ-tan =kin
then =3DU bathe go.out-CVB now =3DU set.out-NPT =3DU
akin sen-tan =kin aya-apaɲ-oʔaʔ
themselves.DU go-NPT =3DU mother-father-house
They went to take baths, and now they set off for her parents’ house—

- 5’54 hæk’ reko hophar-hanhar-oʔaʔ
he GEN father.in.law-mother.in.law-house
his parents-in-law’s house.

- 5'57 do mi-ʈoŋ duraʈaɖʰa-re paʈki duʈuʔ-ne
 then one-CLF stump-LOC pigeon sit-PST
 A pigeon perched on a stump of a tree.
- 6'03 do hækʰ to macua sāl-a
 then it TOP FILL sing-FIN
 It began to sing:
- 6'15 nel=me nel=me dada goʔ jampao-me-ta =e
 look=IMP look=IMP brother take lie.in.wait-2SG-NPT =3SG
 bagʰelku.raij kūlku.raij
 tigers'.place tigers'.place
 "Watch, watch, brother! She is taking you and lying in wait for you.
 Tigers' place, tigers' place."
- 6'30 nel=me nel=me dada =e goʈ rapaʔ-me-ta =e bagʰelku.raij
 look=IMP look=IMP brother =3SG ITJ roast-2SG-NPT =3SG tigers'.place
 kūlku.raij
 tigers'.place
 "Watch, watch, brother! She is going to roast you. Tigers' place,
 tigers' place."
- 6'39 tora am-jīwʲjindgi do goy
 go.away you-life TOP ITJ
 "Alas, your life is slipping away."
- 6'44 hanaʔna hækʰ kūl-qʰaŋgri kata-e-ta
 after.that she tiger-girl say-OBJ-NPT
 Then the tiger girl said,
- 6'49 do-laŋ =me andʰa =laŋ kudan-ta
 let's.go-1PL.IN =IMP blind =1DU.IN go.back-NPT
 "No, darling, let's go! We will come back."
- 6'51 anabu raij-re baʈʰiyā paʈki-ku sāl-ta kuhar kuhar
 we.EX.IFX country-LOC fine pigeon-PL sing-NPT ONOM
 maʔan
 QUOT
 "In our country, good pigeons sing 'Kuhar, kuhar'."
- 6'59 accʰā tora-kin hante do hækʰ boho-t =e
 okay go.away-3DU then TOP that younger.brother-POS =3SG
 kata-e-ta
 say-OBJ-NPT
 Well, they set out [again]. The younger brother warned him,

- 7'14 na uŋi-re do dada ero=e ewa-teŋna jiniaŋ
 this way-LOC TOP brother not=3SG give-CVB live.IFX
 “If [you keep going] like this, brother, she won’t let you stay alive.”
- 7'18 naek’ =laŋ karj-e ne=laŋ neŋ-na goŋ-e goy
 she =1DU.IN do.what-OBJ this=1DU.IN kill-CVB CMPL-OBJ ITJ
 “What shall we do to her?” “We must kill her and throw her away.”
- 7'22 tononŋ b^haiya hole=laŋ jiya-tan-a nahĩ.tedo banar
 do.something brother then=1DU.IN live-NPT-FIN otherwise two.IFX
 hoŋ =e k^hatam-laŋ-ta
 person =3SG finish-1DU.IN-NPT
 “Brother, if we kill her somehow, then we will stay alive. Otherwise she will kill both of us.”
- 7'28 neŋ =laŋ gotedŋi
 kill =1DU.IN CMPL
 “Let us kill her.”
- 7'31 hana-te =kin kata-e dolaŋ=me goy
 then =3DU say-OBJ let’s.go=IMP ITJ
 Then they said to the tiger girl, “Let’s go.”
- 7'34 acc^hā =kin dewer-tan do hæk’ kũl-d^hangŋi kar maŋa mane
 okay =3DU go.home-NPT then that tiger-girl GEN ghost namely
 hæk’ sirjao-yan jono?
 that create-PST broom
 As they were heading back, the ghost of the tiger girl transformed herself into a broom.
- 7'39 dũr-re =e maŋdao-aŋu
 road-LOC =3SG lay-leave
 She laid [the broom] on the road.
- 7'42 =kin sēn-a do hæk’ and^ha kata-e-tan
 =3DU go-FIN then that blind say-OBJ-NPT
 When the brothers were walking, the elder brother [noticed it and] said,
- 7'46 nē goy boho-t kinhene nawa jono? goy
 look ITJ younger.brother-POS look.this new broom ITJ
 “Look, dear brother, there is a new broom lying there!”
- 7'50 iye hamā bajar-te kija-teŋna kare ōl-aŋu-d-a
 someone ITJ market-from buy-CVB where drop-leave-PST-FIN

- maŋdao-tet do-laŋ gog-e ne
lay-PST let's.go-1DU.IN take-OBJ ITJ
“Someone must have bought it at the market, dropped it, and left it [here]. Let's take it!”
- 7'57 ē.goy agar naʔa jonoʔ aha =laŋ goʔ goy na cila na cila
ITJ if this broom don't =1DU.IN take ITJ this what this what
c^hayman-ki-a
have.a.hunch-PRF-FIN
“Wait, brother, let's not take this broom. I have a bad feeling [that something is in it].”
- 8'03 nahĩ =me goy do =e gonoʔ-e-aʔ-tuka
no =2SG ITJ TOP =3SG take.IFX-OBJ-PST-CMPL
“Fat chance!” The elder brother picked it up.
- 8'10 mi-goʔ kulahi dohon-e
one-CLF hare be-PST
There was a hare.
- 8'14 hæk' dega-enek'-tan nār tuku mār tuku
it jump-play-NPT this rock that rock
The hare was hopping and playing, jumping from rock to rock.
- 8'19 do hæk' to kata-e-tan
then it TOP say-OBJ-NPT
It called out [to the elder brother] and said.
- 8'24 dada do muʔa hili do cenele man goy
brother TOP stick sister.in.law TOP what.IFX that ITJ
“Brother is a stick, and what is the sister-in-law?”
- 8'31 hili do j^haili j^hanʔa =e sab-ker-a nuhu do =kin net
sister.in.law TOP broom spread =3SG catch-PRF-FIN now TOP =3DU kill
hoʔiŋ-ta
DISTR-NPT
“The sister-in-law spread herself out like a broom and caught [him].
Now they are killing each other.”
- 8'37 nir-jom=me and^ha dada nuhu net-me-ta hili
run-MID=IMP blind brother now kill-2SG-NPT sister.in.law
“Run away, brother! Now the sister-in-law is killing you.”
- 8'43 maʔan hæk' kulahi kata-e-ta
QUOT that hare say-OBJ-NPT
The hare said that [as a warning].

- 8'50 waḷe ece kulahi =kin katao-e-tan
big.eye ITJ hare =3DU say-OBJ-NPT
“Damned big-eye!”, they yelled back to the hare.
- 8'53 nir=me kulahi am waḷe-gaṭ guḷe-gaṭ puṭu-gaṭ
run=IMP hare you term.of.abuse id. id.
“Go away, hare! You bastard!”
- 8'59 e and^{ha} mana jono? aha =m go? agar =e jom-me-ta =e
ITJ blind that broom don't =2SG take if =3SG eat-2SG-NPT =3SG
jom-me-ta
eat-2SG-NPT
“O brother, don't take that broom! If it eats you, it will eat you completely.”
- 9'04 gono?-ta =iṇ goy
take.IFX-NPT =1SG ITJ
“Yes, I will definitely take it.”
- 9'06 acc^{hā} hana jono? =e go?-e-a
okay that broom =3SG take-OBJ-FIN
So he picked up the broom.
- 9'09 na hana jono? deneya-dur ma?an cahab sēn-a hante de
then that broom behind.IFX-way that.way gape go-FIN then TOP
katao-wa-e-ta
say-BEN-OBJ-NPT
Then, the broom [came to life and] began devouring him from behind.
Then the younger brother cried out,
- 9'14 manhen goy and^{ha} iṇ katao-m-a hana do
look.that ITJ blind I say-2SG-FIN that TOP
“Oh no, brother! That's why I warned you.”
- 9'19 mer =om patiao-gan-a manhen nir-jom=me and^{ha}
not =2SG trust-PST-FIN look.that run-MID=IMP blind
“You did not trust me. Now run, brother!”
- 9'25 tisiṇ do am-ra? ser g^{ha}ṭao-en-a
today TOP you-GEN destiny decrease-PST-FIN
“Today, your life has come to an end.”
- 9'29 manana laga =ṇ budi sota-ṭ-me-a
that.IFX for =1SG wisdom impart-PST-2SG-FIN
“I cautioned you against it.”

- 9'32 hante do hana jono? jom-goteḍ-ik' hæk' and^ha do
 then TOP that broom eat-CMPL-FIN that blind TOP
 boho-t kata-e-tan
 younger.brother-POS say-OBJ-NPT
 Then the broom devoured the elder brother completely. Then the
 younger brother said to him,
- 9'40 waga-n and^ha do =e jom-goteḍ-i-a
 elder.brother-my blind TOP =3SG eat-CMPL-OBJ-FIN
 “[My sister-in-law] has eaten my blind brother.”
- 9'45 iyet-sude =n jiya? abri iye-sude =n jiyo-k^u-a
 who-with =1SG live now who-with =1SG live-SBJV-FIN
 “With whom shall I live now?”
- 9'52 ab tonon-hor-te =in d^haṅgar-buti jiyo-tan-a
 now any-side-at =1SG laborer-work live-NPT-FIN
 “Now I will find work as a laborer and live somewhere else.”
- 9'56 hæk' boho-t tora-e mi-goṭon ḍihari oṭa?-re
 that younger.brother-POS go.away-3SG one-CLF Dehat house-LOC
 The younger brother went to the house of a plains dweller.
- 10'03 kawaṭ oṭa?-re tora-e haṇḍa =e d^haṅgar-buṭi
 Kavar house-LOC go.away-3SG there =3SG laborer-work
 jiya?-a
 live-SDH-FIN
 He went to a Kavar's house, and lived there as a laborer.
- 10'18 hanan hoṭ-ku nama-teḍ-e-a ab-hanan hoṭik'ku
 after.that person-PL find-PST-OBJ-FIN now-after.that of.there
 c^hawaputa-ne =e jiya?-jag-a k^hatam
 have.child-PST =3SG live-ECHO-FIN end
 In time, he met people there, got married, had children, and settled
 down there.

§5 Story of a Smart Wolf

Told by Mr. Phaguwa Ram in his house in Kado Pani on February 1, 2014.

- 0'00 do mi-ṭon kahani naṇḍe in ayum-tar-a =in
 TOP one-CLF story here I hear-PST-FIN =1SG
 I have heard a story like this.
- 0'06 mi-ṭon baṇḍo aur mi-ṭon suwer nakin mit =kin juṭao-ne
 one-CLF wolf and one-CLF pig these.DU friend =3DU join-PST

A wolf and a pig became friends.

- 0'13 do hæk' baŋɔ na-ɯi mit =e juɾao-ne
 TOP that wolf this-way friend =3SG contract-PST
 The wolf contracted friendship in this way.

- 0'20 mi-ɬoŋ gāō dohon-a wasti dohon-a haŋɔ hoɾ-ku suwer
 one-CLF village be-FIN settlement be-FIN there person-PL pig
 =ku asul-ter-a
 =3PL nurture-PST-FIN
 There was a village, a settlement, where people kept pigs.

- 0'24 sunuwer-ku sim-ko jam jom =e sēn-a
 pig.IFX-PL chicken-PL find eat =3SG go-FIN
 [The wolf] came [to the village] to hunt for pigs and chickens and eat them.

- 0'28 ka mi-ɬoŋ suwer =e jam-ɬed
 then one-CLF pig =3SG find-PST
 Then it encountered a pig.

- 0'31 hæk' mer jom-gaɟik' hæk'-sude sahiya-mit =e juɾao-ne
 it NEG eat-BEN it-with friend-friend =3SG contract-PST
 [The wolf] spared its life, and made friends with it [instead].

- 0'34 hæk' baŋɔ heʔna man sahiya-kin juɾao-nenka goʔa
 it wolf then that friend-DU contract-CVB everywhere
 The wolf [and pig] then became companions [and traveled together] everywhere.

- 0'41 gali-parosi apan roɔo-boɔo pahāɾ-jangal jama =kin
 quarter-block self rambling-ECHO hill-woods all =3DU
 dāɾa-tan
 walk.around-NPT
 They wandered through the neighborhoods, across hills, through the woods — everywhere.

- 0'48 ka mi-ɬoŋ j^hari dohon-a haŋɔ pār dohon-a hakin =kin
 then one-CLF rivulet be-FIN there crossing be-FIN they.DU =3DU
 They came to a small river. They [tried to] cross it.

- 0'52 do baŋɔ do hæk' ɖeɣa pār-yan
 then wolf TOP he jump cross-PST
 The wolf jumped across the river.

- 0'56 suwer hæk' mer =e pār awei-gan
 pig it NEG =3SG cross be.able-PST

The pig could not cross it.

- 0'59 ka mer =e pār awei-gan ka hanaek' dēga-nenka hāek'
 then NEG =3SG crossing be.able-FIN then he.IFX jump-CVB he
 kasaṭ-nenka =e gonoj-yan
 fall-CVB =3SG die.IFX-PST

It could not cross [the river]. It fell [into the river] and died.

- 1'04 =e goj-en-a ukar.bād-re baṇḍo ka =e iyā-ter-ik'
 =3SG die-PST-FIN after.that-LOC wolf then =3SG do.thus-PST-FIN
 After [the pig] died, the wolf did the following.

- 1'07 hāek' tūle-aḍ-ik' he?na hoṭ-ku wasti-re hakua hoṭ-ku
 he haul-PST-FIN then person-PL settlement-LOC those person-PL
 haṇḍa
 there

It hauled [the pig's body] to a human settlement.

- 1'13 kephar dohon-a haṇḍa mase-kun =ku papa?-a
 threshing.floor be-FIN there urad-and.so.on =3PL beat-FIN
 kata-e-tan
 say-OBJ-NPT

There was a threshing floor, where people were beating *urad* beans.
 The wolf called out to them,

- 1'18 ē hoṭ-ku wek'=pe do iṇ mi-ṭoṇ januwar =iṇ
 ITJ person-PL come=IMP.2PL then I one-CLF animal =1SG
 agu-keḍ-a hāek' rapa?-hatiṇ=pe =bu jom-e-ta
 bring-PRF-FIN it burn-distribute=IMP.2PL =1PL.IN eat-OBJ-NPT
 "Listen, folks, come here! I've brought an animal. Roast it, distribute
 it, and let's eat it together."

- 1'26 cele januwar nahi wek'=pe tan
 what animal no come=IMP.2PL then
 "What kind of animal?" "No, just come and see!"

- 1'28 wek' =ku wek'-nen-a hoṭ-ku he?na egoy do sanahi
 come =3PL come-PST-FIN person-PL then ITJ TOP really.IFX
 neṭ-agu-kid-i-a goy
 kill-bring-PRF-OBJ-FIN ITJ

The people gathered around, and then the wolf said, "Listen, I really
 killed a pig and brought it here."

- 1'34 maek' rapg-e=bu [=bu] jom haṭiṇ-go?-ta
 that roast-OBJ=IMP.1PL.IN [=1PL.IN] eat divide-take-NPT
 "Let's cook it, divide it and eat it."

- 1'37 suwer =ku rō-tr-ik' supao-tr-ik' napae =ku aru-trik'
 pig =3PL burn-PST-FIN cut-PST-FIN well =3PL cook-PST
 [The people] roasted the pig well, and carved it up.
- 1'41 hananhen jojom maʔ min-re bāṭ min-re hāek' baṇḍo cila
 look.that eat.RED that time-LOC divide time-LOC it wolf what
 upāy lagao-teṭ
 measure apply-PST
 Then look, when it was time to eat and distribute [the pork], the wolf
 devised a plan.
- 1'46 dosor aṅgi-te ḡhumao sen-eḍ kalēkale hena mase-kud^ha
 different side-from go.around go-PST secretly that urad-heap
 ḡaṅj-tuku =i bal-aṭu-ḍ
 pile-POS.3PL =3SG kindle-leave-PST
 It left the gathering quietly from the other side, set fire to their pile of
urad husks and left.
- 1'52 ka =e raʔ-tan kephaṭ-aṅgi
 then =3SG call-NPT threshing.floor-side
 The wolf called out from the side of the threshing floor.
- 1'54 ē hoṭ-ku d^hawan=pe d^hawan=pe mase-tape do iye
 ITJ person-PL run=IMP.2PL run=IMP.2PL urad-your.PL TOP who
 bal-goteḍ-a goy
 burn-CMPL-FIN ITJ
 “Run, folks, run! Someone has set fire to your *urad* husks!”
- 1'59 haku-ʔa suwer =ku aru-jom-a hoṭ-ku suwer-mas-tuku
 they-GEN pig =3PL cook-eat-FIN person-PL pig-meat-POS.3PL
 aṭun-aṭu-ḍ
 leave-leave-PST
 The people were cooking and eating the pig. The people left their
 pork behind.
- 2'05 haku kephaṭ-hor hana mase loʔ-a hana c^hoṭao tora-ku
 they threshing.floor-side that urad burn that put.out go-3PL
 They rushed to the threshing floor to put out the fire of the *urad* husks.
- 2'10 ṭ^hik hana =ku c^hoṭao tiri.bitri-kuʔ-a hanaʔnaʔ marat-re
 okay that =3PL put.out make.a.fuss-SBJV-FIN then time-LOC
 Well, while they rushed there to put out the fire,
- 2'13 hāek' baṇḍo na-aṅgi wej-eṭna suwer =e jom jom-gaḍik'
 it wolf this-side come-CVB pig =3SG eat eat-hurry

the wolf came back from the other side and devoured the pork.

- 2'18 mi-k^haŋða hæçk' ah-re gogo?-a deĩhorte =ɲ jom-e-ta mer
 one-piece it mouth-LOC take-FIN after.that =1SG eat-OBJ-NPT NEG
 caba-gaɟik'-ka
 finish-BEN-CVB

The wolf took a piece of meat in its mouth, thinking, "I will [save this and] eat it later." It could not finish [the meat].

- 2'24 ab =e haŋða aru-tr-i-a hana jaga jom-teɲna nĩr-yan
 now =3SG there cook-PST-OBJ-FIN that place eat-CVB run-PST
 hæçk' mi-kaŋða =e kope-ka deĩhorte =ɲ jom-tan-a
 it one-piece =3SG put.in.mouth-CVB after.that =1SG eat-NPT-FIN

It ran away from the place where people had cooked the pork and were eating it, carrying a piece of meat in its mouth.

- 2'33 han?a senen-sen senen-sen karat juar-re jom liɲɲ-yan hante
 then go.IFX-go go.IFX-go what time-LOC eat forget-PST then
 As it went along, it lost track of eating the meat at some point.

- 2'38 sene-tore-waɲna =e oŋgle-tan
 go-move.a.little-CVB =3SG think-NPT

After traveling some distance, the wolf thought,

- 2'42 ohre ka do mi-kaŋða suwer mas iɲ agu-a =iɲ
 oh.my COMP TOP one-piece pig meat I bring-FIN 1SG
 "Wait a minute. Wasn't I carrying a piece of pork?"

- 2'46 hana suwer-mas-ka iye jom-goteɟ-a naŋða do iɲ =iɲ ekla ida
 that pig-meat-ACC who eat-CMPL-FIN here TOP I =1SG only be
 "Who ate up that pork? I am all alone here."

- 2'50 hæçk' ris-nenka hante do lutur-to =e homor-tan
 it get.angry-CVB then TOP ear-POS =3SG ask-NPT
 [The wolf] got angry and asked its own ears,

- 2'56 ē lutur agar anam jom-keɟ-a hana suwer mas-t-iɲ
 ITJ ear if you.IFX eat-PRF-FIN that pig meat-POS-1SG
 "Hey, ears! Did you eat that pork of mine?"

- 3'00 han hõ tiwil-nenka ɟolao-nenka kata-e-tan nahõ mer jom-gaɟ-a
 that too jerk-CVB shake-CVB say-OBJ-NPT no? NEG eat-BEN-FIN
 ka
 then

The ears jerked and shook, as if to say no.

3'05 hana?na aur =e homr-e-tan med-to agar med ja anam to ja
 after.that again =3SG ask-OBJ-NPT eye-POS if eye Q you.IFX TOP Q
 jom-keq-a
 eat-PRF-FIN

Next it asked its eyes, “Hey eyes, did you eat [my pork]?”

3'12 han hō ni?kao-nenka =e kata-e-tan neka do nahō mer
 that too blink-CVB =3SG say-OBJ-NPT this TOP no NEG
 jom-keq-a do iye jom-keq-a
 eat-PRF-FIN TOP who eat-PRF-FIN

They also blinked in denial. “Oh, so they did not eat it, either. Then who ate it?”

3'17 do caɽlom-to =e homor-tan agar caɽlom anam jom-keq-a
 TOP tail-POS =3SG ask-NPT if tail you.IFX eat-PRF-FIN
 Finally, it asked its tail, “Hey tail, was it you that ate [my pork]?”

3'22 han to do mer hilao-gan
 that TOP TOP NEG shake-FIN
 [The tail] did not move.

3'24 han?a caɽlom-to =e ris-waɽka man iya satri-batri
 then tail-POS =3SG get.angry-CVB then fiercely here.and.there
 hoag-e-tan-a hoag-e-tan =e hoag-e-tan ka hoa? hoa?
 bite-OBJ-NPT-FIN bite-OBJ-NPT =3SG bite-OBJ-NPT then bite bite
 =e g^hāw-goted
 =3SG injure-CMPL

It got angry with its own tail and bit it here and there. Biting at its tail, the wolf [ended up] hurting itself.

3'32 hanhan deĩ ka g^hāw-nenka pakao-ya
 then after then be.hurt-CVB fester-PST
 After the wolf's tail was hurt, it festered.

3'36 mān deĩhor do pakao-yanka anaek' hasu-te reŋka?-tan
 that later TOP suppurate-CVB itself.IFX pain-from moan-NPT
 When the tail festered, the wolf began moaning in agony.

3'41 ēk upāy oŋgol-waɽ hāek' iŋ cila upāy =eŋ karwej-e g^haw
 one measure think-PST it I what measure =1SG do-FIN wound
 suɽao amiŋ-en-ta
 be.released clean-REFL-NPT

It devised a plan, “By what trick can I cure this wound and make it clean?”

- 3'48 hæk' tora-e bajar-dur bajar =ku utra-?-a hana?na
 it go-3SG market-road market =3PL go.down-SDH-FIN then
 dur baitl-a? j^hūṭ-re =e horo?-kuk-ne geraŋ-a
 road near-GEN bush-LOC =3SG crouch-lie-PST groan-FIN
 The wolf went on the road leading to the bazaar. People were traveling to the market. Then the wolf crouched in a bush near the road, groaning [in pain].
- 3'56 hasu-te agagi agagi ma?an =e geraŋ-tan ka ab
 pain-from ITJ ITJ QUOT =3SG groan-NPT then now
 It was groaning 'Agagi, agagi' out of pain.
- 4'02 bahiŋga akiriŋ =e sēn-a mi-hoṭ ḍokra
 shoulder.pole sell =3SG go-FIN one-CLF old.man
 An old man was carrying shoulder poles to sell them.
- 4'06 hæk' ab pār-tan ka han-uṭi geraŋ haṭar-a =e
 it now cross then that-way groan stall-FIN =3SG
 When he was passing by, the wolf groaned and made the man stop.
- 4'11 ohre kan?a dur-re tisiŋ do cila-laga matae cele =i
 oh.my which road-LOC today TOP what-for that what =3SG
 geraŋ-ta ote diŋ do mer sor-saba do pata sala-?-a
 groan-NPT so.many day TOP NEG voice TOP clue be.current-SDH-FIN
 "What is making that sound on the road? There hasn't been any sign of a voice for so many days!"
- 4'18 hante ab hæk' baṇḍo-t kata-e-tan ē ḍokra am mi-ṭoŋ
 then now it wolf-POS say-OBJ-NPT ITJ old.man you one-CLF
 bahiŋga kalekal maṇḍa-aṭu-me nito am-ra? jān
 shoulder.pole quietly put.down-leave-2SG otherwise you-GEN life
 ero bansao-ne
 NEG be.saved-PST
 The wolf spoke [from the bush], "Hey, uncle, quietly put down one of your shoulder poles. Otherwise, your life won't be spared."
- 4'28 iyare ja mata-uṭi mata =e do =e kata-e-ta hoṭ-kar do
 who Q that-way then =3SG TOP =3SG say-OBJ-NPT man-GEN TOP
 pata kowa-e-a
 information be.not-3SG-FIN
 "Oh my, who on earth just said that?" The man had no idea.
- 4'33 hante hæk' sasari mi-ṭoŋ bahiŋga hæk'
 then he helpless one-CLF shouldering.pole he

maṇḍao-aṭut-na hæk' hor tora-e bajar
 put.down-leave-CVB he side go-3SG market
 Hearing the [wolf's]r voice, the helpless old man set down one of his
 shouldering poles and hurried away to the market.

4'37 hana? deĩ-dur aur mi-hoṭ caṭu akiriṇ =e wej-a
 then later-way again one-CLF pot sell =3SG come-FIN
 After that, another man passed by, this time to sell pots.

4'41 hæk' hoṭ kumhār dohon-a hæk' pār-ka hana-uṭi geraṇ
 he man potter be-FIN he cross-CVB that-way groan
 He was a potter. As he was passing through that place, [the wolf]
 groaned that way.

4'47 agagai agagai maʔan =e geraṇ-ta
 ITJ ITJ QUOT =3SG groan-NPT
 It said 'Agagai, agagai'.

4'51 oh.re kanʔa dur-re tisiṇ do cele =i geraṇ-ta ote din
 oh.my what road-LOC today TOP what =3SG groan-NPT so.many day
 do mer =e ayum-uʔ-a
 TOP NEG =3SG hear-ITR-FIN
 "Oh my! What is making sound on this road? There hasn't been a
 sound like this for days."

4'58 am mi b^harcaṭu kalekal maṇḍa-e maṇḍa-aṭu=me heʔna
 you one pair.of.pots quietly put.down-OBJ put.down-leave=IMP then
 dewer-juaʔ=me nito am-raʔ jān ero bansao-ne
 go.back-become=IMP otherwise you-GEN life NEG be.safe-PST
 "Set down your earthenware, leave it here, and go back. Otherwise,
 your life won't be safe."

5'04 to hæk' hoṭ ḍar-te ab mi b^harcaṭu haṇḍa =e
 then he man fear-from now one pair.of.pots there =3SG
 maṇḍao-aṭu
 put.down-leave
 That man set down his pots out of fear and left them behind.

5'09 heʔna aur hanʔa deĩ-dur mi-hoṭ siṅka akiriṇ =e wej-a
 then again of.that later-way one-CLF stick sell =3SG come-FIN
 hæk' pār-ne
 he pass-PST
 After that, yet another man came along carrying sticks to sell, and he
 passed by.

- 5'17 hæk' hō han-uṭi geraṇ boro-tr-i-a
 it too that-way groan scare-PST-OBJ-FIN
 It groaned to frighten him in the same way.
- 5'20 hante hæk' hō =e katao-aḍ-ik' ki oh.re haṇḍa do cele
 then he too =3SG say-PST-FIN COMP oh.my there TOP what
 geraṇ-ta tisiṇ
 groan-NPT today
 He also said, "Oh my! What is groaning there today?"
- 5'26 am mi-ṭoṇ mi-b^har siṅka maṇḍao-aṭu=me naṇḍa am
 you one-CLF one-load stick put.down-leave=IMP here you
 "Put down a load of sticks and leave them behind."
- 5'30 salao joʔ=me nito am-raʔ ero jān ero bansao-ne
 go.away run=IMP otherwise you-GEN NEG life NEG be.safe-PST
 "Run away! Otherwise your life will not be safe."
- 5'34 hante ab hæk' hō sasari mi-b^har siṅka =e
 then now he too helpless one-load carrying.pole =3SG
 maṇḍao-aṭu
 put.down-leave
 Then he also became helpless and put down a bundle of carrying poles
 and left them behind.
- 5'39 heʔna ab hanʔa deṭ-dur aur mi-hoṭ sui-suta handora
 then now of.that later-way again one-CLF needle-thread and.so.on
 cini-cila biskuṭ-uskuṭ miṭ^hai-suṭ^hai akriṇ =e sēn-a hæk'
 sugar-what biscuit-ECHO sweets-ECHO sell =3SG go-FIN he
 After that, another man came by to sell needle and thread, biscuits and
 sweets.
- 5'47 hæk' pār hæk' geraṇ boro-tr-i hanan-uṭi hæk'
 he passing it groan scare-PST-OBJ that.IFX-way it
 katao-a
 speak-FIN
 When he passed by, [the wolf] groaned to frighten him. The man said,
- 5'53 oh.re ka tisiṇ naʔa dur-re cele nata-uṭi
 oh.my then today this road-LOC what this-way
 "Oh my! What is [groaning] like this today?"
- 5'56 hante hæk' katao-aḍik'ki am mi-ṭoṇ sui maṇḍao-aṭu =me
 then he speak-CVB you one-CLF needle put.down-leave =IMP
 kalekal heʔna pār-juaʔ nito am-raʔ jān ero bansao-ne
 quietly then passing-do otherwise you-GEN life NEG be.saved-PST

“You put down a needle, leave it quietly and go. Otherwise your life won’t be safe.”

6’03 heʔna ab hanaʔna han-uʔi jama do abʰi sara-jame ase tʰuʔao-an
then now then that-way all TOP now all-all beg gather-PRF
[By scaring people] in this way, [the wolf] begged and gathered everything.

6’09 bʰār.joʔ-re tula-teʔ
pannier-LOC make-PST
It made a pair of panniers [with the items].

6’11 heʔna hæekʰ hana caʔlom-to-raʔ pʰb =e pupikʰ uʔuŋ-waʔʰ
then he that tail-POS-GEN pus =3SG pierce take.out-PST
bar-gagri heʔna tora-e wasti bʰu-bʰulao
two-pot then go-3SG settlement RED-walk.around
Then the wolf used the needle to drain two potfuls of pus from its festering tail. Carrying the pots, it went to the settlement to walk around.

6’19 ē oʔaʔ-rikua cil-cila =pe karekʰ-tan hen maʔʰa =iŋ
ITJ house-GEN.PL RED-what =2PL do.what-NPT that ghee =1SG
agu-keʔ-a =pe jom-tan do
bring-PRF-FIN =2PL eat-NPT TOP
“What are you doing, folks? I brought this ghee, and you can eat it.”

6’25 ka mi-hoʔ ʔokra hæekʰ bar eŋga-hon siri-kin =e asul-ka
then one-CLF old.man he two mother-child goat-DU =3SG raise-PST
An old man kept two goats, a mother and her kid.

6’29 hæekʰ oʔaʔ-re dohon-ta ka do =iŋ cila-te =iŋ
he house-LOC stay-NPT then TOP =1SG what-with =1SG
tela-e kahī kowan-e-a am manankina siri-kin
receive-OBJ anything be.not-3SG-FIN you those.DU.IFX goat-DU
=me eme-wa-god-əŋ
=2SG give-BEN-CMPL-1SG

He was at home. “With what can I pay for [the butter]? I have nothing to offer.” “Then give me your two goats.”

6’36 jama iŋ-nandōraʔ gagri bahinga jama am-lagin aʔu-ta
all I-all.this.thing pot pole all you-for leave-NPT
maʔʰa-saŋ
butter-with

“I will leave all my possessions, *bahinga* and everything, along with the butter, for you.”

- 6'42 acc^{bā} do t^hik ida man goʔ-eakin=me mana jama
 well TOP fine be that take-2DU=IMP that all
 “Okay, fine. Take both goats.”
- 6'46 ka =e eme-aʔu-t baŋdo handōra? cilcila
 then =3SG give-leave-PST wolf all.that what.not
 sara-b^hara-to-ten
 everything-all-POS-with
 The wolf gave all its possessions.
- 6'52 banar enḡa-hon siri-kina hækʔ goʔ-e-aʔ-kin pahāʔ
 two.IFX mother-son goat-DU it take-OBJ-PRF-3DU jungle
 It took the two goats to the jungle.
- 6'56 heʔna hon-to de jom-waʔ-ikʔ hena enḡa aekʔ =iḡ
 then kid-POS TOP eat-PST-FIN that mother oneself =1SG
 dudu-ta ab hante hækʔ bansao-ter-a
 drink.milk-NPT now then it save-PST-FIN
 Then it ate the kid, thinking, “I will drink the milk myself.” [The
 wolf] spared the mother goat.
- 7'04 to roj =e sarao wekʔ karkara-aḡi
 then daily =3SG walk.around come here.there-side
 tol-aʔu-ter-i-a mi-ʔoḡ jaga-re
 tie-leave-PST-OBJ-FIN one-CLF place-LOC
 It went out every day to walk around here and there. It tied the goat
 and kept it in one place.
- 7'10 to haḡda =e tol-aʔu-tr-i-a heʔna =e
 then there =3SG shut.up-leave-PST-OBJ-FIN then =3SG
 karkara-aḡi dāʔa-tataḡ
 here.there-side walk.around-feel.thirsty
 It shut up the goat, roamed around here and there, and felt thirsty.
- 7'15 dāʔa-tataḡ wekʔ-na hækʔ =e dudu-a to
 walk.around-feel.thirsty come-CVB it =3SG drink.milk-FIN then
 naḡde =e kata-e ḡhaḡi dudu-a
 here =3SG speak-OBJ while drink.milk-FIN
 After wandering around and feeling thirsty, [the wolf returned and]
 drank the goat's milk. Speaking as follows, it drank the milk:
- 7'22 aḡdṛme dudu de siri saraotaekʔ ikʔ-tom ewa=ma
 ITJ milk give! goat grazer dung-your give=IMP
 “Give me milk. Give dung to the goat grazer.”

- 7'29 hæk' mana uṛi sereṇ g^haṇi dudu bīna hæk' na
 it that way sing while drink.milk fill.stomach it this
 saṇ-ko sude saṇu?-a
 friend-PL with meet-FIN

Singing that way, it drank milk to its heart's content. Later, it met its friends.

- 7'34 ka panta ekna-ekdin ronoj haku ik' =ku hela-?-a
 then line one.day daily.IFX they excrete =3PL start-SDH-FIN
 It met its friends, and they sat down in a line, and they started to relieve themselves.

- 7'38 ka hæk' ab hæk' do dūd =e jom-ka carka-carka =e
 then it now it TOP milk =3SG eat-PST white-white =3SG
 ij-a
 excrete-FIN

Since it had been drinking milk, it excreted white dung.

- 7'44 aur ad^ha-ku do cilcila =ku jom-a-ku hanan-uṛi =ku
 and other-PL TOP what.not =3PL eat-FIN-3PL that.IFX-way =3PL
 ij-a kariya-mariya
 excrete-FIN black-ECHO

The other [wolves, who] ate various things, excreted blackish dung.

- 7'48 egod am cila =m jom-ta je mana-uṛi baṛ^hiya =m ik'-ta
 ITJ you what =2SG eat-NPT REL that-way excellent =2SG excrete-NPT
 goy
 ITJ

“Oh my! What do you eat? You pass such nice, white dung!”

- 7'52 carka-wala kuruṇ-dirṇ riṭ-g^haṇi jom darwa-ta go
 white-ish kind.of.stone crush-while eat come-NPT ITJ
 “I had eaten white stones, crushing them, before coming.”

- 7'56 hanan-uṛi ape hō =pe riṭ-jom ape hō carka-carka =pe
 that-way you.PL too =2PL crush-eat you.PL too white-white =2PL
 ik'-ta
 excrete-NPT

“You guys should crush and eat white stones like I do. Then you can pass white dung too.”

- 8'00 ego do sanahi goy abu hō do =bu riṭ-jom-a
 ITJ TOP really.IFX ITJ we.IN too TOP =1PL.IN crush-eat-FIN

“Really? Let's go! We will crush and eat [white stones], too!”

- 8'04 adom saŋ-ko haku ab tora-ku jama-ku
 some friend-PL they now go-PL all-PL
 "Some friends went [to eat stones]."
- 8'08 ab hæk' baŋdo do mi-toŋ aek' do hæk' siri
 now it wolf TOP one-CLF self TOP it goat
 dudu-dudu hæk' aur =e wej-e[ka han-uŋi
 drink.milk-drink.milk it and =3SG come-CVB that-way
 The wolf had actually been drinking goat's milk before coming.
- 8'14 =e kata-e g^haŋi dudu-tan he?na aur =e
 =3SG speak-OBJ while drink.milk-NPT then again =3SG
 dudu-ya
 drink.milk-PST
 While it told them to eat stones, it was actually drinking milk. Then it drank milk.
- 8'18 haku do darmara hana carka kuruŋ-dirin =ku riŋ-teŋna =ku jom
 they TOP ONOM that white kind.of.stone =3PL crush-CVB =3PL eat
 ka[si-saksa ja?owa ha?na hãrsa-marša haŋda =ku ik'-teŋna =ku
 hard-hard FILL then by.force there =3PL excrete-CVB =3PL
 kata-e-tan
 say-OBJ-NPT
 [The wolves] crushed white stones and ate them. Because the stones were so hard, they excreted them with great difficulty. Then they said,
- 8'29 ē goy do am ađik'-le-ta goy na?a to do mene =m
 ITJ ITJ then you fool-1PL.EX-NPT ITJ this TOP TOP NEG.IFX =2SG
 jom-ta am do bana^hiya =m ik' ale do mer =le
 eat-NPT you TOP excellent.IFX =2SG excrete we.EX TOP NEG =1PL.EX
 awei-tan mata hasu?-tan
 be.able-NPT that give.pain-NPT
 "Friend, you have been fooling us. You don't eat this stuff, do you? You must be eating something better. We can't excrete like you do — it's too painful."
- 8'37 ka hana din kata-e-tan nahĩ go ab =iŋ ađik'-teŋ-pe-a-m iŋ
 then that day speak-OBJ-NPT no ITJ now =1SG fool-PST-2PL-FIN- I
 do baŋe-gad ma =ŋ ju darwa-ter-a
 TOP banyan-sap look! =1SG drink come-PST-FIN
 "Well, I deceived you that day. I drank banyan sap and then came here."
- 8'45 man ab ek do naek' hoŋ sanahi ađik'-teŋ-bu-a tiŋ
 that now one TOP this person really.IFX fool-PST-1PL.IN-FIN today

do =bu baɽe-gad =bu ɲu-so jama-ku goy
 TOP =1PL.IN banyan-sap =1PL.IN drink-try all-PL ITJ

“This guy really fooled us. Today, we will try drinking banyan sap ourselves.”

8'52 ab baɽe mi-tɔŋ jʰeɽe-lekʰe baɽe dohon-a han jama-ku man
 now banyan one-CLF shadowy-like banyan be-FIN that all-PL that
 hanɖa gad-to =ku ɲu-ter-a
 there sap-POS =3PL drink-PST-FIN

There is a banyan tree [with branches that provided] a shade. They all drank the sap [from the tree] there.

8'58 ka man aur han-uɽi dosor din =ku juʔao-nenka man aur wekʰ-tan
 then that and that-way next day =3PL meet-CVB that and come-NPT
 The next day, they met again and came [to relieve themselves].

9'04 ka haku do han gad-gad han do leɽeɽe ja(?) juaʔ-a han
 then they TOP that sap-sap that TOP dirty Q become-FIN that
 do dūd-ikʰ donosor uɖuŋ-a
 TOP milk-dung different.IFX come.out-FIN

The banyan sap [they drank] turned into sticky [dung]. That milk dung was totally different.

9'11 egoɖ am anaɖikʰ-teɽ-le-a agar goy am cila do =m
 ITJ you fool.IFX-PST-1PL.EX-FIN if ITJ you what TOP =2SG
 jonom-ta nahĩ go sanahi
 eat.IFX-NPT no ITJ really.IFX

“Hey, you cheated us. What do you [really] eat?” “No, I really drink banyan sap.”

9'15 hana din haku mener =ku patiao-gan
 that day they not.IFX =3PL trust-FIN
 That day, the wolves did not trust the wolf's words.

9'18 do-bu do na hoɽ =bu jōh-en-a =e
 let's.go-1PL.IN TOP this man =1PL.IN hide.and.watch-PST-FIN =3SG
 cila =e jom-ta ja akʰir na-uɽi ikʰ-ta
 what =3SG eat-NPT Q after.all this-way excrete-NPT

“Let's hide and watch this guy. I wonder what he is eating to poop like that?”

9'24 ka hāekʰ hana-uɽi kata-e-tan
 then it that-way say-OBJ-NPT
 It said as follows,

- 9'27 anɖɾmeme dudu de siri sarao-ta ik'=me ewa maʔan siri
ITJ milk give! goat graze-NPT excrete=IMP give that.way goat
katao g^hanɖ dudu-tan
speak while drink.milk-NPT
“Give me milk. Give dung to the goat grazer.”
- 9'33 acc^hā do maek' to ja=e ju-ea-ta haʔna abu =i aɖik'-tan
well TOP that TOP Q =3SG drink- then we.IN =3SG fool-NPT
“Oh well, he is drinking that [goat milk]. So, this guy cheated us again.”
- 9'38 diri ece-jom-bu-ta k^hane baʔe-gade ece-ju-bu-ta
stone CAUS-eat-1PL.IN-NPT then banyan.sap CAUS-drink-1PL.IN-NPT
“He made us eat stones, and then made us drink banyan sap.”
- 9'42 hæk' tisiŋ do =m ju-buɖik'-keɖ-a
it today TOP =2SG drink-be.deceived-PRF-FIN
“Drink it today! (Wait and see)”
- 9'46 =e ju-teɖna ab tora-e saraʔ hana-marat haku adom
=3SG drink-CVB now go-3SG walk.around that-time they other
baŋɖo-ku wej-eɖna siri-ku jom-tir-ik'
wolf-PL come-CVB goat-PL eat-PST-FIN
The wolf drank goat milk and went off. Then the other wolves ate the goat [in its absence].
- 9'54 na heɖe-t bitri busʔu ɖusao-teɖna =ku caŋa-aɖu-tr-ik'
this hide-POS inside straw stuff-CVB =3PL stand-leave-PST-FIN
They stuffed the goat[’s skin] with straw and left it standing.
- 9'59 mān ab hæk' baŋɖo-t rōj =e jū-hewa-kuʔ-a do =e
that now it wolf-POS daily =3SG drink-used.to-SBJV-FIN TOP =3SG
wej-eɖna ab^hi han-uɖi kata-e-tan
come-CVB now that-way say-OBJ-NPT
The wolf was accustomed to drink the goat’s milk every day. It came back [to its den] to drink milk and sang this way.
- 10'04 anɖɾmeme dudude siri sarao-ta ik'-to emao=ma
ITJ milk goat graze-NPT dung-POS give=IMP
“Give me milk. Give dung to the goat grazer.”
- 10'08 ka mān ab =e tukun-so-e-tan do =e
then that now =3SG bunt.for.sucking-try-OBJ-NPT TOP =3SG
leɖda-juaʔ-a han do =ku jom-aɖu-ter-i-a mas-to
falling.down-do-FIN that TOP =3PL eat-leave-PST-OBJ-FIN meat-POS

hana heɾe-t ekla cāŋa aɬu-ter-a
that hide-POS only upright leave-PST-FIN

When [the wolf] pressed the goat for milk, [the stuffed figure] fell over. They had eaten the meat and left [its hide]. Only its hide was standing.

10'18 ka ab =e katao-a rah.re hoɾ-ku na-uɾi =pe
then now =3SG speak-FIN ITJ person-PL this-way =2PL
ɖah-kid-iŋ-a iŋ
torment-PRF-1SG-FIN I

It said, "Oh guys, you tormented me like this?"

10'22 ka do =ɲ ɲeɲel-pe-ta
then TOP =1SG RED.look-2PL-NPT
"I'll watch out for you guys."

10'27 ab hāek' baŋɖo hāek' siri heɾe =e goʔ-ya mi-ɬoŋ ɡʰasiya-ka
now it wolf it goat hide =3SG take-PST one-CLF grass-GEN
maŋɖar =e banao-tar-a
drum =3SG make-PRF-FIN

The wolf took off the hide of the goat and fashioned it into a drum with a grass [shell].

10'39 maŋɖar =e banao-teɬ kar.bad-re mān-maste mi-ɬoŋ
drum =3SG make-PST after.that well(?) one-CLF
pokʰra-ɖipa-re dahran =e bajae-ta
pond-bank-LOC tune =3SG beat-NPT

Once the drum was ready, [the wolf] began playing it with a nice rhythm.

10'47 yēkado maek' hoɾ do siri-to-ten jom-uɾ-tir-i do karat
look that person TOP goat-POS-with eat-CMPL-PST-OBJ then what
mana mi-ɬoŋ maŋɖar ekdam baʰiya =e bajae-ta
that one-CLF drum very excellent =3SG beat-NPT

"What a guy! We ate up the goat. From what did he make such a wonderful drum?"

10'54 do-bu homr-e ja =bu kija ɡʰaŋi =bu bajae-ta
let's.go-IPL.IN ask-OBJ Q =IPL.IN buy while =IPL.IN play-NPT
"Let's go and ask him, and we can buy one and play a nice drum too."

10'57 hante tora-ku na pokʰra-ɖipa-re adom saŋ-ko-ten
then go-3PL this pond-bank-LOC other friend-PL-with
They went to the bank of the pond with other friends.

- 11'01 ka ab negodo kare-ʔa maŋdar =me baja-ta
 then now ITJ where-GEN drum =2SG beat-NPT
 “What drum are you beating?”
- 11'04 nana-ʔa na pok^hra-re ida go nanaʔ-ate ma =eŋ bolo-kian =eŋ
 here-GEN this pond-LOC be ITJ here-from look! =1SG dive-PRF =1SG
 uduŋ-keq-a iŋ do
 take.out-PRF-FIN I TOP
 “It’s from here. It was in this pond. I dived and took it out here [from under the water].”
- 11'10 hante goy me adjik^h-keq-a ja sahime agar dā-pe ja bol-pe
 then ITJ NEG fool-PRF-FIN Q really if go.ahead-2PL Q enter-2PL
 mi-hoŋ =pe bol lekin suru maʔan
 one-CLF =2PL enter but beginning QUOT
 “Aren’t you fooling us?” “No, I am serious. How about you enter the pond too? But one of you should go first.”
- 11'16 kataoa-teŋ-ku-ka mi-hoŋ janaŋne etke bolo-nen
 say-PST-3PL-CVB one-person quickly running enter-PST
 When it said that, one [wolf] entered the pond.
- 11'20 nahe gujuʔ-a-re buŋbuŋa hana daʔ bitri
 now die-FIN-LOC bubble that water inside
 As it was drowning, bubbles rose from under the water.
- 11'22 ka hāek^h to boŋo-puŋu uduŋ-a daʔ bor-kun-a
 then it TOP ONOM take.out-FIN water boil-like-FIN
 Bubbles came out as if the water was boiling.
- 11'26 ka hāek^h kata-e-ta maehen maek^h do ŋuŋunbaŋ-ta maŋdare
 then it say-OBJ-NPT look.that he TOP choose-NPT drum
 dā-pe teke bol=pe ape hō
 go.ahead-2PL quickly enter=IMP.2PL you.PL too
 It said, “That is him choosing a drum. Go ahead, the rest of you, dive in quickly!”
- 11'31 mān āp-j^hāp =ku teke bolo-nen
 that.way you-ECHO(?) =3PL quickly enter-PST
 The wolves jumped in the pond.
- 11'34 ad^ha jama baŋdo-ku deŋhor-te do =ku goek^h-ŋa
 other all wolf-PL behind-from TOP =3PL die-PST
 Then all the other wolves died.

- 11'39 hante hæk' mi-toŋ baŋɔ hæk' jiniate dohon-a hante ab
 then it one-CLF wolf it alive be-FIN then now
 jama baŋɔ-ku do =ku goek'-ŋanka na kahani nintamin-te
 all wolf-PL TOP =3PL die-CVB this story this.much-with
 k^hatam-yan-a
 end-PST-FIN
 Only that wolf survived. All the other wolves died and that's the end
 of the story.

§6 Story of My Life

Told by Mrs. Pandri Bai. Recorded in her residence in Ichkela on March 17, 2012.

(How I was named)

- 0'00 *sabse.pahle* iŋ huɖiŋ k^hane-a? kahani =iŋ kata-udu?-ta
 before.all 1SG little time-GEN story 1SG talk-tell-NPT
 First of all, let me tell you a story from when I was young.
- 0'06 iŋ gunhon rōt =iŋ dohon k^hane iŋ-nao kara-uɕi paŋɖri paɾao-ke-a
 1SG little big =1SG be when I-name how PROP fall-PRF-FIN
 When I was little, this is how I came to be called Pandri.
- 0'13 gunhon =iŋ dohon k^hane ekdam esel =iŋ dohon-e
 little 1SG to.stay when at.once light.skinned 1SG stay-PST
 When I was young, I had very light skin.
- 0'21 iŋ-nana =e dohon-e hæk' katao-ya ki am-biɕi
 I-grandfather =3SG be-PST he speak-PST COMP you-daughter
 esel idan-e-a
 light.skinned be-3SG-FIN
 My maternal grandfather said, "Your daughter is light-skinned."
- 0'32 hana-lagin am-biɕi nao iŋ paŋɖri maʔan =iŋ katao-e-ta
 that-for you-daughter name I PROP QUOT 1SG speak-OBJ-NPT
 iŋ dosor nao ero =iŋ kata?-ter-a
 1SG other name NEG =1SG speak-PST-FIN
 "So I will call her Pandri ('White'). I will not call her by any other
 name."
- 0'39 do iŋ-aya-tuku iŋ-ra? nao dosor sab-ker-a =e iŋ-nao
 TOP I-mother-POS I-GEN name other hold-PRF-FIN =3SG I-name
 priyaŋka doho[n-ta] =ko kata?-a
 PROP stay-NPT =3PL speak-PST-FIN

My mother and her family had chosen a different name for me. They said my name was Priyanka.

- 0'48 do iŋ-nana kata-ter-a nahĩ na? esel idan-e-a
 TOP I-grandfather speak-PST-FIN no this light.skinned stay-3SG-FIN
 Then my maternal grandfather insisted, "No. She is light-skinned."
- 0'51 nae? nao paŋdri maʔan iŋ kata-e-ta =iŋ paŋdri dohon-ta
 this name PROP QUOT I speak-OBJ-NPT =1SG PROP stay-NPT
 ape tonon? maʔan =pe kata-e
 you.PL anything that.way =2PL speak-OBJ
 "I will call her Pandri. She is Pandri, no matter what name you give her."
- 0'55 do gāō āspās-re-ko-a? hoŋ-ku jama-ko =ko
 TOP village vicinity-LOC-PL-GEN person-PL all-PL =3PL
 iŋ-nana kata-e-a ki paŋdri paŋdri =ko kata-e-a-te
 I-grandfather say-OBJ-FIN COMP PROP PROP 3PL say-OBJ-FIN-INS(?)
 jama-ko =ko kata-e-a paŋdri.bai
 all-PL =3PL say-OBJ-FIN PROP
 Since my grandfather called me Pandri, all the neighbors in the village started calling me that, and everyone [began to] call me Pandri Bai.
- 1'03 okar.bād-re jab ale gāō-re iskul kʰulao-ne hana-kʰane
 after.that-LOC when we.EX village-LOC school open-PST that-time
 jama-ko iskul =ko sēn-a
 all-PL school 3PL go-FIN
 Later, when a school opened in our village, all the children started going to school.
- 1'10 do han-kʰane iŋ ho =iŋ sēn-a iskul
 TOP that-time 1SG too =1SG go-FIN school
 At that time, I went to school as well.
- 1'13 iŋ iŋ-aya-apaŋ-tuku =ko kata-e-a ki am ero
 I I-mother-father-POS =3PL say-OBJ-FIN COMP 2SG NEG
 =le(aham paʔaʔ) paʔao-teʔna am oʔaʔ-re =m dohon
 =1PL.EX study-CVB you house-LOC =2SG stay
 My parents said, "Don't study. Just stay home."
- 1'19 am-didi iskul =e sen-ta am uŋik'-ku =m sarao-ta
 you-elder.sister school =3SG go-NPT you cattle-PL =2SG graze-NPT
 "Your elder sister is going to school. [So] you should graze the cattle."
- 1'22 maʔan iŋ-aya-apaŋ kata-e-a do iskul-re aguwa laʔʰa
 QUOT I-mother-father say-OBJ-FIN TOP school-LOC formerly halwa

=ko eme-ʔ-a

=3PL give-SDH-FIN

My parents said this. But they used to give out *halwa* at school.

- 1'27 do hana laʔʰa jom calte =iŋ iskul rōj.din iŋ jir-gʰan =iŋ
 TOP that halwa eat for =1SG school daily I run-while =1SG
 sēn-a
 go-FIN

I ran to school every day in order to eat the *halwa*.

- 1'32 urikʰ-ku sarao huɖiŋ do =iŋ dohon-e lekin iŋ ho (urikʰ-ko
 cattle-PL graze little TOP =1SG be-PST but I too cattle-PL
 sarao-kowareŋa)
 (graze-?)

I was very young, but they sent me to graze cattle.

- 1'37 lekin iŋ han aŋgi-te urikʰ-ko sarao aŋgi-te =iŋ jir-gʰana
 but I that side-from cattle-PL graze side-from =1SG run-while
 iskul =eŋ sēn-a
 school 1SG go-FIN

Even then, I would run to school from where I was grazing the cattle.

- 1'41 haŋɖa ēk maʃar =e kata-e-a
 there one teacher =3SG say-OBJ-FIN
 A teacher there said,

- 1'44 ki rōj.din binā nām kar laʔʰa kʰānē ātī.hay re
 COMP daily without name GEN halwa eating she.comes ITJ
 “She comes every day without registration, in order to eat *halwa*,
 doesn't she?”

- 1'53 maʔan =e kata-teʔka? jama-ko iŋ-nao iskul-re paŋɖri paŋɖri
 QUOT =3SG speak-CVB all-PL I-name school-LOC PROP PROP
 maʔan =ko kata-e-a hana =e ayum-tar-a maʃar
 that.way =3PL say-OBJ-FIN that =3SG hear-PST-FIN teacher
 The teacher heard that everyone was calling me ‘Pandri, Pandri’ at
 school.

- 1'58 hana-lagin hāekʰ paŋɖri nām =e likʰao-goʔ-ter-a iskul-re
 that-for he PROP name =3SG write-take-FIN school-LOC
 Having heard this, he wrote down my name as Pandri.

- 2'04 hana mente iŋ-aya-apaŋ ho ero =le paʔʰao-tar-e-a
 that QUOT 1SG-mother-father too NEG =1PL.EX study-PST-OBJ-FIN
 maʔan-te iŋ-nao mer =ku likʰao-gaɖ-a
 that.way-from I-name not =3PL write-BEN-FIN

Since my parents did not receive an education, they did not write my name themselves.

- 2'10 do han uṭi iṇ deĩhorte laṭʰa jom jom =iṇ sēn-a
 then that way 1SG later halwa eat eat =1SG go-FIN
 That way, I went to school and was eating *halwa* there.

- 2'18 han uṭi-re iṇ-nao paṇḍri likʰao-ter-a han uṭi pahli dusri tisri
 that way-LOC I-name PROP write-PST-FIN that way first second third
 =iṇ paṭʰao-nen-a
 =1SG study-PST-FIN
 That way, [they] wrote my name as Pandri, and I studied in the first, second and third grades.

- 2'22 hana deĩhorte jab pacmi parikcʰa =iṇ likʰao-ter-a tab.tak
 that later when fifth exam =1SG write-PST-FIN until.then
 iṇ-aya-apaṇ-kar hos mer doho-ga ki naʔa nao
 I-mother-father-GEN mind NEG be-FIN COMP this name
 badalwao-e-ta ja
 make.change-OBJ-NPT Q

After that, by the time I took the fifth-grade exam, my parents maybe did not have the mind to change this name any longer.

(Studying at boarding schools)

- 5'37 jab harrāpāṭʰ hasṭal kʰulao-nen-a hana mela jama-ko =ku kʰabar
 when PROP hostel open-PST-FIN that time all-PL =3PL news
 =ko eme-ter-a
 =3PL give-PST-FIN

When Harrapath Hostel opened, they sent out the news to everyone.

- 5'44 ki jetna.bʰi pahāṭi laṭki-ko idan-ko-a agu-goṭ-ko=pe
 COMP any hill girl-PL stay-3PL-FIN bring-CMPL-3PL=IMP.2PL
 naṇḍa jama kʰaek-piek vyostʰa dohon-ta
 here all eating-drinking arrangement be-NPT
 “Bring all Pahari Korwa girls that are there. There are all arrangements for bed and board here.”

- 5'49 naṇḍa =ku dohon-ta aur naṇḍa =ku doho-kyen iskul =ko sen-ta
 here =3PL stay-NPT and here =3PL stay-SBJV school =3PL go-NPT
 paṭʰaʔ maʔan
 study QUOT
 “They will stay here, and they will go to school to study, staying here.”

- 5'54 do ale adʰa-pacmī hana =le gāō kadopani-re paṭʰao-ne
 then we.EX half-fifth that =1PL.EX village PROP-LOC study-PST

okar.bād-re ale harrāpā^h=le sen-eq-a
 after.that-LOC we.EX PROP =1PL.EX go-PST-FIN

We studied [up to] the first half of the fifth grade in Kado Pani village and after that we went to Harrapath [Hostel].

6'00 do harrāpā^h=le wej-eṭ k^hane haṇḍa ale ekdam parēsāni
 then PROP =1PL.EX come-PST when there we.EX at.all trouble
 hoyā-e-a ki paṭ^ha? mer =le sudi-a
 become-3SG-FIN COMP study NEG =1PL.EX know-FIN

When we came to Harrapath, we had a lot of trouble, for we did not know how to study.

6'09 haṇḍa baṭa dikkat hoyā-e-a do ale-rik^ʔ haṣṭal
 there big difficulty become-3SG-FIN then we.EX-GEN hostel
 ad^hik^jak srī harimansay hāek^ʔ bahut prayāse-ter-a
 supervisor Mr. PROP he much make.effort-PST-FIN

There was a big difficulty there. The hostel supervisor, Mr. Hari-mansay, made a lot of effort [for us].

6'22 ki naku tonon-urī paṭ^ha? sudi pustak paṭ^ha? ginti
 COMP these any-way study know book read calculation
 sik^hao-goṭ-ko-teṭ maʔan-te bahut =e prayāse-ʔ-a
 learn-CMPL-3PL-? that.way-from? much =3SG make.effort-SDH-FIN

In order to teach us calculation-table counting, he made a lot of effort.

6'29 do han-mela haṣṭal hū mer banao-gan-a harrāpā^h haṇḍa idan
 then that-time hostel too NEG be.made-PST-FIN PROP there stay
 At that time, the hostel was not even finished. It was there in Harra-path.

6'36 ekdam p^haṭa-lek^he oṭa? dohone haṇḍa =le dohon-a aṭ^hāra jan
 at.all torn-like house be-PST there =1PL.EX be-FIN eighteen CLF
 =le dohon-e surū-re
 =1PL.EX be-PST beginning-LOC

It was quite a poor house. There were eighteen of us boarders in the beginning.

6'55 ale-rik^ʔ ad^hik^jak =e kata-e-a ki je je =pe
 we.EX-GEN supervisor =3SG say-OBJ-FIN COMP REL REL =2PL
 sudi-ta haku muṇḍaej =eṇ ewa-pe-ta
 know-NPT those sweet.potato =1SG give-2PL-NPT

Our supervisor said, "For those of you who have learned to read, I will buy sweet potatoes."

- 7'04 ale miad lain binā dek^hne =le sudi-goḍ-a k^hane hāek'
 we.EX one line without looking =1PL.EX know-CMPL-FIN then he
 ad^hikjak maṣṣar sanicar din bajar-re miad cakla muṇḍaij
 supervisor teacher saturday day market-LOC one bale sweet.potato
 =e kija-goḍ-a
 =3SG buy-CMPL-FIN

If we memorized a line without looking, the supervisor would buy a bag of sweet potatoes at the market on Saturday.

- 7'15 do hana deihortē ewa-le-a ki nāpe =pe sudi
 then that later give-1PL.EX-FIN COMP here.you.are =2PL know
 got-eḍ-a hana-laga muṇḍaij =iṇ ewa-pe-ta
 CMPL-PST-FIN-PST-FIN that-for sweet.potato =1SG give-2PL-NPT
 Then he would say to us, "Here you are. You studied well. So I am
 giving you sweet potatoes."

- 7'21 do ale muṇḍaek' inam =le jom g^hapi ale k^hus
 then we.EX sweet.potato prize 1PL.EX eat while we.EX happy
 jua-ʔ-a
 become-SDH-FIN

Eating the prize potatoes made us very happy.

(Dilemma between helping my family and studying further)

- 25'31 maʔan iṇ oṅgle g^hapi =iṇ iskolasiṣ paisā =ko ewa-ṇ-a
 QUOT I think while =1SG scholarship money =3PL give-1SG-FIN
 eko-rupe mer =eṇ uṭ^hao-e-a aur han =iṇ gōg-na
 one-rupee NEG =1SG take.up-PST-FIN and that =1SG bring-CVB
 iṇ-aya-apan iṇ =iṇ ewa-ʔ-a
 I-mother-father I =1SG give-SDH-FIN

They gave me a scholarship. Wondering [whether my family was getting food or not], I did not take a single rupee for myself. I brought the whole scholarship of fifty rupees home and gave it to my parents.

- 25'44 hana paisā-te kode =ku kija-ʔ-a moka-soka iṇ-raʔ paisā
 that money-with rice =3PL buy-SDH-FIN sometimes I-GEN money
 mer =ko k^harca-ʔ-a upās =ko ḍera jua-ʔ-a
 NEG =3PL spend-SDH-FIN fast =3PL temporary.stay do-SDH-FIN
 They bought rice with that money. Sometimes they did not spend my money, but were suffering from fasting for days.

- 26'00 aur deihortē kareʔ-a paisā-te kapi pustak =bu
 and later where-GEN money-with notebook book =1PL.IN

kija-kye?-a nan?a paisā =bu doho?-ta ma?an-te mer =ku
 buy-SBJV-FIN this money =1PL.IN keep-NPT QUOT-from NEG =3PL
 uṭʰao-e-a
 take.up-PST-FIN

“We will buy your notebook and books later with money from somewhere. Let us keep this money,” they said, not using that money for my school expenses.

- 26’11 ēk din ekdam sonhe-kar kami dohon-e do iṇ-cere pacās
 one day at.all clothes-GEN shortage be-PST then I-with fifty
 rupia dohon-e do iṇ-aya aur iṇ hana paisā =liṇ
 rupees be-PST then I-mother and I that money =1DU.EX
 go?-teṭṇa sana bajar =liṇ sen-eḍ-a
 take.along-CVB PROP market =1DU.EX go-PST-FIN

One day, we were short of clothes. I had fifty rupees with me. My mother and I took that money and went to the market in Sanna.

- 26’28 hana mela kam-kam recet-lek^{he} juna sāṛi =ku akiriṇ-a do hana
 that time little-little torn-like old saree =3PL sell-FIN then that
 sāṛi iṇ-ra? paisā-te =ṇ kija-go?-ta iṇ-didi lagiṇ mi-goṭ
 saree I-GEN money-with =1SG buy-bring-NPT I-sister for one-CLF
 sāṛi aur iṇ-aya lagiṇ mi-goṭ sāṛi das-bīs rupiya wāla
 saree and I-mother for one-CLF saree ten-twenty rupee thing
 At that time, they sold cheap used sarees. I bought those sarees for
 ten or twenty rupees with my money, one for my sister and one for
 my mother.

- 26’59 iṇ-te huḍiṇ bohōṇ dohon-e hāek’ lagiṇ hō mi-goṭ aṅga =iṇ
 I-from little sister be-PST she for too one-CLF shirt =1SG
 kija-ker-a
 buy-PRF-FIN
 I also bought a shirt for my younger sister.

- 27’10 hana uṛi oṛa?-ra? ist^{hi}ti =ṇ ṇēl-a hanate paṛ^{ha}? man hō mer
 that way house-GEN state =1SG see-FIN then study mind too NEG
 laga-?-a aur madam katao-eṇ-a hana =ṇ ayum-a
 be.attached-SDH-FIN and madam speak-1SG-FIN that =1SG hear-FIN
 do paṛ^{ha}? man hō laga-?-a
 then study mind too be.attached-SDH-FIN
 When I saw such conditions at my house, I did not feel like studying.
 But when I listened to what my teacher said, I felt like studying.

- 27’22 hana uṛi banar aṅgi =ṇ oṅgle-g^{ha}ṇ iṇ tonōṇ uṛi iskule =ṇ
 that way two.IFX side =1SG think-while I some way school =1SG

sēn-a panaṛ^hao-e-a
go-FIN study.IFX-PST-FIN

Caught in a dilemma like that, I somehow went to school and studied.

- 27'33 oṛaʔ-re hō ale-oṛaʔ-re d̥iŋ^ha-lain-ku mer =ko doho-ga
house-LOC too we.EX-house-LOC boy-child-PL NEG =3PL be-FIN
suru-re
beginning-LOC

In our family, there was no boy in the beginning.

- 27'53 iŋ-apaŋ suruwe-te ekdam kamjor lek^he dohon-a dū tīn bār
I-father beginning-from at.all weak like be-FIN two three times
=e muruk jōr bimār =e dohon-a lutur-to hō mer =e
=3SG very strong disease =3SG be-FIN ear-POS too NEG =3SG
ayum-e-ʔ-a
hear-OBJ-SDH-FIN

My father was in poor health from the start. He got severely sick two or three times, and lost his hearing.

- 28'20 iŋ-aya aur iŋ-apaŋ ēk din muruk bimāre dohon-e jau? do
I-mother and I-father one day very disease be-PST food TOP
ale-oṛaʔ-re kareʔa dohon-a
we.EX-house-LOC where be-FIN

One day, my parents became severely ill. As for eating food, where is such a thing in our house?

- 28'31 do iŋ aur iŋ-te huḍiŋ hāek' (hengete[na] wasti =liŋ
then I and I-from little she ? settlement =DU.EX
sen-eḍ-a do-me nani tonon uṛi maṛ-daʔ jau? =laŋ
go-PST-FIN lets.go-2SG girl some way gruel-water food =1DU.IN
ase-agu
beg-bring

Then my younger sister and I went to a nearby hamlet together. [Mother said,] "Come on, girls!" and we somehow begged and brought gruel and cooked rice.

- 28'49 hanaʔna iŋ aur iŋ-aya =liŋ ase tora-liŋ iŋ-apaŋ =lin
then I and I-mother =1DU.EX beg go-1DU.EX I-father =1DU.EX
oṛaʔ-re aṭu-ter-i-a j^hār.son-te muruk jōr.se hasu =e
house-LOC leave-PST-3SG-FIN fever-from very fiercely pain =3SG
dohon-e
be-PST

Then my mother and I went to beg food. We left our father home, for he was suffering from severe pain due to fever.

- 29'10 iŋ-aya aur iŋ ase =liŋ sen-eq-a bani-b^hutī mer dohon-ta
 I-mother and I beg =1DU.EX go-PST-FIN job-work NEG be-NPT
 pahāt-raij-re iye ece-buta-kuʔ-a
 hill-country-LOC who CAUS-work-SBJV-FIN
 My mother and I went to beg food. There was no job whatsoever.
 Who would give a job in the hill lands?

Hill Korwa Glossary

This glossary is made from Bahl's *Korwa Lexicon* and the words occurring in our text corpus. Rizvi (1989: 189–193) and Narayan (1990: 318f.) also gives kinship terms. Narayan (1990: 322–332) lists Korwa words, which we could not incorporate due to the lack of phonetical details.

When we incorporated Bahl (1962), we used the electronic version made by Donegan and Stampe. *v* in Bahl's transcription was converted to *w*. Note that when Bahl writes a nasal vowel (*ã ã ã ã ã ã*) before a stop, it often represents an oral vowel followed by a nasal consonant homorganic with the following stop, just as Hindi vowels with *anusvār* do.

Abbreviations a.: adjective; adv.: adverb; As.: Asuri; Bi.: Birhor; aux.v.: auxiliary verb; comp.v.: compound verb; encl.: enclitic; itj.: interjection; kin: kinship term; Mu.: Mundari; n: noun; postp.: postposition; pron.: pronoun; Sa.: Santali; vi.: intransitive verb; vt.: transitive verb

Glossary

āgarī n. (Bahl) finger, toe, *cīnī* — the little finger. H. *āgulī*
āger vt. (Bahl) to be willing to do any work.
ācarit n. (Bahl) edge of a sari. S. *acrā*
ājeḍ-u? vi. (Bahl) to get dry.
ājōḍ vt. (Bahl) to kiss, — *hoṛejn* to kiss each other.
āḍ n. (Bahl) a wild fruit (= Sadri *g^hōṛ*).
āt vt. (Bahl) to lie down without actually going to sleep.
āḍā vt. (Bahl) to dry something on fire. Mu. *anda?* to dry (parboiled rice) on fire
āḍol vi. (Bahl) to shout uproariously.
ābāt a. (Bahl) sour. Mu. *amba rasi* (of rice beer) sour
ābāt vt. (Bahl) to become sour.
āberā n. (Bahl) the Indian hog plum tree. Mu. *ambuṛu*
āen adv. (Bahl) not yet. Mu. *auri*
āenā n. (Bahl) glass, mirror. H.
āosān n. (Bahl) sickness.
akaṛā, ak^haṛā n. (Bahl) an inner room in a Korwa house where the family god is kept. cf. Mu. *adiṇ*
akatkit onom. clink! (*Jackal*)
akalā? vi. (Bahl) to tremble. Mu. *ekela*
akal-sakal vi., echo (Bahl) to be unconscious (before death). Mu. *akal-bakal*
akid vt. (Bahl) to gather up grains, — *ṭ^huṛi* to gather and pile up. Mu. *akid*
akin pron. they two themselves (dual reflexive). Mu. *akin*
akiriṇ vt. to sell (Bahl *ak^hariṇ*). Mu. *akiriṇ*
akil-u? vt. (Bahl *akil-ū?*) to remember, to recollect.
aku pron. they themselves (plural reflexive). Mu. *ako*
akiriṇ vt. (Barker 38) see *akiriṇ*
ak^had n. (Bahl) sacred rice which is fed to the chicken by a priest before its

ceremonial sacrifice.
ak^ham vt. (Bahl) to absent oneself from work. Mu. *akam*
ak^hariṇ vt. (Bahl) to sell, (Bahl) — *god* to sell something completely, — *siḍ* to sell at once. Mu. *akiriṇ*
ak^hiāo vt. (Bahl) to wink, to beckon.
ak^hir n. end; adv. after all. H.
āgā vi. (Bahl) to hurt.
agagai, agagi itj. of moaning with pain. Mu. *ajaga*
agar adv. if. H.
agu vt. (Bahl *āgū*) to bring; (Bahl) — *ogor* to bring something quickly; *ahlāo* — to keep on working but not be able to finish, *ōgol* — to learn by heart, to memorize, *or* — to bring something pulling, *kobo?* — to peep and come back, *tū* — to be carried away by water, *daram* — to go and meet someone, *baḷi* — to bring by rolling, *sāb* — to catch hold of something, *habkāo* — to bring someone along holding his neck, *halan* — to dig and bring something. Mu. *agu, au*
agua adv. (Bahl *aguā*) in front, before, — *hor* towards the front, *nīr* — to run ahead. cf. Mu. *ayar*
agu-i vt. see *agu*
agurā vt. (Bahl) to watch.
aguwa adv. formerly
agbakāo vi. (Bahl) to be perplexed. H., Mu. *akbakao*
ag^huān vt. (Bahl) to stand as a surety for somebody (of the headman), [to vouch for].
aṇ vi. (Bahl *āṇ*) to be dawn, — *nām* to be dawn while doing something, — *marsāl* to keep on walking till dawn; *ciāḍ* — vt. to be kept awake till morning, *sereṇ āṇā* to sing all night. Mu. *aṇ*
āṇā n. (Bahl) half a load.
aṇu n. (Bahl *āṇū*) dawn, from *āṇ*.
aṇu vi. (Bahl *āṇ*) to dawn. Mu. *aṇ-o?*

aṇu ipil n. (Bahl *āṇū ipil*) morning star.
aṇuṭʰā n. (Bahl) the thumb. H.
āṇū? adv. (Bahl) tomorrow.
aṇga n. (Bahl *āḡā*) shirt
aṇga-n vi. (Bahl *āḡā-n*) to be dressed in a coat or a shirt.
-aṇḡi postp. to, towards
aṇḡi n. (Barker 33 *aṇḡi*) side, way
ac n. (Barker 10) moon
acad n. (Bahl) *ucud* — heap, mound.
 Mu. *acad ucud*
ācī vi. (Bahl) to sneeze. Mu. *hacu?*
accʰā itj. okay, well. H.
aja kin (Bahl *ājā*) grandfather: father's father, mother's father. S., As. *aja*, Bi. *aja*, cf. Mu. *tata*
aji kin (Bahl *ājī*) grandmother: mother's mother, father's mother; elder sister. As. *aji*, Bi. *aji*, Mu. *aji*
a-jinia vt. to let someone live (*Tiger*)
ajo vt. (Bahl *ājō*) to feed someone by putting food into the mouth. Mu. *ajom*
aṇ pron. I. Mu. *aṇ*
aṇu vt. (Bahl *āṇū*) to cause to drink. Mu. *anu*
aṇū vt. to cause to drink, causative of *ṇū*. Mu. *anu*
aṇjed vt. (Bahl *ājed*) to dry water of a vegetable by heating, (Bahl) *āre?* — to dry by bailing out water, *cōdā* — to dry by putting on fire. Mu. *aṇjed*
aṭa n. (Bahl *ātā*) flour. H., cf. As. *holoṇ*, Mu. *gohom holoṇ*, Ho *holoṇ*, Sa. *hōloṇ*
ātā ūṭū a., echo (Bahl) uneven land. cf. Mu. *aṭa uṭu*, *acad ucud*
aṭa? vt. (Bahl *ātā?*) *jom* — to remain (of leavings) after eating.
aṭu vt. (+ *-ter*, Bahl *ātū*) to leave; (Bahl) to miss, (Bahl) *idī* — to keep, *katā* — to go away after saying, *īl* — to let something remain buried, *rā?* — to invite somebody, *sastā* — to put someone to trouble and go away. cf. Mu. *giri*
aṭkar vt. (Bahl *aṭkār*) to guess, — so to know something before, to think be-

fore doing anything. Mu. *aṭkar*
ātʰ num. eight cf. Mu. *iralia*, Ho *irīl*, Sa. *irāl*.
aṭʰāra num. eighteen.
aḍ vt. (Bahl *āḍ*) to spoil something in making it, *katā* — to interrupt a person while speaking. Mu. *ad* 'to get lost'
āḍ a. (Bahl) dangerous.
aḍikʰ vt. (Bahl *aḍi?*) to cheat, (Bahl) — *jom* to live on cheating others, *api?* — to pretend to be sleeping.
āḍkeṇe vi. (Bahl) to be zig-zag and misleading (ref. to a route in jungles).
aṛa a. (Bahl *ārā*) very big, — *dirī* very big rock.
ārāṇ n. (Bahl) splinter of wood.
aṛa? n. (Bahl *ārā?* any green leafy vegetable) vegetable, (Bahl) — *dā?* vegetable soup, *kenā* — a green leafy plant eaten as a vegetable, *cakōdā* — a plant, *cālī* — a plant, *janum* — a thorny plant eaten as a vegetable, *ṭʰuskū* — a plant, *dael* — a plant, *maṭaṛā* — a plant, *muraī* — radish, *sīṇ* — a plant, *helet* — green young bamboo shoots cooked as a vegetable. Mu. *aṛa?*
aṛa? vt. (Bahl *ārā?*) to let someone go, — *goḍ* to let someone go completely, — *aṭu* to leave behind. Mu. *aṛa?*
aṛiāo vt. (Bahl) to strut.
aṛcāṇū vt. (Bahl) to wash hands.
ār cʰīṭ n. (Bahl) hinderance.
ār cʰīṭ vt. (Bahl) to hinder.
aṛwā n. (Bahl) rice husked without boiling. cf. Mu. *adōa*
aṇe vi. (Bahl *āṇe*; Barker) to recover from illness.
ata, ata-e vt. (Bahl *ātā*) to roast, to parch, to fry. As. *ata*, Bi. *ata*, Mu. *ata*
ataṇ vt. (Bahl *ātāṇ*) to hold out both hands or a cloth to get something. Mu. *ataṇ*
ātāṇto dā? n. (Bahl) collected rain water. Mu. *da?* *ataṇ*
atiṇ vi. (Bahl *ātīṇ*) to graze. Mu. *atiṇ*
atiṇ vt. (Bahl *ātīṇ*) to dig, — *jom* to

live on digging food.
ater vt. (Bahl *āter*) to give shelter to someone. cf. Mu. *ader*
ader vt. to bring in, to get in (animals, etc.), (Bahl) *īr* — to reap, to thrash and store the crop, *dū* — to pour water into something, *baṭī* — to bring inside by rolling, *hebkāo* — to push someone in by the neck. Mu. *ader*
adom a. some other
ad^ha vi. (Bahl *ādhā*) to become half.
ad^hikfak n. supervisor. H.
ād^hūr a. (Bahl) half, partial. H. *ad-hūrā*, Mu. *aduṣa*
ād^her vi. (Bahl) to be worn out.
ana comp.v. (Bahl *anā*) *baṭī* — to remove by rolling, *bej* — to spit on the floor, *būrī?* — to pull something out by twisting it, *mā?* — to destroy by cutting. cf. Mu. -*ana* aspect marker (Osada)
ana pron. (Bahl *anā*) itself (inanimate reflexive).
anab n. (Bahl *ānāb*) washing (from *ab*).
anabu pron. see *abu*
anae vt. (Bahl) *dūl* — to pour water away from a pot.
anaek ʾ pron. (from *aek* ʾ) oneself, itself, — *maʕante* of itself, spontaneously
and^ha vi. (Bahl) to be blind.
and^hra vi. to become dark, — *reḏ* to be unable to move due to darkness. H. *andherā*
ān b^hayān vi. (Bahl) to an expression of fear.
ansao vt. (Bahl *ansāo*) to make (someone) restless. Mu. *ansao*
apa,apu n. (*apaṇ*, Bahl *āpā*) father. As. *abba*, Bi. *aba*, Mu. *aba*, *apu*, Ho *apu*, *apaṇ*, *abə*, *babə*, Sa. *apa*
āpaṣoin kin (Bahl) uncle: father's younger brother, step-father.
āpā hoṇhār n. (Bahl) father-in-law. Mu. *apu-hoṇjar*
apik ʾ n. sleep.
apaed vi. (Bahl) to be fussy, to fuss.
apṛojikīn kin (Barker 43) brother's

child
āp^hūr vt. (Bahl) to winnow chaff. cf. Mu. *atur*
ab adv. now. H.
ab ʾ vt. (Bahl *āb*) to wash face. Mu. *ab* ʾ
aba pron. you two (dual). Mu., Ho, Sa.
aben
ābagā n. (Bahl) grains.
abu pron. we (inclusive, cf. *ale*). As. *abu* kun, Bi. *abu*, Mu. *abu*, Ho *abu*, Sa. *abo*
abrī adv. now. S. *abrī*
ab^hi adv. right now. H.
am pron. (Bahl *ām*) you (singular). As. *ām*, Bi. *ām*, Mu. *am*, Ho *am*, Sa. *am*
amārob n. (Bahl) orphan.
amalāo vt. (Bahl) to take possession.
amalī n. (Bahl) tamarind. H. *imlī*, cf. Mu. *jojo*
amiṇ vt. (Bahl *amiṇ*, Barker 50 *amiṇ*) to clean a spot of trees, to level. (Bahl) *īr* — to clean a spot of trees by cutting them, *koreān* — to make clean and level, *k^hāqū* — (Bahl *āmin*) to wipe something clean, *k^horqāo* — to scrape food with fingers and clean, *gayom* — to wipe something clean with hands, *joḏ* — to wipe the anus clean, *nīdā* — to weed out, *būlī?* — to blow the nose clear.
amrut,amrud n. (Bahl) guava. H.
āyā? vt. (Bahl) to worm one's way, — *sen* to go away by worming one's way.
ayub n. (Bahl) early evening. Mu. *ayub*
ayub vi. (Bahl) to be early evening.
ayum vt. to hear, to listen to, (Bahl) — *goḏ* to listen attentively; — *idī ṇavān* habitually to listen without answering; — *baī* to keep on hearing without paying any attention to what is being said; — *idī* to listen without answering; — *jom* to profit by hearing something; — *ṇām* to face something on hearing it; — *p^horāo* to listen incompletely. Mu., As., Bi. *ayum*
ayumi n. (Bahl *ayumī*) woman, wife, (Bahl) — *laṇī?* girl, daughter.

- ayum bai* vt. (Bahl *ayum baī*) to keep on hearing without paying any attention to what is being said. Mu. *ayum bai*
- ara* n. (Bahl *ārā*) son-in-law. Mu. *ara*
- ara* vt. to make someone one's son-in-law (*Firefly*).
- arat* n. see *ara*.
- ari* n. (Bahl *ārī*) saw, — *hon* small saw. Mu. *ari*
- aril* n. (Bahl *āril*) snow, hail, (Bahl) — *libir* very dark cloud. As. *arel*, Mu. *aril*, Ho *aril*, Sa. (*serma*) *arel*.
- aru* adv. and; again; more, further. Mu. *ar, ad*
- aru* vt. to boil and cook.
- ārū* n. (Bahl) a kind of tuber, *ūbkā* —, *dūd^{hi}ā* —.
- arek⁷* vt. (Bahl *āre?*) to bail out water, — *ajeḏ* to dry by bailing out water, — *pere?* to fill a vessel with water by bailing out. Mu. *are?*
- āre?-ū?* vi. (Bahl) to bail out water on oneself.
- āro* vt. (Bahl) to echo. cf. Mu. *aṇaṇ*
- arcap* vt. (Barker 27) to wash
- artij* vt. to steal, (Bahl) *go?* — to abduct, to kidnap. Mu. *atingir*, *arkid* to kidnap, snatch away
- arnāo* vt. (Bahl) to lower the head to fight (ref. to animals).
- arpā* vt. (Bahl) to snatch a thing by pouncing upon it (ref. to animals), — *idī* to walk with head held high (ref. to animals).
- arpoḏ* vt. (Bahl) to draw in one's stomach.
- armo sīṇi* n. (Bahl) a tree =H. *kīkar*.
- arsal* vt. (Bahl) to search with the aid of light. Mu. *arsal*
- arsāl-ū?* vi. (Bahl) to be searched for with the aid of light.
- ala* vt. (Bahl *ālā*) to parch a little. Mu. *ala*
- alaṇ* pron. (Bahl *ālāṇ*) we two (inclusive). Mu. *alaṇ*
- aliṇ* pron. (Bahl *ālīṇ*) we two (exclusive). Mu. *aliṇ*
- alu* n. (Bahl *ālū*) potatoes. H.
- ale* pron. (Bahl *āle*) we (plural exclusive). Mu. *ale*
- aleap j^haleap* adv., echo (Bahl) lazily (ref. to walking).
- ale-rik⁷* pron. our (exclusive)
- alo* adv. (Bahl *ālo*) don't (prohibitive particle). cf. *aha*. Mu. *alo*
- āwā* n. (Bahl) kiln.
- avir* vt. (Bahl) to take along, lead.
- awir* vt. to lead someone by the hand (*Firefly*)
- awe* vt., aux.v. (+ *-gan*, Bahl *āwē*) to be able, can, (Bahl) *jūr* — to be able to run, *jū* — to let someone drink, *sene* — to be able to go.
- awei* aux.v. see *awe*
- asarā* vt. (Bahl) to wish to get. Mu. *asra*
- asiḏ* vi. (Bahl) to stop breathing (ref. to death), *k^ho?* — *juā?* to have very strong cough, *luṭī?* — to beat someone dead. Mu. *asid*
- asid-ū?* vi. (Bahl) to be on one's dying breath (ref. to involuntary shaking of the body of the one who is supposedly dead).
- asul* vt. (Bahl *āsul*) to keep, to bring up, — *hara* to bring up, — *nam* to adopt a child; (Bahl) to tame, to provide for food etc.; (Bahl) to recover (money). Mu. *asul*
- ase* vt. (Bahl *āse*) to beg, to ask for, (Bahl) — *jom* to live on begging. Mu. *ase*, H. *ās*, Krx. *āsē*
- āse jom-i?* *ho?* n. (Bahl) begger.
- askal* n. (Bahl) a bird. Mu. *askal*
- astir* adv. (Bahl) slowly, calmly. Mu. *astir*
- āspās* n. vicinity. H.
- aslāo* vt. (Bahl) to fade (ref. to flowers).
- aha* adv. don't (prohibitive). Mu. *alo*
- ahal* n. (Barker 34) slash-and-burn field
- ahīd* n. (Bahl) a fish.
- ahirā* n. (Bahl) Ahir caste, cowherd.
- āhcakā* adv. (Bahl) suddenly. Mu. *acaka*, H. *acānak*
- ahlāo āgū* vt. (Bahl) to keep on work-

ing but not be able to finish.
aʔ n. (Bahl *āʔ*) bow. Bi. *aʔ*, Mu. *aʔa*,
 Ho *aʔa sər*, Sa. *a kʻ*
aʔagurāt n. (Bahl) watchman.
īdār, *īdārā* n. (Bahl) well.
ikʻ n. (Bahl *īʔ*; Barker 32 *ʔid*) dung,
 excrement. Mu. *iʔ*
ikʻ vi.,vt. (Bahl *īʔ*) to defecate, pass
 stool, — *aʔu* to defecate and go away,
 (Bahl) — *cherā* to void excrement
 with a lot of noise of the escaping
 wind, — *poʔom* to defecate in one's
 clothes.
ikā vt. (Bahl) to pardon; *ika-e* to marry
 someone to (*Tiger*)
ikar bād adv. (-*re*) after this. S.
ij pron. (or *ij*, Bahl *īj*) I, (in com-
 pounds) my
ij-raʔ pron. (SG) my
icarōgā n. (Bahl) an insect.
icāʔ n. (Bahl) shrimp. Mu. *icaʔ*
īcāʔ sīj n. (Bahl) a tree. Mu. *icaʔ baa*
ij vi.,vt. see *ikʻ* vi.,vt.
īj n. see *ikʻ* n.
īṭa n. (Bahl *īṭā*) brick. H.
īṭit, *īṭit* n. (Bahl) heal. Mu. *īṭḍika*
īṭiʔ vt. (Bahl *īṭiʔ*) to extinguish fire, to
 put out. — *goḍ* (Bahl) to put out a
 fire completely, *dūl* — (Bahl) to ex-
 tinguish fire by pouring water on it.
 Mu. *eṇeʔ*
ītil n. (Bahl *ītil*) animal fat, fat, (Bahl)
ītiltorāʔ sunum melted animal fat.
 Mu. *ītil*
ītiʔ vt. (Bahl) to pinch with the nails of
 thumb and finger, — *caitʰāo* to snap
 something from one corner. Mu. *ītiʔ*
 'to press a fruit with the thumb to
 check if it is ripe'
ītiʔ huḍij n. (Bahl) just a pinch.
ida itj. look! Mu. *ida* 'perhaps'
ida vi. (uninflecting; suppletion with
 past *dohone(na)*) to be, to stay.
idan vi. (Barker 47 *idān*) to be, to
 stay (subject marked by an object suf-
 fix, §35; suppletion with past *dohone(na)*)
idi vt. (Bahl *idī*) to take along, to bring,
 (Bahl) — *aʔu* to keep, *ayum* — to

listen without answering, *ayum* —
ṇavān habitually to listen without an-
 swering, *arpā* — to walk with head
 held high (ref. to animals), *koboʔ* —
 to go while peeping, *tū* — to float
 away, *dūpil* — to carry a load away,
baṭī — to move by rolling, *sepej* —
 to carry away on the palm of hand,
hebkāo — to drag someone along
 holding his neck. Mu. *idi*
idi-uʔ vi. (Bahl *idīūʔ*) to be taken
 away.
inām n. prize. H.
iniʔ n. (Barker 42 *inij*) theft, (Bahl) *in-
 iʔiʔ hoʔ*, *inijī hoʔ* thief.
iniʔ vt. (Bahl) to steal, *īr* — to reap in
 the dark and steal.
inūʔ vi. (Bahl) to be threshed. Mu. *en*
 'to husk grains by treading'
iya vi. to do like this, to do as follows
 (*Wolf*, *Bamboo Shoots*). Mu. *ia* a
 filler
īyer n. (Bahl) a wild animal.
iyehama pron. someone
ir vt. (Bahl *īr*) to reap paddy, — *āder*
 to reap, to thrash and store the crop, —
āmiij to clean a spot of trees by cutting
 them, — *iniʔ* to reap in the dark and
 steal, — *goḍ* to reap paddy for some-
 one, — *buhunī* to begin to reap paddy,
 — *rakab* to reap and bring paddy to
 the threshing floor. Mu. *ir*
irāḍī n. (Bahl) castor bean. Mu. *er-
 aṇḍi*
īrūʔ vi. (Bahl) to be reaped.
īrūʔ dīn n. (Bahl) day of reaping.
iled vt. (Bahl) to smear. Mu. *īlad* 'to
 stick cowdung on a wall or dough on
 a pan'
isiij vi. (Bahl) see *isin*.
isiṭ vt. (Bahl) to show teeth. Mu. *isiṭi*
isiṭrūʔ vi. (Bahl) to be shown teeth.
iskul, *iskule* n. school. E.
iskolasip n. scholarship. E.
isgā vt. (Bahl) to be jealous. Mu.
hisinga
istʰiti n. state. H.
īʔ n. see *ikʻ*
īʔ v. see *serej-īʔ hoʔ* musician.

iʔij n. (Bahl) liver. Mu. *iim*, Sa. *ihim*
ūbul n. (Bahl) shadow, shade. Mu.
umbul
ūs a. high. H. *ūchā*, cf. As. *usul*, Bi.
usul
ūij vt. (Bahl, Barker 51) to twist, to
 twine. Mu. *uī*
uka vt. (Bahl) to hit with the elbow.
 Mu. *uka* 'to hit with an arm'
ukar bād-re adv. after that. S.
ugar n. sweat. Bi. *udgar*, Sa. *udgar*
da k', cf. Mu., As., Ho *balbal*
ugar vt. to sweat.
ug^hāo vt. (Bahl) to collect, — *āpri?*
laṇī? a term of abuse.
ug^hāo āpri? *laṇī?* n. (Bahl) a term of
 abuse.
ug^hāṛ vt. (Bahl) to open. H.
ucud^q acad n. (Bahl) heap, mound.
 Mu. *acad ucud*
ūjar a. (Bahl) white.
ujū vt. (Bahl) *dāb* — to arrange tiles on
 the roof of the house again. cf. Mu.
uju 'to develop a lump'
ujun vt. (Bahl) *sohē* — to tighten one's
 dhoti.
uṭamā n. (Bahl) an insect which infests
 rice.
ūtū a. (Bahl) *āṭā* — uneven land. Mu.
aṭa uṭu
uṭ^hao vt. to take up. Sadri *uṭhāek*.
uḍ^q n. (Bahl *ūḍ*) mushroom, *bunum* —
 a white edible mushroom. Mu. *ūd*
uḍ^q vt. (Bahl *ūḍ*) to swallow, (Bahl) —
goḍ to swallow at once, — *de?* to stick
 in the throat (while eating), — *bolo* to
 swallow the spittle, — *haṭkāo* to stick
 in the throat (while eating). Mu. *ud*
uḍuṇ vi. to come out. Mu. *uṛuṇ*
uḍuṇ vt. (Bahl) to make someone come
 or go out. (Bahl) — *goḍ* to pull out,
ūlī — to take some thing out of one's
 apron, *or* — to pull out, *katā* — to
 speak out, *gūm* — to separate by win-
 nowing, *caṭā?* — to rend, *jūl* — to
 emit flames, *nām* — to find out, *dūl*
 — to pour water out, *nīdā* — to pull
 the weeds out, *paurā* — to swim and
 bring something out of water, *bā?* —

to pull out with the fishing hook, *baḥi*
 — to roll something or oneself out,
burā? — to take water out by dip-
 ping a vessel into it, *sepeṇ* — to carry
 on the palm of hand and carry out,
soboḥ — to wash (color or dirt etc.)
 out, *ṭamḍao* — to find something out
 in the water, *halkāo* — to overflow,
hawir — to take out with the hollow
 of hands, [to scoop], *hebkāo* — to
 push someone out by the neck. Mu.
uṛuṇ
uṛīṭāō vt. (Bahl) to coil around.
uṛi n. way
ūt n. (Bahl) curry, *jaū?* — rice and
 curry. Mu. *utu*
utarāo vt. (Bahl) to put something
 down, *or* — to pull down, — *bā?* to
 put something down quickly. H.
utuṇ vt. (Bahl) to mimic.
utūḍ vt. (Bahl) to push the wood into
 the fire. Mu. *uṭub*
ūd n. (Bahl) a fish.
udum vi. (Bahl) to be warm by wearing
 clothes. Mu. *urgum*
udur vi. (Bahl) to snore. cf. Mu. *udur*
 to push someone's back
udu? vt. (Bahl *udū?*) to talk, to tell,
 (Barker 50) to show, (Bahl) to back-
 bite, *kahaṇī* — to explain, *katā* — to
 explain, *sereṇ* — to sing. Mu. *udub*
 'to explain'
ud^hrā eme vt. to lend. Mu. *udura om*,
 As. *ud^hara em*
unuḍ n. (Bahl) uvula. Mu. *ṭoṭoṇa*
upāy n. measure, device, means. H.
upās n. fast. H.
ūpī n. (Bahl) an insect. Mu. *upi* 'moth'
up^halāo vt. (Bahl) to remain above the
 level of the water (ref. to the lotus
 flower). Mu. *uplao*, *upal baa* 'lotus'
ub^h n. (Bahl *ūb*) hair (of the head), *meḍ*
 — eyelashes. Mu., Bi. *ub*
ub^h vi. (Bahl *ūb*) to entangle, to fall
 down; (Barker 10) to empty. Mu. *ub*
ūbkā ārū n. (Bahl) a tuber.
ubkā? vi. (Bahl) to ooze out.
um vt. (Bahl *ūm*) to give a bath, to
 make someone bathe. Mu. *umun*

umun vt. (Bahl) to sprout. Mu. *omon*
umer n. age. H.
um-oʔ, um-uʔ vi. to take a bath
umʔhāo vt. (Bahl) to lose zest for eating
 something again and again.
ūmtām vi. (Bahl) to attain puberty. cf.
 Mu. *mata*
umbul n. shadow (Bahl *ūbul*). Mu.,
 As., Bi., Ho *umbul*
uyuʔ vi. (Bahl *uyūʔ*) to rain. cf. Mu.
gama
ur (1) vt. (Bahl *ūr*) to peel off skin, dig.
 Mu. *uri* to peel off, *ur* 'to dig'
ur (2) vt. (Bahl *ūr*) *caba* — to finish.
urik n. (Bahl *ūrīʔ*) cattle, cow, ox,
 bull. As. *uriʔ*, Bi. *uri*, Mu. *uriʔ*
urik hon n. (Bahl *ūrīʔ hon*) calf. Mu.
uriʔ hon
ūrīʔyak a. (Bahl) impotent (lit. like a
 cow or a bull).
uru n. (Bahl *ūrū*) an insect, black bee-
 tle. Mu. *uru*
ūl n. (Bahl) mango, — *sīŋ* mango tree.
 Mu. *uli*
ulā vi., vt. (Bahl *ulā*) to vomit. Mu., Bi.
ula
ūlī n. (Bahl) apron, — *cabā* to put
 something whole into one's apron, —
uḏuŋ to take some thing out of one's
 apron.
ulcā vt. (Bahl) to take out partially
 cooked rice.
usā vt. (Bahl) *būʔ* — to bark like a dog,
 talk nonsense.
usāqā vt. (Bahl) to boast.
usarāo vt. (Bahl) to cause someone to
 make haste.
usul a. (Bahl) high, tall, long.
usnā vt. (Bahl) to boil paddy for husk-
 ing. H.
uzu-e vt. (Barker 25) to bend some-
 thing straight
 =e encl. he, she, it (third person singu-
 lar subject)
ek num. one, — *din* one day. H.
ekalāo vt. (Bahl) to make someone
 tremble. Mu. *ekela*
ekdam adv. at all, very much. S.
ekla, ekle a. (Bahl *ekalā*) alone. S. *ekel*

ek^hāqā n. (Bahl) wild boar.
ēgā kin (Bahl) mother; wife. Mu. *enḡa*
ēg āp n. (Bahl) mother and father, par-
 ents. Mu. *enḡa-apu*
eger vt. (Bahl) to rebuke. Mu.
 (Naguri) *eger*
ēg hanhār n. (Bahl) mother-in-law.
 Mu. *enḡa hanar*
enḡa n. mother; *enḡa-apa* parents.
 Mu. *enḡa*
enḡ-ap n. (Bahl *ēg-āp*) mother and fa-
 ther, parents. Mu. *enḡa-apu*
ece vt. to make, do; prefix of the
 causative, — *nel* to show, — *tula*
 to repair, to mend, (Bahl) — *eten* to
 do something for him/her, — *ginī* to
 cause to be habituated, — *cepeḡ* to put
 the nipple into the child's mouth, —
dūdū to feed mild to a baby, — *bī* to
 give someone a full meal. Sa. -*oco*,
 cf. Mu. -*rika*, -*iri*
ece dudu vt. (Bahl *dūdū*) to feed milk
 to a baby.
eṭaʔ a, pron. (Bahl *eṭāʔ*) other, another.
 Mu. *eṭaʔ*
ēqā vt. (Bahl) to perform the first hair-
 cutting ceremony of a child.
ēqāʔ vi. (Bahl) of something (grains
 etc.) to leak out of a hole, to let drop.
 Mu. *enḡaʔ*
eṭā n. (Bahl) sole of the shoe.
eten pron. (Bahl) his, her.
eten vt. (Bahl) *ece* — sto do something
 for him/her.
edel n. (Bahl) the silk cotton tree, —
rūā silk cotton. Mu. *edel*
en vt. (Bahl) to husk paddy, — *parom*
āgū to bring the husked rice from
 across (a river). Mu. *en*
enekle adv. (from *ekle* 'alone') all by
 oneself.
eneʔ vt. see *enek*.
epeŋ n. (Bahl) lac worm. cf. Mu. *ēŋe*
er part. not, see *ero*
erāḡahā a. (Bahl) fool.
era n. (Bahl *erā*) wife; (Bahl) another
 person's wife (always with -*t*). Bi. *era*
heṭel, Ho *erā*, Mu. *era* (in ritual)
eraŋ vt. (Bahl *erāŋ*) to hate. Mu. *eraŋ*

- to rebuke, cf. Mu. *hilaŋ*
ere n. (Bahl) a bird. cf. Mu. *ceŋe*
ere part. (Bahl) a negative particle. cf. Mu. *ere* 'bad omen'
ero part. (Bahl *ere*) not, cf. *mer*
erwel kin (Bahl) younger brother-in-law, husband's younger brother. Mu. *iril*
elāŋ n. (Bahl) radiation emanating from fire.
elāŋ vt. (Bahl) to radiate heat (of a fire). Mu. *elaŋ*
elāŋ-ū? vi. (Bahl) to be exposed to the heat of fire.
ewa vt. (Bahl *ewā*) to give (recipient marked with an object suffix). Mu. *om, em*
ewer n. (Bahl) slope.
eseq a. (Bahl) narrow. Mu. *esed* 'narrow mind'
eseq vt. (Bahl) to make something narrow.
esel a. (Barker, Bahl *hesel*) fair-complexioned. Mu. *esel*
e?en dīn n. (Bahl) the day of husking paddy.
ōl^h n. (Bahl) lip. H.
okar bād-re adv. after that. S.
oko vt. to hide, to conceal, (Bahl) *tīl* — to hide something by burying it, *dāŋ* — to hide under a veil. Mu., As., Bi. *uku*
oko-n vi. to hide oneself. Mu. *ukun*
ogor comp.v. (Bahl) *āgū* — to bring something quickly, *kahanī* — to explain well, *jau?* — to cook rice.
ogor vt. (Bahl) *jom* — to eat quickly.
oŋ vt. (Bahl) to blow (a flute), to whistle. Mu. *oŋ, oroŋ* 'to play a flute'
oŋgle vt. see *oŋgol*
oŋe? vt. (Bahl) to crackle. Mu. *oŋe?*
oq vt. (Barker 20) to whittle
ot n. earth; (Bahl *ot*) floor; (Bahl) *boroŋtā* — slippery soil. As. *ōt*, Bi. *ote*, Mu. *ot*
otā vt. (Bahl) to press with fingers, — so to feel, to touch. Mu. *ota*
oteŋ vi. (Bahl *otoŋ*) to be ready to go, to get going, *oteŋ-iŋ* I am going (Twin); (Bahl) to follow. Mu. *otoŋ* 'to follow'
otoŋ vt. see *oteŋ*
otoq n. (Bahl) back side of a house, cf. *olchā*
otoŋ vt. (Bahl) to bruise.
oyo red vt. (Bahl) to cover oneself with a sheet of cloth before going to sleep. Mu. *uyu*
orā vi. (Bahl) to be scarred.
orāq vt. (Bahl) to scarify.
ōr-e vt. see *or*
oro part. (also *ero*) negative particle, cf. *mer*.
orked n. (Bahl) wattle (of a bird).
or tanāo vt. (Bahl) to stretch by pulling. Mu. *or tanao*
ol vt. (Bahl) to write, to draw. Mu. *ol*
ola n. (Bahl) rabbit hole.
olaŋ vi. (Barker 49) to sleep
olo? n. (Bahl) a basket.
olc^hā, olsā n. (Bahl) back part of a house, cf. *otoq*. cf. Mu. *kunqam*
ol dā? n. (Bahl) saliva. Mu. *uli dā?*
owā vt. (Bahl) *tū* — to let something be washed away.
ohāŋ vt. (Bahl) to unveil. Mu. *oar* 'to scoop up'
ohor n. (Bahl) a tuber. Mu. *oor* 'Amorphophallus konjac'
ohrāo vt. (Bahl) to decrease (ref. to water in a stream). Mu. *oorao*
oh re itj. oh my! Mu. *oretaj*
āi^lāo vt. (Bahl) to twist. Mu. *āi^lao* 'to wring out'
aek pron. oneself (Bahl 'third singular reflexive'). Mu. *ae?* 'he, she'
aij adv. today. S.
aur conj.,adv. and; again; more, further. H.
auri adv. again. cf. Mu. *auri* 'not yet'
kāūr n. (Bahl) moss.
kābiā n. (Bahl) a flower.
ka conj. that (complementizer); then
ka pron. what, which. S.
kāi n. (Bahl) thick bamboo stick.
kākā kin (Bahl) uncle: mother's younger sister's husband, father's younger brother, stepfather. Mu.

- kaka*
kakaŋū n. (Bahl) lizard. cf. Mu. *kakaru* ‘pumpkin’
kākī kin (Bahl) aunt: father’s younger brother’s wife, mother’s younger sister, step-mother. Mu. *kaki*
kagarāo vt. (Bahl) to remove. cf. Mu. *kanġarao* ‘to rinse the dishes’
kacā? n. (Bahl) crescent moon. Mu. *keca?* ‘to wane’
kacoāhī vi. (Bahl) to be infirm after child birth.
kackic onom. snip!
-kaŋā echo see *haŋā kaŋā*.
kaŋa n. (Bahl *kaŋā*) foot, *kaŋat* his/her foot. Mu. *kaŋa*
kaŋar n. (Bahl) a big knife for cutting meat. Mu. *kaŋar*
kaŋī? *hon* a. (Bahl) a little bit. Mu. *kaŋī?*
kāŋ koŋaŋ n. (Bahl) leg. Mu. *kaŋa*
kāŋ k^hoŋī n. (Bahl) — *pahār* a very rough hill.
kāŋ k^hoŋī pahār n. (Bahl) a very rough hill.
kaŋnai n. (Bahl) wooden sandals. Mu. *kaŋu?*
kāŋ biŋī kin (Bahl) step-daughter.
kāŋ beŋā kin (Bahl) step-son.
kaŋsi-saksa a. hard to swallow (*Wolf*)
kaŋ^har sīŋ n. (Bahl) jackfruit tree. Mu. *kaŋtaŋa*
kaŋ^hi n. firewood. cf. Mu. *saan*
kaŋ^huāo vt. (Bahl) to freeze. Mu. *kaŋuao*
kaŋ^huāneŋ vt. (Bahl) to freeze to death.
kāŋ n. (Bahl) rafter of the roof.
kāŋāo vt. (Bahl) to gnash.
kaŋiā a. (Bahl) blue, black. S. *kariyā*
kaŋaet biŋ n. (Bahl) a snake.
katārī n. (Bahl) sugarcane.
kātū n. (Bahl) knife. Mu. *katu*
katae vt. (Barker 52 *kətae*) to say (something)
katao vi. to speak
katao vt. to speak to, to talk to
kat^ha n. story
kāt^hā a. (Bahl) dark pink color.
kadarāo vt. (Bahl) to make someone angry. Mu. *kadarao*
kadarā? vi. (Bahl) to be angry. Mu. *kadarao*
kadom sīŋ n. (Bahl) a tree. Mu. *kodom*
kanihār n. (Bahl) place where grain is threshed. cf. Mu. *kolom*
kaneā n. (Bahl) bride. H. *kanyā*
kantāo vt. (Bahl) to spin.
kantāoto sītom n. (Bahl) home-spun yarn.
kanda n. bulbous root, — *kuila* roots and tubers. S.
kanpaŋī n. (Bahl) temple.
kanhā vt. (Bahl) to rot.
kan?a pron. which, — *dur* which road (*Wolf*)
kapās n. (Bahl) cotton. H., Mu. *kad-som*
kāpi n. notebook. E.
kapū vt. (Bahl) to cower, to put the tail between two legs out of fear (of a dog). Mu. *kapu* (of maize) to get ripe
kabā vt. (Bahl) to gnaw, to bite.
kabarā a. (Bahl) spotted. Mu. *kabra*
kābā? *kūbū?* a. (Bahl) full-breasted, buxom.
kabā? *de?* vt. (Bahl) to climb a tree embracing the trunk.
kām n. work. H.
kamaŋā n. (Bahl) blanket. Mu. *ka-maŋa*
kami n. shortage. H.
-kar suffix genitive marker, — *bad-re* after
kara pron. which, which one, — *uŋi* how, — *dur* which way; (Bahl *karā*) where (*Tiger*; see *kare*). Bi. *kara-ta*
kara aŋgi adv. whither, which way, where. Bi. *kare*, Mu. *kore*, *okore*
kara gatar adv. whither, which way
karat pron. — *hor* which side, — *jua-re* at some time
karāyak adv. (Bahl) how?
karār n. (Bahl) slanting roof.
karāhī n. (Bahl) griddle.
karī sīŋ n. (Bahl) a tree.
kare adv. where; anywhere. As. *oka?* re, Bi. *kare*, Mu. *kota?*, *kore*, Ho

- okonta?*, Sa. *okare*
kareā n. loincloth, (Bahl) dhoti. S.
kare-aek˘ pron. of where?
kare-hen vi. where is ...? (with
 pronominal suffixes before *hen*, §35)
karōj sīṅ n. (Bahl) a tree. Mu. *koronjo*
karkaṭ n. name of a plant. Mu. *karkaṭa*
daru
karkara-aṅgi(t) adv. this way and that
 way
karca n. (*k^harca*) expense; (Bahl
karcā) a patch of land surrounded by
 forests, a valley.
karj-e vt. to do what, see *karek*˘
kard^han n. (Bahl) strings of thread tied
 around the waist. Mu. *kardani*
karmā n. (Bahl) a festival celebrated in
 the month of September, a dance per-
 formed in this festival.
karmī sīṅ, karī sīṅ n. (Bahl) a tree.
karwek˘, *karwej-e* vt. to do
karsolī, karc^holī n. (Bahl) a long-
 handled ladle. Mu. *karcul*
karhānī a. (Bahl) a late variety of
 paddy. Mu. *karaṇi baba*
kalekal a, adv. quiet, quietly
kalom adv. (Bahl *niskālom*) next year.
 Mu. *kalom*
kalkain a. (Bahl) bothersome, cross
 (person).
kalkain vt. (Bahl) to bother someone.
kalt^hao vt. (Bahl *kalthāo*) to turn
 upside-down, *baṭī* — to turn upside
 down by rolling. cf. Mu. *pal^hao, palṭi*
 ‘to turn over in bed’
kawaṛ n. Kawar (name of a caste)
kāwā? n. (Bahl) crow. Mu. *kau?*
kasarā n. (Bahl) a big pitcher. Mu.
kaṇasa caṭu
kasaelī n. (Bahl) betel nut; (Bahl, al-
 ways with possessive suffix) glans of
 the penis. Mu. *kasaili*
kasnā n. (Bahl) strap, leather belt. Mu.
kasana
kahani, kahāni n. story. Mu. *kaani*
kahani, kahāni vt. (Bahl *kahanī*) to tell
 a story; (Bahl) to answer. — *udū?* to
 explain, — *ogor* to explain well, —
bā? to answer quickly.
kahī adv. anywhere. S.
kahī pron. some, any, anything. S.
kahīṣā a. (Bahl) some, any.
kūṭṭī sīṅ n. (Bahl) a tree.
kīdarā n. (Bahl) a stringed musical in-
 strument. Mu. *kendera*
kīdarāo vt. (Bahl) to bend, to whirl
 around, (Bahl) *dūl* — to pour water
 in a circular way, *ṇel* — to see all
 around. Sadri *kīdrāek*
kīdarā? vi. (Bahl) to be bent, to be
 whirling around.
ki conj. complementizer, that
kīcī n. (Bahl) matter from the eye. S.
kic^huā n. (Bahl) tortoise. H., cf. Mu.
horo
kīṭ vt. (Bahl) to make effort to void ex-
 crement. Mu. *kid*
kīṛiḍ kīṛiḍ n. (Bahl) shooting pain.
 Mu. *kīṛiḍ kīṛiḍ*
kītā n. (Bahl) a herb. Mu. *kita* ‘palm’
kid^hol a. (Bahl) dirty, muddy.
 =*kin* encl. third dual animate
kimin kin (Bahl) daughter-in-law;
 son’s wife. Mu. *kimin*
kir vt. (Bahl) to make a noise.
kirānā a. (Bahl) of good quality.
kiriā n. (Bahl) oath. Mu. *kiriya*
kilkilā? vi. (Bahl) to run with a flutter-
 ing noise (of a cock).
kūḍā n. (Bahl) big pitcher. Mu. *kuṇḍa*
kūḍaṭī n. (Bahl) upper end of a basket.
kūḍī n. (Bahl) a dumb woman.
kūḍbā n. (Bahl) a shed, a hut. H.
kūḍb^hī sīṅ n. (Bahl) a tree.
kuārī masān n. (Bahl) ghost of a
 woman died in childbirth. Mu. *curin*
kuilī n. (Bahl) kernel of mango stone.
 Mu. *kuinḍi* ‘mahua seed’
kukuḍcū n. (Bahl) clucking of hen.
 Mu. *kokoreco*
kukuṭī? vi. (Bahl) to be bent, to be
 curled.
kukun vi. (Bahl) to swing on the
 mother’s back (of a child). Mu. *kukud*
 to curl up and sleep on the mother’s
 back
kucā vt. (Bahl) to bend. Mu. *kuca* ‘to
 coil up’

- kucarāo* vt. (Bahl) to hate, to feel enmity toward someone.
- kucarā?* vi. (Bahl) to hate. Mu. *kucara* 'to yell with anger'
- kucū* n. (Bahl) a basket for keeping fish.
- kucū* vt. (Bahl) to make someone retract his/her legs, *gete?* — to curl up while sleeping, *rebed?* — to tuck dhoti in the waist.
- kucun* vt. (Bahl) to retract one's legs. Mu. *kucun?*
- ku?* vt. (Bahl) to make or cut something into small pieces.
- kuṭanharī ṭpilkū* n. (Bahl) galaxy of stars.
- kūṭāsī* n. (Bahl) a small hammer. Mu. *koṭasi*
- kūṭī* n. (Bahl) bitch. Mu. *kuṭila*
- kūṭī kūṭī* n. (Bahl) small pieces.
- kuṭī?* vt. (Bahl) to have broad hips. cf. Mu. *kuṭid* 'to have a twisted back due to illness'
- kūṭom* vt. (Bahl) to pound. Mu. *kuṭusa, fukusa*
- kuḍari* n. (Barker 36) mattock
- kūṭī* n. (Bahl) a spade.
- kūṭid* n. (Bahl) a big kite. Mu. *kuṭid* 'kite, hawk'
- kuṭom* n. chest (Bahl *kūṭom*). Mu. *kuṭam*
- kutarī* n. (Bahl) a fish.
- kudā* vt. (Bahl) to return, to come back, (Bahl) — *go* to pay back, to return something, — *wek?* to come back, *cuḍī* — to walk backwards, *wār* — to drive back. Mu. *kudao* 'to drive off'
- kuda-n* vi. (Bahl *kudān*) to go back, see *kuda*
- kud^hā* n. (Bahl) heap.
- kun* suffix and so on
- kunda* n. dumb (Bahl *kūḍī* 'dumb woman'). As. *konda*
- kupaṭī* n. (Bahl) skin of a fish. cf. Mu. *cōḍya*
- kūbā, kūbū* n. (Bahl) hump. Mu. *kuba*
- kūbaṭā* vt. (Bahl) to become crook-backed.
- kurkucā?* vt. (Bahl) to gargle, to rinse one's mouth. cf. Mu. *gaṛa-gaṛa*
- kūl* n. tiger, (Bahl) lion. Mu. *kul*
- kulahi* n. (Bahl *kūlāhī*) a hare, a rabbit. Mu. *kulae*
- kūṣī* n. (Bahl) buttock.
- kuha* n. (Bahl *kūhā*) fog, mist. Mu. *kōāsi*
- kuhunī* n. (Bahl) elbow. H.
- kuhlāo* vt. (Bahl) to beat violently. cf. Mu. *kuṭukao*
- kēō, keo* n. (Bahl) lip, chin. Mu. *kiuwa*
- kēōṭā* n. (Bahl) a grain parcher, a person belonging to this caste.
- kēōṭī sīṭ* n. (Bahl) a tree.
- kēkaṭ sīṭ* n. (Bahl) a tree.
- kephar* n. threshing floor. cf. Mu. *kolom*
- keṭe?* a. (Bahl) hard. Mu. *keṭe?*
- keṭe?* vi. (Bahl) to be hard. Mu. *keṭe?*
- keṭ^hā* a. (Bahl) niggardly.
- keḍ* vt. (Bahl) *burum* — to hide under wings.
- keṛā* n. (Bahl) small grains of rice. cf. Mu. *kudi*
- keṛe* vt. (Bahl) to loosen something; to pacify a quarrel, — *go* to pacify a quarrel completely
- keṛeḍ* vt. (Bahl) to tuck one's dhoti on one's waist. Mu. *keṛeḍ* 'to touch (an insect, etc.)'
- kētā* n. (Bahl) fin of a fish.
- kenā āṭā?* n. (Bahl) a green leafy plant eaten as a vegetable.
- kerā, keṛā* n. (Bahl) banana. cf. Krx. *keṛā*, H. *kelā*
- kerkeṭā* n. (Bahl) a bird. Mu. *kerkeṭa*
- kelolin* vt. (Bahl) to pray.
- kelwa* n. lunch, — *biyari* lunch and supper (*Tiger*). S. *kalvā*
- kēhā* n. (Bahl) a bird. Mu. *kēyā* 'to fly down'
- kōdā* n. (Bahl) dumb.
- kōbe* n. (Bahl) an insect which infests bamboos.
- koā* n. (Bahl) pulp of jackfruit; cocoon, cf. *tasar*. Mu. *kosa*
- koāneā* adj. (Bahl) nothing, none, see *kowa*
- koenār* n. (Bahl) a wild plant.

- kokor* n. (Bahl) owl. Mu. *kokor*
kokorā n. (Bahl) a winged insect.
koko? n. (Bahl) game (children's word). Mu. *koko?* 'a game like hockey'
koñtāo vt. (Bahl) to curl while sleeping.
koce vt. (Bahl) to walk with the neck drawn forward (ref. to animals). Mu. *koce*
koṭā n. (Bahl) dog.
koṭā vt. (Bahl) to shake off. Mu. *koṭa*
koṭe? vt. (Bahl; Barker 30, 42 *kwoṭeḍ*) to hammer. Mu. *koṭe?*
koṭoār n. (Bahl) a go-between in marriage negotiations. cf. Mu. *dutam*, S. *aguā*
koṭob vt. (Bahl) to collect wood in a place and set it on fire. Mu. *kuṭub*
koṭka n. (Bahl) squirrel. cf. Mu. *tuṛu*
koḍ n. (Bahl) penis.
koḍa vt. (Bahl) to loosen the earth around a plant. Mu. *koṛao*
koṛā vt. (Bahl) to hold a child in one's lap. S. *korā*
koṛaṇ n. (Bahl) see *kāt koṛaṇ*
koṛar kin (Bahl *korār*) grandchild, grandson, granddaughter. Sa. *gəṛəm koṛa*
koṛeān āmiṇ vt. (Bahl) to make clean and level.
koṛoī n. (Bahl) horizontal rafters of the roof.
kono pron. someone, something. S.
konoṇ vt. (Bahl) to knock someone down, *hebkāo* — to grab someone by the neck and throw him down.
kope vt. (Bahl) to stuff food into the mouth. Mu. *kope*
kopol bīṇ n. (Bahl) a snake.
kobo? vt. (Bahl) to look through a hole with head erect, to peep, (Bahl) — *āgū* to peep and come back, — *idī* to go while peeping, — *javān* to keep peeping. Mu. *kobo?* to droop the head, cf. Mu. *koyo?* 'to peep'
koyo? vt. (Bahl) to peep through a hole. Mu. *koyo?*
korkoṭ sīṇ n. (Bahl) a tree.
kolo dā?āt n. (Bahl) a tuber.
kolgeā-kin n. (Bahl) couple, parents. Mu. *kulgiya*
kolso vt. (Bahl) to kick. Mu. *kuṇusu*
kowa vi. not to be, not to exist. cf. Mu. *bano?*
kowan vi. (in *kowan-e-a*) see *kowa*
kose vt. (Bahl) to chew tobacco.
kosom g^hūl n. (Bahl) a variety of rice.
kosom g^hūl n. (Bahl) a variety of rice.
kosom sīṇ n. (Bahl) a tree.
kohoṇḍa n. (Bahl *kohōḍā*) pumpkin, (Bahl) *patāl* — a plant. S.
kohrā n. (Bahl) fried meat eaten with rice beer. Mu. *koora*
kāicī n. (Bahl) scissors. H.
kaedā vt. (Bahl) to punish.
kaer a. (Bahl) angry. Mu. *kaerao*
kaerahā a. (Bahl) angry. Mu. *kaerao*
kauā c^halā n. (Bahl) skin.
kəpkao vi. (Barker 43) to close
k^hāē k^hūūā? vt. (Bahl) to speak through the nose.
k^hāē k^hūūā? vt. (Bahl) to speak through the nose. Mu. *kāe kūi* 'to mumble'
k^hāgarāo vt. (Bahl) to rinse pots and pans.
k^hācā n. (Bahl) a big bamboo basket. Mu. *kāci*
k^hāḍ n. (Bahl) shoulder. cf. H. *kaṃdhā*
k^hāṣā n. (Bahl) a kind of long grass.
k^hak^hanā n. (Bahl) a big bangle worn by women.
k^hajarī n. (Bahl) itch.
k^hāḍū āmin vt. (Bahl) to wipe something clean.
k^hatam n. end. H.
k^hatam vi., vt. to end; to finish
k^hatkā? vt.? (Bahl) to sizzle (of water while boiling).
k^hādā n. (Bahl) refuse.
k^hadaṛā n. (Bahl) a gluttonous man.
k^hadaṛī n. (Bahl) a gluttonous woman.
k^hadar k^hoyā a. (Bahl) rough (ref. to wood).
k^hānē n. time. S.
k^hane adv. then. S.
k^hapāo vt. (Bahl) to shut tight. Mu. *k^hapao*

- k^habar* n. news. H.
k^hār n. (Bahl) salinity.
k^harāo vt.? (Bahl) to become scorching hot (ref. to the weather). Mu. *karao* ‘to overcook’
k^harā? vi. (Bahl) to be scorching hot.
k^hark^harā? vi. (Bahl) to have the eyes and throat irritated by smoke.
k^harca vt. to spend (money) (*My Life*). H.
k^harcī n. (Bahl) refuse in an animal’s stomach.
k^harboj, k^harbojā n. (Bahl) a melon-like fruit. H.
k^harrā n. (Bahl) fishing stream.
k^harhaqī n. (Bahl) a fish.
k^hālā n. (Bahl) leaf plate for eating rice. Mu. *kalu?*
k^hasalāo vt. (Bahl) to abort.
k^hasī n. castrated goat, wether. H., Mu. *kasi*
k^hasū n. (Bahl) itch. Mu. *kasua*
k^hiao vt. to feed. S. *k^hiyāek*, Mu. *kiyao*
k^hik^hir būā? n. (Bahl) fox. cf. Mu. *tuyu*
k^hijur n. (Bahl) date fruit.
k^hitī-barī n. cultivation. H.
k^hīlā n. (Bahl) nail, peg.
k^hīs n. (Bahl) anger. Mu. *kī:s*
k^hunṭa n. pole, bar, stick, (Bahl) wooden pillar. As. *khumṭa*, Mu. *kunṭə*, Ho *kunṭu*, Sa. *k^honṭi*
k^hunṭī n. (Bahl) iron peg, hook. Mu. *kanṭi*
k^hudī n. (Bahl) rice broken into small pieces. Mu. *kudi*
k^hudiā vt. (Bahl) to break something into small pieces.
k^hūr n. (Bahl) hoof. Mu. *k^hur*
k^hursī n. (Bahl) see *kursī*
k^hurhā n. (Bahl) a cattle disease. Mu. *k^hura*
k^hurhā vt. (Bahl) to have this cattle disease.
k^hulnī n. (Bahl) key.
k^hus a. happy. H.
k^hejā n. (Bahl) a small pile of vegetables etc. Mu. *keja*
k^hetī n. cultivation. H.
k^hersārī sīṇ n. (Bahl) a tree.
- k^heldīn* n. (Bahl) a dancing girl. S.
k^hoksā vi. (Bahl) to rot (of wood).
k^hoṇso n. (Bahl) hair pin. Mu. *koṇgoso*
k^hodros vt. (Bahl) to clear throat.
k^hompā, k^hōpā n. (Bahl) tress.
k^hoyā a. (Bahl) *k^hadar* — rough (ref. to wood).
k^hordāo vt. (Bahl) to scrape food with fingers, — *āmij* to scrape food with fingers and clean.
k^ho? n. cough, (Bahl) — *asid juā?* to have very strong cough, — *mathrom* cough and cold, to catch cough and cold. Mu. *ku?*
k^hae-k-piek n. eating and drinking, board. Sadri
k^hairī sīṇ n. (Bahl) a tree.
gāgaī n. (Bahl) millet. Mu. *gangae*
gāḍā n. (Bahl) a weaver caste.
gāḍā kohārī n. (Bahl) centipede.
gāḍā kohārī n. (Bahl) centipede.
gāḍū tirij n. (Bahl) gum, any back tooth. Mu. *tirij*
gā part. (Bahl) an expression used in addressing a man to denote “my dear”. Mu. *ga*
gāo n. (Bahl *gāo*) village, cf. Grierson *watu*. Mu. *hatu*, Sa. *ato*
gagarā n. (Bahl) brass vessel for water. S. *gagrī*
gagāl vt. (Bahl) to scratch in search of food (ref. to birds).
gagēam vt. (Bahl) to tickle the sole of foot.
gagmāṇ vt. (Bahl) to tickle.
gagri n. pot
gac^haī n. (Bahl) a lizard. Mu. *gacanī*
gāj vt. (Bahl) to collect the reaped paddy. S. *gaj*
gānj n. pile, heap, stack. Mu. *ganjao*
gaṭī n. (Bahl *gaṭī*) lime stone. Mu. *gaṭi*
gaḍi n. tub (?) (*Twin*)
gaṭaī n. (Bahl) a fish (Osada ‘from /gaṭa-hai/ river-fish’).
gaṭī n. (Bahl) monkey. Mu. *gaṭi*
gaṭgaṭhā a. (Bahl) deep (color).
gatar n. body. S.
gatob vt. (Bahl) to count.
gad n. sap

gadī n. (Bahl) wooden toy.
gad-gad a. sticky. Mu. *gada-gada* (of soup) too thick
gad^{hā} n. (Bahl) donkey. H.
gapā adv. (Bahl *gapā*) tomorrow. Mu. *gapā*
gapā?ā dīn adv. (Bahl) tomorrow.
gamela n. jar, pot. Mu. *gamla*, Ho *gamala*, Sa. *gamla*
gayār n. (Bahl) cowherd.
gayā sīm n. (Bahl) castrated cock.
gayom vt. (Bahl) to wipe out something with hands. Mu. *gayob*
gayom āmīṇ vt. (Bahl) to wipe something clean with hands.
gayom sakuṛāo vt. (Bahl) to arrange hair with hands.
garāo vt. (Bahl) to filter.
garāh n. (Bahl) bad omen. Mu. *gara*
garnā n. (Bahl) an enclosure for protection of chickens.
garhan n. (Bahl) eclipse. H. *grahan*
galaṇ vt. (Bahl) to intertwine. Mu. *galaṇ*
galiāo vt. (Bahl) to stuff tobacco in the mouth.
galp^{hū} n. (Bahl) cheeks.
gasāo vt. (Bahl) to (of dirt etc.) stick under one's nails. cf. Mu. *gasao* 'to show due respect'
gasik^ʿ vt. (Bahl *gasī?*) to break wind, to fart. Mu. *gasi?*
gahir a. deep, thick. S. *gahrā*
gī vt. (Bahl) to smell. Mu. *jī*
gik^ʿ vi.,vt. (Bahl *gī?*; Barker 22, 45 *gij*) to open. Mu. *ge?* 'to scrape off'
gijaṛ gijaṛ vi. (Bahl) to trifle. Mu. *gejer gejer*
gīṛū kin (Bahl) nephew, male ego's sister's son, female ego's brother's son. Mu. *geṛe*
gīṛtiṛ n. (Bahl) earwax. cf. Mu. *iṛuad*
gīṛtiyū? vi. (Bahl) to feel embarrassed in going.
gidaṇī n. (Bahl) a bat.
gīdūr n. (Bahl) a big bat.
-ginī vi. (Bahl) to be habituated (always used as a second member in compound verbs), (Bahl) *uḍuṇ* — to

be habituated to come out quickly, *katā* — to be in the habit of speaking very fast, *jom* — to be in the habit of eating quickly, *nīr* — to have the habit of running fast, *racā?* — to rebuke in quick succession, *sene* — to go quickly. Naguri Mu. *gini*
gīnti n. calculation. H.
gīyu? vi. (Bahl *gīyū?*) to [be] embarrassed[ed], (Barker 51) to be ashamed. Mu. *gīyu?*
gīrā n. (Bahl) a net for catching fish. Mu. *gira*
gīrāo vt. (Bahl) to gnaw.
gīrhat n. (Bahl) farmer, a rich man.
gīl vt. (Bahl *gīl*) to beat with the clenched hand or fist, (Barker 19) to pound, (Bahl) — *o* to beat someone so as to cause a swelling, — *goe?* to beat someone to death.
gīl n. (Bahl) fist. Mu. *gil*
gūgiā(-kin) kin (Bahl) female ego and father's elder brother's wife. Mu. *guṇgu*
guāṇī vt. (Bahl) to dazzle.
guṇī hon a. (Bahl) a little bit. Mu. *guṇī* 'gravel'
guṭuṛguyud^ʿ a. (Bahl) round.
guṭya n. a guest. S. *gutiya*
-guṭ^{hī} suffix and so on
guḍa n. see *gudri*
gūḍū cūṭū n. (Bahl) a big field rat. Mu. *guṛu*
guḍulū n. (Bahl) a food grain. Mu. *guṛulu* 'Panicum miliare'
gūṛā n. (Bahl) dwelling place of pigs. Mu. *guṛa*
guṛuā a. (Bahl) sweet. cf. Mu. *guṛu* 'sugarcane'
guṛumā n. (Bahl) a ball (of thread etc.).
guṛmaonā sīṇ n. (Bahl) a tree.
guṛle-gaṛ n. term of abuse (*Tiger*)
gūṛho n. (Bahl) place where garbage is thrown.
guṇḍa n. powder. cf. Mu. *holoṇ*, *guṇḍa*
gutaḷī n. (Bahl) tickling sensation.
gutaḷī vt. (Bahl) to tickle.
gutī n. (Bahl) clan, person belonging

to one's own clan. Mu. *goṭi*
gutū vt. (Bahl) to thread. Mu. *gutū* 'to weave a garland'
gudarā vt. (Bahl) to finish work.
guddat n. (Barker 43) insides
gudri n. (Bahl *gudarī*; Barker 18 *gudri*) shed for goats, goat pen, cf. *guḍa*. Mu. *guduṛi*
gunainū? vt. (Bahl) to worry about.
gunhon a., adv. a little
gūm vt. (Bahl) to winnow, — *uḍuṇ* to separate by winnowing. Mu. *gum*
gumārom sīṇ n. (Bahl) a tree.
gūrī vt. (Bahl) to smear with mud. Mu. *guri?* 'to smear the floor with cowdung'
gulābī a. (Bahl) pink. Mu. *gulabi*
gulahī n. (Bahl) a variety of rice.
gulu vt. (Bahl *gulū*, Barker *gulu-e*) to toss.
guhī n. (Bahl) louse.
gēṭ^(h) n. (Bahl) wrist.
geḍ(e) vt. (Bahl *geḍ*) to cut, cf. *-goḍ*. Mu. *ged*, As. *goḍ*
geṛe n. (Bahl) duck. Mu. *geḍe*
geṇḍel n. (Bahl *gēḍel*) ant.
getek vi. (Barker 17 *geted*) to sleep, to lie down to sleep; to take rest, (Bahl) — *hopor* to sleep close to someone; — *kucu* to curl up while sleeping. Mu. *giti?*
gedā laṇī? n. (Bahl) a baby in arms.
gedna n. vulture
genda n. (Bahl *gēdā*) marigold flower. H.
gendra n. (Bahl *gēdarā*) rags.
ger vt. (Bahl) to gnaw. Mu. *ger*
gerā n. (Bahl) refuse of iron ore [slag]. Mu. *gera diri*
gerā vt. vt. (Bahl) *nel* — to see in all the four directions, *nel* — *ṇavān* to keep looking in all the four directions.
geraṇ vt. (Bahl *gerāṇ*) to articulate groans, cry in pain. Mu. *geraṇ*
gele? vt. (Bahl) to sprout. Mu. *gele?* 'to scoop out (threshed rice etc.)'
gōgāḍ n. (Bahl) a plant used in making rice beer. Mu. *koṇga*
-go vi. completive compound verb,

(Bahl) *katā* — to tell completely, *kudā* — to pay back, to return something, *keṛe* — to pacify a quarrel completely, *ṭ'oṇkāo* — to drive a nail into something completely, *nel* — to open the eyes.
goī kin (Bahl) a girl in wife's sister's category, a female friend. S.
goe itj. see *goy*
goek vi. (Bahl *goej~goe?*; Barker *gwad*) to die, (Bahl) *wakā* —, (Barker) — *jua?* to die; v.refl. to hang oneself. Mu. *gojo?*
goek vt. to kill (cf. *net*), (Bahl) *gīl* — vt. to beat someone to death. Mu. *goe?*
goeṭ^hā n. (Bahl) dry cowdung. Mu. *gōḍḍṭa*
goerla n. (Bahl) cattle shed.
gogo? vi. (Bahl) to be pregnant. Mu. *gogo* 'to copulate'
gogoṭī? n. (Bahl) a porter.
goṇ vt. (Bahl) to answer in affirmative.
goṭ adv. (Bahl) *mīḍ* — one each.
goṭa a. whole, all. Mu. *goṭa*
goṭā a. (Bahl) round. Mu. *goṭa*
-goṭuṇ suffix classifier, ... pieces
-goḍ comp.v. (Barker 30 *-gwoḍ*) completive or intensive marker, (Bahl) *ak^hariṇ* — to sell something completely, *ārā?* — to let someone go completely, *ayum* — to listen attentively, *īr* — to reap the paddy for some one, *īṛī?* — to put out a fire completely, *ūḍ* — to swallow at once, *uḍuṇ* — to pull out. Mu. *-god*
godā n. (Bahl) field, an open plain. Mu. *goṛa*
goṛāo (1) vt. (Bahl) to dissolve.
goṛāo (2) vt. (Bahl) to make noise.
goṛo vt. (Bahl) to accompany someone. Mu. *goṛom*
goṇe vt. (Bahl) to hold a child on one's back supported by a piece of cloth.
gotā? vt. (Bahl) to take a little quantity with a finger. Mu. *gota?* 'to scratch or tap with finger'
goted, *goter* comp.v. completive marker, *goter-ik*, *goted-a*, etc.

- godam* n. (Bahl) liquor.
gondro n. (Barker 19, 26) a species of ant
gobor n. (Bahl) cowdung. H.
gomke n. lord; sir. Mu. *gomke*
goy itj. (Barker 30 gwe) listen!, look!
gor n. (Bahl) unattractive person.
gorelā n. (Bahl) sparrow. H.
golāt n. (Bahl) exchange of girls in marriage.
goloā a. (Bahl) brown.
golonj vt. (Bahl) to call, to shout.
gose? vt. (Bahl) to part or lift a woman's waist cloth in order to expose what is covered. Mu. *gose*
goso vt. (Bahl) to wither (of flowers and plants etc.). Mu. *goso*
gohom n. (Bahl) wheat. Mu. *goom*
go?, *gog-e* vt. to take up, to adopt. Mu. *go?* 'to carry'
go? vt. (Barker gwog) to take, to carry; (Bahl) to borrow, to carry a load; (Bahl) — *artinj* to abduct, to kidnap. Mu. *go?*
gāet n. kind of tuber
gae n. cattle, cow. H.
gaer n. (Bahl) line.
gəŋti vt. (Barker 43) to knot
g^hāq a. (Bahl) dense (forest).
g^hāo n. (Bahl) wound. H.
g^hag^har n. (Bahl) a bird. cf. Mu. *per-owā*
g^hāg^hi n. (Bahl) waterfall. S. *g^hāg^h*
g^hatā d^hūd n. (Bahl) rain and storm.
g^hatā d^hūd n. (Bahl) rain and storm.
g^hatāo vi. to decrease, to be reduced. Mu. *ga^hao*
g^hatg^hit n. (Bahl) noise of treading with heavy steps. Mu. *gaqda-gidqi* (with fist), cf. *daŋ-duŋ* (trampling)
g^hatg^hit vt. (Bahl) to tread with heavy steps.
g^hatī n. (Bahl) watch. H.
g^hatī g^hatī adv. (Bahl) again and again. S.
-g^hañi, -g^hañia, -g^hañia encl. marks simultaneous action, while, ...ing
g^hañtī n. (Bahl) knot.
- g^hānā* n. (Bahl) sledge hammer. S.
g^hanā
g^harjayā n. (Bahl) man who lives with his wife's parents. Mu. *gorjonead*
g^hale part. (Bahl) emphatic particle. Mu. *am gale* 'hey, you!'
g^hiū n. (Bahl) ghee, heated and clarified butter-fat. Mu. *giyu-gotom*
g^hi^his g^hi^his vt. (Bahl) to dance heavily (of a fat woman). cf. Mu. *ligir ligir*
g^huŋg^hā n. chin (Bahl *g^hōg^hā* adam's apple). Mu. *guŋga*
g^hu^htī n. (Bahl) ankle.
g^hūn n. (Bahl) an insect which infests wood. S.
g^humao vi., vt. to go around; to turn. H.
g^hūl vt. (Bahl) to whistle. Mu. *gole*
g^herā? vi. (Bahl) to whirl around. Mu. *g^herao*
g^hōg^hā n. (Bahl) Adam's apple.
g^hōg^hi n. (Bahl) cockle, snail.
g^horonā n. (Bahl) fence.
cāūrī n. (Bahl) tail.
cāēṭ a. (Bahl) cunning, clever.
cāḍā n. (Bahl) wild sheep.
cakāt a. (Bahl) wide. Mu. *cakar*
cakalā n. (Bahl) small basket made by children.
cako vt. (Bahl) to suck. cf. Mu. *caka* 'to taste'
cakom cakom onom. of gobbling. Mu. *cakom cakom*
cakla n. a bale
cacalāoī? ho? n. (Bahl) driver. Mu. *calao ho?*
caṭā? vt. (Bahl) to slap, — *uḍuŋ* to rend, — *bā?* to slap in quick succession, — *wirī* the noise of slapping. Mu. *caṭṭa caṭṭa* onom. of slapping
caṭī n. (Bahl) halting place for officers in a village.
caṭu n. (Bahl *caṭū*) an earthen pot for cooking rice; jar, cf. *baha*. Mu. *caṭu*
caṭū bo? n. (Bahl) the big headed one (pot). Mu. *caṭu boo?*
caṭurā? dōge n. (Bahl) belly of the pitcher, the middle part of the pitcher.
caṭob vt. (Bahl) to click, — *caṭob* to click repeatedly. Mu. *caṭob, coṭab* 'to

lap up'
caṭlaṇ vi. (Bahl) to become bald, —
bo? bald head. cf. Mu. *caṛe* 'bald'
caṭ^har n. (Bahl) a tuber.
caṭlom n. tail. As. *calom*, Bi. *calom*,
 Mu. *cad^hlom*, Ho *caḍ^hlom*, Sa.
caḍboṇ
caṇa, cāṇa vt. (Bahl *caṇā*) to stand
 something up, to stop, — *aṭu* leave
 something standing
cādar n. (Bahl) sheet of cloth. H.
caba(e) vt. to crush, to shatter to pieces
 (Bahl *cabā* 'to be finished')
cabā vi. (Bahl) to be finished, — *ūr*
 vt. to finish, *ūlī* — to put something
 whole into one's apron, *lo* — to be re-
 duced to ashes. Mu., Ho, Sa. *caba*
camār n. (Bahl) cobbler. H.
camkā? vi. (Bahl) to shine. Mu.
camkao
cāyā n. (Bahl) an insect. Mu. *cāyā*
carā n. (Bahl) *bansī* — an insect, *naer*
 — an insect. Mu. *hai cara*
cārā n. (Bahl) fodder. H.
caraṭ-caraṭ onom. of licking. cf. Mu.
coṭab coṭab
calāo vt. (Bahl) to remove, to drive.
 Mu. *calao*
calā? vi. (Bahl) to get out of the way.
 Mu. *cala?* (of lac insects) to move
 from a tree to another
calom n. (Bahl) tail, see *caṭlom*
calte postp. for, due to. H.
cawṭ vi. see *coṭ*
cāh n. (Bahl) tea. Mu. *cā*
cahab vt. to gobble up. Mu. *cāb*
cahū n. (Bahl) jaw. Mu. *caua* 'jaw
 muscles'
cahe n. (Bahl) *lāḍā* — chit chat.
ciāḍ vi. (Bahl) to wake up from sleep,
 — *āṇ* to be kept awake till morning.
cīūr sīṇ, sīū sīṇ n. (Bahl) a tree. Mu.
sinju
cīk n. (Bahl) a weaver.
cīk^halā n. (Bahl) mud.
cīgur ḍāḡ n. (Bahl) a pole to carry har-
 vested paddy. Mu. *cīguṛi ḍaṇ*
cīcī n. (Bahl) filth (used only by chil-
 dren). Mu. *cici* yuck!

cīj n. (Bahl) *jojom* — foodstuff.
ciṭuāṇī n. (Bahl) long wooden laddle
 for stirring rice while cooking.
ciṭ^h bāhrī n. (Bahl) a child's first
 shave after birth.
ciḍiṇ n. (Bahl) scorpion.
citaṛā n. (Bahl) leopard. Mu. *cita*
kula, citi kula
cītī n. (Bahl) a snake. Mu. *citi biṇ*
 'Bungarus arcuatus'
cītiāo vt. (Bahl) to rust.
cīnī n. (Bahl) sugar. H.
cīnī āgarī n. (Bahl) the little finger.
cipuā n. (Bahl) bellows.
cīpū so vt. (Bahl) to feel by touch. Mu.
capu
cipoḍ vt. (Bahl) to crush. Mu. *cipud*,
sipud to knead, to squeeze
circiṭī n. (Bahl) plant armed with
 prickles.
cirpī n. (Bahl) skin of a fish. Mu. *cirpi*
 a small silvery fish (*EM*)
cila pron. what; why; some. Bi. *cili*,
 Mu. *cana?*, *cina?*, Ho *cina?*, Sa. *cet*
cilāyak adv. (Bahl) like what, how.
 Mu. *cilkana?*
cila-laga adv. for what, why. Mu.
cilkate
cilcila pron. something, anything,
 whatever
cilpā n. (Bahl) chips of wood, shav-
 ings.
cilpī n. (Bahl) skin of a fish.
cihkāo vt. (Bahl) to long for some-
 thing, desire.
cūḍī n. (Bahl) top-knot. Mu. *cundi*
cūḍūkūṭī? n. (Bahl) mountain peak.
cūā pron. (Bahl) what.
cuamana phr. who knows? (*Firefly*)
cuer vt. (Bahl) *jel* — to be on the
 watch.
cukā n. (Bahl) small earthen vessel for
 keeping oil. Mu. *cuka?*
cukīā n. (Bahl) small earthen vessel for
 keeping oil.
cukuṛī n. (Bahl) a leaf spoon.
cukuṛu n. (Bahl *cukuṛū*) leaf covering
 for protection from rain. Mu. *cukuṛu*
cukur vt. (Bahl) — *duṛu?* to sit on

- one's hunches, crouch. cf. Mu. *cungu dub*
cunġi n. (Bahl *cunġi*) cigar, churur.
 Mu. *cunġi*
cucunġ vt. (Bahl) to urinate.
cucunġ dā? n. (Bahl) urine.
cucuq vt. (Bahl) to fold.
cufā n. (Bahl) *marā?* — comb of peahen.
cufit n. (Bahl) the tip of the tongue.
cufu n. (Bahl *cūfū*) rat, — *hon* the young of a rat, *gūqū* — a big field rat, *togo* — a kind of rat. Mu. *cufu*
cudī vi. (Bahl) to walk on tip-toes, — *cudī* to keep on walking on tip-toes, — *kudā* to walk backwards. cf. Mu. *qīqī qīqī sen*
cubalī n. (Bahl) *laī* — filthy talk.
cubalī vt. (Bahl) *laī* — to talk nonsense.
cuba? n. (Bahl *cubā?*) foreign matter in the eye. Mu. *cuba?*
cūmā n. (Bahl) a ceremony in Korwa marriage when all the relatives give presents to the bride and the bridegroom. Mu. *cuman*
cūrī n. (Bahl) bangle. Mu. *curi*
curail n. (Bahl) a she-devil. S.
curlū vt. (Bahl) to protrude one's lips. Mu. *curlu?* 'term of abuse'
cūlahā n. (Bahl) fireplace. S.
cuwer vi. to turn around, to come back, *daṇa* — to wander and come back (Firefly).
ceṛe-ceḡ būrū n. (Bahl) a bare hill.
cenele pron. see *cele*
cepeḡ vt. (Bahl) to put a tip of something into one's mouth, *ece* — to put the nipple into the child's mouth. Mu. *cepe?*
cere postp. at the place of, with
cele pron. what. Mu. *cana?*, *cina?*
cōgā n. (Bahl) funnel. H.
cōgāḡ vt. (Bahl) to break from the stem and fall down (ref. to fruits and flowers).
cōdā vt. (Bahl) to put (a pot etc.) on fire, — *ājeḡ* to dry by putting on fire.
cokā n. (Bahl) stem of a plant. Mu. *coka?* husk, peel
cokoraḡ n. (Bahl) beehive.
coco?, co? n. (Bahl) vulva (only of a small girl).
coḡ n. (Bahl) top, upper part of anything. Mu. *cufi*
coḡ vt. (Bahl; Barker 8, 44 *cawḡ*) to tread.
coḡ n. (Bahl) step.
coḡoṇ coḡoṇ adv. (Bahl) stepping slowly.
coḡo? vi. (Bahl) to walk on tip-toes.
cotā n. (Bahl) dung excreted by a cow etc. at one time.
copāo vi. to get drunk.
corā vt. (Bahl) to lift something with the thumb and one finger. Mu. *cora*
corahā n. (Bahl) thief.
coreā n. (Bahl) bamboo trap for catching fish.
corao vt. to steal. S.
corco n. (Bahl) a plant. Mu. *curcu* 'Cassaria tomentosa'
colmoṇ n. (Bahl) the pendulous lips of the vulva.
co? n. (Bahl) see *coco?*. Mu. *co?*
caiḡhāo vt. (Bahl) to cut, to divide, *iti?* — to snap something from one corner.
chādūk n. (Bahl) box, trunk.
chakāo vt. (Bahl) to harass.
chacḡān n. (Bahl) a kind of hawk.
chaḡkā n. (Bahl) container made of bamboo for keeping foodgrain. S.
chatair n. parasol. Mu. *catar*, S. *chatri*
chapal chīpal onom., echo (Bahl) splashing noise. Mu. *capal copol*, *capa curi*
chayman vi. to have a hunch (Tiger)
chalā n. (Bahl) *kauā* — skin.
chawa n. — *puta* children. S.
chavāḡḡ vt. (Bahl) to give birth to a baby, *savāḡḡ* — to give birth to a child. S.
chahlāo n. (Bahl) the cream of milk.
chīd sakam n. (Bahl) palm leaf.
chīūr n. (Bahl) narrow path on the foot of a hill.
chīūr n. (Bahl) *āūr* — hinderance.
chīūr vt. (Bahl) *āūr* — to hinder.

- chit^halī* n. (Bahl) cover of the earthen pitcher.
chīpī n. (Bahl) a big metal plate. Mu. *cipi*
chuilc^hula vt. to peel
chūlī n. (Bahl) whip.
chu^hkī kin (Bahl *chu^hkī*) second wife. S.
chura n. a knife. S.
chechākayak n. (Bahl) wearing matted hair.
chera vt. (Bahl) to have watery stools, *ī?* — to void excrement with a lot of noise of the escaping wind. Mu. *cera*
chēw n. (Bahl) stroke of an axe.
chō num. six. cf. Mu. *turuia*, Ho *turuija*, Sa. *turui*
cho^hka n. young one. S.
cho^hrao vt. to put out fire (*Wolf*)
chopāo vt. (Bahl) to prune. Mu. *copa*
jāgalā n. (Bahl) wire fence.
 =*ja* encl. question marker; maybe; or (Bahl ‘partitive particle’). Mu. =*ja?* ‘maybe’
jaga n. place. H.
jagar vt. (Bahl *jagār*; Barker *jəgar*) to light fire.
jage vt. see *jiya?*. H. *jagānā?*
jagao vi. in *jiyao* — to live and make a living
jajaū?-te o^hā? n. (Bahl) kitchen.
jajau? vt. (RED of *jau?*) to cook
jaṭīgī n. (Bahl) the shrub *Abrus precatorius* and its seeds.
jadā biṇ n. (Bahl) a snake. Mu. *ja^hra biṇ*
jār n. (Bahl) fever. S. *jār*
jār vt. (Bahl) to catch fever.
ja^hā? vt. (Bahl) to lick, — *so* to taste. Mu. *jala*
jatan vt. (Barker 25) to put down
 -*jan* suffix classifier for human nouns. Mu. -*jan*
jān n. life. H.
janaṭne adv. quickly (*Wolf*)
janam lāgaṭiā n. (Bahl) extremely poor.
janum n. (Bahl) thorn, — *ārā?* a thorny plant eaten as a vegetable. Mu. *janum*
janū n. (Bahl) grinding mill. Mu.
janti
janhē vt. (Bahl) to tramp with feet.
japā? n. (Bahl) *dīrī* — fish.
japā? vi. (Bahl) to be sticky. Mu. *japa?* ‘to be near’
japuḍ vt. (Bahl) to run after a female. Mu. *japud* to catch (a bird) from behind
jab conj. when. H.
jab vt. (Barker 16) to smoke
jabar a. (Bahl) much, too much, many. Mu. *jabar* (of a pig) fat
jāb jūb vi. (Bahl) to walk in mud.
jāb jūb vi. (Bahl) to walk in mud.
jama-aṅgi adv. (‘all sides’) everywhere
jamao, jamā vt. (Bahl) to collect. H.
jambū n. (Bahl) pincers.
jambū sīṇ n. (Bahl) a tree.
jarā vt. (Bahl) to filter. cf. Mu. *cala*
jalām vt. to lick. Mu. *jal*
jalā reḍ vt. (Bahl) no definition
jalk^harī n. (Bahl) bag or net of thread for carrying fruits or any other food stuff. Mu. *jalkari*
jahār vt. (Bahl) to whisper.
jī vt. to smell. Mu. *jī*
jiao vt. (Bahl *jiāo*) see *jiyao*
jīk n. (Bahl) porcupine. Mu. *jiki*
jiki vt. (Bahl *jikī*; Barker 8 *jikīn*) to crawl. Mu. *jiki* ‘to crawl on one’s hands’
jiṭko n. (Bahl) king crow.
jid^hū? vi. (Bahl) to be fussy. Mu. *jiddi* =*jin* encl. (Barker 22) object-indicating enclitic
jinia n. life, -*te* alive (*Smart Wolf*)
jinhor n. (Bahl) corn. Mu. *joṇḍa*
jinhor-rā? *jāṇ* n. (Bahl) corn cob.
jiya? vi. to live, — *jage* to live and make a living (*Firefly*)
jiyao vi. (Bahl *jiyāo*) to live, (Bahl) — *jagao* to live and make a living, — *jom* to prosper. Mu. *jid* (of plants) to grow
jīrā n. (Bahl) cumin seed. H.
jilī de? vt. (Bahl) to climb up crawling.

- jīw-jahān* n. living conditions, circumstances
- jūjūhūd* n. (Bahl) an insect.
- jūhī* n. (Bahl) rat.
- jū* vi. (Bahl) 'go!', defective verb used only in imperative form. Mu. *ju*
- juar* n. time, (Bahl) *tumis* — what time, when, *nanā* — now, at this moment, *manā* — when, at what time; then, at that time, *hanā* — when, then.
- jua?* comp.v. (Bahl *-juā?*) a light verb meaning 'to become, to do', (Bahl) *bahalāo* — to be amused, *q^hikāo* — vt. to stop (ref. to the breath), *manāo* — to persuade, *parom* — to jump across, *perek^h-jua?* to become full (*Firefly*), *simd^ha* —? to become moist, *sodor* — to arrive.
- jukur* adv. (Bahl) able, befitting.
- juā?* vi. (Bahl) to be connected.
- jūrī* n. (Bahl) a tress.
- juṛao-ne* vt. to contract (friendship, etc.)
- jūtā* n. (Bahl) shoe. H.
- juna* a. (Bahl *jūnā*) old, used — *sārī*
- jūnā* n. (Bahl) used one.
- jūb^hī* n. (Bahl) swamp.
- jumao* vt. (Bahl *jumāo*) to gather, *sak-lāo* — to put things together. Mu. *ju-mao* 'to compare'
- jura* vi. (Barker 40 *zuran*) to be dried
- jūl* n. (Bahl) flame, — *uḡuḡ* to emit flames. Mu. *jul*
- jūl* vt. (Bahl) to rebuke, — *boro* vi. to be afraid of rebukes.
- julum* a. (Bahl) — *raet* pitch dark. Mu. *durum*
- julū?* vi. (Bahl) to burn with a red hot flame.
- jēr* n. (Bahl *jer*) root, — *janjair* roots and bulbs. As. *jair*
- jēr* n. stem, trunk, cf. *dup*
- jojom cīj* n. (Bahl) foodstuff. Mu. *jom cīj*
- jojom tiṛī* n. (Bahl) right hand. Mu. *jom tī*
- joṇjol* n. (Barker 25, 43) lizard
- joṇo?* vt. (Bahl) to give a little bit more.
- joṛāo* vt. (Bahl) to join.
- jon* n. (Bahl) moon (illegible).
- jono?* n. (Bahl) broom, scrubbing broom, (Bahl) *bahā* — broom made of a flowery grass, *silik* — broom made out of bamboo sticks. Mu. *jono?*
- jopono?* n. (Bahl) a kind of grass for making brooms (from *jono?*).
- jom* n. (Bahl) *navā* — ceremony of eating new fruit or new crop. Mu. *jom nawa*
- jom* vt. (Barker *jeum*) to eat, — *ba?* to eat quickly, (Bahl) — *āṭā?* to remain (of leavings) after eating, — *ogor* to eat quickly, — *ginī* to be in the habit of eating quickly, *aḡi?* — to live on cheating others, *āse* — to live on begging, *ātiḡ* — to live on digging food, *ayum* — to profit by hearing something, *jiāo* — to prosper. Mu. *jom*
- jōr* adv. — *se* fiercely, powerfully. H.
- jorān* n. (Bahl) joint. Mu. *joṛen*
- joro?* vt. (Bahl, Barker) to leak. Mu. *joro*
- jolom* vt. (Bahl) to smear a wall. Mu. *jolom*
- jōh* vt. to hide and watch. H.
- johat* n. (Barker 39) cheek
- jo?* n. fruit
- jo?* vt. (Bahl) to bear fruit, *huḡbiḡ* — to bear very small sized fruit.
- jo?* vt. (Bahl) to broom, to sweep. Mu. *jo?*
- jo?* vt. to run after, to chase, — *dakao* to chase and run someone to ground, — *bolo* to chase and corner someone
- joṇo* n. (Bahl) fruit, *līmḡ* — lemon fruit. Mu. *jo*
- joṇo* n. fruit, nut. As. *joho*, Bi. *jo*, Mu. *jo*., Ho *jo*., Sa. *jo*.
- jait* n. (Bahl *jāet*) caste, — *sagā* community. S.
- jau?* vt. (Bahl *jaū?*; Barker *jeug*) to cook (rice etc.), (Bahl) *jaū?* *ogor* vt. to cook rice.
- j^hāēj^h* n. (Bahl) castanets. S.
- j^hāē j^hāē* vt. (Bahl) to make noise (ref. to heavy rain). Mu. *jaṛa jaṛa*
- j^haṭ-j^haṭ* adv. (Bahl) quickly.

- j^hat-p^hat* adv. quickly, in a hurry. Mu.
jaṭa-paṭa
- j^hārā?* vi. (Bahl) to fall down (of leaves etc.).
- j^hanṭā* n. (Bahl) shrub; tail of a broom
- j^hapa* vi. to dart (*Tiger*)
- j^hapuī* n. (Bahl) the state of having dishevelled hair.
- j^hampāo* vt. (Bahl) to jump into the fire.
- j^harī* n. (Bahl *jharī*) stream, cf. *naī*; waterfall
- j^harnī* vt. (Bahl) to have watery stools. Mu. *jaṛa*
- j^hālā* n. (Bahl) hut.
- j^haliā* n. (Bahl) peacock. Mu. *jaliya* peacock feather, cf. Mu. *mara?* 'peacock'
- j^haleaṇ* echo see *aleaṇ j^haleaṇ*
- j^hīgā* n. (Bahl) a vegetable. S.
- j^hikā* n. (Bahl) earring.
- j^hitarī* n. (Bahl) the state of having dishevelled hair.
- j^himarī dā?* n. (Bahl) light showers. S. *j^himir*
- j^hirnī* n. (Bahl) a plant.
- j^huṭī* n. (Bahl) a ring worn on the toe.
- j^hūṭ* n. bush. Mu. *juṇu*
- j^hupur j^hupur* n. (Bahl) the state of having half eyes open. Mu. *jupur jupur* 'dark like at dusk'
- j^hura* a. dry
- j^hura* vt., vi. (Bahl *j^hūrā*) to dry clothes; to dry
- j^hurmurāo* vt. (Bahl) to have the dishevelled appearance on getting up from sleep, *api?* — to look sleepy.
- j^hoelā* n. (Bahl) soot.
- j^hoṭ* n. (Bahl) meat soup. S.
- j^hompā* n. (Bahl) a bunch of fruits and flowers. S., M. *jumpa*
- j^hor* n. (Bahl) river bank.
- j^horā* n. (Bahl) flying fish.
- j^hori* n. brushwood. S.
- j^holoṇ* vi. (Bahl) to become loose.
- j^hael* n. (Bahl) tail of a peacock. Mu. *jaliya*
- j^haili* n. broom, — *j^hanṭa*
- naṭom* vt. (Bahl) to chew.
- nām uḍuṇ* vt. (Bahl) to find out. Mu. *nam udam*
- nam-ū?* vi. (Bahl) to be available.
- nawān* comp.v. (Bahl) keep ...ing, *katā* — to keep on saying, *kobo?* — to keep peeping.
- nuṇunbaṭ* vt. to choose (*Wolf*)
- numār* vt. (Bahl) to glean, — *ṭ^hoṭī* to glean and gather.
- neḍ* vi. (Bahl) to die, *kaṭ^huā* — to freeze to death, *ṭ^heṇe* — to be killed by lightning, *raraṇ* — to become stiff with cold. cf. Mu. *goe?*
- ner ner* vt. (Bahl) to have the prickling sensation.
- nel* vt. to see, to look at (Bahl) — *kīdarāo* to see all around, — *gerā* *ṇavān* to keep looking in all the four directions, — *gerā* to see in all the four directions, — *go* to open the eyes, — *cuer* to be on the watch, — *lob^hāo* to attract. Mu. *lel*, Sa. *ṇel*
- ṭāḡā* n. (Bahl) axe.
- ṭāḡā pārā?* vi. (Bahl) to stand with one's legs drawn apart.
- ṭakiā* vi. (Bahl) to be ready to perform an action.
- ṭaḡ^halāo* vt. (Bahl) to melt.
- ṭaṅkū* n. (Bahl) mango kernel.
- ṭaṇṭaḡāo* vt. (Bahl) to let a field get dry. Mu. *ṭaṇṭaṇ jeṭe* (of the sun) to shine and dry up a field
- ṭaṭī* n. (Bahl) patches of grass in the rafters of a house. Mu. *ṭaṭi tasad* 'grass used for thatch'
- ṭaṭu* vi. (Barker 39) to bump oneself
- ṭaṭka* n. (Bahl *ṭaṭkā*) a small stick; (Barker 8 *ṭaṭka*) earplug. cf. Mu. *ṭaṭaka* real, pure
- ṭaṭkar* a. (Bahl) sharp, intelligent.
- ṭānā* n. (Bahl) shallow ditch, — *lojor āḡū* to cause water to flow down by making an outlet.
- ṭānā* vt. (Bahl) to make an outlet for water.
- ṭamaṛiā* n. (Bahl) a kind of drum the frame of which is made of earth.
- ṭamdāo* vt. (Bahl) to grope in the dark, — *uḍuṇ* to find something out in the

- water, — *jām* to recognize something.
- taṃdā?* vi. (Bahl) to be felt with.
- tīḡī* n. (Bahl) the part of the body between the two buttocks. Mu. *tiriṅ*
- tīpā* n. (Bahl) drop. Mu. *tīpa?*
- tībūl* n. (Bahl) table. E.
- tirini* n. (Barker 8) turtle
- tīwā* vt. (Bahl) to promise.
- tī?to?o?* n. (Bahl) a bird.
- tūgarī* n. (Bahl) bushy land on a hill. S.
- tūḡā?* vt. (Bahl) to feel by touch. Mu. *tūḡa*
- tuka* n. (Bahl *tūkā*) small bamboo basket. Mu. *tupa?*
- tuku* n. rock. Mu. *tuku*
- tukuā* n. (Bahl) big bamboo basket. cf. Mu. *tunḡi*
- tunḡari goḡā* n. (Bahl) a piece of cultivable land on a hill.
- tūrā* n. (Bahl) orphan. Mu. *tuar*
- tusao* vt. to stuff (*Wolf*). H., Mu. *tusao*
- teo?dā?ā* n. (Bahl) a plant.
- tekarā* vt. (Bahl) to bask.
- tenā* n. (Bahl) stick of wood.
- tempa* n. stick. Mu. *tempa*, Krx. *tempā*
- tewāḡ* vt. (Bahl) to sharpen.
- tok?okā?* vi. (Bahl) to click. Mu. *toko*
- toko*
- toṅ* classifier pieces, as in *mi* — a piece of.
- toṭalo? bo?* n. (Bahl) shaved head.
- toṭā?* vt. (Bahl) to break. Mu. *toṭa?*
- tḡaṭḡā virī* vt. (Bahl) to strike a stick against something to make noise.
- tḡāskā* n. (Bahl) a musical instrument.
- tḡk* a.,adv. fine; okay. H.
- tḡkī* n. (Bahl) basket for storing food-grains.
- tḡl* n. (Bahl) hump of an ox.
- tḡḡḡī* n. (Bahl) bellows; case to hold glue sticks.
- tḡḡkū* n. (Bahl) knee. Mu. *tuku* ‘a kneecap’
- tḡḡi* vt. see *tḡḡiwa* (*Jackal*)
- tḡḡiwa* vt. to pile up (*go?* — *Firefly*)
- tḡḡao* vt. to gather
- tḡḡā* n. (Bahl) — *tiṭi* amputated hand. Mu. *tḡḡa*
- tḡḡū pūsū* n. (Bahl) secret, secretly.
- tḡuskū* n. (Bahl) — *āṭā?* a plant.
- tḡek* vt. (Bahl) to blame.
- tḡekā* n. (Bahl) small earthen pot.
- tḡeṭe* n. (Bahl) lightning, thunderbolt, (Bahl) — *neḡ* to be killed by lightning.
- tḡeṭen* vt. (Bahl) to strike (of thunderbolt). Mu. *ṭer*
- tḡepā* n. (Bahl) thumb impression. Mu. *ṭepo?*
- tḡokṭḡokā?* vt. (Bahl) to knock. S.
- tḡoṅkāo* vt. (Bahl) to drive a nail into something, — *go* to drive a nail into something completely.
- tḡoṭī* vt. (Bahl) *ḡumāl* — to glean and gather.
- tḡobo* vt. (Bahl) to get wounded.
- tḡosā mālā* n. (Bahl) an ornament. Mu. *ṭosa mala*
- tḡāo* n. place, location; space. As. *tḡao*, Mu. *ṭayad*
- ḡāḡ* n. (Bahl) *cīḡur* — a pole to carry harvested paddy. Mu. *cīḡuṭi ḡaṅ*
- ḡāḡtar* n. (Bahl) doctor.
- ḡāḡ* vt. (Bahl) to impose pecuniary punishment. Mu. *ḡāḡe*
- ḡāḡā ḡāḡā rāḡ* n. (Bahl) color stripes.
- ḡāḡī* n. (Bahl) line of a song. Krx. *ḡaṅḡī*
- ḡāḡḡār oṭā?* n. (Bahl) a kind of house. Mu. *ḡāḡa? oṭa?*
- ḡaḡḡauā sīṅ* n. (Bahl) a tree.
- ḡaṭom* n. (Bahl) a leaf cup. Mu. *ḡaṭom* ‘a bamboo basket’
- ḡaṭmoṭ* n. (Bahl) stout person.
- ḡaḡub* vi. (Bahl) to knod.
- ḡaṭum* vi. (Barker 18) to doze
- ḡaṅṭā* n. (Bahl) rolling pin. Mu. *ḡaṅṭi* ‘a thin stick’
- ḡaṅḡā* n. place, (Bahl) *bajār* — market place, *paṭiā* — pasture.
- ḡabā* n. (Bahl) iron pan for frying things. Mu. *ḡaba* ‘a round lid’
- ḡabāo* vi. (Bahl) to be overcast with clouds. Mu. *ḡabao*

- qabanā* n. (Bahl) lid of a pitcher. Mu. *qabna*
qabanī n. (Bahl) small lid of a pitcher. Mu. *qabni*
qabkāo vt. (Bahl) to boil water. Mu. *qabkao*
qamb^hā, qamhā n. (Bahl) a fruit. S.
qar n. fear. H.
qār n. (Bahl) branch of a tree. S.
qali n. (Bahl *qālī*) basket. Mu. *qali*
qasna n. mat. S. *qisna*
qah vt. to torment (*Wolf*). S.
qahī n. (Bahl) nursery for paddy. Mu. *qai*
qahuṛā n. (Bahl) broken branch of a tree.
qā?qōq bīṇ n. (Bahl) a snake.
qīguā n. (Bahl) man forsaken by his wife.
qīg^hā n. (Bahl) young man. Mu. *dangra*
qīdā n. (Bahl) batchelor. Mu. *qīṇḍa*
qīḍon vi. (Bahl) to stand up (only in the imperative form for children). Mu. *qīṇ-qon* 'to hold a baby upright'
qīḍā n. (Bahl) pellet, *hās* — earth pellet.
qībū n. (Bahl) a wild fruit. Mu. *qimbu*
qigcī n. (Bahl) metal pot for cooking rice. Mu. *qikci*
qiqin vt. (Bahl) to stand on tip-toes and look at something. Mu. *qidi*
qidgar a. (Bahl) fearless. Mu. *qīṛi*
qidgar vt. (Bahl) to have courage.
qīpā n. (Bahl) hillock, a river bank. Mu. *qipa*
qībarī n. (Bahl) small oil lamp. Mu. *qībiri*
qīrihā tiṛ n. (Bahl) left hand. Mu. *lengā tii*
qīlāgī n. (Bahl) bamboo shell for keeping grain.
qīh n. (Bahl) settlement, village.
qīhanī n. (Bahl) small platform for keeping things in a Korwa house.
quḍ^hī n. (Bahl) water spring, well.
quṇḍe vt. to hold up (*Jackal*). Mu. *dondo*
qunug vi. (Barker 39) to fly
- qūb^hanī* n. (Bahl) metallic cup. S., Mu. *qubri*
qūb^hā hon n. (Bahl) small metallic cup.
qurī n. (Bahl) fruit of the Mahua tree. S.
qūriā n. (Bahl) garland wch women wear around their tress. Mu. *quria naca*
quhūḍī n. (Bahl) nipple of the breast.
qeksi n. kettle. Mu. *qekci*
qega vi., vt. to jump; to jump over. S.
qegon vi. (Bahl) to jump.
qena n. wing. H. *qainā*
qepel qepel vi. (Bahl) to be not able to swim.
qēbā n. (Bahl) baby.
qera n. temporary stay, camping. S.
qewa vi. (Bahl *qewā*) to jump, — *pocon* to jump across.
qōgā n. (Bahl) boat. S.
qōḍāh n. (Bahl) money bag.
qokra n. (Bahl *qokorā*) old man. Marathi *qokrā* (CDIAL 5567)
qonga n. (Bahl *qōga*) vessel, ship. S., Mu. *qonga*
qojakā n. (Bahl) a kind of squash.
qoḍon, qodo? n. (Bahl) child's penis. Mu. *qodo?* 'pee'
qoḍ^hā n. (Bahl) pit. Mu. *qora* 'rivulet'
qoḍ^hā vt. (Bahl) to dig a pit, — *hon* small ditch.
qob qobo vi. (Bahl) to be close (ref. to weather). Mu. *qob-qob*
qobra n. (Bahl *qobarā*) pool, pond. Mu. *qoba*
qomkoec n. (Bahl) a kind of dance. S. *qamkac*
qoyo? vi. (Bahl) to nauseate. cf. Mu. *deo?*
qorā n. (Bahl) rope. S.
qorā bo? n. (Bahl) ball of rope.
qolea n. (Barker) termite
qai comp.v. to keep ...ing, *gaḍa* — to keep digging (*Firefly*).
q^hakar n. (Bahl) cow's milk in the first few days.
q^hārā vt. (Bahl) to wear the veil.
q^harḱāo vt. (Bahl) to set (ref. to the sun).

- q^hapalā* n. (Bahl) a kind of drum. S.
q^hapuā n. (Bahl) a small kite, a bird.
q^hāb n. (Bahl) level ground.
q^hikāo juā? vt. (Bahl) to stop (ref. to the breath).
q^hiŋkī n. (Bahl) piece of wood for husking paddy. Mu. *q^hiŋki*
q^hipāo vt. (Bahl) to heat water.
q^hipao a. warm. Mu. *lolo*
q^hibarī n. (Bahl) small lamp made of tin. S.
q^hibuā n. (Bahl) a pice coin. Mu. *q^hibua*
q^hilāŋ vt. (Bahl) to loosen. Mu. *q^hilaŋ*
q^hilūā n. (Bahl) pendulum. Mu. *q^hilua*
q^hūkū n. (Bahl) concubine. S. *q^huku*
q^hekanā n. (Bahl) bed bug.
q^heŋkara vt. (Bahl) to belch. Mu. *q^hikar*
q^heŋko vt. (Bahl) to slope, to put something in an oblique fashion. Mu. *q^heŋkoe?*
q^herāgā n. (Bahl) slope.
q^helā n. (Bahl) clod, a lump of earth. S.
q^hokolā? vi. (Bahl) to be pushed.
q^hokolao vt. (Bahl) to push. Mu. *q^heklao*
q^horāo vt. (Bahl) to spread the wood and set it on fire.
q^hol n. (Bahl) drum. Mu. *q^hol*
q^holkī n. (Bahl) small drum. Mu. *q^hulki*
q^hosor n. (Bahl) load.
tāgī vt. (Bahl) to take someone along. Mu. *tāŋgi*
takin vt. (Bahl) to trample.
taki? vi. (Bahl) to jolt.
takoŋ vt. (Bahl) to fold. Mu. *takor* 'to pick a fruit with a stick'
tagāo vt. (Bahl) to come out in great numbers.
tāŋ vt. (Bahl) to pour water out of a pitcher into a jug.
taŋom vt. (Barker 27) to chew
taŋgi vt. (Bahl *tāgī*) to take someone along. Mu. *taŋgi* 'to wait'
tār vt. (Bahl) to compare.
taŋkī, taŋkā n. (Bahl) earring made of the leaf of palmyra tree. Mu. *taŋki*
taŋiāo vt. (Bahl) to crawl like a snake.
- tatā* kin (Bahl) grandfather: father's father, mother's father. Mu. *tata*
tataŋ n. (Bahl) thirst. Mu., As., Bi. *tetaŋ*
tataŋ vi. (Barker 18, 32 *tətəŋ*) to be thirsty (with an object suffix marking the experiencer). Mu., As., Bi. *tetaŋ*
tapā? vt. (Bahl) to throw something into one's mouth to eat. cf. Mu. *ka-pa?*; Mu. *ta-pa?* 'to smear mud on a wall'
tapū? vt. (Bahl) to winnow. cf. Mu. *tapu?* 'to tap on a winnow with a finger'
tabu adv. then. H. *tab*
taben n. (Bahl) flattened rice. Mu. *taben*
taber vi. (Bahl) to lie on one's abdomen. cf. Mu. *sambir*
tabel n. (Bahl) small axe.
tām vi. (Bahl) to stagger, to fall down cf. Mu. *tam* 'to beat'
tamāk n. (Bahl) tobacco. Mu. *tamaku*
tamū? vi. (Bahl) to fall down.
tāmbū n. (Bahl) veil. H. *tāmbū* 'a tent'
tamras n. (Bahl) guava.
tayā bayā? vi. (Bahl) to move around aimlessly. Mu. *ayā bayā*
tār n. (Bahl) steel wire. H.
taras vi. (Barker 24, 47 *təras*) to glow
tārū n. (Bahl) palate.
taruŋ n. (Bahl) tiger, (Barker) cheetah, cf. *kūl*
tārop sīŋ n. (Bahl) a tree.
tarob n. (Bahl) a tree. Mu. *tarob* 'Buchanania latifolia'
talā a. (Bahl) half. Mu. *tala* 'middle'
tawā vt. (Bahl) to doubt.
tawā-ū? vi. (Bahl) to be in doubt.
tawī? vt. (Bahl) to pull. Mu. *tawī?* 'to pull down'
tasaŋ n. (Bahl) a kind of grass. Mu. *tasad*
tasar n. (Bahl) cocoon, cf. *koā*. H.
tīerū? vt. (Bahl) to stretch one's limbs.
tikin vt. (Bahl) to hear intently.
tikin ber n. (Bahl) early morning sun.
tikinsīŋ n. (Bahl) day. Mu. *tikin*
tikŋa n. (Barker 8, 43) buttock

- tigīd* vt. (Bahl) to hear intently.
tītī? n. (Bahl) sparrow, bird, (Bahl) —
tītī? a bird. cf. Mu. *qēdeb*
tīn num. three. H.
tiriṇ n. (Bahl) tooth, *gāqū* — gum, any
 back tooth, *pīṛhā* — a back tooth. Mu.
tiriṇ ‘snaggle tooth’
tirmīd vt. (Bahl) to massage. Mu. *tir-
 mid* ‘to rub fingers’
tirwaha n. (Bahl *tirwāhā*) archer.
til vt. (Bahl *tīl*) to bury; to hide; (Bahl)
 — *aṭu* to let something remain buried,
 — *oko* to hide something by burying
 it, (Barker 36) — *mesa* to put and
 bury. Mu. *til* to distribute (rice beer)
tilāgī n. (Bahl) spark of the fire.
tīlā? vt. (Bahl) to smear with oil.
tiwil vt. to jerk (ears) (*Wolf*)
tisī n. (Bahl) linseed palnt, linseed
 plant’s seed. Mu. *tisi*
tūt n. (Bahl) mulberry tree. Mu. *tūtu*
tūd n. (Bahl) a tree.
tūbī n. (Bahl) gourd. Mu. *tumba*
tūbul n. (Bahl) bone marrow. Mu.
tumbul
tu vi. (Bahl *tū*) to flow, to float; (Bahl)
 to be carried away by water, — *āgū* to
 be carried away by water, — *idī* vt. to
 float away, — *owā* to let something be
 washed away. As. *tuyu*
tūṇe vt. (Bahl) to shoot an arrow. Mu.
tūi
tuiṇe vt. (Bahl) to stretch the legs.
tuk n. (Bahl *tūkā*; Barker 41 *tuk*) nest.
 Mu. *tuka*
tuka n. (Bahl *tūkā*) bird’s nest. Mu.
tuka
tukun-so vt. to bunt the udder for suck-
 ing
tuk-e vi. (Barker 8) to make a nest
tuj vt. (Barker 37 *tujē*) to shoot. Mu.
tūt
tuṛukū? vi. (Bahl) jump.
tūtī adv. (Bahl) above.
tuturū vt. (Bahl) to make a funnel out
 of a leaf.
tubeq vt. (Bahl) to put something
 forcibly in the mouth. Mu. *tubid*
tumalī n. (Bahl) a wasp. Mu. *tumbuli*
tumin a. how much.
tumli n. honeybee, wasp
tūrī n. (Bahl) one who makes baskets.
tūrrā n. (Bahl) small waterfall.
tūle vt. to haul (*Wolf*). Mu. *tul* ‘to
 carry holding legs’
tusiṇ vt. to wear, to put on. Mu., Bi.
tusiṇ
tu? vi. (Bahl *tū*) to drift, to float. As.
tuyu, cf. Mu. *ṭipiyul*
-te suffix, postp. from; with; (Barker
 1953:37) connective (‘and’). Mu. -
ate ‘from’, -*lo?* ‘with’
te postp., adv. from, by, with; then
teke vt. (Bahl) to throw, — *būrā?* to
 throw into the water, cause a girl
 to take a bath in a river after her
 first menstruation, — *siqīāo* to scatter
 away.
tekenā vt. (Bahl) to cut short.
tegā n. (Bahl) dagger.
teṇi-kin kin, dual (Bahl; Barker 27
teṇa) male ego and his sister’s
 husband, male ego and his wife’s
 brother’.
teṇa kin see *teṇikin*
tēdār vi. (Bahl) to bend on back.
tedo adv. then
ten vt. (Bahl) to press, to suppress. Mu.
ten ‘to put a lid’
terel sīṇ n. (Bahl) a tree. Mu. *tiril*
terdū adv. (Bahl) fifth day after today.
termāṇ adv. (Bahl) fourth day after to-
 day.
tersan adv. (Bahl) away. cf. Mu. *ter-
 san* ‘to dry oneself at fire’
tersermo adv. (Bahl) fifth day after to-
 day.
tela vt. (Bahl *telā*) to take something
 in hands; to receive, to accept (gift).
 Mu. *tela* to accept (gift).
telaē vt. see *tela*
tewey vt. (Bahl, unclear) to carry
 something hanging with a string.
tesij adv. see *tisij*
to adv. then
togo n. (Bahl) — *cūṭu* a kind of rat. cf.
 Mu. *togo* to hold in one’s mouth
totā vi. (Bahl) to climb up. Mu. *ṭoṭa?*

- totok* n. (Bahl) nape, back of the neck.
cf. Mu. *tudka*
- totorā?* vi. (Bahl) to stammer.
- to^hoṇā* n. (Bahl) upper lip.
- tonoŋ* pron. (Barker *tonono*) some, any, — *uŋi* in some way; or something; vi. to do something.
- tobe* adv., itj. then; let's go. Mu.
- tomb* vt. to slash (a sickle). Mu. *tomba*
- tombo?* vt. to peck. Mu. *tomba?*
- tora* vi. (Bahl *torā*) to go away (subject marked with an object suffix). Mu. (Naguri) *tora* 'to come'
- tore* adv. (Bahl) near.
- tore* vt. (Bahl) to move near.
- toren* vt. (Bahl) to move near oneself.
- torpo* vt. (Bahl) to bend, to roll. Mu. *torpo?* 'to drag a garment'
- tol* vt. (Barker 47 *tol*) to tie, — *aŋu* to tie (an animal) and leave it there. Mu. *tol*
- tole* vt. see *tol*
- tohō* adv. too, even
- tohoq* vt. (Bahl) to shock. cf. Mu. *tood* 'to stumble'
- taiyā* n. (Bahl) sister's husband (ref. to male ego).
- taoŋo sīŋ* n. (Bahl) a tree.
- tāga* vt. (Barker 41) to drape, to hang on one's shoulder
- t^hārī* n. (Bahl) big metal plate. Mu. *taŋi*
- dāq dāq* n. (Bahl) a big fly. Mu. *daŋ daŋ*
- dāŋa* vi. (also *daŋa*) to walk around, — *tataŋ* to walk around and feel thirsty (Wolf). Mu. *daŋa*
- dādār* n. (Bahl) stomach.
- da-* itj. go! — *mi*, — *pe*, — *bu*, etc. Mu. *da-* give me!, cf. *ju-* go!
- dakū* vt. (Bahl) to walk with small steps, to mince, to toddle.
- dag^hā* vt. (Bahl) to stain, to have a spot of color etc. H. *dāg*
- dāŋ* n. (Bahl) a curtain. Mu. *qāŋ* bar (for hanging clothes)
- dāŋ* vt. (Bahl) to make a curtain, — *oko* to hide under a veil.
- daŋī* n. (Bahl) *b^havā* — dust storm.
- daŋī* vt. (Bahl) to grind rough. Mu. *daraŋa*
- daŋum* vt. (Bahl) to slumber, to doze. Mu. *duŋum*
- daŋa* vi. (Bahl) to loiter, to wander. Mu. *daŋa* 'to search around'
- daŋāpāt* vi. (Bahl) to stroll, to walk slowly.
- datāŋī* n. (Bahl) a tree.
- datrom* n. (Bahl *datarom*) sickle. Mu. *datorom*
- dada* kin (address) elder brother. Mu. *dada*
- dad^hāo* vt. (Bahl) to be ungrateful to someone.
- daniāo* vt. (Bahl) to strut (ref. to human beings).
- dantā* n. (Bahl) ivory. Mu. *danta*
- dantī* n. (Bahl) teeth of a sickle. Mu. *dati*
- dapāl* vt. (Bahl) to abuse. Mu. *dapal* from *dal* 'to beat'
- dāb* vt. (Bahl) to arrange tiles on the roof of the house, — *req* to hide something away, — *ujū* to arrange tiles on the roof of the house again. Mu. *dab*
- dabao* vt. (Bahl *dabāo*) to stop, to make someone refrain. H., Mu. *dabao*
- dam* n. (Bahl) *suk* — bride price.
- dara-ara* n. heart of a mountain (*Tiger*).
- daram* vt. (Bahl) to meet someone, *nīdā daparam* to help each other in weeding, — *āgū* to go and meet someone, *racā?* — to rebuke someone on meeting on the street. Mu. *darom*
- dārū* n. (Bahl) liquor. S.
- darmara* adv., onom. with crushing sound. Mu. *darmara*
- darmisā* a. (Bahl) half-threshed.
- darwa* vi. (Bahl *darwā*) to come (with an object suffix marking the subject), *baŋī* — to bring by rolling.
- dalaŋ* vi. (Bahl) to go towards the speaker, come.
- dalk^hā* n. (Bahl; Barker 29 *qālka*) palm of the hand, sole of the foot. Mu. *talka*
- dah* n. (Bahl) lake.

- dahī* n. (Bahl) yogurt. H.
dahū sīṅ n. (Bahl) a tree. Mu. *ḡau* ‘Artocarpus lakoocha’
daʔ n. (Bahl *dāʔ*) water, *maṛ* — gruel, (Bahl) *ātāṅto* — collected rain water, *āṭāʔ* — vegetable soup, *ol* — saliva, *cucuṅ* — urine, *jʰimarī* — light showers, *dūl* — a ceremony in marriage in which water is poured on the heads of both the bride and the bridegroom, *dūl* — to perform the ceremony of pouring water on the heads of the bride and the bridegroom in the marriage, *basan* — water in which rice is boiled and cooked, *bej* — phlegm, *meḡ* — tears, *raran* — cold water, *rasī* — highly intoxicating liquor rising out of rice beer, *lolo* — hot water, *sisir* — dew, — *haṭiṅ* to divide into two (of a river). As. *dāʔ*, Bi. *daʔ*, Mu. *daʔ*, Ho *daʔ*, Sa. *da:k*
dāʔ vt. (Bahl) to fish; to fix a string to an arrow.
daʔa vi. (Bahl *dāʔā*) to grow (of a tuber). Mu. *daa*
dāʔā n. (Bahl) in *sisir* — a plant, *kolo* — a tuber
dāʔ n. (Bahl) white ant.
dāā n. (Bahl) small earthen lamp. Mu. *diya*
dikkat n. difficulty. H.
dīdī kin (Bahl) elder sister, a term of address. H.
dīn n. day, (Bahl) *īrūʔ* — day of reaping, *gapāʔā* — tomorrow. H., cf. As. *siṅ*, Bi. *siṅi*, Mu. *huləṅ*, Ho *diləṅ*, Sa. *māha*
diri n. (Bahl *dīrī*) stone, (Bahl) *ririḡ* — stone for grinding spices etc., *sīloṭ* — stone to sharpen knife. Bi. *ḡiri*, Mu. *diri*, Ho *diri*, Sa. *rʰiri*
dīrī japāʔ n. (Bahl) a fish.
dīlkāo vt. (Bahl) to make a strong fire.
dū num. two
dū vi. go!, see *do* (2) cf. Mu. *ju*
dū āder vt. (Bahl) to pour water into something. Mu. *dul ader*
dūk vt. (Bahl) to tolerate troubles.
duṛup vi. see *duṛuʔ*
dudu vt. (Bahl *dūdū*) to drink milk. S.
dudurūm a. (Bahl) pitch black. Mu. *durum*
dūpil vt. (Bahl) to carry a load on one’s head, — *idī* to carry a load away, — *parom* to go across (a river etc.) carrying a load. Mu. *dupil*
-dub suffix (Barker 16) classifier for trees
dūb n. (Bahl) — *bʰīr* a kind of grass, *sān* — jute plant. H.
dubit n. (Bahl) beginning, *dubit* — root of the tongue.
dub-id n. (Barker 15) tree trunk
duraṭaḡʰa n. a woodstock (*Tiger*)
durihā adv. (Bahl) away, far away. S.
dūl vt. (Bahl) to pour water from a pot, (Bahl) — *anae* to pour water away from a pot, — *iriʔ* to extinguish fire by pouring water on it, — *uḡuṅ* to pour water out, — *kīdarāo* to pour water in a circular way, — *dāʔ* a ceremony in marriage in which water is poured on the heads of both the bride and the bridegroom, — *dāʔ* to perform the ceremony of pouring water on the heads of the bride and the bridegroom in the marriage, — *pereʔ* to fill by pouring, — *bʰāḡ* to divide into two (of a river), — *bʰiṭāo* to mix the leftovers of the curry alongwith the freshly prepared curry. Mu. *dul*
dulār vt. (Bahl) to show affection. S.
dusri a. second. H.
duhāo vt. (Bahl) to milk. H.
dūʔ vi. (Bahl) to sit down (used only for a child). Mu. *duʔ*
de vt. (Bahl) to give. Mu. *de*
deīhor adv. (Bahl *dēhor*) behind; back, backward; after, later. Mu. *dea saʔ*
deīhor-te adv. later, afterwards; from behind
deo, dew n. (Bahl) god.
dek vt. to lift up, to place. Mu. *deʔ*
dēḡ vt. (Bahl) *katā* — to help someone in saying something (by means of explanation etc.), *nīdā* — to help someone in weeding. Mu. *deṅga*

- deṭ* vt. (Bahl) to copulate. Mu. *deṭe dena* n. wing. H. *qainā*, Krx. *denā*
deneya n. see *dēya*
dēya n. back, behind. Mu. *dea*
dereṇ n. horn. Mu. *diriṇ*
dewāer n. (Bahl) — *hoṭ* witch doctor.
 Mu. *dēoṇa*
dewer vi. to go home
dēhor adv. (Bahl) see *deiḥor*
de? vt. (Bahl) to climb up, (Bahl) —
rakab to lift someone up, *ūq* —
 to stick in the throat (while eating),
kabā? — to climb a tree embracing
 the trunk, *jilī* — to climb up crawling.
 Mu. *de?*
dōge n. (Bahl) belly, *caṭurā?* — belly
 of the pitcher, the middle part of the
 pitcher.
do (1) part. then; topicalizing particle.
 Mu. *do*
do (2) part. (*do-me*, *do-laṇ* etc.; Bahl
dū) let's go. Mu. *do-*
dokān oṛā? n. (Bahl) a shop. H. *dukān*
doṛom vt. (Bahl) to worship. Mu.
doṛom 'to offer rice beer to gods'
don vt. (Bahl) to remove a pot from the
 fire. Mu. *don*
don vt. (Barker, Bahl) to fly.
donū? vi. (Bahl) to fly like a bird.
donoṛomto n. (Barker, Bahl) —
kosoṇā rice beer offered to god. Mu.
doṛom 'to make offering'
donosor a. different
dolaṇ part. (*do=laṇ*) let's go (*dolaṇ-*
me Tiger)
doho vi. to be, to live, (Bahl) — *liṛiṇ* to
 forget the whereabouts of something,
 — *raṭiāo* to capture someone's heart.
 Mu. *do*
doho vt. to put, to place, to keep. As.
doho, Bi. *doho*, Mu. *doo*
dohoy vi. (Barker 49) to remain
doho? vt. see *doho*
dael n. (Bahl) pulse, split grain, —
āṛā? a plant. S., Mu. *dali*
dauṛa n. basket. Mu. *dauṛa?*
dabbi n. (Barker 15, 43) stirring stick
dʰanggar n. a laborer. H.
dʰangṛi n. (Bahl *dʰāgeṛī*) girl, cf.
ḍiṅgʰa boy; — *laṇī?* girl. Mu. *dangṛi*
dʰaniā n. (Bahl) coriander. H.
dʰamanā bīṇ n. (Bahl) a snake. S.
dʰarī n. (Bahl) edge, border of a gar-
 ment. S.
dʰarna vi. to dart, to dash (*Jackal*)
dʰaskā n. (Bahl) high bank of a river.
dʰūgiā dʰūgiā a. (Bahl) smoky. S.
dʰūdarā n. (Bahl) dirt. Mu. *duṛa*
dʰuṛiā vt. (Bahl) to sow seed in a dry
 and dusty land. Mu. *duṛia*
dʰūp n. (Bahl) incense. S.
dʰūr n. (Bahl) road, see *dur*, *hopor* —
 a. slanting. Mu. *dur*
dʰōgoṛ dʰōgoṛ vi., onom. (Bahl) to
 make a buzzing sound like bees. Mu.
doṅgoṛ doṅgoṛ 'sound of burning'
dʰotī n. dhoti. H.
dʰotī vt. (Bahl) to wear a dhoti.
dʰowai vt. to wash. S.
dʰaorā sīṇ n. (Bahl) a tree.
nā vt. (Bahl) to take.
nāḍā adv. (Bahl) here. Mu. *nare*, *nere*
nādor adv. (Bahl) hither. Mu. *nate*,
nete
 -*na* suffix converb suffix marking re-
 cent time (Barker 1953:37)
naī bīṇ n. (Bahl) a snake.
nakin pron. they two, these two (ani-
 mate, proximal). Mu. *nikin*, *nakin*
nakī? n. (Bahl) comb. Mu. *naki?*
nakī?-ū? vi. (Bahl) to comb.
naku pron. they, these (animate plural,
 proximal). Mu. *naku*
nakʰī n. (Bahl) nail, claw.
nākʰuṭi n. (Bahl) nosepin.
nāgar n. (Bahl) plough. Mu. *nayar*
nagerā n. (Bahl) kettledrum. Mu.
nagera
naṛī n. (Bahl) creeper. Mu. *naṇi*
naṛkān, naṛkān vt. (Bahl) to wash hair.
 Mu. *naṇakan*
naṇḍa, naṇḍe adv. here, this way. Mu.
nere, Sa. *neṇḍe*
nāṭi kin (Bahl) grandson: son's son,
 daughter's son. S.
natnin n. granddaughter

- nanā juār* adv. (Bahl) now, at this moment. Mu. *naa?*
nananhen a. (Bahl) this very.
nanaekʼ pron. he, she, it (animate, proximal, emphatic)
napae a. (Bahl *lapāe*, Barker *nappa*) good, well. Mu. *napae* ‘good, well (in songs)’
nām n. name. H.
namin a. (Bahl) this much. Mu. *namin* this much, *nimin* ‘so little’
namelāk adv. (Bahl) these days, at present. Mu. *nimir gapa*
nālake vi. negative copula
naw; nāw num. nine cf. Mu. *area*
nawā a. (Bahl) new, — *jom* of eating new fruit or new crop. Mu. *nawa*
nahe, nahen adv. now. Mu. *naa?*
nahāe pron. this, he, she
nahwā vt. to bathe, to give a bath. H.
naʔa pron. this (adjective).
naʔā pron. (Bahl) this (inanimate). Mu. *naʔ*
naʔāmin pron. (Bahl) this much. Mu. *namin, nimin*
naʔa-uʔi adv. this way; vi. to do this way
nīdā n. (Bahl) weeds, — *āminj* to weed out, — *uq̄uj* to pull the weeds out, — *daparam* to help each other in weeding, — *dēg* to help some one in weeding.
nīdāwā n. (Bahl) morning.
nīū, neo n. (Bahl) foundation.
nīto, nita adv. otherwise
ninir vi. to run, see *nir*
nintamin adv. this much, see *namin* (Wolf)
nindawa n. (Bahl *nīdāwā*) morning; (Barker) tomorrow morning
nipir n. (Bahl) *meq* — rim of eyelids.
niraj a. (Bahl) clear (water). Mu. *niral*
niskālom n. (Bahl *kālom*) year after next. cf. Mu. *satom*
nihū adv. (Barker 26) just now
nīʔlakān a. (Bahl) very small.
nīʔkao vi. to blink (eyes) (Wolf)
nūnī n. (Bahl) a call to a junior female or one’s sister. Mu. *nunī*
nuniā n. (Bahl) a fish.
nuhū, nuhu adv. (Bahl *nuhū*) now. Mu. *naaʔ*, As. *nahaʔ*, Bi. *nimiʔ*, Ho *naʔ ge, Sa. nitʼ*
nē, nēgo, nēka itj. look!, say! Mu. *neʔ*, *neka* ‘here you are!’
neto adv. (— *do*) otherwise
net-hor adv. above
nehen pron. (Bahl) this (inanimate). Mu. *nea*
noc-hor adv. (also *nekʼ*) below, — *te* from below
noncʰār a. (Bahl) sour.
nai n. (Bahl *nāi*; Barker 26 *naʔ*) river, cf. *jʰari*. Mu. *gaʔa*
naekʼ pron. he, she, this (animate, proximal). Mu. *niiʔ*
naekʼ pron. this, he, she (animate, proximal). Mu. *nii, nai*
naer carā n. (Bahl) an insect.
nāo n. (Bahl *nāō*) name.
nāo vt. (Bahl *nāō*) to give a name to a child. cf. Mu. *saki*
nauā hoʔ n. (Bahl) barber. Mu. *nauwa*
nauʔā n. (Bahl) mongoose. Mu. *niura*
pāūtī n. (Bahl) bamboo case for keeping the Korwa god.
pājarī n. (Bahl) veins of a leaf.
pājār jāṇ n. (Bahl) rib. Mu. *paṇjra jaṇ*
pāḍaki n. (Bahl) an animal.
pāḍaci n. (Bahl) bow string.
pāḍarā a. (Bahl) white; light-skinned. S., Mu. *paṇḍara*
paūra, paura vi. (Bahl *paurā*) to swim; (Bahl) — *uq̄uj* to swim and bring something out of water, — *parom* to swim across. As. *paura*, Bi. *paera*, cf. Mu. *pōē*
pakaʔe sīj n. (Bahl) a tree.
pakī a. (Bahl) fast (ref. to color).
pakuʔāḍ n. (Bahl) wing of a bird. cf. Mu. *aparob*
pakao vi. to fester, suppurate. cf. Mu. *sondoro*
pākʰā n. (Bahl) wall.
pakʰī vi. (Bahl) to be divided into half (ref. to a load of something).

- paṅkī* n. (Bahl) wing, feather. H.
paṅkhī
pacās num. fifty. H.
pacmi num. fifth. H.
pac^{hi} n. a basket (*Jackal*)
pāj n. (Bahl) foot-print.
paṅc n. (Bahl) village councilman. H.
paṭā n. (Bahl) big plank of wood.
paṭan n. layer
paṭiā n. (Bahl) mat. Mu. *paṭi*
paḍarā? vt. (Bahl) to stretch limbs.
paḍoā hon n. (Bahl) buffalo-calf. cf. Mu. *nauki*
paṛa? n. (Bahl) a crack in wood. Mu. *paṛa?*
paṛa? vt. (Bahl) to crack (ref. to wood).
pārā? vi. (Bahl) *ṭāḍā* — to stand with one's legs drawn apart. Mu. *ṭaṇḍa*
paṛiā ḍaṇḍ^{hā} n. (Bahl) pasture.
paṛki n. pigeon. S.
paṛ^{hā}? vt. (Bahl *paṛ^{hā}*?) to read, to study. As. *paṛ^{hā}*, Mu. *paṛao*
paṛ^{hā}ao vt., vi. to study. Mu. *paṛao*
paṇsi n. (Barker 27) bowstring
pata n. information. H.
paṭar n. (Bahl) patch of land in a field surrounded by crop.
paṭarā n. (Bahl) hill, — *ūḍ* a kind of mushroom. Mu. *paṭra*
patarī n. (Bahl) a plank of wood.
patāl kohōḍā n. (Bahl) a plant.
pat^{hā}iā n. (Bahl) big bamboo basket.
padarī n. (Bahl) a harlot.
pampoṛīḍ n. (Bahl) an insect. cf. Mu. *pampalad* 'butterfly'
pār vi. (also — *jua?*) to pass, to cross. H.
parikc^{hā} n. examination. H.
parēsāni n. trouble. H.
parom vt. (Bahl) to jump across, (Bahl) — *jua?* to jump across, *en* — *āgū* to bring the husked rice from across (a river), *dūpil* — to go across (a river etc.) carrying a load, *paurā* — to swim across. Mu. *parom*
parc^{hī} n. (Bahl) end of the roof; verandah.
pard^{hān} n. (Bahl) village messenger. H.
pālā n. (Bahl) fog. cf. Mu. *coke*
pasa n. (Barker) shoulder
pasar n. (Bahl) one handful. Mu. *pasaṛa*
pahār n. jungle, forest; hill, mountain. H., cf. Mu. *buru*
pahārī a. of hills
pahil a. first, former. S.
pahṛī n. (Bahl) mons veneris.
pāḍā n. (Bahl) thigh, the hind leg of an animal.
pigī vt. (Bahl) to get cooked (ref. to rice).
picakāo vt. (Bahl) to be dislocated (ref. to a bone).
picā? vt. (Bahl) to open eyes. cf. Mu. *arid*
piṭāo vt. (Bahl) to have sleep broken; to kill
pīṭī n. (Bahl) wooden box. H.
pīṭi? vi. (Bahl) to drizzle.
pīṛhā n. (Bahl) a circular bread board
pīṛhā tirij n. (Bahl) back tooth.
pipīoṛ.pipīōḍ n. firefly. Mu. *ipīṛipiyu*
pīb n. pus. H.
pīreḍ vt. (Bahl) to stare fixedly with eyes wide open (ref. to a cat).
pilhiṅ n. (Bahl) liver.
puṭā? vt. (Bahl) to shoot sparks (of fire). Mu. *puṭa?* 'to bore a small hole near a big hole'
puṭid vt. to tear (*Tiger*). Mu. *puṭi?* 'to gush out'
puṭuā? vt. (Bahl) to throw something into water.
puṭu-gaṛ n. a term of abuse (*Tiger*)
puḍā a. (Bahl) small in size. Krx. *puḍḍā*
pupik^h vt. to draw out pus (with a needle) (*Wolf*). cf. Mu. *pusi?* (pus) flows out
purnao vi. to grow up (*Twin*)
purhē a. (Bahl) too much. Mu. *pura?*
pūl n. (Bahl) bridge. H.
pulihā n. (Bahl) *bījā* — leopard.
pus onom. of farting.

- pusu* n. (Bahl *pūsū*) *tʰūrū* — secret, secretly.
- pusu* n. (Bahl *pūsū*) cat, — *hon* young of a cat. Mu. *pusi*
- pusurī* n. (Bahl) itch. Mu. *pusuri* ‘pimple’
- pustak* n. book. H.
- pe* num. three. As. *pēya*, Mu. *apia*, Ho *apijā*, Sa. *pe*.
- peṭkeḍ* n. (Bahl) calf of the leg.
- peṭ peṭe* vt. (Bahl) to have the uneasy feeling of being over full. Mu. *petpete*
- penda* n. (Bahl *pēdā*) bottom. Mu. *penda* ‘flat bottom’
- penda-re* postp. under, beneath
- pere* vt. (Bahl) to spread one’s hands.
- perek* vt. (Bahl *pere?*) to fill a vessel with something, (Bahl) *āre?* — to fill a vessel with water by bailing out, *dūl* — to fill by pouring, *hawir* — to fill something by the hollow of hands, — *jua?* to become full (*Firefly*). Mu. *pere?*
- peroã* n. (Bahl) pigeon. S.
- pelonī* n. see *bakʰer pelonī*
- pelgāo* vt. (Bahl) to push.
- peso* n. (Bahl) wild rat.
- peskā* n. a plant; tuber; (Bahl) egg-yoke.
- poconj* vi. (Bahl) to have holes, *qewā* — to jump across, *be?* — to spit through a hole. Mu. *pucu?* ‘to come out from a hole’
- poṭom* vt. (Bahl) *ī?* — to defecate in one’s clothes. Mu. *poṭom* bale, to wrap in a bale
- potā* n. (Bahl) abdomen, the part of body between the lower rib and the waist. Mu. *poṭa*
- poto* n. (Bahl) foam.
- por* vt. (Bahl) *eme* — to give the wrong thing.
- pāicā* n. (Bahl) credit, loan. Mu. *pāica*
- paeāj* n. (Bahl) onion. H.
- pairi* n. (Bahl) an anklet, — *ged* to have a depression on the ankles due to wearing anklets. S. *pairi*
- paer* n. (Bahl) ridge of field.
- paisā* n. money. H.
- prayās* vi. to make effort. H.
- pāmpa* n. (Barker 39) grasshopper
- pʰaṅkāo* vt. (Bahl) to cut the branch of a tree.
- pʰaḳā* n. torn, tattered. H.
- pʰāṛā* vt. (Bahl) to chop wood. H.
- pʰaruā* n. (Bahl) shoulder.
- pʰarkāt* n. (Bahl) shoulder, an animals front leg.
- pʰarcāo* vt. (Bahl) to do something till morning.
- pʰalnā* n. (Bahl) so and so, someone. H.
- pʰikrāo* vt. (Bahl) to worry. H.
- pʰir* adv. again. H.
- pʰujalī* n. (Bahl) an itch. H.
- pʰudunā* n. (Bahl) tassel. Mu. *puduna*
- pʰūl* n. (Bahl) womb; flower. H.
- pʰūlā* n. (Bahl) small niche for putting lamps.
- pʰūlī* a. (Bahl) of good quality (ref. to liquor). Mu. *puli*
- pʰulūgī* n. (Bahl) an off-shoot.
- pʰulmaurī* n. (Bahl) a kind of rice.
- pʰūl-lai?* n. (Bahl) a baby in the womb.
- pʰusurī* n. (Bahl) a small sore. Mu. *pusuri*
- pʰeṭāo* vt. (Bahl) to mix, to stir. S.
- pʰoṛāo* vt. (Bahl) to let water escape, *ayum* — to listen incompletely.
- bāgā* vt. (Bahl) to bend one’s body. Mu. *baṅka*
- bāgā-n* vt. (Bahl) to bend oneself, crawl.
- bāgo* n. (Bahl) moon (used only by children).
- bāḷ* vt. to divide. H.
- bāḷao* vi. see *banao*
- bādʰā* n. (Bahl) — *kūbī* cabbage. H.
- bādʰā kūbī* n. (Bahl) cabbage.
- bābī* n. (Bahl) a fish.
- bāh* n. (Bahl) arm. H.
- ba* n. (Bahl) *ricī* — an animal. H. *rīch* ‘bear’
- baī* part. (Bahl) no. cf. Mu. *baṅ*
- baī* vt. (Bahl) to answer in the negative, to say no, to refuse, *ayum* — to keep on hearing without paying any

- attention to what is being said. Mu. *bai?*
- bakalā* n. (Bahl) bark of a tree. Mu. *bakla?*
- baksā* n. (Bahl) box, trunk. H.
- bak^{her} pelonī* n. (Bahl) money paid by the bridegroom to the friends of his bride at the time when the bride is about to leave her parents' house after marriage.
- bagarā* a. (Bahl) more, much, too much. S.
- bagalī* n. (Bahl) small bag for keeping money. Mu. *buglī*
- bagra* a. (Bahl *bagarā*, *hābal*) heavy. As. *hambal*, Bi. *hamal*, Mu. *hambal*
- baja, baja-e* vt. (Bahl *bajā*) to beat a drum. H.
- bajar* n. (Bahl *bajār*) market, — *qand^{hā}* market place. H.
- bajao* vi. (Barker 22, 30) to be tired
- baj^{hāo}* vt. (Bahl) to implicate. Mu. *bajao*
- baṭī* vt. (Bahl) to roll, — *āgū* to bring by rolling, — *āder* to bring inside by rolling, — *anā* to remove by rolling, — *idī* to move by rolling, — *uḍuḡ* to roll something or oneself out, — *kalthāo* to turn upside down by rolling, — *darvā* to bring by rolling, — *rakab* to move up by rolling, — *logor* vi. to roll down, *mā?* — to cut and turn upside down. Mu. *baṭī* 'to overturn'
- baṭiāo* vt. (Bahl) *so?* — to reverse and sew.
- baṭi-n* vi. (Bahl) to roll oneself. Mu. *baṭin*
- baṭurō* n. (Bahl) leaf of field pea, peas.
- baṭom* n. (Bahl) button. E., Mu. *baṭam*
- baṭkī* kin first wife.
- baḍa* n. (Bahl *baḍā*) father's elder brother. Mu. *baḍa*
- baḍi* n. (Bahl *baḍī*) mother's elder sister, father's elder brother's wife. Mu. *baḍi*
- baṛe* a. (also *baṛa*) big, *baṛe(a) roṭa* very big; very much; *baṛetan* very far (*Tiger*). H. *baṛā*
- baṛe* n. (also *baṛa*, *baṛe siḡ*) banyan, — *gad* banyan sap. Mu. *baṛe*
- baṛwā* n. (Bahl) wild dog.
- baṛha* vt. — *jom* to look for food (*Twin*)
- baṛhaī* n. (Bahl) carpenter.
- baṇḍo* n. a wolf. Mu. (Nag.) *baṇḍo* 'wild cat'
- bātā* n. (Bahl) rafter. Mu. *bata*
- bat^{hān}* n. (Bahl) place where cattle are gathered.
- badalā* vt. (Bahl) to change, to exchange. H. *badalnā*
- badri* n. cloud. As. *badri*, Bi. *badri*, Mu. *la ri*, Ho *canab*?, Sa. *tayom*, (*rimil*)
- bad^{hiā}* n. (Bahl) castrated pig.
- ban* n. (Bahl) *birīdā* — dense forest. H.
- bānā* n. (Bahl) wild sheep. Mu. *bana* 'bear'
- banar^{hiyā}* a. excellent, see *baṛ^{hiyā}*
- banar* num. two, both, see *bar*
- bani* n. a job
- banao, baṇao, baṇa?* vi. to be made, to be possible, to be all right. H. *bannā*
- bancā* vi. (Bahl) to avoid, to escape. Mu. *bancao*, H. *bacānā*
- bandi* adv. suddenly (*Jackal*)
- bansī* n. (Bahl) fishing hook. Mu. *baṇasī*
- bansī carā* n. (Bahl) an insect (for bait). Mu. *baṇasī carā* 'bait'
- bansao* vi. to be saved (*Smart Wolf*); (Barker 44 *bansaw*) to become little. H. *bacānā*
- bāp re* itj. oh my!
- baba* kin (Bahl *babā*) father.
- babaq* vt. (Bahl) to itch. Mu. *babata*
- bāmhan* n. (Bahl) Brahmin. Mu. *ba-maṇe*
- bayaḡ* n. (Bahl) a tuber. Mu. *bayaḡ* 'a kind of yam'
- baya?* vi. (Bahl *bayā?*) to be insane, (Bahl) *tayā?* — to move around aimlessly. Mu. *baya*
- bayao* vi. (Bahl *bayāo*) to be confused, to be at a loss; (Bahl) to become insane with sickness. Mu. *baya*

- bar* num. two. As. *bariya*, Bi. *bariya*, Mu. *baria*, Ho *barijə*, Sa. *ba:r*
- bār* n. times. H.
- bārī, bārī* n. (Bahl) small kitchen garden near the house. S. *bārī*
- bariār* vt. (Bahl) to apply strength (for example in pulling something).
- barunā* n. (Bahl) a toad. Mu. *barunḡa*
- baroḡ* n. (Bahl) a pimple.
- barkī* n. (Bahl) cloth folded twice and stiched.
- barbarā?* vi. (Bahl) to jabber. H.
- barhā* n. (Bahl) wild pig. H. *varāh*
- bal* n. (Bahl *bāl*) to kindle, to set something on fire, — *aṭu* to set something on fire and leave, to arson, (Bahl) — *bucā?* to pierce a hole into wood by burning; (Bahl) set a forest on fire. Mu. *bal* 'to treat cavity with a heated needle'
- balī* n. (Bahl) child's penis. cf. Mu. *bili* child's penis
- balit* vi. (Bahl) to ripen (of a crop).
- basan* vi. to come to boil. Mu. *basan*
- basan* vt. to boil water, to put pot on fire. Mu. *basan*
- basan dā?* n. (Bahl) water in which rice is boiled and cooked.
- baha* vt. (Bahl *bahā*) to decorate with flowers.
- bahan* n. (Barker 25, 51) direction
- bahalāo* vt. (Bahl) to recreate, to amuse. H. *bahlānā*
- bahalāo juā?* vi. (Bahl) to be amused.
- bahalā?* vi. (Bahl) to be amused.
- bahiṅga* n. a shoulder pole. cf. Mu. *barom*
- bahūḡā* n. (Bahl) a bracelet.
- bahut* a. (Bahl *bahūt*) much, too much, enough. H.
- bahri* adv. (Bahl *bāharī*) out, outside, exterior. H., As. *bahir*, Bi. *bahar*, Mu. *bahar*, Ho *pī:pə(?)*, Sa. *bahre*
- bāhrī* n. (Bahl) *ciṭṭī* — a child's first shave after birth.
- ba?* comp.v. to do something quickly, *jom* — to eat quickly, (Bahl) *utarāo* — to put something down quickly, *ka-haṅī* — to answer quickly, *kījā* — to buy at once, *caṭā?* — to slap in quick succession, *jū* — to drink away, *sene* — to go quickly to a place or a person. Mu. *-ba?*
- ba?* vt. (Bahl *bā?*) to pull with a hook, (Bahl) — *lojor* to pull down with a hook, — *uḡuṅ* to pull out with the fishing hook.
- bīḡā* n. (Bahl) bundle of reaped paddy, half a load. Mu. *biṭā*
- bīḡī* n. (Bahl) spider. Mu. *bindiram*
- bi* vi. (Bahl *bī*) to be satisfied after having a full meal. Mu. *bi*
- biāṭ* n. (Bahl) paddy seedlings, transplantation of paddy. Mu. *bianḡa*
- biāṭ* vt. (Bahl) to transplant paddy.
- biāṭī ṭpil* n. (Bahl) evening star.
- biāh* vt. (Bahl *biāh*) to marry off.
- biāh-ū?* vi. (Bahl) to get oneself married.
- biṅ* n. (Bahl *bīṅ*) snake; (Bahl) *bunum* —; *d^hamanā* —; *ḡāḡḡḡḡ* —; *haṭub* —; *jaḡā* —; *kaṭet* —; *kopol* —; *naī* —. As. *biṅ*, Bi. *biṅ*, Mu. *biṅ*, Ho *biṅ*, Sa. *biṅ*
- bīj* n. (Bahl) semen. cf. Mu. *boda*
- bījā* n. (Bahl) a tree.
- bījā pulihā* n. (Bahl) leopard.
- bijār* n. (Bahl) full grown buffalo stud. Mu. *biyar*
- bīṭā* n. (Bahl) blunt wooden arrow.
- biṭi* kin see *beṭi*
- biṭi* n., kin (Bahl *biṭī*) daughter; (Bahl) brother's daughter; (Bahl) *kāt* — step-daughter. H.
- biṭrahao* vt. to bury (*Jackal*)
- biḡ* vt. (Bahl *bīḡ*) to fix stones in the ground. Mu. *bid*
- bīḡū?* vi. (Bahl) to stand on one's head.
- biḡ biḡ* vi. (Bahl *bīḡ bīḡ*) to walk on tip-toes. Mu. *bid bid*
- bīṭī* n. (Bahl) an inexpensive tubular cigarette. H.
- bīṭo* n. (Bahl) remedy given by a witch-doctor.
- bita* n. (Bahl *bītā*) span of hand. Mu. *bita*
- bitik* adv. (Bahl) at the very moment.
- bitri* n. (Bahl *b^hitari*) inside (*Smart*

- Wolf*)
bidarāo vt. (Bahl) to vex, to jibe. S.
badlaek
bīn vt. to fill stomach (*Wolf*).
binā prep. without. H.
bīnī n. (Bahl) tress.
bibaṛī vt. (Bahl) — *sī?* to talk non-sense.
bibbil a. (Bahl) very dark (ref. to the night).
biridā ban n. (Bahl) dense forest. H.
vṛndāvan
birbirā n. (Bahl) a disease of the eyes.
birhā piluā n. (Bahl) an insect.
birhā piluā n. (Bahl) an insect.
bili n. egg. As. *bili*, Mu. *jarom*, *bili* 'testicle'
bilwa n. cat. Mu. *bilai*
bīs num. twenty cf. Mu. *hisi*, Ho *dō si*,
 Sa. (*mit'*) *isi*
bisī jāṅ n. (Bahl) back bone.
biskuṭ n. biscuit. H., E.
bistarā n. (Bahl) bedding. H.
bīhan n. (Bahl) seed. S.
būbaṛī n. (Bahl) a fish.
 =*bu* encl. we (inclusive)
bū vt. (Bahl) to serve rice on a leaf
 plate. cf. Mu. *lu*
bua? n. (Bahl *būā?*, *būā?*) jackal,
 (Bahl) fox, *k'ik'ir* — fox, *sīm* — an
 animal.
buid n. idea. S.
būer sīṅ n. (Bahl) a tree.
buklī n. (Bahl *bukulī*) heron, crane.
 Mu. *bakuli*
bucā? n. (Bahl) hole, *hūmū* — nostril.
bucā? vt. (Bahl) to make a hole, *bāl* —
 to pierce a hole into wood by burning.
 Mu. *buca* (of utensils) to break
buckāo vt. (Bahl) to let go.
buj'ao vt. to understand. S., Mu. *bujao*
būṭā n. (Bahl) an iron staple. cf. Mu.
buṭa 'trunk of a tree'
budāo vt. (Bahl) to drown; (of sun) to
 set. cf. H. *qubnā*
budī n. (Bahl *budī*) iron at the end of
 a digging stick, (Barker) a digging
 stick, (Bahl) — *beḍ* a digging stick.
budūṛi n. (Bahl) umbilicus. Mu. *buṭi*
buṛbuṛa n. bubble. Mu. *buṛubūṛu*
buta n. (Bahl *būtā*) job, work cf. Mu.
kami
buta vt. (Bahl *būtā*) to work.
buti n. (also *b'utī*) job, work. Mu. *buti*
budi n. wisdom. H. *buddhi*, Mu. *budi*
buduphā a. (Bahl) blunt (ref. to a
 knife).
bunum n. (Bahl) anthill, (Bahl) — *ūḍ*
 a white edible mushroom, — *bīṅ* a
 snake. Mu. *bunum*
bubul vi. (Bahl) to be good (ref. to the
 rice beer). Mu. *bul*, *bubula*
būrā n. (Bahl) pubic hair.
bura? vt. (Bahl *būrā?*) to scoop up,
 (Bahl) to dip a jug etc. into a pitcher
 for taking the water out, — *uḍuṅ*
 to take water out by dipping a vessel into
 it, *teke* — to throw into the water,
 cause a girl to take a bath in a river
 after her first menstruation. Mu. *bu-*
ra?
burīāo vt. (Bahl) to coax a crying child
 as to make him stop crying. Mu. *bu-*
lao
būrī? vt. (Bahl) to uproot, to pull up by
 the roots.
būrī? anā vt. (Bahl) to pull something
 out by twisting it. Mu. *buṛi?* to tear
 off (nails)
būrī?ne vt. (Bahl) to twist.
buru n. (Bahl *būrū*) hill; *ceṛe ceḍ* — a
 bare hill. Mundari *buru*
burum vt. (Bahl) to hatch eggs (of a
 hen), — *keḍ* to hide under wings. Mu.
abarum
burjū sīṅ n. (Bahl) a tree. Mu. *buṛujūṅ*
bul n. (Bahl *būl*) thigh, — *jāṅ* femur or
 thigh bone. Mu. *bulu*
būli? vt. (Bahl) — *āmiṅ* to blow the
 nose clear.
buluṅ n. salt. Mu. *buluṅ*
būsā n. (Bahl) chaff of paddy. Mu.
heṛe
busūr n. (Bahl) indigestion.
busūr vt. (Bahl) to have indigestion.
būsū? n. (Bahl) the straw of paddy;
 — *ūḍ* an edible mushroom growing
 in chaff. Mu. *busu?*, Kurux *bus?ū*

- ‘straw’
būsū? ūq n. (Bahl) an edible mushroom growing in chaff. Mu. *busu?ud*
buhā n. (Bahl) a bull borrowed from someone.
buhāl vt. (Bahl) to wash the feet, to rinse pots and pans, wash rice before cooking. Mu. *bual*
buhūtī n. (Bahl) a measure made of three leaves sewn together.
buhunī vt. (Bahl) to begin, to start, *īr* — to begin to reap paddy. S.
bū? vt. (Bahl) to bark, — *usā* to bark like a dog, talk nonsense. Mu. *bu?*
bēr,ber n. sun, (Bahl) *tikin* — early morning sun, *majʰin* — the noon sun. Sa. *siṅ cando, ber*, cf. Malto *be:ru*
be- prefix without, *be-aigina*, *be-sengelna* without fire
bēḍḍāo vt. (Bahl) to twist, to coil around. Mu. *beṅṭa*
bekʰ n. (Bahl *bej*) spit, (Bahl) — *dā?* phlegm. Mu. *be?*
bekʰ vi. (Bahl *bej*) to spit, (Bahl) — *anā* to spit on the floor, — *pocon* to spit through a hole. Mu. *be?*
bēg vi. (Barker 26) to moo
bej vi. *bolo* —, see under *bolo*.
bēṭ n. (Bahl) handle of a sickle. Mu. *bēṭ* ‘sorcerer’s stick’
beṭa kin (Bahl *beṭā*) son, brother’s son, *beṭa-beṭi* son and daughter, (Bahl) *kāt* — step-son. H., cf. As. *hopon*, Bi. *hopon herel*, Mu. *hon koṛa*, Ho *kōwa hon*, Sa. *hōpōn*
beṭi kin daughter (Bahl *bīṭī*). cf. As. *mai*, Bi. *hopon era*, Mu. *hon kuṛi*, Ho *kui hon*, *hon kui*, Sa. *hōpōn era*
beṭel beṭel n. (Bahl) small insects. Mu. *beṭel beṭel*
beṭe? beṭe? vi. (Bahl) to crawl (of insects), — *uduṅ* to come out crawling (of insects). Mu. *baṭu? baṭu?*
beḍ n. (Bahl) *buḍī* — a digging stick.
bēḍḍāo vt. (Bahl) to miss someone for a little while.
bēḍo siṅ n. (Bahl) a tree.
bedʰawa,bedʰa? vt. to give an idea. Mu. *beda* to cheat, to fool
benā n. (Bahl) bellows (household).
bente n. (Bahl) bundle of reaped paddy. cf. Mu. *biṛa*
berā n. (Bahl) a thick bangle. Mu. *bera*
berel a. (Bahl) unripe, raw, uncooked; wet (ref. to a cloth); not fast (ref. to color). Mu. *berel*
bel vt. (Bahl) to spread. Mu. *bil*
belūr n. (Bahl) ugly person. S. *belūr*
bele a. (Bahl) ripe, cooked. Mu. (Naguri) *bili*
bele vi. (Bahl) to turn grey (of hair).
bele? vi. to get ripe. Mu. *bili*
belonṭi n. (Bahl *belḍḍī*) tomato. S. *belaiṭī*
bes a. (Bahl) right (as opposed to wrong). S.
besā vt. (Bahl) to buy rice.
be?bekʰ vi. (Bahl) to clear one’s throat. Mu. *be?*
bōgor n. (Bahl) a piece.
bōgor vt. (Bahl) to cut something into pieces.
bokā n. (Bahl) — *hoṛ* foolish person. S.
bokoṛā vt. (Bahl) (no definition)
bokorā n. (Bahl) he-goat. Bengali *bokra*, H. *bakrā*
bogoekʰ vt. (Bahl *bogoe?*) to carry mud for building a wall. Mu. *bogoe?*
boṭo-puṭu onom. of emitting bubbles when drowning. Mu. *buṛu-buṛu*
boḍ vt. (Bahl) to get moulded.
boḍe? vt. (Bahl) to knead a dough of flour.
boto vi. (Bahl) to thicken (of spittle in the thirsty mouth).
botor vt. (Bahl) to be afraid of. Mu. *botoṅ*
botoḷ n. (Bahl) bottle. H.,E., Mu. *botolo*
botkoḍ vi. (Bahl) to rot (of a tree) from inside. Mu. *barkad*
bor n. (Bahl) fear. Mu. *boro*
bor vi. (Bahl; Barker 15 *boṛ*) to fear.
boro n. (Bahl) lungs. Mu. *borkodʰ*
boroṭ n. (Bahl) smooth or oily feeling. Mu. *boroṇo*

boroṭ-ū? vi. (Bahl; Barker *boroṭ*) to slip.
boroṭā ot n. (Bahl) slippery soil.
boro? n. (Bahl) puffed rice.
boro? vt. (Bahl) to blister.
borgāhā n. (Bahl) timid.
bolo vi. to enter, to dive in (*Wolf*). Mu. *bolo*
bolo vt. (Bahl) to push inside, (Bahl) — *bej* to push in, — *ḡām* to push in and look for someone, *or* — to pull in, *soloḡ* — to stumble into a ditch, *ūq* — to swallow the spittle. Mu. *bolo*
bosor vi. (Bahl) to crawl away hiding.
boh itj. (or — *re*) oh my!
boho kin (Bahl) younger brother, cousin: father's younger brother's son. Mu. *boko* 'younger sibling'
boh kimin kin (Bahl) sister-in-law: younger brother's wife, father's younger brother's sons's wife.
boh kimin kin (Bahl) sister-in-law: younger brother's wife, father's younger brother's sons's wife. cf. Mu. *hon kimin, haga kimin*
boh re itj. oh my!
bo? n. head, (Bahl) *caṭū* — the headed one, *caṭlaḡ* — bald head, *toṭalo?* — shaved head, *qorā* — ball of rope. As. *boho?*, Bi. *boho?*, Mu. *bo?o*, Ho *bo?*, Sa. *bəhək*
bo? *rās* n. (Bahl) honey comb the cells of which are full of honey.
bāḡirā n. (Bahl) small hut.
baḡā n. (Bahl) priest.
baiḡ'ao vt. to seat, to make someone sit. H.
baitl-a? postp. near (*Wolf*). S. *baital*
bairī n. (Bahl) enemy. H.
baugī n. (Bahl) a kind of square basket.
bauṛāo vt. (Bahl) to become mad. Mu. *bauṛao*
baurāhā hoṛ n. (Bahl) mad man. Mu. (Tamar) *bauṛaa* term of abuse
bəṛiḡa vt. (Barker 20) to tell
bəṛkad vt. (Barker 43) to boil
bəlit n. (Barker 33) head of grain
b'ak b'ak onom. (Bahl) imitative of the

gurgling of a bottle that is being emptied.
b'āḡ vt. (Bahl) *dūl* — to divide into two (of a river). H.
b'ācā kin (Bahl) nephew: sister's son.
b'ācī n. (Bahl) sister's daughter.
b'āṛā n. (Bahl) bamboo straps fixed in a basket crosswise.
b'arḡā? vi. (Bahl) to boil with a bubbling noise. Mu. *barḡao*
b'arṭā n. (Bahl) egg-plant.
b'ayān a. (Bahl) *kanārat* — very foul.
b'ār n. (Bahl) load.
b'arcaṭu n. a pair of pots. Mu. *barcaṭu*
b'awāḡ daṛī n. (Bahl) dust storm.
b'asur kin (Bahl) husband's elder brother. S. *b'āesur*
b'ikaṛāo vt. (Bahl) to nauseate.
b'ir'ao vt. (Bahl *b'ir'āo*) *dūl* — to mix the leftovers of the curry alongwith the freshly prepared curry. Mu. *bir'ao*
b'irḡāo vt. (Bahl) to frighten the chickens away. Mu. *birḡikao*
b'irḡā? vi. (Bahl) to flee away (of chickens).
b'it n. wall. cf. As. *b'it*, Bi. *pacri*, Mu. *paciri*, Ho *ginil*, Sa. *bhīt*
b'itri adv. (Bahl *b'itarī*) inside, inward. As. *b'itri*, Bi. *bitar*, Mu. *bitar*, Ho *bitar*, Sa. *b'itri*
b'ināo vt. (Bahl) to have the taste of salt. Mu. *binao* 'to smell sweaty'
b'ib'ili vt. (Bahl) to lay egg (ref. to a chicken). Mu. *bili*
b'imsī n. (Bahl) a watery sore.
b'ir n. (Bahl) forest, grass, (Bahl) *dūb* — a kind of grass, *raṭā* — a kind of grass. Mu. *bir*
b'ili n. (Bahl *b'ili*) testicles, *sīm* — egg. Mu. *bili*
b'ub'ulao vi. to walk around. cf. Mu. *bulatiḡ* (in songs) 'to walk around'
b'urūḡī n. (Bahl) very small grains of rice.
b'ur b'urār n. (Bahl) brittleness. Mu. *bur bur* soft (of ground)
b'urrā? vi. (Bahl) to gibe, to chatter.
b'ursā sīḡ n. (Bahl) a tree.
b'ula vi. to forget. H.

- b^hulao* vt. to forget. H.
b^het n. (Bahl) *salām* — greetings.
b^heqā n. (Bahl) okra, — *jāṇ* okra seed.
b^helā n. (Bahl) lump of meat.
b^hok n. (Bahl) heart (only body organ).
b^hog n. (Bahl) *lasun* — a kind of rice.
b^hoṛāo vt. (Bahl) *eme* — to give the wrong thing.
b^hoṛe b^hoṛ vi. (Bahl) to be mistaken.
b^hosāo vt. (Bahl) to stab in the abdomen.
b^hāes n. buffalo. H.
b^hāis n. (Bahl) buffalo. H.
b^haiya kin brother. H.
b^hairā n. (Bahl) deaf person. H. *bahrā*, Mu. *baira*
mājurbāj, mījurbāj n. (Bahl) hawk.
māḍā adv. (Bahl) there.
māḍao vt. (Bahl) to put down. Mu. *maṇḍao*
māḍaṛ n. (Bahl) a kind of drum. S.
māḍir n. (Bahl) — *oṛā?* temple. H.
māder adv. (Bahl) there.
māderre vi. (Bahl) to be there.
māḍ^hermā adv. (Bahl) day before yesterday.
-mā n. (Bahl) day. Mu. *api-ma* ‘three days’
ma adj. that
ma-kin pron. they two (animate)
ma-kin pron. they two (animate)
ma-ku pron. they (animate plural)
ma-ku pron. they, those (animate plural)
makua a. those
macua itj. a filler
maj^ha n. (Bahl) centre. S.
maj^hinhā adv.? (Bahl) noon.
maṭaṭā āṭā? n. (Bahl) a plant. Mu. *maṭaṭa aṭa?*
maṭ^ha n. ghee. H.
maḍ n. (Bahl *māḍ*) bamboo. Mu. *maḍ*
maṭa n. (Bahl *māṭā*) ghost, shade, (Bahl) ghost of a drowned person.
 Mu. *maṇa buru* ‘name of a deity’
maṭ-da? n. gruel.
maṇḍar n. drum. S. *mandar*
maṇḍiyā n. Marua millet. Mu. *kode*
maṇḍao vt. to put down, — *aṭu* to put down and go away. Mu. *maṇḍao*
mata a. that
māṭā n. (Bahl) smallpox. S.
mata-uṛi adv. that way.
maṭ^harom n. (Bahl) cold, *k^ho?* — cough and cold, to catch cough and cold. cf. Mu. *manda*
maṭ^halāo vt. (Bahl) to be busy doing something.
madam n. madam. E.
man adv. (Bahl) a little, just.
man n. mind. H.
man vi. to be careful
mana pron. (Bahl *manā*) that (adjective).
manāo vt. (Bahl) to persuade.
manāo juā? vi. (Bahl ‘vt. to persuade’) to be persuaded.
manā juār adv. (Bahl) then, at that time; when, at what time.
manāmin a. (Bahl) that much.
mana? vi. to be considerate, (Bahl) to agree
manā? vi. to agree to someone.
manuwa n. human. H.
mane adv. (also — *kī*) namely. H.
manen pron. (Bahl) him, her.
mana-uṛi adv. that way
manjil n. storey. H.
mante part. (also *mente*) a quotative particle. Mu. *mente*
man?an adv. that way
māmā kin (Bahl) uncle, mother’s brother, father’s sister’s husband; father-in-law. Mu. *mamu*
mamā?ī? n. (Bahl) *sahan* — *hoṭ* woodman, vendor of wood.
māmī kin (Bahl) aunt: father’s sister, mother’s brother’s wife; mother-in-law. Mu. *hatom*
mamin a. (Bahl) that much.
mayār adv. (Bahl) as much as possible (ref. to wedding presents).
marat n. time, — *re* when, — *minre* while
marad laṇī? kin (Bahl) son.
marā? n. (Bahl) peahen. Mu. *mara?*
marā? *cuṭā* n. (Bahl) comb of peahen.

maris n. (Bahl) bell pepper. Mu. *marci*
margʰaḡī n. (Bahl) cemetery.
mardao vt. to massage, to rub. cf. Mu.
itir
marmar n. (Bahl) an insect. Mu.
kaḡakom marmar ‘scorpion’, *sengel*
marmar ‘centipede’
marsal n. (Bahl *marsāl*) light. Mu.
marsal ‘light, to search with light’
marsal vt. (Bahl *marsāl*) to make light
 in one’s own home, *āḡ* — to keep on
 walking till dawn.
mālā n. see *ḡosā mālā*.
malik n. master, preceptor. H.
malhan n. (Bahl) a kind of beans. cf.
 Mu. *manal*
mās n. meat, flesh. H.
mase n. (Bahl *māse*) black beans, urad.
 H. *mās*
maser, waser n. (Bahl) a tuber.
maṣṭar n. teacher. E.
mahak vi. (Bahl) to smell.
mahī n. (Bahl) butter-milk.
māḡ vt. (Bahl) to cut with an ax. Mu.
maḡ
maḡan adv. (also —*te*) that way, thus
mi num. one (adjective), *mi-goḡon*, *mi-*
goḡ, *mi-ḡon* a piece, *mi-hoḡ* one per-
 son
mianḡ adv. (Bahl *miāḡ*) day after to-
 morrow. Mu. *meyanḡ*
miad num. one. Mu. *miyad*
miḡʰai n. sweets, — *suḡʰai* sweets and
 so on. H.
miḡ goḡ adv. (Bahl) one each. Mu.
mīmiyad
midrī n. (Bahl) bamboo strip fixed to
 the edge of a basket, link of a chain.
mit n. friendship (*Wolf*)
mi-re adv. in one place, together. Mu.
mid-re
mūk n. (Barker) elbow. Krx. *mūkā*
mūḡā n. (Bahl) an insect.
mūdārā n. (Bahl) an earring worn by
 men. Mu. *mundura*
mūdīt n. (Bahl) ring. Mu. *mudam*
mūdʰaḡī kaḡ n. (Bahl) roof lath.
mūdʰaḡī kaḡ n. (Bahl) roof lath. Mu.
mutul kunḡa ‘main pillar of a house’

mukʰiā n. (Bahl) village chief, tribe
 chief. H.
muckāḡ, muskāḡ vi. (Bahl) to laugh. H.
muḡḡu n. (Barker 8, 43) ember
mūḡʰī n. (Bahl) fist. H.
muḡa n. stick.
munmaḡī n. (Bahl) a kind of clay.
muraī n. (Bahl) — *āḡāḡ* radish. Mu.
morai
muruk adv. (Bahl) much, too much.
murebā n. (Bahl) fibre plant. Mu. *mu-*
rudʰba
muraet n. (Bahl) picture.
murlī n. (Bahl) flute. H.
mūl n. (Bahl) main, — *āḡarī* the
 thumb. H.
mūsāḡḡ n. (Bahl) a flail, a rammer.
musiḡ adv. (Bahl) one day, sometime.
 Mu. *musiḡ*
muḡī n. (Bahl) *nir* — needle.
muhūḡā n. (Bahl) the upper part.
muhrān n. (Bahl) *meḡ* — appearance,
 countenance. cf. Mu. *med muḡa*
me part. see *mer*
mecʰā n. (Bahl) whiskers. cf. Mu.
gucu
meḡ vi. (Bahl) to have an eye disease.
 Mu. *med* ‘to open eyes’
meḡraḡ vi. (Bahl) to hover.
meḡair vi. to rotate (*Twin*)
medʰ n. (Bahl *meḡ*) eye, (Bahl) — *ūb*
 eye-lashes, — *nipir nipir* rim of eye-
 lids, — *muhrān* appearance, counte-
 nance, *ranī* — pupil of the eye. As.
mēḡ, Bi. *mēt*, Mu. *med*, Ho *meḡʰ*, Sa.
metʰ
medʰ daḡ n. tear. Mu. *med daḡ*
mene, mener part. see *mer*
mente part. see *mante*
mer part. a negator, ‘not’
merā n. (Bahl) refuse of rice beer. cf.
 Mu. *maya*
meral n. (Barker) a type of berry,
 (Bahl) *merāl sīḡ* a tree. Mu. *meral*
 ‘Phyllanthus emblica’
merom n. (Bahl) goat, — *hon* kid. Mu.
merom
mela n. time, occasion

- mese* kin (Bahl) younger sister, father's sister's younger son's wife, mother's brother's younger son's wife. Mu. *miſi*, Sa. *miſ era*
meset n. see *mese*
moka-soka adv., echo sometimes
moſ n. (Bahl) fat person. H. *moſā*, Mu. *moſo*
moſā vt. (Bahl) to tie something into a bundle.
monde? n. (*monḍaekʻ*, Bahl *mōḍe?*, Barker 42 *monḍeq*) tuber
maenā n. (Bahl) a bird. H. *maena*
mael n. see *maila*
mail n. (Bahl) arrow. Mu. *mail* 'fletching of an arrow'
maonā siſj n. (Bahl) a tree.
rāge? n. (Bahl) hunger. Mu. *renge?*
rāge? vi. (Bahl) to be hungry.
rāej n. (Bahl) kingdom.
rāet n. (Bahl) night. S.
rāet vi. (Bahl) to be night.
ragra? vt. (Bahl *ragdāo*) to rub, to scrub. As. *ragda*, Mu., Bi. *ragrao*
ragdāo vt. (Bahl) to rub, to massage.
raſg n. (Bahl *rāg*, *rāḡ*) color. H.
raſg vt. (Bahl *rāg*, *rāḡ*) to dye.
racā? vt. (Bahl) to rebuke, — *ginī* to rebuke in quick succession, — *daram* to rebuke someone on meeting on the street, — *hewā* to have the habit of rebuking. Mu. *raca?* 'to pull'
raſā bʻir n. (Bahl) a kind of grass.
raſpaſāo vt. (Bahl) to startle.
raḍeā n. (Bahl) an insect.
raṇḍī n. (Bahl *rāḍī*) widow. H.
ratiāo vt. (Bahl) *doho* — to capture someone's heart.
ratap n. (Barker 33) hail. Mu. *ratap*
radā n. (Bahl) a layer of mud put in erecting a mud wall.
ranī meḍ n. (Bahl) pupil of the eye.
rānū n. (Bahl) ferment for rice beer. Mu. *ranu*
rapa? vt. (Bahl *rapā?*) to set something on fire, to burn something with fire, to roast; to lie in wait (*Tiger*). Mu. *rapa?*
rāb vt. (Bahl) to crack, to break. cf. Mu. *raba* 'put a broken limb in splints'
rabaj n. (Bahl) cold weather. Mu. *rabaj*
rabaj vi. (Bahl) to be cold. Mu. *rabaj*
rabū? vi. (Bahl) to sprout (ref. to paddy). cf. Mu. *oſe?* to sprout, to pop in fire
ramati? n. (Barker 33, 51 *rəmati*) fingernail, claw. As., Bi., Sa. *rama*, cf. Mu., Ho *sarsar*
raraſj vt. (Bahl) to tremble with cold.
rawī vt. (Bahl) to pull out. cf. Mu. *rawi?* 'to become skinny'
rawen n. (Bahl) an animal.
rās n. (Bahl) honey, *bo?* — honey comb the cells of which are full of honey.
raſī vt. (Bahl) to tread on the grain.
raſī dā? n. (Bahl) highly intoxicating liquor rising out of rice beer.
rahā vi. (Bahl) to wait.
rahāo vt. (Bahl) *sabʻ* — to prevent, to stop
raḥtā n. (Bahl) spinning wheel.
ra? vt. (Bahl *rā?*) to call, to shout; make noise (ref. to birds), (Bahl) — *āṭū* to invite somebody. As. *ra?*, Bi. *ra?*, Mu., Ho, Sa.
rigʻaſā jāj n. (Bahl) backbone.
ricī banā n. (Bahl) an animal.
riḍ vt. (Bahl *rīḍ*; Barker 40 *riḍ*) to crush, to grind, — *jom* to crush and eat something, — *lājā* (Bahl) to crush into paste (ref. to spices). Mu. *riḍ*
ripuḍ vt. (Bahl) *hab* — to bite one's under lip.
rimū? vi. (Bahl) to get up (from sleep).
rimbil n. (Barker 25) cloud, sky. Mu. *rimbil* 'cloud'
ririḍ ḍirī n. (Bahl) stone for grinding spices etc. Mu. *riḍ ḍirī*
riſ n. (Bahl *rīs*) anger, cf. *kʻiſ*.
riſ vi., vt. (Bahl *rīs*) to get angry; to make someone angry.
riſu? vi. (Bahl *riſū?*) to be angry.
riḥḍī n. (in *rehdā* —) (Bahl) act of sitting with thighs touching, usually refers to making love in public.

- rūbā* n. (Bahl) crowd of people. Mu. *rumba?* ‘bunch of fruits’
- rūā* n. (Bahl) *edel* — silk cotton. cf. Mu. *edel buram*
- rukū* vt. (Bahl) to nod. Mu. *ruku* ‘to shake a tree’
- ruku?* vt. (Barker 48) to poke
- rucab* vt. (Bahl) — *rem* to pick something up with all the fingers of the hand. Mu. *rucab* ‘to pluck’
- ruṭi* n. bread. H.
- rupiya* n. rupee. H.
- rūb* vt. (Bahl) to collapse (ref. to a house), (Barker 46) to slide down. Mu. *rub* (of trees) to fall down due to termites
- rūsī* n. (Bahl) dandruff. H.
- recek?* vi. (Barker 40 *recejyena*) to be old
- recet* n. tatters (*My Life*)
- req* vt. to stop, to prevent, (Bahl) *api?* — to shut (one’s) eyes, *oyo* — to cover oneself with a sheet of cloth before going to sleep, *jalā* — (no definition), *dāb* — to hide something away. cf. Mu. *red* ‘a root’
- rebed?* vt. (Bahl) to stick a flower on one’s ear, — *kucū* to tuck dhoti in the waist. Mu. *rebed*
- rem* vt. (Bahl) to lift, to carry.
- resed?* vt. (Bahl) to tuck, to stick. cf. Mu. *lesa*, *lesed* vt. ‘to stick together’
- rehdā rihdī* n. (Bahl) act of sitting with thighs touching, usually refers to making love in public. cf. Mu. *leda ladi*
- roā* n. (Bahl) *sāmēt* — woman’s pubic hair.
- roek?* vt. (Bahl *roej*) to wring clothes, (Barker 52) vi. to be wrinkled. Mu. *roe?* ‘to squeeze out’
- rokoe?* n. (Bahl) a small frog.
- roṇ* a. (Bahl) dirty (ref. to clothes).
- roṇ* n. (Bahl) sediment in liquid.
- roṭa* a. big
- roḍo-boḍo* adv. rambling together (*Wolf*)
- ronoj* adv. (from *rōj*) daily
- ropā* vt. (Bahl) to plant. S., cf. Mu. *roa rowed?* vt. (Bahl) to wrinkle (as of old age). cf. Mu. *repo*
- ro?*, *rog-e* vt. (Barker 20) to pierce
- ro?o* n. (Bahl) house fly. Mu. *roko*
- rāgra* n. (Barker 20) a crayfish
- lāgaṭiā* a. (Bahl) poor, *janam* — extremely poor.
- lāgaṭā* a. (Bahl) lame. Mu. *laṇḡṭā*
- lāgarā* n. (Bahl) naked man. cf. Mu. *ṭoaṇ*
- lāgara-n* vi. (Bahl) to become naked.
- lāgarī* n. (Bahl) naked woman.
- lājā* vt. (Bahl) to powder, to crush, *rīḍ* — to crush into paste (ref. to spices), *hāb* — to soften a twig by chewing it down to clean teeth
- lād* vi. to laugh, (Bahl) to cut jokes. Mu. *landa*
- lādā cahe* n. (Bahl) chit chat.
- laik?* n. (Bahl *lañi?*) child, (Bahl) *ayumī* — girl, daughter, *ug^hāo āpri?* — a term of abuse, *gedā* — a baby in arms, *jawa* — kin twins, *d^hāgaṭī* — daughter, *marad* — son. cf. As. *cenga*, Bi. *hopon*, Mu. *hon*, Ho *hon*, Sa. *gidrā*
- lāi cubalī* n. (Bahl) filthy talk.
- lāi cubalī* vt. (Bahl) to talk nonsense.
- lakānā* a. (Bahl) like this, just this. Mu. *lekna?*
- lakōa* n. kind of tuber
- lakaorī* n. (Bahl) stick with one end flat for stirring rice when cooking.
- laga* postp. for the sake of. Mu. *lagi*
- lagaṛa* n. (Bahl) a fish.
- laga?* vi. to be attached
- lagin* postp. for. Mu. *lagin*
- lagao* vt. to attach, to apply. Mu. *lagao*
- lag^he* adv. (Bahl) near, close by.
- laṇk^hā, laṇkā* adv. (Bahl) far away. Mu. *laṇka*
- laṇi?* n. (Bahl) child, see *laik?*. Mu. *lai?* ‘belly, womb’
- laṇi?* vt. (Bahl) to give birth to a child. Mu. *lai?* ‘to be pregnant’
- laṭī* n. (Bahl) top-knot. cf. Mu. *cuṭa*
- laṭi?* vt. (Bahl) to turn a cloth upside-down. Mu. *laṭi?* to bend (one’s back, etc.)

- laṭʰa* n. halwa. Mu. *laṭa*, *leṭe*
lāḍ vt. (Bahl) to fry in deep fat, to cook. Mu. *lad* 'baked bread'
laḍū n. (Bahl) ball of any grain stewed with pulse. H.
laṛa, laṛa-e vt. to release, to untie; (Bahl *laṛā*) to undo a knot. Mu., As. *raṛa*
laṛkī n. girl. H.
laṛkīḍūā vi. (Bahl) to be unconscious.
laṛwāṅ vi. (Bahl) *duru?* — to sit with one's mouth wide open. Mu. *lalowa*
lāt vt. (Bahl) to cave. Mu. *lata*
latār adv. (Bahl) below, down. Mu. *lataṛ*
latār vt. (Bahl) to move something down.
lada-pada onom. spattered with sticky substance. Mu. *lada-pada*
lapā-e vt. (Bahl) to cure, to heal, see *napae*. Mu. *lapae* (of hair) clean and tidy
lama? n. (Barker 42) a species of pod-fruit, (Bahl *lamā?* *sīṅ*) a tree. Mu. *lama?* 'Bauhinia vahlii'
larṭarā? vi. (Bahl) to stagger. cf. Mu. *larta*, *larpa* 'to tread on excrements'
lāl a. red. H.
lalcā? vi. (Bahl) to be greedy.
lāsā n. (Bahl) a kind of glue. H.
lasit n. (Bahl) corn silk.
lasit n. (Bahl) obscene term denoting vaginal fluid.
lasun n. (Bahl) garlic. cf. Mu. *rasuṅi*
lasun bʰog n. (Bahl) a kind of rice.
lāh n. (Bahl) lac, a paste to repair vessels.
lāh vt. (Bahl) to repair a vessel with that paste.
lahū n. (Bahl) blood, — *sīr* vein. S.
lībīr n. (Bahl) cloud, *āril* — very dark cloud, *jāṅ* — clear sky. Mu. *rimbil*
likʰaṛī a. (Bahl) cheap.
lin-hoṛeiṅ vt. (Bahl) to fight with each other.
libdā vt. see *luṭī?* —
līmḅū joḍo n. (Bahl) lemon fruit.
lūā sīṅ n. (Bahl) a tree. Mu. *loa*
luṭī? vt. (Bahl) to whip, to beat, to pound, — *asiḍ* to beat someone dead, — *libdā* to beat someone down. Mu. *luṭi?* 'to open a fruit after cutting it'
luṛuṅ vt. to husk rice, (Bahl) to pound rice. Mu. *ruṭuṅ*
lutur n. ear. Mu. *lutur*
ludū vt. (Bahl) to feel soft.
luhyūr a. (Bahl) sharp (ref. to needle). Mu. *leser*
lekin conj. but. H.
lekʰe postp. like. Mu. *leka*
leṭe-peṭe onom. sticky, slimy, dirty. Mu. *leṭe-peṭe*
lebda vi. — *jua* to fall down. Mu. *lebda* 'to throw down'
lewā n. (Bahl) ploughing in the watery field. S.
lesā vi. (Bahl) to hit the mark.
loej vt. (Bahl) to pull back the prepuce. Mu. *loe?*
logor vi. see under *baṭī*
loṅgwe n. (Barker 43) wine dipper
lojor vi. (Bahl) to fall down.
lojor vt. (Bahl) to cause something to fall down, *tānā* — to cause water to flow down by making an outlet, *bā?* — to pull down with a hook.
loṭā n. (Bahl) a jug. Mu. *loṭa*
loṭāo vt. (Bahl) to make something dirty. Mu. *loṭe* 'to be caked'
loṭuṭkū n. (Bahl) half burnt wood. cf. Mu. *ḍuṭu*
loṛom vi. (Barker 49) to rest
loṇḍra n. (Barker 42) fish trap
lopoṅ n. (Bahl) a tree. Mu. *lupuṅ*
lopohe? n. (Bahl) waist, — *jāṅ* the hip bone. Mu. *ropoe?*, *ronopoe?* 'a joint'
lobʰāo vt. (Bahl) *nel* — to attract.
loyoṅ n. (Bahl) field in which water remains standing for a long time. Mu. *loyoṅ*
lohā n. (Bahl) iron. H.
lohāṭī n. (Bahl) a kind of drum.
laekʰ n. (Bahl *laṭ?*) guts, intestines. Mu. *lai?*
laeṭ n. (Bahl) matted hair.
lain n. see *laikʰ*
laor vt. (Bahl) to snatch.
waka vt. to hang, (Barker) to dangle,

- (Bahl) — *goe?* to hang oneself. Mu. *haka*
- wāg* n. (Grierson) brother. Mu. *haga*
- waga* kin (Bahl *wagā*) elder brother, cousin; father's elder brother's son; husband's elder sister's husband. Mu. *haga*
- wagat* n. elder brother
- wagai* n. elder sister
- wāg hīl* kin (Bahl) sister-in-law: elder brother's wife, father's elder brother's son's wife. Mu. *hili*
- waṭle* n. big-eyed, term of abuse.
- watanā sīṅ* n. (Bahl) a tree. Mu. *hatana?*
- watu* n. (Grierson) village. Mu. *hatu*
- war* vt. (Bahl *wār*) to drive along, — *kudā* to drive back; to send someone for marriage (*Firefly*). Mu. *har*
- war* vt. (Barker *war*) to send (something, someone) (*Firefly*). Mu. *har* to send, to drive, to give a ride
- warāgā sīṅ* n. (Bahl) a tree.
- waser* n. a tuber. Mu. *hasear-saṅga*
- wastī* n. settlement. H.
- wiri* vi. (Barker 8 *wiṛi*) to be heard, to make sound
- wiriwān* vi. (Bahl) to make noise (ref. to a musical instrument).
- wek* vi. (Bahl *hoe?* *hoej*) to come; to become. Mu., As., Bi. *hiju?*
- wer* vt. (Bahl) to sow seed. Mu. *her*
- wer* vt. (Barker 29) to sow
- weṛ* vi. (Barker 29) to swim
- vyost'a* n. arrangement. H.
- sāūṅtā* n. (Bahl) male friend.
- sāgarāo* vt. (Bahl) to help someone.
- sāgāhī* n. (Bahl) shelf made near the ceiling in a Korwa house for keeping things.
- sāgoj* vt. (Bahl) to take along.
- sāqasī* n. (Bahl) tongs. M.
- sāqwāhā* a. (Bahl) like a bull, stupid.
- sādes* n. (Bahl) presents. S.
- sārga* n. (Bahl) a plant.
- sās* n. (Bahl) breath. H.
- sās* vt. (Bahl) to breathe. Mu. *sayad*
- sakam* n. (Barker 33 *səkkəm*) leaf, (Bahl) *chīd* — palm leaf. As. *sekam*, Bi. *sakam*, Mu. *sakam*, Ho *səkam*, Sa. *sakam*
- sakas* a. (Bahl) hard. Mu. *saktao* 'to become too tight'
- sakuṭ* a. (Bahl) narrow mouthed. Mu. *sikuṭu*
- sakuṭāo* vt. (Bahl) to gather, *gayom* — to arrange hair with hands.
- saklāo jumāo* vt. (Bahl) to put things together.
- sagaī* n. (Bahl) marriage of a widow to a widower. H.
- sagaī* vt. (Bahl) to become united by such a marriage.
- saṅ-u?* vi. to meet friends
- saṅkosī* n. (Bahl) bamboo shell for keeping the family god.
- saṭakāo* vt. (Bahl) to harden while running (ref. to a wheel).
- saḍa?* vi. to go away
- saḍao* vt. to make leave
- sārā* n. (Bahl; Barker 29 *saṛa?*) sharp point of an arrow. Mu. *sār*
- sāri* n. saree. H.
- sārim* n. (Bahl) roof of a house.
- satri-batri* adv. biting here and there
- sat'hā?* vi. (Bahl) to rest, to relax. Mu. *sat'ao*
- sādā* a. (Bahl) empty. S.
- sādanī* n. (Bahl) ear wax.
- sād'hū* n. (Bahl) saint. H.
- sanaj* vt. (Bahl) to supinate.
- sanahi* adv. (from H. *saḥī* 'true') really
- sanicar* n. saturday
- sāne?* n. (Bahl) food grain (*Citrus ca-jan*).
- sān dūb* n. (Bahl) jute plant.
- sapanā* vt. (Bahl) to dream. H., cf. Mu. *kumu*
- sapayāṭ* n. (Barker 42 *səp'ayan*) old person, village elder
- sapaha* a. (Bahl) safe (ref. to a route in a jungle).
- sapṛao* vi. to get ready. Mu. *sapṛao* 'to be ready', *sampoṛo* 'to prepare'
- sapṛao* vt. to prepare
- sab* a. all. H.
- sabun* n. soap. H.

- samaŋ* n. forehead. As., Ho *samaŋ*, cf. Mu., Bi. *moloŋ*
- sāmēt* n. (Bahl; Barker *samhê*) vulva, — *roā* woman's pubic hair.
- samj^hāo* vt. (Bahl) to make someone understand.
- samj^hā?* vi. (Bahl) to understand. H. *samajhnā*
- samd^hi* kin (Bahl) younger sister's husband, wife's elder brother; father's sister's elder son; mother's brother's elder son. Mu. *sumdi*
- samd^hi* vt. (Bahl) to meet one's younger sister's husband or wife's elder brother.
- samd^hin* kin (Bahl) mother's brother's elder son's wife, father's sister's elder son's wife.
- sayāq* n. (Bahl) village-elder (ref. to males).
- sayāqⁱ* n. lady, old woman
- sayānⁱ* n. (Bahl) village-elder (ref. to females).
- saram* n. fawn. Mu.
- sara?* n. (Bahl *sarā?*) a big monkey. Mu. *sara?*
- sārū* n. (Bahl) a vegetable. Mu. *saru* 'taro'
- sarao* vt. to graze (cattle). cf. Hindi *carānā*, Mu. *gupi*
- sarjom sīŋ* n. (Bahl) a tree. Mu. *sarjom*
- sāl* vi. to sing (*Tiger*)
- salām* phr. hello, good day. cf. Mu. *jo-har*
- salām b'eŋ* n. (Bahl) greetings.
- salāhsī* adv. (Bahl) amicably.
- salao* vt. to move something speedily (*Firefly*); to run away, to set out (*Tiger*)
- salpa?* n. (Bahl *salpā?*, Barker 44 *salpa?to*) bark of a tree.
- sawāqī c^hawāqī* vt. (Bahl) to give birth to a child.
- sasari* a. helpless (*Wolf*)
- sastā* vt. (Bahl) to put someone to trouble, — *āqū* to put someone to trouble and go away.
- sahan* n. wood, firewood, (Bahl) — *honku* kindlings, — *mamā?ī?* *hoŋ* woodman, vendor of wood. Mu. *saan*
- sahiya* n. a friend.
- saheq* n. (Bahl) breath. Mu. *sayad*
- sahed* vt. (Bahl) to be out of breath, sigh.
- sīkaqī* n. (Bahl) chain.
- sīkanⁱ* n. see *sīkⁱ*.
- sīkⁱ* n. (Bahl *sīkanⁱ*) mosquito. Mu. *sikiŋi*, Sa. *sīkⁱric*
- sīgār* n. (Bahl) ornament. Mu. *singar*
- sīq* comp.v. (Bahl) *ak^hariŋ* — to sell at once. Mu. *sīd*
- sīdīr* n. see *sindir*.
- sīdūr* n. (Bahl) sindur, a sacred dye. H.
- sī* vt. (Bahl, Barker 51 *sī-e*) to plow. Mu. *sii*
- sīo* n. (Bahl) mouse.
- sikaqī* n. (Bahl) bolt of the door. Mu. *sikiŋi*
- sikī* n. (Bahl) a kind of rice.
- siku* n. (Bahl *sikū*) louse. Mu., As., Bi. *siku*
- sīgir* n. (Bahl) a Korwa festival.
- sīgon* adv. (Bahl) with, along with.
- sīŋ* vt. (Bahl *sīŋ*) to close the door of a house; to shut, to close, — *reŋ* to shut and cover
- sīŋāŋ* n. (Bahl; Barker 27 *sīnaŋ*) evening. Mu. *ayub*
- sīŋāŋ* vi. (Bahl) to be evening.
- sīŋka* n. stick, pole
- sīnaŋ* n. (Barker 41) evening
- sīqīāo* vt. (Bahl) to whistle.
- sīq* vi. (Bahl *sīq*) (of thread etc.) to break. Mu. *sīd*
- sīq* vt. (Bahl *sīq*) to pluck fruits or flowers; (of thread etc.) to break off. Mu. *sīd*
- sīqīāo* vt. (Bahl) *teke* — to scatter away.
- sīrā* vi. (Bahl) to swim against the stream of water.
- sīrīāo* vt. (Bahl) to scatter around.
- sīŋi?* vi. (Bahl) to be rotten a little. Mu. *sīŋi?* 'putrid or fishy smell'
- sītā* n. (Bahl) custard apple. Mu.
- sītiāo* vt. (Bahl) to damage.

- sitoŋ* n. (Bahl *sītoŋ*) sunshine. Mu. *situŋ*
- sitom* n. (Bahl *sītom*) string, thread, *kantāoto* — home-spun yarn. Mu. *sutam*
- sitra* n. tatters
- sid^huā* a. (Bahl) easy.
- siniŋ* n. (Bahl) door of a house; (Barker *siŋiŋ*) bamboo door-covering, cf. *siŋ*.
- sipa* vt. (Barker 7) to strain
- sipi* n. (Barker 7) tray
- sim* n. (Bahl *sīm*) cock, chicken, (Bahl) *gayā* — castrated cock, — *būā*? a animal, — *b^hlī* egg. Mu. *sim*
- simd^ha* a. (Bahl) moist, wet, — *juā*? to become moist.
- sir* n. (Bahl *sīr*; Barker 29 *sīr*) vein, *lahū* — id. Mu.
- sirāq* vt. (Bahl) to comb hair (ref. to women only).
- siri* n. goat.
- sirao* vt. to tear, (Barker 48 *siraw*) to scratch. As. *cira*, cf. Mu. *keca*?
- sirjao* vi. to be formed, to be created. Mu. *sirjao*
- sir^hā* n. (Bahl) a god who helps in hunting.
- silik* n. (Bahl) thin bamboo sticks to sew leaves, — *jono*? broom made out of bamboo sticks. cf. Mu. *cari*?
- siliq^hsiliq* n. (Bahl) awful silence, dead of night.
- sīloŋ dīrī* n. (Bahl) stone to sharpen knife, whetstone.
- sisanī* n. (Bahl) whitlow.
- sisir dā*? n. (Bahl) dew. Mu. *sisir da*?
- sisir dā^hā* n. (Bahl) a plant.
- siso* vi. (Bahl) to show displeasure.
- sī*? vt. (Bahl) *bibaŋī* — to talk nonsense.
- sūhūqū* a. (Bahl) narrow.
- suk dam* n. (Bahl *sūk*) bride price.
- suŋgi* n. (Barker 27) cheroot
- suŋao* vi. to be released. Mu. *cuŋao*
- suta* n. thread. Mu., As., Ho, Sa. *sutam*
- sū^haer; sū^haerre(?)* vi. (Bahl) to be polluted by the touch of a woman in menstruation.
- sudi* vt. (Bahl *sudī*) to know. S.
- sūn* n. (Bahl) dance. Mu. *susun*
- sūn* vi. (Bahl) to dance. Mu. *susun*
- sunuŋ* n. (Bahl *sunum*) oil, *itiltorā*? — melted animal fat. As. *sunum*, Bi. *sunum*, Mu. *sunum*, Ho *sunum*, Sa. *sunum*
- sunum* n. see *sunuŋ*
- supalī* n. (Bahl) small winnowing basket; upper part of the foot, shoul-derblade. cf. Mu. *supu* ‘upper arm’
- supao* vt. to cut
- supli-kaŋ* n. (Barker 36) ankle
- suri* n. knife, penknife. S. *c^huri*, cf. Mu., Ho *katu*
- surhī* n. (Bahl) an insect which infests paddy. S., cf. Mu. *suruŋi*, *huti*, *galaŋ*
- sūlī* n. (Bahl) receptacle for laying egg for hen.
- sūlī* vt. (Bahl) to blow the nose. Mu. *sulī*?, *sului*?, *sunui*? ‘mucus’
- suluŋ* vt. to put in
- se* itj. — *nahi* come on!
- se* postp. from. H.
- sea* n. (Bahl) — *sea* bad odor.
- seŋgel* n. (Bahl *sēgel*) fire, (Bahl) *hāsā* — live coal. Mu., As., Bi., Ho, Sa. *seŋgel*
- setarā* n. (Bahl) piece of cloth, rags. cf. Mu. *sered* ‘piece of cloth’
- sēdarāt^h hoŋ* n. (Bahl) hunter.
- sen* vi. (Bahl *sen*, *sene*) to go, to move; to walk, (Bahl) *āyā*? — to go away by worming one’s way, *jūr* — to run away. Mu., As., Bi. *sen*
- sene* vi. (Bahl) to go, — *awe* to be able to go, — *ginī* to go quickly, — *bā*? to go quickly to a place or a person, — *hewā* to help a child in learning to walk.
- sendra* n. (Bahl *sēdarā*; Barker *sendrā*) hunting. Mu., As., Bi. *sendera*
- sendra* vt. to hunt.
- sepeŋ* vt. (Bahl) to hold something on the palm of hand, (Bahl) — *idi* to carry away on the palm of hand, — *uqun* to carry on the palm of hand and carry out, — *rakab* to lift up while carrying on the palm of hand, — *rem*

to lift and hold something on the palm of hand. Mu. *sipij*
sebā a. (Bahl) cheap.
sebel a. (Bahl) sweet tasting, having an agreeable taste. Mu. *sibil*
sebel vi (Bahl) to have an agreeable taste.
serāle n. (Bahl) a food grain.
serekbele sīj n. (Bahl) a tree.
sereŋ-tʔ hoŋ n. (Bahl) musician.
sereŋ, sereŋ n. a song
sereŋ, sereŋ vi., vt. to sing, (Bahl) — *āŋā* to sing all night, — *udū?* to sing. As., Bi. *siriŋ*, Mu. *durāŋ*
sermo adv. (Bahl *sermō*) up; above, (Bahl) — *jāŋ* the part of the spine in the neck, — *sermō* exaggeratingly. cf. As. *tēŋ*, Bi., Mu., Ho, Sa. *cetan*
sermo n. (Bahl *sermō*) sky. Mu., As. *sirma*, Sa. *serma*
sermo-hor adv. above
sersō n. (Bahl) mustard seed.
seleŋ vt. (Bahl) to mix, to add. Mu. *seled*
seleb n. (Bahl) an animal; (Barker) antelope. Mu. *silib*
 -so v.comp. to try and ..., (Bahl) *aŋkār* — to know something before, to think before doing anything, *otā* — to feel, to touch, *cīpū* — to feel by touch, *jaŋā?* — to taste.
soen, soento n. (Bahl) *hātʔi* — trunk of the elephant. Mu. *sooŋ*
sokol vi. to be smoky
sokola, cokʔola n. (Bahl) green upper part of an eggplant. Mu. *copa*
sogā vt. (Bahl) *eme* — to hesitate to give.
sojū? vi. (Bahl) to be straight.
sojo a. (Bahl) straight.
sōjʰ a. straight. Mu., As., Bi. *sojʰ*
sota vt. *budi* — to give advice (Tiger)
sodor vi., vt. to reach, to arrive, — *juā?* to arrive.
sop n. (Bahl) arm, (Barker) forearm. Mu. *supu*
sobotʔ vt. (Bahl *sobotʔ*) to wash, (Bahl) — *uŋuŋ* to wash (color or dirt etc.) out. Mu. *sobod*, Bi. *sobot* (cloth)

sobo? vt. (Bahl) to prick a needle; to stick, to shove, (Barker) to wound. Mu. *sobo?*
sobge vt. see *sobo?*
sompa vt. to marry off (Firefly)
sor-saba n. voice, noise. H.
soloŋ vt. to put in, to pour (rice beer), — *bolo* to stumble into a ditch.
sohā n. (Bahl) burrow.
sohen vt. (Bahl *sohē*) to wear, to put on clothes, (Bahl) — *ujun* to tighten one's dhoti.
sohor adv. (Bahl) quickly, hurriedly. Mu. *soor* (of a comet) to fly
sohnaī n. (Bahl) a musical instrument. S.
so? vt. (Bahl) to put one's hand into something; to repair. Mu. *so?* 'last husking and winnowing'
so? vt. to sew, (Bahl) — *baŋiāo* to reverse and sew.
hādub n. (Bahl) a rat trap. cf. Mu. *ratam*
hātʔi n. (Bahl) elephant. H., Mu. *hati*
hātʔi soento n. (Bahl) trunk of the elephant. Mu. *hati soŋdo*
hānaekʔ pron. he, she, it
hābal vt. (Bahl) to be heavy. Mu. *hambal*
hāslī n. (Bahl) necklace.
hakā part. (Bahl) for.
hakā? vi. (Bahl) to chatter, to jabber.
hakin pron. they two (dual, anaphoric). Mu. *akin*
haku pron. (also *hāku*, Bahl *hakū*) they (plural, anaphoric). Mu. *ako*
haŋā kaŋā a., echo (Bahl) stout, bulky (ref. to a person). Mu. *haŋa kaŋa*
haŋar vt. to stall, to stop (someone) (Tiger)
haŋa? n. (Bahl *haŋā?*) a winnowing basket. Mu. *haŋa?*
haŋa? vt. (Bahl *haŋā?*) to winnow. cf. Mu. *gum, atur*
haŋi a. (Bahl *haŋī*) hot, pungent; bitter. As. *hatia*
haŋī vi. (Bahl) to taste bitter.
haŋub bīŋ n. (Bahl) a kind of snake.

haṭkāo vt. (Bahl) to keep held up, *uḍ*
— see *uḍ*
haṭkā? vi. (Bahl) to be kept held up.
haṭlū n. (Bahl) kernel of a fruit, corn
cob.
haṭʰi, kʰa:r a. bitter
haḍū a. (Bahl) light in weight.
haḍur vt. to scrape, to scrape off
haṛ n. field
haṛam kin (Bahl) husband. Mu.
haṛam ‘old man’
hāṛā sīḡ n. (Bahl) a tree. Mu. *haṛa*
daru ‘Diospyros montas’
hāṛe hūṛe vt. (Bahl) to gulp, to eat very
quickly. Mu. *haṛ huṛ*
haṛjuāṭ īpilkū n. (Bahl) Pleiades.
haṛwaha n. (Bahl *haḍwāhā*) plough-
man. S. *halwāhā*
haṇḍa adv. (Bahl *hāḍā*) there. Mu.
hanre
haṇḍa? vi. (Bahl *hāḍā?*) to boil with a
bubbling noise. Mu. *hoṇḍe?*
haṇḍa? vt. (Bahl *hāḍā?*) to dry some-
thing by heating, stew any eatable till
the water evaporates. Mu. *anda?*
hater adv. (Bahl) there.
hatom kin (Bahl) mother’s brother’s
wife, father’s sister. Mu. *hatom*
hator adv. (Bahl) thither.
hator-nador n. (Bahl) anyone.
hatkāo vt. (Bahl) to make a strong fire.
hadarā? vi. (Bahl) to feel sorry.
haduṛ vi. (Barker 48) to thunder
hanate adv. then. Mu. *hanate*
hanāmin a. (Bahl) that much. Mu. *am-
inaḡ*
hana?na adv. after that. Mu. *hane?na*
han uṛi adv. that way
han-uṛi adv. that way
hāneak adv. (Bahl) casually, just.
han-kʰane adv. at that time
hante adv. then. Mu. *hante* ‘thither’
handora pron. all that
han mela adv. at that time
han-mela n.,adv. (at) that time; (Bahl)
hanmelak since when, since then.
hanhar n. (Bahl *hanhār*) mother-in-
law; (Bahl) wife’s elder sister, hus-
band’s elder sister; (Bahl) *ēg* —

mother-in-law. Mu. *hanar*
han?a adv. then, after that
hāp n. (Bahl) stick.
hapāḍ n. (Bahl) leech. Mu. *hapad*
hab vt. (Bahl *hāb*) to gnaw, to bite,
(Bahl) — *ripuḍ* to bite one’s under lip,
— *lājā* to soften a twig by chewing
it down to clean teeth. Mu. (Naguri)
hab
haba? vt. (Barker 40 *habag-e-ta*) to
hang up
habkāo vt. (Bahl) — *agu* to bring
someone along holding his neck.
hamā itj. (Bahl) interjection of assur-
ance.
hamin a. (Bahl) that much. Mu. *amin*,
aminaḡ
hamtū? vi. (Bahl) to bellow.
hayar n. (Bahl *hāyār*) spindle.
har a. (Bahl) each, every. H.
harā vi. (Bahl) to swell, to be full-
grown; *āsul* — vt. to bring up. Mu.
hara ‘to grow’
harin n. (Bahl) deer. H.
hariyar a. green.
harub vt. to turn upside down and put
in, — *reḍ* to put in and cover; (Bahl)
to turn upside down a pitcher full of
water. Mu. *harub* ‘to put a lid’
harta n. (Bahl) leather, skin, skin of a
fruit. Mu. *hartala?* ‘bark of a tree’
halan vt. to pick up, (Bahl) to confront,
to come across something while on
one’s way to some place, — *agu* to
dig and bring something. Mu. *halan*
‘to pick up’
halkāo vt. (Bahl) to flow (of water), —
uḍuḡ to overflow. cf. Mu. *calkao*
halke? vt. (Bahl) to rise into waves (of
water).
halsimād a. (Bahl) damp (ref. to
clothes).
hawir n. (Bahl *hawir*) both handsful,
(Bahl) — *pere?* vt. to fill something
by the hollow of hands, — *rem* to pick
up something with both hands, —
uḍuḡ to take out with the hollow of
hands.
hawe vi. (irregular form of *hoyā*) un-

- inflecting copula verb ‘to be’
has n. (Bahl *hās*) earth, ground, (Bahl) — *qĩq̃hā* earth pellet. Mu. *hasa*
hāsān vi. (Bahl) to be alive (ref. to fire).
hasa seŋgel n. (Bahl *hāsā sēgel*) live coal.
hasu n. (Bahl *hasū*) pain, *hasu suden* painful, (Bahl) — *hoɣ* sick person. Mu. *hasu*
hasʔal n. hostel, boarding school. E.
haʔna adv. (also *heʔna*) then, after that
hĩqua n. (Bahl) dried young bamboo shoot. Mu. *hāqua*
higar vt. (Bahl *higār*) to become separate from (*Firefly*); (Bahl) to live separately. Mu. *higaɾa*
hĩrā n. (Bahl) diamond. H.
hĩrāʔ a. (Bahl) torn (ref. to cloth). Mu. *hiraʔ* to be split at the end (of cloth, etc.)
hĩrāʔ vt. (Bahl) to tear off.
hili kin (Bahl *hili*) elder brother’s wife, sister-in-law, *hili-ŋ* my sister-in-law, (Bahl) *wāg* — sister-in-law: elder brother’s wife, father’s elder brother’s son’s wife. Mu. *hili*
hiluā vt. (Bahl) to get excited, excite. cf. Mu. *hirla* itj.
hilkid n. (Bahl) hiccup. cf. Mu. *hiyaʔ*
hilkid vt. (Bahl) to hiccup.
hũ encl. (also *hō*) too. Mu. *o*
hũɬar n. (Bahl) a wild plant. Mu. *huɬar baa*
huɬũ vi. (Bahl) to bend inward. cf. Mu. *kuɬu* ‘(of a back) to be bent’
huɬiŋ a. little, small, short, *huɬiŋ* — young little, (Bahl) *itiʔ* — just a pinch. Mu. *hurĩŋ*
huɬiŋ vi. (Bahl) to fall short of requirement.
huɬiŋaekʼ boho n. younger brother. Mu. *bokɔŋ*, Sa. *bəkɔŋ*
huɬiŋ joʔ vt. (Bahl *huɬbiŋ joʔ*) to bear very small sized fruit.
huɬāo vt. (Bahl) to prick. S.
hurĩŋ a. see *huɬiŋ*
huɾu n. (Bahl *hũɾũ*) paddy. cf. Mu. *baba*
hũɾe echo see *hāɾe hũɾe*
humār vt. (Bahl) to groan.
humu n. (Bahl *hūmū*) nose, (Bahl) — *bucāʔ* nostril. As. *mũhũ*, Bi. *mũ*, Mu. *mũ*·, cf. Mu. *humu* ‘scurf’.
hũrāʔ vt. (Bahl) to clear throat.
hegeɾ hegeɾ adv., onom. (Bahl) repeatedly.
hedgʰeca vt. (Bahl) to bother.
-hen suffix calling attention, *naehen* look this!, *manhen* look that!, *karehen* where is
hena, hen a. that. Mu. *hena, hen*
heneʔa adv. (Bahl) then.
heneʔ heneʔ adv. (Bahl) quickly.
hebkāo vt. (Bahl, also *hebcāo*) to grab someone by the neck, (Bahl) — *ader* to push someone in by the neck, — *idi* to drag someone along holding his neck, — *uɬuŋ* to push someone out by the neck, — *konoŋ* to grab someone by the neck and throw him down.
hemeɾ hoʔoʔ vt. (Bahl) to ambushade.
hera n. girl (*Twins*). Mu. *era*
herel n. boy, man; husband. Mu. *herel*
hermed vt. (Bahl) to hold a pitcher full of water with its bottom on the waist and the arm around its neck. Mu. *herbed*
helaʔ vi. to go off, to begin.
helet n. (Bahl) green young bamboo shoot, — *āɾāʔ* green young bamboo shoots cooked as a vegetable. Mu. *helta*
helao vt. to send. S. *helāek* ‘to start’, Mu. *helao* ‘(of cattle) to be driven for grazing’.
hewa vt. (Bahl *hewā*) to have some habit, to be used to something, (Bahl) *ĩr* — to be habitual to using a particular sickle, *racāʔ* — to have the habit of rebuking, *sene* — to help a child in learning to walk. Mu. *hewa*
hewe n. (Bahl) a sling to carry a child on one’s back. Mu. *hebe*
hewe vt. (Bahl) to make such a sling out of a piece of cloth.
hẽwe jom vt. (Barker 47 *heweh*) to give birth, to bear (a child)

hewe? vt. (Bahl) to put off, deny.
hesel vi. (Bahl) to have fair complexion, see *esel*.
heher vt. (Bahl) to commit a theft, steal, cf. *artij*, *imek*˘, — *ho?* thief.
he?na adv. (also *ha?na*) then
hõ encl. too. Mu. *o*, Krx. *hũ*
ho, *hao* vi. (Bahl) to yes. Mu. *he*
hoe?, *hoj* vi. (Bahl) to come, see *wek*˘, *kudā* — to come back.
hophar kin father-in-law, *hophar-hanhar* parents-in-law, (Bahl) *āpā* *hophār* father-in-law. Mu. *honjar*
hoʔa? vt. (Bahl) to fry a vegetable. Mu. *hoʔa?* ‘to open the lid’
hoʔo? n. neck. As. *hoʔo?*, Bi. *hoʔo?*, Mu. *hoʔo?*, Ho *hoʔo?*, Sa. *hʔɔk*˘
hoʔo? vt. see *hemer hoʔo?*
-hoʔin, *-hoʔen* comp.v. (Bahl *hoʔein*) distributive and reciprocal explicator verb, (Bahl) *ājod* — to kiss each other.
hoʔom n. body (*Tiger and Cat*). Mu. *hoʔomo*
hoʔovẽ? vi. (Bahl) to stumble. Mu. *haʔa?* (over a tree), *toʔ* (over a rock)
hoʔovẽ? vt. (Bahl) to turn one’s face away.
hon n. young (of an animal) (*Wolf*). Mu. *hon*
hon suffix a diminutive suffix, (Bahl) *ārī* — small saw, *ūrī?* — calf, *kaʔī?* — a little bit, *guʔī* — a little bit, *cūʔū* — the young of a rat, *qūbʰā* — small metallic cup, *qodʰā* — small ditch, *paʔoā* — buffalo-calf, *pūsū* — young of a cat, *merom* — kid, *honsereq* — nephew: elder brother’s elder son, *sahan honku* kindlings. Mu. *hon*
hon vt. (Bahl) to give birth to a child, also a diminutive suffix. Mu. *hon*
honsereq hon kin (Bahl ‘Pandapat dialect’) nephew: elder brother’s elder son.
hopor comp.v. see *gete?* —
hopor dʰūr a. (Bahl) slanting.
homor, *homr-e* vt. to ask (someone a question, etc.).
hoy n. (Barker 31) wind, see *hoyo*

hoya vi. (Bahl *hoyā*) to become, to be (subject marked by an object suffix as in *hoya-e-a* he/she is), *hawe* uninflecting copula. Mu. *hoba* ‘to become’
hoyo n. (Bahl) wind, breeze. Mu. *hoyo*
hoyo vi. (of wind) to blow, (Bahl) to be blown away by wind.
hoyo vt. (Bahl) to cut hair. Mu. *hoyo*
hor n. direction, side, (Bahl) *agua* — towards the front. Mu. *hora* ‘road’
horogʰoco vt. (Bahl) to bother.
horo? vt. (Bahl) to embrace; to enter a small space — *kuk* to enter and lie in wait (*Wolf*). Mu. *horo?* (of a thorn etc.) to stick into, to ward off (animals)
hola adv. (Bahl *holā*) yesterday. As. *hola*, Bi. *hola*, Mu. *hola*, Ho *həla* *musin*, Sa. *hola*
hole conj. then, (at the end of the conditional clause) if. Mu. *honaʔ*
howa? vt. (Bahl *howā?*) to sting, see *hoa?*. Mu. *hua?*
hos n. mind. H.
ho? vi. (Bahl) to taste hot (ref. to the taste of pepper). Used only by children. Mu. *ha?*
hāek˘ pron. (Grierson *henī*) anaphoric demonstrative, used as a third-person pronoun for animate referents, he, she, it. Mu. *hani?*
hauʔī? vt. (Bahl) to make noise.
hauʔ *hauʔ* vi., onom. (Bahl) to make noise. Mu. *hauʔu* *hauʔu*
zolag vi. (Barker 25) to buzz
əŋdkut n. (Barker 26) testes

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