Creation of Scripts in Indigenous Language Learning: The Present Scenario of Arunachal Pradesh

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Abstract

Indigenous languages are facing peril of disappearance. The indigenous knowledge system is stored in the oral literature for devoid of scripts. There is a general consensus among the speakers to introduce scripts to achieve indigenous literacy. In this present context the unit of study is Arunachal Pradesh. Each district bears a different linguistic picture – some are inhabited by similar linguistic groups with dialectal variations, others share the space with varied tongues. The state is home to approx. 32 -34 scheduled languages of broader Tibeto-Burman family. Three scripts are used in the respective regions of the state – Tai-Khamti, Wancho, and Bhoti/ classical Tibetan; the other communities write in modified Roman script. There exist many unwritten languages. English is the official language; Hindi and Assamese are the lingua franca of the state.

The present study focuses on the situation where a part of population of native speakers are conscious of preserving their tongue by writing their literature. The Christian missionaries promote mother tongue languages by printing hymns and gospels in the mother tongues. However, the presence of Christian missionaries does not necessarily help to make primers for school curriculum.

The essential learning tool utilized by the native speakers is creation of scripts. Most communities use the modified form of Roman script to write primers, as in, Galo (Galoo Ennam) Nyishi, Singpho, Lisu, Hrusso, etc. Wancho script is used in parallel with Wancho written in Roman script.

The paper elaborates on the problems faced by native speakers in designing the orthography; the conflicting views on scripts by the different groups of a community; the contestation regarding the appropriateness of the script; and how far scripts made learning better.

The languages mentioned in the study are Tai Khamti, Nyishi, Wancho, Galo, Mishmi, Lisu, Hrusso and Bhoti.

Keywords: scripts, alphabet, Tai Khamti, Nyishi, Wancho, Galo, Mishmi, Lisu, Hrusso and Bhoti

Introduction

Many Indigenous languages are suffering from their peril of disappearance. The predominance and prestige lie with the official or state languages. There is a general consensus among the speakers to introduce scripts to achieve indigenous literacy. The present study focuses on the situation where a small population of native speakers are conscious of preserving or revitalizing their language by writing on their literature. Scripts play an important role in assigning prestige to their mother tongue. The study explores the creation of script as a language learning method and consequently, how far they are successful in the same. What is the present scenario of the mother tongue languages of the state?

The unit of study is Arunachal Pradesh, the largest of the seven sister states of North-East India, which is bounded by Bhutan in the west, Tibet in the north, Burma (Myanmar) in the east; and the Indian states of Assam and Nagaland in the south. The state is carved into 25 districts. Each district bears a different linguistic picture – some districts are inhabited by similar linguistic groups with dialectal variations, others share the space with varied tongues. The state is home to variegated tongues of the broader Tibeto-Burman family comprising of 32 -34 languages. In the state, three communities have scripts of unique characters – Tai-Khamti (*Lik Tai*), Wancho, and Bhoti/ Classical Tibetan; the other communities write in modified Roman script. There still exists some unwritten languages. English is the official language, and Hindi and Assamese are the *lingua franca* of the state.

The essential learning tool utilized by the native speakers to conserve their mother tongue is creation of script. Most communities use the modified form of Roman script to create their orthography and primers, as in, Galo (Galoo Ennam) Nyishi, Singpho, Lisu, Hrusso, Mishmi, Adi etc.

In communities where Christianity exists, gospels, hymns and the Holy Bible are printed in many mother tongue languages. Hence, the native speakers opine that it is the Church which taught them to preserve their dialect and language. For, they preach and pray in the language they understand for their peace, harmony, health and security. This is the case with most indigenous languages of Arunachal Pradesh, for instance, Nyishi, Nocte, Tutsa, Hrusso, Apatani, Tagin, Adi, etc. Each community has gospels and hymns printed in their language using modified Roman script. However, the presence of Christian missionaries does not necessarily help to make primers for school curriculum.

The communities of scheduled languages are capable to circulate their written language in the form of primers. The government considers these languages as the third language to be taught in classes VI, VII, VIII in their populated habitats of the state. The ideology and power issue play a role in the inclusion of a language into the school curriculum.

Focus of the study

The paper elaborates on the problems faced by native speakers in designing the orthography; the conflicting views on scripts by the different groups of a community; the contestation regarding the appropriateness of the script; and how far scripts made learning better. The paper provides illustrations of scripts by exhibiting the Consonant and Vowel charts of some languages of the state.

The present study will elaborate the case of few communities in detail. The written literature or scripts of the following indigenous languages are of varied nature as gathered from the native speakers of Arunachal Pradesh:

2.1.Tai Khamti
2.2 Nyishi
2.3 Wancho
2.4 Hrusso
2.5 Lisu
2.6 Galo
2.7 Mishmi
2.8 Bhoti

Creation of Scripts in Indigenous languages

This section discusses on the development of script, the written materials available and the illustration of scripts. Most information is collected through discussion with the native speakers of the respective communities of Arunachal Pradesh.

Tai Khamti

The communities bordering Assam show fluency in Assamese, and the most affected are Tai in India. While the other Tai varieties scattered in Assam generally speaks Assamese, Tai Khamti has retained their tongue appreciably (for, they are concentrated in Namsai district of the state). Tais show concern for their tongues; they seek for revival. They are equipped with a script of their own. Tai Ahom is preserved in the historical chronicles and manuscripts. Khamti has developed and improved the old system of Tai script. There are two Tai-Khamti scripts devised by two native scholars (Chow Khouk Manpung and Chow Kalingna Mannoi).

Chow Khouk Manpung's New Tai Reader I, II, III (First published 1993) is published by the Tai Literature Committee, Chongkham, and approved by The Director of Education, Govt. of Arunachal Pradesh. Chow Manpung has included additional alphabets in his script (the voiced sounds and voiced aspirates like g, gh, b, bh, j, jh, d, dh which do not exist in the Tai-Khamti inventory of sounds) in order to facilitate writing the borrowed words from particularly Assamese and English. He has graphically explained the inventory of tones in his Tai Reader and devised

tone symbols for the script (Inventory of Tone marks and Tone symbols in Khamti is exhibited in Table 1.3).

Chow Mannoi has retained most features of the old Tai script with some changes in the length distinctions and tone markings. The script is known as Lik Tai. Chow Mannoi's Tai Language Primars is published in April 2010, from Kongmukham (The Golden Pagoda), Ta-Kongmu, Chongkham. Chow Mannoi and Chow Chatiya Moungkang again revised the script and published Tai Primers in 2018 which was sponsored by the Department of Education, Govt. of Arunachal Pradesh; and published by Tai Khamti Heritage and Literary Society (TKHLS) in collaboration with Tai Khamti Singpho Council (TKSC)These readers are used in the schools of Namsai district presently.

Invitation letters or religious agendas are written in Lik tai. News in Tai (khao^{3}-kham^{5} tai^{5}) are also broadcasted. Tai Phake and Tai Aiton are still using the old scripts and they are presently working on upgradation of the script. Their written literature finds space in monasteries.

The script of Chow Khouk Manpung (1993):

Phonetic Transcription	Khamti Script	Phonetic Transcription	Khamti Script
K	က	dh	ခ
Kh	ၵ	n	ဂ
G	ဂ	P	ပ
Gh	ၶ	Ph	ဇ
D	င	B	ဗ
C	ၸ	Bh	ၵ
Ch	ၶ	M	မ
J	ၷ	Y	ယ
Jh	ၹ	R	ရ
Ñ	ၺ	L	လ
T	တ	W	ဝ
Th	ထ	H	ဟ
D	ဝ		

Table 1.1. Consonants in Tai-Khamti script (Manpung, 1993)

Phonetic Transcription	Khamti Script
ə	ꩡ
A	ꩡꩣ
I	ꩡꩥ
I	ꩡꩥ
U	ꩡꩮ
U	ꩡꩮ
E	ꩡꩦ
ey/i	ꩡꩦ
əi	ꩡꩧ
əu	ꩡꩨ
ɔ	ꩡꩯ
o/ou	ꩡꩦꩣ
Ü	ꩡꩮ
ɯ	ꩡꩮ

Table 1.2. Vowels in Tai-Khamti script (Manpung, 1993)

Khamti script shows reduplication in tone marks and not in the lexical items.

Tones	Tone Marks	Tone Symbols used in script	Tone Symbols used in script for Reduplicated words
High tone	$_{1}$	not marked in script	ꩻ
Low tone	$_{2}$	ꩺ	꩸
Grave tone	$_{3}$	ꩵ	
/Rising tone	$_{4}$	ꩶ	꩹
Falling tone	$_{5}$	꩷	꩷꩷
Short tone	$_{6}$	ꩴ	ꩳ
Lowest pitch of low tone	$_{7}$	ꩼ	ꩽ

Table 1.3. Tone symbols (also for reduplicated words) in Tai-Khamti script (Manpung, 1993)

Chow Mannoi's Tai Language Primer and Lik Tai script

တူဝ်းမေးလိက်.တဲး ၼၢမ်သိပ်ၼၢမ်တူဝ်း(33)

ကာ	ဟာ	ၵာ	ၶာ	ငာ
ၸာ	ၸာ	ၸာ	ၸာ	ၺာ
တာ	ထာ	ဒာ	ၵာ	ၼာ
ပ	ၾ	ၿ	ဆ	မ
ယ	ရ	လ	ဝ	
သ	ၻာ	ဢ	ဢာ	

ဟပ်.မူဝ်လိက်.တဲး

Tai Khamti Primer Grade – I

(ထုၵ်ဝဝ်)

တေၵ်ကွၵ် 31/01/2018

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ဧကေက်.ကၢးၵ် တူဝ်းမေးလိက်. ကူဝ်လူဟ်ၚၢးဝ်း
(Introduction)

ကာ တူး ကဲ
ထူၚ်ကဲဟၵ်ၶ် မေးကဲဝမ်း။

ဟာ တူး ဟဲ
ကဲမေးဟဲ ဝမ်းတဲၚ်ၵွဲး။

ၵာ တူး ၵၵၢ်ထတိ
လူဝ်းပဲးက။
(ဟၤလိ)

ၶာ တူး ၶရ
ကိၵ်ဃျ ၷိူၵ်းယေး
တီးၽွဝ်းယူ။
(ဟၤလိ)

ငာ တူး ဒိုက်.
ကူတီးလိုက်. မၵ်းတွံးယိုဝ်။

Illustration 1. Tai alphabet and samples of primer

Nyishi

Nyishi is the largest ethnic group of the state. Nyishi devised their orthography from Roman script. After several revision of their script, they accomplished their primers 'Nyishi Agam Kitap' for grade V to VII for this academic session. The creation of orthography has been challenging for the native speakers. The Baptist church devised an orthography based on Roman script in 1972 with inclusion of lamda, pie (and prior to that they used Assamese script). The language consists of more than five vowels; the extra vowels are marked with consonants v and w. and this pose problems for consonantal words like *uwal* 'exclamatory i.e., alas', *wage* 'title' *puwak* 'crow'; *vebralang* 'kind of fish', etc. Mr. Taku Tayu Stephen in his Primer altered the letters v and w, as w→ é and v→ ey, as for instance *pey* 'cut/slice'; *éké* [ükü] 'maternal uncle, *émé* [ümü] 'feather'. Catholic Church devised the orthography in 1990 which was different from Baptist church. The church people were incapable to distinguish the Nyishi inventory of sounds; hence there are still confusion raised on the appropriateness of the script. The writer of the recent Nyishi primer (unpublished), Mr. Taku altered the letter 'a' as devised by Catholic church to 'e', as for instance, *alang* 'rock'→*eleng* [ələng] 'rock'. Mr Taku formulated the following 7 vowels:/a, e, é, ey, i, o, u/

A quarterly vernacular newspaper "Gumgu- rumru" was also published by Mr. Ha Tatu with Editor Taring Mama and Co-editor T. Taku Stephen. The Catholic Church also printed "Lehlam" (footprints) which was launched last year. In 1984, the Holy Bible and four books of Gospel "Tugun Pui", "Tugun Gamle", story of Abraham and Bible comics were printed to be read out in church. The Catholic Church also printed hymn book 'Ao geda yab lamta'. There is another community Nyeder Namlo Community of DonyiPolo who also joined in the group that work on the written literature along with the Christian community.

Nyishi will be included as a vernacular in the school curriculum shortly.

Wancho

Wanchos reside in Longdin and Tirap districts of Arunachal Pradesh. They are presently using two scripts – Roman script and Wancho script. Mr. Banwang Losu has recently developed Wancho script. The teachers are undergoing training of the new script in the headquarter Longdin. According to the native speakers, Primer books are printed and can be used in Wancho speaking belts which include Mon district in Nagaland and Myanmar. In addition, Mr. Losu created Wancho Tutorial animation video with English subtitles. Wancho script is published in International Unicode standard, and hence it has a digital identity and can be used in the world over.

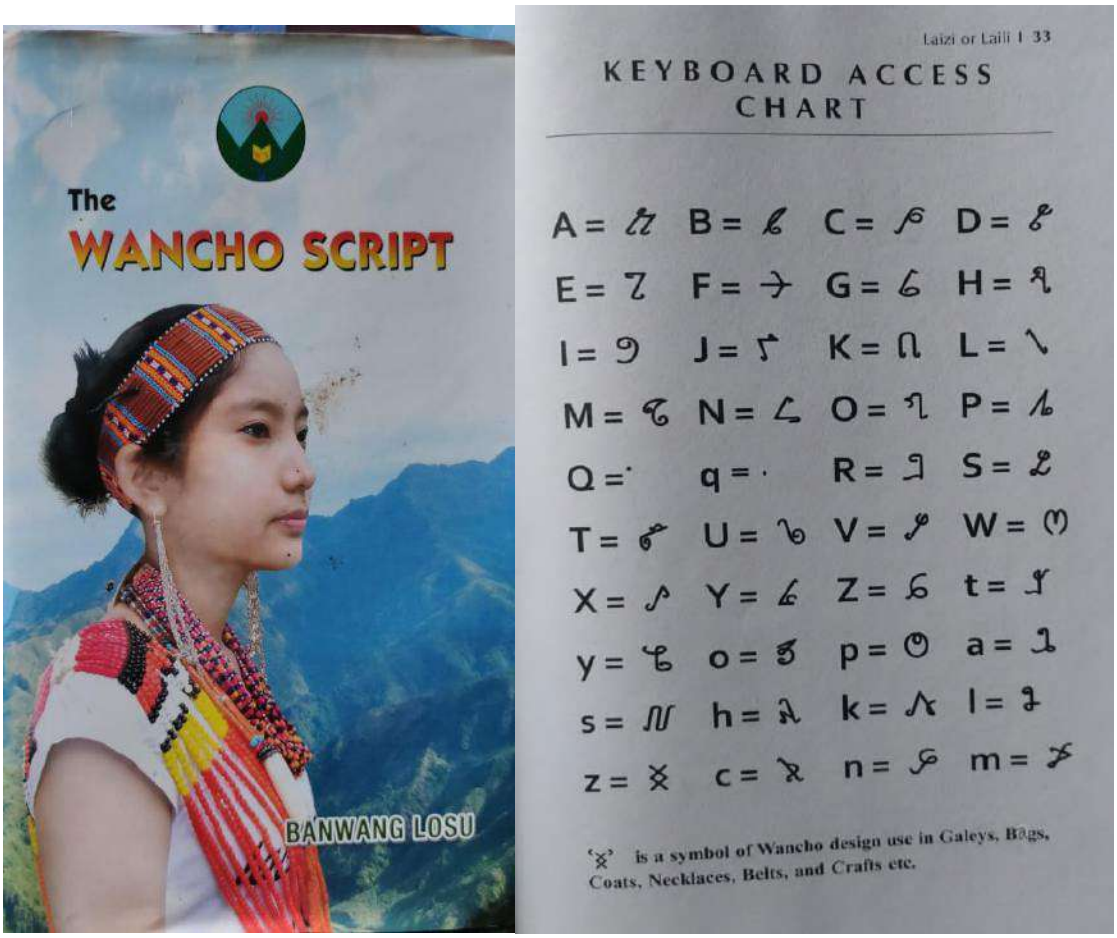


Illustration 2. (From left) Cover page of Wancho primer; Keyboard access chart for Wancho letters.

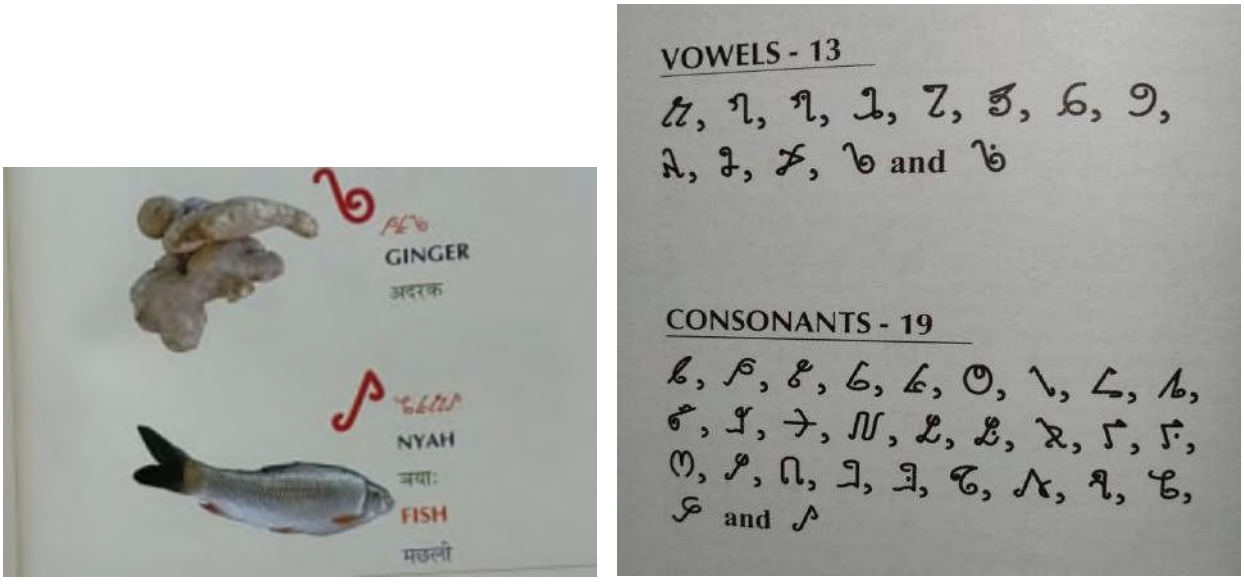


Illustration 3. (From left) Multilingual illustrations for Wancho words; Wancho alphabets

Aka-Hrusso

Hrusso uses a modified Roman script but it is not yet included in the school curriculum. The published books are Children's story book and Children's learning book. Gospels and hymns are also printed in the same language. The alphabet chart of the Hrusso language is given as under:

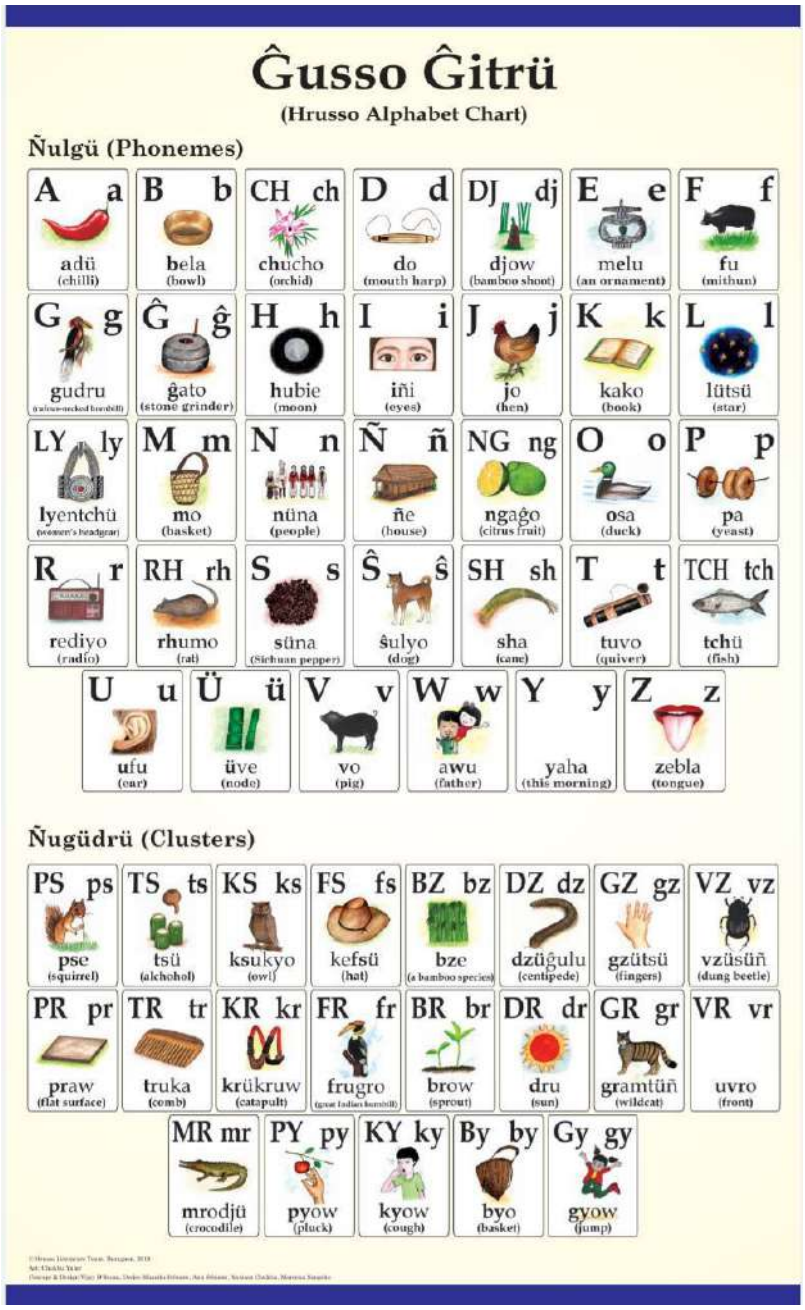


Illustration 4. Hrusso alphabet chart

Lisu

Lisu or Yobin comprises a small population residing in Vijoynagar circle of Changlang district. Lisu uses the modified Roman script (Illustration 3).and is taught in church and home. The language is not yet included in the school curriculum. The Primers were published long back which are available in the Lisu community in north-west Thailand and Myanmar. These books are no longer printed, hence, there isn't any primers available presently. The most interesting fact is Lisu children can read and write in their mother tongue.

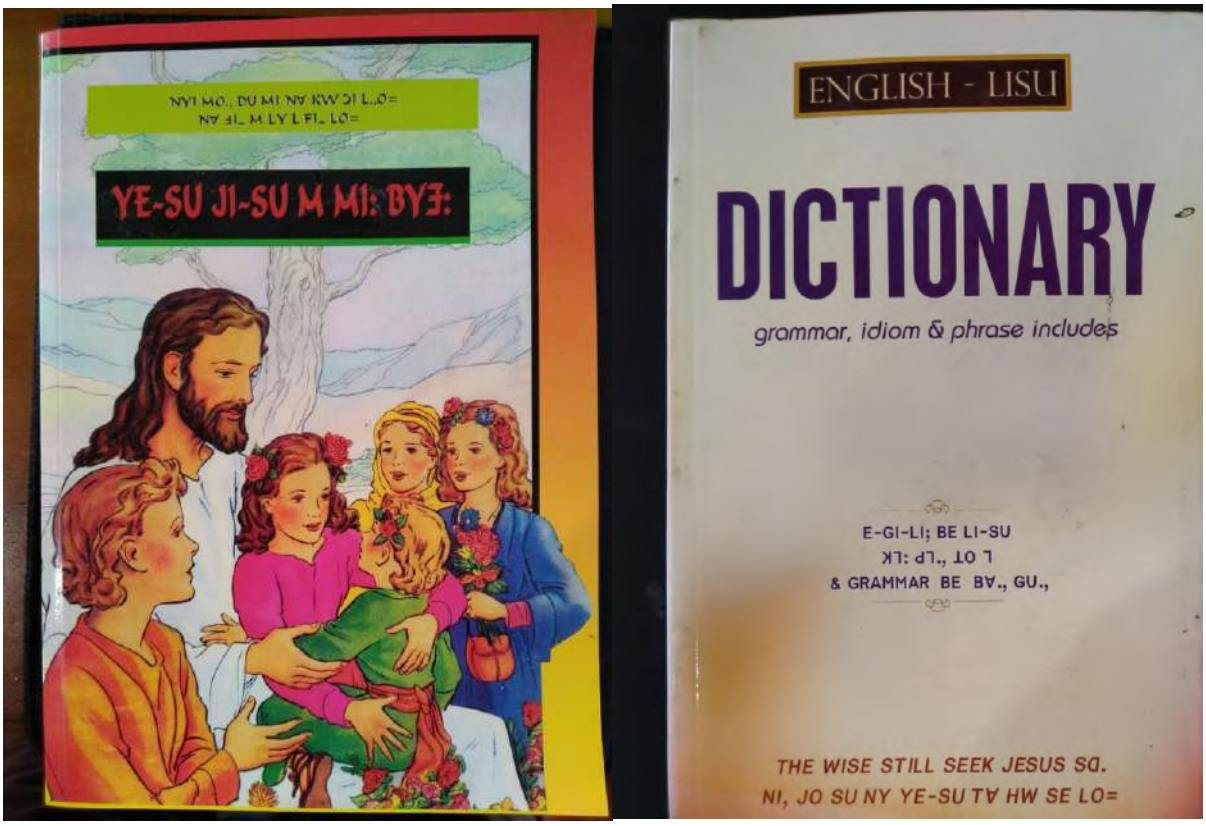
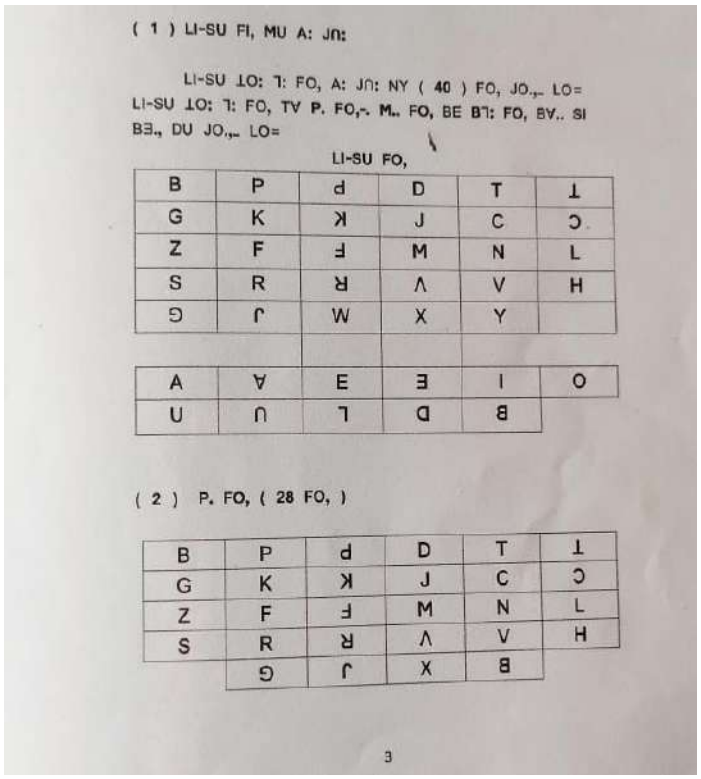


Illustration 5. (From left) Lisu book of parables; Dictionary



(1) LI-SU FI, MU A: JN:

LI-SU ⊥O: ⅂: FO, A: JN: NY (40) FO, JO.,. LO=
LI-SU ⊥O: ⅂: FO, TV P. FO,-. M.. FO, BE B⅂: FO, BV.. SI
BƎ., DU JO.,. LO=

LI-SU FO,

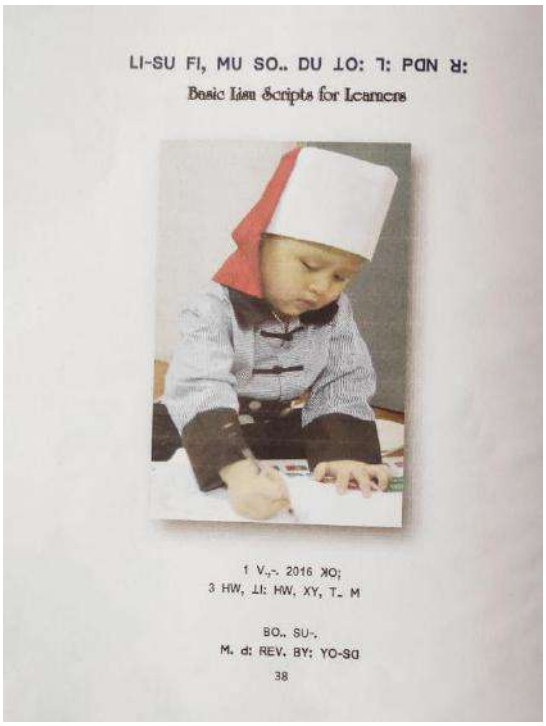
B	P	d	D	T	⊥
G	K	ʞ	J	C	Ↄ
Z	F	ꟻ	M	N	L
S	R	ꓤ	∧	V	H
Ꭾ	ſ	W	X	Y	

A	∀	E	Ǝ	I	O
U	∩	⅂	ᗡ	ᗺ	

(2) P. FO, (28 FO,)

B	P	d	D	T	⊥
G	K	ʞ	J	C	Ↄ
Z	F	ꟻ	M	N	L
S	R	ꓤ	∧	V	H
	Ꭾ	ſ	X	ᗺ	

3



LI-SU FI, MU SO.. DU ⊥O: ⅂: PƆN ꓤ:

Basic Lisu Scripts for Learners

1 V.,-. 2016 ʞO;
3 HW, ⊥I: HW, XY, T.. M

BO.. SU-.
M. d: REV. BY: YO-SƆ

38

Illustration 6. Lisu alphabet chart

Galo

Galo comprises a bigger population of Arunachal Pradesh next to Nyishi and Adi. The Galo Language Development Committee developed a modified Roman script for their inventory of alphabets in 2008 named as 'Galoo Ennam'. The inventory of sounds consists of 7 vowels, 17 consonants and two tones (the low tone is marked). The state government has approved the script to be used in school curriculum, grades VI to VIII, in Galo dominated areas from academic session 2016[1].

VOWELS

Galo	A a	I I	U u	E e	O o	W w	V V
Phonetic	a	I	u	e	o	ɨ	ʊ

[1] The information is gathered from www.galoscript.com

CONSONANTS

Galo	K k	G G	Q q	C c	J j	X x	T t	D d	N n	P p	B b	M m	Y y	R r	L L	S s	H H
Phonetic	k	g	ŋ	tɕ	dʑ	ɲ	t	d	n	p	b	m	j	r	L	s/ɕ	H

Illustration 7. Galo alphabet chart

Mishmi

The Mishmi community may be categorized into three groups Idu, Digaru/Tawrã and Kaman/ Miju. These mother tongue languages are using modified Roman script and printed their primers to be used in the school curriculum in their respective areas. The church has printed the Holy Bible, parables and hymns in all three Mishmi varieties. The following illustration is the primer printed by Tawrã Mishmi community.

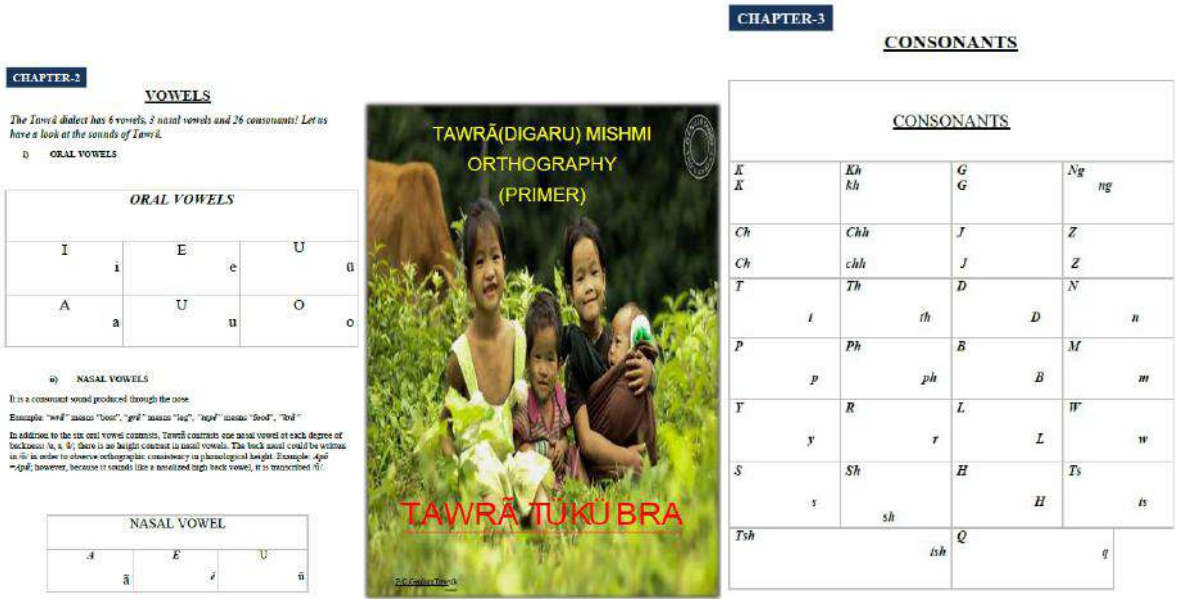


Illustration 8. Tawra alphabet chart

Bhoti

Certain communities in Arunachal Pradesh are followers of Tibetan Buddhism in West Kameng and Tawang districts. In such places, Classical Tibetan or Bhoti is included in the school curriculum for the Primary level i.e., grades I to VIII. Their religious books are printed in Bhoti; and their religious duties are also performed in Bhoti.

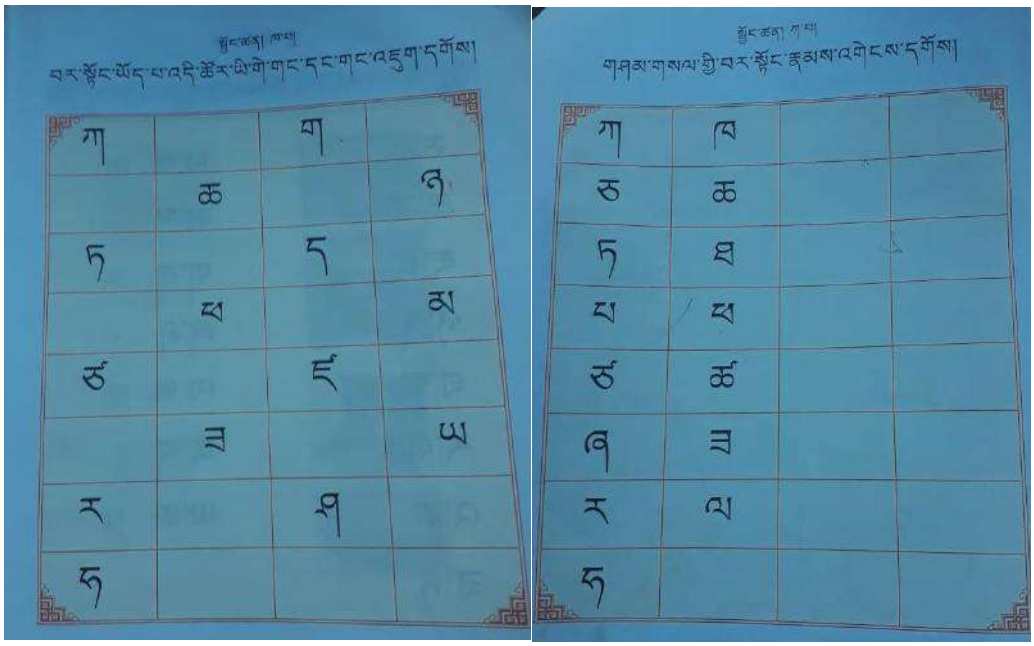


Illustration 9. Bhoti script sample in the Primer

Summary & Conclusion

Introducing scripts for indigenous literacy has been a sincere endeavour of the Christian missionaries as well as numerous literary organizations. To mention a few – **Tai Khamti** Heritage and Literary Society (in collaboration with Tai Khamti Singpho Council), **Galo** Language Development Committee of the Galo Welfare Society, **Nyishi** Elite Society, (International) **Lisu** Literature Association, **Hrusso** Literature team, **Tawra** Language Development Committee, etc. In some of these literary societies[2], linguists work hand in hand with the native speakers. Further, there was an establishment of the department of Karmik and Adhyatmik (Chos-Rig) Affairs

[2] Nyishi Elite Society (NES) constitutes a team of experts who are working on Nyishi book:
Prof. NT Rikam (chairman)
Prof. Mr Nabam Nakah Hina
Prof. Tok Reena
Prof. Lisa lomdak (Linguist)
Mr Tarh Choya (member)
Mr. T Stephen Taku
Mr. Payi Dawe (member)

(Government of Arunachal Pradesh) in 2009 who worked for the preservation and enrichment of Buddhist culture. This department constituted an expert and drafting committee with the Central Institute of Himalayan Culture Studies (in Dahung, West Kameng) who published the Bhoti Language Text books for Class I to VIII.

The society's acceptance and contestation of the appropriateness of the scripts sometimes make the native speakers face the trouble of learning two scripts. It is also seen that two kinds of scripts for the same mother tongue are used in two different circles of the same district. This was the case of Tai Khamti. Presently, Mannoi & Moungkang formulated the old Tai script (named Lik Tai) to be in unison with the Tai in Myanmar and Thailand.

In most cases, the native speakers are not trained enough to build orthography for their mother tongue. Hence, in Nyishi all /e/ words are marked as *ey*, /ə/ words are marked with *e*. In certain communities, the native speakers face difficulty in marking tones. The church authorities are sometimes not competent enough to ascertain the inventory of sounds. This makes the community linger in the process of creation and utilization of scripts. However, presently, few communities are working on their scripts with Linguists and preparing better primers like Mishmis.

The communities like Lisu, Hrusso, Wancho languages are not yet included in the school curriculum. Some communities despite the creation of script like Lisu, Hrusso are not yet utilized in the schools; Nyishi primers are planned to be used in this academic session; Wancho teachers are undergoing training in new script.

Most of the mother tongue languages in Arunachal Pradesh are using modified Roman script. The former script of Wancho was Roman script and later Losu devised unique alphabets for the same.

The Christian missionary had given prestige and power to many mother tongues and hence initiated a foundation to the creation of script for indigenous literacy. Thus, literacy in Lisu takes place in church in the absence of its inclusion in school. In addition, the church performs its duties in mother tongue languages which makes the indigenous communities feel comfortable linguistically. A contrasting case is the Sherdukpen speakers & believers of Tibetan Buddhism, who find difficulty in comprehending while uttering the prayers in Bhoti.

Of approximate 34 major languages of the state, mention could be made of some languages only who devised scripts as a tool for language learning. There are however, few other linguistic communities who are still in the process of developing script for their mother tongues by using Roman script. Linguists and language developers should take steps in promoting the indigenous languages by devising scripts for these communities. The native speakers should be facilitated with linguistic training so as to make them capable to create scripts for their mother tongues.

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I am grateful to **Nyishi** speaker - Mr. Taku Tayu Stephen; **Tai Khamti** speakers - Chow Kalingna Mannoi & Chow Chatiya Moungkang; **Tawrã Mishmi** speakers - Johakso Manyu & Jabralum Chaitom; **Hrusso** speaker - Mareena Sangcho; **Lisu** speakers - Avia Ngwaza, Ngimada Yobin, Biyonu Yobin; **Sherdukpen** speakers - Bachandu Thungon, Khandu Thungon, D. K. Thondok; **Adi** speaker Taber Tamuk; **Wancho** speakers Gangdiap Gangsa, Banwang Losu and Galo speaker Ili Riba.

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A Brief Description of Dogri Morphology

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Introduction

With around 2 million[1] speakers, Dogri is primarily spoken in the mountainous and sub-mountainous regions lying between Dhauladhar and Pir Panjal mountain ranges of North India. It belongs to the group of Western Pahari languages of Indo-Aryan language family and may have derived from Vedic Sanskrit[2], though there is also a considerable influence of Persian on the present day Dogri. Native speakers classify Dogri into three major varieties based on the type of terrain where it is spoken: *Pahari Dogri* (higher altitudes), *Kanddi Dogri* (barren lowlands) and *Maidani Dogri* (relatively lower hills).

Morphologically, Dogri is a rich language and all three domains of morphology- inflectional, derivational and compound are significant in its structure. The major lexical word classes in Dogri are nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs. There also exist closed functional classes- pronouns, postpositions and numerals. In a sentence, nouns can function as subject, direct object, indirect object, subject compliments, object compliments or object of postposition. They get inflection for gender, number and case. Similarly, adjectives are inflected for gender, number and case. Pronouns also undergo declension but they take inflections only for number and case and not for gender.

Dogri is a head-final language (see 1). Similar to Hindi, the default word order is SOV where major constituents allow scrambling (see 2).

(1) a. [e ʃɛl kɑ:r] ɛ
this beautiful house Cop.PRES.SG
'this house is beautiful'

b. mer-ɑ kɑ:r
my-M.SG house.M
Possessor Possessed noun
'my house'

[1] Source: Ethnologue, 2001 census.

[2] There has not been any published work on the historical development of Dogri.

(2) a. kuɽi=ne dʒʊgəɳ-e pʰull diɳ-ɑ
girl=ERG boy-DAT flower.M.SG give-PERF.M.SG
'girl gave flower to the boy'

b. kuɽi=ne pʰull diɳ-ɑ dʒʊgəɳ-e
girl=ERG flower.M.SG give-PERF.M.SG boy-DAT
'girl gave flower to the boy'

Dogri is also a pro-drop language like Hindi though the drop is mostly contextual. It is essentially a fusional language where a single morpheme carries multiple grammatical information. For example in (2a.), aspect, gender and number agreement is reflected through a single morpheme /- ɑ/ in /diɳ-ɑ/.

Word Formation

Derivation, compounding and reduplication are the most common word formation strategies in Dogri. Derivational processes include prefixation and suffixation. Most affixes attach to roots of different word classes and derive various word classes depending on the root to which they attach.

Prefixation

A feature typical of Indo-Aryan languages, addition of a prefix to word roots in Dogri brings in change to the meaning of the word. Prefixation can trigger a change in category of the word class. Table 1.1 lists some of the common prefixes (this list is not exhaustive):

Table 1.1 *Prefixation in Dogri*

Morpheme	Root/Stem	Prefixed Form
nə	lɛk 'intelligent'	nəlɛk 'stupid'
bəɖ	nɑ̃ 'name'	bəɖnɑ̃ 'notorious'
	ʈəmi:z 'etiquette'	bəʈəmiz 'bad-mannered'
əʊ	ɡuɳ 'positive attributes'	əʊɡuɳ 'negative attributes'

Suffixation

Suffixation is one of the most productive word formation processes in Dogri. Most of the affixation induces a change in the lexical category of the root form. For example, nouns can be derived from adjectives by the addition of the suffix /-i/ to the noun stem, e.g. kəmzor 'weak' + i = kəmzori 'weakness.' Some of the common suffixes are shown in Table 1.2.

Table 1.2 *Suffixation in Dogri*

Morpheme	Root/Stem	Prefixed Form
əʈ	likʰ 'to write'	likʰəʈ 'written record'
ən	mər 'to die'	mərəŋ 'death'

ɑkɑ	ləɖɑi 'fight' (n.)	ləɖɑkɑ 'someone who keeps on picking fights with others'
okəl	pəɖɑi 'study' (n.)	pəɖokəl 'nerd'

Compounding

Compounding is another feature characteristic to Dogri. Following[3] compound constructions are common to Dogri, Hindi and Punjabi.

Copulative Compounds

(3) a. pɛnprɑ 'sister and brother'
b. ʈɑjɑtɑi 'paternal elder (to one's father) uncle and aunt'

Superordinate Compounds

(4) a. əʈʰ pɑõ 'hand' 'feet' 'body'
b. ʧɑpɑŋi 'tea' 'water' 'refreshment'
c. ɖɹɪɖʰpətʈ 'milk' 'leaves' 'tea'

Modifier-Noun Compounds

(5) a. bɛl gɑɽi 'bullock' 'vehicle' 'bullock cart'
b. gəŋgɑ dʒəl 'Ganges' 'water' 'water of Ganges'

Reduplication

Reduplication, both complete and partial, is prominent in Dogri. Though there are some differences as to how these compounds are formed and their semantic range in each of these languages. An example of complete reduplication in Dogri would be bəkkʰ- bəkkʰ 'different/various.' The stem is [bəkʰrɑ] 'separate (adj.)' and while reduplicating, the /rɑ/ gets dropped. Other examples include

(6)	Root/Stem	Reduplicated form	
	a. ronɑ 'to cry'	roi-roi	'having cried a lot'
	b. kʰɑnɑ 'to eat'	kʰɑi- kʰɑi	'having eaten a lot'
	c. ʈurnɑ 'to walk'	ʈurɖɻe-ʈurɖɻe	'having walked a lot'

Interestingly, the Hindi counter parts of the same roots denote a different meaning after reduplication. Examine the Hindi forms below:

(7)	Root/Stem	Reduplicated form	
	a. ronɑ 'to cry'	roʈɻe-roʈɻe	'while crying'
	b. kʰɑnɑ 'to eat'	kʰɑʈɻe- kʰɑʈɻe	'while eating'
	c. ʧəlnɑ 'to walk'	ʧəlʈɻe-ʧəlʈɻe	'while walking'

3 Kaul, O.N., 2008. *Modern Hindi Grammar*. Dunwoody Press.

Other examples of reduplicated words in Dogri are:

(8)	Root/Stem	Reduplicated form	
	a. kʰittʃɲɑ 'to snatch'	kʰittʃo-kʰittʃi	'confusion'
	b. mɑrnɑ 'to beat someone up'	mɑro-mɑri	'chaos'

Dogri also exhibits partial reduplication or echo formation. Examples include

(9)			
	a. ruʈi 'food'	ruʈi-ʃuʈi	'food and food like'
	b. ronɑ 'to cry'	ronɑ-ʈonɑ	'a (dramatic) scene'

Word Categories

Nouns

Nouns exhibit a two-way gender system of masculine and feminine, and a two-way number system of singular and plural. While the gender of animate nouns corresponds to the referent's gender (natural gender), gender designation in inanimate nouns is somewhat arbitrary but can be predicted on the basis of form in most cases (/-ɑ/ endings imply masculine and /-i/ feminine gender in most cases; exceptions exist e.g. bərkʰɑ 'rain' is feminine in spite of it having an /-ɑ/ ending. Similarly pɑni 'water' is masculine even though it has /-i/ ending). Nouns also inflect for case- nominative and oblique. Nouns can be modified by numerals, quantifiers, adjectives, relative clauses and possessive pronouns.

Unlike Hindi, in Dogri, proper nouns inflect for oblique case:

(10) a. Hindi
Ram=ko pɑni ɖ̤-o
Ram=ACC water give-PRES
'give water to Ram'

b. Dogri
Ram-e =gi pɑni ɖ̤ei-oɽo
Ram-OBL =ACC water give-PRES
'give water to Ram'

Interestingly, there is variation in how proper nouns inflect for oblique case based on their form. The marker /-e/ is only present if the noun is a closed syllable or ends with /-u/. Stem endings with /-ɑ/ or /-i/ do not exhibit this marker.

(11) a. Ram-e pɑɲi ɖ̤eioɽo
b. Raju-e pɑɲi ɖ̤eioɽo

c. *Rani-e paŋi ɖeioʈo
Rani=gi paŋi ɖeioʈo (correct form)
d. *Udita-e paŋi ɖeioʈo
Udita=gi paŋi ɖeioʈo (correct form)

Verbs

Dogri verbs can be classified into intransitive, transitive and ditransitive, based on the number of arguments they take.

(12) **Intransitive**

kuʈi	su-ʈi	hi
girl	sleep-PERF.F.SG	Cop.PST

'the girl slept'

Few other examples include ʈurnɑ 'walk', ʈoʈnɑ 'run', ʈʰərnɑ 'shiver', əssnɑ 'laugh,' etc.

(13) **Transitive**

Rɑm=ne	ruʈi	kʰɑ-ɖi
Ram=ERG	food.F	eat-PERF.F

'Ram ate food'

(14) **Ditransitive**

Ram=ne	Rɑni=gi	kəʈɑb	ɖi-ʈi
Ram=ERG	Rani=DAT	book.F.SG	give-PERF.F.SG

Ram gave book to Rani.

Transitive verbs can be converted to intransitive with the affixation of the suffix /-oʧi/.

(15) a.

pɑni	pərotʃi	gɐɑ	Rɑm=ne	pɑni	pər-ɐɑ
water	fill	happen-PERF	Ram=ERG	water.M	fill-PERF.M
'water has filled'			'Ram filled water (in something)'		

b.

kələm	guaʧi	dʒɑ:g	ʊne	kələm	guɑi	oʈ-ɐɑ
pen	lose	go-FUT	he	pen.M.SG	lose	happen-PERF.M.SG
'pen will get lost'			'he lost pen'			

The verb is also categorized as finite and non-finite. Finite verbs inflect for gender (masculine and feminine), number (singular and plural), person (1st, 2nd and 3rd) and tense (present, past and future).

Adjectives

In Dogri, in terms of function, adjectives can either modify nouns or form adjectival predicates. As modifiers, adjectives precede the head nouns, and as predicates adjective can be both final and initial (16).

(16) a. e dʒʊgəɽ [ʃɛl ɛ]
this boy nice Cop.SG
'this boy is nice'

b. e dʒʊgəɽ [ɛ ʃɛl]
this boy Cop.SG nice
'this boy is nice'

Both a. and b. are allowed due to the free word order though b. also implies extra emphasis on the boy being good.

Only the class of adjectives that have stem endings /-ɑ/ and /-i/ are declinable, and inflect for gender (masculine, feminine), number (singular, plural) and case (direct, oblique).

(17)	Dogri					
		a.	tʃəŋg-ɑ	dʒʊgəɽ	tʃəŋg-e	dʒʊgəɽ
			good-MS	boy.M.SG	good-M.PL	boys.M.PL
		b.	tʃəŋg-i	kuɽi	tʃəŋg-iɑ̃	kuɽiɑ̃
			good-F.SG	girl.F.SG	good-F.PL	girls.F.PL

The genitive forms of pronouns also function as adjectives and get inflected for number, e.g. meriɑ̃ gəllɑ̃ 'my talks'.

Adverbs

Adverbs in Dogri are formed by either assigning case marker to adjectives or by reduplication of adjectival roots. In terms of position, they precede the verb.

(18) a. rəddʒ̃ie ruɽi kʰɑ
'eat heartily'

b. tʃəŋgi tʃɑli tʃəl
'walk properly'

c. ʃɛl-ʃɛl kʰɑo
'eat nicely'

In Dogri if an adverb ends with /-ɑ/, it inflects for gender and number. This is in contrast to Hindi where adverbs are not inflected.

(19)	rɑm ɟim-ɑ	tʃəl	rɑni ɟim-i	tʃəl	kuɽijõ ɟim-e	tʃəl-o
	ram slow-M.SG	walk	rani slow-F.SG	walk	girls slow-PL	walk-PL
	'Ram walk slowly'		'Rani walk slowly'		'girls walk slowly'	

Pronouns

Nominative Case Pronouns

	Singular	Plural
1st Person	ɑ̃u/mɛ	əss
2nd Person	ʈɪ/ʈɪss	ʈɪss
3rd Person	e (proximate)	
	o (distal)	

The 2nd Person singular pronoun /ʈɪss/ is a more polite form and implies respect for elderly whereas ʈɪ is usually used in informal conversations or when the person is younger and one knows them very well (like vous vs tu in French). Unlike Hindi, the 3rd Person nominative pronouns in Dogri do not exhibit number agreement with head nouns.

Oblique Pronouns

	Singular	Plural	
1st Person	mɪgi	əssẽ	
2nd Person	ʈɪgi/ʈɪssẽ	ʈɪssẽ	
3rd Person	issi	inẽ	(proximate)
	ussi	unẽ	(distal)

Genitive Pronouns

	Singular	Plural
1st Person	merɑ	sɑɾɑ
2nd Person	ʈerɑ/ʈɪndɑ	ʈɪndɑ/ʈɒɑɾɑ
3rd Person	erɑ.M/eri.F	indɑ
	orɑ.M/ori.F	undɑ

Genitive pronouns can be seen as a compound of nominative case pronoun with genitive postposition /ɖɑ/ or /rɑ/.

Postposition

Postpositions in Dogri are employed after words, which are used in oblique case to denote case relationships. With the exception of genitive /ɖɑ/ all the postpositions used in Dogri are indeclinable. /ɖɑ/ agrees with the number, gender and case of the head nouns/pronouns. Some of the postpositions in Dogri are: kʰəll (below), uppər (above), rɑ (through), ʈəgər (till), mətʃɑʈe (in between), kənnɛ (with), etc.

Form	Case
nɛ	Nominative
gi	Accusative
kənɛ	Instrumental
kəʃɑ/kolɑ/ ʈʰəmɑ	Ablative
lei/ʈɑ̃i/dʒogɑ	Dative
ɖɑ/ɖɛ/ɖi/	Genitive
tʃə/upər/bittʃt	Locative

Numerals

Unlike in Hindi, cardinal numerals in Dogri inflect for oblique case if the nominal they are modifying is inflecting for the same (see 20). Ordinal numerals in Dogri agree with the head noun for gender and number (see 21).

(20) ikk-e rəsʈe=tʃə ikk ɖɾəkʰʈə ɛ
one-OBL road=LOC one tree.M.SG Cop.M.SG
'there is a tree at one road.'

(21) pɛl-i bərkʰɑ pɛl-ɑ nəttʃ pɛl-e nɑ̃
first-F rain.F first-M.SG dance.M.SG first-PL name.PL
'first rain' 'first dance' 'first names'

Conclusion

This paper presents a brief description of Dogri morphology, a Western Pahari Language, primarily spoken in Jammu region. In general, an attempt has been made to describe the lexical categories of Dogri language with respect to their major morphological features. This paper presents certain interesting features that distinguish it from other Indo-Aryan languages like Hindi. This paper can be useful for and extended and more exhaustive research on Dogri morphology.

THE POLYNYMOUS CAMEL OF ARABIA

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Introduction:

Way back in 1981, Mikhail Mikhailovich Bakhtin, a Russian philosopher, literary critic and scholar argued that "Language is not a neutral medium that passes freely and easily into the private property of the speaker's intentions; it is populated – overpopulated with the intentions of others." (Bakhtin 1981, cited in Duranti 2011, p. 28) It rather appropriates, expropriates, forces - both coercively and ideologically - to submit to one's own intentions, beliefs and practices. This expression of force and coercion is loud and clear in Linguistic Anthropology, a sub-field of Cultural Anthropology "concerned with the place of language in its wider social and cultural context, and its role in forging and sustaining cultural practices and social structures." (Foley 1997, p. 3) Linguistic anthropologists have used language in their work as a source for general study of 'culture'. The phrase 'language is culture and culture is language' is commonly used when discussion on the two takes place. Alfred L. Krober, an American cultural anthropologist has said that culture started with the advent of speech, and since then, the enrichment of one led to the development of the other. The communicative acts are the manifestation of culture with respect to a given society. Young children, in the process of learning their language, acquire culture simultaneously.

As an interdisciplinary field dedicated to the study of language as a cultural resource and speaking as a cultural practice, it draws theoretical and methodological persuasions from diverse fields,

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approaches and schools of thought leading to considerable differences across generations of scholars. What is it that despite such considerable differences arising out of varying theoretical and methodological orientations, linguistic anthropologists continue to remain unanimous in their understanding of certain basic assumptions about language? Duranti finds an answer in Bakhtin. In fact, the insightful observation of Bakhtin prompted Duranti to argue that there are "some core ideas about a small set of essential properties of language", which are "centered upon one basic assumption, namely, that *language is a non-neutral medium*." (Duranti 2011, p. 29; emphasis in original) These are, according to him, shared across generations and schools of thought. Perhaps, it is this understanding that 'language is a non-neutral medium' guided Boas to believe that each language should be studied on its own terms rather than according to some pre-set categories (e.g., Latin or Greek).

Benjamin L. Whorf, a student of Edward Sapir, reinforced Boas' belief when he said that nature should be dissected along lines laid down by our native languages. According to him, the real world was a result of the language habits of people, which appears different to each society, and no two languages are similar in such a way that they may represent one society. When linguistics in America was being pursued basically by scholars more committed to linguistic theory than to languages, apparently demonstrating devaluation of grammatical description *per se*, Sapir, Whorf and a host of other Anthropological linguists were arguing against the over-generalization of the theoretical linguistics. Their nature of opposition was premised on the assumption that these over-generalizations would obscure differences across languages. For Sapir and Whorf, documentation and detailed description of grammar of the language of Native Americans such as the Hopi were important because the indigenous groups view the world differently from those who spoke English. The perspective that is being shared here is what is called the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis, which originated in the middle of the twentieth century. Language affects the thought process. This is termed as linguistic relativity.

Linguistic relativity and the Polynymous camel of Arabia:

The natural and cultural world that camel inhabits in the land of desert makes an interesting case of linguistic relativity and the richness of language. The rich Arabic language, which provides an extensive list of 'signifiers' or referents to a single 'signified' or idea, has brought to light, the hundreds of names given to the 'ship of the desert' - The Camel.

Camels have been an important part of life in Saudi Arabia and throughout the Arabian Gulf. They are considered sources of pride for not just the breeders but also for all Arabs, who identify camel, symbolic of their heritage, life and economy. More importantly, in the 7th century AD, the camel was the main tool in the campaign in spreading Islam across areas of Asia, Africa, and Europe. The camel not only was the mount of the Arab Bedouin to launch their campaign, but it was also

the main animal in the herd and a major source of wealth and food. Without the almighty camel, the entire history of the Arabs would have been different.

Apart from serving as the beast of burden and providing meat, milk, wool and medicines, camel has a cultural significance also. They are gifts to brides and their families in marriage ceremonies. Also, in the wedding ceremony, the bride usually arrives at the groom's house seated on top of a camel, both decorated to mark joyfulness of the occasion. This importance justifies the umpteen labels that it has in the language.

This paper makes a modest attempt to present variety of words used for representing different types of camels arranged according to semantic fields (or lexemes). These semantic fields considered in this study include subject matter, such as colours, age, number, pregnancy, breeding, drinking water, milk production, strength, etc.

Methodology:

The data for looking into different terms used for referring to camel have been collected from both written and spoken sources. For the written sources we have relied on old classic text titled *Kitab Al-Mukhassas* written by Ibn Sidah Abu al-Hassan Ali bin Ismail in 1898/1903. For the spoken data we relied on information provided by the native speakers of Arabic across the Arab world. Most of our informants belonged to the age group of 50 and above who volunteered to provide data to us based on what they could recall from their interaction with the parents and other elder members both within and outside the family. Owing to pandemic, we requested them to record the data and provide us online after proper authentication at their level.

Presentation of data:

i. Terms of camel based on colors:

No.	Terms	Transcription	Meaning
1.	أشعل	/aʃʕəl/	Camel, that is white with a different tail color
2.	أمغر	/ amɣər/	Camel in which its face has a red color mixed with a pure whiteness
3.	جرشية	/d͡ʒərʃi:jəh/	Red camel
4.	جالمـه	/d͡ʒalıməh/	Black camel
5.	شقحاء	/ ʃəqħaʔ/	Camel in which its blackness is mix of red, white
6.	سمحاء	/səmħaʔ/	Camel in which its color is mixed of black and red
7.	مغص	/ məɣsˁ/	White camels
8.	وضحاء	/wədˁħaʔ/	White camel (female)

9.	اخضر	/aχdˤər/	Green (or greenish) camel
10.	احوى	/ aħwa/	Green camel mixed with black and yellow
11.	شهـلاء	/ʃəhlaʔ/	Camels that are brown in color
12.	أكلف	/ akləf/	Very red camel mixed with little blackness
13.	أحسب	/aħsəb/	Black camel and in its blackness mixed with little red or white
14.	أسمر	/asmər/	Camel which seems to be white but it is not
15.	عيس	/ ʕʌɪs/	Camels which have white mixed with blonde hear
16.	غهيب	/ ɣəhi:b/	Dark camel
17.	حمرة	/ħəmrəh/	Red camel
18.	ارمك	/armək/	Red camel mixed with black
19.	اورق	/aurəq/	Black camel mixed with little white
20.	أدم	/adəm/	Male camel, that is completely white
21.	عيس	/ʕəi:s/	Male camel, that is white with blonde complexion
22.	عيساء	/ʕəi:saʔ/	Female camel, that is white with blonde complexion
23.	أدماء	/admaʔ/	White female camel
24.	اوضح	/ audˤəħ/	White male camel
25.	حمراء	/ ħəmraʔ/	Red and white camel
26.	شعلاء	/ʃəʕlaʔ/	Camels covered with red hair

ii. Terms of camel based on age:

No.	Terms	Transcription	Meaning
27.	لقي	/luqi:j/	A camel which is between two to three years old
28.	مخول	/məχu:l/	A camel which is aged between six months to one year
29.	مفرود	/məfru:d/	Camel which is aged between one to two years, being totally dependent on herding and drinking
30.	ثني	/ θəni:/	A camel whose aged between five to six years old
31.	حِق	/ħɪq/	A male camel which is aged between two and three years old
32.	حقه	/ ħɪqəh/	A female camel which is aged between two and three years old
33.	جذع	/d͡ʒɪðʕ/	A camel which has completed its fourth year entering the fifth year of its age., and starts to carry luggage
34.	رباع	/rɪbaʕ/	A camel aged between six and seven years old
35.	سديس	/sudais/	A camel aged between seven and eight years old
36.	فطيم	/fətˤi:m/	A camel that is one year old and still breastfeeds from its mother.

37.	بازل	/bazil/	A male camel after entering the ninth year, when its canines come out through the occurrence of tingling
38.	بازله	/bazıləh/	A female camel after entering the ninth year, when his canines come out through the occurrence of tingling
39.	هُبَع	/hubəʕ/	A very young male camel
40.	حيران	/ħʌıran/	Newborn camel
41.	شارف	/ʃarıf/	An old camel
42.	بكرة	/bıkrəh/	A young female camel
43.	هرش	/hʌrʃ/	Old camel
44.	حيران	/ħəıran/	a newly born camel
45.	قلوص	/qəlu:sˁ/	An old female camel
46.	علندي	/ʕələndı/	An old camel
47.	مخلول	/məχlu:l/	6 months old camel and starts to drink water

iii. Terms of camel based on milk production:

No.	Terms	Transcription	Meaning
48.	جضور	/ d͡ʒʌdˁu:r/	A camel that produces a lot of butter during her milking
49.	خلفـاء	/χəlfaʔ/	A camel that gives milk
50.	شكرة	/ʃəkrəh/	A female camel in which its breast is full of milk
51.	عصوب	/ʕʌsˁu:b/	A female camel in which it is difficult to have milk from her
52.	عسوس	/ʕʌsu:s/	A female camel which does not give milk in front of people
53.	بسوس	/bʌsu:s/	A female camel which has to be shouted at (like bis bis) to give some milk
54.	مري	/mʌri/	A female camel which has a lot of milk
55.	رفود	/rʌfu:d/	A female camel from which we can have a full bottle of milk
56.	ضفوف	/dˁʌfu:f/	A female camel which can be milked twice
57.	بكيئه	/bʌki:ʔh/	A female camel which cannot produce milk
58.	دهين	/dʌhi:n/	A female camel which cannot produce milk
59.	جداء	/d͡ʒəda ʔ/	A female camel which stopped giving milk suddenly
60.	وفرة	/wəfrəh/	A female camel that has a good quantity of milk
61.	شول	/ ʃaul/	A camel that has less milk
62.	صفي	/sˁafi/	A female camel which has a lot of milk
63.	بركة	/ bərəkəh/	It is called the camel that has blessing in terms of milk, price and meat
64.	نحوس	/nəħu:s/	A female camel that does not allow to be milked
65.	نخور	/ nəχu:r/	A female camel that does not give milk unless it gets massaged through its nose

66.	حلوب	/ħəluːb/	A camel that has milk
67.	شصوص	/ʃəsˁuːsˁ/	A camel that does not have milk
68.	قعود	/qəʕuːd/	A small male camel which is still suckling milk from its mother
69.	دهين	/dəhiːn/	The camel has less milk
70.	مسوح	/ məsuːħ/	A female camel which gives milk when you wipe her breast without breastfeeding her newborn
71.	مجاهيم	/mədʒ͡ahiːm/	A camel that can produce a large quantity of milk
72.	البو	/al buː/	A female camel which stopped giving milk suddenly because of the death of her baby

iv. Terms of camel based on drinking water:

No.	Terms	Transcription	Meaning
73.	الغب	/ɣəb/	A camel that drinks water every two days
74.	الغب الطل	/al ɣəb al tˁəl/	A camel that goes to drink water from the basin during the day.
75.	ربع	/rubʕ/	A camel that drinks water every three days
76.	الظاهرة	/ðˁahərəh/	A camel that drinks water every day
77.	رفة	/rafˈəh/	A camel that drinks at any time
78.	قصريد	/qisˁriːd/	A camel that drinks a small amount of water
79.	عرجاء	/ʕərdʒ͡aʔ/	A camel that drinks water once in the morning and once in the evening
80.	تندية	/təndiˈəh/	A camel that goes back to the water basin to drink again
81.	سلوف	/səluːf/	A camel that leads the other camels to the water basin to drink
82.	رقوب	/ruquːb/	A camel that does not drink water from the basin when it's busy, but watches stealthily
83.	ملحاح	/milħaħ/	A camel that hardly leaves the water basin place
84.	ميراد	/mērad/	A camel that rushes to get to the water basin
85.	هيام	/hiam/	A thirsty camel
86.	عيوف	/ʕujuːf/	A camel that smells the water, but does not drink often
87.	مقامح	/məqamēħ/	A camel that does not drink until it overcomes her pain
88.	رباع	/rəbaʕ/	Camels that drink water every three days
89.	فصيل	/fəsˁiːl/	A one year old camel which eats trees and drinks water after being separated from his mother.
90.	هيم	/hiːm/	Camels which are most thirsty, as they are not quenched because of a disease that affects them
91.	هافة	/hafəh/	The camel that thirsts quickly
92.	ملواح	/mılwaħ/	A camel that gets thirsty quickly

v. Terms of camel based on pregnancy, giving birth and breeding

No.	Terms	Transcription	Meaning
93.	معشّر	/muʕʃir/	A female camel in the early stages of pregnancy
94.	لقحة	/ ləqħəh/	A female camel which is 4th months pregnant
95.	عشراء	/ ʕəʃraʔ/	A female camel which has passed ten months of her pregnancy
96.	حيل	/ħəıl/	Camel that has been pollinated but not necessarily pregnant
97.	قارح	/qarıħ/	Female camel at its first stage of pregnancy
98.	مفاريد	/ məfari:d/	A name given to female camel when the first sign of pregnancy appears on her
99.	هجان	/hıd͡ʒan/	A female camel that get pregnant before its time.
100.	عِشَار	/ʕıʃar/	A female camel that is ten months pregnant
101.	حايل	/ħaıl/	A female camel which is not pregnant
102.	عشرا	/ ʕəʃra/	A female camel that gives birth in a period of more than 6 months
103.	خلفة	/χılfʌh/	A female camel when she gives birth
104.	مقلات	/mʌqlat/	Female camel that gives birth only once
105.	فاطر	/fatˁır/	An old female camel who gave birth more than 5 times
106.	هياج	/hiad͡ʒ /	A camel stallion ready to breed, known through his meager belly
107.	مسيّر – مجسّر	/ musajər/ /mud͡ʒasər/	A female camel ready to breed
108.	وصيلة	/wəsˁi:ləh/	A camel that gives birth seven times, and if the seventh was a male or female, they said, her brother arrived, and she should not be slaughtered, and its benefits are for men not women
109.	مصعد	/mʌsˁʕəd/	A female camel that has delivered its baby before the expected time
110.	حام	/ħam/	A camel's stallion
111.	غادر	/χa:dər/	A camel stallion that completed the preparation period to be ready for reproduction, known through its bulging belly
112.	فنيق	/fəni:q/	A camel that fattens for mating and reproduction
113.	مخناف	/mıχnaf/	A camel that is sterile
114.	حائل	/ħaʔıl/	A female camel that has not been pollinated
115.	معشر	/mʌʕʃər/	A female camel in its first period of pollination
116.	مسيّر	/musai:jər/	A female camel which is ready to be pollinated
117.	فطر	/fıtˁr/	An old camel but still gives birth
118.	مسموح	/məsmu:ħ/	A female camel which gives birth but its babies are being hidden from her

vi. Terms of camel based on numbers:

No.	Terms	Transcription	Meaning
119.	إبل– بعير	/ɪbɪl/ / bəʕi:r/	Camels /a group of camels in general
120.	جَمَل	/d͡ʒəməl/	A male camel
121.	جمائل	/d͡ʒəmaʔɪl/	Plural of camel
122.	ناقة	/naqəh/	A female camel
123.	ذود	/ ðəud/	3 to 10 camels
124.	زيمة	/zaiməh/	2 to 15 camels
125.	رسل	/rəsl/	About 10 camels, or between 15 and 25
126.	صرمة	/sˤərməh/	10 to 30 camels
127.	صدعة	/sˤədʕəh/	A herd of 60 camels
128.	عكرة	/ʕəkrəh/	A herd up to 70, or between 50 to 100
129.	جول	/d͡ʒəul/	A herd from 30 to 40 camels
130.	هندوهنيدة	/hɪnd-wa-həni:dəh/	One hundred camels
131.	قرج	/ qərd͡ʒ/	About one hundred and fifty, or between 500 and 1,000 camels
132.	ليلى	/ləila/	A herd of 300 camels
133.	حوم	/ħu:m/	A herd of more than 1,000 camels
134.	رسال	/rʌsal/	About 10 or 15 to 25 camels
135.	جول	/d͡ʒu:l/	30 to 40 camels
136.	تزيد	/tʌzi:d/	Camels which stand in the first row
137.	ذميل	/ðʌmi:l/	Camels which stand in the second row
138.	رسيم	/rʌsi:m/	Camels which stand in the third row
139.	وخد	/ wəχd/	Camels which stand in the fourth row
140.	قسيج	/qʌsi:d͡ʒ/	Camels which stand in the fifth row
141.	فسيح	/fʌsi:ħ/	Camels which stand in the sixth row
142.	وجيف	/wʌd͡ʒi:f/	Camels which stand in the seventh row
143.	رتكان	/rʌtkan/	Camels which stand in the eighth row
144.	ارقال	/arqa:l/	Camels which stand in the ninth row
145.	زامل	/zamil/	A group of camels (convoy)

vii. Terms of camel based on racing competition:

No.	Terms	Transcription	Meaning
146.	اولى	/u:la/	Name given to the female camel when it wins the racing competition
147.	ذهبية	/ðəhəbiʌh/	Name given to the female camel when it wins the racing competition

148.	عالية	/ʕaliʌh/	Name given to the female camel when it wins the racing competition
149.	فايزة	/faizəh/	Name given to the female camel when it wins the racing competition
150.	مبروكة	/məbru:kəh/	Name given to the female camel when it wins the racing competition
151.	غالي	/ɣali/	Name given to the male camel when it wins the racing competition
152.	كسبان	/kʌsban/	Name given to the male camel when it wins the racing competition
153.	منصور	/mənsˁu:r/	Name given to the male camel when it wins the racing competition
154.	سباق	/səbˈaq/	Name given to the male camel when it wins the racing competition
155.	صاعقة	/sˁaʕiqəh/	Name given to the female camel when it is strong during camel racing competition
156.	انفجار	/ɪnfid͡ʒar/	Name given to the female camel when it is strong during camel racing competition
157.	ضاربة	/dˁʌribəh/	Name given to the female camel when it is strong during camel racing competition
158.	مدمرة	/mudəmirəh/	Name given to the female camel when it is strong during camel racing competition
159.	قاهر	/qahir/	Name given to the male camel when it is strong during camel racing competition
160.	حرقان	/ħərqan/	Name given to the male camel when it is strong during camel racing competition
161.	كايد	/kaiˈd/	Name given to the male camel when it is strong during camel racing competition
162.	زلزال	/zɪlzal/	Name given for the male camel when it is strong during camel racing competition
163.	مقدرة	/məqdərʌh/	Name given to the male camel when it is strong during camel racing competition
164.	جبار	/d͡ʒbˈar/	Name given to the male camel when it is strong during camel racing competition
165.	وصايف	/wəsˁaif/	A camel used for racing competitions
166.	أصيل	/asˁi:l/	A very good racing camel

viii. Terms of camel based on region:

No.	Terms	Transcription	Meaning
167.	بحتر	/bəhtər/	A camel referred to BAHTAR tribe
168.	بيحانية	/baiħani:ah/	A camel referred to BAIHAN tribe
169.	ارحبية	/arħabiah/	A camel referred to ARHAB tribe which is in Yemen

170.	داعرية	/dʌʕiriah/	A camel referred to DAIR tribe which is in Yemen
171.	اموية	/amʌwiah/	A camel referred to Umayyad caliphate
172.	عباسية	/ʕʌbasiah/	A camel referred to ABBAS caliphate
173.	نمرية	/nɪmriah/	A camel referred to NAMIR tribe
174.	فاخرية	/faχiriah/	A camel referred to FAWAKHIR tribe
175.	صفراوية	/sˁʌfrawiah/	A camel referred to SAFRA tribe
176.	مجدية	/mʌd͡ʒdiah/	A camel referred to YEMEN
177.	جلالة	/d͡ʒəlaləh/	A female camel of pure origin, owned by the elite class usually, which has a huge traditional value
178.	عيدية	/ʕi:di:ah/	A camel which is referred to BANI EID tribe
179.	شدقميان	/ ʃɪdqumian /	A camel named after NOMAN BIN ALMUNTHER's camel
180.	اصهب	/asˁhʌb /	A camel referred to SUHAB which is a tribe in Yemen
181.	درعية	/dərʕɪah/	Camel of Diriyah origin in Saudi arabia
182.	الخليط	/al χʌli:tˁ/	A camel that has a mixed origins

ix. Terms of camel based on strength:

No.	Terms	Transcription	Meaning
183.	ضائل	/dˁaʔil/	A strong male camel
184.	عوصاء	/ʕəusˁaʔ/	A strong riding camel
185.	عنس	/ʕəns/	A camel which is as strong as the rock
186.	دوسرة	/dəusərəh/	A very tough female camel
187.	دوسر	/dəusər/	A very tough male camel
188.	عيسجور/ عرمس	/ʕaisəd͡ʒu:r/ /ʕərməs/	A tough female camel
189.	عنتريس	/ʕəntəri:s/	A female camel which is tough and has a lot of flesh
190.	ام المعارك	/aum al məʕarɪk/	Refers to camels participating in battles
191.	جيـث	/d͡ʒəiθ/	Camels that carry the fighters
192.	محـامل	/məħamɪl/	Camels that are used for weight-bearing
193.	هجـين	/həd͡ʒi:n/	A camel which is lean and fast-moving
194.	قريع	/qəri:ʕ/	A camel in which the rider strike
195.	ظعائن	/ðˁʌʕaʔɪn/	A camel which carries hooks that contain people inside it
196.	شملال	/ ʃəmlal/	A camel which is fast and light
197.	جيـث	/d͡ʒʌɪθ/	Camels that carry fighters
198.	حفض	/ħʌfdˁ/	Camels carrying luggage
199.	يعمة	/jəʕməh/	Camels which are able to work hard
200.	هايج	/haɪd͡ʒ/	A camel which is in a state of anxiety and unresponsive to anything

x. Terms of camel based on number of humps:

No.	Terms	Transcription	Meaning
201.	طبز	/tˤabz/	Camel with two humps
202.	دهانج	/dəhanɪd͡ʒ/	A camel that has got two humps
203.	كوماء	/ kəumaʔ/	A female camel which has a great one hump

xi. Nick names of camel:

No.	Terms	Transcription	Meaning
204.	خود	/χu:d/	Name given to describe the beauty of female camel
205.	خريدة	/χʌri:dəh/	Name given to describe the beauty of female camel
206.	دخيمة	/dʌχiməh/	Name given to describe the beauty of female camel
207.	مملودة	/mʌmlu:dəh/	Name given to describe the beauty of female camel
208.	منيفة	/munifəh/	Name given to describe the beauty of female camel
209.	دفية	/dəfijəh/	Name given to describe the beauty of female camel
210.	فارعة	/fʌriʕəh/	Name given to describe the beauty of female camel
211.	نشبة	/nəʃbəh/	Name given to describe the beauty of female camel
212.	مريفة	/murifəh/	Name given to describe the beauty of female camel
213.	رسال	/rəsal/	Name given to describe the beauty of male camel
214.	عيدان	/ʕaidan/	Name given to describe the beauty of male camel
215.	سديم	/sədi:m/	Name given to describe the beauty of male camel
216.	سرعوف	/sərʕu:f/	Name given to describe the beauty of male camel
217.	شملال	/ʃʌmlal/	Name given to describe the beauty of male camel
218.	دواني	/dəwani/	Name given to describe the beauty of male camel
219.	ديمة	/dʌiməh/	Name given to the female camel that indicates livelihood
220.	صوغة	/sˤu:ɣəh/	Name given to the female camel that indicates livelihood
221.	هماليل	/hʌmali:l/	Name given to the female camel that indicates livelihood
222.	تبر	/təbr/	Name given to the female camel that indicates livelihood
223.	سجية	/sʌd͡ʒijəh/	Name given to the female camel that indicates livelihood
224.	مترف	/mətrəf/	Name given to the male camel that indicates livelihood
225.	سعدان	/səʕdan/	Name given to the male camel that indicates livelihood
226.	مكارم	/məkarim/	Name given to the male camel that indicates livelihood
227.	يمان	/jəman/	Name given to the male camel that indicates livelihood
228.	ثنايا	/θʌnaja/	Name given to an old female camel
229.	مجاهيم	/məd͡ʒahi:m/	Name given to an old female camel
230.	بعارين	/bəʕari:n/	Name given to an old female camel
231.	سواني	/səwani/	Name given to an old female camel

232.	نجمة	/nədʒməh/	Name given to express the gratitude towards the camel as a sense of pride among Arabs
233.	فجر	/fədʒr/	Name given to express the gratitude for camel as a sense of pride among Arabs
234.	وله	/wələh/	Name given to express the gratitude for camel as a sense of pride among Arabs
235.	جود	/dʒu:d/	Name given to express the gratitude for camel as a sense of pride among Arabs
236.	بشر	/bʌʃʌr/	Name given to express the gratitude for camel as a sense of pride among Arabs
237.	زين	/zain/	Name given to express the gratitude for camel as a sense of pride among Arabs
238.	نورمان	/nu:rman/	Name given for a female camel with regards to some names of actresses
239.	سوزان	/su:zan/	Name given for a female camel with regards to some names of actresses
240.	حليمة	/ħʌliməh/	Name given for a female camel with regards to some names of actresses
241.	يمنى	/jumna/	Name given for a female camel with regards to some names of actresses
242.	كازابلانكا	/kazablanka/	Name given to camel with regards to some famous places
243.	سينا	/si:na/	Name given to camel with regards to some famous places
244.	شامية	/ʃamijəh/	Name given to camel with regards to some famous places
245.	عذاري	/ʕəðari/	Name given to camel with regards to some famous places
246.	مضية	/mədˤiəh/	Name given to the female camel that shows its beauty
247.	نورا	/nu:ra/	Name given to a female camel
248.	كايدة، شروق ، صوغان	/kaidəh/ /ʃuru:q/ /sˤəuɣan/	Nicknames for camel beauty queens in Emirates
249.	حلوة	/ħulwəh/	Name given to the female camel
250.	شرهة	/ʃərhəh/	Name given to the female camel
251.	عبدة	/ʕəbdəh/	Name given to the female camel
252.	رهيفة	/rʌhi:fəh/	Name given to the female camel
253.	جهامة	/dʒʌhaməh/	Name given to the female camel
254.	غزالة	/ɣʌzaləh/	Name given to the female camel
255.	شرهان	/ʃərhan/	Name given to the male camel
256.	حمران	/ħəmran/	Name given to the male camel
257.	عبدان	/ʕəbdan/	Name given to the of a male camel
258.	بويظان	/buaiðˤan/	Name given to the male camel
259.	قمراء	/qəmraʔ/	Name given to the female camel

xii. Terms based on camel's appearance:

No.	Terms	Transcription	Meaning
260.	جسرة/ سرداح	/sırdaħ/ /d͡ʒəsrəh/	A female camel which is splendid and tall
261.	كناز	/kənaz/	A female camel which is fat, full of flesh
262.	هرجاب	/hırd͡ʒab/	A female camel which is huge and tall
263.	قرواح	/qırwaħ/	A female camel which has long legs walk on smooth and plain land
264.	دفواء	/dəfwaʔ/	A long necked female camel
265.	سرحوب	/sərħu:b/	A female camel which is tall and fast
266.	خنشليل	/χənʃəli:l/	A female camel which is tall
267.	رابخ	/rabıχ/	A camel that gets fat when there is plenty of forage and grass
268.	ثاوي	/θawi/	Camel which is too weak to stand
269.	قوداء	/ qʌwdaʔ/	A camel that always leads other camels
270.	معطاء	/ məʕdˤaʔ/	A camel, which has a skinny, long neck covered with just a little bit of hair
271.	هارب	/ harıb/	A camel that walks in front of the other ones exceeding them with a great distance as if it's trying to escape
272.	فاهية	/ fahıah/	A top class camel
273.	جفول	/ d͡ʒʌfu:l/	A timid camel
274.	شرود	/ ʃuru:d/	A camel that likes to escape and is difficult to catch
275.	عليا	/ʕəlja/	A female camel that is taller than the male ones
276.	صفراء	/sˤəfraʔ/	Camels that have light hair
277.	عِير	/ʕi:r/	Camels that carry food and people
278.	وجناء	/wəd͡ʒnaʔ /	A female camel which is huge in her appearance
279.	بخت	/bəχt/	Camels which characterized with a long neck
280.	منعور	/mənʕu:r/	The camel that bleats a lot
281.	دفون	/dəfu:n/	A camel which is in the middle of a herd of camels
282.	حرجوج	/ħərd͡ʒu:d͡ʒ/	A tall camel
283.	قبعثرى	/qəbəʕθərı/	A huge, abandoned camel
284.	عيطموس	/ʕəitˤəmu:s/	A female camel which has perfect and good manners
285.	فنق	/fənəq/	A female camel which is thin (and has little flesh)
286.	شمردلة	/ʃəmərdələh/	A beautiful camel
287.	دعبل	/dəʕbəl/	A handsome camel
288.	هجن	/hıd͡ʒn/	A camel which is characterized by lightness and agility
289.	راحلة	/raħılʌh/	A travelling camel
290.	معطاء	/ mıʕtˤaʔ/	The camel has a long, lean neck
291.	مغاتير	/məɣʌti:r/	The white flock of camels, which are medium in size and good looking
292.	طويله	/tˤəwi:ləh/	A long neck female camel

293.	مردوفة	/mərdu:fəh/	The camel that carries 2 persons
294.	رحول	/rəhu:l/	A travelling camel
295.	ثرور	/θəru:r/	A female camel which has a wide breast
296.	أم الرموش	/äm ərumu:ʃ/	A camel which has a long eyelash
297.	مدفأه	/mədfəʔəh/	A camel which is very fat and tend to be lethargic
298.	فهجاء	/fəhd͡ʒaʔ/	A camel in which there is a long gap between its neck and hump
299.	شكيلة	/ʃəki:ləh/	A down humped camel

xiii. Terms of camel based on relationship and sentiments:

No.	Terms	Transcription	Meaning
300.	خلوج	/χəlu:d͡ʒ/	A camel, whose baby died early, and she is still missing him
301.	خفوت	/ χəfu:t/	A camel whose baby died and she has already forgotten about it
302.	مضيّرة	/mudˤajrəh/	A camel that breastfeeds other camel's babies
303.	رائم ورؤوم	/ raʔım/ /rəʔu:m/	A camel which is kind to its sibling
304.	علوق	/ ʕəlu:q/	A camel which does not see her newborn, but she smells him and does not respond to him
305.	ظؤر و ظؤور	/ ðˤuʔr/ / ðˤəʔur/	A camel that sympathizes with other's babies
306.	واله	/ walıh/	A camel that takes care of her son
307.	عجول	/ʕəd͡ʒu:l/	A camel whose son has died
308.	لفـاء	/ləfaʔ/	The camel that carries its newborn along
309.	حوار	/ ħəwar/	A camel's baby
310.	والة	/walıh/	A camel grieving for its baby
311.	بوش	/bauʃ/	Camels' father
312.	زمول	/ zʌmu:l/	Camels' mother
313.	مهملي	/məhməli/	A female camel that breastfeeds other camel's babies
314.	فسيل	/fəsi:l/	Camel's baby being separated from its mom after a year of breastfeeding
315.	حشير	/ħəʃi:r/	Camel's baby

xiv. Other terms for camel:

No.	Terms	Transcription	Meaning
316.	جم	**/ d͡ʒəm/**	A camel, having a piece of iron in its mouth to guide it
317.	جراض	**/d͡ʒəradˤ/**	A camel that is kind and friendly
318.	سبطر	**/səitˤr/**	A female camel that stretches and gets upright in her gait
319.	أكلة	**/akɪləh/**	Camel that devours everything close to it
320.	جفال	**/d͡ʒɪfal/**	When a camel gets shocked, it runs a lot until it calms down
321.	حرذون	**/ħərðu:n/**	Bareback camel riding.
322.	خريش	**/χəri:ʃ/**	unstable camel
323.	ذلول	**/ðʌlu:l/**	The fast camel
324.	راحلة	**/raħɪləh/**	Camel that is used for commercial purpose
325.	مطية	**/mətˤi:əh/**	A female camel with its front two legs raised high which makes her back plain
326.	معاويد	**/ məʕawi:d/**	A camel that raises the water from the deep well
327.	مراكيب/ هجين	**/məraki:b/ / hʌd͡ʒi:n/**	A riding camel
328.	حاشي	**/ ħaʃj/**	A male camel which is separated from his mother searching for food
329.	ناجية	**/nad͡ʒiah/**	The survive camel
330.	هارب	**/harɪb/**	A camel That walks in front of camels a great distance as if they are running away
331.	هامل	**/hamɪl/**	A homeless camel
332.	هبود	**/həbu:d/**	A camel that hits anyone approached it
333.	همل	**/hʌml/**	Camels that roam in the desert without a sponsor.
334.	هميس	**/hʌmi:s/**	Camels that walk in disguise silently
335.	وخذ	**/wəχð/**	Camels that walk by the number of steps as sheep
336.	غزلان	**/ɣʌzlan/**	A female camel that does not eat dry food
337.	سائبة	**/saʔibəh/**	A female camel that was used during ignorance time "in the past" for a vow. which said that if the camel reaches a certain age, they will be left to their idols
338.	بدن	**/bʌdən/**	A camel, slaughtered in Makkah as a sacrifice. It is named like that because of its fat
339.	مكسر	**/məksər/**	A camel which has been vaccinated but its vaccine failed

Conclusion:

The enormity of camel terms in Arabic as lexicalised entity not only reiterate Sapir-Whorf's hypothesis on linguistic relativity but also attest what Boas pointed out that "languages differ in the ways they *routinely* classify experience or divide up the natural and cultural world that humans inhabit" (Duranti 2011, p. 31) **T**he idea of CAMEL for the Arabs is implied by a range of different and etymologically related and/or unrelated words. All of them may or may not share a root or stem but they do make an explicit reference to specifiable relations to one another. The data not only show considerable overlap between the terms but also reveal dialectal differences in their use.

The naming of camel in the Arabic language is an unceasing event. Whether it is the birth, the appearance, the behavior or a novel situation of the camel, it is given a new label. Domestication may also lead to nicknaming the animal by the owner. As Bedouins, living in the Arabian Desert still depend on camels for their existence, they are constantly adding on to the list.

Another relevant cultural practice which contributes to the number of camel terms is the traditional racing competition which is still in practice in the gulf region. However, with the receding democratization of the knowledge of classical Arabic and proliferation of the growth and spread of modern Arabic language and dialects, new vocabularies have surfaced. Consequently, a number of older terms referring to different types of camels have either disappeared or are on the verge of disappearing.

Note: This paper is based on an assignment submitted by our group for the Paper titled **Sociology of Language**.

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Kurukh Language

SL.	English	Hindi	*kurukʰ*
1	I	मैं	*en*
2	you (singular)	तू, तुम	*nim*
3	he	वह	*as*
4	we	हम	*nam*
5	you (plural)	तुम , आप	*nim*
6	they	वे , ये	*ar*
7	this	यह	*id*
8	that	वह	*ad*
9	here	यहाँ	*isən*
10	there	वहाँ	*əsən*
11	who	कौन	*eka ortɛ*
12	what	क्या	*ɪndra*
13	where	कहाँ	*esən*
14	when	कब	*eka bari*
15	how (much)	कैसा (कितना)	*ekənne*
16	not	नहीं	*məlki*
17	all	सब , सारा	*ɟəmma*
18	many	बहुत	*bʰəgge*
19	some	कुछ	*ɟʰʊkki*
20	few	थोड़ा	*kəʈikʊna*
21	other	दूसरा	*nənnər*
22	one	एक	*ʊnʈa*
23	two	दो	*du goʈa*

24	three	तीन	*tin goṭa*
25	four	चार	*car goṭa*
26	five	पाँच	*pãc goṭa*
27	big	बड़ा	*kohã*
28	long	लम्बा	*dɪgəha*
29	wide	चौड़ा	*cəkəṭ*
30	thick	गाढ़ा , मोटा	*moṭ*
31	heavy	भारी	*ott^{h}a*
32	small	छोटा	*sənni*
33	short	छोटा, नाटा	*puḍḍa*
34	narrow	तंग	*səkuṭ*
35	thin	पतला	*patər*
36	woman	औरत	*mukka*
37	man (adult male)	आदमी	*mit*
38	man (human being)	इंसान , व्यक्ति	*alər*
39	child	बच्चा	*k^{h}əddər*
40	wife	पत्नी	*ali*
41	husband	पति	*aləs*
42	mother	माता, मां	*ajo*
43	father	पिता	*bəŋga*
44	animal	जानवर	*meṭəho*
45	fish	मछली	*inɟo*
46	bird	चिड़िया	*oṭa*
47	dog	कुत्ता	*əlla*
48	louse	जूँ	*pẽn*
49	snake	साँप	*nerre*

50	worm	कीड़ा	*pocko*
51	tree	पेड़	*mənn*
52	forest	जंगल	*pərta*
53	stick	डण्डा	*soʈʈa*
54	fruit	फल	*pəka*
55	seed	बीज	*bɪhəni*
56	leaf	पत्ता	*ətk^{h}a*
57	root	जड़	*pada*
58	bark (of a tree)	छाल	*cəpʈa*
59	flower	फूल	*pũt*
60	grass	घास	*g^{h}asi*
61	rope	रस्सी	*ẽp*
62	skin	त्वचा , चमड़ी	*cəpʈa*
63	meat	माँस	*ahəʈa*
64	blood	ख़ून	*k^{h}ẽs*
65	bone	हड्डी	*hocol*
66	fat (noun)	चरबी	*neta*
67	egg	अंडा	*bi*
68	horn	सींग	*sĩg*
69	tail	पूँछ	*hola*
70	feather	पंख, पर	*pudga*
71	hair	बाल	*cuʈʈi*
72	head	सर	*kukku*
73	ear	कान	*k^{h}ebda*
74	eye	आँख	*hənn*
75	nose	नाक	*muĩ*

76	mouth	मुँह	*bəi*
77	tooth	दाँत	*pəlh*
78	tongue (organ)	जीभ	*təṭkʰa*
79	fingernail	नाख़ुन	*orok*
80	foot	पैर	*heɖɖe*
81	leg	टांग	*ɖunɖe*
82	knee	घुटना	*muka*
83	hand	हाथ	*hekkʰe*
84	wing	पंख	*ɖena*
85	belly	पेट	*kul*
86	guts	अंतड़ी	*poʈʈa*
87	neck	गरदन	*ʃẽʃer*
88	back	पीठ	*med*
89	breast	छाती	*ekʰɔ̃*
90	heart	दिल	*kəreɟa*
91	liver	यकृत्	*buka*
92	to drink	पीना	*onəna*
93	to eat	खाना	*mokʰəna*
94	to bite	काटना	*kʰəndəna*
95	to suck	चूसना	*cĩpəna*
96	to spit	थूकना	*tuppəna*
97	to vomit	उल्टी करना	*puturna*
98	to blow	फूँक मारना	*urəna*
99	to breathe	साँस लेना	*nakʰəna*
100	to laugh	हँसना	*əlakʰəna*

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