

LINGUISTIC SURVEY OF INDIA

Lsi

HIMACHAL PRADESH



सत्यमेव जयते

**LANGUAGE DIVISION
OFFICE OF THE REGISTRAR GENERAL, INDIA
www.censusindia.gov.in**

LINGUISTIC SURVEY OF INDIA

Lsi

HIMACHAL PRADESH



सत्यमेव जयते

**LANGUAGE DIVISION
OFFICE OF THE REGISTRAR GENERAL, INDIA
www.censusindia.gov.in**

CONTENTS

	Pages
Foreword	ii-iii
Preface	iv-vi
Acknowledgements	vii
Abbreviations and Phonetic Symbols	viii-xv
List of Maps	xvi
Chapter 1 - Introduction	1-57
Chapter 2 - Indo- Aryan Language (Hindi Languages/Mother Tongues)	
Bharmauri/Gaddi	N.Gopalakrishnan 58-119
Churahi	N. Gopalakrishnan 120-175
Chambeali	S.Ganesh Baskaran 176-234
Kangri	N. Gopalakrishnan 235-282
Keonthali	S. Ganesh Baskaran 283-377
Kulvi	Ranjita Pattanaik 378-446
Mandali	Sibasis Mukherjee 447-494
Pangwali	Soumi Banerjee & V. Renuga Devi 495-568
Sanori	S. Ganesh Baskaran 569-615
Sirmauri	P.Edward Vedamanickam & Jhuma Ghosh 616-670
Chapter 3 - Indo Aryan Language (Punjabi Languages/Mother Tongues)	
Bhateali	P.Edward Vedamanickam 671-712
Bilaspuri/Kahluri	P.Edward Vedamanickam 713-745
Chapter 4 - Indo-Aryan Languages (Dogri, Nepali)	
Dogri	R. Nakkeerar & Sarita Panda 746-806
Nepali	S. Ganesh Baskaran 807-856
Chapter 5 - Tibeto-Burman Languages (Kinnauri, Lahauli and Bhotia)	
Kinnauri	P. Perumal Samy 857-950
Lahauli	Dipshikha Bose & J.C. Sharma 951-1014
Bhotia	S.Ganesh Baskaran 1015-1076
Chapter 6 - Comparative Lexicon of 17 Languages/ Mother Tongues	1077-1134

FOREWORD

The Language Division of the Office of the Registrar General, India (ORGI) established in 1961 assists the Registrar General, India, primarily in the Census operations of the nation. Over the years, it has expanded its activities and ventured into new areas using the classified and unclassified Census data. Several projects were started with a goal to document and describe the lesser-known mother-tongues of India. Linguistic Survey of India (LSI) is one such project that is being carried out successfully by the Office of the Registrar General, India, Language Division since Sixth Five Year Plan of the country. Though many researches were conducted based on Lord Grierson's monumental work of the Linguistic Survey of India, there are hardly any comprehensive surveys that followed it, especially on the state-wise linguistic composition. Thus, the LSI project is one of its kind that throws new light on the status of the languages and its dialects spoken within the States and Union Territories across India, especially in the post-Independence era.

Linguistic surveys of this nature are essential to determine the language development needs and priorities in a multilingual country like India. They not only help to understand better the linguistic scenario of a particular state or union territory but also pave way to determine a lingua franca for use among the various speech communities within a language. They can open doors for mother-tongue education, for dissemination of literature and other valuable knowledge. They also help in preserving and promoting the lesser-known mother-tongues, and stimulate further research activities. These surveys will certainly help the language planners and policy makers in reformulating the language policies of the nation.

From this perspective, the language division of the ORGI is doing a commendable job through this post-Griersonian Linguistic Survey of India Project by publishing survey reports in the form of state-wise volumes. Each of these volumes include a grammatical sketch, demographic and sociolinguistic profiles that are compiled using a uniform questionnaire and template. The output of their another project titled the Mother Tongue Survey of India (MTSI) Project provides the basis of analysis for this survey across States especially in establishing the linguistic identities of several mother-tongues that are unclassified and thereby augmenting the linguistic scenario of the individual states. The ORGI has already published the following volumes: LSI-Orissa, LSI-Dadra & Nagar Haveli, LSI-Sikkim (Part I & II), LSI-Rajasthan (Part-I), LSI-West Bengal and LSI-Bihar & LSI-Jharkhand.

I am very delighted to present the LSI-Himachal, the 8th in this series. Himachal Pradesh, one of the beautiful states of India, is bounded by Jammu and Kashmir Union Territory to the northwest, Ladakh to the northeast, by Tibet to the east and by the States of Uttarakhand to the southeast, Haryana to the south, and Punjab to the west of it. This makes it linguistically diverse with people speaking a number of languages from different language families. This volume is the collection of grammatical sketches, demographic and sociolinguistic profiles of 17 mother-tongues spoken in Himachal Pradesh (out of which 2 of them are scheduled languages) that belong to Indo-Aryan and Tibeto-Burman language families. Among the Indo-Aryan, 10 mother-tongues, namely, Bharmauri/Gaddi, Chambeali, Curahi, Kangri, Keonthali, Kulvi, Mandeali, Pangwali, Sanori and Sirmauri that belong to the Hindi group are described in a separate chapter. This is followed by descriptions of 2 mother-tongues,

Bilaspuri/ Kahluri and Bhateali of the Punjabi group. A separate chapter is devoted to the two scheduled languages, Dogri and Nepali. This volume also describes three Tibeto-Burman languages, namely, Bhotia, Kinnauri and Lahauli. Besides this, the last chapter provides a comparative lexicon of these mother-tongues and languages that helps one to understand the linguistic relationships they have with each other.

I congratulate the entire team led by Dr. Vivek Joshi, IAS, Registrar General & Census Commissioner, India, Shri Manoj Kumar, Deputy Director General, Dr. Vishwanath, IAS, Director, DCO West Bengal & Controlling Officer (Language Division) and Dr R.Nakkeerar, Research Officer (L) & Head of Office of the Office of the Registrar General, India for their constant support and tireless efforts in bringing out this volume successfully. The contributions made by the team deserve a special mention here. I appreciate Dr. Ranjita Pattanaik, Senior Research Officer (Language) for the informative introductory chapter that beautifully presents an overview of the languages of Himachal Pradesh from historical and linguistic perspectives. This chapter provides detailed demographic profiles of the languages/mother-tongues spoken across the various districts of the State in a very systematic way drawing figures from the 2011 Census of India. I also would like to place on record the efforts put in by all the Research Officers (Language) of the ORGI, especially Dr. R. Nakkeerar for taking up the responsibility of getting this volume published. I take this opportunity to commend the following scholars for their valuable contributions to the main chapters in this volume: Dr. Ranjita Pattanaik, Dr. S. Ganesh Baskaran, Dr. P. Perumalsamy, Dr. R. Nakkeerar, Dr. Sibasis Mukherjee, Shri P. Edward Vedamanickam, Dr. N. Gopalakrishnan, Ms. Sarita Panda, Ms. Dipshikha Bose, Ms. Soumi Banerjee and Ms. Jhuma Ghosh, Dr. V. Renuga Devi and Dr. J.C. Sharma. This volume will certainly serve as a reference material on the languages of Himachal Pradesh for academicians and government organisations. It will be of great value for the purpose it is aimed at and be a baseline to classify languages systematically. I trust that this will be an impetus to encourage further study and research in sociolinguistics, ethnolinguistics, descriptive linguistics, documentary linguistics, language pedagogy, and typological studies that would add to the descriptive typology of the Indo-Aryan and Tibeto-Burman languages, and to the genealogical, demographic and sociolinguistic databases of the country. I have no doubt that this will be a useful document for language planners in identifying the specific language development needs for social mobility, mother-tongue education and language empowerment in Himachal Pradesh in particular and India in general.

Mysuru
August 29, 2022



Professor Umarani Pappuswam
Professor-cum-Deputy Director
Central Institute of Indian Languages
Mysuru.

PREFACE

With the aim and purpose of presenting an updated linguistic scenario and of taking account of the sociolinguistic changes in our society and territorial boundary as well as in our language resources, the “Linguistic Survey of India” project of the Office of the Registrar General, India, Language Division is under operation state by state since the end of the last century. “*Linguistic Survey of India-Himachal Pradesh*” is a work in descriptive linguistics comprising of descriptions of seven Languages surveyed in short spells during a long-time span period of 1995-2008. Considering the present scenario of the state of Himachal Pradesh, the 5 Languages along with 12 Mother Tongues are being presented in this Himachal Pradesh Volume based on their sociolinguistic importance, their speaker’s strength, as well as the location of the districts where the Survey has been conducted. The present project is, in all respect, a supplementation and complementation of the monumental survey entitled, ‘*Linguistic Survey of India*’ by Sir George Abraham Grierson in the pre-Independence India as well as in the first few years of the twentieth century when in the Indian Sub-continent, the present states of Himachal Pradesh was comprised of the princely states covering parts of the Western Himalayan territories, Shimla Hill states and parts of Punjab along with four Punjab southern hill states. On 18 December, 1970, the State of Himachal Pradesh Act was passed by Parliament, and the new state of present-day Himachal Pradesh came into being on 25 January, 1971.

In the past, this Division had produced successfully the volumes on Survey Reports of the states of Odisha (former Orissa), Dadra & Nagar Haveli, Sikkim (Part 1 & 2), Rajasthan (Part 1), West Bengal and Bihar.

The result of the present survey under “*Linguistic Survey of India-Himachal Pradesh*” has been presented under following Chapters.

1. In 1st chapter Introduction the followings are discussed;
 - a. Himachal Pradesh as a State, its History, Demography and Administrative Units (Maps related to Administrative Divisions as per latest 2011 Census have been included).
 - b. Folk and religious Festivals, Population Density (District-wise Tables included), Male-Female ratio (District-wise table included) and Rural Urban Division (Maps related to Rural-Urban Distribution of Languages and Mother Tongues have been provided).
 - c. Educational History of Himachal Pradesh and the present educational systems.
 - d. Status of Bilingualism and Trilingualism of Surveyed languages are also discussed.
 - e. Linguistic Profile of Himachal Pradesh (Distribution of Scheduled Languages and Non-Scheduled Languages as per 2001 and 2011 Censuses and also District-wise division of both Scheduled Languages and Non-Scheduled Languages as per both the Censuses).
 - f. A brief Introduction of all the 5 Languages namely, Dogri, Kinnauri, Lahauli, Nepali and Bhotia, along with 12 Mother Tongues namely, Bharmauri/Gaddi, Bilaspuri/Kahluri, Bhateali, Chambeali, Churahi, Kulvi, Kangri, Keonthali, Mandeali, Pangwali, Sanori and Sirmauri are surveyed under this Volume.
 - g. The sociolinguistic account of the state of Himachal Pradesh is also discussed and explained in this section.

- h. The information on bibliographical references has been presented at the end of the Introduction for the LSI-HP Volume.
2. Following the Introduction in Chapter-1, six consecutive Chapters are presented. Chapter 2 to 5 of the Volume present the grammatical descriptions (i.e. Phonological, Morphological, Morpho-syntactic and Syntactic descriptions) of the 17 Languages/Mother Tongues. The presentation of the Language chapters has followed the alphabetic order (Languages-Bhotia, Dogri, Kinnauri, Lahauli and Nepali). The mother tongues that come under the Chapter-2 on Hindi are Bharmauri/Gaddi, Chambeali, Churahi, Kulvi, Kangri, Keonthali, Mandeali, Pangwali, Sanori and Sirmauri. The mother tongues that are surveyed under the Chapter-3 on Punjabi are Bhateali and Bilashpuri/Kahluri. Indo-Aryan languages like Nepali and Dogri are presented in chapter-4. The Tibeto-Burman languages Kinnauri, Lahauli and Bhotia have been discussed with grammatical descriptions in chapter-5. At the end of the grammatical descriptions, a Comparative lexicon containing 500 selected word list of common lexical items of all the surveyed Languages/Mother tongues described in chapter-6.

The Language/Mother Tongue descriptions in Introduction Chapter and in respective reports give a glimpse of the dynamics of the linguistic situation of the state of Himachal Pradesh, information about the origin of the Languages/Mother tongue and also its status and Language family affiliation.

Regarding the distribution of Languages/Mother tongues, two sets of data have been presented, one for 'Language' and other for 'Mother tongue'. 'Language' and 'Mother tongue' are co-terminus in Census as the Mother tongue data indicates the exclusive data and the Language data includes the variants/dialects/Mother tongues grouped under it. The Bilingualism and Trilingualism table based on 2011 Census returns, presented for the relevant Languages/Mother tongues, throws light on the attitude towards language use of the linguistic speech communities inhabiting Himachal Pradesh.

For the field surveys, one common questionnaire containing the exhaustive word list, sentence list and short story specifically developed by Language Division, Office of the Registrar General, India for the post-Independence Linguistic Survey of pan India, was canvassed in Himachal Pradesh. The field-survey in respect to all the 13 Languages/Mother tongues had been completed by 2008. Following the same 4 Languages/Mother tongues viz; Lahauli, Dogri, Pangwali and Sirmauri were being studied and reports prepared on the basis of data collected under the scheme "*Mother Tongue Survey of India*" due to Covid -19 pandemic.

It is also to mention warm thanks are due to the contributors of the Volume who painstakingly collected the data during field investigation with restricted facilities and braving the inclement weather of the region.

The supervision of the Volume was entrusted to Dr. Ranjita Pattanaik, Senior Research Officer (Language), who carried out the finalization of the present Volume and has taken up all the pains in scrutinizing the data and the report for its improvement. Dr. B.P.Hemananda is duly acknowledged for monitoring the status of the volume. The sincere thanks to Dr. VVLN Sarma, Deputy Registrar General (Map) and Shri Kandhai Singh, Ex-Research Officer (Map) for preparation and creative development of maps required for the Volume.

Acknowledgement is also due to the authors of linguistic reports of different language/mother tongue. I also thank the Officers and Officials of Language Division, Kolkata and Language Division at the Headquarter, ORGI for their constant efforts and co-operation.

The Volume could not achieve its present shape and form without the monitoring and encouragement of Shri Manoj Kumar, Deputy Director General for his constant follow up and overall supervision in finalization and publication for the Volume at Headquarter ORGI. I would like to express my sincere appreciations to Dr Vishwanath, IAS, DCO-West Bengal and Controlling Officer, Language Division, for his inspiration, help and co-operation.

Collection of data on the Languages/mother tongues surveyed in Himachal Pradesh under Linguistic survey of India, Himachal Pradesh would not have been possible without kind cooperation and help of the Directorate of Census Operations, Himachal Pradesh and the various District Magistrates as well as other officials of the State of Himachal Pradesh. Hence their sincere help and co-operation are duly acknowledged.

The informants extended their co-operation in providing copious data. The informants, without whose dedication and deliberation, the Volume could not be compiled, are acknowledged with sincere gratitude.

I hope this Volume will serve the needs of different sectors of populace in respect to various purposes in socio-linguistic and socio-educational planning.

NEW DELHI
11TH OCTOBER, 2022

DR. VIVEK JOSHI
REGISTRAR GENERAL &
CENSUS COMMISSIONER, INDIA

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Office of the Registrar General, India

LANGUAGE DIVISION

B.P. Hemananda	Assistant Registrar General (Language)
Ranjita Pattanaik	Senior Research Officer (Language)
R.Nakkeerar	Research Officer (Language)
Sibasis Mukherjee	Research Officer (Language)
P. Edward Vedamanickam	Research Officer (Language)
N. Gopalakrishnan	Research Officer (Language)
Sucharita Chakraborty	Research Officer (Language)
Sarita Panda	Statistical Investigator Gr. 1
Pritha Banerjee	Investigator (Language)
Aparajita Sen	Investigator (Language)
Dipshikha Bose	Investigator (Language)
Soumi Banerjee	Investigator (Language)
Jhuma Ghosh	Investigator (Language)
Deepak Kumar	Investigator (Language)
Nandini Bhattacharya	Investigator (Language)
K. Mahender	Investigator (Language)

MAP DIVISION, ORGI

V.V.L.N. Sarma	Deputy Registrar General
Kandhai Singh	Consultant (Map)

&

WEB CELL of ORGI

ABBREVIATIONS

Sg-/SG./sg/Sing.	Singular
pl./Pl.	Plural
e.g.	For Example
Masc./m./M	Masculine
Fem./f./F/fem.	Feminine
trans.	Transitive
V	Verb
NP	Noun Phrase
LSI	Linguistic Survey of India
Vol.	Volume
MT/mt	Mother Tongue
P	Person
PP/p	Pages
T	Total
R	Rural
U	Urban
i.e.	That is
ed.	Edited
ABL./abl.	Ablative Case
ACC./acc.	Accusative Case
ADJ./adj.	Adjective
ADV.	Adverb
ART.	Article
ASSOC.	Associative
AUX./aux./Aux.	Auxiliary
ben	Benefactive

CAUS	Causative
Cl	Clause
C/Con/con/c	Consonant
Cont.	Continuous
caus./cau	Causative
CL	Classifier
COMP	Complementizer
COMP MKR	Comparative Marker
CONJ	Conjunction
DAT	Dative Case
DECL	Declarative
DET	Determiner
Emp.	Emphatic
e.g.	Example
etc.	Etcetera
Fin./ft./f.	Finite
Fut./FUT.	Future
gen./gen/Gen./geni.	Genitive Case
HAB	Habitual Aspect
Hon.	Honorific
Imp. /IMP.	Imperative
Imperf.	Imperfect
INF	Infinite
INS	Instrumental Case
incl.	Inclusive
INT	Intensifier
LOC	Locative Case
man.adv	Manner Adverbial
Mar.	Marker

N	Noun
NEG./neg.	Negative
Neu	Neuter
NOM./nom.	Nominative
NOMNLZR	Nominalizer
NUM	Number
Nf	Non-Finite
OPT	Optative
pass.	Passive
Pt.	Part
pcpl./PTCP.	Participle
PREP/pre.	Preposition
pred.	Predicate
Pt./PST./Past ten	Past Tense
PRS.cont./PROG./pr.cont.	Present Continuous Tense
PERF	Perfective
PL	Plural
PP./POSTP.	Post Position
PRES./PRS./pr./pre.ten.	Present Tense
PROG	Progressive (continuous)
PROHIB	Prohibitive mood
prt	Particle
QMKR	Question Marker
QUO	Quotative
Relat	Relative
reflex	Reflexive
REV	Reversal
SOV	Subject+Object+Verb
SBJV	Subjunctive
suf	Suffix

SUBJ./sub./s.	Subject
OBJ./obj./o./ob.	Object
vb./v	Verb
V.CL.	Vowel Cluster
V/v	Vowel
viz.	Namely
Vol/vol	Volume
1Sg	first person singular pronominal prefix
2Sg	second person singular pronominal prefix
3Sg	third person singular pronominal prefix
1Pl	first person plural pronominal prefix
2Pl	second person plural pronominal prefix
3Pl	third person plural pronominal prefix

PHONETIC SYMBOLS

Asp.	Aspirated
Alv.	Alveolar
approx.	Approximate
Al	Alveolar
Bi/BL	Bilabial
GL	Glottal
PL.	Palatal
RT/Ret	Retroflex
Vel.	Velar
VL	Voiceless
VD	Voiced
/i/	High Front Unrounded Vowel
	Close Front Vowel
/e/	Mid Front Unrounded Vowel
	Close Mid Front Vowel
/ɪ/	High Central Unrounded Vowel
/ə/	Mid Central Vowel
/a/	Low Central Unrounded Vowel (long vowel)
	Low back vowel
/u/	High Back Rounded Vowel
	Close Back Vowel
/o/	Mid-back rounded Vowel
	Close Mid Back Vowel
/p/	Voiceless Bilabial Stop
/t/	High Back Central Unrounded Vowel

/ɨ̃/	Higher Mid Back Vowel
/A/	High Mid Central Vowel
/E/	Low Mid Front Vowel
/O/	Low Mid Back Vowel
/I/	Lower High Front Vowel
/U/	Lower High Central Vowel
/ph//p ^h /	Voiceless Bilabial Aspirated Stop
/b/	Voiced Bilabial Stop
/bh/ /b ^h /	Voiced Bilabial Aspirated Stop
/t/	Voiceless Dental Stop
/th//t ^h /	Voiceless Dental Aspirated Stop
/d/	Voiced Dental Stop
/dh/ /d ^h /	Voiced Dental Aspirated Stop
/ʈ/	Voiceless Unaspirated Retroflex stop
/ʈ ^h /	Voiceless Aspirated Retroflex stop
/ɖ/	Voiced Unaspirated Retroflex stop
/ɖ ^h /	Voiced aspirated Retroflex stop
/k/	Voiceless Unaspirated Velar stop
/k ^h /	Voiceless Aspirated Velar stop
/T/	Voiceless Retroflex Stop
/Th/	Voiceless Retroflex Aspirated Stop
/D/	Voiced Retroflex Stop
/Dh/	Voiced Retroflex Aspirated Stop
/c/	Voiceless Palatal Affricate
/ch//c ^h /	Voiceless Palatal Aspirated Affricate
/S'/	Palatal Voiceless Fricative
/j/	Voiced Dental Affricate
/jh/	Palatal Voiced Affricate

/m/	Voiced Bilabial Nasal
/M/	Voiced Velar Nasal
/Mʔ/	Voiced palatal Nasal
/N/	Retroflex Nasal
/n/	Voiced Dental Nasal
/ŋ/	Voiced Retroflex Nasal
/ŋ/	Voiced Velar Nasal
/r/	Dental Trill
/ɽ/	Retroflex Flap
/l/	Dental Lateral
/ɭ/L/	Retroflex Lateral
/R/	Retroflex Trills
/f/	Voiceless Labio-Dental Fricative
/s/	Voiceless Alveolar Fricative
/z/	Voiced Alveolar Fricative
/ʃ/	Voiceless Palatal fricative
/h/	Voiceless Glottal Fricative
/v/	Labio-Dental Approximant
/u/	Higher Back rounded short vowel
/y//j/	Palatal Approximant
/æ/	Mid front Vowel
/ɛ/	Open Mid front Vowel
/ə/	Mid Central Vowel
/ɔ/	Open Mid Back Vowel
/g/	Voiced Unaspirated Velar stop
/g ^h /	Voiced Aspirated Velar stop
/c/	Voiceless Unaspirated Palatal stop
/ɟ/	Voiced Unaspirated Palatal stop

/ɟʰ/	Voiced Aspirated Palatal stop
/ŋ/	Voiced Velar Nasal
/ɾ/	Voiced Alveolar Tap
/s/	Voiceless Alveolar Fricative
/h/	Voiceless Glotal Fricative
/ʋ/	Labio-dental Approximant
/l/	Voiced Alveolar Lateral
/ts/	Voiceless Dental Affricate
/tʰ/	Voiceless Dental Aspirated Affricate
/dʒ/	Voiced Dental Affricate
/ʂ/	Voiceless Retroflex fricative

LIST OF MAPS

- Map 1: Administrative divisions of Himachal Pradesh 2011
- Map 2: Rural-Urban Distribution of Languages in Himachal Pradesh 2011
- Map 3: Rural-Urban Distribution of Mother Tongues in Himachal Pradesh 2011
- Map 4: District-wise distribution of surveyed Languages–Himachal Pradesh 2011
- Map 5: District-wise distribution of surveyed mother tongues in Himachal Pradesh 2011
- Map 6: Bilingualism and Trilingualism of surveyed Languages in Himachal Pradesh 2011
- Map 7: Major Scheduled tribes' population in Himachal Pradesh 2011
- Map 8: Family-wise Distribution of surveyed languages in Himachal Pradesh 2011

CHAPTER – 1
INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

Ranjita Pattanaik

HIMACHAL PRADESH AS A STATE

The name of the state Himachal Pradesh connotes the word Himachal means “snowy slopes” (Sanskrit: *hima*, “snow”; *acal*, “slopes”), and Pradesh means “state”. Himachal Pradesh is predominantly a mountain surrounded state located in North -West India, the valley of Western Himalayas. It shares an International border with China. Himachal Pradesh is situated between 30 degree 22’ 40” to 33 degree 12’ 20” north latitudes and 75 degree 45’ 55” to 79 degree 04’ 20” east longitudes. The altitude in the state a wholly mountainous region in the lap of Himalayas ranges from 350 metres to 6,975 metres above mean sea level. Altitude ranges from 350 metres to 6,975 meters above mean sea level. The state is compact in shape and almost wholly mountainous, with altitude varying from 300 m in plains of Kangra and Una to nearly 7,000 m in Central Himalayan range of Lahaul and Spiti.

It is surrounded by Jammu and Kashmir in the north, Tibet on north east, Uttaranchal in the east/south east; Haryana in south and Punjab in south west/ west. The State, Himachal Pradesh has highly dissected mountain ranges interspersed with deep gorges and valleys. It is also characterized with diverse climate that varies from semi tropical in lower hills to semi arctic in the cold deserts’ areas of Spiti and Kinnaur. It covers a geographical area of 55,673 km², which is about 1.69% of India’s total area.

Himachal Pradesh with its complex geological structures presents a complicated topography with intricate mosaic of mountains ranges, hills and valleys. The central part that extends from Chamba district in the north to Shimla district in the south is mainly represented by Jatog group of rocks which originated in middle Proterozoic period. In the north eastern portion unclassified Granites borders the Central part in between Kullu, eastern Shimla, Lahaul Spiti and parts of Kinnaur district.

BRIEF HISTORY OF HIMACHAL PRADESH

The history of Himachal Pradesh had a very rich and varied historical eras. They are: I. Ancient Period, II. The Medieval period, III. Pre-Independence Period, IV. Post-Independence Period.

In Ancient period, there are evidences found regarding the pre and proto history that the prehistoric man used to live in Bangana valley of Kangra, Sirsa valley of Nalagarh and

Markand valley of Sirmour in Himachal Pradesh. The first race to enter Himachal Pradesh was Proto-Austroloid followed by Mongoloid. Before Indus valley civilization Koli, Holi, Doms and Channals used to live in Himachal Pradesh. The Kols or Mundas hotas and Kirats. The third phase migrants from Central Asia are the Aryans.

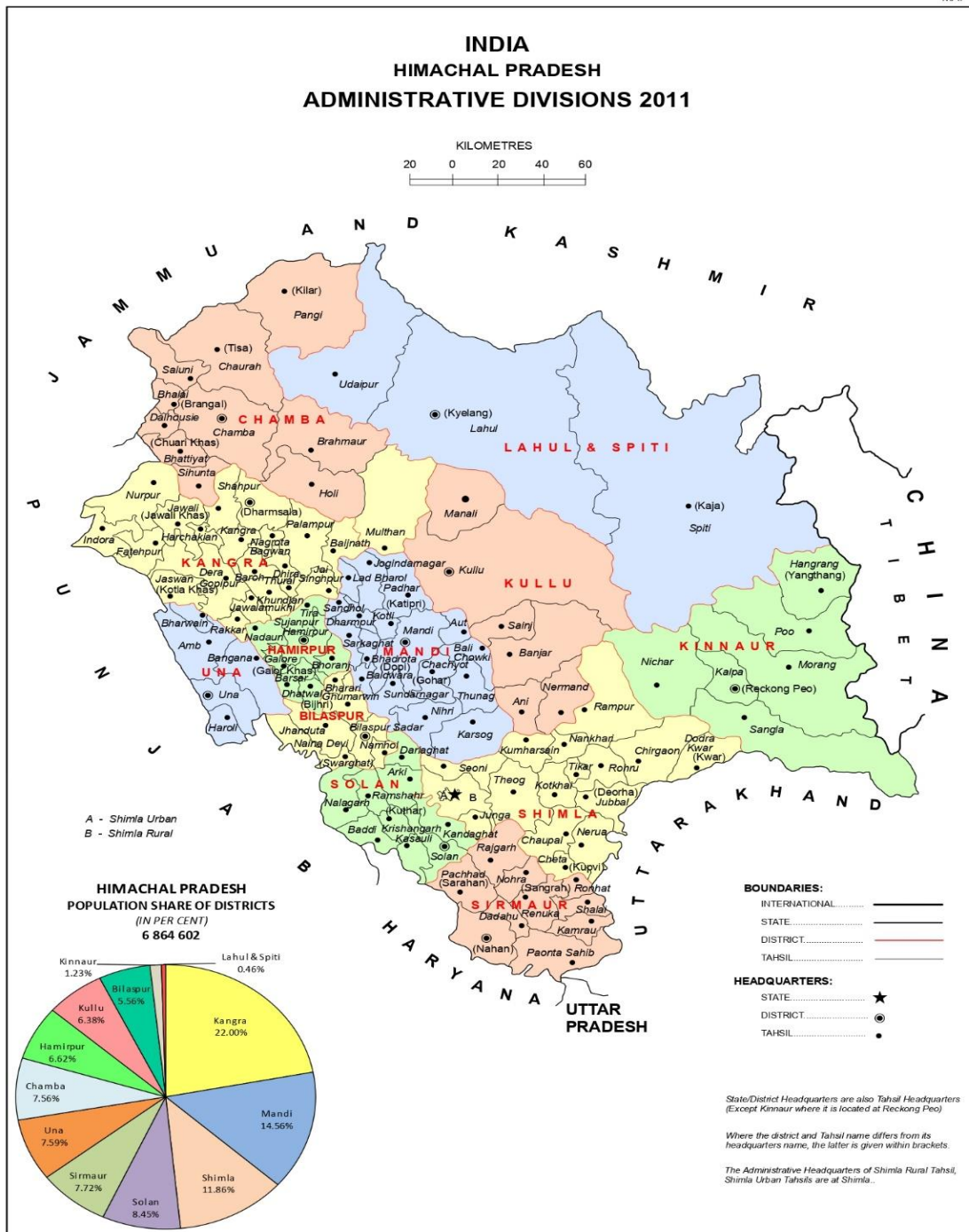
The Medieval period was significant for the Himachal that the Rajputs set up Kangra, Nurpur, Suket, Mandi, Kutchhar, Baghal, Bilaspur, Nalagarh, Keonthal, Dhamsi, Kunihar, Bushahar, Sirmour when they moved to Himachal with their followers after vanquished by the fellow a king of Rajasthan. The Mughal king, Mahmud Ghaznavi, conquered Kangra but later on after break down of Mughal dynasty Maharaja Sansar Chand took formal possession of Kangra fort, he expanded his territory on Chamba, Suket, Mandi, Bilaspur, Guler, Jaswan, Siwan and Datarpur. The Rajput power remained till the attack by Maharaja Ranjit Singh in 1804.

In the Gorkha and Sikh War 1815-1816, the Gorkhas could not defeat Maharaja Ranjit Singh to capture Kangra fort but in Anglo-Gorkha war the English ruler expelled them from the hill states east of Sutlej. The British slowly entered into this hilly tract.

In pre-Independence period, Chamba, Mandi and Bilaspur made good progress in many fields and during World War I the hill region people from Kangra, Nurpur, Chamba, Suket, Mandi and Bilaspur remained loyal and fought in the war. So also, in many conspiracy and agitations the hill region people joined with British rulers. Later on, the conspirators had sentenced to death and long terms in prison. There were, however, many freedom fighters of this region who joined in freedom movement to bring independence.

In post-Independence period, Himachal Pradesh was established in 1948 as a Chief Commissioner's Province within the Union of India. The province comprised of the hill districts around Shimla and southern hill areas of the former Punjab region. Himachal became a Part C state on 26 January 1950 with the implementation of the Constitution of India. Himachal Pradesh became a union-territory on 1st November 1956. On 18th December 1970, the State of Himachal Pradesh Act was passed by Parliament and the new state came into being on 25 January 1971. Himachal became the 18th state of the Indian Union and at present having 12 districts.

Sl. No	Name of Districts	Area (sq km)	Population	Name of Head Quarters
1	Bilaspur	1,167	3,82,056	Bilaspur
2	Chamba	6,528	5,15,844	Chamba
3	Hamirpur	1,118	4,54,293	Hamirpur
4	Kangra	5,739	15,07,223	Dharamsala
5	Kinnaur	6,401	84,298	Reckong Peo
6	Kullu	5,503	4,37,474	Kullu
7	Lahaul & Spiti	13,835	31,528	Keylong
8	Mandi	3,950	9,99,518	Mandi
9	Shimla	5,131	8,13,384	Shimla
10	Sirmaur	2,825	5,30,164	Nahan
11	Solan	1,936	5,76,670	Solan
12	Una	1,540	5,21,057	Una



(Map 1: Administrative divisions of Himachal Pradesh 2011)

Acharya Diwakar Datt Sharma has mentioned that Himachal Pradesh has one of the highest per capita incomes of any state in India. Due to the abundance of perennial rivers, Himachal also sells hydroelectricity to other states such as Delhi, Punjab and Rajasthan. The economy of the state is highly dependent on three sources: hydroelectric power, tourism and agriculture. Hindus make up 95% of the state population, making it the most Hindu state proportionally, in India.

Himachal is also said to be the fruit bowl of the country with orchards scattered all over the place. Meadows and pastures are also seen clinging to steep slopes. After the winter season, the hillsides and orchards bloom with wild flowers, while gladiolas, carnations, marigolds, roses, chrysanthemums, tulips and lilies are carefully cultivated. The state government is gearing up to make Himachal Pradesh as the flower basket of the world.

THE WESTERN- PAHARI LANGUAGES UNDER PRESENT SURVEY AND THEIR PLACE IN GRIERSON'S LINGUISTIC SURVEY OF INDIA

Grierson states that pahaRi language has three varieties: Eastern pahaRi, Central PahaRi and Western pahaRi. The word 'PahaRi' means 'of or belonging to the mountain', and is used as a convenient name for the three groups of Indo-Aryan dialects spoken in the lower ranges of the Himalaya from Nepal in the east to Bhadrawah in the west. In the extreme East there is Khas-Kuri or Eastern PhaRi, commonly called Nepali, the Aryan language spoken in Nepal.

The linguistic history envisages that the Tibeto-Burmans superseded and conquered the kin of the inhabitants of modern Munda language speakers. The Tibeto-Burmans crossed the Himalayas from the North and settled on its southern face. In this way the tract became inhabited by people speaking Tibeto-Burman languages, and so it has continued to the present day. But the original Mundas were not entirely swept out of existence, and the languages, although belonging to the Tibeto-Burman sub-family incorporated many Munda idioms, which can still be easily recognised. In later times, these Tibeto-Burmans were not left isolated. The plains of India immediately to their south were inhabited by Aryans, and these worked northwards into the Himalayas and settled in the more accessible valleys, bringing with them Aryan languages and civilizations. Thus, in Nepal, before the Gorkha invasion, a language, kin to Maithili dialect of Bihari, spoken immediately to the south, was used as a court language

and even the play written in that language still surviving. But from the point of view of Linguistics, more important infusion of Aryan languages came from the west.

West of the present kingdom of Nepal, in Kumaun, Garhwal and the hills round Shimla, there is sub-Himalayan hill-tract known in Sanskrit times as 'Sapadalaksha' (or the country of a lakh and a quarter (of hills)', the modern equivalent of this word – sawa lakh, - still survives in the name of the well-known Siwalik Hills, South of Garhwal in the Saharanpur District. At the present day the bulk of the agricultural population of this Sapadalaksha consists, in the west of Kanets and in the east of members of Khas tribe. The Kanets are divided into two clans, one called as Khasiya, who claimed as pure and the other called Roo (Raja or Rajput) which admits that it is of impure birth.

Next, in Kumaon and Garhwal, the Central Pahari languages are presented as Kumaoni and Garhwali. Finally, in the West, the 'Western Pahari' languages spoken in Jaunsar-Baewar, the Simla Hill states, Kullu, Mandi, Saker, Chamba and western Kashmir. The speakers of Western Pahari are of mixed origin. The Khasa-Gujars as the original inhabitants of this tract conquered and assimilated by Rajput immigrants from the South. Western Pahari may be looked upon as a form of Rajasthani with Khasa-Gujars, a grammar was closely akin to Rajasthani.

According to G.A.Grierson, Western Pahari consists of a great number of dialects, varying almost from hill to hill. They are; Jaunsari, Sirmauri, Baghati, Keonthal, Sutluj group, Kului, Mandeali, Chambeali and Bhadrawah group. Sutlej group a set of dialects spoken on the river Sutluj between Simla district and Kulu. It is a kind of linguistic bridge between Keonthali and Kului. Similarly, Bhdrawah group consists of three dialects. The group of Bhdrawahi is the final stage of Chameali merging through Bhdrawahi into Kashmiri.

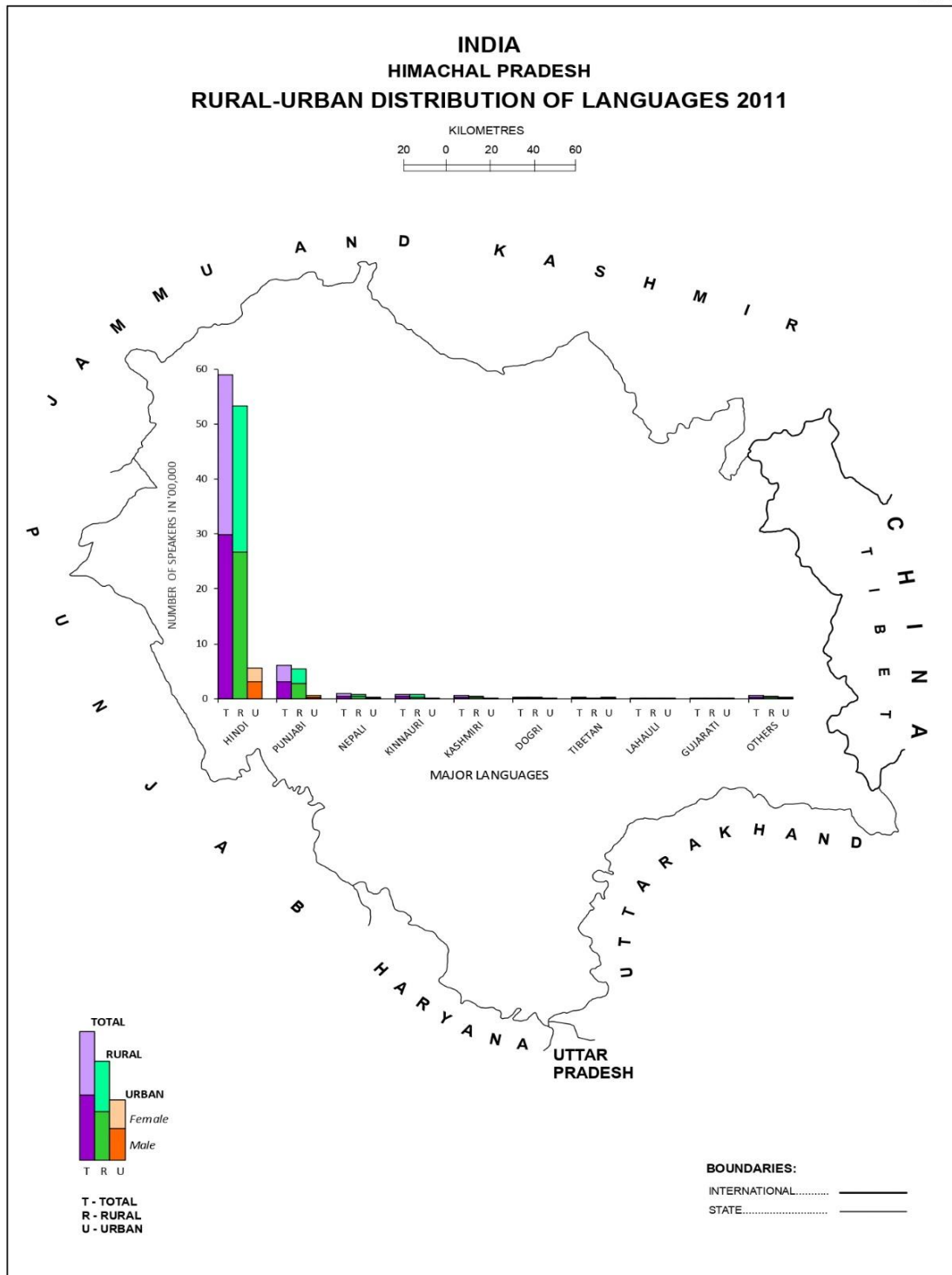
LANGUAGE AND DIALECT IN HIMACHAL PRADESH

According to K.S.Singh (People of India Vol XXIV 1996), nearly 90 per cent of the people of Himachal Pradesh speak western Pahari dialects, popularly known as Pahari. It is an Indo-Aryan language which is more akin to Sanskrit and Hindi than Punjabi. In its forms of speech Pahari shows many variations in dialects in different areas separated from each other by mountainous ranges. A classified list of the various 32 languages/dialects spoken in Himachal Pradesh is as follows:

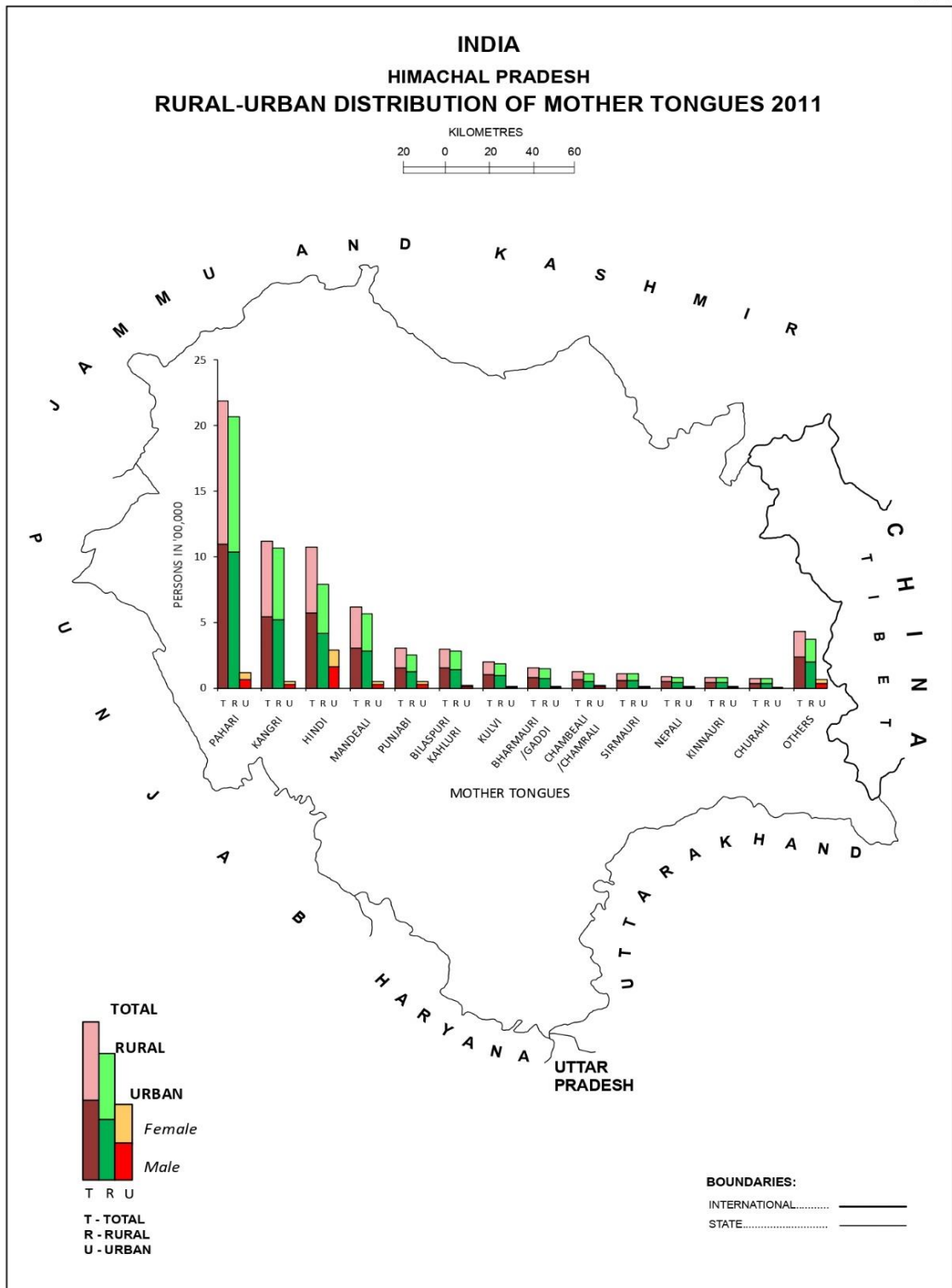
- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>I. Indo-Aryan Family</p> <p>A. Pahari/Himachali Group:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Bharmauri/Gadiali 2. Bilaspuri/Kehluri 3. Bushairi/Bushehri 4. Chambiali/Chameali 5. Gujjari 6. Hinduri 7. Kangri 8. Khaskura 9. Kulvi 10. Mandiali 11. Pahari/Himachali 12. Pangwali 13. Saraji/Siraji 14. Sirmauri <p>B. Other Indo-Aryan:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Banjari 2. Haryanvi 3. Hindi | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 4. Nepali/Gorkhali 5. Punjabi 6. Rajasthani 7. Urdu <p>II. Tibeto-Burman Family</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Bhotia/Bhoti 2. Kanasi 3. Khampa 4. Kinnauri 5. Ladakhi 6. Lahauli 7. Manchat <p>III. Foreign Languages:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Khaka (Chinese) 2. Persian <p>IV. Unclassified Languages:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Chanali/Chenali 2. Sansi |
|--|---|

The languages spoken in Lahaul, Spiti and Kinnaur and in the different valleys of these dialects are different and are influenced by the Tibetan language. The dialects of these districts include Kinnauri (Kanaury Anuskad). Manchat and Bunan, among others.

Pahari in the old days was written in the Tankari or Thakuri script. The princely states kept records in the language. The Banias and other trading communities also kept their accounts in the Tankari script. Bhatakshri was also an earlier form of Tankri in Shimla and Sirmaur areas. But nowadays Pahari is frequently written in Devanagari script. Dogri script is adopted as an official script, is an improved version of Takri. Hence, Takri and Dogri scripts are connected to each other.



Map 2: Rural-Urban Distribution of Languages in Himachal Pradesh 2011



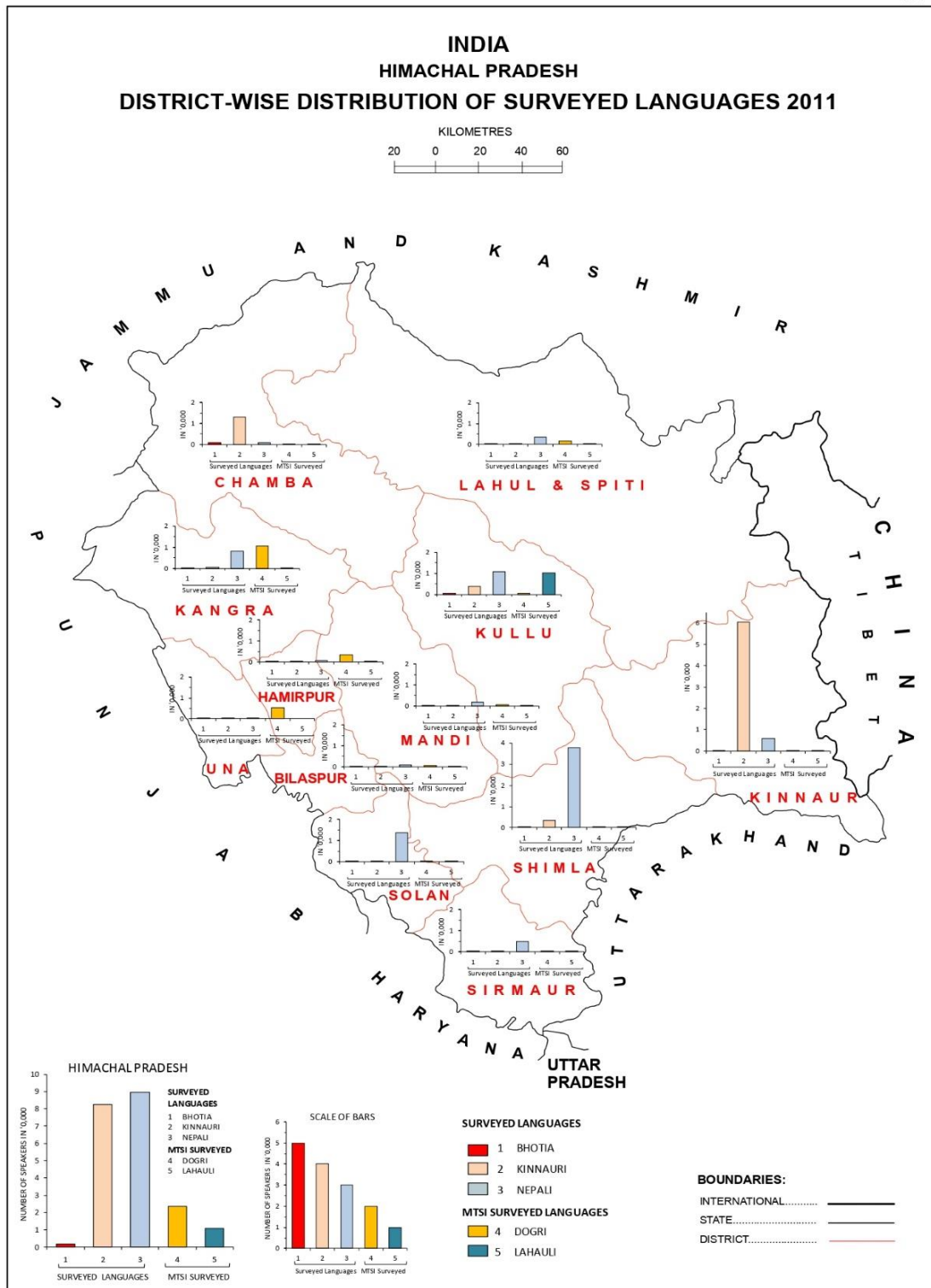
Map 3: Rural-Urban Distribution of Mother Tongues in Himachal Pradesh 2011

LINGUISTIC COMPOSITION OF HIMACHAL PRADESH

The dichotomy of language and mother tongue in Indian Census is co-terminus and as such both language as well as mother tongue data is shown in Language Tables. Language is inclusive of its variant mother tongues and mother Tongue is exclusive. As per the latest census publication of 2011, there are 124 main languages out of which, the first 20 major languages and 20 major mother tongues in descending order are presented below along with the percentage to the total population of Himachal Pradesh and their rural and urban distributions.

Sl. No.	Language	Speakers	Rural	Urban	Percentage
1.	Hindi	58,95,529	53,26,104	569,425	85.98%
2.	Punjabi	6,15,022	5,45,598	69,424	8.96%
3.	Nepali	89,508	76,371	13,137	1.30%
4.	Kinnauri	82,712	79,773	2,939	1.20%
5.	Kashmiri	57,050	54,378	2,672	0.83%
6.	Dogri	23,609	21,853	1,756	0.34%
7.	Tibetan	21,322	9,772	11,550	0.31%
8.	Lahauli	11,073	7,891	3,182	0.16%
9.	Gujarati	10,012	9,208	804	0.14%
10.	Bengali	6,214	4,083	2,131	0.09%
11.	Urdu	5,320	3,745	1,575	0.07%
12.	Maithili	4,723	3,113	1,610	0.06%
13.	Khandeshi	3,498	3,484	14	0.05%
14.	Marathi	3,438	2,210	1,228	0.05%
15.	Odia	3,219	1,693	1,526	0.04%
16.	Kurukh/Oraon	2,277	1,828	449	0.03%
17.	Bhotia	2,012	1,718	294	0.02%
18.	Telugu	1,383	814	569	0.02%
19.	Malayalam	1,211	586	625	0.01%
20.	Ladakhi	1,196	1,087	109	0.01%

Sl. No.	Mother Tongue	Total	Rural	Urban	Percentage
1.	Pahari	21,90,065	20,69,898	1,20,167	31.94%
2.	Kangri	11,15,383	10,68,626	46,757	16.26%
3.	Hindi	10,76,700	7,86,358	2,90,342	15.70%
4.	Mandeali	6,21,400	5,69,021	52,379	9.06%
5.	Punjabi	3,03,375	2,51,392	51,983	4.42%
6.	Bilaspuri/Kahluri	2,95,762	2,78,405	17,357	4.31%
7.	Kulvi	1,96,000	1,85,557	10,443	2.85%
8.	Bharmauri/Gaddi	1,53,171	1,49,945	3,226	2.23%
9.	Chambeali	1,24,385	1,07,181	17,204	1.81%
10.	Srimauri	1,07,322	1,05,694	1,628	1.56%
11.	Nepali	89,502	76,365	13,137	1.30%
12.	Kinnauri	82,662	79,750	2,912	1.20%
13.	Churahi	75,502	75,397	105	1.10%
14.	Siraji	47,192	46,465	727	0.68%
15.	Handuri	33,115	31,532	1,583	0.48%
16.	Dogri	23,609	21,853	1,756	0.34%
17.	Haryanvi	22,606	21,128	1,478	0.32%
18.	Bhojpuri	21,973	13,590	8,383	0.32%
19.	Tibetan	20,968	9,448	11,520	0.30%
20.	Pangwali	18,640	18,152	488	0.27%



Map 4: District-wise distribution of surveyed Languages–Himachal Pradesh 2011

District-wise distribution of Languages spoken in Himachal Pradesh according to 2011 Census

CHAMBA DISTRICT									
Language	Total			Rural			Urban		
	Person	Male	Female	Person	Male	Female	Person	Male	Female
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Hindi	4,81,867	2,41,668	2,40,199	4,52,880	2,26,530	2,26,350	28,987	15,138	13,849
Punjabi	20,901	10,849	10,052	16,951	8,671	8,280	3,950	2,178	1,772
Kashmiri	6,837	3,508	3,329	6,750	3,463	3,287	87	45	42
Nepali	3,573	1,790	1,783	3,159	1,580	1,579	414	210	204
Dogri	1,552	937	615	886	453	433	666	484	182
Tibetan	663	331	332	19	9	10	644	322	322
Kinnauri	575	273	302	571	272	299	4	1	3
Khandeshi	294	156	138	293	155	138	1	1	0
Bengali	255	174	81	197	133	64	58	41	17
Lahauli	173	92	81	161	85	76	12	7	5
Lushai/Mizo	160	130	30	0	0	0	160	130	30
Assamese	145	113	32	7	6	1	138	107	31
Odia	135	79	56	87	48	39	48	31	17
Bhotia	126	69	57	122	68	54	4	1	3
Marathi	124	80	44	65	40	25	59	40	19
Malayalam	121	66	55	35	18	17	86	48	38
Afghani/Kabuli/Pashto	115	58	57	2	1	1	113	57	56
Telugu	103	68	35	47	34	13	56	34	22
Bodo	89	75	14	0	0	0	89	75	14
Urdu	82	46	36	45	25	20	37	21	16
KANGRA DISTRICT									
Hindi	1,43,7260	7,14,565	7,22,695	13,68,358	6,78,364	6,89,994	68,902	36,201	32,701
Punjabi	31,518	13,258	18,260	26,363	10,832	15,531	5,155	2,426	2,729
Tibetan	12,178	6,678	5,500	3,797	2,127	1,670	8,381	4,551	3,830
Dogri	10,681	5,331	5,350	10,397	5,222	5,175	284	109	175
Nepali	8,223	4,184	4,039	6,652	3,432	3,220	1,571	752	819
Marathi	1,786	1,188	598	1,373	956	417	413	232	181
Bengali	1,267	817	450	960	628	332	307	189	118
Others	846	617	229	807	599	208	39	18	21
Kashmiri	673	508	165	462	366	96	211	142	69
Khandeshi	612	292	320	610	290	320	2	2	0
Odia	515	300	215	389	235	154	126	65	61
Maithili	485	308	177	455	287	168	30	21	9
Telugu	455	303	152	302	214	88	153	89	64
Kinnauri	410	227	183	356	198	158	54	29	25
Tamil	343	255	88	288	214	74	55	41	14
English	339	170	169	311	156	155	28	14	14
Malayalam	330	213	117	207	138	69	123	75	48

Gujarati	318	198	120	158	107	51	160	91	69
Urdu	208	128	80	190	116	74	18	12	6
Mundari	193	109	84	193	109	84	0	0	0
Kannada	190	131	59	136	99	37	54	32	22
LAHUL & SPITI DISTRICT									
Kinnauri	12,902	6,348	6,554	12,902	6,348	6,554	0	0	0
Gujarati	8,374	4,180	4,194	8,374	4,180	4,194	0	0	0
Hindi	2,379	1,754	625	2,379	1,754	625	0	0	0
Others	2,321	1,168	1,153	2,321	1,168	1,153	0	0	0
Bhotia	943	526	417	943	526	417	0	0	0
Nepali	891	519	372	891	519	372	0	0	0
Tibetan	810	414	396	810	414	396	0	0	0
Kurukh/Oraon	759	364	395	759	364	395	0	0	0
Santali	496	247	249	496	247	249	0	0	0
Halam	379	210	169	379	210	169	0	0	0
Lahauli	269	145	124	269	145	124	0	0	0
Sanskrit	254	114	140	254	114	140	0	0	0
Ho	157	80	77	157	80	77	0	0	0
Bengali	88	85	3	88	85	3	0	0	0
Dogri	73	71	2	73	71	2	0	0	0
Punjabi	69	59	10	69	59	10	0	0	0
Sherpa	62	31	31	62	31	31	0	0	0
Marathi	52	52	0	52	52	0	0	0	0
Munda	34	21	13	34	21	13	0	0	0
Telugu	29	29	0	29	29	0	0	0	0
Malayalam	27	27	0	27	27	0	0	0	0
KULLU DISTRICT									
Hindi	3,54,131	1,81,755	1,72,376	3,22,676	1,64,907	1,57,769	31,455	16,848	14,607
Kashmiri	45,603	23,165	22,438	44,691	22,630	22,061	912	535	377
Nepali	10,877	6,088	4,789	9,963	5,578	4,385	914	510	404
Lahauli	10,201	5,051	5,150	7,245	3,596	3,649	2,956	1,455	1,501
Punjabi	4,184	2,337	1,847	1,920	1,115	805	2,264	1,222	1,042
Kinnauri	3,693	1,819	1,874	3,119	1,543	1,576	574	276	298
Others	2,178	1,122	1,056	1,920	983	937	258	139	119
Tibetan	1,814	943	871	1,146	613	533	668	330	338
Khandeshi	534	278	256	533	277	256	1	1	0
Bengali	487	339	148	275	181	94	212	158	54
Bhotia	442	228	214	312	160	152	130	68	62
Dogri	432	314	118	263	195	68	169	119	50
Tamang	413	215	198	408	213	195	5	2	3
Urdu	375	237	138	261	159	102	114	78	36
Sherpa	372	185	187	356	176	180	16	9	7
Odia	256	175	81	230	157	73	26	18	8
Maithili	241	182	59	172	128	44	69	54	15
Gujarati	207	111	96	23	11	12	184	100	84

Assamese	171	122	49	134	90	44	37	32	5
Telugu	166	109	57	122	82	40	44	27	17
English	165	79	86	38	21	17	127	58	69

HAMIRPUR DISTRICT

Hindi	4,47,070	2,13,168	2,33,902	4,16,903	1,97,583	2,19,320	30,167	15,585	14,582
Dogri	3,403	1,546	1,857	3,364	1,520	1,844	39	26	13
Punjabi	1,910	982	928	1,092	538	554	818	444	374
Nepali	751	426	325	693	387	306	58	39	19
Maithili	740	417	323	718	404	314	22	13	9
Khandeshi	194	101	93	194	101	93	0	0	0
Gujarati	96	50	46	25	16	9	71	34	37
Bengali	94	58	36	69	41	28	25	17	8
Urdu	90	62	28	43	30	13	47	32	15
Kashmiri	78	72	6	27	23	4	51	49	2
Kinnauri	47	26	21	12	2	10	35	24	11
Odia	45	24	21	39	21	18	6	3	3
Marathi	43	21	22	17	5	12	26	16	10
Sanskrit	42	19	23	31	13	18	11	6	5
Others	23	18	5	18	13	5	5	5	0
Kurukh/Oraon	19	9	10	19	9	10	0	0	0
Bhotia	16	5	11	0	0	0	16	5	11
Munda	15	9	6	15	9	6	0	0	0
Assamese	14	10	4	13	9	4	1	1	0
English	14	8	6	14	8	6	0	0	0
Tamil	11	7	4	6	4	2	5	3	2

UNA DISTRICT

Hindi	3,51,870	1,78,934	1,72,936	3,22,525	1,63,347	1,59,178	29,345	15,587	13,758
Punjabi	1,54,670	77,075	77,595	1,39,379	69,407	69,972	15,291	7,668	7,623
Others	6,371	3,317	3,054	6,366	3,314	3,052	5	3	2
Dogri	5,251	2,630	2,621	5,241	2,624	2,617	10	6	4
Ladakhi	858	440	418	858	440	418	0	0	0
Nepali	383	257	126	337	227	110	46	30	16
Maithili	342	205	137	327	191	136	15	14	1
Urdu	312	177	135	267	144	123	45	33	12
Sanskrit	255	121	134	246	116	130	9	5	4
Bengali	237	149	88	185	115	70	52	34	18
English	221	150	71	214	146	68	7	4	3
Odia	98	63	35	73	49	24	25	14	11
Kashmiri	68	64	4	64	60	4	4	4	0
Marathi	45	22	23	30	13	17	15	9	6
Kinnauri	29	8	21	28	7	21	1	1	0
Gujarati	27	9	18	26	9	17	1	0	1
Tamil	26	18	8	7	6	1	19	12	7
Telugu	26	13	13	22	10	12	4	3	1
Malayalam	25	14	11	14	8	6	11	6	5

Assamese	21	7	14	19	5	14	2	2	0
Kurukh/Oraon	10	5	5	8	4	4	2	1	1
BILASPUR DISTRICT									
Punjabi	3,07,005	1,58,411	1,48,594	2,89,361	1,49,127	1,40,234	17,644	9,284	8,360
Hindi	71,991	32,805	39,186	65,012	29,261	35,751	6,979	3,544	3,435
Nepali	862	523	339	664	412	252	198	111	87
Dogri	665	307	358	647	300	347	18	7	11
Kinnauri	274	68	206	236	51	185	38	17	21
Bengali	241	140	101	163	90	73	78	50	28
Maithili	156	108	48	87	73	14	69	35	34
Urdu	145	83	62	126	70	56	19	13	6
Others	107	32	75	89	25	64	18	7	11
Marathi	80	39	41	66	30	36	14	9	5
Odia	74	35	39	70	33	37	4	2	2
Kashmiri	64	46	18	48	32	16	16	14	2
Gujarati	42	23	19	26	14	12	16	9	7
Telugu	36	17	19	36	17	19	0	0	0
English	33	20	13	32	19	13	1	1	0
Munda	27	16	11	27	16	11	0	0	0
Tamil	25	23	2	24	22	2	1	1	0
Kurukh/Oraon	20	11	9	20	11	9	0	0	0
Malayalam	18	11	7	17	10	7	1	1	0
Assamese	17	8	9	17	8	9	0	0	0
Mundari	14	8	6	10	6	4	4	2	2
MANDI DISTRICT									
Hindi	9,81,251	4,88,769	4,92,482	9,24,044	4,59,617	4,64,427	57,207	29,152	28,055
Punjabi	8,576	3,587	4,989	4,578	1,610	2,968	3,998	1,977	2,021
Kashmiri	2,148	1,186	962	2,025	1,090	935	123	96	27
Tibetan	1,896	940	956	1,605	791	814	291	149	142
Nepali	1,711	1,083	628	1,540	966	574	171	117	54
Khandeshi	971	498	473	971	498	473	0	0	0
Others	490	301	189	432	265	167	58	36	22
Bengali	423	286	137	262	186	76	161	100	61
Dogri	413	243	170	370	222	148	43	21	22
Maithili	398	280	118	316	205	111	82	75	7
Kinnauri	224	98	126	147	61	86	77	37	40
Urdu	194	129	65	152	106	46	42	23	19
Marathi	146	84	62	101	58	43	45	26	19
Lahauli	118	58	60	78	40	38	40	18	22
Bhotia	97	57	40	42	19	23	55	38	17
Kurukh/Oraon	94	62	32	89	58	31	5	4	1
Odia	87	62	25	72	52	20	15	10	5
Telugu	81	55	26	62	43	19	19	12	7
English	58	32	26	13	9	4	45	23	22
Malayalam	57	37	20	23	17	6	34	20	14

Gujarati	45	21	24	10	3	7	35	18	17
SOLAN DISTRICT									
Hindi	5,05,194	2,68,740	2,36,454	4,16,638	2,17,802	1,98,836	88,556	50,938	37,618
Punjabi	53,104	26,828	26,276	47,450	23,888	23,562	5,654	2,940	2,714
Nepali	13,629	7,789	5,840	10,198	5,618	4,580	3,431	2,171	1,260
Odia	1,387	1,089	298	382	280	102	1,005	809	196
Maithili	1,136	699	437	358	230	128	778	469	309
Bengali	1,123	682	441	663	402	261	460	280	180
Urdu	709	475	234	372	240	132	337	235	102
Kinnauri	468	236	232	287	151	136	181	85	96
Marathi	462	246	216	173	88	85	289	158	131
Kashmiri	427	361	66	123	95	28	304	266	38
Others	417	166	251	201	63	138	216	103	113
Kurukh/Oraon	305	168	137	288	160	128	17	8	9
Dogri	254	157	97	170	106	64	84	51	33
Sanskrit	225	153	72	225	153	72	0	0	0
Gujarati	208	118	90	56	32	24	152	86	66
Tamil	199	139	60	37	29	8	162	110	52
Telugu	192	111	81	58	36	22	134	75	59
Assamese	188	150	38	129	116	13	59	34	25
Malayalam	166	107	59	32	19	13	134	88	46
Tibetan	63	35	28	3	1	2	60	34	26
Kannada	61	42	19	21	11	10	40	31	9
SIRMAUR DIST									
Hindi	4,98,605	2,59,563	2,39,042	4,47,259	2,32,574	2,14,685	51,346	26,989	24,357
Punjabi	20,576	10,418	10,158	16,482	8,328	8,154	4,094	2,090	2,004
Nepali	5,004	3,035	1,969	4,242	2,594	1,648	762	441	321
Tibetan	2,234	1,152	1,082	2,228	1,148	1,080	6	4	2
Urdu	717	414	303	396	211	185	321	203	118
Bengali	697	457	240	573	389	184	124	68	56
Khandeshi	509	254	255	509	254	255	0	0	0
Maithili	212	163	49	185	148	37	27	15	12
Dogri	165	110	55	46	32	14	119	78	41
Others	164	108	56	162	107	55	2	1	1
Odia	149	99	50	100	70	30	49	29	20
Marathi	139	83	56	27	17	10	112	66	46
Kinnauri	127	73	54	108	61	47	19	12	7
Malayalam	73	47	26	38	25	13	35	22	13
Kashmiri	65	47	18	49	36	13	16	11	5
Tamil	57	36	21	18	9	9	39	27	12
Telugu	55	33	22	18	10	8	37	23	14
Gujarati	54	33	21	44	27	17	10	6	4
Mundari	46	26	20	46	26	20	0	0	0
Kurukh/Oraon	40	36	4	38	35	3	2	1	1
Assamese	37	33	4	27	25	2	10	8	2

SHIMLA DIST									
Hindi	7,49,904	3,88,922	3,60,982	5,73,423	2,92,701	2,80,722	1,76,481	96,221	80,260
Nepali	37,693	21,058	16,635	32,121	17,565	14,556	5,572	3,493	2,079
Punjabi	11,752	6,230	5,522	1,196	725	471	10,556	5,505	5,051
Kinnauri	3,358	1,650	1,708	1,402	639	763	1,956	1,011	945
Urdu	2,398	1,370	1,028	1,803	956	847	595	414	181
Tibetan	1,610	882	728	116	64	52	1,494	818	676
Kashmiri	1,031	941	90	83	74	9	948	867	81
Bengali	984	688	296	330	230	100	654	458	196
Maithili	636	492	144	154	106	48	482	386	96
Gujarati	523	273	250	377	185	192	146	88	58
Dogri	522	355	167	198	139	59	324	216	108
Kurukh/Oraon	496	276	220	133	74	59	363	202	161
Odia	367	241	126	145	97	48	222	144	78
Khandeshi	361	199	162	355	194	161	6	5	1
Marathi	306	185	121	105	64	41	201	121	80
Telugu	193	138	55	76	54	22	117	84	33
Arabic/Arbi	189	109	80	176	104	72	13	5	8
Malayalam	178	107	71	26	18	8	152	89	63
Others	164	91	73	40	27	13	124	64	60
Lahauli	159	71	88	8	5	3	151	66	85
Tamil	145	99	46	31	22	9	114	77	37
KINNAUR DISTRICT									
Kinnauri	60,605	29,469	31,136	60,605	29,469	31,136	0	0	0
Hindi	14,007	10,047	3,960	14,007	10,047	3,960	0	0	0
Nepali	5,911	3,895	2,016	5,911	3,895	2,016	0	0	0
Punjabi	757	584	173	757	584	173	0	0	0
Kurukh/Oraon	356	246	110	356	246	110	0	0	0
Maithili	321	240	81	321	240	81	0	0	0
Bengali	318	264	54	318	264	54	0	0	0
Dogri	198	176	22	198	176	22	0	0	0
Santali	178	160	18	178	160	18	0	0	0
Bhotia	174	111	63	174	111	63	0	0	0
Mundari	172	130	42	172	130	42	0	0	0
Munda	132	99	33	132	99	33	0	0	0
Marathi	103	94	9	103	94	9	0	0	0
Assamese	100	93	7	100	93	7	0	0	0
Others	87	72	15	87	72	15	0	0	0
Gujarati	84	84	0	84	84	0	0	0	0
Odia	84	73	11	84	73	11	0	0	0
Malayalam	76	64	12	76	64	12	0	0	0
Urdu	70	59	11	70	59	11	0	0	0
20 Tamil	55	51	4	55	51	4	0	0	0
Kashmiri	45	31	14	45	31	14	0	0	0

District-wise distribution of Mother Tongues spoken in Himachal Pradesh according to 2011 Census

Mother tongue	Total			Rural			Urban		
	Male	Female	Person	Male	Female	Person	Male	Female	Person
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Bilaspuri Kahluri	2,91,715	1,50,704	1,41,011	2,74,932	1,41,813	1,33,119	16,783	8,891	7,892
Pahari	32,690	16,653	16,037	32,179	16,414	15,765	511	239	272
Hindi	22,144	11,468	10,676	17,380	8,934	8,446	4,764	2,534	2,230
Punjabi	15,289	7,706	7,583	14,428	7,313	7,115	861	393	468
Kangri	4788	581	4,207	4,295	400	3,895	493	181	312
Mandeali	3,664	368	3,296	3,197	216	2,981	467	152	315
Nepali	862	523	339	664	412	252	198	111	87
Dogri	665	307	358	647	300	347	18	7	11
Bhojpuri	595	386	209	434	276	158	161	110	51
Handuri	494	30	464	479	28	451	15	2	13
Lamani/Lambadi	482	240	242	478	238	240	4	2	2
Kinnauri	274	68	206	236	51	185	38	17	21
Bengali	241	140	101	163	90	73	78	50	28
Kulvi	160	53	107	128	35	93	32	18	14
Rajasthani	159	84	75	80	42	38	79	42	37
Bagheli/Baghel Khandi	152	33	119	118	10	108	34	23	11
Maithili	152	105	47	83	70	13	69	35	34
Urdu	141	81	60	122	68	54	19	13	6
Haryanvi	122	59	63	92	37	55	30	22	8
Garhwali	93	49	44	36	18	18	57	31	26
Marwari	92	46	46	10	6	4	82	40	42
Marathi	79	39	40	65	30	35	14	9	5
Odia	73	35	38	69	33	36	4	2	2
Kashmiri	59	45	14	43	31	12	16	14	2
Chambeali/Chamrali	56	17	39	43	12	31	13	5	8
CHAMBA DISTRICT									
Pahari	1,24,785	62,411	62,374	1,19,830	59,881	59,949	4,955	2530	2,425
Chambeali/Chamrali	1,20,601	59,893	60,708	1,04,466	51,643	52,823	16,135	8250	7,885
Bharmauri/Gaddi	1,13,143	56,475	56,668	1,11,620	55,728	55,892	15,23	747	776
Churahi	74,772	37,794	36,978	74,676	37,750	36,926	96	44	52
Pangwali	18,085	9,063	9,022	17,848	8,945	8,903	237	118	119
Bhateali	15,107	7,722	7,385	15,086	7,715	7,371	21	7	14
Hindi	15,103	8,248	6,855	9,806	5,209	4,597	5,297	3039	2,258
Gojri/Gujjari/Gujar	9,755	5,060	4,695	9,740	5,052	4,688	15	8	7
Kashmiri	6,824	3,496	3,328	6,740	3,453	3,287	84	43	41
Punjabi	5,744	3,105	2,639	1,823	936	887	3,921	2169	1,752
Nepali	3,573	1,790	1,783	3,159	1,580	1,579	414	210	204
Kangri	1,650	613	1,037	1,264	427	837	386	186	200
Dogri	1,552	937	615	886	453	433	666	484	182

Tibetan	656	330	326	13	8	5	643	322	321
Kinnauri	575	273	302	571	272	299	4	1	3
Gujari	294	156	138	293	155	138	1	1	0
Mandeali	265	162	103	172	115	57	93	47	46
Bengali	216	150	66	158	109	49	58	41	17
Bhojpuri	198	141	57	151	104	47	47	37	10
Lahauli	173	92	81	161	85	76	12	7	5
Garhwali	169	104	65	126	76	50	43	28	15

HAMIRPUR DISTRICT

Pahari	3,45,515	1,63,776	1,81,739	3,24,353	1,52,983	1,71,370	21,162	10,793	10,369
Hindi	64,105	31,585	32,520	56,513	27,667	28,846	7,592	3,918	3,674
Kangri	16,164	7,511	8,653	15,440	7,110	8,330	724	401	323
Dogri	3,403	1,546	1,857	3,364	1,520	1,844	39	26	13
Punjabi	1,853	950	903	1,053	524	529	800	426	374
Bhojpuri	776	558	218	649	462	187	127	96	31
Nepali	751	426	325	693	387	306	58	39	19
Mandeali	736	268	468	622	190	432	114	78	36
Maithili	728	407	321	709	397	312	19	10	9
Rajasthani	576	303	273	447	235	212	129	68	61
Marwari	306	164	142	233	126	107	73	38	35
Gujari	194	101	93	194	101	93	0	0	0
Lamani/Lambadi	158	75	83	152	74	78	6	1	5
Chhattisgarhi	105	55	50	104	54	50	1	1	0
Bengali	94	58	36	69	41	28	25	17	8
Gujarati	89	45	44	18	11	7	71	34	37
Urdu	85	60	25	38	28	10	47	32	15
Kashmiri	78	72	6	27	23	4	51	49	2
Sadan/Sadri	71	40	31	55	31	24	16	9	7
Gojri/Gujjari/Gujar	69	36	33	69	36	33	0	0	0
Kinnauri	47	26	21	12	2	10	35	24	11

KANGRA DISTRICT

Kangri	10,70,365	5,26,847	5,43,518	10,36,556	5,09,490	5,27,066	33,809	17,357	16,452
Pahari	225,280	1,13,296	1,11,984	2,10,089	1,05,363	1,04,726	15,191	7,933	7,258
Hindi	83,870	45,589	38,281	68,457	37,087	31,370	15,413	8,502	6,911
Bharmauri/Gaddi	39,798	19,784	20,014	38,163	18,953	19,210	1,635	831	804
Punjabi	31,012	13,038	17,974	25,865	10,616	15,249	5,147	2,422	2,725
Tibetan	12,081	6,609	5,472	3,700	2,058	1,642	8,381	4,551	3,830
Dogri	10,681	5,331	5,350	10,397	5,222	5,175	284	109	175
Nepali	8,223	4,184	4,039	6,652	3,432	3,220	1,571	752	819
Rajasthani	2,612	1,372	1,240	1,694	904	790	918	468	450
Mandeali	2,531	889	1,642	2,248	740	1,508	283	149	134
Chambeali/Chamrali	2,268	1,006	1,262	2,090	926	1,164	178	80	98
Bhojpuri	2,009	1,493	516	1,747	1,288	459	262	205	57
Gojri/Gujjari/Gujar	1,822	965	857	1,739	920	819	83	45	38
Marathi	1,759	1,171	588	1,346	939	407	413	232	181

Chhattisgarhi	1,582	841	741	973	506	467	609	335	274
Bengali	1,245	806	439	938	617	321	307	189	118
Kashmiri	658	494	164	447	352	95	211	142	69
Gujari	612	292	320	610	290	320	2	2	0
Odia	514	299	215	388	234	154	126	65	61
Telugu	454	303	151	301	214	87	153	89	64
Kinnauri	401	222	179	356	198	158	45	24	21
KINNAUR DISTRICT									
Kinnauri	60,596	29,460	31,136	60,596	29,460	31,136	0	0	0
Hindi	6,751	5,008	1,743	6,751	5,008	1,743	0	0	0
Nepali	5,910	3,894	2,016	5,910	3,894	2,016	0	0	0
Pahari	2,918	1,735	1,183	2,918	1,735	1,183	0	0	0
Bhojpuri	874	780	94	874	780	94	0	0	0
Punjabi	609	505	104	609	505	104	0	0	0
Sadan/Sadri	554	349	205	554	349	205	0	0	0
Mandeali	516	385	131	516	385	131	0	0	0
Kangri	407	282	125	407	282	125	0	0	0
Garhwali	356	291	65	356	291	65	0	0	0
Kurukh/Oraon	356	246	110	356	246	110	0	0	0
Bengali	310	259	51	310	259	51	0	0	0
Nagpuria	299	198	101	299	198	101	0	0	0
Khortha/Khotta	270	262	8	270	262	8	0	0	0
Maithili	267	200	67	267	200	67	0	0	0
Dogri	198	176	22	198	176	22	0	0	0
Santali	177	159	18	177	159	18	0	0	0
Mundari	172	130	42	172	130	42	0	0	0
Bhotia	170	110	60	170	110	60	0	0	0
Munda	132	99	33	132	99	33	0	0	0
Kumauni	118	85	33	118	85	33	0	0	0
Kulvi	106	57	49	106	57	49	0	0	0
KULLU DISTRICT									
Kulvi	1,94,049	98,473	95,576	1,84,092	93,474	90,618	9,957	4,999	4,958
Pahari	1,02,719	52,098	50,621	1,02,194	51,807	50,387	525	291	234
Siraji	45,264	22,907	22,357	44,545	22,545	22,000	719	362	357
Hindi	34,361	18,711	15,650	20,867	11,368	9,499	13,494	7,343	6,151
Mandeali	14,160	7,228	6,932	10,182	5,059	5,123	3,978	2,169	1,809
Nepali	10,873	6,085	4,788	9,959	5,575	4,384	914	510	404
Lahauli	10,201	5,051	5,150	7,245	3,596	3,649	2,956	1,455	1,501
Punjabi	4,038	2,259	1,779	1,812	1,058	754	2,226	1,201	1,025
Kangri	3,805	2,083	1,722	1,856	1,037	819	1,949	1,046	903
Kinnauri	3,681	1,812	1,869	3,107	1,536	1,571	574	276	298
Tibetan	1,635	851	784	968	521	447	667	330	337
Bhojpuri	994	718	276	744	531	213	250	187	63
Gojri/Gujjari/Gujar	662	361	301	607	309	298	55	52	3
Rajasthani	555	296	259	315	163	152	240	133	107

Gujari	534	278	256	533	277	256	1	1	0
Bengali	487	339	148	275	181	94	212	158	54
Dogri	432	314	118	263	195	68	169	119	50
Tamang	413	215	198	408	213	195	5	2	3
Chambeali/Chamrali	400	235	165	260	157	103	140	78	62
Pangwali	384	203	181	189	98	91	195	105	90
LAHUL & SPITI DISTRICT									
Kinnauri	12,902	6,348	6,554	12,902	6,348	6,554	0	0	0
Pattani	8,371	4,177	4,194	8,371	4,177	4,194	0	0	0
Bhotia	930	517	413	930	517	413	0	0	0
Hindi	903	795	108	903	795	108	0	0	0
Nepali	890	518	372	890	518	372	0	0	0
Tibetan	805	414	391	805	414	391	0	0	0
Kurukh/Oraon	759	364	395	759	364	395	0	0	0
Pahari	623	320	303	623	320	303	0	0	0
Mahili	469	230	239	469	230	239	0	0	0
Halam	379	210	169	379	210	169	0	0	0
Lahauli	269	145	124	269	145	124	0	0	0
Sanskrit	254	114	140	254	114	140	0	0	0
Khortha/Khotta	158	154	4	158	154	4	0	0	0
Lohara	157	80	77	157	80	77	0	0	0
Mandeali	134	100	34	134	100	34	0	0	0
Bengali	88	85	3	88	85	3	0	0	0
Kulvi	83	34	49	83	34	49	0	0	0
Sadan/Sadri	77	60	17	77	60	17	0	0	0
Dogri	73	71	2	73	71	2	0	0	0
Kangri	70	53	17	70	53	17	0	0	0
Pangwali	69	13	56	69	13	56	0	0	0
MANDI DISTRICT									
Mandeali	5,90,974	2,92,460	2,98,514	5,49,644	2,71,764	2,77,880	41,330	20,696	20,634
Pahari	3,33,159	1,67,098	1,66,061	3,31,934	1,66,493	1,65,441	1,225	605	620
Hindi	41,011	21,808	19,203	29,394	15,610	13,784	11,617	6,198	5,419
Punjabi	6,593	3,346	3,247	2,719	1,413	1,306	3,874	1,933	1,941
Kangri	4,660	1,514	3,146	3,430	922	2,508	1,230	592	638
Lamani/Lambadi	2,634	1,344	1,290	2,634	1,344	1,290	0	0	0
Bilaspuri Kahluri	1,957	236	1,721	1,849	192	1,657	108	44	64
Siraji	1,903	985	918	1,900	983	917	3	2	1
Tibetan	1,884	931	953	1,600	789	811	284	142	142
Nepali	1,711	1,083	628	1,540	966	574	171	117	54
Bhojpuri	1,118	846	272	583	456	127	535	390	145
Gujari	971	498	473	971	498	473	0	0	0
Gojri/Gujjari/Gujar	904	471	433	904	471	433	0	0	0
Kulvi	847	320	527	777	292	485	70	28	42
Churahi	684	352	332	683	352	331	1	0	1
Rajasthani	499	277	222	271	142	129	228	135	93

Bengali	423	286	137	262	186	76	161	100	61
Dogri	413	243	170	370	222	148	43	21	22
Sadan/Sadri	247	135	112	201	112	89	46	23	23
Kashmiri	245	201	44	125	107	18	120	94	26
Kinnauri	218	96	122	147	61	86	71	35	36
SHIMLA DISTRICT									
Pahari	5,50,380	2,80,104	2,70,276	4,85,143	2,45,730	2,39,413	65,237	34,374	30,863
Hindi	1,65,362	88,529	76,833	79,248	41,520	37,728	86,114	47,009	39,105
Nepali	37,693	21,058	16,635	32,121	17,565	14,556	5,572	3,493	2,079
Punjabi	11,288	5,961	5,327	1,102	665	437	10,186	5,296	4,890
Kangri	8,585	4,598	3,987	992	565	427	7,593	4,033	3,560
Mandeali	6,587	3,790	2,797	920	556	364	5,667	3,234	2,433
Bhojpuri	4,816	3,778	1,038	1,723	1,358	365	3,093	2,420	673
Kinnauri	3,344	1,641	1,703	1,400	638	762	1,944	1,003	941
Urdu	2,386	1,362	1,024	1,803	956	847	583	406	177
Tibetan	1,583	866	717	110	60	50	1,473	806	667
Garhwali	1,531	866	665	364	209	155	1,167	657	510
Sirmauri	1,038	646	392	67	32	35	971	614	357
Kashmiri	1,025	935	90	81	72	9	944	863	81
Sadan/Sadri	998	572	426	323	197	126	675	375	300
Bengali	983	687	296	329	229	100	654	458	196
Haryanvi	826	487	339	363	206	157	463	281	182
Chambeali/Chamrali	631	364	267	28	21	7	603	343	260
Maithili	556	443	113	110	77	33	446	366	80
Dogri	522	355	167	198	139	59	324	216	108
Gojri/Gujjari/Gujar	512	250	262	512	250	262	0	0	0
Kurukh/Oraon	492	273	219	133	74	59	359	199	160
Kulvi	460	247	213	123	71	52	337	176	161
Bilaspuri Kahluri	450	258	192	91	57	34	359	201	158
SIRMAUR DISTRICT									
Hindi	2,08,169	1,09,712	98,457	1,61,046	85,072	75,974	47,123	24,640	22,483
Pahari	177,662	91,680	85,982	1,75,088	90,351	84,737	2,574	1,329	1,245
Sirmauri	105,516	54,073	51,443	1,05,078	53,841	51,237	438	232	206
Punjabi	20,564	10,410	10,154	16,470	8,320	8,150	4,094	2,090	2,004
Nepali	5,004	3,035	1,969	4,242	2,594	1,648	762	441	321
Haryanvi	2,272	1,117	1,155	2,089	1,010	1,079	183	107	76
Tibetan	2,234	1,152	1,082	2,228	1,148	1,080	6	4	2
Bhojpuri	1,199	817	382	996	669	327	203	148	55
Lamani/Lambadi	821	449	372	819	448	371	2	1	1
Urdu	703	403	300	384	202	182	319	201	118
Bengali	697	457	240	573	389	184	124	68	56
Kangri	671	375	296	599	330	269	72	45	27
Garhwali	527	311	216	252	145	107	275	166	109
Gujari	509	254	255	509	254	255	0	0	0
Mandeali	340	214	126	216	130	86	124	84	40

Dogri	165	110	55	46	32	14	119	78	41
Odia	149	99	50	100	70	30	49	29	20
Marathi	139	83	56	27	17	10	112	66	46
Kinnauri	127	73	54	108	61	47	19	12	7
Kumauni	126	99	27	50	41	9	76	58	18
SOLAN DISTRICT									
Hindi	2,29,023	1,24,959	1,04,064	1,56,815	83,953	72,862	72,208	41,006	31,202
Pahari	1,72,372	87,854	84,518	1,65,516	84,113	81,403	6,856	3,741	3,115
Punjabi	51,784	26,470	25,314	46,201	23,577	22,624	5,583	2,893	2,690
Handuri	32,566	17,148	15,418	31,024	16,305	14,719	1,542	843	699
Baghati/Baghati Pahari	14,960	7,707	7,253	14,742	7,599	7,143	218	108	110
Nepali	13,629	7,789	5,840	10,198	5,618	4,580	3,431	2,171	1,260
Bhojpuri	8,245	5,990	2,255	4,851	3,511	1,340	3,394	2,479	915
Kangri	1,738	1,001	737	1,242	695	547	496	306	190
Odia	1,386	1,088	298	381	279	102	1,005	809	196
Bagheli/Baghel Khandi	1,359	671	688	1,358	670	688	1	1	0
Mandeali	1,326	704	622	1,008	513	495	318	191	127
Bilaspuri Kahluri	1,251	319	932	1,209	290	919	42	29	13
Haryanvi	1,144	546	598	654	283	371	490	263	227
Bengali	1,121	681	440	661	401	260	460	280	180
Maithili	1,013	622	391	299	190	109	714	432	282
Kumauni	958	721	237	51	30	21	907	691	216
Rajasthani	846	464	382	737	397	340	109	67	42
Garhwali	691	430	261	342	225	117	349	205	144
Urdu	684	458	226	354	229	125	330	229	101
Khari Boli	544	363	181	61	45	16	483	318	165
Sirmauri	516	239	277	334	141	193	182	98	84
Kinnauri	468	236	232	287	151	136	181	85	96
UNA DISTRICT									
Hindi	2,05,898	1,05,968	99,930	1,79,178	91,817	87,361	26,720	14,151	12,569
Punjabi	1,54,539	77,021	77,518	1,39,248	69,353	69,895	15,291	7,668	7,623
Pahari	1,21,962	60,597	61,365	1,20,031	59,631	60,400	1,931	966	965
Haryanvi	17,403	8,826	8,577	17,387	8,820	8,567	16	6	10
Dogri	5,251	2,630	2,621	5,241	2,624	2,617	10	6	4
Kangri	2,480	1,140	1,340	2,475	1,138	1,337	5	2	3
Bhojpuri	1,120	829	291	809	574	235	311	255	56
Ladakhi	858	440	418	858	440	418	0	0	0
Rajasthani	495	264	231	288	145	143	207	119	88
Nepali	383	257	126	337	227	110	46	30	16
Urdu	307	173	134	262	140	122	45	33	12
Maithili	293	170	123	282	160	122	11	10	1
Sanskrit	255	121	134	246	116	130	9	5	4
Bengali	237	149	88	185	115	70	52	34	18
English	221	150	71	214	146	68	7	4	3
Lamani/Lambadi	180	95	85	180	95	85	0	0	0

Mandeali	167	76	91	162	72	90	5	4	1
Chhattisgarhi	162	88	74	162	88	74	0	0	0
Marwari	125	59	66	121	58	63	4	1	3
Bilaspuri Kahluri	123	49	74	123	49	74	0	0	0

The following table shows district-wise distribution of the surveyed languages in Himachal Pradesh according to Census 2011

Languages	Total			Rural			Urban		
	Person	Male	Female	Person	Male	Female	Person	Male	Female
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
BHOTIA									
Himachal Pradesh	2,012	1,131	881	1,718	969	749	294	162	132
Chamba	126	69	57	122	68	54	4	1	3
Kangra	109	76	33	102	72	30	7	4	3
Lahul & Spiti	943	526	417	943	526	417	0	0	0
Kullu	442	228	214	312	160	152	130	68	62
Mandi	97	57	40	42	19	23	55	38	17
Hamirpur	16	5	11	0	0	0	16	5	11
Una	3	1	2	1	0	1	2	1	1
Bilaspur	2	1	1	0	0	0	2	1	1
Solan	18	9	9	18	9	9	0	0	0
Sirmaur	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0
Shimla	81	47	34	3	3	0	78	44	34
Kinnaur	174	111	63	174	111	63	0	0	0
DOGRI									
Himachal Pradesh	23,609	12,177	11,432	21,853	11,060	10,793	1,756	1,117	639
Chamba	1,552	937	615	886	453	433	666	484	182
Kangra	10,681	5,331	5,350	10,397	5,222	5,175	284	109	175
Lahul & Spiti	73	71	2	73	71	2	0	0	0
Kullu	432	314	118	263	195	68	169	119	50
Mandi	413	243	170	370	222	148	43	21	22
Hamirpur	3,403	1,546	1,857	3,364	1,520	1,844	39	26	13
Una	5,251	2,630	2,621	5,241	2,624	2,617	10	6	4
Bilaspur	665	307	358	647	300	347	18	7	11
Solan	254	157	97	170	106	64	84	51	33
Sirmaur	165	110	55	46	32	14	119	78	41
Shimla	522	355	167	198	139	59	324	216	108
Kinnaur	198	176	22	198	176	22	0	0	0
KINNAURI									
Himachal Pradesh	82,712	40,295	42,417	79,773	38,802	40,971	2,939	1,493	1,446

Chamba	575	273	302	571	272	299	4	1	3
Kangra	410	227	183	356	198	158	54	29	25
Lahul & Spiti	12,902	6,348	6,554	12,902	6,348	6,554	0	0	0
Kullu	3,693	1,819	1,874	3,119	1,543	1,576	574	276	298
Mandi	224	98	126	147	61	86	77	37	40
Hamirpur	47	26	21	12	2	10	35	24	11
Una	29	8	21	28	7	21	1	1	0
Bilaspur	274	68	206	236	51	185	38	17	21
Solan	468	236	232	287	151	136	181	85	96
Sirmaur	127	73	54	108	61	47	19	12	7
Shimla	3,358	1,650	1,708	1,402	639	763	1,956	1,011	945
Kinnaur	60,605	29,469	31,136	60,605	29,469	31,136	0	0	0
LAHAULI									
Himachal Pradesh	11,073	5,491	5,582	7,891	3,931	3,960	3,182	1,560	1,622
Chamba	173	92	81	161	85	76	12	7	5
Kangra	91	37	54	77	30	47	14	7	7
Lahul & Spiti	269	145	124	269	145	124	0	0	0
Kullu	10,201	5,051	5,150	7,245	3,596	3,649	2,956	1,455	1,501
Mandi	118	58	60	78	40	38	40	18	22
Hamirpur	10	7	3	4	1	3	6	6	0
Bilaspur	7	2	5	7	2	5	0	0	0
Solan	21	14	7	19	13	6	2	1	1
Sirmaur	2	1	1	1	1	0	1	0	1
Shimla	159	71	88	8	5	3	151	66	85
Kinnaur	22	13	9	22	13	9	0	0	0
NEPALI									
Himachal Pradesh	89,508	50,647	38,861	76,371	42,773	33,598	13,137	7,874	5,263
Chamba	3,573	1,790	1,783	3,159	1,580	1,579	414	210	204
Kangra	8,223	4,184	4,039	6,652	3,432	3,220	1571	752	819
Lahul & Spiti	891	519	372	891	519	372	0	0	0
Kullu	10,877	6,088	4,789	9,963	5,578	4,385	914	510	404
Mandi	1,711	1,083	628	1,540	966	574	171	117	54
Hamirpur	751	426	325	693	387	306	58	39	19
Una	383	257	126	337	227	110	46	30	16
Bilaspur	862	523	339	664	412	252	198	111	87
Solan	13,629	7,789	5,840	10,198	5,618	4,580	3,431	2,171	1,260
Sirmaur	5,004	3,035	1,969	4,242	2,594	1,648	762	441	321
Shimla	37,693	21,058	16,635	32,121	17,565	14,556	5,572	3,493	2,079
Kinnaur	5,911	3,895	2,016	5,911	3,895	2,016	0	0	0

The following table shows district wise distribution of the surveyed mother tongues in Himachal Pradesh according to Census 2011

DISTRICT-WISE DISTRIBUTION OF THE SURVEYED MOTHER TONGUES IN HIMACHAL PRADESH-2011									
State/Districts	Total			Rural			Urban		
	Person	Male	Female	Person	Male	Female	Person	Male	Female
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
BHARMAURI/GADDI									
Himachal Pradesh	1,53,171	76,395	76,776	1,49,945	74,776	75,169	3,226	1,619	1,607
Chamba	1,13,143	56,475	56,668	1,11,620	55,728	55,892	1,523	747	776
Kangra	39,798	19,784	20,014	38,163	18,953	19,210	1,635	831	804
Lahul & Spiti	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0
Kullu	67	43	24	59	37	22	8	6	2
Mandi	70	32	38	68	31	37	2	1	1
Hamirpur	5	3	2	5	3	2	0	0	0
Una	6	3	3	3	0	3	3	3	0
Bilaspur	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0
Solan	17	10	7	5	3	2	12	7	5
Sirmaur	2	1	1	0	0	0	2	1	1
Shimla	57	38	19	16	15	1	41	23	18
Kinnaur	4	4	0	4	4	0	0	0	0
BHATEALI									
Himachal Pradesh	15,347	7,818	7,529	15,309	7,810	7,499	38	8	30
Chamba	15,107	7,722	7,385	15,086	7,715	7,371	21	7	14
Kangra	222	96	126	221	95	126	1	1	0
Mandi	16	0	16	0	0	0	16	0	16
Solan	2	0	2	2	0	2	0	0	0
BHOTIA									
Himachal Pradesh	1,625	922	703	1,469	832	637	156	90	66
Chamba	33	20	13	33	20	13	0	0	0
Kangra	91	65	26	84	61	23	7	4	3
Lahul & Spiti	930	517	413	930	517	413	0	0	0
Kullu	213	108	105	190	95	95	23	13	10
Mandi	97	57	40	42	19	23	55	38	17
Hamirpur	16	5	11	0	0	0	16	5	11
Una	1	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0
Solan	18	9	9	18	9	9	0	0	0
Sirmaur	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0
Shimla	55	30	25	0	0	0	55	30	25

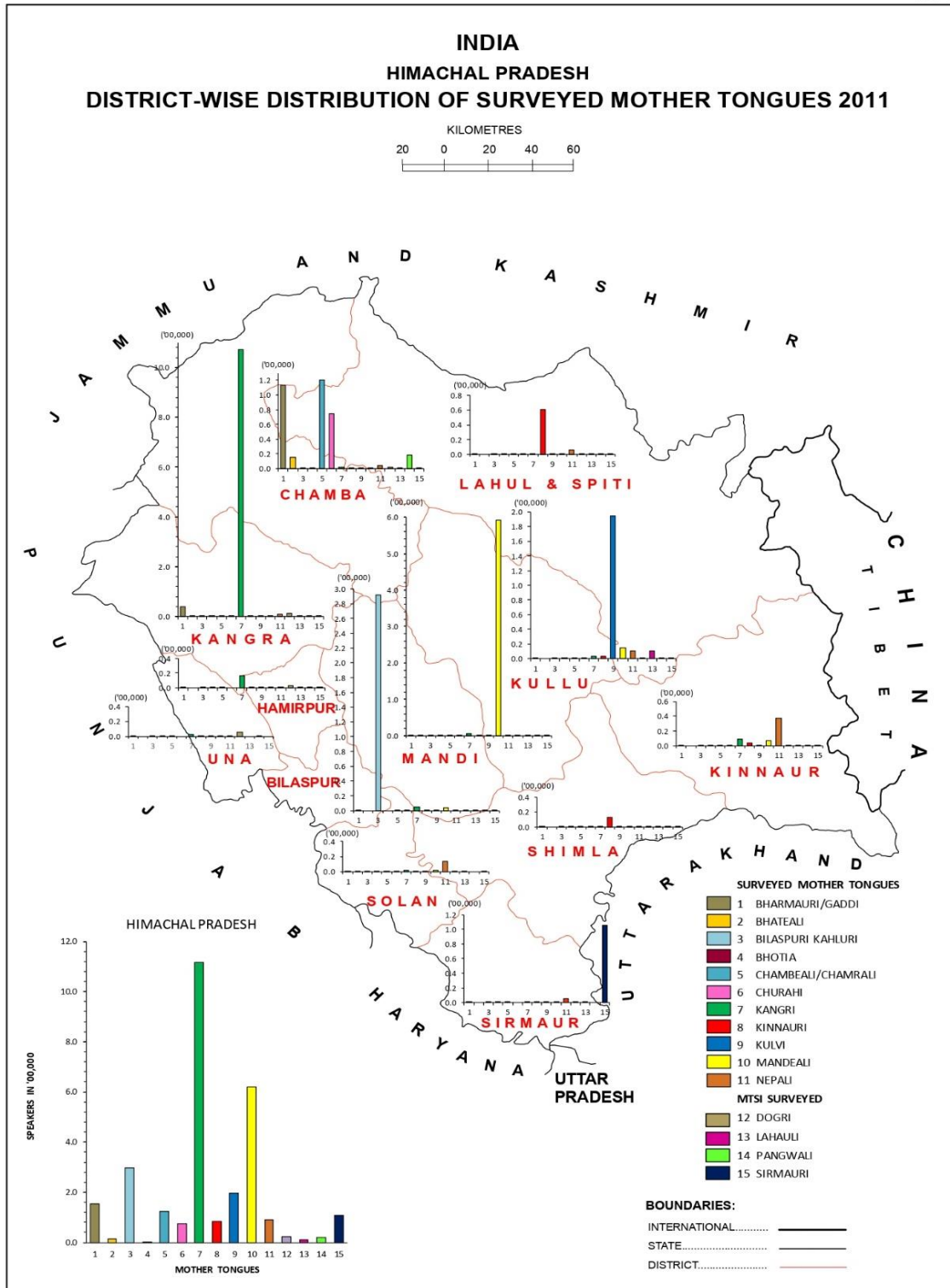
Kinnaur	170	110	60	170	110	60	0	0	0
BILASPURI KAHLURI									
Himachal Pradesh	2,95,762	1,51,709	1,44,053	2,78,405	1,42,500	1,35,905	17,357	9,209	8,148
Chamba	27	20	7	25	18	7	2	2	0
Kangra	40	11	29	33	8	25	7	3	4
Lahul & Spiti	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0
Kullu	137	73	64	99	52	47	38	21	17
Mandi	1,957	236	1,721	1,849	192	1,657	108	44	64
Hamirpur	45	26	19	27	8	19	18	18	0
Una	123	49	74	123	49	74	0	0	0
Bilaspur	2,91,715	1,50,704	1,41,011	2,74,932	1,41,813	1,33,119	16,783	8,891	7,892
Solan	1,251	319	932	1,209	290	919	42	29	13
Sirmaur	10	7	3	10	7	3	0	0	0
Shimla	450	258	192	91	57	34	359	201	158
Kinnaur	6	5	1	6	5	1	0	0	0
CHAMBEALI/CHAMRALI									
Himachal Pradesh	1,24,385	61,803	62,582	1,07,181	52,961	54,220	17,204	8,842	8,362
Chamba	1,20,601	59,893	60,708	1,04,466	51,643	52,823	16,135	8,250	7,885
Kangra	2,268	1,006	1,262	2,090	926	1,164	178	80	98
Lahul & Spiti	8	7	1	8	7	1	0	0	0
Kullu	400	235	165	260	157	103	140	78	62
Mandi	149	80	69	82	46	36	67	34	33
Hamirpur	19	10	9	13	5	8	6	5	1
Una	30	17	13	27	14	13	3	3	0
Bilaspur	56	17	39	43	12	31	13	5	8
Solan	127	85	42	70	42	28	57	43	14
Sirmaur	8	5	3	6	4	2	2	1	1
Shimla	631	364	267	28	21	7	603	343	260
Kinnaur	88	84	4	88	84	4	0	0	0
CHURAH I									
Himachal Pradesh	75,502	38,176	37,326	75,397	38,125	37,272	105	51	54
Chamba	74,772	37,794	36,978	74,676	37,750	36,926	96	44	52
Kangra	17	11	6	14	9	5	3	2	1
Lahul & Spiti	8	3	5	8	3	5	0	0	0
Kullu	3	3	0	0	0	0	3	3	0
Mandi	684	352	332	683	352	331	1	0	1
Bilaspur	14	9	5	14	9	5	0	0	0
Solan	2	2	0	1	1	0	1	1	0

Shimla	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0
Kinnaur	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0
DOGRI									
Himachal Pradesh	23,609	12,177	11,432	21,853	11,060	10,793	1,756	1,117	639
Chamba	1,552	937	615	886	453	433	666	484	182
Kangra	10,681	5,331	5,350	10,397	5,222	5,175	284	109	175
Lahul & Spiti	73	71	2	73	71	2	0	0	0
Kullu	432	314	118	263	195	68	169	119	50
Mandi	413	243	170	370	222	148	43	21	22
Hamirpur	3,403	1,546	1,857	3,364	1,520	1,844	39	26	13
Una	5,251	2,630	2,621	5,241	2,624	2,617	10	6	4
Bilaspur	665	307	358	647	300	347	18	7	11
Solan	254	157	97	170	106	64	84	51	33
Sirmaur	165	110	55	46	32	14	119	78	41
Shimla	522	355	167	198	139	59	324	216	108
Kinnaur	198	176	22	198	176	22	0	0	0
KANGRI									
Himachal Pradesh	11,15,383	5,46,598	5,68,785	10,68,626	5,22,449	5,46,177	46,757	24,149	22,608
Chamba	1,650	613	1,037	1,264	427	837	386	186	200
Kangra	10,70,365	5,26,847	5,43,518	10,36,556	5,09,490	5,27,066	33,809	17,357	16,452
Lahul & Spiti	70	53	17	70	53	17	0	0	0
Kullu	3,805	2,083	1,722	1,856	1,037	819	1,949	1,046	903
Mandi	4,660	1,514	3,146	3,430	922	2,508	1,230	592	638
Hamirpur	16,164	7,511	8,653	15,440	7,110	8,330	724	401	323
Una	2,480	1,140	1,340	2,475	1,138	1,337	5	2	3
Bilaspur	4,788	581	4,207	4,295	400	3,895	493	181	312
Solan	1,738	1,001	737	1,242	695	547	496	306	190
Sirmaur	671	375	296	599	330	269	72	45	27
Shimla	8,585	4,598	3,987	992	565	427	7,593	4,033	3,560
Kinnaur	407	282	125	407	282	125	0	0	0
KINNAURI									
Himachal Pradesh	82,662	40,263	42,399	79,750	38,785	40,965	2,912	1,478	1,434
Chamba	575	273	302	571	272	299	4	1	3
Kangra	401	222	179	356	198	158	45	24	21
Lahul & Spiti	12,902	6,348	6,554	12,902	6,348	6,554	0	0	0
Kullu	3,681	1,812	1,869	3,107	1,536	1,571	574	276	298
Mandi	218	96	122	147	61	86	71	35	36
Hamirpur	47	26	21	12	2	10	35	24	11

Una	29	8	21	28	7	21	1	1	0
Bilaspur	274	68	206	236	51	185	38	17	21
Solan	468	236	232	287	151	136	181	85	96
Sirmaur	127	73	54	108	61	47	19	12	7
Shimla	3,344	1,641	1,703	1,400	638	762	1,944	1,003	941
Kinnaur	60,596	29,460	31,136	60,596	29,460	31,136	0	0	0
KULVI									
Himachal Pradesh	1,96,000	99,299	96,701	1,85,557	94,050	91,507	10,443	5,249	5,194
Chamba	28	11	17	22	9	13	6	2	4
Kangra	168	56	112	151	48	103	17	8	9
Lahul & Spiti	83	34	49	83	34	49	0	0	0
Kullu	1,94,049	98,473	95,576	1,84,092	93,474	90,618	9,957	4,999	4,958
Mandi	847	320	527	777	292	485	70	28	42
Hamirpur	16	6	10	12	2	10	4	4	0
Una	17	9	8	17	9	8	0	0	0
Bilaspur	160	53	107	128	35	93	32	18	14
Solan	55	28	27	35	14	21	20	14	6
Sirmaur	11	5	6	11	5	6	0	0	0
Shimla	460	247	213	123	71	52	337	176	161
Kinnaur	106	57	49	106	57	49	0	0	0
LAHAULI									
Himachal Pradesh	11,072	5,490	5,582	7,891	3,931	3,960	3,181	1,559	1,622
Chamba	173	92	81	161	85	76	12	7	5
Kangra	91	37	54	77	30	47	14	7	7
Lahul & Spiti	269	145	124	269	145	124	0	0	0
Kullu	10,201	5,051	5,150	7,245	3,596	3,649	2,956	1,455	1,501
Mandi	118	58	60	78	40	38	40	18	22
Hamirpur	10	7	3	4	1	3	6	6	0
Bilaspur	7	2	5	7	2	5	0	0	0
Solan	21	14	7	19	13	6	2	1	1
Sirmaur	2	1	1	1	1	0	1	0	1
Shimla	158	70	88	8	5	3	150	65	85
Kinnaur	22	13	9	22	13	9	0	0	0
MANDEALI									
Himachal Pradesh	6,21,400	3,06,644	3,14,756	5,69,021	2,79,840	2,89,181	52,379	26,804	25,575
Chamba	265	162	103	172	115	57	93	47	46
Kangra	2,531	889	1,642	2,248	740	1,508	283	149	134
Lahul & Spiti	134	100	34	134	100	34	0	0	0

Kullu	14,160	7,228	6,932	10,182	5,059	5,123	3,978	2,169	1,809
Mandi	5,90,974	2,92,460	2,98,514	5,49,644	2,71,764	2,77,880	41,330	20,696	20,634
Hamirpur	736	268	468	622	190	432	114	78	36
Una	167	76	91	162	72	90	5	4	1
Bilaspur	3,664	368	3,296	3,197	216	2,981	467	152	315
Solan	1,326	704	622	1,008	513	495	318	191	127
Sirmaur	340	214	126	216	130	86	124	84	40
Shimla	6,587	3,790	2,797	920	556	364	5,667	3,234	2,433
Kinnaur	516	385	131	516	385	131	0	0	0
NEPALI									
Himachal Pradesh	89,502	50,642	38,860	76,365	42,768	33,597	13,137	7,874	5,263
Chamba	3,573	1,790	1,783	3,159	1,580	1,579	414	210	204
Kangra	8,223	4,184	4,039	6,652	3,432	3,220	1,571	752	819
Lahul & Spiti	890	518	372	890	518	372	0	0	0
Kullu	10,873	6,085	4,788	9,959	5,575	4,384	914	510	404
Mandi	1,711	1,083	628	1,540	966	574	171	117	54
Hamirpur	751	426	325	693	387	306	58	39	19
Una	383	257	126	337	227	110	46	30	16
Bilaspur	862	523	339	664	412	252	198	111	87
Solan	13,629	7,789	5,840	10,198	5,618	4,580	3,431	2,171	1,260
Sirmaur	5,004	3,035	1,969	4,242	2,594	1,648	762	441	321
Shimla	37,693	21,058	16,635	32,121	17,565	14,556	5,572	3,493	2,079
Kinnaur	5,910	3,894	2,016	5,910	3,894	2,016	0	0	0
PANGWALI									
Himachal Pradesh	18,640	9,328	9,312	18,152	9,074	9,078	488	254	234
Chamba	18,085	9,063	9,022	17,848	8,945	8,903	237	118	119
Kangra	63	29	34	27	12	15	36	17	19
Lahul & Spiti	69	13	56	69	13	56	0	0	0
Kullu	384	203	181	189	98	91	195	105	90
Mandi	6	1	5	5	0	5	1	1	0
Hamirpur	2	0	2	1	0	1	1	0	1
Una	12	7	5	9	5	4	3	2	1
Bilaspur	2	0	2	2	0	2	0	0	0
Shimla	15	11	4	0	0	0	15	11	4
Kinnaur	2	1	1	2	1	1	0	0	0
SIRMAURI									
Himachal Pradesh	1,07,322	55,080	52,242	1,05,694	54,114	51,580	1,628	966	662
Chamba	14	12	2	12	10	2	2	2	0

Kangra	64	18	46	58	15	43	6	3	3
Lahul & Spiti	2	2	0	2	2	0	0	0	0
Kullu	36	22	14	30	20	10	6	2	4
Mandi	36	14	22	26	7	19	10	7	3
Hamirpur	2	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	0
Bilaspur	44	12	32	32	5	27	12	7	5
Solan	516	239	277	334	141	193	182	98	84
Sirmaur	105,516	54,073	51,443	1,05,078	53,841	51,237	438	232	206
Shimla	1,038	646	392	67	32	35	971	614	357
Kinnaur	54	41	13	54	41	13	0	0	0



Map 5: District-wise distribution of surveyed mother tongues in Himachal Pradesh 2011

STATUS OF BILINGUALISM

There are 10 languages covered under the present volume of LSI-Himachal Pradesh is in maximum the variants of Hindi language from Indo-Aryan family. They are Bharmauri/Gaddi, Chambeali, Churahi, Kangri, Kulvi, Mandeali, Pangwali, Sanori, Keonthali and Sirmauri. They are bilingual in Bhotia, Nepali, Dogri, Punjabi with four other languages have been surveyed. Accordingly, as per the latest census publication on Indian languages/mother tongues, that is, census 2011, the bilingualism picture of Hindi, Dogri, Punjabi, Bhotia, Lahauli, Kinnauri and Nepali in Himachal Pradesh, is the following.

In 2011 Census the total population of India was 1,210,193,422 and the population of Himachal Pradesh was 68,64,602. Out of the total population 18.10% population constitutes the Bi-lingual population of the state. Below is presented the table showing the percentage of Bilingualism feature of the population of Himachal Pradesh.

Sr. No,	Name of the Languages	Total Speakers	Bilinguals	Percentage of Bilingualism
1	2	3	4	5
1.	Assamese	1,049	910	86.74%
2.	Bengali	6,214	4,960	79.81%
3.	Bodo	150	144	96.00%
4.	Dogri	23,609	18,652	79.00%
5.	Gujarati	10,012	8,093	80.83%
6.	Hindi	58,95,529	4,99,201	8.46%
7.	Kannada	462	389	84.19%
8.	Kashmiri	57,050	42,215	73.99%
9.	Konkani	80	66	82.50%
10.	Maithili	4,723	3,181	67.35%
11.	Malayalam	1,211	1,050	86.70%
12.	Manipuri	188	155	82.44%
13.	Marathi	3,438	2,826	82.19%
14.	Nepali	89,508	66,410	74.19 %
15.	Odia	3,219	2,642	82.07%
16.	Punjabi	6,15,022	4,71,265	76.62%
17.	Sanskrit	936	791	84.50%
18.	Santali	847	686	80.99%
19.	Sindhi	62	49	79.03%
20.	Tamil	1,038	862	83.04%
21.	Telugu	1,383	1,134	81.99%
22.	Urdu	5,320	3,879	72.91%
23.	Adi	107	93	86.91%

24.	Afghani/Kabuli/Pashto	176	164	93.18%
25.	Anal	17	14	82.35%
26.	Angami	12	12	100%
27.	Ao	28	28	100%
28.	Arabic/Arbi	307	173	56.35%
29.	Balti	21	17	80.95%
30.	Bhili/Bhilodi	106	62	58.49%
31.	Bhotia	2,012	1,656	82.30%
32.	Bishnupuriya	15	11	73.33%
33.	Chakhesang	1	1	100%
34.	Chang	12	12	100%
35.	Coorgi/Kodagu	53	45	84.90%
36.	English	1,043	662	63.47%
37.	Gangte	2	2	100%
38.	Garo	21	19	90.47%
39.	Gondi	9	9	100%
40.	Halabi	1	1	100%
41.	Halam	380	348	91.57%
42.	Ho	167	148	88.62%
43.	Kabui	5	5	100%
44.	Khandeshi	3,498	1,887	53.94%
45.	Kharia	43	37	86.04%
46.	Khasi	15	14	93.33%
47.	Khezha	5	5	100%
48.	Khiemnungan	1	1	100%
49.	Khond/Kondh	1	1	100%
50.	Kinnauri	82,712	67,074	81.09%
51.	Kisan	32	20	62.50%
52.	Koch	1	1	100%
53.	Koda/Kora	1	1	100%
54.	Kom	2	2	100%
55.	Konda	19	7	36.84%
56.	Konyak	3	2	66.66%
57.	Korku	115	105	91.30%
58.	Korwa	23	8	34.78%
59.	Kuki	73	67	91.78%
60.	Kurukh/Oraon	2,277	1,751	76.89%
61.	Ladakhi	1,196	1,063	88.87%
62.	Lahauli	11,073	9,828	88.75%
63.	Lahnda	109	88	80.73%
64.	Lakher	10	10	100%
65.	Lepcha	2	2	100%
66.	Limbu	7	4	57.14%

67.	Lotha	16	15	93.75%
68.	Lushai/Mizo	197	164	83.24%
69.	Mao	15	15	100%
70.	Miri/Mishing	3	3	100%
71.	Mogh	8	6	75%
72.	Monpa	94	85	90.42%
73.	Munda	505	403	79.80%
74.	Mundari	684	541	79.09%
75.	Nissi/Dafla	16	13	81.25%
76.	Paite	18	10	55.55%
77.	Parji	3	3	100%
78.	Rai	8	8	100%
79.	Rengma	2	2	100%
80.	Savara	1	1	100%
81.	Sema	4	4	100%
82.	Sherpa	565	488	86.37%
83.	Shina	48	44	91.66%
84.	Tamang	584	457	78.25%
85.	Tangkhul	21	18	85.71%
86.	Thado	3	3	100%
87.	Tibetan	21,322	15,128	70.95%
88.	Tripuri	18	17	94.44%
89.	Tulu	22	14	63.63%
90.	Zeliang	1	1	100%
91.	Zou	4	4	100%
	Others	13,677	10,239	74.86%
	Total Population	68,64,602	12,42,706	18.10%

Following table shows the bilingualism and trilingualism of relevant languages in Himachal Pradesh according to 2011 Census.

BILINGUALISM & TRILINGUALISM OF RELEVANT LANGUAGES IN HIMACHAL PRADESH-2011								
Language	Total Speakers	Monolinguals	Bilinguals			Trilinguals		
			Total	Language of Bilingualism	Strength	Total	Language of Trilingualism	Strength
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
BHOTIA	2,012	356	1,656			722		
				Gujarati	42			
							Hindi	37
				Hindi	1,517			
							Bengali	3
							Gujarati	1
							Nepali	3

							Punjabi	1
							English	620
							Tibetan	3
				Nepali	11			
							Hindi	8
				Punjabi	2			
				Urdu	1			
							Hindi	1
				English	59			
							Hindi	24
							Others	6
				Tibetan	22			
							Hindi	13
							English	1
				Others	2			
							Hindi	1
DOGRI	23,609	4,957	18,652			10,231		
				Hindi	17,789			
							Gujarati	3
							Kashmiri	5
							Nepali	5
							Punjabi	359
							Sanskrit	58
							Urdu	98
							Arabic/Arbi	2
							English	9,111
							Others	1
				Kashmiri	2			
							Hindi	1
							English	1
				Nepali	1			
							Hindi	1
				Punjabi	267			
							Hindi	84
							English	14
				Sanskrit	3			
							Hindi	2
				Urdu	66			
							Hindi	11
							Kashmiri	2
							English	17
				English	523			
							Hindi	432
							Nepali	1
							Punjabi	16
							Urdu	6
				Kinnauri	1			
							English	1
HINDI	58,95,529	53,96,328	4,99,201			50230		
				Assamese	47			
							Bengali	2
							Nepali	1

						Punjabi	2
						English	1
			Bengali	777			
						Assamese	3
						Gujarati	2
						Malayalam	1
						Nepali	3
						Odia	4
						Punjabi	6
						Sanskrit	3
						Urdu	1
						English	80
						Others	1
			Bodo	1			
			Dogri	268			
						Punjabi	4
						Sanskrit	2
						English	44
			Gujarati	228			
						Marathi	6
						Punjabi	3
						Sanskrit	1
						Urdu	1
						Arabic/Arbi	1
						English	25
			Kannada	31			
						Marathi	1
						Sanskrit	1
						English	7
			Kashmiri	120			
						Dogri	1
						Punjabi	4
						Urdu	1
						English	11
			Konkani	1			
			Maithili	146			
						Gujarati	1
						English	30
			Malayalam	36			
						Telugu	1
						English	15
			Manipuri	1			
			Marathi	163			
						Bengali	1
						Gujarati	1
						Punjabi	2
						Urdu	1
						Arabic/Arbi	1
						English	52
			Nepali	2,506			
						Assamese	1
						Bengali	9

						Dogri	3
						Maithili	1
						Marathi	1
						Punjabi	28
						Urdu	1
						English	207
						Ladakhi	1
						Tamang	2
			Odia	220			
						Bengali	1
						Marathi	1
						Punjabi	1
						Sanskrit	1
						English	16
			Punjabi	66,972			
						Assamese	1
						Bengali	6
						Dogri	16
						Gujarati	6
						Marathi	12
						Nepali	19
						Odia	1
						Sanskrit	211
						Urdu	221
						Arabic/Arbi	6
						English	15,935
						Kharia	1
			Sanskrit	4,854			
						Bengali	2
						Gujarati	1
						Kannada	1
						Marathi	1
						Odia	1
						Punjabi	77
						Urdu	20
						English	2,172
						Others	1
			Santali	3			
						Bengali	1
			Sindhi	11			
						Punjabi	1
						Urdu	1
						English	3
			Tamil	71			
						Gujarati	1
						English	4
						Others	1
			Telugu	33			
						Kannada	1
						Marathi	1
						Urdu	1
						English	14

			Urdu	6,758		
					Bengali	5
					Dogri	2
					Gujarati	18
					Kashmiri	1
					Marathi	1
					Nepali	1
					Punjabi	163
					Sanskrit	9
					Arabic/Arbi	163
					English	874
			Adi	12		
					English	3
			Afghani/Kabuli/Pashto	45		
					Punjabi	1
					English	3
			Arabic/Arbi	327		
					Gujarati	1
					Punjabi	2
					Urdu	66
					English	32
			Bhili/Bhilodi	3		
			Bhotia	10		
					English	1
			Chang	1		
			English	4,14,801		
					Assamese	9
					Bengali	141
					Dogri	38
					Gujarati	64
					Kannada	16
					Kashmiri	21
					Maithili	36
					Malayalam	41
					Manipuri	2
					Marathi	250
					Nepali	153
					Odia	32
					Punjabi	18,564
					Sanskrit	7,365
					Sindhi	16
					Tamil	35
					Telugu	31
					Urdu	2,220
					Adi	1
					Afghani/Kabuli/Pashto	11
					Arabic/Arbi	46
					Bhili/Bhilodi	1
					Kinnauri	61
					Konda	1
					Kurukh/Oraon	2
					Ladakhi	1

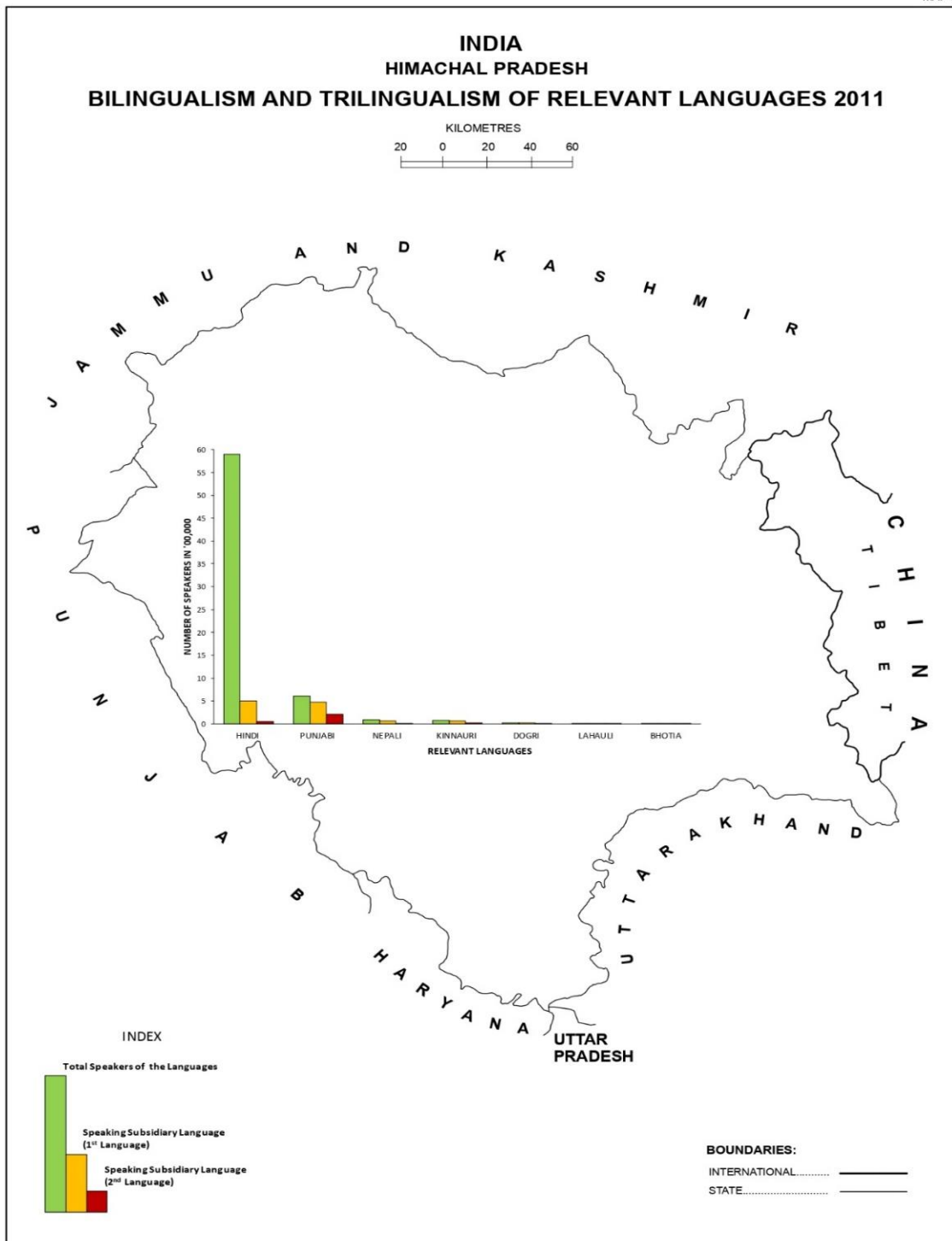
							Lahauli	6
							Lahnda	1
							Lushai/Mizo	2
							Munda	4
							Tibetan	18
							Tulu	2
							Others	208
				Halam	10			
				Khandeshi	80			
				Khasi	2			
				Kinnauri	331			
							English	60
				Kurukh/Oraon	73			
							Gujarati	1
							English	1
				Ladakhi	17			
							English	5
				Lahauli	39			
							English	6
				Lahnda	15			
							English	13
				Munda	8			
				Mundari	10			
							English	3
				Rabha	1			
				Thado	1			
				Tibetan	66			
							Bengali	1
							Nepali	2
							Sanskrit	1
							English	20
				Tulu	3			
				Others	99			
							Urdu	1
							English	28
							Mogh	1
KINNAURI	82,712	15,638	67,074			20,506		
				Gujarati	3			
							Hindi	1
				Hindi	65,769			
							Assamese	1
							Bengali	5
							Dogri	1
							Gujarati	3
							Nepali	55
							Punjabi	28
							Sanskrit	37
							Urdu	15
							Bhotia	22
							English	19,384
							Ladakhi	8
							Lahauli	4

							Tibetan	87
							Others	6
				Nepali	30			
							Hindi	16
				Punjabi	4			
				Sanskrit	5			
							Hindi	5
				Urdu	3			
							Hindi	1
							English	1
				Bhotia	9			
							Hindi	3
				English	1,204			
							Hindi	779
							Nepali	2
							Punjabi	2
							Sanskrit	3
							Tibetan	4
							Others	11
				Ladakhi	2			
							Hindi	1
				Tibetan	39			
							Hindi	16
							English	2
				Tulu	1			
				Others	5			
							Hindi	1
							English	2
LAHAULI	11,073	1,245	9,828			4,665		
				Hindi	9,651			
							Nepali	2
							Punjabi	8
							Sanskrit	8
							Tamil	1
							Urdu	22
							Bhotia	10
							English	4,463
							Kinnauri	6
							Ladakhi	1
							Tibetan	10
							Others	1
				Nepali	1			
				Urdu	4			
							Hindi	2
							Kinnauri	1
				English	166			
							Hindi	130
				Kinnauri	6			
NEPALI	89,508	23,098	66,410			8,661		
				Assamese	3			
							Bengali	1

						Hindi	2
				Bengali	11		
						Hindi	8
				Gujarati	1		
				Hindi	65,506		
						Assamese	8
						Bengali	28
						Dogri	1
						Gujarati	4
						Marathi	7
						Punjabi	154
						Sanskrit	14
						Urdu	7
						Bhotia	9
						English	7,736
						Khandeshi	1
						Kinnauri	12
						Tamang	3
						Tibetan	77
						Tulu	2
						Others	1
				Marathi	1		
						Hindi	1
				Punjabi	21		
						Hindi	8
						English	1
				Sanskrit	3		
						English	3
				Urdu	6		
						Hindi	1
						English	1
				Bhotia	4		
						Hindi	3
				English	543		
						Hindi	331
						Punjabi	2
						Sanskrit	1
						Bhotia	5
						Kinnauri	1
						Others	1
				Kinnauri	6		
						Hindi	1
				Munda	5		
				Tibetan	294		
						Hindi	211
						English	12
				Others	6		
						Hindi	3

PUNJABI	6,15,022	1,43,757	4,71,265		2,12,429		
				Bengali	11		
						Hindi	1
				Dogri	33		
						Hindi	6
						English	19
				Gujarati	6		
						Hindi	1
						English	1
				Hindi	4,58,064		
						Assamese	2
						Bengali	23
						Dogri	12
						Gujarati	9
						Kannada	2
						Kashmiri	1
						Malayalam	2
						Marathi	5
						Nepali	10
						Odia	1
						Sanskrit	2,153
						Tamil	1
						Telugu	6
						Urdu	584
						Afghani/Kabuli/Pashto	3
						Arabic/Arbi	44
						English	2,00,114
						Khandeshi	1
						Kinnauri	7
						Tulu	1
						Others	10
				Kashmiri	1		
				Marathi	2		
						English	1
				Nepali	6		
						Hindi	5
				Odia	1		
						English	1
				Sanskrit	347		
						Hindi	210
						English	85
				Telugu	1		
						English	1
				Urdu	522		
						Gujarati	2
						Hindi	137
						Kashmiri	1
						Sanskrit	1
						Arabic/Arbi	3
						English	59
				Arabic/Arbi	7		
						Urdu	3

				Bhili/Bhilodi	1		
						Hindi	1
				English	12,245		
						Gujarati	3
						Hindi	8,539
						Marathi	3
						Sanskrit	311
						Urdu	34
						Others	7
				Khandeshi	2		
				Kinnauri	13		
						English	1
				Lahauli	1		
				Others	2		
					4,71,265	English	2

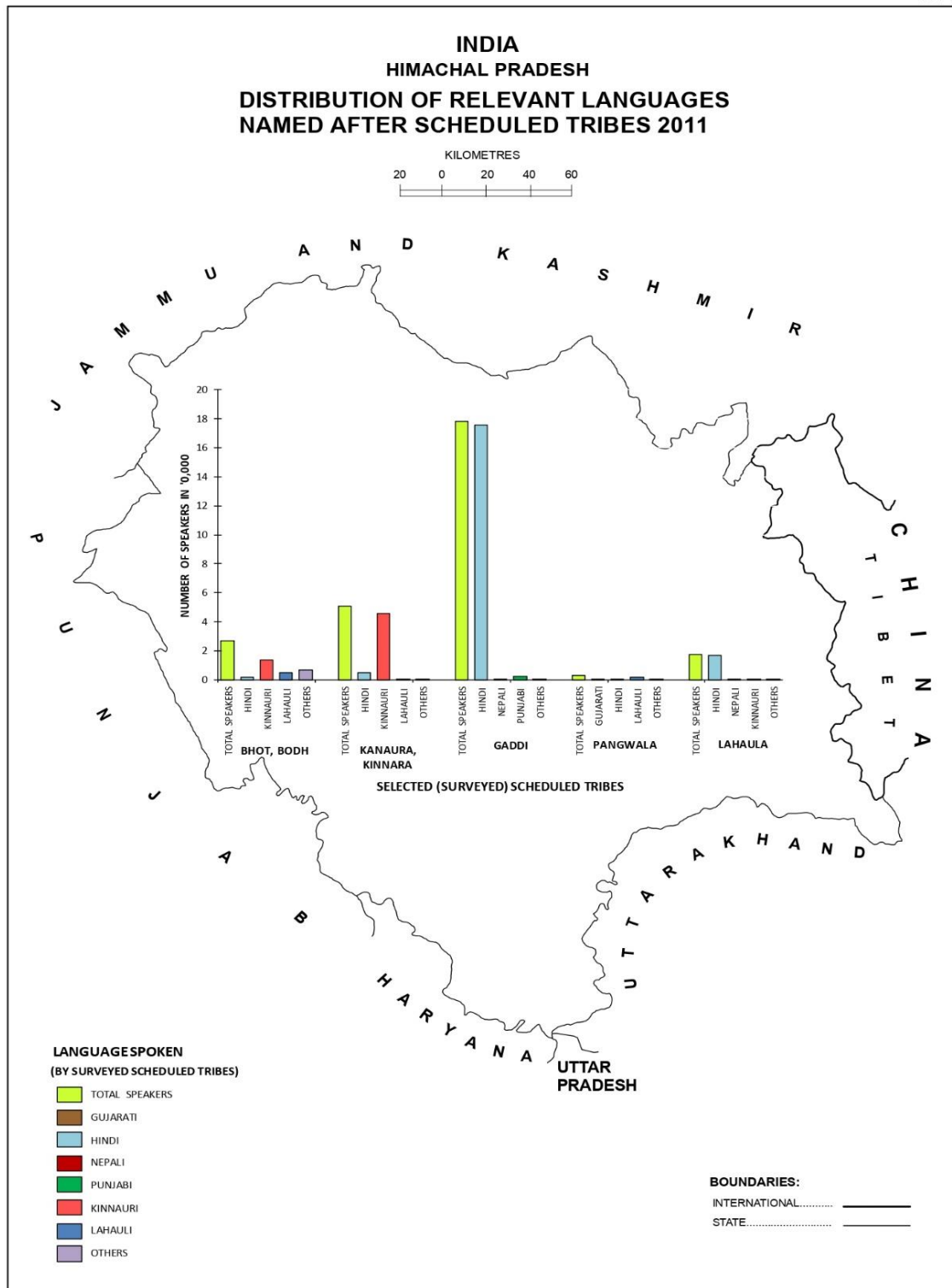


Map 6: Bilingualism and Trilingualism of surveyed Languages in Himachal Pradesh 2011

SCHEDULED TRIBES OF HIMACHAL PRADESH

The tribal communities in India are enormously diverse and heterogeneous. They are wide ranging diversities among them in respect of languages spoken, size of population and mode of livelihood.

As per 2011 Census total population of Himachal Pradesh is 68,64,602 and the total population of Scheduled tribe is 3,92,126 having 5.7% of the total population. The tribes of Himachal Pradesh scattered in different parts of this state and have occupied 0.4% of India. Usually the tribal people are by nature nomadic people and their customs and social structure make them identifiable from each other. Since they have taken up the occupations rearing of cattle and raising of wool, they have marked their position in the subcontinent. The Scheduled Tribe in Himachal Pradesh that included in the list through Constitutional provisions are:



(Map 7: Major Scheduled Tribes population in Himachal Pradesh 2011)

1. Bhot, Bodh- Bodh/Bhot people are an ethnic group found in Lahul and Spiti district of Himachal Pradesh following Buddhism religion. The language spoken by them differs from valley to valley which is close to Tibetan.
https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bodh_people
2. Gaddi - They speak in Gaddi language and use the Tankri scripts among themselves, while with others; colloquial Hindi and the Devanagari script are used.
3. Gujjar - They speak in the Indo-Aryan language, Gujjari, and use the Arabic script with others they speak in Hindi language. But in the Census Gujjari has been speak as Gojri.
4. Jad, Lamba, Khampa - The people are divided into different territorial group, which are named after the names of the places they inhabit namely pity (spiti) Khuna (Kinnaur), Neondi (Kulvi) Thave (Chamba), Gharja (Lahaul) and Nekhor (nomadic) Among themselves they use the Khampa language and the Tibetan Script, but with other they generally converse in Hindi. Khamba belong to the Bhotia group of Tibeto – Burman family of language. The Roman and Devanagari script are also used by them.
5. Kanaura, Kinnara - They speak the kinnauri language which belongs to the Tibeto – Bharman family of languages, and use the different local dialect of Indo- Aryan language Himachali, for inter – group communication. The Devnagri script is used for writing.
6. Lahaula - The lahuala language is belonging to the Tibeto –Burman family of languages is spoken in the Lohani region.
7. Pangwala -They speak in the Pangwali dialect of the western Pahari Chamba language amongst themselves, but use other Himachali dialect for inter group communication. The Devnagri script is used by them, Pangwali and Himachali belong to the padi group of the Indo Aryan family of languages
8. Swangla - The language spoken by them is known as manchest or manchand. To communicate with others, they speak Hindi. They use the Devanagari Script.
9. Beta, Beda – A small number of Beda around 100 inhabit in the villages of Kullu and Shimla districts of Himachal Pradesh. They are migrated from Lahaul and Spiti being the wandering musician. Some call themselves as Bhot and some as Balti with changing identity to Islam.
10. Domba, Gara, Zoba – Gara Scheduled tribe live in Lahaul and Spiti in Himachal Pradesh are the sub-group of Ladakhi but speak a language which is totally distinct from the Tibeto-Burman Ladakhi. The Ladakhi consider the Gara as the lowest social class.

ST-15 SCHEDULED TRIBES BY MAJOR MOTHER TONGUE SPEAKERS IN HIMACHAL PRADESH- 2011											
Sr.	Scheduled Tribes	Mother Tongue	Total			Rural			Urban		
No.	name	Name	Person	Male	Female	Person	Male	Female	Person	Male	Female
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1	Bhot, Bodh	Kinnauri	13,471	6,597	6,874	13,150	6,455	6,695	321	142	179
		Lahauli	5,201	2,568	2,633	3,401	1,688	1,713	1,800	880	920
		Pattani	1,724	848	876	1,708	843	865	16	5	11
		Tibetan	1,130	621	509	932	467	465	198	154	44
		Hindi	901	464	437	435	231	204	466	233	233
		Mahili	456	220	236	456	220	236	0	0	0
		Pahari	402	177	225	389	173	216	13	4	9
		Nepali	373	182	191	332	159	173	41	23	18
		Halam	352	195	157	352	195	157	0	0	0
		Bhotia	291	152	139	254	136	118	37	16	21
		Kulvi	252	103	149	216	89	127	36	14	22
2	Gaddi	Bharmauri/ Gaddi	1,01,877	50,735	51,142	99,509	49,553	49,956	2,368	1182	1186
		Kangri	29,540	14,456	15,084	28,229	13,777	14,452	1,311	679	632
		Pahari	27,454	13,706	13,748	26,043	12,982	13,061	1,411	724	687
		Chambeali/ Chamrali	10,597	5,272	5,325	9,927	4,901	5,026	670	371	299
		Hindi	3,690	1,897	1,793	3,009	1,532	1,477	681	365	316
		Bhateali	2,341	1,130	1,211	2,341	1,130	1,211	0	0	0
		Churahi	1,925	974	951	1,923	973	950	2	1	1
		Mandeali	201	77	124	181	68	113	20	9	11
3	Gujjar	Hindi	30,554	15,974	14,580	29,840	15,584	14,256	714	390	324
		Gojri/Gujjari/Gujar	12,060	6,233	5,827	12,016	6,204	5,812	44	29	15
		Punjabi	12,020	6,167	5,853	11,891	6,102	5,789	129	65	64
		Pahari	9,052	4,545	4,507	8,769	4,393	4,376	283	152	131
		Mandeali	8,016	3,961	4,055	7,830	3,854	3,976	186	107	79
		Kangri	5,932	2,975	2,957	5,813	2,905	2,908	119	70	49
		Bilaspuri Kahluri	5,125	2,622	2,503	4,891	2,493	2,398	234	129	105
		Gujari	2,985	1,517	1,468	2,981	1,513	1,468	4	4	0
		Handuri	1,783	948	835	1,350	711	639	433	237	196
		Haryanvi	1,316	648	668	1,297	639	658	19	9	10
		Urdu	1,082	573	509	1,068	559	509	14	14	0
		Chambeali/Chamrali	535	285	250	533	284	249	2	1	1
		Dogri	385	220	165	383	218	165	2	2	0
		Gujrao/Gujrau	354	170	184	354	170	184	0	0	0
		Bharmauri/Gaddi	213	113	100	213	113	100	0	0	0

		Arabic/Arbi	203	118	85	202	117	85	1	1	0
	Jad, Lamba, 4 Khampa	Kinnauri	572	296	276	381	198	183	191	98	93
		Hindi	337	188	149	239	134	105	98	54	44
		Tibetan	244	160	84	151	115	36	93	45	48
		Pahari	208	102	106	204	100	104	4	2	2
		Lahauli	201	101	100	148	74	74	53	27	26
	Kanaura, 5 Kinnara	Kinnauri	45,973	22,369	23,604	44,532	21,611	22,921	1,441	758	683
		Hindi	2,634	1,302	1,332	1,704	842	862	930	460	470
		Pahari	1,297	543	754	1,102	451	651	195	92	103
		Kulvi	266	118	148	241	108	133	25	10	15
		Churahi	201	92	109	200	92	108	1	0	1
	6 Lahaula	Lahauli	1,733	880	853	1,382	707	675	351	173	178
		Pattani	355	169	186	353	168	185	2	1	1
		Churahi	229	111	118	228	110	118	1	1	0
	7 Pangwala	Pangwali	16,164	8,122	8,042	15,826	7,945	7,881	338	177	161
		Kinnauri	429	208	221	429	208	221	0	0	0
		Nepali	218	111	107	218	111	107	0	0	0
		Churahi	201	102	99	201	102	99	0	0	0
	8 Swangla	Pattani	5,649	2,840	2,809	5,643	2,836	2,807	6	4	2
		Lahauli	2,067	1,071	996	1,535	792	743	532	279	253
		Kurukh/Oraon	754	360	394	754	360	394	0	0	0
		Hindi	274	146	128	147	81	66	127	65	62
		Kulvi	249	100	149	219	86	133	30	14	16
	9 Beta, Beda	Pahari	128	65	63	128	65	63	0	0	0
	10 Domba, Gara, Zoba	Kinnauri	107	59	48	107	59	48	0	0	0

The Scheduled areas of Himachal Pradesh included in administration are;

- i. Lahaul and Spiti district
- ii. Kinnaur district
- iii. Pangti Tehsil and Bharmour sub-tehsil in Chamba district.

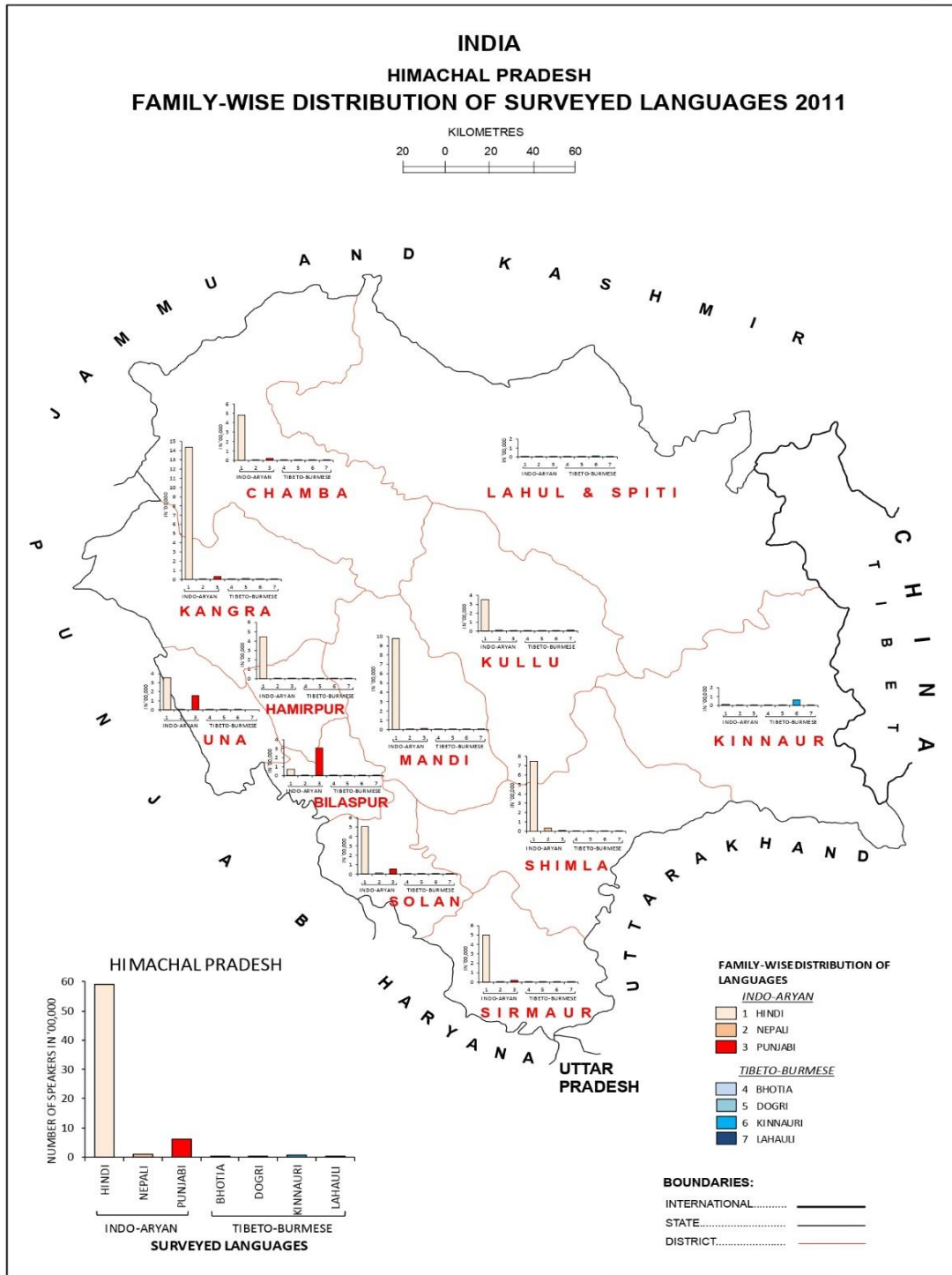
ABOUT THE PRESENT VOLUME

Linguistic Survey of India (LSI) became a regular activity in Office of Registrar General, India since Xth five-year plan and the field survey of LSI Himachal Pradesh has been undertaken during 2005-2008. Out of 20 major languages of Himachal Pradesh, 1. Hindi, 2. Nepali, 3 Punjabi, 4. Dogri, 5. Kinnauri, 6. Bhotia and 7. Lahuli have been surveyed for the present volume purposes as state-specific languages along with 17 mother tongues as the state

specific mother tongues considering their appearance in Census 2011 which is presented in below.

- | | |
|----------------------|--------------|
| 1. Bharmauri/Gaddi | 10. Kinnauri |
| 2. Bhateali | 11. Kulvi |
| 3. Bhotia | 12. Lahauli |
| 4. Bilaspuri/Kahluri | 13. Mandeali |
| 5. Chambeali | 14. Nepali |
| 6. Churahi | 15. Pangwali |
| 7. Dogri | 16. Sanori |
| 8. Kangri | 17. Sirmauri |
| 9. Keonthali | |

The published Volume of *LSI- Himachal Pradesh* is the survey of the mother tongues on Bharmauri/Gaddi, Chambeali, Churahi, Kangri, Kulvi, Mandeali, Pangwali, Sanori, Keonthali and Sirmauri as published in Census 2011 under Hindi language being one of the major languages of India as well as the populous language of Himachal Pradesh. Nepali, Punjabi, Dogri are the other three major languages from Indo-Aryan family are also studied along with Bhotia, Kinnauri and Lahauli from Tibeto –Burman family in Himachal Pradesh. Accordingly, the list of comparative lexicons has been prepared for Hindi language and its 10 mother tongues under Indo-Aryan language family. Similarly, the other three lists of comparative lexicons prepared for Bilaspuri and Bhateali as mother tongues of Punjabi language, Dogri and Nepali as other Indo-Aryan Scheduled languages and Bhotia, Lahauli and Kinnari under Tibeto-Burman language family. The field survey has been completed during the period 2005-2008 on 13 mother tongues languages i.e. Bharmauri/Gaddi, Chambeali, Churahi, Kangri, Kulvi, Mandeali, Sanori, Keonthali, Nepali, Bilaspuri, Bhateali, Bhotia and Kinnauri except the mother tongues Dogri, Lahauli, Pangwali and Sirmauri and report writing on 13 have been also completed by 2012. However, due to the time-bound completion of the other survey under 12th five-year plan “Mother Tongue Survey of India scheme” (MTSI) during 2012-2017, the finalisation of the LSI Himachal Pradesh was being postponed and the field survey of remaining four mother tongues also got delayed with limited number of Linguistics personnel. The four remaining mother tongues Dogri, Lahauli, Pangwali and Sirmauri were surveyed under MTSI and improved to have a complete volume on state specific major languages as per the LSI format and published in the present volume. It is decided as per the guidelines and protocols during COVID-19 for the restrictions on field survey in different parts of Himachal Pradesh. The Volume has concentrated upon the grammatical description of these mother tongues along with demographic, bilingual-trilingual, sociolinguistic information of the state.



Map8 : Family-wise Distribution of surveyed languages in Himachal Pradesh 2011

SOCIOLINGUISTIC INFORMATION

In Himachal Pradesh most of the population speak natively one or another of the Western PahaRi languages, locally known as Himachali and PahaRI. As discussed earlier, many of the western pahaRi dialects are considered as the sub-group of Indo-Aryan languages. The mother tongues, Chambeali, Curahi, Mandeali, Keonthali, Kulvi, Sanori, Sirmauri, Kangri, Bharmauri/Gaddi, Pangwali, are included under Hindi language. The other Indo Aryan languages Dogri, Punjabi and Nepali are spoken in the state. In parts of the state there are speakers of Tibeto-Burman languages like Bhotia and the other Bhoti speakers as Bhoti Kinnaur, Chitkul Kinnauri, Bunan, Spiti Bhoti, Tukpa, Kinnauri, Tibetan, Lahauli and Pattani.

Hindi is being taught as first language in schools. Moreover, the medium of instruction is in Hindi. Hence, the younger generation, who are exposed to school education, converse well in Hindi. They use this language in school, bazar, official correspondences, court, marriage invitations etc. On special occasions like cultural functions and peculiar practices like celebration of their cultural practices like marriage and other occasions people sing songs in their own language with their own cultural attire and dances. These cultural activities and religious practices are video recorded and, on many occasions, telecasted in the local channels. They use Hindi for the purpose of communication both at home and outside home. In the present ego-children relationship, the parents interact in the mother tongue and also with the aged people but while interacting with the children many a time comes down to the level of mixed form of speech i.e. Hindi and English, because the children of these days are exposed to other languages through education. Most often their speech is mixed with Hindi and English.

In the domain of mass media, the state government has allotted separate time for both broadcasting and telecasting the local language programs on folk literature, folk arts etc. The government also encourage to all ethnic groups individually to develop or to continue their cultural program on the festive occasions.

Thus, it is evident that, Hindi the super imposed variety, controls the formal domains. Mother tongue also has a very important role in the socio-linguistic scenario of the Simla District.

Takri script is mainly used in this PahaRi speaking regions. Devnagari script is widely used for writing in all the forms of Western pahaRi languages.

. Dogri is now considered to be a member of the Western Pahari group of languages. Dogri has several varieties, all with greater than 80% lexical similarity (within Jammu and Kashmir). Before gaining language status, Dogri was classified as one of the many varieties of Punjabi, such as Majhi or Doabi.

Dogri was originally written using the Dogri script which is very close to the Takri script; the language is now more commonly written in Devanagari in India and in Nasta'lig form of Perso-Arabic in Pakistan and Pakistani administered Kashmir.

George Grierson has recorded dialects, namely Dogri, Kandyali, Mandyali, Chambeali, Kulhuri, Bhaderwahi, Gujari, Rampuri, Pongali, Hoshiarpuri-Pahadi and Lahanda) spoken in the region of Dogri. Sir Grierson connected the term Duggar with the Rajasthani word 'Doonger' which means 'hill' and 'Dogra' with 'Dongar'.

SCOPE OF THE FURTHER RESEARCH

The mother tongue reports contained in this volume are mainly concentrated on the major and state-specific languages as per their appearance in Census 2011. Although G.A.Grierson has classified many dialectal variation under the classification of PahaRi language in his volume, many have been disappeared in due period in the consecutive Census publications. Due to formation of new states and districts, many have been merged along with their state specific features and have been accounted under these state-specific languages. This volume prevails more researches, surveys and studies on the dialectal variations and the PahaRi language as a whole. The research venues are many and can be taken up by any research scholars, organisations and institutions based on any perspectives and linguistic objectives.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Notes on the dialect of the Kangra Valley by the late Edward O'Brien, Esq.C.S. Deputy Commissioner of Kangra revised with additional Notes by the Revd.T. Grahame Bailey, B.D., and M.R.A.S. Wazirabad. (Appendix I)
2. Bilaspuri at *Ethnologue* (20th ed., 2017)
3. *Hammarström, Harald; Forkel, Robert; Haspelmath, Martin, eds. (2017). "Bilaspuri". Glottolog 3.0. Jena, Germany: Max Planck Institute for the Science of Human History.*
4. *Masica, Colin P. (1991). The Indo-Aryan languages. Cambridge language surveys. Cambridge University Press. p. 439*
5. G.A. Grierson "Linguistic Survey of India.Vol IX, Part IV, Pahari, Languages & Gujuri, Motilal Banarsidass, 1916.
6. Census of India 1961 *Language Tables* Vol-1 Part – II – C (ii)
7. Census of India 2001 *Language Table C-16, Series –I,* Office of the Registrar General, India. New Delhi
8. Census of India 2011 *Language Table C-16, Series –I,* Office of the Registrar General, India. New Delhi
9. O.C. Chanda *Gazetteer of the Chamba State Punjab States Gazetteer Volume XXII A,* Indus publishing company, New Delhi, 1904.
10. Dist. Gazetteer Kangra district 1924-1925. Chap-I – descriptive
11. Census of India 1901 Vol 1 Part I
12. Census of India 1901 Vol IX Part IV
13. 1991 Table c-7
14. 2001 Paper I –Language
15. Ladefoged, Peter 1982 *A course in Phonetics* HBJ New york (2nd edition)
16. Nigam R.C. 1971 *Language Handbook on Mother Tongues in Census,* ORGI, New Delhi
17. Singh KS *Himachal Pradesh Volume*
18. *Language & Script* K.S. Singh
19. *Scheduled Tribe* K.S. Singh
20. *Scheduled Caste* K.S.Singh
21. Census of India1991, C8 Bilingualism/Trilingualism Table, Registrar General, India, New Delhi-11
22. Grierson G.A. (Ed) *Linguistic survey of India, vol-ix part iv, Indo-Aryan Family,Central Group- Pahari Languages, & Gujuri, Motilal Banarasidass,1901- Reprint 1968.*
23. Sharma D.D., 1989, *Tribal Languages of Himachal Pradesh, (part-I)* Mitt Publications, New Delhi.

24. Anju, Saxena, 2009, *Corpus- Based Analysis of Kinnauri Syntax* Web Publication: Accessed in Internet.
25. Atkinson, E.T. 1884, *Gazeteer of North West Province Vol. VI, Himalayan Dialects of North West Provinces of India*, Allahabad.
26. Bajpai, S.C. 1991, *Kinnaur –A Remote Land in the Himalaya*, New Delhi : Indus. Publishing Company .
27. Bailey, T. G. 1909 *A Brief Grammar of Standard Kinnauri* (ZDMD, Vol. XIII pp. 661 ff).
28. Bailey, T. G. 1910, *Kanauri Vocabulary in Two Parts*, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, pp. 659
29. *Census of India, 1961, A Village Survey of Kothi (Kalpa Sub Division), (Sup)*, Ram Chandra Pal Singh, 1963 Delhi: Govt. of India Press
30. *Census of India, 1961, A Village Survey of Nachar (Nachar Sub Division), (Ed) Ram Chandra Pal Singh, 1966 Delhi: Govt. of India Press.*
31. Gerard, Captain A. 1842, *A Vocabulary of the Kunawar Languages*, *Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. Xi, Part I, pp. 479.
32. Grierson, G.A. 1909, *Linguistic Survey of India, Vol. III Part-II*. Delhi: Motilal Banasirdas.
33. Joshi, T.R. 1909, *A Grammar and Dictionary of Kanawari*, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. V, Calcutta.
34. Konow, Sten, 1905, *On some facts connected with the Tibeto-Burman, Dialect spoken in Kanawar* *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlan dischen Gesellschaft Vol. I , IX , pp. 117 and ff.*
35. Mangai, M.D. 1959, *Gazeteer of India, Kinnaur, Himachal Pradesh*.
36. Neethivanan, J. 1976, *Survey of Kanauri in Himachal Pradesh, Language, Monograph 1961 Series*, Delhi: The Controller of Publications.
37. Raha, M.K, 1985, *The Kinnaurese of the Himalayas*,
38. Mahato ,S.N. Kolkata : *Anthropological Survey of India*.
39. Shafer, R. 1950 ‘*Classification of some Languages of the Himalayas*’ *Journal of Bihar Research Society* Vol.36, parts 3-4
40. Sharma, D.D. 1988, *A Descriptive Grammar of Kinnauri* Delhi: Mittal Publications.
41. Verma, V. 2002, *Kanauras of Kinnaur – A Scheduled Tribe in Himachal Pradesh*, New Delhi: B R Public Corporation (India) Limited.

42. Hodgson. B.H. 1875, *The Language, Literature and Religion of Nepal and Tibet*, London (1874)
43. Rogers G.G. 1950, *Colloquial Nepali*, Calcutta
44. Clark T.W. 1963, *Introduction to Nepali*, Cambridge
45. Kloss, Gorkhali- Nepali, *The written Languages of the world – Book No.2*, ICRB, Canada and Office of the Registrar General, India. P.p.813-854, 1989.
46. Binaya, Parmas. Shubham, Chowki Ed. (2012) *Manihelu* by Pangi team
47. Gordon, Raymond G. Jr. (ed.) (2005) *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*, Fifteenth edition. Dallas, Tex: SIL International
48. <http://www.endangeredlanguages.com/lang/4961>
49. Website on Pangwali <https://www.pangi.in/en/introduction-to-pangwali-language-sp>
50. Introductory Pangwali grammar book ‘प्रारंभिक पंगवाड़ी व्याकरण’ edited by G.S. Chouhan, Raj Kumar, Mahatam, Karel, Shakuntala Rana,
51. Bright, William, (ed.), 1992, *International Linguistic Encyclopaedia*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.
52. Crystal, D. 1980, *A First Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics*, Colorado: West View Press.
53. Grierson, George Abraham 1909 *Linguistic Survey of India* (Vol. III, Part I, Tibeto-Burman Family: Tibetan dialects, the Himalayan dialects, the North-Assam Group) Calcutta: Superintendent of Government Printing, India. (reprinted 1967, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi.
54. Koul. Omkar N. 2008, *Modern Hindi Grammar*, Dunwoody Press. USA.
55. Prasad, Saryoo ,2008 *Magahi Phonology: A Descriptive Study*. Concept Publishing Company. New Delhi.
56. Saksena, Babu Ram. 1971, *A Grammatical Sketch of Hindi*, in & Grammatical Sketches of Indian Languages
57. Sahai, Ram Nath. *Languages with comparative vocabulary and texts (language monographs-1961 series)*, Census of India, Delhi.
58. Satish, U. S. 1990, *A Linguistic Study of Jaunsari*, Creative Publishers, New Delhi.
59. Sharma, J.C. 2002, *An Introduction to Sirmauri-Grammatical Gender*, Languages In India, Volume 1: 9 January 2002.

CHAPTER – 2

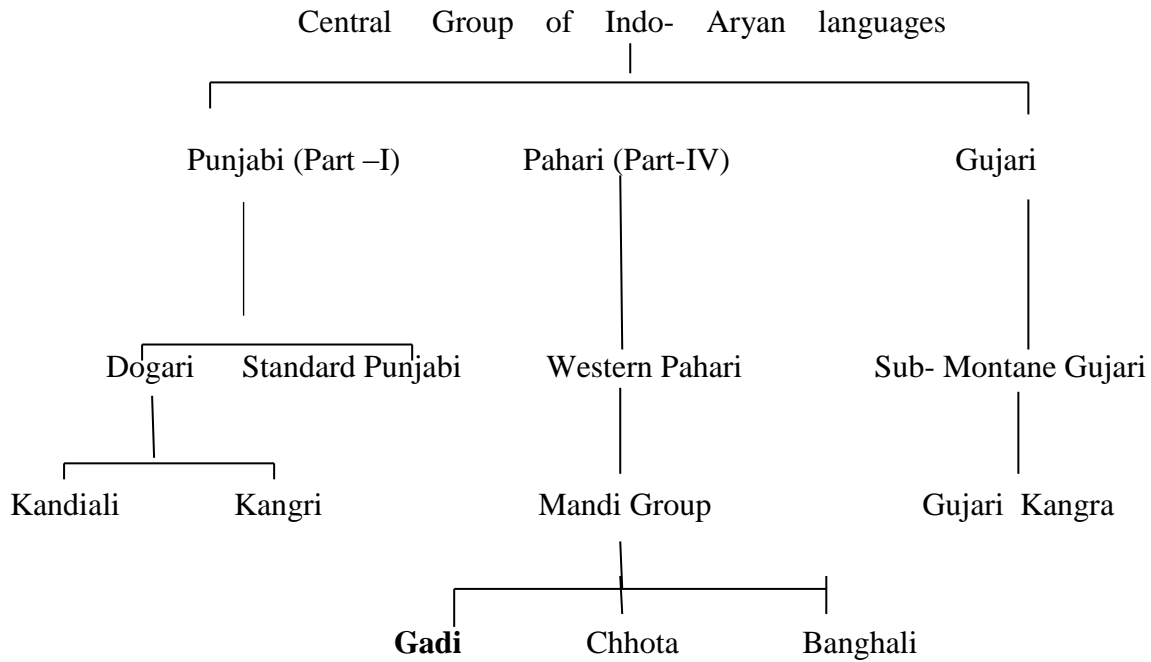
INDO – ARYAN LANGUAGES (HINDI LANGUAGE/ MOTHER TONGUES)

**(BHARMAURI/GADDI, CHAMBEALI, CHURAH, KANGRI,
KEONTHALI, KULVI, MANDEALI, PANGWALI, SANORI &
SIRMAURI)**

BHARMAURI/ GADDI
N. GOPALAKRISHNAN
1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Family affiliation

The Bharmauri/Gaddi language is classified in Linguistic Survey of India as per the following chart.



1.2. Location

“Gadi is the language of Gaddis, who inhabit a district, called after them Gadderan, lying in the north – east portion of Kangra proper and south – east portion of Chamba state. The Chamba district of Bharmour is part of Gadderan and the Bharmauris speak the Gadi dialect.”

The Gadi dialect is purely pahari. It is allied to neighbouring dialects such as Chambeali and Bhateali in Chamba district and the Kangri dialect

The Gaddis are a pastoral tribe inhabiting the mountainous region of Chamba and the adjoining parts of the Kangra district. They believe that they have descended from the refugees of the Punjab plains, their ancestors having fled from the open country to escape the horrors of Musalman invasions, and having taken refuge in these ranges, which were at the period almost uninhabited.

1.3. Speaker's strength:

The district-wise distribution of the mother tongue Bharmauri/Gaddi has been shown in the Introduction chapter.

1.4. BILINGUALISM

Bharmauri/Gaddi is spoken by a large number of people in Bharmaur district in Himachal Pradesh state. This language is spoken in Jammu & Kashmir and in Punjab also. They are well conversant in Hindi and Bharmauri at home and in Hindi outside.

1.5. SOCIOLINGUISTIC INFORMATION

Historically speaking, the Gaddis are one of such traditional communities of the western Himalayan region, about whom facts and fictions, history and mystery have been blended thoroughly. What has come down from the old oral traditions, perpetuated by the Brahman and Rajput Gaddis, is regarded as an authentic account of these people. The ancient history of Chamba (i.e. of the Brahmapur kingdom) is identified with the history of Gaddis, notwithstanding the fact that they played no role at all in the ancient Brahmapur policy. Scholars have forwarded different theories about the origin of the Gaddis and their arrival in Brahmapur.

These theories have been grouped into four categories.

1. According to one tradition, which Mahesh Sharma revealed in his paper on the cultural history of Himachal Pradesh, "the earliest account of Gaddi migration came during the region of Meruvarman, 680 AD, who needed Brahman. priests for the new temples he had erected. The earlier immigrants belong to the Gautam gotra, closely followed by a family of Saraswat Brahmins of Bhumipal gotra, emigrating from near Bhopal".
2. The other often repeated theory holds that the Brahmins and some clans of Rajput migrated to the upper Ravi valley during the regime of Ajay Varman (AD 760-780) in the 8th century.
3. There is a popular saying among the Gaddis that tells, "*Ujreya Lahore, le baseya Bharmaur*". It means that after Lahore was deserted (possibly due to the Muslim invasion) Bharmaur was inhabited.

Some Rajput and Khatri clans are also known to have settled there from the Indian plains during the regime of Aurangzeb (AD 1658-1707) in the 17th century to escape persecution - a very convenient pretext to explain settlement of various princess, castes and clans in the Western Himalayas interiors.

4. According to Denzil B.Ibbetson and E.D.MacLagan there existed a shepherd and gathered community of Gadaria in the Yamuna zone of Punjab. They later became known as the Kambalia, because they adopted wearing of blankets as their occupation.

Hindu Gaddi community among the saints and Muslim Gaddis are settled in vast areas around Karnal, Ambala and Delhi long time past. Added to what Ibbetson and MacLagan have said, the Gaddis of Brahmaur claim to have migrated to the mountainous interiors of the Ravi Valley in the 12th century and, in fact, they are the descendants of the old Gahiayas, who were well spread in the parts of north-western India.

First, the tradition of Brahmans having come to Brahmaur from the Bhopal during the region of Meruvarman is hardly sustainable, because there is influence of Kashmir not only politically, but also in the sphere of art and religion. In fact, since the earliest times, through the 7th century (when *Hiuen Tsang* was in India) and 9th century (when the boundaries of Kashmir kingdom extended up to the Sutlej) until the early 12th century, Chamba is known to have remained under the paramount control of Kashmir, with intermittent spells of independence. On the other hand, none of the epigraphic records indicate that the rulers of Brahmaur or Chamba recognized supremacy of Kashmir.

This fact suggests that the Kashmiri hold over those kingdoms was neither temporary nor permanent. It is indicated that sometime around AD 1120 King Udayvarman (ca. AD 1120 -1140) of Chamba could throw off the Kashmiri yoke for good, taking advantage of the internal strife and the Muslims invasion of Kashmir. The Brahman priests, enjoying royal patronage and comfort turn into the occupation of non-Brahmanic human herding.

Secondly, if the people had migrated to the interiors of the Ravi from the mainland in the 8th century and then after a gap of one thousand years in the 17th century been the Brahmans, Rajputs and khatri, they could not have renounced their different traditional occupations and opted for a radically different occupation of goat and sheep-herding. It may appear still more surprising on the face of the fact that herding has not even been the principal occupation of the native Lohars, Buddhists, Halis, etc. of this mountainous region.

Thirdly, A Gaddi community in the classical Brahmpur kingdom at all most likely, even the Brahman families, which had settled in Brahmpur with their fugitive patrons, also followed them to the new capital town at chamba, and possibly none was left at Brahmpur even to attend to liturgical dispensation of the temples.

Cultural peculiarities in Gaddi

In the process of socio cultural inter fusion with the native people, and under the prevailing geo-climatic conditions in the highland interiors of the Ravi, the Gaddis have imbibed many peculiarities of the native stock in an incessant process of assimilation. Accordingly, their dress, food and living habits have gradually undergone complete metamorphisms. Thus although, the present-day Gaddis may not ethnically belong to the earlier and indigenous inhabitants of this area. Yet having lived with those in the same environment now for centuries, they have developed strong cultural affiliation with them. Since, the ancestors of present day Gaddis had been the nomadic shepherds in their native country in the plains, they found no difficulty in adopting similar occupation of the native folks in the high land tract, where agricultural has never been a sustainable preposition.

Although the Gaddis are confirmed to the Gadderan area in the mountainous interiors of the Ravi basin. Yet they have spilled over to the upper reaches of Kangra valley along the southern slopes of Dhauladhar, where they have established their sewed houses (the dogharis).

The Gaddis are the most interesting people in the entire western Himalayan region. Being the most affable by native, very liberal, open-minded, they are easily one of the friendliest people in the world, contended within themselves in their own environment and the way of life. For such mobile qualities, they are usually addressed as a *mittar*, i.e. friend. In fact Gaddi and *mittar* are used synonymously in the local parlance. One of their folk songs so aptly expresses their deep love for the way of life they lead:

*“Odane to patu, bachhyane jo sele,
na chode phatade na hunde maile,
chheluan – bheduan jo leyi kithi chaleya Gadiya,
Thanda pahad chhadi tethi, suka changar meleya?
Thandi thandi hava thendada je pani, O!
Banka pahada ra basana, O Jinde!
Sare mulakh handi- -pehri dekhi laye,*

kya es dilara dasano, O Jinde?".

That means:

Blankets to swathe, goat-hair mat to lie,
Tough and dirt-proof, as are these well high.
Where you go, O Gaddi! with your herd on the sly?
Leaving Wol Mountains for the land, waste and dry.
Cool and soothing are air and water,
Lovely is life of mountain and deu
Having now wandered the world over,
What is my heart, now for you to tell?

About Gaddis

The Gaddis are one of the most amiable people of the Himalayan region, may even be in the whole world. Having imbibed innumerable influences directly or indirectly almost from everywhere, the quintessential culture that they represent may aptly be defined as the crystallized cosmopolitanism.

Brahmapur village:

Situated idyllically at an average attitude of about 2135 meters from the MSL and spread longitudinally on a gentle slope of a mountain ridge with the towering silvery Mani Mahesh peak providing a magnificent backdrop, looked bewitchingly beautiful. The *Chaurasi* –complex named after the eighty-four Siddhas, with its towering *Shikharakara Mani Mahesh temple*, standing majestically at a commanding location beside a very tall and aged deodar tree, formed the hub of the socio- cultural life of the people. On the first sight of Brahmaur from a distant turn on the road, the towering temple and the mighty deodar tree seemed to be beckoning the visitor to the sacred realm of Shiva. The temple of *Lathana Devi*, located behind the Mani Mahesh temple towards its left, by neglected and for love, Suak in the Shrubbery of wild marijuana and other theory under growth. That indicated that the people who venerated the goddess enshrined in it, had vanished long past and the Gaddis were not much enthusiastic to regard her as their goddess. On the other hand, Shakti Devi of Chitrai commanded a very large cult following.

About Informant:

Informant name is called **Shri. O.P. Verma**, who stayed in B.P.O. Bharmaur Tehsil District Chamba. He knows the languages along with his mother tongue Gaddi, others are Hindi, English. He knows to speak Sanskrit. Born and brought up in the same village.

1.6. REVIEW OF EARLIER LITERATURE AVAILABLE

The following references collected from the Library, the book from people of India, Volume XXIV author by K.S. Singh Anthropological Survey of India 1996 in the name of Gaddi Raj put.

The Gaddi is a genetic term used for all of the indigenous populations of the Bharmaur, Rajput. Khatri, Thakur and Rathi – and the non –savarnas like Hali, Sippi, Richare and Dom (Rose 1919).

Gaddi, yet only the savarna Gaddi Raj puts and their allies, who are discussed here.

The word Gaddi means ‘Seat’, and since Bharmaur was the seat of the Raja of chamba, all the people of the Gaderan (the area) called them Gaddi. History confirms that Gaddi Raj puts migrated from Lahore (now in Rajasthan) to this place in order to avoid religious persecution.

Presently, the bulk of the population lives in Bharmaur Tehsil of chamba district. But a Scattered population of this tribe is also found in the adjoining districts of Kangra and Mandi.

The community occupies the inaccessible, inhospitable terrain in between the Pir-Panjal and Dhauladhar (range) between Ravi and Chenab. It is high altitude area and remains cut off most of the time because of heavy snowfall. The language spoken within the community is Bharmauri Gadiali. *Tankri* was the script used by the old people. With others, however colloquial Hindi is spoken whereas Devanagari is used as script. The Gaddi man is identified by typical dress which consists of a *chola* and *dona* whereas the woman by *launchiri* (*flared* Scottish Skirt). The woman also adorns gold earrings, which are worn by men too. Men also wear white turban, which is a characteristic of the Gaddi dress.

2. PHONOLOGY

2.1. PHONEMIC INVENTORY

Phonology is the study of how sounds are organized and used in natural languages. The phonological system of a language includes an inventory of sounds and their features and rules which specify how sounds interact with each other. Phonemic analysis helps in allotting all the indefinite number of sounds occurring in utterances to a definite and limited set of phonemes contrastive in at least some environment.

The phonological system of Kangri is presented below based on the data collected from the informant.

Vowels

The segmental vowel phonemes are:

	Front	Central	Back
High	<i>i</i>		<i>u</i>
Lower High	<i>I</i>		<i>U</i>
High Mid	<i>E</i>	<i>A</i>	<i>o</i>
Low Mid			<i>O</i>
Low		<i>a</i>	

Consonants: 32

There are 32 consonant phonemes in Bharmauri/Gaddi language.

Consonants	Bilabial	Dental	Alveolar	Palato-Alveolar	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Plosives	<i>p b</i> <i>ph bh</i>	<i>t d</i> <i>th dh</i>			<i>T D</i> <i>Th Dh</i>		<i>k g</i> <i>kh gh</i>	
Affricates						<i>c j</i> <i>ch jh</i>		
Nasals	<i>m</i>		<i>n</i>				<i>ŋ</i>	
Trills			<i>r</i>		<i>R</i>			
Taps/Flaps			<i>l</i>					

Laterals								
Fricatives		<i>s</i>		<i>f v</i>				<i>h</i>
Approximants						<i>w y</i>		

2.1.2. SUPRASEGMENTAL PHONEMES

In Bharmauri/Gaddi Length and Nasalization realized with long vowels. Some Supra-segmental vowel phonemes are also found in this mother tongue. These are:

Vowels	Front	Central	Back
High	<i>ĩ</i>		<i>ũ</i>
Lower High			<i>o</i>
Higher mid			<i>õ</i>
Lower mid		<i>ã</i>	

Nasalisation

Bharmauri/Gaddi has the vowel nasalization.

Nasalization occurs with all vowels when they are in initial and medial positions.

/ã/

/ãkhri ghuaɖna/ ‘open eyes’

/pãŋku/ ‘wing’

/dãnd/ ‘tooth’

/sãy/ ‘like’

/phãy manj phasana/ ‘catch’

/mãs khaTna/ ‘cut meat’

/hãna/ ‘ascend, climb’ (hill)

/kuãna/ ‘climb’

/ē/

<i>/tēir/</i>	‘wheel’
<i>/nēynu/</i>	‘navel’
<i>/pēne ayi/</i>	‘sharply’
<i>/bēh/</i>	‘marriage’
<i>/nēh/</i>	‘finger nail’
<i>/bēth/</i>	‘bend’
<i>/mēTna/</i>	‘erase’
<i>/undē janu/</i>	‘kneel down’

/ī/

<i>/īna/</i>	‘come’
<i>/ghīu ra diya/</i>	‘ghee lamp’

/ū/

<i>/phūnjna/</i>	‘wipe’
<i>/pūnniya/</i>	‘full moon day’
<i>/tūaye/</i>	‘for’
<i>/hiyū/</i>	‘ice’
<i>/brūa/</i>	‘eye brow’
<i>/taūle/</i>	‘hurry’

/ō/

<i>/dōa/</i>	‘smoke’
<i>/rōna/</i>	‘whip’

2.2. PHONEMIC DESCRIPTION AND DISTRIBUTION

Vowels:

All the vowels occur in all positions

/i/ front unrounded high vowel

/idi/ 'here'

/jib/ 'tongue'

/kangi/ 'comb'

/I/ front unrounded lower high vowel

/Ina/ 'come'

/lIna/ 'bring'

/rinI/ 'debt'

/e/ mid front unrounded vowel

/enke:/ 'spectacles'

/tella/ 'alone'

/kopde/ 'skull'

/a/ central unrounded low vowel

/aksar/ 'often'

/pat/ 'thigh'

/tinda/ 'eye lid'

/A/ central highmid unrounded vowel

/Ari/ 'saw'

/odAn/ 'clothing'

/allA/ 'nest'

/u/ high back rounded vowel

/umla/ ‘opposite’

/bura/ ‘bad’

/manu/ ‘man’

/U/ lower high back rounded vowel

/Uttari/ ‘north’

/jUla/ ‘weaver’

/appU/ ‘self’

/o/ mid back rounded vowel

/obra/ ‘stable’

/porna/ ‘draw’

/sarma:to/ ‘shy’

/O/ back lower mid rounded vowel

/Odan/ ‘clothing’

/dOprani/ ‘pregnancy’

//O/ ‘light’

Vowel contrast

/i e/

/lina/ ‘bring’

/lena/ ‘get’

/e a/

/gane/ ‘quickly’

/kana/ ‘eat’

/teri/ 'there'

/tari/ 'they'

/mate:/ 'many'

/mata/ 'more'

/o a/

/porna/ 'do'

/karna/ 'draw'

/i u/

/likna/ 'white'

/lukna/ 'hide'

/a u/

/ga/ 'cow'

/ku/ 'well'

Consonants contrast

/p/ /b/

/pura/ 'full'

/bura/ 'bura'

/parna/ 'read'

/barna/ 'escape'

/t/ /d/

/ta/ 'go'

/te/ 'fold'

/tue/ 'you'

	<i>/due/</i>	‘other’
	<i>/tuar/</i>	‘sunday’
	<i>/doar/</i>	‘husband brother’
	<i>/k/ /g/</i>	
	<i>/kana/</i>	‘eat’
	<i>/gana/</i>	‘go’
	<i>/c/ /j/</i>	
	<i>/ciri/</i>	‘wood’
	<i>/ji/</i>	‘if’
	<i>/ph/ /bh/</i>	
	<i>/phuara/</i>	‘fountain’
	<i>/bukana/</i>	‘cook’
	<i>/th/ /dh/</i>	
	<i>/dāth/</i>	‘molar tooth’
	<i>/didh/</i>	‘belly’
	<i>/kh/ /gh/</i>	
	<i>/khalna/</i>	‘dig’
	<i>/ghana/</i>	‘thick’
	<i>/ch/ /jh /</i>	
	<i>/choTTa/</i>	‘ghost’
	<i>/jhola kholu/</i>	‘open bag’

/m/ */n/*

/ma/ 'mother'

/na/ 'name'

CONSONANTS

It is seen that almost all the consonants are distributed in word initial, medial and final positions, except */d/*, */dʱ/*, */ŋ/*. For example-

/p/ bilabial voiceless stop

/padra/ 'flat'

/papan/ 'rainbow'

/ta:p/ 'fever'

/b/ bilabial voiced stop

/banuna/ 'break'

/gobru/ 'boy'

/sab/ 'all'

/ph/ bilabial aspirated voiceless stop

/phela/ 'first'

/gapha/ 'gossip'

/taph/ 'fever'

/bh/ bilabial un-aspirated voiced stop

/bhona/ 'dwarf'

/nuThe bhuna/ 'bow'

/jibh/ 'tongue'

/t/ dental voiceless stop

/tirkana/ 'thirsty'

/naktuni/ 'nostril'

/sa:t/ 'seven'

/d/ voiced dental stop

/dupna/ 'sink'

/idi/ 'here'

/bud/ 'Wednesday'

/th/ dental aspirated unvoiced stop

/thopna/ 'search for'

/na:tha/ 'or'

/seth/ 'money lender'

/dh/ dental aspirated voiced stop

/dhidh/ 'belly'

/andha/ 'blind'

/brebdh/ 'Friday'

/T/ voiceless retroflex stop

/Tik/ 'right'

/ka:Tna/ 'bitter'

/a:T/ 'eight'

/D/ voiced retroflex stop

/dhyaDa/ 'sun'

/anDa/ 'blind'

/ha:D/ 'farm land'

/k/ voiceless velar stop

/kuri/ 'heel'

/likna/ 'white'

/junk/ 'leg'

/g/ voiced velar stop

/goRa/ 'horse'

/kangi/ 'comb'

/a:g/ 'fire'

/kh/ velar aspirated voiceless stop

/khijura/ 'tired'

/ha:khri/ 'eye'

/dukh/ 'grief'

/gh/ velar aspirated voiced stop

/ghatna/ 'cover'

/baghing/ 'morning'

/c/ palatal voiceless stop

/ciRi/ 'wood'

/nacna/ 'dance'

/j/ palatal voiced stop

/jil/ 'lake'

/broji/ 'brother's wife'

/ra: j/ 'rule'

/ch/ palatal aspirated unvoiced stop

/challi/ 'wave'

/pichu/ 'brother's wife'

/kuch/ 'some'

/jh/ palatal aspirated voiced stop

/jhola/ 'bag'

/bijh/ 'lightning'

*/m/*voiced bilabial nasal

/mate:/ 'many'

/sarma:lo/ 'shy'

/mosam/ 'weather'

*/n/*voiced alveolar nasal

/nak/ 'nose'

/nanan/ 'husband's sister'

/ka:n/ 'ear'

/s/ voiceless fricative

/sina/ 'wet'

/saRak/ 'road'

/sta:re/ 'star'

/f/ voiceless palato-alveolar fricative

/fipheru/ 'lung'

/lafafa/ 'envelope'

/bhaf/ 'stream'

/h/ glottal fricative

/hafta/ 'week'

/pehle/ 'first'

/bēh/ 'marriage'

/r/ alveolar voiced trill

/riyad/ 'cheap'

/braber/ 'equal'

/bimar/ 'sick'

/v/ voiced palato-alveolar fricative

/visak/ 'April'

/w/ voiced bilabial semi-vowel

/wakdt/ 'time'

/suwang/ 'act'

/nowa/ 'new'

/y/ voiced palatal semi-vowel

/ya:tra/ 'visit'

/tiyajo/ 'to them'

/kadi gally/ 'sometimes'

2.4. CLUSTERS

Vowels

Initial

au - aur 'and'

tau du: r 'away from'

Medial

-ia-	<i>biar</i>	‘air’
-ou -	<i>chour</i>	‘four’
-ai -	<i>paidi</i>	‘ladder’
	<i>kaidi</i>	‘neck’
	<i>maina</i>	‘month’
-ua-	<i>tuar</i>	‘Sunday’
	<i>suar</i>	‘Monday’
	<i>phuara</i>	‘fountain’

Final

-eo		
	<i>deo</i>	‘daughter’
-ũa		
	<i>tũaye</i>	‘for’
-ue		
	<i>due</i>	‘two’
	<i>tue</i>	‘(to) you’
-e ã		
	<i>he ã</i>	‘snow’
-õa		
-	<i>õa</i>	‘smoke’
- ou		
	<i>chour</i>	‘four’

- *au*

<i>hau</i>	‘I’
<i>pau</i>	‘December’

2.4. Consonant clusters

Initial

<i>dw- dwari</i>	‘window’
<i>sw- swad</i>	‘taste’

Medial

- <i>pp-</i>	<i>loppuDu</i>	‘mouth’
- <i>pT-</i>	<i>chapTa</i>	‘wide’
- <i>pd-</i>	<i>kapde</i>	‘skull’
- <i>pT-</i>	<i>chapTa</i>	‘wide’
- <i>pl-</i>	<i>tipla</i>	‘tear’
- <i>pk-</i>	<i>japkana</i>	‘blink’
- <i>pn-</i>	<i>dupna</i>	‘sink’
- <i>pr-</i>	<i>chuprena</i>	‘be silent’
- <i>pR-</i>	<i>kapRa banana</i>	‘mend’
- <i>bb-</i>	<i>labbuDu</i>	‘lip’
- <i>bd-</i>	<i>brebdh</i>	‘friday’
- <i>bl-</i>	<i>ga:bla</i>	‘sing’
- <i>bn-</i>	<i>dabna</i>	‘dilute’
- <i>br-</i>	<i>gobru</i>	‘boy’
- <i>bj-</i>	<i>sabji</i>	‘vegetable’

-bw-	<i>abwan bijiti</i>	‘disgrace’
-dd-	<i>sidda</i>	‘straight’
-dl-	<i>ghodlna</i>	‘fight’
-dn-	<i>badna</i>	‘cut’
-dr-	<i>badru</i>	‘August’
-dk-	<i>bandkarna</i>	‘shut’
-tt-	<i>katta</i>	‘sour’
-td-	<i>phatdi</i>	‘sitting board’
-tk-	<i>ritkaro</i>	‘season’
-tn-	<i>khatna</i>	‘cut’
-tr-	<i>patre</i>	‘leaf’
-tl-	<i>thatla</i>	‘joke’
-TT-	<i>chmuTTu</i>	‘tail’
-Tn-	<i>chaTna</i>	‘lick’
-DD-	<i>buDDa</i>	‘old man’
-kk-	<i>nakku</i>	‘nose’
-kr-	<i>pakru</i>	‘bird’
-kR-	<i>pakRa</i>	‘hold’
-kt-	<i>raktu</i>	‘blood’
-kd-	<i>fukdena</i>	‘blow’
-kn-	<i>chukna</i>	‘carry on shoulder’
-kD-	<i>shekDa</i>	‘crab’
-gg-	<i>kugga</i>	‘dry’

-gt-	<i>mugda</i>	‘last’
-gn-	<i>jagna</i>	‘beat’
-gt-	<i>mugtali</i>	‘groundnut’
-gr-	<i>gagru</i>	‘frock’
-cn-	<i>nacna</i>	‘dance’
-jb-	<i>samajbo</i>	‘understand’
-jk-	<i>samajkari</i>	‘wisely’
-jn-	<i>sojna</i>	‘think’
-mm-	<i>amma</i>	‘mother’
-mn-	<i>kamna</i>	‘shiver’
-mb-	<i>ambar</i>	‘sky’
-mk-	<i>chamkidar</i>	‘bright’
-mr-	<i>chamri</i>	‘skin’
-ml-	<i>umla</i>	‘opposite’
-nn-	<i>unni</i>	‘nineteen’
-nt-	<i>sonte</i>	‘fully’
-nd-	<i>dundu</i>	‘fog’
-nT-	<i>ganTa</i>	‘hour’
-nk-	<i>ankari</i>	‘mountain’
-ng-	<i>gunga</i>	‘dump’
-nt-	<i>sonte</i>	‘fully’
-nj-	<i>bānji</i>	‘niece’
-nw-	<i>danwan</i>	‘rich’

-ñg-	<i>tañgna</i>	‘hang up’
-nD-	<i>anDa</i>	‘blind’
-ll-	<i>tulla</i>	‘fat’
-lp-	<i>kalpna karna</i>	‘imagine’
-lT-	<i>balTi</i>	‘jar’
-lk-	<i>halka</i>	‘small’
-lg-	<i>gulguna</i>	‘thunder’
-ln-	<i>malna</i>	‘rub’
-rp-	<i>tarpo: j</i>	‘melon’
-rb-	<i>firbi</i>	‘yet’
-rt-	<i>sartajidi</i>	‘earth’
-rk-	<i>barki</i>	‘sister-in-law’
-rg-	<i>mirgi</i>	‘epilepsy’
-rm-	<i>garmi</i>	‘heat’
-rn-	<i>karna</i>	‘do’
-rt-	<i>bartna</i>	‘consume’
-rr-	<i>terry</i>	‘date’
-rw-	<i>barwad</i>	‘waste’
-rd-	<i>murday</i>	‘dead body’
-Rk-	<i>pani ciRkna</i>	‘sprinkle’
-Rn-	<i>paRna</i>	‘read’
-st-	<i>rasta</i>	‘road’
-sn-	<i>dasna wala</i>	‘guide’

-sm-	<i>dusman</i>	‘enemy’
-sj-	<i>tasju</i>	‘to her’
-sw-	<i>biswas</i>	‘believe’
-sp-	<i>haspital</i>	‘hospital’
-sb-	<i>hasbo</i>	‘laugh’
-sk-	<i>kiskina</i>	‘run away, flee’
-ss-	<i>tissa</i>	‘lean’
-ft-	<i>hafta</i>	‘week’
-fd-	<i>fafta</i>	‘flattery’
-fr-	<i>nafrat</i>	‘dislike’
-yd-	<i>fayda karna</i>	‘germinate’
-y?-	<i>biy?a</i>	‘marriage’
-yn-	<i>peyna</i>	‘sharp’
-yg-	<i>reygna</i>	‘miss’
-yr-	<i>gayra mās</i>	‘beef’
-hl-	<i>pehle</i>	‘before’
-ch-	<i>bichna</i>	‘middle’

Final cluster

-rd	<i>mard</i>	‘male’
-ñg-	<i>pha:ñg</i>	‘feather’
-ng -	<i>hing</i>	‘horn’
-rg-	<i>mirg</i>	‘tiger’
-Th	<i>piTh</i>	‘back’

<i>-Dh</i>	<i>dhiDh</i>	‘belly’
<i>-th</i>	<i>hath</i>	‘hand’
<i>-bh</i>	<i>jibh</i>	‘tongue’
<i>-dh</i>	<i>du:dh</i>	‘milk’
<i>-nd</i>	<i>kand</i>	‘wall’
<i>-rk</i>	<i>nark</i>	‘hell’
<i>-nj</i>	<i>panj</i>	‘five’

2.5. SYLLABLE

A syllable is a unit of organization for a sequence of speech sounds. A syllable is a unit of sound composed of a central peak of sonority (usually a vowel), and the consonants that cluster around this central peak. Syllables are often considered the phonological "building blocks" of words. They can influence the rhythm of a language, its prosody, its poetic meter and its stress patterns.

According to the data we can categorize the syllabic structure as follows-

1. Monosyllabic

V

e ‘to us’. it, this, (to) us’

VC

a:r ‘food’

a:g ‘fire’

CV

ke ‘what’

ta ‘so’

tu ‘you’

te ‘fold’

CVV

hii ‘yesterday’

hau ‘hundred’

deo ‘daughter’

CVC

ba? ‘arm’

bel ‘late’

bud ‘wednesday’

hi:t ‘cold’

2. Disyllabic

V-CV

i-na ‘come’

d-āh ‘affection’

n-ai ‘barber’

CV-CV

ka-Di ‘where’

ka-ne ‘when’

ka-li ‘empty’

ka-ra ‘good’

bu-ra ‘bad’

bi-ya ‘marriage’

bu-by ‘father’s sister’

ba-nu 'forest'

ciRi 'wood'

kuri 'girl'

jala 'net'

jula 'weaver'

gana 'go'

di-na 'give'

le-na 'take'

CV-VC

bi-ar 'air'

bo-ot 'plant'

se-oh 'custard apple'

CV-CVC

am-bar 'sky'

bi-yar 'cyclone'

ri-yad 'cheap'

CVC-CV

beh-na 'sit'

bad-na 'harvest'

bal-le 'slow'

bar-kha 'rain'

kat-ta 'sour'

miT-Ta 'sweet'

sun-nu 'gold'
tar-na 'float'
ban-na 'bank of river'
nik-ka 'baby'

CVC-CV

bal-na 'ask'
dun-du 'fog'
dho-Du 'ashes'
bar-na 'escape'
nac-na 'dance'

VC-CV

ma-nu 'people'
ob-ra 'stable'
en-ke: 'spectacles'

CV-CV

uT-na 'rise, go upward'
ta-la 'pound'
do-na 'wash'
li-na 'bring'
go-ru 'young animal'

CVC-VCV

kij-ura 'tired'
mal-ana 'mix'
gug-una 'bark'

CCV-CCV

<i>dri-dna</i>	‘drag’
<i>tra-mba</i>	‘brasses’
<i>kud-una</i>	‘jump’

3. Polysyllabic:

CVC-CV-CV

<i>ban-nu-na</i>	‘tie’
<i>pun-ju-na</i>	‘arrive’
<i>dak-ka-nu</i>	‘south’

CVC-CVC-CV

<i>kheT-mar-na</i>	‘jump over, hurdle’
--------------------	---------------------

VC-CV-CV

<i>ud-ru-na</i>	‘fly’ (as bird)
<i>ka-ml-na</i>	‘miser’
<i>pu-ra-na</i>	‘old’
<i>hu-ku-na</i>	‘dry’
<i>ha-du-ra</i>	‘rotten’

CV-CV-CV

<i>ti-ya-ra</i>	‘ready’
<i>ma-ru-la</i>	‘dead’
<i>gu-gu-na</i>	‘barks’
<i>ba-da-lu</i>	‘cloud’
<i>ku-ku-Du</i>	‘cock’

3. MORPHOPHONEMICS

With the addition of some bound morphemes. When there is change in the phoneme of the base morpheme the change is called as Morphophonemic change. The Morphophonemic change in Bharmauri/Gaddi are realized in the following ways:

Alternation of phoneme:

a > i for Masculine feminine

laRa 'bride'

laRi 'bride groom'

i > u *nani* 'mother's mother'

nannu 'mother's father'

u > i *paradadu* 'great grant father;

pardadi 'great grant mother'

a > i *mama* 'mother's brother'

mami 'mother's brother's wife'

lamma 'tall man'

lammi 'tall woman'

e > a *chorte > chare* 'forty'

No change

sena manu 'old man'

ma bura 'parents'

daram + putar > dram putar 'adopted child'

dupla 'lean'+ *manu > dupla manu* 'lean man'

Dropping of Phoneme

pañj + tra > pantra ‘fifteen’

Addition

jore ‘loud’

baRa jore ‘loudly’

4. MORPHOLOGY

Morphology deals with words and their declensional patterns as well as verbs and their conjugational patterns. Morphology of Kangri is discussed under Noun, Verb, Adjectives and Adverbs.

4.1. NOUN MORPHOLOGY

4.1.1. WORD FORMATION

Bharmauri/Gaddi is an agglutinative language. That means words are formed by adding syllables or letter (i.e. affixes) to the stem and different ending are used to form different types of words and these affixes show no traceable signs of having being independent words. In Bharmauri/Gaddi are compounding and derivation is available.

a. Compounding

(i) Noun + head I

khabi kanare 'left side'

khabi hatte 'left hand'

(ii) Noun + noun head II

uttar + i > *uttari* 'north'

palle + i > *pallei* 'already'

(iii) Adjective + noun-head

abbi 'naughty'+*gobru* 'boy' > *abbi gobru* 'naughty boy'

hura 'strong'+*biyari* 'wind' > *hura biyari* 'strong wind'

(iv) Numeral + noun head

ek + man > *ekman* 'one man'

due + kutter > *duyi kutternu* 'two dogs'

(v) Noun+ noun (both are heads)

<i>ma+bura</i>	‘mother + father	> <i>mabura</i>	‘parents’
<i>sena+manu</i>	‘old + man	> <i>sena manu</i>	‘old man’
<i>sena + beTri</i>	‘old + woman’	> <i>sena + beTri</i>	‘old woman’

b. Derivation

Derivational affixes are in either in pre-fixation or suffixation.

i. prefixation

<i>ha-lena</i>	‘breath’
<i>tar-jini</i>	‘index’
<i>ache-haral</i>	‘grey hair’
<i>su-wang</i>	‘act’

ii. suffixation

-u	<i>dundu</i>	‘fog’
	<i>badalu</i>	‘cloud’
-i	<i>chanani</i>	‘moon’
	<i>ankari</i>	‘mountain’
	<i>biyari</i>	‘wind’
-a	<i>nikka/bacha</i>	‘baby’
	<i>jarna</i>	‘water fall’
-wa	<i>benewa</i>	‘sisters husband’
-ar	<i>risdar</i>	‘relatives’
	<i>bunar</i>	‘weaver’
-na	<i>phukna</i>	‘bury’

	<i>dabna</i>	‘dilute’
	<i>karna</i>	‘do’
	<i>porna</i>	‘draw’
	<i>kamna</i>	‘shiver’
<i>-le</i>	<i>taũle</i>	‘hurry’
<i>-la</i>	<i>jhola</i>	‘bag’

4.1.2. NOUN

Number

The numbers are two Singular and Plural. In this language plural markers are /e/and /nu/.

Singular		Plural	
<i>tu</i>	‘you’	<i>tue</i>	‘you’
<i>kuttere</i>	‘dog’	<i>kutternu</i>	‘dogs’
<i>billi</i>	‘cat’	<i>billinu</i>	‘cats’
<i>patre</i>	‘leaf’	<i>patre</i>	‘leaves’
<i>kuRi</i>	‘girl’	<i>kuRi</i>	‘girls’
<i>putra</i>	‘son’	<i>putre</i>	‘sons’
<i>mittar</i>	‘friend’	<i>mittare</i>	‘friends’
<i>sera ghar</i>	‘his house’	<i>tyare ghar</i>	‘his houses’
<i>gha</i>	‘cow’	<i>ghaynu</i>	‘cows’
<i>chakda</i>	‘cart’	<i>chakde</i>	‘carts’
<i>tasera</i>	‘servant’	<i>tasere</i>	‘servants’

Gender

In Bharmauri/Gaddi two genders are available, they are masculine and feminine.

<i>gobru</i>	‘boy’	<i>kuRi</i>	‘girl’
<i>manu</i>	‘man’	<i>janani</i>	‘woman’
<i>laRa</i>	‘bride’	<i>laRi</i>	‘bride groom’
<i>sena manu</i>	‘old man’	<i>sena beTri</i>	‘old woman’
<i>mama</i>	‘mother’s brother’	<i>mami</i>	‘mother’s brother’s wife’
<i>paradu</i>	‘great grandfather’	<i>pardadi</i>	‘great grandmother’
<i>tulla</i>	‘fat man’	<i>tulle</i>	‘fat woman’
<i>matrer</i>	‘step brother’	<i>matreri</i>	‘step daughter’
<i>laRa</i>	‘husband’	<i>laRe</i>	‘wife’
<i>billa</i>	‘male cat’	<i>billi</i>	‘female cat’
<i>brag</i>	‘male tiger’	<i>bragna</i>	‘female tiger’

Case

Bharmauri/Gaddi have six cases. These are nominative, Genitive, Dative/accusative, ablative and vocative.

1. Nominative:

haye gay-jo ‘We beat the cows’

beat cow

gobru lude pende ‘The boys fall’

boys fall

so kaRpējo maridtta 'She killed the snake'

(she) (snake) (killed)

2. Genitive : re

buttare patre bu?nu taren-te 'The leaves of the tree fall down'

buttare patre bu?nu taren-te 'The leaves of the trees fall down'

mere gharju gacha 'Go to my house'

3. Dative & Accusative : ju

haun gara-ju kanda: 'I go the house'

Dative ending is /-ju/

/tasju/ 'to him'

/tasaju/ 'to her'

/is/ettiyo 'to it'

/e/ 'to us'

haun gara-jo kanda 'I go to the house'

haun bakRi-jo kanda 'I go to the field'

so bakRi-jo kande hen 'They go to the field'

4. Locative case : e

haun apne ghaRe-a 'I am in my house'

mere putre ghaRe 'My son is in the house'

mere putre ghaRen 'My sons are in the house'

5. Ablative : -taun

rail taun chalene ha 'The train starts from'

skule taun-ay 'Come from the school'

re-da-re skula taun-ai 'Come from near the school'

skula: taun gach 'Go from the school'

6. Vocative : ai

ai laRi 'O! sister'

ai manu 'O! Mother'

ai laRe 'O! wife'

Post-position

pehle 'before'

andar 'in'

dualli 'after'

4.1.3. PRONOUN

A pronoun is a pro-form which functions like a noun. It can also take number, gender and case markers like the noun. But the functional difference between a noun and a pronoun is that the pronoun cannot take any determiner and pronoun can be used in all persons whereas a noun always refers to the third person. Kangri has following types of pronouns:

In Bharmauri/Gaddi are as follows.

There are

1. Personal pronoun:

Person	Singular	Plural
First	<i>hau(I)</i>	<i>assijo (we)</i>
Second	<i>tu (you)</i>	<i>tue (pl)</i>
Third	<i>assijo (we)</i>	<i>tari (they)</i>

2. Demonstrative Pronoun

	Proximate	Remote
Singular	/e/ 'this'	/bu/ 'that'
Plural	/teRi/ 'there'	/so/ 'those'

3. Relative Pronoun

<i>Kone</i> 'who',	<i>sera</i> 'which'
<i>tusio ko:n terrain mulane ha</i>	Which train will you get?

4. Interrogative Pronoun

<i>kone</i>	'who'
<i>ke</i>	'what'
<i>sukkunu-a:</i>	Who is he?
<i>meri saugi kone illa?</i>	Who will come with some?
with who come?	
<i>sukkunu a?</i>	Who is he?
<i>itijo ke: bande?</i>	What is this called?
this what called	
<i>so keya?</i>	What is that?
that what	
<i>tujo ke chinta</i>	What do you want?
want what do	

4.1.4. ADJECTIVE

Adjective is a word used describes the quality if noun generally precedes the noun in Bharmauri/Gaddi. Adjectives are classified as simple and complex.

Simple Adjectives

Simple adjectives are mono morphemic words, which are classified into three types.

These are

- 1) Qualitative Adjectives
 - 2) Quantitative Adjectives
 - 3) Numeral Adjectives
1. Qualitative Adjectives

uthuDa 'high' and

uthuDa ankari 'high mountain'

lal phal '(red) like blood'

function as attributive to nouns.

lal fhal 'red fruit'

2. Quantitative Adjectives

kuch 'some' *mata* 'more'

hau toda jada chai-nu 'I want some more'

I some more want

3. Numeral Adjectives

The cardinal numerals are nouns but they are added to the adjectives to modify nouns.

e mera: ghara 'There are my five houses'

e mere ghar hin 'He has three children'

e duyi kutter-nu 'There are two dogs'

e tray kutter-nu 'Here are three cats'

tasera tray nikke hin 'He has three children'

Oh ! kuri 'that girl'

e ! kam 'this work'

4.1.5. NUMERAL

Numerals are the morphemic units denoting number as grammatical as well as adjectival category. The numerals in Kangri may be classified as Cardinals, Ordinals and Fractional. The numerals are also found as attributed by Classifier.

1. Cardinal Numeral

<i>ak</i>	'one'
<i>due</i>	'two'
<i>tray</i>	'three'
<i>chor</i>	'four'
<i>panj</i>	'five'
<i>chiya</i>	'six'
<i>sa:t</i>	'seven'
<i>a:T</i>	'eight'
<i>no</i>	'nine'
<i>dhonu</i>	'ten'
<i>ghiyara</i>	'eleven'
<i>bhara</i>	'twelve'
<i>tera</i>	'thirteen'
<i>choudau</i>	'fourteen'
<i>pantra</i>	'fifteen'
<i>solan</i>	'sixteen'

<i>stara</i>	‘seventeen’
<i>aTTaran</i>	‘eighteen’
<i>unni</i>	‘nineteen’
<i>chare</i>	‘forty’
<i>chali</i>	‘fifty’
<i>sa:Th</i>	‘sixty’
<i>sathar</i>	‘seventy’
<i>assi</i>	‘eighty’
<i>nobbe</i>	‘ninety’
<i>hau</i>	‘hundred’

2. Ordinal Numerals

<i>phela</i>	‘first’
<i>due</i>	‘second’
<i>triya</i>	‘third’

3. Fractional Numerals

<i>pauwa</i>	‘quarter’
<i>adda</i>	‘half’
<i>tria essa</i>	‘three fourth’
<i>as aur pauwa</i>	‘one and a quarter’
<i>addika</i>	‘one and half’
<i>mukkunda</i>	‘last’
<i>mañjaddiya</i>	‘middle’

4.1.6. CLASSIFIER

<i>kutter</i>	‘male dog’
<i>kutteri</i>	‘female dog’
<i>billa</i>	‘male cat’
<i>billi</i>	‘female cat’
<i>brag</i>	‘male tiger’
<i>bragne</i>	‘female tiger’

4.2. VERB MORPHOLOGY

Verb morphology deals with verb and their conjugational patterns. Finite and Non – Finite are realized in Bharmauri/Gaddi.

4.2.1. VERB

4.2.1.1. FINITE VERB

Finite verbs are realized by the use of verbs with tense –aspect –mood markers.

Tense

Present tense

1 st Person	<i>haun paRu karno</i>	‘I am reading’
2 nd Person	<i>tusse paRu hin</i>	‘You are reading’
3 rd person	<i>so paRe ha</i>	‘He is reading’
Plural		
1 st Person	<i>asse paRe hun</i>	‘We are reading’
2 nd person	<i>tusse paRe hin</i>	‘You are reading’
3 rd person	<i>so paRe hin</i>	‘They are reading’

Past tense

1st person singular

<i>aun paRe thu</i>	‘I was reading’
<i>tusse paRe thie</i>	‘You were reading’
<i>so paRe hi</i>	‘They are reading’

Plural

<i>asse pare thie</i>	‘We were reading’
<i>tusse pare thire</i>	‘You were reading’
<i>so pare thie</i>	‘They were reading’

Future tense

Singular

<i>aun paRe ila</i>	‘I will be reading’
<i>tusse paRe ile</i>	‘You will be reading’
<i>so paRe ila</i>	‘He will be reading’
<i>so paRe ila</i>	‘She will be reading’

Plural

<i>asse paRe ile</i>	‘We will be reading’
<i>tusse paRe ile</i>	‘You will be reading’
<i>so paRe ile</i>	‘They will be reading’

Aspect

Aspects refer to which is not a specific point as the tense but it refers to duration, perfection, recurrence etc. of time. Aspects are perfective progressive and habitual.

1. Frequentive aspect

<i>billi mesa kandi</i>	'The cat always bites'
<i>billi kadi kandi</i>	'The cat often bites'
<i>so ginta renda</i>	'He keeps on going'
<i>so mesa dinta renda</i>	'He often bites'
<i>su kattunda renda</i>	'He kept on cutting'
<i>so kaddina patnda</i>	'They never teach'
<i>so kaddina rinda</i>	'He never drinks'

2. Continuous Aspect

<i>so laggadar munjude mangda: r renda</i>	'He continually begged me'
<i>kuttere kadina kanda</i>	'The dog never bites'
<i>so kadina kandi</i>	'She never eats'
<i>e kane kadi karabna bunda</i>	'This food never goes bad'
<i>kuttere mesa kande</i>	'The dog often bites'
<i>tini kadina kaTTu</i>	'He has never cut'
<i>tini kadina parow</i>	'She has never taught'
<i>so kadina pindatu:</i>	'He was never drunk'
<i>so kadine tauru</i>	'He has never run'
<i>so pakka sikka:re manuha</i>	'He is confirmed a chain smoker'
<i>barkha lagirehruruha</i>	'The rain keeps on and on'

Mood

Obligative Mood

<i>tusijo idi narena: chinta</i>	‘You must remain here’
<i>kuriyo haram karna chinta</i>	‘The girl must take rest’
<i>‘tasajo mati baji kana chainta</i>	‘She must eat much sweat’
<i>tusijo e ka:m chaRidina chainta</i>	‘You must leave this work’
<i>tuaiyo kuchna kuch parana chainta</i>	‘You must teach something’

Prohibitive Mood

<i>tasijo biRi sikkeTna pina chinte</i>	‘He must not smoke’
<i>tusajo mati piplina kan chainta</i>	‘You must not take much more chilly’
<i>tusijo kamna karina chenra (must)</i>	‘You must not do this work’

4.2.1.2 Non-Finite Verb

4.2.1.2.1 Infinitive

Verbal Noun

<i>biRi sikkar pina karana bunde</i>	‘Smoking is not good’
<i>ka:na chedi taye karna bunde</i>	‘Eating is good for health’

4.2.1.3. Auxiliary Verb

<i>so itchi sakda do</i>	‘He could have come’
<i>tasijo ina chainta-tu</i>	‘He would have come’
<i>minjo ina chinte</i>	‘I should come’
<i>tasjo buji tikkayna pina chinta</i>	‘He must not smoke’
<i>tasjo ka:m na karine chinta</i>	‘You must not do this work’
<i>tusijo tu:ne jada chorerna kana chinta</i>	‘You must not do this work’

tusijo tune jada cherna kana chinta 'You must not take two much rice'

e girl pakkiRa, ka manjo das kutijo paise-na dina chainte

'It is possible that, I should not give money to this girl'

4.2.1.4. Negative Verb

na 'not'

hau kamanda na-ya 'I do not work'

so ko manda na-ya 'He does not work'

mu kamna karna 'I will not work'

munjo kamna karna cheinda 'I do not have to work'

mei kamna kammoa 'I did not do the work'

haun-na paRu karndatu 'I was not reading'

4.2.1.5 Compound Verb

sunu 'to sleep'

paRna 'to read'

likhna 'to write'

karna 'to do'

4.2.1.6. Passive Formation

munjo taun roTTi khau kardi-ti 'The bread is being eaten by me'

munju taun roTi kheu kardi-ti 'The bread is eaten by him'

minjo taun paise lhaid le 'The money has been taken by me'

note tasu taun likhu karnda 'A note is written by him'

2. Adverbs of Time

so sode teri suturat-to 'I was sleeping at time'

I sleeping at time

so-e pehle karichu ku:Ru 'He had done this before'

he before done done

3. Adverbs of Manner

iya jore jore mat bolna 'Do not speak loudly'

tu bale bale bolna 'You speak slowly'

4.2.3. PARTICLE/CLITIC

e 'this' (prox)

oh 'that' (distant)

majata wala 'that' (intermediator)

4.2.4. ECHO WORD/REDUPLICATION

ghirna fhirna 'transplant

cham cham 'tinkling'

kanke kanke 'some time'

jore jore 'loudly'

nowa nowa 'newly'

ti:k ta:k 'softly'

gane gane 'thickly'

joRa to:rna 'break a rope'

5. SYNTAX

Syntax is the study of the principles and rules for constructing phrases and sentences in natural languages. The syntax also establishes the rules governing the order of combining the words-phrases to form sentences in a language. The word order of Kangri is SOV. For example,

5.1. ORDER OF WORDS IN SENTENCES

Bharmauri/Gaddi is a language of Subject + Object + Verb pattern.

mere gharju gacha 'Go to my house'

my house go

5.2. DESCRIPTIONS OF TYPES OF SENTENCES

Interrogative Sentences

Interrogative words essentially in the middle position of the sentence and rarely in the initial or in the final position forms the questions.

tu ke kanda?

What do you eat?

you what eat

haun ke kalla?

What shall I eat?

I what eat

tu ke kalla

What will you eat?

you what eat

haun kanda?

I eat?

I eat

tune katune nikkhe- kina

How many children have you?

have you many children how

tunda na ke?

‘What is your name?’

your name what

tu- teri renden

‘Where do you live?’

You where live

tu-e kari renden

‘Where do you (pl) live?’

You (pl) where live

tunda-ke kamka:ra ha

‘What is your occupation?’

Your-what occupation is

Imperative Sentences

The infinitive is correctly used for the imperative, when it does not intend to insist on the immediate fulfillment of order, but merely to indicate that certain thing is to be done.

bale bale kane

‘Speak slowly’

slow slow speak

jore jore kane

‘Speak loudly’

loud loud speak

Negative Sentences

The negatives particles occur medially in a sentence

jore mat kane

‘Do not speak loudly’

loudly do not speak

tojo taun na kammina tu

‘You would not have done the work’

You would not done the work

tasa taun na kammina tu

‘She would not have done the work’

would not done the work

<i>tasi taun na kammina tu</i>	‘He would not have done the work’
would not done the work	
<i>hassi taun na kammina tu</i>	‘We would not have done the work’
would not done the work	
<i>tusu taun na kammina tu</i>	‘You (pl) would not have done the work’
would not have done the work	
<i>tiya taunna kammina tu</i>	‘They (MEN) would not have done the work’
they would not done the work	
<i>hauna kammay sakkida tu</i>	‘I could have done the work’
I work could have	
<i>haunna kam sakkida tu</i>	‘I could not have done the work’
I work could not	
<i>tuna kammay sakkida tu</i>	‘You (sg) could not have done the work’
you (sg) done the work	
<i>so na-kamay sakde tu</i>	‘She could not have done the work’
she could not work have	

Causative Sentences

When the agent performs an action through another agent the verb is in causative. The second agent is realized as an object. Adding *tasijo* forms the causative verb.

haun tasijo samman lenejo ballu karnda par tasajo kharana lakda
‘I make her to make her take that book from him’

so tasijo minjo sa:mman dine ta:ye ballu karndapar tasijo karana lakda

‘He makes him give the luggage to him but he does not went it now’

haun tasijo samman lēne tāy ballu karda par tasijo hajuna chainta

‘I make him take the luggage to him but he does not fell like’

ram krishntasijo ine: rehetay ballu karnda par tas bale tame-niya

ram krishna but time no

‘Rama makes Krishna come but Krishna has no time

Coordination

Two or more sentences can be co-ordinate into a single sentence. Co-ordination’s are *kane/aur* ‘and’, *par* ‘but’, *doara* ‘again’, *natha* ‘or’, *soggi* ‘with’ *ini mattey* ‘by; etc.

so hia kane chaligu ‘He yesterday and went away’

he yesterday and went away

diya kamma kane ratte so – a ‘Some fish are big and some are small’

mu gana – lu par haun goni –ya ‘I had to go but I did not go’

asu gana – tu par asay se – nin ‘We had to go but we did not go’

e duiya natha thray gobru ghara manj kusudinde ‘These two or three boys go home’

these two three boys’ homes or go

e dui aur thray gobru ghara manj kusudinde

these two or three boys the houses go into

‘These two or three boys go into the house’

haun apni bhoni – jo, goburu baji kuāne rētāy balu karnda

‘I make by sister feed the boy with sweets’

note tasu taun likhu karnda

‘A note is written by him’

e dui aur thray gobru ghara manj kusu dinde 'These two or three boys go into the house'

do- tte nokkara soggi todi haRu – chen bania

'Tomorrow there will be some trouble with the servant'

munju- taun roti kheu kardi

'The bread is eaten by him'

5.3. DESCRIPTION OF PATTERNS OF SENTENCES

The sentence is classified into

1. Simple
2. Complex
3. Compound

Simple sentence

A simple sentence consists of only one clause. A clause may consist of subject and a predicate. The subject may be a noun or noun phrase, a pronoun, or an infinitive or an infinitive phrase.

mu tusi-gi kamajo gana 'I will go with you to work'

I you with work go

so munjo tale kam kanta 'He stays near my house'

he near

'me apne larijo howa gane andeN' 'I have brought new ornaments for my wife'

Some verbs are incomplete prediction. They take a word, which is noun or an adjective to complete the predicate functions.

so goRa ha: 'That is a horse'

so gobro tona 'The body is deaf'

Complex sentence

A complex sentence consists of more than one clause, one of which functions independently and is called here the main or the principal clause. It's like simple sentence in construction. The subordinate clause can be

- i) A noun clause or
- ii) An adjective clause or
- iii) An adverb clause.

agar haun behanda tauna kam bujji gana-tu

‘If I had sat upon more work could have been done’

gar hanuna behura bhunda ta-mu haun kamna kare-tu

‘If I had not sat upon more work could not have been done’

- i) Noun Clause

A clause substitutable for a noun is a noun phrase/clause. It functions as an object or a complement to the verb in the main clause.

agar haun behanda taun kam bujji gana-tu

if I sit upon work understand

‘If I sit upon sit work done (will be) done’

- ii) Adjective clause

A clause that can be substituted for an adjective is an adjective clause.

tasi -jo pakhru marna chai-nda

‘He should kill the bird’

- iii) Adverbial clause

A clause which can be substituted for an adverb is an adverb clause

kane 'when' connected by *tene* 'then'

kaDi 'where' connected by *teRi* 'there'

ji 'if' *tane* 'than'

so e pelle-hi karichu ku:Ru 'When did he come'

'If you come in time we will examine this'

Compound sentence

A compound sentence consists of more than one clause, one of which is main clause and of the other clauses at least one is independent clause and functions is connected by a connector. The connective generally used by a *kane* 'and'

bharat kane Pakistan manj yud-bhua-tu

India and Pakistan between wars

'There was a war between India and Pakistan'

6. TEXT

HOW THE CROW-HEN KILLED THE BLACK SNAKE

kiya kawi kawi-e maru kale kaRpe jo

I.

1. *barghat/bad – re bu? ttari dali re maja- te ek kakane tasare lari*

Among the spreading branches of one wife

kawi rende – tiye.

crow-hen lived here

Among the spreading branches of a banyan tree lived a crow and his wife, the crow-hen.

2. *allemanju chour alkhe ande tiye jetteri ka :re ma- bure baRi her*

four little eggs parents great care

– hunu karnde ti.

In the nest were four little eggs which the parents guarded with great care.

3. *tas bhuttare mola-re bhoka manj ak kala khaRpa renda tu: jas- taun*

ka baRa baRi darnda- tu.

In a hollow of that tree-trunk lived a black snake that the crows feared greatly.

4. *jene – bi kawi ande dindi- ta: kaRpa tyāre alle manj ganta kane tatijo kāy
inda.*

Every time the crow-hen laid eggs the snake crawled up to the nest and ate them up.

II

1. *Agar is- bāri kiri tini kale aRpe/nakke mere ande kāye – tã. tay – mu*

idi-vene taun mukkre gana .

“If the black snake eats up my eggs this time also, I will refuse to live in this tree any longer.

2. *assi-jo apna alla karkha hudra banana chainta*”, *kawi-é apne lāRe – jo ballu.*

We must build our nest somewhere else,” said the mother bird to her husband.

III. *asse idi bare tame dyaRe taun rau karnde. “hau apne ghara-jo chattigari karkha udra Rena sehi-nasakta,”kaye ballu.*

“We have lived here a long time. I can’t bear to desert my home and go to live elsewhere,” said the crow.

Jena su: kanahu karde - diye ta: tiyē - ki: Re – ri phuñkāri awaz/ cheir lone.

While they were talking, they heard a hissing sound just below them.

tiya -jo patat lagi-go-ke e: chēR khatte - ha.

They know what the sound meant.

So apne ande – jo bajjanere tāye, tadi daru: re daru: re bechire.

They sat helplessly in their nest trying to protect their eggs.

ka:la kaRpa uprunchukanu kane alle nagiri bady go.

The black snake crept higher and closer to the nest.

ferre jora - rich eDa sogi tini pakhrū-jo dung mari-te so darikari udrihe.

The black snake came to the nest and chased the birds.

Firi ka: le kaRpe su-ande ak ak kare kare niggelelle.

again black snake ate eggs one by one black

one by one, the snake ate the eggs.

a. *esgalara pata bune taun-ki alla ha:li huna.ma buRe baRe uda: s*
mana tau apne alle jo-ay.

The parents came back sadly to their nest, knowing well that they would find it empty.

b. *kaye ballu* , “*ki minjo-es hatiare karte - jo mukka:y dina chinta.*
 crow said, I must destroy do find must find

The crow said, “I must find a way to destroy this murderous snake.

v. “*Tu tasi sogi kiya mare sakda? tasare dhand bare jerile hin. taseri*
 how can ever fight him his sting so deadly
la:ri dukki biyi karE ballu.
 wife despair black

“How can you ever fight him? His sting is so deadly,” said this wife in despair.

vi. *mere piya:retu chite mat, “mera ek miterha jeRa - es- bare jerilte kadto*
 my dear don’t worry, I have one friend who is cunning enough to
-jo mukkane manj bada bari tej, ha, kaye ballu . kane so due buTTa- jo
 destroy most poisonous of snaked, said the crow. another tree under
udri –go jare meri pyēra dost gidhhat randi - tu.

which another tree my dear friend the jackal.

“Don’t you worry, my dear, I’ve got a friend who is cunning enough to destroy the most poisonous of snakes,” said the crow, and off he flew to another tree under which lived his dear friend, the jackal.

vii. a. *jane giddal -hunu ki- kiyākaRpa tya:re ande - jo roj*
ka:y - ganta.tine bullu, “mere mitre, jede nirday kane la:lchi bunde lyara:
hamesa bura ant bunda.

When the jackal heard how the snake always ate up the eggs, he said, “my friend, those who are cruel and greedy always meet with a bad end,

c. *dare mat meet tasi – jo mukkane ta:y pelle – hi trika: sochi thouva.*

have no fear, I’ve already thought of a plan to destroy him”

Viii. a. “O! *minjo das su- ketri – ka. “kaye ballu”*

O do tell me what it is said the crow

“On, do tell me what it is,” said the crow.

b. *tau giddede , ethi – taun dare kare tini hune: lena.*

Then the jackal, fearing he might be overheard, whispered to his friend what he should do to destroy the snake.

c. *apne mita – re kannama, balle cha :ne ballu ke: tine: kaRpe – jo kiya gari mukhana.*

The crow flew back to his wife and told her about the plan.

d. *ka apne la:ri – ra piri kare apni la:Ri bale udri – gu kane tasa - jo sab –tarika dasu .*

“It is rather risky,” said the crow.

e. “*e baRa – jada khatten - u - tu” koye ballu”.*

f. “*asi -o bara chukkane rena: phena.*

“We’ll have to be very careful. ”

ix. “*hau, apne ande – jo bajjane ta:ye,” kuch - bi kare saknu.*

I will save my eggs to save anything anything do bravely

das kawi - e baRi ba:dri tauo bhaduri.

“I’ll do anything to save my eggs,” said the mother bird bravely.

x. a. *ferry-so tasdi sa -re ra:ji re mehela passé uddure.*

so of they king of the palace towards flew

So of they flew towards the palace of the king of the country.

b. *so mehel tas bhUTTa - te tawo mata du:r nitu jaRi - so rande tiye.*

in the palace garden in where they saw royal ladies having a bath

They approached a big pond in the palace garden where they saw the royal ladies having a bath.

b. *so mehela:re bahiche manj akki moTTe tala bale pujje,*

jari tiye: kuch janani - jo he:ru jedi nehru karndi - ti.

They had laid their golden chains, pearl necklaces and other jewellery on the edge of the pond.

c. *tiyc apni sunnéri cheini, motive har kane u:rgene talare kana:re rakhure tiye:*

gold chain picked up a beak flying started slowly

The mother bird flew down, picked up a gold chain in her beak and started flying slowly towards the tree in which she lived.

d. *kawu bhunu udri, sunneri cheina - ja apni churja manj hechau kene bale*

gold chain saw pearl necklace slowly

bale apne butta kaneri udrunaleg, jeri so rendi - ti.

slowly

When the palace guards saw the bird flying off with the gold chain, pearl necklaces and other jewellery on the edge of the pond.

e. *Jeni mehela:re chokida:re das pakru-jo sunneri cheinu soggy udurende heru.*

ta tiye uDDi - ley kane pakru - ri pachuri te:

The mother bird flew down, picked a gold chain in her beak and started flying slowly towards the tree in which she lived.

f. *Tiye pakhru - jo tas cheini jo buttare bhukha manj pande hiru.*

when bird flying with gold chain clubs chased the bird

When the palace guards saw the bird flying off with the gold chain, they took up their clubs and chased the bird.

g. *Tiya manj ek chokida: r cheini-lene taye ka bhutta putti - chadu.*

They saw the chain into hollow of tree dRati 'saw'

They saw the bird drop the chain into the hollow of a tree.

h. *Tiya - tini cheini kadnere ta:ye bhoka manj hat paru,ta tini ak ka:la kaRpa behura hiru.*

One of the guards climbed in the tree to get the chain.

i. *Tini apni phutti-re paTTak - ke: sogitasi-jo mari - ditta kone tas ka:le kaRpéra and*

As he put hand inside the hole to get the chain snake curled of black snake end

buji- go .

killed

As he put his hand inside the hole to get the chain, he saw black snake curled up the therewith one hard stroke of his club he killed it and that was the end of the black snake.

xi. *ka- kane kawi tadaun bath tas bhutta phutti baRi kushi soggirent la ge kane*

The crow afterwards in that tree many happy

tiyā bale bale mate halke-halke káre bachhe buchi - ge.

slowly slowly little little baby crows

The crow and the crow hen lived in that tree rapidly afterwards and had many little baby crows.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- 1 G.A.Grierson 1916 “Lingusitic Survey of India.Vol IX, Part IV, Pahari Languages & Gujuri, Motilal Banarsidas.
- 2 O.C.Chanda 1904 Gazetter of the Chamba State Punjab States Gazetter volume XXII A, Indus publishing company, New Delhi .
- 3 O.C.Chanda 1996 “Gaddi Land in Chamba its History, Art & Culture” ; Indus publishing company.
- 4 O.C.Chanda 2006 Folk dances theatre of Chamba a brief introduction. music and performing arts committee chamba millennium.
- 5 O.C.Chanda 1926 “District Gazetteer Kangra District 1924.25. Kunhal printing & Publishing Company.
- 6 Census of India 1961 *Language Tables*, Vol-1 Part – II – C (ii)
- 7 Census of India 2001 *Language Table C-16, Series –I*, Office of the Registrar General, India. New Delhi.
- 8 Census of India 2011 *Language Table C-16, Series –I*, Office of the Registrar General, India. New Delhi.

Notes on the dialect of the Kangra Valley by the late Edward O’Brien, Esq.C.S. Deputy Commissioner of Kangra revised with additional Notes by the Revd.T. Grahame Balley, B.D., and M.R.A.S. Wazirabad. (Appendix I)

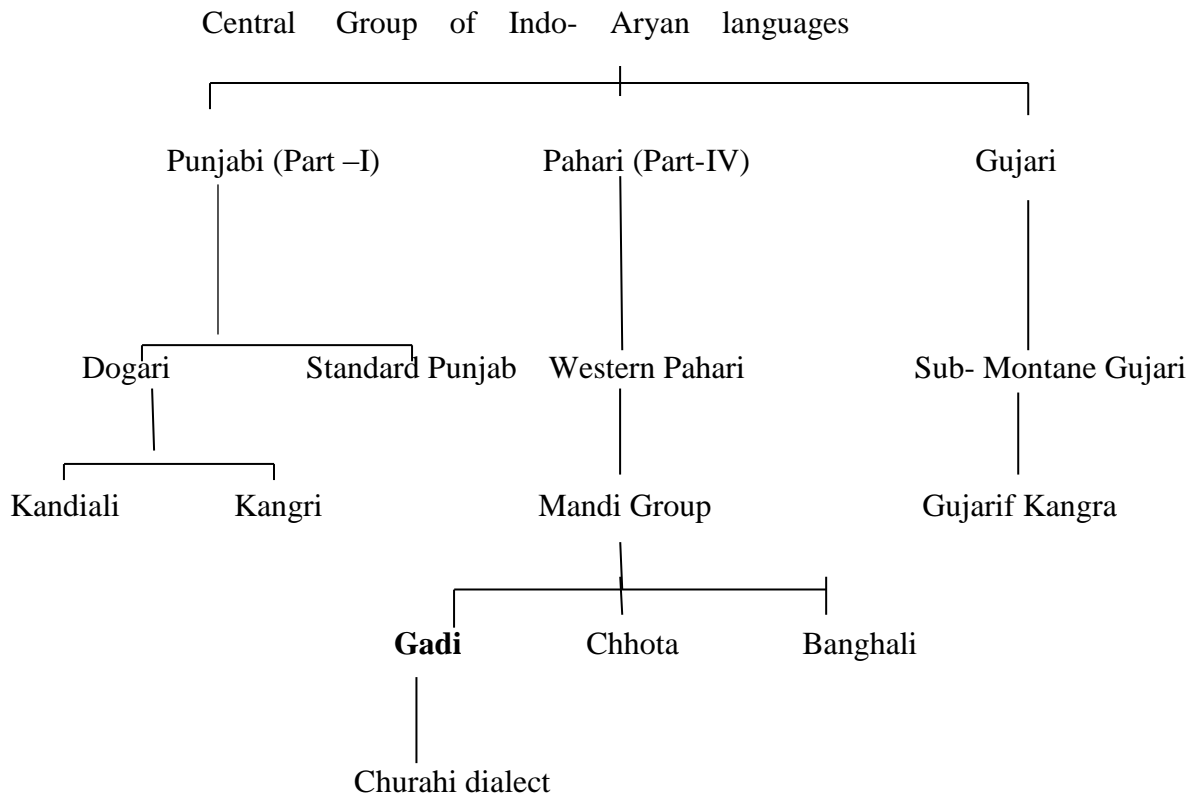
CHURAHİ

N. GOPALAKRISHNAN

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. FAMILY AFFILIATION

The scheme of nomenclature and classification adopted in Linguistic Survey of India is shown in the following table:



Classification

Indo European

Indo Iranian

Indo Aryan

Northern Zone

Western Pahari

Churahi

1.2. LOCATION

Chamba district is divided into three sections by the main river the Ravi. These sections are the Sadar, the Churah, and the Gaddeeraan. The dialect of Sadar is standard Chambeali, that of the Gaddeeran is Gadi, both of them have been already described. The dialect of Churah section is known as churahi. Geographically, Churah occupies the entire basis of the river **Siul**, a tributary of **Ravi**, and lies to the north of the Sadar, having the Gaddeeran to its south-east. A full account of the people of Churah and of their customs will be found *on pp. 152 of the Chamba Gazetteer (1904)*.

The Churahi dialect is much more closely connected with Standard Chambeali than Gadi. The number of speakers is 27,301. All of them are inhabitants of Churah wizarat. Two specimens of this dialect, a version of the parable of the prodigal son, and the statement of a person accused in a criminal court, are appended. The language of the former is comparatively pure, while that of the latter is somewhat mixed with forms borrowed from Hindi and Panjabi.

List of words and sentences printed on pp 862 and a full account of the dialect by Rev. T. Grahame Bailey, was published as appendix to the Chamba Gazetteer, and was reprinted by the Royal Asiatic Society in his *Languages of the Northern Himalayas* (London, 1908).

As in the other Chamba dialects, the vocabulary includes several words which are specific to those dialects and familiar to the language of the Punjab plains. A long list is given by Bailey, from which the other sources, the following shorter list is compiled. In dealing with Gadi, attention has been to the number of points of agreement with Kashmiri.

1.3. SPEAKER'S STRENGTH

Speaker strength is available in details in Introduction chapter.

1.4. BILINGUALISM

Churahi is spoken by large in Chamba district in Himachal Pradesh state. They speak Hindi very well and they use Churahi at home and Hindi outside.

1.5. SOCIOLINGUISTIC INFORMATION/INFORMATION

The lexical properties of this language share with Chambeali (78%), Bhattiyali (70%) and Gaddi (69%). The principal language of the State is Western Pahari, which has five distinct dialects. Of these Chambiali or Chamialis is spoken in the capital and its immediate neighbourhood; Gadi or Brahmauri in the Upper Ravi Valley, Bhattiyali in Bhattiyat, and Churahi on

Churah and northern part of the Sadr wizarat and Pangwali in Pangi. In Chamba-Lahul the dialect spoken is called Lahuli and has some affinity with Tibetan. Except Brahmauri, which is dealt with in the Gazetteer of the Kangra District, a full and interesting account of each of these forms of speech will be found. Chamiali in a modified form, is the only dialect used in writing, and all state business with the paraganas is conducted in this dialect. It is also used for private correspondence. The script is called Takari in Chamba, and with local modifications is found in all the hill country between the Indus and the Jamna. (Vide Ane, Geo of India, and page 153).

Churahis is the generic name for the people of Churah (Churah 'Churah is an abbreviation of Chaturaha meaning "the four roads' **Chaturdesa**," the four regions.) who include Brahmanas, Rajpuats, Thakurs, Rathis and the following low castes: - Halis, Kolis, Sippis, Barawalals, Lohars, Chamars, Dumnas, Ruharas, Meghs etc. It also makes the Brahmaur, and the Rajputs from plains; but the Rathis preceded these two castes, having been expelled from the Dugar country by Gugga Chauhan a curious legend.

Information about the informant

Churahi data was collected from Shri. Kamaraj, Age 33 Kanna tashil Chura, Dist Chamba Village Sakkalonga Sakand, P.O- Kushanagari Churah.

His religion is Hindu and he can also speak in Hindi, Chambeali & Bhateali.

2. PHONOLOGY

2.1. PHONEMIC INVENTORY

2.2. SEGMENTAL PHONEMES

Vowels

The segmental vowel phonemes are:

Vowels	Front	Central	Back
High	<i>i</i>		<i>u</i>
Lower high	<i>I</i>	<i>U</i>	
High- mid	<i>E</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>O</i>
Low- mid	<i>e</i>		<i>o</i>
Low		<i>a</i>	

Consonants:

There are 32 consonant phonemes in Churahi language.

Consonants	Bilabial	Dental	Alveolar	Palato-Alveolar	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Plosives	<i>p b</i> <i>ph bh</i>	<i>t d</i> <i>th dh</i>			<i>T D</i> <i>Th Dh</i>		<i>k g</i> <i>kh gh</i>	
Affricates						<i>c j</i> <i>ch jh</i>		
Nasals	<i>m</i>		<i>n</i>				<i>ŋ</i>	
Trills			<i>r</i>		<i>R</i>			
Taps/Flaps			<i>l</i>					
Laterals								
Fricatives		<i>s</i>		<i>f v</i>				<i>h</i>
Approximants						<i>w y</i>		

2.1.2. SUPRASEGMENTAL PHONEMES

In Churahi Length and Nasalization are realized with long vowels. Some Supra-Segmental vowel phonemes are also found in this mother tongue. These are:

Vowels	Front	Central	Back
High	<i>ĩ</i>		<i>ũ</i>
Lower High			<i>o</i>
Higher mid			<i>õ</i>
Lower mid		<i>ã</i>	

Nasalisation

Churahi has the vowel nasalization.

Nasalization occurs with all vowels when they are in initial and medial positions.

/ã/

<i>/pãнку/</i>	‘wing’
<i>/mãs/</i>	‘flesh’
<i>/pãnj/</i>	‘five’
<i>/dayã pasa/</i>	‘right side’
<i>/dayã ha:t/</i>	‘right hand’
<i>/sãRo/</i>	‘cold’
<i>/juãn/</i>	‘bride’
<i>/juãne/</i>	‘bride’ groom’
<i>/suwãs/</i>	‘asthma’/’breath’
<i>/kuãna/</i>	‘climb’

/ẽ/

<i>/mẽg/</i>	‘weather’
<i>/pẽT/</i>	‘belly’

<i>/chĕR/</i>	‘smart’
<i>/akĕl/</i>	‘until’
<i>/hĕ/</i>	‘whom’
<i>/tedu mĕdu/</i>	‘straight’
<i>/sukrĕ/</i>	‘moon’
<i>/ĕshu/</i>	‘mucus’ (of nose)
<i>/ĩ/</i>	
<i>/nrĩna/</i>	‘ignore’
<i>/ũ/</i>	
<i>/dũr re:na/</i>	‘separate’
<i>/pũnchna/</i>	‘arrive’
<i>/õ/</i>	
<i>/gõRi/</i>	‘rock’
<i>/põcha/</i>	‘wipe’

2.2. PHONEMIC DESCRIPTION AND DISTRIBUTION

Vowels:

All the vowels occur in all positions

/i/ front unrounded high vowel

/iktenu/ ‘harvest’

/hibu/ ‘lime’

/bi/ ‘twenty’

/I/ front unrounded lower high vowel

/Ina/ ‘come’

/paRIr/ ‘student’

/jarI/ 'rain'

/e/ mid front unrounded vowel

/enane/ 'like'

/tera/ 'thirteen'

/stare/ 'seventeen'

/a/ central unrounded low vowel

/ak/ 'one'

/satar/ 'seventy'

/minda/ 'my'

/A/ central highmid unrounded vowel

/apRa/ 'self'

/sikdAr/ 'wet'

/bejnA/ 'send'

/u/ high back rounded vowel

/aura/ 'one and quarter'

/traua/ 'third'

/kanu/ 'what'

/U/ lower high back rounded vowel

/Utara/ 'urine'

/bUku/ 'kiss'

/derU/ 'jaw'

/o/ mid back rounded vowel

/okkaya/ 'that'

/toda/ 'little'

/to/ 'you'

/O/ back lower mid rounded vowel

/O:ja: j/ 'worship'

/pO:kna/ 'burn'

/nenO/ 'carry'

Vowel contrast

/i e/

/lari/ 'bride'

/lena/ 'get'

/o a/

/do/ 'two'

/dua/ 'smoke'

/i u/

/darti/ 'earth'

/dhoru/ 'rope'

a u/

/laRa/ 'bride room'

/loRu/ 'sat'

/u a/

/phul/ 'flower'

/phal/ 'phal'

Consonants contrast

/p/ /b/

/par/ 'but'

	<i>/ba/</i>	‘brother’
<i>/t/</i>	<i>/d/</i>	
	<i>/hat/</i>	‘by’
	<i>/dud/</i>	‘milk’
<i>/k/</i>	<i>/g/</i>	
	<i>/ak/</i>	‘equal’
	<i>/ag/</i>	‘fire’
	<i>/ka/</i>	‘of’
<i>/c/</i>	<i>/j/</i>	
	<i>/ciRna/</i>	‘tear’
	<i>/joRna/</i>	‘blow’
	<i>/jadna/</i>	‘drip’
	<i>/surj/</i>	‘son’
	<i>/carbi/</i>	‘greasae’
	<i>/jari/</i>	‘rain’
	<i>/jan/</i>	‘sand’
<i>/ph/</i>	<i>/bh/</i>	
	<i>/phullna/</i>	‘soak’
	<i>/bhalna/</i>	‘wait for’
<i>/th/</i>	<i>/dh/</i>	
	<i>/thakna/</i>	‘lie down’
	<i>/dhād/</i>	‘teeth’
	<i>/breath/</i>	‘pain’
	<i>/gidh/</i>	‘sing’

	<i>/dhua/</i>	‘dhua’
	<i>/dhor/</i>	‘fog’
	<i>/kh/ /gh/</i>	
	<i>/khiskna/</i>	‘slide’
	<i>/ghar/</i>	‘house’
	<i>/ch/ /jh/</i>	
	<i>/chaRe/</i>	‘forty’
	<i>/jhaR/</i>	‘root’
	<i>/such/</i>	‘true’
	<i>/m/ /n/</i>	
	<i>/mesanu/</i>	‘mix’
	<i>/na/</i>	‘name’
	<i>/meinu/</i>	‘person’

CONSONANTS

It is observed that in this language almost all the consonants are distributed in word initial, medial and final positions, except */ph/*, */bh/*, */gh/* and */jh/*

/p/ bilabial voiceless stop

<i>/panku/</i>	‘feather’
<i>/pepata/</i>	‘lung’
<i>/salop/</i>	‘slope’ (borrowed)

/b/ bilabial voiced stop

<i>/bimar/</i>	‘ill’
<i>/carbi/</i>	‘grease’
<i>/garab/</i>	‘waste’

/ph/ bilabial aspirated voiceless stop

/phul/ 'flower'

/pepheta/ 'lung'

/bh/ bilabial unaspirated voiced stop

/bhand/ 'break pot'

/t/ dental voiceless stop

/tambu/ 'island'

/sate/ 'with'

/seet/ 'cold'

/d/ voiced dental stop

/du:d/ 'milk'

/asada/ 'our'

/la:d/ 'brave'

/th/ dental aspirated unvoiced stop

/thērna/ 'float'

/bethri/ 'niece'

/mauth/ 'death'

/dh/ dental aspirated voiced stop

/dhua/ 'smoke'

/rudhna/ 'flow'

/madh/ 'toothless male'

/T/ voiceless retroflex stop

/Ter/ 'eye'

/liTu/ 'light'

<i>/lu:T/</i>	‘reap’(grain)
<i>/D/</i> voiced retroflex stop	
<i>/dhoRna/</i>	‘race’
<i>/baDuna/</i>	‘cultivate’
<i>/beyD/</i>	‘out of’
<i>/k/</i> voiceless velar stop	
<i>/ka/</i>	‘of’
<i>/ikya/</i>	‘this’
<i>/chala:k/</i>	‘clever’
<i>/g/</i> voiced velar stop	
<i>/gare/</i>	‘deep’
<i>/jaga/</i>	‘place’
<i>/a:g/</i>	‘fire’
<i>/kh/</i> velar aspirated voiceless stop	
<i>/khoon/</i>	‘blood’
<i>/chukhna/</i>	‘lift up’
<i>/likh/</i>	‘write’
<i>/gh/</i> velar aspirated voiced stop	
<i>/ghar/</i>	‘house’
<i>/vyaghra tara/</i>	‘morning star’
<i>/c/</i> palatal voiceless stop	
<i>/ciRu/</i>	‘bird’
<i>/nacna/</i>	‘dance’
<i>/bic/</i>	‘seed’

/j/ palatal voiced stop

/jaga/ 'place'

/banjalu/ 'earth quake'

/ro j/ 'daily'

/ch/ palatal aspirated unvoiced stop

/chokri/ 'daughter'

/piche/ 'afterwards'

/mach/ 'fly'

/jh/ palatal aspirated voiced stop

/jhan/ 'body'

/kamjhor/ 'micr'

/m/ voiced bilabial nasal

/musa/ 'mouse'

/himandar/ 'honest'

/kam/ 'work'

/n/ voiced alveolar nasal

/na:/ 'not'

/kanu/ 'who'

/daksin/ 'south'

/s/ voiceless fricative

/sandarac/ 'evening'

/usara/ 'here'

/ba:s/ 'bamboo'

/f/ Labiodental voiceless fricative

/fraki/ 'frock'

/toofa:n/ 'cyclone'

/saf/ 'clean'

/fh/

/fhal/ 'fruit'

/kafhi/ 'cough'

/h/ glottal fricative

/hasanu/ 'week'

/pehla/ 'again'

/nesh/ 'claw'

/r/ alveolar voiced trill

/rik/ 'tiger'

/biraDu// 'cat'

/kukur/ 'cock'

/v /

/vyaghara tara/ 'morning star'

/cholla pasvi/ 'tan' (leather)

/baloav/ 'thank'

/w/ voiced bilabial semi-vowel

/wapas/ 'back'

/ashirwa:d/ 'wish'

/selow,hew/ 'ice'

/y/ voiced palatal semi-vowel

/biduay/ 'widow'

/syal/ 'fox'

/siyay/ 'ink'

2.3. CLUSTERS

Vowels

Initial

aa -

aag 'fire'

au-

aur 'and'

ai-

ai 'in'

ei- einu 'come'

Medial

-ia- narial 'coconut'

lediana 'throw'

biar 'air'

-ai - maira bā: 'maternal uncle'

paid 'foot'

saina mān 'old man'

paise denar 'money lender'

paisa: 'money'

daina 'right side'

	<i>daina hat</i>	‘right hand ‘
-ei-	<i>meinu</i>	‘person’
-ua-	<i>biduay</i>	‘widow’
	<i>karuat</i>	‘stand up’
-eu-	<i>pheu</i>	‘wheel’
-eo-	<i>neon</i>	‘carry on head’
-au-	<i>daudu-do</i>	‘run’

Final

-ui		
	<i>chui</i>	‘fast/quick’
-ia	<i>ekkia/asaDu</i>	‘we’
-ua	<i>dhua</i>	‘smoke’
	<i>dhuar</i>	‘door’
-eu	<i>pheu</i>	‘wheel’
	<i>dhua</i>	‘smoke’
<i>au</i>	<i>hau</i>	‘I’

Consonant clusters

Initial

<i>by-</i>	<i>byar</i>	‘air’
<i>dy-</i>	<i>dyari</i>	‘day’
	<i>dyad/dyaR</i>	‘day’
	<i>dyaDi sukRe</i>	‘day of the moon’
	<i>dyaDi piche do: te</i>	‘day after tomorrow’
<i>Sk-</i>	<i>sku:l</i>	‘school’

<i>sy-</i>	<i>syal</i>	‘fox’
<i>tr-</i>	<i>tri</i>	‘thirty’
	<i>tra</i>	‘three’
	<i>traua</i>	‘third’
	<i>trapna</i>	‘overtake’
<i>st-</i>	<i>stare</i>	‘seventeen’

Medial

<i>-pp-</i>	<i>uppulnau</i>	‘overflow’
	<i>toppilena</i>	‘refresh’
<i>-pn-</i>	<i>apna</i>	‘own’
	<i>dapna</i>	‘fasten’
	<i>dupne</i>	‘sink’
<i>-pr-</i>	<i>aprata</i>	‘more’
	<i>cipra</i>	‘smooth’
	<i>kapra</i>	‘cloth’
<i>-pR-</i>	<i>apRa</i>	‘self’
<i>-bb-</i>	<i>sabbe</i>	‘all’
<i>bj-</i>	<i>sabji</i>	‘vegetable’
<i>-dd-</i>	<i>baddal</i>	‘cloud’
	<i>udduRna</i>	‘flow’
<i>-dn-</i>	<i>jadna</i>	‘drip’
<i>-Dn-</i>	<i>rakaDnu</i>	‘rub’
<i>-dr-</i>	<i>behedriya</i>	‘nephew’

-tt-	<i>puttar</i>	‘son’
	<i>kutta</i>	‘dog’
	<i>hottu</i>	‘liver’
	<i>gottina</i>	‘choke’
	<i>jittana</i>	‘ridicule, joke’
-tk-	<i>citkanu</i>	‘sprinke’
-tn-	<i>ghatna</i>	‘cover’
-tr-	<i>mitre</i>	‘friend’
-tl-	<i>patla</i>	‘joke’
-tch-	<i>hatchu</i>	‘white’
-TT-	<i>taTTa</i>	‘dumb’
	<i>kaTTen</i>	‘cotton’
	<i>miTTa</i>	‘sweet’
	<i>soTTunu</i>	‘put’
-Tn-	<i>kaTna</i>	‘hard’
-DD-	<i>baDDa</i>	‘big’
	<i>haDDi</i>	‘bone’
	<i>gaDDi</i>	‘loom’
-kk-	<i>adpakka</i>	‘row’
	<i>nakku</i>	‘nose’
	<i>pakkaR-na</i>	‘catch’/chase’
	<i>takkana</i>	‘watch’

	<i>mukkana</i>	‘fish’
	<i>cikkanu</i>	‘pull’
	<i>dakkanu</i>	‘push’
	<i>nokkanu</i>	‘squeeze’
	<i>sikkarna</i>	‘hunt’
	<i>takkano:</i>	‘sow(seed)’
	<i>pakke:nu</i>	‘saw’
	<i>tajakka</i>	‘write’
	<i>tikku:na</i>	‘dirty’
	<i>tokkar</i>	‘hit’
	<i>pakkaRna</i>	‘hold’
	<i>sakkiya</i>	‘for’
	<i>ukkiya</i>	‘he’
	<i>sakkay</i>	‘she’
	<i>sukka</i>	‘dry’
-kr-	<i>chokri</i>	‘daughter’
	<i>chokri</i>	‘girl’
	<i>chokru</i>	‘boy’
	<i>pakru</i>	‘cock’
	<i>bakri</i>	‘goat’
	<i>sikranu</i>	‘learn’
-kR-	<i>lakRi</i>	‘wood’

-kt-	<i>iktenu</i>	‘harvest’
-kd-	<i>sikdar</i>	‘wet’
-kn-	<i>po:kna</i>	‘burn’
	<i>chakna</i>	‘taste’/smell’
	<i>da:kna</i>	‘look at’
	<i>rakna</i>	‘keep, retain’
	<i>rakna</i>	‘at’
	<i>po:kna</i>	‘burn’
	<i>takna</i>	‘stab’
	<i>phekna</i>	‘shout’
	<i>rukno:</i>	‘stop’
-gg-	<i>neggu</i>	‘warm’
-gn-	<i>chungna</i>	‘feed’
-cc-	<i>kaccua</i>	‘tortoise’
	<i>Macci</i>	‘fish’
-jd-	<i>majdo:r</i>	‘labourer’
-jn-	<i>bejna</i>	‘sand’
	<i>bejnu</i>	‘sell’
-mm-	<i>amma</i>	‘mother’
	<i>jamme:re</i>	‘tail’
	<i>sammanlena</i>	‘notice’

	<i>lamma</i>	‘tall’
	<i>sammand</i>	‘lick’
	<i>kammana</i>	‘cultivate’
	<i>kammonu</i>	‘earn’
<i>mn-</i>	<i>jamna</i>	‘germinate’
<i>-mp-</i>	<i>empu:ri</i>	‘hell’
<i>-mj-</i>	<i>samjana</i>	‘understand’
	<i>kamjor</i>	‘damp’, ‘miser’
<i>-mb-</i>	<i>tambu</i>	‘island’
<i>mk-</i>	<i>chamkila</i>	‘bright’
<i>-mr-</i>	<i>amrut</i>	‘guava’
	<i>kamri</i>	‘waist’
	<i>kammana</i>	‘be able’
<i>-ml-</i>	<i>amlu</i>	‘sour’
<i>-mt-</i>	<i>ki:mti</i>	‘costly’
<i>-nn-</i>	<i>ba:nnu</i>	‘forest’
<i>-nt-</i>	<i>jinta</i>	‘live’
<i>-nd-</i>	<i>sand</i>	‘bathe’
<i>mende bhay chokre</i>		‘maternal uncle’s daughter’
	<i>ande:ru</i>	‘egg’
	<i>anda:ru</i>	‘darkness’
	<i>kundi</i>	‘neck’

	<i>chande:</i>	‘silver’
	<i>bandna</i>	‘bind’
	<i>munde pani</i>	‘carry on shoulder’
	<i>cinde</i>	‘cry(weep)’
	<i>sandu</i>	‘bathe’
	<i>ganda</i>	‘dirty’
-nk-	<i>anki</i>	‘banian’
	<i>panku</i>	‘feather’
	<i>anki</i>	‘banian’
	<i>kankenu</i>	‘comb’
-ng-	<i>angoRe</i>	‘finger’
	<i>singe:</i>	‘horn’
	<i>singanu</i>	‘spit’
	<i>chungna</i>	‘feed’
-nd-	<i>andāru</i>	‘darkness’
	<i>samundar</i>	‘sea’
	<i>bandar</i>	‘monkey’
	<i>tandu</i>	‘creeper’
	<i>danda</i>	‘stick’
	<i>kundi</i>	‘neck’
	<i>chande:</i>	‘silver’
-nD-	<i>tanDa</i>	‘coldness’
	<i>anDeru</i>	‘egg’

	<i>anDe:ru</i>	‘darkness’
-nt-	<i>pantre</i>	‘fifteen’
-nj-	<i>manja</i>	‘bed’
	<i>panja</i>	‘fifty’
	<i>angoRe</i>	‘finger’
-nd-	<i>danda</i>	‘stick’
	<i>bandar</i>	‘monkey’
	<i>kundi</i>	‘neck’
	<i>tandu</i>	‘creeper’
	<i>minda</i>	‘my’
-ll-	<i>gulla</i>	‘nest’
	<i>tulla</i>	‘fat’
	<i>kollunu</i>	‘open a door’
-ld-	<i>halduru</i>	‘yellow’
-lk-	<i>halkaba</i>	‘younger brother’
	<i>halka thoD</i>	‘small’
	<i>halka</i>	‘short’
-ln-	<i>chilna</i>	‘barks’
	<i>bhalna</i>	‘wait for’
-rb-	<i>carbi</i>	‘grease’
-rt-	<i>darti</i>	‘earth’
-rg-	<i>tarkda:re</i>	‘partially’

-rn-	<i>girna</i>	‘fall’
	<i>rorna</i>	‘float’
	<i>hirna</i>	‘saw’
	<i>cirna</i>	‘tear’
	<i>cirnu</i>	‘split(wood)’
	<i>marnu</i>	‘fight’
	<i>marna</i>	‘kill’
	<i>terna</i>	‘swim’
	<i>darno</i>	‘fear’
-rj-	<i>karja</i>	‘debt’
-rt-	<i>darti</i>	‘earth’
rr-	<i>na:rre</i>	‘guts’
	<i>jorre</i>	‘loudly’
-rw	<i>ashirwad</i>	‘wish’
-Rk-	<i>kiRki</i>	‘window’
	<i>kaRka:</i>	‘bitter’
-Rn-	<i>udduRna</i>	‘flow’
	<i>joRna</i>	‘blow’
	<i>karja</i>	‘debt’
	<i>saRnu</i>	‘rotten’
-ry-	<i>daryo</i>	‘river’
-st-	<i>siRk</i>	‘road’
-st-	<i>master</i>	‘teacher’
	<i>sastu</i>	‘cheap’

-sr-	<i>besri</i>	‘flute’
	<i>dusra</i>	‘second’, ‘then’
	<i>tisra</i>	‘third’
-sn-	<i>hasna</i>	‘smile’
	<i>kud dasna</i>	‘approve’
	<i>chusna</i>	‘suck’
-sm-	<i>asman</i>	‘sky’
	<i>dusman</i>	‘enemy’
-sk-	<i>taskana</i>	‘from’
-tr-	‘ <i>mitre</i> ’	‘friend’
	‘ <i>pitram</i> ’	‘lean’
-tt-	<i>hottu</i>	‘liver’
	<i>ottare</i>	‘vomit’
	<i>botte</i>	‘plant’
	<i>uttar</i>	‘answer’
	<i>matte:</i>	‘many’
	<i>puttar</i>	‘son’
	<i>kutta</i>	‘dog’
-TT-	<i>uTTna</i>	‘wake up’
	<i>taTTa</i>	‘dumb’
	<i>kaTTen</i>	‘cotton’
	<i>miTTa</i>	‘sweet’
	<i>soTTunu</i>	‘put’
-tn-	<i>katno</i>	‘dig’

-Tn-	<i>paTna</i>	‘strain’
	<i>baTne</i>	‘reap’
	<i>paleTna</i>	‘tie’
	<i>paTno</i>	‘smile’
-ff-	<i>tuffani</i>	‘storm’
-yn-	<i>meynu</i>	‘man’
-yl-	<i>goyle</i>	‘afternoon’
-cc-	<i>kaccua</i>	‘tortoise’
-chl-	<i>machli/macci</i>	‘fish’
-cch-	<i>ucchanu</i>	‘pick’

Final cluster

-eu	<i>pheu</i>	‘wheel’
-bb	<i>babb, baba</i>	‘father’
-kr	<i>chokru</i>	‘boy’
-kt	<i>sakt</i>	‘seven’
-kR	<i>lakRi</i>	‘wood’
-gg	<i>agg</i>	‘fire’
-rd	<i>mard</i>	‘male’
-rj	<i>surj</i>	‘sun’
-rw-	<i>ashirwa:d</i>	‘wish’
-ry-	<i>daryo</i>	‘river’
-nk	<i>pank</i>	‘wing’
-ng	<i>jung</i>	‘leg’
	<i>Tang</i>	‘narrow’

<i>-th</i>	<i>hath</i>	‘hand’
<i>-bh</i>	<i>jibh</i>	‘tongue’
<i>-dh</i>	<i>du:dh</i>	‘milk’
<i>-nd</i>	<i>chand</i>	‘moon’
<i>-nj</i>	<i>panj</i>	‘five’
<i>-nt-</i>	<i>kant</i>	‘wall’
	<i>bredth</i>	‘pain’
<i>-sk</i>	<i>musk</i>	‘sleep’

Three consonant clusters

<i>-thr-</i>	<i>bethri</i>	‘niece’
<i>-tch</i>	<i>hatchu</i>	‘white’
<i>-chl</i>	<i>machli</i>	‘fish’
<i>-ght</i>	<i>lightu</i>	‘light’

2.4. SYLLABLE

The syllabic structure of this language is as follows-

1. Monosyllabic

VC

<i>a:j</i>	‘today’
<i>ak</i>	‘equal’
<i>a:T</i>	‘eight’
<i>ak</i>	‘one’
<i>a:g</i>	‘fire’

CV

<i>ga</i>	‘cow’
-----------	-------

ga 'grass'

do 'two'

se 'from'

CVV

nau 'nine'

dua 'second'

hau 'I'

VVC

aag 'fire'

CVC

na: r 'their'

haT 'under'

lad 'brave'

bas 'enough'

VCV

ina 'come'

CVCV

s:are 'all'

gare 'deep'

kali 'empty'

karu 'good'

bura 'bad'

tale: 'low'

taja 'fresh'

<i>litu</i>	‘light’
<i>pura</i>	‘full’
<i>nowa</i>	‘new’
<i>mela</i>	‘festival’

CVVC

<i>biar</i>	‘air’
<i>duar</i>	‘door’

CV-CVC

<i>satar</i>	‘seventy’
<i>tayar</i>	‘ready’
<i>sajnu</i>	‘wet’
<i>be-sri</i>	‘flute’

CV-CCV

<i>ganda</i>	‘dirty’
<i>ki: mti</i>	‘costly’
<i>kaTna</i>	‘hard’
<i>pan-ku</i>	‘feather’
<i>haD-Di</i>	‘bone’
<i>kap-ra</i>	‘cloth’
<i>kiR-ki</i>	‘window’
<i>pis-na</i>	‘grind’

CVC-CV

<i>dan-da</i>	‘stick’
<i>gir-na</i>	‘fall’

ror-na 'float'

bej-nu 'sell'

cir-na 'tear'

katno 'dig'

kutta 'dog'

VC-CV

am-ma 'mother'

CV-CV

hibu 'lime'

ka-nu 'drink'

la-nu 'wear'

de-na 'lend'

bu-ra 'bad'

CVC-VCV

pehele: 'first'

kelenu 'play'

hamesa 'always'

3. Polysyllabic

VC-CV-CV

an-De-ru 'egg'

CV-CV-CV

ba-na-nu 'ready'

ke-le-nu 'play'

3. MORPHOPHONEMICS

While adding some bound morphemes with base morphemes if there is a change in the phoneme of the base morpheme, that change is called as Morphophonemic change. The Morphophonemic changes observed in Churahi are as follows:

Alternation of phoneme:

a > i for Masculine feminine

/laRi/ 'bride'

/laRa/ 'bride groom'

i > u *chokri* 'girl'

chokru 'boy'

u > i *mainu* 'man'

janani 'women'

a > i *meda* 'blind male'

medi 'blind female'

lamma 'tall man'

lammi 'tall woman'

e > a *chare* 'four'

chari 'forty'

a > e *potre* 'grand son'

potre 'great -grand daughter'

No change

sayano mainu 'old man'

ma bab 'parents'

horer + bacha > horer + bacha 'adopted child'

patla 'lean' + mada > patla mada 'lean man'

Dropping of Phoneme

pañj + tra > *pantre* ‘fifteen’

Addition

jore ‘loud’

jorre ‘loudly’

4. MORPHOLOGY

4.1. NOUN MORPHOLOGY

4.1.1. WORD FORMATION

In Churahi words are mainly formed from a single stem or from stem + suffix. That means, here most of the words are typically of linear sequence of morphemes.

a. Compounding

(i) Noun + head I

omle pase 'left side'

sidi ba 'left arm'

(ii) Noun + noun head II

uttar + i > uttari 'north'

iyar + i > diyari 'day'

(iii) Adjective + noun-head

naTnu 'naughty' + *chokru* 'boy' > *naTnu chokru* 'naughty boy'

ginti 'strong' + *chokru* 'boy' > *ginti chokru* 'strong boy'

(iv) Numeral + noun head

ak + *puttar* > *ak puttar* 'one son'

do + *bakrir* > *doye bakri* 'two goats'

(iv) Noun+ noun (both are heads)

emma + *baba* mother + father > *mabab* 'parents'

sayano+meynu old + man > *sayano meyno* 'old man'

sayano + jenani old + woman > *sayanno jenani* 'old woman'

b. Derivation

Derivational affixes are in either in pre-fixation or suffixation.

i. prefixation

ha-lena 'breath'

tak-na 'stab'

ii. suffixation

-u puniu 'full moon day'

neggu 'warm'

-i jari 'rain'

lakRi 'wood'

chokrii 'girl'

-a kana 'blind'

ga 'grass'

-ar patar 'leaf'

kumar 'potter'

-na charana 'charm'

morna 'fold'

chubna 'pinch'

gasna 'scratch'

-le bale bale 'hurry'

-la akala 'alone'

4.1.2. NOUN

Number

There are two numbers in this language. They are Singular and Plural. The plural markers of this language are as follows:

/e/and /nu/.

Singular	Plural
<i>to</i> ‘you’	<i>tue</i> ‘you’
<i>kutta</i> ‘dog’	<i>kutte</i> ‘dogs’
<i>ak ga</i> ‘cow’	<i>do gayi</i> ‘cows’
<i>chokri</i> ‘girl’	<i>chokre</i> ‘girls’
<i>putra</i> ‘son’	<i>putre</i> ‘sons’
<i>mittar</i> ‘friend’	<i>mittare</i> ‘friends’
<i>user ghar</i> ‘his house’	<i>user ghare</i> ‘his houses’
<i>gha</i> ‘cow’	<i>ghaynu</i> ‘cows’
<i>gatab</i> ‘book’	<i>gatabe</i> ‘books’
<i>usar</i> ‘servant’	<i>usare</i> ‘servants’

Gender

In churahi two genders are available, they are masculine and feminine.

<i>meynu</i> ‘man’	<i>janani</i> ‘woman’
<i>juan</i> ‘bride’	<i>juane</i> ‘bride groom’
<i>sayanu meynu</i> ‘old man’	<i>seyno meynu</i> ‘old woman’
<i>mayere ba</i> ‘mother’s brother’	<i>mayere bagre lare</i> ‘mother’s brother’s wife’
<i>mahan dada</i> ‘great grandfather’	<i>mahan dadi</i> ‘great grandmother’
<i>matrer ba</i> ‘step brother’	<i>matrer chorki</i> ‘step daughter’
<i>laRa</i> ‘husband’	<i>laRi</i> ‘wife’

Case

Churahi has six cases. They are nominative, Genitive, Dative/accusative, ablative and vocative.

1. Nominative:

asua gayi mare -ti 'We beat the cows'

cow beat

chokRu jaRo 'The boys fall'

boys fall

2. Genitive : *-re*

buttare para patre jarte a-te 'The leaves of the tree fall down'

mindu ghar ane kaha 'Go to my house'

3. Dative & Accusative : *e, te*

/aun gara-e kanda:/ 'I go to the house'

/ikki-ya-te/ 'to him'

/tinda ikki-ya-be kutu rista/ 'How are you related to him?'

/asuratay/ 'to her'

/ukkiya apte mitra kane gay/ 'She has gone to her friend'

/ikiya beiR/ 'to it'

/tinda ikki-ya-biR kutu rista/ 'How are you related to him?'

/sunao/ 'tell to us'

/au gareni gate/ 'I go to the house'

/au beini-jo gate/ 'I go to the field'

/ukiya beini gate he-te/ 'They go to the field'

4. Locative case : *e*

minde puter ghar-e te 'My son is in the house'

minde puter ghar-e ya 'My sons are in the house'

5. Ablative : *-te*, (away from)

buTTa patre jarta te 'The leaves fall from the tree'

rail taun chalene ha 'The train starts from'

skule naun-aicha 'Come from the school'

re-da-re skula taun-ai 'Come from near the school'

uni gaReap-na dakka dita 'He jumped from the top of the house'

au buTa sate nire 'I am far from tree'

6. Vocative : *o*

o laRi 'O! sister'

o manu 'O! Mother'

o laRe 'O! wife'

Post-position

pehle 'before'

andar 'in'

picha 'after'

4.1.3. PRONOUN

In Churahi are as follows.

There are

1. Personal pronoun:

Person	Singular	Plural
First	<i>hau</i> (I)	<i>ay</i> (we)
Second	<i>tu</i> (you)	<i>tua</i> (pl)
Third	<i>se</i> (we)	<i>se</i> (pl) c

2. Demonstrative Pronoun

	Proximate	Remote
Singular	<i>/ikiya/</i> ‘this’	<i>/okiya/</i> ‘that’
Plural	<i>/taRe/</i> ‘there’	<i>/ukkiya/</i> ‘those’

3. Relative Pronoun

<i>kanu</i>	‘Who’
<i>saite</i>	‘Which’
<i>/kanu pata/</i>	‘Who knows?’
<i>/takkanu rayil pakaRi na/</i>	‘Which train will you get?’

4. Interrogative Pronoun

<i>kanu</i> ‘who’ <i>okya</i>	‘What’
<i>/o kanu a:/</i>	‘Who is he?’
<i>/ikiya kanu-a batta?/</i>	‘What is this called?’
this what called	
<i>/okkiyu kuttu a?/</i>	What is that?
that what	
<i>/tu ku chuata/</i>	What do you want?
want what do	

4.1.4. ADJECTIVE

Adjective is a word used to qualify a noun and it generally precedes the noun in Churahi. Adjectives are classified as simple and complex.

Simple Adjectives

Simple adjectives are mono morphemic words, which are classified into three types.

These are

- 1) Qualitative Adjectives
- 2) Quantitative Adjectives
- 3) Numeral Adjectives

1. Qualitative adjectives

/ucca/ 'high'

/ucca rēd/ 'high mountain'

/lal phal/ '(red) like blood' function as attributive to nouns.

/lal fhal/ 'red fruit'

2. Quantitative Adjective

/kuch/ 'some' */aparta/* 'more'

3. Numeral Adjectives

The cardinal numerals are nouns but they are added to the adjectives to modify nouns.

/ekkki minde panju ghare ate/ 'There are my five houses'

/uskani tra bacha teh/ 'He has three children'

/e kiya do kutteh-ate/ 'There are two dogs'

/e tray biRadu a / 'Here are three cats'

/tasea tray nikke hin/ 'He has three children'

/Oh ! chokri/ 'That girl'

/i ! kam/ 'This work'

/due kuttere/ 'Two dogs'

4.1.5. NUMERAL

1./phele/ 'first'

2./dua/ 'second'

3./traua/ 'third'

4./ak/ 'one'

5./do 'two'

6./tra/	‘three’
7./chor/	‘four’
8./pāñj/	‘five’
9./chā/	‘six’
10./sa:t/	‘seven’
11./a:T/	‘eight’
12./nau/	‘nine’
13./das/	‘ten’
14./yahr/	‘eleven’
15./bara/	‘twelve’
16./tera/	‘thirteen’
17./chode/	‘fourteen’
18./pantre/	‘fifteen’
19./sola/	‘sixteen’
20./stare/	‘seventeen’
21./aTTara/	‘eighteen’
22./ni/	‘nineteen’
23./bi/	‘twenty’
24./tri/	‘thirty’
25./chāri/	‘forty’
26./panja/	‘fifty’
27./sa:T/	‘sixty’
28./satar/	‘seventy’
29./asi/	‘eighty’
30./noboy/	‘ninety’
31./savu (s̄ō)	‘hundred’
32./paya/	‘quarter’
33./addy/	‘half’
34./tisra chora/	‘three fourth’
35./aura/	‘one and a quarter’
36./aura adi/	‘one and half’
37./nast/	‘last’
38./majada/	‘middle’

4.1.6. CLASSIFIER

<i>/mard kutte/</i>	‘male dog’
<i>/jenani kutte/</i>	‘female dog’
<i>/mard billa/</i>	‘male cat’
<i>/jenani billi/</i>	‘female cat’

4.2. VERB MORPHOLOGY

Verb morphology deals with verbs and their conjugational patterns. Finite and Non – Finite verbs are found to exist in Churahi.

4.2.1. VERB

4.2.1.1. FINITE VERB

Finite verbs are realized by the use of verbs with tense –aspect –mood markers.

Tense

Present tense

1 st Person	<i>/haun paRhi/</i>	‘I am reading’
2 nd Person	<i>/tua tue paRu hin/</i>	‘You are reading’
3 rd person	<i>/so paRe ha/</i>	‘He is reading’

Plural

1 st Person	<i>/asse paRe hun/</i>	‘We are reading’
2 nd person	<i>/tusse paRe hin/</i>	‘You are reading’
3 rd person	<i>/so paRe hin /</i>	‘They are reading’

Past tense

1st person singular

<i>/haun paRe tu/</i>	‘I was reading’
<i>/tua paRe thie/</i>	‘You were reading’
<i>/so paRe hi/</i>	‘They are reading’

Plural

<i>/asse pare thi/</i>	‘We were reading’
<i>/tusse pare thire/</i>	‘You were reading’
<i>/so pare thie/</i>	‘They were reading’

Future tense

Singular

<i>/haun paRe ila</i>	‘I will be reading’
<i>/tusse paRe ile/</i>	‘You will be reading’
<i>/so paRe ila/</i>	‘He/she will be reading’

Plural

<i>/asse paRe ile /</i>	‘We will be reading’
<i>/tusse paRe ile/</i>	‘You will be reading’
<i>/so paRe ile/</i>	‘They will be reading’

Aspect

Aspects refer to not a specific point as the tense but it refers to duration, perfection, recurrence etc of time. Aspects are perfective progressive and habitual.

1. Frequentive aspect

<i>./ukiya ciRu marta/</i>	‘He always kills birds’
<i>always birds kills</i>	

2. Continuous Aspect

1. */ukkiyar laggadar mangda:r renda/* ‘He continually begged me’
2. */kuttere kadina kanda/* ‘The dog never bites’

Mood

<i>/tukna/</i>	‘to spit’
<i>/darkta/</i>	‘to beat’

/dina/ 'to give'

Obligative Mood

/tusijo idi narena: chinta/ 'You must remain here'

Prohibitive Mood

/tasijo biRi sikkeTna pina chinte/ 'He must not smoke'

/tusojo mati pipli-na kan chainta/
chilly' 'You must not take much more

Non-Finite Verb

4.2.1.2. INFINITIVE

Verbal Noun

/biRi sikkar pina karana bunde/ 'Smoking is not good'

/ka:na chedi taye karna bunde/ 'Eating is good for health'

4.2.1.3. AUXILIARY VERB

/samoi kamei sakte par na kamo/ 'I could have done the work'

4.2.1.4. NEGATIVE VERB

na 'not'

/mo kamnu kanu/ 'I do not work'

/ona kka kam mota/ 'He does not work'

/semmay mairu nakom ka?te/ 'I will not work'

/mo kamonu jaruri na/ 'Do not have to work'

4.2.1.5. COMPOUND VERB

sona 'to sleep'

paRna 'to read'

banuna 'to break' (rope)

karo 'to do'+

4.2.1.6. PASSIVE FORMATION

/du-ara/ 'by'

/hau bread ka-ura keyi/ 'The bread is being eaten by me'

/uni bread ka-ura tiye/ 'The bread is eaten by him'

4.2.1.7. TRANSITIVITY

Verbs are classified into intransitive and transitive. But the intransitive verbs can be changed to transitive. The two-types of verbs of this language are detailed below.

Intransitive verb

The verb does not take any object

/haun nasna karno/ 'I am running'

Transitive verb

The transitive verb takes an object. Subject of the transitive is declined for the nominative case.

/hau marna/ 'I kill'

4.2.2. ADVERB

The adverb modifies a verb or an adjective or another adverb. In Churahi, adverbs are realized as

1. Adverbs of place
2. Adverbs of Time
3. Adverbs of Manner

1. Adverbs of place

/haun eri hay/ 'I am here'

I am here

2. Adverbs of Time

/okiye pehle karunta batora tiya ni takku/ 'He had done this before'

he before done done

3. Adverbs of Manner

/jore jore nai bolna/ 'Do not speak loudly'

/tu bale bale bolna/ 'You speak slowly'

4.2.3. PARTICLE/CLITIC

/i/ 'this' (prox)

/oh/ 'that' (distant)

/majata wala/ 'that' (intermidatory)

4.2.4. ECHO WORD/REDUPLICATION

/bale bale/ 'slowly'

/mala malla/ 'shake (the head)

/birna karna/ 'tighten'

/bat peT/ 'stomach ache'

/shirna phirna / 'transplant' (growing plants)

/bulbule/ 'pebble'

/tik tik/ 'knock' (on a door)

5. SYNTAX

5.1. ORDER OF WORDS IN SENTENCES

Churahi language follows Subject + Object + Verb sentence pattern.

/Mindu- ghar aane kaha/ 'Go to my house'

my house go

5.2. DESCRIPTIONS OF TYPES OF SENTENCES

Interrogative Sentences

Interrogative words occur essentially in the middle position of the sentence and rarely in the initial or in the final position of the questions.

/halkaRa uRtiya baTTOra?/ What do you eat?

you what eat

/me-ku tukka tutu kau?/ What shall I eat?

I what eat

/ti-ku kuttu kana/ What will you eat?

you what eat

/mu kau?/ I eat?

I eat

/tauknene kehe cukkuyu-ate/ How many children have you?

have you many children how

/tindu - na kuttu-a/ 'What is your name?

your name what

/au Panj-e paje uT-ta/ 'Where do you live?

You where live

/tu-e kari renden/ 'Where do you (pl) live?

You (pl) where live

/tinde- paise kuttu-a/

‘What is your occupation?’

Your-what occupation is

Imperative Sentences

The infinitive is correctly used for the imperative, when it does not intend to insist on the immediate fulfillment of order, but merely to indicate that certain thing is to be done.

/bale bale bo:l/

‘Speak slowly’

slow slow speak

/jore jore bo:lnu/

‘Speak loudly’

loud loud speak

Negative Sentences

The negatives particles occur medially in a sentence

/jore jore nay bolnu/

‘Do not speak loudly’

loudly do not speak

/au a:j nai eta: /

‘I am not coming today’

I today not coming

/au a:j nai eta: /

‘I shall not come tomorrow’

/okkiya kam na geha ta/

‘He should not have do the work’

/tua kam nai ka?-te/

‘You should not have done the work’

you work not done the work

/ham nai ga:ta/

‘I am not going’

I not going

/au nai ga:ta/

‘I shall not go’

I not go

/au sate akelene nai sa/

‘I am not leaving you alone’

I leaving alone not

/Ju:t nay bole/

‘Do not tell lies’

Lies not tell

/e kanere cis- na/

‘This is not eatable’

this eatable not

/ek-ku pani jetu-na/

‘This water is not drinkable’

this water drinkable not

/ai kammay sakte para kam-na/

‘he would not have done the work’

he would not done the work

/ai kamnay sakte para kam-na/

‘We would not have done the

work’

we would not done the work

/samoy kamay sakte par na kama/

‘She could not have done the

work’

she could not work have

Causative Sentences

When the agent performs an action through another agent the verb one uses is known as causative verb. The second agent is realized as an object. Adding *tasara* forms the causative verb.

/me tasara sa: man deta par sarbuna mani giya/

‘He makes him give the luggage to him but he does not went it now’

/mese tasara samman dita: par pasaant na-kiya/

‘I make him take the luggage to him but he does not fell like’

/ram kane Krisan bana par kirshnan ka time-nay/

ram krishna but time no

‘Rama makes Krishna come but Krishna has no time’

Coordination

Two or more sentences can be co-ordinated into a single sentence. Co-ordination's are *kane/aur* 'and', *par* 'but', *duara* 'again', *dusra* 'or', *sate* 'with' etc.

/akku aur chokri gite pya rkiya/ 'The boy and a girl were in love'

/okkia aura tiya phiri nasi ganu/ 'He yesterday and went away'

/okay sateda: rtiya par nasi gayi/ 'It was there, but went away soon'

/kuch macli baRi aur kuch macli haik/i 'Some fish are big and some are small'

/e- nok-re jagDa kardi ta/ 'Tomorrow there will be some trouble with the servant'

/uni- bret kayi-tye -te/ 'The bread is eaten by him'

/paise sarkaru garibane deti garibanu metye-te/ 'Money was given by the Govt. to the poor'

5.3. DESCRIPTION OF PATTERNS OF SENTENCES

The sentence is classified into

1. Simple
2. Complex
3. Compound

Simple sentence

A simple sentence consists of only one clause. A clause may consist of subject and a predicate. The subject may be a noun or noun phrase, a pronoun, or an infinitive or an infinitive phrase.

/aisa katra-naka asadi/ 'I will go with you to work'

I you with work go

/u-kiya muta hare ni:da/ 'He stays near my house'

he near

/me apne larijo howa gane andeN/ 'I have brought new ornaments for my wife'

Some verbs are incomplete prediction. They take a word, which is noun or an adjective to complete the predicate functions.

/ukko: chokRu tāsnu-a/ ‘The boy is deaf’

Complex sentence

A complex sentence consists of more than one clause, one of which functions independently and is called as main or the principal clause. It is like simple sentence construction. The subordinate clause can be

- i) A noun clause or
- ii) An adjective clause or
- iii) An adverb clause.

/aka nayu napaT trene nay paTthey?/

‘If I had not sat upon more work could not have been done’

- i) Noun Clause

A clause which is substitutable for a noun is a noun phrase/clause. It functions as an object or a complement to the verb in the main clause.

/se- nayu napaT trene nay paTthey ?/

if I sit upon work understand

“If I sit upon the work will be done (will be) Adjective clause

A clause that can be substituted for an adjective is an adjective clause.

/u-kkia jarur maarta/

‘He should kill the bird’

- ii) Adverbial clause

A clause which can be substituted for an adverb is an adverb clause

/kikiniya/ ‘when’ connected by */te:kiniya:/* ‘then’

taRe/ukiya ‘there’

gar ‘ if’ ‘*ukiya* ‘than’

/tukiya ayi gatha/ ‘When did he come’

agar tu-a time baniya taji pariksha kar sakte hu

‘If you come in time we will examine this’

Compound sentence

A compound sentence consists of more than one clause, one of which is main clause and of the other clauses at least one is independent clause and function is connected by a connector. The connective is generally used by a *hura* ‘and’

okiya hura-tiya phiri nasi kanu

he came yesterday and went away

sara diya-te aur rati more gara

work in the day and sleep at night

TEXT

kaise koi margay kala ki:ra
how the crow-hen killed the black snake

How the crow-hen killed the black snake

AkkuduRu buTTa pani kaye akku gula banoura kiye

Among the spreading branches of banyan tree lived a crow and his wife, the crow-hen.

das butap pare akku kalakirabi mitiya.

In the nest were four little eggs which the parents guarded with great care.

jekkina kaya apte gule maju anderu chate kala kira kiya. tenaro ad-oru-a ka gaya.

In ha hollow of that tree-trunk lived a black snake that the crows feared greatly.

Every time the crow-hen laid her eggs the snake crawled up to the nest and ate them up.

kaye boluki age kala kira is tema kena pehele,

If the black snake eats up my eggs this time also,

menda anda endure kayetya ta mu takarak-na kuski-yu har buta pani kalichungan. A laRi larine bolu

I refuse to live in this tree any longer. We must build our nest somewhere else, “said the mother bird to her husband.

ham ihaper lambi samay tak rehte (ti)

We have lived here a long time.

kaye bolu ki: aditiya lamber tema tay kē rehte. kawane kata.

I can’t bear to desert my home and go to live elsewhere. “Said the crow.

kiyu-ki ki:Re kaya kaRi hawaj suni-ti te

While they were talking, they heard the hissing sound just below them.

ji:Rni bajayi sa:-te anderu-a.bachana-a ti? kitchu-bina kaRi sakki liye.

They know what the sound meant. They sat helplessly in their nest trying to protect their eggs.

kala kira das marna-rati appadi mundu-ki, muchi kari kari niru –yi dayta.

The black snake crept higher and closer to the nest.

jekkeruya ma ba:b gullekna bair giye te kala kira gulam-ju kay-kari sana anderu-a ga:giya.

Then with the loud his tired to strike at the birds that flew away in the terror. One by one black snake swallowed the eggs.

je-kkariya ma bab wapase to udari sa:te partisan boya.

The parents come back sadly to their nest, knowing well that they could find it empty.

kawa bolu, asua chuẽ chuẽ kire.

The crow said, I must find a way to destroy the murderous snake.

ai tasse-te nambe:Ri kiyu-ki aside halat payi moriya? Taser hila:di tasani bolu.

How can you every fight them? his sting so deadly, “said his wife in despair.

tu chitternay kare mendi piyariye askide kenabi jehre:ta: minda akku mittar, ka?k kaye bolu”, kuskiyu hour buTTa at tasera mitar riku? rehta.

Don’t you worry, my dear, I’ve got a friend who is cunning enough to destroy the most poisonous of snakes,” said the crow, and off he flew to another tree under which lived his dear

friend, the jackal.

bikkiniya kaye rikka:ne apTa anDerua kari kata sunai- ta rikke bolu-ki mittar agar-t u

pemapani mukkuni yora bu:tiya te akiya bur ate:m naitya aina.Pehle sakkim suddumoti banare-ta ay nastna tiye bo?re.

When the jackal heard how the snake always ate up the eggs, he said, “my friend, those who are cruel and greedy always meet with the bad end have no fear. I’ve already thought of a plan to destroy him.

ha muni sunha akiu kuttua kawa bolu.

Oh! Do tell me what it is,” said the crow.

ki rika darinta menu bale bale bo?ta:te kire manatiye kuch kanu po:n kayepRi laRi kene giya.

Then the jackal, fearing he might be overhead, whispered to his friend what he should do to destroy the snake.

epRi sakkine bere pare sonodatta bolu ke ikkiya kadarnath kammu.

The crow flew back to his wife and told her about the plan.

akkiya kadarnath kamha kawl kaye bolu eidyan kari kum kona po:na.

“It is rather-risky,” said the crow”, “we’ will have to be very careful.

mai amne bolu-ki minDa derua bacena rate kuch avasiya kanu pon.

“I ‘will do anything to save my eggs,” said the mother bird bravely.

erniye – tay ta? Avu rajara desen ga:the.

So off they flew towards the place of the king of the country.

se: buT me:lara semna tyiu tikkiRiya ka uruta bakja giyata tare tiya tani akkara:ne sandut ladde.

The palace was not far from the tree in which they lived.

samne sunare chain kane koraga:ne bi kolohi rakko:re tiye.

They approached a big pond in the palace garden where they saw the royal ladies having a bath.

kayerali detha tari-tiya gayi sunari chain epRi chaj maj be:R balle balle udrik-kare huru buTTa.

They had laid their golden chains, pearl neck less and other jewellery on the edge of the pond.

panni nasugay bagichen chokida:re chaine lete layi laikeya rener chain lagaya.Tikkiriya tanni akku- ka pararrata tay chali-piya kayi.

The mother bird flew down, picked up a gold chain in her beak and started flying slowly towards the tree in which she lived.

bubla attar ekki gath anach chuTTi churua joki-dare duttapan chard chain chuni lage.

When the palace guards saw the bird flying off with the gold chain, they took up their clubs and chased the bird. They saw the bird drop the chain into the hollow a tree.

chokkidar butta chara chaina cuna laga.

One of the guards climbed up the tree to get the chain.

je chain chunere-tey tengata hattu data. Tasari naja rupay karraruaya-di kala kira

bittora. tanni dese pakaRa kirni jeni-ta kira mare gaya.

As he put his hand inside the hole to get the chain, he saw a black snake, curled up there,

With one hard stroke of his club he killed it and that was the end of the black snake.

doya-ka daspuTTapani bari kusi sēte re:na legge kuch time abad takne keya helkaRa

hekaRa khani janam dita.

The crow and crow-hen lived in that tree happily afterwards and had many little baby crows.

6. BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Grierson, George, Abraham 1968 (Reprint) *Linguistic Survey of India*. Vol. IV. Part-IV. Motilal Banarasidas, New Delhi.
2. Grierson, George, Abraham 1968 (Reprint) *Linguistic Survey of India*. Vol. I. Part-I. Motilala Banarasidass, New Delhi.
3. Dist. Gazetteer Kangra district 1924-1925. Chap-I – descriptive
4. Census of India 1961 *Language Tables* Vol-1 Part – II – C (ii)
5. Census of India 2001 *Language Table C-16, Series –I*, Office of the Registrar General, India. New Delhi
6. Census of India 2011 *Language Table C-16, Series –I*, Office of the Registrar General, India. New Delhi

CHAMBEALI

S. Ganesh Baskaran

1. INTRODUCTION

The present work “Linguistic description of Chambeali, an Indo-Aryan Language gives out the grammatical sketch of Chambeali Language spoken in Himachal Pradesh, Chamba district.

Mr. Nandesh Kumar Sharma was the main informant to supply the data and the collected Chambeali Language data were checked with Mr. Premsharma, Language officer, for Language, Arts Culture Department, Himachal Pradesh and also with Mr. Harish Chandra Sharma, a Retired Principal of Sanscrit College, Simla.

Socio linguistic situation/Information of Chambeali Language.

The socio linguistic situation of the Chambeali Language can be explained by the use of Mother Tongue and the other Tongue in the micro level.

The development activities like promoting the language through private and Governmental initiatives are the matter for the macro level.

Use of the Mother Tongue:

The Chambeali Mother Tongue is used in different domains like home, kin and community. The use of Mother Tongue is necessarily in three-degree dimensions. That is parent - children in the home domain and in the extra home and extra kin situation that is the village locality. In the parent ego-children relationship the parents interact in their mother tongue and also with the aged people but while talking many a times come down to the level of mixed form of speech that is Hindi and also English, because the children of these days well exposed or forced to expose to the other languages through education. Hence most often their speech is mixed with Hindi and English. So, the use of mother tongue is comparatively less to the younger generation. Among the women the use of mother tongue is more than the men folk. In the kin and community also, the situation prevails.

1. 1. Role of Mother Tongue:

In the formal domains like education, administration, judiciary the role of mother tongue is used in the oral communication level. That is in the education level the rural areas student and teacher’s interaction is very much prevails in Chamba District.

In the Administration although all written correspondences are done through Hindi and English, the interaction among the chambeali speaking people chambeali is used as the oral mediums.

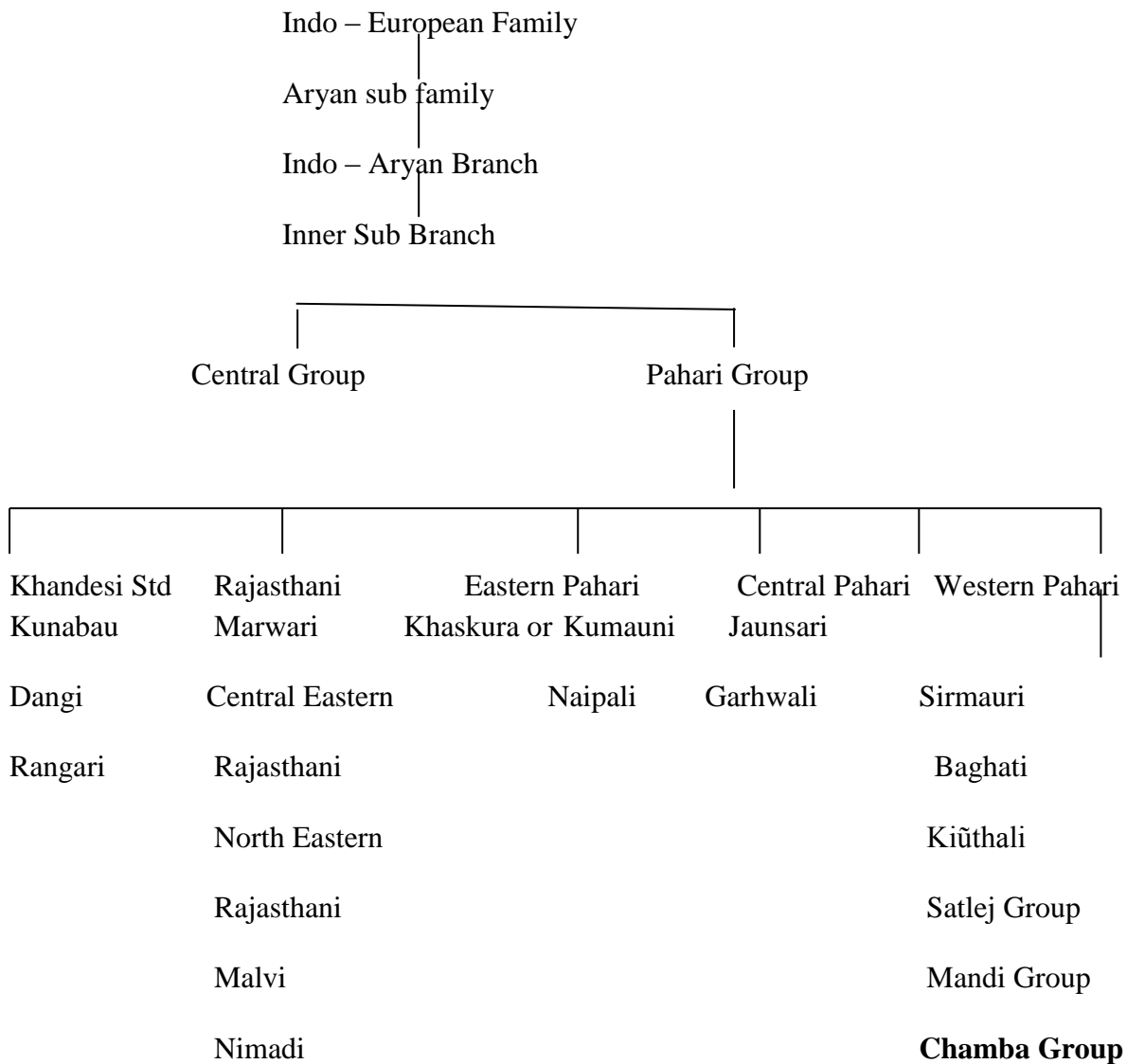
In the level of Judiciary also chambeali is informally used that is during the cross examination of the lawyer and the convict and sometimes Judge also interact with the local people in their respective language.

The mass media also broad casting the local language programmes on folk music, folk dances and so on. The government also encourages to broadcast to encourage all ethnic groups programmes individually to develop or to continue to explore their cultural programmes on the festive occasions.

Hence it is evident that Hindi the superimposed variety controls the formal domains but mother tongues of the local state has very important role in the socio linguistic scinario.

Family Affliction:

According to Census of India 1961 Vol-1 Part-II c (ii) Language Table page no: CLXX. The Tree Diagram of the Indo-Aryan is explained below.



Banjari or Labhani

Bhadrawah Group

Gujari

Unspecified

Unspecified Dialects

1.2 Location:

Chamba lies to the north of the district of Kangra. The state Chamba is mountainous. It is covered by three snowy ranges which more or less parallel to one another cross the state from the south – east to north west. The first range or outer Himalaya separates the Kangra valley from Chamba proper and also the basin of the Bias from that of the Ravi River. North of it lies the valley of Ravi and its affluents containing the three wizarats of Chamba, Bharmaur and Churah, in which three dialects, 1) Standard Chameali, 2) Gadi and 3) Churahi are spoken. The valley of the Ravi (river) separates the outer Himalayan Range from the Mid-Himalaya or Pangi Range, which forms the water shed between the Ravi and the Chamba. The tract of the north-west of the spur is called pāngi and shat to the south-east Chamba-Lahul.

1.3 Speaker strength:

District-wise distribution of the Chambeali/Chamrali mother tongue has already been shown in the Introduction chapter.

State-wise distribution of Chambeali/Chamrali mother tongue according to 2011 Census is presented below.

State Name	Total			Rural			Urban		
	Person	Male	Female	Person	Male	Female	Person	Male	Female
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
INDIA	1,25,746	62,452	63,294	1,07,910	53,287	54,623	17,836	9,165	8,671
Jammu & Kashmir	71	36	35	62	30	32	9	6	3
Himachal Pradesh	1,24,385	61,803	62,582	1,07,181	52,961	54,220	17,204	8,842	8,362
Punjab	19	10	9	8	6	2	11	4	7
Chandigarh	2	1	1	0	0	0	2	1	1
Uttarakhand	4	4	0	1	1	0	3	3	0
Haryana	14	7	7	4	2	2	10	5	5
Rajasthan	99	2	97	99	2	97	0	0	0
Uttar Pradesh	25	16	9	24	15	9	1	1	0
Assam	5	3	2	5	3	2	0	0	0
Chhattisgarh	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0
Madhya Pradesh	35	19	16	23	8	15	12	11	1
Maharashtra	1,083	548	535	503	259	244	580	289	291
Andhra Pradesh	2	1	1	0	0	0	2	1	1
Goa	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0

1.4 Review of Literature:

According to G.A.Grierson (1909) LSI vol ix part-iv p-769 – 784. Chambeali belongs to the western pahari group of languages and it has immediately south and south-west dialects connected with Punjabi. To its north-west are connected with Kashmiri dialects. In standard chameali and its dialects words are closely connected with Kashmiri. As regards to the influence of Punjabi is due to simply the geographical proximity. (Ref .T. Grahame Baileys Languages of the Northern Himalayas, London, 1908).

According to LSI, Grierson 1909. Chameali is the main Aryan Language spoken in the state of Chamba. Chamba is mountains it is traversed by three snowy ranges, which are more or less parallel to one another cross the state from south-east to north-west. The first range of outer himalaya separates the kangra valley from chamba proper and also the basin of the bias from that of the Ravi valley.

Chambeali has four dialects

1. Standard Chambeali.
2. Gaddi/Bharmauri
3. Churahi
4. Pangwali

Chameali belongs to the western pahari group of languages and south west dialects connected with Panjabi and north-west dialects and connected with Kashmiri. The standard chameali words are closely connected with Kashmiri.

2. PHONOLOGY

There are 37 phonemes these thirty-two phonemes are consonants and five are vowel phonemes. The length of the vowel and the nasalisation process are also phonemic which can be further classified into two categories namely, segmental and supra segmental phonemes.

2.1 Segmental Phonemes:

The five vowels and 32 consonants are segmental phonemes. These are shown below with contrasts.

Vowels:

	Front	Central	Back
High	i		u
Mid	e		o
Low		a	

Consonants:

	BL	LDL	AL	RET	PL	VEL	GL
Stops	p b		t d	T D	c j	k g	
Aspirated	ph bh		th dh	Th	ch jh	kh gh	
Pricative			s		ʃ		h
Nasal	m		n	N		M	
Lateral			l	L			
Trill			r	R			
Semi Vowel	w				y		

Contrasts for the Vowels:

/i ~ i :/

icca	‘wish’
i : yā	‘like that’
cikaR	‘mud’
ki : Ra	‘warm’
miTTi	‘clay’
dhu : ri	‘fog’

/i ~ e/

is	‘this’
en	‘hailstone’
š i : t	‘cold’
š e : r	‘lion’
miTTi	‘clay’
itte	‘here’

/e ~ a/

ijet	‘respect’
cikaD	‘mud’
Dale	‘lake’
sola	‘heek’

/a ~ a:/

areaD	‘trap’ (animal)
a:dra	‘ginger’
ambu	‘mango’
a:lu	‘potato’
daLe	‘branch’
Da:dhu	‘chin’

/e ~ e:/

en	‘hail stone’
e:k	‘one’
lehar	‘current’
le:tar	‘sand’
set	‘health’

š e:r 'lion'

/o ~ u/

goLa 'neek'

kuD 'cave'

Toku 'saliva'

duk 'sorrow'

/o ~ o:/

oT 'lip'

o:r 'and'

do 'two'

dho:ppu 'sunshine'

kokoR 'cock'

go:Ra 'horse'

/u ~ u:/

uda:r 'borrow'

u:cha 'high'

kuD 'cave'

dhu:R 'dust'

Nasalisation:

pīchũ:r 'myna-bird'

bīd 'green coriander'

kī:can 'draw'

deĩ 'cards'

gēna 'jewel'

ju wē 'son in law'

ãk	‘aye’
mã:s	‘flesh’
chã:	‘shade’
bõk	‘bark’
bhõ	‘jungle’
kõru	‘snake charmer’
ũ:T	‘camel’
kũwa:ra	‘bachelor’
hyũ:	‘snow’

Contrast between consonants:

/p ~ b

paha:r	‘forest’
bãbRi	‘pond’
purk	‘man’
bya	‘marriage’
pa:penu	‘rainbow’
kubuDa	‘hunch back’
ta:p	‘heat’
bab	‘father’

/t ~ d/

teLa	‘pool’
diya	‘lamp’
ta:ra	‘star’
dũ	‘smoke’
poteri	‘grand daughter’

jandera 'lock'

bat 'paddy'

amaru:d 'guava'

/T ~ D/

Terek 'baby'

Danger 'cattle'

chaTa:i 'mat'

DopaDi 'hut'

cumeT 'tail'

kuD 'cave'

/c ~ j/

cumeT 'tail'

jugunu 'glow worm'

bacpan 'childhood'

kabuji 'constipation'

miric 'chilly'

giri:j 'vulture'

/k ~ g/

kusura 'eunuch'

goteri 'relatives'

kankar 'husband's sister's husband'

Danger 'cattle'

Terek 'baby'

bra:g 'leopard'

/k ~ h/	kekaRa	‘crab’
	hara	‘green’
	paha:R	‘forest’
	kokoR	‘cock’
/ph ~ bh/	phanku	‘feather’
	bhenei	‘sister’
/th ~ dh/	thap	‘heat’
	dhart	‘earth’
/th ~ Th/	thap	‘heat’
	Therek	‘baby’
/ch ~ jh/	chou	‘fountain’
	jhag	‘foam’
/kh ~ gh/	khanDa	‘Bank of river’
	gh:s	‘sky’
/s ~ š/	se:k	‘heat’
	ša:la	‘wife’s brother’
	srouta	‘fountain’
	šrehenu	‘hare’
	sassur	‘mother’s in law’

hašura 'enunch'

/m ~ n/

ma 'mother'

nat 'nose ring'

nu 'daughter in law'

ma:mma 'mother's brother'

nena:na 'orphan'

bahen 'sister'

re:m 'pity'

/n ~ N/

The/N/occurs in the medial position only.

/pa:Ni/ 'water'

/bheNoi/ 'sister's husband'

kuDmNi 'son's father in law'

jena:Nni 'female'

/n ~ M/

The/M/occurs only in the final position.

siM 'orphan'

jaM 'hand'

/l ~ L/

lopT 'flame'

lugeDi 'rice'

bo:La 'dump'

na:La 'stream'

deLa 'lake'

hiLLen	‘hail storm’
baddel	‘cloud’
kurl	‘whirl pool’
chela:ka	‘tide’

/r ~ R/

rit	‘weather’
bra:g	‘tiger’
bya:r	‘air’
ande:R	‘cyclone’
dhu:R	‘dust’
haR	‘flood’
cikkaR	‘mud’

/w ~ y/

wa:pus	‘return’
yada:st	‘memory’
nowa	‘bridegroom’
kuwã:ri	‘spinster’
bya:ga	‘dawn’
hyũ:	‘snow’
garw	‘pride’
utsaw	‘festival’

2.2 Allophones

All the five vowels got allophones. The allophonic distribution is described below.

/i/High front unrounded short vowel has got two allophones [I] and [i].

[I] Lower high front unrounded short vowel occurs between consonants of the first syllable.

[cɪkkAR]	/cikkaR/	‘mud’
[gɪddʌD]	/giddaD/	‘fox’
[piT]	/piT/	‘hair is the Arm’

[i] occurs elsewhere.

/e/ Higher mid front unrounded short vowel has got three allophones [ɛ] [ʌ] and [e].

[ɛ] Mean mid front unrounded short vowel occurs in the initial position.

[ɛn]	/en/	‘his/stone’
[ɛk]	/ek/	‘one’

[ʌ] Mean mid central short vowel occurs often voiced consonants.

[andAR]	/andeR/	‘storm’
[paLA]	/pale/	‘mist’
[rAt]	/ret/	‘weather’

[e] Occurs elsewhere.

/a/ Low front unrounded short vowel has got two allophones [ʌ] and [a].

[ʌ] Low mid unrounded short vowel occurs between consonants.

[bʌnjAr]	/panjer/	‘desert’
[hʌR]	/haR/	‘flood’
[dʌLe]	/dale/	‘lake’
[cikkʌR]	/cikkaR/	‘mud’

[a] Occurs elsewhere.

/o/ Mid back rounded vowel has two allophones [O] and [o].

[O] Lower mid rounded back short vowel it occurs between consonants.

[goLa]	/goLa/	‘neck’
[Tokt]	/Toku/	‘saliva’
[kOrk]	/kork/	‘itch’

[o] Occurs elsewhere.

/u/ high back rounded short vowel has got three allophones [U], [ʊ] and [u].

[U] Lower high back rounded short vowel occurs between consonants.

[kUD] /kuD/ 'care'

[pUr̥k] /pur̥k/ 'male'

[dUk] /duk/ 'sorrow'

[ʊ] high central unrounded short vowel occurs between the voiced consonants and also in the final positions.

[kabʊji] /kabʊji/ 'constipation'

[sabʊji] /sabʊji/ 'vegetable'

[tOkʊ] /tokʊ/ 'saliva'

[ba:lʊ] /ba:lu/ 'rice cooked'

[u] Occurs elsewhere.

2.3 Phonemic Description and Distribution

Vowel:

/i/ High front unrounded short vowel occurs in all positions.

itte 'here'

si:t 'cold'

dhuri 'fog'

/e/ Higher front unrounded short vowel occurs in all positions.

en 'hail stone'

lehar 'current'

de 'body'

/a/ Low front mid front unrounded short vowel occurs in all positions.

andeR 'storm'

pale 'mist'

teLa 'pool'

/o/ Mid back rounded short vowel occurs in all positions.

ongelu 'finger'

kork 'itch'

kho 'ground nut'

/u/ Higher back rounded short vowel occurs in all positions.

ubal 'boil'

kurl 'whirl pool'

a:mbu 'mango'

Consonants:

/p/ Voiceless bilabial stop consonant occurs initially and medially.

pichũR 'myna'

sappeD 'rock'

/b/ Voiced bilabial stop consonant occurs in all positions.

bīD 'green coriander'

ambu 'mango'

bab 'father'

/t/ Voiceless alveolar stop consonant occurs in all positions.

toku 'saliva'

itte 'here'

si:t 'cold'

/d/ Voiced alveolar stop consonant occurs in all positions.

dā:k 'cliff'

ima:nda:r 'honest'

umid 'hope'

/T/ Voiceless retroflex stop consonant occurs in all positions.

Tel 'wood'

miTTi 'clay'

piT 'hair in the arm'

/D/ Voiced retroflex stop occurs in all positions.

Dokele 'sting bug'

jopaDi 'hut'

kuD 'cave'

/c/ Voiceless palatal stop consonant occurs in all positions.

cikaR 'mud'

icca 'wish'

mire 'green chilli'

/j/ Voiced palatal stop consonant occurs in all positions.

jugunu 'glow worm'

kabuji 'constipation'

giriJ 'vulture'

/k/ Voiceless velar stop consonant occurs in all positions.

ki:c 'draw'

barka 'rain'

purk 'ale'

/g/ Voiced velar stop consonant occurs in all positions.

giddeD 'fox'

Danger 'cattle'

jang 'leg'

/ph/ Voiceless bilabial stop consonant occurs initially.

phinhu 'cobra's hood'

phanku 'feather'

/bh/ Voiced bilabial stop consonant occurs initially.

bha:I 'brother'

bhenoi 'sister'

/th/ Voiceless alveolar aspirated stop consonant occurs initially and medially.

thap 'heat'

pithar 'ancestors'

/dh/ Voiced alveolar aspirated stop consonant occurs initially and medially.

dhu:ri 'fog'

dart 'earth'

andheR 'cyclone'

/Th/ Voiceless retroflex aspirated stop consonant occurs initially and medially.

Therek 'baby'

a:Tha 'wheat powder'

/ch/ Voiceless palatal aspirated stop consonant occurs initially.

chou 'fountain'

chiru 'bird'

/jh/ Voiced palatal aspirated stop consonant occurs initially.

jhag 'foam'

jhan jar 'thunder'

/kh/ Voiceless velar aspirated stop consonant occurs initially.

khanDa 'Bank of the river'

khušura 'eunuch'

/gh/ Voiced velar aspirated stop consonant occurs initially.

gha:s 'sky'

gha:te ri 'relatives'

/s/ Voiceless alveolar fricative consonant occurs in all positions.

sapped 'rock'

ne sa:hi 'elopement'

o:s 'dew'

/š/ Voiceless palatal fricative occurs initially and medially.

ši:t 'cold'

Tašu 'boy'

Pašu 'animal'

/h/ Voiceless glottal fricative occurs initially and medially.

hillenu 'earth quake'

lehar 'current'

/m/ Voiced bilabial nasal occurs in all positions.

moši 'mother's sister'

maLek 'master'

kuDumni 'daughter in law's mother'

jenem 'birth'

/n/ Voiced alveolar nasal occurs in all positions.

na:l 'brook'

andeR 'cyclone'

hillen 'earth quake'

/N/ Voiced retroflex nasal occurs medially and finally.

khaNDa 'Bank of river'

aN 'hail stone'

paNi 'water'

/M/ Voiced velour nasal occurs finally.

siM 'horn'

khaM 'cough'

/l/ Voiced alveolar lateral occurs.

laTTa 'cripple (man)'

haluwa:i 'sweet maker'

yil 'kite'

/L/ Voiced retroflex lateral occurs medially and finally.

teLa 'pool'

na:L 'brook'

ra:La 'stream'

sa:La 'wife's brother'

/r/ Voiced alveolar trill consonant occurs in all positions.

roTi 'bread'

dhart 'earth'

bya:r 'air'

/R/ Voiced retroflex flap consonant occurs medially and finally.

paha:Ri 'forest'

ba:bRi 'pond'

kankaR 'pebble'

andeR 'cyclone'

/w/ Voiced labio dental semivowel occurs initial and medial positions.

waddi 'valley'

kuwāra 'bachelor'

jnwēi 'son in law'

/y/ Voiced palatal semivowel occurs in the medial positions.

byaga 'down'

gyu 'ghee'

diya 'lamp'

2.4 Clusters

In Chambeali there are two vowels clusters and two consonants cluster are common. Both vowel and consonants are clustered in the medial and final positions. These are exemplified below.

Vowel Cluster:

Vowels are clustered both in the Medial and Final positions and rarely occur in the initial positions.

ou - our 'and'

Medial vowel cluster:

- eu - neural 'darkness'

- ou - noukra:ni 'maid'

- oi - moida 'agreement'

- ei - peir 'paw'

- ou - loungu 'clove'

Final vowel cluster:

- ou chou 'fountain'

- ai nai 'new'

- ei juwei 'young'

- eu	leu	‘blood’
- ui	sui	‘needle’
- au	sau	‘hundred’
- oi	hoi	‘over’

Consonant cluster:

Initial Two consonant cluster:

sr -	srouta	‘fountain’
by -	bya:r	‘air’
gr -	grehenu	‘eclipse’
hy -	hyu	‘ice’
dr -	dreya:	‘river’
br -	bra:g	‘leopard’
dw -	dwa:i	‘medicine’
pr -	presi:Na	‘sweat’
py -	pya:LLe	‘cup’
gw -	gwa:LLa	‘milkman’
kr -	kro:du	‘anger’
py -	pya:s	‘thirsty’

Medial Two consonant cluster:

- nj -	banjer	‘desert’
- nd -	andeR	‘cycone’
- kk -	cikkaR	‘moss’
- jl -	bijli	‘lightening’
- lk -	halki	‘low’
- rl -	charli	‘tide’

- nk -	kankaR	‘pebble’
- rkh -	barkha	‘rain’
- bb -	babbi	‘brother’s wife’
- cc -	bacca	‘child’
- cp -	bacpan	‘childhood’
- dd -	dedda	‘grand father’
- NN -	naNNa	‘mother’s father’
- MM -	ma:mma	‘mother’s brother’
- ss -	sassu	‘mother in law’
- DD -	buDDa	‘old’
- Nh -	aNha	‘blind’
- ND -	juNDlu	‘twin’
- nj -	kanje:ri	‘prostitute’
- tt -	kutti	‘bitch’
- ng -	Danger	‘cattle’
- nh -	phinhu	‘cobra’s bood’
- rg -	mirgu	‘leopard’
- rb -	carbi	‘fat’
- rd -	garden	‘neck’
- Dch -	kaDchi	‘ladle’
- mc -	cimca	‘spoon’
- nd -	jandera	‘lock’
- mb -	khamba	‘pillar’
- tr -	sātra	‘orange’
- ts -	utsav	‘festival’

- pn -	apna	‘self’
- sL -	gosLa	‘nest’
- ks -	paksi	‘bird’

Final Two consonant clusters:

Although final two consonants clusters are not common, some of the examples are given below.

- nD	TanD	‘cold’
- pT	lepT	‘flame’
- rt	dart	‘earth’
- tr	mitr	‘friend’
- rk	purk	‘male’
- ng	jang	‘leg’
- nj	manj	‘ladder’
- rc	marc	‘chilly’
- rp	sārp	‘snake’

2.5 Syllable

There are four syllabic words are realized in Chambeali. These syllables are exemplified below.

Monosyllable	(Close)	
ccvc	bya:r	‘air’
cvc	dhu:R	‘ashes’
cvcc	dhart	‘earth’
cvcc	kuDm	‘son in law’s father’
Di-syllable (open)		
cvc . cv	khanDa	‘Bank orf river’

ccvv . cv	srouTa	‘fountain’
cvc . cv	miTTi	‘clay’
ccv . cv	bya.ga	‘dawn’
ccv . cv . cv	grehenu	‘eclipse’
cv . cv	TeLa	‘pool’
cvc . cvv	mannoi	‘husband’s sisters’ husband’
cvv . ccvcv	roukra:ni	‘maid’
cvcc . cv	jund lu	‘twin’

Di-Syllabic (Close)

vc . cvc	andeR	‘cyclone’
cvc . cvc	cik kaR	‘moss’
cv . cvc	paha:R	‘mountain’

Tetra-Syllable (Open)

cv . cv .cv	neha:ra	‘darkness’
cv . cvc . cv	jana:n.ni	‘sting bug’
cvc . cv . cv	pin.ji.Ra	‘cage’
ccv . cv . cv	dreluka	‘cook roach’
cvc . cvc . cv	tongoTthi	‘tent’

Tetra-Syllable (Close)

cvc . cv . cvc	cimga deR	‘bat’
cv . cv . cvc	muniya:d	‘fountain’
cv . cv . cvcc	ka:lemarc	‘pepper’

Hexa syllable

cv.cv.cvc.cv	gete riy ya	‘father’s father’s son’
cv.cv.cv.cv	hateya:li	‘spider web’

cv.cv.cv.cv	sa raha na	'pillow'
cv.cv.cv.cv	suneya:ra	'goldsmith'

3. MORPHOPHONEMICS

There are six types of morphonemic changes have been realized in this Chambeali language. These are exemplified.

3.1 Loss of a phoneme:

The phoneme/l/is lost when it is used with the Dative case formation.

sku:l - 'school'

La - dative case marker.

skūLLa > sku:La 'to the school'

2. Change of the phoneme:

The phoneme/a/becomes/e/to denote plurality. That is,

usera 'his' > usere to denote plural..

usera ghar 'his house' > usera ghar 'his houses'

3.2 Loss of Phoneme:

To denote present perfect tense for singular the vowel phoneme of the verb get lost.

ai - 'come'

geya - 'has gone already'

ai ge ya has come > aigya 'has come'

Loss of/-ye:/

To denote the present perfect plural the verb has lost/-ye/that is.

Ai - 'come'

geye - 'have'

ai ge ye 'have come' > aige 'have come'

3.3 Change of the phoneme:

The final vowel of the base verb/a/is lengthened by loosing the first vowel phoneme /-i/of the present tense form. That is.

kha - eat

inde - pr-tense.

kha inde > kha:nde 'eat'

4. MORPHOLOGY

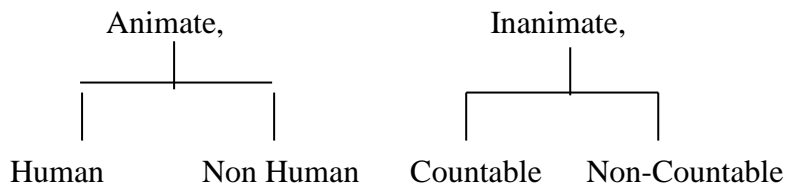
Morphology deals with the internal structure of the words. This has been divided into two categories namely; Noun morphology and Verb morphology. Each category has its own areas. These are exemplified below.

4.1 Noun:

The noun can be broadly divided into two categories namely simple and derived noun. That is the noun which is not derived from any other word classes are called simple noun. If it is further derived from the verb or from another noun using the suffixes to get a noun formation is called derived noun.

Simple Noun:

The Simple noun is further divided into:



or

Mass Noun

Animate Nouns:

puteri	‘son’
Tasu	‘boy’
purk	‘male’
mukoRi	‘ant’
ric	‘bear’
kutti	‘bitch’
paTheni	‘butterfly’

Inanimate Nouns:

The Inanimate nouns can be divided into two namely countable and uncountable.

Countable:

seu	‘apple’
khe:la	‘banana’
banj	‘bamboo’
gaRi	‘coconut’

Uncountable/Mars noun:

dhu:R	‘dust’
baddel	‘cloud’
a:g	‘fire’
le:tar	‘sand’
ga	‘grass’
ta:ra	‘stars’
dal	‘pulses’

Derived Nouns:

The Nouns are derived from the verb or from another nouns. The suffixes are used to denote the derived Noun in two ways: Such as: 1) Verb + Suffixes = Noun

2) Noun + Suffix = Noun.

1. Verb + Suffix = Noun

bunu + kar = bunukar “weaver”

weare + doer

bang + i = bangi “sweeper”

sweep + suffix

dho + ba = dhoba “washer man”

wash + suffix.

2. Noun + Suffix = Noun

khum + a:r = khuma:r “potter”

pot + doer = “potter”

kala + ka:r = kalaka:r “artist”

art + doer

4.2 Number:

Singular number is unmarked. Plural s realized by two types that is, the vowel/a/of the singular noun is changed into/e/and the morpheme/yã/is suffixed with the base noun form to denote plural.

The verb is changed to/hin/from/he/meaning ‘us’.

kutta – ‘dog’

kutte – ‘dogs’

kuDi – ‘girl’

kuDiyã - ‘girls’

ye kutta he ‘this is a dog’

ye kutte hin ‘these are dogs’

itte blli he ‘here is a cat’

itte billi yã hin ‘here are cats’

tera puttar he ‘he is your son’

tere putter hin ‘they are your sons’

ye mera kuDi he ‘she is my daughter’

ye mere kuDiyã hin ‘they are my daughters’

4.3 Gender:

The Masculine Gender s unmarked. Feminine gender is realized by the suffix /i/ Changed into the best phoneme of the masculine gender some of the nouns these conditions are exempted for example:

<i>Feminine</i>	ma	‘mother’	noila:Ri	‘bride’
<i>Masculine</i>	ba:b	‘father’	nowa la:Ri	‘bride groom’
<i>Feminine</i>	sassu	‘mother in law’	bhenoi	‘sister’s husband’
<i>Masculine</i>	sohra	‘father in law’	babbi	‘brother’s wife’

The General examples are shown below for the Masculine and Feminine gender.

<i>Masculine</i>	buDDa	‘old man’	mamma	‘mother’s brother’
<i>Feminine</i>	buDDi	‘old lady’	ma:mmi	‘mothers brother’s wife’

<i>Masculine</i>	potera	‘grand son’		
<i>Feminine</i>	poteri	‘grand daughter’		

<i>Masculine</i>	Tasu	‘boy’		
<i>Feminine</i>	kuDi	‘girl’		

<i>Masculine</i>	la:Ra	‘husband’		
<i>Feminine</i>	la:Ri	‘wife’		

<i>Masculine</i>	purk	‘male’		
<i>Feminine</i>	jenaNNI	‘female’		

4.4 Case:

Nine cases have realized. Namely, Nominative, Accusative, Dative, Instrumental, locative, genitive, Ablative, sociative and Benefative. The Nominative case has no separate marker. The persons itself function as the nominative case.

Nominative Case: The Nominative case is realized by/-ne/.

Ramne rawanu mareya. Rama killed Ravana.

Accusative Case:

The Accusative case is realized as/-jo/which occurs with the pronouns.

me tij-jo de:kku da 'I see you'
aũ tussã-jo dekkuda 'I see you'
acca dijjo dekku da 'Child sees you'
se nikkhe-jo dekku di 'She sees the child'

Dative Case:

The Dative case is realized by two suffixes namely/a/and/e/which occurs with the object.

bacca ba:g-ga yi:nde 'The children come to the garden'
se hama:re ghar-e yi:nde 'She comes to our house'
se sku:l – la yi:nde 'They come to the school'
me ghar-e ja:nda 'I go to the house'

Genitive Case:

The genitive case is realized by the suffix/-ra/which occurs with the subject.

chambe – ra paha:R hara e 'Chambe hill is green'
bhuTTe-ra patta girti he 'Leaves of the tree falls'

Oblative Case:

The oblique case is realized by the suffix/-ka/which occurs with the subject.

bhuTTe – ka patte aLu de 'The leaves falls from the tree'
bhuTTe – ka phul girda 'Fruit falls from the tree'

Benefactive Case:

The Benefactive case is realized by the suffixes/-tayĩ/and/-jo/which occurs with the object.

gha baccuwā jo du:d dindi ‘Cow gives milk for calf’s’

gha baccuwā tayī du:d dindi

januwa:r circus ta:yī sikali ja:nde ‘Animals are trained for circus’

Sociative Case:

The Sociative case is realized by the suffix/-kane/which occurs with the object.

mera dost apne ba:bbe ka:ne ka:m katre karda he.

my frind his father with work do is.

‘My frind is working with his father’

hindusta:niri aurtā:apne fa:deyā kane rend:

Indian women her husband with living.

‘The Indian women live with their husband’.

Instrumental Case:

The Instrumental case is realized by the suffix/-ka:ne/which occurs with object.

bhuTTe ari kā:ne khaTTu de ‘The tree is cut by a saw’

phal caku –ka:ne kaTTeya ja:nda ‘The fruit is cut by a knife’

Locative Case:

The locative case is realized by the suffix/-e/which occurs with the object.

me apne akhare bic he ‘I am in my cast’

mera puter ghare he ‘My son is in the house’

me apne ghare he ‘I am in my house’

Post Positions:

Post Positions is realized by different suffix denoting the ocaation of the subject.

meri kuDi ba:gga bic he ‘My daughter is in the garden’

panchi bhuTTe-par byenda ‘The bird is sitting on the tree’

se bhuTTe he:Ti sunda ‘He sleeps under the tree’

keta:b me:j-ja he:T he 'Book is on the table'

4.5 Pronoun:

The Personal Pronoun, Demonstrative Pronoun, Reflexive Pronoun, Interrogative Pronoun and Indefinite Pronoun are realized in Chambeali Language.

Personal Pronoun:

Personal Pronoun are of three types that is, first personal, second personal and third.

The first personal pronoun refers to the speaker, the second personal pronoun refers to the hearer and the third personal pronoun refers to the person or object other than the speaker and the hearer.

Person	Singular	Plural
Ist person	me/aũ 'I'	asi 'we'
Second person	tu 'you'	tusi 'you (pl)'
Third person	He/she/it	se 'they'

me apna ghar par he 'I am in my house'

asi itte yinda 'We come here'

asi tijjo dekku de 'We see you'

tu minjo deku de 'You see me'

tusi tinajo dekku de 'You (pl) see them'

se itte yinda 'She comes here'

se minjo dekku da 'He sees me'

kutta billi par goguda 'Dog barks at the cat'

se itte yinde 'They come here'

Demonstrative Pronoun

The Demonstrative pronouns are either proximate or remote/ye/this, these is denoting proximate and/wo 'that those'/is denoting remote. These are exemplified below.

ye manu lame he 'This man is tall'

wo manu lame he	‘That man is tall’
ye manu lame hin	‘These men are tall’
wo manu moTTa hin	‘Those men are fat’

To denote proximate and remote in Chambeali two different morphemes are realized.

That is /tette/ - proximate

/utte/ - remote/distance.

me tette ja:nda	‘I go there (near by)
me utte ja:nda	‘I go there (distant/place)

Reflexive Pronoun:

To denote Reflexive ness the Chambeali has a morpheme /apui/ ‘self’.

me apui apni kamij dho:ti I myself clothes wash	‘I myself wash the clothes’
asã apui a:mbu tho:Re we ourselves mango plucked.	‘We ourselves plucked the mangoes’
te apui ongeli khaTTi you yourself finger cut	‘You yourself cut the finger’
tini apui sa:re a:mbu khai he himself all mangoes ate	‘He himself ate the mangoes’
teas apui gerem pa:ni ape upper suTTeya she herself hot water her on poured	‘She herself poured the hot water’
ga apui riDki geyi cow itself fall down	‘The cow itself fall down’
tina apui swa:lnare jawa:b dette they themselves question answer gave	‘They themselves answered the questions’

Interrogative Pronouns:

The interrogative pronoun occurs after the personal pronoun.

se ko:n he “Who is he?”
he who is

ye manu je abbe a:ye konu hin? “Who is the man who came just now?”
that man who then came who is

se kusera gho:Ra he “Whose horse is that?”
that whose horse is

Indefinite Pronoun:

The Indefinite pronoun is realized in both the ways either by initial or after the pronoun in a sentence.

koibhi ye ka:m kari sakku da. “Anybody can do this work?”
Anybody this work do can

imtinan tho:De a:nehi kara kitta ‘A few people did the exam well’
Exam a few people did

4.6 Adjective

There are two types of Adjectives realized that is qualitative and quantitative. The qualitative adjective is further divided into attributive and general.

The Adjectives in Chambeali occurs after the noun or pronoun and sometimes occurs initially also.

haũ lemma he ‘I am tall’

paha:R uccha he ‘Hill is high’

munDa alsi he ‘The boy is lazy’

baRa khaRa munDa ‘The good boy’

nikkha munDa ‘Small child’

baDDa munDa ‘Big child’

Attributive Adjectives:

Phu:l la:l he ‘Flower is red’

ye cheRa patta he ‘This s a teased leaf’
this teased leaf

gande ha:t ‘Dirty hand’
dirt hand

Quantitative Adjectives:

Numerals function as the Quantitative Adjectives. Which occurs either nitially or after the noun or pronoun of the sentence.

do kutte hin ‘Two dogs’

treye kutte in ‘Three dogs’

ye do gar in ‘These are two houses’

mera ikkoi putter he ‘I have one son’

ye do bare chakaRa hin ‘These are two big carts’.

minjo tho:Da o:r pa:ni chahida ‘I want a little more water’.

minjo tho:de ca:ul ca:hide ‘I want a little rice’

4.7 Numerals

Chambeali language has adopted some Hindi numerals with a little modification. Some are as it is and some are of its own.

There are two types of numerals used namely cardinals and ordinals.

Cardinals Numerals:

The Cardinal numerals are divided into two groups that free and found morphemes. Generally, the numerals One to Ten and tens such as Twenty, Thirty and etc are free forms.

e:k ‘one’

do ‘two’

tre ‘three’

cha:r ‘four’

pa:nju ‘five’

chi ‘six’

sat	‘seven’
a:T	‘eight’
nou	‘nine’
das	‘ten’
bi	‘twenty’
ti	‘thirty’
cha:li	‘forty’
panja	‘fifty’
saT	‘sixty’
satter	‘seventy’
assi	‘eighty’
nabbe	‘ninety’
san	‘hundred’

Numerals from 11 to 99 are formed by compounding the proper found for. The numeral eleven is pronounced/ya:ra/instead of/gya:ra/in Hindi.

Ordinals:

The ordinal numerals are realized by the suffix/-la, wa and ya/with the stem.

Pahe + la	‘first’
du + wa	‘second’
two	
tre + ya	‘third’
three	

Fractions:

The fractions are realized by separate morphemes.

cho thai	‘quarter’
----------	-----------

adda	‘half’
ti:n chofai	‘one third’
chouwa e:k	‘one and a quarter’
de:d	‘one and half’

4.8 Verb Morphology:

Verb: Verb is a class of words inflected for the categories of Tense and Mood. Verb stems may either simple or complex in nature.

Finite Verb: Finite verb is a complete verb and it shows the complete action done which are realized through the use of Person + Tense + Number and Gender Markers.

me usi yo de:ku da	‘I see him’
I he+case see pr.T	
se utte khaRinda	‘She stands there’
as is ra:ste a:ye	‘We came by this way’

Tense

Present Tense:

Present Tense is realized by suffixing a form, which is conditioned by the gender + number with the verb + root.

me tijjo deku da	‘I see you’
I you see pr.T	
me itte yinda	‘I come here’
I have come+pr.T	
me utte ja:nda	‘I go there’
I there go+pr.T	
pāchi uRu de	‘Birds fly’
bird fly+pr.T	
se utte ja:nda	‘He goes there’
he there go+pr.T	

asi ga:yā jo ma:rde ‘We beat the cow’
we cow-s beat+pr.T

Past Tense:

The past Tense is realized by the person + gender markers which are suffixed with the verb root.

asi chali geye ‘We went away’
we go+PT. Already.

se paha:ra par chari geya ‘He went up the hill’
he hill+to up climb PT

haũ reDke ya ‘I fell down’
I fall+PT.

me cho:r pakha re ‘I caught the robber’
I robber catch. PT

haũ pichale kaLu a:ya ‘I come yesterday’
I yesterday come+PT

Future Tense:

The Future Tense is realized by the suffix which is suffixed with the verb root and it is conditioned by the person + gender.

bini chali ja:no ‘He will go’
he go F.T

tina chali ja:no ‘They will go’
they go FT

asō itte Teherona ‘We will stop here’
we here stop + will

me khaL ni a:na ‘I will not come tomorrow’
I tomorrow not come + will

4.9 Aspect:

Aspect is a grammatical category of verb, which has nothing to do with the location of an event in time but its temporal distribution.

There are six aspects are realized in Chambeali Language, namely present progressive, past progressive and present perfect tense, past perfect, present perfect continues and past perfect continuous.

Present Progressive Aspect.

Present Progressive is expressed according the verb.

bacca utter bhaTTho rahe 'The child is sitting there'
child there sit Pr. Prog.Aspt

ga:iyã gha chugu di 'The cow is grassing'
cow+Pl grass eat+ing

ga:I yã gha chuhe kardi hin 'Cows are grassing'
cow+Pl grass eat+ing. C.Vb

se pañci-jo ma:rya karda he 'He is killing the brd'
he bird-Pl beat/kill do C.Vb

Past Progressive Aspect

The Past Progressive is expressed according to the verb.

1) picale kal me sa:ri dya:ri so hireya 'Yesterday I was sleeping all the day'
Yesterday I all-day sleep+ing

2) jakhani me tisiyo dikkeya, se leTora-te paDeya karda tiya
whenever I him saw he lying read do ing
'He was lying down and reading when I saw him'

Present Perfect Aspect

The Present Perfect Tense is realized by separate morphemes which occurs with the main verb.

1) se chambe gyõri 'She has visited chamba'.
she chamba go+has

2) se chambe gyõ ra 'He has visited chamba.'
he chamba go+has

3) ga kheLere patte kha:I bheTTe re 'The cow has eaten banana leaf'
cow banana's leaf eat has+en.

4) me cho:r dekkhe re 'I have seen the thief'
I thief seen+have

5) parinde phal kha:I bheTTe re 'The birds eaten the fallen fruits'
birds fruit eat hare+en

Past Perfect aspect:

The Past Perfect Tense is realized by the morpheme/-thiya/which occurs after the main verb.

1) me ambe kha:I bheTTa ra thiya 'I had eaten a mango'
I mango eat already+-en (had)

2) tu ambu kha:I bheTTara thiya 'You had eaten mango'
you mango eat already -en(had)

3) kutta mās kha:I bheTTera thiya 'The dog had eaten mutton'
dog mutton eat already -en had

Present Perfect Continuous Aspect

The Present Perfect Continuous Tense is realized by the morpheme/-ya kar/

1) me bhyagera bhutte bharē ya karda he 'I have been cutting the trees since morning'
I morning tree cut+been do

2) se parsuūka gā bade ya karda he 'He has been cutting the grass since day before-
he day beforegrass cut-ing do-has yesterday yesterday'

3) kutte piceli ra:tika gogya kardi 'Dogs have been barking since last night'
dogs last night-since barking do

4) picele do ro:jak bacce ro:ya karde hin 'Children have been crying since last two days'
last two days children cry do

Past Perfect Continuous Aspect:

The Past Perfect Continuous aspect is realized by the suffix/-ya karda tiya/

1) me picele das sa:lna ka chambere ya karda tiya
I last 10 years since chambe-line do had been
'I had been staying in chamba for the past 10 years'

2) se picele saTsa:lina ka chambe reya karda tiya
he last 60 years-since chamba live do have been.
'He had been staying in chamba for the last 60 years'

3) garib picele kei sa:lnaka reya karde tiye.
poor last may years since live do-had been
'The poor had been living in chamba.'

4.10 Mood:

Mood expresses the speaker's point of view about the occurrence of the event. It is the mode or manner, which is used to express a statement, a command a question or doubt.

There are six moods have been identified namely, indicative, Imperative, Interrogative, subjunctive, probability and optative mood. These are exemplified below.

Indicative mood:

The Indicative mood is realized by the subjunctive verb by the declarative sentences,

ye kutta he	'This is a dg'
itte kutta he	'Here is a cat'
ye meri kita:b he	'This is my book'
ye ga he	'This is a cow'

Imperative Mood:

The Imperative mood expresses the command by specific suffixes which occurs with the main verb.

mere chakhaRe ka ja	'Go to my cart'
meri kita:b itte leiya my book here bring+come	'Bring my book here'
mere ghar ja my house go	'Go to my house'
utte ja	'Go there'
itte a	'Come here'

bei ja	‘Sit down’
usiyo sad	‘Call him’
khaDe uT	‘Stand up’
pakaD	‘Hold it’

Interrogative Mood:

Interrogative Mood is expressed by specific morphemes, which generally occurs before the main verb and also in the beginning of the sentence before the noun.

1. tusi ke kha:nde ‘What do you eat?’
you what eat
2. tuma:re kitne bacce hin ‘How many children have you?’
you+here Howmany children+Pl
3. tera na ke he ‘What is your name?’
your name what is
4. tusi kette rende ‘Where do you live?’
You where live
5. tumara pe she ke he ‘What is your occupation?’
Your occupation what is
6. tusi kittene baje ja:g de ‘When do you get up?’
you when+time get up
7. kusera gho:Ra he ‘Whose horse is that?’
whose horse is
8. ko:n he? ‘Who is he?’
Who
9. kotte ka aye rahe ‘Where has he come from?’
Where

Subjunctive Mood:

The Subjunctive Mood expresses the conditional statement. It has a separate morpheme/tã/which occurs between the subordinate and the main clause.

4.11 Non-Finite Verb:

The verb is no conditioned by the person and number of its subject.

The Infinitive Verb is realized by separate suffixes, which occurs before the main verb.

1) me ho:Re nuwa:Re ta:yī dreya lei – ja :nda thiya.

I horse wash to river used to take
'I used to take the horse to the river to wash'

2) naukri labune ta:yī I ana cha:hita

job searching to go+one should+go
'One should go to find a job'

3) asi macci pakarne ta:yī sumedra to ja:nde

we fish catch to sea go
'We go to the sea to catch fish'

4) se sabji karidne ta:yī baza:r geya

he vegetable purchase to market went
'He went to the market to Purchase vegetable'

4.11.1 Verbal Noun

The verb function as noun called verbal nouns. The suffix/-kari/is realized as verbal noun is Chambeali language.

1) yaga dho:Ri kari teseri set bani geyi

morning running+ do he good health+gained
'Running is the morning he gained good health'

2) tambe arse – tayī roi kari tisiyo biskuT mille

long time for crying+do he biscuit got
'Crying for a longer time, he got his biscuit'

3) ju:T bho:li-kari tini apna do:st gowaya

lies+telling+do he his first lost
'Telling lies e lost is good friend'

4.11.2 Gerund:

The verb function as noun is called Gerund. The suffix/Na/is suffixed with the main verb to denote Gerundial Formation.

- 1) subere paNNa – kara he ‘Reading in the morning is better’
morning reading+do
- 2) sanja khe:Lna se:t – ta:yĩ acca he ‘Playing in the evening is good for health’
evening play+ing health-for good is
- 3) tereNa set ta:yĩ acca he ‘Swimming is good for health’
swim+ing health+for good is

4.11.3 Participle:

The Participle is realized by the morpheme /-kari/.

- 1) ro:la suni kari, laDka ja:ti geya ‘Hearing the noise, the boys woke up’
noise hearing boys make up
- 2) phulna:ri to:kri nindi kari laDki asa:njo miLLi
flowers basket carrying girl happen meet
‘We met a girl, carrying a basket of flowers’
- 3) principal-kane jo:re bo:lI-kari tini da:flera mokkha gewa:ya
the principal-to loudly-speaking he entry chance lost
‘Loudly speaking to the principal, he spoiled the admission’
- 4) do:stāa Degikari tini sa:ri umi:d gewahi
friends deceiving, he all faith lost
‘Deceived by his friends, he lost all hope’

4.12 Causative Verb:

The Causativeness is realized by a separate morpheme, which occurs with the main verb.

- 1) me te:ska ga:na gowa:ya ‘I make her sing a song’
I her song sing+make
- 2) asā tiyo ghoR par chaRaya ‘We make her ride a horse’
we-her horse-on ride+make
- 3) uni usa:ka do:s manu wa:ya ‘He made her confess her fault’
he her fault confess+made

4.13 Auxiliary Verb:

The Auxiliary Verb is realized by different morphemes.

- 1) me bhutTere neRe he 'I am near the free'
I free near s/am
- 2) tisi – jo ka:m ni karuna chahida 'He should not do the work'
he work+not do should Pr.T
- 3) me apna ja:lu to:pi ni sakhe ya 'I couldn't find mynet'
I my net find not could Pr.T
- 4) minjo a:na cahida 'I should not come'
I come should. Pt.T
- 5) me ye ka:mi nikari sakuda 'I can't do this job'
I this work not + do can+ Pr.T
- 6) ye hoi sakuda 'It may happen'
It happen may Pr.T

4.14 Negative Verb:

The sense of negation is realized by two morphemes like/mat/and/ni/. The morpheme/mat/occurs freely but/-ni/is a bound morpheme.

- 1) ju:T mat bo:l na 'Do not tell his'
lie not tell+Imp.M
- 2) me jaya-ni karda he 'I am not going'
I go+not do am
- 3) me kicni bolleya 'I said nothing'
I a littleno say+PT
- 4) mereka kicbi ni he 'I have nothing'
I+poss a little+no is
- 5) ye – kare la faz ni hin 'These are not good words'
these word good+not Vb

4.15 Compound Verb:

The first element of the compound Verb carries the meaning and the second element performs the action of the finite verb.

na : s + karna = na : skarna demolish/destroy.
waste + do

nigel + na = nigelna swallowed
engulf + do

katem + karna = katem karna destroy/finish/complete.
close + do

4.16 Passive formation:

The Passiveness is realized by the suffix/-kha/.

me roTi kha : nda 'I eat bread'

roTi mere kha kha : yi ja : ndi 'The bread is eaten by me'

nerekha a:m kha: -ja:ye karde hin 'The mangoes are being eaten by me'

me+by mango aat being+Aux. Vb

4.17 Transitivity:

Transformation of the verb is studied is Transitivity. The verb, which does not take subject, is called Intransitive the verb which takes the subject is called Transitive Verb.

1) me a:g baluda 'I make fire'
I fire fire+make

a:g baluda 'Fire burns) Intr.
fire burns

2) me hawa caluda 'I make wind blows'
I wind make+blow

hawa caldi 'Wind blows'
wind blows

3) me pa:ni uba:luda ‘I boil the water’
 I water boil

pa:ni ubaluda ‘Water boils’

4.19 Adverb:

The different formation of adverbs are realized such, Adverb of place, Adverb of Time and Adverb of manner. These are explained below in detail.

1. Adverb of Time

To realized Adverb of Time two different formation are realized

1) Adverb occurs before main verb and

2) Adverb begins in a sentence.

1) tusi kakani – baje jagu de ‘When do you get up?’
 you when – time get up

2) kalu me grã ja : na ‘Tomorrow I shall go to the village’
 tomorrow I village go+to

3) pichale kalu haũ a:ya ‘I came yesterday’
 yesterday I came

4) tu kakani jaya karda he ‘When you are going?’
 you when go do are

Adverb of Place:

Adverb of place is realized after the noun.

1) patra par chaRi ja ‘Stop on the stone’
 stone on stop-up

2) gharere cheupere chal ‘Go around the house’
 house around go

3) baRa par chaLLa ‘Jump over the fence’
 fence-on jump

- | | |
|---|------------------------------------|
| 4) kata:b me:ja he:T he
book table below is | ‘The book is below the table’ |
| 5) me bhuTTe is pa:sse he
I tree in this side am | ‘I am in this side of the tree’ |
| 6) me bhuTTe ka du:r he
I tree+to far am | ‘I am far from the tree’ |
| 7) bhuTTa sarakere uspa:sse he
tree road – to that side is | ‘Tree is on that side to the road’ |

Adverb of Manner:

The Adverb of manner realized in the word beginning.

- | | |
|--|-----------------------|
| 1) jore mat bo:lina
loudly not speak+do | ‘Do not speak loudly’ |
| 2) buRa mat bo:lina
bad+not say+do | ‘Do not speak badly’ |
| 3) asta mat anDa
slowly not walk+do | ‘Do not walk slowly’ |
| 4) sa:f sutera like
neatly write | ‘Write neatly’ |

4.20 Particle

Four types of particles realized. These are conjunctive, emphatic, negative and correlative particles. These are exemplified below.

I. Conjunctive Particle:

This particle helps to join the subordinate and the main clause. The conjunctive particles are and, but and or.

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1) mere bha:I te bhelenā ghare hin
my brother and sisters house+in are | ‘My brothers and sisters are in the house’ |
| 2) ye do ya:tre ja:ged ghare ja:yi sakude
these two or three boys home go can | ‘These two or three boys can go home’ |

- 3) me ja:na thiya par me ni ge ga ‘I had to go but I did not go’
 I go+to had but I not did+go

Emphatic Particle:

The Emphatic ness is realized by separate markers.

- 1) tissã - jo ka:mkarneri jaru:rat ni ‘She could not have do the work’
 she work-do to do the work
- 2) minjo ka:mkar chaNna cha:I da tiya ‘I should not have done the work’
 I+case work+do should+not have done

Negative Particle:

Negative Particle is realized by two morphemes/mat/and/-ni/- the/mat/is a free morpheme and/Ni/is a bound morpheme.

- 1) ju:T mat bo:lina ‘Donot tell lies’
 lies not speak d
- 2) me kic ni boLLe ya ‘I said nothing’
 I alitte+not speak+do
- 3) mere ka kicbini ne ‘I have nothing’
 I+poss a little+also+not do

4.21 Correlative Particle:

Correlative Particle is realized by separate morphemes.

- 1) se ik lchavi saye rate ga:ika ne ‘She is a good poet as well as a
 she one poet as well as singer+also is singer’
- 2) se bo:l jeDDe d:r suTTi sakkuda diya tini soTTeya ‘He throw the ball as far as
 he ball as far as threw can+do he could he could’

4.22 Echo Formation:

The repetition of the same formation in the second component is called echo formation. In Chambeali, the second component of the first consonant changes into/-ph/for Echo formation.

maNu	- dhanu	'man' etc
ba:lu	- dha:lu	'hair' etc
apser	- dhapser	officer etc.
paDuda	- dhaDuda	screen etc.
kursi	- dhursi	'chair etc'

5. SYNTAX

Chambeali is a Subject + Object + Verb that is SOV language.

5.1 Order of words:

- | | |
|--|---------------------------------|
| 1) kutta billi par goguda
dog cat+at bark+Pr T
subject object verb | ‘Dog barks at the cat’ |
| 2) mari kudi ba:ggha bic he
my daughter garden in is
subject object Vb | ‘My daughter is in the garden’ |
| 3) bacca ba:g gha yi:nde
children garden come+to
subject object Vb | ‘Children come to the garden’ |
| 4) bhuTTeka patta allude
tree+s leaves fall-down
subject object Vb | ‘Leaves of the tree falls down’ |

5.2 Description of Types of Sentences:

There are five type of sentences realized in Chambeali Language namely, Interrogative, Imperative, Negative, Causative and Coordinate Sentences. These are explained below.

1. Interrogative Sentence.

The interrogative marker is realized either in the end of the sentence or after the noun/pronoun.

- | | |
|---|----------------------------------|
| i. ye teri bahen he
She your sister is | ‘Is she your sister?’ |
| ii. tusi ke kha : nde
you what eat+do | ‘What do you eat?’ |
| iii. tumpha : re kitne bacce hin
You+for howmany children do | ‘How many children do you hare?’ |
| iv. tera na ke he
you name what is | ‘What is your name?’ |

2. Imperative Sentence:

The imperativeness is realized by separate words, which expresses the command.

pakaD	‘hold it’	bei ja	‘sitdown’
utte ja	‘go there’	uT	‘stand up’

Negative Sentence:

The Negation is expressed by two morphemes one is/mat/which is a face morpheme another one is/ni/which is a bound morpheme.

ju:T mat bo:lna	‘Do not tell lies’
lie not speak do	

me kicni bolliya	‘I said nothing’
I a little+not speak-do	

Causative Sentence:

The Causativeness is realized by separate morphemes.

- | | |
|--------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1) me te:ska ga:na gowa:ya | ‘I make her sing a song’ |
| I her+to song sing+make | |
| 2) asã tiyo ghoRe par chaRa:ya | ‘We make her ride a horse’ |
| we her horse on ride+made | |
| 3) uni usa:ka do:s manuwa:ya | ‘He made her confess her fault’ |

Coordinate Sentence:

The particles, which coordinates two main clauses, could coordinate sentence etc.

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|--|
| 1) tesere a:neka ba:d me ja:na | ‘I shall go after she comes’ |
| she come+then then I go+shall | |
| 2. me dine ka:m karda te ra:ti sunda | ‘I work in the day and sleep at night’ |
| I daytime work do and night sleep-do | |

5.3 Description of patterns of the sentences:

There are three patterns of sentences realized in chambeali Language these are simple, complex and compound.

Simple Sentence:

Simple sentence includes, Negative, Interrogative, Imperative and Soon.

ye kutta he	‘This a dog’
itte kutte he	‘Here are dogs’
me ra ghare ja	‘Go to my house’
apNi kuDi jo saddu	‘Call your daughter’
ye teri bahen he	‘Is she your sister?’
na ye mari kuDi he	‘No, she is my daughter’
mera ha:t	‘My hand’
me tssã jo dekku da	‘I see you’
tera na ke he	‘What is your name?’
ju:T mat bo:lina	‘Do not tell lies’

Complex Sentence:

The subordinate clause and one or more main clauses jointly making a sentence is called complex sentence. Chambeali is also having such type of sentences, which are shown below.

1) jakane me amberi bareri tokri leckari grã jaya karda tiya minjo apna dost mileya.
when I mangoes full basket carrying village going + do I my friend met.
‘I met my friend when I was going to my village, carrying a basket full of mangoes’

2) se sabji karidhe tayi bajar geya hated mokke tisiyõ apne dost mille
he vegetable purchase+to market went while returning the his friend met
‘He went to the market t purchase vegetable while returning he met his old friends’

Compound Sentence:

Two main clauses may be jointly making a single sentence by the conjunctions called compound sentence.

1) tesere a:neka ba:d me ja:na ‘I shall go after she comes’
she come+to after I go+to

2) me dine ka:m karde te vaiti sunda ‘I work in the day and sleep in the night’
I day work + do and night sleep.

TEXT

HOW CROW -HEN KILLED THE BLACK SNAKE

baDere bhuTTere bade ba:liyā: bicci eku kha:the kha:ni rendethi
spreading tree-in big branches in that one crow-lived her with lived
tinhere aLLe bici ca:r nikke nikke anDethiye jineri maba:bu baDi niphajet ka:ne
she there itself four small small eggs their parents great guarded with
raksha karde tiye. us bu:Ttere Dotorā bicu eku ka:la sã:p renda tiya jiska baDa
care did that trees trunk inside one blank snake lived his big
dardetiye jābika:ni anDe dinditi sãp aLLe passé rig da tiya te a:nDe kha:yi jainda
tiya.
feared every time eggs ate snake there hear lived laid eggs eat done.
agar ka:la sãp abibi mere a:nDe khaigeya tā mẽ is bhu:Tte par vehneka if black
snake now also my eggs eaten then I this tree on live
na karidena
not do
asãjo apna ghosla ourti bana:yi le:na chahida pakshi ma:ne apne la:De-jo
we our nest another build to have bird mother-bird its husband-to
gela:ya asi itte lambe arsekha rehnde hin me apna ghar chaNNa breda:st nik ari
told we here long years/time live -ed PT I mine house leaving out not do
sakudate ourti rehna ni ja:I sakuda ka:ne gela:ya. jekene se gaLLã kardetiye
can and(also) living not go can ear-in the told. where their throat + doing talking
tiNa apne hiTa:ka phunka:r-ri awa:j indhi suni tina jo
they them selves suddenly hissing-of sound happen-to hear they(mother+father crows)
ma:lum thiya je is awa:jda matlep ka he se apne aLLe bicci apane anDeyã
knew that this sound's meaning what it is they their voice-leaving their eggs
jo bacha:ne ta:yĩ majbu:r beire ka:la sãp u;chate gōslare horneRe sarki a:ya tā u:chi

protect/save-to helplessly sat black snake towards nest slowly creeping came then loud
phunka:r ma:ri kari tini panchiyā jo DaMne:tri ko:sis kitti jeDe Dare re uDigeyē e:k eku
sound do he bird's strike try did they terror-by flew away one
kari kari ka:la sâp a:nDe nigelige ya
by one black snake eggs took out and eat.

maba:p uda:s hoikari apene aLLe jo wa:pas a:ye bakhu:bi ye ja:nde-hoye
parents (crow) helplessly their place(nest) return came predicting knowingly
je tinajo apana aLLa kha:li milena k^ha gela:na legeya minjo khuni sâpi-jo ma:rneri
they their their nest empty seeing crow told took away mine bad snake bite + to
koi tarkhi:b kaDna puni teseri la:Dne baDi nira:sa kane gala:ya.
some way thinking-by the snake fight done helplessly told.

tusi is ka:ne kaDi to:Dikiya sakude ise:ra daMu dada ka:tek he.

You this regard how fought can his sting big leadly is.

meRi pya:ri tu chinda matukarā mereka eku do:sutu jaDa bade bisle

my dear you think do not with me one friend is the big poisonous

sarpājo ma:re ta:yī-bi kafi chala:kute khusya:r he k^ha:ine gela:ya te du:r duw we
snakes to kill – also very clever cunning is he-crow told them distance-in the
bhuTTe passé uDigeyā jissere taLLe tese:ra pya:ra mitr eku beDiyā rehnditi.

tree near flew where place his loving friend one lived.

jekani lo:mbeDine chōneyā je ye sâfkiya a:nDe kha:ndatiya tini gela:ya. mere

there Jackal heard that this snake eggs ate he told my

dost jeDe berehem te la:lchi hunde tinhe:ra ant hame:sha bura hunda daro mat

friend that cruel and greedy his end automatically bad had worry not

me tisiyo katham karne:ri ek yo:jna sochilai.

I the snake finish do one plan had-thought

kha:ne puchiya wo minjo dasu so kya he tã longDine ye sochi kari Darde Darde
ear enquired that mine carefully what is and plan that thought did fought-by
je minjo koi suni naleyo apne dostre kaNNa bicu phus pusa:ya je tisi jo
that mine who heard not+do my friend with very good new ideas he that
sāpma:na tayi kya karta cha:ida. k^ha bo:lya ye ta khatera khe:l he asānjo baDe
snake-beat+ing to what did need. crow told this then bad game is their big
sa:b da:n u:na pu:na. ma pānchine baDi bahederi gane ba:lya me a:nDe bacha:ne ta:yī
careful did mother-bird big boldly like told I eggs protect to
kicbi karne jo teya:r he.

any thing to do ready is

se tis de:sre ra:jere m^heLLa pa:se uDigeye mhe:L us bhu:Teka baDe
they that country king's palace-near flew-away palace that tree-on
bade du:rni tiya. jispar se rhende tiye se mheLLere begiche bi:čbanere
big distance was there. this time they lived he palace-in garden near by
tela:pa:se a:ye tOla bicu sa:i aurtā na:ya kardi tiya tina sunneri cheNNa
pond near came pond near/beside and necessary formalities gold chain
motiri ma:la te ba:khi gyene tola:re khina:re par rakhe:re tiye mapakshi
pearl garland and other carefully in the hole beside lived the crows mother-crow bird
jikeDa uDi tetisa apni chunja biccu eku sunneri chēin chukki lei te apene rehaisi
suddenly fly going myself did then one gold chain ornaments self lived
bhuTTe pa:sse baLLe uDuna chu:ru kari detta. jekani mhelde pareda:ra:ne pakshi jo
tree near slowly fly start do there palace watch man bird
sunneri cheinka:ne uDude dikuya tina apane bha:Lle chukkhile te pakshira picha
golden chain fly self living took birds behind
surukaru detta. tina pakshijo chēin bhu:Ttere DoDra biccu suTTude dikkiya. ek

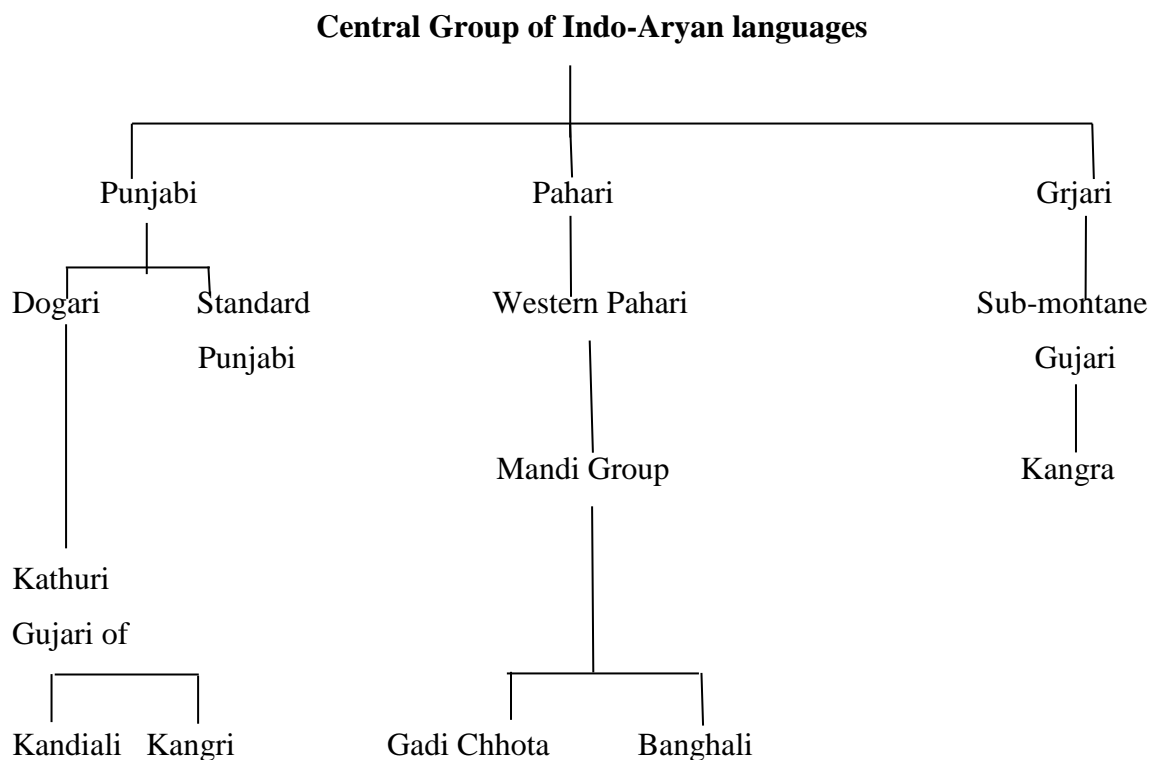
started. the birds chain tree placed dropped direction. One
 parda:r chēin khanDe ta:yī bhūTTepar chaRigeya apna: hati chēin kaNNe ta:yi
 sholder chain food free on claimed self chain took/available
 doDra biccu pa:ya tini ek kha:la sã/p kunDelima:ri kari bhūTTo:ra dekeya apene
 run beside available one black snake curld do tree-in saw self
 bha:lere ek takeDe ba:rkaNe tini Tisijo ma:ri detta aur ka:Le sãpã andu hua kauwa:te
 belt one took out he beat did and blame snake ended crow-hen
 ka:ni khushi khusi apene mate nikkhe nikkhe bacce kauwe ka:ne ba:d biccu tette
 rehndere.
 and he happily self their small children crow with then there lived

KANGRI

N. Gopalakrishnan

1. INTRODUCTION

i) Family affiliation.



ii) **Location** – **Kangra** is the name of the location. In 1926, Gazettee the following details are mentioned regarding Kangra: -

‘It is said that on the spot where the fortress stands, the fort at Kangra the Raksha Jalandhar met with his death, at least his body covered many leagues, but his head is said to have fallen on this spot. Hence, the fort was named **Kangarh**, the fort of the head, which became corrupted into Kangra.’

(a) **Boundaries (area)**

Kangra proper is bounded on the south-west by the district of Hoshiarpur, on the north-west by the District of Gurudaspur; on the north by the Native State of Chamba; on the east and south-east by Kulu and native states of Mandi and Bilaspur. It lies between north latitude $31^{\circ} 24'$ and $32^{\circ} 30'$ and east longitude $75^{\circ} 39'$ and $77^{\circ} 4'$. Along the Hoshiarpur frontier, between the points where the Beas and Sutlej issue upon the plains, the tract measures in a straight line

68 miles. The total area is 2,544 square miles and the population (1921) 6,44,038 souls, being in the proportion of 2,531 per square mile.

Kangra proper consists of a series of parallel ranges divided by longitudinal valleys, the general direction of which, from north- west to south-east has determined shape of the District. (Ref. Chap-I – descriptive – Dist. Gazetteer Kangra district 1924-1925)

iii) Speaker's strength

Speakers strength is available in Introduction chapter.

iv) Bilingualism

In Himachal Pradesh Kangri language is spoken by large people especially in Kangra district. This district is very famous for Dharmshala Buddhist temple. They are the speakers of Kangra. This language is spoken by the people of Jammu & Kashmir, Punjab and Haryana. These are the states very nearer or border of the Kangra district. They can speak very well in Hindi, Punjabi, and Dogri etc. Kangri speakers are bi-lingual.

v) Sociolinguistic Situation/Information

The Kangri speakers are well educated and cultured people. Their culture has matured through the temple. Scholars are presently available for connect and about their hereditary. At present for example my informant Dr. Gautam Sharma Vedit, Retired professor in the college. He is very much dedicated his life to maintain their culture and manage to Kangri language. So, whenever he is setting he is teaching his language in the school. He is having their own projects like preserve the languages and culture of Kangri. For that, he formed a society or trust to spread the language/culture through folk songs. He has produced the songs/books. He is writing the article in his own name called (Baneshwari). Magazine for Kangri language. My sincere thanks to S.Mishra *D.E.O Grade-'B'* EDP (RGI) for computerizing the Kangri report.

vi) Review of earlier literature available on the language/dialect/mother language.

This is by far the most important of all these dialects as it is the mother tongue of about 95 percent, of the population. It is the language of whole Kangra proper with exception of Chhota and Bara Bangahal and along the fringes. Where the dialect merges into those of the adjacent territories. Locally the dialect is known generally as Pahari but this form has been given a very different signification in the linguistic survey. The dialect is more closely related to

standard Punjabi then it is to western Hindi or Hindustani. It is allied to the latter in the use of *tha* etc. for the past tense of the verb *hona*, instead of the Punjabi forms. *sa* etc. In vocabulary too the Western Hindi or Hindustani word is sometimes used in preference to the standard Punjabi form but structurally the dialect is erratically Punjabi.

To a person acquainted with the ordinary Majhi dialect of Punjabi hearing Kangri for the first time the changes which would probably strike him most would be,

1) The inflection (e added) of all nouns ending in a consonant in oblique cases of the singular such as *ghare da*, of a house (except in the vocative where forms such as *ghara*, O house/are used)

2) The fact that in compound verbs the verbal root is never used by itself but has an attached where in Hindustani and Punjabi the simple verbal root would be used in the first member of the compound. Eg.

mari gaya

mili gaya

kari sakna

kari chukka, *chhadi de* (Punjabi *ch* add *de*), compare also the conjunctive participle *khai kari* for *khakar* (the only exception is the 2nd Personal singular imperative, such as *nar wich* is the same as Punjabi).

3) The use of the accusative suffix join Place of the Punjabi *nun* or Hindustani *Ko*, and the Preposition *kane* (= *nal* or *wal* also used as an accusative Preposition or as equivalent to the Hindustani *ke pas*) the agent affix *en* instead of the post Position *ne*; the Pronominal forms *assan* for *asin*,

tussan for tusin eh for oh; ninjo tinjo for maimun and tainun: assanjo and tussanjo for sanum and tahanun;

the possessive plural pronominal forms are *assan da*, etc., in some parts in other parts *mahara* etc.

4) The imperative 2nd person plural termination is a not *o* as *kara* for *karo* though *o* is also used in places.

5) The following words are common use in 'Kangri' *khara* = good; *Bunh* = down, below (adjective *buhla*, but *jhik* and *jhikla*, *heth* and *hethla* are also used with the same meanings)

mata = much or many

galama = to stay

gauhna = to ascend

laukna = to descend

taula = quickly

taundi = the hot weather'

kane = and

2. PHONOLOGY

Phonology is the study of how sounds are organized and used in natural languages. The phonological system of a language includes an inventory of sounds and their features and rules which specify how sounds interact with each other. Phonemic analysis helps in allotting all the indefinite number of sounds occurring in utterances to a definite and limited set of phonemes contrastive in at least some environment.

The phonological system of Kangri is presented below based on the data collected from the informant.

(i) Phonemic Inventory

Part of the phonological study of a language involves looking at data (phonetic transcriptions of the speech of native speakers) and trying to deduce what the underlying phonemes are and what the sound inventory of the language is. Thus, the phonemic inventory of Kangri shows the distinctive sound units occurring in Kangri speech. Both the segmental and suprasegmental phonemes of Kangri are presented in the following inventory.

(a) Vowels

	Front	Central	Back
High	<i>i:</i>		<i>u:</i>
Lower High	<i>i</i>		<i>u</i>
Higher mid	<i>e</i>		<i>o</i>
Lower mid	<i>E</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>o</i>
Low		<i>aa</i>	

(b) Consonants

There are 23 Consonants in Kangri.

	Labial	Dental	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar
	Uvular				
Stops vl. Unasp	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>T</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>k</i>
Stops vl. asp	<i>ph</i>	<i>th</i>	<i>Th</i>	<i>ch</i>	<i>kh</i>

Stops vd. unasp	<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>D</i>	<i>j</i>	<i>I</i>
Nasals	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>N</i>		
Fricatives		<i>S</i>			
Flap		<i>y</i>	<i>R</i>		
Laterals		<i>l</i>	<i>L</i>		

Suprasegmental Phonemes

Length: All the vowels are having the length.

Nasalization: Kangri has the vowel Nasalization.

Tones: Interestingly Kangri has the tone markers. They are high tone

as *a / ˘ /*, and mid tone */ ˘ /*.

ii) Phonemic Description.

Vowels: All the vowels occur initially, medially and finally.

<i>/i/</i>	<i>/isjo/</i>	‘(to) it’
	<i>/minjo/</i>	‘me’
	<i>/jigri/</i>	‘brave’
<i>/e/</i>	<i>/eri/</i>	‘heel’
	<i>/red/</i>	‘sand’
	<i>/tare/</i>	‘star’
<i>/u/</i>	<i>/ura/</i>	‘fair skinned’
	<i>/mukut/</i>	‘crow’
	<i>/jholu/</i>	‘bag’
<i>/o/</i>	<i>/o:T/</i>	‘lip’
	<i>/sog/</i>	‘grief’
	<i>/mo/</i>	‘mouth’

/a/	/anja:n/	‘innocent’
	/lafafa/	‘envelope’
	/kila/	‘fort’

Consonants:

/p/	/putar/	‘son’
	/pepera/	‘lung’
	/ta:p/	‘fever’
/b/	/bakri/	‘goat’
	/chumbak/	‘magnet’
	/poorab/	‘east’
/ph/	/phunnch/	‘tail’
	/dupher/	‘day of the moon’
	/sarph/	‘python’
/bh/	/bhit/	‘shutter’
	/sarbhandi/	‘relatives’
	/jaggabh/	‘wound’
/t/	/taare/	‘star’
	/taulia/	‘towel’
	/tart/	‘land’
/d/	/du: /	‘dust’
	/bidwa/	‘window’
	/pond/	‘mat’
/th/	/thobra/	‘hammer’
	/sothi/	‘stick’

	<i>/teerth/</i>	‘holy place’
<i>/dh/</i>	<i>/dhan/</i>	‘money’
	<i>/kadhna/</i>	‘vulture’
<i>/k/</i>	<i>/kante/</i>	‘put’
	<i>/tak/</i>	‘till’
<i>/g/</i>	<i>/garli/</i>	‘pregnancy’
	<i>/boogla/</i>	‘kingfisher’
	<i>/korag/</i>	‘diet’
<i>/kh/</i>	<i>/khand/</i>	‘sugar’
	<i>/lokhl bhe□n/</i>	‘younger’
	<i>/mekh/</i>	‘nail’
<i>/gh/</i>	<i>/ghatti/</i>	‘valley’
	<i>/sanghar/</i>	‘anchor’
	<i>/singh/</i>	‘horn’
<i>/c/</i>	<i>/clarna/</i>	‘scatter’
	<i>/kanceri/</i>	‘earwax’
<i>/j/</i>	<i>/jalana/</i>	‘burn’
	<i>/sejal/</i>	‘wet’
	<i>/dej/</i>	‘bright’
<i>/ch/</i>	<i>/chamra/</i>	‘leather’
	<i>/mocha/</i>	‘shoe maker’
	<i>/katch/</i>	‘arm pit’
<i>/jh/</i>	<i>/jhola,jholu/</i>	‘bag’
	<i>/panjhar/</i>	‘autumn’

	<i>/galbajh/</i>	‘chatter’
<i>/s/</i>	<i>/suniar/</i>	‘goldsmith’
	<i>/kosda/</i>	‘which’
	<i>/bans/</i>	‘bamboo’
<i>/h/</i>	<i>/halka/</i>	‘short’
	<i>/kahangi/</i>	‘comb’
	<i>/dharsh/</i>	‘scene’
<i>/m/</i>	<i>/murg/</i>	‘green gram’
	<i>/maramat/</i>	‘repair’
	<i>/kasam/</i>	‘oath’
<i>/n/</i>	<i>/nauni/</i>	‘butter’
	<i>/nasna/</i>	‘escape’
	<i>/jamin/</i>	‘field’
<i>/l/</i>	<i>/long/</i>	‘clove’
	<i>/talar/</i>	‘shed’
	<i>/bel/</i>	‘creeper’
<i>/r/</i>	<i>/red/</i>	‘sand’
	<i>/glari/</i>	‘squirrel’
	<i>/binary/</i>	‘sick’
<i>/y/</i>	<i>/yeh/</i>	‘it/this’
	<i>/daya/</i>	‘pity’
	<i>/day/</i>	‘give’

iii) Major Allophonic distribution

Allophones are condition specific (dependent) variants of a phoneme. Allophones of a phoneme occur in mutually exclusive environments. Allophones do not affect the functional

identity of the phoneme in the language. So this is a phonetic variant of a phoneme in a particular language. Although a phoneme's allophones are all alternative pronunciations for a phoneme, the specific allophone selected in a given situation is often predictable. The present data shows the following allophonic variation –

(a) **Vowels:**

/i/ has two allophones [i] and [i]

[i] has high front unrounded half long vowel occurs finally.

/paNi/ [paNi] ‘water’

/patari/ [patari] ‘lean’

/malai/ [malai] ‘skin’

[i] high front unrounded short vowel occurs elsewhere.

/makki/ [makki] ‘bug’

/kire/ [kire] ‘warm’

/imarat/ [imarat] ‘building’

/e/ has two allophones [E] and [e]

[E] the lower mid front unrounded half long vowels occur in the final position.

/turude/ [turude] ‘feet’

/talae/ [talae] ‘mattress’

/te/ [te] ‘than’

[e] the higher mid front unrounded short occurs in all the position.

/dena/ [dena] ‘pay’

/keth/ [keth] ‘farm’

/bhet/ [bhet] ‘secret’

/u/ has two allophones [u] and [u].

[u] the high back rounded half long vowel occurs in the final position.

<i>/seru/</i>	[<i>seru</i>]	‘hare’
<i>/thairu/</i>	[<i>thairu</i>]	‘hammer’
<i>/dharu/</i>	[<i>dharu</i>]	‘gun powder’

[*u*] high back rounded short vowel occurs elsewhere

<i>/muhal/</i>	[<i>muhal</i>]	‘winnowing basket’
<i>/sanguli/</i>	[<i>sanguli</i>]	‘bolt of door’
<i>/faltu/</i>	[<i>faltu</i>]	‘spear’

/o/ has two allophones [*O*] and [*o*]

[*O*] the higher mid back rounded half long vowels occurs in the final position

<i>/do/</i>	[<i>do</i>]	‘two’
<i>/tamako/</i>	[<i>tamako</i>]	‘smoke’
<i>/raso/</i>	[<i>raso</i>]	‘kitchen’

[*o*] the higher mid back rounded short vowels occur elsewhere

<i>/mor/</i>	[<i>mor</i>]	‘peacock’
<i>/dhor/</i>	[<i>dhor</i>]	‘race’
<i>/mijo-te/</i>	[<i>mijo-te</i>]	‘from’

/a/ has three allophones [*A*], [*a*] and [*a*]

[*A*] the lower mid back un rounded short vowel occurs in-between consonants.

<i>/putar/</i>	[<i>putAr</i>]	‘son’
<i>/badal/</i>	[<i>badAl</i>]	‘cloud’
<i>/kasna/</i>	[<i>kAsna</i>]	‘tie-up’

[*a*.] /the low central un rounded half-long vowel occurs elsewhere.

<i>/glari/</i>	[<i>glari</i>]	‘squirrel’
<i>/ban/</i>	[<i>baN</i>]	‘forest’

/langaRa/ [*langaRa*] ‘stagger’

[a] the low central un rounded half-long vowel occurs elsewhere.

/manDa/ [*manDa*] ‘honest’

/naRa/ [*naRa*] ‘spring of water’

Consonants:

/t/ has two allophones [T] and [t]

[T] the voiceless retroflex stop, occurs after retroflex consonant

/kante/ [*kante*] ‘dress’

/malti/ [*malti*] ‘white’

[t] the voiceless alveolar stop occurs elsewhere.

/tilla/ [*tilla*] ‘lazy’

/patla/ [*patla*] ‘form land’

/gwet/ [*gullet*] ‘sling’

/r/ has two allophones [r] and [R]

[r] occurs elsewhere.

/tart/ [*tart*] ‘land’

/tasvir/ [*tasvir*] ‘picture’

[R] is retroflex voiced stop occurs medially and finally.

/thoRna:/ [*thoRna:.*] ‘break’

/ta:Ri:/ [*ta:Ria:.*] ‘clap the hands’

/tauR/ [*tauR*] ‘hurry’

Vowel Contrast:

/i~e/ */dej/* ‘bright’

	<i>/daj/</i>	‘penalty’
<i>/e~a/</i>	<i>/kire/</i>	‘worm’
	<i>/kare/</i>	‘jungle crow’
<i>/o~a/</i>	<i>/koRi/</i>	‘mare’
	<i>/kaRi makki/</i>	‘black bee’
<i>/i~u/</i>	<i>/tikari/</i>	‘balance’
	<i>/sakari/</i>	‘hunter’
<i>/a~u/</i>	<i>/bakri/</i>	‘goat’
	<i>/kukri/</i>	‘hen’
	<i>/pakru/</i>	‘young ones’
	<i>/bakri/</i>	‘goat’
<i>/p b/</i>	<i>/panj/</i>	‘five’
	<i>/banj/</i>	‘bamboo’
<i>/t d/</i>	<i>/tuar/</i>	‘Sunday to Saturday’
	<i>/duax/</i>	‘fai’
<i>/k g/</i>	<i>/kila/</i>	‘fort’
	<i>/gila/</i>	‘wet’ (make wet)
	<i>/kaTna/</i>	‘decrease’
	<i>/gaDna/</i>	‘set up right ereet’
<i>/c j/</i>	<i>/cla:rna/</i>	‘scatter’
	<i>/jagarna/</i>	‘quarrel’
	<i>/makkari/</i>	‘spider’
	<i>/jiggara/</i>	‘heart’
<i>/ph bh/</i>	<i>/phax/</i>	‘fur’

	<i>/bhar/</i>	‘flood’
<i>/th dh/</i>	<i>/thanD/</i>	‘cold’
	<i>/dhanD/</i>	‘teeth’
<i>/kh gh/</i>	<i>/khaR/</i>	‘hay’
	<i>/ghar/</i>	‘house’
<i>/ch jh/</i>	<i>/chak-la/</i>	‘rolling’ (board)
	<i>/jhag/</i>	‘saliva’

iv) Diphthongs

In kangri *ia, ai, ue, ao, io, au, ua*, are the diphthongs.

v) Clusters

They are as

- i) Vowel clusters
- ii) Consonant clusters.

Vowel Clusters

It refers to more than one adjacent vowel sounds occurring within a word. There are some vowel clusters realized in Kangri language. Such as

- ia -	<i>/biah/</i>	‘marriage’
- ia	<i>/motia/</i>	‘white’
- ai -	<i>/paisa/</i>	‘money’
- ue -	<i>/bhuen/</i>	‘sit’
- ao -	<i>/bhao/</i>	‘earth’
- io -	<i>/niora/</i>	‘meat’
	<i>/mapio/</i>	‘parents’
-au -	<i>/mauje/</i>	‘trousers’
- ua -	<i>/duan/</i>	‘smoke’

Consonant Clusters

A consonant cluster is a group of consonants which have no intervening vowel. The consonant clusters can be a combination of two identical as well as two non-identical consonants that generally occurs in the medial position of a word.

Medial clusters.

- <i>pt</i> -	<i>/saptarshi/</i>	‘great bear’
- <i>pn</i> -	<i>/topna/</i>	‘search for’
- <i>pr</i> -	<i>/cupria/</i>	‘be silent’
- <i>pr</i> -	<i>/kapRa/</i>	‘cloth’
- <i>pk</i> -	<i>/mapkarna/</i>	‘forgive’
- <i>th</i> -	<i>/pathi/</i>	‘leaf’
- <i>th</i> -	<i>/patni/</i>	‘wife’
- <i>tt</i> -	<i>/kuttia/</i>	‘bitch’
- <i>tr</i> -	<i>/matrer bhen/</i>	‘step mother’
- <i>tl</i> -	<i>/patla/</i>	‘form land’
- <i>tk</i> -	<i>/laTkana/</i>	‘cling to’
- <i>Tn</i> -	<i>/pani kaTna/</i>	‘dip up’
- <i>Tp</i> -	<i>/chaTpare/</i>	‘ignore’
- <i>tk</i> -	<i>/uTkana/</i>	‘bounce’ rebound
- <i>tl</i> -	<i>/at;a/</i>	‘form land’
- <i>Tl</i> -	<i>/katllinanal/</i>	‘jasmine’
- <i>Tr</i> -	<i>/maṅtreR/</i>	‘step mother’
- <i>Tr</i> -	<i>/kaTrona/</i>	‘gather to get her’
- <i>kn</i> -	<i>/jhukna/</i>	‘bow’
- <i>kd</i> -	<i>/bakd samalna/</i>	‘time fellow rhythm’

- kk -	/makki/	‘fly’
- kh -	/ukhal/	‘winnowing basket’
- kl -	/chekalana/	‘lick’
- kr -	/pakru/	‘young ones’ (birds)
- tt -	/kuttia/	‘bitch’
- kn -	/chakna/	‘taste’ (eat a sample)
- kd -	/chamakdar/	‘lizard’
- gt -	/maugta/	‘beggar’
- gg -	/jiggara/	‘heart’
- gs -	/rangsaiji/	‘painting’
- gn -	/nigna/	‘swell’
- gl -	/jangli janwar/	‘beast’
- jk -	/tej:karna/	‘sharpen’
- jb -	/tajbandi/	‘centipede’
- jd -	/samajda:r/	‘wise’
- jl -	/manjla/	‘younger brother’(middle)
- st-	/mastria:ni/	‘mistress’
- sn -	/kasna/	‘tie-up’
- sm -	/tasme/	‘lace’
- ss -	/gussa/	‘anger’
- sl -	/rasla/	‘thicken’
- sj -	/tisjo, usjo/	‘to her’ to him.
- sy -	/rasyala/	‘dining room’
- hl -	/pehla/	‘first’
- mk -	/thumki/	‘threaten’
- mb -	/kambna/	‘shiver’
- md -	/samdar/	‘tool’

- mj -	/kamjori/	‘weakness’
- mn -	/gumna/	‘turn around’
- mm -	/kamma/	‘non-specific verb’
- ml -	/a:mlok/	‘mass’
- mr -	/kamra/	‘room’
- nn -	/na:nnu/	‘mother’s father’
- nt -	/kinti/	‘costly’
- nn -	/munnu/	‘child’
- nT -	/ganTi/	‘bell’
- nd -	/mander/	‘temple’
- nD -	/munDu/	‘young man’
- nk -	/sankeRoe/	‘earth worm’
- <u>nd</u> -	/bandar/	‘monkey’
- nD -	/manDa/	‘honest’
- nj -	/manja/	‘bed’
- ng -	/dangmarna/	‘sting’
- nw -	/dhanwad/	‘thank’
- rw -	/darwaja-tapna/	‘go through’
- rj -	/larjan/	‘the hanging roots of banyan’
- rn -	/girna/	‘fall’
- rk -	/phirki/	‘spindle’
- Rh -	/paRhna/	‘read’
- rk -	/barke bhanova:/	‘younger’
- rg -	/fargati/	‘divorce’
- rl -	/murli/	‘flute’
- rs -	/karsan/	‘farmer’
- rm -	/magarma:ch/	‘crocodile’
- rn -	/morni/	‘peacock’
- Rn -	/pakkaRna/	‘catch’

- rb -	/garbavati/	‘pregnant woman’
- rt -	/kurta/	‘shirt’
- rd -	/dhardi/	‘earth’
- rw -	/ashirwad/	‘blessing’
- bn -	/dubna:/	‘drawn’
- br -	/badru/	‘stink’
- dd -	/manddena/	‘tan’
- dk -	/bandkarna/	‘shut’
- dh -	/badhae/	‘reap’
- dn -	/ladna/	‘load’
- dw -	/bidwa/	‘window’
- dr -	/ba:dri/	‘baldness’
- DD -	/diDDe/	‘insect’ (crawling)
- hk -	/puhkar/	‘shepherd’
- hn -	/pehmana/	‘wear’
- Rh -	/paRhna/	‘read’
- ll -	/billi/	‘cat’
	/hillan/	‘earth quake’
- kh -	/basakhi/	‘cotton’
- km -	/phukmarna/	‘inflate’ (blow pp)
- ln -	/ghulna/	‘mix’
- lt -	/malti/	‘jasmine’
- lz -	/mulzam/	‘accursed’
- lb -	/delbura:na/	‘nausea’
- lT -	/balTi/	‘bucket’
- lk -	/halka khav/	‘low tide’
- lh -	/jalha/	‘stammerer’
- ln -	/kolna/	‘oppen’
- lu -	/palya/	‘adopted child’

Three Consonant Clusters.

- ndr -	/chandrama/	‘moon’
- ndk -	/bandki/	‘greet’ (thing)
- nkn -	/khankar/	‘rattle’
- jk -	/dajkane/	‘saith’
- nhj -	/sanhjh/	‘evening’
- ngn -	/mangna/	‘ask for’
- ndk -	/bandhkarna/	‘close’
- ndh -	/tendhar/	‘fold’
- chl -	/pichli roj/	‘yesterday’
- rph -	/karpaha/	‘cobra’
- rbv -	/garbavati/	‘pregnant woman’
- mth -	/himthi pahar/	‘quarter’

Final Clusters:

- nDh	/kanDh/	‘bank of river’
-------	---------	-----------------

Syllables:

The Syllable is a unit of Pronunciation Consisting of a vowel along or a vowel with one or more consonants: Syllable are open and close structure.

CV	/ga/	‘cow’
CVCV	/daru/	‘liquor’
VCCV	/ulTi/	‘vomit’
CVCCV	/lokhi/	‘little’
CVCCVCV	/fakkiya/	‘tired’
CVCVCV	/taguma/	‘modal’
CVCCVCCV	/lajbandi/	‘centipede’
CVCVCCCV	/guslakhana/	‘bath room’
CCVCCVCVV	/chamkalia/	‘bright’

Close

CVC	<i>/fan/</i>	‘cobra’s hood’
VCVCVC	<i>/imarat/</i>	‘building’
CVCCVC	<i>/tarkan/</i>	‘wasp’
CCCVCVC	<i>/dharsar/</i>	‘chicken pox’
CVCVCCVC	<i>/mahaSher/</i>	‘fish’ (varities)
VCCVCCVC	<i>/ashirwad/</i>	‘blessing’
CVCVCC	<i>/barish/</i>	‘exercise’
CCVCCVC	<i>/chattar/</i>	‘clever’
CVCVVCVC	<i>/paraunak/</i>	‘visit’

3. MORPHOLOGY

Morphology deals with words and their declensional patterns as well as verbs and their conjugational patterns. Morphology of Kangri is discussed under Noun, Verb, Adjectives and Adverbs.

I. Noun. Morphology

i) Word formation:

Kangri is an inflectional type of language. That means, here words are typically contain (consist of) a linear sequence of morphemes. Each such attached morpheme is clearly recognizable. Generally, in kangri word formation contains three parts.

They are.

1. Compounding.
2. Reduplication and
3. Derivation.

1. Compounding:

Compounding involves joining of more than one stem in free or in bound forms.

Examples: -

/bi: chkarli/ 'middle'

/ramkursi/ 'easy chair'

/kambna/ 'shiver'

(i) Noun + Noun

/buDDappa/ 'old man'

paR 'great' + *daṁdi* 'grand mother'

PaRdaṁdi 'great-grand son'

(ii) Adjective + Noun head.

jore + wala 'strong'

(iii) Numeral and noun head:

e k 'one' + *ghar* 'house' > *e : ghar* 'one house'

e k 'one' + *anDa* 'egg' > *e:k anDa* 'one egg'

do 'two' + *billi* 'cat' > *do bhunian* 'two cats'

thra (tre) 'three' + son > *thra pultar* 'three sons'

2. Re-duplication:

In reduplication the second element is complete or partial repetition of the first element. It can be similar or partial but it should be complete.

Examples are: -

/jhamjhamat/ 'kinkling'

/luk lukara/ 'hide and seek'

/kian-ni kian/ 'some how'

/gunguna/ 'blow' (nose)

Partial reduplication is a construction in which the first element has no independent meaning of its own. Example: like

/maramat/ 'repair'

Addition of a second element which rhymes with the first element.

/tutu/ 'these'

/gungunana/ 'hiss'

/buRbuRad/ 'wisper' etc.

3. Derivation:

In derivation of new words are formed by means of bound derivational suffixes and prefixes.

- ai */juai/* 'son-in-law'

/laRai/ 'war'

-ar	(occupation)	
	<i>/udhar/</i>	‘borrow’
	<i>/baḡhar/</i>	‘trade, barter’
-ari	<i>/gudari/</i>	‘alight’
	<i>/mehari/</i>	‘lead (a person)’
-iya	<i>/triya/</i>	‘third’
-i	<i>/meri/</i>	‘lead’ (an animal)
	<i>/soi/</i>	‘mend’ (a garment)
	<i>/Tali/</i>	‘gizzard’ (of birds)
-i2	<i>/jigri/</i>	‘brave’
	<i>/bardi/</i>	‘kindly’
	<i>/jungle/</i>	‘wild’
-i3	<i>/kimti/</i>	‘costly’
	<i>/la:lti/</i>	‘greedy’
	<i>/meeri/</i>	‘wealthy’
-era	<i>/thathiar kasera/</i>	‘copper smith’
	<i>/chitrera/</i>	‘painter’
/-k	<i>/chik/</i>	‘clay’
	<i>/phalak/</i>	‘buster’
	<i>/na:k/</i>	‘nose’
-ri	<i>/gudri/</i>	‘butterfly’
	<i>/peri/</i>	‘feet’
	<i>/kuri/</i>	‘knee’

(ii) Noun

Number: In kangri there are two numbers. They are singular and plural.

Singular denotes one and only one person or thing, and noun may be followed or preceded by singular specifies. Or singular number markers.

Examples: -

Singular

<i>/LaRi/</i>	‘bride’
<i>/LaRa/</i>	‘bride groom’
<i>/saRa/</i>	‘wife’s brother’
<i>/daddi/</i>	‘grand mother’
<i>/potaru/</i>	‘grand son’

Plural : Plural is formed by addition of plural suffixes to the nouns, which usually occurs as singular. Plural number denotes more than one person or thing.

Examples: -

<i>/kuriyah/</i>	‘daughters’
<i>/merehat/</i>	‘my hands’
<i>/kamme/</i>	‘servants’
<i>/kata ban/</i>	‘books’
<i>/kutie:/</i>	‘dogs’
<i>/bhurian/</i>	‘cats’
<i>/ga: yin/</i>	‘cows’

Gender

In Kangri gender may be classified into masculine and feminine genders.

Masculine: All the masculine genders are male members. Most probably it shows that I the name of male persons. Sometimes ended with a marker *-a*

Examples: -

/mama/	‘mother’s brother’
/ba:b/	‘father’
/lamma/	‘tall’-man.
/notta/	‘fat man’ etc.

Feminine: All the feminine genders are female members. viz. like person name ended with – *i* markers.

Examples:

/mami/	‘mother’s brother wife’
/laVi/	‘bride’
/janani/	‘female’
/moTTi/	‘fat woman’
/anni/	‘blind woman’

Case

The case defines the relationship between the subject and the predicate in a sentence. There are six cases available in kangri language. - *main or hun, minjo,*

main, minjo-te, mere, meri, minjo bich markers.

1. Nominative: *main or hun*
2. Accusative: *minjo*
3. Dative agent: *main*
4. Ablative: *minjo-te*
5. Genitive: *mere, meri*
6. Locative: *minjo bich.*

1. Nominative: *main or hun* are the suffixes of the case.

Example:

/eh tere kutton hun/ 'There are two dogs'

/main apne chakkaRe chebethia/ 'I am in my cart'

2. Accusative: *minjo* are the suffixes of the accusative.

Example:

/minjo katha khari lagga/ 'I like this story'

/minjo panch khada ba? n prasants hun/ 'I like these five boxes'

3. Dative agent: *main*

Example:

/rukka-te pattar jhara de/ 'The leaves fall from the tree'

4. Ablative Case: - *minjo-te. mera*

The ablative case markers are *minjo-te. Mera*

5. Genitive case: - *mere, meri.*

(iii) Pronoun

Pronouns are inflected for number and case pronouns are having various types viz;

1. Personal pronoun
2. Demonstrative pronoun
3. Other pronouns as relative,

Correlative, Interrogative and Indefinitive.

1. Personal pronoun:

Sg.		Pl.	
<i>/main or hun/</i>	'I'	<i>/assan/</i>	'we'
<i>/tussan/</i>	'you'	<i>/assan/</i>	'we'
<i>/eh/</i>	'he'	<i>/eh/</i>	'these, they'

			‘she’
			‘it’
<i>eh</i>	‘this’	<i>/in hunjo/</i>	‘these to’
<i>is-jo</i>	‘this, to this’		

2. Demonstrative Pronoun:

The elements ‘*oh, jo, da, di* and *de*’ are the demonstrative markers.

Singular		Plural	
<i>/eh/</i>	‘this’	<i>/oh/</i>	‘they’
<i>/she/</i>	‘that’		

Accusative:

<i>/usjo/</i>	‘him to him’	<i>/unhan-jo/</i>	‘them to them’
<i>/unnin/</i>	‘by him’	<i>/unhan/</i>	‘by them’
<i>/usda/</i>		<i>/unhan da/</i>	
<i>/usdi/</i>	‘of him’	<i>unhan di o</i>	
<i>/used/</i>		<i>unhan de.</i>	

(iv) Adjective: Adjective is a word used to describe the quality of noun and it generally precedes the noun. Adjectives are classified as simple and complex.

Simple adjectives: - Simple adjectives are mono-morphemic words. Which are classified in to three types.

They are:

1. Qualitative
2. Demonstrative
3. Numeral adjectives.

1. Qualitative adjectives: - Forms which are primarily nouns function as qualitative adjectives.

Noun such as.

/dhola dhar/ 'high mountain'

/i au, koon, rat/ 'blood'

Function as attributive to nouns.

Examples:

/dhola dhar/ 'high mountain'

/akhre/ 'red fruit'

2. Demonstrative adjectives.

The demonstrative adjectives and interrogative adjectives are found noun simple stems which function as noun attributes.

/she kuRi/ 'that girl'

/eh.ka:m/ 'this work'

3. Numeral adjectives.

The cardinal numerals are noun but they are added to adjectives to modify nouns. It may occur either before or after the noun.

/Do kutte/ 'two dogs'

/tre kutte/ 'three dogs'

/do a:dmi/lo:k/ 'two persons'

4. Complex Adjectives:

Complex adjectives are derived from adverbs and by adding adjectives markers to the verbal noun.

5. Numeral:

Numeral is a grammatical category denoting Number or Quantity. The number is a grammatical category

Distinguishing between singular and plural. The numerals are divided into

1. Cardinals
2. Ordinals
3. Fractions.

1. Cardinals

The cardinal numerals are used for counting. Cardinals are mono morphemic words

Derived ones are compound numerals.

1. *ek* 'one'
2. *do* 'two'
3. *tre* 'three'
4. *char* 'four'
5. *panj* 'five'
6. *chey* 'six'
7. *sat* 'seven'
8. *a:T* 'eight'
9. *nouO* 'nine'
10. *das* 'ten'
11. *giarah* 'eleven'
12. *barah* 'twelve'
13. *teraha* 'thirteen'
14. *chouda* 'fourteen'
15. *panthrabi* 'fifteen'
16. *solaha* 'sixteen'
17. *staraha* 'seventeen'
18. *aTaraha* 'eighteen'

19.	<i>unnih</i>	‘nineteen’
20	<i>bhihi</i>	‘twenty’
21.	<i>tiH</i>	‘thirty’
22.	<i>chaLti</i>	‘forty’
23.	<i>panja</i>	‘fifty’
24.	<i>sat</i>	‘sixty’
25.	<i>satar</i>	‘seventy’
26.	<i>assi</i>	‘eighty’
27.	<i>nobbe</i>	‘ninety’
28.	<i>so</i>	‘hundred’

2. Ordinals:

<i>pehla</i>	‘first’
<i>dua:</i>	‘second’
<i>thria</i>	‘third’

3. Fractions:

<i>pau</i>	‘Quarter’
<i>hadda/addiya</i>	‘half’
<i>dhaiya</i>	‘one and half’
<i>pauna</i>	‘three fourth’
<i>sua:ya</i>	‘one and a quarter’
<i>khila</i>	‘last’
<i>manjla</i>	‘middle’

(vi) Classifier:

<i>kutta</i>	‘male dog’
--------------	------------

<i>kutti</i>	‘female dog’
<i>billa</i>	‘male cat’
<i>billi</i>	‘female cat’
<i>mirg</i>	‘male tiger’
<i>mirgani</i>	‘female tiger’

II. Verb-Morphology.

i) Verb

Verb is a word class that marks Tense-Aspect- Modal- Personal markers distinguished by number and gender. In inflectional languages, verbs may be inflected for Tense- Aspect-Mood along with other constituents in terms of Person, Number and Gender. Accordingly, Verb Morphology deals with the forms and classification of verbs, and their pattern in association etc.

Verb stem is the base of a verb denoting action. The classification of verbs and the types of verbs are presented below

Finite verb: - The finite verbs are inflected for person and number-gender while the non-finite verbs are not.

Tense: - Tense are generally classified into present, past tense and future tense.

Present tense

Sg.		Pl.	
<i>main hai</i>	‘I am’	<i>assan hah</i>	‘we are’
<i>tun hai</i>	‘these are’	<i>tussan hah</i>	‘you are’
<i>saih hai</i>	‘he is’	<i>saih han</i>	‘they are’

Past tense:

Sg.		Pl.	
<i>min tha</i> (fem.thi)	‘I was’	<i>assan tha</i>	‘we were’
<i>tun tha</i> (fem.thi)	‘those want’	<i>tussan tha</i>	‘you were’

saiṭh tha (fem.thi)

‘he, she, it’

saiṭh the

‘they were’

Future tense:

Example: I shall fall.

Sg

Paung ha fem. paunghi

Paung ha

Paung ha

Pl.

paung he

paung he

paung he

Aspect

Aspect is a grammatical category associated with verbs that expresses a temporal view of the event or state expressed by the verb. Aspect does not refer to a specific point as the tense. Aspect is related with duration, perfection, habituality etc. In Kangri language aspect are as follows,

1. Frequentative Aspect

1. The cat always bites *billi mesa kandie*
2. The cat often bites *billi amumen gandi-he*
3. He keeps on giving *seh dinda rhenda*
4. He often gives *seh katar daria*
5. He kept on cutting. *seh katar daria*
6. They never beach *seh kadi-ni paRan-de*
7. He never drinks *seh kadi-ni pinda.*

2. Continuous aspect

1. He continually begged me *seh methe lagadar mandaria*
2. The dog never bites *kutta kadi ni baD-da:*
3. She never eats *seh kadi nai kandi*
4. This food never goes bad *naj kadi bura-ni lagada*

5. The dog often bites	<i>kutta amuman baDDa</i>
6. He has never cut	<i>tinni kadi-ni much-maria</i>
7. She has never bought	<i>tinni kadi-ni-paRa:ya</i>
8. He was never drink	<i>tinne kadi-ni pitha</i>
9. He has never run	<i>seh kadi-ni dhoRaya</i>
10. He is confirmed chain smoker	<i>seh sikkaR-pine:dar a:dmi he</i>

Mood

From the collected data we have following modal categories are realised in the Kangri language.

1. Habitual mood:

<i>paRna</i>	‘to read’
<i>marna</i>	‘to beat’
<i>dena</i>	‘to give’
<i>lena</i>	‘to take’
<i>lunana</i>	‘to harvest’

2. Obligative mood:

<i>/tua-jo ithee jarur vaina chakida/</i>	‘You must remain here’
<i>/kuRta-jo ram karna chaida/</i>	‘The girl must take rest’
<i>/tihajo mittai –ni kana chaidi/</i>	‘She must eat much sweat’

3. Prohibitive mood:

<i>/tis-jo tamakku phire nai-chai da/</i>	‘He must not smoke’
<i>/tu-be jo mah mirch na kana chaida/</i>	‘You must not take much more chilly’
<i>/tusan-jo-e ka:mi karna chai-da/</i>	‘You must not do this work’

Non-finite verb

A Non-Finite verb is a verb that does not function as the predicate verb in a clause. While some non-finite verbs take the form of past or present participles, they are generally not inflected—that is, they don't have mood, tense, number, aspect, gender, or person. However, the Non-Finite verb formation in Kangri are like the following as realised from the given data:

Infinitive: - The infinitive marker – *na* is added to the verb stem.

Examples: -

<i>/paRna/</i>	'to read'
<i>/marna/</i>	'to beat'
<i>/dena/</i>	'to give'
<i>/lena/</i>	'to take'
<i>/lunana/</i>	'to harvest'

Verbal Noun

<i>/SikkaR phi-na karna ni/</i>	'Smoking is not good'
<i>/bhojan aur khan-seta dayi jaurri-he/</i>	'Eating is good for health'
<i>/auna kadarna:g-he/</i>	'Coming is dangerous'
<i>/aRna: kadarna:ghe/</i>	'Reading is dangerous'
<i>/hillana kadarna:ghe/</i>	'Shouting is dangerous'

Participle

For example, *pauna* 'fall'

Present:	<i>paunda</i>	'falling'
Past:	<i>pea</i>	'fallen'
Conjunctive:	<i>pai kari,</i>	'having fallen'
Adverbial:	<i>paunden hi,</i>	'while falling'
Agent:	<i>paune bale,</i>	'fallen about to fall'
Dative:	<i>peha</i>	in the state of having fallen.

Causative verb: - When the agent performs an action through another agent the verb is causative. The second agent is realized an object. The causative verb is formed *na* 'to the transitive' or transitive verbs.

Examples: -

<i>/tok-na/</i>	'to spit'
<i>/aR-na/</i>	to read'
<i>/ar-na/</i>	'to beat'
<i>/de-na/</i>	'to give'
<i>/le-na/</i>	'to take'
<i>/lunana/</i>	'to harvest'

Auxiliary verb:

The auxiliary verb 'ya' is used to indicate continuous aspect. This verbal base, added to the main verb is conjugated in all tenses for showing.

- 1./seh ayi sakhya hona/ 'He could have come continuous aspect'
- 2./sehayi giya hona/ 'He would have come'
- 3./tusa jodo marud kana chai-de/ 'You should eat two guavas'
- 4./minjo hona chai-da/ 'I should come'
- 5./tisjo sikkarni pina chaida/ 'He must not smoke'
- 6./tusah jo e kam ni karna chai-da/ 'You must not do this work'
- 7./tussah jo mata/bardni kana chaida/'You must not take too much rice'
- 8./ej jorurni je, me isa kuria jo paise de/'It is possible that, I should not give money to this girl'

Negative verb *ni/ne* 'not'

Examples:

<i>/tisjo kam-ne karna chaida/</i>	'He should not do the work'
<i>/tis kam-ne karna chaida/</i>	'You should not do the work'
<i>/tis-jo roti-ne banana chahidi/</i>	'She should not bake the bread'
<i>/tusan kam-ni karde/</i>	'You (sg) do not work'
<i>/seh kam-ni kard/</i>	'He does not work'

/seh kam-ni kardi/ 'She does not work'

/asan kam-ni karde/ 'We do not work'

Compound verb:

The formation of compound verbs is as noun + verb and verb + verb.

noun + verb.

Examples:

sahara mardh 'sigh man'

ghalak 'helper'

gabba hath 'left handed '

tauna 'deaf-mute-male'

taunI 'deaf-mute-female'

anna 'blind'(male)

anni 'blind'(female)

verb + verb

soja hath 'right hand'

sada 'always'

uchhe-gaye 'loudly'

meruvan 'kind'

killa 'alone'

Passive formation.

The passive is formed by means of the verb '*jana*' 'go' used with the past participle, thus.

meu kal aunga 'I shall come tomorrow'

seh sada pakhruni marda 'He always kills birds'

se main auan 'I may come'

seh pakriya mari-de 'He may kill the bird'

In the passive generally has the sense of **be killed.**

khana 'eat'

Indefinite, past conditional	<i>khanda</i>
Past indicative	<i>khadha</i>
<i>pina</i> 'drink'	
Indefinite, past conditional	<i>pinda</i>
Past Indicative	<i>pita</i>

Transitivity

Verbs are intransitive and transitive. But the intransitive verbs can be changed to transitive.

a) Intransitive: This verb does not take any object.

Example:

meu auada 'I am coming'

b) Transitive verb: The transitive verb takes an object, subject of the transitive is declined for the nominative case.

(ii) Adverb:

Adverb qualifies verb. From the given data of Kangri language following example is collected for adverb,

1. Manner:

<i>bada-da</i>	'exceeding'
<i>mata</i>	'very much'
<i>mata kara</i>	'very well/good'
<i>ekek karigh</i>	'one by one'

2. Time:

<i>hun</i>	'how'
<i>ajokhe dhiare/a:j-ke din</i>	'this day'
<i>seh diahra</i>	'that time'

3. Place

<i>ithu</i>	'here'
<i>kuthu</i>	'where'
<i>is pashen</i>	'in this direction'
<i>tayi</i>	'for'

(iii) **Clitics:**

anandajhan

‘this’ (prox)

othu

‘that’ (distant)

bicholla

‘that’ (intermidatory)

(iv) **Echo word/Reduplication.**

Examples:

jhamjhamat

‘kinkling’

luk lukara

‘hide and seek’

kian-ni-kian

‘some how’

gunguna

‘blow’ (nose)

4. SYNTAX

Syntax is the study of the principles and rules for constructing phrases and sentences in natural languages. The syntax also establishes the rules governing the order of combining the words-phrases to form sentences in a language.

(i) Order of words in sentences.

The sentence is constricted of subject and predicate. A subject is the head of the construction. The predicate comprises of object + verb or verb alone.

<i>tisda ghar</i>	‘His house’
<i>tisda puttār</i>	‘His son’
<i>mera bacha</i>	‘My child’
<i>mera ha:t</i>	‘My hand’
<i>tisda par</i>	‘His foot’
<i>me bhiliyan piye giya</i>	‘I fell down’
<i>seh bhuiya piye giya</i>	‘He fell down’
<i>men tithu giya</i>	‘I went there’
<i>meu paRa:da</i>	‘I am reading’

here, 1 is stv pattern S2 is st V + O pattern S is the head of the construction.

V object + V is the predicate.

ii) Description of types of sentences.

(a) **Interrogative:** The questions are formed by employing interrogative words essentially in the middle position of the sentence and rarely in the initial or in the final position. Also, sometimes interrogative remain understood.

<i>T:o kiya kammananda?</i>	‘What do you do?’
<i>tushan kiya gang:e?</i>	‘What will you eat?’
<i>me kho-da ?</i>	‘I eat?’
<i>tera kiya-na he !</i>	‘What is your name?’

meu ka:jo ja:na!

‘Why should I go?’

Imperative: The infinitive is correctly used for the imperative, when it does not intend to insist on the immediate fulfillment of order, but merely to indicate that certain thing is to be done. The imperative occurs sentence finally.

Negative: The negative marker ‘*ne*’-‘not’ occur in sentence medially.

eh mera ka:m-ne he

‘It in not my work’

1 2 3 4

1 3 2

me a:h-ne auna !

‘I am not coming today’

me: kal-ne auna !

‘I shall not come tomorrow’

tisjo kam-ne karna chahida !

‘He should not do the work’

tis ka:m-ne karna chahida !

‘you should not do the work’

Causative: - When the agent performs an action through another agent the verb is causative. The second agent is realized as an object. The causative verb is formed by adding to the transitive verb.

me bhena-jo glaya-je she !

‘I make by sister feed the boy with sweets’

Co-ordination: - Two or more sentences can be coordinated into a single sentence,

They are like

ja:n

‘or’

kane/hore

‘and’

par

‘but’

te, minjo-te

‘by’

kane

‘with’

firi

‘again’

ja:n

‘or’

Example:

/tusan doya-jan tere juri-ne dhana/

‘You two or three together cut the paddy crop’

/eh-do jan tre mundu: ghare jan/

‘These two or three boys go into the house’

/en-do jan tre mundu: phare ja/

‘There two or three boys go home?’

kane/hore

‘and’

Examples are:

/seh kal a:ya kane chali-giya/

‘He came yesterday and went away’

/bhar-te kane Pakistan-ne bich-khar dua/
Pakistan’

‘There was a wall between India and

te:, by , omkp-te

/brahmina – te mas – ni kana/

‘The meat will not be eaten by Brahmins’

/mere-te kam hoyi-jana/

‘The work will be done by me’

par ‘but’

/seh tithu – tha par thoDi chali – giya !/

‘It was there, but went away soon’

/seh tithu – thi par thoDi – chali gay !/

‘She was these but went soon’

kane ‘with

/seh mere kane: aye/

‘He came along with me’

/fin/ ‘again’

(ii) **Description pattern of sentences:**

The sentences in Kangri are mainly major sentences and minor sentences.

Major sentence:

The major sentence is structurally and semantically a complete unit. It occurs in paragraph, essays and discourse etc.

Minor sentence:

A minor sentence is generally formed with a subject and a predicate. The subject is an agent or doer of action performed in no: predicate functions as a complete sentence. The semantics same is conveyed even without the subject.

Major sentence:

The major sentence is generally formed with a subject and a predicate. The subject is a agent or doer of action performed in the predicate. the predicate express action done by the actor.

The sentences are classified into:

1. Simple sentences.
2. Complex sentences.
3. Compound sentences.

1. Simple sentence:

A simple sentence consists of only one clause. A clause may consist of subject and a predicate. The subject may be a noun or noun phrase, a pronoun or an infinitive or infinitive phrase.

Examples:

<i>seh bhuya piye-giya</i>	‘He fell down’
<i>asa:n door – ge</i>	‘He went away’
<i>me ka – da</i>	‘I eat ?’
<i>kurian bpye:giyan</i>	‘The cow is grazing’

seh , *asa:n* . *me* are the subject and the predicates are *bhuya-piye-giya*, *door-ge*, *kada*, *piye gyan* represented by the one word each and are eabable of being expanded.

The predicate is formed with two words, a verb and a word which completes the predicate function of the verb which is otherwise does not convey the full semantic sense, *piye* . *giyan* are the objects.

2. Complex sentences: - A complex sentences consists of more Than one clause, one of which functions independently and is called here the main or principal clause. It’s like simple sentence in construction. The sub-ordinate clause can be a noun clause an adjective clause and an adverb clause.

1. **Noun clause:** - A clause substitutable for noun is a noun phrase/clause. It functions as an object or a complement to the verb in the main clause.

Example: -

/je-seh mehnat-karag-ta:n pass-hoe janega/ 'If he works hard he will succeed'

2. **Adjective clause:** - A clause which can be substituted for an adjective is an adjective clause.

Example: -

/tisjo pakhru mari-dena: chahida/ 'He should kill the bird'

3. **Adverb clause:** - A clause which can be substituted for an adverb is an adverb clause.

kado 'when'

kutu 'where'

janlje 'if'

tahlu 'then'

tutu 'there'

te 'than'

Compound Sentence:

A compound sentence consists of more than one clauses, one of which is the main clause and of the other clauses at least one is an independent clause and functions as a conductor. The connective generally used as *kane/hose* 'and' *par* 'but'

Examples:

/dine kam-kara ikkane vati soeja/ 'Work in the day and sleep at night'

/seh kal a:ya-kane chati-giya/ 'He came yesterday and went away'

/seh tithu-ta par thoDi chati-giya/ 'It was there, but went away soon'

/kuch machia baRia-kane kuch lokiya chottia hun/ 'Some fish are big and some are small'

/minjo jana-tha par asan ge-ne/ 'I had to go but I did not go'

5. TEXT

How the crow-hen killed

koya kila sa:p kian marya ?

Among the spreading branches of a banyan tree lived a crow and his wife, the crow-hen.

piple dian daulan par ik ko kane koe vehende the.

In the nest where four little eggs which the parents guarded with great care.

tinhan de alhe cha:r lauke – lauke anDe jan bhatan bariya samhala – ne rakhian thian:

In a hollow of that tree – trunk lived a black snake whom the crows feared greatly.

rukhe-de dodhe ch-ik sa:p renda. The jiste ko – koe: dare dared.

Every time the crow-hen bid her eggs and snake crawled up to the nest and ate them up.

harbariya koe: char bhatau: dindi, sarap tinahh-de ate a;je toljar cjarajda lama bjam ljae: jauda.

If the black snake eats up my eggs this time also, I refuse to live in this tree any longer.

Jekar kala sa:p ibben – be mereya:n andeyan khae: giya tan meu: hun rukhe parmatai dev-ne rehna.

We must build our nest somewhere else, “said the mother bird to her husband;

asan kusi hor mkhe-par apana alha banae: sena, koye koye ne glaya.

‘we have lived here a long time. I can’t bear to desert my home and go to live elsewhere,’ said the crow;

A san ithu-mati der thehre. Meu apne ghare jo jharha-ne chanhanda. Eskari kuthi lorthi rehna chanhanda.

While they were talking, they heard a hissing sound just below them.

koyen galaya jahto. seh galan-thekara-da jan: tu:rhgn apne-hith sa:kpe de sarhat suniya seh samji-ge je is sarhhat.

They sat helplessly in their nest trying to protect their eggs.

da kiya nattale-he. seh bachare samhal-de behi – ge. (andeyan hari-hari).

The black snake crept higher and closer to the nest.

kala sa:p upar ehananda tinhan-de alhe tikkar puja-giya.

Then with a loud hiss he tried to strike at the birds who flew away in terror. One by one, the black snake swallowed the eggs.

sarpen sarnath at mari-ne tinhan dari-ne urige kalen sa:pen ik-ik kari arde rigle te.

The parents came back sadly to their nest, knowing well that they would find it empty.

ma:n – piyo udas hoe: apne-alhe-jo a:ye, ch jande je.

The crow said, “I must find a way to destroy this murderous snake.

tinhan-da alha lun khali-hona-kayen glaya men and ghatak sape-jo marnen:-da upa: jaroor tapaya.

“How can you ever fight him? His sting is so deadly,” said his wife in despair.

tushan-tishe kisan lari sale-ge Tis-da dang ta:n bara jareela he, udas hoe:-the tis diya lariya galaya.

“Don’t you worry, my dear, I’ve got a friend who is cunning enough to destroy the most poisonous of snakes,” said the crow, and off he flew to another tree under which lived his dear friend, jackal.

marri piyarey! Too- duas mat hoen mere ik-mitar he-se is jhareela sa:pe-jo marnet bara mushier-chatar-chalak-he, koen galaya. seh urda-urda tis rukhe – par puji guja jispar tista dost (renhda-tha).

When the jackal heard how the *na ke* always ate up the eggs, he said, “my friend, those who are cruel and greedy always meet with a bad end.

Jahto, gidren-eh suneya te sa:p and eyan kia:n khae janda. Tan tinne galaya. *‘mere milra ! jehre nirdeyee lei-ne laiachi hundide.*

Have no fear, I’ve already thought of a plan to destroy him.

tinhan da antneh pehlen-ee sa:pe-jo marnen- da pa sochi-liya, gidaren galays.

“oh, do tell me what it is,” said the crow. Then the jackal, fearing he might be overheard,

koyen glea:ye, mirjo-te dassa tusan keya soche ? gidren, eh sochi-ne te koe sune ha le,

Whispered to his friend what he should do to destroy the snake.

tinhi tisde kanne-ch glaya-je tisjo sa:pe marne ta:nee kiya karna chalida?

The crow flew back to his wife and told her about the plan. “It is rather risky,” said the crow.”
we will have to be very careful.

*ko apne aleh-jo uri aya kana-koeya-jo sare tarkeeb dassi koyen glaya-ih kam bara khaturnak
–he. asan jo husian rehna chahida.*

“I’ll do anything to save my eggs,” said the mother bird bravely.

bacheyan diya nao: koeya geay nevu apnayan bacha-jo bachane leii kutch be kagi.”

So, off they flew towards the palace of the king of the country.

Tiste prant –seh apne raje-de mehle bakhi uri gey.

The palace was not far from the tree in which they lived.

Jis rukhe-par seh rehnde ne:, tiste mahal door ne-the.

They approached a big pond in the palace garden where they saw the royal ladies having a bath.

*Seh mehla-de bage-ch-banyo bade jal-kunde naunen-par puje-ge ji-thu tunhan jikhya-je
Ranian hua-diyari thian.*

They had laid out their golden chains, pearl necklaces and other jewellery on the edge of the pond.

Tinhan apne gala-de ma:r, pendal kane hore sare gehnen. Tis kunde-de kanden the vakbyo.

The mother bird flew down, picked-up a gold chain in her beak and started flying slowly towards the tree in which she lived.

*koye-uri-he gie kaneh tuman apriyare chunja-neu gale darka:r chukiya neu gale darkger
chuki-ya karen holen-holen apne ales ujale-rukhe pasen chali a:ee.*

When the palace guards saw the bird flying off with the gold chain, they took up their clubs and chased the bird.

*jablu mehle-de pahriyan penchhiye jo. sunnen-diya mala leye urde dikhya tan-se tis pichhen
hoe: gey.*

They saw the bird drop the chain into the hollow of a tree.

tinha dikhya-je panchhiyen-se chaure rukhe-de dhode-ch satiti.

One of the guards climbed up the tree to get the chain, he saw black snake curled up there.

Tinhan-chen-ik pehri, chainan lene tannin rukhe par charhi-giya. Jinha tinni chaina-jo lene tane: dhode ch-hath paya, tinni tisch-kundal nani lethia sa:rph.dikhya.

With one hard shake of his club he killed it and that was the end of the black snake.

apne nookdar dande-ne tinni tis-jo chot mari-ne mukae: ditta kane-chyan. Tis-da ant hoegiya.

The crow and the crow-hen lived in that tree happily afterwards and had many little baby crows.

ko kane koe tis rukhe-par tisle. bariya khusiya-ne rehha lage haney tinhan-de mate. chotte-chotte bachhe hoey.

6. BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Grierson, George, Abraham 1968 (Reprint) *Linguistic Survey of India*. Vol. IV. Part-IV. Motilal Banarasidas, New Delhi.
2. Grierson, George, Abraham 1968 (Reprint) *Linguistic Survey of India*. Vol. I. Part-I. Motilala Banarasidass, New Delhi.
3. Dist. Gazetteer Kangra district 1924-1925. Chap-I – descriptive
4. Census of India 1961 *Language Tables* Vol-1 Part – II – C (ii)
5. Census of India 2001 *Language Table C-16, Series –I*, Office of the Registrar General, India. New Delhi
6. Census of India 2011 *Language Table C-16, Series –I*, Office of the Registrar General, India. New Delhi

KEONTHALI

Dr. S. Ganesh Baskaran

1. INTRODUCTION

The present work of Linguistic description of Keonthali : a pahari group of Indo-Aryan Language gives out the grammatical sketch of Keonthali Language, spoken in Himachal Pradesh.

The required Linguistic and Non-Linguistic data in this connection were collected during October 2002 – to December 2002 in the Himachal Pradesh by Dr.S.Ganesh Baskaran, Investigator (L) Language Division, Kolkata-20.

The major concentration of Keonthali speakers is in Simla and around Simla District of Himachal Pradesh, the present Linguistic and Socio-Linguistic information had been collected in and around Simla District of Himachal Pradesh.

Though the Researcher was assigned to collect the language data on pahari Language returned in census from Himachal Pradesh which comes under pahari in census is one of the 48 grouped mother tongues under Hindi. During investigation on pahari Language, the Researcher was informed by the secretary that according to Language and culture of Simla, pahari is not spoken by the people of Simla rather pahari is a broader term used for the local languages/dialects spoken in the state of Himachal Pradesh. The state Himachal Pradesh comprises of 12 districts as per 1991 census, and every district has got its own variety of local languages/dialects and these local languages/dialects are broadly called as pahari Language to distinguish it from the Hindi and English.

The district wise language list of Himachal Pradesh also has been provided to the Researcher by the secretary. According to the Dept. of Arts, culture and Language, Simla, which is given below.

District/Thasil	Language/Dialect
1. Simla	1. Souracholi
	2. Keonthali
	3. KoTgaRi
	4. Busahari
2. Mandi	1. ManDigali

	2. Suketi
3. Bilaspuri	1. Bilaspuri
4. KangRa	1. KangRi
5. Sirmour	1. Sirmouri
	2. Giri bāri/Giri pari
6. Solan	1. BagāTi
	2. Baglāni
7. Chamba	1. Barmouri
	2. Churahi
	3. Pang wāli
	4. BaTi yāli
	5. Chambiyāli
8. Hamirpur	1. Hamirpuri
9. Kulla	1. Kullui
	2. BagaRi
	3. Sirāji
	4. Bitar sirāji
10. Unka	1. Unvi
11. Lahul	1. Bunni/GāRi
	2. Tināni/Rangloyi
	3. PaTTuni
	4. Chanāli
12. Gojri	-----

Thus, As per the opinion of officials and the secretary, Academy of culture and Language, Simla; Keonthali being the most popular variety of pahari language in the district of Simla; Keonthali variety has been selected by the researcher for the present research work.

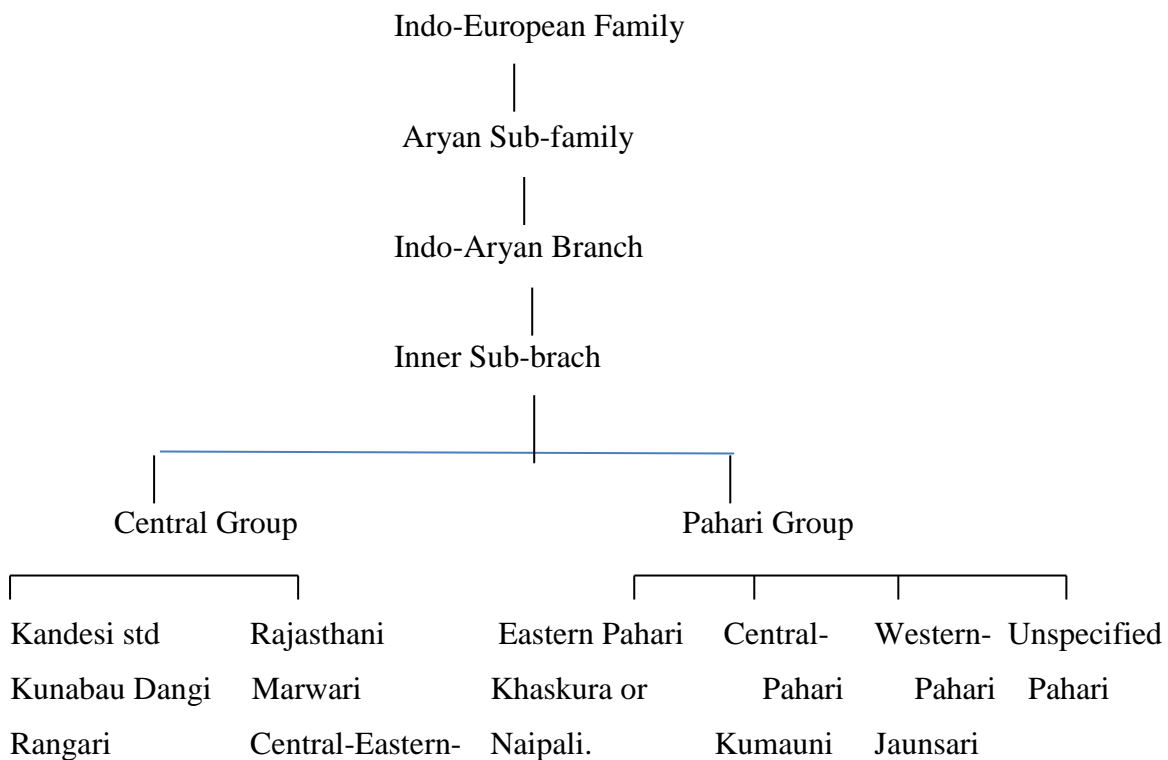
Keeping this scenario in perspective, it may be viewed that though Keontali is the spoken variety but it is taken care by pahari language only. So the statistics of pahari language only is presented below as per 1991 census for the purpose of speaker's strength and bilingualism in pahari.

Mr. Dharam Prakash Kashyap, a retired district education officer, of MaTehni (village) Sunni (Thasil), Simla (District) was the main informant; who extended all sort of cooperation in collecting Language data and also other socio-linguistic information on the Keonthali speaking people.

The collected Language data had also been checked with other informants particularly Mr. Satish Kashyap, Language officer, Himachal Academy of Arts, Culture and Languages, Shimla.

1.1 Family Affiliation:

According to Census of India 1961 ol-1 part-II-c(ii) Language Tables Page No: CLXX, the Tree Diagram of the Indo-Aryan (pahari group) is explained below.



Rajasthani	Standard Palpa	Garhwali	Sirmauri
North-Eastern-			Baghati
Rajasthani			Kiuthali
Malvi			Satlaj Group
Nimadi			Kulu Group
Banjari or Labhani			Mandi Group
Gujari			Chamba Group
Unspecified Dialects			Bhadrawah- Group
			Unspecified

1.2 Location:

According to Grierson's LSI Vol - IX Part IV Page No: 550 – Keonthali is the language of the Keonthal state and it is the principal language of the Simla hill states. It is the vernacular language of Simla itself.

The state of Keonthal is scattered in various detached portions over the middle of the Simla hills and also various subordinate states such as Theog, Koti and east of Simla and also in the subordinate state of Koti. It is also spoken in Srinagar thana of Patiala and in the states of Dhami and Bhajji as well as in the headquarters of Simla.

1.3 Number of Speakers:

As in Census 2001 and 2011 Keonthali mother tongue under Hindi Language had returned less 10,000 speakers here in the following section. So we are presenting speaker strength to Keonthali according to 1961 Census.

Keonthal	21,745
Simla	2,741
Patiala	3,000
Bhami	3,924
Bhajji	12,167

Pahari (Mother Tongue) Distribution:

	Total	Rural	Urban
1) India	21,79,832	20,97,039 (T)	82,793 (T)
	10,80,123 (M)	10,34,284 (M)	45,839 (M)
	10,99,709 (FM)	10,62,755 (FM)	36,954 (FM)
2) Himachal Pradesh	21,65,562 (T)	20,90,490 (T)	75,072 (T)
	10,72,440 (M)	10,30,977 (M)	41,463 (M)
	10,93,122 (FM)	10,59,513 (FM)	33,609 (FM)
3) District Simla			
	4,66,842 (T)	4,41,818 (T)	25,024 (T)
	2,37,172 (M)	2,22,321 (M)	14,851 (M)
	2,29,670 (FM)	2,19,497 (FM)	10,173 (FM)
4) Simla U.A.			
	17,808 (T)	-----	17,808 (T)
	10,699 (M)	-----	10,699 (M)
	7,109 (FM)	-----	7,109 (FM)

1.4 Bilingualism:

Regarding bilingualism data of 1991 census, no data for the grouped Mother Tongue is available. Only the bigger classified language's bilingualism data appears. Since pahari is grouped Mother Tongue under Hindi Language, the bilingualism data of Hindi in Himachal Pradesh as well as in other Indian states are furnished below.

1. All India bilingualism figure of Hindi:

Total No. of Hindi speakers: 33,72,72,114 (T)

17,87,11,923 (M)

	15,85,60,191 (FM)			
Monolinguals:	30,01,32,502 (T)			
	15,14,08,433 (M)			
	14,87,24,069 (FM)			
Total number of speaking a second Language	<table> <tr> <td rowspan="2">}</td> <td>3,71,39,612 (T)</td> </tr> <tr> <td>2,73,03,490 (M)</td> </tr> </table>	}	3,71,39,612 (T)	2,73,03,490 (M)
}	3,71,39,612 (T)			
	2,73,03,490 (M)			
	98,36,122 (FM)			

Himachal Pradesh bilingualism figure of Hindi:

Total No. of Hindi speakers:	45,95,615 (T)			
	23,12,293 (M)			
	22,83,322 (FM)			
Monolinguals:	35,13,473 (T)			
	15,95,482 (M)			
	19,17,991 (FM)			
Total No speaking as a Second Language	<table> <tr> <td rowspan="2">}</td> <td>10,82,142 (T)</td> </tr> <tr> <td>7,16,811 (M)</td> </tr> </table>	}	10,82,142 (T)	7,16,811 (M)
}	10,82,142 (T)			
	7,16,811 (M)			
	3,65,331 (FM)			

1.5 Socio-linguistic situation/information of Keonthali Language:

The socio-linguistic picture of Keonthali language can be explained by the extent of use of mother tongue and the other tongue in the Micro-Level.

In the Micro-Level, the developmental activities taken up for promoting the Keonthali language through private endeavor and through governmental initiatives are the matter of concern for delineating the socio-linguistic situation among the speakers of Keonthali.

1.6 Use of Mother Tongue:

Keonthali as a mother tongue is used in different domains like home, kin and community. The use of mother tongue is necessarily in three-degree generation of discarding relation i.e. parent ego-children is the home and kin domain. In the extra home, extra kin situation i.e. in the village locality also the use of Mother Tongue is in vogue. In the present ego-children relationship, the parents interact in the mother tongue and also with the aged people but while interacting with the children many a time comes down to the level of mixed form of speech i.e. Hindi and English, because the children of these days are exposed to other languages through education. Most often their speech is mixed with Hindi and English. So in the interaction network, the interlocution of the parent ego-children is fixed. That is the use of mother tongue is more among the aged people and among the middle aged and among the young and the ages the extent of use of mother tongue is comparatively less. Among the women the use of mother tongue is more in vogue in comparison to the men folk. In the kin and community too the picture is obviously the same.

1.7 Role of Mother Tongue:

In the formal domains of education, administration, and judiciary the role of mother tongue is evident in the oral communication level that is, in the domain of the education in the rural areas the oral interaction network between the teacher and students in the class room and outside by Keonthali language although written communications are all in Hindi and English.

In administration, all written correspondences are done through Hindi and English. In the interaction level among the Keonthali speaking people, Keonthali is used as the oral Medium.

At the level of judiciary also, Keonthali is informally used that is, during the cross examination of the lawyer and witness/convict and sometimes the judge also interacts with the local people in their respective languages.

In the domain of mass media, the state government has allotted separate time for both broadcasting and telecasting the local language programs on folk literature, folk arts etc. The government also encourage to all ethnic groups individually to develop or to continue their cultural program on the festive occasions.

Thus it is evident that, Hindi the super imposed variety controls the formal domains. Mother tongue also has a very important role in the socio-linguistic scenario of the Simla District

1.8 Review of Literature:

According to Grierson, G.A. Vol IX Part IV Indo-Aryan Family central group pahari languages and Gujuri, New Delhi-7 Reprint 1968 page no. 549-598.

The Simla hill states are bounded on the north by the River Satlaj. The Northern half has in its center the state of Keonthal and the Srinagar thana of Patiala. Here the language is KiũThali.

West and East of this central kiũThali tract, other western pahari dialects are spoken all of which are closely connected and which may conveniently be classed together as the kiũThali group.

Page no. 550 says kiũThali is properly the language of the state of Keonthal and in the principal language of the Simla hill states. It is a vernacular language of Simla itself.

The state of Keonthal is scattered in various detached portions over the middle of the Simla hills and has moreover various subordinate states such as, Theog, Koti and East of Simla and also in the subordinate state of Koti. It is also spoken in the Srinagar Thana of Patiala and in the states of Dhami and Bhojji as well as to its East KiũThali has Sirmouri, Simla Siraji, BaraRoi, Kirni and Sodhochi to its South Baghati, to its west Handusi and to its north Sukati all of which are closely allied to KiũThali.

Grierson further says on page - 550 para - 6 a sketch of KiũThali is given in the Rev. T. Grahame Bailey's Languages of the Northern Himalayas. Colonel Sir Richard Temple; has given several excellent examples of KiũThali poetry on Pg. 367 ff of Vol-I of his legends of the Punjab to which he has prefixed a very useful vocabulary M.R.H.A Rose ICS has published two KiũThali ballads (both Text and Translation).

2. PHONOLOGY

2.1 Inventory of Phonemes:

There are 42 phonemes of which 37 are consonants and 5 vowels.

Segmental Phonemes (Vowels)

i u
e o
a

Super segmental Phonemes:

- 1) Length is a phoneme.
- 2) Nasalization is a phoneme.

Consonants:

Place/Manner	Bilabial	Labio-Dental	Dental	Alveolar	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar
Stops un-aspirated	p b		t d		T D	c j	c g
Stops Aspirated	ph bh		th dh		Th Dh		kh gh
Africates						ch jh	
Fricatives		f		s		Ń	h
Nasals	M			n	N		M
Aspirated Nasals	mh			nh			
Laterals				l	L		
Aspirated Laterals				lh			
Flaps/Trills				r	R		
Semi-Vowel		w				y	

Contrasting Pairs: (Vowels)

/i e/

int	‘brick’
eti	‘here’
kirri	‘ray’
genga	‘goitre’
māli	‘gardener’
cāye	‘tea’

/a e/

ayā	‘mane’
ehil	‘hawk’
agi	‘fire’
eti	‘here’
shora	‘father in law’
kīRe	‘worm’
ja	‘go’
de	‘give’

/a o/

anāt	‘orphan’
ot	‘lip’
nas	‘vein’
lōb	‘interest’
nadi	‘river’

sona 'gold'

/u o/

uT 'stand up'

ot 'lip'

/i u/

beri 'enemy'

kēdu imprisonment

Long vs. Short Vowels:

/i ī/

sir 'head'

jīw 'life'

/e ē/

jeR 'root'

jēR 'venom'

/a ā/

agi 'fire'

ānj 'guts'

nadi 'river'

m±Ti 'clay'

/o ō/

loha 'iron'

lōb 'interest'

/u ũ/

uT ‘stand up’

ũT ‘camel’

Nasalized Vowels:

/i ã/

chil ‘hawk’

chĩlk ‘sneeze’

/e ĕ/

genga ‘goitre’

kĕwāra ‘bachelor’

/a ã/

ām ‘mango’

ãk ‘eye’

/o õ/

loha ‘iron’

bõra ‘black bee’

/u ũ/

uD ‘fly’

ũT ‘camel’

/õ ũ/

jõk ‘leech’

jũM ‘body louse’

Contrasting Pairs: (Consonants)

/p b/

pita	‘father’
bahu	‘daughter in law’
lupi	‘flame’
debber	‘whirl pool’
dip	‘island’
talāb	‘pool’

/t d

tēLu	‘dew’
dema	‘asthma’
pita	‘father’
dāda	‘brother’ (elder)
mout	‘death’
dānd	‘teeth’

/T D/

Tona	‘deaf mute’
DaM	‘brick’
māTi	‘sand’
ranDwa	‘widower’
inT	‘brick’
ThinD	‘male’

/c j/

cimDi	‘hornet’
jōRu	‘pond’
panic	‘bird’
cūnju	‘beak’
pūnc	‘tail’
ganj	‘baldness’

/k g/

kirnu	‘ray’
garmi	‘heat’
kankri	‘pebble’
bāger	‘air’
šaRek	‘road’
brāg	‘leopard’

/p ph/

panja	‘paw’
phewla	‘jackal’

/b bh/

basta	‘bag’
bhēR	‘sheep’

/t th/

taliwa	‘toe’
thanu	‘udder’

/d dh/

dāg 'scat'

dhār 'current'

/th dh/

matha 'fore head'

podha 'plant'

/T Th/

Tōna 'dent mute'

ThinD 'male'

māTi 'sand'

jeThāni 'Husbands Brother's wife'

ūT 'camel'

jēTh 'Husbands Brother'

/k kh/

kankri 'pebble'

khujli 'itch'

kāi 'moss'

k^hēchu 'ground'

/g gh/

garmi 'heat'

ghīchal 'eye sand'

/kh gh/

khujli 'itch'

	ghuTna	‘knee’
/ch jh/		
	chāl	‘tide’
	jhōR	‘bud’
/f ph/		
	fal	‘fruit’
	pharDu	‘rabbit’
/f p/		
	sāp	‘clean’
	dīp	‘island’
/s š/		
	safēd	‘white’
	šāpaR	‘cliff’
	mosa	‘Mother’s Sisters Husband’
	ašu	‘tears’
	chīs	‘water’
	burš	‘brush’
/k h/		
	kāi	‘moss’
	hyū	‘snow’
	dēh	‘body’
	šaRek	‘road’

/m mh/

mand 'dim'

mhanTe 'small'

/m n/

mosembu 'climate'

ām 'mango'

nīm 'neem tree'

/n nh/

nīm 'neem tree'

nher 'canal'

nhāLa 'brook'

/n, m, M/

mamta 'affection'

aMgān 'chair'

nīm 'neem tree'

DaM 'sting'

/n N/

chūNa 'touch'

chāndNi 'moon'

/l L L/&/ lh/

dhūlu 'dust'

naLu 'fountain'

talāb 'pool'

sāLi	‘sister in law’
naLu	‘fountain’
tēLu	‘dew’
naNhāl	‘Mother’s Father’s home’
bāddL	‘cloud’
kolh	‘nest’
rīlh	‘spine’

/r R/

gari	‘coconut kernel’
bāRi	‘fence’
rōš	‘anger’
kakaRi	‘cumin seed’
douR	‘race’

/w y/

kūwāri	‘spinster’
kyū	‘snow’
nīw	‘fountain’
punya	‘full moon night’
weja	‘cause’

2.2 Allophones:

Vowels

All vowels have allophones. These are described below.

/i/ high front unrounded short vowel has got two allophones [I] and [i].

[I], under high front unrounded short vowel occurs between consonants.

/bis/ [bIs] ‘poison’

/til/ [tIl] ‘gingeli ‘

[i] it occurs elsewhere.

/e/ higher mid front unrounded short vowel has got three allophones. [E], [A] and [e].

[E], mean mid front unrounded short vowel occurs between consonants.

/mosembu/ [mosEmbU] ‘climate’

/shaREk/ [šaREK] ‘road’

[A], mean mid control short vowel occurs after labio-dental semi-vowel consonants.

/sherem/ [šArem] ‘same’

/rehem/ [rehAm] ‘pity’

/legān/ [lAgān] attachment’

/weja/ [wAja] ‘cause’

[e], it occurs elsewhere.

/a/ Low central unrounded short vowel, it has two allophones [Λ] and [a].

[Λ] low mid unrounded short vowel occurs between consonants.

/patLa/ [pΛtLa] ‘lean’

/jaMli/ [jaMli] ‘wild’

[a], it occurs elsewhere.

/o/ Mid back rounded short vowel, it has two allophones [O] and [o].

[O] lower mid rounded back short vowel, it occurs after the voiced and aspirated consonants.

/bonu/ [bOnu] ‘forest’

/ghor/	[ghOr]	‘house’
/nawok/	[nawOk]	‘boatman’
/Dour/	[DOur]	‘danger’
/chōk/	[chŌk]	‘chalk’

[o], it occurs elsewhere.

/u/ higher back rounded short vowel it has got three allophones. [u], [t] and [u].

[U], lower high back rounded short vowel, occurs between consonants.

/guRiya/	[gUriya]	‘doll’
/surg/	[sUrg]	‘heaven’

[t], high central unrounded short vowel, occurs between consonants and also the final position.

/paluk/	[paltk/	‘eye lid’
/annunās/	[anntnās]	‘pine apple’
/nalu/	[nalt]	‘water’
/kalīnu/	[kalīnt]	‘carpet’

[u], it occurs elsewhere.

Consonants:

There are three consonant phonemes have got allophones these are described below.

/n/ Alveolar voiced nasal has got three allophones. [N], [M] and [n].

[N] Retroflex voiced nasal occurs before palatal and affricate consonants.

/khunja/	[khUNja]	‘left handed’
/jenjīr/	[jAnjīr]	‘jewells’
/panchi/	[pANchi]	‘birds’

[M] velar voiced nasal occurs before velar stop consonants.

/Dank/ [DaMk] ‘sting’

/jangli/ [jaMgli] ‘beast’

/šīng/ [šīMg] ‘horn’

/n/occurs elsewhere.

/L/ Retroflex voiceless lateral consonant has got two allophones. [L] and [L].

[L], Frictionless voiceless lateral consonant occurs after higher mid front unrounded vowel.

/šeLa/ [šeLa] ‘cold’

/tēlu/ [tēLt] ‘dew’

/bāde/ [bādAL] ‘ cloud’

/šeLu/ [šeLt] ‘fox’

/šāLa/ [šāLa] ‘wife’s brother’

[L], occurs elsewhere.

2.3 Description and Distribution of the phonemes:

Vowels:

/i/ high front unrounded short vowel, occurs in all positons.

/inT/ ‘brick’

/kirni/ ‘ray’

/māli/ ‘gardener’

/e/ High mid front unrounded short vowel; occurs in all positions.

/eti/ ‘here’

/genga/ ‘goitre’

- /puThe/ ‘waist’
- /a/ Low central mid front unrounded short vowel, occurs in all positions.
- /ayā/ ‘mane’
- /nas/ ‘vein’
- /phāsna/ ‘frap’ (animals)
- /o/ Mid back rounded short vowel; occurs in all positions.
- /ohiro/ ‘there’
- /shora/ ‘father in law’
- /kao/ ‘crow’
- /u/ higher back rounded short vowel, occurs in all positions.
- /uD/ ‘fly’
- /duwã/ ‘smoke’
- /ašu/ ‘tears’
- /ī/ high front unrounded long vowel, occurs only in the medial positions.
- /pīth/ ‘back of body’
- /jīw/ ‘life’
- /ē/ higher mid front unrounded long vowel, occurs initially and medially.
- /ēRi/ ‘heel’
- /kēdu/ ‘imprisonment’
- /jhēr/ ‘venom’
- /ā/ Low central mid front long vowel, occurs initially and medially.
- /āgi/ ‘five’
- /ayāl/ ‘mane’

/ō/ Mid back rounded long vowel, occurs initially and medially.

/ōt/ ‘lip’

/mōR/ ‘turn around’

/ū/ higher back rounded long vowel, occurs initially and medially.

/ũT/ ‘camel’

/jũM/ ‘body louse’

Nasalized Vowels:

/ĩ/ height front unrounded nasalized vowel occurs medially and finally.

/chĩk/ ‘sneeze’

/bhũĩ/ ‘earth’

/ẽ/ higher mid front nasalized unrounded vowel, occurs medially and finally.

/ã/ low central mid nasalized unrounded vowel, occurs in all positions.

/ãk/ ‘eyes’

/mãš/ ‘meat’

/bhruwã/ ‘eye brow’

/õ/ Mid back nasalized rounded vowel, occurs medially and finally.

/jõk/ ‘beech’

/bhõra/ ‘beetle’

/sarsõ/ ‘mustard’

/ũ/ higher back nasalized rounded vowel; occurs in all positions.

/ũT/ ‘camel’

/jũM/ ‘body louse’

/kũwãri/ ‘spinster’

- /hyũ/ 'snow'
- /p/ bilabial unaspirated voiceless stop consonant occurs in all positions.
- /punya/ 'full moon light'
- /lupi/ 'flame'
- /dīp/ 'island'
- /b/ bilabial unaspirated voiced stop consonant occurs in all positions.
- /barf/ 'ice'
- /debber/ 'whirl pool'
- /talāb/ 'pool'
- /t/ Alveolar unaspirated voiceless stop consonant occurs in all positions.
- /tēLu/ 'dew'
- /poti/ 'grand daughter'
- /dast/ 'diarrhoea'
- /d/ Alveolar unaspirated voiced stop consonant occurs in all positions.
- /dāg/ 'scab'
- /dāda/ 'brother' elder
- /dānd/ 'teeth'
- /T/ Retroflex unaspirated voiceless stop consonant occurs in all positions.
- /Tōna/ 'deaf mute'
- /māTi/ 'sand'
- /inT/ 'brick'
- /D/ Retroflex unaspirated voiced stop consonant occurs in all positions.
- /DaM/ 'spring'

/ranDwa/ 'widower'

/ThinD/ male'

/c/ Palatal unaspirated voiceless stop consonant occurs in all positions.

/cūnju/ 'beak'

/panic/ 'bird'

/punc/ 'tail'

/j/ palatal unaspirated voiced stop consonant occurs in all positions.

/jōRu/ 'pond'

/garjen/ 'thunder'

/ganj/ 'baldness'

/k/ velar unaspirated voiceless stop consonant occurs in all positions.

/kirnu/ 'ray'

/kankri/ 'peffle'

/šaRek/ 'road'

/g/ velar unaspirated voiced stop consonant occurs in all positions.

/garmi/ 'heat'

/bager/ 'air'

/brāg/ 'leopard'

/ph/ bilabial aspirated voiceless stop consonant occurs in the initial position only.

/phewla/ 'jackal'

/pharDn/ 'rabbit'

/bh/ bilabial aspirated voiced stop consonant occurs only in the initial position.

/bhēR/ 'sheep'

- /bhōra/ 'beetle'
- /th/ Alveolar aspirated voiceless stop consonant occurs initially and medially.
- /thanu/ 'under'
- /thufān/ 'storm'
- /pather/ 'stoe'
- /dh/ Alveolar aspirated voiced stop consonant occurs initially and medially.
- /dhār/ 'current'
- /dhūlu/ 'dust'
- /podha/ 'forehand'
- /madhāni/ 'churning rod'
- /Th/ /Retroflex aspirated voiceless stop consonant occurs in all positions.
- /ThinD/ 'widow'
- /jeThāni/ 'Husband's Brother's wife'
- /jeTh/ 'Husband's brother'
- /Dh/ Retroflex aspirated voiced stop consonant occurs initially.
- /Dhō/ 'drum'
- /kh/ velar aspirated voiceless stop consonant occurs in all positions.
- /khechu/ 'ground'
- /barkha/ 'rain'
- /rakh/ 'ashes'
- /gh/ velar aspirated voiced stop consonant, occurs initially and medially.
- /ghōRa/ 'horse'
- /ghichal/ 'eye sand'

/gha/ 'grass'

/suMghNa/ 'small'

/ch/ palatal voiceless affricate consonant occurs in all positions.

/chā/ 'tide'

/pucheltāra/ 'comet'

/mich/ 'man'

/jh/ palatal voiced affricate consonant occurs initially.

/jhōR/ 'bud'

/jhungRa/ 'yoke'

/jhōTa/ 'bison'

/f/ Labio-dental voiceless fricative consonant occurs in all positions.

/fal/ 'fruit'

/tufān/ 'smoke'

/sāf/ 'clean'

/safēd/ 'white'

/s/ Alveolar voiceless fricative consonant occurs in all positions.

/saLa/ 'Wife's Brother'

/mosa/ 'Mother's Sister's Husband'

/chīs/ 'water'

/š/ palatal voiceless fricative consonant occurs in all positions.

/šela/ 'cold'

/šāpaR/ 'cliff'

/ašu/ 'tears'

- /burš/ 'brush'
- /h/ velar voiceless fricative consonant occurs in all positions.
- /hyũ/ 'snow'
- /deh/ 'body'
- /chōhTi/ 'girl'
- /M/ bilabial voiced nasal consonant occurs in all positions.
- /mamta/ 'affection'
- /mosembu/ 'climate'
- /ām/ 'mango'
- /nīm/ 'neem tree'
- /n/ Alveolar voiced consonant occurs in all positions.
- /nīm/ 'neem tree'
- /panic/ 'bird'
- /garjen/ 'thunder'
- /N/ Retroflex voiced nasal consonant occurs in the media position.
- /chūNa/ 'touch'
- /chāndNi/ 'moon'
- /M/ velar voiced nasal consonant occurs medially and finally.
- /aMgān/ 'chair'
- /jaMla/ 'terrace'
- /DaM/ 'sting'
- /mh/ bilabial voiced aspirated nasal consonant occurs initially.
- /mhanTe/ 'small'

/nh/ Alveolar voiced aspirated nasal consonant occurs initially.

/nhāla/ ‘brook’

/nher/ ‘canal’

/l/ Alveolar voiceless lateral consonant occurs in all positions.

/lupi/ ‘flame’

/lūn/ ‘salt’

/talāb/ ‘pool’

/naNhāl/ ‘Mother’s Father’s home’

/L/ Retroflex voiceless lateral consonant occurs medially and finally.

/naLū/ ‘fountain’

/sāLi/ ‘sister in law’

/brēli/ ‘cat’

/bādeL/ ‘cloud’

/tēLu/ ‘dew’

/lh/ Alveolar voiceless aspirated consonant occurs finally.

/kolh/ ‘nest’

/rīlh/ ‘spine’

/r/ Alveolar voiceless trill consonant occurs in all positions.

/rōš/ ‘anger’

/gari/ ‘coconut kernel’

/banjer/ ‘fallow land’

/R/ Retroflex voiced flap consonant occurs medially and finally.

/kakaRi/ ‘cumin seed’

/bāRi/ 'fence'

/dour/ 'race'

/w/ Labio-dental voiceless semi vowel occurs in all positions.

/weja/ 'cause'

/kūwāri/ 'spinster'

/dwār/ 'cave'

/jīw/ 'life'

/nīw/ 'foundation'

/y/ Palatal voiceless semivowel occurs medially.

/punya/ 'full moon day'

/hyũ/ 'snow'

2.4 Diphthongs:

There are five diphthongs realized in Keonthali language. These are /ai, au, eu, oi and ou/.

/ai/ occurs medially and finally.

/kāīchi/ 'scissors'

/dewāi/ 'medicine'

/Tail/ 'tile'

/au/ occurs medially and finally.

/plauna/ 'sharpen'

/glau/ 'spider'

/kauwe/ 'crow'

/eu/, occurs medially.

/deuthi/ 'chin'

/seukenu/ 'co wife'

/oi/ occurs medially.

/koil/ 'cuckoo'

/ou/ occurs medially.

/touliya/ 'towel'

/blous/ 'blouse'

/noukrāni/ 'maid'

There are three vowel clusters:

/ao/ /mao/ 'honey bee'

/ua/ /kachua/ 'tortoise'

/ui/ bhuĩ 'earth'

2.5 Clusters

In Keonthali, two vowel clusters, and two consonant clusters are very common.

However, a few middle three consonant clusters are also realized. These are exemplified

Below.

Initial two consonant clusters:

gr - grōnu 'earth quake'

dr - dreyo 'river'

sm - smān 'sky'

hy - hyũ 'snow'

pr - prapāt 'water fall'

sr - srimati 'Mrs'

jw -	jwāyī	‘son in law’
br -	brāg	‘leopard’
gl -	glāhri	‘squirrel’
dw -	dwār	‘wall’
sy -	syāhi	‘ink’
sk -	skūl	‘school’
sl -	/slēT/	‘slat’
sn -	/snēha/	‘massage’
cr -	/crōnch/	‘pinch’
mr -	/mrāmat/	‘repair’
pl -	/plau/	‘sharpen’
Dr -	/Drā/	‘threaten’
sw -	/swāri/	‘ride’
sp -	/spest/	‘explain’
kr -	/krahe/	‘groan’

Medial two consonant cluster:

- mj -	/mōmjāmāl/	‘foam’
- nd -	/dhundu/	‘mist’
- rm -	/garmi/	‘heat’
- ny -	/punya/	‘full moon light’
- jl -	/bijli/	‘lightening’
- rb -	/parbāt/	‘mountain’
- rkh -	/barkha/	‘rain’

- nh -	/penheri/	‘rainbow’
- rn -	/kirnu/	‘ray’
- rj -	/surjāri/	‘sunshine’
- cp -	/bacpan/	‘childhood’
- kr -	/noukrāni/	‘maid servant’
- hm -	/māhmi/	‘Mother’s Brother’s Wife’
- mm -	/amma/	‘mother’
- nj -	/bhanja/	‘nephew’
- mb -	/lemba/	‘tall’
- ng -	/gunga/	‘dumb’
- lt -	/pāltu/	‘animal’
- mg -	/chamgāder/	‘bat’
- kR/	/kekRa/	‘crab’
- ln -	/jelnu/	‘earth worm’
- wl -	/dwli/	‘glow worm’
- nD/	/anDa/	‘egg’
- rg -	/khargōš/	‘hare’
- mD -	/dimDi/	‘hornet’
- kr -	/bakru/	‘kid’
- gl -	/bagla/	‘king fisher’
- rD -	/pharDu/	‘rabbit’
- hr -	/glahri/	‘squirrel’
- mR -	/cimRi/	‘wasp’

- Mn	- /maMni/	‘bug’
- Rk	- /chēRko/	‘birds’
- sl	- /pasli/	‘rib’
- dk	- /andkōs/	‘testicle’
- rs	- /kUrsi/	‘chair’
- rw	- /derwāja/	‘door’
- bj	- /kebja/	‘hinge’
- mr	- /kamra/	‘room’
- ks	- /uksā/	‘persuade’
- mp	- /pampa/	‘dear’
- tr	- /patru/	‘form’
- lw	- /telwār/	‘sword’
- nch	- /phinch/	‘stamp’ (feet)
- kl	- /hakla/	‘stagger’
- Dp	- /haDpe/	‘grab’
- khw	- /rakhwāli/	‘guard’
- lTh	- /ulTha/	‘stay’
- jg	- /rejgāri/	‘change’

Final two consonant cluster:

- ks	/Tāks/	‘tax’
- nj	/māj/	‘scour’
- pT	/cipT/	‘earn’
- Ms	/hams/	‘laugh’

- rf	/barf/	‘ice’
- Tr	/mitr/	‘friend’
- nD	/ThinD/	‘male’
- ns	/bīns/	‘beans’
- rp	/serp/	‘python’
- nc	/pūnc/	‘tail’
- nd	/dānd/	‘tooth’
- nkh	/pānkh/	‘wing’
- nj	/ganj/	‘baldness’
- nT	/inT/	‘brick’
- rc	/mirc/	‘chilli’

Medial three consonant cluster:

- nkr -	/kankri/	‘pebble’
- nDw -	/ranDwa/	‘widower’
- str -	/kastru/	‘honey comb’
- nsp -	/ispector/	‘Inspector’
- nsr -	/bansri/	‘flute’

2.6 Syllable

In Keonthali Language up to Tri-syllabic words are prominent. However, a few four syllabic and five syllabic words are also realized. These are exemplified below.

Mono Syllable (Open)

vcv	āgu	‘fire’
cṽ	bhuĩ	‘earth’

ccv	hyũ	‘snow’
-----	-----	--------

Monosyllabic (Close)

vc	ēk	‘one’
----	----	-------

cvc	rākh	‘ashes’
-----	------	---------

cvcc	ThinD	‘male’
------	-------	--------

ccvc	brāg	‘leopard’
------	------	-----------

Di-syllabic (Open)

cv.cv	nadi	‘river’
-------	------	---------

cv.cv	nhāLa	‘brook’
-------	-------	---------

cvc.cv	luppi	‘flame’
--------	-------	---------

cvcc.cv	kank-ri	‘pebble’
---------	---------	----------

cvcc.cv	chānd.ni	‘moon light’
---------	----------	--------------

ccv.cv	dre.yo	‘river’
--------	--------	---------

cũ.cv	bhō.ra	‘heetle’
-------	--------	----------

ccv.cv	glā.mu	‘spider web’
--------	--------	--------------

Di-syllabic (Close)

cv.cvc	bā.ger	‘air’
--------	--------	-------

cvc.cvc	bhen.ser	‘dawn’
---------	----------	--------

cvv.cvc	bhuĩ.chal	‘earth quake’
---------	-----------	---------------

cvc.cvc	bac.pan	‘child hood’
---------	---------	--------------

Tri-Syllabic (Open)

cvc.cv.cv	mōm.ja.ma	‘foam’
-----------	-----------	--------

cvc.cvc.cv	mat.ban.na	‘adopted child’
------------	------------	-----------------

c̃v.c̃v.cv	kẽ.wã.ra	‘bachelor’
cv.cv.cvc	pa.ri.wār	‘family’
cv.cv.cv	je.na.na	‘female’
ccv.cv.cv	pra.po.ti	‘great grand daughter’
cvvc.cv.cv.	nouk.rā.ni	‘maid’
cvc.cv.cv	chip.ki.li	‘lizard’
cv.cv.cvv	kā.la.kāp	‘raven’
v.cv.cv	a.khi.ra	‘retina’
cv.cvcc.cv	ka.mend.lu	‘shell’
ccv.cv.cv	pra.hā.ku	‘student’
cvccc.cvc.cv	tantr.bid.ya	‘witchcraft’
ccvc.cv.cv	swaD.ga.ni	‘actress’

Tri-Syllabic (Close)

cv.cv.cvc	sa.rō.war	‘lake’
cvc.cv.cvc	cham.ga.der	‘bat’
cv.cvc.cvc	ma.ger.mach	‘crocodile’
cvc.cv.cvc	gan.ja.sir	‘bald had’
vc.cv.cvcc	ag.la.dānd	‘front tooth’
cv.cv.cvc	si.ta.fal	‘cumin seed’
cvc.cvc.cvc	saM.mar.mar	‘marble’

Four Syllabic (Open)

cv.cv.cv.cv	kudu.me.ni	‘daughter in law’s’
cvc.cv.cv.cv	lem.ba.ma.nu	‘tall man’

cv.cv.cv.cv ma.ha.se.Du 'mosquito'

cv.cv.cvcc.cv pē.na.sast.ru 'blade'

Four Syllabic (Close)

vc.cv.cv.cu al.mo.ni.om 'alum'

Five Syllabic (Open)

cvc.cv.cv.cv.cv paR.hā.ne.wā.li '(Teacher)

cv.cv.cv.cv.cv su.tē.la.be.Ta 'stepson'

3. MORPHOPHONEMICS

Morphemes when they occur with various kinds of suffixes, phonological variations take place with the morpheme called morphonemics.

In Keonthali Language, there are such variations realized these are given below with examples.

1. /h/ is dropped after the alveolar trill consonant.

raho 'live' > rōdethe 'lived'

2. The stem final/h/ geminates before a suffix.

/bacca/ 'child' > /bacpan/ 'childhood'

3. Monosyllabic verbal stem alternates:

dena 'to give' > ditta gave (mas.)

sona 'to sleep' > sutty slept (mas.)

jāna 'to go' > gaya went (mas.)

karna 'to do' > karwāna 'to get done'

khāna 'to eat' > k^hawāna 'to feed'

rah 'to live' > rawo 'lived'

kar 'to do' > karo 'did'

Dar 'to fear' > Daro 'feared'

3.1 Vocative Change:

The vowel of the stem is changed or replaced by another vowel before a suffix is added to the stem.

/jang/ 'leg' /jangia/ 'shorts'

/bāg/ 'garden' /bagīca/ 'orchard'

/sāph/ 'clean' /saphāi/ 'cleanliness'

/likh/	‘write’	/lekha/	‘account’
/bigaR/	‘spoil’	/bagRēl/	‘mischievous’
/che/	‘six’	/chāngā/	‘six fingered man’
/dūd/	‘milk’	/dōji/	‘milkman’

3.2 Consonant gain is verbal stem:

ayi	‘to come’	āyiro	‘came’
tl̥n	‘to eat’	tinno	‘ate’
TuTi	‘crawl’	TuTipaRa	‘crowled’
khao	‘to eat’	khaola	‘ate’
bōli	‘to tell’	bolidita	‘told’
sōche	‘to think’	socne lage	‘started thinking’

4. MORPHOLOGY

Morphology deals with the internal structure of words. It deals with both the derivational and inflectional aspects of words.

4.1 Word Formation:

A word may be defined as the union of particular meaning with a particular grammatical employment.

There are three types of word formation realized in Keonthali Language, namely; Compounding, Reduplication and Derivation.

Compounding:

It involves joining of more than one stem either in free or in bound forms.

Noun + Noun:

ma	+	bāp	‘parents’
kām	+	kāj	‘work’
pen	+	cekkin	‘pen knife’

Adjective + Noun:

nīl kamal	- nīla + kamal	‘blue lotus’
chōTbaiya	- chōTa + baiya	‘younger brother’

Reduplication:

Reduplication can be complete or partial.

Complete Reduplication, is a repetition of the same word with or without an intervening particle (like na, se, hi) or suffix.

Noun:	ghar ghar me	‘every house’
	hathō hāt	‘by hand’

Adj:	acche acche	‘good’
	kames kam	‘almost’
Pronoun:	koi na koi	‘some body’
	kuc na kuc	‘some thing’
Verb:	paRte paRte	‘reading while’
Adverb:	dhire dhire	‘slowly’
	kabhi kabhi	‘sometime’
	pashi pas	‘near’
	sāth hi sāth	‘with’
Exclamation:	rām rām	‘ram’

Partial Reduplication: It is a construction in which the second element is an echo of the first element and has no independent meaning of its own.

a) Repetition of the first element with a change of initial consonant.

kursi	tursi	‘chair’
roTi	oTi	‘roti’
mez	wez	‘table’

b) Repetition of the first element with a change of vowel of the first syllable.

toR	– taR	‘remove’
khoj	– khāj	‘work’

c) Addition of a second element which though rhymes with the first element is not used separately.

bāt	– cit	‘talk’
bol	– cāl	‘saying’

d) In some cases neither of the element has any independent mainly or usage in isolation.

They only rhyme with each other.

ul – jeul ‘unwanted’

ent – sent ‘rubbish’

Similar Reduplication: It is a construction in which the second element is semantically an echo of the first element.

mar – pit ‘beating’

baRa – chōTa ‘big or small’

age – piche ‘front or back’

Derivation:

Derivational affixes are of two types suffixation and prefixation.

Noun Forming Suffixes:

1) Forming nouns on nouns:

- ar sunār ‘goldsmith’

- ar luhar ‘iron maker’

- ari pujāri ‘priest’

- wala dūdhwāla ‘milk man’

2. Forming nouns on verbs:

- wa dewa ‘give’

- wa lewa ‘take’

- na belna

- ne + wāla jāne wāla ‘who goes’

- ne + wāla karne wāla ‘who does’

Forming Adjectives on nouns:

- iya dudhiya

- i gulābi

- ila nukila

- ila resila

Forming adjectives on verbs:

- na rona 'cry'

- iya ghetiya

- wā ketwā

- wā dhelwā

Prefixation:

an - anpaRh 'illiterate'

be - bejor

be - beiman

su - sudol

ni - hettha

bin - bin byaha

Causative Formation of Verbs:

Primary Verb.	Cause at Verb –I	Caus. Vb-II
{ Perh-na 'read'	perh-a-na 'reading'	perh-wa-na 'making read'

girna	gir-a-na	gir-wa-na
‘fall’	‘falling’	‘making fall’
bejna	bej-a-na	bej-wa-na
‘send’	‘sending’	‘making send’
biTna	bit-a-na	biT-wa-na
‘beat’	‘beating’	‘making-beat’
bol-na	bol-na	bol-wa-na
‘tell’	‘telling’	‘making-tell’

4.2 Noun:

There are two types of nouns namely Simple and Derived nouns in Keonthali Language.

The noun which is not derived from any other word class are called simple noun. It is further divided into two categories that is, mass and count noun.

Simple Noun: (Example)

bhōra	‘beetle’
panic	‘bird’
chũj	‘beak’
pankh	‘feather’
titēli	‘butter fly’
maKhi	‘fly’
macci	‘fish’

Mass Noun:

bāger	‘air’
rākh	‘ashes’
māTi	‘clay’
dhūlu	‘dust’
dhuī	‘fog’
barkha	‘rain’
hyū	‘snow’

Count Noun:

anDa	‘egg’
kiRe	‘worm’
jūM	‘body luse’
ajger	‘python’

Derived Noun:

In Keonthali, nouns are derived from the verb or from another noun. The suffixes are used to denote the derived noun in two ways. Such as:

- 1) Verb + Suffix = Noun.
- 2) Noun + Suffix = Noun.

1. Verb + Suffix = Noun:

1) sekār + ri	=	sekāri	‘hunter’
(hunt) + (suffix)			
2) bang + i	=	bangi	‘sweeper’
(sweep) + (suffix)			

3) dho + bi = dhōbi 'washer man'

(wash) + (suffix)

4) jula + ha = jwlaha 'weaver'

(weave) + (suffix)

5) naw + I = nawi 'barber'

(shave) + (suffix)

2. Noun + Suffix = Noun

1. kala+ kār = kalakār 'artist'

(art) + suffix

2. tambe + ra + kari kār = tamber kari kār. 'copper smith'

copper + case + suffix

3. mada + ri = madāri 'magician'

magic + suffix

4. meju + ri = mejuri 'labourer'

labour + suffix

Gender:

In Keonthali masculine gender is unmarked. Where as feminine is generally realized by the high front vowel/i/which occurs with the stem in the final position. However, in some cases feminine is realized by different phonemes.

beTa 'son'

beTi 'daughter'

baghēr 'boy'

chohTi 'girl'

laRa	‘bride groom’
laRi	‘bride’
saLa	‘wife’s brother’
bhābi	‘brother’s wife’
bahu	‘daughter in law’
jwāyi	‘son in law’
kuDem	‘daughter in law’s father’
kuDumeni	‘daughter in law’s mother’
kutta	‘dog’
kutti	‘bitch’
murga	‘cock’
murgi	‘hen’
khaDDu	‘ram’
bakri	‘goat’

Feminine suffix other than the vowel/i/.

bhaiya	‘brother’
behenu	‘sister’
pita	‘father’
amma	‘mother’
thinD	‘male’
jenāna	‘female’
shora	‘father in law’
sāsu	‘mother in law’

sānD 'bull'

gawo 'cow'

Number:

Singular number is unmarked, whereas plural is realized by the suffix/-e/with the noun. The dual number is realized by using the numeral 'Two'.

kutta 'one dog'

kutte 'dogs'

beTa 'son'

beTe 'sons'

1) ēk kutta 'one dog'

2) do kutte 'two dogs'

3) kutte gugde hē. 'dogs bark'

4) mera beTa aso 'he is my son'

5) mere beTe aso 'they are my sons'

Case:

There are nine cases realized in Keonthali language, namely, Nominative, Accusative, Dative, Instrumental, Locative, Genitive, Ablative, Associative and Benefactive case. The Nominative case has no separate marker whereas other cases have markers.

Accusative Case:

There are two suffixes realized for accusative case such as: /-ā/and /-ke/. These are exemplified below.

1) se panchi -ke chōT lānda 'He hits the bird'.

2) kutta brēli -ke ghugya karo 'The dog barks of the cat'

3) se mã dekh da he 'He sees me'

4) ahã tesã dekha da hã 'I see her'

Dative Case:

The Dative case is realized by the suffix/-ake/.

mere gaur – āke jā 'Go to my house'.

mere beTa skūlāke De goa 'My son has gone to school'

se mere gour-āke āya karo 'She comes to our school'

ahã gour āke jānda 'I go to the house'

Instrumental Case:

The Instrumental case is realized by the suffix/-sāthi/.

1) muwẽ lekeRi kulāRe – sāthi kāTi dithi 'I cut the wood with saw'

2) muwẽ fal chaku – sāthi kāte 'I cut the fruit with the knife'

Locative Case:

The Locative case is realized by the suffix/-da/.

meri beTi bagiche – da aso 'My daughter is in the garden'

meri beTi khecha – da aso 'My daughter is in the field'

ahã gawã - da rawu 'I live in the village'

ahã apne goura – da aso 'I am in my house'

Genitive Case:

This genitive case is realized by the suffix/-ra/and this is changing according to the Number and Gender i.e. for plural/ra > re/and for female/ra > ri/.

jenā nara oDlu 'The basket of the woman'

mera hāt 'My hand'

- mere hāt ‘My hands’
- meri katā bā eti aso ‘My books are here’
- ye mere pāc gour aso ‘These are my five houses’

Ablative Case:

This ablative case is realized by the suffix/-ka/.

- 1) ām birchā-ka gire ‘Mango falls from the tree’
- 2) rām gawā - ka awo ‘Ram comes from the village’
- 3) patte bircha – ka girde hā ‘Leaves fall from the tree’
- 4) ahā brcha – a dūr aso ‘I am away from the tree’

Associative Case:

This associative case is realized by the suffix/-sāthi/.

- 1) ahā tēs – sāthi bazaar ke Dewu ‘I go with him to the market’
- 2) ahā tēs – sāthi pichale bīs barsa ka ronDa āya hū ‘I live with him for the past 20 years’

Benefactive Case:

This benefactive case is realized by the suffix/-ri teī/or/ri khater/.

- 1) gaut bacce re titeī dūd dēdi ‘Cow gives milk for her child’
- 2) se bharet sarkāra riteī kām karda aso ‘He works for Govt of India’

Post-Position:

The postposition is realized by separate morphemes in Keonthali Language. These are exemplified below.

- 1) oanchi bircha pānde bēTh da ‘The bird sits on the tree’
- 2) bacca mēcha pānde kaDe raho ‘Child stands on the table’
- 3) mera bēTa gaura bhitarre aso ‘My son is in the house’

4) se bircha n^{hi}Te sonda 'He sleeps under the tree'

4.3 Pronoun:

There are five types of pronouns realized in Keonthali Language namely, Personal Pronoun, Demonstrative Pronoun, Reflective Pronoun, Interrogative Pronoun and Indefinite Pronoun. These are exemplified and discussed below in detail.

Personal Pronoun:

The personal pronouns are three that is, first personal, second personal and third personal.

The first personal pronoun refers to the speaker, the second personal pronoun refers to the hearer and third personal pronoun refers to the person or object other than the speakers and the hearer.

Person	Singular		Plural	
I'st person	ahũ	I	ham	'we'
Second person	tu	you(sl)	tum	'you' (pl)
Third person	se	He She	sew	'they'

1) (Non-respect)

2) Respect
sewu He
She

Animal. Pašu 'it'

1) ahã tēti Deya kara 'I go there'

2) hamme tume dēkde 'We see you'

3) tu bacca dēkde 'You see the child'

4) tume tinna dēkde 'You (pl) see them'

- 5) se eti āya karo 'He comes here'
- 6) se eti āya karo 'She comes here'
- 7) pašu eti āya karo 'It comes here'
- 8) sewu eti āya karō 'He/she (resp) comes here'

Demonstrative Pronoun:

The Demonstrative pronouns either of proximate or remote types are realized in two numbers singular and plural. These are exemplified below.

- ye kutta aso 'This is a dog;
- ewo do gour aso 'These are two houses'
- se admi mōTa aso 'That man is fat'
- sewo admi mōTa aso 'These men are fat'

Reflective Pronoun:

The Reflective is realized by the suffix/apne āp/which occurs after the personal pronouns. These are exemplified below.

- 1) ahā apne āp nācnera abyās karu 'I myself practice dance'
- 2) tume aphi hi apna pentoLo 'You (sg) yourself search your pen'
- 3) tune aphi sātbaje kaThe hoi jāu 'You (pl) people yourself gather at 7Am'
- 4) tiniye apne āp guTThi kaThi dithi 'She/he himself cut his finger'herself
- 5) cinTi apne āp pāni da giri paDi 'Ant itself fall on the water'
- 6) apihi āpi pānde patther phenkhe 'The men them selves throw Ned stone on them
- 7) sewo kutte apne āp khai bicce giri paDe 'The dogs themselves fall down'

Interrogative Pronoun:

The Interrogative pronoun is realized by separate morphemes, which occurs immediately after the personal pronoun. These are exemplified below.

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. se kunu aso? | Who is he? |
| 2. tume konuji katāb pasend karo? | Which book do you like? |
| 3) se kesera bhai aso? | Whose brother is he? |
| 4) ye keseri sārī aso? | Whose sarce is this? |

Indefinite Pronoun:

The Indefinite pronoun is realized by the separate morphemes.

- | | |
|---------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 1. tēskamre biter kuwē aso? | ‘Some one is there in the room?’ |
| 2. kuwē hōla bicce aso? | ‘Anyone is there in the hall?’ |
| 3. thōRe jeya cāul aso? | ‘A little rice is available?’ |
| 4. kuc bacce āj āye | ‘A few boys attended today’ |
| 5. sabba bicce sabike auna cheī | ‘Every one should attend the meeting’ |

4.4 Adjective:

There are two types of Adjectives realized that is, qualitative and quantitative. In Keontali, adjectives precedes the noun and follows also. These are exemplified below.

Quantitative Adjective:

The adjective precedes the noun to qualify.

- | | |
|----------------|-------------|
| 1) accā begēr | ‘Good boy’ |
| good boy | |
| 2) acci chōhTi | ‘Good girl’ |
| good girl | |

3) ēk sunder gāu aso 'This is a beautiful village'

one beautiful village is

4) ek buRa gāu aso 'This is a bad village'

one bad village is

Affributive Adjective:

1) ahā buRha aso 'I am old'

I old is/am

2) ahā lamba aso 'I am tall'

I tall am

3) bacca lamba aso 'Child is tall'

child tall is

4) p^hūl lāl aso 'The flower is red'

flower red is

Quantitative Adjective:

The numerals function as quantitative adjective, which occurs before the noun.

1) pār do acce gau aso 'There are good villages'

there two good village are.

2) ye do acci katha aso 'These are two good stories'

this two good story are.

3) eti do brēli aso 'Here are two cats'

here two cat are

4) ye mere pānc gaur aso 'These are my five houses'

this my five house are

4.5 Numeral:

Keonthali Language has adopted Hindi numerals. However, many numerals are of its own.

There are two types of numerals used namely; cardinals and ordinals.

For example:

ēk	‘one’
do	‘two’
tīn	‘three’
chār	‘four’
pāc	‘five’
che	‘six’
sāt	‘seven’
āT	‘eight’
nau	‘nine’
das	‘ten’
bīs	‘twenty’
tīs	‘thirty’
chālis	‘forty’
pāja	‘fifty’
nabbe	‘ninety’
sou	‘hundred’

Numbers from 11 to 99 are formed by compounding the proper bound form.

For Example: 48 will be Eight + Forty = Forty Eight

	AR + tāli	= aRtāli
44 will be	Four + Forty	= Forty Four
	chow + āli	= chowāli
47 will be	Seven + Forty	= Forty Seven
	san + tāli	= Santāli

With the exceptions of 89 and 99, 19, 29 and etc which are formed as $-1 + 20 = \text{unnīs}$ i.e. (19). Numbers greater than 100 are expressed on the phrase level order of constituents will be/sou/

/sou/	‘hundred’
/hazār/	‘thousand’
/lakho/	‘lakh’
/korōr/	‘crore’

Ordinal:

The ordinal numerals are realized by the suffix/-la and/-ha/with the stem.

For Examples: to denote ‘first’ the suffix -la is affixed with the stem/pahe-/.

Pahe + la	= ‘first’
du + ja	= ‘second’
di + ja	= ‘third’

Fraction:

The fractions are realized by separate morphemes.

1) chautha hissa	‘quarter’ (1/4)
2) ādda	‘half’ (1/2)
3) pōuna	‘one third’ (1/3)

4) swāya ‘one and a quarter’ (1 ¼)

5) dewRa ‘one and a half’ (1 ½)

4.6 Verb Morphology

Verb:

Verb is a class of words inflected for the categories of Tense and Mood. Verb stems may either be simple or complex in nature.

Finite Verb:

Finite verb is a complete verb and it shows the complete action done which are realized through the use of person + tense + number and gender markers. These are exemplified below.

1) se m̄ã dek^h-da he ‘He sees me’

he me see+Pr.T. Prn.Tem.

dekh – da

verb + root- I st person + male (singular) + present tense marker.

2) se son-da he ‘He sleeps’

he sleep+Pt.T. Prn.Tem.

3) panchi uR de h̄ã ‘The birds fly’

birds fly+Pr.T. Prn.Tem.

4) hamme eti ruk-u-de h̄ẽ ‘We stop here’

we here stop- -Pr.T. Prn.Tem.

5) bacca chōTi j̄ãn-da he ‘The girl falls’

child girl fall- Pt.T. Prn.Tem.

6) gau charya – karo ‘The cow is grazing’

the cow graze ing

7) hamme gau-wā piTde bhi hā ‘We beat the cows’

we cow+pl beat+Pr.T.+also Prn.Tem.

8) ahā ghoR-swāri karda hā ‘I ride the horse’

I horse+ride do+Pr.T. Prn.Tem.

9) se pore khaDi he ‘She stands there’

Tense:

Present Tense:

Present tense is realized by suffixing a form, which is conditional by the present+gender+number with verb root.

The example sentences are given below.

1) ahā (t)eti deya – karu ‘I go there’

I there go+do=go

2) tume mā dek^ho ‘You (sl) see me’

you(sl) me see

3) tume hamā dekh –o ‘You(pl) see me’

4) se bōl da hā ‘He speaks’

5) sewu bōl de hā ‘He speak’ (Respect)

6) sewu bōl di hā ‘She speaks’ (Respect)

The universal truth is also expressed by the suffix of the present tense.

1) surej purwa – da nikal+da he ‘The sun rises in the east’

sun east+side rise+Pr.T. Prn.Tem.

The habitually is also expressed by the suffix of the present tense.

hamme rōj sāger-teī macci pakeR-de jāde hā ‘We go to the sea to catch fish daily’

we daily sea+to fish catch+to go+Pr.T. Prn.Tem.

Past Tense:

The past tense is realized by the person +gender markers, which are suffixed with the verb-root. That is;

- 1) the suffix/-a/indicates the noun: (Singular + Male + Past Tense.)
- 2) the suffix/-i/indicates the noun: Singular/Plural + Female + Past Tense.
- 3) the suffix/-e/indicates the noun is (Plural + Male + Past Tense.)

The examples are given below:

- | | |
|-------------|-------------------|
| 1) se bōla | ‘He spoke’ (M) |
| 2) se bōli | ‘She spoke’ (FM) |
| 3) sew bōle | ‘They spoke’ (M) |
| 4) sew bōli | ‘They spoke’ (FM) |

In some cases, separate morphemes of the same rule (person + gender markers) are realized. These are exemplified below.

- | | |
|---|-----------------------|
| 1) ahā giri paDa | ‘I fall down’ |
| I fall+Past Tense +Marker. (Sing+Male) | |
| 2) se calli paDa | ‘He went away’ |
| he go+Past+Tense(Singular+Male) | |
| 3)hamme calli paDe | ‘We went away’ |
| we go+ Past Tense (+Plural+Human Man) | |
| 4) muwē Daku pakRi ditta | ‘I caught the robber’ |
| I thift caught +Past+Tense (Male+Singular). | |
| 5) ahā teti Deya | ‘I went there’ |

5) sew au ni 'They will come'

they come+F.T

(Plural+Female)

6) kutta au na parsu 'Dog will come tomorrow'

dog come+F.T Tomorrow.

(Sing+Animal)

7) ahā tumma sāthi kām karne jāna 'I will go with you to work'

I you with work+to do go+F.T

Aspect

Aspect is a grammatical category of verb, which has nothing to do with the location of an event in time but with its temporal distribution.

There are nine aspects realized in Keonthali Language namely: Present continuous, Past continuous, Future Continuous, Present Perfect Continuous, Past Perfect Continuous, Future Present Continuous, Present Perfect, Past Perfect and Future Perfect. These are exemplified below.

Present Continuous/durative Tense:

The present durative/continuous tense is realized by the suffixes conditioned by the person, number and gender. That is;

1) the suffix/-rawo/means 'ing' is used for the following nouns and pronouns.

a) 1st persons singular and plural.

b) Second person plural and plural in general.

c) Animals.

2) the suffix/-roye/means 'ing' is used for 2nd person singular.

3) the suffix/-rowo/means 'ing' is used for 3rd person male and female.

- | | |
|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| 1) ahã kha nda rawo | ‘I am eating’ |
| I eat + do ing | |
| 2) tu khanda roye | ‘You (sl) are eating’ |
| you eat+do -ing | |
| 3) se khanda rowo | ‘He is eating’ |
| he eat + do -ing | |
| 4) se khandi rowo | ‘She is eating’ |
| she eat+do -ing | |
| 5) kutta ghōg.da rawo | ‘Dog is barking’ |
| dog bark+do -ing | |
| 6) bold char -ya karo | ‘The bull is grazing’ |
| bull graze-ing do | |
| 7) gau char -ya karo | ‘The cow is grazing’ |
| cow graze -ing do | |

Past durative/continuous tense:

According to the pronoun the past continuous tense is marked by four different suffixes. The word ending vowel of the main verb; which takes the tense suffix is also changing.

a) The suffix/-tha/is used for the

1. First person singular ‘I’
- 2) Second person singular ‘you (sl)’
- 3) Third person Male & Animal nouns.

- | | |
|------------------------|------------------------|
| 1) ahā khāya kara tha | ‘I was eating’ |
| 2) tu khāya karo tha | ‘You (sl) were eating’ |
| 3) se khāya kara tha | ‘He was eating’ |
| 4) bašu khāya karo tha | ‘The cow was eating’ |

b) The suffix/-the/is used for:

- 1) First person plural ‘we’
- 2) Second person plural you (pl)

Example:

- | | |
|-------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1) hamme khāya-karo the | ‘We were eating’ |
| 2) tumme khāya-karo the | ‘You(pl) were eating’ |

c) The suffix/-thi/is used for:

- 1) third person Female ‘she’



Examples:

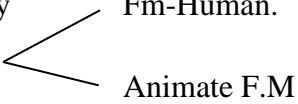
- | | |
|-----------------------|------------------|
| 1) se khāya kara thi | ‘She was eating’ |
| 2) sew khāya kara thi | ‘they’ |
-

d) The suffix/-thī/is used for:

- 1) third person Female (Human)
- 2) third person Animate nouns.

Example:

Sew khāya karo thī

* they 

‘they were eating’

Future Continuous Tense:

According to the pronoun the Future Continuous Tense is marked by three different suffixes. The final syllable of the main verb which takes the tense suffix is also changing.

1) The suffix/-ga/is used for:

- | | |
|------------------------------|------------|
| 1) First person singular | ‘I’ |
| 2) Second person singular | ‘you (sl)’ |
| 3) Third person male (Human) | ‘he’ |
| 4) Third person Animate Noun | ‘it’ |

Example:

- | | |
|------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1) ahā khānda ra wū ga | ‘I will be eating’ |
| 2) tu khānda ra ya ga | ‘You (sl) will be eating’ |
| 3) se khānda ra ye ga | ‘He will be eating’ |
| 4) bašu khānda ra yega | ‘The cow will be eating’ |

2. The suffix/-gi/is used for:

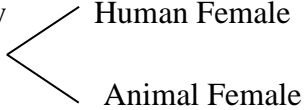
1. third person singular female (Human).

Example:

Se khāndi ra ye gi ‘She will be eating’

‘They have taken their meals’

9. tinniye khāna tha leya he

*they  Human Female
Animal Female

‘They have eaten their food’

The past perfect Tense:

The past perfect tense is realized by separate morphemes according to the pronoun used.

1. ahaā b^hāt khāyi mukha – tha

‘I had taken rice’

2. hamme bhāt thāyi mukhe the

‘We had taken rice’

3. tu bhāt thāyi mukha tha

‘You (sl) had taken rice’

4. tumme bhāt khāyi mukhe-the

‘You (pl) had taken rice’

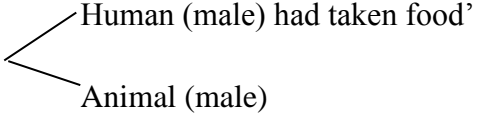
5. se bhāt khāyi mukha tha

‘He had taken rice’

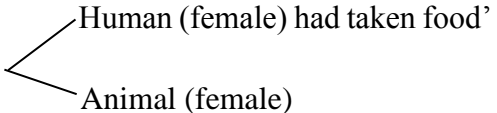
6. se bhāt khāyi mukhi thi

‘She had taken rice’

7. sewo bhāt khāyi mukhe the

* ‘they  Human (male) had taken food’
Animal (male)

8. sewo bhāt khāyi mukhi thī * ‘they

 Human (female) had taken food’
Animal (female)

Future Perfect Tense:

The future perfect tense is realized by separate morphemes, which is differentiated according to the pronouns.

1. ahā bōjen-kar chukha hūnga

‘I will have taken food’

2. hamme bōjen kar chukhe hūnge

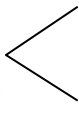
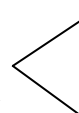
‘We will have taken food’

3. tu bōjen kari pāya hūga

‘You (sg) will have taken food’

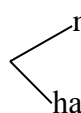
4. tumme bōjen kari pāye hūnge

‘You (pl) will have taken food’

5. se bōjem kari pāya hūnga ‘He will have taken food’
6. se bōjen kari pāyi hūngi ‘She will have taken food’
7. sew bōjen kari pāye hūnge ‘* they  Animal (Male) will have food’
8. sew bōjen kari pāyi hūngi * ‘they  Animal (Female) will have taken food’

Present Perfect Continuous Tense:

The present perfect continuous tense is realized by separate morpheme and it is changing according to the pronoun used.

1. ahā bhēnsra da es part likya karū hā ‘I have been writing letter since morning’
2. hamme bhēnsra da likya kare hā ‘We have been written since morning’
3. tu bhēnsrada likya kare hā ‘You (sg) have been written since morning’
4. tumme bhēnsrada likya karo hā ‘You (pl) have been writing since morning’
5. se bhēnsrada likya karo he ‘He has been writing since morning’
6. se bhēnsrada likya karo he ‘She has been writing since morning’
7. sew beTiyā bhēnsrada likya karā hē * ‘They  have been writing since morning’
8. sew bhēnsrada likya karā hē ‘They have been writing since morning’

Past Perfect Continuous Tense:

The past perfect continuous tense is realized by separate morphemes. The phonemic changes taken place in the main verb as well as in the tense suffix.

1. ahā bhēnsrada ispatr likha kara tha ‘I had been writing letter since morning’
2. hamme bhēnsrada likha karā the ‘We had been writing letter since morning’

3. tu bhēnsrada likha kare tha	‘You had been writing since morning’
4. tumme bhēnsrada likha karã the	‘You (pl) had been writing since morning’
5. se bhēnsrada likya karda tha	‘He had been writing since morning’
6. se bhēnsrada likhāya kardi thi	‘She had been writing since morning’
7. sew bhēnsrada likhya karde the	‘They (male) had been writing since morning’
8. sew bhēnsrada likha kardi thī	‘They (Female) had writing since morning’

Future Perfect Continuous Tense:

This Future Perfect Continuous Tense is realized by separate morphemes, which changes according to the pronoun used.

1. ahã dui ghanTheda ispatra likhya arda hã	‘I will have been writing letter for two hours’
2. hamme dui ghanTheda likhya karda hã	‘We will have been writing letter for two hours’
3. tu dui ghanTheda likhya karda hã	‘You (sg) will have been writing for two hours’
4. tumme dui ghanTheda likhya karde hã	‘You (pl) will have been writing for two hours’
5. se dui ghanTheda likhya karda he	‘He will have been writing for two hours’
6. se dui ghanTheda likya kardi he	‘She will have been writing for two hours’
7. sew dui ghanTheda likya karde hẽ	* ‘They (male) will have been writing for two hours’.
8. sew dui ghanTheda likya kardi hẽ	* ‘They (female) will have been writing for two hours’

Mood

Mood expresses the speaker’s point of view about the occurrence of the event. It is the mode or manner, which is used to express a statement, a command, a question or doubt.

There are six moods have been identified in Keonthali Language. Such as:

- 1) Indicative, 2) Imperrative, 3) Interrogative, 4) Subjunctive, 5) Probability and

- up stand+Imp. marker.
6. ja + go ‘Rise’
up + Imp. marker.
7. suLLe suLLe jep – po ‘Speak slowly’
slowly speak+Imp. marker.
8. uc-che na bol-o ‘Don’t speak loudly’
loudly not speak-Imp. marker.

Interrogative Mood:

Interrogative mood is expressed by specific morphemes, which generally occurs before the main verb. These are exemplified below.

1. ma sāthi kun auna? ‘Who will come with me?’
Me with who come
2. tumme kadi cali-roi? ‘When you are going?’
You when go+ing
3. tumme koe cali-roe? ‘Why are you going?’
You why go+ing
4. ma kiša bōl-na? ‘How shall I speak?’
I How speak
5. se aso kun? ‘Who is he?’
he is who
6. eske ka bōl-o? ‘What is this called?’
this what named

Subjunctive Mood:

The subjunctive mood expresses the conditional statement. This is generally realised by the specific morpheme/-to/which occurs between the subordinate and the main clause.

1. je teske kuc-muskhil-paRi to tumme makhe tār-kari dēni

he is a little difficulties if you me+to wire+do do

‘If he is in difficulties; you will wire to me’

2. je se ma sāthi rōnda’ to ketna acca hōnda

he-that man me with lived if how –good would have been.

‘If he were with me; it would have been better’

3. je ahaā nai bešu; to kām pūra nai hōna

I not sit up on if work complete not done

‘If I do not sit upon; the work will not be done’

Probability Mood

The probability mood is realised by a separate morpheme, which occurs after the noun or a pronoun of a sentence. This is exemplified below.

1) wohi sakho ahā āyi-ja wo

that one may I do+reach

‘I may come’ (‘I may attain what I thought of’)

2. wohi sakho se panc māri-dyo-wo

that one may he bird + hit do

‘He may kill the bird’ (the bird he targeted)

Optative Mood:

The optative mood expresses the desire, permission or request. It is realised by the suffix, which occurs with the main verb. This is exemplified below.

1. tinna sabhi āne de-wo

‘Let them all come’

they all come let.

2. tumma bicha-ka kuwē jaIro le-āwo

‘Let some of you go and fetch’ (the

water)

you some of well go fetch+let

Non-finite verb

4.7 Infinitive verb:

The verb is not conditional by the person and number of its subject. The infinitive verb is realised by separate suffixes, which generally occurs with the main verb. This is exemplified below.

1) jwānu-sa chasme-ka pāni lā-ne jaya karo

women + spring + to water bring+to have to

‘Women have to go to the spring to fetch.

2. dewte-ri pujāri-teyī mandra-teyī ja wo

Godness+Gen case worship+to temple+to go+Imp. marker.

‘Go to the temple to worship the god’

3. se serp pakeD-na caho-to tha par sarb bagigna

he snake catch+to liked but snake ran.

‘He liked to catch the snake but it far away’

4.8 Verbal Noun:

The verb function as noun called verbal noun. In Keonthali the suffix/-de/function as verbal noun. This is exemplified below.

1) mada nada dour-de dour-de tnniye acci sēt pāyi

field – on running he good heart gained.

‘Running on the field, he gained good health’

2. berateĩ ronde ronde tinniye biskuT pāye

long time crying he biscuit got

‘Crying for a longer time, he got his biscuit’

3. jūT japed japed; finniye apne mitr gawā yĩ difte

lie telling he his-friend lost has

‘Telling lies, he has best his good friend’

4.9 Gerund:

The verb function as nouns is called gerund. In Keonthali Language the suffix /-na/is added to the main verb to denote the noun. This is explained below.

1) bhensre paD -na bahut ra wo ‘Reading in the morning is better’

morning read+ing very good is.

2) sanja –belle khē/-na sehtāri –teĩ acca aso ‘Playing in the evening is good for health’

evening play+ing health+for good.

3) tēr –na sehtāri+teĩ acca aso ‘Swimming is good for health’

swim+ing health+for good

4.10 Causative Verb:

The causativeness is realized by separate morpheme which occurs with the main verb.

1) ahā - teska katāb – dilāi jānda – ra aso ‘I am making her give a book’.

I that one book give make+ing am

2) ahā tesaka gīt guwānda leggi-ra ‘I am making her sing a song’.

I that one song sing+ make+ing

3) ahā tesata samān uThona jānda parse essa nai chāho

I that one luggage lift make but she not like.

‘I make her take the luggage but she does not like to’.

4) rām chāwo krisnu aijānda par krisna-ke Teim nai aso

Ram come prishna make+ng but Krishna+ time not is/has.

‘Ram makes Krishna come but Krishna has no time’.

5) ahā cāwu je bacca miThāi khailo ‘I make the boy eat sweet’.

I make that boy child sweet eat

6) ahā ghoRa douRānda jānda aso ‘I am making the house run’.

I house runn+ing make am.

4.11 Auxiliary Verb:

The auxiliary verb is realized by separate morphemes.

1) ahā es bircha – pānde caRhi sakū ‘I can climb up this tree’.

I this tree - up. climb can

2) ahā kal awō-na ‘I shall come tomorrow’

I tomorrow come+shall

3) os sako/ahā accitarah paRhi sakō ‘I can read well’

I well read may/can

4) wohi sakho ahā ayi-jawo ‘I may come’

that one may I come

5) wohi sakho se panc-māri dyo wo ‘He may kill the bird’.

That one may he bird kill

6) ma auNa – hi chai ‘I should come’

I come+do should

7) tuma jarūr jāNa – paDo

‘You must go’

you must go+do

8) ohi sakho sewo puccilo

‘They may ask’

that one may they ask

9) tume Dewo ma – ta rukha

‘You may go, I shall stay’

you go I may stay

10) iṣa ohi sakho

‘It may happen’

It that one happen.

4.12 Negative Verb:

The sense of negation is realized by a separate morpheme/-nai/which occurs either after the noun/pronoun or after the verb.

1) ahā nahi cala

‘I am not going’

I not going

2) ahā nahi jawā ga

‘I shall not go’

I not go+shall

3) ew acche sabd nai

‘These are not good words’

these good word not

4) iṣa – to ma nai kari sakū

‘I cannot do this’

this me not do can

5) ma kāya – to kuc – bhi nai

‘I have nothing with me’

I me+with nothing

6) se nahī ye

‘Not that one but this’

that not this

7) etne snigge sut De – na jayi ‘Do not go to bed so soon’

so soon bed sleep go+not go

8) muwē apna janma sthān ebutāī - nai chāRa ‘I never left my native town till now’

I my native+place till now not left

4.13 Compound Verb:

A combination of noun and verb or verb and verb gives the sense of compound verb. The first element of the compound verb carries the meaning and the second element performs the action of the finite verb.

1) nāskari ‘destroy’

useless+do

2) gaDpi – loye ‘swallowed’

3) wāpes – āye ‘returned’

back – came

4) douRne – leggi ‘escape’

run + start

4.14 Passive Formation:

The passive voice is realized by the separate morpheme/kina re ka/which occurs after the noun/pronoun.

1) gari bā ke sarkāra re kinare ka dhān deya – jānda aso

poor+to govt by money given has

‘The money is given to the poor by govt.’

2) sarkāra-re kināre ka kabere dei goi

government by news gave+was

‘The news was given by the govt.’

3) brāmanāne mās nai khāya jānta

Brahmins meat not eaten+by

‘The meat was not eaten by the Brahmins’

4.15 Transitivity:

Transformation of the verb is studied is transitivity. The transformation of the same verb is realized by separate morphemes.

1) pāni ubulda aso ‘The water boils’

water boils is

ahā pāni ubālu aso ‘I boil the water’

I water boils is

2) āg bāLo ‘Fire burns’

fire burns

ahā āg ubāLu ‘I make fire’

I fire make

3) bāger chaLLo ‘Wind blows’

out side mind blows

ahā pharkha jel ‘I switched it on the fan’

I fan switched on

1.16 Adverb:

There are three different adverbs are realized in Keonthali Language namely: Adverb of place, Adverb of time and Adverb of Manner. These are exemplified in detail below.

1. Adverb of Place

The Adverb of place is realized after the noun/pronoun by separate morphemes.

- 1) panchi bircha pānde bēTda ‘The bird sits on the free’
bird free on sit+s
- 2) sew jaMLa pāndi lamed hā ‘They jump over the fence’
they fence – over jump
- 3) sereg uba aso ‘Sky is above’
sky above is
- 4) bacca unda ridda ‘The child falls dow’
child falls down
- 5) se birch es šaRkā-re tēskanāre aso ‘The tree is on that sde of the road’
that tree this road that side
- 6) ye birch šaRkāre es kināre aso ‘The tree is on this side of the road’
the tree road + this side is

Adverb of Manner:

The Adverb of manner is realized by separate morphemes.

- 1) suLLe suLLe jeppo ‘Speak slowly’
slowly speak
- 2) ucche na bōlo ‘Do not speak loudly’
poudly not speak
- 3) aina akrā sāfsāf likho ‘Write the words neatly’
the words neatly

Adverb of Time:

Adverb of time is realized by separate morphemes which occurs before and after the noun/pronoun of a sentence.

- 1) agale kal ma gawāke jāna aso ‘Tomorrow I shall go to the village’
tomorrow I village+to go
- 2) hamma kal jāna ‘We shall go tomorrow’
we tomorrow
- 3) se kal āya – tha aur De bhi – goa ‘He came yesterday and went away’
he yesterday came and went+also
- 4) kalke mukāble tāpmān āj giri-guwa. ‘The temperature has come down since
Yesterday since temperature today come down yesterday’
- 5) āj māre kām pānja bajeteī para karileNa ‘Today we will finish our work by 5’
today our work 5 o’clock finish. O’clock’.

4.17 Particle.

There are four types of particles realized in Keonthali Language. These are Conjunctive particle, Emphatic particle, Negative particle and Correlative particle.

These are exemplified in detail.

1. Conjunctive Particle:

The conjunctive particle helps to join the subordinate and the main clause.

- 1) se tethi – thi par šigi De goi ‘She was there but she went soon’.
she there-was but soon went
- 2) tuma bicha-ka kuwē jairo aur chis le-āwo ‘Let some of you go and fetch water’
you some well go and water get
- 3) eska lāwa manke – kuc ōr chīs dewo ‘Besides this give me something else’
Besides this me+to something more thing+give

2) Emphatic Particle:

The Emphatic particle is realized by the suffix/-hi/. Which occurs with the main verb.

- 1) āj ma mandrāke jāna-hi paDo ‘I have to go to the temple today’
today I temple+to go+have do.
- 2) tuma jelsa jerūri hi ‘We must attend this function’
we attend must+do
function
- 3) teya roTika pafele dewai lāni-hi paDo ‘She has to take the medicine before meals’
she meal before medicine take+do do

Negative Particle:

The negative particle is realized by the suffix/-nai/.

- 1) eti kāneke kucbhi nai ‘Nothing is there to eat’.
there to eat nothing
- 2) bahicce da kuwē bhi – nai mila. ‘No one is found in the garden’
garden+in no – one found

Correlative Particle:

The Correlative particle is realized by separate morphemes.

- 1) ji se hi garThe – baje laDke douDe – gou we ‘As soon as bell rings boys ran away’.
as soon as bell rings boys ran – away
- 2) se ēk acca kawi aur ēk gāyek bhi aso ‘He is a good poet as well as a singer’.
he one good poet and one singer also is
- 3) se ronda roNa jedeya-teĩ tume eti aso ‘He will cry as long as you are here’.
he cry-will as long as you have are

Echo Formation:

The repetition of the same formation in the component is called echoformation. In Keonthali the second component wholly and partially changes. There are exemplified below.

1) bhāt	–	bhūt	‘rice ‘etc’
2) chis	–	chās	‘water ‘etc’
3) chai	–	wai	‘tea ‘etc’
4) sabji	–	wobji	‘vegetable etc’
5) katāb	–	watāb	‘book etc’
6) kambel	–	wambel	‘wool ‘etc’

5. SYNTAX

Keonthali is a subject + object + verb that is S.O.V. Language. A sentence in Keonthali consists of a noun phrase which functions as the subject and the predicate phrase. There can be no sentence with only a predicate; sometimes the predicate itself may stand for a sentence. For example: the imperative form itself can be a sentence.

jago	‘rise’
bolo	‘speak’
uTtho	‘stand up’ and
ãwo	‘come here’

5.1 Word Order:

Word order of Keonthali is subject + Object + Verb (S.O.V).

1 2 3

1) se ma dekhda he ‘He sees me’

he me sees

subj + object + verb

1 2 3

2) ahã rōTi khāya karũ ‘I eat bread’

I bread eat

Subj + object + verb

3) se skũlã ke jãnda he ‘He goes to the school’

he school+case go

subject + object + verb

4) se ma dekh di he ‘She sees me’

she me see

subject + object + verb

5.2 Description of Types of Sentences:

There are five types of sentences realized in Keonthali Language. Namely; Interrogative, Imperative, Negative, Causative and Coordinative sentences. These are exemplified in details below.

Interrogative Sentences:

The Interrogation is realized by specific morphemes.

- 1) se aso kun? Who is he?
he is who
- 2) tumme kiša bōlna? How shall I speak?
you how speak-shall
- 3) eske ka bōlo? What is this called?
this what named
- 4) tumme koe cali – roe? Why are you going?
you why go-ing
- 5) tumme kadi cali – roe? When you are going?
You when going

Imperrative Sentence:

The command is realized by specific suffixes which occurs with the main verb

- 1) eti āwo ‘Come here’
here come-Img.M
- 2) porāke De wo ‘Go there’

there go-Imp.M.

3) beši jā – wo ‘Sit down’

sit Imp.M.

4) ube uT tho ‘Stand up’

up stand-Imp.M.

5) ja go ‘Rise’

rise Imp.M.

6) suLLe suLLe jep – po ‘Speak slowly’

slowly speak-Imp.M.

Causative Sentence:

The causativeness is realized by a separate morpheme of the context.

1) ahā tēska katāb dilāi jānda – ra aso ‘I am making her give a book’.

Making

2) ahā tēska gīt guwānda leggi – ra aso ‘I am making her sing a song’

Making

3) ahā tēska samān uThona jānda parse essa nai chāho ‘I make her take the luggage

Make

but she doesnot like to’

4) rām chāwo krisnu ai jānda par krisnake Taim nai aso ‘Rama makes Krishna come

Make

but Krishna has no time’

Negative Sentence:

The Negative is realized by a separate morpheme.

1) se kām nai karo ‘He does not work’

he work not do

- 2) kuwē-bhi khaber acci nai ‘No news is good’
 something+also news good not
- 3) ma ye kām nai karna ‘Mother does not do this work’
 mother this work not does
- 4) bakhtaka – bād nai jāna ‘Do not go beyond time’
 time beyond+after not go
- 5) agire nheDe nai jāna ‘Do not go near five’
 five near not go
- 6) mere sāmNe khaRe na royi ‘Do not stand in front of me’
 me infront stand not story

Coordinate Sentence:

A particle which helps to coordinate two clauses called coordinate sentence. The particles like; and, but, or, so and etc over exemplified below.

- 1) dinne kām karna aur rāti sūtna ‘Work in the day and sleep at night’
 day work do and night sleep
- 2) mā jāna jo se āyi jāla ‘I shall go after she comes’
 I go after she come+once
- 3) mā jānato – tha par Deya nai ‘I had to go but I did not’
 I go+to had but go not
- 4) mā apna jāi mila – nai to āj ahā nai Deya ‘I could not find my net so I did
 I my net available+not so today I not go. not go today.’

5.3 Description of Patterns of Sentences:

These are three pattern of sentences are realized in Keonthali namely, Simple sentence, Compound sentence and Complex sentence.

1. Simple Sentence:

Sentence containing of one subject and predicate is called simple sentence. The below mentioned Imperrative, interrogative, affirmative and negative sentences are all simple sentences. These are explained below is detail.

1. mere gour āke jā ‘Go to my house’
2. eti āwo ‘Come here’
3. binha šado ‘Call him’
4. iša nai bōLna ‘Do not say like this’
5. jhūT na jappi ‘Do not tell lies’
6. tume ka khao What will you eat?
7. tume kabRe jāg? When do you get up?
you when wakeup
8. ka se tāri bahen aso Is she your sister?
Is she your sister is
9. sew meri amāji aso ‘She is my mother’
she my mother is
10. mere gaur chōTa – jeya aso ‘My house is small’
my house small-itself is
11. ye kutta aso ‘This is dog’
this dog is

Compound Sentence:

Two or more main clauses are joined by a particle to make a compound sentence.

- 1) jāwo aur wāpes aijāwo ‘Go and come back’
go and back come

- 2) ma jāna je – se awula ‘I shall go if he comes’
I go+shall if he come+will
- 3) diNNe kām karna aur nāti sūtna ‘Work is the day and sleep night’
day time work+do and night+sleep
- 4) ma jānatotha par Deya nai ‘I had to go but I did not go’
I go+had to but go not
- 5) ma jāna jo se āyi – jāla ‘I shall go after she comes’
I go+shall after she come+will
- 6) ma apna jāl milanai – to āj ahā nahī Deya. ‘I couldnot find my net so I did not go
I my net lost so today I not go. today’

Complex sentence:

The subordinate clause and one or more main main clauses jointly making a sentence is called complex sentence. In Keonthali, the complex sentences are given below.

1) ahā apni mitrake mila jo ahā apne gawāke calirowa tha aur ma-kāye

I my friend-case met met when my village+case going and my+case.

ammara berānda uDrahatha.

mango+case basket carry.

I met my friend, when I was going to my village, carrying a basket full of mangoes.

2) rāsteda calde – calde halbāhe ēk murda kōbra dekha aur cīkda lega

road+in walking former one dead cobra saw and shout storped

tesra – cikna šunike bahut sāre jāne kaTthe – hoigue

others-people heard socio-long seard gathered.

‘Walking along the road the former saw a dead cobra and shouted people gathered hearing his voice’.

3) se mandi – teyī sabji – lēne Deyetha wāpsida tesra purāna mitrbhi miligua.

he market+to vegetable+get gone return+while he old friend+also met

‘He went to the market to purchase vegetable while returning he met his old friend.’

4) je tumme bahtāre – āye jāwo to hamme es – dekhi lewume.

If you intime come we examine will

‘If you come in time we will examine this’.

5) ahā kal – āyi jānda par bimāri bajaka nai āye can.

I yesterday+come have but ill health due not come can.

‘I would have come yesterday but due to my illhealth I did not come’

6) je ahā bēsi – jāwu kām pūra ho jāna

If I sit upon work complet done.

Text

kau wi-e kāa nāg kasha ghāya

crow+case black+snake how kill-ed

How the crow hen killed the snake

baT bircha ri pheli DāLi birche ēk kāu kāuwi rawo – the.

tree branches spreading trunk one crow srow-hen lived

tināre kolāda chār mhanTe mhanTe anDe – the jināri dēk bal - šewo
their nest+in four small - small eggs here there those guard+to

baDDi choksi - sāthi karo the baT birchāri khōha biche ēk kāLa nāg
great care with done tree trunk–in hollow into one black- snake

rawo tha. tēska – panchi bagout Darōthe jou – bhi kāuwi anDe deuthi,
leaved knowingly very+great feared again+also hen-crow eggs gave

nāg sikda sigda āyiro, tiNNo – khāyi lou Tha. “je es bāri bi
snake every day(daily) came ate and back the snake this-time also

nāg mēre – Dēye khao la, te āge ke mā birch chāRi dēna
snake widely ate – up that snake next time also I tree vacate have+to

sa dā sadāke hamme apna kōl kethi dujri jega banāNa”

have+to any longer (always) we our own nest house other place make-building

kauwine bōli dita.

hen-crow+ told at once.

kāu bōla “hamme beDDi dērāka yeti rōde āye the. Ōh apna

crow told we very long time here lived having o' my
gour kiša chāRNa? Eh – to hamma – ke baRa buRa lagna” ini
(nest) house why (how) leave+to this us + to very bad feel that
gala – bāta karde karde tine whēRe yi sarpāri phunkār šuNi sew
talking while them near the snakes. Kissing sound – heard they
samji gu we es phunkarada matleb kha – tha. ebesew dūNe dukha
understood this kissing sound’s meaning khat+it was now they helpless by
sāthi apne andēri phājet lehi bārbār sōcne lage. kāla nāg
with self unknown ideas many time and again think+started black snake
sikda sikda kolāre bahout nēRe pahunci – gu wa tha. baRi phunkār
slowly nest+to very near reach very hissing sound
barda-se tinha anDe pari TiTi paRa aur bachāre – dune Derde – Derde
loudly their eggs close crowded and birds – along fear out of
uRige ye. ek ēk karirāh nagge, sabi anDe gaDpi lōye.
flew-away one by one black-coloured snake all eggs swallowed
dukhi panchi kōLa tayi wāpes āye, par tinoķe patātha, kīl-to
sadly birds nest+to again returned but they understood nest+in
ebe šuNahi hōna. Kāo bula “es khuni nāggāre nāš kari-ro
now empty found crow said this murderous snake+Acc. Case destroy (do) until
hammāke šanti milni. esra kucnakuc upāye Thōlnāhi paRo”
us+to place get+no for this something or else ideas made+have to do
“tumhe es sāthi kiše lāRi šakko? esra dank – to baRahi bešeLa ho”

you him+with how fight can his (snake's) sting-is very deadly-one
kauwine dukhi maNNa - sāti bōla “tu phikherna kher meri jānukār
hen-crow + (itself) sadly accepted the say you don't worry my know
ēk husiyār chalāk šēLu aso, se bišle – te bišle nagara kachūmar nekāli
one cunning clever fox is there he good-enough snake+Acc.case destroy

šako ai”. se doRa dōRa dōRa ēki durje bircha-teyī uDDa jēti tesrise
can-do he known one distant tree+in the flew upto long time
jānkār šēL rawoti.

known fox lived

jo šēL šuna, jēt khise nāg tināre anDe brāber khanda – roh tha

that jackal heard how snake yours eggs always-eaten up

sebuL” baiyya L jo lālchi aou dušT ho – na, tinara sada bura
jackal said friend/brother those who greedy that cruel are whose bad

āhL – ho tu chinta nākar tēs dušTari nāš karnēri bāt mākhe sujhi goi – he”

end you worry+donot that cruel destroy+ do to idea I have plan is there with me

to dasna bēNe – se aso – kya”?

it so please tell+me what it is

to šēLiye chuppi – chuppi, sab samjai dita ju ju kuch karna – tha. kāo

then jackal sitently everything explained so something to do-essential crow

doRa doRa kauwi teyī deya aur sabkuc batāyi āya aur bōla” aso – to

running hen-crow-near went and everything explained and said really

baRa khathernāk khēl, hama bare chokas rōNa paDo he” mari mamta -

very-big deadly game we very big challenge taken – has I have to
bōl – paDi” jubi ho, hā apne bachēri rakṣāri teyī kucbi karneke ready taken
whatever it may be I myself live/save lively for anything to do ready
aso”

is

tabe seuo uDDi – uDDi – ro rājje – re mhela teyī pohōche jujudha
then birds fly and fly king’s place-to the reached there
dūr – nitha sebirc – bi jete sew rothe, muDe hitha. sew rājure mhelade
distance+a little that tree also beside they lived near-was they king’s palace
bagiche – de pahunche. tinhe dekha tēti rāNiyā ēkhi teLā ba – da nhēwā
garden+to reached they saw their queen’s same pond-s of bath
karo thi. tine apne apne suneri jenjirā mōti – re hār duji khimti
taking+was they their self gold-hade chain pearls neclasses. Jewellery
chījā, telāware kināre rekhi chāRithī kauwi niwī ohiro uDDi aNi
were-there ponds bank-m put/kept left hen-crow picked there fly its
chun jada ēk sunera ār uThāya aur suLLe suLLe tēs bircha teyī douRne
beak one golden chain lifted and slowly towards tree – to start
jeti sew aphi routhe.

they-themselves lived.

jo rajjere mhēlāre pheredāre dekha, jo kauwi sunēri janjīr leiro
that kings place-from guards sow that hen-srow golden jewellery-with
uDDi rei, tine apni sōTiyā chakki aur kauwi piche douRe. tine dekhna
fly – went the guards their slubs – weapons and hen-crow follow ran the guards saw

kauwiye jenjīr birchāri khouha biche šēTi didī tabbe ēk peheredār
 hen-crow's jewells tree- hole-in tree/branch dropped then one soldier
 huper cheRha bircha pānde jijīra khater ji šā hi tiniye tēs khōkra
 up claimed branch into hole deadly snake-silently the curled pole-under
 hāt chāDa, tiniye dekha ēk kāLauāg kunDli māre, phanu uccha kiye.
 hand put, he saw one black-snake curled head up done
 khaDa-tha phehere dāre jorāri ēk sāt-lāi aur nāg taRipi taRipi-ro marigua.
 stood soldier strongly one hit-gave and snake struggled and for its life dead
 tetha bād kao-kauwi tes bircha pānde khuši khuši rōnde legge. after
 then crow+hen crow that free in slowly live+started
 aur tināre kayisāre chōTe chōTe bacche jiwun-de roi.
 and their life small small chick gave birth + lived

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Census of India 1991 C.T, Mother Tongue Table, Registrar General India, New Delhi. 11.
2. Census of India 1991 C8 Bilingualism/Trilingualism Table, Registrar General India, New Delhi-11.
3. Census of India 1961 Language Tables, Part-II-c (ii), Registrar General India.
4. Grierson G.A. 1901 (Ed) Linguistic survey of India, vol-ix part iv, Indo-Aryan Family, Central Group- Pahari Languages, & Gujuri, Motilal Banarasidass, 1901-Reprint 1968.
5. Sharma D.D. 1989 Tribal Languages of Himachal Pradesh, (part-I) Mittal Publications, New Delhi.

KULVI

Ranjita Pattanaik

1. INTRODUCTION

Grierson mentions that Kului, or KuLuhi is spoken in Kulu proper, i.e. in the Kulu valley on the Upper Bias. That of Inner Siraj is known as Inner Siraji. In the valley of the Sainj, there is a distinct dialect, akin to Inner Siraji, which Mr. Grahame Bailey names Sainji. It possesses most of the peculiarities of the Western pahaRi dialects.

The present investigation was carried out in the Kullu and Manali districts of Himachal Pradesh in the month of May-June 2008. The data was collected from the informant Shri Adesh Verma, Primary Teacher, Suma village, Kullu, and which was rechecked from the other informant Shri Balak Ram, an actor from Manali. Dr. Sitaram Thakur, the District Language Officer, Kullu also provided many of the local and sociolinguistic information on Kulvi.

1.1 LOCATION

The language spoken by the people of Kullu district is known as Kulvi or Kulubi (local name) which is one of the languages of Western PahaRi. The district Kullu is located in the eastern part of Central Himachal Pradesh.

1.2. FAMILY AFFILIATION

According to the classification of languages made by Sir George Abraham Grierson's Linguistic Survey of India (LSI) the language classified and attested to Indo-Aryan Family, the Western pahari group under PahaRi group of languages (Census of India 1961, Vol. I. India, Part-II-C(ii), Language Table P.CLXX) Kulvi or Kulubi language is also being spoken by Kothi Khor and sar and Palampur tehsil of Kangra district.

SPEAKERS' STRENGTH

Year	India/State	Population			Rural			Urban		
		Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
2001	INDIA	170,770	86,891	83,879	163,640	83,086	80,554	7,130	3,805	3,325
	H.P.	170,446	86,732	83,714	163,387	82,964	80,423	7,059	3,768	3,291

2011	INDIA	1,96,295	99,449	96,846	1,85,690	94,120	91,570	10,605	5,329	5,276
	H.P.	1,96,000	99,299	96,701	185,557	94,050	91,507	10,443	5,249	5,194
	Kullu district	1,94,049	98,473	95,576	184,092	93,474	90,618	99,57	4,999	4,958

1.3 BILINGUALISM

In Himachal Pradesh Kulvi language is spoken by large number of people especially in Kullu district. Since the Bhuntar airport is located 11 km from Kullu and 52 km from Manali, the tourist from different places visit for business purposes. The other major language speakers of Punjabi, Hindi and Nepali are available in majority due to handicraft, kullu shawls business and fruits selling as Himachal Pradesh is known as the fruit bowl of India, Kulvi speakers are bi lingual.

1.4 SOCIOLINGUISTICS INFORMATION : LANGUAGE IN USE

The sociolinguistic setting of Kulvi can be explained on the extent of its use as mother tongue and the extent of use as other tongue in the different levels. In Home Domains Kulvi is used interaction among kith and kin. Kulvi, though, is not used as a medium of instruction but the devotional songs composed in Kulvi are recited in fair and festivals. Kulvi is having own traditional folksongs. They use Hindi for the purpose of communication both at home and out side home. The Kulvi speakers had developed a very amicable relation among other mother tongue speakers of Pahari, Siraji, Hindi, Mandeali, Lahauli etc. living in the state of Himachal Pradesh. The official language of Kullu is Hindi. In Himachal Pradesh, Hindi is being treated as the official language as well.

2 PHONOLOGY

I) Phonemic Inventory

Both the segmental and suprasegmental phonemes of Kulvi are presented below.
Segmental Phonemes

The present survey defines 39 Segmental phonemes of Kulvi. Out of which 6 are vowels and 33 are the Consonants of which 1 is treated as the marginalized () phonemes.

(a) Vowels

	Front	Central	Back
High	<i>i</i>		<i>u</i>
High-Mid	<i>E</i>	<i>A</i>	<i>O</i>
Low		<i>a</i>	

(b) Consonants

	Bilabial		Dental		Retroflex		Palatal		Velar		Glottal
	VL	VD	VL	VD	VL	VD	VL	VD	VL	VD	VL
Stops											
Unaspirated	<i>p</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>T</i>	<i>D</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>j</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>g</i>	
Aspirated	<i>ph</i>	<i>bh</i>	<i>th</i>	<i>dh</i>	<i>Th</i>	<i>Dh</i>	<i>ch</i>	<i>jh</i>	<i>kh</i>	<i>gh</i>	
Nasals		<i>m</i>		<i>n</i>		<i>N</i>				<i>M</i>	
Fricatives		<i>(f)*</i>		<i>s</i>							<i>h</i>
Trill				<i>r</i>							
Flap						<i>R</i>					
Laterals				<i>l</i>		<i>L</i>					
Continuant (Semi-Vowel)			<i>w</i>					<i>y</i>			

*/f/ is realized as a marginalized phoneme, which occurs not very frequently except with very few borrowed words.

(c) Supra Segmental Phonemes

There are two Co-articulated features or Suprasegmental Phonemes are realized in Kulvi as (i) Nasalisation and (ii) Length.

(i) **Nasalisation:**

Nasalisation is Phonemic in Kulvi. \tilde{A} occurrences are not very frequent in Kulvi.

\tilde{i} - $\tilde{i}T$ 'brick' $jwa\tilde{i}$ 'bride groom' $p\tilde{i}uLa$ 'yellow' $dhu\tilde{i}$ 'fog'
 \tilde{a} - $b\tilde{a}sri$ 'flute' $m\tilde{a}\tilde{u}$ 'honey bee' $bhru\tilde{a}$ 'eye brow' $ju\tilde{a}$ 'louse egg'
 \tilde{e} - $s\tilde{e}i$ 'like' $d\tilde{e}nda$ 'share' $teiy\tilde{e}$ 'told' $d\tilde{a}iy\tilde{e}$ 'right side'

\tilde{A} - $g\tilde{A}nTha$ 'joint' $s\tilde{A}\tilde{u}$ 'everywhere'

\tilde{u} - $s\tilde{u}Dh$ "trunk" $cha\tilde{u}a$ 'shade' $bh\tilde{u}D$ 'beetle' $jhri\tilde{u}$ 'snow'

\tilde{o} $j\tilde{o}k$ "mud" $d\tilde{o}da$ 'tooth ache' $g\tilde{o}NTh$ 'finger joint'

(ii) **Length**

Vowel length is considered phonemic in Kulvi though there are number of examples seen with length and which do not contrast with the simple vowels.

$i:$ $si:LA$ 'cold' $ci:c$ 'mud' $li:kh$ 'louse egg' $jhi:r$ 'fisher man'

$e:$ $je:r$ 'venom' $ge:T$ 'gate' $se:Th$ 'money lender'

$A:$ $sA:r$ 'pool' $sA:ru$ 'hailstone' $mA:chi$ 'fish' $bA:N$ 'forest'

$a:$ $ga:s$ 'rain' $dha:r$ 'mountain' $da:r$ 'wood for preparation'

$u:$ $u:n$ 'wool' $cu:Ra$ 'sweeper' $su:p$ 'winnowing basket' $dhu:ra$ 'dust'

$o:$ $ho:D$ 'flood' $so:hri$ 'girl' $no:hAs$ 'bride' $bo:biye$ 'husband's brother's

wife' Phonemic Description and Distributions of Vowels and Consonants

Vowels

/i/ High front unrounded vowel. It occurs in the initial, medial and final positions.

$ia:Na$ "child" $jimi$ "earth" $pauNi$ "guest(fm.)" $kuli$ 'porter'

$jairu$ "fountain" $chali$ "high tide" dui "two" ki "what" $spai$
'police'

/e/ High mid front unrounded vowel. It occurs initially, medially and finally .

eke “one” *ceka* “waist” *TumbLe* “bend”
eDi “heel” *reta* “sand” *tare* “stars”
sATTe “pebble” *enek* “spectacle” *Dhersa* “cliff” *geDi* “stick”

/A/ Mean-mid central unrounded vowel. It occurs initially, medially and finally and rarely occur in initial positions.

Akhe “here” *sA* “ground” *Achi* “eye” *kA:r* ‘tax’
bagAr “air” *hilANA* “earth quake” *AgAr* “if” *grANA* “eclipse”

/a/ Low back unrounded vowel. It occurs initially, medially and finally.

a:g “fire” *badAL* “cloud” *lAphTa* “flame” *reta* “sand”
amma “mother” *chipaDi* “lizard” *maTTa* “dust”
phala “cataract” *seta* “white” *gAneya* ‘singer’

/o/ High mid back rounded vowel which occurs initially, medially and finally.

/kol “nest” *sohru* “son” *ghoro* “house” *ho:D* ‘flood’
ho:cha “small” *loa:r* “black smith” *nako* “nose”
okhTi “medicine” *gokhLu* “ear ring” *keLo* “banana”

/u/ High back rounded vowel. It occurs initially, medially and finally.

ulTi “vomit” *gADgAjjju* “flute” *jommu* “freeze”
udAr “womb” *druD* “cave” *Tappu* “island”
tuphan “storm” *potru* “grand son” *pATTu* “saree”

Consonants

/p/ Bilabial voiceless unaspirated stop. It occurs initially, medially and finally.

pu:nnu “full moon day” *pAcCa* “leaf” *pauNa* ‘guest’
khapra “old man” *pipLi* “chilly” *bha:p* “steam”

paNi “water” *su:p* “winnowing basket”

/ph/ Bilabial voiceless aspirated stop. It occurs initially and medially. *ph* in final position occurs rarely.

phAL “fruit” *Dopho* “dull” *liphafa* ‘envelope’

phul “flower” *phimpri* “butterfly” *phis* ‘fee’

phakra “cripple” *phambDa* “liquor”

/b/ Bilabial voiced unaspirated stop. It occurs in all the three positions.

biyana “wind” *kebe* “when” *jArab* “socks”

biyaLi “dinner” *babu* “father” *jAwab* “reply”

betRi “woman” *bather* “cotton” *byaj* ‘interest’

/bh/ Bilabial voiced aspirated stop. It occurs in all the three positions

bhagiye bAsANA “elopement” *jibh* “tongue”

bha:u “brother(y.)” *bho:s* “lung” *labh* “profit”

bhi:N “younger sister” *bhu:t* ‘ghost’

/t/ Dental voiceless unaspirated stop. It occurs in all the three positions.

trai “three” *pitAL* “brass” *reta* “sand”

te “they” *seta* “white” *sAt* “seven”

taLo “lock” *posti* “idle” *jo:t* “hill”

/th/ Dental voiceless aspirated stop. It occurs in all the three positions.

thale “down” *bather* “cotton” *ho:th* “hand”

sathra “bed” *kArth* “bison (wild)” *joth* “moon”

thaLu “plate” *na:th* “bull’s anchor”

/d/ Dental voiced unaspirated stop. It occurs in all the three positions.

dai “nurse” *badAL* “cloud” *adAt* ‘habit’

dui “two” *gidAD* “fox” *dãd* “tooth”

deiya “mercy” *mArd* “man” *kArd* “knife”

/dh/ Dental voiced aspirated stop. It occurs in all the three positions.

dhuRa “sand” *gAdho* “ass” *du:dh* “milk

dhyaR “day” *dhan* “paddy”

dhua “smoke” *dhar* “mountain”

/T/ Retroflex voiceless unaspirated stop. It occurs in all the three positions.

Ta:ppu “island” *poTTu* “woolen saree” *TaTa* “dumb”

simeTna “pack” *buTTe* “big tree” *Te:M* “narrow”

guTi “ground nut” *bA:T* “road”

/Th/ Retroflex voiceless aspirated stop. It occurs in all the three positions.

Thor marNa “to run” *raTha* “disappear” *hoTh* “lip”

pi:Th “back” *guThi* “finger” *Da:Th* “molar tooth”

TheThi “ear wax” *ThAThera* “cattle” *laTh* “stick”

Tho:g ‘flattery’ *nAThi* ‘skin’

/D/ Retroflex voiced unaspirated stop. It occurs in all the three positions.

Dana “egg” *DoDhi* “door” *logAD* “stick”

DigiLAN “hawk” *TiDa* “grass hopper” *gidAD* “fox”

kuDum “son in-law’s father” *kAkkAD* “tall horn”

eDi ‘heel’ *kADwa* “bitter” *pADuã* ‘intellect’

/Dh/ Retroflex voiced aspirated stop. It occurs in all the three positions.

Dhol “drum”/ “trumpet” *daDhi* “beard” *ko:Dh* “leprosy”

Dheg “hill” *Dhewe* “money” *DherAs* “slope”

Dhabuĩ to save’ *DhabNa* ‘to collect’ *DhacieDe* ‘cover’

/c/ Palatal voiceless unaspirated stop. It occurs in all the three positions

ci:Du “bird” *ca:r* “pickle” *rac* “loom”
cu:dani “mouse trap” *cauL* ‘uncooked rice’ *cokN* ‘curry’
ci:c ‘mud’ *ceka* ‘waist’ *cicu* ‘nipple’

/ch/ Palatal voiceless aspirated stop. It occurs in all the three positions.

cha: ‘butter milk’ *Achi* “eye” *gachi* “material to tie saree”
pũch “tail” *chaũa* ‘shade’ *chipaDi* “lizard”
cha:r “ashes” *pũchRi* “small tail” *kAchua* “tortoise”
pichAn “after” *rĩch* “bear”

/j/ Palatal voiced unaspirated stop. It occurs in all the three positions.

jaL “net” *jiju* “catter pilar” *jAjAri* “earth quake”
aj “to-day” *ja:j* “fair” *jugNu* “silk bug”
hejo “chollerhea” *khaj* “itch” *jiuda* “alive”
gojNa “hide” *jej* “delay” *sA:j* “true”

/jh/ Palatal voiced aspirated stop. It occurs initially and medially.

jhuTh “lie” *jhajhARo* “mud stone” *jhA:g* ‘foam’
jhikDe “cloth” *jh ājAr* ‘anklet’

/k/ Velar voiceless unaspirated stop. It occurs in all the three positions.

kiDa “snake” *ka:i* “moss” *eke* “one”
keLo “banana” *tako* “sour” *nako* “nose”
kaLo “black” *meNDAk* “toad” *dimAk* “white ant”

/kh/ Velar voiceless aspirated stop. It occurs in all the three positions.

khu:r “host” *bhukho* “hungry” *okhTi* “medicine”
khurak “diet” *cokho* “good” *sakh* “harvest”

/g/ Velar voiced unaspirated stop. It occurs in all the three positions.

guNi “monkey” *Dheg* “hill” *gae* “cow”
bAgula “crane” *sArg* “sky” *geNa* “jewel”
guluTe ‘cheek’ *bAgi:sa* “garden” *brag* “tiger”

/gh/ Velar voiced aspirated stop. It occurs in all the three positions.

ghoro “house” *mAghuru* “water fall”
ghas “grass” *gagh* “wound”
ghuNDi ‘sole of foot’ *ghoRo* “horse”

/m/ Bilabial voiced nasal. It occurs initially, medially and finally.

maLa “garland” *jimi* “land” *mosAm* “weather”
bimar “ill” *kom* “work” *mihn* “thin”
bidam “almond” *komonda* “earning” *kuDum* “son-in-law’s
father” *mAdhani* ‘churning rod’

/n/ Dental voiced nasal. It occurs in all the three positions.

nā “name” *nei* “not” *jandu* ‘worm’ *u:n* “wool”
nohs “nail” *nAua* “new” *ko:n* “ear”
nako “nose” *mihn* “thin” *uttArAn* “north”

/N/ Retroflex voiced nasal. It occurs essentially in medial and final positions.

NaLa “canal” *bhaNAj* “nephew” *DigiLAN* “hawk”
kirAN “ray” *kommANA* “worker” *kuNi* “elbow”
bA:N “forest” *lu:N* “salt” *dAN* “belly”

/M/ Velar voiced unaspirated nasal. It occurs medially and finally only.

seMgi “friend” *siM* “lion”
ja:M “leg” *lA:M* “nose ring” *Te:M* ‘narrow’

/f/ Labio-dental voiceless fricative. It occurs initially, Medially and finally.

fiDu ‘hare’ *flAs* ‘lantrine’ *faltu* ‘funny’
liphafa ‘envelope’ *srif* ‘innocent’ *fras bi :n* ‘beans’

/s/ Dental voiceless fricative. It occurs in all the three positions

sirbiLi “earth worm” *sriNa* “pillow” *bho:s* “lung”
siM “lion” *lAsn* “garlic” *sa:s* “mother-in-law”
sAj “true” *no:hs* “nail” *uãs* “new moon night”
se:t ‘health’ *sok* ‘thirsty’ *swAs* ‘breath’

/h/ Velar voiced fricative. It occurs initially, medially and finally.

haD “bone” *ho:cha* ‘small’ *dohito* “grandson”
ho:j ‘turmeric powder’ *khoh* “cave” *hoTh* “lip”
hiũ “ice” *meh* “rain”

/r/ Dental trill. It occurs in all the three positions.

ru:la “fox” *tusra* “your” *koThar* “godown”
ro:je “daily” *jAjAri* “earth quake” *beura* “half-mad”
sA:r “pool” *raula* “noise” *bhõra* “eye lash”
ruNi kerna ‘transplant’ *TAbbAr* “family” *du:r* “far”

/R/ Retroflex flap. It occurs medially and finally.

ciRi “wood” *dhyaR* “day” *betRi* ‘woman’
sARki “small road” *luRi* “creeper” *bAR* “banyan tree”
kiRa “snake /worm” *pAR dadu* “great grand father”

/l/ Dental lateral. It occurs initially, medially and finally.

luRi “creeper” *lAma* “tall” *Dhol* “drum”
laL ‘Saliva’ *lilar* “forehead” *kol* “nest”

lAsn “garlic” *culo* “hot place for making chapatti”

kal “yesterday”

/L/ Retroflex lateral. It occurs medially and finally.

biyaLi “dinner” *phAL* “fruit”

naLa “canal” *khAL* “courtyard”

sobLi “beautiful” *jaL* “net”

/w/ Labio dental continuant. It occurs in initial, medial and final positions.

gLaw “spider” *bidwa* “widow” *Dhewe* “money”

kuwari “spinster” *sew* “apple” *jwai* ‘bride groom’

dhũwo “smoke” *taw* “fever” *kADwa* “bitter”

/y/ Palatal continuant. It occurs initially and medially and finally very rarely.

ye “this” *pyasa* “light” *duiye* “both”

yetri cheke “so soon” *biyana* “wind”

biyaLi “dinner” *gay* ‘cow’

II) Major Allophonic Distributions

The major allophonic distribution in Kulvi occurs in the following way

Consonants

The dental /n/ is realized as palatal nasal [M'] when it is a member of cluster with a palatal stop. Thus /n/ is realised as

[n] when it is a member of cluster with a stop other than palatal

Andharo “darkness” *cand* “moon”

/n/ → [M'] {Before palatal stop}

puM'j “five” *puM'jwa* ‘fifth’ *puM'jo*
“claw”

III) **Cluster** :- A cluster is formed in Kulvi by two identical or non-identical phonemes.

Both vowel and consonant clusters are available in Kulvi.

(i) **Vowel Clusters**

In Kulvi there are non-identical vowel clusters like /ai/, /au/, /ia/, /Ai/, /ei/ and /ua/ occur in all the three positions. Whereas /oa/, /eu/ /uo/ and /iu/ occurring in the medial and final positions. /ae/, /oi/, /ui/, occurring in the final position. Below are examples of the vowel clusters in Kulvi :

<i>ai</i>	<i>aiThaN</i> “corn of feet”	<i>saira tel</i>	“mustard oil”	<i>dai</i>	“nurse”
<i>ia</i>	<i>ia:Ni</i> “girl”	<i>diasALai</i>	“match stick”	<i>siaL</i>	“hair”
<i>au</i>	<i>raula</i> “noise”	<i>TauNa</i>	‘deaf’	<i>jALau</i>	‘weaver’
<i>ua</i>	<i>baua</i> “left”	<i>nuaLa</i>	“woolen coat”	<i>bhrua</i>	“eye brow”
<i>Ai</i>	<i>nAi</i> ‘river’	<i>dAi</i>	“curd”	<i>mAina</i>	‘month’
<i>ei</i>	<i>nei</i> “not”	<i>sAdei</i>	“always”	<i>meiD</i>	‘arch’
<i>oa</i>	<i>bhoar</i> ‘broom’	<i>lo:ar</i>	‘black smith’		
<i>iu</i>	<i>siuN</i> ‘needle’	<i>ghiu</i>	‘ghee’		
<i>eu</i>	<i>beura</i> ‘half mad’				
<i>uo</i>	<i>duoti</i> “dhoti cloth”				
<i>a:e</i>	<i>a:e</i> “come”				
<i>oi</i>	<i>loi</i> “blood”				
<i>ui</i>	<i>dui</i> "two”				

(ii) **Consonant Clusters**

In Kulvi the consonant clusters are the combination of two identical as well as two non-identical phonemes occurring essentially in the medial position and rarely in final position.

Two identical phonemes form the homogenous clusters. In Kulvi the following are the consonant clusters or geminated forms.

/b/	+	/b/	=	-bb-	<i>TAbbAr</i>	“family”
/p/	+	/p/	=	-pp-	<i>kuppu ci:Ru</i>	“cuckoo”
/t/	+	/t/	=	-tt-	<i>kutto</i>	“dog”
/T/	+	/T/	=	-TT-	<i>pATTu</i>	“wollen saree”

/D/	+	/D/	=	-DD-	<i>mriDDi</i>	“wrist jewellery”
/c/	+	/c/	=	-cc-	<i>pAcca</i>	“leaf”
/k/	+	/k/	=	-kk-	<i>kAkkAD</i>	“tall horn”
/m/	+	/m/	=	-mm-	<i>kommANA</i>	“female worker”
/n/	+	/n/	=	-nn-	<i>punnu</i>	“full moon day”
/l/	+	/l/	=	-ll-	<i>jilla</i>	“district”

(iii) Syllable

The syllabic classification of Kulvi words is as follows

1. Monosyllabic
2. Disyllabic
3. Trisyllabic
4. Tetrasyllabic

Frequency of monosyllabic and disyllabic words is more than the other two types.

Examples are the following –

1. Monosyllabic words

i. cv	<i>e</i>	“this” (feminine)
ii. vv	<i>ei</i>	“to it”
iii. vc	<i>a:g</i>	“fire”
iv. vcv	<i>ase</i>	“we”
v. cv	<i>da</i>	“pain”
vi. cvv	<i>bia</i>	“marriage”
vii. cvc	<i>jaL</i>	“net”
viii. cvcc	<i>jism</i>	“body”
ix. ccvc	<i>brag</i>	“tiger”
x. cc(v)cc	<i>plnth</i>	“foundation”

Among the ten patterns under monosyllabic types the *cvc* pattern is more common in occurrence than the others and *ccvcc* is found very rare in Kulvi.

2. Disyllabic words

i.	<i>cv – cv</i>	<i>ke-be</i>	<i>kebe</i>	“when”
ii.	<i>vv – cv</i>	<i>ei-ra</i>	<i>eira</i>	‘its’
iii.	<i>vcc-cvcc</i>	<i>ekl-mAnd</i>	<i>eklmAnd</i>	“wise”
iv.	<i>ccv-cv</i>	<i>dri-ya</i>	<i>driya</i>	“boat”
v.	<i>cv-vv</i>	<i>nA-ua</i>	<i>nAua</i>	“new”
vi.	<i>cv-cvv</i>	<i>jA-lau</i>	<i>jAlau</i>	“weaver”
vii.	<i>cv-ccv</i>	<i>ca-dri</i>	<i>cadri</i>	“bedsheet”
viii.	<i>cvc-cv</i>	<i>lAk-Ri</i>	<i>lAkRi</i>	“wood”
ix.	<i>cv-vcv</i>	<i>pi-uLa</i>	<i>piuLa</i>	“yellow”
x.	<i>cvc-cvc</i>	<i>sAm-dAr</i>	<i>sAmdAr</i>	“sea”

Among the above nine patterns under disyllabic type the occurrence of *cv-cv* and *cvc-cv* patterns are more frequent than the rest.

3. Trisyllabic words

i.	<i>cv-cv-ccv</i>	<i>su-go-tri</i>	<i>sugotri</i>	“brinjal”
ii.	<i>cv-cv-cv</i>	<i>na-hi-Na</i>	<i>nahiNa</i>	“bathe”
iii.	<i>v-ccv-cvc</i>	<i>u-ttA-rAn</i>	<i>uttArAn</i>	“north”
ii.	<i>cvc-cv-cv</i>	<i>TaN-gi-ri</i>	<i>TaNgiri</i>	“magician”
iii.	<i>cv-v-cvc</i>	<i>sa-u-kar</i>	<i>saukar</i>	“money lender”
v.	<i>cv-cvc-cvc</i>	<i>khe-tAr-nak</i>	<i>ketArnak</i>	“dangerous/wild”
vii.	<i>cv-cv-cvcc</i>	<i>sire-re-pand</i>	<i>sirepand</i>	“end”

Out of the six patterns in trisyllabic type the *cv-cv-cv* and *cv-cv-ccv* patterns occur frequently in comparison to the other patterns.

4. Tetrasyllabic words

i. cv-cv-cv-cv *ha-la-pa-Na* *hallapaNa* “shout”

ii. cvc-cvc-cv-cv *mAc-chAr-da-ni* *mAcchArdani* “mosquitonet”

The Tetrasyllabic words are very rare in Kulvi.

Open syllables and Close syllables

Kilvi words have both open as well as close syllables.

The vowels which occur in the final position of an open syllable are /A/, /a/, /i/, /e/, /o/, /u/

/A/	<i>A-chi</i>	“eye”
/a/	<i>ba - dAL</i>	“cloud”
/i/	<i>pi -pLi</i>	“chilly”
/e/	<i>bu-TTe</i>	‘big tree’
/o/	<i>gho - ro</i>	“house”
/u/	<i>du – ski</i>	“floor”

The close syllables in Kulvi

<i>kol</i>	“nest”	<i>se:r</i>	“lion”
<i>chet</i>	“field”	<i>bA:N</i>	“forest”
<i>sAND</i>	“lip”	<i>phAL</i>	“fruit”
<i>A:g</i>	“fire”	<i>jAM</i>	“leg”
<i>nA:k</i>	“nose”	<i>ho:th</i>	“hand”
<i>phul</i>	“flower”	<i>rit</i>	“season”

3. MORPHOLOGY

3.1. Noun Morphology

Basic Nouns

Basic Nouns are those which are a class by itself as they are not derived from any other word class. The examples are

<i>phul</i>	“flower”	<i>phAL</i>	“fruit”
<i>kutta</i>	“dog”	<i>gay</i>	“cow”
<i>hoth</i>	“hand”	<i>jAM</i>	“leg”

The basic nouns can further be divided into

- a) Mass nouns and b) Count nouns

Mass nouns are those which always occur in singular form. Examples are

<i>paNi</i>	“water”	<i>reta</i>	“sand”
<i>dudh</i>	“milk”		
<i>(kacca) cawAL</i>	“(uncooked) rice”	<i>hiũ</i>	“ice”
<i>loi</i>	“blood”	<i>badAL</i>	“cloud”

Count nouns are those which can take some suffixes for indicating plurality.

Examples are

<i>ghoRo</i> “horse”	<i>ghoRe</i> “horses”	<i>Dana</i> “egg”	<i>Dane</i> “eggs”
<i>sohri</i> “girl”	<i>sohriyã</i> “girls”	<i>kitab</i> “book”	<i>kitabe</i> “books”

Derived Nouns

In Kulvi some nouns are derived either from the verb or adjective or from another noun. The derivational nouns are formed in two ways

- i) by Adding derivational suffix to other words;
- ii) by compounding words

Derived nouns by adding derivational suffix –

In Kulvi some nouns can be derived from the verb or adjective or from any other noun by the addition of derivative suffixes. These are

Verb + noun forming suffix = Noun (verbal Noun)

de “to give” = de- + -Na = deNa “to give”

kha “to eat” = kha- + -Na = khaNa “to eat”

ja “to go” = ja- + -Na = jaNa “to go”

ker “to do” = ker- + -Na = kerNa “to do”

Noun + adjectival forming suffix = Noun

himt- + -ala = himtiala “courageous”

driya- + -u = driyu “boat man”

kom- + -i = komi “worker”

kom- + -AN = kommAN “worker (fm)”

Derived nouns by compounding words

A compound word is defined as the combination of two or more words to form a new word, for example,

kon (ear) + *baLi* (ring) = *konbaLi* “ear ring”

mAcchAr (“mosquito”) + *dani* (“a stand base”) = *mAcchArdani* “mosquito net”

buTi (wood) + *pATkor*(who cuts) = *buTipATkor* “wood pecker”

The Kulvi nouns are inflected for Number, Gender and Case. The Kulvi number-gender and case is discussed below.

Number

In Kulvi nouns are inflected for number. The following examples denote the singular and plural numbers. If it is one object or single being, then expresses the singular noun and when two objects or, more than two beings are there, then it expresses as the plural forms.

Example

The singular forms have no number markers. It has no affix. The plural suffixes are /-e/ for the masculine nouns and /-yã/, /-a/ for the feminine nouns. Examples are

	Singular			Plural	
-a > -e	<i>kutta</i>	“dog”	>	<i>kutte</i>	“dogs”
	<i>jhula</i>	“cart”	>	<i>jhule</i>	“carts”
	<i>ia:Na</i>	“child”	>	<i>ia:Ne</i>	“children”
	<i>pAcca</i>	“leaf”	>	<i>pAcce</i>	“leaves”
-Con.> -e,	<i>gay</i>	“cow”	>	<i>gaye</i>	“cows”
-a	<i>jAMg</i>	‘foot’	>	<i>jAMga</i>	‘feet’
-i > -yã	<i>sohri</i>	“girl”	>	<i>sohriyã</i>	“girls”
	<i>braLi</i>	“cat”	>	<i>braLiyã</i>	“cats”
	<i>betRi</i>	“mild-wife”	>	<i>beTRiyã</i>	“mid-wives”

The following nouns do not take any suffix to indicate the plurality. Instead, plurality is indicated by the preceeding attributives and the context.

<i>paNi</i>	“water”	<i>reta</i>	“sand”
<i>dudh</i>	“milk”	<i>sAmudAr</i>	‘sea’
<i>(kacca) cawAL</i>	“(uncooked) rice”	<i>hi ã</i>	“ice”
<i>loi</i>	“blood”	<i>badAL</i>	“cloud”

Another significant pluraliser is /-e/ which occurs also in the stems of Personal pronouns as well as in the Demonstrative pronouns.

Singular		Plural	
<i>e</i>	“this” (masculine)	<i>ye</i>	“these”
<i>e</i>	“this” (feminine)	<i>ye</i>	“these”
<i>sA</i>	“he” |	<i>te</i>	“they”

<i>sA</i>	“she”	|	<i>te</i>	“they”
<i>haũ</i>	“I”		<i>ase</i>	“we”
<i>tu</i>	“you”		<i>tuse</i>	“you (pl. &hon.)”

The nouns in the following structure also get inflected in forming plural structures.

For example,

<i>buTera pAcCa</i>	‘The leaf of the tree’.		
<i>buTere pAcce</i>	‘The leaves of the trees’		
<i>teira sohru</i>	‘His son’.	<i>teire sohru</i>	‘His sons’.
<i>tinera sohru</i>	‘Their son’.	<i>tinere sohru</i>	‘Their sons’.

Gender in Kulvi is grammatically determined by two ways – Masculine and feminine. The masculine gender is marked by /-0zero/ (singular) and /-a/, /-e/ (for plural) and the feminine gender by /-i- (singular) /, /-yã (plural)/

Masculine		Feminine	
Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
<i>sohru</i> “boy”	<i>sohru</i> “boys”	<i>sohri</i> “girl”	<i>sohriyã</i> “girls”
<i>ia:Na</i> “son”	<i>ia:Ne</i> “sons”	<i>beTRi</i> “woman”	<i>beTRiyã</i> “women”
<i>kutta</i> “dog”	<i>kutte</i> “dogs”	<i>Tokri</i> “basket”	<i>Tokriyã</i> “baskets”
<i>ia:Na</i> “child”	<i>ia:Ne</i> “children”		
<i>ghoRo</i> “horse”	<i>ghoRa</i> ‘horses’		

Since gender is grammatically significant in Kulvi the preceding inflected pronominal forms serving as adjunct to the subject or as complement to the object receive the same gender marker as of the noun. Examples are

<i>mera sohru</i> “my son”	but	<i>meri sohri</i>	‘my daughter’
<i>tusra sohru</i> “your son”	but	<i>tusri sohri</i>	“your daughter”

Few more masculine and feminine forms in Kulvi shows that besides *-i/-iyã*, the feminine marker *-AN/-ANA/-Ti/-Ni* also form feminine words.

Accordingly the case relations in Kulvi are realized as;

1. Nominative 2. Accusative 3. Ablative 4. Genitive and 5. Locative

Nominative case in nouns

Sohru ALu “The child falls down”

ciDu uDi “The birds fly”

3 Accusative Case

This case denotes the direct object of the transitive verbs. In case of human nouns and pronouns the case is marked by /-be/ while inanimate nouns are unmarked.

sA sohrube bhaLda sa “He sees the child”

he child (to) sees

sohru mume bhaLe si “The children see me”

children me see

haũ beTRibe bhaLa sa “I see the lady”

I lady (to) see

Here /-be/ as accusative marker has been suffixed respectively with *sohru-*, *haũ > mu-*, *beTRi-*. But in the sentences below the objects like *TippAN*, *gaN* and *cauL* appear without any marker.

sA ek TippAN likha sa “He has written a note”

he a note has written

haũ ek gaN ga lAga sa “I am singing a song”

I a song am singing

haũ cauL kha:a sa ‘ I am eating rice’

I rice am eating

4 Ablative case

The movement of the subject or the object from one place to another either at the spatial plane or at the temporal plane is expressed by the ablative case. It denotes the source. This case is also expressed by /-sũ-/

haũ buTen du:r sa “The leaves fall from the tree”

I tree from far

sA buTen du:r sa “he is far from tree.”

he tree-from far

skulAn e:j “Come from the school”

school - from come

pAcce buTenA Ala si “ The leaves fall from the tree.”

Leaves from tree fall

5 Genitive case

This case expresses the meaning of belonging to or possession of something by the subject of the sentence. The genitive case markers are /-er/ /-ra/ /-ri/. When the possessing object is masculine singular the marker is /-ro/,

for example.-

mera sohru “my son”

my son

sohrurer hoth “the hand of the child”

child-of hand

tusra kitab “your book”

your book

If the following possessing noun is honorific then the genitive marker is /-ra/ instead of /-er/, for example –

mera *bapu* “my father”

mera *gaRi* “my car”

When the possessing object is masculine plural then the genitive marker is /-re/ and /-ri/

tusara jAMg “your foot” =/*tusara* / is genitive of second person honorific singular

and /*jAMg*/ is singular;

tusari jAMga “your feet” =/*tusari*/ is genitive second person plural and occur /*jAMga*/ which is a plural form;

mera sohru au “my son has come” = *mere sohru a:e* “my sons have come ”

tusara sohru “your son” = *tusare sohru* “your sons”

teira sohru “his sons” = *teire sohru* “his sons”

tesari sohru “her son” = *tinari sohru* “ her sons”

When the possessing nouns are feminine then the genitive marker is /-ri/

beTRi ri *Tokri* “the basket of a woman”

beTRi ri *Tokru* “the baskets of a woman”

6 Locative Case

The location of the subject or object is expressed by the locative case and the expression marker is /-an/ or /-An/

meri *sohri* *chetAn* *si* “My daughter is in the field”

my daughter field-in is

ase *gran* *rAhe* *si* “We live in the village”

we village-in live

mera *sohru* *ghoran* *sa* “My son is in the house”

my	son	house-in	is	
<i>mere</i>	<i>sohru</i>	<i>ghoran</i>	<i>si</i>	“My sons are in the house”
my	son	house-in	is	

Post Positions

The following are some of the post-positions in Kulvi.

pande “up”

ciDu buTa pande besira sa The bird sits on the tree

bird tree on sits

ase ghoDe pande cADha sa We climb up the horse.

we horse on climb

age “near/in front of”

mu age kibe khADu kira sa Why do you stand in front of me

sA mere ghoru age rAha sa He stays near my house

skula age e:j Come near the school

kAche “near”

hau buTa kAche sa I am near the tree.

thale “under”

sA buTa thale soira sa

He tree under sleep be

He sleeps under the tree

bhyau “down”

sA DhAgA bhyau a:u

He hill down came

He came down the hill.

hiThe “under”

dArti asAre pera hiThe sa

earth our feet under is

“The earth is under our feet”

kitab meje iThe sa

book our table below is

“The book is below our table”

sA mu:n heThe kom kera sa

He works under me

sei “like”

sA mu sei heria sa

he me like looks

“He looks like me”

sAMge “with”

sA mu sAMge a:u

he me alongwith came

“He came alongwith me”

A list of some other post-positions available in Kulvi, out of exhaustive use, is given below.

kutta mu pichAn a:u The dog came behind me

sA ghAran bahAr au He came out of the house

Jimi bune sa The earth is below

sArAg uje sa The sky is above

skula Andre e:j Come in the school

Agi neD mAta ja Don't go near the fire

3.2. Pronoun

The Kulvi pronouns are presented below as;

1. Personal pronoun 2. Interrogative Pronoun 3. Indefinite Pronoun and 4. Reflexive Pronoun.

Personal Pronoun

Personal pronouns in Kulvi are distinguished for three persons and two numbers (and in the third person pronoun there is two-tier gender distinctions).

First Person	Singular	Plural
	<i>haũ, mē, mĩ</i>	<i>ase</i>

The examples of use of first personal pronominal forms in transitive and intransitive verbs are given below.

First Person

Singular	<i>haũ tAkhe ja:a sa</i>	“I go there”
	I II there go	
	<i>haũ tAbe bhaLa sa</i>	“I see him”
	I him see	
	<i>haũ gāwme rA sa</i>	“I live in village”
	I village-in live	
Plural	<i>ase Akhe rukNa</i>	“We will stop here”
	we here itself will stop	
	<i>ase ci:Du mare si</i>	“We kill birds”
	<i>ase tAkhe ja:a si</i>	“We go there”
	<i>ase roj gaye duhe si</i>	“We milk the cows every day”

Second Person

Singular

tu (ordinary)

tuse (honorific)

Plural

tuse (ordinary)

Examples of use of second personal pronominal forms –

tu/tuse mume bhaL

you me see

“You (sg.) see me”

tu/tuse skulabe ja:sa

you school go

“You go to school”

tu/tuse ki khaNa

you what will eat

“What will you eat?”

tuse mume bhaL

you me see

“you (pl.) see me”

tuse sohrube bhaL

you child see

“You (pl.) see the child”

tuse ki khaNa

you what will eat

“What will you eat?”

The honorific plural form is same as honorific singular, only the context determines the number.

Third Person

Singular

Plural

Proximate Masculine

sA “he”

te/tine ‘they’

Proximate Feminine

sA “she”

te ‘they’

Remote Masculine

sA “he”

te ‘they’

Remote Feminine

sA “she” (ordinary)

tise “they”

Examples

Singular

Proximate e mera sohru sa

he my son is

“He is my son”

Plural

ye mere sohru si

they my sons are

“They are my sons”

e meri sohri si
 she my daughter is
 “She is my daughter”

ye mere sohriyā si
 they my daughter are
 “They are my daughters”

ye mere bapu sa.
 he my father is
 “He is my father”

te mere masTAr si
 they my teachers are
 “They are my teachers”

Remote *sA tAkhe khADa sa*
 he there stands
 “he stands there”

tine skulabe ja:a si
 “They go to school”

Remote honorific singular and plural forms are same as the remote ordinary plural forms.

3.3 Adjective

3.3.1. Qualitative adjective

The adjectives which attribute a quality to the nouns are called qualitative adjectives. The examples are

<i>hAra pAcCa</i>	“green leaf”	<i>bADi</i>	<i>gaDDi</i> “big car”
<i>khapra maNu</i>	“old man”	<i>sobLi</i>	<i>sohri</i> “wise girl”
<i>sete ghoRe</i>	“white horses”	<i>lomi</i>	<i>sohri</i> “tall girl”
<i>nihara badAL</i>	“the dark cloud”	<i>aLsi</i>	<i>sohriya</i> “lazy girls”
<i>hAre pAcce</i>	“the green leaves”	<i>lAMgri</i>	<i>beTDi</i> “the lame woman”

3.3.2. Quantitative adjective

The adjectives which refer to the quantity of the nouns to which they are attributed are called Quantitative adjectives. In Kulvi the use of Quantitative adjectives are the following –

i) When the numerical unit is followed by the relevant numbered nouns.

Masculine			Feminine		
<i>ek</i>	<i>kutta</i>	“one dog”	<i>ek</i>	<i>braLi</i>	“one cat”
<i>dui</i>	<i>kutte</i>	“two dogs”	<i>dui</i>	<i>braLiyā</i>	“two cats”
<i>trai</i>	<i>kutte</i>	“three dogs”	<i>trai</i>	<i>braLiyā</i>	“three cats”

When the attributive is in indefinite type

Singular		Plural		
<i>kich</i>	<i>DhAwe</i>	“some money”	<i>kich sohru</i>	“some boys”
<i>kich</i>	<i>phAL</i>	“some fruit”	<i>kich jikDe</i>	“some clothes”

iii) Another category is expressed by the words of counts, measurements and commonality like

<i>kitre</i>	“how much” / “how many”	<i>kitre</i>	<i>keLe</i>	“how many bananas”
		<i>kitre</i>	<i>cawAL</i>	“how much rice”
<i>jitre</i>	“this much” / “that much”	<i>jitre</i>	<i>DhAwe</i>	“that much money”
<i>seb</i>	“all”	<i>seb</i>	<i>maNu</i>	“all people”
<i>itre</i>	“this much”	<i>itre</i>	<i>mAchi</i>	“this much fishes”

3.3.3 Numeral

All the numerals belong to adjective class. In Kulvi the numerals follow decimal system of counting. The numerals are the following

I. Cardinals II. Ordinals III. Fractionals

I. Cardinal numerals

The following are the cardinal numerals in Kulvi

<i>eke</i>	“one”	<i>dui</i>	“two”	<i>trai</i>	“three”	<i>ca:r</i>	“four”
<i>puM’j</i>	“five”	<i>chA</i>	“six”	<i>sAt</i>	“seven”		
<i>ATh</i>	“eight”	<i>nAu</i>	“nine”	<i>dAs</i>	“ten”		

From eleven to eighteen the numerals are formed by adding /-yara/, /-ra/, /-dA/, /-ara/ /-ja/ to the allomorphs of /ek/, /dui/, /traī which are respectively /g-/, /ba-/, /te-/, etc. Accordingly, *gyara* “eleven” ; *bara* “twelve” ; *tera* “thirteen”; *cAuda* “fourteen” ; *pAndra* “fifteen” ; *soja* “sixteen” ; *stara* “seventeen” ; *Thara* “eighteen” formed.

The formation of nineteen and twenty are formed by adding /- bi/ with /un-/ (the allomorph of “nine”) for *unbi* “nineteen” and *bi* “twenty”.

From 21 onwards the numerals are counted on the basis of /-bi/ as /ek bia eke/ and /ek bia dui/ etc for ‘twenty one’ and twenty two’ respectively. Similarly /dui bia/ and /traī bia/ is formed by the Kulvi speaker for ‘forty’ and ‘sixty’ respectively.

II. Ordinals

In the numerals from one to four the allomorphs are /pel-/ “one”, /du-/“two”, /ti -/ “three” , /co- / “four” are added with the ordinal suffixes -la/-, -ja, -tha respectively which are further declined in feminine gender marked by -li , -ji , -thi respectively, Thus,

<i>pela</i>	~	<i>peḷi</i>	“first”	<i>duja</i>	~	<i>duji</i> (f.)	“second”
<i>trija</i>	~	<i>triji</i>	“third”	<i>cAutha</i>	~	<i>cAuthi</i> (f.)	“fourth”

From fifth onwards the ordinal suffix -wā/wa is added after the cardinals, for example,

<i>puM’juwa</i>	“fifth”
<i>cheuwa</i>	“sixth”
<i>satuwā</i>	“seventh”
<i>AThwā</i>	“eighth”
<i>nAuwa</i>	“ninth”
<i>dAswā</i>	“tenth”

III. Fractionals

The basic fractions are given below out of which /Ada/ “half” is used with the cardinal numerals from three onwards

$$\frac{1}{4} = cAutha\ hisa$$

$\frac{1}{2}$	=	<i>Ada</i>	[which is declined in feminine as <i>adi</i>]
$\frac{3}{4}$	=	<i>pAuna</i>	(<i>tra</i> <i>hisa</i>)
1	=	<i>pura</i>	
1 $\frac{1}{2}$	=	<i>deuDa</i>	
1 $\frac{1}{4}$	=	<i>swaya</i>	
2			

3.3. Verb Morphology

3.3.1. Finite Verb formation

The finite verb comprises with the morpheme of 1. Tense 2. Aspect 3. Mood and 4. Person number marker.

Tense

“The essential characteristic of the category of tense is that it relates the time of action, event or state of affairs referred to in the sentence to the time of utterance” (Lyons, 1968, pp-305).

Accordingly, verbs in Kulvi are morphologically marked for having three way opposition of tense as 1. Present 2. Past and 3. future. Following are the personwise tense formations in Kulvi.

Present Tense - It indicates the action that takes place when the utterance is uttered. Accordingly, the present tense is formed in the following way.

First Person

i)	verb stem	-+-	a+	sa	for singular
	<i>haũ</i>	<i>chetabe</i>	<i>ja:a</i>	<i>sa</i>	“I go to the field”
	I	field	go		
	<i>haũ</i>	<i>kitab</i>	<i>pADha</i>	<i>sa</i>	“I read the book”
	I	book	read		

verb stem	-+ -e + si	for plural
<i>ase chetabe</i>	<i>ja:e si</i>	“We go to the field”
we	field go	
<i>ase kitab pADha</i>	<i>si</i>	“We read the book”
we	book read	

[/sa/ is a singular marker and /si/ is the plural marker used as a copula also with intransitive and transitive verb]

Second Person singular and non-honorific

<i>tu chetabe</i>	<i>ja:a sa</i>	“You go to the field”
<i>tu ek kitab pAdha</i>	<i>sa</i>	“You read a book”

plural and honorific

<i>tuse chetabe</i>	<i>ja:a si</i>	“You go to the field”
you(hon.) you (Pl.)	field-go	
<i>tuse ek kitab pADha</i>	<i>si</i>	“You read the book”
you (hon)/you (pl.)	book read	

Third Person

Third person verb stem + / -a + sa/si both for singular and plural

verb stem	-+ a+ sa	for singular
<i>hau chetabe</i>	<i>ja:a sa</i>	“I go to the field”
he	field go	
<i>hau ek kitab pADha</i>	<i>sa</i>	“I read the book”
I	book read	
<i>sA chetabe</i>	<i>ja:a sa</i>	“He goes to field”
he	field go(pr.)	
<i>te/tine chetabe</i>	<i>ja:e si</i>	“They go to the field”

they	field	go(pr.)	
<i>sA</i>	<i>ek kitab</i>	<i>pADha sa</i>	“He reads book”
he	book	reads(pr.)	
<i>te/tine</i>	<i>kitab</i>	<i>pADhe si</i>	“They read book”
they	book	read(pr.)	

Past Tense

Past tense refers to an event which happened before the time of utterance. The formation of past tense in different persons is the following

First person singular

verb stem +- y – (past marker) + -o (1st personal singular marker)

<i>haũ</i>	<i>ciThi</i>	<i>likhu</i>	“I wrote the letter”
I	letter	wrote	
<i>hau</i>	<i>ek am</i>	<i>khau</i>	“I ate a mango”

First person plural

verb stem +-0- (past marker) + -e (1st person plural marker)

<i>ase</i>	<i>chetabe</i>	<i>nAThe</i>	“We went to field”
we	field	went	
<i>ase</i>	<i>ciThi</i>	<i>likhe</i>	“We wrote the letter”
we	letter	wrote	

Second person singular

verb stem -- (Past marker) + -a

<i>tu</i>	<i>nATha</i>	“You went”
<i>tu</i>	<i>likha</i>	“You wrote”

Second Person plural / honorific

verb stem - +-0- (past marker) + -e

tuse chetabe nAThe "You (hon)/(pl) went to field"
 you(hon.)/(pl.) field went

Third person singular

masculine – verb stem --0--+ *a*

feminine - verb stem --0--+ *i*

sA chetabe nATha "He went field"

sA chetabe nAThi "She went field"

Third person plural

verb stem --0+ -e

te chetabe nAThe "They went field"

Future Tense-

Future tense indicates the time preceeding the time of utterance. The future tense marker -Na. The personwise future tense formation is the following

First person singular

verb stem + -Na- (future tense marker)

haũ chetabe jaNa "I will go to the field"

I field will go

haũ kitab pADhNa "I will read the book"

book will read

First person plural

verb stem-+ -Na- (future tense marker)

ase chetabe jaNa "We will go to the field"

we field will go

Second person singular

verb stem-+ -Na- (future tense marker)

tu chetabe jaNa “You will go to the field”

you field will go

Second person plural / honorific –

verb stem-+ -Na- (future tense marker)

tuse chetabe jaNa “You will go to the field”

you (pl./hon.) field will go

Third person singular

verb stem-+ -Na- (future tense marker)

sA chetabe jaNa “He will go to the field”

Third person plural

verb stem-+ -Na- (future tense marker)

te chetabe jaNa “They will go to the field”

Aspect

Kulvi has 3 aspects namely 1. Durative 2. Perfective and 3. Habitual which are found to occur in different tenses.

Durative or Imperfective Aspect

It describes an action which is regarded as continuous in the past or present or future tenses. The durative aspect marker is derived from the subsidiary verb root *rewo* – which is inflected according to tense and person and gender and which is placed in between the verb stem and copula. Thus the structure of the finite verb with durative aspect is

verb stem - + durative + copula

Present durative – The structure of the present durative in different persons is

First person singular - verb stem - + -da <(lagira-)> + sa .

Examples

haũ chetabe jaide lagira sa “I am going to the field”

I field going am

First person plural - verb stem - + *-de* <(lagire-) > + *si* .

Examples

ase chetabe jaide lagire si “We are going to the field”

Second person ordinary singular – verb stem - + *-da/* (<lagira-) > + *sa* .

Examples

tu chetabe jaida lagira sa “You are going to the field”

you field going are

Second person ordinary plural / honorific - verb stem - + *-de* <(lagire-) > + *si* .

tuse chetabe jaide lagire si “You are going”

you (pl./hon.) going are

Third person singular – verb stem - + *-da/* (<lagira-) > + *sa* (*masc.*).

verb stem - + *-di/* (<lagiri-) > + *si* . (*femn.*)

sA chetabe jaida lagira sa “He is going to the field”

he field going is

sA chetabe jaidi lagiri si “She is reading book”

she book reading is

Third person plural / honorific - verb stem - + *-de* <(lagire-) > + *si*

te chetabe jaide lagire si “They are going to the field”

they field going are

Past Durative - The personwise past durative formation is as follows-

First person Singular - verb stem - + *-da* < (*lagira-*) > + *thi* .

haũ chetabe jaida lagira thi “I was going to field”

I field going was

First person Plural - - verb stem - + *-de* < (*lagire-*) > + *thi*

ase chetabe jaide lagire thi “We were going to field”

Second person singular - verb stem - + *-da* < (*lagira-*) > + *thi* .

tu chetabe jaida lagira thi “You were going to field”

Second person Plural - - verb stem - + *-de* < (*lagire-*) > + *thi*

tuse chetabe jaide lagire thi “You (pl.) were going to field”

Third person singular - verb stem - + *-da* < (*lagira-*) > + *thi* .

sa chetabe jaida lagira thi “He was going to field”

Second person Plural - - verb stem - + *-de* < (*lagire-*) > + *thi*

te chetabe jaide lagire thi “They were going to field”

Future Durative - The structure of finite verb with future durative aspect is same as in simple future tense marker.

Perfective Aspect

It describes an action either completed in the past or to be completed in the past or to be completed. In the present it expresses the completion of an action which is just finished. In the past it expresses the action which is already done. The action to be completed in near future is expressed in future perfect. The aspect marker is principal verb stem - + auxiliary verb root /0/ which is inflected for all the tenses in same way whereas persons – number – gender is changed. Thus

First person

Singular	Plural
<i>haĩ am khau</i>	<i>ase am khae</i>
I have eaten	we mango have eaten
“I have eaten mango”	“We have eaten mango”

Second person

Singular	Plural / honorific
<i>tu am khae</i>	<i>tuse am khae</i>
“You have eaten mango”	“You (pl./hon.) have eaten mango”

Third person

<i>sA am khae</i>	<i>te am khae</i>
“He has eaten”	“They have eaten”
<i>sA am khai</i>	<i>te am khae</i>
“she has eaten”	“They have eaten(fem.)”

Habitual aspect

It describes an action which happens/happened or will happen habitually or regularly. In finite verb the habitual aspect in all the tense is same as discussed and all the persons occur as in the first person. The difference is observed in case of past habitual only and the structure of person wise past habitual is as follows –

hau meisibe cArdabe neiya thi

I used to take the she buffalo for grazing everyday

hau ghORabe nihaNabe nAi age neiye thi

I used to take the horse to the river to wash

Mood

The mode or manner of a speaker (subject) about the occurrence of a particular event is expressed by mood which distinguishes a statement, a command, a question, a doubt etc.

The following modal categories are realised in Kulvi as per the available data.

- | | | | |
|---------------|---------------|------------------|--------------|
| 1. Indicative | 2. Imperative | 3. Interrogative | 4. Potential |
| 5. Compulsive | 6. Optative | 7. Conditional | 8. Negative. |

The structure of the modal formation under each category is discussed below.

Indicative Mood

Simple declarative sentences express the Indicative mood for which no separate marker or particle is added. For example –

<i>haũ mAchi dAki</i>	“I caught the fish”
<i>sA buTen du:r sa</i>	“He is away from the tree”
<i>sA DhAgA bhyau a:u</i>	“He came down the hill”

Imperative Mood

This modal category is indicated by the expression of a command, request. The imperative marker is –wo for vowel ending verb root and –o for consonantal ending verb root. For example –

<i>tAkhe ja:</i>	“Go there”	<i>e kitab pADh</i>	“Read this book”
<i>skulabe e:j</i>	“Come to school”	<i>sule bolo</i>	“Speak slowly”
<i>ia:Ni sada:t</i>	“Call your daughter”	<i>apNa ghArabe ja:</i>	“Go to your house.”

In the above set of sentences in left side –wo has been realised as imperative mood marker for ja – “go”, e:j – “come”, sad – “call” respectively. And in the right the modal marker is –o for the verb roots pADh – “read”, bol “speak”, be:s – “sit” respectively.

Interrogative Mood

The interrogative mood is realised by a question in sentence. The question words like /ki/ “what” , /kAkhe/“where”, /kebe/“when” etc. are used before the verb form and express the interrogation in the sentence. For example

tuse kA rAha sa	“Where do you live?”
tusAre ki nau si	“What is your name?”
tusre kitre bAj uThe si	“When do you (hon.sg.) get up?”
sA kebe au	“When did he come?”
e kuNa si	“Who are these men?”
mu kibe jaNa	“Why should I go?”

Potential Mood

The potential action is expressed in potential mood and the verb stem sAk- inflected in person – number – tense expresses this potentiality in the sentences. For Example

<i>kal hau grabe jai sAka sa</i>	“Tomorrow I shall go to the village”
<i>hau tAbe/tusabe kela nei chADi sAkAda</i>	“I am not leaving you alone”.
<i>e nei hoi sAkda</i>	“It is impossible?”
<i>tusa ja:I sAka si mu be Nahaji</i>	“ You may go I shall stay

Compulsive Mood

The compulsion on the part of the subject is expressed in compulsive mood. The words like /caiye/ , /pADna/ express the compulsion in the sentence, for example-

<i>mu kAm kerNa caiye ti</i>	“I should have done the work?”
<i>tuse granbe nei jaNa cAiye ti</i>	“You should not go to the village.”
<i>tinabe jhuTh nei bolNa cAiye ti</i>	“ They should not say lie.”
<i>tei e kom kerna pADna</i>	“He does not have to do this work.”

Here /caiye/ , /pADNa/ expressed the compulsion of the sentences respectively and the preceding verb of the compulsive marker is formed as verb base +- Na for masculine object and verb base +- ni for feminine object.

Optative mood

The optative mood expresses a desire, wish, permission or request in a sentence which is expressed in following way in Kulvi.

te sAbie ej:At "Let them all come"

tuse kich jath seMge aNa "Let some of you go and fetch"

Conditional mood

When the completion of one verbal action is conditioned by another verb that particular manner of expression is called as Conditional modal category. In this mood two verbal actions are involved simultaneously. The particle or set of particles that establishes the conditionality between the two verbal action is je to "if then"

for example –

AgAr hau TAKDa hola ta kal au

If I well (will be) then tomorrow I will come

"If I am well I will come tomorrow"

AgAr tuse Taime pAnde ile to ase bhaLi leAnd

if you time in come then we t will examine

"If you come in time we will examine this"

AgAr sA koi tAklifAn hola tusa mume phon keri

if he difficulty in will be then you to me will wire

"If he is in difficulty you will wire to me"

AgAr sA tAkhe hola ta lAdai hona

If he is there there will be a quarrel

Further conditionality is expressed exclusively by the single particle /pAN/ “but” also. Examples

tuse Akhe thi tebe bi cup beThe

you there were but you quiet kept

“You (pl.) were there, yet you kept quiet”

je/AgAr tine ni loDi tAb mume deya

If they do not want give it to me

Negative Mood

In Kulvi the negative mood is expressed by the negative words like /nĩ/ , /nei, /mAt/ which precede the verb. The examples of negative modal formation in Kulvi are given below

Tu pADda nei lagi rAi thi “You were not reading”

E koi kommara nei Athi “It is of no use”

sA nei e “Not that one but this”

mu eNAn peile nei jande “Do not go before I come”

In the above sentences *koi kommara nei Athi / nei/* indicates the negation of the statement .

3.3.2. Non-Finite Verb

The verbal forms which do not express the finiteness of a verbal action is a non – finite verb. In Kulvi the non-finite verbal forms are the following.

Infinitive

The infinitive in Kulvi is formed by adding /-iye/ after vowel ending verb root and /-ia/ after consonantal ending verb root. The examples are –

leyiye ‘by taking’ *ukktia* ‘by climbing’

paiye ‘by holding’ *uDDiya* ‘by flying’

kholiye ‘by opening’

Verbal Noun

The Kulvi verbal nouns are derived by the addition of the noun forming suffix /- Na/ with the verb root, for example,

i) for consonantal ending verb

band -+- *Na* = *bandNa* “binding”

huD -+- *Na* = *huDNa* “opening”

kaT -+- *Na* = *kaTNa* “spinning”

kh ij -+- *Na* = *khijNa* “pulling”

coD -+- *Na* = *coDNa* “breaking”

for vowel ending verb

topi -+- *Na* = *topiNa* “picking”

ga -+- *Na* = *gaNa* “singing”

le-+- *Na* = *leNa* “bringing”

ja-+- *Na* = *jaNa* “goinging”

3.3.3. Causative Verb

The causativity of the verb is expressed in Kulvi by adding /-wa-/ with vowel ending verb root and /-ya-/ after consonantal ending verb root. The nucleus vowels /a/, /e/ in the vowel ending verb root are changed into /A/, /i/ respectively when /-wa-/ is added for causative purpose. The causative verb bases in case of vowel ending root in Marwari are

kha “to eat” > *khA* -+- *wa* -+- *wo* = *khawa* “to make to eat”

bhaL “to see” >*bha L*-+- *iya* - = *bhaLiya* ”to make to seeing”

Negative Verb

The Negative words in Kulvi though uninflected for gender – number – person – tense but are treated as a separate class of verbs since they are added to either finite verb in a particular tense or to a particular verb stem. The base of negative verb class in Kulvi is mainly four words. According to frequency of occurrence they are /nei / , /mAt/ and / nĩ / . Expressing the negation the application of these words in both finite and non-finite construction are the following.

/ nei/

1. sA nei ye “Not that one but this”
2. e koi kommara nei Athi “It is of no use”
3. mu kal nei eNa “I shall not come tomorrow”

/mAt/

- etri cheke mAt sonda “Do not go to bed so soon”
mu age khADa mAt hunda “Do not stand in front of me”
jore mAt bolda “Do not speak loudly”

/ nĩ /

- asara kiche natha ni Athi “We are not related”
tusa/tera ghoru ni Athi ki “Have you got no house ?”
trAi maNura ni koi kom eke rAjga “There is no use of 3 men one is enough..”
je/AgAr tine ni loDi tAb mume deya “If they do not want give it to me”

Compound Verb

Compound verb is a combination of two constituents. The first constituent generally belongs to a noun, an adjective, an adverb or a verb category and the second constituent is a verb. In Kulvi the compound verbs are formed with the following auxiliary verb roots.

kAr- “to do”, paR- “to fall”, ja- “to go”, le- “to take”, mar- “to beat”, huwo- “to be” dew- “to give”, rAkh- “to keep” etc. These auxiliary roots are inflected according to number – gender – person – tense markers. Examples

with	kAr -		
kAm	kerna	“to work”	= noun + verb
	phup kerna	“to blow”	= noun + verb
	malis kerna	“to massage”	= noun + verb
	ulTi kerna	“to vomit”	= noun + verb
	khAtm kerna	“to finish”	= noun + verb
with	pAR-		
	TumbLe pARNa	“to kneel down”	= adverb+ verb
	ghriTa pARNa	“to scratch”	= adverb + verb
with	mar-		
	goLi marNa	“to shoot”	= noun + verb
	Achi marNa	“to wink”	= noun + verb
	cintu marNa	“to pinch”	= noun + verb
with	cheDkNa -		
	paNi cheDkNa	“to sprinkle”	= noun +verb
with	le-		
	mol leNa	“to buy”	= noun +verb
	kArj leNa	“ to take credit “	= noun + verb
with	ja-		
	jAm jawNo	“freeze”	= verb + verb
with	deNa-		
	Dhowe deNa	“to repay”	= adverb + verb
	udhar deNa	“to lend”	= noun + verb
	sAja deNa	“to punish”	= noun + verb

	daka deNa		“to push”	= noun + verb
	giSNi deNa		“ to crawl “	= noun + verb
	paNi deNa		“ to water plant”	= noun + verb
with	baaNa -			
	DeMge baaNa		“to lean”	= verb + verb
	jAMge baaNa		“ to stamp feet”	= noun + verb
with	kaT- jewRo kaTNo		“to cut rope”	= noun + verb
	maMs kaTNo		“to cut meet”	= noun + verb
with	bAja-			
	Dhol bAjaNa		“to beat a drum”	= noun + verb
	gADgAjju bAjaNa		“to blow horn”	= noun + verb
	taDi bAjaNa		“to clap”	= noun + verb
with	lAga- gāTh lAgaNo		“to bind”	= noun + verb
	Dubki lagaNo		“to dip”	= noun + verb
	bindi lAgaNo		“to put kumkum”	= noun + verb
with	rAkh –			
dhAre	rAkhNa		“ to arrange”	= verb + verb

3.3.4. Passive Formation

The passive formation is realized in following structures in Kulvi

mume ye kom hoNa “The work will be done by me”

me-by this work done will be

mume ye kom nei hoNa “The work will not be done by me”

work me-by not done will be

sArkar gribabe DhAwa diya sa

government poor-to money gives

“The Government gives money to the poor.”

3. 4. Adverbs

Morphologically adverbs are indeclinables and syntactically adverbs are the modifiers of verbs. Accordingly, the Kulvi adverbs are classified into 3 categories, namely,

Adverb of place

Adverb of Manner

Adverb of time

In each category there are ordinary as well as interrogative adverbs also.

Adverbs of place

thale	“down”	
piche/ba:d	“behind”	
ba:re	“out” / “out of”	
tAkhe	“there”	
age	“near”	
du:r	“far”	
bicAN /mAM’jAn	“between”	
kAkhe/kA	“where”	
kAkhe	“where”	(Interrogative)

Adverbs of manner

tebe / tA	“thus”
cheka	“fast”
sule	“slowly”
jore	“loudly”

kitre	“how”	(Interrogative)
-------	-------	-----------------

Adverbs of time

ebe	“now”
badAn	“then”
badAn	“afterwards”
bhi/ bhiri	“again”
ro:je	“always”
A:j	“today”
sui	”tomorrow”
ka:l/hi:j	“yesterday
kebe	“when”

3.4. Particle

Like adverb the particles also are indeclinables since they have only one form and are incapable of showing distinctions as to number, person, gender, tense etc. The Kulvi particles are the following

Emphatic particles

The emphatic particle conveys an emphasis (=emp.) to the word and this particle can be used with all types of words such as nouns with all cases, pronouns, adjectives and adverbs.

i	sA	kAM’ce	nAthi	“He is nowhere”
	he	anywhere (emp)	is not	

mumẽ	ye	kAM’ce	nei meLu	“I found it nowhere”
I	it	anywhere (emp.)	not	found

Conjunctive particle

The conjunctive particle is one which is added with word or a group of words to give the meaning ‘and’ which in Kulvi is /Ar/ “and / or”, (ta) “so / for”

Akhe ek kutto ho:r ek braLi sa “Here is a cat and a dog”

here a dog and a cat is

Conditional particle

This particles like /agar---ta/ “if.....then” is added with the conditional construction in verb.

AgAr hau TAkDa hola ta kal au

If I well (will be) then tomorrow I will come

“If I am well I will come tomorrow”

AgAr tuse Taime pAnde ile to ase bhaLi leAnd

if you time in come then we t will examine

“If you come in time we will examine this”

Interrogative particle

The particle which helps in interrogation is Interrogative particle. In Kulvi they are like

kuN	“who”	kiN	“which”
kaĩ	“what”	kĩya	“how”
kAkhe	“where”	kebe	“when”
kĩkAr	“how”	kyũ	“why”

Echo word / Reduplication

Echo word and reduplication are available in Kulvi mainly in adjectival and adverbial use as per the collected data.

Adjectival

Echo word

Reduplication

ghANa sara “many”

choTa choTa “many”

DARũ pherũ “afraid”

nenha nenha “affectionate”

acho khoTo “all kind mixed of good-bad”

dubLo pAtlo /dubLi pAtli “lean thin ”

4. SYNTAX

4.1. ORDER OF WORDS IN SENTENCES

The word-order in Kulvi is mainly occur in the pattern of Subject + Object + Verb pattern. Hence, Kulvi is found as a subject – object – verb (SOV) language.

mere ghorō eja:t ‘Come to my house’
my house come

The structure of Kulvi consists of a Noun – Phrase (which functions as the subject) and a verb phrase or Predicate Phrase (which functions as an Object phrase to the sentence). The object in predicate phrase, in turn may consist of a noun phrase and verb phrase or both.

4.1.1. NOUN PHRASE-

A noun phrase may consist of a noun alone or noun followed by the attribute(s). A noun phrase may consist of a noun alone or followed by one or more attributes.

hoche ia:Na ‘little child’ *bADDi kitab* ‘big book’
little child big book
sobLa gran ‘good village’
good village

Moreover, if a plural marker is added to the noun it is added to the whole noun phrase. If a numeral form is already there, the plural marker does not occur.

trai sohriya ‘three girls’
three girls
but, *ye sohru* ‘boys’ / ‘these boys’
these boys
ye ghorō ‘houses’ / ‘these houses’
these houses

If a noun is modified by a quantifier, the quantifier follows the noun

kich DhAwe ‘some money’

some money

kich nokAr 'some servant'

some (servant)

Thus, it is found that the order of quantitative modifier is rigid. Further, the case marker occurs at the end of the whole noun – phrase :

kal hau skulabe jaNa 'Tomorrow I shall go to the village'

tomorrow I skul (to) shall go

pAca buTan ALa sa 'The leaf falls from the tree'

the leaf tree from falls

ci:Du kolan sa 'The bird is inside the nest'

the bird nest inside is

teire sohru ghoran sa 'His son is in the house'

his son house inside is

Thus, according to the description of ORDER given above the structure of Noun Phrase is as follows:-

± Genitive + noun ± Attributive(s) ± Number ± Case (verb)

4.1.2. ATTRIBUTIVE NOUN PHRASE

The attributive noun phrase consists of a head noun followed by one or more attribute(s). When the head noun precedes the attributes, the following can be an adjective, a numeral, a quantifier or demonstrative or an article. The examples are:

sobLa sohru 'good boy' *subLe sohru* 'The good boys'

good boy good-s boy

sobLi sohri 'good girl' *sobLi sohriya* 'The good girls'

good girl good girls

<i>bADDi kitab</i>	‘big book’	<i>bADDe kitaba</i>	‘Big books’
big	book	big-s	books
<i>ek braLi</i>	‘one cat’	<i>dui braLiya</i>	‘Two cats’
one	cat	two	cats
<i>ek braLi</i>	‘one cat’	<i>trai braLiya</i>	‘Three cats’
one	cat	three-s	cat
<i>ye maNu</i>	‘this man’	<i>ye sAb maNu</i>	‘These men’
this	man	these	man
<i>sA maNu</i>	‘that man’	<i>te maNu</i>	‘Those men’
that	man	those	man
<i>gay</i>	‘the cow’	<i>gay e</i>	‘The cows’
cow		cow	the - pl.
<i>bAld</i>	‘the bull’	<i>bAld e</i>	‘The bulls’
bull	the	bull	the - pl
<i>kitab</i>	‘the book’	<i>kitab a</i>	‘The books’
book	the	book	the - pl

Attributive noun phrase in which the attribute precedes the head noun is always a genitive phrase.

<i>ghoro</i>	‘house’
<i>tinAre ghoro</i>	‘their houses’

More than one noun can occur in the attributive noun phrase in genitival relationship .

<i>Teire sohrure ghoro</i>	‘His son’s house’
his	sons- of house

In the attributive noun phrase attributes can be added to the genitival noun phrase

mere ye pAM'j kitaba 'My these five books'

my book five these

teire bADa ghoru 'His large house'

his house large

According to the above description of ORDER the structure of the attributive noun is as follows

± Genitive ± ± Quantifier ± Numeral ± Adjective + Noun plural Marker + case

4.1.3. CO- ORDINATE NOUN PHRASE

A Coordinate noun phrase consists of two or more nouns or noun phrases which are linked by a co-ordinator. The co-ordinator may either be a conjunctive i.e. /hor/ 'and' /pAr/ 'but' /nei/ 'not' or the disjunctive /AgAr-tAb/ 'if-then' [related with the conditional context]. And these are added between the two nouns

Akhe ek braLi hor ek kutta sa 'Here is a cat and dog'

here cat one and dog one is

ghorabe ja: hor ejA:t 'Go home and come back'

home to go and come back

sA nei ye 'Not that one but this'

that not is but this

je/AgAr tine ni loDi tAb mare deya 'If they do not want give it to me'

they do not want if – then to me give

4.2. PREDICATE PHRASE

A predicate phrase is a combination of a verb (which is its nucleus) and a noun preceded by a negative marker and an attributive like adverb and followed by some other elements. These elements can be tense marker, mood marker, aspect marker and other modifier like 'may', 'must', 'ought to' etc.

chetAn dhan baha 'Sow the paddy in the field'

paddy the field in sow

sA pare khADi rAha sa 'She stands there'

she there stands

me ek am khau 'I have eaten a mango'

I mango a have eaten

Tei kom nei kerna 'He will not work'

He work will not do

mume Akhe eNa Thik laga sa 'I like to come'

I want to come

mume jaNa nei cAiye 'I shall not go'

I should come

sA sohru pADda lagira thi 'The child was reading'

child read-ing was

sA sohru pADda nei lagira thi 'The child was not reading'

child reading not was

ghorabe ja: tA baps e:j 'Go home and come back'

home (to) go and back come

sule bol 'Speak slowly'

slowly speak

According to the above discussion the structure of predicate phrase is as follows

± Noun ± Adverb + Verb ± Negative ± Aspect ± Mood + Tense

4.3. CLAUSE

The predicate phase may consist of a single clause or more than one clause. A clause consists of a group of words that forms part of a sentence and has a subject and predicate of its own. The structure of a clause in Kulvi is as follows

± Noun ± Adverb + Verb ± Negative ± Aspect + Tense

Clause belongs to two types – Main clause and Sub-ordinate clause

Main Clause

A main clause is one which is independent and can stand by itself

sA tAkhe thi pAr cheke nAThi

she there was but soon went away

‘She was there but went away soon’

tuse tAkhe thi tebe bi cup beThe

you(pl.) there were yet kept quiet

‘You were there yet you kept quiet’

In the first sentence *sA Thi* ‘she was there’ is the main clause and in the second sentence *tuse tAkhe thi* ‘you(pl.) were there’ is the main clause and they can occur independently. Where as */cheke nAThi/* and */cup beThe/* cannot occur independently.

Subordinate Clause

Subordinate clause is one which is not independent and which cannot occur by itself.

Jebe hau tinabe milda nATha te/sA suta dhati

I at the time of seeing he on the ground was lying

‘He was sleeping on the ground when I saw him’

AgAr hau TAKDa hola tA kal au

I well see (am) if-then tomorrow will come

‘If I am well I will come tomorrow’

In the first sentence */tinabe milda/* ‘at the time of seeing’ and in the second sentence */hau TAkDa hola/* ‘If I am well’ are the subordinate clauses as marked under bold. They depend on the main clause */sA suta dhati /* ‘He was lying on the ground’ and */hau kal au/* ‘I will come tomorrow’ of the sentences respectively.

4.4. TYPES OF SENTENCES

Affirmative / Declarative

In statement type of sentences the word order pattern is Subject + Object + Verb

ye meri boba sa ‘She is my elder sister’

she my eld.sister is

ase gayibe mare si ‘We beat the cows’

we cows- acc. beat + pre.ten

sarkar gribabe Dhwa diya sa ‘Govt. gives the money to poor’

Govt. poor – to money gives

Interrogative

The interrogative words such as *ki* ‘what’ *kitre* ‘how many’ are added after nouns to make interrogative sense.

tusra ki na sa ‘What is your name?’

your name what is

tusri ketri umAr sa ‘How old are you?’

you howmany year reached

tusre kitre ia:Ne si ‘How many children have you?’

you when go pre. con. ten.

tuse ki kha:e si ‘What do you eat?’

Youwhat eat

Imperative

The imperative sentences end with markers ~ -v ~ - 0

tinabe kaaNi sANa 'Tell them a story'

me story tell

teibe sa:d 'Call him.'

house go and back come

sule bol 'Speak slowl

slowly speak

diksi be:s 'Sit down'

khADe uTh 'Stand up'

Negative

nei- , *-mAt* is prefixed before the verb

haut Abe/tusabe kela nei chADi sAkda 'I am not leaving you alone'

I you today not leaving alone

Mu kal nei eNa 'I shall not come tomorrow'

I tomorrow not come fut.

Mu age khADa mAt huda 'Do not stand in front of me.'

it impossible is

Coordinative Sentence

A conjunctive particle which co-ordinates to make a complete sentence called coordinate sentence.

Akhe ek braLi hor ek kutta sa 'Here is a cat and dog'

here cat one and dog one is

ghorabe ja: hor ejA:t 'Go home and come back'

home to go and come back

4.5. PATTERNS OF SENTENCES

Sentences can be classified by structure as 1. Simple 2. Complex and 3. Compound.

Simple Sentence

A simple sentence is one which has only one subject and one predicate like the following

hau chetabe ja:a sa "I go to the field"

he field go

hau ek kitab pADha sa "I read the book"

I book read

sA chetabe ja:a sa "He goes to field"

he field go(pr.)

te/tine chetabe ja:e si "They go to the field"

they field go(pr.)

sA ek kitab pADha sa "He reads book"

he book reads(pr.)

te/tine kitab pADhe si "They read book"

they book read(pr.)

Complex Sentence

A complex sentence consists of one main clause and one or more subordinate clauses.

Complex Sentences

The subordinate clause precedes the main clause in complex sentences :

tei kawDa bolu ase khase TaimAn ei buTe pande rAAnde lageN si ebe horte jaiye rAANa Thik nei lagda

'We have lived here for a long time . I can't bear to desert my home and go to live elsewhere.'
said the crow.

'jebe hau tinabe milda nATHa te/sA suta dhati 'He was lying on the ground when I saw him'

Compound Sentence

A compound sentence is one which is made up of two or more main clauses.

kich mAchi bADi si kich ho:chi

some fish big some small

'Some fish are big and some are small'

sA dhARAti lAme pADiya pADda laga dAsa

he was lying down and reading

'He was lying down and reading'

kich nAe kich praNa

some new some old

'Some are new and some are old'

CONCLUSION

Based on the discussion in all the levels of Kulvi language structure, it is observed that many of the structures, sentences, and patterns including the vocabulary and Phonemic inventory of the language, the language are in many respects similar to Hindi. This language has very rich oral literary traditions and the speakers of Kulvi in Kullu and Manali district along with near by areas of Himachal Pradesh are maintaining the language in home domain only.

TEXT

[*kagle kagli kaLindAr ne kiyā mariyo*]

“How the crow-hen killed the Black Snake”

1. *ei buTere eki paMge/pande ek kawDa tae k kawDi rAAti.*

a banyan tree spreading branches a crow and a crow-hen
over lived

“Among the spreading branches of a banyan tree lived a crow and his wife, the crow-hen”

2. *tinar kolAn ca:r Dane ti jinani te bADi sAmbaL kirAti.*

where nest in four little eggs which parents with care
guarded

“In the nest were four little eggs which the parents guarded with care”.

3. *tei buTere TANEk ek bADa sara kaLa kiDa rAAti jAsAn te duie bADe DArAti*

that tree trunk-of in the hollow one black snake lived whom crows greatly
feared

“In a hollow of that tree-trunk lived a black snake whom the crows feared greatly”.

4. *hAr Taimē sA kAwDi kagli jebe bi Dane deyAti sA kiDa ujeuktia tine Danebe khai jaati*

Every time crow-hen whenever laid eggs the black snake crawling up nest
to reached and eggs-to swallowed

“Every time the crow hen laid her eggs the snake crawled up to the nest and ate them up”.

5. *kawDi bolu ki ei ghorebi je teiye kiDe mere Dane khae ta mu~ ei buTe pande age nei rAANa*

if this time also black snake my eggs eats up then I
that tree leave will

“If the black snake eats up my eggs this time also, I refuse to live in this tree any longer”.

6. *tese kawDa bolu ke ase kAice horte ki bonaiye rAANa.*

we our nest somewhere else to build have to mother bird her
husband to said

“we must build our nest somewhere else” – said the mother bird to her husband”.

7. *tei kawDa bolu ase khase Taiman ei buTe pande rAANde lageN si ebe horta jaiye
rAANa Thik nei lagda*

we here a long time lived have

“We have lived here a long time”.

me my home leaving elsewhere going to live can bear
not crow said

“I can’t bear to desert my home and go to live elsewhere” – said the crow.

8. *jebe te apun DhuND thi tebe tine ek phupkarneri ba:j suNi .*

while they talking were she her just below a hissing
sound heard

“while they were talking, they heard a hissing sound just below them”.

9. *te jaNti e kAsAri ba:j sa .*

they knew that this sound what is

“They knew what the sound meant”.

10. *te bADe bhari Dare seMge tine Danebe sAmbalda apAN kolan Tu:p beThe .*

they eggs protecting for try-in helpless being sat

“They sat helplessly in their nest trying to protect their eggs”.

11. *sA kaLa kiDa tei buTe pande uktia kol age puju*

black snake crept higher and nest of near reached again a loud hiss

teie jore sAMge phupkar mari ja:te te ci:Du DAriye u:Die nAThe .

with it birds at the tried to strike who afraid being flew away

“The black snake crept higher and closer to the nest. Then with a loud hiss he tried to strike at the birds who flew away in terror”.

12. *teie kaLa kiDa ek ek keria cheke cheke te sare Dane niMgLe .*

one one by black snake eggs swallowed

“One by one, the black snake swallowed the eggs”.

13. *te bicare amma bapu bADe dwasiya jebe ApNe kolAn e soci aye ki tAkhe kich nei miLANa*

sadly parents back nest to came this well known (knowing)
that nest empty would find

“The parents came back sadly to their nest, knowing well that they would find it empty”.

14. *tei kawDe bolu ki me~ ei dust/papi /khuni kiDera jArur na:s kirna*

crow said this murderous snake-to destroying for I way find out have to

“The crow said – “I must find a way to destroy this murderous snake”.

15. *sA kawDi boli e kiDa tA bADa khAtArnak sat use eira mukabAla keNDe kirna*

depaired crow wife said you him how can be able his sting very deadly
is

“How can you ever fight him? His sting is so deadly” – said his wife in despair”.

16. *sA kawDa bolu tu mAt DArdi mera ek seMgi sa jo bADa cAlak sa sA ei AjArile kiDebe mari sAka sa*

crow said you worry(emp.) not do my wife(dear) my a such
friend

he jiko isa jerila sapãne marAN me ghANo husiar he” - iyã keAr

is who enough poisonous snake killing-in very cunning is
this having said

e boliya sA UDiye ek duje buTe pandebe nATha jA : sAre thale ek giddAD/rula rAAti.

crow flying another tree over went which under his dear friend jackal lived

“Don’t you worry, my dear, I’ve got a friend who is cunning enough to destroy the most poisonous of snakes” – said the crow and off he flew to another tree under which lived his dear friend, the jackal.”

17. *tei rule kawDere sari gAla suN ki sA kiDa teire Dane sAda khaasa ta~ tAiyе bolu sAMgia ghAbranda mAt juN bura kom kerasa teira Ant maDa hua sat u DArda mAt mu~ age tei kale dust kiDebe mar nei skim sa .”*

when the jackal eggs eating-of story heard then told my friend who cruel (heartless) and greedy become there end always bad is/becomes

“when the jackal heard how the snake always ate up the eggs, he said – “My friend, those who are cruel and greedy always meet with a bad end”.

you fear do not him destroying-for plan I already (emp.) have thought of

“have no fear. I’ve already thought of a plan to destroy him”.

18. *tebe kawDa bolu .”s A ki skim sa mu~me dA:s.”*

then tell brother/friend what plan is that(f.) crow said

“Oh! do tell me what it is” - said crow”

19. *sA rula DArAti ki kAsiye teiri skim nei soNi loDi ta teiye sule sule kawDere kAnAn dAsu ki teiye ki kerna*

somewhere the snake might over hear this for reason snake to killing of all plan crow-to jackal whispered

“Then the jackal, fearing he might be overheard, whispered to his friend what he should do to destroy the snake”.

20. *sA kawDa baps uDDiye kawDi age puju seMge sA skim tesabe dAsi*

crow back crow-hen near went and all plan told work (emp.) risky
very is crow said we very careful have to
be

“The crow flew back to his wife and told her about the plan. “It is rather risky”, said the crow “we’ll have to be very careful” “.

21. *tebe kawDine neDAr bolu hau~ apNe Dane bAcane teiye kich bi kirnebe tiar sa.*

bravely crow-hen told eggs-of saving-for I any means not will
spare(untended)

“I’ll do anything to save my eggs” - said the mother bird bravely”.

22. *tuin bad te uDDiya raje meAlAm nAThe.*

quickly they king’s palace towards flew off

“So off they flew towards the palace of the king of the country”.

23. *sA meal te buTen jAkhe te rAAti jada du:r nei thi .*

which tree over they lived from that palace far not was

“The palace was not far from the tree in which they lived”.

24. *tei melAn ek bADa tAlab thi jAkhe raNi seMge hor beTDi naindi lagi thi*

they plalace-of garden in one big pond towards approached where
royal ladies bathing were

“They approached a big pond in the palace garden where they saw the royal ladies having a bath”.

25. *tAlaber kenDe tine apNi jebAr suneri ce:n motiara ha:r seMge ha:r jebAr kholiye Dayenti*

they golden chain pearl-of necklace and other ornaments wearing off the pond at the edge laid down

“They had laid their golden chains, pearl necklaces and other jewellery on the edge of the pond”.

26. *kawDie sA suneri che:n apNi cuM'jan ceki ta mAje tei buTe direbe jAkhe tei rAAti uDDi lagi*

mother bird down flew golden one chain beak-in picked up and that tree towards slowly flying which over she lived

“The mother bird flew down, picked up a gold chain in her beak and started flying slowly towards the tree in which she lived”.

27. *melAr peiredare jebbe kawDibe suneri ce:n leiye jande bhaLu te tAlwar paiye tisara piche bhegge.*

when palace-of guards bird-to chain taking flying saw then they wooden clubs with their behind chased

“When the palace guards saw the bird flying off with the gold chain, they toop up their clubs and chased the bird”.

28. *tine bhaLu ki tese ciDiye sA suneri ce:n eki buTere kolren se:Ti .*

they saw that mother bird tree-of hollow-in chain dropped

“They saw the bird drop the chain into the hollow of a tree”.

29. *tina sebina ek peirdar te buTe pande sA suneri ce:n leNebe ukkta .*

guards among one chain getting for tree over climbed up

“One of the guards climbed up the tree to get the chain”.

30. *jebe teie tisa ce:na lener teiye kolreN hAth pau ta bhaLu ki ek bADDA kaLa kiDa tAke lukda lagenda ti tese ek jorera tAlwarira phaT bau seMge sA kiDa tAke mAuau.*

chain taking for as his own hand tree trunk-of hole-inside put then there
a black snake curled up sitting saw

“As he put his hand inside the hole to get the chain, he saw a black snake, curled up there”.

31. guard stick-of one(emp.) stroke with snake to killed and thus snake-of
khatmo huyo .

end happened

“With one hard stroke of his club he killed it and that was the end of the black snake”.

32. *tuin bad te due kawDa kawDi mAje seMge tei buTe pande rAAnde rAAe sAMge tinere bAu sache hoche hoche kawDa tinere hue .*

little many baby had

“The crow and the crow-hen lived in that three happily afterwards and had many little baby crows”.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Census of India 1901 Vol I Part I
2. Census of India 1901 Vol IX Part IV
3. Census of India 1961 Vol XVI Part II c (ii)1 Vol I Part I
4. 1991 Table c-7
5. 2001 Paper I -Language
6. 2001 Language Table C-16 series -I
7. Lodefoged, Peter 1982 A course in Phonetics HBJ New york (2nd edition)
8. Nigam R.C. 1971 Language Handbook on Mother Tongues in Census ORGI, New Delhi
9. Singh KS Himachal Pradesh Volume
10. Language & Script K.S. Singh
11. Scheduled Tribe K.S. Singh
12. Scheduled Caste K.S.Singh
13. 2011 Census - Language & Mother Tongue Web Publication

MANDEALI

Sibasis Mukherjee

1. INTRODUCTION

Mandeali is one of the dialects of Pahari and is spoken in the western part of the Pahari region, in the Mandi district of the North Indian state of Himachal Pradesh. It is treated as one of the mother tongues under Hindi.

During the period Grierson did his Survey and before the Pahari area was divided under so many independent kingdoms such as Mandi, Suket, Chamba etc. Each state remains separate to each other due to geographical conditions. This was probably the basis on which Sir. G.A. Grierson had to distinguish so many Pahari dialects. It has been observed by Shri. R.C. Nigam (Census of India, 1961, Vol.I, Part-IIC(ii) P.ccxxi) that “It would therefore, be not unreasonable to suspect that distinction of the order of 9 groups of dialects and to the extent of 30 distinct sub-dialects as have been specified in the Linguistic Survey of India (LSI) classification was rather on the high-side”. Sir.G.A. Grierson himself did record in Linguistic Survey of India (Vol. IX, Part-IV, Page. 374) that “it may at once be stated that in some cases the differences between group and group are very slight.”

As an illustration of the above point, Mandeali is distinguished by Grierson in the following way:

“The language of Mandi is Mandeali and that of Suket is Suketi, the two being closely connected.” (LSI Vol.IV., Part-IV, Page.715). After Independence and the reorganization of states both the states were merged to form one single district Mandi. The 1961 Census figures for Mandeali and Suketi are significant in this connection. While in the LSI the figures for Mandeali and Suketi were 150,000 and 52,184 (LSI Vol.IX, Part-IV, Page.715) respectively, in the 1961 Census the figures are 227,352 and 5,074 respectively. The decrease in the number of Suketi speakers seems to be compensated by the increase of Mandeali speakers in number.

1.1 Family Affiliation

Mandeali is one of the major languages in the Western Pahari and belongs to the Indo-Aryan sub-family, Pahari group. Grierson listed fifty-two languages grouped under thirteen different groups which are brought into three major divisions: Eastern Pahari, Central Pahari and Western Pahari. Mandeali falls under the Western Pahari group. (LSI Vol.IV. Part-IV)

1.2 Location

Mandeali is spoken almost entirely in the Mandi district of Himachal Pradesh constitutes six Tehsils namely, Mandi, Jogindar Nagar, Sarkaghat, Karsong, Chichot and Sunder Nagar. Standard Mandeali is spoken in the Mandi main and therefore the data for the present Survey were collected from the Mandi main itself.

1.3 Speakers strength: Language-Mother Tongue- Bilingualism

District-wise distribution of Mandeali mother tongue in Himachal Pradesh according to the Census 2011 has already been discussed in the Introduction chapter.

STATEWISE DISTRIBUTION OF MANDEALI MOTHER TONGUE IN INDIA IN 2011 CENSUS

	Total			Rural			Urban		
	Population	Male	Female	Population	Male	Female	Population	Male	Female
INDIA	6,22,590	3,07,327	3,15,263	5,69,835	2,80,286	2,89,549	52,755	27,041	25,714
Jammu & Kashmir	17	13	4	7	7	0	10	6	4
Himachal Pradesh	6,21,400	3,06,644	3,14,756	5,69,021	2,79,840	2,89,181	52,379	26,804	25,575
Punjab	78	43	35	15	8	7	63	35	28
Chandigarh	82	53	29	15	11	4	67	42	25
Uttarakhand	55	32	23	35	16	19	20	16	4
Haryana	25	15	10	2	2	0	23	13	10
Nct Of Delhi	90	55	35	0	0	0	90	55	35
Rajasthan	57	31	26	40	22	18	17	9	8
Uttar Pradesh	23	16	7	15	9	6	8	7	1
Bihar	456	239	217	452	235	217	4	4	0
Arunachal Pradesh	133	81	52	125	76	49	8	5	3
Nagaland	31	15	16	23	10	13	8	5	3
Manipur	3	1	2	3	1	2	0	0	0
Meghalaya	6	6	0	6	6	0	0	0	0
Assam	5	4	1	4	4	0	1	0	1
West Bengal	29	15	14	29	15	14	0	0	0
Jharkhand	2	1	1	2	1	1	0	0	0
Chhattisgarh	15	9	6	4	1	3	11	8	3
Madhya Pradesh	43	24	19	30	15	15	13	9	4
Gujarat	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0
Maharashtra	25	17	8	3	3	0	22	14	8
Andhra Pradesh	5	4	1	0	0	0	5	4	1
Karnataka	3	3	0	2	2	0	1	1	0
Kerala	2	2	0	2	2	0	0	0	0
Tamil Nadu	4	3	1	0	0	0	4	3	1

Mandeali speakers are generally bilingual in Hindi. Educated speakers are conversant in Hindi as well as in English also. In 1961 Census, total number of persons speaking a language subsidiary to their Mother Tongue (Mandeali) in Himachal Pradesh as follows

Total Speakers	Persons returned as speaking a Subsidiary language	Subsidiary language
2,26,408	29,409	Hindi (27,189) Other Languages (2,220)

Mandeali is one of the mother tongue grouped under Hindi. In general the tables on bilingualism and trilingualism are given on the languages not on the mother tongues. So, the table of bilingualism and trilingualism of Hindi in Himachal Pradesh according to census 2011 has been shown in detailed in introduction chapter.

1.4 Sociolinguistic Information

Mandelis are divided into many hereditary social groups called castes. Members of a particular caste usually share the same occupation, and the castes are ranked according to the prestige of the occupation. Members of more prestigious castes avoid contact with lower castes in order to avoid the ritual pollution brought about by associating with them.

Use of Mandeali in the home domain - In the home domain Mandeali is used as a mother tongue by the native speakers.

Use of Mandeali in other than home domain – Mandeali is used by the native speakers in the public places of the locality, in the market everywhere. Except in the administration where Hindi is mainly used.

Use of Mandeali in Education- As Hindi is the state official language, it is used, throughout the state, as the medium of education in Schools, Colleges, Universities etc. However, Text books, Literary magazines, Story books, various newspapers, Dictionaries etc. are largely available in the Mandeali.

Use of Mandeali in Mass Media - All India Radio as well as Doordarshan Kendra, Simla broadcasts all types of the programs like serials, news, cultural programmes etc. in Mandeali

language. In case of record and cassette productions Mandeali has a stock. Mandeali is not having its own script. The Devanagari script is used.

1.4 Review of Earlier Literature

Earlier work done by Sir G.A. Grierson in his Linguistic Survey of India (LSI) where he has presented a classified list of the Pahari languages (LSI, Vol.I, Pt.I). Sir.Grierson also gave a sketchy picture of this language along with other varieties of Pahari languages in his LSI Volume. Among the available literature Dr. M. R. Ranganatha in the year of 1980 has done a ‘Survey of Mandeali and Kului in Himachal Pradesh’ and prepared a descriptive analysis of both these languages in a book ‘Language Monograph, Series-1, Census of India, 1971’ published by Office of the Registrar General, India. However, text books, literary magazines, story books, various newspapers, dictionaries etc. are largely available for reference.

2. PHONOLOGY

Phonology is concerned with the patterns and organizations of a language in terms of the phonetic features. The phonemic inventory given below will show the distinctive sound units occurring in the Mandeali speech.

2.1 Phonemic Inventory

Both the segmental and suprasegmental phonemes of Mandeali are presented in the following inventories:

2.1.1 Segmental Phonemes

Vowels

There are altogether fourteen vowel phonemes available in Mandeali. The inventory of them is as follows

	Front	Central	Back
High	<i>i</i> <i>i:</i>		<i>u</i> <i>u:</i>
Mid-high	<i>e</i> <i>e:</i>		<i>o</i> <i>o:</i>
Mid-low	<i>E</i> <i>E:</i>	<i>A</i> <i>A:</i>	
Low			<i>a</i> <i>a:</i>

Consonants

There are altogether thirty three consonantal phonemes available in Mandeali. The inventory of them is as follows

	Bilabial	Alveolar	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stop	<i>p</i> <i>b</i>	<i>t</i> <i>d</i>	<i>T</i> <i>D</i>	<i>c</i> <i>j</i>	<i>k</i> <i>g</i>	
Aspirated	<i>ph</i> <i>bh</i>	<i>th</i> <i>dh</i>	<i>Th</i> <i>Dh</i>	<i>ch</i> <i>jh</i>	<i>kh</i> <i>gh</i>	
Nasal	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>N</i>		<i>M</i>	
Fricative		<i>s</i>		<i>S'</i>		<i>h</i>

Lateral	<i>l</i>	<i>L</i>
Trill	<i>r</i>	
Flapped		<i>R</i>
Approximants	<i>w</i>	<i>y</i>

2.1.2 Suprasegmental Phonemes

Length

Vowel length is phonetically significant. In monosyllabic contexts vowels can be long as the vowel /a/ in /ma:/ ‘Mother’ as opposed to /jadu/ ‘magic’.

Nasalization

Nasalization is phonetically realized feature and occurs before or after a consonant: /reyha/ ‘stay’ > /rěyhã/ ‘stayed’.

2.2 Descriptions and Distributions of Phonemes

Vowels	Descriptions
/i/	High front Vowel
/e/	Mid high front vowel
/E/	Mid Low front vowel
/A/	Mid low Central Vowel
/a/	Low back vowel
/o/	Mid high back vowel
/u/	High back vowel

Consonants

/p/	Voiceless unaspirated bilabial stop
/ph/	Voiceless aspirated bilabial stop

<i>/b/</i>	Voiced unaspirated bilabial stop
<i>/bh/</i>	Voiced aspirated bilabial stop
<i>/t/</i>	Voiceless unaspirated alveolar stop
<i>/th/</i>	Voiceless aspirated alveolar stop
<i>/d/</i>	Voiced unaspirated alveolar stop
<i>dh/</i>	Voiced aspirated alveolar stop
<i>/c/</i>	Voiceless unaspirated palatal stop
<i>/ch/</i>	Voiceless aspirated palatal stop
<i>/j/</i>	Voiced unaspirated palatal stop
<i>/jh/</i>	Voiced aspirated palatal stop
<i>/T/</i>	Voiceless unaspirated retroflex stop
<i>/Th/</i>	Voiceless aspirated retroflex stop
<i>/D/</i>	Voiced unaspirated retroflex stop
<i>/Dh/</i>	Voiced aspirated retroflex stop.
<i>/k/</i>	Voiceless unaspirated velar stop
<i>/kh/</i>	Voiceless aspirated velar stop
<i>/g/</i>	Voiced unaspirated velar stop
<i>/gh/</i>	Voiced aspirated velar stop
<i>/m/</i>	Voiced Bilabial nasal
<i>/n/</i>	Alveolar nasal
<i>/N/</i>	Retroflex nasal
<i>/M/</i>	Velar nasal
<i>/r/</i>	Alveolar trill

/l/	Alveolar lateral
/L/	Retroflex lateral
/R/	Retroflex flap
/s/	Voiceless Alveolar fricative
/S'/	Voiceless Palatal fricative
/h/	Glottal Fricative voiceless
/w/	Bilabial approximant
/y/	Palatal approximant

Vowels - Distributions

Phonemes	Initial		Medial		Final
/i/	<i>il</i>	‘vulture’	<i>hik</i>	‘chest’	<i>dhūi</i> ‘fog’
/e/	<i>ek</i>	‘one’	<i>tesjo</i>	‘to him’	<i>tare</i> ‘star’
/E/			<i>bhEN</i>	‘sister’	<i>lE</i> ‘take’
/a/	<i>ag</i>	‘fire’	<i>pahaR</i>	‘mountain’	<i>bAcca</i> ‘baby’
/A/	<i>Ao-Na</i>	‘to come’	<i>bAn</i>	‘forest’	<i>aThA</i> ‘eight’
/o/	<i>os</i>	‘dew’	<i>lohA</i>	‘iron’	<i>do</i> ‘two’
/u/	<i>uttAr</i>	‘north’	<i>muh</i>	‘face’	<i>bheDDu</i> ‘ram’

Consonants

/p/	<i>pENDa</i>	‘road’	<i>pipLi</i>	‘chilly’	<i>dwi:p</i>	‘island’
/ph/	<i>phākh</i>	‘wing’	<i>tuphan</i>	‘storm’	<i>bArAph</i>	‘ice’
/b/	<i>ballu</i>	‘sand’	<i>bhabi</i>	‘sister-in-law’	<i>srab</i>	‘wine’
/bh/	<i>bhabi</i>	‘sister-in-law’	<i>cubhNa</i>	‘to prick’	<i>subh</i>	‘auspicious’
/t/	<i>tare</i>	‘star’	<i>patAr</i>	‘leaf’	<i>ri:t</i>	‘season’

/th/	<i>thAND</i>	‘cold’	<i>kethi</i>	‘where’	<i>hath</i>	‘hand’
/d/	<i>da:da</i>	‘grandfather’	<i>gAnda</i>	‘dirty’	<i>swad</i>	‘taste’
/dh/	<i>dhūi</i>	‘fog’	<i>sidha</i>	‘straight’	<i>dudh</i>	‘milk’
/c/	<i>cād</i>	‘moon’	<i>bAgica</i>	‘garden’	<i>nac</i>	‘dance’
/ch/	<i>chuh</i>	‘touch’	<i>pAnchi</i>	‘bird’	<i>puch</i>	‘ask’
/j/	<i>jAnana</i>	‘woman’	<i>bijli</i>	‘lightening’	<i>suJ</i>	‘swell’
/jh/	<i>jhuTh</i>	‘lie’	<i>mAnjha</i>	‘between’	<i>sājh</i>	‘evening’
/T/	<i>Topi</i>	‘cap’	<i>moTa</i>	‘fat’	<i>peT</i>	‘belly’
/Th/			<i>aThA</i>	‘eight’	<i>kaTh</i>	‘wood’
/D/	<i>DaM</i>	‘tall’	<i>ANDa</i>	‘egg’	<i>thAND</i>	‘cold’
/Dh/	<i>DhAbbe</i>	‘money’	<i>bADDhNa</i>	‘to stab’	<i>riDh</i>	‘spine’
/k/	<i>kaTh</i>	‘wood’	<i>saukar</i>	‘money lender’	<i>hik</i>	‘chest’
/kh/	<i>khApRa</i>	‘old man’	<i>bArkha</i>	‘rain’	<i>phākh</i>	‘wing’
/g/	<i>giddAR</i>	‘fox’	<i>jigAr</i>	‘liver’	<i>jAg</i>	‘Universe’
/gh/	<i>ghAr</i>	‘house’	<i>jagha</i>	‘place’	<i>bAragh</i>	‘tiger’
/m/	<i>moTa</i>	‘fat’	<i>jAma</i>	‘freeze’	<i>kam</i>	‘work’
/n/	<i>nAh</i>	‘claw’	<i>jAnana</i>	‘woman’	<i>dhan</i>	‘paddy’
/N/			<i>jaNa</i>	‘to go’	<i>bhEN</i>	‘sister’
/M/			<i>ciMNa</i>	‘to weep’	<i>DaM</i>	‘tall’
/s/	<i>so</i>	‘sleep’	<i>pasAr</i>	‘enter’	<i>cus</i>	‘suck’
/S’/	<i>S’iM</i>	‘horn’	<i>bāS’ri</i>	‘flute’	<i>aS’</i>	‘hope’
/h/	<i>hik</i>	‘chest’	<i>lohu</i>	‘blood’	<i>nAh</i>	‘claw’
/r/	<i>riDh</i>	‘spine’	<i>bAragh</i>	‘tiger’	<i>pEr</i>	‘foot’

/R/		<i>phephRa</i> ‘lung’	<i>giddAR</i>	‘fox’
/l/	<i>laRhi</i> ‘bride’	<i>nila</i> ‘blue’	<i>jal</i>	‘net’
/L/		<i>keLa</i> ‘banana’	<i>baL</i>	‘hair’
/w/	<i>wapAs</i> ‘return’	<i>nAwā</i> ‘new’		
/y/	<i>yo</i> ‘this’	<i>syahi</i> ‘ink’		

2.3 Major Allophonic Distributions –

Vowels

/a/ has two allophones

[O] occurs before bilabial approximant

Ex. [hOwa] → /hawa/ ‘air’
 [a] occurs elsewhere

Ex. [aNDa] → /aNda/ ‘egg’

Consonants

/l/ has two allophones

[lʰ] i.e. unreleased/l/occurs word finally
 Ex. [badAlʰ] → /badAlʰ/ ‘cloud’
 [l] occurs elsewhere. Ex. [mala] → /mala/ ‘garland’

2.4 Diphthongs

What effort we give to utter one vowel, if with the same effort two vowels are pronounced simultaneously we call them Diphthongs. In Standard Mandeali, the following diphthongs are available –

/oa/	as in	/soah/	‘ashes’
/ũi/	as in	/dhũi/	‘fog’

<i>/ao/</i>	as in	<i>/dreyao/</i>	‘river’
<i>/ũu/</i>	as in	<i>/hũu/</i>	‘snow’
<i>/au/</i>	as in	<i>/bhau/</i>	‘brother’
<i>/ae/</i>	as in	<i>/gae/</i>	‘cow’
<i>/ea/</i>	as in	<i>/keaRi/</i>	‘neck’
<i>/ũa/</i>	as in	<i>/dhũa/</i>	‘smoke’
<i>/ia/</i>	as in	<i>/banian/</i>	‘banian’
<i>/ui/</i>	as in	<i>/sui/</i>	‘loom’
<i>/oa/</i>	as in	<i>/droaja/</i>	‘door’
<i>/ua/</i>	as in	<i>/khua/</i>	‘well’
<i>/ai/</i>	as in	<i>/dhai/</i>	‘mid wife’
<i>/Ao/</i>	as in	<i>/kAoRa/</i>	‘bitter’
<i>/oe/</i>	as in	<i>/loe/</i>	‘light’
<i>/iu/</i>	as in	<i>/piuLa/</i>	‘yellow’
<i>/Ee/</i>	as in	<i>/pEela/</i>	‘first’
<i>/aõ/</i>	as in	<i>/naõ/</i>	‘name’
<i>/ãu/</i>	as in	<i>/hãu/</i>	‘I’
<i>/ĩa/</i>	as in	<i>/kĩa/</i>	‘how’
<i>/Aĩ/</i>	as in	<i>/nAĩ/</i>	‘not’
<i>/eo/</i>	as in	<i>/seo/</i>	‘they’
<i>/ua/</i>	as in	<i>/cua/</i>	‘mouse’

A very few Triphthongs are also available in this language

<i>/Aia/</i>	as in	<i>/pAia/</i>	‘wheel’
<i>/eao/</i>	as in	<i>/leao-/</i>	‘bring’

2.5 Clusters

Clusters are the combinations of two or more sounds. Native Mandeali words do not allow initial consonant clusters; the maximum syllabic structure is CVC (i.e. one vowel takes a consonant on each side). Many speakers of Mandeali restrict their phonology to this pattern. Final consonant clusters are rare in Mandeali. Most final consonant clusters were borrowed into Mandeali from English, as in */lifT/* ‘lift’, elevator" and */bEMk/* ‘bank’. However, final clusters do exist in some native Mandeali words, although rarely. Some non standard varieties of Mandeali make use of final clusters quite often. For example, in some dialects, final consonant clusters consisting of a nasal and its corresponding oral stop are common, as in */cand/* "moon". The Standard Mandeali equivalent of */cand/* would be */cãd/*, with a nasalized vowel instead of the final cluster.

The clusters can be of two types: Homogeneous and Heterogeneous. Examples are as follows:

Homogeneous Clusters

<i>T + T</i>	<i>/khATTa/</i>	‘sour’
<i>g + g</i>	<i>/ba:ggAr/</i>	‘air’
<i>p + p</i>	<i>/chAppAR/</i>	‘roof’
<i>n + n</i>	<i>/Anna/</i>	‘blind’
<i>D + D</i>	<i>/bADDa/</i>	‘elder’
<i>t + t</i>	<i>/kutta/</i>	‘dog’
<i>m + m</i>	<i>/mamma/</i>	‘maternal uncle’
<i>l + l</i>	<i>/ballu/</i>	‘sand’
<i>c + c</i>	<i>/bAcca/</i>	‘baby’

<i>b + b</i>	<i>/DhAbbe/</i>	‘white’
<i>k + k</i>	<i>/dhakka/</i>	‘push’
<i>s + s</i>	<i>/rAssi/</i>	‘rope’
<i>N + N</i>	<i>/khuNNa/</i>	‘to dig’

Heterogeneous Clusters

Initial Heterogeneous Clusters

<i>g + r</i>	<i>/grEN/</i>	‘eclipse’
<i>d + w</i>	<i>/dwip/</i>	‘island’
<i>d + r</i>	<i>/dreyaol/</i>	‘river’
<i>m + h</i>	<i>/mhATTha/</i>	‘boy’
<i>p + r</i>	<i>/prus/</i>	‘male’
<i>S’ + r</i>	<i>/S’rab/</i>	‘liquor’
<i>s + y</i>	<i>/syahi/</i>	‘ink’
<i>t + r</i>	<i>/trael/</i>	‘three’
<i>dh + y</i>	<i>/dhyaRa/</i>	‘day’

Medial Heterogeneous Clusters- occurring within the morpheme boundary

<i>N + D</i>	<i>/thANDa/</i>	‘cold’
<i>d + r</i>	<i>/cAndrAma/</i>	‘moon’
<i>r + kh</i>	<i>/bArkha/</i>	‘rain’
<i>T + Th</i>	<i>/mhATTha/</i>	‘boy’
<i>R + h</i>	<i>/laRhi/</i>	‘bride’
<i>l + k</i>	<i>/hAlka/</i>	‘young’
<i>p + R</i>	<i>/khApRa/</i>	‘old man’

<i>dh +w</i>	<i>/bidhwa/</i>	‘widow’
<i>n+ ch</i>	<i>/pAnchi/</i>	‘bird’
<i>k +R</i>	<i>/mAsakRa/</i>	‘crab’
<i>r+ b</i>	<i>/cArbi/</i>	‘grease’
<i>n +d</i>	<i>/bandAr/</i>	‘monkey’
<i>h + l</i>	<i>/kohla/</i>	‘nest’
<i>s+l</i>	<i>/ghōsla/</i>	‘nest’
<i>c +ch</i>	<i>/kAcchuwa/</i>	‘tortoise’
<i>D+k</i>	<i>/haDku/</i>	‘bone’
<i>t + r</i>	<i>/matre/</i>	‘ear’
<i>l+ j</i>	<i>/kAlja/</i>	‘heart’
<i>r+ D</i>	<i>/narDa/</i>	‘leg’
<i>ph + R</i>	<i>/phephRa/</i>	‘lung’
<i>m+b</i>	<i>/kAmbAr/</i>	‘waist’
<i>s + r</i>	<i>/bāS’ri/</i>	‘flute’
<i>n+ j</i>	<i>/manja/</i>	‘bed’
<i>p +L</i>	<i>/pipLi/</i>	‘chilly’
<i>m + r</i>	<i>/Amrut/</i>	‘guava’
<i>m+b</i>	<i>/amba/</i>	‘mango’
<i>b + j</i>	<i>/sAbji/</i>	‘vegetable’
<i>h+ r</i>	<i>/dohru/</i>	‘farm land’
<i>m+ h</i>	<i>/kumhar/</i>	‘potter’
<i>n + dh</i>	<i>/Andha/</i>	‘blind’

<i>s + m</i>	<i>/dusmAn/</i>	‘enemy’
<i>n + d</i>	<i>/gAnda/</i>	‘dirty’
<i>t + l</i>	<i>/pAtla/</i>	‘thin’
<i>m + j</i>	<i>/kAmjor/</i>	‘weak’
<i>M + l</i>	<i>/jAMli/</i>	‘wild’
<i>t + m</i>	<i>/atma/</i>	‘soul’
<i>n + y</i>	<i>/punyā/</i>	‘full moon day’
<i>n + jh</i>	<i>/mAnjha/</i>	‘between’
<i>t + th</i>	<i>/etthi/</i>	‘here’
<i>r + b</i>	<i>/purbAj/</i>	‘ancestors’
<i>M + g</i>	<i>/rAMgaLu/</i>	‘spider’

Medial Clusters- occurring across the morpheme boundary

<i>c + N</i>	<i>/bec-Na/</i>	‘to sell’
<i>s + N</i>	<i>/ghAs-Na/</i>	‘to rub’
<i>kh + N</i>	<i>/rAkh-Na/</i>	‘to put’
<i>j + N</i>	<i>/suj-Na/</i>	‘to swell’
<i>l + N</i>	<i>/khel-Na/</i>	‘to play’
<i>k + N</i>	<i>/cAk-Na/</i>	‘to pick’
<i>R + N</i>	<i>/ghoaR-Na/</i>	‘to open’
<i>T + N</i>	<i>/caT-Na/</i>	‘to lick’
<i>k + N</i>	<i>/jhuk-Na/</i>	‘to lean’
<i>r + N</i>	<i>/tAr-Na/</i>	‘to float’
<i>b + N</i>	<i>/Dub-Na/</i>	‘to sink’

<i>h + N</i>	<i>/chuh-Na/</i>	‘to touch’
<i>g + N</i>	<i>/jag-Na/</i>	‘to wake up’
<i>ch + N</i>	<i>/puch-Na/</i>	‘to ask’
<i>n + N</i>	<i>/gin-Na/</i>	‘to count’
<i>d + N</i>	<i>/khArid-Na/</i>	‘to buy’
<i>M + N</i>	<i>/ciM-Na/</i>	‘to shout’
<i>s + j</i>	<i>/tes-jo/</i>	‘to him/her’
<i>s + r</i>	<i>/tes-ra/</i>	‘his/her’

Final Heterogeneous Clusters

<i>r + t</i>	<i>/dhArt/</i>	‘earth’
<i>s + m</i>	<i>/jism/</i>	‘body’
<i>w + l</i>	<i>/cawl/</i>	‘uncooked rice’
<i>n + j</i>	<i>/bEnj/</i>	‘bamboo’
<i>r + j</i>	<i>/kArj/</i>	‘debt’
<i>r + k</i>	<i>/nArk/</i>	‘hell’
<i>s + th</i>	<i>/susth/</i>	‘dull’
<i>s + t</i>	<i>/cust/</i>	‘smart’
<i>r + m</i>	<i>/nArm/</i>	‘soft’
<i>r + b</i>	<i>/purb/</i>	‘east’
<i>h + r</i>	<i>/bahr/</i>	‘out’
<i>r + g</i>	<i>/bujurg/</i>	‘elder’

Tri-Consonantal clusters –

A very few Tri-consonantal clusters are available. Ex.

$n + h + y$	<i>/nhyara/</i>	‘darkness’
$t + t + r$	<i>/sogottru/</i>	‘brinjal’
$s + t + r$	<i>/S’astrA/</i>	‘books’
$n + j + N$	<i>/khĩnj-Na/</i>	‘to pull’

2.6. Syllable

A syllable is pronounced in one breath. Syllables can be both open and close. Open syllables end in vowels whereas close syllables end in consonants. The unit of pronunciation of a syllable is called ‘morae’. Therefore, one syllable can be of one more, two morae, three more etc.

Words having one syllable are called monosyllabic words; similarly, we get di-syllabic words (words consisting of two syllables), tri-syllabic words (words consisting of three syllables) etc.

Monosyllabic words

V	-	<i>/e/</i>	‘it/this’
VC	-	<i>/ek/</i>	‘one’
CV	-	<i>/se/</i>	‘that’
CVV	-	<i>/sui/</i>	‘loom’
CVC	-	<i>/lal/</i>	‘red’

Di-syllabic words

CV-CV	-	<i>/bhu-kha/</i>	‘hungry’
VC-CV	-	<i>/es-ra/</i>	‘of this’
CV-VC	-	<i>/so-ah/</i>	‘ashes’

VC-CVC	-	<i>/Am-rut/</i>	‘guava’
CV-CVC	-	<i>/bhi-tAr/</i>	‘in’
CVC-CV	-	<i>/kes-ra/</i>	‘who’
CVV-CV	-	<i>/kea-Ri/</i>	‘neck’
CVC – CVC	-	<i>/gid-dAR/</i>	‘fox’

Tri-syllabic words

CV-CV –CV	-	<i>/ma-ha-khi/</i>	‘fly’
CV-CV-VC	-	<i>/ba-ni-an/</i>	‘banian’
CV-CVC-CV	-	<i>/mA-sAk-Ra/</i>	‘crab’

3. MORPHOPHONEMICS

The morphophonemic rules available in Mandeali are as follows:

1. The word initial voiceless glottal fricative is lost optionally. Examples,

/haDku/ > */haDku/* or */aDku/* 'bone'

/ha:kh/ > */ha:kh/* or */a:kh/* 'eye'

2. /A/ in initial syllable of a polysyllabic word gets dropped optionally. Examples,

/dAreyao/ > */dAreyao/* or */dreyao/* 'river'

/pAoNa/ > */pAoNa/* or */poNa/* 'to fall'

3. If a geminated consonant is followed by a stop, then the vowel /a/ is added between the geminated consonant and the stop. Examples,

/ciTT-/ + /ghAr/ > */ciTTaGhar/* 'white house'

/dujj-/ + /DaL/ > */dujjaDaL/* 'second/other tree'

4. If the following consonant is other than stop, then the preceding geminated consonant gets degeminate optionally. Examples,

/caTT-/ + /Na/ > */cATTNa/* or */caTNa/* 'to lick'

/cAkk-/ + /Na/ > */cAkkNa/* or */cAkNa/* 'to pick'

5. If a vowel precedes the consonant /h/, then the vowel and the consonant /h/ interchange their positions. Examples,

/bEhN/ > */bhEN/* 'sister'

/mahNu/ > */mhaNu/* 'person'

6. Sometimes the consonants get doubled. Examples,

/rAsi/ > */rAssi/* 'rope'

/gidAR/ > */giddAR/* 'fox'

/duja/ > */dujja/* 'second'

7. Aspiration retains and the stop is dropped, when an aspirated stop occurs syllable initially/syllable finally. Examples,

/mukh/ > */muh/* 'face'

/nAkh/ > */nAh/or/noh/* 'nails'

/kumbhar/ > */kumhar/* 'potter'

4. MORPHOLOGY

Morphology is the study of morphemes and their arrangements in forming words. Below is presented the details of word formation and word classes in Mandeali.

4.1 Word-formation

Words in Mandeali contain at least one stem which is a free form and takes the inflectional and derivational affixes to form a word. Thus a stem by itself can be a word such as /mhATThi/ 'girl', /mhATTha/ 'boy', /kutta/ 'dog', /Tokri/ 'basket' etc. which are all free morphemes. Again /mhATThiyã/ 'girls', /mhATThe/ 'boys', /kutte/ 'dogs', /Tokriyã/ 'baskets' are also individual words consisting of stems /mhATThi/, /mhATTha/, /kutta/, /Tokri/ and the plural suffixes /-yã/ and /-e/ respectively. Therefore, in Mandeali morphologically a word may consist of one stem (or more than one) which is followed by affixes.

4.2 Word Class

The words available in this language are divided into following grammatical categories namely 1. Noun 2. Pronouns 3. Adjectives 4. Post-Positions 5. Conjunctions 6. Verbs 7. Adverbs. These seven word classes are broadly grouped into two categories- Declinable and Indeclinable. Declinable are those, which are declined for numbers-genders-persons-cases etc., for example, nouns, pronouns, adjectives and verbs. And the post-positions, conjunctions, adverbs belong to the Indeclinable.

4.3 Noun Morphology

4.3.1 Noun

Noun is considered to be one of the morphological classes, which declines for Gender, Number and Cases.

Nouns can be both Animates (living things) for example, /mhATTha/ 'boy', /mhATThi/ 'girl' etc. and Inanimate (non-living things) like /tare/ 'star', /ballu/ 'and', /tohl/ 'stone' etc.

4.3.1.1. Gender

There are two genders, masculine and feminine. Most of the nouns ending with /a/ are masculine while most of these ending with /i/ are feminine. Except some nouns ending with /i/ are found to be masculine.

Nouns which are formed with the same stem with masculine or feminine suffixes are as follows :

/-a/ masculine and /-i/ feminine : /kutta/ ‘dog’ /kutti/ ‘bitch’, /laRha/ ‘husband’ /laRhi/ ‘wife’ etc.

/-u/ masculine and /-i/ feminine : /chellu/ ‘lamb (he)’ /chelli/ ‘lamb(she)’ etc.

/-Ø/ masculine and /-i/feminine : /kokkAR/ ‘cock’ /kukkARi/ ‘hen’ etc.

Nouns which occur only in one gender either masculine or feminine are as follows:

Masculine - /ghAr/ ‘house’, /admi/ ‘man’, /allu/ ‘potato’, /phul/ ‘flower’, /dreyao/ ‘river’ etc.

Feminine -/gae/ ‘cow’, /hakh/ ‘eye’, /pahaR/ ‘mountain’, /dha:r/ ‘hill’, /Tokri/ ‘basket’ etc.

4.3.1.2 Number

Number distinction is two fold – Singular and Plural. The inflected forms are as follows

Masculine Singular		Masculine Plural	
<i>kutta</i>	‘dog’	<i>kutte</i>	‘dogs’
<i>laRha</i>	‘husband’	<i>laRhe</i>	‘husbands’
<i>kApRa</i>	‘cloth’	<i>kApRe</i>	‘clothes’
Feminine Singular		Feminine Plural	
<i>mhATThi</i>	‘girl’	<i>mhATThiyā</i>	‘girl’
<i>Tokri</i>	‘basket’	<i>Tokriyā</i>	‘baskets’
<i>mAcchi</i>	‘fish’	<i>mAcchiyā</i>	‘fishes’

In some of the nouns the plural suffix is /Ø/. Ex./tohl/ ‘stone/stones’, /admi/ ‘man/men’ etc.

4.3.1.3 Case

There are seven cases available in Mandeali.

1. Nominative marked with/ \emptyset /suffix
2. Agentive marked with/*-e*/
3. Accusative/Dative marked with/*-jo*/
4. Instrumental marked with/*sougi*/
5. Ablative marked with/*-te*/*,-le*/
6. Genitive marked with/*-ra*/*,-ri*/*,-re*/
7. Locative marked with/*-a*/ also */mAnjh/*

Nominative

The Nominative case marker is zero. */ghAr/* ‘house’, */admi/* ‘person’ etc. For example, */ghAr khARa he/* ‘The house is nice’, (here ‘house’ is assigned Nominative case)

Agentive (Subjective)

The agentive cases are also known as Subjective. *./-e/suffix* is the marker for the Agentive case. So all the case suffixes are added to the nouns after the Agentive suffix is added. For example, */ghoRa/* ‘horse’ → */ghoRe/* ‘the horse’ then */ghoRe-jo/* ‘to the horse’, */ghoRe-ra/* ‘of the horse’ etc.

Accusative/Dative (Objective)

The marker for accusative case is *is/-jo/*. For example, */tussajo/* ‘to you’, */tinhajo/* ‘to them’, */phuljo/* ‘to the flower’ etc.

Instrumental

The case marker for Instrumental case is */sougi/*. Ex. */mEẽ tussa sougi kamajo jaNa/* ‘I will go with you to work’.

Ablative

The ablative case marker is */-te/-le/* indicate the meaning ‘from’. */ghAr-le/* ‘from home’. */assa khAtre te/le mujh he/* ‘we are free from danger’.

Genitive

The genitive case suffix is */-ra-ri-re/* added to indicate masculine - feminine-plural forms as in */phul-ra/* ‘of flower’, */phul-re/* ‘of houses’ and */gae-ri/* ‘of the cow’, */gae-re/* ‘of cows’.

Locative

The Locative case marker is */-a/*, also */mAnjh/*. */ghAr-a/* ‘in house’ as in */hãu apNe ghAra ha/* ‘I am in my house’ ; */mera mhATTha ghAra mAnjh ha/* ‘my son is in the house’

4.3.1.4 Post-Positions

Postpositions are indeclinable. They can be either free or bound. The post-positions available in Mandeali are as follows:

<i>/sougi/</i>	as in	<i>/tussah souhi/</i>	‘with you’
<i>/heTh/</i>	as in	<i>/DaLa heTh/</i>	‘below the tree’
<i>/pEele/</i>	as in	<i>/mere pEele/</i>	‘before me’
<i>/piche/</i>	as in	<i>/mere piche/</i>	‘behind me’
<i>/mAnjh/</i>	as in	<i>/ghAr mAnjh/</i>	‘in the house’
<i>/pAr/</i>	as in	<i>/DaLa pAr/</i>	‘on the tree’

4.3.2 Pronoun

Pronouns in Mandeali inflect for cases, numbers and genders. They are distinguished for person, number and gender and occur with case suffixes in paradigmatic sets as follows. The 1st person and 2nd person pronouns occur in two numbers i.e. singular and plural and there is no distinction in gender. The 3rd person pronouns also occur in two numbers singular and plural but they are distinguished in form for remote and proximate. The examples are as follows:

	Singular	Plural
1 st Person	<i>hãu</i>	<i>asse</i>
2 nd Person	<i>tu</i>	<i>tusse</i>
	Singular	Plural
3 rd person		
Remote	<i>se</i>	<i>seo</i>
Proximate	<i>e</i>	<i>eo</i>

The declension of pronouns in different cases is shown below

Pronouns	Nominative	Accusative	Genitive	Ablative
1 st Person				
Singular	<i>hãu</i>	<i>munjo</i>	<i>mera(m)/meri(f)</i>	<i>male</i>
Plural	<i>asse</i>	<i>assajo</i>	<i>assara(m)/assari(f)</i>	<i>assale</i>
2 nd Person				
Singular	<i>tu</i>	<i>tujo/tujjo</i>	<i>tera(m)/teri(f)</i>	<i>tudhle</i>
Plural	<i>tusse</i>	<i>tussajo</i>	<i>tussara(m)/tussari(f)</i>	<i>tussale</i>
3 rd Person				
Remote				
Singular	<i>se</i>	<i>tesjo</i>	<i>tesra(m)/tesri(f)</i>	<i>tesle</i>
Plural	<i>seo</i>	<i>tinhajo</i>	<i>tinhara(m)/tinhari(f)</i>	<i>tinhale</i>
Proximate				
Singular	<i>e</i>	<i>esjo</i>	<i>esra(m)/esri(f)</i>	<i>else</i>
Plural	<i>eo</i>	<i>inhajo</i>	<i>inhara(m)/inhari(f)</i>	<i>inhale</i>

Besides above, there are other pronouns which are as follows:

Interrogatives

<i>kuN</i>	‘who’
<i>kesra</i>	‘whose’
<i>kea</i>	‘what’
<i>kuch</i>	‘some’
<i>kethi</i>	‘where’
<i>kīa</i>	‘how’
<i>kebhe</i>	‘when’
<i>kesjo</i>	‘whom’

4.3.3 Adjectives

Adjectives are distinguishable as attributive to nouns. The adjectives in Mandeali fall into two classes:

1. Adjectives show inflections for number, gender and case.

These types of adjectives occur in two numbers, two genders and four cases. The different forms of the adjective/*nila*/ ‘blue’ is given below :

Case	Masculine(sg.)	Feminine(sg.)	Masculine(pl.)	Feminine(pl.)
Nominative	<i>nila</i>	<i>nili</i>	<i>nile</i>	<i>nilyā</i>
Accusative	<i>nilejo</i>	<i>nilijo</i>	<i>nilejo</i>	<i>nilyājo</i>
Genitive	<i>nilera</i>	<i>nilira</i>	<i>nilera</i>	<i>nilyāra</i>
Ablative	<i>nilele</i>	<i>nilile</i>	<i>nilele</i>	<i>nilyāle</i>

The other adjectives in this group are/*kaLa*/ ‘black’, /*bADDA*/ ‘big’, /*choTTa*/ ‘small’ etc.

2. Adjectives do not show any such inflections.

The adjectives in this group are /la: l/ 'red', /go: l/ 'round', /bAht/ 'many', /sAbh/ 'all' etc.

The common adjectives used in Mandeali are as follows :

/cAmcAmanda/ 'bright', /bhura/ 'brown', /thAND/ 'cold', /hara/ 'green', /tA/ 'hot', /khATTa/ 'sour', /miTha/ 'sweet' /piuLa/ 'yellow', /bhukha/ 'hungry' ,/tejpEna/ 'sharp', /choTa/ 'short', /kuch/ 'some', /choTa/ 'small', /cust/ 'smart', /nArm/ 'soft' , /moTa/ 'thick', /pAtla/ 'thin' gAnda ugly etc.

4.3.3.1 Numerals -

Two types of numerals available – Cardinals and Ordinals.

Cardinals –

Cardinals include the numerals available in the language. It describes the basic numerical system of a language ./ek/ 'one' ,/do/ 'two' ,/trae/ 'three' ,/dOS/ 'ten' ,/bih/ 'twenty' /coLi/ 'forty' ,/S'A/ 'hundred' ,/chAS'o/ 'six hundred' /hajar/ 'one thousand'.

The numeral after ten are formed as follows

/ek/ 'one' >	Base/ig-/	as in	/igyahra/	'eleven
/do/ 'two' >	Base/bah-/	as in	/bahra/	'twelve'
/trae/ 'three' >	Base/ten-/	as in	/tenhra	'thirteen'
/car/ 'four' >	Base/co-/	as in	/cowdha/	'fourteen'
/panj/ 'five' >	Base/pan-/	as in	/pandrah/	'fifteen
/chA/ 'six' >	Base/sol-/	as in	/solah/	'sixteen'
/sattA/ 'seven' >	Base/sta-/	as in	/stara/	'seventeen'
/aTThA/ 'eight' >	Base/Tha-/	as in	/Thara/	'eighteen'
/nO/ 'nine' >	Base/un-/	as in	/unni/	'nineteen'
/bih/ 'twenty'				

Twenty onwards the the numerals are formed as usual with the original bases only as in */ek/* + */bih/* > */ikki/* ‘twenty one’, */bayi/* ‘twenty two’, */treyi/* ‘twenty three’ etc. Similarly, */ti:h/* ‘thirty’, */kAtti/* ‘thirty one’, */bAtti/* ‘thirty two’ etc. */caLi/* ‘forty’, */kAtaLi/* ‘forty one’, */byaLi/* ‘forty two’ etc. Therefore, twenty to thirty is counted on the basis of twenty, thirty to forty is counted on the basis of thirty etc. Numerals after hundred are counted as */ek hajar dosAw car/* ‘one thousand two hundred and four’ etc.

Ordinals –

Ordinals are formed by adding inflectional suffixes to cardinals. Ex. */ek/* ‘one’ > */pEela/* ‘first’, */do/* > */dujja/* ‘second’, */trae/* > */trijja/* ‘third’ etc.

The Fractional numerals are as follows

/addha/ ‘half’, */swaya/* ‘one and one forth’, */poNa/* ‘three forth’ */De:Dh/* ‘one and half’, */Dhai/* ‘two and half’ etc. These terms quantify the numbers and that is why they are called Quantifiers.

4.3.3.2 Classifiers

The relation of a number word to the noun it counts, is mediated by a classifier like

<i>/bAht sare/</i>	‘many’
<i>/sAb/</i>	‘all’
<i>/kuch/</i>	‘some’
<i>/thoRa sa/</i>	‘a little’
<i>/bAht/</i>	‘a lot’
<i>/kitne/</i>	‘how/so much’
<i>/itne/</i>	‘this much’

In Mandelai as in Hindi the classifiers are sometimes attached with the numerals to indicate the thing in particular. For example., */ek-Tho/*, */do-Tho/* etc.

4.4 Verb Morphology

Verb morphology deals with the conjugation of verbs available in the language. Verbs can be of two types – Finite and Non-finite.

4.4.1 Verb

Finite Verb

Verbs can be of two types – finite and non-finite. Finite verb consists of a stem followed by mood, tense and aspect markers, which are further, followed by person, gender and number markers. These person, gender and number markers maintain a concord with the subject or object in a sentence and vary according to their person, gender and number markers. The inflected form of a verb for different mood, tense and aspect come under finite verbs.

Tense

The tenses are basically of three types – Present tense, Past tense and Future tense. The main verbs in Mandeali occur in paradigmatic forms with simple and periphrastic constructions inflected for various categories as described below. Consider the various forms of the intransitive verb /hu/ 'to be'

Present Continuous

Masculine Singular	Feminine Singular	Masculine & Feminine Plural
<i>huira</i>	<i>huiri</i>	<i>huire</i>

Past Continuous

<i>huira tha</i>	<i>huiri thi</i>	<i>huire the</i>
------------------	------------------	------------------

Present Indicative

<i>hunda ha</i>	<i>hundi hi</i>	<i>hinde he</i>
-----------------	-----------------	-----------------

Past Indicative

<i>hunda tha</i>	<i>hundi thi</i>	<i>hinde the</i>
------------------	------------------	------------------

Present Perfect

<i>hua</i>	<i>hui</i>	<i>hue</i>
------------	------------	------------

Past Perfect

<i>hua tha</i>	<i>hui thi</i>	<i>hue the</i>
----------------	----------------	----------------

Future Indicative

hunga *hungi* *hunge*

Future Indefinite

hoNa *hoNi* *hone*

The following are the Auxiliary verbs added with the main verbs :

	Masculine Singular	Feminine Singular	Masculine & Feminine Plural
Present	<i>ha:</i>	<i>hi:</i>	<i>he:</i>
Past	<i>tha:</i>	<i>thi:</i>	<i>the:</i>

Aspect

Two aspects are available. These are Habitual and Perfect.

Habitual aspect

Habitual aspect indicates the regular action of the verb. Simple present tense verbal form is used to indicate the habitual aspect. Ex. */se bAccejo dekhā hī/* ‘she sees the child’, */hāu tinhajo dekhā hā/* ‘I see them’ etc.

Perfect aspect

Perfect aspect indicates the action of the verb just completed. Perfect forms of the verbs are used to indicate the Perfect aspect. Examples, */mera mhATTha ai gAira/* ‘my son has come’, */mera mhATTha skuljo gAira/* ‘my son has gone to school’.

Moods

Three moods are available – These are Imperative, Subjunctive and Permissive.

Imperative mood

Imperative mood indicates orders, request etc. The Imperative moods are realized in the second person. */kha-/* ‘eat’, */dekh-/* ‘see’, */ja-/* ‘go’ etc.

Permissive mood

Permissive mood indicates the act of seeking permission as in English 'Let' is used. The subsidiary verb */de-/* 'to give' is used with the main verb to denote the permissive mood. */tinhājo ao-Na deo/* 'Let them come' */mujo khao-Na deo/* 'Let me eat' etc.

Subjunctive mood

Subjunctive mood indicates the act of possibility. In English, the auxiliary verbs may/can is used to express this mood. Here the subsidiary verb */sAkā/* 'can/may' is used after the main verb. */ja sAkā/* 'I may go' */hui sAkā/* 'may happen', etc.

Non-finite Verbs

The non-finite Verbs consist of a stem followed by mood, tense and aspect markers only. The inflected forms of verbs for Participles, Gerund and Infinitive come under the non-finite verbs.

Infinitive

Infinitives decline like substantives. They are formed by adding infinitive markers to different bases like Transitive, Intransitive, Causative, Passive etc. The infinitive is marked by */-Na/* suffixing to the verbal roots. */rakh-Na/* 'to keep' , */lukh-Na/* 'to hide' etc.

The Verbal Noun/Gerund

The gerund is formed by adding */-Na/* to the verbal roots. When verbs are used as nouns they are called gerunds. The Examples are as follows: -

/douRNA swasthjo Accha ha/ 'Running is good for health'

/piNa swasthjo buRa ha/ 'Drinking is bad for health'

Participle

Participles decline like nouns or adjectives and inflect like verbs. Therefore, the participle can take both the inflection as well as the case suffixes. Participles in this language are as follows :

Present Participle

While one action is on, if simultaneously another action is taking place, the present participial verbal forms are used. For example, */hāu skula ni jaya kArda/* ‘I am not going to school’, */se kam ni kArdi/* ‘She does not work’ etc.

Conjunctive Participle

The Conjunctive Participle represents an action as completed at some time past. Conjunctive participles are Non-Finite constructions and these formations in Mandeali are formed as follows:

- /ja-/* ‘to go’ > */jayi/~ /jayike/* ‘having gone’ ~ */jayikAnne/* ‘after going’
/dekh-/ ‘to see’ > */dekhi/~ /dekhike/* ‘having seen’ ~ */dekhikAnne/* ‘after seeing’
/roTi khayi kAnne hāu ghAr jaya hā/ ‘after eating roti I shall go home’
/roTi khayi ke hāu ghAr jaya hā/ ‘havingr eaten roti I shall go home’

Causative Verb

Causatives are formed by adding causative suffixes to the verb roots. In Mandeali both simple and double causatives are available. All the verbs do not necessarily have the causative formations. All the causatives are transitive verbs.

The simple causative suffix is */-a:/* and the double causative suffix is */-wa:/*. Before these suffixes are added to the verb root some alternations take place. For example,

- /dekh-/* → */dekh-Na/* ‘to see’
/dAkh-/ → */dAkha-Na/* ‘to show’
/dAkh-wa:/ → */dekhwa:-Na/* ‘to cause(one) to show(some other one)’
/kha-/ → */kha-Na/* ‘to eat’
/kh-wa:/ → */khwa:-Na/* ‘to cause to eat’ etc.

Auxiliary Verbs

Auxiliary verbs modify the action of the main Verbs. The auxiliary verbs generally follow the main verbs and denote action, time etc.

There are two sets of auxiliary verbs inflected for number, gender. They are

	Present	Past
Masc.Sg.	<i>h-a:</i> 'is'	<i>th-a:</i> 'was'
Fem.Sg.	<i>h-i:</i> 'is'	<i>th-i:</i> 'was'
Masc.& Fem. Pl.	<i>h-e:</i> 'are'	<i>th-e:</i> 'were'

/-a:/, /-i:/, /-e:/ suffixes occur as number-gender suffixes in the verbal system .

In English, auxiliary verbs occur before the main verbs, but in Indian languages they follow the main verbs. Therefore, they are the subsidiary verbs (also called helping verbs).

Ex. */hāu ja* (main verb) *sAkda* (aux.)/ 'I can go', */u kAr* (main verb)

sAkda (aux.) 'he can do' etc.

Negative Verb

The negative forms of all the verbs are formed by adding the negative particle */ni~na/* to the inflected forms of the verbs. For example,

/ni kArea/ 'did not do', */ni marna/* 'will not kill', */koe conta na kAr/* 'do not think anything' etc.

Compound Verbs

Compounds are formed by the addition of a verb root or an auxiliary to a noun in accusative or locative (nominal) or an unaffected verbal conjunctive or a participle (verbal). The verb root/Auxiliary take the agreement morphemes.

A good number of Compound verbs is found in Mandeali. In case of these compound verbs the first member can be any verb, noun or adjective, but the second member can generally be any one of the verb from a limited group of verbs. The following verbs are the verbs of such limited group (i.e. second member of the verb)

/lAgNa/ ‘to start doing’, */rAhNa/* ‘to stay’, */deNa/* ‘to give’, */ja: Na/* ‘to go’ etc.

Verbal compounds or Compound verbs formed by the combinations of two verbs are of the following types (Verbs formed by Participles)

<i>/dekh-/</i> ‘to see’	→ <i>/dekhda lAgeya/</i>	‘began seeing’
	→ <i>/dekhda rAhya/</i>	‘was seeing’
	→ <i>/dekhi de:/</i>	‘do see’
	→ <i>/dekhi gAya/</i>	‘after seeing & went away’
	→ <i>/dekhya kArda/</i>	‘often sees’

In the place of */dekh/* ‘to see’ we can also use the verbs like */sikh-/* ‘to learn’, */soc-/* ‘to think’, */pAR-/* ‘to read’, */likh-/* ‘to write’ etc.

Passive Formations

In the passive formations

1. The Subject comes to Object position
2. The Object comes to Subject position
3. */dwara/* or */jAriye/*, equivalent to English ‘by’ is added
4. The participle verbal form is used if the verb is in present
5. The passive is usually formed by the affix */-i/* and the auxiliary verb */ja/*

‘to go’

For example, */hāu roTi khaya kArā hā/* ‘I am eating bread’ > */roTi mere dwara jAriye khai jaya kArā hī:/* ‘The bread is being eaten by me’.

Transitivity

Transitivity is a verbal property. The verbs having transitivity are */+tran/* and verbs not having transitivity are */-tran/*. Transitivity depends on whether the verb is taking any object or not. If the verb takes an object it is transitive verb, while absence of an object makes the verb intransitive.

Therefore,	[+tran]	- +V - [+NP]
	[-tran]	- +V - [-NP]

Transitive verbs available in this dialect are *-/ja/* ‘to go’, */kha/* ‘to eat’, */dekh/* ‘to see’ etc. and the intransitive verbs are */mAr/* ‘to die’, */has/* ‘to laugh’, */ciM/* ‘to cry’ etc.

4.4. 2 Adverbs

Adverbs can be simple or derived. Simple adverbs are monomorphemic and derived adverbs are polymorphemic in nature.

Ex.

Simple Adverbs *-/aj/* ‘today’ */kAl/* ‘yesterday or tomorrow’

Derived Adverbs *-/e-thi/* ‘here’, */ke- thi/* ‘where’ */te - thi/* ‘there’ etc.

Adverbs occur in three different ways in Mandeali, namely

1. Adverb of Manner

Ex. */mAjje/* ‘slowly’, */jhAT/* ‘speedily’

2. Adverb of Place

Ex. */neDe/* ‘near’, */pEele/* ‘before’, */mAnjha/* ‘middle’

3. Adverb of Time

Ex. */ebbe/* ‘now’, */tebbe/* ‘then’

Adverbs of place and time sometimes occur with case suffixes. Ex.

/etthi/ ‘here’ → */etthire/* ‘of this place’, */ebbe/* ‘now’ → */ebbejol/* ‘to this time’

4.4.3 Particles

Conjunction and Interjections are called particles.

Conjunctions

Conjunctions are used for combining the two sentences, words, phrases etc. The following are the types of conjunctions used in this dialect.

1) Conjunctive : */hor/* ‘and’

2) Adversative	:	<i>/pAr/</i>	‘but’
3) Disjunctive	:	<i>/ya/</i>	‘or’
4) Conditional	:	<i>/AgAr/</i>	‘if’
5) Casual	:	<i>/karOn/</i>	‘because’
6) Adverbial	:	<i>/tebbe/tāhe/talhi/</i>	‘then’
7) Complementary	:	<i>/kea/</i>	‘what’

Interjections

Interjections are of two types – Basic and Functional. Basic interjections are used only as interjections –as in - */bah bah/* ‘well well’ */hay hay/* ‘alas’ etc.

Functional interjections are those which are originally from other parts of speech but act as interjections –

a. Noun	:	<i>/ram ram i kea/</i>	‘Oh God ! what is this?’
b. Pronoun	:	<i>/kea hāu khana/</i>	‘What! shall I eat?’
c. Adjective	:	<i>/Accha! ethi Ao/</i>	‘Good, come here’

4.4.4 Echo Formations

Echo words resemble compound words where the second component of the words are almost the repetition of the first one and seems to be an echo – The meaning is basically retained by the first component and the echo part means ‘type’. Ex. */choTa moTa/* ‘small etc’. */cust must/* ‘smart etc’. Ex. */hāu choTa moTa mhaNu he/* ‘I am a small type of fellow’.

5. SYNTAX

5.1 Order of Words in a Sentence

As in other Indian languages the order of word in Mandeali sentence is Subject – Object - Verb unlike English where the order is Subject-Verb-Object. Example,

<i>/seo</i>	<i>mun-jo</i>	<i>dekhā hē/</i>
he	me-to	see pres.
Subject	Object	Verb
‘he sees me’		

<i>/tu</i>	<i>bAcce-jo</i>	<i>dekhā hā/</i>
you	child-to	see pres.
Subject	Object	Verb
‘you see the child’		

If we observe the sentences above more specifically, we can also say that a sentence is having two parts or rather two constituents which are Subject and Predicate (Subject + Verb).

Subject generally plays the role of the head of a sentence and Predicate is the essential part of a sentence which expresses the action done by the Subject.

5.2 Description of the Types of Sentences

The followings are the types of sentences available in Mandeali

Interrogative Sentences

Interrogative sentences are the ‘Question’ sentences. They are formed by adding wh-words to the sentences. Examples

<i>/tussa kya khaNa/</i>	‘What will you eat?’
<i>/hāu kya khaNa/</i>	‘What shall I eat?’
<i>/tussare kitna bAcce he/</i>	‘How many children do you have?’

Now, depending on the position of *-kya* 'what' in the sentence, the meaning changes. Consider the case of sentence like

/tussa kya khaNa/ 'What will you eat?' (*'kya'* denotes the eating material)

/kya tussa khaNa/ 'What ! will you eat?' (*'kya'* denotes the exclamation)

/tussa khaNa kya/ 'Will you eat or not?' (*'kya'* denotes the option)

Imperative Sentences

The Imperative sentences carries the sense of order, request etc. The second person verbal form in present tense is generally used in the imperative sentences. Subject of the sentence is optional here. Examples

/ethi Ao/ '(you) Come here' (request)

/uthi ja/ 'Go there' (order)

/bAiThi ja/ 'Sit down (request)

/khARi ho ja/ 'Stand up' (order)

Causative Sentences

The Causative sentences are formed with the use of the causative verbs in sentences. In Mandeali, there are simple as well as double causatives. Examples

/hãu tessate sAman cAkaNa/ 'I make her to lift the luggage' (Simple Causative)

/hãu tessate sAman cAkwaNa/ 'I cause someone to make her to lift the luggage'

(Double Causative)

/ram krishajo bulaNa/ 'Ram called Krishna' (Simple Causative)

/ram krishajo bulwaNa/ 'Ram cause someone to call Krishna'

(Double Causative)

Negative Sentences

Negative sentences are formed by using negative particles in sentences. In Mandeali two negative particles are used e.g./ni/and/nAĩ/‘no/not/’

/hāu apNe ghArajo ni chADi sAkda/ ‘I cannot leave my house’

/nAĩ se meri mhATThi hi/ ‘No, she is my daughter’

Co-ordination

The simple sentences may contain a single clause. Where a sentence contains more than one clause, they may be considered of equal grammatical importance. If this is so, these are coordinate clauses. Co-ordination of sentences are formed by adding /hor/ ‘and’ between two simple or complex sentences. Examples

/se gAya hor mhATTha aya/ ‘He went and the boy came’

/hāu gAya hor hATTi aya/ ‘I went and returned back’

5.3 Description of the Patterns of Sentences

Simple Sentences

A Simple sentence consists of a noun/noun phrase /pronoun/ pronominal phrase and a verb/verb phrase. If the verb is transitive then an object will be attached to it and if the verb is intransitive then no object will be attached. Examples,

/e ghAr ha/ ‘This is house

This house is

/e mari kAtab hi/ ‘This is my book’

This my book is

/ram DohRiyao jāhē/ ‘Ram goes running’

Ram running going

Complex Sentences

A Complex sentence consists of more than one clause among which one is independent known as 'principle' clause and the others are dependents known as 'Subordinate' clauses. The 'Principal' clause is independent in the sense that it conveys meaning if it is uttered separately. The 'Subordinate' clause consists of a 'Subordinator' and a 'Simple' Clause. The Subordinator makes the Simple clause dependent and connects the Subordinate clause to the 'Principle' clause to convey the meaning of the sentence. Examples,

/se dhArti pAr leTiratha jebeje hāu tessa je dekhyā/

he ground on was lying when I him to saw

'He was lying on the ground when I saw him'

Here, 'he was lying on the ground' is the 'Principle clause and 'I saw him' is the 'Simple' clause connected with a Subordinator 'when'. So, 'when I saw him' is the dependent 'Subordinate' clause.

/mera tinhā bAle pujNe te pahle he se jai cukira huNa/

my them near to reach before he gone might have

'He might have gone before I reach them'

Compound Sentences

A compound sentence consists of more than one 'Principle' clauses connected by

- i. Conjunctives (e.g. And, again etc.)
- ii. Disjunctives (e.g. or, otherwise etc.)
- iii. Adversatives (e.g. but etc.)

Examples

/se kal aya hor cAli gAya/

he yesterday came and went away

'He came yesterday and went away'

/e dui ya trae mhATThe ghAra AndAr jahẽ/

These two or three boys house into go

‘These two or three boys go into the house’

/hãu tessa te sAman cAkwaNa caiya pAr se cAkNa nĩ cãhdi/

I her luggage make to take want but she take not want to/like to

‘I make her to take the luggage but she did not want/like to (take)’

7. TEXT

kawiye kaLa nag kihā marea

The crow-hen black snake how kill+past

HOW THE CROW-HEN KILLED THE BLACK SNAKE

eki bARa ri phailiri sahNia mAnjh ek kao hor tesri laRi kawi
one banyan tree of spreading branches among a crow and his wife crow-hen

rAhī thi:. kohle AndAr choTe choTe car anDe (choTi choTi car batia)
stay past the nest in small small four eggs small small four eggs

thi: jinhajo seo bARi hipajAta kANe rakhā the. tes DaLa re DhoDra
were which they great care with guard past that tree of hollow of trunk

AndAr ek kaLa nag/kiRa rēyhā tha, jes te kao-kawi bAhAt DARā the. har
inside one black snake live past whom crow & crow-hen very fear past every

bari kawi anDe dehī thi pAr se nag/kiRa cupcupe khisAkda khisAkda
time crow-hen eggs lay past but that snake silently crawled

kohle tAk janda hor tinhajo khai chAD da.
nest upto go and them eat up past

Among the spreading branches of a banyan tree lived a crow and his wife. In the nest were four little eggs, which the parents guarded with great care. In a hollow of that tree-trunk lived a black snake whom the crows feared greatly. Every time the crow-hen laid her eggs the snake crawled up to the nest and ate them up.

je kale nage/kiRe es bari bi mere anDe khad he ta hāu es DaLa
If black snake this time also my eggs eats then I this tree

bilkul ni rAhna. Asajo te be jArur apNa kohla horta baNaNa pAoNa.”
at all not live our then must own nest somewhere build have to

kawiye apNe laRe kawajo bolea.

female crow own husband to the crow said

If the black snake eats up my eggs this time also, I will refuse to live in this tree any longer. We must build our nest somewhere else”, said the other bird to her husband.

ase ethi bAhAt dheyaDeya te rehnde ae. hāu apNe ghArajo ni chADi sAkda hor
We here many days for lived I own house not leave can and

horte rAhNejo ni jai sAkda.” kawe bolea. jebeje seo galeyā kArhā the ta tinhe
elsewhere live not go can crow said when they talk doing were then they

ssssss jeri awaj apu heTh suni. tinhe awaj pachaNi ri thi. seo bebAs hui
hissing like sound them below heard they sound known were they helplessly

kANe apNe kohle mAnjh bAiThi rAhe. ta je seo apNe anDeyajo bAchai sAko. kaLa
become own nest inside sat so that they own eggs protect can black

nag/kiRa kohle re hor neDe khiski aya. tebe bADi phuMkar mari kAnne tine kao-
snake nest of and closer crawled up then loud hissing sound he crow

kawiya pAr hamla kArna cayeya. jeo je DAra re marire uDi gAe. kaLA nage/kiRe
female crow over strike to do wanted who in fear flew away black snake

ek-ek kArike sAbh anDe khai dite.

one-by-one all eggs ate up

We have lived here for a long time, I can't bear to desert my home and go to live elsewhere”, said the female crow. While they were talking, they heard a hissing sound just below them. They knew what the sound meant. They sat helplessly in their nest trying to protect their eggs. The black snake crept higher and closer to the nest. Then with a loud hiss the snake tried to strike at the birds. The birds flew away in terror. One by one, the black snake swallowed all the eggs.

kao kawi bADe dukhi hui ke apNe kohlajo wapAs ae pAr tinhajo pAta tha je
crow crow-hen very sad became own nest to return came back but they know
past that

tinhare anDe ta khai chADi re hor kohla khali ha. munjo es khuni naga/kiRajo
their eggs he ate and nest empty is me this murderer snake

marne ra koe na koe pwao jArur kArna pAoNa. "tuse tes kAne kihã eRi
killing of some plan must do you him with how fight

sAka hẽ? tesra DaM ta bADa bhari bisla ha." *Tesri laRiye*
can do his sting that very heavily poisonous is his wife

dukhi hui kAne bolea.
sad became said

The parents came back sadly to their nest knowing well that they would find it empty. The crow said, "I must find a way to destroy this murderous snake." "How can you ever fight him? His sting is so deadly," said his wife in despair.

"koe cinta na kAr meri pyari, mera ek mittAr ha, bADa calak.
anything think not do my dear my one friend have very clever

se bADe te bADe jAhrile/bisle negeya/kiReya jo mari sAka hã."
he big and bigger poisonous snakes to kill can

kaoe bolea hor se uDea hor duja DaLa pAr puji gAya jes heThje tera
crow said and he flew and another tree on reached which under his

pyara mottAr gidAR rẽyhã tha.
dear friend jackal live past

Don't worry, my dear, I've got a friend who is cunning enough to destroy the most poisonous snakes," said the crow, and off he flew to another tree under which lived his dear friend, the jackal.

jebe je gidRe eh suNea je nag/kiRa hAr bari tinha re anDe ayi kAne khai
when jackal this heard that snake every time her eggs came and ate

jahā ta tinhe bolea, " mereya mittAr jeo je jalAm hor lalci hu hē,
then he him said my friend who cruel and greedy becomes

tinha ra Ant bAhAt buRa hu hā. tu Dar ni, hāu tesjo marneri tArki:b
his end very bad becomes you fear not I him for killing plan

pEhle he soci chADi ri."
already thought

When the jackal heard how the snake always ate up the eggs, he said, "My friend, those who are cruel and greedy always meet with a bad end, please don't have fear. I've already thought of a plan to destroy him."

"tā ta munjo jAri:r dAs, kya tArki:b hi," kawe boleya. ta gidRe es gAla
that then me necessarily tell what plan is crow said then the jackal this talk

ta DAri ke je ketki tesri gal suhNi ni jao, apNe dostā kane
then feared that anyone his talk to hear not go own friend ear

phus-phus kAri ke gAlanda lAgeya je nag/kiRa kīa marna. kao
whisperingly closely that the snake how to kill crow

uDike wapAs apNi laRiya bAle pujeya hor tesajo apNi yojna dAsi.
flying return own wife near reached and her own plan said

"pAr eh jAra hAi khAtArnak." kawe boleya ; "asajo bilkul hosiyar
But this rather is dangerous crow-hen said our very careful

rAhNA pAoNa.” “*hāu apNe anDeya jo bAcaNe kaThe kichbi*
stay will have to be I own eggs to save for anything

kARi sAka hī,” *ma pAnchiye damkhAma kAne boleya.*
do can mother bird bravely said

Oh, do tell me what it is,” said the crow. Then the jackal feared he might be overheard. So the jackal whispered to his friend what he should do to destroy the snake. The crow flew back to his wife and told her about the plan. “It is rather risky,” said the crow.” “We’ll have to be very careful.” “I’ll do anything to save my eggs,” said the mother bird bravely.

pheri seo desa re raje re behRe/mAhla pase jo uDi gAye. behRa,
afterwards that country of king of palace near to fly went palace

jes DaLa pAr seo rAhē the tethi te jada du:r ni tha. seo mAhla re
that tree on they live past from there very far not was they palace of

eki bADe sAra mAnjh utre jedhi AndAr je raNyā bAgAira nhawin thi.
One big pond inside came down where in queens without taking bath past

laRiā tihe apNe suinen ri motiya re haR hor dusre gAhNe tes
ladies there own golden of pearls of chain and other jewelleryes that

sAra (sArowara) re kAna re rAkhire the. kawi upra te uDi ke heTh
pond of edge of keep past crow-hen from up flew down

ayi, suine ri ek maL cunja kAne pAkri se maje-maje tes DaLa pase jo
came golden of one chain beak by hold she slowly that tree near to

uDi gAi jes pAra se rAhī thi. jebe je raja re pEhredare kawiya jo
flew which on she live past when king of guards crow-hen to

cunja AndAr suine ri mal cAki kAne nenDe dekhyā ta seo ApNe
beak in golden of chain snatched taking saw then they own

bhale cAki kAne tesara picha kArde douRe. tinhe kawiya jo
weapon taking out her chased ran they crow to

maLa jo DaLa re DhoDra AndAr sATde dekhea. ek pEhredar DaLa pAr
chain to tree of hollow inside to drop saw one guard tree on

cARhi gAya tAje se suine ri maLa jo hasAl kAri sAke. jĩ hAje tinhe maLa jo
climbed so that he golden of chain to get can when he chain to

kaDhNe re kaThe DhoDra mAnjh hath paya. tinhe tidhi pAr kaLa
take to for hollow inside hand put, he over there black

nag/kiRa lipTira paya. tinhe eki hatha kAnne nag/kiRe pAr bhala cAlaya
snake curled up get he with one hand snake on weapon strike

hor nag/kiRa mari dita hor es tarike kaLa naga/kiRa ra Ant hui gAya.
and snake killed and this way black snake of end became

pheri kao hor kawi tethi maje kaNe rAhe hor tinha re bAhAt sare bAcche hue.
afterwards crow and crow-hen there happily stayed and them of many babies had

So off they flew towards the palace of the king of the country. The palace was not far from the tree they lived. They approached a big pond in the palace garden where they saw the royal ladies having a bath. They had laid their golden chains, pearl necklaces and other jewelry on the edge of the pond. The mother bird flew down, picked up a gold chain in her beak and started flying slowly towards the tree in which she lived. When the palace guards saw the bird flying off with the gold chain, they took up their clubs and chased the bird. They saw the bird drop the chain into the hollow of a tree. One of the guards climbed up the tree to get the chain. As he put his hand inside the hole to get the chain, he saw a black snake curled up and he gave one hard stroke with his club and he killed the snake. And that was the end of the black snake.

The crow and the crow-hen lived in that tree happily afterwards and they had many little baby crows.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Grierson, George, Abraham 1968 (Reprint) *Linguistic Survey of India*. Vol. IV. Part-IV.
Motilala Banarasidass, New Delhi.
2. Grierson, George, Abraham 1968 (Reprint) *Linguistic Survey of India*. Vol. I. Part-I. Motilal
Banarasidass, New Delhi.
3. Hockett, C.F. 1970 *A Course in Modern Linguistics*, Indian
edition, Macmillan, New York.
4. Lyons, John 1968 *Introduction to Theoretical Linguistics*,
Cambridge University Press.
5. Ranganatha, M.R. 1980 *Survey of Mandeali and Kului in Himachal
Pradesh*, In Language Monograph, Series-1,
Census of India, 1971.
6. Census of India 1961 *Language Tables*
Vol-1 Part – II – C (ii)
7. Census of India 2001 *Language Table C-16, Series –I*, Office of the
Registrar General, India. New Delhi
8. Census of India 2011 *Language Table C-16, Series –I*, Office of the
Registrar General, India. New Delhi

PANGWALI

Soumi Banerjee & V. Renuga Devi

1. INTRODUCTION

Pangwali is a Mother Tongue belonging to the group of Indo-Aryan Languages. This Mother Tongue is predominantly spoken in Pangli Tehsil of Chamba district, Lahaul & Spiti district, Udaipur on Chenab (Chandra-Bhaga) river to Chamba border at Purthi, possibly from Tandi to Sach Pass of Himachal Pradesh, Doda district of Jammu and Kashmir. Alternative names of this Mother Tongue are Satlaj, Pahari, Pangli, Pangwali Pahari. As this Mother Tongue is precisely spoken in mountain region, language varies from place to place due to inaccessibility. Chiefly Pangwali has 4 dialects namely Pangwali Killer, Pangwali Purthi, Pangwali Sach and Pangwali Dharwasi. According to native speakers of this Mother tongue Sach belt has preserved large number of Sanskrit features. As Killer is a noteworthy place of the valley, the variety of Pangwali spoken in this area is accepted as the standard one.

1.1. Family Affiliation

G.A. Grierson in Linguistic Survey of India (Vol. 9, Part IV Second edition, 1967) classifies Pangwali language under Indo-European, Indo-Aryan, Pahari, and Western Pahari, respectively. The Linguistic Classification of the Pangwali Mother Tongue is as follows:

Language Family: Indo-European

- Indo-European
 - Indo-Iranian
 - Indo-Aryan
 - North-Western
 - Western Pahari (Dongri-Kangri)
 - Pangwali

According to Grierson, Pangwali is the name of the dialect of Chameali spoken in Pangli. He mentioned the location of Pangli as follows: northern part of Pangli is surrounded by Tibeto Burman speaking province of Zaskar, in western part there is Kashmiri speaking Padar, Kishtwar, Bhadrawah region and in southern part there is Curahi of chamba district. Therefore, Pangwali is 'furthest outpost of Western Pahari looking to the north-west.' He vividly described the brief grammar of Pangwali Mother Tongue.

1.2. Location:

Pangwali is mostly spoken in Chamba, Pangli, Chaurah, Saluni, Kullu, Manali, Lahaul & Spiti districts of Himachal Pradesh. According to 2011 census data Pangwali speakers are also available in Nagaland. Present data has been collected from Mahaliyat/ Mahalat village of tehsil Pangli, Chamba district of Himachal Pradesh. A map of Chamba Tehsil is given below.

1.3. Official Status:

Pangwali does not have any official status in state, country level. In Indian Census Pangwali is treated as a Mother Tongue under Hindi language. According to UNESCO Pangwali is classified in critically endangered category.

1.4. Speakers' strength:

In Indian Census Pangwali has been treated as one of Mother Tongues of Hindi Language since 1961 Census. As it can be seen Pangwali is mostly spoken in Himachal Pradesh and in other parts of India it has sporadic presence since 1961. Pangwali has been having steady up growth of population for last 60 years.

As per 2011 Census, distribution of Pangwali speakers in all over India and Himachal Pradesh is presented below.

Distribution of Pangwali Speakers in India, Census 2011									
Area name	Total			Rural			Urban		
	Person	Male	Female	Person	Male	Female	Person	Male	Female
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
INDIA	18,668	9,346	9,322	18,156	9,077	9,079	512	269	243
Himachal Pradesh	18,640	9,328	9,312	18,152	9,074	9,078	488	254	234
Nagaland	27	17	10	3	2	1	24	15	9
Manipur	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0

District-wise distribution of Pangwali Speakers in Himachal Pradesh has already been discussed in the Introduction Chapter.

1.5. Bilingualism:

Pangwali is a Mother Tongue grouped under Hindi Language. As Bilingualism data is available only for languages, it is not available for Pangwali Mother tongue. Generally, Pangwali speakers are bilingual in Hindi.

1.6. Sociolinguistic Profile:

Language use in different domains

During winter time people of Pangi valley remain isolated from outside world and they have less contact with outsiders. Therefore, mostly Pangwali speakers are monolinguals. Those who are in contact with outsiders mainly from market area are bilingual with Hindi. Pangwali speakers can even speak in Chambeali, Padri.

Home :

Pangwali is predominantly spoken in home domain for communicating with the family members. They also speak to their neighbours in Pangwali.

Administration:

In administrative sectors oral communication is done using Pangwali but for written communication Hindi is used.

Education:

Unofficially Pangwali is used as a medium of instruction and interaction in schools by local teachers and students. Introductory Pangwali Grammar book is available.

Mass Media:

In mass media there is no remarkable presence of Pangwali. Pangwali speakers have created a website named 'Pangwali' which depicts a lot about their culture and literature. A monthly journal 'Tubari' has been publishing since 2018. Moreover, a collection of short stories named 'Baue Pyar' (Father's love) has also been published.

Script:

Pangwali is natively written in Takri script. Devnagari script is widely used for writing in Pangwali. Overall the speakers of Pangwali show positive attitude towards their language. They are eager to promote and preserve their language.

1.7. Review of Earlier Literature:

G. A. Grierson in Linguistic Survey of India in Vol. 9, Part IV has given an elaborated description of Pangwali Mother Tongue. According to him Pangwali is the dialect of Chameali in Pangli valley and it belongs to Western Pahadi language group. He mentioned that as Pangwali people live in isolated state their language has preserved certain peculiarities. Present vocabulary list shows that certain words have similarity with Kashmiri words for example /bunh/ 'down' in Pangwali and /bon/ 'down' in Kashmiri, /kuri/ 'girl' in Pangwali and /kur/ 'girl' in Kashmiri. In pronunciation section he has mentioned that like Curahi Mother Tongue Pangwali's vowel scale is indefinite. Like Kashmiri Mother Tongue in Pangwali there is strong presence of Epenthesis. Many phonetic features of Pangwali has close similarity with Pisaca languages. In noun section he has mentioned that declensions of noun present some variation from standard Curahi. In masculine tadbhaba nouns like /bakra/ 'goat' /-a/ becomes /-u/. Feminine nouns are declined differently as genitive singular and plural optionally adds /-ā/. In Adjective section it is mentioned that ā, ū changes into e, i. Pronoun section include Personal, Demonstrative, Relative, Interrogative, Indefinite Pronouns. Verb section is also elaborately described.

Raymond Gordon in *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*, fifteenth edition has given brief informative description of Pangli population, religion, language classification, alternative names, language use and Demographic information.

In web platform named 'Pangwali', brief description of Pangwali language, Pangwali literature, culture, music, Tubari magazine are presented. In 'Introductory Pangwali Grammar book' first ever attempt is made to write grammar for students. Here facts are presented in inductive approach in Hindi. Here Phonology, Morphology, Syntax of Pangwali- Killer dialect of Pangwali is discussed.

Manihelu is a compilation of sayings and idioms of Pangwali Language which is used in day to day life.

1.8. Present Survey:

Pangwali has been surveyed under Mother Tongue Survey of India Project of the Ministry of Home affairs of the Government of India in 2014. The linguistic data has been collected from Mahaliyat/ Mahalat village of tehsil Pangli, Chamba district of Himachal Pradesh from four sets of rural male and female Informants of below/above 50 years of age. Name of the informants are mentioned below.

RM+50- Shri Suram Chand

RM-50- Shri Barkat Raj

RF+50- Smt. Ratni Devi Chauhan

RF-50- Smt. Lila Thakur

These four samples of Audio-Visual data of Pangwali were collected by a group of non-linguists of Office of the Registrar General, India. These data have been transcribed and analysed by four Linguistic Resource Persons of different universities. These four sets Analyses are consolidated to form a single report by Dr. V. Renuga Devi, Ex Professor of Madurai Kamaraj University. Present report is prepared on the basis of that Consolidated Report of Pangwali.

2. PHONOLOGY

Phonology is a branch of Linguistics concerned with the systematic organization of sounds in natural languages. The phonological system of a language includes an inventory dealing with the Vowels, Consonants, Diphthongs, Clusters, Syllables and the Syllable structure of the language along with their Length, Nasalization and Tonal patterns. Phonemic analysis consists in allotting all the indefinite number of sounds occurring in utterances to a definite and limited set of phonemes contrastive in at least some environments. The phonemic inventory of Pangwali shows the distinctive sound units occurring in Pangwali speech.

The phonological system of Pangwali is presented below based on the data collected from the informant.

2.a. Phonetic Inventory of Pangwali (segmental):

From the available data of the Pangwali mother tongue, a brief sketch of the phonology of Pangwali is presented below:

Segmental Phonemes

There are 38 segmental phonemes in Pangwali, out of which 9 are vowels and 29 are consonantal phonemes.

- **Vowels:**

Vowel is a class of speech sounds in the articulation of which the oral part of the breath channel is not blocked and is not constricted enough to cause audible friction.

There are 9 segmental vowels in Pangwali.

Vowel Chart					
There are 9 segmental vowels found as presented below:					
	Front	Near-Front	Central	Near-Back	Back
	Unrounded			Rounded	
Close	i				u
Close-Mid	e				o
Mid	æ		ə		
Open-Mid	ɛ				ɔ
Open	a				

Phonemic Contrast

A phoneme is the smallest contrastive unit in the sound system of a language. A study of minimal pairs in the data exemplifies the phonemic contrast available in the dialect. These are used to Demonstrate that two phones constitute two separate phonemes in the language. Examples of phonemic contrasts in Pangwali are as follows.

Contrast in Vowel:

/ə/	~	/i/		
/potəɾ/		‘daughter’s son’s son’	~	/potiɾ/ ‘daughter’s son’ daughter’
/a/	~	/ɛ/		
/naŋ/		‘mother’s mother’s	~	/nɛŋ/ ‘mother’s father’
/ə/	~	/o/		
/mət̪d̪i/		‘younger sister’	~	/moɪd̪i/ ‘elder sister’
/o/	~	/i/		
/nao/		‘boat’	~	/nai/ ‘barber’
/i/	~	/e/		
/nəɟɛva|i/		‘dancer female’	~	/nəɟɛva|e/ ‘dancer male’
/a/	~	/e/		
/lala/		‘shopkeeper’	~	/lale/ ‘red’
/a/	~	/u/		
/mali/		‘gardener’	~	/muli/ ‘raddish’

Distribution of the Vowel phonemes:

Vowels	Initial	Medial	Final
/i/	/it/ ‘brick’	/mənir/ ‘cot’	/kursi/ ‘chair’
/e/	/ek/ ‘one’	/byes/ ‘bug’	/c ^h e/ ‘six’
/ɛ/	/ɛŋu/ ‘to come’	/penti/ ‘thirty five’	/dubɛ/ ‘weak’
/æ/	/ækɪŋ/ ‘acting’	/sæk/ ‘heat’	
/a/	/allu/ ‘wet’	/lalci/ ‘greedy’	/g ^h ət̪ia/ ‘uncivilized’
/ə/	/ədrat/ ‘midnight’	/rət/ ‘season’	/cəɾə/ ‘late’
/ɔ/	/ɔk ^h usu/ ‘hard’	/mɔsəɪm/ ‘weather’	/nalɔɔ/ ‘to deny’
/o/	/ose/ ‘he’	/joɟe/ ‘loudly’	/bəo/ ‘father’
/u/	/utara/ ‘vomit’	/c ^h und/ ‘chin’	/ləu/ ‘blood’

• **Consonants:**

Consonant is a class of speech sounds characterized by constriction or closure at one or more points in the breath channel. There are altogether 29 consonants in Pangwali and 10 out of them are aspirated.

Consonant chart:

The segmental consonants in this language are presented below.

Consonant Chart														
	Bilabial		Labio-dental	Dental		Alveolar	Retroflex		Palatal		Velar		Glottal	
	VL	VD		VL	VD		VL	VD	VL	VD	VL	VD	VL	VD
Plosive	p	b		t	d		ɟ	ɟ̠			k	g		

	p ^h	b ^h		t ^h	d ^h		t ^h	d ^h		k ^h	g ^h	
Affricate									c c ^h	ʃ ʃ ^h		
Nasal		m			n						ŋ	
Trill												
Tap						r						
Fricative					s							h
Approximant			v						j			
Lateral approximant						l						

Contrast in consonant:

/b/ ~ /d/

/bai/ 'twenty two' ~ /dai/ 'midwife'

/n/ ~ /ɲ/

/nai/ 'barber' ~ /ɲai/ 'mosquito'

/t/ ~ /t^h/

/sat/ 'seven' ~ /sat^h/ 'with'

/c/ ~ /s/

/cuna/ 'lime' ~ /suna/ 'gold'

/p/ ~ /g/

/pƏnna/ 'emerald' ~ /gƏnna/ 'sugarcane'

/p/ ~ /b/

/pag/ 'pus' ~ /bag/ 'garden'

/k/ ~ /g/

/kag/ 'crow' ~ /lag/ 'tiger'

/b/ ~ /b^h/

/bag/ 'garden' ~ /b^hag/ 'division'

/l/ ~ /ɲ/

/lal/ 'saliva' ~ /laɲ/ 'shame'

/p/	~	/t/	
/pƏtta/	‘leaves’	~	/tƏtta/ ‘hot’
/r/	~	/s/	
/tare/	‘star’	~	/tase/ ‘her’
/b/	~	/k ^h /	
/bel/	‘bel’	~	/k ^h el/ ‘games’
/k/	~	/t/	
/kukƏr/	‘hen’	~	/kutƏr/ ‘dog’
/b/	~	/n/	
/bei/	‘over’	~	/nei/ ‘not’
/k/	~	/r/	
/loki/	‘white gourd’	~	/lori/ ‘lullaby’

Distribution of the consonantal phonemes:

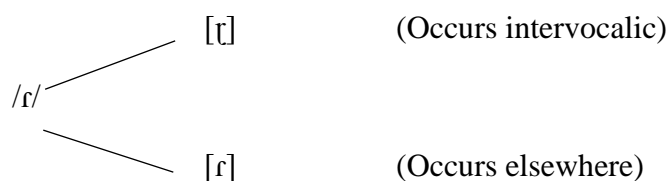
Consonants	Initial	Medial	Final
/p/	/pƏrkas/ ‘ash’	/papƏr/ ‘papad’	/tə:p/ ‘cap’
/p ^h /	/p ^h at/ ‘hill’	/rƏp ^h uʒa/ ‘hawker’	/ʃƏrip ^h / ‘innocent’
/b/	/baŋ/ ‘forest’	/təbƏk/ ‘gun’	/kƏtab/ ‘book’
/b ^h /	/b ^h Əŋej/ ‘sister’s son’	/ab ^h rƏk/ ‘mica’	/jib ^h / ‘tongue’
/t/	/tera/ ‘thirteen’	/potir/ ‘son’s daughter’	/bƏt/ ‘road’
/t ^h /	/t ^h Əm/ ‘pillar’	/hāt ^h i/ ‘elephant’	/sat ^h / ‘with’
/d/	/da:d/ ‘father’s father’	/cadƏr/ ‘shawl’	/sed/ ‘health’
/d ^h /	/d ^h aŋ/ ‘husband’	/bƏd ^h el/ ‘calf’	/dud ^h / ‘milk’
/t/	/tƏbƏr/ ‘family’	/sigatʒƏn/ ‘desert’	/p ^h at/ ‘hill’
/t ^h /	/t ^h Ənnu/ ‘cold’	/mat ^h Əna/ ‘brook’	/pƏt ^h / ‘back’
/d/	/dƏkar/ ‘belch’	/kuɖar/ ‘shade’	/kuɖ/ ‘cave’
/d ^h /	/d ^h eb/ ‘bear’	/mɛnd ^h Ək/ ‘toad’	-----
/k/	/kac ^h ua/ ‘tortoise’	/tʃukreãc/ ‘chick’	/sek/ ‘heat’
/k ^h /	/k ^h Ətuɾ/ ‘donkey’	/nak ^h un/ ‘claw’	/ʒɔk ^h / ‘leech’
/g/	/gula/ ‘nest’	/pak ^h or/ ‘feather’	/lag/ ‘tiger’
/g ^h /	/g ^h ori/ ‘mare’	/ʃƏug ^h at/ ‘jar’	/mɛg ^h / ‘rain’
/m/	/masũ/ ‘meat’	/amla/ ‘acidity’	/kum/ ‘waist’
/n/	/njar/ ‘fog’	/b ^h unʒəl/ ‘earthquake’	/ʒƏn/ ‘clay’
/ŋ/	/ŋar/ ‘coal’	/Əŋa:r/ ‘ember’	/t ^h unʒ/ ‘beak’

/r/	/rasƏn/ 'sunshine'	/pronə/ 'guest'	/g ^h or/ 'stone'
/s/	/sƏga:l/ 'fox'	/mo:si/ 'mother's sister'	/sārs/ 'crane'
/h/	/haɾ/ 'flood'	/jilhan/ 'woman'	/byah/ 'marriage'
/c/	/cari/ 'bird'	/ramcirƏija/ 'kingfisher'	/tʉkreāc/ 'chick'
/c ^h /	/c ^h o:/ 'stream'	/mƏc ^{hi} / 'fish'	/bƏc ^h / 'calf'
/ʒ/	/ʒunt/ 'twin'	/kƏnʒƏr/ 'prostitute'	/gƏɾʒ/ 'thunder'
/ʒ ^h /	/ʒ ^h iŋe/ 'dress'	/mɛʒ ^h Ər/ 'conspiracy'	/ʒ ^h aj ^h / 'cymbals'
/l/	/lori/ 'lullaby'	/lalmƏŋi/ 'ruby'	/pitƏl/ 'brass'
/v/	/var par/ 'across'	/svas/ 'breath'	-----
/y/	/je/ 'so'	/byah/ 'marriage'	/uniaj/ 'slope'

Major Allophonic Distribution:

Allophones are condition specific (dependent) variants of a phoneme. Allophones of a phoneme occur in mutually exclusive environments. Allophones do not affect the functional identity of the phoneme in the language. So this is a phonetic variant of a phoneme in a particular language. Although a phoneme's allophones are all alternative pronunciations for a phoneme, the specific allophone selected in a given situation is often predictable. The present data shows the following allophonic variation –

Phoneme /r/ has two allophones [ɾ], [r]

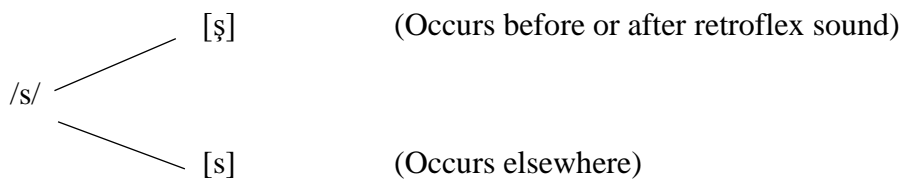


Example:

- /c^hƏɾa/ 'bachelor'
- /noilaɾi/ 'bride'
- /noilaɾa/ 'bridegroom'
- /kuɾum/ 'son-in-law's father'
- /potir/ 'son's daughter'
- /raŋu/ 'sister-in-law'
- /Əŋa:r/ 'ember'

/rƏðã/ 'echo'

Phoneme /s/ has two allophones [s], [ʃ]

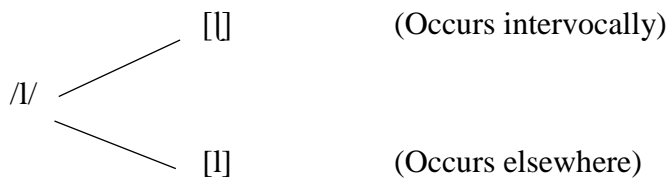


Example:

/kiʃti cƏlanɛva|a/ 'boatman'

/duʃt/ 'naughty'

Phoneme /l/ has two allophones [l], [ɭ]



Example:

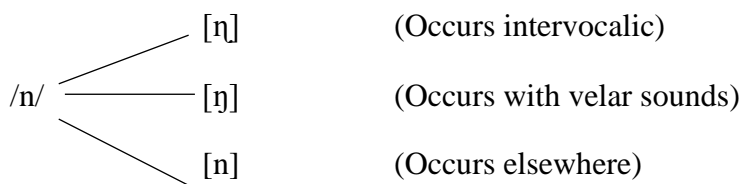
/ja|a/ 'jealousy'

/go|i/ 'bullet'

/ma|a/ 'garland'

/pi|ja/ 'jaundice'

Phoneme /n/ has three allophones [n], [ŋ], [ɳ]



Examples:

/bƏŋɛj/ 'daughter's son'

/ʒilhanu/ 'female'

/bʰƏɳɛj/ 'grandson'

/ranur/ 'husband's sister'

/gunʒa/ 'snail'

/bʊɾɛŋgəɪ/ ‘wasp’

/ʊŋgɔɪ/ ‘finger’

/pɪʰi kʊŋkʊɾ/ ‘spine’

(This /ŋ/ in other places acts as a separate phoneme)

/na:/ ‘river’

/nyɑɾ/ ‘fog’

/kuɖɑn/ ‘vulture’

/kʊnkʰʊʝura/ ‘centepede’

Free variation is also found in this mother tongue:

Vowel /ɛ/ is often pronounced as [æ] and sometimes as [ɛ], and the pronunciation freely varies without any fixed phonetic environment. This pronunciation freely varies in many words such as

/lɛbkʰui/ or /læbkʰui/ ‘pond’

/bʊdɛ/ or /bʊdæ/ ‘cloud’

/grɛ/ or /græ/ ‘planet’

In word medial position, free variation is found between the high vowel /i/ and its counterpart /iː/ and between /u/ and /uː/ in case of a few words.

/biʰ/ or /biːʰ/ ‘daughter-in-law’

/pɪtʊɾ/ or /pɪtʊːɾ/ ‘grandson’

/ʝʌɪ/ or /ʝʌiː/ ‘wife’

/pʊtʊɾ or /pʊtʊːɾ/ ‘son’s son’

Vowel sequence:

It refers to more than one adjacent vowel sounds occurring within a word. There are some vowel clusters realized in Pangwali language. Such as

/ai/ /menai/ ‘Myna’

/ao/ /nao/ ‘boat’

/ea/ /mʊtʰrear/ ‘childhood’

/ei/ /dvei/ ‘medicine’

/eo/	/neo/	‘mongoose’
/eu/	/jeneu/	‘thread ceremony’
/ia/	/uniay/	‘slope’
/ie/	/bƏŋiej/	‘daughter’s son’
/io/	/bƏŋƏtiohƏr/	‘forest festival’
/iu/	/j ^h Əgriu/	‘to fight’
/oa/	/koa/	‘boy’
/oe/	/joen/	‘bishop’s weed’
/oi/	/aroi/	‘pimple’
/ua/	/kac ^h ua/	‘tortoise’
/ui/	/kui/	‘girl’
/uo/	/kuo/	‘where’
/Əi/	/t ^h Əic ^h a/	‘to catch’
/Əo/	/bƏo/	‘father’
/Əu/	/lƏu/	‘blood’
/ɛu/	/kɛu/	‘dhenki’

2.b. Suprasegmental feature:

Vowel length:

Length is not phonemic here. Phonetically vowels are both short and long. In Pangwali there are five long vowels. Distribution of long vowels is given below:

	Front	Central	Back
Close	i:		u:
Close-mid	e:		o:
Mid			
Open-mid			
Near-open			
Open	a:		

Distribution of these long vowels:

Vowels	Initial	Medial	Final
/a:/	/a:g/ ‘fire’	/Əŋa:t/ ‘ember’	/k ^h a:/ ‘mud’

/e:/	-----	/ke:nc/ ‘scissors’	/me:/ ‘my’
/i:/	/i:/ ‘mother’	/di:s/ ‘sun’	/coi:/ ‘blouse’
/o:/	-----	/g ^h o:ɽ/ ‘rock’	/c ^h o:/ ‘stream’
/u:/	-----	/d ^h u:ɽ/ ‘dust’	/ɖu:/ ‘wind’

Nasalization:

No minimal pair could be formed to establish nasalization as phonemic in Pangwali. The nasalized vowels found in the data are as follows:

Nasalized Phonemes	Initial	Medial	Final
/ã/	/ãu/ ‘I’	/hãt ^h i/ ‘elephant’	/grã/ ‘village’
/ẽ/	-----	/kẽi/ ‘bronze’	/lɔt ^h yẽ/ ‘patient’
/ĩ/	-----	/gĩu/ ‘wheat’	/puja kɔrĩ/ ‘to worship’
/õ/	-----	/rɔðã/ ‘echo’	/harõ/ ‘defeat’
/ũ/	/ũt/ ‘camel’	/jacũr/ ‘yak’	/masũ/ ‘flesh’
/õ̃/	/õ̃va:s/ ‘new moon’	/tõ̃op ^h i/ ‘still’	/c ^h inkɔrõ̃/ ‘to bore’
/ẽ̃/	-----	/b ^h ẽs/ ‘buffalo’	/c ^h ũk dẽ̃/ ‘to pinch’

Consonant Clusters:

A consonant cluster is a group of consonants which have no intervening vowel. The consonant clusters can be a combination of two identical as well as two non-identical consonants that generally occurs in the medial position of a word. The former is called homogenous clusters and the latter is called heterogeneous consonant clusters. Homogenous clusters are also known as Consonants gemination (identical consonants cluster). The occurrence of the consonants clusters is most frequent in the initial and medial position. A few examples of non-identical clusters are as follows-

a) Heterogeneous Consonant Clusters:

/rk/	/pɔrkas/	‘ash’
/ŋj/	/b ^h unɽɔl/	‘earthquake’
/dɽ/	/kudrɔt/	‘nature’
/rt ^h /	/pirt ^h i sɔnsar/	‘world’
/bk ^h /	/lɛbk ^h ui/	‘pond’
/pɔ/	/pɔɔŋ/	‘water’
/bj/	/bjar/	‘air’

/nj/	/njar/	‘fog’
/ʝl/	/biʝli/	‘lightning’
/m/	/purniu/	‘full moon’
/gr/	/grɛ/	‘planet’
/mb/	/ðmbðr/	‘sky’
/rʝ/	/gðrʝ/	‘thunder’
/tʰr/	/mðtʰrear/	‘childhood’
/lh/	/ʝilhanu/	‘female’
/nʰtʰ/	/kɛnʰtʰaleb/	‘husband’s brother’
/rd/	/mðrd/	‘male’
/rk/	/kʰðrka mðo/	‘man’

b) Homogeneous consonant cluster (Gemination):

/kk/	/ʃekkir/	‘pebble’
/cc/	/sðccu/	‘truth’
/ʝʝ/	/iʝʝðt kðrĩ/	‘to greet’
/tt/	/lðtta/	‘paralysis’
/dd/	/gðddi/	‘car’
/tt/	/pðtta/	‘leaf’
/dd/	/jaddast/	‘memory’
/pp/	/cʰoppðr teu/	‘butter’
/bb/	/dubbɛ/	‘faint’
/mm/	/lðmma/	‘tall’
/nn/	/ðnnaro/	‘darkness’
/ll/	/allðn/	‘pigeon’

2.c. Syllabic Structure:

A syllable is a unit of organization for a sequence of speech sounds. A syllable is typically made up of a syllable nucleus (i.e., vowel) with optional initial and final margins (i.e., consonants). A syllable which ends with a vowel is called open syllable whereas a syllable

ending in a consonant is called closed syllable. A syllable is a unit of sound composed of a central peak of sonority (usually a vowel), and the consonants that cluster around this central peak. Syllables are often considered the phonological "building blocks" of words. They can influence the rhythm of a language, its prosody, its poetic meter and its stress patterns. So according to the structure of syllable two types of syllables are found in Pangwali language. These are as follows,

Open syllable: A syllable ends with a vowel, for example:

Closed syllable: A syllable which ends with a consonant, for example

Again, syllabification is the separation of a word into syllables, whether spoken or written. In Pangwali syllabification has been done as

i. Monosyllabic

ii. Disyllabic

iii. Polysyllabic

i. Monosyllabic Pattern:

A word that consists of a single syllable is called a Monosyllable and is said to be monosyllabic.

CVC	/kud/	‘cave’
VC	/a:g/	‘fire’
CV	/k ^h a:/	‘mud’
CCVC	/pʊŋ/	‘water’
CCV	/grɛ/	‘planet’
CVCC	/gɔŋ/	‘thunder’
CVV	/ku:i/	‘daughter’
V	/i:/	‘mother’

ii. Disyllabic Pattern:

A word that consists of two syllables is called a Disyllable and is said to be disyllabic.

CVC-CVC	/pɔŋ-kas/	‘ash’
CVC-CV	/t ^h ɔn-nu/	‘cold’
CVV-V	/rɔŋ-a/	‘echo’
VC-CV	/ɔŋ-a:r/	‘ember’

CV-CV	/si-gɛ/	‘sand’
CV-CVC	/ku-dʒɑr/	‘shade’
V-CVC	/u-dʊb/	‘high tide’
CVC-CVV	/lʊb-kʰui/	‘pond’
VC-CVC	/ʊm-bʊr/	‘sky’
CV-V	/ko-a/	‘boy’

iii. Polysyllabic Pattern:

A word that consists of more than two syllables.

VC-CV-CV	/ʊn-na-ro/	‘darkness’
CV-CV-CV-CVC	/si-ga-tʃa-jʊn/	‘desert’
V-CV-CV-CVC	/a:-gi-la-pʊt/	‘flame’
CV-CVC-CVC	/pʊ-dʰʊr-jim/	‘ground’
V-CV-VC	/u-ni-aj/	‘slope’
CVC-CV-CVC-CVC	/pir-tʰi-sʊn-sɑr/	‘world’
CV-CV-CV	/ma-tʰʊ-na/	‘brook’
CVV-CV-CV	/noi-la-tʃi/	‘bride’
CVC-CV-VC	/mʊ-tʰ-re-ɑr/	‘childhood’

3. MORPHOPHONEMICS

With the addition of some bound morphemes when there is change in the phoneme of the base morpheme, the change is known as morphophonemic change. The Morphophonemic changes in Pangwali are realized in the following ways.

3.i. Assimilation:

By assimilation, one sound is harmonized with the other either by being identical with it or by giving common characteristics. For example:

/kiʃti cƏlaŋeva|a/ 'boatman'

/duʃt/ 'naughty'

(here, the sibilant sound before retroflex [t], due to assimilation, becomes retroflex [ʃ]).

/guŋga/ 'snail'

/bƏɽeŋgƏl/ 'wasp'

/Əŋgol/ 'finger'

/piʰi kƏŋkƏɽ/ 'spine'

(Here, the nasal sound before velar sounds /g/, /k/, due to assimilation, becomes velar nasal /ŋ/, otherwise in other places it can be posited as a separate phoneme when occurring with other non-velar sounds)

ii. Anaptyxis:

The process of insertion of vowel sound between two members of a consonant conjunct is called Anaptyxis.

/siɽeɽ/ 'stage' < stage (English)

/sƏleɽ/ 'slate' < slate (English)

iii. Apocope:

The process of loss of a sound at the end of word is called Apocope.

/mombƏti/ (Hindi) > /mombƏt/ 'candle' (Pangwali)

iv. Paragoge:

The process of addition of a sound at the end of word is called Paragoge.

/teɽ/ (Hindi) > /teɽƏ/ 'sharp' (Pangwali)

/puruɽ/ (Hindi) > /puruɽƏ/ 'male' (Pangwali)

4. MORPHOLOGY

Morphology deals with words and their declensional patterns as well as verbs and their conjugational patterns. The language Pangwali is an inflexional type of language. In this language words are formed by adding syllables or letters (i.e. affixes) or different postpositions to the stem and different endings are used to form different types of words and these affixes show no traceable signs of having been independent words. Morphology of Pangwali is discussed under Noun, Verb, Adjectives and Adverbs.

4.a. Word Formation Process:

The words in Pangwali may consist of a single free morph or more than one free morph or a combination of free and bound morphs. The various combinations are as follows.

One free morph /kitab/ “book”

One free morph and bound morph /kitabe/ “books”

Here /kitabe/ is made up of one free morph /kitab-/ “book” and a bound morph /-e/ which is actually used to present plurality.

In this language words are mainly three types. These are as follows,

a) Word consists of one free morph: For example,

/pərkas/ ‘ash’

/kud/ ‘cave’

/ʃən/ ‘clay’

/tʰənnu/ ‘cold’

b) Word consists of more than one free morph: For example,

/i:/ ‘mother’ + /bɔo/ ‘father’ > /i: bɔo/ ‘parents’

/gʰoɾa/ ‘horse’ + /gaɾi/ ‘coach’ > /gʰoɾagaɾi/ ‘horse coach’

c) Word consists of one free and one bound morphs:

/sune/ ‘gold’ + /-har/ > /sunehar/ ‘goldsmith’

/bec^hne/ ‘to sell’ + /-va|a > /bec^hneva|a/ ‘seller’

/sikaɾ/ ‘hunt’ + /-i/ > /sikaɾi/ ‘hunter’

/dukan/ ‘shop’ + /-dar/ > /dukandar/ ‘shopkeeper’

Following are the types of Word Formation found in Pangwali.

Affixation:

In affixation words are formed by adding affixes to the root or base.

Prefix + noun /be-/ ‘neg prefix’ + /hof/ ‘conscious’ > /behof/ ‘unconscious’

Noun + suffix /kitab-/ ‘book’ + /-e/ ‘plural suffix’ > /kitabe/ ‘books’

Reduplication:

The word is also being formed by repetition of the identical form in some of the word in Pangwali. The reduplication can be complete or partial. But in this data, only complete reduplication can be posited.

Partial Reduplication

/k^hɛʃk^huʃ kəri/ ‘to whisper’

Here, /k^hɛʃ-/ is partially reduplicated.

Complete Reduplication

/ʒaʈ^h ʒaʈ^h/ ‘fast (quick)’

/g^həri g^həri/ ‘always’

/kəple kəple/ ‘sometimes’

/məʈ^h məʈ^h gəbu/ ‘the small children’

Here the adjective /məʈ^h/ ‘small’ is completely reduplicated.

Compounding:

A compound is a word containing a stem that is made up of more than one root. A compound is a lexeme that consists of more than one stem. Compounding is the word formation that creates compound lexemes by the process of derivation. In other words, compounding or word-compounding occurs when a person attaches two or more words together to make them one word. The meanings of the words interrelate in such a way that a new meaning comes out which is very different from the meanings of the words in isolation. Example:

/i:/ ‘mother’ + /bɔo/ ‘father’ > /i: bɔo/ ‘parents’

/g^hoɾa/ ‘horse’ + /gaɾi/ ‘coach’ > /g^hoɾagaɾi/ ‘horse coach’

Coining new words

In Pangwali, some words are taken from English and due to extensive usage, they are nativized.

/skul/ ‘school’

/skuləbæg/	‘school bag’
/səleɪ/	‘slate’
/mastər/	‘master’
/kəleɪ/	‘college’

4.b. Word class:

A word unit is the smallest element that may be uttered in isolation having independent semantic or pragmatic content. A word is a unit which is a constituent at the phrase level. This stands in contrast to morpheme which is the smallest meaningful unit in the grammar of a language. There are open word classes, which constantly acquire new members, and also closed word classes, which acquire new members quite infrequently. Words are grouped into classes on the basis of their form and function, i.e., on the basis of their phonological, morphological and syntactic properties. The word class set up with nouns, verbs, adverbs, adjectives, postpositions, particles and function words. The nouns and verb formed with morphological rules and the rest of the word classes with syntactic reason. The pronouns also form a sub-class of nouns as they too are declined for case. Affixation (Prefixation & Suffixation), Derivation, Reduplication and the compounding are prominent morphological processes for the formation of the words. They are treated under derived nouns.

Based on morphological and syntactical structure the word classes of Pangwali are divided into following classes,

- i. Noun: a part of speech, inflected for case, denoting a tangible or intangible entity, referring to objects in the non-linguistic world or to concepts which are considered as forming entities parallel to real-world entities. e.g: /pərkas/ ‘ash’, /kud/ ‘cave’, /ɟən/ ‘clay’.
- ii. Pronoun: A grammatical component referring to a noun formerly mentioned and thus serving a deictic or anaphoric function. /əu/ ‘I’, /es/ ‘we’, /tus/ ‘you’.
- iii. Verb: a part of speech without case inflection, but inflected for tense, person and number, signifying an activity or process, whether ongoing, completed or undergone. e.g. /kʰaŋu/ ‘to eat’, /kʰilaŋu/ ‘to feed’, /miaŋu/ ‘to mix’.
- iv. Adjective: A grammatical constituent, the main syntactic role of which is to qualify a noun or noun phrase, providing additional information concerning the subject or object signified. e.g /teɟə/ ‘sharp’, /cʰoɟu/ ‘short’, /ʃant/ ‘sober’.
- v. Adverb: a part of speech without inflection that is a modifier of a verb. e.g /susər/ ‘slowly’ in /susər əkʰər likʰ/ ‘write the words neatly’.
- vi. Postposition: A part of speech placed after other words in composition and which expresses the relation it has to other elements in a sentence. E.g./meɟ bət kʰaɾebʰo/ ‘Stand on the table’.

vii. **Conjunction:** a part of speech that connects two words, sentences, phrases or clauses together and binds together the discourse and filling gaps in its interpretation. E.g /ta/ ‘and’, /pƏr/ ‘but’.

viii. **Interjection:** An interjection is a form, typically brief, such as one syllable or word, which is applied frequently as an exclamation or part of an exclamation. as in /ambƏr antƏ kƏta bƏɽja indrƏd^hƏnus asa/ ‘What a beautiful rainbow in the sky!’

The above mentioned eight-word classes are broadly grouped into two categories.

- Declinable
- Indeclinable.

Declinable are those which are declined for number, gender, person, for example, nouns, pronouns, adjectives and verbs. And the Indeclinable are postpositions, Conjunctions, adverbs, participle.

Declinable

4.c. Noun Morphology:

A noun is a member of a syntactic class that includes words which refer to people, places, things, ideas, or concepts, whose members may act as any of the following: subjects of the verb, objects of the verb, indirect object of the verb, or object of a preposition or postposition. Noun Morphology deals with the forms and classification of Nouns, Pronouns and their declensional/ inflectional pattern in association with Gender, Number, and Adjective etc. The nouns in the language are marked by two numbers (singular and plural), two genders (i.e. masculine, and feminine); and seven cases (nominative, accusative, dative, ablative, genitive, locative and instrumental).

➤ **Nouns:**

The Noun is a word class which takes number, gender and case markers. The noun functions as a subject or an object in a construction and it denotes person, place, thing etc.

• **Internal structure:**

Pangwali is an inflectional language. The nouns in the language are marked by two numbers (singular and plural). Nouns thus realised in Pangwali can be categorized into two broad classes, namely i) Basic Nouns and ii) Derived nouns

i) Basic Nouns:

Basic Nouns are those which are a class by itself as they are not derived from any other word class. The examples are

/pƏrkas/ ‘ash’

/kud/	‘cave’
/ɟən/	‘clay’
/gebur/	‘baby’
/c ^h ɛɾa/	‘bachelor’
/koa/	‘boy’

The basic nouns can further be divided into a) Mass nouns and b) Count nouns.

Mass nouns:

Mass nouns are those which do not show number distribution and cannot be counted with cardinal numeral. They always occur in singular form. For example

/pʊŋ/	‘water’.
/dud ^h /	‘milk’.
/lɛu/	‘blood’.
/tel/	‘oil’.

Count nouns:

Count nouns are those which can take some suffixes for indicating plurality. Examples are

/b ^h an/	‘pot’
/ke:nc/	‘scissors’
/mɛŋaj/	‘plate’
/kɛɾhat/	‘pan’

Apart from this there is another subdivision to identified nouns in this language. These are illustrated below:

Animate Noun :

/gebur/	‘baby’
/c ^h ɛɾa/	‘bachelor’
/koa/	‘boy’
/bla/	‘cat’
/hirɛŋ/	‘deer’

/kutəɾ/ 'dog'

Inanimate Noun :

/dʒəŋ/ 'ice'

/pəŋjal/ 'storm'

/dʒu:/ 'wind'

/bəðɛ/ 'cloud'

Human Noun:

/jilhanu/ 'female'

/kui/ 'girl'

/dʰan/ 'husband'

/bʰəŋej/ 'grand son'

Non-human Noun:

/bla/ 'cat'

/hirəŋ/ 'deer'

/kutəɾ/ 'dog'

ii) Derived Nouns:

If it contains more than one morpheme by means of roots taking one or more affixes then it is called derived noun. In Pangwali language some nouns are derived either from the verb or adjective or from another noun. The derived nouns are formed in two ways:

i) By adding derivational suffix to other words;

ii) By compounding words.

i) Derived nouns by adding derivational suffix:

In languages some nouns can be derived from the verb or from any other noun by the addition of derivative suffixes. But in Pangwali language from the available data we have some instances of noun which are derived from verbal bases. These are called verbal noun. These are as follows:

a) Words are formed from verbal base to Noun (verbal Noun)

/teru-/ 'to swim' > /terun/ 'swimming'.

/dam dɛ-/ 'to smoke' > /dam den/ 'smoking'.

Besides there are some nouns (not verbal noun) which are also derived from their respective verbal form. These are as follows,

/sunehar/ ‘goldsmith’ < /sune/ ‘gold’
 /dukandar/ ‘shopkeeper’ < /dukan/ ‘shop’

b) Noun + Noun forming suffix = Noun (Abstract Noun)

/mƏt^hre/ ‘child’ + /-ar/ ‘hood’ > /mƏt^hrear/ ‘childhood’

c) Derived nouns by Compounding:

A compound word is defined as the combination of two or more words to form a new word, for example,

/i:/ ‘mother’ + /bɔo/ ‘father’ > /i: bɔo/ ‘parents’
 /g^hoɽa/ ‘horse’ + /gaɽi/ ‘coach’ > /g^hoɽagaɽi/ ‘horse coach’

- **External Structure:**

The Pangwali nouns are inflected for Gender, Number, and Case. This language has two genders (i.e. masculine, feminine); and seven cases (nominative, accusative, dative, ablative, genitive, locative and instrumental). The following description gives the details of Pangwali gender, number, and case system.

i) Numbers:

The nouns in Pangwali are marked by two numbers singular and plural. The formation of plural forms are done by adding /-e/.

Singular	Gloss	Plural	Gloss
/kitab/	‘book’	/kitabe/	‘books’
/g ^h oɽa/	‘horse’	/g ^h oɽe/	‘horses’
/buɽa/	‘tree’	/buɽe/	‘trees’

Plurality is also indicated by /-men/ in case of pronominal forms.

/tus/ ‘you’ > /tusmen/ ‘you (plural)’
 /se/ ‘he’ > /semθimen/ ‘they’
 /es/ ‘we’ > /esmen/ ‘we all’

Often, plurality is also marked by numerical units attached after the stem.

/dui kitabe/ ‘two books’

/dui ke|e/ ‘two bananas’

/dui biṭi/ ‘two trees’

/dui bṬlaj/ ‘two cats’

ii) Gender:

Pangwali recognizes a primary gender division between masculine and feminine. Gender is natural, not grammatical. In this language gender differentiation is expressed in two ways, by using separate lexical items or by using different affixes.

By adding affixes:

Male	Gloss	Female	Gloss
/nolaṛa/	‘bridegroom’	/noilaṛi/	‘bride’
/b ^h Ṭe:ɟ/	‘brother’s son’	/b ^h Ṭi:ɟ/	‘brother’s daughter’
/da:d/	‘father’s father’	/da:di/	‘father’s mother’

By using different lexemes

/bṬo/	‘father’	/i:/	‘mother’
/mṬrd/	‘male’	/ɟilhaŋu/	‘female’
/d ^h an/	‘husband’	/ɟal/	‘wife’

iii) Person:

There are three persons in this language, first person, second person and third person. In all the tenses and moods these categories are distinguished. They are also in different concordial relationship with the verb. Example,

	Singular	Plural
First Person	/Ṭu/ “I”	/εs/ “we”
Second Person	/tus/ “you”	/tusmeŋ/ “you(pl)”
Third Person	/se/ “he/she”	/semeŋ/ “they”

First Person:

Persons	Sentence	Gloss
Singular	/Ṭu (I)gehta (go)/	“I go”
Plural	/εs (we) gehte (go)/	“we go”

Present tense markers are /-ta/, /-te/ suffixes for first person singular and plural number respectively.

Second Person:

Persons	Sentence	Gloss
Singular	/tus (you) gehtena (go)/	“You go”
Plural	/tusmɛŋ (you)gehtena (go)/	“You(plu.) go”

Present tense marker is /-tena/ suffix for both second person singular and plural number respectively.

Third Person:

Persons	Sentence	Gloss
Singular	/se (he) gehta (goes)/	“he/she goes”
Plural	/se (they) gehte/ (go)/	“They go”

Present tense markers are /-ta/, /-te/ suffixes for third person singular and plural number respectively.

iv) Case:

The case defines the relationship between the noun and the predicate in a sentence. There are seven cases are found in Pangwali. These are Nominative, Accusative, Instrumental, Dative, Ablative, Genitive and Locative.

a) Nominative Case:

The nominative case generally marks the subject of a verb or the predicate noun or predicate adjective which is either a noun or a pronoun. The Nominative case in Pangwali is unmarked in case of intransitive verbs. It is marked by zero /ø/.

/Ńu bŃjar g^hɛn lŃgosa/
 1SG-ø market-LOC go-INF be.PRS.1SG

‘I am going to the market’

/se heiŋ gi enti/
 3SG-ø 1PL.GEN house-LOC come-PRS.3

‘She comes to our house’

/mei caŋ kaot^hi/

1SG- \emptyset bird see-INF be.PST

‘I saw the bird’

b) Accusative Case:

Accusative case is the case in nominative-accusative languages that marks certain syntactic functions, usually direct objects. The accusative case is sometimes unmarked and sometimes marked by /-e/ as seen in the following instance. Accusative case is used to indicate that noun is an object of the action of the verb.

/es gɔr-e mar te/

1PL cow-ACC beat-PRS.1PL

‘We beat the cows’

/ Ń u roŋ k^han ta/

1SG bread- \emptyset eat-INF be.PRS.1SG

‘I eat bread’

/ Ń u caŋ-e herta/

1SG bird-ACC see-INF be.PRS.1SG

‘I see the bird’

c) Instrumental Case:

This case is used to denote instrument with which the action is performed. It is a case indicating that the referent of the noun. The collected data shows that the instrumental case is marked by /-bai/.

/me k Ń lmibai lik^hi dije/

3SG pen-INS write.PRS.3SG

‘Write with my pen’

/ʒeʰu bai buʒa kaʒa/

Axe-INS tree-ACC cut-PAST

‘The tree is cut with axe’

/kenci bai ʒʰeʃur kaʒu/

scissors-INS hair-Ø cut-PAST

‘Hair is cut with scissors’

d) Dative Case:

The dative case designates the indirect object of a transitive verb. Nouns having the role of recipient (as of things given), beneficiary of an action, or possessor of an item are datives. The context plays a crucial factor in differentiating between dative and accusative. According to the data collected it seems that the dative case is marked by /-ke/, /-ki/.

/sƏrkar gƏribiki de pƏisa deti/ ‘The government gives money to the poor’

Government poor-PL-DAT money give-PRS.3SG

/se mo-ke enta/ ‘He comes to me’

3SG me-DAT come.PRS.3

e) Ablative Case:

Ablative case is a case that expresses movement of the subject or the object from one place to another either at the spatial plane or at the temporal plane is expressed by the ablative case. In this language the ablative case is marked by /-ka/, /-bƏʒa/.

/buʒte bƏʒa pƏtte ʒʰƏrte/ ‘Leaves fall from the tree’

Tree-ABL leaves fall-INF be.PRS.3

/se aʒ kja cʰuʒibatʰ asa/ ‘He is on leave from today’

3SG today-ABL leave on be.PRS.3

/Əu buʒe kja dure asa/ ‘I am far from the tree’

1SG tree-ABLfar.POSTP be.PRS.1SG

f) Genitive Case:

Genitive case is a case in which the referent of the marked noun is the possessor of the referent of another noun. This case expresses the meaning of belonging to or possession of something by the subject. In Pangwali the genitive case is marked by /-e/, /-ke/.

/sƏsƏb me kitab un/ 'Those are my books'

Those-PL 1SG.GEN book-PL be.PRS.3

/se tase cjekbə/ 'That is his knife'

That 3SG-GEN knife be.PRS.3

/teŋke gi/ 'Your houses'

2SG-GEN house-PL

g) Locative Case:

Locative case is a case that expresses location at the referent of the noun it marks. The location of the subject or object is expressed by the locative case marker. The locative case is unmarked.

/Əu bƏjar ge hta/

1SG market-Ø go-PRS-1SG

'I go to the market'

/Əu bag ge hēta/

1SG field-Ø go-PRS-1SG

'I go to the field'

/tus sukul ge hēte/

2SG school-Ø go-FUT-2SG

'You will go the school'

➤ **Pronoun:**

A pronoun can replace a noun. It can also take number, gender and case markers like the noun. But the functional difference between a noun and a pronoun is that the pronoun cannot take a determiner and pronoun can be used in all persons whereas a noun always refers to the third person. Pangwali has following types of pronouns.

i) Personal Pronoun:

A personal pronoun refers to a specific person or thing and changes its form to indicate person, number, gender and case. The personal pronoun system in Pangwali distinguishes for two numbers and three persons.

	Singular	Plural
First Person	/Ǿu/“I”	/εs/ “we”
Second Person	/tus/ “you”	/tusmen/ “you(pl)”
Third Person	/se/ “he/she”	/semen/ “they”

Personal pronouns remain unchanged for both transitive verb and intransitive verbs.

ii) Reflexive Pronoun:

A reflexive pronoun is a pronoun that is preceded by the noun, adjective, adverb or pronoun to which it refers (its antecedent) within the same clause. A reflexive pronoun is an anaphor that must be bound by its antecedent in its local domain. In Pangwali language, reflexive pronouns are:

Reflexive Pronoun	Gloss
/Ǿu Ǿpap/	‘myself’
/εsǾb Ǿpap/	‘ourselves’
/tus Ǿpap/	‘yourself’
/ap ap/	‘himself’

iii) Indefinite Pronoun:

An indefinite pronoun is a pronoun that refers to one or more unspecified beings, objects or places.

Indefinite Pronoun	Gloss
/sǾmhai/	“everything”
/kǾna/	“no body”
/kǾ b ^{hi} /	“anybody”
/kǾ b ^{hi} /	“anyone”

iv) Interrogative Pronoun:

An interrogative pronoun is a function word for the item interrupted in an information statement. Interrogative are also called wh-words.

Interrogative Pronoun	Gloss
/ki/	‘what’
/kƏpƏl/	‘when’
/kuo/	‘where’
/kisbɛ/	‘why’
/kɔũ/	‘who’

v) Demonstrative Pronoun:

Demonstrative Pronouns are deictic words that indicate which entities a speaker refers to and distinguish those entities from others. The Demonstrative pronouns either of proximate or remote types is realized in two numbers that is singular and plural which are shown below. The data collected illustrates the fact that Pangwali language has two kinds of Demonstrative pronouns-remote and proximate.

Pronouns	Proximate	Remote
Singular	/i/ “this”	/se/ “that”
Plural	/isob/ “these”	/semeŋ/ “those”

4.d. Verb Morphology:

A verb is a member of the syntactic class of words that signals events and actions constitute, singly or in a phrase, a minimal predicate in a clause, govern the number and types of other constituents which may occur in the clause. Verb is a form class that marks tense – aspect – modal – personal markers distinguished by number and gender. In inflectional languages, verbs may be inflected for tense, aspect, and voice, and modality, agreement with other constituents in terms of person, number and grammatical gender. Verb Morphology deals with the forms and classification of verbs, and their pattern in association etc. Verb stems may either be simple or complex. A simple stem consists of only one root. A complex stem has a root followed by one or more derivational or formative elements.

4.d.i. Types of verb:

A verb denotes action. Different types of actions from the provided data are given below.

a) Physical Activity verbs

/kam kƏrlaŋ/	‘to arrange’
/gugƏlagosa/	‘to bark’
/mƏdƏlagosa/	‘to beat’
/bƏndvosa/	‘to bind’

b) Instrument verbs

/kƏt ^h or kƏtƏŋ/	‘to chop’
/ʒ ^h ĩre kƏtƏŋ/	‘to cut’
/gƏdđƏ k ^h ƏnƏŋ/	‘to dig’
/sikaŋ g ^h əŋu/	‘to hunt’

c) Verbs of fighting

/hamla kƏrƏŋ/	‘to attack’
/harũ/	‘to defeat’
/rƏk ^h ya kƏrũ/	‘to defend’
/ʒ ^h Əgriu/	‘to fight’

d) Music verbs

/d ^h ʒs bƏjaŋ/	‘to beat’
/bonc bƏjaŋ/	‘to blow’
/mƏntƏr pƏr ^h ã/	‘to chant’
/nacun/	‘to dance’

e) Motion verbs

/b ^h i utrũ/	‘to alight’
/kaic ^h a/	‘to appear’
/pƏjajc ^h a/	‘to arrive’
/c ^h Ərũ/	‘to ascend’

f) Occupation verbs

/rak ^h nhaŋ/	‘to brew’
-------------------------	-----------

/pƏlli bi ^h an/	‘to build’
/sap ^h kƏrũ/	‘to clean’
/mjegɔo/	‘to collect’

g) Culinary verbs

/ubalũ/	‘to boil’
/ʃukur kƏrũ/	‘to chop’
/k ^h an jebŋa/	‘to cook’
/piʎu/	‘to drink’

h) Cosmetic verbs

/kƏŋe kƏrĩ/	‘to comb’
/jute gəhŋe bƏŋa/	‘to put on’
/jĩŋe kolã/	‘to take off’
/jɛʃur kud ^h ũ/	‘to tie’

i) Communication verbs

/jƏbab dɛŋ/	‘to answer’
/puç ^h uŋ/	‘to ask’
/maŋguŋ/	‘to ask for’
/b ^h ejaŋ/	‘to call’

j) Non-motion verbs

/bƏkre buʃuŋ/	‘to abstain’
/raʃgƏmtiʃu dɛŋ/	‘to approve’
/kƏrne kabil muŋ/	‘to be able’
/cup buʃũ/	‘to be silent’

k) Inchoative verbs

/buigɔo/	‘to become’
/p ^h iʎ k ^h ilosu/	‘to bloom’
/bƏdlƏŋ/	‘to change’

/mukka/ 'to decay'

l) Cognitive verbs

/b^hΘrosa kΘrΘ̃/ 'to believe'

/gaṇu/ 'to count'

/p^hesla neṇ/ 'to decide'

/supna heṛΘṇ/ 'to dream'

m) Sensory verbs

/dΘruṇ/ 'to fear'

/buḃ^huṇ/ 'to feel'

/ḃuṇu/ 'to hear'

/hasuṇ/ 'to laugh'

n) Emotive verbs

/nΘp^hrΘt kΘri/ 'to hate'

/p^hΘceyaṇ/ 'to kiss'

/k^hΘrΘ lΘgΘṇ/ 'to like'

/prem kΘrΘṇ/ 'to love'

5.d.ii. Classification of verbs:

Verbs may be classified in two ways. (i) Simple verb and (ii) compound verb.

Simple verb: Simple verb consists of one root.

Example:

/p^hΘceyaṇ/ 'to kiss'

/dΘruṇ/ 'to fear'

/buḃ^huṇ/ 'to feel'

/ḃuṇu/ 'to hear'

/hasuṇ/ 'to laugh'

/gaṇu/ 'to count'

/bΘdlΘṇ/ 'to change'

/mukka/	‘to decay’
/buigoo/	‘to become’

Compound verb: A Compound verb consists of more than one root and may include one or more suffixes. In Pangwali compound verbs are as follows,

Example:

/k ^h əɾə ləgəŋ/	‘to like’
/prem kəɾəŋ/	‘to love’
/nəp ^h rət kəri/	‘to hate’
/p ^h esla nəŋ/	‘to decide’
/supna hərəŋ/	‘to dream’
/b ^h ərosa kərəŋ/	‘to believe’
/p ^h il k ^h ilosu/	‘to bloom’
/kərne kabil muŋ/	‘to be able’
/cup bufũ/	‘to be silent’

5.d.iii. Inflection of Verb:

The verbs in Pangwali can be studied with respect to their transitivity, Finiteness.

Transitivity:

Structurally, the classification is made according to their valance i.e., whether they take a single object or two objects or no objects at all.

i) Intransitive verb /dərũ/“to run” as in

/g ^h oɾa	doɾ	osa/
Horse.3SG	run-INF	be.PRES.3SG
‘The horse runs’		

Here the verb /doɾosa/ “runs” does not require any object.

ii) Transitive verb /həruŋ/“to see” as in

/Əu	caɾe	herta/
1SG	bird-ACC	see-INF be.PRES.1SG
‘I see the bird’		

Here the verb /herta/ “see” takes a single object /caɾe/ “bird”.

iii) Ditransitive verb /deŋ/ “gives” as in

/sƏrkar gƏribiki de pƏisa deti/

Government poor-ACC money give-INF be.PRES.3SG

“The Government gives money to poor”

In the above sentence the verb /deti/ “gives” takes direct object /pƏisa/ “money” and the indirect object /gƏribikide/ “poor”

Finiteness:

A finite verb is a verb form that which occurs in an independent clause and is fully inflected according to the inflectional categories marked on verbs in the language. Having the verb roots as the base both Finite and Non-finite verbal formations are realized in Pangwali. The components of finite verb are 1. Tense 2. Aspect and 3. Mood. In Pangwali, finite verbs are formed by adding different suffixes to the verb root and different forms are available for different person and tense. The finite verbal formation is $\sqrt{\text{V}}$ + tense marker \pm aspect marker + personal marker. The formations of the verb /g^hɛŋu-/ ‘to go’ for three different persons and different tenses are given below.

- Tense: Accordingly, verbs in Pangwali are morphologically marked for having three-way opposition of tense as

1. Present

2. Past

3. Future

Following are the person wise tense formations in Pangwali taking /g^hɛŋu-/ ‘go’ as the model verb root.

Present Indefinite:

The verb root /ge-/ ‘to go’ occurs with infinitive marker /-h/ for all three persons. It is followed by /t-/ ‘be’ verb which takes the present tense and PNG markers: /-a/, /-e/ for 1st person and 3rd person singular and plural respectively, /-ena/ for 2nd person singular and plural both.

/Əu bƏjar ge hta/ ‘I go to the market’

1SG market.LOC go-INF be.PRS.1SG

/ɛs bƏjar ge hte/ ‘We go to the market’

1PL market.LOC go-INF be. PRS.1PL

/tus bƏjar geh tena/ ‘You go to the market’

2SG market.LOC go-INF be.PRS.2SG

/tusmeŋ bƏjar geh tena/ ‘You (Plural) go to the market’

2PL market.LOC go-INF be.PRS.2PL

/se bƏjar ge hta/ ‘He goes to the market’

3SG market.LOC go-INF be.PRS.3SG

/se bƏjar ge hte/ ‘They go to the market’

3PL market.LOC go-INF be.PRS.3PL

Past indefinite:

The verb root /ge-/ becomes /go-/ and it occurs with the infinitive marker /-ø/ in all three persons. It is again followed by the /t^h-/ ‘be’ verb which takes the tense and PNG marker: /-eya/, /-e/ in 1st person, /-iye/ in 2nd person, /-eya/, /-iye/ in 3rd person.

/Əu bƏjar go t^heya/ ‘I went to the market’

1SG market.LOC go-INF be.PST.1SG

/es bƏjar go t^he/ ‘We went to the market’

1PL market.LOC go-INF be.PST.1PL

/tus bƏjar go t^hiye/ ‘You went to the market’

2SG market.LOC go-INF be.PST.2SG

/tusmeŋ bƏjar go t^hiye/ ‘You (plural) went to the market’

2PL market.LOC go-INF be.PST.2PL

/se bəʒar go tʰeya/ 'He went to the market'
 3SG market.LOC go-INF be.PST.3SG

/se bəʒar go tʰiye/ 'They went to the market'
 3PL market.LOC go-INF be.PST.3PL

Future Indefinite:

For future tense, the verb root /ge-/ occurs with the infinitive marker /-hẽ/ for all the persons except 3rd person singular. It is followed by /t-/ 'be' verb (only in case of 3rd person singular it is /y-/) which takes the tense and PNG marker: /-a/, /-e/ for 1st person, /-e/ for 2nd person, /-al/, /-e/ for 3rd person.

/ʔu bəʒar ge hẽta/ 'I will go the market'
 1SG market.LOC go-INF be.FUT.1SG

/es bəʒar ge hẽte/ 'We will go the market'
 1PL market.LOC go-INF be.FUT.1PL

/tus bəʒar ge hẽte/ 'You will go the market'
 2SG market.LOC go-INF be.FUT.2SG

/tusmeŋ bəʒar gehẽ te/ 'You (plural) will go the market'
 2PL market.LOC go-INF be.FUT.2PL

/se bəʒar ge yal/ 'He will go the market'
 3SG market.LOC go-INF be.FUT.3SG

/se bəʒar ge hẽte/ 'They will go to the market'
 3PL market.LOC go-INF be.FUT.3PL

- **Aspect:**

Aspect is a grammatical category associated with verbs that expresses a temporal view of the event or state expressed by the verb. A spectral information implies is related with duration, perfection, habituality etc. Pangwali has three aspects interpreted in different tenses. These are –

- i. Imperfective or durative
- ii. Perfective
- iii. Habitual

i. Imperfective or durative aspect:

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. It describes an action which is regarded as continuous in the past or present or future tenses. Thus, the structure of the finite verb with durative aspect is -verb stem- + durative (tense marker) + copula (person marker). In Pangwali different forms of verb ‘to go’ and ‘to see’ is presented below For example,

Present Imperfective:

For present continuous, the verb root /g^hɛn-/ ‘to go’ occurs with /lθgo/ progressive marker and it is followed by /s-/ ‘be’ verb which takes the tense and PNG marker: /-a/ for 1st and 3rd person, /-e/ for 2nd person singular and plural.

/θ̃u bθJar g^hɛn lθg osa/ ‘I am going to the market’
 1SG market-LOC go-PROG be.PRS.1SG

/ɛs bθJar g^hɛn lθg osa/ ‘We are going to the market’
 1PL market-LOC go-PROG be.PRS.1PL

/tus bθJar g^hɛn lθg ose/ ‘You are going to the market’
 2SG market-LOC go-PROG be.PRS.2SG

/tus sθbmenθ bθJar g^hɛn lθg ose/ ‘You (plural) are going to the market’
 2PL market-LOC go-PROG be.PRS.2PL

/sɛ bəʒar ɡʰɛn ləʒ oʂa/ 'He is going to the market'
3SG market-LOC go-PROG be.PRS.3SG

/sɛmɛn bəʒar ɡʰɛn ləʒ oʂa/ 'They are going to the market'
3PL market-LOC go-PROG be.PRS.3PL

Past Imperfective:

For present continuous, the verb root /ɡʰɛn-/ 'to go' occurs with /ləʒo/ progressive marker and it is followed by /tʰ-/ 'be' verb which takes the tense and PNG marker: /-ɛya/, /-iye/ for 1st person, /-iye/ for 2nd person, /-ɛya/, /-e/ for 3rd person.

/ʔu bəʒar ɡʰɛn ləʒo tʰɛya/ 'I am going to the market'
1SG market-LOC go-PROG be.PRS.1SG

/ɛs bəʒar ɡʰɛn ləʒo tʰiye/ 'We are going to the market'
1PL market-LOC go-PROG be.PRS.1PL

/tus bəʒar ɡʰɛn ləʒo tʰiye/ 'You are going to the market'
2SG market-LOC go-PROG be.PRS.2SG

/tus səbɛnɛn bəʒar ɡʰɛn ləʒo tʰiye/ 'You (plural) are going to the market'
2PL market-LOC go-PROG be.PRS.2PL

/sɛ bəʒar ɡʰɛn ləʒo tʰɛya/ 'He is going to the market'
3SG market-LOC go-PROG be.PRS.3SG

/sɛmɛn bəʒar ɡʰɛn ləʒo tʰe/ 'They are going to the market'
3PL market-LOC go-PROG be.PRS.3PL

Future Imperfective:

For future continuous, the verb root /g^hɛŋ-/ occurs with the progressive marker /lɔgo/. It is followed by the /b^h-/ ‘be’ verb which takes the tense and PNG marker: /-ol/ both in singular and plural for all three persons.

/ʔu bɔʒar g^hɛŋ lɔgo b^hol/ ‘I will be going to the market’
1SG market.LOC go-PROG be.FUT.1SG

/ɛs bɔʒar g^hɛŋ lɔgo b^hol/ ‘We will be going to the market’
1PL market.LOC go-PROG be.FUT.1PL

/tus bɔʒar g^hɛŋ lɔgo b^hol/ ‘You will be going to the market’
2SG market.LOC go-PROG be.FUT.2SG

/tus sɔbmɛŋ bɔʒar g^hɛŋ lɔgo b^hol/ ‘You (plural) will be going to the market’
2PL market.LOC go-PROG be.FUT.2PL

/sɛ bɔʒar g^hɛŋ lɔgo b^hol/ ‘He will be going to the market’
3SG market.LOC go-PROG be.FUT.3SG

/sɛ sɔb bɔʒar g^hɛŋ lɔgo b^hol/ ‘They will be going to the market’
3PL market.LOC go-PROG be.FUT.3PL

ii. Perfective Aspect:

It describes an action either completed in the past or to be completed in the past or to be completed. In the present it expresses the completion of an action which is just finished. In the past it expresses the action which is already done. The action to be completed in near future is expressed in future perfect. In Pangwali language examples of perfective aspect is expressed by present, past and future perfect tense.

Present perfective:

Here the verb root /go-/ ‘to go’ occurs with the perfective marker /-ø/ for all three persons. It is followed by /s-/ ‘be’ verb which takes the tense and PNG marker: /-a/, /-e/ for 1st person singular and plural respectively, /-e/ for other two persons both in singular and plural.

/Ńu bŃjar go sa/ ‘I have gone to the market’

1SG market-LOC go-PRF be.PRS.1SG

/εs bŃjarje go se/ ‘We have gone to the market’

1PL market-LOC go-PRF be.PRS.1PL

/tus bŃjarje go se/ ‘You have gone to the market’

2SG market-LOC go-PRF be.PRS.2SG

/tusmeŋ bŃjarje go se/ ‘You (plural) have gone to the market’

2PL market-LOC go-PRF be.PRS.2PL

/se bŃjar je go se/ ‘He has gone to the market’

3SG market-LOC go-PRF be.PRS.3SG

/semeŋ bŃjar je go se/ ‘They have gone to the market’

3PL market-LOC go-PRF be.PRS.3PL

Past Perfective:

For past perfective, the verb root /go-/ occurs with the perfective marker /ø-/ for all three persons. It is followed by /th-/ ‘be’ verb which takes the tense and the PNG marker: /-eja/, /-ije/ for 1st and 3rd person singular and plural respectively, /-ije/ for 2nd person both in singular and plural.

/Ńu bŃjar go theja/ ‘I had gone to the market’

1SG market-LOC go-PRF be.PST.1SG

/εs	bəʒar	go	tʰije/	‘We had gone to the market’
1PL	market-LOC	go-PRF	be.PST.1PL	
/tus	bəʒar	go	tʰije/	‘You had gone to the market’
2SG	market-LOC	go-PRF	be.PST.2Sg	
/tus	səbmenə bəʒar	go	tʰije/	‘You (plural) had gone to the market’
2PL	market-LOC	go-PRF	be.PST.2PL	
/se	bəʒar	go	tʰeja/	‘He had gone to the market’
3SG	market-LOC	go-PRF	be.PST.3Sg	
/se	bəʒar	go	tʰije/	‘They had gone to the market’
3PL	market-LOC	go-PRF	be.PST.3PL	

Future Perfective:

For future perfective, the verb /go-/ ‘to go’ occurs with the perfective marker /-ø/ for all three persons. It is followed by /bʰ-/ ‘be’ verb which takes the tense and PNG marker: /-ol/ for all three persons both in singular and plural.

Ǟu	bəʒar	go	bʰol/	‘I shall have gone to the market’
1SG	market-LOC	go-PRF	be.FUT.1SG	
/εsmenə	bəʒar	go	bʰol/	‘We shall have gone to the market’
1PL	market-LOC	go-PRF	be.FUT.1PL	
/tus	bəʒar	go	bʰol/	‘You will have gone to the market’
2SG	market-LOC	go-PRF	be.FUT.2SG	

/tus sƏbmenɿ bƏʃar go bʰol/ ‘You (plural) will have gone to the market’
2PL market-LOC go-PRF be.FUT.2PL

/sɛ bƏʃar go bʰol/ ‘He will have gone to the market’
3SG market-LOC go-PRF be.FUT.3SG

/sɛ bƏʃar go bʰol/ ‘They will have gone to the market’
3PL market-LOC go-PRF be.FUT.3PL

Present Perfect Continuous:

The verb root /hɛr-/ ‘to see’ occurs with the perfective marker /-te/ for all three persons and progressive marker /-rƏho/. It is followed by /s-/ ‘be’ verb which takes the tense and PNG marker: /-a/, /-e/ for 1st and 3rd person singular and plural, /-e/ for 2nd person.

/Əu caɽ hɛrta rƏhosa/ ‘I have been seeing the bird’
1SG bird-ACC see-PRF-PROG be.PRS.1SG

/ɛs caɽ hɛrte rƏhose/ ‘We have been seeing the bird’
1PL bird-ACC see-PRF-PROG be.PRS.1PL

/tus caɽ hɛrte rƏhose/ ‘You have been seeing the bird’
2SG bird-ACC see-PRF-PROG be.PRS.2SG

/tus sƏbmenɿ caɽ hɛrte rƏhose/ ‘You (plural) have been seeing the bird’
2PL bird-ACC see-PRF-PROG be.PRS.2PL

/sɛ caɽ hɛrta rƏhosa/ ‘He has been seeing the bird’
3SG bird-ACC see-PRF-PROG be.PRS.3SG

/sesəb caɿ hɛrte rəhose/ ‘They have been seeing the bird’

3PL bird-ACC see-PRF-PROG be.PRS.3PL

Past Perfect Continuous:

The verb root /hɛr-/ ‘to see’ occurs with the perfect marker /-te/ for all the persons (except 3rd person singular, there it is /-ta/) and progressive marker /-rəho/ for all the persons. It is followed by /^h-/ ‘be’ verb which takes the tense and PNG marker: /-eya/, /-ije/ for 1st person, /-ije/ for 2nd person, /-ija/, /-ije/ for 3rd person.

/ʔu caɿ hɛrte rəhot^heja/ ‘I had been seeing the bird’

1SG bird see-PRF-PROG be.PST.1SG

/ɛs caɿ hɛrte rəhot^hije/ ‘We had been seeing the bird’

1PL bird see-PRF-PROG be.PST.1PL

/tus caɿ hɛrte rəhot^hije/ ‘You had been seeing the bird’

2SG bird see-PRF-PROG be.PST.2SG

/tus səbmenɿ caɿ hɛrte rəhot^hije/ ‘You (plural) had been seeing the bird’

2PL bird see-PRF-PROG be.PST.2PL

/se caɿ hɛrta rəhot^hija/ ‘He had been seeing the bird’

3SG bird see-PRF-PROG be.PST.3Sg

/se səb caɿ hɛrte rəhot^hije/ ‘They had been seeing the bird’

3PL bird see-PRF-PROG be.PST.3PL

Future Perfect Continuous:

The verb root /hɛr-/ occurs with the perfect marker /-ta/ for 1st person, /-te/ for 2nd person, /-ta/, /-te/ for 3rd person singular and plural respectively and progressive marker /reo-/ for 1st, 2nd person, /rea-, /rei-/ for 3rd person. It is followed by /b^h-/ ‘be’ verb which takes the tense and PNG marker: /-ol/ for all three persons both in singular and plural.

/Əu caɽ hɛɾta reob^hol/ ‘I shall have been seeing the bird’
1SG bird-ACC see-PRF-PROG be.FUT.1SG

/ɛs caɽ hɛɾta reob^hol/ ‘We will have been seeing the bird’
1PL bird-ACC see-PRF-PROG be.FUT.1PL

/tus caɽ hɛɾte reob^hol/ ‘You will have been seeing the bird’
2Sg bird-ACC see-PRF-PROG be.FUT.2SG

/tus sƏbmenɽ caɽ hɛɾte reob^hol/ ‘You (plural) will have been seeing the bird’
2PL bird-ACC see-PRF-PROG be.FUT.2PL

/sɛ caɽ hɛɾta reab^hol/ ‘He will have been seeing the bird’
3SG bird-ACC see-PRF-PROG be.FUT.3SG

/sɛ caɽ hɛɾte reib^hol/ ‘They will have been seeing the bird’
3PL bird-ACC see-PRF-PROG be.FUT.3PL

iii. Habitual Aspect:

It describes an action which happens/happened or will happen habitually or regularly.

Present habitual: In this mother tongue, past habitual is formed in the following way:

/dis purub diɟajken ustu/ ‘The sun rises in the east’
Sun eat-PSTP rise-HAB.PRS.3

/ɛs roɟ gorebefu lante/ ‘We milk the cow’s everyday’
1PL everyday cowmilk-ACC milk-HAB.PRS.1

Past habitual:

The verb root /g^hen-/ ‘to go’ occurs with Habitual aspect marker /-ø/ for all three person both in singular and plural. It is followed by /t-/ ‘be’ verb which takes the tense and PNG marker: /-Ət/ for all three persons both in singular and plural.

/Əu no bajə dƏptƏr g^hen tƏt/

1SG 9 o’clock office-LOC go-HAB be.PST.1SG

‘I used to go to office at 9 o’clock’

/əs no bajə dƏptƏr g^hen tƏt/

1PL 9 o’clock office-LOC go-HAB be.PST.1PL

‘We used to go to office at 9 o’clock’

/tus no bajə dƏptƏr g^hen tƏt/

2SG 9 o’clock office-LOC go-HAB be.PST.2SG

‘You used to go to office at 9 o’clock’

/tus sƏbmən no bajə haʃibaʃ g^hen tƏt/

2PL 9 o’clock shop-LOC go-HAB be.PST.2PL

‘You (plural) used to go to the shop at 9 o’clock’

/sɛ no bajə bƏʃar g^hen tƏt/

3SG 9 o’clock market-LOC go-HAB be.PST.3SG

‘He used to go to market at 9 o’clock’

/sɛmən no bajə dƏptƏr g^hen tƏt/

3PL 9 o’clock office-LOC go-HAB be.PST.3PL

‘They used to go to office at 9 o’clock’

- **Moods:**

Mood expresses the attitude of the speaker towards what he is saying in terms of the degree or kind of reality in terms of indicative, imperative, subjunctive, obligatory, dubitative, permissive of the propositional content of the sentence.

i. Indicative:

Most verbs we use are in indicative mood, which indicates the action.

/se tase cjek bə/ 'That is his knife'

DET 3SG-GEN knife be.PRS.3SG

/sƏsƏb me kitab un/ 'Those are my books'

DET.PL 1SG-GEN book-PL be.PRS.3

/it me bag asa/ 'This is my garden'

DET 1SG-GEN garden be.PRS.3

ii. Imperative:

Verb in the imperative mood denotes command or request. This mood always occurs with second person. Though it is not present in the sentence but the sense must be there and it is always understood that it denotes the second person. For example:

/mƏt^h mƏt^h bo kƏr/ 'Speak slowly'

Slowly speak-IMP

/susƏr Ək^hƏr lik^h/ 'Write the words neatly'

Neatly words write-IMP

/gi je ga/ 'Go home'

Home go-IMP

iii.Subjunctive:

When verbs show something contrary to the fact, they are in the subjunctive mood. It is used to express wishes, commands, emotions, possibility, judgment, necessity etc. In Pangwali, the subjunctive mood is triggered by the use of conditional markers /əgər/‘if’ and /to/ ‘then’. Example,

/məjnət kərinda to p^həl mi|gəjta/
hard work do.FUT then success get go.HAB
‘If he works hard he will succeed’

/se ɛŋ to ão gəj b^hol/
3SG come then 1SG go be.FUT
‘I shall go if he comes’

/əgər tus somhai tɛm juje gɛŋ to ãs əmdehan dɛŋ səkta/
If 2SG all time POSTP come then we examination give may
‘If you come in time we will examine this’

iv.Obligatory:

Mood of obligation in Pangwali is expressed by the use of the modal verb like /caji/ ‘must/should’.

/tus-o kɛsebi halət əntər ɛŋ caji/ ‘Anyhow you must come’
2SG-GEN here not remain.INF must

/məj kam kəro c^haji t^hi/ ‘I should have done the work’
1SG work do.INF should be.PST

iv. Dubitative:

Dubitative mood which expresses doubt or uncertainty on the part of the speaker. In Pangwali, dubitative mood is expressed by the use of modals /səkta/ ‘may’ which is inflected with PNG markers.

/Ńu ei səkta/ ‘I may come’
1SG come-INF may.PRS.1SG

/se caŋ mar səkta/ ‘He may kill the bird’
3SG bird-ACC kill-INF may.PRS.3SG

v. Permissive:

Permissive mood is a directive mood that signals the speaker’s act of giving permission.

/təni səb^{hi} eŋda/ 'Let them all come'

3PL all-ACC come-INF let-IMP

4.d. iv. Non-Finite verb Formation:

a. Verbal Noun:

A verbal noun is formed by adding a noun suffix to a verb.

Here the process is: Verb + noun forming suffix = Noun (verbal Noun) [$\sqrt{\text{ }}$ + non-finite marker].
In Pangwali the non-finite marker is /-ŋ/.

/təru-/ 'to swim' > /təruŋ/ 'swimming'.

/dam de-/ 'to smoke' > /dam deŋ/ 'smoking'.

b. Infinitive:

An infinitive form is to + the verb. Some verbs can take either the gerund or the infinitive with no loss of meaning. The infinitive markers in Pangwali are /-əŋ/, /-eŋ/, /-uŋ/, /-ŋu/.

/bədɪəŋ/ 'to change'

/gaŋu/ 'to count'

/p^hesla neŋ/ 'to decide'

/supna heɾəŋ/ 'to dream'

/dʒəruŋ/ 'to fear'

/buɟ^huŋ/ 'to feel'

/bəkɾe buɟuŋ/ 'to abstain'

/raɟgəmtiɟu deŋ/ 'to approve'

/kəme kabil muŋ/ 'to be able'

c. Gerund:

Gerunds and infinitives are forms of verbs that act like nouns. They can follow adjectives and other verbs. Since it is a kind of noun, it may be the subject or object to some verb.

Example:

/təruŋ seɟde lije bəɾi asu/

Swim-NomiSuffix health for.POSTP good be.PRS.3

'Swimming is good for health'

/dam dɛŋ sɛjde lije kʰətθrnak asu/

Some-NomiSuffix health for.POSTPdangerous be.PRS.3

‘Smoking is dangerous for health’

d.Participle:

A participle is a word that shares some characteristics of both verbs and adjectives. It is also called verbal adjective. A participle is a word formed from a verb that can function as part of a verb phrase.

/cʰθpio kitab pθɽi sukʰti bʰũti/

Print-ADJ.PTCP book-PL read-INFeasy be.PRS.3

‘Printed books are easy to read’

/sɛ bʰoʦo pʰθl beŋɛ ʒe go tʰeja/

3SG.F fall-ADJ.PTCP fruit-ACC collect-INF be.PST.3

‘She collected the fallen fruits’

4.d.v. Negation:

In linguistics and grammar, affirmative and negative are terms of opposite meaning which may be applied to statements, verb phrases, clauses, and some other utterances. Essentially an affirmative (positive) form is used to express the validity or truth of a basic assertion, while a negative form expresses its falsity. In a SOV ordered sentence the negative element comes with the verb of the sentence. In Pangwali, the negative morphemes are /na/, /nei/ ‘not’ which occurs before or after the verb.

/sɛ kam kioru nei/ ‘He did not do the work’

3SG.M work do-INF not-NEG

/i kʰaŋɛ kabi nei/ ‘This is not edible’

DET edible not-NEG

/sɛ tθs kam na kθr sθkte/ ‘They cannot do it’

3PL DET work not-NEGdo-INF can

/Əu ʃui na enta/ 'I shall not come tomorrow'

1SG tomorrow not-NEGcome-INF be.FUT.1

4.d.vi. Causation:

A causative is a grammatical or lexical indication of the causal role of a referent in relation to an event or state expressed by a verb. In Pangwali, causative verbs are –

/Əu nokƏr kja bag kam kƏr Ənta/

1SG servant-INS field-LOC work do-CAUS be.PRS.1SG

'I make the servant work in the field'

/Əu meŋu has anta/

1SG people-ACC laugh-CAUS be.PRS.1

'I make the people laugh'

/Əu g^hoɾe doɾ anta/

1SG horse run-CAUS-PROG be.PRS.1

'I am making the horse run'

4.d.vii. Passivization:

A passive sentence is created from an active sentence by:

1. Subject changes into object.
2. Adding "by".
3. Object changes to the subject.
4. Changing the verb form to its participle form.

Active: /Əu roɾ k^hanta/

1SG bread eat-INF be.PRS.1SG

'I eat bread'

Passive: /roʈ mo kja k^heŋi ləgosi/

bread 1SG-INS eat-PRFbe.PST.3

‘The bread is eaten by him’

In this language /ŋu/ ‘I’ is subject and in the passive sentence it becomes object and its form is /mo/ ‘me’ which takes its postposition /kja/ ‘by’ and the object of the active sentence /roʈ/ ‘bread’ comes to the subject’s position. Verb √k^ha- ‘to eat’ has the form /k^hanta/ ‘eat’ (1st person form) changes to its participial form /k^heŋi ləgosi/ ‘is eaten’.

4.e. Adjective:

An adjective is a word that belongs to a class whose members modify nouns. An adjective specifies the properties or attributes of a noun referent. In this language adjectives occur before noun and remain unchanged for any change in gender and number. There are three grammatical classes of adjectives in this language, namely i. Attributive adjectives, ii. Predicative adjectives, iii. Derived adjectives which are discussed below:

i. Attributive adjectives:

Attributive adjectives are adjectives that describe a characteristic (or attribute) of the noun or pronoun that they modify. They form part of a noun phrase, appearing immediately before (or sometimes after) the noun in a sentence.

/k^hara kva/ ‘Good boy’

Good-ADJ boy-SG

/mat^həɾ gəbu/ ‘Small child’

Small-ADJ child-SG

/bəɖi kitab/ ‘Big book’

Big-ADJ book-SG

/acc^he g^hoʈe/ ‘White horses’

White-ADJ horse-PL

/moʈa buʈa/ 'Large tree'

Large-ADJ tree-SG

ii. Predicative adjective:

Predicative adjectives links via a copula or other connecting device to the noun or pronoun they modify. Example:

/semeŋ bʈlouʈn asa/ 'Those men are strong'

DET.PL strong-ADJ be.PRS.3PL

/se kvi tʈŋi asi/ 'That girl is deaf'

DET.SG girl deaf-ADJ be.PRS.3SG

iii. Derived Adjectives:

In Pangwali some adjectives are found to have derived from verb and hence these may be termed as derived adjectives. The formation is the following:

Verb Base followed by Participle marker /-o/.

Examples

/se bʈoʈ-o pʈʈl beŋe ʃe goʈheja/

3SG fall-ADJ.PTCP fruit collect-INF be.PST.3SG

'She collected the fallen fruits'

/cʰʈpi-o kitab pʈʈi sukʈi bʈʈti/

Print-ADJ.PTCP book read-INF easy be.PRES

'Printed books are easy to read'

Further, semantically Pangwali adjectives can be categorized into three, namely.

i. Qualitative, ii. Quantitative and iii. Demonstrative adjective.

i. Qualitative adjective:

The adjectives which attribute a quality to the nouns are called qualitative adjectives. The examples are

/bƏdʒi kitab/ 'Big book'

Big-ADJ book-SG

/acc^he g^hoɽe/ 'White horses'

White-ADJ horse-PL

/moɽa buɽa/ 'Large tree'

Large-ADJ tree-SG

ii. Quantitative adjective:

The adjectives which refer to the quantity of the nouns with which they occur are called Quantitative adjectives. In Pangwali the use of Quantitative adjectives are as follows

a) When the numerical unit is followed by the relevant attributed nouns. For example,

/dui kitabe/ 'Two books'

NUM.ADJ book.PL

/duibƏlay/ 'Two cats'

NUM.ADJ cat.PL

b) When the quantity is in indefinite unit followed by the attributed nouns. For example,

/t^hore mɛc^hi/

some.ADJ fish.PL 'Some fishes'

/t^hoɽo poɽŋ/ 'Some water'

Some.ADJ water

iii. Demonstrative adjective:

The forms which Demonstrate the nouns are called Demonstrative adjectives which are realized in following way in Pangwali language.

/i sƏmhai me gi bo/. 'These are my houses'

DET.PL.ADJ 1SG-GEN house.PL be.PRES

/se tase cjək bə/. 'That is his knife'

DET.ADJ 3SG-GEN knife be.PRES

In the above examples /gi/ 'houses', /cjək/ 'knife', are Demonstrated by /i sƏmhai/ 'these', /se/ 'that' respectively and for this purpose here they are functioning as Demonstrative adjectives only.

- **Numerals:**

Numerals is a word denoting a number is a grammatical category distinguishing between singular and plural. The numbers in Pangwali may be classified as Cardinals, Ordinals and Fractional.

Cardinals:

Cardinal numbers are generalization of the natural numbers used to measure the cardinality (size) of sets.

CARDINALS	GLOSS
/jək/	'one'
/dui/	'two'
/təj/	'three'
/cər/	'four'
/pənɟ/	'five'
/c ^h jah/	'six'
/sat/	'seven'
/a ^t h/	'eight'
/nə/	'nine'
/dəf/	'ten'

All the numbers from one to ten and the multiples of ten are presented below along with their all possible allomorphs which act as suffixes or prefixes to form the next set of numerals.

Examples,

[jək]~[ja-]~[ek-]~[ik-]	‘one’
[dui]~[ba-]~[bə-]~[do-]	‘two’
[tʃaj]~[te-]	‘three’
[cər]~[cəu-]	‘four’
[pəŋj]~ [pand-]~[paŋj-]~[pɔ̄j-]~[pəc-]~[pāj]	‘five’
[c ^h jah]~[ʃo-]	‘six’
[sat]~[səta-]	‘seven’
[a ^h] [ə ^h a-]	‘eight’
[nɔ̄]~[un-]~[r-]~[n-]~[nin-]	‘nine’
[dəʃ]~[-dah]~[-rah]	‘ten’
[bih]~[-nih]~[-kih]~[-jih]~[-ih]	‘twenty’
/tih/	‘thirty’
/ta ^h jih/	‘forty’
/-unja/	‘fifty’
/-sa ^h t ^h /	‘sixty’
/-attər/	‘seventy’
/-assi/	‘eighty’
/-anve/	‘ninety’
/səu/	‘hundred’
/həjar/	‘thousand’

Formation of higher numerals:

Higher numerals are formed by adding allomorphs of numerical units (1 to 9) to the allomorphs of base units (ten to ninety). Example:

Examples	Formation	Gloss
/jarah/	/ja- ‘one’ + /-rah/ ‘ten’	‘eleven’
/barah/	/ba- ‘two’ + /-rah/ ‘ten’	‘twelve’
/terah/	/te- ‘three’ + /-rah/ ‘ten’	‘thirteen’
/cəudah/	/cəu- ‘five’ + /-dah/ ‘ten’	‘fourteen’
/pandrah/	/pand- ‘five’ + /-rah/ ‘ten’	‘fifteen’
/forah/	/ʃo- ‘six’ + /-rah/ ‘ten’	‘sixteen’
/sətarah/	/səta- ‘seven’ + /-rah/ ‘ten’	‘seventeen’
/ə ^h arah/	/ə ^h a- ‘eight’ + /-rah/ ‘ten’	‘eighteen’
/unnih/	/un- ‘nine’ + /-nih/ ‘twenty’	‘nineteen’
/bih/	/bih/ ‘twenty’	‘twenty’
/ekkih/	/ek/ ‘one’ + /-kih/ ‘twenty’	‘twenty one’
/bajih/	/ba- ‘two’ + /-jih/ ‘twenty’	‘twenty two’
/paŋjih/	/paŋj- ‘five’ + /-ih/ ‘twenty’	‘twenty five’

/unət̪ih/	/un-/ ‘one’ + /-ət-/ ‘infix’ + /t̪ih/ ‘thirty’	‘twenty nine’
/ekət̪ih/	/ek/ ‘one’ + /-ət-/ ‘infix’ + /t̪ih/ ‘thirty’	‘thirty one’
/pɔ̃j̪t̪ih/	/pɔ̃j-/ ‘five’ + /t̪ih/ ‘thirty’	‘thirty five’
/untal̪ih/	/un-/ ‘nine’ + /-tal̪ih/ ‘forty’	‘thirty nine’
/ektal̪ih/	/ek-/ ‘two’ + /-tal̪ih/ ‘forty’	‘forty one’
/bətal̪ih/	/bət-/ ‘two’ + /-tal̪ih/ ‘forty’	‘forty two’
/pəjt̪al̪ih/	/pəj-/ ‘five’ + /-tal̪ih/ ‘forty’	‘forty five’
/runʒa/	/r-/ ‘nine’ + /-unʒa/ ‘fifty’	‘forty nine’
/ikunʒa/	/ik-/ ‘one’ + /-unʒa/ ‘fifty’	‘fifty one’
/pəcunʒa/	/pəc-/ ‘five’ + /-unʒa/ ‘fifty’	‘fifty five’
/unsat̪ʰ/	/un-/ ‘nine’ + /-sat̪ʰ/ ‘sixty’	‘fifty nine’
/ekat̪ʰ/	/ek-/ ‘one’ + /-sat̪ʰ/ ‘sixty’	‘sixty one’
/pəjsat̪ʰ/	/pəj-/ ‘five’ + /-sat̪ʰ/ ‘sixty’	‘sixty five’
/unattər/	/un-/ ‘nine’ + /-attər/ ‘seventy’	‘sixty nine’
/ekattər/	/ek-/ ‘one’ + /-attər/ ‘seventy’	‘seventy one’
/pəcattər/	/pəc-/ ‘five’ + /-attər/ ‘seventy’	‘seventy five’
/unassi/	/un-/ ‘one’ + /-assi/ ‘eighty’	‘seventy nine’
/ekassi/	/ek-/ ‘one’ + /-assi/ ‘eighty’	‘eighty one’
/pəcassi/	/pəc-/ ‘five’ + /-assi/ ‘eighty’	‘eighty five’
/nanv̪e/	/n-/ ‘nine’ + /-anv̪e/ ‘eighty’	‘eighty nine’
/ikanv̪e/	/ik-/ ‘one’ + /-anv̪e/ ‘ninety’	‘ninety one’
/pəcanv̪e/	/pəc-/ ‘five’ + /-anv̪e/ ‘ninety’	‘ninety five’
/ninanv̪e/	/nin-/ ‘nine’ + /-anv̪e/ ‘ninety’	‘ninety nine’
/sɔu/	separate morph	‘Hundred’
/t̪ajsɔu/	/t̪aj-/ ‘three’ + /-sɔu/ ‘hundred’	‘three hundred’
/pājsɔu/	/pāj-/ ‘five’ + /-sɔu/ ‘hundred’	‘five hundred’
/həʒar/	separate morph	‘Thousand’

Ordinals:

On the basis of the three examples of ordinals available in the data, it can be said that in Pangwali ordinals are mostly formed by adding /-ka/. However, in some cases a separate morph may also be used as in case of ‘first’.

Ordinals	Formation	Gloss
/pɛjla/	separate morph	‘first’
/doka/	/do-/ ‘two’ +/-ka/ suffix	‘second’
/taka/	/ta-/ ‘three’ +/-ka/ suffix	‘third’

Fractional:

From the available data it can be assumed that in Pangwali usually separate morphs are present for fractions. The formation of basic fractions in Pangwali is given below:

Fractional	Gloss
/ad ^h o/	‘half’
/dɛɾ/	‘one and a half’
/pao/	‘quarter’
/səva/	‘one and a quarter’

4. f. Adverb:

Adverbs are the classes of words, which are used to modify the verb. Adverbs are semantically divided into different groups as follows. Pangwali has three types of adverbs:

/mθ^h mθ^h bo kθɾ/ ‘Speak slowly’

slowly speak-IMP

/susθɾ θk^hθɾ lik^h/ ‘Write the words neatly’

neatly words write-IMP

In the above sentences /mθ^h mθ^h/ ‘slowly’, /susθɾ/ ‘neatly’ are the adverbs. Adverbs are semantically divided into different groups as follows.

Adverb of Manner	Adverb of Direction and Measurement	Adverb of Time
/beremije/ ‘cruely’	/dure/ ‘far’	/aj/ ‘today’
/joɾɛ/ ‘loudly’	/b ^h ɛɾ/ ‘near’	/fui/ ‘tomorrow’
/sip ^h aije/ ‘neatly’		/hikθŋɾoɟ/ ‘yesterday’
/ruk ^h a/ ‘roughly’		

4.g. Post Position:

A part of speech placed after other words in composition and which expresses the relation it has to other elements in a sentence.

/sɛ gi antəʀ asi/ ‘He is in the house’

3SG in- POST POSITION be. PRS

4.h. Conjunction:

Conjunction connects two words, sentences, phrases or clauses together and binds together the discourse and filling gaps in its interpretation.

/iʰi ek bila ta ek kutəʀ asa/ ‘Here is a cat and a dog’

here a cat and a dog be.PRS

4.i. Interjection:

An interjection is a form, typically brief, such as one syllable or word, which is applied frequently as an exclamation or part of an exclamation.

/tuskətɛ ləme bʰol/ How tall you have grown!

you-2SG interjection word tall grow-PRS

5. SYNTAX

Syntax is the component of a grammar which determines how words are combined together to form phrases and sentences. It studies the principles and rules for constructing phrases and sentences in natural languages and rules governing the order of combining the words to form sentences in a language. A syntactic category is a set of words and/or phrases in a language which share a significant number of common characteristics. The classification is based on similar structure and sameness of distribution (the structural relationships between these elements and other items in a larger grammatical structure), and not on meaning. The syntax of Pangwali is discussed below.

Word order

Word order typology is the study of the linear sequencing of the syntactic constituents within a phrase or sentence of a language. The primary word order that is of interest is the relative ordering of subject, object, and verb in a sentence. The Word order in Pangwali is of SOV (subject-object-verb) pattern.

Example:

/Ḫucaṛeher ta/ 'I see the bird'

1SG bird see-INF be.PRS.1SG

S O V

/Ḫuroṭk^{han} ta/ 'I eat bread'

1SG bread eat-INF be.PRS.1SG

S O V

/esgəremarte/ "We beat the Cows"

1PL cow.PL beat-INF be.PRS.1PL

S O V

5.a. Types of sentences

Structural Classification of Sentences:

A sentence is a grammatical unit that is composed of one or more clauses. There are three types of sentences based on structure. Therefore, structurally, sentences can be classified into three categories: Simple, Complex and Compound. These three types of sentences are available in Pangwali language.

The examples are given below–

i. Simple Sentence:

The simple sentence consists of a subject and a predicate. It is a sentence that contains one independent clause and no dependent clauses.

/se jək kitab pəɾta/ 'He reads a book'
3SG a book read.HAB

/Əuroʃk^han ta/ 'I eat bread'
1SG bread eat-INF be.PRS.1SG

ii. Complex sentence:

A complex sentence is a sentence with one independent clause and at least one or more dependent clauses. A complex sentence is often used to make clear which ideas are most important, and which ideas are subordinate. From the available constructions it seems that in Pangwali, the complex sentences are formed with the help of some relative pronouns like /jen/ 'that', /jaha/ 'where', /je/ 'who', /jejo/ 'whom', /jesa/ 'whose'.

/i sei kutƏɾ bo jen kvak^hot^hea/ 'This is the dog that bit the boy'
this that dog be.INF that boy bite.INF

/i sei jaga so jahagəuɾacəɾte/ 'That is the place where the cows graze'/
This that place be.PRS where cow graze.HAB
/jejəkmaomərga se jəkgi:tjarit^ha/ 'The man who died yesterday was a singer'
who one man dead 3SG whosinger be.PST

/jejoekarəjmi|ot^hi se oh maob^ho/ 'This is the man whom i met yesterday'
whom yesterday meet.INFbe.PST 3SG that man be.INF

/se sei maob^hojesakamiɟcurit^hi/ 'This is the man whose shirt was stolen last night'
3SG thatman be.INFwhose shirt steal be.PST

iii. Compound Sentence:

A compound sentence is a sentence composed of two or more coordinate clauses. In Pangwali compound sentences are formed by the use of /ta/ /or/ 'and'.

/t^horemɛç^himoŋjasi ta t^horiməç^hməŋt^hirasi/

Some fish big be.PRS.3 and some fish small be.PRS.3

‘Some fish are big and some are small’

/mɛk^hurliŋka ta ʃu^harga/

1SG-GEN foot slip.PST and 1SG fall-INF be.PST

‘My foot slipped and I fell down’

/disakamkər-ø or ratiuŋhodɛŋ-ø/

Day word do-IMP and night sleep give-IMP

‘Work in the day and sleep at night’

Semantically, sentences can be divided into the following types:

i. **Statement Sentence:**

The sentence which affirms a statement is a Statement Sentence.

Examples in Pangwali

/ʃuroŋk^hanta/ ‘I eat bread’

1SG bread eat-INF be.PRS.1SG

ii. **Interrogative Sentence:**

The sentence which indicates a question is Interrogative Sentence.

/tɛnəokiasu/ ‘What is your name?’

2SG-GEN name what be.PRS.2SG

iii. **Imperative Sentence:**

The sentence which implies a request, a command, an advice etc. is Imperative sentence. In this type of sentences subject of the verb gets omitted.

Example in Pangwali:

/mƏt^hmƏt^hbokƏr/ ‘Speak slowly’
Slowly speak-IMP

/susƏrƏk^hƏrlik^h/ ‘Write the words neatly’
neatly words write-IMP

iv. **Purposive Sentence:**

The sentence which expresses a purpose is a Purposive sentence.

/tƏsg^hoʔebeckenta/ ‘That horse is to be sold’
DET horse to be sold

v. **Potential Sentence:**

When the potentiality is expressed in a sentence, it is called Potential sentence.

/ƏueisƏkta/ ‘I may come’
1SG come-INF may be.PRS.1SG

/se caʔmarsƏk ta/ ‘He may kill the bird’
3SG bird-ACC kill-INF may be.PRS.3SG

vi. **Conditional sentence:**

When two actions are conditioned by each other in a single sentence. Here, in this Pangwali mother tongue condition is expressed by the use of /agƏr/‘if’.

/agƏr tus somhai tɛm juje gɛŋ to ʔs əmdehan dɛŋ səkɛ/

if you come then we FUT. examine

‘If you come in time we will examine this’

vii. **Passive sentence:**

The sentence where the main action is expressed in passive is called passive sentence.

The active and passive voices of the same sentence in Pangwali are given below:

Active:

/ão roʈi k^hata/ 'I eat bread'

1SG bread eat.PRS.1SG

Passive:

/tɛse bolle roʈi k^haji gɛj/ 'The bread is eaten by him'

1SG-INSbread eat-PRFbe.PST.3

Other passive constructions are:

/serkar dara gəribode rupej dɛŋ gɛj/

Govt-INS poor-ACC money given be.PST

'Money was given by the government to the poor'

viii. Causative Sentence:

The causative sentences are formed by suffixing causative marker to the verb which varies according to the person. When the subject causes some agent to do the action we get causative sentence.

Example in Pangwali:

/ÕunokƏrkya bag kamkƏrƏnta/

1SG servant-INS field-LOC work do-CAUS be.PRS.1SG

'I make the servant work in the field'

/Õumeŋu has anta/

1SG people-ACC laugh-CAUS be.PRS.1

'I make the people laugh'

/Õug^hoɾedoɾ anta/

1SG horse run-CAUS-PROG be.PRS.1

'I am making the horse run'

ix. Negative sentence:

The sentence which expresses the negation is Negative sentence.

/sekamkiorunei/ 'He did not do the work'

3SG.M work do-INF not

/ik^haŋekabinei/ 'This is not edible'

DET edible not

/setθskamnakθrsθkte/ 'They cannot do it'

3PL DET work not do-INF can

/Œufuinaenta/ 'I shall not come tomorrow'

1SG tomorrow not come-INF be.FUT.1

5. b. Structure of phrases:

A phrase is a syntactic structure that consists of more than one word but lacks the subject-predicate organization of a clause. The phrasal sub-division in Pangwali is as follows.

i. Noun Phrase:

A noun phrase or nominal phrase, (NP) combines with other words in a noun phrase, optionally accompanied by modifiers like adjectives and intensifiers.

/ãoroŋik^hata/

1SG bread eat.HAB

[[ão_N]_{NP} [[roŋi_{NP}] k^hata_{VP}]_S

'I eat bread'

/ão/ is the Noun Phrase in this sentence.

/kutθrbθlaajθgog ta/

dog cat at bark-INF be.PRS.3

[[kutθr_N]_{NP} [[bθla_{NP}] ajθgog ta_{VP}]_S

‘The dog barks at the cat’

Here /kutƏr/ ‘dog’ is the example of Noun Phrase.

ii. Verb Phrase:

A verb phrase (VP) is a phrase that has the syntactic role of a simple verb, and is composed of a main verb and auxiliary verbs or verbal particles related syntactically to the verb. In generative grammar, a verb phrase is a syntactic unit that corresponds to the predicate. In addition to the verb, this includes auxiliaries, objects, object complements and other constituents apart from the subject. These are inflected for person, number and gender. The predicate may be a finite intransitive or transitive verb.

/ãociɾijahɛr-ta sa/
1SG bird see-HAB be.PRS.1SG
[[ão]_{NP} [[ciɾija]_{NPH}ɛrtasa/v]_{VP}]_S
‘I see the bird’.
/ciɾijahɛrtasa/ ‘see the bird’ is the Verb Phrase in this sentence.

/gaburmac^hliɾãt^hi/
child fish catch be.PST
SBJ OBJ V
[[gabur]_{NP} [[mac^hli]_{NP}ãt^hi]_{VP}]_S
‘The children caught the fish’
/mac^hliɾãt^hi/ is the Verb Phrase in this sentence.

iii. Postpositional Phrase:

A postposition is an adposition that occurs after its complement. An adpositional phrase is a syntactic category that includes prepositional phrases (PREPP) and postpositional phrases (POSTP). In Pangwali, we find postpositional phrases. For example,

/pensilɟimeɾiəntərsi/
pencil box inside be.PRS
[[pensil]_N]_{NP} [[[ɟimeɾi]_{NP} əntəɾ POST]_{POSTP} si]_{VP}]_S
‘Pencil is inside the box’
/ɟimeɾiəntəɾ/ is the Postpositional Phrase in this sentence.

iv. Adjectival Phrase:

In an adjectival phrase, the adjective acts as the head of the phrase. An adjectival phrase consists of an adjective followed by a noun. Intensifiers or adverbs followed by adjective and noun, thereby making the structure more complex.

/k^həɾɛ kua/ ‘Good boy’

Good-ADJ boy-SG

v. Adverbial phrase:

An adverb is a lexical category whose members have the same syntactic distribution and which modifies adjectives, other adverbs, verbs, or whole clauses or sentences. An adverb phrase has an adverb that complements the verb.

/mƏ^hmƏ^hbokƏɾ/ ‘Speak slowly’

Slowly speak-IMP

/susƏɾ Ək^hƏɾ lik^h/ ‘Write the words neatly’

Neatly words write-IMP

5.c) Structure of clauses:

i. Relative clause:

A relative clause is a kind of subordinate clause, one of whose arguments shares a referent with a main clause element on which the subordinate clause is grammatically dependent. Typically, a relative clause modifies a noun or a noun phrase and uses some grammatical device to indicate that one of the arguments within the relative clause has the same referent as that noun or noun phrase.

/jɛmɛŋhimarga se git laŋɛvalet^ha/

DET man yesterday die.PST. 3SG singer be.PST.3

‘The man who died yesterday was a singer’

/jesjilhantusiboki se me behaŋ^hi/

DET.SG woman 2SG talk.PST 3SG 1SG-GEN sister be.PRS.3

‘The woman who talked to you is my sister’

/i sei mɛŋbojisehiomiot^hja/

3Sg DET.SG man be.PRS.3 whom yesterday meet-INF be.PST.1

‘This is the man whom I met yesterday’

ii. Correlative clause:

In this type of clause a paired conjunction (such as not only . . . but also, either...or, neither...nor) links balanced words, phrases, and clauses. The elements connected by correlative conjunctions are usually parallel, that is, similar in length and grammatical form. Each element is called a conjoin.

/na sɛ na ʔu bɔ̃ʒar got^heja/

Neither 3SGnor 1SG market go.PST

‘Neither he nor I went to the market’

/tus bagde gije nata ʔu g^henta/

2SG field.LOC go or 1SG go.FUT.1

‘Either you go or I shall go to the field’

5. d. Negation:

In a SOV ordered sentence, the negative element comes with the verb of the sentence. In Pangwali, negation is expressed through /-na/, /-nei/.

/sɛ kam kioru nei/

‘He did not do the work’

3SG.M work do-INF not

/i k^haŋekabi nei/

‘This is not edible’

DET edible not

/sɛ tɔ̃s kam na kɔ̃r sɔ̃kte/

‘They cannot do it’

3PL DET work not do-INF can

/ʔu ʒui na enta/

‘I shall not come tomorrow’

1SG tomorrow not come-INF be.FUT.1

5. e. Causation:

A causative is a grammatical or lexical indication of the causal role of a referent in relation to an event or state expressed by a verb. In Pangwali, causative verbs are –

/ṼunokƏrkja bag kamkƏrƏnta/ ‘I make the servant work in the field’

1SG servant-INS field-LOC work do-CAUS be.PRS.1SG

/Ṽumeŋu hasanta/ ‘I make the people laugh’

1SG people-ACC laugh-CAUS be.PRS.1

/Ṽug^hoɾedoɾanta/ ‘I am making the horse run’

1SG horse run-CAUS-PROGbe.PRS.1

5. f. Passivization:

A passive sentence is created from an active sentence by:

1. Subject changes into object.
2. Adding “by”.
3. Object changes to the subject.
4. Changing the verb form to its participle form.

Active: /Ṽuroɬk^han ta/ ‘I eat bread’

1SG bread eat-INF be.PRS.1SG

Passive: /roɬ mo kja k^heŋi lƏgosi/ ‘The bread is eaten by him’

bread 1SG-INS eat-PRFbe.PST.3

In this language /Ṽu/ ‘I’ is subject and in the passive sentence it becomes object and its form is /mo/ ‘me’ which takes its postposition /kja/ ‘by’ and the object of the active sentence /roɬ/ ‘bread’ comes to the subject’s position. Verb √k^ha- ‘to eat’ has the form /k^hanta/ ‘eat’ (1st person form) changes to its participial form /k^heŋilƏgosi/ ‘is eaten’.

6. CONCLUSION

The phonological, morphological and syntactic analyses of Pangwali Mother Tongue reveal that Pangwali has close affinity with neighboring Western Pahadi languages like Chambeali, Bhadrawahi and also Hindi. It shares basic grammatical features with these languages.

7. Text

Two friends and a Bear

/dui dost kəne jək u^h-e kət^ha/

Two friend.PL and a bear-GEN story

/ram kəne ʃjam dui dost t^hje tanni apəs bic bajda kijo
Ramu and shyam two friend.PL be.PST they each other between promise did
t^hja ki se kəseb^hi ok^hi g^həri bic sat^h biʃte jəkroʃ se ʃəŋgəl
be.PST that they any case of danger time in together remain once they forest
keja gəvo t^hje samŋik jək u^h a u^h həkai duʔe
through go.PROG be.PST on their waya bear come bear see.INF both
dost dət ga ramu dət-e mare buʃe pət^h cət ga ʃjam
friend.PL fear go.PST ramu fear-GEN POSTP tree POSTP climb go.PST shyam
buʃe pət^h cət na ʔjtot^h tani apo dost ramu-ʒe bolo məv buʃe pət^h
tree on climb not come.PST he his friend ramu-ACC told I tree on
cət-ō na ʔjt c^hane məj mədət kər pər ramu koib^hi ʒəbab na detta
climb-INF not come please me help do but ramu any reply not give
dək^hi kəne məjus b^hoikai ʃjam d^hərti pət^h apofah rokaj səli ga
sad and upset be.INF shyam ground on his breath stop.INF lie go.PST
ʃ^hətpət tatt^hi u^h ʔj ga d^hərti pət^h leʃe ʃjam həkaj tese b^her ga ər
quickly there bear come go.PST ground on laid shyam see.INF his near go.PST and
tese ʃuŋhō ga t^hori der bad ʃuŋne pata se shyam tatt^hi c^hajkaj g^həjga
him smell go.PST sometime after smell POSTP it shyam there left.INF left.PST
buʃe pət^h boʃō ramu ləgo ki u^h ʃjam-e kan pətu kic^h bolmaj
tree on sit ramu feel.PST that bear shyam-NOM ear POSTP what tell.INF
ga se ʃ^hətpət b^huind a ər ʃjam-keja puc^hū ləga dost məj
go.PST he quickly down come and shyam-ACC ask.INF friend my

tene uc^he-te kan pətu ki bolu ʃjam d^hərti pət^ha k^həri
 you-ACC bear-NOM ear POSTP what tell.PST shyam ground POSTP stand
 b^hoa ər ramu-je bolu tanni uc^h-e məu-je bolu ki ʃ^huʃe
 be.PST and ramu-ACC tell.PST that bear-NOM me-ACC tell.PST that liar
 kəne b^hərosa na kərã je tusi musibət əntər c^haikaj g^h□j g^h□ta əturbołkaj
 and trust not do.PST who you danger POSTP leave.INF go away thistell.INF
 ʃjam tət^ha ekela g^h□j g^ha/
 shyam then alone leave.PST

8. BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Binaya, Parmas. Shubham, Chowki Ed.(2012) Manihelu by Pangli team
2. Gordon, Raymond G. Jr. (ed.) (2005) Ethnologue: Languages of the World, Fifteenth edition. Dallas, Tex: SIL International
3. Grierson, G.A. (1967) Linguistic Survey of India. (Vol 9). New Delhi: Motilal Banarsidas.
4. <http://www.endangeredlanguages.com/lang/4961>
5. Website on Pangwali
<https://www.pangli.in/en/introduction-to-pangwali-language-sp>
6. Introductory Pangwali grammar book 'प्रारंभिक पंगवाड़ी व्याकरण' edited by G.S. Chouhan, Raj Kumar, Mahatam, Karel, Shakuntla Rana,

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Family Affiliation

The present work is on linguistic description of Sanori which belongs to Indo-Aryan group of languages and is spoken in Himachal Pradesh.

1.2 Location

The language/dialect is spoken in the AUT Tehsil of Mandi district of Himachal Pradesh. Although AUT is a small Tehsil, the people of the same community very well practice the language.

1.3 Data Collection

The required linguistic and non-linguistic data of Sanori language was collected during April 2008 to May 2008 in Himachal Pradesh. The main informant was Mr Bupender Singh Thakur, who is an agricultural scientist working at Panarsa. The data was also checked with other native speakers of the same language in different times and different occasions.

1.4 Sociolinguistic Situation and Bilingualism

Sanori language/mother tongue is widely spoken among the Sanori kin groups in AUT Tehsil of Mandi District, Himachal Pradesh. The occasions like marriage, house warming, ear boring and in the religious occasions the Sanori language is very much used among the kin groups of Sanori.

Due to the Education system now-a-days people started learning the Textbook Hindi and the Educated people speak Hindi with other community group on various places like court, hospital, offices and even in the market places. However, they do not forget to speak in Sanori with their kin groups.

The Sanori language is used in the Hospitals and the judicial level when the speaker is a monolingual and now that monolingual situation is almost over almost all people have started to speak in Hindi language.

On special occasions like cultural functions and peculiar practices like celebration of their cultural practices like marriage and other occasions people sing songs in their own language with their own cultural attire and dances. These cultural activities and religious practices are done video and, on many occasions, it has been telecasted in the local channels.

2. PHONOLOGY

There are 38 phonemes realized in Sanori out of which 6 are Vowels and 32 are Consonants. The lateral approximant /l/ occurs on specific words i.e. the occurrence is limited. Hence it is not segmental phoneme.

2.1 Segmental Phoneme:

Front, Central and Back are all considered as Phonemes.

Vowels	Front	Central	Back
High	i		u
Mid	e	A	o
Low		a	

Consonants:

Manner	Bilabial	Labio-Dental	Alveolar	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stops	p b		t d	T D	c j	k g	
Aspirated Stops	ph bh		th dh		ch jh	kh gh	
Fricatives			s		sh		h
Nasals	m		n	N		M	
Laterals			l	L			
Lateral Approximant				l..			
Flap/Trill			r	R			
Semi Vowel		w			y		

2.2 Suprasegmental Phonemes:

Length is a phoneme.

Nasalization is a phoneme.

2.3 Contrasting pairs:

/i, e/	ij	‘yesterday’
	e	‘this’

	iyã	‘novel’
	ebe	‘now’
/e, A/	ek	‘one’
	Abe	‘now’
/a, o/	ara	‘saw’
	opra	‘wicked’
	a:g	‘fuel’
	oj	‘today’
	ga	‘cow’
	so	‘if’
/o, u/	oj	‘today’
	ul	‘udder’
	osh	‘dew’
	oj	‘today’

Long Vowels:

/i:/	jhi:l	‘lake’
	chi:Di	‘wood’
	chi:T	‘ant’
	phi:l	‘snail’
/e:/	se:k	‘heat’
	bhe:D	‘sheep’
	le:p	‘ointment’
/a:/	na:la	‘stream’
	sa:nd	‘bull’
	ba:mi	‘ant hill’

/o/	bo:t	‘road’
	dho:g	‘slope’
	mo:r	‘peacock’
	lo:hu	‘blood’
/u:/	su:r	‘pig’

Nasalization:

/ĩ/	phĩnji	‘pig tail’
	dalĩcha	‘mattress’

/ẽ/	/shẽLa/	‘cold’
-----	---------	--------

/Ã/	/prÃsa/	‘ray’
	/tÃlau/	‘pond’

/ã/	duwã	‘smoke’
	kiyã	‘what’

/õ/	dhõg	‘slope’
	mõgra	‘waterfall’

/ũ/	rũ:w	‘cotton plant’
	hoũsola	‘insect’
	briyũt	‘feather’
	janhũ	‘ankle’

Contrast in Consonants:

/p,b/	podder	‘ground’
	bo:n	‘forest’
	purkhei	‘ancestors’
	bo:t	‘road’

/ph,bh/	phi:l	‘snail’
	bhrouji	‘brother’s wife’
/t,d/	ta:li	‘key’
	dari	‘mat’
/T, D/	Tapu	‘island’
	Docu	‘grandson’
	beTTeDi	‘female’
	sirbiDi	‘earthworm’
/c,j/	cikkar	‘mud’
	jo:t	‘moonlight’
/j,jh/	jema:in	‘yawn’
	jhu:ri	‘wrinkle’
/c, ch/	canANi	‘strainer’
	chAra	‘fountain’
/k, g/	kakru	‘limestone’
	goru	‘cow’
/k,h/	kanjer	‘widow’
	hiyũ	‘snow’
/k, kh/	kubDa	‘hunch back’
	kha:na	‘blind’

/g, gh/	gob	‘ram’
	gho:Ri	‘hare’
/m,n, N/	mogru	‘spring of water’
	mard	‘male’
	ama	‘mother’
/n, N/	nanu	‘grandfather’
	naNNi	‘grandmother’
	maNhu	‘man’
/a, M/	nanu	‘grandfather’
	siMgi	‘vulture’
	jaMli	‘wild’
	siM	‘horn’
/l, L, l. /	naLu	‘brook’
	cha:li	‘current’
	lupi	‘flame’
	jhil	‘lake’
	bre:l.u	‘cat’
	shēlu	‘cold’
/s, sh/	surj	‘sun’
	saLa	‘wife’s brother’
	sougi	‘friend’
	bashu	‘hyena’
/r, R/	morna	‘death’
	briyut	‘eye brow’

	dhuRa	‘dust’
	ujjaR	‘desert’
	laRi	‘wife’
	laRa’	‘husband’
/w,y/	wa:r	‘broom’
	taswi:r	‘picture’
	niw	‘foundation’
	yada:st	‘memory’
	kiyā	‘how’
	gyu	‘ghee’

2.4 Description and Distribution:

All vowels occur in all positions except the mid central vowel /A/

/i/ High Front unrounded short vowel occurs in all three positions.

ij	‘yesterday’
chiru	‘bird’
okti	‘medicine’

/e/ Mid Front unrounded short vowel occurs in all three positions.

ebe	‘now’
beTTaDi	‘woman’
DuNNe	‘nostril’

/A/ mid central unrounded short vowel occurs in the middle position.

ba:dAl	‘cloud’
bhensAr	‘dawn’

/a/ low central unrounded short vowel occurs in all positions.

aR	‘five’
jajori	‘earthquake’
dhuRa	‘dust’

/o/ mid back rounded short vowel occurs in all positions.

osh 'dew'

mogru 'spring of water'

so 'he'

/u/ high back rounded short vowel occurs in all positions

ul 'udder'

su:r 'pig'

lo:hu 'blood'

Consonants:

/p/ voiceless bilabial stop occurs in all three positions.

podder 'ground'

Tapu 'island'

le:p 'ointment'

/b/ voiced bilabial stop occurs in the initial and medial positions

bo:n 'forest'

sirbiDi 'earthworm'

/t/ voiceless alveolar stop occurs in all three positions.

tawwa 'hot place for roti making area'

chutAD 'cooking pot'

yada:st 'memory'

/d/ voiced alveolar stop occurs in all positions

da 'pain'

sakuda 'can'

sadda 'always'

du:d 'milk'

/T/ voiceless Retroflex stop occurs in all three positions

Tapu 'island'

beTTaDi 'woman'

chi:T 'ant'

- /D/ voiced Retroflex stop occurs in all three positions
- | | |
|---------|-------------|
| Docu | ‘grandson’ |
| sirbiDi | ‘earthworm’ |
| bhe:nD | ‘sheep’ |
- /c/ voiceless palatal stop occurs in all three positions
- | | |
|--------|------------------|
| cikkar | ‘mud’ |
| pocu | ‘grandson’ |
| pic | ‘old rice water’ |
- /j/ voiced palatal stop occurs in all three positions
- | | |
|--------|-----------|
| janhũ | ‘ankle’ |
| phinji | ‘pigtail’ |
| oj | ‘today’ |
- /k/ voiceless velar stop occurs in all three positions
- | | |
|-------|----------|
| kiyã | ‘what’ |
| halki | ‘lean’ |
| hi:k | ‘breast’ |
- /g/ voiced velar stop occurs in all three positions
- | | |
|-------|-----------|
| ga | ‘cow’ |
| siMgi | ‘vulture’ |
| dho:g | ‘slope’ |
- /ph/ voiceless bilabial aspirated stop occurs in the initial position
- | | |
|-------|--------------------------|
| phi:l | ‘snail’ |
| phati | ‘blade’ (fix into woods) |
- /bh/ voiced bilabial aspirated stop occurs in the initial position
- | | |
|---------|------------------|
| bhrouji | ‘brother’s wife’ |
| bhe:d | ‘sheep’ |
- /th/ voiceless alveolar aspirated stop occurs in initial position
- | | |
|-------|--------|
| the:r | ‘swim’ |
|-------|--------|

	thu:k	‘saliva’
/dh/	voiced alveolar aspirated stop occurs in the initial position.	
	dho:g	‘slope’
	dhu:ppa	‘already’
/ch/	voiceless palatal affricate occurs in the initial and medial positions.	
	chuji	‘chicken’
	dalicha	‘mattress’
/jh/	voiced palatal affricate occurs in the initial position	
	jhu:ri	‘wrinkle’
	jhil	‘lake’
/kh/	voiced velar aspirated stop occurs in the initial and medial position	
	ghash	‘rain’
	baghi	‘elopement’
/s/	voiceless alveolar fricative occurs in all three positions.	
	sougi	‘friend’
	hoūsola	‘insect’
	nos	‘nail’
/sh/	voiceless palatal fricative occurs in all three positions.	
	shoru	‘son’
	osh	‘dew’
	prAsha	‘ray’
/h/	voiceless glottal fricative occurs in the initial and medial positions.	
	hiyū	‘snow’
	behnoi	‘sister’
/m/	voiced bilabial nasal occurs in the initial and medial positions	
	mogru	‘spring of water’
	ama	‘mother’
/n/	voiced alveolar nasal occurs in all three positions	
	na:nu	‘grandfather’

	nanudoi	‘husband’s sister’s husband’
	lu:n	‘salt’
/N/	voiced retroflex nasal occurs in the medial position	
	maNhu	‘man’
	pa:ni	‘water’
/M/	voiced velar nasal occurs in the medial and final positions	
	jaMli	‘wild’
	siM	‘horn’
/l/	voiced alveolar lateral occurs in all three positions.	
	lupi	‘flame’
	chali	‘current’
	jhil	‘lake’
/L/	voiced Retroflex lateral occurs in the medial position	
	naLu	‘brook’
	saLa	‘wife’s brother’
/l../	voiced lateral approximant occurs in the medial position	
	shēl..u	‘cold’
	brel..u	‘cat’
/r/	voiced alveolar trill occurs in all three positions	
	rū:w	‘cotton plant’
	dari	‘mat’
	cikkar	‘mud’
/R/	voiced Retroflex Flap/Tap occurs in the medial and final positions	
	la:Ri	‘wife’
	haRuka	‘bone’
	ujjaR	‘desert’
/w/	voiceless labio-dental semi-vowel occurs in all three positions	
	wa:r	‘broom’
	taswi:r	‘picture’

	niw	‘foundation’
/y/	voiceless palatal semi vowel occurs in the initial and medial positions	
	yada:st	‘memory’
	gyu	‘ghee’
	kiyā	‘how’

2.5 Allophonic Distribution

/i/ high front unrounded short vowel has two allophones [ɪ] and [i]
 [ɪ] lower high front unrounded short vowel occurs between consonants

[hɪrdeɪ]	/hirdei/	‘see’
[tɪtla]	/titla/	‘grasshopper’

[i] high front unrounded short vowel occurs elsewhere

/e/ mid front unrounded short vowel has two vowels [ɛ] and [e]

[ɛ] mean mid front unrounded short vowel occurs between consonants.

[jɛTan]	/jeTan/	‘husband’s brother’
[gɪddeɪ]	/giddeɪ/	‘jackal’

[e] mid front unrounded short vowel occurs elsewhere

/ʌ/ mid central unrounded vowels have two allophones

[ɛ] and [ʌ]

[ɛ] low mid central unrounded vowel occurs in a single syllabic word

[ɛg]	/ʌg/	‘five’
[phɛr]	/phʌr/	‘whirlpool’

/o/ mid back rounded short vowel has two allophones [ɔ] and [o]

[ɔ] mean mid rounded short vowel occurs in the single syllabic words and between consonants.

[Osh]	/osh/	‘dew’
[pɔddʌr]	/podder/	‘ground’

/o/ mid back rounded short vowel occurs elsewhere

/u/ high back rounded short vowel has three allophones [ʊ] [ɯ] and [u]

[ʊ] High back central unrounded short vowel occurs in the word final positions after the nasal consonants.

[ujjaDi] /ujjaDi/ 'desert'

[chiDi] /chiDu/ 'bird'

[kanigu] /kanugu/ 'elbow'

[U] Higher back rounded short vowel occurs between consonants.

[gUgti] [gugti] 'cuckoo bird'

[chUtAD] [chuteD] 'buttock'

[u] High back rounded short vowel occurs elsewhere.

Consonants:

/n/ voiced alveolar nasal has two allophones

/ñ/and/n/

/ñ/ voiced palatal nasal occurs before the palatal stop.

/chuñj/ /chunj/ 'beak'

/kañjar/ /kanjar/ 'prostitute'

2.6 Clusters

There are five vowel clusters realized in Sanori. They are ai, au, Ai, ei and ui.

ai aij 'come'

ai trai 'three'

au Tauna 'deaf'

au haukhe 'him'

Ai Aiksa 'with me'

Ai jAisa 'like that'

ei teira 'his'

ui dui 'two'

The Consonants are having clusters in all three positions. However, the medial consonant clusters are more when compared to the initial and final consonant clusters.

Initial Consonant Clusters

br breli 'cat' br brag 'panther'

tr trai 'three' dw dwa:t 'courage'

jw	jwa:n	‘young’	sr	srahu	‘lake’
sk	sku:l	‘school’	dr	drAwu	‘river’
sw	‘swa:ri’	‘ride’	bhr	bhrouji	‘brother’s wife’
gr	grã	‘village’	gw	gwai	‘cowshed’
kR	kRo	‘spade’	tr	trakan	‘carpenter’
kl	klu:Ti	‘black man’	kl	klu:Ti	‘black(Fm)’

Medial two Consonant Clusters:

gd	gugda	‘barks’
tt	kutte	‘dogs’
rd	hirdei	‘see’
kr	Tokri	‘basket’
kkh	tokkhe	‘there’
nd	kha:nda	‘eat’
ss	asse	‘we’
tl	patli	‘lean’
nk	banka	‘good’
DD	baDDa	‘big’
bl	soble	‘beautiful’
jj	ejja	‘come’
rt	darti	‘earth’
TT	buTTe	‘tree’
mr	kamra	‘room’
mm	samme	‘season’
pl	pipla	‘harbour’
kr	kakru	‘limestone’
gr	mogru	‘spring of water’
rn	bhArna	‘storm’
gR	gragRe	‘thunder’
hr	sohri	‘baby’

rm	kormAni	‘son-in-law’s mother’
kD	sukDu	‘lean’
bD	kubDi	‘hunch back’
rn	khapharna	‘adulteress’
mg	chamgadeD	‘bat’
nch	panchi	‘bird’
gt	gugti	‘cuckoo’
rb	sirbiDi	‘earthworm’
tl	titla	‘grasshopper’
rg	murgi	‘chicken’
nk	phAnkaNi	‘insect’
nD	jehunDu	‘sparrow’
kn	luknu	‘worm’
nh	janhu	‘ankle’
kt	okti	‘medicine’
ww	tawwa	‘hot place’
sw	taswi:r	‘picture’
pr	tapra	‘tent’
kr	tokri	‘basket’
mh	kumhar	‘clay mould’
rj	darji	‘spindle’
nk	bunker	‘weaver’
st	kisti	‘boat’
pt	gupti	‘secret’
st	besti	‘shame’
md	hamdardi	‘sympathy’
nth	intha:n	‘examination’
np	anpad	‘illiterate’
nD	cha:nDah	‘slap’

ww	dawwa	‘case’
llh	khellha	‘games’
gm	dAɡma	‘race’
nj	panja	‘fifty’
wD	dewDa	‘one and a half ‘
hn	tohna	‘arrange’
Rn	choRna	‘break’
rn	kurna	‘destroy’
hl	tohla	‘fold’
rt	martoR	‘hammer’
kn	thokna	‘pick’
rl	derla	‘pile up’
Mn	koMna	‘shiver’
ky	jikya	‘dink’
kR	pakRo	‘dig’
jk	lajker	‘cure’

Final Two Consonant Clusters:

phank	‘feather’
sa:nD	‘bull’
chainT	‘shade’
sarg	‘sky’
surj	‘sun’
mard	‘male’
chũnj	‘beak’
raks	‘beast’
dond	‘front tooth’
dast	‘diarrhea’
otch	‘eye’
gand	‘insanity’

cha:pD	‘roof’
TanD	‘cold’
hopch	‘dance’
yada:st	‘memory’
surg	‘heaven’
nark	‘hell’

Three Consonant Clusters:

munDak	‘head’
andrek	‘loin cloth’
phimphri	‘butterfly’
bansri	‘flute’
jampsa	‘stamp’

2.7 Syllable

There are three types of Syllables realized in Sanori and each Syllable is having open and closed level of Syllabic contrast.

Monosyllable (Open)

ga	cv	‘cow’
bA	cv	‘master’
kai	cvv	‘moss’
hiũ	cvv	‘ice’

Monosyllable (Close)

osh	vc	‘dew’
ar	vc	‘fire’
u:n	vc	‘fur’
gob	cvc	‘ram’
shah	cvc	‘breath’
se:k	cvc	‘heat’
mard	cvcc	‘ray’

Di-syllable (Open)

sohna	cvc	cv		‘brook’
grohna	ccvc	cv		‘eclipse’
chi ma	cv	cv		‘mist’
bhrou ji	ccvv	cv		‘brother’s wife’
munD ka	cvcv	cv		‘head’

Disyllabic (Close)

beggAr	cvc	cvc		‘air’
ba:dAl	cv	cvc		‘cloud’

Tri-syllabic (Open)

hou so la		cvv	cv	cv	‘stomach’
ha Ri ka		cv	cv	cv	‘bone’
ala sho ru		vcv	cv	cv	‘infant’
na nu doi		cv	cv	cvv	‘husband’s sister’s husband’
maT The na		cvc	ccv	cv	‘clay’

Tri-syllabic(close)

Cham ga deD	cvc	cv	cvc	‘bat’
-------------	-----	----	-----	-------

3. MORPHOPHONEMICS

3.1 When the verb /swari/ ‘riding’ added to the noun /goDa/ ‘horse’ to denote ‘horse riding’ the noun form loses its vowel/a/which occurs in the final position.

/goDa/ > /goD/ ‘horse’

that is goDa = horse

swari = ‘riding’ and it becomes/goD swari/for ‘horse riding’ instead of/goDa swari/. Therefore, the loss of low central vowel/a/is realized.

3.2 The Phoneme/u/is added while joining two verbs that is

delba:l de:kba:lu ‘look after’

while joining with another verb /kerdu/ ‘do’/dekba:lukardu/ ‘looked after’

4. MORPHOLOGY

Morphology deals with the internal structure of words. It deals with both the derivational and inflectional aspects of words.

4.1 Word Formation:

A word may be defined as the union of particular meaning with particular grammatical employment. In Sanori there are four formations realized namely Compounding, Reduplication and Derivation.

Compounding:

The joining of more than one stem either in free or in bound forms are called Compounding.

Noun + Noun

ama + ba:p = amaba:p 'parents' mother + father

suner + ma:la = sunerima:l 'goldchain' gold + chain

Adjectives + Noun

ka:le + ki:de = ka:leki:de 'blacksnake' black + snake

khikuni + DaMe = khikuniDaMe 'dangerous sting' dangerous + sting

Reduplication:

Reduplication can be a complete, partial or similar in Sanori.

Complete Reduplication

The complete reduplication is a repetition of the same word with or without intervening particles.

Noun:

ghdr ghdr 'every house'
deshōdesh 'each country'

Adjective:

bank banka 'good'
kames kam 'almost'

Pronoun:

koi na koi 'someone'
kue na kue 'something'

Verb:

bAlte bAlte 'talking'
kha:te kha:te 'eating'

Partial Reduplication

The second element is echoing of the first element and has no independent meaning of its own.

kursi ursi 'chair'
da:l a:l 'pulses'
dhu:la u:la 'dust'
kalor alor 'morning food'

Similar Reduplication

The second element is semantically an echo of the first element.

mar	piT	‘beating’
age	piche	‘front or back’

Derived Nouns:

The suffixes are either suffixed or affixed to get the Derivational Nouns.

ar	suna:r	‘goldsmith’
	lohar	‘iron maker’

Forming Nouns or Verbs:

ja:ne	wala	‘goes’ the person
du:dwa:la		‘milkman’

Adjectives derived from Nouns

gula:bi	‘like lotus’
---------	--------------

4.2 Noun:

There are two types of Nouns: Simple and Derived Nouns.

Simple Noun

The Simple Noun can be classified into Inanimate and Animate. The Animate Nouns can further be classified into Human and Non-Human. All Abstract Nouns are Inanimate Nouns.

Inanimate Nouns:

baggAr	‘air’
loi	‘flame’
se:k	‘heat’
nhera	‘darkness’
hiũ	‘ice’
jo:th	‘moon’
tela:u	‘pond’
gash	‘rain’
duM	‘rock’
bAlu	‘sand’

Animate Noun:

The Animate Nouns can be classified into Human and Non-Human.

Human:

shori	‘baby’
shoru	‘boy’
sougi	‘friend’
mard	‘man’
hijiDa	‘eunuch’
baTTaDi	‘woman’

Non-Human:

chi:T	‘ant’
kacc ^h Ar	‘ass’
chamgadeD	‘bat’
chiRu	‘bird’

Derived Noun:

The Nouns are derived either from Verb or from the Noun. The suffixes are used to denote the Derived Nouns.

Noun + Suffix

josh	+	i	=	joshi	‘astrology’	astrology + doer
hali	+	wai	=	haliwai	‘sweet maker’	sweet + doer
chamRa	+	a:r	=	chama:r	‘leathermaker’	leather + doer
duka:n	+	a:r	=	duka:da:r	‘shopkeeper’	shop + doer
sunā	+	a:r	=	sunā:r	‘goldsmith’	gold + doer
loha	+	a:r	=	lohar	‘blacksmith’	iron + doer
kam	+	a:r	=	kamgar	‘artisan’	art + doer

The Nouns are derived from the Verbs are as follows:

sika:r	+	i	=	sika:ri	‘hunter’	hunt + doer
gana	+	waiya	=	gawaiya	‘singer’	song + doer
bunk	+	a:r	=	bunker	‘weaver’	weave + doer

Number:

In Sanori the singular number is unmarked. Plural is marked by suffix and also prefixed with the numerals.

ēsa	mera	ghor	‘This is my house.’
This is	my	house	

iyēsa	mera	ghOr	‘These are my houses’
These are	my	houses	

okhe	breDi	sa	‘Here is a cat’
here	cat	is	

okhe	dui	breDi	sa	‘Here are two cats.’
Here	two	cat	are	

iyā	sa	dui	kutte	‘There are two dogs.’
These	are	two	dogs	

Iyē	dui	baDe	TaMe	sa	‘These are two big carts.’
These	two	big	carts	are	

meri	kita:be	okhe	sa	‘My books are here’
my	books	here	are	

Gender:

In Sanori Masculine Gender is unmarked whereas Feminine is realized by the Phoneme /i/ which occurs with the stem in the word final position. However, in some cases Feminine is realized by other Phonemes or suffixes also.

laDa	‘bridegroom’
laDi	‘bride’
bai	‘brother’

bahin	‘sister’
shoru	‘son’
shori	‘daughter’
bappu	‘father’
ama	‘mother’
la:Ra	‘husband’
la:Ri	‘wife’
jwai	‘son-in-law’
nush	‘daughter-in-law’
behnoi	‘sister’s husband’
brouji	‘brother’s wife’
kudm	‘son-in-law’s father’
kormani	‘son-in-law’s mother’
ba:b	‘father’s brother’
bu:b	‘father’s sister’
ga	‘cow’
sa:nD	‘bull’
kutta	‘dog’
kutti	‘bitch’

e	mera	ba:p	sa	‘He is my father’
this	my	father	is	
e	meri	amma	sa	‘She is my mother’
this	my	mother	is	

Gender is realized by the suffixes/a/for male and/i/for female which occurs with Genitive Case.

Case

There are 9 Cases realized in Sanori. They are Nominative, Accusative, Dative, Genitive, Instrumental, Ablative, Benefactive and Sociative Case. The Nominative Case has no separate marker.

Accusative Case:

The Accusative case is also not having a separate marker to denote.

hau	shoru	hirda	lagira	‘I see the child.’	
I	child	see			
tue	shoru	hirde	lagire	‘You see the child’	
you	child	see			
shoru	teyi	hirdei	lagire	sa	‘The child sees him.’
Child	him	see			

Genitive Case:

The Genitive Case Marker is realized either with the Noun or with the Pronoun.

mere	beTaDi	ri	Tokri	sa	‘My wife’s basket.’
My	wife	‘s	basket		

Asa teira ghAr 'His house'
This his house

e meri amma sa 'She is my mother.'
this my mother is

Dative Case:

The Dative Case is realized by the Suffix/a:be/with subject.

haũ ghArabe cho:le 'I go to the house.'
I house+case go

tiyã chATa:be cho:le 'They go to the field.'
they field+case go

tiyã sku:labe a:ye 'They come to school.'

They school+to come

Locative Case

The Locative Case is realized by the suffix/re, ri/and so on.

haũ jeminda:ri khArda I work in the field
I field + in work

mere shoru sku:la nathire 'My children are in the school.'
my children school in

haũ gramẽ rohAnda 'I live in the village.'
I village live

haũ apne ghAr re sa 'I am in my house.'
I my house in am

Ablative Case:

The/de/and/da/suffixes are used to realize the Ablative Case.

buTTenu paũc haul de 'leaves of the tree fall down.'
Trees leaves fall+case

paũc buTTenu haulda 'the leaves fall from the tree.'
Leaves tree+s fall+case

Instrumental Case:

The suffix/-ye/is used for Instrumental Case.

Da:l khaTda chakku kheriye 'The tree is cut by the knife.'
Wood cut knife do + by

Phal khaTda chakku kheriye
Fruit cut knife do+by

Sociative Case:

The suffix /soM/ is used for Sociative Case.

so rohunda bacpanu there chache soM 'He lived with his uncle since
childhood.'

He lived childhood since uncle with

haũ jana chahnda toha soM ka:m kArde 'I will go with you to work.'

I go will you with work do

Benefactive Case

The benefactive case is realized by separate morphemes also.

so muhã heTh ka:m kerda 'He works for me.'

He me for work

ga dinda bAchube du:d 'Cow gives milk for calf'

cow gives calf for milk

Post Position

The Postposition is realized after the subject.

chiDu butte pandu boshda 'Bird sits on the tree.'

Bird tree on sit

so butte heTu sonda 'He sleeps under the tree.'

He tree under sleeps

kita:b meja taLLe sa 'The book is below the table.'

Book table below is

dhani bAsa 'Sit on the ground.'

Ground sit

Meja pande kaDiya 'Stand on the table.'

Table on stand

patra pa:nde chaD 'Step on the stone.'

Stone on step

chiDa sa koLLe 'Bird is in the nest'

bird is nest

4.3 Pronoun

There are five types of Pronouns realized in Sanori language such as Personal Pronoun, Demonstrative pronoun, Interrogative Pronoun, Indefinite Pronoun and Reflexive pronoun.

Personal Pronoun:

The Personal Pronouns are three: First, Second and Third personal respectively. First Personal Pronoun refers to the speaker, the second personal pronoun refers to the hearer and third personal pronoun refers to the person or object other than the speaker and hearer.

Person	Singular	Plural
1 st person	‘I’ mu/haũ	‘we’ ase
2 nd person	‘you’ tu	‘you(pl)’ tuhe
3 rd person	‘he/she’ so	‘they’ tiyã
	‘it’ e	
mu aiksa dui	alke ghAr	‘I have two small houses.’
I possess two	small house	
haũ apne	tanghe par sa	‘I am in my cart.’
I my cart	in am	
ase aũkhe	a:ye	‘We are coming here.’
we here	come	
ase tokkhe	noTThe	‘We go there’
we there	go	
tu ja	tokkhebA	‘You go there’
you go	there	
tuhe ja	tokkeba	‘You(pl) go there.’
You go	there	
so lagira	chiDuwe ba:nda	‘He hits the bird.’
He doing	bird hits	
so tokkhebe	choli	‘She goes there’
she there	go	
gai chordi	lagiri	‘Cow is grazing.’
Cow graze	doing	

bold	chorda	lagira		‘Bull is grazing.’
bull	graze	doing		

Demonstrative Pronoun:

The Demonstrative Pronouns are either of Proximate or Remote types and are realized in two different numbers – Singular and Plural.

i	kutta	sa		‘This is a dog’
this	dog	is		
e	mera	ghArosa		‘That is my house.’
that	my	house is		
iyã	mere	ghAro sa		‘These are my houses.’
These	my	houses are		
teyã	beTaDijana	jaruri	he	‘Those ladies must go.’
those	ladies	go	must	Aux. Verb

Indefinite Pronoun:

ei	kamma	koi	bhi	maNu	keri	sakuda	‘Anyone can do this work.’
----	-------	-----	-----	------	------	--------	----------------------------

This	work	any	body	do	can	
------	------	-----	------	----	-----	--

sab	neT	The	tokkhe		‘Everyone went out from the room.’
-----	-----	-----	--------	--	------------------------------------

everyone	outside	went	
----------	---------	------	--

Interrogative Pronoun:

tha:re	shoru	kokhe	sa	‘Where are your children?’
your	children	where		

tu	ke	lagira	kha:nda	‘What do you eat?’
you	what	doing	eat	

tere	khetre	shoru	sa	‘How many children have you?’
you	how many	children	are	

teri	ketri	umer	sa	‘How old are you?’
how	many	age	are	
tu	doti	kebre	uTtha	‘When do you get up?’
you	daily	when	get up	

tu	khohe	rohAnda		‘Where do you live?’
you	where	live		

Reflexive Pronoun:

The Reflexive Pronoun also occur either after Noun or before the Verb.

me	dhoi	appeapni	kAmi:j	‘I myself put the clothes’
I	put	myself	shirt	

ase	cho:De	phu:l	appe	‘We ourselves plugged the flowers.’
We	plug	flower	ourselves	

ase	chunge	phu:l	appe	‘We ourselves cut the flowers.’
We	cut	flowers	ourselves	

tei	ka:Thi	appeapni	guTThi	‘You yourself cut down the tree.’
You	cut	yourself	cut down the tree	

teiyē	kha:ye	sa:re	a:m	a:pu	‘He himself ate all the mangoes’
he	ate	all	mango	himself	

teke	seta	totapa:ni	apu	‘She herself put hot water on her.’
She	put	hot water	herself	

ga	koi	heThebe	appe	‘Cow itself fall down’
----	-----	---------	------	------------------------

cow fall down itself

tiyā boLLa gorābe yennabe appu ‘They told that themselves visited
They told village visited themselves villages.’

4.4 Adjectives:

In Sanori Adjectives follow Nouns.

banka shoru ‘good boy’
good boy

banki shori ‘good girl’
good girl

halka bahu ‘small child’
small child

baDDi kita:b ‘big book’
big book

shetta ghoRa ‘white horse’
white horse

ka:le ba:dle ‘black cloud’
black cloud

hora pouch ‘green leaf’
green leaf

baDDa ghAr ‘large house’
large house

soble	grāu	‘beautiful village’
beautiful	village	

4.5 Numeral

Sanori has adopted Hindi numerals with slight phonological variations. These are of two types such as Cardinals and Ordinals.

Cardinal Numerals:

The Cardinal Numerals are divided into two groups such as Free and Bound Forms. Generally, the Numerals one to ten and tens, 20, 30 and etc. are of free forms. The other numerals are suffixed with the base numerals one to nine.

e:k	‘one’
dui	‘two’
traï	‘three’
cha:r	‘four’
pa:nj	‘five’
chou	‘six’
sa:t	‘seven’
a:T	‘eight’
nou	‘nine’
dAs	‘ten’
‘bhi’	‘twenty’
thi	‘thirty’
cha:li	‘forty’
panja	‘fifty’

Numbers greater than 100 are expressed on the phrase level order of constituents.

sou	‘hundred’
haza:r	‘thousand’
lakho	‘lakh’
koror	‘crore’

Ordinals

The Ordinal numerals are realized by the suffix/-la/and/ja/with the stems.

paila	‘first’
dujja	‘second’
drija	‘third’

Fractions:

Fractions are realized by the following morphemes.

paiya	‘quarter’
addha	‘half’
pouna	‘three fourth’
souva	‘one and a quarter’
dewDa	‘one and a half’
kaNNa	‘last’
manjela	‘middle’

4.6 Verb Morphology

4.6.1 Verb:

Verb is a class of words inflected for the categories of Tense and Mood. Verb Stems may either be simple or complex in nature.

4.6.1.1 Finite Verb:

Finite Verb is a complete verb and it shows the complete action done which are realized through the use of person + Tense + number and Gender markers.

Tense

The time at, during or over which a state or action is denoted by a verb.

Present Tense:

The present time and its action is realized in Sanori by suffixes. Most of the time present tense is merged with Present Continuous Tense.

haũ	tokkhe	naTTha	‘I go there’
I	there	go+Pr.t	
so	mu hãg	a:yi	‘He comes to me’
he	me to	come	
so	mha:re	ghAre a:yi	‘She comes to our house’
she	our	house come	

Past Tense:

The Past Tense is realized by the suffixes which occurs with the main verb.

so	hij	a:ye		‘He came yesterday.’
He	yesterday	come+Pt.		
ase	bAlga:Di	nu	a:ye	‘We came in a cart.’
We	cart	in	come+Pt.	
haũ	tokkhe	naTha		‘I went there’
I	there	go+ Pt		
ase	jaMge anDi	a:ye		‘We came on foot.’
we	foot	with	come + Pt.	

Future Tense:

There are three suffixes realized in Sanori for Future Tense/-lera/,-leri/and/na/which occurs with the main verb.

so	chaLLe	ri		‘She will go’
she	go	will		
so	chaLLe	ra		‘He will go’
he	go	will		
mua	sou/guni	Ana		‘Who will come with me’
me	who	come + will		
mu	ena	shui		‘I shall come tomorrow’
I	come+shall	tomorrow		
tiyã	jana			‘They will go’
they	go + will			
mu	Ana	shui		‘I shall come tomorrow.’
I	come+shall	tomorrow		
mu	jana	tebbe jebbe	so ella	‘I shall go after he comes.’
I	go+shall	after	when he	comes

Present Continuous Tense:

The morphemes/lagira/and/lagiri/were normally used for Present Continuous Tense.

gai	chardi	lagiri		‘Cow is grazing.’
Cow		grazing		
bold	chorda	lagira		‘Bull is grazing’
bull		grazing		
haũ	lagira	kita:b	dinda	‘I am giving a book.’
I	(ing)	book	give	
haũ	kita:b	dinda	lagira	‘I am giving books.’
I	book	give	(ing)	
haũ	lagira	paDda		‘I am reading’
I	(doing)	reading		

Past Continuous Tense:

The past continuous tense is realized by the suffixes/-lagirathi/and/lagirethi/

haũ	paDda	lagira-thi		‘I was reading.’
I	read	ing	was	
tuwe	paDda	lagire-thi		‘You were reading.’
You	read	ing	were	

Aspect:

Duration of the perfect/action completed is called Aspect. It has two Aspects like Present Perfect and Past perfect.

Present Perfect

me	cho:ri	heri	ra	‘ I have seen the thief.’
I	thief	see+have		
ase	amba	kha:i	re	‘We have eaten a mango.’
We	mango	eat+have		
me	dabbe	le		‘I have taken the money’
I	money	taken		

Mood

Mood expresses the speaker's point of view about the occurrence of the event. It is the mood or manner which is used to express a statement, command, question or doubt.

Indicative Mood:

It is realized by the subjunctive verbs of the declarative sentences.

e	kutta	sa		'This is a dog.'
this	dog	is		
ore/ẽ	breDi	sa		'Here is a cat.'
Here	cat	is		

Imperative Mood:

It expresses the command of specific reason.

ẽ/ore	Aj				'Come here.'
here	come				
mere	ghAra	be	ij		'Come to my house'
my	house+to	come			
mare	Tame	-	par	basho	'Go to my cart'
my	cart	to	sit		
khaDe	uT				'Stand up'
pa:r	ja				'Go there'
Ai	choRa				'Break this'

Interrogative Mood:

By specific morphemes the interrogation is expressed in Sanori.

tu	khe	khArda		'What do you do?'
you	what	do		
tu	khohe	rohAnda		'Where do you live?'
you	where	live		
tu	khe	kha:na		'What will you eat?'
you	what	eat+will		

Probability Mood:

Specific morphemes are realized for Probability Mood.

khelna	hunda	sonja	Thi:k
play	doing	evening	good

‘Playing in the evening is good for health.’

Participle

teiba	teira	biskuT mila	de:ritak	roikheri
he	biscuit + got	long	crying	

‘Crying for a longer time he got biscuit.’

4.6.2 Causative Verb:

haũ	lagira	teiya be	kita:b	dinda
I	doing	making	book	give

‘I am making her give a book.’

me	teibe	boLLa	ki	these re	kitaba	di
I	make	ask	that	her	book	give

‘I ask him to make her give a book.’

haũ	tesabe	ga:na	ga:nda	lagira
I	make	song	sing	doing

‘I am making her sing a song.’

4.6.3 Negative Verb:

The negation is expressed with the morpheme /-ni/

mu	ni	Anna	auj	‘I am not coming today.’
I	not	come	today	

tihẽ	ke	Ada	ni	bo:la	‘Do not say false.’
You		false	not	say	

tu	nai	rohna	chaiye	okhe	‘You must not remain here.’
You	not	remain	must	here	

ju:t	ni	bole	‘Do not tell lies.’
Lie	not	tell	

4.6.4 Transitivity

ag	joleri	‘Fire burns.’
fire	burns	

me		ja:li	o:g		‘I make fire.’
I		fire	make		
me	bhari	boLLami	houwa		‘I blow the air.’
I	blow	air			

4.7 Adverb

Place:

kita:b	meje	taLLe	sa		‘The book is below the table.’
Book	table	below	is		
kita:b	sa	meja	pande		‘The book is on the table.’
book	is	table	on		
bhuTTe	sa	saDka	pa:r		‘The tree is on that side of the road.’
tree	is	road	on that side		

Manner:

suLLe	gia				‘Speak slowly’
slowly	speak				
uthaRe	na	bo:le			‘Do not speak loudly’
loudly	not	speak			
akRa	likha	soble			‘Write words neatly.’
neatly	write	words			

Time:

sui	jena	mu	ghorã	be	‘I shall go to the village tomorrow.’
Tomorrow	go+will	I	village		
mu	ni	enna	Ai		‘I am not coming today.’
I	not	come	today		
mu	ni	Anna	sui		‘I shall not come tomorrow.’
I	not	come+shall	tomorrow		

Conjunctive Particle:

ja ta haT 'Come and go'
Go and come

mu jana thi tokkAbe par mere ni jahua
I go +will+to but my not go+aux verb
'I had to go but I did not go.'

4.8 Echo Formation:

da:l sa:l	'pulse etc.'
ba:t sa:t	'rice etc.'
mhanu sanu	'man etc.'
khursi sarsi	'chair etc.'
pa:ni sa:ni	'water etc.'

5. SYNTAX

5.1 Order of Words:

Sanori word order is SOV.

hau	beTaDi	hira	lagira	'I see the lady.'
I	lady	see	am	
Subject	Object		Verb	

so	muwē	hirda	lagira	sa	'He sees me.'
He	me	see	doing	is	
S	O	V			

tota	pinjre	me	sa	'Parrot is in the cage.'
parrot	cage	in	is	
S	O	V		

5.2 Description of Types of Sentences:

There are 5 types of Sentences realized in Sanori. They are namely- Interrogative, Imperative, Negative, Causative and Co-ordinate.

Interrogative Sentences:

Separate morphemes are used to denote Interrogation.

tha:re	shoru	kokhe	sa	'Where is your child?'
your	child	where	is	

tu	ke	lagira	kha:nda	'What do you eat?'
you	what	doing	eat	

tere	kAtre	shoru	sa	'How many children you have?'
you	how many	children	are	

teri	ketri	umAr	sa	'How old are you?'
you	how many	age	are	

tu	doti	kebre	uT	tha	'When do you get up?'
----	------	-------	----	-----	-----------------------

you daily when get up

Imperative Sentences:

Separate morphemes are used to denote the imperativeness in Sanori.

1. Ai choRa 'Break this'
this break
2. khaDe uT 'Stand up'
up stand
3. pa:r ja 'Go there'
there go
4. meri kita:ba ore ana 'Bring my book here.'
my book here bring
5. ore Aj 'Come here.'
Here come
6. mere ghArabe ij 'Come to my house.'
my house+to come
7. mare TaMe par ba sho 'Go to my cart.'
my cart to sit

Negative Sentences:

A separate morpheme /ni/ is used to denote Negation.

1. mu ni Anna auj 'I am not coming today.'
I not today come
2. tihē Ada ni bo:la 'Do not say false.'
You false not say
3. tu ni rohna chaiye ore 'You must not remain here.'
you not remain must here
4. ju:t ni bole 'Do not tell lie'
lie not say

Causative Sentences:

A separate morpheme is used to denote the causativeness in Sanori.

1. haũ lagira teiya be kita:b dinda
I doing make book give
'I am making her give a book.'
2. me teibe boLLa ki thesere kitaba di
I make ask that her book give
'I ask her to give a book.'

Coordinate Sentence:

The coordination is realized by separate morphemes like “and”, “but”, “and”, “or.”

1. ja ta hat
go and come
'Come and go.'
2. mu jana tebbe jebbe so eLLa
I go+shall after he comes
'I shall go after he comes.'
3. mu ja+na+thi tokkAbe far mere mi jahua
I go+shall had to but I not go+could
'I had to go but I could not go.'

5.3 Description of Patterns of Sentences:

Simple Sentence:

1. so muwe hirde lagire 'He sees me'
he me sees
2. haũ ghAr a:be cho:le 'I go to the house.'
I house +case go+Verb
3. mere ghAr ja 'Go to my house.'
my house go
4. e meri amma sa 'She is my Mother'
this my Motheris

5. so buTTe heTu sonda ‘He sleeps under the tree.’
He tree under sleeps
6. so tokkhe be choli ‘She goes there.’
She there goes
7. tu ke lagira kha:nda ‘What do you eat ?’
you what doing eat+Pr.t
8. baDDi kita:b ‘Big book.’
big book

Complex Sentence:

One main and two or more subordinate clauses together for making one sentence is called Complex Sentence.

1. radha sabji lendinoThiribAja:ratok tya:be pra:na kolejAra
Radha vegetable buy while market to when old college

dost miLa ta tehe khari milini kheri baja rami
friend met and they do meet do marketing.

“Radha met his old college friends in the market while purchasing vegetable and completed the marketing.”

2. ase mile phuLLeri Takri aLi shori saug
we met flowers basket carry girl on the road
‘We met a girl who carries flowers full of basket on the road.

3. raste mein chalDe chalDe kisa:nabe e:k muiyunda kobra
road o waliking villagers one cobra dead

miLa taha so jore jore chikkha pheri lo:k teiri chik
found that he loudly making sound people that sound

sunni keri kaThe hue.
heard doing gathered.

“The villagers saw a dead cobra on the road, on seeing they shouted and many people gathered hearing the sound.”

6. Text

kauDiya ka:la kiDa ma:ra e:k kau aur teri la:di kheleve
 crow black snake killed one crow and his wife branch +

bhUTTeri pochame rohndeti koLLa:mei cha:r and e thi
 tree+case branch+in lived nest+in four eggs + were

ama ba:pu baDi jAminda:ri sange kherdathi bhUTtere manj e:k
 parents very care+great with guarded tree+gen hollow one

doDra meĩ e:k ka:la khiDa rohnda thi juninu ka:u baDDeba:ri
 dangerous case one black snake lived the crow greatly

dorda thi jAb Abi la:Da la:Di anDe tindadi tã khiDa tiyãre koLLa
 feared when ever crow wife crow eggs eat and snake their nest

mahĩ jahikheri tiyare anDabe khanda thi jebe Asba:ri bhi kiDa
 mere

in crowling their eggs ate if this time also snake my

anDe be khoLLa tã mu ei bhUTTe pa:ndu nai rohna asa apna
 eggs pl nest and I this tree in not lived we our

ghor khokheduji jAgha baDana paDna kauwe apnu laDAbe boLLa asu
 okkhu

house leaving other place build do crow his husband told we long

bohu Derenu rohmde lagire haũ apne ghorabe choDneri auru rohnere
 time feared live+ing I our house leaving and live

kaTthe dujji jeggabe janera dukkhu nai jailli sakkuda kauwe
leaving other place +in go+to worry not go can crow

eDa boLLa jAbbe tiyā goLLa kerda lagire thi tā tihē apueThA
regneri
husband told when they talk do ing and they while doing

cheDu shuni tihē tetari cheD shuni kheri tiyā apnu koLLa mei anDeri
sound hear they sound heard do they their nest in egg

dekba lu kirde baTThe ka:la ki:Da reguDda hua koLLa seTTipujja tabe
teiya
look after do sat black snake crept doing nest slowly when
they

srē keri chiDu kha:neri ko:sis keri tiyā chiDu dorikeri uDre ka:le
ki:de
flew do bird eat try do they bird flew do fly black
snake

e:k e:k keri sa:re anDe nigle am ba:pu neraju hoikeri apnA
kollamAi
one one do all eggs took out parents helplessly do their nest
+in

ba:ps pu:jjā tiyābe patta thi tokhe kichu nāi roira huna kaue boLLa
back come they said there something not left is crow said

mume Ai hatiya:re khi:De be marnera koi DaMTopna ponna tuse
koi my this murderous snake case kill some find plan you any

phikar mat kArde meri joriye mera Aku sanghisa kiDewe marnere kaTThe
baDa fear not do my dear me one with snake kill +to very
big

ba:ri te:j sa kaue boLLa hOuru phiri soori bhuTThe pande be uDri
keri

type fast crow said they back that tree branch +in fly + doing

noTTha jokku teira dost ulTa kau rohndathi jebe ulTe kaue
khikuni

sat jackal their friend another crow lived when back crow
dangerous

DaMe kiDe anDe khaye tebe tiye boLLa mere joiye deya nai
hundi

Sting snake eggs ate that time told my dear give not
cruel

horu la:lchi hunda tiyāra pichAnu baDa bura haLu bhi hunda Dordere me
teibe

those bad end those greedy big bad end also will come feared I
him

ma:rheri khaTThe baDi ba:ri ski:m banayi:ri oI yA kon terikkasa kaue
boLLa

kill very big type plan prepared so that what plan +it is crow
asked

tebe bo:La chamgadeDe kichu Dorde huige bo:la kAube A jiju sãp
tAube

them told overheard something whisper do told crow this snake this
time

Aifere ma:rna chaiye kua uDrige apne la:Di boLLa tebe A tarikka dasa

Kill must crow fly self female crow told them this plan told

Aka:m karnasa kaue boLLa a hunachitannu rAhna hau apne anDe bAcha:ne taiyē

This work do +to crow told I here do not worry live I self eggs save to

kich bhi kArli ma kaua boLLa tetanuba:d ra:jAre mAheLLa bakhabe naThe
anything also do mother crow told after sometime kings palace place
near

mahAl tokAnu ne:D du:rni thi tiyā Ak a:Lli a:ge buje jokhe sai beTTeDi
lagithi

palace from very far not there a little far big pond royal women
taking

nyAundi tiyā beTTeDiye apne ga:ne tAla:wa: a:leri kacha daivethi kauri mau
eThAbe

bath their women self edge pond re chain pearl laid bird mother
down

uDi our apNi chunji khere sunerima:l chakkhi uDigere
majemaje

flew and her pick doing gold chain beak flew
slowly

Da:Lebe naTthi jokhesho rohondathi malare pereda:r danDe pa:i
gare

Pond towards fly lived chain guards clubs
chased

kaue piche naThe tiye hira ke soneri ma:l kokkhaD me pa:i e:k
pairda:r

crow follow do they know that gold chain hollow on available one
guard

tiyā ma:la kawene khatThe Dala pa:nde cha:Da jebbe suneri mala
ka:nnebe

where chain crow dropped there climbed when gold chain inside

kukhenhu ha:tpa tebe teiyera ka:la kiDa chaucha marikere baiThihira tebe
saw hand then their black snake curl do sat on then

teiyye apne hatthiyaregere e:ke ba:ru kiDe ma:ra teiphere
ka:la

their self clubs +with at once snake beaten then
black

kiDa katAm kiya tetaka ba:d kua duwe subLe subLe
lagirowonde

snake end do then after crow together happily
lived

tetanus ba:d tiye bahu bachchedine
then after they lot of child produced.

SIRMAURI

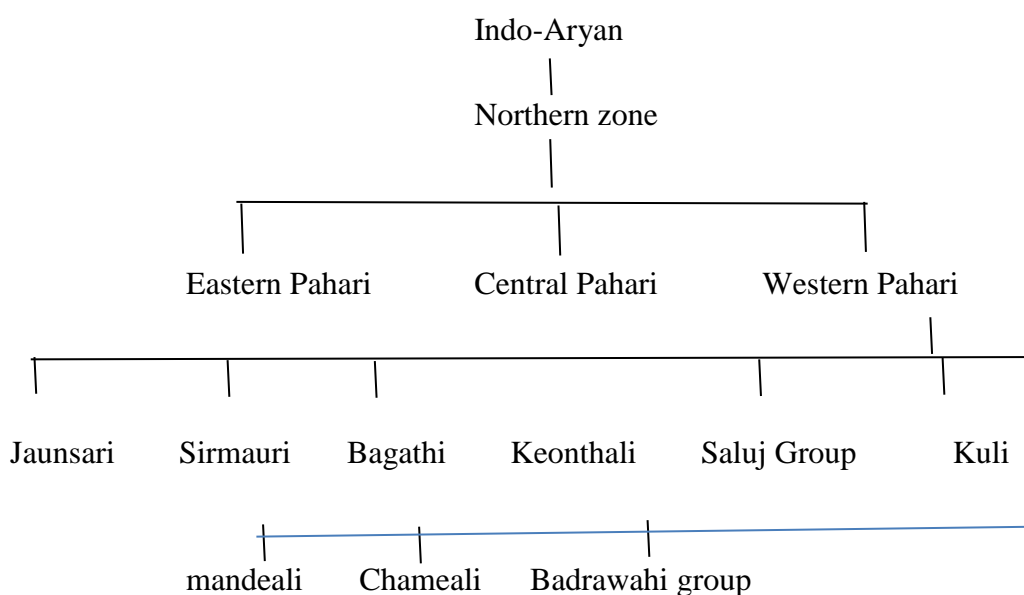
P. Edward Vedamanickam
&
Jhuma Ghosh

1. INTRODUCTION

Himachal Pradesh is one of the twenty-eighth states of the Republic of India. Located in the northern part of India and situated in the western Himalayas. The state is full of diversity where the language changes in every ten miles (a popular belief). Though Hindi is considered as the official language of this state various dialects are spoken in different parts of the state. Mainly these languages are 'Pahari' language and its dialects. A majority of the people prefer to use 'Pahari' language for their daily conversation and entertainment. The word 'Pahari' means 'belonging to the mountains' and is especially applied to the groups of languages spoken in the sub-Himalayan hilly region. G.A. Grierson in his 'Linguistic Survey of India' classified 'Sirmauri' under Western Pahari group of Indo Aryan family of languages.

i) Family Affiliation

In Grierson's Linguistic Survey of India (LSI) (1904) Sirmauri was traced and it was the first work on Sirmauri. In LSI Grierson classifies 'Sirmauri' under western pahari sub group of northern group of languages of Indo-aryan family of languages. Here he made brief sketches of Sirmauri mother tongue, "The language of Sirmaur itself is called Sirmauri." (Grierson, 1966, p. 456). According to Grierson there are two dialects of Sirmauri mother tongues, namely Dhārṭhī also known as Girwari and Girīpārī. The river Girī divided the state Sirmaur into two parts, south-west and north-east. The local dialect of Sirmauri is called Dhārṭhī and the dialect spoken in the north-eastern part of the state is called Girīpārī. Linguistic classification of Sirmauri according to Grierson is presented below.



The present work is a Descriptive Grammar of Sirmauri mother tongue spoken in Himachal Pradesh. Sirmauri is an Indo-Aryan language comes under the western Pahari group of languages. Ofcourse, this is one of the mother tongues grouped under Pahari and which is again grouped under Hindi language in Indian Census.

ii) Location

Sirmauri is mainly spoken in Sirmaur district of Himachal Pradesh. This mother tongue has been surveyed under Mother Tongue Survey of India (MTSI) Project of the Ministry of Home affairs of the Government of India in 2014. The linguistic data has been collected from Sirmaur district of Himachal Pradesh from four sets of rural Informants of below/above 50 years of age of male and female and four sets of urban informants of male and female of below/above 50 years of age.

iii) Speaker's Strength

In Indian Census Sirmauri is traced since beginning. As per Census of India 1901 Sirmauri is the dialect of Pahari along with Jaunsari, Mandeali, Chameali and Bhadrawahi.

The major distribution of Sirmauri in the India as well as in Himachal Pradesh is furnished below as per the latest published Census information, i.e 2011.

AREA NAME	TOTAL			RURAL			URBAN		
	Person	Male	Female	Person	Male	Female	Person	Male	Female
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Sirmauri									
Jammu & Kashmir	19	6	13	15	5	10	4	1	3
Himachal Pradesh	10,7322	5,5080	52,242	10,5694	5,4114	5,1580	1,628	966	662
Punjab	12	6	6	6	3	3	6	3	3
Uttarakhand	32	10	22	28	7	21	4	3	1
Haryana	7	4	3	1	1	0	6	3	3
West Bengal	3	1	2	3	1	2	0	0	0
Madhya Pradesh	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0
Andhra Pradesh	5	5	0	5	5	0	0	0	0

Since, the present study is concentrated mainly on Sirmauri mother tongue as spoken in Himachal Pradesh state, the distribution of Sirmauri as spoken in Himachal Pradesh state is furnished in the Introduction Chapter, as per 2001 Census.

iv) Bilingualism

Sirmauri speakers are mainly bi-linguals in Hindi and English. Though the older generation people and uneducated people speak only in Sirmauri, the new generation people speak both in Hindi and English. This is essentially due to mobility from one place to another and exposure to the people of other region.

v) Sociolinguistic Information

Sirmauri mother tongue has not achieved the status of official language. This language is commonly called Pahari or Himachali. In Census this language is recorded under Hindi. UNESCO has considered this language as a critically endangered category. Younger generations prefer to use Hindi in their day to day communications instead of their mother tongue. This language is not taught in any educational institution.

Sirmauri mother tongue is rich in oral literature. The native script of the language is a variety of the Tākrī script and also known as sirmauri script and this script has originated from Brahmi. Now a day's people are using Devnagari script in place of Takri.

vi) Review of Earlier Literature

Pahari dialects have no standard form and beyond a few old epics, have no literature. According to Grierson, Western Pahari spoken in Himachal is not a homogenous dialect. It consists of a great number of dialects varying almost from hill to hill. Most of these dialects are interconnected and this influence on each other is more visible in those areas which are also geographically contiguous. So like other Pahari languages Sirmauri is very rich in oral literature.

vii) Present Study:

The present description of Sirmauri mother tongue has been developed based on the eight varieties of reports and transcription of the data and one consolidated report of Mother Tongue Survey of India Project (MTSI).

audio visual linguistic data of eight samples of Sirmauri mother tongue has been collected by a group of people of Directorate of Census Operation of Himachal Pradesh, Office of the Registrar General, India and have been transcribed and analysed by linguistic Resource Persons of different universities.

The analysed reports have been consolidated by Research Officer of Language Division, Office of the Registrar General, India, namely P. Edward Vedamanickam. Based on his consolidated report the linguistic description of the Sirmauri mother tongue has been developed in the following chapters.

2. PHONOLOGY

Phonology is the study of how sounds are organized and used in natural languages. The phonological system of a language includes an inventory of sounds and their features and rules which specify how sounds interact with each other. Phonemic analysis helps in allotting all the indefinite number of sounds occurring in utterances to a definite and limited set of phonemes contrastive in at least some environment.

The phonological system of Sirmauri is presented below based on the data collected from the informant and transcribed by the contributors.

i) Phonemic Inventory

Part of the phonological study of a language involves looking at data (phonetic transcriptions of the speech of native speakers) and trying to deduce what the underlying phonemes are and what the sound inventory of the language is. Thus, the phonemic inventory of Sirmauri shows the distinctive sound units occurring in Sirmauri speech. Both the segmental and suprasegmental phonemes of Sirmauri are presented in the following inventory.

Segmental Phonemes

The segmental phonemes of Sirmauri language comprise of 16 vowels (including 4 long vowel i.e. i:, e:, a: and u:, 33 Consonants (including 9 aspirated consonantal phonemes). An effort has been made to present them with suitable examples in the following section.

a) Vowels

There are altogether ten vowel phonemes, among them three are marginal vowel phoneme. All the front vowels are unrounded and back vowels are rounded. All the ten vowel phonemes of Sirmauri language can occur in all the position i.e. initial, medial and final position of a syllable or word as shown below.

Vowel chart					
	Unrounded		Unrounded	Rounded	
	Front	Near Front	Central	Near Back	Back
Close	i		ɨ		u
Near-Close		ɪ		ʊ	
Close-Mid	e				o
Mid	æ				
Open-Mid	ɛ		ə		ɔ
Open	a				

b) Consonants

There are 33 Consonantal (including 9 aspirated consonantal phonemes) sounds in this language. The following examples show the distribution consonantal sounds in Sirmauri language.

	Bilabial	Dental	Alveolar	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
--	-----------------	---------------	-----------------	------------------	----------------	--------------	----------------

	vl	vd		vl	vd	vl	vd		vl	vd	vl	vd
Plosive	p p ^h	b b ^h		t t ^h	d d ^h	ʈ ʈ ^h	ɖ		k k ^h	g g ^h		
Nasal		m			n		ɳ			ŋ		
Trill					r		ɽ					
Tap, Flap												
Fricative				s	z			ʃ			h	
Affricate								tʃ tʃ ^h	dʒ dʒ ^h			
Approximant			ʋ						j			
Lateral approximant					l			ɭ				

Suprasegmental Phonemes

a) Length

Length is not phonemic here. Phonetically vowels are both short and long. In Sirmauri there are five long vowels. Distribution of long vowels is given below:

	Front	Central	Back
Close	i:		u:
Close-mid	e:		o:
Mid			
Open-mid			
Near-open			ɔ:
Open	a:		

Distribution of these long vowels

Vowels	Initial	Medial	Final
/a:/	/a:g/ 'fire' /a:dʒ/ 'today'	/na:t ^h / 'nose-ring' /ba:g/ 'garden'	/sa:/ 'wife's brother'
/e:/	-----	/dʒe:l/ 'lock up' /de:r/ 'late'	/ʃe:/ 'shade'
/i:/	/i:k/ 'this' /i:gə/ 'asafoetida'	/ʈi:l/ 'mirror' /ki:ʈa/ 'worm'	/daɭi:/ 'bread'
/o:/	/o:t ^h / 'lip'	/ko:r/ 'nest'	/mo:/ 'honey'
/u:/	-----	/d ^h u:ʈ/ 'dust' /t ^h u:k/ 'saliva'	/mu:/ 'mouth' /dʒu:/ 'louse'
/ɔ:/	-----	/nɔ:ʃ/ 'claw'	/grɔ:/ 'planet'

b) Nasalization

No minimal pair could be formed to establish nasalization as phonemic in Sirmauri. The nasalized vowels found in the data are as follows,

Nasalized Phonemes	Initial	Medial	Final
/ã/	/ãk ^h / ‘eye’	/hãt ^h / ‘elephant’	/juã/ ‘moon’
/ẽ/	/ẽi doriθku/ ‘without’	/kẽi/ ‘why’	-----
/ĩ/	-----	/c ^h ĩk/ ‘sneeze’	/ciĩ/ ‘ant’
/õ/	-----	/böyco/ ‘earthquake’	-----
/ũ/	/ũt/ ‘camel’	/pũŋe/ ‘tail’	/jũ/ ‘louse’
/õ̃/	-----	/gõ̃okθre dθnd/ ‘front tooth’	-----
/ẽ̃/	-----	/p ^h ẽ̃sla/ ‘divorce’	-----

ii) Phonemic Description

a) Vowel

Distribution and description of the vowel phonemes as per the collected data is given in the following.

<i>/i/ high, close, front, unrounded vowel</i>			
	Initial	Medial	Final
<i>/i/</i>	/idʒə/ ‘mother’ /iʃara/ ‘wave’	/sisa/ ‘mirror’ /pɾit ^h vi/ ‘earth’	/maŋɟi/ ‘bug’ /daɾi/ ‘beard’
<i>/ɪ/ high, near close, front, unrounded vowel</i>			
<i>/ɪ/</i>	/ɪladʒ/ ‘to cure’ /ɪʃara korna/ ‘to give clue’	/ʃik ^h ŋo/ ‘to learn’ /tɪmba/ ‘hill’	/dotɪ/ ‘lion cloth’ /matɾɪ/ ‘clay’
<i>/e/ mid high, close-mid, front, unrounded vowel</i>			
<i>/e/</i>	/edʒo/ ‘this’ /enko/ ‘mirror’	/kerku/ ‘where’ /reta/ ‘desert’	/kɔbe/ ‘when’ /ɭade/ ‘bride’
<i>/æ/ mid, near low, front, unrounded vowel.</i>			
<i>/æ/</i>	/ælmuniam/ ‘alluminium’ /ænək/ ‘spectacles’	/næjro/ ‘darkness’ /kæŋt/ ‘glass’	—
<i>/ɛ/ mid low front unrounded vowel</i>			

/ɛ/	/ɛʰini/ ‘not’ /ero/ ‘so’	/mena/ ‘maina’ /geŋɖa/ ‘rhinoceros’	/dʒore/ ‘twin’ /se/ ‘fox’
/a/low front unrounded vowel			
/a/	/aʃu/ ‘tears’ /aɽo/ ‘bone’	/baɖ/ ‘flood’ /maɽa/ ‘clay’	/bʰasma/ ‘ash’
/i/ high central unrounded vowel.			
/i/	-----	/kɪlərokɪ/ ‘clerk’ /ʃɪrag/ ‘eagle’	/mistri/ ‘mason’ /mãŋəɭi/ ‘bug’
/ə/ mid-open, central, unrounded vowel.			
/ə/	/əŋɖa/ ‘egg’ /ədalət/ ‘court’	/bʰiitʃəɖ/ ‘earthquake’ /ʃəmgadər/ ‘bat’	/ũtə/ ‘camel’ /duɭə/ ‘dust’
/ʊ/near back, near close, high rounded vowel			
/ʊ/	/ʊllu/ ‘owl’ /ʊɭi/ ‘vomit’	/bagʊr/ ‘air’ /ɭsʊŋ/ ‘garlic’	/ʃaʃʊ/ ‘mother-in-law’ /kodʊ/ ‘gourd’
/ɔ/mid low front unrounded vowel.			
/ɔ/	/ɔstri/ ‘female’ /ɔidʒ/ ‘turmeric’	/bɔŋ/ ‘forest’ /dɔɽɽu/ ‘leprosy’	/grəhɔ/ ‘planet’ /dʒɔ/ ‘barley’
/o/mid high back rounded vowel.			
/o/	/oɭka/ ‘light’ /oɭʰ/ ‘lip’	/zod/ ‘joint’ /koɽhə/ ‘leprosy’	/dʰo/ ‘noise’ /karko/ ‘chicken’
/u/close, high, back rounded vowel.			
/u/	/uɽa/ ‘basket’ /ukʰɔ/ ‘mortar’	/tʰũg/ ‘cough’ /ludə/ ‘vulture’	/ʊllu/ ‘owl’ /aʃu/ ‘tears’

Contrast in vowel

A phoneme is the smallest contrastive unit in the sound system of a language. A study of minimal pairs in the data exemplifies the phonemic contrast available in the dialect. These are used to demonstrate that two phones constitute two separate phonemes in the language. Examples of phonemic contrasts in vowel in Sirmauri language are as follows.

Vowel

/a/	~	/ə/	
/dada/ ‘father’s father’	~	/dadə/ ‘father’s mother’	
/a/	~	/u/	
/kãʃ/ ‘glass’	~	/kũʃ/ ‘waist’	
/i/	~	/e/	
/kila/ ‘fort’	~	/kela/ ‘alone’	
/a/	~	/o/	

/mɔra/ ‘death’	~	/mɔro/ ‘dead body’
/a/ ~ /e/		
/p ^h ɔɾa/ ‘boil’	~	/p ^h ɔɾe/ ‘pimple’
/u/ ~ /ə/		
/p ^h ul/ ‘flower’	~	/p ^h əl/ ‘fruit’
/u/ ~ /o/		
/dʒu/ ‘louse’	~	/dʒo/ ‘wheat’
/e/ ~ /a/		
/b ^h ed/ ‘sheep’	~	/bəd/ ‘flood’
/ɪ/ ~ /u/		
/saɪ/ ‘wife's sister’	~	/saɪ/ ‘wife's elder’
/a/ ~ /ɪ/		
/pota/ ‘son's son’	~	/potɪ/ ‘son's daughter’

b) Consonant

Description and distribution of the consonant phonemes as per the collected data given in the following,

Distribution of the consonant sounds

/p/ voiceless bilabial stop

	Initial	Medial	Final
/p/	/paŋə/ ‘rain’	/bæɪpən/ ‘childhood’	/sāp/ ‘snake’
	/pop ^h rēt/ ‘kou’	/pəpəd/ ‘papad’	/ɟ ^h ap/ ‘ring’

/p^h/voiceless, aspirated, bilabial stop

	Initial	Medial	Final
/p ^h /	/p ^h ədʒ/ ‘soldier’	/səp ^h ed/ ‘white’	/tarip ^h / ‘praise’
	/p ^h ajne/ ‘ankle’	/təp ^h ani/ ‘strom’	

/b/voice bilabial stop

	Initial	Medial	Final
/b/	/bəd/ ‘flood’	/tamba/ ‘copper’	/purəb/ ‘east’
	/bɔŋ/ ‘forest’	/pop ^h rēt/ ‘kou’	/k ^h ɪtab/ ‘book’

/b^h/voice aspirated bilabial stop

	Initial	Medial	Final
/b ^h /	/b ^h aɾa/ ‘low tide’	/əb ^h jas/ ‘argument’	-----
	/b ^h əsmə/ ‘ash’	/əb ^h rək/ ‘mica’	

/t/voiceless alveolar stop

	Initial		Medial		Final	
/t/	/tel/	‘oil’	/bətɪdʒa/	‘brother’s son’	/dʊat/	‘inkpot’
	/tara/	‘star’	/reta/	‘desert’	/ədalət/	‘court’

/tʰ/voiceless aspirated alveolar stop

	Initial		Medial		Final	
/tʰ/	/tʰɪŋgu/	‘palm’	/pətʰor/	‘stone’	/latʰ/	‘kick’
	/tʰu:k/	‘saliva’	/pattʰər/	‘stone’	/hatʰ/	‘hand’

/d/voice alveolar stop

	Initial		Medial		Final	
/d/	/dəlal/	‘broker’	/məzdur/	‘labourer’	/soad/	‘taste’
	/daɾi/	‘beard’	/banda/	‘insanity’	/mərəd/	‘mail’

/dʰ/ voice aspirated alveolar stop

	Initial		Medial		Final	
/dʰ/	/dʰɔbi/	‘washer-man’	/gədʰa/	‘donkey’	-----	
	/dʰən/	‘property’	/bidʰansəbʰa/	‘assembly’		

/ɽ/ voiceless retroflex stop

	Initial		Medial		Final	
/ɽ/	/ɽɪmba/	‘hill’	/gaɽɪ/	‘camel’	/peɽ/	‘belly’
	/ɽopi/	‘cap’	/ɽate/	‘neck’	/pi:ɽ/	‘back’

/tʰ/ voiceless aspirated retroflex stop

	Initial		Medial		Final	
/tʰ/	/tʰũg/	‘cough’	/zetʰja/	‘husband's brother’	/piɽʰ/	‘back(of body)’
	/tʰəɽʰera/	‘copper smith’	/gʊɽʰə/	‘finger’	/ũɽʰ/	‘camel’

/d/ voiced retroflex stop

	Initial		Medial		Final	
/d/	/dɪkar/	‘belch’	/brɪjaɽe/	‘cat’	/baɽ/	‘flood’

/ɖako/ ‘hill’ /ɭade/ ‘bride’ /ɖaŋɖ/ ‘punishment’

/k/ voiceless velar stop

	Initial		Medial		Final	
/k/	/koɾ/	‘leprosy’	/tʃiki/	‘sneeze’	/labdajək/	‘useful’
	/kaɭa/	‘black’	/kaktʃa/	‘small pox’	/bətək/	‘duck’

/kʰ/ voiceless velar aspirated stop

	Initial		Medial		Final	
/kʰ/	/kʰaɾi/	‘pond’	/borkʰa/	‘rain’	/akʰ/	‘eye’
	/kʰeɭtu/	‘toy’	/bukʰar/	‘fever’	/pəŋkʰ/	‘feather’

/g/ voice velar stop

	Initial		Medial		Final	
/g/	/gal/	‘cheek’	/zɪndgi/	‘life’	/tʰūg/	‘cough’
	/giɔɭ/	‘moth’	/pagɾə/	‘turban’	/brag/	‘lion’

/gʰ/ voice velar aspirated stop

	Initial		Medial		Final
/gʰ/	/gʰoɣa/	‘snail’	-----		-----
	/gʰa:o/	‘wound’			

/m/ bilabial nasal

	Initial		Medial		Final	
/m/	/mumbatti/	‘wax candle’	/kʰəmba/	‘pillar’	/sem/	‘beans’
	/moɾor/	‘pea’	/nimbu/	‘lemon’	/ni:m/	‘neem’

/n/ alveolar nasal

	Initial		Medial		Final	
/n/	/nimbu/	‘lemon’	/gənnə/	‘sugercane’	/zin/	‘road’
	/ne:ɾ/	‘anvil’	/bənd/	‘strick’	/kan/	‘ear’

/ŋ/ retroflex nasal

	Initial		Medial		Final	
/ŋ/	-----		/paʋŋə/	‘guests’	/goeŋ/	‘sky’
			/baŋja/	‘grocer’	/gi:ŋ/	‘mercy’

/ŋ/ velar nasal

	Initial		Medial		Final	
/ŋ/	-----		/mãŋəɭi/	‘bug’	/bōŋ/	‘forest’
			/pəŋkʰ/	‘feather’	/ʃiŋ/	‘horn’

/r/ alveolar trill

	Initial		Medial		Final	
/r/	/re:t/	‘sand’	/zovare/	‘high tide’	/pəthor/	‘stone’
	/riʃ/	‘bear’	/səkra/	‘pebble’	/dɑr/	‘valley’

/ʃ/ voiceless

	Initial		Medial		Final	
/ʃ/	/ʃũtsi/	‘beak’	/pəʃin/	‘mud’	/riʃ/	‘bear’
	/ʃilə/	‘eagle’	/ʃəʃʃa/	‘father’s brother’	/kãʃ/	‘glass’

/ʃʰ/ voiceless palatal affricate

	Initial		Medial		Final	
/ʃʰ/	/ʃʰotʉ/	‘baby’	/məʃʃʰər/	‘mosquito’	/mogorməʃʰ/	
	/ʃʰε/	‘six’	/põʃʰa/	‘wiper’		‘crocodile’

/dʒ/ voice palatal affricate

	Initial		Medial		Final	
/dʒ/	/dʒuən/	‘moon’	/bidʒur/	‘lightning’	/la:dʒ/	‘shame’
	/dʒivən/	‘life’	/surudʒə/	‘sun’	/kʰadʒ/	‘ringworm’

/dʒʰ/ voice palatal aspirated affricate

	Initial		Medial		Final
/dʒʰ/	/dʒʰula/	‘swing’	-----		-----
	/dʒʰaɾu/	‘sweep’			

/s/

/sisa/	‘mirror’	/basno/	‘utensils’	/sãs/	‘breath’
/səlab/	‘dew’	/bəsmə/	‘ash’	/sarəs/	‘crane’

/z/voiced alveolar fricative

	Initial		Medial		Final	
/z/	/zãda/	‘lock’	/pəzebo/	‘anklet’	/roz/	‘always’
	/zal/	‘net’	/biuzna/	‘to lift up’		

/ʃ/ palatal fricative

	Initial		Medial		Final	
/ʃ/	/ʃiu/	‘cold’	/dəkʃin/	‘south’	/boʃ/	‘year’
	/ʃara/	‘father-in-law’	/ʃaʃo/	‘mother-in-law’	/kʰaɾiʃ/	‘itch’

/h/voiceless glottal fricative

	Initial		Medial		Final
--	----------------	--	---------------	--	--------------

/h/	/hirəŋ/	‘deer’	/dəhɪ/	‘curd’	/bijah/	‘wedding’
	/hatʰi/	‘elephant’	/lɛher/	‘wave’	/mu:h/	‘mouth’

/l/ alveo-lateral approximant

	Initial		Medial		Final	
/l/	/lɛher/	‘wave’	/dələsa/	‘sympathy’	/lal/	‘red’
	/lanʧa/	‘cripple’	/lala/	‘broker’	/kol/	‘nest’

/ʎ/ palato-lateral approximant

/ʎ/	/ʎepʧe/	‘skin’	/golʎi/	‘bullet’	/beʎ/	‘berry’
			/sulʎe/	‘slowly’	/dalʎ/	‘slope’

/v/ labio-dental approximant

	Initial		Medial		Final	
/v/	/vās/	‘new moon’	/zovare/	‘high tide’	/sev/	‘apple’
	/visvas/	‘believe’	/bidva/	‘window’		

/j/ palatal approximant

	Initial		Medial		Final	
/j/	/jatra/kərna/	‘to travel’	/tətəja/	‘wasp’	/naj/	‘barber’
	/ja:k/	‘yak’	/dʒəmjai/	‘yawn’		

Contrast in consonant

Examples of phonemic contrasts in consonant in Sirmauri language are as follows.

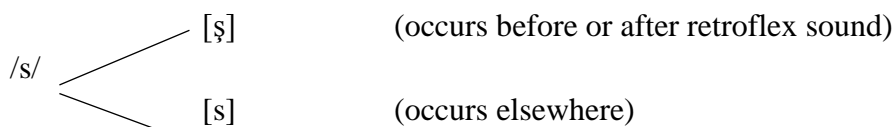
/r/	~	/t/	
/bær/	‘berry’	~	/bæt/ ‘cane’
/l/	~	/k/	
/luŋ/	‘salt’	~	/kuŋ/ ‘who’
/s/	~	/dʒ/	
/sɛ/	‘if’	~	/dʒɛ/ ‘if’
/dʒ/	~	/m/	
/dʒo/	‘wheat’	~	/mo/ ‘honey’
/b/	~	/ʃ/	
/baʧ/	‘fence’	~	/ʃaʧ/ ‘pickle’
/d/	~	/ʧ/	
/baɖ/	‘flood’	~	/baʧ/ ‘fence’
/ʧ/	~	/l/	
/ʧaŋo/	‘to remove’	~	/laŋo/ ‘to get(come and get)’
/ʃ/	~	/b/	
/ʃoŋa/	‘to leak’	~	/boŋa/ ‘to float’
/z/	~	/b/	
/zoŋa/	‘to search’	~	/boŋa/ ‘to float’

/ʃ/	~	/z/	
/ʃoŋa/		‘to leak’	~ /zoŋa/ ‘to search’
/k/	~	/z/	
/kod/		‘leprocy’	~ /zod/ ‘joint’
/t/	~	/d/	
/kot/		‘coat’	~ /kod/ ‘leprocy’
/d/	~	/t/	
/ped/		‘tree’	~ /pet/ ‘belly’
/g/	~	/l/	
/gal/		‘cheek’	~ /lal/ ‘red’
/d/	~	/k/	
/dan/		‘paddy’	~ /kan/ ‘ear’
/t/	~	/g/	
/toɾa/		‘deaf’	~ /goɾa/ ‘horse’
/t/	~	/k/	
/tar/		‘wire’	~ /kar/ ‘car’
/d/	~	/p/	
/du/		‘dust’	~ /pu/ ‘bridge’
/d/	~	/z/	
/din/		‘day’	~ /zin/ ‘road’
/n/	~	/d/	
/naj/		‘barber’	~ /daj/ ‘midwife’
/p ^h /	~	/k/	
/p ^h o/		‘fruit’	~ /k ^h o/ ‘grass’
/d/	~	/d/	
/da/		‘slope’	~ /da/ ‘dal (pulse)’
/l/	~	/g/	
/da/		‘dal (pulse)’	~ /dag/ ‘scab’
/z/	~	/d/	
/za/		‘stream’	~ /da/ ‘slope’

iii) Major Allophonic Distribution:

Allophones are condition specific (dependent) variants of a phoneme. Allophones of a phoneme occur in mutually exclusive environments. Allophones do not affect the functional identity of the phoneme in the language. So this is a phonetic variant of a phoneme in a particular language. Although a phoneme's allophones are all alternative pronunciations for a phoneme, the specific allophone selected in a given situation is often predictable. The present data does not show any allophonic variation in vowel but consonantal sounds has following allophonic variation –

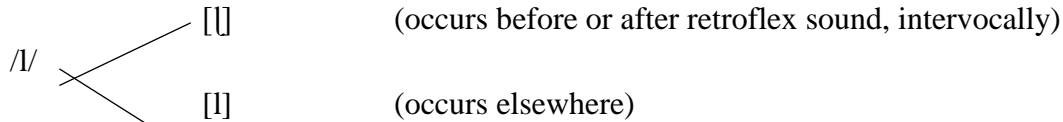
Phoneme/s/has two allophones [s], [ʃ]



Example:

/paʃtə/ 'leaf'
 /maʃtər/ 'teacher'
 /nɔʃt kəʃnu/ 'to waste'

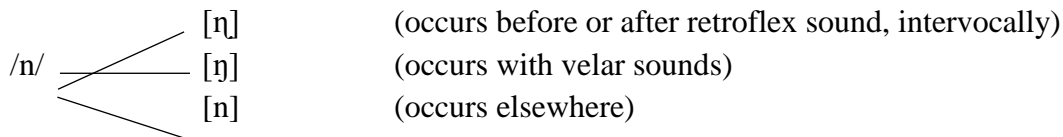
Phoneme/l/has two allophones [l̥], [l]



Example:

/toɫn/ 'to weigh'
 /aɫu/ 'potato'
 /goɫe/ 'bullet'
 /kʰoɫnu/ 'to open'

Phoneme/n/has three allophones [ŋ], [ɲ], [n]



Examples:

/paŋi/ 'water'
 /nɔŋəd/ 'husband's sister'
 /piɲa/ 'to beat'
 /kʰɔɲnu/ 'to cover'
 /kʰuŋg/ 'cough'
 /əŋgur/ 'grape'
 /pəŋkʰ/ 'wing'
 /atəŋkvad/ 'terrorism'
 (this/ŋ/in other places acts as a separate phoneme)
 /naɟ/ 'pride'
 /məntrə/ 'minister'
 /kanun/ 'law'
 /kan/ 'ear'

Free variation

Free variation is also found in this mother tongue. That means sounds freely vary in one and another place.

Vowel/ɛ/is often pronounced as [æ] and sometimes as [ɛ], and the pronunciation freely varies without any fixed phonetic environment. This pronunciation freely varies in many words such as

/pʰɛnə/or/pʰænə/ 'heel'
 /lɛhə/or/læhə/ 'wave'
 /nɛro/or/næro/ 'darkness'

In word initial position, free variation is found between the aspirated consonants and their unaspirated counter parts.

/dʒʰadʒ/or/dʒadʒ/	‘aeroplane’ (dʒʰ ~ dʒ)
/dʒʰund/or/dʒund/	‘group’
/dʰal/or/dal/	‘slope’ (dʰ ~ d)
/dʰol/or/dol/	‘drum’
/dʰɔktu/or/dɔktu/	‘hiccough’
/bʰəsmə/or/bəsmə/	‘ash’

iv) Diphthong

A diphthong is defined as a combination of two vowels in a single syllable that changes quality during its pronunciation from one articulation to another.

There are very little use of diphthongs in Sirmauri languages. From the available data we are getting only four diphthongs in Sirmauri language. These are ai, ei, oi, ou. Examples are as follows,

/ai/	/dvai/‘medicine’
	/spaido/‘neatly’
/ei/	/tʃeit/‘sorrow’
	/greidɔ/‘cattle’
/oi/	/oidʒ/‘haldi’
	/moira/‘blood’
/ou/	/ʃoura/‘father-in-law’
	/nou/‘new’

Vowel sequence

It refers to more than one adjacent vowel sounds occurring within a word. There are some vowel sequences which are realized in Sirmauri language, these as follows:

/ao/	/pʰaɔɾa/	‘spade’
/au/	/mau/	‘honey bee’
/ea/	/nɔθlθoŋɛa/	‘boatman’
/eo/	/deo/	‘goddess’
/eu/	/deuʰθ/	‘temple’
/ia/	/dia/	‘ice’
/ie/	/dʒɔbrie/	‘to compel’
/io/	/pɔnnio/	‘full moon’
/iu/	/siu/	‘apple’
/oa/	/dʒoar/	‘high tide’
/oia/	/rθsoia/	‘cook’
/ua/	/kθtʰua/	‘tortoise’
/ɔua/	/kɔua/	‘crow’
/ue/	/dʒuenɛ/	‘bishop’s weed’
/ui/	/mui/	‘raddish’
/uo/	/muor/	‘seal’

/əi/	/dudʒəməi/	‘again’
/əo/	/dʰəo/	‘noise’
/eə/	/seət/	‘health’
/iə/	/ēi doriəku/	‘without’
/oə/	/svaoə/	‘midwife’
/uə/	/suər/	‘pig’
/ei/	/fʰeit/	‘pain’

v) Consonant clusters

A consonant cluster is a combination of two or more non identical consonants within a syllable which have no intervening vowel and that generally occurs in the initial, medial and final position of a word.

On the basis of the available data the Consonant clusters in Sirmauri mother tongues are found mainly in syllable initial or final position. This is a typical feature of Indo Aryan languages. The first member of a consonant cluster is stop (it may be oral or nasal) or sometimes fricative and the second member of consonant cluster is either a trill/r/or a semi-vowel/v or j/. A few examples of non-identical clusters in Sirmauri language are given in the following section-

/pr/-	/primɳi/	‘strainer’	
/br/-	/branda/	‘verandah’	
	/bre/	‘cat’	
/kr/-	/krela/	‘bitter gourd’	
/gr/-	/gro/	‘planet’	
/tr/-	/trikʰŋo/	‘to taste’	
/kl/-	/klotke/	‘calf’	
/dɾ/-	/dɾavɳa/	‘to knead’	
/nd/-	/zindgi/	‘life’	(cluster in syllable final position)
	/pəsənd/	‘like’	
/ndʒ/-	/gundʒna/	‘echo’	(cluster in syllable final position)
/st/-	/ostre/	‘female’	(cluster in syllable final position)
	/stavɳa/	‘to annoy’	
/sl/-	/sla kəɳe/	‘to sew’	
/nv/-	/nvase/	‘eighty nine’	
/sv/-	/svad/	‘taste’	
/sj/-	/sjahi/	‘ink’	

Some consonant sequence is available present data which means combination of two consonants which have no intervening vowel occurring on syllables boundaries i.e., consonant sequences always occur across the syllable boundaries. Therefore, such sequences will be in the medial position only. In Sirmauri language consonantal sequence is realized but they cannot be treated as cluster since syllable break up is there. Here two types of consonant sequences, i.e., 1. Heterogeneous and 2. Homogenous consonant sequences. Examples are given below.

Heterogeneous Consonant Sequences

Heterogeneous Consonant Sequences are formed with a few combinations of nasals and oral stops, and with a trill and a lateral. Some examples are given in the following.

/-nd-/	/məndŋu/	‘to satisfy’
/-tr-/	/məntri/	‘minister’
/-nt-/	/səntra/	‘orange’
/-ndʒ-/	/sindʒŋo/	‘to irrigate’
/-ŋd-/	/baŋʈuku/	‘utensils’
/-tʃ-/	/cəʈju/	‘bird’

Homogenous consonant sequences or geminates

Homogenous consonant clusters or geminates that may be formed in Sirmauri language with voiceless or voiced stops, laterals, trills, fricatives, and nasals. Some examples are as follows.

/-tt-/	/ʊttər/	‘north’
/-pp-/	/ʈəppə/	‘ceiling’
/-dd-/	/siddo/	‘flat’
/-ʈʈ-/	/ʈʊʈʈi/	‘ant’
/-dʌd-/	/gʊdʌdi/	‘doll’
/-bb-/	/kərabba/	‘badly’
/-kk-/	/dakka/	‘stab’
/-mm-/	/səmma/	‘approve’
/-nn-/	/gənnə/	‘sugarcane’
/-ss-/	/ikassi/	‘eighty one’
/-ʃʃ-/	/pəʃʃu/	‘day after tomorrow’
/-ll-/	/ʊllu/	‘owl’
/-rr-/	/dʒvarra/	‘jowar flour’

vi) Syllabification

A syllable is a unit of organization for a sequence of speech sounds. A syllable is a unit of sound composed of a central peak of sonority (usually a vowel), and the consonants that cluster around this central peak. Syllables are often considered the phonological “building blocks” of words. They can influence the rhythm of a language, its prosody, its poetic meter and its stress patterns.

A syllable which ends with a vowel is called open syllable whereas a syllable ending in a consonant is called closed syllable.

Accordingly the structure of Sirmauri syllable can be shown below as realized from the present data.

Syllable structure

In Sirmauri language a syllable can be of following structures

Structure	Word	Gloss
V	/a/	'come'
VV	/ao/	'come. IMP'
CV	/ek/	'one'
CVV	/mɔʊ/	'honey bee'
CCV	/sja/	'ink'
CCVV	/ʃvao/	'midwife'
CVCC	/ʃiŋg/	'horn'

Open syllable:

Words	Syllabic Structure	Gloss
/a/	[V]	'come'
/ao/	[VV]	'come.IMP'
/ʃa/	[CV]	'tea'
/mɔʊ/	[CVV]	'honey bee'
/sja/	[CCV]	'ink'
/ʃvao/	[CCVV]	'midwife'

Closed syllable:

Words	Syllabic Structure	Gloss
/ek/	[VC]	'one'
/kol/	[CVC]	'nest'
/suɔɾ/	[CVVC]	'pig'
/svad/	[CCVC]	'taste'
/ʃiŋg/	[CVCC]	'horn'

Syllable Pattern

The following types of syllable types are found in the Sirmauri.

Monosyllabic

A word that consists of a single syllable is called a monosyllable (and is said to be monosyllabic).

Words	Syllable Structure	Gloss
/a/	[V]	'come'
/ao/	[VV]	'come.IMP'

/ek/	[VC]	‘one’
/du/	[CV]	‘two’
/riʃ/	[CVC]	‘bear’
/mənʃ/	[CVCC]	‘stage’
/svad/	[CCVC]	‘taste’

Disyllabic

A word that consists of two syllables is called Disyllable (and is said to be disyllabic)

Words	Syllable Structure	Gloss
/o-ʔa/	[V-CV]	‘basket’
/ob-ʔa/	[VC-CV]	‘cowshed’
/pi-to/	[CV-CV]	‘brass’
/tam-ba/	[CVC-CV]	‘copper’
/ʃum-bək/	[CVC-CVC]	‘magnet’

Trisyllabic

A word that consists of three syllables is called a Trisyllable (and is said to be trisyllabic).

Words	Syllable Structure	Gloss
/b ^h ə-ro-sa/	[CV-CV-CV]	‘sympathy’
/si-pai-ja/	[CV-CVV-CV]	‘soldier’
/p ^h ət-kə-ʔə/	[CVC-CV-CV]	‘anvil’
/mə-gər-məʃ ^h /	[CV-CVC-CVC]	‘crocodile’
/səŋg-mər-mət/	[CVC-CVC-CVC]	‘marble’

Tetrasyllabic

A word that consists of four syllables is called a Tetrasyllable (and is said to be Tetrasyllabic).

Words	Syllable Structure	Gloss
/pə-ʔa-li-k ^h a/	[CV-CV-CV-CV]	‘literate’
/hə-vai-dʒa-hadʒ/	[CV-CVC-CV-CVC]	‘aeroplane’
/ha-ra-hən-da/	[CV-CV-CVC-CV]	‘defeat’
/dʒiŋg-ra-ɖəŋg-ru/	[CVC-CV-CVC-CV]	‘weapon’

3. MORPHOPHONEMICS

It is a possible phonological variation with the addition of some bound morpheme when there is change in the phoneme of the base morpheme, the change is known as morphophonemic change. There are various Morphophonemic changes, these can be

1. Addition of phoneme in a morpheme
2. Alternation of phoneme in a morpheme and
3. Dropping of a phoneme in a morpheme.

In Sirmauri language this process is realised in the following ways.

i) Addition of phonemes

When a suffix is added with the base morpheme the a new is added in between the base and the suffix. In Sirmauri language when past participle marker –a: is added with the vowel ending verbal root then –tt- is inserted in the past participle form. For example

√de	>	/dena/	‘to give’	+	-a: ‘past participle marker’>	/ditta:/	‘given’
√le	>	/lena/	‘to take’	+	-a: ‘past participle marker’>	/litta:/	‘taken’
√k ^h a	>	/k ^h ana/	‘to eat’	+	-a: ‘past participle marker’>	/k ^h atta:/	‘eaten’

ii) Alternation of phonemes

In alternation of phonemes because of the addition of some morphemes there is change in the phoneme of the base morpheme. For example,

When past tense marker –a: is added with the √ja ‘to go’ it becomes ga-. For example,
√jana ‘to go’ + -a ‘past tense marker’ > /gəja/ ‘went’

iii) Deletion of phoneme

When a suffix is added with the base morpheme the final phoneme of the base morpheme gets deleted. For example,

In Sirmauri language when past participle marker/-a:/is added with the consonantal ending verbal base the phoneme of the verbal base gets deleted. For example.

√pit	>	/piṭna/	‘to beat’	>	/piṭa:/	‘beaten’
√lag	>	/laggna/	‘to be attached’	>	/laga:/	‘had attached’

4. MORPHOLOGY

Morphology deals with words and their declensional patterns as well as verbs and their conjugational patterns. Morphology of Sirmauri is discussed under Noun, Verb, Adjectives and Adverbs.

In other words, Morphology is the study of the grammatical structure of words and the categories realized by them. Morphology studies the smallest grammatical units of language, and their formation into words, including inflection, derivation and compounding. Morphology of Sirmauri will be discussed as follows:

I. NOUN MORPHOLOGY

i) Word formation

Sirmauri has four types of word formation processes such as affixation, derivation, compounding and reduplication.

Affixation

In affixation words are formed by adding affixes to the root or base. In Sirmauri language affixation process are of two types these are as follows,

Prefixation

In prefixation a bound morpheme is attached at the initial position of a root or stem.

For example

/ləjek/ 'smart'	+	/nə/ 'negative prefix'	>	/nələjek/ 'blunt'
/əslə/ 'true'	+	/nə/ 'negative prefix'	>	/nəkələ/ 'false'
/doʃ/ 'flaw'	+	/nir/ 'negative prefix'	>	/nirdoʃ/ 'innocent'
/dʒor/ 'strength'	+	/kəm/ 'negative prefix'	>	/kəmdʒor/ 'weak'

Suffixation

Suffixation process is more prominent than prefixation in this language. In this process suffixes are attached at the end of the root or stem. For examples,

Noun + suffix

/gər-/ 'house'	+	/-e/ 'plural suffix'	>	/gəre/ 'houses'
/laʃa/ 'bridegroom'	+	/-e/ 'gender marker'	>	/laʃe/ 'bridegroom'
/sna/ 'gold'	+	/-r/ 'personification marker'	>	/snaʀ/ 'goldsmith'
/takət/ 'strength'	+	/-bər/ 'ADJ suffix'	>	/takətbər/ 'strong'

Derivation

In Sirmauri language a new word can be formed by the suffixation of nominalizer. The nominalizers are /-aʃ/or/-i/or/-bər/, which may be added to either a noun, or an infinitive form of a verb or an adjective. For example:

Noun	+	Noun forming suffix		Nominlaised form
/loha/ 'iron'	+	/-aʃ/		/lohaʃ/ 'blacksmith'
/ʃikar/ 'hunt'	+	/-i/		/ʃikari/ 'hunter'
/takət/ 'strength'	+	/-bər/		/takətbər/ 'strong'

Verb	+	Noun forming suffix		Noun form	
√ k ^h a 'to eat'	+	/-na/	>	/k ^h ana/	'food'
√ naɸ 'dance'	+	/-ni/	>	/naɸna/	'dancer'
√ ga	+	/-ək/	>	/gajək/	'singer'

Compounding

Compounding involves joining of more than one stem either in free or bound forms.

Noun+Noun compounding

/radʒ/ 'king'	+	/kumarə/ 'daughter'	>	/radʒkumarə/ 'princess'
/dud/ 'milk'	+	/vəɮa/ 'man'	>	/dudvəɮa/ 'milkman'
/aɸ ^h u/ 'holy'	+	/stan/ 'place'	>	/aɸ ^h ustan/ 'holypplace'

Reduplication

Reduplicated word is formed by repetition of the identical form in some of the words in Sirmauri language. Reduplication can be of two types – complete and partial reduplication in Sirmauri.

Partial reduplication

/andko pandko/ 'across'

Here/-andko/is partially reduplicated.

Complete reduplication

/sulə sulə dʒopɸu/ 'to whisper'

/ɸigu ɸigu/ 'fast (quick)'

/kobe kobe/ 'sometimes'

Here,/sulə/,/ɸifu/and/kobe/are completely reduplicated

ii) Noun

The Noun is a word class which takes number, gender and case markers. The nouns functions as a subject or an object in a construction and it denotes person, place, thing etc. Nouns thus realized in Sirmauri can be categorized into two broad classes, namely simple Noun and derived Noun.

Simple Noun

Simple noun in Sirmauri are those nouns which can stand alone without any prefix or suffix.

Simple noun	'Gloss'
/bəsmə/	'ash'
/roaɸ/	'cave'
/matɸa/	'clay'
/ɸ ^h oɸu/	'baby'
/laɸa/	'bridegroom'

Derived Noun:

If noun derives from other word class in combination with noun denoting suffixes, these nouns are called derived nouns. In Sirmauri, nouns are derived by suffixing/-na/or/-ni/or/-ək/to the verb root. For example

√ k ^h a	‘to eat’	+	/-na/	>	/k ^h ana/	‘food’
√ naɟ	‘dance’	+	/-ni/	>	/naɟna/	‘dancer’
√ ga		+	/-ək/	>	/gajək/	‘singer’

a) Numbers

The nouns in Sirmauri are marked by two numbers i.e, singular and plural. The singular noun is unmarked while plural is marked by/-e/or/-o/suffixes,

Singular	Gloss	Plural	Gloss
/gɔr/	‘house’	/gɔre/	‘houses’
/goɾa/	‘horse’	/goɾe/	‘horses’
/kitab/	‘book’	/kitabo/	‘books’

Plurality is also indicated by/-maɟ^h/in case of pronominal forms.

/tume/	‘you’	>	/tumemaɟ ^h /	‘you (plural)’
/sedʒa/	‘he’	>	/sedʒamaɟ ^h /	‘they’

Often, plurality is also marked by numerical units attached after the stem.

/du kitabo/	‘two books’
/do ke|a/	‘two bananas’
/du gāo/	‘two villages’
/du bƏre/	‘two cats’

b) Gender

Sirmauri recognizes a primary gender division between masculine and feminine. Gender is natural, not grammatical. In this language gender differentiation is expressed in two ways, by using separate lexical items or by using different affixes. Inanimate nouns have three tier gender system that is – Masculine, Feminine and Neuter.

In case of animate noun masculine nouns tend to take/–a/ending as opposed to feminine nouns with/i/ending.

By adding affixes:

Masculine		Feminine	
/mama/	‘mother’s brother’	/mami/	‘mother’s brother’s wife’
/pota/	‘grand son’	/poti/	‘grand daughter’
/laɾa/	‘bridegroom’	/laɾi/	‘bride’
/ɟ ^h oɾa/	‘boy’	/ɟ ^h oɾi/	‘girl’

By using different lexemes

Masculine		Feminine	
/nƏmbea/	‘bachelor’	/koare/	‘spinster’
/baba/	‘father’	/ama/	‘mother’
/malik/	‘husband’	/gɔrva/	‘wife’

In this language the inanimate nouns are expressed by means of suffixation and they have three tier gender system, for inanimate male noun/-a/and for female/-i/and neuter/- o/are used. Examples are as follows,

Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
/tɔpa/ ‘cap’	/tɔpi/ ‘small cap’	/tɔpɔ/ ‘smallest cap’
/tʰa|a/ ‘big metal plate’	/tʰa|i/ ‘small metal plate’	/tʰa|ɔ/ ‘smallest metal plate’
/sɛ|a/ ‘cold’	/sɛ|i/ ‘colder’	/sɛ|ɔ/ ‘coldest’
/ka|a/ ‘black’	/ka|i/	/ka|ɔ/ ‘black’

c) Case

The case defines the relationship between the subject and the predicate in a sentence. There are seven cases found in Sirmauri language. Various suffixes are added to the noun stem to indicate different relationships between the noun and other constituents. The collected data shows that the Sirmauri Language has the following cases:

Nominative Case

The nominative case generally marks the subject of a verb or the predicate noun which is either a noun or a pronoun. Nominative case is unmarked. For example,

/ham bʰɔdʒarok dʒi lagau/
 1SG-∅ market-LOC go-INF be.PRES.1SG
 ‘I am going to the market’

/se mara gɔre ao/
 3SG-∅ 1PL.GEN house-LOC come.PRES.3
 ‘She comes to our house’

/moa fɔtʉ dekʰo tʰio/
 1SG-∅ bird see-INF be.PST
 ‘I saw the bird’

Accusative Case

Accusative case is the case which usually marks direct object. According to the collected data accusative case in Sirmauri language is unmarked.

/hame gao piɔ/
 1PL cow- ∅ beat.PRS.1PL
 ‘We beat the cows’

/ã roʒi kʰau/
 1SG bread-∅ eat.PRES.1SG
 ‘I eat bread’

/ã fɔtʉ dekʰũ/
 1SG bird- ∅ see.PRES.1SG
 ‘I see the bird’

Dative Case

The dative case designates the indirect object of a transitive verb. Nouns having the role of recipient (as of things given), beneficiary of an action, or possessor of an item are datives. The context plays a crucial factor in differentiating between dative and accusative. According to the collected data dative case is marked in Sirmauri is by –o. Examples are as follows:

/sƏrkar gƏribo pəjsa dio/
Government poor-PL-DAT money give.PRES.3SG
'The government gives money to the poor'

/rame ʃamo kitab dite/
Ram Shyam-DAT book give. PST.3SG
'Ram gave the book to Shyam'

Instrumental Case

This case is used to denote instrument with which the action is performed. According to the collected data in this language instrumental case is marked by the marker -ri in Sirmauri language as shown below.

/meri kəlmə lik^{hə}/
1SG.GEN pen-INS write.PRES.3SG
'write with my pen'

/kƏrariə peɾ kaɾa/
Axe-INS tree-ACC cut-PAST
'The tree is cut with axe'

/kenʃiə baɫ kaɾe/
Scissors-INS hair-ø cut-PAST
'Hair is cut with scissors'

Ablative Case

Ablative case is a case that expresses movement of the subject or the object from one place to another either at the spatial plane or at the temporal plane. Ablative case is marked by the marker –do in the language. For example,

/peɾa do paʃti dʒəri/
Tree-ABL leaves fall.PRES.3
'Leaves fall from the tree'

/se meri k^hiɾkido pəɾa/
3SG 1SG.GEN window-ABL fall-PST
'He fell down from my window'

/ã peɾodo dure hũ/
1SG tree-ABL far.PP be.PRES.1SG
'I am far from the tree'

Genitive Case

Genitive case is a case in which the referent of the marked noun is the possessor of the referent of another noun. This case expresses the meaning of belonging to or possession of something by the subject. Genitive case marker in this language is –ri or -re as shown below.

/edʒi badi meri kitab o/ ‘Those are my books’
Those-PL 1SG.GEN book-PL be.PRS.3

/tēsre gōre/ ‘His houses’
3SG.GEN house

/mare ātʰ/ ‘Our hands’
1SG.PL hand-PL

Locative Case

Locative case is a case that expresses location at the referent of the noun it marks. The location of the subject or object is expressed by the locative case marker. In the collected data -ok is used as the locative case marker in the language as shown below.

/am bəḏʒarok ɖehu/ ‘I go to the market’
1SG market-LOC go-PRES-1SG

/ā kʰecok ɖehu/ ‘I go to the field’
1SG field-LOC go-PRS-1SG

/tume skulok ɖeoli/ ‘You will go the school’
2SG school-LOC go-FUT-2SG

iii) Pronoun

A pronoun is a pro-form which functions like a noun. It can also take number, gender and case markers like the noun. But the functional difference between a noun and a pronoun is that the pronoun cannot take any determiner and pronoun can be used in all persons whereas a noun always refers to the third person. Pronouns in Sirmauri are classified as follows:

Personal Pronouns

A personal pronoun in Sirmauri language distinguishes two numbers and three persons. For example,

	Singular	Plural
First Person	/am/ “I”	/hame/ “we”
Second Person	/tume/ “you”	/tumemaʃʰ/ “you(pl)”
Third Person	/sedʒa/ “he/she”	/sedʒe/ “they”

Demonstrative Pronouns

Demonstrative Pronouns are deictic words that indicate which entities a speaker refers to and distinguish those entities from others. The Demonstrative Pronouns either of proximate or remote type is realized in two numbers, that is singular and plural, which are shown below. The data collected illustrates the fact that Sirmauri language has two kinds of demonstrative pronouns-remote and proximate.

Pronoun	Proximate	Remote
Singular	/edʒa/ ‘this’	/se/ ‘that’
Plural	/edʒi/ ‘these’	/sedʒa/ ‘those’

Interrogative Pronouns

An interrogative pronoun is used in question to stand for the item questioned. Interrogative are also called wh-words. In Sirmauri language interrogative pronouns include the following:

Interrogative Pronouns	Gloss
/kũe/	‘what’
/kɔbe/	‘when’
kirke/	‘where’
/kẽi/	‘why’
/kuŋ/	‘who’

Indefinite Pronouns

The pronouns which denote some non-definite person or thing instead of definite one are called Indefinite pronouns. This type of pronoun refers to one or more unspecified beings, objects or places. Examples of indefinite pronoun in Sirmauri language are,

Indefinite Pronouns	Gloss
/bado/	‘Everything’
/keum/	‘all those’
/kuem ni/	‘no-one’

Reflexive Pronoun

A reflexive pronoun is a pronoun that is preceded by the noun, adjective, adverb or pronoun to which it refers (its antecedent) within the same clause. In Sirmauri language, reflexive pronouns are marked by /-ije/. Examples are as follows,

Reflexive Pronoun	Gloss
/ãp ^h ije/	‘myself’
/hameap ^h ije/	‘ourselves’
/ap ^h ije tume/	‘yourself’
/ap ^h ije/	‘himself’

iv) Adjectives

An adjective is a word that belongs to a class whose members modify nouns. An adjective specifies the properties or attributes of a noun referent. In this language adjectives occur before noun and changes for any change in gender and number. There are three

grammatical classes of adjectives in this language, namely 1. Attributive adjectives, 2. Predicative adjectives, 3. Derived adjectives which are discussed below:

Attributive adjectives

These are noun phrase headed by the modifier noun. For example:

/actʃʰə ʃʰoʃe/ 'good girl'
Good.ADJ girl.SG

/actʃʰa ʃʰoʃe/ 'good boys'
Good.ADJ boys.PL

/ʃʰoʃe ʃʰoʃu/ 'small child'
Small-ADJ child.SG

/boʃe kitab/ 'big book'
Big-ADJ book.SG

/ciʃa goʃa/ 'white horse'
White-ADJ horse.SG

Predicative adjective

These are linked via copula or other connecting device to the noun or pronoun they modify. In predicative use the adjectives follow the nouns in the sentences. For example

/sedʒa maʃʰ ʃəktiʃali ho/
DET.PL man.PL strong-ADJ be.PRES.3PL
'Those men are strong'

/sedʒu di ɖube lago/
DET.SG girl deaf-ADJ be.PRES.3SG
'That girl is deaf'

Derived Adjectives:

In Sirmauri language some adjectives are found to have derived from verb and hence these may be termed as derived adjectives.

Verb Base followed by Participle marker/-də/.

Examples

/tʃe ʃʰuʃehundə pʰəl ʃʰunge tʃije/
3SG fall-ADJ.PTCP fruit collect-INF be.PST.3SG
'She collected the fallen fruits'

/ʃʰəpihundə kitabo pəʃnek asan ho/
Print-ADJ.PTCP book read-INF easy be.PRES
'Printed books are easy to read'

Further, semantically Sirmauri adjectives can be categorized into three categories depending on the collected data, these are Quantitative, qualitative and descriptive. Examples are as follows,

In Sirmauri from the collected data we are getting mainly three Types of Adjectives

Qualitative adjective

The adjectives which attribute a quality to the nouns are called qualitative adjectives. The examples are

/ʃ^hoʃe ʃ^hoʃu/ ‘small child’
Small-ADJ child.SG

/boʃe kitab/ ‘big book’
Big-ADJ book.SG

/ciʃa goʃa/ ‘white horse’
White-ADJ horse.SG

Quantitative adjective

The adjectives which refer to the quantity of the nouns with which they occur are called Quantitative adjectives. In Sirmauri the use of Quantitative adjectives are as follows,

i) When the numerical unit is followed by the relevant attributed nouns. For example,

/du kitabo/ ‘two books’
NUM.ADJ book.PL

/du bƏre/ ‘two cats’
NUM.ADJ cat.PL

ii) When the quantity is in indefinite unit followed by the attributed nouns. For example,

/kuʃ^h maʃ^hri/ ‘some fishes’
Some.ADJ fish.PL

/t^hoʃedʒe ʃiʃ/ ‘some water’
Some.ADJ water

Demonstrative adjective

The forms which demonstrate the nouns are called Demonstrative adjectives which are realised in following way in Sirmauri language.

/edʒi badi meri kitab o/ ‘Those are my books’
DET.PL.ADJ 1SG-GEN book.PL be.PRES

/se tisru ʃaku o/ ‘That is his knife’
DET.ADJ 3SG-GEN knife be.PRES

In the above examples /kitab/ ‘books’, /ʃaku/ ‘knife’, are demonstrated by /edʒi/ ‘these’, /se/ ‘that’ respectively and for this purpose here they are functioning as demonstrative adjectives only.

v) **Numerals**

Numerals are the morphemic units denoting number as grammatical as well as adjectival category. The numerals in Sirmauri language may be classified as Cardinals, Ordinals and Fractional. The numerals are also found as attributed by Classifier.

Cardinal: Examples of cardinal numerals are as follows,

‘One’	/ek/	‘Six’	/ʃ ^h ɔ/
‘Two’	/do/	‘Seven’	/sat/
‘Three’	/ʃi:n/	‘Eight’	/a:t ^h /
‘Four’	/ʃar/	‘Nine’	/no/
‘Five’	/pãdʒ/	‘Ten’	/dɔs/

Higher numerals are formed by adding allomorphs of numerical units (1 to 9) to the allomorphs of base units (ten to ninety).

/gje/	‘one’	+	/-rɔ/	‘ten’	>	/gjero/	‘eleven’
/ba/	‘two’	+	/-rɔ/	‘ten’	>	/barɔ/	‘twelve’
/te/	‘three’	+	/-rɔ/	‘ten’	>	/terɔ/	‘thirteen’
/ʃɔu/	‘four’	+	/-dɔ/	‘ten’	>	/ʃɔudɔ/	‘fourteen’
/pɔn/	‘five’	+	/-dro/	‘ten’	>	/pɔndro/	‘fifteen’
/sol/	‘six’	+	/-lɔ	‘ten’	>	/solɔ/	‘sixteen’
/sɔt/	‘seven’	+	/-rɔ/	‘ten’	>	/sɔtrɔ/	‘seventeen’
/t ^h a/	‘eight’	+	/-rɔ/	‘ten’	>	/t ^h arɔ/	‘eighteen’
/ba/	‘two’	+	/ij/	‘twenty’	>	/baij/	‘twenty two’
/pẽ/	‘five’	+	/tij/	‘thirtee’	>	/pẽtij/	‘thirty five’
/ik/	‘one’	+	/taij/	‘fourty’	>	/iktaij/	‘forty one’
/pɔʃ/	‘5’	+	/pɔn/	‘fifty’	>	/pɔʃpɔn	‘fifty five’
/ika/	‘one’	+	/sɔt ^h /	‘sixty’	>	/ikasɔt ^h /	‘sixty one’
/pẽ/	‘five’	+	/ʃɔt ^h /	‘sixty’	>	/pẽʃɔt ^h /	‘sixty five’
/pɔdʒ/	‘five’	+	/ɔttɔr/	‘seventy’	>	/pɔdʒɔttɔr/	‘seventy five’
/pɔdʒ/	‘five’	+	/asɔ/	‘eighty’	>	/pɔdʒasɔ/	‘eighty five’
/ʃin/	‘three’	+	/ʃɔ/	‘hundred’	>	/ʃinʃɔ/	‘three hundred’
/pã/	‘five’	+	/ʃɔ/	‘hundred’	>	/pãʃɔ/	‘five hundred’

The formation like ‘nineteen’, ‘twenty-nine’, ‘thirty-nine’ and so on are made by adding /-is/ (the allomorph of dɔs “ten”) with /un-/-~/unʃ/ (the allomorph of “nine”) and thus unʃɔ ‘nineteen’, Unʃtis ‘twenty-nine’, /unʃallɩs/ ‘thirty-nine’ etc.

Ordinals: The ordinal numerals in Sirmauri language are formed by adding /-nənə/as suffix preceded by the basic numerical forms ‘one’, ‘two’, ‘three’ etc.

/polka/	‘first’
/dudʒa/	‘second’
/tidʒa/	‘third’

Fractional: Fractional numerals in Sirmauri language are as follows,

/ada/ ‘half’
/d̪e:d/ ‘one and a half’
/d̪aj/ ‘two and a half’

vi) Classifiers:

The classifier is used for classifying the numerical objects or a noun. As per the given data of Sirmauri the classifier has been realised in the following way.

/ʃiʃa goʃa/ “The white horses”
White.CL horse.PL

II. VERB MORPHOLOGY

i) Verb

Verb is a word class that marks Tense-Aspect- Modal- Personal markers distinguished by number and gender. Verb Morphology deals with the forms and classification of verbs, and their pattern in association etc.

Verb stem is the base of a verb denoting action. The classification of verbs and the types of verbs are presented below

Classification of Verbs

Verb stems may be classified as simple or complex. A simple stem consists of only one root. A compound stem has a root followed by one or more derivational or formative elements.

Verbs in Sirmauri may be classified in two ways

- (1) Structurally and
- (2) Semantically

(1) **Structurally**, verbs are of three types intransitive, transitive and ditransitive. This classification is made depending on whether the verbs take a single object or two objects or no objects at all. Examples are as follows.

(2)

Intransitive: Verbs have no object. For example,

/d̪urne/ “to run” as in

/goʃa d̪urnɔ/ ‘the horse runs’
Horse.3SG run-PRES.3SG

Here the verb/d̪urnɔ/“runs” does not require any object.

ii) Transitive verb/dek^hɲa/“to see” as in
/ã ʃoʃu dek^h ã/ “I see the bird”
1SG bird-ACC see-INF be.PRES.1SG

Here the verb/dek^hũ/“see” takes a single object/ʃoʃu/“bird”.

Transitive verb: Verbs have one object. For example,

/dek^hŋa/“to see” as in

/ã ʃoʈu dek^h ũ/“I see the bird”

1SG bird-ACC see-INF be.PRES.1SG

Here the verb/dek^hũ/“see” takes a single object/ʃoʈu/“bird”

Ditransitive verb: Verbs have two object. One direct object and another is indirect object.

For example,

/deŋu/“gives” as in

/sƏrkar gƏribo pəjesa dio/

Government poor-ACC money give-PRES.3SG

“The Government gives money to poor”

In the above sentence the verb/dio/“gives” takes direct object/pəjesa/“money” and the indirect object/gƏribo/“poor”

2) **Semantically**, in Sirmauri verbs can be classified as follows according to the data.

Physical verbs

/g^hugŋe/ ‘to bark’

/piʈŋa/ ‘to beat’

/naoŋu/ ‘to bend’

/kaʈŋu/ ‘to bite’

Intrument verbs

/kaʈŋu/ ‘to chop’

/lɔte kaʈŋi/ ‘to cut’

/gaɖa k^honna/ ‘to dig’

/ʃikar kɔrna/ ‘to hunt’

Verbs of fighting

/Əmla kɔrna/ ‘to attack’

/arne/ ‘to defeat’

/rokʃa kƏmƏ/ ‘to defend’

/apumudʒƏ piʈŋe/ ‘to fight’

Music verbs

/ɖol bƏɖzaoŋu/ ‘to beat’

/bãʃo bƏɖzaoŋe/ ‘to blow’

/mƏntro bolŋa/ ‘to chant’

/naʃŋe/ ‘to dance’

Motion verbs

/ɖʒƏminogaj utƏrne/‘to alight’

/niʃe aoŋe/ ‘to appear’

/ketə pōfne/	‘to arrive’
/handne/	‘to ascend’

Culinary verbs

/dʒikouŋu/	‘to boil’
/ʃurŋu/	‘to chop’
/roti bəŋaŋi/	‘to cook’
/piŋu/	‘to drink’

Occupation verbs

/ʃərab bəŋaŋu/	‘to brew’
/nəyɛuŋe/	‘to build’
/ʃuŋu/	‘to clean’
/arnu/	‘to collect’

Cosmetic verbs

/kaŋtu kərnɪ/	‘to comb’
/buɔ laŋe/	‘to put on’
/lɔtak ^h ulne/	‘to take off’
/mund baɫŋu/	‘to tie’

Communication verbs

/dʒəbab deŋa/	‘to answer’
/puɫ ^h ne/	‘to ask’
/maŋŋu/	‘to ask for’
/bedne/	‘to call’

Non-motion verbs

/kelerone/	‘to abstain’
/izazot deŋe/	‘to approve’
/layek/	‘to be able’
/ʃupe rone/	‘to be silent’

Inchoative verbs

/hoŋu/	‘to become’
/p ^h ul k ^h ilna/	‘to bloom’
/bɔdɔɫŋu/	‘to change’
/k ^h ɔtɔm hoŋu/	‘to decay’

Cognitive verbs

/biʃoas kərna/	‘to believe’
/ginnu/	‘to count’
/p ^h ɛsla lɔŋa/	‘to decide’
/suŋi dek ^h ne/	‘to dream’

Sensory verbs

/d̥ɔrne/	‘to fear’
/mesus kɔrnu/	‘to feel’
/ʃunnu/	‘to hear’
/hɔsne/	‘to laugh’

Emotive verbs

/d̥ʒid kɔrne/	‘to hate’
/put̥ʃa deŋa/	‘to kiss’
/psɔnd aɔŋe/	‘to like’
/laɖ kɔrna/	‘to love’

Another way of classification of verbs is on the basis of finiteness, the verb construction makes a twofold distinction viz. Finite and Non-finite.

Finite verb formation

A finite verb is a verb form which occurs in an independent clause and is fully inflected according to the inflectional categories marked on verbs in the language. The structure of Finite Verb shows a stem followed by tense, aspect and mood markers (TAM), in Sirmauri the Finite Verb are formed by adding different suffixes to the verb according to the tenses. But according to the persons, numbers and genders the verb forms do not change. That means in Sirmauri verbs are not conditioned by PNG markers. Further, verbs in Sirmauri can be studied with respect to their Finiteness, Non-Finiteness, Negation, Causativization, Passivization and Transitivity.

Tense

Present tense

In Sirmauri language in case of present tense verbal formation for all the persons are as follows

The verb root/d̥e-/‘to go’ occurs with infinitive marker/-ø/. It is followed by/h-/‘be’ verb which takes the present tense and PNG markers:/-u/,/-ɔ/for the 1st person,/-ɔ/for 2nd person and/-o/for 3rd person singular and plural.

/am b̥əɖʒarok d̥e hu/ ‘I go to the market’
1SG market.LOC go-INF be.PRS.1SG

/hame b̥əɖʒarok d̥e hɔ/ ‘We go to the market’
1PL market.LOC go-INF be. PRES.1PL

/tume b̥əɖʒarok d̥e hɔ/ ‘You go to the market’
2SG market.LOC go-INF be.PRES.2SG

/tumemaʃ^h b̥əɖʒarok d̥e hɔ/ ‘You (Plural) go to the market’

2PL market.LOC go-INF be.PRES.2PL

/sedʒa bƏdʒarok ɖe ho/ 'He goes to the market'
3SG market.LOC go-INF be.PRES.3SG

/sedʒe bƏdʒarok ɖe ho/ 'They go to the market'
3PL market.LOC go-INF be.PRES.3PL

Past Tense

In Sirmauri language in case of past tense verbal formation for all the persons are as follows

The verb root/ɖe-/‘to go’ occurs with infinitive marker/-ø/. It is followed by/h-/‘be’ verb which takes the present tense and PNG markers:/-u/,/-ɔ/for the 1st person,/-ɔ/for 2nd person and/-o/for 3rd person singular and plural.

/am bƏdʒarok ɖe hu/ 'I go to the market'
1SG market.LOC go-INF be.PRES.1SG

/hame bƏdʒarok ɖe ho/ 'We go to the market'
1PL market.LOC go-INF be.PRES.1PL

/tume bƏdʒarok ɖe ho/ 'You go to the market'
2SG market.LOC go-INF be.PRES.2SG

/tumemaʃ^h bƏdʒarok ɖe ho/ 'You (Plural) go to the market'
2PL market.LOC go-INF be.PRES.2PL

/sedʒa bƏdʒarok ɖe ho/ 'He goes to the market'
3SG market.LOC go-INF be.PRES.3SG

/sedʒe bƏdʒarok ɖe ho/ 'They go to the market'
3PL market.LOC go-INF be.PRES.3PL

Future Tense

In Sirmauri language in case of future tense verbal formation for all the persons are as follows

verb root/ɖe-/occurs with the infinitive marker/-u/for 1st person,/-o/for 2nd, 3rd person. It is followed by/l-/‘be’ (except for 1st person plural, where it is/m-/) which takes the tense and PNG marker:/-a/,/-e/for 1st person,/-i/,/-e/for 2nd person,/-a/,/-e/for 3rd person singular and plural respectively.

/ã bƏdʒarok ɖeu la/ 'I will go to the market'
1SG market.LOC go-INF be.FUT.1SG

/hame bƏdʒarok ɖeu me/ 'We will go to the market'

1PL market.LOC go-INF be.FUT.1PL

/tume skulok ɖeo li/ 'You will go the market'
2SG market.LOC go-INF be.FUT.2SG

/tumemaŋ^h skulok ɖeo le/ 'You (plural) will go the market'
2PL market.LOC go-INF be.FUT.2PL

/sedʒa k^hɛŋfok ɖeo la/ 'He will go the market'
3SG market.LOC go-INF be.FUT.3SG

/sedʒe ɖʒaŋgok ɖeo le/ 'They will go to the market'
3PL market.LOC go-INF be.FUT.3PL

Aspect

Aspect is a grammatical category associated with verbs that expresses a temporal view of the event or state expressed by the verb. Aspect does not refer to a specific point as the tense. Aspect is related with duration, perfection, habituality etc. Sirmauri language has mainly three types of aspects namely

1. Perfective.
2. Imperfective or durative.
3. Habitual aspect.

Perfective aspect

The present perfective aspect expresses the completion of an action which is just finished. For the past, the perfective aspect describes an action either completed or supposed to be completed. The action to be completed in near future is expressed in future perfect. In Sirmauri language examples of perfective aspect in present, past and future tense are presented below with the following structure.

Present Perfective aspect:

Here the verb root/ɖeo-/‘to go’ occurs with the perfective marker/-ro/for all three persons in both singular and plural. It is followed by ‘be’ verb which takes the tense and PNG marker:/-au/,-eo/for 1st person,-eo/for 2nd person,-a/,-ao/for 3rd person.

/ã bƏɖʒarok ɖeoro au/ 'I have gone to the market'
1SG market-LOC go-PERF be.PRES.1SG

/hame bƏɖʒarok ɖeoro eo/ 'We have gone to the market'
1PL market-LOC go-PERF be.PRES.1PL

/tume bƏɖʒarok ɖeoro eo/ 'You have gone to the market'
2SG market-LOC go-PERF be.PRES.2SG

/tumemaɸ^h bƏɖzarok ɖeuro eo/ ‘You (plural) have gone to the market’
2PL market-LOC go-PERF be.PRES.2PL

/sedʒa bƏɖzarok ɖeuro a/ ‘He has gone to the market’
3SG market-LOC go-PERF be.PRES.3SG

/sƏɖzamaɸ^h bƏɖzarok ɖeuro ao/ ‘They have gone to the market’
3PL market-LOC go-PERF be.PRES.3PL

Past Perfective aspect:

For past perfective, the verb root/ɖeu-/occurs with the perfective marker/ro-/for all three persons except 2nd person singular where it is/re-/. It is followed by/t^h-/‘be’ verb which takes the tense and the PNG marker:/-ea/,-ie/for 1st person, 3rd person singular and plural respectively,/-ie/for 2nd person in both numbers.

/ã bƏɖzarok ɖeuro t^hea/
1SG market-LOC go-PERF be.PST.1SG
‘I had gone to the market’

/hame bƏɖzarok ɖeuro t^hie/
1PL market-LOC go-PERF be.PST.1PL
‘We had gone to the market’

/tume bƏɖzarok ɖeuro t^hie/
2SG market-LOC go-PERF be.PST.2Sg
‘You had gone to the market’

/tumemaɸ^h bƏɖzarok ɖeuro at^hie/
2PL market-LOC go-PERF be.PST.2PL
‘You (plural) had gone to the market’

/sƏɖʒa bƏɖzarok ɖeuro at^hea/
3SG market-LOC go-PERF be.PST.3Sg
‘He had gone to the market’

/sedʒe bƏɖzarok ɖeuro et^hie/
3PL market-LOC go-PERF be.PST.3PL
‘They had gone to the market’

Future Perfective aspect:

For future perfective, the verb /ɖeu-/‘to go’ occurs with the perfective marker/-ro/in singular and plural for all three persons. It is followed by/at^h-/‘be’ verb which takes the tense and PNG marker:/-ea/,-ie/for 1st person,/-eole/for 2nd person,/-aola/,-eole/for 3rd person.

/ham bƏɖzarok ɖeuro at^hea/
1SG market-LOC go-PERF be.FUT.1SG
‘I shall have gone to the market’

/hamematʃ^h bƏdʒarok dɛuro at^hie/
1PL market-LOC go-PERF be.FUT.1PL
'We shall have gone to the market'

/tume bƏdʒarok dɛuro eole/
2SG market-LOC go-PERF be.FUT.2SG
'You will have gone to the market'

/tumematʃ^h bƏdʒarok dɛuro eole/
2PL market-LOC go-PERF be.FUT.2PL
'You (plural) will have gone to the market'

/sedʒa bƏdʒarok dɛuro aola/
3SG market-LOC go-PRF be.FUT.3Sg
'He will have gone to the market'

/sedʒe bƏdʒarok dɛuro eole/
3PL market-LOC go-PERF be.FUT.3PL
'They will have gone to the market'

Imperfective/durative aspect

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. It describes an action which is regarded as continuous in the past or present or future tenses. Thus the structure of the finite verb with durative or imperfective aspect is:

Present imperfective aspect:

For present continuous, the verb root/dju-/ 'to go' (for 1st person) and/-dɛu/ (for 2nd, 3rd person) occurs with progressive marker/lag-/ for all three person except for 2nd person plural where it is/cƏl-/ and it is followed by 'be' verb which takes the tense and PNG marker: /-au/, /-io/ for 1st person, /-eo/ for 2nd person, /-ao/, /-eo/ for 3rd person.

/ham bƏdʒarok dju lag au/
1SG market-LOC go-PROG be.PRES.1SG
'I am going to the market'

/hame bƏdʒarok dju lag io/
1PL market-LOC go-PROG be.PRES.1PL
'We are going to the market'

/tume bƏdʒarok dɛu lag eo/
2SG market-LOC go-PROG be.PRES.2SG
'You are going to the market'

/tumematʃ^h bƏdʒarok dɛu cƏl eo/
2PL market-LOC go-PROG be.PRES.2PL

‘You (plural) are going to the market’

/sedʒa bƏdʒarok ɖeu lag ao/
3SG market-LOC go-PROG be.PRES.3SG
‘He is going to the market’

/sedʒamaɸ^h bƏdʒarok ɖeu lag eo/
3PL market-LOC go-PROG be.PRES.3PL
‘They are going to the market’

Past Imperfective aspect:

For past continuous, the verb root/ɖeu-/occurs with the progressive marker/laga/(for 1st person singular),/lage/for 1st person plural,/lag/for 2nd, 3rd person both numbers. It is followed by/t^h-/‘be’ verb which takes the tense and PNG marker:/-ea/,/-e/for 1st person,/-ay/,/-eo/for 2nd person,/-ao/,/-eo/for 3rd person.

/ham bƏdʒarok ɖeu laga t^hea/
1SG market.LOC go-PROG be.PST.1SG
‘I was going to the market’

/hame bƏdʒarok ɖeu lage t^he/
1PL market.LOC go-PROG be.PST.1PL
‘We were going to the market’

/tu bƏdʒarok ɖeu lag ay/
2SG market.LOC go-PROG be.PST.2SG
‘You were going to the market’

/tumemaɸ^h bƏdʒarok ɖeu lag eo/
2PL market.LOC go-PROG be.PST.2PL
‘You (plural) were going to the market’

/sedʒa bƏdʒarok ɖeu lag ao/
3SG market.LOC go-PROG be.PST.3SG
‘He was going to the market’

/sedʒəmaɸ^h bƏdʒarok ɖeu lag eo/
3PL market.LOC go-PROG be.PST.3PL
‘They were going to the market’

Future Imperfective aspect:

For future continuous, the verb root/-ɖju/occurs with the progressive marker/laga/,/lage/for 1st person, 3rd person singular and plural respectively,/cale/for 2nd person in both numbers. It is followed by the ‘be’ verb which takes the tense and PNG marker:/ola/,/ole/for 1st, 3rd person singular and plural,/ole/for 2nd person in both numbers.

/ã bƏdʒarok ɖju laga ola/

1SG market.LOC go-PROG be.FUT.1SG
'I will be going to the market'

/hame bƏdʒarok dʒi lage ole/
1PL market.LOC go-PROG be.FUT.1PL
'We will be going to the market'

/tume kʰecok dʒi ʃale ole/
2SG market.LOC go-PROG be.FUT.2SG
'You will be going to the market'

/tumemaʃʰ kʰecok dʒi ʃale ole/
2PL market.LOC go-PROG be.FUT.2PL
'You (plural) will be going to the market'

/sedʒa kʰecok dʒi laga ola/
3SG market.LOC go-PROG be.FUT.3SG
'He will be going to the market'

/sedʒe kʰecok dʒi lage ole/
3PL market.LOC go-PROG be.FUT.3PL
'They will be going to the market'

Habitual Aspect

The Habitual Aspect denotes the action of the verb that takes place in habitual manner or in regular basis. In Sirmauri language there are two types of habitual present habitual and past habitual. These are as follows:

Present habitual:

In Sirmauri language present habitual aspect is marked by –dɔ or duɔ as shown below
/surɔdʒ purbo dɔ:/
Sun eat-PSTP rise-HAB.PRES.3SG
'The sun rises in the east'

/hame rodʒ gao duɔ/
1PL everyday cowmilk-ACC milk-HAB.PRES.1PL
'We milk the cows everyday'

So from the above examples it can be said that in Sirmauri language present imperfective marker and present habitual aspect marker is same.

Past habitual:

The verb root/dʒi-/ 'to go' occurs with Habitual aspect marker/-u/,-ɔ/for 1st person,-o/,-ɔ/for 2nd person,-o/for 3rd person. It is followed by/tʰ-/ 'be' verb which takes the tense and PNG marker:/-i/,-e/for 1st person,-e/for 2nd person,-ea/,-e/for 3rd person singular and plural respectively.

/ã nɔ badʒe ɔpsɔp dʒi tʰi/
1SG 9 o'clock office-LOC go-HAB be.PST.1SG

‘I used to go to office at 9 o’clock’

/hame nɔ badʒe ɔpsɔp dʒio tʰe/
1PL 9 o’clock office-LOC go-HAB be.PST.1PL

‘We used to go to office at 9 o’clock’

/tume nɔ badʒe ɔpsɔp dʒio tʰe/
2SG 9 o’clock office-LOC go-HAB be.PST.2SG

‘You used to go to office at 9 o’clock’

/tume nɔ badʒe kanɔn dʒio tʰe/
2PL 9 o’clock shop-LOC go-HAB be.PST.2PL

‘You (plural) used to go to the shop at 9 o’clock’

/se nɔ badʒe bƏdʒarok dʒio tʰea/
3SG 9 o’clock market-LOC go-HAB be.PST.3SG

‘He used to go to market at 9 o’clock’

/sedʒƏmajʰ nɔ badʒe ɔpsɔp dʒio tʰe/
3PL 9 o’clock office-LOC go-HAB be.PST.3PL

‘They used to go to office at 9 o’clock’

Mood

Mood expresses the attitude of the speaker towards what he is saying in terms of the degree or kind of reality in terms of the indicative, imperative, subjunctive, obligatory, dubitative and permissive of the propositional content of the sentence.

Indicative mood

Indicative mood is used to state a fact, to ask questions and to express supposition which is taken as a fact. Most of the verb we used is in indicative mood, which indicates something. In this language indicative mood is unmarked. Examples are as follows-

/se tisru ʃaku o/ ‘That is his knife’
DET 3SG-GEN knife be.PRES.3SG

/edʒi badi meri kitab o/ ‘Those are my books’
DET.PL 1SG-GEN book-PL be.PRES.3

/edʒa mera bagitʃa/ ‘This is my garden’
DET 1SG-GEN garden

Imperative mood

Verb in the imperative mood denotes command or request. This mood generally occurs with second person. According to the collected data the subject of imperative mood in this language is expressed by the suffix –ɔ/-o.

/sule dʒɔpɔ/ ‘Speak slowly’

Slowly speak-IMP

/bant k^hu lik^hɔ/
Neatly word write-IMP ‘Write the words neatly’

/gɔɾe djo/
Home go-IMP ‘Go home’

Subjunctive mood

In the subjunctive mood indicates the fact which is not true. It is used to express wishes, commands, emotions, possibility, judgment, necessity etc. In this language this modal category is expressed by suffix/-ola/or/-one/. For example,

/dʒese mehnət kərola to pas hola/ ‘If he works hard, he will succeed’

If work-SBJV then succeed-SBJV

/dʒe goɾere pəŋk^h one to se uɾde/

If horse-GEN wing.PL have-SBJV then 3PL fly-SBJV

‘If horses had wings they would have flown’

Obligatory mood

This mood describes compulsion of work. According to the collected data in this language obligatory mood is expressed by/-ŋa/or/-ŋe/which follows the verb. For example,

/tesi ek kitab lik^hŋa ʃahi/ ‘He should write a book’

3SG. one book write-INF should.obligatory

/tume do keʃa k^hane ʃahi/ ‘He should eat two bananas’

2SG two banana.PL eat-INF should. Obligatory

Dubitative mood

Dubitative mood express doubt or uncertainty. According to the collected data in Sirmauri langaue this mood is expressed by/-laŋoija/or/-komijə/. Examples are as follows,

/ã ao soku/ ‘I may come’

1SG come-INF may.PRES.1SG

/sə ʃoɾu dʒaŋ səkə/ ‘He may kill the bird’

3SG bird-ACC kill-INF may.PRES.3SG

Permissive mood

Permissive mood which expresses by/- moto/to the verb

/tino sobi aŋ dio/ ‘Let them all come’

3PL all-ACC come-INF let-IMP

Non-Finite verb formation

Infinitive

Infinitives are formed by adding the infinitive morpheme to different basis i.e. intransitive, transitive, causative etc. In Sirmauri dialect, the infinitive is marked by /-nek/or/-ne/suffixing to the verbal root. Examples,

/pakəɽ-/	‘hold (trn.)	+	/-nek/	>	/pakəɽnek/	‘tohold’
(intran.)/mOr-/	‘die (trn.)	+	/-nek/	>	/mɔrek/	‘to die’ (INF)
/pɔɽ-/	‘read (trn.)’	+	/-nek/	>	/pɔɽnek/	‘to read’ (INF)
/ʃUŋg-/	‘collect (trn.)	+	/-nek/	>	/ʃuŋgnek/	‘to collect’ (INF)

etc.

Verbal noun/Nominalizer

Sirmauri, being an Indo-Aryan language, has verbal noun or Nominalizers. According to the data the Nominalizers in Sirmauri is -nəm. For example,

Verb	+	Noun forming suffix	>	Noun form	
√ k ^h a	‘to eat’	+ /-na/	>	/k ^h ana	‘food’
√ naɽʃ	‘to dance’	+ /-ni/	>	/naɽʃna/	‘dancer’
√ ga		+ /-ək/	>	/gajək/	‘singer’

Participle

A participle is a word that shares some characteristics of both verbs and adjectives. It is also called verbal adjective. A participle is a word formed from a verb that can function as part of a verb phrase.

/ʃ^həpihundə kitabo pɔɽnek asan ho/
 Print-ADJ.PTCP book-PL read-INF easy be.PRS.3
 ‘Printed books are easy to read’

/ʃiə ʃ^huɽehundə p^hɔl ʃuŋgnek t^hije/
 3SG.F fall-ADJ.PTCP fruit-ACC collect-INF be.PST.3
 ‘She collected the fallen fruits’

Negative Verb

In a SOV ordered sentence the negative element comes with the verb of the sentence. In Sirmauri, negation is expressed through /-ni/.

/e k^həŋedʒugo ni/ ‘This is not edible’
 This edible not

/sedʒa kam ni kia/ ‘He did not do the work’
 3SG work not do.PST.3

/se sedʒa kam ni kɔr səkda/ ‘They cannot do it’
 3PL this work not do-INF can

/edʒa aɽ^ha ʃɔbdo ni honde/ ‘These are not good words’

These good words not be.PRES

Compound Verb

A large number of compound verbal formations are available in this language which are formed by combining two or more verbal forms.

In compound verb two different types of verb are joined to express a single verbal form. Two types compound formation is available. (i) Here one verb is the main verb (generally the first one) and it receives the inflexional suffix while the other verb does not have any inflexional suffix and in another formation (ii) both the main verb and the operator receive the inflexional suffixes. The second type of the compound verb formations are known as 'serial verbs' and mainly found in South-Asian languages. In Sirmauri this second type of compound formation is noted. The following are the examples –

/k ^h aŋa denj/	'to give food'
/behũf hoŋe/	'to faint'
/jad kørŋe/	'to remember'

Causative Verb

A causative is a grammatical or lexical indication of the causal role of a referent in relation to an event or state expressed by a verb. In Sirmauri, causative verb marker is/-au/or/-u/. Examples are as follows,

/ã nokrodƏ k^hiŋʃodu kam kƏrau/
1SG servant-INS field-LOC work do-CAUS.PRES.1SG
'I make the servant work in the field'

/ã maŋ^ho seu/
1SG people-ACC laugh-CAUS.PRES.1
'I make the people laugh'

/ã goŋe dƏrau/
1SG horse run-CAUS.PRES.1
'I am making the horse run'

Auxiliary Verb

Auxiliary verbs modify the action of the main Verbs. The auxiliary verbs generally follow the main verbs and denote

- action (different degree of continuity)
- time (past, present)
- mode (condition, doubt)

In Indian Languages auxiliary verb follow the main verbs. Therefore, they are the subsidiary verbs (also called helping verbs). Examples of auxiliary in Sirmauri is as follows

/ã apŋe gər-e hũ/
1SG my house-LOC AUX.PRES.1
'I am in my house'

/ã peɾo age hũ/
1SG tree near AUX.PRES.1

I am near the tree

In the above two sentences/hũ/is acting as an auxiliary verbs.

Passive Formation

A passive sentence is created from an active sentence by:

1. Changing Subject into object with the adding of “by”.
2. Changing of Object into the subject.
3. Changing the verb stem into its participial form.

In Sirmauri the formation of passive sentence is not that much realised from the given data. However, the following Sirmauri sentence may be taken as an instance of passivization.

Active: /ã roʈi k^ha u/ ‘I eat bread’
1SG bread eat-INF be.PRES.1SG

Passive: /ruʈi mere dʒane k^ha lojjo/ ‘The bread is eaten by him’
Bread 1SG-GEN by eat-INF be.PST.3

In this language/ã/‘I’ is subject and in the passive sentence it becomes object and its form is/mere/‘me’ which takes its postposition/dʒane/‘by’ and the object of the active sentence/roʈi/‘bread’ comes to the subject’s position. Verb √k^ha- ‘to eat’ has the form/k^hau/‘eat’ (1st person form) changes to its participial form/k^ha lojjo/‘is eaten’.

Transitivity

When an intransitive verb changes into the transitive verb base with the addition of some infix the same verb gets transitivity. From the given limited data the example in two sets is furnished here with

Set – I

/ʈiʃu bo/	Water boils
/ã ʈiʃu boau/	I boil water
/se ʈiʃu bokɔ/	he boils water

Set – II

/goɾa dɛɾɔ/	The horse runs
/ã goɾe dɛɾau/	I run the horse
/hame goɾa dɛɾajɔ/	We run the horse

In Set- I the verb stem/bo-/“boil-(intransitive)” gets the transitive counterpart as/boau/or/bokɔ/“boil-(transitive)”. In Set II the intransitive verb stem/dɛɾ-/“run-” gets counterpart transitive verb stem as/-ɔ/or/-au/or/-ajɔ/“run-”.

ii) Adverbs

Adverbs are the classes of words, which are used to modify the verb. Adverbs are semantically divided into different groups as follows.

Adverbs of manner

/dʒore/ ‘loudly’

/ʃigu/	‘fast’
/buritəre/	‘badly’
/ɔrɔdʒ/	‘kindly’

Adverbs of Time

/adʒ/	‘today’
/dotə/	‘tomorrow’
/hidʒə/	‘yesterday’

Adverbs of Direction

/dure/	‘far’
/niɾe/	‘near’

Adverb of place

/erke/	‘here’
/terke/	‘there’
/kirke/	‘where’

The adverbs in Sirmauri language follows noun and precedes the verbs. For example

/sedʒa	erke	ao/	‘He comes here’
he	here	come-DECL	

/ram	ʃiga	douɾo/	‘Rama runs quickly’
ram	quickly-PP	run	

/sule	dʒɔpə/	‘Speak slowly’
Slowly	speak-IMP	

All the above three sentences /erke/ ‘here’, /ʃiga/ ‘quickly’ and /sule/ ‘slowly’ are appearing as adverbs.

iii) PARTICLES

Conjunction and Interjections are called particles.

Conjunctions

Conjunctions are used for combining the two sentences, words, phrases etc. From the available data Sirmauri has following types of conjunctions,

1) Conjunctive	:	/or/	‘and’
2) Adversative	:	/keĩ/	‘but’
3) Disjunctive	:	/ətʰva/	‘or’
4) Conditional	:	/jədi/	‘if’
5) Casual	:	/dʒōki/	‘because’
6) Adverbial	:	/təbe/	‘then’
7) Complementary	:	/kũe/	‘what’

Interjections

Interjections are of two types – Basic and Functional. Basic interjections are used only as interjections –as in -/aʃʃ^ho aʃʃ^ho/ ‘well well’ /haj haj/ ‘alas’ etc.

Functional interjections are those which are originally from other parts of speech but act as interjections –

- a. Noun : /ram ram edʒa kɔ/ ‘Oh God ! what is this?’
- b. Pronoun : /kɔ ã aʃʃ^ho ni honde/ ‘What! am I not good?’
- c. Adjective : /kitno baʃhio mændir o/ ‘Beautiful! What a temple.’

Echo Words

Echo words resemble compound words where the second component of the words are almost the repetition of the first one and seems to be an echo – The meaning is basically retained by the first component and the echo part means ‘etc’. For example,

- /k^haŋa vaŋa/ ‘Food and etc.’
- /ʃaje vaje/ ‘Tea and etc’.
- /erke terke/ ‘Here and there’

4. SYNTAX

Syntax is the study of the principles and rules for constructing phrases and sentences in natural languages and rules governing the order of combining the words to form sentences in a language. The syntax of Sirmauri is discussed below.

i) Order of Words in sentence

Sirmauri is an SOV language. That means here word order is Subject-object-verb.

/ã fʃoʈu dek^h ũ/ 'I see the bird'
1SG bird see-INF be. PRS.1SG
S O V

/ã roʈi k^ha u/ 'I eat bread'
1SG bread eat-INF be. PRES.1SG
S O V

/hame gao piʈ o/ "We beat the Cows"
1PL cow.PL beat-INF be. PRES.1PL
S O V

ii) Description of types of sentences

Semantically sentences can be divided into following patterns,

Statement Sentence

The sentence which affirms a statement-Examples in Sirmauri include-

/ã fʃoʈu dek^h ũ/ 'I see the bird'
1SG bird see-INF be.PRES.1SG

/ã roʈi k^ha u/ 'I eat bread'
1SG bread eat-INF be.PRES.1SG

Interrogative Sentence

Interrogative sentences are those which are marked by items like "who, which, what, when, why, how" etc. In Sirmauri, the interrogative sentences are marked as the following

/tiro nam kɔ/ 'What is your name?'
2SG-GEN name what

/sedʒa koŋ ɔ/ 'Who is he'
He who is

Here, interrogative sense are carried through /kɔ/'what' and /ɔ/'who'.

Imperative Sentence

Imperative sentences denote sense of request/order. The subject of Imperative sentences is generally in second person and does not appear in the surface structure of the sentences. For example:

/sule dʒɔpɔ/ 'Speak slowly'
Slowly speak-IMP

/banɕ kʰu likʰɔ/ 'Write the words neatly'
Neatly word write-IMP

Potential Sentence

When the potentiality is expressed in a sentence, it thus called. In this language from the available data we are getting following examples,

/ã ao soku/ 'I may come'
1SG come-INF may. PRES. 1SG

/sƏ ʃoɕu dʒaŋ səkɔ/ 'He may kill the bird'
3SG bird-ACC kill-INF may.PRES.3SG

Conditional sentence

When two actions are conditioned by each other in a single sentence. In Sirmauri these are as follows,

/dʒe ʃren biste aonde to hamemaɕʰ pƏkƏɕ səkɔtʰiye/
If train late come.PRES then 1PL catch may.FUT
'If the train is late, we may catch it'

/dʒe goɕere pƏŋkʰ one to se uɕde/
If horse-GEN wing.PL have-SBJV then 3PL fly-SBJV
'if horses had wings they would have flown'

Passive sentence

The sentence where the main action is expressed in passive is called passive sentence. The following are the example of passive sentences in contrast with active sentences available in the Sirmauri language.

Active: /ã roɕi kʰa u/ 'I eat bread'
1SG bread eat-INF be.PRES.1SG

Passive: /ruɕi mere dʒane kʰa loijo/ 'The bread is eaten by him'
Bread 1SG-GEN by eat-INF be.PST.3

Other passive constructions are:

/sƏrkare gƏribo rupoija dite tʰiye/
'Money was given by the government to the poor'
Govt-INS poor-ACC money given be.PST

Causative Sentence

The causative sentences are formed by suffixing causative marker to the verb which varies according to the person. When the subject causes some agent to do the action we get causative sentence. Example:

/ã nokrodƏ k^hicodu kam kƏrau/
1SG servant-INS field-LOC work do-CAUS.PRS.1SG
'I make the servant work in the field'

/ã matʃ^ho seu/
1SG people-ACC laugh-CAUS.PRS.1
'I make the people laugh'

/ã goɾe dƏɾau/
1SG horse run-CAUS.PRS.1
'I am making the horse run'

Negative sentence

The sentence which expresses the negation are called so.

/e k^haŋedʒugo ni/ 'This is not edible'
This edible not
/sedʒa kam ni kia/ 'He did not do the work'
3SG work not do.PST.3
/se sedʒa kam ni kər səkda/ 'They cannot do it'
3PL this work not do-INF can
/edʒa aɳ^ha ʃəbdo ni honde/ 'These are not good words'
These good words not be.PRES

In all the sentences the /ni-/is found in use for negating the meaning of the verb.

Co-ordination

Co-ordination is the process of joining two or more sentences together. In Sirmauri language, in general, co-ordination is done by adding following morphemes

/ɔɾ/ 'and'
/keĩ/ 'but'
/ət^hva/ 'or'
/jədi/ 'if'
/dʒðki/ 'because'
/təbe/ 'then'
/kũe/ 'what'

As in sentence-

/disə kam kəro ɔɾ rate sutənek dʒao/
Day work do-2.SG and night sleep-INF go-2SG
'Work in the day and sleep at night'

iii) Description of patterns of sentences

A sentence is a grammatical unit that is composed of one or more clauses. Sentences can be classified under two groups, (a) structural and (b) Functional. The structural sentences can be further divided into three categories.

- i) Simple
- ii) Complex and
- iii) Compound.

Simple Sentence

The simple sentences consist of a nominative subject and a finite verb as predicate. It is a sentence which contains one independent clause and no dependent clauses.

Examples-

/ã ʃoʈu dek^h ũ/
1SG bird see-INF be.PRES.1SG 'I see the bird'

/ã roʈi k^ha u/
1SG bread eat-INF be.PRES.1SG 'I eat bread'

Complex Sentence

A complex is a sentence having one principle clause followed by one or more subordinate clause(s) is known as a complex sentence. The independent clause can stand alone.

/dʒe ʈren biste aonde to hamemaʈ^h pəʈkəʈ səkəʈ^hije/
If train late come.PRES then 1PL catch may.FUT
'If the train is late, we may catch it'

In the above sentence, principal clause is/hamemaʈ^h pəʈkəʈ səkəʈ^hije/'we may catch' joined by the complex markers/dʒe/'if' and/to/'then' with the subordinate clause/ʈren biste aonde/'train comes late'

Compound Sentence

A compound sentence consists of two or more simple sentences added with "and", "but" etc. In this mother tongue the example of compound sentence is:

/kuʈ^h maʈ^hri bərio ɔr kuʈ^h ʃ^hoʈio/
Some fish big and some small
'some fish are big and some are small'

/mera lat^h p^hirka ɔr ã pəʈ goa/
1SG-GEN foot slip-INF and 1SG fall-INF be.PST
'my foot slipped and I fell down'

6. CONCLUSION

The phonological, morphological and syntactic analyses of Sirmauri Mother Tongue reveal that Sirmauri has close affinity with neighboring Western Pahadi languages like Pangwali, Chambeali, Kulvi and also Hindi. It shares basic grammatical features with these languages. So this language has been identified as a sub-dialect of Pahari languages which again classified under Hindi language.

7. TEXT

**/du dost ɔ ek riʃ/
Two friend.PL and a Bear**

/ramu ɔ ʃam du dost tʰe/
ramu and shyam two friend.PL be.PST

/tine eki dudʒe-do vajda kija tʰeja ki uohə kisəbə/
they each other-ACC promise do.PST that they in case of any

/kʰɔtre-da satʰi rohəmə eki disəse eki gʰaj-de ɖeu lage tʰe/
danger-ACC united remain one day one forest-LOC go do.PROG be.PST

/samŋe-do ek riʃ eja riʃʰ-əkə dekʰiɔ dune dostə bəhute/
front-DAT one bear come.PST bear-ACC see-PST two-CL friend.PL very

/ɖɔɾe ramu ɖɔɾiɔ peɾo gaje uba ɖiva ʃamu peɾ-o/
being frightened ramu frightened tree-LOC on climb go.PST shyam tree-LOC

/gaje ube ɖeɔŋe na aondo tʰiɔ tenije aŋe dost ramu-k bolo mu/
on climb go.INF not come.INF be.PST 2.SG his friend ramu-ACC tell.PST 1.SG

/peɾo gokə ɖeɔŋe na aonde məɾbaŋi kərio meri mɔdɔt kəre tɔbe/
tree-LOC go.INF not come.INF please do.PST 1.SG.GEN help do.FUT but

/ramu-ne kije ɖzəbab na dita ɖəkhi ɔ pərefan hokar ʃam maɾe gaje/
ramu-NOM any response not give.PST sad and disturbed be.INF shyam ground on

/aŋa sɑ:s [ɔa rojo bʰuinda pɔɾa ʃiga teta riʃ eja maɾe gaje/
his breath stopped laid down quickly there bear come.PRES.PROG ground on

/bʰuinda pɔɾe ʃam dekʰa teseo ok ɖeva tɔbe teʃe/
lay.INF down.PST.PROG shyam see.INF his near go.PRES.PROG but him

/ʃiŋgda laga kɔcʰ derɔ baskije ʃiŋgŋe baskije tenije ʃam-ok/
smell.INF do.PRES.PROG some time after smell.INF after 3.SG shyam-ACC

/titti ʃʰorio ɖiu goa peɾ-oga biʰe ramu-ero lago ki riʃ/
there leave go.PST tree-LOC sit Ram-GEN feel-PRES.PROG that bear

/ʃam-ok kanodu kije bolo se ʃiga bʰuindek ija tɔbe ʃam-ode/
shyam-GEN ear-LOC what tell.PST 3.SG quickly down come.PST then shyam-ACC

/puʃʰo mere mitrə se riʃ tum-ore kano-do ka bolo tenije ʃam/
ask.PST my friend that bear 2.SG.GEN ear-LOC what say.PST 2.SG shyam

/maṭego odo biunda tɔbe ramu puŋ^ha tenije riŋ mu-age bolo/
ground-ACC from raise.INF and ramu ask.PST that bear me-ACC say.PST

/dʒ^huta dʒe sɔrɔt na hɔ kije mac^hro gaje b^herosa ni kɔrna dʒo tum-ɔkə mɔsibət gaje/
liar who honest not be man-ACC on trust not do.INF who you-ACC trouble in

/kele ŋ^horo pura dɛo itne bolio famu-te t^hedo kelaji dɛvo/
alone leave completely go this say.PRES.PROG shyam-ACC there alone go.PST

8. BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Bright, William, (ed.) 1992 International Linguistic Encyclopedia, Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Crystal, D. 1980 A First Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics, Colorado: West View Press.
- Census of India. 2001 Series 1: Language India and States. New Delhi: Registrar General and Census Commissioner.
- Grierson, George Abraham 1909 *Linguistic Survey of India* (Vol. III, Part I, Tibeto-Burman Family: Tibetan dialects, the Himalayan dialects, the North-Assam Group) Calcutta: Superintendent of Government Printing, India. (reprinted 1967, Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi.
- Koul. Omkar N. 2008 *Modern Hindi Grammar*, Dunwoody Press. USA.
- Masica. Colin P. 1991 *Indo Aryan Languages*, Cambridge University Press.
- Prasad, Saryoo 2008 *Magahi Phonology: A Descriptive Study*. Concept Publishing Company. New Delhi.
- Saksena, Babu Ram. 1971 *A Grammatical Sketch of Hindi*, in
&
Sahai, Ram Nath. Grammatical Sketches of Indian Languages with comparative vocabulary and texts (language monographs-1961 series), Census of India, Delhi.
- Satish, U. S. 1990 *A Linguistic Study of Jaunsari*, Creative Publishers, New delhi.
- Sharma, J.C. 2002 *An Introduction to Sirmauri-Grammatical Gender*, Languages In India, Volume 1: 9 January 2002

CHAPTER – 3

INDO – ARYAN LANGUAGES

(PUNJABI LANGUAGES/ MOTHER TONGUE)

(BHATEALI & BILASPURI/ KAHLURI)

BHATEALI

P. Edward Vedamanickam

1. INTRODUCTION

Bhateali is a mother tongue grouped under Punjabi language according to the Census classification and spoken mainly in the state of Himachal Pradesh.

1.1 Family Affiliation

Grierson's study in Linguistics Survey of India did not cover Bhateali language. According to Census classification Bhateali language is grouped under Punjabi as one of its mother tongues and hence placed in Indo-Aryan family.

1.2 Location

The Bhateali speakers are found mainly in the Chamba, Bhattiyat districts of Himachal Pradesh. The present study has been conducted during the period of April & May, 2008 in the Kaithli village of Bhattiyat District, Himachal Pradesh.

1.3 Speakers' Strength

In Indian Census, Bhateali appeared in 1961 Census with 5 speakers only. Prior to that in 1951 census, 6,040 people returned Bhateali as their native language. The speakers' strength of Bhateali could not appear in Census publication later to 1961 Census following the decision of Government of India. As per 2011 Census there are 23,970 returns for Bhateali Mother tongue. The majority of them is from Himachal Pradesh and the Bhateali speakers are located in the rural and urban area both. The speaker strength of Bhateali speaker all over the India according to Census 2011 is as follows:

India/ State	Total			Rural			Urban		
	Person	Male	Female	Person	Male	Female	Person	Male	Female
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Bhateali									
India	23,970	12,222	11,748	23,723	12,107	11,616	247	115	132
Jammu & Kashmir	19	9	10	16	7	9	3	2	1
Himachal Pradesh	15,347	7,818	7,529	15,309	7,810	7,499	38	8	30
Punjab	2	1	1	1	1	0	1	0	1
Haryana	34	27	7	7	7	0	27	20	7
Bihar	22	13	9	0	0	0	22	13	9
Mizoram	4	4	0	0	0	0	4	4	0
Assam	4,321	2,196	2,125	4,301	2,188	2,113	20	8	12
West Bengal	4,184	2,140	2,044	4,089	2,094	1,995	95	46	49
Maharashtra	28	11	17	0	0	0	28	11	17
Goa	9	3	6	0	0	0	9	3	6

District-wise Speaker strength of Bhateali mother tongue as per 2011 has already been discussed in the Introduction chapter.

1.4 Bilingualism

Bhateali speakers live among multi-lingual communities, where its speakers are in constant contact with speakers of other language speakers like Chambeali, Churahi, Punjabi and Hindi, the official language of the state of the Himachal Pradesh. Almost all the speakers of Bhateali are bilingual in Hindi language. Occasionally, some of the educated people speak Hindi, Punjabi and English too.

1.5 Socio-linguistic Situation

Since Bhatealis live amidst the other speech communities like Chambeali, Churahi and Hindi the usage of their mother tongue, Bhateali, is restricted only within the region only. Since they live in a multi lingual situation they use Hindi in most of the domains.

The Bhateali language is neither being taught as a subject nor as a medium of instruction in any of the schools. It is not used in the judicial system too. In the religious and cultural ceremonies, the Bhateali language is sparingly used. In the rest of the domains the State language Hindi is being used by the Bhateali community.

Bhateali has traditionally rarely been used in its written form. Since education is generally through Hindi medium, Devanagri script is used virtually by all Bhateali speakers, when the need arises to put something down in writing.

1.6 Review of Literature

Bhateali being a mother tongue classified under Punjabi, spoken by lesser number of persons have no record of earlier written documents.

2. PHONOLOGY

Phonology is the study about the patterns and organizations of a language in terms of the phonetic features and categories involved.

2.1 Phonemic Inventory

Phonology is the branch of linguistics which deals with the patterns and organizations of a language in terms of the phonetic features and categories involved; the phonemic analysis is assigning different symbols to all the indefinite number of sounds occurring in utterances. Accordingly, the phonemic inventory of Bhateali language is given below and it shows all distinctive sound units occurring in the Bhateali language.

Segmental Phonemes

The 'Bhateali' language consists of thirty-seven segmental phonemes. Among these six are vowels and thirty-one are consonants.

Vowels

	Front unrounded	Central neutral	Back rounded
High	I		u
High mid	E		o
Low		A a	

Consonants

	Bilabial vl. vd	Dental vl. vd	Alveolar	Retroflex vl, vd	Palatal vl. vd.	Velar vl.vd
Unaspirated Stop	<i>P b</i>	<i>t d</i>		<i>T D</i>	<i>c j</i>	<i>k g</i>
Aspirated stop	<i>ph bh</i>	<i>th dh</i>		<i>Th Dh</i>	<i>ch jh</i>	<i>kh gh</i>
Fricatives			<i>s</i>			<i>h</i>
Nasals	<i>m</i>		<i>n</i>	<i>N</i>		<i>M</i>
Flap			<i>r</i>	<i>R</i>		
Laterals/Approximants.	<i>w</i>		<i>l</i>		<i>y</i>	

2.2 Phonemic Description

The vowel phonemes occur in all three positions of a word namely, initially, medially and finally.

/i/ High front unrounded short vowel. It occurs in the initial, medial and final position.

<i>inajo</i>	‘of this’
<i>beiya</i>	‘wheel’
<i>mirk</i>	‘tiger’
<i>dui</i>	‘two’
<i>kuri</i>	‘girl’
<i>manji</i>	‘couch’

/e/ High mid front unrounded short vowel. It occurs initially, medially and finally.

<i>ena</i>	‘enter’
<i>neDe</i>	‘near’
<i>pen</i>	‘sister’
<i>sabere</i>	‘morning’
<i>sare</i>	‘all’

/a/ Low central unrounded short vowel. It occurs initially, medially and finally.

<i>asi</i>	‘we’
<i>agg</i>	‘fire’
kosa	‘warm’
<i>khaND</i>	‘sugar’
<i>muRka</i>	‘sweat’
<i>buRa</i>	‘tree’

/o/ High mid back rounded short vowel which occurs initially, medially and finally.

<i>oDapan</i>	‘wet’
<i>koRa</i>	‘horse’
<i>ponunar</i>	‘weaver’
<i>loha</i>	‘iron’
<i>naNo</i>	‘take’
<i>peo</i>	‘father’

/u/ High back rounded short vowel. It occurs initially medially and finally.

<i>uT</i>	‘camel’
<i>putsh</i>	‘tail’
<i>buRa</i>	‘tree’
<i>mu</i>	‘mouth’
<i>kukkRi</i>	‘chicken’
<i>rajudu</i>	‘rope’

Consonants

/p/ Bilabial voiceless un aspirated stop. It occurs initially, medially and finally.

<i>piala</i>	‘cup’
<i>pilla</i>	‘yellow’
<i>tappu</i>	‘island’
<i>tSapta</i>	‘fat’
<i>samip</i>	‘near’

/ph/ Bilabial voiceless aspirated stop. It occurs initially, medially and finally.

<i>phal</i>	‘fruit’
<i>phepDa</i>	‘lung’
<i>aphat</i>	‘trouble’
<i>saph</i>	‘clean’
<i>baph</i>	‘bright’

/b/ Bilabial voiced un aspirated stop. It occurs in all the three positions.

<i>buha</i>	‘door’
<i>ballan</i>	‘fuel’
<i>ubbi</i>	‘dive’
<i>barabir</i>	‘often’
<i>sarbi</i>	‘grease’

/bh/ Bilabial voiced aspirated stop. It occurs in all the three positions.

<i>bhulana</i>	‘swell’
<i>bhugna</i>	‘bark’
<i>sobhar</i>	‘meeting’
<i>bhabhru</i>	‘to bark’
<i>burkibh</i>	‘bubble’

/t/ Alveolar voiceless unaspirated stop. It occurs in all the three positions.

<i>tilkAna</i>	‘slippery’
<i>batLi</i>	‘thin’
<i>maDtiri</i>	‘basket maker’
khonta	‘spade’
<i>thalchat</i>	‘sediment’

/th/ Alveolar voiceless aspirated stop. It occurs in all the three positions.

<i>thamg</i>	‘narrow’
<i>thoda</i>	‘few’
<i>mAnth</i>	‘blunt’
<i>hatth</i>	‘hand’

/d/ Alveolar voiced unaspirated stop. It occurs in all the three positions.

<i>duar</i>	‘door’
<i>madur</i>	‘mat’
<i>banduk</i>	‘gun’
<i>alad</i>	‘different’
<i>maind</i>	‘manure’

/dh/ Alveolar voiced un aspirated stop. It occurs in all the three positions.

<i>dhur</i>	‘far’
<i>dhangiya</i>	‘deep’
<i>gandhe</i>	‘onion’
<i>sadh</i>	‘desire’

/T/ Retroflex voiceless un aspirated stop. It occurs in all the three positions.

<i>Tok</i>	‘sour’
<i>uTka</i>	‘upset’
<i>ulTi</i>	‘vomit’
<i>paTna</i>	‘comb’
<i>rapaTT</i>	‘entirely’
<i>uT</i>	‘camel’

/Th/ Retroflex voiceless aspirated stop. It occurs in all the three positions.

<i>Thok</i>	‘acheat’
<i>aTha</i>	‘glue’
<i>paTh</i>	‘lesson’

bainth 'knife fixed to a wooden plank'

/D/ Retroflex voiced unaspirated stop. It occurs in all the three positions.

DhuR 'dust'

neDe 'near'

baDDi 'thick'

tiDD 'belly'

/Dh/ Retroflex voiced aspirated stop. It occurs in all the three positions.

Dhak 'drum'

anDhur 'patience'

laDh 'load'

/c/ Palatal voiceless un aspirated stop. It occurs in all three positions.

cakar 'wide'

cehra 'face'

ucca 'tongs'

kocro 'rice prepared for making beer'

/ch/ Palatal voiceless un aspirated stop. It occurs in all three positions.

thalchat 'sediment'

kacha 'raw'

karch 'shovel'

/j/ Palatal voiced un aspirated stop. It occurs in all three positions.

janghul 'claw'

jalag 'long'

kujo 'white rose'

manji 'couch'

horoj 'sorry'

ij 'dung'

/jh/ Palatal voiced aspirated stop. It occurs in all three positions.

jhaRu 'broom'

jhaRan 'duster'

banjhi 'barren women'

junjhuna 'necessarily'

/k/ Velar voiceless unaspirated stop. It occurs in all three positions.

<i>kaappre</i>	‘clothes’
<i>kanTa</i>	‘fork’
<i>nikke</i>	‘small’
<i>kukkRi</i>	‘chicken’
<i>mirk</i>	‘tiger’

/kh/ Velar voiceless aspirated stop. It occurs in all three positions.

<i>khehnu</i>	‘ball’
<i>khaND</i>	‘sugar’
<i>camkha</i>	‘lamp holder’
<i>khaskhas</i>	‘rough’
<i>akhiyay</i>	‘wink’
<i>korakh</i>	‘sweet pumpkin’

/g/ Velar voiced un aspirated stop. It occurs in all three positions.

<i>galica</i>	‘rug’
<i>aguwa</i>	‘mediator’
<i>thagra</i>	‘clever’
<i>dhang</i>	‘garden fly’
<i>kupug</i>	‘seed of a tree called Mohua’

/gh/ Velar voiced aspirated stop. It occurs in all three positions.

<i>ghar</i>	‘house’
<i>ghumanDi</i>	‘fragrant’
<i>janghul</i>	‘claw’
<i>oghurDa?</i>	‘rainy season’
<i>tagh</i>	‘cow dung’

/s/ Alveolar voiceless fricative. It occurs in all three positions.

<i>sirka</i>	‘vinegar’
<i>asul</i>	‘take care’
<i>bansi</i>	‘fish hook’
<i>balpos</i>	‘adopt’
<i>khis</i>	‘anger’

/h/	<i>hatth</i>	‘hand’
	<i>hunDar</i>	‘wolf’
	<i>buha</i>	‘door’
	<i>barhia</i>	‘wedding guest’
/m/	Bilabial, nasal. It occurs in all the three positions.	
	<i>muRka</i>	‘sweat’
	<i>manji</i>	‘couch’
	<i>camkha</i>	‘lamp holder’
	<i>bhagom</i>	‘refuse’
	<i>belom</i>	‘ripe’
/n/	<i>ninRa</i>	‘tree frog’
	<i>manji</i>	‘couch’
	<i>dhang</i>	‘garden fly’
	<i>kanDa</i>	‘groaning’
	<i>gholan</i>	‘wild goat’
/N/	<i>Nahiyar</i>	‘wife’s parents’ house’
	<i>khaND</i>	‘sugar’
	<i>kaNda</i>	‘a big necklace’
	<i>juDuN</i>	‘dawn’
/M/	<i>Manda</i>	‘boiled rice water’
	<i>arMarai</i>	‘gasp for breadth’
	<i>hodoM</i>	‘other’
/r/	<i>ret</i>	‘sand’
	<i>rai</i>	‘fig tree’
	<i>bari</i>	‘window’
	<i>par</i>	‘pen’
/R/	<i>Rach</i>	‘handloom’
	<i>paR</i>	‘mountain’
	<i>daRNu</i>	‘to take away’
	<i>piRA</i>	‘narrow’
	<i>DhuR</i>	‘dust’
/l/	<i>lain</i>	‘porter’
	<i>laeka</i>	‘territory’

	<i>thalchat</i>	‘sediment’
	<i>gholan</i>	‘wild goat’
	<i>pratikul</i>	‘opposite’
/y/	<i>ya:ya</i>	‘grandmother’
	<i>yam</i>	‘cry, weep,
	<i>karaya</i>	‘fare’
	<i>keniya</i>	‘a girl who marries without parent’s consent’
	<i>ighay</i>	‘how’
	<i>banDay</i>	‘feast’
/w/	<i>wadda</i>	‘large’
	<i>icho</i>	‘depart’
	<i>mala</i>	‘to like a person’
	<i>aga</i>	‘floor’
	<i>hoje</i>	‘that one’

2.3 Diphthongs

The following diphthongs are found in Bhateali language.

/eu/ /oi/ /ua/ and /ui/

/e u/	<i>neura</i>	‘mongoose’
/oi/	<i>bois</i>	‘female buffalo’
/u a/	<i>uana</i>	‘to bathe’
/u i/	<i>bunui</i>	‘hog’

2.4 Consonant Clusters

Two consonant clusters

	p	b	t	d	T	D	c	j	k	g	p	b	t	d	T	D	c	j	k	g	s	h	m	n	N	M	r	R	l	y
p																											*			
b						*																					*			
t			*						*															*		*				

<i>mr</i>	<i>karma</i>	‘room’
<i>kk</i>	<i>lakkaR</i>	‘wood’
<i>kkh</i>	<i>makkhan</i>	‘butter’
<i>bz</i>	<i>sabzi</i>	‘vegetables’
<i>ND</i>	<i>khaND</i>	‘sugar’
<i>khr</i>	<i>akhrot</i>	‘walnut’
<i>jj</i>	<i>sajja</i>	‘right’
<i>nj</i>	<i>manji</i>	‘couch’
<i>ndh</i>	<i>kandh</i>	‘wall’
<i>sb</i>	<i>asbab</i>	‘luggage’
<i>pr</i>	<i>kapre</i>	‘clothes’
<i>tth</i>	<i>hatth</i>	‘hand’
<i>kk</i>	<i>nakk</i>	‘nose’
<i>kkh</i>	<i>akkh</i>	‘eye’
<i>nn</i>	<i>kann</i>	‘ear’
<i>ng</i>	<i>ungal</i>	‘finger’
<i>DD</i>	<i>goDDa</i>	‘knee’
<i>TT</i>	<i>giTTa</i>	‘ankle’
<i>Kk</i>	<i>lakk</i>	‘waist’
<i>DDh</i>	<i>dhiDDh</i>	‘stomach’
<i>nDh</i>	<i>monDha</i>	‘shoulder’
<i>ND</i>	<i>muNDa</i>	‘boy’
<i>gg</i>	<i>Dhagga</i>	‘ox’
<i>jj</i>	<i>majjh</i>	‘buffalo’
<i>DD</i>	<i>bheDDi</i>	‘sheep’
<i>tth</i>	<i>patthar</i>	‘stone’
<i>TT</i>	<i>haTTi</i>	‘shop’
<i>tt</i>	<i>chatt</i>	‘roof’
<i>ll</i>	<i>ballan</i>	‘fuel’

st *waste* ‘for’

Three consonantal clusters

nsR *kinsRo* ‘rich’

nRh *konRha* ‘husk’

spr *spriha* ‘desire’

bk *rob kon* ‘yoke’

bn *orebna* ‘to pull up

by *obyarna* ‘to remove

tn *catni* ‘rock

3. MORPHOPHONEMICS

Generally, the masculine nouns end in a consonant and the feminine is formed by adding the vowel 'i' to the masculine nouns.

<i>lohar</i>	<i>lohari</i>	'lohar class'
<i>jaTT</i>	<i>jaTTi</i>	'peasant'
<i>karar</i>	<i>karari</i>	'shop keeper'

The present participle in Bhateali language is 'da' if the verbs ends in consonant and if the verb ends either in vowel or a vowel followed by 'h' then the present participle changes to 'nda'

<i>mar</i>	'die'	<i>marda</i>	'dying'
<i>tur</i>	'move'	<i>turda</i>	'moving'
<i>jiu</i>	'live'	<i>jiunda</i>	'living'
<i>laih</i>	'descend'	<i>laihnda</i>	'descending'

4. MORPHOLOGY

4.1 Noun - Morphology

There are eight parts of speech, namely, noun, adjective, pronoun, verb, adverb, conjunction, preposition and interjection, available in Bhateali language.

4.1.1 Word Formation

The Bhateali lexicon may be divided into two broad groups- one open group whose members may all function as predicates, complements of predicates and as modifiers, and a much smaller, closed group whose members cannot serve in any of these three functions. These two groups can be termed as "lexical" and "functional" morphemes, respectively.

Lexical morphemes are those morphemes which refer to some *real-world phenomenon* such as an entity, an event, or a state of affairs. These can all be used as a predicate, its complement, or (with few exceptions) in attributive function. This class includes all morphemes which are potentially referential, such as *table*, *notebook*, or *dog*, as well as events and states such as *run*, *eat* and *(be) beautiful*. This holds true of all lexical morphemes in Bhateali language too. In addition, as deictic elements such as "pronouns" and demonstratives refer to real-world entities.

Any morpheme which cannot refer to a real-world entity or state of affairs cannot be used as a predicate, an attribute, nor as the complement of a predicate. This group consists of *functional or grammatical morphemes* and can perhaps best be defined negatively: Its members can never be used referentially, deictically (in the sense of referring to an event or state of affairs), anaphorically, or to denote an entity, event or state of affairs. This group includes markers for tense, aspect, mood, person marking, case (including postpositions), etc., i.e., those elements which provide the framework or grounding of the clause within a particular setting or which integrate the various constituents into the clause by indicating the function of a constituent,

4.1.2 Nouns

A noun is word that refers to a person, place, thing, event, substance or quality. Nouns are distinguished by number gender and cases. It can be used as the head of a predicate phrase only. The nouns in Bhateali can be classified into two categories broadly, namely, animate and inanimate nouns.

Animate Noun:

ghoRa horse

munDa boy

kuRi girl

Inanimate Noun:

katab book

sanduk box

4.1.2.1 Number

Bhateali has two grammatical numbers, namely singular, and plural. Singular is unmarked.

e 'this'

ne 'these'

bhanDa 'vessel'

bhanDe 'vessels'

katab 'book'

katabe 'books'

akkh 'eye'

akkhi 'eyes'

pair 'foot'

paira 'feet'

kuri 'girl'

kuria 'girls'

jana 'man'

jane 'men'

munda 'boy'

munde 'boys'

4.1.2.2 Gender

There are two genders, masculine and feminine, in this language. In general, the nouns which ends in vowel ‘-a’ and words with more than one syllable having the vowel –a- in the last syllable of the word are usually masculine and nouns which ends in vowel ‘-i’ are usually feminine.

Example:	<i>aTa</i>	‘flour’
	<i>baLLan</i>	‘fire wood’
	<i>cikkar</i>	‘mud’

Formation of feminine nouns:

1. A large class of masculine nouns ending in ‘-a’ form the feminine by changing the termination into ‘-i’

<i>ghoRa</i>	<i>ghoRi</i>	‘horse’
<i>leLLa</i>	<i>leLLi</i>	‘lamb’
<i>waccha</i>	<i>wacchi</i>	‘calf’
<i>canga</i>	<i>cangi</i>	‘good’
<i>sua</i>	<i>sui</i>	‘needle’

2. Where the masculine ends in a consonant, the feminine is formed by adding, *i, ri, ni*.

<i>lohar</i>	<i>lohari</i>	‘blacksmith’
<i>karar</i>	<i>karari</i>	‘shop keeper’
<i>tarkhan</i>	<i>tarkhani</i>	‘carpenter’
<i>kumhiar</i>	<i>kumhiari</i>	‘potter’
<i>harn</i>	<i>harni</i>	‘ravine deer’
<i>bal</i>	<i>balri</i>	‘girl’
<i>naTT</i>	<i>naTTni</i>	‘acrobat’
<i>Dum</i>	<i>Dumni</i>	‘musician’
<i>fakir</i>	<i>fakirni</i>	‘beggar’
<i>zimindar</i>	<i>zimindarni</i>	‘land lord’

3. When a noun or an adjective, ending in ‘-i’ changes into feminine form of it by replacing it by ‘-an’.

<i>mirasi</i>	<i>mirasan</i>	‘music minded’
<i>teli</i>	<i>telan</i>	‘oil presser’
<i>musalli</i>	<i>musallan</i>	‘sweeper’
<i>moci</i>	<i>mocan</i>	‘cobbler’

<i>machi</i>	<i>machan</i>	‘baker’
<i>darji</i>	<i>darjan</i>	‘tailor’

4. Many words have their feminine forms formed from an entirely different root.

<i>peo</i>	father	<i>bebe</i>	‘mother’
<i>puttar</i>	son	<i>dhi</i>	‘daughter’
<i>sauhra</i>	‘father – in law’	<i>sass</i>	‘mother-in-law’
<i>jawai</i>	‘son-in-law’	<i>nuh</i>	‘daughter-in-law’
<i>munda</i>	‘boy’	<i>kuRi</i>	‘girl’
<i>uTh</i>	‘male camel’	<i>Daci</i>	‘female camel’
<i>chatra</i>	‘ram’	<i>bheD</i>	‘ewe’

4.1.2.3 Case

The semantic relation between a subject and predicate is expressed by a grammatical category called as Case. The following three case markers are found in Bhateali language.

1. Genitive Case:

The genitive case is formed by adding the forms ‘-*da* /-*di*’. The genitive case marker agrees with the noun in number and gender.

<i>jane da ghoRa</i>	‘the man’s horse’
<i>jane de ghoRe</i>	‘the man’s horses’
<i>jane di ghoRi</i>	‘the man’s mare’
<i>jane dia ghoRea</i>	‘the man’s mares’
<i>jane di hatthi</i>	‘with the man’s hands’
<i>mere ohdawair e</i>	‘there is enmity between him and me’

2. Dative Case:

The dative case marker in this language is –*nu*.

<i>ghoRe nu</i>	‘to the horse’
<i>ghorRea nu</i>	‘to the horses’
<i>ghoRi nu</i>	‘to the mare’
<i>ghoRia nu</i>	‘to the mares’
<i>mai dhobe nu denna wa</i>	‘I give it to the washer man’
<i>oh nu deh</i>	‘Give it to him’

<i>kuri dudh nu gei</i>	‘The girl has gone for milk’
<i>mai tenu tear kar denna wa</i>	‘I will get it ready for you’
<i>mai tenu tear karna wa</i>	‘I will make you ready’.

3. Locative Case:

<i>mez dari te we</i>	‘Table is on the carpet’
<i>shiahi kursi te we</i>	‘Ink in on the chair’
<i>asi sare kursia te bai</i>	‘We are all sitting on the chairs’

4. Instrumental Case:

The instrumental case is marked by ‘-naL’

<i>kagad chakku naL waddhi</i>	‘Cut the paper with knife’
<i>alua nu pani naLrinhi</i>	‘Boil the potatoes with water’
<i>Tusi akkha naL wehnde o</i>	‘You see with your eyes’

5. Vocative Case:

<i>oe</i>	‘Man calling to man’
<i>oe bhaiya</i>	‘You man’
<i>we</i>	‘Woman calling to man’
<i>e</i>	‘Man calling to man’
<i>ni</i>	‘Woman calling to woman’
<i>ni mere dhile</i>	‘O my daughter’

4.1.2.4 Postpositions

The most common postpositions in Bhateali language are given below.

<i>nu</i>	‘to, for’
<i>tari</i>	‘till’
<i>uTTe</i>	‘above/ upon,’
<i>koLe</i>	‘in possession of’
<i>walo</i>	‘towards’
<i>wickar</i>	‘in between’
<i>ale duaLe</i>	‘on all sides of’
<i>mujab</i>	‘according to’
<i>pare</i>	‘beyond’

sane 'together, with'

duale 'round about'

4.1.3 Pronoun

The personal pronouns are as follows. Like nouns the pronouns are also agreed with the case.

First Person 'I' 'we'

	Singular	Plural
Absolute	<i>Mai</i>	<i>asi</i>
Agent	<i>Mai</i>	<i>asa</i>
Genitive	<i>mera</i>	<i>saDDa</i>
Dative	<i>menu</i>	<i>sanu</i>

Second Person 'you'

	Singular	Plural
Absolute	<i>Tu</i>	<i>tusi</i>
Agent	<i>tu</i>	<i>tusa</i>
Genitive	<i>tera</i>	<i>tuhaDDa</i>
Dative	<i>tenu</i>	<i>tuhanu</i>

Third Person

'This'

	singular	plural
Absolute	<i>eh, ah</i>	<i>eh</i>
Agent	<i>es</i>	<i>ehna</i>
Genitive	<i>esda, ehda</i>	<i>ehnaDa</i>
Dative	<i>esnu, ehnu</i>	<i>ehnanu</i>

'That'

	singular	plural
Absolute	<i>oh</i>	<i>oh</i>
Agent	<i>os</i>	<i>ohna</i>
Genitive	<i>osda, ohda</i>	<i>ohnaDa</i>
Dative	<i>osnu, ohnu</i>	<i>ohnanu</i>

In the third person 'eh' or 'oh' is used for 'he' or 'she' or 'it'

Interrogative Pronouns: The interrogative pronouns are as follows.

kaun 'who'

	singular	plural
Nominative	<i>kaun</i>	<i>kaun</i>
Agent	<i>kis / kin</i>	<i>kinha</i>
Genitive	<i>kisda, kihda</i>	<i>kinhaDa</i>

ki 'what'

	Singular
Nominative	<i>Ki</i>
Agent	<i>none</i>
Genitive	<i>kasDa, kahda</i>

Other pronominal forms:

The word '*hori*' is used in the plural as a sign of respect for a third person somewhat similar to '*ji*'.

mere bhra hori ae ne 'My brother has come'

ramesh hori akhea 'Ramesh said'

4.1.4 Adjectives

Most of the adjectives in Bhateali language end in termination '*a*' in masculine which changes to '*i*' for feminine. The adjectives agree with the nouns in gender, number, case and generally precede them.

Some of the common adjectives in this language are

<i>waDDa</i>	'big'
<i>lamma</i>	'long'
<i>caNga</i>	'good'
<i>sajhri</i>	'fresh'
<i>nikka</i>	'little'
<i>maRa</i>	'poor, feeble'
<i>kuahra</i>	'rough'
<i>ayaNa</i>	'childish'
<i>siyana</i>	'wise'
<i>Dungha</i>	'deep'

<i>kassa</i>	‘deficient’
<i>silla</i>	‘damp’
<i>tagRa</i>	‘strong’

Formation of adjectives:

Some adjectives are formed from nouns by addition of ‘a’ with or without an alteration in the root.

<i>aukkh</i>	‘difficulty’	>	<i>aukkha</i>	‘difficult’
<i>bhukkh</i>	‘hunger’	>	<i>bhukkha</i>	‘hungry’
<i>bhar</i>	‘weight’	>	<i>bhara</i>	‘heavy’

4.1.5 Numerals

Three types of numerals are found in this language. They are cardinals, ordinals and fractional.

Cardinals

<i>ikk</i>	‘one’
<i>do</i>	‘two’
<i>tra</i>	‘three’
<i>car</i>	‘four’
<i>panj</i>	‘five’
<i>che</i>	‘six’
<i>sath</i>	‘seven’
<i>atth</i>	‘eight’
<i>nau</i>	‘nine’
<i>das</i>	‘ten’
<i>yara</i>	‘eleven’
<i>bara</i>	‘twelve’
<i>tera</i>	‘thirteen’
<i>cauda</i>	‘fourteen’
<i>pandra</i>	‘fifteen’
<i>sola</i>	‘sixteen’

<i>satara</i>	‘seventen,
<i>aThara</i>	‘eighteen’
<i>unni</i>	‘nineteen’
<i>wih</i>	‘twenty’
<i>unatti</i>	‘twenty nine’
<i>trih/tih</i>	‘thirty’
<i>untali</i>	‘thirty nine’
<i>cali</i>	‘forty’
<i>panjah</i>	‘fifty’
<i>atth</i>	‘sixty’
<i>sattar</i>	‘seventy’
<i>assi</i>	‘eighty’
<i>nabbe/ nawwe</i>	‘ninety’
<i>sau</i>	‘hundred’
<i>hajar</i>	‘thousand’

Ordinals: The ordinals are generally formed by adding ‘*wa*’ to the cardinals except the first four numbers. Thus, we have

<i>paihla</i>	‘first’
<i>dujja/ dusra</i>	‘second’
<i>tijja/ tisra</i>	‘third’
<i>cautha</i>	‘fourth’

After four, the ordinals are formed by adding ‘*wa*’ to the cardinals. Thus,

<i>panjahwa</i>	‘fiftieth’
<i>trihwa</i>	‘thirtieth’
<i>sauwa</i>	‘hundredth’

Multiples:

The first few numbers have forms ending in ‘-na’ which are declinable adjectives.

<i>duna</i>	‘double’
<i>trina</i>	‘treble’
<i>cauna</i>	‘four-fold’
<i>panjauna</i>	‘fivefold’

After the numeral five, the multiples are expressed by adding the suffix ‘*hisse*’

<i>che hisse</i>	‘six times’
<i>das hisse</i>	‘ten times’
<i>mere Dhagga tere waihre nalo duna e</i>	‘my bull is twice the size of your calf’.
<i>malwana traiweri aea</i>	‘the priest came three times’

Fractional Numbers:

<i>aDDha</i>	‘half’
<i>pauNa</i>	‘one quarter less than’
<i>munna</i>	‘three quarter’
<i>DeDh</i>	‘one and a half’
<i>dhai</i>	‘two and a half’
<i>sadhe</i>	‘half more than’

‘*DeDh*’ and ‘*dhai*’ are used by themselves or with sau, hajar, lakh, etc.

‘*pauNa*’ is used with numeral one to ninety-nine.

Fractions less than one are denoted by means of the word ‘*hissa*’.

<i>daswa hissa</i>	‘one tenth’
<i>sattwa hissa</i>	‘one seventh’

Distributive Numeral:

The idea of so many is expressed by repeating the number.

<i>do do</i>	‘two each’
--------------	------------

<i>do do sau</i>	‘two hundred each’
<i>DeDh DeDh hajar</i>	‘one thousand and five hundred each’

4.2 Verb - Morphology

4.2.1 Verb

A verb is a word or phrase that describes an action, condition or experience and can be used as the head of a predicate phrase only and is inflected for the tense markers. The verbs ending in personal suffix are finite Verbs and those which do not end in personal suffix and which carry participial suffix or infinitive suffix are non-finite Verbs.

Finite Verb

A finite Verb is a verb that is inflected for person and for tense according to the rules and categories of the languages in which it occurs. It is also a form of a verb that can occur on its own in a main clause and permits variations in tense, number, and mood. It is one whose form changes in order to match the form of the subject. It can be the main verb in the predicate part of a sentence (whose form is governed by the subject of the sentence). Finite verb is a verb or verb form that makes a complete assertion and may thus serve as a predicate.

Tense

Present Tense

<i>mai karna ha</i>	‘I am doing’
<i>oh karda e</i>	‘He is doing’
<i>mai roti lain janna wa</i>	‘I am going to buy bread’
<i>tu roti lain janna e</i>	‘You are going to buy bread’
<i>oh roti lain janda e</i>	‘He is going to buy bread’
<i>asi roti lain janne a</i>	‘We are going to buy bread’
<i>oh roti lain jande ne</i>	‘They are going to buy bread’

Past Continuous Tense

<i>mai karda sa</i>	‘I was doing’
<i>tu karda sa</i>	‘You were doing’

Past Tense

<i>mai</i>	<i>gea</i>	'I went'
<i>tusi gaie</i>	<i>sau</i>	'You went'
<i>oh</i>	<i>moea</i>	'He died'
<i>os ghoRa</i>	<i>diTTha</i>	'He saw the horse'
<i>os ghoRi</i>	<i>diTThi</i>	'He saw a mare'

Perfect Tense

<i>mai aea wea</i>	'I have come'
<i>tusi ae o</i>	'You have come'
<i>os kamm kitta e</i>	'He has done the work'

Present Tense

	Singular	meaning
First person	<i>ha</i>	'I am'
Second Person	<i>hai</i>	'you are'
Third person	<i>hai</i>	'he is'
	Plural	Meaning
First person	<i>ha</i>	'We are'
Second Person	<i>ho</i>	'you are'
Third person	<i>hain</i>	'they are'

Past Tense

	Singular	meaning
First person	<i>sa</i>	'I was'
Second Person	<i>sai</i>	'you were'
Third person	<i>si</i>	'he was'
	Plural	Meaning
First person	<i>sa</i>	'We were'
Second Person	<i>sau</i>	'you were'

Third person *san* ‘they were’

First person *mai dassa* ‘I show’

Second person *asi dassiye* ‘we show’

Third person *tu dasse* ‘you show’

oh dasse ‘he show’

oh dasseN ‘they show’

mai dassnawa ‘I am showing’

asi dassne a ‘we are showing’

tu dassna e ‘you are showing’

tusi dassde o ‘you (plural) are showing’

oh dassda e ‘he is showing’

oh dassde ne ‘they are showing’

mai dassda sa ‘I was showing’

asi dassde sa ‘We were showing’

tu dassda sai ‘you showed’

tusa dassa ‘you (plural) showed’.

os dassa ‘he showed’

ohna dassa ‘they showed’

mai dassa e ‘I have shown’

asi dassa e ‘We have shown’

tu dassa e ‘You have shown’

tusa dassa e ‘You (plural) have shown’

oh dassa e ‘he has shown’

ohna dassa e ‘they have shown’

<i>mai dassea si</i>	‘I had shown’
<i>asi dassea si</i>	‘We had shown’
<i>tu dassea si</i>	‘You had shown’
<i>tusa dassea si</i>	‘You (plural) had shown’
<i>oh dassea si</i>	‘he had shown’
<i>ohna dassea si</i>	‘they had shown’
<i>mai dassea howega</i>	‘I shall show’
<i>asi dassea howega</i>	‘We shall show’
<i>tu dassea howega</i>	‘You shall show’
<i>tusa dassea howega</i>	‘You (plural) shall show’
<i>oh dassea howega</i>	‘he shall show’
<i>ohna dassea howega</i>	‘they shall show’

Infinitive Verb

Verbal Noun

A verbal noun is noun which is derived from a verb by the addition of some markers. Here in Bhateali language the verbal nouns are formed by adding *-na* to the root.

<u>Root</u>		<u>Verbal noun</u>	
<i>ja</i>	‘go’	<i>jana</i>	‘going’
<i>bhajj</i>	‘run’	<i>bhajjna</i>	‘running’
<i>lai</i>	‘take’	<i>laina</i>	‘taking’
<i>wekh</i>	‘see’	<i>wekhna</i>	‘seeing’
<i>wah</i>	‘plough’	<i>wahna</i>	‘ploughing’
<i>kar</i>	‘do’	<i>karna</i>	‘doing’
<i>nikaL</i>	‘go out’	<i>nikaLna</i>	‘going out’
<i>khlo</i>	‘stand’	<i>khlona</i>	‘standing’
<i>kha</i>	‘eat’	<i>khana</i>	‘eating’

<i>pi</i>	‘drink’	<i>pina</i>	‘drinking’
<i>bhau</i>	‘turn’	<i>bhauna</i>	‘turning’

Gerund

Participle

The participle marker *-hoea-* is used when the verb as state is indicated.

<i>ridhe hoea cauL</i>	‘cooked rice’
<i>o farsi parhea hoea</i>	‘he is the one who has studied Persian’
<i>mai ikk munDa moea hoea dittha</i>	‘I saw a boy dead’

4.2.1.3 Causative Verb

<i>sunana</i>	‘cause to hear’
<i>pharana</i>	‘cause to seize’
<i>akhwana</i>	‘cause to say’
<i>bhajana</i>	‘cause to run’
<i>Torna</i>	‘cause to walk’
<i>khidana</i>	‘cause to play’
<i>cukana</i>	‘cause to be lifted’
<i>duana</i>	‘cause to be given’
<i>piana</i>	‘cause to drink’
<i>apRana</i>	‘cause to reach’
<i>puana</i>	‘cause to put’
<i>anwana</i>	‘cause to bring’
<i>degna</i>	‘cause to fall’
<i>cobhna</i>	‘cause to pierce’
<i>khobhna</i>	‘cause to stick’

4.2.1.4 Auxiliary Verb

In Bhateali there are two auxiliary verbs –*hai* for present tense and –*sī* for past tense. All the forms of these two auxiliary verbs can equally be used for both the genders.

There are two auxiliary verbs, *haigā* and *sīgā*, which change forms with gender. *haigā* and *haigī* are present tense forms for masculine and feminine gender respectively. Corresponding forms for past tense are *sīgā* and *sīgī*. Auxiliary verbs change forms with number and person.

4.2.1.5 Negative Verb

Imperative Verbs

The imperative consists of simple root of the verb without any termination in the singular formation and in the plural formation ‘*o*’ is added to the root.

<i>ja</i>	<i>jao</i>	‘go’
<i>a</i>	<i>ao</i>	‘come’
<i>de</i>	<i>deo</i>	‘give’
<i>tur</i>	<i>turo</i>	‘start’
<i>lauh</i>	<i>lauho</i>	‘descend’

The polite imperative is formed by adding to the root ‘*i*’ for singular and ‘*eo*’ for plural.

<i>takk</i>	<i>takki</i>	<i>takkeo</i>	‘please look’
<i>utth</i>	<i>utthi</i>	<i>uttheo</i>	‘please get up’
<i>a</i>	<i>awi</i>	<i>aweo</i>	‘please come’

<i>baith jao</i>	‘sit down’
<i>buhe tikhar jao</i>	‘go to the door’
<i>mar suo</i>	‘shut it’
<i>lah suo</i>	‘open it’
<i>baRi laho</i>	‘open the window’
<i>os kutte nu mari</i>	‘beat the dog’
<i>mez te na rakkho</i>	‘do not keep it on the table’

4.2.1.6 Compound Verb

The compound verbs are common in Bhateali language.

Sometimes, the meaning of the verb is intensified by adding it to the root of another verb. In such case, the second root is only is subject to infection. The important verb, that which gives the real meaning is unchanged in the root and the other verb is conjugated.

<i>mar chaDDna</i>	‘kill’	[strike +leave]
<i>lellaina</i>	‘take everything’	[take + take]
<i>kar chaDDna</i>	‘finish’	[do+leave]
<i>saTT dena</i>	‘throw away’	[throw + give]
<i>tu kholo ja mai bhajjke wekh awe</i>	‘You stand here, I will run and see’	

The formation ‘*sakna*’ be able is suffixed to the verb to give the compound verb formation.

<i>tu hal wah sakna e</i>	‘Can you plough tomorrow?’
---------------------------	----------------------------

The infinitive ‘*lagna*’ is also used in the compound verb formation.

<i>o kamm karna lagna we</i>	‘He has begun to work’
------------------------------	------------------------

4.2.1.7 Passive formation

The passive is formed by using the past participle ‘-a-’ with the tense.

<i>oh marea gea</i>	‘He was killed’
<i>kanaka waddhia geia</i>	‘Wheat was cut’

A very common way of forming the passive is to use the root of the verb with the required parts of ‘*ghattna*’

<i>marghattea</i>	‘He was killed’
<i>marghattega</i>	‘He will bw killed’
<i>marghatte</i>	‘He may be killed’
<i>waddh ghattea</i>	‘was cut’
<i>bij ghattea</i>	‘was sown’

<i>likkh ghattea</i>	‘was written’
<i>phar ghattea</i>	‘was seized’

4.2.1.8 Transitivity

Transitive verbs are those that requires an object.

4.2.2 Adverb

Adverbs are the lexicons that qualify the verb and in Bhateali language the following adverbs are present.

Adverb of Place:

<i>nerē</i>	‘near’
<i>dur</i>	‘far’
<i>agna</i>	‘ahead’
<i>uta</i>	‘above’
<i>urai</i>	‘on this side’
<i>par</i>	‘on further side’
<i>koL</i>	‘close by’
<i>naL</i>	‘nearby ‘

Adverb of Time:

<i>jaDo</i>	‘when’
<i>taDo</i>	‘then’
<i>aje</i>	‘as yet’
<i>paund satto</i>	‘at once’
<i>oRak</i>	‘at last’
<i>agge nu</i>	‘in future’
<i>nitt</i>	‘always’
<i>hun</i>	‘now’
<i>hune</i>	‘just now’
<i>ukka na</i>	‘with difficulty’
<i>cheti</i>	‘not at all’
<i>bado badi</i>	‘forcibly’
<i>picche</i>	‘behind’
<i>shitabi</i>	‘speedily’

<i>sawLe</i>	‘early’
<i>muR ao</i>	‘Come again’
<i>mai Thik akhea</i>	‘I said it correctly’

4.2.3 Particles / Clitic

There are various particles that are used in the Bhateali sentences for emphasis, negation etc. These particles do not change forms for any of the grammatical categories. The main types of particles are provided here.

Emphatic: These particles are used to emphasize or put stress on some part of the sentences. That part can be a single word or a phrase.

<i>maim̄ vī jāvāṅgā</i>	‘I will also go’.
<i>baccā khēḍ hī tāṃ rihā sī.</i>	‘The boy was just playing’.

Negative

These particles are used for negation effect in sentences. *nahīm̄, nā, nāh* are the commonly used negative particles in Bhateali sentences. In a typical Bhateali sentence, if both the emphatic and negative particles are used, then the negative particles follow the emphatic ones, as in the following example:

<i>ajj mīm̄h vī tāṃ nahīm̄ nā pai rihā sī</i>	‘Today it was not even raining’
---	---------------------------------

In the above example, *nā* is used as an emphatic particle not negative one

4.2.4 Echo -Word

Echo –words are the words which contain two lexical items in which the second lexical item is almost similar to the first one and is formed by an element which has no independent meaning and cannot stand on its own but which modifies the meaning of the first element, generally indicating something akin to the English "etc." The Echo word the one in which there is a productive construction with a type of reduplication in which one element, usually the second, is a reduplication of the first, but phonologically somewhat different.

Some of the “echo-words” in Bhateali are given below.

<i>chara mura</i>	‘quite alone’
<i>ukka mukka</i>	‘altogether’

<i>goL moL</i>	‘ambiguous’
<i>lakkaR shakkaR</i>	‘wood of different sort’
<i>kitab sitab</i>	‘book of different sort’
<i>ghoRa shoRa</i>	‘horse of different sort’

Re-duplication:

Reduplication is purely phonological factor in Bhateali language. The following presents a few examples.

<i>buDDha</i>	‘old’	<i>buDDha buDDha</i>	‘very old’
<i>diNga</i>	‘crooked’	<i>diNga diNga</i>	‘very much crooked’
<i>maRa</i>	‘weak’	<i>maRa maRa</i>	‘very weak’

5. SYNTAX

5.1 Order of Words In Sentences

The word order of Bhateali language is Subject, Object & Verb. Thus, the normal order of words in Bhateali language is (1) attribute of subject (2) subject (3) attribute of object (4) object (5) adverbs (6) verb.

Syntax is the study about the formation words in the sentences.

Simple Sentences

<i>e kitab e</i>	‘This is a book’
<i>e galica e</i>	‘This is a rug’
<i>kitab menu deho</i>	‘Give me the book’
<i>kitab kitte we</i>	‘Where is the book?’
<i>kitab mez utte we</i>	‘Book is on the table’

Complex Sentences

Complex sentences contain main clause and one or more sub ordinate clause proceeding to it. In complex sentence one sentence is independent one and the other cannot stand on its own.

<i>jekar</i>	‘if’
<i>bhawe</i>	‘although’
<i>kyupai</i>	‘because’

mai buhe sidha tere nal jagga par parha nehi jaaga

‘I will go up to the gate with you but not beyond that’.

ehna triuh kuRia de sua more do muNDe wi ne

‘Besides these three girls I have two boys also’

khoTe warga japed e par sher wangar larda e

‘He looks like a donkey and fights like a lion’.

haneri de Dar de marea o cheti ghar nass gea

‘For fear of the storm he ran quickly home’.

jikkan ohna karkar kita si oh mere sang wairia naL laRe

‘According to their promise they fought against the enemy along with me’

jad tai lok na ase asi ottherahe se

‘We stayed till the people came’.

*Jado to hindian ustad sanu english sikhanlagge ne saDDe wicco bauht thorea cangi tarh
sikhi e*

‘Since Hindi speaking teachers have begun to teach us English, few of us have learnt it well’

Compound Sentences

A sentence that is formed when or more independent clauses are joined by coordinate conjunctions is called as a compound sentence. The following are the connective markers used in the Bhateali language in the formation of the compound sentences.

<i>te / hor</i>	‘and’
<i>par</i>	‘but’
<i>jekar / je</i>	‘if’
<i>bhawe</i>	‘although’
<i>cahe</i>	‘whether’
<i>sago</i>	‘on the contrary’
<i>kyupai</i>	‘because’
<i>mate</i>	‘lest’
<i>ceta</i>	‘so that’

mere kolo eh kamnehi honda mai malea reha wa

‘I am not able to do this work, for I have been ill’.

ohde kolo jan nehi hoea mai wi nehi gea

‘He was not able to go so I did not go either’.

jis weLe mai ethe aea menu hindi nehi si aundi hun thori thori bol sakna wa

‘I could not speak Hindi when I came here, but now I can use it a little’.

ohna dittha si pai eh kitte raihnda e te oddin ohde koL rahe

‘They saw where he was staying and remained with him that day.’

oh dopaihra de nere trere aea

‘It was about noon when he came’.

ohde koL jake ohde nal phirda reha

‘He went to him and talked with him.’

ii) Description of types of sentences

Interrogative

mai kaun ai

‘Who am I?’

asi kaun a

‘Who are we?’

tu kaun e

‘Who are you (singular)?’

tusi kaun o

‘Who are you (plural)?’

o kaun e

‘Who is he/she?’

o kaun ne

‘Who are they?’

tusi ki karde o

‘What are you(pl) doing?’

o ki karda e

‘What is he doing?’

o ki kardi e

‘What is she doing?’

o ki karde ne

‘What are the men doing?’

o ki kardia ne

‘What are the women doing?’

tu ki karna e

‘What are you(m) doing?’

tu ki karni e

‘What are you(f) doing?’

hafte wick kinne warhunde ne

‘How many days are there in a week?’

<i>tuhanu es muljh wicc aea kinna cir hoeae</i>	‘How long you are in this country?’
<i>eh ghoRa kinni umar da e</i>	‘How old is this horse?’
<i>gas kittho labbhda e</i>	‘Where is gas found?’
<i>sial wicc lok agg kahnu baLde ne</i>	‘Why do people make fire in winter?’

Interrogative sentences are also formed by the following way

<i>tusi kall shahr gae sao na</i>	‘You went to the city yesterday, didn’t you?’
<i>tusi bhalke shahrjaoge na</i>	‘You will go to city tomorrow, won’t you?’
<i>os tushanu dassea si na</i>	‘He told you didn’t he?’
<i>ohna kita si ke tusa</i>	‘Did they do it or did you?’

Imperative

The ordinary imperative on the 2nd person singular consists simply of the root of the verb without any termination. And in the plural, it is formed by adding ‘-o’ to the root.

Root	Meaning	Second Person Singular	Second Person Plural
<i>a</i>	‘come’	<i>a</i>	<i>ao</i>
<i>kar</i>	‘do’	<i>kar</i>	<i>karo</i>
<i>de</i>	‘give’	<i>de</i>	<i>deo</i>
<i>tur</i>	‘start’	<i>tur</i>	<i>turo</i>
<i>ja</i>	‘go’	<i>ja</i>	<i>jao</i>

The polite imperative is formed by adding to the root of the verb in the singular ‘-i’ and to the plural -eo- or -lo-

Root	Meaning	Second Person Singular	Second Person Plural
<i>takk</i>	see	<i>takki</i>	<i>takkeo</i>
<i>uTTh</i>	get up	<i>uTThi</i>	<i>uTTheo</i>
<i>a</i>	come	<i>awi</i>	<i>aweo</i>

<i>metho puccho</i>	‘Ask me’
<i>osTho puccho</i>	‘Ask him’
<i>menu dhea</i>	‘Give to me’
<i>cheti lea</i>	‘Bring it quickly’

<i>menu lea do</i>	‘Bring it to me’
<i>hune ghallo</i>	‘Send it at once’
<i>bhalke ghal deo</i>	‘Send it tomorrow’
<i>bamar na howeo</i>	‘Do not get sick’
<i>eh kamm na kar</i>	‘Do not do this work’
<i>es khuo pani na pio</i>	‘Do not drink water from this well’
<i>menu katab deh</i>	‘Give me the book’
<i>ohnu katab phara deh</i>	‘Hand him the book’
<i>munde nu Tokhra de</i>	‘Give the basket to the boy’
<i>mundea nu Tokhre de</i>	‘Give the baskets to the boys’
<i>ohna nal na bawhea kar</i>	‘Never sit with them’

5.2.2 Negative

Negative markers are two in number. One of them is used before the non-imperative and the other before the imperative verbs. The negative marker used before the non-imperative verb is /um/ and the negative marker used before the imperative verbs is /agu/.

<i>umin cona</i>	‘I will not go’
<i>um nok og</i>	‘He did not eat’
<i>umpe nok og</i>	‘You did not eat’
<i>um karaykon</i>	‘Not having done’
<i>abu conam</i>	‘Do not go’
<i>abu noge</i>	‘Do not eat’

6. TEXT

kave ki asa kala samp kiya marna
crowhen black snake how killed

‘How crow hen killed the snake’

chilire buta pari kava ek kosala
name of a variety of a tree tree on crow one nest

banavu raTiya
built

A crow built the nest on chilire tree.

tis buta paRi ik kala Samp reNda tiya
that tree on one black snake lived

‘One black snake lived in that tree’.

kavvene jiye apne kosale maje AnDe tithe te kala samp
crows their nesr in eggs give that black snake unajo gayi gaya
that ate up

‘Whenever the crow lays eggs in the nest, the black snake came and ate them’.

kavva bada dukh koi gaya
crow very sad became

‘The crow became very sad’.

ki samp tem aka pAhele mere Andajone ghantha te if
snake time before my eggs eat then

me rahne kissi tuje buta paRi chali jAnTa ladi glanti
I live not another big tree have to go told

“If the snake eats my eggs this time also, then I am not going to live in this place. I have to go another tree” said the lady bird.

asa iTu lAmba tAmake karte kin asa kitu dui jaha
 we here long time lived we nowhere another
rahente kave gilaya
 live crow told

“we live here for a long time not we cannot go anywhere and live” said the crow”

sampjo kavveti awaj anthiti buRa piche bhAitkar ANdejo snake’s
 crow sound listen tree in having sit eggs

bachne thai khichu bhi nahi kAr sAkathatiya kala samp
 save something could not save blacksnake

thasne vaste apni chonj unchi kAri ke neDe arahiya tiya
 slowlycrept its close near reached.

‘The crows listened to the hissing noise of the snake. They tried to save the eggs sitting in the tree but they could not. The black snake having raised its hood slowly crept and reached the nest’.

jetu ma piu kosalete bargiye te kalasampne ikk ikk karke their
 parents from the nest went away that black snake one by one

ANde gai lithe
 eggs ate up

“The parents flew out of the nest and the black snake ate the eggs one by one.”

jatu ma piu hati aiye uthasikaNu lal pile ho gayi that
 parents returned sad

kavne ghilaye aha sampka pachcnetha kuttu dui jaga jana pavuna
 crow told to escape from the snake another place should go

“The crows returned very sadly and they discussed to escape from the snake they have to go somewhere”

uskone giya ladi asakade aahanDi bhegane di puchiTi mari
 that cannot fight moreover very poison deadly

uski ladi ne us jo ghilaya
his wife case told

We cannot fight with the snake moreover his sting is very poisonous and deadly told the female crow.

tusi chinta na karo meri pyari
you worry not do my beloved

Do not worry my dear.

is sampaka bhi jarilla meri mitra kavne ghilaya
for this matter clever my friend told crow

“I have a clever friend to solve this matter told the crow”

ki kittu tuje buta paRi usera iku mitra mirku
that anywhere another big tree his residence is

“That friend of mine is living under another tree”

piri uske bath dui kave pade kusi kone usi buta paRi rahne lake
after that two crows very happily that big tree lived

gone kayi chote chote kavejo janambitita
small small crows gave birth

After that the crows lived happily in that big tree and had many children.

BILASPURI / KAHLURI

P. Edward Vedamanickam

1. INTRODUCTION

Himachal Pradesh is a state in the northern part of India which was granted statehood in 1971. Hindi is the official language of Himachal Pradesh and is spoken by majority of the population as lingua franca. English has the status of an additional official language. According to 2001 Census data Hindi is spoken by around 85% the population followed by Punjabi spoken by 9% of the population. Bilaspuri/Kahluri is spoken mostly in the Bilaspur district.

1.1 Family affiliation

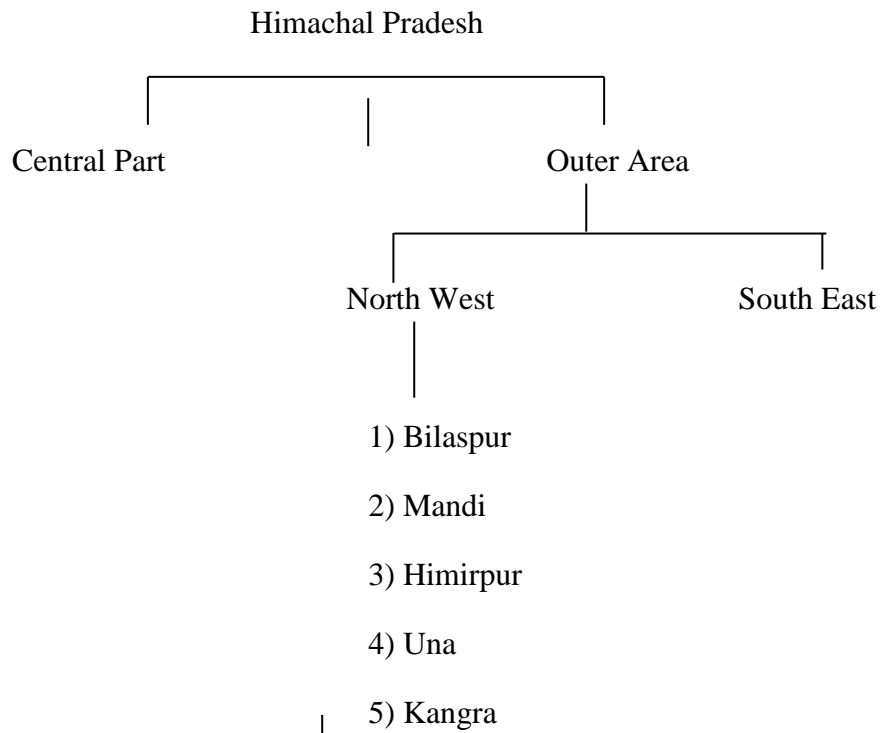
The mother tongue Bilaspuri Kahluri is classified under Punjabi as a mother tongue. This mother tongue is widely spoken in the Bilaspur district of Himachal Pradesh.

Himachal Pradesh is classified into two clear topographical areas.

- 1) The central part of Himachal Pradesh.
- 2) The outer area of Himachal Pradesh.

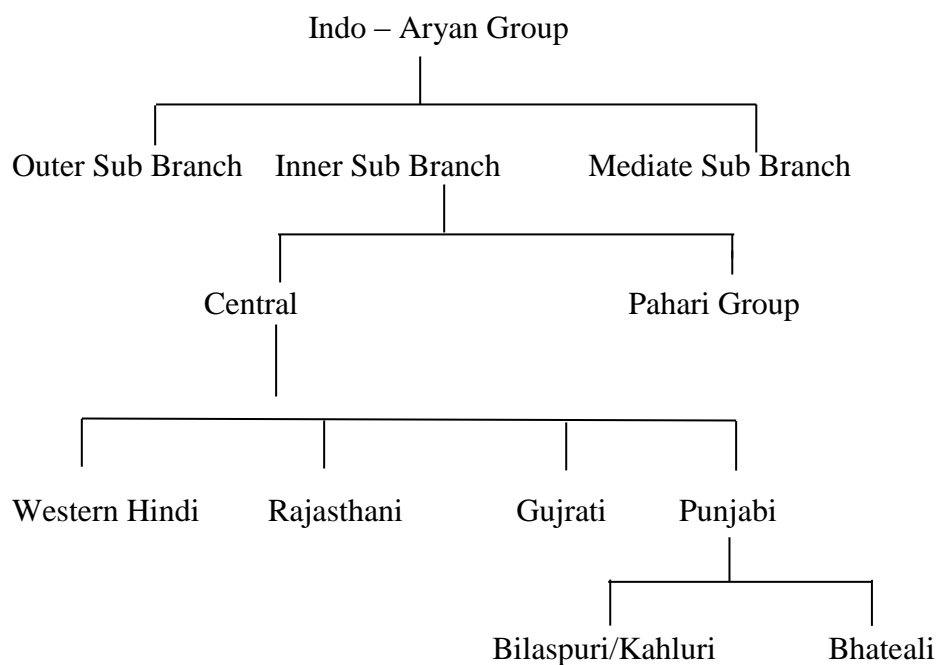
The outer area is further classified into two parts, one in South East and other towards North-west.

The northwestern part contains Bilaspur, Mandi, Himirpur, Una & Kangra districts.



According to Grierson, the Indo-Aryan group is divided into 3 sub groups, namely,

- 1) Outer sub branch
- 2) Inner sub branch and
- 3) Mediate sub branch.



1.2 Population

The Bilaspuri/Kahluri speakers are mainly located in the Bilaspur district of Himachal Pradesh. The following chart shows the decadal growth.

Year of Census	Total Strength
1961	27,229
1971	66,188
1981	93,001
1991	2,04,140
2001	--
2011	2,95,805

The breakup of the Bilaspuri/Kahluri population as per 2011 census is as follows:

India/States/Uts	Total			Rural			Urban		
	Person	Male	Female	Person	Male	Female	Person	Male	Female
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Bilaspuri Kahluri									
INDIA	2,95,805	1,51,739	1,44,066	2,78,437	1,42,523	1,35,914	17,368	9,216	8,152
Himachal Pradesh	2,95,762	1,51,709	1,44,053	2,78,405	1,42,500	1,35,905	17,357	9,209	8,148
Jammu & Kashmir	21	14	7	21	14	7	0	0	0
Chandigarh	10	7	3	0	0	0	10	7	3
Uttar Pradesh	8	7	1	8	7	1	0	0	0
Assam	3	2	1	3	2	1	0	0	0
Maharashtra	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1

The District wise distribution of Bilaspuri/Kahluri in Himachal Pradesh is presented in the Introduction chapter.

1.3 Socio Linguistic Profile of Himachal Pradesh

Linguistically the state has different, distinctive features and there are as many dislects as there were princely states. Every ten to twelve miles, the dialect changes and yet there is enough uniformity to bind them all under the head of western Pahari, which is different from the eastern Pahari of Nepal and the central Pahari of Garhwal and Kumaon. The various dialects of Pahari spoken in region are 'Mandiali' in Mandi, 'Kulvi' in Kullu, 'Kehluri' in Bilaspur, 'Hinduri' in Nalagarh, 'Chameali' in Chamba, 'Sirmauri' in Sirmour, 'Miahasvi' in Mahasu region and 'Pangwali' in Pangi. Besides, there are dialects of Bhot origin, the Kinnauri, the Lahaulu and the Spitian. All dialects of Pahari are of Sanskrit origin. They have been written differently in different times. In earlier days they were written in 'Tankri' or Thakari, but later during the Muslim period they were written in the Persian script. Still later they come to be written in 'Devanagri'.

Hindi is medium of instruction in schools and is widely spoken. Because of the tribes - each with its own language and dialect - Himachal boasts of more than 60 dialects. In places with a Buddhist population, Tibetan is the language. With Himachal's close proximity to Punjab, Punjabi is the medium of communication in some places.

1.4 Usage of Bilaspuri/Kahluri

The language usage is restricted to home domain only. Though some efforts are taken by the local cultural activities, the regional language and the state language continues to rule most of the domains.

In Census publications, the Bilaspuri/Kahluri is not considered as a separate language rather it is considered as a Mother tongue of Punjabi.

2. PHONOLOGY

Phonology is the study of how sounds are organized and used in natural languages. The phonological system of a language includes an inventory of sounds and their features, and rules which specify how sounds interact with each other. Phonemic analysis consists in allotting all the indefinite number of sounds occurring in utterances to a definite and limited set of phonemes contrastive in at least some environments.

2.1 Consonants

There are 27 consonantal phonemes in Bilaspuri/Kahluri mother tongue. They are shown in the phonemic chart as follows.

Phonemic chart of consonants:

	Biabial	Dental	Alveolar	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
PLOSIVES Voiceless	p p ^h	T T ^h	t t ^h		c c ^h	k k ^h	
PLOSIVES Voiced	b	D	d		j	g	
Fricative Voiceless	f		s	C			h
Fricative Voiced	v		z				
Nasals	m		n			M	
Laterals			l				
Trills			r	R			

The voiceless plosives show differentiation between aspiration and unaspiration.

All the consonantal phonemes appear in all the positions except the voiceless glottal fricative, which never appears in the final position.

/ p / pertChAtti ‘attic’

	pind	‘village’
	tCheppAr	‘shed’ (thatched)
	popu	‘trumpet’
	sap	‘snake’
/ p ^h /	/p ^h udna /	‘garland
	/p ^h u ^h peri bahin/	‘father's sister's daughter’
/ T /	tChātti	‘breast’
	pAtCal	‘earth quake’
	p ^h ut	‘ghost’
/ T ^h /	T ^h ella	‘bag’ (man’s)
	pAnT ^h	‘creed’
/ t /	tidd	‘belly’
	etek	‘elbow’
	pet	‘secret’
/ t ^h /	t ^h ukk	‘spit’
	soart ^{hi}	‘selfish’
	bet ^h	‘sit’
/ c /	chott	‘the small one’
	cAlak	‘clever’
	goac	‘to be lost’
/ c ^h /	c ^h inta	‘worry’
/ k /	kiri	‘ant’
	sAndūk	‘box’
/ k ^h /	k ^h uNda	‘dull’
	bek ^{har}	‘fever’
	dek ^h /pArk ^h	‘examine’

/ b /	bua	‘door’
	k ^h Amba	‘pillar’
	dAbb	‘burry’
/ D /	DAbb	‘burry’
	sAnDuk	‘box’
	tChAnD	‘whip’
/ d /	dereht	‘tree’
	gANda	‘onion’
	piNd	‘village’
/ j /	jal	‘net’
	jattAri	‘pilgrim’
	hajAri	‘presence’
	tej	‘sharp’
/ g /	gANda	‘onion’
	pinger	‘melt’
	pig	‘rainbow’
/ f /	fal	‘guts’
	hefta	‘week’
/ s /	sAnduk	‘box’
	pAsli	‘rib’
	mas	‘flesh’
/ S’ /	S’am	‘evening’
	tS’allu	‘current’
	mAgermAttS’	‘crocodile’
/ h /	hava	‘air’
	hAll	‘plough’

	dereht	‘tree’
/ v /	vāl	‘hair’
	hava	‘air’
	ziv	‘as’
/ z /	zidi	‘widower’
	zulaca	‘weaver’
	mendzi	‘bed stead’
/ m /	mulli	‘radish’
	nimbu	‘lemon’
	mAlem	‘smooth’
	nArem	‘soft’
/ n /	nAu	‘claw’
	tAkeni	‘bellows’
	tilkAna	‘slippery’
/ M /	teMg	‘hang’
	gAMda	‘onion’
/ l /	lua	‘hair of body’
	pAsli	‘rib’
	pAtCal	‘earthquake’
/ r /	rAssa	‘rope’
	kAgAri	‘skirt’
	bek ^h ar	‘fever’
/ R /	Ridja hoea	‘cool’
	koRkilli	‘lizard’
	giddAR	‘fox’

2.2 Consonantal Clusters

A consonant cluster is a group of consonants which have no intervening vowel. The consonant clusters can be a combination of two identical as well as two non-identical consonants that generally occurs in the medial position of a word. The former is called homogenous clusters and the latter is called heterogeneous consonant clusters.

The following consonantal clusters are found in this mother tongue.

Two Consonants: -

- nn -	mEnuu	‘me’
- ll -	tCellea	‘going’
- tt -	kitt ^h e	‘where’
- kk -	mukken	‘finished’
- ss -	vassan	‘raining’
- gg -	lagga	‘about’
- nn -	khoanna	‘causing to eat’
- rn -	therna	‘staying’
- Mg -	tCeMga	‘good’
- rd -	daRda	‘run’
- tC -	tCella	‘going’
- sn -	osnu	‘him’
- nd -	thend	‘cold’

Three Consonants

The following three consonantal clusters are found in this language.

- ttC -	vittC	‘in’
- tCh -	tChal	‘jump’

2.3 Vowels

This mother tongue has eight vowels. They are represented as follows:

	Front	Central	Back
High	I		u

Mid	E	A	o
Low	E	a	O

Nasaization is not phonemic in this mother tongue. But the vowels, which follows or precedes the “nasal” consonants automatically show some kind of nasalization.

The vowels occur in all the three positions namely., initial, medial & final.

/ i /	ikk	one
	tCil	‘kite’
	sApari	‘betel nut’
/ e /	eskArke	‘therefore’
	de	‘give’
	vea	‘marry’
/ E /	Enj	‘in this manner’
	Ced	‘perhaps’
	IE	‘take’
	tCAIl pE	‘take off’
/ a /	ãndā	‘egg’
	har	‘garland’
	thElla	‘man’s bag’
/ O /	Oret	‘woman’
	Okk ^h o	‘individual’
	tCOI	‘boiled rice’
	sO	‘sleep’
/ o /	onada	‘their’
	thoRa	‘few’
	keo	‘ghee’
/ A /	AMgur	‘grapes’

	dzAr	‘while’
	nukkA	‘corner’
/ u /	un	‘wool’
	dzugnu	‘glow worm’
	udik	‘wait’

2.4 Vowel Clusters:

The following vowel clusters are found in this mother tongue.

- 1) - ie - jie ‘as’
- 2) - ea - mutear ‘young lady’
- 3) - eo - neola ‘mongoose’
- 4) - eu - seunna ‘gold’
- 5) - Au - lAu ‘blood’
- 6) - ae - julae ‘weaver’
- 7) - au - vetau ‘brinjal’
- 8) - oe - loea ‘iron’
- 9) - oa - koara ‘bachelor’
- 10) - ua - lua ‘hair of body’

2.5 Nasalization

Nasalization is a way of pronouncing sounds characterized by resonance produced through the nose in course of which the velum is lowered, so that some air escapes through the nose during the production of the sound by the mouth. In Lambadi nasalization occurs with or without the influence of nasal vowel.

Nasalization in vowels is not phonemic. The vowels which follows or precedes the nasal consonants are reflected as nasalised vowels.

ãnda ‘egg’

2.6 Syllabic Pattern:

A syllable is a unit of sound composed of a central peak of sonority (usually a vowel), and the consonants that cluster around this central peak. Syllables are often considered the phonological "building blocks" of words. They can influence the rhythm of a language, its prosody, its poetic meter and its stress patterns. Syllabification is the separation of a word into syllables, whether spoken or written.

The canonical shapes of the Bilaspuri/Kahluri mother tongue are listed below:

	<u>Shapes</u>	<u>Words</u>	<u>Meaning</u>
1.	v	E	this one
2.	vc	Or At	‘woman’
3.	cv	ba	‘arm’
4.	cvc	bal	‘baby’
5.	cvv	koa ri	‘girl’
6.	vcc	Akk ^h	‘eye’
7.	cccv	stri	‘woman’

Among all these patterns, the **CV** and **CVC** shapes seem to be the most frequent in Bilaspuri/Khaluri mother tongue.

In this mother tongue the classification has been done as

- i. monosyllabic
- ii. disyllabic and
- iii. polysyllabic words

1. Mono Syllabic words:

Words having single syllable are called as monosyllabic words.

ba ‘arm’

bal ‘baby’

2. Di-syllabic words:

koa ri ‘girl’

uM gel ‘finger’

3. Trisyllabic words:

tCAm gad dAR

‘bat’

muC kA pur

‘camphor’

mur mu ra

‘parched rice’

3. MORPHOPHONEMICS

3.1 The echo forms are formed by replacing the “vowel” as follows.

1) a → u if the vowel in the previous syllable is the front vowel.

i, e,

1) pi pa → pi pu
to drink and alike.

2) de da → de du
to give & alike.

3.2 The plural form in this mother tongue involves the morphophonemic changes in the following ways.

1) If the final phoneme of the noun is “-a” it will change to “-e”.

1) kuttha → kutthe (dog)

a → e

2) put^hra → put^hre (son)

a → e.

3.3 In the formation of ordinal from the cardinals, the following Morphophonemic changes takes place. All cardinal stems, after six, on ending in a consonant or a vowel other than / a /add -M

sA - hundred

sAm - hundredth

4. MORPHOLOGY

a. Nouns

Noun is a part of speech, inflected for case, denoting a tangible or intangible entity, referring to objects in the non-linguistic world or to concepts which are considered as forming entities parallel to real-world entities

Nouns belong to a gender and are inflected either for number or for case.

b. Formation of gender

In general, the gender in nouns are derived by adding the suffix “-u” for the masculine and “-o” for the feminine.

		<u>Masculine</u>	<u>Feminine</u>
The fat one	moTT	moTTu	motto
The small one	choTT	choTTu	choTTo

The feminine nouns are formed by adding in the following ways.

By adding

1) the suffix ‘-ni’ or ‘-ani’ to the bases.

sent	‘saint’ →	sentani
nat	‘dance’ →	natani
sad	‘saint’ →	sadni
ser	‘lion’ →	serni

2) by adding ‘-i’

koR	→	koRi	‘horse’ female
kabuttar	→	kabuttari	‘pigeon’ female

There is a sub class, which can either be feminine or masculine according to the usage.

mēz	‘table’
jang	‘war’
axbar	‘newspaper’

c. Number

Bilaspuri/Kahluri mother tongue consists of two way number viz, singular and plural. The plural markers are –ya, -e, & -i the plural form is formed in the following ways.

1) By addition of the plural marker “-ya” if the final phoneme is “-i”

2) By the replacement of the final phoneme

“-a” with the plural marker “-e”

3) By the addition of the plural marker “-i” if the final phoneme is “y”

4) All other circumstances “-e” is added to get the plural form.

<u>eg:</u>	billi	→	billiya	(cat-cats)
	kutt ^h a	→	kutt ^h e	(dog-dogs)
	puthra	→	puthre	(son-sons)
	gay	→	gayi	(cow-cows)
	kAr	→	kAre	(house-houses)

The plural form is also formed by adding the numeral or the quantitative adjective before the nouns.

<u>eg:</u>	ikk ādmi	-one man
	dō ādmi	-two men
	tinn ādmi	-three men
	sāre ādmi	-all men
	kuS' ādmi	-some men
	dusAra ādmi	-another man
	ikk pAtthAr	-one stone
	dō pAtthAr	-two stones
	bOt pAtthAr	-many stones

d. Case Markers

Case is a grammatical category determined by the syntactic or semantic function of a noun or pronoun. Like other languages, in Bilaspuri also, semantic relation between a noun phrase or subject and a predicate is expressed by the grammatical category.

Four case markers are present in this mother tongue.

- 1) Instrumental
- 2) Locative
- 3) Ablative
- 4) Vocative.

Instrumental Case

This case is used to denote instrument with which the action is performed. It is a case indicating that the referent of the noun.

It is indicated by the suffix “-i”

<u>eg:</u>	1) kann	‘ears’
	kanni	‘with ears’
	2) per	‘feet’
	peri	‘with feet’
	3) gall	‘matters’
	galli	‘due to these matters’

Locative Case

Locative case is a case that expresses location at the referent of the noun it marks. The location of the subject or object is expressed by the locative case marker.

The locative case is marked by the suffix

“-e” in singular

“-i” in plural.

<u>eg:</u>	1) kar	‘house’
	kare	‘in the house’
	kari	‘in the houses’

2) hatt ^h	‘hand’
hatt ^{he}	‘in the hand’
hatthi	‘in the hands’

Vocative Case

The suffix ‘-oe’ is used for calling a male and ‘-ni’ for calling a female.

e.g:

lamba	lamba ^{oe}
sharmila	sharmilani

e. Pronoun

Pronoun is a grammatical component referring to a noun formerly mentioned and thus serving a deictic or anaphoric function

The pronouns indicate the nouns and stand for nouns. Like nouns the pronouns are inflected for number.

Below are the list of pronouns in Bilaspuri mother tongue.

Personal Pronoun

Personal pronouns are pronouns used as alternates for proper or common nouns. The personal pronouns are categorized into three persons (1st, 2nd and 3rd).

First Person

<u>Singular</u>	mE	‘I’
<u>Plural</u>	asi	we (exclusive)
	asa	we (inclusive)

Second Person

<u>Singular</u>	tu	‘you’
<u>Plural</u>	tusi	‘you’

Third Person

<u>Singular</u>	se	‘he/she’
<u>Plural</u>	ona	‘them’
	or	‘they’

Demonstrative Pronoun

Demonstratives are deictic word that specify which entities a speaker refers to and differentiates those from others.

e	‘this’
o	‘that’

Interrogative Pronoun

kon	‘who’
kitthe	‘where’
kive	‘how’

f. Adjective

Adjective is a grammatical constituent, the main syntactic role of which is to qualify a noun or noun phrase, providing additional information concerning the subject or object signified.

Three classes of adjectives are present in Bilaspuri mother tongue. They are

- 1) Attributive adjective
- 2) Numerical adjective
- 3) Pronominal adjective

1) The attributive adjectives, attributive to the head noun

eg:	thoR	‘a little’
	jād	‘more’
	bot	‘much’
	bS’Anga	‘good’
	tS’anga	ādmī ‘good man’
	thoR	paddJi ‘little vegetable’

2) Numerical adjectives: -

A) Cardinals

<u>eg:</u>	ikk	-one
	dō	-two
	tinn	-three

car -four

panj -five

B) Ordinals

eg:- pell 'first'

dujj 'second'

tijj 'third'

cott^h 'fourth'

C) Proportionals

eg: dun 'double'

tīn 'three times'

cōn 'four times'

pejo 'five times'

cheo 'six times'

All others are formed by adding “gūn” to the cardinal stems.

eg: das gūn 'ten ties'

sō gūn 'hundred ties'

D) Fractionals

They are as follows

pā 'one fourth'

pōa 'three quarters'

deR 'one and a half'

sava 'one and a quarter'

g. Particles

The commonly occurring particles in Bilaspuri mother tongue are listed below.

1) Emphatic Particle

i 'only'

vi 'also'

sirf 'only'

sAi 'really'

2) Adversative Particle

lekin 'but'

je 'if'

3) Honorific Particle

-ji } indicates respect
-hori }

4) Conjunctive Particle

-ke 'or'

5) Copulative Particle

te 'and'

The other lexicon which can be used as a particle are listed below.

bina 'without'

doāle 'around'

nu 'to'

khattar 'for the sake of'

kōl 'near'

nāl 'with'

thalle 'under'

meger 'behind'

verg 'alike'

h. Negative

The negative marker in this mother tongue is 'nai'

eg:

1) e tēra t^hella vE 'This is your bag.

e tēra thella nai vE 'This is not your bag'.

2) o beRa thekkea hoea vE	‘He is very tired’.
o veRa thekkea nai hoea vE	‘He is not very tired’.
3) mera kar tS’enga vE	‘My house is good.
mera kar nai tS’enga vE	‘My house is not good’
4) tēri ākkh kharab vE	‘Your eye is bad’
tēri ākkh kharab nai vE	‘Your eye is not bad’

The onomatopoeic Words

The following onomatopoeic words are found in Bilaspuri/Khaluri mother tongue.

eg:	chanchan ana	‘to simmer’
	kijmijana	‘to twitter as bird’

i. Verb

Verb is a part of speech without case inflection, but inflected for tense, person and number, signifying an activity or process, whether on going, completed or undergone.

The Bilaspuri/Kahluri verb is affected by the distinctions of voice, mood, tense, gender, number and person.

j. Voice

Active Vs Passive Voice.

		<u>Active</u>	<u>Passive</u>
eg:	meet	mil	mAli
	sold	vik	vAki
	swim	tAr	tAri
	made	bAn	bAni
	increase	vAd	vAdi

The passive marker is “-i” and the active marker is “-Φ”.

The passive marker “-i” joins with the stem to give the passive form.

The active voice is not marked.

Causative Vs Non-causative marker.

The non-causative marker is formed by the duplication of the final phoneme.

The causative marker is “-oa”. It gets added to the verb stem to give the causative form.

<u>Root</u>	<u>Non-causative</u>	<u>Causative</u>
mil (meet)	mill	miloa
vik (sold)	vikk	vikoa
tAr (swim)	terr	teroa
het (remove)	hett	hetoa

k. Mood

1) Potential Mood

	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>
I Person	kAra	kArie
II Person	kAre	kAro
III Person	kAre	kAren.

The verb stem ‘kAr’ to do is inflected in the above manner.

2) Injunctive Mood

The imperative appears as an injunctive mood and it involves only second person.

	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>
Second Person “Do”	kAr	kArna
	kArio	kArio (Honorific)

In the honorific, there is no distinction between singular and plural.

3) Indeterminate Mood

Denotes the stage where the action to be done is not decided.

	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>
Masculine	kArna	kArne
Feminine	kArni	kArnia

I. Tense

The three basic tenses, viz, past, present and future, are vividly marked in this mother tongue. The tense markers are inflected according to the person.

The tense markers:

- 1) Present tense is “-vE”
- 2) Past tense is “-si”
- 3) Future tense is “-gi”.

eg: I Person

- | | |
|------------|-------------------|
| mE admi vE | “I am a man”. |
| mE admi si | “I was a man”. |
| mE admi gi | I will be a man”. |

II Person

- | | |
|------------|----------------------|
| tu admi vE | ‘you are a man’. |
| tu admi si | ‘you were a man’. |
| tu admi gi | ‘you will be a man’. |

III Person

- | | |
|-------------|---------------------|
| onu ādmi vE | ‘He is a man’. |
| onu ādmi si | ‘He was a man’. |
| onu ādmi gi | ‘He will be a man’. |

The tense markers follow the verbs to give the time concept.

- | | |
|----------------------|--|
| I am watching | mEnnu tean rAkkh leggi hoi vE. |
| I was watching | mEnnu tean rAkkh leggi hoi si. |
| I will be watching | mEnnu tean rAkkh leggi hoi gi. |
| You are watching | tEnnu tean rAkk ^h leggi hoi vE. |
| You were watching | tEnnu tean rAkk ^h leggi hoi si. |
| You will be watching | tEnnu tean rAkk ^h leggi hoi gi. |
| He is watching | onu tean rAkk ^h leggi vE. |

He was watching onu tean rAkk^h leggi hoi si.

He will be watching onu tean rAkk^h leggi hoi gi.

Verbal Noun

The Bilaspri/Kahluri gerund or verbal noun is nothing but the infinitive verb. The infinitive verb is used as a gerund.

eg:

1) marra	‘to die’
mara	‘dying’
2) jana	‘to go’
jaya	‘going’

Closed Verbs Vs Open Verbs

The roots of verbs are distinguished as closed or open. The verbal root terminating in a consonant is called closed and the verbal root terminating in a vowel is called as open.

eg: Closed Verbs

tAng	‘hang’
uDD	‘fly’
digg	‘fall’
khedd	‘play
boll	‘speak’
tS’akk	‘shake’
ra tAkk	‘wait’
dAbb	‘burry’
tS’un	‘chose’

Open Verbs

pi	‘grind’
goa	‘lose’
de	‘lend’
veja	‘ring’

kho 'snatch'

tS'a 'want'

m. Aspect

Imperfective aspect

All the tense forms of the imperfective show distinction for these persons, two numbers and two genders.

eg: First person

kAr + da (masculine – singular)

kAr + di (feminine – singular)

kAr + de (masculine – plural)

kAr + dia (feminine – plural)

Second Person

kAr + do (masculine – singular)

kAr + dio (feminine – singular)

kAr + de (masculine – plural)

kAr + dia (feminine – plural)

Third Person

kAr + da (masculine – singular)

kAr + di (feminine – singular)

kAr + de (masculine – plural)

kAr – dia (feminine – plural)

Formation of verb

The verbs are formed by adding the personal marker + tense marker to the verb stem.

Verb stem + personal marker + tense marker.

eg: doR + g + ea (ran – third person + past tense).

a + ea (come + past tense).

The passive and causative of the verbs are given below.

<u>Passive</u>	<u>Causative</u>	
vAki	vAkĀ	‘to be sold’
tAr	tAroā	‘to swim’
vAd	vAdoā	‘to increased’
pAvi	poā	‘put’

5. SYNTAX

Syntax is the study of the principles and rules for constructing phrases and sentences in natural languages and rules governing the order of combining the words to form sentences in a language. A syntactic category is a set of words and/or phrases in a language which share a significant number of common characteristics. The classification is based on similar structure and sameness of distribution (the structural relationships between these elements and other items in a larger grammatical structure), and not on meaning.

The sentence in this mother tongue is of three types.

- 1) Simple
- 2) Compound
- 3) Complex

The sentence generally consists of a subject and a predicate. Both the subject and the object are nouns and will be called nominal constituents. The predicate will be called verbal constituents.

The primary device of syntactical mother tongue in subject and predicate constituents are inflections and post-positions.

The nouns are inflected for gender, number, person and case marker. The verbs are also inflected for gender, number and it takes on the tense marker.

- eg: 1) koRa dORda pēa vE ‘The horse is running.
2) E tā kise calak da kAmm vE. ‘This is the work of some clever person’.

The nominal and verbal constituents are linked by means of agreement between the subject/object and the verb.

The adjectives and the postpositions along with the noun constitute the nominal constituent.

- eg: cAMge to cAnge kām ‘The best work’
Akkho Anna ādmi ‘A blind person’.

Simple Sentence

The simple sentence consists of a subject and a predicate. It is a sentence structure that contains one independent clause and no dependent clauses.

The simple sentence consists of Noun Phrase + Verb Phrase.

- 1) mEnnu gArmi lAgg diveE ‘I feel hot’
- 2) tEnnu t^hend lAgg dvE ‘You feel cold’

Compound Sentences

A compound sentence is a sentence composed of two or more coordinate clauses. When two simple sentences are joined together by means of conjunct, it is called a compound sentence.

eg: 1) mEnnu gArmi legg diveE aur tEnnu t^hend lAgg dive

‘I feel hot and you feel cold ‘.

2) je kAll t^hend hoi tē mE nAi jāna.

If it is cold tomorrow, I shall not go’.

3) mE kuRi mu jāndea hoes dekk^hea si.

‘I saw the girl while she was going’.

Complex Sentence

A sentence having one principal clause followed by one or more subordinate clause (s) is known as a complex sentence. The independent clause can stand alone.

eg: one mĀr jAne nē Ē kAm kitta si

‘He the dying ne did this work’.

‘tu onu dub jane nu pEEe keo ditte.

‘Why did you give money to him the drowning one?’

Some times a noun phrase alone can stand as a sentence. They are referred as interjectional sentences. The interjectional sentences consist of noun with the endings of vocative case.

eg: oe kuRi ‘Oh, grl’

oe munDea ‘Oh boy’.

Negative Sentences

The negative auxiliary “na”/nAi does not occur by itself.

The negative status of a affirmative sentence is obtained by adding the simple negative auxiliary “na/nAi” to the affirmed sentence.

eg:

1) mera kAr tS'eMga vE	'My house is good'.
mera kAr tS'enga nAi	'My house is not good'.
2) dArekt da tAnna vedda vE	'Tree trunk is thick'.
dArekt da tAnna vedda nAi	'Tree trunk is not thick'.

Interrogative Sentences

Interrogative sentences generally are formed by adding the question words before the sentence.

The common question words are

Kitthe	'where'
Kya	'what'
Kisra	'whose'
Koi	'who'
Ki	'what'
Kinni	'how'

eg:

1) oda na ki vE?	What is his name?
2) tera piMd kitthe vE?	Where is your village.
3) E kinni dur vE?	How far is it?.
4) toannu ki tS'aida vE?	What do you want?.
5) ki e sAttS' vE?	Is this true?

6. TEXT

<u>kakiye</u>	<u>kiya</u>	<u>marya</u>	<u>kāla</u>	<u>kida</u>
crow	how	kill ed	black	insect

ek ke lere Tala ri lauluriya raikani yanch ik komb kor tiyeri lāki koviti hare aklan
among the spreading branches of a banyan tree lived a crow and his wife, the crow hen.

bachare rakvāli badi. Kotha hata mu kar te.
The parents guarded the children with great care.

Tis kelere talere ik yātha embi raikta sE.
In the hollow of that tree lived a deadly creature.

tisra kaubkor yonbi bade irte te.
Whom the crows feared greatly.

Jabi kaubi ande te te tāki sappa itiyi rakani tea pachuchta
kora thinchā jo lyarl launtavE.
Every time the crow-hen laid her eggs the snake crawled up to the nest and ate them up.

Je kala kide is bar bi iRe anDe laye ta is kale paR kaDi ni raikan pā
If the black snake eats up my eggs this time also, I refuse to live in this tree any longer.

asajo apna aklAn chakahi kiti korti payaRi lAunA chaKita pAkchi AmtA Apneyo kAsEm nE
bolA
we must build our nest somewhere else, said the mother bird to her husband.

aje bade lAmbE bat^ha te itiyi rahena koRte
we have lived here for a long time.

mei apne tāra jo kAnorE suk^h kahi ki isi mEkta.
I can't bear to desert my home and go to live elsewhere.

Korti basnE ravata ni kari ekta koine jAvāb tiyasE. JatE se kAla kidE te lA tauke tīk apnē
malle sepaRi boj kiS'neke S'ukiti.
While they were talking, they heard a hissing sound just below them and they knew what the sound meant.

Se is boujara mātLAB tAne De Te se bajare be ekare baine kane koRe apne aMdeiya to
bajanere ri khosish lake hoi vEgE.
They sat helplessly in their nest trying to protect their eggs.

Kala kidE Taklane se nāsti tAk pavuMchana lake ye
The black snake crept higher and closer to the nest.

leRi kora Ri sukas mātine kinTi pākiya paR kapla kaRnE ri koS'hi hAr rAh
hogi sE. par sE iRAtatE maye aMdikAye tini ek-ek kArinE tAinkA rE. SarE AndE niga lāki hog
sE.

then with a loud noise he tried to strike at eh birds who flew away in terror. One by one, the black snake swallowed the eggs.

turpi apna bObu akleyo vafAS' ae TiMka jo poke patra sapuRi koslE kabari kone
the parents came back sadly to their nest, knowing well that they would it empty.
si. KovE boltesi menu is kuni saptaji tEpak kArNE hol bic^h kAnEri tAlnrAlnl holunl,
the crow said' I must find a way to destroy this murderous snake"

tu tis kantE kitni tairE kat lAdl ektAse. TlsRa taMg mauti blsls blsri latiya masos kane kalaya.
How can you ever fight him? His sting is so deadly, said his wife in despair.

Tijjio likar kArne Ri kAnertA kAi. Menu isAk dost^h kAme S'e ji itnĀ c^halak tapa tikari sE
jakArile sapyo jo mukari ekta. KampE tE baulYA kAur t^hAnDi nE dusRi sale gari. pavunc^hA
sE. kusRE mate tisRa dost^h kirat raMan ta tE.

Don't worry my dear, I 've got a friend who is cunning enough to destroy the most poisonous of snakes, said the crow and off he flew to another tree under which lived his dear friend Jackal

TajE kir sunayE pekAri kisna sE pari epne tinkAre pache kati launtA sE boltE. si,
When the Jackal heard how the snake always ate up the eggs, he said

mEre dost^h je se kruk^hi koRe lĀlaj kEnte tinkĀrA annA b^hAta buDa kuntA. irneri kori
My friend, those who are cruel and greedy always meet with a bad end.

kanner ni kAi mū tiS'ra mĀrnE kataf ek S'kim jaisi laiye sE.
Have no fear, I have already thought of a plan to destroy him.

minjo tAs sE kiya kuva? Kavva pucchAse
Oh, do tell me what it is, said the crow.

lEri kitS'e sojnA pakAri is alla jo koi korni soji lAv si. is itAre leTi tiñI komparE kanăj jalAna
Enna jo mār ne ravamar tijo kia kArNE jakatitasE.
Then the Jackal, fearing he might be over heard, whispered to his friend what he should do to destroy the snake.

kavva uDisE bafAs ae konE sAkit apne lAyi jo tarsi
the crow flew back to his wife and told her about the plan.

sE jo gAlIE jAra kAR aur aS'ang jo jAtna ra kAne papa kAvvA bolsE.
It is rather risky, said the crow. We will have to be very careful.

ME apnE bāch bāl jo bachAnE gAtar jOb kichu kArNE kabar t^haiar kAri. PAKS'ni PAKS'hi
pADe kojIE nE jAvab tiyE sE.

I will do any thing to save my eggs, said the mother bird bravely.

LaisE sE rajare mEklār AnDi geAsE.
They flew towards the palace of the country.

MEklā tis derekt sE. dūr nAi sE. grunti sE RAjknAti te.
The palace was not far from the tree in which they lived.

*se mEklar sE bāgaj bāvurE inkusAk pAntE t^hailmE pAvunch sE. rāni
nAuknE lakoriA si.*

They approached a big pond in the palace garden where the royal ladies having bath.

*inke tAlābrE iknE rAboli api sOunArE jAin, mOti rE kOr kOr tujnE
kOknE rOvoli kOnE rarpur sE.*

they have laid their golden chains, peal necklaces and other jewellery on the edge of the pond.

*pOkS^hi apnE nicnE katE uDi sE tiS'ra juna ikk sOunere jAin jAkti kOre tis
derext aMdi kOrE kinTi sE rOkantE sE.*

the mother bird flew down, picked up a gold chain in her peak and started flying slowly towards the tree in which they live.

*tajE mekalAre epakia pOkS'hi tE jo lO sOunne kauntE uDe sE dauRd sE tAde jakti sE tiS'ra
plchAtE sE. tinka kaTi pakS'hiE sE jAin kale jAstE panurE kOrnE si aur kola ekti sE.*

when the palace guards saw the birds flying off with the golden chain, they took up their rods and chased the bird. They saw the bird drop the chain in to the hollow of a tree.

jainE lAunE katar te epak apAnle derext chAtaTa
one of the guards climbed up the tree to get the chain.

*jiMga tAnErA kAtya pape si. tAini utniti nulki mari nE pAine sE, tE sApya dek^hnA sE. tAini ni
kos nE iuk bār ki*

as he put his hand inside the hole to get the chain, he saw a black snake curled up there.

t^hAndEri sApya mar sE. kire tia kAla kidEra aMdān koyi gEa vE.
With one hard stroke he killed it and that was the end of the black snake.

tiS'IE bAt^h kavva tissi Orat raiknE lake tire jintArE kAri bache koe honi vE.

The crow and the crow hen lived in that tree happily after wards and had many little baby crows.

7. BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Bilaspuri at *Ethnologue* (20th ed., 2017)
2. Hammarström, Harald; Forkel, Robert; Haspelmath, Martin, eds.
(2017). "Bilaspuri". *Glottolog 3.0*. Jena, Germany: Max Planck Institute for the Science of Human History.
2. Masica, Colin P. (1991). *The Indo-Aryan languages*. *Cambridge language surveys*. Cambridge University Press. p. 439

CHAPTER 4
INDO-ARYAN LANGUAGES
(DOGRI & NEPALI)

DOGRI

R. Nakkeerar & Sarita Panda

1. INTRODUCTION

Dogri, the second prominent language of Jammu & Kashmir State, has an important place on the linguistic map of northern India. It belongs to the Indo-Aryan group of the Indo-European language family. It has its origin in the old Indo-Aryan language i.e. language of Vedas and Laukik Sanskrit. Like other Modern Indo-Aryan languages, Dogri has also passed through Old Indo-Aryan (Sanskrit) and Middle Indo-Aryan (Pali, Prakrit and Apabhramsha) stages of development and entered the Modern Indo-Aryan stage around the 10th century A.D. Hence, it shows its three-fold processes of development of its sound structure expressing its affinity with Shourseni Prakrit.

Dogri is spoken in Jammu province of Jammu & Kashmir State and adjoining areas of Punjab, Himachal Pradesh and across the border in Sialkot & Shakar Ghar tehsils presently in Pakistan. This Dogri speaking region consists of these three main terrains (1) Kandi - the sandy, stony, waterless and hard of soil area of Districts Jammu, Kathua and Udhampur of Jammu Province of J&K State (2) Pahari (a mountainous region of District Kathua of J&K, Chamba and Kangra of Himachal Pradesh) and (3) Plain-cum-riverine (includes southern regions of Jammu and northern parts of Districts Gurdaspur and Hoshiarpur of Punjab and Sialkot and Shakargarh regions of Pakistan). These regions differ in speech from each other in pronunciation, as the inhabitants of Pahari terrain are habitual of using syncopated grammatical forms whereas inhabitants of Kandi and plain terrains possess their characteristics.

As northern India has been a region of political turmoil, turbulence and upheavals which left their deep imprints on its social and linguistic developments, the impact of foreign languages like Persian and English can be seen in its vocabulary. However, the grammatical structure of Dogri is not influenced by these languages at all.

1.1 Family Affiliation

Dogri belongs to the Indo Aryan group within the Indo-European languages. It is a member of the Western Pahari branch of the Indo-Aryan sub-branch. In 1916, Sir George Grierson (Linguistic Survey of India, Vol. IX, Part-I) made a mention of Dogri as one of the dialects of Punjabi.

Indo European

- **Indo Iranian**
 - **Indo Aryan**
 - **North Western**
 - **Pahari**
 - **Dogri**

1.2 Data Collection and Report Writing

The present linguistic sketch is based on the audio-visual data collected for Dogri mother tongue, for 8 variables (Rural, Urban, Male, Female, +50 years and -50 years age spoken in N.P Bhot, Barsar, Hamirpur and from Charba, Kanda District of Himachal Pradesh.

The reports on 8 variables are written by linguistic resource persons of the University of Kashmir.

1.3 Official Status

Dogri is listed as one of the Scheduled languages since 2001 Census onwards in India. It has a separate script, the Dogri script, a variant of the Takri script. It was recognized as an "independent modern literary language" of India, based on the unanimous recommendation of a panel of linguists from the General Council of the Sahitya Academy of Delhi, on 2nd August 1969. On 22nd December 2003, the Dogri language achieved another achievement as it was hailed as an official language of India in the Indian Constitution. It is studied in schools and colleges at UG and PG levels in Jammu and Kashmir and adjoining areas of Punjab and Himachal.

1.4 Demography

The speakers of Dogri are mainly found in Jammu & Kashmir, Himachal Pradesh and Punjab. According to the 2011 Census, the total Dogri population in India is 25,96,767: 25,13,712 in Jammu & Kashmir, 23,609 in Himachal Pradesh and 18,155 in Punjab.

The district-wise distribution of Dogri language in Himachal Pradesh as per the Census 2011 has already been discussed in the Introduction chapter.

1.5 Socio Linguistic Profile

Dogri speakers are called Dogras and the Dogri speaking region is called Duggar. Although formerly treated as a Punjabi dialect, Dogri is now considered to be a member of the Western Pahari group of languages. Dogri has several varieties, all of them with greater than 80% lexical similarity (within Jammu and Kashmir). Before gaining the status of a language, Dogri was classified as one of the many varieties of Punjabi, such as Majhi or Doabi.

Dogri was originally written using the Dogri script which is very close to the Takri script; the language is now more commonly written in Devanagari in India and in Nasta'liq form of Perso-Arabic in Pakistan and Pakistani administered Kashmir.

Sir George Grierson has recorded dialects, namely Dogri, Kandyali, Mandyali, Chambeali, Kulhuri, Bhaderwahi, Gujari, Rampuri, Pongali, Hoshiarpuri-Pahadi and Lahanda) spoken in the region of Dogri. Sir Grierson connected the term Duggar with the Rajasthani word 'Doonger' which means 'hill' and 'Dogra' with 'Dongar'. This opinion lacked support because of the inconsistency of the ostensible changes from Rajasthani to Dogri, and has been contradicted by some scholars. In Himachal Pradesh, Dogri is mostly spoken in Hamirpur, Barsar, Una, Chintpurni, Kangra and Bilaspur regions.

1.6 Review of Earlier works

The earliest reference of Dogri is found in Nuh-Siphir, a Masnavi written by Amir Khusaro in A.D. 1317 ('Sindhi O Lahori O Doggar'). Elliot has clarified this in the Book Elliot's History of India (pp. 563-564). In 1816 A.D., R.V. Carey has also included Dogri in the list of Indian languages for getting the missionary material translated into these languages. Later in 1867, John Beam, the founder of modern Indo-Aryan Linguistics and author of 'Outline of Indian Philology' acknowledged Dogri into the list of eleven languages of Aryan branch of Indo Aryan Linguistic family. In 1916, Sir George Grierson (Linguistic Survey of India, Vol. IX, Part-I) made a mention of Dogri as one of the dialects of Punjabi, perhaps on the basis of inadequate data. After this, several linguists like Gill and Gleason, Ujjal Singh Bahri etc. followed Grierson's opinion regarding Dogri.

The first study on Dogri language and linguistics by a native speaker appeared in 1931, when 'A short account of Dogri dialect' by Gauri Shanker was published in **Indian Linguistics** a Vol. (1931-1935). It contains a description of Dogri phonetic observations with vocabulary (27 pages) as well as four pages of connected text in phonetic transcriptions. The main object of this monograph is to note some linguistic phenomena in which Dogri differs

from Punjabi. The other contribution of Gauri Shanker in this field is his monograph entitled **Dogras: Their Language and Literature (1980)**. In this study the author has presented a brief introduction of Dogri language, Dogra community and Dogri literature.

Later, Dr. Siddheshwar Verma, a renowned scholar of Indian Linguistics, in his paper titled 'The place of Dogri in the languages of India' described Dogri as an independent language and not a dialect of any other language. He has declared it as a frontier language. He writes 'of the seven families (such as Indo-Aryan, Dravidian, Iranian, Tibeto-Burman, etc.) of languages in the India, the Dogri language occupies an important place philologically, for it is a frontier language and, in a way, could be classed among the frontier languages of India' (Nami Chetna, July 1953). He has also described characteristics and peculiarities of Dogri in respect of independent frontier languages. Archarya Kishori Das Vajpeyi, a famous Grammarian and Linguist, has also proved Dr. Verma's views in this article titled 'Dogri Bhasha Ki Ek Jhalak' (a glimpse of Dogri language). In his own words, 'Duggar region had its own Prakrit (middle Indo-Aryan language), developed form of which is known as today's Dogri'.

In 1965, Dogri Bhasha aur Vyakaran (Dogri language & Grammar) by Bansilal Gupta was published by J&K Academy of Art, Culture & Languages. This book deals basically with the grammatical structure of the language and also a description of Dogri sounds in brief. A more detailed description of Dogri phonetics has been given by Ujjal Singh Bahri in his paper '**Phonology of Dogri**' published in Pakha Sanjam Dec.1967. It contains articulatory, auditory as well as phonological description of Dogri sounds. But it has its shortcomings. Bahri has established 26 consonant phonemes; he has not expressed the phonemic value of palatal nasal consonant and retroflex nasal consonant. A notable contribution in the field of Dogri phonetics and phonology has been made by Ved Kumari Ghai. Besides, some of her papers, her detailed monograph, **Contribution to Dogri Phonetics and Phonology, (1982)** presents the problems of Dogri phonetics and phonology thoroughl, especially the system of oral vowels, the problems of quantity and stress, consonant germination and consonant weakening.

2. PHONOLOGY

Phonology is concerned with the patterns and organizations of a language in terms of the phonetic features and categories involved. The phonemic analysis, on the other hand, consists in allotting all the indefinite number of sounds occurring in utterances to a definite and limited set of phonemes contrastive in at least some environments. The phonemic inventory described in this section will throw light on the distinctive sound units occurring in the Dogri speech.

2.1 Phonetic Inventory (Segmental)

The present Phonetic inventory of Dogri is derived from the transcriptions, based on the audio-visual data as recorded from the field. Both the segmental and suprasegmental phonemes of Dogri are presented here. Dogri has a moderately large consonant inventory with 33 phonemes and a large vowel inventory with 10 vowel phonemes which are shown in the charts below.

Vowel Chart

Segmental Vowel Phonemes

The segmental vowels in this language are presented below.

	Front	Mid	Back
High	I	i	u
High mid	ɪ		ʊ
Mid	E	ə	o
Mid Low	ɛ		
Low	A		

Consonant Chart

Segmental Consonant Phonemes:

	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Dental	Alveolar	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Glottal Stops
Stops								
vl.unasp	P			t	ʈ		k	
vl.asp	p ^h			t ^h	ʈ ^h		k ^h	
vd.unsap	B			d	ɖ		g	
vd.asp	b ^h			d ^h	ɖ ^h		g ^h	
Affricates								
vl.unas						tʃ		
vl.asp						tʃ ^h		
Vd.unas						dʒ		
vd.asp								
Nasal	m			n	ɳ		ŋ	
Trill				r	ɽ			
Asp								

Lateral				l	ɭ			
Fricative		f						
Vl				s		ʃ		
Vd								h
Semivowel		v				j		

Diphthongs

	Examples
/oi/	/rəsoi g ^h ər/ 'kitchen'
/ia/	/dʒəpʃia marna/ 'to grab'
/ei/	/mətei/ 'step mother'
/ua/	/suad/ 'taste'

2.2 Phonemic contrasts

Contrasts in Vowel

/i/ ~ /u/	/nani/	'mother's mother'	:	/nanu/	'mother's father'
/i/ ~ /o/	/it/	'bricks'	:	/ot/	'camel'
/a/ ~ /ɛ/	/baŋ/	'arrow'	:	/beŋ/	'step sister'
/ɪ/ ~ /u/	/tɪdʒo/	'him'	:	/tudʒo/	'to him'

Contrasts in Consonants

/ŋ/ ~ /r/	/beŋ/	'step sister'	:	/ber/	'berry'
/tʃ/ ~ /k ^h /	/tʃak/	'chalk'	:	/k ^h ak/	'chick'
/k/ ~ /r/	/tʃak/	'chalk'	:	/tʃar/	'four'
/tʃ/ ~ /g/	/kɛtʃi/	'scissor'	:	/kɛgi/	'comb'
/t/ ~ /d/	/tuɾ/	'dust'	:	/duɾ/	'ash'
/s/ ~ /b/	/se/	'hundred'	:	/be/	'he'
/r/ ~ /t/	/ber/	'berry'	:	/bet/	'cane'
/p/ ~ /b/	/per/	'leg'	:	/ber/	'berry'
/l/ ~ /dʒ/	/ler/	'wave'	:	/dʒer/	'poison'

2.3 Consonant clusters

A cluster is formed by two identical or non-identical phonemes. Consonant clusters in Dogri are the combination of two identical as well as two non-identical consonants occurring essentially in the initial and final position and rarely in the medial position. There are also heterogeneous consonant clusters consisting of three non-identical phonemes in Dogri which occur in the word-medial position only. A few examples of consonant clusters in Dogri are as follows-

/br/	/branda/	‘veranda’
/pr/	/prem/	‘affection’
/rk/	/kilerk/	‘clerk’
/gr/	/greh/	‘planet’
/rk ^h /	/mork ^h -ta se/	‘bluntly’
/rtʃ/	/mirtʃ/	‘chilly’

2.3 Consonant Gemination

/-mm-/	/lamma/	‘tall’
/-nn-/	/ænna/	‘blind’
/-ss-/	/gussa/	‘anger’
/-kk-/	/pækka/	‘ripe’
/-ll-/	/ollu/	‘owl’

2.5. Distribution

Distribution of the vowel phonemes

Vowel	Word Initially	Word Medially	Word Finally
/i/	/iʈ/ ‘brick’	/bitʃu/ ‘scorpion’	/ʈopi/ ‘cap’
/ɪ/	/ɪmli/ ‘tamarind’	/ʃɪkari/ ‘hunter’	---
/i/	---	/ʈiʈhi/ ‘letter’	/radʒi/ ‘state’
/e/	/ek/ ‘one’	/tel/ ‘oil’	/kəpre/ ‘cloths’
/ə/	/əgi/ ‘fire’	/p ^h əl/ ‘fruit’	---

/ɛ/	/ɛnək/ ‘spectacles’	/lɛr/ ‘wave’	/bɛ/ ‘he’
/a/	/ak ^h / ‘eye’	/pətəŋa/ ‘kite’	/tar/ ‘wire’
/u/	/uŋli/ ‘finger’	/bu ^h / ‘shoe’	/bitʃu/ ‘scorpion’
/ʊ/	/ʊllu/ ‘owl’	/k ^h ʊrk ^h / ‘itch’	---
/o/	/oʈ/ ‘camel’	/ʈopi/ ‘cap’	/do/ ‘two’

2.6. Distribution of consonant Phonemes:

CONSONANT	INITIAL	MEDIAL	FINAL
/p/	/pətəŋa/ ‘kite’	/pəpita/ ‘papaya’	/bap/ ‘steam’
/p ^h /	/p ^h əl/ ‘fruit’	/muŋp ^h ali/ ‘groundnut’	/sop ^h / ‘aniseed’
/b/	/bu ^h / ‘shoe’	/kəbutar/ ‘pigeon’	/dʒib/ ‘tongue’
/b ^h /	/b ^h asa/ ‘language’	-----	-----
/t/	/tar/ ‘wire’	/tʃ ^h əti/ ‘chest’	/sət/ ‘seven’
/t ^h /	/t ^h əli/ ‘plate’	/pət ^h ər/ ‘rock’	/nət ^h / ‘nose-ring’
/ʈ/	/ʈopi/ ‘cap’	/tʃimʈa/ ‘tongs’	/oʈ/ ‘camel’
/t ^h /	/t ^h ət ^h era/ ‘coppersmith’	/əŋot ^h i/ ‘ring’	/bu ^h / ‘shoe’
/k/	/kuvari/ ‘spinster’	/tʃikəd/ ‘mud’	/ɛnək/ ‘spectacles’
/k ^h /	/k ^h olna/ ‘to open’	/mək ^h i/ ‘fly’	/duk ^h / ‘grief’
/d/	/do/ ‘two’	/gɪdəd/ ‘fox’	/dod/ ‘milk’
/d ^h /	/d ^h anuʃ/ ‘bow’	/gəd ^h a/ ‘donkey’	---
/ɖ/	/ɖəkər/ ‘belch’	/əndə/ ‘egg’	/gɪdəd/ ‘fox’
/ɖ ^h /	/ɖ ^h ol/ ‘drum’	----	----
/g/	/gɪdəd/ ‘fox’	/pāgi/ ‘feather’	/meg/ ‘nail’
/g ^h /	/g ^h ətʃi/ ‘valley’	---	----
/tʃ/	/tʃəmətʃ/ ‘spoon’	/bitʃu/ ‘scorpion’	/tʃəmətʃ/ ‘spoon’
/tʃ ^h /	/tʃ ^h əti/ ‘chest’	/mətʃ ^h li/ ‘fish’	/motʃ ^h / ‘moustache’

/s/	/sət/ 'seven'	/məsi/ 'mother's sister'	/nirdos/ 'innocent'
/ʃ/	/ʃāt/ 'sober'	/kiʃti/ 'boat'	
/h/	/həva/ 'air'	/mohəsa/ 'pimple'	/greh/ 'planet'
/m/	/məsi/ 'mother's sister'	/tʃəmətʃ/ 'spoon'	/dʒənam/ 'birth'
/n/	/no/ 'nine'	/ənnə/ 'blind'	/kʰon/ 'blood'
/ŋ/	----	/kəŋik/ 'wheat'	/baŋ/ 'arrow'
/ŋ/	---	/pətəŋə/ 'kite'	/loŋ/ 'clove'
/l/	/lohar/ 'blacksmith'	/nilə/ 'blue'	/dʰol/ 'drum'
/l/	-----	/guvaʎə/ 'milkman'	/tʃol/ 'rice'
/r/	/riʃtədar/ 'relative'	/kuvari/ 'spinster'	/riʃtədar/ 'relative'
/t/	-----	/ləkʁi/ 'wood'	/duʁ/ 'ash'
/v/	/vās/ 'new moon'	/kuvari/ 'spinster'	/gəriv/ 'poor'
/j/	/jadgar/ 'memory'	/dəja/ 'mercy'	-----
/dʒ/	/dʒədʒ/ 'judge'	/bədʒə/ 'clarian'	/surədʒ/ 'sun'
/f/	/fəsla/ 'judgment'	/saf kərna/ 'to clean'	/tərif/ 'praise'

2.7. Syllable

(a) Syllable structure

A syllable is defined as a sequence of speech sounds having a peak of inherent sonority (Robins 1968). Generally, vowel has the peak of sonority since vowels are more sonorous than consonants in each syllable, A syllable which ends with a vowel is called open syllable whereas a syllable ending in a consonant is called closed syllable.

In Dogri, a syllable can be of following structures:

V
VC
CV

CVC
CCVC
CVCC

(b) Syllable Pattern

The syllabic classification of Dogri words is as follows:

1. Monosyllabic
2. Disyllabic
3. Polysyllabic

Frequency of monosyllabic and disyllabic words are more than the polysyllabic words.

I. MONOSYLLABIC PATTERN

1. V	/e/	‘this’
2. VC	/oʈ/	‘camel’
3. CV	/do/	‘two’
4. CVC	/tel/	‘oil’
5. CCVC	/greh/	‘planet’
6. CVCC	/mirtʃ/	‘chilly’

II. DISYLLABIC PATTERN

1. V-CV	/a-ri/	‘saw’
2. CV-CV	/sa-li/	‘wife’s sister’
3. VC-CV	/ən-dʌ/	‘egg’
4. VC-CVC	/ən-pəʈ/	‘illiterate’
5. CVC-CV	/pot-ru/	‘son’s son’
6. CV-CVC	/də -vat/	‘inkpot’
7. CVC-CVC	/tʃəm-bək/	‘magnet’

III. POLYSYLLABIC PATTERN

1. CV-CV-CV	/mə-sa-la/	‘spice’
2. V-CVC-CVC	/ə-ʃir-vad/	‘blessing’
3. VC-CV-CVC	/im-ti-han/	‘examination’
4. CV-CV-CVC	/kə-bu-tar/	‘pigeon’

5. CVC-CV-CV /kəʈ-p^ho-ɾa/ ‘wood pecker’
6. CVC-CVC-VC /tʃɪt-ri-kar/ ‘painter’
7. CV-CVC-CVC /mə-gar-mətʃ^h/ ‘crocodile’
8. CVC-CV-CV-CV /kən-k^hə-dʒu-ra/ ‘centipede’

2.8. **Suprasegmental Feature:**

a) **Nasalization:**

Nasalization in Dogri occurs mainly with the influence of nasal vowel. The nasalized vowels are ã, õ, õ̃, ã̃, ã̃̃, õ̃̃̃.

Some of the occurrences of nasalized vowels in Dogri are shown below:

/ã/	/pãdʒ/	‘five’
/ã̃/	/sãq/	‘horn’
/õ̃/	/gõ̃ɖa/	‘rhinoceros’
/õ̃̃/	/dʒõ̃̃k/	‘leech’
/õ̃̃̃/	/põ̃̃̃tʃi/	‘twenty five’
/ũ̃̃̃/	/ũ̃̃̃dʒa/	‘fifty one’

There is no other significant supra-segmental feature as per the data.

3. MORPHOPHONEMICS

The alternants of morphemes when they occur with various kinds of affixes, phonological variations take place. Morphophonemics deals with such phonological variations.

In Dogri, most of the morphophonemic changes are related to the alternation of vowel which may be referred to as regular morphophonemic variation. The bases of these variations are:

1. Insertion
2. Alternation
3. Deletion.

3.1 Insertion

1. The third personal pronominal bases /vo/ and /o/ changes into oblique bases i.e /uni- / or /une/ respectively when used in future tense

/vo/ ‘he’ > un - /uni/ ‘he’

Example: 1. vo tʃɪdi dɪkʰi ‘He sees the bird’
 uni tʃɪdɪ dɪkʰni ‘He will see the bird’
 une kʰetre dʒaŋa ‘He will go to the field’

2. The insertion of homophonous phonemes in the formation of higher numerals by the combination of allomorphs of ‘one’, ‘two’ etc. with the allomorph of ‘ten’.

ikki ‘twenty one’ < ik- + -i
 Ikətti ‘thirty one’ < ik- + tin + -i

Here -kk-, -tt-, etc are the examples of insertion

3. When the monosyllabic verb roots in Dogri are inflected for person –number-gender-tense, -w- is inserted between the verb base and the finite verb marker.

kha- ‘to eat’ > kʰaŋe ‘eats’ kʰədi ‘eaten’
 le- ‘to take’ > leŋge ‘takes’ leden ‘taken’
 dʒa- ‘to go’ > dʒəna ‘goes’ dʒana ‘will go’

3.2 Alternation

The alternation of the nucleus vowel phoneme when a nominal marker is attached is seen in Dogri and can be observed as Morphophonemic alterations

sona ‘gold’ > /sun/ + /ɛr/ = suner ‘goldsmith’
 lavha ‘iron’ > /lo/ + /har/ = lohar ‘blacksmith’

4. MORPHOLOGY

The internal structure of a word is dealt in morphology since ‘Morphology is the study of morphemes and their arrangements in forming words’ (Nida, 1963, p-1). A word is defined as ‘Any segment of a sentence bounded by successive points at which pausing is possible’ (Hockett 1970 p-167). Semantically a word may be defined as ‘the union of particular meaning with a particular grammatical employment’ (Lyons 1969 p-200). This section presents some morphological characteristics of Dogri.

4.1. Word-formation

Following the definition of ‘word’ as given by Hockett, a Dogri word is pronounced with a potential pause before and after it, as for example, /*dʒe ek kuta hɛ*/ ‘This is a dog’ where *dʒe, ek, kuta, hɛ* are all individual words with a particular pause between each other. According to the semantic definition of a word, as given by Lyons, Dogri words contain at least one root which is a free form and takes the inflectional and derivational affixes to form a word. Thus, a Dogri root by itself can be a word such as /*kuʀi*/ ‘girl,’ /*dʒagət*/ ‘boy’, /*kitab*/ ‘book’, /*gʰar*/ ‘house’ etc. which are all free morphemes. Again /*kuʀija*/ ‘girls’, /*kitaba*/ ‘books’, /*gʰarā:*/ ‘houses’, /*ko:de*/ ‘horses’ are also individual words consisting of roots /*kuʀi*/, /*kitab*/, /*gʰar*/, /*koḍa*/ and the plural suffixes /-(j)a/ and /-e/ respectively. Therefore, in Dogri morphologically a word may consist of one root (or more than one) which is followed by affixes.

4.1.1. Word classes in Dogri

Based on morphological and syntactical structure the word classes of Dogri are established. Since a morpheme is a minimum meaningful unit which is equivalent to the root/stem, the stem classes in Dogri can be divided into different groups on the basis of the inflectional endings e.g.

<i>goʀa</i>	‘horse’ a masculine stem	(-a being the masculine marker)
<i>billi</i>	‘cat’ a feminine stem	(-i being the feminine ending)

Thus, forms (derived from stems) which show identical inflectional behavior or which have similar privileges of occurrences in building larger forms can be called as Form class (Hockett 1970 p-162). Accordingly, Dogri words are divided into the following classes:

1. Nouns 2. Pronouns 3. Adjectives 4. Post-Positions 5. Conjunctions 6. Verbs and 7. Adverbs. Out of these seven-word classes the nouns, pronouns, adjectives and verbs are based on morphological grounds whereas rest are based on syntactic grounds.

The above mentioned seven-word classes are broadly grouped into two categories ---- Declinables and Indeclinables. Declinables are those which are declined for number – gender – person, for example, nouns, pronouns, adjectives and verbs. Whereas, the post-positions, conjunctions, adverbs belong to the Indeclinables.

The morphological processes found in Dogri for Word Formation are – Affixation, Reduplication, Compounding, Suppletion and Borrowing.

Compounding in the word like /radzkumar/ ‘prince’ = *radz + kumar*

i. Affixation

An affix is a morpheme that is attached to a word root . Affixes may be derivational, or inflectional. In Dogri, the affixes added to form familial relations are of inflectional nature, tending to preserve the grammatical class of the base to which it is attached. Words are formed by adding prefixes or suffixes to the base as in –

Prefixation in the word like

/be-/ (negative)+ /idzat/ (respect) = *beidzat* ‘insult’

/be-/ (negative)+ /fakla:/ (face) = *befakla:* ‘ugly’

Suffixation in the word like

/kamdzor/ (weak) + /-i/ (noun marker) = */kamdzori/* ‘weakness’

/dzaŋgal/ (jungle)+ /-i:/ (noun marker) = */dzaŋgli:/* ‘wild’

ii. Reduplication

Reduplication is a morphological process in which a root or stem or part of it is repeated. There is reduplication of root or stem or part in Dogri e.g :

kadi + kadi = /kadi:kadi:/ ‘sometimes’

bəle bəle bo:lŋa: ‘speak softly’

baḍe baḍe gra:na: ‘big villages’

iii. Compounding

A compound is a word containing a stem that is made up of more than one root. Compounding is one of the word formation processes that creates compound lexemes by the process of derivation.

radʒ (royal) + *kumar* (boy) = /*radʒkumar*/ ‘prince’
dukan (shop) + *dar* (nomial marker) = /*dukandar*/ ‘shopkeeper’

iv. Borrowing of words

In Dogri language many words are coined either from English or from Hindi. For example-

/koʈ/ ‘coat’----- (from English)
/basi/ ‘bus’----- (from English)
/ka:r/ ‘car’----- (from English)
/ʈikʈi/ ‘ticket’----- (from English)
/paḍki/ ‘palanquin’ ----- (from Hindi)

v. Suppletion

Suppletion is also the morphological process to form words in which the shape of a morph completely changes. Suppletion is the use of one word as the inflected form of another word especially when the two roots are not cognate. This feature can be seen in few examples of Dogri language:

/maṛd/ ‘male’ /dʒənani/ ‘female’
/karjaḍa/ ‘husband’ /g^har vali:/ ‘wife’
/dʒa:git/ ‘boy’ /kuḍi/ ‘girl’

The morphological structure in Dogri is described in the following sections of Noun Morphology and Verb-Morphology.

4.2. Noun Morphology

Noun Morphology deals with the forms and classification of Nouns, Pronouns and their declensional/ inflectional pattern in association with Gender – Number – Adjective etc.

The Dogri nouns denoting animate or non-animate, human or non-human being belong to one of the two genders – Masculine and Feminine. Among the animate human nouns, the classification of the gender is based on some suffixes consistently and among inanimate nouns the small variety is classed under feminine and the big variety is classed under masculine (e.g. /*pahaḍi*/ ‘small hill’ /*pahaḍ*/ ‘big hill’; /*buṭi*/ ‘small plant’ /*buṭa*/ ‘big tree’ etc.). This is in addition to the classification of gender based on vowel ending. The distinction between human and non-human is natural as well as conventional.

Most of the Dogri nouns end in vowels. The final vowel gives a clue to the gender of a particular noun. The nouns which end in a consonant are generally masculine nouns.

Below are presented the types of nouns available in Dogri:

1. Masculine Nouns

i) ending in *-a*

ii) ending in Consonant

2. Feminine Nouns

i) ending in *-i*

Examples for Masculine Nouns

Animate and Human		Animate and Non- Human		Inanimate	
(i)	<i>la:ḍa:</i> ‘groom’	<i>murga</i>	‘cock’	<i>ḍirvadḍa</i>	‘door’
	<i>batfa:</i> ‘boy child’	<i>koḍa</i>	‘horse’	<i>mandḍa</i>	‘cot’
		<i>kuta</i>	‘dog’		
(ii)	<i>dḍagət</i> ‘boy’	<i>mor</i>	‘peacock’	<i>pāk^h</i>	‘wing’
	<i>putər</i> ‘son’	<i>gidaḍ</i>	‘jackal’	<i>gula:b</i>	‘rose’

[Of course, /a/ ending nouns may sometimes be realized as feminine nouns also like *ama* ‘mother’, *buga* ‘father’s sister’]

Examples for Feminine Nouns

Animate and Human		Animate and Non- Human		Inanimate	
(i)	<i>kuṛi</i> ‘girl’	<i>d^harti</i>	‘earth’	<i>ləkḍi:</i>	‘wood’
	<i>laḍi</i> ‘bride’	<i>i:rṇi</i>	‘female deer’	<i>ṭokri:</i>	‘basket’

[Of course /i/ ending nouns may sometimes be realized as non-feminine nouns also like *mali* ‘gardener’, *ḍikari:* ‘hunter’]

In addition to the above classification some nouns are found whose gender is not determined since those nouns are not declined for number. It is the agreement with adjective and verb which decides the gender. These nouns are -

- | | | |
|-------------------------------------|--------------------------|---------|
| i) Consonantal ending nouns like | <i>dʒo:k</i> | ‘leech’ |
| | <i>bark^ha</i> | ‘rain’ |
| | <i>dʒamŋa:</i> | ‘birth’ |
| ii) Vowel cluster ending nouns like | <i>k^hu:n</i> | ‘blood’ |
| | <i>murda:</i> | ‘dead’ |

4.2.1 Classification of Nouns

Following the above classification of noun, the details of Dogri noun-morphology are discussed below.

i) Noun

The Dogri noun can be defined both morphologically and syntactically based on gender, number and case markers.

1. The noun marked with gender - *la:da:* (masculine) ‘boy’ = *la:di:* (feminine) ‘girl’
2. The noun marked with number – *dʒagət* (singular) ‘boy’ = *dʒagta* (plural) ‘boys’
3. The noun marked with cases - *dʒagət* (stem as well as nominative) ‘boy’

<i>dʒagət-e</i> (accusative)	‘to the boy’
<i>dʒagət-ha</i> (ablative)	‘from the boy’
<i>dʒagət-da</i> (genitive)	‘of the boy’

4. The nouns preceded by the attributives – adjective, numeral etc.

<i>dʒagət</i> (stem) ‘boy’	= <i>fɛl dʒagət</i>	‘good boy’	(<i>fɛl</i> – an adjective)
	= <i>tin dʒagət</i>	‘three boys’	(<i>tin</i> – a numeral)

Nouns thus realized in Dogri can be categorized into two broad classes, namely

1. Basic Nouns and 2. Derived nouns

Basic Nouns

Basic Nouns are those which are a class by itself as they are not derived from any other word class. The examples are

<i>k^haŋa</i>	‘food’
-------------------------	--------

ləkɾi	‘Fuel’
g ^h i	‘ghee’
mʊk ^h ir	‘honey’
guɾi	‘jaggery’
mɪtɪja da kəɖa	‘jar (for storing water)’
rəsoi g ^h ər	‘kitchen’
tʃəku	‘knife’
kəɖtʃ ^h u	‘ladle (made of steel or metal)’
ɖəkəŋ	‘lid’

The basic nouns can further be divided into

a) Mass nouns and b) Count nouns

Mass nouns are those which do not show number distribution and cannot be counted with cardinal numeral. They always occur in singular form. Examples are

<i>paŋi</i>	‘water’
<i>dudī</i>	‘milk’
tʃo:ɖ	‘(uncooked) rice’
<i>k^hu:n</i>	‘blood’
<i>bədaɖ</i>	‘cloud’

Count nouns are those which can take some suffixes for indicating plurality. Examples are

<i>g^har</i>	‘house’	<i>g^harā</i>	‘houses’	<i>āk^h</i>	‘eye’	<i>āk^ha:</i>	‘eyes’
<i>kuɾi</i>	‘girl’	<i>kuɾija</i>	‘girls’	<i>kita:b</i>	‘book’	<i>kita:bā:</i>	‘books’

Derived Nouns

In Dogri some nouns are derived either from the verb or adjective or from another noun. The derived nouns are formed in two ways

- i) by adding derivational suffix to roots;
- ii) by compounding roots.

Derived nouns by adding derivational suffix –

In Dogri some nouns can be derived from the verb or adjective or from any other noun by the addition of derivative suffixes. These are

1. Verb + noun forming suffix = Noun (verbal Noun)

<i>ro</i>	‘to cry’	=	<i>ro-</i>	+	<i>-ṇa</i>	=	<i>roṇa</i>	‘crying’
<i>/kʰa</i>	‘to eat’	=	<i>kʰa-</i>	+	<i>-ṇa</i>	=	<i>kʰaṇa</i>	‘eating’
<i>kʰel</i>	‘to play’	=	<i>kʰel-</i>	+	<i>-ṇa</i>	=	<i>kʰelṇa</i>	‘playing’
<i>betf</i>	‘to sell’	=	<i>betf-</i>	+	<i>-ṇa</i>	=	<i>betfṇa</i>	‘selling’

2. Adjective + noun forming suffix = Noun (Adjectival Noun)

<i>andʰar</i>	‘dark’	+	<i>-a</i>	=	<i>andʰera:</i>	‘darkness’
<i>ḍu:g</i>	‘deep’	+	<i>-a</i>	=	<i>ḍu:ga</i>	‘depth’
<i>satfa</i>	‘honest’	+	<i>-i</i>	=	<i>satfi</i>	‘honesty’

3. Noun + Noun forming suffix = Noun (Abstract Noun)

<i>bətfa</i>	‘child’	+	<i>-pan</i>	=	<i>bətʃpan</i>	‘childhood’
<i>dukan</i>	‘shop’	+	<i>-dar</i>	=	<i>dukandar</i>	‘shopkeeper’

Derived nouns by Compounding

A compound word is defined as the combination of two or more roots to form a new word, for example,

<i>radʒ</i>	‘royal’	+	<i>kumar</i>	‘boy’	=	<i>radʒkumar</i>	‘prince’
<i>samundar</i>	‘sea’	+	<i>ḍaku</i>	‘robber’	=	<i>samundari ḍaku</i>	‘pirate’

4.2.2. The Dogri nouns are inflected for Gender, Number, Case. The following description give the details of Dogri gender-number-case system.

a) Gender

Dogri nouns have a two tier gender system that is– Masculine and feminine. The final vowel gives a clue to the gender of a particular noun.

The masculine nouns tend to take –u or -a, ending as opposed to feminine nouns with e-ending. Examples-

Masculine

dədu	‘father’s father’
mama	‘Mother’s brother’
potru	‘grand son’
sala	‘wife’s brother’
nanu	‘mother’s father’

Feminine

dədi	‘father’s mother’
mami	‘Mother’s brother’s wife’
potri	‘grand daughter’
sali	‘wife’s siter’
nani	‘mother’s mother’

By two separate words

sora	‘father-in-law’	səs	‘mother-in-law’
dʒagət	‘boy’	kuɽi	‘girl’

b) Number

The number in Dogri nouns is two tiers: singular and plural. For plural formation, the nouns there are several rules. Examples are as follows-

Singular**Plural****Replacing -a with-e**

<i>buʈa</i>	‘tree’	<i>buʈe</i>	‘trees’
-------------	--------	-------------	---------

By zero modification

<i>dʒagət</i>	‘boy’	<i>dʒagət</i>	‘boys’
---------------	-------	---------------	--------

By adding inflection

<i>g^har</i>	‘house’	<i>g^harã</i>	‘houses’
<i>ãk^h</i>	‘eye’	<i>ãk^ha:</i>	‘eyes’
<i>kuɽi</i>	‘girl’	<i>kuɽija</i>	‘girls’
<i>kita:b</i>	‘book’	<i>kita:bã:</i>	‘books’
<i>ʈokri</i>	‘basket’	<i>ʈokrija</i>	‘baskets’

4.2.2. PRONOUN

Pronoun is a class of word which substitutes the noun in the context and as such a pronoun also can take number, gender and case markers like the noun. But the functional difference between a noun and a pronoun is that the pronoun cannot take any determiner and it can be used in all persons whereas a noun always refers to the third person.

The following types of pronouns are found in Dogri:

1. Personal pronouns
2. Demonstrative Pronoun
3. Reflexive Pronoun
4. Relative Pronoun
5. Interrogative Pronoun
6. Indefinite Pronoun

I) Person pronouns

There are three persons in Dogri:

First person

Second person

Third person

All these persons have different concordial relationship with the verb, tense and moods. Tense markers also change according to different persons (first person, second persons and third persons). For example-

PERSON	SINGULAR	PLURAL
FIRST	ao, mε 'I'	əsi, əse 'we'
SECOND	tuse 'you'	tuse 'you'
THIRD	vo, o, ine 'he' se, o, ine 'she'	se, ine, 'they'

The different concordial relationship are shown below-

First Person: [singular]

ao	tʃɪdʒja	dek ^h -a	da	'I see the bird'
1SG	bird	see-PRS.HAB	AUX	

mɛ	tʃɪdʒja	dek ^h -inɪ	tʰi	‘I saw the bird’
1SG	bird	see-PST.HAB	AUX	

ao	tʃɪdʒja	dek ^h -ga		‘I will see the bird’
1SG	bird	see-FUT.1SG		

First Person: [plural]

əse	tʃɪdʒja	dek ^h -a	de	‘We see the bird’
1PL	bird	see-PRS.HAB	AUX	

əsi	tʃɪdʒja	dek ^h -inɪ	tʰi	‘We saw the bird’
2PL	bird	see-PST.HAB	AUX	

əse	tʃɪdʒja	dek ^h -ge		‘We will see the bird’
1PL	bird	see-FUT.1PL		

Second Person: [singular]

tuse	tʃɪdʒja	dek ^h -a	da	‘You (sg) see the bird’
2SG	bird	see-PRS.HAB	AUX	

tuse	tʃɪdʒja	dek ^h -inɪ	tʰi	‘You (sg) saw the bird’
2SG	bird	see-PST.HAB	AUX	

tuse	tʃɪdʒja	dek ^h -ge		‘You (sg) will see the bird’
2SG	bird	see-FUT.2SG		

Second Person: [plural]

tuse	log	tʃɪdʒja	dek ^h -a	da	‘You (pl) see the bird’
2PL		bird	see-PRS.HAB	AUX	

tuse loke	tʃɪdʒja	dek ^h inɪ		‘You (pl) saw the bird’
2PL		bird	see-PST.HAB	

tuse log	tʃɪdʒja	dek ^h -ge		‘You will see the bird’
2PL	bird	see-FUT.2PL		

Third Person: [singular]

sɛ	tʃɪdʒja	dek-a	da	‘He sees the bird’
3SG	bird	see-PRS.HAB	AUX	

ine	tʃɪdʒja	dek ^h -inɪ	tʰi	‘He saw the bird’
3SG	bird	see-PST.HAB	AUX	

o:	tʃɪdʒi:	dik ^h i: tʰi:		‘She saw the bird’
3SG	bird	see-PAST.3SG		

Third Person: [plural]

se	sare	tʃɪdʒja	dek ^h -a	de	‘They see the bird’
3PL	all	bird	see-PRS.HAB	AUX	

ine	sare	tʃɪdʒja	dek ^h -inɪ	tʰi	‘They saw the bird’
3PL	all	bird	see-PST.HAB	AUX	

se	log	tʃɪdʒja	dek ^h -ge		‘They will see the bird’
3PL	people	bird	see-FUT.3PL		

II) Demonstrative Pronoun

The demonstrative pronoun in Dogri can be described in a two-tier system by taking the spatial distance into account like

- i) Proximate demonstrative pronoun referring to the objects nearer to the speaker,
- ii) Remote demonstrative pronoun that refers to the objects away from the speaker.

Again, the demonstrative pronoun can be distinguished by two-tier numbers also like

i) Singular

ii) Plural

	Proximate		Remote	
Singular	<i>e</i>	‘this’	<i>o</i>	‘that’
Plural	<i>e</i>	‘these’	<i>o</i>	‘those’

Examples –

This -

<i>e</i>	<i>mera</i>	<i>bag</i>	<i>a</i>	‘This is my garden’
PROX.SG	1SG.GEN	garden	be.PRS	

That -

<i>o:</i>	<i>ik</i>	<i>ko:ɖa:</i>	<i>e</i>	‘That is a horse’
REM.SG	one	horse	be.PRS	

These -

<i>e</i>	<i>ka:ŋjã:</i>	<i>atʃi:</i>	<i>eni</i>	‘These stories are good’
PROX.PL	story-PL	good	be.PRS	

Those -

<i>o:</i>	<i>kudjã:</i>	<i>k^hubsu:rtã</i>	<i>ani</i>	‘Those girls are beautiful’
REM.PL	girl-PL	beautiful	be.PRS	

Demonstrative pronouns are also classified in terms of distance as-

Proximate		Remote	
it^he	‘here’	ot^he	‘there’

Examples-

Here-

<i>ao</i>	<i>it^he</i>	<i>a-ida</i>	‘I come here’
1SG	here	come-PRS.HAB.1SG	

tuse	it ^h e	o-va		‘You (sg) come here’
2SG	here	come-PRS.HAB.2SG		

There –

se	ut ^h e	k ^h əɖi	di	‘She stands there’
3SG	there	stand	AUX	

asi:	ut ^h e	dʒanne		‘We go there’
1PL	there	go		

III). Reflexive Pronoun

In Dogri language, there is only one productive marker /*apu*/ for reflexives which changes the meaning as per its antecedent.

apu ‘yourself’

tu:	inna:	kapɖe	apu:	d ^h o:vo:	‘You wash your clothes yourself’
2SG	your	clothes	REFL	wash	

apu ‘myself’

mε	pataŋ	apu	bəŋ-ai	di	‘I made the kite myself’
1SG	kite	REFL	make-PST.1SG	AUX	

apu ‘themselves’

o:	kar	apu:	baŋeja:		They build their house themselves
3PL	house	REFL	build- PST		

IV) Relative Pronoun

A relative pronoun is a pronoun that marks a relative clause. A relative pronoun serves the purpose of conjoining modifying information about an antecedent referent. Relative pronoun in Dogri is found as

/tija/ ‘who’

/se/ 'who'

tija dzənana tu kəl gəla karda t^ha se meri pəŋi
REL woman 2SG yesterdaytalk do AUX COREL 1SG.GEN sister
'The woman who talked to you is my sister.'

se admi kal muva se ik gaŋeala t^ha
REL man tomorrow die COREL one singer be.PST.3SG
'The man who died yesterday was a singer.'

V) Interrogative Pronoun

An interrogative word or question word is a function word used to ask a question, such as what, which, when, where, who, whom, whose, why, whether and how. They may be used in both direct questions and in indirect questions. In Dogri, we find the following as examples of Interrogative Pronouns.

koŋ	'who'
kija	'what'
konsi	'which'
kut	'where'
kəl	'when'
kē	'why'

Personal Forms-

Who -

sē	koŋ	a	
3SG.MAS	who	be.PRS.	'Who is he?'

Impersonal Forms –

What –

tu	kija	k ^h ən-de	'What do you eat?'
2SG	what	eat-PRS.2SG	

Which –

todzo	konsi	tren	mil-ŋi	‘Which train will you get?’
3SG	which	train	get-FUT	

Where –

tode	munḁe	kut	je	‘Where are your children?’
2SG.GEN	child.PL	where	be.PRS.3PL	

When –

tuhe	kəl	uḥ	de	‘When do you get up?’
2SG	when	get up	be.PRS.2SG	

Why –

tu	kē	tʃəli	pre	‘Why are you going?’
2SG	why	go	PROG	

VI) Indefinite Pronoun

An indefinite pronoun is a pronoun that refers to non-specific beings, objects, or places. Indefinite pronouns can represent either count nouns or noncount nouns. They often have related forms across these categories: universal, assertive existential, elective existential, and negative.

everything

sab.kutʃi	bərbard	hoi	gɪja	
everything	destroy	go.PST		‘everything is lost’

No one:

is	pəṯra-dzo	koi.bi	nai	tʃəki	sakda
this	stone-DAT	anybody	NEG	lift	can-PRS

‘No one can lift this stone’

Nobody

is kamə-dʒo koi nai kar sak-da

this work-DAT anyone NEG do can-PRS

‘Nobody can do this work’

4.2.3. CASE

Like other languages, in Dogri also the semantic relations between a noun phrase or subject and a predicate is expressed by the grammatical category of case. The case relations are expressed in three ways –

- i) by the absence of marker

gov fardi he

‘The cows graze’

kuta: b^hōkda

‘The dog barks’

The null marker after the subject is realized as the nominative case.

- ii) by the addition of case marker

‘My son has gone to school’

mera dzagt sukuli gija

me-ra is realized as genitive case.

by the addition of post-position

‘The dog came behind me’

kutta mere pi^he onda he

Accordingly, the cases realised in Dogri are the following.

1. Nominative
2. Accusative
3. Dative
4. Instrumental
5. Ablative
6. Genitive
7. Locative

1. Nominative Case

Nominative case is used with the subject of the sentence which is either a noun or a pronoun. In the first personal pronominal pronouns the nominative is marked or unmarked according to the transitive and intransitive character of the verb. In case of nouns the nominative case is unmarked.

Nominative case in nouns

<i>batfa: pɔnda:</i>	‘The child falls down’
<i>tʃidi: udgi</i>	‘The bird flew’
<i>ga: dud dendi:</i>	‘The cows give milk’
<i>me ut^he dʒanna:</i>	‘I go here’
<i>asi: ut^he dʒanne</i>	‘We stop here’
<i>o bədzar dʒanda hɛ</i>	‘He goes to the market’
<i>tusi it^he av</i>	‘You come here’

Here */batfa:/* ‘child’, */tʃidi:/* ‘bird’, */ga:/* ‘cows’, *me* ‘I’ and *asi:* ‘we’, *o* ‘he’ and *tusi* ‘you’ are in nominative forms - the case marker is unmarked.

2. Accusative Case

This case denotes the direct object of the transitive verbs. However, there is no specific accusative case marker in Dogri

o	batʃfe- φ	dik ^h da	hɛ	‘He sees the child’
he	child-ACC	sees	AUX	
asi:	gav- φ	ma:rne		‘We beat the cows’
we	cows-ACC	beat		
mɛ	roʃi- φ	k ^h ana	hɛ	‘I eat bread
1SG	bread-ACC	eat-PRS.1SG	AUX	

3. Instrumental case

This case is used to denote instrument with which the action is performed. The marker */kane/* is used with the agent.

merije	kalma: kane	lik ^h o	‘Write with my pen’
my	pen	INS	write

kəɖjje kanne buʈa: baɖija: 'The tree is cut with axe'
 axe INS tree cut

kətʃi kanne bal kəʃi te 'The hair is cut with scissors'
 axe INS hair cut.PST AUX

4. Dative Case

The indirect object of the transitive verb is expressed by the dative case. In Dogri, the dative is marked by adding /-dʒo/ marker.

Examples-

ram ne ʃama dʒo kitab diti
 ram ERG shyam DAT book give.PST
 'Ram gave the book to Shyam.'

sərkār garib-a dʒo pəsa deʒa di
 Government poor-PL DAT money give-PRS.3SG AUX
 'Government gives money to the poor'

5. Ablative case

The movement of the subject or the object from one place to another either at the spatial plane or at the temporal plane is expressed by the ablative case. It denotes the source. In this language ablative case marker reported are /- ha/ as in the examples below.

/dʒulaj ha: barsa:t ʃuru: ondi:/ 'Rain starts from the month of July.'
 July from rain start-PRS AUX

batʃē darak^hteha: p^haɖ todeja: 'The child plucked the fruit from the tree.'
 child tree from fruit pluck.PST

moṇe badʒa:reha: medʒ k^hari:dija 'Mohan bought the table from the market'
 Mohan market from table buy-PST

6. Genitive case

This case expresses the meaning of belonging to or possession of something by the subject of the sentence. The genitive case markers are /-ra/ /-da/ /-ri/ or /-di/. When the possessing object is masculine singular the marker ends with /-a/ while if it is feminine, the marker ends with /-i/, for example. -

<i>uda: g^har</i>	‘his house’
<i>odi: ʃokri:</i>	‘her basket’
<i>mera dʒagti</i>	‘my (masculine) son’
<i>meri peṇa:</i>	‘my (feminine) sister’

If the following possessing noun is plural then the genitive marker ends with /-e/ for example

<i>mere a:t^h</i>	‘my hands’
<i>unna de g^harã:</i>	‘their houses’

7. Locative Case

The location of the subject or object is expressed by the locative case marker. In Dogri, the Locative case marker is /- tʃ/ or /pe/

daṅgar animals	k ^h etretʃ field-in	na is	‘The animals are in the field’
pensil pensil	böksitʃ box-inside	e is	‘The pensil is inside the box’
kita:b book	medʒe pe table on	e is	‘The book is on the table’
tota: parrot	buṭe pe tree on	e in	‘The parrot is on the tree’

8. Ergative

The ergative case is the grammatical case that identifies the noun as a subject of a transitive verb. In Dogri, the Ergative case marker is /-ne/

Ram-ne	ʃama	dʒo	kitab	diti
Ram-ERG	shyam	DAT	book	give.PST

‘Ram gave the book to Shyam.’

sita-ne	pron-e	dʒo	roʃi	diti
sita-ERG	guest-PL	DAT	bread	give.PST

‘Sita served the food to the guests.’

4.3 Verb Morphology

In inflexional languages like Dogri, verbs are inflected for tense, aspect and modality.

I) Types of verb: A verb denotes action. Different types of actions from the provided data are given below.

a) Physical Activity Verbs: List of different physical activity verb from the provided data is given below.

toʃna	‘to break (stick)’
p ^h oɖi dena	‘to break (a pot)’
dəbina	‘to bury (a dead body)’
toŋa	‘to carry (in hand)’
səra par tʃəkna	‘to carry (on shoulder/ head)’
p ^h əsŋa	‘to catch (an animal in a trap)’
pəkadna	‘to catch (chase and catch)’
təli bədzana	‘to clap (the hands)’
saf karna	‘to clean’
bād karna	‘to close (a bag)’

dʒəma karne	‘to collect (scattered thing)’
ʈəkina	‘to cover’

(b) *Instrument Verbs*: List of different instrument verb from the provided data is given below.

kəpɖa kəʈina	‘cut (cloth)’
gəɖa kʰoɖiŋa	‘dig (a hole)’
ʃikar karna	‘hunt ‘
ʈʃur karna	‘pound (e.g. grain)’
gəɖa kʰoɖna	‘scoop out’
pʰaɖina	‘split (wood)’

c) *Verbs of fighting*: List of different verbs of fighting from the provided data is given below.

həm̩la karna	‘to attack’
har dʒana	‘to defeat’
rəkʃa karna	‘to defend’
ləɖai karna	‘to fight (with each other)’
dʒəpʈia marna	‘to grab’
haŋi pohtʃaŋi	‘to injure (a person)’
marna	‘to kill’
guseɖi dena	to pierce’

II) Classification of Verb: The Dogri verb stems can be classified into simple and compound verbs.

a) **Simple Verb:**

bokiŋa	‘to bark (as a dog)’
marna	‘to beat (somebody)’
dʒokana	‘to bend (stick)’

baŋiŋa	‘to bind’
kəʃina	‘to bite’
p ^h okina	‘to blow (with the mouth) ‘

b) Compound Verb: A Compound verb consists of more than one root and may include one or more suffixes. For example-

guseđi dena	‘to stab’
har dzana	‘to defeat’
bag dzana	‘to run away’

c) Complex Predicate: A complex predicate is composed of two parts. The first part is the argument of verb and the second part the verb root. Examples:

saf	karna	
clean	do	‘to clean’
bād	karna	‘to close’
close	do	

III) Inflection of Verb:

The verbs in Dogri can be studied with respect to their transitivity, finiteness, non-finiteness, negation, causativization and passivization.

Transitivity

Based on transitivity the verb stems can be further divided into three sub-classes. These are 1. Intransitive 2. Transitive 3. Ditransitive

1. Intransitive:

Examples of Intransitive verbs in Dogri are:

bokiŋa ‘to bark’

The examples of Intransitive verbal formation are:

kuta boka da 'The dog barks'
 dog bark.PRS.HAB AUX

2. Transitive: The examples of transitive verbs are: dek^hina 'to see'

ao tʃidija dek^ha da 'I see the bird'
 1SG bird see.PRS.HAB AUX

5. Ditransitive:

deṇa 'to give'

Examples-

ram ne ʃama dʒo kitab diti 'Ram gave the book to Shyam.'
 ram ERG shyam DAT book give.PST

Finiteness

In Dogri, finite verbs are formed by adding different suffixes of tense and agreement to the verb root. The formations of the verb /dek^hina/ 'to see' for three different persons and different tenses are given below.

Tense: In Dogri, verbs are morphologically marked for having three-way opposition of tense as

1. Present
2. Past
3. Future

Following are the person wise tense (Present, Past & Future) formations in Dogri taking dek^h'see' as the model verb root.

Simple Present Tense

The present tense person wise is formed in the following way.

Person	Singular	Plural
First	ao tʃidija dek ^h -a da 1SG bird see-PRS.HAB AUX	əse tʃidija dek ^h -a de 1PL bird see-PRS.HAB AUX

	‘I see the bird’	‘We see the bird’
Second	Tuse tʃɪdʒja dekh-a da 2SG bird see-PRS.HAB AUX ‘You (sg) see the bird’	tuse log tʃɪdʒja dekh-a da 2PL people bird see-PRS.HAB AUX ‘You (pl) see the bird’

Simple Past Tense

The past tense person wise is formed in the following way.

Person	Singular	Plural
First	metʃɪdʒjadekh-inɪ thɪ 1SG bird see-PST.HAB be.PST ‘I saw the bird’	əsɪtʃɪdʒja dekh-inɪ thɪ 2PL bird see-PST.HABbe.PST ‘We saw the bird’
Second	tusetʃɪdʒja dekh-inɪ thɪ 2SG bird see-PST.HAB be.PST ‘You (sg) saw the bird’	tuseloke tʃɪdʒja dekh-inɪ 2PL people bird see-PST.HAB ‘You (pl) saw the bird’
Third	inetʃɪdʒja dekh-inɪ thɪ 3SG bird see-PST.HAB be.PST ‘he saw the bird’ ine tʃɪdʒja dekh-inɪ thɪ 3SG bird see-PST.HABbe.PST ‘She saw the bird’	ine sare tʃɪdʒja dekh-inɪ thɪ 3PL all bird see-PST.HAB be.PST ‘They saw the bird’

Simple future

The future tense person wise is formed in the following way.

Person	Singular	Plural
First	ao tʃɪdʒja dekh-ga 1SG bird see-FUT.1SG ‘I will see the bird’	əse tʃɪdʒja dekh-ge 1PL bird see-FUT.1PL ‘We will see the bird’

Second	tuse tʃɪdʒja dek ^h -ge 2SG bird see-FUT.2SG 'You (sg) will see the bird'	tuse log tʃɪdʒja dek ^h -ge 2PL people bird see-FUT.2PL 'You will see the bird'
Third	se tʃɪdʒja dek ^h -ga 3SG bird seeFUT.3SG.MAS 'He will see the bird' se tʃɪdʒja dek ^h -gi 3SG bird see-FUT.3SG.FEM 'He will see the bird'	se log tʃɪdʒja dek ^h -ge 3PL bird see-FUT.3PL 'They will see the bird'

Aspect

These are three aspects in Dogri –

- i. Imperfective
- ii. Perfective
- iii. Habitual

i). Imperfective Aspect

It depicts an action which is incomplete in the past or the present or in future tenses.

Examples-

In this language Present Imperfective reported are as follows.

(I) Present Imperfective

Person	Singular	Plural
First	ao bədzara tʃəle na 1SG market go ? 'I am going to the market'	əhe bədzara tʃəltre 1PL market go PROG 'We are going to the market'
Second	tuse bədzara tʃəl re 2SG market go PROG 'You(sg.) are going to the market'	tuhe log bədzara tʃəl re 2PL people market go PROG 'You(pl.) are going to the market'
Third	se bədzara tʃəl ra 3SG market go PROG 'He is going to the market'	se log bədzara tʃəl re 3PL people market go PROG 'They are going to the market'

	se bədzara tʃəl ri 3SG market go PROG ‘She is going to the market’	
--	--	--

Past Imperfective

Person	Singular	Plural
First	ao bədzara tʃəl ra tʰa 1SG marke go PROG be.PST.1SG ‘I was going to the market’	əhe bədzara tʃəl re tʰe 1PL market go PROG be.PST.1PL ‘We were going to the market’
Second	tuhe bədzara tʃəl re tʰe 2SG market go PROG be.PST.2SG ‘You(sg) were going to the market’	təhe log bədzara tʃəl re tʰe 2PL people marketgo PROG be.PST.2PL ‘You(pl) were going to the market’
Third	se bədzara tʃəl ra tʰa 3SG market go PROG be.PST.3SG.MAS ‘He was seeing the bird’ se bədzara tʃəl ri tʰi 3SG market go PROG be.PST.3SG.FEM ‘She was going to the market’	se log bədzara tʃəl re tʰe 3PL people market go PROG be.PST.2PL ‘They going to the market’

Future Imperfective

Person	Person	Person
First	ao bədzara dʒo dʒa da hõ-ga 1SG market to go ? be-FUT.1SG ‘I will be going to the market.’	əse bədzara dʒo dʒa de hõ-ga 1PL market to go ? be-FUT.1PL ‘We will be going to the market.’
Second	tukʰetra itʃ dʒa re hõ-ge 2SG field LOCgo PROG be-FUT.2SG ‘You(sg.) will be going to the field.’	tu log kʰetra itʃ dʒa re hõ-ge 2PL people field LOC go PROG be-FUT.2PL ‘You (pl.) will be going to the field.’
Third	se kʰetra itʃ dʒa ra hõ-ga 3SGfield LOCgo PROG be-FUT.1SG.MAS	se kʰetra itʃ dʒa re hõ-ga 3PL field LOC go PROG be-FUT.3PL ‘They will be going to the field.’

	‘He will be going to the field.’ se k ^h etra itf dza ri hō-gi 3SG field LOCgo PROG be- FUT.1SG.FEM ‘She will be going to the field.’	
--	---	--

ii). Perfective Aspect

In Dogri we can observe the insertion of aspectual verbs to mark the perfective aspect. The examples of perfect aspect tense wise in Dogri are as follows–

Present Perfective

Person	Person	Person
First	ao tʃidjja dek ^h i tʃuki da 1SG bird see PFV.1SG AUX ‘I have seen the bird’	əsi tʃidjja dek ^h i tʃuke 1PL bird see PFV.1PL ‘We have seen the bird’
Second	tuhe tʃidjja dek ^h i be ^h re 2SG bird see PFV.2SG ‘You(sg) have seen the bird’	tuhi log tʃidjja dek ^h i be ^h re 2PL people bird see PFV.2PL ‘You(pl) have seen the bird’
Third	se tʃidjja dek ^h i be ^h ri 3SG bird see PFV.3SG.MAS ‘He has seen the bird’ se tʃidjja dek ^h i be ^h ri 3SG bird see PFV.3SG.FEM ‘She has seen the bird’	se log tʃidjja dek ^h i be ^h e 3PL people bird seePFV.3PL ‘They have seen the bird’

Past Perfective

Person	Person	Person
First	ao tʃidjja dek ^h i be ^h re t ^h a 1SG bird see PFV.1SG be.PST ‘I had seen the bird’	əhe tʃidjja dek ^h i be ^h re t ^h e 1PL bird see PFV.1PL be.PST ‘We had seen the bird’
Second	tuhe tʃidjja dek ^h i tʃuke t ^h e 2SG bird seePFV.2SGbe.PST ‘You(sg) had seen the bird’	tuhe log tʃidjja dek ^h i tʃuke t ^h e 2PL people bird see PFV.2PLbe.PST ‘You(pl) had seen the bird’
Third	se tʃidjja dek ^h i be ^h ra t ^h a 3SG bird see-PFV.3SG be.PST ‘He had seen the bird’ se tʃidjja dek ^h i be ^h ri t ^h i 3SG bird see PFV.3SG.FEMbe.PST ‘She had seen the bird’	se log tʃidjja dek ^h i be ^h re t ^h e 3PL people bird see PFV.3PLbe.PST ‘They had seen the bird’

iii) Habitual Aspect

It describes an action which happens/happened or will happen habitually or regularly.

Present Habitual:

Examples-

surədʒ purab dɪfa vɪʃ tʃəd-ta sun east side LOC rise-PRS.HAB 'The sun rises in the east'
əse rodʒ gaj dū-de 1PL daily cow milk-PRS.HAB.2PL 'We milk the cows everyday'

Past Habitual:

Examples-

ao no bədʒe dəftər dʒã-da t ^h a 1SG nine o'clock officego-PST.HAB.1SG AUX 'I used to go to office at 9 o'clock'
tuhe log no bədʒe dəkən-a dʒã-de t ^h e 2PL people nine o'clock shop-LOC go-PST.HAB.2PL AUX 'You(pl) used to go to shop at 9 o'clock'
əhe no bədʒe dəftər dʒã-de t ^h e 2PL nine o'clock officego-PST.HAB.2PL AUX 'We used to go to office at 9 o'clock'

MOOD

From the given data, we have following types of moods in the Dogri language which are presented below:

- i) **Indicative Mood:** Most verbs in this language used are in indicative mood, which indicates the action.

ao tʃɪdʒja dek ^h a da	'I see the bird'
1SG bird see-PRS.HAB AUX	

gã död de jail 'The cows give milk'
 cow milk give AUX

ii) **Imperative Mood:** The imperative mood is a grammatical mood that forms a command or request.

Examples:

tuhe apni munije de säd-a 'Call your daughter'
 2SG GEN daughter DAT call.IMP

därvadze ko bäd^h kar duv-a 'Close the door'
 door DAT lose do give-IMP

iii) **Subjunctive Mood:** In the subjunctive mood, the sense is to suppose or desire an action.

dze vo t^hik reja te mε kal aonə
 if he well remain then 1SG tomorrow come.FUT.1SG
 'If I am well, I will come tomorrow'

iv) **Optative mood:**

The optative mood is expressed in following way in Dogri.

tina sare dzo aonova 'Let them all come'
 3PL all DAT comegive.OPT

v) **Interrogative mood:** It is a form of a verb that is applied to ask questions

Examples:

tu kija k^hən-de 'What do you eat?'
 2SG what eat-PRS.2SG

tue	kəl	u th	de	‘When do you get up?’
2SG	when	get up	be.PRS.2SG	

IV) Non-finite

i. Verbal Noun

Here the process is:

Verb + noun forming suffix = Noun (verbal Noun)

terna ‘to swim’ + ϕ = terna ‘Swimming’

ter-na	seti	k ^h atir	ətʃ ^h a	‘Swimming is good for health’
swim-INF	health	for	good (be)	

ii. Infinitives

Examples-

tʃɪdija	git	ga-ŋa	pəsād	kar	dija	‘Birds love to sing’
bird	song	sing-INF	like	do	AUX	

se	bədzara	dzo	ik	ga	k ^h ərɪda	geda	t ^h a	‘He went to the market to buy a cow’
3SG	market	to	one	cow	buy-INF	go.PST	AUX	

iii. Gerund

Examples-

terna ‘to swim’ + ϕ = terna ‘Swimming’

ter-na	seti	k ^h atir	ətʃ ^h a	‘Swimming is good for health’
swim-INF	health	for	good (be)	

iv. Participles

Examples-

gɪre ‘fallen’ in

tine	gɪre	p ^h ul	ik ^h ətɛ	kite	‘She collected the fallen fruits’
------	------	-------------------	---------------------	------	-----------------------------------

3SG-ERG fall.PART fruit collect do.PST

NEGATION

The negative words in Dogri though uninflected for gender – number – person – tense but are treated as a separate class of verbs since they are added to either finite verb in a particular tense or to a particular verb stem. In Dogri, negative verbs are realized mostly by particles like /nai /

Examples-

me kal nai oṅa 'I shall not come tomorrow'
1SG tomorrow NEG come.OPT

se kam nai kiti da 'She has not done the work'
work NEG do-PFV AUX 3SG

əgi vala mat dʒāda 'Do not go near the fire.'
fire near NEG go

CAUSATION

We use a causative verb when we want to talk about something that someone else did for us or for another person. It means that the subject caused the action to happen, but didn't do it themselves. The following examples can be used to show Causation in Dogri.

ao narsa-de bəʃtʃe-ko kʰaova 'I make the nurse feed the baby'
1SG nurse-ABL child.DAT feed.CAUS.PRS.SG

ao loka do həs-a-da 'I make the people laugh.'
1SG people DAT laugh-CAUS-PRS.SG

4.4 ADJECTIVES

An adjective is a word which modifies a noun. In Dogri the adjective precedes the qualifying noun. In this language adjectives occur before noun and remain unchanged for any change in gender and number.

Attributive adjectives –

This type of modifying word appears after the subject of the sentence.

For example:

bəḍa	rok ^{hi}	‘The large tree’
------	-------------------	------------------

large	tree	
-------	------	--

bəḍi	kītab	‘The big book’
------	-------	----------------

big	book	
-----	------	--

bura	at ^{hi}	‘Dirty hand’
------	------------------	--------------

dirty	hand	
-------	------	--

Predicative adjectives-

Predicative adjective describes or modifies the subject of a sentence. This type of modifying word appears after the subject of the sentence, which is normally a noun or pronoun

Example:

se	manu	moṭa	‘That man is fat’
DET.SG	man	fat	

se	log	takatvar	he	‘Those men are strong’
DET.PL	people	strong	AUX	

Further, semantically the Dogri adjectives can be categorized into three, namely.

i) Qualitative, ii) Quantitative and iii) Demonstrative adjective.

Qualitative adjective

The adjectives which attribute a quality to the nouns are called qualitative adjectives. The examples are

atʰi: kuɖi:	‘The good girl’
baɖi: kita:b	‘The big book’
ʃarmi:li: kuɖi:	‘The shy girl’
tʃi:ta: koɖa:	‘The white horse’
tedʒ munɖa:	‘The clever boy’

Quantitative adjective

The adjectives which refer to the quantity of the nouns with which they occur are called Quantitative adjectives. In Dogri, the use of Quantitative adjectives are as follows

do kitabā:	‘Two books’
tʃar ko:ɖe	‘Four horses’
koji: paɳe	‘some fruits’
tʰo:ɖa paɳi	‘Little water’

Demonstrative adjective

The forms which demonstrate the nouns are called Demonstrative adjectives These are realized in following way in Dogri.

o: uda: tʃa:ku e	‘That is his knife’
o: sa:rijā: merijā: kita:ban	‘Those are my books’
e mera: bagi:tʃa:	‘This is my garden’

NUMERALS

All the numerals belong to adjective class. In Dogri, the numerals follow decimal system of counting. The numerals are the following:

1. Cardinals
2. Ordinals
3. Fractionals
4. Multiplication

Cardinal Numerals

In mathematics, cardinal numbers, or cardinals for short, are a generalization of the natural numbers used to measure the cardinality of sets. The cardinality of a finite set is a

natural number: the number of elements in the set. Examples of cardinal numbers of Dogri is given below.

ik	‘One’
do	‘Two’
tin	‘Three’
tʃar	‘Four’
pãdʒ	‘Five’
tʃʰe	‘Six’
sət	‘Seven’
ətʰ	‘Eight’
no	‘Nine’
dəs	‘Ten’
gijara	‘Eleven’
bara	‘Twelve’
tera	‘Thirteen’
tʃoda	‘Fourteen’
pãdra	‘Fifteen’
so|a	‘Sixteen’
sətara	‘seventeen’
ətʰara	‘Eighteen’
uni	‘Nineteen’
bi	‘Twenty’
iki	‘Twenty one’
bəji	‘Twenty two’
pãtʃi	‘Twenty five’
unəti	‘Twenty nine’
ikəti	‘Thirty one’

pəti	‘Twenty five’
uŋtəli	‘Thirty nine’

It can be observed that the numerals from eleven to eighteen are formed by adding /-yara/, /-ra/, /-da/, /-ara/ to the allomorphs of /ek/, /dO/, /tin/ which are respectively /Ik-~Ig-/, /ba-/, /te-/, /tʃo-/, /pā-/ etc..

The formation like ‘nineteen’, ‘twenty-nine’, ‘thirty-nine’ and so on are made by adding /un-/~ /Un/ (one less than) and thus uni ‘nineteen’, unəti ‘twenty-nine’, uŋtəli ‘thirty-nine’ etc.

Ordinal Numerals

An ordinal number, or ordinal, is one generalization of the concept of a natural number that is used to describe a way to arrange a collection of objects in order, one after another. In Dogri, the following examples of Ordinals is given below

/pəla/	First
/dudʒa/	Second
/trigja/	Third
/ak ^h iri/	Last

Fractions:

A fraction represents a part of a whole or, more generally, any number of equal parts. Some examples of Dogri fractions are as follows:

/pura/	full
/ada/	half
/d̪ed̪/	one and a half
/d̪ ^h aji/	two and a half
/sava/	one and a quarter
/pao/	quarter

Multiplicatives

The Multiplicatives are found in Dogri in the forms like the following:

dugṇa	Twice
tin guṇa	Thrice

4.5 ADVERBS

Morphologically, adverbs are indeclinables and syntactically they are the modifiers of verbs.

Examples –

balē	gal karo:	Speak slowly
slowly	talk-IMP	

sa:p^h sa:p^h	lik ^h o:	‘Write the words neatly’
neatly	write	

Accordingly, the Dogri adverbs are classified into 3 categories, namely,

- Adverb of place
- Adverb of manner and
- Adverb of time

Adverb of Place:

Place adverbials also precede the verb. For example

ut ^h e	‘there’
it ^h e	‘here’

Adverb of Manner:

Like all other adverbs, this type also occurs before the verb. For example:

kə ^h orta se	‘loudly’
hole dze	‘slowly’
tʃ ^h oɽ tʃ ^h oɽ se	‘fast (quick)’

Adverb of Time

dopəhar	‘afternoon’
bad vitʃi	‘afterwards’
Dobara	‘again’
ō təkī	‘already’

həmeʃə

‘always’

5. SYNTAX

Syntax being the study of the rules governing the order of combining the words to form sentences in a language is opposite to morphology which is the study of word structure. The syntax of Dogri is discussed below.

5.1 ORDER OF WORDS IN SENTENCES

Dogri is a SOV (subject-object-verb) language where a sentence consists of a noun phrase (which functions as the subject) and a predicate phrase. Without predicate there can be no sentence. Sometimes predicate itself stands for a sentence specially in case of imperative modal structure like:

<i>ka: haʃa:o</i>	‘Remove the grass’
<i>kare dʒa:o:</i>	‘Go home’
<i>behi: dʒa:o:</i>	‘Sit down’

In the above sentences, the subject being the second person does not appear in the sentence. But generally, the order of words in sentence is as mentioned, Subject – Object – Verb.

Examples

ao	tʃidjja	dek ^h -a	da	‘I saw the bird’
1SG	bird	see-PRS.HAB	AUX	
S	O		V	
se	tʃidjja	dek ^h -ga		‘He will see the bird’
3SG	bird	see-FUT.3SG		
S	O		V	

5.1.1 Structure of Phrases

i. Noun phrase

A noun phrase may consist of a noun alone or noun preceded by one or more attributes.

<i>atʃ^ha: munɖa:</i>	‘good boy’
---------------------------------	------------

baḍi: kita:b 'big book'

tfīta: koḍa: 'white horse'

If a numeral classifies a noun, it occurs before the adjective

do atʰe gra:na: 'two good village'

do tfīte ko:ḍe 'two white horses'

If a plural marker is to be added to the noun, it is added with the adjective as well as noun.

tfīta: koḍa: 'white horse' *tfīte ko:ḍe* 'white horses'

nikka: batʃa: 'the small child' *nikke batʃhe* 'the small children'

Only with the feminine nouns the adjective remains same for singular and plural.

atʰi: kuḍi: 'good girl' *atʰi: kuḍjã:* 'good girls'

ʃel kəhani 'good story' *ʃel kəhanijã* 'good stories'

ii. Predicate Phrase

A predicate phrase consists of a noun phrase and a verb phrase. A predicate phrase may consist of a verb which is its nucleus and/or a noun preceded by a negative marker and an attributive like adverb and followed elements. These elements can be tense marker, mood marker, aspect marker and auxiliaries like 'may', 'must' etc.

o: ik kita:b paḍda: 'He reads a book'
he a book reads

me ro:ti: kʰanda: 'I eat a bread'
I bread eat

tusi: itʰe ogo 'You (sg.) come here'
you(sg.) here come

tusi: lo:g itʰe a:o/ 'You (pl) come here'
you(pl.) here come

unni: kam a:je na kidi: da: 'He did not do work'
he work not do-PST

iii. Postpositional Phrases

Dogri is a head final language. Therefore, it has postpositions. The postpositional phrase can be a complement as well as adjunct. In the following examples, the bold parts are postpositional phrases.

Examples –

1. buṭe pe

tota:	buṭe	pe	e	‘The parrot is on the tree’
parrot	tree	on	AUX	

2. kanne a:

/o:	mere	kanne a:	ida:	‘He came along with me’
3SG	1SG.GEN	with	come.PST	

iv. Adjectival Phrase

An adjective phrase is a phrase in which the head is an adjective. The adjective can initiate the phrase, conclude the phrase, or appear in a medial position.

Examples –

baḍḍa: darak ^{ht}	‘large tree’
baḍi: kita:b	‘big book’
mela: at ^h	‘dirty hands’
tedʒ munda:	‘clever boy’

v. Adverbial Phrase

An adverbial phrase is a multi-word expression operating adverbially: its syntactic function is to modify other expressions, including verbs, adjectives, adverbs, adverbials, and sentences. Adverbial phrases can be divided into two types: complement adverbs and modifier adverbs.

Examples –

balē	gal karo: /	Speak slowly ’
-------------	-------------	-----------------------

slowly talk-IMP

sa:p^h sa:p^h lik^ho: 'Write the words **neatly**'
neatly write.IMP

5.1.2 Structure of clauses:

i) Relative clause:

A relative clause is a kind of subordinate clause, one of whose arguments shares a referent with a main clause element on which the subordinate clause is grammatically dependent. Typically, a relative clause modifies a noun or a noun phrase and uses some grammatical device to indicate that one of the arguments within the relative clause has the same referent as that noun or noun phrase.

keḍa: banda: kal margaja: o: ek gɛk t^ha:
DET man yesterday die.PST.3 3SG one singer be.PST.3
'The man who died yesterday was a singer'

/e oji: a:dmi: e dʒeḍa kal milja: t^ha:
3Sg DET.SG_man be. PRS.3 whom yesterday meet-INF be.PST.1
'This is the man whom I met yesterday'

ii) Correlative clause:

In this type of clause, a paired conjunction (such as not only . . . but also, either...or, neither...nor) links balanced words, phrases, and clauses. The elements connected by correlative conjunctions are usually parallel, that is, similar in length and grammatical form. Each element is called a conjoin.

tu: k^hetre dʒa: dʒa: me dʒanna:/
2SG field.LOC go or 1SG go.FUT.1
'Either you go or I shall go to the field'

5.2 PATTERN OF SENTENCES

Sentence is an independent linguistic form which is not included in any larger linguistic form by virtue of any grammatical construction (Bloomfield, 1963, p-170). According to the structure, the Dogri sentences can be classified into the following types:

i. Simple Sentence

A simple sentence is one which has only one subject and one predicate. Sometimes in such sentences only the predicate appears – these are subjectless in principle.

Examples –

ga:	dud	dendi:/		‘The cow gives milk’
cow	milk	give-PRS		
ao	tʃɪdʒja	dek ^h -a	da	‘I saw the bird’
1SG	bird	see-PRS.HAB	AUX	
se	tʃɪdʒja	dek ^h -ga		‘He will see the bird’
3SG	bird	see-FUT.3SG		

ii. Compound Sentence

A compound sentence is one which is made up of two or more main clauses. The examples of compound sentence in Dogri are as follows:

dina dʒo	kəm karna	tʃai	da rat-i	sona	tʃai	da
day-LOC	work do	shouldAUX	night-LOC	sleep	should	AUX
‘Work in the day and sleep at night’						

kutʃ	mətʃ ^h -ija	bəɖija	ja	kutʃ	tʃotʃija	ja
some	fish-PL	big	be.PRS	some	small	be.PRS
Some fish are big and some are small						

iii. Complex Sentence

A Complex sentence consists of one main clause and one or more subordinate clauses.

Examples –

tija	dʒənana tu	kəl	gəla karda t ^h a	se	meri	pəŋi
------	------------	-----	-----------------------------	----	------	------

REL woman 2SG yesterday talk do AUX COREL1SG.GEN sister
 ‘The woman who talked to you is my sister.’

se admi kal muva se ik gaṇeala t^{ha}
 REL man tomorrow die COREL one singer be.PST.3SG
 ‘The man who died yesterday was a singer.’

5.3 TYPES OF SENTENCES

According to the function the Dogri sentences can be classified into the following types of sentences

1. Statement Sentence
2. Interrogative Sentence
3. Imperative Sentence
4. Passive Sentence
5. Purposive Sentence
6. Potential Sentence
7. Conditional Sentence
8. Negative Sentence.
9. Causative Sentence

Statement Sentence – The sentence which asserts a statement like the following

<i>o: i^{he} onda</i>	‘He comes here’
<i>me tʃidja: dik^{hi}:</i>	‘I saw the bird’
<i>darak^hteha: patte t^hale pōnde</i>	‘The leaves fall from the tree’

Interrogative Sentence - The sentence which indicates a question

<i>tuvaḍa: ke na:</i>	‘What is your name?’
<i>kja: o: tuvaḍi: beṇ e</i>	‘Is she your sister?’
<i>tuvaḍe batʃe kut^{han}</i>	‘Where are your children?’
<i>tussi: ke k^hanne</i>	‘What do you eat?’
<i>tuvaḍe kitne batʃen</i>	‘How many children do you have?’
<i>tuvaḍi: ke umir ε</i>	‘How old are you?’

Imperative Sentence – The sentence through which a request, a command, an advice is indicated. Examples,

<i>e kita:b paq^ho:</i>	‘Read this book’
<i>balē gal karo:</i>	‘Speak slowly’
<i>t^ho:ḡa: pa:ḡi: ljuḡo:</i>	‘Bring some water’
<i>medʒe uk^hi: dʒa:o:</i>	‘Stand on the table’

Purposive Sentence – The sentence which expresses a purpose like the following:

<i>asi:</i>	<i>samundaritf</i>	<i>machijā:</i>	<i>pakaḡne</i>	<i>dʒane ē</i>
we	sea	to	fish	catching-for go

‘We go to the sea to catch fish’

<i>o:</i>	<i>badʒa:r-itf</i>	<i>ek</i>	<i>ḡo:</i>	<i>k^haridan</i>	<i>ḡaja: t^ha:</i>
he	market to	one	cow	to buy	go-PST

‘He went to the market to buy a cow’.

Potential Sentence – When the potentiality is expressed in a sentence it can be called potential sentence. Examples,

<i>asi:</i>	<i>pakḡi: saklē</i>	‘We may catch it’
<i>me</i>	<i>a:ji: sākda:</i>	‘I may come’
<i>e ka:m koji: bi: kar sakda:</i>		‘Anybody can do this work’

Conditional sentence – When two actions are conditioned by each other in a single sentence, it can be called conditional sentence. Examples,

<i>koḡē pank^h undi: to: uḡi: dʒa:ḡa:</i>	‘If horses had wing they would have flown’
<i>o: mēnti karga: to: sap^ha:l ho:ḡa:</i>	‘If he works hard he will succeed’
<i>tren leḡ hoḡi te asi: pakḡi: saklē</i>	‘If the train is late we may catch it’

Passive sentence - The sentence where the main action is expressed in passive may be called passive sentence. Examples:

<i>koḡe kanne doḡna:</i>	<i>ponda:</i>	‘Running is done by the horse’
horse-by	running	done

<i>roḡi: mere duva:ra: k^ha:ji: dʒa:rahi: e/</i>	‘The bread is eaten by him’
bread me -PAS	eaten be AUX

Causative Sentence – When the subject causes some agent to do the action the sentence functions as causative sentence. Examples:

<i>me koḡe duḡa:nda:</i>	‘I am making the horse run’
<i>me lokā: asa:nda:</i>	‘I make the people laugh’

me narsa:ha: batfe k^hoa:ni: 'I make the nurse feed the baby'

Negative sentence – The sentence which expresses the negation may be classed as negative sentence.

<i>e k^ha:ŋa: k^hane lajak ni:</i>	This is not edible
<i>a:ge lagi: mat dʒa:o</i>	Do not go near the fire
<i>miki: e ka:m ni: karna: tʃahi da:</i>	I should not have done the work
<i>unni: kam a:je na kidi: da:</i>	He did not do the work

CONCLUSION

In the foregoing discussion, the detailed grammatical structure of Dogri has been presented with illustration based on collected data from the field. According to this analysis, Dogri shares the features of Indo-Aryan language family as follows:

1. Phonological
 - Voicing
 - Aspiration etc.
2. Morphological
 - Declension and Conjugation with inflectional affixation
 - Compound formation
 - Person-Number-Gender Concord in Finite Verb etc.
3. Syntactical
 - SOV basic word order.

Further, Dogri distinguishes itself lexically and grammatically as well as in its rich and varied literary diction which leaves the scope of treating Dogri as a rich language in the Indian Census.

6. TEXT

TWO FRIENDS AND A BEAR

/ ram te ſam do dost tani /

Ram and sham are two friends.

/ une ike dōdže ne vada kita ve kisi bi musibōta mitſi sat dinge /

They both had promised each other that in all trouble times they will be together.

/ ik dini se dʒəŋla rahe tʰe /

One day both were going to the forests, they saw a bear

/ba:lu: nu de:kʰgē:n do:nu: do:st gabra: gaja:/

On seeing the bear they both got scared

/ bʰalu ko dikʰ kəri donu dost bədi dəri geje/

Out of fear ram climbed a tree. Sham did not know how to climb a tree.

/ ramu dʒəre mare darakʰta par tʃədi gija/ /ſamu ko dərəkʰtə par tʃədnə nai ōda/

He asked his friend Ram to help him in climbing the tree. Sad and hopeless

/ve apne dost ramu kəle mikkī dərəkʰtə par tədnə nai ata hē krija meri mādād kər/

Ram didn't reply to him. Sad and hopeless Sham held his breath and layed down on the floor.

/ par ramu ne koji dʒəvab nai dīta//dukʰi or mājus hokar ſam puja apni sã roki gani leṭi gija/

In the meanwhile bear approached Sham.It started to smell Sham who was lying on the floor.

/dʒaldi utʰe bʰəlu aja/ /puja leṭe ſamne dikʰi kəne ude pas gija or use sīgle laga/

After smelling him for while, he left Sham there and went away. Ram was watching all the while sitting on the tree he thought that that the bear whispered something in Sham's ear.

/ kutʃ der sīgle ke bad ve ʃam ko utʰi tʃəɖi gəne tʃəli gija/ /dʰəɾəkʰt par beɽʰe ramu ko ləgja ki rikʰi kutʃi kəne vitʃi bolke tʃəli gija/

He then quickly came down from the tree and asked Sham. What did the bear whisper in your ear?

/ve dʒaldi se tʰəle aja ʃamu se pətʃa dost mere vo bʰalui toɽe kəne vitʃi ki boleja/

Sham stood up from the floor and told Ram that the bear advised him not to trust people who are selfish and leave you alone in trouble.

/ ʃamu pujani utʰja ramu bolija vo rikʰ mikki bolija ki dʒotʰe te kəɽta logu par bərosa mat kəro/
/dʒo toɽe musibat me akela tʃəli gija/

/itna gəlaja ke ʃam otʰne akele tʃəli gija/

After saying all this he left alone.

7. REFERENCES

1. Bahri, Ujjal Singh, 2001, **Dogri: Phonology and Grammatical Sketch**, Bahri Publications.
2. Billawaria, Anita, 1978, "History and Culture of Himalayan States", Vol. 4, Light & Life Publishers.
3. Brightbill, Jeremy D and Turner, Scott B, 2007, **A Sociolinguistic Survey of the Dogri Language, Jammu & Kashmir**, SIL International.
4. Census of India, 2011, Statement 1: Abstracts of Speakers' Strength of Languages and Mother Tongues
5. Dogri : Ethnologue
6. **Dogri** : Lisindia.ciil.org,
7. Ghai, Ved Kumari, 1991, **Studies in Phonetics and Phonology: With Special Reference to Dogri**, Ariana Publishing House.
8. Masica, Colin P, 1993, **The Indo-Aryan Languages**. Cambridge University Press.

NEPALI

S. Ganesh Baskaran

1. INTRODUCTION

Nepali is the national language of Nepal. Apart from Nepal and India, this language is also spoken in the neighboring countries like Bhutan and Myanmar. Nepali has been included as one of the 22 Scheduled languages specified to the Constitution of India by seventy-first Amendment Act, 1992. This language is the member of the Pahari group of Inner sub branch of Indo-Aryan sub-family of Indo-European Language family. In India, Nepali population is also significantly distributed in Assam, Uttar Pradesh, Arunachal Pradesh, Uttaranchal, West Bengal and Himachal Pradesh occupying the rank within first five major languages of these states respectively.

1.1 The present study: Nepali language

The present work is a Descriptive Grammar of Nepali language spoken in Himachal Pradesh. Nepali is an Indo-Aryan language that belongs to the eastern Pahari group of languages. The major concentration of Nepali speakers is in Sikkim followed by West Bengal. This has already been studied and published in the Volumes *LSI-Sikkim (Part-II)* and *LSI-West Bengal*. Since Nepali is also spoken in Himachal Pradesh, this study is undertaken and included in this volume titled *LSI-Himachal Pradesh*. Nepali is considered as one of the Pahari group of languages, specifically Eastern Pahari whose existence is traced to the lower regions of the Himalayan range of mountains comprising the area spreading from Himachal Pradesh to Uttar Pradesh.

The present study “*Nepali in Himachal Pradesh*” has been presented based on the study conducted at Kullu during June – July, 2005. The linguistic data has been elicited by Shri Gunmahadur Thapa of Bhuntar, Kullu district of Himachal Pradesh and subsequently Nepali data were checked with other informants also.

1.2 Nepali in Linguistic Survey of India

Nepali language, thus, is alternatively named as *Eastern Pahari* or *Parbatiya*, *Khaskura*, *Gorkhali*. All these names have been attested in the *Linguistic Survey of India* edited by Sir George Abraham Grierson in Pre-Independence India. According to him “*The Pahari group of the Inner Sub-branch of the Indo-Aryan languages consists of three groups of dialects.... - the Eastern Pahari, the Central Pahari and the Western Pahari.... . Eastern Pahari is commonly called Nepali or Naipali by Europeans.... . Other names for Eastern Pahari are ‘Parbatiya’ or ‘the Hill language’, ‘Gorkhali’ or ‘the language of the Gorkhas and ‘Khaskura’ or ‘the language of ‘Khas Tribe’ (G.A. Vol-III Part-I).*”

1.3 Nepali in Indian Census

In Indian Census, Nepali is traced since the beginning. The major distribution of Nepali in India in general and in Himachal Pradesh in particular is furnished below as per the latest published Census information, i.e. 2011.

DISTRIBUTION OF NEPALI LANGUAGES INDIA, STATES AND UNION TERRITORIES - 2011									
Language/India/State/Union Territory	Total			Rural			Urban		
	Person	Males	Females	Person	Males	Females	Person	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
INDIA	29,26,168	15,24,029	14,02,139	20,09,479	10,37,852	9,71,627	9,16,689	4,86,177	4,30,512
1 Jammu & Kashmir	22,138	14,934	7,204	16,319	10,686	5,633	5,819	4,248	1,571
2 Himachal Pradesh	89,508	50,647	38,861	76,371	42,773	33,598	13,137	7,874	5,263
3 Punjab	22,061	13,296	8,765	4,688	3,065	1,623	17,373	10,231	7,142
4 Chandigarh	6,546	4,025	2,521	295	177	118	6,251	3,848	2,403
5 Uttarakhand	1,06,399	59,897	46,502	71,335	40,237	31,098	35,064	19,660	15,404
6 Haryana	19,914	11,718	8,196	6,217	3,818	2,399	13,697	7,900	5,797
7 Nct Of Delhi	37,468	21,612	15,856	580	322	258	36,888	21,290	15,598
8 Rajasthan	7,636	4,600	3,036	1,849	1,221	628	5,787	3,379	2,408
9 Uttar Pradesh	18,743	10,651	8,092	3,943	1,918	2,025	14,800	8,733	6,067
10 Bihar	5,727	2,613	3,114	3,840	1,678	2,162	1,887	935	952
11 Sikkim	3,82,200	1,94,256	1,87,944	2,91,531	1,49,472	1,42,059	90,669	44,784	45,885
12 Arunachal Pradesh	95,317	50,835	44,482	65,134	34,766	30,368	30,183	16,069	14,114
13 Nagaland	43,481	23,823	19,658	21,746	11,889	9,857	21,735	11,934	9,801
14 Manipur	63,756	34,018	29,738	57,201	30,328	26,873	6,555	3,690	2,865
15 Mizoram	8,994	5,015	3,979	871	633	238	8,123	4,382	3,741
16 Tripura	2,787	1,659	1,128	961	631	330	1,826	1,028	798
17 Meghalaya	54,716	28,515	26,201	17,829	9,575	8,254	36,887	18,940	17,947
18 Assam	5,96,210	3,05,156	2,91,054	5,26,716	2,69,241	2,57,475	69,494	35,915	33,579
19 West Bengal	11,55,375	5,75,171	5,80,204	8,15,337	4,08,499	4,06,838	3,40,038	1,66,672	1,73,366
20 Jharkhand	16,956	9,537	7,419	1,402	841	561	15,554	8,696	6,858
21 Odisha	8,654	4,587	4,067	2,003	1,077	926	6,651	3,510	3,141
22 Chhattisgarh	3,431	1,952	1,479	529	342	187	2,902	1,610	1,292
23 Madhya Pradesh	8,724	5,184	3,540	752	474	278	7,972	4,710	3,262
24 Gujarat	25,142	15,420	9,722	3,086	2,163	923	22,056	13,257	8,799
25 Daman & Diu	1,401	1,028	373	206	167	39	1,195	861	334
26 Dadra & Nagar Haveli	1,152	853	299	221	173	48	931	680	251
27 Maharashtra	75,683	45,443	30,240	8,367	5,272	3,095	67,316	40,171	27,145
28 Andhra Pradesh	11,551	6,695	4,856	2,485	1,497	988	9,066	5,198	3,868
29 Karnataka	19,274	11,453	7,821	3,940	2,564	1,376	15,334	8,889	6,445
30 Goa	2,600	1,685	915	618	425	193	1,982	1,260	722
31 Lakshadweep	4	1	3	0	0	0	4	1	3
32 Kerala	3,665	2,482	1,183	1,026	685	341	2,639	1,797	842
33 Tamil Nadu	7,575	4,475	3,100	1,663	990	673	5,912	3,485	2,427
34 Puducherry#	431	242	189	102	56	46	329	186	143
35 Andaman & Nicobar Islands	949	551	398	316	197	119	633	354	279

Since, the present study is concentrated mainly on Nepali mother tongue as spoken in Himachal Pradesh state, the distribution of Nepali as per Census 2011 is presented below.

Languages	Total			Rural			Urban		
	Person	Male	Female	Person	Male	Female	Person	Male	Female
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
NEPALI									
HIMACHAL PRADESH	89,508	50,647	38,861	76,371	42,773	33,598	13,137	7,874	5,263
Chamba	3,573	1,790	1,783	3,159	1,580	1,579	414	210	204
Kangra	8,223	4,184	4,039	6,652	3,432	3,220	1,571	752	819
Lahul & Spiti	891	519	372	891	519	372	0	0	0
Kullu	10,877	6,088	4,789	9,963	5,578	4,385	914	510	404
Mandi	1,711	1,083	628	1,540	966	574	171	117	54
Hamirpur	751	426	325	693	387	306	58	39	19
Una	383	257	126	337	227	110	46	30	16
Bilaspur	862	523	339	664	412	252	198	111	87
Solan	13,629	7,789	5,840	10,198	5,618	4,580	3,431	2,171	1,260
Sirmaur	5,004	3,035	1,969	4,242	2,594	1,648	762	441	321
Shimla	37,693	21,058	16,635	32,121	17,565	14,556	5,572	3,493	2,079
Kinnaur	5,911	3,895	2,016	5,911	3,895	2,016	0	0	0

1.4 Script and Literature and education

Nepali is rich in literature. Devanagari script is used for writing in this language.

1.5 Official Status:

Nepali is one of the 22 scheduled languages of the Indian Union. Being the official language, Nepali is the medium of instruction in many educational and social activities along with English. Hindi is the lingua franca across the state. There are a few schools in Kullu where Nepali is informally used as a medium of instruction.

1.6 Sociolinguistic Information

Nepali, being one of the major Indian Languages, is spoken in almost all states. In Himachal Pradesh, Nepali people have spread in large number and still they maintain their language spoken within their home domain. They use Nepali to speak among their kin. They are very loyal to their language.

Hindi, being the major variety spoken in Himachal Pradesh, Nepali is used by the Nepali people within their kin community. Nepali Language is not taught as a subject in the school level and it is not used for official purpose in any of the administration level.

1.7 Review of Earlier Literature

From 1901 to 1931 Census, as per returns. the Nepali language has been known as *Eastern Pahari, Naipali, Parbatiya, Gorkhali, Gorkhali (Gorkhi or Gurkhiya), Khas Kura*. After that up to 1981 Census, Nepali has been appearing as Gorkhali/Nepali. Since 1991 Census onwards, the language name appears as Nepali which includes Gorkhali also. According to Grierson. G. A, (LSI, Vol IX, Part IV, 1916), the terms '*Gorkhali*' and '*Nepali*' were introduced by the Europeans, while the natives used the name Newari to refer to their own language. In fact, Newari is a Tibeto-Burman language as the study reveals in LSI-Sikkim (Part-I). On the contrary, the Aryan language (Nepali or Gorkhali) was called by them as '*Khas Kura*' or '*Khasa*' speech or '*Parbatiya*'. Grierson while describing Nepali in LSI Vol-IX Part-IV has used the term '*Khas Kura*'.

T.W. Clark (1969) has elaborately dealt with Nepali in 'Nepali and Pahari' in *Current Trends in Linguistics*, Vol. V, (Ed. T.A. Sebeok) where Nepali has been distinguished categorically from the Newari language. According to him, the Rajput Warriors of India, who concentrated first in Western Nepal and gradually moved to the area populated mainly by Gorkhas of Kathmandu, called the Nepali language as Gorkhali. Later on the term Gorkhali was accepted for the Nepali language by the Nepali people in British India. B.H. Hodgson in *The Language, Literature and Religion of Nepal and Tibet* (1874) has equally applied '*Khas bhasha*' and '*Parbatiya bhasha*' for Nepali.

The book *Topics in Nepalese Linguistics* from Royal Nepal Academy (1999) edited by Yogendra. P. Yadava and Warren. W. Glover deserves special mention being the contemporary document on Nepali language where different aspects of Nepali language has been discussed in the articles, namely, "*Phonesthetic elements in Nepali*" by Ballabh Mani Dahal; "*Nepali verb morphophonology*" by Gilles Boye and "*Compound verbs in Nepali*" by Madhav P and others.

Some aspects of Nepali language have also been discussed by Pokharel.M. P on “*Compound verbs in Nepali*”, “*The Nepali Subordinated verb*” by John Peterson and “*Variation in agreement in the Nepali Finite verb*” by Carol Genetti in Yadava & Glover (eds.) *Topics in Nepalese Linguistics*. Kathmandu: Royal Nepal Academy. The document which is of eternal relevance in and about Nepali language is “*Nepali Dictionary*” (1920) by R.L. Turner. All the above literature produced several names like “Khas Kura”, “Khas bhasha”, “Parbatiya bhasha”, “Purbuti”, “Newari”, Gorkhali”, “Nepali” etc for Nepali language as a whole but ultimately the name “Nepali” received the full authentication for the language by the 1930. And, finally “Nepali” has been recognized as one of the 8th Scheduled languages of India by the Government of India in 1992.

The Nepali language as spoken in West Bengal (especially Darjeeling District) and Himachal Pradesh has also been studied under the LSI-West Bengal and LSI-Sikkim Volumes of *Linguistic Survey of India* Project of this Organization in Post-independence India. The detailed Reports of Nepali from both the states are already available to the users.

The Socio-linguistic profile of Nepali has been presented in the chapter ‘*Gorkhali-Nepali*’ in *Written Languages of the World- A Survey of the Degree and Modes of use, Book-2, Non-Constitutional Languages* in 1989 published by Laval University, Quebec and Office of the Registrar General, India, New Delhi.

Based on the data collected from the field survey at Himachal Pradesh during June-July in 2005, the linguistic structure of Nepali language spoken in Himachal Pradesh is presented below.

2. PHONOLOGY

Phonology is the study of how sounds are organized and used in natural languages. The phonological system of a language includes an inventory of sounds and their features and rules which specify how sounds interact with each other. Phonemic analysis helps in allotting all the indefinite number of sounds occurring in utterances to a definite and limited set of phonemes contrastive in at least some environment.

The phonological system of Nepali is presented below based on the data collected from the informant.

2.1 Phonemic Inventory

Part of the phonological study of a language involves looking at data (phonetic transcriptions of the speech of native speakers) and trying to deduce what the underlying phonemes are and what the sound inventory of the language is. Thus, the phonemic inventory of Nepali shows the distinctive sound units occurring in Nepali speech. Both the segmental and suprasegmental phonemes of Nepali are presented in the following inventory. There are 41 segmental phonemes. 7 are Vowels and 33 are Consonants. All the front vowels are unrounded and back vowels are rounded. There are 10 aspirated consonants out of 34. All aspirates tend to be non-aspirates in rapid speech.

Segmental Phonemes

Vowels

	Front	Central	Back
High	<i>i</i>		<i>u</i>
Mid	<i>e</i>	<i>A</i>	<i>o</i>
Low	<i>E</i>	<i>a</i>	

Consonants

	Bilabial		Labio-dental	Dental		Alveolar	Retroflex		Palatal	Velar		Glottal	
	v1	vd		v1	Vd		v1	vd		v1	vd	v1	vd
Plosive	<i>p</i> <i>ph</i>	<i>b</i> <i>bh</i>		<i>t</i> <i>th</i>	<i>d</i> <i>dh</i>		<i>T</i> <i>Th</i>	<i>D</i> <i>Dh</i>		<i>k</i> <i>kh</i>	<i>g</i> <i>gh</i>		
Affricate									<i>c</i> <i>ch</i>	<i>j</i> <i>jh</i>			
Nasal		<i>m</i>			<i>N</i>			<i>N</i>			<i>M</i>		
Trill													
Tap						<i>r</i>		<i>R</i>					
Fricative				<i>s</i>					<i>S</i>				<i>h</i>
Approximant			<i>w</i>						<i>Y</i>				
Lateral approximant						<i>l</i>		<i>L</i>					

Supra segmental Features

Nasalization is phonemic. The lower mid and central mid vowels are not nasalized.

/i ~ ĩ/

kahi 'said'

kahĩ 'somewhere'

iTa 'this'

ĩT 'bricks'

/e ~ ě/

baye 'open'

bayě 'left'

/a ~ ā/

aTa 'wheat powder'

āTa 'grass'

/o ~ ō/

koThi 'leprocy'

kōThi 'bud'

/u ~ û/

uTh 'rise'

ûTh 'camel'

2.2 Phonemic Distribution and Description:

Vowel

A phoneme is the smallest contrastive unit in the sound system of a language. Every phoneme has its specific characteristic feature. Each phoneme has its particular distribution in a specific language. With the help of this distribution minimal pair can be formed and the study of minimal pair is used to demonstrate that two phones constitute two separate phonemes in the language. Distribution and description of phonemes of Nepali language is presented here with.

/i/ high front unrounded vowel. It occurs in all three positions.

/i/ 'this'

/piT/ 'back'

/gAri/ 'done'

/e/ mid front unrounded vowel it occurs medially and finally.

/pe : T/ 'belly'

/gAre/ 'doing'

/baye/ 'open'

/E/ lower mid front unrounded vowel occurs initially and medially.

/Ek/ 'one'

/ThEka/ 'contact'

/A/ mid central unrounded vowel occurs in the middle position.

/gAr/ 'do'

/khAri/ 'neat'

/a/ low central unrounded vowel occurs in all positions.

/an/ 'honour'

/mal/ 'goods'

/ulTa/ 'opposite'

/o/ mid back rounded vowel occurs in all three positions.

/OTh/ 'lips'

- / *cori* / ‘theft’
- / *alo* / ‘light’
- / *u* / high back rounded vowel occurs in all three positions.
- / *uTh* / ‘rise’
- / *munD* / ‘head’
- / *mirtu* / ‘death’
- / *p* / voiceless bilabial stop occurs in all three positions
- / *pan* / ‘battle’
- / *pap* / ‘sin’
- / *appAn* / ‘self’
- / *b* / voiced bilabial stop occurs in all three positions.
- / *bap* / ‘father’
- / *sobji* / ‘vegetable’
- / *rob* / ‘anger’
- / *ph* / voiceless bilabial aspirated stop occurs in all three positions.
- / *phal* / ‘fruit’
- / *kaphi* / ‘coffee’
- / *saph* / ‘clean’
- / *bh* / voiced bilabial aspirated stop occurs in the initial and the medial positions.
- / *bhul* / ‘mistake’
- / *lobhi* / ‘greedy person’
- / *t* / voiceless alveolar stop occurs in all three positions.
- / *til* / ‘oilseed’
- / *bhutkAn* / ‘fly, a bird’
- / *Patlo* / ‘thin’
- / *Sat* / ‘seven’
- / *d* / voiced alveolar stop occurs in all positions.
- / *dam* / ‘price’

- / bAdam /* 'ground nut'
/ bad / 'later'
- /th/* voiceless alveolar aspirated stop occurs in all three positions.
/ than / 'one piece'
/ katham / 'end'
/ sath / 'with'
- /dh/* voiced alveolar aspirated stop occurs in all three positions.
/ dhan / 'paddy'
/ dhindhora / 'drum', 'trumpet'
/ sadh / 'longing'
- /T/* voiceless retroflex stop occurs in all three positions.
/ Tola / 'hut'
/ moTa / 'fatty'
/ haT / 'market'
- /D/* voiced retroflex stop occurs in initially and medially
/ Dola / 'move'
/ haDDi / 'bone'
- /Th/* voiceless retroflex stop occurs initially
/TheI/ 'push'
- /Dh/* voiced retroflex stop occurs initially
/ Dhal / 'pour'
- / c /* voiceless palatal stop occurs in all three positions.
/ cal / 'move'
/ manche / 'man'
/ pāc/ 'five'
- / j/* voiced palatal stop occurs in all three positions
/ joT / 'couple'
/ maje / 'between'

- / baj /* 'eagle'
- / ch /* voiceless palatal aspirated stop occurs in all three positions
- / char /* 'ashes'
- / baccha /* 'child'
- / bach /* 'select'
- / jh /* voiced palatal aspirated stop occurs initially and medially.
- / jhar /* 'sweep'
- / bajhi /* 'traf'
- / k /* voiceless velar stop occurs in all three positions.
- / kaT /* 'cut'
- / pakAl /* 'ripen'
- / nak /* 'nose'
- / g /* voiced velar stop occurs in all three positions.
- / gAl /* 'melt'
- / pagAl /* 'mad'
- / nag /* 'snake'
- / kh /* voiceless velar aspirated stop occurs initially and medially.
- / khari /* 'neat'
- / bakhari /* 'house of making bred'
- / gh /* voiced velar aspirated stop occurs initially and medially.
- / ghAri /* 'point of time'
- / ghAsrer /* 'coming'
- / baghaicha /* 'garden'
- / m /* voiced bilabial nasal occurs in all three positions.
- / man /* 'honour'
- / jaman /* 'sprouting'
- / nam /* 'name'

/n/ voiced alveolar nasal occurs in all three positions.

/nam/ 'name'

/jAnam/ 'birth'

/man/ 'mind'

/N/ voiced Retroflex nasal occurs medially and finally.

/uDNu/ 'shy'

/riN/ 'debt'

/M/ voiced velar nasal occurs medially and finally.

/jAMli/ 'wild'

/apAM/ 'cuppled'

/aM/ 'body part'

/s/ voiceless alveolar fricative occurs in all three positions.

/sat/ 'seven'

/kAsari/ 'how'

/udas/ 'sad'

/h/ voiceless glottal fricative occurs in all three positions.

/hath/ 'hand'

/bohArni/ 'broom'

/koh/ 'cave'

/l/ voiced alveolar lateral occurs in three positions.

/lam/ 'battle'

/kaTola/ 'small'

/bil/ 'hole'

/r/ voiced alveolar trill occurs in all three positions.

/rat/ 'night'

/sagaro/ 'all'

/guhar/ 'alarm'

/L/ voiced retroflex Lateral occurs in the medial positions.

/DhaLkanu/ 'lean'

/haLnu/ 'put'

/R/ voiced retroflex trill occurs in the medial position.

/CaRo/ 'climb'

/W/ voiceless bilabial semivowel occurs in all three positions.

/War/ 'attack'

/dAWa/ 'medicine'

/haW/ 'acting'

/y/ voiceless palatal semivowel occurs all three positions.

/yar/ 'friend'

/dAya/ 'kindness'

/hay/ 'lame'

2.3 Major Allophonic Distribution

Allophones are condition specific (dependent) variants of a phoneme. Allophones of a phoneme occur in mutually exclusive environments. Allophones do not affect the functional identity of the phoneme in the language. So, this is a phonetic variant of a phoneme in a particular language. Although a phoneme's allophones are all alternative pronunciations for a phoneme, the specific allophone selected in a given situation is often predictable. The present data shows the following allophonic variation –

/i/ height front unrounded vowel has two allophone [i] and [i].

/i/ height front unrounded short-vowel get lowered between consonants.

[piTh] /pith/ 'back'

[Tika] /Tika/ 'Fix'

/i/ occurs elsewhere.

/e/ mid front unrounded vowel has two allophones [e] and [e]

/e/ mid front unrounded vowel get lowered between consonants.

[peT] /peT/ 'belly'

[Thepi] [Thepi] 'shuttle'

/e/ occurs elsewhere.

/ o / mid back rounded vowel has two allophones [O] and [o]

[O] lower mid back vowel occurs with initial positions.

[OTh] /oTh/ 'lips'

/ o / occurs elsewhere.

/ u / high back rounded short vowel has two allophones [U] and [u]

[U] lower high back rounded vowel occurs between consonants.

[gUhar] /guhar/ 'alarm'

[dUdh] /dudh/ 'milk'

/ u / occurs elsewhere.

2.4 Cluster

The clusters are realized both in the vowel as well as in consonants.

Vowel :

Vowel cluster refers to more than one adjacent vowel sounds occurring within a word. Vowel clusters are realized in all the positions in Nepali.

Initial vowel clusters :

ae - aerAni 'ear ring'

ae- aena 'glass'

medial :

- Ai - /bAini/ 'younger sister'

- ei - /keih/ 'someone'

- ue - /kue ko/ 'rotten'

- ia - /biana/ 'morning'

- ua - /buari/ 'daughter-in-law'

Final

- au - /gaũ/ 'wheat'

- au - /sau/ 'merchant'

- ei - /kei/ 'something'

Consonant clusters

A consonant cluster is a group of consonants which have no intervening vowel. The consonant clusters can be a combination of two identical as well as two non-identical consonants that generally occurs in the medial position of a word. The occurrence of the consonant clusters is most frequent in the initial and medial position. The Hindi and English words, which are used very rarely, gets cluster as an initial component. A few examples of non-identical clusters are as follows-

Initial

<i>skr -</i>	<i>/skrin/</i>	‘screen’
<i>str -</i>	<i>/stri/</i>	‘women’
<i>sp -</i>	<i>/spasta/</i>	‘lucid’
<i>st -</i>	<i>/stan/</i>	‘place’

Medial

<i>- lm -</i>	<i>/philmi/</i>	‘related to film’
<i>- sk -</i>	<i>/usko/</i>	‘his’
<i>- mt -</i>	<i>/kamit/</i>	‘little’
<i>- nch -</i>	<i>/manche/</i>	‘person’
<i>- mr -</i>	<i>/jumro/</i>	‘louse’
<i>- rp -</i>	<i>/sarpo/</i>	‘snake’
<i>- br -</i>	<i>/jibro/</i>	‘tongue’
<i>- nj -</i>	<i>/panjo/</i>	‘claw’
<i>- rd -</i>	<i>/gardan/</i>	‘neck’
<i>- ry -</i>	<i>/suryo/</i>	‘sun’

Final clusters

<i>- nj -</i>	<i>/karanj/</i>	‘ornament’
<i>- nd -</i>	<i>/mand/</i>	‘dull’
<i>- ndh -</i>	<i>/gandh/</i>	‘smell’

2.5 Syllable

A syllable is a unit of organization for a sequence of speech sounds. A syllable is a unit of sound composed of a central peak of sonority (usually a vowel), and the consonants that cluster around this central peak. Syllables are often considered the phonological "building blocks" of words. They can influence the rhythm of a language, its prosody, its poetic meter and its stress patterns.

A syllable which ends with a vowel is called *open syllable* whereas a syllable ending in a consonant is called *closed syllable*. In Nepali up to Tetra syllabic words are realized.

1. Monosyllabic Pattern

A word that consists of a single syllable is called a Monosyllable and is said to be monosyllabic. Monosyllabic word can be of two types open and close. Examples are as follows,

Monosyllabic open

v	/u/	‘that’
cv	/nu/	‘not’
ccv	/kyu/	‘why’
ccv	/jyũ/	‘as’

Monosyllabic close

vc	/ubh/	‘rise’
cvc	/ghar/	‘house’
vcc	/usm/	‘worm’
cvcc	/karm/	‘rituals’

2. Di-syllabic Pattern

A word that consists of two syllables is called a Disyllable and is said to be disyllabic. Disyllabic word can also be of two types open and close. Examples are as follows,

Di-syllabic open

cv-v	/jo-i/	‘wife’
cv-v	/hi-u/	‘ice’
cv-cv	/ha-wa/	‘air’
vc-cv	/an-dho/	‘blind’

Di-syllabic close

v-cvc	/a-kas/	‘sky’
cvc-cvc	/cab-bar/	‘biting prone’
cvc-cvc	/pit-tal/	‘brass’
cvc-cvc	/Tap-par/	‘tin shade’
cvcvc	/pha-lam/	‘iron’

3. Tri-syllabic Pattern

A word that consists of three syllables is called a Trisyllable and is said to be Trisyllabic. Trisyllabic word can also be of two types open and close. Examples are as follows,

Tri-syllabic open

v-cv-cv	/a-ga-Ri/	‘ahead’
cv-cv-cv	/bhe-ya-ro/	‘fox’
cv-cv-cv	/ku-hi-ro/	‘fog’

Tri-syllabic close

cv-cvc-cvc	/du-kan-dar/	‘shopkeeper’
cv-cvc-cvc	/sa-mun-dar/	‘sea’

4. Tetra-syllabic Pattern

A word that consists of four syllables is called a Tetra-syllable and is said to be Tetra-syllabic. Examples are as follows,

cv-cv-cv-cv	/dha-la-ka-nu/	‘leaning’
cv-cv-cv-cv	/chu-Ta-na-ma/	‘divorce’

3. MORPHOLOGY

Morphology deals with words and their declensional patterns as well as verbs and their conjugational patterns. Morphology deals about the morphemes and its functions. Morphology of Nepali is discussed under Noun, Verb, Adjectives and Adverbs.

3.1 Word Formation

A word may contain one morpheme, which may be a root. If it is of more than one morpheme in a word, which will be either taking one more affix or a compound word in Nepali.

<i>Dhuma</i>	‘stone’
<i>CamAl</i>	‘uncooked rice’

3.2 Noun

Noun is a part of speech, inflected for case, denoting a tangible or intangible entity, referring to objects in the non-linguistic world or to concepts which are considered as forming entities parallel to real-world entities. There are two types of nouns realized in Nepali – namely simple and Derived nouns.

The Noun, which is not derived from any other word class, is called simple noun.

Simple Nouns

<i>lobh</i>	‘greed’
<i>kam</i>	‘work’
<i>hath</i>	‘hand’
<i>bau</i>	‘father’
<i>Tauko</i>	‘head’
<i>pap</i>	‘sin’
<i>pustAk</i>	‘book’
<i>gai</i>	‘cow’
<i>mit</i>	‘tried’
<i>kira</i>	‘leaf’
<i>boko</i>	‘goat’

Derived Forms

Derived nouns are formed from other form classes with the help of affixes.

Nouns derived by adding prefixes

<u>Prefixes</u>		<u>Noun stem</u>		<u>Derived Nouns</u>	
<i>swa</i>	‘self’	<i>des</i>	‘country’	<i>swades</i>	‘own land’
<i>pAr</i>	‘other’	<i>des</i>	‘country’	<i>pArdes</i>	‘foreign country’

The above table shows the formation of the nouns derived. The prefixes/*swa-* and *pAr -/* are added to the respective Noun stem to form a Derived form.

Noun derived by adding suffixes

<u>Noun stem</u>		<u>suffixes</u>		<u>Derived Nouns</u>	
<i>kAbi</i>	‘poet’	<i>-ta</i>	(agent)	<i>kabita</i>	‘poem’
<i>prAbhu</i>	‘great’	<i>-ta</i>	(agent)	<i>prAbhuta</i>	‘greatness’
<i>khet</i>	‘field’	<i>-i</i>	(suffix)	<i>kheti</i>	‘cultivation’
<i>mukh</i>	‘mouth’	<i>-ia</i>	(suffix)	<i>mukhia</i>	‘spokesman’

Nouns Derived from verb roots

<u>Verb roots</u>		<u>suffixes</u>		<u>Derived Nouns</u>	
<i>nac</i>	‘to dance’	<i>-ai</i>		<i>nacai</i>	‘dance’
<i>thAk</i>	‘to get tired’	<i>-awaT</i>		<i>thAkawAT</i>	‘tiredness’
<i>khel</i>	‘to play’	<i>-Auna</i>		<i>khelAuna</i>	‘plaything’
<i>pARh</i>	‘to read’	<i>-ai</i>		<i>pARha</i>	‘reading’

Nouns Derived from Adjectives

<u>Adjectives</u>		<u>suffixes</u>		<u>Derived Nouns</u>	
<i>moTo</i>	‘fat’	<i>-ai</i>		<i>moTai</i>	‘fatness’
<i>buRho</i>	‘old’	<i>-yaĩ</i>		<i>buRyaĩ</i>	‘old age’
<i>lamo</i>	‘long’	<i>-ai</i>		<i>lAmai</i>	‘length’

Gender

Gender is not grammatical in Nepali. The feminine gender is marked by the suffix /-i/ with the root form whereas the Masculine noun is marked with /-a and -o/ to denote Masculine Gender.

Masculine /-o and -a/

kAmar -o ‘bachelor’

aja ‘grand father’

kaka ‘uncle’

paRo ‘he-buffalo’

pArewa ‘pigeon’

Feminine : /-i/

kAmari ‘girl’

sali ‘sister-in-law’

aji ‘grand father’

bachhi ‘she buffalo’

pArewi ‘female pigeon’

Although the suffixes /-a and -o/ are added with the base form to denote masculine gender there are other forms which have no distinguished markers to denote as masculine gender. Whereas for the Feminine the suffixes /-ni and ika/ are used.

<i>nati</i>	‘grandson’	<i>nati-ni</i>	‘grand daughter’
<i>newar</i>	‘a newari caste person’	<i>newarini</i>	‘a newari woman’
<i>balAk</i>	‘boy’	<i>balika</i>	‘girl’
<i>lekhAk</i>	‘writer’	<i>lekhika</i>	‘(female) writer’

base root of masculine nouns changed to denote feminine nouns.

<i>boko</i>	‘he goat’	<i>bakhri</i>	‘she goat’
<i>mama</i>	‘uncle’	<i>maiju</i>	‘maternal aunty’
<i>bir</i>	‘male pig’	<i>bhuni</i>	‘female pig’
<i>babu</i>	‘father’	<i>ama</i>	‘mother’
<i>bAr</i>	‘bridegroom’	<i>kAnyi</i>	‘bride’

Number

There are two numbers in Nepali namely singular and plural. Singular number is unmarked whereas the plural is marked by the suffix */-hAru/*. In case of the numeral usage the plural suffix is not used.

<u>Singular</u>		<u>Plural</u>	
<i>keTo</i>	‘boy’	<i>keTa hAru</i>	‘boys’
<i>ghoRo</i>	‘horse’	<i>ghoRa hAru</i>	‘horses’
<i>dewAta</i>	‘god’	<i>dewAta hAru</i>	‘gods’
<i>kAlAm</i>	‘pen’	<i>kAlAm hAru</i>	‘pens’

The numerals are used with subject to denote plurality.

<i>mAsam</i>	<i>dAs</i>	<i>kAlAm</i>	<i>chAn</i>	‘I have ten pens’
<i>mAsam</i>	<i>tin</i>	<i>rupia</i>	<i>chAn</i>	‘I have three rupees’

Case

Case suffixes are added to the noun stems to establish relationship between Noun and Verb in a sentence. The Noun stems take specific case markers or post positions to establish the case relationship.

There are six cases have separate case markers. The Nominative case has no separate marker. In most of the cases the nominal bases function as nominative case.

Nominative Case

The nominative case generally marks the subject of a verb or the predicate noun which is either a noun or a pronoun. In this language nominative case is unmarked or *-le*.

Bhai royo ‘brother wept’ (Intransitive verb)

Usle khayo ‘he ate’ (Transitive verb)

Accusative Case

The accusative case is mainly used to mark the direct object of the transitive verb. It is realized by the suffix */-lAi/*

maile gai lAi dekhe ‘I see the cow’

maile kukur lAi chute herkai ‘I beat the dog’

maile roTi khaye ‘I eat the bread’

hami gai-lai manchAu ‘I worship the cow’

Dative Case

In this language dative case marker is *-lai*.

<i>mo isku:l jane chu</i>	‘I go to the school’
<i>mo mAndir ma puge</i>	‘I reach to the temple’
<i>guruji le vidyarti harulai pa:T paRaũ chA</i>	‘teacher taught lessons to the students’

Instrumental case

This case is used to denote instrument with which the action is performed. The collected data shows that instrumental case marker is *-le*.

<i>maile arile ruh kaTe</i>	‘I cut the tree with saw’
<i>maile churi le phAl khaTe</i>	‘I cut the fruit with knife’

Ablative Case

Ablative case is a case that expresses movement of the subject or the object from one place to another either at the spatial plane or at the temporal plane. In Nepali ablative case marker is realized *baRo* or *baRa*.

<i>pa:t haru rukh baRo jhareyo</i>	‘The leaves fall from the tree’
<i>chaũra seRi baRa jhareyo / khasiyo</i> (automatic)	‘The puppy falls from the steps’

Genitive case

Genitive case is a case in which the referent of the marked noun is the possessor of the referent of another noun. This case expresses the meaning of belonging to or possession of something by the subject. The Genitive case is realized as *-ro* or *-ko*.

<i>o mero kitab ho / hun</i> (respect)	‘This is my book’
<i>janak ko chori Sita ho</i>	‘Janak’s daughter is Sita.’
<i>u mero chora ho</i>	‘He is my son’

Sociative Case

Sociative case is a grammatical case which can express the person in whose company an action is carried out, or to any belongings of people which take part in an action. In this language, Sociative case marker is *-saMga*.

<i>gottA sola wAsa dekhi mo aphnu swani saMga bAs deichu</i>	‘I live with my wife for the past 16 years.’
--	--

u mo samga market / baja:A ma gaye

‘She goes with me to the market’

mo usko bina kadapi bosnu sogdina

‘I cannot live with him anymore’

Locative case

Locative case is a case that expresses location at the referent of the noun it marks. The location of the subject or object is expressed by the locative case marker. The locative case marker is – *ma*

chari ghArko chAt ma bAsi rAigocha

‘the bird sits on the roof of the house’

kukur chouru ma kud dei cha

‘The dog runs on the ground’

Benefactive case

The benefactive case is a grammatical case which expresses that the referent of the noun it marks receives the benefit of the situation expressed by the clause. This meaning is often incorporated in a dativ case. In Nepali the Benefactive case is realized as – *lagi*

gaile bachi ko lagi dad din cha

‘Cow gives milk for the calf’

bawisMako lagi babal paisa rakheko cha

‘Father kept money for the future expenditure’

3.1 Pronouns

Pronouns are substitute to the nouns, which also take case suffixes. The pronouns distinguish person, distance, and etc. The pronouns realized in Nepali are the following:

1. Personal pronoun

A personal pronoun refers to a specific person or thing and changes its form to indicate person, number, gender and case. The personal pronouns are categorized into three persons – first, second and third. In all the tenses and moods these categories are distinguished. All these persons with their number-gender variations have different concordial relationship with the verb, tense and moods. The personal pronoun distinguishes the persons along with plural variations.

- | | | | |
|------------------------------|---------------------|------------------|-------|
| 1. First Person Singular | ‘I’ is realized as | <i>/mã/</i> | ‘I’ |
| 2. First Person Plural | ‘we’ is realized as | <i>hami hAru</i> | ‘we’ |
| 3. Second Person Singular is | | <i>/timi/</i> | ‘you’ |

4. Second Person Plural is

/timi hAru/ 'you (pl)'

5. Third Person Singular (male) is

/ u / 'he'

/ yo / 'it'

/ u / 'she'

6. Third person plural - They – *timiharu*

In general, there are honorific suffixes used to denote the respect of the socially higher-level person or to the elderly person or to the socially elevated person by education, money, relationship etc. by separate markers in Nepali.

2. Interrogative Pronoun

An interrogative pronoun is used in question to stand for the item questioned. Interrogative are also called wh-words. In Nepali, suffixes namely */ ko, ke* and *kun /* is also used to ask questions about the person.

1. Who is not attending the meeting?
2. Which fruit is not edible?
3. What is your name?
4. When will you come?

1. *jochai* meeting *ma hajiri hūdaina?*
Who

2. *kūnchai phal kanu sakindena?*
Which

3. *timra na:m ke ho?*
4. *timi kahile aūchou?*

3. Relative Pronoun

A relative pronoun is a term for a word that marks a type of subordinate clause. In Nepali, this is realized as follows

jo manche chai hiju ayo

'The man who came yesterday is Rajesh'

jo keTile uPAnyas lekhiyo

'The girl who wrote novel'

4. Reflexive Pronoun:

A reflexive pronoun is a pronoun that is preceded by the noun, adjective, adverb or pronoun to which it refers (its antecedent) within the same clause. A reflexive pronoun is an anaphor that must be bound by its antecedent in its local domain. In Nepali, this is realized as follows.

maile aphelenai aphnu Amla kaTe

'I myself cut the finger'

timile gAdanai timi rukh baRo jhareyo 'You yourself fall from the tree'

usle nai rukh khaTe 'He himself cut the tree'

3.2 Adjectives

An adjective is a word that belongs to a class whose members modify nouns. An adjective specifies the properties or attributes of a noun referent. In Nepali, adjectives occur after noun and remain unchanged for any change in gender and number. Morphologically, adjectives are of two types: simple and derived.

Simple Adjectives

These are noun phrase headed by the modifier noun. The simple adjectives are of three types:

1. Adjectives of gender
2. Adjectives of quality
3. Adjectives of quantity

The Adjectives marked for gender can have masculine suffixes like /-a / or /-o/ whereas the suffix / -i / is used for the feminine.

kalo 'black'

kalo baulaha 'black mad man'

dubl 'weak'

dublo keTo 'weak girl'

sudh-o 'simple'

sudho-manis 'simple man'

Adjectives of Quality

The adjectives attribute to the noun expressing their quality.

garib 'poor'

garib manis 'poor man'

nilo akas 'blue sky'

asali suna 'pure gold'

tito kArela 'bitter guard'

lucco manis 'tricky man'

seto phul 'white flowers'

Adjectives of Quantity

The quantity against the thing is expressed which occurs before the noun.

<i>thorAi</i>	‘little’
<i>thorAi pani</i>	‘little water’
<i>slikAti dudh</i>	‘some milk’
<i>adha kam</i>	‘half of the work’
<i>thuprAi kukur</i>	‘many dogs’

Derived Adjectives:

The suffixes added to the nouns in order to form adjectival forms called Derived Adjectives

<i>dam</i>	‘price’
<i>dami</i>	‘costly’
<i>nam</i>	‘name’
<i>nami</i>	‘popular’
<i>khun</i>	‘blood’
<i>khuni</i>	‘murderer’

Interrogative Adjectives:

Adjectives are used as to question something or somebody when the suffixes /*ka, ke,* and *kun/* precede to the noun forms it is used as attributive to the noun.

<i>ka keTo thiyo</i>	‘A boy of what nature was he?’
<i>ke mAnis hAru chAn</i>	‘What kind of people can they be?’

3.3. Numeral

Numerals are the morphemic units denoting number as grammatical as well as adjectival category. The numerals in Nepali may be classified as Cardinals, Ordinals and Fractional. The cardinal numerals are base numerals whereas the ordinals are extending to higher numbers. The numerals are also found as attributed by Classifier.

Cardinal numerals

The cardinals are of two types - one is a single morpheme and another is composed of two or more morphemes. The single morphemic cardinals are base numerals and the double or more morphemic numerals are derived numerals.

Base Numerals

<i>ek</i>	‘one’
<i>dui</i>	‘two’
<i>tin</i>	‘three’
<i>car</i>	‘four’
<i>pāc</i>	‘five’
<i>chA</i>	‘six’
<i>sat</i>	‘seven’
<i>aTh</i>	‘eight’
<i>nAu</i>	‘nine’
<i>dAs</i>	‘ten’
<i>sAu</i>	‘hundred’
<i>hAjar</i>	‘thousand’
<i>lakh</i>	‘lacs’
<i>kAroR</i>	‘crores’

Derived Numerals

The numerals above eleven are formed by the system of addition.

The numerals of 11 to 18 are constructed by the combination of allomorphs of one to eight to the allomorph of 10 where the allomorph of 1 to 8 precede there of 10.

The construction of the numeral is shown below in the chart.

<u>Base Numeral</u>	<u>Allomorph</u>	<u>Additional suffix</u>
<i>ek</i> ‘one’	-ga	<i>ro ~ rA</i> ‘Ten’
<i>dui</i> ‘two’	-ba	<i>ro ~ rA</i> ‘Ten’
<i>tin</i> ‘three’	-te	<i>ro ~ rA</i> ‘Ten’
<i>car</i> ‘four’	-cAw	<i>do ~ dA</i> ‘Ten’
<i>pāc</i> ‘five’	-pAnd	<i>ro ~ rA</i> ‘Ten’
<i>chA</i> ‘six’	-so	<i>lo ~ lA</i> ‘Ten’
<i>sat</i> ‘seven’	-sAt	<i>ro ~ rA</i> ‘Ten’
<i>aTh</i> ‘eight’	-Ath	<i>ro ~ rA</i> ‘Ten’

For the numeral eleven it will be either

<i>egarō</i>	or	<i>egarA</i>	‘eleven’
<i>barō</i>	or	<i>barA</i>	‘twelve’
<i>cawdō</i>	or	<i>cawdA</i>	‘fourteen’
<i>PAndrō</i>	or	<i>PAndraA</i>	‘fifteen’
<i>Solō</i>	or	<i>SolA</i>	‘sixteen’
<i>sAtArō</i>	or	<i>sAterA</i>	‘seventeen’
<i>ATārō</i>	or	<i>AtarA</i>	‘eighteen’

Ordinal Numbers

The ordinal numbers express specification and fractional divisions

<i>pahilo</i>	‘first’
<i>dusAro</i>	‘second’
<i>tesro</i>	‘third’
<i>cAwtho</i>	‘fourth’
<i>pācWa</i>	‘fifth’

Aggregative

<i>donō</i>	‘both the two’
<i>tinō</i>	‘all the three’
<i>hajarō</i>	‘all the thousands’

Multiplicatives

The multiplicatives are formed by adding suffixes */-guna/* or */hAra/*

<i>dugunano</i>	‘two times’
<i>dohAra (o)</i>	‘two folds’
<i>DeRhguna (o)</i>	1½ times
<i>TehAra –o</i>	‘three folds’

Collectives

The collective numbers are expressed in group

<i>PAnjo</i>	‘collection of five’
--------------	----------------------

<i>joRa</i>	‘collection of two’
<i>dArjAn</i>	‘collection of twelve’

Fractional numbers

The fractional numbers are expressed by single word and also by phrase

<i>paw</i>	$\frac{1}{4}$
<i>adha</i>	$\frac{1}{2}$
<i>pon</i>	$\frac{3}{4}$
<i>tihai</i>	$\frac{1}{3}$
<i>sAwa</i>	$1\frac{1}{4}$
<i>DeRh</i>	$1\frac{1}{2}$
<i>aRhai</i>	$2\frac{1}{2}$

By phrases:

<i>Pone tin</i>	$2\frac{3}{4}$
<i>·SaRhe tin</i>	$3\frac{1}{2}$

3.4 Verb Morphology

Verb is a word class that marks Tense-Aspect- Modal- Personal markers distinguished by number and gender. In inflectional languages, verbs may be inflected for Tense- Aspect- Mood along with other constituents in terms of Person, Number and Gender. Accordingly, Verb Morphology deals with the forms and classification of verbs, and their pattern in association etc.

Verb stems may be classified as simple or complex. A simple stem consists of only one root. A complex stem has a root followed by one or more derivational or formative elements.

Simple verb

A simple verb stem consists only of a root. A complex stem has a root followed by one or more derivational formative elements.

<i>gAr</i>	‘do’
<i>bAs</i>	‘sit’
<i>dAgur</i>	‘run’
<i>dekh</i>	‘see’

Compound verb

The compound verb base consists of more than one root.

a)	Noun + Verb	<i>ghar honu</i>	‘to marry’
		<i>bhul gArnu</i>	‘to make mistake’
b)	Adj + Verb	<i>gArAm + gAr</i>	‘heat’
		<i>lal + gAr</i>	‘burn’
c)	verb + verb	<i>khoj + linu</i>	‘find out’
		<i>phek + dinu</i>	‘throw away’

Verb stem is the base of a verb denoting action. The classification of verbs and the types of verbs are presented below

Finite Verb

A finite verb is a verb form which occurs in an independent clause and is fully inflected according to the inflectional categories marked on verbs in the language. Having the verb stem as the base both Finite and Non-finite verbal formations are presented as realized from Nepali collected data. The components of finite verb are 1. Tense 2. Aspect and 3. Mood.

He sees me	<i>/usle mAlai dekhyo /</i>
The birds fly	<i>/chAraharu uRyo /</i>
The dog runs	<i>/ kukur kudyo /</i>

Tense:

Tense indicates the time of action, there are three tenses and aspects realized in Nepali Language.

Present Tense:

Present tense marker is *-chu* or null.

<i>maile timilai dekhe</i>	‘I see you’
<i>mo kAn chu</i>	‘I eat’
<i>mo hInchu</i>	‘I walk’

Past Tense:

Past tense marker is *-ye*.

<i>maile roTi khaye</i>	‘I ate bread’
<i>mo mAndirma gaye</i>	‘I went to the temple’
<i>mo offis ma a:ye</i>	‘I came to the office’

Future Tense:

In Nepali present tense and future tense marker is same.

mo timilai herchu 'I will see you'

mo phal khanchu 'I will eat fruit'

Aspect

Aspect is a grammatical category associated with verbs that expresses a temporal view of the event or state expressed by the verb. Aspect does not refer to a specific point as the tense. It is related with duration, perfection, habituality etc. In Nepali aspects are realized as follows,

a) Durative or Imperfective aspect

Durative aspect is also known as Imperfective aspect. It expresses an event or state, with respect to its internal structure, instead of expressing it as a simple whole. It describes an action which is regarded as continuous in the past or present or future tenses. Here it is realized in the following way.

Present durative

Marker is *dai-chu*

mo a:m kādai chu 'I am eating mango'

mo pani pyudai chu 'I am drinking water'

Past durative

Marker is *dai-thiyo/ thiye*

mo hiju suteko thiye 'I was sleeping yesterday'

usle hiju āp khadai thyo 'She was eating mango yesterday'

Future durative

Marker is *ne – chAn*

usle biology paRau-ne chAn 'She will be teaching Biology'

usle pais lAune chAn 'She will be bringing money'

b) Perfective aspect

The present perfective aspect expresses the completion of an action which is just finished. For the past, the perfective aspect describes an action either completed or supposed to be completed. The action to be completed in near future is expressed in future perfect.

Present Perfect

Marker is *-e*

moile kek khai sAkhe 'I have eaten cake'

moile gailai dhekke 'I have seen the cow'

Mood

Mood expresses the speakers' point of view about the occurrence of the event. There are two explicit moods viz. Indicative and Imperative in vogue in Nepali. Subjunctive and Optative have merged into a single mood and it is realized with the help of tense auxiliaries chosen on a semantic basis.

Imperative Mood

Simple base form of the verb is used in the sense of order of command. This mood generally occurs with second person.

likh 'write'

khel 'play'

lAga 'keep'

Subjunctive Mood

In the subjunctive mood indicates the fact which is not true. Generally this modal category is expressed by /əgər.....to/ "if.....then".

agAr uslai ApTyaro bhayo bane usle malai phon gArcha

'If he is in difficulty he will telephone to me'

Probability Mood

It expresses the probability of the action which is denoted by the verb. Structure of the verb in probability is as follows.

The probability is realized /-nu /

mo timra gArma aĩnu sAkchu 'I may come to your house'

usle chArilAi mArnu sAkcha 'He may kill the bird'

Non-Finite verb

A Non-Finite verb is a verb that does not function as the predicate verb in a clause that means the person and Number of its subject do not condition the verb. While some non-finite verbs take the form of past or present participles, they are generally not inflected—that is, they do not have mood, tense, number, aspect, gender, or person. However, the Non-Finite verb formation in Nepali are of two categories viz. 1) Infinitive and 2) Participle. These two categories are distinguished by their suffixes.

Infinitive

 The infinitive markers are /-nu/ which is suffixed to the verb root.

*usle saplAi sAmAtnu*gayo *tAro sāp bagyo*

‘He liked to catch the snake but it ran away’

Verbal Noun

Verbal noun is formed from a verb. Unlike gerund it does not have any verbal force. Verbal noun has only nominal character.

mAidan ma kudnuko lagi usko swAst rAmru bAyo

‘He gained good health by running in the field’

juTokura banda usle aphnu ramro sAti hArayo

‘Telling lies he lost his good friend’

In these above sentences / **kudnuko lagi** / ‘running’ and / **banda** / ‘telling’ are examples of verbal noun.

Gerund

A gerund is a verbal noun. Since it is a kind of noun, it may be the subject to some verb or the object to some verb. Marker is *-nu/ -nuko* .

byana pARnu sAda rAmro ho

‘Reading in the morning is always good’

pouri helku swAstuku lAgi rAmro ho

‘Swimming is good for health’.

In these above sentences /**pARnu**/ ‘reading’ and /**helku**/ ‘swimming’ are examples of gerund.

Causative Verb

Causative verbs are those which have two agents of which one causes the other to do. Causative verbs are derived from the transitive and intransitive by the addition of */-nu/ or /-unu/* Causative suffix. Examples in sentence

maile uslai kita:b dinuko lagi bhAne

‘I am making her give a book’

moile ravilai git gaunuko lAgi b^hAne

‘I make Ravi sing a song’

Auxiliary Verb

/cha-/ is identified as auxiliary verbs in Nepali.

mo gau ma chu mo 'I am in the village'

mo rukh kaTnu sAkchu 'I can cut the tree'

keTi hiRnu sAkchA 'That girl can walk'

Negative Verb

In Nepali, negative marker is expressed by */-na/* which is preceded by main active verb.

yo luga pahElo chAina 'This cloth is not yellow'

mo alu khadina 'I do not eat potato'

mo kehi pani jandina 'I know nothing'

na mo na kohi iskul ma jane chA

'Neither me nor others will go to the school.'

maile kehilepani pahaR ko uchai dekheko chuin

'I never saw the hill top'

Particle

Particle is a unit of speech which expresses some aspect of meaning or some connective or limiting relation. It can be an article, a post-position, a conjunction or an interjection or an adverb. There are also particles that have a tonal usage. Particles are uninflected and are invariable in all the positions.

There are four types of particles realized in Nepali Language namely Conjunctive, emphatic, negative and correlative.

Conjunctive Particle

Conjunctive particles of Nepali are like the following.

'She was there but went soon'

u tyEhã Eho tAro chãkAi phArkin chA

‘She came and went soon’

zu aye zani chaRai gaye

Emphatic Particle

Emphatic particles of Nepali are like the following.

malai mAndirma janai pArch a ‘I must go to the Temple’

uslai dAwai linai pArch ‘She has to take the medicine’

Negative Particle

Negative particles of Nepali are like the following.

yo ra to rAM hAina ‘This is not red colour’

yo ghoRa khoiro chAina ‘This horse is not brownish’

akasma kehipani dekhindei na ‘Nothing is visible in the sky’

Correlative Particle

Correlative particles of Nepali are like the following.

gAnThi lagne ko sat sathei keTaharu kudde bagyo

‘As soon as the bell ring boys run away’

u evTa ramro kAvi ho sat satai gayEk pAni

‘He is a good poet as well as singer’

jEba sAmmA timi sAu urune chA

‘He will cry as long as you are here’

Passive Formation

Passive formation of Nepali is as follows.

chorilAi sikarile mAriyo ‘The bird killed by the hunter’

usko sAtiko bAtha usle kuThAi khAyo ‘He was beaten by his friend’

Transitivity

The intransitive verb root may occur for transitive formation in the following way. For example

/um-/ verb base in */pani umliyo/* ‘water boils’ occurs in transitive sentence */maile pani umale/* ‘I boil water’.

Similarly the verb */phakranu-/* in */phul phAkriecha/* ‘the flower blossom’ occurs as */mAile phul phAkrae/* in transitive sentence.

Water boils	<i>/ pani umliyo /</i>
I boil the water	<i>/ maile pani umale /</i>
Heavy wind blows	<i>/ huri bAtas chAl deichA /</i>
I blow the air into the balloon	<i>/ mAile bElun bitra hAwa pukhe /</i>

3.5 Adverb

Adverb qualifies verb. The adverbs are realized in Nepali as

Adverbs of place

Adverb of manner

Adverb of Time

Adverbs of place

Bird sits on the tree */ chAri hAru rukh mAthi bAsi rAhe ko chA/*

He sleeps under the tree */ u rukh muni suthi rakhe ko chA /*

Adverb of manner

bistare bAtmara ‘Speak slowly’

sAphA gArera sAbdahAru lEkha ‘Write words neatly’

Adverb of Time

malai bholi gaũ ma janu porne chA

‘I shall go to the village tomorrow’

u hiju akho thiyo ani TaDo gAyo

‘He came yesterday and went away’

Echo-word Formation

The first component of a word is echoed as a second component, thus forming a Compound Noun giving a different meaning. The second member never occurs independently.

khArAc – bArAc ‘spending’

ujur – majur ‘protest’

kuRo – kAbra ‘garbage’

ArAk – mArAk ‘beverage’

4. SYNTAX

Syntax is the study of the principles and rules for constructing phrases and sentences in natural languages. The syntax also establishes the rules governing the order of combining the words-phrases to form sentences in a language.

4.1 Order of words in sentences

Nepali is subject + Object + Verb based language.

- 1) *hari mero bhai ho* ‘Hari my brother is
Subject+Object +Verb’
‘Hari is my brother’

- 2) *mA ghara pug chu*
I house reach
Subj+Object+Verb ‘I reach house’

- 3) *nani dudh pincha*
child milk drinks
Subj+Obj + Verb ‘The child drinks milk’

4.2 Description of types of sentences

There are 5 types of sentences realized in Nepali Language.

1. Interrogative sentence

In interrogative sentences there is no specific restricted place for the interrogative sense carrying terms. For example,

timro nau ko ho? ‘What is your name?’
you name what is

pastak kAhã chA ‘Where is the book?’
book where is

2. Imperative sentence

Imperative sentences denote sense ordering. For example,

ghAra ja 'go home'

dhudh pi 'drink milk'

3. Negative sentence

The sentence which expresses the negation are called so. For example,

ma janchuna 'I do not go'

I go not

u gar da ina 'He does not do'

he+do + not

4. Causative sentence

The causative sentences are formed by suffixing causative marker to the verb which varies according to the person. When the subject causes some agent to do the action we get causative sentence. For example:

The causativeness is realized by the Suffix / -au / which occurs with the base verb.

nāc 'dance' + *au nāccau* 'make dance'

bAs 'sit' + *au basau* 'make sit'

pADh 'read' + *au pADhau* 'make read'

sut 'sleep' + *au sutau* 'make sleep'

5. Coordination

Coordinative sentences are formed with the help of conjunctions:

tyo manis dhAni thiyo tAr lobhi thiyo

that man rich was but greedy was

'That man was rich but he was greedy'

4.3 Description of patterns of sentences:

There are three patterns of sentences realized in Nepali language namely Simple, Complex and Compound.

Simple sentence

A sentence, which cannot be further divided into smaller, is called simple sentence.

1) *mero bhai* 'My brother'

- 2) *bAhini agi ai* 'Sister came'
- 3) *nani royo* 'Child wept'
- 4) *nani dudh pincha*
child milk drink 'The child drink milk'
- 5) *timro naũ ke ho?*
Your name what is 'What is your name?'
- 6) *u gArinA* 'He did not do'
he did not

Complex sentence

The complex sentences are formed with the help of subordinate clause.

usle malai heri rahe ko thiyo molai sodnu porcha uslai kehi chAhiyo khi

He keeps on looking at me, let me ask if he wants anything

evTa kag jAbo khana khojdei jandei thyo evTa sikarila dekyo hatma jalhi samati rake ko.

When a crow was going in search of food, saw a hunter with a net in his hand

Compound sentence

The compound sentences are formed with the help of coordinating conjunctions

tyo manis dhani thiyo tAr bobhi thiyo

that man rich was but he was greedy

'That man was rich but greedy'

timi jau Ar mÃ janchu

you go and I going

'You may go and I am going'.

5. TEXT

kasAri kag-ko kalo sap lai mariyo

How crow snake + case killed

How the crow hen killed the black snake

Phailika phiji barko rukh ko hagaharu madhe EwTa hāgama EwTa

Spreading banyan tree of branches among one branch one

kag ra pothi basdathe tiniharu gūR ma car waTa anDa thiye jaslai

crow and wife lived their nest in four units eggs were which

tiniharule Ati jatna ewam sawdhani saha rakheka thiye

they great care and precaution with kept guarded

“In the nest were four little eggs, which the parents guarded with great care”.

yasko karanle gards bhale kag ra pothi kag ekdame dareko thiyo

of this reason do male crow and wife crow greatly feared

prayak paita pothi kagle anDe pareNachi dinchatyo sāp ghasrer mathi

every time wife crow eggs laid gave that snake come up

ayar anDa haru khaidinthyo

crawling eggs ate

“Everytime the crow hen laid her eggs the snake crawled up to the nest and ate them up”.

yo paiTa pani tyo sãple ayer mero hamro anDaharu khaidima khaya
this time also that snake come my our eggs eat ate

bhane mA yo Thau ma lamabasna channa.

Them I this place at longer live desire not

“If the black snake eats up my eggs this time also, I will refuse to live in this tree any longer”.

hamile arke Than ma gũR banaunuparcha poth kag le bhaile kag
we place at nest have to build female crow male crow

lai bhAni

said

“We must build our nest somewhere else said the other bird to her husband”

hami dherai samaydekhi yahã bAsyo mA yõ ghAr lai ujaR bhAeko
we long time seen here live I this home desert

sAhEn sAkidawna

were cannot (live)

“We have lived here for a long time, I cant bear to desert my home and go to live elsewhere said the female crow”.

bhale kag le bhAnyo jab uniharu batkari rahekathiye bAtikher tiniharu
female crow told when they talking (continued) meantime they

dekhi tAl tir

saw just below.

“While they were talking they heard a hissing sound just below them”.

si sī awaj sune tini harule tyo awaj ko Anuman lage.

Hissing sound heard they both sound of guess did.

“They knew what the sound meant”

tiniharu asahai awaSa ma anDaharulai suraksit parne jatna ma lagirahe

they both helplessly sound in eggs protect make effort in remained

“They sat helplessly in their nest trying to protect their eggs.”

kalo sāp ghasrer mathi pugyo ra gūRko najik pugyo

black snake creeping ahead reach and nest near reached

“The black snake crept higher and closer to the nest”.

Thulo phūsphāsawaj nikale tyasle cArahAru lai ThuMna kojyo

Loud sound out these bird for strike try

jAsko karAnle tini haru Dare uRe.

Do birds fear fly

“Then with a loud hiss the snake tried to strike at the bird. The birds fly away in terror.

tyas pachi EkEkWATa garde sAbe AnDeharu sãple nilyo pariwar haru
after that one by one doing all eggs snake swallowed the parents bird

dukhi bhair gũR ma phArke tinihArule ramri jandthe ki gũR ritto cha
sadly back nest in side their well knew that nest empty.

“The parents bird came back sadly to their nest knowing well that they would find it empty”.

kagle bhAnyo mAile yo khuni sãplai marneko lagi kehi upai sōcnu
crow said I this murderous snake kill-to some way think

pArcha

have to

“The crow said I must find a way to destroy this murderous snake”

timi kAsAri uchit AarAn sAkchu uskotyo bhAyANkAr Das sit pothi
you how idea can do he deadly sting crow hen

kagle aphno patilai bhAnyo.

Crow her husband said

“How can you ever fight him; His sting is so deadly, said his wife in despair”.

timi surta nA gAr meri priya mA sitmero ekjana Dhurta Sathi chA
you worry not do my dear I have my person cunning friend
tyo bisalu Sãplai marnko lagi usit Dherdi buddhi cha bhale kagle bhAnyo
that poisonous snake kill purpose enough skill male crow said

tyAs pAchi tini haru uRer arko rukh ma base Jasko tAl tir usko aphno
after that their fly another tree on sat which down his self

priyA Sathi syal bAsthyo.

dear friend jackal lived.

“Don’t worry my dear, I have got a friend who is cunning enough to destroy the most poisonous snakes, said the crow and off he flew to another tree under which lived his dear friend the jackal.”

Jab Syalle tyo sãple kasri tiniharu ka anDa khai din thyo barema

When jackal that snake how their of eggs used to eat about

sunyo tAb usle bhAnyo merosathi jo krur ra lobhi hunchu usko ant

heard then he said my friend who cruel and greedy become his end

pani na yamrai huncha Daraune kam chain na tyAs lai marnko lagi mAi le

also not good happen fear work not him for kill to purpose I

ewTa upai sÕci sAkeko chũ

one plan think can do

“When the jackal heard how the snake always ate up the eggs, he said my friend those who are cruel and greedy always meet with a bad end please don’t hear fear’.

oh mA lai bhAntyo ke ho kagle bhAnyo

on to me tell that what crow said

“I have already thought of a plan to destroy him.”

syal le Arule sundAcha bhAni DArAr kan ma bistarai

jackal some hear telling fear ear in total.

“Oh, do tell me what it is said the crow”.

tyo sāplai marnke gArn parcha bhani Samjhayo
that snake kill do tell described.

kag uRer usko pothik pugyo ani yojana bare bAtayo
crow fly his wife reach also plan narrated

yo ati jokhimurna cha kag le banyo
this great risky is crow told

“It is risky, said the crow”.

hamile yAs ma Dharai satArk bAnnu par da cha
we in this too much cautious have to remain

“We will have to be very careful”.

mo mero anDe hAru lai rakcha gArako nimti je pAni garn sAkchu
I my egg + pl. for protect to for whatever do can

hi Dar bhaer pothi kagle bhani
Fearlessly become crow-hen crow told.

“I’ll do anything to save my eggs, said the mother bird bravely”.

tyAs pachi tiniharu deska raj mahal tir uRe uni haru bAseka rukh dekhi
after that they country king palace fly them live tree from

raj mahal Tara thiyem tinihAru raj mahAl ke ewTa thulo pokhari ko mathi
royal palace near they both royal palace one big pond of near

puge tyo pokhari ma raniharu le nuwairka deke
reached pond in royal Ladies taking bath seen.

“They saw near palace a pond where the royal ladies taking bath”.

tiniharu le Sunko Sikri motika malaharu ra Aru Ghahana haru pokAri ko
they gold chains pearl garlands and other jewellerys pond of

dil ma phuka ler rakhe ka thiye
edge at spread had kept.

“They had their golden chains; Pearls necklaces and other jewellery on the edge of the pond”.

pothi cAra tAl hōco uRer Gaer ewTa Sikri uRaer lyai Ani aphu
female bird down towards fly do one chain picked up and her

bAseki tyo rukh komathi bistarAti urAn thali
live that tree towards slowly fly.

“When the palace guards saw the flying off with the gold chain they took up their clubs and chased the bird”.

tiniharule dekhe carazle tyo sikri rukh ko Torko ma chirayo.
them (among) seeing bird that chain tree hollow dropped

sipahi haru madhe ek janale tyo rukh waT sikri nikalneko nimti carhyo
guards among one person tree from chain getting out climbed.

“One of the guards climbed up the tree to get the chain.”

jaise usle aphna hat sikri nikalneko nimti Dhulo mA chirayo usle dekhyo
as he his hand chain falling out hollow in thrashed he saw

ewTa kalosāp guRulo bhaer bAseko dekyo lauroko EkAi ramro ghaT le
one black snake curled sitting saw stick one good stick

usle tyas lai maryo.
He hit killed.

“As the person put his hand inside the hole to get the chain, he saw a black snake curled up and he gave one hard stroke with his club and he killed the snake.”

tyo kalo sāp ko ant thiyo
the black snake of ended.

“And that was the end of the black snake”.

tyaspachi kag ani pothi kagle tyasai rukh ma Dherai baccaharu liyer
after that crow and crow hen there tree in many child had

anandsit basna thale.

happily lived

“The crow and the crow hen lived in that wife happily afterwards and had many children”.

6. BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Hodgson. B.H., The Language, Literature and Religion of Nepal and Tibet, London (1874)
2. Rogers G.G. Colloquial Nepali, Calcutta – 1950
3. Clark T.W. Introduction to Nepali, Cambridge, 1963
4. Kloss, Gorkhali- Nepali, The written Languages of the world – Book No.2, ICRB, Canada and Office of the Registrar General, India. P.p.813-854, 1989.

CHAPTER – 5

TIBETO – BURMAN LANGUAGES

(KINNAURI, LAHAULI & BHOTIA)

KINNAURI

Dr. P. Perumal Samy

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1.FAMILY AFFILIATION

Grierson classifies the Kinnauri language /called as *Kanauri* earlier/ under the group of Himalayan languages, the branch of Tibeto –Himalayan of the sub family Tibeto Burman, belonging to the broader family Tibeto-Chinese. Among the Himalayan group of languages, Kinnauri belongs to the western sub group and again, the features help this language to be placed under pronominalized group.

1. 2. LOCATION

Kinnauri is mainly spoken in Himachal Pradesh state. The Kinnauras live in Kinnaur district primarily. Their concentration is observed predominantly in Nichar, Kalpa, Sangla, Morang, Poo and Hangrang areas.

1.3 SPEAKERS' STRENGTH

The speaker's strength of Kinnauri in respect of Language /Mother tongue and bilingualism and trilingualism as per 2011 Census publication is given below:

As per the 2011 Census, the strength of Kinnauri Language speakers in all India level is 83, 561. Out of the total population, 82, 712 speakers i. e. 98. 98% live in Himachal Pradesh. The remaining 1. 02% of the speakers are spread across the country in smaller denominations. Uttarakhand has the second highest speakers' strength as 251.

India/State /Union Territory	Total			Rural			Urban		
	Person s	Male	Femal e	Person s	Male	Femal e	Person s	Male	Femal e
Kinnauri Language		40,785	42,776		39,081	41,164		1,704	1,612
INDIA	83,561			80,245			3,316		
Jammu & Kashmir	237	122	115	165	78	87	72	44	28
Himachal Pradesh	82,712	40,295	42,417	79,773	38,802	40,971	2,939	1,493	1,446
Punjab	46	31	15	6	3	3	40	28	12

Chandigarh	56	27	29	0	0	0	56	27	29
Uttarakhand	251	147	104	218	128	90	33	19	14
Haryana	23	12	11	4	2	2	19	10	9
Nct Of Delhi	41	15	26	0	0	0	41	15	26
Rajasthan	16	14	2	13	12	1	3	2	1
Uttar Pradesh	14	13	1	6	6	0	8	7	1
Bihar	4	4	0	3	3	0	1	1	0
Sikkim	2	2	0	0	0	0	2	2	0
Arunachal Pradesh	6	5	1	3	3	0	3	2	1
Nagaland	5	5	0	5	5	0	0	0	0
Manipur	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0
Mizoram	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0
Tripura	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0
Assam	2	2	0	2	2	0	0	0	0
West Bengal	16	9	7	1	1	0	15	8	7
Jharkhand	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0
Chhattisgarh	5	5	0	0	0	0	5	5	0
Madhya Pradesh	8	6	2	0	0	0	8	6	2
Gujarat	5	2	3	0	0	0	5	2	3
Maharashtra	39	18	21	9	5	4	30	13	17
Andhra Pradesh	12	5	7	1	1	0	11	4	7
Karnataka	54	40	14	34	28	6	20	12	8
Goa	2	1	1	0	0	0	2	1	1
Kerala	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0

Kinnauri Mother Tongue:

Kinnauri, returned as the mother tongue, is having 83,427 speakers in all India level. Again, Himachal Pradesh has 99.08% of speakers numbering 82,662 and the remaining 0.92% spread over other states and union territories.

India/States/ Union Territories	Total			Rural			Urban		
	Person	Male	Female	Pers on	Male	Female	Person	Male	Female
INDIA	83,427	40,711	42,716	80,2 11	39,058	41,153	3,216	1,65 3	1,563
Jammu & Kashmir	234	121	113	164	78	86	70	43	27
Himachal Pradesh	82,662	40,263	42,399	79,7 50	38,785	40,965	2,912	1,47 8	1,434
Punjab	46	31	15	6	3	3	40	28	12
Chandigarh	56	27	29	0	0	0	56	27	29
Uttarakhand	251	147	104	218	128	90	33	19	14
Haryana	20	11	9	4	2	2	16	9	7
Nct of Delhi	39	14	25	0	0	0	39	14	25
Rajasthan	16	14	2	13	12	1	3	2	1
Uttar Pradesh	8	8	0	6	6	0	2	2	0
Bihar	3	3	0	3	3	0	0	0	0
Sikkim	2	2	0	0	0	0	2	2	0
Arunachal Pradesh	6	5	1	3	3	0	3	2	1
Nagaland	5	5	0	5	5	0	0	0	0
Manipur	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0
Mizoram	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0
Tripura	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0
Assam	2	2	0	2	2	0	0	0	0
West Bengal	3	3	0	1	1	0	2	2	0
Jharkhand	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0
Chhattisgarh	5	5	0	0	0	0	5	5	0
Madhya Pradesh	4	3	1	0	0	0	4	3	1
Gujarat	5	2	3	0	0	0	5	2	3
Karnataka	54	40	14	34	28	6	20	12	8
Goa	2	1	1	0	0	0	2	1	1

The Strength of Kinnauri language in Himachal Pradesh:

As per the 2011 Census, the strength of Kinnauri Language speakers in Himachal Pradesh is 82, 712. Out of the total population, 60,605 speakers i. e. 73. 27% live in Kinnaur district. The remaining 26. 73% of the speakers are spread across the state. The next highest number of speakers are found in Lahul & Spiti district with total population of 12, 902 speakers, followed by Kullu and Shimla districts with strength of 3, 693 and 3, 358 respectively. District-wise distribution of Kinnauri language is presented in the Introduction chapter.

As per the 2011 Census, the strength of Kinnauri mother tongue speakers in Himachal Pradesh is 82, 662. Out of the total population, 60, 596 speakers i. e. 73. 30% live in Kinnaur district. The remaining 26. 70% of the speakers are spread across the state. The next highest number of speakers are found in Lahul & Spiti district with total population of 12, 902 speakers, followed by Kullu and Shimla districts with strength of 3, 681 and 3, 344 respectively.

1. 4 BILINGUALISM AND TRILINGUALISM

Among the 82, 712 speakers of Kinnauri language in Himachal Pradesh, 15,641 speakers are reported to be monolinguals. The remaining 67,071 speakers are speaking two or more languages. Among the speakers speaking two or more languages, 65,769 persons speak Hindi as second language. It constitutes 98. 05% of the total bilinguals. English follows Hindi as the second language spoken by Kinnauras by means of 1. 79% of the population, i. e. spoken by 1204 persons.

The third languages known to Kinnauras are: English, Hindi, Punjabi, Bhotia and so on. Among the languages known, English is spoken by majority of the persons followed by Hindi. The other languages are spoken by the population below 100. The bilingual and trilingual table has furnished in the Introduction chapter.

1.5 SOCIOLINGUISTIC INFORMATION

Kinnauri is one of the non-scheduled languages appeared in the 2011 Census among the 99 languages. The average growth rate of this language per decade is as follow:

1971-81 = 16. 26 %

1981 – 91 = 16. 89 %

1991- 2001 = 5. 35 % and

2001 – 2011 = 28.36 % respectively

In all India level, Kinnauri language is found in the state of Himachal Pradesh majorly and also found in Jammu & Kashmir and Uttarakhand state. It is found in other states with meager number of speakers.

1.6 LANGUAGE USE

Home Domain:

The elderly Kinnauras know only Kinnauri language. Hence they speak in Kinnauri language at home domain and other domains. They use Kinnauri language with their kith and kin. Contrary to this, the younger generation, who are educated and thus exposed to Hindi language through school education, uses Kinnauri and Hindi languages fluently in various domains.

School Domain:

Hindi is being taught as first language in schools. More over, the medium of instruction is in Hindi. Hence, the younger generation, who are exposed to school education, is converse well in Hindi. They use this language in school, bazar, official correspondences, court, marriage invitations etc.

Mass Media:

Akashwani, Shimla broad casts the radio programmes such as songs, news, some times interview in Kinnauri language on Sundays, Wednesdays and Fridays for thirty minutes. Besides this, the Kinnauras listen Hindi music cassettes and view Hindi films. They are listening the Radio programmes of Hindi as well as Pahari languages.

Social Domain:

The younger people use Kinnauri language to speak with elders. During religious and festival occasions, Kinnauri language is mostly used with kinsmen. The Kinnauri language is much enriched with oral tradition. It has folk songs, stories, riddles etc. abundantly. However, it does not have the script on its own so far.

1.7 REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Kinnauri, the language under description, was being referred as Kanawari by Grierson, a dialect or dialects spoken in the Sutlej Valley from the junction of that river with the Spiti stream. This dialect is also known by other names such as Tibarskad, Milchang or Milchanang and Malhesti.

Grierson grouped this dialect under complex pronominalized languages of Himalayan group and again, placed it as western sub group. Grierson's reporting consists of pronunciations, noun and verb morphological features of Kinnauri language. Grierson while describing Kanawari dialect, observes that features such as the half-pronounced consonants in the syllable, the presence of dual number, the use of double sets of forms in dual and plural of the first person, counting the higher numbers in twenties, forming different bases for reflexive sentences etc. are coinciding with the features of Munda languages.

Neethivanan (1976) in his 'Survey of Kanauri in Himachal Pradesh' monograph points out that the features mentioned above are present in Dravidian, Munda and other Tibeto Burman languages as well. In his concluding remarks, he emphasized that the only one feature that could be ascribed solely to Munda languages as operating today in Himalayan languages is the counting of numerals in twenties. He also suggested examining the classification of pronominalized and non-pronominalized speeches as proposed initially by Hodgson.

A descriptive grammar of Kinnauri by Sharma (1988) describes the Kinnauri language by using modern linguistic principles. The morphological features are accounted in detail alongwith phonological and syntactical analyses.

The present one, data collected from the Kalpa region, once the nerve centre of Kinnauri people as their head quarters, aims to describe the Kinnauri language from the perspectives of linguistics and demography by applying the modern linguistic principles.

2. PHONOLOGY

2. 1 PHONEMIC INVENTORY

Kinnauri comprises of thirty-three phonemes out of which seven are vowels and twenty-six are consonants.

2. 1. 1 SEGMENTAL PHONEMES

2. 1. 1. 1. Vowels

	Front	Central	Back
High	<i>i</i>		<i>u</i>
Mid	<i>e</i>	<i>A</i>	<i>o</i>
Low Mid	<i>E</i>		
Low			<i>a</i>

2. 1. 1. 2. Consonants

	Bilabial		Alveolar		Retroflex		Palatal		Velar		Glottal
	VL	VD	VL	VD	VL	VD	VL	VD	VL	VD	
Plosive	<i>p</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>T</i>	<i>D</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>j</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>g</i>	
	<i>p^h</i>		<i>t^h</i>		<i>T^h</i>		<i>c^h</i>		<i>k^h</i>		
Nasal		<i>m</i>		<i>N</i>						<i>M</i>	
Flap				<i>r</i>							
Fricative			<i>s</i>	<i>z</i>			<i>S'</i>				<i>h</i>
Lateral				<i>l</i>							
Approximant		<i>w</i>					<i>y</i>				

2. 1. 2. SUPRA SEGMENTAL FEATURES

Length

Length is realised only in phonetic level in Kinnauri.

/la :n/	‘air’
/ju : /	‘cloud’
/re :ta/	‘sand’
/E : n/	‘bat’
/su : ras/	‘pig’
/S'e : r/	‘city’

Voiced aspiration

Voiced aspiration is realised only in phonetic level.

/g ^h ileri/	‘squirrel’
/marya S'id ^h /	‘lazy’
/zod ^h /	‘gram’
/d ^h ayi/	‘mid wife’
/D ^h a kiya/	‘postman’

Nasalization

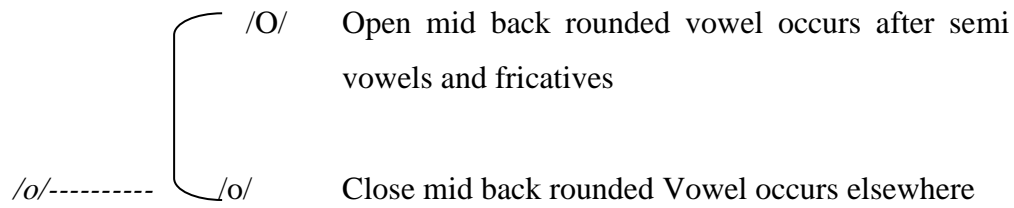
Nasalisation is realised only in phonetic level.

/zeĩ/	‘come’
/toĩ/	‘(you) are’
/loĩ/	‘tell’
/kuĩ/	‘call’
/kaĩ/	‘bring’
/toS'ĩ/	‘sit’

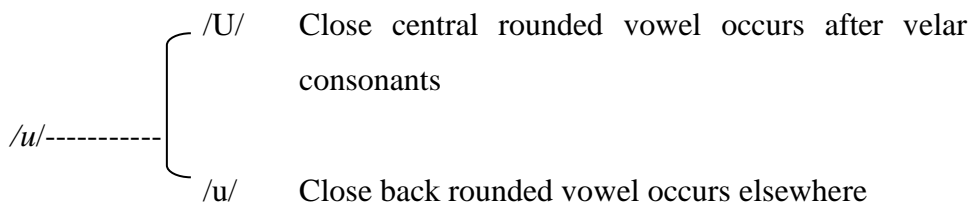
Retroflex consonants

The presence of retroflex consonants such as lateral and nasal are observed in some instances and are considered them is only phonetic level.

/c ^h uLodu/	‘barks’
/NamaM/	‘name’

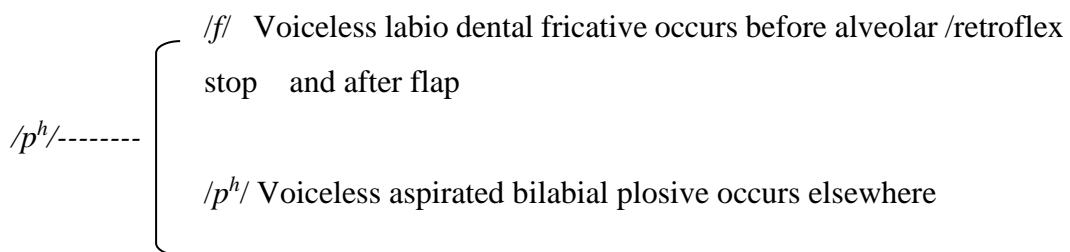


<i>/yOl iM/</i>	<i>/yoliM /</i>	‘twin’
<i>/hO : Ma /</i>	<i>/hoMa/</i>	‘dragon fly’
<i>/wAnniK/</i>	<i>/wonnik/</i>	‘laugh’
<i>/c^h or/</i>	<i>/c^h or/</i>	‘slope’
<i>/oms/</i>	<i>/oms/</i>	‘turn a side’
<i>/soko/</i>	<i>/soko/</i>	‘scorpion’



<i>/gUTli/</i>	<i>/guTli/</i>	‘pit’
<i>/g^hUm/</i>	<i>/gum/</i>	‘bow’
<i>/yune/</i>	<i>/yune/</i>	‘sun’
<i>/uS’ o/</i>	<i>/uS’o/</i>	‘pupil’

Consonants



<i>/Dafar/</i>	<i>/dap^har/</i>	‘ignorant’
<i>/fra : lmik/</i>	<i>/p^hralmik/</i>	‘hammer’
<i>/isti : fa/</i>	<i>/istip^ha/</i>	‘resign’

<i>/p^holaM/</i>	<i>/p^holaM/</i>	‘fruit’
<i>/p^hayul/</i>	<i>/p^hayul/</i>	‘nature’

/w/ -----

}	<i>/v/</i>	Voiced labio dental fricative occurs in the borrowed lexical items
	<i>/w/</i>	Voiced labio dental approximant occurs elsewhere

<i>/vi : na /</i>	<i>/vina/</i>	‘veena’
<i>/silvar /</i>	<i>/silwar /</i>	‘silver’
<i>/vakkil /</i>	<i>/wakkil /</i>	‘lawyer’
<i>/was /</i>	<i>/was /</i>	‘honey’
<i>/dwaM/</i>	<i>/dwaM/</i>	‘smoke’

vowel

/t/-----

}	<i>/t̪/</i>	Voiceless dental plosive occurs before close mid
	<i>/t/</i>	Voiceless alveolar plosive occurs elsewhere

<i>/t̪eg/</i>	<i>/teg/</i>	‘big’
<i>/t̪elaM/</i>	<i>/telaM/</i>	‘fuel’
<i>/ate/</i>	<i>/ate/</i>	‘paternal uncle’s son’
<i>/ti :r/</i>	<i>/tir/</i>	‘arrow’
<i>/til/</i>	<i>/til/</i>	‘gum’

/l/-----

}	<i>/L/</i>	The retroflex lateral approximant occurs before back close mid rounded vowel
	<i>/l/</i>	The alveolar lateral approximant occurs elsewhere

<i>/c^huLodu/</i>	<i>/c^hulodu/</i>	‘barks’
<i>/o:LaM/</i>	<i>/olaM/</i>	‘shed’
<i>/p^haLaM/</i>	<i>/p^halaM/</i>	‘fruits’
<i>/lama/</i>	<i>/lama/</i>	‘monk’
<i>/akol/</i>	<i>/akol/</i>	‘brain’

/n/-----	[	<i>/N/</i>	The retroflex nasal occurs before velar nasal or retroflex stop
		<i>/n/</i>	The alveolar nasal occurs elsewhere

<i>/NamaM /</i>	<i>/namaM/</i>	‘name’
<i>/koNTu/</i>	<i>/konTu/</i>	‘basket’
<i>/nalka/</i>	<i>/nalka/</i>	‘tap’
<i>/yune/</i>	<i>/yune/</i>	‘sun’

2. 3 PHONEMIC CONTRAST

Vowels

/i/ ~ /e/

<i>/mi/</i>	‘man’
<i>/me/</i>	‘fire’

/i/~ /a/

<i>/api/</i>	‘grand mother’
<i>/apa/</i>	‘father in law’
<i>/liS’/</i>	‘cold’
<i>/laS’/</i>	‘damp’

/i/~ /w/

<i>/i/</i>	‘ask: question’
<i>/w/</i>	‘flower’
<i>/kim/</i>	‘building’
<i>/kum/</i>	‘pillow’

/i/

/id/ 'one'

/idi/ 'equal'

/oms/ 'turn aside'

/omsi/ 'already'

/e/~a/

/S'e/ 'palm of hand'

/S'a/ 'flesh'

/E~/A/

/En/ 'bat'

/An/ 'steam'

/Em/ 'taste'

/Am/ 'road'

/a/

/TA/ 'face'

/aTA/ 'bank of river'

/i~/o/

/biS'aM/ 'venom'

/boS'aM/ 'year'

/a~/o/

/baS'aM/ 'flute'

/boS'aM/ 'year'

/mar/ 'butter'

/mor/ 'peacock'

/o~/u/

/S'o/ 'loss'

/S'u/ 'god'

/u/

/S'o/ 'loss'

/uS'o/ 'pupil'

Consonants

/p~/b/

/piyac^h/ 'bird'

<i>/byas/</i>	‘practise’
<i>/apa/</i>	‘father in law’
<i>/ama/</i>	‘mother’
<i>/t~/d/</i>	
<i>/tata/</i>	‘hatch’
<i>/to/</i>	‘face’
<i>/do/</i>	‘he/she’
<i>/t^h/</i>	
<i>/Em/</i>	‘taste’
<i>/t^hem/</i>	‘daughter –in-law’
<i>/t~/T/</i>	
<i>/to/</i>	‘face’
<i>/To/</i>	‘ashes’
<i>/c^h~/S’/</i>	
<i>/c^ha/</i>	‘salt’
<i>/S’a/</i>	‘beef’
<i>/c^hin/</i>	‘finger nail’
<i>/S’in/</i>	‘liver’
<i>/k~/g/</i>	
<i>/kui/</i>	‘dog’
<i>/gui/</i>	‘nine’
<i>/kum/</i>	‘pillow’
<i>/gum/</i>	‘bow’
<i>/n~/m/</i>	
<i>/yune/</i>	‘son’
<i>/yume/</i>	‘mother –in –law’
<i>/An/</i>	‘steam’
<i>/Am/</i>	‘road’
<i>/n/</i>	
<i>/panu/</i>	‘pasture’
<i>/pannu/</i>	‘cook’
<i>/n~/M/</i>	
<i>/S’in/</i>	‘liver’
<i>/S’iM/</i>	‘wood’

<i>/M/</i>		
	<i>/ra/</i>	‘hundred’
	<i>/raM/</i>	‘paint’
<i>/m/~M/</i>		
	<i>/mar/</i>	‘ghee’
	<i>/Ma/r</i>	‘anger’
	<i>/c^ham/</i>	‘fur’
	<i>/c^haM/</i>	‘boy’
<i>/s/</i>		
	<i>/To/</i>	‘ashes’
	<i>/sTo/</i>	‘mouth’
<i>/S’/~l/</i>		
	<i>/oS’aM/</i>	‘shed’
	<i>/oLaM/</i>	‘dew’
<i>/l/~r/</i>		
	<i>/akol/</i>	‘brain’
	<i>/akor/</i>	‘word’
	<i>/laM/</i>	‘cow’
	<i>/raM/</i>	‘horse’
<i>/r/</i>		
	<i>/ti/</i>	‘water’
	<i>/tir/</i>	‘arrow’
<i>/t/~d/</i>		
	<i>/kattu/</i>	‘scissors’
	<i>/kad/</i>	‘voice’
<i>/r/~D/</i>		
	<i>/mor/</i>	‘peacock’
	<i>/moD/</i>	‘curve’

2. 4 PHONEMIC DESCRIPTION AND DISTRIBUTION

Vowels

/i/ Close front unrounded vowel */i/* occurs in initial, medial and final positions.

Initial

<i>/iS'ara/</i>	<i>/iS' ara/</i>	'signal'
<i>/idi/</i>	<i>/idi/</i>	'equal'
<i>/izad/</i>	<i>/izad/</i>	'reputation'

Medial

<i>/bid/</i>	<i>/bid/</i>	'shoulder'
<i>/til/</i>	<i>/ til/</i>	'gun'
<i>/ti: r/</i>	<i>/ tir/</i>	'arrow'

Final

<i>/ a T li /</i>	<i>/ aT li /</i>	'pebble'
<i>/ a pi /</i>	<i>/ a pi /</i>	'old woman'
<i>/ g O ri /</i>	<i>/ gori /</i>	'coconut'

/e/ Close mid unrounded vowel */e/* occurs in initial, medial and final positions.

Initial

<i>/ec^h i /</i>	<i>/ec^h i /</i>	'alone'
<i>/elaic^h i /</i>	<i>elaic^h i/</i>	'cardomom'
<i>/esa niray /</i>	<i>/esa niray/</i>	'take care of'

Medial

<i>/zeya/</i>	<i>/zeya/</i>	'heart'
<i>/t^hem/</i>	<i>/t^h em/</i>	'daughter – in – law'
<i>/S'el/</i>	<i>/S' el/</i>	'medicine'

Final

<i>/a t e/</i>	<i>/a t e /</i>	'elder brother'
<i>/S'e /</i>	<i>/S'e/</i>	'palm of hand'
<i>/re/</i>	<i>/re/</i>	'waist'

/E/ Close mid low unrounded vowel */E/* occurs in initial, medial and final positions.

Initial

<i>/E: n/</i>	<i>/En/</i>	'bat'
<i>/E m/</i>	<i>/Em/</i>	'taste'

Medial

/D Ea M/	/DEaM/	‘body’
/l a: l E I/	/la l E i/	‘tempt’
/mEkya : w /	/mEkyaw /	‘twist’
/pE : c ^h /	/pEc ^h /	‘vagina’

Final

/hE/	/hE/	‘again’
/l E /	/l E/	‘tongue’
/r E /	/r E/	‘waist’

/A/ Central mid vowel /A/ occurs in initial, medial and final positions.

Initial

/A m/	/Am/	‘road’
/A n/	/A n/	‘steam’

Medial

/nAmaM/	/nAmaM/	‘name’
/tAt/	/tAt/	‘illness’
/bAt/	/bAt/	‘skin’

Final

/tA/	/tA/	‘face’
/TA/	/TA/	‘ashes’
/stA/	/stA/	‘mouth’
/dA/	/dA/	‘he’

/a/ Open back unrounded vowel /a/ occurs in initial, medial and final positions.

Initial

/aka/	/aka/	‘wound’
/a :dat/	/adat/	‘habit’
/aM/	/aM/	‘my’
/E ras/	/aras/	‘carpenter’

Medial

/raM/	/raM/	‘horse’
/c ^h am/	/c ^h am/	‘fur’

	<i>/gq r/</i>	<i>/gar/</i>	‘tooth’
Final	<i>/ama/</i>	<i>/ama/</i>	‘mother’
	<i>/la ta :/</i>	<i>/la ta/</i>	‘creeper’
	<i>/mu ma/</i>	<i>/mu ma/</i>	‘paternal uncle’
	<i>/pona :/</i>	<i>/pona/</i>	‘shoe’

/o/ Close mid back rounded vowel */o/* occurs in initial, medial and final positions.

Initial

	<i>/orc^he/</i>	<i>/orc^he /</i>	‘kindly’
	<i>/oms/</i>	<i>/oms/</i>	‘turn a side’
	<i>/o : S’aM/</i>	<i>/oS’ aM/</i>	‘dew’

Medial

	<i>/pom/</i>	<i>/pom/</i>	‘snow’
	<i>/hOMa/</i>	<i>/hoMa/</i>	‘insect’
	<i>/c^h or/</i>	<i>/c^h or/</i>	‘slope’
	<i>/bok/</i>	<i>/bok/</i>	‘heat’

Final

	<i>/S’o/</i>	<i>/S’o/</i>	‘loss’
	<i>/wado/</i>	<i>/wado/</i>	‘smile’
	<i>/soko/</i>	<i>/soko/</i>	‘scorpion’

/u/ Close back rounded vowel */u/* occurs in initial, medial and final positions.

Initial

	<i>/urc^h/</i>	<i>/urc^h/</i>	‘go down’
	<i>/unnu/</i>	<i>/unnu/</i>	‘beg’
	<i>/uS’M/</i>	<i>/uS’o/</i>	‘pupil’

Medial

	<i>/lum/</i>	<i>/lum/</i>	‘thigh’
	<i>/yune/</i>	<i>/yune/</i>	‘sun’
	<i>/muc^ho/</i>	<i>/muc^ho/</i>	‘whiskers’
	<i>/g^hum/</i>	<i>/gum/</i>	‘bow’

Final

<i>/c^haku/</i>	<i>/c^haku/</i>	‘sword’
<i>/S’u/</i>	<i>/S’u/</i>	‘God’
<i>/buMu/</i>	<i>/buMu/</i>	‘owl’
<i>/panu/</i>	<i>/panu/</i>	‘pasture’

Consonants

/p/ Voiceless bilabial stop */p/* occurs in initial, medial and final positions.

Initial

<i>/piMs/</i>	<i>/piMs/</i>	‘cheek’
<i>/panu/</i>	<i>/panu/</i>	‘pasture’
<i>/pogmu/</i>	<i>/pogmu/</i>	‘cover’
<i>/pado/</i>	<i>/pado/</i>	‘swell’

Medial

<i>/sapas/</i>	<i>/sapas/</i>	‘cobra’
<i>/kopDi/</i>	<i>/kopDi/</i>	‘skull’
<i>/Topru/</i>	<i>/Topru/</i>	‘embroider’
<i>/pipili/</i>	<i>/pipili/</i>	‘chilly’

Final

<i>/patrap/</i>	<i>/patrap/</i>	‘kidney’
<i>/jora:p/</i>	<i>/jorap/</i>	‘blouse’
<i>/grap/</i>	<i>/grap/</i>	‘choke’
<i>/lomp/</i>	<i>/lomp/</i>	‘lamp’

/t/ Voiceless alveolar stop */t/* occurs in initial, medial and final positions.

Initial

<i>/tA/</i>	<i>/tA/</i>	‘face’
<i>/tunaM/</i>	<i>/tunaM/</i>	‘lip’
<i>/ti:/</i>	<i>/ti/</i>	‘water’
<i>/til/</i>	<i>/til/</i>	‘gum’

Medial

<i>/re:ta/</i>	<i>/reta/</i>	‘sand’
<i>/lasta/</i>	<i>/lasta/</i>	‘axe’
<i>/tata/</i>	<i>/tata/</i>	‘hatch’
<i>/stA/</i>	<i>/stA/</i>	‘mouth’

Final

<i>/ki:mat/</i>	<i>/kimat/</i>	‘price’
<i>/a:dat/</i>	<i>/adat/</i>	‘habit’
<i>/c^himet/</i>	<i>/c^himet/</i>	‘step daughter’
<i>/ba:nt/</i>	<i>/bant/</i>	‘dam’

/T/ Voiceless retroflex stop */T/* occurs in initial, medial and final positions.

Initial

<i>/Tuk/</i>	<i>/Tuk/</i>	‘six’
<i>/Tab/</i>	<i>/Tab/</i>	‘lung’
<i>/TA/</i>	<i>/TA/</i>	‘ashes’
<i>/Tehni/</i>	<i>/Tehni/</i>	‘stalk’

Medial

<i>/lamTu/</i>	<i>/lamTu/</i>	‘bamboo’
<i>/bo:TaM/</i>	<i>/boTaM/</i>	‘tree’
<i>/peTaM/</i>	<i>/peTaM/</i>	‘stomach’
<i>/li:TTa/</i>	<i>/liTTa/</i>	‘egg’

Final

<i>/su:NT/</i>	<i>/sunT/</i>	‘trunk’
<i>/kyo:T/</i>	<i>/kyoT/</i>	‘spoon’
<i>/ũ:T/</i>	<i>/uT/</i>	‘camel’
<i>/raMmu:T/</i>	<i>/raMmuT/</i>	‘mushroom’

/c/ Voiceless palatal stop */c/* is always aspirated in initial, medial and final positions.

<i>/c^hikar/</i>	<i>/c^hikar/</i>	‘mud’
<i>/poc^hmu/</i>	<i>/poc^hmu/</i>	‘hunt’
<i>/piya:c^h/</i>	<i>/piyac^h/</i>	‘bird’

Hence it is elaborately given under the distribution of the phoneme *c^h*

/k/ Voiceless velar stop */k/* occurs in initial, medial and final positions.

Initial

<i>/kim/</i>	<i>/kim/</i>	‘building’
<i>/kui/</i>	<i>/kui/</i>	‘dog’
<i>/kad/</i>	<i>/kad/</i>	‘sound’
<i>/kanaM/</i>	<i>/kanaM/</i>	‘ear’

Medial

<i>/nukur/</i>	<i>/nukur/</i>	‘maid’
<i>/akol/</i>	<i>/akol/</i>	‘brain’
<i>/c^haku/</i>	<i>/c^haku/</i>	‘knife’
<i>/aka/</i>	<i>/aka/</i>	‘wound’

Final

<i>/bok/</i>	<i>/bok/</i>	‘heat’
<i>/niyuk/</i>	<i>/niyuk/</i>	‘young’
<i>/kormik/</i>	<i>/kormik/</i>	‘scab’
<i>/lanik/</i>	<i>/lanik/</i>	‘arrange’

/m/ Bilabial nasal */m/* occurs in initial, medial and final positions.

Initial

<i>/me/</i>	<i>/me/</i>	‘fire’
<i>/mub/</i>	<i>/mub/</i>	‘silver’
<i>/ma:S’/</i>	<i>/maS’/</i>	‘black gram’
<i>/ma:r/</i>	<i>/mar/</i>	‘ghee’

Medial

<i>/ama/</i>	<i>/ama/</i>	‘mother’
<i>/harmu/</i>	<i>/harmu/</i>	‘itch’
<i>/labmu/</i>	<i>/labmu/</i>	‘harvest’

	<i>/kamaŋ/</i>	<i>/kamaŋ/</i>	‘trade’
Final	<i>/c^ham/</i>	<i>/c^ham/</i>	‘fur’
	<i>/kum/</i>	<i>/kum/</i>	‘pillow’
	<i>/g^hum/</i>	<i>/gum/</i>	‘bow’
	<i>/dam/</i>	<i>/dam/</i>	‘health’

/n/ Alveolar nasal */n/* occurs in initial, medial and final positions.

Initial

	<i>/nayiM/</i>	<i>/nayiM/</i>	‘navel’
	<i>/naM/</i>	<i>/naM/</i>	‘plate’
	<i>/nasom/</i>	<i>/nasom/</i>	‘tomorrow’
	<i>/naS’mu/</i>	<i>/naS’mu/</i>	‘rest :verb’

Medial

	<i>/sani/</i>	<i>/sani/</i>	‘saturn’
	<i>/guno/</i>	<i>/guno/</i>	‘summer’
	<i>/pannu/</i>	<i>/pannu/</i>	‘cook’
	<i>/yune/</i>	<i>/yune/</i>	‘sun’

Final

	<i>/c^hin/</i>	<i>/c^hin/</i>	‘finger nail’
	<i>/ron/</i>	<i>/ron/</i>	‘iron’
	<i>/loS’an/</i>	<i>/loS’an/</i>	‘garlic’
	<i>/S’in/</i>	<i>/S’in/</i>	‘liver’

/M/ Velar nasal */M/* occurs in initial, medial and final positions.

Initial

	<i>/Mar/</i>	<i>/Mar/</i>	‘anger’
	<i>/Ma/</i>	<i>/Ma/</i>	‘five’
	<i>/Marsya/</i>	<i>/Marsya/</i>	‘temper’

Medial

	<i>/buMu:/</i>	<i>/buMu/</i>	‘hawk : owl’
	<i>/naMc^h/</i>	<i>/naMc^h/</i>	‘bowl’
	<i>/yaMa:/</i>	<i>/yaMa/</i>	‘fly /mosquito’
	<i>/biyaMo/</i>	<i>/biyaMo/</i>	‘cowardice’

Final

<i>/c^haM/</i>	<i>/c^haM/</i>	‘son’
<i>/pakaM/</i>	<i>/pakaM/</i>	‘wing’
<i>/laM/</i>	<i>/laM/</i>	‘cow’
<i>/somaM/</i>	<i>/somaM/</i>	‘ground’

/s/ Voiceless alveolar fricative */s/* occurs in initial, medial and final positions.

Initial

<i>/soraM/</i>	<i>/soraM/</i>	‘lake’
<i>/sdag/</i>	<i>/sdag/</i>	‘puss’
<i>/stA/</i>	<i>/stA/</i>	‘mouth’
<i>/se:w/</i>	<i>/sew/</i>	‘apple’

Medial

<i>/hasal/</i>	<i>/hasal/</i>	‘hurry’
<i>/tasma:/</i>	<i>/tasma/</i>	‘lace’
<i>/kursi/</i>	<i>/kursi/</i>	‘chair’
<i>/upa :sri/</i>	<i>/upasri/</i>	‘fast’

Final

<i>/c^hos/</i>	<i>/c^hos/</i>	‘fat’
<i>/Dugas/</i>	<i>/Dugas/</i>	‘deep’
<i>/kōlas/</i>	<i>/kolas/</i>	‘soft’
<i>/c^hec^has/</i>	<i>/c^hec^has/</i>	‘woman’

/h/ Voiceless glottal fricative */h/* occurs in initial and medial positions.

Initial

<i>/hiran/</i>	<i>/hiran/</i>	‘deer’
<i>/hanak/</i>	<i>/hanak/</i>	‘succeed’
<i>/holase/</i>	<i>/holase/</i>	‘thank’
<i>/hE/</i>	<i>/hE/</i>	‘again’

Medial

<i>/graha/</i>	<i>/graha/</i>	‘planet’
<i>/mahac^he/</i>	<i>/mahac^he/</i>	‘fail’
<i>/mariha: c^his/</i>	<i>/marihac^his/</i>	‘spoil: over riped’

/l/ Alveolar lateral /l/ occurs in initial, medial and final positions.

Initial

/la:n/	/lan /	‘air’
/lekc ^h o /	/lekc ^h o/	‘burn as a fire’
/lonik/	/lonik/	‘describe’
/lama/	/lama/	‘monk’

Medial

/skli:/	/skli/	‘urine’
/buli/	/buli/	‘carry a baby.’
/belc ^h a/	/belc ^h a/	‘shovel’
/muluk/	/muluk /	‘world’

Final

/Dol/	/Dol/	‘drum’
/pral/	/pral/	‘message’
/yalyel/	/yalyel/	‘become tired’
/akol/	/akol/	‘brain’

/w/ Bilabial approximant /w/ occurs in initial, medial and final positions.

Initial

/was/	/was/	‘honey’
/wonnik/	/wonnik/	‘laugh’
/wa:do/	/wado/	‘smile’

Medial

/dwaM/	/dwaM/	‘smoke’
/suwaM/	/suwaM/	‘district’
/twannu/	/twannu/	‘pick:a fruit from tree’
/sawni/	/sawni/	‘fairy’

Final

/kaw/	/kaw/	‘dish/feed’
/stAw/	/stAw/	‘stove’
/se:w/	/sew/	‘apple’
/boc ^h ya:w/	/boc ^h yaw/	‘protest’

/y/ Palatal approximant /y/ occurs in initial, medial and final positions.

Initial

/yume/	/yume/	‘mother in law’
/yoliM/	/yolinM/	‘twin’
/yurmu/	/yurmu/	‘chase’
/yua/	/yua/	‘low’

Medial

/kya:s/	/kyas/	‘arm pit’
/boTeya/	/boTeya/	‘sickle’
/na:yi/	/nayi/	‘barber’
/bya:s/	/byas/	‘practise’

Final

/ray/	/ray/	‘eight’
/oc ^h ey/	/oc ^h ey/	‘pray’
/naney/	/naney/	‘father’s sister’
/miTay/	/miTay/	‘sweet’

/r/ Alveolar flap /r/ occurs in initial, medial and final positions.

Initial

/ra/	/ra/	‘hundred’
/ri:ka/	/rika/	‘bear’
/rAk/	/rAk/	‘black’
/raM/	/raM/	‘paint’

Medial

/bore/	/bore/	‘brother’s wife’
/kra:/	/kra/	‘hair’
/berga:/	/berga/	‘club’
/hiran/	/hiran/	‘deer’

Final

/skar/	/skar/	‘star’
/c ^h ikar/	/c ^h ikar/	‘mud’
/akor/	/akor/	‘word’
/g ^h ar/	/gar/	‘tusk /tooth’

Voiced consonants

/b/ Voiced bilabial stop */b/* occurs in initial, medial and final positions.

Initial

<i>/bospa/</i>	<i>/bospa/</i>	‘ashes’
<i>/bayu/</i>	<i>/bayu/</i>	‘sister’
<i>/bal/</i>	<i>/bal/</i>	‘head’
<i>/bitiM/</i>	<i>/bitiM/</i>	‘wall’

Medial

<i>/DabraM/</i>	<i>/DabraM/</i>	‘cave: small’
<i>/kabs/</i>	<i>/kabs/</i>	‘constipation’
<i>/nimbu/</i>	<i>/nimbu/</i>	‘lemon’
<i>/lambas/</i>	<i>/lambas/</i>	‘long’

Final

<i>/S’ub/</i>	<i>/S’ub/</i>	‘foam’
<i>/Tab/</i>	<i>/Tab/</i>	‘lung’
<i>/keb/</i>	<i>/keb/</i>	‘needle’
<i>/job/</i>	<i>/job/</i>	‘hymn’

/d/ Voiced alveolar stop */d/* occurs in initial, medial and final positions.

Initial

<i>/da:w/</i>	<i>/daw/</i>	‘husband’s elder brother’s wife’
<i>/dusti/</i>	<i>/dusti/</i>	‘sweat’
<i>/dwado/</i>	<i>/dwado/</i>	‘blood’
<i>/dada/</i>	<i>/dada/</i>	‘fall into’

Medial

<i>/sdag/</i>	<i>/sdag/</i>	‘puss’
<i>/kodu/</i>	<i>/kodu/</i>	‘pumpkin’
<i>/TEkadar/</i>	<i>/TEkadar/</i>	‘merchant’
<i>/lodok/</i>	<i>/lodok/</i>	‘complain’

Final

<i>/gud/</i>	<i>/gud/</i>	‘hand’
<i>/bid/</i>	<i>/bid/</i>	‘shoulder’
<i>/c^had/</i>	<i>/c^had/</i>	‘son-in-law’
<i>/ya:d/</i>	<i>/yad/</i>	‘memory’

/D/ Voiced retroflex stop */T/* occurs in initial, medial and final positions.

Initial

<i>/DakaM/</i>	<i>/DakaM/</i>	‘cliff’
<i>/Dekras/</i>	<i>/Dekras/</i>	‘male’
<i>/DomaM/</i>	<i>/DomaM/</i>	‘black smith’
<i>/DEri/</i>	<i>/DEri/</i>	‘piled up’

Medial

<i>/la:Da/</i>	<i>/laDa/</i>	‘bride groom’
<i>/go:lDas/</i>	<i>/golDas/</i>	‘raven’
<i>/juDa/</i>	<i>/juDa/</i>	‘pig tail’
<i>/kopDi/</i>	<i>/kopDi/</i>	‘skull’

Final

<i>/to:D/</i>	<i>/toD/</i>	‘change: money’
<i>/moD/</i>	<i>/moD/</i>	‘curved’
<i>/gamaND/</i>	<i>/gamanD/</i>	‘pride’

/j/ Voiced palatal stop */j/* occurs in initial, medial and final positions.

Initial

<i>/jabo/</i>	<i>/jabo/</i>	‘fog’
<i>/jaga/</i>	<i>/jaga/</i>	‘land’
<i>/jora:p/</i>	<i>/jorap/</i>	‘blouse’

Medial

<i>/hajaM/</i>	<i>/hajaM/</i>	‘here’
<i>/baja: mu/</i>	<i>/bajamu/</i>	‘blow: flute’
<i>/sarjan buTTi/</i>	<i>/sarjan buTTi/</i>	‘herb’

/g/ Voiced velar stop */g/* occurs in initial, medial and final positions.

Initial

<i>/gui/</i>	<i>/gui/</i>	‘nine’
<i>/gori/</i>	<i>/gori/</i>	‘coconut’
<i>/goraM/</i>	<i>/goraM/</i>	‘fort’

Medial

<i>/kagli/</i>	<i>/kagli/</i>	‘paper’
<i>berga:/</i>	<i>/berga/</i>	‘club’
<i>/legmu/</i>	<i>/legmu/</i>	‘burn: transit’

Final

<i>/rig/</i>	<i>/rig/</i>	‘louse’
<i>/tig/</i>	<i>/tig/</i>	‘myna’
<i>/sdag/</i>	<i>/sdag/</i>	‘puss’
<i>/mig/</i>	<i>/mig/</i>	‘ice’

/z/ Voiced alveolar fricative */z/* occurs in initial, medial and final positions

Initial

<i>/zeyya/</i>	<i>/zeyya/</i>	‘heart’
<i>/zilaM/</i>	<i>/zilaM/</i>	‘root’
<i>/zaM/</i>	<i>/zaM/</i>	‘gold’
<i>/zabel/</i>	<i>/zabel/</i>	‘crow bar’

Medial

<i>/bizil/</i>	<i>/bizil/</i>	‘lightening’
<i>/koza/</i>	<i>/koza/</i>	‘left handed’
<i>/c^hikza/</i>	<i>/c^hikza/</i>	‘child’
<i>/ruza/</i>	<i>/ruza/</i>	‘old’

Final

<i>/ayaz/</i>	<i>/ayaz/</i>	‘ram’
<i>/nakk i: z/</i>	<i>/nakkiz/</i>	‘thin’
<i>/piya : z/</i>	<i>/piyaz/</i>	‘onion’
<i>/ila : z/</i>	<i>/ilaz/</i>	‘treatment’

/S’/ Voiceless palatal fricative */S’/* occurs in initial, medial and final positions.

Initial

<i>/S’a/</i>	<i>/S’a/</i>	‘flesh’
<i>/S’iM/</i>	<i>/S’iM/</i>	‘wood’
<i>/S’ai/</i>	<i>/S’ai/</i>	‘porcupine’

	/S'in/	/S'in/	'liver'
Medial			
	/boS'aM/	/boS'aM/	'year'
	/baS'aM/	/baS'aM/	'flute'
	/deS'aM/	/deS'aM/	'village'
	/tiS'aM/	/tiS'aM/	'flour'
Final			
	/poS'/	/poS'/	'bed'
	/li:S'/	/liS'/	'gold'
	laS'/	/laS'/	'damp'
	/raS'iS'/	/raS'iS'/	'attack'

Aspiration

/p^h/ Voiceless aspirated bilabial stop /p^h/ occurs in initial, medial and final positions.

Initial

	/p ^h o/	/p ^h o/	'antelope'
	/p ^h ya :/	/p ^h ya/	'fore head'
	/p ^h ayul/	/p ^h ayul/	'nature'

Medial

	/sap ^h ay/	/sap ^h ay/	'soldier'
	/lip ^h ap ^h a/	/lip ^h ap ^h a/	'envelope'

Final

	/ma:p ^h /	/map ^h /	'forgive'
--	----------------------	---------------------	-----------

/t^h/ Voiceless aspirated alveolar stop /t^h/ occurs in initial, medial and final positions.

Initial

	/t ^h ar/	/t ^h ar/	'lion/tiger'
	t ^h ali/	/t ^h ali/	'cymbal (small)'
	/t ^h ad/	/t ^h ad/	'answer'
	/t ^h u/	/t ^h u/	'why'

Medial

<i>/lat^hoS'/</i>	<i>/lat^hoS'/</i>	‘trip: cause to fall’
<i>/rEt^haM/</i>	<i>/rEt^haM/</i>	‘palanquin’
<i>/kot^ha/</i>	<i>/kot^ha/</i>	‘story’

Final

<i>/bot^h/</i>	<i>/bot^h/</i>	‘hide’
<i>/ta:kat^h/</i>	<i>/takat^h/</i>	‘strength’

/T^h/ Voiceless aspirated retroflex stop */T^h/* occurs in initial and medial positions.

Initial

<i>/T^hoTi/</i>	<i>/T^hoTi/</i>	‘chin’
<i>/T^hepaM/</i>	<i>/T^hepaM/</i>	‘cap’

Medial

<i>/g^haNT^haM/</i>	<i>/ganT^haM/</i>	‘bell’
---	-----------------------------	--------

/c^h/ Voiceless aspirated palatal stop */c^h/* occurs in initial, medial and positions.

Initial

<i>/c^hatk/</i>	<i>/c^hatk/</i>	‘ray’
<i>/c^hEr/</i>	<i>/c^hEr/</i>	‘slope’
<i>/c^hikar/</i>	<i>/c^hikar/</i>	‘mud’
<i>/c^hu:/</i>	<i>/c^hu/</i>	‘cough’

Medial

<i>/muc^ho/</i>	<i>/muc^ho/</i>	‘moustache’
<i>/kuc^haM/</i>	<i>/kuc^haM/</i>	‘broom’
<i>/c^harc^hi/</i>	<i>/c^harc^hi/</i>	‘fodder’

Final

<i>/naMc^h/</i>	<i>/naMc^h/</i>	‘bowl’
<i>/nec^h/</i>	<i>/nec^h/</i>	‘confirm’
<i>/brenc^h/</i>	<i>/brenc^h/</i>	‘locust’

/k^h/ Voiceless aspirated velar stop */k^h/* occurs in initial, medial and final positions.

Initial

<i>/k^heS'el/</i>	<i>/k^heS'el/</i>	‘anus’
<i>/k^hyubmik/</i>	<i>/k^hyubmik/</i>	‘steal’
<i>/k^hirc^ho/</i>	<i>/k^hirc^ho/</i>	‘tickle’

Medial

<i>/k^hyak^hya/</i>	<i>/k^hyak^hya/</i>	‘careful’
<i>/pak^heda/</i>	<i>/pak^heda/</i>	‘ripen’

2. 5 CLUSTERS

2. 5. 1. Vowel

Initial

<i>/oanTis/</i>	‘hunger’
<i>/aurc^he/</i>	‘accuse’
<i>/aisantari/</i>	‘wait for’

Medial

<i>/poac^h/</i>	‘donkey (male)’
<i>/DEaM/</i>	‘body’
<i>/baula/</i>	‘insanity’
<i>/poitaM/</i>	‘dal’
<i>/taS'aiya/</i>	‘call’

Final

<i>/kui/</i>	‘bitch’
<i>/c^hoa/</i>	‘wheat’
<i>/S'ei/</i>	‘ink’
<i>/gua/</i>	‘witness’
<i>/S'ai/</i>	‘ten’
<i>/c^hei/</i>	‘all’
<i>/hoa/</i>	‘satisfy’
<i>/c^heo/</i>	‘write’

2. 5. 2. Consonant

Initial

<i>/pral/</i>	‘message’
<i>/skar/</i>	‘star’
<i>/brenc^h/</i>	‘locust’
<i>/kyas/</i>	‘arm pit’
<i>/sto/</i>	‘mouth’
<i>/dwaM/</i>	‘smoke’
<i>/kriMo/</i>	‘anxiety’
<i>/stupuk/</i>	‘gun’

Medial

<i>/DabraM/</i>	‘cave’
<i>/aTli/</i>	‘pebble’
<i>/lagyac^h/</i>	‘rain’
<i>/amni/</i>	‘co-wife’
<i>/lambas/</i>	‘tall’
<i>/boysa/</i>	‘wife’s sister’
<i>/kukri/</i>	‘cock’
<i>/golDas/</i>	‘raven’
<i>/kabmu/</i>	‘ear lobe’
<i>/pisTiM/</i>	‘back’
<i>/ToMkol/</i>	‘heel’
<i>/kopDi</i>	‘skull’
<i>/boTloi/</i>	‘pot’
<i>/ganTaM/</i>	‘bell’
<i>/nalka/</i>	‘tap’
<i>/gaynu/</i>	‘cymbal’
<i>/lasta/</i>	‘axe’
<i>/labmu /</i>	‘harvest’
<i>/TaTras/</i>	‘green pea (rajma)’
<i>/rakS’as/</i>	‘ghost’
<i>/sannu/</i>	‘kill’
<i>/Dammu/</i>	‘pull’
<i>/nakkiz/</i>	‘thin’

Final	/liTTa/	‘egg’
	/liS'onT/	‘sparrow’
	/piMs/	‘cheek’
	/kake ^h /	‘neck’
	/kond/	‘taluk’
	/bant/	‘dam’

2. 6. SYLLABLES

The words of Kinnauri language are made up of mono, di, tri, tetra and penta syllables.

2. 6. 1. Monosyllabic

/mi/	‘man’
/me/	‘fire’
/ti/	‘water’
/En/	‘bat (animal)’
/c ^h am/	‘fur’
/wa/	‘nest’

2. 6. 2. Disyllabic

/bos-pa/	‘ashes’
/so-maM/	‘ground’
/pa-baM/	‘cliff (dry)’
/Da-kaM/	‘hill’
/bi- zil/	‘lightening’

2. 6. 3. Trisyllabic

/zak-ka-yas/	‘centipede’
/kar-go-si/	‘rabbit’
/mig-ra-le/	‘spectacles’
/je-S'up-c ^h ya/	‘butcher’
/paj-ya-mu/	‘worship’
/an-S'i-S'i/	‘suicide’

2. 6. 4. Tetra syllabic

/S'um -ni-za-S'ay/	‘seventy’
/ko-c ^h a -pa-c ^h a/	‘great grand daughter’
/sa-saM-Da-bo/	‘breath’

<i>/t^ho-wa-man-zil/</i>	‘story’
<i>/kos-TaM-laM-c^hya/</i>	‘labour’

2. 6. 5. Penta syllabic

<i>/S’a-la-su-zig-za/</i>	‘jackal’
<i>/mo-naM-c^hu-ba-taM/</i>	‘conscience’
<i>/or-ko-pa-ya-mik/</i>	‘throw away’
<i>/t^ha-ra-ho-t^ha-ra/</i>	‘threaten’
<i>/yer-bo-naM-twa-nnu/</i>	‘weed’

2. 7. The syllabic pattern of Kinnauri

The combination of consonant, vowel and vice versa in the syllabic structure of Kinnauri is as follow:

2. 7. 1. CV

<i>/lE/</i>	‘tongue’
<i>/ti/</i>	‘water’
<i>/me/</i>	‘fire’

2. 7. 2. VC

<i>/En/</i>	‘bat’
<i>/An</i>	‘steam’
<i>/aM/</i>	‘my’

2. 7. 3. CVC

<i>/lan/</i>	‘air’
<i>/mig/</i>	‘ice’
<i>/S’iM/</i>	‘wood’
<i>/c^haM/</i>	‘son’

2. 7. 4. VCV

<i>/ama/</i>	‘mother’
<i>/ec^hi/</i>	‘alone’
<i>/idi/</i>	‘equal’
<i>/ate/</i>	‘elder brother’
<i>/api/</i>	‘old woman’

2. 7. 5. CVCV

<i>/reta/</i>	‘sand’
<i>/sani/</i>	‘saturn’
<i>/koza/</i>	‘left handed’

/bayu/ ‘step sister’

/laTa/ ‘dumb’

2. 7. 6. VCVC

/izad/ ‘reputation’

/adat/ ‘habit’

/aras/ ‘carpentar’

2. 7. 7. CVCVC

/zaMa/ ‘forest’

/somaM/ ‘plain’

/p^hayul/ ‘nature’

/soraM/ ‘lake’

/tiS’aM/ ‘flour’

Besides the above, the following patterns are also available in this language.

2. 7. 8. CVV

/bua/ ‘father’

/kui/ ‘bitch’

/gua/ ‘witness’

/S’ai/ ‘ten’

2. 7. 9. CCVC

/kyas/ ‘arm pit’

/skan/ ‘boiled vegetable’

/dwaM/ ‘smoke’

/sdag/ ‘puss’

2. 7. 10. CVCC

/piMs/ ‘cheek’

/bant/ ‘dam’

/kabs/ ‘constipation’

/sunT/ ‘trunk’

Apart from the above-mentioned patterns, CVVCVC, CVVCV, VVCCV, CVCCVV and CVCCV patterns are also available in this language.

3. MORPHOPHONEMICS

1. The plural markers are *-ga*, *-e* and *-a*. After the consonant ending words, it is observed that the suffix *-e* occurs whereas after the vowel ending words *-ga* occurs. Sometimes the suffix *-a* occurs after nasal ending words.

a. /kui/	‘dog’	/kuiga/	‘dogs’
b. /gaDi/	‘cart’	/gaDiga/	‘carts’
c. /ketab/	‘book’	/ketabe/	‘books’
d. /nukur/	‘servant’	/nukure/	‘servants’
e. /laM/	‘cow’	/laMa/	‘cows’

2. The loss of final consonant is observed in some words while expressing the dual or plural sense.

a. /dam	chec ^h as/	/dam	checha/
good	girl	good	girls
b. /aM id chimed to/		/aM nish chime to/	
I one daughter have		I two daughters have	

3. The vowel harmony is observed in some of the lexicals, borrowed or native, they may be.

a. /sku lo/	‘in school’
sukulo	

skulo becomes *sukulo* due to the impact of following vowel.

b. / ga	dopaM	kyac ^h /	
I	she acc. mar	see	‘I see her’

/ ga	zupuM	kyac ^h /	‘I see it’
I	it acc. Mar	see	

-paM > *-puM* due to the impact of preceding vowel.

c. Similarly, the vowel *o* becomes *u* due to the inference of preceding words vowel.

1. / *doga skulo bac^h* /

They school to go

‘They go to school’

2. /*do niManu kimu bac^h*/

she our house to comes

‘She comes to our house’

- *mo* > - *mu* due to the preceding vowel ending word *niManu* ‘our’.

4. The loss of final vowel is observed when the possessive suffix *-u* is added before a vowel ending word.

/*goyne* / ‘wife’

/*goyny*u/ ‘wife’s’

/*goyny*u *kond*u/ ‘wife’s basket’

Here, due to the affixation of *-u*, one can observe the loss of the final vowel *-e* in *goyne* ‘wife’. It is also observed that to maintain the harmony on par with the preceding syllable ‘y’ is added to the following syllable also.

4. MORPHOLOGY

4.1 NOUN MORPHOLOGY

4.1.1 WORD FORMATION

The word formation in Kinnauri is in the following ways:

- (a) by inflection (prefix and suffix oriented)
- (b) by compounding
- (c) by reduplication

Inflection

The words are formed by both prefixation and suffixation. Examples:

Prefixation

<i>/lan/</i>	‘air’
<i>/lilan/</i>	‘cyclone’
<i>/bua/</i>	‘father’
<i>/teg bua/</i>	‘father’s elder brother’
<i>/zigic^h bua/</i>	‘father’s younger brother’

Suffixation

<i>/ri/</i>	‘field’
<i>/rimo/</i>	‘to field (dative)’
<i>/liTTa/</i>	‘egg’
<i>/liTTaga/</i>	‘eggs’
<i>/me/</i>	‘fire’
<i>/mebaro/</i>	‘flame’

Compound Formation

The two different words joined together to form a new word.

<i>/yune/</i>	‘sun’
<i>/zero/</i>	‘rise’
<i>/yune zero/</i>	‘dawn’
<i>/piyaz/</i>	‘fly/bird’
<i>/ratiM piyaz/</i>	‘fire fly’
<i>/S’itoM piyaz/</i>	‘wood pecker’

Reduplication

The same word repeated again to form reduplicated word.

<i>/Tum Tum/</i>	‘hunch back’
<i>/yel yel/</i>	‘tired’
<i>/gur gur/</i>	‘thunder’

4. 1. 2 NOUN

Classification of Nouns

There are two types of nouns: basic and derived.

Basic Nouns

Basic nouns are nouns, which are not derived from another noun.

<i>/rika/</i>	‘bear’
<i>/kag/</i>	‘crow’
<i>/kas/</i>	‘sheep’
<i>/mor/</i>	‘peacock’
<i>/u/</i>	‘flower’
<i>/nimbu /</i>	‘lemon’

Basic nouns are further divided into mass nouns and count nouns that can be counted as singular or plural.

Mass Nouns

<i>/lan/</i>	‘air’
<i>/ju/</i>	‘cloud’
<i>/ti/</i>	‘water’

Count Nouns

<i>/kukri/</i>	‘cock’
<i>/laM/</i>	‘cow’
<i>/p^holaM/</i>	‘fruit’

The nouns can be further classified into human nouns and non- human nouns.

Human Nouns

Human nouns are classified into two viz. masculine and feminine.

Masculine

<i>/c^haM/</i>	‘boy/son’
<i>/laDa/</i>	‘bride groom’
<i>/ate/</i>	‘brother: elder’
<i>/muma/</i>	‘maternal uncle’
<i>/bua/</i>	‘father’
<i>tete</i>	‘grand father’

Feminine

<i>/c^himed/</i>	‘girl’
<i>/laDi/</i>	‘bride’
<i>/S’uTi/</i>	‘daughter’
<i>/api/</i>	‘grand mother’
<i>/dau/</i>	‘sister : elder’
<i>/goyne/</i>	‘wife’

Neutral

<i>/c^hikza/</i>	‘child’
<i>/maiTaM c^hec^has/</i>	‘bachelor/spinster’
<i>/Dekras/</i>	‘male’
<i>/c^hec^has/</i>	‘female’

Non-Human Nouns

The non-human nouns are nouns that indicate animals, birds, things etc.

<i>/En/</i>	‘bat’
<i>/piS’i/</i>	‘cat’
<i>/hati/</i>	‘elephant’
<i>/biMu/</i>	‘owl’
<i>/tig/</i>	‘myna’
<i>/yaMa/</i>	‘mosquito’
<i>/kas/</i>	‘sheep’
<i>/keraM/</i>	‘milk’
<i>/naM/</i>	‘pan’
<i>/tiS’aM/</i>	‘flour’
<i>/c^ham/</i>	‘fur’

Derived Nouns

Some of the affixes are added before the word or some are added after the word to form new words. The following are examples:

- | | |
|-------------------|-------------------|
| <i>/ti/</i> | ‘water’ |
| <i>/nagas ti/</i> | ‘spring of water’ |
| <i>/ti zogo/</i> | ‘water fall’ |

Number

The number system is singular, dual and plural. However, dual number seems to be slowly moved out of the usage now a days. Its presence is felt in some of the usages only.

Singular	Dual	Plural	Meaning
<i>/kui/</i>	<i>/kuyE/</i>	<i>/kuiga/</i>	dog
<i>/c^himed/</i>	<i>/c^hime/</i>	<i>/c^himeda/</i>	daughter
<i>/kim/</i>	–	<i>/kima/</i>	house
<i>/kitab/</i>	–	<i>/kitabe/</i>	‘book’
<i>/gaDi/</i>	–	<i>/gaDiga/</i>	‘cart’

Thus, the singular noun is unmarked, dual is marked with *–E/e* for some of the Nouns and plural is marked with the suffixes such as *–a*, *–ga* and *–E/–e*.

The case markers are added to the nouns after the number suffixes.

<i>/do/</i>	‘he /she’
<i>/doga/</i>	‘they’
<i>/doganu/</i>	‘their’

–i suffix, added after the noun indicates the emphasis.

<i>/id/</i>	‘one’
<i>/idi/</i>	‘only this one’

Gender

Human

Gender formation in Kinnauri is in the following ways:

a. Different lexicons are used to denote masculine and feminine gender.

Masculine		Feminine	
/c ^h aM/	‘boy/son’	/c ^h imed/	‘girl’
/ate/	‘elder brother’	/dau/	‘elder sister’
/c ^h ad/	‘son in law’	/t ^h em/	‘daughter in law’
/bua/	‘father’	/ama/	‘mother’
/tete/	‘grand father’	/api/	‘grand mother’
/muma/	‘uncle’	/naney/	‘aunt’
/mi/	‘man’	/c ^h ec ^h as/	‘mistress’

b. The suffixes such as *-u* and *-i* are used to make the gender differences.

Masculine		Feminine	
/laDa/	‘bridegroom’	/laDi/	‘bride’
/baya/	‘younger brother’	/bayu/	‘younger sister’

c. Sometimes, the same lexical term is used for both the sexes, i. e. no gender distinctions in the usage.

Masculine		Feminine	
/pac ^h /	‘grand son’	/pac ^h /	‘grand daughter’
/koc ^h apac ^h a/	‘great grand son’	/koc ^h a pac ^h a/	‘great grand daughter’

d. Some of the gender nouns get changes at the time of expressing the number system.

/id/	/c ^h imed/	‘one daughter’
/niS’/	/c ^h ime/	‘two daughters’
/S’um/	/c ^h imme da/	‘three daughters’

e. The pronouns do not make gender distinction.

/do/	‘he/she’
/doga/	‘they’
/dopaM/	‘him’
/dopaM/	‘her’

Non-Human

a. Different lexicons are used to denote masculine and feminine gender non-human beings.

Masculine		Feminine	
/damas/	‘bull’	/laM/	‘cow’
/ayez/	‘goat’	/bakor/	‘goat’

b. Some of the lexicals denoting feminine gender is added to the words of masculine gender.

Masculine		Feminine	
/poach/	‘donkey’	/poach /	nig
/kag/	‘crow’	/manT/	kag

c. Some of the lexicals are used to refer both gender (masculine and feminine)

Masculine		Feminine	
/kui/	‘dog’	/kui/	‘bitch’
/kukri/	‘cock’	/kukri/	‘hen’

Case

Eight types of case are available in Kinnauri language. They are:

1. Nominative

The marker of nominative is – *is/-s*.

1. /ramis loda do nasom S'imla bito /
Ram said he tomorrow Shimla go fut
‘Ram said “he will go to Shimla tomorrow”’.

2. /rajendra sing^h negis loda kannauru sew wal muS'ur du/
Rajendra Singh Negi said Kinnaur apple famous
‘Rajendra Singh Negi told “kinnaur apple is very famous”’.

2. Accusative

The accusative marker is – *u*.

1. /pardeep ray sharmila :s anu kimo c^horasu c^huma/
Pradeep and Sharmila house in thief –acc. caught

‘Pradeep and Sharmila caught the thief in their house’

2. /dogos Mara rupyā i peti sewu joga/ jogjog/
They 500 rupees box apple bought
‘They bought the apple for Rs. 500/- per box’.

3. Instrumental

The instrumental marker is – s.

1. /dos lastas boT^haM prala/
he axe – by tree cut
‘He cut the tree by axe’

2. /dos guddis sewu twada/
he hand – by apple plucked
‘He plucked the apples by hand’

3. /dogos S’iMu samanēs him pana/
they wood’s materials by house built
‘They built a house with wooden materials’

4. Dative

The dative marker is –e /- o.

1. /ga supaks bazaro bic^h /
I evening bazar – to go
‘I go to the market by evening’

2. /rade toro sukulo boa/
radha today school to went
‘Radha went to school today’

3. /aM goine c^huMliMe boa/
my wife Chungling –to went

‘My wife went to Chungling (village)’

5. Locative

Locative markers are – *o*, - *kumo* and – *den*

1. /*tota* *boT^haMu den* *toS’it du/*
parrot tree - on sit is

‘The parrot is sitting on the tree’

2. /*gas* *aM penu almariy o tata/*
I my pen almirah – in kept

‘I kept my pen in almirah’

3. /*gaza* *sanduku kumo tata du /*
dress box inside kept

‘The dresses are kept inside the box’

6. Possessive

The marker is –*u*. Sometimes *aM* is also used.

1. /*zu ravanu kim du/*
this Ravana’s home is

‘This is Ravana’s house’

2. /*aM gaDi kalpa bibi du/*
my car Kalpa go-pre. par

‘My car has gone to Kalpa’.

3. /*sunitau sa Di S’are du/*
Sunita’s saree beautiful is

‘Sunita’s saree is beautiful one’

7. Ablative

The marker is /- *nipi/*.

1. /*nasomc^h nipi peTrolu kimat baDeya riMo basmac^halyac^ha/*
Tomorrow onwards petrol rate raise buses not ply

‘Tomorrow onwards buses will not ply due to petrol price strike’

2. /ga mesak^h nipi tawiS’ ToTo duk/

I yesterday onwards fever suffering

‘I have been suffering from fever yesterday onwards’

8. Vocative

ye-, ai- are markers of vocative case.

1. /DokaMu den t^he wal S’are S’ivliŋ du./

mountain what beautiful shivling is

‘What a beautiful Shivling in the mountain!’

2. /ye, ga aM boTuwa kannu boS’iS’ !/

I my purse bring forgotton

‘I have forgotton to bring my purse !’

3. /ai, mesak^h nipi ga aM garo akaS’ duk !/

yesterday onwards I my tooth in pain

‘O, yesterday onwards I have pain in my tooth.’

Post Positions

Some of the suffixes follow the nouns, which are called as postpositions.

1. /idaMke mac^higa tegdu idaMke zigic^h/

some fishes big small

‘Some fish are big and some are small’.

2. / ga kinraM kamaMu bitok/

I you-with work to go fut

‘I will go with you to work’.

3. /c^haManu majo sit c^humi/

boys among seat take

‘Take your seat amongst the boys’.

4. /mE sakc^h nipi wal liS' hac^his du/
yesterday since very temperature go down
'The temperature has come down since yesterday'.

5. /ki aM oms Den t^hu toĩ?/
you me front stand why do
'Why do you stand in front of me?'

6. /do lino kin ka oms du/
he line you than before is
'He is before you in the line'

7. /kui aM yums bada/
dog me behind came
'The dog came behind me'

8. /reil Tik Taimu den ma bodu/
train right time in not running
'The train is not running on the time'

9. /pyac^h baludenc^h yaba/
bird head over flew
'The bird flew over the head'

10. /aM koneS'! T^h aMohaL yuni !/
my friend up fast walk
'Walk up the hill, my friend'

11. /maTeyaM kaS'a Manu baMyua du/
earth our under feet is
'The earth is under our feet'

12. /doga rimo pako c^haM yunyun/
 they field round walked
 ‘They walked around the field’

13. /ki bas daM ga zaM to S’ok/
 you come still I here stay-feet.
 ‘I will stay here till you come’

14. /taro li zu kamaM ma hac^he/
 today till that work not done
 ‘The work was not done till today’

15. /kimu twa chapraM du/
 house over tiles are
 ‘The tiles are over the house’

16. /gas aM goinyu taMes nyuk Tana jogjog/
 I my wife for new jewel bought
 ‘I bought new ornaments for my wife’

4. 1. 3 PRONOUN

Personal Pronouns

The personal pronouns are three types namely

1. First
2. Second and
3. Third

The personal pronouns are inflected to number *i. e-* singular and plural

First person

/ga/ ‘I’
 /niMa / ‘we’

Sometimes, *niMa* is substituted by *kaS’aMa* ‘we’ which it seems inclusive plural.

Second Person

/ki/ 'you (sg)

/kina/ 'you (pl)

Third Person

/do/ 'he'

/do/ 'she'

/nu/ 'it'

/doga / 'they'

/nuga/ 'they (neu)'

Demonstrative Pronouns

Demonstrative pronouns are of two types: proximate and distant

	Singular	Plural
proximate	<i>/zu/</i>	<i>/zuc^hey/</i>
distant	<i>/do/</i>	<i>/doga/</i>

Indefinite Pronouns

/hadli/ hatudaMci/ 'any body'

/c^hey/ 'everyone'

/c^heyku/ 'all'

Interrogative Pronouns

The following interrogative pronouns are available in this language.

/t^ha/ 'what'

/hat/ 'who'

/hatu/ 'whom'

Possessive Pronouns

Person	Singular	Plural
I	<i>/aM/</i> 'my'	<i>/niMa/kaS'aMa/</i>
II	<i>/kin/</i> 'your'	<i>/kinanu/</i>
III	<i>/hozu/</i> 'his/her'	<i>/doganu/</i>

Reflexive Pronoun

Self

The emphasis on the part of doer (self) is expressed in the following ways:

1. /zu kim gasi lan len/
this home myself built
'I built this house myself'
2. /aM buas anes bagic^ha swareriya/
my father himself garden developed
'My father developed the garden himself'
3. /c^hikzaga ane yuoc^hit/
Children themselves play
'The children play the game by themselves'
4. /aM goine bazaro an bic^h/
my wife market herself go
'My wife goes to the market by herself'

Thus, *an*, *ane*, *anes*, *gasi* etc. are used on the personal pronouns to express the self.

4. 1. 4. ADJECTIVE

An adjective qualifies the noun and it precedes the noun in the construction.

/dam	/c ^h aM/	
good	boy	'Good boy'

/rok	zu/	
dark	cloud	'Dark cloud'

The plural marker is added to the noun only; not to the adjectives.

/rak	patraM/	'Green leaf'
green		

<i>/rak</i>	<i>patraMa/</i>	‘Green leaves’
	leaves	

Classification of Adjectives

Kinnauri adjectives are classified as qualitative, quantitative, predicative.

Qualitative Adjectives

<i>/dam chaM/</i>	‘The good boy’
good boy	

<i>/dam c^hec^has/</i>	‘The good girl’
good girl	

<i>/dam c^hikza/</i>	‘The good child’
good child	

<i>/zigic^h c^hikza/</i>	‘The small child’
small child	

<i>/teg katab/</i>	‘The big book’
big book	

<i>/rak patraM/</i>	‘The green leaf’
green leaf	

Quantitative Adjectives

<i>/pa zigic^h/</i>	<i>liTTaga</i>	‘Four little eggs’
four little	eggs	

<i>/muluk zigich /</i>	<i>kaga</i>	‘Many little crows’
many little	crows	

/do majo id ruŋc^hyaami/ ‘One among the guard’
among one guard

Predicative Adjectives

The adjectives are used as predicative in some sentences. However, the adjectives follow the nouns in this type of constructions.

1. */do chaŋ laTTa du/*
that boy deaf is ‘That boy is deaf’

2. */domiga lambas du/*
those men tall are ‘Those men are tall’

However, in some of the constructions the adjectives precede nouns.

/zu id walS’are deshaM du/
this one beautiful village is
‘This is a beautiful village’

4. 1. 5. NUMERAL

The basic cardinals from one to nine are number specific.

<i>/id/</i>	‘one’
<i>/niS’/</i>	‘two’
<i>/S’um/</i>	‘three’
<i>/po/</i>	‘four’
<i>/Ma/</i>	‘five’
<i>/Tuk/</i>	‘six’
<i>/st^hiS’/</i>	‘seven’
<i>/ray/</i>	‘eight’
<i>/gui/</i>	‘nine’
<i>S’ai</i>	‘ten’

From eleven to nineteen the cardinal/basic numerals are added with the allomorphs */S’/* of the morpheme *S’ai* ‘ten’. Thus *S’* - (allomorph of ‘ten’) + *-id* ‘one’ =eleven.

/S'ai/	'ten'
/S'id/	'eleven'
/S'oniS'/	'twelve'
/S'orum/	'thirteen'
/S'apo/	'fourteen'
/S'oMo/	'fifteen'
/S'oruk/	'sixteen'
/S'astis ^h /	'seventeen'
/S'aray/	'eighteen'
/S'asguy/	'nineteen'

'Twenty' is expressed as *niza*. The other higher numerals are as follows:

/nizaw	S'ay/	'thirty'
twenty	ten	

/niS'	niza/	'forty'
two	twenty	

/niS'	niza	S'ay/	'fifty'
two	twenty	ten	

/ra/		'hundred'
------	--	-----------

Thus, the higher numerals, like ten, twenty, thirty etc. are expressed by adding the terms twenty, twenty + ten (thirty) and so on. Odds are expressed by adding ten with twenty whereas the evens are expressed in terms of multiplicity of twenties.

/S'um	niza/	'sixty'
three	twenty	

/S'um	niza	shai/	'seventy'
three	twenty	ten	

/pa niza/ 'eighty'
 four twenty

Ordinals

As far as ordinals are concerned only the first and last are found in current use.

/ioms/ 'first'
/yumsi / 'last'

In the fractions, *adya* 'half' is used.

Compound words

Two independent nouns form together to have a new lexical item.

1. */gol S'aM/* 'moon'
/c^hatk/ 'ray'
/gol S'aMnu c^hatk/ 'moon light'
2. */lan/* 'air'
/lilan/ 'cyclone'
3. */ti/* 'water'
/nagas ti/ 'spring of water'
4. */c^hikza /* 'child'
/c^hikzau beraM/ 'child hood'
5. */prac^h/* 'finger'
/zigic^h prac^h/ 'little finger'
/moTTas prac^h/ 'thumb'

4. 2 VERB MORPHOLOGY

Word formation

The verb is formed in the following ways:

By inflection

Verbal stem + tense marker + personal marker + Number marker

/biyoduk/ 'go + pre con. + first person + singular'

verbal stem

/biyoduc^h/ 'go + pre. con. + first person + plural'

verbal stem

Thus, the inflectional morphemes change according to the tense, person and number which take place in the action.

By prefixation

The negative verb is formed by adding the prefix *me* – to the affirmative form of the verb.

/bic^h/ 'go'

/mabic^h/ 'don't go'

4. 2. 1 VERB

Verbs are classified into so many classes as follows:

Physical Activity Verbs

/kamaM/ 'act'

/bajamik/ 'blow'

/ragmik/ 'break'

/t^hoi/ 'fold'

Instrument Verbs

/t^hamu palmu/ 'chop'

/molmu/ 'cut'

/ToTa lannu/ 'split'

Fighting Verbs

<i>/sannu/</i>	‘kill’
<i>/kubo/</i>	‘stab’
<i>/toMS'o/</i>	‘wrestle’

Music Verbs

<i>/bajamu/</i>	‘blow: flute’
<i>/gitaM lannu/</i>	‘sing’

Motion Verbs

<i>/S'o/</i>	‘disappear’
<i>/yurmu/</i>	‘drive’
<i>/walannut/</i>	‘lift up’
<i>/yunnu /</i>	‘move: an object from one place to other’

Occupational Verbs

<i>/unnu/</i>	‘beg’
<i>/orokS'/</i>	‘graze’
<i>/Topru/</i>	‘embroider’

Stationary Verbs

<i>/zuro/</i>	‘appear’
<i>/konnik/</i>	‘approve’
<i>/toS'i/</i>	‘sit’
<i>/c^homi taĩ/</i>	‘keep/retain’

4. 2. 1. 1 FINITE VERB

The verbal stem takes the tense markers as well as personal markers to express the finiteness of the actions. The present and past tenses are expressed in the same manner for all persons whereas the future tense marker varies according to the person concerned.

Tense

Simple Present

-*c^h* is the present tense marker which invariably presents to person, number and gender.

<i>/ga rimo bic^h/</i>	‘I go to the field’
I field go	

<i>/niMa rimo bic^h/</i>	‘We go to the field’
we field go	
<i>/ki rimo bic^h/</i>	‘You (sg) go to the field’
you(sg) field go	
<i>/kina rimo bic^h/</i>	‘You (pl) go to the field’
you(pl) field go	
<i>/do rimo bic^h/</i>	‘He /She goes to the field’
he/she field goes	
<i>/zu rimo bic^h/</i>	‘It goes to the field’
it field goes	
<i>/doga rimo bic^h/</i>	‘They go to the field’
they field go	

Past

The past tense marker is *-duyE*. However, for first person the suffix is *-uyEk*.

<i>/ga rimo bic^h duyEk/</i>	‘I went to the field’
I field go-past	
<i>niŋa rimo bic^h duyEk/</i>	‘We went to the field’
We field go-past	
<i>/ki rimo bic^h duyE/</i>	‘You (sg) went to the field’
you(sg) field go-past	
<i>/kina rimo bic^h duyE/</i>	‘You (pl) went to the field’
you(pl) field go-past	

/do rimo bic^h duyE/ 'He/She went to the field'
he/she field go-past

/zu rimo bic^h duyE/ 'It went to the field'
it field go-past

/doga rimo bic^h duyE/ 'They went to the field'
they field go-past

Future

The variations are observed in the use of future tense markers. - *tok* Is used for first person singular, - *ti* is for second person singular, -*to* for third person singular and -*tic^h* for first- and second-person plural.

/ga rimo bi tok/ 'I shall go to the field'
I field go-fut

/niMa rimo bitic^h/ 'We shall go to the field'
we field go-fut

/ki rimo biti/ 'You (sg) shall go to the field'
you(sg) field go-fut

/kina rimo bitic^h/ 'You (pl) shall go to the field'
you(pl) field go-fut

/do rimo bito/ 'He/She will go to the field'
he/she field go-fut

/zu rimo bito/ 'It will go to the field'
it field go-fut

/doga rimo bito/ 'They will go to the field'
they field go-fut

Continuous Tense

Present Continuous

The present continuous tense markers are as follows:

<i>/-yoduk/</i>	‘First person singular’
<i>/-yoduc^h /yotoc^h/</i>	‘First person plural/second person plural’
<i>/-yotoi/</i>	‘Second person singular’
<i>/-yodu/</i>	‘Third person singular and plural’

Examples:

<i>/ga rimo biyoduk/</i>	‘I am going to the field’
I go +pre. cont.	
<i>/niMa rimo biyoduc^h /</i>	‘We are going to the field’
we field go+ pre. cont.	
<i>/ki rimo biyotoĩ/</i>	‘You (sg) are going to the field’
you(sg) field go+ pre. cont.	
<i>/kina rimo biyotoc^h /</i>	‘You (pl) are going to the field’
you(pl) field go+ pre. cont.	
<i>/zu rimo biyodu /</i>	‘It is going to the field’
it field go+ pre. cont.	
<i>/doga rimo biyodu /</i>	‘They are going to the field’
they field go+ pre. cont.	

Past Continuous

The past continuous markers are varying according to the persons concerned. They are as follows:

<i>/-yotokek/</i>	‘First person singular’
<i>/-yotokec^h /</i>	‘First and second person plural’
<i>/-yotokei/</i>	‘Second person singular’
<i>/-yoduyE/</i>	‘Third person singular and plural’

Examples:

/ga rimo biyotokek/ 'I was going to the field'
I field go+past cont.

/niMa rimo biyotokek^h/ 'We were going to the field'
we field go+past cont.

/ki rimo biyotokei/ 'You (sg) were going to the field'
you(sg) field go+past cont.

/kina rimo biyotokek^h/ 'You (pl) were going to the field'
you (pl) field go+past cont.

/do rimo biyoduyE/ 'He/She was going to the field'
he/she field go+past cont.

/zu rimo biyoduyE/ 'It was going to the field'
it field go+past cont.

/doga rimo biyoduyE/ 'They were going to the field'
they field go+past cont.

Future Continuous

The future continuous markers are as follow according to the persons concerned:

<i>/-yonito/k</i>	'First person singular'
<i>/-yonitic^h/</i>	'First and second person plural'
<i>/-yoniti/</i>	'Second person singular'
<i>/-yonito/</i>	'Third person singular and plural'

Examples:

/ga rimo biyonitok/ 'I shall be going to the field'
I field go+fut. cont.

<i>/niMa rimo biyonitic^h/</i> we field go+fut. cont.	‘We shall be going to the field’
<i>/ki rimo biyoniti/</i> you(sg) field go+fut. cont.	‘You (sg) shall be going to the field’
<i>/kina rimo biyonitic^h/</i> you (pl) field go+fut. cont.	‘You (pl) shall be going to the field’
<i>/do rimo biyonito/</i> he/she field go+fut. cont.	‘He/She will be going to the field ‘
<i>/zu rimo biyonito/</i> it field go+fut. cont.	‘It will be going to the field’
<i>/doga rimo biyonito/</i> they field go+fut. cont.	‘They will be going to the field’

Perfect Tense

Present

The present perfect markers are as follow:

<i>/-bitok/</i>	‘First person singular’
<i>/-bitoc^h/</i>	‘First and second person plural’
<i>/-bitoi/</i>	‘Second person singular’
<i>/-bidu/</i>	‘Third person singular and plural’

Examples:

<i>/ga rimo bibitok/</i> I field go+pre-perf	‘I have gone to the field’
<i>/niMa rimo bibitoc^h/</i> we field go+pre-perf	‘We have gone to the field’
<i>/ki rimo bibitoi/</i> You(sg) field go+pre-perf	‘You (sg) have gone to the field’

/Kina rimo bibitoc^h/ 'You (pl) have gone to the field'
you (pl) field go+pre-perf

/do rimo bibidu/ 'He/She has gone to the field'
he/she field go+pre-perf

/doga rimo bibidu/ 'They have gone to the field'
they field go+pre-perf

Past Perfect

The following are the markers of past perfect tense:

/-bitokek / 'First person singular'
/-bitokech/ 'First and second person plural'
/-bitokei/ 'Second person singular '
/-biduyE/ 'Third person singular and plural'

Examples:

/ga rimo bibitokek/ 'I had gone to the field'
I field go+pas perf

/niMa rimo bibitokec^h/ 'We had gone to the field'
we field go+pas perf

/ki rimo bibitokei/ 'You (sg) had gone to the field'
You (sg) field go+pas perf

/kina rimo bibitokec^h/ 'You (pl) had gone to the field'
You (pl) field go+pas perf

/do rimo bibiduyE/ 'He/She had gone to the field'
he/she field go+pas perf

/zu rimo bibiduyE/ 'It had gone to the field'
it field go+pas perf

/doga rimo bibiduyE/ ‘They had gone to the field’
 they field go+pas perf

Future Perfect

The future perfect markers are as follow:

<i>/-binitok/</i>	‘First person singular’
<i>/-binitic^h/</i>	‘First and second person plural’
<i>/-biniti/</i>	‘Second person singular’
<i>/-binito/</i>	‘Third person singular and plural’

Examples:

/ga rimo bibinitok/ ‘I should have gone to the field’
 I field go+fut perf

/niMa rimobibinitic^h/ ‘We should have gone to the field’
 we field go+fut perf

/ki rimo bibiniti’/ ‘You should have gone to the field’
 you(sg) field go+fut perf

/kina rimo bibinitic^h/ ‘You should have gone to the field’
 you(pl) field go+fut perf

/do rimo bibinito/ ‘He/She should have gone to the field’
 he/she field go+fut perf

/zu rimo bibinito/ ‘It should have gone to the field’
 it field go+fut perf

/doga rimobibinito/ ‘They should have gone to the field’
 they field go+fut perf

Mood

Mood is an indicator of speaker’s mind. It expresses the speaker’s point of view about the occurrence of an event. It may be expressed in terms of a declarative, an interrogative etc.

Declarative

Declarative sentences may sometimes come with verbs such as *du* and sometimes without them.

a. /do aM boa/ 'He is my father'
he my father

b. /aM yuMriMz kimmo du/ 'My brothers and sisters are
my sisters brothers house in are

Interrogative

Interrogative is expressed with markers such as *-to* and sometimes with varying intonations.

a. /kin c^haMa ham to? / 'Where are your children?'
your children where

b. /ki t^ha zaw? / 'What do you eat?'
what eat + q. mark

Negative

ta, ma are used to express negativeness.

a. /kaniya ta toi/ 'Do not speak loudly'
loudly not speak

b. /ga taro ma bado/ 'I am not coming today'
I todaynot coming

Imperative

The verbs do not show any markers for expressing imperativeness. Rising intonation indicates imperative mood.

a. /lo zei/ 'Come here'
here come

b. /yua toS'i/
down sit 'Sit down'

c. /aMu id kot^ha loi/
me one story tell 'Tell me one story'

Judgemental

a. /DokaM bari teg du/
hill very high 'The hill is very high'

b. /do c^hec^has laTTe du/
girl deaf 'That girl is deaf'

c. /c^haM susti du/
boy lazy is 'The boy is lazy'

Exclamation

a. /zu id walS'are deS'aM du/
this one beautiful village 'This is a beautiful village!'

b. /bagwan teg du/
God great is 'The God is great !'

c. /solok t^hwa du/
road high is 'Road is high'

Obligation

a. /ga paka batok/
I ought come 'I ought to come'

b. /aMu bannik gyac^h/
I come should 'I should come'

c. /kinu niS' amrud zamik gyac^h/ 'You should eat two guavas'
you two guavas eat should

Habitual

a. /do dyaro piyac^hannu sac^h/ 'He always kills the birds'
he daily birds-acc kills

b. /garaManu karaMuden suS'mu p^hiyo tokek/ 'I used to take the horse to
I horse river wash take used to the river for wash'

Permissive/Optative

a. /cey ku bannu S'ei/ 'Let (them) all come'
all come let

b. /I ganTa gumo zarei/ 'Come within an hour'
hour within come

Possibility

a. /doga ito ho/ 'They may ask'
they ask may

b. /zu hac^ho ko/ 'It may happen'
it happen may

4. 2. 1. 2 NON-FINITE VERB

The verbs which do not take tense or personal markers are referred as non-finite

Verbs

Infinitive

/-nu/, /-mu/ suffixes are added to the verbal bases to make them infinitive one.

Examples:

a. /*ga ba nnu gyagya/* 'I want to come'
I come to want

b. /*do p^halaM zamu gyac^h duye/* 'He liked to eat the fruit'
he fruit eat to liked

Verbal Noun

The suffix /-*mik sya/* is added to the verb to change it to the noun.

Examples:

a. /*zu zamik sya ma du/* 'This is not eatable'
this eatable not is

b. /*zu ti t^huMmik sya ma du/* 'This water is not drinkable'
this water drinkable not is

Gerund

The suffix -*mu* is added to the verb to form the gerund.

Examples:

a. /*bomu kamaM raManu daMc^h hac^his/*
running work horse by done
'Running is done by the horse'

b. /*c^hulmu kamaM kuidaMc^h hac^hodu/*
barking work dog-by done
'The barking is being done by the dog'

Participle

/-*ya/* is the suffix added to the verb to form participle.

Example:

a. /*p^holaMu lubbya tac^h/*
fruits covered keep
'Keep the fruits covered'

4. 2. 1. 3 CAUSATIVE VERB

The causative marker /-lo/-la/ is added to the verb to form the causative verb.

a. /ga c^haMu miTT^hayi zamu loc^hduk/
I boy-acc sweet eat to make pre. ten
'I make the boy eat the sweet'

b. /ga raMubomutaMeS' lanoduk /
I horse-acc run for making
'I am making the horse to run'

c. /doga raManu reso S'ennutaMeS' lanodu/
they horses race in run in making
'They are making the horses run in the races'

d. /do kamaM l aMc^hyapaM Ma rupya rannutaMeS' hate nu lod/
she worker 5 rupees give to some one making
'She is making someone give five rupees to worker'

4. 2. 1. 4 AUXILIARY VERB

The auxiliary verbs such as /-du/, /-tok/, /-tokek/, /-toc^h and so on are used with verbs to express tense forms. Examples are:

1. /do id kat^hab chyo du/
he one book write pre. con.
'He is writing a book'

2. /un ga yagotok/
now I sleep+pr. con
'Now, I am sleeping'

3. /ga sa ra lai yago tokek/

I all the day sleep + past. con.

'I was sleeping all the day'

4. /do sara lai yago toc^h/

he all the day sleep+past. con.

'He was sleeping all the day'

4. 2. 1. 5 NEGATIVE VERB

The negative affix *ma-* is added before the verbal base to form negative verb. Example:

/bic^h/ 'go'

/mabic^h/ 'Don't go'

1. /ga, taro bazaro mabic^h/

I today bazar-to not go

'I don't go to the market today'

2. /huna ga barabo ma bic^h ya/

this time I festival not go may

'I may not go to the festival this time'

3. /ga, ma nek sew kimmat hala twa bito/

I can't say apple price how up go-will

'I can't say the price of apple how far it will go up'

4. 2. 1. 6 COMPOUND VERB

Compound words are formed by means of joining two verbal bases into one to have a different meaning.

For example

1. /S'annu/ 'stagger'

/twannu/ 'pull out (from a bag)

/twaS'annu/ 'pull up (one's self as in a climbing)

2. /lannu/	‘make’
/twannu/	‘pick (fruit from tree)’
/twalannu/	‘lift up’

4. 2. 1. 7 PASSIVE FORMATION

The passive formation is done in this language in the following manner:

- The active verb is changed into the verbal noun/gerund
- The instrumental case suffix *-daMc* is added to the subject of active voice sentence
- The proper passive tense marker is added to the verb finally

Examples:

Active Voice

1. a. /raM	<i>bodu/</i>	‘The horse runs’
horse	runs	

Passive Voice

b. /bomu	<i>kamaM</i>	<i>raManudaMc^h</i>	<i>ha c^his/</i>
running	work	horse-by	is done
‘Running is done by the horse’			

Active Voice

2. a. /do	<i>id</i>	<i>kat^hab</i>	<i>huS'id/</i>
he	one	book	reads
‘He reads a book’			

Passive Voice

b. /kat ^h ab	<i>dodaMc^h</i>	<i>huS'odu/</i>
book	him by	read
‘The book is being read by him’		

Sometimes, *- daMc^h* is replaced by *-paM* as mentioned below.

a. /ga	<i>rote</i>	<i>zac^h/</i>
I	bread	eat
‘I eat a bread’		

b. /rote paM ga zawduk/
 bread acc. I eaten being
 ‘The bread is being eaten by me’

There are some occasions where there is no variation at all in the sentence pattern (no adding of markers) except an inter change of subject and object.

Active Voice

/sarkar mazorc^haya miganu rupya kec^h/
 govt. poor people to rupees gives
 ‘The Government gives money to the poor’

Passive Voice

/rupya mazorc^haya miganu sarkar kec^h/
 money poor people to govt.
 ‘Money is given to the poor by the Govt’

4. 2. 1. 8 TRANSITIVITY

An intransitive verb does not take objects.

/k ui c^hulc^h /
 dog barks
 ‘Dog barks’

The transitive verb takes the direct object along with the case suffix. This is found in taking the direct object in sentence level patterns. The verb inflects to the tense subsequently.

/do piyac^hu sadodu/
 he bird acc. killing
 ‘He is killing the bird’

When the verb takes two objects, one direct and another indirect, the indirect object precedes before the main object and the verb inflects to the tense, afterwards.

/toro kaS’aMa Ma bajest^haM kamaM S’uMte/
 today our 5 o’clock by work will finish
 ‘Today we will finish our work by 5’o clock’

4. 2. 2 ADVERB

The adverb precedes the verb in Kinnauri.

/ram hasalo boc^h/ ‘Ram runs quickly’
Ram quickly runs

The other examples:

/bodi toS’amu/ ‘Longer live’
longer live
/mesaMs loda/ ‘Whisperly said’
whisperly said

Some of the adverbs used in this language are:

/binamadatu/ ‘helplessly’
/t^hwabada/ ‘higher’
/toloT^haMis/ ‘sadly’
/kuS’is / ‘happily’

4. 2. 3 REDUPLICATION

Some of the syllables repeat in their occurrence within a word is called reduplicated word. The reduplication may be complete or partial, according to the nature of repeatedness.

Complete

The syllable repeats completely in this type.

Examples:

/gurgur/ ‘thunder’
/TumTum/ ‘hunch back’
/c^hemc^hem/ ‘chicken pox’
/toto/ ‘fish’
/tata/ ‘hatch: egg’
/gor gor/ ‘jerk: pull suddenly’

Partial

Some of the syllables repeat and hence it is referred as partial.

Examples:

<i>/makyakya/</i>	‘neglect’
<i>/tetetego/</i>	‘ancestors’
<i>/Tem Tem tamu/</i>	‘check: blood’

5. SYNTAX

5. 1 ORDER OF WORDS IN SENTENCES

The type of sentence formation in Kinnauri language is as follow:

<i>/ga</i>	<i>dopaM</i>	<i>kyac^h/</i>	'I see him?'
I	him	see	
S	O	V	

Hence the sentence pattern is SOV type generally.

5. 2 DESCRIPTION OF TYPES OF PHRASES AND SENTENCES

5. 2. 1 TYPES OF PHRASES

The Kinnauri sentences consist of noun phrase and verb phrase.

Noun Phrase

A noun phrase may consist of a noun alone or followed by one or more attributes.

<i>/huju</i>	<i>c^haMa /</i>	'His sons'
his	sons	
<i>/doganu</i>	<i>c^haMa/</i>	'Their sons'
their	sons	
<i>/dam</i>	<i>c^haM/</i>	'Good boy'
good	boy	
<i>/dam</i>	<i>c^hec^ha/</i>	'Good girl'
good	girl	

If plural sentence is wanted to be expressed in the noun phrase, then the plural marker is added to the head noun.

<i>/dam</i>	<i>c^haM/</i>
good	boy

<i>/dam</i>	<i>c^haMa/</i>
good	boys

When a noun is modified by a quantifier, then the quantifier follows the noun.

<i>/kina</i>	<i>c^hey</i>	<i>eke/</i>	‘You altogether’
noun	quantifier		
you	altogether		

When two attributes i. e. one numeral and one qualitative are added to the nouns, then the order of words will be as follow:

<i>/pa</i>	<i>zigic^h</i>	<i>liTTaga/</i>	‘Four little eggs’
four	little	eggs	
numeral	qualitative	noun	
attribute	attribute		

When the case marker or post position is added to the noun, it will be added to the whole noun phrase.

<i>/sukloc^h (jei) /</i>	(Come) from school’
school from	
<i>/sukloc^h neraM (jei) /</i>	‘(Come) near from school’
school near from	

It is observed that the case marker *-och* changes into *-o* in this phenomenon.

<i>/suklo neraM (jei) /</i>	‘(Come) near the school’
school near from	

Attributive Noun Phrase

The attributes always precede the nouns.

<i>/tEg</i>	<i>katab/</i>	‘Big book’
big	book	
<i>/T^hog</i>	<i>raM/</i>	‘White horse’
white	horse	

The plural sense is added to the nouns only, not to the attributes.

/teḡ katabe/ 'Big books'

/T^hog raḡa'/ 'White horses'

Co-ordinate Noun Phrase

A co-ordinate noun phrase consists of two or more nouns or noun phrases which are connected by co-ordinated connectives.

/piS'iraM kui/ 'A cat and a dog'

cat and dog

/id Dekras raM id c^hec^has/ 'A boy and a girl'

a boy and a girl

'and' is used here to connect two nouns.

Predicate Phrase

The predicate phrase consists of a verb as a nucleus and may be followed by a noun or other markers such as tense, aspect and mood.

/aḡ gaDio daḡ bi/ 'Go to my cart'

my cart to go

/aḡ kimo bi/ 'Go to my house'

my house to go

The adverbs precede the verb

/mesaMs lownik/ 'Speak slowly'

slowly speak

/kaniya toi/ 'Speak loudly'

loudly speak

The mood markers are added after the verb.

/ba/ tok 'May come'

come may

/sa/	/to/	‘May kill’
kill	may	

/bannik/	/gyac ^h /	‘Should come’
come	should	

The negative marker is added before the verb.

/ma	lan	lan	duyEk/	
not		do	past	‘Did not do’

/ma	c ^h ulodu/	‘(Dog) not barking’
not	bark+pre. con	

5. 2. 2 TYPES OF SENTENCES

Statement / Declarative Sentences

In statement / declarative sentences, the word order is subject, object and verb pattern is observed generally.

1. /do	aM	boa/	‘He is my father’
he	my	father is	

2. /aM		niS’	chaMa	to/	‘I have two sons’
I	two	sons	have		

3. /zigic ^h	c ^h ikza	hadaM	toS’odu/	‘The small child is sitting there’
small	child	there	sit pre. con.	

4. /aM	c ^h aMa	sukulo	bibidu/	‘My sons have gone to school’
My	sons	school to	have gone	

Interrogative Sentences

The interrogative words such as *t^ha* ‘what’ *t^heraM* ‘when’ etc. are added after the nouns/pronouns to make the interrogative sense.

1. /*ki t^ha zaw?*/ ‘What do you eat?’
you what eat

2. /*ki t^heraM S’arS’id? /?* ‘When do you get up?’
you when get up

3. /*ki ratiM ham tokei? /* ‘Where had you been during the night?’
you night where had you been

4. /*zupaM t^he loc^h ? /* ‘What this called of?’
it what called

Imperative Sentences

The imperative sense is marked with *-i* which comes after the verbal base. Sometimes, *-M* is added with the suffix *-i*.

1. /*lo zei/* ‘Come here’
here come

2. /*gaT^hoda ti kai/* ‘Bring some water’
some water bring

3. /*dogonu id kot^ha loi/* ‘Tell them a story’
them one story tell

4. /*kimo bi dok ja rai /* ‘Go home and come back’
home to go and come back

Negative Sentences

The prefix *ma* – is added before verbs generally to convey the negative sense.

1. /*ga ma bo/* 'I am not going'
I not go+pre. con.

2. /*do zupuM ma lanim S'okyac^h/* 'He can not do it'
he it not do can

However, in some instances, *ma*- prefix is substituted with the other prefix *ta*-.

3. /*zali ta batyay/* 'Do not tell lies'
lie not tell

4. /*ha saloi ki bac^hano ta bi/* 'Do not go to bed so soon'
so soon bed not go

Causative Sentences

The causative marker *-i* or *-lo* is added after the object to make the causative sense.

1. /*do daMc^h kat^hab unnu taMeS' ga dopaM ic^hduk/*
him- from book give to I her make pre. con.
'I ask him to make her give a book'

2. /*ga aM bayuc^hu c^haMu maTTayga zamukei loc^hdui/*
I my y. sister boy sweets feed to make
'I make my sister to feed the boy with sweets'

3. /*ga dopaM git^haM lannu taMeS' lododu/*
I her song sing to make pre. con.
'I am making her to sing a song'

5. 3 DESCRIPTION OF PATTERN OF SENTENCES

The three kinds of sentences namely simple, complex and compound patterns of sentences are available in Kinnauri language.

Simple Sentence

A simple sentence that is without subordinate clause consists of either object or no object in its words of components.

1. /kui c^hulodu/ ‘The dog barks’
dog barks

2. /kaS’aMa zaM bac^h/ ‘We come here’
we here come

3. /ga yums bak/ ‘I came last’
I last came

4. /mE ki ham tokei / ‘Where were you yesterday?’
yesterday you where were

Complex Sentences

The subordinate clause precedes the main clause in complex sentences.

Noun clause

- /ga laManu dyaro rogmu p^hic^h/
I buffalo daily graze for take
‘I take the buffalo daily for grazing’

Adjective Clause

- /ham ga toS’it duk do kim wal tEk du/
which I live in that house very big is
‘The house which I live in is a large one’

Adverbial Clause

- /ga dopaM kyam bEraM do brin bibi duyE/

I him saw when he ground was lying
 'He was lying on the ground when I saw him'

Analysis of Complex Sentence

/pawli wapas kai mani ma kinu toM c^hok/
 money return other wise you beat fut
 'You return the money otherwise you will be beaten'

<i>/pawli</i>	<i>wapas kai/</i>	Main clause
<i>/mani</i>	<i>ma/</i>	connective
<i>/kinu</i>	<i>toM^hok/</i>	subordinate clause

Analysis

[	Subject	:	<i>/pawli/</i>
	Verb	:	<i>/ika/</i>
	Predicate Object	:	<i>/wapas/</i>
	Extension	:	<i>/manima kinu toM^hok/</i>
Subordinate Clause	:	<i>/manima kinu toM^hok/</i>	
Subject	:	<i>/kinu/</i>	
Predicate	:	<i>/toM^hok/</i>	
Connective	:	<i>/manima/</i>	

Compound Sentences

A connector compounds two simple sentences into one sentence.

1. */sairan rai baje bajeda dok miga kamaMo boa/*
 siren 8 o'clock blew and people work started

'The siren blew at 8 o'clock and people started working'

2. */wokt niS'bajeS' taM kekeduyE dostam gas aM kamaM/*
 time 2 clock till given yet I my work

purama lan lan duyEk/
complete not do past

‘The time given was 2 o’clock yet my work was not finished’

3. */do nipi kag raM manT kag hado boThaMu kuS’is*
after wards crow and hen crow that tree in happily

toS’e ai muluk zigic^h kaga hac^he/
lived and many little crows had

‘The crow and the crow hen lived in that tree happily afterwards and had many little baby crow

TEXT

hala manT kagis rAk sapasu sada
how hen crow black snake kill-past.

‘How the crow – hen killed the black snake?’

- I *bargadu boT^h aMu baranu*
banyan tree-in branches
- majaMo id kag raM hodo goine*
among one crow and his wife
- manT kag toS’it duyE. wawo kumo*
hen crow lived nest in
- pa zigic^h liTTaga duyE dopaM*
four little eggs were which
- pEraMa wal kyaliS’ kyaw duyE.*
parents very careful guarded
- dor boTT^h aMu goniMo majo id*
that tree’s trunk-in between one
- Dabaro kumo id rAk sapas duyE*
hollow in one black snake were
- doka kaga wal byaMc^h duyE*
which crows very feared
- dyaro tAm tAm tac^h dokli sapas*
every time laid snake

gsraya S'o waw t^hwabac^h dok t^hwa doganu zac^h
 crawled up nest up and up them ate

‘Among the spreading branches of a banyan tree lived a crow and his wife, the crow-hen . In the nest were four little eggs which the parents guarded with great care. In a hollow of that tree trunk lived a black snake whom the crows feared greatly. Every time the crow-hen laid her eggs the snake crawled up to the nest and ate them up’.

II. ‘*un do rAk sapas thwababa*
 this time that black snake up

aM liTTaga zama ga zu bot^h aMo
 my eggs eats I that tree in

badi toS'amu mag yatok. kaS'aManu
 longer live not accept we

hamta aidpaM kaS'o wa
 somewhere else our nest

zurEam gyac^h pyac^h amas
 built must bird mother

andac^hu loda
 her husband said

“ If the black snake eats up my eggs this time also, I refuse to live in this tree any longer. We must build our nest somewhere else, said the mother bird to her husband.”

III. “*kaS'aMa zam muluk dyaroc^h*
 we here long time

toS'o ga aM kimu swa swa dok
 lived I my home desert and
aid paM bimu mazi leyatok” kagis

else where go not bear can crow

loda. dA niS' batya S'mo bEraM
said they two talking while

dogos anainu neraMc^hi t^he t^ha
they them near some

sarrayaw kad t^hasgyo. dogos
hiss sound listened they

neS'id zu kad t^hedis landau.
knew that sound what created by

waw doga binamadatu liTTaganu
nest in they helplessly eggs

boc^haya mu koS'is' lano toS'is duyE.
protect to try for sat

rAk sapas mekyaso t^hwabada
black snake crept higher

dok waw nEraM pada. dok dAs
and nest closer reached then he

pya c^hanu byaMmu ta MeS' id kad
birds fear for make one strike

toda do niS' byaM byaM boa. id
did they two fear flew away one

raM id do rAk sapa siS'
by one that black snake

liTTaganu zaS'it
eggs ate

“We have lived here a long time. I can’t bear to desert my home and go to live elsewhere, said the crow. While they were talking, they heard a hissing sound just below them. They knew what the sound meant. They sat helplessly in their nest trying to protect their eggs. The black snake crept higher and closer to the nest. Then with a loud hiss the tried to strike at the birds who flew away in terror. One by one, the black snake swallowed the eggs.”

IV. *hunne ne ki kaS'aManu*
knowingly well that our

zu wa k^hali nito pEraMa wal
this nest empty would parents very

toloT^haMis ahenu waw wapas
sadly there nest in returned

bada. kagis loda "aMu zu
back crow said I that

S'ac^hit sapsu sannu taMeS'
murderous snake kill to

t^he t^ha lannik sya"
some to do find

“ The parents came back sadly to their nest, Knowing well that they would find it empty. The crow said, I must find a way to destroy this murderous snake” .

V. *"ki doraM hala toMs^hid*
you him how fight

dA zamik wal koc^haMdu” *dA*
his sting so dead is his

goines dukaMis loda’.
wife despair in said

“How can you ever fight him? His sting is so deadly,” said his wife in despair. ”

VI. *“ki zorrita lani aM goine*
you donot worry my wife

aM id konyas hac^h is du dA wal
I one friend have he very

biS’aMsya sapasanu sannu wal
poisonous snake acc kill very

nEc^hdu” kagis loda dok dA id
cunning crow told and he one

aid boT^haMuden yaba hadaM
another tree on flew there

yua dobennaM konyas duyE S’alas.
under his dear friend lived jackal

“Don’t you worry, my dear, I have got a friend who is cunning enough to destroy the most poisonous of snakes,” said the crow, and off he flew to another tree under which lived his dear friend, the jackal.

VII. *haladyarosapis liTTaga*
always snake eggs

zaza zu kot^ha taS’ taS’ nipi dAs
ate this story hear after he

loda “*aM* *konyes* *doga* *hate* *wal*
told my friend those who so

papi *ai* *lalc^hi* *syaganic^h* *dogonu*
cruel and greedy their

ant *wal* *mare nich.* *t^habya mic^h*
end very not good no fear

aM *daM* *dopaM* *sannu taMeS’* *omsi*
I have him kill for already

id *bata Mto*”.
one plan is

“ When the jackal heard how the snake always ate up the eggs, he said, “My friend, those who are cruel and greedy always meet with a bad end. Have no fear, I have already thought of a plan to destroy him. ”

VIII. *O, rimi nu* *t^hedu? kagis*
tell this what crow

loda. *dEraM* *S’alas* “ *aid hates*
said then jackal anyone

bataM t^hasto ki *sapasu sannu*
plan hear snake destroy to

t^he *lanim* *gyac^h* *dAs* *anu* *konyesu*
what do should he his friend

mesaMs” *loda.* *kag* *anu* *goinew daM*
whisper said crow his wife

wapas yawa dok dAs bata Mu bare
back flew and he plan regarding

dopaM loda. zu wal byaMmik syadu
her told this very fear some

kagis loda. "kaS'aManu wal esas nimiksyu".
crow told we very careful shall have

“O, do tell me what it is, “ said the crow . Then the jackal , fearing he might be over heard , whispered to his friend what he should do to destroy the snake. The crow flew back to his wife and told her about the plan . “It is rather risky, ” said the crow. ” We shall have to be very careful. ”

IX. *"aM liTTaganu boc^hyamu*
my eggs save

-taMeS' ga t^hedli lantok"
to I whatever do will

ama pyac^his himmetis loda.
mother bird bravely told

“I shall do anything to save my eggs, ”said the mother bird bravely.

X. *dok do niS' aid rajaw*
after they two another raja's

kilaw koc^haM yaba. do kilaw doganu
palace towards flew that palace they

toS'mig sya boT^haMu ka wal work
lived where tree from very far

madue. doga id tEg kilaw bagic^h
not is they one big palace garden

cau kumo soraMudaM nEraM pada
in pond hear approached

hadaM dogas c^haukar c^hec^hasanu
where they royal ladies

S'uso kyaS'id. dogos doganu
bath saw they their

zamu har mala raM aid TanapaM
golden necklace chain and other jewellery

soraMu id paS'os toS'id. ama
ponds one edge kept mother

kag yuakoc^haM yEba anu
bird down flew her

c^hoc^ho id zaMu har t^hwa dok
beak one gold chain picked and

mEsaMs anu toS'miksya boT^haMu
slowly her live tree

koc^haM yEba. dobEraM kila
towards flew when palace

ruMc^hya migas pyac^hu zaMu har
guards bird gold chain

raM yabo kyaS'id dogos bergaga
with flying saw they clubs

togiyo dok pyac^hanu yums boa.
took and birds behind chased

dogos kyaS'idki pyac^his haru
they saw bird necklace

id boT^haMu DabaraMu S'eda.
one tree hollow dropped

do majo id ruMc^hyami haro poc^hmu
them among one guard chain get

-taMeS' boT^haMu t^hwabyo. dEraM
for tree climbed up as

dAs haru twannu taMeS' Daba ro
he chain get for hole in

anu gud kumo S'eda dAs id rAk
his hand inside put he one black

sapasu hadaM brinlEaso taMa
snake there curled saw

wal zoriS' anu bErgas dos
hard stroke his clup he

sapasu sada dok hone rAk
snake killed and that black

sapasu ant hac^he.

snake end was

“So off they flew towards the palace of the king of the country. The palace was not far from the tree in which they lived. They approached a big pond in the palace garden where they saw the royal ladies having a bath. They had laid their golden chains, pearl necklaces and other jewellery on the edge of the pond. The mother bird flew down, picked up a gold chain in her beak and started flying slowly towards the tree in which she lived. When the palace guards saw the bird flying off with the gold chain, they took up their clubs and chased the bird. They saw the bird drop the chain into the hollow of a tree. One of the guards climbed up the tree to get the chain. As he put his hand inside the hole to get the chain, he saw a black snake curled up there. With one hard stroke of his club he killed it and that was the end of the black snake.

XI. *donipi kag raM manT kag*
afterwards crow and hen crow

hado bot^h aMu kuS'is toS'e ai
that tree- in happilylived and

muluk zigic^h kaga hac^he.
many little crows had

“The crow and the crow- hen lived in that tree happily afterwards and had many little baby crows.”

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Anju, Saxena 2009 Corpus- Based Analysis of Kinnauri Syntax
Web Publication: Accessed in Internet.
- Atkinson, E. T. 1884 Gazetteer of North West Province Vol. VI,
Himalayan Dialects of North West
Provinces of India, Allahabad.
- Bajpai, S. C. 1991 Kinnaur –A Remote Land in the Himalaya,
New Delhi: Indus Publishing Company.
- Bailey, T. G. 1909 A Brief Grammar of Standard Kinnauri
(ZDMD, Vol. XIII pp. 661 ff).
- Bailey, T. G. 1910 Kanauri Vocabulary in Two Parts, Journal
of The Royal Asiatic Society, pp. 659 and ff.
- Census of India 1961 A Village Survey of Kothi (Kalpa Sub
Division), (Sup) Ram Chandra Pal Singh,
1963 Delhi: Govt. of India Press
- Census of India 1961 A Village Survey of Nachar (Nachar Sub
Division) (Ed) Ram Chandra Pal Singh,
1966 Delhi: Govt. of India Press.
- Census of India 2001 Population by Language/Mother Tongue
(Table C-7), New Delhi: Office of the
Registrar General, India
- Gerard, Captain A. 1842 A Vocabulary of the Kunawar Languages,
Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal,
Vol. Xi, Part I, pp. 479.

- Grierson, G. A. 1909 Linguistic Survey of India, Vol. III Part-II.
Delhi: Motilal Banasirdas.
- Joshi, T. R. 1909 A Grammar and Dictionary of Kanawari,
Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol.V,
Calcutta.
- Konow, Sten 1905 On some facts connected with the Tibeto-
Burman Dialect spoken in Kanawar
Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlan dischen
Gesellschaft Vol. I, IX, pp. 117 and ff.
- Mamgai, M. D. 1959 Gazeteer of India, Kinnaur, Himachal Pradesh.
- Neethivanan, J 1976 Survey of Kanauri in Himachal Pradesh,
Language Monograph 1961 Series, Delhi:
The Controller of Publications.
- Raha, M. K and 1985 The Kinnaurese of the Himalayas, Mahato, S. N.
Kolkata: Anthropological Survey of India.
- Shafer, R 1950 'Classification of some Languages of the
Himalayas', Journal of Bihar Research
Society Vol. 36, parts 3-4
- Sharma, D. D. 1988 A Descriptive Grammar of Kinnauri
Delhi: Mittal Publications.
- Verma, V 2002 Kanauras of Kinnaur – A Scheduled Tribe
in Himachal Pradesh, New Delhi: B R
Public Corporation (India) Limited

LAHAULI

Dipshikha Bose & J.C. Sharma

1. INTRODUCTION

Lahauli is a Tibeto-Burman language spoken in the Lahaul-Spiti district of Himachal Pradesh. The word ‘lahaul’ has been derived from two local words, ‘hya-hul’, meaning deities or spirits and ‘haul’ meaning land or abode. The inhabitants of the valley are known as the Lahaulas and the language spoken by them is known as Lahauli. As Hindi is the official language of Himachal Pradesh, it is widely spoken there by the majority of the population as a lingua-franca. However, like all other regional languages, Lahuli is used by the local people to communicate in their everyday lives.

The district of Lahaul-Spiti in the Indian state of Himachal Pradesh consists of the two formerly separate districts of **Lahaul** and **Spiti**. The two valleys are quite different in character. Spiti is more barren with an average height of the valley floor of 4, 270 mtr. It is surrounded by lofty mountains with the Spiti river rushing out of a ravine in the southeast. It is a typical mountain desert area with an average rainfall of 170 mm. whereas, lying between the green alpine slopes of Kullu and Chamba valleys and the plateau of Ladakh, Lahaul manages to get enough rainfall during the monsoon months that nourishes the valley.

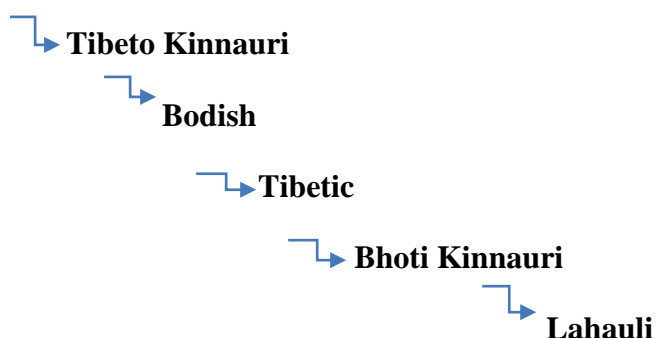
Lahaul & Spiti, which now form, a district of Himachal Pradesh, bordering Tibet, were at one time separate Himalayan waziries or cantons of the Kullu sub-division. Hence the name ‘Lahaul-Spiti’ came into being with the formation of these two parts into one revenue district in 1960. Though the two units of the district i. e. Lahaul & Spiti, have separate historical backgrounds, the culture, lifestyle and language of the Lahaulis and of the Spiti Bhots are very similar owing to their proximity. This is also evident from Grierson’s words, “The Lahul dialect is a kind of link between Western and Central Tibetan.... . it in many details agrees with the Tibetan of Spiti” (*Linguistic Survey of India (LSI) Vol. III. Part-I*).

1.1 FAMILY AFFILIATION

Lahauli, also known as Stod-Bhoti is a Tibeto-Burman language spoken mainly in the Lahaul region of Himachal Pradesh. It forms a closely knit group with other Lahauli-Spiti languages like Spiti, Nyamkat, Bhoti, Tukpa etc. It is more closely related to standard

Tibetan than to neighbouring Ladakhi-Balti languages due to its geographical proximity to Tibet. The family affiliation of Lahauli language can be shown like this:

Sino-Tibetan



1.2 LOCATION

At the time of Grierson's study under *LSI*, the Lahauli (lahul dialect) speaking population inhabited the lahaul valley along the headwaters of Chanda and Bhaga down to within fifteen miles of their junction, especially about Kolung in the Bhaga Valley and at Koksar in the Chnada Valley. As per the latest appeared Census data on Lahauli speaking population the concentration is seen in the lahaul sub-division of Lahaul-Spiti district and also in Kullu district.

For the present study, the data on Lahauli have been collected from Udaipur tehsil of Lahaul-Spiti district and Kullu tehsil of Kullu district of Himachal Pradesh.

1.3 SPEAKERS' STRENGTH

According to 2011 Cernsus the speakers' strength of Lahauli in India and its States/ Union Territories is as follows:

AREA NAME	TOTAL			RURAL			URBAN		
	Person	Male	Female	Person	Male	Female	Person	Male	Female
INDIA	11,574	5,765	5,809	8,281	4,150	4,131	3,293	1,615	1,678
Jammu & Kashmir	7	5	2	4	3	1	3	2	1
Himachal Pradesh	11,073	5,491	5,582	7,891	3,931	3,960	3,182	1,560	1,622
Punjab	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0
Chandigarh	23	13	10	0	0	0	23	13	10
Haryana	24	13	11	17	9	8	7	4	3
Nct Of Delhi	16	8	8	0	0	0	16	8	8
Uttar Pradesh	2	2	0	0	0	0	2	2	0
Bihar	26	13	13	12	6	6	14	7	7

Arunachal Pradesh	12	9	3	12	9	3	0	0	0
Mizoram	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0
Assam	7	4	3	3	2	1	4	2	2
Jharkhand	3	1	2	0	0	0	3	1	2
Odisha	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0
Madhya Pradesh	319	177	142	319	177	142	0	0	0
Maharashtra	9	4	5	5	2	3	4	2	2
Andhra Pradesh	2	1	1	0	0	0	2	1	1
Kerala	4	1	3	0	0	0	4	1	3
Tamil Nadu	44	20	24	15	8	7	29	12	17

As per Census data the growth of Lahauli Language from 1971 to 2011 Census can be described as follows:

YEAR	NO. OF PERSONS WHO RETURNED LAHAULI AS THEIR MOTHER TONGUE	SPAN OF YEARS	DECADAL PERCENTAGE INCREASE
1971	16, 749	1971-1981	11. 82%
1981	18, 728	1981-1991	17. 62%
1991	22, 027	1991-2001	2. 81%
2001	22, 646	2001-2011	-48. 89%
2011	11, 574		

1.4 SOCIO-CULTURAL SETTING

Lahaul-Spiti is a bouquet of scenic mountain villages and is a land of wide contrasts. According to the 2011 census Lahaul and Spiti district has a population of 31, 564 that makes it the 638th district in India (out of a total of 640) as per population figure. The population growth rate of the district over the decade 2001-2011 was -5% and it has a population density of 2 persons per square kilometer.

Though the two units of the district i. e. Lahaul & Spiti, have separate historical backgrounds, the culture, lifestyle and language of the Lahaulis and of the Spiti Bhots are very similar owing to their proximity. They are very similar to the Ladakhi and the Tibetans

culturally as they had been placed under the rule of the Guge and Ladakh kingdoms at occasional intervals.

Among the Lahaulis, the family acts as the basic unit of kinship. Polyandry was widely practiced in the past, although this practice has been dying out. However, the Spiti Bhots do not generally practice it. Lahauli families are headed by a senior male member and his wife who attains authority by being the eldest members. Another system that plays a major role in the Lahauli society is the clan system. The system of the Spiti Bhots are a bit different from that of the Lahaulis. They have an inheritance system which is otherwise unique to the Tibetans. Upon the death of both parents only the eldest son and daughter have the right of inheritance.

Most of the Lahaulis follow a combination of Hinduism and Buddhism. Although Hinduism is dominant in the lower part of the Chandra and Bhaga valleys, followers of both religions are found in mixed proportions. A fantastic example of this is found at the temple of Triloknath near Tandi in western Lahaul, where the idol worshipped as Lord Shiva by the Hindu populace, is venerated as the Buddha Avilokateshwara by the local Buddhists as well as pilgrims from Spiti and Ladakh. Within Lahaul, the Todh-Ghar region had the strongest Buddhist influence owing to its close proximity to Spiti. Spiti is almost totally Buddhist. The Buddhist monasteries and nunneries also play a major role in the lives of the people. Spiti is the location of some of Buddhism's most important monasteries.

The agriculture in the district has virtually Kharif summer as full cropping season. The area is famous for production of off-season pea, seed potatoes and hops. In general, mono cropping is followed and all crops are grown simultaneously from April-October.

Fodder trees like Willow and Robinia are grown by the farmers on sloppy lands near the village on community basis. In Lahaul, farmers have pastures where grasslands are irrigated to get luxuriant growth of grasses.

Animal husbandry remains an indispensable sector in agriculture of Lahaul-Spiti. In spite of adverse climate and scarce fodder very good cross breed animals are found in every household.

1.5 REVIEW OF EARLIER WORKS

It can be said that prior to the present attempt of Language Division, several studies have been carried out on Lahauli language. Firstly, we get the introduction of 'Lahuli' in *Linguistic Survey of India* by Sir George Abraham Grierson where he has classified Lahauli

as a dialect of Tibetan [Grierson G. A. 1909. *Linguistic Survey of India (LSI) Vol. III. Part-I.* pp 69-71]. A study was conducted on Lahauli by George Nicholas Roerich [Roerich, George Nicholas, 1933. *The Tibetan Dialect of Lahul*] which can be considered as a sketchy grammar. Another work has been done on a grammatical aspect of Lahauli “Lahauli Verb Inflection” by J. D. Singh, Maharshi Dayanand University, India [*Linguistic of The Tibeto Burman Area, Vol. 12:2 – Fall1989*]. More recently a study has been conducted on the languages of Lahaul valley by Brad Chamberlin and Wendy Chamberlin from which some valuable sociolinguistic informations on Lahauli can be obtained [Chamberlin, Brad & Chamberlin, Wendy, 2019, *A Sociolinguistic Survey of Lahul Valley, Himachal Pradesh*].

1.6 THE PRESENT STUDY: BASE FOR ANALYSIS

The present study is a humble attempt to give the detailed phonological, morphological and syntactic features of Lahauli based on the field data collected from Udaipur tehsil of Lahaul-Spiti district and Kullu tehsil of Kullu district in Himachal Pradesh. Eight different samples (variables) which are categorized on the basis of informant’s place, gender and age, have been collected in audio-visual form and are given to different scholars from various universities of India to write an analytical report on each of the particular variable.

The details of the scholars along with the names of the variables for which they have written the analytical reports are as follows: A. Rural Variables: - 1. Lahauli, Rural Male +50 – Neelofer Hussain Wani, University of Kashmir; 2. Lahauli, Rural Male -50 – Humaira Khan, University of Kashmir; 3. Lahauli, Rural Female +50 – Shahria Quraishi, University of Kashmir; 4. Lahauli, Rural Female -50 – Syed Iram Bashir, University of Kashmir; B. Urban Variables: - 1. Lahauli, Urban Male +50 – Asma Qazi, University of Kashmir; 2. Lahauli, Urban Male -50 – Shaila Bashir, University of Kashmir; 3. Lahauli, Urban Female +50 – Farooq Ahmed, University of Kashmir; 4. Urban Female -50 – Javaid Ahmed, University of Kashmir.

Finally all these eight analytical reports have been given to an eminent professor who has amalgamated all these sketchy reports into an exhaustive consolidation. The consolidated report of Lahauli was written by Prof. J. C. Sharma. The present report on Lahauli for LSI, Himachal Pradesh volume has been prepared largely on the base of Prof. J. C. Sharma’s consolidated report.

2. PHONOLOGY

Phonology is the study of how sounds are organized and used in natural languages. The phonological system of a language includes an inventory of sounds and their features, and rules which specify how sounds interact with each other. Phonemic analysis consists in allotting all the indefinite number of sounds occurring in utterances to a definite and limited set of phonemes contrastive in at least some environments. The phonemic inventory of Lahauli shows the distinctive sound units occurring in the Lahauli speech.

2. 1. PHONEMIC INVENTORY (SEGMENTAL)

The segmental phonemes of Lahauli comprise of 14 vowels and 37 Consonants. These are deduced based on phonemic contrast found in the language.

Vowels

A vowel is a syllabic speech sound pronounced without any stricture in the vocal tract. The vowel phonemes in Lahauli are 14 as presented below

	Front	Central	Back
High	/i/, /i:/	/ɨ/, /ɨ:/	/u/, /u:/
Mid	/e/, /e:/	/ə/, /ə:/	/o/, /o:/
Low		/a/, /a:/	

Consonants

A Consonant, is a speech sound that is characterized by an articulation with a closure or narrowing of the vocal tract such that a complete or partial blockage of the flow of air is produced. The consonant phonemes of Lahuli which are 37 are presented below.

	Bilabial	Labio-Dental	Alveolar	Dental	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
vl. unasp	p			t	ʈ		k	
vl. asp	p ^h			t ^h	ʈ ^h		k ^h	
vd. unasp	b			d	ɖ		g	
vd. asp	b ^h			d ^h	ɖ ^h		g ^h	
vl. unas				ts		c		
vl. asp				ts ^h		c ^h		
Vd. unas				dʒ				
Nasal	m			n	ɳ		ŋ	

Trill				r				
Flap					ɾ			
Lateral				l	ɭ			
Vl		f	s		ʃ	ʒ		
Vd			z					h
Semivowel		v				j		

2. 1. 1. PHONEMIC CONTRAST:

A phoneme is the smallest contrastive unit in the sound system of a language which helps changing meaning. A study of minimal pairs denotes the phonemic contrast available in the dialect. These are used to demonstrate that two phones constitute two separate phonemes in the language. Examples of phonemic contrasts in Lahauli are as follows-

Phonemic Contrast among Vowels:

/i/ ~ /i:/	/din/ ‘in’	:	/ti:n/ ‘claw’
/i/ ~ /e/	/nida/ ‘darkness’	:	/neda/ ‘trars’
/i/ ~ /e:/	/ʃir/ ‘sand’	:	/ʃe:r/ ‘lion’
/i:/ ~ /e:/	/gi:t/ ‘lullaby’	:	/ge:t/ ‘tube rose’
	/li:/ ‘heavy’	:	/le:/ ‘tongue’
/i:/ ~ /a/	/ri:g/ ‘louse’	:	/rag/ ‘rock’
/i:/ ~ /a:/	/bi:n/ ‘fore	:	/ba:n/ ‘flood’
	/ti:/ ‘water’	:	/ta:/ ‘heat’
	/li:/ ‘weight’	:	/la:/ ‘goat’
/i:/ ~ /u:/	/ri:/ ‘land’	:	/ru:/ ‘father- in- law’
	/ka:ki:/ ‘father’s	:	/ka:ku:/ ‘father’s brother’
	brother’s wife		
/e/ ~ /e:/	/mez/ ‘wife’	:	/te:dʒ/ ‘bitter’
/e:/ ~ /u:/	/d̪e:/ ‘horn’	:	/d̪u:/ ‘cloud’

/a/ ~ /ə/	/sar/ ‘sky’	:	/sər/ ‘weather’
/a/ ~ /u/	/tab/ ‘ash’	:	/tub/ ‘fist’
/a/ ~ /o/	/kaʃa/ ‘leg’	:	/koʃa/ ‘stomach’
/a/ ~ /ə/	/sar/ ‘sky’	:	/sər/ ‘weather’
/a/ ~ /a:/	/tab/ ‘ash’	:	/ta:v/ ‘heat’
/a:/ ~ /u:/	/ka:/ ‘bow’	:	/ku:/ ‘cough’
/a:/ ~ /o:/	/ja:/ ‘mot	:	/jo:/ ‘son’
/a:/ ~ /i:/	/rã:/ ‘horse’	:	/ri:/ ‘leech’
/a:/ ~ /e:/	/ba:/ ‘father’	:	/be:/ ‘seed’

Phonemic Contrast among Consonants:

/d/ ~ /b ^h /	/dãd/ ‘leucoderma’	:	/b ^h ãd/ ‘steam’
/p/ ~ /m/	/gapa/ ‘afterwords’	:	/gama/ ‘rain’
/k/ ~ /s/	/haku/ ‘village’	:	/hasu/ ‘pain’
/n/ ~ /l/	/inum/ ‘games’	:	/ilum/ ‘ball’
	/si:n/ ‘vein’	:	/si:l/ ‘seal (fish)’
/b/ ~ /d/	/baba/ ‘paddy’	:	/dada/ ‘brother’
/l/ ~ /ʎ/	/du:l/ ‘circle’	:	/du:ʎ/ ‘squirrel’
/s/ ~ /ʃ/	/sa:l/ ‘year’	:	/ʃa:l/ ‘shawl’
/s/ ~ /g/	/so:/ ‘clay’	:	/go:/ ‘hill’
/t/ ~ /k/	/ta:r/ ‘wire’	:	/ka:r/ ‘car’
/t/ ~ /dʒ/	/te:l/ ‘oil’	:	/be:l/ ‘bel (strip ^h al)’
/b/ ~ /d/	/ba:/ ‘slope’	:	/dã:/ ‘affection’

/l/ ~ /k/	/lan/ ‘air’	:	/kan/ ‘star’
/l/ ~ /v/	/lan/ ‘air’	:	/van/ ‘steam’
/c/ ~ /n/	/ca:/ ‘tea’	:	/na:/ ‘valley’
/k ^h / ~ /t/	/k ^h i:/ ‘stool’	:	/ti:/ ‘water’
/m/ ~ /b/	/mē:/ ‘fire’	:	/bē:/ ‘fear’
/d/ ~ /r/	/d̪u:/ ‘cloud’	:	/ru:/ ‘father-in-law’
/l/ ~ /g/	/le:/ ‘yellow’	:	/ge:/ ‘herself’
/m/ ~ /t̪/	/muk/ ‘ice’	:	/t̪uk/ ‘coral’
/d/ ~ /k/	/dro:/ ‘thigh’	:	/kro:/ ‘crow’
/m/ ~ /t/	/jal/ ‘yawn’	:	/jal/ ‘diarrhoea’
/dʒ/ ~ /k/	/dʒo:ɾ/ ‘sprain’	:	/ko:ɾ/ ‘beak’
/b/ ~ /j/	/ba/ ‘step father’	:	/ja/ ‘step mother’
/n/ ~ /d/	/nis/ ‘wife’	:	/dis/ ‘wifes brother’
/s/ ~ /t/	/su/ ‘clay’	:	/tu/ ‘cloud’
/k/ ~ /b/	/kaj/ ‘brother’s wife’:	:	/baj/ ‘childhood’
/k/ ~ /r/	/kar/ ‘donkey’	:	/har/ ‘garland’
/t/ ~ /ʃ/	/ti/ ‘lid’	:	/ʃi/ ‘turban’
/d/ ~ /t̪/	/nida/ ‘darkness’	:	/niʈa/ ‘it’
/d/ ~ /k/	/da:/ ‘water’	:	/ka:/ ‘bow’
/s/ ~ /b/	/asa/ ‘clay’	:	/aba/ ‘father’
/ɾ/ ~ /m/	/gama/ ‘rain’	:	/gaɾa/ ‘river’
/d̪/ ~ /g/	/haɖa/ ‘bull’	:	/haga/ ‘sister’s husband’
/d ^h / ~ /m/	/gad ^h a/ ‘donkey’	:	/gama/ ‘rain’

/l/ ~ /k/	/tula/ ‘claw’	:	/tuka/ ‘nest’
	/kola/ ‘ring’	:	/koka/ ‘tobacco’
/ʌ/ ~ /l/	/du:l/ ‘squirrel’	:	/du:l/ ‘circle’
/r/ ~ /dʒ/	/rəm/ ‘disease’	:	/dʒəm/ ‘food’
/s/ ~ /d/	/sar/ ‘sky’	:	/dər/ ‘flood’
/k/ ~ /r/	/kag/ ‘crow’	:	/rag/ ‘rock’
/l/ ~ /b/	/laŋ/ ‘air’	:	/baŋ/ ‘nest’
/f/ ~ /b/	/fa:/ ‘flesh’	:	/ba:/ ‘father’
/v/ ~ /n/	/van/ ‘steam’	:	/nan/ ‘utensils’

2. 1. 2. DISTRIBUTION OF PHONEMES:

Distribution of the Vowel Phonemes

Vowel	Word Initially	Word Medially	Word Finally
/i/	/itsa/ ‘one’	/ʃɪr/ ‘sand’	/sɪ/ ‘wood’
	/itso: re:/ ‘one and a half’	/tɪθ/ ‘lake’	/tʌndʒi/ ‘tender’
	/ila:dʒ lazi:/ ‘to treat’	/bɪdʒ/ ‘lightning’	/e:tsi/ ‘to plough’
/i:/	/i:be:/ ‘to go’	/ri:h/ ‘squirrel’	/so:ʒi:/ ‘cold’
	/i:t/ ‘brick’	/mi:kti:/ ‘tear’	/bulanɪ:/ ‘earth quake’
	/i:mli:/ ‘tamarind’	/ni:m/ ‘neem’	/ʃɪrtuʰa:ri:/ ‘desert’
/e/	.....	/mehŋge:/ ‘costly’	/ʃatrændʒe/ ‘chess’
		/mehi:na:/ ‘month’	/po:ŋe/ ‘three-fourth’
		/e:rek/ ‘day before yesterday’	/pɪdʒo:re/ ‘square’
/e:/	/e:tsanal bamzi/ ‘to stay at one place’	/dʰe:re:/ ‘slope’	/tʊ:tʰe:/ ‘heat’
	/e:tsi/ ‘to plough’	/ba:tʰe:tar/ ‘childhood’	/dʰe:re:/ ‘slope’
	/e:rek/ ‘yesterday’	/me:tsmi:/ ‘female’	/e:ke:/ ‘sun’
/i/	/ici dʒo:dʒi:/ ‘pair of	/bɪro:mdʒe/ ‘to wipe off’	/ko:nzi/ ‘knee’

	shoes'	/camri:ro:g/ 'skin disease'	/tʰandʒi/ 'malaria'
			/na:gi/ 'pus'
/i:/	.....	.....	/cimʒi:/ 'tongs'
			/pʰenzi:/ 'basket'
			/cugumzi:/ 'blow'
/a/	/aʒki:/ 'elbow'	/tap/ 'ash'	/āca:ra/ 'pickle'
	/avʒak/ 'medicine'	/hāja:r/ 'darkness'	/sa:ma/ 'death ritual'
	/ain/ 'health'	/bulaŋi:/ 'earthquake'	
/a:/	/a:ne:/ 'father's sister'	/hāja:r/ 'darkness'	/na:/ 'valley'
	/a:po/ 'father's mother'	/ba:ʒe:tar/ 'childhood'	/dunja:/ 'world'
	/a:ma:/ 'mother'	/ga:kʰsa:/ 'husband'	/latsā:/ 'moon'
/o/	/om/ 'waist'	/bovʒi:/ 'daughter-in- law'	/a:po/ 'father's mother'
	/oKʰli:/ 'mortar'	/joad/ 'vulture'	
		/Kʰog/ 'stomach'	
/o:/	/o:mo:/ 'bear'	/so:ji:/ 'cold'	/ʒo:/ 'clay'
	/o:dʒa:/ 'so'	/ʒo:ʒe:/ 'heat'	/go:/ 'hill'
	/o:mdʒi/ 'snake'	/mo:sam/ 'weather'	/mo:/ 'fog'
/u/	/udʒa:ra:/ 'sorcerer'	/punjā:/ 'full moon'	/ʒu:bu/ 'three'
	/udras/ 'school'	/bhullu:/ 'owl'	/sa:ʒu/ 'thirteen'
	/uba:s/ 'fast'	/kuriktsa:/ 'ant'	/sasku/ 'nineteen'
/u:/	/u:ʒo: ʒo:Kʰʒe:/ 'to kneel'	/dʰu:/ 'dust'	/dʒu:/ 'cloud'
	/u:ji/ 'and'	/piju:tʒa:/ 'mouse'	/ru:/ 'father-in-law'
		/amũ:h/ 'lip'	/drivu:/ 'husband's brother'
/ə/	/əksarsajis/ 'exercise'	/bəhu/ 'daughter in law'	.....
	/əŋgu:r/ 'grapes'	/kənja:/ 'child'	
	/əlo:vira:/ 'aloe vera'	/səmja:n/ 'daughter-in- law's mother'	

/ə:/	/pə:tʃa:/ 'plate' /pə:ʃi:/ 'to search' /mə:s/ 'not'
------	-------	---	-------

Distribution of the Consonant Phonemes:

Consonant	Initially	Medially	Finally
/p/	/pad ^h ar/ 'ground' /punjā:/ 'full moon' /po:tri:/ 'grand daughter'	/ɖudirpi:/ 'thunder' /a:po/ 'father's mother'	/tap/ 'ash' /gʊjthap/ 'ring' /lamp/ 'lamp'
/p ^h /	/p ^h u/ 'cave' /p ^h uk/ 'body' /p ^h ja:/ 'fore head'	/turp ^h i:/ 'to shiver' /g ^h ap ^h i:/ 'dance' /gʊlp ^h i:/ 'to cough'	/sō:p ^h / 'aniseed'
/b/	/bulan̩i:/ 'earth quake' /ban̩/ 'forest' /bē:ɖi:/ 'river'	/ʈabar/ 'family' /təmbu:/ 'tent' /p ^h u:l go:bi:/ 'cauliflower'	/tub/ 'fist' /gula:b/ 'rose' /kata:b/ 'book'
/b ^h /	/b ^h ulan/ 'storm' /b ^h atra:/ 'brother's son' /b ^h aŋɖz/ 'sister's son'	/tu:rtumb ^h i:/ 'to smoke'	.....
/t/	/tap/ 'ash' /tit ^h / 'lake' /ti:/ 'water'	/ʃirtu ^h a:ri:/ 'desert' /kudrati:/ 'nature' /bi:jo:tri:/ 'bride'	/dava:t/ 'inkpot' /zama:nat/ 'bail' /ada:lat/ 'court'
/t ^h /	/t ^h ar/ 'tiger' /t ^h a:ka:/ 'back of body' /t ^h uri:/ 'heel'	/ha:t ^h i:/ 'elephant' /mu:t ^h u:/ 'neck' /pa:lt ^h a:/ 'palm'	/tit ^h / 'lake' /troth/ 'by taste' /brath/ 'fast'
/t̪/	/t̪o:t̪e:/ 'heat' /ʈabar/ 'family' /t̪igli:/ 'egg'	/t̪o:t̪e:/ 'heat' /rinza:t̪u:/ 'spider' /kaʈtu/ 'baby'	/ba:skat̪/ 'blouse' /ke:t̪/ 'key' /b ^h ut̪/ 'plant'
/t̪ ^h /	/t̪i:k pa:/ 'acidity' /t̪a:no: due:/ 'police' /t̪a:ri:/ 'scene'	/ʃirtu ^h a:ri:/ 'desert' /re:t̪a:/ 'ear' /mulaʈ ^h i:/ 'liquorice'	/ũ:t̪ ^h / 'camel' /t̪it̪ ^h / 'coackroach' /ko:t̪ ^h / 'coat'
/d/	/dunja:/ 'world' /drivu:/ 'husband's'	/ɖudirpi:/ 'thunder' /zago:mda:/ 'earthworm'	/na: mard/ 'eunuch' /jə:d/ 'eagle'

	elder brother' /durtsa:/ 'pony'	/dzindgi:/ 'life'	
/d^h/	/d ^h u:l/ 'dust' /d ^h o:tru:/ 'daughter's son' /d ^h o:ti:/ 'loin cloth'	/pad ^h ar/ 'ground' /sand ^h a:ɾ/ 'rain' /kand ^h a:/ 'shoulder'	/rad ^h / 'cow' /zad ^h / 'barley' /jad ^h / 'cloth'
/d/	/ɖad/ 'flood' /ɖu:/ 'fog' /ɖudirpi:/ 'thunder'	/bē:ɖi:/ 'river' /dʒo:ndu:/ 'twin' /gē:ɖa:/ 'rhinoceros'	/ɖad/ 'flood' /tʃafajid/ 'typhoid' /K ^h ād/ 'sugar'
/ɖ^h/	/ɖ ^h e:re:/ 'slope' /ɖ ^h iks/ 'sister's husband' /ɖ ^h ava:/ 'money'	.....	/sund ^h / 'dry ginger' /dand ^h / 'punishment'
/k/	/kudrati:/ 'nature' /kar/ 'star' /kaɽtu/ 'baby'	/e.ke:/ 'sun' /ɖ ^h iks/ 'sister's husband' /kā:kal/ 'lizard'	/zak/ 'mud' /muk/ 'ice' /kra:k/ 'crow'
/k^h/	/k ^h uj/ 'dog' /k ^h argo:f/ 'rabbit' /k ^h o:k/ 'blind'	/ga:k ^h sa:/ 'husband' /so:k ^h aŋ/ 'husband's brother's wife' /cək ^h ti:/ 'saliva'	/rak ^h / 'rock' /mja:k ^h / 'son in law' /pa:k ^h / 'feather'
/g/	/go:/ 'hill' /greh/ 'planet' /guvaŋre:/ 'cattle'	/ʃagɾa:/ 'ember' /miŋŋa:/ 'hawk' /magarmach/ 'crocodile'	/sərg/ 'sky' /dʒaŋg/ 'vein' /raŋg/ 'wrist'
/g^h/	/g ^h aɽa: o:mɾa:/ 'snail' /g ^h arva:r/ 'building' /g ^h ap ^h i:/ 'to dance'	/saŋg ^h a:/ 'fifteen'	/rig ^h / 'louse'
/f/	.....	/kaɽ fo:ɾa:/ 'wood pecker' /tʃafajid/ 'typhoid' /kofi:/ 'coffee'	.....
/h/	/hāja:r/ 'darkness' /hā:ɖnu:/ 'jar' /ha:ɾnu:/ 'pot'	/bəhu/ 'bridegroom' /rhī:/ 'younger sister' /ləhsun/ 'garlic'	/greh/ 'planet' /ri:h/ 'squirrel' /amū:h/ 'lip'

/m/	/mē:/ ‘fire’ /mo:sam/ ‘weather’ /muk/ ‘ice’	/silmo:/ ‘shade’ /ama:s/ ‘new moon’ /ts ^h amo:/ ‘brother’s wife’	/am/ ‘road’ /mo:sam/ ‘weather’ /bam/ ‘bomb’
/n/	/na:/ ‘valley’ /na:ɾ/ ‘brook’ /na:na:/ ‘mother’s father’	/dunja:/ ‘world’ /punjā:/ ‘full moon’ /sandha:ɾ/ ‘rain’	/lan/ ‘air’ /b ^h ulan/ ‘storm’ /samja:n/ ‘daughter-in-law’s father’
/ŋ/	.....	/miŋŋa:/ ‘hawk’ /bo:ŋgɾũ:/ ‘dwarf’ /tiŋŋnija:/ ‘liver’	/raŋ/ ‘horse’ /baŋ/ ‘nest’ /hi:ŋ/ ‘asafotedia’
/ŋ/	.....	/bulaŋi:/ ‘earth quake’ /se:ŋe:/ ‘young man’ /pro:ŋa:/ ‘guest’	/baŋ/ ‘forest’ /so:k ^h aŋ/ ‘husband’s brother’s wife’ /sa:bun/ ‘soap’
/r/	/ra:vā: jatsi:/ ‘echo’ /rak ^h / ‘rock’ /rasso:/ ‘dew’	/ʃirtuṭha:ri:/ ‘desert’ /kudrati:/ ‘nature’ /greh/ ‘planet’	/hāja:r/ ‘darkness’ /padhar/ ‘ground’ /ʃir/ ‘sand’
/ɾ/	.....	/ʃagɾa:/ ‘ember’ /ba:ɾe:tar/ ‘childhood’ /bovɾi:/ ‘daughter-in-law’	/na:ɾ/ ‘brook’ /sandha:ɾ/ ‘rain’ /ma:kaɾ/ ‘monkey’
/l/	/lan/ ‘air’ /latsā:/ ‘moon’ /ləri:/ ‘centipede’	/bulaŋi:/ ‘earthquake’ /silmo:/ ‘shade’ /çhəli:/ ‘high tide’	/ko:jal/ ‘cuckoo’ /bil/ ‘cat’ /kā:kal/ ‘lizard’
/l/	.....	/aɭu:/ ‘potato’ /mu:li:/ ‘raddish’ /baɭo:r/ ‘marbles’	/dhu:l/ ‘dust’ /da:l/ ‘pulse’ /haɭ/ ‘plough’
/v/	/van/ ‘steam’ /vepa:r lazi:/ ‘to trade’ /vats ^h i:/ ‘to laugh’	/ra:vā: jatsi:/ ‘echo’ /bovɾi:/ ‘daughter-in-law’ /bava:/ ‘father’s	/ʃāv/ ‘pebble’ /mjō:v/ ‘daughter’ /jā: vā:/ ‘parents’

			brother'	
/s/	/so:ji:/ 'cold' /silmo:/ 'shade' /sī/ 'wood'	/mo:sam/ 'weather' /rasso:/ 'dew' /ga:k ^h sa:/ 'husband'		/ama:s/ 'new moon' /sa:ras/ 'crane' /nis/ 'wife'
/ʃ/	/ʃirtu[ha:ri:/ 'desert' /ʃagʀa:/ 'ember' /ʃir/ 'sand'	/me:ʃi:/ 'buffalo' /avʃak/ 'medicine' /goʃja:d/ 'sweeper'		/k ^h argo:ʃ/ 'rabbit' /pəʃ/ 'mat' /de:ʃ/ 'contry'
/ʒ/	/ʒo:/ 'clay' /ʒāv/ 'pebble' /ʒi:ni:/ 'alive'	/bija: maʒuci:/ 'bachelor' /me:tso: ənuɑ:ʒak/ 'wife's sister' /k ^h ra:ʒi:/ 'scab'		/meʒ/ 'shoe' /puʒ/ 'knee' /ro:ʒ/ 'anger'
/ts/	/tsimʈi:/ 'chin' /tsimʈ ^h a:/ 'tongs' /tsē:tsa:r/ 'clerk'	/latsā:/ 'moon' /me:tsmi:/ 'female' /me:t ^h sa:/ 'wife'		.....
/ts ^h /	/ts ^h amo:/ 'brother's wife' /ts ^h o:kra:/ 'man' /ts ^h ā:/ 'tooth'	/garts ^h a:/ 'dancer' /ts ^h aŋgts ^h e:/ 'white' /vats ^h i:/ 'to laugh'		/mats ^h / 'fish'
/z/	/zad ^h / 'barely' /zi:ra:/ 'cuminseed' /zagmul/ 'goldsmith'	/baza:/ 'hen' /jamza:/ 'fly' /rinza:ʈu:/ 'spider'		/tarbu:z/ 'watermelon' /baloz/ 'blouse' /midʒa:z/ 'temper'
/dʒ/	/dʒo:ndu:/ 'twin' /dʒo:ʀ/ 'joint' /dʒe:ti:/ 'birth'	/bra:vdʒi:/ 'sister in law' /mandʒi:/ 'cot' /kardʒi:/ 'axe'		/bidʒ/ 'lightning' /ila:dʒ/ 'treatment' /pja:dʒ/ 'onion'
/c/	/carni:/ 'cheek' /cimci:m/ 'chicken pox' /ciksi:/ 'itch'	/a:ce:/ 'sister' /kinc ^h ukca:/ 'claw' /sucam ram/ 'right arm'		/mo:c/ 'moustache' /nic/ 'seven'
/c ^h /	/c ^h agral/ 'spine' /c ^h aŋgzi/ 'urine' /c ^h o:ptsa:/ 'spoon'	/kinc ^h ukca:/ 'claw' /mac ^h ar/ 'mosquito' /bic ^h u:/ 'scorpion'		/magarmac ^h / 'crocodile' /dac ^h / 'dagger' /ni:c ^h / 'seven'
/j/	/ju/ 'mother in	/so:ji:/ 'cold'		/truj/ 'six'

	law'	/hãja:r/	'darkness'	/ka:j/	'axe'
	/jõ:/	'son'	/dunja:/	'world'	
	/jə:d/	'eagle'			

2. 1. 3. VOWEL SEQUENCE:

In Lahauli mother tongue the vowel sequences are - /ua/, /ia/, /au/, /iu/, /ai/, /ui/, /oi/, /ou/, /ie/, /ei/, /oi/, /oai/ etc. for example:

/ia/	-	/bhia:slaji/	'to practice'
/iu/	-	/giu:/	'my'
		/datiumaɽ/	'earthworm'
/io:/	-	/pu:midio:/	'father's sister's daughter'
/ei/	-	/fei:/	'red'
/ai/	-	/trai:/	'sheep'
		/maha:vidjalai/	'college'
/au/	-	/kaukaulaji/	'to tickle'
/ui/	-	/buiɽ/	'dessert'
		/kui:/	'theft'
/ua/	-	/ɖɖuaɽ/	'high tide'
/ua:/	-	/gua:pi:/	'to laugh'
		/rua:/	'ice'
/oi/	-	/oita:re:/	'far'
		/ɖɖua:joi/	'to gamble'
		/rasoi/	'dew'
/oi:/	-	/oi:/	'otherwise'
		/ɖɖoi:bi:/	'to travell'
/ou/	-	/prouɖɖie:/	'bright'
/o:ai:/	-	/ɖɖo:ai:bi:/	'to walk'

2. 1. 4. CONSONANT CLUSTERS

The consonant cluster is a group of consonants which have no intervening vowel. The consonant clusters can be a combination of two identical as well as two nonidentical

consonants that generally occurs in the medial position of a word. The former is called homogenous clusters and the latter is called heterogeneous consonant clusters. The occurrence of the consonants clusters are most frequently in the medial position.

Consonantal Gemination

Consonant cluster of two identical consonants is also called germination.

The following are the example of some geminated (identical consonant clusters)

Consonants	Clusters	
/-tt-/	/uttar/	‘north’
/-tt-/	/baṭṭa:/	‘weight’
/-kk-/	/cəkku:/	‘dagger’
/-mm-/	/tummund/	‘first’
	/kammar/	‘shoulder’
/-nn-/	/rannu:/	‘widower’
	/k ^h anni/	‘sugar’
/-cc-/	/garneccini:/	‘widow’
/-ll-/	/coralli:/	‘sparrow’
/-tt-/	/baṭṭa:/	‘weight’
/-kk-/	/cəkku:/	‘dagger’
/-tt-/	/uttar/	‘north’

Clusters of two consonants

/-pɖ-/	/ṭapɖu:/	‘rain hat’
/pʃ/	/dro:pʃi:/	‘faint’
/tr/	/c ^h ətri:/	‘umbrella’
/gɖ/	/pəgɖi:/	‘turban’
/ṭk/	/ciṭkəni:/	‘bolt’
/ɖk/	/aɖki:/	‘elbow’
/kʃ/	/mikʃal/	‘spectacles’
/gɖ/	/pəgɖi:/	‘turban’
/gn/	/māgna:/	‘buffalo’

/mʈ/	/tsimʈi/	‘tongs’
/mdʒ/	/bamdʒi:/	‘insanity’
/mz/	/brimzi/	‘finger’
/nt/	/santra:/	‘orange’
/-nd-/	/tandu:r/	‘oven’
	/kendu:/	‘your’
/nʈ/	/kanʈi:/	‘necklace’
	/ganʈa:/	‘hour’
/nc/	/kenci:/	‘scissors’
/ndʒ/	/mændʒa:/	‘cot’
	/tsa:ndʒi:/	‘sharp’
/nv/	/onvandʒa:/	‘snake’
/nz/	/punzi/	‘head’
/ŋg/	/be:ŋgan/	‘brinjal’
/ŋn/	/lo:ŋni:/	‘lung’
/ŋʈ /	/taŋʈaba:/	‘money’
/sp/	/ruspa:/	‘bone’
/rb/	/garba:/	‘building’
	/arbud/	‘tumour’
/rk/	/purki/	‘ant’
/rts/	/bartsu:/	‘jar’
/lk/	/dʒe:lK ^h a:na:/	‘prison’
/rt/	/dartu/	‘flag’
	/ʃirti:/	‘darkness’
/rts/	/bartsu:/	‘jar’
/rn/	/karnija:/	‘spinster’

/ld/	/dʒalda:ra:/	‘stream’
/cl/	/nacləzi:/	‘to sit’
/lts/	/pultsi:/	‘to sprinkle’
/ls/	/hilsa:/	‘hilsa’
/ndʒ/	/kʰandʒi:/	‘to look’
/gd/	/pəgd̪i:/	‘turban’
/nz/	/laŋtuvan̪za:/	‘eagle’
/nʈ/	/kanʈi:/	‘necklace’
/tr/	/chətri:/	‘umbrella’
/gd/	/pəgd̪i:/	‘turban’
/mʈ/	/tsimʈi/	‘tongs’

Tri-Consonantal Clusters:

The tri-consonantal clusters in Lahuli language are not present.

/mɖr/	/o:mɖri/	‘worm’
/ndr/	/jedʒijendri:/	‘to return’
/nzr/	/taranz̪ri:/	‘to swim’
/ndr/	/ru:nd̪ri:/	‘to gaurd’
/pts/	/juptsi:/	‘to take off’

2. 2. SUPRA-SEGMENTAL FEATURE

Apart from segmental phonemes Lahauli also make suprasegmental distinctions in tone and nasality that has already been discussed before. Suprasegmentals include tone, stress, and prosody.

2. 2. 1. NASALIZATION:

Nasalization is a way of pronouncing sounds characterized by resonance produced through the nose in course of which the velum is lowered, so that some air escapes through the nose during the production of the sound. All the vowels can be nasalised and nasalized

vowels can occur in all the positions some of these occurrences of nasalized vowels are shown below:

/õ/	/dõri:/	‘fog’
/ã/	/ãja:r/	‘darkness’
/ĩ/	/jĩva:ra:/	‘wind’
/ũ/	/ũ:t/	‘camel’
/ĩ/	/t ^h aĩ/	‘worship’
	/do:ka:rĩti:/	‘to cheat’
/ẽ/	/prasta:brẽti:/	‘to offer’
	/mẽ:ga:/	‘costly’
/ã:/	/p ^h ã:zi:/	‘division’
/ũ:/	- /ũ:t/	‘camel’
	/pũ:z/	‘head’
/õ:/	- /kõ:zobremdza:t/	‘toe’
	/gõ:ɽoʃa:/	‘beef’
/õ/	/dõri:/	‘fog’
/ã/	/ãja:r/	‘darkness’
/ĩ/	/jĩva:ra:/	‘wind’
/ũ/	/ũ:t/	‘camel’

2. 2. 2. SYLLABLE STRUCTURE:

A syllable is a unit of sound composed of a central peak of sonority (usually a vowel), and the consonants that cluster around this central peak. Syllables are often considered the phonological "building blocks" of words. They can influence the rhythm of a language, its prosody, its poetic meter and its stress patterns. Syllabification is the separation of a word into syllables, whether spoken or written. In lahauri syllabification has been done as-

- i. Monosyllabic,
- ii. Disyllabic, and
- iii. Polysyllabic words

i. Mono-Syllabic Pattern

1. V /a:/ ‘mouth’
2. VC /e:g/ ‘eagle’

	/am/	‘road’
3. CV	/ta:/	‘heat’
	/ge:/	‘I’
4. CVC	/rag/	‘rock’
	/tab/	‘ash’
5. CVV	/k ^h ui:/	‘dog’

ii. Di-Syllabic Pattern

1. CV-CV	/cə---ni:/	‘cheek’
2. CV-C	/ʂu:---ĩ:/	‘blood’
3. CV-CVC	/da---ha:j/	‘beard’
4. CVC-CV	/ʂi:ŋ---gi:/	‘alive’
5. VC-CCV	/o:m---dri/	‘worm’

iii. Poly-Syllabic Pattern

1. CVC-CV-CV	/rin—za:---dʒi:/	‘spider’
2. CV-CV--CV	/ma---c ^h u---du:/	‘mosquito’
3. CV-CVC-CVC	/ma---gar---mach/	‘crocodile’
4. CV-CV-CVC	/as---pa---ta:l/	‘hospital’
5. CVCC-CV-CV	/band---go:---bi:/	‘cabbage’

2. 2. 3. LENGTH:

Length is phonemically realized Lahuli language. Below is given the contrast.

For example-

/ʃal/ ‘diarrhoea’----- /ʃa:l/ ‘shawl’ (contrast of /a/ and /a:/).

2. 2. 4. TONE:

Though Lahuli is a tonal language. Thus there are many examples where it seems that the pitch of the lexical unit decides its meaning in comparison to the rest. Below are few of the examples:

/na:/ ‘valley’	/na:/ ‘younger brother’
/ri:/ ‘squirrel’	/ri:/ ‘land’

3. MORPHOPHONEMICS

With the addition of some bound morphemes when there is change in the phoneme of the base morpheme the change is called as morphophonemic change. The Morphophonemic changes in Lahauli are realised in the following ways.

i) Alternation of phoneme:

Unvoiced unaspirated become voiced unaspirated, For example,

/t/ > /d/ : /ru/ 'play' > /rudana/ 'to play'

This happens intervocalic voicing.

ii) Epenthesis:

If a verbal stem is followed by /-mæ/ suffix then /-i-/ is inserted between the stem.

For example:

/te:nz/ 'bring' + -i > /te:nzi/ 'to hit'
/k^hõs/ 'meet' + -i: > /k^hõsi:/ 'to meet'

iii) Assimilation:

/rakos/ 'demon' + -ʈa > /rakoʃʈa/ 'the demon'

Due to the influence of -ʈ- dental -s- changes into palatal -ʃ-.

iv) Dissimilation:

/ha:thi:/ 'elephant' + /utha:dʒ/ 'herd' > /ha:thiutha:dʒ/ 'herd of Elephants'

4. MORPHOLOGY

Lahuli is mainly an inflexional type of language. That means, here words are formed by adding affixes to the stem and these denote different grammatical functions in the syntactic constructions. These affixes are dependent and cannot be independent words. For example, /kita:b/ ‘book’ is a word and /kita:bare:/ ‘books’ also is a word which is a combination of /kita:b/ ‘book’ + /-are:/ (plural marker). . Similarly /muṭ/ ‘house’ is a word and /muṭhar/ ‘houses’ also is a word which is a combination of /muṭh/ ‘house’ + /-ar/ (plural marker). suffix {-ar} is not independent and is a bound morpheme with a grammatical function denoting plurality.

5. 1. WORD FORMATION

Words are formed through word formation processes like affixation, reduplication, compounding, coining new words and suppletion. These word formation processes are described below:

i. Affixation

An affix is a morpheme that is attached to a word stem to form a new word. Affixes may be derivational, or inflectional. In Lahauli, the affixes added to form familial relations are of inflectional nature, tending to preserve the grammatical class of the base to which it is attached. Words are formed by adding prefixes or suffixes to the base as in –

Base-	/ja:/	‘mother’
	/ba:/	‘father’
	/kəḍu:/	‘baby’
	/lan/	‘air’
Prefix +base =	/ma:tri: ja:/	‘step mother’
	/ma:tri: ba:/	‘step sister’
	/gam kəḍu:/	‘boy’
	/kənja: kəḍu:/	‘child’
	/rej+ latsā:/	‘crescent moon’
	/mas+lan/	‘wind’

Base	/e.ke:/	‘sun’
Base+Suffix	/e.ke: od/	‘sunlight’
Base	/na:/	‘valley’
Base+Suffix	/na:+ɾ/	‘brook’
Base	/g ^h arba:/	‘house’
Base+Suffix	/g ^h arba:ru: /	‘houses’
Base	/kata:b/	‘book’
Base+suffix=	/kata:bě:/	‘books’

In Lahuli, some phonological changes take place for gender formation. Below are some of the examples:

/po:tra:/	‘grand son’	/po:tri:/	‘grand daughter’
/dho:tru:/	‘daughter’s son’	/d ^h o:tri:/	‘daughter’s daughter’

Base-	/batra:/	‘brother’s son’
Base+suffix =	/batra: ʃa:/	‘brothers daugh ^h ter’

ii. Reduplication

Reduplication is a morphological process in which a root or stem or part of it is repeated. There is reduplication of root or stem or part in Lahauli e. g :

/abe:la: abe:la:/	‘sometimes’
/ɬok ɬok ʃubi:/	‘to come’

iii. Compounding

A compound is a word containing a stem that is made up of more than one root. A compound is a lexeme that consists of more than one stem. Compounding is the word formation that creates compound lexemes by the process of derivation. In other words, compounding or word-compounding occurs when a person attaches two or more words together to make them one word. The meanings of the words interrelate in such a way that a new meaning comes out which is very different from the meanings of the words in isolation.

/siku:l/ ‘school’ + /basta:/ ‘bag’ → /siku:l basta:/ ‘school bag’
 /ʃe:hi:/ ‘red’ + /kata:b/ ‘book’ → /ʃe:hi: kata:b/ ‘red book’
 /ʈurtu:/ ‘rice’ + /p^hu:gan/ ‘flour’ → /ʈurtu: p^hu:gan/ ‘rice flour’

iv. Coining of new words

In Lahulii language many words are coning either from English or from Hindi. For example-

/ko:t/ ‘coat’----- (from English)
 /bas/ ‘bus’----- (from English)
 /ka:r/ ‘car’----- (from English)
 /ʈikat/ ‘ticket’----- (from English)
 /pa:lki:/ ‘palanquin’ ----- (from Hindi)
 /re:l/ ‘train’ ----- (from Hindi)

Sometimes new words are coined by joining two concepts or morphemes. E. g

/brimzi/ ‘finger’
 /dano: brimzi/ ‘ring finger’
 /tab rimzi/ ‘middle finger’

v. Suppletion

Suppletion is also the morphological process to form words in which shape of a morph completely changes. Examples of suppletion in Lahauli include-Suppletion is the use of one word as the inflected form of another word when the two words are not cognate and this feature can be seen in few examples of Lahuli language.

/gamni:/	‘male’	/me:tsmi:/	‘mare’
/ga:k ^h sa:/	‘husband’	/me:t ^h sa/	‘wife’
/kənja: kəɖu:/	‘child’	/kaɖuri/	‘children’

4. 2. WORD CLASS

A word unit is the smallest element that may be uttered in isolation having independent semantic or pragmatic content. A word is a unit which is a constituent at the phrase level. This stands in contrast to morpheme which is the smallest meaningful unit in the grammar of a language. There are open word classes, which constantly acquire new

members, and also closed word classes, which acquire new members quite infrequently. Based on morphological and syntactical structure the word classes of Lahulii are divided into following classes-

I. Noun:

A part of speech, inflected for case, denoting a tangible or intangible entity, referring to objects in the non-linguistic world or to concepts which are considered as forming entities parallel to real-world entities Eg: /laŋ/ 'air'

II. Pronoun:

A grammatical component referring to a noun formerly mentioned and thus serving a deictic or anaphoric function e. g. /ge:/ 'I' etc.

III. Adjective:

A grammatical constituent, the main syntactic role of which is to qualify a noun or noun phrase, providing additional information concerning the subject or object signified e. g.

/li:/ 'heavy'

/la:me:/ 'long'

/zo:r/ 'little'

IV. Postposition:

A part of speech placed before other words in composition and which expresses the relation it has to other elements in a sentence e. g.

/do: g^harba:ro: cunq to:/ (cunq)

He is in the house.

/pja: p^hanza: ji ni:/ (p^hanza:)

The bird flew over the head.

V. Verb:

A part of speech without case inflection, but inflected for tense, person and number, signifying an activity or process, whether ongoing, completed or undergone e. g.

/ts^huəi:/ 'to bind'

/t̪e:kt̪i:/ 'to bite'

VI. Adverb:

A part of speech without inflection that is a modifier of a verb e. g.

/zo:re: ga: pa t^ha: lã:jĩ:/ (zo:re:)

'Do not speak loudly'

VII. Conjunction:

A part of speech that connects two, sentences, phrases or clauses together and binds together the discourse and filling gaps in its interpretation.

/jũ: riŋge: rũ: cuŋg to:tar/

'My brothers and sisters are in the house'

VIII. Participle:

A lexical item, showing some of the characteristics and functions of both verbs and adjectives e. g.

/raŋgʈin/ 'running'

ix. Interjection:

An interjection is a form, typically brief, such as one syllable or word, which is applied frequently as an exclamation or part of an exclamation as in –

/sar gi chiṭo: za:smi: indar danuʃ ʃo:/ 'what a beautiful rainbow in the sky!'

/chiḍ za:s miḍedo:/ 'what a beautiful temple it is!'

One syllable or word, which is applied frequently as an exclamation or part of an exclamation as:

/ãjo: ru:ṭhe: mandir to:/

'What a beautiful temple it is!'

/ke:na: ãjo: lame: to:to/

'How tall you have grown!'

4.3 NOUN MORPHOLOGY

A noun is a member of a syntactic class that includes words which refer to people, places, things, ideas, or concepts, whose members may act as any of the following: subjects of the verb, objects of the verb, indirect object of the verb, or object of a preposition or postposition. Noun Morphology deals with the forms and classification of Nouns, Pronouns and their declensional/ inflectional pattern in association with Gender, Number, and Adjective etc. The nouns in the language are marked by two numbers (singular and plural), three genders (i. e. masculine, feminine and neuter); and seven cases (nominative, accusative, dative, ablative, genitive, locative and instrumental)

I) Nouns

Internal structure:

The nouns in the language are marked by two numbers (singular and plural). Nouns thus realised in Lahauli can be categorized into two broad classes, namely 1. Basic Nouns and 2. Derived nouns.

a) Basic Nouns

Basic Nouns are those which are a class by itself as they are not derived from any other word class. The examples are-

/p ^h ap ^h iɖi:/	‘butterfly’
/bi|ɖ/	‘cat’
/k ^h ursi:/	‘chair’
/p ^h al/	‘fruit’
/gamkəɖu:/	‘boy’

The basic nouns can further be divided into a) Mass nouns and b) Count nouns.

i) Mass nouns:

Mass nouns are those which do not show number distribution and cannot be counted with cardinal numeral. They always occur in singular form. For example-

/ʂu:ĩ:/	‘blood’
/bo:di:/	‘buttermilk’
/kro:/	‘coal’
/kemar/	‘butter’

ii) Count nouns:

Count nouns are those which can take some suffixes for indicating

/kəɖu:/ 'baby'

/mezam kəɖu:/ 'girl'

/k^hui:/ 'dog'

b) Derived Nouns

In Dhongli language some nouns are derived either from the verb or adjective or from another noun. The derived nouns are formed in two ways:

i) By adding derivational suffix to other words.

ii) By compounding words.

i) Derived nouns by adding derivational suffix:

In Dhongli some nouns can be derived from the verb or from any other noun by the addition of derivative suffixes. These are as follows:

1. Verb + noun forming suffix = Noun (verbal Noun)

/tama:ku: tummi:/ 'to smoke' + tundri → tɔmaku: tundri 'smoking'

/jo:ji:/ 'to play' + zi → /jo:zi/ 'playing'

ii) Derived nouns by Compounding:

A compound word is defined as the combination of two or more words to form a new word, for example-

/siku:l/ 'school' + /basta:/ 'bag' → /siku:l basta:/ 'school bag'

/ʃe:hi:/ 'red' + /kata:b/ 'book' → /ʃe:hi: kata:b/ 'red book'

/ʈurtu:/ 'rice' + /p^hu:gan/ 'flour' → /ʈurtu: p^hu:gan/ 'rice flour'

External Structure:

The lahali nouns are inflected for Gender, Number, and Case. This language has two genders (i. e. masculine, feminine and neuter); and seven cases (nominative, accusative, dative, ablative, genitive, locative and instrumental). The following description gives the details of dhongli gender number- case system.

a) Gender

Gender in dhongli is grammatically determined by two ways – Masculine and feminine. Most of the dhongli nouns end in vowels. The final vowel gives a clue to the gender of a particular noun. The masculine nouns tend to take no perfect marker ending as opposed to feminine nouns with /ri:/, /i:/ and /a:/ ending. For examples-

Masculine

/po:dar/	‘grand son’
/dʒo:tar/	‘daugh ^h ter’s son’
/da:gu:/	‘fathers father ’
/ra:ŋu:/	‘widow’
/batra:/	‘brother’s son’

Feminine

/po:dri:/	‘grand daug ^h ter’
/dʒo:tiri:/	‘daugh ^h ter’s daug ^h ter’
/da:gi:/	‘father’s mother’
/nəŋi:/	‘widower’
/batra:ja:/	‘brother’s son’

An interesting point is that sometimes the endings as well as masculine and feminine gender remain same as we can see in the following example—

Masculine

/ba:/	‘father’
/saha:di:/	‘he-friend’
/kəɖu:/	‘he-baby’
/mehi:/	‘male buffalo’
/rē:zi/	‘calf male’

Feminine

/ja:/	‘mother’
/saha:di:/	‘she-friend’
/kəɖu:/	‘she - baby’
/mehi:/	‘female buffalo’
/rē:zi/	‘calf female’

We can further classify lahaulili nouns denoting animate or non-animate, human or non-human belonging to two genders -Masculine and Feminine.

Examples for Masculine Nouns-

Animate and Human

/gamkəɖu:/	‘boy’
/bevυ:/	‘bride groom’

Animate and Non- Human

/mehi:/	‘buffalo (male)’
/rē:zi/	‘calf’ (he)

Inanimate

/ca:dar/	‘shawl’
/bu:tʃ/	‘shoe’

Examples for Feminine Nouns-

Animate and Human

/mezam kəɖu:/	‘girl’
/bev ^h uri:/	‘bride’

Animate and Non- Human

/mehi:/	‘buffalo (female)’
/rē:zi/	‘calf (she)’

Inanimate

/sa:dʒi:/	‘sari’
/gui thab/	‘ring’

b) Number

From the provided data it can be seen that there are two numbers in lahauli language: singular and plural. For singular formations no marker is used at the endings. In case of plural formation, plural marker /-i:/ or /-ar/ or /ur/ is added to the singular form. Examples are as follows-

Singular		Plural	
/mezam kəɖu:/	‘girl’	/mezam kadur/	‘girls’
/p ^h e:nzi/	‘basket’	/p ^h e:nzar/	‘baskets’
/kita:b/	‘book’	/kita:bar/	‘books’
/muɬ ^h /	‘house’	/muɬ ^h ar/	‘houses’

c) Person

There are three persons in Lahauli language. These are: first person, second person, and third person. For example, all these persons have different concordial relationship with the verb.

Tense markers also change according to different persons (first person, second persons and third persons). For example-

PERSON	SINGULAR	PLURAL
FIRST	/ge:/ ‘I’	/he:z/ ‘we’
SECOND	/ke:/ ‘you’	/ke:z/ ‘you all’
THIRD	/doje:/ ‘she’/ ‘he’	/do:z/ ‘they’

The different concordial relationships are shown below-

First Person: [singular]

/ge: baza:ra juva:da:/	‘I go to the market [marker is –da:]	(present tense).
/ge: baza:ra: ildegɪ/	‘I went to the market [marker is – gi]	(past tense).
/ge: baza:ra: jijo:/	‘I will go to the market ‘[marker is –jo:]	(future tense).

First Person: [plural]

/he:z pija: k ^h andri:/	‘We see the bird’ [marker is –ri:]	(present tense).
/jez pija: k ^h andoni:/	‘We saw the bird’ [marker is – ni:]	(past tense).
/he:nz pija: k ^h amone:/	‘We will see the bird’ [marker is –ne:]	(future tense)

Second Person: [singular]

/ke: pija: k^handri:/ ‘You (sg) see the bird’ [marker is – ri:] (present tense).

/ke: pija: taŋ denu:/ ‘You (sg) saw the bird’ [marker is – nu:] (past tense).

/ke:z pija: k^hamoni:/ ‘You (sg) will see the bird’ [marker is –ni:] (future tense).

/Second Person: [plural]

/ke:nzi pija: k^handri:/ ‘You (pl) see the bird’ [marker is – ri] (present tense).

/ke:nz pija: taŋ deni:/ ‘You (pl) saw the bid’ [marker is – ni:] (past tense).

/ke:z pija: k^hamoni:/ ‘You will see the bird’ [marker is –ni:] (future tense).

Third Person: [singular]

/doje: pija: k^handra:/ ‘She sees the bird’ [marker is – ra:] (present tense).

/doje: pija: taŋ de:/ ‘She saw the bird’ [marker is – de:] (past tense).

/doje: pija: k^hamdo:/ ‘She will see the bird’ [marker is –do:] (future tense).

Third Person: [plural]

/do:z pija: k^handri dor/ ‘They see the bird’ [marker is – dor] (present tense).

/do:z pija: tāvu:ri:/ ‘They saw the bird’ [marker is – ri] (past tense).

/do:z pija: k^hamor/ ‘They will see the bird’ [marker is –mor] (future tense).

II) Pronouns

A pronoun is a pro-form which functions like a noun and substitutes for a noun or noun phrase. Pronouns can take number, gender and case markers like the noun. A language may have several classes of pronouns. The Lahauli has the following types of pronouns.

1. Personal pronouns
2. Demonstrative Pronoun
3. Reflexive Pronoun
4. Relative Pronoun
5. Interrogative Pronoun
6. Indefinite Pronoun

1. Personal Pronouns

Personal pronouns are pronouns used as alternates for proper or common nouns. The personal pronouns are categorized into three persons (1st, 2nd and 3rd).

PERSON	SINGULAR	PLURAL
FIRST	/ge:/ 'I'	/he:z/ 'we'
SECOND	/ke:/ 'you'	/ke:z/ 'you all'
THIRD	/doje:/ 'she' 'he'	/do:z/ 'they'

2. Demonstrative Pronoun

Demonstratives are deictic word that specify which entities a speaker refers to and differentiates those from others. The demonstrative pronoun in Lahauli can be described in a two-tier system by taking the spatial distance into account like

- i) Proximate demonstrative pronoun referring to the objects nearer to the speaker,
- ii) Remote demonstrative pronoun that refers to the objects away from the speaker.

Again, the demonstrative pronoun can be distinguished by two-tier numbers also like

i) Singular

ii) Plural

	Proximate		Remote	
Singular	/di:/	'this'	/dide:/	'that'
Plural	/diba:teni:/	'these'	/du:/	'those'

Examples –

This -	/di: ruʃhe: kat ^h a:/	'This is a good story' [marker- di:]
That -	/dide: ca:ku: ʃu:/	'That is his knife' [marker- dide:]
These -	/diba:teni: g ^h ar ba:r chu:/	'These are my houses' [maker- ni:]
Those -	/du: mazam kaɖur za:smi: tatur/	'Those girls are beautiful girl' [marker- du:]

We can also classify demonstrative pronouns in terms of distance as-

Proximate	Remote
/a:bo:/	/do:r/ 'there'
/aba:/	
/adani:/	
/a:bi:/	'here'

Here-

/ge: der a:bo:/	‘I come here’
/jer der aba: lai:/	‘We come here’
/ker der adani:/	‘You (sg) come here’
/duder a:bi:/	‘He comes here’
/do:r der a:bi:/	‘They come here’

There –

/du: do:r K ^h ai to:/	‘She stands there’
/du: do:r K ^h ai to:/	‘He stands there’
/kaɟur do:r K ^h ai to:/	‘The child stands there’

3. Reflexive Pronoun

A reflexive pronoun is a pronoun that is preceded by the noun to which it refers (its antecedent) within the same clause. A reflexive pronoun is an anaphor that must be bound by its antecedent in its local domain. In Lahauli language, reflexive pronouns are:

PERSON	SINGULAR	PLURAL
FIRST	/ene:/ ‘myself’	/ena:/ ‘ourselves’
SECOND	/ene:/ ‘yourself’	/ene:/ ‘you all’
THIRD	/nes si:/ ‘itself’	/ena:/ ‘themselves’

Examples-

First person singular	/gi: di: pataŋ ene: baŋa:de:/	‘I made the kite myself’
First person plural	/jer ena: dur eldeni:/	‘We went there ourselves’
Second person singular	/kedi: kamiz ene: ca:tu:/	‘You wash the clothes yourself’
Third person singular	/duje: nes si: ildza:/	‘It died by itself’
Third person plural	/do:z du g ^h ar ba:r ena: bana:dur/	‘They built the house themselves’

4. Relative Pronoun

A relative pronoun marks a relative clause and is co referential to the word modified by the relative clause. In dhongli language, relative pronouns include the following:

/c ^h eri:/	‘why’
/a:ri:/	‘who’
/ã:vur/	‘where’

/du:/	‘whose’
/a:zi:/	‘which’
/ci:/	‘what’

5. Interrogative Pronoun

An interrogative pronoun is used in questions to stand for the item questioned. The Interrogative pronouns in dhongli can be classified into personal and impersonal forms with examples as who, whom (personal) what, which (impersonal).

Examples-

Personal Forms-

Who -	/du: ari: fu:/	‘Who is he?’
Whose-	/du: adu: rava:fu:/	‘Whose horse is that?’

Impersonal Forms –

What -	/ka: men ci:fu:/	‘What is your name?’
Which -	/kani o: ṭre:n K ^h usdo:/	‘Which train will you get?’

6. Indefinite Pronoun

The pronouns which denote some non-definite person or thing instead of definite person or thing are called Indefinite pronouns.

Examples-

Indefinite Pronoun (Singular) –

anybody:	/di kam azi le: marts:/	‘Anybody can do this work’
anyone:	/di kam kid bi: ḍza: le: marts:/	‘Anyone can do this work’
everybody:	/di ḍzumili: ba:te:mi: gija: mile:pdo:/	‘Everybody has to come for the meeting’
everyone:	/bate:dor iler/	‘Everyone went there’
everything:	/bate: jon faj ḍza:/	‘Everything is lost’
no one:	/di lar azi kursi: marts:/	‘No one can lift this stone’
none:	/do: doji: alidi: ti bija: ma:dur/	‘None of them came for this marriage’
nobody:	/di kam azi le: marts:/	‘Nobody can do this work’

III) CASE

Case is a grammatical category determined by the syntactic or semantic function of a noun or pronoun. Like other languages, in Lahauli also, semantic relation between a noun phrase or subject and a predicate is expressed by the grammatical category of case in dhongli can be-

1. Nominative
2. Accusative
3. Dative
4. Instrumental
5. Ablative
6. Genitive
7. Locative

- **Nominative**

The nominative case generally marks the subject of a verb or the predicate noun or predicate adjective which is either a noun or a pronoun. In Lahauli, the marker for nominative is /Ø/.

Examples-

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|------------------------|
| /kaɖu: dapa:/ | ‘The child falls down’ |
| /du: do:r k ^h ai to:/ | ‘He stands there’ |
| /he:z pi:ja: k ^h andri:/ | ‘We see the bird’ |

In the above examples /kaɖu:/ ‘child’ /du:/ ‘he’, / he:z / ‘we’ are the subject in nominative case with no case marker attached. Thus, we see here the nominative case marker is null or absent.

- **Accusative**

Accusative case is the case in nominative-accusative languages that marks certain syntactic functions, usually direct objects. Examples-

- | | |
|-----------------------------|--------------------------------|
| /henz rat tē:zi:/ | ‘We beat the cows’ |
| /doje: jere pi:ja: sadzde:/ | ‘He killed the bird yesterday’ |
| /ʃi:ga:re: hi:ran tsunede:/ | ‘The hunter caught the deer’ |
| /kaɖu: mats tsunedar/ | ‘The children caught the fish’ |

- **Dative**

The dative case designates the indirect object of a transitive verb. Nouns having the role of recipient (as of things given), beneficiary of an action, or possessor of an item are datives. The context plays a crucial factor in differentiating between dative and accusative. In dhongli, the marker dative is /-i:/, /i/ and /u:/

Examples-

/ge:bi:/	‘to me’
/do:bi:/	‘to him’
/do:ri/	‘to them’
/hinar/	‘to us’
/ke:ndu:/	‘to you’

- **Instrumental**

This case is used to denote instrument with which the action is performed. It is a case indicating that the referent of the noun. In dhongli, the marker is /-e:/.

Examples-

/gyu: kalme: tse:v/	‘Write with my pen’
/kajre: puṭ ^h ṭri: gado:/	‘The tree is cut with axe’
/mere: dʒaŋgal tab fuɖʒa:r/	‘The forest is destroyed by fire’

- **Ablative**

Ablative case is a case that expresses movement of the subject or the object from one place to another either at the spatial plane or at the temporal plane is expressed by the ablative case.

Examples-

/duɟju: kal dunda: dʒijedʒa:/	‘He fell down from my window’. (marker is /-a:/).
/bu:ṭa: ne: lap dappi:/	‘The leaves fall from the tree’ (marker is /-i:/).

- **Genitive**

Genitive case is a case in which the referent of the marked noun is the possessor of the referent of another noun. This case expresses the meaning of belonging to or possession of something by the subject. In Lahauli, the Genitive case markers are /-u:/ and /-o:/.

Examples-

/do: g ^h ar ba:r/	‘his house’
/ke:ndu: g ^h ar ba:r/	‘your (sg) house’

/kɛ:ndu: g ^h ar ba:ro:/	‘your houses’
/gju: kaɖur/	‘my child’
/do: tʃi:rar/	‘her eyes’

- **Locative**

Locative case is a case that expresses location at the referent of the noun it marks.

The location of the subject or object is expressed by the locative case marker. Markers are /u:r/ and /o:/.

Examples –

/gju: kadur si:ku:l aj dʒitatur/	‘My children are in the school’
/malar ri: gitadu:r/	‘The animals are in the field’
/ʃigare baŋa: hiran cunido:/	‘The hunter caught the deer in the forest’
/sitaj bəɖvo: ɖa:ba: kito:/	‘Sita kept the money inside the purse’
/pinsil baksəŋ to:/	‘Pencil is inside the box’
/ɖa:ba: bəɖvo: to:/	‘Keep the money inside the bag’
/ʃugɪ buɖ ^h a: to:/	‘The parrot is on the tree’
/kita:ba mezo: tʃui to:/	‘The book is on the table’

4. 4 VERB MORPHOLOGY

A verb is a member of the syntactic class of words that signals events and actions constitute, singly or in a phrase, a minimal predicate in a clause, govern the number and types of other constituents which may occur in the clause. Verb is a form class that marks tense – aspect – modal – personal markers distinguished by number and gender. In inflectional languages, verbs may be inflected for tense, aspect, and voice, and modality, agreement with other constituents in terms of person, number and grammatical gender. Verb Morphology deals with the forms and classification of verbs, and their pattern in association etc.

I) Types of verb: A verb denotes action. Different types of actions from the provided data are given below.

a) Physical Activity Verbs: List of different physical activity verb from the provided data is given below.

/te:zi:/	‘beat’
/ts ^h uzi:/	‘bind’

/ti:ts/ 'cover'

b) Instrument Verbs: List of different instrument verb from the provided data is given below.

/singa:r lai:/ 'hunt'

/p^hra:ts/ 'split'

/k^ham t̪ri:t̪/ 'cut'

/siŋt̪ri:t̪/ 'chop'

c) Verbs of fighting: List of different verbs of fighting from the provided data is given below.

/hamla: lai:/ 'attack'

/c^ha:pa: ranzri:/ 'raid'

/dra:p^hi:/ 'win'

/tsumni:/ 'wrestle'

d) Music Verbs: List of different music verb from the provided data is given below.

/garpi:/ 'dance'

/bendʒ ku:lzri:/ 'blow'

/gi:t ku:lzri:/ 'sing'

e) Motion verbs: List of different motion verb from the provided data is given below.

/dumbi:/ 'drown'

/re:zri:/ 'draw'

/tok tok ʃubi:/ 'come'

/i:bi:/ 'go'

/ce:bi:/ 'get up'

II) Classification of Verb: The Lahauli verb stems can be classified into simple and compound verbs.

a) Simple Verb:

A simple verb is composed of monomorphemic single root with or without a suffix. The verb is conjugated with aspect - gender – number – personal markers. The conjugational pattern of vowel ending and consonant ending verb roots are given below.

/√K^hand̪ri:/ 'see'

/K^hand̪ri:/ 'see' (1st person) /gi:(I) k^hand̪ri: (see)/ 'I see'.

/K^hand̪ri:/ 'see' (2nd person) /ke: (you. sg) K^hand̪ri: (see)/ 'You (sg) see'.

/K ^h andṛa:/	‘sees’ (3rd person) /doje: (she) K ^h andṛa: (sees)/	‘She sees’.
/taṅ de:/	‘saw’ (1st person sg) /gi: (I) taṅde:/	‘I saw’.
/taṅ denu:/	‘saw’ (2nd person) /ke: (you sg.) taṅ denu:/	‘You saw’.
/taṅ de:/	‘saw’ (3rd person) /doje: (she) taṅ de: (saw)/	‘She saw’.

b) Compound Verb:

A Compound verb consists of more than one root and may include one or more suffixes. For example-

/baḡad p ^h a:zi:/	‘to serve food’
/p ^h utsi:/	‘to push’
/bane:ṛi:/	‘to repair tool’
/lade:ki:zi:/	‘to kick’

III) Inflection of Verb:

The verbs in Lahauli can be studied with respect to their transitivity, Finiteness, non-finiteness, negation, Causativization and Passivization.

- **Transitivity**

The number of arguments that a verb takes is called its transitivity. Based on transitivity the verb stems can be further divided into three sub-classes. These are

1. Intransitive
2. Transitive
3. Ditransitive

1. Intransitive: The verbs which do not take any object. Examples of Intransitive verbs are:

/dapa:/	‘fall’
/k ^h andṛi:/	‘see’
/juva:/	‘go’

The examples of Intransitive verbal formation are:

/kaḡu: dapa:/	‘The boy falls’
/geriri: juva:/	‘I go’
/gi: K ^h andṛi:/	‘I see’

2. Transitive: The verbs which take an object. The examples of transitive verbs are:

/gi rā: zarke: p ^h ila:do:/	‘I run horse’
/doje: kaḡur K ^h andṛa:/	‘He sees the child?’

/gi: rođi: zava:do:/

‘I eat bread’

3. Ditransitive: The verb has a subject, a direct object, and an indirect object. Eg. /rice:/ ‘give’

/randun/

‘gave’

/rande:/

‘given’

Examples-

/doje: ke niŋa: ʃan reci:/

‘He gives me five rupees’

/ra:me: ʃa:man kita:b randun/

‘Ram gave the book to shyam’

/sarka:re: gəribe: di ɖaba rande:/

‘Money was given by the Govt. to the poor’

Finiteness

A finite verb is a verb form that which occurs in an independent clause and is fully inflected according to the inflectional categories marked on verbs in the language.

Having the verb roots as the base both Finite and Non-finite verbal formations are realised in lahauri. The components of finite verb are 1. Tense 2. Aspect and 3. Mood. In lahauri, finite verbs are formed by adding different suffixes to the verb root and different forms are available for different person and tense. The finite verbal formation is $\sqrt{\text{V}}$ + tense marker \pm aspect marker + personal marker.

The formations of the verb /k^handʒ/ ‘to see’ for three different persons and different tenses are given below.

Tense: Accordingly, verbs in Lahauri are morphologically marked for having three way opposition of tense as

1. Present
2. Past
3. Future

Following are the person wise tense formations in lahauri taking /k^handʒ/ ‘see’ as the model verb root.

Present indefinite

Person	Singular	Verb form	Plural	Verb form
First	/gi:/ 'I'	/k ^h andri:/	/he:z/ 'we'	/k ^h andri:/
Second	/ke:/ 'you(sg)'	/k ^h andri:/	/ke:z/ 'you(pl)'	/k ^h andri:/
Third	/doje:/ 'he', 'she'	/k ^h andra:/	/do:z/ 'they'	/k ^h andri dor/

The markers for singular and plural forms are as follows— / i:/ , / i/ , /a:/.

Examples-

/gi: pija: k^handri:/

(I) (bird) (see)

/gi: pija: k^handri:/

'I see the bird'

/he:z pija: k^handri:/

'We see the bird'

/ke: pija: k^handri:/

'You(sg) see the bird'

/ke:nzi pija: k^handri:/

'You(pl) see the bird'

/doje: pija: k^handra:/

'He sees the bird'

/doje: pija: k^handra:/

'She sees the bird'

/di: pija: k^handra:/

'It sees the bird'

/do:z pija: k^handri dor/

'They sees the bird'

Past indefinite

Person	Singular	Verb form	Plural	Verb form
First	/gi:/ 'I'	/taŋde:/	/he:z/ 'we'	/k ^h andoni:/
Second	/ke:/ 'you(sg)'	/taŋdenu:/	/ke:z/ 'you(pl)'	/taŋdeni:/
Third	/doje:/ 'he', 'she'	/taŋde:/	/do:z/ 'they'	/tãvu:ri /

The markers for singular and plural forms are as follows- /e:/, /i:/, /i/ /u:/.

/gi: pija: taŋ de: /

(I) (bird) (see - past)

/gi: pija: taŋ de:/	‘I saw the bird’
/jez pija: k ^h andoni:/	‘We saw the bird’
/ke: pija: taŋ denu:/	‘You(sg) saw the bird’
/ke:nz pija: taŋ deni:/	‘You(pl) saw the bird’
/doje: pija: taŋ de:/	‘She saw the bird’
/di: pija: taŋ deni:/	‘It saw the bird’
/do:z pija: tāvu:ri/	‘They saw the bird’

Simple future

Person	Singular	Verb form	Plural	Verb form
First	/gi:/ ‘I’	/k ^h amo:/	/he:z/ ‘we’	/k ^h amone:/
Second	/ke:/ ‘you(sg)’	/k ^h amoni:/	/ke:z/ ‘you(pl)’	/k ^h amdo:/
Third	/doje:/ ‘he’, ‘she’	/k ^h amdo:/	/do:z/ ‘they’	/k ^h amor/

The markers for singular and plural forms are as follows— / o:/, / e:/, / i:/, / or /.

Examples-

/ gi: pija: K^hamo: /

(I) (market) (go-future)

(II)

/gi: pija: k^hamo:/ ‘I will see the bird’

/he:nz pija: k^hamone:/ ‘We will see the bird’

/ke:z pija: k^hamoni:/ ‘You(sg) will see the bird’

/ke:z pija: k^hamoni:/ ‘You(pl) will see the bird’

/doje: pija: k^hamdo:/ ‘He will see the bird’

/di: pija: k^hamdo:/ ‘It will see the bird’

/do:z pija: k^hamor/ ‘They will see the bird’

Aspect

Aspect is a grammatical category associated with verbs that expresses a temporal view of the event or state expressed by the verb. Aspectual information implies is related with duration, perfection, habituality etc. Lahauli has three aspects interpreted in different tenses. These are –

- i. Imperfective
- ii. Perfective
- iii. Habitual

i). Imperfective Aspect

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. It depicts an action which is considered as continuous in the past or present or future tenses.

Examples-

Present continuous markers for different persons for the verb /K^handʁ/ are –

Present Imperfective

Person	Singular	Verb form	Plural	Verb form
First	/gi:/ ‘I	/k ^h andʁi do:/	/he:z/ ‘we’	/k ^h andʁi doni:/
Second	/kenz/ ‘you(sg)’	/k ^h andʁi doni:/	/ke:z/ ‘you(pl)’	/k ^h andʁi doni:/
Third	/doje:/ ‘he’, ‘she’	/k ^h andʁa:/	/do:z/ ‘they’	/k ^h andʁi dor/

The markers for singular and plural forms are as follows- /do:/ /doni:/ /a:/ and /dor/.

Examples-

/gi: pija: K^handʁi do: /

(I) (bird) (go-present cont)

/gi pija: k^handʁi do:/

‘I am seeing the bird’

/he:nz pija: k^handʁi doni:/

‘We are seeing the bird’

/kenz pija: k^handʁi doni:/

‘You(sg) are seeing the bird’

/ken pija: k^handʁi doni:/

‘You(pl) are seeing the bird’

/doje: pija: k^handʁa:/

‘She is seeing the bird’

/do:z pija: k^handʁi dor/

‘They are seeing the bird’

Past Imperfective

Person	Singular	Verb form	Plural	Verb form
First	/gi:/ 'I	/K ^h andri de:/	/he:z/ 'we'	/K ^h andri de:/
Second	/kenz/ 'you(sg)'	/K ^h andri deni:/	/ke:z/ 'you(pl)'	/K ^h andri deni:/
Third	/doje:/ 'he', 'she'	/K ^h andri der:/	/do:z/ 'they'	/K ^h andri der:/

The markers for singular and plural forms are as follows- /de:/ /deni:/ /dor/ and /der/.

Examples-

/gi: pija: K^handri de: /

(I) (seeing) (go-past cont.)

/gi: pija: k^handri de:/

'I was seeing the bird'

/je:nz pija: k^handri de:/

'We were seeing the bird'

/kez pija: k^handri deni:/

'You(sg) were seeing the bird'

/kez pija: k^handri deni:/

'You(pl) were seeing the bird'

/doje: pija: k^handri der/

'He was seeing the bird'

/do:z pija: k^handri der/

'They were seeing the bird'

Future Imperfective

Person	Singular	Verb form	Plural	Verb form
First	/heŋgu:/ 'I	/ ibleg ʃo:ʃ /	/heŋgu:/'we'	/ ibleg ʃo:ʃ /
Second	/kenar 'you(sg)'	/ iblig ʃo:ni/	/kenar 'you(pl)'	/iblig ʃo:ni/
Third	/du:/ 'he', 'she'	/iblig ʃodo:/	/doro/ 'they'	/iblig ʃor/

The markers for singular and plural forms are as follows— /ʃo:ʃ/, /ʃo:ni:/, /ʃodo:/, /ʃor/.

Examples-

/heŋgu: baza:ra: ibleg ʃo:ʃ/

(I) (market) (go-future cont.)

/heŋgu: baza:ra: ibleg ʃo:ʃ/

'I will be going to the market'

/hengu: baza:ra: ibleg fo:f/	‘We will be going to the market’
/kenar riri iblig fo:ni/	‘You(pl) will be going to the field’
/du: riri iblig fodo:/	‘He will be going to the field’
/dori riri iblig fo:r/	‘It will be going to the field’
/doro riri ib lig fo:r/	‘They will be going to the field’

ii). Perfective Aspect

Perfective aspect is an aspect that expresses a temporal view of an event or state as a simple whole, apart from the consideration of the internal structure of the time in which it occurs.

Present perfect markers for different persons for the verb /gaja:/ are –
The examples in lahauili are –

Present Perfective

Person	Singular	Verb form	Plural	Verb form
First	/ge:/ ‘I	/ ildzito do:/	/jer/‘we’	/ ildzito doni:/
Second	/keni ‘you(sg)’	/ indzito: do:f/	/kenar ‘you(pl)’	/ ildzito: doni: /
Third	/du:/ ‘he’, ‘she’	/ ildzito:/	/doro/ ‘they’	/ ildzito: dor/

The markers for singular and plural forms are as follows- /do:/, /doni:/, /do:f/, /to:/, /dor/.

Examples-

/ge: baza:ra: ildzito do:/

(I) (market) (go-pres. perfect)

/ge: baza:ra: ildzito do:/

‘I have gone to the market’

/jer baza:ra: indzito doni:/

‘We have gone to the market’

/keni baza:raə indzito: do:f/

‘You(sg) have gone to the market’

/kenar bazara: ildzito: doni:/

‘You(pl) have gone to the market’

/du baza:ra: ildzito:/

‘She has gone to the market’

/du baza:ra: ildzito:/

‘It has gone to the market’

/doro: ba:ra: ildzito: dor/

‘They have gone to the market’

Past Perfective

Person	Singular	Verb form	Plural	Verb form
First	/ge:/ ‘I	/ ildzito je:/	/jer/‘we’	/ ildzitoni:/
Second	/ker ‘you(sg)’	/ ildzitoni:/	/kenar ‘you(pl)’	/ ildzitoni:/
Third	/du:/ ‘he’, ‘she’	/ ildzitoni:/	/doro/ ‘they’	/ ildzitoni:/

The markers for singular and plural forms are as follows- /je:/ and /oni:/

Examples-

/ge: baza:ra: ildzitoje:/

(I) (market) (go-past. perfect)

/ge: baza:ra: ildzitoje:/

‘I had gone to the market’

/jer baza:ra: ildzitoni:/

‘We had gone to the market’

/ker baza:ra: ildzitoni:/

‘You(sg) had gone to the market’

/kenar baza:ra: ildzitoni:/

‘You(pl) had gone to the market’

/du: baza:ra: ildzitoni:/

‘She had gone to the market’

/du: baza:ra: ildzitoni:/

‘It had gone to the market’

/doro: baza:ra: ildzitoni:/

‘They had gone to the market’

Future Perfective

Person	Singular	Verb form	Plural	Verb form
First	/ge:/ ‘I	/ildzifo:/	/jer/‘we’	/ildzifo:ni:/
Second	/ker ‘you(sg)’	/ildzifo:/	/kenar/ ‘you(pl)’	/ildzifo:/
Third	/du:/ ‘he’, ‘she’	/ildzifo:do:/	/doro/ ‘they’	/ildzifo:r/

The markers for singular and plural forms are as follows- /fo:/, /fo:ni:/, /fo:do:/, /fo:r/.

Examples-

/ge: baza:ra: ildzi:fo:/

(I) (market) (go - fut. perfect)

/ge: baza:ra: ildzi:fo:/

‘I shall have gone to the market’

/henar baza:ra: ildzi:fo:ni:/

‘We will have gone to the market’

/ker baza:ra: ildzi:fo:ni:/

‘You(sg) will have gone to the market’

/kenar baza:ra: ildzi:fo:ni:/

‘You(pl) will have gone to the market’

/du: baza:ra: ildzi:fo: do:/

‘She will have gone to the market’

/du: baza:ra: ildzi:fo: do:/

‘It will have gone to the market’

/do:r baza:ra: ildzi:fo:r/

‘They will have gone to the market’

iii) Habitual Aspect

It describes an action which happens/happened or will happen habitually or regularly.

Present Habitual: The finite verb ends with /-i:/

Examples-

/e:ge: purbe zirp^{hi}:/

‘The sun rises in the east’

/henz ro:ze gəŋ tsur tsi:/

‘We milk the cows everyday’

Past Habitual: The finite verb ends with /runi:/, /to:/, /tadur/.

Examples-

/ge: nov badʒe: ro:z o:p^{hi}is ildzateruni:/

‘I used to go to office at 9 o’ clock’

/kenar nov badʒe: o:p^{hi}is ildzateruni:/

‘You(sg) used to go to office at 9 o’ clock’

/jer nov badʒe: o:p^{hi}is ildzateruni:/

‘We used to go to office at 9 o’ clock’

/du: nov badʒe: o:p^{hi}is ildza:to:/

‘She used to go to office at 9 o’ clock’

/do:r nov badʒe: o:p^{hi}is ildza:tadur/

‘They used to go to office at 9 o’ clock’

Mood

Mood is one of a set of distinctive forms that are used to signal modality. The mode or manner of a speaker is expressed by mood. It incorporates a statement, a command, a

question, a doubt etc. From the given data we have following types of moods in the Lahauli language which are presented below:

i) Indicative Mood: Most verbs in this language used are in indicative mood, which indicates the action.

/k ^h ui hə ʃrepa:/	‘The dog barks’
/rats paŋɨ randʒe:/	‘The cows give milk’
/henz ra: bi tezi:/	‘We ride the horses’

ii) Imperative Mood: Verb in the imperative mood denotes command or request. This mood always occurs with second person. Though it is not present in the sentence but the sense must be there and it is always understood that it denotes the second person. For example:

/kena: miŋjo: cui dʒiha:dar/	‘Call your daughter’
/t ^h oɖe: harati ja:da:/	‘Bring some water’
/di kita:b paɖetu:/	‘Read this book’

iii) Subjunctive Mood: In the subjunctive mood, the sense is to suppose or desire an action.

/rã: di: pa:k ʃu: uɖe: lega:/	‘If horses had wing they would have flown’
/kaje: avʃad zarint bima:ri: ʃhi:k ʃodo:/	‘If you take the medicine (then) the disease will be cured.’

iv) Optative mood: The optative mood expresses a desire, wish, permission or request in a sentence which is expressed in following way in Lahauli:

/dori: ba:te: li a:bi: lã:o/	‘One should go to find a job’
------------------------------	-------------------------------

v) Potential Mood: The potential action is expressed in potential mood. In this language the example of Potential mood is:

/ge: (I) ami: tatsi: (may come)/	‘I may come’.
/du: (he) at talha:bi: (may) tatsi: (still come)/	‘He may still come’.

Non-finite

Verbal Noun

A verbal noun is formed by adding a noun suffix to a verb.

Here, the process is: Verb + noun forming suffix = Noun (verbal Noun) [$\sqrt{\text{ }}$ + non-finite marker]

/tama:ku: tummi:/ ‘to smoke’ + tundri → təmaku: tundri ‘smoking’

/jo:ji:/ ‘to play’ + zi → /jo:zi/ ‘playing’

Infinitives

An infinitive form is *to* + the verb. Some verbs can take either the gerund or the infinitive with no loss of meaning.

Examples-

/pija: az gi:t kur ru^he: ce:zi/ ‘Bird love **to sing**’

/doje: p^hal ru^he: ce:s doi/ ‘He liked **to eat** fruit’

Gerund

Gerunds and infinitives are forms of verbs that act like nouns. They can follow adjectives and other verbs. Since it is a kind of noun, it may be the subject or object to some verb.

Examples-

/taradz sehatı t^ha:dzo: ru^hfubi:/ ‘Swimming is good for health’

/təmaku: tundri sehatı thadzɔ: madam fubi:/ ‘Smoking is dangerous to health’

Participles

A participle is a word that shares some characteristics of both verbs and adjectives. It is also called verbal adjective. A participle is a word formed from a verb that can function as part of a verb phrase.

Examples-

/ildzit dadzi:/ ‘Fallen fruits’

/do:z ildzit dadzi: p^hal t^hro:ka: la:ter/ ‘She collected the fallen fruits’

Negation:

Negation is a morph syntactic in which a lexical item denies or inverts the meaning of another lexical item or construction.

Examples-

/do:z du kam le martsɪ:/	‘They cannot do it’
/ge mudama:kur/	‘I shall not come tomorrow’
/di mafudʒi: kam ʃu:/	‘It is impossible’
/du kam ma ʃudʒa:/	‘He did not do the work’

Causation:

A causative is a grammatical or lexical indication of the causal role of a referent in relation to an event or state expressed by a verb. In lahauri, causatives verbs are –

Examples-

/gi: da:j dots kaɖbi: kʰəz love:/	‘I make the nurse feed the baby’
/gi: mi: ruap lavada:/	‘I make the people laugh’
/gi: rã: zarke: pilado:/	‘I am making the horse run’

4. 5. ADJECTIVES

An adjective is a word that belongs to a class whose members modify nouns. An adjective specifies the properties or attributes of a noun referent. In this language adjectives occur before noun and remain unchanged for any change in gender and number.

Attributive adjectives - These are noun phrase headed by the modifier noun.

For example:

/ruʰe: kaɖuri/	‘The good children’
/tsʰã:si: rã:/	‘The white horse’
/ruʰe: mezim kaɖur/	‘The good girl’
/dʒak gud/	‘Dirty hand’

Predicative adjectives- These are linked via a copula or other connecting device to the noun or pronoun they modify.

For example:

/dui: tsirã: ʃu:/	‘That is a horse’
/diba:teni: gʰar ba:r cʰu:/	‘These are my horses’
/dur polona: ʃuri/	‘Those men are strong’

Numerals

Lahauli exhibits numerals of both the Cardinal and the ordinal type:

Cardinal Numerals

/itsi/	‘one’	/trui/	‘six’.
/dzud/	‘two’	/ni:/	‘seven’.
/ʃum/	‘three’	/re:/	‘eight’.
/pi:/	‘four’	/ku:/	‘nine’.
/nə:/	‘five’	/sa:/	‘ten’.

Ordinal Numerals: Ordinals are formed by adding inflectional suffixes /-uK^h/ to the cardinals. For example,

/tu:muk ^h /	‘first’
------------------------	---------

Fractions: Fractions are formed by following ways, e. g.

/re:/	‘half’.
/pa:v/	‘quarter’.
/sava:/	‘one and a quarter’.
/itsere:/	‘one and a half’.
/dzudere:/	‘two and a half’.

Formation of numerals

/itsi/	‘one’	/ʃum/	‘three’	/ni:/	‘seven’	/sa:/	‘ten’
/sapi:/	‘fourteen’	/sa:ŋgi/	‘fifteen’	/satrui:/	/satrui:/	/sa:re:/	‘eighteen’
/ni:zi/	‘twenty’	/ni:zo: se:di:/	‘thirty one’	/ninzo: itsi/	‘forty one’		
/ʃumnizo: itsi/	‘sixty one’	/ʃumnizo: se:di:/	‘seventy one’				

From the above data we can see that the numerals fourteen, fifteen, sixteen, eight^hteen etc are formed by adding suffixes /i:/, /e:/, /i/ etc. while twenty, thirty one, forty one etc have /-i:/ and /i/ ending.

Classifiers

The classifier is denoted by the use of cardinal numerals like /-do:/ etc. to refer to a person. For example-

/do: biliq t^ho:/ 'There are two cows'

4. 6. ADVERB

Adverb modifies verb, adjectives and also an adverb. From the given data following example is collected-

/palə (slowly) sulega (speak)/ 'Speak slowly'.

/akʃar (words) ru^the: (neatly) sa:de tsejo: (write)/ 'Write the words neatly'.

In the above sentences the adverbs are /palə/ 'slowly' and /ru^the: / 'neatly'.

In this language adverbs occur before the verb. Here we have following three types of adverbs.

These are the place adverbials. For example:

- **Adverb of Time:** The time adverbials precede the verb. For example'

/jaʒa:/ 'again'

/tui:/ 'before'

/ro:dʒi/ 'daily'

- **Adverb of Place:** Place adverbials also precede the verb. For example

/ indor juva: dor/ 'go there'

/ der a:bo:/ 'come here'

- **Adverb of Manner:** Like all other adverbs this type also occurs before the verb. For example:

/madam tərɪka:/ 'badly'

/mənai:/ 'bluntly'

/jappa:/ 'smartly'

5. SYNTAX

Syntax is the study of the principles and rules for constructing phrases and sentences in natural languages and rules governing the order of combining the words to form sentences in a language. A syntactic category is a set of words and/or phrases in a language which share a significant number of common characteristics. The classification is based on similar structure and sameness of distribution (the structural relationships between these elements and other items in a larger grammatical structure), and not on meaning. The syntax of Lahuli is discussed below.

5.1. WORD- ORDER

Word order typology is the study of the order of the syntactic constituents of a language. The primary word order that is of interest is the relative ordering of subject, object, and verb in a sentence. The Word order in Lahuli is of SOV (subject-object-verb) pattern.

Examples –

/gi: (I) pi:ja: (bird) ta:nde: (saw)/	‘I saw the bird’
/batemi:r (all) ju:va: dor (there) in:dor (go)/	‘All go there’
/ge: (I) ri:ri: (field) ju:va: dor (go)/	‘I go to the field’

5.2. TYPES OF SENTENCES

A sentence is a grammatical unit that is composed of one or more clauses. The sentences in Lahuli can be classified into

- i. Simple
- ii. Complex
- iii. Compound

The examples are given below according to the data –

i. Simple Sentence

The simple sentence consists of a subject and a predicate. It is a sentence structure that contains one independent clause and no dependent clauses.

Examples –

/k ^h ui (the dog) hə ʒrepa: (barks)/	‘The dog barks’.
/ra:m (rama) ro:dʒ zarkepa: (runs quickly) /	‘Rama runs quickly’

/gi:(l) rođi: (bread) zava:do: (eat) / 'I eat bread'

ii. Compound Sentence

A compound sentence is a sentence composed of two or more coordinate clauses.

iii. Complex Sentence

A sentence having one principal clause followed by one or more subordinate clause (s) is known as a complex sentence. The independent clause can stand alone.

Examples –

/kaje: avʃad zarint bima:ri: tʰi:k ʃodo:/ 'If you take medicine then the disease will be cured'

/rã: di: pa:k ʃu: uđe: lega:/ 'If horses had wings they would have flown'

Sentences in lahauri can further be sub-classified into

- i. Statement Sentence
- ii. Interrogative Sentence
- iii. Imperative Sentence
- iv. Purposive Sentence
- v. Potential Sentence
- vi. Conditional Sentence
- vii. Negative Sentence
- viii. Causative Sentence
- ix. Passive Sentence

i) Statement Sentence – The sentence which affirms a statement-

Examples in dhongli include-

/gi rã: zarke: pʰila:do:/ 'I run the horse'

ii) Interrogative Sentence- The sentence which indicates a question like –

/kuc fari giva:tan/ 'Why are you going?'

iii) Imperative Sentence- The sentence which implies a request, a command, an advice etc

/ʃraŋ dui kʰalə/ 'Remove the grass'

/sulega: palə/ 'Speak slowly'.

iv) Purposive Sentence – The sentence which expresses a purpose like –

/durã: lã: saido:/ ‘That horse is to be sold’

/doje: kita:b ze jīfu:/ ‘He should write a book’

v) Potential Sentence – When the potentiality is expressed in a sentence, it thus called.

/ge: ami: tatsi:/ ‘I may come’

vi) Conditional sentence – When two actions are conditioned by each other in a single sentence.

/rã: di: pa:k fu: uḍe: lega:/ ‘If horses had wings they would have flown’

vii) Negative Sentence-

Negation is a morpho-syntactic operation in which a lexical item denies or inverts the meaning of another lexical item or construction. The negation marker is usually /ma/ which comes with the verb in the sentence.

Examples –

/do:z du kam le **martsi**:/ ‘They **cannot** do it’

/du kam **ma** juḍza:/ ‘He did **not** do the work’

/di: ze:midzo: **girma**/ ‘This is **not** edible’

/doi e: ka:m **amaro**/ ‘He did **not** do the work’

/doi ka:m **amaro**:/ ‘She has **not** done the work’

viii) Causative sentence-

The causative sentences are formed by suffixing causative marker to the verb which varies according to the person. Causative indicates that a subject causes someone or something else to do something and subject is no more the doer of the action. The causative is marked by /-m/ suffix

A few illustrative Examples –

/ge: kaṭube: k^huaḍṛita/ ‘I feed the baby’

/ge: kaṭube: k^huaḍṛimta:ze: narasa kutta// ‘I make the nurse feed the baby’

/ge: pargaro do:tsi ri:rī ka:m karã: zita/ ‘I make the servant work in the field’

/ge: mi: tīva: pila: zita/ ‘I make the people laugh’

/ge: rambi do:ɽke: pila: zita/

‘I am making the horse run’

ix). Passive sentence

In lahauli, in passive formation the subject is the patient or recipient of the action denoted by the verb. A passive sentence is derived from an active sentence by i) bringing object to the subject position ii) putting subject to the object position iii) changing the verb form to its participle form.

Active: /du: ro:ɽi: zavada/ ‘He eats bread’.
He bread eats

Passive: /do: do:z ro:ɽi: zava lado:r/ ‘The bread is eaten by him’.
Him by he bread is eaten’

Similarly,

/doje: roɽi: zatto:/ ‘The bread is eaten by him’

/doje: ki:ta:b lep toji:/ ‘The book was being read by him’

/roɽi: ki: zatte:/ ‘Bread is being eaten by me’

5. 3. STRUCTURE OF PHRASES

A phrase is a syntactic structure that consists of more than one word but lacks the subject-predicate organization of a clause. The phrasal sub-division in lahauli is as follows-

i. Noun Phrase

A noun phrase or nominal phrase, (NP) combines with other words in a noun phrase, optionally accompanied by modifiers like adjectives and intensifiers.

Examples –

/do: g^har ba:r/ ‘His houses’

/ru^he: gam kaɽur/ ‘The good boy’

ii. Verb Phrase

A verb phrase (VP) is a phrase that has the syntactic role of a simple verb, and is composed of a main verb and auxiliary verbs or verbal particles related syntactically to the verb. In generative grammar, a verb phrase is a syntactic unit that corresponds to the predicate. In addition to the verb, this includes auxiliaries, objects, object complements,

and other constituents apart from the subject. These are inflected for person, number and gender. The predicate may be a finite intransitive or transitive verb.

Examples –

/gi: rođi: zava:do:/	‘I eat bread’
/du: kita:b pađepa:/	‘He reads a book’
/ge: pija: tãŋa/	‘I saw the bird’
/ge: baza:rã: juata /	‘I go to the market’

iii. Postpositional phrase

Here the postposition is in the head position and usually a complement such as a noun phrase follows it. Lahauli is a head last language. Therefore, it has a postposition unlike the prepositions in English. The postpositional phrase can be a complement as well as adjunct. Examples –

/doi gju: de:k ^h re:k ^h ri kam raza/	‘He works under me’
/mãŋaŋ va:ri: ra:t vetsi bas calit bãd ŋo:to:/	‘From Tuesday midnight the buses stopped working’
/buŋ a:mu nu re:tsi to/	‘The tree is on that side of the road’
/buŋ a:mu di re: to/	‘The tree is on this side of the road’
/ge: buŋo kacan toto/	‘I am near the tree’

iv. Adjectival Phrase

In an adjectival phrase, the adjective acts as the head of the phrase. An adjectival phrase consists of an adjective followed by a noun, intensifiers or adverbs followed by adjective and noun, thereby making the structure more complex.

Examples –

/ru:ŋe: g ^h ã:kaŋ ^h /	‘The good boy’
/ru:ŋe: metsmukaŋ ^h /	‘The good girl’
/tsanse: rã:ŋg/	‘The white horse’
/mođe: kita:b/	‘The big book’

v. Adverbial Phrase

An adverb is a lexical category whose members have the same syntactic distribution and which modifies adjectives, other adverbs, verbs, or whole clauses or sentences.

An adverb phrase has an adverb that complements the verb.

Examples –

/na:zu:/	‘Sit down’
/dʒo:re gappa: t ^h al/	‘Do not speak loudly’
/su:liga pa: lo	‘Speak slowly’
/sa:p ^h sa:p ^h tsēv lik ^h /	‘Write the words neatly’

5. 4. RELATIVE AND CORRELATIVES

Relatives

It is a clause introduced by a relative pronoun, a relative adverb, or a zero relative. It is also called an adjective clause that limits or provides essential information about the noun or noun phrase (NP) it modifies. Below are some of the examples of Lahuli:

/e:re: ne: sija te: du ga:na: guṭa:r tu/
‘The man who died yesterday was a singer’

/di: duje: k^huve:fu: atsi: kaṭumi: ts^hīkataj/
‘This is the dog that bit the boy’

Correlatives

A paired conjunction that links balanced words, phrases and clauses. An example of Lahuli is given below:

/na badʒa:ra me:f/
‘Neither he nor I went to the market’

/kajo: na: gejo:/
‘Either you go or I shall to the field’

5. 5. PASSIVIZATION

Passivization indicates that the subject is the patient or recipient of the action denoted by the verb. A passive sentence is created from an active sentence by i) bringing object to the subject position ii) putting subject to the object position iii) adding ‘by’ iv) changing the verb form to its participle form. Below are some of the examples:

/je: ro:ʈi: zua:te:/

‘Bread is being eaten by me’

/kaŋgu ko:ʈ sila:tʂa:/

‘Your coat is being stitched’

5. 5. NEGATION

Negation is a morpho-syntactic operation in which a lexical item denies or inverts the meaning of another lexical item or construction. In an ordered sentence the negative element comes with the verb of the sentence e. g.

/ge: mũ: taŋg **ma**:/

‘I shall not come tomorrow’

/do:ʈi: ka:m **ma** lav/

‘He did not do the work’

5. 6. CAUSATIVIZATION

The causative sentences are formed by suffixing causative marker to the verb which varies according to the person. Causative indicates that a subject causes someone or something else to do or be something e. g.

/ge: nərsə: dor ze: kaʈʈu: mi: k^hila: bav/

‘I make the nurse feed the baby’

/ge: no:karo: dor ze: rĩ: riŋg ka:m kara:zta/

‘I make the servant work in the field’

6. CONCLUSION

In the forgone discussion a detailed grammatical structure of Lahauli has been presented with illustrations based on the collected data from field. Use of tones is a very prominent phonological feature of the language. Morphologically, Lahauli is an inflexional type of language that means, here words are formed by adding syllables or letters (i. e. affixes) or different postpositions to the stem and different endings are used to form different types of words. According to the presentation, Lahauli shares the features of Tibeto-Burman language family. In all aspects like phonology, morphology and syntax it shows a great affinity with other Tibetic languages (a cluster of Tibeto-Burman languages descended from Old Tibetan, spoken across the wide area of Indian subcontinent) of that region. Long back in his *Linguistic Survey of India*, Sir George Abraham Grierson had classified ‘Lahuli’ as a dialect of Tibetan [Grierson G. A. 1909. *Linguistic Survey of India (LSI) Vol. III. Part-I.* pp 69-71]. So, it can be said to conclude that Lahauli is a Tibeto-Burman language, spoken in the Lahaul-Spiti region of Himachal Pradesh and it is fairly close to the standard Tibetan language.

TEXT

/dzu:ʰ sa:di: ku: itsa: o:mo:/

‘Two Friends and a Bear’

/ra:me: ʃa:m dʒuɖ sa:ti: ku tojiku:/

‘Ramu and Syham were two friends’

/do:ku: dʒuɖe: ina:kuɖibicaŋ baʃaŋ lepsi: tareku:/

‘They had promised each other’

/ʃi:re: av a:ti: sa:te: bravɨʃi:/

‘that they will help each other at the time of miseries and fearful situations’

/itsa: dʒa:ɖa: do:ku: itsa: banatse: jo: daku:/

‘one day they were in a forest’

/tu:j ze: itsa: o:mu: andʒa:/

‘there came a Bear’

/o:mu: k^haj te: do:ku: dʒu:la: pe: ildaku:/

‘seeing the bear the two friend were scared’

/ra:mu: be:va: te: bu:ɖo: ʃo:je: bu:sa: ildʒa:/

‘ramu climbed on a tree in fear’

/ʃa:ma: bi: bu:ʃaŋ lo:si: ma:bati:/

‘but Shyam was unable to climb the tree’

/do:j ino: sa:ti: ra:mu: bi: kutu:/

‘he said to his friend, Ram’

/gi:bi: buɖaŋ lo:si: ma:ga:

‘I cannot climb the tree’

/ʃa:ba:sa: gi:bi: saji:ta: lo:/

‘Please help me’

/ra:mu: ze: c^hale: dʒava:b maru:/

‘but Ramu didn’t reply’

/duki: ʃu:ce: ʃa:mi darti: tɔ:je: p^he:re: suce: ildʒa:/

‘sad and unhappy was Shyam and laid his head on the ground and himself too’

/do:tare: itsa: o:mu: pica:/

‘soon came the bear’

/darti: riŋ pe:re: ʃu:ci: ʃa:m muka: ʃami: ca ildʒe: do: ba:sa: lū: gatū /

‘saw laid Shyam on ground went near him and smelled’

/do:bi: bas luŋ te: ʃa:m do:re: ketsa: atsa: ildʒa:/

‘after smelling for some time left Shyam there and went away’

/buɖambran ʃi: ra:maubi: cetsi: ʃa:mure: taŋ o:mo: ike^ha: kotu:/

‘Ramu on the tree thought that the bear whispered something in Shyam’s ear’

/du: taksa: te: andʒa: kutu: sadi: ka: dɛʒa: o:mo:ji cikotu:/

‘Ramu came down quickly and asked Sham my friend what did the bear whispered in your ear’

/ʃa:me: k^haje: ʃutse: kutu: o:majguje: kam jatu: ha:tsi: pe: tare: kapʃi: do: t^hu: baro:sa: t^halo:/

‘Shyam got up and told Ramu the Bear has told me liars and selfish people must not be trusted’

/do:m kuʒa: te: ʃa:m do:ʃik tse: atsa: ildʒa:/

‘and leave u alone after telling this Sham left the place’

BHOTIA

S Ganesh Baskaran

1 INTRODUCTION

Bhotia is one of the Non-Scheduled languages of India. Bhotia is spoken majorly in Spiti, Lahaul area of Himachal Pradesh. The field investigation was done during July-August of 2009 in Spiti. Subsequently the same data were checked in the Kullu Manali districts of Himachal Pradesh.

Mrs Sonam Pema was the prime informant working as a nurse in the Government Hospital of Spiti area. Mrs Lakhai Dome, Mr Dorje and Mr Norbu belong to Kullu and Manali area of Himachal Pradesh.

1.1 FAMILY AFFILIATION

According to the classification given by Grierson in Linguistic Survey of India Vol-III pt-I, pp 14-18, Bhotia is a non-pronominalized dialect of Himalayan Languages of Tibeto-Burman sub-family of Tibeto-Chinese family.

1.2 LOCATION:

Bhotia speakers are disbursed in almost all the states of India. According to Census of India (2011), the Bhotia speakers are majorly concentrated in the Jammu and Kashmir, Arunachal Pradesh, Sikkim, West Bengal, Himachal Pradesh and Uttarakhand. In Himachal Pradesh, major concentration of Bhotia speakers are at Lahaul, Spiti, Kullu and Manali areas.

1.3 SPEAKER'S STRENGTH

The following table presents the speaker strength of Bhotia language in India level according to the data from Census of India 2011.

Language/India/State/Union Territory#	Total			Rural			Urban		
	Person	Males	Female	Person	Male	Female	Person	Male	Female
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
BHOTIA									
INDIA	2,29,954	1,13,626	1,16,328	1,78,560	88,393	90,167	51,394	25,233	26,161
Jammu & Kashmir	10,7451	52,972	54,479	83,559	41,091	42,468	23,892	11,881	12,011

Himachal Pradesh	2,012	11,31	881	1,718	969	749	294	162	132
Punjab	18	9	9	2	1	1	16	8	8
Chandigarh	54	12	42	2	0	2	52	12	40
Uttarakhand	9,287	45,18	4,769	6,329	3,102	3,227	2,958	1,416	1,542
Haryana	61	32	29	19	14	5	42	18	24
Nct of Delhi	372	180	192	0	0	0	372	180	192
Rajasthan	33	16	17	29	13	16	4	3	1
Uttar Pradesh	276	156	120	77	46	31	199	110	89
Bihar	15	12	3	6	4	2	9	8	1
Sikkim	41,889	20,985	20,904	29,216	14,875	14,341	12,673	6,110	6,563
Arunachal Pradesh	62,458	30,297	32,161	54,954	26,764	28,190	7,504	3,533	3,971
Nagaland	136	72	64	3	3	0	133	69	64
Manipur	11	10	1	9	8	1	2	2	0
Mizoram	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0
Tripura	3	3	0	0	0	0	3	3	0
Meghalaya	207	128	79	30	18	12	177	110	67
Assam	128	63	65	101	51	50	27	12	15
West Bengal	4,293	2,164	2,129	1,873	926	947	2,420	1,238	1,182
Chhattisgarh	19	13	6	4	4	0	15	9	6
Madhya Pradesh	57	37	20	32	21	11	25	16	9
Gujarat	6	5	1	5	5	0	1	0	1
Maharashtra	116	72	44	26	11	15	90	61	29
Andhra Pradesh	141	90	51	72	37	35	69	53	16
Karnataka	888	630	258	488	424	64	400	206	194
Goa	2	1	1	0	0	0	2	1	1
Kerala	5	2	3	0	0	0	5	2	3
Tamil Nadu	10	10	0	6	6	0	4	4	0
Puducherry	4	4	0	0	0	0	4	4	0
Andaman & Nicobar Islands	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0

In Indian Census Bhotia has been appearing since beginning. And as per the latest Census of India 2011 the major distribution of speakers of Bhotia as a language as well as mother tongues along with Bhotia as a language of Bilingualism is presented below for India and states as well Himachal Pradesh and districts. The distribution of Bhotia speakers in different districts of Himachal Pradesh has discussed in the Introduction chapter.

According to data from Census of India 2011, majority of Bhotia speakers are bilingual or multi-lingual. The majority of Bhotia speakers use Hindi as their 1st subsidiary language. Bilingualism and Trilingualism table of Bhotia speakers as per Census 2011 is presented in the Introduction chapter.

1.4 SOCIOLINGUISTIC SET UP

Bhotia speakers are mostly found in Spiti and Lahaul, but for the business purpose during winter they come down to the comparatively less cold places near to Spiti like Kullu, Manali and Mandi districts of Himachal Pradesh. The Bhotia language is spoken in their home domains and also with their kin community people. They form social associations through which they meet fortnightly and converse in their own mother tongue. They perform arts like drama and musical programmes in their mother tongues.

As such in Himachal Pradesh, Bhotia is not used in any of the official communication. Bhotia language is not taught in the schools. But through their association the Bhotia language is taught. The Bhotia people of Himachal Pradesh uses Tibetan script.

1.5 REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Grierson (1906) in LSI Vol III part-I gives a short account of the Bhotia language spoken in various states including Himachal Pradesh. Graham Sandberg-a British missionary introduces the grammar of Sikkim Bhotia in his manual of Sikkim Bhotia, published from Asiatic Society, Calcutta-1895.

2. PHONOLOGY

The speech sounds of Bhotia language can be divided into two broad types namely segmental and suprasegmental. The segmental sounds are further categorized into two sub-types namely vowels and consonants. The supra-segmentals are divided into two sub-types that is tone and nasalization, which are significant features in Bhotia language.

2.1 PHONEMIC INVENTORY

There are 38 phonemes in Bhotia language of which 32 are consonants and 6 are vowels. The suprasegmental phonemes are tone and nasalization.

2.1.1 SEGMENTAL PHONEMES

Vowels

High	I	ʊ	u
Mid	e		o
low	ɑ		

The phoneme /ɑ/ is actually supposed to be symbolized as /a/. But by way of italicization of the linguistic data /a/ is getting changed into /ɑ/. Accordingly, /ɑ/ is actually /a/ only.

Consonants

Point/Manner	Bilabial	Labio dental	Alveolar	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stops	<i>P b</i>		<i>t d</i>	<i>T D</i>	<i>c j</i>	<i>k g</i>	ʔ
Aspirants	<i>p^h</i>		<i>t^h</i>	<i>T^h</i>	<i>c^h</i>	<i>k^h</i>	
Affricates					<i>C J</i>		
Fricatives		<i>f</i>	<i>s z</i>		<i>S'</i>		<i>h</i>
Nasals	<i>m</i>		<i>n</i>		<i>M'</i>	<i>M</i>	
Laterals			<i>l</i>				

Trills			<i>r</i>				
Flaps				R			
Semi vowels		<i>w</i>			<i>y</i>		

2.1.2 Vowels

The vowels in Bhotia can be described from the three dimensions, jaw height, tongue position and lip position. There are six segmental vowel phonemes (i, e, a, o, U, u) in Bhotia.

/i~e/	iso'	'envelope'
	ese'	'lean'
	ki'pu	'wife's brother'
	ke'po	'waist'
	M'i'	'two'
	Me	'my'
/e~a/	ese'	'lean'
	ac ^h o	'sister's husband'
	te'ta	'stick'
	tata	'bridal'
	k ^h e'	'tax'
	k ^h a'	'mouth'
/a~u/	ac ^h u	'husband'
	uc ^h u	'insist'
	lai'n	'road'
	lui'n	'air'
	c ^h uba	'third'
	c ^h ubu	'dragonfly'
/a~o/		
	aM'i'ó	'mother's brother's wife'

oMe'	'child'
kha'pu'	'moustache'
ko'pa	'morning'
c ^h a	'salt'
c ^h o'	'pond'

/u~ʊ/

ru'be	'tortoise'
rʊTa	'skeleton'
alui	'potato'
alU	'cat'

2.1.3 Diphthong

There are four diphthongs in Bhotia. In diphthongs the tongue moves from the position of one vowel (starting vowel) towards another vowel (terminal vowel). Usually the starting vowel will have the full quality but the terminal vowel will not have the full quality.

The diphthong /ui/ occurs in both the places of medial and final and the /au and ou/ occur in the final position whereas the diphthong /ai/ occur in all three positions. Among the diphthongs /ui/ occurs more in frequency than /au and ou/ and /ai/ is having the least frequency of occurrence.

/ai/	laimi	'mother's sister's daughter'
	haito'ba	'nostril'
/ui/	paki'ne	'ringworm'
	kipui ^o	'husband's brother'
/au/	dau ^o	'moon'
/ou/	yo'u	'baboon'

2.1.4 Consonants

There are 32 consonantal phonemes in Bhotia language. On the basis of point of articulation Bhotia has 7-way opposition, these are Bilabial, Labio-Dental, Alveolar, Retroflex, Palatal, Velar and Glottal. On the basis of manner of articulations, it has 10-way

oppositions. These are stops, Aspirants, Affricates, Fricatives, Nasals, Laterals, Trills, Flaps and semi vowels.

In addition to the above-mentioned interclass opposition there are intra-class opposition that is stops /p, t, T, k/including the voiceless palatal stop /c/ have the opposition of aspiration. However, the Bhotia has palatal affricate with its voiced counter parts. All fricatives have not voiced counter parts except Alveolar Fricatives.

Contrasting pairs (Consonants)

/p~b/

Pa`r	‘picture’
ba`r	‘jackfruit’
kepo´	‘waist’
ke´ba	‘third’
ta`p	‘hot-plate’
t ^h ab	‘oven’

/p~ph/

pa`ko´	‘skin’
p ^h a´ko´	‘pig’
Ta´p ^h u	‘cane’
Ta~pu	‘true’

/t~d/

ti`ku	‘hiccough’
di`ko	‘sin’
kati`k	‘heel’
kadi`k	‘stammerer’

/t~th/

ta`mu	‘quarrel’
t ^h a`ma	‘last’

	tit ^h i`	‘navel’
	te`ta	‘stick’
/T~D/		
	Tuk	‘six’
	Du`m	‘spear’
	Ta`Tu	‘pincer leg of a crab’
	ta`Di	‘ready’
/T~Th/		
	Tibu´	‘bell’
	T ^h ip	‘bile’
	c ^h aTa	‘fibre’
	caT ^h a	‘hot’
/k~g/		
	ka`bo	‘cotton’
	go`do	‘testicle’
	pa´ko`	‘pig’
	p ^h a`gui	‘descendants’
/K~ʔ/		
	ʔya	‘surprise’
	Kya´	‘blood’
	ʔyu	‘brook’
	Kyu´	‘ladle’
/c~j/		
	ce`kse	‘ride’
	je`kse	‘climb, a hill’
	ke`nca	‘jewel’
	ke`nja	‘fat’

/c~ch/

coto	‘trunk of elephant’
cho`to´	‘small bat’
pi`ca`m	‘afternoon’
pi`c ^h u	‘chicken’

/C~J/

Cu´	‘body’
Ju	‘last’
aCo´	‘grandfather’
aJya~	‘mother’s brother’

/p~f/

pa`pcu	‘water fall’
fa`cu´	‘take down’
na`fa	‘jungle pig’
na`bu	‘elephant’
le`flef	‘flat’
paple`p	‘greedy’

/s~z/

si`ba	‘third’
zi`ke”	‘heavy’
p ^h ase´	‘strike’
pa`zi	‘shepherd’

/s~S´/

se`w	‘hailstone’
S´le`w	‘antelope’
na`se	‘ill’
ni`su´	‘fuel’

/k~h/

ki`m 'house'

hi`m 'deer'

/p~M/

pa`ko' 'skin'

Ma`k^ho 'sister husband'

/M'~m/

M'i` 'two'(numerals)

ma 'I'

aM'i` 'mother's Brother's wife'

oM'e~ 'child'

s`um 'strong'

/l~r~R/

la 'fee'

ro`? 'friend'

cakoR 'butterfly'

Da`kar 'moon light'

/w~y/

swe`m 'cockroach'

byemka`rim 'mosquito'

se`w 'antelop'

siM' 'wood'

/y~c/

ya~Ta 'light'

cu`ra 'canal'

ya`MTa 'light weight'

cokTa 'dirty'

2.2 PHONEMIC DESCRIPTION AND DISTRIBUTION

Out of 38 phonemes in Bhotia all sounds except the LabioDental Semivowel /w/ and retroflex flap /R/ occur in the initial position. Likewise, the Palatal Affricates both voiceless and voiced C and J do not occur in the final position. Although very few consonants /p, k, f, m, M, l, r, R, w/ occur in the final position, the bilabial stop consonant /p/ only gets its voiced counterpart /b/ in the final position, whereas the palatal semivowel /y/ does not occur in the final position.

2.2.1 Vowels

/i/ High front unrounded short vowel occurs in all positions.

Igi´	‘letter’
aci`m	‘little’
aci´	‘amusement’

/e/ High mid front unrounded short vowel occurs in all positions.

ese	‘lean’
eme`m	‘dim’
emse´	‘float’

/a/ Low front unrounded short vowel occurs in all positions

Atso´	‘grandfather’
aka`r ´	‘chilly’
agya	‘elder brother’

/o/ Mid back rounded short vowel occurs in all positions

ocu`m	‘onion’
oco`Mba	‘milk man’
aco	‘sister’s husband’

/u/ High back rounded short vowel occurs in all positions

u`r	‘noise’
uku`sa´re	‘owl’
pic ^h u´	‘chicken’

/ɘ/ High central unrounded short vowel occurs in the middle and final positions.

kUyu' 'kuckoo'

alU' 'eat'

2.2.2 Consonants

/p/ Voiceless bilabial stop occurs in all positions.

pica`m 'after'

upya'se 'bounce'

pemlip 'butterfly'

/b/ Voiced bilabial stop occurs in all positions

be`nda 'tomato'

toba'ke~ 'porter'

t^ha`b 'over'

/t/ Voiceless alveolar stop occurs in all positions

tiku' 'hiccough'

te`mte 'dempo'

c^hu`it 'flood'

/d/ Voiced alveolar stop occurs in the initial and middle positions

diko 'sin'

doda`pse 'stamp'

/T/ Voiceless retroflex stop occurs in the initial and middle positions.

Ti'se 'write'

Te`psi 'miser'

tokTa 'narrow'

tu`gTa 'venom'

/D/ Voiced retroflex stop occurs in the initial and middle positions.

De 'enemy'

Delu`m	‘cyclone’
Dudi`bo	‘old woman’
DiDiyo	‘tickle’

/k/ Voiceless velar stop occurs in all positions.

kipu´	‘wife’s Brother’
kicu`m	‘blade’
Do`kse	‘reap’
Tu`kba	‘third’
Tuk	‘six’
Ka´tik	‘heel’

/g/ Voiced velar stop occurs in the initial and middle positions

gelda´r	‘flag’
gã	‘ginger’
ka`gya´se	‘open’
ceagui	‘examination’

/ʔ/

ʔu	‘breath’
ʔu´	‘blotting paper’
ʔyu	‘brook’
Mito´ka`pu	‘cataract’
Loto`pse	‘recover’

/ph/ Voiceless bilabial aspirant occurs in the initial and middle positions

p ^h a´ko	‘pig’
a´p ^h u	‘cane’

/th/ Voiceless alveolar aspirant occurs in the initial and middle positions.

t ^h e`m	‘scene’
kot ^h e`w	‘ashes’

- /Th/ Voiceless retroflex aspirant occurs in the initial and middle positions.
 T^hi`p 'bile'
 CaT^ha' 'hot'
- /kh/ Voiceless velar aspirant occurs in the initial and middle positions.
 k^hi 'dog'
 bok^ha 'foam'
- /c/ Voiceless palatal stop occurs in the initial and middle position
 cok 'joint'
 ocu`m 'onion'
- /j/ Voiced palatal stop occurs in the initial and middle position
 jo' 'foot'
 ja`nda 'equal'
 majo'se 'wound'
- /C/ Voiceless palatal affricate occurs in the initial and middle positions.
 Coya'se 'escape'
 Cu'se 'fear'
 Pumu`Cu`kse 'kneel'
- /J/ Voiced palatal affricate occurs in the initial and middle positions
 Ja` 'rainbow'
 Jo`nka 'district'
 Mi`kJe 'pupil'
 MaJu`Ju 'ghee'
- /ch/ Voiceless palatal aspirant occurs in the initial and middle positions
 c^hik 'one'
 c^him 'games'
 sa`c^ha 'family'
 sa`c^ha`m 'boundary'
- /f/ Voiceless labio dental fricative occurs in all positions.
 fa`cu 'take down'
 na`fa 'Jungle pig'
 le`flef 'flat'
- /s/ Voiceless alveolar fricative occurs in the initial and middle positions.
 sa`yo 'earth quake'
 salo' 'wall'
 sose' 'warm'

- /z/ Voiced alveolar fricative occurs in the initial and middle positions.
- | | |
|-------|------------|
| zi'kē | 'heavy' |
| pa`zi | 'shepherd' |
| sa`za | 'far' |
- /S'/ Voiceless palatal fricative occurs only in the vinitial position
- | | |
|--------|--------|
| S'e`w | 'ill' |
| S'o`ko | 'wing' |
- /h/ Voiceless glottal fricative occurs in all positions.
- | | |
|---------|------------------|
| hē | 'net' |
| he' | 'mangopit' |
| cihē | 'music' |
| lele' h | 'unchaste woman' |
- /m/ Voiced bilabial nasal occurs in all positions.
- | | |
|----------|--------------|
| miS'o`so | 'earth' |
| bamdu`I | 'exaggerate' |
| num | 'oil' |
- /n/ Voiced alveolar nasal occurs in all positions.
- | | |
|-------------|---------------|
| nya'mri | 'proud' |
| tisa'mi`nda | 'jasmine' |
| nyen | 'grasshopper' |
- /M'/ Voiced palatal nasal occurs only in the initial position.
- | | |
|--------|--------------|
| M'e`se | 'laid down' |
| M'ya`n | 'dried fish' |
| M'isu | 'twenty' |
- /M/ Voiced velar nasal occurs in the middle and final positions
- | | |
|-----------|------------|
| me`Mka | 'hospital' |
| ma`Mga`se | 'dislike' |
| nimwe`siM | 'daily' |
- /l/ Voiced alveolar lateral occurs in all positions.
- | | |
|----------|-----------|
| lisi' | 'cloves' |
| leple`p | 'flat' |
| gyu`nol | 'wealth' |
| nari`wal | 'coconut' |
- /r/ Voiced alveolar trill occurs in all positions.
- | | |
|-----------|-------------|
| ro | 'friend' |
| gouri | 'bold head' |
| ja`mada`r | 'practise' |

/R/	Voiced retroflex flap occurs in the final position.
	Cako'R 'butterfly'
/w/	Voiceless labio dental semi vowel occurs in the middle and final positions
	swe`m 'cockroach'
	se`w 'antelope'
/y/	Voiceless palatal semi vowel occurs in the initial position.
	yāta 'light'
	ya`MTa 'light weight'

2.3 ALLOPHONIC DISTRIBUTION

2.4

The vowels /i, e, a and u/ are getting lowered from its vowel quality in between consonants.

Vowels

/i/ The high front unrounded short vowel has two allophones [I] and [i]

[I] lower-high front unrounded vowel occurs in between consonants.

[bIpsə`se]	/bipso`se/	'sneeze'
[t ^h im]	/t ^h im/	'smell'

[i] High front unrounded vowel occurs elsewhere.

/e/ The mid front unrounded short vowel has two allophones [E] and [e]

[E] mean mid front unrounded vowel occurs in between consonants.

[S`Ew]	/S`ew/	'ill'
[gElda`r]	/gelda`r/	'flag'

[e] higher mid front unrounded vowel occurs elsewhere.

/a/ Low front unrounded short vowel has two allophones [ʌ] and [a]

[ʌ] Lower mid back unrounded vowel occurs in between consonants

[Sʌm]	/sam/	'meal'
[kʌpti`]	/kapti`/	'bitter gourd'

[a] Low front unrounded vowel occurs elsewhere.

/u/ high back rounded vowel has two allophones [U] and [u]

[U] Lower high back rounded vowel occurs in between consonants.

[kUrDIM`]	/kursi`m/	'sugarcane'
[dUm]	/dum/	'spear'

[u] high back rounded vowel occurs elsewhere.

There are three consonants /p, n and l/ that have got the allophonic variations.

/p/ voiceless bilabial stop has two allophones [p.] and [p]

[p.] voiceless bilabial stop gets lowered before the velar stop.

[halo'p. ki]	/halo'pki/	'sound'
[sila'p. ki]	/sila'pki/	'flew'

[p] voiceless bilabial stop occurs elsewhere.

/l/ voiced retroflex lateral has two allophones [L] and [l].

[L] voiced retroflex lateral occurs after voiceless bilabial stop and the voiceless labiodental fricative

[papLe`p]	/pape`p/	'greedy'
[lefLef]	/leflef/	'flat'

[l] voiced retroflex lateral occurs elsewhere.

/n/ voiced alveolar nasal has two allophones [N] and [n].

[N] voiced retroflex nasal occurs in the final position of a single syllabic words

[gyEN]	/gyen/	'heard'
[nyEN]	/nyen/	'muscle'

2.5 CLUSTERS

A sequence of two identical or non-identical sounds are called cluster. In Bhotia, there are sequences of vowels but not identical vowels. Among consonants also identical clusters are found.

2.5.1 Vowel Cluster

With regard to the vowel cluster at the most two vowels are getting clustered and each vowel has its own tonal variations. Generally, the first vowel gets rising tone and the next is level tone. The vowel clusters are /o'u, u'e, e'o and o'e/ occur in the middle positions.

go'uta	'boldness'
yu'ela	'raven'
ch'o'ese	'ripen'
ye'o	'work'
cagu'e	'vulture'

2.5.2 Consonant Cluster

In consonant clusters different combinations are possible. But the nasal occurs as a first member in variably two or three consonant clusters in the middle position. The palatal semivowel [y] occurs more as a second member in the initial clusters and as a third member in the three consonant clusters in the middle position.

Initial Two consonant cluster

py-	pya	'bird'
by-	bya'ju'	'barn'
tw	twe`nkē	'become'
dy-	dya'nse	'alight'
ky-	kyato`kē	'barber'

gy-	gye`n	‘heard’
my-	myũ	‘chew’
ny-	nye`n	‘muscle’
Medial Two consonant clusters		
-pt-	ka`pti	‘bitter guard’
-pT-	lapTa´	‘school’
-pc-	pa`pcu	‘water fall’
-ps-	ca`psa	‘privy’
-pl-	jya`ple	‘afterward’
-bj-	tu`bji	‘button’
-by-	jyabyu	‘cobra’
-kT-	tukTa	‘venom’
-kc-	jukcu	‘river’
-kC-	piktsẽ	‘pupil’
-ky-	se`kyu	‘cholera’
-gy-	agya´	‘elder brother’
-mp-	he`mpu	‘bee’
-mb-	ye`mbo	‘arm’
-mt-	pamta`pse	‘embrace’
-md-	pya`mdi	‘hen’
-mk-	ca`mkyõ	‘affection’
-mg-	se`mgau	‘happiness’
-mk ^h -	da`mk ^h i	‘swamp’
-mc-	na`mca	‘lightening’
-ms-	k ^h amse	‘dry in sun’
-mz-	Timza	‘scent’
-mn-	Du`mne	‘small pox’
-ml-	hamlo´	‘hated’
-mr-	du`mra	‘garden’
-my-	pu`myam	‘step daughter’
-nt-	minto	‘flower’
-nd-	ba`ndago´bi	‘cabbage’
-nd-	pe`ndo	‘feather’
-nk-	p ^h a`nka	‘fan’
-nc-	kenca	‘jewel’
-nj-	ninjin	‘solar Eclipse’
-my-	camyon	‘balance’

-mp-	pumpo	‘shoulder’
-Mt-	siMta kollo	‘bullock cart.’
-MD-	suMDe	‘stripoff’
-Mk-	teMka	‘upon’
-Mh-	numcoMē	‘oilman’
-Ms-	naMsya	‘banian’
-Mm-	raMmi	‘relatives’
-Ml-	siMlem	‘wooden Sandals.’
-lc-	dalcini	‘cinnamum’
-lr-	dalri	‘grass’
-rd-	karda	‘comet’
-rk-	saburkise	‘tumour’
-rl-	korlo	‘wheel’
-rh-	korhēko`rlo	‘spinning wheel.’
-rs-	kursiM	‘sugarcane’

Medial three consonant cluster

-kpy-	kya`kpya	‘sweeper’
-gdy-	rīgdyeM	‘flora’
-msy-	nimsya`bo	‘sunshine’
-mky-	ca`mkyō	‘love’
-mpy-	nu`mpya`	‘flattery’
-msy-	namsya	‘banian’
-rky-	ma`rkya	‘rosy’
-rby-	ka`rbya	‘black bird’

2.6 SUPRASEGMENTAL PHONEMES

Among the supra-segmental features, nasalization is significant. Another supra-segmental feature is tone wherein the tones show three way opposition. Those are Rising, Falling and level tones.

2.6.1 Nasalization

Except the central unrounded vowel all the five vowels get nazalised. The nazalised vowels occur in the middle and the final position.

Contrastive Pairs

/i-ĩ/

sīse ‘die’

	S'ĩse´	‘endure’
	de´so	‘sitting board’
	de´sĩ	‘bed bug’
/e-ẽ/		
	ce`pa	‘heat’
	c ^h ẽpo	‘winnowing basket’
	he´	‘mangopit’
	hẽ	‘net’
/a~ã/		
	kadi´k	‘stammerer’
	kãtik	‘hell’
	so´ko´	‘wing’
	so´kã	‘gum’
/o~õ/		
	c ^h o´to	‘trunk of elephant’
	c ^h õto	‘small bat’
	selo´	‘insult’
	lasõ	‘million’
/u~ũ/		
	buk ^h im	‘hall’
	bũk	‘beetle’
	c ^h u	‘ten’
	c ^h ũ	‘brood’
/ẽ-ã-õ/		
	hẽ	‘net’
	hã	‘nose’
	hõ	‘grass’

Tone

Tone is a feature of a syllable, and it is marked on the vowel of the syllable. Thus, in a tonal language meaning distinction between words can be determined by the use of tones.

The Bhotia has three tones which are contrastive viz, level tone, rising tone and Falling tone. Level tone is the same on the pitch level of the normal speech. In the rising tone, the pitch suddenly rises from the level. In the falling tone there is a sudden fall of the pitch from the level.

In Bhotia every vowel possesses any one of the above mentioned three tones occurring in different position in the words. Falling tone does not occur in the initial position of the word.

Rising/Falling

pe´	‘fade’
pe´	‘wool’
pa´ko´	‘skin’
pa´ko´	‘pig’

Level/Rising

u	‘breath’
u´	‘blotting paper’
ara	‘saw’
ara´	‘liquor’

Level/Falling

pyu	‘baboon’
pyu	‘fall of’

Level/Falling/Rising

pe	‘meet’
pe´	‘fade’
pe´	‘wool’
pako´	‘barks’
pako´	‘skin’
pa´ko´	‘pig’

2.7 SYLLABLE

In Bhotia, each vowel is a peak of the Syllable co-occurring with one of the three tones that is rising, falling and level. Hence, there is no syllabic vowel in Bhotia. The number of syllables in a word is equal to the number of vowels in it. This language has maximum five syllabic words as said above, being a tonal language, all vowels carry one tone. Vowels that

carry one tone constitute a minimal syllable. A vowel may be preceded by one or more consonants or followed by one or more consonants or sequences of consonants at the beginning of a vowel is called onset of the first syllable. Consonants or sequences of consonants at the end of the vowel constitute coda of the last syllable.

Monosyllabic	(open)	
u	v	‘breath’
u´	v	‘blotting paper’
S´a	cv	‘least’
ri	cv	‘cliff’
Dã	cũ	‘tune’

Monosyllabic	(closed)	
S´e`w	cvc	‘antelope’
lu`m	cvc	‘air’
gye`p	ccvc	‘hip’

Disyllabic	(open)	
ki-pu	cv-cv	‘wife’s brother’
fo-gya	cv-ccv	‘husband’
ka-dã	cv-cũ	‘fig’
si-ri`p	cv-cvc	‘shade’
da`m-pa	cvc-cv	‘clay’
mi`k-sou	cvc-cvv	‘blind’
gyu´-byu	ccv-ccv	‘cobra’
gyo`m-pu	ccvc-cv	‘brown’
kya`g-pya	ccvc-ccv	‘sparrow’
nye`n-cẽ	ccvc-cũ	‘insult’

Disyllabic	(closed)	
De-lum	cv-cvc	‘cyclone’
luM-cu`k	cvc-cvc	‘storm’
pya´-cuM	ccv-cvc	‘swing’

Trisyllabic	(open)	
am-ge`n-gẽ	vc-cvc-cv	‘mangofit’
mi-gya´-Ta	cv-ccv-cv	‘fat’
pu-Jo´-bo	cv-ccv-cv	‘child hood’
sam-co´-kẽ	cvc-cv-cṽ	‘cook’
nim-sya´-bo	cvc-ccv-cv	‘sunshine’
kyo´-ma-cã	ccv-cv-cṽ	‘ant hill’
Trisyllabic	(closed)	
co-ca´-pyu`m	cv-cv-ccvc	‘great grand daughter’
bu´-ka-ri`m	cv-cv-cvc	‘harmless’
ma-ci`k-nam	cv-cvc-cvc	‘sister in law’
po`m-pu´-cem	cvc-cv-cvc	‘pregnant woman’
Cya`M-su`p-siM	cccvc-cvc-cvc	‘banyan tree’
Ce`n-dẽ-siM	cvc-cṽ-cvc	‘sandal tree’
Tetra Syllabic	(open)	
ka-ma´-dwi`m-po	cv-cv-ccvc-cv	‘mother’s sister’s daughter’
ri-dã-di`m-cẽ	cv-cv-cvc-cṽ	‘wild animal’
ki´-pui-mo´-wi	cv-cvv-cv-cv	‘husband’s brother’s wife’
p ^{hi} ´-nik-ni´-kõ	cv-cvc-cv-cṽ	‘served food’
di`g-po-ra´ja	cvc-cv-cv-cv	‘scorpion’
kyo-ma-ka´-pu	ccv-cv-cv-cv	‘white ant’
ke´-lo-ta´-kẽ	cv-cv-cv-cṽ	‘banana leaf cutter’
Tetra Syllabic	(closed)	
Me´-so-pa´-laM	cv-cv-cv-cvc	‘bed’
Penta syllabic	(open)	
nam-cu-lo-ta-kẽ	cvc-cv-cv-cv-cv	‘oilman’
lum-na-bã-ba-bo	cvc-cv-cṽ-cv-cv	‘path’
mig-teM-kẽ-kor-lo	cvc-cvc-cṽ-cvc-cv	‘rick shaw’

Penta Syllabic**(closed)**

mi-S'ě-pu'-tim-ka't	cv-cv-cv-cvc-cvc	'hill people'
be'-lai-ti'-sa-ki`m	cv-cvv-cv-cv-cvc	'bud'

3. MORPHOPHONEMICS

The morphemes when they occur with various kinds of suffixes or morphemes, the phonological variations that take place within the morphemes are called Morphophonemics. A few such kinds of changes are realized in Bhotia.

3.1 Negative marker *ma* becomes *mi* when it occurs as a final component.

malem	‘do not’
not + do	
komi	‘not in use’
use + not	

The low front unrounded vowel /a/ becomes front high vowel /i/ to denote negation on some occasions.

3.2 The suffix /dõ/ locative case marker is deleted when it occurs in the middle position.

S’iM	‘tree’
c ^h u’le	‘from’
dõ	‘locative marker’

The word /SiM dõ c^hu’le/ becomes /siMc^hule/ to denote the meaning ‘from the tree’ which indicates the loss of locative marker. In such occasion the location is understood by the context.

3.3 Loss of /-cu/ the plural marker is added with the numeral number ‘two’. Generally, in Bhotia

the phoneme /-m/ occurs as a feminine marker in the word final positions. To denote plural /-cu/ is added to the base noun. In case of addition of the numeral marker /M’i/ ‘two’ to the base noun the plural marker /-cu/ is absent.

3.4

pom	‘daughter’
pomcu	‘daughters’
M’I	‘two’

Instead of /pomM’icu/ to denote ‘two daughters’ /pomM’i/ is used.

4. MORPHOLOGY

Morphology deals with the internal structure of words. It deals with both derivational and inflectional aspects of words. On the basis of potential pause a word is identified as any segment of a sentence bounded by successive points at which pausing is possible. A word may be defined as the union of a particular meaning with a particular grammatical employment.

Definition of words

In Bhotia a simple word can be defined as one, which is pronounced with a potential pause and after it.

A word must contain atleast one stem which is free form and which is capable of taking inflectional or derivational affixes. In Bhotia a stem by itself can be a word.

pom	‘daughter’
pomcu	‘daughters’

4.1 NOUN

A noun in Bhotia is defined on morphological and/or syntactical grounds as any stem that can take a number marker, any stem that can take a gender word or marker, any stem that can take a case marker or other post positions, any stem that can take an article, any stem that can be preceded by the genitive or followed by the noun attributes such as adjectives and numerals.

The Bhotia has two types of nouns that is Basic nouns and Derived nouns.

Basic nouns-Nouns which are not derived from another noun or any other word class are called basic nouns.

oMe	‘child’
poco’	‘boy’
aba	‘father’
fogya	‘husband’
Mo	‘cow’
alU	‘cat’
pya	‘bird’
pya’pu	‘cock’

pyem	‘hen’
supo’	‘belly’
rito’	‘bone’

The basic nouns further can be divided into two categories. That is the Mass nouns and count nouns. Mass nouns are always used in singular and count nouns are those which can be counted or used in plural.

Mass nouns

lum	‘air’
mi	‘five’
silu’	‘flood’
kya’k	‘ice’
c ^h a`pa	‘rain’
p ^h em	‘sand’

Count nouns

fo’gya	‘husband’
mowi	‘wife’
k ^h i	‘dog’
Mo	‘caw’
Poco’	‘boy’

Derived nouns

The derived nouns further can be divided into verbal noun, abstract nouns and word compounding.

Verbal nouns

De`kse	‘push into’
kaMliMpu`se	‘fill a jar with water.’

Abstract nouns

lum	‘air’
ca`kyõ	‘love’

Word compounding

supo’ + na + se	supona`se	‘stomach ache’
stomach+pain+verb		

ma+JuJu	maJuJu	‘ghee’
---------	--------	--------

butter+extract

sa+num sanum ‘kerosene’
sand + oil

pya+pu pya’pu ‘cock’
bird+male

4.1.1 NUMBER

In Bhotia, nouns are inflected for number. Plural is indicated by the suffix /-cu/whereas singular is unmarked.

pum	‘daughter’
k ^h im	‘house’
pumcu	‘daughters’
k ^h imcu	‘houses’
pumM’I	‘two daughters’
k ^h imM’I	‘two houses’

mu	Me	pum	yin	‘She is my daughter’
my	she	daughter	is	

kui	pumcu	dik ^h a	yue	‘His daughters are here’
his	daughter	here	are	

Malo	pumcu	M’I	yue	‘I have two daughters’
I have	daughters	two	are	

di	k ^h im	be	‘This is house’
this	house	is	

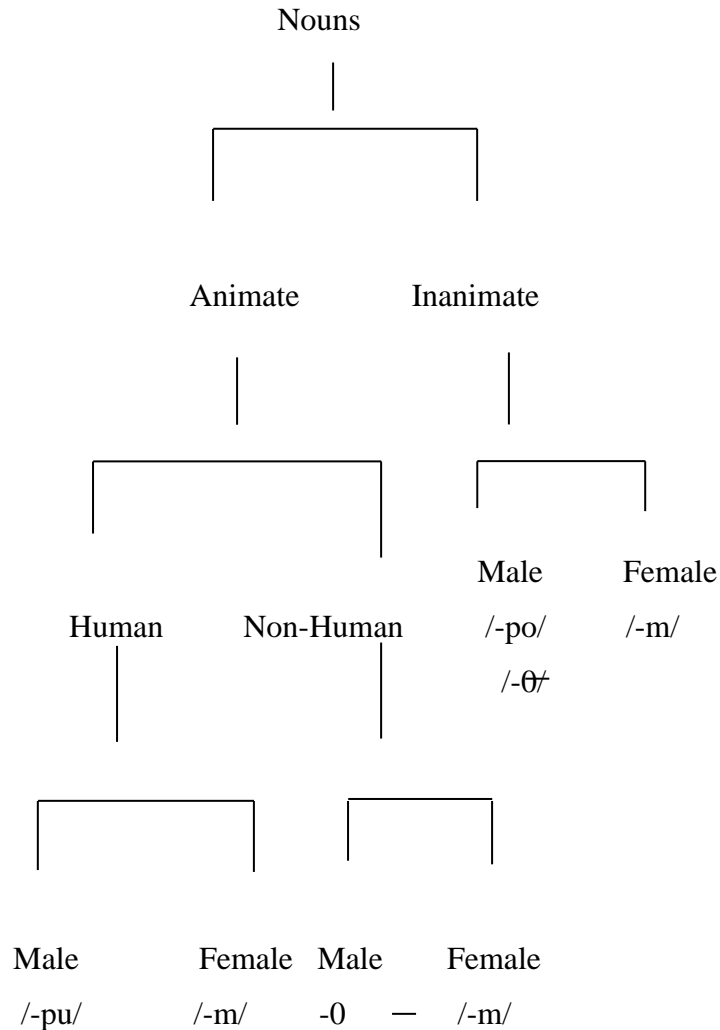
k ^h imcu	ok ^h a	yue	‘Houses are there’
houses	there	are	

di	k ^h im	Mi	du	‘These are two houses’
----	-------------------	----	----	------------------------

these house two are

4.1.2 GENDER

Nouns in Bhotia can broadly be divided into two groups that is Animate and Inanimate. The animate nouns can further be divided into Human & Non-Human. These are Human and Non-Human nouns, which have two-way distinction of gender as Masculine and Feminine likewise: the inanimate nouns have also male and female distinction.



The table presented above shows that the Animate, Inanimate Nouns. For both Animate and Inanimate nouns have separate markers for masculine gender whereas the feminine counterpart has only one suffix /-m/

Human

pu	‘male’
ro	‘female’
mo’wi	‘wife’

	fo'gya	'husband'
	aJo	'grandfather'
	aMjom	'grandmother'
	pa'mi	'brother'
	pum	'sister'
	poco	'son'
	pam	'daughter'
Non-Human		
	pya	'cock'
	pyem	'hen'
	k ^{hi}	'dog'
	cam	'bitch'
	pa	'calf male'
	po	'calf female'
Inanimate		
	humpo	'fog'
	lum	'air'
	ce`po	'sweet'
	sam	'food'
	su'po	'belly'
	t ^h am	'thumb'
	pu'mu	'knee'
	kam	'leg'
	mamcu	'lip'
	ci`mpo	'liver'
	me	'medicine'
	pa'ko	'skin'

4.1.3 CASE

Case is a grammatical category, which expresses the semantic relations between a noun phrase and the predicate. Case relations are expressed in two ways

1. By the addition of case markers.
2. By the absence of case markers.

The Dative, Genitive, Locative, Ablative and Possessive cases are identified by the addition of case markers whereas the Instrumental and Accusative cases do not receive case markers.

Nominative case

rama	Me	yebo	yin		‘Raman is my father’
rama	my	father	is		
sita	Me	ai	yin		‘Sita is my sister’
sita	my	sister	is		
di	Me	Mo	be		‘This is my cow’
this	my	cow	is		

Dative case

This case is expressed by the marker /-naM/

Me	khim	namsō			‘Go to my house’
My	house	to go			
ku	Me’caMan	Modo’	be		‘He comes to us’
he	to us	come			

Locative case

This case is expressed by the marker /-na/

Me	pu	k ^h im	na	yue	‘My son is in the house’
My	son	house	in	is	
Ma	Me	S’i`Mtako`llo’	na	yue	‘I am in my cart’
I	my	cart		in am	

Ablative case

This case is expressed by the marker /-le/

Ma	siMdō	le	p ^h a’te	yue		‘I am far from the tree’
I	tree+case	far	am			
ku	k ^h im	tenka’le	hu’pya’bo	be		
he	house	top	jump	aux-vb	‘He jumped from	
the top						
house’						of the

Possessive case

This case is expressed by the marker /-lo/

M'a'lo dhe'p M'i du 'I have two books'
I have book two aux-vb

M'a'lo puicik yue 'I have one son'
I have son one aux-vb

Genitive case

This case is expressed by the marker /-i/

kui k^him 'His house'
his + case house

kui pumcu 'His daughters'
he + case daughters

d^he'p di c^ho`pc^hi teMka' du 'The book is on the table'
book the table on aux-vb

4.1.4 POST POSITION

Post position is realized by a single morpheme that is /teMka'/ 'at', 'on' in Bhotia.

C^ho`pc^hi teMka deouc^hi 'Sit on the table'
Table on sit

D^he'p di c^ho`pc^hi teMka' du 'The book is on the table.'
Book the table on aux-vb

Khi alUi teMka' hapo' be 'The dog barks at the cat'
Dog cat at barks aux-vb

Ku ga reMka' je'kc^hi 'He climb up the hill'
He hill up climb

Rau teMka'le hu'pya'bo 'Jump over the fence'
Fence over jump

Ku ga teMka' sōc ^h a	'He went up the hill'
He hill up went	

4.1.5 PRONOUNS

In Bhotia, a pronoun is a word, which is used in the place of nouns, and it can take a number marker, gender marker and case marker. The plurality is expressed by adding plural suffixes with the pronoun markers. There are four types of pronouns realized namely, Personal pronoun, Demonstrative pronoun, Interrogative pronoun and Reflexive pronoun.

Personal Pronoun

The personal pronouns in Bhotia are distinguished for three persons and two numbers. Three-tier gender distinction is found only in the third person.

1 st person	singular	plural	
	Ma	'I'	Maca 'we'
2 nd person	cue you(sl)	kucia	you(pl)
3 rd person	ku he	koMcu	they(male)
	mo she	koMcu	they(female)
	di it	dicu	they(neuter)
Ma Me siMtakollo na yue			'I am in my house'
I my cart in am			
Maca kamcu`kti Mobo yin			'We came on foot'
We foot on came aux-vb			
cue gyu'go be			'You(sl) shall go'
you(sl) go shall aux-vb			
ku ok ^h a loMdyo'to be			'He stands there'

he there stands aux-vb

di k^him be 'This is my house'
this house aux-vb

koMcu pu be 'Their son'
they son aux-vb

k^hicu ma'm be 'Dog barks'
dogs barks aux-vb

Demonstrative Pronouns

The Demonstrative Pronoun in Bhotia distinguishes for two tier special distances that is Proximate and Remote with reference to the speaker and hearer. There is no separate marker for Demonstrative Pronoun. But the Remoteness is expressed by the addition of the suffix /-a/ before the article /di/'this'. The plural is expressed by the addition of the suffix /-cu/.

<i>di</i>	'this'	'proximate'
<i>adi</i>	'that'	(remote)
<i>dicu</i>	'these'	'proximate'
<i>adicu</i>	'those'	(remote)

di k^him be 'This is house'
this house is

adi k^hi be 'That is dog'
that dog is

dicu Mo be 'These are cows'
these cow are

adicu Mo be 'Those are cow'
those cow are

Interrogative Pronouns

The interrogation is expressed by intonation and suffix /-a/ and /ka/

mo cui aiMa 'Is she your sister?'
she your sister

cue pya'cu ka 'Can you do it?'
you do can

koMcu khim na yue ka 'Are they at home?'
they home at available int. marker

Reflexive Pronoun

The Pronoun of Reflexive type is realized by the use of the marker /-raM/ with the subject

darikholam MaraM Dugi yue
shirt myself washed aux. vb
'I myself washed my shirt'

Maca mantok MaraM c^hek^hi yue
We flower ourselves plucked aux. vb
'We ourselves plucked the flower'

Ku khusu chamyā kuraM se'sum
He mango all himself consumed
'He himself consumed all mangoes'

4.1.6 ADJECTIVE

In Bhotia, the Adjective follows the noun.

mo riMku yue 'She is tall'
she tall is

ku riMku yue 'He is tall'

he tall is

poco riMku yue 'The child is tall'
child tall is

If a quantifier of number marker is added, it will be added to the noun not with the adjective for human nouns. But for non-human it is reversed.

po'cacu lem du 'The good boys'

boys good aux-vb

k^him pomlu cu 'The large house'

house large plural

4.1.7 NUMERAL

The basic numerals in Bhotia are the numbers from one to ten, hundred, thousand, lakh, crore and the million.

The cardinal numerals are as follows

cik	one
M'i	two
sum	three
si	four
Ma	five
Tuk	six
duin	seven
k ^h e	eight
due	nine
cu'	ten

The cardinal numerals from eleven to nineteen are formed by adding the Numeral stem/-cu/ to the basic numeral from one to nine.

cu' cik 'eleven'
10 + 1

cu' M'i 'twelve'
10 + 2

The numbers for twenty, thirty, forty, fifty, sixty, seventy, eighty and ninety are formed by multiplication of the numeral /-cu/ with the respective numeral adjective.

M'i	cu'	'Twenty'
sum	cu'	'Thirty'
si	cu'	'Forty'

Ordinals

While forming the ordinals, the suffix /-ba/ is added to the cardinal base, except the base for first, because the cardinal case /-taM/ 'first'

taM	ba	'first'
M'i	ba	'second'
sum	ba	'third' etc.

4.2 VERB

Verb can be defined on the basis of certain suffixes with which it occurs. On the basis a verb can be defined in Bhotia as a stem capable of receiving the tense, aspect and mood markers. In Bhotia verb is not marked for gender and number.

ku	dik ^{ha}	Modō	be	'He comes here'
he	here	come	aux-vb	

mu	dik ^{ha}	Modo	be	'She comes here'
she	here	comes		

Verb is also not marked for person

Ma hu sado	yin	'I eat rice'
I	bread eat+pr. t	aux vb

Maca hu sado	yin	'We eat bread.'
We	bread eat+pr. t	aux vb

Classification of Verb

Verb stems can be classified into simple and compound. A simple verb is composed of single root with or without a suffix and a compound verb consists of more than one root and may include one or more suffixes.

gyu	'go'
-----	------

cu`kto ‘cause to make’

Verb stems can also be divided into three classes on the basis of their morphological and syntactic function. They are Intransitive, Transitive and Causative.

Intransitive verbs are those verbs, which do not take a direct object.

Ma gyu`se yin ‘I shall go’
I go+shall aux vb

Transitive verbs are those which are used with a direct object.

Ma hu sado yin ‘I eat bread’
I bread eat+prt aux vb
‘I am making her give a book’

Causative Verb

The causativeness is reflected through the use of the suffix /-cuk/ with the verb.

Ma mu`lo dhe`p piMcu`ko yin
I she+case book give+caus aux. vb
‘I am making her give a book’

Ma mu`lo la`pti hi`ci kyep cu`kto yin
I she+case asking sing song case+vbaux vb.
‘I am asking her sing a song’

Auxiliary Verb

An auxiliary is a verb used to form the tenses, moods, voices etc. In Bhotia, the auxiliary verb occurs after noun and the verb when it is a statement. If the adjective follows the noun it occurs after the adjective. There are four auxiliary forms found in this language.

di k^hi be ‘This is dog’
this dog aux. vb

Malo k^him cuMcuM yue 'I have small house'
 I+case house small aux. vb

ku Me pu yin 'He is my son'
 he my son aux. vb

ok^ha k^hi sum du 'There are three dogs'
 there dog three aux. vb

Negation

In Bhotia, negation is expressed by the addition of negative suffixes to the verb. There are three markers to indicate the negation such as /-mem, -ma and mi/.

According to the occurrence of the suffixes /-ma and -mi/ are bound forms; whereas the suffix /-mem/ is a free form. The suffixes for negation occur before the verb.

Ma tariM mi yō 'I am not coming today'
 I today not come

Madi pya micu 'I cannot do this'
 I this work not do can

Ma kare male`p 'I said nothing.'
 I everything not say

depdi male`p 'Do not say thus'
 thus+this not+say

di sakē mem be 'This is not eatable'
 This eatable not + vb

Conditional Verb

The conditional form is used when a certain condition is to be fulfilled for an action to take place. The conditional form is formed by adding the suffix /-ne/ with the verbal stem.

Ma ok^hadiyu ne pyayu´di myu´se be
I there available if work done aux. vb
‘If I shall sit upon the work will be done’

Ma ok^ha diyu ne mi to`pya mimyu´se be
I thereavailable if not t work not done aux. vb
‘If I do not sit upon the work will not be done’

4.2.1 TENSE AND ASPECT

Verbs in Bhotia are marked morphologically for tense. Bhotia verb shows three-way opposition namely Present, Past and Future. Tense markers occur at the end of the verb. The progressive and perfectness are expressed by simple present and vice versa.

Present Tense

The present tense marker is /-do/. It gives the meaning of both present indefinite as well as continuous.

Ma dikha Modo yin ‘I come here’
I here come+prt aux. vb

Maca okha gyu´do yin ‘We go there’
We there go+prt aux. vb

ku dhép Ti do du ‘He is writing a book’
He book write+prt aux. vb

Past Tense

Past tense refers to an event, which happened before the time of the utterance. Past Tense marker is /-bo/

Ma ge´bo yin ‘I fell down’

I fall+prt aux. vb

Ma kunc'e'lo se'bo yin 'I caught the robber'

I robber caught aux. vb

Ku S'a'ka'lo dyo'bo du 'He was lying on the ground.'

he ground lye aux. vb

Future Tense

Future tense indicates the time subsequent to the time of utterance. Future tense marker is /-se/.

tōra Ma kyōlo gyu'se yin
tomorrow I village go will aux. vb
'Tomorrow I shall go to the village'

tōra Ma kyōle Mo'se yin
tomorrow I village come will aux. vb
'I shall come from the village tomorrow'

MOOD

Mood expresses the speaker's point of view about the occurrence of the event. It is the mode or manner, which is used to express a statement, command, question or doubt. In Bhotia five moods are realized.

Indicative mood

Simple declarative sentence indicates this mood. There is no marker realized.

di k^hi be 'This is a dog'
This dog is

di k^him be 'This is a house'
This house is

Imperative mood

The command is realized by this mood. There is no marker realized.

dik ^h a	S'o	'Come here'
lõc ^h i		'Stand up'

Interrogative Mood

Interrogation is realized by a separate morpheme, which occurs after the pronoun.

C ^h eu	kar	sad	bo ?	What do you eat?
You	what	eat+	aux. vb	

Ma	kar	sase	What shall I eat?
I	what	eat+will	

Probability mood

The probability of the action is realized by a suffix /-lo'/ which occur in the pronoun.

koMcu	Ma'lo	ticu	'They may ask'
they	us	may ask	

Optative mood

This mood expresses the desire, the suffix /ti/expresses the desire of the person.

koMcu	t ^h anti'	c ^h e'lo	Mochu	'Let them all come'
they	let all		come	

khu	chiya	gyu'ti	bakso	'Let some of you go and
some	of you	go let	fetch+prt	fetch '

4.3 FINITE VERB

Finite verb is a complete verb, which shows the complete action done which are realized through the use of tense, person, gender and number markers. In Bhotia, the substantive verb/Tense marker is used to denote finiteness and no separate morpheme is used.

Ma	cue	todõ	yin	'I see you'
----	-----	------	-----	-------------

I you see aux. vb

Ma khimna gyudo yin 'I go to the house'

I house go aux. vb

Ma ta sonda yin 'I ride the horse'

I horse ride aux. vb

4.4 NON-FINITE VERB

The verb, which does not express the completion or finiteness of an action, is an infinite verb. The person and number of its subject do not condition the verb

Pyu chue pa Jugo be

Work one should to go find aux. vb

'One should go to find a job'

Ma maidi'lo Jakya pa apa'M kidgyu'do yin

I ground to graze to buffalo took aux. vb

'I use to take the she buffalo for grazing everyday'

Ma yu'go pa yopo yin tisã Ma masõ

I go to had aux. vb but I not go

'I had to go but I did not go'

4.4.1 VERBAL NOUN

A verb functioning as noun is called verbal noun. In Bhotia, the suffix /-se/ is realized as a verbal noun maker.

S'a miMmar nup^hele basgaDi c^hu Ju'se kako be

Since Tuesday midnight busses working stop aux. vb

'From Tuesday midnight the buses stopped working'

4.4.2 GERUND

Gerund is the form of the verb, which has the force of a noun and a verb.

Cu'se you'do t^ha gi pyo'u be

Run + ing horse by done aux. vb

'Running is done by the horse'

Me'war	du	'Fire burns'
fire	burns	

Ma	me'war	ta`Mgi	'I make the fire'
I	fire	make	

4.8 ADVERB

Adverbs are the classes of words, which are used to modify the meaning of a verb. They occur before the verbs in Bhotia language. Adverbs are divided into three different groups such as adverbs of place, adverbs of time and adverbs of manner.

Adverbs of place

dik ^h a	'here'
ok ^h a	'there'
tenk ^h a	'upon'
paco	'that side'
mou	'down'
ole'p ^h a`t	'far from'

S'indõ	di la`m	paco	du	'The tree is on that side of the Road'
Tree	road	that side	aux vb	

Ma	S'indõ	ole'p ^h a`t	yue	'I am far from the tree'
I	tree	far from	aux. vb	

Adverb of time

nam	'when'
tariM	'today'
torã	'tomorrow'
dã	'yesterday'

cue	nam	loM	to	yin
you	when	get up	aux. vb	
'When do you get up?'				

tariM yoku tã aci`m nyo`nTa tyo`nle
today some servant
“Today there was some trouble with the servant.”

Ma dã obõ yin
I yesterday came aux. vb
‘I came yesterday’

Adverb of manner

Ka`la	‘slowly’
Ja`Ta	‘loudly’
se`Ta	‘neatly’

ku`li ka`la ‘speak slowly’
slow speak

ja`Ta ma gye`p ‘Do not speak loudly’
loud not speak

cik seTa`Ti`ci ‘Write the words neatly’
neat write

4.9 PARTICLES

The words grouped by their function as coordinating and subordinating conjunctions. They do not occur independently unlike nouns and verbs.

tam	‘and’
tisã	‘but’
irũ	‘or’

ku dã sõca tam nõdi
he yesterday came and went
‘He came yesterday and went’

poco di M'i irũ sum irũ k^himna S'õ
 boys these two or three or house go
 'These two or three boys go home'

4.10 INTERJECTION

An Interjection is a word, which expresses sudden feeling or emotion such as joy, surprise, grief and shame etc. In Bhotia feeling is expressed by intonation; which is short or longer from the normal speech.

pyaa	'surprise'
yahoo ho	'anger'
aci'	'amusement'
hu kyu	'grief'

4.11 ECHO FORMATION

The phoneme /-s/ begins as initial phoneme of a second component of the word following the original noun and it gives out the meaning of 'etc' which is called Echo formation.

pic ^h u	-	sic ^h u	'chicken etc'
p ^h yu	-	syu	'monkey etc'
t ^h a	-	sa	'horse etc'
kedõ	-	sedõ	'banana etc'
kẽcom	-	secom	'maize etc'

5. SYNTAX

The various constituents of the basic types and patterns of sentences and word order of the Bhotia language are discussed in the chapter of syntax.

5.1 WORD ORDER

The normal order of words in a sentence is sov that is subject + object + verb. The following sentences show the order of words in Bhotia.

Ma kuto dumpo yin 'I see him'

I him see

Subject object verb aux. vb

Me pum dumra' lo yue 'My daughter is in the garden'

My daughter garden in aux. vb

Subject object verb

Ma kunce'lo sebo yin 'I caught the robber'

I robber acc. case caught aux. vb

Subject object verb

5.2 DESCRIPTION OF TYPES OF SENTENCES

There are five types of sentences realized in Bhotia language. Such as, affirmative, imperative, interrogative, negative and causative sentences.

Affirmative sentence

The affirmation is expressed by the normal verb.

Ma ok^{ha} gyu'do yin 'I go there'

I there go aux. vb

Me d^{he}'p dik^{ha} du 'My book is here'

My book here aux. vb

dikha alU yue 'There is a cat'

there cat aux. vb

koMcu k^him na yue ka 'Are they at home?'
they house at are int. marker

religa'Di kadi'na gui'se be 'Which train will you get?'
train which get will aux. vb

Causative Sentences

The causativeness is reflected through the use of the suffix /-cuk/ with the verb.

Ma mu'lo d^he'p piMcu'ko yin
I she+case book give + caus aux. vb
'I am making her give a book'

Ma ku'lo lapti mu'lo d^he'p piMcu'kse yin
I he+case ask she+case book give+ caus aux. vb.
'I ask him to make her give a book'

Ma mu'lo lapti lu'ci kye'p cu'kto yin
I she +case asking sing song case+vb aux vb
'I am asking her sing a song'

Negative Sentences

In Bhotia, negation is expressed by the addition of negative suffixes to the verb. There are three markers to indicate the negation such as /-mem, -ma, mi/.

According to the occurrence of the suffixes /-ma and mi/ are bound forms; whereas the suffix /-mem/ is a free form the suffixes for negation occurs before the verb

Ma tariM mi yō 'I am not coming today'
I today not come

Madi pya mi'cu 'I cannot do this'
I this work not do can

Ma kare ma'lep I everything not say	'I said nothing'
depdi ma'lep thus +this not+say	'Do not say thus'
di sakē mem be this eatable not+vb	'This is not eatable'
adi membe di be that not+is this+is	'Not that one but this'

5.3 DESCRIPTION OF PATTERNS OF SENTENCES

Based on the structural configuration the sentences may be classified into simple, complex and compound. The simple sentence may have one main clause consisting of a subject and predicate. The complex sentence has one main clause and one or more subordinate clauses. The compound sentence has two or more main classes conjoined by a morphological or syntactic marker.

Simple sentences -

di k ^{hi} be this dog aux. vb	'This is a dog'
Me d ^h e'p dik ^h a du My books here aux. vb	'My books are here'
Me lapho My hand	'My hand'
Ma kuto dumo'po yin I him see aux. vb	'I see him'
Me khimnaM S'ō My house to go	'Go to my house'
Me d ^h e'p dik ^h a bakS'ō My book here bring	'Bring my book here'
di komi yin this use+not aux. vb	'Is it of no use'

cue rakhim mikha	'Have you got no house?'
you have+house not	
dhe'p di ma'lep	'Do not say this'
say + this not+this	
Me kare ma'lep	'I said nothing'
I said not+this	

Compound Sentences

Ma yu'gopo yopo yin tisā Ma maS'ō
 I go to had aux. vb but I not go
 'I had to go but I did not go'

Cue dik^ha dui Ma gyu'se yin
 You here stay I go shall aux. vb
 'You stay here I shall go'

Ma Me kē mato'po tariM MamaS'ō yin
 I my not+ find today I not go aux. vb
 'I couldnot find my net so I did not go today'

Complex Sentences

Ma ok^ha diyune pya yudi myuse be
 I there if work this done+will aux vb
 'If I shall sit upon the work will be done'

rad^ha lapk^hem bho`mc^he c^ha`mna gyu'Tiki c^hem
 Radha said girl market in going vegetable nyo'be purchase to go

ka`pna ro'niye`mpu kha`me naMde'pe
 with friend old discussion
 'Radha went to the market to purchase vegetable where she met her old friends and had a discussion'.

nimche mi'chik la`mkha gyu'be ka`tna diyu S'isu
 one day man one walking on road snake dead

c^hik k^hetobe k^hu'gi lept^he'ra ke'sud^hi'pe ona'lay
one saw shouted after shouting man

mi'lep jambo'be

all gather

'Walking along the road the farmer saw a dead cobra and shouted, people gathered hearing his voice.'

TEXT

tula tam byu na pu
crow and black snake

topo'na`bu caco' siMo'cina'lo yulo'caco dipo'be sindõ
A banyan tree with branches exists once the crow hen

tara'ci`na yu'ena
and its existed

‘Among the spreading branches of a banyan tree lived a crow and his wife.’

kiJa Ju'di`M Modu'jide'ki kidi`M yue'poDi`de yu'ena
eggs with crow hen & crow nest lived the

komo`minda'ki pakhine bya'ki do
children-eggs carefully guarded.

‘In the nest were four little eggs, which the parents guarded with great care.’

S'imdõ adu kido'wa`ci`na byu'na`kpu'ciya deto'be
The crow and that hollow of that black snake lived

byu'dile
snake-seeing

yu'ena pumuM'i`Ma Ju'ki ta`?kyo'be
the existed the crow hen and husband feared

‘In a hollow of that tree-trunk lived a black snake whom the crows feared greatly.’

Yu'ena mo'diki kaJu Mo'do`ki yu'ena kui'iki
The female crow egg everytime in the nest

sa`Da'ki're deto'di diyu'ena kudi'ki
laid was the black snake

Neku'de`pro'sa`ni

If eats up.

'Every time the crow-hen laid her eggs the snake crawled up to the nest and ate them up.'

Ma siMdu'dīna mindū Maca so` Mkarsa'Joke
I any longer live-donot we build must

au'dUka yu'ela podi`ki lapo'be Maca
some where husband crow informed we

Dika'yuri`mku de'pdepo'yin
Here long time lived

'If the black snake eats up my eggs this time also, I will refuse to live in this tree any longer we must build our nest somewhere else, said the mother bird to her husband.'

kaM a'cik siMta'ri Jo'ka gyō bomi'lo'm sila'pi
I myself my nest destroy go not nowhere

Mapo'be
Will live

'Destroying my own house I will not go anywhere and stay'
audi'k rā byu'di ku'di pya'ya`se`kti tale'yu'ela`p
while talking the snake that itself hissing

halo'pki tiki' Modo'Cu`ko'be
sound start heard.

'While they were talking, they heard a hissing sound just below them.'

audi'ka yu'ela mo' ho'di`kila' po`be taMa'
they the crow hen and crow helplessly sat

kate'M'i'rũ byu'naku'di'rũ sera'se'siM
themselves together snake-from protecting.

'They knew what the sound meant. They sat helplessly in their nest trying to protect their eggs.'

audi'ika mo'dikilapo'be ra`Mgi byu'naku'
that time helplessly sitting while the black snake

tara audi'ki siMcu'si
close the nest crept

'The black snake crept higher and closer to the nest.'

audi'ki du'di ho`mme kye`Msisi`M audi'ka
then the snake strike tried so that

yu'elapodi`ki lapo'be
the crows went

'Then with a loud hiss the snake tried to strike at the birds.'

Sulisindu'mayã du`kci byo'kati`M yepe'tJu yopo`
One by one(the eggs) swallowed snake- by the parents

ne'ru'ci sila'piki yu'ela podi`ki siMdu'na'g
comeback to nest they themselves the eggs by snake

raso'cite`Mka do'pasõbo`be
found eaten

'The birds flew away in terror. One by one the black snake swallowed all the eggs.'

au`diMa'le amdi'ki du'na'ku'di yu'ela
because of that the snake the

Mo'do apa'rãsõ uJu'tumo'pa`tã amdi'ki

Black parents came sadly with empty

lapobe

hand

‘The parents came back sadly to their nest knowing well that they would find it empty

Male`m pya`si siMirũ Ju`ninga Maku`lo`sesi`M

Donot feel sorry dear I-poss

ku`lose`rẽ caci`rciJu`i ka`riyu Ma`lo

friend cunning who destroy

Masu`Ma toku`rsila`pki yu`ela podi`ki

I have myself friend he known

lapo`be audi`ka Jo`me`ki

is so as such

tomu`sila`pki amdi`ki yu`ela namco`naM

the crow hen flew the near live

hasu`p lapo`be

jackal was

‘Don’t worry, my dear, I’ve got a friend who is cunning enough to destroy the most poisonous snakes, said the crow, and off he flew to another tree under which lived his dear friend jackal.’

audikye`ple yu`ela fu`di rãMo`ca sō
hearing that the friend those cruel

pya`ti`kica`rjidi lapo`be carji`di kaTa`dur
meet hardships said destroy to plan

riko'gi`ndo si yu'ela`ki lapo'be
have one already is.

‘When the jackal heard how the snake always ate up the eggs, he said, my friend, those who are cruel and greedy always meet with a bad end, please don’t have fear. I’ve already thought of a plan to destroy him. ’

Ma'Me Mo'do sindōpya'se te`Me kanu'Copy
I myself to my children save anything

a'cu yu'ela modi'ki lapo'be
do the mother bird said

‘I’ll do anything to save my eggs, said the mother bird bravely. ’

Ju'gye`ple yu'ela pomu nīMa pudi`ki
Then the crow hen and crow

Kye'puiko'Da reso'n a sobo'be
Kings palace went

‘They flew towards the palace of the king of the country. ’

foda'gi pocu do'se siMdo'le ta'rinku' Mepo'be
the royal ladies pond-in bathe was taking

‘They saw the royal ladies having a bath. ’

Kocu'ku'di po'Ra tu`mraci'na ku'pe cuki'Co'Jona
Their chains necklaces ornaments and other things

sobo'be ok^ha gipu`igemu'tā sere`mcuCu'se
laid had there the mother bird

Mado'be hocu'ra`nki serto`mpīnki kye'nca ma`mce

back took then fly toward

Cumcu`m caka`ra jãigo`be

slowly started

‘They had laid their golden chains, pearl necklace and other jewellery on the edge of the pond. The mother bird flew down, ‘picked up a gold chain in her beak and started flying slowly towards the tree in which she lived.’

yu`ela modi`ki kudi ge`mui si`rgi ge`nca

the crow hen guards clubs and tools

tuDi`ki rã te`se siMdũ pumce`pur

followed with where the crow hen lived

sobõbe

went

‘When the place guards saw the bird flying off with the gold chain, they took up their clubs and chased the birds.’

gebu`i MesĩMmanĩki yu`elagi ge`mi sirgi`

the guard who followed the chains ornaments

genca

other jewels

bahõko tuMo`ti teta`pa`kti

ornaments hollow dropped

‘They saw the bird drop the chain into the hollow of a tree.’

yu`elao pye`pte`pobe kucu`nki yu`elagi sirgi`kenca

they saw to take the ornaments

siMdõki do`wa pampu`nag noko`r tumo`pobe

crows help big snake found available

‘One of the guards climbed up the tree to get the chain. As he put his hand inside the hole to get the chain , he saw a black snake curled up. ’

byu'naku okha nye'de'po M'ya tomo'po'be

the snake there putting hand by was

teta'ki byu'naku'diloyã okara' seti'ki bau'be

one-stroke-by the black snake there itself died

di`yro dya'pyu naku'ki s̄rbe

that the snake cruel was died

‘The guard gave one hard stroke with his club and he killed the snake. And that was the end of the black snake. ’

Yu'ela pomonĩMa siMdo au'di'na kipu' bya

The crow and hen crow their relatives birds

yu'ela poco ma'm kidi'ki dyepo'be

birds there children many there got

‘The crow and crow hen lived in that tree happily afterwards and they had many little baby crows. ’

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Acharya K. P, Lotha Grammar, C. I. I. L Mysore, 1983

Alexander csoma De Koros, A grammar of the Tibetan language, Satguru publications, Delhi, 1983

Block, Bernard and George L. Trager: Outline to linguistic Analysis, New Delhi: Oriental Books Reprint Corporation, 1972

Census of India, 2001, Series-I – Language Table C-16

Giridhar, P. P Angami grammar, Mysore, Central Institute of Indian Languages, Grammar series No. 6. 1980

Grierson G. A(ed) LSI, vol III part-I

Hockett, C. F. A Course in Modern Linguistics New Delhi, Oxford & D B H Publishing co. 1970

Hannah, H. B, A Grammar of the Tibetan language, Satguru Publication, New Delhi 1991

Jones Daniel, An outline of English phonetics, (9th Edn) Cambridge, England: W. Heffner and Sons Ltd; 1960

Kunchang and Betty Shefts, as manual of spoken Tibetan, University of Washington, 1964

Neethivanam, J, Survey of Kanauri in Himachal Pradesh, Language Division, Calcutta. 1976

Rangan, K. Balti phonetic reader, Mysore, C. I. I. L1970

Sanyukta Koshal, Ladhakhi phonetic reader, Mysore, Central Institute of Indian Languages, 1976

Sand. Berg, Graham, Manual of Sikkim Bhotia or Danjong ke, Calcutta, 1888.

Sand. Berg, Graham, Handbook of colloquial Tibetan, a Practical guide to the language of Central Tibet. Asiatic Society, Calcutta 1894.

Thirumalai, M. S. Thaadou phonetic Reader, Mysore Central Institute of Indian Languages, 1972

William J. Samarin, field linguistics, A guide to linguistics field work, Holt, Rinchart and Winston, New York, 1967.

CHAPTER - 6
COMPARATIVE
LEXICON

Comparative Lexicon of Indo-Aryan Languages

Sl. No.	Gloss	Kulvi	Mandeali	Kangri	Sanori
1	air	<i>bagAr</i>	<i>ba:ggAr / ha:wa</i>	<i>bewa / ba</i>	<i>baggar</i>
2	ashes	<i>cha:r</i>	<i>soah</i>	<i>dhuR / swah</i>	<i>bhas</i>
3	cloud	<i>badAL</i>	<i>badAl</i>	<i>ba:dal</i>	<i>ba:dal</i>
4	cold	<i>seLa</i>	<i>thANDa / seLa</i>	<i>thanD</i>	<i>aheLa</i>
5	darkness	<i>niara</i>	<i>nhyara</i>	<i>nhera / nehkRa</i>	<i>nhera</i>
6	earth	<i>jimi</i>	<i>dhArt</i>	<i>dhard / dhardi</i>	<i>jimmi</i>
7	eclipse	<i>grAN</i>	<i>grEN</i>	<i>grehan</i>	<i>grohNa</i>
8	fire	<i>A:g</i>	<i>ag</i>	<i>a:g</i>	<i>a:g</i>
9	fog	<i>dhui</i>	<i>dhüi</i>	<i>dhu:ri</i>	<i>dhoi</i>
10	forest	<i>ba:N</i>	<i>bAN</i>	<i>ban</i>	<i>bo:n</i>
11	hill	<i>Dheg</i>	<i>dha:r</i>	<i>pahaRiya</i>	<i>jo:t</i>
12	ice	<i>hiu</i>	<i>bArAph</i>	<i>barf / hiNya</i>	<i>hiu</i>
13	lake	<i>Tapu</i>	-	<i>Dappu</i>	<i>srahu</i>
14	pond	-	-	-	-
15	moon	<i>jo:th</i>	<i>cād / cAndrAma</i>	<i>chanda mā</i>	<i>jo:th</i>
16	mountain	<i>dhar</i>	<i>pahaR</i>	<i>pahaRR</i>	<i>dha:r</i>
17	rain	<i>ga:s</i>	<i>bArkha</i>	<i>barkha</i>	<i>gash</i>
18	river	<i>nAi</i>	<i>dAreyao / dreyao</i>	<i>khaDDa (pl)</i>	<i>dravu</i>
19	road	<i>bAT/sARAk</i>	<i>pENDa</i>	<i>saRak. bhatt</i>	<i>bot</i>
20	sand	<i>dhuDa</i>	<i>ballu</i>	<i>re:d</i>	<i>balu</i>
21	sea	<i>sAmudAr</i>	<i>sAmundAr</i>	<i>samudhar</i>	<i>samundar</i>
22	sky	<i>sArAg</i>	<i>asman / ga:s</i>	<i>ga:ss</i>	<i>sarg</i>
23	snow	<i>jriu</i>	<i>hū</i>	<i>barf</i>	<i>hiu</i>
24	star	<i>tara</i>	<i>tare</i>	<i>ta□re</i>	<i>tara</i>
25	stone	<i>pAthAr</i>	<i>tohl</i>	<i>pathar</i>	<i>patar</i>
26	storm	<i>biyana</i>	<i>tuphan</i>	<i>tuffa□n</i>	<i>bharNa</i>
27	sun	<i>surAj</i>	<i>surAj</i>	<i>suraj dhiyara</i>	<i>surj</i>
28	water	<i>paNi</i>	<i>pa:ni</i>	<i>pani</i>	<i>pa:ni</i>
29	weather	<i>moSAm</i>	<i>mAusAm / ri:t</i>	<i>ru:t, mo:sam</i>	<i>mosam</i>
30	wind	<i>biyana</i>	<i>ba:ggAr</i>	<i>belan</i>	-
31	wood	<i>ciRi</i>	<i>kaTh</i>	<i>lakaRi / lakaRu</i>	<i>chi:Di</i>
32	baby	<i>ia:Na</i>	<i>bAcca</i>	<i>balak, bacha</i>	<i>shori</i>
33	boy	<i>so:hru</i>	<i>mhATTha</i>	<i>munDu, munDa, jahad.</i>	<i>shora</i>
34	bride	<i>laRi</i>	<i>laRhi</i>	<i>Lari</i>	<i>ladi</i>
35	bride groom	<i>laRa</i>	<i>laRha</i>	<i>Lara</i>	<i>laDa</i>
36	brother	<i>bha:i</i>	-	<i>bhao: , bada bao:</i>	-
37	brother elder	<i>bha:i</i>	<i>bADDa bhau</i>	<i>bhao: , bada bao:</i>	<i>baDDa bhai</i>
38	brother younger	<i>bha:u</i>	<i>choTa / hAlka bhau</i>	<i>lokaka bahao:</i>	<i>bau</i>
39	child	<i>hochā ia:Na</i>	<i>bAcca</i>	<i>munnu, bachha</i>	<i>shoru</i>

40	daughter	<i>so:hri</i>	<i>mhATThi</i>	<i>dhee</i>	<i>shoru</i>
41	father	<i>bapu/ba:b</i>	<i>ba:ba</i>	<i>ba□b</i>	<i>bappu</i>
42	friend	<i>seMgi</i>	<i>dost / mittAr</i>	<i>mittar</i>	<i>saugi</i>
43	girl	<i>s:ohri</i>	<i>mhATThi</i>	-	<i>shori</i>
44	husband	<i>khAsm</i>	<i>laRha</i>	<i>kasam, mard</i>	<i>la:Da</i>
45	male	<i>maNu/mArd</i>	<i>pruS</i>	<i>mard</i>	<i>mard</i>
46	man	<i>maNu/mArd</i>	<i>mhaNu</i>	<i>mard</i>	<i>mard</i>
47	marriage	<i>bia</i>	<i>beyah</i>	<i>biah</i>	<i>bha</i>
48	maternal uncle	<i>mam</i>	<i>mamma</i>	-	<i>mama</i>
49	mother in law	<i>sa:s</i>	-	-	<i>sasu</i>
50	mother	<i>amma</i>	<i>mao</i>	<i>o:je, amma</i>	<i>ama</i>
51	nephew	<i>bhaNAj</i>	<i>bhatiju</i>	<i>bhatija, bhatiju</i>	<i>beTa</i>
52	niece	<i>bhaNji</i>	<i>bhatiji</i>	<i>bhatiji</i>	<i>beTi</i>
53	old man	<i>khapra</i>	<i>khApRa</i>	<i>buDDa</i>	<i>senamanu</i>
54	person	<i>maNu/ bAumaNu</i>	<i>mhaNu</i>	-	<i>mard</i>
55	tall	<i>lAma</i>	<i>DaM / lAmma</i>	<i>lamma / lammi</i>	<i>loma</i>
56	lean	<i>dubLa</i>	<i>mARa</i>	<i>patari, patala:</i>	<i>sukDu</i>
57	fat	<i>Thula</i>	<i>moTa</i>	<i>mo:TTa</i>	<i>droli</i>
58	dumb	<i>TaTa</i>	<i>TaTTa</i>	<i>japha□</i>	<i>TaTTa</i>
59	blind	<i>kaNa</i>	<i>Anna</i>	<i>anhan</i>	<i>anda</i>
60	sister (younger)	<i>bhiN</i>	<i>bADDi bhEN</i>	<i>bheṅ</i>	<i>bahin</i>
61	sister (elder)	<i>baby</i>	<i>choTi/hAlki bhEN</i>	-	-
62	sister-in-law	<i>bhabi</i>	<i>bhabi</i>	<i>sal̥oi, salehas</i>	<i>sa:li</i>
63	son	<i>so:hru</i>	<i>mhATTha</i>	<i>putar</i>	<i>shoru</i>
64	widow	<i>bidwa</i>	<i>bidhwa</i>	<i>bidwa, Randol</i>	<i>ranD</i>
65	wife	<i>laDi/beTDi</i>	<i>laRhi</i>	<i>patni, lahRi, gaReaRi</i>	<i>la:Ri</i>
66	woman	<i>beTDi</i>	<i>jAnana</i>	<i>sjana</i>	<i>baTaTi</i>
67	ant	<i>ci:T/komoDi</i>	<i>mAkoRi</i>	<i>makko:Ri</i>	<i>chi:t</i>
68	bird	<i>ciDu</i>	<i>pAnchi</i>	<i>nchipe</i>	<i>chiRu</i>
69	cat	<i>braLi</i>	<i>billi</i>	<i>billi</i>	<i>brali</i>
70	claw	<i>pAM'ja</i>	<i>nAh</i>	<i>pa:nchal</i>	-
71	cock	<i>kukAD</i>	<i>kukkAR</i>	<i>kukaR</i>	<i>murga</i>
72	cuckoo	<i>kuppu ciRi</i>	-	-	-
73	cow	<i>gai</i>	<i>gae</i>	<i>ga</i>	<i>ga</i>
74	crab	<i>keMkDa</i>	<i>mAsakRa</i>	<i>darlak</i>	<i>kagDa</i>
75	dog	<i>kuttfa</i>	<i>kutta</i>	<i>kutta</i>	<i>kutta</i>
76	egg	<i>Dana</i>	<i>anDa</i>	<i>anDa</i>	<i>anDa</i>
77	feather	<i>paMkh</i>	<i>phākh</i>	<i>hatanu</i>	<i>phaNk</i>
78	fish	<i>mAchi</i>	<i>mAcchi</i>	<i>machi</i>	<i>macchi</i>
79	fly	<i>mA:chi</i>	<i>mahakhi</i>	<i>makhi</i>	<i>phakaNI</i>
80	fox	<i>siaL/rula/gidD</i>	<i>giddAR</i>	<i>ghiddaR</i>	<i>giddeD</i>
81	goat	<i>bAkri</i>	<i>pEru / bAkri</i>	<i>bakRi</i>	<i>bakkari</i>
82	hare	<i>fiadu</i>	-	-	<i>kargo:sh</i>
83	horn	<i>siMg</i>	<i>S'iM</i>	<i>singh</i>	<i>siN</i>

84	horse	<i>ghoRa</i>	<i>ghoRa</i>	<i>ghoRa</i>	<i>gho:Ra</i>
85	lion	<i>se:r</i>	<i>S'e:r</i>	<i>ser</i>	<i>she:r</i>
86	house	<i>ghoro</i>	-	<i>jumakadar</i>	-
87	monkey	<i>guNi/bandAr</i>	<i>bandAr</i>	<i>bandar</i>	<i>bandar</i>
88	nest	<i>kol</i>	<i>kohla / ghōsla</i>	<i>alla</i>	<i>koLLa</i>
89	tail	<i>punjAti/puM'ch</i>	<i>phūiTh</i>	<i>nchphu</i>	<i>lingaT</i>
90	tiger	<i>brag</i>	<i>bAragh</i>	<i>mirg</i>	<i>she:r</i>
91	tortoise	<i>kAchwa</i>	<i>kAcchuwa</i>	<i>kachu-a</i>	<i>kachua</i>
92	wing	<i>paMkh</i>	<i>phākh</i>	<i>par</i>	<i>phaNk</i>
93	work	<i>kom</i>	<i>kam</i>	<i>ka:m</i>	<i>ka:m</i>
94	back	<i>piThu</i>	<i>trikkARa</i>	<i>piT</i>	<i>pit</i>
95	blood	<i>lAu</i>	<i>lohu</i>	<i>lau, koon, rat</i>	<i>lo:hu</i>
96	body	<i>jism</i>	<i>jism</i>	<i>,de sarir, desem</i>	<i>pinDa</i>
97	bone	<i>haDka</i>	<i>haDku</i>	<i>aDDi</i>	<i>harika</i>
98	breast	<i>chat</i>	<i>cucu</i>	<i>cha:tti</i>	<i>hi:k</i>
99	chest	<i>chati</i>	<i>hik</i>	<i>cha:tti</i>	<i>hi:k</i>
100	ear	<i>kAn</i>	<i>matre</i>	<i>kan / kannadi pi:T</i>	-
101	eye	<i>Achi</i>	<i>hakh</i>	<i>kha</i>	<i>otch</i>
102	face	<i>sAkAl</i>	<i>muh</i>	<i>mu:k</i>	<i>munD</i>
103	fever	<i>JA:r</i>	<i>bukar / tAp</i>	<i>bukhar, ta:p seetchaRna</i>	<i>jo:r</i>
104	finger	<i>guThi</i>	<i>guTThi</i>	<i>ungeR</i>	<i>guThi</i>
105	foot	<i>pe:r</i>	<i>pEr</i>	<i>Ri / Turudepe</i>	<i>gunDi</i>
106	hair	<i>sre: aL</i>	<i>baL / ke:S'</i>	<i>lchu</i>	<i>sro:D</i>
107	hand	<i>hAth</i>	<i>hath</i>	<i>'ha:t'</i>	<i>hat</i>
108	flesh	<i>ma:s</i>	<i>mās</i>	-	<i>mangsh</i>
109	month	<i>mina</i>	-	-	-
110	head	<i>munDi</i>	<i>S'ir</i>	<i>ndr, musa</i>	<i>munDka</i>
111	heart	<i>kAkDi</i>	<i>kalja</i>	<i>dil, giggara</i>	<i>kalja</i>
112	leg	<i>JA Mg</i>	<i>narDa / jaM</i>	<i>jung.</i>	<i>janhu</i>
113	lip	<i>sAnD</i>	<i>o:Th</i>	<i>o:T</i>	<i>libud</i>
114	liver	<i>kaldza</i>	<i>jigAr</i>	<i>medda</i>	
115	lung	<i>bho:s</i>	<i>phephRa</i>	<i>pepeRa</i>	<i>ba:re</i>
116	mouth	<i>khak</i>	<i>muh</i>	<i>mo:</i>	<i>kak</i>
117	neck	<i>gAL/gALa</i>	<i>keaRi</i>	<i>Rikia</i>	<i>khe:D</i>
118	nose	<i>nAk</i>	<i>nak</i>	<i>na:k</i>	<i>na:k</i>
119	pain	<i>da</i>	-	-	<i>da</i>
120	spine	<i>riDer haRka</i>	<i>riDh</i>	<i>ri:D</i>	-
121	tongue	<i>ji :b</i>	<i>jibh</i>	<i>zi:p</i>	<i>jib</i>
122	tooth	<i>dAd</i>	<i>dād</i>	<i>ndda</i>	<i>dond</i>
123	waist	<i>ceka</i>	<i>kAmbAr</i>	<i>mu:nna</i>	<i>kamar</i>
124	fruit	<i>phAL</i>	<i>phAl</i>	<i>fhal</i>	<i>phal</i>
125	liquor	<i>cakTi</i>	<i>S'rab</i>	<i>sarah, ark, da:ru</i>	<i>shara:b</i>
126	milk	<i>du:dh</i>	<i>dud</i>	<i>du:d</i>	<i>du:d</i>
127	salt	<i>lu:N</i>	<i>luN</i>	<i>no:n</i>	<i>nu:n</i>
128	smoke	<i>dhua</i>	<i>dhūa</i>	<i>ndhua</i>	<i>duwa</i>
129	uncooked rice	<i>cauL</i>	<i>cAwL</i>	<i>chaul</i>	<i>cawl</i>
130	kidney	<i>bukke</i>	-	-	-

131	ear ring	<i>kAn baLi</i>	-	-	<i>ba:li</i>
132	banian	<i>bA:D</i>	<i>banian</i>	<i>banen</i>	-
133	cloth	<i>jhikDe</i>	<i>kApRa</i>	<i>kapRa</i>	<i>kapaDa</i>
134	door	<i>dwar</i>	-	-	-
135	roof	<i>chapAr</i>	-	-	-
136	rope	<i>rASa</i>	-	-	-
137	cotton	<i>Tale/bather</i>	<i>sutAr</i>	<i>basakhi</i>	<i>rhu</i>
138	front tuck	<i>cimTar mu</i>	<i>sitira</i>	<i>, ro:urue</i>	
139	loom	<i>bunaD/rAch/ khaDi</i>	<i>sui</i>	-	-
140	stick	<i>logAD/kaTh/ ciDiraDaL</i>	<i>soTThi</i>	<i>sothi</i>	<i>lakaDi</i>
141	bed	<i>sathra/mAnja/ pAlAMg</i>	<i>manja</i>	<i>manja</i>	<i>shatra</i>
142	door	<i>dwaro/drAwaja</i>	<i>droaja</i>	<i>duruvaja, duar</i>	<i>dwa:r</i>
143	house	<i>ghoro</i>	<i>ghAr</i>	<i>ghar</i>	<i>gho:R</i>
144	roof	<i>chappAr</i>	<i>chAppAR</i>	<i>chhaR</i>	<i>cha:pD</i>
145	rope	<i>rAsi/jewDa</i>	<i>rAssi</i>	<i>rassi, rasa'</i>	<i>roshi</i>
146	well water	<i>Duga/kucra paNi</i>	<i>khuara paNi</i>	<i>kho:b</i>	-
147	flute	<i>binsri/ gADgajju</i>	<i>bāsri</i>	<i>biokhli, bon sari, murlī</i>	<i>phu:t</i>
148	wall	<i>bhit/diwa:r</i>	<i>kādh</i>	<i>dua:R</i>	<i>bi:th</i>
149	window	<i>khiDki</i>	<i>taki</i>	<i>duari, khirki</i>	<i>takhi</i>
150	bamboo	<i>bas</i>	<i>bEnj</i>	<i>sbanj, benj, ban</i>	<i>being</i>
151	banana	<i>keLa</i>	<i>keLa</i>	<i>keḷa</i>	<i>kheLa</i>
152	barks	<i>chilka/sa:kh</i>	<i>sa:T</i>	<i>cha:l, sikar</i>	<i>ka:ul</i>
153	brinjal	<i>sugAtri</i>	<i>sogottru</i>	<i>bhenthū, buhari, gostu.</i>	<i>seNutari</i>
154	chilly	<i>pipLi</i>	<i>pipLi</i>	<i>mirča</i>	<i>pipDi</i>
155	coconut	<i>gAri</i>	<i>naler</i>	<i>naṛel</i>	<i>naure:ti</i>
156	flower	<i>phul</i>	<i>phul</i>	<i>phul</i>	<i>phu:l</i>
157	garden	<i>bAgitsa</i>	<i>bAgica</i>	<i>bari, bagichu</i>	<i>bagicha</i>
158	grass	<i>ga:l</i>	<i>gha</i>	<i>ghā, paTTa:</i>	<i>gha</i>
159	jack fruit	-	<i>kaTal</i>	<i>khaTTa□l</i>	<i>kaTal</i>
160	leaf	<i>pAtAr/pAcca</i>	<i>patAr</i>	<i>'pathi</i>	<i>pouch</i>
161	mango	<i>ambA</i>	<i>ambA</i>	<i>a:mb.</i>	<i>guTli</i>
162	paddy	<i>dhan</i>	<i>dhan</i>	<i>dha□n</i>	<i>dha:n</i>
163	plough	<i>hoL</i>	<i>hAl</i>	-	-
164	potato	<i>aLu</i>	<i>allu</i>	<i>a:lu</i>	<i>hal</i>
165	root	<i>jAlaRa</i>	<i>jARa</i>	-	<i>jaD</i>
166	sweet	<i>gula</i>	<i>miTha</i>	<i>miTTa</i>	<i>mi:Ta</i>
167	tree	<i>buTa</i>	<i>DaL</i>	-	<i>paudha</i>
168	vegetable	<i>ba:ji</i>	<i>sAbji</i>	-	<i>bhaji</i>
169	labourer	<i>kuli</i>	<i>mAjur</i>	<i>majoor</i>	<i>ku:li</i>
170	land	<i>chet</i>	-	-	-
171	money lender	<i>seiTh/saukar</i>	<i>saukar</i>	<i>sahukar / mahajan</i>	<i>seth</i>
172	net	<i>jaL</i>	<i>jal</i>	<i>ja:l</i>	<i>jha:l</i>
173	potter	<i>koma:r</i>	<i>kumhar</i>	<i>gumhar</i>	

174	weaver	<i>julau</i>	<i>bunaRha / julaha</i>	<i>julal / kapaR bon</i>	<i>bunkar</i>
175	bitter	<i>kARua</i>	<i>kOoRa</i>	<i>kauda</i>	<i>kaRuwa</i>
176	cheese	<i>pAnir</i>	-	-	-
177	creeper	<i>luDi</i>	<i>bel</i>	<i>bel</i>	-
178	fruit	<i>phAL</i>	<i>phAl</i>	<i>fhal</i>	<i>phal</i>
179	guava	<i>omrud</i>	<i>Amrut</i>	<i>amru□d</i>	<i>amru:d</i>
180	lily	<i>bodi</i>	<i>lilli</i>	<i>lilly</i>	-
181	wheel	<i>cArkha</i>	<i>pAia</i>	-	<i>chakka</i>
182	gum	<i>gud</i>	<i>giha</i>	<i>go:nd</i>	-
183	farm land	<i>chet</i>	<i>dohru</i>	<i>patla</i>	<i>keti</i>
184	mid wife	<i>komi/kommAN</i>	<i>dhai</i>	<i>dasi</i>	<i>beTadi</i>
185	black	<i>kaLa/ciTha</i>	<i>kaLa</i>	<i>kadwa</i>	<i>ka:la</i>
186	blind	<i>kaNa</i>	<i>Andha</i>	<i>anna (m) / anni (f)</i>	<i>kashna</i>
187	blue	<i>nila</i>	<i>nila</i>	<i>nila' (ghass nila)</i>	<i>ni:la</i>
188	coldness	<i>theNDa</i>	<i>thAND</i>	<i>tanD</i>	<i>Tandha</i>
189	green	<i>hAra</i>	<i>hara</i>	<i>ara</i>	<i>hara</i>
190	hot	-	<i>tAp</i>	<i>garam</i>	-
191	light	<i>pyasa</i>	<i>loe</i>	<i>lo</i>	<i>ujala</i>
192	red	<i>lal</i>	<i>lal</i>	<i>la:l</i>	<i>lal</i>
193	brown	<i>bura</i>	<i>bhura</i>	<i>maTTiara</i>	<i>bhu:ra</i>
194	bright	<i>pATakhra</i>	<i>cAmcAmanda</i>	<i>dej / chamkila</i>	<i>ujala</i>
195	sour	<i>mila</i>	<i>khATTa</i>	<i>khaTTa</i>	<i>kaTTa</i>
196	sweet	-	<i>miTha</i>	<i>miTTa</i>	<i>mi:Ta</i>
197	white	<i>seta</i>	<i>ciTTa</i>	<i>safe:d</i>	<i>sholu</i>
198	yellow	<i>piuLa</i>	<i>piuLa</i>	<i>pyo:la</i>	<i>pyu:la</i>
199	hungry	<i>bhotsa</i>	<i>bhukha</i>	<i>bhuka</i>	<i>bhukha</i>
200	love	<i>jhurna, jhuri</i>	<i>cāh</i>	<i>pyar</i>	<i>pre:m</i>
201	pain	<i>da</i>	<i>pi:R</i>	<i>dard, peer</i>	<i>da</i>
202	true	<i>sAc</i>	<i>sAc</i>	<i>sach</i>	-
203	wish	<i>gAu</i>	<i>icha</i>	<i>chana</i>	<i>asirwa:d</i>
204	ink	<i>shai</i>	<i>syahi</i>	<i>sihahi</i>	<i>sya:hi</i>
205	school	<i>skul</i>	<i>sku:l</i>	<i>l'sku</i>	<i>isku:l</i>
206	bus	<i>bA:s</i>	<i>bas</i>	<i>moTorgaRi / bas</i>	<i>bas</i>
207	student	<i>skula pADNuale</i>	<i>pARhik</i>	<i>madarsie</i>	<i>pauDnuale shoru</i>
208	teacher	<i>skular munishi/ masTAr</i>	<i>mastar</i>	<i>masTer</i>	<i>master</i>
209	bullet	<i>goLi</i>	<i>goLi</i>	<i>go□li</i>	<i>go:li</i>
210	drum	<i>Dhol</i>	<i>DolAk / nagara</i>	<i>dhol</i>	<i>Dho:l</i>
211	enemy	<i>dusmAn/beri</i>	<i>dusman</i>	<i>dhusman</i>	<i>dusman</i>
212	debt	<i>ri:N</i>	<i>kArj</i>	-	<i>sala</i>
213	divorce	<i>tAlak</i>	<i>tAlak</i>	-	<i>bedawa</i>
214	festival	<i>tuha:r</i>	<i>toahar</i>	<i>tuha:r</i>	<i>tyohar</i>
215	heaven	<i>sArg</i>	<i>surug</i>	<i>surag</i>	<i>surg</i>
216	hell	<i>nArk</i>	<i>nArk</i>	<i>narak</i>	<i>harag</i>
217	theft	<i>cori</i>	<i>cori</i>	<i>chori</i>	<i>chori</i>

218	fair	<i>ja:j</i>	-	-	-
219	worship	<i>puja</i>	<i>puja</i>	<i>puja</i>	<i>pu:ja</i>
220	play	<i>kheLa</i>	-	-	<i>khe:l</i>
221	gold	<i>suna</i>	<i>sonA</i>	<i>sunna na/ su</i>	<i>suna</i>
222	iron	<i>loa</i>	<i>lohA</i>	<i>lohar</i>	<i>loha</i>
223	brass	<i>tamba</i>	<i>pitAl</i>	<i>pithal</i>	<i>tamba</i>
224	lime	<i>kokru</i>	<i>nimbu</i>	<i>goluma</i>	-
225	money	<i>Dhewe</i>	<i>DhAbbe</i>	<i>paisa / dhan</i>	<i>rupya</i>
226	silver	<i>rupa</i>	<i>candi</i>	<i>rupa / chanDi</i>	<i>chandi</i>
227	garland	<i>phuler ha:r</i>	<i>mala</i>	<i>ha:r, mala</i>	<i>har</i>
228	first	<i>pe:la</i>	<i>pEela</i>	<i>pehla</i>	<i>pahila</i>
229	second	<i>duZa</i>	<i>dujja</i>	<i>dua:</i>	<i>du:ja</i>
230	third	<i>tiZa</i>	<i>trija</i>	<i>thria</i>	<i>thija</i>
231	one	<i>eke</i>	<i>ek</i>	<i>ik</i>	<i>ak</i>
232	two	<i>dui</i>	<i>do</i>	<i>do</i>	<i>du:i</i>
233	three	<i>traï</i>	<i>trae</i>	<i>thi:n</i>	<i>tarai</i>
234	four	<i>ca:r</i>	<i>car</i>	<i>char</i>	<i>cha:r</i>
235	five	<i>pAM'j</i>	<i>panj</i>	<i>jpan</i>	<i>panj</i>
236	six	<i>chA</i>	<i>chA</i>	<i>chey</i>	<i>cho</i>
237	seven	<i>sAt</i>	<i>sattA</i>	<i>sa:t</i>	<i>saT</i>
238	eight	<i>ATh</i>	<i>aThA</i>	<i>a:T</i>	<i>At</i>
239	nine	<i>nAu</i>	<i>nO</i>	<i>noun</i>	<i>na</i>
240	ten	<i>dA:s</i>	<i>dOs</i>	<i>das</i>	<i>das</i>
241	sixteen	<i>soLa</i>	<i>soLa</i>	<i>so:la</i>	<i>solah</i>
242	twenty	<i>bia:</i>	<i>bih</i>	<i>bhihi</i>	<i>bi:</i>
243	forty	<i>duibia:</i>	<i>caLi</i>	<i>chali</i>	<i>cha:li:</i>
244	blind	<i>bAndNa</i>	<i>banh-Na</i>	<i>kashna</i>	<i>kashna</i>
245	blow(balloon)	<i>phukamarni</i>	<i>phükkAr-Na</i>	<i>nakua</i>	<i>phukarna</i>
246	blow(kick)	-	-	-	-
247	break	<i>coDna</i>	<i>bhan-Na</i>	<i>thoRna:</i>	<i>chorna</i>
248	burn	<i>jaLNa</i>	<i>phuk-Na</i>	<i>jalna</i>	<i>jal</i>
249	carry	<i>hAthAn DAkNa</i>	<i>cAk-Na</i>	-	<i>chaleN</i>
250	catch	<i>DakNa/ TapArna</i>	<i>pAkAR-Na</i>	<i>u:rMa</i>	<i>pakaR</i>
251	clean	<i>bhuarna/ sungNa</i>	<i>haccha kAr-Na</i>	<i>sa:ph</i>	<i>sa:ph</i>
252	do	<i>kerna</i>	<i>kAr-Na</i>	<i>'kacna kamm-ana'</i>	<i>kar</i>
253	fall	<i>jADiye pADna</i>	<i>pAo-Na</i>	<i>una 'po / girna'</i>	<i>poa</i>
254	hold	<i>DAkNa</i>	<i>gAcchA-Na</i>	<i>pakarna</i>	<i>pakar</i>
255	lick	<i>caTNa/ lemKANA</i>	<i>caT-Na</i>	<i>gehne rakhna</i>	<i>choat</i>
256	make	<i>bAnaNa</i>	<i>bana-Na</i>	<i>banana</i>	<i>bana</i>
257	mix	<i>pivarna</i>	<i>mala-Na</i>	-	<i>mi:la</i>
258	open	<i>khoNa</i>	<i>ghoaR-Na</i>	-	<i>khol</i>
259	pick	<i>cekNa</i>	<i>cAk-Na</i>	<i>torna</i>	<i>Thokna</i>
260	hit	<i>dhokalna</i>	<i>gAsaba-Na</i>	-	-
261	arrive	<i>pujNa</i>	<i>puj-Na</i>	<i>pu□jana</i>	<i>hija</i>
262	lean	<i>coriye baLNa</i>	<i>lATAk-Na / jhuk-Na</i>	<i>patari, patala:</i>	<i>dauebosh</i>
263	thick	<i>ghANe/Thula</i>	<i>moTa</i>	<i>mo:TTa</i>	<i>moTa</i>

264	play	<i>kheLNa</i>	<i>khel-Na</i>	<i>khelna</i>	<i>khe:l</i>
265	pull	<i>khinciNa</i>	<i>khñj-Na</i>	<i>dhakelna</i>	<i>shi:la</i>
266	flow	<i>dosu/Dubna</i>	<i>bEe-Na</i>	'bahau'	<i>bohna</i>
267	push	<i>TheLNa</i>	<i>dhakka de-Na</i>	<i>thakelna</i>	<i>dhak</i>
268	put	<i>daaNa</i>	<i>rAkh-Na</i>	<i>rakna</i>	<i>dak</i>
269	work	<i>kom</i>	<i>kama lAg-Na</i>	<i>kamm</i>	<i>ka:m</i>
270	kill	<i>marna</i>	<i>mar-Na</i>	<i>marna</i>	<i>mar</i>
271	sing	<i>gana gaNa/gita laNi</i>	<i>ga-Na</i>	<i>gana</i>	<i>ga</i>
272	bring	<i>a:Nna</i>	<i>leao-Na</i>	<i>leona / Anana</i>	<i>auka</i>
273	climb	<i>cADna/uktaNa</i>	<i>koh-Na</i>	<i>gohna / charna</i>	<i>chaD</i>
274	come	<i>e:j</i>	<i>Ao-Na</i>	<i>auna</i>	<i>a</i>
275	drag	<i>khincNa</i>	<i>ghAsiT-Na</i>	<i>kadhna</i>	<i>khinch</i>
276	get	<i>meLu/meLNU</i>	<i>mil-Na</i>	-	<i>an</i>
277	go	<i>jaNa</i>	<i>ja-Na</i>	<i>jan, jana</i>	<i>ja</i>
278	jump	<i>pATikNa</i>	<i>kud-Na / uTkA-Na</i>	<i>cha:l marna, + apana</i>	<i>uperiye</i>
279	move	<i>phirna/Thurna</i>	<i>ja-Na</i>	-	<i>gaddi mi:nda</i>
280	stand up	<i>khADe uTha</i>	<i>khAR hA-Na</i>	<i>uTharna</i>	<i>kaDeuTho</i>
281	take	<i>neNa/leNa</i>	<i>lE-Na</i>	-	<i>le</i>
282	walk	<i>h)oNDNa/caLna/naNa</i>	<i>cAl-Na</i>	<i>benata laba (chole-chalna)</i>	<i>chal</i>
283	rub	<i>grisNa/miTeNa</i>	<i>ghAs-Na</i>	<i>ragrna</i>	<i>ragna</i>
284	sell	<i>becNa</i>	<i>bec-Na</i>	<i>beehana</i>	<i>bech</i>
285	shut	<i>bond</i>	<i>gher-Na</i>	<i>band-karna</i>	<i>band</i>
286	sink	<i>DubNa</i>	<i>Dub-Na</i>	<i>Do:bnA</i>	<i>jikya</i>
287	sprinkle	<i>ciDkAna</i>	<i>chiRAk-Na</i>	<i>chirkana</i>	<i>chiDuk</i>
288	squeeze (cloth/lemon)	<i>mATheLNa/thAmeLNa</i>	<i>nAcoR-Na / napil-Na</i>	<i>hachorna</i>	<i>maThel</i>
289	spit	<i>thukna</i>	<i>thuk-Na</i>	<i>thuk</i>	<i>thule</i>
290	hunt	<i>eDa kerna</i>	<i>heRa (kheL)-Na</i>	<i>sakar khelna</i>	<i>shikar</i>
291	shoot	<i>goLi cALana</i>	<i>goLi mar-Na</i>	<i>marna</i>	<i>bah</i>
292	split	<i>(ciDi) cirna</i>	<i>poaR-Na</i>	<i>rangarna</i>	<i>phar</i>
293	fight	<i>lADina</i>	<i>ghul-Na</i>	<i>larna</i>	<i>jhagro</i>
294	quarrel	<i>jAgDa</i>	<i>ghul-Na</i>	<i>jagarna</i>	<i>jhagro</i>
295	enter	<i>turNa</i>	<i>pasAr-Na</i>	<i>androna</i>	<i>posh</i>
296	escape	<i>raTha/nosANA</i>	<i>nahs-Na</i>	<i>nhasana</i>	<i>back</i>
297	fly	<i>uDNa</i>	<i>uD-Na</i>	<i>udarna</i>	<i>uDna</i>
298	get up	<i>uThNa</i>	<i>jag-Na</i>	<i>uTh</i>	<i>khaDeuTh</i>
299	give	<i>deNa</i>	<i>de-na</i>	<i>deh</i>	<i>de</i>
300	tear	<i>Achu/ci:rNa</i>	<i>chek-Na</i>	<i>chekna</i>	<i>chir</i>
301	stab	<i>marna</i>	<i>bADDh-Na</i>	<i>ghompna</i>	<i>pakra aur mara</i>
302	throw	<i>dhona</i>	<i>saT-Na / hak-Na</i>	-	<i>porai shat</i>
303	hit drum	<i>Dhol bAjana</i>	<i>baja-Na</i>	-	<i>tota</i>
304	dance	<i>nacNa</i>	<i>nac-Na</i>	<i>naach</i>	<i>nack</i>

305	wash	<i>dhona</i>	<i>dho-na</i>	<i>dhona</i>	<i>dho</i>
306	wash (utensils)	<i>mazNa</i>	<i>dho-na</i>	<i>dhona</i>	-
307	wipe	<i>suMgNa/ punjNa</i>	<i>punj-Na</i>	<i>poonhjana</i>	<i>tus</i>
308	disappear	<i>raTha/nosNa</i>	-	-	<i>gojhia</i>
309	cut	<i>kaTNa</i>	<i>Tuk-Na</i>	<i>katarna /</i>	<i>ka:T</i>
310	dig	<i>kotNa</i>	<i>khuN-Na</i>	<i>khunna</i>	<i>chinda</i>
311	milk	<i>du:dh</i>	<i>du-na</i>	<i>gaa</i>	<i>du:d</i>
312	bark	<i>khLepDa</i>	<i>bhōk-Na</i>	<i>bhenkana</i>	<i>chilka</i>
313	drink	<i>pina/jhuTNa</i>	<i>pi-Na</i>	<i>peena</i>	<i>pi</i>
314	eat	<i>khana</i>	<i>kha-Na</i>	<i>khana</i>	-
315	feed	<i>khyandi</i>	<i>khwa-Na</i>	<i>dhuana</i>	<i>khadh</i>
316	call	<i>sadNa</i>	<i>bula-Na</i>	<i>hakpana</i>	<i>bulaw</i>
317	write	<i>likNa</i>	<i>likh-Na</i>	<i>likhana</i>	<i>lik</i>
318	run	<i>Thor marna</i>	<i>dAor-Na</i>	<i>khitlana</i>	<i>bha:g</i>
319	send	<i>bhejNa/ phiSALna</i>	<i>bhej-Na</i>	<i>bhejana</i>	<i>bej</i>
320	slip	<i>pAsiNDNa/ jADiye pADana</i>	<i>pAo-Na</i>	<i>tiekana</i>	<i>psindhua</i>
321	swing	<i>jhuLNa</i>	<i>jhuT-Na</i>	-	-
322	swim	<i>terna</i>	<i>tAr-Na</i>	<i>tarna</i>	<i>taorna</i>
323	vomit	<i>ulTi/dwaki</i>	<i>twar-Na</i>	<i>ulTi</i>	<i>ulTi</i>
324	cultivate	<i>pajNa/ baNa</i>	<i>(hal) bah-Na</i>	<i>komal</i>	-
325	comb	<i>kAMgi/krishNa</i>	<i>baL bana-na</i>	-	<i>air</i>
326	graze	<i>cArNa</i>	<i>car-Na</i>	<i>gha-pattar</i>	<i>choar</i>
327	harvest	<i>luANa</i>	<i>phAsAl kaT- Na</i>	<i>lunana</i>	<i>chor</i>
327	lend	<i>kArja leNa</i>	<i>dhwar de-Na</i>	<i>udhae-len:a</i>	<i>dhwar</i>
328	plant	<i>buTa</i>	<i>buTa la-Na</i>	-	<i>paudhla</i>
329	paddy	<i>pAniri</i>	-	<i>boota /jarhan/ daloo</i>	<i>dha:n</i>
330	reap	<i>puLalaNa</i>	<i>kAT-Na</i>	<i>loonare: / badhae:</i>	<i>lunna</i>
331	sow	<i>baNa/ bij ceTANA</i>	<i>bah-Na</i>	<i>rahana</i>	<i>beejaji</i>
332	bite	<i>kute khau</i>	<i>kAT-Na</i>	<i>mach marna</i>	-
333	suck	<i>cuMgNa</i>	<i>cus-Na</i>	<i>guroorna</i>	-
334	tie	<i>bAnANA</i>	<i>banh-Na</i>	<i>banahna</i>	<i>baNDh</i>
335	wear	<i>laNe</i>	<i>pEhn-Na</i>	<i>pehnana</i>	<i>ki:ji</i>
336	answer	<i>jAwab deNa</i>	<i>jAbab de-Na</i>	<i>juale / parat lena</i>	<i>jawa:b</i>
337	ask	<i>puchNa</i>	<i>puch-Na</i>	<i>puchhana</i>	<i>kah</i>
338	say	<i>bolNa</i>	<i>bol-Na</i>	<i>galena</i>	<i>bo:l</i>
339	shout	<i>halla paNa</i>	<i>ciM-Na</i>	<i>jore ghaen / galeNa</i>	-
340	hide	<i>gojNa/lukNa</i>	<i>lukh-Na</i>	<i>lo:kana</i>	<i>bhera</i>
342	keep	<i>DaNa</i>	<i>rakh-Na</i>	(i) <i>rakhana</i>	<i>Dak</i>
		-	-	(ii) <i>samhalna</i>	
343	turn	<i>tumLe DaNa</i>	<i>moR-Na</i>	-	<i>aurocep</i>
344	stop	<i>bAnd kerna</i>	<i>rok-Na</i>	<i>band karna</i>	<i>ruk</i>
345	swell	<i>mahNa</i>	<i>suj-na</i>	<i>phulana</i>	<i>phula</i>
346	read	<i>pADNa</i>	<i>pAR-Na</i>	<i>paRhNa</i>	<i>paudh</i>
347	sleep/lie	<i>nid jaNa/soNa</i>	<i>S'o-Na</i>	<i>sauna</i>	<i>su:ta</i>

348	love	<i>jhurNa</i>	-	<i>pyar</i>	-
349	tired	<i>thAkNa</i>	<i>thAk-Na</i>	<i>thakaut</i>	<i>thaka</i>
350	name	<i>na</i>	<i>naõ de-Na</i>	<i>na:n nn)(na</i>	<i>na:m</i>
351	big	<i>bARa</i>	<i>bADDa</i>	<i>baDa</i> □	-
352	choose	<i>topi topi aNu</i>	<i>chât-Na</i>	<i>chuna</i>	<i>chaut</i>
353	die	<i>mua</i>	<i>mAr-Na</i>	<i>marna</i>	<i>muan</i>
354	life	<i>jiuda/jinda</i>	-	-	<i>ji:w</i>
355	earn	<i>komonda</i>	<i>kama-Na</i>	<i>kamana</i>	<i>kamai</i>
356	sit	<i>tumLe DaNa</i>	<i>bETH-Na</i>	<i>bhuen / bhoNa (on ground)</i>	<i>bash</i>
357	change	<i>bAdLNa</i>	<i>bAdl-Na</i>	<i>badalna</i>	<i>badal</i>
358	freeze	<i>jommu</i>	<i>jAma-Na</i>	<i>thandona</i>	<i>thandua</i>
359	wet	<i>sina/sogNa</i>	<i>gila kAr-Na</i>	<i>gilla</i>	<i>shog</i>
360	know	<i>jaNNa</i>	<i>jaN-Na</i>	<i>jaNna</i>	<i>laga patta</i>
361	learn	<i>sikhNa</i>	<i>S'ikh-Na</i>	<i>sikhana</i>	<i>paudh</i>
362	think	<i>soThNa/socNa</i>	<i>S'oc-Na</i>	<i>sochna</i>	<i>soch</i>
362	cry	<i>roNa/lera marna</i>	<i>ciM-Na</i>	<i>cheend marna</i>	<i>rou</i>
363	fear	<i>Dorna</i>	<i>dAr-Na</i>	<i>dar, dukar</i>	<i>Dor</i>
364	hear	<i>suNna</i>	<i>S'uN-Na</i>	<i>suNna</i>	<i>sun</i>
365	laugh	<i>hosNa</i>	<i>has-Na</i>	<i>hasama</i>	<i>hash</i>
366	taste	<i>swadNa</i>	<i>swad le-Na</i>	<i>chakhana</i>	<i>swa:d</i>
367	annoy	<i>jhikNa</i>	<i>nAraj ho-Na</i>	<i>gusse</i> □ <i>hona</i> □	<i>narai</i>
368	kiss	<i>poku leNa/popi deNa</i>	<i>pukka le-na</i>	<i>phaun lena</i>	<i>siskana</i>
369	love	<i>jhurNa</i>	<i>pyar kAr-Na</i>	<i>pyar</i>	<i>pre:m</i>
370	bathe	<i>nahiNa</i>	<i>nhao-Na</i>	<i>nahauna</i>	<i>sna:n</i>
371	smell	<i>suMgNa</i>	<i>S'iM-Na</i>	<i>soonghna</i>	<i>singh</i>
372	touch	<i>chuMgNna</i>	<i>chuh-Na</i>	<i>cho: hana.</i>	<i>uTh</i>
373	wake up	<i>bhiuNa/jagNa</i>	<i>jag-Na</i>	<i>jagaNa</i>	<i>uTh</i>
374	meet	<i>meLNa</i>	<i>mil-Na</i>	<i>milna</i>	<i>milna</i>
375	repay	<i>baps kerna</i>	<i>wapas kAr-Na</i>	<i>udhar chukna: haTTi</i>	<i>dena</i>
376	show	<i>dosNa/riaNa</i>	<i>dAs-Na</i>	<i>dekko</i> □ <i>wa</i>	<i>dekhana</i>
377	scratch	<i>pAcoDna</i>	<i>khRÂc lAg-Na</i>	<i>kurch-na</i>	<i>kosheNa</i>
378	good	<i>sobLa</i>	<i>Accha / khARa</i>	<i>kara</i>	<i>banka</i>
379	long	<i>bADDi buTa/ lAmi nAi</i>	<i>lamma</i>	<i>lammi</i>	<i>lamba</i>
380	new	<i>nAua</i>	<i>nAwã</i>	<i>:nnoa</i>	<i>nawi</i>
381	old	<i>praNa</i>	<i>proana</i>	<i>buDDa / pura</i> □ <i>na</i>	<i>parano</i>
382	some	<i>thoDese/kiche</i>	<i>kuch</i>	-	<i>kuch</i>
383	small	<i>ho:cha/h) u:cha</i>	<i>choTa</i>	<i>choTa</i>	<i>choTa</i>
384	smart	<i>sobLa</i>	<i>cust</i>	<i>chust</i>	<i>cha:Lu</i>
385	smooth	<i>mAjje seMge</i>	<i>saph</i>	-	<i>naraM</i>
386	straight	<i>jacha rrssta/ jachi bAT</i>	<i>sidha</i>	<i>sidha:</i>	<i>sidha</i>
387	far	<i>du:r</i>	-	<i>duar</i>	-
388	again	<i>bhiejet</i>	<i>pheri / bhi</i>	<i>fihri</i>	<i>bhi</i>
389	always	<i>ro:je</i>	<i>sAda</i>	<i>sada</i>	<i>sada</i>

390	before	<i>pele</i>	<i>pEele</i>	<i>pehle</i>	<i>pahile</i>
391	daily	<i>roje</i>	<i>roj dhyaRe</i>	<i>ro:j</i>	<i>roj</i>
392	day	<i>dhiaDa</i>	<i>dhyaRa</i>	<i>din</i>	<i>clheRha</i>
393	evening	<i>sona</i>	<i>sāj</i>	<i>sahnj</i>	<i>saunj</i>
394	late	<i>Der pai/bAlag pai</i>	<i>derak-ne</i>	<i>de:rr / de:ri</i>	<i>der</i>
395	today	<i>A:j</i>	<i>aj</i>	<i>a:j / aj</i>	<i>auy</i>
396	tomorrow	<i>sui</i>	<i>(agla) kal</i>	<i>kal</i>	<i>shu:i</i>
397	yesterday	<i>ka:l</i>	<i>(pichla) kal</i>	<i>pichkal / pichli roj</i>	<i>ij</i>
398	after	<i>badAn</i>	<i>bad / pheri</i>	<i>ba:d</i>	<i>taitaNu ba:d</i>
399	behind	<i>ba:d/piche</i>	<i>piche</i>	<i>pichen / pachem</i>	<i>pi:chei</i>
400	between	<i>mAnjAn</i>	<i>mAnjha</i>	<i>bichkar, bich</i>	<i>manjhe</i>
401	for	<i>betide(be)</i>	<i>kATThe</i>	<i>a:sthe n/ tae</i>	<i>bhi</i>
402	from	<i>skul(an)</i>	<i>-te</i>	<i>te: (from the), mijote</i>	<i>tekanu</i>
403	he, she	<i>so/so</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>seh / seh</i>	<i>sho</i>
404	here	<i>Akhe</i>	-	-	<i>aukh</i>
405	his/ her	<i>teira/tesara</i>	<i>tesra / tesara</i>	-	<i>teira</i>
406	I	<i>hau</i>	<i>hāu</i>	<i>me men, haun</i>	<i>hau</i>
407	it/ this	<i>ye</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>yeh / yeh</i>	<i>ai</i>
408	like	<i>jeu</i>	<i>sahi</i>	<i>sahii</i>	<i>aisai</i>
409	my	<i>mera</i>	<i>mera</i>	<i>mera</i>	<i>mera</i>
410	not	<i>nei</i>	<i>nAĩ</i>	<i>nihh</i>	<i>nai</i>
411	that	<i>so</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>seh</i>	<i>so</i>
412	those	<i>tesare</i>	<i>seo</i>	<i>unajo</i>	<i>tiya</i>
413	there	<i>tAkhe</i>	<i>tetthi</i>	<i>tutu</i>	<i>tokh</i>
414	they	<i>te</i>	<i>seo</i>	<i>seh</i>	<i>tiya</i>
415	their	<i>tinara</i>	<i>tinhara</i>	<i>tunahda</i>	<i>tiyara</i>
416	these	<i>ye sAbi</i>	<i>eo</i>	-	-
417	we	<i>ase</i>	<i>asse</i>	<i>asan</i>	<i>asa</i>
418	what	<i>ki</i>	<i>kea</i>	<i>kiya</i>	<i>ke</i>
419	when	<i>kebe</i>	<i>kebhe / kAdhi / kalli</i>	<i>kado:u</i>	<i>kebre</i>
420	where	<i>kAkhe/kA</i>	<i>kethi / kuthi</i>	<i>kuthu</i>	<i>kokhe</i>
421	you	<i>tuse</i>	<i>tusse</i>	<i>tum, ra, tijate</i>	<i>tu</i>
422	to you	<i>tusabe</i>	<i>tussajo</i>	<i>tijo, reyi, tetijo ta yita</i>	<i>taube</i>
423	your	<i>tusra</i>	<i>tussara</i>	<i>tuhara, tusanda</i>	<i>tera</i>
424	year	<i>bArs</i>	<i>sa:l</i>	<i>barih</i>	<i>sa:l</i>
425	and	<i>seMge</i>	<i>hor</i>	-	<i>hone</i>
426	at	<i>An</i>	<i>-le / -a</i>	<i>par / uppar</i>	<i>pand</i>
427	if	<i>AgAr/je:</i>	<i>AgAr</i>	<i>jan / jie</i>	<i>jhe</i>
428	in	<i>An</i>	<i>bhitAr</i>	-	<i>handre</i>
429	bad	<i>maRa</i>	<i>buRa</i>	-	<i>kara:b</i>
430	dirty	<i>genda</i>	<i>gAnda</i>	<i>gandha, mela:</i>	<i>hunda</i>
431	dry	<i>sukki (jimmi)</i>	<i>sukka</i>	<i>sukka</i>	<i>ashukno</i>

432	wild	<i>kheta</i> Arnak	<i>ja</i> Mli (animal), <i>Abba</i> R(tree)	<i>jungli</i>	<i>ja</i> Nli
433	wise	<i>ek</i> lmAnd	<i>Ak</i> AlmAnd	<i>ja:nka:r / samajda:r</i>	<i>budhiala</i>
434	east	<i>pur</i> Ab	<i>pur</i> b	<i>poorab</i>	<i>pu:ras</i>
435	end	<i>sire</i> pand	<i>khat</i> ma	<i>ka:tma / kanhDa</i>	<i>kat</i> M
436	far	<i>du:r</i>	<i>du:r</i>	-	<i>du:r</i>
437	right side	<i>Daine</i> pase	<i>Dāe</i> Na pasa / <i>sA</i> jja hath	<i>saje</i> sepa	<i>sul</i> Te back
438	middle	<i>m</i> Anj	<i>m</i> Anj la	<i>bichka:r, gabbe</i>	<i>manj</i>
439	north	<i>utt</i> ArAn	<i>utt</i> Ar	<i>utar s./ utare pa</i>	<i>utter</i>
440	left	<i>bau</i> a	-	<i>kh</i> abbe	<i>bauna</i>
441	morning	<i>doti</i>	<i>bhyag / do:t</i>	<i>bhi</i> yag	<i>dotti</i>
442	breakfast	<i>no</i> hari	-	-	-
443	many	<i>kh</i> ase	<i>b</i> At sare	<i>made:</i>	<i>bohu</i>
444	narrow	<i>T</i> Eng	<i>t</i> AM	<i>sanga</i> Da	<i>sa</i> NRa
445	raw	<i>k</i> Acca	<i>k</i> aca	<i>k</i> achha	<i>k</i> accha
446	rotten	<i>cok</i> unda	<i>s</i> ARi ra	<i>sa</i> Raya	<i>k</i> ara:b
447	right	<i>Thik</i> /soi	<i>Thik</i>	<i>d</i> ahi	<i>s</i> utha
448	dull	<i>be</i> ura	<i>s</i> usth	-	<i>ch</i> ild
449	sharp	<i>te:j</i>	<i>tej / p</i> Ena	<i>j</i> te	<i>ti:ch</i> akar
450	short	<i>(h)</i> o:cha	<i>cho</i> Ta	<i>cho</i> Ta / halka	<i>na</i> Ta
451	soft	<i>po</i> tha/nArem	<i>n</i> Arm	-	<i>n</i> araM
452	thin	<i>mih</i> n	<i>p</i> Atla	<i>pat</i> la	-
453	ugly	<i>sob</i> Li nei Athi	<i>g</i> Anda	<i>pad</i> da □	<i>b</i> ura
454	vice	<i>ma</i> Da kom	<i>dos</i>	<i>bi</i> rodhi	<i>bar</i> da:n
455	virtue	<i>kis</i> met	<i>gu</i> N	<i>k</i> ariya:ee	<i>kis</i> mat
456	left side	<i>bau</i> a	<i>bā</i> wa pasa / <i>kh</i> Abba hath	-	<i>bauna</i> bahar
457	near	<i>nede</i> jei	<i>ne</i> De	<i>ne</i> Ren	<i>ner</i>
458	out	<i>ba:r</i>	<i>b</i> ahr	<i>b</i> har	-
459	south	<i>d</i> AkhAN	<i>d</i> AkkhAN	<i>d</i> akhane	<i>d</i> akan
460	fast	<i>che</i> ka	<i>tej</i>	<i>tau</i> li	<i>che</i> ka
461	full moon day	<i>pun</i> nu	<i>pun</i> yā	<i>pun</i> nya	<i>pun</i> ya
462	month	<i>mi:na</i>	<i>mh</i> ina	<i>m</i> ah, <i>m</i> ena	<i>mi</i> nna
463	dinner	<i>bi</i> yaLi	-	-	-
464	night	<i>raci</i>	<i>rat</i>	<i>ra:t</i>	<i>ro</i> ti
465	season	<i>ri:t</i>	<i>ri:t</i>	<i>rut</i>	<i>mos</i> am
466	by	<i>(ga</i> DDi)n	<i>ja</i> riye	<i>,te (by me)minjo te</i>	<i>sou</i> ge
467	down	<i>th</i> ale	<i>he</i> Th	<i>he</i> Th / niche / <i>j</i> atha:n	<i>et</i> heh
468	how	<i>ni</i> ua	<i>kā</i>	<i>n</i> kihya	-
469	who	<i>ki</i> N	<i>kes</i> ra / <i>ko</i> sra	<i>kun</i>	<i>kun</i>
470	to us	<i>as</i> abe	-	<i>jo,shan jo</i> asha	<i>as</i> ase
471	to it/to this	<i>ei</i>	<i>e</i> jo / <i>e</i> sjo	<i>is</i> jo	<i>ai</i> se
472	its/of this	<i>e</i> ira	<i>e</i> sra	<i>is</i> da	<i>ai</i> ra
473	our	<i>a</i> sera	<i>a</i> ssara	<i>s</i> ahaRa, <i>a</i> sanda	<i>m</i> ha:ra
474	liquor	<i>ph</i> AmbRa	-	-	-

475	ground nut	<i>guTi</i>	-	-	-
476	beans	<i>fraS</i>	-	-	-
477	canal	<i>naLa</i>	-	-	-
478	apple	<i>seu</i>	-	-	-
479	courtyard	<i>khAL</i>	-	-	-
480	wave	<i>chali</i>	<i>lEhr</i>	-	-
481	grass shoe	<i>pila</i>	-	-	-
482	socks	<i>jArab</i>	-	-	-
483	wool	<i>u:n</i>	-	-	-
484	shoe	<i>polDa</i>	-	-	-
485	nail	<i>nohs</i>	-	-	-
486	court yard	<i>khAL</i>	-	-	-
487	pillow	<i>sriNo</i>	-	-	-
488	god	<i>devta</i>	-	-	-
489	blanket	<i>pATTu</i>	-	-	-
490	spider	<i>gLau</i>	<i>rAMgaLu</i>	<i>makkaRi</i>	<i>chi:t</i>
491	belly	<i>peT/Dhon</i>	<i>peT</i>	<i>pe:T / Ted</i>	<i>dhan</i>
492	ancestor	<i>khapre/siaNa</i>	<i>bujurg / purbAj</i>	<i>bajurag, syane</i>	<i>pu:rkei</i>
493	brother-in-law	<i>jwai</i>	<i>S'aLa</i>	-	<i>sa:la</i>
494	sister-in-law	<i>bhabi</i>	<i>S'aLi</i>	<i>sa□li, sa◌lehas</i>	-
493	beard	<i>daDi</i>	<i>daRi</i>	<i>dahari</i>	<i>darhi</i>
494	moustache	<i>mucha</i>	<i>mucha</i>	<i>mutchan</i>	<i>much</i>
495	navel	<i>tuni</i>	<i>tunnu</i>	-	-
496	mirror	<i>arsu</i>	<i>S'iS'a</i>	<i>si:sha / seshā.</i>	<i>aina</i>
497	to me	<i>mume</i>	<i>mAnjo / minjo / munjo</i>	<i>minjo</i>	<i>mumbe</i>
498	to them	<i>tinabe</i>	<i>tinhajo</i>	<i>jo, tinajo</i>	<i>teheura</i>
499	garlic	<i>lAsn</i>	-	-	<i>lasan</i>
500	mouse	<i>mu:sa</i>	<i>cua</i>	<i>chua</i>	<i>musha</i>

Comparative Lexicon of Indo-Aryan Languages

Sl. NO.	Gloss	Chambeali	Keonthali	Churahi	Bharmauri/Gaddi
1	air	<i>bya:r</i>	<i>bāger</i>	<i>agg, biar</i>	<i>biar</i>
2	ashes	<i>dhu:R</i>	<i>rākh</i>	-	<i>dhodu</i>
3	cloud	<i>baddal</i>	<i>bādeL</i>	<i>baddal</i>	<i>badalu</i>
4	cold	<i>tanD</i>	<i>shela</i>	<i>seet</i>	<i>hi:th</i>
5	darkness	<i>neha:ra</i>	<i>nhēra</i>	<i>andāru</i>	<i>nhe:ra</i>
6	earth	<i>dhart</i>	<i>bhuĩ</i>	<i>darti</i>	<i>dhart</i>
7	eclipse	<i>grehenu</i>	<i>grōNu</i>	<i>saragu</i>	<i>gra:n/grēn</i>
8	fire	<i>a:g</i>	<i>āgu</i>	<i>aag</i>	<i>a:g</i>
9	fog	<i>dhu:ri</i>	<i>dhuĩ</i>	<i>dho:r</i>	<i>dundu</i>
10	forest	<i>daNu</i>	<i>boNu</i>	<i>ba:nnu</i>	<i>banu</i>
11	hill	<i>paha:Ri</i>	<i>pahār</i>	<i>pahaR</i>	<i>heu</i>
12	ice	<i>hiyũ</i>	<i>barf</i>	<i>selow/hew</i>	<i>hi:t</i>
13	lake	-	<i>sarōwar</i>	-	-
14	pond	<i>teLa</i>	-	-	-
15	moon	<i>chandrema</i>	<i>chanderma</i>	<i>sukure/chand</i>	<i>chanani</i>
16	mountain	<i>paha:R</i>	<i>parbat</i>	<i>re:d</i>	<i>angāri/ankari</i>
17	rain	<i>barkha</i>	<i>barkhā</i>	<i>jari</i>	<i>barkha</i>
18	river	<i>dreya:</i>	<i>dreyo</i>	<i>daryo</i>	<i>adaria</i>
19	road	<i>bat</i>	<i>shaRek</i>	<i>sitiku</i>	<i>sarak/rasta</i>
20	sand	<i>te:tar</i>	<i>baLlu</i>	<i>jan/beina</i>	<i>letha: r</i>
21	sea	<i>samudr</i>	<i>sāgAr</i>	<i>samundar</i>	<i>samundar</i>
22	sky	<i>ga:s</i>	<i>smān</i>	<i>asman</i>	<i>ambar</i>
23	snow	<i>o:s</i>	<i>hyũ</i>	<i>hiyu</i>	<i>heũ</i>
24	star	<i>ta:ra</i>	<i>tāra</i>	<i>tara</i>	<i>sta:re</i>
25	stone	<i>pater</i>	<i>patheR</i>	<i>góR</i>	<i>na: r, gholē</i>
26	storm	<i>anDeR</i>	<i>thufān</i>	<i>tuffani</i>	<i>biar</i>
27	sun	<i>surej</i>	<i>sūraj</i>	<i>surj</i>	-
28	water	<i>pa:Ni</i>	<i>chis</i>	<i>pa:ni</i>	<i>pani</i>
29	weather	<i>rit</i>	<i>mōsembu</i>	<i>meg</i>	a) <i>halkibiyari,</i> b) <i>moṭṭibiyari</i>
30	wind	<i>bya:r</i>	<i>hawā</i>	<i>biar</i>	<i>biyari</i>
31	wood	<i>lakkaRi</i>	<i>la^kkhaRi</i>	<i>lakRi</i>	<i>ciṛi</i>
32	baby	<i>te:rek</i>	<i>baccha</i>	<i>bacha</i>	<i>nikka/bacha</i>
33	boy	<i>Tashu</i>	<i>baghēr</i>	<i>chokru</i>	<i>gobru</i>
34	bride	<i>noila:Ri</i>	<i>lāRi</i>	<i>la:ri</i>	<i>lāda</i>
35	bride groom	<i>nowa / a:Ra</i>	<i>lāRa</i>	<i>la:ra</i>	<i>ladi</i>
36	brother	-	-	-	-
37	brother elder	-	<i>bhaRa bhaiya</i>	<i>baraba</i>	<i>moṭṭabhiyalu</i>
38	brother younger	<i>bha:I</i>	<i>chōRa bhaiya</i>	<i>halkaba</i>	<i>halkabhiyalu</i>
39	child	<i>bacca</i>	<i>baccha</i>	<i>bacha</i>	<i>nikka/bacha</i>
40	daughter	<i>kuDi</i>	<i>bēTi</i>	<i>chokri</i>	<i>deo</i>

41	father	<i>ba:p</i>	<i>pita</i>	<i>babb,baba</i>	<i>buṛa/chacha</i>
42	friend	<i>mitr</i>	<i>mitr</i>	<i>mitre</i>	<i>a:ni</i>
43	girl	<i>kuDi</i>	<i>chōhTi</i>	<i>chokri</i>	<i>kuri</i>
44	husband	<i>la:Ra</i>	<i>pati</i>	<i>laRa</i>	<i>lada</i>
45	male	<i>ourk</i>	<i>thinD</i>	<i>mard</i>	<i>mard</i>
46	man	<i>purk</i>	<i>mich</i>	<i>meynu</i>	<i>manu</i>
47	marriage	<i>bya</i>	<i>biyāhe</i>	-	<i>biy?a</i>
48	maternal uncle	<i>sa:la</i>	<i>māma</i>	<i>maira bā:</i>	<i>mama (mōla)</i>
49	mother in law	-	-	-	-
50	mother	<i>ma</i>	<i>amma</i>	<i>amma</i>	<i>amma/eziz</i>
51	nephew	<i>naNNoi</i>	<i>bhānja</i>	<i>behedriya</i>	<i>batija/bandri- yar/badri-ja</i>
52	niece	<i>batheri</i>	<i>bhānji</i>	<i>bethri</i>	<i>banji/bhareyi</i>
53	old man	<i>buDDa</i>	<i>syāNa</i>	<i>saina mān</i>	<i>budda/sena</i>
54	person	<i>purk</i>	<i>mich</i>	<i>meinu</i>	<i>manu</i>
55	tall	<i>lambe</i>	<i>lemba</i>	<i>lamma</i>	<i>lamma</i>
56	lean	<i>patella</i>	<i>patla</i>	<i>patare</i>	<i>lissa</i>
57	fat	<i>moTa</i>	<i>moTa</i>	<i>tulla</i>	<i>tulla</i>
58	dumb	<i>bo:La</i>	<i>gunga</i>	<i>taTTa</i>	<i>gunga(tatta)</i>
59	blind	<i>aNha</i>	<i>kāna</i>	<i>kana</i>	<i>anda</i>
60	sister (younger)	-	-	<i>bi:R</i>	<i>bhenu</i>
61	sister (elder)	<i>didi/bubbi</i>	-	-	<i>baroji/barki/shalanu</i>
62	sister-in-law	<i>sha:li</i>	<i>SaLi</i>	<i>sa:Ri</i>	-
63	son	<i>puteri</i>	<i>bēTa</i>	<i>puttar</i>	<i>go:bru</i>
64	widow	<i>ranD</i>	<i>rānD</i>	<i>biduay</i>	<i>rendulu</i>
65	wife	<i>la:Di</i>	<i>garwāli</i>	<i>la:Ri</i>	<i>tirmbath/lari</i>
66	woman	<i>jana:Ni</i>	<i>jewāhis</i>	<i>jenani</i>	<i>janani/betari</i>
67	ant	<i>muko:Ri</i>	<i>ciMTi</i>	<i>kiRi</i>	<i>kakhi(cha:chi)</i>
68	bird	<i>pakhshi</i>	<i>panchi</i>	<i>ciRu</i>	<i>pakru</i>
69	cat	<i>bil:Ri</i>	<i>breli</i>	<i>biraDu</i>	<i>billi</i>
70	claw	-	<i>panja</i>	<i>nesh</i>	<i>béru/bacchu</i>
71	cock	<i>kokoR</i>	<i>murga</i>	<i>kukur/pakru</i>	<i>kukudu</i>
72	cuckoo	-	-	-	-
73	cow	<i>ga</i>	<i>gawō</i>	<i>ga</i>	<i>ga</i>
74	crab	<i>ke:kaRa</i>	<i>kēkRa</i>	-	<i>shekda</i>
75	dog	<i>kutta</i>	<i>kutta</i>	<i>kutta</i>	<i>kutar-u</i>
76	egg	<i>anDa</i>	<i>anDa</i>	<i>ande:ru</i>	<i>andā</i>
77	feather	<i>phank(u)</i>	<i>hatiNi</i>	<i>panku</i>	<i>phang</i>
78	fish	<i>macchi</i>	<i>macci</i>	<i>machli/macci</i>	<i>machi</i>
79	fly	<i>makhi</i>	<i>pank</i>	<i>ma:ch</i>	<i>udderna</i>
80	fox	<i>giddeR</i>	<i>gidAR/phewL a</i>	<i>syal</i>	<i>hōnki</i>
81	goat	-	<i>bakri</i>	<i>bakri</i>	<i>bakri</i>
82	hare	-	-	-	-

83	horn	-	<i>siṅg</i>	<i>singe:</i>	<i>hiṅg</i>
84	horse	-	<i>shōRa</i>	<i>ghoRe</i>	<i>gora</i>
85	lion	-	<i>shēr</i>	<i>ser</i>	<i>ser</i>
86	house	-	<i>gOur</i>	<i>ghar</i>	<i>ghar</i>
87	monkey	-	<i>bānder</i>	<i>bandar</i>	<i>bandharu</i>
88	nest	-	<i>kōlh</i>	<i>gulla</i>	<i>alla</i>
89	tail	-	<i>rūnc</i>	<i>jamme:re</i>	<i>chumuttu</i>
90	tiger	-	<i>shēr</i>	<i>rik</i>	<i>mirg/brāg</i>
91	tortoise	-	<i>kanchua</i>	<i>kaccua</i>	<i>kachhu</i>
92	wing	-	<i>chimRi</i>	<i>pank</i>	<i>pānku</i>
93	work	-	<i>kām</i>	<i>kam</i>	<i>kam</i>
94	back	-	<i>pīT</i>	<i>wapas</i>	<i>pith</i>
95	blood	-	<i>khūn</i>	<i>khoni</i>	<i>raktu</i>
96	body	-	<i>dēh</i>	<i>sarir/jhan</i>	<i>deh</i>
97	bone	-	<i>haDDi</i>	<i>haDDi</i>	<i>haddi</i>
98	breast	-	<i>cha:ti</i>	<i>chati</i>	<i>hick</i>
99	chest	-	<i>cha:ti</i>	<i>chati</i>	<i>chāti</i>
100	ear	-	<i>kānd</i>	<i>kanu</i>	<i>kān</i>
101	eye	-	<i>āk</i>	<i>ti?re</i>	<i>hākhri</i>
102	face	-	<i>mū</i>	<i>mu/chera</i>	<i>muh</i>
103	fever	-	<i>bukhār</i>	<i>bukar</i>	<i>tāp</i>
104	finger	<i>ongelu</i>	<i>guThi</i>	<i>ango:re</i>	<i>anguli</i>
105	foot	<i>pair</i>	<i>panja</i>	<i>paid</i>	<i>char</i>
106	hair	<i>chu:R</i>	<i>bāL</i>	<i>bal/kesh</i>	<i>haralu</i>
107	hand	<i>ha:t</i>	<i>hāt</i>	<i>hat</i>	<i>hāth</i>
108	flesh	<i>mās</i>	<i>pūThe</i>	<i>mās</i>	-
109	month	-	-	-	-
110	head	<i>sar</i>	<i>sir</i>	<i>sir</i>	<i>mūndu</i>
111	heart	<i>dil</i>	<i>ji:w</i>	<i>dil</i>	<i>dhil</i>
112	leg	<i>jang</i>	<i>Tāng</i>	<i>jung</i>	<i>jung</i>
113	lip	<i>o:T</i>	<i>ōt</i>	<i>o:T</i>	<i>labbudu</i>
114	liver	<i>jigger</i>	<i>kalēja</i>	<i>hottu</i>	<i>kalija</i>
115	lung	<i>hrdyo</i>	<i>phafDa</i>	<i>pepheta</i>	<i>fiipheru</i>
116	mouth	<i>mu</i>	<i>mū</i>	<i>mu</i>	<i>mū/toppudu</i>
117	neck	<i>garden</i>	<i>kēDi</i>	<i>kundi</i>	<i>kai-di</i>
118	nose	<i>nak</i>	<i>nāk</i>	<i>nakku</i>	<i>nakku</i>
119	pain	-	-	-	-
120	spine	-	<i>rīlh</i>	<i>pīT</i>	<i>řid</i>
121	tongue	<i>jib</i>	<i>jiM</i>	<i>jib</i>	<i>jibh</i>
122	tooth	-	<i>dānt</i>	<i>dhad</i>	<i>dānd</i>
123	waist	-	<i>kamar</i>	<i>kamri</i>	<i>dhak</i>
124	fruit	<i>phal</i>	<i>fal</i>	<i>fhal</i>	<i>fhal</i>
125	liquor	<i>sara:b</i>	<i>sarāb</i>	<i>sarab</i>	<i>dāru</i>
126	milk	<i>dud</i>	<i>dud</i>	<i>dudu:</i>	<i>dūdh</i>
127	salt	<i>nimak</i>	<i>lūn</i>	<i>lo:ru</i>	<i>loon</i>

128	smoke	<i>dūp</i>	<i>duwā</i>	<i>dhua</i>	<i>dŌa</i>
129	uncooked rice	-	<i>cāul</i>	<i>cache chawl</i>	<i>kachachoul</i>
130	kidney	-	-	-	-
131	ear ring	<i>ba:liyā</i>	-	-	-
132	banian	<i>banian</i>	<i>baniyen</i>	<i>anki</i>	<i>baanian</i>
133	cloth	<i>kapad</i>	<i>kapeD</i>	<i>kapra</i>	<i>hodunu</i>
134	door	<i>darwa:j</i>	-	<i>duar/du?r</i>	-
135	roof	<i>chati</i>	-	<i>chat</i>	-
136	rope	<i>rassi</i>	-	<i>dhoru</i>	<i>jóra</i>
137	cotton	<i>kapaDa</i>	<i>kapha</i>	<i>kaTTen</i>	<i>kapha</i>
138	front tuck	-	-	<i>kirich/kirij</i>	-
139	loom	-	<i>carkha</i>	<i>gaDDi</i>	<i>hārnū/rachu</i>
140	stick	<i>soThi</i>	<i>sōti</i>	<i>disa/sari</i>	<i>hoti</i>
141	bed	-	<i>bister</i>	<i>manja</i>	<i>bechanu</i>
142	door	-	<i>derwāja</i>	<i>duar/du?r</i>	<i>dār(bidhu)</i>
143	house	<i>ghar</i>	<i>ghōr</i>	<i>ghar</i>	<i>ghar</i>
144	roof	-	<i>chat</i>	<i>chat</i>	<i>chāti</i>
145	rope	-	<i>rashi</i>	<i>dhoru</i>	-
146	well water	<i>khu:</i>	<i>kuwēra pāNi</i>	<i>kukaru</i> <i>pani/karu pani</i>	<i>kú</i>
147	flute	<i>flu:T</i>	<i>bansri</i>		<i>biyule</i>
148	wall	<i>dwa:l</i>	<i>dwār</i>	<i>kant</i>	<i>kand</i>
149	window	<i>kiDki</i>	<i>kiDki</i>	<i>kiRki</i>	<i>dāri</i>
150	bamboo	<i>banju</i>	<i>bhās</i>	<i>ba:s</i>	<i>banju</i>
151	banana	<i>kheLa</i>	<i>kēLa</i>	<i>kela</i>	<i>kela</i>
152	barks	-	<i>taNNa</i>	<i>chilna</i>	<i>guguna</i>
153	brinjal	<i>manj</i>	<i>batā</i>	<i>beganu</i>	<i>bhendhu</i>
154	chilly	<i>pipali</i>	<i>mirche</i>	<i>pipeRi</i>	<i>pipi</i>
155	coconut	<i>narkal</i>	<i>neril</i>	<i>narial</i>	<i>fhal/fal</i>
156	flower	<i>phu:l</i>	-	<i>phul</i>	<i>fhul</i>
157	garden	<i>bagicha</i>	<i>begicha</i>	<i>bagija</i>	<i>bagija/bag</i>
158	grass	<i>gā</i>	<i>ghā</i>	<i>ga</i>	<i>gāh</i>
159	jack fruit	<i>kaTeD</i>	<i>kaThal</i>	<i>kajur</i>	<i>khathal</i>
160	leaf	<i>patta</i>	<i>patta</i>	<i>patar</i>	<i>patre</i>
161	mango	<i>a:m</i>	<i>ām</i>	<i>a:m</i>	<i>āmb</i>
162	paddy	<i>dha:n</i>	<i>dhān</i>	<i>kanak</i>	<i>dān</i>
163	plough	-	<i>?ōl</i>	-	<i>banna</i>
164	potato	<i>alu</i>	<i>hal</i>	<i>galole</i>	<i>ālu</i>
165	root	<i>jAd</i>	<i>jeR</i>	<i>jaR</i>	<i>jar</i>
166	sweet	<i>miTTa:</i>	<i>miThāi</i>	<i>miTTa</i>	<i>chein</i>
167	tree	<i>pe:D</i>	<i>dāL</i>	<i>buta/buT</i>	<i>boT</i>
168	vegetable	<i>tarka:ri</i>	<i>sabji</i>	<i>sabji</i>	<i>sabji</i>
169	labourer		<i>majūr</i>	-	<i>mujur</i>
170	land	-	-	-	-
171	money lender	-	<i>sahukār</i>	-	<i>choukar/ jimdar</i>

172	net	-	<i>jāl</i>	-	<i>jala</i>
173	potter	<i>khumar</i>	<i>kamhār</i>	<i>kumar</i>	<i>kumāre</i>
174	weaver	<i>bunukar</i>	<i>juḷāha</i>	<i>bununar</i>	<i>jula</i>
175	bitter	<i>koRa</i>	<i>kaRuwa</i>	<i>kaRka:</i>	<i>kāTna</i>
176	cheese	-	-	-	-
177	creeper	-	-	-	<i>narel</i>
178	fruit	<i>phal</i>	<i>fal</i>	-	<i>fhal/fal</i>
179	guava	<i>pyara</i>	<i>amrūd</i>	-	<i>mrūd/amrood</i>
180	lily	-	<i>kamal</i>	-	<i>sartajidi</i>
181	wheel	<i>chakka</i>	<i>pahiya</i>	-	<i>teir</i>
182	gum	-	<i>gūnd</i>	-	<i>gondu</i>
183	farm land	-	<i>khēch</i>	-	<i>hād</i>
184	mid wife	-	<i>dāyi</i>	<i>dayi</i>	<i>dayi</i>
185	black	<i>kha:la</i>	<i>ka:la</i>	<i>kala</i>	<i>kalah</i>
186	blind	-	<i>khāna</i>	<i>kana/anda</i>	<i>anda</i>
187	blue	<i>ni:la</i>	<i>nila</i>	-	<i>nila/lila</i>
188	coldness	-	<i>shela</i>	<i>tanDa</i>	<i>hith</i>
189	green	<i>hara</i>	<i>hara</i>	<i>hara</i>	<i>hāra</i>
190	hot	-	-	-	-
191	light	-	<i>presa</i>	<i>lightu/liTu</i>	<i>lo</i>
192	red	-	<i>lāl</i>	<i>la:l</i>	<i>lal</i>
193	brown	<i>bhu:ra</i>	<i>bhuRa</i>	<i>bo:ra</i>	<i>bura</i>
194	bright	<i>chamkila</i>	<i>camkhila</i>	<i>chamkila</i>	<i>chamkidar</i>
195	sour	<i>khaTTa</i>	<i>khaTTa</i>	<i>amlu</i>	<i>katta</i>
196	sweet	<i>mitta:</i>	<i>miTha</i>	<i>meTTu</i>	<i>miTTa</i>
197	white	<i>safed</i>	<i>sapēd</i>	<i>hatchu</i>	<i>hachha</i>
198	yellow	<i>pi:la</i>	<i>pīla</i>	<i>halduru</i>	<i>piyula</i>
199	hungry	<i>bu:g</i>	<i>bhūka</i>	<i>bru:k</i>	<i>bhrukna</i>
200	love	<i>bya:r</i>	<i>pyār</i>	<i>piya:ru</i>	<i>dā</i>
201	pain	<i>dard</i>	<i>beddanu</i>	<i>bredth</i>	<i>pīR</i>
202	TRUE	<i>sac</i>	<i>saccha</i>	<i>such</i>	<i>sāch-a</i>
203	wish	-	<i>chahena</i>	<i>ashirwa:d</i>	-
204	ink	<i>ka:li</i>	<i>syāhi</i>	<i>siyay</i>	<i>ciyei</i>
205	school	<i>pa:Dsa:la</i>	<i>skūl</i>	<i>sku:l</i>	<i>skulue</i>
206	bus	<i>vidya:rti</i>	<i>bas</i>	-	<i>bassu</i>
207	student	<i>adyapak</i>	<i>pRahāku</i>	<i>paRir</i>	<i>skulieye</i>
208	teacher	-	<i>guru</i>	<i>master</i>	<i>masTer</i>
209	bullet	-	<i>gōli</i>	<i>gole:</i>	<i>goR</i>
210	drum	-	<i>dhōl</i>	<i>do:l</i>	<i>dholki</i>
211	enemy	-	<i>beri</i>	<i>dusman</i>	<i>dusman/beyari</i>
212	debt	-	<i>rīNu</i>	<i>karja</i>	<i>ri-ni</i>
213	divorce	<i>kasem</i>	<i>mard</i>	<i>talak</i>	<i>pharkadi</i>
214	festival	<i>dweha:r</i>	<i>dewahār</i>	<i>mela</i>	<i>dhuaru</i>
215	heaven	-	<i>surg</i>	<i>sarakanj</i>	<i>suwarg/surg</i>
216	hell	-	<i>narek</i>	<i>empu:ri</i>	<i>nark</i>

217	theft	<i>churi</i>	<i>chōri</i>	<i>cho:r</i>	<i>chori</i>
218	fair	-	-	-	-
219	worship	-	<i>pūja</i>	<i>o:ja:j</i>	<i>puja</i>
220	play	-	-	-	<i>khelha</i>
221	gold	<i>sona</i>	<i>sona</i>	<i>sona</i>	<i>sunnu</i>
222	iron	<i>loha</i>	<i>loha</i>	<i>lohar</i>	<i>loha</i>
223	brass	<i>pittal</i>	<i>pital</i>	<i>pital</i>	<i>tramba</i>
224	lime	-	<i>cuNa</i>	<i>nibu</i>	<i>tattā</i>
225	money	<i>p^hase</i>	<i>pAsa</i>	<i>paisa:</i>	<i>dhela/peha</i>
226	silver	<i>slver</i>	<i>chāndi</i>	<i>chande:</i>	<i>chandi</i>
227	garland	<i>maLa</i>	<i>hār</i>	<i>fhul-a-kera</i>	<i>mala</i>
228	first	<i>pahela</i>	<i>pehela</i>	<i>pehele:</i>	<i>phela</i>
229	second	<i>duwa</i>	<i>duja</i>	<i>dusra</i>	<i>dua</i>
230	third	<i>treyya</i>	<i>tija</i>	<i>tisra:</i>	<i>triya</i>
231	one	<i>e:k</i>	<i>ēk</i>	<i>ak</i>	<i>ak</i>
232	two	<i>do</i>	<i>do</i>	<i>do:</i>	<i>due</i>
233	three	<i>ti:n</i>	<i>tin</i>	<i>tra:</i>	<i>tray</i>
234	four	<i>cha:r</i>	<i>cār</i>	<i>ch:ar/jor</i>	<i>chour</i>
235	five	<i>pān</i>	<i>panj</i>	<i>pa:nj</i>	<i>panj</i>
236	six	<i>che</i>	<i>ce</i>	<i>cho:</i>	<i>chey</i>
237	seven	<i>sa:t</i>	<i>sat</i>	<i>sakt</i>	<i>sat</i>
238	eight	<i>a:t</i>	<i>at^h</i>	<i>at</i>	<i>aT</i>
239	nine	<i>nou</i>	<i>nOu</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>no</i>
240	ten	<i>das</i>	<i>dash</i>	<i>das</i>	<i>dahu</i>
241	sixteen	<i>cho:la</i>	<i>soLa</i>	<i>so:la</i>	<i>sohra</i>
242	twenty	<i>bi</i>	<i>bi</i>	<i>bi</i>	<i>bi</i>
243	forty	<i>ca:li</i>	<i>chāLi</i>	<i>chaRe</i>	<i>chāre</i>
244	blind	-	<i>bāndNa</i>	<i>andna/joRna</i>	<i>bandna</i>
245	blow(balloon)	-	<i>beheNa</i>	<i>phukida</i>	<i>bejana/bún</i>
246	blow(kick)	-	-	-	-
247	break	<i>chorna</i>	<i>toRNa</i>	<i>danda,</i>	<i>bhandna</i>
248	burn	<i>jaLna</i>	<i>jalNa</i>	<i>po:kna</i>	<i>fhukna</i>
249	carry	<i>uThana</i>	<i>cak^hna, uThana, cak^hna</i>	<i>neon</i>	<i>legana</i>
250	catch	<i>pakedna</i>	<i>picha karNa, pakeDna, pōkNa.</i>	<i>pakkaRna</i>	<i>pakkaRna</i>
251	clean	-	<i>sāf</i>	<i>saf</i>	<i>sāfchudra</i>
252	do	<i>kar</i>	<i>kar</i>	<i>ka:nu</i>	<i>karna</i>
253	fall	<i>girna</i>	-	<i>girna</i>	<i>urdna</i>
254	hold	<i>pakeDna</i>	<i>pakeDNa</i>	<i>pakkarRna</i>	<i>pakRna</i>
255	lick	<i>cha:Tna</i>	<i>chāTNa</i>	<i>sammand</i>	<i>chaTna</i>
256	make	<i>banana</i>	<i>baNāna</i>	<i>banana</i>	<i>banana</i>
257	mix	<i>milna</i>	<i>milāNa</i>	<i>kollunu</i>	<i>malana</i>

258	open	<i>kho:lna</i>	-	<i>ucchanu</i>	-
259	pick	<i>uTha:na</i>	<i>uThāNa</i>	<i>cikkanu</i>	<i>chukna</i>
260	hit	<i>saT</i>	-	-	<i>marna/tukna</i>
261	arrive	<i>pahuncna</i>	<i>pahuncNa</i>	-	<i>punjuna</i>
262	lean	<i>sa:f</i>	-	<i>bal/pitram</i>	<i>gherutena</i>
263	thick	-	<i>g^hNna / garāh</i>	-	<i>ghana</i>
264	play	<i>khe:lna</i>	-	<i>kelenu</i>	<i>kheldna</i>
265	pull	<i>khi:cha</i>	<i>k^hīcNa</i>	<i>cikkanu</i>	<i>chikna</i>
266	flow	<i>beheNa</i>	<i>tērna</i>	-	<i>luRna</i>
267	push	<i>dhak:Dna</i>	<i>dhakēLNa</i>	<i>dakkanu</i>	<i>dakkhadēna</i>
268	put	<i>rakhna</i>	<i>rAkhNa</i>	<i>soTTunu</i>	<i>rakna</i>
269	work	<i>ka:m karna</i>	-	-	<i>kam</i>
270	kill	<i>ma:rna</i>	-	<i>marna</i>	<i>marna</i>
271	sing	<i>ga:Na</i>	<i>gāNa</i>	<i>gana</i>	<i>gana</i>
272	bring	<i>la:na</i>	<i>lāNa</i>	<i>la:na</i>	<i>lina</i>
273	climb	<i>upper caDna</i>	<i>upper caRNa</i>	-	<i>chaRna/ku?ana</i>
274	come	<i>a:na/I:na</i>	<i>āNa</i>	-	<i>īna</i>
275	drag	<i>kīcan</i>	<i>kīcan</i>	<i>cikuno</i>	<i>àgupichu</i>
276	get	<i>pa:na</i>	-	<i>meli-nu</i>	<i>lena</i>
277	go	<i>ja:na</i>	<i>jāNa</i>	<i>ganu</i>	<i>gana</i>
278	jump	<i>kuDna</i>	<i>kudNa</i>	<i>uTganu/ chat</i>	<i>kuduna</i>
279	move	<i>hilna</i>	<i>hīlNa</i>	<i>chalonu</i>	<i>khelkna</i>
280	stand up	<i>khaDna</i>	-	<i>karuat</i>	<i>kariga</i>
281	take	<i>le:na</i>	<i>lēNa</i>	<i>leru</i>	<i>lena</i>
282	walk	<i>calna</i>	<i>calNa</i>	<i>chalane:</i>	<i>handna</i>
283	rub	<i>malna</i>	<i>malNa</i>	-	<i>malna</i>
284	sell	<i>bē:can</i>	<i>bēcNa</i>	-	<i>bichna</i>
285	shut	<i>handna</i>	<i>bAndkaRna</i>	-	<i>bandkarna</i>
286	sink	<i>Dukna</i>	<i>DugNa</i>	-	<i>dukna</i>
287	sprinkle	<i>chiRkna</i>	<i>chiRukNa</i>	-	<i>ku? ara</i>
288	squeeze (cloth/ lemon)	<i>nichoDna</i>	<i>nichōDNA</i>	-	<i>mechōduna</i>
289	spit	<i>thukNa</i>	<i>thukNa</i>	-	<i>tukna</i>
290	hunt	<i>sika:r</i>	<i>sikār karNa</i>	-	-
291	shoot	<i>golimarna</i>	<i>gōLi mārNa</i>	-	<i>golimarna</i>
292	split	<i>ciRna</i>	<i>cīrNa</i>	-	<i>dalna</i>
293	fight	<i>laDna</i>	<i>laDNA</i>	-	<i>ghodlna</i>
294	quarrel	<i>jageDna</i>	<i>j^hageDNA</i>	-	<i>mukki</i>
295	enter	<i>andor ja:na</i>	<i>ander jāNa</i>	<i>ei-nu</i>	<i>goosndna</i>
296	escape	<i>bacnielna</i>	<i>bac nikelNa</i>	<i>nasu_nu</i>	
297	fly	<i>uRna</i>	<i>uRNa</i>	<i>udder-nu</i>	<i>uddurna</i>
298	get up	<i>ja:gna</i>	<i>jāgNa</i>	<i>uTTunu</i>	<i>jagna/uTTna</i>
299	give	<i>dena</i>	<i>deNa</i>	<i>denu</i>	<i>dina</i>
300	tear	<i>pha:Dna</i>	<i>p^hādNa</i>	-	<i>athru/tipla</i>
301	stab	<i>ghōmpna</i>	<i>g^hōmpNa</i>	<i>takna</i>	<i>marna</i>

302	throw	<i>phēkna</i>	<i>phēkNa</i>	-	<i>phekno/t</i>
303	hit drum	<i>baja:na</i>	<i>bajāNa</i>	-	-
304	dance	<i>na:can</i>	<i>nācNa</i>	<i>nacna</i>	<i>nacna</i>
305	wash	<i>dho:na</i>	<i>dhōNa</i>	-	<i>dona</i>
306	wash (utensils)	-	-	-	-
307	wipe	<i>pōcan</i>	<i>pōcan</i>	-	<i>phujana</i>
308	disappear	-	-	-	-
309	cut	<i>katna</i>	<i>kāTna</i>	-	<i>badna</i>
310	dig	<i>kho:dNa</i>	<i>khōdNa/ khanuNa</i>	-	<i>khalna</i>
311	milk	<i>duhna</i>	<i>duhNa</i>	-	<i>dud</i>
312	bark	<i>bōkna</i>	<i>bōkNa</i>	-	<i>guguna</i>
313	drink	<i>pina</i>	<i>pīNa</i>	-	<i>pīna</i>
314	eat	<i>khana</i>	<i>khāNa</i>	-	<i>kana</i>
315	feed	<i>bajen deNa</i>	<i>bōjen deNa</i>	-	<i>kūana</i>
316	call	<i>palka:rna/bula:n a</i>	<i>pukārNa</i>	-	<i>badana</i>
317	write	<i>li:kna</i>	<i>likNa</i>	-	<i>likna</i>
318	run	<i>do:dna</i>	<i>doDNa</i>	-	<i>toRna/nahna</i>
319	send	<i>be:jna</i>	<i>bējNa</i>	-	<i>bejuna</i>
320	slip	<i>bu:lkarNa</i>	<i>būl karNa</i>	-	<i>kisna</i>
321	swing	<i>ju:lna</i>	<i>jūlNa</i>	-	<i>jhuTTina</i>
322	swim	<i>Te:rna</i>	<i>TērNa</i>	-	<i>karna</i>
323	vomit	<i>ulTi karna</i>	<i>ulTi arNa</i>	-	<i>fhatay</i>
324	cultivate	<i>jo:tna</i>	<i>jōtNa</i>	<i>kammana</i>	<i>bhāna</i>
325	comb	<i>kanghi ma:rna</i>	<i>ang^hi karNa</i>	-	<i>kangu</i>
326	graze	<i>charana</i>	<i>carNa</i>	<i>ga:</i>	<i>charna</i>
327	harvest	<i>kaTa:na</i>	<i>phasel kaTāyi</i>	<i>ikkenu</i>	<i>badna</i>
327	lend	<i>uterna</i>	<i>uterNa</i>	<i>dena</i>	<i>udar</i>
328	plant	<i>ro:pna</i>	<i>rōpNa</i>	<i>botte butta</i>	<i>pakna</i>
329	paddy	-	-	-	-
330	reap	<i>ka:Tna</i>	<i>kāTNa</i>	<i>baTne</i>	<i>pakkura</i>
331	sow	<i>cirna</i>	<i>bouNa</i>	<i>takkhano:</i>	<i>bi?ana</i>
332	bite	<i>ka:Tna</i>	<i>kāTNa</i>	<i>badano</i>	<i>kaTna</i>
333	suck	<i>chu:sna</i>	<i>chūsNa</i>	<i>chusna</i>	<i>pina</i>
334	tie	<i>bandna</i>	<i>bandNa</i>	<i>paleTna</i>	<i>bannuna</i>
335	wear	<i>pahenna</i>	<i>paheNna</i>	<i>la:nu</i>	<i>lana</i>
336	answer	<i>jewa:b dena</i>	<i>jAwāb dēNa</i>	<i>uttar</i>	<i>uttardena/jawabden a</i>
337	ask	<i>pu:can</i>	<i>pūcNa</i>	<i>pucho</i>	<i>balna</i>
338	say	<i>geana</i>	<i>kaheNa</i>	<i>bolunu</i>	<i>kekna</i>
339	shout	<i>cilla:na</i>	<i>ciLLāNa</i>	<i>phekna/tajakn a</i>	<i>raulaphena</i>
340	hide	<i>chu:pna</i>	<i>c^hapāNa</i>	-	<i>lukna/lukīrna</i>
342	keep	<i>rakhna</i>	<i>rAkhNa</i>	-	<i>rakna/thēna/ mrodna</i>
343	turn	<i>muDna</i>	<i>muDNa</i>	<i>badalno</i>	<i>rookna</i>

344	stop	<i>rukna</i>	<i>rukNa</i>		<i>nigalna</i>
345	swell	<i>suja</i>	<i>pūlNa</i>	<i>appuronu</i>	<i>paRna</i>
346	read	<i>paDna</i>	<i>paDNa</i>	<i>paTno</i>	<i>chakna</i>
347	sleep/lie	<i>suna</i>	<i>soNa, paDe rehNa</i>	-	-
348	love	-	<i>rakNa</i>	<i>piyar</i>	<i>khijura</i>
349	tired	<i>takna</i>		<i>kijinu</i>	<i>na</i>
350	name	<i>nam</i>	<i>nāmleNa</i>	-	<i>moTTa</i>
351	big	<i>baDa</i>	<i>baDa</i>	-	<i>chālNa</i>
352	choose	<i>cunnuNa</i>	<i>cuNNuNa</i>	<i>chuluna</i>	<i>marna</i>
353	die	<i>mara</i>	<i>marNa</i>	<i>marigu</i>	-
354	life	-	-	<i>jinta</i>	<i>kmana</i>
355	earn	<i>kama:a</i>	<i>kamāNa</i>	<i>kammo-nu</i>	<i>behna</i>
356	sit	<i>be:Tna</i>	<i>bēTNa</i>	<i>besun</i>	<i>baddalna</i>
357	change	<i>badelna</i>	<i>hadelNa</i>	<i>badalna</i>	<i>tanDerna</i>
358	freeze	<i>jam karna</i>	<i>jamNa</i>	-	<i>sinna</i>
359	wet	<i>bhi:g</i>	<i>bhīgNa</i>	<i>sikdar</i>	<i>januna</i>
360	know	<i>ja:nuna</i>	<i>jānuNa</i>	<i>jadna</i>	<i>hihra/sikkaRna</i>
361	learn	<i>si:k</i>	<i>sikNa</i>	<i>sikarnu</i>	<i>sojna</i>
362	think	<i>sōc</i>	<i>sōcNa</i>	<i>sochnu</i>	<i>līra/runa</i>
362	cry	<i>ro:</i>	<i>rōNa</i>	<i>cinDe</i>	<i>jorg</i>
363	fear	<i>Der</i>	<i>DarNa</i>	<i>darno/dannu</i>	<i>hurna</i>
364	hear	<i>sunna</i>	<i>sunNa</i>	<i>sono-nu</i>	<i>hasna</i>
365	laugh	<i>hāsna</i>	<i>hāsNa</i>	<i>hasanu</i>	<i>jaguna</i>
366	taste	<i>cAkna</i>	<i>cakNa</i>	<i>chonu</i>	-
367	annoy	<i>kro:d karna</i>	<i>krōd karNa</i>	-	<i>pokka?a</i>
368	kiss	<i>chundna</i>	<i>chundNa</i>	<i>buku</i>	<i>da</i>
369	love	<i>pya:r</i>	<i>pyārkarNa</i>	<i>piyar</i>	<i>nehna</i>
370	bathe	<i>nahana</i>	<i>nahāNa</i>	<i>sandu</i>	<i>chuna</i>
371	smell	<i>sungna</i>	<i>suMgNa</i>	-	<i>cheR</i>
372	touch	<i>chuNa</i>	<i>c^huNa</i>	-	<i>ṭkarna</i>
373	wake up	<i>ja:g na</i>	<i>jāgNa</i>	-	<i>mulna</i>
374	meet	<i>milna</i>	<i>milNa</i>	<i>kituN</i>	<i>fhirna</i>
375	repay	<i>chukka:na</i>	<i>cukhāNa</i>	-	<i>dasuna</i>
376	show	<i>dkha:na</i>	<i>dikhāNa</i>	<i>kuruk kuruk</i>	<i>gichidna</i>
377	scratch	<i>kurucna</i>	<i>kurucNa</i>	<i>jab</i>	<i>kara</i>
378	good	<i>acca</i>	<i>acca</i>	<i>kara</i>	<i>lamma</i>
379	long	<i>lambe</i>	<i>lamba</i>	<i>lamma</i>	<i>nowa</i>
380	new	<i>naw</i>	<i>naya</i>	<i>nowa</i>	<i>prana</i>
381	old	<i>purNa</i>	<i>purāNa</i>	<i>purano</i>	<i>kuch</i>
382	some	<i>kuc</i>	<i>kuc</i>	<i>thoD</i>	<i>halka</i>
383	small	<i>cho:Ta/nikke</i>	<i>chōTa</i>	<i>halka thoD</i>	<i>chehhil</i>
384	smart	<i>hansmuk</i>	<i>hansmuk</i>	<i>chēR</i>	<i>padra</i>
385	smooth	<i>sa:f</i>	<i>sidha / sāf</i>	<i>cipra</i>	<i>sidda</i>
386	straight	<i>sidha</i>	<i>sidha</i>	<i>sidda:</i>	-

387	far	-	-	<i>du:r</i>	<i>doara/dually</i>
388	again	<i>duba:ra</i>	<i>debāra</i>	<i>pehla</i>	<i>rōje</i>
389	always	<i>sada</i>	<i>sada</i>	<i>roj</i>	<i>pehlé</i>
390	before	<i>paheLa</i>	<i>pahele</i>	<i>dyari</i>	<i>her roj</i>
391	daily	<i>ro:j</i>	<i>rōj</i>	<i>ro:j</i>	<i>dheRa</i>
392	day	<i>di:n</i>	<i>din</i>	<i>dyari</i>	<i>sajnu</i>
393	evening	<i>sa:nj</i>	<i>sānj</i>	<i>sandarac</i>	-
394	late	<i>der</i>	-	-	<i>āj</i>
395	today	<i>a:j</i>	<i>āj</i>	<i>a;j</i>	<i>dóddé</i>
396	tomorrow	<i>aglekal</i>	<i>aglakal</i>	<i>dode / dote</i>	<i>hī</i>
397	yesterday	<i>picalekal</i>	<i>piclakal</i>	<i>perhe</i>	<i>dualli</i>
398	after	<i>ba:d</i>	<i>bād</i>	<i>pichore</i>	<i>pichu</i>
399	behind	<i>piche</i>	<i>pīc^he</i>	<i>majamma</i>	<i>mojati</i>
400	between	<i>bicme</i>	<i>bīcme</i>	<i>nī:r</i>	<i>tūaye</i>
401	for	<i>keliye</i>	<i>keliye</i>	<i>sakkiya</i>	<i>tauru</i>
402	from	<i>ka</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>so/so</i>
403	he, she	<i>se</i>	<i>she</i>	<i>ukkiya/sakkay</i>	<i>idi</i>
404	here	<i>itte</i>	<i>yeti</i>	<i>usara</i>	<i>so</i>
405	his/ her	<i>teserA</i>	<i>tesra / tesri</i>	<i>usera</i>	<i>hau</i>
406	I	<i>me</i>	<i>phā</i>	<i>au</i>	<i>e</i>
407	it/ this	<i>ye</i>	<i>ye</i>	<i>ikkiyiya</i>	<i>kusera(sēra)</i>
408	like	<i>sama:n</i>	<i>samān</i>	<i>enane</i>	<i>munju (meratāye)</i>
409	my	<i>mera</i>	<i>mera</i>	<i>minda</i>	<i>na/niya</i>
410	not	<i>ni/mat</i>	<i>naī</i>	<i>na:</i>	<i>su</i>
411	that	<i>se</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>okkiya</i>	<i>su</i>
412	those	<i>se</i>	<i>sew</i>	<i>tain</i>	<i>haye</i>
413	there	<i>utte</i>	<i>teṭi</i>	-	<i>tari</i>
414	they	<i>se</i>	<i>sew</i>	<i>ukkiya</i>	<i>su</i>
415	their	<i>cinNora</i>	<i>cinnora</i>	<i>ukkiye</i>	<i>tiara</i>
416	these	<i>ye</i>	<i>?e</i>	<i>unaro</i>	<i>assi-jo</i>
417	we	<i>use</i>	<i>hamme</i>	<i>ekkia/asaDu</i>	<i>ke</i>
418	what	<i>ka</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>kuttu/okya</i>	<i>kane</i>
419	when	<i>kittane</i>	<i>kadi</i>	<i>kediya</i>	<i>kaDi</i>
420	where	<i>kette</i>	<i>keyi</i>	<i>koreya</i>	<i>tu(sg)</i>
421	you	<i>tu</i>	<i>tu / āp</i>	<i>tua tue:</i>	<i>tue(pl)</i>
422	to you	<i>tusi</i>	<i>tereke</i>	<i>tua:re - tay</i>	<i>tusiju/tunda</i>
423	your	<i>tusera</i>	<i>tera</i>	<i>thoDa</i>	<i>sal</i>
424	year	<i>bars</i>	<i>bars</i>	<i>hora/sa:d</i>	<i>kane/aur</i>
425	and	<i>aur</i>	<i>aur</i>	<i>aur</i>	<i>púr</i>
426	at	<i>par</i>	<i>par</i>	<i>gar</i>	<i>ji/je</i>
427	if	<i>tā</i>	<i>je</i>	<i>gar</i>	<i>andar</i>
428	in	<i>re</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>ai</i>	<i>bura</i>
429	bad	<i>bura</i>	<i>bura</i>	<i>bura</i>	<i>lachna</i>
430	dirty	<i>gande</i>	<i>ganda</i>	<i>tikku:na</i>	<i>kugga</i>
431	dry	<i>sukha</i>	<i>sukhāNa</i>	<i>sukkenu</i>	<i>banked/jangli</i>
432	wild	<i>jangli</i>	<i>jangli</i>	<i>halke</i>	<i>dimmaki</i>

433	wise	<i>samejda:r</i>	<i>samejdār</i>	<i>salak</i>	<i>sirndakkarna</i>
434	east	<i>pureb</i>	<i>pureb</i>	<i>purub</i>	<i>mugda</i>
435	end	<i>anth</i>	<i>ant</i>	<i>kadam</i>	<i>dūr/dured</i>
436	far	<i>du:r</i>	<i>dūr</i>	<i>du:r</i>	<i>sajkinanu</i>
437	right side	<i>sajja</i>	-	<i>daina</i>	<i>sajahāt</i>
438	middle	<i>bi:c</i>	<i>bicla</i>	<i>majamma</i>	<i>maja-ätte</i>
439	north	<i>utter</i>	<i>utter</i>	<i>uttar</i>	<i>uttari</i>
440	left	-	-	<i>omle pase</i>	-
441	morning	<i>bhensa:r</i>	<i>bhenser</i>	<i>biyaga:</i>	<i>baghig</i>
442	breakfast	-	-	-	-
443	many	<i>khu:b</i>	<i>bagOut</i>	<i>matte</i>	<i>máte</i>
444	narrow	<i>tang</i>	<i>tang</i>	<i>tang</i>	<i>sangda</i>
445	raw	<i>kacca</i>	<i>kacca</i>	<i>kaccu</i>	<i>katcha</i>
446	rotten	<i>soda</i>	<i>saDa hua</i>	<i>saRau</i>	<i>hadua</i>
447	right	<i>Ti:k</i>	<i>Thīk</i>	<i>ti:k-u</i>	<i>tīk</i>
448	dull	<i>phika</i>	<i>p^hika</i>	<i>ti:ku</i>	<i>dag</i>
449	sharp	<i>te:j</i>	<i>tēj</i>	<i>tej</i>	<i>peyna</i>
450	short	<i>cho:Ta</i>	<i>chāTa</i>	<i>halka</i>	<i>choTTa</i>
451	soft	<i>nerem</i>	-	<i>naram</i>	<i>khúna</i>
452	thin	<i>patla</i>	<i>patla</i>	<i>patle</i>	<i>patla</i>
453	ugly	<i>bhadda</i>	<i>bhadda</i>	<i>dide</i>	<i>kluchna</i>
454	vice	<i>burayi</i>	<i>burāyi</i>	-	<i>kudarsna</i>
455	virtue	<i>guna</i>	<i>gunu</i>	-	<i>sobdeyaDa</i>
456	left side	<i>khunja</i>	<i>khunja kannāra</i>	<i>omle pase</i>	<i>khabikanare</i>
457	near	<i>nheDe</i>	<i>nhēDe</i>	<i>ni:r</i>	<i>riddé</i>
458	out	<i>bahare</i>	<i>bahere</i>	<i>baya</i>	<i>bakar (ba? r)</i>
459	south	<i>dakkhen</i>	<i>dakkhen</i>	<i>daksin</i>	<i>dakkanu/dajanu</i>
460	fast	<i>te:j</i>	<i>tēj</i>	<i>chui</i>	<i>taule</i>
461	full moon day	<i>purana</i>	<i>punya</i>	<i>puniu</i>	<i>pūnniya</i>
462	month	<i>mahina</i>	<i>miNNa</i>	<i>mahina</i>	<i>maina</i>
463	dinner	-	-	-	-
464	night	<i>ra:t</i>	<i>rāt</i>	<i>ra:t</i>	<i>rāta</i>
465	season	<i>mosom</i>	<i>mosem</i>	<i>sijan</i>	<i>rit-karo</i>
466	by	<i>ka</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>hat</i>	<i>ini-matthey (this side)</i>
467	down	<i>nice</i>	<i>nice</i>	<i>eRniyati</i>	<i>bu? ya</i>
468	how	<i>kaisa</i>	<i>kasha</i>	<i>katiya</i>	-
469	who	-	<i>koun</i>	<i>kanu</i>	<i>kone</i>
470	to us	-	<i>hammānke</i>	<i>anaro/asaDu</i>	<i>e</i>
471	to it/to this	<i>ye</i>	<i>yeke</i>	<i>ikkiyiya</i>	<i>is</i>
472	its/of this	<i>ye</i>	<i>yesra</i>	-	<i>ettiyo</i>
473	our	-	<i>mara</i>	<i>asada / asaRa</i>	<i>mera</i>
474	liquor	-	-	-	-
475	ground nut	-	-	-	-
476	beans	-	-	-	-
477	canal	-	-	-	-

478	apple	-	-	-	-
479	courtyard	-	-	-	-
480	wave	<i>lehar</i>	<i>leher</i>	-	<i>challi</i>
481	grass shoe	-	-	-	-
482	socks	-	-	-	-
483	wool	-	-	-	-
484	shoe	-	-	-	-
485	nail	-	-	-	-
486	court yard	-	-	-	-
487	pillow	-	-	-	-
488	god	-	-	-	-
489	blanket	-	-	-	-
490	spider	<i>glau</i>	<i>glau</i>	<i>gro:d</i>	<i>groDDu</i>
491	belly	-	-	-	<i>dhidh</i>
492	ancestor	<i>piter</i>	<i>piter</i>	<i>potre paTa</i> <i>potre</i>	<i>petaru</i>
493	brother-in-law	<i>sa:la</i>	<i>sāla</i>	<i>sala</i>	<i>salā (jija)</i>
494	sister-in-law	<i>Sali</i>	<i>sāli</i>	<i>sali</i>	<i>Sali(daroji)</i>
493	beard	<i>dha:Ri</i>	<i>dhāRi</i>	-	<i>gaDi</i>
494	moustache	<i>mūc</i>	<i>mūc</i>	-	<i>mūcha</i>
495	navel	<i>koDu</i>	<i>koDu</i>	-	<i>neynu</i>
496	mirror	<i>ain</i>	<i>aiNa</i>	-	<i>sisā</i>
497	to me	<i>manke</i>	<i>mankhe</i>	-	<i>kinna(inna)</i>
498	to them	<i>tinake</i>	<i>tinnāke</i>	-	<i>tiya jo</i>
499	garlic	<i>lassen</i>	-	-	-
500	mouse	<i>musa</i>	<i>musa</i>	<i>musa</i>	<i>muha</i>

Comparative Lexicon of Indo-Aryan Languages (Hindi Group)

Sl. NO.	Gloss	Sirmauri	Pangwali	Bhateali	Bilaspuri/Kahluri
1	air	bəsma	<i>bjar</i>	<i>hAva</i>	<i>havā</i>
2	ashes	<i>bagu:r</i>	<i>pəʃas</i>	<i>rag</i>	<i>seva</i>
3	cloud	<i>badɔr</i>	<i>bəde</i>	<i>bAddAl</i>	<i>bāDdel</i>
4	cold	<i>feo:</i>	<i>tʰano</i>	<i>thAND</i>	<i>tʰeNd</i>
5	darkness	<i>nɛro</i>	<i>əndʰaro</i>	<i>andhera</i>	<i>andʰaro</i>
6	earth	<i>pritʰvi</i>	<i>dʰarti</i>	<i>dharthi/ miTTi</i>	<i>mitti</i>
7	eclipse	<i>grɔhən</i>	-	<i>grahon/ amber</i>	<i>grahan</i>
8	fire	<i>a:g</i>	<i>ag</i>	<i>Agg</i>	<i>āg</i>
9	fog	<i>koje:</i>	<i>tuɽi</i>	<i>tund</i>	<i>tūnd</i>
10	forest	<i>gʰa:o</i>	<i>ʃaŋgəl</i>	<i>baN/ JAngal</i>	<i>jangle</i>
11	hill	<i>ʃi:</i>	<i>pʰaʃ</i>	<i>paRi</i>	<i>pāRi</i>
12	ice	<i>dia</i>	<i>ɖaŋ</i>	<i>paraph/ jama kua jal</i>	<i>bAref</i>
13	lake	-	-	-	-
14	pond	-	-	-	-
15	moon	<i>ɖʒuã</i>	<i>ʃoso</i>	<i>CAnd</i>	<i>tS'end</i>
16	mountain	<i>ʃimba</i>	<i>cuʃ</i>	<i>paR</i>	<i>pār</i>
17	rain	<i>paŋi</i>	<i>mɛgʰ</i>	<i>mi / bar</i>	<i>mī</i>
18	river	<i>nɔʃ</i>	<i>dərau</i>	<i>pig / dhariya</i>	<i>derea</i>
19	road	<i>ʃəʃək</i>	<i>batʰ</i>	<i>sAerk</i>	<i>seRek</i>
20	sand	<i>re:t</i>	<i>bali</i>	<i>ret</i>	<i>rēt</i>
21	sea	<i>samundɔr</i>	-	<i>somundar</i>	<i>samuder</i>
22	sky	<i>sɔrig</i>	<i>aməɽ</i>	<i>akaS</i>	<i>ākaS'</i>
23	snow	<i>ola</i>	-	<i>bAraf</i>	<i>baraf</i>
24	star	<i>tara</i>	<i>tare</i>	<i>tergan</i>	<i>tāra</i>
25	stone	<i>patʰɔr</i>	<i>koʃ</i>	<i>pather</i>	<i>pAtthAr</i>
26	storm	<i>tupʰan</i>	<i>ɖu</i>	<i>neri</i>	<i>nēri</i>
27	sun	<i>surəɖʒ</i>	<i>dis</i>	<i>surji</i>	<i>sūraj</i>
28	water	<i>ʃi:f</i>	<i>p□j</i>	<i>pANi</i>	<i>pāni</i>
29	weather	<i>mosom</i>	<i>mɔsəm</i>	<i>amber</i>	<i>mausam</i>
30	wind	<i>ɖɔro baguʃ</i>	<i>bjar</i>	<i>vaya, havai</i>	<i>hava</i>
31	wood	<i>tʰi:ɽə</i>	<i>kaʃʰoʃ</i>	<i>lakdi</i>	<i>lAkkaR</i>
32	baby	<i>tʰoʃu</i>	<i>gabur</i>	<i>baL</i>	<i>bāl</i>
33	boy	<i>tʰoʃu</i>	<i>koa</i>	<i>muNDa</i>	<i>munda</i>
34	bride	<i>laʃe</i>	<i>bəuʃʰ</i>	<i>lari</i>	<i>lari</i>
35	bride groom	<i>laʃa</i>	<i>dʰaj</i>	<i>lara</i>	<i>lara</i>
36	brother		<i>bʰəu</i>	-	-
37	brother elder	<i>bɔʃa baia</i>	<i>maʃʰa bʰəu</i>	<i>boyya</i>	<i>para</i>
38	brother younger	-	<i>bʰəu</i>	-	-
39	child	<i>tʰoʃu</i>	<i>gabur</i>	<i>bAtja</i>	<i>bettS'a</i>
40	daughter	<i>tʰoʃe</i>	<i>kui</i>	<i>ti</i>	<i>ti</i>

41	father	<i>baba</i>	<i>bəu</i>	<i>bap</i>	<i>bāp/peō</i>
42	friend	<i>sat^{hə}</i>	<i>bac^hubai</i>	<i>mitru</i>	<i>dōst/eār</i>
43	girl	<i>tʃ^hoʃe</i>	<i>kui</i>	<i>kuri</i>	<i>kuri</i>
44	husband	<i>malik</i>	<i>taj</i>	<i>khasAm</i>	<i>khesom</i>
45	male	<i>mɔɾɔd</i>	<i>mad</i>	<i>puruS</i>	<i>āmi</i>
46	man	<i>matʃ^h</i>	<i>ʃoan mao</i>	<i>admi, maNu</i>	<i>puruS'</i>
47	marriage	<i>ʃadə</i>	<i>ʃan</i>	<i>parinay, bibhag, bea</i>	<i>videS'</i>
48	maternal uncle	<i>mama</i>	<i>mama</i>	<i>mama</i>	<i>māmā</i>
49	mother in law	-	-	-	-
50	mother	<i>ama</i>	<i>i:</i>	<i>ma</i>	<i>mā</i>
51	nephew	<i>bətiɖʒa or bandʒə</i>	<i>b^haʃeʃ</i>	<i>pAttidza</i>	<i>pattija</i>
52	niece	<i>bətiɖʒə or bandʒə</i>	<i>paʃeʃ</i>	<i>pAttidzi</i>	<i>pattiji</i>
53	old man	<i>buʃa matʃ^h</i>	-	<i>buDDa</i>	<i>būDDa</i>
54	person	<i>matʃ^h</i>	-	<i>manus</i>	<i>āmi</i>
55	tall	<i>lamba</i>	<i>ləmma</i>	<i>lamba</i>	<i>lamma</i>
56	lean	<i>sahra laŋa</i>	<i>duba</i>	<i>patheli</i>	<i>pAtel</i>
57	fat	<i>moʃa</i>	<i>ʃabbər ~ moʃa</i>	<i>tSapta</i>	<i>motta</i>
58	dumb	<i>guŋgi or guŋgə</i>	<i>guŋa</i>	<i>taTTa</i>	<i>guga</i>
59	blind	<i>ənda or əndə</i>	<i>kaŋa</i>	<i>khaNa</i>	<i>Anna</i>
60	sister (younger)	-	-	<i>pen</i>	<i>pen</i>
61	sister (elder)	<i>bɔŋ</i>	<i>bɔŋi dɛʒi</i>	-	-
62	sister-in-law	<i>nɔŋɔd</i>	<i>ʃaʃo</i>	<i>sali</i>	<i>perɖjai</i>
63	son	<i>tʃ^hoʃa</i>	<i>koa</i>	<i>puttAr</i>	<i>putter, bēta</i>
64	widow	<i>bidva</i>	<i>rəŋapa ʃəlau</i>	<i>vidava</i>	<i>videva</i>
65	wife	<i>gɔɾva</i>	<i>ʃuel</i>	<i>laDi</i>	<i>veTTi</i>
66	woman	<i>ɔstre</i>	<i>ʃəlau</i>	<i>orAt, jenanai</i>	<i>oreT</i>
67	ant	<i>tʃiʃi</i>	<i>ʃeɔŋi</i>	<i>kiRi</i>	<i>kiri</i>
68	bird	<i>tʃɔru</i>	<i>caʃi</i>	<i>gerya</i>	<i>peksi</i>
69	cat	<i>bre</i>	<i>caʃi</i>	<i>billi</i>	<i>billi</i>
70	claw	<i>nɔ:f</i>	<i>nəʃ</i>	<i>nak, jaghul, nes</i>	<i>neu</i>
71	cock	<i>murga</i>	<i>kokkoʃ</i>	<i>murga</i>	<i>murga</i>
72	cuckoo	-	-	-	-
73	cow	<i>gao</i>	<i>gəuʃa</i>	<i>gau</i>	<i>gāy</i>
74	crab	-	-	<i>kekra</i>	<i>kekRa</i>
75	dog	<i>kukur</i>	<i>kutur</i>	<i>kuTTa</i>	<i>kutta</i>
76	egg	<i>ənda</i>	<i>anuʃ</i>	<i>aNDa</i>	<i>añDa</i>
77	feather	<i>pəŋk^h</i>	<i>pak^hoʃ</i>	<i>fur, fungfur</i>	-
78	fish	<i>matʃ^hə</i>	<i>məc^hli</i>	<i>mattShi</i>	<i>mattchl</i>

79	fly	<i>mak^{hə}</i>	<i>mac^{hi}</i>	<i>makhi</i>	<i>ūdd</i>
80	fox	<i>se:</i>	<i>səgal</i>	<i>giddAr</i>	<i>giddeR</i>
81	goat	<i>bakra</i>	<i>bakiɽ</i>	<i>bAkkAri</i>	<i>bekra</i>
82	hare	-	-	-	-
83	horn	<i>fi:ŋ</i>	<i>fəŋg</i>	<i>sing</i>	<i>siŋg</i>
84	horse	<i>g^hoɽa</i>	<i>g^hoɽa</i>	<i>ghoRa</i>	<i>koRa</i>
85	lion	<i>brag</i>	<i>lag</i>	<i>ser</i>	<i>ser</i>
86	house	<i>gɔr</i>	<i>gih</i>	<i>ghAr</i>	<i>ker</i>
87	monkey	<i>bandɔr</i>	<i>bandur</i>	<i>bandAr</i>	<i>bander</i>
88	nest	<i>ko:r</i>	<i>golla</i>	<i>allAna</i>	<i>allena</i>
89	tail	<i>pūdzŋe</i>	<i>pūc^{he}</i>	<i>putSh</i>	<i>putS^h</i>
90	tiger	<i>brag</i>	<i>lag</i>	<i>mirk</i>	<i>tS'ita</i>
91	tortoise	<i>kəŋ^hua</i>	<i>kəc^hua</i>	<i>kAtSva</i>	<i>katS^hva</i>
92	wing	<i>pəŋk^h</i>	<i>pak^hoɽ</i>	<i>pANg</i>	<i>per</i>
93	work	<i>kam</i>	<i>kam kəro</i>	<i>kam</i>	<i>kām</i>
94	back	<i>pi:t^h</i>	<i>pəɽ^h</i>	<i>pith</i>	<i>pitt^h</i>
95	blood	<i>mojla</i>	<i>ləu</i>	<i>gun</i>	<i>leu</i>
96	body	<i>pran</i>	<i>ʃən</i>	<i>sarir</i>	<i>piñda</i>
97	bone	<i>aɽɔ</i>	<i>həɖ</i>	<i>haDDi</i>	<i>haDDi</i>
98	breast	-	-	<i>tShatti</i>	<i>tS'hatti</i>
99	chest	<i>i:k</i>	<i>ɖaɖoɽ</i>	<i>tShatti</i>	<i>tS'atti</i>
100	ear	<i>kan</i>	<i>kan</i>	<i>kAnn</i>	<i>kann</i>
101	eye	<i>āk^h</i>	<i>ʃi</i>	<i>Akkh</i>	<i>akkh</i>
102	face	<i>mu:h</i>	<i>muh</i>	<i>mu</i>	<i>mū</i>
103	fever	<i>ta:p</i>	<i>sək</i>	<i>pukhar</i>	<i>bAxar</i>
104	finger	<i>gunɽ^ha</i>	<i>aŋul</i>	<i>uNgel</i>	<i>ungel</i>
105	foot	-	-	<i>peR</i>	<i>pēr/pāi</i>
106	hair	<i>ba:r</i>	<i>cafəɽ</i>	<i>bal</i>	<i>vāl</i>
107	hand	<i>hāt^h</i>	<i>hato</i>	<i>hAtth</i>	<i>hatth</i>
108	flesh	<i>ma:s</i>	<i>māso</i>	<i>mas</i>	<i>mās</i>
109	month	-	-	<i>mahina</i>	<i>minna</i>
110	head	<i>mu:nɖ</i>	<i>magəɽ</i>	<i>sir</i>	<i>sir</i>
111	heart	<i>ɖziu</i>	<i>dil</i>	<i>dil</i>	<i>dil</i>
112	leg	<i>la:t</i>	<i>k^hur</i>	<i>lAtt</i>	<i>latt</i>
113	lip	<i>o:t^h</i>	<i>oɽ^h</i>	<i>bull</i>	<i>būll</i>
114	liver	<i>kələɖza</i>	<i>kaɽa</i>	<i>jiger</i>	<i>jigger</i>
115	lung	<i>p^hep^hra</i>	<i>paʃe</i>	<i>phepDa</i>	<i>p^hepro</i>
116	mouth	<i>mu:</i>	<i>muh</i>	<i>mu</i>	<i>mū</i>
117	neck	<i>ʃaʃu</i>	<i>kjaɽ</i>	<i>giTTSi</i>	<i>gittS'I</i>
118	nose	<i>nak</i>	<i>nak</i>	<i>na:k</i>	<i>nākk</i>
119	pain	-	-	<i>dhArD</i>	<i>piR</i>
120	spine	<i>riɽəre haɖɖə</i>	<i>piɽ^h kəŋkəɽ</i>	<i>pit ki rit</i>	<i>rid^h</i>
121	tongue	<i>ɖzi:b</i>	<i>ʃibuɽ</i>	<i>jib</i>	<i>jib</i>
122	tooth	<i>dād</i>	<i>dant</i>	<i>jAnd</i>	<i>dand</i>

123	waist	<i>kūc</i>	<i>məjine gəhra</i>	<i>lAkk</i>	<i>lakk</i>
124	fruit	<i>p^həl</i>	<i>p^həl</i>	<i>phal</i>	<i>phal</i>
125	liquor	<i>mulɛt^hə</i>	-	<i>SarAb</i>	<i>daru</i>
126	milk	<i>du:d</i>	<i>dud</i>	<i>duDh</i>	<i>dūdd</i>
127	salt	<i>k^haro</i>	<i>luŋ</i>	<i>looN</i>	<i>lūn</i>
128	smoke	<i>dūā</i>	<i>tu</i>	<i>dhum</i>	<i>tūa</i>
129	uncooked rice	<i>tʃaur</i>	-	<i>kacha dhan</i>	-
130	kidney	-	-	-	-
131	ear ring	-	-	-	-
132	banian	-	-	<i>anderas</i>	<i>bAniAn</i>
133	cloth	<i>lɔte</i>	<i>cɛŋe</i>	<i>kapar</i>	<i>kappaRe</i>
134	door	<i>doar</i>	-	<i>duar /bua</i>	<i>bua</i>
135	roof	<i>tʃ^hapor</i>	-	<i>chAt</i>	<i>tS'ett</i>
136	rope	<i>rɔfə</i>	-	<i>rajudu</i>	<i>rassa</i>
137	cotton	<i>taku</i>	-	<i>sooTh</i>	<i>ru</i>
138	front tuck	-	-	<i>grease</i>	-
139	loom	-	-	<i>kAddi</i>	<i>kheDDi</i>
140	stick	<i>ɖiŋta</i>	<i>ləuɖi</i>	<i>Danda</i>	<i>soTTi</i>
141	bed	<i>bistər</i>	-	<i>bachan</i>	<i>k^heT</i>
142	door	-	<i>dvar</i>	<i>duar /bua</i>	<i>bua</i>
143	house	<i>gɔr</i>	<i>gih</i>	<i>ghAr</i>	<i>ker</i>
144	roof	-	<i>c^hət</i>	<i>chAt</i>	<i>tS'ett</i>
145	rope	-	<i>raʃuɽ</i>	<i>rajudu</i>	<i>rassa</i>
146	well water	<i>kuā ka tʃi:f</i>	<i>k^hua</i>	<i>kuRa pani</i>	<i>khu</i>
147	flute	<i>bāfu</i>	<i>b□c</i>	-	<i>bensi</i>
148	wall	<i>dvar</i>	<i>b^hit</i>	<i>tiyar</i>	<i>kend</i>
149	window	<i>k^hɽkə</i>	<i>k^hɽki</i>	<i>khiRki</i>	<i>bari</i>
150	bamboo	-	-	<i>vas</i>	<i>vās</i>
151	banana	<i>kea</i>	<i>kela</i>	<i>khella</i>	<i>kella</i>
152	barks	-	-	<i>ciRna</i>	<i>chilka</i>
153	brinjal	<i>bɔʃe</i>	<i>bɛŋgən</i>	<i>vAtau</i>	<i>vetau</i>
154	chilly	<i>pipri</i>	<i>pipi</i>	<i>mircha</i>	<i>mirci</i>
155	coconut	<i>gore</i>	<i>gari</i>	<i>naRiyal</i>	<i>narel</i>
156	flower	<i>p^hul</i>	<i>p^hul</i>	<i>phul</i>	<i>p^hull</i>
157	garden	<i>bəgica</i>	<i>bag</i>	<i>bhachitra</i>	<i>bāg</i>
158	grass	<i>k^hɽ</i>	<i>g^has</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>g^has</i>
159	jack fruit	-	-	<i>kAtthAl</i>	<i>kett^hel</i>
160	leaf	<i>paʃtə</i>	<i>panne</i>	<i>pAtta</i>	<i>petta</i>
161	mango	<i>am</i>	<i>am</i>	<i>Am</i>	<i>am</i>
162	paddy	<i>dan</i>	<i>cəu</i>	<i>daN</i>	<i>tān</i>
163	plough	<i>ɔr</i>	<i>eʃuɽ</i>	<i>haris</i>	<i>hell</i>
164	potato	<i>aʃu</i>	<i>alur</i>	<i>a:lu</i>	<i>ālu</i>
165	root	<i>ɖɔɽ</i>	<i>butesire ~ ʃəɽ</i>	<i>jAr</i>	<i>jer</i>

166	sweet	<i>mit^ha</i>	-	<i>miTa</i>	<i>k^hend</i>
167	tree	<i>pe:ɾ</i>	<i>buʃe</i>	<i>buRa</i>	<i>derekt</i>
168	vegetable	<i>bulka</i>	<i>sabji</i>	<i>sAbji</i>	<i>paddzi</i>
169	labourer	<i>məzdur</i>	<i>məʃurmao</i>	<i>majdoor / Shamjibi</i>	<i>mājur</i>
170	land	-	-	-	-
171	money lender	<i>se:t^h</i>	<i>maʃəŋ</i>	<i>paisa denar</i>	<i>b^huniã</i>
172	net	<i>dʒa:l</i>	-	<i>jali</i>	<i>jāl</i>
173	potter	<i>bəndku</i> <i>bəŋaonea</i>	<i>g^həɾa</i> <i>baŋaŋebaɭa</i>	<i>kumhar</i>	<i>komear</i>
174	weaver	<i>dʒulaha</i>	<i>buŋebaɭa</i>	<i>ponunar</i>	<i>julaea</i>
175	bitter	<i>poina</i>	<i>kɔɾa</i>	<i>kaDuva</i>	<i>keRa</i>
176	cheese	-	-	-	-
177	creeper	-	-	<i>belu</i>	<i>belri</i>
178	fruit	<i>p^həl</i>	<i>p^həl</i>	<i>phAl</i>	<i>phal</i>
179	guava	<i>əmru:d</i>	<i>əmrud</i>	<i>amrut</i>	<i>amrūt</i>
180	lily	-	-	-	<i>tS'itta p^hull (white flower)</i>
181	wheel	<i>ʃəkka</i>	-	<i>beiya</i>	<i>tS'erkha</i>
182	gum	-	-	<i>masuta</i>	<i>gund</i>
183	farm land	<i>k^he:ʃ</i>	-	<i>krusi seTra</i>	<i>k^het</i>
184	mid wife	<i>suaəə</i>	-	<i>dhai</i>	-
185	black	<i>kaɭa</i>	-	-	-
186	blind	<i>ənda</i>	<i>kaŋa</i>	<i>ka:la</i>	<i>kāla</i>
187	blue	<i>niɭa</i>	<i>tət^ha</i>	<i>kana</i>	<i>anna</i>
188	coldness	<i>ʃeo:</i>	-	<i>nila</i>	<i>nilla</i>
189	green	<i>ɔra</i>	<i>nila</i>	<i>ThenDa</i>	<i>t^henD</i>
190	hot	-	-	<i>har</i>	<i>hēra</i>
191	light	<i>uʒaɭo</i>	<i>pola, taɟɟar</i>	-	<i>tōppi</i>
192	red	<i>laɭ</i>	<i>lal</i>	<i>roshani</i>	<i>halka</i>
193	brown	<i>bura</i>	<i>b^hura raŋ</i>	<i>lal</i>	<i>lāl</i>
194	bright	<i>ʃrɪmkəda</i>	<i>acc^ha</i>	<i>buRa</i>	-
195	sour	<i>k^haʃo</i>	<i>amlupəŋ</i>	<i>chamkanda</i>	<i>tS'emkila</i>
196	sweet	<i>mit^ha</i>	-	<i>kaTa</i>	-
197	white	<i>ʃ^hiʃo</i>	<i>acc^ha</i>	<i>miT</i>	<i>khend</i>
198	yellow	<i>pivo</i>	<i>pija</i>	<i>cita</i>	<i>tS'itta</i>
199	hungry	<i>b^huk^he</i>	<i>ʃoka</i>	<i>peLa</i>	<i>pilla</i>
200	love	<i>laɖ</i>	<i>pjarasa</i>	<i>buk</i>	<i>pukk^ha</i>
201	pain	<i>ʃʃeit</i>	<i>cəŋ</i>	<i>pyar</i>	<i>pēar</i>
202	TRUE	<i>saʃo</i>	-	<i>dhArD</i>	<i>piR</i>
203	wish	-	-	<i>saj</i>	<i>sattS'</i>
204	ink	<i>siaj</i>	<i>sjahi</i>	<i>asa</i>	<i>aS'a</i>
205	school	<i>skul</i>	<i>səkul</i>	<i>ceai</i>	<i>ink</i>
206	bus	<i>bəsə</i>	<i>moʃor</i>	<i>isko:l</i>	<i>pātS'āla</i>
207	student	<i>skularə</i> <i>ʃ^hoʃu</i>	<i>koah</i>	-	-

208	teacher	<i>maʃtɔr</i>	<i>maʃtər</i>	<i>bidyarthi</i>	<i>vidiarTi</i>
209	bullet	<i>goʎe</i>	<i>goʎi</i>	<i>ma:sTir</i>	<i>māS'ter</i>
210	drum	<i>qʰol</i>	<i>qʰɔs</i>	<i>goli</i>	<i>goli</i>
211	enemy	<i>duʃmɔŋ</i>	<i>duʃmən</i>	<i>caggu</i>	-
212	debt	<i>arŋu</i>	-	<i>dusmanu</i>	-
213	divorce	<i>pʰɛsla</i>	<i>cʰuʃkara</i>	<i>trunan</i>	-
214	festival	<i>puɕʒa</i>	<i>teohar</i>	<i>niTanA / nisai</i>	-
215	heaven	<i>sɔrig</i>	<i>svarəgə</i>	<i>diyar / Din</i>	<i>mēlla</i>
216	hell	-	-	<i>swarg</i>	-
217	theft	<i>tʃorə</i>	<i>coroŋ</i>	<i>narag</i>	-
218	fair	-	-	<i>chori</i>	<i>tS'ori</i>
219	worship	<i>puɕʒaro gɔɾ</i>	<i>puʃaje gʰəɽ</i>	-	-
220	play	-	<i>kʰelkud</i>	<i>pu;ja</i>	<i>pudj</i>
221	gold	<i>suno</i>	<i>sona</i>	<i>kelna</i>	<i>khedd</i>
222	iron	<i>loa</i>	<i>loa</i>	<i>sunā</i>	<i>sounna</i>
223	brass	<i>pitɔr</i>	<i>pitəl</i>	<i>loha</i>	<i>loea</i>
224	lime	<i>tʃuno</i>	<i>cuna</i>	<i>pitAl</i>	-
225	money	<i>pɛsa</i>	<i>rupɛj</i>	<i>chuna</i>	<i>nimbu</i>
226	silver	<i>tʃandə</i>	<i>cani</i>	<i>pae</i>	-
227	garland	<i>kanɔθ</i>	<i>pʰeʎoka maʎa</i>	<i>chandi</i>	<i>tS'andi</i>
228	first	<i>polka</i>	<i>pɛʎla</i>	<i>mala</i>	<i>hār</i>
229	second	<i>duɕʒa</i>	<i>doka</i>	<i>pellA</i>	-
230	third	<i>tʃiɕʒa</i>	<i>taka</i>	<i>duJa</i>	<i>dudja</i>
231	one	<i>ek</i>	<i>jək</i>	<i>tiJa</i>	<i>tisra</i>
232	two	<i>do</i>	<i>dui</i>	<i>ikk</i>	<i>ikk</i>
233	three	<i>tʃin</i>	<i>taj</i>	<i>dui</i>	<i>dō</i>
234	four	<i>tʃar</i>	<i>cər</i>	<i>terai</i>	<i>tin</i>
235	five	<i>pāɕʒ</i>	<i>pənʃ</i>	<i>chaui</i>	<i>tS'ar</i>
236	six	<i>tʃʰɔ</i>	<i>cʰjah</i>	<i>panch</i>	<i>panJ</i>
237	seven	<i>sat</i>	<i>sat</i>	<i>tseu</i>	<i>tS'e</i>
238	eight	<i>aɽʰ</i>	<i>aɽʰ</i>	<i>tsetu</i>	<i>satt</i>
239	nine	<i>no</i>	<i>nɔ</i>	<i>Aio</i>	<i>atʰ</i>
240	ten	<i>dɔʃ</i>	<i>dəʃ</i>	<i>nave</i>	<i>nō</i>
241	sixteen	<i>soɔ</i>	<i>forah</i>	<i>dAs</i>	<i>das</i>
242	twenty	<i>bif</i>	<i>bih</i>	<i>chAla</i>	<i>sola</i>
243	forty	<i>tʃejaiʃ</i>	-	<i>bi</i>	<i>vis</i>
244	blind	<i>bandŋu</i>	-	<i>chali</i>	<i>chālis</i>
245	blow(balloon)	<i>pʰukŋu</i>	<i>bandʰoŋ</i>	-	<i>teMa</i>
246	blow(kick)	-	-	<i>puNk</i>	<i>veg</i>
247	break	<i>tʃoɽŋu</i>	<i>toro</i>	-	-
248	burn	<i>ɕʒalŋə</i>	<i>ag ʃaji</i>	-	-
249	carry	<i>doŋu</i>	<i>ɕilun, məgri pəɽʰrakʰoŋ</i>	<i>toDna</i>	<i>tor</i>
250	catch	<i>pʰʃaoŋu</i>	<i>tā</i>	-	-

251	clean	<i>sāp^h</i>	<i>sap^hkəro</i>	<i>jalana</i>	<i>leo</i>
252	do	<i>karŋu</i>	<i>kəro</i>	<i>chak</i>	<i>tS'uk</i>
253	fall	<i>pɔrŋe</i>	-	<i>pAkaD</i>	<i>pher</i>
254	hold	<i>pakəŋu</i>	<i>tã</i>	<i>sap</i>	<i>sāf kar</i>
255	lick	<i>caŋu</i>	<i>caŋo</i>	<i>kAr</i>	<i>kar</i>
256	make	<i>bəŋaoŋu</i>	<i>bəŋaŋ</i>	<i>digi jana</i>	<i>digg</i>
257	mix	<i>melaŋu</i>	<i>miŋa</i>	<i>pAkaD</i>	<i>pher</i>
258	open	<i>k^hoŋu</i>	<i>k^hol</i>	<i>chatna</i>	<i>tS'ett</i>
259	pick	<i>kubəbi undnε</i>	<i>k^hajbo</i>	<i>baNana</i>	<i>bana</i>
260	hit	<i>piŋa</i>	<i>mara</i>	<i>pAraspar kArna</i>	<i>mela</i>
261	arrive	<i>ketə pōcŋe</i>	-	<i>gulana</i>	<i>khulla</i>
262	lean	<i>sahra laŋa</i>	<i>duba</i>	<i>utana</i>	<i>lō</i>
263	thick	<i>gaŋho</i>	-	<i>tokkar</i>	<i>mār</i>
264	play	<i>k^helŋe</i>	<i>k^heljuŋ</i>	<i>pujna</i>	<i>pavunchna</i>
265	pull	<i>ɖzirŋu</i>	<i>t^husuŋ</i>	<i>tS'uk</i>	<i>tS'uk</i>
266	flow	<i>bɔ:ŋe</i>	<i>bəhi gasa</i>	<i>baDDi</i>	<i>pAtAla</i>
267	push	<i>ɖeka deŋa</i>	<i>gutia</i>	<i>kelna</i>	<i>khedd</i>
268	put	<i>t^harŋu</i>	<i>jək jaga rak^ha</i>	<i>sabit lakana</i>	<i>khittS'</i>
269	work	<i>kam</i>	<i>kam kəro</i>	<i>chaha</i>	<i>veg</i>
270	kill	<i>ɖzəŋŋa</i>	<i>mara</i>	<i>tekeraRna</i>	<i>tikk</i>
271	sing	<i>gaŋa gaŋa</i>	<i>gite laŋ</i>	<i>rakna</i>	<i>rekk^h</i>
272	bring	<i>arŋu</i>	<i>aŋo</i>	<i>kami</i>	<i>kām kar</i>
273	climb	<i>handŋe</i>	<i>k^həra deŋsa</i>	<i>marna</i>	<i>mār</i>
274	come	<i>aoŋe</i>	<i>εŋ</i>	<i>gana</i>	<i>ga</i>
275	drag	<i>ɖzirŋu</i>	<i>ɖelaŋ</i>	<i>laNe</i>	<i>leo</i>
276	get	<i>loŋu</i>	<i>nε</i>	<i>chaDna</i>	<i>tS'er</i>
277	go	<i>deuŋe</i>	<i>gεj</i>	<i>ana</i>	<i>ā</i>
278	jump	<i>k^helŋe</i>	<i>tɔu deŋ</i>	<i>kichna</i>	<i>kariss</i>
279	move	<i>ilŋe</i>	<i>og^həra</i>	<i>milna</i>	<i>mil</i>
280	stand up	<i>biūɖzŋe</i>	<i>k^hərebo</i>	<i>jana</i>	<i>ja</i>
281	take	<i>leŋu</i>	-	<i>jaD</i>	<i>uttS^hel</i>
282	walk	<i>handeo deun e</i>	<i>dur g^heso</i>	<i>gumNa</i>	-
283	rub	<i>meŋaoŋu</i>	<i>marc^hao</i>	<i>kadija</i>	<i>khelo</i>
284	sell	<i>betŋu</i>	<i>bεcuŋ</i>	<i>naNo</i>	<i>le</i>
285	shut	<i>bənd kɔrŋu</i>	<i>band kəro</i>	<i>chalana</i>	<i>tS'el</i>
286	sink	<i>ɖubŋe</i>	<i>ɖubonŋ</i>	<i>miTana</i>	<i>māl</i>
287	sprinkle	-	<i>c^hrka</i>	<i>bechna</i>	<i>vettS'</i>
288	squeeze (cloth/ lemon)	<i>p^htŋu</i>	<i>nicoŋo</i>	<i>bAnd</i>	<i>band kar</i>
289	spit	<i>t^hukŋu</i>	<i>t^huko</i>	<i>duNgi</i>	<i>dubb</i>
290	hunt	<i>fikaŋ kɔrna</i>	<i>p^hulosa</i>	<i>citkana</i>	<i>tS'hinek</i>

291	shoot	<i>bɔndu ʃʈəlaonɯ</i>	<i>p^haɽa</i>	<i>citepeTi</i>	<i>natS'or</i>
292	split	<i>daɽɯ</i>	<i>ləɖ dɛɲ</i>	<i>dhukna</i>	<i>t^hukk</i>
293	fight	<i>apumudʒə piɽɲe</i>	<i>d^ho</i>	<i>hoj karna</i>	<i>lskor hor</i>
294	quarrel	<i>piɽɲe</i>	<i>ʃ^həgre</i>	<i>tAkelnə</i>	<i>bAnduk tS'ala</i>
295	enter	<i>bit^heaonɛ</i>	<i>əntəɾ ɛɲ</i>	<i>ciRna</i>	<i>p^har</i>
296	escape	<i>bagɲe</i>	<i>b^harnafo</i>	<i>laRna</i>	<i>ler</i>
297	fly	<i>urɲe</i>	<i>uɽirga</i>	<i>jagada</i>	<i>leRna</i>
298	get up	<i>biudʒɲe</i>	<i>k^hajgo</i>	<i>ena</i>	<i>Andar dja</i>
299	give	<i>deɲu</i>	<i>dɛɲo</i>	<i>jana</i>	<i>betS'</i>
300	tear	<i>ãfu</i>	-	<i>uDna</i>	<i>uDd</i>
301	stab	<i>ʃ^hokɲa</i>	<i>g^husurɽa</i>	<i>uDna</i>	<i>ut^hna</i>
302	throw	<i>p^hẽkɲu</i>	-	<i>dena</i>	<i>dē</i>
303	hit drum	<i>ɖol bəɖʒaonɯ</i>	<i>ɖ^hɔs bəʃaɲə</i>	<i>paDna</i>	-
304	dance	<i>naɽɲə</i>	<i>nacoɲ</i>	<i>baDna</i>	<i>tSura mār</i>
305	wash	<i>ɽət d^hoɲe</i>	<i>d^ho</i>	<i>pekNa</i>	-
306	wash (utensils)	-	-	-	-
307	wipe	<i>sāp^hkɔɽɲu</i>	-	<i>nachna</i>	<i>nattj</i>
308	disappear	-	-	<i>guguj</i>	-
309	cut	<i>ɽɔte kaɽɲi</i>	<i>cɛɲe kaɽa</i>	-	-
310	dig	<i>gaɖa k^honna</i>	<i>k^hoppor kəra</i>	<i>doNa</i>	<i>pudj</i>
311	milk	<i>dud</i>	<i>dud</i>	-	-
312	bark	<i>g^hugɲe</i>	<i>g^hoɔgo</i>	<i>caTna</i>	<i>veDD</i>
313	drink	<i>piɲu</i>	<i>piɲso</i>	<i>kotNu</i>	<i>khodd</i>
314	eat	<i>k^haɲu</i>	<i>k^haji k^haso</i>	<i>duDha</i>	<i>dēdd</i>
315	feed	<i>ʃəraonɛ</i>	<i>k^haji k^hilaɲ</i>	<i>bhugna</i>	<i>pokda</i>
316	call	<i>bedɲe</i>	<i>b^hiu</i>	<i>pina</i>	<i>pi</i>
317	write	<i>likɲu</i>	<i>lik^ho</i>	<i>kana</i>	<i>k^ha</i>
318	run	<i>dɔurɲe</i>	<i>dɔurɔ</i>	<i>kilana</i>	<i>khao</i>
319	send	<i>ɖeuɲu</i>	<i>ləɲhai c^ha</i>	<i>sAdana</i>	<i>sedd</i>
320	slip	<i>p^hirkəɲe</i>	<i>ləʃka</i>	<i>likna</i>	<i>lik</i>
321	swing	<i>pi:ɲg</i>	<i>ʃ^hula</i>	<i>dauDna</i>	<i>DoR</i>
322	swim	<i>tɔrne</i>	<i>gahɔno</i>	<i>bejna</i>	<i>peddj</i>
323	vomit	<i>ulɽə</i>	<i>utara</i>	<i>liskna</i>	<i>tilk</i>
324	cultivate	-	<i>bag baɲ</i>	<i>jhule</i>	-
325	comb	<i>kaɲɽu kɔenu</i>	<i>kaɲai</i>	<i>terNa</i>	<i>ter</i>
326	graze	<i>g^has k^haɲu</i>	<i>cəɽa</i>	<i>ulTi</i>	<i>ultikar</i>
327	harvest	<i>p^hɔsɔɽ kaɽna</i>	<i>ʃəu ɽoɲosa</i>	<i>kamana</i>	-
327	lend	<i>udar deɲu</i>	<i>ud^har dɛɲ</i>	<i>paTna</i>	<i>kangiva</i>
328	plant	<i>per</i>	<i>bufɛ</i>	<i>jarana</i>	<i>tS'er</i>
329	paddy	-	-	<i>cutiyauna</i>	-
330	reap	<i>p^hɔsɔɽ kaɽɲe</i>	<i>gēu ɽoɲosa</i>	<i>deNa</i>	<i>dē</i>

331	sow	<i>bi: dʒ boŋu</i>	<i>bij boŋoso</i>	<i>buTe</i>	-
332	bite	<i>kaŋu</i>	<i>kaʃo</i>	<i>daN</i>	-
333	suck	<i>ʃaʃŋe</i>	-	<i>kaTna</i>	-
334	tie	<i>bād^hŋe</i>	<i>laʃ^hdεŋ</i>	<i>failana</i>	-
335	wear	<i>lɔte bamŋe</i>	<i>cεŋe laŋose</i>	<i>katna</i>	<i>vedd</i>
336	answer	<i>uttər</i>	<i>ʃubab dεŋ</i>	<i>chungna</i>	<i>tS'uss</i>
337	ask	<i>puʃ^hŋe</i>	<i>puc^ho</i>	<i>lepetNa</i>	<i>bann</i>
338	say	<i>bolŋu</i>	<i>boloŋ</i>	<i>laNa</i>	<i>pEna</i>
339	shout	<i>ktʃεn deŋə</i>	<i>ljεr dε</i>	<i>uTTar</i>	<i>joab de</i>
340	hide	<i>lukŋe</i>	<i>neokε</i>	<i>puchna</i>	<i>puttS^h</i>
342	keep	<i>reuŋu</i>	<i>rak^ho</i>	<i>kena</i>	<i>ke</i>
343	turn	<i>lɔpεʃŋe</i>	-	<i>pakna</i>	<i>luka</i>
344	stop	<i>rukŋe</i>	<i>bənd kəro</i>	<i>rakna</i>	-
345	swell	<i>su dʒifaoŋə</i>	<i>p^hulosə</i>	<i>badalna</i>	<i>badal</i>
346	read	<i>pɔʃŋu</i>	<i>pəʃho</i>	<i>rukna</i>	<i>baMd</i>
347	sleep/lie	<i>sutŋe</i>	<i>uŋho</i>	<i>bhulana</i>	<i>sudJ</i>
348	love	<i>la d kɔŋa</i>	-	<i>paDna</i>	<i>pATo</i>
349	tired	<i>k^hɔŋe</i>	<i>t^həko</i>	<i>sonA</i>	<i>so</i>
350	name	<i>nao</i>	<i>nao dεŋ</i>	<i>pyar</i>	<i>peār kar</i>
351	big	<i>boŋa</i>	<i>bo d d a</i>	<i>takena</i>	<i>thakkea hoea</i>
352	choose	<i>ʃ^hanʃŋo</i>	<i>c^huŋo</i>	<i>nami</i>	<i>nā/nām</i>
353	die	<i>mɔŋe</i>	<i>mər gε</i>	<i>baDa</i>	<i>p^hada</i>
354	life	-	-	<i>chunua</i>	<i>tS'ūn</i>
355	earn	<i>danda korŋa</i>	<i>kamo</i>	<i>marna</i>	<i>mār</i>
356	sit	<i>bεʃ^hŋe</i>	<i>bofo</i>	<i>jinda</i>	<i>jeu</i>
357	change	<i>bɔdɔʃŋu</i>	<i>ʃransp^hɔr kəraʃi</i>	<i>kamana</i>	<i>kema</i>
358	freeze	<i>dʒəmaoŋu</i>	<i>ʃəme ga</i>	<i>bhAitna</i>	<i>bEt^h</i>
359	wet	<i>beuŋu</i>	<i>sεʃi gosa</i>	<i>bedelna</i>	<i>bedol</i>
360	know	<i>dʒaŋu</i>	<i>buʃ^ho</i>	<i>parAf pAriyat kArna</i>	<i>pala</i>
361	learn	<i>ʃik^hŋu</i>	<i>soco</i>	<i>gila</i>	<i>gilla</i>
362	think	<i>soʃŋu</i>	<i>socede</i>	<i>jannuna</i>	<i>mālum</i>
362	cry	<i>roŋu</i>	<i>rondo</i>	<i>cikna</i>	<i>sikk^h</i>
363	fear	<i>dɔŋe</i>	<i>dəʃo</i>	<i>chojna</i>	<i>sottS'</i>
364	hear	<i>ʃunŋu</i>	<i>ʃuŋo</i>	<i>ciLana</i>	<i>rō</i>
365	laugh	<i>hɔsŋe</i>	<i>haso</i>	<i>darana</i>	<i>dAr</i>
366	taste	<i>ʃak^hŋu</i>	<i>sɔad</i>	<i>sunna</i>	<i>sun</i>
367	annoy	<i>k^hi dʒŋe</i>	<i>nəraʃ kəra</i>	<i>hasna</i>	<i>hAss</i>
368	kiss	<i>puʃʃa deŋa</i>	<i>p^hokir dεŋ</i>	<i>chakna</i>	<i>tS'Akk^h</i>
369	love	-	<i>pjarasa</i>	<i>naroj</i>	<i>gussa kar</i>
370	bathe	<i>naiŋe</i>	<i>sano kəro</i>	<i>chumna</i>	<i>tS'umm</i>
371	smell	<i>ʃiŋu</i>	<i>ʃuŋho</i>	<i>pyar kArna</i>	<i>peār kar</i>
372	touch	<i>ʃ^huŋu</i>	<i>c^hju</i>	<i>nana</i>	<i>na</i>
373	wake up	<i>biundʒŋe</i>	<i>k^hərinde</i>	<i>badu</i>	<i>sūMg</i>

374	meet	<i>ɖɔŋu</i>	<i>miɭ</i>	<i>chuna</i>	<i>tS'ho</i>
375	repay	-	-	<i>uTia</i>	<i>Jag</i>
376	show	<i>dek^haŋu</i>	<i>hɛralo</i>	<i>milna</i>	<i>mil</i>
377	scratch	<i>bəʃruŋu</i>	<i>kəʃoro</i>	<i>vapas kArna</i>	<i>dAdal dō</i>
378	good	<i>aʃʃ^ho</i>	<i>k^haroso</i>	<i>jathana</i>	<i>dess</i>
379	long	<i>lambo</i>	<i>lamma</i>	<i>gurchna</i>	<i>itchra</i>
380	new	<i>no:</i>	<i>nɔva</i>	<i>cange</i>	<i>tS'enga</i>
381	old	<i>pəɾaŋu</i>	<i>puraŋa</i>	<i>lamba</i>	<i>lamma</i>
382	some	<i>kuʃʃ^hu</i>	-	<i>neuwa</i>	<i>navā</i>
383	small	<i>ʃ^hoʃo</i>	<i>c^hoʃa</i>	<i>burana</i>	<i>pūrāna</i>
384	smart	<i>hofiar</i>	<i>teʃʃə</i>	<i>thoDa</i>	<i>kuS'</i>
385	smooth	-	-	<i>halka</i>	<i>tS'hotta</i>
386	straight	<i>sido</i>	<i>sudd^hu</i>	<i>chal</i>	<i>puD^hi</i>
387	far	-	<i>dur</i>	<i>cipra</i>	<i>melem</i>
388	again	<i>duɖəməi</i>	<i>dubare</i>	<i>soj</i>	<i>sidda</i>
389	always	<i>sāp^hkɔŋu</i>	<i>hɛmɛʃa</i>	<i>dhur</i>	<i>dūr</i>
390	before	<i>pɔle</i>	<i>pɛjleji</i>	<i>phir</i>	<i>phir</i>
391	daily	<i>roɖʒ</i>	<i>roʃ</i>	<i>hamesa</i>	<i>sada</i>
392	day	<i>des</i>	<i>dən</i>	<i>a:ge</i>	<i>pElla</i>
393	evening	<i>p^hiri</i>	<i>bjadi</i>	<i>proti diN</i>	<i>har/roj</i>
394	late	<i>bisto</i>	-	<i>diyardi</i>	<i>din</i>
395	today	<i>aɖʒ</i>	<i>aʃ</i>	<i>sanja</i>	<i>sam</i>
396	tomorrow	<i>dotə</i>	<i>ʃu</i>	<i>deri</i>	<i>dērse</i>
397	yesterday	<i>hiɖʒo</i>	<i>ekaroʃ</i>	<i>aj</i>	<i>adJ</i>
398	after	<i>basje</i>	<i>badantəɾ</i>	<i>kal</i>	<i>kēll</i>
399	behind	<i>paʃ^hu</i>	<i>pato</i>	<i>bichle kal</i>	<i>kal</i>
400	between	<i>biʃʃəde</i>	-	<i>barpich</i>	<i>bāth</i>
401	for	<i>tesritēi</i>	<i>tɛse baste</i>	<i>piche</i>	<i>pittS'he</i>
402	from	<i>se</i>	<i>kaj</i>	<i>peachme</i>	<i>vittS'kar</i>
403	he, she	<i>seɖʒa</i>	<i>se//se</i>	<i>kyonki</i>	<i>vastu</i>
404	here	<i>erke</i>	<i>itt^hi</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>ottho</i>
405	his/ her	<i>tesra or kesrə</i>	<i>tɛse/ tɛse</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>ō</i>
406	I	<i>ā:</i>	<i>āo</i>	<i>itu</i>	<i>iT^har</i>
407	it/ this	<i>eɖʒo</i>	<i>ase</i>	<i>usera / useri</i>	<i>onada/oda</i>
408	like	<i>ɖʒeo:</i>	<i>ʃiv</i>	-	<i>mE</i>
409	my	<i>mero</i>	<i>mɛj</i>	<i>e / o</i>	<i>E</i>
410	not	<i>na</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>satush . parabar</i>	<i>ise</i>
411	that	<i>sɛ</i>	<i>sei</i>	<i>mera</i>	<i>mēra</i>
412	those	<i>oɖʒasɔb</i>	-	<i>nei</i>	<i>nAi</i>
413	there	<i>terke</i>	<i>oʃ^hi</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>ō</i>
414	they	<i>eɖʒəmaɖʒ</i>	<i>se mao</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>ō</i>
415	their	<i>tinomaʃ^hɔ</i>	<i>tanni mao</i>	-	<i>uti</i>
416	these	<i>eɖʒasɔb</i>	<i>i somai</i>	<i>una</i>	<i>tiS'ra</i>
417	we	<i>hame maɖʒ</i>	<i>ās mao</i>	<i>unara</i>	<i>tiS'rae</i>

418	what	<i>kūe</i>	<i>ki</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>e</i>
419	when	<i>kəbe</i>	<i>kəpəl</i>	<i>aSa</i>	<i>asi</i>
420	where	<i>kirke</i>	<i>kot</i>	<i>ki</i>	<i>kya?</i>
421	you	<i>tume</i>	<i>tis</i>	<i>katu</i>	<i>kadō?</i>
422	to you	<i>tumo</i>	<i>tisiʒe</i>	<i>kuttu</i>	<i>kitt^he</i>
423	your	<i>tumora</i>	<i>tu</i>	<i>tuhi</i>	<i>tus</i>
424	year	<i>sā:l</i>	<i>sa:l</i>	<i>tuhada</i>	<i>tennu</i>
425	and	<i>or</i>	<i>or</i>	<i>tuNda</i>	<i>tera</i>
426	at	<i>ete</i>	<i>ʃaʃ^hi</i>	<i>sal</i>	<i>sāl</i>
427	if	<i>jədi</i>	<i>agər</i>	<i>duja</i>	<i>tē</i>
428	in	<i>erko</i>	<i>antər</i>	<i>me, par</i>	<i>ūtte</i>
429	bad	<i>bura</i>	<i>boɖɖa</i>	<i>kar</i>	<i>ager</i>
430	dirty	<i>gənda</i>	<i>kustəra</i>	<i>aha</i>	<i>ander</i>
431	dry	<i>gənda</i>	<i>ʃoah</i>	<i>buRa</i>	<i>būra</i>
432	wild	<i>ɖʒaŋgo</i>	<i>ʒaŋgli</i>	<i>gandha</i>	<i>mEla</i>
433	wise	<i>bidvan</i>	<i>ʒankar</i>	<i>sukna</i>	<i>sukka</i>
434	east	<i>purəb</i>	<i>purub</i>	<i>jangel</i>	<i>calak</i>
435	end	<i>ak^h:r</i>	-	<i>chattur</i>	<i>pureb</i>
436	far	<i>dure</i>	-	<i>purub</i>	-
437	right side	<i>sulʃa dik</i>	-	<i>mucan</i>	-
438	middle	<i>bicəndo</i>	<i>bəc</i>	<i>dhur</i>	<i>dūr</i>
439	north	<i>uttər</i>	-	<i>thaine kinare</i>	<i>sedja</i>
440	left	-	-	<i>bich</i>	<i>asman</i>
441	morning	<i>b^hensrə</i>	-	<i>uttar</i>	<i>uttar</i>
442	breakfast	<i>həmeʃa</i>	-	-	-
443	many	<i>b^houto</i>	<i>soah</i>	<i>sabera</i>	<i>savera</i>
444	narrow	<i>təŋgə</i>	<i>səŋkəŋe</i>	-	-
445	raw	<i>kaco</i>	-	<i>kai</i>	<i>bōt</i>
446	rotten	<i>ʃronɔndo</i>	-	<i>thang</i>	<i>pira/tang</i>
447	right	<i>ʃ^hik</i>	<i>səʒi</i>	<i>kacha</i>	<i>kattS'A</i>
448	dull	<i>mənd buddi</i>	-	<i>caDna</i>	<i>ser</i>
449	sharp	<i>poʒŋu</i>	<i>teʃʃə</i>	<i>tiK</i>	<i>ʃ^hik</i>
450	short	<i>ʃ^hoʃa</i>	<i>c^hoʃa</i>	-	<i>k^hunDa</i>
451	soft	<i>nəram</i>	<i>nəram</i>	<i>tej</i>	<i>teJ</i>
452	thin	<i>patlo</i>	<i>dubɛ</i>	<i>choTa</i>	<i>tS'hotta</i>
453	ugly	<i>kəʃ^haŋo</i>	<i>kustora</i>	<i>nerem</i>	<i>nerem</i>
454	vice	<i>bidvan</i>	<i>k^hoʃego</i>	<i>bAtli</i>	<i>gAnd^ha</i>
455	virtue	<i>aʃ^hə guŋ</i>	<i>k^harego</i>	<i>badasurat</i>	-
456	left side	<i>ɖera dik</i>	<i>omolo hato</i>	<i>chimta</i>	-
457	near	<i>niʃe</i>	<i>niʃu~ b^her</i>	<i>prabhag</i>	<i>gerem</i>
458	out	<i>beinɖko</i>	-	<i>bhaie kinare</i>	<i>khabba</i>
459	south	<i>dəkʃin</i>	<i>dəkʃəŋ</i>	<i>neDe</i>	<i>kol</i>
460	fast	<i>borot</i>	<i>ʃ^həʃ</i>	<i>bhar</i>	<i>bār</i>
461	full moon day	<i>pənnio</i>	<i>purni</i>	<i>dakhsin</i>	<i>dekkhan</i>

462	month	<i>mina</i>	<i>mɛjna</i>	<i>cheTi</i>	<i>Jaldi</i>
463	dinner	-	-	<i>punu</i>	<i>pūrnima</i>
464	night	<i>ratə</i>	<i>rati</i>	<i>mahina</i>	<i>minna</i>
465	season	<i>ritu</i>	<i>rut</i>	-	-
466	by	<i>niɽe</i>	<i>b^hɛr</i>	<i>rat</i>	<i>rāt</i>
467	down	<i>niɽe</i>	<i>binnekənda</i>	<i>mousam</i>	<i>mosam</i>
468	how	<i>ke:ro</i>	<i>āo</i>	<i>pas, najtik, nede</i>	<i>nāl</i>
469	who	<i>kuŋ</i>	-	<i>niche, thalle</i>	<i>thAlle</i>
470	to us	<i>hamo</i> <i>manɽ^hɔ</i>	-	<i>kesa</i>	<i>kinni</i>
471	to it/to this	<i>itek</i>	<i>itt^h/ott^h</i>	<i>kaun</i>	<i>kon?</i>
472	its/of this	<i>eske</i>	-	<i>aSanjo</i>	<i>sannu</i>
473	our	<i>eɽɟamaɽɟ</i>	<i>ɛj səb^hike</i>	<i>iki</i>	-
474	liquor	-	-	<i>inajo</i>	-
475	ground nut	-	-	<i>aSada</i>	<i>sannu</i>
476	beans	-	-	-	-
477	canal	-	-	-	-
478	apple	-	-	-	-
479	courtyard	-	-	-	-
480	wave	<i>lɛhər</i>	<i>c^hələra</i>	<i>lehar</i>	<i>iēr</i>
481	grass shoe	-	-	-	-
482	socks	-	-	-	-
483	wool	-	-	-	-
484	shoe	-	-	-	-
485	nail	-	-	-	-
486	court yard	-	-	-	-
487	pillow	-	-	-	-
488	god	-	-	-	-
489	blanket	-	-	-	-
490	spider	<i>gāu</i>	<i>gəɽoɽ</i>	<i>groaD</i>	<i>kiDa</i>
491	belly	<i>pe:t</i>	-	<i>tiDD</i>	<i>tiDd</i>
492	ancestor	-	-	<i>potre, padu potre</i>	<i>pūrvik^h</i>
493	brother-in-law	<i>sa:</i>	<i>məɽ</i>	<i>sala</i>	<i>jidja</i>
494	sister-in-law	<i>sa:je</i>	<i>ɽaɽo</i>	<i>sali</i>	<i>pArjai</i>
493	beard	<i>darə</i>	<i>daɽi</i>	<i>da:Dhi</i>	<i>TaRi</i>
494	moustache	<i>gunɽɔ</i>	<i>munc^hɛ</i>	<i>much</i>	<i>mūttS^h</i>
495	navel	-	-	<i>koDu / tiD</i>	<i>tunni</i>
496	mirror	<i>ɽiɽa</i>	<i>sisa</i>	<i>siSa</i>	<i>S'iS'a</i>
497	to me	<i>hamo</i>	-	<i>minjo</i>	<i>menu</i>
498	to them	<i>tinomatɽ^hɔ</i>	-	<i>unana</i>	<i>onanu</i>

499	garlic	-	-	-	-
500	mouse	<i>muḥā</i>	<i>muḥā</i>	<i>chuRiya</i>	<i>c^hua</i>

Comparative Lexicon- Indo-Aryan Languages				
Sl. No	Gloss	Nepali	Dogri	
1	air	<i>hawa:</i>	<i>hava:</i>	
2	ashes	<i>khara:ni</i>	<i>d^huḍ</i>	
3	cloud	<i>ba:dAl</i>	<i>badə|</i>	
4	cold	<i>chi:So</i>	<i>t^hāḍi</i>	
5	darkness	<i>andhya:ro</i>	<i>and^hera:</i>	
6	earth	<i>prīṭivī</i>	-	
7	eclipse	<i>grahan</i>	-	
8	fire	<i>a:go:</i>	<i>agḥi</i>	
9	fog	<i>kuhiro</i>	<i>kora</i>	
10	forest	<i>jAMgal</i>	<i>banī</i>	
11	hill	<i>paha:R</i>	<i>pahaḍi</i>	
12	ice	<i>barAf</i>	<i>paṛa</i>	
13	lake	-	-	
14	pond	-	-	
15	moon	<i>ju:n</i>	<i>tḥanda</i>	
16	mountain	<i>paha:R / parbAt</i>	<i>pahaḍ</i>	
17	rain	<i>barkha</i>	<i>bark^hu</i>	
18	river	<i>nadi</i>	<i>dərja</i>	
19	road	<i>ba:To</i>	<i>saḍḥk</i>	
20	sand	<i>balua</i>	<i>ret</i>	
21	sea	<i>samundra</i>	-	
22	sky	<i>aka:s</i>	-	
23	snow	<i>baraf</i>	-	
24	star	<i>ta:ra</i>	<i>tara</i>	
25	stone	<i>dhuMga</i>	<i>pat^har</i>	
26	storm	<i>hundi</i>	<i>neri</i>	
27	sun	<i>gha:m</i>	<i>suradḥ</i>	
28	water	<i>pa:ni</i>	<i>pani</i>	
29	weather	<i>mausam</i>	<i>mosḥm</i>	
30	wind	<i>huri/ bhata:s</i>	<i>bḥṛi hava</i>	
31	wood	<i>da:ura</i>	<i>ləkṛu</i>	
32	baby	<i>na:ni</i>	<i>tḥ^o:ṭa: bḥṭṭa</i>	
33	boy	<i>keta</i>	<i>dḥa:ḥḥ</i>	
34	bride	<i>beauli</i>	<i>la:ḍi:</i>	
35	bride groom	<i>beaula</i>	<i>la:ḍa:</i>	
36	brother	-	-	
37	brother elder	<i>da:ju</i>	<i>baḍa ba:ji:</i>	
38	brother younger	<i>bha:i</i>	<i>tḥ^o:ṭa: ba:ji:</i>	
39	child	<i>na:ni</i>	<i>batḥa:</i>	

40	daughter	<i>cho:ri</i>	<i>potri:</i>
41	father	<i>buA / ba:ba</i>	<i>bapu:</i>
42	friend	<i>sa:thi</i>	<i>mitər</i>
43	girl	<i>kethi</i>	<i>kuḍi</i>
44	husband	<i>bura / logne</i>	<i>karjaḍa</i>
45	male	<i>marat</i>	<i>maḡd</i>
46	man	<i>ma:nche</i>	<i>admi</i>
47	marriage	<i>biya:</i>	<i>bija</i>
48	maternal uncle	<i>ma:ma</i>	<i>mama</i>
49	mother in law	-	-
50	mother	<i>a:ma</i>	<i>ammā</i>
51	nephew	<i>bhatij</i>	<i>patija:</i>
52	niece	<i>bhatijni</i>	<i>patidzi:</i>
53	old man	<i>buRoma:nche</i>	<i>buḍa</i>
54	person	<i>byakti</i>	-
55	tall	<i>aglo</i>	<i>lama</i>
56	lean	<i>dhesinu</i>	<i>patḍa</i>
57	fat	<i>moTo</i>	<i>moḡa</i>
58	dumb	<i>la:ta</i>	<i>guṅga</i>
59	blind	<i>andha:</i>	<i>anna</i>
60	sister (younger)	<i>baini</i>	<i>beṅ</i>
61	sister (elder)	-	-
62	sister-in-law	<i>sa:li</i>	<i>naṅan</i>
63	son	<i>cho:ra</i>	<i>putər</i>
64	widow	<i>bidhuwa</i>	<i>ranḍi:</i>
65	wife	<i>sawsni</i>	<i>g^har vali:</i>
66	woman	<i>aimai</i>	<i>dzinani</i>
67	ant	<i>ka:ki</i>	<i>məkoḍi:</i>
68	bird	<i>chara</i>	<i>tḡiḍi</i>
69	cat	<i>bira:lu</i>	<i>bili:</i>
70	claw	<i>chuchcho</i>	<i>nε pandza</i>
71	cock	<i>bha:lei</i>	<i>murga</i>
72	cuckoo	-	-
73	cow	<i>gai</i>	<i>go:</i>
74	crab	<i>gangeta:</i>	-
75	dog	<i>kukur</i>	<i>kuta:</i>
76	egg	<i>anda</i>	<i>anḍa:</i>
77	feather	<i>puwa:kh</i>	<i>p^hanḡi</i>
78	fish	<i>ma:ccha</i>	<i>mətḡi:</i>
79	fly	<i>uRdnu</i>	<i>mək^hi:</i>
80	fox	<i>siya:l</i>	<i>gi:daḍ</i>
81	goat	<i>ba:khra</i>	<i>bəkri:</i>
82	hare	-	-
83	horn	<i>siM</i>	<i>si:ṅḡi</i>
84	horse	<i>ghoRa:</i>	<i>koḍa:</i>
85	lion	<i>siha:n</i>	<i>ba:ḡi</i>
86	house	<i>ghar</i>	<i>g^hari</i>

87	monkey	<i>ba:dar</i>	<i>bandar</i>
88	nest	<i>gūrd</i>	<i>alḡa:</i>
89	tail	<i>puchcha:r</i>	<i>tʃumaʈ</i>
90	tiger	<i>ba:gh</i>	<i>fer</i>
91	tortoise	<i>kachua</i>	<i>sikre ḡa</i>
92	wing	<i>pakheta:</i>	<i>p^hāṅḡi</i>
93	work	<i>ka:m</i>	<i>kam</i>
94	back	<i>pacha:di</i>	<i>piʈ^hi</i>
95	blood	<i>khun</i>	<i>k^hu:n</i>
96	body	<i>jiv</i>	<i>de</i>
97	bone	<i>haDDi</i>	<i>aḡi:</i>
98	breast	<i>cha:ti</i>	-
99	chest	<i>cha:ti</i>	<i>tʃ^hati:</i>
100	ear	<i>ka:n</i>	<i>ka:n</i>
101	eye	<i>ānkha:</i>	<i>ak^hi</i>
102	face	<i>anuha:r</i>	<i>mu:</i>
103	fever	<i>joro</i>	<i>ta:p</i>
104	finger	<i>a:mḡa:</i>	<i>uṅḡaḡ</i>
105	foot	<i>paita:la:</i>	
106	hair	<i>kes'</i>	<i>kesi</i>
107	hand	<i>ha:th</i>	<i>at^h</i>
108	flesh	<i>falma:su</i>	<i>ma:s</i>
109	month	-	-
110	head	<i>tauko</i>	<i>sari</i>
111	heart	<i>mutu</i>	<i>dilī</i>
112	leg	<i>khutta</i>	<i>pēr</i>
113	lip	<i>Ōth</i>	<i>oʈ^hi</i>
114	liver	<i>kalejo</i>	<i>kaḡeḡza</i>
115	lung	<i>fokso</i>	<i>p^hepḡa</i>
116	mouth	<i>mukh</i>	<i>mu</i>
117	neck	<i>ghāti</i>	<i>kijaḡi</i>
118	nose	<i>na:k</i>	<i>naki</i>
119	pain	<i>dard</i>	<i>duk^hi</i>
120	spine	<i>haDDi</i>	<i>riḡ di aḡi</i>
121	tongue	<i>jibro</i>	<i>dʒibi</i>
122	tooth	<i>dā:th</i>	<i>dandī</i>
123	waist	<i>kamar</i>	<i>kamri</i>
124	fruit	<i>fal</i>	<i>p^hal</i>
125	liquor	<i>raksi</i>	-
126	milk	<i>du:d</i>	<i>dudī</i>
127	salt	<i>nu:n</i>	<i>lu:ṅ</i>
128	smoke	<i>dhumra</i>	<i>dū:</i>
129	uncooked rice	<i>cha:mal</i>	<i>tʃo:ḡ</i>
130	kidney	-	-
131	ear ring	-	-
132	banian	<i>ganje</i>	-
133	cloth	<i>luga:</i>	-

134	door	<i>dailo</i>	<i>d̥ivvadʒa</i>
135	roof	<i>cha:t</i>	<i>fat̥i</i>
136	rope	<i>dori</i>	<i>rəsi</i>
137	cotton	<i>sa:mneTak</i>	-
138	front tuck	<i>Tak</i>	-
139	loom	<i>rasi</i>	-
140	stick	<i>ta:lnu</i>	<i>sof̥^hi:</i>
141	bed	<i>ochyan</i>	-
142	door	<i>dailo</i>	<i>d̥ivvadʒa</i>
143	house	<i>ghar</i>	<i>g^har̥i</i>
144	roof	<i>cha:t</i>	<i>fat̥i</i>
145	rope	<i>dori</i>	<i>rəsi</i>
146	well water	<i>kāwa pa:ni</i>	<i>ku</i>
147	flute	<i>flu:T</i>	<i>bōsri</i>
148	wall	<i>bhitta:</i>	<i>kand̥i</i>
149	window	<i>bidhuwa:</i>	<i>k^huɖki</i>
150	bamboo	<i>ba:hs</i>	-
151	banana	<i>keRa</i>	<i>keɖa:</i>
152	barks	<i>bhuknu</i>	-
153	brinjal	<i>baigun</i>	<i>paɖ^ha</i>
154	chilly	<i>khorsani</i>	<i>pipli</i>
155	coconut	<i>nariwal</i>	<i>nareɖ</i>
156	flower	<i>fu:l</i>	<i>p^hul̥i</i>
157	garden	<i>bagicha</i>	<i>bag̥i</i>
158	grass	<i>ghā:s</i>	<i>ka:</i>
159	jack fruit	<i>kaTahal</i>	-
160	leaf	<i>pa:t</i>	<i>patta:</i>
161	mango	<i>āp</i>	<i>amb̥i</i>
162	paddy	<i>dha:n</i>	<i>ta:n</i>
163	plough	<i>ketika:M</i>	<i>aɖ̥i</i>
164	potato	<i>a:lu</i>	<i>a:lu:</i>
165	root	<i>jara</i>	<i>buɖe di dʒil</i>
166	sweet	<i>gulio</i>	-
167	tree	<i>rukh</i>	<i>buɖa</i>
168	vegetable	<i>sabji</i>	<i>sabd̥ʒi:</i>
169	labourer	<i>mehnati</i>	<i>məɖʒu:r</i>
170	land	-	-
171	money lender	-	<i>madʒa:n</i>
172	net	<i>jal</i>	<i>dʒa:l</i>
173	potter	<i>kumhar</i>	<i>kumha:r</i>
174	weaver	<i>tā:ti</i>	<i>dʒula:</i>
175	bitter	<i>tita</i>	<i>teɖʒ</i>
176	cheese	-	-
177	creeper	<i>lahara:</i>	-
178	fruit	<i>fal</i>	<i>p^hal</i>
179	guava	<i>ambak</i>	<i>amru:d</i>
180	lily	<i>lily</i>	-

181	wheel	<i>chakka</i>	-
182	gum	<i>go:nd</i>	-
183	farm land	<i>kheti</i>	-
184	mid wife	<i>rakhail</i>	<i>daji:</i>
185	black	<i>ka:la</i>	-
186	blind	<i>andha</i>	<i>anna</i>
187	blue	<i>nila</i>	<i>nila</i>
188	coldness	<i>ThanDa</i>	<i>t^hãdʒi</i>
189	green	<i>hara</i>	<i>sela</i>
190	hot	-	-
191	light	<i>halka</i>	<i>lo</i>
192	red	<i>la:l</i>	<i>lal</i>
193	brown	<i>bhuRa</i>	<i>pura rang</i>
194	bright	<i>ujala</i>	<i>tʃamkila</i>
195	sour	<i>khaTa</i>	<i>k^haʃa</i>
196	sweet	<i>miTa:i</i>	-
197	white	<i>sa:da</i>	<i>tʃiʃa</i>
198	yellow	<i>phi:la</i>	<i>piɖa</i>
199	hungry	<i>bhukha</i>	<i>puk^ha:</i>
200	love	<i>pya:r</i>	<i>pjar</i>
201	pain	<i>dard</i>	<i>duk^hi</i>
202	TRUE	<i>sa:c</i>	<i>saʃʃa</i>
203	wish	<i>ichcha</i>	-
204	ink	<i>sya:hi</i>	<i>sijaji</i>
205	school	<i>isku:l</i>	<i>skul</i>
206	bus	-	-
207	student	<i>chatra</i>	<i>fatər ʃatra</i>
208	teacher	<i>siksak</i>	<i>masʃər</i>
209	bullet	<i>go:li</i>	<i>goɖi</i>
210	drum	<i>dhindhora</i>	<i>ʃol</i>
211	enemy	<i>dusma:n</i>	<i>duʃmaŋ</i>
212	debt	<i>gahrai</i>	-
213	divorce	<i>tala:k</i>	<i>talakʃi</i>
214	festival	<i>parv</i>	<i>pudʒa</i>
215	heaven	<i>swarg</i>	<i>suargi</i>
216	hell	<i>narak</i>	-
217	theft	<i>cho:ri</i>	<i>tʃori</i>
218	fair	-	-
219	worship	<i>pu:ja</i>	<i>pudʒa g^har</i>
220	play	-	<i>k^helŋa</i>
221	gold	<i>so:na</i>	<i>sona</i>
222	iron	<i>loha</i>	<i>loa</i>
223	brass	<i>tamba</i>	<i>pitaɖ</i>
224	lime	<i>nimbu</i>	<i>sʃipedi</i>
225	money	<i>paisa</i>	<i>rupejja:</i>
226	silver	<i>cha:ndi</i>	<i>tʃãdi</i>
227	garland	<i>ma:la</i>	<i>mala</i>

228	first	<i>pehla</i>	<i>pɛla</i>
229	second	<i>du:sra</i>	<i>dudza</i>
230	third	<i>tesra</i>	<i>trigja</i>
231	one	<i>e:k</i>	<i>ekɪ</i>
232	two	<i>do:</i>	<i>do</i>
233	three	<i>ti:n</i>	<i>tin</i>
234	four	<i>cha:r</i>	<i>tʃar</i>
235	five	<i>pā:c</i>	<i>pandʒɪ</i>
236	six	<i>che</i>	<i>tʃʰe</i>
237	seven	<i>sa:t</i>	<i>satɪ</i>
238	eight	<i>a:T</i>	<i>aʃʰɪ</i>
239	nine	<i>nou</i>	<i>no</i>
240	ten	<i>das</i>	<i>dasɪ</i>
241	sixteen	<i>sola:h</i>	<i>soɖa</i>
242	twenty	<i>bi:s</i>	<i>bi</i>
243	forty	<i>cha:lis</i>	-
244	blind	<i>ba:ndna</i>	<i>bādn̩a:</i>
245	blow(balloon)	<i>Ma:r</i>	<i>ukn̩a:</i>
246	blow(kick)	-	-
247	break	<i>toRna</i>	<i>panɪn̩a:</i>
248	burn	<i>jala:n</i>	<i>dʒala:n̩a:</i>
249	carry	<i>leja:na</i>	<i>sarep dʒukn̩a, pʰasaŋa</i>
250	catch	<i>pakoR</i>	<i>pakaɖna</i>
251	clean	<i>sa:f</i>	<i>saf karna</i>
252	do	<i>kar</i>	<i>karna</i>
253	fall	<i>jharnu</i>	<i>pejijaŋ</i>
254	hold	<i>chamsimbo</i>	<i>pakaɖna</i>
255	lick	<i>chatnu</i>	<i>tʃaʃn̩a</i>
256	make	<i>banaunu</i>	<i>baŋaŋa</i>
257	mix	<i>misaunu</i>	<i>kaʃʰa karna</i>
258	open	<i>khol</i>	<i>pʰoln̩a</i>
259	pick	<i>Tipnu</i>	<i>dʒamina ba utʰna</i>
260	hit	<i>Tuksimbo</i>	<i>ma.rna:</i>
261	arrive	<i>lathinon</i>	<i>oŋa</i>
262	lean	-	<i>patɖa</i>
263	thick	-	-
264	play	<i>khelnu</i>	<i>kʰeln̩a</i>
265	pull	<i>Tanu</i>	<i>ʃkn̩a</i>
266	flow	<i>bagnu</i>	-
267	push	<i>Thelnu</i>	<i>taka deŋa</i>
268	put	<i>atha:p</i>	<i>gaʃʰerna</i>
269	work	<i>yok</i>	<i>kam karna</i>
270	kill	<i>swat</i>	<i>marna</i>
271	sing	<i>thuM</i>	-
272	bring	<i>buyo</i>	<i>ljoŋa</i>
273	climb	<i>aswa:n</i>	<i>tʃaɖna</i>
274	come	<i>a:</i>	<i>oŋa</i>

275	drag	<i>ghasitnu</i>	<i>gasiŋna:</i>
276	get	<i>thup</i>	<i>lɛŋa milŋa</i>
277	go	<i>nu</i>	<i>dʒana</i>
278	jump	<i>tek</i>	<i>tʃʰaɖ deni</i>
279	move	<i>voR</i>	-
280	stand up	<i>adiM</i>	<i>kʰaɖa hona</i>
281	take	<i>belai</i>	
282	walk	<i>lom</i>	<i>pɛdal tʃalna</i>
283	rub	<i>ghasnu</i>	-
284	sell	<i>ul</i>	<i>betʃŋa</i>
285	shut	<i>ha:p</i>	<i>bāɖ karna</i>
286	sink	<i>doba:nu</i>	<i>ɖubŋa</i>
287	sprinkle	<i>cha:rkinu</i>	<i>ʃiɖkaŋa</i>
288	squeeze (cloth/ lemon)	<i>nicha:rnu</i>	<i>nitʃoɖna</i>
289	spit	<i>thuk</i>	<i>tʰukŋa</i>
290	hunt	<i>S'ra</i>	<i>ʃikar karna</i>
291	shoot	<i>diyopno</i>	<i>bāɖuk tsalaŋa</i>
292	split	<i>tiyo:t</i>	<i>pʰaɖna</i>
293	fight	<i>chidoM</i>	<i>apas laɖna</i>
294	quarrel	<i>hudok</i>	<i>laɖna</i>
295	enter	<i>a:wa:n</i>	<i>andar oŋa</i>
296	escape	<i>tit</i>	<i>natʰijaŋa</i>
297	fly	<i>lām</i>	<i>uɾi dʒana</i>
298	get up	<i>luk</i>	<i>dʒaŋa</i>
299	give	<i>bea</i>	<i>dena</i>
300	tear	<i>miduM</i>	-
301	stab	<i>awar</i>	-
302	throw	<i>wa:</i>	-
303	hit drum	-	-
304	dance	-	<i>natʃŋa</i>
305	wash	-	-
306	wash (utensils)	-	-
307	wipe	<i>asa:t</i>	-
308	disappear	-	-
309	cut	<i>tiot</i>	-
310	dig	-	-
311	milk	<i>ne:n</i>	<i>dudɪ</i>
312	bark	<i>pu</i>	<i>pōkna</i>
313	drink	<i>thoM</i>	<i>pi:ŋa:</i>
314	eat	<i>jo</i>	<i>kʰa.na:</i>
315	feed	<i>kawa:na</i>	<i>kʰɔŋa:</i>
316	call	<i>lik</i>	<i>bulaŋa</i>
317	write	<i>api</i>	<i>likʰŋa</i>
318	run	<i>daM</i>	<i>doɖna</i>
319	send	<i>cloM</i>	<i>bʰedʒŋa</i>
320	slip	<i>athiat</i>	<i>pʰisalŋa</i>
321	swing	<i>lahara:nu</i>	<i>paŋguɖa</i>

322	swim	<i>afo</i>	<i>tɛrna</i>
323	vomit	<i>amo:t</i>	<i>ulʃi:</i>
324	cultivate	<i>niot</i>	<i>al baŋa</i>
325	comb	<i>S'ekhrio:t</i>	<i>kaŋga: karna:</i>
326	graze	<i>aviachio</i>	<i>ka k^haŋa</i>
327	harvest	<i>mul</i>	<i>fasal kaʃna</i>
327	lend	<i>udha:r</i>	<i>udar dɛna</i>
328	plant	<i>kuM</i>	<i>buʃe laŋa</i>
329	paddy	-	-
330	reap	<i>kha:T</i>	<i>fasɛl baʃna</i>
331	sow	<i>S'e</i>	<i>bi raŋa</i>
332	bite	<i>ali</i>	<i>bəʃna</i>
333	suck	<i>chuk</i>	-
334	tie	<i>worthem</i>	<i>gãʃi marna</i>
335	wear	<i>them</i>	<i>kaʃʃe laŋe</i>
336	answer	<i>jAwa:b</i>	<i>dʒibab dɛna</i>
337	ask	<i>aviat</i>	<i>məŋŋa</i>
338	say	<i>bo:l</i>	<i>gəlaŋa</i>
339	shout	<i>awa:j</i>	<i>ʃiʃkɪna</i>
340	hide	<i>ma:</i>	<i>ʃəpi dʒana</i>
342	keep	<i>tho</i>	<i>rak^hna</i>
343	turn	<i>woM</i>	<i>g^humŋa</i>
344	stop	<i>tho</i>	<i>band kəri dɛna</i>
345	swell	<i>fiyua</i>	<i>moʃe hodʒa:ŋa:</i>
346	read	<i>rok</i>	<i>paʃna:</i>
347	sleep/lie	<i>da</i>	<i>so:ŋa:</i>
348	love	<i>ma:ya</i>	<i>pja:r karna:</i>
349	tired	<i>tha:knu</i>	<i>t^hak laŋa:</i>
350	name	<i>na:m</i>	<i>na dɛna</i>
351	big	<i>thulo</i>	<i>baʃʃa:</i>
352	choose	<i>cho:k</i>	-
353	die	<i>Ma:k</i>	<i>muki dʒana</i>
354	life	<i>bambu</i>	-
355	earn	<i>ajuk</i>	<i>kam kɪmaŋa</i>
356	sit	<i>gha:n</i>	<i>behi dʒana</i>
357	change	<i>ba:dal</i>	<i>badli: deŋa:</i>
358	freeze	<i>thanDa</i>	<i>dʒami: dʒa:ŋa:</i>
359	wet	<i>Sel</i>	-
360	know	<i>yo</i>	<i>dʒaŋna</i>
361	learn	<i>fla:p</i>	<i>sik^hna:</i>
362	think	<i>chõc</i>	<i>soʃaʃpona</i>
362	cry	<i>afiop</i>	<i>ro:ŋa:</i>
363	fear	<i>arun</i>	<i>ʃarna:</i>
364	hear	<i>thio</i>	<i>suŋna:</i>
365	laugh	<i>then</i>	<i>asŋa:, muskuraŋa:</i>
366	taste	<i>ruchi</i>	<i>tʃak^hna:</i>
367	annoy	<i>dikaila:nu</i>	<i>duk^h karna:</i>

368	kiss	<i>chumnu</i>	<i>tʃummi:lɛɳi:</i>
369	love	<i>ma:ya</i>	<i>pja:r karna:</i>
370	bathe	<i>nũha:nu</i>	<i>nahŋa</i>
371	smell	<i>niom</i>	<i>siŋgŋa:</i>
372	touch	<i>chuna</i>	<i>tʃʰu:ŋa:</i>
373	wake up	<i>ja:gnu</i>	<i>dʒa:gŋa:</i>
374	meet	<i>bhetnu</i>	<i>milli lɛna</i>
375	repay	<i>tirnu</i>	-
376	show	<i>dekhanu</i>	<i>dikʰa:ŋa:</i>
377	scratch	<i>khorsinu</i>	<i>notʃŋa</i>
378	good	<i>ramro</i>	<i>atʃʰa:</i>
379	long	<i>lamo</i>	-
380	new	<i>naya</i>	<i>nãvva:</i>
381	old	<i>pura:no</i>	<i>pura:ŋa:</i>
382	some	<i>kehi</i>	<i>lamba:</i>
383	small	<i>gya:nu</i>	<i>tʃʰo:ʃa:</i>
384	smart	<i>chitikai</i>	<i>ho:ʃʃa:r</i>
385	smooth	<i>bista:rai</i>	-
386	straight	<i>sidha</i>	<i>sidda:</i>
387	far	<i>taro</i>	<i>du:r</i>
388	again	<i>feri</i>	<i>duji:vai:</i>
389	always	<i>ghari</i>	<i>hameʃa:</i>
390	before	<i>agadi</i>	<i>pɛle</i>
391	daily	<i>dinalu</i>	<i>ro:dʒ</i>
392	day	<i>din</i>	<i>tija:ɖi:</i>
393	evening	<i>beluka:</i>	<i>ʃa:m</i>
394	late	<i>dhilo</i>	<i>be:l</i>
395	today	<i>a:ju</i>	<i>adʒi</i>
396	tomorrow	<i>kal</i>	<i>kalɪ</i>
397	yesterday	<i>kal</i>	<i>pitʃʰla: kal</i>
398	after	<i>ba:d</i>	<i>ba:ɖvitʃ</i>
399	behind	<i>pi:che</i>	<i>pitʃʰɛ:</i>
400	between	<i>bi:cme</i>	<i>gabbe</i>
401	for	<i>lagi</i>	<i>ke ba:ste</i>
402	from	<i>janãdeki</i>	<i>se</i>
403	he, she	<i>o / uni</i>	<i>bo, o:ɖʒana:ni:</i>
404	here	<i>yahã</i>	<i>itʰɛ:</i>
405	his/ her	<i>usko</i>	<i>uda:,udi:</i>
406	I	<i>mo</i>	<i>mɛ</i>
407	it/ this	<i>yo</i>	<i>eo</i>
408	like	<i>jasto</i>	<i>dʒese</i>
409	my	<i>mero</i>	<i>meri</i>
410	not	<i>haina</i>	<i>naha</i>
411	that	<i>teyo</i>	<i>o:</i>
412	those	<i>junchai</i>	<i>o:</i>
413	there	<i>wahã</i>	<i>tuã:</i>
414	they	<i>tiniharo</i>	<i>o:lo:g</i>
415	their	<i>tiniharuko</i>	<i>unna: lokã:</i>

416	these	<i>yoharu</i>	<i>e sa:re</i>
417	we	<i>hami</i>	<i>assi: lo:g</i>
418	what	<i>kai</i>	<i>kẽ</i>
419	when	<i>kahilai</i>	<i>kadõ:</i>
420	where	<i>kaha</i>	<i>utã:</i>
421	you	<i>timi</i>	<i>tusã</i>
422	to you	<i>timilai</i>	<i>tusã ki</i>
423	your	<i>timro</i>	<i>tuaŋa</i>
424	year	<i>barsa</i>	<i>salɨ</i>
425	and	<i>ani</i>	<i>or</i>
426	at	<i>ma:</i>	<i>ut^he</i>
427	if	-	<i>p^hri</i>
428	in	<i>bhitra</i>	<i>mẽ</i>
429	bad	<i>naramro</i>	<i>bura:</i>
430	dirty	<i>maila:</i>	<i>ganda:</i>
431	dry	-	-
432	wild	<i>jaMli</i>	<i>dzaŋgli:</i>
433	wise	<i>gya:n</i>	<i>vidva.n</i>
434	east	<i>purba</i>	<i>pu:rbɨ</i>
435	end	<i>saknu</i>	-
436	far	<i>taro</i>	<i>du:r</i>
437	right side	<i>dahineipatti</i>	<i>sadza:</i>
438	middle	<i>bi:cma</i>	<i>gabbe</i>
439	north	<i>uta:r</i>	<i>utar</i>
440	left	<i>debre patti</i>	<i>k^haba:</i>
441	morning	<i>beha:n</i>	<i>savera:</i>
442	breakfast	-	-
443	many	<i>thuprai</i>	<i>dza:da:</i>
444	narrow	<i>kochreko</i>	<i>taŋgɨ</i>
445	raw	<i>kaccha</i>	<i>katja:</i>
446	rotten	<i>kara:b</i>	<i>saqe da:</i>
447	right	<i>thik</i>	<i>saji:</i>
448	dull	<i>bigreko</i>	-
449	sharp	<i>tikho / dha:rilo</i>	<i>pɛna:</i>
450	short	<i>hõcho</i>	<i>nikka:</i>
451	soft	<i>naram</i>	<i>narmɨ</i>
452	thin	<i>chepto</i>	<i>t^huli</i>
453	ugly	<i>gandho</i>	<i>burri sakɨl</i>
454	vice	-	<i>bure guŋɨ</i>
455	virtue	-	<i>at^he guŋɨ</i>
456	left side	<i>debre patti</i>	<i>k^haba:</i>
457	near	<i>najik</i>	<i>laggi:</i>
458	out	<i>bahira:</i>	<i>bahar</i>
459	south	<i>dakS'in</i>	<i>dak^hiŋ</i>
460	fast	<i>chitto</i>	<i>t^ho:qe t^ho:qe</i>
461	full moon day	<i>puṇnima</i>	<i>puṇija</i>
462	month	<i>mahina:</i>	<i>mena:</i>

463	dinner	-	-
464	night	<i>ra:ti</i>	<i>ra:t</i>
465	season	-	<i>mosɨn</i>
466	by	<i>ma:</i>	<i>laggi:</i>
467	down	<i>muni</i>	-
468	how	<i>kasari</i>	<i>kẽ</i>
469	who	<i>ko</i>	<i>kunɨ</i>
470	to us	-	<i>asã:lokã:</i>
471	to it/to this	<i>ya</i>	<i>it^hei ut^hei</i>
472	its/of this	<i>yasko</i>	<i>iski uski</i>
473	our	<i>hamro</i>	<i>asã lokã da</i>
474	liquor	-	-
475	ground nut	-	-
476	beans	-	-
477	canal	-	-
478	apple	-	-
479	courtyard	-	-
480	wave	-	<i>ler</i>
481	grass shoe	-	-
482	socks	-	-
483	wool	-	-
484	shoe	-	-
485	nail	-	-
486	court yard	-	-
487	pillow	-	-
488	god	-	-
489	blanket	-	-
490	spider	<i>makura</i>	<i>gar dɨ</i>
491	belly	<i>bhudi</i>	<i>te dɨ</i>
492	ancestor	<i>purkha</i>	-
493	brother-in-law	<i>salo</i>	<i>saɭa</i>
494	sister-in-law	<i>Sali</i>	<i>saɭi</i>
493	beard	<i>daRi</i>	<i>daɾɨ</i>
494	moustache	<i>juMga</i>	<i>mu tʃⁿ</i>
495	navel	<i>naito</i>	-
496	mirror	<i>aina</i>	<i>sis</i>
497	to me	-	<i>mikki</i>
498	to them	-	<i>unna:</i>
499	garlic	-	-
500	mouse	<i>musa</i>	<i>tʃu ga</i>

Comparative Lexicon of Tibeto-Burman Languages

SI No	Gloss	Kinnauri	Bhotia	Lahauli
1	air	<i>lan</i>	<i>lum</i>	<i>lan</i>
2	ashes	<i>bospa</i>	<i>kote w</i>	<i>ftab</i>
3	cloud	<i>ju</i>	<i>humpo</i>	<i>qu:</i>

4	cold	<i>lis</i>	<i>kyāta</i>	<i>so:ji:</i>
5	darkness	<i>rAk</i>	<i>na ʔsu</i>	<i>firti:</i>
6	earth	<i>mat lokaŋ</i>	<i>sa</i>	-
7	eclipse	-	<i>ninji ʔ</i>	-
8	fire	<i>me</i>	<i>mi</i>	<i>mě:</i>
9	fog	<i>jabo</i>	<i>hu ʔpo</i>	<i>dōri:, mo:</i>
10	forest	<i>zaŋal</i>	<i>do Mgě</i>	<i>baŋ</i>
11	hill	<i>Dakaŋ</i>	<i>gā</i>	<i>go:</i>
12	ice	<i>mig</i>	<i>kyak</i>	<i>muk</i>
13	lake	-	-	-
14	pond	-	<i>cho</i>	-
15	moon	<i>gols^haŋ</i>	<i>dou</i>	<i>latsā:</i>
16	mountain	<i>Dokaŋ</i>	<i>kāRi</i>	<i>go:</i>
17	rain	<i>lagyac^h</i>	<i>cha ʔ</i>	<i>gama, sand^ha:r</i>
18	river	<i>samudraŋ</i>	<i>gyuk chu</i>	<i>bě:q̄i:</i>
19	road	<i>solak</i>	<i>lam</i>	<i>am</i>
20	sand	<i>reta</i>	<i>phem</i>	<i>fir</i>
21	sea	-	<i>samūdar</i>	-
22	sky	<i>sorgaŋ</i>	<i>topu ka ʔma</i>	<i>sar</i>
23	snow	<i>pom</i>	<i>kau</i>	-
24	star	<i>skar</i>	<i>Ja</i>	<i>kar</i>
25	stone	<i>aTaŋ</i>	<i>dochem</i>	<i>rag</i>
26	storm	<i>lilan</i>	<i>luMchuk</i>	<i>b^hulan</i>
27	sun	<i>yune</i>	<i>nim</i>	<i>e.ke:</i>
28	water	<i>ti</i>	<i>chap</i>	<i>ti:</i>
29	weather	<i>goiniŋ</i>	<i>nami ʔa</i>	<i>mo:sam</i>
30	wind	<i>lan</i>	<i>lum</i>	<i>jīva.ra:</i>
31	wood	<i>s^hiŋ</i>	<i>sim</i>	<i>sin</i>
32	baby	<i>c^hikza</i>	<i>oMě</i>	<i>kəq̄u:</i>
33	boy	<i>c^haŋ</i>	<i>pocho</i>	<i>gam kəq̄u:</i>
34	bride	<i>laDi</i>	<i>namsa ʔpu</i>	<i>bijo:tri:</i>
35	bride groom	<i>laDa</i>	<i>mako</i>	<i>bevu:</i>
36	brother	-	-	-
37	brother elder	<i>ate</i>	<i>agya</i>	<i>moʔega</i>
38	brother younger	<i>baya</i>	<i>phami</i>	-
39	child	<i>c^hikza</i>	<i>omě</i>	<i>kəŋja:</i>
40	daughter	<i>s^huTi</i>	<i>phum</i>	<i>medimgaʔu:</i>
41	father	<i>bua</i>	<i>aba</i>	<i>ba:, aba:</i>
42	friend	<i>kones^h</i>	<i>ra ʔmmi</i>	<i>saha:di:</i>
43	girl	<i>c^himed</i>	<i>phum</i>	<i>mezam kəq̄u:</i>
44	husband	<i>dac^h</i>	<i>fó'gya</i>	<i>ga:k^hsa:</i>
45	male	<i>Dekras</i>	<i>pu</i>	<i>ga:mi:</i>
46	man	<i>mi</i>	<i>mi</i>	<i>dzuā.mi, jādemi:</i>
47	marriage	<i>raneTaŋ</i>	<i>nye ʔ</i>	<i>bia:</i>
48	maternal uncle	<i>muma</i>	<i>aJya</i>	-
49	mother in law	-	-	-

50	mother	<i>ama</i>	<i>amla</i>	<i>a:ma:</i>
51	nephew	<i>c^haŋ</i>	<i>mi</i>	-
52	niece	<i>shuTi</i>	<i>cham</i>	-
53	old man	<i>ru za mi</i>	<i>aba geMē</i>	<i>dʒuã.mi</i>
54	person	-	<i>mi</i>	-
55	tall	<i>lambas</i>	<i>riMku</i>	<i>la.me</i>
56	lean	<i>ToTra</i>	<i>sapsap</i>	-
57	fat	<i>muTas</i>	<i>gya ʔa</i>	<i>p^hreh</i>
58	dumb	<i>laTa</i>	<i>sempo</i>	<i>dʒa.le</i>
59	blind	<i>migis tapak</i>	<i>sigo ʔdou</i>	<i>k^ho.k</i>
60	sister (younger)	<i>E dau</i>	-	<i>a.ce:</i>
61	sister (elder)	<i>y bayu</i>	-	-
62	sister-in-law	<i>c^had</i>	<i>byem karim</i>	<i>bra.ɪ</i>
63	son	<i>c^haŋ</i>	<i>phocou</i>	<i>jo:</i>
64	widow	<i>ranDoley</i>	<i>phako</i>	<i>ra.ŋi:</i>
65	wife	<i>goyne</i>	<i>Tachum</i>	<i>nis</i>
66	woman	<i>c^hec^has</i>	<i>byuche</i>	<i>me.zme:</i>
67	ant	<i>koŋ kone</i>	<i>kasi k</i>	<i>purkɪ:</i>
68	bird	<i>piyac^h</i>	<i>pya</i>	<i>pija:</i>
69	cat	<i>pis^hi</i>	<i>alU</i>	<i>bil</i>
70	claw	<i>pyac^hu baŋ</i>	<i>semo</i>	<i>kinc^hukca: 'claw'</i>
71	cock	<i>kukri</i>	<i>pya ʔpu</i>	<i>kukɕe</i>
72	cuckoo	-	-	-
73	cow	<i>laŋ</i>	<i>ga</i>	<i>rad^h</i>
74	crab	-	<i>diksiMbu</i>	-
75	dog	<i>kui</i>	<i>khi</i>	<i>k^hui:</i>
76	egg	<i>liTTa</i>	<i>godo</i>	<i>ʔigli:</i>
77	feather	<i>pakaŋ</i>	<i>penDo</i>	<i>pa:k^h</i>
78	fish	<i>mac^hi</i>	<i>Mya</i>	<i>mats^h</i>
79	fly	<i>yaŋa</i>	<i>byaM</i>	<i>jamza:</i>
80	fox	<i>s^halas</i>	<i>ham</i>	<i>guva:</i>
81	goat	<i>bakor (F), Ayez (M)</i>	<i>ra</i>	<i>la:</i>
82	hare	-	-	-
83	horn	<i>rud</i>	<i>roCo</i>	<i>ɕe:</i>
84	horse	<i>raŋ</i>	<i>tha</i>	<i>raŋ</i>
85	lion	<i>t^har</i>	<i>SiMi</i>	<i>ʔe.r</i>
86	house	<i>rig</i>	-	<i>cum</i>
87	monkey	<i>bandras</i>	<i>pyã</i>	<i>ma.kaɾ</i>
88	nest	<i>wa</i>	<i>chã</i>	<i>baŋ</i>
89	tail	<i>puc^h niŋ</i>	<i>Cuma</i>	<i>miʔ^hul</i>
90	tiger	<i>t^har</i>	<i>tak</i>	<i>t^har</i>
91	tortoise	-	<i>rube</i>	<i>kac^hva:</i>
92	wing	-	<i>S'oko</i>	<i>paga:</i>
93	work	<i>kamaŋ</i>	-	<i>kamlaj</i>
94	back	<i>pisTiŋ</i>	<i>gya ʔ</i>	<i>t^ha.ka:</i>
95	blood	<i>polac^h</i>	<i>khya</i>	<i>ʒu.ɪ:</i>
96	body	<i>Dean</i>	<i>Ca</i>	<i>p^huk</i>

97	bone	-	<i>rito</i>	<i>ruspa:</i>
98	breast	-	<i>pyaMgo</i>	-
99	chest	<i>Tuk</i>	<i>pyaMgp</i>	<i>ta:</i>
100	ear	<i>kanan</i>	<i>namchu</i>	<i>re:ʰa:</i>
101	eye	<i>mig</i>	<i>namchu</i>	<i>ʃi:r</i>
102	face	<i>tA</i>	<i>dū</i>	<i>mo:di</i>
103	fever	<i>tau</i>	<i>twe ʔa</i>	<i>ʃʰanqʃ</i>
104	finger	<i>pracʰ</i>	<i>Jumu</i>	<i>bremza:</i>
105	foot	-	<i>TaMa</i>	-
106	hair	<i>kra</i>	<i>kya</i>	<i>kra:</i>
107	hand	<i>gud</i>	<i>lako</i>	<i>guqʃ</i>
108	flesh	<i>sʰa</i>	<i>S'a</i>	<i>ʃa:</i>
109	month	-	<i>kha</i>	-
110	head	<i>bal</i>	<i>gou</i>	<i>pū:z</i>
111	heart	<i>zeya</i>	<i>Tumi</i>	<i>ka:gi:</i>
112	leg	<i>ban</i>	<i>kam</i>	<i>kaʃa</i>
113	lip	<i>tunan</i>	<i>MaMcʰu</i>	<i>amū:h</i>
114	liver	<i>sʰin</i>	<i>cʰimpo</i>	<i>tiŋŋija:</i>
115	lung	<i>Tab</i>	<i>lou</i>	<i>lɔ:ni:</i>
116	mouth	<i>stA</i>	<i>kʰa</i>	<i>a:</i>
117	neck	<i>kakcʰ</i>	<i>khe</i>	<i>mu:ʃʰu:</i>
118	nose	<i>takucʰ</i>	<i>hã</i>	<i>jã:</i>
119	pain	-	-	-
120	spine	<i>sʰere Tan</i>	<i>gye ʔci</i>	<i>cʰagral</i>
121	tongue	<i>le</i>	<i>che</i>	<i>le:</i>
122	tooth	<i>gar</i>	<i>so</i>	<i>tsʰã:</i>
123	waist	<i>re</i>	<i>kepo</i>	<i>om</i>
124	fruit	<i>pholan</i>	<i>S'iMtho</i>	<i>pʰal</i>
125	liquor	<i>rak</i>	<i>ara ʔ</i>	-
126	milk	<i>keran</i>	<i>ochoM</i>	<i>pa:nu:</i>
127	salt	<i>cʰa</i>	<i>cha</i>	<i>cʰa:</i>
128	smoke	<i>dwan</i>	<i>duwã</i>	<i>ʃu:</i>
129	uncooked rice	<i>ral</i>	<i>chum</i>	<i>ʃur</i>
130	kidney	-	-	-
131	ear ring	-	-	-
132	banian	<i>baniyan</i>	<i>baniyen</i>	-
133	cloth	<i>gasa</i>	<i>ko ʔa</i>	<i>jadʰ</i>
134	door	<i>pitʰan</i>	<i>gom</i>	<i>pe:tanŋ</i>
135	roof	<i>chapran/maltan</i>	<i>kum</i>	<i>lanŋ</i>
136	rope	<i>basʰ</i>	<i>tako</i>	<i>tʰalzɨ</i>
137	cotton	<i>cʰam</i>	<i>re</i>	<i>pau:</i>
138	front tuck	-	<i>Tuk</i>	-
139	loom	<i>cʰam pannu</i>	<i>ta</i>	-
140	stick	<i>shuTik</i>	<i>tetha</i>	<i>ra:i</i>
141	bed	<i>posʰ</i>	<i>Meso ʔa ʔã</i>	-
142	door	<i>pitʰan</i>		<i>pe:tanŋ</i>
143	house	<i>kim</i>	<i>khim</i>	<i>cum</i>

144	roof	<i>chaprāṅ/maltāṅ</i>	<i>kum</i>	<i>laṅg</i>
145	rope	<i>bas^h</i>	<i>tako</i>	<i>t^halzɨ</i>
146	well water	<i>kulaṅ</i>	<i>chukō</i>	<i>kũ:</i>
147	flute	<i>bas^haṅ</i>	-	<i>bindzi:</i>
148	wall	<i>bitiṅ</i>	<i>salō</i>	<i>bi:ri:</i>
149	window	<i>kidki</i>	<i>gekha</i>	<i>kal</i>
150	bamboo	<i>lamTu</i>	<i>passim</i>	-
151	banana	<i>kela</i>	<i>kedō</i>	<i>ke:la:</i>
152	barks	-	<i>pako</i>	-
153	brinjal	<i>beṅan</i>	<i>dolom</i>	<i>beṅgan</i>
154	chilly	<i>pipili</i>	<i>ake`r</i>	<i>pi:bi:</i>
155	coconut	<i>gori</i>	<i>nariwol</i>	<i>ga:ni:</i>
156	flower	<i>u</i>	<i>mento k</i>	<i>u:rɨ</i>
157	garden	<i>bagic^ha</i>	<i>dumra</i>	<i>ba:g</i>
158	grass	<i>c^hi</i>	<i>hō</i>	<i>fraṅg</i>
159	jack fruit	-	<i>bar</i>	-
160	leaf	<i>patraṅ</i>	<i>dama</i>	<i>lab</i>
161	mango	<i>am</i>	<i>ambi</i>	<i>a:m</i>
162	paddy	-	<i>samo`se</i>	<i>baba</i>
163	plough	<i>kulaṅ</i>	<i>samosē</i>	<i>ha|</i>
164	potato	<i>halu</i>	<i>alui</i>	<i>a|u:</i>
165	root	<i>zilaṅ</i>	<i>racha</i>	<i>dzaɖa:</i>
166	sweet	<i>miTay</i>	<i>Mam</i>	-
167	tree	<i>boTāṅ</i>	<i>siM</i>	<i>buɬ^h</i>
168	vegetable	<i>kan</i>	<i>Mochu</i>	<i>a:gɨ</i>
169	labourer	<i>kamaṅ laṅc^hya</i>	<i>lapo</i>	<i>kamlaza:</i>
170	land	-	-	-
171	money lender	<i>sut kor</i>	<i>muike`pa</i>	-
172	net	-	<i>hē</i>	-
173	potter	<i>kamaṅ laṅc^hya</i>	<i>sahzo`pa</i>	<i>batfu:bet^ha:</i>
174	weaver	<i>gaz poṅc^hya</i>	<i>kolaṅta`kne</i>	<i>ra:nɖa:</i>
175	bitter	-	<i>kaku`r</i>	<i>te:dʒ</i>
176	cheese	-	-	-
177	creeper	<i>lata</i>	<i>cha`ri</i>	-
178	fruit	<i>pholaṅ</i>	<i>cho</i>	<i>p^hal</i>
179	guava	-	<i>amba</i>	<i>amru:d</i>
180	lily	-	<i>lily</i>	-
181	wheel	-	<i>korlo</i>	-
182	gum	-	<i>pua`kē</i>	-
183	farm land	-	<i>siMla`po`mi</i>	-
184	mid wife	<i>d^hayi</i>	<i>mo`lom, mi`kyu`r`pa</i>	-
185	black	<i>rAk</i>	<i>naku`r</i>	-
186	blind	<i>tapak</i>	<i>mi`ka`P</i>	<i>k^ho:k</i>
187	blue	-	<i>hyenpu</i>	<i>bu:bul</i>
188	coldness	<i>lis^h</i>	<i>kya`mpa</i>	-
189	green	<i>rAk</i>	<i>chala</i>	<i>ti:ni:</i>
190	hot	<i>bok</i>	<i>chata</i>	<i>ʈo:bu:</i>

191	light	<i>lanjic^h</i>	<i>yāta</i>	<i>fa.ŋgi:</i>
192	red	-	<i>Mapu</i>	<i>fei:</i>
193	brown	-	<i>gya ʼmu</i>	<i>bhu.ra:raŋg</i>
194	bright	-	<i>yue ʼci kci</i>	<i>prouḍzie:</i>
195	sour	-	<i>kyu ʼm</i>	<i>so.ji:</i>
196	sweet	<i>em</i>	<i>MaM</i>	-
197	white	-	<i>yāTa</i>	<i>sā.si:</i>
198	yellow	<i>pik</i>	<i>sēpu</i>	<i>le:</i>
199	hungry	<i>aonTis</i>	<i>tola ʼplap</i>	<i>oba:se</i>
200	love	<i>bennan</i>	<i>chamkyō</i>	<i>da:</i>
201	pain	<i>aka</i>	<i>nase</i>	<i>hasu</i>
202	true	<i>diman</i>	<i>Tāpu</i>	-
203	wish	-	<i>chamkyo</i>	-
204	ink	<i>s^hei</i>	<i>sogo ʼ</i>	<i>seja.ji:</i>
205	school	<i>skul</i>	<i>lopTa ʼla</i>	<i>udras</i>
206	bus	<i>bas</i>	<i>bas</i>	<i>bas</i>
207	student	<i>us^ho c^haŋ</i>	<i>lopTu</i>	<i>paḍec^ha:ga:</i>
208	teacher	<i>guruji</i>	<i>lobui</i>	<i>paḗptsar</i>
209	bullet	<i>c^hara</i>	<i>di</i>	<i>go:ḗi:</i>
210	drum	<i>Dol</i>	<i>Ma</i>	<i>ḍho:l</i>
211	enemy	<i>dusman</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>dufman</i>
212	debt	<i>ud^har</i>	<i>pu ʼloM</i>	
213	divorce	<i>neslo hacis</i>	<i>kake ʼse</i>	<i>dua.p^hi:</i>
214	festival	<i>porb</i>	<i>tuichē</i>	<i>tiha.r</i>
215	heaven	<i>sorgo</i>	<i>siMe ʼm</i>	<i>suva.rgɨ</i>
216	hell	<i>norak</i>	<i>Mya ʼla</i>	-
217	theft	<i>c^hubmig</i>	<i>kumkya ʼpse</i>	<i>kui:</i>
218	fair	-	-	-
219	worship	<i>pajyamu</i>	<i>tepo ʼpya ʼse</i>	<i>t^haĩ</i>
220	play	-	-	-
221	gold	<i>zan</i>	<i>so ʼna</i>	<i>zā:</i>
222	iron	<i>rAn</i>	<i>chak</i>	<i>lila.m</i>
223	brass	-	<i>ra</i>	<i>ri:</i>
224	lime	<i>c^huna</i>	-	<i>cunna:</i>
225	money	<i>rupya</i>	<i>mui</i>	<i>ḍ^hava:</i>
226	silver	<i>mul</i>	<i>M ʼui</i>	<i>mul</i>
227	garland	<i>mala</i>	<i>chukyō</i>	<i>kuḍ^ha.r</i>
228	first	<i>omsi</i>	<i>tamba</i>	<i>tummunḍ, tu.muk^h</i>
229	second	-	<i>M ʼiba</i>	<i>ḗo.t^hal</i>
230	third	-	<i>sumba</i>	<i>ḗo.t^hala.i:</i>
231	one	<i>id</i>	<i>cik</i>	<i>itsɨ</i>
232	two	<i>nis^h</i>	<i>M ʼi</i>	<i>ḍzuḍi</i>
233	three	<i>s^hum</i>	<i>sum</i>	<i>fum</i>
234	four	<i>po</i>	<i>si</i>	<i>pi:</i>
235	five	<i>ḡa</i>	<i>Ma</i>	<i>na:</i>
236	six	<i>Tuk</i>	<i>Tuk</i>	<i>truj</i>
237	seven	<i>st^his^h</i>	<i>duin</i>	<i>ni:</i>

238	eight	<i>ray</i>	<i>khe</i>	<i>re:</i>
239	nine	<i>gui</i>	<i>due</i>	<i>pu:</i>
240	ten	<i>s^hai</i>	<i>cu'</i>	<i>sa:</i>
241	sixteen	<i>s^horuk</i>	<i>cu^hTuk</i>	<i>satruji:</i>
242	twenty	<i>niza</i>	<i>M'icu</i>	<i>nirdza:</i>
243	forty	<i>nis^h niza</i>	<i>sicu'</i>	<i>ni.ndzo:</i>
244	blind	<i>c^hunik</i>	-	<i>ts^huzi:</i>
245	blow(balloon)	<i>bajamik (flute)</i>	<i>fuse</i>	<i>cugumzɛ:</i>
		<i>ciTan twannu (nose)</i>	-	-
246	blow(kick)	-	-	-
247	break	<i>ragrag (pot)</i>	<i>chakse</i>	<i>t^ha.tsi:, gua.p^hlai:</i>
		<i>rag mik (else)</i>	-	-
248	burn	-	<i>cheya</i>	<i>miap^ha.tsi:</i>
249	carry	-	<i>tuse</i>	<i>ce.lɔzɛ</i>
250	catch	-	<i>sese</i>	<i>comɔzi:</i>
251	clean	<i>c^humik</i>	<i>ese</i>	<i>sa.p^haj</i>
252	do	<i>lannu</i>	<i>pya</i>	<i>laj</i>
253	fall	<i>dada</i>	<i>pyu</i>	<i>dapa:</i>
254	hold	-	<i>gu</i>	<i>co.mdzɛ</i>
255	lick	-	<i>phi'tak</i>	<i>ija.ce</i>
256	make	<i>lannu</i>	<i>twen</i>	<i>baŋtʰe</i>
257	mix	-	<i>lasi</i>	<i>milajce</i>
258	open	<i>twanji</i>	<i>phi</i>	<i>jubsɪ:</i>
259	pick	<i>twannu</i>	<i>tok</i>	<i>fro.jkarse</i>
260	hit	-	<i>dum</i>	<i>te.nzi</i>
261	arrive	<i>pannu</i>	<i>lep</i>	<i>a.bi:</i>
262	lean	-	<i>ye</i>	<i>ba.ri:se</i>
263	thick	-	<i>juk</i>	<i>p^hre:</i>
264	play	<i>yoc^hmik</i>	<i>chim</i>	<i>rudana, jo.ji:</i>
265	pull	<i>Dammu</i>	<i>tem</i>	<i>fo.tsi:</i>
266	flow	<i>trap^hs^ho</i>	<i>Cuk</i>	<i>t^ho.sai.bi:</i>
267	push	<i>pelTyamu</i>	<i>loh</i>	<i>p^hutsi:</i>
268	put	<i>tamu</i>	<i>S'ya k</i>	<i>ict^ha.re.rfra.j</i>
269	work	<i>kamaŋ</i>	<i>yeo</i>	<i>kamlaj</i>
270	kill	<i>sannu</i>	<i>sik</i>	<i>sazi:</i>
271	sing	<i>gitaŋ lannu</i>	<i>liM</i>	<i>vi.rpuri:</i>
272	bring	<i>k^hannu</i>	<i>baõ</i>	<i>ha.bi:</i>
273	climb	<i>bimu</i>	<i>jek</i>	<i>a.bi:</i>
274	come	<i>jei</i>	<i>kap</i>	<i>gɔdɛfi:</i>
275	drag	<i>Dammu</i>	<i>duk</i>	<i>si:fo.t</i>
276	get	<i>k^hannu</i>	<i>thop</i>	<i>fzi:</i>
277	go	<i>bimu</i>	<i>gyu k</i>	<i>i.be:</i>
278	jump	<i>guamu</i>	<i>chom</i>	<i>c^havra.nɔɛ</i>
279	move	<i>yunnu</i>	<i>gui</i>	<i>to.kha.i.vi:</i>
280	stand up	<i>sars^hi</i>	<i>lumse</i>	<i>k^haɔɛsuvi:</i>
281	take	<i>yuatannu</i>	-	<i>ho.mbe:</i>
282	walk	<i>yunnu</i>	<i>uligui</i>	<i>dʒo.ai.bi:</i>

283	rub	<i>majyamu</i>	<i>Te</i>	<i>k^havadzɔlaj</i>
284	sell	<i>rennu</i>	<i>chom</i>	<i>la.nze</i>
285	shut	-	<i>che</i>	<i>ti.dze</i>
286	sink	<i>tiyo bibi</i>	<i>nup</i>	<i>ɖubi.rã.de</i>
287	sprinkle	<i>tic^hiT kyamu</i>	<i>to</i>	<i>pultsi:</i>
288	squeeze (cloth/ lemon)	-	<i>chi</i>	<i>cu:ɖce</i>
289	spit	-	<i>tuk</i>	<i>t^hu:laj</i>
290	hunt	<i>poc^hmu</i>	<i>kye p</i>	<i>si.ga:r laj</i>
291	shoot	-	<i>kya p</i>	<i>tɔpkiba.tsi:</i>
292	split	<i>ToTa lannu</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>be.lɖi:</i>
293	fight	<i>toŋs^ho</i>	<i>ma kya</i>	<i>te.mi:</i>
294	quarrel	<i>rolaŋ</i>	<i>tamu´</i>	<i>se.se</i>
295	enter	<i>bannik</i>	<i>jui</i>	<i>toŋga.mi:</i>
296	escape	<i>bobo</i>	<i>Coya</i>	<i>po:fi.bi:</i>
297	fly	<i>yapyado</i>	<i>pur</i>	<i>t^ha.mbe</i>
298	get up	<i>sars^hi</i>	<i>yorum</i>	<i>k^ha.i.fubitse.bi:</i>
299	give	<i>rannu</i>	<i>pinse</i>	<i>ranɖi:</i>
300	tear	<i>parmu</i>	<i>re</i>	-
301	stab	<i>kubo</i>	<i>ghicup</i>	<i>t^humlikjo:</i>
302	throw	<i>payamu</i>	<i>tu ko</i>	<i>sa.ndze</i>
303	hit drum	-	<i>mi´</i>	<i>ɖ^ho:ledzi:</i>
304	dance	<i>c^hamu</i>	<i>sapse</i>	<i>garpi:</i>
305	wash	<i>s^husmik</i>	<i>kyu</i>	<i>ca.rce</i>
306	wash (utensils)	-	-	-
307	wipe	-	<i>tya k</i>	<i>bi.ro.mdze</i>
308	disappear	-	-	-
309	cut	<i>molmu</i>	<i>tuk</i>	<i>kranedzi:</i>
310	dig	<i>koTyamu</i>	<i>ko</i>	<i>t^ha.jlaj</i>
311	milk	<i>c^hurmu</i>	<i>yomse</i>	<i>tsurtsi:</i>
312	bark	<i>c^hulo</i>	<i>hapo</i>	<i>a.nca.p^hi:</i>
313	drink	<i>tuŋmik</i>	<i>tumse</i>	<i>to.me:</i>
314	eat	<i>zamik</i>	<i>sase</i>	-
315	feed	<i>kaw</i>	<i>tombinS'e</i>	<i>pa.lɖi:</i>
316	call	<i>tas^haiya</i>	<i>keyyap</i>	<i>cu.zi:</i>
317	write	<i>c^heo</i>	<i>bisi</i>	<i>tse.zi:</i>
318	run	-	<i>gyu k</i>	<i>zarkefe:</i>
319	send	-	<i>tã</i>	<i>sa.ci:</i>
320	slip	-	<i>gikse</i>	<i>bre.lp^hi:</i>
321	swing	<i>Toraŋ</i>	<i>yu kse</i>	<i>burul</i>
322	swim	-	<i>tu</i>	<i>tarande:</i>
323	vomit	-	<i>kukse</i>	<i>prandze</i>
324	cultivate	<i>pas^hmu</i>	<i>tuMke ðyon</i>	<i>e.zi:</i>
325	comb	-	<i>peke</i>	<i>kra:so.se</i>
326	graze	<i>roks^ho</i>	<i>Ca kyap</i>	<i>rɔa.ci:</i>
327	harvest	<i>lammu</i>	<i>lotu kse</i>	<i>va.lzi:</i>
327	lend	<i>rannu</i>	<i>namwa</i>	<i>ri.lɖãɖi:</i>

328	plant	<i>c^holc^h c^humu</i>	<i>senka Mse</i>	<i>budʒpõ:ɽi:</i>
329	paddy	-	-	-
330	reap	<i>lammu</i>	<i>cho</i>	<i>anruälzi:</i>
331	sow	-	<i>tap</i>	<i>be.z</i>
332	bite	<i>c^hikc^he</i>	<i>sota ʔse</i>	<i>te:kʃi:</i>
333	suck	-	<i>jhipse</i>	-
334	tie	<i>c^hunnu</i>	<i>daMse</i>	<i>pra:la:zi:</i>
335	wear	<i>fok s^hi</i>	<i>gye ñse</i>	<i>kam lezi:</i>
336	answer	<i>t^had</i>	<i>inlo kse</i>	<i>dzuva:b ranʒe</i>
337	ask	<i>I</i>	<i>kya ʔse</i>	<i>ru:c^he</i>
338	say	<i>lonik</i>	<i>kek</i>	<i>ku:ɽi:</i>
339	shout	<i>e e</i>	<i>kesou</i>	<i>kilkara:ra.ndze</i>
340	hide	<i>maŋc^ho</i>	<i>buse</i>	<i>bija:pe:</i>
342	keep	<i>c^homi/tai</i>	<i>sakse</i>	<i>ta:ze</i>
343	turn	-	<i>kage ʔse</i>	<i>dzo:ji.bi:</i>
344	stop	<i>t^hari</i>	<i>ok</i>	<i>rundaj ve</i>
345	swell	<i>pado</i>	<i>buse</i>	<i>ga:mbi:</i>
346	read	<i>us^hmik</i>	<i>dyu kse</i>	<i>paʒe pe:</i>
347	sleep/lie	<i>yagmik</i>	<i>jinse</i>	<i>p^heʒe ʒuve:</i>
348	love	<i>bennan</i>	<i>sampya ʒe</i>	-
349	tired	<i>yalyel</i>	<i>canca ʔo</i>	<i>c^ha:dzi:</i>
350	name	-	<i>mim</i>	<i>mi:n</i>
351	big	<i>lekc^ho</i>	<i>bompo</i>	<i>mo:ʒe</i>
352	choose	<i>id kain</i>	<i>ese</i>	<i>li:zi:</i>
353	die	<i>s^himik</i>	<i>dre ʒe</i>	<i>si:vi:</i>
354	life	-	-	-
355	earn	<i>kamyamu</i>	<i>dru ʔpose</i>	<i>kam laj</i>
356	sit	<i>tos^hi</i>	<i>sa kse</i>	<i>brẽ:j</i>
357	change	<i>pas^hmu</i>	<i>ʔakse</i>	<i>le:t che</i>
358	freeze	<i>s^hanedo</i>	<i>Ca kse</i>	<i>lisaj ve:</i>
359	wet	<i>las^h</i>	<i>banse</i>	<i>a:le</i>
360	know	<i>nec^h</i>	<i>tamge ʒe</i>	<i>ne:ze</i>
361	learn	<i>us^his^h</i>	<i>lapse</i>	<i>sik^hepe:</i>
362	think	<i>gac^halc^h/sunc^hado</i>	<i>nose</i>	<i>rumzi:</i>
362	cry	<i>grabo</i>	<i>uMse</i>	<i>kra:bije</i>
363	fear	<i>byanmik</i>	<i>juse</i>	<i>bẽ:</i>
364	hear	<i>tasmik</i>	<i>mye ñse</i>	<i>re:j</i>
365	laugh	<i>wonnik</i>	<i>gawa ʒe</i>	<i>vats^hi:, va:pe:</i>
366	taste	<i>jamaiyaw</i>	<i>byo komse</i>	<i>sua:li</i>
367	annoy	-	<i>ciku ʒe</i>	<i>tanɣ laj</i>
368	kiss	-	<i>bya ʒe</i>	<i>po:ɣurãɽi:</i>
369	love	<i>bennan</i>	<i>sampya ʒe</i>	<i>da:laj</i>
370	bathe	<i>s^hus^ho</i>	<i>cusise</i>	<i>suvi:</i>
371	smell	-	<i>humse</i>	<i>ba:s laj</i>
372	touch	-	<i>dopose</i>	<i>pa:ɖlãɽi:</i>
373	wake up	<i>sars^hi</i>	<i>mye ʒise</i>	<i>k^hajsuve</i>
374	meet	<i>s^ha</i>	<i>phikse</i>	<i>k^hõsi:, ja:fkeri:</i>

375	repay	<i>pago</i>	<i>lukse</i>	-
376	show	<i>zaji</i>	<i>philose</i>	<i>kã:ɽi:</i>
377	scratch	<i>mas^hiyaw</i>	<i>bre kse</i>	<i>fo:se:</i>
378	good	<i>dam</i>	<i>lem</i>	<i>ruɸ^he:</i>
379	long	<i>lambas</i>	<i>riMko</i>	<i>la.me:</i>
380	new	<i>nyuk</i>	<i>CuMe</i>	<i>k^harkoji:</i>
381	old	<i>ruza</i>	<i>mye ñku</i>	<i>jo:ji:</i>
382	some		<i>acik</i>	<i>a:rja:</i>
383	small	<i>c^hoTTas</i>	<i>chumchum</i>	<i>kua.ci:</i>
384	smart	<i>s^hare</i>	<i>tenlo 'yo ɓo</i>	<i>baunja.ru:</i>
385	smooth	<i>kolas</i>	<i>sop</i>	-
386	straight	<i>takat^h</i>	<i>tāpu</i>	<i>sa:le</i>
387	far	<i>work</i>	<i>ta k'rim</i>	-
388	again	<i>he</i>	<i>lok'ti</i>	<i>ja.za:</i>
389	always	<i>dyaro</i>	<i>ata M</i>	<i>a:belɛ</i>
390	before	<i>oms</i>	<i>mye ñli</i>	<i>to:ji:</i>
391	daily	<i>roz</i>	<i>nimre 'siM</i>	<i>ro:dʒɛ</i>
392	day	<i>dyu saŋ</i>	<i>Mim</i>	<i>di:n</i>
393	evening	<i>s^hupa</i>	<i>sole</i>	<i>juŋgo: le</i>
394	late	<i>kraw</i>	<i>phiTa</i>	<i>k^hra:</i>
395	today	<i>toro</i>	<i>tariM</i>	<i>muda:</i>
396	tomorrow	<i>nasom</i>	<i>torã</i>	<i>ju.ra:</i>
397	yesterday	<i>me</i>	<i>dã</i>	<i>e:rek</i>
398	after	<i>nipi</i>	<i>gya ɓle</i>	<i>t^ha:le:</i>
399	behind	<i>yums</i>	<i>gyapmo le `</i>	<i>t^ha:lis</i>
400	between	<i>huju majan</i>	<i>bana</i>	<i>bi:dʒa:</i>
401	for	<i>taŋes</i>	<i>dyu ñle</i>	<i>do:bi:</i>
402	from	<i>c^ha</i>	<i>le</i>	<i>dotsɛ</i>
403	he, she	<i>dA</i>	<i>khu</i>	<i>do:</i>
404	here	<i>hajan</i>	<i>dikha</i>	<i>der</i>
405	his/ her	<i>hado/huju</i>	<i>kho 'mi</i>	<i>do:</i>
406	I	<i>ga</i>	<i>Ma</i>	<i>gẽ</i>
407	it/ this	<i>zu</i>	<i>di</i>	<i>di:, di:h</i>
408	like	<i>dokata</i>	<i>drabo</i>	<i>c^ha.na:</i>
409	my	<i>aŋ</i>	<i>Me</i>	<i>giu:</i>
410	not	<i>mani</i>	<i>ma</i>	<i>meh, ma:</i>
411	that	<i>do</i>	<i>adi</i>	<i>do:ri:</i>
412	those	<i>doga</i>	<i>adi 'cu</i>	<i>du</i>
413	there	<i>daŋ</i>	<i>okha</i>	<i>dor</i>
414	they	<i>zuga</i>	<i>ko ñca</i>	<i>domi:ri:</i>
415	their	<i>doganu</i>	<i>koMi</i>	<i>do.me:r</i>
416	these	<i>zuc^hey</i>	<i>dicu</i>	<i>di:r bha:te</i>
417	we	<i>niŋa</i>	<i>Maca</i>	<i>he.nar</i>
418	what	<i>t^ha</i>	<i>kan</i>	<i>ci:</i>
419	when	<i>t^heraŋ</i>	<i>nam</i>	<i>a:be</i>
420	where	<i>ham</i>	<i>gana</i>	<i>ã.vur</i>
421	you	<i>ki</i>	<i>cue</i>	<i>kin</i>
422	to you	<i>kinu</i>	<i>cuelo</i>	<i>kinab</i>

423	your	<i>kin</i>	<i>Ceyi</i>	<i>kendu:</i>
424	year	<i>bos^haŋ</i>	<i>lo^h</i>	<i>he.re</i>
425	and	<i>ai / raŋ</i>	<i>dam</i>	<i>u.ji:</i>
426	at	-	<i>na</i>	<i>dor</i>
427	if	-	<i>gesi</i>	<i>jã.ti</i>
428	in	<i>ra</i>	<i>na^hmlo</i>	<i>dejdor</i>
429	bad	<i>mari</i>	<i>male^hmse</i>	<i>ma:dam</i>
430	dirty	<i>ganda</i>	<i>cokTa</i>	<i>dzaki</i>
431	dry	<i>c^harmi</i>	<i>kampo</i>	<i>ka:rdze</i>
432	wild	<i>janli</i>	<i>ma^htol</i>	<i>ba:ŋo:</i>
433	wise	<i>akolmont</i>	<i>khita</i>	<i>dza:ŋka.r</i>
434	east	<i>unezara</i>	<i>sar</i>	<i>pu:rəb</i>
435	end	<i>byuga</i>	<i>ju</i>	-
436	far	<i>work</i>	-	<i>oita.re:</i>
437	right side	<i>zagaŋ koc^haŋ/gud</i>	<i>S'ole</i>	<i>su:dza:</i>
438	middle	<i>mazaŋ</i>	<i>barm</i>	<i>bi:dza:</i>
439	north	-	<i>jyo^hm</i>	<i>uttar</i>
440	left	<i>kozaŋ koc^haŋ</i>	<i>yonco k</i>	
441	morning	<i>som</i>	<i>ko^hpa</i>	<i>mundze</i>
442	breakfast	-	-	-
443	many	<i>muluk</i>	<i>kepo</i>	<i>ma:se</i>
444	narrow	<i>bagic^h</i>	<i>tokTa</i>	<i>saŋdɛ</i>
445	raw	<i>kac^has</i>	<i>jempu</i>	<i>ka:dze</i>
446	rotten	<i>mari</i>	<i>ruwa</i>	<i>tra:ge:</i>
447	right	<i>dam/Tik</i>	<i>temtē</i>	<i>t^hi:ki</i>
448	dull	-	<i>S'empo</i>	-
449	sharp	-	<i>Muo</i>	<i>tsa.ndzi:</i>
450	short	<i>c^hoTTas</i>	<i>thuMpo</i>	<i>co:dɛ</i>
451	soft	<i>kolas</i>	<i>sopsop</i>	<i>na:ge</i>
452	thin	<i>nakkiz</i>	<i>sap</i>	<i>ka:rci:</i>
453	ugly	<i>mas^hare</i>	<i>S'okci</i>	<i>puga:dɛ</i>
454	vice	-	<i>diku</i>	<i>ro:fmi:</i>
455	virtue	<i>dam</i>	<i>ca^hylem</i>	<i>ru:t^he</i>
456	left side	-	-	<i>p^ho:dza:</i>
457	near	<i>neraŋ</i>	<i>thami</i>	<i>tsa:mbe:</i>
458	out	<i>bairaŋ</i>	<i>nale</i>	<i>da:rti:</i>
459	south	-	<i>nimse Mka</i>	<i>dakfn</i>
460	fast	<i>hasal</i>	<i>gyop</i>	<i>ja:pa:</i>
461	full moon day	<i>baŋ gols^haŋ</i>	<i>si^hcem</i>	<i>punjã:</i>
462	month	<i>gol</i>	<i>deu</i>	<i>mehi.na:</i>
463	dinner	-	-	-
464	night	<i>ratiŋ</i>	<i>cē</i>	<i>jo:go: le</i>
465	season	-	<i>tūise</i>	<i>ri.tu:</i>
466	by	<i>jogmu</i>	-	<i>tsa:mbe</i>
467	down	<i>yua</i>	<i>me^hdlo</i>	<i>jō:</i>
468	how	<i>hala</i>	<i>gha^hte</i>	<i>c^hanɪ</i>
469	who	<i>hat</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>a:ri:</i>

470	to us	<i>niṅanu</i>	<i>Maca ʎo</i>	<i>hēnzɨ</i>
471	to it/to this	<i>zubuṅ</i>	<i>dilo</i>	<i>dekha: nekha:</i>
472	its/of this	<i>zu</i>	<i>diyo</i>	<i>dibi: no.bi:</i>
473	our	<i>kazeṅanu</i>	<i>Maci</i>	<i>hendo:</i>
474	liquor	-	-	-
475	ground nut	-	-	-
476	beans	-	-	-
477	canal	-	-	-
478	apple	-	-	-
479	courtyard	-	-	-
480	wave	-	<i>ba ʎop</i>	<i>c^hala.ra:</i>
481	grass shoe	-	-	-
482	socks	-	-	-
483	wool	-	-	-
484	shoe	-	-	-
485	nail	-	-	-
486	court yard	-	-	-
487	pillow	-	-	-
488	god	-	-	-
489	blanket	-	-	<i>rinza:ʃu:</i>
490	spider	<i>titli</i>	<i>ba ʎa</i>	-
491	belly	<i>peTaṅ</i>	<i>supō</i>	-
492	ancestor	<i>te te tego</i>	<i>jo ʃpham</i>	-
493	brother-in-law	<i>s^hakpo</i>	<i>aju</i>	-
494	sister-in-law	<i>boysa</i>	<i>ahi</i>	<i>bra.i</i>
493	beard	<i>daDi</i>	<i>gya</i>	<i>daha.j</i>
494	moustache	<i>muc^ho</i>	<i>gyaru</i>	<i>mo:c</i>
495	navel	<i>nayinṅ</i>	<i>tihō</i>	-
496	mirror	<i>s^his^ho</i>	<i>mi ʎam</i>	<i>a:ʃi:</i>
497	to me	<i>kec^h</i>	<i>Malo</i>	<i>gebe:</i>
498	to them	<i>dobanṅ</i>	<i>kho ʎmlo</i>	<i>kjō:</i>
499	garlic	-	-	-
500	mouse	<i>piyu</i>	<i>bi ʎu</i>	<i>piju.tsa:</i>



LANGUAGE DIVISION
OFFICE OF THE REGISTRAR GENERAL, INDIA
www.censusindia.gov.in