

A LINGUISTIC STUDY OF ASURI LANGUAGE

A thesis submitted during 2022 to the University of Hyderabad
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the award of the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy
in
Applied linguistics

by

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16HAPH04

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2022



CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the thesis entitled “**A Linguistic Study of Asuri Language**” submitted by **Raunak Roy** bearing Registration Number 16HAPH04 in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of Doctor of Philosophy in Applied Linguistics is a bonafide work carried out by her under our supervision and guidance.

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Publication related to the thesis

1. Numeral system of Asuri- An Endangered Language, *Working Papers on Linguistics and Literature*, Vol. XIV, 2020. pp. 359-366. ISBN:2349-8420(UGC Care listed)

Conferences/Presentations related to thesis:

1. An Ethnolinguistic profile of Asuri at the International Conference on Linguistic theories, Law, Life and Language 11-13 Feb. 2020 held at Osmania University, Hyderabad.
2. Kinship Terms in Asuri at the 9th International Conference on Austroasiatic Linguistics, 18-19 November 2021, Hosted online by the Centre for Languages and Literature, Lund University.
3. Building a Trilingual Dictionary using FLex at the National Conference, 12-14 July, 2019 held at KIIT, Bhubaneswar.

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Course Code	Name	Credits	Pass/Fail
1.AL 701	Research Methodology	IV	Pass
2.AL 702	Current Trends in Applied Linguistics	IV	Pass
3. AL 721	Research Oriented Readings	IV	Pass
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I, Raunak Roy, Reg. no. 16HAPH04, hereby declare that the thesis entitled “**A Linguistic Study of Asuri Language**” submitted by me under the guidance and supervision of Prof. S.Arulmozi and Prof. Panchanan Mohanty, Centre for Applied Linguistics and Translation Studies, School of Humanities, University of Hyderabad is a bonafide research work which is also free from plagiarism.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I am immensely grateful to my supervisor, Professor Dr. S. Arulmozi, without whose guidance this research work would not have been a success. This work would not have reached this stage without his support. Thank you sir, for all the valuable feedback and suggestions, constant support you have given me throughout the course.

I would also like to express my gratitude to my Co-Supervisor, Professor Panchanan Mohanty for mentoring me in the right direction and encouraging me at every point of time.

I thank the UGC for funding the research program with the UGC NET JRF Fellowship because of which there were no financial hurdles during the entire study.

I thank IGM library, University of Hyderabad for providing me the materials for the research and for internet sources.

I thank the informants who have responded to my questionnaires; I offer special thanks to Sushma Asur who was very patient and co-operative.

I am also thankful to my parents for their immense love, care and encouragement for the successful completion of this work. I am indebted to little son whose smile was my constant source of strength and happiness.

I am immensely thankful to all my friends, my classmates, my seniors, my juniors and all my well-wishers for their useful suggestions and encouragement.

I thank God for His mercy and grace and for helping me at all times in the successful completion of this task which would have otherwise been impossible.

Lastly, I bear complete responsibility for any shortcoming or mistakes that may be found in this work.

Raunak Roy.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

1 First person	F Feminine gender
2 Second person	FIN Finite
3 Third person	FN first name
ABL Ablative case	FUT future
ACC Accusative case	GEN genitive
ADJ Adjective	HAB habitual aspect
ADV Adverb	HON honorific
AGR Agreement	IMM. PST immediate past
AL Alienable possession	IMP imperative
ANM Animate gender	IMPF imperfect
ASSOC Associative case	INAL inalienable possession
AUX Auxiliary Verb	INANIM inanimate gender
CAUS Causative	INCL inclusive
CLF Classifier	IND indicative
CMPR Comparative	INDF indefinite
CNJ Conjunction	INF infinitive
COP Copula	INSTR instrumental
DAT Dative case	INTR intransitive
DEM Demonstrative	IO indirect object
DU Dual	ITER iterative aspect
EX Exclusive	IPFV imperfective
EXCLAM Exclamatory	KIN kinship

LOC locative

M masculine

MOD modal

NPST nonpast

NEG negation, negative

NOM nominative

NUM numeral

OBJ object

OBL oblique

ONOM onomatopoeia

OPT optative

PASS passive

PFV perfective

PL plural

POSS possessive

PRED predicative

PRF perfect

PRS present

PROG progressive

PROH prohibitive

PROX proximal/proximate

PST past

Q question particle/marker

QUOT quotative

RECP reciprocal

REDUP reduplication

REFL reflexive

REL relative

SBJ subject

TR transitive

VOC vocative

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Chapter 1

Introduction

1. General Overview

1.1. Language documentation and Asuri

The word documentation is derived from the Latin word “documentum” which means lesson, proof or to teach. Documentation has always been seen as an activity or a process which generates a record (of language, etc.) which is used in future. Language documentation, according to Woodbury (2011) is, “a comprehensive record of the linguistic practices characteristic of a given speech community”, and it “seeks to create a thorough record of the speech community for both posterity and language revitalization.”

“Language documentation is a lasting, multipurpose record of a language,” (Himmelmann, 2006). Thus, language documentation means creating a record of a language in as many aspects as possible such as social variation, registers, and cultural uses. It is said to be multi-purpose because the primary data that are compiled must be useful in other fields of theoretical and applied studies. The documentation of language has to be lasting because it is not only intended for immediate use but also for the use in future. Basically, any documentation activity comprises the collection, processing and archiving of linguistic data such as texts, word lists, conversations, etc. Austin (2006, 2008, and 2010) states that components of documentation are recording capture or transfer, adding value, archiving, and mobilisation of data. Language documentation is to be done at different levels such as phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics, and discourse.

Today many organizations are involved in language documentation such as The Hans Rausing Endangered Languages Project (HRELP), Volkswagen Foundation (Dokumentation bedrohter Sprachen program or DoBeS), and the language conservancy, SIL International, PARADISEC Archive, First Peoples’ Heritage, Language and Culture Council, World Oral Literature Project, Voices of Vanishing Worlds, Resource Network for Linguistic Diversity. In India, the task of recording of unwritten languages including endangered languages rests with the government. There are three institutions with the Central government: Language Division of the Census,

Kolkata; Anthropological Survey of India, Kolkata and Central Institute of Indian Languages (CIIL), Mysuru, which conducts language documentation projects.

Asuri, the language spoken by one of the most ancient tribes of India, is in a state of neglect and abandonment both from the perspective of the state and speech community. This language is important for documentation due to various reasons. Throughout the twentieth century it remained in total obscurity and received little attention from the academic world as compared to other Munda languages. As a result, the data available on this language are scanty and mostly related to the ethnographical details of the tribe. With the advent of modern education, the hegemony of the dominant languages, and unfavourable language policies of the state, the domains of use of Asuri is diminishing. These factors combined are helping to aggravate its loss. Consequently it is not surprising to find a seventy year Asur man who does not speak his mother tongue anymore, which is not the normal case as the elderly are assumed to retain their native tongue.

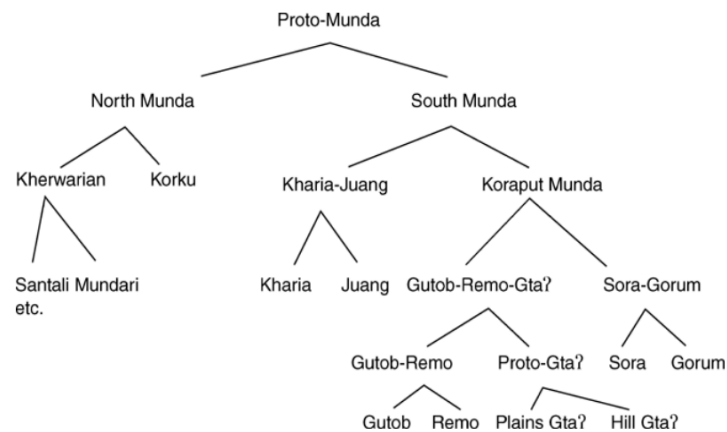
1.1.1. Asuri language-genetic affiliation

Asuri¹ is a language from the Munda language family which is one of the sub-groups of the Austro-Asiatic language family. The Munda languages are spoken in east and central India. The Munda languages are further subdivided into two groups –North Munda and South Munda. Asuri belongs to the North Munda branch along with other languages such as Birhor, Ho, Korwa, Mundari, Santali, Agaria, etc. These languages together form a subgroup known as Khewarian group which shares considerable linguistic similarity.

Mueller (1854) was the first scholar to use the term Munda to designate the Kolarian languages (old term for Munda). Previously scholars such as Hodgson (1848) were of the opinion that the Indian subcontinent has three language families namely Himalayan, Indo-Aryan and Tamulian. Tamulian included both Dravidian and Kol group of languages. In 1854 Max Mueller for the first time distinguished between Dravidian and Kol groups as belonging to separate language families.

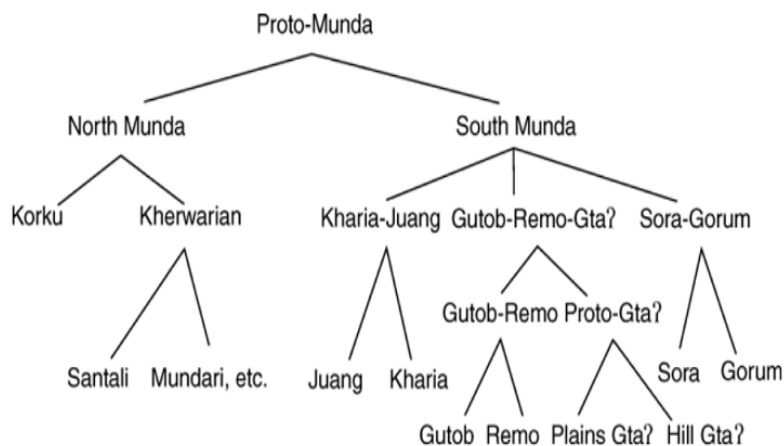
¹ Ethnologue code ISO-639-3

As mentioned above, Asuri is a Munda language of the Austroasiatic language family and it belongs to the North Munda group. Grierson's Linguistic Survey of India classifies it as "a dialect of the language which we have called Kherwari, the two principal forms of which are Santali and Mundari."



Traditional classification of Munda Languages

(Fig.1.1 from Anderson's 'The Munda Languages' page 3)



Revised Classification of Munda Languages by Anderson (1999)

(Fig.1.2 from Anderson's 'The Munda Languages' page 4)

1.1.2. Languages of Jharkhand and the position of Asuri

Jharkhand is the 28th state of India which came into existence on the 15th of November, 2000. The term Jharkhand means, “Bush land or the region of bushes or forests.” It has 22 districts with Ranchi as its capital. The tribal people constitute 26 per cent of the total population of the state. It is one of the richest states in India not only in terms of the mineral resources but also in linguistic resources. Jharkhand contains 55 per cent of the total tribal population of India. The archaeological sources assert the fact that this region was abode of the three major races of the world. In the words of Munda (1989), “Culturally Chota Nagpur is the only area in the entire country where the three major cultural streams Aryan, Dravidian and Austro-Asian are represented through various languages and have converged to create a cultural synthesis of its own kind.” The languages of Jharkhand belong to two major categories, Dravidian and the Munda (Austroasiatic) language family. Kurukh and Malto are the Dravidian languages spoken in the region. The Austro-Asiatic languages include Santhali, Ho, Mundari, Kharia and Bhumij.

Inter tribe and intra tribe communication pattern varies. The tribal mother tongue is reserved for limited domains such as within the family and friendship circle. Outside the tribe the major languages or the lingua franca serves as the medium of communication. The complex linguistic scenario has given birth to bilingualism and multilingualism among the tribes. It is observed that it is never the case that the speaker of the dominant language who is bilingual but it is always the speakers of the dominated group which are fluent in their mother tongue and the major languages of the area.

The policy of the state government pertaining to language has not been conducive to take care of the precious and ancient tribal heritage. Disregarding the indigenous linguistic resources, Hindi was accorded the status of the official language of Jharkhand. In 2011, the state passed a bill recognizing 11 other languages as the second official languages. Five tribal languages viz, Santhali, Ho, Kurukh, Mundari and Kharia and four regional languages, Nagpuria, Panchpargania, Khortha and Kurmali were included in this list. Such a move was welcomed by the members of the respective speech communities as it was viewed as a privilege and a means of enhanced employment opportunities. It is intriguing to note why Bengali and Odia have also

been given this honour. Their being official language of the state which was solely carved out from Bihar in the name of welfare of the tribal community is questionable.

In the educational domain the tribal languages are marginalized especially at the primary level where it is most desired. The medium of instruction is Hindi despite the fact that there is government rule that medium of instruction at the primary level should be the mother tongue. The deviation from this norm is often attributed to the paucity of teachers and/or lack of teaching materials. Children are encouraged to learn the dominant language like Hindi in order to increase the chances of employment opportunities.

1.2. Theoretical Framework

1.2.1 Endangered Languages

The term endangered language has been defined in literature as a language that is at a risk of no longer being used, typically because children are no longer learning it as a primary language, and commonly in a language contact situation where a community is shifting from what is perceived to be a socially, politically and economically weaker to one which is perceived to be more powerful. According to UNESCO, “a language is endangered when its speakers cease to use it in fewer domains, and use fewer of its registers and speaking styles, and/or stop passing it on to the next generation.” The reports by UNESCO reveal that there exist around 6700 languages in the world out of which 2500 are endangered. It is discouraging to see that India tops the list of nations with 198 endangered languages. The imminent threat to our linguistic diversity has been highlighted by many scholars. Krauss (1992, 4-10) remarks that 80 percent of the languages may be gone by the end of this century. Crystal (2000), states that out of the approximately 7,000 languages alive today, 96 per cent are spoken by only 4 per cent of the world’s population. The Ethnologue has reported 424 languages as nearly extinct. According to Mithun (2007), “The loss of languages is tragic precisely because they are not interchangeable, because they represent the distillation of the thoughts and communication of people over their entire history.”

Language extinction is not new – languages have been dying since ancient times. However, in the modern times languages are becoming extinct at an alarming rate. This is different from language loss historically. According to Hale (1992) the process of language loss all through

most of human history before the rise of larger states and empires, has been attended by a period of grammatical merger in situations of multilingualism, in geographically confined areas, and amongst small communities. On the contrary, language loss in the modern time is of a different character both in its extent and implications. Language loss today is part of much larger process of loss of cultural and intellectual diversity in which politically dominant languages and cultures simply overwhelm indigenous local languages and culture. Crystal (2000) presents a good survey of the reasons why endangered languages should not be neglected. He cites reasons such as languages being intimately linked to the expression of identity, as a source of cultural diversity, as a repository of history, and the sum total of human knowledge. To quote Crystal (2000) “ the current situation is without precedent: the world has never had so many people in it, globalisation processes have never been so marked; communication and transport technologies have never been so omnipresent; there has never been so much language contact; and no language has ever exercised so much international influence as English” (ibid, p 70-71).

UNESCO in 2003² proposed 9 factors for measuring the level of endangerment:-

- *Inter-generational language transmission*
- *Absolute number of speakers*
- *Proportion of speakers within the total population*
- *Trend in existing language domains*
- *Response to new domains and media*
- *Materials for language education and literacy*
- *Governmental institutional language attitude*
- *Community members’ attitude to own language*
- *Amount of quality documentation*

Taking intergenerational language transmission into account, UNESCO identifies six different levels of endangerment. They are as follows:-

² Language vitality and endangerment (2003)

Degree of endangerment	Intergenerational language transmission
<i>Safe</i>	<i>Language is spoken by all generations; intergenerational transmission is uninterrupted</i>
<i>Vulnerable</i>	<i>Most children speak the language, but it may be restricted to certain domains.</i>
<i>Definitely endangered</i>	<i>Children no longer learn the language as mother tongue in the home.</i>
<i>Severely endangered</i>	<i>Language is spoken by grandparents and older generations; while the parent generation may understand it, they do not speak it to children or among themselves</i>
<i>Critically endangered</i>	<i>The youngest speakers are grandparents and older, and they speak the language partially and infrequently</i>
<i>Extinct</i>	<i>There are no speakers left</i>

Documentation acts as a key to endangered language preservation. Austin and Sallabank (2011) discuss three steps which can be taken in order to rescue a language when it has been identified as an endangered language. The first is language documentation, the second is language revitalization and the third is language maintenance. Many such examples exist in literature where languages which were once endangered were successfully revitalized. Documentation was the first step towards their maintenance or revitalization. Many native American and indigenous Australian languages (which were previously threatened) are a testimony to this fact.

The endangerment of a language is relatively dependent on the scale and quality of documented materials. The following scale has been provided by UNESCO to measure documentation:

A. Superlative documentation: Superlative quality documentation is one in which there is comprehensive grammars and dictionaries, extensive text, constant flow of language materials. Abundant annotated high quality audio and video recordings exist.

B. Good documentation: A good documentation includes one good grammar and a number of adequate grammars, dictionaries, texts, literature and occasionally updated every day media.

C. Fair documentation: When there may be an adequate grammar, dictionaries, or texts but no everyday media existence the documentation belongs to the fair category.

D. Fragmentary documentation: Here, some grammatical sketches but without any adequate coverage.

E. Inadequate documentation: Few grammatical sketches exist but no audio-video recording of useable quality exists.

F. Undocumented: no materials exist.

Thus, a concomitant relationship exists between documentation and endangerment. We can say that for living languages the level of endangerment is directly proportional to the quality of documentation.

A useful scheme known as ‘Scheme for Protection and Preservation of Endangered Languages (SPPEL) of India’ has been initiated by the Central Institute of Indian Languages (CIIL), Mysuru which works on protection, preservation and documentation of all the languages of India spoken by less than 10,000 speakers which are endangered.

1.3. Methodology

Methodology in research work is a way to systematically solve the stated problem by logically adopting various steps. Which methodology may be employed for a research depends on the final aims and the objectives that it seeks to achieve. Therefore different methodologies are adopted in order to facilitate the fulfilment of the desired goals. Since every field based research is unique so also is the methodology. In this field-work whose main purpose was documentation a careful selection of the approaches and methods was carried out.

In documentary linguistics there are two classical methodologies that are followed: – observation method and elicitation method. In the former, also called participant observation, the investigator stays with community and observes the native speakers. Since this method requires much time, it is not preferable for documenting endangered languages which are on the verge of extinction. This is because in such cases the “urgency” parameter has to be taken into account.

Keeping this in mind the Basic Oral Language Documentation (BOLD) method was used for the documentation of Asuri. It is a technique which ensures that languages are documented before

they die. Some language documentation which was successfully accomplished using BOLD are Manyawa (Mozambique), Lomwe (Malawi), Laari (Congo), Koluwawa (Papua New Guinea), and Larike- Wakasihu (Indonesia).

1.3.1. Bold Methodology

This method of language documentation was developed by the SIL (Summer Institute of Linguistics) which allows field workers to collect more data in a short span of time. It is extremely useful in those speech communities which lack literacy and their languages remain without orthography. Simons (2008) has listed the components of a BOLD corpus as (a) an introduction to the language and the language and the corpus as a whole, (b) a table of contents, (c) a set of fully commented, digitally recorded audio (and some video) items or events, (d) recordings of discussions of cultural or contextual issues, and (e) elicited lists. There are at least five parts for each item in (c) and of any (d) in the spoken vernacular.

- The original recording- at normal speaking speeds;
- Informed consent- normally given orally and recorded with audio and/or video; can be written
- Situational and technical metadata-about the people, equipment and environment
- The oral transcription- the oral transcription is put into an LWC using the slow, phrase by phrase procedure.

Though many standard word lists are available like Swadesh, Bouquiaux and Thomas etc. it may not necessarily cover all the cultural concepts of all the areas. Thus the investigator has to investigate and modify the lists according to the demand of the situation.

BOLD involves three types of annotation (Reiman, 2010):

1. Careful speech
2. Phrasal translation
3. Analytical comments

1.3.2. Aim of the study

The aim of the study is to carry out a documentation of the Asuri language. The analysis of the gathered data is the goal of this work. Since any documentary project concludes with an archive of the language in question similarly in this case an Asuri lexical archive in Fieldworks

Language Explorer (FLEEx) software is produced. Most Munda languages are endangered languages. Asuri belonging to this branch is a definitely endangered language as per UNESCO criteria. This study may be an effort towards the preservation of the language. Thus, the specific objectives of this research are:

1. To document the Asuri language and study its linguistic features because this language is vanishing away from the community.
2. To document the culture of this speech community and study its socio-cultural aspects.
3. This study aims to help to develop lexical tools for Asuri.
4. To digitise the data collected from field-work using technological aids for its wider and long – term dissemination for both academic and non-academic usages.

It is hoped that the study will help create awareness among the speech community to preserve its linguistic resources and protect its linguistic legacy because Indigenous languages are a valuable resource, and a national heritage.

1.3.3. Significance of the study

Indigenous tribal languages are a valuable resource, and a national heritage, therefore a systematic codification of the indigenous languages would help to preserve them for future generation. The Asuri language is underdocumented language which is at the danger of becoming extinct because of the threat of the dominant languages, diminishing domains of use and many other factors. It is important that Asuri is documented at the earliest as a document of one's mother-tongue which is vanishing away from the community may function as a legacy for the ones to come. This study is significant not only from the social but the linguistic point of view as well. It will help to create or develop lexical tools for Asuri.

The researcher has chosen to document this language, but as it is for the fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of PhD, so the scope of the study is limited to lexical and grammatical parts of the language.

1.3.4. Data collection

This research depends on both primary and secondary data. The primary data includes the audio recordings and notes taken in the field. It also includes the informal conversations and interviews conducted with experts and NGO persons who provided information about the Asur community.

The major sources of secondary information were the TRI (Tribal Resource Institute and Museum), TRL (Tribal Regional Languages) Department, and Ranchi University Library.

Documentation of language includes compiling, commenting on and archiving language documents (Himmelman, 2006). Out of the three basic tasks the first is compiling. Compiling involves collecting a sample of recordings of a full range of speech events types. There are standard guidelines regarding the preferred instruments for recording the data. In this field work there is a strict adherence to the guidelines of CIIL (mentioned in the SPPEL Questionnaire) regarding the type of recording instruments and the storage formats. The recordings have been made using IC recorders.

Interview method was preferred because it is more focussed and goal oriented than an informal recording of spontaneous conversation. Since the interviewer is interested in particular topics it eases the work of both the interviewer and interviewee.

1.3.5. Data Elicitation

Schedule controlled elicitation is a technique where the investigator has a schedule or a questionnaire of materials to elicit. Though the questionnaire is useful for collecting data on specific research areas but it can be modified if the need arises. The standard techniques of elicitation were used. For documentation of the vocabulary the direct elicitation method was used. In this method, informant is asked questions during the interview. The SPPEL questionnaire has been used for this research. It was chosen over other lexicon elicitation tools like the Linguadescriptive questionnaire, etc. for two reasons. The development of the SPPEL questionnaire by CIIL was a part of the larger program initiated by the Government of India to save the threatened languages. Its contents have been designed to capture as much as linguistic and cultural information pertaining to the dying languages. Asuri is of the threatened category so use of SPPEL was indispensable. Another advantage of using this questionnaire is that its contents are relevant for documenting Indian languages.

1.3.6. Ethical issues

When one is engaged in field work based study or research in a particular community, he or she cannot overlook the ethical considerations involved with it. Rather it has to be taken into account as it is a crucial and indispensable factor. Before the commencement of my fieldwork all the consultants were informed about the research and what was to be achieved through it. They were given the choice to opt out of the interview at any point. Also it was explained to them that they had the freedom of choice not to answer any question with which they did not feel comfortable. Recordings and pictures were also taken after their agreement was obtained. This fieldwork did not begin except after taking an oral consent from the native speakers.

1.3.7. Limitations

No research is without its limitations. These limitations must be described in detailed so that it may helpful for the future researchers. Gathering any sort of data on Asuri was not an easy task. A long journey had to be undertaken as the location of the field was far away from the city. Other unavoidable factors mentioned below risked the completion of this project.

There were certain unforeseen factors which hampered the smooth conduction of the field work. In any field work, sampling depends on the willingness of the people to be interviewed and their availability. A number of problems were encountered in the field work. The researcher was informed about the non-availability of informants. Local people work in the mines and did not have the time for interviews. Special arrangements had to be made in this regard.

As it is an area affected with naxalism, free movement of outsiders and prolonged stay at the village was restricted. Fortunately some people from the community volunteered to come to the nearby subtown where the interview was carried out. Time constraint on the researcher's period of stay in the field was an influential factor. Because of this the researcher had to work within a very limited time-frame during every field trip. Lastly I feel that if I was a speaker of the target language then I would have been able to engage in more fruitful discussions.

1.4. Literature overview

The existing literature on the Asurs falls into two categories: non-linguistic works which are anthropological in nature and linguistic works whose focus is on the language of the community. However, it is also striking to observe the scarcity of works on this language and its community.

Non-linguistic works:-

The earliest published account of the modern Asurs is given by Forbes, the revenue officer of Palamu in his report to Dalton, the commissioner of Chota Nagpur, under the British administration, in the year 1869. Dalton's "The descriptive ethnology of Bengal," was published in the year 1872 is a study of the various tribes inhabiting Bengal.

Sarat Chandra Roy, regarded as the father of Indian Ethnography, has conducted anthropological studies on this tribe. His works include "Distribution and nature of Asur sites in Chota Nagpur (1920)" and "The Asurs-Ancient and Modern (1926)." Banerjee and Shastri have compiled the following works on Asurs published in *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, 1926 such as "The Asuras in Indo-Iranian literature," "Asura expansion in India," and "Asura expansion by sea." These works explore the racial origin, affiliation of the Asurs and their coming and settlement in India.

Verrier Elwin's "The Agaria" published in 1942 by the Oxford University Press discusses the asurs also. Till today K.K. Leuva's book, "The Asurs" remains the classic source of information about this community. The book surveys the history of this tribe while also giving an account of their social and economic life, their religious beliefs and practices. It describes its material culture with special emphasis on their skill of iron smelting. The problems faced by the Asurs are also discussed, particularly the lack of education etc.

"The Asur ethno-biological profile" by S.P. Gupta outlines the features of this tribe from a biological perspective. The work is an extensive case study on this tribe detailing its racial affinities, life cycle, nutritional habits, prevalent diseases and native botanical wisdom.

K.K. Leuva's "The Asurs: A case study of primitive iron-smelters" (1963) can be regarded as the most authoritative work in this direction. He spent decades doing fieldwork among this community. Leuva records the historical background of the community, its social, economic and material culture. This work gains significance in the Asur scholarship as it documents the ancient craft of the asurs that is iron-smelting which is no longer seen today.

Linguistic works:

It goes without saying that the Munda language family itself was in a state of academic neglect as compared to the other language families of the Indian sub-continent. It is hardly surprising to find few works that have been done on this language.

The mention of Asuri language is found in Grierson's Linguistic Survey of India, Volume 4 (1903). He describes Asuri as a dialect spoken by the non-Aryan tribe of the Chotanagpur region. The nouns, pronouns, verbs and numerals of Asuri have been briefly discussed.

Studies in Comparative Munda Linguistics by Sudhibhushan Bhattacharya (1975) published by Indian Institute of Advanced study, Shimla is a comparative work of the Munda group about the Munda affiliation problem, classification and distribution of Munda vowels, consonants, gender, number and numerals. Though data on Asuri is not on par with the other languages, yet significant commentaries are found on the language.

Anderson's 'The Munda Languages' (2008) at present is a comprehensive account of thirteen languages of the Munda family. Santali, Mundari, Kera? Mundari, Ho and other Khewarian languages, Korku, Sora, Gorum, Kharia, Juang, Remo, Gta and Gutob have been discussed and a description of their phonological, morphological, syntactical, semantic features is presented. An overview of Nihali is also given towards the end of the book. Some brief mention of Asuri is present in Chapter 5 of this book entitled 'Ho and other Khewarian languages'.

"Phonemes of Asuri" by Baskaran (2015) is the first work which focuses solely on Asuri language. He provides a detailed phonemic analysis of the language. He mentions that Asuri has 5 monophthongs /i, e, a, o and u/ ; twenty one consonants /p, b, t, d, t̪, d̪, c, j, k, g, ʔ, s, h, m, n, ŋ, l,

r, ɾ, w and y/ in its phonemic inventory. Further he says that Asuri displays the areal features shared by Munda languages for instance, non-occurrence of /ŋ & ʔ/ in initial position. The phonotactics of the language is also discussed in brief in this paper.

“Consonant sequence and syllable formation in Asuri” by Baskaran (2015) analyses the consequent sequences and syllable structure found in Asuri.

1.5. An ethno-linguistic overview

Asurs are regarded to be one of the ancient indigenous people residing in the hilly areas of the central Indian sub-continent. In the following section an overview about the language and culture of this community are discussed. The information presented here is taken from both primary and secondary sources.

1.5.1. Asuri tribe- geography and demography

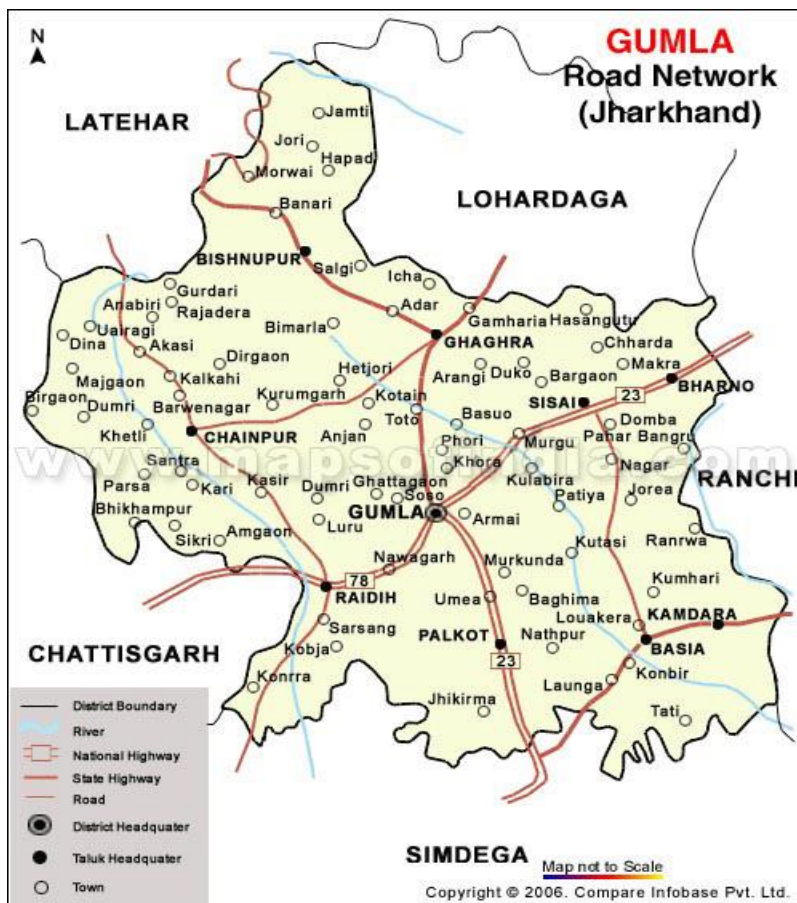
Asurs are the autochthonous population inhabiting mainly in the hilly and forested areas of Jharkhand and Odisha. Significant Munda population are also found in Madhya Pradesh, remote areas of Chattisgarh, West Bengal, Uttar Pradesh, Andhra Pradesh and Maharashtra.³

Eight out of the thirty-two tribes of Jharkhand fall under Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Group, PVTG (earlier called Primitive Tribal Group). Asurs also fall under this category. Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Group were classified under the Dhebar Commission (1960-61), so as to better facilitate their growth, on par with other Scheduled Tribes on national scale, and help them include in the mainstream development, while using their indigenous knowledge. The characteristics of the PVTGs include:- pre-agricultural system of existence, i.e. they practice hunting or gathering, zero or negative population growth, extremely low level of literacy and absence of written language. Hoffman’s Encyclopaedia Mundarica (1950) describes the Asurs in the following words: “The Asurs are a rapidly disappearing branch of some aboriginal race, represented now only by some small groups of a few families spread through the hills and forests of Sarguja, Jashpur, the Daltonganj district and here and there in the Ranchi district.” This attests to fact of their being a vulnerable minority speech community.

³Anderson, G. The Munda Languages

Census	Population
1961	5819
1971	7026
1981	7783
1991	9122
2001	10347
2011	22459

The districts of Gumla, Latehar, and Lohardagga contain the major population of Asurs. The town of Bishunpur, Ghaghara are inhabited mainly by this tribal community.



The map above shows the districts and towns where Asuri people are found.

1.5.2. Education

The Asur community is lagging behind in the field of education as compared to other societies. In 1931 census their literacy rate was 4.22 which rose to 5.41 percent in 1971. In the 1981 census the literacy rate was 10.37% and as per the 2001 it was 18.37% census. The latest census says the literacy rate is 20 percent.

1.5.3. Housing system

Houses are made of mud with its dimensions depending on the size of the family. They use wooden pillars and bamboos in the erection of walls, door, shed, and roof etc. During the construction of houses forests provide the important raw materials. Wood collected from forest is utilised in making pillars, roofs, doors and windows. An interesting feature of their housing system is their non-usage of curtains in their doors or windows. The houses have arrangements for the domesticated fowls, goats and pets adjacent to it. They also domesticate pigs but outside the house. Brick houses are rarely found among them. Till today they do not have pucca houses or house made of bricks and cement. In the centre of the village there is an open arena for performance of song and dance during festivals.



An Asuri house



Kitchen

1.5.4. Economic system

Traditionally Asurs had been iron smelters and was their sole source of income. With the passage of time this skill declined due to various factors such as implementation of the national forest policy and rise of commercial iron and steel industries. Currently, they have shifted to agriculture and it is their major source of income. Almost seventy seven percent of the Asur community are dependent upon agriculture. Besides this hunting and fishing is also practiced by them. Besides agriculture the Asur economy is deeply tied with the woods. Forests are the source of their existence and the source of their income. Forests are the abode of their Gods and ancestors. They earn money by trading the products obtained from jungle such as fruits, seeds and flowers. Native medicines are procured from the same source.



Weekly Market Place

Agriculture: Settled agriculture is practised by the Asurs. For irrigation purposes they are totally dependent on the monsoon. November is the season for harvesting the paddy crops, which is collectively done by the whole Asur community. For good harvest the Asurs offer special prayers to Singbonga. This worship is done thrice in a year. Firstly, prayers are offered during the sowing of the paddy, secondly at the time of planting and lastly during the harvesting of the crop. Some agricultural equipment used by them are ‘nehelpat’ (plough), ‘bayor’ (rope), ‘hansuwa’ (sickle), ‘gainti’ (pickaxe), and ‘kudal’ (hoe).



Mat called patja

Livestock: The practice of rearing livestock is gradually spreading among the Asurs and is becoming an important economic source for them. This was possible due to grant from the government. The animals provided were bulls, pigs, fowls, goats, and ducks.

Labour: The residential locations of the Asurs in the Chotanagpur are rich sources of bauxite. Most of the workers employed in these bauxite mines are from the Asur community. Apart from working in mines they find employment in the brick kilns as labourers in the neighbouring towns. They return to their village in the rainy season for the purpose of agriculture. Since agriculture is not enough for subsistence that's why they have to engage in alternative means of procuring livelihood.



Asur women working in the farm

Governmental jobs: There is a policy of the government to provide jobs for each educated Asur (as the informants said that they had a rule earlier that even if any one of them had education till the 10th standard/ Matric they would be eligible government would provide them suitable jobs) but only a marginal group have been successful in securing government jobs. They are mostly employed as teachers or in the clerical sector.

1.5.5. Political organisation of the community

Traditionally, every Asur village has a panchayat to look into the affairs of the people. It is headed by an elected candidate who is called the 'Mahto.' The Mahto performs various duties such as settlement of disputes, presiding in the assembly for meetings, etc.

Traditional laws are an important aspect of the Asur culture. The Asur have their conventional laws in oral form which each member of the community has to abide by failing which he or she is liable for punishment. The common crimes which take place are disputes regarding property, defiance of traditional laws, rape, and robbery. There is also a defined set of property rights and laws of inheritance. The property is not to be divided among the heirs during the lifetime of the head of the family (mostly, the father). After the death of the father the property is divided

among the sons equally. Married daughters have no claim in it i.e. she is devoid of inheritance from the paternal assets. Unmarried daughters are looked after until their marriage. The items which are given to the bride like jewellery, clothes, and household items of dowry are solely the property of the girl and she has the ownership rights over it.

1.5.6. Other aspects of Asuri culture

1.5.6.1. Religion and beliefs

Asurs follow the ‘Sarana’ faith, like many tribal communities in the eastern states. The supreme ethical guiding force according to the Sarana theology is ecology. This ideology believes that man is a part of nature just like other flora and fauna. Man is not the master rather a part of the environment. The Asurs have faith in Singbonga, the Sun God, believed to be the greatest among all the deities. The priest called the ‘Baiga’ performs the rituals to appease the gods. They believe in the existence of supernatural powers; some are evil while others are good. All diseases and calamities are ascribed to the evil powers. Ancestor veneration and worship of spirit is also found in this community. The priest of the Asur is called the Baiga. It is he who mediates between the Asur and the various kinds of spirits. Also, he decides the day and time festival, types of animals to be sacrificed and the persons to participate in the festival. Like other tribes of Jharkhand, belief in magic and witchcraft is prevalent among the Asurs. They believe in the existence of witches and exorcist. Sacrifice occupies an important part in their religion. Generally fowls are offered in this ritual. A fowl is sacrificed to Singbonga.

1.5.6.2. Festivals

The important festivals of the Asurs are primarily related to agriculture, hunting, iron-smelting and the ancestors. The festivals related to agriculture are Dhankatani, etc. The festival related to cattle is Sohrai. The festival related to the worship of Sal tree is Sarhul and that of Karam tree is Karama. The festival related to the iron-smelting is Sads-i-Kutasi. This festival is also vanishing because the Asur have given up their traditional occupation of iron-smelting.

Sarhul is celebrated during spring season and the Sal trees get new flowers on their branches. It is a worship of the village deity who is considered to be the protector of the tribes. People sing and dance a lot when the new flowers appear. The deities are worshiped with Sal flowers. The

village priest fasts for a couple of days. In the early morning he takes a bath and puts on new a dhoti made of virgin cotton. The previous evening, the priest takes three new earthen pots and fills them with fresh water; the next morning he observes these earthen pots and water level inside. If the water level decreases he predicts that there would be famine or less rain, and if the water level is normal, that is the signal of a good rain. Before pooja starts, the wife of the priest washes his feet and gets blessings from him. During the pooja, priest offers three young roosters of different colors to one for the Almighty God, the Singbonga as the Mundas, Ho and Oraons respectively address Him; another for the village deities and the third for the ancestors. During this pooja villagers surround the Sarna place.

1.5.6.3. Dances

The Asurs observe the feasts of Phagun, Sarhul and Sohrai. Dance is an integral part of Asur culture. It is one of the most popular forms of entertainment of this tribe. Various types of dance are performed on different occasions. Kujur (1996) has enumerated their dances in detail. The famous dance is called ‘domkatch’.

Both men and women folk perform together. They have a dancing yard which is known as ‘akhara’ in the centre of the village. Their dances are divided into 3 types: festival dances, Jatra (fair) dance and miscellaneous social dances. During festivals Asurs celebrate the Sarhul dance, the Karam dance. Jhumair and Jheth Jatra are the prominent dance performed during the Jatra (fairs). Domkatch, Dhuria, Angani, Matha and Jadura are other social dances of the Asurs belonging to the last category.

1.5.6.4. Dress and ornaments

Dress and dressing style of the Asurs is simple. They are not lavish concerning it. Males wear dhoti and lungi. ‘Gamcha’ and ‘pagdi’ or turban is also worn by them. Apart from the traditional attire the youth now have switched to pant, shirt, shoes, socks. Elderly ladies wear saree while the girls clothe themselves in saree, skirts, blouse, frock etc. Ornaments are an important source of beautification. There is an age old tradition of using ornaments for adornment in the Asur culture. Ornaments are worn both by men and women. The Asur women primarily use anklets (pairki), necklace (mala), etc. There is no custom of wearing nose ring, which sets them apart

from other tribes. They wear ‘bindi’ on the forehead and bangles in their hands. The men’s adornments include jewellery for neck-chain and the ears. However the usage of these traditional items is slowly fading away among the young male population. Wearing western accessories such as watches is in vogue especially among boys.

1.5.6.5. Food and drinks

The culture and lifestyle of the Asurs is reflected in their culinary practices. The Asurs have the system of cooking food twice daily in the morning and in the evening. Their general daily diets consist of boiled cereals, millets and one curry of boiled vegetables or meat or edible roots and tubers. Fruits from the forests and meat from wild animals is main part of their food intake. Maize and rice constitute their staple diet. The animals preferred for food are pig, sheep and fowls. Meat however is eaten only occasionally mostly during feasts and festivals. The Asurs also utilize cereals, millets, pulses, roots, tubers, green vegetables, mushrooms, fruits, flowers, honey, and salt in their cooking. Some of the important food preparations include ‘pi:tha (dish made of flour and sweet), khichri, chicken’ etc. The use of spices is common among the economically well-off people.



Drying of corn for storage

There is a custom of consuming alcoholic beverages among the Asurs. It is called 'Handia' in the local language and is the most important constituent of the Asur food and culture. Handia is also called 'jhara' in Asuri. Consumption of 'handia' is mandatory on social and religious occasions. Jhara types based on the different occasions on which they are prepared are as follows:

1. Biha (marriage) jhara
2. Puja jhara
3. Sarna parab jhara
4. Ropa jhara
5. saRsi kuTasi jhara
6. phaguR parab jhara
7. Sarhul jhara
8. Sohrai jhara
9. Katik jhara

Another food habit of Asurs is non-consumption of milk from cow. They say that the milk is for the cow's child; hence human beings should not consume milk rather leave it for the calf.

1.5.6.6. Marriage and family

The institution of marriage is an integral part of the Asur culture. It is the medium through which the basic unit of society i.e. the family comes into existence. The patterns of marriage practices found in this community bear resemblance with the other major tribal groups of the Chota Nagpur plateau. Marriage within the community and outside the clan i.e. clan exogamy is the characteristic feature of Asur culture. Post-puberty marriage is the rule; girls may be below eighteen years. Marriage age for boys varies from eighteen to twenty-two years. There are three ways of acquiring a mate in the Asur culture: -formal marriage, idi-me marriage and love marriage. The first type is where marriage is performed with all elaborate rites and rituals like bride money, feast etc. The second kind is what is unique to the Asurs. The 'Idi-me,' the term in Asuri, denotes the married life for which no essential marriage ceremony takes place. According to Mehta (1960), 'It is a unique institution of Asur, because idi-me cannot be included in all the eight types of marriages prevalent in tribal India. The practice of idi-me cannot be attributed to the poor economy either, because, there are still poorer primitive tribes, who performed very simple and inexpensive marriage rituals before living as a couple.' The marriage ceremony of the

son whose parents have undergone Idi-me cannot be performed unless his parents have been married in a regular ceremony before and the parents get married first and then the turn of his son and daughter-in-law comes in the same 'mandwa.' If one of the parents dies before performing the regular marriage ceremony, symbolic marriage is performed before the burial ritual takes place.

1.5.6.6.1. Some wedding rituals and wedding songs

Haparesed: The family of the boy goes to the girl's family for a proposal of marriage. As the proposal gets finalised the boy's family puts a bamboo stick on the roof of the house for the girl. This is to symbolise that the girl is engaged and no other proposals come for marriage. Some other rituals are as follows:

Godlagi and lotada? Washing the feet in a /kansa /or bronze vessel and touching the feet and after this seating is done on a khejur or palm mat.

Chotegotiya: The relatives of the girl are invited to the boy's house to see the would-be groom.

Agwa: An Agwa is the person who does the job of match-making in the community.

Bisitya: Two people from the village of the boy are chosen who are not old. They are given the task of inviting and escorting the family, friends and village people of the girl to the boy house.

Janga dhuwao jhara: In this ritual when the family of the girl arrives the would-be groom's sister or aunty washes their feet. The bridegroom is gifted gamcha dhoti. The girls side during this occasion sing the following addressing the boys house.

'Oda nela le oda nela le, Goso? La chabao la oda nela le'

(We will see the house, we will see the house

The house that is clean and decorated)

'Diya baraye pe samdhi batti baraye pe, Noa oda hona oda andhar edna'

(lighten the candles o samdhi the house is dark)

'Damad niliyale damad niliyale, Langda thutha kana andhra, Damad niliyale'

(We will see the groom we will see the groom, is he lame or dumb or blind? We will see the groom)

Then the girl's elder brother or the uncle will bring the would-be groom out of the house on his shoulders and seat him on the khejur (palm) mat. The seating is done in circular way. The boy's

side will give the handiya (rice beer) to the girl's side whilst both parties are standing. The groom serves the handiya to his father-in-law and mother-in-law and touches their feet and seeks their blessings. No traditional chai-nashta (tea and snacks) but chakna and handiya is served and the number of guest is not counted.

One important thing is that when the groom is serving handiya to all relatives no one is allowed to refuse it, not even kids. A person has to take it and after that he or she may give it to another who will eat or drink but you have to take it.

After this ritual, food is served. Girl and boy relatives eat together first, behind them eat other villagers. Banda (pork), sarson and chakod saag, poori cooked in rice starch is served. Food is served on plates made of pumpkin leaves.

Tika-sindur: The ritual which makes a man and a woman husband and wife. The man applies the vermillion on the forehead of the woman in the wedding pavilion called the mandwa. After the application of the vermillion she becomes his wife.

Gutiyari or badigotiyari:

Banda chatwa (thigh meat of pig) is given to the girl's side for the would-be bride and all those elderly people who were unable to come to the boy's village. The next day the girl's family cooks and feeds the banda chatwa to all the remaining villagers.

Banhjori

In this ritual the bride is made to sit in the lap of the elder brother of the groom. He has to treat as his own daughter by making her sit in his lap in the presence of village elders and others.

The Asurs also have another custom called the 'Banhjori'. In this ritual the bride is made to sit in the lap of the elder brother of the groom. He has to treat as his own daughter by making her sit in his lap in the presence of village elders and others.

Cases of divorce are rare among Asurs. The men marry one woman only but in case the wife is barren then she allows her husband to remarry. On the whole Asur woman enjoy more freedom.

Family is the foundational unit of the society which primarily includes a husband, wife and their children. Among Asurs there is prevalence of the joint family system especially in the villages, though now the trend of nuclear family is on the rise. In his study Gupta (1976) has classified the Asur families belonging to the four types: the first is the nuclear family which consists of the parents or one of the parents with unmarried children; the second type is called the extended family which consists of parents or one of the parents with unmarried and married children (with or without offspring) and also with unmarried and married brothers and sisters (with or without offspring); thirdly, there is compound family which consists of parents or one of the parents who may be widow or widower with children by former marriage as well. Family which did not fall under the three above mentioned types were classified as belonging to the miscellaneous category.

The eldest male member owns the property and is respected by all the other members of the family. He is the one who decides regarding the important matters concerning the family. This was noticed after the Asurs migration and their contact with the city life. In this tribe the individual and or the clan's lineage or descent is traced from the father's side (male) and not the mother. Thus the Asur culture is the patrilineal and patri-local in nature.

Unlike the conventional scenario observed in tribal and non-tribal societies of the country, the Asurs welcome the birth of a girl child as the first offspring.

1.5.6.7. Kinship terms

The concept of Kinship is a pervasive phenomenon of the human race that exhibits variable cultural manifestations. Kinship terms are used to denote the set of systematic relationships formed on the basis of ties of blood and marriage. Though its study began in anthropology, the research on kinship and the language used for its expression is an integral part of the discipline of linguists as well.

Asuri has its own system and usage of the kin terms. For instance, kinship terms in Asuri may be differentiated on the basis of sex - /aja & baba/ father and mother; Generation - /aja & mei/

mother and daughter; lineality - /baba & kaka/ father and uncle; relative age -/dada & bha:i/ elder brother and younger brother.

The framework followed in this work is the traditional anthropological approach for the analysis of the Asuri kin relations. Further, the kinship terms of Asuri have been discussed according to relevant parameters of Kroeber's (1929) typology. The basis for classification of the kinds of kinship terms was identified by Kroeber (1929) which are as follows: generation, affinity, collaterality, sex of the relative, bifurcation, sex of the speaker, and relative age.

1.5.6.7.1. The Kinship system of Asuri

Kinship refers to socially recognized relationships whereas kinship terms may be defined as those lexical terms used by a speech community for identification of the kin relations. According to Brown (1950), Kinship is "a social relationship based on descent". According to Giddens (1997), "kinship ties are connections between individuals, established either through marriage or the lines of descent that connect blood relatives." According to Brown (1964), "kinship is a system of dynamic relations between person and person in a community the behavior of any two persons in any of these relations being regulated in some way and to a greater or less extent by social usage".

Morgan (1871) one of the pioneers in this field of study distinguished between classificatory and descriptive systems. Besides Morgan, other anthropological contributions by McCleanan, Henry Men, Lovi, Frazee Boas, Malenivoski, Radcliff Brown, and Evans Pritchard deserve mention.

In the Indian context, comprehensive studies on kinship in Indian society have been done by Trautman and Iravati Karve. A descriptive analysis of the four cultural zones in India i.e. Northern zone, Southern zone, Eastern zone and Central zone, keeping in view the linguistic, caste and family organization is done by Karve (1953). A mention needs to be made regarding the work by Parkin (1985) who studied the Munda kinship. He highlights the onslaughts of contact and borrowing from neighboring languages. To quote Parkin (1985:706), "Munda kinship terminologies are basically of symmetric type, yet distinct from those of south India in their failure to incorporate affinal specifications into the otherwise characteristic equations they

make.” Parkin uses the term ‘macaronic’ to describe the kinship terms of the Munda languages as not many of them could escape the ‘invasion of Indic terms’.

Asuri community has patrilineal and patrilocal families. They are all divided into endogamous and totemistic clans. Asuri has a classificatory kinship system. Under the classificatory system the various kins are included in one category and all referred to by the same term. For example the term ‘uncle’ in English is a classificatory term as it may be used for maternal uncle, paternal uncle, mother’s sister’s husband and father’s sister husband etc.

The kinship relations are established in different ways. One among them is the consanguineal relation which is made by blood. It is the relation among the same stock or common ancestors. The consanguineal relations can be classified into two types of relation, namely core and peripheral.

a. Consanguineal relations:

Kinship relations are of two kinds, Consanguine and affinal. The bond of blood is called consanguineous kinship whereas the bond between parents and their children and that between siblings is consanguineous kinship. Siblings are the children of the same parents. Thus, son, brother, sister, uncle, elder uncle, nephew and cousin are consanguineous kin. i.e., related through blood.

Core consanguineal relations:

The relations made by the ego directly are the core consanguineal relations. The core consanguineal relation consists of the ego's parents, siblings and offspring. For these relations, there are the following kinship terms:

Core consanguine kinship terms:

Generation from Ego	Asuri	English Gloss
G+1	baba / ba:p	‘Father’
G+1	aja/ ajo	‘Mother’

G-1	babu	‘Son’
G-1	mei/ meiya	‘Daughter’
G=0	baɾe dada	‘Elder brother’
G=0	madʒla dada	‘Middle brother’
G=0	tʃʰoɬa bʰai	‘Younger brother’
G=0	dʒamat ra ɬunja	‘Youngest brother’
G=0	baɾi didi	‘Eldest sister’
G=0	madʒli didi	‘Middle sister’
G=0	tʃʰoɬi bahin	‘Younger sister’
G=0	dʒamat ra ɬunja	‘Youngest sister’
G=0	dʒawa	‘Twins (male/female)’

The core consanguineal relations are father, mother, elder/younger brother, elder/younger sister, child, son and daughter. So there are thirteen terms for core consanguineal relations in Asuri. There are no sex and age neutral terms in Asuri which are found in English like parents, siblings. In Asuri, the terms, viz. dada (eB), Bhai (yB) make the age distinction and the terms, viz. dada (eB), didi (eZ) make the sex distinction.

Peripheral consanguine relations

They are not primary kin. The peripheral consanguineal relations are not the direct relation of the ego but the ego's relations through the core consanguineal relations are called the peripheral consanguineal relations. It is also called the relations through relations. The peripheral consanguineal relations are composed of the parents' ascending generation and the same generation as parents.

Ascending generation (G+2; G+3)

Peripheral consanguine relations through parents up generation

Generation from the Ego	Asuri	English Gloss
G+3	aɖʒa	‘Great grandfather (father’s side)’
G+3	aɖʒi	‘Great grandmother (father’s side)’

G+3	adʒa	‘Great grandfather (mother’s side)’
G+3	adʒi	‘Great grandmother (mother’s side)’
G+2	adʒa	‘Grandfather (father’s side)’
G+2	adʒi	‘Grandmother (father’s side)’
G+2	adʒa	‘Grandfather (mother’s side)’
G+2	adʒi	‘Grandmother (mother’s side)’

The kin terms for grandfather and grandmother in Asuri are the same for both paternal and maternal sides. They are used as both address terms and terms of reference. Terms for great grandparents (G+3) are same as terms for grandparents (G+2). Siblings of grandparents are also addressed with the same kin term /adʒa/ and /adʒi/.

a. Peripheral consanguine relations through father

Generation from Ego	Asuri	English Gloss
G+1	baɾa / baɾka ba:p	‘Father’s elder brother’
G+1	baɾi / baɾe a:jo	‘Father’s elder brother’s wife’
G+1	kaka	‘Father’s younger brother’
G+1	kaki	‘Father’s younger brother’s wife’
G+1	mami	‘Father’s elder sister’
G+1	tʃʰoɽe mami	‘Father’s younger sister’

b. Peripheral consanguine relations through mother

Generation from Ego	Asuri	English Gloss
G+1	mama	‘Mother’s elder brother’
G+1	mami	‘Mother’s elder brother’s wife’
G+1	tʃʰoɽe mama	‘Mother’s younger brother’
G+1	tʃʰoɽe mami	‘Mother’s younger brother’s wife’
G+1	baɾi	‘Mother’s elder sister’
G+1	baɾa	‘Mother’s elder sister’s husband’
G+1	kaki	‘Mother’s younger sister’
G+1	kaka	‘Mother’s younger sister’s husband’

Same generation

Peripheral consanguine relations through father's/mother's siblings

Generation from Ego	Asuri	English Gloss
G=0	dada	'Father's brother's elder son'
G=0	b ^{hai}	'Father's brother's younger son'
G=0	didi	'Father's brother's elder daughter'
G=0	bahin	'Father's brother's younger daughter'
G=0	dada	'Father's sister elder son'
G=0	b ^{hai}	'Father's sister younger son'
G=0	dada	'Mother's brother's elder son'
G=0	b ^{hai}	'Mother's brother's younger son'
G=0	didi	'Mother's brother's elder daughter'
G=0	bahin	'Mother's brother's younger daughter'
G=0	dada	'Mother's sister's elder son'
G=0	b ^{hai}	'Mother's sister's younger son'
G=0	didi	'Mother's sister's elder daughter'
G=0	bahin	'Mother's sister's younger daughter'

Siblings address each other according to their relative age. The relations made by father's and mother's siblings uphold both age and sex distinction. Elder and younger sibling can distinctly be noticed by the like 'dada' and 'bhai'; 'didi' and 'bahin'. Thus, the kin terms show differentiation based on age (dada versus bhai) (didi versus bahin) and sex, for example, dada and didi. All parallel cousins and cross cousins are equated with siblings both in address and reference.

Descending Generation

Peripheral consanguine relations through male ego

Generation from Ego	Kinship term	English Gloss
G-1	b ^{hatid} ga	'Brother's son'
G-1	b ^{hatid} gin	'Brother's daughter'

G-1	b ^h aigna	‘Sister’s son’
G-1	b ^h aigni	‘Sister’s daughter’

Peripheral consanguine relations through female ego

Generation from Ego	Asuri Kinship term	English Gloss
G-1	b ^h atidza	‘Brother’s son’
G-1	b ^h atidzin	‘Brother’s daughter’
G-1	b ^h aigna	‘Sister’s son’
G-1	b ^h aigni	‘Sister’s daughter’

Peripheral consanguine relations through child

Generation from Ego	Asuri Kinship term	English Gloss
G-2	natija	‘Son’s son’
G-2	natija	‘Daughter’s son’
G-2	natijatin	‘Son’s daughter’
G-2	natijatin	‘Daughter’s daughter’

The peripheral consanguineal relations made by female ego are the same to the relation made by male ego. The relations, namely brother's / sister's son (bhatija/bhagna) and brother's/sister's daughter (bhatiji/bhagni) by male ego and female ego are termed differently because of sex distinction. The peripheral consanguineal relations made through the male child and the female child are overlapping. Son's son and daughter's son are called by the same term /nati/. Similarly, son's daughter and daughter's daughter are also called by the term /natini/. In the second and third descending generation relations all are addressed by their first names.

b. Affinal kinship relations

Those kinship relations which are formed through marriage are called affinal relations. While discussing affinal relations the sex of the Ego is relevant parameter. Just like consanguineous relations, affinal relations also fall into two categories, core and peripheral.

Core affinal relations

Core affinal relations through Ego's parents

Generation from Ego	Asuri Kinship terms	English Gloss
G+1	baṛi	'Father's elder brother's wife'
G+1	kaki	'Father's younger brother's wife'
G+1	mama	'Father's elder sister's husband'
G+1	mama	'Father's younger sister's husband'
G+1	mami	'Mother's elder brother's wife'
G+1	mami	'Mother's younger brother's wife'
G+1	baṛa	'Mother's elder sister's husband'
G+1	kaka	'Mother's younger sister's husband'

The affinal relations made by father are father's elder/younger brother's wife and father's elder/younger sister's husband. The affinal relations through mother are mother's elder/younger brother's wife and mother's elder/younger sister's husband.

Core affinal relations through Ego's siblings

Generation from Ego	Asuri Kinship terms	English Gloss
G=0	b ^h aṭu	'Elder sister's husband'
G=0	damad/ bahin damad	'Younger sister's husband'
G=0	b ^h audzi	'Elder brother's wife'
G=0	bahuṭija	'Younger brother's wife'

Core affinal relations through Ego's children

Generation from Ego	Asuri Kinship term	English Gloss
G=0	dama:d	'Son-in-law'
G=0	bahuṭija / patoh	'Daughter-in-law'

Peripheral affinal relations

Peripheral affinal relations through child's marriage

Generation from Ego	Asuri Kinship term	English Gloss
G-1	hōiha:r	'Son's wife's father'
G-1	hōiha:r	'Daughter's husband's father'
G-1	hanha:r	'Son's wife's mother'
G-1	hanha:r	'Daughter's husband's mother'

Peripheral affinal relations through ego's siblings

Generation from Ego	Asuri Kinship term	English Gloss
G+1	bahuṭija	'Brother's son's wife'
G+1	damad	'Brother's daughter's husband'
G+1	bahuṭija	'Sister's son's wife'
G+1	damad	'Sister's daughter's husband'

Peripheral affinal relations through ego's husband

Generation from Ego	Asuri Kinship term	English Gloss
G=0	heṭel/mardana/ marad	'Husband'
G=0	b ^h asur / dʒeṭ ^h	'Husband's elder brother'
G=0	b ^h audʒi	'Husband's elder brother's wife'
G=0	devar	'Husband's younger brother'
G=0	b ^h audʒi / gotni	'Husband's younger brother's wife'
G=0	dʒeṭ ^h saas	'Husband's elder sister'
G=0	b ^h aṭu	'Husband's elder sister's husband'
G=0	nanad	'Husband's younger sister'
G=0	damad	'Husband's younger sister's husband'

Peripheral affinal relations through ego's wife

Generation from Ego	Asuri Kinship term	English Gloss
G=0	lěj	'Wife'
G=0	dʒet ^h saɾa	'Wife's elder brother'
G=0	didi	'Wife's elder brother's wife'
G=0	saɾa	'Wife's younger brother'
G=0	bahin	'Wife's younger brother's wife'
G=0	dʒet ^h saɾi	'Wife's elder sister'
G=0	saɾu	'Wife's elder sister's husband'
G=0	saɾi	'Wife's younger sister'
G=0	saɾu	'Wife's younger sister's husband'

Most of the kin terms through ego's siblings and ego's children marriage belong to the original Munda vocabulary. Except for the peripheral affinal kinship categories we see that the Asuri has very limited core affinal kinship terms. The terms used here are also used in consanguine kinship terms.

1.5.6.7.2. Features of Asuri Kinship Terminology

1. **Generation:** Asuri makes no distinction between the kin terms for matrilineal and patrilineal relations. For instance, both the paternal and maternal grandfather and grandmother are called /adʒa/ and /adʒi/ respectively. Even the terms for maternal uncles and paternal uncles are all denoted by a single term which refers to both the relatives.
2. **Affinity:** Whereas consanguinity versus affinity is of utmost significance in the reference system, in the address system it is of little importance, e.g. a woman calls her in-laws in the same way as her husband does. We know that some languages distinguish between affinal and consanguine uncles whereas others have only one word to refer to both types. For example, neither English nor French distinguishes between the father's sister's husband (a relative by marriage) and the father's brother (a blood relative)

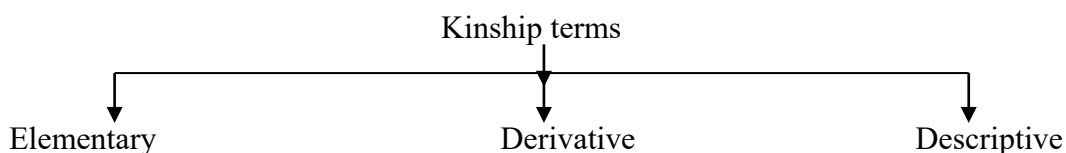
(Segalen, 1986). In the Asuri language, we have the distinction between terms denoting father's elder brother who is called /baɾa/ while father's younger brother is called /kaka/.

3. **Collaterality:** This parameter differentiates between lineal and collateral kin relations. The direct descendants and the direct ancestors of the ego are the lineal kins. Collateral kin relatives are the ego's siblings and their descendants. Asuri kinship terms for lineal kins and collateral kin relatives are different. Son and daughter are /hopon/ or /babu/ and /mei/ respectively. Collateral terms are different based on whether the descendants are from the ego's brother side or ego's mother side.
4. **Sex of the relative:** It has separate kin terms for mother /aja/ and father /baba/ and separate terms to denote the children of either sex. The male child or the son is called /babu/ while the female or the daughter is called /mei/.
5. **Relative age:** Kinship terms for siblings differentiate between relative ages. The words for elder brother and elder sister are /dada/ and /didi/ respectively while for younger brother and younger sister we have the terms /bhai/ and /bahin/. Asuri, however, has a special term to denote the youngest sibling without making any distinction of sex. The words /jamat ra tunya/ designates both of the youngest siblings either the boy. The kin terms for father's elder brother/ Father's elder brother's wife (baɾe/ baɾi) and father's younger brother/ Father's younger brother's wife (kaka/kaki) and depicts the distinction. The same is the case for terms for mother's elder sister/ mother's elder sister's husband and mother's younger sister/ mother's younger sister's husband;

The parameter of 'relative age' is thus relevant especially when we discuss the terms for siblings of ego. It plays a minor role in the kin terms for ascending and descending generations. There is only a modification of the kin terms by /tʃʰoɽe/ or /baɾe/ and /dʒeɽʰ/ in the G+ 1 relation to show the relative age.

1.5.6.7.3. The linguistic structure of Asuri kinship terms

Kinship terms may linguistically be of three kinds viz, elementary, derivative and descriptive. An elementary term consists of root terms that cannot be divided further into smaller words. Derivative terms are compounds of one elementary kin term and a lexeme to denote a relative, for example, grand+father in English sister-in-law, stepson etc. Descriptive terms are compounds of two elementary kinship terms to denote another relative for instance ‘farbor’ in Spanish means father’s brother.



Examples of elementary kinship terms in Asuri are /baba/, /aja/, /didi/ , /dada/ , /b^hai/ , /bahin/ , /mei/, /babu/, /kaka/, /baɽa/, / baɽi/, /hõiha:r/, /hanha:r/, /mama/, and /mami/. The Derivative terms are as follows: /baɽka ba:p/, / tʃ^hoɽe mama/, /tʃ^hoɽe mami/, and /dʒeɽ^h saas/. Descriptive terms, which are a combination of more than one elementary term to denote a specific relative, are /bahin damad/.

1.5.6.7.4. Morphological gender:

The /i/ versus /a/ distinction (used to mark gender) commonly found in the Indo-Aryan languages is also found in the Asuri language. The suffix /i/ is the feminine marker and /a/ is the masculine marker.

Table 1: Masculine and feminine kinship terms

Masculine kinship terms	Feminine kinship terms
baba ‘father’	aja ‘mother’
adʒa ‘grandfather’	adʒi ‘grandmother’
mama ‘uncle’	mami ‘aunt’
kaka ‘uncle’	kaki ‘aunt’

1.5.6.7.5. Classification on the basis of usage

Kinship terms may be classified into terms of address and terms of reference depending upon the mode of usage. It was Murdock (1949) who mentioned two categories of kinship terms: Terms of address, and Terms of reference. Term of address is used to call someone directly. Asuri kinship terms are of the following types:

- (i) The first groups of terms serve both as terms of reference and of address, e. g. the words for father or mother.
- (ii) The second group of kinship terms has two forms, one used as a term of reference and a different form used for address.

Table 2: Terms of reference and address terms are identical

Kinship relation	Term of Reference	Term of Address
‘Son’	babu	babu
‘Daughter’	mei	mei
‘Brother’	boko/dada	dada
‘Sister’	bohea	didi/ bahin
‘Father’	baba	baba
‘Mother’	aja	aja
‘Grandfather’	adʒa	adʒa
‘Grandmother’	adʒi	adʒi
‘Paternal uncle’	kaka	kaka
‘Paternal Aunt’	kaki	kaki
‘Maternal aunt’	mami	mami
‘Maternal uncle’	mama	mama

Table 3: Terms of reference and address terms are different

Kinship relation	Term of reference	Term of Address
‘Son in law’	damad	babu
‘Daughter in law’	bahu	mei
‘Father in law’	hõiha:r	aja

‘Mother in law’	hanha:r	baba
‘Husband’s sister’	nanad	didì
‘Husband younger brother’	devar	First name
‘Wife’s sister’	saɽi	Didi
‘Wife’s elder brother’	dʒeɽ ^h saɽa	Dada
‘Wife’s younger brother’	saɽa	First name

Address terms and reference terms are different in this category (peripheral affinal). For example the son-in-law called the /damad/ will be addressed as /babu/ ‘son’. The same usage applies for the other relations mentioned in the table above.

Table 4: Terms of address: reciprocal usage

Kinship relation	Term of reference	Term of address (Reciprocal Usage)
mother of the husband and mother of wife	samd ^h an	samd ^h an sahija
father of the husband and father of the wife	samd ^h i	samd ^h i sangi
brother of the husband and wife	b ^h ai	sangi
sisters of the husband and wife	bahin	sahija

Kinship terminology and possessive forms

- a. my mother - iŋ ali aja
- b. my father- iŋ ali baba
- c. his/her father- baba-te/apa-te
- d. his/her mother- aja-te
- e. his/her sister - huni a:li boko

f. my son- in ali koṛa chengā

g. his son - huni ala hopon/babu

1.5.6.7.6. Idi-me: socially approved cohabitation

One striking feature in the Asur society is the practise of Idi-me. This is a custom in the Asuri community where a man and a woman may live together as a husband and wife without performing any marriage rituals. They enjoy the same status as husband and wife similar to people who perform marriage ceremony. It is legal and socially recognized co-habitation without any disregard from society. The children born out of this custom are legal and enjoy the same status. Kinship terms in this case also “remains the same” because it is socially recognized unlike in other cultures in India. This speaks volumes about the social values of equality embedded within the Asur community.

Idi-me is similar although not equivalent to the modern day cohabitation or live-in relationship. Cohabitation has only recently been legalized in India. It is popular in the west and even in large cities of India. But this practise has not been accepted totally by the Indian society. Cohabitation is a taboo and a religious crime for a large number of people. The practise of Idi-me has been an integral part of Asur culture for generations. While Idi-me is feasible for the individuals just like cohabitation (live-in relationships) but unlike live-in relationships it does not strip off the religious sanctity associated with marriage. The woman and man in an idi-me marriage enjoy the same status as a formally married couple. The child born to such a couple is also not looked down upon by the society.

1.5.6.8. Asurs - the ancient iron smelters

“The Asuras are in many ways an ambiguous category, vaguely identified, but consistently associated with the working of iron.”

----- Romila Thappar and M.H. Siddiqi⁴

⁴ Chota Nagpur: the pre-colonial and colonial situation

Metallurgy is the practice of separating metals from their ores and refining them into pure metals. Asurs are one of the tribes which have been associated with iron smelting since the ancient times. Their folktales and legends namely, Asur-kahani, Asurkoa kahani, depicts them as a powerful race of iron-smelters and iron workers (Encyclopaedia Mundarica, 1930-1950).

On the basis of their family labour iron smelting was carried on by them. Sal trees were cut by them in the neighborhood of their furnace for preparing charcoal as charcoal of green Sal was capable of generating sufficient heat for smelting iron ore in their furnaces which were usually located in the neighborhood of water.

The family engaged in iron smelting offers prayer during sandsi and kutasi (hammer) worship which may be called productive magic, as it is aimed at securing good iron while smelting. It has been recorded by Leuva (1963):-

“We the twelve brothers of Asura and thirteen brothers of Lodha – offer you on this day of full moon night in Falguna (February or March) once in twelve months. We are following the tradition of offering you worship as our ancestors have been doing in the past. Since the beginning of the creation till today we have worshipped you in the same manner. Hence forward let there be no wound or scare on our person. Let not our iron be brittle, let not iron scatter around the stone anvil while it is being hammered. Let it settled down in the furnace in a perfect lump.”

During the last several decades due to the introduction of improved metallurgy and the forest conservation policy of the Government imposing restriction on wanton cutting of forest gave a final death blow to the industry of iron smelting in this plateau. Iron-smelting has now practically become a thing of the past. Now this community has shifted to agriculture as their means of livelihood.



Traditional Iron making furnace

1.5.6.9. Present situation

The contemporary situation of this community and their plight is highlighted in the following quote from G.N. Devy's article published in The Indian Express on March 6, 2016:

“The Asur community is facing a serious threat of extinction. Their population is not growing on a par with the general growth in Indian population. In Singhbhum, their population could be counted in two digits, while in places like Dhanbad district and Raidih block of Jharkhand; it can be counted in a single digit. Bishunpur in the state has the highest Asur population, which is under 10,000. Their literacy rate in 1971 was a mere 5.5 per cent. At that time, they were in the top 5 per cent of ‘the most illiterate’ communities country-wide. Today, they continue the same legacy though the literacy rate has now increased to over 20 per cent. But this has not increased their livelihood security. Rather, the opposite is true. The spread of mining activity in their region has reduced them to greater penury.”

Asur tribe predates the Aryan civilization. Its language and culture are keys to understanding about the glimpse of society, culture and language both in history and present times. We should strive for saving such a precious cultural heritage.

1.6. Organization of the Thesis

The present research work will have the following chapters:

Chapter One: This chapter introduces documentation, language endangerment as related issues. It is devoted to review the literature. Nature of this dissertation and its organisation are very concisely introduced here. Methodology is also discussed.

Chapter Two is on Phonology of the language. Here the speech sounds have been discussed. Segmental and Suprasegmental phonology of the language is outlined here. The Chapter ends with a note on Phonological adaptations of borrowed elements in Asuri.

Chapter Three details the morphology of Asuri language including both Noun and Verb Morphology with abundant examples.

Chapter Four is entitled Syntax and it outlines the syntactic features of the language like word-order, negation, co-ordination, causitivization and so on.

Chapter Five is Lexicon. In this chapter the basic aim is to layout the process of building a digital dictionary which may be useful for language preservation with reference to Asuri language.

Chapter Six: This chapter deals with the summary and findings of the present study.

Chapter 2

Phonology

2. General overview

This chapter discusses the phonology of Asuri language. Before beginning the analysis of the phonology of Asuri, a comprehensive review of previous works in this direction is given and how this research adds further to available knowledge on Asuri phonology is also highlighted. In this chapter an attempt has been made to classify the speech sounds of the Asuri language. Speech sounds are divided into vowels and consonants. In the segmental category, vowels and consonants which form the phonemic inventory of the language are described. Apart from the inventory of phonemes, vowels and consonants description, distribution and contrasts along with the description of sequences and clusters and syllabic structure has been discussed. In the suprasegmental section features such as length, nasalization and aspiration have been described. Thus the ensuing chapter covers discussions on both segmental and suprasegmental phonology.. The last section of this chapter is devoted to borrowed words.

The first exclusive study on Asuri Phonology is by G. Baskaran. Baskaran's paper "Phonemes of Asuri" (2015) and "Consonant sequence and Syllable Formation" (2015) are seminal works. As mentioned above, "Phonemes of Asuri" by G. Baskaran (2015) is the first work which focuses exclusively on Asuri Phonology. His work provides a preliminary phonemic analysis of the language. Asuri has five monophthongs /i, e, a, o and u/ and twenty one consonants /p, b, t, d, t̪, d̪, c, j, k, g, ʔ, s, h, m, n, ŋ, l, r, ɾ, w and y/ in its phonemic inventory. His work shows how Asuri displays the areal features shared by Munda languages for instance non-occurrence of /ŋ & ʔ/ in initial position. Alveolar trill and labio-dental semivowel do not occur in the final position. The alveolar flap and palatal semivowel do not occur in the initial and final positions. In 'Consonant sequence and syllable formation' in Asuri, Baskaran (2015) analyses the consequent sequences and syllable structure found in Asuri.

The second study was done by Zoya (2020) gives an overview of the phonemic inventory of this language. She discusses the vowels and consonants and she has supported some parts of her study with acoustic analysis. According to Zoya (2020) Asuri has /p, b, t, d, t̪, d̪, k, g, (ʔ), m, n, ŋ, r, ɾ, s, h, l, w, y, ʃ and dʒ/. She lists aspirated counterparts of stops and affricates in the

consonant chart but does not explicitly state about the nature of aspiration in this language. She discusses five vowels /i, e, u, o and u/ and their allophones. Brief discussion is also given on clusters, nasalization and reduplication in this paper.

2.1. Segmental phonology:

In the segmental phonology, speech sounds, also called segments or phones, found in Asuri have been discussed. This section deals with the phonemic inventory of the Asuri language.

2.1.1. Vowels

The vowel system of Asuri consists of five monophthongs which is a typical feature of the Austro-Asiatic languages. The inventory of vowels includes /i/ and /e/ which are front unrounded vowels; /a/ is the central unrounded vowel; and /o/ and /u/ are back rounded vowels. The vowels /i/ and /u/ are high vowels; /e, o/ are mid-vowels; and /a/ is the only low vowel in Asuri. The vowels exhibit a non-contrastive vowel length.

Front	central	back
High	i	u
Mid high	e	o
Low	a	

2.1.1.1. Description of vowels

/i/-	high	front	unrounded short vowel
/e/-	high mid	front	unrounded short vowel
/a/-	central	low	unrounded short vowel
/o/-	high mid	back	rounded short vowel
/u/-	high	back	rounded short vowel

2.1.1.2. Distribution of vowels

The five vowels of Asuri can occur in all the positions in a word i.e., initially, medially and in word final position.

/i/-high, front and unrounded vowel

Word Initial	Word medial	Word final
iṛka ‘heel’	tiṛi ‘hand’	aṇṛi ‘finger’
iṇ ‘I’	dʒiliṇ ‘long’	dʰuṛi ‘dust’
iskulja ‘student’	seṇgil ‘fire’	mukṛi ‘knee’
itʃja ‘eight’	la:hig ‘stomach’	hisi ‘twenty’
indra ‘well’	luṭʃir ‘lips’	goli ‘capsule’
idi ‘motion upward’	muig ‘ant’	tʃaoli ‘rice’
iskulija ‘student’	bir ‘grass’	naṭʃi ‘basket’
ipil ‘star’	urig ‘cattle’	muṛsari ‘pillow’
iṛija:m ‘cry’	sikṭa ‘hyena’	kulahi ‘rabbit’
isin ‘cook’	paṭija ‘mat’	a:di ‘ginger’

/e/-mid-low, front and unrounded

Word Initial	Word medial	Word final
eneg ‘dance’	merom ‘goat’	hoje ‘air’
epja ‘four’	teṇ ‘peak’	uke ‘who’
etalai ‘why’	usmeṭ ‘young’	ukeke ‘whoose’
etalekan ‘how’	meṭ ‘eye’	gēṇe ‘duck’
enga ‘female’	seta ‘dog’	oṛe ‘bird’
ena ‘mirror’	koṭe:g ‘blacksmith’	re ‘in’
epegja ‘fourteen’	gendra ‘clothes’	ale ‘third person’
emo dʒeṛo ‘to prefer’	sendra ‘hunter’	baṛe ‘big’
eṇegor ‘to abuse’	bera ‘time’	tʃoṭe ‘small’
em ‘give’	nahel ‘plough’	dʒame ‘many’

/a/-low, central and unrounded vowel

Initial	Medial	Final
ajub ‘evening’	naki ‘comb’	tʃɛŋga ‘child’
astirwa ‘slowly’	maɾ ‘bamboo’	toa ‘milk’
aŋgor ‘coal’	lataɾ ‘down’	lauwa ‘gourd’
apja ‘five’	ɬamras ‘guava’	b ^h ak ^h a ‘language’
aja ‘mother’	damad ‘son in law’	dʒoha ‘cheeks’
adzi ‘grandmother’	goɦaɾ ‘cowshed’	iɾka ‘heels’
adʒa ‘grandfather’	bajor ‘rope’	tʃɛŋga ‘baby’
ara ‘saw’	sutam ‘thread’	dada ‘elder brother’
aʔagob ‘to yawn’	haku ‘fish’	oɾa ‘house’
agla ‘front’	kaɦɖi ‘recitation’	paɬja ‘mat’

/o/-mid-low, back and rounded vowel

Word Initial	Word medial	Word final
oɾa ‘house’	hōjha:r ‘father-in-law’	bajor ‘rope’
ogro ‘housefly’	roɦoɾ ‘dry’	ukelo ‘which’
oke ‘something’	ɦoɾ ‘person’	tʃiɦo ‘horse’
oʔɬaŋ ‘fly’	k ^h ota ‘nest’	toro ‘sunrise’
oʔoɬaŋ ‘to blow’	merom ‘goat’	hidʒo ‘come’
ot ‘floor’	g ^h oŋg ^h i ‘snail’	seno ‘go’
oʔojoɾ ‘to hate’	kaɬ ^h k ^h olwa ‘woodpecker’	baɾbaɾao ‘to mutter’
oʔor ‘to impress’	poɬom kobi ‘cabbage’	tʃeʔtʃetao ‘to warn’
oɾa renku ‘family’	tʃepoɾ ‘flat’	lolo ‘hot’
	baɖ ^h ija kanoa ‘bad’	tʃatʃak ^h ao ‘to taste’

/u/-high, back and rounded

Word Initial	Word Medial	Word Final
u:b ‘hair’	kuɽi ‘girl’	haku ‘fish’
uɽ ‘mushroom’	p ^h up ^h wai ‘hiss’	tʃuɽu ‘mouse’
upag ‘up’	dʒugɽi ‘earthworm’	kuhu ‘cuckoo’
u:l ‘mango’	kul ‘tiger’	ɽuku ‘stone’
utu ‘vegetable’	p ^h upwaj ‘hiss’	kaɽ ^h ru ‘buffalo’
urig ‘cattle’	pundɽi ‘white’	baɽɽru ‘animal kid’
uraon ‘oraon’	k ^h usar ‘owl’	buru ‘forest’
umoʔ ‘bath’	isku:l ‘school’	silot gurgu ‘mortal pestle’
u:ru: ‘dung beetle’	silub ‘deer’	haɽu ‘leaf monkey or langur’

2.1.1.3. Vowel chart

Vowels	Initial	Medial	Final
/i/	√	√	√
/e/	√	√	√
/a/	√	√	√
/o/	√	√	√
/u/	√	√	√

2.1.1.4 Vowel contrasts

a. Higher: Lower

/i/ vs /e/	/bahira/ ‘deaf’	/bahera siŋ/ ‘arjun tree’
	/bili/ ‘ripe’	/beɽel/ ‘raw’
/e/ vs /a/	/oɽ/ ‘bird’	/oɽa/ ‘house’
/u/ vs /o/	/boru/ ‘forest’	/baha/ ‘flower’
/o/ vs /a/	/k ^h ok ^h ro/ ‘rooster’	/k ^h ak ^h ra/ ‘crab’

Additional contrasts:

/latar/ ‘low’: /lutur/ ‘ear’

/meɾ/ ‘eye’: /maɾ/ ‘bamboo’

/luʃɪr/ ‘lips’: /lutur/ ‘ear’

/toro/ ‘sunset’: /tori/ ‘ash’

/baha/ ‘flower’: /boho/ ‘head’

2.1.1.5 Allophonic Variation in Vowels

Asuri has long vowels and short vowels in but they are not phonemic. No meaning change occurs. The five vowels in Asuri have variants.

Variations in vowels

Vowels	Variations
/e/	[ɛ]
/a/	[ə], [æ] or [ɑ]
/o/	[ɔ]
/i/	[i:]
/u/	[u:]

Vowel length is not phonemic in Asuri language, which means that change in vowel length in utterances in Asuri language would not bring about any change in the meaning.

2.1.1.6. Diphthongs

Six diphthongs have been mentioned by previous studies, three involve glides [i] and other three are towards [u]. There is no mention of vowel sequence. However, vowel sequences have also been noted in this study.

/ai/ occurs in all three positions of the words.

/aijub/ ‘evening’

/g^haila/ ‘pot’

/etalai/ ‘why’

/ei/ occurs in final position of the words.

/bilei/ ‘cat’

/lei/ ‘woman’

/mei/ ‘daughter’

/au/ occurs in all three positions of the words.

/aur/ ‘and’

/dauɿ/ ‘big basket’

/naura/ ‘mongoose’

/gauraitʃa/ ‘sparrow’

/ao/ occurs in the word final position

/aõra/ ‘gooseberry’

/kaokao/ ‘crow’

/ nija tʰao renku/ ‘native’

/tʃitʃigʰrao/ ‘melt’

2.1.1.7. Vowel Sequence

Vowel sequences such as /ai/, /oa/, /ea/, /oe/, /oi/ and /ua/ are attested in the data.

-oa-

/toa/ ‘milk’

/noa/ ‘this’

-ea-

/pea/ ‘three’

-ua-

/perua/ ‘pigeon’

-ai-

/dail/ ‘pulses’

2.1.1.8. Nasalization

Nasalization of vowels is observed in the Asuri language. The vowel /e/ , /o/ , /a/ have nasalized counterparts.

Examples

/hĩ:ŋ/ ‘belly’

/lěj/ ‘woman’

/pějadʒ/ ‘onion’

/bʰãtta/ ‘furnace’

/gẽŋe/ ‘duck’

/dõti/ ‘basket’

/měj/ ‘daughter’

/hoĩhar/ ‘father-in-law’

/tẽtga/ ‘chameleon’

/sejãt/ ‘old’

/urão/ ‘oraon’

/mĩdzur/ ‘peacock’

The nasalization is occurring in cases when the vowel is adjacent to a nasal consonant. There are also examples where the vowels have nasalization internally. For example in the words like /mĩdzur/ ‘peacock’, /urão/ ‘oraon’, /tẽtga/ ‘chameleon’, /hoĩhar/ ‘father-in-law’, /dõti/ ‘basket’, /bʰãtta/ ‘furnace’, /pějadʒ/ ‘onion’, /lěj/ ‘woman’ and many such words are there where nasalization occurs in vowels without the effect of any adjacent nasal segment. So there is the presence of nasalized vowels in Asuri and they are nasalized /i, e, o/. However, it is non-phonemic.

2.2 Consonants

Asuri has twenty consonants in its phonemic inventory out of which nine are stops; two are nasal; two fricatives; one trill, one lateral, one flap, two approximants and two affricates.

Table 6: Inventory of Consonants

	Bilabial	Dental	Alveolar	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stops	p b	t d		ʈ ɖ		k g	ʔ
Nasals	m		n			ŋ	
Trills			r				
Tap/Flap				ɽ			
Fricative			s				h
Approximant	w				j		
Lateral			l				
Affricates					tʃ dʒ		

2.2.1 Description of consonants**Stops**

/p/	Bilabial	Voiceless
/b/	Bilabial	Voiced
/t/	Dental	Voiceless
/d/	Dental	Voiced
/ʈ/	Retroflex	Voiceless
/ɖ/	Retroflex	Voiced
/k/	Velar	Voiceless
/g/	Velar	Voiced
/ʔ/	glottal	Voiceless

Spirants/affricates

/tʃ/	Palatal	Voiceless
/dʒ/	Palatal	Voiced

Nasals

/m/	Bilabial	Voiced
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/n/	Dental	Voiced
/ŋ/	Velar	Voiced

Trill

/r/	Alveolar	Voiced
-----	----------	--------

Flap

/ɾ/	Retroflex	Voiced
-----	-----------	--------

Lateral

/l/	Alveolar	Voiced
-----	----------	--------

Sibilants

Only voiceless fricatives are found in A-A languages. No voiced fricative is found in them. Similarly, Asuri which comes from the Austro-asiatic family shows this feature of lacking a voiced fricative.

/s/	Alveolar	Voiceless
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Semi-consonants

/w/	Labial	Voiced
/j/	Palatal	Voiced

2.2.2 Distribution of consonants

The distribution of the different consonants found in Asuri is given below.

Plosives

Plosives occur in Asuri in all the three positions.

Voiced bilabial plosive /p/

Word Initial

penka 'left'
pok^hra 'pond'
paŋi 'know'
pahir 'first'

poto? 'bubble'
paŋ^hru 'goat kids'
pea 'three'
paŋja 'mat'

Word Medial

papaɖ 'papad'
ŋsepɽa 'flat'
gapa 'tomorrow'
apa 'father'

pipni 'eyelash'
ɖʒupɽi 'hut'
ropa ɖopa 'sowing'
hopon 'son'

Word Final

paip 'pipe'
ɖʒi:p 'jeep'
ukup 'hide'

Voiced bilabial plosive /b/

Word Initial

buluŋ 'salt'
boho 'head'
boru 'forest'
buɽ 'gram'
baha 'flower'
baŋa 'father's elder brother'
bitil 'sand'

bajor 'rope'
bark^ha 'rain'
bera 'time'
biha 'marriage'

babu 'son'

Word Medial

babu 'son'
abuno 'wash'
ɖʒabɽa 'jaw'
mombatti 'candle'
g^hoto banao gosja 'chef'
d^hobi 'washerman'
nida boŋa 'moon'

siŋboŋa 'sun'
baha kobi 'cauliflower'
rabihiɽa 'sunday'
rabaŋ bera 'winter'

maɽar duba 'pea plant'

Word Final

u:b 'hair'
sibil 'sweet'
aʔagob 'to sneeze'
aʔajub 'to hear'
sa:b 'catch'
kitab 'notebook'
gulab 'rose'

purab 'east'
aiub 'evening'
silub 'deer'
musub 'mud'

Voiced bilabial plosive /t/

Word Initial

toa 'milk'
tahni 'palm'
tori 'ash'

toro 'sunrise'
tujo tana 'to float'

Word Medial

rataŋ 'dew'
kita:b 'notebook'
lataɽ 'down'

lutur 'ear'
seta 'dog'

Word Final

ɽfait 'April'

taher ‘cucumber’

ta:mba ‘copper’

tĩgun ‘stand’

tisiŋ ‘today’

tara ‘from’

sutum ‘sunny’

natja ‘grand-son’

giti? kaʰli ‘bedroom’

utu ‘vegetable’

eta:n ‘what’

gotni ‘husband’s younger
brother’s wife’

Voiced dental plosive /d/

Word Initial

daru ‘beer’

deja ‘back’

dauʃi ‘basket’

dada ‘brother’

duwar ‘door’

dahi ‘curd’

dokan gosja ‘shopkeeper’

da? ‘water’

desa ‘ten’

dara ‘tomorrow’

daʃi ‘bud’

duʃu ‘sit’

daʃan ‘move’

Word Medial

gendra ‘dress’

godi ‘brain’

vidwa ‘widow’

badri ‘cloud’

nidua bera ‘morning’

nida ‘night’

lalʃen doho gosja ‘lampstand’

Word Final

damad ‘son-in-law’

uʔud ‘order’

lā:d ‘bread’

Voiceless retroflex /ʈ/

Word Initial

ʈisin ‘today’

ʈuku ‘stone’

ʈeŋ ‘hill’

ʈaŋja ‘axe’

ʈisna ‘bed’

ʈaka ‘rupee’

ʈiʈigʰrao ‘melt’

Word Medial

roʈe? ‘frog’

kʰuʈa ‘pole’

gʰoʈo ‘food’

poʈo? ‘bubble’

paʈa ‘chapati’

bʰaʈa ‘brinjal’

daʈa ‘tooth’

Word Final

tʃʰaʈ ‘vomit’

usmeʈ ‘young’

tepeʈ ‘grave’

tʃʰarkuʈ ‘square’

moʈ ‘fat’

teq^ha/tenkoɾ ‘curve’

hoɬoʔ ‘neck’

k^huɬa ‘pole’

paɬja ‘mat’

luɬu ‘moisture’

sikɬa ‘fox’

Voiced retroflex / d/

Word Intial

dubaʔ ‘stem’

dɒɬa ‘tooth’

dunɬur ‘fox millet’

d̪ihi ‘village’

d̪akija ‘postman’

d̪ata hasu ‘toothache’

d̪õti ‘basket for keeping fish’

Word Medial

puɬɬi ‘white’

lenɬa/linɬu ‘infant’

ukup d̪iɲ ‘hide and seek’

ropa d̪opa ‘seed-sowing’

Word Final

maɬ ‘bamboo’

soɬ ‘elephant’

Voiceless palatal plosive / tʃ/

Word Intial

tʃakka ‘wheel’

tʃaku ‘knife’

tʃini ‘sugar’

tʃuɬu ‘mouse’

tʃerra ‘squirrel’

tʃeɲga ‘child’

tʃepɬa/tʃepoɾ ‘flat’

tʃikna ‘smooth’

tʃiho ‘horse’

tʃauli ‘rice’

tʃabi ‘key’

Word Medial

bitʃtʃ^hi ‘scorpion’

kãjtʃi ‘scissors’

batʃru ‘calf’

lutʃir ‘lips’

gauraitʃa ‘sparrow’

Word Final

kãntʃ ‘glass’

ɬrotʃ ‘torch’

Voiced palatal plosive /dʒ/

Word Intial

Word Medial

Word Final

dzono ‘broom’
 dzoha ‘cheeks’
 dzeṭʰ ‘June’
 dzom pʰaki ‘right side’
 dziliŋ ‘long’
 dzamea ‘many’
 dzodzoa ‘sour’
 dzamehoṭ ‘many people’

badzuri ‘tomato’
 hidzo ‘to come’
 radzijo ‘to agree’
 ka radzijo ‘to disagree’
 dzabab emo ‘to give answer’
 a:ʔandzad ‘to feel’
 ladzo gʰas ‘touch-me-not’
 mīdzur ‘peacock’
 sardzom siŋ ‘sal tree’

kagadz ‘paper’
 pījadz ‘summer’
 tedz ‘sharp’

Voiceless velar plosive /k/

Word Intial

kuṛi ‘girl’
 koṛa ‘boy’
 kaṭʰli ‘room’
 kelua bera ‘noon’
 kūwar kuṛi ‘unmarried girl’
 kaka ‘father’s younger brother’
 kaḥṛi ‘recitation’
 kūhra ‘potter’
 kuha:s ‘fog’
 kul ‘lion’
 kuhu ‘cuckoo’
 kaṭʰkʰolwa ‘woodpecker’
 keṛa siŋ ‘banana tree’
 kauṛi/kaṭʰija ‘money’
 kanoa ‘to not be’

Word Medial

nakig ‘comb’
 iṭka ‘heels’
 haku ‘fish’
 penka ‘left’
 mukṛi ‘knee’
 sukri ‘pig’
 sikar ‘meat’
 ukup dīŋ ‘hide and seek’
 bunkar ‘weaver’
 nauka ‘boat’
 ṭuku ‘rock’
 sukul ‘smoke’
 iskulja ‘student’
 kukuli ‘to question’
 ukin ‘when’
 ukaṛe ‘where’
 sekam lekan ‘thin’

Word Final

pʰrak ‘frock’
 saṛak ‘road’
 baisak ‘may’

Voiced velar plosive /g/

Word Intial

gendra ‘dress’

Word Medial

nagṛa ‘drum’

Word Final

eneg ‘dance’

godi 'brain'
 grahan 'eclipse'
 gǣɽa 'rhinoceros'
 gēɽe 'duck'

gapa 'yesterday'

goeg 'die'

gitiŋ 'sleep'

gomkain 'wife'

gotni 'husband's younger
 brother's wife'

baiga 'priest'
 tʃeŋga 'child'
 nata gota 'kinship relations'
 dʒodʒo gosja 'sweeper'

seŋgil 'fire'

aŋgor 'coal'

dʒugɽi 'earthworm'

ogro 'housefly'

barag 'snow'
 urig 'ox'
 g^hag 'waterfall'

Voiceless Glottal plosive /ʔ/

Word Medial

aʔjub iskol 'evening school'
 aʔajum 'to listen'

Word Final

daʔ 'water'
 k^huʔ 'cough'
 umoʔ 'bath'
 roʔ 'fly'
 dʒoʔ 'fruit'
 u:uduʔ 'to tell'

The glottal stop is found in the medial and final positions of the word only and not in the word initial position.

Voiceless Alveolar Fricative

/s/

Word Initial

sama:ŋ 'forehead'
 salaj 'matchstick'
 sutam 'thread'
 sasaŋ 'turmeric'
 sunum 'oil'

sĩãɽ 'old'

salaj 'matchstick'

siriŋ 'song'

sirma 'sky'

siŋboŋa 'sun'

sukul 'smoke'

Word Medial

la:sa 'adhesive'
 astirwa 'slowly-slowly'
 hurumusu 'honey'
 hisi desa 'thirty'
 boru ra seŋgil 'forest fire'

bo hasu 'headache'

usmeɽ koɽa 'young man'

ba:san 'utensils'

k^husoʔ 'hairpin'

Word Final

kuhas 'fog'
 tamras 'guava'
 naras 'nurse'

sim ‘hen’
 sahaan ‘firewood’
 sukri tʃɛŋga ‘piglet’

Voiceless Glottal Fricative/h/

Word Intial	Word Medial	Word Final
harig ‘till’	saha:n ‘wood’	
hoʔoʔ ‘neck’	dahi ‘curd’	
hagra oʔa ‘toilet’	biha ‘marriage’	
haku ‘fish’	boho ‘head’	
huʔu ‘rice paddy’	muhu ‘nose’	
hĩ:ŋ ‘belly’	dʒoha ‘cheeks’	
heʔel ‘husband’	rohoʔ haku ‘dry fish’	
hanha:r ‘mother-in-law’	baha kobi ‘cauliflower’	
hõiha:r ‘father-in-law’s		

Bilabial nasal /m/

Word Intial	Word Medial	Word Final
mukʔi ‘knee’	amalpi:t ‘acidity’	maijom ‘blood’
mohoʔ ‘face’	sirma ‘sky’ ʔamras ‘guava’	dʒom ‘right’
muhu ‘nose’	somhila ‘Monday’	sim ‘hen’
mojo ‘swell’	nim siŋ ‘neem tree’	matkam ‘mahua’
miaʔ ‘one’	poʔom kobi ‘cabbage’	sutam ‘thread’
murai ‘radish’		em ‘give’
mukʔi sab ‘kneel down’		a:m ‘you’
muik ‘ant’		dʒom ‘eat’

Alveolar nasal /n/

Word Intial	Word Medial	Word Final
noaʔ ‘this’	penka ‘left’	rasun ‘garlic’
nakiʔ ‘comb’	tahni ‘hand palm’	sahan ‘wood’
naura ‘mongoose’	senoʔ ‘go’	dukan ‘shop’
nida ‘night’	kāndʰ ‘shoulder’	maʃtarin ‘teacher’
natja ‘grandson’	nanam ‘search/find’	ahirin ‘milkmaid’

nai ‘river’
 nel ‘see’
 nu ‘drink’
 numu ‘name’

Velar nasal /ŋ/

Word Medial

puŋd̪i ‘white’
 aŋt̪hi ‘ring’
 siŋgar ‘ornaments’

Word Final

siŋ ‘tree’
 sama:ŋ ‘forehead’
 buluŋ ‘salt’
 siŋ ‘song’
 bi:ŋ ‘snake’
 t̪eŋ ‘hill’
 rataŋ ‘dew’
 laua laraŋ
 ‘pumpkin’
 oʔoʔaŋ ‘to blow’
 iŋ ‘I’
 ririɖiŋ ‘to forget’

The velar nasal does not occur in the word-initial position in Asuri.

Lateral /l/

Word Initial

lo:ha ‘urine’
 luʈʃir ‘lips’
 lej ‘woman’
 lohra ‘blacksmith’
 latar ‘low’
 lutur ‘ear’

Word Medial

alaŋ ‘tongue’
 g^haila ‘pot’
 nala ‘drain’
 kulahi ‘rabbit’
 dʒiliŋ ‘long’
 bulu ‘thigh’
 alo ‘not’
 ale ‘we’

Word Final

bitil ‘sand’
 u:l ‘mango’
 iskol ‘school’
 kul ‘lion’

Voiced Alveolar Trill /r/

Word Initial

rabaŋ ‘winter’
rama ‘nails’
rohoŋ ‘dry’
ri dʒʰ ‘happy’

Word Medial

bera ‘season’
barkʰa ‘rain’
perua ‘pigeon’
tʃerraʔ ‘squirrel’

Word Final

lataŋ ‘down’
lutur ‘ear’
sikaŋ ‘meat’

Voiced Retroflex Flap /ɭ/

Word Medial

dauɭi ‘basket’
muɭsa ‘pillow’
petʃʰoɭi ‘blanket’
bahuɭija ‘son’s wife’
raɭi ‘widower’
gʰoɭo oɾa ‘kitchen’
dauɭi ‘basket’
maɭ duba ‘bamboo’

daɾaŋ ‘to walk’
paʔpaɭi ‘to know’
baɭbaɾao ‘to mutter’

Word Final

meɭ ‘eye’
siaɭ ‘old’
goɦaɭ ‘cowshed’
kʰiɭ ‘dance’
kisaɭ ‘farmer’
tʰoɭ ‘beak’
uɭ ‘mushroom’
hoɭ ‘man’

The retroflex flap /ɭ/ occurs only in the medial and final positions in a word.

Voiced Labio-velar

approximant /w/

Word Medial

kũwa:r ‘unmarried’
bʰẽɭwa ‘lady finger’
duwa:r ‘door’
pilwa ‘worm’
kaɭʰkʰolwa ‘wood-pecker’
nauwa ‘barber’

Voiced Palatalapproximant/j/

Word Medial

majom ‘blood’
tujo tana ‘to float’

bajor ‘rope’
 patja ‘mattress’
 kam krija ‘death rituals’
 g^hoto banao gosja ‘cook’
 harijar martʃi ‘green chilly’

The approximants /w/ and /j/ are found in the word medial position only. They may be found in initial and final positions but in borrowed words, not in the native lexemes.

2.2.3. Consonant chart

Consonant	Word initial	Word medial	Word final
/p/	√	√	√
/b/	√	√	√
/t/	√	√	√
/d/	√	√	√
/t̪/	√	√	√
/d̪/	√	√	√
/k/	√	√	√
/g/	√	√	√
/tʃ/	√	√	√
/dʒ/	√	√	√
/m/	√	√	√
/n/	√	√	√
/ŋ/	×	√	√
/r/	√	√	√
/l/	√	√	√
/w/	√	√	√
/j/	×	√	×
/s/	√	√	√

/h/	√	√	×
/ʔ/	×	√	√
/t̪/	×	√	√

2.2.4 Consonant contrast

a. Stops

Plosives:

/voiceless bilabial plosive /:/voiced bilabial plosive/

/p:/:/b/

/p^husri/ ‘boil/pimple’: /b^husri/ ‘mosquito’

/ban hoʈ/ ‘two men’: /pe hoʈ/ ‘three men’

/maʈar duba/ ‘pea plant’: /ropa ɖopa/ ‘seed-sowing’

/perua/ ‘pigeon’: /bera/ ‘season’

Nasals

/m:/:/n/

/bilabial nasal:/:/alveolar nasal/

/mali/ ‘gardener’: /nala/ ‘drain’

/mei/ ‘daughter’: /nai/ ‘river’

/sarna/ ‘belief system’: /sirna/ ‘sky’

/n:/:/ŋ/

/alveolar nasal:/:/velar nasal/

/saman/ ‘turmeric’: /samaŋ/ ‘forehead’

/voiceless dental stop:/:/voiced dental stop/

/t:/:/d/

/tara/ ‘star’: /dara/ ‘tomorrow’

/k:/g/

/voiceless velar stop:/voiced velar stop/

/keɾa/ ‘banana’: /geɾe/ ‘duck’

Palatals

/voiceless palatal:/voiced palatal /

/c:/dʒ/

/ceɾa/ ‘child’: /dʒaŋga/ ‘thigh’

Laterals

/l:/r/

/u:l/ ‘mango’: /u:ɾ/ ‘mushroom’

Stop:flap

/d:/ɾ/

/medɾ:/maɾ/

2.2.5. Consonant sequence and clusters

A consonant cluster is defined as a group or sequence of consonants that appear together in a syllable without a vowel between them (intrasyllabic) (cf. eg, Jones 1976). A consonant sequence is a group of consonants occurring together along with syllable boundary.

Sequences are more common in Asuri compared to clusters. Word initial sequences are found only in borrowed words. Word final sequences are absent in the native lexemes. The frequency of word medial consonants is high and it has been studied here. The consonants which occur in the initial position of a sequence are: /m/, /ɲ/, /k/, /t/, /g/, /t/, /l/, /n/, /d/, /tʰ/, /tʰ/, /p/, /pʰ/, /t/, /s/, /r/, /dʒ/, /gʰ/, /kʰ/

2.2.5.1. List of Consonant Sequences

/p/	-pɽ-	dʒ ^h upɽi ‘hut’
		t ^h apɽao ‘to slap’
		t ^h apɽi t ^h okao ‘to clap’
	-pn-	pipni ‘eyelashes’
	-pt-	hapta ‘week’
	-pw-	p ^h upwaj ‘hiss’
	-pr-	k ^h aprig ‘pot’
/b/	-bdɽ-	dʒabɽa ‘jaw’
	-bn-	karahi dabna ‘lid of a wok’
/t/	-tt-	b ^h aɽta ‘furnace’
		ɽeɽga ‘chameleon’
		luɽni ‘mustard’
		muɽka ‘boxing’
/ʃ/	-ʃʃ ^h -	biʃʃ ^h i ‘scorpion’
		baɽ ^h ru ‘calf’
		peʃki ‘yam’
		iʃʃa ‘prawn’
/dʒ/	-dʒr-	b ^h iɽri ‘tomato’
		la: dʒbir ‘touch-me-not’
		biɽli ‘electricity’
/d/	-dr-	badri ‘cloud’
		bandra ‘monkey’
	-dw-	nidwa ‘night’
	-dn-	edna ‘is’
/ɽ/	-ɽk-	k ^h iɽkao ‘lightning’
		iɽka ‘heels’
		kuɽhi kelwa ‘morning meal’
		muɽsa ‘pillow’
		paɽsa siɽ ‘palash tree’
		saɽsi ‘tongs’

	-ɾt-	hoɾte ‘belonging to husband’
	-ɾg-	guɾgu ‘pestle’
/d/	-dɬ-	medɬed ‘metal’
/g/	-gr-	ogro ‘housefly’
		nagra ‘musical instrument’
		hagra oɾa ‘toilet room’
	-gɬ-	dʒugɬi ‘earthworm’
	-gdʒ-	bʰagdʒugni ‘firefly’
/k/	-kɾ-	mukɾi ‘knee’
		makɾa ‘spider’
	-kr-	ɬokri ‘basket’
		sukri ‘pig’
		sikraha ‘hunter’
	-kɬ-	sikɬa ‘fox’
	-kn-	ɬuknu ‘small basket’
		ʈfai ʈʈakni ‘tea strainer’
	-kʰɾ-	a:kʰɾiŋ ‘sell’
		aʔakʰɾiŋgi ‘seller’
/kʰ/	-kʰr-	kʰa kʰra ‘crab’
		kʰ okʰro ‘rooster’
/r/	-rt-	dʰarti ‘earth’
	-rs-	kursi ‘chair’
	-rk-	tarkula ‘a kind of earring’
	-rkʰ-	barkʰa ‘rain’
		purkʰa ‘ancestor’
	-rdʒ-	dardʒi ‘tailor’
	-rr-	harra ‘jackal’
		ʈferra ‘squirrel’
	-rw-	astirwa ‘slowly’
		tirwaha ‘archery’

	-rh-	girhat ‘rich’ sarhul ‘festival’ nurha ‘washing clothes’
	-rd-	irđi ‘castor’
/s/	-sm-	usmeŧ ‘young’
	-sn-	ŧisna ‘bed’
	-sr-	b ^h usri ‘mosquito’
	-st-	astirwa ‘slowly’
	-sk-	meskeg ‘smile’ iskul ‘school’ iskuija ‘student’
/t/	-tr-	datrom ‘sickle’ d ^h aitra ‘dhatura plant’ satrandʒ ‘chess’
	-tn-	gotni ‘sister-in-law’
	-tk-	matkam ‘mahua’
/l/	-lw-	pilwa ‘worm’
	-ls-	tulsi ‘tulsi plant’
	-lh-	malha:n ‘broad beans’
	-lk-	d ^h olki ‘a kind of drum’
	-lp-	amalpi:t ‘acidity’
/m/	-mtʃ ^h -	gam tʃ ^h a ‘towel’
	-mr-	bemraha ‘sick’
	-mb-	mombatti ‘candle’ rimbil ‘cloud’
	-mk-	tʃamka ‘lightning’ gomkain ‘wife’
/h/	-hŧ-	kaŧi ‘recitation’ kohŧa ‘pumpkin’
	-hr-	hridaj ‘heart’ lohra ‘blacksmith’

		kũhra ‘potter’
	-hn-	tahni ‘palm’
/n/	-ns-	k ^h unso ‘hairpin’
	-nh-	dʒinhor ‘maize’
		sonho sunum ‘perfume’
		hanha:r ‘mother-in-law’
		kanhar ‘vulture’
	-nd-	gendra ‘clothes’
		bandra ‘monkey’
	-nd ^h -	kānd ^h ‘shoulder’
	-ng-	munga ‘moringa’
		p ^h ai:nga ‘grasshopper’
	-nd-	ɖaɖa ‘stick’
		ɖundur ‘fox millet’
		puɖɖi ‘white’
	-nɖ-	kanɖa ‘throat’
	-nk-	bunkar ‘weaver’
		penka ‘left’
/ŋ/	-ŋg-	seŋgil ‘fire’
		aŋgor ‘burning coal’
	-ŋj-	ɭaŋja ‘axe’
	-ŋg ^h -	g ^h oŋg ^h i ‘snail’
		dʒaŋg ^h a ‘thigh’
	-ŋɖ-	aŋɖi ‘finger’
t ^h	-t ^h l-	kaɭ ^h li ‘room’
	-t ^h r-	paɭ ^h ru ‘calf’
		kaɭ ^h ru ‘calf (buffalo)’

2.2.5.2 Medial consonant sequences

a. Gemination

Austro-Asiatic languages either do not allow geminates or allow a restricted class of consonants as geminates, such as nasals. Identical sequences are rare in Asuri. Stops, nasals, laterals and liquids form identical sequences but only in word medial position.

Examples:

/ʃakka/ ‘wheel’

/ʃerraʔ/ ‘squirrel’

/bʰattʃa/ ‘furnace’

/malla/ ‘batman’

/tʃʰuttʃi/ ‘holiday’

/itʃʃa/ ‘prawn’

2.2.6. Consonant sequences with three consonants

Austro-Asiatic languages always have a nasal as the first member of a three-consonant cluster. Sequence containing three consonants is found in Asuri which consists of a nasal+stop+trill [for example /-ndr-/]. It occurs in the word medial position. The sequence is always preceded by a nasal. Word-final three-consonant clusters are not found in Asuri. It is a feature of Austro-Asiatic languages which does not permit them at all.

Examples

/gendra/ ‘clothes’

/indra/ ‘well’

/bandra/ ‘monkey’

/sendra seta/ ‘hunter dog’

From the above mentioned data, we see that Asuri allows three-consonant cluster but its occurrence is very limited. All the examples have the same kinds of consonant taking part in cluster formation. The cluster is beginning with a nasal in all the words given above. After the nasal, plosive sound followed by the lateral takes part in cluster formation.

2.2.7. Consonant Cluster Chart

Table: 7

	/p/	/b/	/t/	/d/	/k/	/g/	/tʃ/	/m/	/n/	/ŋ/	/dʒ/	/f/	/v/	/θ/	/ð/	/s/	/z/	/ʃ/	/ʒ/	/r/	/l/	/ɹ/	/w/	/j/	/h/
/p/			+						+													+	+		
/b/											+														
/t/				+					+												+				
/d/																					+		+		
/k/								+	+												+		+		
/g/							+					+									+				
/tʃ/					+	+	+		+																
/m/		+			+						+									+					
/n/				+	+		+				+					+					+				+
/ŋ/						+					+												+		
/dʒ/																								+	
/f/					+							+								+					
/v/																					+				
/θ/																					+				
/ð/																						+			
/s/			+		+			+	+												+	+	+		+
/z/																								+	+
/ʃ/																									+
/ʒ/																									+
/r/			+									+								+	+	+		+	+
/l/																					+				+
/ɹ/					+	+																+			+
/w/									+												+				+
/j/																									+
/h/																					+				+

2.3. Syllable

A syllable is a unit of phonology. It has been defined differently by scholars but the essence is same throughout i.e. it is a minimum indivisible unit of pronunciation. Crystal (2008) defines syllable as, “A unit of pronunciation typically larger than a single sound and smaller than a word.” Roach (1983) describes as “Syllables are usually described as consisting of a centre which has little or no obstruction to airflow and which sounds comparatively loud or; before and after this centre (that is, at the beginning and end of the syllable), there will be greater obstruction to air flow”. “A syllable is described as consisting of a vocalic centre, optionally accompanied by a consonantal onset or coda, either of which may be complex” (Selkirt 1982, 1999: 329; Blevisms 1995: 216).

2.3.1. Syllabic pattern

In Asuri, syllables can be classified into: (i) mono-syllabic (ii) di-syllabic and (iii) tri-syllabic, iv) tetra-syllabic and v) penta-syllabic. These are discussed in the following sections:

2.3.2. Monosyllabic Words

Open Syllable

CV /daʔ/ ‘water’

/re/ ‘in’

/ra/ ‘of’

VCV /aja/ ‘mother’

/agu/ ‘bring’

CVV /nau/ ‘boat’

Closed syllable

VC /iŋ/ ‘I’

/uʔ/ ‘mushroom’

/o:t/ ‘floor/ earth’

/u:b / ‘hair’

CVC /siŋ/ ‘tree’

/nel/ ‘see’

/bu:t/ ‘gram’

2.3.3. Di-syllabic Words

Open syllable

VCV /o-ʔa/ ‘house’

/a-le/ ‘we’

CVCV /hi-si/ ‘twenty’

/rãʔi / ‘widower’

VCCV /eŋ-ga/ ‘female’

/iʔ-ka / ‘heels’

CVCCV /muk-ʔi/ ‘knee’

CVCCCV /gen-dra/ ‘dresses’

CVCVV /mu-rai/ ‘radish’

CVCV /bo-ho/ ‘head’

/dʒo-no/ ‘broom’

/ga-pa/ ‘tomorrow’

/bo-ru/ ‘forest’
 /biha/ ‘marriage’

Closed Second Syllable

CVVC	/ba-iṭ/ ‘flood’
VCVC	/e-neg/ ‘dance’
	/i-sin/ ‘to cook’
	/u-kin/ ‘when’
CCVC	/py-a:r/ ‘love’
CVCVC	/lutʃir/ ‘lips’
	/lutur/ ‘ear’
	/majom/ ‘blood’
	/sutam/ ‘thread’
	/sirin/ ‘music’
VCCVC	/is-kul/ ‘school’
	/us-met/ ‘young’
CVCCVC	/han-ha:r/ ‘mother-in-law’
	/hōj-ha:r/ ‘father-in-law’
CVCVVC	/sa-maan/ ‘forehead’

2.3.4. Tri-syllabic words

Open Syllable

VCVV	/alua/ ‘potato’
VVCV	/u:u-du/ ‘to tell’
VCVCV	/a-pa-ra/ ‘feather’
VC VC CV	/e-ta-le/ ‘why’
CVCVCVV	/me-me-sau/ ‘mixer’
CVCCVCV	/d ^h ald ^h ala/ ‘flame’
	/marg ^h aṭa/ ‘grave’
CVCVCV	/ku-ku-li/ ‘to question’
CVCVCV	/ba-hi-ra/ ‘deaf’

CVVCVCV /lai hasu/ ‘stomach ache’
 /bohasu/ ‘headache’
 CVCCVCV /tʃɛŋgaku/ ‘children’
 CVCCVCCV /kaɬ-kʰol-wa/ ‘wood-pecker’
 CVVCVVCV /gauraitʃa/ ‘sparrow’
 CVCCVCVV /baɬ-ba-ɾao/ ‘to mutter’

Closed syllable

VCVCVC /a-hi-rin/ ‘milkmaid’
 VCCVCVC /eŋ-ga-ku:l/ ‘tigress’
 CVCVCVC /tʰo-ɾi-bin / ‘rainbow’
 CVCVCVC /so-wa-bi:n/ ‘soya bean’
 CVCCVCVC /mas-ɬa-rin/ ‘teacher’
 VCVCVC /oʔ-o-ɬaŋ/ ‘to blow’
 CVCVCVC /ri-ri-ɖiŋ/ ‘to forget’

2.3.5. Tetra-syllabic Words

Open syllable

CVCVCVCCVV /pa-bi-tar tʰão/ ‘holy place’
 CVCVCVCV /ropa ɖopa/ ‘sowing’
 /hurumusu/ ‘honey bee’
 CVCVCCVCV /poɬom kobi/ ‘cabbage’
 CVCVVCVCV /kelua bera/ ‘noon’
 VCVCVCV /a:-dʰa ni-da/ ‘midnight’
 CVCVCCVCV /berel keɾa/ ‘unripe banana’
 VCCVCVCCV /en-ga-suk-ri/ ‘female pig’
 CVCVCCVCV /ro-hoɬ ha-ku/ ‘dry fish’
 CVCVCVCV /ɖa-ɬa ha-su/ ‘toothache’

Closed syllable

CVCCVCVCVC /suk-ri si-kar/ ‘pork’
 CVVVCVCVC /lau-a la-raŋ/ ‘pumpkin plant’

CVCVCVCV /mu-hu ra ub/ ‘nose hair’

2.3.6. Pentasyllabic Words

Open syllable

CVCVCVCVVVCVCCV /g^ho-to ba-nao gos-ja/ ‘cook’

CVCCVCVCVCV /balbal uɾogo/ ‘to sweat’

CVCCVCCVCVCV /siŋ-boŋ-ga ba-ha/ ‘sunflower’

Closed syllable

CVCVCVCVCCVC /bo-ru ra seŋ-gil/ ‘forest fire’

2.3.7. Hexasyllabic words

CVCCVCCVCVCVCCV /lal-ten do-ho gos-ja/ ‘lampstand’

The most commonly used syllable pattern in Asuri is CVC.

2.4. Loan word Phonology in Asuri

2.4.1. Borrowings from other languages

Table 8: List of borrowed English word in Asuri:

English word	Borrowed in Asuri	Phonological Adaptation/Change
Torch	troch	metathesis
Doctor	ɖakter	Rounded /o/ to central /a/
Master	maʃter	Alveolar /t/ to Retroflex /ʈ/
School	iskul	epenthesis
Kettle	kitli	/e/ changes to /i/
Frock	p ^h rak	As /f/ voiced fricative not found in Asuri we have /ph/
Button	baɽam	Alveolar /t/ to Retroflex /ʈ/
Locket	loket	Diphthong becomes monophthong
Shawl	ʃal	Diphthong becomes monophthong
Francis	p ^h rancis	Even in orthography /f/ becomes /p ^h /

Table 9: Borrowed Hindi words:

Hindi word	Borrowed in Asuri	Phonological Adaptation/Change
lasun ‘garlic’	rasun ‘garlic’	l->r/-#
dʒuta ‘shoes’	dʒuta ‘shoes’	No change
modʒa ‘socks’	modʒa ‘socks’	No change
anguthi ‘ring’	aŋtʰi ‘ring’	/u/ deleted
ungli ‘finger’	aŋtʰi ‘finger’	l->r/c-v
tʃasma ‘spectacles’	tʃasma ‘spectacles’	No change
ruma:l ‘handkerchief’	rumal ‘handkerchief’	Long vowel becomes short
bha:sha ‘language’	bʰakʰa ‘language’	/ʃ/ becomes /kh/
tanga: ‘axe’	taŋja ‘axe’	Glide insertion
ba:riś ‘rain’	barkʰa ‘rain’	/ʃ /->/kh/
biyah ‘marriage’	biha ‘marriage’	glide deletion
kuhar ‘fog’	kūhra ‘fog’	Metathesis
lohar ‘blacksmith’	lohra ‘blacksmith’	Metathesis
bandar ‘monkey’	bandra ‘monkey’	Metathesis /a/ and /r/
dʰatura ‘dhatura’	dʰai:tra ‘dhatura’	Insertion of /i/ vowel
da:l ‘pulses’	dai:l ‘pulses’	Insertion of /i/ vowel
ʃawal ‘rice’	ʃauli ‘rice’	Insertion of /u/ vowel
gulel ‘catapult’	gulail ‘catapult’	Diphthong /ai/ in place of /e/

Table 10: Bhojpuri words

Original bhojpuri word	Asuri	phonological adaptation/change
tʃighlao ‘to melt’	tʃighrao ‘to melt’	lateral becomes rhotic(l->r)
biyah ‘marriage’	biha ‘marriage’	Glide deletion;metathesis
bela ‘time’	bera ‘time’	l->r

Table 11: Bangla words

Original bangla word	Asuri	Phonological adaptation/change
kuṛi ‘twenty’	kuṛi ‘twenty’	no change
ṭaka ‘money’	ṭaka ‘money’	no change
bojha ‘to understand’	bujha ‘to understand’	o->u

Table 12: Borrowed Sanskrit words

Sanskrit word	Asuri	Phonological adaptation/change
džamadža ‘twins’	džāwa ‘twin’	loss of nasalisation
nidra ‘sleep’	nida ‘night’	r-deletion
sutam ‘thread’	sutam ‘thread’	No change

2.4.2. Phonological adaptations of loans in Asuri

Some of the Hindi words which are borrowed in Asuri undergo phonological adaptations. Some of the examples are given below:

Original Hindi word

/kalmi sa:g/

/lahsun/ ‘garlic’

/mulī:/ ‘radish’

/kathal/ ‘jackfruit’

/lauki/ ‘gourd’

/palash phool/ ‘palash flower’

/aṛhul phool/ ‘arhul flower’

/kala/ ‘black’

/nila: rang/ ‘blue color’

Asuri loan word

/karmi sa:g/ ‘kalmi leafy vegetable’

/rasuṭ/ ‘garlic’

/murai:/ ‘radish’

/kathar/ ‘jackfruit’

/lauwa/ ‘gourd’

/paṛsa baha/ ‘palash flower’

/uṛhul baha/ ‘arhul flower’

/kaṛiya/ ‘black’

/l:l rang/ ‘blue color’

/badal/ ‘cloud’

/badri/ ‘cloud’

/amla/ ‘gooseberry’

/āonra/ ‘gooseberry’

Analysis: - if we look at the data above which contains the borrowed words from Hindi into Asuri we see certain phonological changes taking place in the lexemes. For example, /kalmi sa:g/ when borrowed into Asuri becomes /karmi sa:g/. Here l->r, if it occurs word medially. Same process is seen in words like /murai/, /katha/, /paṛsa baha/, /kaṛiya/, /badri/, but if /l/ occurs word-initially as in the word /lauki/ there is no change.

Morphophonemic rules:

(1) /l/->/r/ / #__

/l/ becomes /r/ in non-initial positions in the words borrowed from Hindi

(2) /n/-> /l/ / #-

nil ‘blue’-> l:l ‘blue’ asuri

/nila/ becomes /li:l/ in Asuri in this example but /n/ remains unchanged in word final positions for instance /sabun/.

(3) Metathesis

Here two sounds change their order in a word. It may occur to ease the pronunciation or to conform to the phonotactics of the language. This is one of the most common types of phonological adaptations occurring in the loan word phonology of the Asuri language. We find metathesis in words for torch, which becomes /troch/ in Asuri. This may be due the fact that word final clusters are rare.

(4) Addition of Diphthong word final position

Original hindi word	Asuri loanword
baith ‘sit’	baithao ‘sit’
bana ‘make’	banao ‘make’
sonch ‘think’	sonchao ‘think’
gal ‘melt’	galao ‘melt’
singh ‘smell’	‘sunghao’

chetana ‘warn’	chetao ‘warn’
tighlana ‘melt an object’	tighrao ‘melt’

We can see from the examples above that loanwords in Asuri predominantly verbs undergo suffixation. The suffix /-ao/ is added to loans in Asuri from languages like Hindi and Bhojpuri.

(5) Epenthesis/ vowel insertion

In the data above, especillay in words like /da:l/ ‘pulses’, /gulel/ ‘catapult’, which are borrowings from Hindi we see that vowel insertion takes place. It is seen that the /i/ regularly inserted between vowels and liquid s or vowels and plosives

(6) Cluster reduction

This change happens due to the phonotactical restrictions of the Asuri Language. Firstly, words do not end in consonant clusters. Secondly, it is rare to find native lexemes ending with the consonant /tʃ/. Word final cluster is not allowed; it is reduced through metathesis.

Chapter 3

Morphology

Asuri displays many of the typological features associated with the Munda languages. “Like other Munda language Asuri Morphology is very complex, especially its verb morphology.

3.1. Nouns

The class of nouns in any language includes words that express the most time-stable concepts, e.g., rock, tree, mountain, and house, etc. (Givon 1984: 51). Crystal (2003) defines noun as follows: “nouns are items which display certain types of inflection (e.g. of case or number), have a specific distribution (e.g. they may follow prepositions but not, say, modals), and perform a specific syntactic function (e.g. as subject or object of a sentence).”

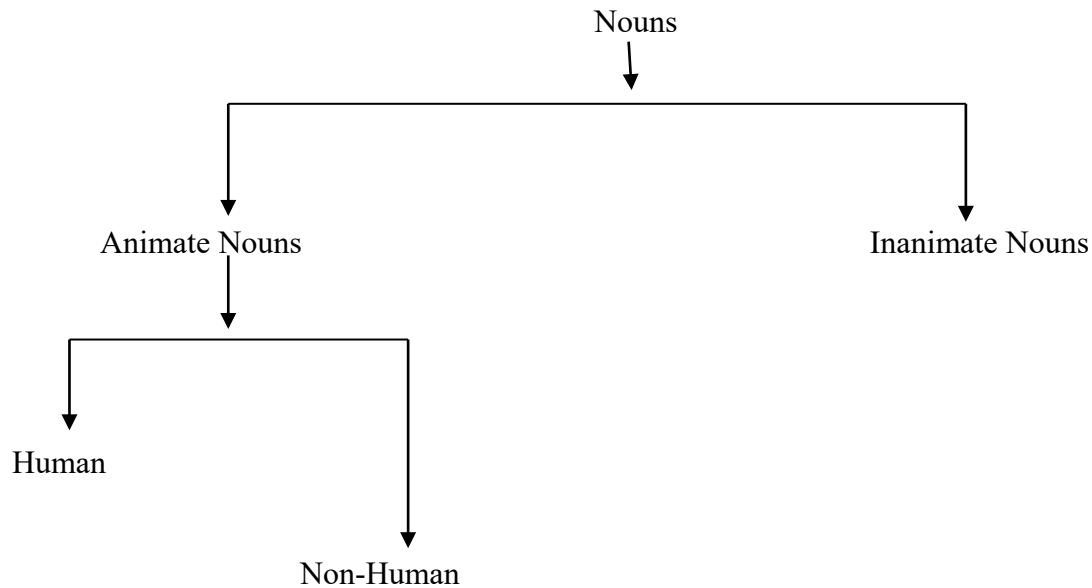
Nouns in Asuri are declinable morphemes. They can be marked for affixes like the categories of gender, number, and case. They can be modified by noun attributes like adjectives, numeral quantifiers etc. Structurally nouns are mono-morphic and bi/multi-morphic. The monomorphic nouns are the basic elementary forms to which affixes may be attached. The multimorphic nouns may either be derived forms by noun markers or are compounds. Semantically, they are either concrete or abstract: concretes include proper nouns, common nouns (hor, bilei, ora), collectives (range, ca), and other mass nouns (daru ‘wine’, maiom ‘blood’). Abstracts indicate properties measurements (hour, mile) etc.

In Asuri, nouns are a class of words which syntactically function as a subject or an object of a verb and take number suffixes and are followed by postpositions. They can be modified by noun attributes like adjectives, numeral quantifiers etc. Morphemes which take affixes of number, gender, animacy; take postpositions and show agreement with the verb are classified as nouns in Asuri.

Asuri nouns can be both Animates for example, /babu/ ‘son’, /mei/ ‘daughter’, etc. and Inanimate like /kitab/ ‘book’, /oṛa/ ‘home’, etc. Apart from humans and animals, celestial bodies are also considered as animate. Nouns can be both simple and derived also. Simple nouns are monomorphic like /koṛa/ ‘boy’, /kuṛi/ ‘girl’, /oṛa/ ‘house’, /kul/ ‘tiger’ etc. Derived nouns are

multimorphic formed with addition of nominal markers or compounds like /kuɽi ʃeŋga/ ‘girl child’.

Figure: 1- Nouns in Asuri



As mentioned earlier, nouns in Asuri are grouped into animates and inanimate. The criterion of animacy extends beyond the conventional semantic dichotomy between living and non-living being. Thus, nouns denoting the celestial bodies, supernatural beings, spiritual beings etc. show verbal agreement depending on the animacy of the noun. They are animate nouns.

3.1.1. Number

Number is a grammatical category used for the analysis of nouns. In Asuri there are three values for number: singular, dual and plural. The singular is unmarked whereas dual and plural have different markers. The dual is denoted by addition of the suffix /-kin/ to nouns while the suffix /-ko/ marks the plural categories. While number marking for dual and plural is obligatory done on animate nouns; for inanimate nouns it is a matter of optionality.

Examples:

Singular	Dual	Plural
• koɽa ‘boy’	koɽa-kin ‘boy’	koɽa-ku ‘boys’
• kuɽi ‘girl’	kuɽi-kin ‘girl’	kuɽi-ku ‘girls’

The examples above show clearly that in the Asuri language the dual marker is /-kin/ and the plural marker is /-ku/. The suffixes however are added to animate nouns in the third person. No suffixation takes place for indicating number if the noun is Inanimate. The plural markers are not suffixed to some countable nouns. Rather words expressing plurality are added to denote their non-singular number.

Singular: the singular forms of nouns remain unmarked.

Dual: Dual is indicated by the suffix /-kin/ which indicates the quantity two. Apart from the inflection the dual concept may be indicated by the numeral /bar/ which means two. The third way is to add the word /banar/ which means both.

Plural: plurality is indicated by the marker /ku/; especially when the subject is animate and from human category.

Sometimes, the plural marker is not added directly to some countable nouns. Separate words are used to indicate plurality. For example:-

/d̪ihi/ ‘village’

/d̪ʒame d̪ihi/ ‘villages’

Uncountable nouns: some nouns remain unchanged in plural

/toa/ ‘milk’

/daru/ ‘wine’

/hapa/ ‘stick’

/sutam/ ‘thread’

/maɾ/ ‘bamboo’

Another example is of body parts plural terms which remain unchanged. The word for hand in Asuri is /tiʔ/. Its plural form is also same. Separate word denoting two is used with hand to denote hands.

/tiʔ/ ‘hand’

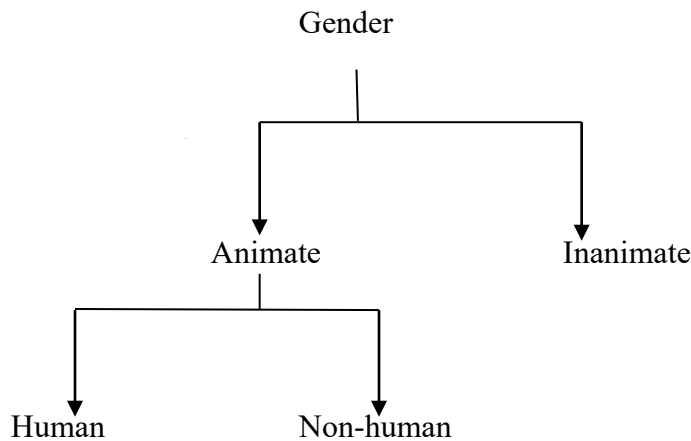
/tiʔ/ ‘hands’

/banar tiʔ/ ‘both hands’

3.1.2. Gender:

According to Corbett (1992), “Gender is a grammatical category, which in most languages of the world divides the nominal lexicon into formally and/or semantically motivated groups, the number of classes varying just as the kind of criteria for the division.” In Asuri gender system the basic dichotomy is between the concept of animacy and inanimacy. Animate nouns are further classified into human and non-human. Lexical items also show the sex based distinction. Examples of terms which denote natural sex of the entities being referred to are the kinship terms. Pronouns and adjectives do not show any gender opposition. However, with demonstratives, copula, and numerals the influence of the animacy parameter is profound. This point will be elaborated with examples in section 3.1.2.1. In Asuri whether a noun is denoting a masculine or feminine entity does not affect the construction of the sentence, rather whether the noun is animate or inanimate is important in this regard.

Figure: 2 – Gender in Asuri



3.1.2.1. Role of Animacy in Asuri

As mentioned above animacy is the major factor in the gender system of this language. The dichotomy here is between animate and inanimate nouns. As understood from the term itself, animate nouns are living things while inanimate nouns are the non-living things. In Asuri the notion of ‘movement’ gains prominence. Therefore, even if some objects which are non-living but it has the ability of movement are considered animate. For example, celestial bodies are considered animate nouns.

Inanimate Noun: This group consists of things that cannot move by themselves, such as objects and plants. We have seen the differentiation in the demonstratives, and this appears on verb endings as well, determined by the two noun genders.

Animate noun: This group is principally made up of human beings and animals. However, some others are included as well, such as stars, the sun and other celestial bodies, and the spirits residing in trees and other parts of nature. The sun and spirits are probably considered to be animate nouns because they can move themselves. Examples /hoŋo/ ‘person’, /seta/ ‘dog’, /sin/ /bonga/ ‘sun’, /ipil/ ‘star’,

3.1.2.1.1. Copula

The distinction between inanimate and animate nouns is reflected in the copula as well. The copula is the ‘to be’ that links things in statements such as ‘A is B’. Therefore, the copula ‘to be’ in the context of an inanimate noun is different from that in the context of an animate noun. The negative form of the copula is also completely different.

Existential copula with inanimate

/re edna/
LOC COP
‘to be at/in’

/re kanoa/
LOC NEG-COP
‘to not be at/in’

Existential copula with Animate

/re edanija/
LOC COP-ANIM
‘to be at/in’

/re kanija/
LOC NEG-COP-ANIM
‘to not be at/in’

If the noun in a sentence is animate then the suffix /-i / is attached to the auxiliary verb /edna/ which becomes /edanija/; but if the noun is an inanimate object then there is no change.

For instance, in the sentences (1), (2) given below, the subject is ‘fish’ in both, but in the first case it refers to ‘fish in the river’ indicating an animate noun whereas in (2) the subject is inanimate as it refers to ‘fish in the market’. The auxiliary verb in (1) takes the animacy marker /-ija/ whereas the same auxiliary remains unmarked in (2).

Examples:

(1). d^her haku nai re edanija koa (1)
 many fish river LOC COP-ANIM PL
 ‘Many fishes are in the river’

(2). d^her haku bazar re edna koa (2)
 many fish river LOC COP PL
 ‘Many fishes are in the market’

3.1.2.1.2. Numerals

Animacy also has a role to play in the counting system. Numbers for [+Animate] nouns are different for counting [-Animate] nouns.

[+Animate] Nouns:

/mihoʔ/ ‘one man’

/banhoʔ/ ‘two men’

/pehoʔ/ ‘three men’

[-Animate] Nouns:

/miaʔ siŋ/ ‘one tree’

/barea siŋ/ ‘two trees’

/pea siŋ/ ‘three trees’

3.1.2.1.3. Demonstrative:

The animacy parameter also influences the choice of demonstratives. For example, if we look at the examples given below we can see that /noa/ is used whenever the noun is inanimate as in sentences (3) and (4), on the other hand /nui/ is used whenever the noun is animate for example sentences (5) and (6).

noa oʔa hake (3)
 This house COP
 ‘This is a house’

noa miaɾ baha hake (4)
 This one flower COP
 ‘This is a flower’

nui seta hake (5)
 This dog COP
 ‘This is a dog’

nui sim hake (6)
 This hen COP
 ‘This is a hen’

Animate Demonstratives

Singular: / nui/ ‘this’

Dual: /nukin/ ‘these two’

Plural: /nuku/ ‘these’

Inanimate Demonstratives

Singular: /noa/ ‘this’

Dual: /noakin/ ‘these two’

Plural: /noako/ ‘these’

3.1.2.2. Lexical gender and morphological gender

The Asuri language has the distinction between masculine and feminine especially in the domain of kinship terminology. There are certain nouns which carry /-i/ for feminine and /-a/ for masculine. This /-a/ versus /-i/ opposition for masculine and feminine is similar to the Indo-Aryan pattern. Thus, in Asuri we have both lexical and morphological gender i.e. separate terms (e.g. kinship terms) to denote the masculine and feminine gender (/hor/ and /lei/) and also affixes which are employed to distinguish masculine and feminine gender.

Examples:

- a. Lexical gender: Gender as a lexical category in Asuri. It may also be derived by using compound forms.

Examples:

- i. Lexically Selective - /baba/ ‘father’ /aja/ ‘mother’ /hon/ ‘boy’ /mei/ ‘girl’
- ii. Lexically Derived - /ahir / ‘milkman’ /ahirin/ ‘milkman’s wife’

b. Morphological gender: In Asuri there are markers to distinguish between masculine and feminine, for instance, in the context of kinship terminology. The suffix /-i/ marks the feminine while the marker /-a/ marks its masculine forms. For example

- /-i/ used in asuri to denote feminine for Example: - kuṭ-i, kak-i, mam-i, bhatij-i
- /-a/ is used for denoting masculine: koṛa, kaka, baba

3.1.2.3. Human class and Non-human class

a. Human class

In the human class, masculine gender is marked by /-a/ and the feminine gender is marked by – /i/. There are certain classes of human nouns do not take /-a/ and /-i/ as their gender marker.

b. Non-human class

In the non-human class the masculine gender is marked by prefixing /eŋga/ and /-saṇḍa/ to the nouns to denote its gender. The same terms express both masculine and feminine concepts; however, if specification is required prefixes such as /saṇḍa/ ‘male’ and /eŋga/ ‘female’

Male	female
sim ‘cock’	sim ‘hen’
kul ‘tiger’	kul ‘tigeress’

Whenever the context requires clear-cut distinction then the terms would be mentioned as follows: /saṇḍa kul/ ‘tiger’ and /eŋga kul/ ‘tigeress’

3.1.3. Person

Personal Pronoun in the Asuri language can be found either in free form or clitic form. The free forms are those forms which are used alone as the subject or object of a sentence. The clitic forms on the other hand are used as possession marker or agreement marker in the verb.

The first person plural pronouns may be an exclusive plural or inclusive plural. The second person pronoun may be divided into singular, dual and plural. The third person pronouns may be divided into singular, dual and plural.

Personal pronouns in Asuri

Personal pronouns

1SG.	ij
1DU. (inclusive)	alaŋ
1DU. (exclusive)	aliŋ
1PL(inclusive)	abu
1PL(exclusive)	ale
2SG.	a:m
2DU.	aben
2PL.	ape

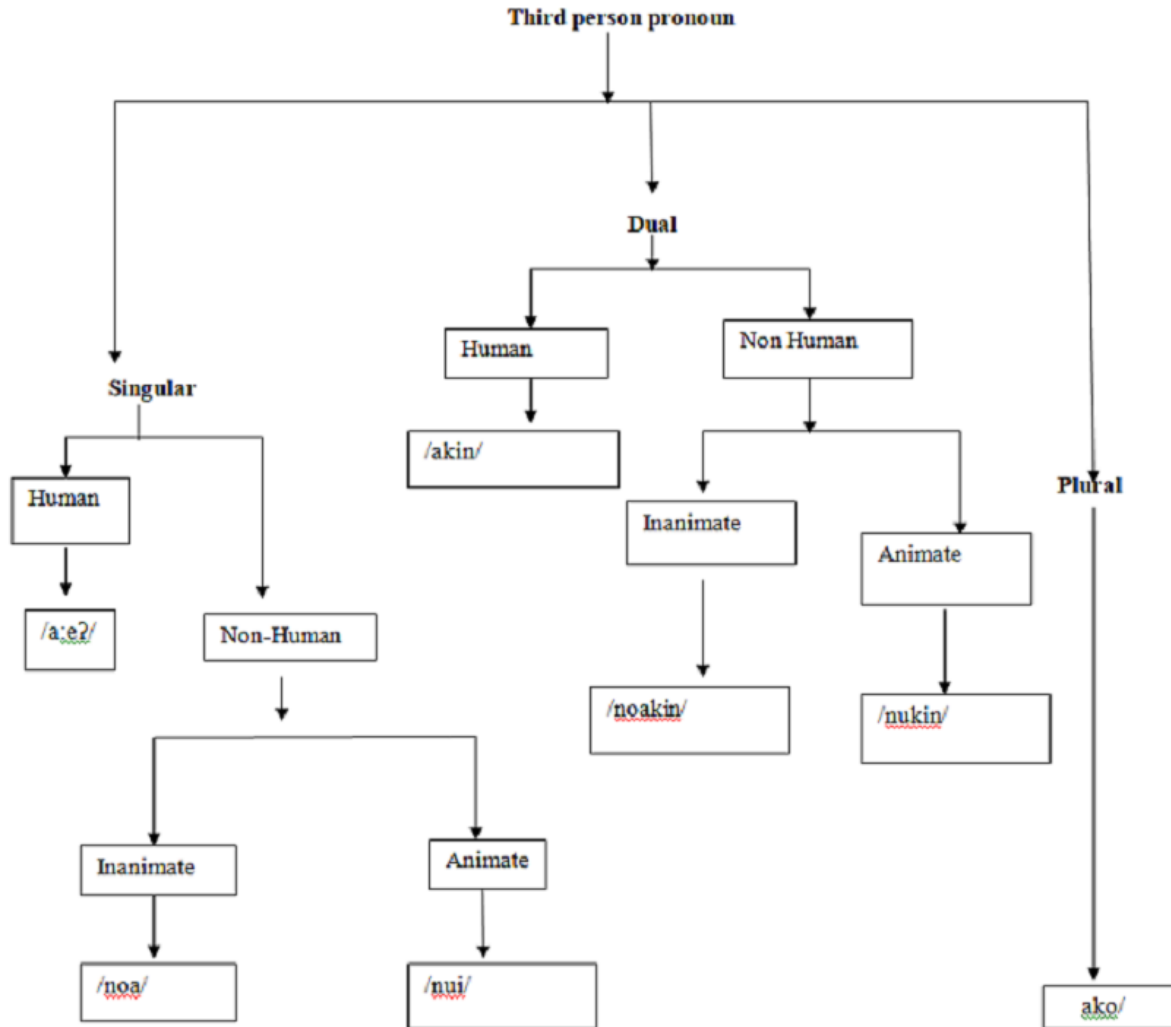
Demonstratives

3SG. (ANIM)	nui
3DU. (ANIM)	nukin
3PL. (ANIM)	nuko
3SG. (INANIM)	noa
3DU. (INANIM)	noakin
3PL. (INANIM)	noako

Human-Non-human distinction in third person

The case of third person pronouns is unlike the first and second person pronouns. In this case no distinction based on gender and number markers suffixed to the pronoun to provide the number distinctions. Thus, they are also labeled as demonstrative pronouns. The third person pronouns may be divided into singular, dual and plural. Both the Singular, dual and plural pronouns of the third person may be divided into human and non-human. Further, the non-human pronouns may be divided into animate and inanimate. This division of pronouns may be seen in the following chart.

Figure 3: Third Person Pronoun



3.1.3.1. Clusivity

Clusivity is a grammatical feature, which was first noted by the linguist Domingo de S. Tomas in his grammar of Quechua in 1560. It basically refers to the inclusive/exclusive distinction within the first person pronouns. Others maintain this distinction in the second person dual forms as well. Austro-Asiatic languages have this clusivity feature cross-linguistically. Asuri similarly, has this distinction. The examples are given below:

a. First person singular: / iŋ / is the first person singular in Asuri.

Examples:

iŋ seno? tanaiŋ

(7)

1SG.SBJ go-PRES.COP-SAM
'I am going'

in Delhi seno? tanain (8a)
1SG.SBJ delhi go-PRES-SAM
'I am going to Delhi'

in delhin seno? tana (8b)
1SG.SBJ Delhi-SAM go-PRES.COP
'I am going to Delhi'

in iqala qihi re seno-a (9)
1SG.SBJ my village PP go-FIN
'I will go to my village.'

*note: (8a. and 8b. are grammatically correct but 8a. is the preferred form in speech)

b. First person dual exclusive

The first person dual has two forms /aliŋ/ and /alaŋ/. Their usage is dependent on the feature of clusivity. /alaŋ/ is the inclusive form which includes the hearer whereas /aliŋ/ is the exclusive pronominal form which excludes the hearer.

Examples:

aliŋ chaibasa seno? tana-liŋ (10)
1DU.(EXCL.). Chaibasa go-PRES.COP-SAM
'We two are going to Chaibasa'

aliŋ oŋa telin seno? tana (11)
1DU.(EXCL.) house PP-SAM go-PRES.COP
'We two are going home'

aliŋ g^hoŋo dʒom tanalin (12)
1DU.(EXCL.) food eat PRES.COP-SAM
'We two are eating food'

alaŋ oŋa telin seno? tana (13)
1DU. (INCL.) house PP-SAM go PRES.COP
'We two are going home'

alaŋ g^hoŋo dʒom tanalan (14)
1DU.(INCL) food eat PRES.COP-SAM
'We two are eating food'

c. First person dual inclusive

The first person dual inclusive in Asuri is /abu/.

Examples:

(15)

abu tʃaibasa-bu senoʔ tana
1DU. (INCL.) Chaibasa-SAM go PRES.COP
'We two are going to Chaibasa'

(16)

abu oŋa senoʔ tanabu
1DU. (INCL.) house go PRES.COP-SAM
'We two are going home.'

abu g^ho^hto dʒom tanabu (17)
 1DU. (INCL.) food eat PRES.COP-SAM
 ‘We two are eating food’

d. First person plural exclusive

The first person plural exclusive in Asuri is /ale/

Examples:

(18)

ale ŋaibasa-le seno? tana
1PL (EXCL.).Chaibasa-SAM go PRES.COP
'We two are going to Chaibasa'

(19)

ale oɾa senoʔ tanale
1PL (EXCL.) house go PRES.COP-SAM
'We two are going home.'

ale g^ho^to dʒom tanale (20)
1PL (EXCL.) food eat PRES.COP-SAM
'We two are eating food'

e. Second person singular

Second person singular form is /am/. It has allomorphs /m/, /me/

hidʒu me (21)
go you.2SG
'you go'

a:m tʃaibasam seno? tana
2SG. Chaibasa-2SG.SAM go PRES.COP
'You are going to Chaibasa'

(22)

a:m haku dʒom tanam (23)
 2SG. fish eat PRES.COP-2SG.SAM
 ‘You are eating fish’

f. Second person dual

The second person dual pronoun is /aben/. Another interesting thing to note is that /aben/ is used as an honorific while speaking to elder person in day to day communication. This spractice is seen as an external influence due to neighboring speech communities

Examples:

aben tʃaibasaben seno? tana (24)
 2DU. Chaibasa-2DU.SAM go PRES.COP
 ‘you two are going to Chaibasa’

aben Television nel tanaben (25)
 2DU. Television see PRES.COP-2DU.SAM
 ‘you two are watching Television’

aben (sirinj) sirinj tanaben (26)
 2DU (Song) sing PRES-2DU.SAM
 ‘you two are singing a song’

One point to be noted about the sentence (26) given above /aben sirinj tanaben/ and /aben (sirinj) sirinj tanaben/ both the sentences are grammatically possible and correct. But in day-to-day speech /aben sirinj tanaben/ is frequently used by native speakers. The difference or variation in the sentence is arising from the fact that in Asuri the same term /sirinj/ is used for all the three words- sing, song and music. Therefore, in the above sentence singing and song both are represented by a single term /sirinj/.

aben eneg tanaben (27)
 2DU. play PRES.COP-2DU.SAM
 ‘You two are playing’

The second person personal dual pronominal form /aben/ is also used as honorific marker to show respect to elder people. The usage of honorifics in speech is a borrowed feature from contact languages because it is only a recent phenomenon and also there is still usage of addressing/talking without any honorifics to elders or important people in the society.

aben okaɾe seno? tanaben (28)
 2DU.HON. Where go PRES.COP-2DU.SAM
 ‘Where [hon.] are you going?’

g. Second person plural

The second person plural pronoun in Asuri is /ape/.

ape sirin tanape (29)
2PL. sing PRES.COP-2PL.SAM
'You all are singing'

g^hoto? dzom tanape (30)
Food Eat PRES.COP-.2PL.SAM
'You all are eating food'

a. Third person singular

The third person singular is /a:eʔ/ which means is used for both masculine and feminine gender as already mentioned earlier that pronouns in Asuri do not show any opposition in forms with respect to gender.

Examples:

a:eʔ hidzu tanae? (31)
3SG. come PRES.COP-3SG.SAM
'He is coming'

a:eʔ hidzu tanae? (32)
3SG. come PRES.COP-3SGSAM
'She is coming'

a:eʔ sirin tanae? (33)
3SG. sing PRES.COP-3SG.SAM
'He is singing'

a:eʔ sirin tanae? (34)
3SG. sing PRES.COP-3SG.SAM
'She is singing'

a:eʔ kitab paɽ^hao tanae? (35)
3SG. book read PRES-SAM
'He is reading a book'

a:eʔ kitab paɽ^hao tanae? (36)
3SG. book read PRES.COP-3SG.SAM
'She is reading a book'

b. Third person dual

The third person human dual pronoun is akin 'they two'.

Examples:

akin sirin tanakin (37)
3DU. sing PRES.COP-3DU.SAM
'They two are singing'

akin mumbai-kin seno? tana (38)
3DU. Mumbai-3DU.SAM go PRES.COP
'They two are going to Mumbai'

c. Third person plural

The third person plural pronoun is ako 'they'.

Examples:

ako sirin tanako (39)
3PL sing PRES.COP-3PL.SAM
'They are singing'

ako mumbai ko seno? tana (40)
3PL Mumbai-3PL.SAM go PRES.COP
'They are going to Mumbai'

3.1.4. Case

Case is that part of grammar which serves the function of indicating the syntactic and semantic relation between nouns and verbs or between nouns. Crystal, (2003) defines case as a grammatical category used in the analysis of word-classes (or their associated phrases) to identify the syntactic relationship between words in a sentence, through such contrasts as nominative, accusative, etc. Originally, the term referred to the prototypical inflectional case systems of languages like Latin. The name for the category is an anglicized form of Latin 'casus'. As modern languages have lost these inflectional case forms (English is an example), case is also used to refer to the relation itself regardless of the presence on a morphological form.

The following is a short list of semantic roles that typically are grammaticalised as morphological cases (Payne, 2007)

Semantic role	Morphological case
AGENT	nominative, ergative
PATIENT	accusative, absolutive
RECIPIENT	dative
POSSESSOR	genitive

:

3.1.4.1. Case markers in Asuri

Eight case markers are found in Asuri which includes the nominative, accusative, dative, genitive, instrumental, locative, ablative and associative case. In the Asuri language case is marked through both inflectional endings as well as postpositions. We also see that one to one correspondence between case roles and case markers is less common. We find examples where one marker is used to mark more than one case. For instance: instrumental case and dative case may be marked by the single postposition /te/. Genitive case and locative case employ the marker /ra/.

The various case markers employed in Asuri are given belows:-

Case markers in Asuri

CASE	MARKERS
Nominative	Unmarked
Accusative	Unmarked
Dative	/ke/, /te/
Genitive	/ala//ali/ /te/ /ra/
Instrumental	/te/
Locative	/re/ /rea/

of the verb is performed. The accusative case marker in Asuri is /ke/. The postposition /ke/ is found in most of the Munda languages.

According to Bhattacharya (1975), /ke/ has been derived from the proto Munda /ken/. However, the marker is frequently attached to [+human], [+animate] nouns but rare in case of inanimate nouns. Sometimes there may be no marker at all for the objective case. The origin of this case marker is debatable among scholars of the Munda Languages. It is not clear whether /ke/ of Proto-Munda origin or whether it has been borrowed from the Indo-Aryan languages like Hindi and Bangla.

Examples:

huni iŋ lekan edanija (47)
3SG 1SG-ACC like COP-ANIM
'he is like me'

huni saikil ʃalajaje (48)
He bicycle ride-FIN-3SG
'he rides bicycle'

huni g^hoto banajaje (49)
She food cook-FIN-3SG
'she cooks food.'

huni sukri ke k^hijajaje (50)
She pig ACC. Feed-FIN-3SG
'She feeds the pigs'

noa dʒo-ke dʒom-ked-ale (51)
This fruit-ACC eat-PST-1PL (EXCL)
'We ate this fruit'

noa eneg-ke ale nel –ked-ale (52)
This dance-ACC we see-PST-1PL (EXCL)
'We saw this dance'

iŋ ke g^hoʈoʔ dʒom edna (53)
I-ACC food eat COP
'I must/have to eat now'

3.1.4.4. Dative case

Dative case is a case that marks any of the following: Indirect objects; Nouns having the role ‘of recipient’ (as of things given), beneficiary of an action or possessor of an item

The accusative case marks the direct object of a verb while the dative's role is to mark the indirect object. The marker for accusative case and dative case is /-ke/. Regarding the objective case marking system in the Munda languages it is worth quoting Bhattacharya (1975), "When a verb takes two objects, the general practice followed in Khewarian, is to put the animate object whether direct or indirect, in the accusative case and leave the other object if inanimate unmarked and unrepresented in the verb."

The Dative case is marked to indirect object in a sentence. Though the dative and the instrumental cases have the same marker /te/, they are semantically different. Dative case gives the meaning 'to'. Sometimes, the dative case marker is optionally deleted when the object is inanimate noun.

Examples:

(54)

huni inj ke panch rupia em-dei
he 1SG-ACC five rupees give-[+TR]-FIN
'he gives me five rupees'

kahani udu gime (55)
 story tell EMPH-2SG
 'tell me a story'

huni ke kahani udu gime (56)
her ACC Story tell EMPH-2SG
'tell her a story'

huni ke ko kahani udu gime (57)
 Them ACC PL story tell EMPH-2SG
 ‘tell them a story’

3.1.4.5. Genitive case

The genitive forms indicate a possessor-possessed relationship either between pronoun-noun and/or noun-noun. There are a variety of genitive suffixes and they are /ala/, /ali/, /-ra/ and /-rea/. The suffix is /-ra/ when the noun is inanimate or inferior animate i.e. non-human category. The

Alienable/inalienable distinction

- (i) Body parts
- (ii) Kinship relations
- (iii) Spatial relation terms
- (iv) Objects closely associated to a person for his livelihood, e.g. boat, home, etc.
- (v) Part-whole relationships such as ‘branch of a tree’

Examples of /-ra/, /-ali/, /-ala/ markers

iŋ ala ti? (58)
I POSS hand
'my hand'

in ala ti? (59)
I POSS hand
'my hands'

in ala ʃɛŋga
I POSS child
'my child'

(60)

in ala-ku tʃɛŋga
I POSS-PL child
'my children'

(61)

(62)

‘our house’

am ala dʒaŋga (63)
2SG POSS foot
‘your foot’

banar dʒaŋga (64)
Both foot
‘your feet’

huni ala aŋɖi (65)
He POSS finger
‘his finger’

huni ala hopon/babu (66)
He POSS son
‘his son’

huni ala meɖ (67)
she POSS eye
‘her eyes’

huni ala meɖ (68)
He POSS eye
‘his eyes’

/-ali/

iŋ ali oɾe (69)
I POSS bird
‘my bird’

am ali oɾe (70)
Your POSS bird
‘your bird’

/-ra/

siŋ ra sekam (71)
Tree POSS leaf
‘leaf of tree’

Sim ra bili (72)

Hen POSS egg
'egg of hen'

Unmarked genitives:

Sometimes, zero suffixes are used to form genitives. Thus, there is another way of forming genitives in Asuri i.e. without the use of any case marker. The possessor and possessed are placed adjacent like a compound word.

The examples are given below:

iŋ oɾa (73)
1SG house
'my house'

am oɾa (74)
2SG house
'your house'

ape oɾa (75)
2SG house
'your house'

huni oɾa (76)
3SG house
'his house'

oɾe tʰor (77)
bird beak
'beak of bird'

3.1.4.6. Instrumental case

The markers for instrumental case are /-re/ and /-te/. For instances the phrases /dʒono-te/ 'with broom' and /sui-te/ 'with needle' we find the use of instrumental case.

Examples:

iŋ bus re nuwaɾe ni:nin (78)
1SG bus INSTR here came-PST-1SG
'I came here by bus'

huku paidal hig nenaku (79)

They foot came-PST-3PL
'They came by foot'

huni saikil re hig nenaē (80)
He cycle INSTR came-PST-FIN-3SG
'he came by cycle'

in ala p^holten re lek^hae-me (81)
My POSS pen INSTR write-2SG
'write with my pen'

3.1.4.7. Ablative case

'Source' is defined by the ablative Case. This case shows the removal, deprivation, direction from source. The case marker is /tara/ and it indicates the meaning 'from'. For example when we say something comes from a particular location and it also gives the meaning of separation like leaves falling from a tree. Apart from the case marker /-tara/ employed for ablative case, the marker /te/ and /reni/ is also used sometimes for this case relation.

Examples:

in simdega reni hake (82)
I simdega from COP
'I come/am from simdega'

huni saqum tara qega nenai (83)
He roof ABL jump-PST-FIN
'he jumped from the roof of the house'

3.1.4.8. Locative case

The location or spatial orientation of the state or action identified by the verb is expressed by the locative case. The locative case marker is /re/ 'in' or /te/ 'to' in Asuri.

Example:

babu-tin oṛa re giti? tanaē (84)
Son-POSS-SAM house in sleep-PRES-FIN-3SG
'my son is sleeping in the house'

3.1.4.9. Associative case

Associative case is a case expressing accompaniment. It carries the meaning ‘with’ or ‘accompanied by’. It is very similar to instrumental case and in many languages instrumental and commutative cases are expressed in the same way. The basic distinction between the two is that while comitative expresses accompanier-companion relation; instrumental case expresses agent/object-patient relation. Asuri employs different markers for both these case functions. /lo/ is the commutative case marker.

Examples:

mad^hni a:e ʃeŋga lo dular-je (85)
Madhni her child ASSOC love-3SG
‘Madhni loves her children’

a:e lo kahiɽiae (86)
She ASSOC talk-FIN-3SG
she talked to herself

iŋ ala oɽa nai lo honaɽa? (87)
I POSS house river-ASSOC near
‘My house is near the river’

3.1.5. Classifier

Asuri has a limited set of classifiers which are found with cardinal numerals. It is seen in Asuri that numerals are influenced by the gender of the nouns. This perhaps is a feature noted in other Munda languages as well. Whether the noun is [+animate] or [-animate] will decide which marker will be used. For example, the following sentences given in three sets of sentences we observe the role of animacy in determining the type of classifier in the sentence.

[Set A]

mihoɽ hoɽ turaiya (88)
CL man go-FIN
‘a man is going’

d^here hoɽ torakoa (89)
ADJ man go-PL-FIN
‘men are going’

[SET B]

miaɾ car tora? (90)
One car go
'a car is going'

d^her car tora? (91)
ADJ car go
'cars are going'

[SET C]

miaɾ bilei turaiya (92)
One cat go
'a cat is going'

d^her bilei torakoa (93)
ADJ cat go-PL-FIN
'cats are going'

If we observe and compare the data given in the SET A, SET B and SET C, it is clear that /mihoɾ/ is the classifier attached to nouns which have the feature [+Animate, +Human]. The classifier used for [-Animate, -Human] nouns is /miaɾ/.

When we talk of classifiers in Asuri we also need to note that there is an alternate system of numerals which is exclusive for [+Animate, +Human].

Examples:

[+Animate][+Human]

/mihoɾ/

/banhoɾ/

/pehoɾ/

Examples:

[+Animate][-Human]

/miaɾ seta/

/barea seta/

/pea seta/

Apart from the relatively small number of classifiers, Asuri employs borrowed words from Indo-Aryan like /-go/ and /tʰo/.

3.1.6. Pronoun

The pronouns in Asuri show opposition in person, number and case. Another set of pronouns i.e. the demonstrative pronouns also show opposition in being animate and inanimate. Pronouns do not show opposition for gender (for example, the pronoun /huni/ is used to refer to the third person singular masculine and for third person singular feminine as well). Pronoun in Asuri language can be found either in free form or bound form. The free forms are those forms which are used alone as the subject or object of a sentence. The bounded forms on the other hand are used as possession marker or agreement marker in the verb. The feature of clusivity is also important when we discuss Asuri pronouns. The Asuri Language has five kinds of Pronouns. They are as follows:

3.1.6.1. Types of pronouns

The Asuri Language has five kinds of pronouns. They are as follows:

1. Personal pronoun
2. Demonstrative pronoun
3. Relative pronoun
4. Interrogative pronoun
5. Indefinite pronoun

3.1.6.2. Personal Pronoun

A category used in grammatical description to indicate the number and nature of the participants in a situation. The contrasts are deictic, i.e. refer directly to features of the situation of utterance. Distinctions of person are usually marked in the verb and/or in the associated pronouns (personal pronouns). Usually a three-way contrast is found: first person, in which speakers refer to themselves, or to a group usually including themselves (e.g. I, we); second person, in which speakers typically refer to the person they are addressing (e.g. you); and third person, in which other people, animals, things, etc. are referred to (e.g. he, she, it, they). Other formal distinctions

may be made in languages, such as ‘inclusive’ v. ‘exclusive’ we (e.g. speaker, hearer and others v. speaker and others, but not hearer); formal (or ‘honorific’) v. informal (or ‘intimate’).

The personal pronouns in Asuri have separate forms for the three persons, three numbers - singular, dual and plural, along with separate forms for the inclusive i.e. including the person addressed and exclusive i.e. excluding the same, in the first person dual and plural.

The personal pronouns do not show gender opposition as the same form maybe used for both male and female. The personal pronouns are used either independently or in suffixed or infix forms. Personal Pronoun in this language can be found either in free form or clitic form. The free forms are those forms which are used independently as the subject or object of a sentence. The clitic forms on the other hand are used as possession marker or agreement marker in the verb. The independent forms can occupy the subject position like nouns in sentences and can take case markers and postpositions.

Personal pronouns

Person	Singular	Dual	Plural
First	iŋ	alaŋ (INCL)	abu (INCL)
		aliŋ (EXCL)	ale (EXCL)
Second	a:m	aben	Ape
Third	a:eʔ	akin	ako

The pronouns also have shortened forms which are always bounded and occur as agreement markers in the predicate.

Pronominal clitics/bound forms

Person	Singular	Dual	Plural
First	-ŋ ~iŋ	-laŋ (INCL)	-bu (INCL)
		-liŋ (EXCL)	-le (EXCL)
Second	-m ~me ~em	-ben	-pe
Third	-i / eʔ	-kin	-ku

The bounded pronominal forms are the clitic forms of the independent personal pronouns without the initial /a-/ or /i-/. These pronominal suffixes take different forms depending on their usage in phrases or sentences.

The first person singular has two allomorphs i.e. /-iŋ~-ŋ /; The condition in which the one or the other occurs is purely phonological, i.e. / iŋ/ occurs after words ending in a consonant and /-ŋ / occurs after words ending in a vowel.

For example:

iŋ g^hoto dʒom-iŋ (94)
1SG food eat-SAM
'I eat'

iŋ g^hoto dʒom-kediŋ (95)
1SG food eat-PST-[TR]-SAM
'I ate rice'

iŋ g^hoto ka-iŋ dʒomla (96)
1SG food NEG-SAM eat-ASP
'I have not eaten'

Ram iŋ ke nel li-ŋ-ei (97)
Ram I-ACC see ASP-OAM-FIN
'Ram saw me'

iŋ hunike haku k^hija:o-li-ŋ (98)
1SG 3SG-ACC fish eat-CAUS ASP-SAM
'I made him eat fish'

The second person singular has three allomorphs /-m/~/-em/~/-me/.The forms /-m/ and /-em/ are phonologically conditioned. The form /-m/ occurs when the word ends in a vowel whereas /-em/ occurs after words with consonantal endings.

For example, when the second person is the subject or object then /a:m/ is used.

ram am-ke nel-le-m-a-e (99)
Ram you-ACC. see-ASP-2SG-FIN-3SG
'Ram saw you'

When the pronoun is suffixed after a word ending with consonant then the form /-em/ is used.

dzom-em tana (100)
Eat-2SG COP
'You are eating'

When the pronoun is suffixed after a word ending with vowel then the form /-m/ is used.

a:m seno-tanam (110)
You go-PROG-FM-2SG
'You are going'

The third allomorph /-me/ of the second person singular pronoun is morphologically conditioned, i.e. we find this only in the imperative mood.

For example:

duwar k^hulaeme (111)
Door open-2SG
'Open the door'

in ala p^holten re likhae-me (112)
1SG POSS pen with write-2-SG
'Write with my pen'

kahani udu gime (113)
Story tell EMPH-2SG
'Tell me a story'

in ke mi kup tʃa:i em-me (114)
I ACC one cup tea give-2SG
'I want a cup of tea.'

3.1.6.3. Possessive pronoun

Possessive pronouns mark possession in a language to show something belongs to a person. For example in English we have my, our, his, her and its.

The possessive pronouns in the Asuri language are as follows:

Possessive Pronouns

Personal Pronoun	Possessive forms		
First person (inclusive)	Singular	Dual	Plural
	iŋ-ala	aliŋ-ala	abu-ala
First person (exclusive)		alaŋ-ala	ale-ala
Second person	am-ala	aben-ala	ape-ala
Third person	huni-ala	hukin-ala	huku-ala

Kinship terminology and possessive forms:

Allomorphs suffixed to kinship terms to indicate the possessor. The allomorphs which are suffixed to the kinship terms to indicate the possessors are /-ŋ ~ -iŋ / in the first person, /-m ~ me ~ em/ in the second person and /te/ for the third person.

Examples:

- a. my mother - iŋ ali aja
- b. my father- iŋ ali baba
- c. his/her father- baba-te/apa-te
- d. his/her mother- aja-te
- e. his/her sister - huni a:li boko
- f. my son- iŋ ali koŋa cheŋga
- g. his son - huni ala hopon-te / huni ala babu te

3.1.6.4. Interrogative pronoun

There are two interrogative roots /oko/ and /et/ from which the pronouns are formed.

Interrogative Pronouns

/ukin/ ‘when’

/ukaŋe/ ‘where’

/okelo/ ‘which’

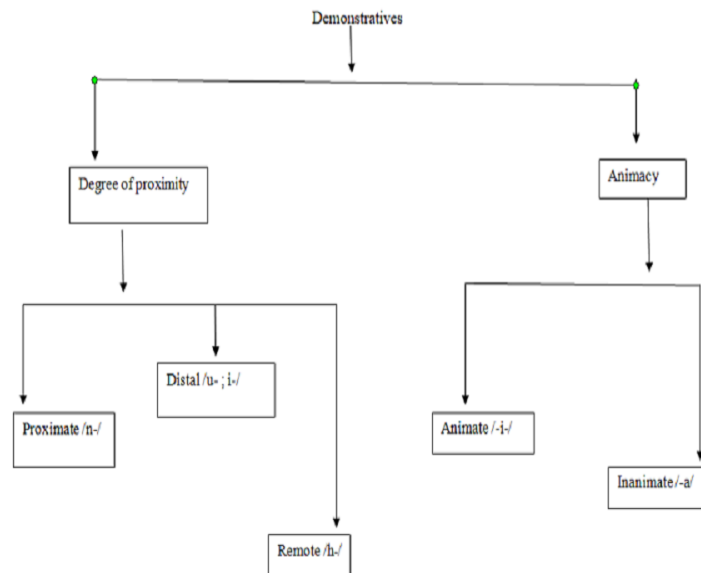
/oke/ ‘who’

/okelo/ ‘whom’
 /okeke/ ‘whose’
 /etalai/ ‘why’
 /etalekan/ ‘how’
 /okindʒʰan/ ‘how many’
 /ok-kin/ ‘how much’

3.1.6.5. Demonstrative pronouns

The demonstratives in Asuri have many forms depending upon the animacy criteria. Thus, animacy is a relevant factor in the usage of demonstratives. Further, demonstratives also have different forms depending upon the proximity of the referent, whether it is very near, far or very far (such that it is not visible to the speaker.)

Figure: 4 - Demonstratives



Demonstratives in Asuri are as follows:

		Animate	Inanimate
Proximal	Singular	nui ‘this’	noa ‘this’
	Dual	nukin ‘these two’	noakin ‘these two’
	Plural	nuku ‘these’	noako ‘these ’

Distal	Singular	uni ‘that’	ona ‘that’
	Dual	unkin ‘those two’	onakin ‘those two’
	Plural	unku ‘those’	onaku ‘those’
Remote	Singular	huni ‘that yonder’	hona ‘that yonder’
	Dual	hunkin ‘those two yonder’	honakin ‘those two yonder’
	Plural	huku ‘those yonder’	honako ‘those yonder’

Examples:

noa sakhuapani d̥ihi hake (115)
This-INANIM Sakhuapani village COP
‘This is sakhuapani village’

nui sim hake (116)
This-ANIM hen COP
‘This is a hen’

nuku sim hake (117)
These-ANIM-PL hen COP
‘These are hens’

noa oɽa hake (118)
This-INANIM house COP
‘This is a house’

d̥her oɽa edna (119)
Many house COP
‘These are houses’

hona siŋ d̥ziliŋ edna (120)
That-DIST tree tall COP
‘That is a tall tree’

hona oɽa baɽe edna (121)
That-DIST house big COP
‘That house is big’

3.1.7.1. Structural description of numbers in Asuri language

3.1.7.1.1. Formation of Cardinal numerals

Asuri has ten basic or monomorphic numerals from 1 to 10 and higher numerals are derived from these. One to ten, as mentioned above are basic words and eleven to nineteen are expressed as $1+10$, $2+10$, $3+10$, $4+10$, $5+10$, $6+10$, $8+10$, and $9+10$ respectively. The term for twenty which is /hisi/, is a mono-morphic word. Twenty-one to thirty are expressed as $20+1$, $20+2$, $20+3$ and $20+4$ and so on up to thirty. From thirty onwards there is both addition and multiplication involved in the derivation of the number names.

3.1.7.1.2. Derivation:

11 to 20: From eleven to nineteen numerals are formed by adding numerals from one to nine to the base that is ten. The rule for derivation of numerals from 11 to 19 may be written as $N+10$, where N stands for the basic numerals from one to nine which are basic, without any derivation. Though the data shows /desa/ as the number name for 10 but number names from 11 to 19 carry the suffix /-gya/ instead of the term /desa/ or any of its derivatives. The explanation for this apparently unrelated phenomenon comes from historical linguistics. Earlier Asuri had the term /gelea/ for 10 before the borrowed word /desa/ replaced it.

Another point to be noted here is that the pattern $N+10$ evident in Asuri bears more similarity with the Indo-Aryan example Hindi where the pattern is also $N+10$ as opposed to Dravidian where it is generally found to be $10+N$ for instance Tamil has forms for eleven as /patinonRu/ which is $(10+1)$; twelve as /paNNiraNtu/ $(10+2)$ / and thirteen as /patinmunRSu/ $(10+3)$. Thus the pattern in Tamil is $10+N$ which is also found in other Dravidian languages like Kannada and Telugu.

20 to 30: For 20, Asuri has a basic i.e. monomorphic term, /hisi/⁵. It will be observed that in the formation of numerals after 20 patterns of derivation of terms for 21 till 29 the underlying rule is $20+N$. For 30 the case is different. It is with 30 that multiplication starts operating in the word formation processes for numbers in Asuri. 30 has the following derivation rule $1*20+10=30$ i.e. $(N*20+10)$.

⁵Another observation made in the fieldwork is that the term /kuɽi/ is widely used for twenty instead of /hisi/.

Decades: We can see that for the odd decades the process of multiplication and addition is operating whereas for the even decades like 20, 40, 60 etc there is only multiplication involved. The rule is as follows ($N*20+10$).

We can see that for the odd decades the process of multiplication and addition is operating whereas for the even decades like 20, 40, 60 etc there is only multiplication involved.

20

$30=1*20+10$

$40=2*20$

$50=2*20+10$

$60=3*20$

$70=3*20+10$

$80=4*20$

$90=4*20+10$

Hundreds: The term for hundred is /sae/; though being an Indo-Aryan loan is basic. For 200 to 900 the derivation process involves the following rule $100*N$.

3.1.7.1.3. Formation of Ordinal numerals: Asuri makes no distinction between the cardinal and ordinal numerals. Same number terminology is employed to represent both types.

3.1.7.1.4. Formation of Proportional numerals: Proportional numerals in Asuri are formed by adding the suffix /khe/ to the shortened form of the cardinals. The suffix /-khe/ gives the sense of number of times. It is added to the shortened form of the numerals to form adverbs. So if it is added to /miad/ the proportional number will be /mi+khe/= /mikhe/ ‘once’.

/mikhe/ ‘once’

/barkhe/ ‘twice’

/pekhe/ ‘thrice’

3.2. Reduplication

‘Reduplication is a process of repetition whereby the form of a prefix/suffix reflects certain phonological characteristics of the root (Crystal, 2008: 407). Reduplication may occur in words

3.2.2. Partial reduplication:

The common pattern in partial reduplication in Asuri is initial CV- repetition i.e. the first syllable of the word is reduplicated. The reduplication here produces iterative or intensive meaning which is determined by the context.

/su~sug^hao/ ‘to smell’

/si~sirdʒa:o/ ‘to build’

/ti~ti^hra:o/ ‘to melt’

/k^hu~k^hu:f/ ‘to like’

/lo~lo:b^ha:o/ ‘to impress’

/so~soʃa:o/ ‘to think’

/tʃa~tʃak^ha:o/ ‘to taste’

/ba~badʒi/ ‘to promise’

/ba:~ba:t/ ‘to talk’

/tʃe~tʃeta:o/ ‘to warn’

/k^hu~k^hu:u?/ ‘to cough’

3.2.3. Echo constructions

The formation of echo-words is a widespread phenomenon in most languages of South Asia is acknowledged by scholars. An echo-word has been defined as a partially repeated form of the base word- partially in the sense that either the initial phoneme (V/C) or the syllable of the base is replaced by another phoneme or another syllable. Echo-words convey the sense of ‘etc’, ‘things similar to’, ‘associated with that’.

Examples:

/dʒ^haʈ paʈ agu-i-me/ ‘bring quickly’

/dʒ^haʈ paʈ se na:bu/ ‘we’ll go very quickly’

/dʒ^haʈ paʈ daʔ nu dai ‘he gulped the water fast’

/hoʈe noʈe kita:b edna ‘books are scattered here and there’

/ropa dopa/ ‘sowing’

/ghaile ghaila da pereg tana/ ‘pot pot water is filled’

3.2.4. Redundant Compounds:

Redundant compounds are two words placed together that have the same semantic meaning, and some shared phonological qualities, imparting the added quality of ‘etc.’

Examples:

/ʃai-kun/ ‘tea etc’

/daʔ-kun/ ‘water etc’

/g^hoto-kun/ ‘food etc’

/nasta-kun/ ‘breakfast etc’

/datuwan-kun/ ‘brush etc’

/sahan sekam agudai ‘bringing wood and leaves’

3.2.5. Numeral reduplication

Reduplication also occurs in numerals in Asuri. The initial CV- or V- is reduplicated to give the sense of distribution. Reduplication in numerals gives the distributive sense here.

/mi~miaʔ/ ‘one one’

/ba~barea/ ‘two two’

/ba~barea haʔig/ ‘distribute two two each’

3.3. Adjectives

3.3.1. Introduction

Lyons (1977: 438-439) “adopts the conventional view, according to which the attributive adjective is the modifier of the noun with which it is combined, in endocentric expressions.”

Adjectives in Asuri are indeclinable. They occur attributably before nouns and predicatively in copular sentences. The main types of adjectives in Asuri, as discussed below, are qualifying adjectives which express attributes such as size, shape, age, material, color etc. Comparison is relatively simple as it doesn’t involve comparative and superlative inflectional markers of adjective. Post-positions are placed in the pre-adjectival position to express comparisons.

3.3.2. Semantic taxonomy

The adjectives can be classified into various kinds on the basis of their semantic connotation (Dixon, 1982). A taxonomical list has been prepared by scholars like Dixon (1982) and others who came up with a criterion by which words may be classified as adjectives cross-linguistically. The basic function of these words is to modify nouns. In Asuri adjectives express the following properties.

Examples:

Age - young - /usmet/, old - /sejaɾ/, new-/nawa/

Dimension- little - /tʰoɽekin/, long - /dziliŋ/, straight - /sodʒʰ/

Value- good - beɟ/ baɽʰija, bad - /baɽʰija kanoa/, /bekar/

Color - black - /kaɽija/, white - /uɾi/, /puŋɽi/, red – /lal/, yellow- /pijaɾ/, /sasaŋ/, blue- /nil/, orange- /pijaɾ/, green- /harijaɾ/

Shape - flat- /tʃeɽta/, /tʃeɽoɽ/, curve- /tʃeɽʰa/, /tʃenkoɽ/, pointed- /suisuju/, narrow - /sakuɽ/, huge - /baɽe/, /bagaɾ/

Human Propensity - strong - /haɽʰa-kaɽʰa/, weak - /kukuɽ muha/, rich – /giɾhat/, poor – /gaɾib/

Physical Characteristics- beautiful- /aɽi lekan/, /baha lekan/, ugly- /kaɽmuha/, thin- /patla kin/, /sekam lekan/, eat - /moɽ/

Physical Property:-

- **Sense** - /sibil/ ‘sweet’, /haɽija/ ‘bitter’, /buluŋ lekan/ ‘salty’, /dzodʒoa/ ‘sour’
- **Consistency** - hard-/kaɽʰin/, /ludu/ ‘soft’ blunt- /bʰoɽʰaɽ/
- **Texture** - /tʃikna/ ‘smooth’,
- **Temperature** - hot- /lolo tana/, /garam/, cold- /tʰandʰ/, /rabaŋ/
- **Edibility** - /bili ul/ ‘ripe’/seja una/ ‘rotten’, beɟ/ baɽʰija ‘fresh’, new– /nawa/
- **Substantiality**- thick - /moɽkin/
- **Configuration**- broken-/toɽa/, Sharp- /tedʒ/

Quantity: many - /dzamea/

Cardinals: one- /miaɽ/, two- /barea/, three- /pea/, four- /apja/

Position: high – /teŋ/, low –/latar/

Similarity: /lekan/ ‘like’

Frequency: yearly- /bairso bʰair/, monthly- /mahina bʰair/, weekly-/hapta bʰair/

3.3.3. Attributive Adjectives

In Asuri adjectives can occur before a noun, as in the examples given below. Adjectives do not inflect for case, gender, or number in Asuri and are placed before the noun they modify.

Examples:

hona siŋ dʒiliŋ edna (124)
That tree tall COP
'That is a tall tree'

nuku baɽ^hiya koɽaku hake (125)
They good boy-PL COP
'They are good boys'

3.3.4. Predicative Adjectives

Asuri adjective can also occur after the verb 'be'. When the adjective occurs in this position, they are said to be the complement, or subject complement.

Examples:

iŋ ala c^hote oɽa edna (126)
1SG POSS small house COP
'My house is small'

huni ala baɽe edna (127)
His POSS big COP
'His house is big'

iŋ seǰãɽ hake (128)
I old COP
'I am old'

huni usmeɽ edanija (129)
He young COP.ANIM
'He is young'

hona siŋ dʒiliŋ edna (130)
That tree tall COP
'That is a tall tree'

sirma nila edna (131)
Sky blue COP
'The sky is blue'

huni moɽ ednija (132)

He fat COP.ANIM
 ‘He is fat’

huni patla edanija (133)
 she lean COP.ANIM
 ‘She is lean’

nuku baṭ^hija koṛaku hake (134)
 they good boy-PL COP
 ‘They are good boys’

iŋ ala tiʔ mailao tana (135)
 1SG POSS hand dirty PRES.COP
 ‘My hand is dirty’

3.3.5. Equatives, Comparatives, Superlatives

Equatives, comparatives and superlatives are the various degrees of comparison by which we classify nouns. Comparison is an important and distinctive feature of adjectives in many languages. Equality is when two entities are being described for the same quality, etc. A comparative is a construction in which two items are compared according to some quality. A superlative is the highest degree. Adjectives in Asuri are simple, mostly non-derived words. They do not have distinct comparative and superlative morphological markers. Here, intensifier indicates the superlative degree whereas the ablative case marker is used to indicate the comparative degree. Equality, comparison and superlative can be expressed in Asuri and it is done periphrastically. While equality is expressed by adding /lekan/ to the nouns; description of comparison and superlatives involves addition of words like /d^her/ and /d^heṭe/ to the pre-adjectival position respectively.

Equatives

Equatives are formed by means of the postposition /lekan/ which means 'like'.

sekam lekan (136)
 leaf like
 ‘thin’

dzahar lekan (137)

poison like
'Poisonous'

huni iŋ lekan edanija (138)
he I like COP-ANIM -FIN
'he is like me'

Comparatives and superlatives

mira karan tara dʒiliŋ ge (139)
Mira Karan PP tall COP
'Mira is taller than Karan'

raju dʒameku tara dʒiliŋ ge (140)
Raju everybody PP tall COP
'Raju is taller than everybody.'

ganga dʒame tara dʒiliŋ nai hake (141)
Ganga all PP tall river COP
'Ganga is the longest river in India.'

a:m dʒameku tara baɽ^hia edan-me-a (142)
2SG QUANT PP good COP-2SG-FIN
'You are the best person in the group.'

huni dʒiliŋ ge (143)
He tall COP
'He is tall'

huni raju tara dʒiliŋ ge (144)
He Raju PP tall COP
'He is taller than Raju'

huni dʒameku tara dʒiliŋ ge (145)
He QUANT. PP. tall COP
'He is the tallest'

3.4. Adverb

3.4.1. Introduction

In Asuri adverbs precede the verbs. For example:

ʃɛŋga kaleka:l gitik tanai (147)
child peacefully sleep PRES.PROG.COP
'The child is sleeping peacefully'

huni naha g^hoto dʒom-lei (149)
 he now food eat- ASP-FIN
 ‘he ate rice just now’

Semantically, adverbs are of four kinds viz, manner adverbs, temporal adverbs, spatial adverbs and adverbs of quantity.

This category of adverbs is largest subcategory of adverbs in every language. They describe how and in what way an action denoted by a verb occurs or takes place. Adverbs of manners follow the verb and may fill the predicate slot. In Asuri, manner adverbs are often formed from adjectives by the addition of the suffixes like /re/.

/migh^harik re/- ‘fast’

/g^harikin/- ‘soon’

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/astirwa/- ‘slowly’

/kalekal/- ‘quietly’

/deri k^{he}/- ‘lately’

/oka oka hila/- ‘often’

/naha/- ‘now’

/kasaha leka/- ‘severe’

/dularkin/- ‘lovely’

3.4.3. Temporal adverbs:

An adverb of time is also called temporal adverb because it describes when the action is carried out. Yesterday, today, tomorrow, next/last year/week/month, early, late, etc are examples of temporal adverb.

/tisin/- ‘today’

/gapa/- ‘yesterday’

/mand^{her}/- ‘day before yesterday’

/bita una hapta/- ‘last week’

/bita una mahina/- ‘last month’

/bita una baris/- ‘last year’

/bita una bar baris/- ‘last two years’

/dara/- ‘tomorrow’

/dara hila/- ‘day after tomorrow’

/dara bar hila/- ‘two days after tomorrow’

/dara hapta/- ‘next week’

/dara mahina/- ‘next month’

/dara baris/- ‘next year’

/dara bar sal/- ‘next two years/next next year’

/nidua bera/- ‘morning’

/kelua bera/- ‘noon’

/aiub/- ‘evening’

/nida/- ‘night’

/ad^ha nida/- ‘midnight’

/nidua/- ‘dawn’

/toro/- ‘sunrise’

/ajugo/- ‘sunset’

/hila/- ‘day’

3.4.4. Spatial adverbs

Spatial adverbs or an adverb of a place is one that tells where the action is or was carried out. Adverb of place include above, anywhere, behind, below, downward, everywhere, forward, here, in, inside, left, near, outside, over there, sideways, underneath, and upward. Spatial adverbs also indicate the direction or location. For example up/down river, up/downhill, up/down (ward), north (ward), southward), east (ward), west (ward), left (ward), right(ward), hither, thither, etc.

/latar/- ‘down’

/upag/- ‘up’

/purab/- ‘east (sun rising side)’

/pat^him/- ‘west’

/uttar/- ‘north’

/dat^hin/- ‘south’

/uttar purab/- ‘north east’

/dat^hin purab/- ‘south east’

/dat^hin pat^him/- ‘south west’

/uttar patʃim/- ‘north west’

/penka pʰaki/- ‘left side’

/dzom pʰaki/- ‘right side’

/agla/- ‘front’

/patʃli/- ‘back’

3.4.5. Adverbs of quantity

An adverb of quantity is an adverb that concerns itself with how many. Common quantifying adverbs in English include words such as all, both, many, every, some, etc.

Examples of adverbs of quantity in Asuri are:

/dʒamea/ - ‘all’

/banar/- ‘both’

/many/- ‘dʰer’

/every/- ‘saben’

3.4.6. Frequency adverbs

/mikhe/- ‘once’

/barkhe/- ‘twice’

/pekhe/- ‘thrice’

Adverbs do not have any general derivative markers. Adverbs undergo reduplication to indicate - a sense of continuity or to highlight the intensity of an event, action or time.

3.5. Verbs

Verbs have been defined in traditional grammars as words which express an action, event or state. In Asuri verb is a word that expresses- physical action (e.g., to swim, to write, to climb); mental action (e.g., to think, to guess, to consider) and state of being (e.g., to be, to exist, to appear).

3.5.1. Semantic classification of Verbal bases

There are verbs denoting action in Asuri language. But when the verbal base is used to convey the idea of active performance then we see that they are formed through processes such as: - (i) Either by repeating the initial syllable (CV-) of the word like /da~da:ɾan/ ‘walk repeatedly’ < /da:ɾan/ ‘walk’; /si~sirij/ ‘sing repeatedly’ < /sirij/ ‘sing’ (ii) By Compounding, example /balbal uɾu:go/ ‘to sweat’ ; /dekar idi/ ‘to belch’ and sometimes through and (iii) Total reduplication example- ha:ɕij-ha:ɕij ‘distribute’.

3.5.1.1. Action verbs in Asuri

/tujo tana/ ‘to float’	eneg ‘to play’
oɕang ‘to fly’	da:ɾan ‘to move’
hiɕu? me ‘to get’	sisirdɕao ‘to build’
ɕu? ‘to go’	nanam ‘to find’
ni:r ‘to run’	pupuja ‘to worship’
dab duba ‘to swim’	hijo me ‘to come’
da:ɾan ‘to walk’	oɕoɕang ‘to blow’
honte nonte da:ɾan ‘to wander’	eneg ‘to dance’
la:nda:e me ‘to smile’	
tʰapɾao ‘to slap’	

3.5.1.2. Stative or Position Verbs

goeg juno ‘to die’	radɕijo ‘to agree’
bili ‘to ripen’	karadɕijo ‘to disagree’
mukɕi sab ‘to kneel’	phulan/mojo ‘to swell’

giʔgitiŋ ‘to lie down’

hamuɖ ‘to adopt’

baha tana / baha yo ‘to bloom’

tĩgun ‘to stand’

duɾu ‘to sit’

oʔor , lolobhao ‘to impress’

uʔuiha:r ‘to imagine’

uiha:r ‘to remember’

neʔnel ‘to see’

riʔriɽiŋ ‘to forget’

aʔanja:d ‘to feel’

neleme ‘to observe’

tiʔtiɣhɾao/ piʔpiɣhɾao ‘to melt’

khuʔkhush ‘to like’

oʔojod ‘to hate’

dular ‘to love’

paʔpaɽi ‘to know’

baʔbaji ‘to promise’

sikha ‘to learn’

bujha ‘to understand’

suʔsũghao ‘to smell’

ʃaʔʃak^hao ‘to taste’

aʔajum ‘to hear’

3.5.1.3. Utterance Verbs

eʔeger ‘to abuse’

dʒawab emo ‘to answer’

kuʔkuli ‘to answer’

kokoe ‘to ask for’

seta lekan au:wa ‘to bark as a dog’

/laʔladaʔ/ , /lā:d/ ‘to joke’

eʔeger ‘to scold’

raʔara: ‘to call’

mantar kaʔkahɽi ‘to chant mantras’

uʔudu/ kaʔkahɽi ‘to command’

kahɽi gana ‘to gossip’

kahɽi ‘to say or tell’

ba:ɽbaɽaʔ/ , /baɽbaɽa:o/ ‘to mutter’

siriŋ ‘to sing’

kaḥṭi ‘to speak’

/gam kaḥṭi /, / kana u:udu/ ‘to tell a story’

baʔba:t ‘to talk’

ʃeʔʃetao ‘to warn’

/pa:tʰ/, /pana/ ‘to recite’

/dʒoɾ se paɾʰa / ‘to read aloud’

3.5.1.4. Body function verbs

sā:s idi ‘to breathe’

/kʰuʔ /, /kʰuʔkʰuuʔ/ ‘to cough’

/a:ʔagob/ ‘to yawn’

/a:ʔaʃʰug/, /a:ʃʰug/ ‘to sneeze’

/dʰar-dʰara:ʔ/ ‘to snore’

/loʔloha:/ ‘to urinate’

/ʃʰaʔʃʰaʔ/ ‘to vomit’

/janam emo/ ‘to give birth’

/balbal uɾu:go/ ‘to sweat’

/hiʃki/ ‘to hiccup’

/dekar idi/ ‘to belch’

/sā:s a:tka/, ʃʰaʔpaʔa/ ‘to choke’

3.5.2. Asuri verb structure

Asuri is a verb-final language, i.e. verbs occur at the final position in the sentences. It is generally preceded by a noun, adjective, adverb etc. sometimes a sentence may not have a verb as in copular sentences. Verbs are of two types, finite and non- finite. A finite verb is used in the sentence without the help of other verbs and it provides completeness of action and sense.

Asuri verb morphology is very complex. Many affixes are agglutinated in the verb at once. The verb incorporates suffixes for subject, tense and aspect, transitivity, various kinds of objects, possessor, and finiteness. The tense aspect mood information is encoded lexically and morphologically respectively (this point will be discussed in elaborate detail in the section 3.6.4.).

When we talk of the structure of the pattern of verbs in Asuri we see that the verb takes the following canonical structure in affirmative declarative sentences. This canonical structure of an Asuri verb can be shown by the following:

VR+ (ASP) + (TR/ITR)+ FIN +(OAM) +(SAM)

If the verbs are [+transitive], [+animate], we will have the following structure:

Verb+T+A+PERSON MARKER

If the object referred to is [-animate] the person marker will not occur. the order is : verb root +tense suffix.

In the case of intransitive verbs the structure as above only that it will not contain the object markers

3.5.2.1. Verbal affixes

The Verbal constructions are very complex in Asuri like other Munda languages. A single verb phrase may function as the complete sentence because many markers are incorporated in the verb. An Asuri verb has the potential to incorporate subject and object agreement markers in the form of pronominal clitics; transitivity markers; aspect markers and the finiteness marker. A brief discussion of the verbal affixations is given below:

a. Transitivity markers /d/, /n/

According to Crystal (2008:494), “Transitivity may be defined as a category used in the grammatical analysis of clause/ sentence constructions, with particular reference to the verb’s relationship to dependent elements of structure.” To put it simply transitivity is the property of the verbs to take objects. Some verbs can take direct object while others cannot. They are called transitive and intransitive verbs respectively. This concept of transitivity is understood by the semantics of the verb in some languages whereas there are other languages which denote it in its morphology. The languages of the Munda group are an example. Here transitivity is morphologically marked.

In Asuri, as in other Munda languages transitivity as a feature is morphologically marked. /d/ is the transitive marker while /n/ is the intransitive marker. These markers never occur alone and are not affixed to the verb directly. They are used in conjunction with other markers like aspect and finiteness marker and form a complex which follows the main verb. The transitivity markers occur only with verbs in present and past tense never with the future tense.

To quote Anderson, (2008) “intimately connected with, but logically and formally independent of, (tense/) aspect marking in Munda verb morphology are categories of valence/transitivity, possibly derived themselves from original tense markers from Proto-Munda.”

However, the usage of transitivity markers /d/ and /n/ is complex. The marker /n/ is also used with transitive verbs. This is because /n/ is multi-functional i.e. has many functions in the language. Thus, /n/ may also occur with transitive roots. Here /n/ acts as the passive marker. When /n/ is used as an infix in the verb it acts as reciprocal marker. Another view point regarding the functional pattern of transitivity markers is given by Ram Dayal Munda. He has analyzed /d/ and /n/ as focus markers.

According to Dr Ram Dayal Munda, ke-d places focus on the object while ke-n places focus on the subject. Thus /-d/ points forward towards the object whereas /-n/ points backwards towards the subject of the action.

b. Finiteness Markers

The marker /a/ occurs in finite verbs. This marker /-a/ is found in the languages belonging to the Khewarian group; and it is attached to the predicate in the finite constructions. Linguists and grammarians of Munda languages gloss the /a/ suffix as indicative marker or finiteness marker whereas others label it as predicative marker. This suffix is also called the completion marker i.e. it completes the sentence. Hoffman (1905-09) marked ‘/a/’ as the copular verb in Mundari; Ramaswami (1992) considers it also as copula in Bhumij; Osada (1992) marks it as predicator; Anderson (2007) calls it finitezer and others like Pucilowski (2013), Ghosh (2010), and Sinha (1975) term it as the finite marker. A recent paper by J. Peterson⁶ analyzes this is the narrative marker.

⁶ Peterson, J (2015), From “finite” to “narrative” – The enclitic marker =a in Kherwarian (North Munda) and Sadri (Indo-Aryan) in JSALL; 2(2): 185–214

Asuri which is a North Munda language from the Khewarian group has this marker /a/ which occurs in predicates in finite constructions. It occurs after the main verb along with other markers such as aspect and transitivity. Another point to be noted is that imperative constructions never take this finiteness marker. Examples: EIn the sentence /g^hoto dʒominj ke-d-a/ ‘I ate food’ the /a/ is the finiteness marker which is attached to the verbal complex along with the transitivity and aspect markers.

c. Tense-Aspect markers

There is no word or morphological marker in the Asuri language that ‘solely’ indicates tense. Asuri has different markers for indicating Aspect. This pattern is common in the other cognate languages. Tense and Aspect markers in the Munda languages basically include combination of different markers which indicate the tense and aspect. This will be further discussed under Tense and Aspect in details.

d. Pronominal clitics (SAM, OAM)

The verbal complex also includes the pronominal clitics in the canonical structure which is a required condition whenever agreement needs to be fulfilled because Asuri has a rich agreement pattern where the predicate carries subject and object agreement markers. This is a common feature found in major North Munda languages like Santali, Ho, and Mundari. The pronominal clitics are nothing but the reduced form of the personal pronouns and may also be termed as subject agreement markers and object agreement markers. Their occurrence is constrained by the criteria that only animate subjects and objects may find representation in the verbal predicate. Subject Agreement Marker occurs either in the preverbal position or after the finiteness marker. Object Agreement Marker occurs before the finiteness marker and their position is fixed as compared to Subject Agreement Marker which are comparatively flexible.”

Examples of Pronominal clitics as Agreement Markers

Person	free forms	Pronominal clitics as Agreement markers
1SG	inj	Seema nel-ked-inj-a ‘Seema saw me’ Seema see-PST-1SG-FIN

1DU.INCL	alaŋ	Seema nel-ked- alaŋ-a Seema see-PST-1DU.(INCL.)-FIN	‘Seema saw us’ (DU. INCL)
1DU.EXCL	aliŋ	Seema nel-ked-liŋ-a Seema see-PST-1DU.EXCL-FIN	‘Seema saw us’ (DU. EXCL)
1PL.INCL	abu	Seema nel-ked-bu-a Seema see-PST-2DU.INCL-FIN	‘Seema saw us’ (PL. INCL.)
1PL.EXCL	ale	Seema nel-ked-le-a Seema see-PST-2DU.EXCL-FIN	‘Seema saw us’ (PL EXCL.)
2SG	a:m	Seema nel-ked-me-a Seema see-PST-2DU-FIN	‘Seema saw me’
2DU	aben	Seema nel-ked-ben-a Seema see-PST-2DU-FIN	‘Seema saw you ’ (DU.)
2PL	ape	Seema nel-ked-pe-a Seema see-PST-2DU-FIN	‘Seema saw you’ (PL.)
3SG	a:eʔ	Seema nel-ked-e-a Seema see-PST-2DU-FIN	‘Seema saw him’
3DU	akin	Seema nel-ked- kin-a Seema see-PST-2DU-FIN	‘Seema saw them’ (DU.)
3PL	ako	Seema nel-ked-ku-a Seema see-PST-2DU-FIN	‘Seema saw them’ (PL.)

3.5.3. Tense

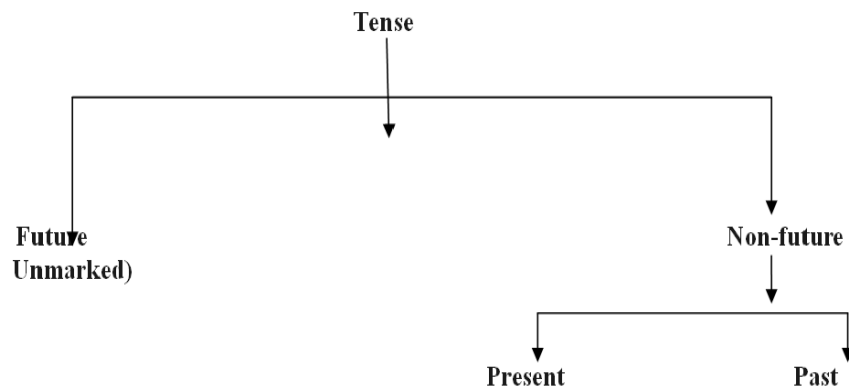
3.5.3.1. Background

According to Binnick , (2012: 34) “Tense is essentially a deictic category, having to do with the relationship between times, traditionally the time of an eventuality E (an event, action, or state), and the time S o f the speech act, functioning as a time of orientation or evaluation as well as a time of utterance or enunciation”. The term ‘tense’ is derived from the Latin word ‘Tempus’ for time. However, time is different from the notion of tense. Distinguishing Time and Tense, Jespersen (1924: 230) has written that while time is common to all mankind and is independent

of language, on the other hand, the concept of tense varies from language to language and is linguistic expression of time relations, so far as these are indicated in verb forms. Tense relates the time of the situation referred to some other time, usually to the moment of speaking. Tense is an important part of morphology of a language. It is associated with the verbs and is used to indicate the time of action. Comrie (1985): “Tense is grammaticalised expression of location in time.” Bybee (1985): “Tense refers to the grammatical expression of the time of the situation described in the proposition, relative to some other time.” According to David Crystal (1980) “a category used in the grammatical description of verbs (along with aspect and mood), referring primarily to the way the grammar marks the time at which the action denoted by the verb took place”. Tense also needs to be distinguished from the concept of aspect. Following Comrie (1985) the two might be differentiated as follows: tense is grammaticalization of location in time, and aspect is “grammaticalization of expression of internal temporal constituency” (of events, processes etc.). Although tense and aspect are two different concepts of grammar, it is seen that the tense-aspect distinction is blurred in many languages. This is especially true of the languages belonging to the Munda family. One thing we can clearly observe is that tense and aspect do not always present themselves as separate and neatly delineated categories in Munda languages; even in Asuri, as we will discuss below this pattern is obvious.

3.5.3.2. Organization of tense in Asuri

Asuri does not mark tense morphologically, rather as discussed earlier, a combination of aspect cum transitivity markers are employed to convey the tense. Asuri marks two values for tense- future and non-future. Present and future are included in the latter category.



3.5.3.3. Present tense

Present tense is the location of a situation on the point in the time line which includes the present moment. It is rare for a situation to coincide exactly with the present moment. There are sentences where the act described by the sentence- is completed with the uttering of the sentence itself. This type of sentence is called a performative sentence (Austin, 1962)

The present tense markers are /tana/,

Simple present

in ke g^hoto bes adajoa (151)
I ACC rice good like
'I like rice'

huni english bat dei (152)
They english speak-TR-FIN-3SG
'They speak english'

Sinboŋa purub tara uŋgoei (153)
Sun east PP rise-FIN-3SG
'The sun rises in the east'

ŋeŋga iskool turaiya (154)
child school go
'The child is going to school'

in g^hoto dʒom diŋ (155)
1SG food eat-PROG-1SG
'I am eating food'

huni c^hai banao dei (156)
She tea make-PROG-3G-FIN
'She is making tea.'

maɖ maʔ daku (157)
bamboo cut-PROG-3PL
'They are cutting bamboo.'

bark^ha daje (158)
rain PROG-FIN-3SG
'It is raining'

huni astirwa daŋ-nae (159)
 He slowly walk-ITR-FIN-3SG
 ‘He walks slowly’

madhu a:eg-a tʃeŋga lo dular-je (160)
 Madhu her child ASSOC love-3SG
 ‘Madhu loves her children’

huni iŋ ke paŋʃ taka em dae (161)
 he I ACC five rupees give-TR-FIN-3SG
 ‘He gives me five rupees’

babutiŋ oŋa re gitik tanae (162)
 Son-POSS-1SG house PP sleep-PROG-3SG
 ‘My son is sleeping in the house’

huni cycle chalajae (163)
 he cycle ride-FIN-3SG
 ‘He rides bicycle’

huni g^hoto banajae (164)
 she food cook- FIN-3SG
 ‘She cooks food’

Miro nir tanai (165)
 miro run-PRES PROG-3SG
 ‘Miro is running’

3.5.3.4. Past tense

The past tense is conveyed through aspect markers /ke/, /li/ and /le/. They attach with other markers like transitivity, finiteness and/or OAM/SAM markers to form a complex. The resulting term formed by combining tense- aspect, transitivity markers etc. follow the main verb. Thus tense is denoted periphrastically. It is a feature common in other Munda languages also. Whenever the aspect markers /ke/ and /le/ occur in the verbal complex the native speakers take it to mean the past tense by default.

Examples:

huni g^hoto? dʒom kedei (166)

he food eat-PST-FIN-3SG
'He has taken/ eaten his meal.'

koʔa giti? tanai (167)

boy sleep PROG-3SG
'The boy has slept (still sleeping).'

Kiro nahagi oʔa uʔuŋ nei (168)

Kiro now home left-ASP-3SG
'Kiro left his home'

barsiŋ pahir re baksa k^holao la (169)

Two days back PP box open-ASP-3SG
'He opened the box two days back'

iŋ g^hoto som kediŋ (170)

I rice eat-PST-1SG
'I ate rice'

huni roɖʒ siriŋge kenei (171)

they everyday sing-EMPH PST-FIN
'They used to sing everyday'

Tito g^hoto banai kenei (172)

Tito food cook-PST-FIN
'Tito was cooking food'

huni gendra d^huwae kenei (173)

she clothes wash-PST-FIN
'She was washing clothes'

huni nind nei / huni giti? nei (174)

she sleep-ITR-FIN-3SG
'She had slept'

hola ʔfor sab tahlaku (175)

Yesterday thief catch T/A-FIN-PL
'Yesterday they had caught the thief.'

hol ka:lon p^huwar re da? hig tahina (176)
 Last year October in rain come-T/A-FIN
 ‘Last year it had rained in October’

3.5.3.5. Future tense

Future tense is morphologically unmarked. There are certain lexical terms which indicate future time. For example is the use of temporal adverbs which are indicators of future time in Asuri. It must be noted that the transitivity markers (d/ n) do not occur with verbs in the future tense.

Absence of a tense indicator in a verbal form indicates future or unspecified time.

Exmples:

hijo?-a-e (177)
 Come-FIN-3SG.SBJ
 ‘he will come’

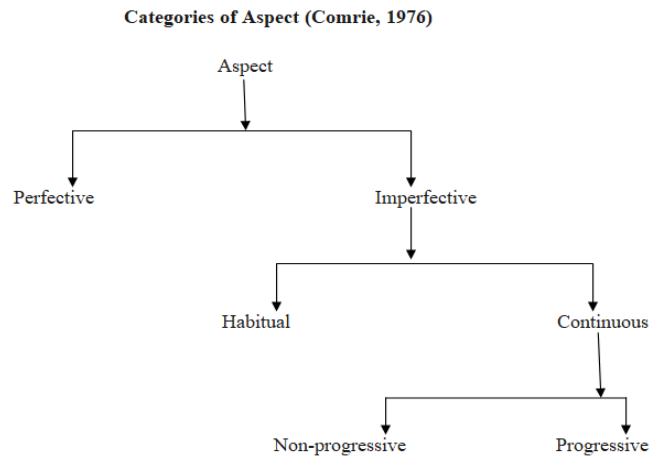
gapa in simdega sin-in (178)
 Tomorrow I simdega go-1SG.SBJ
 ‘I will go to simdega tomorrow’

huni dupahar ra sirin kei (179)
 he noon PP sing-T/A-3SG
 ‘He will sing at noon’

huni ala naukri dara sa:l lagao ko.a (180)
 he POSS job next year get 3SG.FIN
 ‘He will be getting job next year’

3.5.4. Aspect

The temporal structure of an event or state expressed by the verb, i.e. the way in which the event occurs in time whether an action is on-going or completed, beginning, continuing or ending, etc. is denoted by Aspect. The aspectual classes were originally proposed by Vendler (1957, 1967) to provide some schemata in order to divide the verbs of English into states, activities, accomplishments, and achievements. Aspect has been defined by Comrie (1976) as different ways of viewing the internal temporal constituency of a situation. The diagram below shows the aspectual oppositions classified by Comrie (1976: 25).



3.5.4.1. Aspect in Asuri

According to D.N.S.Bhatt⁷ (1999) “Aspect-prominent languages show an obligatory marking of aspect distinctions, whereas they indicate tense and mood distinctions through specific markers only when the meaning is not derivable from the context.” Here, aspectual distinctions are grammaticalized to a very high degree whereas tense and mood distinctions are grammaticalized to a lesser extent. Aspect in Asuri is based on completion and progression. Asuri employs a number of affixes to mark aspect. It has perfective and imperfective aspect dichotomy. The imperfective includes the progressive, habitual and the iterative. The distinct feature about aspect markers in Asuri, as well as in other languages of the Munda family is that through one morph they mark aspect and tense both hence they perform a dual function. Therefore, Asuri as well as many other Munda languages are ‘Aspect prominent languages’.

3.5.4.2. Categories of Aspect in Asuri

a. Perfective Aspect:-

Comrie (1976: 12) defines that the term perfective contrasts with imperfective and denotes a situation viewed in its entirety, without regard to internal temporal consistency. Thus, the perfective expresses events or state as a whole without consideration of the internal structure of

⁷The prominence of Tense, Aspect and Mood by D.N.S. Bhatt

the time it occurs. The perfective markers in Asuri are /ke/, /le/ and /li/. Even in other Munda languages like Mundari, Ho, Santali etc. have the similar markers for perfective. When /ke/ or /le/ occurs in conjunction with the transitivity markers /d/ or /n/ in the verbal complex; it is by default interpreted as the simple past tense. /ke/ is used with transitive verbs and /le/ with intransitive verbs but there are exceptions. Whenever, aspect markers /ke/ and /le/ are used in future forms it indicates the completion of the activity.

/ke/

/ke/ is the indicator of an action that has been completed. It shows simple completion without any reference to the present action. /keda/ is used whenever the verb is transitive and /kena/ is used whenever the verb is intransitive. But there are some exceptional cases. Sometimes, /keda/ may be used with intransitive and /kena/ with intransitive verb. According to the Munda (1969) this occurrence is noted whenever /d/ and /n/ are used as focus marker.

‘dʒom’ is a transitive verb

g^hoto dʒomiŋ ke-d-a. (181)

food eat PST-FOC-FIN

‘I ate food’ (Object is the main focus of this sentence.)

g^hoto dʒomiŋ ke-n-a. (182)

food eat-1SG PST-FOC-FIN

‘I ate food’ (Subject is the main focus of this sentence.)

The sentences above are similar in meaning but differ slightly. According to Dr Ram Dayal Munda, ke-d places focus on the object while ke-n places focus on the subject. Another case where this explanation clearly holds i.e. the use of -n- and -d- is clearly visible in the following example:- ‘the dog that bit the cat’ and ‘the dog that the cat bit’. These -n- and -d- elements, which we consider to be markers of transitivity, are treated by Dr Munda as focus markers, with the former marking subject focus and the latter marking object focus.

Examples:

b^hark^ha daʔ siŋ ke uyuk kedai (183)

rain tree PP fall-PRF-TR-FIN-3SG

‘The rain makes the tree fall’

hoe naryal ke ujuk kedai (184)

wind coconut ACC fall-PRF-TR-FIN-3SG

‘The wind makes the coconut fall down from the tree’

Raju ka:nŋʃ ke tota kedai (185)
Raju glass ACC break-PRF-TR-FIN-3SG
‘Raju broke the glass.’

Raju ball ke pok^hra re uyuk kedai (186)
Raju ball ACC pond PP fall/drop PRF-TR-FIN-3SG
‘Raju dropped the ball into the pond.’

huni siriŋ kedai (187)
he sing PRF-TR-FIN-3SG
‘he sang a song’

/li-/

/li/ is the perfective aspect marker which denotes simple past.

bilei ʃuʃu ke dʒuliʃe (188)
Cat mouse ACC. chase-PST-3SG.
‘The cat chases the rat’

nurse ʃfenga ke k^hijao liʃe (189)
Nurse baby ACC. eat-CAUS-PST-3SG
‘The nurse fed the baby.’

huni mihoʃ hoʃ ke nel liae (190)
She CL man ACC see-PST-FIN-3SG
‘She saw a man’

huni mihoʃ hoʃ ke nel liae (191)
he CL man ACC see-PST-FIN-3SG
‘He saw a man’

ram am ke nel-le-me-a-e (192)
Ram You ACC. See-PST-2SG.OAM-FIN-3SG.SAM
‘Ram saw you’

ram iŋ ke nel li-ŋ-e-i (193)
Ram I ACC see-PST-1SG.OAM-FIN-3SG.SAM
‘Ram saw me’

ram huni ke nel liʃe (194)
Ram him ACC see-PST-3SG.SAM
‘Ram saw him’

/le/ marks the completion of an action with respect the present action. It is often described by Munda scholars as ‘anterior aspect.’ /le/ can occur with both transitive marker /d/ as /leda/; and with the intransitive marker /n/ as /lena/ depending on the transitivity of verb in the sentence. Exceptions are also there in this usage of /leda/ and /lena/.

(195)

Chaibasa-ten sen-le-n-a
Chaibasa-PP-1SG.SAM go-PRF-[ITR]-FIN
'I went to Chaibasa (but I am back now).'

/ke/ versus /le/

Both aspect markers denote perfective, but the difference between the two is that while /ke/ indicates simple completion; on the other hand /le/ shows completion of the action along with awareness of the actions relation to the present or ‘anterior’ aspect. By default, both are translated in English as past tense. But /le/ is not the same as /ke/. /le/ refers to an action that has been completed but the present action is different. But /ke/ only gives information that an action is simply completed without any reference to the current activity.

Imperfective aspect is an aspect that expresses an event or state, with respect to its internal structure, instead of expressing it as a simple whole.

Progressive and habitual aspect usually denotes present time unless it is specified otherwise by other T/A markers. Continuity of action is denoted by /d/ which is word –bound and by the copula /tana/

seta dʒur daku. (199)
Dog bark PROG-FIN-PL
'Dogs are barking.'

/tana/ marker

koṛa giti? tanai (200)
boy sleep PRES.PROG.COP
'The boy has slept (still sleeping).'

iŋ-ala ti?i mailao tana (201)
My hand dirty PRES.COP
'My hand is dirty.'

dʒame kuṛiku kalas hig tanaku (202)
All girl-PL class come PRES.COP-PL
'All the girls came to the class.'

(ii) Habitual

There is no separate marker for iterative and habitual aspect. Vowel lengthening of the first vowel and reduplication of the first syllable are the two strategies employed for denoting the habitual actions and repetition of an action respectively. If the reduplicating initial/first syllable begins with a vowel then vowel lengthening always accompanies it. This pattern of expressing habitual and iterative aspect is attested in other Munda languages as well like Mundari (Hoffmann, 1903: 182), Santali (Bodding, 1929: 179), Ho (Deeney, 1975: 58) etc.

Example:

- a. daṛan 'walk'
da~daṛan 'walk repeatedly'
- b. a:ʃʰug 'to sneeze'
a:ʔaʃʰug 'sneeze repeatedly'
- c. siriŋ 'sing'
si~siriŋ 'sing repeatedly'

The aspect cum tense system in Asuri can be depicted as follows:

Time ▼ Aspect ▼	Present	Past	Future

HABITUAL	in̩ ɡʰoʈoʔ dʒomin̩ 'I eat food'	in̩ ɡʰoʈoʔ dʒomin̩ keda 'I ate food'	in̩ ɡʰoʈoʔ dʒom-a 'I will eat food'
PROG	in̩ ɡʰoʈoʔ dʒom-d-in̩/ in̩ ɡʰoʈoʔ dʒom-tana-in̩ 'I am eating food'	in̩ ɡʰoʈoʔ dʒom-d-in̩ keda 'I was eating food'	in̩ ɡʰoʈoʔ dʒomin̩ 'I will be eating food'
PERFECTIVE	in̩ ɡʰoʈoʔ dʒom-tahil-in̩ 'I have eaten food'	in̩ ɡʰoʈoʔ dʒom keda 'I ate food'	in̩ ɡʰoʈoʔ dʒomin̩ 'I will have eaten food'
ITERATIVE	sĩsiriŋ 'sing repeatedly'	sĩsiriŋ kedai 'he sang repeatedly'	sĩsiriŋ 'sing repeatedly'

3.5.5. Mood

“Mood refers to a set of syntactic and semantic contrasts signalled by alternative paradigms of the verb, e.g. indicative (the unmarked form), subjunctive, imperative. Semantically, a wide range of meanings is involved, especially attitudes on the part of the speaker towards the factual content of the utterance, e.g. uncertainty, definiteness, vagueness, possibility.” (Crystal, 2003:312).

A range of modal categories also is expressed formally within the verbal structure of the Munda languages. These include imperative formations as well as a range of other modal constructions (subjunctive, optative, conditional, etc.). Asuri has indicative, imperative and desiderative mood.

3.5.5.1. Indicative mood

The form of the verb which is used to state something is said to be in the Indicative mood. It indicates the reality of an action i.e. facts or general statements are denoted by the Indicative mood. This mood is most predominant form in languages.

The indicative mood in Asuri not marked. This mood occurs in all tenses, past, present and future.

Examples:

barea kitab ꞥebul re edna (203)
Two book table PP COP
'There are two books on the table.'

huni ꞥfair-go ma:ꞥ kirin la (204)
he four-CL bamboo buy-T/A-FIN-3SG
'He brought four bamboos.'

noa sikar ra mikhaꞥa? hake (205)
This-INANIM meat PP piece COP
'This is a piece of meat.'

Raju midardzan keꞥa a:gulei (206)
Raju one dozen banana bring-T/A-3SG
'Raju brought a bunch of bananas.'

miꞥꞥuꞥki buluꞥ lagaeme utu re (207)
One pinch salt put-3SG.SAM-2SG.OAM curry PP
'Add a pinch of salt to the curry.'

3.5.5.2. Imperative mood.

Command or request is denoted by imperative mood. No special marker is used for imperative. Addition of suffixes of second person singular, dual and plural i.e. /-m/ or /-me/, /-ben/ and /-pe/ respectively is used to form imperatives. The finite marker is never used in the imperative constructions. Negative forms of the imperative are marked by /alo/ which means don't

The structure for imperative constructions in Asuri is:

VR+ -me [2SG],
- ben [2DU.],
-pe [2PL.]

This mood occurs in future and present tenses. Subjects of the imperatives are always of the 2nd person.

Examples:

duwar k^hulaeme (208)
Door open-2SG.SAM

‘Open the door’

in ala p^hol^ten re lik^hae-me (209)
1SG POSS pen with write-2SG
‘Write with my pen’

kahani udu gime (210)
Story tell EMPH-2SG
‘Tell me a story’

in ke mi kup f^ha:i em-me (211)
I ACC one cup tea give-2SG
‘I want a cup of tea’

3.5.5.3. Interrogative mood

Question sentences express in the Interrogative mood. The following words are added to make interrogative sentences-/ukin/ ‘when’, /uka^hɛ/ ‘where’, /okelo/ ‘which’, /oke/ ‘who’, /okelo/ ‘whom,’ /okeke/ ‘whose’, /etalai/ ‘why’, /etalekan/ ‘how’, /okind^han/ ‘how many’, /ok-kin/ ‘how much.’

Examples:

a:m ala eta:n numu hake? (212)
Your what name COP
‘What is your name?’

noa etan hake? (213)
this what COP
‘What is this?’

Ropna Angu ke etan ema lije (214)
Ropna Angu ACC. what give-FIN-T/A-3SG
‘What did Ropna give to Angu?’

a:m ukin bera senam? (215)
You when time go-2SG
‘When will you go?’

noa oke ala o^hɾa hake? (216)
That who POSS house COP
‘Whose house is that?’

3.5.5.4. Optative Mood –

Wish or hope is denoted by this mood. The markers /daɾia/ ‘may’ and /ɬi/ ‘let’ is used for wish or permission. However, /ɬi/ is a multi-functional marker for example it is also used in causitivization, interrogation etc.

Optative sentences with /daɾia/ ‘may’ and /hui/ ‘must’:

iŋ sisiriŋ daɾikiŋ (217)
I sing MOD-SAM
‘I can sing’

baɾ^hiɟa ken kami dʒom-me (218)
Good PP work eat-2SG
(may you eat and work well)
‘May God bless you’

tisiŋ da? hiɟo lekan edna (219)
Today rain come like COP
‘It might rain today’

huni oɾa re edanie hui (210)
He house at COP.ANIM MOD
‘He must be at home now’

Optative sentences with /ɬi/ ‘let’

abu-ke seno ɬi (211)
1PL(INCL) ACC go MOD
‘Let us go’

iŋ-ke sen-ɬi-me (212)
1SG ACC go-MOD-2SG
‘Let me go’

huni ke sen ɬi (213)
3SG ACC go MOD
‘Let him go’

3.5.5.5. Prohibitive mood and Conditional mood

The prohibitive particle /alo/ being used before the verb in the simple present / future expresses prohibition which can better be termed negative inoperative (a sort of 'don't'), although the finite /a/ is used at the end of the verb which is understood in the imperative.

The conditional mood in Asuri is expressed through borrowed words from Hindi like /agar/.

For example:

agar daʔ hidʒo a:do mawara haku sab irkusena (214)
MOD rain come then fishermen fish catch NEG-go-FIN
'If it rains, the fisherman will not go for fishing'

3.5.5.6. Modals

Modals are used in the verbal system of Asuri. In Asuri the modals occurs after the verb. The term / daɽia/ is the modal auxiliary in Asuri. The term /hui/ 'must' is used to denote obligation. It expresses ability and permission.

Examples:

naha a:m seno eroŋ daɽia (215)
Now 2SG.SBJ go NEG MOD
'You may not go now'

huni siriŋ eɽe daɽia (216)
He sing NEG-MOD
'He cannot sing.'

iŋ sisiriŋ daɽi-iŋ (217)
I sing MOD-1SG.SAM
'I can sing'

3.5.6. Copula

A copula is also called the linking verb. According to Brown (1999: 425) it is "A verb with very little independent meaning, used to link subject and complement and serve as the vehicle for

tense, etc., e.g., in English, be, seem, become. A copula is an intransitivity verb which links a subject: to a noun phrase; adjective or other constituent which expresses the predicate.

In Asuri the following set of words are attested in the data which function as the copula:

/hake/	Identificational copula
/edna/	Existential copula
/tana/	Present/ present continuous tense
/ge/	Emphatic; /ge+edna=gedna/
/kanoa/	Negative copula

Verb 'be' features in Asuri-

- /hake/ - It is the identification copula. It denotes the identity of the subject. It doesn't take any marker.
- /edna/ - It is the existential copula and refers to the location of the subject in space. It takes the animacy marker whenever the subject refers to animate nouns in the sentence.
- /tana/ - Along with linking function it also denotes the tense and it is always present tense. It is also used to denote a continuous action in present tense. Animacy markers and pronominal markers can be suffixed to /tana/.
- /ge / and /gedna/- /ge/ is used for emphatic purposes and it also functions as a linking verb. /ge/+ /edna/- ge is emphatic particle.
- /kanoa/- this is the negative copula i.e. the negative of verb 'be'.

3.5.6.1. Copular constructions with /hake/

noa miaṛ baha hake (218)

This one flower COP

'This is a flower'

noa oṛa hake (219)

This house COP

'This is a house'

nui seta hake (220)

This dog COP

'This is a dog'

huni rani hake (221)

She Rani COP
'She is Rani'

huni master hake (222)
He master COP
'He is a teacher'

3.5.6.2. Copular constructions with /ge/

naha dine gedna (223)
It day EMPH.COP
'It is daytime'

3.5.6.3. Copular constructions with /edna/

q^her oṛa edna (224)
Many house COP
'These are houses'

buru re q^her dzoʔ edna (225)
Forest PP many Fruit COP
'There are plenty of fruits in the forest'

iŋ ala c^hote oṛa edna (226)
1SG POSS small house COP
'My house is small'

huni-ala baṛe oṛa edna (227)
His big house COP
'His house is big'

huni usmeṭ edanija (228)
He young COP-ANIM
'He is young'

hona siŋ dʒiliŋ edna (229)
That tree tall COP
'That is a tall tree'

sirma nila edna (230)
Sky blue COP
'The sky is blue'

huni moṭ edanija (231)
he fat COP-ANIM

‘He is fat’

huni patla edanija (232)
She lean COP-ANIM
‘She is lean’

3.5.6.4. Copular constructions with /tana/

iŋ-ala tiʔi mailao tana (233)
My hand dirty COP
‘My hand is dirty’

3.5.6.5. Negative Copular constructions

p^holʔen akaʔeho kanoa (234)
Pen where NEG COP
‘Pen is nowhere’

kiran oʔa re kania (235)
Kiran house in NEG.COP-ANIM
‘kiran is nowhere in the house’

noa pok^hra re daʔ kanoa (236)
there pond in water NEG.COP
‘There is no water in the tank.’

3.5.7. Causatives

The causative form of the verb indicates that the action is not done by the subject but makes someone or something else to do it. In Asuri sometimes causatives are marked morphologically. “The category causative is expressed morphologically in North Munda. The pan-Munda causative *əb- is preserved vestigially only in certain lexical items as *a-/*ə- in Proto-Kherwarian and its daughters.” (Anderson, 2007:29)

The marker / ʈi /is used to mark causatives in sentences. To quote Anderson: “Rather, in most Kherwarian languages various other historically secondary markers of this category are more frequently encountered, e.g. -ooʈʃo, -itʈi, or -rika; these appear to have arisen from the fusion of original auxiliary (or light or serialized) verb construction” (Anderson, 2007:30). Causativization is being expressed by the marker/-ʈi/. Causatives in Asuri take three arguments. Causative with three arguments subcategorizes for an agent, patient and a theme as shown in 239a, 239b and

239c. Causative verbs mostly affect the patients while themes are secondarily affected by the action.

Examples:

nurse tʃenga ke kʰijao lie (237a)
Nurse baby ACC. feed-T/A-3SG
'The nurse fed the baby.'

aja nurse ke tʃenga ke kʰijao-tʃi-lae (237b)
Mother nurse ACC baby ACC feed-CAUS-T/A-FIN-3G
'Mother made the nurse feed the baby.'

iŋ kuɽi ke oɽa safa-tʃilkui (238)
I girl ACC house clean CAUS-OAM-SAM
I made the girl clean the room.

kanʃʃ tota na (239a)
Glass break-INTR-FIN
'The glass broke.'

Raju kanʃʃ ke tota kedae (239b)
Raju glass ACC break-T/A-FIN-3SG
'Raju broke the glass.'

iŋ huni ke kanʃʃ totaʃiliŋ (239c)
I him ACC glass break-CAUS-T/A-SAM
'I make him break the glass.'

Thus the causatives in Asuri are marked by the '/tʃi/'. It occurs within the verbal complex after the main verb.

3.5.8. Other grammatical categories in Asuri

3.5.8.1. Postpositions

A postposition is defined as "a particle or word placed after word to indicate its grammatical or syntactical relationship to the other words in the sentence" (Pei and Gayner – 1954). A postposition is an adposition that occurs after its complement. These are particles occurring as free forms. They do not take any inflection. Postpositions expresses the relation noun and verb or

between noun and noun. It shows the case relations like instrumental, purposive, possessive, locative (place and time), and ablative.

List of postpositions in Asuri

English	Asuri
on, in	/re/
of, in	/rea/
on, above	/teŋ/
beside	/dubaŋe/
in front of	/maŋaŋ re/
behind	/paŋli/
under, beneath	/lataŋ/
before	/pahir/
from	/tara/
of /in	/ra/
till	/harig/

Examples:

bijaŋijo tara pahir re hig nenaē (240)
 dinner PP before PP come-T/A-FIN-3SG.SAM
 ‘He came before the dinner.’

tito ŋahar tara hig tanai (241)
 Tito town PP come-PRES.COP
 ‘Tito came from the town.’

raju ball ke pok^hra re uyuk kedai (242)
 Raju ball ACC pond in drop T/A-FIN-SAM
 ‘Raju dropped the ball into the pond.’

bilei tebul lataŋ re edanija (243)
 Cat table under PP COP.ANIM
 ‘The cat is under the table.’

pul lataŋ da? edna (244)
 bridge beneath water COP

‘The water is beneath the bridge.’

p^hol^hten bag re edna (245)
pen bag in COP
‘The pen is in the bag.’

k^hali tebul teŋ re edna (246)
chalk table above PP COP
‘The chalk is on the table.’

iŋ ala oŋa buru teŋ re edna (247)
My house mountain on PP COP
‘My house is on the mountain top.’

nai buru dubaŋe edna/nai buru honaŋe edn (248)
River mountain beside COP
‘The river is beside the mountain.’

k^haŋola badri teŋ re edna (249)
Aeroplane cloud above PP COP
‘The aeroplane is above the cloud.’

oŋa maŋaŋ re siŋ edna (250)
house in front of tree COP
‘There is a tree in front of the house.’

ale ala iskul buru tara paŋli edna/ ale ala iskul buru tara dauŋi re edna (251)
Our school mountain PP behind COP
‘Our school is behind the mountain.’

3.5.8.2. Conjunctions

Conjunction is a word used in co-ordination. /heʔe/ and /hetara/ are used for co-ordination.

Conjunction and its kind are discussed in detail in the next chapter.

Example:

/sabun hetara sabun-da:ni/ ‘soap and soap holder’

3.5.8.3. Interjections

An exclamation is a kind of utterance which has as its major function the expression of strong feeling. Exclamations can vary from single exclamatory words such as Oh! (called an interjection) to sentences with a full clause structure, including a verb phrase (Leech, 2006:57)

- a. /ela/ - hallo! (happy)
- b. /aga ge- aga ge/ - ouch ! (pain)

3.6. Agreement

According to Crystal (1995:13), agreement is “the formal relationship between elements whereby a form of one word requires a corresponding form of another.” Agreement has been defined by Leech (2006:26) as a relation between two elements such that they match one another in terms of some grammatical feature. Steel (1978:610) also defines agreement as “the term agreement commonly refers to some systematic covariance between a semantic or formal property of one element and a formal property of another, for example, adjectives may take some formal indication of the number and gender of the noun they modify”.

a. Subject-Object agreement:

In Asuri we have subject agreement object agreement. The verb agrees with the subject in person and number. The agreement between subject and predicate is expressed by repeating the subject partially in the predicate. Personal pronominal suffixes, number markers (dual and plural) are used to depict this kind of agreement. It is the animate subject or the animate object that is incorporated in the verbal predicate. Bound pronominal markers are suffixed to the pre verbal word i.e. the word preceding the verb or in the post verbal position it may be suffixed in the post verbal position. One important point is that the verb does not undergo any morphological modification rather Asuri any agreement marker is suffixed to the verb. This is because Asuri is an agglutinating language.

b. Pro-drop feature:

As Asuri is a pro-drop language so even in the absence of a lexically realized subject agreement is established through suitable markers.

Examples:

iŋ dʒoʔ dʒom tana iŋ (252a)
 1SG fruit eat PRES-.PROG.COP-FIN-1SG.SAM
 ‘I am eating fruit’

dʒoʔ dʒom tana-iŋ (252b)
 fruit eat PRES.PROG.COP-FIN-1SG.SAM

‘I am eating fruit’

ae? hidzu tanae? (253a)
3SG come PRES.PROG.COP-FIN-3SG.SAM
‘He is coming’

hidzu tanae? (253b)
come PRES.PROG.COP-FIN-3SG.SAM
‘He is coming’

ae? kita:b paɽ^hao tanae? (254a)
3SG. book read PRES.COP-FIN-3SG.SAM
‘he is reading a book’

kita:b paɽ^hao tanae? (254b)
book read PRES.COP-FIN-3SG.SAM
‘he is reading a book’

ako hidzu? tanako (255a)
3PL come PRES.COP-FIN-3PL.SAM
‘they are coming’

hidzu? tanako (255b)
come PRES.COP-FIN-3PL.SAM
‘they are coming’

From the examples above, it is clear that the subject can be dropped as in (252b, 253b, 254b and 255b).

c. Number agreement

In Asuri there is number agreement but it is dependent upon certain conditions i.e. Animacy criteria. Only if the noun is animate then we have number suffixes attached to the verb. for inanimate nouns there is no change in verbs. Plural agreement in copula /edna/ is not there i.e. ‘is’ versus ‘are’ distinction is not there.

For example

dzo? edna (256)
Fruit COP
‘It is a fruit.’

buru re d^her dzo? edna (257)

Forest PP many fruit COP
'There are plenty of fruits in the forest'

nui sim hake (258)
This hen COP
'This is a hen'

nuku sim hake (259)
These hens COP
'These are hens'

noa oṛa hake (260)
This house COP
'This is a house'

q^her oṛa edna (261)
Many house COP
'These are houses'

Thus, from the examples given above it is seen that the copulas /hake/ and /edna/ do not show any change when there is a change in the number of the subject of the sentences."

d. Other Agreement

There is no grammatical gender agreement in Asuri because Munda languages are not gender sensitive like Hindi.

Examples:

huni ʈi:ʈer hake (262)
He teacher COP
'he is a teacher'

huni teacher hake (263)
she teacher COP
'She is a teacher'

Chapter 4

Syntax

4.1. General Overview

Asuri language has a simple syntax. Speakers use short sentences for communication. Typologically Asuri is an agglutinating language. It makes extensive use of affixes; each of the affixes express a piece of grammatical information. But there are exceptions. Some affixes mark more than one morpheme i.e. one morph expresses more than one semantic meaning.

Asuri is a verb final language and Subject-Object-Verb is the basic word order. The kernel sentences of the Asuri language are sentences which are simple and all of the non-kernel sentences of the language can be derived from the kernel sentences.

It is important that one of the essential properties of Asuri language be discussed before analyzing its syntactic structure. In Asuri there is a predominant use of incorporation. Incorporation is a term used in the study of word-formation for morphological element found in a word especially within a verb. Asuri uses pronominal incorporation frequently; where a pronominal stem is attached to the verb and a larger verbal complex is formed. As a result of this incorporation there is a widening of the semantic range of the verb.

4.2. Word-order typology

Word-order typology involves the ordering of elements of noun phrases and verb phrases, including complement clauses (Abbi, 2001:176). In human languages six possible word orders may be observed- SVO, SOV, VOS, VSO, OSV and OVS. Some languages have a relatively free word-order while others such as English have a fixed one (Comrie, 1981). In this section an attempt is made to study the word order typology in Asuri language.

As mentioned earlier, Asuri is a verb-final language. Here the verb is the final constituent of the sentence. The order in which the words occur in a sentence is Subject-Object-Verb (SOV), similar to other Munda languages of the Austro-Asiatic family. There is also variability of word order depending on the topic of discussion; topical elements appear first in the sentence.

a. Word order in a simple sentence: S+O+V

b. word order in a sentence with both direct and indirect objects: S+IO+DO+V

Charwa Asru ke baha emalije (266)
 Charwa Asru-IO to flower-DO give-T/A-FIN
 ‘Charwa gave a flower to Asru.’

It can be clearly seen that the basic unmarked word order is SOV in Asuri. This is also in conformation with Greenberg Universal 1 which states that in declarative sentences with nominal subject and object, the dominant order is almost one in which the subject precedes the object.

The adjective in Asuri precede the nouns they modify.

in mijaɾ dʒilin sin nel-lin (267)
I one tall tree see-T/A -SAM
'I saw a very tall tree'

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Predicative constructions:

In the case of predicative constructions, adjectives also appear to follow nouns when the adjective occurs in a sentence as part of a predicate. The predicative adjectives occur in the preverbal position. For example in the sentence (269) for example, the adjective /seyãr/ modifies the pronoun /huni/ ‘he’ and occurs as a predicate. Also it is in a preverbal position with respect to the verb /hake/ ‘be’ in Asuri.

iŋ sejãr hake (269)
I old COP
‘I am old’

huni moŋ edani-e (270)
He fat COP-ANIM
‘he is fat’

iŋ ala c^hoŋe oŋa edna (271)
I POSS small house COP
‘My house is small’

NPs with multiple adjectives:

huni moŋ aur maɖʒbut hoŋ hake (272)
He big and strong man COP
‘He is big and strong man’

Adjectival compounds

When nouns and adjectives combine to form a compound word, adjectives occur as first constituent of the compound.

Examples:

Adjective+Noun

- (a) /lal sari/ ‘red+saree’
- (b) /lolo gphoto/ ‘hot food’
- (c) /eŋga bilei/ ‘female +cat’
- (d) /kuŋi ŋeŋa/ ‘girl + child’
- (e) /sendra seta/ ‘hunter + dog’
- (f) /boho hasu/ ‘head+ ache’
- (g) /ɖaŋa hasu/ tooth+ache

4.2.2 Demonstrative and Nouns

Asuri demonstratives occur in the pre-nominal position.

noa kitab baɖ^hija hake (273)
This book good COP
'This book is good.'

noa miaɾ ɖʒiliŋ siŋ hake (274)
this one tall tree COP
'this is a tall tree'

4.2.3. Numeral, Classifiers and nouns

Numerals

In Asuri the cardinal numerals precede the head noun. In case of ordinals is the same order.

pe hoɾ (275)
'three men'

ɖʒatru pea u:l ɖʒom la:e (276)
Jatru-NOM three mango eat-T/A-3SG
'Jatru ate three fruits.'

dusar ʃeŋga (277)
second child
'Second child'

Classifiers

There are native terms for few classifiers that are used for noun classification. Indo-Aryan classifiers like /go/ and /t^ho/ are frequently used in day-to-day speech. The suffix /-ea / is attached to the numbers two and three alone.

miaɾ siŋ (278)
One tree
'A tree'

barea seta (279)
Two CL dog
'two dogs'

pea oɾa (280)
three CL house

‘three houses’

baha dʒ^huɾ (281)
flower bunch
‘A bunch of flowers’

mihoɾ hoɾ (282)
One CL man
‘one man’

ban hoɾ (283)
two CL man
‘two men’

pe hoɾ (284)
Three CL man
‘three men’

dʒame hoɾ (285)
QUANT man
‘a group of men’

Other examples:

huni mihoɾ hoɾ ke nel liae (286)
she CL. man ACC. see-T/A-FIN-3SG
‘She saw a man’

huni mihoɾ hoɾ ke nel liae (287)
he CL. man ACC. see-T/A-FIN-3SG
‘He saw a man’

In an NP that contains more than one modifier, numeral and demonstratives the orders are:

[Demonstrative-numeral-adjective-noun]

noa pea bes kitab (288)
The three good book
‘The three good books’

4.2.4 Genitive

In grammar we define a genitive construction or genitival construction as a grammatical construction which is used to express a relation between two nouns such as the possession of one

by another. A genitive construction involves two nouns, the head (or modified noun) and the dependent (or modifier noun). The dependent noun modifies the head by expressing some property of it.).

A number of morphosyntactic coding strategies are employed to depict possession by different languages (Chelliah & Reuse, 2011:299):-

- a. Marking of the possessor (eg. Possessor(X)'s Possessee(Y))
- b. Marking of the possessee (eg. Possessor(X) his-Possessee(Y))
- c. By use of preposition or postposition (eg. Possessee(Y) of Possessor(X))
- d. Both possessor and possessee are marked (eg. Possessor(X)'s his-Possessee(Y))
- e. Juxtaposition of the possessor and Possessee; (eg. Possessor(X) Possessee(Y))

In Asuri the genitive precedes the governing noun. The genitive is marked as follows:

a. Partitive/composition

siŋ ra sekam 'leaf of tree' (element)

sim ra bili 'egg of hen'(source)

b. Possession

iŋ ali ore 'my bird'

am-ali ore 'your bird'

ale ala oḍa 'our house'

iŋ ala ti? 'my hand'

iŋ ala ti? 'my hands'

am ala ḍaŋga 'your foot'

banar ḍaŋga 'your feet'

huni ala aŋḍi 'his finger'

huni ala meḍ 'her eyes'

huni ala meḍ 'his eyes'

iŋ ala ʃeŋga 'my child'

iŋ ala-ku ʃeŋga 'my children'

huni ala hopon/babu 'his son'

huni ala-ku babu-te tiku 'his sons'

c. Origin

nairun-ko haku ‘fish of river’

Use of positions like /ko/, /ra/ etc. to denote genitive is common in Asuri. Suffixes are also used like /ala/ and /ali/ but it is the possessor who is marked and not the possessum. Sometimes the possessum is marked with the suffix /te/. For example: / huni ala-ku babu-te ku/ ‘his sons’. Compound genitives or unmarked genitives are also used frequently. /ape kitab/ ‘your book’. Unmarked genitives have also been discussed in the previous chapter.

4.2.5 Case role marking

Case markers appear in the post NP position.

Examples:

in car re hig ta:niŋ (289)
I car INSTR come PRES.COP-SAM
‘I came by car.’

in huni ke kahaŋi-in (290)
I him ACC tell-1SG.SAM
‘I will tell him’

oŋe ra bili (291)
Bird POSS. egg
‘egg of bird’

4.2.6 Postpositional Phrases

Asuri is a postpositional language, as illustrated in the sentences below. Post-positions in Asuri have various functions. Two of their major functions are case roles marking and specificity marking. Usually, Postpositional phrases usually specify time and place. The location of postpositional phrases in the sentence is not fixed, occurs anywhere but before the verb. The order of the verbs and post positional in Asuri is the same as the order of verb and object that is the Postpositional phrases precedes the Verb.

aja-tiŋ oŋa re giti? tanai (292)
mother-POSS-1SG house LOC. sleep PRES.COP-FIN-3SG
‘my mother is sleeping in the house’

4.3. Negation

Negation is a type of construction in grammatical and semantic analysis which typically expresses the contradiction of some or all of a sentence's meaning which is expressed by the presence of a negative particle. Multiple ways of expressing negation is found in Munda languages. Negation can be expressed through affixes or through separate words in Asuri. Negation is expressed by the presence of the negative particle /ka/. It is the negative marker in Asuri which means no or not. Another way of negation used in sentences is /irku/ which means 'will not'. /koan/ denotes the constituent negation. /alo/ is the term used for emphatic negation and prohibitive negation. /kanoa/ is derived form of the copula 'to be' with negation i.e. 'to not be'; it is used for the denial of the existence of something. Negation in modal auxiliaries is different. In Asuri /daɽja/ is the modal auxiliary which expresses ability and permission. To make it negative words like / ere daɽja/ and / eroŋ daɽja/ are used in the sentence.

4.3.1 Sentential Negation

huni master na lage (293)
He master NEG seem
'He is not a teacher.'

nai re da kanoa (294)
river PP water NEG.COP
'There is no water in the river.'

huni siriŋ ere daɽja (295)
he sing NEG MOD
'He cannot sing.'

naha a:m seno eroŋ daɽja (296)
now you go NEG MOD
'You may not go now.'

hola iŋ g^hoto? ka-iŋ dʒomla? (297)
yesterday I food NEG-SAM eat-T/A
'I did not eat yesterday.'

iŋ g^hoto? kaiŋ dʒom la (298)
I food NEG-SAM eat-T/A
'I have not eaten.'

in̩ naha harig g^hoto ka-in̩ dʒom tada (299)
 I now yet food NEG-SAM eat-T/A-FIN
 ‘I had not yet eaten.’

in̩ ke ka rãngeg tana (300)
 I ACC NEG hungry PRES.COP
 ‘I am not hungry.’

in̩ kaiŋ paɽi tana (301)
 I NEG-SAM know PRES.COP
 ‘I do not know’

dʒame kaku pass nena (302)
 Everyone NEG-3PL pass-T/A-FIN
 Not everyone passed.

oɽe siŋ re ka:nikoa (303)
 Bird tree PP NEG-COP-3PL-FIN
 ‘The birds are no longer on the tree.’

Kiran oɽa re kanija (304)
 Kiran house PP NEG-COP-3SG-FIN
 ‘Kiran is nowhere in the house’

huni oɽa re kanija (305)
 she house PP NEG-COP-3SG-FIN
 ‘She is not in the house’

4.3.2 Constituent Negation

Here the negation is expressed through a separate word. /koan/ which means ‘no’ is the negative response to a yes/no question. /kanoa/ (for inanimate) and /kanija/ (for animate) are terms relating to the negation of existence or presence of someone or some item. The term /alo/ is used for prohibition.

/koan/ -‘no’

/alo/ – ‘not’

/kanija/- ‘neg copula [ANIMATE]’

/kanoa/- ‘neg copula [INANIMATE]’

4.4. Interrogation

The wh- questions in Asuri begin with /u/, /o/ and /e/. Question words always occur in the pre verbal position of interrogative sentences. The main question words are as follows:

Interrogative words:

/ukin/ ‘when’
/ukaɾe/ ‘where’
/etan/ ‘what’
/okelo/ ‘which’
/oke/ ‘who’
/okelo/ ‘whom’
/okeke/ ‘whose’
/etalai/ ‘why’
/etalekan/ ‘how’
/ok-kin/ ‘how much’

Examples:

a:mala eta:n numu hake? (306)
Your what name COP
‘What is your name?’

noa etan hake? (307)
This what COP
‘What is this?’

ropna angu ke etan ema lie (308)
Ropna Angu acc. what give-T/A-3SG
‘What did Ropna give to Angu?’

a:m ala oɾa okaɾe edna (309)
Your house where COP
‘Where is your house?’

4.5. Co-ordination

Co-ordination may be defined as the joining of two or more constituents usually by a coordinating conjunction (and, or, but or nor), so as to form a larger grammatical unit. The

conjunction in Asuri are /heʔe / ‘and’. Also connectives borrowed from Indo-Aryan languages are used. Apart from this co-ordination is also expressed through juxtaposition of two simple sentences or clauses which are placed side by side without the use of any conjunction. This can be illustrated from the sentences (311), (313), (315) and (316). /ado/ is also used for joining two sentences. It means either ‘and’ or ‘then’ which may be understood from the context of the utterance.

Examples:

in ala dʒanga dʒele nena heʔe in uju ninin (310)
 I POSS foot slip T/A-FIN and I fell T/A-SAM
 ‘My foot slipped and I fell down’

in ali kin aja baba bema edankina (311)
 I POSS DU. Mother father sick COP-DU.-FIN
 ‘My father and my mother are sick.’

lād heʔe utu (312)
 Chapatti and sabji
 ‘Chapatti and sabji’

banhoṭ hoṭ pehoṭ lēi (313)
 Two-CL men three-CL women
 ‘Two men and three women’

nowaṛe miaṛbilei heʔe miaṛ seta edanie (314)
 Here one cat and one dog COP
 ‘Here is a cat and a dog’

a:d^ha haku baṛi aku ad^ha haku chote aku (315)
 half fish big FIN-3PL half fish small FIN-3PL
 ‘Half fishes are big and half fishes are small’

sējaṛ sējaṛi (316)
 Old man old women
 ‘Old man and old woman’

nida aur din (317)
 night and day
 ‘night and day’

in̩ke bohohasu edna (323)
 I-ACC head-ache COP
 ‘I have a headache’

huni mihor̩ hor̩ ke nel-liae (324)
 she CL person PP see-T/A-FIN-3SG
 ‘She saw a man’

huni mihor̩ hor̩ ke nel-lijae (325)
 she CL person PP see-T/A-FIN-3SG
 ‘He saw a man’

tisin̩ somwar hake (326)
 today Monday COP
 ‘Today is Monday’

in̩ kitab padhao ninin̩ (327)
 I book read T/A-SAM
 ‘I read (past) the book’

4.6.1.2. Compound sentences

Compound sentences are the ones which contain two clauses in coordinate relation. Terms such as /heʔe /, /heʔtara/ and /ado/ and even borrowed Hindi words like / aur/ are used in co-ordination.

For example:

in̩ alikin aja baba bemar edankina (328)
 I POSS-DU. Mother father sick COP-DU.-FIN
 ‘My father and my mother are sick.’

lãḍ heʔe utu (329)
 Chapatti and sabji
 ‘Chapatti and sabji’

banhor̩ koṛa pehor̩ kuṛi (330)
 Two-CL boy three-CL girl
 ‘Two boys and three girls’

nowaṛe miaṛ bilei heʔe miaṛ seta edanie (331)
 Here one cat and one dog COP-ANIM
 ‘Here is a cat and a dog’

- ad^ha haku baɾi aku ad^ha haku c^hote aku (332)
 Half fish big FIN-PL half fish small FIN-PL
 Half fishes are big and half fishes are small
- sēyaɾ sēyaɾi (333)
 Old man old women
 ‘Old man and old woman’
- nida aur din (334)
 Night and day
 ‘Night and day’
- iŋ a:la: ka:mike chabake iŋ oɾa siniŋ (335)
 I POSS work finish I house go-1SG.SAM
 ‘I will finish my work and return home.’
- iŋ a:lkin boko boeha bazaar sen tana: ki (336)
 I POSS-DU. Brother sister bazaar go-COP.PRES-3DU.
 ‘My brother and sister are going to the market.’
- iŋ barea seo pea santra kiriŋ liŋ (337)
 I two apple three orange buy-T/A-1SG.SAM
 ‘I bought two apples and three oranges.’

4.6.1.3. Complex sentences

Complex sentences are those which contain a main clause and a subordinate clause.

- huni nel-lukuje ʈi fodgol eneg-nenaku (338)
 He see-T/A-PL-DU that football play-T/A-FIN-PL
 ‘He saw that they are playing football’
- huni men laje ʈi mihoɾ lei re gitigota nae (339)
 She say-T/A REL CL woman PP sleeping INTRANS-FIN-3SG
 ‘She said that the woman is sleeping’
- Raju rāge tahinae hina:lae dʒom la (340)
 Raju hungry T/A-FIN-3SG so eat T/A-FIN-3SG
 ‘Raju was hungry so he ate all the rice.’
- ʈeŋga rāge tanae hinalae i:jam-d-a-e (341)
 Baby hungry COP.PRES-3SG so cry-PROG-FIN-3SG

‘The baby is hungry so she is crying.’

agar da? hidzo a:do matfwara haku sab irkusena (342)
If rain come then fishermen fish catch NEG-go
‘If it rains, the fisherman will not go for fishing.’

da? hidzo ado mĩndzur eneg aku (343)
Rain come then peacock dance-FIN-3SG
‘When it rains, peacock will dance.’

dʒʰam dʒʰamuwa da? dara reho kisaʈ hero sen nenaē (344)
Heavy rain despite farmer field go-T/A-FIN-3SG
‘Despite heavy rains, farmers went to the field.’

tisiŋ nida iŋ faher seno ta:niŋ (345)
Today nigh I town go COP-SAM
‘I want to go to the town tonight’

iŋ paɖiŋ tisiŋ ʃʰuʈi ra? din hake (346)
I know today holiday PP Day COP
‘I know that tomorrow is a holiday’

huni baiʰak tara? dʒaldi seno ra koshish lae. (347)
He meeting PP early Go PP try T/A-3SG
‘He tried to leave the meeting early.’

4.6.2. Functional classification

Sentences are classified according to its function into Statements, Questions or Imperatives. (a) A statement expects no particular response (b) A question expects an answer response (c) A command expects action response

4.6.2.1. Statements

Sentences which express a fact or say something are called statements or declarative sentences. A simple sentence consists of a subject NP, object and a verb. The sentence structure of Asuri can be described as:- Subject (Noun Phrase) + Indirect Object (Noun Phrase) + Direct Object (Noun Phrase) + (Postpositional Phrase) + (Adverbial Phrase) + Verb.

For example:

budhuwa thuwa ke nel-lije (348)
Budhuwa Thuwa ACC see-T/A-3SG
'Budhwa saw Thuwa'

madhni a:eg tʃeŋga lo dular-je (349)
Madhni her child PP love-3SG
'Madhni loves her children'

ratiya kursi re duɽu-nae (350)
Ratiya chair PP SIT-T/A-3SG.
'Ratiya sat on the chair'

charwa asɽu ke baha emali-je (351)
Charwa Asɽu ACC flower give-FIN-T/A-3SG
'Charwa gave a flower to Asru'

iŋ ala oɽa nai lo honaɽa (352)
My house river PP near
'My house is near the river'

kaɽija bilei diwal re duɽu-nae (353)
Black cat wall PP SIT-T/A-3SG
'The black cat sat on the wall'

Jatru pea u:l dʒom-la:e (354)
Jatru three mango eat-T/A-3SG
'Jatru ate three mangoes.'

4.6.2.2. Negative

A negative is the opposite of the affirmative sentences. A negative sentence in Asuri is marked by negative particles like /ka/ or /alo/. It generally occurs at post-subject/preverbal position in Munda languages. The particle /ka/ which means 'not' is used to mark simple negation and it is used in all forms of Indicative mood. The particle /alo/ 'don't' denotes prohibition. It is used in the imperative constructions.

The term for 'no' is /koan/ which is used to answer the polar questions (yes-no questions).

Examples:

in dubaŋe etan hoo? kanoa (355)
 1SG near what NEG COP
 ‘I have nothing’ (the translation will be similar to hindi sentence –mere paas kuch nhi hai)

okeho? noa kamke idko daria (356)
 Who NEG this work MOD
 ‘Nobody could do this work’

p^holten akaŋeho? kanoa (357)
 Pen where NEG COP
 ‘Pen is nowhere’

noa kamke okeho? iŋku daria (358)
 This work who NEG MOD
 ‘The work cannot be done by anybody’

4.6.2.3. Questions

An interrogative sentence or question in Asuri may be of two types: a yes-no question and a WH-question. In the yes-no questions there is the use of rising intonation and has question particle as head

Examples:

am ala etan numu hake? (359)
 2SG POSS what name COP
 ‘What is your name?’

noa etan hake? (360)
 This what COP
 ‘What is this?’

ropna angu ke etan ema-lie? (361)
 Ropna Angu-ACC what give-T/A-3SG
 ‘What did Tito give to Miro?’

am ala ora okaŋe edna? (362)
 2SG POSS house where COP
 Where is your house?

am ukin bera senam? (363)
 2SG when time go-FIN-2SG
 When will you go?

noa oke ala oŋa hake? (364)
 That who POSS house COP?
 Whose house is that?

4.6.2.4. Imperative

Sentences which express commands are called imperative sentences. Imperatives in Asuri express command wish and hope. In Asuri imperatives never take the finiteness marker /a/. The subject of the imperative sentences must be the second person because it is a command give to another person. The subject of the imperative sentences may be deleted optionally; however the verb contains the subject reference. The basic sentence structure for imperatives is given below:

Imperatives formation = Verb + 2person marker [-me/-ben/-pe].

To negate the imperative forms may be done by using negative form /alo/ in second person. The following sentences given below are examples of imperative sentences.

(a) Commands or orders

dʒom-me (365)
 eat-2SG
 ‘eat food’

dub-me (366)
 sit-2SG
 ‘sit down’

hidʒuʔme (367)
 come-2SG
 ‘you come’

hidʒuʔben (368)
 come-2DU.
 ‘you two come’

nel-e-me (369)
 see-3SG.INANIM-2SG
 ‘you see it’

nel-i-me (370)
 see-3SG.SBJ.ANIM-2SG
 ‘you see him’

nel-kin-me (371)

see-3DU-2SG
'you see the two of them'

nel-iŋ-me (372)
see-1SG.SBJ-2SG.OBJ
'you see me'

(b) Wish/hope/invitation

abu ke seno tʃi (373)
1PL(INCL) ACC go-MOOD
'Let us go'

iŋ ke sen-tʃi-me (374)
1SG.ACC. go-MOOD-2SG
'Let me go'

huni ke sen tʃi (375)
3SG. ACC. go-MOOD
'Let him go'

(c) Requests

Imperative sentences express politeness by the use of the particle /k^han/. Note that Asuri does not have a literal equivalent translation for the english word 'please'; it has this particle /k^han/ as politeness marker which is often used when any imperative utterance is directed towards elderly people or whenever the speaker wants to show politeness to the addressee. Example: in the sentence /dʒuʔ k^han senme/ which means 'please go' / k^han / is just the politeness marker which is used when talking to elders.

Chapter-5

Lexicon

5.1. Endangered language dictionaries

Dictionary making is an important direction in the task of preserving an endangered language. It acts as a record of the language which can be archived for preservation and revitalization of the language and for educational uses. In today's world where there is rapid loss of language all over the globe technology acts as an aid.

Dictionaries of endangered languages are different from those of major languages in many aspects. "This aspect has been highlighted by Mosel, (2004) in his study entitled 'Dictionaries of under-researched languages' in great detail. The fundamental contrasts between conventional word reference ventures and those for endangered dialects are that the latter is mostly a non-profit endeavour with constrained assets of time, finance and staff, and that the linguist or the researcher who is engaged in the task is certifiably not a local speaker of the language. Minority languages or endangered dialects are composed by a single individual, for example an instructor or a missionary who live in the community or by language specialists or anthropologists. These dictionary projects deals with not very much investigated dialects and are constrained to rather brief timeframes - short in contrast to ventures on significant languages which encompasses decades. The staff dealing in such a project on endangered language dictionaries normally comprises of a linguist and few native speakers of the target language.

In current times, simplicity and speed of the procedure of documentation of the language is increased by technology which in addition prolongs the life span of the field materials. Amongst the various technological kits accessible, Field Language Explorer, FLEx is a multipurpose tool which takes into consideration the formation of a lexical database with the semantic spaces. A monolingual, bilingual and trilingual dictionary can be made utilizing FLEx.

Another element is that sound and video recordings can likewise be included this lexical database The main differences between ordinary dictionary projects and those for endangered languages are that the latter are non-profit enterprises with limited resources of time, money and staff, and that the linguist who is responsible for the project is not a native speaker of the

language. The following is an outline regarding the processes involved in dictionary making using FLEEx.

5.2. Using Field Language Explorer to create a trilingual Asuri, Hindi and English dictionary

Fieldworks Language Explorer (FLEEx) is software for organizing and analysing linguistic data and is created by SIL. Field Works Language Explorer assists with information collection, analysis, management and storage from beginning phase of collection of information through its dissemination. FLEEx is one such particular tool with in built capacity for the sort of information linguists need to store and oversee. Different parts of FLEEx connect together to help in overseeing information. FLEEx consists of components designed to organize information for a given language, such as its lexicon, grammar, and texts. The broad categories of language organization form separate components of the program: lexicon, texts and words, and grammar. Each of these component parts consists of a number of options and data fields, most of which can be customized to the needs of a given language project.

5.2.1 Working with FLEEx

FLEEx⁸ can be used to create dictionaries including multilingual support (for example, Spanish, English and Hindi) and multiple scripts (for example, Roman, Devanagari, Bangla etc.) For example: a tri-lingual (Hindi, English, Asuri) and tri-scriptal (Devnagari, roman, IPA) dictionary with pictorial illustrations and audio files (in digital version) can be created.

5.2.2 Modules of FLEEx:

The software has five modules which are interconnected and function together to produce the dictionary.

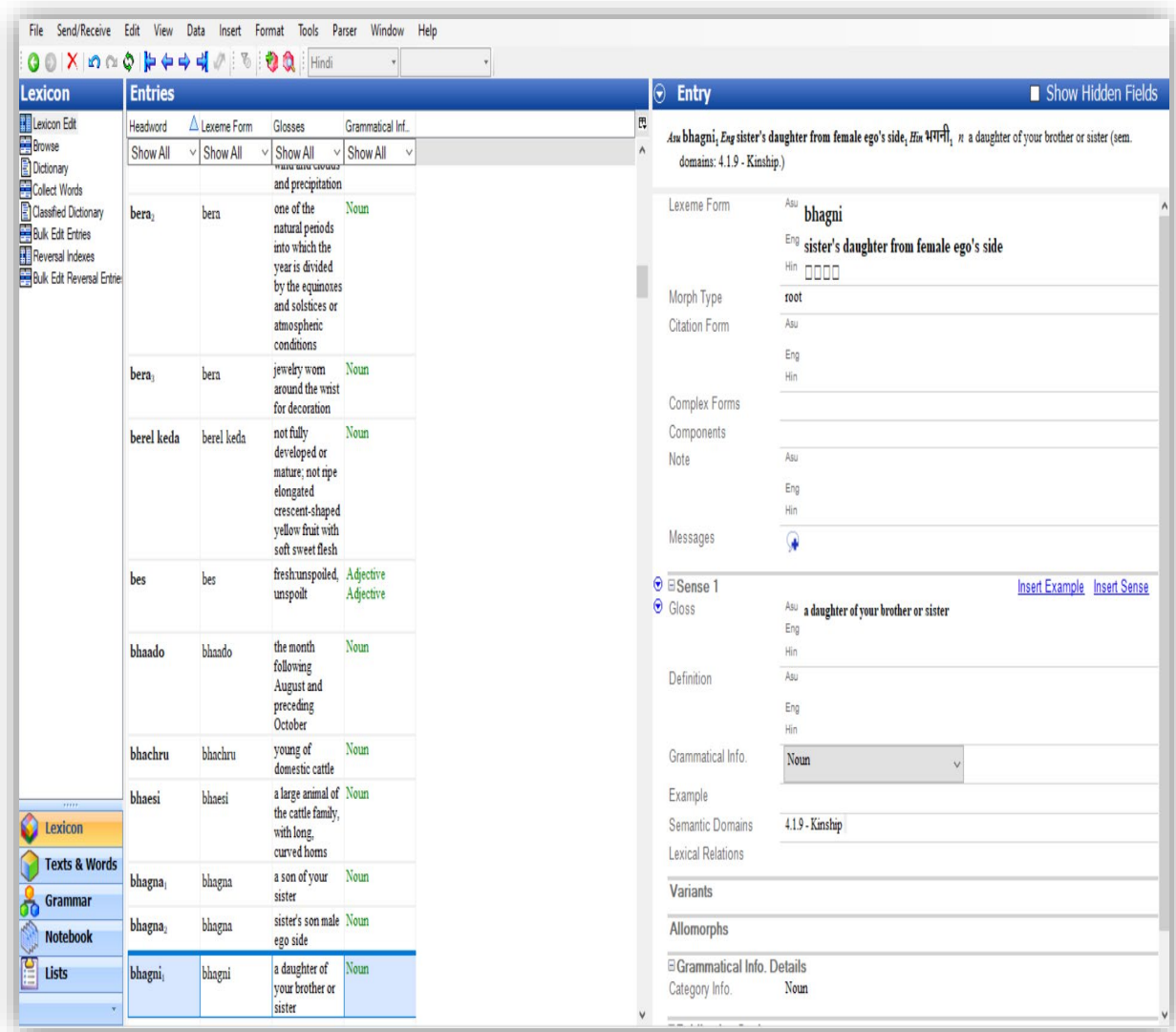
- a. Lexicon: dictionary
- b. Texts & Words: interlinear analysis
- c. Grammar: grammar sketch
- d. Notebook: store cultural and other research notes

⁸ FLEEx is developed by an organisation named SIL International. This software can be freely downloaded from the link <http://fieldworks.sil.org/>.

- e. Lists: semantically categorized word lists

Lexicon Module (LM): The Lexicon component is where we can create, edit, and manage dictionary. The LM has inbuilt multilingual support. Multiple languages can be included in the dictionary to make multilingual dictionaries e.g. English, Hindi, Asuri. Also there is a feature for incorporating multiple orthographies that is, many different scripts can be used e.g. Roman, Devnagari, IPA etc. For creating a dictionary eight defined areas or panes are integrated into the Lexicon component. The eight panes are lexicon edit, browse, dictionary, collect words, classified dictionary, bulk edit entries, reversal indexes and bulk edit reversal entries.

Figure 1: Lexicon

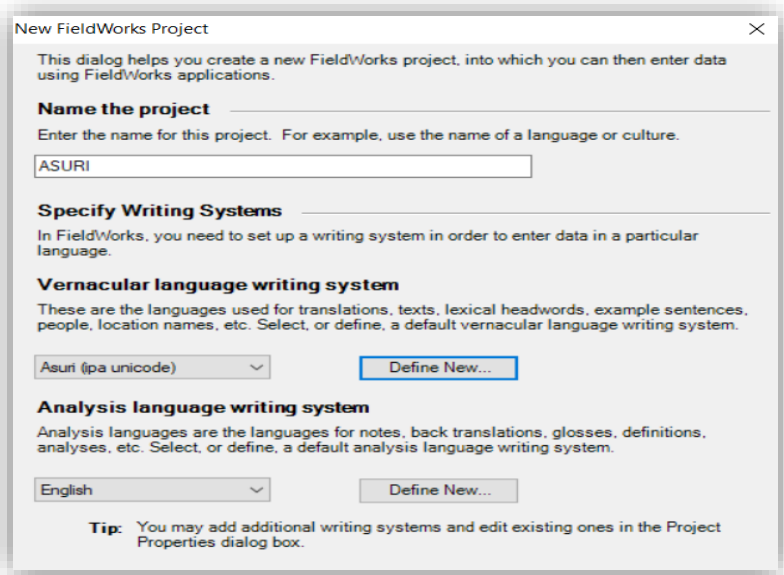


5.2.3 Creating a new project

To start working in FLEx we first install it. Different versions are available and we can choose according to the compatibility criteria in the laptop to be downloaded. The version used in Asuri project was Field Language Explorer 8. 3.

1. Click ‘Create a new project’
2. New FieldWorks Project tab appears on the screen
 - Name the project – It is usually name of the language
 - Choose Ethnologue code of the language
 - Vernacular language writing system – choose the script used for the language. ◦ Analysis language writing system – choose a analysis language
3. Click OK
4. Follow the instructions in the following dialogue box till the installation process gets completed.

Figure 2: Writing Setup



5.2.4. Entering lexical items

The commands for entering a new lexical entry are as follows:

- ⊙ Insert – New Entry (ctrl + e)
- ⊙ type word in Lexeme Form
- ⊙ type of morpheme in Morpheme Type
- ⊙ give meaning in Gloss
- ⊙ Select grammatical category (POS) from Category dropdown menu
- ⊙ Click on create

The above entries are to be made for creating an entry in the lexicon. Any number of entries can be inserted following the given commands. A new lexical entry tab has the following sections which are required to be filled. The picture given below depicts a view of the new lexical entry tab. First we have the Lexeme Form where the Asuri word /k^hok^hro/ is entered. Next we have to mention the morphological character of the entered Lexeme Form in the section ‘Morpheme Type’- whether it is a root, stem, suffix, prefix, infix etc. Total twenty options are given under the Morpheme Type’ (MT) category, and anyone has to be selected depending upon the Lexeme Form entered previously. Next adjacent to the Morpheme Type category is the Complex Form Type(CFT) section we have to enter whether the morpheme is a compound, contraction, derivative, idiom, phrasal verb or a saying. Apart from these we also have the option to mark ‘not applicable’ or ‘unspecified complex form’ in CFT section as per our data in the Lexeme Form. Next there is the Gloss-the space where the meaning of the lexeme is to be entered. After gloss we have the grammatical information section to choose the grammatical category of the lexeme. Lastly in the dialog, there is the “Similar Entries” area showing lexical entries which match the Lexeme Form or gloss in some field. This feature is helpful in avoiding the same entry more than once. Clicking “Go to similar entry” closes the New Entry dialog box and displays the “similar” entry for editing.

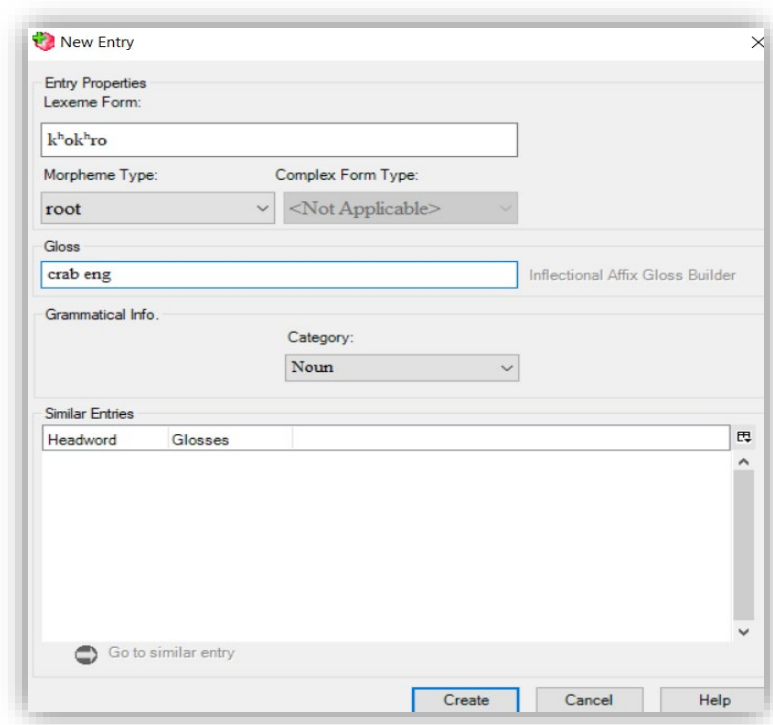


Figure 3: New entry dialog

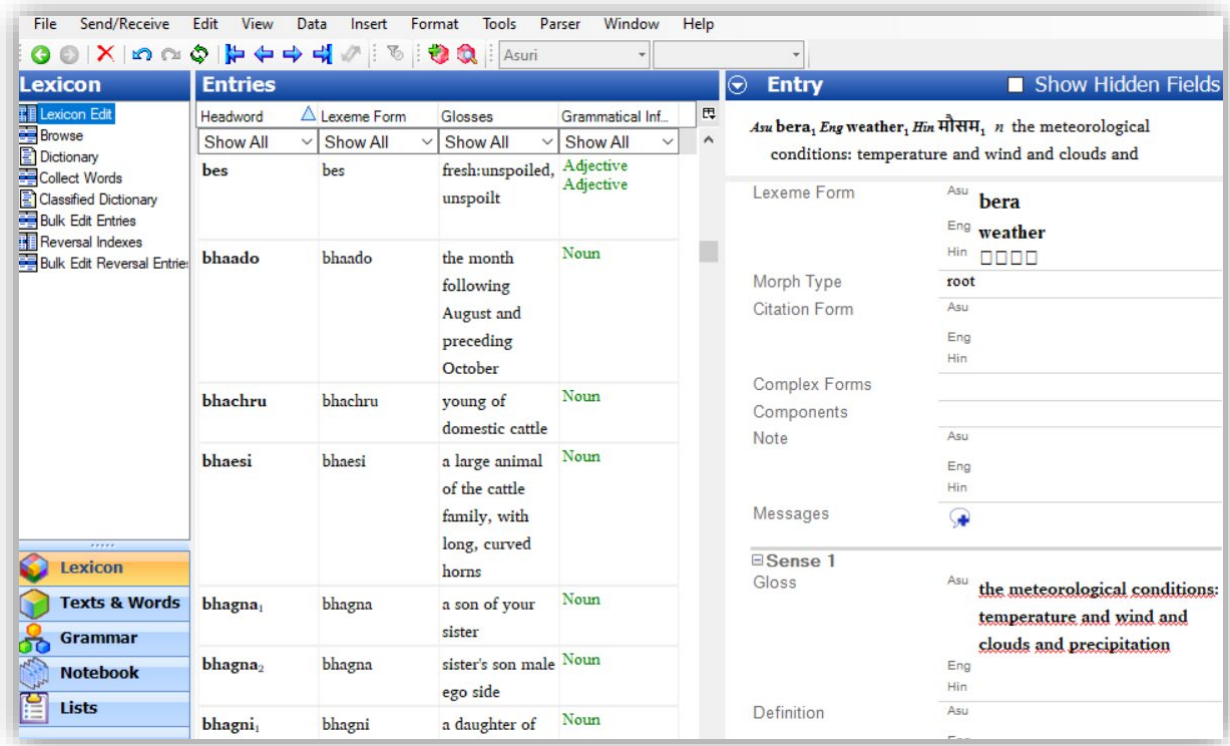
5.2.5. Lexicon: Basic Features

As mentioned earlier Lexicon Module comprises eight panes viz. Lexicon edit, browse, dictionary, collect words, classified dictionary, bulk edit entries, reversal indexes and bulk edit reversal entries. The lexicon edit, browse, dictionary and collect words are primarily required in the creation of the multilingual dictionary in FLE_x.

The Lexicon edit is the major part of FLE_x software. It allows the researcher to key in the lexical data. Alongside other functions like the annotation of the data, transcription, translation, marking the gloss, semantic domain, and grammatical category can be done simultaneously.

When we click on Lexicon Edit it will display the dialog as given in the picture (figure 4) below.

Figure 4: Lexicon Edit



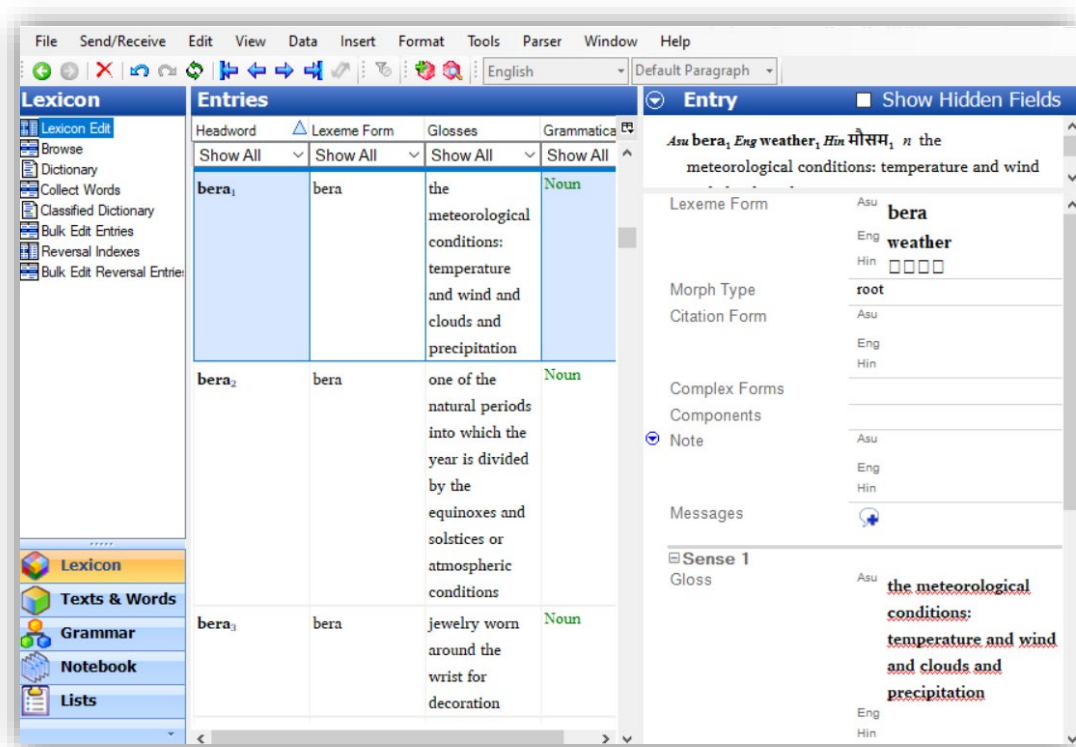
We can see in the above picture that the Lexicon Edit has two broad divisions, Entries and Entry. The Entries on the left side contains all the details of the lexemes entered. There are four columns viz. head word, lexeme form, glosses and grammatical category under the entries. Under the Head word the entry to be made is a root word which can be taken from any language (the target language). The next is the Lexeme Form, which is almost similar to root word. Under glosses we get the meaning or different meanings of the head words and under the fourth one grammatical category we get all the information, whether they are noun, adjective, verb, adverb and other grammatical categories.

The right side of the dialog shows the entry which has the following categories to be filled- lexeme, gloss, POS, semantic domain, lexical relation, variant, Source, cross reference Multimedia information others. It is here that the translations of the Headword into other languages (here Hindi and English) is to be entered. Here we also find the information on lexical relations. At the bottom of the dialog, the “Similar Entries” area shows lexical entries which match the Lexeme Form or gloss in some field. This is designed to help avoid adding the same

entry multiple times by mistake. Clicking “Go to similar entry” closes the New Entry dialog box and displays the “similar” entry for editing.

In the Figure 5 below, an example has been given to explain the lexical relations in the Asuri-English-Hindi Trilingual Dictionary. We can see that the headword /bera/ in Asuri exhibits a case of homophony. It has three different senses (meaning) in the language. The different sense relations are marked and made explicit in FLEx. So in the example below we see three entries for the lexeme /bera/ but with different subscripts to mark they are distinct headwords; /bera₁/ ‘the meteorological conditions; temperature, wind cloud and precipitation.’, /bera₂/ ‘one of the natural periods marked by time’ and /bera₃/ ‘a piece of jewellery worn by the women’.

Figure 5: Lexical relations in FLEx



5.3. The Final dictionary

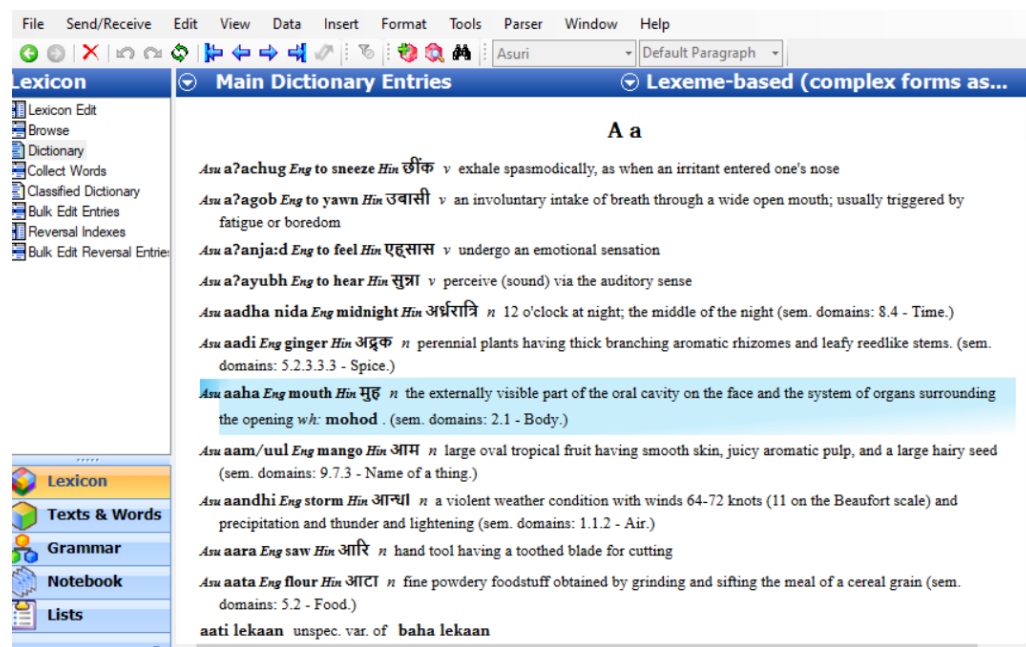


Figure 6: Final dictionary

The final output is the Trilingual dictionary. To view it we go to Lexicon and click on Dictionary after which the dictionary is displayed. In case of this dictionary, it has headword in Asuri (the target language). The headword is recorded in the IPA script. On the other hand the translations of the headword in Hindi and English are keyed in the Devnagari script and the Roman scripts respectively. The translation of the headword is given in both Hindi and English languages. The dictionary has a total of a thousand Asuri lexemes alongwith their Hindi and English equivalents. The meaning of the headword is given in English in the ‘Gloss’ section. The image of screenshot of the final dictionary is given above.

5.4. Summary

With respect to building dictionaries for endangered languages we come across many challenges. In nearly all modern dictionaries the headword is followed by an abbreviation which indicates the so-called part of speech or lexical class of the headword, e.g. N. for noun, V. for verb, and Adj. for adjective. But this practice is problematic in case of some indigenous language. As in

the case of Munda languages we find that there is no watertight distinction of lexemes into categories of traditional grammar. Asuri, also a Munda language has terms which may be used as a noun or as verbs.

As we know complete semantic translation is not possible for indigenous languages. The traditional division of dictionaries into monolingual and bilingual dictionaries does not need to be strictly observed in dictionaries of endangered languages, because they are not primarily used for translation. Many head words when translated into a European language, the translation are not sufficient, because it is unable to capture the concept of the term in the indigenous language. In these cases a translation should be accompanied by a definition which can be given in the indigenous language first and then be translated.”

The utility of FLEx in language documentation and creation of dictionaries is of crucial importance. Considering the time factor which field investigator has to abide by in majority cases the use of technological tools becomes even more relevant. The FLEx software is an excellent aid in the territory of lexicography for endangered languages. Even with the various specialised inbuilt specifications for documentation and analysis of the linguistic data, it is user-friendly to the extent that it is simple for the individuals who do not have the technical background.

Chapter-6

Conclusion

The objective of this study was to provide a linguistic analysis of the Asuri language which is still under-documented. The thesis provides an overview of the phonological, morphological and syntactical principles of this language. This linguistic study describes the culture and the grammatical units of the Asuri language. Asuri is spoken by the Asur people who are predominantly found in the state of Jharkhand. It is a Munda language like Santali, Turi Mundari, Kharia, and Ho and it belongs to the Austro-Asiatic Language family. It is a matter of concern that the majority of the Austro-Asiatic languages which are found in India are minority languages and many of them are in endangered category. Asuri has also been classified as definitely endangered language by UNESCO.

Findings of the Study

Asuri has 5 vowels and 22 consonants. It has diphthongs and vowel sequences. There is the presence of nasalization in vowels although it is not phonemic. Occurrence of nasalized /ã/ and /õ/ is very common in speech. Consonants include plosives, nasals, affricates, fricatives, palatals, and retroflex sounds. Consonant clusters are fewer but there is frequent occurrence of consonant sequences. There is hardly any occurrence of initial or final clusters, but medial clusters are abundant. The phonological word in Asuri has five syllables. The phonological adaptation of the loan words in the Asuri language and the underlying morphophonemic rules has been analyzed.

Asuri language has an agglutinative morphology. Words, based on the semantic and distributional criteria may be classified into nouns, pronouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs, conjunctions, postpositions and interjections. The noun system is characterized by a set of suffixes. Nouns mark for gender, number, and case. Gender is based on animacy in Asuri and grammatical gender is not found. So, nouns are typically either animate or inanimate with the criteria of animacy revolving around the notion of mobility. Therefore, on one hand plants may be classified as inanimate along with stones and houses but Planets, sun, moon and stars are regarded as being animate. Animacy is a very crucial factor in Asuri grammar. It influences

many other grammatical categories and the choice of the morphemes. Animacy is the basis for gender in Asuri. Animacy is decided by predominantly the criteria of being alive and ‘having movement’. Therefore, celestial bodies are considered animate. Thus we have separate forms for demonstratives (/nui/ ‘this’ and /huni/) for animate and (/noa/ ‘this’ /hona/) for inanimate; interrogatives (/okoe/ ‘who’) for animates and (/oka/ ‘which’) for inanimates; genitives (/ren/ for animates) and /rea/ for inanimates.

Verbal constructions also differ depending on this animacy criterion. If the subject is Animate we have various agreement markers incorporated in the verbal complex. For example personal pronominal clitics of the subject of the sentence are incorporated in the verbal complex if the object is animate.

Asuri has three values for number-singular, dual and plural. The singular is unmarked whereas dual and plural categories are marked by the suffixes /kin/ and /ko/ respectively. Some of the plural formation strategies in Asuri are as follows: (a) Suffixation of the dual and plural markers (b) Addition of adjectival forms of dual and plural numbers before singular nouns and (c) Reduplication.

Pronouns in Asuri are marked for number and case but not gender. Pronouns in this language can be found either in free form or bound form. The free forms are those forms which are used alone as the subject or object of a sentence. The bound forms on the other hand are used as possession marker or agreement marker in the verb. The feature of clusivity is also important when we discuss Asuri pronouns.

The verbal system is the most complex part in the majority of the Munda languages. Asuri verbs are marked for tense/aspect, voice and mood. The verb takes a number of affixes to express these categories. Prefixes express reduplication while infixes mark derivational changes. Apart from the TAM affixes the verb incorporates pronominal clitics to mark the subject-object agreement. There is no morphological tense. It is the aspect markers which are employed for conveying the time. Thus, aspect markers perform the dual function here. Tense is expressed through periphrastic verbal constructions. The perfective aspect serves for the past tense while the

imperfective markers serve for the non-past (present and future). Temporal adverbials are also used to denote the time.

The Syntax of Asuri is built around the verb. Verbs are the most important category while others may be optional. The basic word order is SOV. The word order typology has been discussed with many examples. Negation, Relativization, coordination and formal-functional classification of sentences have been outlined here.

One of the aims of any language documentation work is to provide a long lasting record of the target language which will help the speech community in preservation and maintenance of its language. FLEx (Fieldworks Language Explorer) is one such digital tool which is useful in digitization of the data. A Trilingual Asuri-Hindi-English lexicon is created in FLEx which has a thousand words. Semantic relations like polysemy etc. have been shown in this dictionary.

This study entitled “A Linguistic Study of Asuri Language” aimed to document the Asuri language. It gives a linguistic account of the language and trilingual dictionary of Asuri-Hindi-English. It is hoped that this work will be a guiding tool for future research work on this language.

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APPENDIX

ASURI-HINDI-ENGLISH DICTIONARY

A a

- Asu a:d^ha nida* *Eng* midnight *Hin* अर्धरात्रि *n* 12 o'clock at night; the middle of the night (sem. domains: 8.4 - Time.)
- Asu a:di* *Eng* ginger *Hin* अद्रक *n* perennial plants having thick branching aromatic rhizomes and leafy reedlike stems. (sem. domains: 5.2.3.3.3 - Spice.)
- Asu a:ha* *Eng* mouth *Hin* मुह *n* the externally visible part of the oral cavity on the face and the system of organs surrounding the opening *wh:* mohod. (sem. domains: 2.1 - Body.)
- Asu a:ina* *Eng* mirror *Hin* आईना *n* polished surface that forms images by reflecting light (sem. domains: 5 - Daily life.)
- Asu a:ja* *Eng* mother *Hin* माँ *n* female parent ;a woman who has given birth to a child (also used as a term of address to your mother) (sem. domains: 4.1.9 - Kinship.)
- Asu a:m/u:l* *Eng* mango *Hin* आम *n* large oval tropical fruit having smooth skin, juicy aromatic pulp, and a large hairy seed (sem. domains: 9.7.3 - Name of a thing.)
- Asu a:nd^{hi}* *Eng* storm *Hin* आन्धी *n* a violent weather condition with winds 64-72 knots (11 on the Beaufort scale) and precipitation and thunder and lightening (sem. domains: 1.1.2 - Air.)
- Asu a:onra* *Eng* gooseberry *Hin* आँवला *n* a round edible yellowish-green or reddish berry with a thin translucent hairy skin.
- Asu a:ra* *Eng* saw *Hin* आरि *n* hand tool having a toothed blade for cutting
- a:ti lekaan** unspec. var. of **baha: leka:n**
- Asu a:ta* *Eng* flour *Hin* आटा *n* fine powdery foodstuff obtained by grinding and sifting the meal of a cereal grain (sem. domains: 5.2 - Food.)
- Asu aghan* *Eng* january *Hin* आघान *n* the first month of the year; begins 10 days after the winter solstice (sem. domains: 8.4.1.4.1 - Months of the year.)
- Asu ahir* *Eng* milkman *Hin* ुदधवाला *n* someone who sells milk (sem. domains: 6.6 - Occupation.)
- Asu ahirin* *Eng* milkmaid *Hin* दुद्ध बेच्ने वलि/ दुदवाला कि पत्नी *n* a woman who works in a dairy: wife of milkman (sem. domains: 6.6 - Occupation.)
- Asu alaj* *Eng* tongue *Hin* जीब,जुबान *n* a mobile mass of muscular tissue covered with mucous membrane and located in the oral cavity (sem. domains: 2.1 - Body.)
- Asu almari: Eng* closet,cupboard *Hin* अल्मारी *n* a tall piece of furniture that provides storage space for clothes (sem. domains: 5 - Daily life.)
- Asu aluwa* *Eng* potato *Hin* आलू *n* an edible tuber native to South America; a staple food of Ireland (sem. domains: 5.2.3.1.3 - Food from vegetables.)
- Asu amalpiit* *Eng* acidity *Hin* अम्लता *n* An excess or imbalance of digestive acids produced by the stomach (sem. domains: 2.5.2 - Disease.)
- Asu ana:r* *Eng* pomegranate *Hin* आनर *n* arge globular fruit having many seeds with juicy red pulp in a tough brownish-red rind
- Asu angur* *Eng* grapes *Hin* आन्गूर *n* any of various juicy fruit of the genus Vitis with green or purple skins; grow in clusters
- Asu anggo:r* *Eng* coal *Hin* कोएला (unspec. var. **asa:**) *n* fossil fuel consisting of carbonized vegetable matter deposited in the Carboniferous period (sem. domains: 5.5 - Fire.)
- Asu anggt^{hi}* *Eng* ring *Hin* अन्गुठी *n* jewelry consisting of a circlet of precious metal (often set with jewels) worn on the finger (sem. domains: 5.4 - Adornment.)
- Asu anṛi* *Eng* finger *Hin* उन्गली *n* any of the terminal members of the hand (sem. domains: 2.1 - Body.)
- Asu apja* *Eng* five *Hin* पांच *n* the cardinal number that is the sum of four and one (sem. domains: 8.1.1.1 - Cardinal numbers.)
- asa:** unspec. var. of **anggo:r**
- Asu asra* *Eng* to believe *Hin* विश्वास *v* accept as true; take to be true

Asu astiir wa Eng slowly Hin धिरेधिरे *adj* without speed (sem. domains: 9.2.2 - Adverbs.)

Asu atʃa:r Eng pickle Hin आचार *n* vegetables (especially cucumbers) preserved in brine or vinegar etc (sem. domains: 5.2 - Food.)

Asu aʔa:chug Eng to sneeze Hin छींक *v* exhale spasmodically, as when an irritant entered one's nose

Asu aʔa:gob Eng to yawn Hin उबासी *v* an involuntary intake of breath through a wide open mouth; usually triggered by fatigue or boredom

Asu aʔa:jub Eng to hear Hin सुन्ना *v* perceive (sound) via the auditory sense

Asu aʔanja:d Eng to feel Hin एहसास *v* undergo an emotional sensation

Asu aʔasar Eng bow and arrow Hin धनुष और तीर *n* - a projectile with a straight thin shaft and an arrowhead on one end and stabilizing vanes on the other; intended to be shot from a bow bow - a weapon for shooting arrows, composed of a curved piece of resilient wood with a taut cord to propel the arrow

B b

Asu ba:bat Eng to talk Hin बात करना *v* use language, exchange thoughts

Asu ba:jor Eng rope Hin रस्सी *n* a strong line; A rope is a group of yarns, plies, or strands that are twisted or braided together into a larger and stronger form (sem. domains: 6.5.1.1 - House.)

Asu ba:lʃi Eng bucket Hin बालटी *n* a roughly cylindrical vessel that is open at the top (sem. domains: 5 - Daily life.)

Asu ba:nhor Eng two men Hin दो आदमी two men

Asu ba:nsuʃi Eng flute Hin बांसुरी *n* a high-pitched woodwind instrument; a slender tube closed at one end with finger holes on one end and an opening near the closed end across which the breath is blown (sem. domains: 4.2.3.5 - Musical instrument.)

Asu ba:r hisi Eng forty Hin चालिस *n* the cardinal number that is the product of ten and four (sem. domains: 8.1.1.1 - Cardinal numbers.)

Asu ba:r hisi desa Eng fifty Hin पचास *n* the cardinal number that is the product of ten and five (sem. domains: 8.1.1.1 - Cardinal numbers.)

Asu ba:rkʰe Eng twice Hin दो बार *n* two times (sem. domains: 8.1.1.1 - Cardinal numbers.)

Asu ba:san Eng utensil Hin बर्तन *n* a tool, container, or other article, especially for household use.

Asu ba:si gʰoto Eng stale rice Hin बासी भात *n* rice that is not fresh (sem. domains: 5.2 - Food.)

Asu babu Eng son Hin बेटा *n* a male human offspring (sem. domains: 4.1.9 - Kinship.)

Asu badam Eng groundnut Hin मूँगफली *n* pod of the peanut vine containing usually 2 nuts or seeds (sem. domains: 5.2.3.1 - Food from plants.)

Asu badri₁ Eng cloud₁ Hin बादल₁ *n* a visible mass of water or ice particles suspended at a considerable altitude)

Asu badri₂ Eng cloudy₂ Hin बादल छाया हुआ₂ *n* full of or covered with clouds (sem. domains: 1.1.3 - Weather.)

Asu baɖʒuri Eng tomato Hin टमाटर *n* mi (sem. domains: 5.2.3.1.3 - Food from vegetables.)

bagra unspec. var. of **baɖe**

Asu baha Eng flower Hin फूल *n* reproductive organ of angiosperm plants especially one having showy or colorful parts

Asu baha ɖʰuɾ Eng bunch of flower Hin फूल का गुच्छा bunch of flower

Asu baha tana Eng to bloom Hin खिलना (unspec. var. **bahajo**) *v* produce or yield flowers

Asu baha: leka:n Eng beautiful Hin सुन्दर (unspec. var. **a:ti lekaan**) *adj* delighting the senses or exciting intellectual or emotional admiration (sem. domains: 9.2.1 - Adjectives.)

bahajo unspec. var. of **baha tana**

Asu bahakobi Eng cauliflower Hin फूलकोबी *n* a plant having a large edible head of crowded white flower buds (sem. domains: 5.2.3.1.3 - Food from vegetables.)

bahin dial. var. of **boko**

Asu bahira Eng deaf *Hin बहरा* *n* people who have severe hearing impairments (sem. domains: 2.5.2 - Disease.)

Asu bahuṛija Eng son's wife *Hin बहु* *n* the wife of your son (sem. domains: 4.1.9 - Kinship.)

Asu bai:l Eng wave *Hin लहर* *n* wave (sem. domains: 1.3.1.1 - Ocean, lake.)

Asu baid Eng flood *Hin बाड* *n* the rising of a body of water and its overflowing onto normally dry land (sem. domains: 4.4.2.4 - Disaster.)

Asu bair Eng berry *Hin ेरे* *n* any of numerous small and pulpy edible fruits (sem. domains: 5.2.3.1.2 - Food from fruit.)

Asu bairso b^haiir Eng yearly *Hin ्सालाना* *adj* occurring or payable every year (sem. domains: 9.2.1 - Adjectives.)

Asu baisa:k Eng may *Hin मइ* *n* the month following April and preceding June (sem. domains: 8.4.1.4.1 - Months of the year.)

Asu bandra: Eng monkey *Hin बन्दर* *n* any of various long-tailed primates (excluding the prosimians) (sem. domains: 9.7.3.1 - Names of animals.)

bara bair unspec. var. of **ṭfairkuṭ**

Asu baraf Eng snow/ice *Hin बाराफ* *n* precipitation falling from clouds in the form of ice crystals; water frozen in the solid state (sem. domains: 1.1.1.3 - Planet.)

Asu baria Eng two *Hin दो* *n* the cardinal number that is the sum of one and one or a numeral representing this number (sem. domains: 8.1.1.1 - Cardinal numbers.)

Asu barigja Eng twelve *Hin ्बाराह* *n* the cardinal number that is the sum of eleven and one (sem. domains: 8.1.1.1 - Cardinal numbers.)

Asu baris Eng year *Hin ्साल* *n* a period of time containing 365 (or 366) days (sem. domains: 8.4.1.6 - Year.)

Asu bark^ha Eng rain *Hin बारिश* *n* drops of fresh water that fall as precipitation from clouds (sem. domains: 1.1.1.3 - Planet.)

Asu bark^ha bera Eng rainy season *Hin वरशा रीतु* *n* time of year when most of a region's average annual rainfall occurs (sem. domains: 8.4.1.5 - Season.)

Asu bark^ha ra topi Eng rain hat *Hin टोपी* *n* headdress that protects the head from rainy weather

Asu baṭbaṛa:o Eng chatter *Hin बक बक करना/* *v* informal talk

Asu baṛe Eng huge *Hin विशाल* (unspec. var. **bagra**) *adj* unusually great in size or amount or degree or especially extent or scope (sem. domains: 9.2.1 - Adjectives.)

Asu baṛe chote Eng big small *Hin बडे छोटे* *big small*

Asu baṭ^hiya₁ Eng health₁ *Hin सेहत₁* *n* a healthy state of wellbeing free from disease (sem. domains: 2.5 - Healthy.)

baṭ^hiya₂ unspec. var. of **bes**

Asu baṭi Eng husband's elder brother wife *Hin जेठानी* *n* husband's elder brother wife (sem. domains: 4.1.9 - Kinship.)

Asu baṭija kanoa Eng bad *Hin बुरा* (unspec. var. **beka:r**) *adj* having undesirable or negative qualities (sem. domains: 9.2.1 - Adjectives.)

Asu baṭam Eng button *Hin ्बट्टन* *n* a round fastener sewn to shirts and coats etc to fit through buttonholes (sem. domains: 5.4 - Adornment.)

Asu baʔbaji Eng to promise *Hin वादा करना* *v* a verbal commitment by one person to another agreeing to do (or not to do) something in the future

beka:r unspec. var. of **baṭija kanoa**

Asu bera₁ Eng weather₁ *Hin मौसम₁* *n* (sem. domains: 1.1.1.3 - Planet.)

Asu bera₃ Eng bangle₃ *Hin ्चुडी₃* *n*

Asu bera₂ Eng season₂ *Hin ्रीतु₂* *n* one of the natural periods into which the year is divided by the equinoxes and solstices or atmospheric conditions (sem. domains: 8.4.1.5 - Season.)

- Asu berel keṛa* Eng unripe banana *Hin कच्चा केला* *n* not fully developed or mature; not ripe elongated crescent-shaped yellow fruit with soft sweet flesh (sem. domains: 5.2.3.1.2 - Food from fruit.)
- Asu bes* Eng fresh/good *Hin ताजा* (unspec. var. *baṭ^hiya₂*) *adj* 1) f 2) good:having desirable or positive qualities
- Asu b^ha:do* Eng september *Hin भादो* *n* the month following August and preceding October (sem. domains: 8.4.1.4.1 - Months of the year.)
- Asu b^ha:lu* Eng bear *Hin भालू* *n* massive plantigrade carnivorous or omnivorous mammals with long shaggy coats and strong claws
- Asu b^hā:on* Eng eyebrow *Hin भ्रं* *n* the arch of hair above each eye *wh: med* . (sem. domains: 2.1 - Body.)
- Asu b^hā:ṭa* Eng brinjal *Hin बैंगन* *n* hairy upright herb native to southeastern Asia but widely cultivated for its large glossy edible fruit commonly used as a vegetable (sem. domains: 5.2.3.1.3 - Food from vegetables.)
- Asu b^ha:ṭṭa* Eng furnace *Hin भट्टा* *n* an enclosed chamber in which heat is produced to heat buildings, destroy refuse, smelt or refine ores, etc. (sem. domains: 5.5 - Fire.)
- Asu b^hac^hru* Eng calf *Hin बछड़ा* *n* young of domestic cattle (sem. domains: 6.3.1 - Domesticated animal.)
- Asu b^hagna₂* Eng sister's son from male ego sides₂ *Hin भगना₂* *n* (sem. domains: 4.1.9 - Kinship.)
- Asu b^hagna₁* Eng sister's son female ego side₁ *Hin भगना₁* *n* a son of your sister (sem. domains: 4.1.9 - Kinship.)
- Asu b^hagni₂* Eng sister's daughter from male ego side₂ *Hin भगनी₂* *n* a daughter of your brother or sister (sem. domains: 4.1.9 - Kinship.)
- Asu b^hagni₁* Eng sister's daughter from female ego's side₁ *Hin भगनी₁* *n* (sem. domains: 4.1.9 - Kinship.)
- Asu b^hagwa:n* Eng God *Hin भगवान* *n* any supernatural being worshipped as controlling some part of the world or some aspect of life or who is the personification of a force (sem. domains: 4.9 - Religion.)
- Asu b^haisi* Eng buffalo *Hin भैंसी* *n* (sem. domains: 6.3.1 - Domesticated animal.)
- Asu b^hak^ha* Eng language *Hin भाषा* *n* 1) the method of human communication, either spoken or written, consisting of the use of words in a structured and conventional way.
- Asu b^hat* Eng valley *Hin घाटी* *n* a long depression in the surface of the land that usually contains a river (sem. domains: 1.1.1.3 - Planet.)
- Asu b^heṛa* Eng sheep *Hin भेड़* *n* woolly usually horned ruminant mammal related to the goat (sem. domains: 6.3.1 - Domesticated animal.)
- Asu b^heṛa ḍ^huṛ* Eng herd of sheep *Hin भेड़ का झुंड* herd of sheep
- Asu b^heṛwa* Eng lady finger *Hin भीन्डी* *n* small finger-shaped sponge cake (sem. domains: 5.2.3.1.3 - Food from vegetables.)
- Asu b^hot^hṛa* Eng blunt *Hin भोतर* *adj* having a broad or rounded end *ant: teḍ* . (sem. domains: 9.2.1 - Adjectives.)
- Asu bi:li u:l* Eng ripe *Hin पका* *adj* fully developed or matured and ready to be eaten or used (sem. domains: 9.2.1 - Adjectives.)
- Asu bi:ṅ* Eng snake *Hin साँप* *n* limbless scaly elongate reptile; some are venomous (sem. domains: 9.7.3.1 - Names of animals.)
- Asu bi:t* Eng beetroot *Hin शलगम* *n* beet having a massively swollen red root; widely grown for human consumption (sem. domains: 5.2.3.1.5 - Food from roots.)
- Asu biḍli ta:r* Eng electric wire *Hin बिजली का तार* *n* a metal conductor that carries electricity over a distance (sem. domains: 9.7.3 - Name of a thing.)
- Asu biḍli ṭṣamka* Eng thunder *Hin बादल गरजना* *n* a booming or crashing noise caused by air expanding along the path of a bolt of lightning
- Asu biha* Eng marriage *Hin वीवाह* *n* the act of marrying; the nuptial ceremony (sem. domains: 4.9 - Religion.)
- Asu bilei* Eng cat *Hin बिल्ली* *n* feline mammal usually having thick soft fur and no ability to roar: domestic cats; wildcats (sem. domains: 6.3.1 - Domesticated animal.)
- Asu bilei ṭṣenga* Eng kitten *Hin बिल्ली का बच्चा* *n* young domestic cat

Asu bili: Eng to ripen Hin पकना *v* fully developed or matured and ready to be eaten or used

Asu biṅ eneg Eng snake charmer Hin सपेरा *n* a performer who uses movements and music to control snakes (sem. domains: 6.6 - Occupation.)

Asu bita una baris Eng last year Hin पिछले साल *n* last year (sem. domains: 8.4 - Time.)

Asu bita una duar baris Eng last two years Hin पिछले दो साल/ दो साल पहले *n* last two years

Asu bita una mahina Eng last month Hin पिछले महिना *n* last month

Asu bitil Eng sand Hin रेत *n* a loose material consisting of grains of rock or coral (sem. domains: 1.1.1.3 - Planet.)

Asu biṭṭiṭhi Eng scorpion Hin ्बीछ्छू *n* arachnid of warm dry regions having a long segmented tail ending in a venomous sting (sem. domains: 1.6.1.7 - Insect.)

Asu boho Eng head Hin ्सर *n* the upper part of the human body or the front part of the body in animals contains the face and brains

boko (dial. var. **bahin**)

Asu bongga grahan Eng solar eclipse Hin सूर्य ग्रहण *n* the moon interrupts light from the sun

Asu boru ra sengil Eng forest fire Hin जन्गल मे लगने वाली आग *n* an uncontrolled fire in an area of combustible vegetation that occurs in the countryside area, it differs from other fires by its extensive size, the speed at which it can spread out from its original source, its potential to change direction unexpectedly, and its ability to jump gaps such as roads, rivers and fire breaks (sem. domains: 5.5 - Fire.)

Asu botol Eng bottle Hin ्बोतल *n* a glass or plastic vessel used for storing drinks or other liquids; typically cylindrical without handles and with a narrow neck that can be plugged or capped (sem. domains: 5 - Daily life.)

Asu bo? hasu Eng headache Hin ्सर दर्द *n* pain in the head caused by dilation of cerebral arteries or muscle contractions or a reaction to drugs (sem. domains: 2.5.2 - Disease.)

Asu braspaṭṭ hila Eng thursday Hin ब्रसपति वार *n* the fifth day of the week; the fourth working day (sem. domains: 8.4.1.3 - Week.)

Asu buḍḍha Eng to understand Hin ्समझना *v* know and comprehend the nature or meaning of

Asu buluṅ Eng salt Hin नमक *n* white crystalline form of especially sodium chloride used to season and preserve food (sem. domains: 5.2 - Food.)

Asu buluṅ leka:n Eng salty Hin नमकीन *adj* the taste experience when common salt is taken into the mouth *syn:* **ḍḍoḍḍoa:** . (sem. domains: 9.2.1 - Adjectives.)

Asu bunkar Eng weaver Hin ्बुनकर *n* a craftsman who weaves cloth (sem. domains: 6.6 - Occupation.)

D d

Asu da:ḍhi Eng beard Hin ्दाढी *n* the hair growing on the lower part of a man's face (sem. domains: 2.1 - Body.)

Asu da:kija Eng postman Hin डाकिया *n* a man who delivers the mail (sem. domains: 6.6 - Occupation.)

Asu da:ru Eng wine Hin शराब *n* fermented juice (sem. domains: 5.2.2.7 - Drink.)

Asu da:ṭa hasu Eng toothache Hin दांत *n* an ache localized in or around a tooth (sem. domains: 2.5.2 - Disease.)

Asu da:ṭa ra ṭamṭa Eng gum Hin मसुडा *n* the tissue (covered by mucous membrane) of the jaws that surrounds the bases of the teeth (sem. domains: 2.1 - Body.)

Asu da:? Eng water Hin पानी/ जल *n* a fluid necessary for the life of most animals and plant (sem. domains: 1.1.1.3 - Planet.)

Asu dadan Eng to walk/to move Hin चलना *v* **1)** the act of traveling by foot **2)** move so as to change position, perform a nontranslational motion

Asu dadi Eng bud Hin कलि *n* a swelling on a plant stem consisting of overlapping immature leaves or petals (sem. domains: 1.5 - Plant.)

- Asu dahi Eng curd Hin दही* *n* coagulated milk; used to made cheese; (sem. domains: 5.2.1 - Food preparation.)
- Asu daibar Eng driver Hin चालक* *n* the operator of a motor vehicle (sem. domains: 7.3.8 - Transport.)
- Asu dama:d Eng daughter's husband Hin दमाद* *n* the husband of your daughter (sem. domains: 4.1.9 - Kinship.)
- Asu dara: bar sa:l Eng next two years Hin अगले दो वर्ष* *n* next two years
- Asu dara: baris Eng next year Hin अगले वर्ष* *n* next year
- Asu dara: mahina Eng next month Hin अगले माह* *n* next month (sem. domains: 8.4 - Time.)
- Asu dard̥ɕi Eng tailor Hin दरजी* *n* a person whose occupation is making and altering garments (sem. domains: 6.6 - Occupation.)
- Asu dat̪ɕʰin Eng south Hin दक्खीण* *n* the cardinal compass point that is at 180 degrees (sem. domains: 8.5.2 - Direction.)
- dauɾi** unspec. var. of **tukri**
- Asu dauɾi hora Eng short cut Hin शोर्ट कट* *n* a route shorter than the usual one
- Asu daʔ ɕa:haj Eng ship Hin जहाज* *n* a vessel that carries passengers or freight (sem. domains: 7.3.8 - Transport.)
- Asu daʔ kun Eng water etc Hin पानी वानी* water etc
- Asu deja Eng back Hin पीठ* *n* the posterior part of a human (or animal) body from the neck to the end of the spine (sem. domains: 2.1 - Body.)
- Asu desa Eng ten Hin दस* *n* the cardinal number that is the sum of nine and one; the base of the decimal system (sem. domains: 8.1.1.1 - Cardinal numbers.)
- Asu devar Eng husband's younger brother Hin देवर* *n* husband's younger brother (sem. domains: 4.1.9 - Kinship.)
- Asu dʰa:r Eng stream Hin झरना* *n* a natural body of running water flowing on or under the earth (sem. domains: 1.1.1.3 - Planet.)
- Asu dhak chuka Eng to doubt Hin शक* *v* the state of being unsure of something
- Asu dʰardʰara Eng to snore Hin खर्खाटा* *v* the rattling noise produced when snoring
- dʰarti**₁ unspec. var. of **prithvi**
- Asu dʰarti*₂ *Eng ground*₂ *Hin ्जमीन*₂ *n* the solid part of the earth's surface (sem. domains: 1.1.1.3 - Planet.)
- Asu dʰarti hila Eng earthquake Hin भूकम्प* *n* shaking and vibration at the surface of the earth resulting from underground movement along a fault plane of from volcanic activity (sem. domains: 1.1.1.3 - Planet.)
- Asu dʰobi Eng washerman Hin धोबी* *n* person whose occupation is washing clothes (sem. domains: 6.6 - Occupation.)
- Asu dʰuɾi Eng dust Hin धूल* *n* fine powdery material such as dry earth that can be blown about in the air (sem. domains: 1.1.1.3 - Planet.)
- dima:g** unspec. var. of **godi**
- Asu diwal Eng wall Hin दिवार* *n* an architectural partition with a height and length greater than its thickness; used to divide or enclose an area or to support another structure (sem. domains: 6.5.1.1 - House.)
- Asu doka:n gosja Eng shopkeeper Hin ्दुकान दार* *n* a merchant who owns or manages a shop (sem. domains: 6.6 - Occupation.)
- Asu du Eng sunset Hin सूर्य अस्त* *n* the time in the evening at which the sun begins to fall below the horizon (sem. domains: 8.4.1.2.3 - Time of the day.)
- Asu dudu Eng to sit Hin बैठनि* *v* to take a seat
- Asu dula:r Eng to love Hin प्रेम करना* *v* a strong positive emotion of regard and affection
- Asu duwa:r Eng door Hin द्वार/दरवाजा* *n* a swinging or sliding barrier that will close the entrance to a room or building or vehicle (sem. domains: 6.5.1.1 - House.)

ढ

- Asu ɕa:dugar Eng sorcerer Hin जादुगर* *n* one who practices magic or sorcery (sem. domains: 6.6 - Occupation.)

- Asu** **ᱫᱷᱟᱥ** *Eng blouse* *Hin* **ब्लाउस** *n* a top worn by women (sem. domains: 5.4 - Adornment.)
- Asu** **ᱫᱷᱟᱨ** *Eng net* *Hin* **जाल** *n* a trap made of netting to catch fish or birds or insects (sem. domains: 6.4.1 - Hunt.)
- Asu** **ᱫᱷᱟᱨᱵᱟ** *Eng to answer* *Hin* **जवाब देना** *v* reply or respond to
- Asu** **ᱫᱷᱟᱨᱵᱟ** *Eng jaw* *Hin* **जबडा** *n* the bones of the skull that frame the mouth and serve to open it; the bones that hold the teeth (sem. domains: 2.1 - Body.)
- Asu** **ᱫᱷᱟᱨᱵᱟ** *Eng root* *Hin* **जड़** *n* the usually underground organ that lacks buds or leaves or nodes; absorbs water and mineral salts; usually it anchors the plant to the ground (sem. domains: 1.5.5 - Parts of a plant.)
- Asu** **ᱫᱷᱟᱨᱵᱟ** *Eng villages* *Hin* **गांव** *n* plural of village (a community of people smaller than a town) (sem. domains: 8.1.3 - Plural.)
- Asu** **ᱫᱷᱟᱨᱵᱟ** *Eng everybody* *Hin* **प्रत्येक** *pro-form* everybody (sem. domains: 9.2.3 - Pronouns.)
- Asu** **ᱫᱷᱟᱨᱵᱟ** *Eng many men* *Hin* **अनेक आदमी** *n* many men
- Asu** **ᱫᱷᱟᱨᱵᱟ** *Eng everything* *Hin* **सब कुछ** *pro-form* all that is related to a particular subject
- Asu** **ᱫᱷᱟᱨᱵᱟ** *Eng many* *Hin* **अधिक** *adj* a quantifier that can be used with count nouns and is often preceded by 'as' or 'too' or 'so' or 'that'; amounting to a large but indefinite number (sem. domains: 9.2.1 - Adjectives.)
- Asu** **ᱫᱷᱟᱨᱵᱟ** *Eng to give birth* *Hin* **जन्म देना** *v* to give birth
- Asu** **ᱫᱷᱟᱨᱵᱟ** *Eng thigh* *Hin* **जांघ** *n* the part of the leg between the hip and the knee (sem. domains: 2.1 - Body.)
- Asu** **ᱫᱷᱟᱨᱵᱟ** *Eng summer* *Hin* **ग्रीष्म रितु** *n* the warmest season of the year; in the northern hemisphere it extends from the summer solstice to the autumnal equinox; (sem. domains: 8.4.1.5 - Season.)
- Asu** **ᱫᱷᱟᱨᱵᱟ** *Eng june* *Hin* **जुन** *n* the month following May and preceding July (sem. domains: 8.4.1.4.1 - Months of the year.)
- Asu** **ᱫᱷᱟᱨᱵᱟ** *Eng husband's elder brother* *Hin* **जेठ** *n* husband's elder brother (sem. domains: 4.1.9 - Kinship.)
- Asu** **ᱫᱷᱟᱨᱵᱟ** *Eng handkerchief* *Hin* **रूमाल** *n* a square piece of cloth used for mainly for cleaning the nose or drying the eyes when they are wet with tears
- Asu** **ᱫᱷᱟᱨᱵᱟ** *Eng lake* *Hin* **झील** *n* a body of (usually fresh) water surrounded by land (sem. domains: 1.1.1.3 - Planet.)
- Asu** **ᱫᱷᱟᱨᱵᱟ** *Eng hut* *Hin* **झोपडी** *n* small crude shelter used as a dwelling (sem. domains: 6.5.1.1 - House.)
- Asu** **ᱫᱷᱟᱨᱵᱟ** *Eng long* *Hin* **लम्बा** *adj* of relatively great height (sem. domains: 9.2.1 - Adjectives.)
- Asu** **ᱫᱷᱟᱨᱵᱟ** *Eng sweeper* *Hin* **झाड़ू लगाने वाला** *n* an employee who sweeps (floors or streets etc.) (sem. domains: 6.6 - Occupation.)
- Asu** **ᱫᱷᱟᱨᱵᱟ** *Eng tamarind tree* *Hin* **इमली का पेड़** *n* the tropical African tree which yields tamarind pods, cultivated throughout the tropics and also grown as an ornamental and shade tree.
- Asu** **ᱫᱷᱟᱨᱵᱟ** *Eng sour* *Hin* **खट्टा** *adj* the taste experience when vinegar or lemon juice is taken into the mouth *syn:* **buluṅ leka:n**
- Asu** **ᱫᱷᱟᱨᱵᱟ** *Eng food drink* *Hin* **खाना पीना** *n* food drink
- Asu** **ᱫᱷᱟᱨᱵᱟ** *Eng cheeks* *Hin* **गाल** *n* either side of the face below the eyes (sem. domains: 2.1 - Body.)
- Asu** **ᱫᱷᱟᱨᱵᱟ** *Eng right side* *Hin* **दाये** *n* right side (sem. domains: 8.5.2 - Direction.)
- Asu** **ᱫᱷᱟᱨᱵᱟ** *Eng broom* *Hin* **झाड़ू** *n* a cleaning implement for sweeping; bundle of straws or twigs attached to a long handle) (sem. domains: 5 - Daily life.)
- Asu** **ᱫᱷᱟᱨᱵᱟ** *Eng wrist* *Hin* **कलाई** *n* a joint between the distal end of the radius and the proximal row of carpal bones
- Asu** **ᱫᱷᱟᱨᱵᱟ** *Eng to read aloud* *Hin* **जोर से पढ़ना** *v* look at and say out loud something that is written or printed
- Asu** **ᱫᱷᱟᱨᱵᱟ** *Eng fruit* *Hin* **फल** *n* the sweet and fleshy product of a tree or other plant that contains seed and can be eaten as food.
- Asu** **ᱫᱷᱟᱨᱵᱟ** *Eng to go* *Hin* **जाना** *v* move away from a place into another direction
- Asu** **ᱫᱷᱟᱨᱵᱟ** *Eng earthworm* *Hin* **चिरा** *n* terrestrial worm that burrows into and helps aerate soil; often surfaces when the ground is

cool or wet; used as bait by anglers (sem. domains: 1.6.1.7 - Insect.)

Asu **ᱫᱷᱟᱱ** *Eng shoe* *Hin* **जूता** *n* footwear shaped to fit the foot (below the ankle) with a flexible upper of leather or plastic and a sole and heel of heavier material (sem. domains: 5.4 - Adornment.)

ᱢ ᱣ

Asu **ᱫᱷᱟᱱᱟ** *Eng tooth* *Hin* **दाँत** *n* hard bonelike structures in the jaws of vertebrates; used for biting and chewing or for attack and defense (sem. domains: 2.1 - Body.)

Asu **ᱫᱷᱟᱱᱟ** *Eng wing* *Hin* **पंख** *n* a movable organ for flying (one of a pair) (sem. domains: 1.6.1.2 - Bird.)

Asu **ᱫᱷᱟᱱᱟ** *Eng to swim* *Hin* **तैरना** *v* travel through water; be afloat; stay on a liquid surface; not sink

Asu **ᱫᱷᱟᱱᱟ** *Eng to belch* *Hin* **डुँकार** *v* a reflex that expels wind noisily from the stomach through the mouth

Asu **ᱫᱷᱟᱱᱟ** *Eng village* *Hin* **गांव** *n* a community of people smaller than a town (sem. domains: 5.9 - Live, stay.)

E e

Asu **ᱫᱷᱟᱱᱟ** *Eng to abuse* *Hin* **अपमान** *v* a rude expression intended to offend or hurt

Asu **ᱫᱷᱟᱱᱟ** *Eng dance* *Hin* **ब्रित्य** *n* taking a series of rhythmical steps (and movements) in time to music (sem. domains: 4.2.4 - Dance.)

Asu **ᱫᱷᱟᱱᱟ** *Eng dancer* *Hin* **ब्रित्य कार** *n* a performer who dances (sem. domains: 6.6 - Occupation.)

Asu **ᱫᱷᱟᱱᱟ** *Eng mother* *Hin* **माँ** *n* a woman who has given birth to a child, the female parent of a child

Asu **ᱫᱷᱟᱱᱟ** *Eng fourteen* *Hin* **चौदह** *n* the cardinal number that is the sum of thirteen and one (sem. domains: 8.1.1.1 - Cardinal numbers.)

Asu **ᱫᱷᱟᱱᱟ** *Eng fifteen* *Hin* **पन्द्रह** *n* the cardinal number that is the sum of fourteen and one (sem. domains: 8.1.1.1 - Cardinal numbers.)

Asu **ᱫᱷᱟᱱᱟ** *Eng four* *Hin* **चार** *n* the cardinal number that is the sum of three and one (sem. domains: 8.1.1.1 - Cardinal numbers.)

Asu **ᱫᱷᱟᱱᱟ** *Eng eighty* *Hin* **अस्सी** *n* the cardinal number that is the product of ten and eight (sem. domains: 8.1.1.1 - Cardinal numbers.)

Asu **ᱫᱷᱟᱱᱟ** *Eng ninety* *Hin* **नब्बे** *n* the cardinal number that is the product of ten and nine (sem. domains: 8.1.1.1 - Cardinal numbers.)

Asu **ᱫᱷᱟᱱᱟ** *Eng why* *Hin* **क्यू** *adv* the cause or intention underlying an action or situation (sem. domains: 9.4.3.3 - Interrogative.)

Asu **ᱫᱷᱟᱱᱟ** *Eng how* *Hin* **कैसे** *adv* in what manner or way : by what means (sem. domains: 9.4.3.3 - Interrogative.)

Asu **ᱫᱷᱟᱱᱟ** *Eng sunday* *n* first day of the week (sem. domains: 8.4.1.3 - Week.)

G g

Asu **ᱫᱷᱟᱱᱟ** *Eng carrot* *Hin* **गाजर** *n* deep orange edible root of the cultivated carrot plant (sem. domains: 5.2.3.1.5 - Food from roots.)

Asu **ᱫᱷᱟᱱᱟ** *Eng cow* *Hin* **गाय** *n* mature female of mammals of which the male is called 'bull' (sem. domains: 6.3.1 - Domesticated animal.)

Asu **ᱫᱷᱟᱱᱟ** *Eng to tell a story* *Hin* **कहानी सुनाना** *v* to tell a story

Asu **ᱫᱷᱟᱱᱟ** *Eng vehicle* *Hin* **वाहन** *n* a conveyance that transports people or objects

Asu **ᱫᱷᱟᱱᱟ** *Eng rhinoceros* *Hin* **गैन्डा** *n* massive powerful herbivorous odd-toed ungulate of southeast Asia and Africa having very thick skin and one or two horns on the snout

Asu **ᱫᱷᱟᱱᱟ** *Eng turban* *Hin* **गमछी** (unspec. var. **pagdi**) *n* a headdress consisting of a long scarf wrapped around the head (sem. domains: 5.4 - Adornment.)

garam tana unspec. var. of **lolo tana**

Asu gardɔa Eng **roar** Hin **गर्जना/दहाड** *n* the sound made by a lion (sem. domains: 1.6.4.3 - Animal sounds.)

Asu garib Eng **poor** Hin **गरीब** *adj* people without possessions or wealth (considered as a group) *ant:* **girhat** .

Asu gauraitɕa Eng **sparrow** Hin **गौरइया** *n* any of several small dull-colored singing birds feeding on seeds or insects (sem. domains: 1.6.1.2 - Bird.)

Asu genda Eng **marigold** Hin **गेन्दा** *n* any of various tropical American plants of the genus *Tagetes* widely cultivated for their showy yellow or orange flowers (sem. domains: 1.5 - Plant.)

Asu gendra:ʔ Eng **cloth** Hin **वस्त्र** *n* artifact made by weaving or felting or knitting or crocheting natural or synthetic fibers (sem. domains: 5.4 - Adornment.)

Asu gẽɽẽ Eng **duck** Hin **बतख** *n* small wild or domesticated web-footed broad-billed swimming bird usually having a depressed body and short legs (sem. domains: 1.6.1.2 - Bird.)

Asu g^ha:s Eng **grass** Hin **घास** *n* narrow-leaved green herbage: grown as lawns; used as pasture for grazing animals; cut and dried as hay (sem. domains: 1.5.3 - Grass, herb, vine.)

Asu g^hadi Eng **watch** Hin **घडी** *n* a small portable timepiece (sem. domains: 5 - Daily life.)

Asu g^hag Eng **waterfall** Hin **झरना** *n* a steep descent of the water of a river (sem. domains: 1.1.1.3 - Planet.)

Asu g^hera: Eng **fence** Hin **घेरा** *n* a barrier that serves to enclose an area (sem. domains: 6.5.1.1 - House.)

Asu g^hieu Eng **ghee** Hin **घी** *n* clarified butter used in Indian cookery (sem. domains: 5.2.1 - Food preparation.)

Asu g^hoɽa Eng **horse** Hin **घोडा** *n* solid-hoofed herbivorous quadruped domesticated since prehistoric times (sem. domains: 6.3.1 - Domesticated animal.)

Asu g^hoɽa tʃɛŋga Eng **foal** Hin **घोडा का बच्चा** *n* a young horse

Asu g^hoto₁ Eng **food₁** Hin **भोजन₁** *n* any substance that can be metabolized by an organism to give energy and build tissue (sem. domains: 5.2 - Food.)

Asu g^hoto₂ Eng **cooked rice₂** Hin **भात₂** *n* cooked rice (sem. domains: 5.2 - Food.)

Asu g^hoto bano Eng **cook** Hin **बावर्ची** *n* someone who cooks food (sem. domains: 6.6 - Occupation.)

Asu g^hoto oɽa₁ Eng **store room₁** Hin **स्टोर रूम₁** *n* a room in which things are stored (sem. domains: 6.5.1.1 - House.)

Asu g^hoto oɽa₂ Eng **kitchen₂** *n* a room equipped for preparing meals (sem. domains: 6.5.1.1 - House.)

Asu g^hung^hi Eng **snail** Hin **घोन्घा** *n* freshwater or marine or terrestrial gastropod mollusk usually having an external enclosing spiral shell (sem. domains: 9.7.3.1 - Names of animals.)

Asu gi:gitiŋ Eng **to lie down** Hin **लेटना** *v* assume a reclining position

Asu gilli danda/bit Hin **गील्ली इन्डा** *n* a game played with two wooden sticks. A Gilli is a small stick with a length of around 3 inches. A Danda is a two feet long stick that is tapered at the ends, which serves as a bat. (sem. domains: 4.2.6.1 - Game.)

Asu girhat Eng **rich** Hin **अमीर** *adj* people who have possessions and wealth (considered as a group) *ant:* **garib** . (sem. domains: 9.2.1 - Adjectives.)

Asu giti ka^hli Eng **bedroom** Hin **बेड रूम** *n* a room used primarily for sleeping (sem. domains: 6.5.1.1 - House.)

Asu godi Eng **brain** Hin **दिमाग** (unspec. var. **dima:g**) *n* that part of the central nervous system that includes all the higher nervous centers; enclosed within the skull; continuous with the spinal cord

Asu goeg ɕuno Eng **to die** Hin **मरना** *v* to pass from physical life and lose all bodily attributes and functions necessary to sustain life

Asu goha:d Eng **cowshed** Hin **गौशाला** *n* a barn for cows (sem. domains: 6.5.1.1 - House.)

Asu gol Eng **circle** Hin **गोल** *n* ellipse in which the two axes are of equal length; a plane curve generated by one point moving at a constant distance from a fixed point (sem. domains: 8.3.1 - Shape.)

Asu gotni Eng **husband's younger brother wife** Hin **देवरानी** *n* husband's younger brother wife (sem. domains: 4.1.9 - Kinship.)

- Asu grah** *Eng planet* **Hin ग्रह** *n* any of the nine large celestial bodies in the solar system that revolve around the sun and shine by reflected light; Mercury, Venus, Earth, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn, Uranus, Neptune, and Pluto in order of their proximity to the sun
- Asu gufa** *Eng cave* **Hin गुफा** *n* a geological formation consisting of an underground enclosure with access from the surface of the ground or from the sea (sem. domains: 1.1.1.3 - Planet.)
- Asu gulab** *Eng rose* **Hin गुलाब** *n* any of the wild or cultivated, usually prickly-stemmed, pinnate-leaved, showy-flowered shrubs of the genus *Rosa*. (sem. domains: 1.5 - Plant.)
- Asu gusri** *Eng mosquito* **Hin मच्छर** *n* two-winged insect whose female has a long proboscis to pierce the skin and suck the blood of humans and animals (sem. domains: 1.6.1.7 - Insect.)

H h

- Asu ha:hamud** *Eng to adopt* **Hin गोद लेना** *v* take into one's family
- Asu ha:ku** *Eng fish* **Hin मछली** *n* any of various mostly cold-blooded aquatic vertebrates usually having scales and breathing through gills (sem. domains: 5.2 - Food.)
- Asu ha:s₁** *Eng clay* **Hin मिट्टी** *n* a very fine-grained soil that is plastic when moist but hard when fired *syn*: **ha:s₂** . (sem. domains: 1.1.1.3 - Planet.)
- Asu ha:s₂** *Eng soil* **Hin मिट्टी** *n* the part of the earth's surface consisting of humus and disintegrated rock *syn*: **ha:s₁** . (sem. domains: 1.1.1.3 - Planet.)
- Asu ha:t^{hi}** *Eng elephant* **Hin हाथी** *n* five-toed pachyderm (sem. domains: 9.7.3 - Name of a thing.)
- Asu ha:t^{hi} d̪a:t̪a** *Eng tusk* **Hin हाथी के दात** *n* a hard smooth ivory colored dentine that makes up most of the tusks of elephants and walruses (sem. domains: 1.6 - Animal.)
- Asu ha:t̪** *Eng market* **Hin बाज़ार** *n* an area or arena in which commercial dealings are conducted.
- Asu hadik kin** *Eng soon* **Hin जल्दि** *adv* in the near future (sem. domains: 9.2.2 - Adverbs.)
- Asu haeelka** *Eng light* **Hin प्रकाश** *adj* with few burdens (sem. domains: 9.2.1 - Adjectives.)
- Asu hagra: oḍa:** *Eng toilet* **Hin टोइलेट** *n* a room or building equipped with one or more toilets (sem. domains: 6.5.1.1 - House.)
- Asu handjija** *Eng rice beer* **Hin हडीया** *n* an alcoholic beverage made by boiled rice. It is served cool and has lower alcoholic strength than other Indian country liquors. (sem. domains: 5.2.2.7 - Drink.)
- Asu hanha:r** *Eng 1.mother in law 2.daughter's mother in law 3.son's mother in law* **Hin सास** *n 1)* mother in law (sem. domains: 4.1.9 - Kinship.) *2)* daughter's mother in law (sem. domains: 4.1.9 - Kinship.) *3)* son's mother in law (sem. domains: 4.1.9 - Kinship.)
- Asu hapa** *Eng stick* **Hin छडी** (unspec. var. **suti**) *n* an implement consisting of a length of wood (sem. domains: 9.7.3 - Name of a thing.)
- Asu hapta** *Eng week* **Hin हफता** *n* any period of seven consecutive days (sem. domains: 8.4.1.3 - Week.)
- Asu hapta b^hai:r** *Eng weekly* **Hin सापताहिक** *adj* occurring every week
- Asu hari:n** *Eng deer* **Hin हिरन** *n* distinguished from Bovidae by the male's having solid deciduous antlers (sem. domains: 9.7.3.1 - Names of animals.)
- Asu harijar** *Eng green* **Hin हरा** *n* resembling the color of growing grass (sem. domains: 8.3.3.3 - Color.)
- Asu harijar mart̪ʃi** *Eng green chilli* **Hin हरा मिर्च** *n* very hot and finely tapering pepper of special pungency (sem. domains: 5.2.3.1.3 - Food from vegetables.)
- Asu harijar papita** *Eng green papaya* **Hin हरा पपीता** *n* unripe large oval melon-like tropical fruit with yellowish flesh (sem. domains: 5.2.3.1.2 - Food from fruit.)
- Asu harra:** *Eng jackal* **Hin सियार** *n* Old World nocturnal canine mammal closely related to the dog; smaller than a wolf; sometimes hunts in a pack but usually singly or as a member of a pair (sem. domains: 9.7.3.1 - Names of animals.)
- Asu hatiya** *Eng bitter* **Hin कडवा** *adj* the property of having a harsh unpleasant taste *ant*: **si:bil** .

- Asu herel Eng husband Hin पती* *n* a married man; a woman's partner in marriage (sem. domains: 4.1.9 - Kinship.)
- Asu hi?ɖome Eng to come Hin आना* *v* move toward, travel toward something or somebody or approach something or somebody
- Asu hiɖome idi me Eng to get, come and get Hin आओ और लो* *v*
- Asu hiŋ Eng stomach Hin पेट* *n* an enlarged and muscular saclike organ of the alimentary canal; the principal organ of digestion
- Asu hira: Eng diamond Hin हिरा* *n* very hard native crystalline carbon valued as a gem
- Asu hisi desa Eng thirty Hin तीस* *n* the cardinal number that is the product of ten and three (sem. domains: 8.1.1.1 - Cardinal numbers.)
- Asu hisi itŋja Eng twenty eight Hin अठ्ठाइस* *n* the cardinal number that is the sum of twenty-seven and one (sem. domains: 8.1.1.1 - Cardinal numbers.)
- Asu hisi nigja Eng twenty nine Hin उन्तीस* *n* the cardinal number that is the sum of twenty-eight and one (sem. domains: 8.1.1.1 - Cardinal numbers.)
- Asu hisi-apja Eng twenty five Hin पच्चीस* *n* the cardinal number that is the sum of twenty-four and one (sem. domains: 8.1.1.1 - Cardinal numbers.)
- Asu hisibarja Eng twenty two Hin बाईस* *n* the cardinal number that is the sum of twenty-one and one (sem. domains: 8.1.1.1 - Cardinal numbers.)
- Asu hisiepjja Eng twenty four Hin चौबीस* *n* the cardinal number that is the sum of twenty-three and one (sem. domains: 8.1.1.1 - Cardinal numbers.)
- Asu hisigeja Eng twenty Hin बीस* (dial. var. *kuɖi₂*) *n* the cardinal number that is the sum of nineteen and one (sem. domains: 8.1.1.1 - Cardinal numbers.)
- Asu hisimeja Eng twenty one Hin एककीस* *n* the cardinal number that is the sum of twenty and one (sem. domains: 8.1.1.1 - Cardinal numbers.)
- Asu hisipeja Eng twenty three Hin तेईस* *n* the cardinal number that is the sum of twenty-two and one (sem. domains: 8.1.1.1 - Cardinal numbers.)
- Asu hisipetŋja Eng twenty six Hin छब्बीस* *n* the cardinal number that is the sum of twenty-five and one (sem. domains: 8.1.1.1 - Cardinal numbers.)
- Asu hisipitŋja Eng twenty seven Hin सत्ताइस* *n* the cardinal number that is the sum of twenty-six and one (sem. domains: 8.1.1.1 - Cardinal numbers.)
- Asu hitŋki Eng hiccup Hin हिचकी* *n* ((usually plural) the state of having reflex spasms of the diaphragm accompanied by a rapid closure of the glottis producing an audible sound; sometimes a symptom of indigestion
- Asu hogde kin Eng ugly Hin बद्सुरत* (unspec. var. *kaɽmuha kin*) *adj* displeasing to the senses (sem. domains: 9.2.1 - Adjectives.)
- Asu hōiha:r Eng father in law Hin स्सुर* *n* the father of your spouse (sem. domains: 4.1.9 - Kinship.)
- Asu hoj Eng air Hin हवा* *n* a mixture of gases (especially oxygen) required for breathing; the stuff that the wind consists of (sem. domains: 1.1.2 - Air.)
- Asu hona tara maɽaŋ Eng two days before yesterday 1)* two days before yesterday
- Asu hopon Eng son Hin पुत्र* *n* a male human offspring
- Asu hora Eng path Hin पथ* *n* an established line of travel or access (sem. domains: 7.3.8 - Transport.)
- Asu hoɽ Eng man Hin पुरुश* *n* an adult person who is male (as opposed to a woman) (sem. domains: 2.6.4 - Stage of life.)
- Asu hoto Eng neck Hin गर्दन* *n* the part of an organism that connects the head to the rest of the body (sem. domains: 2.1 - Body.)
- Asu hoto? ra siŋa:r Eng necklace Hin गले का आभूषण* *n* jewelry consisting of a cord or chain (often bearing gems) worn about the neck as an ornament (especially by women)
- Asu hridaj Eng heart Hin ह्रिद्य* *n* the hollow muscular organ located behind the sternum and between the lungs; its rhythmic contractions move the blood through the body (sem. domains: 2.1 - Body.)

Asu hurumusu Eng honey bee Hin मधुमखी *n* Apis mellifera (social bee often domesticated for the honey it produces) (sem. domains: 1.6.1.7 - Insect.)

I i

Asu i:ta Eng brick Hin ईट *n* rectangular block of clay baked by the sun or in a kiln; used as a building or paving material (sem. domains: 6.5.1.1 - House.)

Asu indra Eng well Hin कुँवा *n* a pit or hole sunk into the earth to reach a supply of water.

Asu inj Eng I Hin मैं *pro-form* singular first person pronoun (sem. domains: 9.2.3 - Pronouns.)

Asu inj a:la Eng mine Hin मेरा *pro-form* first person singular possessive case (sem. domains: 9.2.3 - Pronouns.)

Asu iṛka Eng heel Hin एडी *n* the back part of the human foot (sem. domains: 2.1 - Body.)

Asu iṭṣa Eng lobster *n* any of several edible marine crustaceans of the families Homaridae and Nephropsidae and Palinuridae (sem. domains: 1.6.1.5 - Fish.)

Asu iṭsegja Eng eighteen Hin अठ्ठाराह *n* the cardinal number that is the sum of seventeen and one (sem. domains: 8.1.1.1 - Cardinal numbers.)

Asu iṭṣja Eng eight Hin आठ *n* the cardinal number that is the sum of seven and one (sem. domains: 8.1.1.1 - Cardinal numbers.)

K k

Asu ka raḍḍijo Eng to disagree Hin असहमत *v* to be of different opinions

Asu ka:leka:l Eng quietly Hin चुप चाप *adv* with low volume (sem. domains: 9.2.2 - Adverbs.)

Asu ka:m krija,ga:mi Eng death ritual Hin अन्तिम सन्सकार *n* The rituals that may be followed after the death of a human being (sem. domains: 4.9 - Religion.)

Asu ka:n ra singa:r Eng ear ring Hin कानो के आभूषण *n* jewelry to ornament the ear; usually clipped to the earlobe or fastened through a hole in the lobe (sem. domains: 5.4 - Adornment.)

Asu ka:nd^h Eng shoulder Hin कन्धा *n* the part of the body between the neck and the upper arm (sem. domains: 2.1 - Body.)

Asu ka:oka:o Eng crow Hin कांव-कांव *n* the cry of a crow (sem. domains: 1.6.4.3 - Animal sounds.)

Asu kagaḍḍ kuṭ^ha Eng pile of paper *n* an assemblage of things (paper) laid or lying one upon the other

Asu kahḍji Eng to speak Hin बोलना *v* express in speech

Asu kaitṣi Eng scissors Hin कैची *n* an edge tool having two crossed pivoting blades (sem. domains: 5 - Daily life.)

Asu kamal Eng lotus Hin कमल *n* native to eastern Asia; widely cultivated for its large pink or white flowers (sem. domains: 1.5 - Plant.)

Asu kanṭ^ha Eng throat Hin कन्ठ *n* the passage to the stomach and lungs; in the front part of the neck below the chin and above the collarbone (sem. domains: 2.1 - Body.)

Asu karija Eng black Hin काला *n* the quality or state of the achromatic color of least lightness (bearing the least resemblance to white) (sem. domains: 8.3.3.3 - Color.)

Asu katṣua Eng tortoise Hin कछुवा *n* usually herbivorous land turtles having clawed elephant-like limbs; worldwide in arid area except Australia and Antarctica (sem. domains: 9.7.3.1 - Names of animals.)

Asu kaṭ^had Eng jackfruit Hin कटहल *n* immense East Indian fruit resembling breadfruit; it contains an edible pulp and nutritious seeds that are commonly roasted (sem. domains: 5.2.3.1.2 - Food from fruit.)

Asu kaṭ^had siṅg Eng jackfruit tree Hin कटहल *n* East Indian tree cultivated for its immense edible fruit and seeds (sem. domains: 1.5.1 - Tree.)

Asu kaṭ^hin Eng hard Hin कठीन *adj* not easy; requiring great physical or mental effort to accomplish or comprehend or endure (sem. domains: 9.2.1 - Adjectives.)

Asu **ka^hk^holwa** *Eng* woodpecker *Hin* कठ्फोडवा *n* bird with strong claws and a stiff tail adapted for climbing and a hard chisel-like bill for boring into wood for insects (sem. domains: 1.6.1.2 - Bird.)

Asu **ka^hleka** *Eng* strong *Hin* मजबूत *adj* having strength or power greater than average or expected, not faint or feeble *ant:* **kukuḍ muha** .

Asu **ka^hli** *Eng* room *Hin* कमरा *n* an area within a building enclosed by walls and floor and ceiling (sem. domains: 6.5.1.1 - House.)

kaṭmuha kin unspec. var. of **hogde kin**

Asu **kauwa** *Eng* crow *Hin* कौवा *n* black birds having a raucous call (sem. domains: 1.6.1.2 - Bird.)

Asu **keḍa** *Eng* banana *Hin* केला *n* elongated crescent-shaped yellow fruit with soft sweet flesh

Asu **keḍa sin** *Eng* banana tree *Hin* केले का व्रिछ *n* 1) ny of several tropical and subtropical treelike herbs of the genus Musa having a terminal crown of large entire leaves and usually bearing hanging clusters of elongated fruits (sem. domains: 1.5.1 - Tree.) 2) (sem. domains: 1.5.1 - Tree.)

Asu **keluwa bera** *Eng* noon *Hin* दो पहर *n* the middle of the day (sem. domains: 8.4 - Time.)

Asu **k^hak^hra** *Eng* crab *Hin* केकडा *n* decapod having eyes on short stalks and a broad flattened carapace with a small abdomen folded under the thorax and pincers (sem. domains: 9.7.3.1 - Names of animals.)

Asu **k^hidk^{ao}** *Eng* lightning *Hin* बिजली चमकना *n* the flash of light that accompanies an electric discharge in the atmosphere ; can scintillate for a second or more

Asu **k^hidki** *Eng* window *Hin* खिड़की *n* a framework of wood or metal that contains a glass windowpane and is built into a wall or roof to admit light or air (sem. domains: 6.5.1.1 - House.)

Asu **k^hilona** *Eng* toy *Hin* खिलौना *n* an artifact designed to be played with (sem. domains: 4.2.6.1 - Game.)

Asu **k^hiṭṭḍi g^hoṭo** *Eng* a South Asian preparation made from rice and lentils *Hin* खिचडी *n* a South Asian preparation made from rice and lentils (sem. domains: 5.2.3.1 - Food from plants.)

Asu **k^hoda** *Eng* tattoo *Hin* गोदना *n* A tattoo is a form of body modification where a design is made by inserting ink, dyes and pigments, either indelible or temporary, into the dermis layer of the skin to change the pigment.

Asu **k^hota** *Eng* nest *Hin* घोंसला *n* a structure in which animals lay eggs or give birth to their young (sem. domains: 1.6.1.2 - Bird.)

Asu **k^hu:k^hu u** *Eng* to cough *Hin* खासना *v* the act of sudden expulsion of air from the lungs that clears the air passages; a common symptom of upper respiratory infection or bronchitis or pneumonia or tuberculosis

Asu **k^hu:k^hush** *Eng* to like *Hin* पसंद करना *v* find enjoyable or agreeable

Asu **k^hu:sar** *Eng* owl *Hin* उल्लू *n* nocturnal bird of prey with hawk-like beak and claws and large head with front-facing eyes (sem. domains: 1.6.1.2 - Bird.)

Asu **k^hubso** *Eng* hair oil *Hin* तेल *n* a slippery or viscous liquid or liquefiable substance not miscible with water applied on hair (sem. domains: 5 - Daily life.)

Asu **k^huda duba:ḍe kahḍi** *Eng* to speak in public *v* to speak in public

Asu **k^huṭa** *Eng* 1.pole 2.pillar *Hin* खूटा/खम्भा *n* 1) pole:a long (usually round) rod of wood or metal or plastic (sem. domains: 6.5.1.1 - House.) 2) pillar: a tall cylindrical vertical upright and used to support a structure

Asu **k^hu?** *Eng* cough *Hin* खांसी *n* sudden expulsion of air from the lungs that clears the air passages; a common symptom of upper respiratory infection or bronchitis or pneumonia or tuberculosis (sem. domains: 2.5.2 - Disease.)

Asu **ki:mti** *Eng* costly *Hin* कीमती *adj* having a high price (sem. domains: 9.2.1 - Adjectives.)

Asu **kilo d^hara** *Eng* scales *Hin* तराजू *n* an instrument or machine for weighing

Asu **kisa:n** *Eng* farmer *Hin* किसान *n* a person who operates a farm (sem. domains: 6.6 - Occupation.)

Asu **kisa:ṭ** *Eng* farmer *Hin* किसान *n* a person who owns or manages a farm.

Asu **kisin** *Eng* today *Hin* आज *adv* the day that includes the present moment (as opposed to yesterday or tomorrow) (sem. domains: 8.4 - Time.)

- Asu kitli Eng kettle Hin केतली* *n* a metal pot for stewing or boiling; usually has a lid (sem. domains: 5 - Daily life.)
- Asu kodā Eng boy Hin लड़का* *n* a youthful male person (sem. domains: 2.6.4 - Stage of life.)
- Asu kodaku aala jhūd Eng group of boys Hin लड़के* group of boys
- Asu kokoe Eng to ask for Hin मांगना* *v* make a request or demand for something to somebody
- Asu ku:kuli Eng to ask Hin मांगना* *v* inquire about
- kuḍj₂** dial. var. of **hisigeja**
- Asu kuḍj₁ Eng girl₁ Hin लड़की₁* *n* a young woman (sem. domains: 2.6.4 - Stage of life.)
- Asu kuḍiku aala j^hūd Eng group of girls Hin लड़कियां* group of girls
- Asu kuhaas Eng fog Hin कोहरा* *n* droplets of water vapor suspended in the air near the ground (sem. domains: 1.1.2 - Air.)
- Asu kuhu Eng cuckoo Hin कोयल* *n* a common European bird, *Cuculus canorus*, of the family *Cuculidae*, noted for its characteristic call and its brood parasitism; any of several other birds of the family *Cuculidae*. (sem. domains: 1.6.1.2 - Bird.)
- Asu kukuḍ muha Eng weak Hin कमजोर* *adj* having little physical or spiritual strength *ant:* **ka^hleka** .
- Asu kul₂ Eng lion₂ Hin शेर₂* *n* large gregarious predatory feline of Africa and India having a tawny coat with a shaggy mane in the male (sem. domains: 9.7.3.1 - Names of animals.)
- Asu kul₁ Eng tiger₁ Hin बाघ₁* *n* large feline of forests in most of Asia having a tawny coat with black stripes; endangered (sem. domains: 9.7.3.1 - Names of animals.)
- Asu kulahi₁ Eng rabbit₁ Hin खरगोश₁* *n* a gregarious burrowing plant-eating mammal, with long ears, long hind legs, and a short tail.
- Asu kulahi₂ Eng rabbit₂ Hin खरगोश₂* *n* any of various burrowing animals of the family *Leporidae* having long ears and short tails; some domesticated and raised for pets or food (sem. domains: 9.7.3.1 - Names of animals.)
- Asu kunhra Eng potter Hin कुंहार* *n* a craftsman who shapes pottery on a potter's wheel and bakes them in a kiln (sem. domains: 6.6 - Occupation.)
- Asu kursi Eng chair Hin कुर्सी* *n* a seat for one person, with a support for the back (sem. domains: 5 - Daily life.)
- Asu kuwar kuḍj Eng virgin Hin अविवाहित* *n* unmarried female (sem. domains: 2.6.4 - Stage of life.)

L 1

- Asu la:ḥo g^haas Eng touch me not Hin छूड़ मुड़/ शर्मिली* *n* prostrate or semi-erect subshrub of tropical America, and Australia; heavily armed with recurved thorns and having sensitive soft grey-green leaflets that fold and droop at night or when touched or cooled (sem. domains: 1.5.3 - Grass, herb, vine.)
- Asu laal Eng red Hin लाल* *n* the chromatic color resembling the hue of blood (sem. domains: 8.3.3.3 - Color.)
- Asu laal mirchi Eng red chilli Hin लाल मिर्च* *n* The chili pepper (also chile pepper or chilli pepper, is the fruit of plants from the genus *Capsicum*, members of the nightshade family, *Solanaceae*. (sem. domains: 5.2.3.3.3 - Spice.)
- Asu labad Eng to bend down Hin झुकना* *v* to lean down
- Asu lai hasu Eng stomachache Hin पेट दर्द* *n* an ache localized in the stomach or abdominal region
- Asu lala:nda Eng to joke Hin मजाक करना* *v* a humorous anecdote or remark intended to provoke laughter; speak humorously;
- Asu lalʽten Eng lantern Hin लालटेन* *n* light in a transparent protective case (sem. domains: 5 - Daily life.)
- Asu lalʽten doho gosja Eng lampstand Hin लालटेन दान* *n* a pillar, tripod, or stand for supporting or holding a lamp. (sem. domains: 5 - Daily life.)
- Asu landae me Eng to laugh Hin हंसना* *v* make the spontaneous sounds and movements of the face and body that are the instinctive expressions of lively amusement and sometimes also of derision.
- Asu lata:r₂ Eng low₂ Hin निचे₂* *adj* of less than average height from top to bottom or to the top from the ground. *ant:* **teng₃** . (sem. domains: 9.2.1 - Adjectives.)

- Asu lata:r₁* Eng down₁ *Hin निचे₁* *adv* towards or in a lower place or position, especially to or on the ground or another surface. (sem. domains: 8.5.2 - Direction.)
- Asu lauwa* Eng gourd *Hin लौकी* *n* a fleshy, typically large fruit with a hard skin, some varieties of which are edible (sem. domains: 5.2.3.1.3 - Food from vegetables.)
- Asu lēi₂* Eng wife₂ *Hin पत्नी₂* *n* a married woman considered in relation to her spouse (sem. domains: 4.1.9 - Kinship.)
- Asu lēi₁* Eng woman₁ *Hin औरत₁* *n* an adult female person (as opposed to a man) (sem. domains: 2.6.4 - Stage of life.)
- Asu lendā tʃenga* Eng foetus *n* A foetus is an unborn animal or human being in its later stages of development.'
- Asu lindu* Eng infants *Hin बच्चा* *n* plural of infant (sem. domains: 8.1.3 - Plural.)
- Asu lohra* Eng blacksmith *Hin लोहार* *n* a smith who forges and shapes iron with a hammer and anvil (sem. domains: 6.6 - Occupation.)
- Asu loket* Eng locket *Hin गले का आभूषण* *n* a small ornamental case; usually contains a picture or a lock of hair and is worn on a necklace (sem. domains: 5.4 - Adornment.)
- Asu lolo tana* Eng hot *Hin गरम* (unspec. var. **garam tana**) *adj* having a high degree of heat or a high temperature.
- Asu lolob^hao* Eng to impress *Hin लुभाना* (unspec. var. **o ʔoor**) *v* have an emotional or cognitive impact upon
- Asu loloha* Eng to urinate *Hin पेशाब करना* *v* eliminate urine
- Asu losod* Eng mud/wet earth *Hin मिट्टी* *n* water soaked soil; soft wet earth (sem. domains: 6.5.1.1 - House.)
- Asu ludu* Eng soft *Hin नर्म* *adj* yielding readily to pressure or weight (sem. domains: 9.2.1 - Adjectives.)
- Asu lutfi:r* Eng lips *Hin होठ* *n* either of the two fleshy parts which form the upper and lower edges of the opening of the mouth (sem. domains: 2.1 - Body.)
- Asu lutu* Eng moisture *Hin गिला* *n* wetness caused by water (sem. domains: 1.1.1.3 - Planet.)
- Asu lutur* Eng ear *Hin कान* *n* the sense organ for hearing and equilibrium (sem. domains: 2.1 - Body.)

M m

- Asu ma:d* Eng bamboo *Hin बांस* *n* the hard woody stems of bamboo plants; used in construction and crafts and fishing poles (sem. domains: 6.5.1.1 - House.)
- Asu ma:d duba* Eng bamboo plant *Hin बांस का पौधा* *n* woody tropical grass having hollow woody stems (sem. domains: 1.5.1 - Tree.)
- Asu ma:g^h* Eng february *Hin माघ* *n* the second month of the year, in the northern hemisphere usually considered the last month of winter (sem. domains: 8.4.1.4.1 - Months of the year.)
- Asu ma:li* Eng gardener *Hin माली* *n* someone employed to work in a garden (sem. domains: 6.6 - Occupation.)
- Asu ma:starin* Eng teacher *Hin शिक्षिका* *n* a person whose occupation is teaching (sem. domains: 6.6 - Occupation.)
- Asu madɖdur* Eng labour *Hin मजदूर* *n* work, especially physical work. (sem. domains: 6.6 - Occupation.)
- Asu mahina* Eng month *Hin महिना* *n* one of the twelve divisions of the calendar year; a time unit of approximately 30 days (sem. domains: 8.4.1.6 - Year.)
- Asu mahina bhai:r* Eng monthly *Hin मासिक* *adj* done, produced, or occurring once a month.
- Asu maiom* Eng blood *Hin रक्त* *n* the red liquid that circulates in the arteries and veins of humans and other vertebrate animals, carrying oxygen to and carbon dioxide from the tissues of the body. (sem. domains: 2.1 - Body.)
- Asu makra* Eng spider *Hin मकड़ा* *n* an eight-legged predatory arachnid with an unsegmented body consisting of a fused head and thorax and a rounded abdomen (sem. domains: 1.6.1.7 - Insect.)
- Asu maleria* Eng malaria *Hin मलेरिया* *n* an intermittent and remittent fever caused by a protozoan parasite which invades the red blood cells and is transmitted by mosquitoes in many tropical and subtropical regions. (sem. domains: 2.5.2 - Disease.)
- Asu mand^har* Eng day before yesterday *Hin परसो* *day* before yesterday

Asu mandir Eng temple Hin मन्दिर *n* place of worship consisting of an edifice for the worship of a deity (sem. domains: 4.9 - Religion.)

Asu mantra kahđi Eng to chant mantra Hin मन्त्र पाठ *v* to chant mantra

Asu marg^hata Eng grave Hin शमशान (unspec. var. **tepet**) *n* a place for the burial of a corpse (especially beneath the ground and marked by a tombstone) (sem. domains: 4.9 - Religion.)

Asu matamei Eng chickenpox Hin चेचक *n* an acute contagious disease caused by herpes varicella zoster virus; causes a rash of vesicles on the face and body (sem. domains: 2.5.2 - Disease.)

Asu matar đuba Eng pea plant Hin मटर का पौधा *n* a leguminous plant of the genus *Pisum* with small white flowers and long green pods containing edible green seeds.

Asu međ Eng eye Hin आंखे *n* the organ of sight *pt*: **b^hă:on, pipni** . (sem. domains: 2.1 - Body.)

Asu mēi Eng daughter Hin ेबेटी *n* a girl or woman in relation to either or both of her parents (sem. domains: 4.1.9 - Kinship.)

Asu merom Eng goat Hin बकरी *n* any of numerous agile ruminants related to sheep but having a beard and straight horns (sem. domains: 6.3.1 - Domesticated animal.)

Asu merom tjawna Eng kid Hin बकरी (unspec. var. **patru**) *n* young one of a goat

Asu mi:hađik re Eng fast Hin तेजी से *adv* quickly or rapidly (often used as a combining form) (sem. domains: 9.2.2 - Adverbs.)

Asu mi:hođ Eng one man Hin एक आदमी one man

Asu mi:nđur Eng peacock Hin मोर *n* male peafowl; having a crested head and very large fanlike tail marked with iridescent eyes or spots (sem. domains: 1.6.1.2 - Bird.)

Asu miad Eng one Hin एक *n* the smallest whole number or a numeral representing this number (sem. domains: 8.1.1.1 - Cardinal numbers.)

Asu miaw Eng meow Hin मिआओ(बिल्ली कि अवाज) *n* cry of a cat (sem. domains: 1.6.4.3 - Animal sounds.)

Asu migja Eng eleven Hin एग्यारह *n* the cardinal number that is the sum of ten and one (sem. domains: 8.1.1.1 - Cardinal numbers.)

Asu mihisi apsagja Eng thirty five Hin पैंतीस *n* being five more than thirty (sem. domains: 8.1.1.1 - Cardinal numbers.)

Asu mihisi barigja Eng thirty two Hin बत्तीस *n* being two more than thirty (sem. domains: 8.1.1.1 - Cardinal numbers.)

Asu mihisi epegja Eng thirty four Hin चौँतीस *n* being four more than thirty (sem. domains: 8.1.1.1 - Cardinal numbers.)

Asu mihisi itfigja Eng thirty nine Hin उनतालीस *n* being nine more than thirty (sem. domains: 8.1.1.1 - Cardinal numbers.)

Asu mihisi migja Eng thirty one Hin इकतीस *n* being one more than thirty (sem. domains: 8.1.1.1 - Cardinal numbers.)

Asu mihisi pegja Eng thirty three Hin तैतीस *n* being three more than thirty (sem. domains: 8.1.1.1 - Cardinal numbers.)

Asu mihisi petfigja Eng thirty six Hin छत्तीस *n* being six more than thirty (sem. domains: 8.1.1.1 - Cardinal numbers.)

Asu mihisi pitfigja Eng thirty seven Hin सैंतीस *n* being seven more than thirty (sem. domains: 8.1.1.1 - Cardinal numbers.)

Asu mik^he Eng once Hin एक बार *n* one time (sem. domains: 8.1.1.1 - Cardinal numbers.)

Asu mođa Eng socks Hin मोजा *n* hosiery consisting of a cloth covering for the foot; worn inside the shoe; reaches to between the ankle and the knee (sem. domains: 5.4 - Adornment.)

Asu mohod Eng face Hin मुंह *n* the front of the human head from the forehead to the chin and ear to ear *pt*: **a:ha** . (sem. domains: 2.1 - Body.)

mojo unspec. var. of **p^hu:lan**

Asu mombatti Eng candle Hin मोमबत्ती *n* stick of wax with a wick in the middle (sem. domains: 4.9 - Religion.)

Asu mot Eng fat Hin मोटा *adj* a soft greasy substance occurring in organic tissue and consisting of a mixture of lipids (mostly triglycerides) *syn*: **moťkin** . (sem. domains: 9.2.1 - Adjectives.)

Asu moťkin Eng thick Hin घना (unspec. var. **sekam lekaan**) *adj* not thin; of a specific thickness or of relatively great extent from

one surface to the opposite usually in the smallest of the three solid dimensions; *ant*: **patla kin** ; *syn*: **mot** .

Asu mot̥or cykil Eng motor cycle Hin मोटर साईकिल *n* a motor vehicle with two wheels and a strong frame (sem. domains: 7.3.8 - Transport.)

Asu mu:ik Eng ant Hin चिंटी *n* social insect living in organized colonies; characteristically the males and fertile queen have wings during breeding season; wingless sterile females are the workers (sem. domains: 1.6.1.7 - Insect.)

Asu muhu Eng nose Hin नाक *n* the organ of smell and entrance to the respiratory tract; the prominent part of the face of man or other mammals; (sem. domains: 2.1 - Body.)

Asu muhu ra singa:r Eng nose ring Hin नाक का आभूषण *n* a ring worn in a person's nose as a piece of jewellery. (sem. domains: 5.4 - Adornment.)

Asu muhu ra u:b Eng nose hair Hin नाक का बाल *n* Adult humans have hairs in the anterior nasal passage which functions include filtering foreign particles from entering the nasal cavity and collecting moisture. (sem. domains: 2.1 - Body.)

Asu mukḍi Eng knee Hin घुट्ना *n* hinge joint in the human leg connecting the tibia and fibula with the femur and protected in front by the patella (sem. domains: 2.1 - Body.)

Asu mukḍi saab Eng to kneel down Hin घुट्नाओ के बल झूकना *v* to put one or both knees on the ground

Asu murai Eng radish Hin मूली *n* a cruciferous plant of the genus Raphanus having a pungent edible root (sem. domains: 5.2.3.1.5 - Food from roots.)

Asu murti Eng idol Hin मूर्ति *n* a material effigy that is worshipped (sem. domains: 4.9 - Religion.)

Asu muṛsa Eng pillow Hin तकिया *n* a rectangular cloth bag stuffed with feathers or other soft materials, used to support the head when lying or sleeping.

Asu muṛsari Eng pillow Hin तकिया *n* a rectangular cloth bag stuffed with feathers or other soft materials, used to support the head when lying or sleeping.

Asu musub Eng mud Hin मिट्टी *n* water soaked soil; soft wet earth (sem. domains: 1.1.1.3 - Planet.)

Asu muṭfi/ṭamar Eng cobbler Hin ुमोची *n* a person who makes or repairs shoes (sem. domains: 6.6 - Occupation.)

N n

Asu na:ki Eng comb Hin कन्धी *n* a flat device with narrow pointed teeth on one edge; disentangles or arranges hair (sem. domains: 5 - Daily life.)

Asu na:la Eng drainage Hin नाला *n* emptying something accomplished by allowing liquid to run out of it (sem. domains: 1.1.1.3 - Planet.)

Asu na:nam Eng to find Hin खोजना *v* come upon

Asu na:res Eng nurse Hin नर्स *n* one skilled in caring for young children or the sick (usually under the supervision of a physician (sem. domains: 6.6 - Occupation.)

naha₁ unspec. var. of **ramaa**

Asu naha₂ Eng now₂ Hin अभी₂ *adv* the momentary present

Asu nahar Eng canal Hin नहर *n* long and narrow strip of water made for boats or for irrigation (sem. domains: 1.1.1.3 - Planet.)

Asu naĩ Eng river Hin नदी *n* a large natural stream of water (larger than a creek) (sem. domains: 1.1.1.3 - Planet.)

Asu narak Eng hell Hin नर्क *n* where sinners suffer eternal punishment (sem. domains: 4.9 - Religion.)

Asu narijal siṅ Eng coconut tree Hin ुनारियल का पेड *n* coconut tree (sem. domains: 1.5.1 - Tree.)

Asu nata gota Eng lineage Hin वंश *n* the kinship relation between an individual and the individual's progenitors (sem. domains: 4.1.9 - Kinship.)

Asu natija Eng grandson Hin ुनाती/पोता *n* a male grandchild

Asu nauka Eng boat Hin नाव *n* a male grandchild (sem. domains: 7.3.8 - Transport.)

- Asu nauwwa Eng barber Hin नाई* *n* a hairdresser who cuts hair and shaves beards as a trade (sem. domains: 6.6 - Occupation.)
- Asu nawa Eng new Hin नाया* *adj* not of long duration; having just (or relatively recently) come into being or been made or acquired or discovered
- Asu ne:o gadā Eng foundation Hin नीव* *n* xsssss (sem. domains: 6.5.1.1 - House.)
- Asu newa Eng nine Hin नौ* *n* the cardinal number that is the sum of eight and one (sem. domains: 8.1.1.1 - Cardinal numbers.)
- Asu newagja Eng nineteen Hin उन्नीस* *n* the cardinal number that is the sum of eighteen and one (sem. domains: 8.1.1.1 - Cardinal numbers.)
- Asu ne?leb^he Eng to observe Hin ध्यान से देखना* *v* discover or determine the existence, presence, or fact of
- Asu ne?nel Eng to see Hin देखना* *v* perceive by sight or have the power to perceive by sight
- Asu ni:l Eng blue Hin नीला* *n* blue color or pigment; resembling the color of the clear sky in the daytime (sem. domains: 8.3.3.3 - Color.)
- Asu ni:m sin Eng neem tree Hin नीम का पेड़* *n* neem tree (sem. domains: 1.5.1 - Tree.)
- Asu ni:r me Eng to run Hin दौड़ना* *v* traveling on foot at a fast pace
- Asu nida Eng night Hin रात्रि* *n* the time after sunset and before sunrise while it is dark outside (sem. domains: 8.4 - Time.)
- Asu nida bongga Eng moon Hin चांद* *n* the natural satellite of the Earth
- Asu niduwa Eng dawn Hin भोर/ उषा-काल* *n* the first light of day (sem. domains: 8.4 - Time.)
- Asu niduwa bera Eng morning Hin सवेरा* the time period between dawn and noon (sem. domains: 8.4 - Time.)
- Asu nija t^hao renku Eng native Hin मूल निवासी* *adj* person who was born in a particular place; an indigenous person *ant:* vides^hi .
- Asu noa Eng it Hin यह* *pro-form* **1**) used to identify a person. (sem. domains: 9.2.3 - Pronouns.) **2**) used to refer to a thing previously mentioned or easily identified. (sem. domains: 9.2.3 - Pronouns.)

O o

o ?oor unspec. var. of **lolob^hao**

- Asu oda? Eng house Hin घर* *n* a dwelling that serves as living quarters for one or more families (sem. domains: 6.5.1.1 - House.)
- Asu oda? duwar Eng house field Hin घर-बार* *n* (sem. domains: 6.5.1.1 - House.)
- oda? duwar ra puja** unspec. var. of **oḍapol**
- Asu oḍapol Eng house warming ceremony Hin ग्रह प्रवेश* (unspec. var. **oda? duwar ra puja**) *n* house warming ceremony (sem. domains: 4.9.5.4 - Religious ceremony.)
- Asu ogro Eng housefly Hin मक्खी* *n* *Musca domestica* -common fly that frequents human habitations and spreads many diseases (sem. domains: 1.6.1.7 - Insect.)
- Asu oṛe Eng bird Hin चिड़िया* *n* a warm-blooded egg-laying vertebrate animal distinguished by the possession of feathers, wings, a beak, and typically by being able to fly.
- Asu oṭang Eng to fly Hin उड़ना* *v* travel through the air; be airborne (sem. domains: 7.2.4.3 - Fly.)
- Asu o? oṭang Eng to blow Hin फुलाना* *v* to blow
- Asu o? oyod Eng to hate Hin नफरत करना* *v* dislike intensely; feel antipathy or aversion towards

P p

- Asu pa:pad Eng papad Hin पापड़* *n* papad (sem. domains: 5.2.3.1 - Food from plants.)
- pagdi** unspec. var. of **gamṭ^ha**

- Asu paip** *Eng pipe* *Hin पाईप* *n* a long tube made of metal or plastic that is used to carry water or oil or gas etc. (sem. domains: 6.5.1.1 - House.)
- Asu pakauri** *Eng fritters* *Hin पकौड़ी* *n* a wide variety of fried foods, usually consisting of a portion of batter or breading which has been filled with bits of meat, seafood, fruit, or other ingredients (sem. domains: 5.2 - Food.)
- Asu palak** *Eng spinach* *Hin पालक* *n* Spinacia oleracea southwestern Asian plant widely cultivated for its succulent edible dark green leaves (sem. domains: 1.5.3 - Grass, herb, vine.)
- Asu papdi** *Eng to know* *Hin जानना* *v* be cognizant or aware of a fact or a specific piece of information; possess knowledge or information
- Asu parab** *Eng festival* *Hin उत्सव* *n* the public performance of a sacrament or solemn ceremony with all appropriate ritual (sem. domains: 4.9 - Religion.)
- Asu parot^ha** *Eng chapati* *Hin रोटी* *n* flat pancake-like bread cooked on a griddle (sem. domains: 5.2 - Food.)
- Asu paschim** *Eng west* *Hin पश्चिम* *n* the cardinal compass point that is a 270 degrees (sem. domains: 8.5.2 - Direction.)
- Asu path** *Eng to recite* *Hin पढ़ना* *v* render verbally
- Asu patka** *Eng cracker* *Hin पटाका* *n* firework consisting of a small explosive charge and fuse in a heavy paper casing (sem. domains: 5.5 - Fire.)
- Asu patla kin** *Eng thin* *Hin पतला* *adj* of relatively small extent from one surface to the opposite or in cross section *ant: moṭkin . patru* unspec. var. of *merom ṭṭawna*
- Asu patya** *Eng mattress* *Hin चटाई* *n* a large thick pad filled with resilient material and often incorporating coiled springs, used as a bed or part of a bed (sem. domains: 5 - Daily life.)
- Asu patja** *Eng mat* *Hin चटाई* *n* piece of coarse material placed on a floor for people to sit or wipe their feet on.
- Asu pavitra** *ṭ^hao Eng holy place* *Hin पवित्र स्थल* *n* sites that a religion considers to be of special religious significance (sem. domains: 4.9 - Religion.)
- Asu pe hisi** *Eng sixty* *Hin साठ* *n* the cardinal number that is the product of ten and six (sem. domains: 8.1.1.1 - Cardinal numbers.)
- Asu pe hisi desa** *Eng seventy* *Hin सत्तर* *n* the cardinal number that is the product of ten and seven (sem. domains: 8.1.1.1 - Cardinal numbers.)
- Asu pe:khe** *Eng thrice* *Hin तीन बार* *n* three times (sem. domains: 8.1.1.1 - Cardinal numbers.)
- Asu pechegya** *Eng sixteen* *Hin सोलह* *n* the cardinal number that is the sum of fifteen and one (sem. domains: 8.1.1.1 - Cardinal numbers.)
- Asu pechya** *Eng six* *Hin छः* *n* the cardinal number that is the sum of five and one (sem. domains: 8.1.1.1 - Cardinal numbers.)
- Asu pegya** *Eng thirteen* *Hin तेरह* *n* the cardinal number that is the sum of twelve and one (sem. domains: 8.1.1.1 - Cardinal numbers.)
- Asu peja** *Eng three* *Hin तीन* *n* the cardinal number that is the sum of one and one and one (sem. domains: 8.1.1.1 - Cardinal numbers.)
- Asu pējaḍ** *Eng onion* *Hin प्याज* *n* edible bulb of an onion plant (*Allium cepa* -bulbous plant having hollow leaves cultivated worldwide for its rounded edible bulb) plant (sem. domains: 5.2.3.1.5 - Food from roots.)
- Asu penehod** *Eng three men* *Hin ३तीन आदमी* *n* three men
- Asu penka p^haki** *Eng left side* *Hin बायी ओर* *n* left side (sem. domains: 8.5.2 - Direction.)
- Asu perua** *Eng pigeon* *Hin कबूतर* *n* wild and domesticated birds having a heavy body and short legs (sem. domains: 1.6.1.2 - Bird.)
- Asu p^ha:gud** *Eng march* *Hin फागून* *n* the month following February and preceding April (sem. domains: 8.4.1.4.1 - Months of the year.)
- Asu p^haarak** *Eng frock* *Hin फ्राक* *n* a one-piece garment for a woman; has skirt and bodice (sem. domains: 5.4 - Adornment.)
- Asu p^hepda** *Eng lungs* *Hin फेफडा* *n* either of two saclike respiratory organs in the chest of vertebrates; serves to remove carbon

dioxide and provide oxygen to the blood (sem. domains: 2.1 - Body.)

Asu **p^hu:lan** *Eng* to swell *Hin* **सुजन** (unspec. var. **mojo**) *v* (especially of a part of the body) become larger or rounder in size, typically as a result of an accumulation of fluid.

Asu **p^hupwai** *Eng* hiss *Hin* **फुफकार** *n* sound produced by snake (sem. domains: 1.6.4.3 - Animal sounds.)

Asu **pi:jar** *Eng* yellow *Hin* **पीला** *n* yellow color or pigment; the chromatic color resembling the hue of sunflowers or ripe lemons (sem. domains: 8.3.3.3 - Color.)

pi:p unspec. var. of **sondro**

pi:pig^hrao unspec. var. of **ti:ti^hghrao**

Asu **pilwa** *Eng* worm *Hin* **कीड़ा** *n* any of numerous relatively small elongated soft-bodied animals especially of the phyla Annelida and Chaetognatha and Nematoda and Nemertea and Platyhelminthes; also many insect larvae (sem. domains: 1.6.1.7 - Insect.)

Asu **pipni** *Eng* eyelid *Hin* **पपनी** *n* either of two folds of skin that can be moved to cover or open the eye; *wh*: **med₁**. (sem. domains: 2.1 - Body.)

Asu **pipra sing** *Eng* peepal tree *Hin* **पीपल का पेड़** *n* peepal tree (sem. domains: 1.5.1 - Tree.)

Asu **pitfigja** *Eng* seventeen *Hin* **सत्रह** *n* the cardinal number that is the sum of sixteen and one (sem. domains: 8.1.1.1 - Cardinal numbers.)

Asu **pitfja** *Eng* seven *Hin* **सात** *n* the cardinal number that is the sum of six and one (sem. domains: 8.1.1.1 - Cardinal numbers.)

Asu **pok^hra** *Eng* pond *Hin* **तालाब** *n* a small lake (sem. domains: 1.1.1.3 - Planet.)

Asu **poɽom kobi** *Eng* cabbage *Hin* **गोभी** *n* Brassica oleracea botrytis -a plant having a large edible head of crowded white flower buds

Asu **prithvi** *Eng* earth *Hin* **पृथ्वी** (unspec. var. **d^harti₁**) *n* the 3rd planet from the sun; the planet we live on (sem. domains: 1.1.1.3 - Planet.)

Asu **pu:puja** *Eng* to worship *Hin* **आराधना** *v* to worship

Asu **puɽa t^hao** *Eng* worship room *Hin* **पूजा स्थान** *n* worship room (sem. domains: 6.5.1.1 - House.)

Asu **puja** *Eng* worship *Hin* **पूजा** *n* the activity of worshipping (sem. domains: 4.9 - Religion.)

Asu **pul** *Eng* bridge *Hin* **पूल** *n* (a structure that allows people or vehicles to cross an obstacle such as a river or canal or railway etc (sem. domains: 7.3.8 - Transport.)

Asu **purub** *Eng* east *Hin* **पूर्ब** *n* the cardinal compass point that is at 90 degrees (sem. domains: 8.5.2 - Direction.)

Asu **put^hi** *Eng* book *Hin* **पुस्तक** *n* a written or printed work consisting of pages glued or sewn together along one side and bound in covers.

R r

Asu **ra:banj** *Eng* cold *Hin* **सर्द** *n* the absence of heat, low temperature (sem. domains: 1.1.3 - Weather.)

Asu **ra:ra a** *Eng* to call *Hin* **बुलाना** *v* send for ,order, request, or command to come

Asu **ra:tanj** *Eng* dew *Hin* **ओस** *n* water that has condensed on a cool surface overnight from water vapor in the air (sem. domains: 1.1.1.3 - Planet.)

Asu **raɽɽijo** *Eng* to agree *Hin* **सहमत होना** *v* be in accord

Asu **ramaa** *Eng* nail *Hin* **नाखून** (unspec. var. **naha₁**) *n* nail (sem. domains: 2.1 - Body.)

Asu **rasuɽ** *Eng* garlic *Hin* **लहसुन** *n*

Asu **registaan** *Eng* desert *Hin* **रेगिस्तान** *n* arid land with little or no vegetation (sem. domains: 1.1.1.3 - Planet.)

Asu **ri:riding** *Eng* to forget *Hin* **विस्मरण करना** *v* to forget

Asu **rnadi** *Eng* widower *Hin* **विधुर** *n* a man whose wife is dead especially one who has not remarried (sem. domains: 4.1.9 - Kinship.)

Asu rohod Eng drought Hin अकाल *n* a shortage of rainfall (sem. domains: 1.1.1.3 - Planet.)

Asu rohod haku Eng dry fish Hin सुखी मछली *n* Fish which is preserved through such traditional methods as drying (sem. domains: 5.2 - Food.)

Asu rohod marchi Eng dry chilli Hin सुखा मिरचा *n* dry chilli (sem. domains: 5.2.3.3.3 - Spice.)

Asu rohod sikar Eng dry meat Hin सुखा मांस *n* dry meat (sem. domains: 5.2 - Food.)

Asu ropa dopa Eng seed sowing Hin बीज बुआई *n* seed sowing (sem. domains: 4.2.2.2 - Festival, show.)

S s

Asu sa:sang Eng spice Hin मसाला/हल्दी *n* any of a variety of pungent aromatic vegetable substances used for flavoring food (sem. domains: 5.2 - Food.)

Asu saabun Eng soap Hin साबुन *n* a cleansing agent made from the salts of vegetable or animal fats (sem. domains: 5 - Daily life.)

Asu saaja Eng petticoat Hin साया *n* a woman's light, loose undergarment hanging from the shoulders or the waist, worn under a skirt or dress (sem. domains: 5.4 - Adornment.)

Asu saawan Eng august Hin सावन *n* the month following July and preceding September (sem. domains: 8.4.1.4.1 - Months of the year.)

Asu saha:n Eng wood Hin लकड़ी *n* the hard fibrous lignified substance under the bark of trees (sem. domains: 6.5.1.1 - House.)

Asu sai desa Eng thousand Hin हजार *n* the cardinal number that is the product of 10 and 100 (sem. domains: 8.1.1.1 - Cardinal numbers.)

Asu sai desa desa Eng ten thousand Hin दस हजार *n* the cardinal number that is the product of ten and one thousand (sem. domains: 8.1.1.1 - Cardinal numbers.)

Asu sainchar Eng saturday Hin शनिवार *n* the seventh and last day of the week; observed as the Sabbath by Jews and some Christians (sem. domains: 8.4.1.3 - Week.)

Asu sakarkand Eng sweet potato Hin शकरकंद *n* an edible tropical tuber with white slightly sweet flesh. (sem. domains: 5.2.3.1.5 - Food from roots.)

Asu sakud hora Eng narrow Hin संकीर्ण *adj* not wide (sem. domains: 9.2.1 - Adjectives.)

Asu sal Eng shawl Hin शाल *n* cloak consisting of an oblong piece of cloth used to cover the head and shoulders (sem. domains: 5.4 - Adornment.)

Asu salaad Eng salad Hin सलाद *n* food mixtures either arranged on a plate or tossed and served with a moist dressing; usually consisting of or including greens (sem. domains: 5.2 - Food.)

Asu salai Eng matchstick Hin माचिस की तीली *n* a short thin stick of wood used in making matches (sem. domains: 5 - Daily life.)

Asu salgam Eng turnip Hin शलगम *n* widely cultivated plant having a large fleshy edible white or yellow root (sem. domains: 5.2.3.1.5 - Food from roots.)

Asu samandar haku Eng sea fish Hin समुद्री मछली *n* sea fish (sem. domains: 1.6.1.7 - Insect.)

Asu saman Eng forehead Hin ललाट *n* the part of the face above the eyes (sem. domains: 2.1 - Body.)

Asu samundar Eng sea Hin समुद्र *n* a division of an ocean or a large body of salt water partially enclosed by land (sem. domains: 1.1.1.3 - Planet.)

Asu sans atka Eng to choke Hin सांस रुकना (unspec. var. $\text{tʃ}^h\text{atpa}[\text{a}]$) *v* breathe with great difficulty, as when experiencing a strong emotion

Asu sans idi Eng to breathe Hin सांस लेना *v* draw air into, and expel out of, the lungs

Asu santra Eng orange Hin सन्तरा *n* round yellow to orange fruit of any of several citrus trees (sem. domains: 5.2.3.1.2 - Food from fruit.)

Asu sapna Eng dream Hin स्वप्न *n* a series of mental images and emotions occurring during sleep (sem. domains: 5.7.2 - Dream.)

- Asu sari** *Eng saree* *Hin साड़ी* *n* a garment consisting of a length of cotton or silk elaborately draped around the body, traditionally worn by women from South Asia. (sem. domains: 5.4 - Adornment.)
- Asu sasa** *Eng claw* *Hin चंगुल* *n* sharp curved horny process on the toe of a bird or some mammals or reptiles (sem. domains: 1.6 - Animal.)
- Asu satranj** *Eng chess* *Hin शतरंज* *n* a board game for two players who move their 16 pieces according to specific rules; the object is to checkmate the opponent's king (sem. domains: 4.2.6.1 - Game.)
- Asu satuwa** *Eng powdered barley/chickpeas* *Hin सतुवा* *n* powdered barley/chickpeas (sem. domains: 5.2 - Food.)
- Asu seijad** *Eng 1.old person 2. old* *Hin बूढ़ा/ पुराना* **1)** *n* old person: (used especially of persons) having lived for a relatively long time or attained a specific age (sem. domains: 2.6.4 - Stage of life.) **2)** *adj* old (sem. domains: 9.2.1 - Adjectives.)
- Asu seja una** *Eng rotten* *Hin सड़ा* *adj* damaged by decay; hence unsound and useless (sem. domains: 9.2.1 - Adjectives.)
- sekam lekaan** unspec. var. of **moŋkin**
- Asu sen khe da? agu ime** *Eng to fetch water* *Hin पानी भर कर लाना* *v* to fetch water
- Asu sengil ra sahaan** *Hin ईंधन की लकड़ी* *n* (sem. domains: 5.5 - Fire.)
- Asu sengil** *Eng fire* *Hin आग* *n* fire (sem. domains: 5.5 - Fire.)
- Asu sengil ra d^hal d^hala/dhaldhala** *Eng flame* *Hin लपट* *n* a hot glowing body of ignited gas that is generated by something on fire.
- Asu seta** *Eng dog* *Hin कुत्ता* *n* a member of the genus *Canis* (probably descended from the common wolf) that has been domesticated by man since prehistoric times; occurs in many breeds (sem. domains: 6.3.1 - Domesticated animal.)
- Asu seta chenga** *Eng puppy* *Hin कुत्ते का बच्चा* *n* puppy (sem. domains: 6.3.1 - Domesticated animal.)
- Asu seta lekaan a:uwa:** *Eng to bark* *Hin भौंकना* *v* the sound made by a dog
- Asu sev** *Eng apple* *Hin सेव* *n* fruit with red or yellow or green skin and sweet to tart crisp whitish flesh (sem. domains: 5.2.3.1.2 - Food from fruit.)
- Asu si: bil** *Eng sweet* *Hin मीठा* *adj* having or denoting the characteristic taste of sugar *ant:* **hatiya** . (sem. domains: 9.2.1 - Adjectives.)
- Asu si: ring₁** *Eng song₁* *Hin गाना₁* *n* a short musical composition with words (sem. domains: 4.2.6 - Entertainment, recreation.)
- Asu si: ring₂** *Eng music₂* *Hin संगीत₂* *n* an artistic form of auditory communication incorporating instrumental or vocal tones in a structured and continuous manne (sem. domains: 4.2.3 - Music.)
- Asu si: ti** *Eng whistle* *Hin सीटी* *n* the sound made by something moving rapidly or by steam coming out of a small aperture (sem. domains: 4.2.3 - Music.)
- Asu sidj** *Eng ladder* *Hin सीढ़ी* *n* steps consisting of two parallel members connected by rungs; for climbing up or down (sem. domains: 6.5.1.1 - House.)
- Asu sika: r** *Eng meat* *Hin मांस* *n* the flesh of animals (including fishes and birds and snails) used as food (sem. domains: 5.2 - Food.)
- Asu sikta** *Eng fox* *Hin लोमड़ी* *n* alert carnivorous mammal with pointed muzzle and ears and a bushy tail; most are predators that do not hunt in packs (sem. domains: 9.7.3.1 - Names of animals.)
- Asu silub** *Eng deer* *Hin हिरन्* *n*
- Asu silwaŋ loŋa** *Eng grindstone* *Hin सान का पत्थर* *n* a revolving stone shaped like a disk; used to grind or sharpen or polish edge tools (sem. domains: 5 - Daily life.)
- Asu sim** *Eng hen* *Hin मुर्गी* *n* adult female chicken (sem. domains: 6.3.1 - Domesticated animal.)
- Asu sim t^hawna** *Eng chick* *Hin मुर्गी का बच्चा* *n* young bird especially of domestic fowl (sem. domains: 6.3.1 - Domesticated animal.)
- Asu simaat** *Eng cement* *Hin सीमेंट* *n* concrete pavement is sometimes referred to as cement (sem. domains: 6.5.1.1 - House.)
- Asu sinj** *Eng tree* *Hin पेड* *n* a tall perennial woody plant having a main trunk and branches forming a distinct elevated crown;

includes both gymnosperms and angiosperms (sem. domains: 1.5.1 - Tree.)

Asu **siŋar** *Eng* ornaments *Hin* आभूषण *n* something used to beautify

Asu **siŋboŋ ra** *n* sunshine

Asu **siŋboŋga** *Eng* sun *Hin* सूरज *n* a typical star that is the source of light and heat for the planets in the solar system

Asu **siŋboŋga baha** *Eng* sunflower *Hin* सूरजमुखी *n* any plant of the genus Helianthus having large flower heads with dark disk florets and showy yellow rays (sem. domains: 1.5 - Plant.)

Asu **sirma** *Eng* sky *Hin* आकाश *n* the atmosphere and outer space as viewed from the earth

Asu **sisirda?** *Eng* drop *Hin* बून्द *n* a small indefinite quantity (especially of a liquid (sem. domains: 1.1.1.3 - Planet.)

Asu **sisirdɔao** *Eng* to build *Hin* बनाना *v* to build

Asu **situm₁** *Eng* sunny₁ *Hin* गर्म/ उजाला₁ *n* abounding with sunlight (sem. domains: 1.1.3 - Weather.)

Asu **situm₂** *Eng* hot₂ *Hin* गरम₂ *n* used of physical heat; having a high or higher than desirable temperature or giving off heat or feeling or causing a sensation of heat or burning (sem. domains: 1.1.3 - Weather.)

Asu **so:soɽao** *Eng* to think *Hin* सोचना *v* judge or regard; look upon

Asu **soɽ^h** *Eng* straight *Hin* सीधा *adj* having no deviations (sem. domains: 9.2.1 - Adjectives.)

Asu **sona:r** *Eng* goldsmith *Hin* सोनार *n* an artisan who makes jewelry and other objects out of gold (sem. domains: 6.6 - Occupation.)

Asu **sondro** *Eng* pus *Hin* पीप (unspec. var. **pi:p**) *n* a fluid product of inflammation (sem. domains: 2.5.2 - Disease.)

Asu **sowabi:n** *Eng* soyabean *Hin* सोयाबीन *n* a bean of the soya plant (sem. domains: 5.2.3.1 - Food from plants.)

Asu **su:i** *Eng* needle *Hin* सूई *n* a sharp pointed implement (usually steel)) (sem. domains: 5 - Daily life.)

Asu **su:nd** *Eng* trunk *Hin* सूंड *n* a long flexible snout as of an elephant (sem. domains: 1.6 - Animal.)

Asu **suisuju** *Eng* pointed *Hin* नुकीला *adj* indicate a place, direction, person, or thing; either spatially or figuratively (sem. domains: 9.2.1 - Adjectives.)

Asu **sukri** *Eng* pig *Hin* सूअर *n* domestic swine (sem. domains: 6.3.1 - Domesticated animal.)

Asu **sukri sika:r** *Eng* pork *Hin* सूअर का मांस *n* meat from a domestic hog or pig (sem. domains: 5.2 - Food.)

Asu **sukri ɽɛŋga** *Eng* piglet *Hin* सूअर का बच्चा *n* a young pig (sem. domains: 6.3.1 - Domesticated animal.)

Asu **sukul** *Eng* smoke *Hin* ुंधुआ *n* a cloud of fine particles suspended in a gas (sem. domains: 5.5 - Fire.)

Asu **sunum** *Eng* oil *Hin* तेल *n* a slippery or viscous liquid or liquefiable substance not miscible with water (sem. domains: 5.2 - Food.)

Asu **suta** *Eng* thread *Hin* सूता *n* a fine cord of twisted fibers (of cotton or silk or wool or nylon etc.) used in sewing and weaving (sem. domains: 9.7.3 - Name of a thing.)

suti unspec. var. of **hapa**

Asu **suun** *Eng* mountain *Hin* पर्वत *n* a land mass that projects well above its surroundings; higher than a hill (sem. domains: 1.1.1.3 - Planet.)

Asu **su?su:ng^ha:o** *Eng* to smell *Hin* सूंघना *v* the sensation that results when olfactory receptors in the nose are stimulated by particular chemicals in gaseous form

Asu **swarg** *Eng* heaven *Hin* स्वर्ग *n* any place of complete bliss and delight and peace (sem. domains: 4.9 - Religion.)

T t

Asu **tabra** *Eng* tabla *Hin* तबला *n* tabla (sem. domains: 4.2.3.5 - Musical instrument.)

Asu **taher** *Eng* cucumber *Hin* खीरा *n* a melon vine of the genus Cucumis; cultivated from earliest times for its cylindrical green fruit

Asu tairgan *Eng stars* *Hin तारे* *n* (astronomy) a celestial body of hot gases that radiates energy derived from thermonuclear reactions in the interior

Asu takija *Eng pillow* *Hin तकिया* *n* a cushion to support the head of a sleeping person (sem. domains: 5 - Daily life.)

Asu tala *Eng lock* *Hin ताला* *n* lock (sem. domains: 5 - Daily life.)

Asu tambras *Eng guava* *Hin अमरुद* *n* tropical fruit having yellow skin and pink pulp; eaten fresh or used for e.g. jellies (sem. domains: 5.2.3.1.2 - Food from fruit.)

Asu tana *Eng stem* *Hin तना* *n* stem (sem. domains: 1.5.5 - Parts of a plant.)

Asu tarbuja *Eng watermelon* *Hin तरबूज* *n* large oblong or roundish melon with a hard green rind and sweet watery red or occasionally yellowish pulp

Asu taulya *Eng towel* *Hin तौलया* *n* (a rectangular piece of absorbent cloth (or paper) for drying or wiping) (sem. domains: 5 - Daily life.)

Asu tebul *Eng table* *Hin टेबल* *n* a piece of furniture having a smooth flat top that is usually supported by one or more vertical legs (sem. domains: 5 - Daily life.)

Asu tedꞥ *Eng sharp* *Hin तेज* *adj* having or made by a thin edge or sharp point; suitable for cutting or piercing *ant:* b^hot^hꞥa .

Asu tedꞥ hoj *Eng wind* *Hin वायू / पवन* *n* air moving (sometimes with considerable force) from an area of high pressure to an area of low pressure (sem. domains: 1.1.2 - Air.)

Asu teng₃ *Eng high₃* *Hin उंचा₃* *adj* being at or having a relatively great or specific elevation or upward extension (sometimes used in combinations like 'knee-high' *ant:* lata:r₂ . (sem. domains: 9.2.1 - Adjectives.)

Asu teng₂ *Eng hill₂* *Hin पहाड₂* *n* a local and well-defined elevation of the land (sem. domains: 1.1.1.3 - Planet.)

Asu teng₁ *Eng peak₁* *Hin चोटी₁* *n* the top point of a mountain or hill (sem. domains: 1.1.1.3 - Planet.)

tenkod unspec. var. of **tedha**

tepet unspec. var. of **marg^hata**

Asu tetela: *Eng to perceive* *Hin समझना* *v* to perceive

Asu t^haprau *Eng to slap* *Hin थप्पड मारना* *v* a blow from a flat object (as an open hand)) (sem. domains: 7.3.4.5 - Actions of the hand.)

Asu t^hapri *t^hokao* *Eng to clap* *Hin ताली बजाना* *v* a sharp abrupt noise as if two objects hit together; may be repeated (sem. domains: 7.3.4.5 - Actions of the hand.)

Asu tii? *Eng hand* *Hin हाथ* *n* 1) the end part of a person's arm beyond the wrist, including the palm, fingers, and thumb. (sem. domains: 2.1 - Body.)

Asu tingun *Eng to stand* *Hin खडा होना* *v* To rise to an upright position on the feet

Asu tiring *Eng horn* *Hin सींग* *n* a pointed, bony projection on the head of various animals (sem. domains: 1.6 - Animal.)

Asu titi *Eng sand* *Hin रेत* *n* a loose material consisting of grains of rock or coral (sem. domains: 6.5.1.1 - House.)

Asu tori *Eng ash* *Hin राख* *n* the residue that remains when something is burned (sem. domains: 5.5 - Fire.)

Asu toro *Eng sunrise* *Hin सवेरा/ सूर्य का उदय* *n* the daily event of the sun rising above the horizon (sem. domains: 8.4 - Time.)

Asu tota *Eng parrot* *Hin तोता* *n* usually brightly colored zygodactyl tropical birds with short hooked beaks and the ability to mimic sounds (sem. domains: 1.6.1.2 - Bird.)

Asu towa *Eng milk* *Hin दूध* *n* a white nutritious liquid secreted by mammals and used as food by human beings (sem. domains: 9.7.3 - Name of a thing.)

ꞥ

Asu ꞥja:ꞥak^ha:o *Eng to taste* *Hin चखना* *v* the faculty of distinguishing sweet, sour, bitter, and salty properties in the mouth

Asu ꞥaabi *Eng key* *Hin चाबी* *n* metal device shaped in such a way that when it is inserted into the appropriate lock the lock's

mechanism can be rotated (sem. domains: 5 - Daily life.)

Asu tʃai Eng tea Hin चाय *n* a beverage made by steeping tea (a tropical evergreen shrub or small tree extensively cultivated in e.g. China and Japan and India) leaves in water (sem. domains: 5.2.2.7 - Drink.)

Asu tʃai kun Eng tea etc Hin चाय वाय *n* tea etc

Asu tʃairkuʃ Eng square Hin चतुरभुज (unspec. var. **bara bair**) *n* a plane rectangle with four equal sides and four right angles; a four-sided regular polygon (sem. domains: 8.3.1.7 - Square.)

Asu tʃairra Eng squirrel Hin गिलहरी *n* an agile tree-dwelling rodent with a bushy tail, typically feeding on nuts and seeds

Asu tʃait Eng april Hin ्रैत *n* the month following March and preceding May (sem. domains: 8.4.1.4.1 - Months of the year.)

Asu tʃakka Eng wheel Hin चक्का *n* a simple machine consisting of a circular frame with spokes (or a solid disc) that can rotate on a shaft or axle (as in vehicles or other machines (sem. domains: 7.3.8 - Transport.)

Asu tʃasma Eng spectacles Hin चश्मा *n* optical instrument consisting of a pair of lenses for correcting defective vision (sem. domains: 5.4 - Adornment.)

Asu tʃe:tʃera Eng to shout Hin चिलाना/ शोर मचाना *v* a loud utterance; often in protest or opposition;

Asu tʃe:tʃetao Eng to warn Hin धमकी देना *v* notify of danger, potential harm, or risk

Asu tʃeɲa Eng child Hin ्रबच्चा *n* a human offspring (son or daughter) of any age; (sem. domains: 2.6.4 - Stage of life.)

Asu tʃeɲaku Eng children Hin बच्चें *n* plural of *child* (sem. domains: 8.1.3 - Plural.)

tʃepod unspec. var. of **tʃepʈa**

Asu tʃepʈa Eng flat Hin चेपटा (unspec. var. **tʃepod**) *adj* having a surface without slope, tilt in which no part is higher or lower than another (sem. domains: 9.2.1 - Adjectives.)

Asu tʃerra Eng squirrel Hin गिलहरी *n* a kind of arboreal rodent having a long bushy tail (sem. domains: 9.7.3.1 - Names of animals.)

Asu tʃʰa:tʃʰat Eng to vomit Hin उलटी *v* eject the contents of the stomach through the mouth

Asu tʃʰaata Eng umbrella Hin छाता *n* a lightweight handheld collapsible canopy (sem. domains: 5 - Daily life.)

Asu tʃʰaati Eng chest Hin छाती *n* the part of the human torso between the neck and the diaphragm or the corresponding part in other vertebrates (sem. domains: 2.1 - Body.)

Asu tʃʰaat Eng vomit Hin उलटी *n* the reflex act of ejecting the contents of the stomach through the mouth (sem. domains: 2.5.2 - Disease.)

Asu tʃʰadʒʒa Eng ceiling Hin छत *n* the overhead upper surface of a room (sem. domains: 6.5.1.1 - House.)

Asu tʃʰat Eng roof Hin छत *n* a protective covering that covers or forms the top of a building (sem. domains: 6.5.1.1 - House.)

tʃʰatpaʈa unspec. var. of **sans atka**

Asu tʃʰoʈa tʃeɲga Eng baby Hin बच्चा *n* a very young child (birth to 1 year) who has not yet begun to walk or talk (sem. domains: 2.6.4 - Stage of life.)

Asu tʃʰote hora Eng footpath Hin पगइन्डी *n* a trodden path (sem. domains: 7.3.8 - Transport.)

Asu tʃʰote kin Eng little Hin थोडा/ कम *adj* a small amount or duration (sem. domains: 9.2.1 - Adjectives.)

Asu tʃini Eng sugar Hin चिनी *n* a white crystalline carbohydrate used as a sweetener and preservative (sem. domains: 5.2.3.1 - Food from plants.)

Asu tʃuʈu₁ Eng mouse₁ Hin चूहा₁ *n* any of numerous small rodents typically resembling diminutive rats having pointed snouts and small ears on elongated bodies with slender usually hairless tails (sem. domains: 9.7.3.1 - Names of animals.)

Asu tʃuʈu₂ Eng rat₂ Hin चूहा₂ *n* any of various long-tailed rodents similar to but larger than a mouse (sem. domains: 9.7.3.1 - Names of animals.)

T t

Asu tujo tana Eng to float Hin तेरना *v* be in motion due to some air or water current

Asu tula Eng scales Hin तराजू *n* an instrument or machine for weighing

Asu tulsī Eng basil Hin तुलसी *n* an aromatic plant of the mint family, native to tropical Asia. The leaves are used as a culinary herb, especially in Mediterranean dishes. (sem. domains: 1.5.3 - Grass, herb, vine.)

T t

Asu [a:pu Eng island Hin टापू *n* (sem. domains: 1.1.1.3 - Planet.)

Asu [aŋgja Eng axe Hin कुल्हाडी *n* an edge tool with a heavy bladed head mounted across a handle

Asu [edha Eng curve Hin घूमाव (unspec. var. **tenkod**) *adj* bent or formed into a curve (sem. domains: 9.2.1 - Adjectives.)

Asu [eŋ k^hapra Eng upper floor Hin उपरी मंजिल *n* upper floor (sem. domains: 6.5.1.1 - House.)

Asu [haila Eng bag Hin थैला *n* a flexible container with a single opening (sem. domains: 5 - Daily life.)

Asu [hand Eng cold Hin ठंड *adj* the absence of heat (sem. domains: 9.2.1 - Adjectives.)

Asu [hor Eng beak Hin चोच *n* a bird's horny projecting jaws

Asu [odjibeen Eng rainbow Hin इन्द्र धनुष *n* an arc of colored light in the sky caused by refraction of the sun's rays by rain

Asu [i:ɪghrao Eng to melt Hin पिघलाना (unspec. var. **pi:pigh^hrao**) *v* the process whereby heat changes something from a solid to a liquid;

Asu [isna Eng bed Hin पलंग *n* a piece of furniture that provides a place to sleep (sem. domains: 5 - Daily life.)

Asu [onang Eng plateau Hin पठार *n* a relatively flat highland (sem. domains: 1.1.1.3 - Planet.)

Asu [ota₁ Eng fracture₁ Hin हड्डी टूटना₁ *n* breaking of hard tissue such as bone (sem. domains: 2.5.2 - Disease.)

Asu [ota₂ Eng landslide₂ Hin भूस्खलन₂ *n* a slide of a large mass of dirt and rock down a mountain or cliff (sem. domains: 1.1.1.3 - Planet.)

Asu [otota? Eng to tie Hin बांधना *v* fasten or secure with a rope, string, or cord

Asu [roc^h Eng torch Hin टोर्च *n* a small portable battery-powered electric lamp

Asu [tukri Eng basket Hin टोकडी (unspec. var. **dauri**) *n* a container that is usually woven and has handles (sem. domains: 5 - Daily life.)

Asu [tuku₂ Eng stone₂ Hin पत्थर₂ *n* a lump or mass of hard consolidated mineral matter (sem. domains: 1.1.1.3 - Planet.)

Asu [tuku₁ Eng rock₁ Hin चट्टान₁ *n* a lump or mass of hard consolidated mineral matter

U u

Asu u:ɖ Eng mushroom Hin खुमी *n* a fungal growth that typically takes the form of a domed cap on a stalk, with gills on the underside of the cap. (sem. domains: 5.2.3.1.3 - Food from vegetables.)

Asu u:n Eng wool Hin ऊन *n* a fabric made from the hair of sheep (sem. domains: 5.4 - Adornment.)

Asu uɖi Eng white Hin सफेद *n* the quality or state of the achromatic color of greatest lightness (sem. domains: 8.3.3.3 - Color.)

Asu uieha:r Eng to remember Hin याद करना *v* recall knowledge from memory; have a recollection

Asu ukade Eng where Hin कहा *adv* in or to what place or position (sem. domains: 9.4.3.3 - Interrogative .)

Asu uke Eng who Hin कौन *adv* what or which person or people (sem. domains: 9.4.3.3 - Interrogative .)

Asu ukin Eng how much Hin कितना *adv* what amount or price (sem. domains: 9.4.3.3 - Interrogative .)

Asu ukin pahar Eng when Hin कब *at* what time (sem. domains: 9.4.3.3 - Interrogative .)

Asu ukind^han Eng how many Hin कितने *adv* what number

Asu ukup dɪŋ Eng hide and seek Hin लुका छुपी *n* a children's game in which one or more players hide and the other or others have to look for them (sem. domains: 4.2.6.1 - Game.)

Asu upag Eng up Hin ऊपर *adv* towards a higher place or position (sem. domains: 9.2.2 - Adverbs.)

Asu urig Eng ox Hin बैल *n* an adult castrated bull of the genus *Bos*; especially *Bos taurus* (sem. domains: 6.3.1 - Domesticated animal.)

Asu urigku Eng oxen Hin बैलों *n* domesticated bovine animals as a group regardless of sex or age (sem. domains: 6.3.1 - Domesticated animal.)

Asu usmeɽ Eng 1. adult 2. young Hin जवान **1)** *n* adult: a fully developed person from maturity onward (sem. domains: 2.6.4 - Stage of life.) **2)** *adj* young; used of living things especially persons) in an early period of life or development or growth (sem. domains: 9.2.1 - Adjectives.)

Asu usmeɽ koɖa Eng young man Hin जवान आदमी *n* a young man or a boy (sem. domains: 2.6.4 - Stage of life.)

Asu usmeɽ læi Eng young woman Hin जवान औरत *n* a young woman or girl (sem. domains: 2.6.4 - Stage of life.)

Asu uttar Eng north Hin उत्तर *n* the cardinal compass point that is at 0 or 360 degrees (sem. domains: 8.5.2 - Direction.)

V v

Asu vides^hi Eng foreign Hin विदेशी *adj* relating to or originating in or characteristic of another place or part of the world *ant:* **nija t^hao renku** . (sem. domains: 9.2.1 - Adjectives.)

Asu vidwa Eng widow Hin विधवा *n* a woman whose husband is dead especially one who has not remarried (sem. domains: 4.1.9 - Kinship.)

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