

LINGUISTIC SURVEY OF INDIA

LSI

JHARKHAND



सत्यमेव जयते

LANGUAGE DIVISION
OFFICE OF THE REGISTRAR GENERAL, INDIA
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FOREWORD

The Linguistic Survey of India (LSI) attempts to bring forth a brief but compact linguistic introduction of Scheduled, Non-scheduled Languages, and Mother Tongues used in different states distinctly. Language Division, Office of the Registrar General, Government of India conducts the 'Linguistic Survey of India' project in the post Grierson era. By this time the Language Division has already published the volumes on LSI Orissa, LSI Dadra Nagar Haveli, LSI Rajasthan Vol.-I, LSI Sikkim Vol.-I & II and LSI Bihar with detailed statistical data of linguistic demography and introductory linguistic description of Scheduled Languages, Non-scheduled Languages and Mother Tongues available within the states. From these documents it is further defined that India has a harmony of contrast linguistically by providing the space to multiple speech communities since the unknown prehistoric period. It is not only the linguistic documents, but also the archaeological, anthropological, and historical records which prove that India encircled by the natural boundary is a land of diversity where this type of linguistic harmony is unique in its form and practice in respect of global scenario. Speech communities, irrespective of whether they are tribal or non-tribal, are comfortable here with linguistic, cultural and ethnic practices. This is the key reason for 'a sense of Unity of all life as the expression of an Unseen Reality which is both immanent and transcendent' (Kirata Jana Kriti: S. K. Chatterji, 1951).

With time, the prehistoric language groups have moved towards later periods i.e. from a period of nomadic life to a life of permanent settlement by migrating in groups randomly in different parts of this land. The pattern of linguistic distribution, as recorded by the Census since 1881 to the present, including the observation of Sir George Abraham Grierson, tells about linguistic demography of the country. Some states with their linguistic heritage of thousands of years have become the linguistic melting pot, even today, by providing a space for living multilingual interaction. Language diffusion, maintain and change etc. are ongoing sociolinguistic processes there. In spite of having different sets of common constituent elements in different levels of language system, the members belonging to different communities not only adopt ingredients of other and naturalize as their own, but also maintain their Mother Tongues with a sense of coexistence with tolerance, the most important character of this land.

Another important reality is the distribution of languages geographically. Most of these Scheduled Languages, Non-Scheduled Languages and Mother Tongues in India are derived from four major language families - Austro Asiatic, Dravidian, Indo Aryan, and Tibeto-Burman, except English, Arabic and Andamanese languages which belong to other families. Out of these four, the speakers of Dravidian, Indo Aryan and Tibeto-Burman have major settlements in three regions South, North, East and North-East respectively.

But the situation of Central and North-East Central part of India is little different from the above. The present volume of LSI covers the state of Jharkhand, newly formed on 15th November 2000. Jharkhand includes the North-Central part of the mainland. The most important feature of it is the diverse linguistic demography with rich natural resources. The concentration of Austro-Asiatic population with Dravidian presence and the presence of Indo Aryan with a sizable number of each family are the generative factors of diversity. Due to that fact, the linguistic status of Jharkhand, in this volume can be treated as one of the important multilingual iconic spaces in India. Of course, India is known as a linguistic hub to the global community with her 1369 classified speech communities and 1496 unclassified groups, emerged from the families mentioned above.

At present the Official languages of Jharkhand are Hindi, Santali, Angika, Bhojpuri, Ho, Kharia, Khortha, Kurmali, Kurukh, Magahi, Maithili, Mundari, Nagpuria, Bengali, Odia, and Urdu. But when this survey was started, Jharkhand was not formed. Due to that, the languages which come under this volume are 12 speech communities - Hindi and Santali from Scheduled Language list, Kharia, Kurukh/Oraon, Mundari, Ho from Non Scheduled Language list and Nagpuria, Panch Paragania, Sadani/Sadri, Khortha / Khotta, Mahili and Malpaharia from Mother Tongue list. The volume has produced a compact description of the land and people of Jharkhand with socio-cultural, geographical facts and resources. Their historic role of the people against the foreign rule has established their unity in diversity historically. Since the beginning of Company Rule in India, the people of this state organized protests one after another which are named by rebellions like Pahadia Rebellion (1772-1780). All these protests have contributed to the freedom struggle of the latter period. On the other hand, the linguistic description elaborated with sociolinguistic information, the state of bilingualism, use of different types of lingua franca within a small zone and the settlement of heterogeneous speech communities in detail which is most notable contribution. The report has also recorded the trace of more than 150 Mother Tongues with very poor number of speakers and the linguistic importance of most of them is irrelevant in the state scenario.

The concentration of present residential settlement, in respect of language families within the state is unique. Santali, perhaps the most important and only Austro-Asiatic Scheduled language of the constitution covers the entire Eastern part of the province i.e. from South to extreme North-East on the Bengal Border line. Mahili, with a population of 18,828 in 2011, another Mother Tongue of Austro-Asiatic family is sporadically available in small groups from South to the Sahibganj district in the extreme north especially in the area of Santali dominating region. Other Austro Asiatic speakers of Ho, Mundari and Kharia of Non Scheduled Language lists concentrated in South, South-west and in part of western districts of the state. Interestingly, the presence of Indo Aryan mother tongues namely Panch Paragania with its 99.75% population and Malpaharia, a specific Indo Aryan Mother Tongue used by Dravidian tribes are available here. Nagpuria with its 99.33 % population of India, and Sadri/Sadani (37.43% of India) are two other dominating Indo Aryan Mother Tongues in the state used in south west and western districts extending towards north-west districts Garwa, Palamu etc. Kurukh /Oraon, on the other hand the most popular Dravidian origin dominates as Non Indo Aryan in Gumla, Lohardaga, Latehar, Chatra etc, in the districts of west and north west, where not much noticeable Austro Asiatic population is recorded. The rest of the part is north and north-east where Khortha/Khotta an Indo Aryan Mother Tongue covers the entire north to extreme north east district i.e. Sahebganj. The state capital Ranchi has most of these languages. As a whole the linguistic population with multiple languages has developed a pattern of distribution in different zone probably a natural expression of Indian coexistence principle. Of course, the data shows the sporadic availability of speakers from each one throughout the state with less frequency.

One of the observations is the presence of two Indo Aryan Mother Tongues i.e. Nagpuria and Sadani/Sadri with considerable amount of population in the same region. For example, in the district of Gumla, 2.5 lacs Sadani and 2.62 lacs Nagpuria speakers reside and such phenomena can be traced in other districts like in Khunti, Lohardaga etc. Besides the use of these two Mother Tongues as Lingua Franca within the state is also noted. In respect of the bilingual situation,

Santali, Kharia, Kurukh and Mundari were used as second language by the Indo Aryan speakers whereas Hindi, Bengali and Odia to some extent were used as second language by Santali, Mundari and Ho people. The linguistic demographic phenomena are reestablished by the preliminary core linguistic description of phonology, morphology and syntax and list of vocabularies with corresponding forms from Hindi and Mother Tongues at the end of volume.

The present volume proves worthy for the Indian population and also the global community to elucidate on the complexity arising from the harmony in contrast of Indian population which is the result of unconscious practice of linguistic change and maintenance from time immemorial. This phenomenon is an active ongoing functioning heritage of India and that makes us proud. The inadequacy is part of every work and that may be traced out here also but the copy will give a clear linguistic Status of Jharkhand in respect of the people's feedback in the survey conducted by this team.

The scholars and other officials, under the Govt. Of India who are involved in the preparation of this Jharkhand volume have done a considerable amount of job to enrich the people systematically. Dr. R. Nakkeerar, Dr. S. P Ahirwal, Dr. Sibasis Mukherjee, Dr. S. P Dutta, Dr. N. Gopalakrishnan, Dr. Kakali Mukherjee , Dr. P. Perumalsamy, Shri P Edward Vedamanickam, Ms. Tapati Ghosh have contributed in the volume sincerely to give the real picture of the state and Indian linguistic situation. It is my opportunity to have a chance to look at your work for which I thank each of you including all the non-academic members of Language Division. A special thanks to Dr. R. Nakkeerar and Dr. Sibasis Mukherjee, both of them are very kind enough for assisting me to complete the work and finally my sincere thanks and regards to Shri Manoj Kumar, DRG, ORGI, New Delhi and Dr. Vishwanath, IAS, Director, DCO West Bengal & Controlling officer (Language Division) for engaging me to comment on this volume.

This would not have been possible without the support and enthusiasm of Dr. Vivek Joshi, IAS, Registrar General & Census Commissioner, India in bringing out this Report.

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PREFACE

With the objective to present updated linguistic scenario, taking account of the 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-Jharkhand is a work in descriptive linguistics comprising of descriptions of six Languages (2 Scheduled and 4 Non-Scheduled) and 6 Mother Tongues surveyed in short spells during a long-time span of 1984 – 2000, before the division of erstwhile Bihar into Bihar and Jharkhand states on November 15, 2000. Considering the present scenario of two separate states of Bihar and Jharkhand, 6 Languages and 6 Mother Tongues are being presented in this Volume based on their regional importance, their speakers’ strength, as well as the location where the survey was conducted in undivided Bihar. The present project is, in all respect, a supplementation and complementation of the ‘*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 West Bengal, Bihar, Jharkhand, Odisha and present-day Bangladesh were part of the same Province called The Bengal Presidency.

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 Survey under “Linguistic Survey of India – Jharkhand” has been presented under following Chapters.

1. Introduction being the first Chapter has discussed
 - a) Jharkhand as a State, its History, Demography and Administrative Units (Maps related to Administrative Divisions as per 2001 and 2011 have been included).
 - b) 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) Linguistic Profile of Jharkhand (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 Censuses.)
 - d) Status of Bilingualism and Trilingualism of Surveyed Languages
 - e) A Brief Introduction of all the 6 Languages and 6 Mother Tongues surveyed under the Volume.
2. Following the Introduction, twelve consecutive Chapters, i.e. Chapters two to thirteen of the Volume present the grammatical description of six Languages (chapters two to seven) and six Mother Tongues (chapters eight to thirteen). The presentation of the Language/ Mother Tongue chapters have followed the speakers’ strength in descending order as per 2011 Census. Thus, the description of Hindi has been presented as the first one in the series and Malpaharia has been presented in the last. In between, Kharia, Kurukh/Oraon, Mundari, Ho, Nagpuria, Panch Pargania, Sadan/Sadri, Khortha/Khotta, Mahili and Malpaharia have been placed with respective relevance.
3. Considering the relatively more importance of Hindi in the present state of Jharkhand, it has been placed in Chapter two followed by Santali in Chapter three. Thereafter, the Non-Scheduled Languages Ho, Kurukh/Oraon, Mundari and Kharia have been placed successively, as they represent a descending order in terms of speakers’ strength. Among

the Mother Tongues, Khortha/Khotta has been placed first in Chapter seven followed by Sadan/Sadri, Nagpuria, PanchPargania, Mahili and Malpaharia. Since the formation of the state of Jharkhand was on the basis of tribal movements and agitations since long, so Languages and Mother Tongues related to the tribes are of primary importance in the present Volume.

4. The end of the grammatical descriptions, a Comparative Lexicon containing 500 selected lexical items of all the Languages / Mother tongues described have been appended.

The Language/Mother Tongue descriptions in general under Introduction Chapter and in specific under respective Reports give a glimpse of the dynamics of the linguistic situation, information about the origin of the Language / Mother Tongue and also its status and family affiliation.

Regarding the distribution of Languages / Mother Tongues, two sets of data have been presented, where required, 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 / 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 communities inhabiting Jharkhand.

For the field surveys, one common questionnaire containing the exhaustive word list, sentence list and story specifically developed by Language Division, Office of the Registrar General, India for the post-Independence Linguistic Survey of India, was canvassed in the then undivided Bihar. At the end of the grammatical description of each Language / Mother Tongue, 500 selected lexical items as well as the story have been appended considering the limitation of the pages of the Volume.

Coordination of the Reports under Linguistic Survey of India, Jharkhand was first started by Shri S.P. Ahirwal, Ex-Senior Research Officer (Language) in the year 2012. The field-surveys in respect of all the Languages / Mother Tongues had been completed by 2001 under the supervision of different Heads of Office. Ranjita Pattanaik, Senior Research Officer (Language) revisited the field to update certain information in the reports of Nagpuria, Panch Pargania and Sadan/Sadri Mother Tongues. Following the superannuation of Shri S.P. Ahirwal Ex-Senior Research Officer (Language) in 31st January, 2014, the preliminary scrutiny of Reports was done by Dr P Perumalsamy, Research Officer (Language) being assisted by Ms Sucharita Chakraborty, Investigator (Language). Later the finalization of the volume under Linguistic Survey of India, Jharkhand scheme was entrusted to Dr. R Nakkeerar, Research Officer (Language) and Head of Office, who carried out the finalization of the present Volume being cooperated by Dr. Sibasis Mukherjee, Research Officer (Language), Shri P. Edward Vedamanickam, Research Officer (Language), Dr. N. Gopalakrishnan, Research Officer (Language) and Ms Sucharita Chakraborty, Research Officer (Language) and being assisted by Mrs Sarita Panda, Statistical Investigator, Grade I and Mrs. Aparajita Sen, Investigator (Language), Mrs. Dipshikha Bose, Investigator (Language), Ms. Soumi Banerjee, Investigator (Language), Mrs. Jhuma Ghosh, Investigator (Language) and Dr. Deepak Kumar, Investigator (Language).

The Field Surveys under the Volume have been completed under the directions of Dr.C.Chandramouli, the Ex-Registrar General & Census Commissioner, India. He is regular source of inspiration in completion of the present Volume.

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Collection of data on the Languages / Mother Tongues surveyed in undivided Bihar under Linguistic Survey of India, Jharkhand would not have been possible without kind cooperation and help of the Directorate of Census Operations, Bihar and the various District Magistrates as well as other officials of the State of Bihar.

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Last but not least, warm thanks are due to the contributors of the Volume who painstakingly collected the data during field investigation with restricted facilities.

I hope this Volume will serve the needs of different sector of populace according to respective purposes in socio-educational-linguistic planning.

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**DR VIVEK JOSHI, IAS
REGISTRAR GENERAL &
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ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

Abbreviations

DCO

F

Govt.

L/lg.

LSI

M

MT/mt.

P

T

R

U

U.Ts

co.

i.e.

ed.

General

Directorate of Census Operations

Female

Government

Language

Linguistic Survey of India

Male

Mother Tongue

Person

Total

Rural

Urban

Union Territories

Company

That is

Edited

Abbreviations

abl.

acc.

adj.

asp.

Alv.

aux./Aux.

approx.

Al

Bi/BL

Cl

C/Con/con/c

Cont.

Grammatical Descriptions

Ablative

Accusative

Adjective

Aspirated

Alveolar

Auxiliary

Approximate

Alveolar

Bilabial

Clause

Consonant

Continuous

caus./cau	Causative
Dent/Dt.	Dative
Dem./demon	Demonstrative
e.g.	Example
emp.	Emphatic
Fem/F/f./fem	Feminine
ft./f	Finite
fut.	Future
gen./gen/Gen/geni	Genitive
GL	Glottal
Hon.	Honorific
imp.	Imperative
imperf.	Imperfect
incl.	Inclusive
Loc.	Locative
L.D.	Labio-Dental
Masc./mas/Mas	Masculine
Mar.	Marker
n/N	Noun
neg.	Negative
nom.	Nominative
pass.	Passive
pcpl.	Participle
pr.	Present
pre.	Preposition
pred.	Predicate
PL.	Palatal
Pl	Plural
Pr.t/pr/pre.ten	Present Tense
Pt./PT./Past ten	Past Tense
pr.cont.	Present Continuous
RT/Ret	Retroflex

Relat	Relative
reflex	Reflexive
SOV	Subject+Object+Verb
Sing	Singular
s./sub	Subject
o./obj/ob	Object
vb./v	Verb
Vel.	Velar
V.CL.	Vowel Cluster
PP/p	Pages
L1	First Language
L2	Second Language
viz.	Namely
V/v	Vowel
etc.	Etcetra
Neu	Neuter
Vol/vol	Volume
Pt.	Part
Nf	Non-Finite
VL	Voiceless
VD	Voiced

Symbols Used

i	Front close vowel	J	Palatal voiced stop
E	Open mid front unrounded Vowel / Lower-mid front vowel	C	Palatal voiceless stop
E'	Lower front open mid vowel	c ^h /ch	Palatal voiceless aspirated stop
Y	Vowel glide	Jh	Palatal voiced aspirated stop
O	Mid open back rounded vowel /	K	Velar voiceless stop

	Low-mid back vowel		
A	Mid central unrounded vowel	G	Velar voiced stop
e	Mid front unrounded vowel	k ^h /kh	Velar voiceless aspirated stop
	Low front rounded vowel	g ^h /g ^h	Velar voiced aspirated stop
a	Low back Rounded Vowel	M	Bilabial voiced nasal
o	Mid close back rounded vowel	Mh	Bilabial voiced aspirated nasal
u	High back rounded vowel	n/ŋ	Alveolar/dental voiced nasal
p	Bilabial voiceless stop	Nh	Alveolar voiced aspirated nasal
p ^h / ph	Bilabial voiceless aspirated stop	B	Bilabial voiced stop
b ^h / bh	Bilabial voiced aspirated stop	Y	Palatal voiced Approximant/Semi vowel
T	Retroflex voiceless stop	s	Voiceless dental fricative / Voiceless alveolar fricative
Th	Retroflex voiceless aspirated stop	L	Alveolar/dental voiced lateral
D	Retroflex voiced stop	R	Alveolar voiced trill
Dh	Retroflex voiced aspirated stop	Z	Voiced alveolar fricative
t ^h / th	Dental voiceless aspirated stop	S'	Voiceless palatal fricative
d ^h /dh	Dental voiced aspirated stop	C	Voiceless alveolar affricate
t	Alveolar voiceless stop	J	Voiced alveolar affricate
d	Alveolar voiced stop	N	Retroflex Nasal
th	Alveolar voiceless aspirated stop	F	Voiceless labial dental fricative
dh	Alveolar voiced aspirated stop	ˊ	Rising tone
M	Velar nasal	ˋ	Falling tone
M'	Palatal nasal	>	indicates "Becomes"
R	Voiced retroflex flap	<	indicates "Comes from"
x	Voiceless velar fricative	/ /	Phonemic representation
C'	Checked consonants	[]	Phonetic representation
h	Voiceless glottal fricative	Φ	Zero morpheme
fi	Glottal voiced fricative	~	Alternation
w	Bilabial voiced Approximant/Semi vowel	~	Nasalised vowel
		V	
ʌ	Lower mid back unrounded vowel		

?/?	Glottal stop
{ }	Conditions on variables
()	Parenthesis
=	Equal to
+	Plus
:	Length

INTRODUCTION

R. NAKKEERAR

I

PRESENT LINGUISTIC SURVEY OF INDIA VOLUME

The present Volume on LSI-Jharkhand covers 12 Languages/ Mother tongues (including abridged report of Hindi language) of the State of Jharkhand in the light of Sir G.A. Grierson's *Linguistic Survey of India*. Among these 6 are Languages and the remaining 6 are Mother Tongues. '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/Mother tongues grouped under it. The List of Languages/ Mother tongues is given below and the present-day speakers' strength as per both Census 2001 and Census 2011 is also provided alongside.

The Language Division, Office of the Registrar General, India was entrusted with Linguistic Survey of India assignment and accordingly steps are taken to survey state wise Languages/ Mother tongues. So far LSI-Orissa, LSI – Dadra Nagar Haveli, LSI-Sikkim., LSI-West Bengal and LSI-Rajasthan have been completed and published. (LSI Bihar may be included)

LIST OF LANGUAGES/ MOTHER TONGUES INCLUDED IN LSI JHARKHAND			
Sl. No	Language/ Mother Tongue	Figures as Per Census 2001	Figures as per Census 2011
Scheduled Languages			
1	Hindi	1,55,10,587	2,04,36,026
2	Santali	28,79,576	32,69,897
Non-Scheduled Languages			
3	Kharia	1,23,483	1,40,148
4	Kurukh/Oraon	8,61,843	9,52,164
5	Mundari	8,60,275	9,42,108

6	Ho	7,82,078	9,94,302
Mother Tongues			
7	Nagpuria	12,37,156	7,57,726
8	PanchPargania	1,93,256	2,44,290
9	Sadan/Sadri	4,03,492	16,27,083
10	Khortha/Khotta	45,49,871	77,38,960
11	Mahili	3,508	18,828
12	Malpaharia	585	3,946

The Languages covered under LSI Jharkhand are Santali, Kharia, Kurukh/ Oraon, Mundari and Ho. The Mother Tongues which are dealt under this section are Nagpuria, Panch Pargania, Sadan/ Sadri, Khortha/ Khotta and Malpaharia. The Survey was conducted in the then undivided Bihar state for respective Languages/ Mother Tongues on the basis of questionnaire developed by the Language Division, Office of the Registrar General, India.

II

A. BACKGROUND

1. Jharkhand as a State

Jharkhand (literary meaning ‘The land of forest’) is a newly formed state in eastern India which was carved out of the southern part of erstwhile Bihar and had emerged as the 28th state of Indian Union on 15th November 2000, the birth anniversary of the Santhal Rebellion leader Birsa Munda. This state shares its border with Bihar in the North, Odisha in the South, West Bengal in the east and Uttar Pradesh & Chhattisgarh in the west.

2. Brief History of Jharkhand

Jharkhand came into existence on 15th November, 2000 as the 28th state of India. The reason for separation of Jharkhand from Bihar was to ensure the development of ethnic groups or the tribals. Jharkhand was the homeland of the tribals who had dreamt of a separate state since a

long time. It comprises of dense forest of Chhotanagpur plateau and Santhal Pargana that has given the place its own socio-political and cultural traditions.

The roots of Jharkhand can be traced back to Magadha Empire. However, historians believe that the unique geographical structure and the distinct cultural identity have marked Jharkhand as a separate entity from the Magadha Empire. The area was considered to be a natural habitat for tribal communities like Khadia, Santhal, Munda, Ho, Oraon, Asura, Birjia, Pahadia etc. According to the legends, during 13th century Raja Jai Singh Dev from Odisha had declared himself the ruler of Jharkhand. This dynasty had played an influential role in the history of Jharkhand. Earlier, this region was mainly dominated by the tribal chieftains but due to their unrestrained arbitrariness, people had appealed for help to the princely states which were considered to be judicially fair at that time. In this way, for the first time the intervention of outsiders started in this region when the kings of Odisha and other regions started interfering here with their army. However, the influence of some righteous chieftains who had good association with the people over there, still persisted in this area even after the invasions. Most of them were Munda chieftains who are still very influential in this area.

During the Medieval period, this region was ruled by the Nagbanshi and Chero rulers respectively. The Mughal influence came to this place during the reign of Emperor Akbar when Raja Mansingh invaded this region in 1574. The area was known as Khukhragarh at that time. Chero king Medini Ray conquered the Khukhra region by defeating the Nagbanshi Maharajas in 1658. The Chero rule lasted here until some internal conflicts between several groups weakened the Cheros and they were defeated by the East India Company.

In the year 1765, The East India Company took over Jharkhand and started enslaving and oppressing the people of that region which gave birth to a strong sense of rebellion and defiance among the people of this place. During this period many revolts took place here against the British which are collectively known as Tribal Rebellions. Some of these major rebellions are:

- **Pahadia Rebellion (1772-1780):** This was started in 1772 by the tribals of Jharkhand against the increasing British atrocities on them which lasted up to 1780.
- **Manjhi Rebellion (1780-1785):** This movement was started by TilkaManjhi alias Jabra Manjhi. He organized the Adivasis to form an armed group to fight against the exploitation of British and continued his struggle up to 1784 without surrendering to the British power. This movement lasted from 1780 to 1785.

- **Munda Rebellion:** The Munda tribes had periodically launched movements against the atrocities of the British in Jharkhand. The Munda Rebellion was led by Vishnu Manki and the movement also ran from 1795 to 1800 AD like **Tamar Rebellion** (led by Dukhan Manki). After that, there was a rebellion led by Dukhan Manki which lasted from 1800 to 1802 AD. Again in 1819 they started revolting against the British. This revolt was led by Bhukan Singh of Palamu and it lasted up to 1820.
- **Kol Revolt (1831-33) :** The Mundas and Oraons ‘ rose en masse’ and were joined by Ho, Chero and Kharwar people and it spread from present district of Ranchi to Singhbhum, Manbhum, Hazaribagh and Palamau.
- **Khevar Rebellion (1832-1833):** This was started in 1832 under the leadership of Dubai Gausai, Patel Singh and Bhagirath. This uprising lasted till 1833.
- **Bhumij Rebellion (1833-1834):** This movement was carried out by Saint Ganganarayan with the help of the tribals of Dalbhum and Jungle Mahal.
- **Santhal Rebellion (1855-1860):** The Santhal tribes revolted against the Governor of Bengal, Lord Cornwallis. This was termed as the revolt of the Santhals. The second revolt of the Santhals was carried out under the leadership of Sidhu Kanhu that started in 1855 and lasted till 1860.
- **Sepoy Mutiny (1856-1857):** Sepoy Mutiny was the first armed rebellion against the British Empire led by Shaheed Lal, Vishwanath Sahadeva, Sheikh Begars, Ganpat Rai, Bidhu Bir etc. By the end of this movement, the rule of East India Company had ended and the direct rule of the British crown began.

In 1895, Bhagwan Birsa Munda started his movement for the revitalization of the Munda tribe and the freedom struggle for the natives. He wanted his people to shake off the foreign yoke of servitude. This rebellion lasted up to 1900 AD and contributed a lot to the Indian Freedom Movement.

In 1900, the revolt against the British were led by Bhagwan Birsa Munda. The first movement at the mass level was in 1915 under ‘Chhotanagpur Developed Society.’ The most important movement was held around 1940, by late Sri Jaipal Singh who formed ‘Adibasi Mahasabha.’ In 1950, it was named ‘Jharkhand Party.’ The second phase of Jharkhand Movement

was led by Shri Sibhu Soren in 1978. The movement gained intensity and led to “Jharkhand Area Autonomous Council (JAAC)” in 1996 and it was accepted by State Government.

The primary objective of all these movements was to end the social and economic exploitation in the region. It was a movement of self-assertion of these tribal people in the face of threat of losing one’s own identity – an effort of the backward people to survive against the exploitation of privileged people.

Also, associated with the demand for a separate state were the following demands –

- the rights of the tribals over land and forest
- stopping displacement of tribals from their homeland due to industrialisation and urbanisation
- constitutional recognition of tribal languages and its use in educating the tribal masses
- reservation of jobs for the tribals.

After the Chotanagpur Tenancy Act 1908, the tribals joined the Satyagraha movement of Mahatma Gandhi in 1920 and stopped giving land to the Government. Then, in 1928, Simon Commission came to Patna when the tribals demanded a separate Jharkhand state but their request was turned down. After this, Thabal Oraon organized the Kisan Sabha in 1931 and in 1935, the Unnati Samaj and Kisan Sabha were merged in Chautalagpur in order to gain political power and to fight for their demands and rights.

The history of the present Jharkhand state is almost 100 years old when in 1939, Jaipal Singh Munda, the former hockey player and the captain of the Indian hockey team in the Olympic games, had proposed the idea of creating a new state by merging some of the southern districts of the erstwhile Bihar state. However, the dream came true on 2nd October, 2000 when Parliament passed a bill in this regard and on November 15th of the same year, the state of Jharkhand finally assumed its form and was established as the 28th province of India.

B. DEMOGRAPHY

The state extends from 21^o 58' N to 25^o 18' N latitude and from 83^o 22' E to 87^o 57' E longitude. The Tropic of Cancer at 23½ degree North passes through Ormanjhi in Ranchi district. The State is situated at an average height of above 1000 feet above sea level and the State Capital Ranchi used to be the Summer Capital of erstwhile Bihar. Normal rainfall in Jharkhand is an

average of 1500 mm. Jharkhand is located in tropical region and withstands the fluctuations of each season under tropical climate but being a high plateau, the climate here is different from its surroundings. The area is situated on the Chotanagpur plateau and is diverse in nature. As a result, the climate of Jharkhand also varies from humid subtropical in the north to tropical wet and dry in the south-east. A lot many areas of Jharkhand lie on Chotanagpur plateau that serves as one of the major mineral rich locations in India. Nestled among high hills, large plateau, beautiful rivers and dense forest with various kinds of tropical plants and trees, Jharkhand has become as one of the most appealing states of India.

The major water bodies of Jharkhand include rivers, waterfall, spring (hydrosphere) and lake. The list of the major rivers, waterfalls, spring (hydrosphere) and lakes are as follows:

Rivers	1. Ajay 2. Barakar 3. Sone 4. Damodar 5. Swarnarekha 6. Shankh 7. North Koyal 8. South Koyal
Waterfalls	1. Dassam Falls 2. Jonha Falls 3. Hundru Falls 4. Bhatinda Falls 5. Hirni Falls 6. Panchghagh Falls
Spring (Hydrosphere)	1. Sarajkund Hot Spring
Lakes	1. Ranchi Lake 2. Bekar Bandh 3. Dhurwa Dam

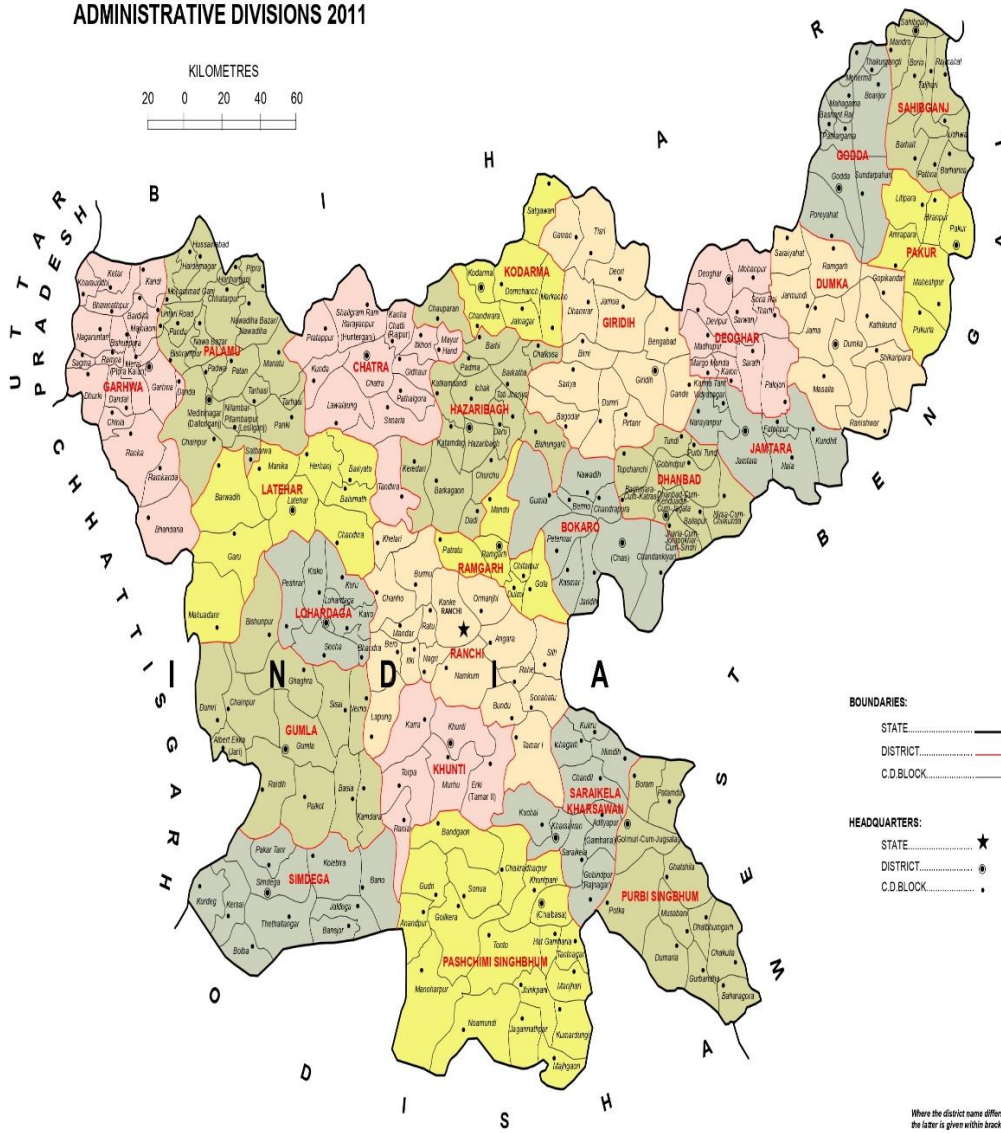
Jharkhand is the 15th largest state of India with an area of 79,714 square kilometre which is 2.62% of the total area of India. The state comprises of 24 districts. However, at the time of inception there were only 18 districts. Later 6 more districts were carved out by reorganizing the former districts. These 24 districts are grouped into 4 divisions. The divisions are:

1. Palamu division – 3 Districts: Palamu, Garhwa, Latehar; Headquarter – Medininagar
2. North Chotanagpur Division – 7 districts: Chatra, Hazaribagh, Koderma, Giridih, Ramgarh, Bokaro, Dhanbad; Headquarter – Hazaribagh
3. South Chotanagpur Division – 5 districts: Lohardaga, Gumla, Simdega, Ranchi, Khunti; Headquarter – Ranchi
4. Kolhan Division – 3 Districts: West Singhbhum, Saraikela Kharsawan, East Singhbhum; Headquarters – Chaibasa
5. Santhal Pargana Division – 6 districts: Jamtara, Deoghar, Dumka, Pakur, Godda, Sahebganj; Headquarter – Dumka

As per 2011 census the total population of Jharkhand is 3,29,88,134. Among the 17 districts Dhanbad is the most populous one with a population of 26,84,487 while Lohardaga is the least populous one with a population of 4,61,790. The district wise population of Jharkhand state along with Rural – Urban distribution as per 2011 census is presented below. Ranchi District was the centre of agitation for Jharkhand State. So, when Statehood was granted to Jharkhand State, Ranchi was declared the State Capital.

Administrative Division of Jharkhand 2011									
State/District	Total			Rural			Urban		
	Person	Male	Female	Person	Male	Female	Person	Male	Female
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
JHARKHAND	3,29,88,134	1,69,30,315	1,60,57,819	2,50,55,073	1,27,76,486	1,22,78,587	79,33,061	41,53,829	37,79,232
Garhwa	13,22,784	6,83,575	6,39,209	12,53,114	6,46,947	6,06,167	69,670	36,628	33,042
Chatra	10,42,886	5,33,935	5,08,951	9,79,932	5,00,211	4,79,721	62,954	33,724	29,230
Kodarma	7,16,259	3,67,222	3,49,037	5,75,013	2,93,595	2,81,418	1,41,246	73,627	67,619
Giridih	24,45,474	12,58,098	11,87,376	22,37,450	11,49,608	10,87,842	2,08,024	1,08,490	99,534
Deoghar	14,92,073	7,75,022	7,17,051	12,33,712	6,38,136	5,95,576	2,58,361	1,36,886	1,21,475
Godda	13,13,551	6,77,927	6,35,624	12,49,132	6,43,907	6,05,225	64,419	34,020	30,399
Sahibganj	11,50,567	5,89,391	5,61,176	9,90,901	5,05,892	4,85,009	1,59,666	83,499	76,167
Pakur	9,00,422	4,52,661	4,47,761	8,32,910	4,18,251	4,14,659	67,512	34,410	33,102
Dhanbad	26,84,487	14,05,956	12,78,531	11,24,093	5,81,956	5,42,137	15,60,394	8,24,000	7,36,394
Bokaro	20,62,330	10,72,807	9,89,523	10,78,686	5,54,954	5,23,732	9,83,644	5,17,853	4,65,791
Lohardaga	4,61,790	2,32,629	2,29,161	4,04,379	2,03,255	2,01,124	57,411	29,374	28,037
PurbiSinghbhum	22,93,919	11,76,902	11,17,017	10,19,328	5,14,498	5,04,830	12,74,591	6,62,404	6,12,187
Palamu	19,39,869	10,06,302	9,33,567	17,13,866	8,87,551	8,26,315	2,26,003	1,18,751	1,07,252
Latehar	7,26,978	3,69,666	3,57,312	6,75,120	3,42,566	3,32,554	51,858	27,100	24,758
Hazaribagh	17,34,495	8,90,881	8,43,614	14,59,188	7,46,934	7,12,254	2,75,307	1,43,947	1,31,360
Ramgarh	9,49,443	4,94,230	4,55,213	5,30,488	2,72,167	2,58,321	4,18,955	2,22,063	1,96,892
Dumka	13,21,442	6,68,514	6,52,928	12,31,264	6,20,928	6,10,336	90,178	47,586	42,592
Jamtara	7,91,042	4,04,830	3,86,212	7,15,296	3,65,043	3,50,253	75,746	39,787	35,959
Ranchi	29,14,253	14,94,937	14,19,316	16,56,918	8,40,528	8,16,390	12,57,335	6,54,409	6,02,926
Khunti	5,31,885	2,66,335	2,65,550	4,86,903	2,43,494	2,43,409	44,982	22,841	22,141
Gumla	10,25,213	5,14,390	5,10,823	9,60,132	4,81,135	4,78,997	65,081	33,255	31,826
Simdega	5,99,578	3,00,309	2,99,269	5,56,634	2,78,425	2,78,209	42,944	21,884	21,060
PashchimiSinghbhum	15,02,338	7,49,385	7,52,953	12,84,304	6,37,657	6,46,647	2,18,034	1,11,728	1,06,306
Saraikela-Kharsawan	10,65,056	5,44,411	5,20,645	8,06,310	4,08,848	3,97,462	2,58,746	1,35,563	1,23,183

INDIA JHARKHAND ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISIONS 2011



- BOUNDARIES:**
- STATE.....
 - DISTRICT.....
 - C.D.BLOCK.....
- HEADQUARTERS:**
- STATE.....★
 - DISTRICT.....●
 - C.D.BLOCK.....●

Where the district name differs from its headquarters name, the latter is given within brackets.

The state boundaries between Uttarakhand & Uttar Pradesh, Bihar & Jharkhand and Chhattisgarh & Madhya Pradesh have not been verified by the Governments concerned.

C. FESTIVALS OF JHARKHAND

People of Jharkhand celebrate many big and small festivals with enthusiasm. They participate in widely celebrated festival such as Basant, Panchami, Shivratri, Raksha Bandhan, Holi, Durga Puja, Deepawali, Bakrid, Christmas, etc. They also celebrate festivals like *Bandna* (celebration of the paddy seeds that are sown by the farmers), *Jivitputrika* (3-day festival celebrated from 7th to 9th Lunar Day of *Krishna Paksha* in *Ashwin* Month), *Karam* or *Karma* (a harvest festival), *Sohrai* (a harvest festival held at the beginning of winter harvest).

D. POPULATION DENSITY OF JHARKHAND

District wise distribution of area in sq.km and population density is presented here as per 2011 Census.

Name of the Districts	Person	Area in sq.km	Density of Population (per sq.km)	Name of the Districts	Person	Area in sq.km	Density of Population (per sq.km)
Bokaro	20,62,330	2,883	715	Latehar	7,26,978	4,291	169
Chatra	10,42,886	3,718	280	Lohardaga	4,61,790	1,502	307
Deoghar	14,92,073	2,477	602	Pakur	9,00,422	1,811	497
Dhanbad	26,84,487	2,040	1,316	Palamu	19,39,869	4,393	442
Dumka	13,21,442	3,761	351	Pashchimi Singhbhum	15,02,338	7,224	208
Garhwa	13,22,784	4,093	323	Purbi Singhbhum	22,93,919	3,562	644
Giridih	24,45,474	4,962	493	Ramgarh	9,49,443	1,341	708
Godda	13,13,551	2,266	580	Ranchi	29,14,253	5,097	572
Gumla	10,25,213	5,360	191	Sahibganj	11,50,567	2,063	558
Hazaribagh	17,34,495	3,555	488	Saraikela-Kharsawan	10,65,056	2,657	401
Jamtara	7,91,042	1,811	437	Simdega	5,99,578	3,774	159
Khunti	5,31,885	2,535	210	JHARKHAND	329,88,134	79,716	414
Kodarma	7,16,259	2,540	282				

E. MALE-FEMALE RATIO

The Male-Female ratio of Jharkhand is 948 females/ thousand male. Pashchimi Singhbhum district tops the list in the Male-Female ratio with total 1,005 female/thousand male, whereas, Dhanbad is in the bottom of the list, with a ratio of 909 female/thousand male. District wise male-female ratio and their respective population (as per 2011 census) have been given in the following table.

Name of the Districts	Person	Male	Female	Sex-Ratio (Females/ Thousand males)
Bokaro	20,62,330	10,72,807	9,89,523	922
Chatra	10,42,886	5,33,935	5,08,951	953
Deoghar	14,92,073	7,75,022	7,17,051	925
Dhanbad	26,84,487	14,05,956	12,78,531	909
Dumka	13,21,442	6,68,514	6,52,928	977
Garhwa	13,22,784	6,83,575	6,39,209	935
Giridih	24,45,474	12,58,098	11,87,376	944
Godda	13,13,551	6,77,927	6,35,624	938
Gumla	10,25,213	5,14,390	5,10,823	993
Hazaribagh	17,34,495	8,90,881	8,43,614	947
Jamtara	7,91,042	4,04,830	3,86,212	954
Khunti	5,31,885	2,66,335	2,65,550	997
Kodarma	7,16,259	3,67,222	3,49,037	950
Latehar	7,26,978	3,69,666	3,57,312	967
Lohardaga	4,61,790	2,32,629	2,29,161	985
Pakur	9,00,422	4,52,661	4,47,761	989
Palamu	19,39,869	10,06,302	9,33,567	928
Pashchimi Singhbhum	15,02,338	7,49,385	7,52,953	1005
Purbi Singhbhum	22,93,919	11,76,902	11,17,017	949
Ramgarh	9,49,443	4,94,230	4,55,213	921
Ranchi	29,14,253	14,94,937	14,19,316	949

Sahibganj	11,50,567	5,89,391	5,61,176	952
Saraikela-Kharsawan	10,65,056	5,44,411	5,20,645	956
Simdega	5,99,578	3,00,309	2,99,269	997
JHARKHAND	3,29,88,134	1,69,30,315	1,60,57,819	948

F. RURAL-URBAN POPULATION

Jharkhand is one of the states of India with total population of 3,29,88,134. Majority of population in Jharkhand live in rural area. Total population living in rural area consist of 2,09,52,088 and in urban area it is 59,93,741. Total population as per rural-urban district distribution of Languages in Jharkhand can be observed in the following table.

Language Wise Rural – Urban Population

RURAL URBAN DISTRIBUTION OF LANGUAGES IN JHARKHAND – 2011									
Language	Total			Rural			Urban		
	Person	Male	Female	Person	Male	Female	Person	Male	Female
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Hindi	204,36,026	105,80,796	98,55,230	150,65,889	77,47,981	73,17,908	53,70,137	28,32,815	25,37,322
Santali	32,69,897	16,31,766	16,38,131	31,01,534	15,46,505	15,55,029	1,68,363	85,261	83,102
Bengali	32,13,423	16,43,318	15,70,105	24,28,466	12,40,279	11,88,187	7,84,957	4,03,039	3,81,918
Urdu	19,65,652	10,18,392	9,47,260	10,61,383	5,47,423	5,13,960	9,04,269	4,70,969	4,33,300
Ho	9,94,302	4,92,126	5,02,176	9,04,657	4,47,255	4,57,402	89,645	44,871	44,774
Kurukh/Oraon	9,52,164	4,74,426	4,77,738	8,67,540	4,32,677	4,34,863	84,624	41,749	42,875
Mundari	9,42,108	4,70,532	4,71,576	8,67,023	4,33,527	4,33,496	75,085	37,005	38,080
Odia	5,31,077	2,66,065	2,65,012	3,74,014	1,86,688	1,87,326	1,57,063	79,377	77,686
Malto	1,51,565	75,534	76,031	1,51,007	75,224	75,783	558	310	248
Kharia	1,40,148	69,365	70,783	1,30,386	64,673	65,713	9,762	4,692	5,070
Maithili	1,38,167	73,582	64,585	18,669	9,781	8,888	1,19,498	63,801	55,697
Punjabi	78,712	42,097	36,615	2,815	1,615	1,200	75,897	40,482	35,415
Telugu	30,704	15,924	14,780	1,409	823	586	29,295	15,101	14,194
Munda	23,907	12,005	11,902	22,089	11,100	10,989	1,818	905	913
Gujarati	22,109	11,436	10,673	8,205	4,261	3,944	13,904	7,175	6,729
Nepali	16,956	9,537	7,419	1,402	841	561	15,554	8,696	6,858
Bhumij	11,275	5,595	5,680	10,233	5,066	5,167	1,042	529	513
Tamil	10,061	5,344	4,717	681	415	266	9,380	4,929	4,451
Marathi	8,481	4,690	3,791	4,182	2,264	1,918	4,299	2,426	1,873
Malayalam	6,549	3,365	3,184	711	299	412	5,838	3,066	2,772
Koda/Kora	3,321	1,625	1,696	3,302	1,615	1,687	19	10	9
English	2,431	1,288	1,143	378	235	143	2,053	1,053	1,000

Korwa	2,341	1,168	1,173	1,740	865	875	601	303	298
Arabic/Arbi	2,095	1,132	963	1,418	789	629	677	343	334
Sindhi	1,701	889	812	50	23	27	1,651	866	785
Gondi	1,621	807	814	1,401	698	703	220	109	111
Assamese	1,324	1,046	278	582	498	84	742	548	194
Kannada	1,324	821	503	267	197	70	1,057	624	433
Sanskrit	853	491	362	264	141	123	589	350	239
Adi	732	377	355	703	359	344	29	18	11
Bhili/Bhilodi	416	230	186	241	136	105	175	94	81
Manipuri	364	268	96	129	115	14	235	153	82
Kashmiri	296	195	101	174	109	65	122	86	36
Dogri	279	230	49	93	79	14	186	151	35
Konkani	265	116	149	54	18	36	211	98	113
Konda	177	90	87	176	89	87	1	1	0
Savara	94	49	45	89	46	43	5	3	2
Bodo	92	82	10	60	57	3	32	25	7
Mao	84	38	46	84	38	46	0	0	0
Lahnda	83	42	41	54	29	25	29	13	16
Tulu	83	42	41	77	39	38	6	3	3
Khandeshi	62	34	28	54	29	25	8	5	3
Kisan	59	37	22	30	22	8	29	15	14
Rai	49	20	29	49	20	29	0	0	0
Lushai/Mizo	47	25	22	25	9	16	22	16	6
Tripuri	29	24	5	14	12	2	15	12	3
Gangte	16	10	6	16	10	6	0	0	0
Dimasa	12	11	1	12	11	1	0	0	0
Coorgi/Kodagu	9	5	4	3	2	1	6	3	3
Afghani/Kabuli/Pashto	8	8	0	0	0	0	8	8	0
Nissi/Dafla	8	4	4	2	2	0	6	2	4
Anal	7	2	5	1	0	1	6	2	4
Kui	7	3	4	5	2	3	2	1	1
Kabui	6	3	3	6	3	3	0	0	0
Kuki	6	6	0	4	4	0	2	2	0
Mogh	6	4	2	0	0	0	6	4	2
Miri/Mishing	5	2	3	0	0	0	5	2	3
Monpa	5	3	2	4	2	2	1	1	0
Tibetan	5	4	1	4	3	1	1	1	0
Bishnupuriya	4	4	0	2	2	0	2	2	0
Chang	4	1	3	0	0	0	4	1	3
Halabi	4	3	1	0	0	0	4	3	1
Khasi	4	2	2	1	0	1	3	2	1

Lotha	4	3	1	1	1	0	3	2	1
Nicobarese	4	0	4	0	0	0	4	0	4
Paite	4	2	2	3	1	2	1	1	0
Angami	3	2	1	0	0	0	3	2	1
Garo	3	2	1	2	1	1	1	1	0
Lahauli	3	1	2	0	0	0	3	1	2
Rabha	3	1	2	0	0	0	3	1	2
Thado	3	3	0	2	2	0	1	1	0
Ao	2	2	0	1	1	0	1	1	0
Halam	2	1	1	0	0	0	2	1	1
Koch	2	0	2	1	0	1	1	0	1
Mishmi	2	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	0
Sangtam	2	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	0
Sema	2	0	2	2	0	2	0	0	0
Tangkhul	2	2	0	0	0	0	2	2	0
Zou	2	0	2	0	0	0	2	0	2
Chakru/Chokri	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0
Deori	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0
Karbi/Mikir	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0
Kinnauri	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0
Kom	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0
Ladakhi	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0
Lepcha	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1
Limbu	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0
Maring	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0
Tangsa	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0
Vaiphei	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1
Yimchungre	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0
Others	24,458	13,148	11,310	21,190	11,469	9,721	3,268	1,679	1,589

Mother Tongue wise Rural – Urban Population

RURAL URBAN DISTRIBUTION OF MOTHER TONGUES IN JHARKHAND – 2011									
Mother Tongue	Total			Rural			Urban		
	Person	Male	Female	Person	Male	Female	Person	Male	Female
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Khortha/Khotta	77,38,960	39,80,758	37,58,202	68,11,059	34,96,299	33,14,760	9,27,901	4,84,459	4,43,442
Hindi	70,59,131	36,97,303	33,61,828	39,07,234	20,30,801	18,76,433	31,51,897	16,66,502	14,85,395
Bengali	32,12,831	16,43,008	15,69,823	24,27,907	12,39,984	11,87,923	7,84,924	4,03,024	3,81,900
Santali	28,95,764	14,40,854	14,54,910	27,47,354	13,66,111	13,81,243	1,48,410	74,743	73,667
Urdu	19,65,438	10,18,275	9,47,163	10,61,297	5,47,375	5,13,922	9,04,141	4,70,900	4,33,241
Sadan/Sadri	16,27,083	8,17,916	8,09,167	14,79,617	7,44,084	7,35,533	1,47,466	73,832	73,634
Magadhi/Magahi	13,67,337	7,11,101	6,56,236	10,05,359	5,18,807	4,86,552	3,61,978	1,92,294	1,69,684
Ho	9,92,197	4,91,095	5,01,102	9,02,680	4,46,291	4,56,389	89,517	44,804	44,713
Kurukh/Oraon	9,51,014	4,73,625	4,77,389	8,66,789	4,32,207	4,34,582	84,225	41,418	42,807
Mundari	9,41,965	4,70,496	4,71,469	8,66,920	4,33,519	4,33,401	75,045	36,977	38,068
Nagpuria	7,57,726	3,81,939	3,75,787	6,76,541	3,40,672	3,35,869	81,185	41,267	39,918
Bhojpuri	7,56,726	4,04,517	3,52,209	2,38,901	1,26,047	1,12,854	5,17,825	2,78,470	2,39,355
Odia	5,29,531	2,65,314	2,64,217	3,73,047	1,86,221	1,86,826	1,56,484	79,093	77,391
Karmali	3,55,036	1,81,335	1,73,701	3,35,615	1,71,087	1,64,528	19,421	10,248	9,173
PanchPargania	2,44,290	1,25,456	1,18,834	2,26,075	1,15,902	1,10,173	18,215	9,554	8,661
Pahariya	1,47,755	73,636	74,119	1,47,259	73,377	73,882	496	259	237
Kharia	1,40,147	69,364	70,783	1,30,385	64,672	65,713	9,762	4,692	5,070
Maithili	1,25,877	67,445	58,432	10,844	5,902	4,942	1,15,033	61,543	53,490
Punjabi	78,705	42,093	36,612	2,814	1,614	1,200	75,891	40,479	35,412
Marwari	38,664	20,281	18,383	2,808	1,504	1,304	35,856	18,777	17,079
Telugu	30,552	15,854	14,698	1,275	764	511	29,277	15,090	14,187
Chhattisgarhi	25,918	13,236	12,682	5,217	2,645	2,572	20,701	10,591	10,110
Palmuha	22,624	11,396	11,228	22,407	11,277	11,130	217	119	98
Mahili	18,828	9,442	9,386	18,374	9,206	9,168	454	236	218
Nepali	16,955	9,537	7,418	1,402	841	561	15,553	8,696	6,857
Kol	15,290	7,663	7,627	14,861	7,464	7,397	429	199	230
Rajasthani	14,771	7,915	6,856	1,310	785	525	13,461	7,130	6,331
Gujarati	14,194	7,392	6,802	883	510	373	13,311	6,882	6,429
Thati	12,236	6,112	6,124	7,818	3,877	3,941	4,418	2,235	2,183
Tamil	9,974	5,300	4,674	627	386	241	9,347	4,914	4,433
Bhumij	8,462	4,199	4,263	8,057	4,000	4,057	405	199	206
Puran/Puran Bhasha	8,054	4,038	4,016	7,944	3,976	3,968	110	62	48
Malayalam	6,540	3,360	3,180	706	297	409	5,834	3,063	2,771
Marathi	5,068	2,977	2,091	796	564	232	4,272	2,413	1,859
Koda/Kora	3,321	1,625	1,696	3,302	1,615	1,687	19	10	9

Awadhi	3,203	1,747	1,456	289	160	129	2,914	1,587	1,327
Munda	2,435	1,205	1,230	1,548	762	786	887	443	444
English	2,431	1,288	1,143	378	235	143	2,053	1,053	1,000
Lohara	2,105	1,031	1,074	1,977	964	1,013	128	67	61
Arabic/Arbi	2,095	1,132	963	1,418	789	629	677	343	334
Haryanvi	1,963	1,129	834	368	237	131	1,595	892	703
Sindhi	1,592	828	764	40	19	21	1,552	809	743
Assamese	1,310	1,035	275	580	496	84	730	539	191
Pahari	1,132	631	501	1,019	560	459	113	71	42
Koli	1,094	577	517	1,094	577	517	0	0	0
Kannada	1,050	682	368	234	179	55	816	503	313
Gondi	1,049	520	529	870	433	437	179	87	92
Sanskrit	853	491	362	264	141	123	589	350	239
Adi Gallong/Gallong	714	368	346	696	356	340	18	12	6
Garhwali	484	280	204	205	109	96	279	171	108
Bundeli/Bundelkhandi	481	259	222	169	95	74	312	164	148
Sambalpuri	447	214	233	0	0	0	447	214	233
Bhuiya/Bhuyan[Ori]	404	204	200	336	164	172	68	40	28
Brajbhasha	397	238	159	54	43	11	343	195	148
Manipuri	361	266	95	129	115	14	232	151	81
Koraku	334	167	167	333	166	167	1	1	0
Dogri	279	230	49	93	79	14	186	151	35
Kashmiri	248	169	79	133	88	45	115	81	34
Prakritha/Prakritha Bhasha	244	126	118	29	16	13	215	110	105
Kumauni	242	166	76	43	38	5	199	128	71
Konkani	237	101	136	54	18	36	183	83	100
Khari Boli	227	132	95	29	17	12	198	115	83
Baori	222	123	99	194	110	84	28	13	15
Kodu	176	89	87	176	89	87	0	0	0
Jaunpuri/Jaunsari	167	88	79	0	0	0	167	88	79
Kachchhi	109	61	48	10	4	6	99	57	42
Gawari	106	56	50	17	9	8	89	47	42
Bagheli/BaghelKhandi	104	57	47	12	6	6	92	51	41
Pawri	94	48	46	11	8	3	83	40	43
Savara	94	49	45	89	46	43	5	3	2
Bodo/Boro	92	82	10	60	57	3	32	25	7
Bhumijali	84	36	48	60	26	34	24	10	14
Mao	84	38	46	84	38	46	0	0	0
Maria/ Muria	80	46	34	80	46	34	0	0	0
Kisan	59	37	22	30	22	8	29	15	14
Bharmauri/Gaddi	57	31	26	26	15	11	31	16	15

Khandeshi	56	30	26	54	29	25	2	1	1
Kokna/Kokni/Kukna	50	29	21	11	6	5	39	23	16
Rai	49	20	29	49	20	29	0	0	0
Kishtwari	48	26	22	41	21	20	7	5	2
Lushai/Mizo	47	25	22	25	9	16	22	16	6
Kurmali Thar	43	23	20	15	7	8	28	16	12
Tharu	38	18	20	0	0	0	38	18	20
Bhadrawahi	23	12	11	22	12	10	1	0	1
Malvi	23	13	10	6	5	1	17	8	9
Dhundhari	22	13	9	4	0	4	18	13	5
Korava	21	11	10	21	11	10	0	0	0
Gamti/Gavit	19	11	8	7	3	4	12	8	4
Kokbarak	19	16	3	7	7	0	12	9	3
Gangte	16	10	6	16	10	6	0	0	0
Purbi Maithili	16	7	9	7	2	5	9	5	4
Baghati/Baghati Pahari	15	9	6	7	5	2	8	4	4
Hindi Multani	14	6	8	0	0	0	14	6	8
Surjapuri	13	6	7	6	3	3	7	3	4
Dimasa	12	11	1	12	11	1	0	0	0
Gojri/Gujjari/Gujar	11	10	1	4	4	0	7	6	1
Adi	9	3	6	1	0	1	8	3	5
Coorgi/Kodagu	9	5	4	3	2	1	6	3	3
Laria	9	5	4	8	4	4	1	1	0
Afghani/Kabuli/Pashto	8	8	0	0	0	0	8	8	0
Surgujia	8	4	4	4	1	3	4	3	1
Kui	7	3	4	5	2	3	2	1	1
Tagin	7	3	4	2	2	0	5	1	4
Gujari	6	4	2	0	0	0	6	4	2
Kuki	6	6	0	4	4	0	2	2	0
Lodhi	6	3	3	1	1	0	5	2	3
Mogh	6	4	2	0	0	0	6	4	2
Nimadi	6	4	2	0	0	0	6	4	2
Rongmei	6	3	3	6	3	3	0	0	0
Tripuri	6	6	0	3	3	0	3	3	0
Anal	5	2	3	0	0	0	5	2	3
Gorboli/Goru/Gorwani	5	2	3	0	0	0	5	2	3
Handuri	5	3	2	0	0	0	5	3	2
Kangri	5	2	3	0	0	0	5	2	3
Miri/Mishing	5	2	3	0	0	0	5	2	3
Monpa	5	3	2	4	2	2	1	1	0
Chang	4	1	3	0	0	0	4	1	3

Halabi	4	3	1	0	0	0	4	3	1
Khasi	4	2	2	1	0	1	3	2	1
Lotha	4	3	1	1	1	0	3	2	1
Nicobarese	4	0	4	0	0	0	4	0	4
Paite	4	2	2	3	1	2	1	1	0
Rathi	4	3	1	0	0	0	4	3	1
Wagdi	4	3	1	0	0	0	4	3	1
Angami	3	2	1	0	0	0	3	2	1
Bhansari	3	1	2	3	1	2	0	0	0
Chakma	3	3	0	0	0	0	3	3	0
Garo	3	2	1	2	1	1	1	1	0
Mewari	3	2	1	0	0	0	3	2	1
Rabha	3	1	2	0	0	0	3	1	2
Reang	3	2	1	3	2	1	0	0	0
Thado	3	3	0	2	2	0	1	1	0
Ao	2	2	0	1	1	0	1	1	0
Bagri	2	1	1	0	0	0	2	1	1
BahawalPuri	2	0	2	0	0	0	2	0	2
Bishnupriya Manipuri/Manipuri Bishnupriya	2	2	0	2	2	0	0	0	0
Hara/Harauti	2	2	0	2	2	0	0	0	0
Kaikadi	2	1	1	0	0	0	2	1	1
Mandeali	2	1	1	2	1	1	0	0	0
Mawchi	2	2	0	2	2	0	0	0	0
Pando/Pandwani	2	0	2	0	0	0	2	0	2
Pattani	2	1	1	0	0	0	2	1	1
Rajbangsi	2	1	1	0	0	0	2	1	1
Sema	2	0	2	2	0	2	0	0	0
Tadavi	2	0	2	2	0	2	0	0	0
Talgalo	2	0	2	2	0	2	0	0	0
Tangkhul	2	2	0	0	0	0	2	2	0
Tibetan	2	2	0	1	1	0	1	1	0
Tulu	2	0	2	1	0	1	1	0	1
Zou	2	0	2	0	0	0	2	0	2
Apatani	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0
Bhili/Bhilodi	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0
Chakru/Chokri	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0
Chirr	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0
Deori	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0
Desia	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1
Haijong/Hajong	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0

Karbi/Mikir	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0
Kinnauri	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0
Koch	1	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0
Kom	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0
Ladakhi	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0
Lepcha	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1
Limbu	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0
Maring	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0
Mishmi	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0
Saurashtra/Saurashtri	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0
Sugali	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0
Vaiphei	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	1
Others	7,94,978	4,14,807	3,80,171	7,04,772	3,66,788	3,37,984	90,206	48,019	42,187

G. LINGUISTIC PROFILE OF JHARKHAND

Jharkhand is a land of rich linguistic diversity. As a matter of fact, languages from three major language families of India i.e. Indo-Aryan, Dravidian and Austro-Asiatic are available here. Hindi is the official language of the state. Other predominating Indo-Aryan languages of this region are Bhojpuri, Khortha, Angika, Urdu, Odia, Sadri, Nagpuria, Bengali etc. Dravidian languages of Jharkhand languages like Korwa, Oraon, Paharia etc. A large number of people in Jharkhand speak the Munda languages that belong to the Austro-Asiatic family of languages. Other languages that fall under this group are Mundari, Ho and Santali. These are all tribal languages.

DISTRICT DISTRIBUTION OF THE SURVEYED LANGUAGES UNDER LSI JHARKHAND - 2011

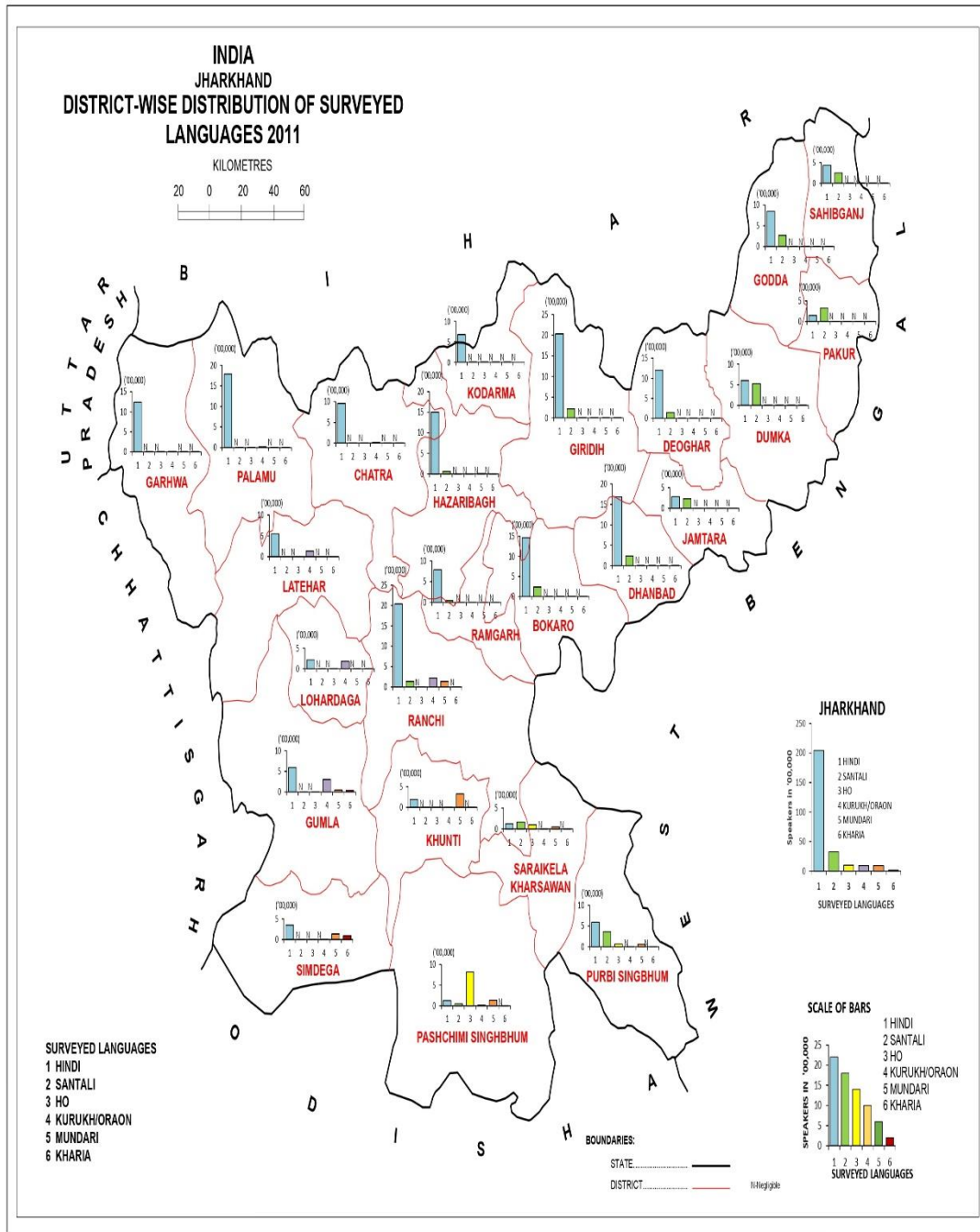
Language Name	Total			Rural			Urban		
	Person	Male	Female	Person	Male	Female	Person	Male	Female
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
JHARKHAND									
Hindi	204,36,026	105,80,796	98,55,230	150,65,889	77,47,981	73,17,908	53,70,137	28,32,815	25,37,322
Ho	9,94,302	4,92,126	5,02,176	9,04,657	4,47,255	4,57,402	89,645	44,871	44,774
Kharia	1,40,148	69,365	70,783	1,30,386	64,673	65,713	9,762	4,692	5,070
Kurukh/Oraon	9,52,164	4,74,426	4,77,738	8,67,540	4,32,677	4,34,863	84,624	41,749	42,875
Mundari	9,42,108	4,70,532	4,71,576	8,67,023	4,33,527	4,33,496	75,085	37,005	38,080
Santali	32,69,897	16,31,766	16,38,131	31,01,534	15,46,505	15,55,029	1,68,363	85,261	83,102
Bokaro									
Hindi	14,63,378	7,64,717	6,98,661	7,07,868	3,65,274	3,42,594	7,55,510	3,99,443	3,56,067
Ho	4,546	2,264	2,282	397	187	210	4,149	2,077	2,072
Kharia	345	175	170	12	7	5	333	168	165
Kurukh/Oraon	4,739	2,412	2,327	766	411	355	3,973	2,001	1,972
Mundari	6,235	3,143	3,092	994	526	468	5,241	2,617	2,624
Santali	2,34,858	1,18,840	1,16,018	1,96,364	99,413	96,951	38,494	19,427	19,067
Chatra									
Hindi	9,60,600	4,91,751	4,68,849	9,14,253	4,66,927	4,47,326	46,347	24,824	21,523
Ho	68	33	35	54	25	29	14	8	6
Kharia	2	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	0
Kurukh/Oraon	17,970	8,977	8,993	17,751	8,843	8,908	219	134	85
Mundari	4,958	2,539	2,419	4,901	2,504	2,397	57	35	22
Santali	220	125	95	176	98	78	44	27	17
Deoghar									
Hindi	12,01,330	6,27,414	5,73,916	9,75,920	5,07,562	4,68,358	2,25,410	1,19,852	1,05,558
Ho	192	104	88	189	101	88	3	3	0
Kharia	13	7	6	1	1	0	12	6	6
Kurukh/Oraon	156	131	25	120	113	7	36	18	18
Mundari	85	46	39	64	39	25	21	7	14

Santali	1,46,725	73,439	73,286	1,43,507	71,845	71,662	3,218	1,594	1,624
Dhanbad									
Hindi	16,83,759	8,89,458	7,94,301	5,73,213	2,99,327	2,73,886	11,10,546	5,90,131	5,20,415
Ho	1,620	834	786	175	101	74	1,445	733	712
Kharia	101	55	46	3	1	2	98	54	44
Kurukh/Oraon	1,475	813	662	190	92	98	1,285	721	564
Mundari	2,745	1,398	1,347	793	419	374	1,952	979	973
Santali	2,33,544	1,17,506	1,16,038	2,11,511	1,06,305	1,05,206	22,033	11,201	10,832
Dumka									
Hindi	6,05,117	3,11,727	2,93,390	5,36,255	2,75,195	2,61,060	68,862	36,532	32,330
Ho	428	212	216	428	212	216	0	0	0
Kharia	19	5	14	13	5	8	6	0	6
Kurukh/Oraon	211	102	109	149	75	74	62	27	35
Mundari	68	31	37	44	24	20	24	7	17
Santali	5,24,761	2,58,843	2,65,918	5,20,016	2,56,344	2,63,672	4,745	2,499	2,246
Garhwa									
Hindi	12,36,667	6,39,255	5,97,412	11,75,193	6,06,905	5,68,288	61,474	32,350	29,124
Ho	15	10	5	9	6	3	6	4	2
Kharia	28	13	15	19	10	9	9	3	6
Kurukh/Oraon	11,443	5,774	5,669	11,331	5,717	5,614	112	57	55
Mundari	1,179	584	595	1,158	573	585	21	11	10
Santali	17	11	6	12	8	4	5	3	2
Giridih									
Hindi	20,32,842	10,47,541	9,85,301	18,81,969	9,68,466	9,13,503	1,50,873	79,075	71,798
Ho	54	34	20	44	27	17	10	7	3
Kharia	33	15	18	27	12	15	6	3	3
Kurukh/Oraon	282	134	148	186	87	99	96	47	49
Mundari	131	70	61	69	40	29	62	30	32
Santali	2,19,946	1,11,318	1,08,628	2,18,338	1,10,491	1,07,847	1,608	827	781
Godda									
Hindi	8,50,292	4,43,723	4,06,569	7,99,988	4,17,068	3,82,920	50,304	26,655	23,649
Ho	484	242	242	473	236	237	11	6	5
Kharia	29	12	17	28	11	17	1	1	0
Kurukh/Oraon	8,490	4,289	4,201	8,461	4,274	4,187	29	15	14
Mundari	19	5	14	13	2	11	6	3	3
Santali	2,70,555	1,34,839	1,35,716	2,68,182	1,33,715	1,34,467	2,373	1,124	1,249
Gumla									
Hindi	5,95,294	2,99,706	2,95,588	5,51,215	2,77,025	2,74,190	44,079	22,681	21,398
Ho	87	41	46	69	33	36	18	8	10
Kharia	38,260	18,815	19,445	37,823	18,611	19,212	437	204	233
Kurukh/Oraon	3,03,598	1,51,422	1,52,176	2,93,087	1,46,314	1,46,773	10,511	5,108	5,403

Mundari	48,129	23,742	24,387	47,828	23,600	24,228	301	142	159
Santali	95	58	37	78	45	33	17	13	4
Hazaribagh									
Hindi	15,04,720	7,73,467	7,31,253	12,95,205	6,63,523	6,31,682	2,09,515	1,09,944	99,571
Ho	77	48	29	47	29	18	30	19	11
Kharia	125	70	55	71	43	28	54	27	27
Kurukh/Oraon	5,951	3,037	2,914	4,803	2,499	2,304	1,148	538	610
Mundari	8,941	4,553	4,388	7,645	3,915	3,730	1,296	638	658
Santali	60,346	29,958	30,388	57,731	28,651	29,080	2,615	1,307	1,308
Jamtara									
Hindi	2,84,385	1,47,271	1,37,114	2,34,417	1,20,669	1,13,748	49,968	26,602	23,366
Ho	153	80	73	147	77	70	6	3	3
Kharia	9	5	4	0	0	0	9	5	4
Kurukh/Oraon	78	31	47	15	7	8	63	24	39
Mundari	11	7	4	5	2	3	6	5	1
Santali	2,30,174	1,14,771	1,15,403	2,27,103	1,13,221	1,13,882	3,071	1,550	1,521
Khunti									
Hindi	1,91,380	96,748	94,632	1,63,357	82,285	81,072	28,023	14,463	13,560
Ho	97	50	47	43	25	18	54	25	29
Kharia	193	83	110	97	46	51	96	37	59
Kurukh/Oraon	2,704	1,307	1,397	2,255	1,108	1,147	449	199	250
Mundari	3,28,305	1,63,313	1,64,992	3,15,316	1,57,016	1,58,300	12,989	6,297	6,692
Santali	802	413	389	684	358	326	118	55	63
Kodarma									
Hindi	6,74,521	3,45,761	3,28,760	5,44,919	2,78,117	2,66,802	1,29,602	67,644	61,958
Ho	45	21	24	44	20	24	1	1	0
Kurukh/Oraon	213	100	113	128	59	69	85	41	44
Mundari	461	255	206	322	180	142	139	75	64
Santali	3,725	1,942	1,783	3,702	1,931	1,771	23	11	12
Latehar									
Hindi	5,46,513	2,78,959	2,67,554	5,03,075	2,56,108	2,46,967	43,438	22,851	20,587
Ho	37	23	14	28	16	12	9	7	2
Kharia	56	25	31	50	22	28	6	3	3
Kurukh/Oraon	1,33,104	66,456	66,648	1,29,897	64,941	64,956	3,207	1,515	1,692
Mundari	4,917	2,430	2,487	4,688	2,318	2,370	229	112	117
Santali	150	75	75	139	66	73	11	9	2
Lohardaga									
Hindi	2,12,437	1,08,145	1,04,292	1,80,551	91,491	89,060	31,886	16,654	15,232
Ho	51	24	27	36	18	18	15	6	9
Kharia	45	15	30	18	6	12	27	9	18
Kurukh/Oraon	1,79,899	89,166	90,733	1,71,951	85,402	86,549	7,948	3,764	4,184

Mundari	2,918	1,465	1,453	2,763	1,397	1,366	155	68	87
Santali	57	31	26	18	10	8	39	21	18
Pakur									
Hindi	1,51,499	78,482	73,017	1,32,584	68,561	64,023	18,915	9,921	8,994
Ho	399	186	213	394	184	210	5	2	3
Kharia	18	12	6	13	9	4	5	3	2
Kurukh/Oraon	44	23	21	26	11	15	18	12	6
Mundari	22	9	13	11	6	5	11	3	8
Santali	3,27,773	1,61,703	1,66,070	3,26,023	1,60,846	1,65,177	1,750	857	893
Palamu									
Hindi	17,84,329	9,26,124	8,58,205	15,94,566	8,26,142	7,68,424	1,89,763	99,982	89,781
Ho	29	19	10	26	17	9	3	2	1
Kharia	406	192	214	400	190	210	6	2	4
Kurukh/Oraon	15,977	7,978	7,999	15,084	7,546	7,538	893	432	461
Mundari	3,790	1,891	1,899	3,675	1,837	1,838	115	54	61
Santali	129	105	24	107	95	12	22	10	12
Pashchimi Singhbhum									
Hindi	1,29,603	67,283	62,320	52,995	26,836	26,159	76,608	40,447	36,161
Ho	8,16,782	4,03,715	4,13,067	7,81,632	3,86,243	3,95,389	35,150	17,472	17,678
Kharia	536	256	280	372	173	199	164	83	81
Kurukh/Oraon	17,326	8,499	8,827	10,742	5,302	5,440	6,584	3,197	3,387
Mundari	1,37,637	69,067	68,570	1,29,940	65,214	64,726	7,697	3,853	3,844
Santali	50,322	25,386	24,936	46,538	23,473	23,065	3,784	1,913	1,871
Purbi Singhbhum									
Hindi	5,89,259	3,12,523	2,76,736	32,363	17,332	15,031	5,56,896	2,95,191	2,61,705
Ho	63,339	31,530	31,809	28,217	13,987	14,230	35,122	17,543	17,579
Kharia	3,931	1,955	1,976	3,537	1,739	1,798	394	216	178
Kurukh/Oraon	6,285	3,131	3,154	577	310	267	5,708	2,821	2,887
Mundari	62,681	31,151	31,530	50,235	25,064	25,171	12,446	6,087	6,359
Santali	3,65,181	1,82,328	1,82,853	3,10,903	1,55,046	1,55,857	54,278	27,282	26,996
Ramgarh									
Hindi	7,87,971	4,09,996	3,77,975	4,45,756	2,28,991	2,16,765	3,42,215	1,81,005	1,61,210
Ho	377	208	169	66	42	24	311	166	145
Kharia	206	100	106	26	14	12	180	86	94
Kurukh/Oraon	4,041	2,079	1,962	1,250	638	612	2,791	1,441	1,350
Mundari	4,545	2,304	2,241	1,718	844	874	2,827	1,460	1,367
Santali	43,011	21,855	21,156	35,287	17,867	17,420	7,724	3,988	3,736
Ranchi									
Hindi	20,40,453	10,50,334	9,90,119	10,96,645	5,58,594	5,38,051	9,43,808	4,91,740	4,52,068
Ho	2,241	1,213	1,028	576	308	268	1,665	905	760
Kharia	2,464	1,226	1,238	323	147	176	2,141	1,079	1,062

Kurukh/Oraon	2,19,018	1,09,080	1,09,938	1,81,459	90,347	91,112	37,559	18,733	18,826
Mundari	1,36,960	68,681	68,279	1,10,099	55,469	54,630	26,861	13,212	13,649
Santali	1,39,450	70,794	68,656	1,30,067	65,785	64,282	9,383	5,009	4,374
Sahibganj									
Hindi	4,37,073	2,29,056	2,08,017	3,25,195	1,70,057	1,55,138	1,11,878	58,999	52,879
Ho	347	169	178	316	152	164	31	17	14
Kharia	465	243	222	463	241	222	2	2	0
Kurukh/Oraon	7,922	4,005	3,917	7,514	3,802	3,712	408	203	205
Mundari	1,722	828	894	1,446	688	758	276	140	136
Santali	2,51,545	1,24,706	1,26,839	2,48,773	1,23,327	1,25,446	2,772	1,379	1,393
Saraikela-Kharsawan									
Hindi	1,22,615	65,371	57,244	26,181	13,884	12,297	96,434	51,487	44,947
Ho	1,02,789	51,038	51,751	91,214	45,187	46,027	11,575	5,851	5,724
Kharia	264	121	143	224	102	122	40	19	21
Kurukh/Oraon	2,625	1,352	1,273	2,231	1,147	1,084	394	205	189
Mundari	50,733	25,560	25,173	49,815	25,109	24,706	918	451	467
Santali	1,66,341	82,632	83,709	1,56,156	77,504	78,652	10,185	5,128	5,057
Simdega									
Hindi	3,49,989	1,75,984	1,74,005	3,22,206	1,61,642	1,60,564	27,783	14,342	13,441
Ho	45	28	17	33	22	11	12	6	6
Kharia	92,600	45,964	46,636	86,865	43,283	43,582	5,735	2,681	3,054
Kurukh/Oraon	8,613	4,128	4,485	7,567	3,632	3,935	1,046	496	550
Mundari	1,34,916	67,460	67,456	1,33,481	66,741	66,740	1,435	719	716
Santali	170	88	82	119	61	58	51	27	24



The state boundaries between Uttarakhand & Uttar Pradesh, Bihar & Jharkhand and Chhattisgarh & Madhya Pradesh have not been verified by the Governments concerned.

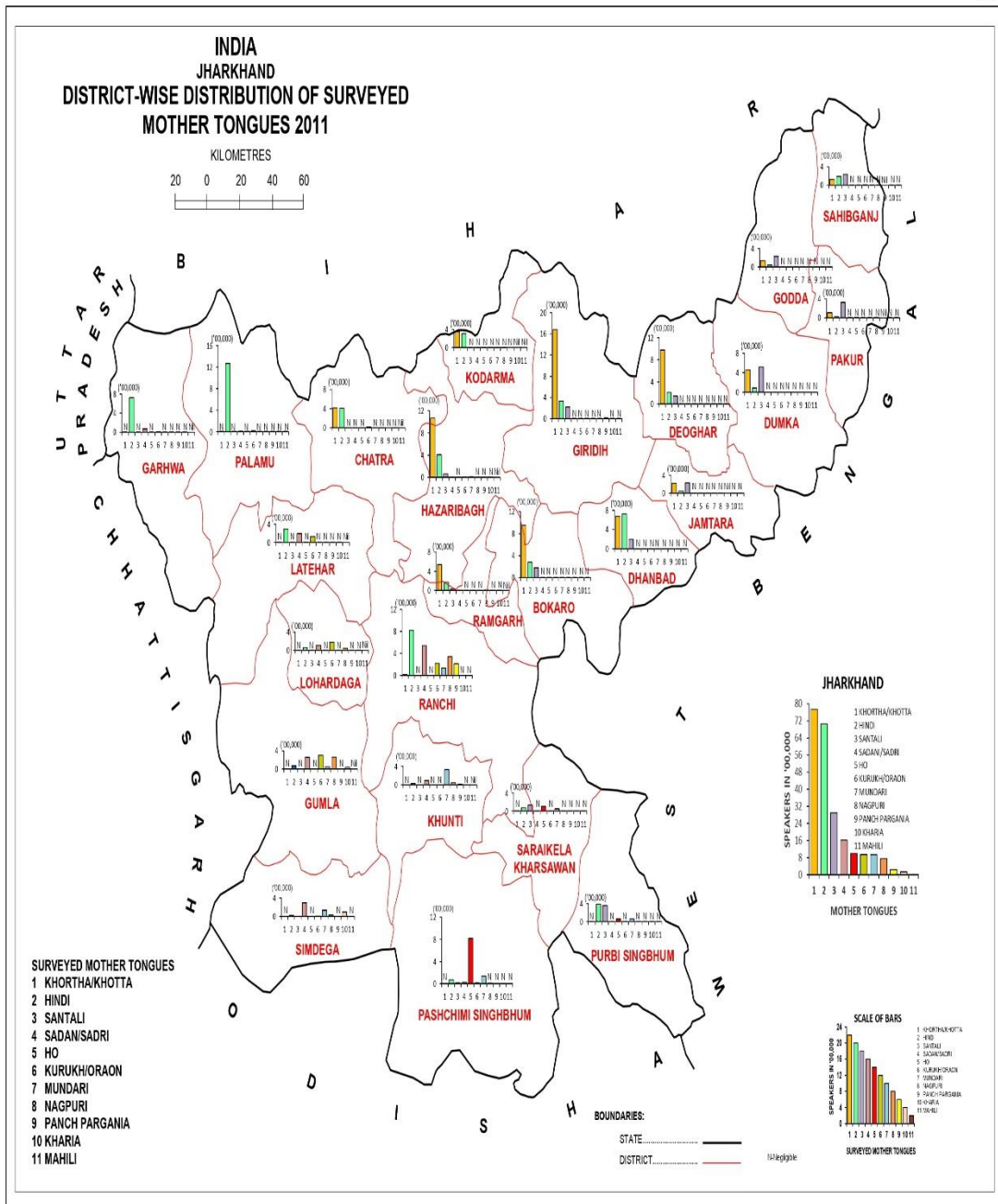
DISTRICT-WISE DISTRIBUTION OF THE SURVEYED MOTHER TONGUES UNDER LSI JHARKHAND – 2011									
Mother tongue name	Total			Rural			Urban		
	Person	Male	Female	Person	Male	Female	Person	Male	Female
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
JHARKHAND									
Hindi	70,59,131	36,97,303	33,61,828	39,07,234	20,30,801	18,76,433	31,51,897	16,66,502	14,85,395
Ho	9,92,197	4,91,095	5,01,102	9,02,680	4,46,291	4,56,389	89,517	44,804	44,713
Kharia	1,40,147	69,364	70,783	1,30,385	64,672	65,713	9,762	4,692	5,070
Khortha/Khotta	77,38,960	39,80,758	37,58,202	68,11,059	34,96,299	33,14,760	9,27,901	4,84,459	4,43,442
Kurukh/Oraon	9,51,014	4,73,625	4,77,389	8,66,789	4,32,207	4,34,582	84,225	41,418	42,807
Mahili	18,828	9,442	9,386	18,374	9,206	9,168	454	236	218
Mundari	9,41,965	4,70,496	4,71,469	8,66,920	4,33,519	4,33,401	75,045	36,977	38,068
Nagpuria	7,57,726	3,81,939	3,75,787	6,76,541	3,40,672	3,35,869	81,185	41,267	39,918
Panch Pargania	2,44,290	1,25,456	1,18,834	2,26,075	1,15,902	1,10,173	18,215	9,554	8,661
Sadan/Sadri	16,27,083	8,17,916	8,09,167	14,79,617	7,44,084	7,35,533	1,47,466	73,832	73,634
Santali	28,95,764	14,40,854	14,54,910	27,47,354	13,66,111	13,81,243	1,48,410	74,743	73,667
Bokaro									
Hindi	2,80,679	1,48,966	1,31,713	26,328	14,078	12,250	2,54,351	1,34,888	1,19,463
Ho	4,538	2,259	2,279	397	187	210	4,141	2,072	2,069
Kharia	345	175	170	12	7	5	333	168	165
Khortha/Khotta	9,53,493	4,93,257	4,60,236	6,75,259	3,47,827	3,27,432	2,78,234	1,45,430	1,32,804
Kurukh/Oraon	4,702	2,380	2,322	746	391	355	3,956	1,989	1,967
Mahili	2	0	2	2	0	2	0	0	0
Mundari	6,229	3,140	3,089	993	526	467	5,236	2,614	2,622
Nagpuria	3,542	1,750	1,792	445	193	252	3,097	1,557	1,540
Panch Pargania	389	189	200	4	3	1	385	186	199
Sadan/Sadri	3,221	1,583	1,638	159	83	76	3,062	1,500	1,562
Santali	1,78,757	90,080	88,677	1,41,082	71,077	70,005	37,675	19,003	18,672
Chatra									
Hindi	4,08,900	2,10,962	1,97,938	3,78,528	1,94,570	1,83,958	30,372	16,392	13,980
Ho	68	33	35	54	25	29	14	8	6
Kharia	2	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	0
Khortha/Khotta	4,14,102	2,10,565	2,03,537	4,01,497	2,03,900	1,97,597	12,605	6,665	5,940
Kurukh/Oraon	17,938	8,959	8,979	17,720	8,826	8,894	218	133	85
Mundari	4,958	2,539	2,419	4,901	2,504	2,397	57	35	22
Nagpuria	1,227	621	606	998	515	483	229	106	123
Panch Pargania	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0
Sadan/Sadri	3,774	1,914	1,860	2,900	1,447	1,453	874	467	407
Santali	85	54	31	41	27	14	44	27	17
Deoghar									
Hindi	2,07,717	1,10,919	96,798	65,820	35,116	30,704	1,41,897	75,803	66,094

Ho	192	104	88	189	101	88	3	3	0
Kharia	13	7	6	1	1	0	12	6	6
Khortha/Khotta	9,75,596	5,06,832	4,68,764	9,01,835	4,67,974	4,33,861	73,761	38,858	34,903
Kurukh/Oraon	156	131	25	120	113	7	36	18	18
Mahili	1,449	728	721	1,449	728	721	0	0	0
Mundari	85	46	39	64	39	25	21	7	14
Nagpuria	46	34	12	40	31	9	6	3	3
Panch Pargania	4	1	3	0	0	0	4	1	3
Sadan/Sadri	38	26	12	34	23	11	4	3	1
Santali	1,45,179	72,661	72,518	1,41,962	71,068	70,894	3,217	1,593	1,624
Dhanbad									
Hindi	7,19,497	3,83,224	3,36,273	70,272	37,398	32,874	6,49,225	3,45,826	3,03,399
Ho	1,617	832	785	175	101	74	1,442	731	711
Kharia	101	55	46	3	1	2	98	54	44
Khortha/Khotta	6,76,456	3,52,659	3,23,797	4,70,221	2,44,458	2,25,763	2,06,235	1,08,201	98,034
Kurukh/Oraon	1,464	804	660	189	91	98	1,275	713	562
Mahili	296	150	146	295	149	146	1	1	0
Mundari	2,740	1,393	1,347	793	419	374	1,947	974	973
Nagpuria	970	522	448	270	139	131	700	383	317
Panch Pargania	46	25	21	8	6	2	38	19	19
Sadan/Sadri	934	476	458	232	118	114	702	358	344
Santali	1,94,459	97,366	97,093	1,78,027	89,078	88,949	16,432	8,288	8,144
Dumka									
Hindi	87,738	46,575	41,163	55,570	29,243	26,327	32,168	17,332	14,836
Ho	28	12	16	28	12	16	0	0	0
Kharia	19	5	14	13	5	8	6	0	6
Khortha/Khotta	4,55,046	2,32,831	2,22,215	4,30,204	2,19,863	2,10,341	24,842	12,968	11,874
Kurukh/Oraon	190	91	99	128	64	64	62	27	35
Mahili	5,869	2,905	2,964	5,869	2,905	2,964	0	0	0
Mundari	68	31	37	44	24	20	24	7	17
Nagpuria	18	8	10	18	8	10	0	0	0
Panch Pargania	2	2	0	1	1	0	1	1	0
Sadan/Sadri	769	374	395	668	326	342	101	48	53
Santali	5,18,621	2,55,794	2,62,827	5,13,883	2,53,299	2,60,584	4,738	2,495	2,243
Garhwa									
Hindi	7,21,291	3,73,507	3,47,784	6,74,976	3,49,202	3,25,774	46,315	24,305	22,010
Ho	15	10	5	9	6	3	6	4	2
Kharia	28	13	15	19	10	9	9	3	6
Khortha/Khotta	16	9	7	10	4	6	6	5	1
Kurukh/Oraon	11,443	5,774	5,669	11,331	5,717	5,614	112	57	55
Mundari	1,179	584	595	1,158	573	585	21	11	10

Nagpuria	96	48	48	59	31	28	37	17	20
Panch Pargania	2	2	0	2	2	0	0	0	0
Sadan/Sadri	71,262	36,163	35,099	71,224	36,141	35,083	38	22	16
Santali	17	11	6	12	8	4	5	3	2
Giridih									
Hindi	3,31,285	1,74,977	1,56,308	2,55,090	1,34,544	1,20,546	76,195	40,433	35,762
Ho	54	34	20	44	27	17	10	7	3
Kharia	33	15	18	27	12	15	6	3	3
Khortha/Khotta	16,80,250	8,61,332	8,18,918	16,12,322	8,26,312	7,86,010	67,928	35,020	32,908
Kurukh/Oraon	262	119	143	166	72	94	96	47	49
Mahili	199	106	93	199	106	93	0	0	0
Mundari	131	70	61	69	40	29	62	30	32
Nagpuria	120	71	49	98	62	36	22	9	13
Panch Pargania	13,721	7,119	6,602	11,072	5,676	5,396	2,649	1,443	1,206
Sadan/Sadri	79	46	33	67	40	27	12	6	6
Santali	2,19,740	1,11,209	1,08,531	2,18,134	1,10,383	1,07,751	1,606	826	780
Godda									
Hindi	45,626	24,297	21,329	37,283	19,844	17,439	8,343	4,453	3,890
Ho	7	5	2	2	2	0	5	3	2
Kharia	29	12	17	28	11	17	1	1	0
Khortha/Khotta	1,39,235	71,824	67,411	1,35,541	69,948	65,593	3,694	1,876	1,818
Kurukh/Oraon	8,013	4,031	3,982	7,999	4,024	3,975	14	7	7
Mahili	584	299	285	548	281	267	36	18	18
Mundari	19	5	14	13	2	11	6	3	3
Nagpuria	733	371	362	733	371	362	0	0	0
Panch Pargania	41	20	21	41	20	21	0	0	0
Sadan/Sadri	115	49	66	109	45	64	6	4	2
Santali	2,32,725	1,15,301	1,17,424	2,30,421	1,14,210	1,16,211	2,304	1,091	1,213
Gumla									
Hindi	71,747	37,229	34,518	39,616	20,513	19,103	32,131	16,716	15,415
Ho	69	32	37	51	24	27	18	8	10
Kharia	38,260	18,815	19,445	37,823	18,611	19,212	437	204	233
Khortha/Khotta	78	47	31	66	41	25	12	6	6
Kurukh/Oraon	3,03,598	1,51,422	1,52,176	2,93,087	1,46,314	1,46,773	10,511	5,108	5,403
Mundari	48,129	23,742	24,387	47,828	23,600	24,228	301	142	159
Nagpuria	2,61,847	1,31,445	1,30,402	2,57,105	1,29,124	1,27,981	4,742	2,321	2,421
Panch Pargania	45	19	26	26	15	11	19	4	15
Sadan/Sadri	2,58,540	1,29,347	1,29,193	2,52,770	1,26,460	1,26,310	5,770	2,887	2,883
Santali	49	30	19	32	17	15	17	13	4
Hazaribagh									
Hindi	4,09,160	2,13,792	1,95,368	2,62,515	1,36,309	1,26,206	1,46,645	77,483	69,162

Ho	75	47	28	45	28	17	30	19	11
Kharia	125	70	55	71	43	28	54	27	27
Khortha/Khotta	10,68,147	5,45,575	5,22,572	10,17,062	5,19,311	4,97,751	51,085	26,264	24,821
Kurukh/Oraon	5,817	2,905	2,912	4,713	2,411	2,302	1,104	494	610
Mahili	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0
Mundari	8,937	4,551	4,386	7,644	3,915	3,729	1,293	636	657
Nagpuria	2,778	1,413	1,365	2,110	1,082	1,028	668	331	337
Panch Pargania	8	6	2	2	2	0	6	4	2
Sadan/Sadri	6,077	2,948	3,129	5,546	2,701	2,845	531	247	284
Santali	60,330	29,947	30,383	57,726	28,646	29,080	2,604	1,301	1,303
Jamtara									
Hindi	46,812	24,912	21,900	18,381	9,709	8,672	28,431	15,203	13,228
Ho	153	80	73	147	77	70	6	3	3
Kharia	9	5	4	0	0	0	9	5	4
Khortha/Khotta	2,20,977	1,13,643	1,07,334	2,09,124	1,07,436	1,01,688	11,853	6,207	5,646
Kurukh/Oraon	73	27	46	15	7	8	58	20	38
Mahili	1,197	604	593	1,197	604	593	0	0	0
Mundari	11	7	4	5	2	3	6	5	1
Nagpuria	43	19	24	31	13	18	12	6	6
Sadan/Sadri	104	52	52	67	34	33	37	18	19
Santali	2,28,311	1,13,809	1,14,502	2,25,243	1,12,261	1,12,982	3,068	1,548	1,520
Khunti									
Hindi	30,744	16,075	14,669	16,226	8,539	7,687	14,518	7,536	6,982
Ho	97	50	47	43	25	18	54	25	29
Kharia	193	83	110	97	46	51	96	37	59
Khortha/Khotta	46	30	16	31	20	11	15	10	5
Kurukh/Oraon	2,703	1,306	1,397	2,255	1,108	1,147	448	198	250
Mundari	3,28,305	1,63,313	1,64,992	3,15,316	1,57,016	1,58,300	12,989	6,297	6,692
Nagpuria	49,913	25,195	24,718	44,870	22,588	22,282	5,043	2,607	2,436
Panch Pargania	15,418	7,788	7,630	15,219	7,673	7,546	199	115	84
Sadan/Sadri	92,594	46,286	46,308	85,162	42,538	42,624	7,432	3,748	3,684
Santali	311	162	149	209	115	94	102	47	55
Kodarma									
Hindi	3,11,386	1,61,515	1,49,871	2,27,991	1,17,823	1,10,168	83,395	43,692	39,703
Ho	45	21	24	44	20	24	1	1	0
Khortha/Khotta	3,55,695	1,80,371	1,75,324	3,14,183	1,58,916	1,55,267	41,512	21,455	20,057
Kurukh/Oraon	213	100	113	128	59	69	85	41	44
Mundari	461	255	206	322	180	142	139	75	64
Nagpuria	23	12	11	6	4	2	17	8	9
Panch Pargania	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0
Sadan/Sadri	38	17	21	9	3	6	29	14	15

Santali	3,725	1,942	1,783	3,702	1,931	1,771	23	11	12
Latehar									
Hindi	2,95,182	1,51,698	1,43,484	2,56,374	1,31,338	1,25,036	38,808	20,360	18,448
Ho	37	23	14	28	16	12	9	7	2
Kharia	56	25	31	50	22	28	6	3	3
Khortha/Khotta	5,945	2,977	2,968	5,934	2,972	2,962	11	5	6
Kurukh/Oraon	1,33,098	66,450	66,648	1,29,893	64,937	64,956	3,205	1,513	1,692
Mundari	4,917	2,430	2,487	4,688	2,318	2,370	229	112	117
Nagpuria	2,950	1,476	1,474	2,894	1,448	1,446	56	28	28
Panch Pargania	11	8	3	2	2	0	9	6	3
Sadan/Sadri	1,97,021	99,440	97,581	1,94,753	98,295	96,458	2,268	1,145	1,123
Santali	130	66	64	123	61	62	7	5	2
Lohardaga									
Hindi	57,726	29,846	27,880	30,802	15,752	15,050	26,924	14,094	12,830
Ho	51	24	27	36	18	18	15	6	9
Kharia	45	15	30	18	6	12	27	9	18
Khortha/Khotta	556	278	278	509	250	259	47	28	19



The state boundaries between Uttarakhand & Uttar Pradesh, Bihar & Jharkhand and Chhattisgarh & Madhya Pradesh have not been verified by the Governments concerned.

H. LITERACY RATE OF JHARKHAND (as per 2011 Census)

Name	TOT_P	P_LIT	AVG-P LIT	TOT_M	M_LIT	AVG-M LIT	TOT_F	F_LIT	AVG-F LIT
JHARKHAND	329,88,134	183,28,069	56	169,30,315	110,00,000	64	160,57,819	74,45,550	46
Garhwa	13,22,784	6,53,476	49	6,83,575	4,05,161	59	6,39,209	2,48,315	39
Chatra	10,42,886	5,10,061	49	5,33,935	3,03,902	57	5,08,951	2,06,159	41
Kodarma	7,16,259	3,90,249	54	3,67,222	2,38,780	65	3,49,037	1,51,469	43
Giridih	24,45,474	12,53,475	51	12,58,098	7,83,736	62	11,87,376	4,69,739	40
Deoghar	14,92,073	7,93,538	53	7,75,022	4,89,837	63	7,17,051	3,03,701	42
Godda	13,13,551	6,04,519	46	6,77,927	3,76,212	55	6,35,624	2,28,307	36
Sahibganj	11,50,567	4,83,263	42	5,89,391	2,87,303	49	5,61,176	1,95,960	35
Pakur	9,00,422	3,52,881	39	4,52,661	2,06,989	46	4,47,761	1,45,892	33
Dhanbad	26,84,487	17,22,204	64	14,05,956	10,14,950	72	12,78,531	7,07,254	55
Bokaro	20,62,330	12,73,520	62	10,72,807	7,59,088	71	9,89,523	5,14,432	52
Lohardaga	4,61,790	2,59,707	56	2,32,629	1,49,568	64	2,29,161	1,10,139	48
Purbi Singhbhum	22,93,919	15,07,699	66	11,76,902	8,56,526	73	11,17,017	6,51,173	58
Palamu	19,39,869	10,24,563	53	10,06,302	6,21,706	62	9,33,567	4,02,857	43
Latehar	7,26,978	3,50,682	48	3,69,666	2,09,706	57	3,57,312	1,40,976	39
Hazaribagh	17,34,495	10,13,249	58	8,90,881	5,96,113	67	8,43,614	4,17,136	49
Ramgarh	9,49,443	5,96,497	63	4,94,230	3,50,031	71	4,55,213	2,46,466	54
Dumka	13,21,442	6,72,409	51	6,68,514	4,06,275	61	6,52,928	2,66,134	41
Jamtara	7,91,042	4,26,312	54	4,04,830	2,58,260	64	3,86,212	1,68,052	44
Ranchi	29,14,253	19,11,433	66	14,94,937	10,85,244	73	14,19,316	8,26,189	58
Khunti	5,31,885	2,84,575	54	2,66,335	1,64,741	62	2,65,550	1,19,834	45
Gumla	10,25,213	5,59,720	55	5,14,390	3,21,795	63	5,10,823	2,37,925	47
Simdega	5,99,578	3,43,483	57	3,00,309	1,91,991	64	2,99,269	1,51,492	51
Pashchimi Singhbhum	15,02,338	7,27,561	48	7,49,385	4,39,273	59	7,52,953	2,88,288	38
Saraikele-Kharsawan	10,65,056	6,12,993	58	5,44,411	3,65,332	67	5,20,645	2,47,661	48

I. STATUS OF BILINGUALISM

As per the latest census publication on Indian Languages/ Mother Tongues, i.e. census 2011 the bilingualism scenario of 6 major languages (covered in this volume) of Jharkhand, (Hindi, Maithili and Urdu are not the Languages/ Mother Tongues of this Volume) is the following:

Bilingualism-Trilingualism to the total population of the surveyed languages of Jharkhand - 2011							
Name	Persons	1st subsidiary languages			2nd subsidiary languages		
		Bilinguals	Percentage	% to total population	Trilinguals	Percentage	% to total population
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
	3,29,88,134	1,00,00,720			15,93,039		
Hindi	2,04,36,026	17,55,615	8.59	4.98	1,17,677	0.58	0.55
Santali	32,69,897	20,18,443	61.73	4.37	3,59,052	10.98	0.98
Ho	9,94,302	5,27,609	53.06	1.06	4,61,962	46.46	0.28
Kharia	1,40,148	1,09,928	78.44	0.32	3,954	2.82	0.02
Kurukh/Oraon	9,52,164	7,75,157	81.41	2.1	28,038	2.94	0.17
Mundari	9,42,108	6,29,677	66.84	1.68	47,421	5.03	0.18
Others	62,53,489	21,65,848	34.63	6.5	5,74,935	9.19	2.15

Bilingualism and Trilingualism of Surveyed Languages in Jharkhand - 2011					
Language	Total Speakers	Language of Bilingualism	Strength	Language of Trilingualism	Strength
1	2	3	4	5	6
Hindi	20,43,6026				
		Assamese	122		
				Bengali	12
				Nepali	1
				Odia	2
				Punjabi	2
				English	16
				Kurukh/Oraon	1
		Bengali	2,64,516		
				Assamese	16
				Gujarati	48
				Kannada	3
				Maithili	124
				Malayalam	3
				Marathi	25
				Nepali	80

				Odia	1,447
				Punjabi	124
				Sanskrit	152
				Santali	3,430
				Sindhi	1
				Tamil	15
				Telugu	39
				Urdu	1,329
				Arabic/Arbi	12
				English	13,470
				Garo	1
				Ho	94
				Kharia	3
				Koda/Kora	2
				Kurukh/Oraon	45
				Malto	13
				Munda	3
				Mundari	255
				Others	40
		Dogri	55		
				Punjabi	11
				English	23
		Gujarati	1,934		
				Bengali	47
				Marathi	7
				Odia	6
				Punjabi	3
				Sanskrit	8
				Santali	1
				Urdu	10
				Arabic/Arbi	3
				English	245
		Kannada	94		
				Bengali	1
				Konkani	1

				Marathi	2
				Tamil	1
				Telugu	1
				English	24
				Ho	1
				Others	1
		Kashmiri	117		
				Bengali	2
				Maithili	1
				English	1
		Konkani	29		
				Kannada	1
				English	4
		Maithili	19,716		
				Bengali	196
				Kannada	1
				Nepali	6
				Odia	12
				Punjabi	3
				Sanskrit	158
				Santali	3
				Urdu	3
				Arabic/Arbi	1
				English	3,343
				Ho	1
				Kurukh/Oraon	1
		Malayalam	208		
				Bengali	6
				Telugu	1
				English	75
				Kurukh/Oraon	1
		Manipuri	10		
				Assamese	2
				Bengali	1
		Marathi	840		

				Bengali	19
				Kannada	2
				Punjabi	2
				Santali	1
				Urdu	8
				English	168
				Kurukh/Oraon	2
				Mundari	1
		Nepali	2,552		
				Assamese	2
				Bengali	97
				Dogri	2
				Maithili	2
				Marathi	1
				Odia	21
				Punjabi	3
				Santali	2
				Urdu	2
				English	292
				Ho	5
				Kurukh/Oraon	1
				Lushai/Mizo	1
				Munda	1
				Mundari	4
				Others	1
		Odia	19,414		
				Assamese	1
				Bengali	1,068
				Maithili	1
				Manipuri	1
				Marathi	1
				Nepali	17
				Punjabi	8
				Sanskrit	9
				Santali	65

				Tamil	2
				Telugu	15
				Urdu	26
				Arabic/Arbi	1
				English	1,123
				Gondi	1
				Ho	635
				Kharia	5
				Kurukh/Oraon	11
				Mundari	51
				Others	23
		Punjabi	6,716		
				Bengali	85
				Dogri	6
				Gujarati	5
				Maithili	1
				Marathi	4
				Nepali	3
				Odia	6
				Sanskrit	7
				Santali	1
				Sindhi	4
				Telugu	1
				Urdu	5
				English	1,566
				Kurukh/Oraon	6
				Lahnda	2
				Munda	1
				Mundari	1
				Others	2
		Sanskrit	18,511		
				Bengali	182
				Gujarati	7
				Kannada	2
				Maithili	113

				Marathi	4
				Odia	12
				Punjabi	20
				Santali	4
				Urdu	19
				English	6,455
				Kurukh/Oraon	1
				Others	5
		Santali	48,988		
				Bengali	3,085
				Maithili	15
				Nepali	1
				Odia	63
				Punjabi	2
				Sanskrit	1
				Urdu	44
				English	688
				Ho	32
				Kharia	6
				Kurukh/Oraon	11
				Malto	32
				Munda	4
				Mundari	52
		Sindhi	115		
				Bengali	2
				English	24
		Tamil	461		
				Bengali	22
				Malayalam	2
				Marathi	1
				Punjabi	1
				Sanskrit	7
				Telugu	2
				English	122
		Telugu	1,044		

				Bengali	21
				Gujarati	1
				Kannada	1
				Marathi	1
				Odia	14
				Punjabi	7
				Tamil	4
				English	214
				Others	3
		Urdu	3,47,357		
				Bengali	1,673
				Gujarati	146
				Kannada	1
				Kashmiri	6
				Maithili	8
				Marathi	14
				Odia	64
				Punjabi	11
				Sanskrit	43
				Santali	192
				Tamil	2
				Telugu	9
				Arabic/Arbi	3,296
				English	13,846
				Ho	5
				Kurukh/Oraon	6
				Malto	2
				Munda	1
				Mundari	9
				Others	9
		Adi	69		
				English	5
				Kurukh/Oraon	1
				Others	8
		Arabic/Arbi	2,106		

				Bengali	3
				Gujarati	14
				Odia	2
				Sanskrit	1
				Santali	1
				Urdu	431
				English	114
		Bhili/Bhilodi	263		
				Bengali	6
				Punjabi	2
				Santali	1
				English	4
		Bhotia	1		
		Bhumij	83		
				Bengali	3
				English	1
		Coorgi/Kodagu	1		
		English	8,74,857		
				Assamese	60
				Bengali	12,475
				Dogri	8
				Gujarati	267
				Kannada	100
				Kashmiri	12
				Konkani	3
				Maithili	2,997
				Malayalam	77
				Manipuri	6
				Marathi	278
				Nepali	184
				Odia	1,218
				Punjabi	1,159
				Sanskrit	23,403
				Santali	548
				Sindhi	23

				Tamil	170
				Telugu	191
				Urdu	5,051
				Adi	5
				Arabic/Arbi	114
				Bhili/Bhilodi	3
				Chang	1
				Garo	1
				Gondi	3
				Halam	1
				Ho	187
				Kharia	125
				Khasi	2
				Koda/Kora	1
				Kurukh/Oraon	1,042
				Lahnda	3
				Lushai/Mizo	2
				Malto	5
				Munda	13
				Mundari	553
				Tulu	2
				Others	463
		Gondi	17		
				English	3
		Ho	4,700		
				Bengali	82
				Odia	343
				Santali	51
				Urdu	2
				English	232
				Kurukh/Oraon	13
				Munda	3
				Mundari	69
		Kabui	10		
		Khandeshi	4		

		Kharia	6,607		
				Bengali	4
				Nepali	1
				Odia	11
				Santali	5
				English	107
				Kurukh/Oraon	12
				Munda	1
				Mundari	24
				Others	1
		Khasi	1		
				English	1
		Koda/Kora	16		
				English	1
				Kurukh/Oraon	1
		Korwa	177		
				Punjabi	1
		Koya	2		
		Kurukh/Oraon	84,044		
				Assamese	1
				Bengali	85
				Gujarati	5
				Nepali	7
				Odia	58
				Punjabi	9
				Sanskrit	14
				Santali	16
				Sindhi	1
				Urdu	20
				Adi	16
				English	1,608
				Ho	10
				Kharia	8
				Munda	22
				Mundari	272

				Others	5
		Lushai/Mizo	5		
		Malto	257		
				Bengali	30
				Santali	45
				English	5
		Munda	656		
				Bengali	1
				Santali	3
				English	22
				Ho	1
				Kurukh/Oraon	15
		Mundari	46,290		
				Bengali	401
				Gujarati	1
				Nepali	3
				Odia	59
				Punjabi	5
				Santali	57
				Urdu	2
				English	811
				Ho	64
				Kharia	31
				Kurukh/Oraon	219
				Munda	4
				Others	2
		Tibetan	3		
				English	1
		Tulu	14		
		Others	2,633		
				Bengali	39
				Gujarati	1
				Maithili	2
				Marathi	1
				Odia	4

				Punjabi	2
				Sanskrit	49
				Telugu	3
				Urdu	4
				English	217
				Ho	1
				Kurukh/Oraon	5
Santali	32,69,897				
		Assamese	38		
				Bengali	1
				Hindi	5
				English	10
				Others	1
		Bengali	3,40,785		
				Assamese	4
				Gujarati	1
				Hindi	97,590
				Marathi	1
				Nepali	1
				Odia	1,070
				Punjabi	1
				Sanskrit	6
				Tamil	1
				Urdu	13
				Bhili/Bhilodi	2
				English	792
				Ho	281
				Kharia	19
				Koda/Kora	13
				Kurukh/Oraon	15
				Malto	17
				Munda	7
				Mundari	159
				Others	6
		Gujarati	90		

				Hindi	7
				English	1
		Hindi	16,53,299		
				Assamese	23
				Bengali	1,56,322
				Gujarati	20
				Konkani	1
				Maithili	1
				Marathi	25
				Nepali	13
				Odia	16,683
				Punjabi	47
				Sanskrit	302
				Tamil	3
				Telugu	3
				Urdu	1,604
				Angami	1
				Arabic/Arbi	11
				Bhumij	3
				English	67,824
				Ho	3,813
				Kharia	3
				Koda/Kora	9
				Korwa	74
				Kurukh/Oraon	92
				Lushai/Mizo	22
				Malto	559
				Munda	7
				Mundari	381
				Tulu	3
				Others	62
		Kannada	4		
		Malayalam	2		
				English	1
		Manipuri	1		

		Marathi	13		
				Bengali	1
				Hindi	4
				Tamil	1
				English	2
		Nepali	8		
				Hindi	1
				Odia	1
				Lushai/Mizo	1
		Odia	12,714		
				Bengali	1,158
				Hindi	3,846
				English	124
				Ho	354
				Kurukh/Oraon	6
				Mundari	20
		Punjabi	8		
				Hindi	2
		Sanskrit	24		
				Hindi	9
				English	2
		Sindhi	1		
		Tamil	5		
				Bengali	1
				Hindi	1
		Urdu	1467		
				Bengali	19
				Hindi	543
				Arabic/Arbi	2
				English	5
		Angami	1		
				Hindi	1
		Arabic/Arbi	18		
				Bengali	1
				Hindi	7

				Urdu	1
		Bhili/Bhilodi	3		
				English	1
		Bhumij	12		
				Bengali	3
				Hindi	4
		English	2645		
				Assamese	1
				Bengali	68
				Hindi	1626
				Odia	10
				Sanskrit	7
				Mundari	1
		Ho	5066		
				Bengali	313
				Hindi	1501
				Odia	651
				Bhumij	2
				English	3
				Kharia	8
				Kurukh/Oraon	2
				Munda	1
				Mundari	37
		Kharia	7		
				Bengali	2
				Ho	2
		Koda/Kora	14		
				Bengali	2
				Hindi	1
		Korwa	114		
				Hindi	14
		Kurukh/Oraon	62		
				Bengali	4
				Hindi	21
				Odia	2

		Lushai/Mizo	15		
				Bengali	2
				Hindi	5
		Malto	1037		
				Bengali	9
				Hindi	230
				Odia	1
				English	2
				Tulu	2
		Munda	30		
				Bengali	2
				Hindi	14
		Mundari	849		
				Bengali	210
				Hindi	188
				Odia	11
				English	1
				Ho	14
		Others	111		
				Bengali	2
				Hindi	21
				Urdu	1
				English	1
Ho	9,94,302				
		Bengali	9,347		
				Hindi	3,438
				Odia	415
				Santali	370
				English	16
				Mundari	15
		Gujarati	1		
				Hindi	1
		Hindi	4,77,898		
				Bengali	8,378
				Gujarati	7

				Kannada	2
				Kashmiri	1
				Marathi	4
				Nepali	3
				Odia	41,247
				Punjabi	29
				Sanskrit	21
				Santali	4,760
				Tamil	1
				Telugu	8
				Urdu	6
				Arabic/Arbi	2
				Bhumij	30
				English	28,558
				Gondi	106
				Kharia	3
				Kurukh/Oraon	202
				Malto	1
				Mundari	1,199
				Others	27
		Nepali	4		
				Odia	1
		Odia	31,195		
				Bengali	467
				Hindi	8,945
				Santali	276
				English	69
				Kurukh/Oraon	4
				Mundari	1
				Others	5
		Punjabi	4		
				Hindi	2
		Sanskrit	1		
				Odia	1
		Santali	6,095		

				Bengali	578
				Hindi	2,075
				Odia	217
				English	3
				Kharia	5
				Kurukh/Oraon	1
				Mundari	81
				Others	1
		Telugu	2		
				Hindi	2
		Bhili/Bhilodi	1		
		Bhumij	8		
				Hindi	1
		English	885		
				Bengali	2
				Hindi	662
				Odia	10
				Santali	1
				Kurukh/Oraon	1
		Gondi	44		
				Hindi	6
		Kharia	9		
				Bengali	9
		Kurukh/Oraon	94		
				Hindi	24
				Odia	1
				English	1
		Malto	4		
				Bengali	4
		Munda	44		
				Hindi	14
		Mundari	1,933		
				Hindi	526
				Odia	31
				Santali	28

				Kurukh/Oraon	1
		Others	40		
				Hindi	3
				Odia	1
Kharia	1,40,148				
		Assamese	1		
				Hindi	1
		Bengali	1,475		
				Hindi	110
				Odia	1
				Santali	171
				Ho	1
				Kurukh/Oraon	1
		Gujarati	4		
				Hindi	1
		Hindi	1,07,480		
				Bengali	136
				Gujarati	1
				Malayalam	1
				Nepali	1
				Odia	188
				Punjabi	10
				Sanskrit	2
				Santali	12
				Bhumij	1
				English	2,193
				Ho	10
				Kurukh/Oraon	28
				Munda	4
				Mundari	509
				Others	2
		Nepali	2		
		Odia	244		
				Bengali	14
				Hindi	113

				Santali	3
				English	4
				Ho	1
		Sanskrit	5		
				Hindi	3
		Santali	204		
				Bengali	98
				Hindi	7
				English	1
		Bhili/Bhilodi	1		
				Hindi	1
		English	228		
				Bengali	3
				Hindi	158
				Nepali	1
				Santali	1
				Lushai/Mizo	3
		Ho	20		
				Hindi	2
				Odia	2
				Santali	7
				Mundari	1
		Kurukh/Oraon	19		
				Hindi	13
		Munda	11		
				Hindi	1
		Mundari	232		
				Hindi	133
		Others	2		
Kurukh/Oraon	9,52,164				
		Assamese	8		
				Bengali	3
				Hindi	2
				English	1
		Bengali	1,337		

				Hindi	579
				Odia	30
				Santali	14
				English	9
				Ho	2
				Others	4
		Gujarati	1		
				Hindi	1
		Hindi	7,70,640		
				Assamese	16
				Bengali	1,884
				Gujarati	9
				Kashmiri	3
				Konkani	1
				Maithili	4
				Marathi	2
				Nepali	27
				Odia	2,474
				Punjabi	73
				Sanskrit	51
				Santali	678
				Tamil	1
				Telugu	2
				Urdu	22
				Arabic/Arbi	1
				Bhili/Bhilodi	1
				Bhumij	1
				English	19,004
				Gondi	1
				Ho	500
				Kharia	28
				Munda	19
				Mundari	480
				Others	47
		Kashmiri	1		

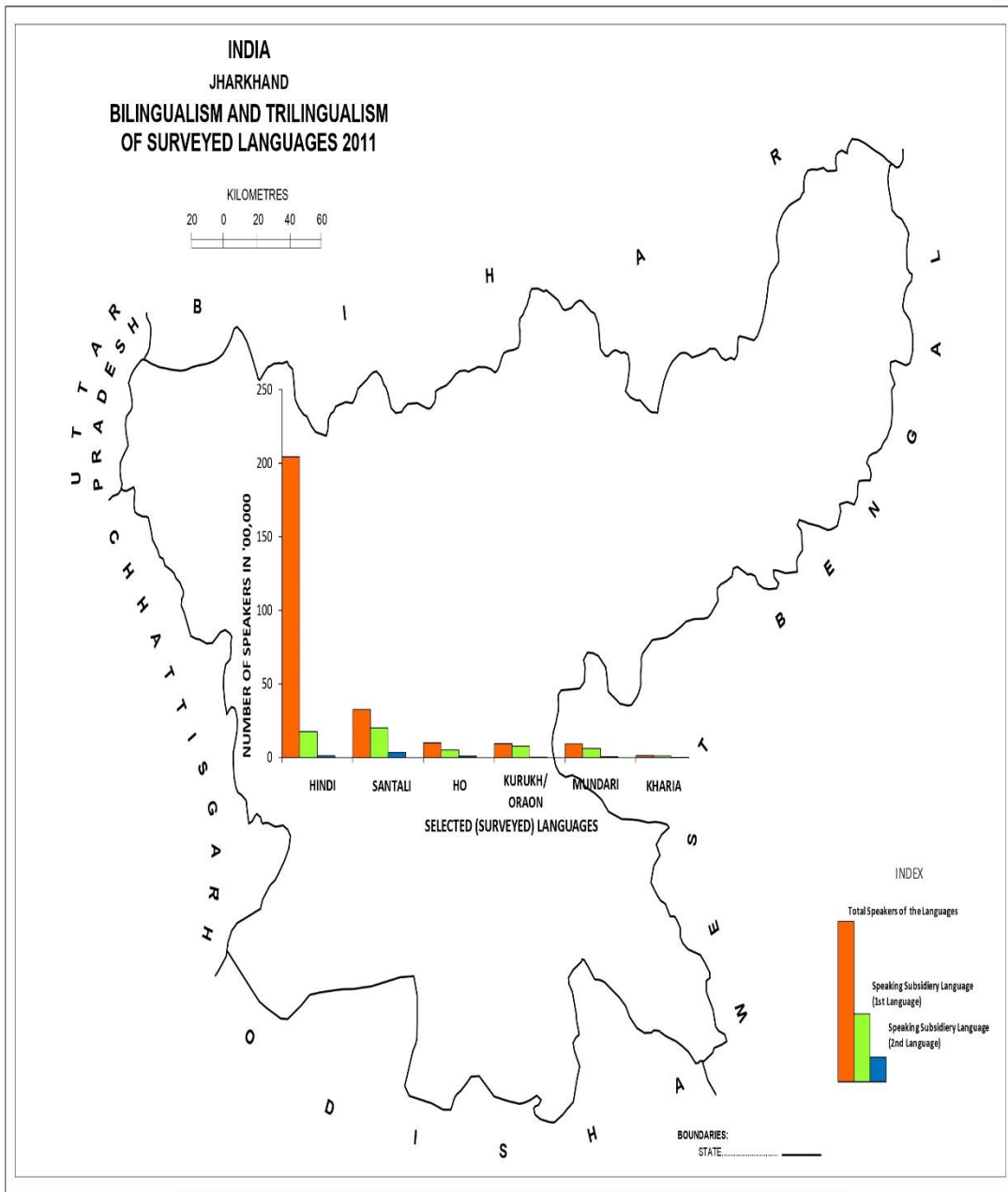
				English	1
		Marathi	1		
				Gujarati	1
		Nepali	23		
				Bengali	1
				Hindi	11
				Odia	1
		Odia	278		
				Bengali	17
				Hindi	95
				Sanskrit	1
				Santali	1
				English	1
				Ho	10
		Punjabi	16		
				Hindi	7
				Urdu	1
				English	5
		Sanskrit	24		
				Hindi	12
				English	3
		Santali	224		
				Bengali	4
				Hindi	138
				Odia	1
				English	5
		Tamil	1		
				English	1
		Telugu	2		
				Bengali	1
		Urdu	66		
				Hindi	36
		Arabic/Arbi	12		
				Hindi	8
		Bhili/Bhilodi	1		

		English	1,555		
				Bengali	5
				Hindi	1,058
				Odia	4
				Punjabi	5
				Sanskrit	5
				Santali	1
				Tamil	1
				Mundari	2
				Others	3
		Halam	1		
				Hindi	1
		Ho	322		
				Bengali	1
				Hindi	94
				Odia	67
		Kharia	33		
				Hindi	20
				English	2
				Mundari	4
		Limbu	1		
				Odia	1
		Munda	24		
				Hindi	6
		Mundari	562		
				Hindi	395
				English	5
				Kharia	4
		Others	24		
				Hindi	17
				English	1
Mundari	9,42,108				
		Assamese	11		
				Hindi	2
		Bengali	28,823		

				Gujarati	1
				Hindi	8,790
				Odia	640
				Punjabi	1
				Santali	691
				English	58
				Ho	78
				Kurukh/Oraon	3
		Gujarati	14		
				Hindi	8
		Hindi	5,90,321		
				Assamese	33
				Bengali	9,291
				Gujarati	6
				Malayalam	1
				Marathi	1
				Nepali	13
				Odia	3,729
				Punjabi	124
				Sanskrit	21
				Santali	783
				Tamil	2
				Telugu	8
				Urdu	2
				Arabic/Arbi	1
				Bhumij	2
				English	14,738
				Ho	2,521
				Kharia	337
				Kurukh/Oraon	274
				Malto	3
				Mishmi	1
				Munda	7
				Others	42
		Kannada	1		

				Hindi	1
		Konkani	2		
				Hindi	2
		Manipuri	2		
				Hindi	2
		Nepali	9		
				Bengali	1
				Hindi	6
		Odia	3,181		
				Bengali	214
				Hindi	1,094
				Santali	14
				Telugu	1
				English	18
				Ho	54
		Punjabi	34		
				Hindi	15
		Sanskrit	16		
				Hindi	11
				English	3
		Santali	2,273		
				Bengali	809
				Hindi	519
				Odia	10
				English	1
				Ho	50
				Kurukh/Oraon	1
		Telugu	3		
				Hindi	3
		Urdu	8		
				Bengali	1
				Hindi	3
		Adi	1		
		Arabic/Arbi	1		
		Bhumij	6		

		English	819		
				Bengali	7
				Hindi	556
				Marathi	1
				Nepali	1
				Odia	4
				Punjabi	1
				Sanskrit	1
				Santali	3
		Ho	3,730		
				Bengali	171
				Hindi	1,199
				Odia	144
				Santali	42
				Bhumij	1
				Others	1
		Kharia	210		
				Hindi	114
				Odia	1
		Kurukh/Oraon	154		
				Bengali	1
				Hindi	98
				Santali	2
				English	3
		Malto	24		
				Hindi	11
		Munda	8		
				Hindi	6
		Others	26		
				Hindi	8



The state boundaries between Uttarakhnad & Uttar Pradesh, Bihar & Jharkhand and Chhattisgarh & Madhya Pradesh have not been verified by the Governments concerned.

J. SCHEDULE TRIBES IN JHARKHAND

Jharkhand state is the homeland of various ethnic groups. The languages of these ethnic groups or tribal communities are divided into mainly two linguistic groups. Austro-Asiatic group or Mundari group – including the Santal, Ho, Kharia and Munda community; and the Dravidian linguistic group – including the Oraon, Chero and Gond. According to K.S. Singh (2006) ‘Chotanagpur was the most advanced of the tribal regions in point of literacy, political consciousness, and industrial progress’. It is also the place of origin of the Munda tribes. Tribal society has some specific cultural identity. They believe in nature. According to Census 2011 Scheduled Tribe (ST) population of Jharkhand State is constituting 26.29 per cent of the total population of the State. The Scheduled Tribes are primarily rural as ninety per cent of them reside in villages. District wise distribution of ST population shows that more than half of the total population in Gumla, Lohardaga and PashchimiSinghbhum districts are tribal population. Distribution of population of relevant languages named after scheduled tribes of Jharkhand according to 2011 census is presented below:

Name of Scheduled Tribes	Language	Total	Male	Female
1	2	3	4	5
Ho	Total Speakers	9,28,289	4,59,209	4,69,080
	Assamese	3	1	2
	Bengali	1,356	684	672
	Dogri	9	4	5
	Gujarati	5	2	3
	Hindi	7,250	3,764	3,486
	Maithili	4	2	2
	Marathi	6	1	5
	Nepali	3	1	2
	Odia	2,096	996	1,100
	Punjabi	3	1	2
	Santali	2,020	998	1,022
	Tamil	7	4	3
	Telugu	6	1	5
	Urdu	23	10	13
	Adi	1	0	1
	Bhumij	17	8	9
	English	9	3	6

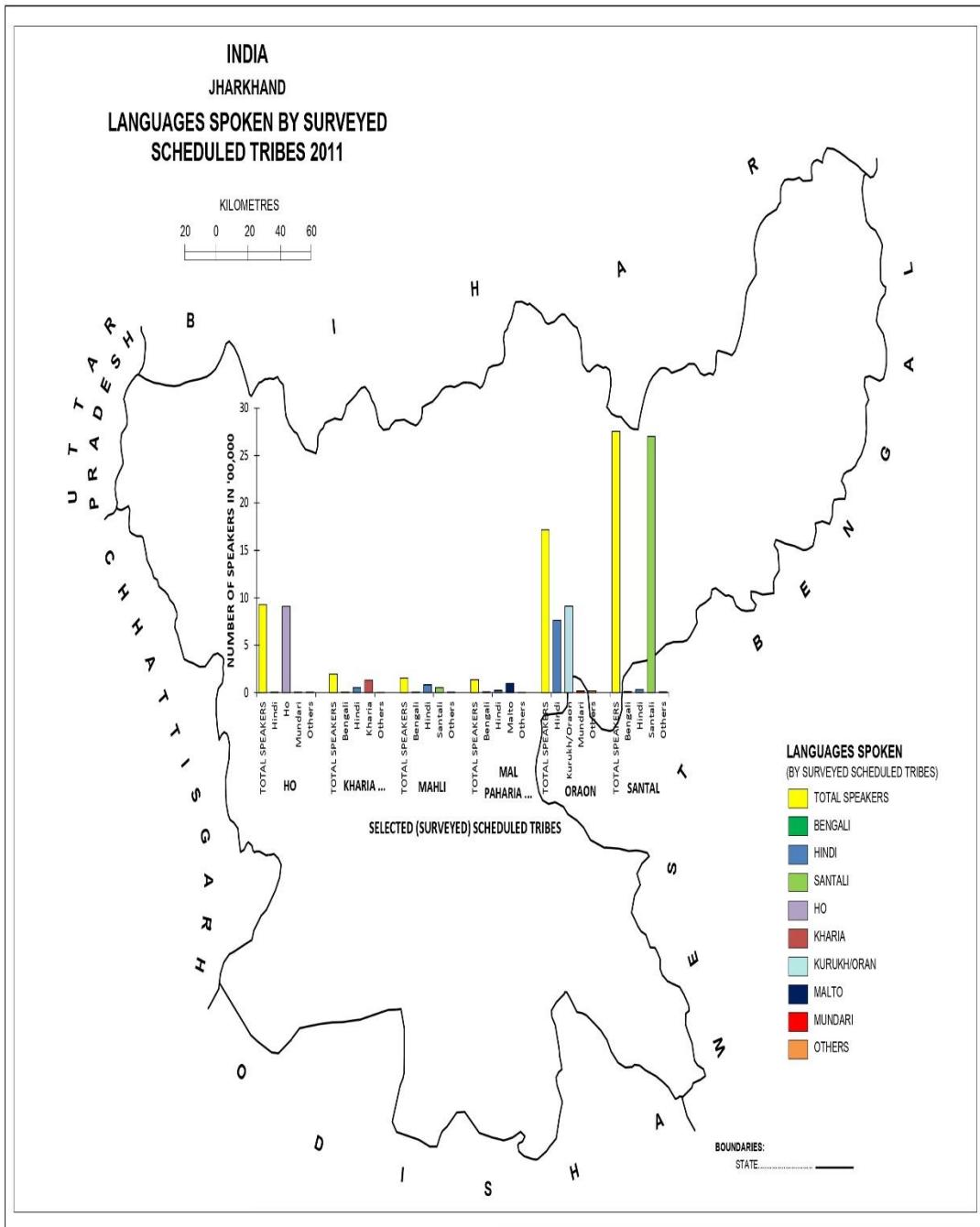
	Gondi	4	2	2
	Ho	9,09,924	4,50,000	4,59,924
	Kharia	23	13	10
	Korwa	17	9	8
	Kurukh/Oraon	609	299	310
	Munda	200	96	104
	Mundari	3,892	1,919	1,973
	Others	802	391	411
Kharia, Dhelki Kharia, Dudh Kharia, Hill Kharia	Total Speakers	1,96,135	97,139	98,996
	Assamese	5	3	2
	Bengali	7,441	3,637	3,804
	Gujarati	2	2	0
	Hindi	53,410	26,609	26,801
	Kannada	3	3	0
	Kashmiri	1	1	0
	Maithili	3	1	2
	Manipuri	1	0	1
	Nepali	1	0	1
	Odia	866	418	448
	Punjabi	4	2	2
	Santali	638	322	316
	Urdu	17	8	9
	Bhumij	1	1	0
	English	2	1	1
	Gondi	3	2	1
	Ho	461	239	222
	Kharia	1,32,469	65,514	66,955
	Koda/Kora	1	0	1
	Kurukh/Oraon	304	141	163
	Malto	14	6	8
	Munda	5	1	4
	Mundari	397	183	214
	Savara	79	42	37
	Tulu	1	0	1
	Others	6	3	3
Mahili	Total Speakers	1,52,663	76,631	76,032
	Assamese	3	1	2

	Bengali	7,486	3,774	3,712
	Gujarati	394	203	191
	Hindi	84,190	42,458	41,732
	Kannada	12	6	6
	Maithili	22	8	14
	Nepali	1	0	1
	Odia	166	79	87
	Santali	53,807	26,795	27,012
	Telugu	1	0	1
	Urdu	38	20	18
	Adi	4	1	3
	Bhumij	3	2	1
	Ho	680	356	324
	Kharia	18	11	7
	Korwa	4	2	2
	Kurukh/Oraon	1,710	879	831
	Malto	55	24	31
	Munda	316	152	164
	Mundari	3,714	1,837	1,877
	Others	39	23	16
Mal Paharia, KumarbhagPaharia	Total Speakers	1,35,797	67,791	68,006
	Assamese	1	1	0
	Bengali	9,135	4,569	4,566
	Gujarati	41	23	18
	Hindi	24,333	12,217	12,116
	Kannada	18	11	7
	Maithili	6	2	4
	Marathi	24	11	13
	Odia	72	35	37
	Sanskrit	1	1	0
	Santali	2,276	1,114	1,162
	Tamil	25	13	12
	Telugu	127	55	72
	Urdu	42	22	20
	Bhili/Bhilodi	2	2	0
	English	1	0	1
	Ho	48	23	25

	Kharia	21	16	5
	Kurukh/Oraon	93	44	49
	Lushai/Mizo	1	0	1
	Malto	99,209	49,461	49,748
	Mao	68	31	37
	Munda	2	2	0
	Mundari	77	39	38
	Others	174	99	75
Oraon, Dhangar (Oraon)	Total Speakers	17,16,618	8,55,210	8,61,408
	Assamese	21	8	13
	Bengali	11,727	5,954	5,773
	Bodo	1	0	1
	Gujarati	106	52	54
	Hindi	7,62,862	3,80,469	3,82,393
	Kannada	14	8	6
	Kashmiri	11	6	5
	Konkani	3	1	2
	Maithili	71	31	40
	Malayalam	66	22	44
	Manipuri	1	0	1
	Marathi	19	8	11
	Nepali	44	23	21
	Odia	1,223	588	635
	Punjabi	34	15	19
	Sanskrit	7	2	5
	Santali	2,027	1,019	1,008
	Tamil	76	34	42
	Telugu	34	19	15
	Urdu	451	221	230
	Adi	39	17	22
	Arabic/Arbi	10	7	3
	Bhili/Bhilodi	2	2	0
	Bhumij	36	14	22
	Coorgi/Kodagu	5	3	2
	English	52	21	31
	Garo	1	0	1
	Halam	2	1	1

	Ho	966	477	489
	Karbi/Mikir	1	1	0
	Kharia	1,802	870	932
	Kisan	3	2	1
	Koda/Kora	162	80	82
	Korwa	18	9	9
	Kurukh/Oraon	9,13,733	4,54,861	4,58,872
	Lepcha	1	0	1
	Lushai/Mizo	1	0	1
	Malto	17	8	9
	Munda	124	58	66
	Mundari	20,146	9,953	10,193
	Others	699	346	353
Santal	Total Speakers	27,54,723	13,71,168	13,83,555
	Assamese	2	0	2
	Bengali	11,142	5,629	5,513
	Dogri	1	0	1
	Gujarati	1,531	774	757
	Hindi	32,959	17,129	15,830
	Kannada	6	3	3
	Konkani	4	0	4
	Maithili	95	39	56
	Malayalam	15	4	11
	Marathi	35	16	19
	Nepali	5	1	4
	Odia	553	274	279
	Punjabi	5	2	3
	Sanskrit	101	52	49
	Santali	27,02,716	13,44,408	13,58,308
	Tamil	24	12	12
	Telugu	5	2	3
	Urdu	95	58	37
	Arabic/Arbi	38	14	24
	Bhumij	39	21	18
	English	24	14	10
	Ho	1,829	959	870
	Kharia	48	18	30

	Khasi	1	0	1
	Koda/Kora	38	17	21
	Korwa	492	255	237
	Kuki	2	2	0
	Kurukh/Oraon	247	125	122
	Lushai/Mizo	4	1	3
	Malto	866	428	438
	Munda	218	112	106
	Mundari	1265	638	627
	Rai	2	0	2
	Tulu	14	9	5
	Others	302	152	150



The state boundaries between Uttar Pradesh & Uttar Pradesh, Bihar & Jharkhand and Chhattisgarh & Madhya Pradesh have not been verified by the Governments concerned.

IV

This section deals with the brief abstract of the Languages included in present survey volume and their treatment in Sir George. A. Grierson's *Linguistic survey of India* and other studies.

SANTALI

Santali is the most important language of Munda sub family of Austro-Asiatic language family. This language has been added in the VIIIth Schedule of Indian Constitution in 2004. Santali has been accorded second language status in both West Bengal and Jharkhand. Santali is spoken widely in Assam, Bihar, Jharkhand, Mizoram, Odisha, Tripura and West Bengal. Formerly Devanagari, Bengali and Roman scripts were used for writing Santali Language. Later in 1925 Olchiki script was developed by Pandit Raghunath Murmu and ever since it is used for writing in Santali. At present Santali language is taught as a subject in secondary, higher secondary, graduation and post-graduation level in Bihar, Jharkhand and West Bengal. Recently state governments of Jharkhand, Bihar, West Bengal and Odisha have initiated action plans for imparting education in Santali for the Santal students in primary schools. According to 2011 Census, there are total 73,68,192 Santali speakers in India. Jharkhand has 32,69,897 speakers which is 44.38% of the total Santali speakers. In his *Linguistic Survey of India*, Part 1, Vol- IV, G. A. Grierson has given a detailed description of Munda family of Languages. There he had mentioned Santali language as a dialect of Kherwari language of Munda Family. According to him, Santali has two dialects i.e. Karmali, spoken by Kalha tribe in the then Sonthal Parganas, Manbhum and Hazaribagh, the dialect of the Mahles in the central and southern part of the Sonthal Parganas and the adjoining areas of Birbhum.

KHARIA

Kharia is an Austro-Asiatic language belonging to the Central Munda sub-group under the South Munda Branch of languages. Kharia, Kharvi, Khatria, Kheria, Khadia, Khariya are the alternative names of Kharia. Kharia is listed as one of the 99 Non-Scheduled language of India. This Mother Tongue has been accorded the status of second language in Jharkhand. Kharia language is spoken by Kharia tribe residing in several districts of Jharkhand i.e. Ranchi, Simdega, Gumla, Lohardaga, West and East Singhbhum and Hazaribag. The Kharia tribe is divided into three sections namely, Dudh, Dhelki and hill Kharia. Kharia language does not have any script of their own. It uses Devanagari, Bengali and Odia script for writing. Kharia is not used as a medium

of instruction in school and university but Kharia language is taught as a subject in graduation and post-graduation level. According to 2011 Census, Kharia has 2,97,614 speakers in India and Jharkhand has 1,40,148 speakers which is 47.09% of total Kharia speakers. In *Linguistic Survey of India*, Part 1, Vol- IV, G. A. Grierson has mentioned that Kharia is the dialect of a cultivating tribe in Chotanagpur. According to Grierson, Kharias were found from Bankura in the east to the Chhattisgarh Feudatory states in the west. He further commented, “Kharia grammar has all the characteristics of a language which is gradually dying out and being superseded by dialects of quite different families. The vocabulary is strongly Aryanised, and Aryan principles have pervaded the grammatical structure. Kharia is no longer a typical Munda language”

KURUKH/ ORAON

Kurukh/ Oraon belongs to northern Dravidian group of languages and it is spoken by a tribal community named as Kurukh/ Oraon. This language is listed as one of the 99 Non-Scheduled languages of India. Jharkhand has accorded second language status to Kurukh/ Oraon Mother Tongue and it is an official language of West Bengal state. Kurukh is a widely spoken language as it spoken in Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh, Madhya Pradesh, Odisha and West Bengal. Within Jharkhand it is spoken in Gumla, Ranchi, Lohardaga, Latehar, Chatra, Garhwa, Godda, Sahibganj districts. Kurukh/ Oraon is generally written in Devanagari script. Dr. Narayan Oraon, a native speaker of Kurukh/ Oraon created and published a script named Tolong Siki in 1999 and it is recognised by Jharkhand Government in 2007. Tolong Siki resembles the scripts of any of the Dravidian languages. Kurukh/ Oraon is taught in graduation and post-graduation level as a subject. But is not used as a medium of instruction. Recently since February of 2016, Jharkhand government has started to allow students to write their examination paper in Kurukh language. According to 2011 Census, Kurukh/ Oraon has 19,88,350 speakers in All India level and in Jharkhand 9,52,164 speakers are available which is 47.89% of the total Kurukh/ Oraon population of India. G. A. Grierson in Part 1, Vol- IV of *Linguistic Survey of India* narrated that it is spoken in the then western portion of the Bengal Presidency and the adjoining parts of the Central provinces.

MUNDARI

Mundari belongs to Kherwarian group of North Munda sub branch of Austro-Asiatic language family. The name ‘Mundari’ is given by the neighbouring population. The indigenous name is ‘horojagar’ (human language) or ‘Munda Jagar’ (Munda language). Mundari is listed as a Non-Scheduled language of India. Mundari and other languages are clubbed within Mundari

language. Mundari has mainly four dialects namely Hasada, Naguri, tamaria, Kera. It does not have any official status in Jharkhand. Mundari is mainly spoken in Jharkhand and adjoining Odisha and West Bengal. In Ranchi, Khunti, Seraikela Kharsawan, West Singhbhum, East Singhbhum districts Mundari speakers are high in number. These days Mundari Bani script, invented by Rohidas Singh Das is being used for writing Mundari language. Otherwise Devanagari, Bengali, Odia scripts are also used. Mundari is not used as a medium of instruction in any educational institute. According to 2011 Census, Mundari has total 11,28,228 speakers in India and there is 9,42,108 speakers in Jharkhand which is 83.50% of the total Mundari population of India. In *Linguistic Survey of India*, Grierson mentioned that Mundas live in the southern and western portion of the then Ranchi district. He also opined that Mundari can be compared with Santali. The difference is found in vocabulary borrowed from neighbouring Aryan communities. Grierson claimed that Bhumij is a closely related speech to Mundari language. R.C Nigam in 1971's Language handbook added that in Bengali and Hindi speaking regions, Mundari language is influenced by the dominant regional language.

HO

Genealogically Ho belongs to Munda Group of languages of Austro-Asiatic language family. Two languages namely Ho and Lohara are clubbed within Ho language. Ho is spoken in the states of Jharkhand, Odisha, Bihar, West Bengal and Assam. In West Singhbhum, Jamshedpur, East Singhbhum districts of Jharkhand Ho speakers are large in number. Ho is written in WarangChiti script, invented by LakoBodra. Devanagari, Odia, Latin scripts are also used for writing in Ho. Ho is used as medium of instruction in primary and secondary level in Jharkhand and Odisha. This language is taught as a subject in graduation and post-graduation level also. According to 2011 Census, Ho has total 14,21,418 speakers in India and in Jharkhand speaker number is 9,94,302 which is 69.95% of the total Ho population of India. Grierson had mentioned that Ho is the dialect spoken by Munda Tribe in the then Singhbhum and Southern states. 'Ho' is the name of the tribe and language is called 'Ho-Kaji'. According to him Hos are closely related to Mundari tribe and Ho, Mundari these two languages are spoken side by side. In 'Language Handbook on Mother Tongues in Census', R.C Nigam opined that this language is classified under Kherwarian group of Austro-Asiatic languages.

NAGPURIA

Nagpuria belongs to Eastern Magahi group of Indo-Aryan languages. Nagpuria has alternative names i.e. Sadan, Sadari, Sadri, Nagpuri, Chotanagpuri, Dikku Kajietc. Since 1971 census, this

Mother Tongue is included within Hindi language. Nagpuria is spoken in Jharkhand, Bihar, Odisha, Chhattisgarh and some parts of West Bengal. West- Central Districts of Jharkhand namely, Latehar, Lohardaga, Chatra, Palamau, Garhwa, Gumla, Simdega, Ranchi, Khuntu, West Singhbhum have large number of Nagpuria speakers. Devanagari, Kaithi, Kaithi scripts are used for writing in Nagpuria. It is used as medium of instruction in primary section. As a subject Nagpuria is taught in graduation and post-graduation level. According to 2011 Census, it has total 7,63,014 number of speakers in India and in Jharkhand 7,57,726 speakers are there which is 99.31% of the total Nagpuria population of India. According to *Linguistic Survey of India* by Grierson, Nagpuria was a 'corrupted' form of Bhojpuri and it was spoken in Chotanagpur area. R. C Nigam opined that Nagpuria is spread over a vast area and due to that reason Nagpuria comprises of many varieties.

PANCH PARGANIA

PanchPargania belongs to Bihari group of languages under Eastern Indo-Aryan language family. This Mother Tongue has been developed from Magadhi Prakrit, Panch Pargania is the language used for communication among the villagers of suburban area of Bundu, Tamar, Sili, Barendra, blocks of Ranchi district of Jharkhand. Panch Pargania language has a close affinity with Nagpuria, Kurmali, Bengali and Odia. Since 1971 this Mother Tongue has been included in Hindi. However, this mother tongue does not have any official status. Panch Pargania is primarily spoken in Chotonagpur area i.e. Tamar, Sonahatu, Silli, Rahe, Bundu and Arki blocks of Ranchi and Khunti districts of Jharkhand. It is written in Bengali script in border areas of Jharkhand and West Bengal. In other places mostly Devanagari script is used. Panch Pargania is taught as a subject in graduation level in Ranchi University. Though it is not used as a medium of instruction in any stage. According to 2011 Census, Panch Pargania has total 2,44,914 speakers in India and in Jharkhand it has 2,44,290 speakers which is 99.75% of the total Panch Pargania population of India. Sir G. A. Grierson, in his *Linguistic survey of India* Vol.V, Part II, mentioned that it is a form of Eastern Magahi spoken in five parganas and as it used heavily in Tamar Pargana, it was also called Tamaria. He opined that "This dialect is classed as a form of Magahi, but it varies so greatly in the mouths of different people, that it might sometimes be classed as a form, not of Magahi, but of Nagpuria Bhojpuri". R. C. Nigam in 1971's handbook mentioned that this mother tongue (Capital Beginning) is basically related to Magahi with mixture of surrounding dialects of Mundari and Bengali.

SADAN/ SADRI

Sadan/ Sadri belongs to Western Magadhan branch of Bihari group of Indo-Aryan languages. Some scholars opine that it has developed from Magadhi Prakrit and others opine that it has evolved from Ardhamagadha Prakrit. Since 1971 Sadan/ Sadri Mother Tongue had been clubbed within Hindi Mother Tongue. Sadan/ Sadri is used as a lingua franca in eastern-central part of India. Sadri is spoken in Jharkhand, Bihar, Chhattisgarh, Odisha and tea garden area of Assam, West Bengal and Bangladesh. It uses Devanagari, Kaithi, Bengali, Roman script. Sadan/ Sadri is not used as a medium of instruction or as a subject in educational institution. According to 2011 Census, it has total 43,45,677 speakers in India and in Jharkhand the population is 16,27,083 which is 37.44% of the total Sadan/ Sadri population of India. Sir Grierson, in Vol. V classified that 'Sadan/Sadri' or 'Nagpuria' is a variety of Bhojpuri dialect and it is much influenced by Magahi dialect (Eastern Magahi) and Chhattisgarhi. In '*Language Handbook on Mother Tongues in Census*', R.C Nigam mentioned that subsequent investigations have shown that Sadan/ Sadri should be more appropriately affiliated to Magahi.

KHORTHHA/ KHOTTA

Genealogically Khortha/Khotta is classified under Eastern Indo-Aryan family. It comes under Bihari group of languages. Khortha/ Khotta is developed from Magadhi Prakrit. Since 1971 Census onwards this Mother Tongue is grouped under Hindi Language. At present it does not have any official status in Jharkhand. Khortha is widely spoken by the tribals and non-tribals in Hazaribag, Koderma, Giridih, Bokaro, Dhanbad, Chatra, Ramgarh, Deoghar, Dumka, Sahibganj, Pakur, Godda, and Jamtara districts of Jharkhand state. According to some scholars Khortha is a mixed form of language and native speakers use Khortha for day to day affairs but for official purpose they use Hindi. It uses Devanagari script for writing. Khortha/ Khotta is not used as a medium of instruction and it is not studied as a subject in higher education level. According to 2011 Census report, Khortha/Khotta has 80,38,735 speakers in all over India and 77,38,960 speakers in Jharkhand which is 96.27% of the total Khortha/ Khotta population of India. Grierson, in *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol-V, part II, had mentioned that Khortha/Khotta is a kind of mixed dialect and he clubbed it within Eastern Magahi. He even remarked that 'Kortha', 'Khatta' from the north west of Manbhum and 'Khattahi' from western Singbhum are similar to Kurmali Thar language.

MAHILI

Mahili is a form of Santali language which belongs to Munda sub family of Austro-Asiatic language family. In census enumeration, it is clubbed within Santali language. Mahili does not have any official status. Mahili is spoken by a bamboo craftsman community staying in Jharkhand, Odisha and West Bengal. Mahili is an unwritten language. If it is written, Olchiki and Bengali scripts are used. According to 2011 Census, it has 26,399 speakers at All India level and in Jharkhand it has 18,828 speakers which is 71.32% of the total Mahili population of India. Grierson, in vol. IV of *Linguistic Survey of India*, mentioned that the Mahles are a caste of labourers, palanquin- bearers and workers in bamboo in Chotanagpur and West Bengal. Mahle or Mahili is a dialect of Santali. It was spoken in the then Birbhum, Santhal Parganas, Manbhum and Morbhanj districts. According to him Mahili is closely related to Karmali. R. C Nigam in 1971s Handbook on Mother Tongues specified that Mahili is another variety of Santali language.

MALPAHARIA

Malpaharia is an Indo-Aryan language with Dravidian influence. Malpaharia is an unclassified language. It does not have any official language status. Malpaharia is spoken in Jharkhand, West Bengal and in some parts of Bangladesh. In Jharkhand Malpaharia speakers are mostly located in Santhal Pargana Division. It uses Devanagari script for writing. At present Malpaharia is not used as a medium of instruction and as a subject also it is not taught. According to 2011 Census, Malpaharia has total 3,946 native speakers in India and Jharkhand has 585 speakers which is 14.83% of the total Malpaharia population of India. George Abraham Grierson, in *Linguistic Survey of India* Vol. V, Part-I, mentioned that Malpaharia is the variety of Western Bengali, spoken in the centre of the Santal Parganas (presently the area included in the state of Jharkhand). According to him, Malpaharias are a Dravidian tribe who have abandoned their own customs and language and Malpahari is a form of “corrupt Bengali”. Shri.R.C.Nigam in his *Language Handbook on Mother Tongues in Census* also describes Malpaharia as the form of the Western dialect of Bengali (pp.157).

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**LANGUAGES SURVEYED
IN JHARKHAND**

HINDI

S.P. AHIRWAL

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 SCENARIO OF HINDI IN JHARKHAND

Hindi, a major language spoken in India belongs to the Indo-Aryan branch of Indo-Iranian language family. Hindi is one of the official languages of Jharkhand state. Hindi speakers are found in various districts of Jharkhand - Hazaribagh, Palamu, Ranchi, Giridih, Dhanbad, Bokaro, Garhwa, Deoghar, Gumla, Chatra etc.

In the following districts of Jharkhand people have reported Hindi as their mother tongue - Palamu, Dhanbad, Ranchi, Garhwa, Hazaribagh, Deoghar, Giridih, Bokaro etc.

District map of Jharkhand



1.2 HINDI IN CENSUS 2011 IN JHARKHAND

In Jharkhand, Hindi as a language is reported by 2,04,36,026 speakers as per the 2011 Census. The districts of Hazaribagh, Palamu, Ranchi, Giridih, Dhanbad, Bokaro have above ten lakhs speakers of Hindi language. In Jharkhand Hindi as a mother tongue is reported by 70,59,131 speakers.

The District-wise distribution of Hindi as a Language and Mother Tongue in the States of Jharkhand as per 2011 Census is as follows:

DISTRICT WISE DISTRIBUTION OF THE HINDI LANGUAGE UNDER LSI JHARKHAND - 2011									
District	Total			Rural			Urban		
	Person	Male	Females	Person	Male	Females	Person	Male	Females
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
JHARKHAND	2,04,36,026	1,05,80,796	98,55,230	1,50,65,889	77,47,981	73,17,908	53,70,137	28,32,815	25,37,322
Ranchi	20,40,453	10,50,334	9,90,119	10,96,645	5,58,594	5,38,051	9,43,808	4,91,740	4,52,068
Giridih	20,32,842	10,47,541	9,85,301	18,81,969	9,68,466	9,13,503	1,50,873	79,075	71,798
Palamu	17,84,329	9,26,124	8,58,205	15,94,566	8,26,142	7,68,424	1,89,763	99,982	89,781
Dhanbad	16,83,759	8,89,458	7,94,301	5,73,213	2,99,327	2,73,886	11,10,546	5,90,131	5,20,415
Hazaribagh	15,04,720	7,73,467	7,31,253	12,95,205	6,63,523	631,682	2,09,515	1,09,944	99,571
Bokaro	14,63,378	7,64,717	6,98,661	7,07,868	3,65,274	3,42,594	7,55,510	3,99,443	3,56,067
Garhwa	12,36,667	6,39,255	5,97,412	11,75,193	6,06,905	5,68,288	61,474	32,350	29,124
Deoghar	12,01,330	6,27,414	5,73,916	9,75,920	5,07,562	4,68,358	2,25,410	1,19,852	1,05,558
Chatra	9,60,600	4,91,751	4,68,849	9,14,253	4,66,927	4,47,326	46,347	24,824	21,523
Godda	8,50,292	4,43,723	4,06,569	7,99,988	4,17,068	3,82,920	50,304	26,655	23,649
Ramgarh	7,87,971	4,09,996	3,77,975	4,45,756	2,28,991	2,16,765	3,42,215	1,81,005	1,61,210
Kodarma	6,74,521	3,45,761	3,28,760	5,44,919	2,78,117	2,66,802	1,29,602	67,644	61,958

Dumka	6,05,117	3,11,727	2,93,390	5,36,255	2,75,195	2,61,060	68,862	36,532	32,330
Gumla	5,95,294	2,99,706	2,95,588	5,51,215	2,77,025	2,74,190	44,079	22,681	21,398
Purbi Singhbhum	5,89,259	3,12,523	2,76,736	32,363	17,332	15,031	5,56,896	2,95,191	2,61,705
Latehar	5,46,513	2,78,959	2,67,554	5,03,075	2,56,108	2,46,967	43,438	22,851	20,587
Sahibganj	4,37,073	2,29,056	2,08,017	3,25,195	1,70,057	1,55,138	1,11,878	58,999	52,879
Simdega	3,49,989	1,75,984	1,74,005	3,22,206	1,61,642	1,60,564	27,783	14,342	13,441
Jamtara	2,84,385	1,47,271	1,37,114	2,34,417	1,20,669	1,13,748	49,968	26,602	23,366
Lohardaga	2,12,437	1,08,145	1,04,292	1,80,551	91,491	89,060	31,886	16,654	15,232
Khunti	1,91,380	96,748	94,632	1,63,357	82,285	81,072	28,023	14,463	13,560
Pakur	1,51,499	78,482	73,017	1,32,584	68,561	64,023	18,915	9,921	8,994
Pashchimi Singhbhum	1,29,603	67,283	62,320	52,995	26,836	26,159	76,608	40,447	36,161
Saraikela- Kharsawan	1,22,615	65,371	57,244	26,181	13,884	12,297	96,434	51,487	44,947

DISTRICT WISE DISTRIBUTION OF THE HINDI MOTHER TONGUE UNDER LSI JHARKHAND 2011									
States / Districts	Total			Rural			Urban		
	Person	Male	Females	Person	Male	Females	Person	Male	Females
JHARKHAND	70,59,131	36,97,303	33,61,828	39,07,234	20,30,801	18,76,433	31,51,897	16,66,502	14,85,395
Palamu	12,70,514	6,60,924	6,09,590	11,12,349	5,77,381	5,34,968	1,58,165	83,543	74,622
Ranchi	8,18,262	4,28,259	3,90,003	1,44,334	75,881	68,453	6,73,928	3,52,378	3,21,550
Garhwa	7,21,291	3,73,507	3,47,784	6,74,976	3,49,202	3,25,774	46,315	24,305	22,010
Dhanbad	7,19,497	3,83,224	3,36,273	70,272	37,398	32,874	6,49,225	3,45,826	3,03,399

Hazaribagh	4,09,160	2,13,792	1,95,368	2,62,515	1,36,309	1,26,206	1,46,645	77,483	69,162
Chatra	4,08,900	2,10,962	1,97,938	3,78,528	1,94,570	1,83,958	30,372	16,392	13,980
Purbi Singhbhum	3,86,107	2,03,978	1,82,129	20,707	11,147	9,560	3,65,400	1,92,831	1,72,569
Giridih	3,31,285	1,74,977	1,56,308	2,55,090	1,34,544	1,20,546	76,195	40,433	35,762
Kodarma	3,11,386	1,61,515	1,49,871	2,27,991	1,17,823	1,10,168	83,395	43,692	39,703
Latehar	2,95,182	1,51,698	1,43,484	2,56,374	1,31,338	1,25,036	38,808	20,360	18,448
Bokaro	2,80,679	1,48,966	1,31,713	26,328	14,078	12,250	2,54,351	1,34,888	1,19,463
Deoghar	2,07,717	1,10,919	96,798	65,820	35,116	30,704	1,41,897	75,803	66,094
Sahibganj	1,92,251	1,00,852	91,399	1,27,482	66,678	60,804	64,769	34,174	30,595
Ramgarh	1,72,821	92,080	80,741	31,315	16,376	14,939	1,41,506	75,704	65,802
Dumka	87,738	46,575	41,163	55,570	29,243	26,327	32,168	17,332	14,836
Saraikela-Kharsawan	74,369	39,753	34,616	15,372	8,305	7,067	58,997	31,448	27,549
Gumla	71,747	37,229	34,518	39,616	20,513	19,103	32,131	16,716	15,415
Pashchimi Singhbhum	69,770	36,909	32,861	13,029	6,900	6,129	56,741	30,009	26,732
Lohardaga	57,726	29,846	27,880	30,802	15,752	15,050	26,924	14,094	12,830
Jamtara	46,812	24,912	21,900	18,381	9,709	8,672	28,431	15,203	13,228
Godda	45,626	24,297	21,329	37,283	19,844	17,439	8,343	4453	3,890
Khunti	30,744	16,075	14,669	16,226	8,539	7,687	14,518	7,536	6,982
Pakur	25,469	13,490	11,979	12,974	6,974	6,000	12,495	6,516	5,979
Simdega	24,078	12,564	11,514	13,900	7,181	6,719	10,178	5,383	4,795

1.3 BILINGUALISM AND TRILINGUALISM OF HINDI IN JHARKHAND ACCORDING TO 2011 CENSUS

BILINGUALISM AND TRILINGUALISM OF HINDI LANGUAGE IN JHARKHAND - 2011					
Language	Total Speakers	Language of Bilingualism	Strength	Language of Trilingualism	Strength
1	2	3	4	5	6
HINDI	2,04,36,026				
		Bengali	2,64,516		
				English	13,470
				Santali	3,430
				Odia	1,447
				Urdu	1,329
				Mundari	255
				Maithili	124
				Ho	94
				Kurukh/Oraon	45
				Others	580
		Maithili	19,716		
				English	3,343
				Bengali	196
				Santali	3
				Ho	1
				Kurukh/Oraon	1
				Others	184
		Santali	48,988		
				Bengali	3,085
				English	688
				Mundari	52
				Ho	32
				Malto	32
				Kurukh/Oraon	11
				Kharia	6
				Others	130
		Urdu	3,47,357		
				English	13,846
				Arabic/Arbi	3,296
				Bengali	1,673
				Santali	192
				Mundari	9
				Kurukh/Oraon	6
				Ho	5
				Others	316
		English	8,74,857		
				Sanskrit	23,403
				Bengali	12,475
				Kurukh/Oraon	1,042

			Mundari	553
			Santali	548
			Ho	187
			Kharia	125
			Others	12,423
		Ho	4,700	
			English	232
			Bengali	82
			Mundari	69
			Santali	51
			Kurukh/Oraon	13
			Others	348
		Kharia	6,607	
			English	107
			Mundari	24
			Kurukh/Oraon	12
			Santali	5
			Others	18
		Kurukh/Oraon	84,044	
			English	1,608
			Mundari	272
			Munda	22
			Santali	16
			Ho	10
			Kharia	8
			Others	216
		Mundari	46,290	
			English	811
			Kurukh/Oraon	219
			Ho	64
			Santali	57
			Kharia	31
			Others	477
		Others	58,540	
			English	10,726
			Ho	643
			Santali	124
			Mundari	57
			Kurukh/Oraon	45
			Others	2,668

NOTE: Socio-linguistic information along with grammatical description and all other relevant information including history of Hindi language is available in Linguistic Survey of India-Bihar Volume.

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SANTALI
P. EDWARD VEDAMANICKAM
1. INTRODUCTION

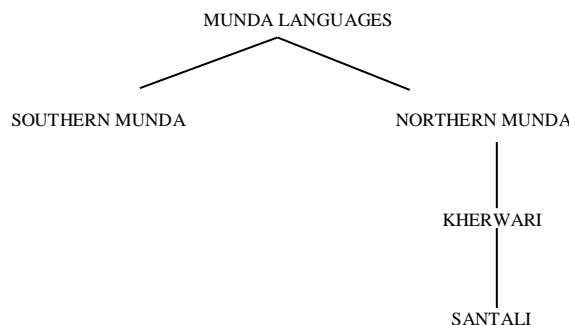
‘Santals’ are one of the scheduled tribes, found in the States of Bihar, Jharkhand, West Bengal and Odisha. They are one of the largest tribes of eastern India. In the early part of the 18th Century, Chotanagpur Plateau was dominated by Santals. As the population increased, the Santals migrated to Santal Paraganas. The santal migration was at its peak between 1790 and 1810.

The Santals speak a language called ‘Santali’ which is one of the 22 Scheduled languages of India and has been specified in Schedule VIII of the Constitution of India. Sir. Grierson in his LSI has classified Santali as one among the dialects of Kherwari language of the Munda group of Austro-Asiatic language family (LSI. Vol. IV, Pp.30-54). According to ‘Language Handbook on Mother Tongues in Census (1971)’ Santali is an independent language of the Eastern Munda sub-group in Austro-Asiatic language family.

One mother tongue, namely Karmali, which returned 10,000 or more speakers at all India level, is grouped under Santali in the 2001 Census as a variant of Santali language. Rest of the mother tongues returned as variants of Santali are grouped under ‘Others’ in the census publications.

1.1. FAMILY AFFILIATION

Munda groups have been in India for a long time, since before the Indo-Aryans arrived. In the first half of the 19th century the Munda group was regarded as a branch of the Dravidian group of languages. However, in 1854, for the first time the Munda family was recognized as independent family of their own and the name “Munda” was given by Prof Max Müller. (Ref. LSI. Vol IV G.A. Grierson, Part-I Munda Family, Page No. 8). The Munda is divided into Southern Munda and Northern Munda. The Santali language is classified under Kherwari language which comes under Northern Munda. This can be diagrammatically shown as



1.2. LOCATION

According to 2011 Census publication, Santali is located mainly in the eastern part of India though it is returned in all 35 States/Union Territories. It is majorly concentrated in the States of Bihar / Jharkhand, West Bengal, Odisha and Assam. In Indian census Santali is appearing since beginning.

1.3. SPEAKERS STRENGTH

As per the latest census publication of 2011 census the major distribution of Santali as language and mother tongue as well as a language of bilingualism and trilingualism in India and Bihar is presented below.

Distribution of Santali language in state level according to 2011 Census is presented below,

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	73,68,192	36,78,969	36,89,223	69,80,935	34,83,358	34,97,577	3,87,257	1,95,611	1,91,646
Jammu & Kashmir	225	188	37	119	94	25	106	94	12
Himachal Pradesh	847	544	303	810	515	295	37	29	8
Punjab	233	138	95	66	50	16	167	88	79
Chandigarh	42	24	18	4	2	2	38	22	16
Uttarakhand	426	369	57	321	293	28	105	76	29
Haryana	222	142	80	147	103	44	75	39	36
NCT Of Delhi	521	260	261	7	6	1	514	254	260
Rajasthan	258	180	78	156	108	48	102	72	30
Uttar Pradesh	858	485	373	436	266	170	422	219	203
Bihar	4,58,949	2,33,302	2,25,647	4,47,771	2,27,577	2,20,194	11,178	5,725	5,453
Sikkim	310	278	32	280	266	14	30	12	18
Arunachal Pradesh	1,689	954	735	1,578	889	689	111	65	46
Nagaland	156	104	52	119	79	40	37	25	12
Manipur	18	15	3	15	12	3	3	3	0
Mizoram	1,150	881	269	442	354	88	708	527	181
Tripura	3,975	2,042	1,933	3,864	1,979	1,885	111	63	48
Meghalaya	240	127	113	168	83	85	72	44	28
Assam	2,13,139	1,09,033	1,04,106	2,10,901	1,07,887	1,03,014	2,238	1,146	1,092
West Bengal	24,29,073	12,07,231	12,21,842	22,83,852	11,34,686	11,49,166	1,45,221	72,545	72,676

Jharkhand	32,69,897	16,31,766	16,38,131	31,01,534	15,46,505	15,55,029	1,68,363	85,261	83,102
Odisha	8,62,590	4,28,553	4,34,037	8,09,047	4,01,898	4,07,149	53,543	26,655	26,888
Chhattisgarh	17,862	9,041	8,821	16,226	7,974	8,252	1,636	1,067	569
Madhya Pradesh	404	218	186	224	122	102	180	96	84
Gujarat	297	226	71	29	28	1	268	198	70
Daman & Diu	81	68	13	0	0	0	81	68	13
Dadra & Nagar Haveli	57	50	7	13	13	0	44	37	7
Maharashtra	1,03,456	51,891	51,565	1,02,261	51,131	51,130	1,195	760	435
Andhra Pradesh	226	120	106	32	21	11	194	99	95
Karnataka	311	199	112	76	51	25	235	148	87
Goa	103	69	34	57	30	27	46	39	7
Kerala	114	77	37	72	49	23	42	28	14
Tamil Nadu	156	114	42	47	38	9	109	76	33
Andaman & Nicobar Islands	307	280	27	261	249	12	46	31	15

Distribution of Santali as Mother Tongue in state level according to 2011 census is presented below:

Mother Tongue/ 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	69,73,345	34,77,630	34,95,715	66,07,947	32,93,524	33,14,423	3,65,398	1,84,106	1,81,292
Jammu & Kashmir	221	185	36	118	94	24	103	91	12
Himachal Pradesh	356	301	55	329	277	52	27	24	3
Punjab	230	136	94	65	49	16	165	87	78
Chandigarh	29	17	12	4	2	2	25	15	10
Uttarakhand	422	367	55	319	291	28	103	76	27
Haryana	207	133	74	134	95	39	73	38	35
Nct Of Delhi	510	254	256	7	6	1	503	248	255
Rajasthan	240	172	68	154	108	46	86	64	22
Uttar Pradesh	701	387	314	309	183	126	392	204	188
Bihar	4,55,664	2,31,627	2,24,037	4,44,528	2,25,927	2,18,601	11,136	5,700	5,436
Sikkim	309	277	32	279	265	14	30	12	18
Arunachal Pradesh	1,447	831	616	1,342	771	571	105	60	45
Nagaland	155	103	52	118	78	40	37	25	12
Manipur	17	14	3	14	11	3	3	3	0
Mizoram	1,144	877	267	441	353	88	703	524	179

Tripura	3,834	1,965	1,869	3,732	1,908	1,824	102	57	45
Meghalaya	234	124	110	162	80	82	72	44	28
Assam	2,08,337	1,06,553	1,01,784	2,06,128	1,05,422	1,00,706	2,209	1,131	1,078
West Bengal	24,21,666	12,03,574	12,18,092	22,77,912	11,31,759	11,46,153	1,43,754	71,815	71,939
Jharkhand	28,95,764	14,40,854	14,54,910	27,47,354	13,66,111	13,81,243	1,48,410	74,743	73,667
Odisha	8,59,947	4,27,297	4,32,650	8,06,471	4,00,676	4,05,795	53,476	26,621	26,855
Chhattisgarh	17,819	9,007	8,812	16,223	7,973	8,250	1,596	1,034	562
Madhya Pradesh	306	167	139	147	82	65	159	85	74
Gujarat	279	215	64	28	27	1	251	188	63
Daman & Diu	77	64	13	0	0	0	77	64	13
Dadra & Nagar Haveli	53	48	5	13	13	0	40	35	5
Maharashtra	1,02,185	51,236	50,949	1,01,075	50,527	50,548	1,110	709	401
Andhra Pradesh	219	115	104	32	21	11	187	94	93
Karnataka	300	194	106	75	50	25	225	144	81
Goa	103	69	34	57	30	27	46	39	7
Kerala	114	77	37	72	49	23	42	28	14
Tamil Nadu	152	111	41	47	38	9	105	73	32
Andaman & Nicobar Islands	304	279	25	258	248	10	46	31	15

District-wise Distribution of Santali Language in Jharkhand according to 2011 census is presented below

Language/State//District	TOTAL			RURAL			URBAN		
	Person	Male	Female	Person	Male	Female	Person	Male	Female
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
JHARKHAND	32,69,897	16,31,766	16,38,131	31,01,534	15,46,505	15,55,029	1,68,363	85,261	83,102
Garhwa	17	11	6	12	8	4	5	3	2
Chatra	220	125	95	176	98	78	44	27	17
Kodarma	3,725	1,942	1,783	3,702	1,931	1,771	23	11	12
Giridih	2,19,946	1,11,318	1,08,628	2,18,338	1,10,491	1,07,847	1,608	827	781
Deoghar	1,46,725	73,439	73,286	1,43,507	71,845	71,662	3,218	1,594	1,624
Godda	2,70,555	1,34,839	1,35,716	2,68,182	1,33,715	1,34,467	2,373	1,124	1,249
Sahibganj	2,51,545	1,24,706	1,26,839	2,48,773	1,23,327	1,25,446	2,772	1,379	1,393
Pakur	3,27,773	1,61,703	1,66,070	3,26,023	1,60,846	1,65,177	1,750	857	893
Dhanbad	2,33,544	1,17,506	1,16,038	2,11,511	1,06,305	1,05,206	22,033	11,201	10,832
Bokaro	2,34,858	1,18,840	1,16,018	1,96,364	99,413	96,951	38,494	19,427	19,067

Lohardaga	57	31	26	18	10	8	39	21	18
Purbi Singhbhum	3,65,181	1,82,328	1,82,853	3,10,903	1,55,046	1,55,857	54,278	27,282	26,996
Palamu	129	105	24	107	95	12	22	10	12
Latehar	150	75	75	139	66	73	11	9	2
Hazaribagh	60,346	29,958	30,388	57,731	28,651	29,080	2,615	1,307	1,308
Ramgarh	43,011	21,855	21,156	35,287	17,867	17,420	7,724	3,988	3,736
Dumka	5,24,761	2,58,843	2,65,918	5,20,016	2,56,344	2,63,672	4,745	2,499	2,246
Jamtara	2,30,174	1,14,771	1,15,403	2,27,103	1,13,221	1,13,882	3,071	1,550	1,521
Ranchi	1,39,450	70,794	68,656	1,30,067	65,785	64,282	9,383	5,009	4,374
Khunti	802	413	389	684	358	326	118	55	63
Gumla	95	58	37	78	45	33	17	13	4
Simdega	170	88	82	119	61	58	51	27	24
Pashchimi Singhbhum	50,322	25,386	24,936	46,538	23,473	23,065	3,784	1,913	1,871
Saraikela-Kharsawan	1,66,341	82,632	83,709	1,56,156	77,504	78,652	10,185	5,128	5,057

District-wise Distribution of Santali as Mother Tongue according to 2011 census is presented below

Mother tongue/State/District	TOTAL			RURAL			URBAN		
	Person	Male	Female	Person	Male	Female	Person	Male	Female
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
JHARKHAND	28,95,764	14,40,854	14,54,910	27,47,354	13,66,111	13,81,243	1,48,410	74,743	73,667
Garhwa	17	11	6	12	8	4	5	3	2
Chatra	85	54	31	41	27	14	44	27	17
Kodarma	3,725	1,942	1,783	3,702	1,931	1,771	23	11	12
Giridih	2,19,740	1,11,209	1,08,531	2,18,134	1,10,383	1,07,751	1,606	826	780
Deoghar	1,45,179	72,661	72,518	1,41,962	71,068	70,894	3,217	1,593	1,624
Godda	2,32,725	1,15,301	1,17,424	2,30,421	1,14,210	1,16,211	2,304	1,091	1,213
Sahibganj	2,39,061	1,18,411	1,20,650	2,36,810	1,17,305	1,19,505	2,251	1,106	1,145
Pakur	3,26,315	1,60,976	1,65,339	3,24,580	1,60,126	1,64,454	1,735	850	885
Dhanbad	1,94,459	97,366	97,093	1,78,027	89,078	88,949	16,432	8,288	8,144
Bokaro	1,78,757	90,080	88,677	1,41,082	71,077	70,005	37,675	19,003	18,672
Lohardaga	39	19	20	16	9	7	23	10	13
Purbi Singhbhum	3,59,506	1,79,455	1,80,051	3,06,911	1,53,061	1,53,850	52,595	26,394	26,201
Palamu	112	92	20	94	84	10	18	8	10

Latehar	130	66	64	123	61	62	7	5	2
Hazaribagh	60,330	29,947	30,383	57,726	28,646	29,080	2,604	1,301	1,303
Ramgarh	35,259	17,748	17,511	27,737	13,868	13,869	7,522	3,880	3,642
Dumka	5,18,621	2,55,794	2,62,827	5,13,883	2,53,299	2,60,584	4,738	2,495	2,243
Jamtara	2,28,311	1,13,809	1,14,502	2,25,243	1,12,261	1,12,982	3,068	1,548	1,520
Ranchi	4,161	2,157	2,004	2,110	1,084	1,026	2,051	1,073	978
Khunti	311	162	149	209	115	94	102	47	55
Gumla	49	30	19	32	17	15	17	13	4
Simdega	148	72	76	100	47	53	48	25	23
Pashchimi Singhbhum	15,436	7,709	7,727	13,684	6,833	6,851	1,752	876	876
Saraikele-Kharsawan	1,33,288	65,783	67,505	1,24,715	61,513	63,202	8,573	4,270	4,303

1.4 BILINGUALISM

Distribution of Bilingual and Trilingual has been presented below for Santali language according to the 2011 census.

Bilingualism and Trilingualism Of Santali Language In Jharkhand - 2011

Language	Total Speakers	Language of Bilingualism	Strength	Language of Trilingualism	Strength
1	2	3	4	5	6
SANTALI	32,69,897				
		Bengali	3,40,785		
				Hindi	97,590
				Ho	281
				Mundari	159
				Kharia	19
				Malto	17
				Kurukh/Oraon	15
				Others	1,918
		Hindi	16,53,299		
				Bengali	1,56,322
				English	67,824
				Ho	3,813
				Malto	559
				Mundari	381
				Kurukh/Oraon	92
				Korwa	74

				Others	18,846
		English	2,645		
				Hindi	1,626
				Bengali	68
				Others	19
		Ho	5,066		
				Hindi	1,501
				Mundari	37
				Kharia	8
				Others	972
		Kharia	7		
				Bengali	2
				Ho	2
		Kurukh/Oraon	62		
				Hindi	21
				Bengali	4
				Others	2
		Mundari	849		
				Bengali	210
				Hindi	188
				Ho	14
				Others	12
		Others	15,730		
				Hindi	4,715
				Ho	354
				Mundari	20
				Kurukh/Oraon	6
				Others	1,372

1.5 SOCIOLINGUISTIC INFORMATION

The word 'Santal' is derived from the place name 'Saot'. Prof S. K Chatterjee derives the word from Samantapala. The Santals are the original inhabitants of the Chhota Nagpur Plateau in Bihar. Towards the end of the 18th century the Santals moved to Rajmahal hills and made a permanent settlement in 1832 which later on came to be known as Damin-i-koti (Persian) 'skirts of hills. It is from this place the Santals later on migrated to other states.

Script in Santali

Various scripts have been used at one time or another for the writing of Santali language. In earlier times, all Santali writings were in Bengali, Devanagari, or Roman script. Roman script was in extensive use for writing Santali and several books in Santali have been published in Roman script. But most of the creative literatures were written by the native speakers in Bengali or Devanagari script. The use of different scripts for writing Santali has hindered the development and utilization of Santali language. This, in turn, has effectively marred the progress of Santali language in several fields such as philosophy, history, religion, science, novel, prose, poetry etc. The problem of using different scripts for the same language necessitated the invention of a new script for Santali, and it finally led to the invention of ‘Ol Chiki’ by Pandit Raghunath Murmu. He felt that Santals with their rich cultural heritage and tradition need a separate script to preserve and promote their language, and therefore, he took up the work of inventing Ol Chiki script for writing Santali. The epoch-making invention of Ol Chiki script was unveiled in 1925. Ol Chiki has 30 letters, the forms of which are intended to evoke natural shapes. It is written from left to right.

He wrote over 150 books covering a wide spectrum of subjects such as grammar, novels, drama, poetry and story in Santali using Ol Chiki as a part of his extensive programme for culturally upgrading the Santal community.

After the invention of Ol Chiki, a large number of books have been written by various authors in Santali using Ol Chiki script. Types of books include (i) novels and short stories, (ii) poetries, songs and religious sermons, (iii) books on Santal society, (iv) primary books for learning Ol Chiki, (v) books for learning primary mathematics, (vi) books on Santali grammars and related topics and (vii) books on great tribal persons. Santali magazines in Ol Chiki are also being published regularly.

Santali language in education:

The Santali language and literature has been recognized by the Government of India and the State Governments of Bihar, Jharkhand, West Bengal and Odisha in the ways mentioned below:

1. Bihar Secondary School Examination Board, Patna and Jharkhand Secondary School Board, Ranchi have accepted Santali language/ literature paper as optional paper at the matriculation level.

2. The Government of Bihar was the first to publish a newspaper, named 'Hor Sabad' in 1947 which was later continued by the Government of Jharkhand. The Government of West Bengal has been publishing a Santali magazine 'Puchhim Bangla' regularly and recognized Ol Chiki script for Santali in 1979.
3. The Government of Jharkhand, Bihar, West Bengal and Odisha have already initiated action plans for imparting education in mother tongue for the Santal students in primary schools.
4. The University Grants Commission, New Delhi has started imparting education and conferring Post-Graduate Degree in Santali language literature.
5. The Bihar and Jharkhand Public Service Commission offer Santali language / literature as optional paper for its competitive examinations.
6. The Government of Bihar and Jharkhand have been conducting Santali Examination for its officers posted in Santali speaking areas in Bihar and Jharkhand respectively for administrative purposes.
7. Vishwa Bharti University, West Bengal, has been imparting education in Santali language for the last two decades or so.
8. Universities in Jharkhand and Bihar are conducting examinations of Santali language / literature at the Post-graduate level.
9. Santali literature has been written in Roman, Devanagari and its own script Ol chiki in large number. Ol Chiki is now gaining popularity. Its DTP solution and computer application have been developed by Chaichampa Sahitya Academy, Bhubneswar in 1996. Under Santali-Japanese joint research project, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies developed auto- machine transcription of different Indian language scripts, i.e., Devanagari, Bengali, Odia, Roman, Kannada, Telugu, Tamil, Urdu, Malayalam, Roman etc. into Ol Chiki script and its reverse in 1998.
10. Recently, it the West Bengal Government which started Santali language as the first language for Santal students studying in Class IX and X under West Bengal Secondary School Education Board.

1.6 REVIEW OF EARLIER LITERATURE

Before the present survey several other studies were carried out towards the description of Santali language. A brief account of the earlier studies is given below.

1. A Santali Primer, 1845. Phillips, Jeremiah
2. An introduction to the Santali language, 1852. Rev.J. Philip
3. An Introduction to the Santali language, 1852. Phillips, Jeremiah
4. A grammar of the Santhal language, 1873. Skresrud, L.O
5. Materials for a Santali grammar, 1922. Bodding, P.O
6. Phonemic Analysis of Santali, 1943. Zide, Norman.
7. Saontali Kabita, 1973. Bandyopadhyay, Tapan
8. A Santali Grammar in Santali, 1976. Murmu, Raghunath.
9. State formation among tribals, 1993. Chaudhuri, A.B.
10. A look into Santal Morphology, 1994, Ghosh, Arun Kumar.

2. PHONOLOGY

Phonology is the study about the sounds in a particular language and how it has been occurring in a language. The 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. PHONEMIC INVENTORY

2.1.1. SEGMENTAL PHONEME

The sounds in Santali language can be allotted to 36 phonemes of which 5 are vowel phonemes and 31 are consonantal phonemes.

Vowels

In Santali language, five vowels are present. They are presented in the following chart.

	Front	Central	Back
Close	<i>i</i>	--	<i>u</i>
Close mid	<i>e</i>	--	<i>o</i>
Open	--	<i>a</i>	--

Consonants

The following 31 consonantal phonemes are found in this language

	Bilabial	Dental	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stops	<i>p b</i>	<i>t d</i>	<i>T D</i>		<i>k g</i>	<i>ʔ</i>
	<i>ph bh</i>	<i>th dh</i>	<i>Th Dh</i>		<i>kh gh</i>	
Affricate				<i>c j</i> <i>ch jh</i>		
Nasals	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>		<i>N</i>	<i>M</i>	
Fricative		<i>s</i>				<i>h</i>
Flap		<i>r</i>	<i>R</i>			
Lateral		<i>l</i>				
Continuant				<i>y</i>		

2.1.2. SUPRA SEGMENTAL PHONEMES

Length

The length is not phonemic in this language. The vowels of the monosyllabic words are usually pronounced long and the short vowels are pronounced long when the meaning is emphasized.

1. The vowels of monosyllabic words are usually long.

<i>a:k</i>	‘bow’
<i>la:</i>	‘dig’
<i>e:r</i>	‘sow’
<i>te:</i>	‘by’
<i>o:r</i>	‘pull’
<i>jo:</i>	‘fruit’
<i>i:c</i>	‘rust’
<i>i:r</i>	‘reap’
<i>u:l</i>	‘mango’
<i>u:p</i>	‘hair’

2. The short vowels are frequently lengthened when the meaning is emphasized.

Thus *gauchena* ‘he died’ can be pronounced as *gauchena:e* with a very much long /a:/ when the meaning is emphasized.

Nasalization:

Original Santali vowel system seem not to have had nasalized vowel. In the present system, however, mostly in loan words, a vowel due to assimilation to the preceding or following nasal consonant is observed, thus marked with a bindu in Devanagari transcription, but it is not regarded as phonemic.

2.2 PHONEMIC DESCRIPTION AND DISTRIBUTION

Vowels

/i/ High front unrounded short vowel. It occurs in the initial, medial and final positions.

<i>ipil</i>	‘star’
<i>itil</i>	‘fat’
<i>pilhi</i>	‘spleen’
<i>japit</i>	‘sleep’
<i>rai</i>	‘mustard’
<i>turui</i>	‘six’

/e/ High mid front unrounded short vowel. It occurs initially, medially and finally.

<i>eskar</i>	‘alone’
<i>eNga</i>	‘mother’
<i>gel</i>	‘ten’
<i>berel</i>	‘raw’
<i>bhage</i>	‘good’
<i>eRe</i>	‘lie’

/a/ Low central unrounded short vowel. It occurs initially, medially and finally.

<i>alan</i>	‘tongue’
<i>anDia</i>	‘male’
<i>bhage</i>	‘good’
<i>macha</i>	‘little’
<i>guna</i>	‘fold’
<i>harta</i>	‘leather’

/o/ High mid back rounded short vowel. It occurs initially, medially and finally.

<i>ojha</i>	‘magician’
<i>oRak</i>	‘house’
<i>asol</i>	‘chief’
<i>boko</i>	‘younger brother’
<i>jo</i>	‘fruit’

/u/ High back rounded short vowel. It occurs initially, medially and finally.

<i>ujur</i>	‘petition’
<i>usul</i>	‘tall’
<i>dulaR</i>	‘love’
<i>guna</i>	‘fold’
<i>utu</i>	‘relish’
<i>nunu</i>	‘sickle’

Consonants

/p/ Bilabial voiceless unaspirated stop. It occurs initially, medially and finally.

<i>panahi</i>	‘shoe’
<i>phosol</i>	‘crop’
<i>rapak</i>	‘roast’
<i>Tapis</i>	‘force’
<i>rakap</i>	‘rise’
<i>sap</i>	‘seize’

/ph/ Bilabial voiceless aspirated stop. It occurs initially and medially.

<i>pharak</i>	‘distance’
<i>phosol</i>	‘crop’

aphor 'sow'

sapha 'clean'

/b/ Bilabial voiced un aspirated stop. It occurs initially, medially and finally.

baDai 'pride'

baRti 'more'

caba 'finish'

lebet 'trample'

?tob 'wages'

/bh/ Bilabial voiced aspirated stop. It occurs in initial and medial position.

bhuchum 'idle'

bhadra. 'talkative'

katbhanam 'a fiddle made of wood'

banbhasi 'flood'

/t/ Alveolar voiceless un aspirated stop. It occurs in all the three positions.

tombre 'gather together'

tolhat 'neighbour hood, vicinity'

ret 'sand'

taro 'star'

rato 'red'

ru:t 'weather' / 'season'

/th/ Dental voiceless aspirated stop. It occurs initially and medially.

thaica 'A quarrel, a dispute'

thah 'bottom'

Thrtkthakao 'to hinder, to impede'

pathauii 'unintelligible'

/d/ Dental voiced unaspirated stop. It occurs in all the three position.

?dad 'ringworm'

daga. 'misfortune'

candaki 'hurry, haste'

bidol 'mushroom'

bhand. 'defile'

cād 'moon'

/dh/ Dental voiced aspirated stop. It occurs in initial and medial position.

dhapal 'conceal'

dhanai 'fate, fortune'

andher 'illegally'

ardhakuRi. 'virgin'

/T/ Retroflex voiceless unaspirated stop. It occurs in all the three positions.

Tahri 'gently'

Talsa 'flour'

TankoiTa. 'diabetes'

TanalT 'similar'

/Th/ Retroflex voiceless aspirated stop. It occurs initially and medially. In final position it is half-released.

Thabu 'Large, big,'

Thah 'Bottom'

ThakThakao 'to hinder, to impede'

hoTh 'lip'

- /D/* Retroflex voiced unaspirated stop. It occurs in all the three positions.
- | | |
|---------------|-----------------------|
| <i>Dayik</i> | ‘responsible’ |
| <i>DemDa.</i> | ‘under-sized’. |
| <i>DanDom</i> | ‘penalty’ |
| <i>DespoD</i> | ‘wanderer, a vagrant’ |
- /Dh/* Retroflex voiced aspirated stop. It occurs in all the three positions.
- | | |
|----------------|--------------|
| <i>DhaN</i> | ‘to stick’ |
| <i>Dhar</i> | ‘edge’ |
| <i>duDhrum</i> | ‘drowsiness’ |
| <i>kanDha</i> | ‘room’ |
| <i>kaDh</i> | ‘prison’ |
- /c/* Palatal voiceless unaspirated affricate. It occurs in all the three positions.
- | | |
|-------------------|----------------------|
| <i>corcota</i> | ‘passionate’ |
| <i>corkhedwa?</i> | ‘the planet Jupiter’ |
| <i>gubalc</i> | ‘mole of the body’ |
| <i>ka?co</i> | ‘raw’ |
| <i>curcutud</i> | ‘stunted’ |
- /ch/* Palatal voiceless aspirated affricate. It occurs in all the three positions,
- | | |
|------------------|-------------------|
| <i>chutar</i> | ‘carpenter’ |
| <i>chur?</i> | ‘bracelet’ |
| <i>churach</i> | ‘pinnacle’ |
| <i>chui kuch</i> | ‘shrivelled leaf’ |
- /j/* Palatal voiced unaspirated affricate. It occurs in all the three positions.
- | | |
|--------------|------------------|
| <i>japil</i> | ‘close the eyes’ |
| <i>jarge</i> | ‘rainy season’ |

jembetj 'to drink from a vessel'

jarjarao 'fever'

jerjer 'sticky'

/jh/ Palatal voiced aspirated affricate. It occurs initially and medially.

jheteleli 'the long sides of a parallelogram'.

jhaba 'hanging shelf'

jhajharii 'charm doctor'

jhajharo? 'mud stone'

/k/ Velar voiceless unaspirated stop. It occurs initially and medially.

kes 'hair'

tako 'bitter'

damkom 'bull calf'

tam?ak 'drum stick'

tuk 'dense'

puke 'hip'

/kh/ Velar voiceless aspirated stop. It occurs in all the three positions.

khelae 'frolic'

bokho 'toothless (male)'

dukh 'pain'

gaemakhao 'to accept responsibility'

/g/ Velar voiced unaspirated stop. It occurs initially and medially and finally.

gidi? 'vulture'

gidra 'child'

rengec 'poverty'

enga 'mother'

	<i>rog</i>	‘disease’
<i>/gh/</i>	Velar voiced aspirated stop. It occurs in all the three positions.	
	<i>ghiro goco</i>	‘to push a person’
	<i>gholtao</i>	‘to roll’
	<i>ghua</i>	‘bribe’
	<i>baghe</i>	‘field’
<i>/m/</i>	Bilabial voiced un aspirated nasal. It occurs in all the three positions.	
	<i>monjan</i>	‘breakfast’
	<i>?omtor</i>	‘mind’
	<i>komao</i>	‘decrease’
	<i>munDam</i>	‘ring’
	<i>maRom</i>	‘platform’
<i>/n/</i>	Dental voiced unaspirated stop. It occurs initially, medially and finally.	
	<i>nijor</i>	‘weak’
	<i>ninda?</i>	‘night’
	<i>nonDe</i>	‘here’
	<i>panahi</i>	‘shoe’
	<i>mohnDa</i>	‘mouth’
	<i>ju:no</i>	‘old’
	<i>kan/kAn</i>	‘ear’
<i>/N/</i>	Retroflex voiced unaspirated nasal. It occurs initially, the medial and final position.	
	<i>Nal</i>	‘ruby’
	<i>laN?ga</i>	‘fatigue’
	<i>rabaN</i>	‘cold’

	<i>setoN</i>	‘heat’
/M/	Velar voiced unaspirated nasal. It occurs medially and finally.	
	<i>Mahir</i>	‘gentle’
	<i>haMal</i>	‘heavy’
	<i>niaM</i>	‘covenant’
/s/	Dental voiceless fricative. It occurs in all the three positions	
	<i>setoN</i>	‘heat’
	<i>sera</i>	‘adult’
	<i>disa</i>	‘conscious’
	<i>arsi</i>	‘mirror’
	<i>aRis</i>	‘annoy’
	<i>ghas</i>	‘grass’
/r/	Dental flap. It occurs in all the three positions	
	<i>raska</i>	‘rejoice’
	<i>ra?ma</i>	‘claw’
	<i>parkom</i>	‘bed’
	<i>koThar</i>	‘go down’
	<i>pher</i>	‘foam’
/R/	Retroflex flap. It occurs initially, medially and finally.	
	<i>Raimal</i>	‘centipede’
	<i>Rukas</i>	‘glutton’
	<i>oRak</i>	‘house’
	<i>peRa</i>	‘relative’
	<i>koraR</i>	‘grand child’

dobor 'double fold'

/l/ Dental lateral. It occurs initially, medially and finally.

landa 'laugh'

lilam 'auction'

dular 'love'

phosol 'crop'

rimil 'cloud'

/y/ Palatal continuant. It occurs initially and medially.

yar 'friend'

yohi: 'this very'

yu: 'in this way'

aniyaro 'face'

hiyo 'heart'

/h/ Glottal fricative. It occurs initially and medially.

halkal 'to overcome'

haʔmal 'burdensome'

laha 'before, in front of'

hanhar 'mother in law'

hahaRa 'wonder'

ohuch 'trouble'

/ʔ/ Glottal stop. It occurs in all the three positions.

ʔdad 'Ringworm'

ʔtolob 'wages'

haʔmal 'burdensome'

<i>ra?ma</i>	'claw'
<i>jhajharo?</i>	'mud stone'
<i>gidi?</i>	'vulture'

2.4 CLUSTERS

Diphthong / Vowel Clusters

	<i>i</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>u</i>
<i>i</i>			<i>ia</i>	<i>io</i>	<i>iu</i>
<i>e</i>			<i>ea</i>	<i>eo</i>	
<i>a</i>	<i>ai</i>	<i>ae</i>		<i>ao</i>	<i>au</i>
<i>o</i>		<i>oe</i>	<i>oa</i>		
<i>u</i>	<i>ui</i>		<i>oa</i>		

The following are the examples for the diphthongs in Santali language.

<i>/ia/</i>	<i>nia</i>	'this'
<i>/ae/</i>	<i>sedae</i>	'old times'
<i>/io/</i>	<i>tiok</i>	'reach'
<i>/ao/</i>	<i>dhao</i>	'times'
<i>/iu/</i>	<i>maeiu</i>	'woman'
<i>/ae/</i>	<i>ckce</i>	'who'
<i>/ea/</i>	<i>dea</i>	'back'
<i>/oe/</i>	<i>hoe</i>	'become'
<i>/eo/</i>	<i>deonao</i>	'be sulky'
<i>/oa/</i>	<i>noa</i>	'this'
<i>/ui/</i>	<i>nui</i>	'this'
<i>/ai/</i>	<i>gai</i>	'cow'

/ua/	<i>ruar</i>	'return'
/aw/	<i>bujhau</i>	'understand'

Consonant Clusters

The following consonant clusters are found in Santali language.

/-ck-/	<i>acka</i>	suddenly
/-lg-/	<i>alga</i>	light
/-md-/	<i>amdaɟ</i>	approximate
/-nD-/	<i>anDia</i>	male
/-nj-/	<i>anjom</i>	hear
/-nb-/	<i>banbasi</i>	flood
/-ng-/	<i>benget</i>	look
/-nr-/	<i>enreho</i>	yet
/-Rh-/	<i>beRhae</i>	round about
/-Rg-/	<i>barge</i>	field
/-Rt-/	<i>baRti</i>	more
/-rs-/	<i>bhorsa</i>	hope
/-gl-/	<i>cugli</i>	inform
/-mk-/	<i>dhomkao</i>	rebuke
/-gdh-/	<i>digdha</i>	doubt
/-kr-/	<i>ekraR</i>	promise

Final Clusters

/-nd/	<i>gend</i>	ball
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2.5 SYLLABLE

Santali syllables can be light or heavy. Light syllables have the shape CV, whereas heavy syllables are of the form CVX where X can be filled either by a vowel or by a consonant. Santali stems are generally monosyllabic, disyllabic or tri syllabic.

i) Monosyllabic stems

CV	<i>ti</i>	'hand'
CVV	<i>dea</i>	'back'
CVC	<i>hec</i>	'come'
VC	<i>up</i>	'hair'

ii) Disyllabic stems

The following syllabic structures have been found in Santali language.

CVCV	<i>dare</i>	'tree'
VCV	<i>era</i>	'wife'
CVCVV	<i>sedae</i>	'old times'
CVC CV	<i>gidRe</i>	'baby'
VCVV	<i>upei</i>	'measure'
CVCVC	<i>botor</i>	'fear'
VCVC	<i>usul</i>	'long'
VC.CV	<i>edre</i>	'anger'
VC.CVV	<i>etkir</i>	'carries away'
CVCCVC	<i>dalpan</i>	'half-naked'
VC.CVC	<i>endak</i>	'cross'
CVCCCV	<i>dangra</i>	'bullock'
VVCV	<i>aema</i>	'much'
VVCVV	<i>eikeu</i>	'feel'

3. MORPHOPHONEMICS

(1) Formation of a vowel glide

The indefinite present tense marker in Santali language is /-et/. When this marker is added to the verb root ending in a vowel, the palatal continuant is used as a glide between two vowels. Thus the two morphemes, the verb root /nela/ 'see' and the indefinite present tense marker /-et/ comes together the palatal continuant comes in between the two vowels thereby brings a morphophonemic change.

<i>nela</i>	+	<i>et</i>	>	<i>nelayet</i>	'sees'
<i>kami</i>	+	<i>et</i>	>	<i>kamiyet</i>	'works'
<i>khetreye</i>				<i>kamiyeta</i>	'He works in the rice-field.'

(2) Omission

When two morphemes combine, a vowel may be lost if the preceding morpheme ends in /-a/ and the following morpheme begins with /a- /.

<i>ma</i>	-	+	<i>arsal</i>	=	<i>marsal</i>
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(3) Addition: - Before the suffixes /-de/ and /-ka/ the demonstrative base for the proximal 'no gets a nasal increment.

<i>no</i>	+	/-De/	>	<i>nonDe</i>
<i>no</i>	+	/-ka/	>	<i>nonka</i>

Words with 'e' or 'i' in the first syllable and 'o' or 'a' in the second syllable, the vowel of the second syllable and the bilabial voiceless stop /p/ is added.

<i>eto</i>	-	<i>epoto</i>	'breaking'
<i>itut</i>	-	<i>iputut</i>	'apply Sindur to the girl'
<i>ero</i>	-	<i>eporo</i>	'poison the food'
<i>ehop</i>	-	<i>epohop</i>	'begin'
<i>sikup</i>	-	<i>sipukup</i>	'shut up'

Assimilation

The nasals the stop consonants form homorganic assimilation.

				addition		assimilation
<i>no</i>	+	<i>De</i>	>	<i>nonDe</i>	>	<i>noNDe</i>
<i>no</i>	+	<i>ka</i>	>	<i>nonka</i>	>	<i>noMka</i>

4. MORPHOLOGY

Morphology is the study of the minimum meaningful units of a language, and the way in which these units are arranged in words. The smallest meaningful units are called morphemes. The morphemes can be classified into primary or secondary on the basis of their function. The primary morphemes are radicals or stems and the secondary morphemes are affixes.

Stems may be simple stems of one morpheme, called roots, or they may be more than one morpheme. Stems composed of a root plus affix are derived stems; stems composed of two roots are called compound stems.

Affixes are generally bound forms and these include prefixes, infixes, suffixes, internal vowel changes, and reduplication.

The morphology of Santali serves to establish this language as an agglutinative language. As such, it has primary elements or radicals in combination with secondary formative elements or affixes. The elements are not simply juxtaposed, they are joined into words.

4.1 NOUN MORPHOLOGY

In Santali language, according to circumstances the word has to understand as a noun, adjective, participle etc.,

<i>kambRo</i>	‘thief, a theft, to steal, stolen’
<i>kambRoko sapkede</i>	‘they caught the thief’
<i>kambRoko sabudena</i>	‘a theft was proved to have take place’
<i>kambRokefae</i>	‘he stole’
<i>kambRo hor</i>	‘a thieving person’
<i>kombRo merom</i>	‘a stolen goat’
<i>kombro kedako</i>	‘they have stolen it’

4.1.1 WORD FORMATION

Santali is an inflectional type of language. The words are formed by adding affixes or different post positions to the stem and different endings are used to form different types of words.

4.1.2. NOUN

A noun is word that refers to a person, place, thing, event, substance or quality. Nouns are class of words which can take or capable of taking case markers. The nouns can function as subject or object in the sentence level. Nouns are distinguished by number gender and cases. It can be used as the head of a predicate phrase only. The nouns in Santali language can be classified into two categories broadly, namely, animate and inanimate nouns.

Animate nouns are the ones which represents the living things and the inanimate, the non-living things.

Animate Noun

<i>dai</i>	‘elder sister’
<i>bi:n</i>	‘a kind of snake’
<i>kuRi</i>	‘girl’

Inanimate Noun

<i>khaclak</i>	‘basket’
<i>baha</i>	‘flower’
<i>duar</i>	‘door’

Both the primary nouns which consist only of ‘stems’ and the secondary nouns which are derived from the ‘stems’ are present in ‘Santali’ language.

Primary nouns	<i>tarrup</i>	‘tiger’
	<i>supra</i>	‘guava’
	<i>hopon</i>	‘son’
Secondary nouns.	<i>jelen</i>	‘long’
	<i>jetelen</i>	‘length’
	<i>bak</i>	‘to hook’
	<i>banak</i>	‘hook’

While the noun usually consists simply of the root word, unmodified, the addition of certain suffixes can turn a word usually used as an adjective or verb into a noun.

The suffix ‘-ic’ is used to indicate an animate noun, meaning ‘the one’.

<i>dal</i>	‘to strike’
<i>dadalic</i>	‘the one who strikes’

The suffix ‘-ak’ is used to indicate an inanimate noun, meaning the ‘the thing’

<i>Dal</i>	‘to strike’
<i>Dadalak</i>	‘the thing that strikes’

The suffix ‘-tet’ is used to get an abstract noun.

<i>pondtet</i>	‘whiteness’
<i>usultet</i>	‘tallness’

Number:

It is a grammatical category which is realized in the nouns. A three-way distinction of number system is present in this language namely singular, plural and dual. Singular represents one, dual represents two and the plural is three and more. The presence of dual is a characteristic feature of the Austro-Asiatic languages. In Santali language singular is unmarked, and dual and plural are marked.

/ -kin / is the dual marker and

/ -ko/ is the plural marker.

<i>hoR</i>	‘man’
<i>hoR kin</i>	‘two men’
<i>hoRko</i>	‘men’
<i>dare</i>	‘tree’
<i>dare kin</i>	‘two trees’
<i>dareko</i>	‘trees’
<i>nui</i>	‘this’
<i>nuking</i>	‘this two’
<i>nuko</i>	‘these’

<i>okoe</i>	‘who’
<i>okoekin</i>	‘who two’
<i>okoeko</i>	‘who all’
<i>noa do ul dare kana</i>	‘This is a mango tree’
<i>nukin do boeha kanakin</i>	‘These two are brothers’
<i>noko do hoR kanako</i>	‘They are Santals’

Sometimes, number is made known by the use of numerals:

<i>mit koRa</i>	‘one boy’
<i>bar koRa</i>	‘two boys’
<i>ponom koRa</i>	‘four boys’
<i>adom koRa</i>	‘some boys’
<i>sanam koRa</i>	‘all boys’

Gender

Gender is not a grammatical category in Santali language. Three genders namely masculine, feminine and common gender are distinguished in this language. The masculine, feminine distinction is made in the following ways.

(1) Certain masculine nouns ending in / -a / change to / -i / to form the feminine counterpart.

<i>bheDa</i>	ram
<i>bheDi</i>	sheep
<i>bhola</i>	dog
<i>bholi</i>	bitch
<i>leMra</i>	lame boy
<i>leMri</i>	lame girl
<i>nui do rohriageae</i>	‘He is lanky’
<i>nui do ruhriageae</i>	‘She is lanky’
<i>bog phahageae</i>	‘He is quarrelsome.’
<i>bog phahigeae.</i>	‘She is quarrelsome’

2. By the phrasal use of prefixed / *anDia-* / for male and / *enga-* / for female in case of common nouns.

<i>anDia mihu</i>	‘male calf’
<i>enga mihu</i>	‘female calf’
<i>anDia sukri</i>	‘male pig’
<i>enga sukri</i>	‘female pig’
<i>anDia pusi</i>	‘male cat’
<i>enga pusi</i>	‘female cat’

3. By using two separate words.

<i>haRam</i>	‘old man ‘
<i>buRhi</i>	‘old lady’
<i>hanay</i>	‘husband’
<i>bahu</i>	‘wife’

Case

The following case markers are found in this language

Case markers

Case	Markers
Nominative	0
Dative	<i>-then / -thec</i>
Ablative	<i>-sen / -sec</i>
Instrumental	<i>-te</i>
Abative	<i>-khcn / -khcc</i>
Locative	<i>-ren / -reak –rean</i>

Dative Case

The dative suffixes ‘*thec*’ and – ‘*then*’ express

the possess of argument of ‘*menak*’ ‘to exist’

magistrate ektier menaka

The magistrate has authority;

cedak mre hcrthen dem lalis ker a

Why five person +dat complain

why did complain to the five persons (i.e. Village council)?

ona dare-then calao-te-ko met -a -kan-a

that tree+ Case go- they said

They went to the tree and said to it

Locative Case

The locative case marker /-re/ indicates general location in space and time.

ona bosta-re bhorao-oko-ka-n-pe.

that bag+case fill-hide

'put me into that bag and hide me.

Genitive Case

The genitive markers seem to be composed of the markers -re and an additional element -n, which has no clearly definable meaning, and the two nominalisers for inanimates -ak and -at. The suffix -ren is used when the following possessed noun is animate, whereas -reak' and -rean are used when the following noun is inanimate.

lokhon ren hopon 'Lokhon's son'

lokhon-reak dare 'Lokhon's tree'

Postposition

Santali language has no declension corresponding to what is found in the inflexional language. Instead of declensions the language makes use of a number of post positions. The relationship of nouns and pronouns to each other is indicated by the use of postpositions.

/re/ is used to denote being 'in'. It refers to time, space, action or relation.

<i>oraK?re</i>	‘in the house’
<i>bhirre</i>	‘in the forest’
<i>saRimere</i>	‘in the roof’
<i>oTre</i>	‘on the ground’
<i>coTre</i>	‘in the height’
<i>latarre</i>	‘down below’
<i>dakre</i>	‘in the water’
<i>hoere</i>	‘in the air’
<i>setore</i>	‘in the sun’
<i>dakreye nurhayena</i>	‘he fell in to the water’
<i>-tuluc</i>	‘with’
<i>engal tuluc gidra menaea</i>	‘The child is with the mother’
<i>-then</i>	‘near’
<i>noa ato then aema khetko menaka</i>	
	‘Near this village are many rice fields’
<i>-te</i>	‘towards’
<i>oRakte hijukme</i>	‘come to the house’
<i>-khon</i>	‘from, away’
<i>aDi din khon aTore menaea</i>	‘He is in the village for a long time’
<i>-git</i>	‘for’
<i>am agit caole menaka</i>	‘there is rice for you’
<i>-mente</i>	‘for the purpose’
<i>ona menten hec akana</i>	‘I have come for that purpose’
<i>begor</i>	‘without’

ra:m kichore beogr menaea ‘Ram is without clothes,

-reak ‘of’

bir reak dare ‘tree of the forest’

-talare / tala ‘the middle’

talare menaea ‘he is in the middle’

orak?talare ‘in the middle of the house’

orak?ia talareye tengo akana ‘he is standing between two houses’

The degree of comparison is expressed by putting the post position /*khon*/ after the word or words with which comparison is to be made.

nuiren kaDa do inRen khone marana ‘this one’s buffalo is bigger than mine’

hana dare do noako khon usula ‘that tree over there is higher than these ones’

ona khonak noa do bogege ‘this is better than that’

4.1.3. PRONOUNS

The personal pronouns and the Demonstrative pronouns of Santali language are as follows.

The pronouns show opposition in person, number and case.

Personal Pronouns

The personal pronouns do not show gender distinction. They take all cases and post positions except the locative.

		Singular	Dual	Plural
I Person	Inclusive	<i>iN</i> ‘I’	<i>alaM</i> ‘we two’	<i>abo</i> ‘we’
	Exclusive		<i>aliN</i> ‘we two’	<i>ale</i> ‘we’
II Person		<i>am</i> ‘you’	<i>aben</i> ‘you two’	<i>ane</i> ‘you all’
III person		<i>uni</i> ‘he/she’	<i>unkin</i> ‘they two’	<i>unku</i> ‘They’

unkin banar kuRi do hor kanakin 'both these girls are santals'
uni then aema Taka menaka 'he has much money'
amren gidRako aDi mailageako 'your children are very dirty'

Demonstrative Pronouns

Three types of demonstrative pronouns namely Simple Demonstrative, Interrogative Demonstrative and Indefinite Demonstrative are available in Santali language.

Simple Demonstrative Pronoun

		Meaning	Singular	Dual	Plural
Proximate	Animate	'this'	<i>nui</i>	<i>nukin</i>	<i>nuku</i>
	Inanimate	'this'	<i>noa</i>	<i>noakin</i>	<i>noaku</i>
Distant	Animate	'that'	<i>uni</i>	<i>unkin</i>	<i>unku</i>
	Inanimate	'that'	<i>ona</i>	<i>onakin</i>	<i>onako</i>
Remote	Animate	'that'	<i>hani</i>	<i>hankin</i>	<i>hanko</i>
	Inanimate	'that'	<i>hana</i>	<i>hanakin</i>	<i>hanako</i>

nui koRa do inRen hopon kanae 'This boy is my son'
nui do inren gate doe baN kana 'This one is not my friend'
noa do cet kana 'What is this?'
nuking do boeha kanakin 'These two are my brothers'
dangrana dare then menaea 'The bullock is near the tree'

Interrogative Demonstrative Pronoun

		Meaning	Singular	Dual	Plural
Definite	animate	who	<i>okoe</i>	<i>okoekin</i>	<i>okoeko</i>
	Inanimate	which	<i>oka</i>	<i>okakin</i>	<i>akako</i>
Indefinite	animate	who	<i>cele</i>	<i>celekin</i>	<i>celeko</i>
	Inanimate	which	<i>cet</i>	<i>cetkin</i>	<i>cetko</i>

<i>am do okoe kanam</i>	‘Who are you?’
<i>oka dare reak kana nook baha do</i>	‘Of which tree are these flowers?’
<i>nui do cele janwar kanae</i>	‘What kind of animal is this?’
<i>ona do cet baha kana</i>	‘What kind of flower is this?’
<i>aben do okoekin kanaben</i>	‘Who are you two?’

Indefinite Demonstrative Pronoun

	Singular	Dual	Plural
Animate	<i>jãhãe</i> ‘any one’	<i>jãhãekin</i> ‘any two’	<i>jãhãeko</i> ‘any all’
Inanimate	<i>jãhã</i> ‘any thing’	<i>jãhakin</i> ‘any two’	<i>jãhãko</i> ‘any all’

4.1.4. ADJECTIVE

The adjectives are not distinguished in number and gender. As a rule, the adjectives precedes the noun in Santali language. Two types of adjectives namely Simple adjective and Derivative adjective are found in Santali language.

Simple adjectives

This consists of root morphemes only and is used as attributes in endocentric constructions and as predicate complements in subject-predicate complement sentences.

1. As attribute

<i>bhage laDu</i>	‘good sweet’
<i>hende gai</i>	‘black cow’
<i>hende horo</i>	‘black paddy’
<i>usul don</i>	‘high jump’
<i>baRic haRam</i>	‘bad old man’

2. As predicate complement

<i>nui gai do hende kanae</i>	‘This cow is black’
<i>bhit Do pond gea</i>	‘The wall is white’
<i>nui Do rimsic gea</i>	‘She is small’
<i>nui Do adi baric gea</i>	‘This person is very bad’

Derivative Adjectives

The adjectives can also be formed through derivation from nouns.

Suffixation

/-an/ is suffixed to nouns to derive adjectives denoting possession or quality.

<i>daRe</i>	+ <i>an</i>	>	<i>daRean</i>
‘strength’			‘strong’
<i>daya</i>	+ <i>an</i>	>	<i>daya:n</i>
‘kindness’			‘kind’
<i>botor</i>	+ <i>an</i>	>	<i>botoran</i>
‘fear’			‘fearful’
<i>eDre</i>	+ <i>an</i>	>	<i>eDrean</i>
‘anger’			‘angry’

The derivative can be used either as an attribute or as a predicate complement.

Derivative Adjective

As attribute.

<i>botoran</i>	<i>gam</i>	‘fearful story’
<i>dayavan</i>	<i>hoR</i>	‘kind man’
<i>daRean</i>	<i>hoR</i>	‘strong man’

Derivative adjective as predicate complement

<i>noa bir do aDi botoran a</i>	‘This forest is very dreadful’
<i>uni do dayavan kanae</i>	‘She is kind’

Sometimes, reduplicated verb is also used as an adjective.

<i>dal</i>	‘beat’	<i>dal dal hoR</i>	‘beating man’
<i>ger</i>	‘bite’	<i>geger seta</i>	‘biting dog’

4.1.5. NUMERALS

Cardinal numerals

<i>mit</i>	‘one’
<i>bar</i>	‘two’
<i>pe</i>	‘three’
<i>pun</i>	‘four’
<i>moRe</i>	‘five’
<i>turui</i>	‘six’
<i>eae</i>	‘seven’
<i>iral</i>	‘eight’
<i>aRe</i>	‘nine’
<i>gel</i>	‘ten’

Cardinals from ‘Ten’ to ‘Nineteen’ are formed by adding the quantifiers from ‘one’ to ‘nine’ to the base ‘Ten’.

<i>gel mit</i>	‘Eleven’
<i>gel bar</i>	‘Twelve’
<i>gel pe</i>	‘Thirteen’
<i>gel pon</i>	‘fourteen’
<i>gel more</i>	‘fifteen’
<i>gel turui</i>	‘sixteen’
<i>gel eae</i>	‘seventeen’
<i>gel iral</i>	‘eighteen’
<i>gel aRe</i>	‘nineteen’

Twenty can be formed either as

<i>isi</i>	‘twenty’	or as
<i>bar gel</i>	2 X 10.	

After twenty, cardinal numerals have two types of formation as

a) With ten as the base

bar gel 2 X 10 =20

pe gel 3 X 10 =30

b) With twenty as the base

mit isi = 1*20 =20

mit isi gel = 1*20+10 =30

bar isi = 2*20 =40

From the numeral it is understood that the Santals could count up to ten and then add the units. Higher numerals are multiples of ten or twenty.

Ordinal numerals

Different forms are used to denote animate and inanimate categories.

Animate	Inanimate	
<i>pahilic</i>	<i>pahilak</i>	'first'
<i>doSaric</i>	<i>doSarak</i>	'second'
<i>tesaric</i>	<i>tesarak</i>	'third'
<i>ponic</i>	<i>ponak</i>	'fourth'
<i>moRëic</i>	<i>mõRëak</i>	'fifth'
<i>turuic</i>	<i>turuiak</i>	'sixth'
<i>eayic</i>	<i>eayak</i>	'seventh'
<i>cralic</i>	<i>iralak</i>	'eighth'
<i>areic</i>	<i>areak</i>	'ninth'
<i>gelic</i>	<i>gelak.</i>	'tenth'

uni do ato reak pahilak oRakre menae he is in the first house of the village.

Nui do tesaric hopon kantinae this is my third son

soRok reak moReak dare do kanThaRdare kana

the fifth tree on the road is a jackfruit tree.

4.2. VERB MORPHOLOGY

4.2.1. VERB

An action done is called a verb.

4.2.1.1. FINITE VERB

Tense

When the action is being done now it is called present tense. When it was done some time back, it is called past tense and when the action will take place after some time it is called future tense.

Present Tense

The present tense marker in Santali language is / *kan* /.

<i>kan an</i>			'I am'
<i>kan am</i>			'You are'
<i>kanae</i>			'he is'
<i>uni do hoR kan ae</i>			'he is a man'
<i>dal kan ae</i>			'he is beating'
<i>senok kan ae</i>			'he is going'
<i>nelaet + kan</i>	>	<i>neletkana</i>	'I am seeing'
<i>kamia et +kan</i>	>	<i>kamiyetkana</i>	'He is working'
<i>bolo baiea kanae.</i>			'He is hiding inside'
<i>in baba do oRak khon turui Takae aguetkana</i>			'My father is now bringing six rupees from the house'.
<i>okoe do khetkin sietkana</i>			'some persons are ploughing in the field'
<i>behge edekana.</i>			'He is hungry'.

Present Perfect:

The present perfect tense marker / *akan* / (with in a –prefixed to the present tense marker / *kan* /)

<i>senko akan ae</i>		'he has gone'
<i>dal akan ae</i>		'he has beaten'

Past Tense

The past tense marker is / -ked- / which is infixes in between the base and the person-number marker

<i>dal ked ae</i>	‘he beat’
<i>goc ked ae</i>	‘he killed’
<i>dapal ked ae</i>	‘they covered’

badfak snarteye tawaM go kedea ‘he dashed ground with great force’.

ale do atotele senok kan tahekeda ‘we were going to the village’

Past perfect

The past perfect tense marker / -ad- / infixes in between the base and the person-number marker.

<i>dal akad ae</i>	‘he has beaten him
<i>goc akad</i>	‘he has killed’
<i>makagu akad ae</i>	‘he has cut and bought’

Future

The future tense is formed simply by adding the verbal suffix / a- to the root

ne+lan ‘I will see ‘.

bin taka uni then khon ili daia ‘I will realize from him the money lent’.

In addition to the future, it is general sense, for a habitual reference to the present time.

ne+tko ‘they will see, or they see. (are in the habit of seeing) according to the context’.

It is also used of actions in the past in vivid narratives.

Tehen amak oRak in nela ‘Today I will see your house’

he+re+lko do+ko sia ‘Women cook rice.’

The Indefinite Imperfect

It is formed by adding *-/et tahekan/* to the root:

nelet tahekanan ‘I was seeing’.

It refers to an incomplete action in the past – an action still being performed at the time referred to.

The Recent Past

It is formed by adding */-kef/* to the root

nelkefan 'I saw'

This is the tense normally corresponding to the past tense in English.

The Anterior Past

It is formed by adding */-let/* to the root:

nelletan 'I saw'

The Anterior perfect:

is formed by adding, */ let tahekan /* to the root:

nehakanan 'I have (previously) seen'

This is used in the same way as the anterior past when something had subsequently happened to neutralize the action described.

It is also used in negative statements.

idi lettahekan an 'I had taken it away (but subsequently brought it back)'

Dumke bae nel lettahekana 'He had not (up till then) seen Dumka'.

The Perfect

It is formed by adding by adding,

/akat/ to the root:

nel akatan or *nel akadan* 'I have seen'

It refers to a completed action in the past and corresponds to the same tense in English,

orako e benao akat a 'He has made a house'.

The Recent Perfect

It is formed by adding,

/akat tahekan / 'to the root'

nel akat tahekanan 'I had seen'

This refers to a completed action in the past more remote than the above -i.e., an action already completed at the same tense in English.

orak e benao akat tahekan 'He had made a house'.

MOOD

While the tense of a verb distinguishes as to the time with respect to which it is used, the mood expresses the mode or manner in which it is used. The following are the various mood available in Santali language.

1. Imperative

The imperative mood is used in commands or instructions. This is formed by adding a special form of the second person pronoun to the root. Imperatives are formed by adding /-me / and/ -ben / to the verb root.

<i>seta alom dalea</i>	‘do not beat the dog’
<i>uni met aeme</i>	‘tell him’
<i>eset kak me</i>	‘cover it’
<i>caRte hijukme</i>	‘come quickly’
<i>eset kak ban</i>	‘you (dual) come’
<i>hijuk ben</i>	‘you (dual) come’

2. Benedictive Mood

The benedictive mood is formed by adding / ma / to the root in place of the verbal a, followed by the subject pronoun

<i>nel mae</i>	‘he may see, let him see.’
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It is used

(a) sometimes as a softened imperative

<i>kAmi mam</i>	‘you may do the work’
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(b) sometimes permissively:

<i>hijuk mako</i>	‘let them come’.
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3. Conditional Mood

The conditional mood is formed by replacing the verbal a by /khan/.

<i>noam baDae khan laianme baRe</i>	‘If you know this, please tell me;’
<i>amge nuiem dalakade khanin doam gon dalmea</i>	

‘If you have beaten this person, I will beat you also’

anam nelle khanem patiauka

‘If you will first see that, you will believe’.

janwar in M'am le ko khan ayu ko an

‘If I find the animals I shall bring them’.

ban sen len khan uni bae hijnka

‘If I do not go will not come’.

4. Optative mood

The Optative mood is formed by adding /-ke/ to the root in the active voice and /-kok/ in passive voice. As its name indicates, it signifies choice, wish, or desire or the part of the subject of the verb, and can often be translated by ‘would’ or ‘could’

tehen thora gan dakan gan dakan jomkea Would you like to see my house?
uniye hijuk' khan amem senkoka if he comes, would you go?;

5. Intentional mood

The intentional mood is formed by adding /-ka / to the root in the future,.

dalkakoe ‘he will beat them’

6. Invitative mood

The invitative mood is formed by adding /-le / to the verb root.

jom le ge bon ‘come let us eat’

tahe le ge laM ‘come let us stay’

raut le ge laM ‘come let us break it’

4.2.1.2 INFINITIVE

Santali language has no special form or suffix to show the infinitive, but the infinitive may take direct and indirect object infixes and also possessive infixes.

olok paRhao don baDaegae ‘I know to write and read’

laiapea menten hecena ‘I have come to inform you’

Verbal Noun

The verb roots receiving the infixes *-no-* and *-na-* act as verbal nouns.

<i>ol</i>	>	<i>onol</i>
‘to write’		‘written piece’
<i>jok</i>	>	<i>jonok</i>
‘to sweep’		‘broom stick’
<i>rakap</i>	>	<i>rana kap</i>
‘to develop’		‘development’
<i>jot</i>	>	<i>jonot</i>
‘to wipe’		‘duster’

Participle:

The adjectives are formed from verbs by emitting the verbal ‘*a*’. The verb is otherwise formed normally as to tense, mood, object etc., but does not show an animate subject if present.

<i>sen akanTin gidra</i>	‘my child who has gone suddenly’
<i>emal me maejiu</i>	‘the woman who it to you’

These participles are often employed as nouns by adding the suffix.

4.2.1.3. CAUSATIVE VERB

The morphological process involved in the causative formation in verbs are:

Prefixation and Suffixation. The prefix /*a-*/ is used only in the two verbs.

<i>jom</i>	‘eat’
<i>nu</i>	‘drink’

In all other verbs the suffix /*-oco*/ is added to form the causatives.

Prefixation /*a-*/

<i>a</i>	+	<i>jom</i>	‘eat’	>	<i>ajom</i>	‘feed’
<i>a</i>	+	<i>nu</i>	‘drink’	>	<i>anu</i>	‘making to drink’

Suffixation /*-oco*/

<i>dal</i>	‘beat’	+ <i>oco</i>	>	<i>daloco</i>	‘cause to beat’
<i>men</i>	‘say’	+ <i>oco</i>	>	<i>menoco</i>	‘cause to say’

<i>nel</i>	‘see’	+oco	>	<i>neloco</i>	‘cause to see’
<i>uyuk</i>	‘bring	+oco	>	<i>uyukoco</i>	‘cause to bring
	down’				down’
<i>sen</i>	‘go’	+oco	>	<i>senoco</i>	‘cause to go’

4.2.1.4 NEGATIVE VERB

Three types of particles are distinguished in this language to denote negation. These are /-baM /, / alo / and / oho /

- 1) / -baM / is used as on ordinary negative.

<i>nui do mitTay seta</i>	‘This is dog’
<i>nui do mitTay seta baM</i>	‘This is not a dog’
<i>nui do amij misra</i>	‘Is she your sister?’
<i>baM nui iM hopOn</i>	‘No, she is my daughter’
<i>unku bako baM ko badaya</i>	‘they do not know’
<i>seton si tuMre hor baM</i>	‘the road is not seen in the dark’

- 2) / alo / is prohibitive negative marker that occurs in the simple present / future formation in the second person.

<i>sinbera alom japida</i>	‘do not sleep by day’
<i>iskul alope calaka</i>	‘do not go to school’

- 3) / oho / is the emphatic negative marker that occurs the subjunctive formation.

<i>in doohok laiike</i>	‘I might not say’
<i>in do nui gidra ohon goadareke a</i>	‘I am unable to kill this baby’

4.2.1.5. COMPOUND VERB

Two or more base words placed side by side functioning as a conjugational base is known as compound verb. Out of the two words one may take the verbal suffixes and one-word function as a kind of participle standing in relation to the other word as an opposition to the verbal subject.

<i>anjom roRkedean</i>	'I heard him say'
<i>nel janam kedean</i>	'I saw him born' [I lived at the time of his birth]
<i>data dhil neRen tina</i>	'My teeth came out being loose'
<i>asul gockedeako</i>	'they kept and feed him till his death'
<i>banako dal gitic kedea</i>	'They beat the bear till he fell down'
<i>lai tiok aeme</i>	'reach him telling'

Two simple verb roots are juxtaposed to give out a compound stem.

Juxtaposition of two transitive roots

<i>sendra</i>	+	<i>nam</i>	>	<i>sendranam</i>
'search'		'get'		'search & get'
<i>kami</i>	+	<i>dare</i>	>	<i>kamidare</i>
'work'		'be able'		'able to work'
<i>em</i>	+	<i>dare</i>	>	<i>emdare</i>
'give'		'be able'		'able to give'
<i>mak</i>	+	<i>agu</i>	>	<i>makagu</i>
'cut'		'bring'		'cut and bring'

ii) Juxtaposition of two intransitive roots

<i>rakap</i>	+	<i>hec</i>	>	<i>rakaphec</i>
'ascend'		'come'		'ascend & come'
<i>ruar</i>	+	<i>hec</i>	>	<i>ruarhec</i>
'return'		'come'		'return & come'

iii) Juxtaposition of intransitive and transitive roots

<i>sen</i>	+	<i>dare</i>	>	<i>sendare</i>
'go'		'be able'		'able to go'

4.2.1.6. PASSIVE FORMATION

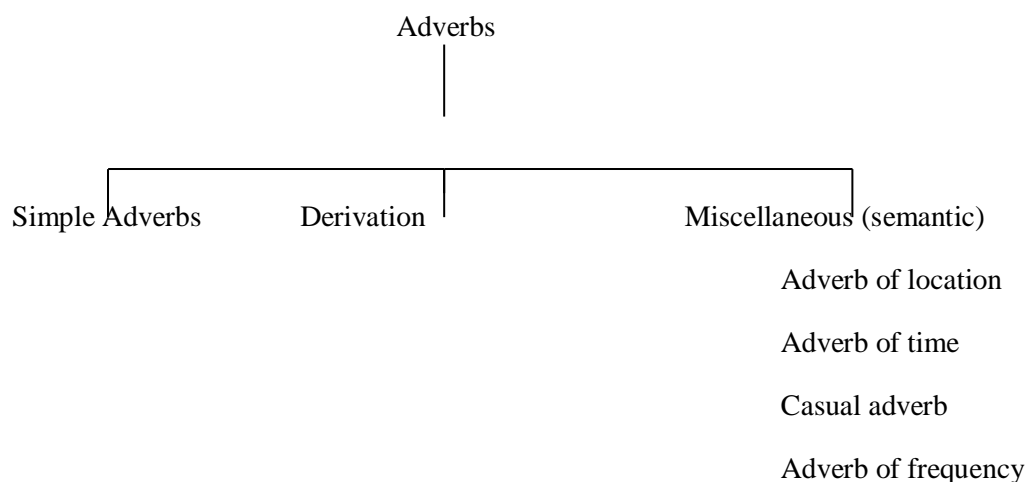
As a general rule, it may be said that when a verb is used transitively with an expressed object it is in the active voice; when it is used passively it is in the passive voice.

The passive marker 'ok' is infix.

eg;	<i>nelae</i>	‘he will see’
	<i>nelokae</i>	‘he will be seen’
	<i>nelokan</i>	‘I will be’
	<i>nelok kana</i>	‘I am being seen’

4.2.2. ADVERBS

Adverbs in this language can be classified as follows.



Simple adverbs

The simple adverbs are mono morphemic and these occur before the verbs.

<i>usara</i>	‘quickly’
<i>usara kani me</i>	‘do quickly’
<i>logon</i>	‘hurriedly’
<i>logon hatao me</i>	‘take hurriedly’
<i>nahak</i>	‘presently’
<i>nahake hijuka</i>	‘he will go presently’
<i>acka</i>	‘suddenly’
<i>acka e nurena</i>	‘he fell suddenly’

Derived adverbs

The adverb	<i>mitdhao</i>	‘once’	is derived from the word
	<i>mit</i>	‘one’	
	<i>uni mitdhao hec lena</i>	‘he comes once’	

Words with the suffix / -te / are used as adverbs.

<i>car</i>	>	<i>car te</i>
‘sincere’		‘sincerely’
<i>ekkal</i>	>	<i>ekkal te</i>
‘instant’		‘instantly’

Miscellaneous

These adverbs are semantically significant. The semantically determined adverbs can be categorised as follows

Adverb of Location

<i>sanginre</i>	‘far’
<i>cotte</i>	‘upwards’
<i>samanre</i>	‘in front’
<i>bhitrire</i>	‘inside’
<i>rachare</i>	‘outside’
<i>nera</i>	‘here’
<i>sobentare</i>	‘everywhere’
<i>okotaate</i>	‘from which direction’
<i>netare</i>	‘here about’
<i>paromre</i>	‘across’
<i>aiarre</i>	‘ahead’

Adverb of time

<i>seday</i>	‘in old days’
<i>nit</i>	‘now’
<i>nahak</i>	‘presently’
<i>nes</i>	‘this year’
<i>hetar</i>	‘now-a-days’
<i>chiula?</i>	‘when’
<i>imtang</i>	‘then’

<i>hahimtang</i>	‘just a moment before that’
<i>tundure</i>	‘in the end’
<i>isupurasa</i>	‘very often’
<i>ietaimtang</i>	‘at some time’

Adverb of frequency

<i>bardhao dom</i>	‘twice’
<i>pondhao dom</i>	‘four times’
<i>tindhao dom</i>	‘how many times’

Adverb of Quantity

<i>erage</i>	‘very much’
<i>iminang</i>	‘that much’

Adverbs of manner

<i>bodege</i>	‘quickly’
<i>kented</i>	‘violently’
<i>eskar</i>	‘only’
<i>kaion</i>	‘unexpectedly’
<i>manrite</i>	‘slowly’
<i>barote</i>	‘timidly’

Casual adverb

<i>botorte</i>	‘in fear’
<i>bhabhate</i>	‘in grief’
<i>kusite</i>	‘enjoy’

4.2.3 PARTICLE / CLITIC

In Santali language certain particles may be inserted in the verbs to modify the meaning corresponding to adverbs. They are inserted between the root and tense signs. The common ones are

<i>gef</i>	‘suddenly, quickly’
<i>gef hot ke hake</i>	‘they suddenly seized me’

<i>agu</i>	‘to do’
<i>hiri agu kom</i>	‘visit them as you come’
<i>dare</i>	‘along with’
<i>del dare kom</i>	‘see them as you go on your way’
<i>tora</i>	‘with the idea’
<i>idi tarakedeako</i>	‘they took home away with them’
<i>hatar</i>	‘in the meantime’
<i>ine</i>	‘remain meanwhile’
<i>utar</i>	‘completely’
<i>eTo</i>	‘something left behind’
<i>arak ren nel oTokede</i>	‘close the gate behind you’

4.2.4 ECHO WORD / REDUPLICATION

<i>aege.</i>	An exclamation of surprise, fear, or pain.
<i>aege I bejae ul joakana.</i>	O! what a quantity of mangoes (on the tree.)
<i>aege! 'ji atted riurena.</i>	Dear! I have fallen heavily.
<i>agar ogor.</i>	Fat and short, plummy.
<i>ambak omboK</i>	To go hither and thither aimlessly, to go from one side to another.
<i>jel ambak ombokko liir bafaekana, sendra bor botorte.</i>	
	‘The deer are running hither and thither by the fear of the hunters’
<i>asam osum.</i>	Half-awake, drowsy, sleepily.
<i>asam osume bere akana.</i>	He has risen before being properly awake.

SYNTAX

5.1 ORDER OF WORDS IN SENTENCES

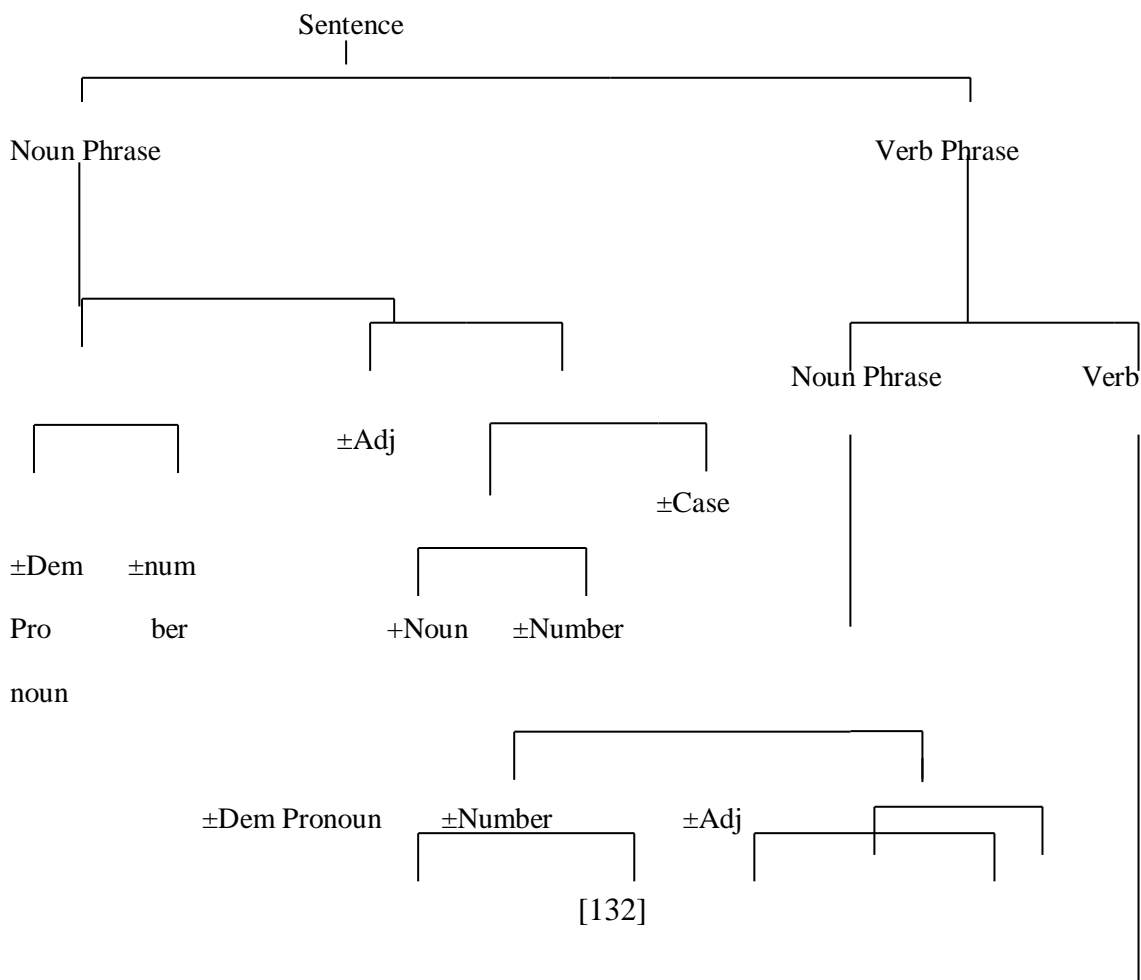
The order of words and phrases in a simple sentence can be shown as tabled below:

1. S = Np + Vp
2. VP = ± Np + V
3. V = Verb Root + Tense Marker + Personal Pronoun Marker.
4. NP = ± Dem Pronoun ± Number Marker ± Adjective + Noun Number + Case Marker.

On elaboration of the table we get.

5. S= [± Dem Pronoun ± umber Marker ± Adjective + Noun + Number + Case Marker] ± [± Dem Pronoun ± Number Marker ± Adj + Noun + Number + Case Marker] + [+ Verb Root + Tense Marker + Personal Pronominal Marker]

Schematic Representation of Syntactic Level.



<i>esct kak</i>	‘to cover’
<i>eset kak me</i>	‘you (sg) cover’
<i>eset kak ben</i>	‘you (du) cover’
<i>eset kak pe</i>	‘you (pl) cover’
<i>hijuk</i>	‘to come’
<i>hijuk me</i>	‘you (sg) come’
<i>hijuk ben</i>	‘you (du) come’
<i>hijuk pe</i>	‘you (pl) come’
<i>dime</i>	‘take it away’
<i>idkotae pe</i>	‘take his one’s away’
<i>iditame</i>	‘take yours away’
<i>beredme</i>	‘raise up’
<i>beretme</i>	‘stand up’
<i>abukope</i>	‘wash yourself’

‘bare’ is used to soften imperatives and may be translated ‘please’

<i>hijuk me bare</i>	‘please come’
<i>am bare laime</i>	‘you please tell’

Negative Sentences

There are three particles.

<i>/ -baM /</i>	<i>/ alo /</i>	and	<i>/ oho /</i>
<i>/ -baM /</i>	is	used for ordinary negative	
<i>/ alo /</i>	as	prohibitive negative	
<i>/ oho /</i>	as	emphatic negative.	

<i>unku bako baM ko badays</i>	‘they do not know’
<i>in baM badaya</i>	‘I do not know’
<i>noa do baM jomoka</i>	‘this will not be eaten’
<i>nui do inRen gate doe ban kana</i>	‘this one is not my friend’
<i>oet ho baMuka</i>	‘there is nothing’

nelogok ak 'what is visible'

baM nelogok ak 'what is invisible'

/ alo /

sin bera alo m japida 'do not sleep during day'

iskul alope calaka 'do not go to school'

hande alom calaka 'do not go there'

cele ho alom laiakoa 'do not tell anyone'

cetge alom roea 'do not say a word'

/ oho /

in doohok laike a 'I might not say'

indo nui gidra ohon goa dare ke a. 'I am unable to kill this boy'

oka ho ohoe emlena 'he is absolutely unwilling to give any'

Causative Sentences

The morphological process employed to form causative stems is mostly suffixation. Only in two words the use of prefixation is marked.

The suffixation

The suffix /- hoco / is employed to the verb root to form the causative form.

dal 'beat' *dal hoco* 'cause to beat'

men 'say' *men hoco* 'cause to say'

nel 'see' *nel hoco* 'cause to see'

tia 'pick' *tiahoco* 'cause to pick'

bicar 'judge' *bicar hoco* 'cause to judge'

Coordination

noa dangra do besgeya kamia menkhan unitak ban kami oco dareae kana

'This buulock works well but I cannot make that one work'

inren maranic kopon do am leka unak usulgeae

'My eldest son is as tall as you'

5.3. DESCRIPTION OF PATTERNS OF SENTENCES

Simple Sentences

The order of words and phrases in a simple sentence can be shown as tabled below:

1. Sentence = Noun phrase + Verb phrase
2. Verb Phrase = \pm Noun phrase + Verb
3. Verb = Verb Root + Tense Marker + Personal Pronoun Marker.
4. Noun Phrase = \pm Demonstrative Pronoun \pm Number Marker \pm Adjective +
Noun + Number + Case Marker.

On elaboration of the table we get.

5. S = [\pm Dem Pronoun \pm Number Marker \pm Adjective + Noun + Number
+ Case Marker] \pm [\pm Dem Pronoun \pm Number Marker \pm Adj + Noun
+ Number + Case Marker] + [+ Verb Root + Tense Marker
+ Personal Pronominal Marker]

Complex Sentences

The complex sentences consist of two or more sentences of which one is independent on the other.

okoeko heclen onko doko calaoena 'those who came went away'

tinAk gidram nelet ko kane foto do inren kanak

'all the children when you see are mine'

uni gidrA okare menaea one uni jan?ga raputentae

'where is the child whose leg was broken'

o?no?ko he can khon ba?n n?e lskat ko a. 'I have not seen them; Since they come.

am alom hicten khan unko doko dalkien honan

'If you had not come they would have beaten me'

nonle karem tohelen khan honan in babu dophom goč lena

'If you had been these my father would have died.'

Compound Sentences

The compound sentences consist of two or more simple sentences which are connected by the connectors. The simple sentences are independent and can stand on its own.

kahu do juri tet then udau ren ruarena ar ona pontha laiadea

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

*mitten maran pukri ko tiak keda ar mitten
kisar*

ayo hor ko dabrak kan ko nel ketkoa

They approached a big pond and saw the royal ladies taking bath.

TEXT

cekate enga kahu do hende bine goc?kede

How the female crow killed the black snake.

mittun kahu ar uni ren juri mitten latu bare dare dar rekin tahekana

A crow and his wife lived in the branch of a big banyan tree.

onde mitten tukaken benaokeda

They built a nest there.

onde do ponea belea tahe kana

There were four eggs in the nest.

enga apa kin sontor te bele koken rukhia akada

The parents guarded the eggs with great care

mit hende bin ho ina dare regeye tahekana

A black snake also lived in the same tree.

onko cire do uni bin adi atko botorae tahekana

The birds were very much scared of it.

jage onde bele tahekana bin do tuka thinken sen kate beleye jomit tahe kana

Every time there were eggs, the snake crawled up to the nest and ate all the eggs.

enga kahui juri tete metadea judi noa bele ho uni

hende nine nu lakhan in do ar noa dare re ban

tahekana

The female crow told the husband, “if the black snake comes and eat up my eggs this time also, I do not live in this tree anymore”

jaha itak se laN tukaia

We should go somewhere and build our nest.

kahui menkeda nonde aema diN lan taheyema

The crow said, we have lived here for a long time.

Noa jaga bagi kate jaha sec do ohon senlena

I cannot leave this place and go anywhere.

enkakin galmaraok kan tahekanre, kho-kho saDe ken anjomkeda

While they were still talking they heard a hissing sound.

bujahau kadakin ona do benak sabad kana

They knew it was the sound of the snake.

botor enakin

They were afraid

cetkin cekaea bakin bujahau darek kana

They did not know what to do.

uni hendé bin do tuka thene

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

mimit gotec? te bin do belaye jom keda

One by one the snake ate the eggs.

juri-pari ken do adi kin bhabnayena

The parents became very sad.

*Nitok kahui menkeda upain sendra odoka ar uni bisan
binen gojea*

Now the crow said, I should find a way to destroy this poisonous snake.

juri tete kulekdea cekate nui botaranic bin dom gojea

His wife asked, how can you kill this deadly snake? Can you fight with him?

*alom bhabanaka in ren adi sean gate menaea area seana gea
nui goje lagit*

Do not worry my dear. I have a friend who is cunning to kill this snake.

Noa menkate etak dare teyne udau calaoena

Saying this he flew to another tree.

ona dare latarre mittin toyoye taken kan tahena

Under that tree one Jackal is living.

*tayo do joto kahniye anjon keda are menkeda gaten ho
joto hadrapkoak mucat do baric ge hoyoka*

When the jackal heard the entire story, he said, my friend those who are cruel always have bad end.

uni goje mitten pontha menak tina

I have a plan to kill him

inakate tuyo do khae-khoe cetco kahni metadea

Then the Jackal in a slow voice told something to the crow.

*kahu do juri tet then udau ren ruarena ar ona pontha
laiadea*

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

jahanak gen cekaea inak bele bancao lagitte enga kahui menkeda

I will do any thing to save my eggs told the female crow.

inakate onathai seckin udau calaoina

Then they flew towards towards the palce.

onathai dare then khon adi jhal do ban tahekana

The palace is not far from the tree.

mitten maran pukri ko tiak keda ar mitten kisar

ayo hor ko dabrak kan ko

nel ketkoa

They approached a big pond and saw the royal ladies taking bath.

dhip re sona reak mala pagra ko doho akat tahena

They left the jewels, necklace and golden chain on the edge.

enga kahu do udau phed kate thonTe mitten sona

malaye halan idi keda

The mother bird flew down and picked up one of the gold chain in her beak.

bai baite ace taken kan dare sene udau calaoena

It started flying slowly towards the tree in which she lived

dolen ren sontoriako ona relkate thengawante cereko lagakedea

When the palace guards saw this they took up their sticks and chased the bird.

*onko do uni cere dare donDhorre ona mala doho kedeko
relkede*

They saw the bird dropping the chain in the hollow of the tree.

mitten sontoria do ona dare reye decena

One of the guards climbed up the tree.

*tinre ona mala hataolagait tiye bhora ketre onde uni hende
bine nelkede*

As he put his hand inside the hole to get the chain he saw the black snake.

uni do thengate bine gockede

He killed the snake with a stick.

ar noage uni binak mucat do tahekana

And that was the end of the black snake.

*ina tayom kahu acren juri songete raskew bele ye
taheyena ar dher kahu hoponkin busak ketkoa*

After that the crow and his wife lived in the tree happily and had many crows.

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KHARIA

N. GOPALAKRISHNAN

1. INTRODUCTION

Almost all the major languages of Jharkhand have descended from three major language families. The prime languages which predominate in Jharkhand include Odia, Urdu, Nagpuria, Bengali, Bhojpuri, Khortha, Sadri and Angika. Kharia is a Munda language of the Austro-Asiatic language family that is primarily spoken by the indigenous Kharia people of eastern India.

1.1. Official Status

Kharia is not a recognized language. This mother tongue is taught in the schools and colleges of Jharkhand. This speech variety does not have its own script.

1.2. Demography

Kharia people are living in the Simdega district of Jharkhand. They are also found in the states of Chhattisgarh, West Bengal and Madhya Pradesh. Their inhabitation is also noticed in the state of Odisha and the northern part of Tripura. Their language is also spoken in the neighboring countries like Bangladesh and Nepal. The total population of Kharia is 200,000 (UNESCO 2006). Diffloth (1974) classified Kharia under the Munda group of Kharia-Juang branch of Austro-Asiatic languages.

1.3. Location

Geographically the Indian state of Jharkhand is located between the states of West Bengal and Uttar Pradesh. Its political capital is Ranchi. It has a population of 3.3 crores (2011 Census). Its population size in the 2001 census was only 2.69 crores. The share of Jharkhand population in the all India population has increased from 2.62% of the census 2001 to 2.72% of the 2011 census. As per the population estimate for the year 2019, Jharkhand has a population of 3.93 crores. The literacy rate as per the census 2011 is 66.41% of which male literacy is 76.84% and female literacy is 55.42%. The total area of Jharkhand is 79,716 sq km and its population density is 414 per sq km which is higher than the national average 382 per sq km. Sex ratio of Jharkhand is 948 which means 948 for 1000 males which is below the national average of 940 as per the 2011 census.

The present work on Kharia language is based on Data collected from Jharkhand state (former undivided Bihar). The data was collected mainly from Ranchi District. The major data

Informant for the present study is Smt R. Kerketta. She belongs to Ranchi District. In the said regions, Kharia is divided into two types - Delki and Dudhkharia. There are marginal differences between the two which are still maintained.

1.4. SPEAKER STRENGTH

The distribution of Kharia as a Language and Mother Tongue in first 15 major concentrated states are presented below as per the latest Census of 2011, where the distribution of Jharkhand state is also included. Language Data is inclusive of Mother Tongues grouped under Kharia. But Kharia Mother Tongue Data is exclusive.

The population data of Kharia as a Language at All India level as per 2011 census is presented below:

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	2,97,614	1,46,937	1,50,677	2,73,169	1,35,112	1,38,057	24,445	11,825	12,620
Jammu & Kashmir	14	13	1	1	1	0	13	12	1
Himachal Pradesh	43	31	12	40	30	10	3	1	2
Punjab	95	62	33	30	21	9	65	41	24
Chandigarh	4	3	1	0	0	0	4	3	1
Uttarakhand	51	30	21	37	24	13	14	6	8
Haryana	216	110	106	111	60	51	105	50	55
NCT of Delhi	430	201	229	6	4	2	424	197	227
Rajasthan	77	39	38	37	19	18	40	20	20
Uttar Pradesh	185	80	105	69	29	40	116	51	65
Bihar	1,600	787	813	1,536	754	782	64	33	31
Sikkim	16	10	6	12	8	4	4	2	2
Arunachal Pradesh	218	113	105	175	90	85	43	23	20
Nagaland	164	80	84	134	59	75	30	21	9
Manipur	20	17	3	17	15	2	3	2	1
Mizoram	6	2	4	0	0	0	6	2	4
Tripura	265	141	124	263	139	124	2	2	0
Meghalaya	20	11	9	9	5	4	11	6	5
Assam	8,921	4,438	4,483	8,622	4,293	4,329	299	145	154
West Bengal	6,876	3,446	3,430	6,408	3,211	3,197	468	235	233
Jharkhand	1,40,148	69,365	70,783	1,30,386	64,673	65,713	9,762	4,692	5,070
Odisha	1,26,872	62,254	64,618	1,16,155	57,099	59,056	10,717	5,155	5,562

Chhattisgarh	6,492	3,150	3,342	5,715	2,776	2,939	777	374	403
Madhya Pradesh	142	59	83	86	42	44	56	17	39
Gujarat	71	44	27	12	4	8	59	40	19
Daman & Diu	6	3	3	0	0	0	6	3	3
Dadra & Nagar Haveli	5	3	2	0	0	0	5	3	2
Maharashtra	341	190	151	85	50	35	256	140	116
Andhra Pradesh	77	35	42	10	3	7	67	32	35
Karnataka	66	31	35	18	18	0	48	13	35
Goa	76	45	31	42	22	20	34	23	11
Kerala	10	10	0	0	0	0	10	10	0
Tamil Nadu	18	11	7	3	3	0	15	8	7
Andaman & Nicobar Islands	4,069	2,123	1,946	3,150	1,660	1,490	919	463	456

The population data of Kharia as a mother tongue at All India level as per 2011 census is presented below:

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	2,93,665	1,44,973	1,48,692	2,69,374	1,33,223	1,36,151	24,291	11,750	12,541
Jammu & Kashmir	12	12	0	1	1	0	11	11	0
Himachal Pradesh	43	31	12	40	30	10	3	1	2
Punjab	95	62	33	30	21	9	65	41	24
Chandigarh	4	3	1	0	0	0	4	3	1
Uttarakhand	51	30	21	37	24	13	14	6	8
Haryana	215	109	106	110	59	51	105	50	55
NCT of Delhi	418	196	222	6	4	2	412	192	220
Rajasthan	77	39	38	37	19	18	40	20	20
Uttar Pradesh	171	73	98	57	23	34	114	50	64
Bihar	1,600	787	813	1,536	754	782	64	33	31
Sikkim	16	10	6	12	8	4	4	2	2
Arunachal Pradesh	218	113	105	175	90	85	43	23	20
Nagaland	164	80	84	134	59	75	30	21	9
Manipur	20	17	3	17	15	2	3	2	1
Mizoram	6	2	4	0	0	0	6	2	4
Tripura	265	141	124	263	139	124	2	2	0
Meghalaya	18	10	8	9	5	4	9	5	4
Assam	8,921	4,438	4,483	8,622	4,293	4,329	299	145	154

West Bengal	6,327	3,166	3,161	5,943	2,969	2,974	384	197	187
Jharkhand	1,40,147	69,364	70,783	1,30,385	64,672	65,713	9,762	4,692	5,070
Odisha	1,23,619	60,646	62,973	1,12,907	55,495	57,412	10,712	5,151	5,561
Chhattisgarh	6,492	3,150	3,342	5,715	2,776	2,939	777	374	403
Madhya Pradesh	90	37	53	41	22	19	49	15	34
Gujarat	54	34	20	12	4	8	42	30	12
Daman & Diu	6	3	3	0	0	0	6	3	3
Dadra & Nagar Haveli	5	3	2	0	0	0	5	3	2
Maharashtra	313	175	138	66	39	27	247	136	111
Andhra Pradesh	77	35	42	10	3	7	67	32	35
Karnataka	61	28	33	15	15	0	46	13	33
Goa	76	45	31	42	22	20	34	23	11
Kerala	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0
Tamil Nadu	14	10	4	2	2	0	12	8	4
Andaman & Nicobar Islands	4,069	2,123	1,946	3,150	1,660	1,490	919	463	456

Distribution of Kharia language in Jharkhand State as per 2011 Census is presented in the following tables.

State/Districts	Total			Rural			Urban		
	Person	Males	Females	Person	Males	Females	Person	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
JHARKHAND	1,40,148	69,365	70,783	1,30,386	64,673	65,713	9,762	4,692	5,070
Garhwa	28	13	15	19	10	9	9	3	6
Chatra	2	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	0
Giridih	33	15	18	27	12	15	6	3	3
Deoghar	13	7	6	1	1	0	12	6	6
Godda	29	12	17	28	11	17	1	1	0
Sahibganj	465	243	222	463	241	222	2	2	0
Pakur	18	12	6	13	9	4	5	3	2
Dhanbad	101	55	46	3	1	2	98	54	44
Bokaro	345	175	170	12	7	5	333	168	165
Lohardaga	45	15	30	18	6	12	27	9	18
Purbi Singhbhum	3,931	1,955	1,976	3,537	1,739	1,798	394	216	178
Palamu	406	192	214	400	190	210	6	2	4
Latehar	56	25	31	50	22	28	6	3	3
Hazaribagh	125	70	55	71	43	28	54	27	27
Ramgarh	206	100	106	26	14	12	180	86	94
Dumka	19	5	14	13	5	8	6	0	6
Jamtara	9	5	4	0	0	0	9	5	4
Ranchi	2,464	1,226	1,238	323	147	176	2,141	1,079	1,062
Khunti	193	83	110	97	46	51	96	37	59
Gumla	38,260	18,815	19,445	37,823	18,611	19,212	437	204	233
Simdega	92,600	45,964	46,636	86,865	43,283	43,582	5,735	2,681	3,054
Pashchimi Singhbhum	536	256	280	372	173	199	164	83	81
Saraikela-Kharsawan	264	121	143	224	102	122	40	19	21

Distribution of Kharia mother tongue in Jharkhand State as per 2011 census is presented in the following tables.

State/ Districts	Total			Rural			Urban		
	Person	Males	Females	Person	Males	Females	Person	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
JHARKHAND	1,40,147	69,364	70,783	1,30,385	64,672	65,713	9,762	4,692	5,070
Garhwa	28	13	15	19	10	9	9	3	6
Chatra	2	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	0
Giridih	33	15	18	27	12	15	6	3	3
Deoghar	13	7	6	1	1	0	12	6	6
Godda	29	12	17	28	11	17	1	1	0
Sahibganj	465	243	222	463	241	222	2	2	0
Pakur	18	12	6	13	9	4	5	3	2
Dhanbad	101	55	46	3	1	2	98	54	44
Bokaro	345	175	170	12	7	5	333	168	165
Lohardaga	45	15	30	18	6	12	27	9	18
Purbi Singhbhum	3,930	1,954	1,976	3,536	1,738	1,798	394	216	178
Palamu	406	192	214	400	190	210	6	2	4
Latehar	56	25	31	50	22	28	6	3	3
Hazaribagh	125	70	55	71	43	28	54	27	27
Ramgarh	206	100	106	26	14	12	180	86	94
Dumka	19	5	14	13	5	8	6	0	6
Jamtara	9	5	4	0	0	0	9	5	4
Ranchi	2,464	1,226	1,238	323	147	176	2,141	1,079	1,062
Khunti	193	83	110	97	46	51	96	37	59
Gumla	38,260	18,815	19,445	37,823	18,611	19,212	437	204	233
Simdega	92,600	45,964	46,636	86,865	43,283	43,582	5,735	2,681	3,054
Pashchimi Singhbhum	536	256	280	372	173	199	164	83	81
Saraikela-Kharsawan	264	121	143	224	102	122	40	19	21

1.4. 1. BILINGUALISM

The Bilingualism and Trilingualism in respect of Kharia language in Jharkhand as per 2011 Census is presented below.

BILINGUALISM AND TRILINGUALISM OF KHARIA LANGUAGE IN JHARKHAND - 2011					
Language	Total Speakers	Language of Bilingualism	Strength	Language of Trilingualism	Strength
1	2	3	4	5	6
Kharia	1,40,148				
		Bengali	1,475		
				Santali	171
				Hindi	110
				Odia	1
				Ho	1
				Kurukhi/Oraon	1
		HINDI	1,07,480		
				English	2,193
				Mundari	509
				Kurukh/Oraon	28
				Santali	12
				Ho	10
				Others	346
		Santali	204		
				Bengali	98
				Others	8
		English	228		
				Hindi	158
				Lushai/Mizo	3
				Santali	1
				Others	4
		HO	20		
				Santali	7
				Hindi	2
				Mundari	1
				Others	2
		Kurukh/Oraon	19		
				Hindi	13
		Mundari	232		
				Hindi	133
		Others	270		
				Hindi	120
				Ho	1
				Santali	3
				Others	18

1.5. Works of Note on Kharia Culture and Language

Dalton, Hunter, Baal, Rishlay, Hisalan, Greisen started writing in Kharia language firstly. In 1880, Baal, a foreign writer wrote about Hill Kharias in this book “Jungle Life in

India". In 1894 Gagan Chandra Banerjee wrote a book "Introduction to the Kharia language". In 1903 Cardon L.S.J. wrote a book "The Kharias and their custom", which covers the anthropological view of Kharia. In 1965 Bilgiri presented his thesis on Kharia. The title was "Kharia Phonology, Grammar and Vocabulary". Pinnow a German scholar used Roman script to articulate the sound symbols for the expression of thought in 1965, this book was: "Kharia Text, Prose and Poetry". In 1937 Seradh Chandra Ray and Ramesh Chandra Ray published a book named "The Kharias". In 1980, L.P. Bidyarthi and B.S. Upadyaya wrote – "The Kharias Then and Now". Beena Bahal wrote "Studies in the Kharia Linguistics". In 1986, R.P. Sahu wrote about Kharias and also about Kharia grammar. Shree Julius Baa wrote "Kharia Phonology and Kharia Da". In 1977, Herman J. Kiro wrote "Kharia Basu Kayom". In 1981, Anthony Doongdoong S.J. published "The Kharias of Chotanagpur". In 1986, Fr. Mathaias Dungdung S.J. presented the comparative study of Kharia and Hindi. Beside these books, Fr. Paulus Kullu S.J. also wrote Kharia grammar and short vocabulary. At present, the collection of Kharia-English-Hindi dictionary is in progress.

1.6. Language Use

In the early days, foreign writers picked Kharia language so naturally that they started writing in Roman script. The writers include Dalton, Hunter, Baal and Pinnow. W.G. Archer who used Devanagri script and collected "*Kharia Along*" (Kharia Hymns) with Manmashih Tele, Jatru Kharia and Daud Dungdung in 1942. In 1935, J. Paster was the first to collect 'Kharia Along' (Kharia hymns) using Bangla script staying in Assam. Nuas Kerketta used Devanagri script for the linguistic expression in 1948. Further few changes were brought by Nuas Kerketta, Julius Baa, Rose Kerketta and R. P. Sahu. These changes are formulations in different styles of writing and show the flourishing glimpse of Kharia language. As early as Grierson in 1960, Kharia was declared to be a dying language, a view that also found support in Pinnow in 1960. The expression of Kharia language in Odia script was begun by Nuas Kerketta. The script of Junas Bilung is more economical which eliminates vowel length and redundant retroflex nasal. The symbolism is more complicated; the diacritic irregular and the script are on the whole very restricted in use. It probably represents one of the many attempts at devising a unique, idiosyncratic script in quest for Kharia identity.

The more practical solution is to write in and follow Devanagari script with certain modifications. And so, in 1813 Gagan Chandra Banerjee realized that the synthetic structure of Kharia language is based entirely upon those principles, which regulate the 'Hindi

Grammar'. The Devanagari script is used as the medium of teaching in schools and colleges but the learned group also favours Roman script and symbols because of its more accuracy in expression of pronunciation. At present Kharia is taught till graduation and post-graduate level in Ranchi University since 1976. The recognition of Kharia language and literature by UGC is also in the pipeline. Of late, the teaching of Kharia language and literature has begun in primary classes. The Textbook has been published by Human Resource Ministry and Tribal Research Institute, Ranchi.

1.7. Sociolinguistic information

The Kharia who were under zamindars during the British rule are now land-owning farmers of independent India. All Kharia people speak their traditional dialect. The language spoken by them is a part of the Munda languages (Kharia – Juang branch), which are part of the Austroasiatic languages. The most widely cited classification places Kharia and Juang together as a subgroup of the South Munda branch of the Munda family. However, some earlier classification schemes placed Kharia and Juang together as an independent branch deriving from the root of the Munda languages.

They are a Kolarian tribe. Their folk songs are very informative about their history. They are very close to nature and the culture of the tribe is influenced by its ecological surroundings. They are mainly dependent on agriculture a large group of people are also engaged with tea cultivation. Socio-linguistically Kharia people have mixed type of culture since they are living in the midst of other aboriginal languages of Jharkhand. So, they celebrate Navaratri, Shivratri and Durga puja, Kali puja and other festivals of the state.

Different levels of economic developments on sectional basis exist among Kharias. The people inhabiting hills are known as Hill Kharia. They form food gathering, hunting and labourer community. The Dhelkis are agricultural labourers and agriculturalists, while Dudh Kharia are exclusively agriculturists in their primary economy. Among Dudh Kharias nine clans can be found, namely *Kerketta, Bilung, Soreng, Toppo, Baa, Kiro, Kullu, Tere and Dungkung*.

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 Kharia shows the distinctive sound units occurring in the Kharia speech.

In this section attempt has been made to analysis the sound patterns of this speech variety by determining which phonetic sounds are significant, and explaining how these sounds are interpreted by the native speaker.

2.1. PHONEMIC INVENTORY

The phonemic inventory of both segmental phonemes and supra-segmental phonemes of Kharia are illustrated in the sections below.

2.1.1. SEGMENTAL PHONEMES

Vowels

There are 5 Vowels phonemes 21 Consonant phonemes in Kharia. Out of 5 vowels two are front, two are back and one is central. The feature of length may be separated out as a distinctive phoneme.

	Front	Central	Back
High	/i/		/u/
Mid	/e/		/o/
Low		/a/	

Consonants

There are twenty-one consonants in Kharia. The stops are having voiceless and voiced counterparts as also aspirate and non-aspirate counterparts. The following are the details of consonants as per manner of articulation and point of articulations.

		Bilabial	Labio-Dental	Dental	Alveolar	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stop	Voiceless	<i>p</i>		<i>t</i>		<i>T</i>		<i>k</i>	<i>ʔ</i>
	Voiced	<i>b</i>		<i>d</i>		<i>D</i>		<i>g</i>	
Affricate	Voiceless						<i>c</i>		
	Voiced						<i>j</i>		
Sibilant (voiceless)				<i>s</i>					
Nasal (Voiced)		<i>m</i>		<i>n</i>					
Nasal (Voiceless)						<i>N</i>			
Lateral Approxima nt (Voiced)					<i>l</i>				
Trill (voiceless)					<i>r</i>				
Tap/Flap (voiced)						<i>R</i>			
Fricative (Voiced)									<i>h</i>
Approxima nt (Voiced)			<i>w</i>				<i>y</i>		

Contrast of phonemes

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 Kharia language are as follows.

Vowels

/i/ ~ /o/	/jib/	‘touch’
	/jobi/	‘swamp’

/a/ ~ /o/	/baRa/	‘great-grand son’
	/baRo/	‘jungle cat’

Consonants

/p/	/b/	/poTa/	‘intestine’
		/boTo/	‘foam’

2.1.2. SUPRA SEGMENTAL PHONEMES

The two supra segmental phonemes realised in Kharia are length and Nasalization. They are realized with all vowels.

Length

/i/	/i:/	/ikka/	‘hiccup’
		/i:ju/	‘come’
/e/	/e:/	/keja/	‘gambling’
		/kete:/	‘hard’
/u/	/u:/	/uriñg/	‘few’
		/u:du/	‘knock’
/o/	/o:/	/om/	‘lend’
		/o:tte/	‘sprout’
/a/	/a:/	/arandi/	‘wed, marry’
		/a:yerte/	‘lead’

Nasalization

All the vowels have their nasal sound.

ã	/piãj/	‘onion’
	/sãd/	‘bull’
	/bãwa/	‘eye brow’
ẽ	/dẽR/	‘one and half’
	/kolẽkna/	‘fight’
	/ẽ?ga/	‘already’

<i>ũ</i>	<i>/gũ:r/</i>	‘chicken pox’
<i>ĩ</i>	<i>/kaĩchi/</i>	‘scissor’
<i>õ</i>	<i>/mõn/</i>	‘one’
	<i>/mõd/</i>	‘eye’
	<i>/cirõ/</i>	‘vein’

2.2. PHONEMIC DESCRIPTION AND DISTRIBUTION

Vowels

All vowels occur initially, medially and finally with the following exceptions -

/ E / occurs only before consonant clusters and */ A /* does not occur finally.

<i>/ i /</i>	front unrounded high vowel
<i>/ iDip /</i>	‘night’
<i>/ tirib /</i>	‘sky’
<i>/andri/</i>	‘blind’
<i>/ e /</i>	front unrounded mid vowel
<i>/ekbona /</i>	‘amuse’ (baby)
<i>/lerang /</i>	‘month’
<i>/ kole /</i>	‘parrot’
<i>/ a /</i>	central unrounded low vowel
<i>/ aba /</i>	‘father’
<i>/ baciya /</i>	‘female calf’
<i>/ anDa /</i>	‘egg’
<i>/ o /</i>	back rounded mid vowel
<i>/ oDo /</i>	‘still’
<i>/ koyo /</i>	‘storm’
<i>/ tongo /</i>	‘stay’
<i>/ u /</i>	back rounded high vowel
<i>/um/</i>	‘not’
<i>/juD/</i>	‘root’
<i>/lemu/</i>	‘soft’

Consonants

All the consonants of Kharia occur initially, medially and finally.

/ p /	voiceless bilabial stop	
	/ pikna /	‘break’
	/ paro /	‘across’
	/ dap /	‘fast’
/ b /	voiced bilabial stop	
	/ borol /	‘raw’
	/ dobre /	‘widen’
	/ jib /	‘touch’
/ t /	voiceless dental/alveolar stops	
	/ tak /	‘until’
	/ tatan /	‘grand father’
/ d /	voiced dental/alveolar stop	
	/ dakin /	‘south’
	/ dada /	‘brother’
/ T /	voiceless retroflex stop	
	/ Tangay /	‘hang’
	/ poTri /	‘pregnant’
/ D /	voiced retroflex stop	
	/ Del /	‘next’
	/ oDo /	‘more’
	/ peD /	‘pipe’
/ c /	voiceless palatal stop	
	/ parcar /	‘preacher’
	/ pañc /	‘five’
/ j /	voiced affricate	
	/ joda /	‘bank of river’
	/ pujDag /	‘rinse mouth with water’
	/ pij /	‘break’

/ k /	voiceless velar stop	
	/ kaDon /	‘fish’
	/ keckeca /	‘be dirty’
	/ rumkur /	‘uncooked rice’
/ g /	voiced velar stop	
	/ golki /	‘black pepper’
	/ kanagsi /	‘comb’
	/ lereg /	‘be glad, gladness’
/ s /	voiceless dental/alveolar	
	/ saka /	‘loan’
	/ Tisa /	‘call loudly, cry for help’
	/ bāis /	‘female buffalo’
/ h /	voiceless glottal fricative	
	/ ha /	‘alas!’
	/ haDa /	‘urine, urinate’
	/ hulhul /	‘mutiny’
/ m /	voiced bilabial nasal	
	/ mesong /	‘once’
	/ tamu /	‘sneeze’
	/ terom /	‘bee’
/ n /	voiced alveolar nasal	
	/ nunu /	‘right’
	/ Tonha /	‘witch’
	/ T‘ekan /	‘whereabouts’
/ N /	voiceless Retroflex Nasal	
	/ toNon /	‘stand, stop’
	/ tomleN /	‘milk’
	/ aniN /	‘we’ (pl. incl)
/ l /	voiced dental/ alveolar lateral	
	/ p‘aila /	‘spread’
	/ soNgol /	‘firewood’

	/ <i>are</i> l /	‘hail stone’
/ <i>r</i> /	voiced dental/alveolar trill	
	/ <i>rab</i> /	‘bury’
	/ <i>ragrag</i> /	‘flower’
	/ <i>ubar</i> /	‘two’
/ <i>R</i> /	voiced retroflex trill	
	/ <i>paRhe</i> /	‘read’
	/ <i>baRi</i> /	‘mother’s sister’
	/ <i>buRha</i> /	‘old man’
/ <i>w</i> /	voiced bilabial semi-vowel	
	/ <i>bawna</i> /	‘dwarf’
	/ <i>bowTaNk</i> /	‘wife’s brother’ (elder)
	/ <i>tãw</i> /	‘place’
/ <i>y</i> /	voiced palatal semi vowel	
	/ <i>yAya</i> /	‘grandmother’
	/ <i>upey</i> /	‘three’

2.3. MAJOR ALLOPHONIC DISTRIBUTION

Allophones are conditioned variants of a phoneme. Allophones of a phoneme occur in mutually exclusive environments. They share phonetic similarity. Examples of allophonic variations are given below.

Allophones of Vowels

/ *i* / has two allophones [*i.*] and [*i*]

[*i.*] has high front unrounded half long occurs finally

[<i>kiki</i>]	/ <i>kiki</i> /	‘fox’
[<i>lutti</i>]	/ <i>lutt.</i> /	‘insect’
[<i>sa’si</i>]	/ <i>sa’si.</i> /	‘asthma’

[*i*] the high front unrounded short vowel, occurs elsewhere

[<i>bici</i>]	/ <i>bici</i> /	‘scorpion’
[<i>lekuRi</i>]	/ <i>lekuRi</i> /	‘elbow’
[<i>pipini</i>]	/ <i>pipini</i> /	‘eye lash’

/ e / has two allophones [E.] and [e]

[E] the lower mid front unrounded half long vowel occurs in the final position

[gore]	/gore /	‘heart’
[joRe]	/jorE /	‘joint’
[seRRe]	/seRRE /	‘smart’

[e] the higher mid front unrounded short occurs in all the position

[lerang]	/lerang /	‘moon’
[kellom]	/kellom /	‘charm’
[konsel]	/konsel /	‘maid’

/ u / has two allophones [u] and [u]

[u] the high back rounded half long vowel occurs in the final position

[lau]	/lau. /	‘flame’
[kunRu]	/kunRu /	‘child’
[lebu]	/lebu. /	‘man’

[u] the high back rounded short vowel occurs elsewhere

[kutisolo]	/kutisolo /	‘bitch’
[uju]	/uju /	‘boil’

/ o / has two allophones [o.] and [o]

[o] the higher mid back rounded half long vowels occurs in the final position

[bokko]	/bokko /	‘head’
[kokro]	/kokro /	‘cook’

[o] the higher mid back rounded short vowel occurs elsewhere

[gone]	/gone /	‘front tooth’
[kosu]	/kosu /	‘diseases’
[beRo]	/beRo /	‘sun’

/ a / has three allophones [A], [a.] and [a]

[A] the lower mid back unrounded short vowel occurs in between consonants

[karray-na]	/kArrAy-na /	‘freeze’
[ranga]	/rAnga /	‘cold’
[lerang]	/lerAng /	‘moon’

[a.] the low central unrounded half-long vowel occurs elsewhere

[<i>jolna.</i>]	/ <i>jolna</i> /	‘guts’
[<i>pata.</i>]	/ <i>pata</i> /	‘tail’
[<i>kulDa.</i>]	/ <i>kulda</i> /	‘fever’

[a] the low central unrounded short vowel occurs elsewhere

[<i>arki</i>]	/ <i>arki</i> /	‘liquor’
[<i>landam</i>]	/ <i>landam</i> /	‘creeper’

Allophones of Consonants

/ t / has two allophones [*T*] and [*t*]

[*T*] the voiceless retroflex stop occurs after retroflex consonant

[<i>gomTem</i>]	/ <i>gomTem</i> /	‘knoT’
[<i>cimTa</i>]	/ <i>cimTa</i> /	‘pinch’
[<i>balTi</i>]	/ <i>balTi</i> /	‘bucket’

[*t*] the voiceless alveolar stop occurs elsewhere

[<i>batke</i>]	/ <i>batke</i> /	‘run’
[<i>betod</i>]	/ <i>beToD</i> /	‘be hungry, hunger’
[<i>dastur</i>]	/ <i>dastur</i> /	‘custom’

/ d / has two allophones [*D*] and [*d*]

[*D*] the voiced retroflex stop occurs after alveolar

[<i>Dinda</i>]	/ <i>DinDa</i> /	‘virgin’
[<i>DiDi</i>]	/ <i>DiDi</i> /	‘stand on toes’
[<i>DugDu</i>]	/ <i>dugDu</i> /	‘arm pit’

[*d*] the voiced alveolar stop occurs elsewhere

[<i>dakin</i>]	/ <i>dakin</i> /	‘south’
[<i>dudmuD</i>]	/ <i>dudmuD</i> /	‘pigeon’
[<i>mudai</i>]	/ <i>mudai</i> /	‘enemy’

/ r / has two allophones [*r*] and [*R*]

[*R*] is retroflex voiced flap occurs medially and finally

[<i>kiRki</i>]	/ <i>kiRki</i> /	‘window’
[<i>ekiRi</i>]	/ <i>ekiRi</i> /	‘twenty’

[<i>baRi</i>]	/ <i>baRi</i> /	‘great-grand-mother’
[<i>gu'R</i>]	/ <i>gu'R</i> /	‘chicken pox’
[<i>koR</i>]	/ <i>koR</i> /	‘leprosy’

[*r*] is alveolar voiced trill occurs elsewhere

[<i>rumang</i>]	/ <i>rumang</i> /	‘face’
[<i>neri</i>]	/ <i>neri</i> /	‘body’
[<i>kayar</i>]	/ <i>kayar</i> /	‘mango’

2.4. CLUSTERS

Both vowel and consonant clusters are available in Kharia.

Vowel clusters

A Diphthong or vowel cluster, also known as a gliding vowel, is a phonetic sequence, considering of a vowel and a glide that is interpreted as a single vowel. It refers to two adjacent vowel sounds occurring within the same syllable. Technically the tongue moves from one point of articulation to other during the pronunciation of the vowel. As per the data the diphthongs in Kharia are -

- <i>ui</i> -	<i>uina</i>	‘pull out’
	<i>kuit-na</i>	‘dance’
	<i>lebui</i>	‘affection
’ - <i>oi</i> -	<i>kinerbois</i>	‘bison
- <i>ai</i> -	<i>aina</i>	‘mirror’
	<i>baiman</i>	‘scoundrel’
	<i>bair</i>	‘be old’
	<i>bilai</i>	‘cat’
	<i>baDai</i>	‘carpenter’
- <i>ou</i> -	<i>larou</i>	‘date palm’
- <i>au</i> -	<i>taukka</i>	‘right’
	<i>lau</i>	‘gourd’

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 occur in the medial position of a word. The occurrence of the consonant's clusters are most frequently in the initial and medial position. A few examples of non-identical clusters are as follows-

The consonant clusters are realized in the following way in Kharia.

Initial Cluster

sw - *swang* 'heaven'

Medial Cluster

- <i>pt</i> -	<i>hapta</i>	'week'
- <i>pc</i> -	<i>cupcap</i>	'be calm'
- <i>pk</i> -	<i>hapkay</i>	'bite'
- <i>pn</i> -	<i>pipni</i>	'eyelid'
- <i>pl</i> -	<i>uple</i>	'float'
- <i>pr</i> -	<i>papro</i>	'tease'
- <i>pR</i> -	<i>tapRay-na</i>	'splash'
- <i>ps</i> -	<i>opsitna</i>	'miss' (a target)
- <i>pp</i> -	<i>Tappu</i>	'island'
- <i>py</i> -	<i>pyA?j</i>	'onion'
- <i>tt</i> -	<i>uttar</i>	'north'
- <i>TT</i> -	<i>moTToga</i>	'force'
- <i>tk</i> -	<i>barke</i>	'run'
- <i>tj</i> -	<i>batjin</i>	'niece'
- <i>tn</i> -	<i>catna</i>	'bee-hive'
- <i>tr</i> -	<i>batrinda</i>	'kitchen'
- <i>Tp</i> -	<i>laTpaTay</i>	'grow like' (creeper)
- <i>Tk</i> -	<i>aTke</i>	'hinder'
- <i>Tk'</i>	<i>baTkara</i>	'balance'
- <i>Tl</i> -	<i>luTleng</i>	'comet'
- <i>Tr</i> -	<i>poTro</i>	'be pregnant'
- <i>ck</i> -	<i>hecki</i>	'hiccup'
- <i>cD</i> -	<i>bicDom</i>	'daughter'
- <i>cr</i> -	<i>ãcra</i>	'cloth border'

- kT -	<i>bokTay</i>	‘take a handful’
- ks -	<i>boksel</i>	‘son-in-law’
- kk -	<i>bokker</i>	‘husband’s brother’
- kl -	<i>bakla</i>	‘bark of a tree’
- kr -	<i>cakri</i>	‘wheel’
- kR -	<i>hokRag</i>	‘his’
- bt -	<i>bebtoD</i>	‘cause to hungry’
- bT -	<i>obTda</i>	‘cause to be crooked’
- bc -	<i>cabcag</i>	‘cause to get lorn’
- bk -	<i>tabkar</i>	‘banyan tree’
- bk -	<i>libka</i>	‘cause to write’
- bd -	<i>obdob</i>	‘cause to cover roof’
- bD -	<i>tobDa</i>	‘mud’
- bj -	<i>robjod</i>	‘cause to dry up’
- bg -	<i>abgur</i>	‘cause to wait’
-bs-	<i>kobsor</i>	‘cause to be dry’
- bh-	<i>mabhana</i>	‘cause to grow’
- bn-	<i>gebna</i>	‘burn’
- bñ-	<i>obñog</i>	‘cause to cat’
- bN-	<i>sabNoD</i>	‘cause to shut’
- bl-	<i>tobluN</i>	‘sky’
- br -	<i>sobre</i>	‘hurry’
- bR -	<i>DobReg</i>	‘cause to be little’
- by-	<i>lobyoD</i>	‘unload’
-dg-	<i>pudga</i>	‘feather’
-dm-	<i>dudmuD</i>	‘pigeon’
-dn-	<i>dadnom</i>	‘your brother’
-dl-	<i>badlay</i>	‘change’
-dr-	<i>adrak</i>	‘ginger’
-dR-	<i>adRo</i>	‘orphan’

-Dt-	<i>uDtiñ</i>	‘I drink’
-DT-	<i>obsiDTuyog</i>	‘lost’
-Dk-	<i>baDke</i>	‘coiffure’
-DD-	<i>betoDDag</i>	‘thirst’
-Dg-	<i>uDgotog</i>	‘drank away’
-Ds-	<i>uDsig</i>	‘has drunk’
-Dn-	<i>uDna</i>	‘to drink’
-Dl-	<i>diDlog</i>	‘paddy field’
-Dr-	<i>kaDru</i>	‘calf of a buffalo’
-jp-	<i>aijpe</i>	‘you (pl) are’
-jt-	<i>dejte</i>	‘cuts’
-jb-	<i>lajbag</i>	‘lie face down’
-jD-	<i>mũjDag</i>	‘black ant’
-jj-	<i>ajjar</i>	‘we (du. Excl) are’
-jn-	<i>dejna</i>	‘to cut’
-jl-	<i>gojlog</i>	‘field’
- gp -	<i>ogpij</i>	cause to break’
- gt -	<i>kulugtar</i>	‘check’
- gT -	<i>jagTa</i>	‘fence’
- gc -	<i>cugci</i>	‘pin’
- gk -	<i>lagkon</i>	‘if’
- gb -	<i>segbol</i>	‘cause to be sweet’
- gd -	<i>pogd</i>	‘big village’
- gD -	<i>jogDag</i>	‘wash floor’
- gj -	<i>ñokogjar</i>	‘we (du. Excl) ate’
- gg -	<i>ñaggoTog</i>	‘ate away’
- gs -	<i>kanagsi</i>	‘comb’
- gm -	<i>sagmu</i>	‘winnowing fan’
- gn -	<i>ñogna</i>	‘to eat’
- gl -	<i>ñokogle</i>	‘we (pl. excl) ate’

- gr -	<i>ragrag</i>	‘flower’
- gw -	<i>cugwe</i>	‘cause to leak’
- st -	<i>sasta</i>	‘be cheap’
- sk -	<i>muskal</i>	‘trap’ (for mouse)
- sm -	<i>casma</i>	‘spectacles’
- sl -	<i>uslog</i>	‘ground’
- sr -	<i>pusri</i>	‘pimple’
- sR -	<i>rasRom</i>	‘garlic’
- sw -	<i>biswas</i>	‘faith’
- hk -	<i>mahke</i>	‘be fragrant’
- hs -	<i>lahsay</i>	‘bend’
- hm -	<i>brahman</i>	‘brahmin’
- hn -	<i>kehni</i>	‘knee’
- hr -	<i>cEhra</i>	‘face’
- hR -	<i>RõhRa</i>	‘pumpkin’
- mp -	<i>pampolla</i>	‘butterfly’
- mt -	<i>dimtaN</i>	‘cattle shed’
- mT -	<i>cimTa</i>	‘tongs’
- mk -	<i>rumkub</i>	‘rice’
	<i>simkom</i>	‘star’
- mb -	<i>umbes</i>	‘bad’
	<i>dirombo</i>	‘slowly’
- md -	<i>somdor</i>	‘sea’
- mD -	<i>kulamDay</i>	‘sister’
	<i>alamDa</i>	‘dew’
- mj -	<i>kamjor</i>	‘be week’
- mg-	<i>tomgoTog</i>	‘samshed away’
- mm-	<i>kummeng</i>	‘flash’
- ms -	<i>ramsiyar</i>	‘wolf’
- mn -	<i>ñemna</i>	‘heat’

- ml -	<i>tomleN</i>	‘milk’
- mr -	<i>tamras</i>	‘guava fruit’
- mR -	<i>kamRa</i>	‘blanket’
- np -	<i>kanpaTi</i>	‘cheek’
- nt -	<i>hante</i>	‘there’
- nT -	<i>ganTa</i>	‘bell’
- nk -	<i>kinkar</i>	‘mother-in-law’
- nb -	<i>gonbiD</i>	‘basket’
- nd -	<i>bandar</i>	‘monkey’
	<i>konda</i>	‘dump’
- nD -	<i>anDa</i>	‘egg’
	<i>baranDo</i>	‘storm’
- nj -	<i>hanjeg</i>	‘that one’
-ns-	<i>konsel</i>	‘maid’
-nh-	<i>kenhel</i>	‘be heavy’
-nm-	<i>bonme</i>	‘be new’
-nn-	<i>otonna</i>	‘to stab’
-nl-	<i>kanla</i>	‘medicine’
-nr-	<i>konroka</i>	‘be young’
-nw-	<i>manwa</i>	‘mankind’
-ny-	<i>danya</i>	‘cumin seeds’
-ñj-	<i>añjor</i>	‘lead’
-ñg-	<i>tuñgol</i>	‘index finger’
-?m-	<i>ta?muna</i>	‘sneeze’
-ñn-	<i>Diñna</i>	‘to pull’
-Nt-	<i>boNtel</i>	‘buffalo’ (he)
-NT-	<i>laNTa</i>	‘be naked’
- Nk -	<i>paRaNkal</i>	‘rib’
- NT‘ -	<i>aNT‘a</i>	‘toe’
- Nb -	<i>DaNbodi</i>	‘strig beans’

- ND-	<i>cunDag</i>	‘well’
- Ng-	<i>eNge</i>	‘drenched’
- Ns-	<i>saNsaN</i>	‘turmeric’
- Nn-	<i>botoNna</i>	‘be afraid’
- Nr-	<i>ToNri</i>	‘hill’
- NR-	<i>goNRiN</i>	‘kitchen’
- lp -	<i>balpos</i>	‘adopt’
- lt -	<i>gilte</i>	‘hits’
- lT -	<i>ulTa</i>	‘be topsy-turvy’
- lk -	<i>palkoT</i>	‘cave’
- ld -	<i>jaldi</i>	‘be quick’
- lD -	<i>kulDag</i>	‘illness’
- lg -	<i>salge</i>	‘be kindled’
- ls -	<i>alsi</i>	‘wood-planner’
- lh -	<i>culha</i>	‘stove’
- lm -	<i>jilmile</i>	‘glitter’
- ln-	<i>calni</i>	‘sieve’
- lr -	<i>ulray</i>	‘turn around’

Three – Consonant Clusters

-mbR-	<i>kambRa</i>	‘blanket’
-ml?-	<i>uml?a</i>	‘otherwise’
-ntr-	<i>santra</i>	‘orange’
-nt‘R-	<i>kant‘ra</i>	‘jack fruit’
-ndr-	<i>kindray</i>	‘turn around’
-ndR-	<i>mandRi</i>	‘durum’
-ñjr-	<i>pañjra</i>	‘rib’
-Ngr-	<i>aNgri</i>	‘finger’
-bnD-	<i>lubnDa</i>	‘cause to wash floor’
-lnD-	<i>ulnDe</i>	‘lie down’
-rnD-	<i>barnDe</i>	whirl wind’

-bñj-	<i>abñjor</i>	‘cause to wait’
-bNk-	<i>abNku</i>	‘cause to wear chaddar’
-bNg-	<i>sebNgor</i>	‘straighten’
-TNg-	<i>TeTNga</i>	‘lizard’
-blh-	<i>seblhoN</i>	‘deepen’
-bnh-	<i>kebnhel</i>	‘load’
-gtr-	<i>sugtrom</i>	‘thread’
-ygn-	<i>baygni</i>	‘be blue’

2.5. 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.

Syllabification is the separation of a word into syllables, whether spoken or written. Syllables are of open and close structure.

Monosyllabic words

Open

CV	<i>pe</i>	‘cooked rice’
CV	<i>Da</i>	‘water’
CV	<i>ma</i>	‘mother’
CV	<i>mo</i>	‘smoke’
CV	<i>yo</i>	‘look at’
VCV	<i>uju</i>	‘boil’
VCV	<i>abó</i>	‘games’/’act’

Close

VC	<i>o?</i>	‘house’
CVC	<i>món</i>	‘intention’
CVC	<i>tam</i>	‘eight’

CVC	<i>tay</i>	‘share’
CVC	<i>kad</i>	‘comb’
Disyllabic Words		
Open		
CV-CV	<i>lo-yo</i>	‘tired’
VC-CV	<i>at-Ta</i>	‘flour’
CV-CCV	<i>ki-kki</i>	‘fox’
CV-CCV	<i>ha-pta</i>	‘week’
Close		
VC-VC	<i>oR-ep</i>	‘oldness’
CV-CVC	<i>go-gom</i>	‘wheat’
CV-CC	<i>ja-ng</i>	‘bone’
VC-CVC	<i>ad-rak</i>	‘ginger’
CVC-VCC	<i>ler-ang</i>	‘month’
CVC – CVC	<i>rum- kuk</i>	‘uncooked rice’
Tri-syllabic words		
Open		
CV-CV-CV	<i>ta-lo-wa</i>	‘sole’ (of foot)
CV-CCV-CV	<i>ci-ppa-na</i>	‘brew’
Close		
CV-CV-CC	<i>to-mo-ng</i>	‘mouth’
VC-CV-CC	<i>ta-ra-ng</i>	‘shoulder’
CV-CC-VC	<i>du-dm-uD</i>	‘pigeon’
CV-CVC-CV	<i>ro-mog-Da</i>	‘tears’
CVC-CV-CVVC	<i>dal-go-Tuni</i>	‘cheese’
CV-CVC-CVVC	<i>ki-ner-bois</i>	‘poison’

3. MORPHOPHONEMICS

Morphophonemics, is the study of the relationship between morphology and phonology. Morphophonemic involves an investigation of the phonological variations within morphemes, usually marking different grammatical functions. The changes in Kharia are realized in the following ways.

Alternation				
<i>b</i>	→	<i>b</i>		
<i>d?</i>	→	<i>d</i>	<i>o/-V</i>	
<i>/ud?</i>	-	<i>e</i>	<i>/-pe/ → /udepe/</i>	‘you (plural) will drink’
<i>/dej?</i>	-	<i>e</i>	<i>/-pe/ → /dejepe/</i>	‘you (plural) will cut’
1. <i>e</i>	→	<i>I - M</i>		
<i>/uD?/</i>		<i>-te</i>	<i>- M → uD?tiM</i>	‘I drunk’
2. <i>D</i>	→	<i>R / -e</i>		
<i>/melaygoD/</i>		<i>-e</i>	<i>melaygoRe</i>	‘will give up’
<i>/obgoj?goD</i>		<i>- e</i>	<i>obgoy?goRa</i>	‘will kill away’
3. <i>s</i>	→	<i>cg/j?-</i>		
<i>/goj? - si?</i>			<i>goj?chi?</i>	‘has died’
<i>/kaj - si?</i>			<i>kaj? Ch??</i>	‘has put off’
4. <i>ui</i>	→	<i>uy/-v</i>		
<i>/jũ -o?</i>			<i>/jũyo?/</i>	‘swelled’
<i>/kui- o?</i>			<i>kuyo/</i>	‘found’
5. <i>/jab - o?</i>	→	<i>japho?/</i>		‘joined’
<i>/eD - o?</i>	→	<i>eTho?</i>		‘measured’
<i>/dej-o?</i>	→	<i>decho?</i>		‘ant’
<i>/M’og - o?</i>	→	<i>Mokho?</i>		‘ate’

4.MORPHOLOGY

Morphology deals with the internal structure of the words. Morphology deals with words and their declensional pattern as well as verbs and their conjugational pattern.

Kharia language is an inflexional type of language. That means, here words are formed by adding syllables or letters i.e. affixes.

4.1. NOUN MORPHOLOGY

Noun Morphology deals with the nominal and pronominal forms and classifies them along with their declensional and inflectional affixes in association with Gender, Number, and Case etc. In this connection we will discuss here following aspects which the nouns of this language exhibit: two numbers (singular and plural), two genders (masculine and feminine), and seven cases (nominative, accusative, dative, ablative, genitive, locative and vocative).

4.1.1. WORD FORMATION

The process of deriving new words from the roots by affixation is known as *word formation*. The addition of the derivative suffixes brings about the semantic change. This a regular process for creation of new terms.

In Kharia word formation has three parts. They are

1. Compounding
2. Reduplication
3. Derivations

1.Compounding

In compounding two or more than two free morphemes combine together to form a single unit. A Compound is a word that consists of more than one stem. Instances in Kharia are as follows

dewtain ‘goddess’

dudmuD ‘pigeon’

behiyar ‘worker’

(i) Noun + Noun head I

mami ‘father’s sister, mother’s brother’s wife’

mamu ‘mother’s brother, father’s sister’s husband’

(ii) Noun + noun head II (verbal derivative)

<i>kulam</i>		‘younger + Day ‘sister’ >
<i>kulamDay</i>		‘younger sister’

(iii) Adjective + noun head

<i>kãRay + bog</i>		‘old woman’
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(iv) Numeral + noun head

<i>mõñ</i>	‘one’ + <i>og</i>	‘house’ = <i>mõñ og</i>	‘one house’
<i>mõñ</i>	‘one’ + <i>anDa</i>	‘egg’ = <i>mõñ anDa</i>	‘one egg’
<i>baria</i>	‘two’ + <i>biloi</i>	‘cat’ = <i>baria biloiakkiar</i>	‘two cats’
<i>upey</i>	‘three’ + <i>solo</i>	‘dog’ = <i>u’pey solo</i>	‘three dogs’

(v) Noun + Noun (both the heads)

sing.	<i>kunRu ro kunRi</i>	‘boy and girl’
plur.	<i>kunRuki ro kunRiki</i>	‘boys and girls’

2.Reduplication

Reduplication is a morphological process in which the root or stem of a word (or part of it) or even the whole word is repeated exactly or with a slight change. In reduplication the second element is complete or partial repetition of the first element. It can be similar or partial. The examples pertaining to various word classes are given below.

Nouns

<i>jogDag</i>	‘wash floor’
<i>kinkar</i>	‘mother in-law’
<i>tenko menko</i>	‘curved’

1. Derivation

In derivation, new words are formed by means of bound derivational suffixes and prefixes.

- *ai*

<i>murai</i>	‘raddish’
<i>bilai</i>	‘cat’

- <i>ar</i>	<i>bawar</i>	‘water wheel or poles’
	<i>chappakar</i>	‘printer’
	<i>jamadar</i>	‘sweeper’
- <i>ari</i>	<i>binsari</i>	‘morning star’
- <i>iya</i>	<i>horhoriya</i>	‘a kind of non-poisonous snake usually found in abundance in the rainy season’.
	<i>upiya</i>	‘flying ant’
- <i>i</i>	<i>eRi</i>	‘heel’
	<i>ului</i>	‘hair’
	<i>baRi</i>	‘great – grand daughter’
- <i>era</i>	<i>panera</i>	‘panseller’
	<i>lera</i>	‘abandon’, ‘discard’
- <i>k</i>	<i>bolsink</i>	‘nausen’
	<i>chok</i>	‘sharp’
	<i>kanĕ</i>	‘fast’
- <i>pen</i>	<i>pen</i>	‘cobra’s hood’
- <i>ri</i>	<i>Tatri</i>	‘skeleton’
	<i>kanRi</i>	‘believe’

4. Forming nouns from verbs

<i>zero</i> (abstract)	<i>phonga</i>	‘bore’ (a hole)
	<i>teg</i>	‘break’ (stick, trans)
- <i>ai</i> (abstract)	<i>gaNgai</i>	‘maize’
	<i>ragadai-na</i>	‘grate’
	<i>urai-na</i>	‘arrange’
- <i>ai</i> (payment)	<i>icilrai-na</i>	‘blow nose’
	<i>ragadai</i>	‘great’
- <i>ak</i>	<i>takna</i>	‘serve’ (food)
- <i>an</i>	<i>cakan</i>	‘slap’
- <i>aw</i> (abstract)	<i>dãw</i>	‘times’
- <i>awa</i>	<i>bãwa</i>	‘eye brow’
- <i>uwa</i>	<i>cuhuwa</i>	‘chin’
- <i>i</i> (abstract)	<i>bujhi</i>	‘understand’
- <i>era</i> (agentive)	<i>cerebera</i>	‘chirp’ (as birds)
- <i>t</i>	<i>rogõyt -</i>	‘wash’ (utensils)
- <i>ti</i> (abstract)	<i>panti</i>	‘row’, ‘line’
- <i>ppa</i>	<i>Tippa</i>	‘drip’ (as water)
- <i>war</i>	<i>katwar</i>	‘sweepings’
	<i>gãwar</i>	‘idiot’
- <i>ãy</i>	<i>dãy</i>	‘go away’

iv) Numeral + noun head

<i>mõñ</i>	‘one’ + <i>og</i> ‘house’	=	<i>mõñog</i> ‘one house’
<i>mõñ</i>	‘one’ + <i>sapta</i> ‘week’	=	<i>mõñ sapta</i> ‘one week’
<i>mõñ</i>	‘one’ + <i>paNka</i> ‘fan’	=	<i>mõñ paNka</i> ‘one fan’

v) Noun + Noun (both are heads)

mõñ + anDa = *mõñanDa* ‘one egg’

mõñ + biloi = *mõñ biloi* ‘one cat’

4.2. NOUN

The noun is the class of words, which is capable of taking case markers. The sub classes of the noun are the substantive, the pronoun and the numeral.

The nouns may be classified into two which may be called masculine and feminine on the basis of which the adjectives agree with gender of the noun that follows. This is applicable for animate nouns. The nouns referring to males belong to the masculine class and the nouns referring to the females belong to the feminine class. Inanimate objects are also divided into masculine, feminine classes.

Number

Noun denotes the singular and plural numbers. It is an object or being, then it is singular, more than two object or beings then it is plural.

Gender

In Kharia gender may be classified into masculine and feminine. There is no neuter gender.

Masculine

All the masculine genders are male members like viz, Ravi, kumar etc.

In most cases the masculine suffix markers is - *a* (specific)

Examples-

aba ‘father’

baRa ‘father’s father’

andra ‘blind’ (male)

buRa ‘old man’

rara ‘widower’

Feminine

All the feminine genders are female members like Rani, Roma.

Feminine suffix / - i / is the specific marker.

mami 'mother's brother wife'

coTki ba'rki 'co-wife'

arabDi 'orphan' (female)

duNkui 'mother's mother'

andri 'blind' (female)

aji (elder) 'brother's wife'

rari 'widow'

Case

The case defines the relationship between the noun and the predicate in a sentence. In Kharia language nominative, accusative, dative, genitive, ablative and locative cases are identified.

Cases	Markers
1. Nominative and Agentive	- <i>ton</i>
2. Accusative	<i>te</i>
3. Dative	<i>atong / te</i>
4. Ablative	<i>tay/tei</i>
5. Genitive	<i>a</i>
6. Locative	<i>te</i>
7. Vocative	<i>he</i>

1. Nominative Case

The nominative case generally marks the subject of a verb or the predicate noun.

sadiyagton 'for the sake of marriage'

amag gōRiyagton 'for the sake of your cow'

mōñ gad'a soNnagton 'for buying a donkey'

2. Accusative Case

Accusative case markers are usually added with the direct objects of the verbs.

Accusative case marker is *te*

<i>lebu – te</i>	‘the man’
<i>kunRu – te</i>	‘the child’
<i>goRi – te</i>	‘the cow’
<i>b’alu – te</i>	‘the bear’
<i>kapTo sangoTe</i>	‘open the door’

3 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 dative case marker is *-te*

<i>lebu - te</i>	‘to the man’
<i>nog - te</i>	‘to eat’
<i>uD - te</i>	‘to drink’
<i>pj - te</i>	‘to break’

4. 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. The ablative case marker is *-tay / tei*

<i>kinirtay</i>	‘from the forest’
<i>hokRag apRomagtay</i>	‘from his father’
<i>apa – ki –tai</i>	‘from fathers’
<i>apa – tei</i>	‘from a father’
<i>apa – ki – tai</i>	‘from fathers’
<i>beTi – tei</i>	‘from a daughter’

5. Genitive Case

This case expresses the meaning of belonging to or possession of something by the subject. The marker for genitive case is - *a*.

<i>konsel duga dauDa</i>	‘The basket of the wife’
<i>lebu – a</i>	‘of the man’
<i>konsel – a</i>	‘of the woman’
<i>kunRu – a</i>	‘of the girl’
<i>mandir – a</i>	‘of the temple’

6. 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. Locative case marker in kharia is *te*. The locative case markers are *te* ‘in’ and ‘*te*’ ‘on’. They refer to different kinds of location.

<i>kitab Table hinte āyn</i>	‘The book is on the table’
<i>o nain – te iting</i>	‘I am in my house’
<i>lNg potate a ‘vu – taN</i>	‘I live in the village’
<i>ele am – te otle – le</i>	‘He is in the house’
<i>kōle piNjra – te āyn</i>	‘The parrot is in the cage’
<i>kōledaru – te āyN</i>	‘The parrot is on the tree’

7. Vocative Case

The Vocative Case is used to denote address. Vocative case marker is used with the third person noun. The vocative marker is *he*.

<i>he lebu</i>	‘O! man’
<i>he biloi</i>	‘O! cat’
<i>he kinirag abāki</i>	‘O! fathers of the forest’
<i>he maha raj</i>	‘O great king’

4.3. PRONOUN

A Pronoun is a grammatical component referring to earlier mentioned noun and functions as an anaphoric or deictic category.

Pronouns are inflected for number and case. Pronouns are of various types viz.,

1. Personal Pronoun
2. Demonstrative Pronoun
3. Other Pronouns as relative, correlative, interrogative and indefinite.

1. Personal Pronoun

A pronoun used instead of the name of person is called a Personal pronoun. These Pronouns in Kharia are given below.

Sg		du		pl.	
<i>iñ</i>	‘I’	<i>inñar</i> (excl)		<i>ele</i>	(excl)
		<i>aNaN</i> (incl)		<i>aniN</i>	(incl)
<i>am</i>	‘you’	<i>ambar</i>		<i>ampe</i>	‘we’
<i>hokar</i>	‘he’	<i>kokiar</i>		<i>hoki</i>	
<i>ukaR</i>	‘she’	<i>ukiar</i>		<i>uki</i>	
<i>ankaR</i>	‘it’	<i>hankiar</i>		<i>hanki</i>	
<i>aDi</i>		<i>aDkiyar</i>		<i>aDki</i>	

2. Demonstrative Pronoun

A pronoun that points out an object, one person or several persons is called a demonstrative pronoun. These Pronouns in Kharia are given below.

The elements / *ho* /, / *u* / and / *han* / are demonstratives. Demonstratives are divided into two classes i.e., ordinary and interrogative. They are:

<i>u</i>	‘this’
<i>ho</i>	‘that’
<i>han</i>	‘that’ (remote)
<i>hin</i>	‘that’ (invisible)

a 'which'

i 'what'

that

hotij 'that side'

utij 'this side'

atij 'which side'

3. Other Pronouns

akaR 'which person'

akiar 'which two men'

a) Relative Pronoun

ukar 'this person'

ukiar 'these two persons'

u – ai 'these persons'

u – je 'this person or thing'

b) Correlative Pronoun

ho 'that'

han 'that far off'

c) Interogative Pronoun

mas, fem *ber* 'who' / 'what'

ata 'which'

d) Indefinite Pronoun

berjo 'any one'

4.4. 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 into three types.

These are

1. Qualitative
2. Demonstrative
and
3. Numeral adjectives

1. Qualitative adjectives

A Qualitative adjective describes the qualities of a noun (person, place or thing).

jalong 'high'

function as attribute to Noun in

jalong biru 'high mountain'

2. Demonstrative adjectives

The demonstrative adjectives and interrogative adjectives are found from simple stems which function as noun attributes.

ho 'that girl'

u 'this work'

3. Numeral adjectives

The cardinal numerals are nouns but they are added to the adjectives to modify nouns. It may occur either before or after the noun.

kiyar 'two dogs'

beriya lebukiyar 'two persons'

(ii) Complex adjectives

Complex adjectives are derived from adverbs and by adding adjectives markers to the verbal case/noun.

1.5. NUMERAL

Numeral is a word denoting a number or quality. 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 monomorphemic words and the derived ones are compound numerals.

1. <i>mõn</i>	‘one’
2. <i>ubar</i>	‘two’
3. <i>upey</i>	‘three’
4. <i>ipon</i>	‘four’
5. <i>moloy</i>	‘five’
6. <i>tibru</i>	‘six’
7. <i>tom</i>	‘seven’
8. <i>tam</i>	‘eight’
9. <i>tomsing</i>	‘nine’
10. <i>gol</i>	‘ten’
11. <i>golmõn</i>	‘eleven’
12. <i>golubar</i>	‘twelve’
13. <i>gol upei</i>	‘thirteen’
14. <i>gol ipon</i>	‘fourteen’
15. <i>gol moloy</i>	‘fifteen’
16. <i>gol tibru</i>	‘sixteen’

17. <i>gol tom</i>	‘seventeen’
18. <i>gol tam</i>	‘eighteen’
19. <i>gol tamsIng</i>	‘nineteen’
20. <i>ekRi</i>	‘twenty’
21. <i>ekRi gol</i>	‘thirty’
22. <i>barekiRi</i>	‘forty’
23. <i>barekiRi gol</i>	‘fifty’
24. <i>upe ekiRi</i>	‘sixty’
25. <i>upe ekiRi</i>	‘seventy’
26. <i>ipon ekiRi</i>	‘eighty’
27. <i>ipon ekiRi gol</i>	‘ninety’
28. <i>saye</i>	‘hundred’

2. Ordinals

<i>pahela</i>	‘first’
<i>d’usra</i>	‘second’
<i>tisra</i>	‘third’

3. Fractions

<i>coday</i>	‘quarter’
<i>adho</i>	‘half’
<i>sava</i>	‘one and a quarter’
<i>džR</i>	‘one and a half’
<i>loRo</i>	‘last’
<i>mojhi</i>	‘middle’

Other Numerals

<i>tog</i>	‘time’
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<i>sob ga</i>	‘every one’
<i>mõñ ga dura</i>	‘only one door’
<i>ubar ugp‘e</i>	‘two or three’
<i>bar soN</i>	‘two times’

4.6. VERB MORPHOLOGY

A verb is a member of the syntactic class of words that signals events and actions. It may occur singly or in a phrase, a minimal predicate in a clause and 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, voice, modality and agreement with other constituents in terms of person, number and grammatical gender.

4.6.1 FINITE VERB & NON-FINITE VERB

A Finite Verb is a form of a verb that shows agreement for a subject and is marked for tense and its sense denotes completion of an action.

A Non- Finite Verb is a form of a verb that does not show agreement for a subject and is not marked for tense and its sense does not denote completion of an action.

The finite verbs contain inflectional elements like tense markers, aspect markers, imperative markers and personal markers.

Tense

Present	<i>-te</i>	<i>-ti</i>	<i>-ta</i>
Past	<i>-o?</i>	<i>-yo?</i>	<i>-ki</i>
Future	<i>e</i>		<i>-na</i>

Tense is suffixed to the base with or without aspect marker.

Verb root + (aspect) + tense

First set of markers

The present tense marker is – *te* which has two allomorphs.

Aspect

Aspect refers to duration, perfection, recurrence etc. of time. Aspects are progressive and habitual.

There are two aspects –perfect and continuous which are mutually exclusive. The first one occurs with or without being followed by the suffix and the second one occurs only after present tense suffixes.

verb root + Aspect1 + (Tense)

verb root + Tense + Aspect2

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.

Kharia has three moods-Indicative, Imperative and Subjunctive. Most verbs are in the Indicative mood.

ujhe solo? hecce 'This is a dog'

this dog is a

o? nainte: i?tiñg 'I am in my house'

solo? ba:bru-te 'The dogs bark'

dog bark

Some verbs are in the imperative mood, which expresses commands or requests. Though it is not stated, the understood subject of imperative sentence is 'you'.

beront-na 'speak slowly'

dokku-na 'sit down'

toNko?n-na 'stand up'

In the subjunctive mood the sense is to suppose or desire an action.

am tauka neDa-te damnam laujje yona paltenaNg 'If you come in time we will examine this'

iNk delna pa:litiNk 'I may come'

Perfect participle

-kon is the perfect participle marker which is added to the verbal bases.

/Mo? - kon/ 'having eaten' /col-kon/ 'to go'

/Mo? - na/ 'to eat'

4.6.2. VERBAL NOUN

Verbs are inflected to 'da' throughout the obligatory mood and take the usual post positions after the manner of masculine nouns in 'le'.

marda dayale 'running is done by horse'

INFINITIVE

The infinitive marker – *na* is added to the verbal stem. One of the functions of infinitive is to refer to purpose of meaning. Instances from Kharia are given below.

<i>kamu-na</i>	'to work'	<i>pare-na</i>	'to read'
<i>bay-na</i>	'to make'	<i>gam-na</i>	'to say'
<i>ter-na</i>	'to give'		

4.6.3. VERB

The auxiliary verb is used to indicate continuous aspect. This verbal base, added to the main verb is conjugated in all tenses for showing continuous aspect. Instances in Kharia are given below.

<i>am ukkai gamen</i>	'you should say this'
<i>iNg ina cho-nayNk</i>	'why should I go'
<i>am ubarraNk tamras neogem</i>	'you should eat two guavas'
<i>iNk dena paltiN</i>	'I should come'
<i>am jarul dayiN</i>	'you should go'
<i>am u-kkai gamen</i>	'you should say this'
<i>ing dura denain</i>	'I shall come tomorrow'
<i>kamu la'mu-na sona caki</i>	'One should go to find a job'

NEGATIVE VERB

<i>'om 'not'</i>	<i>abu</i>	don't'
<i>ing oming karai</i>		'I cannot this'
<i>rail gaRi samay cive om-coltayN</i>		'The train is no running on time'
<i>ing oming kamu-na</i>		'I do not have to work'

am abu ka'munam 'You (sg) do not have work'

ing dam-na seng-abu co'nem 'do not go before I come'

4.6.4. TRANSITIVITY

Verbs are of two types- intransitive and transitive. But the intransitive verbs can be converted to transitive verbs.

a) **Intransitive Verbs** do not take object. Examples are illustrated below.

ing gil – king 'I am beating'

ing pare – king 'I am reading'

ing like – king 'I am writing'

b) **Transitive Verb**

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

1. *tol* 'tie' > 'transitive verb root'
tolokiyar 'they tied' complete verb phrase
- a. *eNna lagki – kiyar* 'they were returning'
enna 'to return', infinitive
en 'return' (trans. Verb – root)
- na 'infinitive suffix'

Transitivity

ing gil ting 'I beat'

ing nona-ting 'I eat'

ing chol-ting 'I go'

ele chol-le 'We go'

ele gil-o-le 'we beat'

ing gil ting 'I am beating'

4.7. ADVERB

The adverb is a part of speech which modifies a verb or an adjective or another adverb. Adverb is classified into-

1. Manner
2. Time
3. Place

1. Manner

- *gay*

hogay 'that manner'

ug'ay 'this manner'

ig'ay 'what manner, how'

2. Time 'b'ere'

taN 'now' *meNsonk* 'sometimes'

musa 'this day' *tuDa* 'tomorrow'

bersong 'that time' *dio* 'daily'

ho b'ere 'at that time'

hanjeg 'that one'

3. Place

utte 'here'

ate 'where'

gaT/tong 'for'

Echo word/Reduplication

Echo Word or Onomatopoeic Words are a particular kind of reduplication in which the sound of the word seems to echo its sense. Instances of Reduplication in Kharia are as follows –

<i>lamlam</i>	‘stalk’ (hunting)
<i>guidguidar</i>	‘dancer’
<i>kaRkaR</i>	‘bitter’
<i>buRfur</i>	‘animal’
<i>bui bui</i>	‘animal tame’

5. SYNTAX

Syntax deals with the rules of a language, particularly how the various parts of sentences go together.

5.1. ORDER OF WORDS IN SENTENCES

A sentence is a group of words that are put together to mean something. A sentence is the basic unit of which expresses a complete meaning or thought. A sentence is comprised of subject and predicate. The subject is the head of the construction. The predicate comprises of object + verb or verb alone.

Examples

o? *nainTe* *dāy* ‘go to my house’

house my go

o? *nom* *dāy* ‘go to your house’

house to your go

o? *naiñte* *ay* ‘come to my house’

house to my come

iNg *aNgte* *colkiN* ‘I went there’

I there went

5.2. DESCRIPTION OF TYPES OF SENTENCES

a) 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 and these sentences asking Questions are Interrogative Sentences. In the following instances, sentences are formed by question words like *kha-* ‘what’, *kabuTTe* ‘when’, *kakha* ‘where’, *ko:n* ‘who’, *keu* ‘why’, *akey* ‘what’.

buka - *kha-* *ye* *go?* What do you eat?

what do you eat

mai ka *kha – rungo?* What shall I eat?

i what eat shall

<i>tuma:re na:m ka-kaboi?</i>	What are your names?
your pl names what	
<i>tu kabuTTe uTTe he?</i>	When do you get up?
you when do get	
<i>tu kakha rey?</i>	Where do you live?
you where live	
<i>mere sang ko:n a:ngo</i>	Who will come with me?
me with who come	
<i>mokku-keu janne chaye?</i>	Why should I go?
i why go should	
<i>kiya tumari began hēn?</i>	Is she your sister?
is your sister	
<i>thilo nam kakey?</i>	What is your name?
your name what is	

b) 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.

<i>ya deno chakiye</i>	‘let us give (it)’
let give us	
<i>ya karno chakiye</i>	‘let us do (it)’
let do us	
<i>ya pi:no chakiye</i>	‘let us drink (it)’
let drink us	
<i>hamme ga:mku jano chaye</i>	‘let us go to the village’
let us village go us	
<i>hum ku bojan banano chaye</i>	‘let us cook and eat here’
let eat cook us	

c) Negative Sentences

Sentences expressing negation are negative sentences. The negatives occur medially in a sentence. The word for negation is 'nai' in Kharia

bu tumru nai pa:n karno chaye 'He must not smoke'

he smoke not must

tumme je-kam nai karno chaye 'you must do not this work'

you this work not do

yadi be nai chakiye to yaku mokky deo 'If they do not want do not give it to me'

d) Causative Sentences

When the subject performs an action through another agent the verb is in causative. The second agent is realised as an object. Adding 'kaTTo' forms the causative verb

kar-o kaTTO 'He makes them do'

do he makes

tu:ro kaTTo 'He makes them break'

break he makes

5.3. DESCRIPTION OF PATTERNS OF SENTENCES

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 an infinitive phrase.

hokkaR chol ki 'He went away'

he away went

iñg ñyotiN 'I eat'

i eat

dauRa maha āyn ‘The basket is big’

basket big

Iñg po?tate auvtaN ‘I live in the village’

I village live

In the last two sentences the predicate is formed with two words, a verb and a word which completes the predicative function of the verb which otherwise does not convey the full semantic sense. *maha/ po?tate* are the objects. In the first two sentences the verbs do not take objects. They are intransitive verbs.

iñg ama soRi kamuna chonayñg

I you with work must go+will

‘I will go with you to work’

hokkar iña hoh eppen auta

he my house near stays

‘He stays near my house’

sauday nāya gāN tonme gahana songsidiNk

wife new my ornaments brought

‘I have brought new ornaments for my wife’

Some verbs show incomplete prediction. They take a word, which is a noun or an adjective to complete the predicate functions as in the following sentences.

ujje marta ekke ‘That is a horse’

that horse

ho beTTa bahira āyn ‘That boy is deaf’

that boy deaf

In these *marta* and *bahira* are the complements.

Concordance

The relation between the subject and the predicate is indicated by concordance of number, person and gender between the subject and the predicate.

The verb in the predicate agrees with the subject in number and person.

iNg cholting 'I go'

I go

ampe chona 'you go' (Sg.)

you go

ele choltale 'we go' (Pl.)

we go

iñg chona 'I go'

I go

If the verb in the predicate is in indicative third person singular it not only agrees with the subject in number and person but also in gender.

jari jinis sie maysi 'Everyone went there'

hojje hoyki 'It has happened'

Simple sentences are combination of Noun Phrase, Adjective phrase, Infinitive phrase, Verb phrase and Adverb phrase.

Noun Phrase

The NP may consist of an article, adjective, noun, number and case in an order. The noun phrase has the following constituent structure - (Article) + (Number) + (Possessive) + (Descriptive) + Noun. The article may be definite or indefinite and the number may be singular or plural.

Attributive

Article + Noun

ho kitab 'that book'

that book

<i>ujje o?</i>	‘this house’
<i>this house</i>	
<i>ho beTa</i>	‘this boy’
<i>this boy</i>	
<i>han beTTi</i>	‘that girl’
<i>that girl</i>	
<i>jughay beTTa</i>	‘many boys’
<i>many boys</i>	
<i>jechoRe</i>	‘these boys’
<i>these boys</i>	
<i>taypo beTa</i>	‘those boys’
<i>those boys</i>	

Additive

Number + Noun	<i>mo:n beTTa</i>	‘one boy’
	<i>one boy</i>	
	<i>ubarbeTTa</i>	‘two boys’
	<i>two boy</i>	
	<i>u’pey lebu</i>	‘three men’
	<i>three man</i>	
	<i>mo’loy kawa</i>	‘five crows’
	<i>five crows</i>	

Possessive

Possessive + Noun

<i>tukkare</i>	‘bird’s nest’
<i>bird’s nest</i>	
<i>kawi-ne anDa</i>	‘crow’s egg’
crow egg	
<i>hokkara solo</i>	‘his dog’
his dog	
<i>hokkara goydo?</i>	‘his field’
his field	

Adjective Phrase

Descriptive + Noun

<i>kelomDa beTTi</i>	‘beautiful girl’
beautiful girl	
<i>baiR lebu</i>	‘old man’
old man	
<i>maha gaRi</i>	‘big cart’
big cart	

Verb phrase

<i>hotte tay</i>	‘goes there’
there goes	

Infinitive Phrase

<i>obuD cai</i>	‘to drink tea’
one tea	

2. Complex Sentences

A complex sentence consists of more than one clause, one of which functions independently and is called the main or the principal clause and a subordinate clause which is dependent on the main clause. The Principal Clause may be a noun clause, adjective clause or adverb clause.

iñg dokko sinay la? kamunayñg ãniñg
I if upon sit would have more work done

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

iñg hoyye unniñg dokkosina la? ka:mu umkoyna ãniñg
if i upon not sit would have work more no could done

‘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. In the example below, ‘*la: ka:mu*’ is the Noun clause.

ing dokkoji nayang la: ka:mu bo:nga aning
in sit upon work

If I sit upon, the work will be done’

ii) Adjective Clause

A clause that can be substituted for an adjective is an adjective clause. In the example below, the adjective is ‘*okkaR*’ (demonstrative adjective).

okkaR kontinte-ti tarana palte
the bird kill should

‘He should kill the bird’

iii) Adverbial clause

A clause, which can be substituted for an adverb, is an adverb clause. In the example below, the adverb is ‘*kab*’ (Adverb of Time).

bu kab a:yo ‘when did he come’

he when come

yaddi tum samy te a:ye jo hum vyaki ‘If you come in time we will examine this’

if you in time come this we examine

3. Compound sentence

A Compound Sentence is a combination of two independent sentences joined by a conjunction. The conjunction generally used by in Kharia is *aur* 'and'.

bhokuppo a:t-page bajo aur logen -ne
kam karno su:ro kardio!

'I caught the train at 10.30 a.m. and came to the office at 11.30 a.m.'

Co-ordination

Two or more sentences can be coordinated into a single sentence. Co-ordination's are performed by *aur* 'and' *pir* 'but', *aur* 'again', *ke* 'or', *sang* 'with', *duwara* 'by' etc.

Co-ordination by using *aur* 'and'

iya e:k billi aur e:k kutta hein
here a cat and a dog is

'Here is a cat and a dog'

barat aur Pakistan maddio e:k laRai hoi attir

India and pakistan between a war was there

'There was a war between India and Pakistan'.

Co-ordination by using *pir* 'but'

me ja:no hatto pir me ja:no nai gay
you go to but did not had

'you had to go but they did not go'

bin aurtanku ja:no hatto pir we nai gai

those ladies go had but they not go

'Those ladies had to go but they did not go'

pattia hari-ke pir 'The leaves are green but'

the leaves green are but

'The leaves are green but'

Co-ordination by using *sang* 'with'.

mere sang e:k jagaD hatto

me with a quarrel was 'There with was a quarrel me'

6. TEXT KHARIA

How the crow – hen killed the black snake

medi kowa sarga – te igay o?ktano

crow-hen the black snake how killed

topkar daruwa kibiNk da harakiya moje – te men kawa sowday Dom – meti

Among tree spreading branches banyan crow crow-hen

kawa sori awalaki.

cow hen

kottorDom kiyar'te – i:phonk anDaRa – auki je bariaga a?gurna laki – je kawa – kiyar

In the nest were four little eggs which the parents guarded with

ikkuT – bottug – na laki – kiyar.

great care in the nest.

jaytoñg meti kawa aRana laki bugam depkte kotatay aRa kitte nayo

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

goTnolaki.

that the crows feared greatly

abgirjo aRanayn – kitte bũgam neyo gore la'iñ oRo udar –

every time the crow-hen laid her eggs the snake crawled up to the

te umiñg auna.

nest and ate them up

anang jaga hoDom ko – te kohta bãyenang metti koNdeng ‘saudonk – te gamu’.

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

anang absik – tayga utte boro tangnang ing apan otte melay – kon oRom – ti

We must build our nest somewhere else.”

chona umiñg sakkena pile.

.” Said the mother bird to her husband

kowa ga’mo kayom – na laki – ar beRega atkira tutao – te pokRena o?ndo:r ki.

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

crow hen

said the crow.

okkiyar pokre – te konsiko – yar baria – ga enempal – pal?a aRaR domki – te ba’n sãyna

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

lamo - kiyar sarga renga – ga toplung hottaiNk dirom - bo damki.

They knew what the sound meant

mesona mesoNg jorsey pokRe – ki – Ro koNtek – te odana lamo nokoNte giar leng

They sat helplessly in their nest The black snake crept higher and closer to the nest

gotki – kiyar sarga monmon rampta’ ara – te nol goTTo.

trying to protect their eggs.

ma?apakiyar kotta – te tomong – ga kuye kiyar – je koñg koñjo delki – kiyar – ro

The black snake crept higher and closer to the nest.

dukkobuñg dukko gotki – kiyar kawa gamu iñg jaga? kojung la?minga – ro u

Then with a loud hiss he tried to strike at the birds who flew away in terror.

bugam – te optàring’. ‘am igay laRe – nem hokkaRa bisóng gone a : uiN dukko ko : n

One by one, the black snake swallowed the eggs.

chuDay Dom gamu.

abu bikkeré sangoney iñg muRu maha ekaxpaT sangokuisi Ding hokkR u:

The parents came back sadly to their nest, knowing well that they

bisaka bugam – te o?bo – y – na phalte kawa gamo – ro hokkaR lēngko : n hoRōm da :

would find it empty. The crow said,

ru – te choldokku – ki: a?kRa tutate lebuing soñg sangeDom tuyu auna la?ki.

“I must find a way to destroy this murderous snake”.

Tuyu a : Ra kitte nyotte – je sangTom onDoro rogamu. sangonayng onDore

“How can you ever fight him ? His sting is so deadly”,

beggar lo?biro kaRtaka (cruel) auta hokkar be’s kũng goyta am abu bottom – na iñg

said his wife in despair. “Don’t you worry, my dear, I’ve got a friend who is cunning enough

hokkar – te ho?go? – y – na ra?u lung – si Ding.

to destroy the most poisonous of snakes, said the crow,

u?gay kamkon bariġa kolenga mogol – ti lengki kiyar hokki – ar auna la'ki

and off flew to another tree under which lived his dear friend, jackal.

kiyar hodaru – te moko. oDaru tay dissa am awki.

When the jackal heard how the snake always ate up the eggs,

stokkiar moga'la bagan – na daru – te Dokko ki – kiyar tu?ta? tey maha - Du pokRa auki

said, “My friend, those who are cruel and greedy always meet with a bad end.

atteno' mogon la konsel.

Have no fear, I've already thought of a plan to destroy him”.

dukki u?ana la'ki noy moy hokki pokra sining – te konkowa ma'la moti – a ma'la no!

Oh, do tell me what it is,” said the crow Then the jackal, fearing he might be overheard

gagana Domkite sining unkiko?moy metti kawa le'ng a're - ki'.

whispered to his friend what he should do , to destroy the snake.

sonora m'ala – te ramba - ko ro dirombo' le'ngna mare'o attik no bobungam auna la'ki

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

mago'la payko'mki atkiya d'ara kitte dokko – ki ro' kawa – te kudday – na m're' yokki. Hokki

It is rather risky”, said the crow.

“We'll have to be very careful”.

yoyo – ki no kawa mala – te daru – a dorri – te uggur – ro MuRu payk ko'm da'ru – te depki

I'll do anything to save my eggs”, said the mother

– ro mala – te.

bird bravely.

o?yk – na lamo dorri – te tibung paykom cuppo? no mager bugam le yo - ba'yo bugam binDa

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

tolDom cikko paykkom daRa dombung bugam – to jorsay soda bokka bayo nobugam goōy

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

medi kawa sori ho duru – te – ya lere Dasong augoR – ki roTTer kuRu hakkon oyki māy.

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

kiyar hodaru – te moko. ODaru tay Dissa am – awki.

having a bath.

stokkiar moga'la bagan – na daru – te Dokko ki – kiyar tu?ta? tey maha –

They had laid to their golden chains, pearl necklaces and other jewellery

du pokRa auki atteno mogon la konsel

They approached a big pond in the

dukki u?ana la'ki noy moy hokki pokra sining – te konkowa mala moti – a mala no!

palace garden where they saw the royal ladies having a bath. They had laid to their golden chains,

gagana domkite sining unkiko?moy metti kawa le'ng a're – ki..

pearl necklaces and other jewellery on the edge of the pond

sonora màla – te ramba ko ro dirombo' le'ngna mareo attik no bobungam auna laki

The mother bird flew down, picked up a gold chain in her beak and started flying slowly

magola paykomkiat kiya

towards the tree in which she lived.

dára kitte dokko – ki ro kawa – te kudday – na mre yokki.

When the palace guards saw the bird flying off with the gold chain,

hokki yoyo – ki no kawa mala – te daru – a dorri – te uggur – ro MuRu payk kom daru – te

they took up their clubs' end chased the bird.

depki – ro mala – te o?yk – na lamo dorri – te tibung paykom cuppo?No mager bugam le yo

One of the guards climbed up the tree to get the chain. As he put his hand inside the

bayo bugam binDa tolDom cikko paykkom daRa dombung bugam – to jorsay soda bokka

hole to get the chain, he saw a black snake curled up there. . With one hard stroke of his

bayo no bugam goōy uttat – ki.

club he killed it and that was the end of the black snake.

medi kawa sori ho duru te ya dasong augorki rotter kuruhakkon

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

oyki may.

little baby

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KURUKH / ORAON

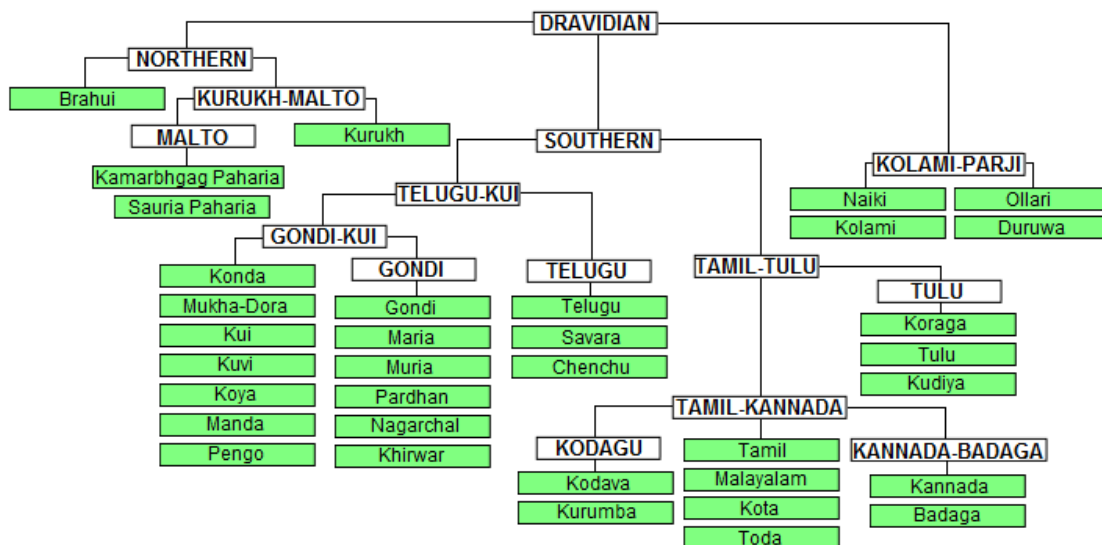
N. GOPALAKRISHNAN

1. INTRODUCTION

Kurukh /'kʊrʊx/ (also Kurux and Oraon or Uranw) is a Dravidian language spoken by nearly two million Oraon and Kisan tribe people of Jharkhand, Madhya Pradesh, Chhattisgarh, Odisha and West Bengal, as well as by 65,000 in northern Bangladesh, 28,600 speakers speak a dialect of Kurukh called Dhangar in Nepal, and about 5,000 in Bhutan. Some Kurukh speakers are in South India. It is most closely related to Brahui and Malto (Paharia). The language is marked as being in a "vulnerable" state in UNESCO's list of endangered languages. The Kisan dialect has 2,06,100 speakers as of 2011.

1.1. FAMILY AFFILIATION

Kurukh belongs to the Northern Dravidian group of the Dravidian family languages, and is closely related to Sauria Paharia and Kumarbhag Paharia, which are often together referred to as Malto.



1.2 LOCATION

The Kurukh language belongs to Dravidian family of languages and is mainly spoken in North India. The speakers are found to be spread from Chhota Nagpur Plateau to over Bihar, Odisha and West Bengal etc.

1.3. SPEAKERS' STRENGTH

The distribution of Kurukh as a Language and Mother Tongue in first 15 major concentrated states are presented below as per the latest Census of 2011, where the distribution of Jharkhand state is also included. Language Data is inclusive of Mother Tongues grouped under Kurukh. But Kurukh Mother Tongue Data is exclusive.

Language	India/State/Union Territory	Total	Rural	Urban
KURUKH	INDIA	19,88,350	18,08,916	1,79,434
	JHARKHAND	9,52,164	8,67,540	84,624
	CHHATTISGARH	5,16,778	4,76,631	40,147
	WEST BENGAL	1,71,909	1,59,686	12,223
	ODISHA	1,36,031	1,20,475	15,556
	BIHAR	87,995	77,894	10,101
	ASSAM	73,437	71,844	1,593
	ANDAMAN & NICOBAR ISLANDS	15,064	11,656	3,408
	MAHARASHTRA	8,239	6,778	1,461
	TRIPURA	7,145	6,785	360
	UTTAR PRADESH	4,495	3,793	702
	MADHYA PRADESH	4,132	1,092	3040
	NCT OF DELHI	2,753	14	2,739
	HIMACHAL PRADESH	2,277	1,828	449
	NAGALAND	993	738	255
ARUNACHAL PRADESH	969	700	269	

The population data of Kurukh as a mother tongue at All India Level as per 2011 census is presented below:

Mother Tongue	India/State/Union Territory	Total	Male	Female	Rural	Urban
KURUKH	INDIA	19,76,920	9,86,869	9,90,051	18,00,364	1,76,556
	JHARKHAND	9,51,014	4,73,625	4,77,389	8,66,789	84,225
	CHHATTISGARH	5,16,757	2,56,683	2,60,074	4,76,619	40,138
	WEST BENGAL	1,68,780	84,836	83,944	1,56,931	11,849
	ODISHA	1,35,685	67,051	68,634	120139	15546

	BIHAR	83,996	43,128	40,868	74,289	9,707
	ASSAM	73,434	36,941	36,493	71,844	1,590
	ANDAMAN & NICOBAR ISLANDS	15,063	7,780	7,283	11,655	3,408
	TRIPURA	7,145	3,798	3,347	6,785	360
	MAHARASHTRA	7,019	3,497	3,522	6,038	981
	UTTAR PRADESH	4,300	2,146	2,154	3,677	623
	MADHYA PRADESH	2,972	1,483	1,489	1,033	1,939
	NCT OF DELHI	2,753	1,298	1,455	14	2,739
	HIMACHAL PRADESH	2,269	1,269	1,000	1,824	445
	NAGALAND	993	536	457	738	255
	ARUNACHAL PRADESH	969	561	408	700	269

Distribution of Kurukh language in Jharkhand State as per 2011 census is presented in the following table.

Language	State & Districts	Total	Male	Female	Rural	Urban
KURUKH	JHARKHAND	9,52,164	4,74,426	4,77,738	8,67,540	84,624
	Gumla	3,03,598	1,51,422	1,52,176	2,93,087	10,511
	Ranchi	2,19,018	1,09,080	1,09,938	1,81,459	37,559
	Lohardaga	1,79,899	89,166	90,733	1,71,951	7,948
	Latehar	1,33,104	66,456	66,648	1,29,897	3,207
	Chatra	17,970	8977	8993	17751	219
	PashchimiSinghbhum	17,326	8,499	8,827	10,742	6,584
	Palamu	15,977	7,978	7,999	15,084	893
	Garhwa	11,443	5,774	5,669	11,331	112
	Simdega	8,613	4,128	4,485	7,567	1,046
	Godda	8,490	4,289	4,201	8,461	29
	Sahibganj	7,922	4,005	3,917	7,514	408
	PurbiSinghbhum	6,285	3,131	3,154	577	5,708
	Hazaribagh	5,951	3,037	2,914	4,803	1,148

	Bokaro	4,739	2,412	2,327	766	3,973
	Ramgarh	4,041	2,079	1,962	1,250	2,791
	Khunti	2,704	1,307	1,397	2,255	449
	Saraikela-Kharsawan	2,625	1,352	1,273	2,231	394
	Dhanbad	1,475	813	662	190	1,285
	Giridih	282	134	148	186	96
	Kodarma	213	100	113	128	85
	Dumka	211	102	109	149	62
	Deochar	156	131	25	120	36
	Jamtara	78	31	47	15	63
	Pakur	44	23	21	26	18

Distribution of Kurukh mother tongue in Jharkhand State as per 2011 census is presented in the following table.

Mother Tongue	State & Districts	Total	Male	Female	Rural	Urban
KURUKH	JHARKHAND	9,51,014	4,73,625	4,77,389	8,66,789	84,225
	Gumla	3,03,598	1,51,422	1,52,176	2,93,087	10,511
	Ranchi	2,18,893	1,08,982	1,09,911	1,81,448	37,445
	Lohardaga	1,79,899	89,166	90,733	1,71,951	7,948
	Latehar	1,33,098	66,450	66,648	1,29,893	3,205
	Chatra	17,938	8,959	8,979	17,720	218
	PashchimiSinghbhum	17,301	8,480	8,821	10,730	6,571
	Palamu	15,965	7,969	7,996	15,081	884
	Garhwa	11,443	5,774	5,669	11,331	112
	Simdega	8,613	4,128	4,485	7,567	1,046
	Godda	8,013	4,031	3,982	7,999	14
	Sahibganj	7,864	3,979	3,885	7,456	408

	Purbi Singhbhum	6,260	3,115	3,145	571	5,689
	Hazaribagh	5,817	2,905	2,912	4,713	1,104
	Bokaro	4,702	2,380	2,322	746	3,956
	Ramgarh	3,901	1,949	1,952	1,250	2,651
	Khunti	2,703	1,306	1,397	2,255	448
	Saraikela-Kharsawan	2,606	1,337	1,269	2,221	385
	Dhanbad	1,464	804	660	189	1,275
	Giridih	262	119	143	166	96
	Kodarma	213	100	113	128	85
	Dumka	190	91	99	128	62
	Deoghar	156	131	25	120	36
	Jamtara	73	27	46	15	58
	Pakur	42	21	21	24	18

1.4 BILINGUALISM

As per 2011 census, Bilingualism and Trilingualism data of Kurukh/Oraon Language in Jharkhand is presented below.

BILINGUALISM AND TRILINGUALISM OF KURUKH/ORAOON LANGUAGE IN JHARKHAND – 2011					
Language	Total Speakers	Language of Bilingualism	Strength	Language of Trilingualism	Strength
1	2	3	4	5	6
KURUKH/ORAOON	9,52,164				
		BENGALI	1,337		
				HINDI	579
				ODIA	30
				SANTALI	14
				ENGLISH	9
				HO	2
				OTHERS	4
		HINDI	7,70,640		
				ENGLISH	19,004

			ODIA	2,474
			BENGALI	1,884
			SANTALI	678
			HO	500
			MUNDARI	480
			PUNJABI	73
			SANSKRIT	51
			KHARIA	28
			NEPALI	27
			URDU	22
			MUNDA	19
			ASSAMESE	16
			GUJARATI	9
			MAITHILI	4
			KASHMIRI	3
			MARATHI	2
			TELUGU	2
			KONKANI	1
			TAMIL	1
			ARABIC/ARBI	1
			BHILI/BHILODI	1
			BHUMIJ	1
			GONDI	1
			OTHERS	47
		SANTALI	224	
			HINDI	138
			ENGLISH	5
			BENGALI	4
			ODIA	1
		ENGLISH	1,555	
			HINDI	1,058
			BENGALI	5
			PUNJABI	5
			SANSKRIT	5
			ODIA	4
			MUNDARI	2
			SANTALI	1

				TAMIL	1
				OTHERS	3
		HO	322		
				HINDI	94
				ODIA	67
				BENGALI	1
		KHARIA	33		
				HINDI	20
				MUNDARI	4
				ENGLISH	2
		MUNDARI	562		
				HINDI	395
				ENGLISH	5
				KHARIA	4
		OTHERS	484		
				ENGLISH	13
				HINDI	196
				HO	10
				OTHERS	28

1.5 SOCIOLINGUISTIC SETTING

Kurukh is not used for administration. It is taught as a language in tribal schools. It is not used in mass media. It is used in religious discourse in churches. It is not used for judicial purpose. It is used for interpersonal communication in restricted context.

It has oral literary tradition. It does not have written tradition. There is no official recording of availability of Bible in Kurukh. It does not have the script of its own. There are some efforts in writing it in using Devanagari (Hindi script). There are options for Roman Transliteration too.

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.

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 Kurukh shows the distinctive sound units occurring in Kurukh speech. Both the segmental and suprasegmental phonemes of Pandwani are presented in the following inventory.

The smallest unit which can differentiate one utterance from the other is called phoneme.

2.1.1. SEGMENTAL PHONEMES

5 Vowel Phonemes (excluding length and nasalized counterparts) and 31 Consonant Phonemes.

Kurukh has the following segmental phonemes

Vowels

	Front		Central		Back	
High	<i>i</i>	<i>i:</i>			<i>U</i>	<i>u:</i>
	<i>ĩ</i>	<i>ĩ:</i>			<i>Ū</i>	<i>ũ:</i>
Mid	<i>E</i>	<i>e:</i>			<i>O</i>	<i>o:</i>
	<i>ẽ</i>	<i>ẽ:</i>			<i>õ</i>	<i>õ:</i>
Low			<i>a</i>	<i>a:</i>		
			<i>ã</i>	<i>ã:</i>		

Consonants

		Bilabial	Labio-Dental	Dental	Alveolar	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stop	Voiceless	<i>P</i>		<i>t</i>	<i>T</i>			<i>k</i>	?
	Voiced	<i>B</i>		<i>d</i>	<i>D</i>			<i>g</i>	
Stop (Asp)	Voiceless	<i>Ph</i>		<i>th</i>	<i>Th</i>			<i>kh</i>	
	Voiced	<i>Bh</i>		<i>dh</i>	<i>Dh</i>			<i>gh</i>	
Affricate	Voiceless						<i>c</i>		
	Voiced						<i>j</i>		
Affricate(Asp)	Voiceless						<i>ch</i>		
	Voiced						<i>jh</i>		
Sibilant(voiceless)				<i>s</i>					
Nasal (Voiced)				<i>n</i>				<i>M</i>	
Lateral Approximant (Voiced)				<i>l</i>					
Trill				<i>r</i>		<i>R</i>			
Fricative (Voiced)								<i>X</i>	<i>h</i>
Semi Vowel (Voiced)		<i>w</i>					<i>j</i>		

Phonemic contrasts

Vowels

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 this language.

/i e a o u/

/i i: /

/ ijkim / [ijkIm] ‘stick to, adhere’ > */ i: jna / [i: jna]* ‘stop’

/ i e /

/ piTna/[pITna] ‘kill’ > / pesna/[pEsna] ‘cold’

/ i: e: /

/ ki : rya /[ki : rya] ‘swear’ > / ke: rna /[ke: rna] ‘cold’

/ e a /

/ edde/ [edde] ‘near’ > / eDDa/[eDDa] ‘place’

/ e: a: /

/ ra: na: /[ra: na :] ‘dwell, live at’ > / ne: na: /[ne: na :] ‘ask for

/ u o /

/ tukna /[tukna] ‘aim at’ > / lokna/[lokna] ‘catch’

/ u: o: /

/ u : rna : /[u : rna] ‘blow’ (horn) > / o : dna /[o : dna] ‘shut in’

/ o a /

/ poško /[poško] ‘insect’ > / paTia /[pATia] ‘kid’

A few instances of consontal constrasts are exemplified below:

/ p b /

/ paRna : /[pARna :] ‘sing’ > / barna : /[bARna :] ‘come’

/ Dappi/[Dappi] ‘paw’ > / dappi /[dAppi] ‘palm’

/ e : p /

[e : p] ‘rope’ > / na : b / [na : b] ‘thirst’

/ t d /

/ teppa/[tEppa] ‘thumb’ > / deppa /[dEppa] ‘left’

/ bitta /[bItta] ‘span’ > / meddo /[mEddo] ‘brain’

/ barakat/[bArAkAt] ‘bless’ > / khad /[khAd] ‘female child’

/e/	/e: /	/kapDe/	‘forehead’
		/hepDe: /	‘eunuch’
/u/	/u: /	/uRna: /	‘satisfy, make satisfied’
		/u: rna/	‘blow’
/o/	/o: /	/oTTa/	‘intestine’
		/o: Ta: /	‘bird’
/a/	/a: /	/ayo/	‘mother’
		/a: lar/	‘people’

Nasalization

All the vowels have their nasal sound.

/ã /	/ãRsna/	‘arrive’
	/nãkha /	‘right’
	/kochã /	‘part’
/ẽ /	/ẽgga /	‘me’
	/bẽRarna /	‘stray’
	/rothẽ /	‘ill’
/ũ /	/ũjgo /	‘soft’
	/nũjrla /	‘ache, pain’
	/ojjũ /	‘mend’
/ĩ /	/ĩwge /	‘because’
	/chĩdna /	‘wet’
/õ /	/õgna/	‘be able’
	/cõ: gh /	‘challenge’
	/cherõ /	‘yesterday’

2.2.PHONEMIC DESCRIPTION AND DISTRIBUTION

The distribution of each of the Vowel Phonemes Word Initially, Medially and Finally are exemplified below:

/ i /	/ ijkim /	‘stick to, adhere’
	/ biRki /	‘venom’
	/ beRi /	‘we’
/ i: /	/ i :jna /	‘stop’
	/ ti: ni /	‘honey’
	/ biRi: /	‘sun’
/ ĩ /	/ ĩwge /	‘because’
	/ chĩdna /	‘wet’
/ ĩ: /	/ ĩ: wikh /	‘cough’
	/ chĩ: chna /	‘wipe off’
/ e /	/ erko : /	‘husband’s sister’
	/ ne : R /	‘snake’
	/ kapDe/	‘forehead’
/ e: /	/ e :kh /	‘shade’
	/ ne : Ri /	‘empty’
	/ heDe : /	‘eunuch’
/ ě /	/ ěgga /	‘me’
	/ bẽRarna /	‘stray’
	/ rothẽ /	‘ill’
/ ě: /	/ ě: wdanum /	‘meanwhile’
	/ chẽ: pna: /	‘suck’

	/ hẽ : /	‘tie’
/ a /	/ ayo/	‘mother’
	/ bachia :/	‘calf’
	/ takka /	‘air’
/ a : /	/ a : lar /	‘people’
	/ ta: chi /	‘paternal aunt’
	/ oTTa : /	‘bank of river’
/ ã /	/ ãRna/	‘arrive’
	/ nãkha /	‘right’
	/ kochã /	‘part’
/ ã: /	/ ã: rta: na /	‘spread out’
	/ tã: gha /	‘own’
	/ kochã: /	‘pig’
/ u /	/ uRna : /	‘sate, make satisfied’
	/ muRna : /	‘thunder bolt’
	/ ma : mu /	‘mother’s brother’
/ u: /	/ u :rna /	‘blow’
	/ thu: tha /	‘ripple’
	/ guddu /	‘arm pit’
/ ã /	/ ãjgo /	‘soft’
	/ nãjrla /	‘ache, pain’
	/ ojjũ /	‘mend’
/ ã: /	/ ã: rtur /	‘boil’
	/ nã: njna /	‘consume’

	/ chodĩ: /	‘raise’
/ o /	/ oTTa /	‘intestine’
	/ goDi /	‘mare’
	/poško /	‘insect’
/ o: /	/ o: Ta : /	‘bird’
	/ go: la /	‘snail’
	/ pusbo: /	‘worm’
/ õ /	/ õgna/	‘be able’
	/ cõ: gh /	‘challenge’
	/ cherõ /	‘yesterday’
/ õ: /	/ õ :dna /	‘shut in’
	/ cõ: gh /	‘challenge’
	/ meRhõ: /	‘lamb’

The distribution of each of the Consonant - Phonemes Word Initially, Medially and finally are exemplified below:

/ p /	/ po : k /	‘ant’
	/ lepa: /	‘lean’
	/ e: p /	‘rope’
/ b /	/ ba : li /	‘arm’
	/ pibni /	‘eyelash’
	/ na: b /	‘thrust’
/ ph/	/ phichna/	‘rinse’
	/ phusphusrna /	‘whisper’
	/ ramph /	‘ray’
/ bh /	/ bhãrija /	‘nephew’

/ <i>lembhar ka</i> /	‘curved’
/ <i>tambh</i> /	‘pillar’
/ <i>t</i> / / <i>tagarna : /</i>	‘blow’
/ <i>papita</i> /	‘papaya’
/ <i>barakat</i> /	‘bless’
/ <i>d</i> / / <i>deregna</i> /	‘slope’
/ <i>da: das</i> /	‘elder brother’
/ <i>chird</i> /	‘ashes’
/ <i>th</i> / / <i>thappara: na /</i>	‘strike’
/ <i>ko: tha</i> /	‘nest’
/ <i>hath</i> /	‘cubit’
/ <i>dh</i> // <i>dhasna</i> /	‘demolish’, wreck
/ <i>godha</i> /	‘ass’
/ <i>mundh</i> /	‘before’
/ <i>T</i> / / <i>Tungri</i> /	‘hill’
/ <i>naTia : s</i> /	‘grandson’
/ <i>ghaT</i> /	‘joint’
/ <i>D</i> / / <i>Duriana : /</i>	‘lead’
/ <i>baRanDi</i> /	‘spice’
/ <i>Th</i> // <i>Thakhna</i> /	‘cheat, device’
/ <i>saThele</i> /	‘suddenly’
/ <i>goTh</i> /	‘fold’
/ <i>Dh</i> // <i>dhirarna : /</i>	‘around, turn’
/ <i>sudhyarna</i> /	‘shift’

/ k /	/ kittna : /	‘decay, rot’
	/ tikna : /	‘last’
	/ taDak /	‘gate’
/ g /	/ tingli/	‘fly’
	/ ruglig /	‘pebble’
	/ toRang /	‘forest’
/ kh /	/ khaj/	‘clay’
	/ ukha : /	‘darkness’
	/ tarikh /	‘date’
/ gh /	/ ghagaRi/	‘waterfall’
	/ digha /	‘length’
/ ? /	/ k? ar /	‘bay’
/ c /	/capta/	‘skin’
	/cicci:/	‘fire’
/ j /	/jukki/	‘few’
	/karja/	‘heart’
/ ch /	/che: p /	‘rain’
	/ca: cha/	‘stone’
/ jh /	/jharna/	‘brook’
	/mojha/	‘smoke’
/ m /	/merkha/	‘sky’
	/tamku/	‘tobacco’
	/enem/	‘like’

2.3. ALLOPHONIC DISTRIBUTION

Allophones are conditioned variants of a phoneme. Allophones of a phoneme occur in mutually exclusive environments. They share phonetic similarity. Examples of allophonic variations are given below:

All the short vowel phonemes get lowered when they occur between consonants – High vowel [i] becomes [ɪ], /e/ becomes [ɛ], /A/ becomes (^), /o/ becomes [O] and /u/ becomes [U].

/i/ has two allophones - /i/ and /ɪ/.

/i/ -> [i] medial positions

/i/ -> [ɪ] elsewhere

/biRi/	[bɪRi]	‘sun’
/biRki/	[bɪRki]	‘venom’

/e/ has two allophones - /e/ and /ɛ/.

/beRa/	beRa]	‘time’
/dare/	[darɛ]	‘current’

/a/ has two allophones - /a/ and /A/

/parna : /	[pArna :]	‘sing’
/barna/	[barnA:]	‘come’

/a/ has two allophones - /a/ and /Ω/

/saTak/	[sΩTak]	‘road’
/lepa/	[lepΩ]	‘lean’

/u/ has two allophones - /u/ and /U/

/gusa/	[gUsa]	‘elbow’
/bacru/	[bacrU]	‘calf’

Diphthongs

When two vowel sequences are pronounced in a single syllable then it is called a diphthong as for example -

-ai

<i>jai</i>	‘comet’
<i>bhai</i>	‘maternal aunt son’
<i>dai</i>	‘elder sister’
<i>mai</i>	‘younger sister’
<i>kaikaiya</i>	‘fox’

-ea-

<i>head</i>	‘leg’
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-ui-

<i>mui</i>	‘nose’
<i>muila:ta</i>	‘nostril’

-oi-

<i>soi</i>	‘six’
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-ee-

<i>beesna</i>	‘sell’
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2.4. CLUSTERS

A consonant combination is a group of consonants which have no intervening vowel. In Kurukh two types of consonant combinations are found- Heterogeneous consonant clusters and Homogenous consonant sequence.

Examples of both the types are given below-

1.	- pp-	<i>dappi</i>	‘paw’
2.	- pt-	<i>chapta</i>	‘kite’
3.	- pD-	<i>kapDe:</i>	‘forehead’
4.	- pl-	<i>Tupli:</i>	‘small basket’
5.	- pR-	<i>tapRi</i>	‘clap’
6.	- bb-	<i>chubba</i>	‘peacock’
7.	- bd-	<i>hebda</i>	‘ear’
8.	- b? -	<i>mab? a nanna</i>	‘praise’
9.	- bR-	<i>kebRa :</i>	‘throw’
10.	- tt-	<i>pittal</i>	‘brass’
11.	- dd-	<i>muddi</i>	‘ring’
12.	- d?-	<i>dad?i</i>	‘overflow’
13.	- dr-	<i>khadra :na</i>	‘turn’
14.	- ThR-	<i>thothRa : s</i>	‘stammerer’
15.	- TT-	<i>cuTTi</i>	‘hair’
16.	- TTh -	<i>xannecuTThi:</i>	‘eyelash’
17.	- Th-	<i>chiTka: na</i>	‘smear’
18.	- T?-	<i>thu: t?a</i>	‘ripple’
19.	- Tn-	<i>soTna</i>	‘massage’
20.	- Tr-	<i>koTra :</i>	‘whip’
21.	- Tx-	<i>taTxa :</i>	‘mango’
22.	- DD-	<i>puDDa</i>	‘short’
23.	- kk-	<i>takka</i>	‘air’

24.	-kh-	<i>merkha</i>	‘sky’
25.	-kkh-	<i>bokkho</i>	‘grasshopper’
26.	-kʔ-	<i>laukʔa</i>	‘lightning’
27.	-kc-	<i>dekca</i>	‘jump up’
28.	-kn-	<i>chakna</i>	‘sharpen’
29.	-kl-	<i>batla :</i>	‘barks’
30.	-kR-	<i>cukRo</i>	‘crab’
31.	-ks-	<i>baksa:</i>	‘box’
32.	-gg-	<i>ẽ: gga</i>	‘me’
33.	-gʔ-	<i>lugʔr</i>	‘wise’
34.	-gn-	<i>nisigna</i>	‘plaster’
35.	-gr-	<i>sĩgra: na</i>	‘decorates’
36.	-gR-	<i>pagRi :</i>	‘turban’
37.	-gl-	<i>rugli</i>	‘pebble’
38.	-gh-	<i>sugha</i>	‘parrot’
39.	-cc-	<i>cicci:</i>	‘fire’
40.	-cg-	<i>pocgo</i>	‘insect’
41.	-cch-	<i>goccho :</i>	‘beard’
42.	-cn-	<i>be: can:</i>	‘to act’
43.	-cr-	<i>pacri:</i>	‘wall’
44.	-cj-	<i>e: cjna</i>	‘shoot’
45.	-jj-	<i>jujjuta :</i>	‘shoe’
46.	-jg-	<i>ujgo i: jka</i>	‘vertical’
47.	-jn-	<i>sajna</i>	‘pack’

48.	-jl-	<i>majla</i>	‘anger’
49.	-jr-	<i>bejro: s</i>	‘groom’
50.	- chr-	<i>bochru</i>	‘calf’
51.	- mm-	<i>kummna</i>	‘carry’
52.	-mp-	<i>dumpasaTuna:</i>	‘honest’
53.	- mb-	<i>sombe</i>	‘lip’
54.	-mdh -	<i>samdher</i>	‘pain’
55.	-mk-	<i>tamku:</i>	‘tobacco’
56.	-m? -	<i>Dem? a</i>	‘strike’
57.	- mn-	<i>tumna</i>	‘sneeze’
58.	- mr-	<i>kamra</i>	‘blanket’
59.	- mj-	<i>kanja</i>	‘towel’
60.	-mR-	<i>camRa</i>	‘skin’
61.	- ms-	<i>Dhimsa :</i>	‘fat’
62.	- nn-	<i>karnna</i>	‘draw’
63.	- nd-	<i>bandra:</i>	‘monkey’
64.	- nth-	<i>aintha: na:</i>	‘twist’
65.	-ndh-	<i>andhi</i>	‘blind woman’
66.	-nT-	<i>onTem eternal</i>	‘resemble’
67.	- nD-	<i>manDar</i>	‘medicine’
68.	- nkh -	<i>mankha</i>	‘buffalo’
69.	-n? -	<i>tan?a</i>	‘pull’
70.	-nk-	<i>benko :</i>	‘star’
71.	-nj-	<i>injo:</i>	‘fish’

72.	-nh-	<i>jinho: r</i>	‘popcorn’
73.	-nT-	<i>lanTi:</i>	‘naked woman’
74.	-ng-	<i>TeTenga</i>	‘chameleon’
75.	-nc-	<i>golmañca:</i>	‘black, pepper’
76.	-ll-	<i>pello:</i>	‘young woman’
77.	-lp-	<i>balpo:s</i>	‘adopted child’
78.	-ld-	<i>talda: liya:</i>	‘swamp’
79..	-lk-	<i>melko</i>	‘swamp’
80.	-lg-	<i>chilgu</i>	‘kite’(bird)
81.	-l?-	<i>kol?a :</i>	‘open’
82.	-lj-	<i>kalja :</i>	‘liver’
83.	-ln-	<i>lilna :</i>	‘swallow’
84.	-lh-	<i>culha :</i>	‘oven’
85.	-lb-	<i>jailbinko</i>	‘comet’
86.	-ls-	<i>blRibilsina:</i>	‘sunshine’
87.	-rr-	<i>kirre:</i>	‘look back’
88.	-rt-	<i>kirtana</i>	‘return’
89.	-rk-	<i>birkhi</i>	‘scorpion’
90.	-rg-	<i>gurgur</i>	‘growl’
91.	- rgh-	<i>argha:</i>	‘ascend’
92..	- r?-	<i>teR?o-meR?o</i>	‘crooked’
93.	- rc-	<i>marcha</i>	‘chilly’
94.	- rch-	<i>barcha</i>	‘spear’
95.	-rm-	<i>hurmi</i>	‘all’

96.	-rn-	<i>murna:</i>	‘thunder bolt’
97.	-rl-	<i>gharmarli</i>	‘small boil’
98.	-rs-	<i>jersara :</i>	‘brother-in-law’
99.	-rx-	<i>berxa</i>	‘cat’
100.	-ry-	<i>haryar</i>	‘green’
101.	-Rk-	<i>naRki</i>	‘goiter’
102.	-.Rg-	<i>aRgna :</i>	‘ascend’, ‘climb’
103.	-R?-	<i>boR?e :</i>	‘liquor’
104.	-Rm-	<i>karma</i>	‘waist’
105.	-Rn-	<i>ki: Rna</i>	‘cold’
106.	-Rx-	<i>ti: rxa</i>	‘offend’
107.	-Rh?-	<i>hoRh?a</i>	‘roast’
108.	-Rhn-	<i>paRhna</i>	‘study’
109.	-sg-	<i>na :sgo</i>	‘brother-wife’ (elder)
110.	-s?-	<i>bus? u:</i>	‘straw’
111.	-sm-	<i>asma :</i>	‘bread’
112.	-sn-	<i>e :sna</i>	‘break’
113.	-sl-	<i>tasla</i>	‘trying pan’
114.	-sr-	<i>misri</i>	‘sugar candy’
115.	-sR-	<i>musRa</i>	‘trunk’, ‘tree’
116.	-sw-	<i>biswa:s</i>	‘belief’
117.	-Rw-	<i>paRwa</i>	‘pigeon’
118.	-.rj-	<i>karja</i>	‘heart’
119.	-RR-	<i>naRRi</i>	‘nerve’

120.	-sb-	<i>pusbo :</i>	‘worm’
121.	-st-	<i>xhosto:l</i>	‘bone’
122.	-sk-	<i>muskuru</i>	‘smile’
123.	-ss-	<i>assna :</i>	‘finger’
124.	-xn-	<i>eã: xna</i>	‘to sow’
125.	-hl-	<i>aDDo: gohla</i>	‘cattle’
126.	-hr-	<i>kuhra</i>	‘fog’
127.	-hR-	<i>ahRa</i>	‘flesh’
128.	-hs-	<i>lahsarna :</i>	‘to bend’
129.	-ww-	<i>nãwwã</i>	‘barber’
130.	-wd-	<i>chawda :</i>	‘fourteen’
131.	-wT-	<i>kewTa: a: las</i>	‘fisher woman’
132.	-wg-	<i>bawgi</i>	‘very big basket made of bamboo’
133.	-wr-	<i>bhã:wro:</i>	‘bee’
134.	-yy-	<i>pãyyã</i>	‘cold’
135.	-yt-	<i>sayti:n</i>	‘co-wife’
136.	-yd-	<i>bayda:s</i>	‘priest (man)’
137.	-yn-	<i>khoyna:</i>	‘reap’
138.	-yl-	<i>karayli:</i>	‘bitter gourd’
139.	-yr-	<i>pãyri:</i>	‘anklet’

Examples of Tri-consonantal clusters are given below-

-mm? -	<i>kumm? a:</i>	‘carry’
-nnD-	<i>gunnDa</i>	‘flour’
-mb?-	<i>lumb?a:</i>	‘to street’
-mbn-	<i>ambna:</i>	‘to peel’

<i>-mbr-</i>	<i>bembriya:</i>	‘ill’
<i>-mbR-</i>	<i>jumbRi</i>	‘greedy’
<i>-mcn-</i>	<i>khemcna</i>	‘embrace’
<i>-nt?-</i>	<i>ment? a</i>	‘hear’
<i>-ndk-</i>	<i>ondka:</i>	‘boiled rice’
<i>-nth?-</i>	<i>ganth?a:</i>	‘count’
<i>-ndr-</i>	<i>sindri :</i>	‘vermillion’
<i>-ndhr-</i>	<i>andhri :</i>	‘blind’
<i>-nDn-</i>	<i>bhanDna :</i>	‘to chop’
<i>-ngn-</i>	<i>natangna</i>	‘draw’
<i>-nghn-</i>	<i>sunghna</i>	‘to smell’
<i>-ng?-</i>	<i>Tonge?</i>	‘axe’
<i>-ńgn-</i>	<i>tengna :</i>	‘to sting’
<i>-ńgr-</i>	<i>langRas</i>	‘cripple (marc)’
<i>-ńgy-</i>	<i>ningyo :</i>	‘your mother’
<i>-ppn-</i>	<i>tuppna :</i>	‘spit’
<i>-bb?-</i>	<i>chabb?a:</i>	‘chew’
<i>-bbn-</i>	<i>chabbna :</i>	‘grind’
<i>-tt?-</i>	<i>bitta:</i>	‘cook’
<i>-ttn-</i>	<i>guttni:</i>	‘husband’s brother’s wife’
<i>-ttr-</i>	<i>khattra:</i>	‘fall down’
<i>-dd?-</i>	<i>gudd?a:</i>	‘move’
<i>-ddn-</i>	<i>guddna:</i>	‘to move’
<i>-TTn-</i>	<i>xoTTna:</i>	‘to break’

-kk?-	<i>hokk?a :</i>	‘send’
-kkn-	<i>pakkna:</i>	‘stone/rock’
-jj?-	<i>ijj?a</i>	‘stop’ (imp)
-jjy-	<i>bijjya :</i>	‘dawn’
-rrn-	<i>kirrna :</i>	‘to return’
-bRn-	<i>hebRna :</i>	‘to throw’
-tgn-	<i>gistgna :</i>	‘to drag’
-trk-	<i>putrka :</i>	‘vomit’
-tR?-	<i>katr? a:</i>	‘fall’
-dr?-	<i>mo: dr? a:</i>	‘forget’
-drn-	<i>mo :darna :</i>	‘to forget’
-Tr?-	<i>poTr? a: na:</i>	‘elopement’
-Dsg-	<i>aDsga :</i>	‘green gram’
-TThr-	<i>gaTThra</i>	‘jack fruit’
-khrn-	<i>sikhrna:</i>	‘lean’
-lkh?-	<i>alkh?a</i>	‘laugh’
-lkhn-	<i>alkhna :</i>	‘to laugh’
-lg?-	<i>cilg?a :</i>	‘itch’
-lgn-	<i>salgna :</i>	‘to burn’
-lcn-	<i>elcna :</i>	‘to fear’
-rd?-	<i>mard? a</i>	‘massage’
-rk?-	<i>curk?a :</i>	‘squeeze’
-rkh?-	<i>surkh?a :</i>	‘suck’
-rkhn-	<i>surkhna</i>	‘to suck’

-R?n-	<i>gar?na :</i>	‘to bury’
-wnd-	<i>iwndna :</i>	‘price’
-ynl-	<i>baynli</i>	‘wife’s sister’

Examples of medial four consonantal clusters are given below-

-ndrg-	<i>endrg:</i>	‘why’
-nDrn-	<i>DunDrna :</i>	‘completely cloudy’

Examples of word final heterogeneous consonant clusters comprising of two consonants are given below –

-nd	<i>mu:nd</i>	‘there’
-nk	<i>Dha:nk</i>	‘drum’
-ng	<i>a: yang</i>	‘my mother’
-ss	<i>lass</i>	‘corpse’
-wR	<i>gawR me: tas</i>	‘milk man’

2.5. SYLLABLE

A syllable is 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. Both open and closed syllables are found in Kurukh. Monosyllables exhibit the basic syllable structure of a language.

The syllabic patterns of Kurukh/Oraon are presented below.

Mono- Syllabic Words

Open

CV	<i>bi</i>	‘egg’
CV	<i>nu</i>	‘in/into’

Close

VC	<i>o: y</i>	‘cow’
	<i>a: s</i>	‘he’

CVC	<i>khaj</i>	‘clay’
	<i>chich</i>	‘fire’

Disyllabic Words

Open

CV -CV	<i>bi: Ri</i>	‘sun’
VC – CV	<i>adji</i>	‘grand mother’ (father’s mother)
CVC-CV	<i>tak-ka</i>	‘air’
	<i>tap-pu</i>	‘island’
	<i>cando</i>	‘moon’
CVVC-CV	<i>ta:Tkha</i>	‘mango’
CVV-CV	<i>Taila</i>	‘pocket’
CVC-CV	<i>capTa</i>	‘leather’

Close

CV-VC	<i>me-el</i>	‘mile’
CV-CVC	<i>gu-thum</i>	‘wheat’
CVC-CVC	<i>har-dam</i>	‘always’
CVC-CVC	<i>dar-gaR</i>	‘fat’
CVC-CVC	<i>chem-chem</i>	‘neat’

Tri-syllabic words

Open

VC-CVC-CV	<i>ib-Ran-ti</i>	‘out of’
CV-CV-CV	<i>ba-Ra-hi</i>	‘flood’
CVC-CV-CV	<i>khen-chu-na:</i>	‘embrace’
CV-CV-CVCVC-CV	<i>ba-ri-ba-ran-do</i>	‘cyclone’

Close

CVCVCVC	<i>na:niha:l</i>	‘grand father’s house’
CV-CV-CVC	<i>ha-Nu-ma:n</i>	‘baboon’
CVVC-CV-CCVC	<i>jaun-ha-dhis</i>	‘son-in-law’
CVCVCVCVC	<i>gu-nah-aga:r</i>	‘faulty’

3. MORPHOPHONEMICS

Morphophonemics, in linguistics, is the study of the relationship between morphology and phonology. Morphophonemics involves an investigation of the phonological variations within morphemes, usually marking different grammatical functions.

3.1. Declensions

Declension is the change that occurs in the form of the word generally to express its syntactic function in the sentence by means of some inflection. The inflectional change is called Conjugation.

- a. $v \rightarrow \Phi / -- ar$ [plural]
hurmi + ar \rightarrow *hurmar* 'all'
- b. $a : \rightarrow a / -r$ [plural]
ibRa: + r \rightarrow *ibRar* 'they'
abRa: + r \rightarrow *abRar* 'they'

3.2. Conjugation

Conjugation is the creation of derived forms of a verb from its principal parts by inflection.

- a. *be? - ck* \rightarrow *he: ck* 'tied'
restricted to certain group I.
- b. $- ? \rightarrow \Phi / -$ past tense
ci? + ck \rightarrow *cick* 'gave'
restricted to certain verb of group I
- c. $V(c) \rightarrow \Phi(c) / o: --$
[gender number suffixes] [Future]
bar ? o : + an \rightarrow *bar ? o : n* 'I will come'
bar ? o : + am \rightarrow *bar ? o : m* 'We (inc) will come'
bar ? o : + at \rightarrow *bar ? o : t* 'We (excl) will come'

<i>bar ? o : + ay</i> → <i>bar ? o : y</i>	‘You (masc. sg) will come’
<i>bar ? o : + i</i> → <i>bar ? o :</i>	‘You (non-masc. sg) will come’
<i>bar ? o : + ar</i> → <i>bar ? o : r</i>	‘You (pl) will come’
<i>bar? o: + as</i> → <i>bar? o: s</i>	‘He will come’
<i>bar? o + i :</i> → <i>bar ? o:</i>	‘She/it will come’
<i>baR ? o: + a :</i> → <i>bar ? o:</i>	‘She/it/they will come’
<i>baR ? o : + ar</i> → <i>bar ? o: r</i>	‘They (human) will come’

4. MORPHOLOGY

Morphology is the study of words, how they are formed, and their relationship to other words in the same language. It analyzes the structure of words and parts of words such as stems, root words, prefixes and suffixes.

Morphology deals with words and their declensional pattern as well as verbs and their conjugational pattern.

4.1. NOUN MORPHOLOGY

Noun Morphology deals with the nominal and pronominal forms and classifies them along with their declensional and inflectional affixes in association with Gender, Number, and Case etc. In this connection we will discuss here following aspects which the nouns of this language exhibit: two numbers (singular and plural), three genders (masculine, feminine and neuter), and seven cases (nominative, accusative, dative, ablative, genitive, locative and vocative).

4.1.1. WORD FORMATION

In Kurukh words may contain a free morpheme or two free morphemes and may be a combination of free and bound morphemes. Overall, it comprises of three types of processes.

These are

1. Compounding
2. Reduplication and
3. Derivation.

1. Compounding:

In compounding two or more than two free morphemes combine together to form a single unit. A Compound is a word that consists of more than one stem

Noun + Noun

ba : + *di :* > *ba:di:* 'father's sister' (elder)
father sister

Adjective + noun

le:p + a: lar > *le:pa:lar* 'lean man'
'lean' 'man'

Numerical + Noun

o:n + xhañjpa 'one fruit'
one fruit

e:R + alla: 'two dogs'
two dog

Noun + Noun (both the heads)

Singular

kukkos + kukkoi > *kukkosara: kukkoi* 'boy and girl'
boy girl

2. Reduplication:

Reduplication is a morphological process in which the root or stem of a word (or part of it) or even the whole word is repeated exactly or with a slight change. In reduplication the second element is complete or partial repetition of the first element. It can be similar or partial. The examples pertaining to various word classes are given below.

(i) Reduplication in Nouns

papilla: 'butterfly'
khoRkhoRa: 'fox'
killkila: 'kingfisher'
kukkunja 'headache'

(ii) Reduplication in Adjectives

barabari 'equal'
rase rase 'slowly'

(iii) Reduplication in Verbs

<i>hoRhoRna</i>	‘clean’ (in trans)
<i>karkarar dharna</i>	‘grip (hold firmly)’
<i>tataRna</i>	‘wear’

(iv) Reduplication in Adverbs

<i>majha-majhi</i>	‘middle’
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Partial re-duplication is a construction in which the second element is an echo of the first element and has no independent meaning of its own.

<i>onghononghon</i>	‘sometimes’
<i>jujjutta:</i>	‘shoe’

3. Derivation

In derivation, new words are formed by means of bound derivational suffixes and prefixes.

Noun – forming suffixes:

(1) Forming nouns from nouns.

- *iya*(diminutive)

<i>pariya</i>	‘age’
<i>kaikaiya</i>	‘fox’

- *i* (diminutive) :

<i>baDi</i>	‘great-grand daughter’
<i>mo:si</i>	‘mother sister’
<i>angli</i>	‘finger’

- *i*(agentive) :

<i>leNDi</i>	‘lazy’
<i>ba:li</i>	‘arm’

Adjectives forming suffixes

- a	<i>both Ra</i>	‘blunt’
	<i>ke: ma:a</i>	‘charm’
- i	<i>gaDDi</i>	‘deep’
	<i>jukki</i>	‘few’
- u	<i>pu:ru</i>	‘mad’
	<i>chihutra:u</i>	‘stingy’
- ã	<i>kohã</i>	‘big’

4.1.2. NOUN

Number

Kurukh has two numbers as singular and plural.

Singular

a :las ‘the man’

Plural

a: lar ‘the men’

Gender

Three genders are distinguished in this language i.e. masculine, feminine and neuter.

Examples

Masculine

baba : ‘father’

kakka : ‘father’s brother’

bachru ‘male calf’

Feminine

ayo ‘mother’

ta:ti ‘father’s sister’

bachia ‘calf’

Neuter

kiwa: ‘ice’

padhaRi ‘bat’

du:li ‘dust’

The masculine and feminine distinction is made by the following ways-

(i) ‘a’ as masculine suffix, ‘i’ as feminine suffix

(v) Final – Φ (Mas) > i: (Fem)

Male

Female

ma: mu

‘maternal uncle’

musci : ‘maternal aunt’

Gender – periphrastically

In kurukh language masculine denoted by the form ‘*anDra:*’ and feminine is denoted by the form ‘*may*’ *kuTi*.

Male

Female

anDra :berxa:

may berxa : ‘cat’

anDra :alla:

kuTialla: ‘dog’

Case

The case defines the relationship between the noun and the predicate in a sentence. In Kurukh language nominative, accusative, dative, genitive, ablative and locative cases are identified. The nominative case does not have any specific marker.

The cases and markers of kurukh language are given below:

1. Nominative case : Φ
2. Accusative case : *an*
3. Dative case : *ge*
4. Genitive : *gahi*
5. Ablative : *-ti:*
6. Locative : *- m̄iya*
7. Vocative

(i) Nominative Case

The nominative case generally marks the subject of a verb or the predicate noun. The Nominative case in Kurukh is identified with null marker

(ii) **Accusative Case**

Accusative case markers are usually added with the direct objects of the verbs. The sign of the accusative is ‘an’, which becomes ‘in’ in the definite noun masculine singular and plural and drops the initial vowel when the nominative of the noun ends with a vowel.

<i>kukkan</i>	‘the woman’	<i>kukkarin</i>	‘the woman’
<i>eRapan</i>	‘the house’	<i>eRpaguThin</i>	‘the houses’

(iii) **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 dative case is formed by the addition of *-ge* directly to oblique stems of nouns denoting persons.

sg	pl		
<i>eRapa gesan</i>	‘to the house’	<i>eRapa guTTigesan</i>	‘to the house’
<i>a: las gesan</i>	‘to the man’	<i>a: lar gesan</i>	‘to the men’
<i>ber? a gesan</i>	‘to the cat’	<i>ber? a guTTigesan</i>	‘to the cat’

(iv) **Genitive case**

This case expresses the meaning of belonging to or possession of something by the subject. The genitive case is expressed by the addition of *-gahi* directly to neuter noun stems.

sg	pl		
<i>eRapa gahi</i>	‘of the house’	<i>eRapa guTTin ta</i>	‘of the houses’
<i>a: las gahi</i>	‘of the man	<i>a : argahi</i>	‘of the man’
<i>a: li gahi</i>	‘of the woman’	<i>a : lirgahi</i>	‘of the woman’

(v) **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. The ablative case is formed by the addition of the suffix *-ti:* directly to the noun stems only in this language.

gane ‘with’, ‘at my side, near’

enghaygane :jhagRa : ra?acca : ‘This was with me’.

kiyya: ‘below, under, beneath.’

a: s parta :nti: kiyya : barcas ‘He came down the hill’

mayyã ‘above’

a: s parta :mayyã: ‘He went up the hill’

pakke : ‘side / near’

ciccu :pakka amba : kala : ‘Do not go near the fire’

4.1.3. PRONOUN

A Pronoun is a grammatical component referring to earlier mentioned noun and functions as an anaphoric or deictic category.

a. Personal Pronoun

A pronoun used instead of the name of person is called a Personal pronoun. These Pronouns in Kurukh are given below.

	Singular -exclusive	Plural -inclusive
I person	<i>e : n</i> ‘I’	<i>e: m</i> ‘we’ <i>na:m</i> ‘we all’
II person	<i>ni : n</i>	<i>ni: m</i> ‘you’
III person	<i>a: s</i> ‘he’ <i>a: d</i> ‘she’ <i>i:d</i> ‘it’	<i>a: r</i> ‘they’

b. Demonstrative pronoun

A pronoun that points out an object, one person or several persons is called a demonstrative pronoun. These Pronouns in Kurukh are given below.

Singular

Masculine

i: s ‘this’

Feminine

i : d ‘this’

Neuter

beiy ‘this’

Plural

i: r ‘these’

i : r ‘these’

ibRa ‘these’

Remote

hu: s ‘that’

hu : r ‘that’

habRa ‘that’

c. Interrogative pronoun

An Interrogative Pronoun is a question word or function word used to ask questions. Such pronouns in Kurukh are given below.

nē, eka: ‘who?’ and ‘which’

endr, endra: and ekda: ‘what’ and which?

d. Possessive pronouns

Pronouns which show possession are Possessive Pronouns. In Kurukh they are exemplified below.

	singular	plural	
I person	<i>enghai</i> ‘my’	<i>emhai</i> ‘our’	
		<i>dual namhai</i>	} ‘our’
		<i>nanghai</i>	
II person		<i>nimhai</i> ‘your’	
III person	<i>a: sgahi</i> ‘his’	<i>argahi</i> ‘their’ (remote)	
	<i>a: dlgahi</i> ‘her, its’	<i>abRa :gahi</i> ‘their’	
		<i>abRa :gahi</i> (their)	
		<i>iegahi</i> (their) near	
		<i>ibRagahi</i> (their) near (neuter)	

e. Reflexive pronouns

A pronoun which is used as the object of the verb in a sentence and that refers to the person represented by the subject itself is called a Reflexive pronoun.

Singular

ta: n 'themselves'

Plural

ta : m 'themselves'

4.1.4. ADJECTIVES

Adjectives are words which qualify noun or noun phrases and provide additional details about it.

Adjectives are formed with nouns, without gender, number or case. Kurukh adjectives are classified into two major types. They are

(a) **Simple adjectives**

(b) **Complex adjectives.**

(a) **Simple adjectives**

These are of three types. They are

(i) Qualitative adjectives

(ii) Demonstrative adjectives

and

(iii) Numeral adjectives.

a . (i) **Qualitative adjectives**

A Qualitative adjective describes the qualities of a noun (person, place or thing).

/ mecha: parta: / 'high mountain'

/khē: so: TaTkha / 'red fruit'

(ii) **Demonstrative adjectives**

The demonstrative and interrogative adjectives are formed from simple stems which function as noun attributes. In the examples below /a :/and /i:/ are demonstrative adjectives.

<i>a:</i>	<i>kukkovai</i>	‘that girl’
<i>a:</i>	<i>a: lus</i>	‘that man’
<i>i:</i>	<i>sanni</i>	‘this small’

(iii) Numeral adjectives

Numeral adjectives are formed by adding the numeral particle / *Ta :* / to the numerals.

<i>onTaalla:</i>	‘one dog’
<i>enTaalla:</i>	‘two dogs’
<i>munTaalla:</i>	‘three dogs’

(b) Complex adjectives

Complex adjectives are derived from adverbs by adding adjectival markers to the verbal base. The adverb / *lek? a:* / ‘like’ is added after any noun which functions as a noun attribute.

<i>khē : so lek? a:</i>	‘reddish’
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The adjectival marker / - *o:* / added to any verb functions as a noun attribute.

<i>on – o: bi: ri :>ono : bi: ri :</i>	‘eating time.’
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4.1.5. NUMERAL

Numeral, denoting a number, is a grammatical category distinguishing between singular and plural.

Kurukh has native numerals for ‘one and two’ and the numerals used for other numbers are of Indo-Aryan origin.

<i>onTa</i>	‘one’
<i>e:R</i>	‘two’
<i>mu:nd</i>	‘three’
<i>naxh</i>	‘four’
<i>pañche</i>	‘five’
<i>soi</i>	‘six’

<i>say</i>	‘seven’
<i>a:k?</i>	‘eight’
<i>nyne</i>	‘nine’
<i>doy</i>	‘ten’

After 10

<i>doyonT</i>	‘eleven’
<i>doyeRn</i>	‘twelve’
<i>doy mu: nd</i>	‘thirteen’
<i>doynaxh</i>	‘fourteen’
<i>doypañch</i>	‘fifteen’
<i>doy soi</i>	‘sixteen’
<i>doy say</i>	‘seventeen’
<i>doya:k?</i>	‘eighteen’
<i>doyna:ly</i>	‘nineteen’
<i>endoy</i>	‘twenty’

In addition of 10

<i>mundoy</i>	‘thirty’ (30+10)
<i>naxhdoy</i>	‘forty’ (40+10)
<i>pañcdoy</i>	‘fifty’ (50+10)
<i>saidoy</i>	‘sixty’ (60+10)
<i>saydoy</i>	‘seventy’ (70+10)
<i>ak?doy</i>	‘eighty’ (80+10)
<i>nynedoy</i>	‘ninety’ (90+10)
<i>doydoy</i>	‘hundred’ (100+10)

In counting like first, second etc -

monad ‘first’

enTa ‘second’

munda ‘third’

Measuring numerals are as follows in Kurukh -

onTnaxda ‘quarter’

mundhnaxha ‘three-fourth

onDhnaxhta ‘one and half’

muñja ‘last’

4.2. VERB MORPHOLOGY

4.2.1. VERB

A verb is a member of the syntactic class of words that signals events and actions. It may occur singly or in a phrase, a minimal predicate in a clause and 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, voice, modality and agreement with other constituents in terms of person, number and grammatical gender.

4.2.1.1. FINITE VERB & NON-FINITE VERB

A Finite Verb is a form of a verb that shows agreement for a subject and is marked for tense and its sense denotes completion of an action.

A Non- Finite Verb is a form of a verb that does not show agreement for a subject and is not marked for tense and its sense does not denote completion of an action.

First set of markers

The present tense marker is – *te* which has two allomorphs.

Aspect

Aspect refers to duration, perfection, recurrence etc. of time. Aspects are progressive and habitual.

Past Durative

<i>en nanna lekkan</i> (male)	<i>en nanna legian</i> (female)	'I was doing'
I do was	I do was	
<i>en bastchalekkan</i> (male)	<i>enbastchalegian</i> '(female)	'I was teaching'
I teach was	I teach was	
<i>enondoRa: lekkan</i> (male)	<i>enondoRa: legian</i> (female)	'I was bringing'
I bring was	I bring was	
<i>en onnalekkan</i> (male)	<i>enonnalegian</i> (female)	'I was drinking'
I drink was	I drink was	
<i>enbunkhlekkan</i> (male)	<i>enonnalegian</i> (female)	'I was running'
I run was	I run was	

Present Durative

<i>a:s okka lakadus</i>	'He is sitting'
he sit is	
<i>a:s nanna lakadus</i>	'He is doing'
he do is	
<i>a:smeenalakadus</i>	'He is listening'
he listen is	
<i>a:s onDralakadus</i>	'He is bringing'
he bring is	
<i>a:s onna lakadus</i>	'He is drinking'
he drink is	
<i>a:s bacha: lakadus</i>	'He is reading'
he read is	

a:s bastahalakadus 'He is teaching'

he teach is

a:s buñkhalakadus 'He is running'

he run is

Past Perfective

a:r ukkar ra:cher 'They had sat'

they sat had

a:r nanna khatchia 'They had done'

they done had

a:rbastha khatchia 'They had taught'

they taught had

a:rme:na khatchia 'They listened to'

they listened

a:ronDra khatchia 'They brought'

they brought

a:ronna khatchia 'They drunk'

they drunk

a:rbonkha khatchia 'They run'

they run

Present Perfective

a:dokka khatchia 'She has sat'

she sit has

a:d chia: khatchia 'she has given'

she given has

a:dme:nakhatchia 'she has listened to'

she listen has

a:dbaRha khatchia

‘she has brought’

she brought has

Habitual Aspect

1. *je billi sada-kaThatte*
the cat always bites

‘The cat always bites’

2. *i: allaeñhunpaRmi*
the dog often bites

‘The dog often bites’

3. *a:doñkhonkhunpaRmi*
she never bites

‘She never eats’

4. *a:sh engdiu:rmibeDanechus*
he me continually begged

‘He continually begged me’

Person

The pronominal terminations of the first person singular and plural have no gender distinction. Gender distinction between masculine and non-masculine is maintained in the second person singular. Second person plural pronominal termination includes both masculine and non-masculine. In third person, non-masculine pronominal terminations are common for both singular and plural.

The pronominal terminations in kurukh are shown in the following chart.

	<u>sg</u>	<u>pl</u>
Ist per	- <i>an</i>	- <i>am</i> (incl) - <i>at</i> (excl)
II per	- <i>ay</i> (masc) - <i>i</i> (non masc)	- <i>ar</i> (masc and non-masc)
III pers	- <i>as</i> (masc) - <i>i</i> : ∞ - <i>a</i> – (non masc) – <i>i</i> : ∞- Φ (non human)	- <i>ar</i> (human)

The third person non-masculine pronominal terminations / *i*: ∞ *a*: ∞ Φ / occur in the following conditions.

- *i*: occurs in present tense
- *a*: occurs in past tense
- Φ : occurs in future tense

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 Kurukh language:

Obligative Mood

The obligative expressing obligation is formed by combining the infinitive form of verb with the auxiliary *ma*: ‘to become’ followed by non-tense marker / -*n*- / and the third person non-masculine singular morpheme.

- kuko: y ma :nimxhankhili* ‘The girl must take rest’
- a : d ma: nimbaggemiTTaymuk?i* ‘she must eat much sweat’
- ni : n ma: niminnalk?an* ‘you must learn this work’
- ni : n ma : nimjokk? Inganbatchda :* ‘you must teach something for me’

Prohibitive Mood

The prohibitive denoting ‘must not’ or ‘should not’ is opposed in meaning to the obligative described.

- a :sh ma : nimchuTTa mala onde* ‘He must not smoke’
- nimma : aim baggemarichamalamothde* ‘you must not take much more chilly’
- nimma :nim I : nalk?anmalanande* ‘you must not do this work’.

Hortative Mood

Hortative verb is often used in the first-person inclusive plural to express an advice or wish of the speaker. This is formed by adding the suffix –*a*, which occurs only in the first-person exclusive plural after the non-past stem of a verb. Examples are such as

<i>iddin chia:</i>	‘let us give (it)’
<i>iddin nanna</i>	‘let us do (it)’
<i>iddinonnaa</i>	‘let us drink (it)’
<i>iddinonDra</i>	‘let us bring (it)’
<i>guchahaT o: tto: Ra araasanunnotmokhot</i>	‘let us cook and eat here’

Habitual Mood

The habitual action verb expresses habitual mood and is formed by the addition of morpheme – *na:* to the verb stem.

<i>tupna :</i>	‘to spit’
<i>taina :</i>	‘to send’
<i>lawna :</i>	‘to beat’
<i>chĩna:</i>	‘to give’
<i>okhna :</i>	‘to take’
<i>okhoyna:</i>	‘to harvest’

4.2.1.2. NON-FINITE VERB

Infinitive

The suffixes *-a: or na:* are added to the verbal base to form the infinitive,

<i>-a: chia:</i>	‘to give’
<i>u: rna:</i>	‘blow’
<i>uina :</i>	‘to put’
<i>-na: chakna:</i>	‘to sharpen’
<i>be: sna :</i>	‘to sell’
<i>a:rsna:</i>	‘to arrive’

Verbal Noun

The verbal nouns are formed by adding the suffix /- *na*: / to the verbal base.

chuTTaonna: maldowdili ‘smoking is not good’

onnamokhna :kayakhadridawdali ‘eating is good for health’

Participle

Past adjective participle: It is formed by adding the past tense suffix *-k* followed by the adjective suffix *-a*: to the verbal base.

Example: *khay -k -a* ‘dry’

Past adverbial participle: It is formed by adding the suffix / *-a: r* / optionally and then followed by / *-ki: /* or / *-dara: /* to the verbal base.

debba: tara: ‘left side’

chak-a: r ‘breadth’

Present adjective participle

This form is formed by the addition of the suffix / *-u: /* after the verbal base.

. Present adverbial participle

The emphatic form of the present adverbial participle takes the suffixes / *-m /*, / *-ti: /* and / *-tim /* after / *nu: /* added to the base

esnu:

esnum

esnuti :

esnutim

4.2.1.3. CAUSATIVE VERB

Causative base is formed by the addition of the causative suffixes as – *ta? a :-d* and *ba? a:*

(i) *ka : na* ‘to move’ >*ka : - ta : ?a :- na* > *kata : ?a : na* : ‘to cause to move’

<i>ekna</i> ‘to walk’	> <i>ek -ta : ?a : - na</i> > <i>ekta : ?a : na :</i>	‘to cause to walk’
(ii) <i>onna</i> ‘to eat’	> <i>ond-na</i> > <i>ondna:</i>	‘to feed’
<i>enna</i> ‘to bathe’	> <i>en-d-na :>endna:</i>	‘to bathe’
(iii) <i>bhājaha</i> ‘to change’	> <i>bhāja : ba : ?a : na</i>	
	> <i>bhāja :ba : ?a : na :</i>	‘cause to change’

4.2.1.4. AUXILIARY VERB

The auxiliary verb /*lagna:*/ is used to indicate continuous aspect. This verbal base, added to the main verb is conjugated in all tenses for showing continuous aspect,

e: n nana lakdan ‘I am doing’

e : m nana lekkam ‘We were doing’

4.2.1.5. NEGATIVE VERB

Negative Verb is discussed in Syntax section in the discussion on Negation

Irregular Verbs

Following is the list of irregular verbs which have different stem alternates when they are conjugated in three tenses.

1) /*kalna:*/ ‘to go’

{*kal*} ∞ {*kir*}

kal occurs in the imperative and in the infinitive forms.

Kir occurs when conjugated for tenses.

2) /*uyna:* / ‘to plough’

/ *uy* / ∞ / *us* /

/ *uy* / occurs in the imperative and in the infinitive forms.

/ *us* occurs when conjugated for tenses.

3) /*khossna:* / ‘to dig’

{*khoss*} ∞ {*khott* }

khoss occurs in the imperative and in the infinitive forms.

khott occurs when conjugated for tenses.

4.2.1.6 COMPOUND VERB

A Compound Verb or complex Predicate is a multi-word compound that functions as a single verb. One component of the compound may be a light verb or Vector.

Two types of Compound Verbs are attested in Kurukh - one is noun + verb and the second is verb + verb.

The former construction which involves a noun is in the nominative and is an infinitive verb. This type of formation gives an idiomatic expression. Examples are such as

na : Ri *ko : rna :* ‘to suffix from fever.

4.2.1.7. PASSIVE FORMATION

Instances of Passive Formation have been discussed in the Syntax section.

4.2.1.8. TRANSITIVITY

There is however one verb noun ‘*to do*’, behaves like a transitive verb as its subject is declined for the nominative case suffix.

Examples

<i>ennandan</i>	‘I do’
<i>emnandan</i>	‘we do’
<i>en nana lakdan</i>	‘I am doing’
<i>en kadam</i>	‘I go’
<i>em kadam</i>	‘we go’

4.2.2. ADVERB

An Adverb is a word which qualifies a Verb.

Some of the adverbs are given below -

<i>akku :</i>	‘indefinite’
<i>akkun</i>	‘definite, now even now, just now’.

<i>uruṅ</i>	‘once a moment or uṅgur
<i>oṅghon</i>	‘once, one day-again’
<i>ikla: m</i>	‘once one day: <i>ikla: m ikla : m</i> ‘some times’
<i>ikla:</i>	‘what or which day: ‘that day, then’
<i>eka:biri: a: bi: ri</i>	‘when, what time: then that time’
<i>gahDi</i>	‘late’
<i>hole:</i>	‘then, consequently’
<i>laghlem</i>	‘constantly, continually’
<i>ulla: ulla: and sagarkhane:</i>	‘daily always’
<i>beRa, be:Ra</i>	‘precisely, punctuality’

4.2.3. ECHO WORD/REDUPLICATION

Echo Word or Onomatopoeic Words are a particular kind of reduplication in which the sound of the word seems to echo its sense. Instances of Reduplication in Kurukh are as follows:

<i>ulla: ulla: and sagarkhane:</i>	‘daily always’
<i>beRa, be: Ra</i>	‘precisely, punctuality’

Interjections

Interjections are used in exclamatory words, usually used to denote address. Instances in Kurukh are such as -

<i>ayo :</i>	‘o mother!’
<i>e:, ana, anai, ane</i>	‘vocatives o !’
<i>oh re: ! oh re: ayo: !</i>	‘expressive of pain ad distress’
<i>guchr’a: guchr ai</i>	‘gets away’
<i>cha : chem.</i>	‘hush; silence! shut up’
<i>guca : !</i>	‘come along!’

<i>gucha : malo</i>	‘only one female’
<i>gucha :</i>	‘for all’ (pl)
<i>onda :</i>	‘take’
<i>laukan,laukkatek</i>	‘I have done, finished, won’
<i>thu :, thu: ! fie ! fie !</i>	‘expression of disgust’
<i>khe : a :</i>	‘die’
<i>poTa : are: poTa : !</i>	‘expression of contempt’
<i>januge : ! bar ge : ! bara : janu :</i>	‘dear, come dear’
<i>anti</i>	‘afternoon, later’
<i>anti je</i>	‘of course, no doubt’
<i>Tdaukam,</i>	‘bravo!, ‘well said! well done !

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. The syntax of Kurukh is discussed below.

5.1. ORDER OF WORDS IN SENTENCES

Word order typology is the study of the order of the syntactic constituents of a language. Kurukh/ Oraon is a language which follows Subject + Object + Verb pattern.

engaieRappakalla 'go to my house'

my house go

S O V

ninghaieRappakalla 'go to your house'

your house go

S O V

engaieRappabaRha: 'come to my house'

my house come

S O V

5.2. DESCRIPTION OF TYPES OF SENTENCES

Interrogative Sentences

Interrogative sentences are formed with the help of who '*ne*', *e:ka* 'what', *endra* 'what,which' '*ēkada*', *ēwda*, 'how many' *eksah* 'when' 'where' *eka:se* 'how shall', 'whose' *nekhasi* and 'yes-or-no' question are formed by using the interrogative particle *ka*:

Some examples from Kurukh are given below:

Who will take tea '*ne: pa:naono:y*' 'sg'

'ne" pa:naono:R' 'pl'

What is your name? *e:kani:mna:me?*

What he will do? *a:sendra nan os?*

What is it?	<i>endra: ra: ?i ?</i>
What do you eat?	<i>ni:nende:r or endramo:xday?</i>
How many children do you have?	<i>ningaiẽwdakhadde: ra?i:</i>
<u>When</u> do you come?	<i>ni:neksanbara:y?</i>
<u>How</u> shall I speak?	<i>e:neka:seba?a:n ?</i>
<u>Whose</u> house is that?	<i>a:dnekhassieRappa?</i>
Are you reading?	<i>Ni:nlakadus ka:?</i>

Imperative Sentences

Imperative verbs are formed by the addition of suffixes such *-a: -ay* and *e:*, or syllable *ke:* to the root of verb, both for the singular and plural number and sentences formed with Imperative Verbs are called Imperative Sentences. These sentences are used to express Command, Order or Request. Examples in Kurukh are such as -

	Singular	Plural
Masc.	<i>ni:nto:Rda: !</i> ‘Thou write’	<i>ni:mto:Rda !</i> ‘you write’
Fem.	<i>ni:nto:Rday !</i> ‘Thou write’	<i>ni:mto:Rda: !</i> ‘You write’
Neute:	<i>ni:nto:rDay !</i> ‘Thou write’	<i>ni:mto:Rday !</i> ‘You write’

In feminine and neuter singular as well as in the neuter plural the *a:* is changed into *-ay* and when women speak the *a:* is changed into *e:*

The form *ke:* is employed when a more familiar or when the fulfilment of the action commanded is not expected to be accomplished at once. Example is exemplified below-

bara ‘come’ ! (at once)

barke: ‘come’ (if you please) in both the numbers and all genders.

Negative Sentence

Negation is indicated by adding negative word / *ma:l* / before affirmative verbs. This form has another form / *mal?a* / which occurs in isolation. Both the forms are derived from the

defective verb root / *malna:* / ‘not to be’. This defective verb is also conjugated in present tense for all persons.

There is another negative word in this language- /*polna:* / ‘not to be able’. This verb is conjugated in all tenses for all reasons. Examples are given below-

I did not read	<i>e:nama:lbaRcus</i>
You did not go	<i>ni:nma:lkerkay</i>
You have no clothes	<i>ningusankisirimal?a</i>
I have no money at all	<i>eñgusan anta nu dibamal?a</i>
He had no bicycle	<i>a:sgusanbiskimal?a</i>
He is not sitting	<i>a:sh malachiaokkalegdus</i>
He was not sitting	<i>a:sh malachiaokkaleggius</i>
He must not smoke	<i>‘a:shma:nimchuTTa mala ondus’</i>
She can’t do it	<i>‘a:sidin nana: poldas’</i>

Causative

Some causative verbs like ‘cause to see’, ‘cause to sweep’, ‘cause to send’ etc are found. Some sentences in present indefinite tenses and future tense expressing Causation are exemplified below.

Causative sentences in Present tense

a) *e : n enghai jo : khasinenghailedppan e : r da : dan or e : r da : d a : dan*

‘I make my servant to see (which) my house’

b) *e : n engidinniñghaichalin e:rmada:dan or e:rmada: -a: dan*

‘I make my younger sister to sweep your court yard’

c) *a: s ningantañgiyogekichiritaita: dus or taita:das*

“He makes you to send his mother clothes”

d) *a: d eñgantanghaikichrinbathRino:Rthi or no:rta:I*

‘She makes me to wash her clothes outside’.

Causative formations in Past Tense

a) (i) *e : m irubam a : rlningioge : mandi beet ta:ta:da:m*

(ii) *na : m irubar a: riningioge : mandi beet ta:cha ,*

‘We two made them to cook food for my mother’

b) *nimlrubareman or naman ingidinningdaise : nalak nan ta:cha or nan ta:ta:cha*

‘You two made them to work my younger sister to your elder sister’.

c) *a:r irubar a:sin tañgai putting a:rge or tamage : hohota:cha or ho ta:ta:cha*

‘They two made him to take his books to them’.

d) *e: n a:sinemhaikhallantanghaiaDDottiuitachkkam or uita: ta: chaskam.*

na:ma:sinenhaikhallantanghaiaddotti. uitachkat or uita:ba:chkat.

‘We made him to plough our field with oxen’

e) *ni:memanninghaipellõna:rgechitachar(or) chi ta:ta: char.*

‘You made us to give your made servant to them’

f) *a:rnimantamagetanhaikullenundo:runDortacharor undortachar*

‘They made you to bring them their umbrellas’.

Causative formations in Future Tense

a). *e: n enghaijõkhsonenghaiedappane:r to-on or e:r tat-on.*

‘I will make my servant to see my house’.

b) *e:nengidinniñghaichalinerr to-on or err tat-on.*

‘I will make my younger sister to sweep your court yard’

c) *e:nningan a:rge deepachit-on or chi tat o:m.*

‘I will make thee to give them money’.

d) *nina:ssinaddintambasge a:tkha to:Rto-oy or to:Rtat-oy.*

‘Thou will make him to write her letter to his father’.

e) *a: s ningantañgyogekichRitail-os (or) tail-tat-os.*

‘He will make you to send his mother clothes’.

f) *īsenghanisanengdaiganetait-os (or) tai ta:tos*

‘He (rear) will make you to sit here with my elder sister’.

g) *a: d eñhantanghaikichringathRinoRto: or noRtta:t o*

‘She will makes me to wash her clothes outside’.

h) *a:d a:rin tangusantamhaijõkhaintait o: or tait ta: o:*

‘She (near) will makes them to send her their servant’.

i) *iddemān or naman as an bira:nuĩgja:cha (or) igja:ta:cha:*

‘It will make to stand there in the sun’.

f) (i) *e:m irubama:riningiogēmadibeet om or beet ta tom*

(ii) *na:m imbat a:rininglogimadi beet ot (or) beet-bat-ot.*

‘We two will make them to cook food for my mother’.

g) *ni: m irubareman or naman ingidinningdaise: nalaknaht o or (or) nat tat or.*

‘You will two make us to work my younger sister to your elder sister’.

h) *a:rirubar a:sin tañgaiputtn a:rge or tamage: ho:tor (or) ho: ta:t or.*

‘They will two make him to take his books to them’.

i). *ni:memanninghaipellona:rge: chit (or) chit tat or.*

‘You will make us to give your made servant to them’.

j) (i) *e:n a:sin emhaikhollantanghaiaDDotiuiytom(or) uitatom.*

(ii) *na: m a: sin namhaikhollantanghaiuitot or uitatot.*

‘We will make him to plough our field with oxen’

k) *a:rnimantamagetamhai bullen ondo:rtor or ondo: r ta:tor.*

“They will make you to bring them their umbrellas”.

Co-ordination

In Kurukh Co-ordination is expressed by *ara*: ‘and’.

esan berk? aara: alla:

‘Here is a cat and a dog’

Active Voice

garjana : ‘to cry’

Passive Voice

garjana : ‘to be cried ’

Masculine

engarjardan, e: m garjardam ‘I am and we are crying’;

na : m garjardat

(or)

engarja :rdan, e:m garjardam ‘I am and we are being crying’

na : m garjardat

Feminine

engarjar, em, garjarem ‘I am and we are being crying’

(or)

e: n garjarde:n, e: m garjagem ‘I am and we are being crying’

Past Tense

engarjarkan, engarjar an, ‘I was crying’

Perfect (present)

e: n garjarkan ra: kdan, e: n garjarkinraen ‘I have been crying’

Past perfect continuous

e: n garchkan, e: n garjku: m ra askan, 'I had been crying'

Future continuous tense

e: n garja: Rnum ra on, 'I will/shall be crying'

Future Perfect Continuous Tense

e : n gar khac on garjutr on masc and feminine, 'I will, shall have been crying'

Adjective Participles

Pres. *garjrnum, garjrnumgarjrnum; garjrnumdave; ,garjrnuri, garjrnutim;*

is being crying.

Past. *Garjka* 'having been broken'

Conjunctive Participles

garjas, garjasdara:,etc (he) being 'crying'

garjki : (he) being 'crying'

garjardara (he) being 'crying'

garjarki : (he) being 'crying'

Adverbial Participle

garjrakhanem, on being crying, in the act of being crying.

Infinitive

garjarna : 'to be crying';

gerund *garjarna:gahiek,* 'to be, of to be crying'

Imperative

garjamasc, garji: fem sing,

garje: fem pl. be crying.

5.3. DESCRIPTION OF PATTERNS OF SENTENCES

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.

as kerkamha:Ri 'He went away'

He went away

en mokhna 'I eat'

I eat

id eDappatali 'this is house'

this house is

Complex Sentences

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

- i) a noun clause or
- ii) an adjective clause or
- iii) an adverb clause.

An instance of Complex sentences are such as -

yadi-me upper nakibaitoho:ttu to: jāda-kamnakhikeo jai sakko: ho:tto

if iupon not sit would have more work no could done

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

Compound sentence

A Compound Sentence is a combination of two independent sentences joined by a conjunction. The conjunction in Kurukh are *aRa* 'and', *mūda* 'but' and few others.

Examples are provided below-

isanberkhaaRaalla:

‘Here is a cat and a dog’

here cat and a dog

ing dura naidenainmūda

‘I shall not come tomorrow but’

butumrunai pa:nkarnochayeinnge

‘He must not smoke because’

enghaygane: jhagra: ra?acca:

‘There was a general with me’

a:sparta:nti: kiyya: barcas

‘He came down the hill’

TEXT

How the crow-hen killed the black snake

Middi xaxhan makhRo neR ekkase piTTia?

crow snake killed

Among the spreading branches of banyan trees live a crow and his wife, the crow hen

hollonu ke dahoppa gahi daddanu eddo beggin xaxha rakalegia

long ago spreading branches of tree crow lived

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

addigai khottanu nak? hjuTTank erakthojja : leggia

In the nest eggs

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

keddaki mokhuDa nu onTa Moka: Ro neRR baša: nañki ra:cha khakha addi

In the hollow of one black snake lang crow

khaRa elecha legia

. fear

Every time the crow-hen laid her eggs the snake crawled up to the nest

khuRnibeda middl khalacha biguša: num rakalegia aRRa nerrain khotta taRa a:nen

Every time the snake nest snake up to

and ate them up.

kaudau nana legia

Every time the

If the black snake eats up my eggs this time also, I refuse to live in this tree

agaR mukaRoneRR enghe biyan i:beDanu Mukho holo, enn hisan malarar dara ekka:m

the black snake up my eggs Eats I refuse live in
any longer. We must build our nest somewhere else,

nanna gatcha aDDa nusail kalom. naam manint eska: num tangtha kotta cummonth.

trees We nest build

‘Said the mother bird to her husband’.

enne gokhner jukhu nanna odDa enne goher bangha medDa oDa batcha.

somewhere else said mother bird husband child

we lived here a long time I can’t bear to desert my home and go

n:m nisan bayge ulla: raskat enn tangha eDuppen bigDer aRa nana!

we have lived together

I can’t bear to desert my home and go ‘said the crow’. While they were talking,

enn tangha eDuppen bigDer aRa nana! gušan malkalon Enne khakka batcha,

I can’t bear and elsewhere said crow

they heard a hissing sound just below them

ekka:biri katchanga legier, abirin manink lathRakyya ti sada batcha.

hissing sound just below them. heard hissing sound just them

heard hissing sound just them

They knew what the sound meant. They sat helplessly in their nest trying to

a:r akkeR indirasta baRalegi a:r binsakaTa tank?a hotata biyen batcha bhana

they knew sound meant they sat helplessly in their

Protect their eggs. The black snake crept higher and closer to the nest.

cikkuTTu nanna helTrer. mokaRoner gitchatin tottank aRa hanne cilla: RRte:

Protect their eggs black snake crept

The with a loud hiss he tried to strike at the birds who flew away in terror.

Ta Thasañge o: da uriyaRkia !.

nest to

closer to the nest. The with a land hiss

hanne cilla: RRte: taThasañge o: da

Black snake crept nest to

he tried to strike at the birds who flew away in terror. One by one, the black

uriyaRkia !. tire di: re bikusank? arusa onkon

chasing snake swallowed the eggs.

on?kon mokoRoneR. Tiredire bikusankh arsula.

and black snake one by one swallowed

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

eddo taha: aunta: m tangha hotlen kiRRia akka: kiRRa:ka: idd dusman tali.

parents came back sadly their nest that I murder

The crow said. 'I must find a way to destroy this murderers snake'.

xakka akka:, idd na: z nanno ba?kar niRRan piTTi a:

the crow I must find way snake killed

How can you ever fight him? his sitting is so deadly, 'said his wife

ekka: se iddin mañkya uriyo: enderdekku kichka: le tali tantha a: li udda: s maRukha

how can you fight them his sitting deadly said his

in despair.

Don't worry, my dear, 'I've got a friend who is cunning enough

malta puTTa:mañja. endiramela: ko: ma inghai dullaRo:: leoma enonta: saikha je
baggẽ don't you worry I have got friend who to destroy the
most poisonous of snakes. said the crow, and off the flew

uadda: s aRa bagge moxhuta nukuRaner, xhahabacha aRa aid nanna nukuRaner
most poisonous snake said the crow and
to another tree under which lived his dear friend, the jackal.

xahabateha aRa a: d nannaman o: r Khanna gusuda mannukiya:ekka:sanghi
cigta:

When the jackal heard how the snake always ate up eggs he said

aachigla: miñjira?ha ekkāse u: rnibeDa neR biyen mu:khi a:d bhã:sa

When the jackal heard how the snake ate he said,
My friend, those who are cruel and greedy always meet a bad end have no fear

enghesangai a: d badumas aRa: lubbi u:rmibeda na: z mani likamella.

said cruel and greedy always use me eggs

I 've already thought of a plan to destroy him.

xher uRmibeda gohudan ka: addighai mallow manna n

thought of a plan to destroy him

'Oh, do tell me what it is, said the crow then the jackal,

ohh!, enghan ba?chiã idd endra:tali aha batcha xhanne cigla

oh do well I what is said crow jackal

fearing the night be overhead, whispered to his friend what he should do to

maha biri echla: nti, bag he miñja enDra saddi disenki endiR

fearing he night be overhead, whispered

destroy the snake. The crow few back to his wife and told her about

niR baR nanno midda xahha u:riarte tanghe aRa tagha uRmi bitcha:r raybarin
snake destroy the crow flew back and his wife told plan
the plan. "It is rather risky, said the crow. We Will have to be very careful".

batcha: Idd jokkho okka: tali, "xahaha batcha", "achã sauda:n"
plan It is rather risky said the crow careful
'I'll do anything to save my eggs, Said the mother bird bravely.

engha jebbi mano tangkha: biyen batchabo: n middi xaha da: dusoR kas ti batcha.
I will do anything eggs save my eggs, mother bird bravely

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

Indabha:r a:r be:l baggaDe a:r ra:jjii babble baggDe celkirar, ammannu be:l
So off they flew the kings may not

was not far from the tree in which they lived. They approached a big pond in the

baggade gatchamal raja. BaggaDe ariska:nu onTa kũkha pikkere aRa
For palace from the time in which may

Palace garden. Where they saw the royal ladies having a bath.

beggeha ayya onte daulekhan mukka emakh leggi. a: d tankha sonakhe cikdi aRa
ived. They approached big pond they had chain and other

other jewellery on the edge of pond. The mother bird flew down picked up the

nanna atna puñdura:n pukkaRe pindi mañkya uyya ucha.Middi oDDa uiri ya:ra
jewellery on the edge of the pond the mother bird flew

gold chain in her beak and started flying slowly towards tree in which she

kira:, soñaghai cikkiDin tankha toRunk dirh?ar Rase Rase tankha
down pick up gold chain beak slowly flying

lived when the palace guards saw the bird flying off with gold chain ,

ra:na anda:nu ce:lkha xahne bakkrehapus tornu aRa raxhecher nuteDukka

towards the tree when lived place guard saw

with the gold chain, they took up their clubs and chased the bird

sonagahi sikkiDin ohte (uriya:rte oden i: rius) a: s mannugahi DotuRnu chole

the bird chain they took up hollow

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

t cikkidin o:da sapja: addin irius baggDe xhampus mannu: a:rgar cikkidin didius

chain put guards (hollow of the tree) climbed up the tree to get the chain

As he put his hand inside the whole to get

Tangha ekkann undara dotouRnu cajhar cikkidin biddius, o:soNTe mukarõ kissa?ha

Hand he put inside the hole saw chain he saw black snake up

the chain, he saw a black snake curled chain he saw black snake

nirran tang?ha balluti: lauchus taRa piTTius enne mukaRo nirghai kenha manja

up there, club stroke he killed at black snake end

he killed it and that was the end of the black snake.

The crow and the crow-hen lived in that tree happily afterwards and had many little

Medda: Ra middi xahaha ammannu daule:khan rahelDrar aDDi xhãhã akkay

The crow and crow=hen lived that then happily afterwards had

baby crows.

bagge had xaha mañja.

many little baby crows

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MUNDARI

N. GOPALAKRISHNAN

1. INTRODUCTION

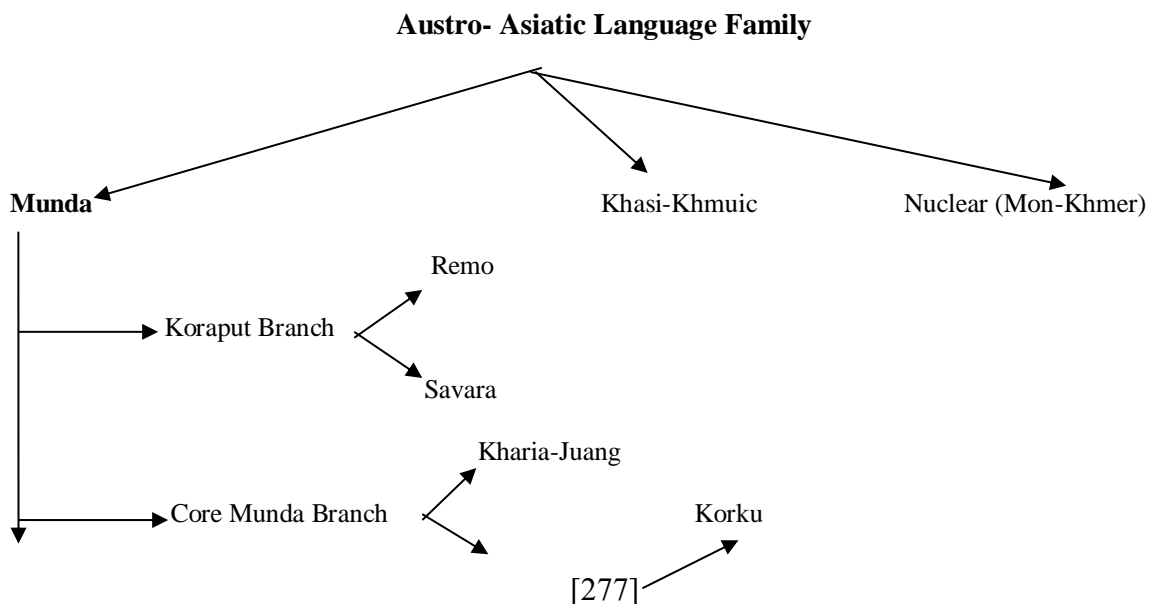
INTRODUCTION

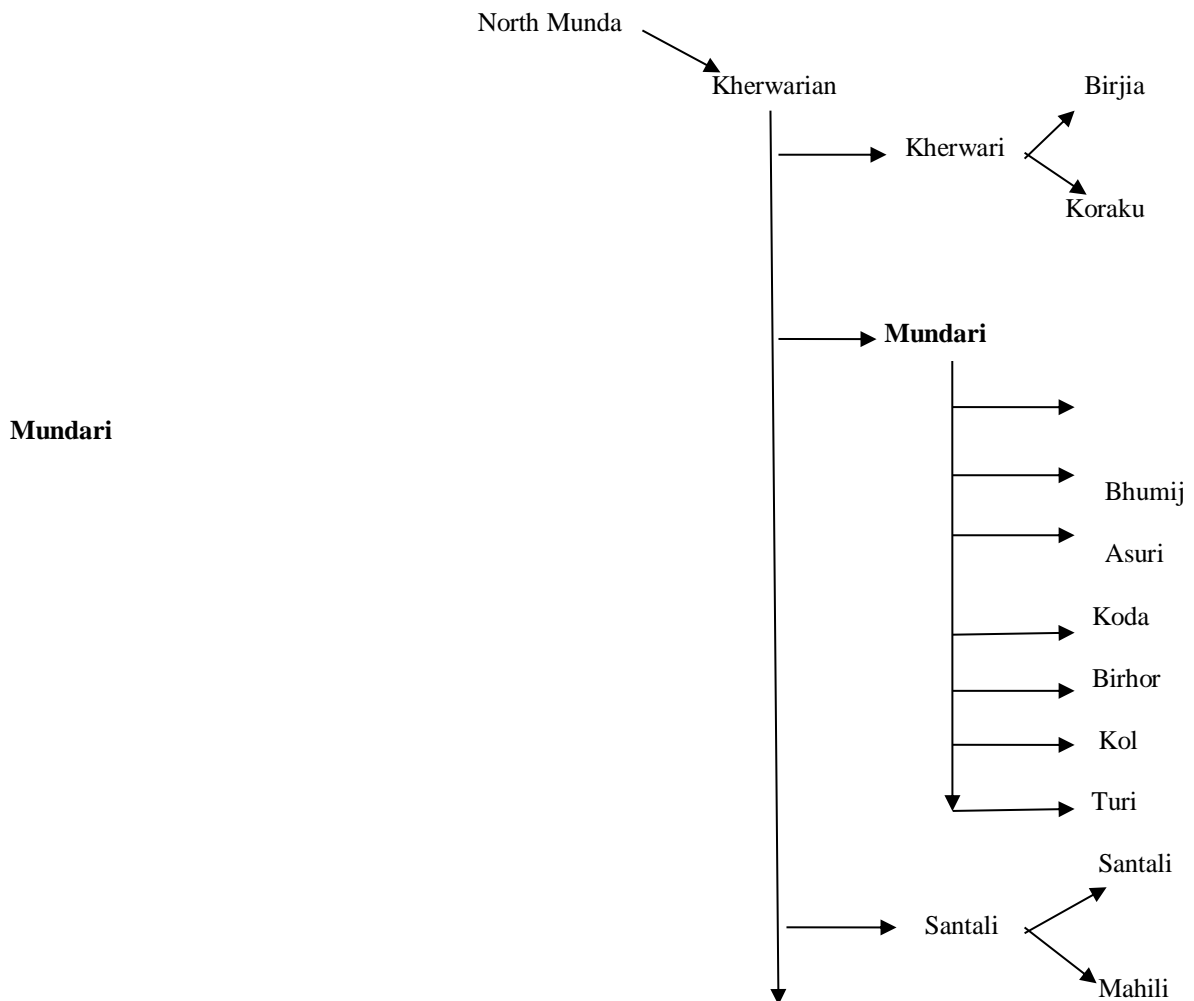
Mundari is one of the Non-Scheduled languages of India belonging to Munda group of Austro-Asiatic family of languages. This language is mainly spoken in Jharkhand and the adjoining states of Odisha and West Bengal. The term 'Mundari' is derived after the name of the tribe 'Munda', a scheduled Tribe of India and the language spoken by them is called 'Mundari'. Actually, 'Munda' means 'village- headman' in Mundari language but the language name 'Munda' is given by the neighbouring people.

Hoffmann reported in his *Encyclopaedia Mundarica*, Vol. 1, p. 6 that Mundari has four dialects. These are - **1. Hasada** meaning 'water-land' in Mundari. This dialect is considered as the standard variety and it is mainly spoken in the eastern side of Ranchi-Chaibasa Road. **2. Naguri**: this dialect is named after the place name 'Naguri'. It is mainly spoken in the western part of the Ranchi-Chaibasa Road. **3. Tamaria**, meaning is 'a language of Tamar (a place name). This dialect is spoken in Panchpargana area (i.e. Bundu, Tamar, Silli, Baranda and Rahe) and **4. Kera**, is mainly spoken by the inhabitants of Ranchi city and the adjacent area. People speaking this dialect ethnically belong to the Oraon tribe

FAMILY AFFILIATION

Mundari is one of the languages of the 'Kherwarian group' of the Northern Munda sub – branch of Austro-Asiatic language family (Norman Zide, 1966).





Austro-Asiatic Family Classification by Diffloth (2005)

Reference: Diffloth, Gérard. 2005. "The contribution of linguistic palaeontology to the homeland of Austro-Asiatic". In: Sagart, Laurent, Roger Blench and Alicia Sanchez-Mazas (eds.). *The Peopling of East Asia: Putting Together Archaeology, Linguistics and Genetics*. Routledge Curzon. pp 79–82

LOCATION

The principal home of the Mundas is the southern and western part of Ranchi district. There are, moreover, speakers in Palamau and south-east part of Hazaribagh. Towards the south we find Mundari is spoken side by side with Ho. In the Northern part of Singbhum, speakers are scattered over the Chota Nagpur plateau region. Apart from Ranchi, Mundari is spoken in Khunti, Saraikela, Kharsawan, West Singbhum and East Singbhum district of Jharkhand. In Odisha, the speakers are found in Mayurbhanj, Kendujhar, Baleswar and Sundargarh districts.

THE PRESENT STUDY: MUNDARI LANGUAGE

The present work is a Descriptive Grammar of Mundari language of Jharkhand state. Mundari is one of the major members of Austro-Asiatic languages surrounded by the languages like – Ho, Santali, Kharia, Bhumij, Korcu etc. Survey work has been conducted in the Ranchi district, of Jharkhand. The location is situated at a distance of 25 km from Ranchi in Murhu village in Khunti area. The informants of the village were eminent scholars in their language and by the time this Survey was conducted they had experience to produce Text Books in their own language. The informants were Shri Chamra Munda and Mrs. Ramdi Munda. The latter was a retired teacher. The present description of Mundari language is a brief grammatical sketch covering Phonology, Morphophonemics, Morphology and Syntax based on the analysis of the collected data from the mentioned informants of Ranchi district of Jharkhand state.

SPEAKERS' STRENGTH

Here Population of Mundari language is furnished at All India Level as per 2011 Census.

India/State/ Union Territory	Total			Rural			Urban		
	Person	Males	Females	Person	Males	Females	Person	Males	Females
	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
INDIA	11,28,228	5,63,608	5,64,620	10,42,230	5,20,851	5,21,379	85,998	42,757	43,241
JAMMU & KASHMIR	61	52	9	25	21	4	36	31	5
HIMACHAL PRADESH	684	451	233	631	420	211	53	31	22
PUNJAB	548	317	231	441	257	184	107	60	47
CHANDIGARH	45	21	24	-	-	-	45	21	24
UTTARAKHAND	92	62	30	45	34	11	47	28	19
HARYANA	280	142	138	191	108	83	89	34	55
NCT OF DELHI	330	130	200	2	2	-	328	128	200
RAJASTHAN	121	79	42	97	68	29	24	11	13
UTTAR PRADESH	277	139	138	199	101	98	78	38	40
BIHAR	2,468	1,331	1,137	1,985	1,040	945	483	291	192
SIKKIM	16	10	6	9	8	1	7	2	5
ARUNACHAL PRADESH	1,378	726	652	1,294	675	619	84	51	33
NAGALAND	219	147	72	169	120	49	50	27	23

MANIPUR	4	4	-	3	3	-	1	1	-
MIZORAM	7	5	2	4	4	-	3	1	2
TRIPURA	185	107	78	174	100	74	11	7	4
MEGHALAYA	27	19	8	9	9	-	18	10	8
ASSAM	23,813	11,941	11,872	23,584	11,790	11,794	229	151	78
WEST BENGAL	29,594	14,760	14,834	28,934	14,428	14,506	660	332	328
JHARKHAND	9,42,108	4,70,532	4,71,576	8,67,023	4,33,527	4,33,496	75,085	37,005	38,080
ODISHA	1,23,488	61,196	62,292	1,16,415	57,596	58,819	7,073	3,600	3,473
CHHATTISGARH	537	289	248	285	151	134	252	138	114
MADHYA PRADESH	424	230	194	19	14	5	405	216	189
GUJARAT	91	77	14	9	7	2	82	70	12
DAMAN & DIU	5	3	2	-	-	-	5	3	2
DADRA & NAGAR HAVELI	13	12	1	1	1	-	12	11	1
MAHARASHTRA	328	199	129	66	28	38	262	171	91
ANDHRA PRADESH	47	32	15	6	4	2	41	28	13
KARNATAKA	67	53	14	12	8	4	55	45	10
GOA	71	51	20	8	4	4	63	47	16
KERALA	25	18	7	5	4	1	20	14	6
TAMIL NADU	39	25	14	2	2	-	37	23	14
PUDUCHERRY	3	1	2	-	-	-	3	1	2
ANDAMAN & NICOBAR ISLANDS	833	447	386	583	317	266	250	130	120

The Population data of Mundari as a Mother Tongue at the All India Level and as per 2011 Census is presented below.

India/State/Union Territory	Total			Rural			Urban		
	Person	Males	Females	Person	Males	Females	Person	Males	Females
	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
MUNDARI (Mother Tongue)									
INDIA	11,28,050	5,63,561	5,64,489	10,42,110	5,20,838	5,21,272	85,940	42,723	43,217
JAMMU & KASHMIR	61	52	9	25	21	4	36	31	5
HIMACHAL PRADESH	684	451	233	631	420	211	53	31	22

PUNJAB	548	317	231	441	257	184	107	60	47
CHANDIGARH	45	21	24	0	0	0	45	21	24
UTTARAKHAND	92	62	30	45	34	11	47	28	19
HARYANA	280	142	138	191	108	83	89	34	55
NCT OF DELHI	329	129	200	2	2	0	327	127	200
RAJASTHAN	116	78	38	93	67	26	23	11	12
UTTAR PRADESH	277	139	138	199	101	98	78	38	40
BIHAR	2,468	1,331	1,137	1,985	1,040	945	483	291	192
SIKKIM	16	10	6	9	8	1	7	2	5
ARUNACHAL PRADESH	1,378	726	652	1,294	675	619	84	51	33
NAGALAND	214	146	68	169	120	49	45	26	19
MANIPUR	4	4	0	3	3	0	1	1	0
MIZORAM	7	5	2	4	4	0	3	1	2
TRIPURA	185	107	78	174	100	74	11	7	4
MEGHALAYA	27	19	8	9	9	0	18	10	8
ASSAM	23,812	11,941	11,871	23,583	11,790	11,793	229	151	78
WEST BENGAL	29,590	14,760	14,830	28,930	14,428	14,502	660	332	328
JHARKHAND	9,41,965	4,70,496	4,71,469	8,66,920	4,33,519	4,33,401	75,045	36,977	38,068
ODISHA	1,23,488	61,196	62,292	1,16,415	57,596	58,819	7,073	3,600	3,473
CHHATTISGARH	537	289	248	285	151	134	252	138	114
MADHYA PRADESH	415	227	188	12	11	1	403	216	187
GUJARAT	91	77	14	9	7	2	82	70	12
DAMAN & DIU	5	3	2	0	0	0	5	3	2
DADRA & NAGAR HAVELI	13	12	1	1	1	0	12	11	1
MAHARASHTRA	319	194	125	65	27	38	254	167	87
ANDHRA PRADESH	47	32	15	6	4	2	41	28	13
KARNATAKA	66	53	13	12	8	4	54	45	9
GOA	71	51	20	8	4	4	63	47	16
KERALA	25	18	7	5	4	1	20	14	6
TAMIL NADU	39	25	14	2	2	0	37	23	14
PUDUCHERRY	3	1	2	0	0	0	3	1	2
ANDAMAN & NICOBAR ISLANDS	833	447	386	583	317	266	250	130	120

Distribution of Mundari Language in Jharkhand state as per 2011 Census is presented in the following tables.

State/Districts	Total			Rural			Urban		
	Person	Males	Females	Person	Males	Females	Person	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
JHARKHAND	9,42,108	4,70,532	4,71,576	8,67,023	4,33,527	4,33,496	75,085	37,005	38,080
Garhwa	1,179	584	595	1,158	573	585	21	11	10
Chatra	4,958	2,539	2,419	4,901	2,504	2,397	57	35	22
Kodarma	461	255	206	322	180	142	139	75	64
Giridih	131	70	61	69	40	29	62	30	32
Deoghar	85	46	39	64	39	25	21	7	14
Godda	19	5	14	13	2	11	6	3	3
Sahibganj	1,722	828	894	1,446	688	758	276	140	136
Pakur	22	9	13	11	6	5	11	3	8
Dhanbad	2,745	1,398	1,347	793	419	374	1,952	979	973
Bokaro	6,235	3,143	3,092	994	526	468	5,241	2,617	2,624
Lohardaga	2,918	1,465	1,453	2,763	1,397	1,366	155	68	87
Purbi Singhbhum	62,681	31,151	31,530	50,235	25,064	25,171	12,446	6,087	6,359
Palamu	3,790	1,891	1,899	3,675	1,837	1,838	115	54	61
Latehar	4,917	2,430	2,487	4,688	2,318	2,370	229	112	117
Hazaribagh	8,941	4,553	4,388	7,645	3,915	3,730	1,296	638	658
Ramgarh	4,545	2,304	2,241	1,718	844	874	2,827	1,460	1,367
Dumka	68	31	37	44	24	20	24	7	17
Jamtara	11	7	4	5	2	3	6	5	1
Ranchi	1,36,960	68,681	68,279	1,10,099	55,469	54,630	26,861	13,212	13,649

Khunti	3,28,305	1,63,313	1,64,992	3,15,316	1,57,016	1,58,300	12,989	6,297	6,692
Gumla	48,129	23,742	24,387	47,828	23,600	24,228	301	142	159
Simdega	1,34,916	67,460	67,456	1,33,481	66,741	66,740	1,435	719	716
Pashchimi Singhbhum	1,37,637	69,067	68,570	1,29,940	65,214	64,726	7,697	3,853	3,844
Saraikela-Kharsawan	50,733	25,560	25,173	49,815	25,109	24,706	918	451	467

Distribution of Mundari Mother Tongue in Jharkhand state as per 2011 Census is presented in the following tables.

State/Districts	Total			Rural			Urban		
	Person	Males	Females	Person	Males	Females	Person	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
JHARKHAND	9,41,965	4,70,496	4,71,469	8,66,920	4,33,519	4,33,401	75,045	36,977	38,068
Garhwa	1,179	584	595	1,158	573	585	21	11	10
Chatra	4,958	2,539	2,419	4,901	2,504	2,397	57	35	22
Kodarma	461	255	206	322	180	142	139	75	64
Giridih	131	70	61	69	40	29	62	30	32
Deoghar	85	46	39	64	39	25	21	7	14
Godda	19	5	14	13	2	11	6	3	3
Sahibganj	1,722	828	894	1,446	688	758	276	140	136
Pakur	22	9	13	11	6	5	11	3	8
Dhanbad	2,740	1,393	1,347	793	419	374	1,947	974	973
Bokaro	6,229	3,140	3,089	993	526	467	5,236	2,614	2,622
Lohardaga	2,918	1,465	1,453	2,763	1,397	1,366	155	68	87
Purbi Singhbhum	62,681	31,151	31,530	50,235	25,064	25,171	12,446	6,087	6,359

Palamu	3,790	1,891	1,899	3,675	1,837	1,838	115	54	61
Latehar	4,917	2,430	2,487	4,688	2,318	2,370	229	112	117
Hazaribagh	8,937	4,551	4,386	7,644	3,915	3,729	1,293	636	657
Ramgarh	4,517	2,288	2,229	1,715	844	871	2,802	1,444	1,358
Dumka	68	31	37	44	24	20	24	7	17
Jamtara	11	7	4	5	2	3	6	5	1
Ranchi	1,36,860	68,671	68,189	1,10,001	55,461	54,540	26,859	13,210	13,649
Khunti	3,28,305	1,63,313	1,64,992	3,15,316	1,57,016	1,58,300	12,989	6,297	6,692
Gumla	48,129	23,742	24,387	47,828	23,600	24,228	301	142	159
Simdega	1,34,916	67,460	67,456	1,33,481	66,741	66,740	1,435	719	716
Pashchimi Singhbhum	1,37,637	69,067	68,570	1,29,940	65,214	64,726	7,697	3,853	3,844
Saraikela-Kharsawan	50,733	25,560	25,173	49,815	25,109	24,706	918	451	467

1.6.BILINGUALISM

The Bilingualism and Trilingualism in respect of Mundari language in Jharkhand as per 2011 Census is presented below.

BILINGUALISM AND TRILINGUALISM OF MUNDARI LANGUAGE IN JHARKHAND - 2011					
Language	Total Speakers	Language of Bilingualism	Strength	Language of Trilingualism	Strength
1	2	3	4	5	6
MUNDARI	9,42,108				
		BENGALI	28,823		
				HINDI	8,790
				SANTALI	691
				ODIA	640
				HO	78
				ENGLISH	58
				KURUKH/ORAOON	3
				OTHERS	2

		HINDI	5,90,321		
				ENGLISH	14,738
				BENGALI	9,291
				HO	2,521
				SANTALI	783
				KHARIA	337
				KURUKH/ORAOON	274
				MUNDA	7
				MALTO	3
				OTHERS	3,986
		SANTALI	2,273		
				BENGALI	809
				HINDI	519
				HO	50
				KURUKH/ORAOON	1
				OTHERS	11
		ENGLISH	819		
				HINDI	556
				BENGALI	7
				SANTALI	3
				OTHERS	8
		HO	3,730		
				HINDI	1,199
				BENGALI	171
				SANTALI	42
				OTHERS	146
		KHARIA	210		
				HINDI	114
				ODIA	1
		KURUKH/ORAOON	154		
				HINDI	98
				SANTALI	2
				OTHERS	4
		OTHERS	3,476		
				BENGALI	219

				HINDI	1,205
				HO	54
				MALTO	3
				SANTALI	14
				OTHERS	22

SOCIOLINGUISTIC INFORMATION

This language is considered as a full-fledged autonomous language spoken by its speakers on two grounds, namely, not only for its intrinsic distance from all other languages of the area but also for its development as a food of advanced civilization. The speakers of Mundari language living in Odisha state use the Odia script for writing Mundari language and the speakers living in Jharkhand use Devanagari script while some others use Roman script also for writing this language. Hence there is no unique system of orthographic representation for this language.

This language is in the process of being standardized. Text books in Mundari and other subject as well as Magazines and books of popular reading are also published. All India Radio broadcast programmes are there in this language. Grammars and dictionaries are available in this language.

Some of the native speakers of this language have produced some literary works in Mundari. It is interesting to note that this language is used in rituals and other cultural functions of the Hindus and Christians, apart from using it in their native religious rituals. Christian missionaries have translated the New Testament of the Bible in the language.

The speech community is a scheduled tribe closely related to other well-known tribes such as Santal, Ho, Bhumij and others. Information on the dialect situation of Mundari language is scarce, although it is (Grierson, 1906) noted that in general the Mundari dialect situation was like Santali, that is, there were influences of the Austro-Asiatic language on it, and otherwise the most colloquial Mundari was noted to be spoken in a tract of land in Bihar. John J. Gumperz (in Zide, 1969) is of the view that Mundari and neighbouring Hindi dialects could be said to have much of their grammar in common.

REVIEW OF EARLIER LITERATURE

The study of Mundari language had started in the nineteenth century e.g. Haldar (1871), Whitley (1873), Nottrot (1882). But linguistically comprehensive grammar was first written by Hoffmann (1903). The first work we get on Mundari is in 1871 by Rakhhal Das in the journal of

Asiatic Society of Bengal “*An Introduction to the Mundari Language*” where a brief description on Mundari Language is available. A number of works have been done on this language. ‘*On Mundri Phonology, 1956, IL – 17*’, by Gumperz & Biligiri and George Grierson’s ‘Linguistic Survey of India, Vol. IV, 1906) and Sten Konow’s *Mundari phonology and Linguistic Survey*, JASIB, 1911 are reliable works on Mundari language. *Aspects of Mundari Verbs, IL -32, 1971*, by R. D. Munda, *Munda and Non Munda A. A. Languages* by Norman Zide, *Current trends in Linguistics, 1969* by Sudhibhushan Bhattacharya and *Studies in comparative Munda Linguistics, IIAS, Shimla, 1975* - all these are a few of the books that have drawn a clear linguistic picture of Mundari language as well as its history and other socio-linguistic information.

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 Munda language shows the distinctive sound units occurring in the Munda speech.

The Phonological system of Mundari language is presented below based on the data collected from the said informant.

Phonemic Inventory (Segmental)

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. The segmental phonemes of Mundari language comprise of 10 vowels and 34 consonants. An effort has been made to present them with suitable examples.

Vowel Chart

Segmental Vowel Phonemes: The segmental vowels in this language are presented below:

	<i>Front</i>	<i>Central</i>	<i>Back</i>
<i>Close</i>	<i>i, i:</i>		<i>u, u:</i>
<i>Close-mid</i>	<i>e, e:</i>		<i>o o:</i>
<i>Open-mid</i>			
<i>open</i>		<i>a, a:</i>	

Segmental Consonant Phonemes: The segmental consonants in this language are presented below.

Consonant Chart

		<i>Bilabial</i>	<i>Dental</i>	<i>Alveolar</i>	<i>Palatal</i>	<i>Retroflex</i>	<i>Velar</i>	<i>Glottal</i>
<i>Stop</i>	<i>Vl</i>	<i>p, p^h</i>	<i>t, t^h</i>		<i>c j</i>	<i>T, T^h</i>	<i>k, k^h</i>	<i>ʔ</i>
	<i>Vd</i>	<i>b, b^h</i>	<i>d, d^h</i>			<i>D, D^h</i>	<i>g, g^h</i>	
<i>Nasal</i>		<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>			<i>N</i>	<i>M</i>	
<i>Trill</i>				<i>r</i>				
<i>Tap or Flap</i>						<i>R</i>		
<i>Fricative</i>	<i>Vl</i>			<i>s</i>	<i>f</i>			
	<i>Vd</i>							<i>h</i>
<i>Approximant</i>		<i>w</i>			<i>j</i>			
<i>Lateral approximant</i>			<i>l</i>		<i>y</i>	<i>L</i>		

2.2. PHONEMIC DESCRIPTION AND DISTRIBUTION

Vowels

All the vowels occur in initial, medial and final positions. The long vowel /u:/ does not occur in the final position.

/i/ high front unrounded vowel occurs in all three positions

/ikka/ ‘hiccup’

/birin/ ‘wake up’

/takli/ ‘spindle’

/i:/ high front unrounded long vowel occurs in all three positions

/i:ju/ ‘one’

/gupi pi:ri/ ‘pasture’

/pacri:/ ‘wall’

/e/ mid front unrounded vowel occurs in all three positions

/eke:la/ ‘jerk’ (pull suddenly)

/keja / 'gambling'

/ hebbe / 'carry'

/ e: / mid front unrounded long vowel occurs in all three positions

/ e: rang / 'accuse' (on suspicion)

/ te: la / 'drop'

/ kete : / 'hard'

/ u / high back rounded vowel occurs in all three positions

/ ūring / 'few'

/ dusi / 'offend'

/ jaruDu/ 'useful'

/ u:/ high back rounded long vowel occurs in all three positions

/ u: duv / 'knock down'

/ nu: ba / 'dark'

/ nimbu: / 'lemon'

/ o / mid close back rounded vowel occurs in all three positions

/ om / 'lend'

/ dondo / 'raise'

/ iro / 'harvest'

/ o: / mid close back rounded long vowel occurs in all three positions

/ o: TTe / 'sprout'

/ To: R / 'remember'

/ lolo / 'hot'

/ a / low central vowel occurs in all three positions

/ arandi / 'wed marry'

/ hasu / 'pain'

/ barcha / 'spear'

/ a: / low central long vowel occurs in all three positions

/ a: yer – te / 'lead' (a person)

/ la:di / 'load' (a vehicle or animal)

/ dulara: / 'sympathy'

Consonants

/ p / bilabial voiceless stop occurs in all three positions

/ pecca / 'owl'

/ pipni / 'eye lash'

/ silip / 'antelope'

/ b / bilabial voiced stop occurs in all three positions

/ bolo / 'go through'

/ deba / 'reach for'

/ tirub / 'nod'

/ t / dental voiceless stop occurs in all three positions

/ taran / 'shoulder'

/ sutam / 'thread' (a needle)

/ merhet / 'iron'

/ d / dental voiced stop occurs in all three positions

/ du: l / 'pour out' (water)

/ handiri / 'demolish wreck'

/ jiled / 'slip' (loose footing)

/ k / velar voiceless stop occurs in all three positions

/ kisan / 'husband'

/ tukui / 'knit'

- / cabuk /* 'whip'
- / g /* velar voiced stop occurs in all three positions
- / gutu /* 'prick' (as a thorn)
- / dingu /* 'move'
- / rabang /* 'cold'
- /ʔ/* glottal stop occurs in medial position only.
- / i ʔ ro/* 'harvest'
- /ma ʔn/* 'bamboo'
- /uri ʔjilu/* 'beef'
- / c /* palatal voiceless stop occurs in initial and medial positions only.
- / cekkoRa /* 'hurry'
- / očcǔ /* 'remove' (take away)
- /j/* palatal voiced stop occurs in initial and medial positions only.
- / jiled /* 'slip' (loose footing)
- / lija nu: ra /* 'wash' (clothes)
- / r /* dental voiced trill occurs in all three positions
- / ranu /* 'treat' (an illness)
- / aloauri /* 'challenge' (to a control)
- / gargar /* 'clear' (the throat)
- / l /* dental lateral occurs in all three positions
- / lela'm /* 'appear'
- / lo /* 'burn'
- / ol /* 'write'

- / m / bilabial nasal occurs in all three positions
- / *marting* / ‘respect’
 - / *dumpui* / ‘drown’
 - / *parom* / ‘cross, go cross’
- / n / dental nasal occurs in all three positions
- / *ni : r* / ‘chase’
 - / *seno* / ‘go away (from a place)’
 - / *sayan* / ‘breath’
- / s / dental voiceless fricative occurs in initial and medial positions.
- / *sarti kaji* / ‘tell the truth’
 - / *hasu* / ‘endure’ (suffering)
- / h / glottal voiceless fricative occurs in all three positions
- / *hosoro* / ‘lie’ (recline)
 - / *monhisi* / ‘twenty’
 - / *darbush* / ‘water melon’
- / T / retroflex voiceless stop occurs in all three positions
- / *Toang* / ‘naked’
 - / *toTa* / ‘break’
 - / *TikeT* / ‘postage’
- / D / retroflex voiced stop occurs in initial and medial positions.
- / *Donkacalauni* / ‘boat man’
 - / *tunDu* / ‘last’
- / R / voiced retroflex Tap/Flap occurs in medial and final positions.
- / *goRa* / ‘farm land’
 - / *dẽR* / ‘one and a half’

/N/ retroflex nasal occurs in medial position only.

/deoNa/ 'doctor'

/w/ bilabial approximant/semi vowel occurs in all three positions.

/woon/ 'wool'

/nawa/ 'new'

/bow bangar/ 'husband's brother (elder)

/y/ palatal approximant/semi vowel occurs in medial and final positions.

/suyi/ 'sting' (of a scorpion)

/marang hoyo/ 'storm' / hoyo 'storm'

/goy/ 'dead'

Phonemic Contrasts

A few minimal pairs are given below.

Contrasts in Vowels

/a/ ~ /i/ /beTa/ 'step son' ~ /beTi:/ 'step sister.'

/o/ ~ /u/ /baira-koRa/ 'deaf-mute(male)' ~ /baira-kuRi/ 'deaf-mute(female)'

/e/ ~ /a/ /e:ra/'woman' ~ /a:ra/'son-in-law'

A few consonants are established.

/k/ ~ /d/ /kaka/'father's brother(younger)~ /dada/ 'father's sister's son.'

/t/ ~ /n/ /tata/'father's/mother's father' ~ /nana/ 'sister (elder)'

/m/ ~ /s/ /kimin/'husband's brother's wife' ~ /kisan/ 'husband'

/c/ ~ /ʔ/ /muca/'beak ' ~ /muʔi/ 'ant'

/r/ ~ /d/ /saram:/'antelope' ~ /sadam/ 'horse'

/g/ ~ /j/ /gala/'dump' ~ /jala koRa/ 'blind (male)

/g/ ~ /h/ /gala/'dump' ~ /haga/ 'husband's sister's husband'.

/R/ ~ /g/ /haRa/'bull' ~ /haga/ 'husband's sister's husband'.

/l/ ~ /n/ /nani/ 'creeper' ~ /dali/ 'dal'.
 /m/ ~ /n/ /mani/ 'mustard' ~ /nani/ 'creeper'.

2.3. MAJOR ALLOPHONIC DISTRIBUTION

Retroflex voiced stop /D/ and dental /d/ are allophones in Mundari

[D] occurs medially

/menDi/ 'cooked rice'

[d] elsewhere

/deoNa/ 'doctor'

/n/ has two allophones [ñ] and [n]

[ñ occurs medically

/eña/ 'mother'

[n] elsewhere

/jin/ 'alive'

2.4. CLUSTERS

Diphthong / Vowel Clusters

A diphthong also known as a gliding vowel is a phonetic sequence, consisting of a vowel and a glide that is interpreted as a single vowel. It refers to two adjacent vowel sounds occurring within the same syllable. Technically, the tongue moves from one point of articulation to other during the pronunciation of the vowel. The diphthongs in Mundari Language are –

Initial Vowel Clusters:

oa – oari 'arch' 'court yard'

ai - ainga 'my'

oe – oel 'close – fistel'

iu – iur 'cool breeze'

ia – iam 'to be anxious'

ae – aera ‘a kind of fish’

ea– eanga ‘interjection expressing pain’

eo – eon ‘to awake’

Medial Vowel Clusters:

- *ai*

haija ‘cholera’

kaila ‘bag’

baira ‘deaf’

mail ‘read’

- *oa*

loari ‘morning food’

- *ui*

guila ‘coal’

Tuila ‘plucked instrument’

- *ua*

duar ‘door’

ruaRa ‘return’ (give back)

- *ia*

dia ‘lamp’

miad ‘one’

- *iu*

aium ‘hear’

- *au*

dauri ‘run’

maura ‘poison’

- *ea*

kead ‘parrot’

- *eo*

deona ‘doctor’

- *oe*

goe ‘to kill’

Final Vowel Clusters

- *oi*

dagoi ‘chew’

- *ui*

sui ‘needle’

libui ‘pity’

cui ‘calf’

- *au*

bau ‘elder’

- *eo*

teo ‘roast’ / ‘to fry’

- *ai*

hai ‘fish’

bai ‘make’

- *ae*

penae ‘weaver’

- *ao*

pao ‘vain’

- *ea*

dea ‘back’

- *ia*

hatia ‘main road’

- *iu*

giu ‘shame’

- *oa*

joa 'check'

- *oe*

koe 'to beg'

- *ua*

rua 'disease'

Three Vowel clusters-

Initial Vowel Clusters

aiu- *aium* 'to bear'

Medial Vowel Clusters

-*aio-* *taiom* 'behind'

-*aia-* *baiar* 'string'

-*eia-* *Meian* 'day after tomorrow'

Final Vowel Clusters

- *iua* *kiua* 'chin'

-*oia* *soia* 'rotten'

-*oai* *peroai* 'to do business'

-*oio* *loio* 'field'

-*uiu* *tuiu* 'jackal'

-*eua* *teua* 'a kind of paddy'

Consonant Clusters

The Consonant clusters occur only at medial position.

- *pp* - *Tappu* 'island'

- *pn* - *apna* 'own'

- *pr* - *apro* 'feather / wing'

- bD -	<i>gubDu</i>	‘hunch back’
- bj -	<i>kabja</i>	‘hinge’
- bb -	<i>gibbil</i>	‘wrestling’
- tn -	<i>chatni</i>	‘chutney’
- tt -	<i>hotte</i>	‘earth’
- TT -	<i>puTTi-da</i>	‘fountain’
- tr -	<i>putru</i>	‘foam’
- db -	<i>budbud</i>	‘bubble’
- dl -	<i>kudlam</i>	‘axe’
- Nr -	<i>saNri</i>	‘male’
- nj -	<i>bowbanjar</i>	‘husband’s brother’ (elder)
- nm -	<i>gunmer</i>	‘father-in-law’
- ng -	<i>tingua kansereng</i>	‘clift’
	<i>Tangra</i>	‘young man’
- nt -	<i>kanta</i>	‘mattress’
- nT -	<i>ganTi</i>	‘bell’
- nn -	<i>jonne</i>	‘want of body’
- nR -	<i>enRe</i>	‘at’
- nD	<i>chanDu</i>	‘moon’
- ndʔ -	<i>bandʔ a</i>	‘lake’
- nk -	<i>honkuri</i>	‘daughter (his)’
- nj -	<i>honjar</i>	‘father-in-law’
- mp -	<i>sampoR o</i>	‘ornaments’
- mb -	<i>rimbil</i>	‘cloud’

- <i>mk</i> -	<i>simkoro</i>	‘down’
	<i>gomke</i>	‘hill people’
- <i>mt</i> -	<i>jomti</i>	‘arm right’
- <i>md</i> -	<i>somdi</i>	‘daughter-in-laws father’
- <i>mr</i> -	<i>namruRa</i>	‘recover’
- <i>mc</i> -	<i>gamca</i>	‘towel’
- <i>mn</i> -	<i>kamni</i>	‘maid’
- <i>ms</i> -	<i>horomsukku</i>	‘honey bee’
	<i>rimsiyar</i>	‘hyena’
- <i>tk</i> -	<i>tutkin</i>	‘cold’
- <i>tl</i> -	<i>ketli</i>	‘kettle’
- <i>rp</i> -	<i>birpusi</i>	‘jungle cat’
	<i>dorpon</i>	‘mirror’
- <i>rt</i> -	<i>jorte-lingi danda</i>	‘flood’
- <i>rd</i> -	<i>hurdang</i>	‘sling’
- <i>rD</i> -	<i>jarDu</i>	‘need’
- <i>rn</i> -	<i>devarnar</i>	‘husband’s brother’
- <i>rm</i> -	<i>sirma</i>	‘sky’
- <i>rl</i> -	<i>horlaʔsi</i>	‘whirlwind’
- <i>rk</i> -	<i>purka</i>	‘ancestors’
- <i>rg</i> -	<i>murgi</i>	‘hen’
- <i>rs</i> -	<i>birskri</i>	‘jungle pig’
- <i>rj</i> -	<i>sarjom</i>	‘sal’
- <i>rr</i> -	<i>urro:g</i>	‘skin disease’
- <i>lb</i> -	<i>balbal</i>	‘sweat’

- *lm* - *le: lmulu nida* ‘new moon light’
- *ln* - *tilning* ‘seed’
- *lk* - *malki* ‘mistress’
- dulki* ‘drum’
- *lT* - *balTi* ‘bucket’
- *ll* - *jilla* ‘district’
- *sk* - *singhi maskal* ‘sunshine’
- *sr* - *kasra* ‘itch’
- *ss* - *massa* ‘wart of body’
- *sm* - *dusman* ‘enemy’
- *kk* - *sakkam* ‘leaf’
- *kr* - *bakri* ‘fence’
- *kR* - *sikRi* ‘ghat’
- *kl* - *ekla* ‘shiver’
- *gg* - *ba: gge* ‘avoid’
- *yn* - *mayno* ‘myna’
- *wl* - *chawli* ‘uncooked rice’

Word Final Consonant clusters

- *ng* *jang* ‘leg’
- *mb* *uʔmb* ‘fur’
- *rr* - *harr* ‘drive’

Word Medial Three consonant clusters

- *ndr* - *sondro* ‘puss’
- *ngr* - *gungrela* ‘wrinkle’
- *ndw* - *mandwari* ‘money lender’

SYLLABLE

Syllables are as follows in Mundari.

- i. monosyllabic,
- ii. disyllabic and
- iii. polysyllabic

Open Syllables

Monosyllables

v	<i>a</i>	‘used as a copula’
cvc	<i>daʔ</i>	‘water’
cv	<i>sa:</i>	‘weather’
cvv	<i>lai</i>	‘belly’

Disyllables

v-cv	<i>o-te</i>	‘ground’
cv-cv	<i>du-Ra</i>	‘dust’
	<i>ho-he</i>	‘earth’
cv-cv-cv	<i>ho-ro-ko</i>	‘people’
cv-ccv	<i>pu-tru</i>	‘foam’
cvcc-cv	<i>dang-Ri</i>	‘young woman’
cvc-cv	<i>pip-ni</i>	‘eye lash’
cvcc-cv	<i>dang-Ra</i>	‘young man’

Trisyllables

cvc-cv-cv	<i>sim-ko-ra</i>	‘dawn’
cv-cvc-cv	<i>ta-Rak-ki</i>	‘ear lobe’
cvc – ccv-cv	<i>bir-sku-ri</i>	‘jungle pig’

Polysyllables

cvcv – cvcv *boRa -koRa* ‘toothless’ (Male)

cvccv – cvccv *Teppo -kaTTi* ‘thumb’

(cvcvc) – v – cvccvcv *honed - e – kanbaba* ‘boiled paddy’

Closed Syllables

Monosyllables

vc

- *ad* ‘to lose’

cvc

- *bir* ‘forest’

mor ‘peacock’

hon ‘child’

cvcc

- *reng* ‘cricket’

Disyllables

vc-vc

- *ip-il* ‘star’

cv-cvc

- *gitil* ‘sand’

cvc-cvc

- *sen-gel* ‘fire’

Polysyllables

(cv-vc-cvc) *de-ar-nar* ‘husband’s brother’

cvv-cvc *bui-ram* ‘wife’s brother’ (elder)

vc-vc-cvc – *ap-ar-kin* ‘elopement’

3. MORPHOPHONEMICS

Morphophonemics, in linguistics, is the study of the relationship between morphology and phonology. Morphophonemics involves an investigation of the phonological variations within morphemes, usually marking different grammatical functions.

Instances of **Vowel Harmony** is noticed in Mundari.

ne + kin = nikin

ne + ko = niku

en + ko = enku

Instance of **Assimilation** of Vowel *i* and *e* which forms semi- vowel *y* is noticed.

Thereafter, there is **Metathesis** of – *nga to – ang* in the following example.

kaki + enga > kakiyang ‘mother’s sister’

mother sister

Co-Articulation:

Nasalisation:

Nasalization in Mundari occurs mainly with the influence of nasal vowel. The nasalized vowels are *õ, ã, ã̃, ã̄, ã̅*.

Some of these occurrences of nasalized vowels are shown below:

/ã̃/	<i>a:mã̃:</i>	‘yourself’
/õ/	<i>haDmõ:</i>	‘body’
/ã̃:/	<i>hã̃:Diya:</i>	‘cooking pot’
/ã̃̄/	<i>giyã̃̄:</i>	‘ghee’
/ã̃̅/	<i>pã̃̅:Dagi:</i>	‘floor’

4. MORPHOLOGY

Morphology is the branch of Linguistics that deals with words and their declensional pattern as well as verbs and their conjugational pattern.

NOUN MORPHOLOGY

Noun Morphology deals with the nominal and pronominal forms and classifies them along with their declensional and inflectional affixes in association with Gender, Number, and Case etc. In this connection we will discuss here following aspects which the nouns of this language exhibit: three numbers (singular, dual and plural), two genders (masculine, and feminine), and seven cases (nominative, accusative, dative, ablative, genitive, locative, instrumental and vocative).

WORD FORMATION

Mundari has three types of word formation.

These are

1. Compounding
2. Reduplication and
3. Derivation.

1. Compounding

A compound word is defined as the combination of two or more words to form a new word, for example,

/ḍevra/ god + */ora/* house = */ḍevra ora/* ‘worship’

Noun + Noun

kaki + *enga* > *kakiyang* ‘mother’s sister’
mother sister

Adjective + noun

Rengi + *hoRo* > *rengi hoRo* ‘poor man’
poor man

Numerical + Noun

majod + jo 'one fruit'

one fruit

baria + seta 'two dogs'

2. Reduplication:

In reduplication the second element is complete or partial repetition of certain syllables or words. It can be or partial.

Example:

(i) Noun

marmar 'scorpion'

de: de: b 'sparrow'

duTupuTu 'blister'

balbal 'sweat'

(ii) Adjective

barabari 'equal'

maramari-le 'slowly'

(iii) Verb

re: ren 'bathe' (one's self)

budbud 'bubble'

gargar 'clear'

(iv) Adverbs

bega begete 'quickly'

mari marite 'slowly'

A few examples of partial phonetic reduplication is found in this language-

ulTa pulTa 'disarranged'

kur cūkur 'suspicion'

3. Derivation

In derivation new words are formed by means of bound derivational suffixes

Noun – forming suffixes:

(1) Forming nouns from nouns.

Noun *bonai* “sister’s husband“ is formed from noun *bon* by addition of suffix – *ai*

- ai

***bonai* ‘sister’s husband’**

bon + - ai > *bonai*

Noun + suffix > Noun

Noun *hoyo dudugar* “cyclone” is formed from noun from noun *dudug* by addition of suffix – ar. Similar is the case with the other nouns.

- ar

***hoyo dudugar* ‘cyclone’**

dudug + - ar > *dudugar*

Noun + suffix > Noun

***honjar* ‘father-in-law’**

honj + ar > *honjar*

Noun + suffix > Noun

***hanar* ‘mother in law’**

han + ar > *hanar*

Noun + suffix > Noun

- ari

***sukkari* ‘pig’**

sukk +-ari > *sukkari*

Noun + suffix > Noun

oari **‘arch’**

o + *-ari* > *oari*

Noun + suffix > Noun

- iya

koniya **‘mother’**

kon + *-iya* > *koniya*

Noun + suffix > Noun

upuniya **‘four’**

upun + *-iya* > *upuniya*

- i

honkuRi **‘daughter’ (his)**

honkur + *-i* > *honkuri*

Noun + suffix > Noun

kuRi **‘maid’ (female)**

kuR + *- i* > *kuRi*

Noun + suffix > Noun

nasi **‘vein’**

nas + *- i* > *nasi*

Noun + suffix > Noun

baduli **‘bat’**

badul + *- i* > *baduli*

Noun + suffix > Noun

duRi **‘hip’**

duR + *- i* > *duRi*

Noun + suffix > Noun

- i (abstract)

barabari **‘equal’**
barabar + - *i* > *barabari*
Noun + suffix > Noun

2) Forming Verbs from Nouns

- an ***tippan*** **‘to patch (cloth)’**
tipp +-*an* > *tippan*
Noun + suffix > Noun

tikkan **‘to put on’**
tipp +-*an* > *tikkan*
Noun + suffix > Noun

-ui

dumpui **‘drip’ (as water)**
dump +-*ui* > *dumpui*
Noun + suffix > Noun

- era ***cekera*** **‘to fast’**
cek +-*era* > *cekera*
Noun + suffix > Noun

suggera **‘to be fair’**
sugg +-*era* > *suggera*
Noun + suffix > Noun

- t, - ti ***bejoti*** **‘to insult’**
bejo + *-ti* > *bejoti*
Noun + suffix > Noun

- ing	<i>riRing</i>	‘to forget’
	<i>riR</i> +-ing >	<i>riRing</i>
	Noun +	suffix > Noun
- ui	<i>tukui</i>	‘to knit’
	tuk +-ui >	<i>tukui</i>
	Noun +	suffix > Noun
	<i>dumpui</i>	‘to be drawn’
	<i>dump</i> +-ui >	<i>dumpui</i>
	Noun +	suffix > Noun

1. Forming Adjectives from Nouns

- an

	<i>genonga: n</i>	‘costly’
	<i>genong</i> +	<i>a:n</i> > <i>genonga: n</i>
	Noun +	suffix > Noun

- ri	<i>jumpuri</i>	‘greedy’
	<i>jumpu</i> +	<i>-ri</i> > <i>jumpuri</i>
	Noun +	suffix > Noun

2. Forming Adverbs from Nouns

- te	<i>dayate</i>	‘kindly’
	<i>daya</i> +-te >	<i>dayate</i>
	Noun +	suffix > Noun
	<i>jor – te</i>	‘loudly’
	<i>daya</i> + <i>-te</i> >	<i>dayate</i>
	Noun +	suffix > Noun
	<i>mari – marite</i>	‘slowly’
	<i>daya</i> +-te >	<i>dayate</i>
	Noun +	suffix > Noun

- kana	jarom kana	‘ripe’
	<i>jarom</i> + <i>kana</i> >	<i>jarom kana</i>
	Noun +	suffix > Noun
	soya – kana	‘rotten’
	<i>soya</i> + <i>kana</i> >	<i>soya kana</i>
	Noun +	suffix > Noun
- ka	majali - ka	‘sober’
	<i>majali</i> +	<i>ka</i> > <i>majali ka</i>
	Noun +	suffix > Noun

Adjectives forming suffixes

- a	sada : Ra	‘blunt’
	<i>sada :R</i> +	<i>a</i> > <i>sada : Ra</i>
		<i>suffix</i>
	cuguTa	‘charm
	<i>cuguT</i> +	<i>a</i> > <i>cuguTa</i>
		<i>suffix</i>
- i	dani	‘rich’
	<i>dan</i> +	<i>i</i> > <i>dani</i>
		<i>suffix</i>
	māri	‘slow’
	<i>mār</i> +	<i>i</i> > <i>māri</i>
		<i>suffix</i>
- i	jungli	‘wild’
	<i>jungle</i> +	<i>I</i> > <i>jungli</i>
		<i>suffix</i>

- u	usu			‘pale’
	us	+	-u>	<i>usu</i>
				<i>suffix</i>
	tuRu			‘stingy’
	tuR	+	-u>	<i>tuRu</i>
				<i>suffix</i>
- ãn	soãn			‘drenched’
	so	+	ãn >	<i>soãn</i>
- ing	jiling			‘long’
	jil	+	-ing>	<i>jiling</i>

Cases

Case or case marker is a grammatical category which establishes various kind of relationship among the noun phrases in the sentence. The case marker present in Mundari may be observed as follows;

- Nominative Case
- Accusative Case
- Dative Case
- Instrumental Case
- Ablative Case
- Genitive Case
- Locative Case
- Vocative Case

They are presented below.

Nominative Case:

It is unmarked.

ayM kami-a: ‘I do the work’

Accusative Case:

Accusative case marker is '/-te/' and '/-re/'

<i>ayña oRa-te senome</i>	'Go to my house'
<i>ama oRa-te seno-me</i>	'Go to your house'
<i>goRa-re baba here-pe</i>	'Sow the paddy in the field'

Instrumental Case :

The suffix which denotes the instrumental case is / - te /

<i>am ayā? kalam-te ole?e me</i>	'write with my pen'
<i>gappa dasi ka-te majawa</i>	'today there was some trouble with the servant'

Ablative Case

The ablative case marker is /-ate /

<i>ini i: ayā kiRki-ate-e uyu: jana</i>	'He fell down from my window'
<i>isku:l- ate se:no:me</i>	'go from the school'
<i>isku:l jap-ate iju-me</i>	'come from near the school'

Genitive Case

The genitive suffix is / -a ? /

<i>ini oR a?a-te uRuñg jana</i>	'he came out of the house'
he house gen out came	

Locative Case:

Locative case marker is 're' in Mundari.

<i>abu neoRa-re bu tainta:ma</i>	'we stay in this house'
<i>a:pe en oRa- re:pe taiyin tana</i>	'you (pl) stay in that house'
<i>am en oRa-rem tain tana</i>	'you (sg) stay in that house'

Vocative Case:

Vocative case marker generally used as 'o'

<i>o! rama''</i>	<i>O! Rama?</i>
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o! dada ‘O! father’s brother’s son’,

o!enga ‘O! mother’

Postposition

Some of the most common postpositions are *tē* ‘in, into, by means of, behind, over’ (depending on context), *tak* ‘to, near’, *rē* ‘in’, *atē* ‘from’, *iãk* ‘with together, with’, *thāñ*. ‘with near and so forth’

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 indefinite.

Personal Pronoun.

A Personal Pronoun is a pronoun that is associated with a particular person or thing in the grammatical sense. Personal pronouns are such as “ I “ , “ You “ , “ He/She/They/It “.

Personal Pronouns	Singular	Dual	Plural
First Person	<i>ain</i>	<i>alan</i> (incl)	<i>abu</i> (incl)
		<i>alin</i> (excl)	<i>ale</i> (excl)
Second Person	<i>an</i>	<i>aben</i>	<i>ape</i>
Third Person	<i>ae</i>	<i>akin</i>	<i>ako</i>

The formation of all personal pronouns is made by prefixing a non personal/ *a-* /, which is free from marker.

The other function of contracted forms is to denote possession, for example,

setain – ko ‘my dogs’.

The suffixes for genitive:

Different cases are denoted by placing post-positions after the nouns and as such there is no suffixation process of declension in Mundari. There is only one suffix, basically to be used as genitive marker for the noun and that is / *a?* /. For possessive, / *t* / is prefixed before personal pronouns as in / *tam* /.

/ *a?* / is suffixed with the animate nouns only, generally when the head noun denotes family relatives, except that of 'husband' and 'wife' and also when possession of any inanimate thing is marked. Nouns and pronouns denoting animate being take / *a?* / as suffix before the following.

aiar, taiom, dea, sida, eetan,

suba, sirma, latar, tala, raea.

kundam, bitar, danen, japa, genea, atom.

But at the same time the postposition for location forms the basis to denote possession or belongings of any place or country. This is / *re* /, which gives two more genitive suffixes / *ren* / and

/ *rea?* /, i.e. / *a?* / added to the locative base.

In / *ren* / the /-*n*/ is the marker to be used with the animals only. Thus, / *ren* / is suffixed to the animates only. Thus, / *ren* / is suffixed to animate nouns, when the possession of or belonging to any place or country is intended (ie. when the head noun denotes a place) and also when age, price, dimension or material is denoted by the head noun. / *ren* / is the suffix when the head noun denotes the relation of 'husband' and 'wife'.

In / *rea?* / the /-*a?* / is the marker to be used with the inanimate. It is suffixed to the inanimate nouns to denote the same type of possession which is denoted by / *-ren* / for the animates.

/ *ra?* / is freely varying form of / *rea?* / and is generally used with the inanimate as partitive genitive, e.g., *darura?* *sakam* 'left of the free'.

ADJECTIVE

Adjectives very commonly end in 'n' in Mundari.

Example:

bugi-n 'good'

etka-n 'bad'

Suffix marker is 'i:ch' or 'nich'

hu;RiM-nich 'the small one'

leka:-ni: ch and *leka:ich* 'one who is like'

NUMERAL

Numeral is a word denoting a 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 numerical are used for counting. Cardinals are monomorphemic words and derived ones are compound numerical.

1. *moyod* 'one'
2. *baria* 'two'
3. *aipia* 'three'
4. *upunia* 'four'
5. *mõRẽia* 'five'
6. *turivia* 'six'
7. *ea* 'seven'
8. *ivalia* 'eight'
9. *area* 'nine'

10. <i>gelea</i>	‘ten’
11. <i>gelmoyon</i>	‘eleven’
12. <i>gelbaria</i>	‘twelve’
13. <i>gelappia</i>	‘thirteen’
14. <i>gel uppũnia</i>	‘fourteen’
15. <i>gel mōrea</i>	‘fifteen’
16. <i>gel turia</i>	‘sixteen’
17. <i>gelea</i>	‘seventeen’
18. <i>gel eralia</i>	‘eighteen’
19. <i>gel area</i>	‘nineteen’
20. <i>mon hisi</i>	‘twenty’
21. <i>monhisi / gēlēya</i>	‘thirty’
22. <i>barhisi</i>	‘forty’
23. <i>bar hisi gileya</i>	‘fifty’
24. <i>api hisi</i>	‘sixty’
25. <i>apihisi gileya</i>	‘seventy’
26. <i>uppun – hisi</i>	‘eighty’
27. <i>uppun hisi</i>	‘ninety’
28. <i>saye</i>	‘hundred’

2. Ordinals

<i>sida utar</i>	‘first’
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3. Fractions

<i>upu? nta</i>	‘Quarter’
<i>hada</i>	‘half’
<i>sava</i>	‘one and a Quarter’

dõR 'one and a half'

Other Numerals

tangē 'time'

VERB MORPHOLOGY

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 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.

Finiteness

In Mundari, finite verbs are formed by adding different suffixes of tense and agreement to the verb root. The formations of the verb / *ne:ʃ* / 'to see' for three different persons and different tenses are given below.

Tense: In Mundari verbs 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 Mundari taking / *ne:ʃ* / 'to see' as the verb root.

Tense

Present

Person	Singular	Plural
First	<i>ayñk</i> <i>kāyn</i> <i>kamiya</i> 'I do not work'	<i>a:bu:</i> <i>kabu</i> <i>kamiya</i> 'we do not work'
Second	<i>a:m</i> <i>atom</i> <i>kamiya</i> 'you(sg) do not work.'	<i>a:pe:</i> <i>alo:pe</i> <i>kamiya</i> 'you(pl) do not work'

Third	<i>ini kayẽ kamiya</i> 'he does not work' <i>ini kayẽ kamiya</i> 'She does not work'	<i>inku kako: kamiya</i> 'they do not work'
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The conjugated form for infinitive verb form “*kami*” "to work “in the simple present tense is “*kamiya*” for first, second and third persons, singular and plural. The verb is being collocated with various lexicons like *kãyn* , *kabu*, *atom*, *alo:pe* and *kako:* to indicate negation.

Past

Person	Singular	Plural
First	<i>ayñk kãyn kamiyeta</i> 'I did not do the work'	<i>abu kabu kami geta</i> 'We did not do the work'
Second	<i>a:m kam kamiya geta</i> 'you(sg) did not do the work '	<i>a:pe kappe kamiya gata</i> 'you(pl) did not do the work'
Third	<i>en koRa kayeka:mi geta</i> 'he did not do the work.' <i>en kuRi kayeka:mi geta</i> 'She did not do the work.'	

The conjugated form for verb form “*kami*” "to work “in the simple past tense is “*kamiya gata* “for first and second persons, singular and plural and third person singular only. The verb is being collocated with various lexicons like *kãyn*, *kabu* and *kappe* to indicate negation.

Simple future

Future

Person	Singular	Plural
First	<i>ayñk kayñ ka:miya</i> 'I will not work	<i>abu kayñ ka:miya</i> 'we will not work
Second	<i>a:m kam ka:miya</i> 'you (sg) will not work.'	<i>a:pe kam ka:miya</i> 'we(sg) will not work.'

Third	<i>ini kay ka:miya</i> 'he/she/it will not work'	<i>en kay ka:miya</i> 'he/she/it will not work'
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There are no specific simple future tense marker in Mundari. The constructions are almost same as simple present tense.

The conjugated form for verb form "kami" "to work" in the simple future tense is "kamiya" for first, second and third persons,

Aspect

There are three aspects in Mundari

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. It implies an action that is continuing (going on) - in Past, Present and Future.

Examples-

(I) Present Imperfective

Person	Singular	Plural
First	<i>ayñ uli:ng jom-tana</i> 'I am eating a mango'	<i>a:bu: uli - bu: jom - tana</i> 'We are eating a mango.'
Second	<i>a:m uli:n jom-tana</i> 'You(sg) are eating a mango'	
Third	<i>koRa-hon uli-i: jom-tana</i> 'He is eating a mango' <i>koRi-hon uli-i: jom-tana</i> 'She is eating a mango' <i>ini-i: uli-i: jom-la?</i> 'It is eating a mango'	<i>inku: uli:-ko jom-tana</i> 'They are eating a mango.'

The present Imperfective (present continuous) form is indicated by suffix marker “*tana*”.

Past Imperfective

The past Imperfective (past continuous) form is indicated by lexical marker “*tai kena*”

Person	Singular	Plural
First	<i>ayñ</i> <i>paro-o</i> <i>tay-kina:</i> ‘I was reading ’	<i>a:bu:</i> <i>paro- kena:</i> ‘We were reading.’
Second	<i>a:m</i> <i>paro tan</i> <i>tai- kena</i> ‘You(sg) were reading’ <i>amkuRi</i> <i>paro tan</i> <i>tai- kena</i> ‘You(sg) (fem) were reading’	<i>ape</i> <i>paro tan</i> <i>tai – kina</i> ‘You(pl) were reading’
Third	<i>ini(kora)</i> <i>paro tan</i> <i>tai- kena</i> ‘He was reading <i>kuRi ton</i> <i>paro tan</i> <i>tai- kena</i> ‘She was reading.’	<i>en kora-ko</i> <i>kako</i> <i>paro tan</i> <i>tai- kena</i> ‘They were reading.’

Future Imperfective

Person	
First(passive)	<i>ayñ – te</i> <i>kami ka</i> <i>kamio- o-</i> <i>a</i> ‘The work will not be done by me.’
Third	<i>kora-hon kita:b – be –e</i> <i>paRo-ya</i> He will read the book.

The future imperfective (future continuous) form is expressed by the suffix marker *–a* or *–ya*

Perfective Aspect

Perfective Aspect describes an action either 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.

Present Perfect

Person	Singular	Plural
First	<i>ayñ kayñ kamiya gata</i> 'I have not done the work.'	<i>a:bu: kabu kami-a gata</i> 'We have not done the work.'
Second	<i>am kam kamiya gata</i> 'You(sg) have not the work.'	<i>a:m ka:m kamiya gata</i> 'You(spl) have not the work.'
Third	<i>en koRa kaye ka:mie gata</i> 'He has not done the work. <i>en kuRi kaye ka:mi gata</i> 'She has not done the work.'	<i>en koRa ko: ka kami lagatiya:</i> They should not have done the work.

The present Perfective form is indicated by verb phrase “*kamiya gata*” mostly.

Past Perfective

The past perfective form as seen in first person singular is exemplified below.

Person	
First	<i>ayñ dup jan-redo huRo-ge kami hoba</i> 'If I had sat upon more work could have been done.'
First	<i>ayñ kayñ dup jan-redo huRo-ge kami ka hoba jana honang</i> 'If I had sat upon more work could have been done.'

The past perfective form is marked by “*jan-redo huRo-ge*”.

The future perfective aspect is not very usually realized in the language.

Habitual

The Habitual tense is expressed by the following examples and is expressed by third person singular/plural form and the form is similar to simple present tense form.

Habitual
<i>sarkar renga hoRo-ko paisa homa-ko tana</i> The Government gives money to poor.
<i>sadom –te ni:r tana</i> 'Running is done by the horse.'

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 indicative, imperative, subjunctive, obligatory, dubitative, permissive of the propositional content of the sentence.

In Mundari, only Obligatory and Prohibitive Mood are realized.

Obligatory Mood

The obligatory expressing obligation (must or should) is formed by combining the infinitive form of verb with the auxiliary *e-* 'to become'

1. *am netare tayn mege*
you here must
'you must remain here'
2. *kuri – hōn rurũn ga – e – gē*
Girl take rest
'The girl must take rest'
3. *ini – mi tay – kō jomē káge*
She sweet much eat
'She must eat much sweet'
4. *am nē – kami bagi tãm – ge*
You work leave must
'You must leave this work'
5. *am jãnã paRow kōm gē*
You something teach must
'You must teach some thing'

Prohibitive Mood

The prohibitive denoting /*alom*/ 'must not' or 'should not' is opposed in meaning to the obligatory Mood.

1. *am bi: ri ko alōm nu – a? gē* 'He must not smoke'
He smoke must

2. *pùrā marchi alōm – ge jom – ā* ‘You must not take much more chilly’
 3. *am neyā alōm – ge kami – ā* ‘You must not do this work’
 you not do work

Non-Finite verb

VERBAL NOUN

A verbal noun is a noun derived from a verbal base.

1. *biri – ko – nū ká bugina* ‘Smoking is not good’
 Cigarette not good
 2. *jóm hoRo ma natin bugina* ‘Eating is good for health’
 Eat good

GERUND

Gerunds and infinitives are forms of verbs that act like nouns. Since it is a kind of noun, it may be the subject or object to some verb.

/oRint-ea homoAgiT phAida mina/

‘swimming is good for health’

/setapAM pAror-ea uruilAgiT esubARi hAi/

‘reading in the early morning is good to retain memory’

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.

/ayin ayā song eta?a-te sekia /

‘I had gone to my friend’

/aM entayte minDo phaun Ten iDekAriM/

‘I had taken a pen from the shelf’

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.

Instances of Causative Verb have been exemplified in the following sentence.

aĩ ini- i: duraM lemiM metay-tana

I am making her sing a song.

Causation here is expressed by “*metay-tana*”

Auxiliary Verb

An auxiliary verb is a “helping verb” which is attached to the main verb to indicate completion of action.

1. *ini: ijua: dariā* ‘He could have come’
He could come
2. *ini: ijua: ja? a* ‘He would have go’
He would go
3. *am bariā tambarsa jom lāga tiya* ‘You should eat two guavas’
you two guvas eat should
4. *ayñ inũ legatiyā* ‘I should come’
I come should
5. *ini: Bi : Ri – kō ka – nu lagatiyā* ‘He must not smoke’
He smoke eat not must
6. *am ne – kami ka lagatiya* ‘You must not do this work’
you not work must
7. *am pura manDi – ka jom lagatiya:* ‘you must not take too much rice’
you full rice not take must
8. *ain enkuRi – hon paisaṅg hūm daria – yā*
I money give should
‘It is possible that, I should not give money to this girl’

The auxiliary *lagatiyã* is used to mean 'should' or 'must'. The auxiliary *daria is used to mean 'should' or 'could'.*

NEGATIVE VERB

Verbs denoting negation of action are called Negative Verbs.

- | | |
|-------------------------------|----------------------|
| 1. <i>ini kaye dūb 'tana'</i> | 'He is not sitting' |
| 2. <i>ini kaye dib kona</i> | 'He was not sitting' |
| 3. <i>ini kaye dub jana.</i> | '(He) had not sat' |

The lexical marker denoting negation is “*kaye*”.

COMPOUND VERB

A Compound verb consists of more than one root and may include one or more suffixes. A Compound Verb may be formed by joining two verbs or by joining a noun and a verb.

<i>kamiya</i>	>	<i>kami</i>	+	<i>-ya</i>
to do work		verb root		suffix
<i>kamigeta</i>	>	<i>kami</i>	+	<i>geta</i>
worked		verb root		suffix

PASSIVE FORMATION

A passive sentence is created from an active sentence making the following four changes.

1. Subject changes into object.
2. Adding “by”.
3. Object changes to the subject.
4. Changing the verb form to its participle form.

<i>sadOm-te niro: jana</i>	'running is done by the horse'
<i>kitab koRahon-te paRa-o-tana</i>	'The book was read by him'
<i>ayiñ-te lad jom-jana</i>	'The bread is being eaten by me'

The entity denoting passivization is *-te*.

TRANSITIVITY

Verbs which take objects for denoting completion of action are called Transitive Verbs and Verbs which do not require objects for denoting completion of action are called Intransitive Verbs. The process is referred to as Transitivity.

Examples

<i>āyn joma orjom tana</i>	‘I eat’
<i>āyn iju</i>	‘I come’
<i>āyn seno</i>	‘I go’
<i>abu seno</i>	‘we go’
<i>ayn iju-tana</i>	‘I am coming’
<i>ayn paRo tana</i>	‘I am reading’

In Mundari, verbs like 'iju', 'seno' denoting actions of eating and going are Intransitive Verbs.

ADVERB

The adverb is a part of speech which modifies a verb or an adjective or another adverb. Adverb are classified into

1. Manner
2. Time and
3. Place respectively.

1. Manner

<i>pura – ugtan</i>	‘exceeding’
<i>pura – age</i>	‘very much’
<i>pura – maja</i>	‘very well’
<i>nōyod – mōyod – te</i>	‘one by one’

2. Time

	‘samay’
<i>na? a</i>	‘now’

ne : ding 'this day'

tising 'today'

(1) *ensamay* 'that time'

(2) *imtank }*

3. Place 'ta? wu'

netare 'here'

kota – re 'where'

nesate 'in this direction'

natin 'for'

PARTICLE/CLITIC

Clitics

niya 'this (prox)

enā 'that (distant)

hana 'that (intermediately)

ECHO WORD/RE-DUPLICATION

Echo words are the words in which the sound seems to echo the sense of the word. These words usually involve the Reduplication process (repetition of portion of or the whole of the word in order to gain emphasis).

maRi-maRi 'slowly'

hape-hape 'quietly'

kumuRu-kumuRu 'disguised manner'

uku uku 'hiding'

danan – danan 'under cover'

honor – honor 'while walking'

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.

5.1. ORDER OF WORDS IN SENTENCES

The sentence is constructed of subject and predicate. A subject is the head of the construction. The predicate comprises of object verb or verb alone.

ayn entaten eenkina 'I went there'

I went there

ayñ paRo – o tāna 'I am reading'

I reading am

Subject	Predicate	Sentence	Gloss
<i>ayn</i>	<i>entaten eenkina</i>	<i>ayn entaten eenkina</i>	I went there
<i>ayñ</i>	<i>paRo – o tāna</i>	<i>ayñ paRo – o tāna</i>	I am reading

5.2. DESCRIPTION OF TYPES OF SENTENCES

Interrogative Sentence

The sentence which indicates a question is an Interrogative Sentence. Also, sometimes interrogative remains understood.

- | | | |
|-----|-------------------------------|-------------------|
| (i) | <i>au clmtang-am boitana</i> | When you get up? |
| | when get up you | |
| (2) | <i>ina: cenã</i> | What is that? |
| | what that | |
| (3) | <i>ni am jami daria en a</i> | Can you do it ? |
| | can you do it | |
| (4) | <i>am cena – am nimtana ?</i> | What do you want? |
| | Do what you want | |

Imperative Sentence

The sentence which indicates any order is called an Imperative Sentence. Verb in the imperative mood denotes command or request. This mood usually occurs with second person.

<i>ora-te</i>	<i>senom- me</i>	<i>piRi-te</i>	<i>iju-me</i>
home	go	field	come to the
<i>oRa-te</i>	<i>liju-me</i>	<i>kitab</i>	<i>aru ruRa-me</i>
home	come	book	bring back

In all the above examples, the second person is covert or implied.

Negative Sentence

The sentence which expresses negation are called Negative Sentences.

<i>en koRa – te lad ka jom jana</i>	‘The work will not be done by me.’
<i>en koRa ka yekami geta</i>	‘He did not do the work’
<i>samay, citare alōm ceno – a</i>	‘Do not go beyond time’
<i>jorte alom jagara</i>	‘Do not speak loudly’

Causative Sentence

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.

aiñ ini – ā poTom – ko avū mēnte kaji – liā Mento kayā jana
‘I make her take the luggage but she does not like to’

ini – i: ini – ā poTom – kō ka – e āvu – jana
‘He makes him give luggage to him but he does not feel like’

ain̄ ini i : poTom ko avu mentē kaji – liā mendō ini : ka?e seno jana
‘I make him take the luggage but he does not do it now’.

ayñ koRa hon – ke menTay jom mentāyn beyār liya
‘I make the boy eat the sweet’.

Coordination Sentence

Coordination is the process by which two or more sentences are co-ordinated into a single sentence. The co-ordinating lexical items are given below.

Ro/ oRo ‘and’

mendo ‘but’

ci ‘or’

An example of sentence with *oRo* ‘and’ is given below.

1. *aya haga ko oRo misi-ko oRa veko-a*

‘My brothers and sister’s house’ (in the)

Examples of sentences with *mendo* ‘but’ are given below.

1. *ain seno-tay kina mendo aiyin kain sendo dari jana*

‘I had to go but I did not go’

2. *am senō taykina mendo cinara:kam seno jana?*

‘You had to go but why not go’

DESCRIPTION OF PATTERNS OF SENTENCES

The sentences in Mundari are mainly classified into:

1. Simple Sentences
2. Compound Sentences
3. Complex Sentences

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 phrase.

Examples:

<i>iniyã oRa</i>	‘His house’
<i>niya oRa tana</i>	‘This is house’
<i>aynã oRa uriñg giya</i>	‘My house is small’
<i>inya koRa – hon</i>	‘His son’
<i>ini uju jana</i>	‘He fell down’

iniyã, niyã aynã, ini are the subject and the predicates are *oRa, oRa tana, uriñg-giya, koRa – hon, uju jana* represented by one word each and are capable of being expanded.

Compound Sentence

A Compound Sentence is that which consists of two independent clauses, phrases or sentences connected together by means of conjunctions like 'and', 'but' etc. The conjunction is *ro*.

Example

ma parang hon –ko ro ma parang hon –ko

‘The big children and the big books’

Complex Sentence

A complex sentence consists of more than one clause, one of which functions independently and is called here the main or principal clause. The other clause is called Subordinate or Dependant Clause and this clause is dependant on the Principal Clause. The subordinate clauses can be

1. a noun clause
2. an adjective clause or
3. an adverb clause.

1. Noun Clause

A noun clause is a dependent clause that acts as a noun.

Example

agar jo:rked redo hona:ng-e dari jana ‘If he works hard he will succeed’

2. Adjective Clause

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

Examples

<i>ma</i>	<i>parang</i>	<i>hon –ko</i>
The	big	children
<i>ma</i>	<i>parang</i>	<i>hon –ko</i>
The	big	books

3. Adverb Clause

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

chiulau 'when'

kta-re 'where'

agar / idu 'if'

ini-atte 'then'

hotte 'there'

ini-atte 'than'

TEXT

MUNDARI

cilkate enge kawu hende bingẽ-e go-e kiya

How crow-hen black snake killed

How the crow-hen killed the black snake

kotto pe:re akan bare da:ru-re: ka:wu-king taiñkina

among spreading lived crow and his wife

inkia : tukka:Re upunya : hupuRiñg jarom-ko tai kina : ina?-ko enka:vu-king ku:b

In the nest were four little eggs which the parents

maja'te king horo: ja:t kena.

guarded with great care.

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

en bare daru-ra-a? kukurure moyõng hende biñg etayñ kina ini: i: kãwu-king bejay-king
in a hollow of that tree-trunk lived a black snake that the crow s

boroway taykina.

feared greatly.

In the nest were four little eggs which the parents guarded with great care. Every time the crow-hen laid her eggs the snake crawled up to the nest and ate them up

soben – iñg tank enga:-kawu horo-ja: kena being tukka:-re de-e janchi jarom ko-e jom-kiya.

If the black snake eats up my eggs this time also

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

enga: ka:wu kisan-te-e meta: ya chi: janawu hende beiñg añg jarom ko-e jom jata.

I refuse to live in this tree any longer. We must build our nest

enate aiñg-do: ne: daro-re oRo ayar-te kayñ-taynal. alang eTa ta:re tukkalang baiya.

somewhere else, "said mother bird to her husband

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

alang isu dina:-de: neta:re lang tayng tana. aiñ ayā oRa-a bagaRa-vu katte kayn
If long time here we have lived

stateing daRia enāte eTa ta:relengtayna, “I mente
elsewhere said

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

inktank inking latara-te sipu - sa:R i king ayu:m gita. inking babuRi-a leka-king
were talking just below hissing sound understand

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

king du:ba kana ena:sa:Ri – oRo-ho tukkara- jarom ko cilka-te bancha-wa menaya
king uRu tana.

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

hendre bing tukka: jappate rakka:b tana ena.te bing tukka-re soda-geta
black snake

The black snake crept higher and closer to the nest.

kawu-king boRo teking mardia. api:r jana. moyōd moyo-to hende bing jarom ko – e
one by one

u:d keda.
swallowed

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

baran kavu – kiñg dukku tanlo ākiñya tukka taking nuwa le: na, niya itu-a nate-chi tukka –
the parents sadly in their nest

do: samagiya. kawa _kaji geta: ayñ - ne gogo-e beng –ēñ daRay-giya:
empty destroy snake find out murdered

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”.

“am chilka:-te ini: to:m opota ini do-e teara:-kana; “neka: dukku-te-e kisan ka:ji
keda.
how

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

“ayã dulaRa, alo:m uRu– a: ayn bi:ng bisi giRi utta : rni pokkotto songēnnama – ka-ya,
don’t you worry destroy friend

kawa kaji keta, a:d eTTa – daru – ta : te api:r jana-en daru latareini-a so:nge: jake:l
taikina loved 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.

bi:ng soben – in – tank jarom ko-e jom geta: mena-ya: a:yūm leTchi jakel kaji geta, “hē

(ayã) songe, lokko?e kisi nirday oRo? jumbuRi ni : ekka-to-ye tunDu-a alo:m boroya: ayñ
greedy

na: a:ging uRu-a gaTa ini: tuDu uttary aha.

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’ve already thought of a plan to destroy him”.

“Oh, udu bayn ina: cena, “kawu-kaji gita. ena:te jake:l aya: songe lutur japare kaji-

ya chilka-le bing go-e utturo:oa. kawa ãya kuRi tanka-te api:r ru:Ru- jana a:d ena uppay-e

udu:b ba-ha-ya. “kawa me:n keta-chi: ena: do: borowan giyã:. abu horiaren mena
hosiariñg

be very careful It is

lagadiya
rather risky

“Oh, do tell me what it is,” said the crow. Then the jackal, fearing he might be overheard, 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

enga ka:wu jo:rle kaji geta-hi jarōm-ko bancha-vu rakha eTa uppayñg daRā – leya.
bravely anything

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

ea:te inkiñg endisum-ren raja:a: mahal satte king api:r jana.

so palace of the king country

so off they flew towards the palace of the king of the country.

okkowa-daru-re king tayin tan-taykina: ena daru reking tayin tan-taykina: na da:ru

tree lived palace lived

mahal – la:tla pu:ra sangen-re ka:tay-kina.

royal ladies bath

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 to their golden chains, pearl necklaces and other jewelry on the edge of the pond.

inku: le:lkiya-chi kawu sona cikRi daru – ra kukuRu re-e uyyu gita.
they saw the bird the chain into hallow of tree

cikiRi alang mente moyo:n clpa:y hen daru-re: deyē jana
guards climbed up the tree

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

en cipāy sona cikiRi chain haling mente: unDu-e sukhu jadlogo-ge kucha-kan
as he chain curled
hendē biñke te:tam ta?ya.ini a:ya? danda-le bingē da:l goye kiya oRo?o en lekate hende
hard stroke black
bing lundu-jana
snake

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.

ka:wu a:d enga ka:wu entayo:m – le ka:wu a:d eñga tāwu
The crow and the crow-hen and crow-hen.

endaru-re sukku rasika tekiñg tayn jana a:d kawu hōn-ko tayn jana.
in that tree happily afterwards lived and baby crows.

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

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HO

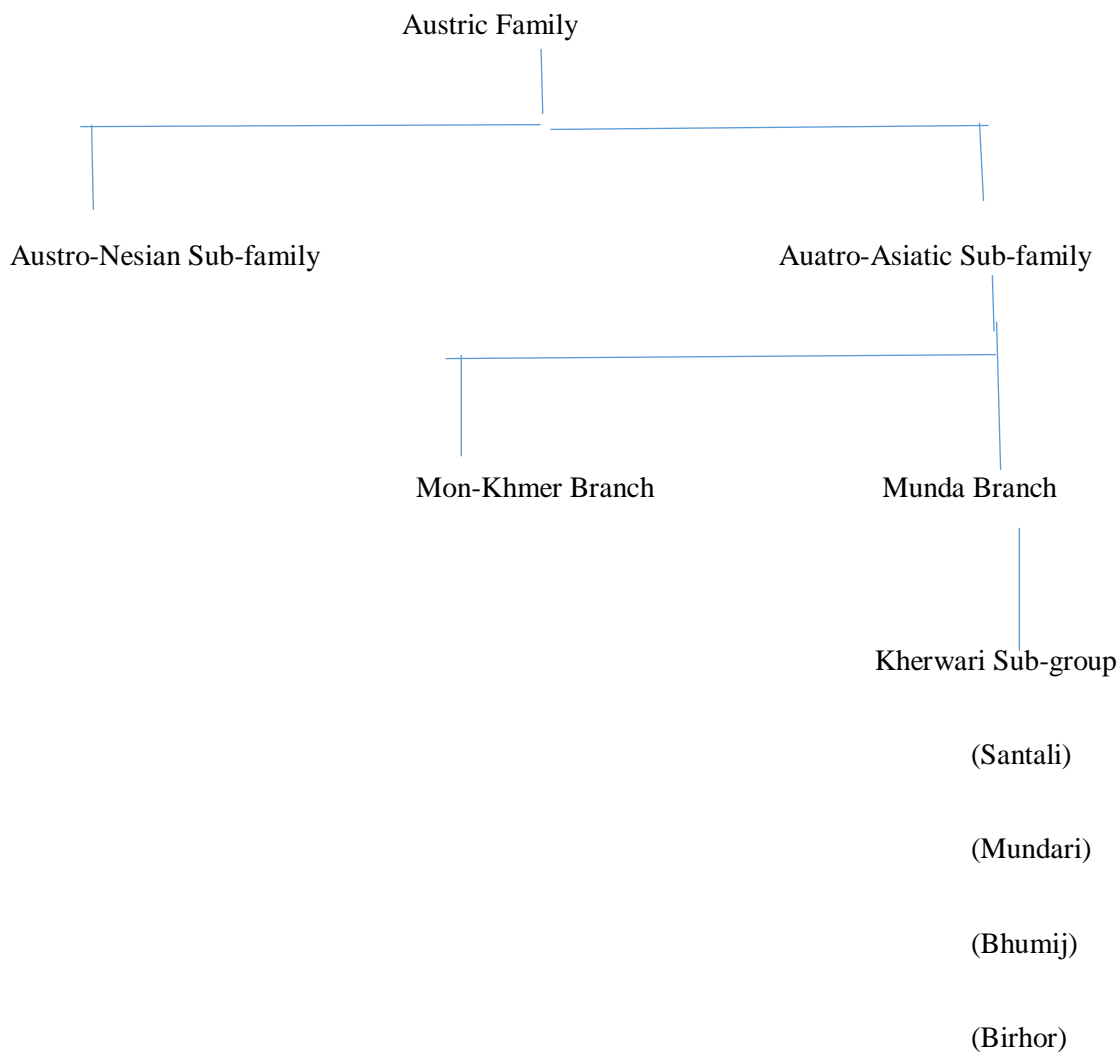
P. PERUMALSAMY

1. INTRODUCTION

Ho is listed as a Non-Scheduled language in the Census record, appears as a language as well as Mother Tongue in the successive Census enumerations. Ho language is spoken majorly in Jharkhand state and it is followed by other states such as Odisha, West Bengal, Bihar and Chhattisgarh. Its last decadal [2001-2011] growth rate is 36.32%. Among the total strength of Ho speakers in Jharkhand 4,66,693 speakers are monolinguals.

1.1 FAMILY AFFILIATION

Ho Language is classified under Kherwarian group of Munda branch of Austro – Asiatic subfamily of Austric family (Grierson, 1906). The recent studies indicate that Ho language may be placed under Northern Munda group. The Table is given in following page.



(Koda)

(Ho)

(Turi)

(Asuri)

(Agaria)

(Brijia)

(Korwa)

(Kurku)

(Kharia)

(Juang)

(Savara)

(Gadaba)

Unspecified

1. 2 LOCATION

In Jharkhand state, the Ho people are mainly concentrated in Paschimi Singhbhum district followed by Purbi Singhbhum. They are also present in Bokaro, Ranchi and Dhanbad districts. The places where Hos are found abundantly are as follows:

Chakradharpur, Noamundi, Jhinkpani, Kumardungi, Chaibasa, Majhgaon, Tant naga, Manjhari, Jagnanahtpur.

In Bihar state, Ho speakers are found scantily in *Katihar, Paschim Champran, Samastipur* and *Patna* districts.

1.3 SPEAKERS' STRENGTH

Distribution of Ho as a Language in India, States and Union Territories as per 2011

Census is given below.

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	14,21,418	7,03,538	7,17,880	13,04,816	6,45,100	6,59,716	1,16,602	58,438	58,164
JAMMU & KASHMIR	28	24	4	12	10	2	16	14	2
HIMACHAL PRADESH	167	85	82	166	85	81	1	0	1
PUNJAB	26	13	13	3	2	1	23	11	12
UTTARAKHAND	34	28	6	30	25	5	4	3	1
HARYANA	52	30	22	30	19	11	22	11	11
NCT OF DELHI	70	37	33	0	0	0	70	37	33
RAJASTHAN	713	358	355	347	178	169	366	180	186
UTTAR PRADESH	102	55	47	77	40	37	25	15	10
BIHAR	1,890	1,056	834	1,659	935	724	231	121	110
ARUNACHAL PRADESH	6	4	2	0	0	0	6	4	2
NAGALAND	11	8	3	2	2	0	9	6	3
MANIPUR	2	2	0	2	2	0	0	0	0
MIZORAM	2	1	1	0	0	0	2	1	1
TRIPURA	12	6	6	8	4	4	4	2	2
MEGHALAYA	2	2	0	0	0	0	2	2	0
ASSAM	598	302	296	591	298	293	7	4	3
WEST BENGAL	6,055	3,063	2,992	5,204	2,641	2,563	851	422	429
JHARKHAND	9,94,302	4,92,126	5,02,176	9,04,657	4,47,255	4,57,402	89,645	44,871	44,774
ODISHA	4,11,724	2,03,493	2,08,231	3,88,273	1,91,713	1,96,560	23,451	11,780	11,671
CHHATTISGARH	1,408	728	680	164	91	73	1,244	637	607
MADHYA PRADESH	2,579	1,274	1,305	2,528	1,251	1,277	51	23	28
GUJARAT	86	56	30	56	40	16	30	16	14
DADRA & NAGAR HAVELI	5	3	2	0	0	0	5	3	2
MAHARASHTRA	1,470	736	734	983	492	491	487	244	243
ANDHRA PRADESH	15	9	6	3	1	2	12	8	4
KARNATAKA	23	11	12	0	0	0	23	11	12

KERALA	21	15	6	17	12	5	4	3	1
TAMIL NADU	12	10	2	1	1	0	11	9	2
ANDAMAN & NICOBAR ISLANDS	3	3	0	3	3	0	0	0	0

Distribution of Ho as a Mother Tongue in India, States and Union Territories as per 2011 Census is given below.

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	14,10,996	6,98,250	7,12,746	12,95,556	6,40,402	6,55,154	1,15,440	57,848	57,592
JAMMU & KASHMIR	26	22	4	11	9	2	15	13	2
HIMACHAL PRADESH	4	3	1	3	3	0	1	0	1
PUNJAB	26	13	13	3	2	1	23	11	12
UTTARAKHAND	33	27	6	30	25	5	3	2	1
HARYANA	39	22	17	26	16	10	13	6	7
NCT OF DELHI	62	31	31	0	0	0	62	31	31
RAJASTHAN	56	32	24	36	21	15	20	11	9
UTTAR PRADESH	83	46	37	60	32	28	23	14	9
BIHAR	577	292	285	454	229	225	123	63	60
NAGALAND	9	6	3	1	1	0	8	5	3
MANIPUR	2	2	0	2	2	0	0	0	0
MIZORAM	2	1	1	0	0	0	2	1	1
TRIPURA	6	4	2	2	2	0	4	2	2
MEGHALAYA	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0
ASSAM	11	8	3	6	5	1	5	3	2
WEST BENGAL	5,203	2,633	2,570	4,363	2,219	2,144	840	414	426
JHARKHAND	9,92,197	4,91,095	5,01,102	9,02,680	4,46,291	4,56,389	89,517	44,804	44,713
ODISHA	4,11,098	2,03,176	2,07,922	3,87,665	1,91,404	1,96,261	23,433	11,772	11,661
CHHATTISGARH	1,381	719	662	138	83	55	1,243	636	607
MADHYA PRADESH	41	27	14	23	19	4	18	8	10
GUJARAT	18	18	0	18	18	0	0	0	0
DADRA & NAGAR HAVELI	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0
MAHARASHTRA	57	29	28	14	7	7	43	22	21
ANDHRA PRADESH	15	9	6	3	1	2	12	8	4

KARNATAKA	15	8	7	0	0	0	15	8	7
KERALA	21	15	6	17	12	5	4	3	1
TAMIL NADU	12	10	2	1	1	0	11	9	2

Distribution of Ho as a Language in Jharkhand state and its districts as per 2011 Census is given below.

State/Districts	Total			Rural			Urban		
	Person	Males	Females	Person	Males	Females	Person	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
JHARKHAND	9,94,302	4,92,126	5,02,176	9,04,657	4,47,255	4,57,402	89,645	44,871	44,774
Garhwa	15	10	5	9	6	3	6	4	2
Chatra	68	33	35	54	25	29	14	8	6
Kodarma	45	21	24	44	20	24	1	1	0
Giridih	54	34	20	44	27	17	10	7	3
Deoghar	192	104	88	189	101	88	3	3	0
Godda	484	242	242	473	236	237	11	6	5
Sahibganj	347	169	178	316	152	164	31	17	14
Pakur	399	186	213	394	184	210	5	2	3
Dhanbad	1,620	834	786	175	101	74	1,445	733	712
Bokaro	4,546	2,264	2,282	397	187	210	4,149	2,077	2,072
Lohardaga	51	24	27	36	18	18	15	6	9
Purbi Singhbhum	63,339	31,530	31,809	28,217	13,987	14,230	35,122	17,543	17,579
Palamu	29	19	10	26	17	9	3	2	1
Latehar	37	23	14	28	16	12	9	7	2
Hazaribagh	77	48	29	47	29	18	30	19	11
Ramgarh	377	208	169	66	42	24	311	166	145
Dumka	428	212	216	428	212	216	0	0	0
Jamtara	153	80	73	147	77	70	6	3	3
Ranchi	2,241	1,213	1,028	576	308	268	1,665	905	760
Khunti	97	50	47	43	25	18	54	25	29
Gumla	87	41	46	69	33	36	18	8	10
Simdega	45	28	17	33	22	11	12	6	6
Pashchimi Singhbhum	8,16,782	4,03,715	4,13,067	7,81,632	3,86,243	3,95,389	35,150	17,472	17,678
Saraikela-Kharsawan	1,02,789	51,038	51,751	91,214	45,187	46,027	11,575	5,851	5,724

Distribution of Ho as a Mother Tongue in Jharkhand state and its Districts as per 2011 Census is given below.

State/Districts	Total			Rural			Urban		
	Person	Males	Females	Person	Males	Females	Person	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
JHARKHAND	9,92,197	4,91,095	5,01,102	9,02,680	4,46,291	4,56,389	89,517	44,804	44,713
Garhwa	15	10	5	9	6	3	6	4	2
Chatra	68	33	35	54	25	29	14	8	6
Kodarma	45	21	24	44	20	24	1	1	0
Giridih	54	34	20	44	27	17	10	7	3
Deoghar	192	104	88	189	101	88	3	3	0
Godda	7	5	2	2	2	0	5	3	2
Sahibganj	53	27	26	34	17	17	19	10	9
Pakur	7	2	5	2	0	2	5	2	3
Dhanbad	1,617	832	785	175	101	74	1,442	731	711
Bokaro	4,538	2,259	2,279	397	187	210	4,141	2,072	2,069
Lohardaga	51	24	27	36	18	18	15	6	9
Purbi Singhbhum	63,173	31,445	31,728	28,130	13,941	14,189	35,043	17,504	17,539
Palamu	29	19	10	26	17	9	3	2	1
Latehar	37	23	14	28	16	12	9	7	2
Hazaribagh	75	47	28	45	28	17	30	19	11
Ramgarh	376	207	169	66	42	24	310	165	145
Dumka	28	12	16	28	12	16	0	0	0
Jamtara	153	80	73	147	77	70	6	3	3
Ranchi	2,226	1,205	1,021	574	307	267	1,652	898	754
Khunti	97	50	47	43	25	18	54	25	29
Gumla	69	32	37	51	24	27	18	8	10
Simdega	37	23	14	26	17	9	11	6	5
Pashchimi Singhbhum	8,16,556	4,03,607	4,12,949	7,81,406	3,86,135	3,95,271	35,150	17,472	17,678
Saraikele-Kharsawan	1,02,694	50,994	51,700	91,124	45,146	45,978	11,570	5,848	5,722

1.4 BILINGUALISM :

Distribution of Ho and its Bilingual and Trilingual status in Jharkhand state as per 2011 Census is given below.

Language Name	Total	Bilingual Language	Total	Trilingual Language	Total
HO	9,94,302				
		BENGALI	9,347		
				HINDI	3,438
				ODIA	415
				SANTALI	370
				ENGLISH	16
				MUNDARI	15
		GUJARATI	1		
				HINDI	1
		HINDI	4,77,898		
				BENGALI	8,378
				GUJARATI	7
				KANNADA	2
				KASHMIRI	1
				MARATHI	4
				NEPALI	3
				ODIA	41,247
				PUNJABI	29
				SANSKRIT	21
				SANTALI	4,760
				TAMIL	1
				TELUGU	8
				URDU	6
				ARABIC/ARBI	2
				BHUMIJ	30
				ENGLISH	28,558
				GONDI	106
				KHARIA	3
				KURUKH/ORAOON	202
				MALTO	1
				MUNDARI	1,199
				OTHERS	27

		NEPALI	4		
				ODIA	1
		ODIA	31,195		
				BENGALI	467
				HINDI	8,945
				SANTALI	276
				ENGLISH	69
				KURUKH/ORAOON	4
				MUNDARI	1
				OTHERS	5
		PUNJABI	4		
				HINDI	2
		SANSKRIT	1		
				ODIA	1
		SANTALI	6,095		
				BENGALI	578
				HINDI	2,075
				ODIA	217
				ENGLISH	3
				KHARIA	5
				KURUKH/ORAOON	1
				MUNDARI	81
				OTHERS	1
		TELUGU	2		
				HINDI	2
		BHILI/BHILODI	1		
		BHUMIJ	8		
				HINDI	1
		ENGLISH	885		
				BENGALI	2
				HINDI	662
				ODIA	10
				SANTALI	1
				KURUKH/ORAOON	1
		GONDI	44		
				HINDI	6
		KHARIA	9		

				BENGALI	9
		KURUKH/ORAOON	94		
				HINDI	24
				ODIA	1
				ENGLISH	1
		MALTO	4		
				BENGALI	4
		MUNDA	44		
				HINDI	14
		MUNDARI	1,933		
				HINDI	526
				ODIA	31
				SANTALI	28
				KURUKH/ORAOON	1
		OTHERS	40		
				HINDI	3
				ODIA	1

1. 5 SOCIOLINGUISTIC SITUATIONS

Ho language is used among the members of the family in home domain predominantly. It is also used with their relatives. In the villages where Hos are living high in number, Ho language is used in the market as well.

Ho language is used with kith and kin during the occasions such as conducting rituals, ceremonies and festivals. Ho peoples' supreme deity is 'Sing bonga'.

Ho language has a rich oral tradition. It has folk songs and tales. Some of the efforts had been taken to see that Ho has a written form. Hos tried to write Ho language in Roman, Devnagari and Varankshite scripts (written languages of the world: pp 890). It seems the Ho people devised Varankshite script. Poetry, fiction, hymnals and song are written in Ho language and got published. Some of the grammar books on Ho language are written in Hindi. Similarly, Ho-Hindi-English dictionary is also available.

The All India Radio, Ranchi broadcasts the programmes in Ho language for 30 minutes a week. The programmes are mostly songs, short stories, day-to-day happenings etc. Other than home and religious domains, the use of Ho language is restricted. It is not taught in schools.

Ho people speak Hindi, Oriya, Bengali and English languages besides cognate Santali language as their second language. The people who live in Bihar speaks Hindi, in West Bengal border speaks Bengali and in Orissa border speaks Oriya as their second languages respectively. The educated people speak English as well.

1. 6. REVIEW OF EARLIER LITERATURE

The Linguistic Survey of India (1906) by Grierson places Ho as a dialect of Kherwari language along with Santali, Mundari and so on. In 1971, Nigam classifies Ho as a mother tongue, which were fairly returned from Bihar and Orissa in 1961 Census.

Mundari language, a close cognate of Ho language, is studied by Sinha (1975) and the grammar book was published. In 1975, S. Bhattacharya also conducted a survey on Ho language and highlighted very important phonological and Morphological features of it.

Deeney (1975) has brought out the Grammar and vocabulary of Ho. He has analyzed the language systematically and identified the features. The features were highlighted in the form of lessons. However, the phonological part is given less importance.

Suresh, (2002) has brought out a gist grammar of Ho language spoken in Odisha state. The present study deals with the Ho language spoken in Bihar state.

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 Ho language is presented below based on the data collected data.

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 Ho shows the distinctive sound units occurring in Ho speech. Both the segmental and suprasegmental phonemes of Ho are presented in the following inventory. There are 27 phonemes of which 22 are consonants 5 are vowels. Length and Nasalization is phonemic.

2.1.1. SEGMENTAL PHONEMES

Vowels

There are five vowel phonemes in Ho language. They are as follow:

	Front	Central	Back
High	i		u
Mid	e		o
Low		a	

Consonants

There are twenty-two consonant phonemes in Ho language. They are as follows.

	Bilabial	Alveolar	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stop	p b	t d	T D	c j	k g	
Fricative		s				h
Nasal	m	n	N		M	
Lateral		l	L			
Flap		r	R			
Semi vowel	w			y		

2.1.2. SUPRA SEGMENTAL PHONEMES

Length and Nasalisation features are considered as suprasegmental phonemes.

Length

Length and Nasalisation features are considered as suprasegmental phonemes. Length is phonemic in Ho language. Examples:

1. *oye* 'tear: cloth'
o :ye 'bird'
2. *onDo* 'and'
o: nDo 'repeat'
3. *ada* 'half'
ada : 'ginger'
4. *kua* 'female'
ku :a 'fold: arms'
5. *cuTu* 'mouse'
cu :Tu 'penis'

Nasalization

Nasalization of vowels occurs in this language. It is phonemic because one can have meaning difference between the oral and nasal vowels. Examples are given below.

1. *kua* 'female' *kũa* 'well water'
2. *meD* 'eye' *mẽD* 'iron'
3. *myu* 'calf' *mũi* 'ant'

Glottolization

The vowels pronounced, are sometimes glottalized. Glottalization is phonemic in Ho language because this process gives contrasting minimal pairs. Examples are given below.

1. *seta* 'dog' *setá* 'morning'
2. *la: yi* 'belly' *lé* 'tongue'
3. *a :nDu* 'anklet' *á :ndi* 'marriage'

2.2. PHONEMIC DESCRIPTION AND DISTRIBUTION

Vowels

The Ho vowels are five in number. They are *i*, *e*, *a*, *o* and *u*. The vowels have length as well as nasal features sometimes.

Phonemic Contrast

1. *ni :li* 'honey bee'
ni: la 'blue'
2. *kui* 'girl'
kua 'female'
3. *pu :l* 'bridge'
pu :li 'nose ring'
4. *ente* 'then'
enta 'there'

- | | | |
|----|---------------|-------------------|
| 5. | <i>enko</i> | ‘they’ |
| | <i>enako</i> | ‘those’ |
| 6. | <i>gaw</i> | ‘wound’ |
| | <i>gawa</i> | ‘evidence’ |
| 7. | <i>ta :la</i> | ‘middle’ |
| | <i>tula</i> | ‘measure: volume’ |
| 8. | <i>koa</i> | ‘man’ |
| | <i>kua</i> | ‘female’ |

Phonemic distribution

/i/

The high front vowel *i* occurs in the initial, medial and final positions. The lengthened vowel also occurs in the three positions. Examples are given below.

Initial

- | | |
|------------------|-----------|
| <i>ipiI</i> | ‘star’ |
| <i>isi</i> | ‘twenty’ |
| <i>itir</i> | ‘massage’ |
| <i>ibil</i> | ‘thick’ |
| <i>i: m</i> | ‘liver’ |
| <i>i: ka: ka</i> | ‘anus’ |

Medial

- | | |
|--------------|----------|
| <i>aril</i> | ‘snow’ |
| <i>bir</i> | ‘forest’ |
| <i>bisri</i> | ‘hawk’ |
| <i>disum</i> | ‘state’ |
| <i>apiye</i> | ‘three’ |

si: ku 'louse'

di: ri 'stone'

ri: M 'forget'

Final

u: pi 'cockroach'

gai 'monkey'

Duki 'urine'

harsi 'mirror'

a: rki 'wine'

ti : 'hand'

hunDi : 'tall'

bisi : 'poison'

/e/

The mid high front unrounded vowel e occurs in the initial, medial and final positions. Its lengthening counterpart occurs in all three positions. Examples are given below.

Initial

era 'wife'

enko 'they'

entarap 'defence'

eMa 'female'

esupure 'man'

ẽ: tam 'extinguish'

Medial

gena 'slope'

biley 'cat'

<i>tete</i>	‘cricket’
<i>geDem</i>	‘cut: meat’
<i>re :D</i>	‘root’
<i>he :D</i>	‘weed’
<i>he: nde</i>	‘darkness’

Final

<i>lée</i>	‘tongue’
<i>kuile</i>	‘coal’
<i>go’e</i>	‘dead’
<i>apiye</i>	‘three’
<i>ice :</i>	‘pinch’

/a/

The low central vowel *a* occurs in the initial, medial and final positions. The vowel *a:* also occurs in three positions. Examples are given below.

Initial

<i>alu</i>	‘potato’
<i>ara</i>	‘brown’
<i>amru:d</i>	‘guava’
<i>asur</i>	‘demon’
<i>anja :</i>	‘hurry’
<i>a :si</i>	‘beg’
<i>a :nDu</i>	‘anklet’
<i>a :luti</i>	‘lip’

Medial

<i>hasa</i>	‘clay’
<i>ranDi</i>	‘widow’
<i>hatom</i>	‘maternal aunt’
<i>gara</i>	‘river’
<i>hasu</i>	‘disease’
<i>tayen</i>	‘crocodile’
<i>da :si</i>	‘maid’
<i>ba :lu</i>	‘bear’
<i>ka :Ta</i>	‘leg’
<i>ga :ma</i>	‘rain’

Final

<i>buRa</i>	‘old’
<i>soya</i>	‘rotten’
<i>dēwa</i>	‘priest’
<i>mula</i>	‘reddish’
<i>ada :</i>	‘ginger’

/o/

The mid high back unrounded vowel *o* occurs in initial, medial and final positions. It's lengthening counterpart *o:* also occurs in all three positions. Examples are given below.

Initial

<i>ote</i>	‘earth’
<i>oyar</i>	‘swim’
<i>omon</i>	‘germinate’
<i>ojon</i>	‘weight’

<i>otaem</i>	‘press’
<i>o: nDo</i>	‘repeat’
<i>o: roM</i>	‘blow’

Medial

<i>sokwa</i>	‘valley’
<i>roko</i>	‘fly’
<i>korto</i>	‘axe’
<i>boka</i>	‘pierce’
<i>moTra</i>	‘beans’
<i>ho: ra</i>	‘road’
<i>go :ra</i>	‘field’
<i>jo :la</i>	‘bag’

Final

<i>seno</i>	‘send’
<i>korto</i>	‘axe’
<i>horo</i>	‘tortoise’
<i>turo</i>	‘raise’
<i>boro</i>	‘frighten’
<i>jo:</i>	‘fruit’
<i>bo:</i>	‘head’

/ u /

The high back rounded vowel *u* occurs in initial, medial and final positions. The lengthened vowel *u:* occurs in all positions. Examples are such as

Initial

<i>umbul</i>	‘shade’
<i>udar</i>	‘lend’
<i>ulli</i>	‘mango’
<i>u: nDu</i>	‘hole’
<i>u: pi</i>	‘cockroach’
<i>ũ: r</i>	‘skin’

Medial

<i>pukat</i>	‘mist’
<i>luga</i>	‘nest’
<i>dukki</i>	‘grief’
<i>gunDi</i>	‘cow’
<i>kuTi</i>	‘coast’
<i>bu :Ti</i>	‘navel’
<i>ru :tu</i>	‘flute’
<i>bu :lu</i>	‘thigh’

Final

<i>buru</i>	‘hill’
<i>ha su</i>	‘disease’
<i>ha: ku</i>	‘fish’
<i>ku: lpu</i>	‘lock’
<i>caTTu</i>	‘cooking pot’
<i>uru :</i>	‘beetle’
<i>uRu :</i>	‘worry’

Nasal vowel

The nasalized vowels occur in initial, medial and final positions. Examples are given below.

Initial

<i>ĩyal</i>	‘feather’
<i>ũ: r</i>	‘skin’
<i>ẽ: tam</i>	‘erase’

Medial

<i>cẽ: l</i>	‘wave’
<i>kõRo</i>	‘duck’
<i>saĩl</i>	‘bison’
<i>gãun</i>	‘mother’s younger sister’

Final

<i>hasũ</i>	‘pain’
<i>hã :</i>	‘hoof’

Consonants

Phonemic contrasts

- | | |
|-------------|---------|
| <i>ipil</i> | ‘star’ |
| <i>ibil</i> | ‘thick’ |
- | | |
|------------|---------|
| <i>ete</i> | ‘from’ |
| <i>eTa</i> | ‘other’ |
- | | |
|-----------------|----------|
| <i>otaem</i> | ‘press’ |
| <i>oTa: yem</i> | ‘abound’ |
- | | |
|--------------|-----------------|
| <i>haTiM</i> | ‘serve: food’ |
| <i>huRiM</i> | ‘little finger’ |

- | | | |
|----|---------------------|------------|
| 5. | <i>bo: rca</i> | ‘spade’ |
| | <i>bo: rsa</i> | ‘courage’ |
| 6. | <i>uD<u>u</u></i> | ‘imagine’ |
| | <i>uRu</i> | ‘worry’ |
| 7. | <i>gara</i> | ‘river’ |
| | <i>go<u>Ra</u></i> | ‘ground’ |
| 8. | <i>gera:n</i> | ‘boundary’ |
| | <i>gera<u>M</u></i> | ‘groan’ |

Phonemic distribution

/p/

The voiceless bilabial stop *p* occurs in initial, medial and final positions.

However, the occurrence in final position is not frequent. Examples are given below.

Initial

<i>pila</i>	‘spleen’
<i>pu: nDi</i>	‘garlic’
<i>patta :</i>	‘leaf’
<i>paiTy</i>	‘work’
<i>paRaw</i>	‘study’

Medial

<i>apiye</i>	‘three’
<i>topa</i>	‘bury: a thing’
<i>apasoro</i>	‘love’

Final

udup (ga: nDa) ‘index (finger)’

si: p ‘stir’

/b/

The voiced bilabial stop *b* occurs in all three positions namely initial, medial and final, compared to the initial position, the occurrence of this phoneme in other two positions, is limited. Examples are given below.

Initial

ba: nda ‘dam’

baba ‘paddy’

be: Ma: ‘tomato’

bariye ‘two’

boka ‘pierce’

Medial

sombond ‘betroth’

ku: mbu ‘rob’

sobo i: m ‘dagger’

Final

jere: b ‘kiss’

a: ca: b ‘yawn’

tirub ‘bow the body’

(meD) a porob ‘(eye) lash’

/t/

The occurrence of voiceless alveolar stop *t* found in three positions but predominantly in initial position. Examples are given below.

Initial

<i>tu :</i>	‘sting’
<i>tula</i>	‘measure: volume’
<i>talka</i>	‘heel’
<i>tasaD</i>	‘grass’
<i>toDim</i>	‘shoot: an animal’

Medial

<i>tata</i>	‘grandfather’
<i>ataM</i>	‘clever’
<i>gitil</i>	‘sand’

Final

<i>boo: t</i>	‘ghost’
<i>ca: t</i>	‘ceiling’

/ d /

The occurrence of voiced alveolar stop /d/ found in the initial, medial and final positions but frequently in initial position. Examples are given below.

Initial

<i>da'a</i>	‘water’
<i>diriM</i>	‘horn’
<i>dama</i>	‘drum’
<i>duraM</i>	‘sing: a song’
<i>doDo</i>	‘shake: head’

Medial

<i>a'a: ndi</i>	‘marriage’
<i>ko: nda</i>	‘dumb’

candi 'silver'

Final

a: sirba: d 'blessing'

amru: d 'guava'

/T/

The voiceless retroflex stop *T* occurs in initial, medial and final positions. However, in the initial position its occurrence is limited. Examples:

Initial

Těyo 'wolf'

Tuppi 'cap'

Tope koRo 'swan'

Medial

daTTa 'tooth'

ku: nTu 'pillar'

moTra 'beans'

mu :Ta 'fat'

bu :Ti 'navel'

Final

keonT 'boat'

miyaT 'one'

ra: piT 'blink: eyes'

/D/

The voiced retroflex stop *D* occurs initial, medial, and final positions. Examples are given below.

Initial

<i>Duki</i>	‘urine’
<i>DiyaM</i>	‘liquor rice’
<i>Deraim</i>	‘twist’

Medial

<i>ca: nDu</i>	‘moon’
<i>sa: nDi</i>	‘male’
<i>ma: nDi</i>	‘food’
<i>ci: Di</i>	‘stair case’

Final

<i>ruguD</i>	‘pebble’
<i>hambuD</i>	‘embrace’
<i>nogoD</i>	‘sweet’
<i>he: D</i>	‘weed’

/c/

The voiceless palatal stop *c* occurs in the initial, medial and final positions. The occurrence in the initial position is predominant. Examples are given below.

Initial

<i>cuTu</i>	‘mouse’
<i>cuku</i>	‘rain hat’
<i>cakka</i>	‘wheel’
<i>ca: bi</i>	‘key’
<i>cului</i>	‘blow: nose’

Medial

<i>kucu</i>	‘pocket’
-------------	----------

bo: rca 'spade'

Final

mo: c 'whisker'

camac 'spoon'

/j/

The voiced palatal stop *j* occurs in initial and medial positions.

Initial

joro 'tap'

jo 'fruit'

jiraw 'rest'

ja: Mi 'bamboo'

ja: TTi 'mat'

Medial

haija 'cholera / diarrhoea'

moja 'glove'

panji 'astrologer'

da: rji 'tailor'

siki: lije '(mosquito) net'

/k/

The voiceless velar stop *k* occurs in initial, medial and final positions. The occurrence in the final position is very marginal. Examples are given below.

Initial

kui 'girl'

ko : 'crane'

ka: kom 'crab'

ku: la 'tiger'

kakla 'sound'

ku: mu 'dream'

Medial

pu' kaT 'mist'

sokwa 'valley'

siki : 'mosquito'

toMka 'churning rod'

Final

narak 'hell'

/ g /

The voiced velar stop *g* occurs in the initial, medial and final positions. However, the occurrence in the final position is very limited. Examples are given below.

Initial

gai 'monkey'

ga: nTi 'bell'

gawa 'evidence'

gi: ti 'sleep'

golei 'circle'

Medial

luga 'nest'

paga 'rope'

saLgam 'carrot'

Final

taluwa: g ‘sword’

/s/

The voiceless alveolar fricative *s* occurs in the initial, medial and final positions. Examples are given below.

Initial

sokwa ‘valley’

si: r ‘nerve’

sa: r ‘arrow’

sa: dom ‘horse’

Medial

isi ‘twenty’

bisi ‘venom’

asur ‘demon’

tasaD ‘grass’

Final

do: s ‘fault’

rã: s ‘kind’

bõs ‘decendants’

/h/

The voiceless glottal fricative *h* occurs in the initial and medial positions. Examples are given below.

Initial

hapaD ‘leech’

h oko ‘public’

<i>hoyo</i>	‘air’
<i>honnor</i>	‘wander’
<i>ha: ku</i>	‘fish’
<i>hisir</i>	‘garland’

Medial

<i>kaha: ni</i>	‘ballad’
<i>johar</i>	‘worship’
<i>birho: r</i>	‘hill people’
<i>ba: harpa</i>	‘take down: from hook’

/m/

The bilabial nasal *m* occurs in the initial, medial and final positions. Examples are given below.

Initial

<i>merom</i>	‘goat’
<i>moRa</i>	‘corpse’
<i>meD</i>	‘eye’
<i>mayo: m</i>	‘blood’
<i>myu</i>	‘calf’

Medial

<i>kama: r</i>	‘blacksmith’
<i>ri: mil</i>	‘cloud’
<i>dama</i>	‘drum’
<i>kuma: r</i>	‘potter’

Final

<i>ku :am</i>	‘chest’
<i>unum</i>	‘drown’
<i>ja :rom</i>	‘egg’
<i>dissum</i>	‘state’

/ n /

The alveolar nasal *n* occurs in the initial, medial and final positions. Examples are given below.

Initial

<i>nala</i>	‘earn’
<i>nir</i>	‘run’
<i>niyem</i>	‘rule’
<i>nariye :l</i>	‘coconut’

Medial

<i>ra: nu</i>	‘medicine’
<i>ba :nam</i>	‘sarangi’
<i>a: ndu</i>	‘anklet’
<i>cu :na</i>	‘lime stone’
<i>jo :no</i>	‘broom’

Final

<i>ho: n</i>	‘kid’
<i>sa: n</i>	‘fuel’
<i>amon</i>	‘bud’
<i>tayen</i>	‘crocodile’

/N/

The retroflex nasal *N* occurs in the medial position only.

Medial

<i>sa:NDi</i>	‘male’
<i>huNDi</i>	‘tall’
<i>li:NDu</i>	‘centipede’
<i>guNDi</i>	‘cow’
<i>leNDeD</i>	‘earthworm’
<i>miNDi</i>	‘sheep’
<i>geNDa</i>	‘snail’

/M/

The velar nasal *M* occurs in the medial and final positions. Examples are given below.

Medial

<i>siMki</i>	‘latch’
<i>ja:Mi</i>	‘bamboo’
<i>be:Ma:</i>	‘tomato’
<i>jeMa</i>	‘red’
<i>laMDa</i>	‘hinder’

Final

<i>bi:M</i>	‘snake’
<i>jaM</i>	‘bone’
<i>rabaM</i>	‘coldness’
<i>maraM</i>	‘giant’
<i>kiriM</i>	‘sell’

/l/

The alveolar lateral *l* occurs in the initial, medial and final positions.

Initial

<i>lolo</i>	‘heat’
<i>la: yi</i>	‘belly’
<i>li: mbu</i>	‘lemon’
<i>le’ em</i>	‘lick’

Medial

<i>ji: lu</i>	‘flesh’
<i>ulli</i>	‘mango’
<i>ule</i>	‘vomit’
<i>talka</i>	‘heel’

Final

<i>gitil</i>	‘sand’
<i>ju: l</i>	‘flame’
<i>kortal</i>	‘cymbal’
<i>kamol</i>	‘blanket’

/L/

The retroflex lateral *L* occurs mostly in medial position. An exception, one occurrence is found in initial position. Examples are given below.

Initial

<i>Lim daru</i>	‘neem tree’
-----------------	-------------

Medial

<i>saLgam</i>	‘carrot’
<i>si: ga: La</i>	‘fallow land’

<i>go: m Lupu</i>	‘flour’
<i>guLab</i>	‘rose’
<i>oLpaLa’ u</i>	‘education’

/ r /

The alveolar flap *r* occurs in the initial, medial and final positions Examples are given below.

Initial

<i>ra: mi</i>	‘myna’
<i>ra: si</i>	‘soup’
<i>raba: n</i>	‘cold’
<i>ru: tu</i>	‘flute’
<i>ru :</i>	‘beat a drum’

Medial

<i>a: ril</i>	‘ice’
<i>diriM</i>	‘horn’
<i>uru</i>	‘bettle’
<i>harsi</i>	‘mirror’

Final

<i>bir</i>	‘forest’
<i>nidir</i>	‘white ant’
<i>si: r</i>	‘vein’
<i>oyar</i>	‘swim’

/ R /

The retroflex flap *R* occurs in the medial position predominantly and in the final position occasionally. Examples are given below.

Medial

<i>hu: RiM</i>	‘young’
<i>ba: duRi</i>	‘bat’
<i>aRagar</i>	‘hyena’
<i>moRa</i>	‘corpse’
<i>kaRsom</i>	‘lin’
<i>poRoso</i>	‘jack fruit’

Final

<i>laR</i>	‘bread’
<i>birho: R</i>	‘hill people’

/ w /

The bilabial semi vowel w occurs in the medial and final positions. Examples are given below.

Medial

<i>swa: n</i>	‘perfume’
<i>ga: rwa</i>	‘cage’
<i>jowa</i>	‘cheek’
<i>gawa</i>	‘witness’
<i>cawDa</i>	‘breadth’

Final

<i>saja: w</i>	‘decorate’
<i>jiraw</i>	‘rest’
<i>paRa: w</i>	‘study’
<i>gaw</i>	‘wound’

/y/

The palatal semivowel y occurs in the initial, medial and final positions. The occurrence is felt predominantly in medial position. Examples are given below.

Initial

<i>yiDem</i>	‘track: an animal’
<i>yuiyana</i>	‘sink’

Medial

<i>dayi</i>	‘elder sister’
<i>o: ye</i>	‘bird’
<i>doya</i>	‘back’
<i>mayam</i>	‘hip’
<i>miyaT</i>	‘one’
<i>oyol</i>	‘miser’

Final

<i>biley</i>	‘cat’
<i>dubuy</i>	‘buttock’
<i>somoy</i>	‘time’

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. Ho language has following types of allophonic variations.

Vowels

The close mid front vowel *e* has two variations:

	[E]	Mid low front unrounded short vowel occurs after bilabial sounds
/e/	[A]	Mid central vowel occurs after lateral sound or after front vowel
	[e]	Mid high front unrounded vowel occurs elsewhere

Examples are given below.

[kuilA]	/kuile/	‘coal’
[lAe]	/lee/	‘tongue’
[kulAy]	/kuley/	‘hare’
[bilAy]	/biley/	‘cat’
[bEʻ]	/beʻ/	‘spit’
[bE:Ma:]	/be:Ma/	‘tomato’
[apE hisi]	/ape hisi/	‘sixty’
[esupure]	/esupure/	‘many’
[eratani]	/eratani/	‘actress’
[ente]	/ente/	‘then’
[merom]	/merom/	‘goat’

Mid high back rounded vowel [o] has one variation:

[O] Mid low back rounded vowel occurs after bilabials and word in final position

/o/

[o] Mid high back rounded vowel occurs elsewhere

Examples:

[o: nDO]	/o: nDo/	‘repeat’
[bO: l]	/bo: l/	‘lamp’
[sobOD]	/soboD/	‘soak’
[roko]	/roko/	‘fly’
[ote]	/ote/	‘earth’

Consonants

The voiceless palatal *stop* has one variation:

[c^h] The aspirated voiceless palatal stop occurs mostly after back vowels

/c/

[c] The unaspirated voiceless palatal stop occurs elsewhere.

Examples:

[c ^h okoe]	/cokoe/	‘little’
[c ^h akaD]	/cakaD/	‘cheat’
[c ^h uTu]	/cuTu/	‘mouse’
[mo: c ^h]	/mo: c/	‘whisker’
[ca: t]	/ca: t/	‘ceiling’
[cakka:]	/cakka:/	‘wheel’

The alveolar nasal *n* has two variations:

[n] The dental nasal occurs before the alveolar stop

/n/ [ñ] The palatal nasal occurs before the palatal stops

[n] The alveolar nasal occurs elsewhere

Examples:

[<u>ente</u>]	/ente/	‘then’
-----------------	--------	--------

<i>[enta]</i>	/ <i>enta</i> /	‘there’
<i>[pañji]</i>	/ <i>panji</i> /	‘astrologer’
<i>[añja]</i>	/ <i>anja</i> /	‘hurry’
<i>[nir]</i>	/ <i>nir</i> /	‘run’
<i>[ba: nam]</i>	/ <i>ba: nam</i> /	‘sarangi’
<i>[ho: n]</i>	/ <i>ho: n</i> /	‘kid’

2.2.CLUSTERS

Vowel clusters

It refers to more than one adjacent vowel sounds occurring within a word. The vowel clusters are found in initial, medial and final positions. The vowel clusters in the initial position is found limited whereas in other positions they occur frequently. Examples are given below.

Initial

<i>aira pi: Di</i>	‘ancestors’
<i>au u: tana</i>	‘belch’

Medial

<i>baute</i>	‘elder brother’
<i>kuihon</i>	‘daughter’
<i>kuile</i>	‘coal’
<i>soan</i>	‘scent’
<i>Dain</i>	‘devil’
<i>tauyi</i>	‘milk: a cow’
<i>paiTy</i>	‘work’
<i>tu: am</i>	‘beam’

Final

<i>kua</i>	‘female’
<i>turuo</i>	‘raise’
<i>cului</i>	‘blow: nose’
<i>turue</i>	‘six’
<i>ju: a</i>	‘gambling’
<i>gai</i>	‘monkey’

Three vowel clusters

<i>kuiata</i>	‘parched rice’
<i>oRanteyaoa</i>	‘bath room’
<i>baiure</i>	‘repair: stool’
<i>roaem</i>	‘plant: roots’
<i>taiiyom</i>	‘pull out: tooth’

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.

Initial

The initial consonant clusters available in *Ho* language are as follows:

stop + semi vowel

fricative + semi vowel

nasal + semi vowel etc.

Examples:

<i>pyjama</i>	‘pyjama’
<i>syu: tanko</i>	‘cultivate’
<i>myu</i>	‘calf’

Medial

The medial clusters available in this language are as follow:

nasal + stop

<i>hende</i>	‘darkness’
<i>se: Mkel</i>	‘fire’
<i>samtal</i>	‘plain’
<i>uNDite</i>	‘younger brother’
<i>junjui</i>	‘land lizard’

stop + stop

<i>mo: TTa</i>	‘fat’
<i>ettom</i>	‘right arm’
<i>haccu</i>	‘sneeze’
<i>eseTki</i>	‘disappear’
<i>tappa</i>	‘wash: clothes’

flap + stop

<i>girja</i>	‘church’
<i>korto</i>	‘axe’

flap + nasal

<i>ma: rmar</i>	‘scorpion’
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lateral + stop / lateral

<i>la: lTen</i>	‘lantern’
<i>ku: lpu</i>	‘lock’
<i>ulli</i>	‘mango’

semi vowel + lateral

cawli 'boiled rice'

stop + semi vowel

sokwa 'valley'

word final

keoNT 'boat'

2.5. SYLLABLES

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. The syllabic structure of *Ho* language is of four types- monosyllabic, disyllabic, trisyllabic and tetra syllabic.

Monosyllabic

A word that consists of a single syllable is called a monosyllable (and is said to be monosyllabic). The monosyllabic structure is as follows.

CV *kú* 'cough'

CV: *ti :* 'hand'

CV:C *ho: n* 'kid'

V:C *i: m* 'liver'

Other examples:

ka : 'crow'

ma : 'mother'

bi: M 'snake'

ũ: r 'fur'

be' 'spit'

Disyllabic

A word that consists of two syllables is called Disyllable (and is said to be disyllabic). The disyllabic structure of *Ho* is as follows

<i>V-CV</i>	<i>u-le</i>	‘vomit’
<i>V-CVV</i>	<i>i-yal</i>	‘feather’
<i>CV-CV</i>	<i>go -Ra</i>	‘ground’
<i>CV: -CVC</i>	<i>ri :- mil</i>	‘cloud’

Other examples:

<i>lo -lo</i>	‘heat’
<i>na :- ki</i>	‘comb’
<i>bu-ru</i>	‘hill’
<i>o- te</i>	‘earth’

Trisyllabic

A word that consists of three syllables is called a Trisyllable (and is said to be trisyllabic). The structure of trisyllabic words is as follows.

<i>CV-CV-CV</i>	<i>po- R o-so</i>	‘jack fruit’
<i>VCV-CV-CVV</i>	<i>apo-so-rai</i>	‘love’
<i>CVC-CV :-CVC</i>	<i>cen-tu:-rim</i>	‘vermillion’

Other examples:

<i>jo-nom-din</i>	‘birth day’
<i>sa-mud-dar</i>	‘sea’
<i>to-len-me</i>	‘tie’
<i>de:k-kar-ke</i>	‘read’
<i>sa-saM-roM</i>	‘yellow’

Tetra syllabic

A word that consists of four syllables is called a Tetrasyllable (and is said to be Tetrasyllabic). The tetra syllabic structure of *Ho* language is as follows.

CV-CV-CV-CV *ca-ka-le-ka* ‘taste’

CV-CV :C-CV-CVV *pa-Ra: w-ta-nai* ‘learn’

CVC-CV-CVC-CV *sak-ki-Dek-na* ‘freeze’

Other examples:

ku:m-bu:-yi-na ‘theft’

ga :n-Di-ru :-tu ‘flute’

pu:n-Di -has-sa ‘lime’

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 in Ho language, these can be

Transfer of check pattern from one vowel to other

When the mood marker *-a* follows long checked vowels, the check is transferred from the original vowel to the mood marker *-a*.

Example:

tunDú: ‘to end’ + *a* = *tunDu:* *wá*

Tó: ‘to hit’ + *a* = *To:* *wá*

The above change is taking place only before the long vowels indicating passive form (*ó:* or *ú:*). In other cases, it does not occur.

senó ‘to go away’ + *a* = *senówa*

hujú ‘to come’ + *a* = *hujúwa*

Insertion of a consonant *j*

In certain cases, the checked vowel - *é* when followed by another vowel like *-a*, then the consonant - *j* is inserted before the checked vowel.

Example:

goé ‘to kill / die’

goé + yana = *gojeyana* ‘killed’

die past. marker

ri: te hook gojeyana

debt for people dies + past mar

‘On account of debt people died’

4. MORPHOLOGY

Morphology deals with words and their declensional patterns as well as verbs and their conjugational patterns. Morphology of Ho 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 Ho language will be discussed as follows:

4.1 NOUN MORPHOLOGY

4.1.1 WORD FORMATION

The word formation in *Ho* language is observed in the following ways:

- i.) by prefixation
- ii.) by suffixation
- iii.) by reduplication
- iv.) by echo formation

Prefixation

Some of the affixes are added to the existing word to have a new meaning. For example,

- a. *kena ka: jome taiya* ‘This is not eatable’
 this not eat
- b. *ka: noi tiya :* ‘Not drinkable’
 not drink

Thus, by adding prefix *ka:* - denoting negativeness to an affirmative word *jometaiya* ‘eat’ becomes *ka: jome taiya*, ‘not eat’. In this manner, a new word formation (by way of prefixation) takes place in *Ho* language.

Suffixation

The suffixes such as plural suffix *-ko*, is added after the singular noun to have plural in number. For example:

seta bu' ui tana 'The dog barks'

dog barks

setako bu' ui tana 'The dogs bark'

dogs bark

Thus the plural suffix *-ko* is added to singular noun *seta* 'dog' to have plural noun *setako* 'dogs'. In this way adding of a suffix helps to form a plural noun in this language.

Reduplication

A syllable is repeated as such to have a word in *Ho* language.

mise mise 'some times'

dur dur 'water fall'

In the above said examples one can see that the mono or disyllables are repeated as such to form a word.

Echo words

In *Ho* language one can find the echo formation in some of the words. An examples is given below.

kili mili 'various'

In the above said example, the first sound of the third syllable only varies but other sound patterns stand as such. In the above-mentioned manner some of the words are formed in *Ho* language.

4.1.2 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. The nouns in *Ho* language are either primary or secondary.

Primary nouns

Primary nouns are generally mono morphic. Examples:

<i>ma :</i>	‘mother’
<i>di: ri</i>	‘stone’
<i>da a</i>	‘water’
<i>ti :</i>	‘hand’

Secondary nouns

Secondary nouns are nouns that are derived from other already existing nouns. They are generally bimorphic or polymorphic.

Examples:

1. *buru di: ri* ‘rock’
hill
2. *eMa sim* ‘hen’
sa: nDi sim ‘cock’
3. *o’ a* ‘house’
pukka o’ a ‘building’
i: i: teya o’ a ‘toilet’

Animate nouns

<i>ma :</i>	‘mother’
<i>ba: ba</i>	‘father’
<i>ko’ a</i>	‘man’
<i>erata: ni</i>	‘woman’

The following examples show how the words are generated from one to other.

1. *ho: n* ‘kid’
ba: lee ho:n ‘baby’
siTi: ya ho:n ‘boy’

- | | | |
|----|---------------------|---------------|
| 2. | <i>ho</i> | ‘husband’ |
| | <i>hoko</i> | ‘people’ |
| 3. | <i>ko’ a / kowa</i> | ‘man’ |
| | <i>nama kowa</i> | ‘bride groom’ |

Non human nouns

- | | |
|--------------|-------|
| <i>mui</i> | ‘ant’ |
| <i>biley</i> | ‘cat’ |

Inanimate nouns

- | | |
|-------------|----------|
| <i>hoyo</i> | ‘air’ |
| <i>bir</i> | ‘forest’ |
| <i>siMi</i> | ‘sun’ |
| <i>gama</i> | ‘rain’ |
| <i>ũ: r</i> | ‘fur’ |

Number

Ho language has three-way distinction of number. They are

1. singular
2. dual and
3. plural

Singular is unmarked, dual is marked with suffix *-kiM* and plural is with *-ko*. In *Ho* language, it is observed that the number marker is also observed with the object of the sentence.

- | | | |
|----|---|-----------------|
| 1. | <i>ni: se: ta</i> | ‘This is a dog’ |
| | dog | |
| 2. | <i>enkiM bariya se: takiM</i> | |
| | there dual marker two dog dual marker | |
| | ‘There are two dogs’ | |

3. *enko* *apiya* *se: tako*
there pl. marker three dog pl. marker

‘There are three dogs’

The animate and inanimate nouns, both take number markers uniformly.

a. *henakiM bariya owakiM*
these two houses

‘These are two houses’

b. *inkiM bariya gunDi urikiM*
there two cows

‘There are two cows’

Gender

The gender system in Ho language is marked with two-way distinction, i.e., grammatical and lexical.

Grammatical

Grammatically, the masculine nouns, generally ends with the vowels *-e* and *-a*.

Examples:

ba: ba ‘father’

tata ‘grandfather’

ko a ‘man’

baute ‘elder brother’

The feminine words mostly ending with the vowel *-i* and sometimes *-a*.

kui ‘girl’

ha: mbuDi ‘co wife’

da: di ‘grandmother’

da: si ‘maid’

<i>ma:</i>	‘mother’
<i>era</i>	‘wife’

Lexical

The following words are used in *Ho* language to make the gender distinction in human beings.

Masculine		Feminine	
<i>baute</i>	‘elder brother’	<i>dayi</i>	‘elder sister’
<i>u: nDite</i>	‘younger brother’	<i>unDi kui</i>	‘younger sister’
<i>siTiya ho: n</i>	‘boy’	<i>kui</i>	‘girl’
<i>nama kowa</i>	‘bride groom’	<i>nama era</i>	‘bride’
<i>ho: n,</i>	} ‘son’	<i>ho :n era</i>	
<i>honsed</i>		<i>kui ho: n</i>	‘daughter’
<i>sa: nDi</i>	‘male’	<i>eMa / kui</i>	‘female’
<i>koa</i>	‘man’	<i>erata: ni</i>	‘woman’
<i>ho:</i>	‘husband’	<i>era</i>	‘wife’
<i>ba: ba</i>	‘father’	<i>ma:</i>	‘mother’
<i>munuren ho</i>	‘old man’	<i>munuren buDiera</i>	
			‘old woman’

Gender variations in Non- human

The non-human gender distinction is marked with *sa: Ndi* for male and *eMa* for female.

Male	Female
<i>sa: nDi ke: ra</i> ‘He buffalo’	<i>eMa ke: ra</i> ‘she buffalo’
<i>sa: nDi sim</i> ‘cock’	<i>eMa sim</i> ‘hen’

The young ones are referred with ‘*ho: n*’

ho: n sim ‘chicken’

Case

There are eight type of cases realised in Ho language. They are: 1. Nominative 2. Accusative 3. Instrumental 4. Dative 5. Locative 6. Ablative, 7. Possessive and 8. Vocative. They are exemplified below with suitable examples.

Nominative Case

Nominative case marker in Ho is Φ . Examples:

a. *rama menkeDa aMa ho: n gappa jamsedpurteya senoa*

Rama said my son Tomorrow Jamshepur to go will

‘Rama said “His son will go to Jamshedpur tomorrow”

b. *rama mōy Takka laccumane emeia*

Rama five rupees Lakshman-to gave

‘Rama gave five rupees to Lakshmana’

Accusative case

The accusative case marker is *-i* in *Ho*.

a. *ragu bizarre kumbu: i sapkiye*

Raghu bazaar-in thief - acc. caught

‘Raghu caught the thief at the market’

b. *ini hakkete darui ma’ae: tana*

He axe by tree-acc. cut

‘He cut the tree by axe’

Instrumental case

The instrumental case marker is *-te* in *Ho*. Examples:

a. *owa’ a kicote dalakkana*

house tiles by roof made ‘The roof is made up of tiles’

b. *hakkete darui ma’e: tana*

axe by tree acc. cut

‘He cut the tree by axe’

Dative case

The dative case is marked with *-tee*.

a. *ekka skultee senoana*

Ekka school-to went

‘Ekka went to the school’

b. *ba: nDra gapa ja: mseDpur tee senoa*

Bandra tomorrow Jamshedpur– to go will

‘Bandra will go to Jamshedpur tomorrow’

Locative Case

The locative case marker is *-ree/-re*.

a. *kerayaD daruree dubakana*

parrot tree on sitting

‘The parrot is sitting on the tree’

b. *kiatabko jamseD purre sumaT namoa’*

books Jamshedpur – in only available

‘The books are only available in Jamshedpur’

Ablative case

The ablative case marker is *-ete*.

a. *setaetee gamaetana*

morning since raining

‘It has been raining since morning’

b. *setaete nen pa: Toye paRa: wetana*

morning since this lesson studying'

'He has been studying this lesson since morning'

Possessive Case

The possessive case marker is *-a* or *-ya*.

a. *nenado laccumiya bagan*

this is Lakshmi's garden

'This is Lakshmi's garden'

b. *aMa caikle Tayre hoyo banowa*

my cycle tyre air no

'My cycle's tyre has no air'

c. *abu'a ha: tu iskul bukite paiTitana*

our village school well functioning

'Our village school is functioning well'

Vocative Case

ei, ah, sh are used to express vocative.

a. *ei! hujume*

o! come here 'O! come here'

b. *sh hapanpe*

sh don't talk 'Sh! Don't talk'

c. *ah! asuntena*

paining 'Ah! pains (here)'

Post positions

There are some post positions which occur in between the subject and object nouns such as *-lo'o* 'between', *-banredo* 'or' in Ho language. Examples are exemplified below:

1. *hindusta:n onDo pa:kista:n lo'o laDa:yi hobauyana*

India and Pakistan between war was

‘There was a war between India and Pakistan’

2. *nikiM banredo apiya kuahonko owa senope*

two or three boys home go

‘These two are three boys go home’

4.1.3 PRONOUNS

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. The following types of pronouns are available in Ho. They are:

1. Personal
2. Possessive
3. Demonstrative
4. Indefinite
5. Interrogative

Personal Pronouns

ain ‘I’ *ale* ‘we’, *am* ‘you (sg)’, *ape* ‘you (pl)’, *a'e* ‘he/she’, *ako* ‘they’, are some of the personal pronouns in Ho. Their bound form is without their first vowel *a-* i.e. in bound form they lose the initial *a-*.

a. *nelme taneM* ‘I see you’

see pr.ten I

b. *nelme tanale* ‘We see you’

we

c. *hon nelme tanaye* ‘The child sees you’

d. *nelme tanako* ‘They see you’

they

Possessive Pronouns

The possessive pronouns are : *aMa* ‘my’, *ama* your (sg), *apeya* your (pl) *Akawa* ‘their’ and so on. *-a* is added with the personal pronouns to have possessive one.

- a. *aMa owa* ‘my house’
- b. *ama owa* ‘your (sg) house’
- c. *apeya owako* ‘your (pl.) houses’
- d. *aya owa* ‘his house’
- e. *akawa owako* ‘their houses’

Demonstrative Pronouns

nenā ‘this’, *enā* ‘that’, *nenā* ‘here’, *enā* ‘there’ are some of the demonstrative pronouns used in Ho.

- a. *nenā mara: M patta* ‘This is a large leaf’
this large leaf
- b. *enadoka mendo nenā*
that not but this ‘Not that one, but this’
- c. *nenā aiM hujuktana* ‘I come here’
here I come
- d. *enā: aiM seno* ‘I go there’
there I go

Indefinite Pronouns

The pronouns, which denote not definite thing, are used in Ho. They are *joka* ‘some’ *jana* ‘something’ *ja: ta: re* ‘everywhere’ *sabenmu: I* ‘everywhere’ etc.

- a. *ini joka poisae namtana* ‘He wants some money’
he some paise wants

- b. *nenae* *onDoge* *janariyo* *emaMgme*
 this besides again something else give
 ‘Besides this, give me something else’
- c. *ja: ta: re baMai iye* ‘He is nowhere’
 anywhere no he
- d. *sabenmu:liMg nalkeDa* ‘I looked it for everywhere’
 everywhere I to see past

Interrogative pronouns

chikana ‘what’, *okoe* ‘who’ *okoea* ‘whom’ are some of the pronouns used as interrogative pronouns.

- a. *nen* *chikanako meta?* ‘What is this called?’
 this what called
- b. *nage hujulen hoko Okoeteko?*
 Now came men who are
 ‘Who are these men who came just now?’
- c. *ini okoea sadom?* ‘Whose horse is this?’
 This whose horse

4.1.4 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 Ho language the adjectives precede the nouns. They do not show any variations to the gender or number.

- a. *bugin kuaHo: n*
 good ‘The good boy’
- b. *bugin kuiho: n* ‘The good girl’
 good

- c. *mara: M kitab* ‘The big book’
 big
- d. *mara: M k: itabko* ‘The big books’
- e. *ne: na sugaD ha: tu* ‘This is a beautiful village’
 this beautiful village
- f. *ne: na eDkan ha: tu* ‘This is a bad village’
 bad

Classification of Adjectives

Ho adjectives can be classified as qualitative and quantitative.

Qualitative adjectives

<i>keRe</i>	‘different’
<i>humu:</i>	‘dirty’
<i>koce</i>	‘crooked’
<i>rã: sa</i>	‘delight’
<i>emma:nda:ri</i>	‘honest’
<i>boro</i>	‘fear’
<i>cakaD</i>	‘false’
<i>rokage</i>	‘fresh’

Quantitative

<i>sabinko</i>	‘all’
<i>minDoge</i>	‘alone’
<i>sosta</i>	‘cheap’
<i>ikki: r</i>	‘deep’
<i>bara:bari</i>	‘equal’

<i>esupure</i>	‘many’
<i>lattar</i>	‘low’
<i>jokalika</i>	‘few’

4.1.5 NUMERALS

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.

Cardinal

The cardinal numbers, one to ten, are expressed with individual words.

<i>miyaT</i>	‘one’
<i>bariye</i>	‘two’
<i>apiye</i>	‘three’
<i>upuniye</i>	‘four’
<i>mōya</i>	‘five’
<i>turue</i>	‘six’
<i>a: yie</i>	‘seven’
<i>iruLiya</i>	‘eight’
<i>arie</i>	‘nine’
<i>gel’eya</i>	‘ten’

The ten plus numbers are expressed with the base form of ten [*gel*] plus the required word of the number. This continues up to nineteen.

<i>gel miya</i>	‘eleven’
<i>gel ba: riye</i>	‘twelve’
<i>gel api: ye</i>	‘thirteen’
<i>gel upuniye</i>	‘fourteen’
<i>gel moyā</i>	‘fifteen’

<i>gel turue</i>	‘sixteen’
<i>gel a: yie</i>	‘seventeen’
<i>gel iruliya</i>	‘eighteen’
<i>gel areya</i>	‘nineteen’

Twenty is expressed by the term ‘*isi*’. The other higher numbers are:

<i>isi geleya</i>	‘thirty’
<i>ba: r hisi</i>	‘forty’
<i>ba: r hisi geleya</i>	‘fifty’
<i>ape hisi</i>	‘sixty’
<i>ape hisi geleya</i>	‘seventy’
<i>upue hisi</i>	‘eighty’
<i>upu hisi geleya</i>	‘ninety’
<i>mōi hisi</i>	‘hundred’

Above twenty is formed in the following way.

<i>isi geleya</i>	‘thirty’
twenty ten	
<i>ba: r hisi</i>	‘forty’
two twenty	
<i>ba: r hisi geleya</i>	‘fifty’
two twenty ten	

Ordinal

The ordinal positions are expressed in the following way:

<i>pailte / ayarte</i>	‘first’
<i>pail canabte</i>	‘second’

baro canabte 'third'

canabuttarte 'last'

It may be assumed that *canabis* the last one as well as it denotes the sense of the following.

pail canabte 'second'

first follower

Fraction

Fraction is expressed in the following terms:

upun hana TiM 'quarter'

tala 'half'

apehanaTiM '3/4th'

pura 'full'

miyaDtala 'one and half'

bariya 'two'

miyaD onDo upun hanaTiM 'one and quarter'

miyaD onDo apehanaTiM 'one and 3/4th'

4.1.6 CLASSIFIER

The classifier is used for classifying the numerical objects or a noun. It appears in Ho language, the numeral classifier varies according to the human, non-human and inanimate nouns. Examples are given below.

apiye ga: Di 'three cars'

apie daru 'three trees'

apẽ caNDu 'three months'

ape hoko 'three men'

bariye daru 'two trees'

bar caNDu 'two months'

barie hokiM 'two men'

ba: riye ga: Di 'two cars'

4.2 VERB MORPHOLOGY

4.2.1 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.

4.2.1.1 FINITE VERB

The base of the verb is inflected to tense to become finite. Example:

a. *seno* 'to go'

b. *senotana* 'I go'

go pre. ten.

c. *seno'ana* 'I go'

pt. Ten.

d. *seno a* 'I will go'

fut. Ten.

when an intransitive verb takes the object, *-ui* the intransitive base gets changed into *-a* :, the transitive base. Example :

a. *se: ta bu'uitana* 'The dog barks'

dog barks

b. *se: ta bilai'e bu'a: tana* 'The dog barks at the cat'

cat at

Tense

Simple: Present

The present tense marker is *-tana*. It is observed that the change in person (first, second and third do not affect the verb pattern. Similarly, the number. However, these changes are reflected in the post position of object.

- a. *bazarteM senotana* ‘I go to the market’
market to I go + pre.ten
- b. *bazar telaM senotana* ‘We (two) go to the market’
we two (incl.)
 teliM
we two (excl.)
- bazar tebu (incl.) senotana* ‘We (pl) go to the market’
we (pl)
 tele (excl)
we (pl.)
- d. *bazar tem senotana* ‘You (sg) go to the market’
you (sg.)
- e. *bazar teben senotana* ‘You (two) go to the market’
you (two)
- f. *bazar tepe senotana* ‘You (pl.) go to the market’
you (pl.)
- g. *bazar tele senotana* ‘He/she/it goes to the
he/she/it market’
- h. *bazar tekiMg senotana* ‘They (two) go to the
they (two) market’

- i. *bazar teko senotana* 'They (pl.) go to the market'
they

Past

The past tense marker is *-yana /-ana*.

- a. *bazar teM seno'ana* 'I went to the market'
past mark
- b. *bazar telaM senoyana* 'We (two) went to the market'
we (incl.)
- c. *bazar tebu senoyana* 'We went to the market'
- d. *bazar tem senoyana* 'You (sg.) went to the market'
- e. *bazar teben senoyana* 'You (wo) went to the market'
you (two)
- f. *bazar tepe senoyana* You(pl.) went to the market'
you (pl.)
- g. *bazar te'e senoyana* 'He/she/it went to the market'
he/she/it
- h. *bazar tekiMg senoyana* 'They (two) went to the market'
they (two)
- i. *bazar teko senoyana* 'They (pl.) went to the market'
they (pl.)

Future

The future tense marker is *-a*.

- a. *bazar teM senoa* 'I shall go to the market'
- b. *bazar telaM senoa* 'We (two) [incl]shall go to the market'

- | | | |
|----|---------------------------|---|
| c. | <i>bazar tebu senoa</i> | ‘We(pl.) shall go to the market’ |
| d. | <i>bazar tem senoa</i> | ‘You (sg.) shall go to the market’ |
| e. | <i>bazar tekiMg senoa</i> | ‘You (two) shall go to the market’ |
| f. | <i>bazar teko senoa</i> | ‘You (pl.) shall go to the market’ |
| g. | <i>bazar tee senoa</i> | ‘He/she/It will go to the market’ |
| h. | <i>bazar tekiM senoa</i> | ‘He/she/It (two) will go to the market’ |
| i. | <i>bazar teko senoa</i> | ‘They will go to the market’ |

Continuous: Present

The present continuous tense is expressed with the same tense marker as simple present, *-tana*

- | | | |
|----|-----------------------|-------------------------|
| a. | <i>paRaw tanaiM</i> | ‘I am reading’ |
| | read | |
| b. | <i>uliM jometana</i> | ‘I am eating a mango’ |
| | mango I eating | |
| c. | <i>ulibu jometana</i> | ‘We are eating a mango’ |
| | mango we eating | |

Past

The past continuous is expressed in the following way :

1. The present tense marker - *tana* becomes - *tan*
2. Instead of the last vowel - *a* in - *tana*, -*Taikena* is added

Examples are given below.

- | | | |
|----|----------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| a. | <i>bazar teM senotanTaikena</i> | ‘I was going to the market’ |
| b. | <i>bazar tem senotanTaikena</i> | ‘You(sg.) were going to the market’ |
| c. | <i>bazar te’e senotanTaikena</i> | ‘He/she/It was going to the market’ |

Future

The future continuous marker is expressed in the following way :

verb base + future tense marker + *kano / keno* + person + number marker + *Taina*

Examples are given below.

- a. *bazarte senoakanogiM Taina* 'I shall be going to the market'
- b. *bazarte senoakanogelaM Taina* 'We (two) shall be going to the market'
- c. *bazarte senoakanogebu Taina* 'We(pl.)shall be going to the market'
- d. *bazarte senoakenogemTaina* 'You(sg.) shall be going to the market'
- e. *bazarte senoakenogee Taina* 'He/she/It will be going to the market'

Perfect: Simple

The simple perfect tense is expressed in the following way:

The o / a in the verbal base is dropped; - *lena* is added in its place instead.

Examples:

- a. *bazar teM senlena* 'I have gone to the market'
- b. *bazar teben senlena* 'You (two) have gone to the market'
- c. *bazar te'e senlena* 'He/she/it has gone to the market'
- d. *bazar teko senlena* 'They have gone to the market'

Past perfect

The marker - *Taikena* is added to the simple present perfect tense marker to make it past. However the vowel - *a* is dropped in this process.

Examples:

- a. *bazar teM senlen Taikena* 'I had gone to the market'
- b. *bazaar tem senlenTaikena* 'You(sg.) d gone to the market'
- c. *bazaar tekiM senlenTaikena* 'They (two) had gone to the market'

Future perfect

The future perfect is expressed in the following way :

honaM + personal + number markers + verb base + simple future marker

Examples are given below.

a. *bazarte honaM eM senoa* ‘I shall have gone to the market’

b. *bazarte honaMben senoa* ‘You(two) shall have gone to the market’

c. *bazarte honaM ko senoa* ‘They shall have gone to the market’

Perfect Continuous: Present

The marker- *kaMe mena* is added to the verb base to express the present perfect continuous tense. The person, number markers follow this one. Examples:

a. *bazarte sena kaMe mena añ* ‘I have been going to the market’

b. *bazarte senakaMe menabe* ‘You (two) have been going to the market’

c. *bazarte senakaMe mena kowa* ‘They have been going to the market’

Past perfect continuous

The past perfect continuous tense is marked with

verb base + kaM + Person ,Number ,Marker + *Taikena*

Examples:

a. *bazarte senokaMi M Taikena* ‘I had been going to the market’

b. *bazarte senokaM ben Taikena* ‘You (two) had been going to the market’

c. *bazarte senokaMgeko Taikena* ‘They had been going to the market’

Future Perfect Continuous

The future perfect continuous tense is expressed in the following way:

verb base + kaM + person, number , markers + *Taiyua*

Examples:

a. *bazarte sena kaM eM Taiyua* ‘I shall have been going to the market’

- b. *bazarte senakaM e ben Taiyua* ‘You (two) shall have been going to the market’
 c. *bazarte sena kaMepe Taiyua* ‘They shall have been going to the market’

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

- a. *gapa ha: tutele senowa* ‘We shall go to the village tomorrow’
 tomorrow village we shall go
- b. *otere cikana omano kana ?* ‘What is grown in the field?’
 field in what grow
- c. *kam huju jakeD nentareiM Taina* ‘I will stay here until you come’
 you come until here I stay

Imperative Mood

The imperative marker –me is added with the verb.

- a. *nenta hujume* ‘Come here’
 here come + imp. mark
- b. *swaete kajime* ‘Speak slowly’
 slowly speak imp. mark.
- c. *kitab a: gu uraeme* ‘Bring back the book’
 book bring back imp. Mark

Subjunctive Mood

- a. *sa damko honaM aparob Taiken redoko apir yana*
 horses if wings had if fly
 ‘If horses had wings they would have flown’

- b. *paRaw ken redoe pa:s keDa honaM*
 studied if he pass would

‘If he studied he would pass’

4.2.1.2 NON-FINITE VERB

Infinitive

- *te* or *lagiDte* are the two markers used to express the infinite sense of the action.

1. *amlao paiTiteM senoa* ‘I will go with you to work’
 you with work infinite 1st p.m. go

2. *miTay jome lagiDte kuahoneM acui: tana*
 sweet eat to child I make

‘I make the boy to eat the sweets’

Verbal Noun

The verbal noun is formed by inserting a marker *-n* - on the verbal base. This is illustrated with the following examples:

<i>goe</i> ‘to kill’	<i>gonoe</i>	‘death’
<i>eTe</i> ‘begin’	<i>eneTe</i>	‘beginning’
<i>ta: ui</i> ‘stretch’	<i>tana: ui</i>	‘stretching’

Sentence level illustrations :

- a. *merome goe ki: ya* ‘He killed the goat’
 goat kill
- b. *gonete ka po: ca a* ‘We cannot escape from death’
 death not escape
- c. *mi: TiM naw baje eTeiyoa* ‘The meeting will start at 9 O’clock’
 meeting 9 O’clock start will

d. *nam sirma eneTere rabaM Taina*

new year beginning cold have

‘In the beginning of New Year we have cold’

Gerund

- *tan* is added to the base of word to have the gerund. Example :

aTakar - ‘to know’

aTakaretan - ‘knowing’

1. *kaa kiM sama lugagiya mena bugitekiM aTakaretante*

the parents empty nest that well they knowing

esudukkute akiMa lugataakiM hujuura lena

great sorrow they nest there came back

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

Participle

The participle marker in Ho is *-kan*. Examples:

1. *yu:akan jokoe halaMkeda*

fallen fruits collected

‘She collected the fallen fruits’

2. *chapa:kan kitabko bukite paRaw daiyua*

printed books good read are

‘Printed books are easy to read’

4.2.1.3 CAUSATIVE VERB

The causative marker *-icui / icci* is added to the verb

a. *rama hujulagiDte krisnae acui: tana mendo krisnatara*

Rama come for Krishna-obj make but Krishna

samoy banoa

time

‘Rama makes Krishna come but Krishna has no time’

b. *miTay jome lagiDte kuahoneM acui: tana*

sweet eat to the boy I make

‘I make the boy to eat the sweet’

4.2.1.4 AUXILIARY AND MODAL VERBS

Auxiliary

- *tana* ‘present continuous tense form’, -*kana* ‘past perfect tense marker’ are used to express the temporal effect along with the verb base.

a. *ini gitiekante paRaw tana* ‘He is lying down and reading’

he read pre.con.m.

b. *aya juRtae sena kena*

she friend +obj go pt. perf. ‘She had gone to her friend’

Modal

The modals such as -*daiya* ‘may’, -*dayaDa* ‘could’ are added with the verb base.

a. *ini naãwe huju daiya*

he now still come may ‘He may still come’

b. *nen paiTi jaiioe rika dayaDa*

this work anyone do could ‘Anybody could do this work’

4.2.1.5 NEGATIVE VERB

The negative sense is expressed before the base of the verb along with the person, number markers.

a. *aiM senoteya Taikana mendo kaiM senoyana*

I go to had but not I go did

‘I had to go but I did not go’

b. *ale senoteya Taikena mendo kale senoyana*

we (excl.) not we

‘We had to go but we did not go’

4.2.1.6 COMPOUND VERB

More than one roots are fused together to form one compound verb:

a. *huju + ura = hujuura* ‘come back’

come back

b. *seno + tab = senotab* ‘go quickly’

go quick

a. *baiM baruiteya hujuura lena*

my elder brother forest from come back + pt.m.

‘My elder brother came back from the forest’

b. *gameitantee owatele senotabe yana*

rain was because house to we go quickly pt.m.

‘We went to the house quickly due to rain’

4.2.1.7 PASSIVE FORMATION

The passive voice is formed in the following way:

1. - *ete* 'by' is added to object noun
2. - *o* the passive marker is added to the verb. Examples:

Active Voice

- a. *ho: n laM tami: tana* 'We [two] beat the boy'
boy we two beat pre. ten.

Passive Voice

- b. *ho: n alaM etee tamotana* 'The boy is beaten by us'
the boy us by beaten

Active Voice

- c. *ho: n em tami: tana* 'You (sg.) beat the boy'
the boy you (sg) beat pre. ten.

Passive Voice

- d. *ho: n am ete'e tamotana* 'The boy is beaten by you (sg.)'
the boy you (sg) by beat pre.ten.

4.2.1.8 TRANSITIVITY

The object of the sentence takes *-e* marker and the verb gets changed according to the person and tense.

Intransitive

1. *se: ta bu'i: tana* 'The dog barks'
dog bark pre. ten.

Transitive

2. *se: ta bilaye bua: tana*
 dog cat – obj. barking ‘The dog is barking at the cat’
3. *ini janaw oyeko’e goea*
 he always birds obj. kill ‘He always kill the bird’

4.2.2 ADVERB

Adverbs are the classes of words, which are used to modify the verb. Adverbs are semantically divided into different groups as follows. The adverb, which qualifies the verb, generally precedes the verb in Ho language.

Time:

The time adverb precedes the verb.

- a. *car baje canap hujume* ‘You come after four O’clock’
 four o’ clock after come
- b. *aiM hujuu ayarte ko senoyana*
 I come before they go perfect ‘They had gone before I came’

Other Examples:

<i>tara siMi</i>	‘afternoon’
<i>jokaga :Di</i>	‘after wards’
<i>on Domise</i>	‘again’
<i>a: yerte</i>	‘before’
<i>jawge</i>	‘daily’
<i>basiyem</i>	‘clock’
<i>ayupaM</i>	‘evening’
<i>di :n</i>	‘day’

<i>tikin</i>	‘noon’
<i>ni: r sanDi</i>	‘night’
<i>roka Toka</i>	‘suddenly’

Number

The numeral adverb precedes the verb.

- a. *mi cenDu: re dōsi ulaMhobauoa*
 one month thirty days has
 ‘A month has thirty days’
- b. *aNDiya uri bariyae diriM ana*
 bull two horns has
 ‘The bull has two horns’

Place

The placial adverb precedes the verb.

- a. *oye boo setantee apiryana*
 bird head over flew
 ‘The bird flew over the head’
- b. *kam huju jakeD nentareiM Taina*
 you come until here I stay
 ‘I will stay here until you come’

Manner

The manner adverbs precede the verb.

- a. *rama keDetee nire: tana* ‘Rama runs quickly’
 quickly runs

b. *kajiko sapa sapa oleme*

‘Write the words neatly’

words neatly write

Other Examples:

amatalaM ‘kindly’

kakala ‘loudly’

suwe suwe ete ‘slowly’

sarige ‘truly’

Other adverbs

The other adverbs such as directional, measurement etc. are listed below:

Direction adverbs

siMi o: l ‘east’

tunDu ‘end’

kaTTa cambara ‘south’

bo opa ‘north’

ta la re ‘middle’

saMin ‘far’

ba: har ‘out’

kōnye pa ‘left side’

jappa ‘near’

Measurement adverbs

sa ben muli ‘area of’

ji: liM ‘length’

ha na TiM ‘part’

ti: n ko: n ‘triangle’

Quantitative adverbs

The quantitative adverbs precede the verb.

- a. *ape sabenko misate tamipe* ‘You all together beat him’
you (pl.) all together him beat him’
- b. *barojakeD ote si: ben* ‘You both plough the field’
two both land plough

4.2.3 PARTICLE / CLITIC

Particle

Some of the words that used as particles are as follows :

<i>eya</i>	‘yes’
<i>ka</i>	‘no, not’
<i>bano</i>	‘no, not (in certain contexts)’
<i>alom</i>	‘not’
<i>honaM</i>	‘a word added in conditional sentence to indicate that the condition is not realized’

Clitic

- *do* is used in the conditional clause.

banredo/ karedo ‘or’

- a. *aben baro banredo/ karedo apeyahoko misate baba irape*
you two or three men together paddy cut
‘You two or three together cut the paddy crop’

onDo ‘and’

- b. *olae hujulena onDoe senoyana*
yesterday he came and he went
‘He came yesterday and went away’

4.2.4 ECHO WORD / REDUPLICATION

Echo word

In echo words, the first consonant of the following word changes into another one

kilimili 'various'

daTa buTa 'gum'

Reduplicate words

The word repeats as the same of preceding one.

suwe suwe 'slow'

taMan taMan 'separate'

dur dur 'water fall'

ku: r ku: r 'fury'

mise mise 'sometimes'

maraM mara: M 'wide'

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. In Ho language, the sentences are found in different types. It is so simple as follow sometimes:

seta bu' uitana 'The dog barks'

dog barks

The above sentence consists of the subject and the intransitive verb only.

Sometimes, the sentence is possible without the obvious verb as well.

nenā añā kitab 'This is my book'

this my book

On other occasions, Ho sentence consists of a subject, object adverb as cited in the following example:

añā ho: nera bakkaire minai a

my daughter garden in is

subject object verb

'My daughter is in the garden'

Sometimes, the Ho sentences are having more number of words (consisting of phrases and sentences) as follow:

añ ini' nel teM senl enre giti akene Taikana

I him see to I went when sleep cont. pt. Ten.m.

'He was sleeping when I went to see him'

Like discussed above, Ho language has different types of sentences.

5.1 ORDER OF WORDS IN SENTENCES

The sentence pattern of Ho language is as follows:

Subject + object + verb

a. *aMa miyaD owa mena* 'I have one house'

I one house have

The number marker is added to the object to make plural.

b. *aMa upuni: ya owako mena* 'I have four houses'

house + pl.m.

The case marker is added to the object of the sentence.

c. *aMa owate senome* 'You go to my house'

to

Analysis of a simple sentence

ini jokapoisae namtana 'He wants some money'

He some paise obj. wants

Subject : *ini* 'he'

Predicate : *namtana* 'wants'

Enlargement : *joka* 'some'

Object : *poisae* 'paise'

Noun Phrase

Noun + Noun

1. *aya ote* 'His field'

his field

2. *kuitini: ya kanci* 'The basket of woman'

woman of basket

3. *aMa era'a kanci* 'The basket of my wife'

Adjective + Noun

1. *bugin hon* 'The good child'
good child
2. *bugin kuahon* 'The good boy'
boy
3. *bugin kuahonko* 'The good boys'
Boys

Verb phrase

1. *nenta hujume* 'Come here'
here come
2. *otere dubme* 'Sit on the floor'
floor on sit

Adverb phrase

1. *swaete kajime* 'Slowly speak'
slowly speak
2. *keDete alam kaji: a* 'Don't speak loudly'
loudly don't speak

5.2 DESCRIPTION OF TYPES OF SENTENCES

Interrogative sentence

The interrogative words *cikanreya* 'why' *okon* 'where' *oko* 'whose' are occur in the sentence initial position or just after the subject.

- a) *cikanreya am senotana ?* 'Why are you going ?'
why you going

- b) *nenā cikanako meta ?* 'What is this called ?'
 what called
- c) *ni okonete hujū akana ?* 'Where has he come from ?'
 he where from come
- d) *ini okoea sado m ?* 'Whose horse is this?'
 whose

Imperative

The imperative marker *-me* is added to the verb to and comes last of the sentence.

- a. *kajiko sapa sapa oleme* 'Write the words neatly'
 words neatly write
- b. *kitab a: g u u r a e me* 'Bring back the book'
 book bring back
- c. *owate senoame onDo hujuurame* 'Go home and come back'
 home go and come back

Negative

The negative sentences are made up of the two words *alom* and *ka*, which are inserted in the affirmative sentences.

1. *neleka alom kajie* 'Don't say thus'
 thus not
2. *aiM nena kaiM ri: kadaiyu* 'I cannot do this'
 I this not can
3. *nenā ka hobadaiyua* 'It is impossible'
 It not possible

Causative

1. *Taka emame lagiD miDoaM acui: tana*
money give to some one I make
'I am making someone give you money'
2. *moĩ Takka nalatani emei lagiD miDoe acui: tana*
five rupees worker give to someone make
'She is making someone give five rupees to worker'

Co-ordinate

The words such as *onDo* 'and' *mendo* 'but' are used to co-ordinate this different sentences into one.

1. *eMa kaa jaromemutiD biM*
hen crow egg lay everytime make

lugatatee rakaba onDo jaromkoe uDea
nest to climbed and eggs obj. ate
'Everytime the hen crow laid the eggs, the snake climbed upto the nest and ate the eggs.'
2. *ale senoteya Taikana mendo kale senoyana*
we (excl.) go had but not we
'We had to go but we did not go'

5.3 DESCRIPTION OF PATTERN OF SENTENCES

Simple

This is expressed without any embedded clause, i.e. only main clause is present.

1. *na nena aMa owa* 'This is my house'
this my house
2. *aya ho: nerako nenta: re kowa* 'His daughters are here'
his daughters here are

Complex

Complex sentence has one main clause as well as one or more subordinate clause.

1. *aM ini nelteM senlenre gitiakene Taikana*
I him see went when sleeping was
'He was sleeping when I went to see him'
2. *sadamko honaM aparob Taikanredoko apirya: na*
horses if wings had if flown
'If horses had wings they would have flown'

Compound

The compound sentence has many embedded sentences into one (many complex sentences in one sentence). The connective words such as *ini* 'for whom', *onDo* 'and' are used to compound many complex sentences into one.

1. *en darureya kukurure miyaD hende biM Taikena,*
that tree's hole in one black snake lived
ini kaa kiM esupurakiM borowayanTaikena
for whom birds great fear pt. ten.
'In one of that tree's hole a black snake lived for whom they (birds)feared greatly'

2. *eMa kaa apir a: duyana onDo sonariya miyan*
mother crow fly down past mark. and gold of one
hisir go'okeDte aemena daru pa: te swe sweteye
chain beak carry by his live tree towards slowly
apirtanTaikena

fly started

'The mother crow flew down and picked up one gold chain in its beak and started to fly towards the tree on which she lived'

TEXT

eMa kaa cilikate hende bi: M'ae goeki: ya

hen crow how black snake acc. killed

miyaD jalDubakan baidarureya miyaD katore kakiM eMa sa: nDi

branches spreading banyan tree of one branch in crow hen crow

kiM Taikena lugare upuniya huRiM huRiM jaromkoTaikena

two[dual suffix] lived nest in four small eggs were

enako eMa sa: nDikiM esu husiyar tekiM horoetanTaikenaen

they parents great care with they guarded that

darureya kukurure miyaD hende biM Taikena, ini kakiM

tree of hole in one black snake lived he birds

esupurakiM boroway tanTaikena. eMga kaa jarome mutid biM

great feared lay hen crow egg everytime snake

lugatatee rakeba onDo jaromkoe uDea .

nest climbed and eggs – obj. ate

“Among the spreading branches of a banayan 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 the up”.

“nen hende biM nendunao añã jaram koe jomere nen darure

this black snake this time also my eggs – obj. eat if this tree in

onDo’do kaiñ Taina.alaMa luga eTa taare laM bai’te obawa”

longer no I live our nest somewhere we build to must

mente eMa sa: nDi kaaekajiaDa

like this hen crow 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”.

alaM nenta’are esupuradinlaM TaikeDa sa: nDi kaamenkeDa,

we two this place many days lived male crow said

“añ añã owa bage: teya onDo eTa ta’are Tainteyakaiñ sanaM tana”.

I my house leave to and other place in live to not I wish

ena kiM jagar tanre akiM latar japalrege pōm pōm saRikiM

this they while they two below near snake sound

ayum keDa. en saRi reya ma: ne kiM somja: wyana. akiMajaramko

heard that sound of means they knew their eggs

hardu ui tan lo luga re kiM dubha: payana. hende biM luga

protect obj. pre them nest in their sat helplessly past black snake nest

japa 'te rakab 'yana. ente esu keDe pōm kente saRikete ka 'a

closer to crawled then very speed hissing sound to crows

kiMe sodakiMtan Taikena onDo ka 'a kiM borotekiMniryana

Obj. strike try and birds (two) terror flew

hende biM miyaDmiyate jaromkoe uTkeDa.

black snake one by one eggs obj. swallowed

“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 the nest trying to protect their eggs. 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. One by one, the black snake swallowed the eggs”.

kaa kiM sama lugagiya mena bugitekiM aTakaretante esu

The parents empty nest that well they knowing for great

dukkute akiMa lugata a kiM huju ura lena kaa menkeDa“nen

sorrow they nest there they two come back they crow said this

go: go'e biM goji: tiya horañ namete hobaua”.

murderous snake kill to way I find to must

“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 try this murderous snake”.

“nicilikatem goe dai yeiya? niya sona da gogoea” mente

this/him how kill can him his biting deadly like this

huRiMjiyengee eMa kaa kajikeDa.

desperation with wife told

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

sa: nDi kajikeDa, “alom uRu: a, dulaD, aña miDojuDi

husband said don't worry dear my one friend

mineiya, ini ita: re esupura bisiyaM biM koe goe teya

is him with many poisonous snake. Acc kill to

budimena ente miyan eTa darutee apiryana endaru subare

idea having then one other tree to flew that tree under

aya dulaD juRi tuyu Taikena.

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”.

biM jaromko cilika barabarie jomkeDamena tuyu

snake eggs how always ate that jackal

ayumkeDree menkeDa juRiM, kur kur onDo jumbuikoa

heard when obj. said friend cruel and greedy pl.

dunDu jana: w bugi ka hobaua alom boreya, añ ini

and always good not happen don't fear I him

goji: teya añ uRu: gu joka: keDa

kill to I think already past mar

“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’ve already thought of a plan to destroy him”.

sa: nDi kajikeDa, “ o! ena cikanatana kaji yañme?” . ente

husband said O that what is say to me then

eTa ‘ ako ayumtageya menaborete tuyu haTTammaTTamte

other people hear may that fear with jackal whispering

aya juRi kajiyaiya, am biM gojilagiD cikanamrikayate

his friend said you snake kill to what you do

hobaua mentaya sa: nDi kaa aya eratae apir urayanaonDo

should husband bird his wife flew back and

cikana rikateaye kajiyaiya. kaa kaji keDa, “nena musukilpaiTitana

what do to sub-mar told crow said this risky work

alaM esu husiyar te laM Tainte hobaua

we very careful to we be have to

“Oh, 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,” said the crow”. “We’ll have to be very careful”.

eMa kaa borsa: tee kajikeDa, “ aña jaramko harduui

mother bird bravely said my eggs save

lagiD sabena añ rikeya “

to whole I do

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

en canab inkiM en disumren raja owa pa: te kiM
 that after they that country of raja palace towards pl. (two)
apiryana. ra: ja owa akiM mena daruite purasaniMrekaTaikena
 flew palace their lived tree from much far in not was
inkiM raja owa 'are 'a bakkairea miyan mara: Mbanda
 they king palace's in garden in one big pond
japakiM beTakeDa enta: re ra: j kuma: ri / ra: ja owarenkuitanko
 near reached there palace women / palace ladies
oRan tankiM nelTo keTkoa. en kuitanko akowa sonare 'a
 bath take they see past that ladies their golden
hisirko moMa hisirko onDo eTasiMarko bandaku Tireko
 chains pearl and other ornaments pond edge in pl.
emtaD Taikena. eMa kaa apir a: duyana onDo sonariya
 put had mother crow fly down past and gold of
miyan hisir go 'o keDte aemena daru pa 'ate swesweteya
 one chain carry beak past by his live tree towards slowly
api tan Taikena raja owa pa: ra tanko kaa sonariya hisirgooakate
 fly started palace guards bird golden chain carrying
apirtenko nelkiyi: te akowaa so: Takoko sapkeDa onDo kaa ko
 flying saw they are clubs hold past and crows
kakiki: a kaa sonariya hisir miya darureya kukuru reyutaD ko
 chased crow golden chain one tree of hole in drop pt. pl.
nelki: ya. horotanko koyete miDo (miDo horatani) hisir iDlagiD te
 saw guards among one chain to take for

daru te de' yana. isir iDe lagiD / sabe lagiD aya ti kukururee ader

tree climbed chain to take his hand hole in put

keD re miyaD hende biM kuca: 'kane nelnam taia.aya

past into one black snake curled see past his

soTate keDetee tamkiyi: te goe kiye onDo en lekatehende

club with hardly stroke killed and that way black

biMa tunDu abau ana.

snake's end became

“So off they flew towards the place 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 to 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”.

en canab kaa kiM eMa sa: nDi en darure rāsarāsa

afterwards crow two hen crow that tree in happily

tekiM Taiyana onDo esupura kiM honkeD koa / esupura akiMa

lived and many little crows many they

honko obayana.

crows little had

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

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**MOTHER TONGUES
SURVEYED
IN JHARKHAND**

NAGPURIA

S.P. SRIVASTAVA

1. INTRODUCTION

The study on Nagpuria as a part of *Linguistic Survey of India: Bihar* was taken up in February 1978 with a view to present an introductory grammatical sketch of the language and assessing its societal functions with special reference to Hindi in Chhotanagpur region in Jharkhand.

Consequently, the field investigation in the district of Ranchi (the main region of Nagpuria speakers) and Palamau on the basis of numerical strength of the mother tongue speakers vide different censuses were planned and undertaken first in Feb-March 1978 for a period of six weeks and later in the middle of the year 1980 for a period of four weeks. The investigation was carried out in Kanke (in Sadar Sub-division), Simdega, Gumla, Lohardaga, Silli in Ranchi district and Daltonganj in Palamau to collect the data. Finally, during finalization of the volume a short field investigation was conducted in the year 2010 to obtain a list of lexicon and text as per the LSI format¹.

1.1 LOCATION

Contrary to the general notion about Nagpuria being spoken in certain corners of Ranchi district, it is the lingua franca of a larger portion of few consecutive states. It mainly covers the Chhotanagpur plateau which extends over a large area reaching Ganges to the North, covering entire Santal parganas to the East, parts of Odisha to the South and parts of Madhya Pradesh to the West. 'The Chhotanagpur plateau' actually consists of three plateaus one lying in Ranchi district and other two in Hazaribagh district. Only these formations are plateau in strict geographical sense, while what we call the 'Chhotanagpur plateau' consists of these three plateaus divided by different geological formations. Elsewhere the country often broken and numerous ranges or groups of steep hills are intersected by deep ravines and occasionally the open valley (Imperial Gazetteer vol. X p. 329). The name of Chhotanagpur (ChoTānāgpur) seems to be derived from a village in the headquarter sub-division of Ranchi district Bihar (Bengal) situated in 23° 21' N and 85° 21' E approximately two miles East of the present day

¹The list of lexicon and text on Nagpuria along with few analyses as per the latest format is prepared and finalised by **Dr. Ranjita Pattanaik, Linguist**, after a short field investigation in Kanke of Ranchi district in Jharkhand State in the year 2010.

Ranchi town, named Chutia, which was once the seat of the Nāgbansi Rajas (Vidyarthi & S.C.Roy) and this lent the name of Chhotanagpur to the area.

Thus, the precise area of Nagpuria language may be considered to be spoken in entire Chhotanagpur area (Ranchi, Palamau, Hazaribagh, Singhbhum and Dhanbad) of Jharkhand and Bihar; Gangpur, Bonaigarh, Bamra, Sundargarh in Odisha and Jashpur, Surguja, Korias in Madhya Pradesh. It may be mentioned that the above-mentioned areas which presently belonging to Odisha and Madhya Pradesh were known as ‘Tributory Chhotanagpur states’ during British India. And Grierson’s observation may be cited to show that Nagpuria has been in vogue in these areas since ages. Sir G.A.Grierson in L.S.I. volume, Pt-VI, page-212 says “In the states of Korias, Surguja and Udaypur, in the western half of Jashpur, a true sub-dialect is found which is based, in the main, on Chhattisgarhi, but which possesses many of the characteristics of Nagpuria. This latter dialect is spoken in the eastern half of Jashpur and thence eastwards and north-east wards over the Ranchi Plateau”. Besides, the speech is returned from contiguous region of West Bengal (Purulia and Midnapore) and from the tea estates of Bengal and Assam.

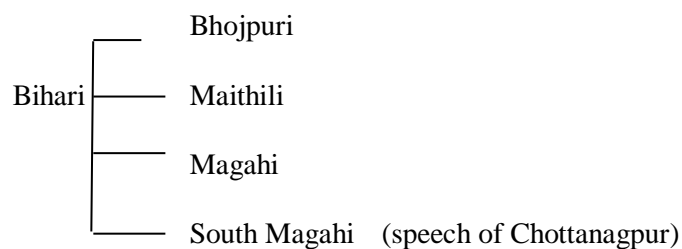
The linguistic boundaries of Nagpuria area are:

North	Bhojpuri, Magahi
North-East	Magahi
East	Magahi, Bengali
South	Oriya
West / South West.	Chhattisgarhi
West / North-West.	Bagheli

1.2 CENSUS HISTORY OF NAGPURIA

The name ‘Nagpuri’ as a mother-tongue was first of all, referred to by Mc Iver in his report 1881 census madras: While dealing with the languages under Kolarian or Austric Family he listed 76 mother tongues as unclassified Nagpuri being the last name of the list. However, Sir G.A. Grierson, the then collector and Magistrate of Gaya District in his letter dated 28-29 June 1887 to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, General Department, presented a chart of Indian language and dialects for the perusal of the then government before embarking upon Linguistic Survey of India. He took the chart from Dr. R.N. Cust’s book ‘Modern Languages of

East Indies'. In Cust's book under Aryan Family in lower provinces of Bengal 'Bihari' was divided into 4 dialects :



In 1931 Census the figures for Nagpuri or Sadani or Panch pargania as a matter of policy have been shown under 'Hindustani'. Again, in Census 1951 we find 87,075 under Sadri and 1622 under Sadana; 1560 under Nagpuria 8017 under Panch Pargania/Tamaria. In 1951 Census, for the first time the figure for 'Gánwári' – 1043 is available. "A good number of tribal like Oraon, Munda, Kharia, Bhumij etc. returned their mother tongue as Gāwari from Lohardaga region in Ranchi district" (Language Hand book, 1961). We find a detail account of these mother tongues in 1961 Census and in 1971 Census. The figures in the table 1, suggest that these mother tongues did not die out in 1911 to 1951; but they gained stability and a fair spread over larger areas. In both the Censuses (1961 & 1971) Nagpuri has been returned from M.P., Assam, West Bengal, and Orissa in quite impressive strength, under different nomenclatures, of course. The total figures of Nagpuri speakers in 1901 is reported to be 6,18,582 and it increased to 6,93,790 in 1961 and 13,26,155 in 1971 census, establishing, beyond doubt, its stability and acceptability by the speakers.

1.3 SPEAKERS' STRENGTH IN 2011 CENSUS

Nagpuria is a mother tongue under Hindi language. According to 2011 Census, the population of Nagpuria in India and its States has been presented below.

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	7,63,014	3,84,858	3,78,156	6,80,822	3,42,979	3,37,843	82,192	41,879	40,313
JAMMU & KASHMIR	55	47	8	41	37	4	14	10	4
HIMACHAL PRADESH	666	425	241	579	378	201	87	47	40
PUNJAB	90	57	33	49	35	14	41	22	19
CHANDIGARH	22	11	11	0	0	0	22	11	11
UTTARAKHAND	20	12	8	16	10	6	4	2	2
HARYANA	66	32	34	38	16	22	28	16	12
NCT OF DELHI	86	44	42	0	0	0	86	44	42

RAJASTHAN	31	16	15	27	13	14	4	3	1
UTTAR PRADESH	417	215	202	400	202	198	17	13	4
BIHAR	1,235	614	621	1,170	582	588	65	32	33
SIKKIM	2	2	0	2	2	0	0	0	0
ARUNACHAL PRADESH	22	15	7	20	13	7	2	2	0
NAGALAND	30	18	12	26	16	10	4	2	2
MANIPUR	13	11	2	10	9	1	3	2	1
MIZORAM	2	2	0	2	2	0	0	0	0
TRIPURA	161	86	75	160	85	75	1	1	0
MEGHALAYA	27	16	11	14	8	6	13	8	5
ASSAM	242	117	125	236	114	122	6	3	3
WEST BENGAL	953	468	485	895	442	453	58	26	32
JHARKHAND	7,57,726	3,81,939	3,75,787	6,76,541	3,40,672	3,35,869	81,185	41,267	39,918
ODISHA	621	340	281	464	247	217	157	93	64
CHHATTISGARH	73	42	31	33	17	16	40	25	15
MADHYA PRADESH	51	28	23	13	6	7	38	22	16
GUJARAT	153	106	47	31	27	4	122	79	43
DAMAN & DIU	40	34	6	0	0	0	40	34	6
DADRA & NAGAR HAVELI	33	28	5	4	4	0	29	24	5
MAHARASHTRA	108	81	27	7	6	1	101	75	26
ANDHRA PRADESH	16	11	5	11	10	1	5	1	4
KARNATAKA	25	20	5	11	8	3	14	12	2
GOA	16	9	7	12	8	4	4	1	3
KERALA	11	11	0	9	9	0	2	2	0
ANDAMAN & NICOBAR ISLANDS	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0

According to 2011 Census the population of the Nagpuria in Jharkhand State and Districts has been given in the table.

State/Districts	Total			Rural			Urban		
	P	M	F	P	M	F	P	M	F
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
JHARKHAND	7,57,726	3,81,939	3,75,787	6,76,541	3,40,672	3,35,869	81,185	41,267	39,918
Garhwa	96	48	48	59	31	28	37	17	20
Chatra	1,227	621	606	998	515	483	229	106	123
Kodarma	23	12	11	6	4	2	17	8	9
Giridih	120	71	49	98	62	36	22	9	13
Deoghar	46	34	12	40	31	9	6	3	3
Godda	733	371	362	733	371	362	0	0	0
Sahibganj	21	15	6	14	11	3	7	4	3

Pakur	5	4	1	5	4	1	0	0	0
Dhanbad	970	522	448	270	139	131	700	383	317
Bokaro	3,542	1,750	1,792	445	193	252	3,097	1,557	1,540
Lohardaga	42,187	21,297	20,890	40,480	20,441	20,039	1,707	856	851
Purbi Singhbhum	1,128	592	536	93	52	41	1,035	540	495
Palamu	108	34	74	106	33	73	2	1	1
Latehar	2,950	1,476	1,474	2,894	1,448	1,446	56	28	28
Hazaribagh	2,778	1,413	1,365	2,110	1,082	1,028	668	331	337
Ramgarh	10,812	5,254	5,558	4,338	2,003	2,335	6,474	3,251	3,223
Dumka	18	8	10	18	8	10	0	0	0
Jamtara	43	19	24	31	13	18	12	6	6
Ranchi	3,40,548	1,72,397	1,68,151	2,85,195	1,44,297	1,40,898	55,353	28,100	27,253
Khunti	49,913	25,195	24,718	44,870	22,588	22,282	5,043	2,607	2,436
Gumla	2,61,847	1,31,445	1,30,402	2,57,105	1,29,124	1,27,981	4,742	2,321	2,421
Simdega	29,183	14,600	14,583	27,746	13,761	13,985	1,437	839	598
Pashchimi Singhbhum	8,972	4,524	4,448	8,599	4,320	4,279	373	204	169
Saraikela-Kharsawan	456	237	219	288	141	147	168	96	72

BILINGUALISM

Many ethnic communities are available in Jharkhand and Bihar. Hindi is spoken by the majority of the population and is the lingua franca of the state. English and Hindi are the medium of instruction in educational institutions. Hindi is becoming popular for communication between different communities. Nagpuria is a mother tongue under Hindi. So, it is spoken among their community people. For inter group communication they use Hindi language. So mostly Nagpuria speakers are bilingual in nature.

1.4 REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Historically, for any account of the so-called ‘Bihari’-group of languages, one generally begins from A.F.Rudolf Hoernle’s ‘A Comparative Grammar of the Gaudian Languages, with special reference to the Eastern Hindi, London, 1880. Hoernle talks of ‘Bhojpuri as belonging to the Eastern Hindi branch of Eastern Gaudian languages (ibid...ppv) but he does not mention anywhere, about Nagpuria or Sadani, in his discussion on Bhojpuri.]

Sir George A.Grierson in his “seven Grammars of the dialects and sub dialects of the Bihari Languages” (Calcutta 1883-1887) adopted a different nomenclature by classifying Bhojpuri as a dialect of the Bihári language (ibid...,pt I , map III). According to Grierson, Bihári can be divided into three major dialects viz Bhojpuri, Mágadhi and Maithili . Grierson

in his 'seven Grammar' did not yet include Nagpuriá/ Sadāni in the Bhojpuri dialect; the Nagpuria – area remained a blank spot on his map III , *ibid.* pt I, [not referred to in any way].

In 1896 there appeared the first account (a short grammar of Nagpuri) under the title 'Notes on the Gánwári Dialect of Lohardaga, Chhotanagpur' written by Rev. E.H. Whitley. It was a very concise grammar dealt in 21 pages meant for British Civil Servants and missionaries at work in Lohardaga District. (Old Lohardaga District included Palamau also. In 1899 a bifurcation was made. Palamau became a separate district. The first half remained and retained the name of Lohardaga and later on was changed to that of present Ranchi.)

In his introduction Whitley notes: "Any one speaking this variety of Gánwári will be understood by villagers over a large area of the country to the north, south and west of Ranchi, though not far to the east, in which direction Bengali prevails and some other peculiar dialects".

This remark spells out the linguistic area of Nagpuria of at Whitley's time, which is not much different what we know it to be like at present. Another remarkable point is without the term 'Gánwári' an expression used characterized by him, meant Nagpuria only or the dialects of this rural area in general. But Rev. Whitley himself, later in 1914, settled this doubt by another publication (a revision of the previous under a definite title 'Notes on Nagpuriā Hindī' 32 pages. It is worth mentioning that Rev. E.H. Whitley does not mention anything about Bhojpuri or 'Gánwári' having any relation with Bhojpuri. Name the 'patois' as 'Nagpuria-Hindī'.

Sir George A. Grierson, in 1903, modified his statement. The same author in *Linguistic survey of India vol.V pt.II page 42* admitted Nagpuriā and Sadri/ Sadari as one form of speech but treated it vaguely, sometime very inconsistently. It is quite remarkable that Grierson could not do any justice to the speech being spoken in Chotanagpur region in his 'Seven Grammar' leaving the spot blank, and admittedly on the basis of Whitley's 'Notes on Gánwári Dialect of Lohardaga' he could recognize speech not as a whole, but only in pieces 'He, seemingly confused, treated Sadri / Sadani as a sub dialect of Bhojpuri dialect of Bihari ; 'Nagpuria' and 'Panchparganiā' as varieties of Eastern Magahi. (*ibid* p.42). He simply compounded the intricacies of linguistic clarification.

In 1906, a Belgian Missionary Rev. Father Conard Bouchout wrote his extensive grammar of Nagpuria under the title "Grammar of Nagpuria Sadani Language of Chotanagpur". In true sense of term, Father Bouchout's grammar was the first detailed work on Nagpuria but his sudden death in Calcutta (1907) cut short his reservation for Nagpuria

Language. The manuscript could not see the light of the day. In his introduction page 2, he writes “Grierson finds only three main dialects bracketed under the genus ‘Bihari’, Bhojpuri, Maithili and Magahi. The present grammar shows the independent growth of a natural language and therefore Nagpuria cannot be placed under any of these three headings as a sub-dialect, and therefore, must be considered as a fourth form of Bihari”.

Rev. Bouchout’s grammar stresses the peculiarities of Nagpuria Language and shows marked differences from Bhojpuri in its various systems. He says, “its conjugational system is peculiarly its own. Bhojpuri and Magahi evince signs of more advanced linguistic decay. Like Nepali and other mountaineer’s dialects, Nagpuria owes to its long fast isolation its adherence to the old termination etc”. Though this grammar is written in a traditional model, nevertheless, it reveals the important characteristics of the language. The MSS is preserved in ‘Nagpuri-Parishad’ Ranchi.

In 1926 Dr. S.K. Chatterjee in his ‘Origin and Development of the Bengali Language’ traced the languages back to their common source, the Magadhi Prakrit called them ‘Magadhan speeches and rearranged the eastern dialects of New. Indo-Aryan in the following way.

- i. Eastern Magadhan : Bengali, Assamese, Oriya.
- ii. Central Magadhan : Maithili , Magahi
- iii. Western Magadhan : Bhōjpuriyā , with Nāgpuriyā or Sadānī.

We don’t find any more reference to Nāgpuriyā or Sadānī (in O.D.B.L. vol. I). Of course, in morphological section he has referred to many peculiarities of Nāgpuriyā especially the plural formation, loss of or total absence of extended forms of nouns (a very characteristic feature of Magahi, Maithili and Bhōjpuriyā) and the distinctive influences of Chattisgarhi and Marāthī.

In 1931, the ‘Language Hand-Book- Sadani’ was published by the Tea District Labour society. In the work itself the author remains anonymous, but Father Peter S.Nowrangi in his Reader p.III mentions his name as Rev. (H) Floor, S.J.. The work has 106, pp. 21 of which cover the Grammar which, thus, is as concise stung as that of Whitely.

In 1956, Father Peter. S.Nowrangi, S.J., through Catholic Mission Ranchi, published his ‘Simple Sadani Grammar’, written on traditional model for practical purposes. But the work is much more copious than the previous studies already referred to. It is the first Nagpuria Grammar written by a mother-tongue speaker. It abounds in grammatical and semantic

examples. Nowrangi holds the opinion that “It is an Aryan language, one of the seven dialects of Bihar mentioned by Grierson in L.S.I. It is the lingua franca of Chotanagpur. Many of original people have given up their own tongue (language) and adopted ‘Sadānī’ for their use.” (ibid. pg. III). He further comments, “Sadānī agrees with Awadhi, Bhojpuri and Magahi etc in pronunciation but as regards grammar and construction of sentences, it seems nearer to spoken Bengali and Oriya”.

In 1960 Dr. Uday Narayan Tiwari has given a short account of ‘Sadani’ in his ‘Origin and Development of Bhojpuri’. He discussed ‘Sadani’ from historical point of view. Tiwari’s description of Sadani is too brief and scanty. Without any proper justification he includes it under Bhojpuri and calls it Southern Bhojpuri.

Just like Dr.U.N.Tiwari; Dr. Keshari Kumar Singh, Prof. & Head of the Hindi Deptt. Patna University, Patna in his short monograph ‘Nagpuri Bhasha Aur Sahitya’ 1958, page 9. has declared it a dialect of ‘Magahi’.

Dr. P.B.Pandit has recognized ‘Nagpuria’ as a separate language and has classified it under Western Magadhan in his article ‘Language and Dialects’ Published in the Souvenir of the 66th session of Indian National Congress.

In 1966 Monika Jordon Hortsman submitted her Ph.D. dissertation on ‘Sadani’ a Bhojpuri Dialect has spoken in Chotanagpur’ in Berlin Univesity, Germany, originally written in German language.

In 1970 another traditional Grammar on Nagpuria written in Hindi by Pt. Yogendra Nath Tiwari, one of the champions for the cause of Nagpuria language and literature, was published by Ranchi press, Ranchi.

In Nov. 1975 another Ph.D. dissertation by Dr. S.K.Goswami lecturer. Deptt. of Hindi, Ranchi University, under the title ‘Nagpuri Bhasha Aur ShishT Sahitya’ was published by ‘Bihar Rashtra Bhasha Parishad, Patna-4.’

In the same year (1975) an English – Sadri Dictionary containing 26000 words, to be used primarily by non-Sadri speaking people and especially missionaries at work in Chhotanagpur region, was published to cater to the long-felt need of different missions functioning in the region by a board of dedicated missionaries, headed by Father Edgar Blain. S.V.D. on behalf of ‘The Society of the Divine word’ Jharsuguda in Orissa.

Besides the works mentioned so far, these are also a few stray writings on Nagpuria in forms of articles published in differed Journals etc.

1.5 SOCIOLINGUISTIC SETTINGS

As the issue stands today, the Nagpuria speakers may be divided into two groups i) Tribals ii) Non Tribals. The vast majority of the Nagpuria speakers are tribals such as Kharia, Kurukh, Mundari and Ho etc. speakers. (S.C.Mitra, S.C.Roy, Vidyarthi & Sachidanand) . The tribal speakers of Nagpuria (as compared with other linguistic groups in the area) have nothing in common except their language. Father P.S.Nowrangji writes in his ‘A simple Sadani Grammar’ P. 3 – “Sadani is the lingua franca of Chhotanagpur. Many aboriginal people have given-up their own languages and adopted Sadani for their use.”

Most of the tribes living in Jharkhand are found mainly in this plateau region of Chhotanagpur. According to Narmedeshwar Prasad, ‘Land and People of tribal Bihar’ 1961 P.314-15 the following tribes speak Nagpuria either as their first language or along with their own mother tongue, Nagpuria as a second language for their inter-communications.

<u>S.L.No.</u>	<u>Tribes</u>	<u>Mother tongue</u>	<u>Second Language</u>
1.	Asur *	--	Nagpuria
2.	Baiga*	--	Nagpuria
3.	Banjara*	--	Nagpuria
4.	Bedia*	--	Nagpuria
5.	Bijhia*	--	Nagpuria
6.	Birjia	--	Nagpuria
7.	Bhumij	Bhumij	Nagpuria
8.	Chik-Baraik*	--	Nagpuria
9.	Gorait*	--	Nagpuria
10.	Kharia	Kharia	Nagpuria
11.	Kharwar*	--	Nagpuria
12.	Korwa	Korwa	Nagpuria

13.	Lohara*	--	Nagpuria
14.	Munda	Mundari	Nagpuria
15.	Uraon	Kurukh	Nagpuria
16.	Pahariya*	--	Nagpuria
17.	Ho	Ho	Nagpuria

*** Marked tribes have completely given up their own mother tongue and they speak Nagpuria as their first language.**

Among the non-tribals, the Ghasis, Lohar, Turi (basket makers) Bhokta, Binkar (Weaver), Kewat, Teli, Kumhar (Potter), Mallar, Rautia, Sahus etc. form the bulk of the speakers. Besides, the caste Hindus like Brahmins, Rajputs, Suri etc. having common ethnic culture speak Nagpuria. In the pluri-lingual zone of Chhotanagpur, the birth and spontaneous growth of Nagpuria in spite of stiff opposition and condemnation from time to time, was a necessity; and in a gradual process of pidginisation and creolisation course, it has assumed the role and status of a natural standard language. At early stages of the settlement in this region, the tribals and non-tribals remained suspicious of each other groups. The Kol-movement and Larka-revolt in 1831 is a historical proof to confirm the challenges Nagpuria had to face in its growth. One can refer to the statement of Sri Junas Bage, a tribal leader, admitting the potentiality and smooth adoption of Nagpuria by the tribals at large.

However, today “Nagpuria has to be regarded as a true lingua-franca, as it forms the medium of communication of quite a number of small linguistic groups, besides being the mother tongue of a vast majority of tribal and non-tribals.” M.J.Hortsman (1969.)

Various names for Nagpuria:

Neither among the people who speak it nor among the scholars, who have referred to it in some form or the other, is found there is no unanimity about the name for what is called Nagpuria in the present study. Several different designations have been used for it and they are historical suggestive of the growth of the language from its early stage of pidginization. They are mentioned below in chronological order:

	<u>Designation</u>	<u>Author</u>
I.	Nagpuri	Census 1881 Madras, McIver, Goswami S.K.1976
	Nagpuri –Eastern Magahi	Census 1961
II	Gánwári Dialect	Rev. E.H. Whiteley B.A. 1896
III	Nāgpuriyā Sādanī	Rev. Father Conarad Bouchout 1906
IV	Nagpuria Hindi	Rev. E.H. Whitley B.A. 1914
V	Dikkū kājī	G.A. Grierson L.S.I. Vol. V Pt.II
VI	Nagpuria	G.A. Grierson, ibid.
VII	Sadani	Rev. Father H. Floor 1931 P.S. Nowranghi 1956
VIII	Sadari, Sadan	Grierson, L.S.I
IX	Nagpuria	Chatterjee O.D.B.L. 1926
X	Tamaria	Grierson L.S.I
XI	Panch Pargania	Grierson L.S.I.

Nagpuri :

The designation ‘Nagpuri’ occurs for the first time in the book of Dr. R.N. Cust ‘Modern Languages of East Indies’, wherein he treats the language as ‘Southern Magahi’. Further, it is used by Mc Iver in the report of 1881 census Madras Presidency; where he treats ‘Nagpuri’ along with other 76 mother tongues as ‘Unclassified’.

Further, the word ‘Nagpuri’ occurs in the statistics of the Census 1961, classified as Eastern Magahi tentatively in order to differentiate it from Nagpuria a Marathi dialect spoken around Nagpur in Maharashtra.

Now the term ‘Nagpuri’ for the speech is widely used and accepted by the scholars of the region. Dr. S. K. Goswami, Dr. Keshari etc. plead for this term and the recent publications (grammar, text book, magazine, discourses etc) are coming only under the name Nagpuri. The literate people now are showing interest in the wider usages of Nagpuri.

Gánwári Dialect

The term *Gánwári Dialect* was introduced by Rev. E.H. Whitley in his 'Gánwári Dialect', Calcutta 1896. *Gánwári* /gãwari/, meaning 'belonging to the village' – 'Country side' which may also mean 'narrow-minded, stupid and rustic'. Whitley calls '*Gánwári Dialect*' a '*patois*'. The name in its original form is confined to Whitley's grammar.

Nāgpuriyā Sadānī :

Rev. Father C. Bouchout, a Belgian Missionary, attached with Catholic Mission Ranchi, wrote for the first time an exhaustive grammar under the name 'The Nāgpuriyā Sadānī Language of Chhotanagpur' in 1906 which remained unpublished till date because of his sudden death in 1907 at Calcutta. In his introductory chapter, Father Bouchout has pleaded for Nāgpuriyā Sadānī to be treated as the fourth form of Bihari- Languages i.e. (Maithili, Magahi, Bhojpuri & Nāgpuriyā Sadānī).

Nāgpuriyā :

It was used by Dr S.K. Chatterjee in his 'Origin and Development of the Bengali Language'. Grammatically it represents an extended form of /*nagpuri*/.

Nagpuriyā :

Nagpuriyā phonemically /*nAgpuria*/ is the usual name for the language since G.A. Grierson, L.S.I. Vol. V Pt. II P.42 seg. *Nagpuriā* means 'belonging to Nagpuri i.e. Chotanagpur Division of Bihar which forms the geographical centre of the speech area.

Dikkū Kājī :

According to G.A. Grierson, L.S.I. Vol. V. Pt. II p. 44, the word '*Dikkū Kājī*' is used by the Munda Tribes of Chotanagpur as the designation for the speech dealt here. The word does not recur elsewhere in the linguistic literature.

Sadan/ Sadri, Sadani :

'Sadan' phonemically equal to /*sAdan*/ is actually the designation for the people who speak the Aryan-language are called by the tribes of Chotanagpur region. Though various scholars have attempted very vaguely to trace its etymology which is uncertain. Grierson mentions (LSI vol. V, pt. II, p.44) that the word is also used for the dialect itself. The same word occurs in the tables of 1961 census side by side with Sadri.

Sadānī, phonemically /sAdani/ is the name used by Nowrangi in his grammar, this designation is also very commonly used by the speakers of this language. The name of the language means ‘belonging to the Sadans’.

Panchpargania/ Tamaria :

The term ‘Panch pargania’ is applied to the speech belong to the region comprising of Tamar, Bundu, Silli, Barendra & Rahe in the eastern part of Ranchi district in Chhota nagpur region of Jharkhand; while the term ‘Tamaria’ should mean only for one region i.e. Tamar a part of 5 parganas. But ‘Tamaria’ and ‘Panch pargania’ are the synonyms for one and the same speech. According to Grierson’s LSI ‘Pāch Parganiā is to be located in the Ranchi District. Grierson, *ibid...*, p. 167, classifies ‘Pāch Parganiā as belonging to Eastern Magahi, but in the same breath he also mentions that “with some speakers Pāch Parganiā sounds very similar to Sadani “. This similarity of Pāch Parganiā to Sadānī is also what strikes the reader going through the specimen Grierson gives of that dialect (*ibid...* pp. 168 segg.). According to M.J. Hortsman (1969), “It does not seem even convincing to set up a fairly precise classification of Pāch Parganiā. This dialect forms a very unstable factor in the consideration of Sadānī speakers. Some persons having return to be Pāch Parganiā speakers may actually be Sadānī speakers ‘Tamaria’ is just another name for the form of language called Pāch Parganiā (Grierson, *ibid...*p. 166). These two views are equally supported by Dr. Shraavan Kumar Goswami in his doctoral thesis ‘Nagpuri Bhasha’ (1975). He also considers Pāch Parganiā, as a dialect of Nagpuri, having been influenced only in its sound-system by Bengali. He says, “*SampurNa rāci jile mē Nāgpurī kā prayōg hotā he. Still Sonāhātu, rāhe, bundū aur tamār ancal mē bōlī jānewālī nāgpurī kō lōg Pāch Parganiā kahate hE* (pp. 16-17)

The present Investigator shares the views expressed by Dr. S.K. Goswami, after carefully examining the data collected from Silli and Bundu region in Ranchi district. The structures of Nagpuria and Pāch Parganiā show no difference at any level. Of course at phonetic level, the influence of Bengal is very noticeable.

A few morphonemes (particles, plural number markers {gula}, {gila} are found in Pāch Parganiā which may have their source in Bengali.

From the above discussions about different nomenclatures used for one and the same forms of speech, one can easily arrive at the conclusion that Nagpuria is a broad-term, covering Sadani, Sadri, Gāwāri, Panchpargania/ Tamaria etc.; a designation to the speech serving as a lingua-franca of Chhotanagpur region in Jharkhand.

Earlier Bihar (of both Bihar & Jharkhand State) represents a model socio-linguistic area. While languages of three families are spoken in the State and its borders are more fluid zones with linguistic components overlapping. Patterson's factors can be applied for determining the cultural areas in united Bihar. As such four cultural sub-areas are obtained. Nagpuria sub-area has failed to build up a strong linguistic culture area. This is due to the influence of Hindi. The lacking of language attitude of the Nagpuria speakers is the result of their passive acceptance of Hindi in more important societal domains. The major grounds Nagpuria gave way to Hindi are (1) script, (2) social barriers and (3) education. As a result, Hindi has come to dominate in the main spheres of language-use. The basic reason for such a development lies in the language attitude. The results obtained through the questionnaire reveal that even in-home domain Hindi has slowly gained some position in the present generation of Nagpuria speakers. In other domains Nagpuria has almost been wiped out of use. Even in intra-group communication Hindi has become the medium. The respondents have learnt Hindi in schools and their rating in Hindi, as they feel, vary from 'good' to 'excellent'. Though opinion is divided on the prestige and status value attached to Hindi, the speech community has accepted Hindi for use in more important societal situations.

Whereas, in the tribal group, tribes such as Ho, Munda, Mundari and Kharia people mostly use Nagpuria in general for the intra social and cultural communication purposes.

2. PHONOLOGY

2.1. Phonemic Inventory

In Nagpuria, there are 36 phonemes, out of which 35 are segmental phonemes and 1 is suprasegmental phoneme. Among the segmentals 6 phonemes are vowels and remaining 29 are consonants.

2.1.1. Segmental Phonemes

Vowels

The six vowel phonemes have been shown in the chart below. They have been distinguished in the horizontal axis by the three features (front, central and back) with reference to the position of the tongue which rises and in the vertical axis by three distinguishing features (high, mid and low) with reference to the height of the tongue.

	Front	Central	Back
High	<i>i</i>		<i>u</i>
Mid	<i>e</i>	A	<i>o</i>
Low	<i>a</i>		

Consonants

The consonants which are twenty-nine (29) in number are distinguished in the vertical axis by the distinguishing features stop, affricate, nasal, lateral trill, fricative and approximate with reference to the manner of articulation and in the horizontal axis by the distinguishing features bilabial, dental, alveolar, retroflex, palatal, velar and glottal with reference to the point of articulation.

	Bilabial	Dental	Alveolar	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stops							
vl. non-asp	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>		<i>T</i>		<i>k</i>	
vl. asp	<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>		<i>D</i>		<i>g</i>	
vd. non-asp	<i>ph</i>	<i>th</i>		<i>Th</i>		<i>kh</i>	

vd. -asp	<i>bh</i>	<i>dh</i>		<i>Dh</i>		<i>gh</i>	
Affricates							
vl. non-asp					<i>c</i>		
vl. asp					<i>ch</i>		
vd. non-asp					<i>j</i>		
vd. -asp					<i>jh</i>		
Nasals		<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>			<i>M</i>	
Latrel			<i>l</i>				
Trill			<i>r</i>				
Fricative			<i>s</i>				<i>H</i>
Approximant	<i>w</i>				<i>y</i>		

2.1.2. Supra segmental phonemes

Nasalisation / \tilde{V} /

Nasalisation of the vowel is phonemic and is treated as supra-segmental feature co-occurring with vowels in all the positions viz initial, medial and final.

2.2. Phonemic Description and Distribution

Contrasting pairs (Vowels)

/i/, /e/

/iho/

‘this’

/eho/

‘vocative’

/piTh/

‘back’

/peThiya/

‘market’

	<i>/geDi/</i>	‘sugarcane piece’
	<i>/geDe/</i>	‘duck’
<i>/e/, /a/</i>	<i>/eDi/</i>	‘heel’
	<i>/aDi/</i>	‘horizontal’
	<i>/bes/</i>	‘good’
	<i>/bas/</i>	‘smell’
	<i>/khel/</i>	‘play’
	<i>/khal/</i>	‘skin’
	<i>/ke/</i>	‘who’
	<i>/ka/</i>	‘what’
<i>/e/, /A/</i>	<i>/phen/</i>	‘foam’
	<i>/phAn/</i>	‘snake’s face’
	<i>/bel/</i>	‘ a fruit’
	<i>/bAl/</i>	‘force, strength’
<i>/a/, /o/</i>	<i>/aTh/</i>	‘eight’
	<i>/oTh/</i>	‘lips’

	<i>/kaka/</i>	‘uncle’
	<i>/koka/</i>	‘dumb’
	<i>/ghaTa/</i>	‘loss’
	<i>/ghaTo/</i>	‘goose’
<i>/o/, /u/</i>	<i>/oTh/</i>	‘lips’
	<i>/uT/</i>	‘camel’
	<i>/goD/</i>	‘leg’
	<i>/guD/</i>	‘molasses’
	<i>/cori/</i>	‘theft’
	<i>/curi/</i>	‘bangle’
	<i>/oTAka/</i>	‘cover’
	<i>/uTAka/</i>	‘ditch’
	<i>/moD/</i>	‘fold’
	<i>/muD/</i>	‘head’
<i>/a/, /A/</i>	<i>/aRa/</i>	‘egg’
	<i>/An/</i>	‘corn’

/har/ 'necklace'

/hAr/ 'plough'

/man/ 'pride'

/mAn/ 'soul'

/dam/ 'price'

/dAm/ 'spirit', 'strength'

Contrasting Pairs (Consonants)

/p/, /b/ */pap/* 'sin'

/bap/ 'father'

/kApar/ 'head'

/kAbar/ 'garbage'

/p/, /ph/ */pus/* 'a month of the year'

/phus/ 'dry grass'

/bap/ 'father'

/baph/ 'vapour'

/sap/ 'curse'

/saph/ 'clean, clear'

<i>/b/, /bh/</i>	<i>/bēT/</i>	‘handle’
	<i>/bhēT/</i>	‘meeting’, ‘gift’
	<i>/bari/</i>	‘garden’
	<i>/bhari/</i>	‘heavy’
	<i>/balu/</i>	‘sand’
	<i>/bhalu/</i>	‘beer’
	<i>/aba/</i>	‘father’
	<i>/abha/</i>	‘hint’, ‘light’
<i>/ph/, /bh/</i>	<i>/phAr/</i>	‘fruit’
	<i>/bhAr/</i>	‘a caste name’
<i>/t/, /d/</i>	<i>/jit/</i>	‘victory’
	<i>/jid/</i>	‘obstinacy’
<i>/t/, /th/</i>	<i>/tAria/</i>	‘below’
	<i>/thAria/</i>	‘dish made of metal’
	<i>/kAtari/</i>	‘sugar cane’
	<i>/kAthAri/</i>	‘rags’

	<i>/pat/</i>	‘leaves’
	<i>/path/</i>	‘dried cow dungs’
	<i>/sat/</i>	‘seven’
	<i>/sath/</i>	‘company’
<i>/d/, /dh/</i>	<i>/dan/</i>	‘alms’, ‘charity’
	<i>/dhan/</i>	‘paddy’
	<i>/bad/</i>	‘rebate’, ‘concession’
	<i>/badh/</i>	‘rope’
<i>/th/, /dh/</i>	<i>/than/</i>	‘place’
	<i>/dhan/</i>	‘paddy’
	<i>/sath/</i>	‘company’
	<i>/sadh/</i>	‘desire’
<i>/T/, /D/</i>	<i>/ãTa/</i>	‘flour’
	<i>/ãDa/</i>	‘mound’
	<i>/haT/</i>	‘market’
	<i>/haD/</i>	‘bone’

<i>/T/,/Th</i>	<i>/Tika/</i>	‘mark on the forehead’
	<i>/Thika/</i>	‘contract’
	<i>/kATar/</i>	‘a sort of knife’
	<i>/kAThar/</i>	‘granary made of wood’
	<i>/peT/</i>	‘belly’
	<i>/peThiya/</i>	‘market’
<i>/D/, /Dh/</i>	<i>/Dāk/</i>	‘auction’
	<i>/Dhāk/</i>	‘big drum’
<i>/Th/, /Dh/</i>	<i>/Thela/</i>	‘hand cart’
	<i>/Dhela/</i>	‘dry mud piece’
	<i>/Thor/</i>	‘lips’, ‘beak’
	<i>/Dhor/</i>	‘pet animals’
<i>/c/, /j/</i>	<i>/cor/</i>	‘thief’
	<i>/jor/</i>	‘force’
	<i>/gocAr/</i>	‘visible’
	<i>/gojAr/</i>	‘a kind of worm’

<i>/c/, /ch/</i>	<i>/curi/</i>	‘bangle’
	<i>/churi/</i>	‘knife’
	<i>/kAcAra/</i>	‘rubbish’
	<i>/kAchAra/</i>	‘waist cloth of a lady’
<i>/j/, /jh/</i>	<i>/juTh/</i>	‘left over food’
	<i>/jhuTh/</i>	‘false’, ‘lie’
	<i>/baj/</i>	‘eagle’
	<i>/bajh/</i>	‘net’, ‘traf’
<i>/ch/, /jh/</i>	<i>/char/</i>	‘ashes’
	<i>/jhar/</i>	‘to sweep’
<i>/k/, /g/</i>	<i>/kal/</i>	‘death’, ‘time’
	<i>/gal/</i>	‘check’
	<i>/pakAl/</i>	‘ripe’
	<i>/pagAl/</i>	‘mad’
	<i>/nak/</i>	‘nose’
	<i>/nag/</i>	‘Nag serpent’

<i>/k/,/kh/</i>	<i>/kApADa/</i>	‘cloth’
	<i>/khApAra/</i>	‘titles’
	<i>/bAkAra/</i>	‘goat’
	<i>/bAkhAra/</i>	‘share’, ‘courtyard’
	<i>/pāk/</i>	‘mud’
	<i>/pākh/</i>	‘feather’
<i>/g/,/gh/</i>	<i>/godi/</i>	‘leg’, ‘feet’
	<i>/ghoDi/</i>	‘mare’
	<i>/bag/</i>	‘garden’
	<i>/bagh/</i>	‘lion’, ‘tiger’
<i>/kh/,/gh/</i>	<i>/khAri/</i>	‘oil wastage for fuel’
	<i>/ghAri/</i>	‘a point of time’
<i>/m/,/n/</i>	<i>/mArAm/</i>	‘secret’
	<i>/nArAm/</i>	‘soft’
	<i>/jAmana/</i>	‘age’
	<i>/jAnana/</i>	‘lady’, ‘wife’

<i>/n/,/M/</i>	<i>/Anar/</i>	‘fruit’
	<i>/AMar/</i>	‘fire piece’
	<i>/ApAn/</i>	‘self’
	<i>/ApAM/</i>	‘crippled’
<i>/s/,/h/</i>	<i>/sath/</i>	‘company’
	<i>/hath/</i>	‘hand’
	<i>/mus/</i>	‘rat’
	<i>/muh/</i>	‘mouth’
<i>/l/,/r/</i>	<i>/lok/</i>	‘people’
	<i>/rog/</i>	‘disease’
	<i>/bil/</i>	‘hole’
	<i>/bir/</i>	‘brave’
<i>/w/,/y/</i>	<i>/war/</i>	‘attack’
	<i>/yar/</i>	‘friend’

/dAwa/ 'medicine'

/dAya/ 'kindness'

/hAwa/ 'air'

/hAya/ 'shame'

/haw/ 'acting'

/hay/ 'lament'

Contrast between nasal vs oral Vowels

<i>/ĩ/,/i/</i>	<i>/ĩTa/</i>	'bricks'	<i>/iTa/</i>	'this one'
	<i>/maĩ/</i>	'all girls'	<i>/may/</i>	'mother'
<i>/ẽ/,/e/</i>	<i>/ẽ/</i>	'exclamation of surprise'	<i>/e/</i>	'addressing'
	<i>/beĩTi/</i>	'handle of any instrument'	<i>/beTi/</i>	'daughter'
	<i>/khayẽ/</i>	'they may eat'	<i>/khaye/</i>	'he may eat'
<i>/ã/,/a/</i>	<i>/ãTa/</i>	'flour'	<i>/ata/</i>	'bundle'
	<i>/bãs/</i>	'bamboo'	<i>/bas/</i>	'smell'
	<i>/dĩya/</i>	'white ant'	<i>/diya/</i>	'earthen lamp'
<i>/Ã/,/A/</i>	<i>/dÃwAri/</i>	'thrashing flour'	<i>/dAwAri/</i>	'basket'

/õ/,/o/ /kõca/ ‘a whole’ /koca/ ‘lane’, street

/ũ/,/u/

 /ũTh/ ‘camel’ /uTh/ ‘rise,’arise’

Juncture

“The transition from the pause preceding an isolated utterance to the first segmental phoneme and from the last segmental phoneme to the following pause, we call open juncture. By contrast, the transition from one segmental phoneme to the next within the utterance..... we call close juncture”. (G.L.Trager and B. Block Language , 17, page 225 “The Syllabic phonemes of English”). This definition has been adopted here.

Open Juncture

Open juncture is an external juncture or word juncture occurring between two words which are intervened by a potential pause. It is marked here with space. In other words, it is un marked by a symbol. Example

(1) *kam u kArek ni cahel* ‘he does not like to work’

(2) *kam ukAr ek nesa heke* ‘work is his habit’

Close Juncture

Close juncture is an internal juncture occurring between two morphemes and between two words which are compounded into one form. This juncture is marked with /+/

e.g. /likh + Atthi / ‘we are writing’

 /kud + el + a / ‘he runs’

2.3. MAJOR ALLOPHONICS DISTRIBUTIONS

In Nagpuria, pre-dominant phone types number eighty two (82), of which twenty eight (28) are vocoids and fifty four (54) are contoids . The vocoids have five – way distinction in the vertical axis as high, high mid, mid, low mid and low and three-way distinction in horizontal axis as front, central and back. While front and central vocoids are un-rounded, the back vocoids are rounded. They are distinguished as oral and nasal with degrees of length such as short and long.

The length is not phonemic. However, the long vocoids occur in the phonetic level and their occurrences are predictable. The vocoids occurring in the mono- syllabic words are uniformly long; while in disyllabic, tri – syllabic and tetra- syllabic words (available a very few), the vocoids of the second syllable are long. Stress also is a co- occurring feature with the length, i.e., the syllables having long vocoids are always stressed.

The contoids are distinguished by the manner and point of articulation. By the articulators, they are distinguished as bilabial, dental, alveolar, retroflex, palatal, velar and glottal. By the manner of articulation, they are distinguished as stops (voiceless, voiced, aspirated, released and unreleased), affricates (voiceless, voiced, aspirated, released and unreleased), nasals, lateral, trill, flap, fricative and approximants.

The stops except / *Dh* / and / *kh* / are unreleased before a consonant and word finally; /*D* / and / *Dh* / are flaps intervocally and finally. / *kh* / is fricativized before a consonant and also word finally. / *w* / and / *y* / are non – syllabic vocoids between vowel and consonant (V-C)

Allophonic distribution of Vowels

/ *i* / has two allophones viz . [*i:*] and [*i*]

1. [*i:*] / (*c*) - (*c*)

(*c*) V (*c*) (*c*) (*c*) - (*c*) . . .

[<i>pi':Th</i>]	/ <i>piTh</i> /	' back'
[<i>Abri: k̃</i>]	/ <i>Abrik</i> /	'now'
[<i>mistri :</i>]	/ <i>mistri</i> /	'mason'
[<i>pApi : ta</i>]	/ <i>pApita</i> /	'papaya'

2. [*i*] occurs elsewhere

[<i>imá:n</i>]	/ <i>iman</i> /	'honesty'
[<i>kirá :</i>]	/ <i>kira</i> /	'worm'
[<i>kAtá: ri</i>]	/ <i>kAtari</i> /	'sugarcane'

/ e / has three allophones viz [æ :], [e :] and [e]

1. [æ :] / # - Y

[æ : i k]	/ eyk /	‘unision’
[bæ : ɪ l]	/ beyi /	‘creeper’
[khæ : il]	/ khey l /	‘having played’

2. [e :] / (c) – (c) (except before y)

(c) V (c) (c) (c) - (c) ... (except before y)

[é :]	/ e /	‘address’
[p é : t̃]	/ peT /	‘belly’
[geRé :]	/ geDe /	‘duck’
[SA:mjhé:k̃]	/ sAmjhed /	‘to understand’
[gA:dé : la]	/ gAdela /	‘issueless cow or buffalo’

3. [e] occurs elsewhere

[erANDi :]	/ erAND /	‘oil plant’
[Thepi :]	/ Thepi /	‘shuttle’
[go:mke :]	/ gomake /	‘headman of the village or clan or family’

/ a / has two allophones viz [a :] and [a]

1. [a :] / (c) – (c)

(c) V (c) (c) (c) – (c)

[á : n]	/ an /	‘honour’
[la : m]	/ lam /	‘battlefield ; distance’
[a : ba :]	/ aba /	‘father’
[kA:ta : ri]	/ kAtari /	‘sugarcane’

2. [a] occurs elsewhere .
- | | | |
|------------|-----------|-----------|
| [akhi : r] | /akhir / | ‘end’ |
| [badÁ:r] | /badAr/ | ‘cloud’ |
| [khaó:la] | /khaola / | ‘he eats’ |

/A/ has two allophones viz [A:] and [A]

1. [A:] / (c) – (c)

(c) - (c)(c)(c) – (c) ...

- | | | |
|---------|-------|--|
| [Á:ḅ] | /Ab/ | ‘now’ |
| [hÁ: m] | /hAm/ | ‘I’ First person singular
number pronoun; |

[dusmÁn] /dusmAn / ‘enemy’

AĩrÁ : ga] /AyrAga / ‘more than enough ‘

- 2.[A] occurs elsewhere

[jAbá:b] /jAbab / ‘answer’, ‘reply’

[bA:khÁ:ri] /bAkhAri / ‘grain store ‘

/o/ has two allophones viz [o:] and [o]

- 1.[o:] / (c) – (c)

(c) V(c)(c)(c) -- (c) ...

- | | | |
|---------------|------------|-----------------------|
| [ó:Th] | /oTh / | ‘lips’ |
| [gó:T`h] | /goTh / | ‘animal shade ‘ |
| [otó:] | /oto / | ‘so much ‘ |
| [gha:Tó:] | /ghaTo / | ‘goose ‘ |
| [bhA: dó: hi] | /bhAdohi / | ‘related with Bhadra’ |

a month of the year .

2. [o] occurs elsewhere

[oRí:a]	/oDia/	‘bamboo made measurement instrument’
[po:thí:]	/pothi/	‘book’
[kho:khÁ:rni]	/khokhArni/	‘wooden peeler’
[SA:gÁ:ro:]	/sAgAro/	‘all over, wholly, entirely’

/u/ has two allophones viz [u:] and [u]

1. [u:] / (c) - (c)

(c) V (c) (c) (c) - (c) ..

[ũ:Th]	/ũTh/	‘camel’
[dú:dh]	/dudh/	‘milk’
[ku:kú:ro]	/kukur/	‘dog’
[mi:rtú]	/mirtu/	‘death’
[bA:sú:li:]	/bAsuli/	‘small axe’

2. [u] occurs elsewhere

[udá:s]	/udas/	‘sad’
[gu:há:r]	/guhar/	‘call of alarm’
[ku:Tá:si:]	/kuTasi/	‘chisel’
[bi:sé:khu:]	/bisekhu/	‘animals without milk’

Distribution of Vowel phonemes

The following chart shows the distribution of the vowels in three positions – initial, medial and final. All the vowels except /A/ & /Ā/ occur in all the three positions. /A/ & /Ā/ occur only initially and medially.

<u>initial</u>			<u>medial</u>		<u>final</u>	
/i/	/inar/	‘well’	/urid/	‘black gram’	/bani/	‘saying’
/e/	/ek/	‘one’	/beyl/	‘creeper’		
/a/	/aTa/	‘plat form’	/bap/	‘father’	/pApita/	‘papaya’
/A/	/ApAn/	‘self’	/AsAra/	‘hope’		
/o/	/odAr/	‘noise’	/cor/	‘thief’	/kãdo/	‘mud’
/u/	/ulari/	‘gesture’	/pul/	‘bridge’	/geju/	‘cheat’
/ĩ/	/ĩjor/	‘dawn’	/khĩc/	‘to pull’	/pnaĩ/	‘rope’
/ẽ/	/ẽDi/	‘heel’	/bẽTi/	‘handle’	/khayẽ/	‘may eat’
/ã/	/ãdhi/	‘storm’	/pãD/	‘loom’	/kuã/	‘well’
/Ã/	/Ãwdha/	‘foolish’	/dÃwAri/	‘thrashing floor’		
/õ/	/õTek/	‘to stir’	/kõDhi/	‘buds’	/kuchõ/	‘some’
/ũ/	/ũc/	‘height’	/dhũga/	‘smoke’	/jũ/	‘bug’

Major Allophonic distribution of Consonants

/ p / has two allophones viz. [p] and [p̃]

1. [p̃] / - c, - #

[peplá:] /pepla / ‘fly during rain’

[kuppá :] /kuppa/ ‘tunnel’

[pá:p̃] /pap / ‘sin’

2. [p] occurs elsewhere

[pé :Th] /peTh / ‘market’

[pA:pi':ta] /pApita / ‘papaya’

[khe:pi'] /khepi / ‘one turn’

/ b / has two allophones viz. [b] and [b̃]

1. [b̃] / - c, - #

[sA:bjɪ':]	/sAbji/	'vegetables'
[ko:bla':]	/kobla/	'idiotic'
[jA:btɪ':]	/jAbti/	'supified', 'seized'
[sÁ: b]	/sAb/	'all'
[jA:bá:b]	/jAbab/	'answer', 'reply'

2. [b] Occurs elsewhere

[b:ihɪ':n]	/bihin/	'seed'
[kA:bá:r]	/kabhur/	'garbage'
[jA:bá:bi:]	/jAbabi/	'aggressive', 'reply'

/ph/ has two allophones viz. [ph] and [pʰ]

1. [ph] / -c, /#

[DA:pʰla:]	/DAphla/	'band'
[pho:pʰla:]	/phophla/	'blister', 'boils'
[gA':pʰ]	/gAph/	'thick cloth or anything woven'

2. [pʰ] occurs elsewhere.

[phi:ki':r]	/phikir/	'worries, cares'
[ka:phú:r]	/kaphur/	'lost,disappeared'
[kA:pphÁ:n]	/kApphAn/	'white cloth for covering dead body'

/bh/ has two allophones viz. [bh] and [bʱ]

1. [bʱ] / -c, -#

[DA:bʱká:]	/Dabhka/	'half boiled rice'
[Du:bʱni]	/Dubhni/	'curry vessel'
[ló:bʱ]	/lobh/	'greed'

2. [bh] occurs elsewhere .

[bhi':t]	/ bhit /	' well'
[bhi:tú:]	/ bhitu /	' timid'
[kho:bhá:r]	/ khobhar /	' stay'
[go:bhi:]	/ gobhi /	' cauliflower'

/ t / has two allophones viz. [t] and [t]

[ja:tri:]	/ jatri /	'passenger', 'pilgrims'
[bA:tthá:]	/ bAttha /	' pain '
[bhú :t]	/ bhu:t /	' ghost '

2. [t] occurs elsewhere

[té :l]	/ tel /	' oil'
[gA:tÁ: r]	/ gAtAr /	' body'
[kA:tá :ri]	/ kAtari /	' sugarcane'

/ d / has two allophones viz . [d] and [d]

1. [d]/ -c , -

[A:d mi':]	/ Admi /	' man '
[gi:ddhá :r]	/ giddhar /	' vulture '
[sA:wá :d]	/ sAwad /	' taste '
[bÁ :d]	/ bAd /	' corrupt'

2. [d] occurs elsewhere .

[dá:n]	/ dan /	' donations', 'alms'
[dú: dh]	/ dudh /	' milk'
[bo:dÁ :r]	/ bodAr /	' small well', 'watery pit'

/ th / has two allophones viz. [tĥ] and [th]

1. [th] / - c, - #

[gA:thni':] / gAthni / 'planting of paddy seeding'

[su:thni':] / suthni / 'a sweet root to eat'

[sá :th] / sath / 'company'

[má : th] / math / 'head'

2.[th] occurs elsewhere .

[thA: mbhá :] / thAmbha / 'wooden pillar '

[thu:thú :n] / thuthun / 'nostril '

[mA:thÁ :ni] / mAthAni / 'churner'

/ dh / has two allophones viz. [dh] and [dh]

1. [dh] / - , _ #

[A: dhma:rAl] / AdhmarAl / 'half dead'

[ba : dh] / badh / 'rope made ofgrass'

[lo:dhmá :] / lodhma / 'paste to cure boils'

2. [dh] occurs elsewhere

[dhá : n] / dhan / 'paddy '

[A: ndha':r] / Andhar / 'dark '

[gi:ddha':r] / giddhar / 'vulture '

/ T / has two allophones viz. [T] and [T]

1. [T] / - c, - #

[gA:TTá :] / gATTa / 'wrist'

[jhA:Tká :] / jhATka / 'shock', 'prey'

[jhÁ :T] / jhAT / 'immediate'

[khó : T] / khoT / 'impure', 'evilsome'

2. [T] occurs elsewhere

[Ta:pú :] / Tapu / ‘ island’

[bhã Tá :] / bhãTa / ‘ brinjal’

[ci:mTá :] / cimTa / ‘ tongs’

/ D / has three allophones viz. [R] , [D] and [D]

1. [R] / V – V , -- #

. [ki:Rá ;] / kiDa / ‘ worm’

[a:Rá :] / aDa / ‘bullock’, ‘uncastrated’

[gó :R] / goD / ‘ leg’

[mu:R] / muD / ‘ head’

2. [D] / , -- C.

[gA:DDi :'] / gADDi / ‘pack, set, bunch’

[hA:DDi'] / hADDi / ‘ bones ‘

3. [D] occurs elsewhere .

[Di:NDá :] / DinDa / ‘ bachelor’

[DÁ:ir] / Dayr / ‘ branch ‘

[bhui:Dó :l] / bhuyDol / ‘ earthquake ‘

/ Th / has two allophones viz. [Tĥ] and [Th]

1. [Tĥ] / -C , -- #

[pATHrú :] / pATHru / ‘ goat kid ‘

[ruThlÁ :k] / ruThlAk / ‘ became angry ‘

[pé : Tĥ] / peTh / ‘ market ‘

2. [Th] occurs elsewhere

[The:pi'] / Thepi / ‘ cork of the bottle ‘

[ni:Thú r] / niThur / ‘ cruel , ‘unkind ‘

[pi:Thá :n] / piThan / ‘ rice eating ceremony’

/ Dh / has two allophones viz. [Rh] and [Dh]

1. [Rh] / V – V , -- #

[ko:Rhá :] / koDha / ‘latch ‘

[gARhi':] /gADhi / ‘piles of paddy plants’
(dry or fresh)

[mo':Rhá :] / moDha / ‘ cane chair ‘

[mú :Rh] / muDh / ‘ fool’,illiterate’.

2. [Dh] occurs elsewhere.

[Dhá :l] / Dhal / ‘ shield’, ‘slope’

[Dha:bá :] / Dhaba / ‘ verandah ‘

[ThA:nDhÁ :k] / ThAnDhAk / ‘cold ‘

/ c /has two allophones viz.[ê] and [c]

1. [ê] / -- c , -- #

e.g. [bi: ê chá :] / biccha / ‘scorpion ‘

[lA: ê chi'] / lAcchi / ‘a bunch of thread ‘

[su: ê ca':] / succa / ‘pure ‘

[sô': ê] / sôc / ‘worries’

2. [c] occurs elsewhere.

[ci:ni':] / cini / ‘sugar’

[ci:Rá :] / ciDa / ‘owl’

[kA:c i':a] / kAcia / ‘rupee’, ‘coin’, ‘money’

[ma:cá :] / maca / ‘wooden plate form in the
field’

/j/ has two allophones viz. [ĵ] and [j]

1. [ĵ] / -- c, -- #

[bA : ĵjá : t] / bAjjat / ‘ wicked person ’

[rA : ĵ má :] / rAjma / ‘ gram ’

[té : ĵ] / tej / ‘ sharp, acute ’

2. [j] occurs elsewhere .

[já : l] / jal / ‘ net ’

[ja : bi ’] / jabi / ‘ net made of rope or creeper
to cover animal’s mouth ’

[bAjÁ : ri] / bAjAri / ‘ a kind of corn ’

/ch/ has two allophones viz. [cĥ] and [ch].

1. [cĥ] / -- c, - #

[mA : cĥri ’ :] / mAchri / ‘ fish ’

[bA : cĥru ’ :] / bAchru / ‘ calf ’

[ga : cĥ] / gach / ‘ tree ’

[chú : cĥ] / chuch / ‘ empty ’

2. [ch] occurs elsewhere

[ché : d] / ched / ‘ hole ’

[che : ká :] / cheka / ‘ season ’

[ma : chi ’ :] / machi / ‘ flies ’

/jh/ has two allophones viz. [ĵh] and [jh]

1. [ĵh] / -- c, -- #

[mAy ĵhlá :] / mAyjhala / ‘ middle one ’

[só : ĵh] / sojh / ‘ straight ’

[bé : ĵh] / bejh / ‘ troubles ’

2. [jh] occurs elsewhere .

[jhá :R] /jha D/ ‘ forest’, ‘bushes’

[bo:jhá :] /bojha / ‘ bundle of crops ‘

[si:jhÁ :l] /sijhAl / ‘ boiled’

/k/ has two allophones viz. [k] and [k]

1. [k] / -- c , - #

[bho:k tá] /bhokta / ‘ name of a caste ‘

[muk ká] /mukka / ‘ fist ‘

[ná :k] /nak / ‘ nose ‘

[cA: mÁ':k] /cAmAk / ‘ light’, ‘shining’

2. [k] occurs elsewhere .

[ká :Th] /kaTh / ‘ dry wood ‘

[ko:ká :] /koka / ‘ dumb ‘

[cho:kÁ :T] /chokAT / ‘ short featured ‘

/g/ has two allophones viz. [ġ] and [g]

1. [ġ] / - c , - #

[cê ġ na':] /cêġna / ‘ chicken’

[bA:gra:] /bAgra / ‘ too many ‘

[ró : ġ] /rog / ‘ disease ‘

[á :y ġ] /ayg / ‘ fire ‘

2. [g] occurs elsewhere.

[g á :l] /gal / ‘ cheek ‘

[ge:Ré :] /gaDe / ‘ goose ‘

[DagÁ:r] /DagAr / ‘ track’, ‘path’

/ kh / has two allophones viz. [x] and [kh]

1. [x] / - c , - #

[e:xné :]	/ ekhne /	‘ just now ‘
[dú :x]	/ dukh /	‘ sorrows’
[sú :x]	/ such /	‘ happiness’, ‘pleasure’ , comfort’

2. [kh] occurs elsewhere .

[kh á :]	/ kha /	‘eat’
[khó :h]	/ khoh /	‘cave’
[bA:khÁ :ri]	/ bAkhAri /	‘ grain store

/ gh / has two allophones viz. [g^h] and [gh] .

1. [g^h] / - c , - #

[u: g ^h r á :]	/ ughra /	‘uncovered, naked’
[ghũ:g ^h T á :]	/ ghũghTa /	‘ veil ‘
[b á : g ^h]	/ bagh /	‘ tiger ‘
[gh á : g ^h]	/ ghagh /	‘ waterfall ‘

2. [gh] occurs elsewhere

[ghÁ :r]	/ ghAr /	‘ house’
[kho:ghÁ:r]	/ khoghAr /	‘ saddle’
[gha:ghú:]	/ ghagh /	‘ cunning’

/ m / has only one allophone viz. [m]

[ma:Ti’ :]	/ maTi /	‘ clay’
[kA:má :r]	/ kAmar /	‘ worker’
[d á :m]	/ dam /	‘ price’

/ n / has four allophones viz. [n] [n] [N] and [ñ]

1. [n] / - dental stops .

[cÁ : n dá :] / cAnda / ‘donation’, ‘subscription’

[mA : ntÁ : r] / mAntAr / ‘black art’

2. [ñ] / - palatal stops .

[rÁ : ñj :] / rAnj / ‘displeased’

[gÁ : ñji :] / gAnji / ‘sweet potato’

3. [N] / - retroflex stops.

[ghA : NTá :] / ghAnTa / ‘bell’, ‘hour’

[Di : NDá] / DinDa / ‘bachelor’

4. [n] occurs elsewhere.

[nó : n] / non / ‘salt’

[jA : nÁ : m] / jAnAm / ‘birth’

[dhA : rÁ : n] / dhArAn / ‘wooden bim

of the hut’

/ n· / has only one allophone viz. [n·]

[n·]

[dAn·Á : l] / dAn·Al / ‘arena of wrestling’

[dhÁ : n·] / dhAn· / ‘acting’

/ l / has two allophones viz. [L] and [l]

1. [L] / - retroflex stops .

[pA : LTÁ : n] / pAlTAn / ‘army’

[u : LT á :] / ulTa / ‘opposite’

2. [l] occurs elsewhere.

[ló : ĝ] / log / ‘people’

[balú :]	/ balu /	‘ sand ‘
[ká : l]	/ kal /	‘ death ‘
[matÁ : l]	/ matAl /	‘ drunken’, ‘intoxicated’

/ r / has only one allophone viz. [r] .

[r]

[rÁ : s]	/ rAs /	‘ juice ‘
[hAri' : n]	/ hArin /	‘ deer ‘
[senú : r]	/ senur /	‘ vermilion ‘

/ s / has only one allophone viz. [s]

[s]

[sasú :]	/ sasu /	‘ mother – in – law’
[susú : m]	/ susum /	‘ worm’
[ghá : s]	/ ghas /	‘ grass’

/ h / has only one allophone viz. [h]

[h]

[há : th]	/ hath /	‘ hand’
[mAhá : r]	/ mAhar /	‘ name of a caste’
[khó : h]	/ khoh /	‘ cave’

/ w / has two allophones viz. [U] and [w] , [U] is high , back , rounded non-syllabic vocoid .

1. [U] / - V - c , / A

[cá : Ur]	/ cawr /	‘ race’
[chA : Uwá :]	/ chAwwa /	‘ lad’
[jiUti' : a]	/ jiwtiá /	‘ a festival of women for their son’

2. [w] occurs elsewhere .

[wá :r]	/ war /	‘ war ’
[jAwá :n]	/ jAwan /	‘ young ’
[sewá :]	/ sewa /	‘ service ’
[há :w]	/ haw /	‘ acting ’

/ y / has two allophones viz. [I] and [y] . [I] is high, front, unrounded non-syllabic vocoid

1. [I] / - V - c ,

[rá :It]	/ rayt /	‘ night ’
[pAIsá :]	/ pAysa /	‘ coin ’
[kollá :]	/ koyla /	‘ coal ’

2. [y] occurs elsewhere .

[yá :r]	/ yar /	‘ friend ’
[hAri' :yAr]	/ hAriyAr /	‘ green ’
[beyá :r]	/ beyar /	‘ air ’
[há :y]	/ hay /	‘ lament ’

2.2 Distribution of Phonemes

Consonants

The following chart shows the distribution of consonants in three positions viz. initial, medial and final . Except /N / all other consonants occur in all the three Positions ; /N / occurs only medially and finally.

Examples

	<i>Initial</i>		<i>Medial</i>		<i>Final</i>	
/p/	/pap/	‘sin’	/Tapu/	‘Island’	/bap/	‘father’
/b/	/beDa/	‘latch’	/sAbji/	‘vegetable’	/kAb/	‘when’

/ph/	/phus/	‘dry grass’	/kAphar/	‘trouble’	/baph/	‘vapour’
/bh/	/bhor/	‘dawn’	/gabhin/	‘pregnant’	/gabh/	‘wet field’
/t/	/tir/	‘arrow’	/moti/	‘pearl’	/bhut/	‘ghost’
/d/	/dArAb/	‘metal’	/mAdAyt/	‘help’	/mud/	‘important’
/th/	/thari/	‘dish’	/mAthAni/	‘churner’	/math/	‘skull’
/dh/	/dhara/	‘current’	/mAdhu/	‘honey’	/badh/	‘rope’
/T/	/TāD/	‘pracelet’	/puTasi/	‘chisel’	/moT/	‘fat’
/D/	/DinDa/	‘bachelor’	/AnDa/	‘egg’	/bArAnD/	‘storm’
/Th/	/Thepi/	‘shuttle’	/gAThAri/	‘bundli’	/peTh/	‘market’
/Dh/	/Dhaba/	‘verandah’	/ThAnDha/	‘cold’	/muDh/	‘fool’
/c/	/cimTa/	‘tong’	/bicar/	‘idea’	/chōc/	‘scrap’
/j/	/jal/	‘net’	/bAjjAr/	‘thunder’	/roj/	‘daily’
/ch/	/cheka/	‘season’	/machi/	‘flies’	/chuch/	‘empty’
jh/	/jhil/	‘lake’	/bojha/	‘bundle’	/sojh/	‘straight’
/k/	/kAtari/	‘sugarcane’	/bAkAra/	‘he goat’	/mAhAk/	‘smell’
/g/	/gal/	‘cheek’	/jhAgADa/	‘quarrel’	/ayg/	‘fire’
/kh/	/khoh/	‘cave’	/khokhArni/	‘ladle’	/dukh/	‘sorrow’
/gh/	/ghaTo/	‘goose’	/ghūghTa/	‘veil’	/ghagh/	‘water fall’
/m/	/moti/	‘pearl’	/kAmia/	‘labourer’	/dam/	‘price’
/n/	/niThur/	‘cruel’	/binAti/	‘prays’	/dan/	‘donation’
/N/	-	-	/AMar/	‘fire piece’	/rAM-/	‘colour’
/s/	/sAsur/	‘father-in-law’	/susut/	‘lazy’, ‘idle’	/ghas/	‘dry grass’
/h/	/har/	‘garland’	/kAhAni/	‘story’	/khoh/	‘cave’
/r/	/rog/	‘disease’	/gArAm/	‘hot’	/hAjar/	‘thousand’
/l/	/lilar/	‘fore head’	/malik/	‘chief owner’	/lal/	‘red’
/w/	/war/	‘attack’	/hAwa/	‘air’	/daw/	‘turn’
/y/	/yar/	‘friend’	/siyar/	‘jackal’	/ray/	‘advice’

2.4. CLUSTERS

In this section, the linear arrangements of the phonemes into clusters and syllables are discussed. The clusters are formed of both by the vowels and consonants. Both the kinds of clusters occur initially, medially and finally.

Vowel Clusters

The vowel clusters occur in all the positions viz. initial, medial and final. The permissible vowel clusters in the initial and final position are only a few. In the medial position, the clusters are comparatively more in number.

Initial Vowel Clusters

Among the initial clusters the first members are /i,a,A/ and the second members are /a,o,e/. Their combinations form only three clusters in the initial position.

e.g	i	[a	/ia/	‘grand mother’
	a	[o	/aola/	‘he/she comes’
	A	[e	/Aena/	‘mirror’

Medial vowel clusters

Among the medial clusters the first members are /i,e,a,A,o, and u/ and the second members are /e,a,A and o/. Their combinations form only ten clusters in the medial position.

e.g.	I	a	/biah/	‘birthtime’
			/piYas/	‘thirst’
		A	/tiAn/	‘cooked vegetables’
	e	a	/ceaDi/	‘arrow’
	a	e	/sAraer/	‘crane’
		o	/jaona/	‘I go ‘
	A	e	/bAena/	‘sweets from relatives’house’
	o	a	/goal/	‘shepherd’

	A	/hoAl/	‘becoming’
u	e	/cuek/	‘to drip, to leak’
	a	/duar/	‘entrance of the house’

Final vowel Clusters

Among the final clusters, the first members are / i, a, o and u/ and the second members are / i, ĩ, e, a /. Their combinations form only six clusters in the final position.

i	[a	/pAtia/	‘mattress’
	i	/mai/	‘mother’
a	ĩ	/maĩ/	‘rope’
	ẽ	/khaẽ/	‘may eat’
o	[a	/Aroa/	‘unboiled rice’
u	[a	/kAchua/	‘tortoise’

Consonant Clusters

The number of consonants in a cluster is either two or three. Consonant clusters occur only in the medial and final positions. Clusters in the initial position are not available in the corpus of Nagpuria.

Medial two Consonant Clusters

The medial two consonant clusters are sub-divided into two types viz..

1. Identical clusters
2. Non – identical clusters.

Identical Clusters

-pp-	/kuppa/	‘tunnel’
-bb-	/jhAbba/	‘bunch’
-tt-	/uttAr/	‘north’
-dd-	/bAddu/	‘stained’

-TT-	/cATTayn/	‘rock’
-DD-	/gADDi/	‘pack’
-cc-	/kAcca/	‘unripe’
-jj-	/bAjjA/	‘thunder’
-kk-	/mukka/	‘fist’
-gg-	/sagga/	‘leaf’
-mm-	/bAmma/	‘pole’
-nn-	/bAnna/	‘creeping plant’
-ll-	/bAllAm/	‘spear’
-ss-	/gussa/	‘anger’
-r r-	/phArra/	‘wooden plank’
-ww-	/chAwwa/	‘lad’

Non-identical Clusters

Among the medial two consonant clusters, non-identical clusters form a sub-group. They are of two types i.e.(1) N.C. Type [N stands for a nasal and C for other consonant] and (2) C1 C2 Type.

NC TYPE

The first member of the cluster is bilabial nasal and the second member is one of the consonants viz. / p, b, bh, d, dh, T, k, jh, r, h/ .(a bit spread)

The first member of the cluster is alveolar nasal and the second member is one of the consonants viz. / p, b, t, d, dh, T, D, Th, Dh,k, g, c, j, jh, m, s, h/ . (a bit spread with interrelated space)

The first member is velar nasal and the second member is one of the two consonants viz./ *T* and *D*/ .

e.g.	<i>p</i>	<i>/cAmpa/</i>	‘a flower’
<i>b</i>		<i>/nimbo/</i>	‘lemon’
	<i>bh</i>	<i>/thAmbha/</i>	‘pillar’
	<i>d</i>	<i>/umda/</i>	‘better’
<i>m</i>	<i>dh</i>	<i>/sAmdhin/</i>	‘daughter-in-law’s mother’
	<i>T</i>	<i>/cimTa/</i>	‘tong’
	<i>k</i>	<i>/cAmki/</i>	‘glowing worm’
	<i>jh</i>	<i>/sAmjhek/</i>	‘to understand’
	<i>r</i>	<i>/nimra/</i>	‘finish’
	<i>h</i>	<i>/sAmhar/</i>	‘manage’
	<i>p</i>	<i>/gAnpAyt/</i>	‘Lord Ganesh’
	<i>b</i>	<i>/AmbAn/</i>	‘conflict’
	<i>t</i>	<i>/santi/</i>	‘peace’
	<i>d</i>	<i>/kAnda/</i>	‘sweet potato’
	<i>dh</i>	<i>/kondhari/</i>	‘attic’
	<i>T</i>	<i>/ghAnTa/</i>	‘bell’
	<i>D</i>	<i>/DinDa/</i>	‘bachelor’
<i>n</i>	<i>Th</i>	<i>/TanTha/</i>	‘cold’
	<i>Dh</i>	<i>/ThAnDha/</i>	‘hardship’
	<i>k</i>	<i>/jhAnkar/</i>	‘rattling sound’
	<i>g</i>	<i>/cingun/</i>	‘small birds’
	<i>c</i>	<i>/sAnca/</i>	‘frame for brick’
	<i>j</i>	<i>/gAnja/</i>	‘bald headed’

	<i>jh</i>	<i>/jhAnjhAyT/</i>	‘trouble’
	<i>m</i>	<i>/DhAnmAyn/</i>	‘tossing sounds’
	— <i>s</i>	<i>/bhAnsa/</i>	‘big oven’
	<i>h</i>	<i>/kanhAr/</i>	‘vulture’
<i>T</i>	<i>T</i>	<i>/leNTa/</i>	‘naked’
	<i>D</i>	<i>/lAn·Da/</i>	‘naked’

C1C2 TYPE

Among the clusters of C1C2 type, the first members are /*p* , *bh* , *b* , *bh* , *t* , *th* , *d* , *dh* , *T* , *Th* , *c* , *ch*,*j* , *k* , *dh* , *g* , *gh* , *l* , *r* , *s* , *y* , and *w*/ and the second members are / *p* , *ph* , *t* , *d* , *th* , *dh* , *t* , *d* , *c* , *j* , *ch* , *jh* , *k* , *g* , *kh* , *gh* , *l* , *m* , *n* , *r* , *s* , *h* , *w*/

e.g.	<i>ph</i>	<i>/kApPhAn/</i>	‘cloth for covering dead body’
	<i>t</i>	<i>/hApta/</i>	‘week’
<i>p</i>	<i>T</i>	<i>/cApTa/</i>	‘flat’
	<i>l</i>	<i>/pepla/</i>	‘butterfly’
	<i>r</i>	<i>/khApra/</i>	‘tiles’
<i>ph</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>/phophla/</i>	‘blister’
	<i>d</i>	<i>/jAbdi/</i>	‘seize’
<i>b</i>	<i>j</i>	<i>/sAbji/</i>	‘raw vegetables’
	<i>l</i>	<i>/kobla/</i>	‘idiot’
	<i>r</i>	<i>/Abrik/</i>	‘now, this time’
	<i>n</i>	<i>/Dubhni/</i>	‘curry vessel’
<i>bh</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>/Dabhka/</i>	‘half boiled’
	<i>th</i>	<i>/bAttha/</i>	‘pain’
<i>t</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>/etna/</i>	‘so much’

	<i>r</i>	<i>/jatri/</i>	‘passenger’
			‘pilgrims’
<i>th</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>/gAthni/</i>	‘planting seedings’
	<i>dh</i>	<i>/giddhar/</i>	‘vulture’
<i>d</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>/gudra/</i>	‘do’,continue’
	<i>m</i>	<i>/Admi/</i>	‘man’
<i>dh</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>/AdhmarAl/</i>	‘half dead beaten’
	<i>k</i>	<i>/chiTkini/</i>	‘latch’
<i>T</i>	<i>kh</i>	<i>/bATkhAra/</i>	‘weight scale’
	<i>r</i>	<i>/nATra/</i>	‘dwarf’
	<i>r</i>	<i>/pAThru/</i>	‘zeal, kid’
<i>Th</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>/ruThlAk/</i>	‘he,she became angry’
<i>c</i>	<i>ch</i>	<i>/biccha/</i>	‘scorpion’
	<i>D</i>	<i>/khiDi/</i>	‘mixed boiled rice’
<i>ch</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>/bAchru/</i>	‘calf’
<i>j</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>/rAjma/</i>	‘gram’
	<i>p</i>	<i>/cAkpaAk/</i>	‘fickle minded’
	<i>b</i>	<i>/AkbaAk/</i>	‘perplexed’
	<i>t</i>	<i>/bhokta/</i>	‘a caste’
	<i>d</i>	<i>/ekdAm/</i>	‘at once’
	<i>T</i>	<i>/nAkTa/</i>	‘shameless’ ‘noseless’
<i>k</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>/bokla/</i>	‘bark of the tree’
	<i>m</i>	<i>/cAkma/</i>	‘puzzle’, ‘riddle’
	<i>r</i>	<i>/bikra/</i>	‘middle man’

	<i>s</i>	<i>/noksən/</i>	‘loss’
	<i>m</i>	<i>/jAkhmi/</i>	‘wounded’
<i>kh</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>/jAkhne/</i>	‘just then’
	<i>r</i>	<i>/bAgra/</i>	‘too many’
<i>g</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>/cēgna/</i>	‘chicken’
	<i>T</i>	<i>/ghũghTa/</i>	‘veil’
<i>gh</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>/ughra/</i>	‘unclad’
	<i>t</i>	<i>/gAlti/</i>	‘mistake’
	<i>d</i>	<i>/jAldi/</i>	‘soon’
	<i>T</i>	<i>/pAlTAn/</i>	‘army’
	<i>c</i>	<i>/belca/</i>	‘spade’
<i>l</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>/Dholki/</i>	‘drum’
	<i>g</i>	<i>/mAlga/</i>	‘a type of soil fish’
	<i>m</i>	<i>/julmi/</i>	‘tyrant’
	<i>s</i>	<i>/sAlsAnt/</i>	‘content’
	<i>w</i>	<i>/kAlwa/</i>	‘breakfast’
	<i>p</i>	<i>/cArpAT/</i>	‘cunning’
	<i>bh</i>	<i>/pArbhu/</i>	‘God’
	<i>t</i>	<i>/kurta/</i>	‘male garment’
	<i>th</i>	<i>/pirthi/</i>	‘ground’, ‘earth’
	<i>d</i>	<i>/pArda/</i>	‘curtain’, ‘secrecy’
	<i>dh</i>	<i>/pArdha/</i>	‘bullock’
	<i>k</i>	<i>/cArka/</i>	‘white’
	<i>g</i>	<i>/murgi/</i>	‘hen’

<i>r</i>	<i>kh</i>	<i>/bArkhi/</i>	‘oblation ceremony’
	<i>gh</i>	<i>/Arghi/</i>	‘water fall’
	<i>c</i>	<i>/mArca/</i>	‘pepper’
	<i>ch</i>	<i>/dArcho/</i>	‘shallow’
	<i>j</i>	<i>/Arji/</i>	‘appeal’
	<i>jh</i>	<i>/lArjha/</i>	‘faint’
	<i>m</i>	<i>/gArmi/</i>	‘heat’
	<i>n</i>	<i>/purna/</i>	‘old’
	<i>s</i>	<i>/sArso/</i>	‘mustared seed’
	<i>h</i>	<i>/kaRha/</i>	‘medicinal drink’
	<i>p</i>	<i>/rAspAs/</i>	‘mixing’
	<i>ph</i>	<i>/ phusphus/</i>	‘whispering’
	<i>t</i>	<i>/sAsta/</i>	‘cheap’
<i>s</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>/dusmAn/</i>	‘enemy’
	<i>n</i>	<i>/usna/</i>	‘boiled’
	<i>th</i>	<i>/Asthan/</i>	‘holy place’
	<i>k</i>	<i>/moskil/</i>	‘hard’, ‘difficult’
	<i>r</i>	<i>/AyrAga/</i>	‘more than enough’
	<i>D</i>	<i>/bhũyDol/</i>	‘earthquake’
	<i>j</i>	<i>/oyji/</i>	‘turn’
<i>y</i>	<i>Jh</i>	<i>/mAyjha/</i>	‘creeper to tie the bundli’
	<i>s</i>	<i>/pays/</i>	‘money’
	<i>l</i>	<i>/mAyla/</i>	‘dirty’
	<i>t</i>	<i>/jijwtia/</i>	‘women’s festival for their son’

	<i>d</i>	<i>/hAwdɑ/</i>	‘animal, s eating pot’
<i>w</i>	<i>dh</i>	<i>/Ãwdhɑ/</i>	‘foolish’
	<i>j</i>	<i>/bhAwji/</i>	‘elder brother’s wife’
	<i>n</i>	<i>/sAwnɑ/</i>	‘mixed food’

Medial three Consonant clusters

Medial three consonant clusters are of two types : viz.

(1) NC₁. C₂ and (2) C₁.C₂.C₃. Type.

N C₁ C₂ TYPE

	<i>dr</i>	<i>/kAndra/</i>	‘cave’
	<i>dhr</i>	<i>/Andhra/</i>	‘blind man’
	<i>gr</i>	<i>/Tangra/</i>	‘clavated ground before hut’

C₁ C₂ C₃ TYPE

<i>s</i>	<i>Tr</i>	<i>/mistri/</i>	‘mason’
	<i>jhi</i>	<i>/mAjhla/</i>	‘middle one’
<i>y</i>	<i>cl</i>	<i>/mAycla/</i>	‘tool made of rope to sit’
	<i>sn</i>	<i>/Aysne/</i>	‘like this’

Final clusters

The final consonant clusters are of only two members. They are of two types, viz (1) NC Type and (2) C₁ C₂ Type.

N C Type

	<i>t</i>	<i>/Ant /</i>	‘end’
	<i>d</i>	<i>/mAnd/</i>	‘dull’
<i>n</i>	<i>dh</i>	<i>/gAndh/</i>	‘bad smell’
	<i>j</i>	<i>/kArAnj/</i>	‘ring’

C1	C2	TYPE	
s	th	/susth/	‘healthy’
	t	/Ayt/	‘extreme’
	d	/muyd/	‘closed’ covered’
	j	/teyj/	‘sharp’
	ch	/põych/	‘tail’
	T	/jhAnjhAyT/	‘trouble’
	Th	/goyTh/	‘talk’ ‘conversation’
y	k	/eyk/	‘unison’
	g	/ayg/	‘fire’
	kh	/ãykh/	‘eye’
	l	/cuyl/	‘hair’
	r	/deyr/	‘late’
	n	/Ayn/	‘law’
	t	/Awt/	‘issuless’
w	r	/gAwr/	‘trick’

2.5. Syllabic Structure

Syllable is defined as the smallest unit of recurrent phonemic sequence which constitutes the most convenient frame work for describing the distribution of phonemes. (Haugen : 1956) . In Nagpuria, a syllable is a vocalic unit or a combination of vocalic units preceded or followed by one or two consonantal margins.

The elements constituting a syllable are onset which contains one or two consonants, nucleus which contains a vowel and coda which contains one or two consonants. A syllable has a nucleus obligatorily and it may have onset and / or coda optionally.

e.g.	V	/i/	‘this’
	CV	/de/	‘give’
	VC	/uTh/	‘rise’
	CVC	/bAn/	‘forest’

Coda consists of any one of the consonants except velar nasal /n·/. Codas of complex nature i.e. having two consonants are not available in the corpus. Two syllabic nuclei can come in sequence without any consonantal interlude. One to three consonants can come between two nuclei.

e.g.	VCV	/ãdhi/	‘storm’
	CVCCV	/mukka/	‘fist’
	CVCCCV	/kAndra/	‘cave’

The word level analysis of Nagpuria reveals that a word contains at least one syllable and at the most four syllables. Thus mono – syllabic, di-syllabic, tri-syllabic and tetra-syllabic words are found in the language. The words having tetra- syllabic structure are very few.

Mono-syllabic words

The syllabic pattern of mono – syllabic words are given below:

V	/u/	‘that’
CV	/ni/	‘not’
VC	/oTh/	‘lip’
VCC	/ayg/	‘fire’
CVC	/rog/	‘disease’
CVCC	/rayt/	‘night’

The frequency of occurrence of words of V, VCC and CVCC patterns are lesser than the others. It may be mentioned here that most of these syllabic patterns may become a constituent syllable of a word having more than one syllable.

Di-syllabic Words

Permissible syllabic sequences in di-syllabic words are given below:

V-V	/i-a/	‘mother’
V-CV	/ã-dhi/	‘storm’

V-CVC	<i>/i-man/</i>	‘honesty’
V-CVCC	<i>/a-dAyt/</i>	‘habit’
CV-CV	<i>/jA-ni/</i>	‘wife’, ‘women’
CV-CVC	<i>/ni-Thur/</i>	‘cruel’, ‘hard’
CV-CVCC	<i>/bi-layr/</i>	‘cat’
VC-CV	<i>/ugh-ra/</i>	‘naked’
VCC-CV	<i>/Andh-ra/</i>	‘blind’
CVCC-CV	<i>/kAnd-ra/</i>	‘cave’
VC-CVC	<i>/As-war/</i>	‘rider’
CVC-CV	<i>/muk-ka/</i>	‘fist’
CVC-CVC	<i>/gid-dhar/</i>	‘vulture’
CVC-CVCC	<i>/cAT-Tayn/</i>	‘rocks’

Tri-syllabic words

The words containing three syllables are more in number like those of di-syllabic words. The canonical patterns of tri-syllabic words are given below.

V-V-CV	<i>/a-o-na/</i>	‘I come’
V-CV-V	<i>/A-ro-a/</i>	‘unboiled rice’
V-CV-CV	<i>/Ā-Ta-ri/</i>	‘pucca building’
V-CVC-CV	<i>/e-rAn-Di/</i>	‘oil seed’
CV-V-CV	<i>/ce-a-Di/</i>	‘Arrow’
CV-CV-V	<i>/tA-ri-a/</i>	‘edge’, ‘below’
CV-CV-CV	<i>/go-mA-ke/</i>	‘head of family clan’
CV-CVC-CV	<i>/kho-khA r-ni</i>	‘wooden laddle’
CV-CV-CVC	<i>/Ma-tA-lAb/</i>	‘meaning ‘,purpose’
CV-CVC-CVC	<i>/Sa-mud-dAr/</i>	‘sea’
CV-CV-VC	<i>/mo-la-em/</i>	‘soft’
CV-CVC-CVCC	<i>/mA-rA m-m Ayt/</i>	‘repairing’

VC-CV-CV	<i>/Ay-rA-ga/</i>	‘more than enough’
CVC-CV-CV	<i>/bAT-khA-ra/</i>	‘weight scale’
CVC-CV-VC	<i>/nim-ra-ek/</i>	‘to finish’
CVC-CV-CVC	<i>/sAm-pa-dAk/</i>	‘editor’

Tetra-syllabic words

Tetra-syllabic words are very few in the language. The syllabic sequences of tetra-syllabic words are given below:

V-CV-CV-V	<i>/u-DhA-ri-a/</i>	‘eloped woman’
CV-CV-CV-CV	<i>/me-hA-ra-ru/</i>	‘women’, ‘wife’
CV-CV-CV-CVC	<i>/chu-ti-hA-rAl/</i>	‘debased’
CV-CVC-CV-CV	<i>/jA-rAn-ta-ha/</i>	‘envious’
CV-CV-CV-V	<i>/ba-hu-ri-a/</i>	‘daughter-in-law’
CVC-CV-CV-CV	<i>/dAr-cho-chA-ra/</i>	‘mean’, ‘wicked’

Canonical Patterns

On the basis of the syllabic patterns available in the words of mono-syllabic to tetra-syllabic structures, the following canonical patterns may be derived in initial, medial and final positions. Out of six canonical patterns in the initial position, two are open and the rest are closed. In the medial position out of the three, two are open and one is closed. In the final position, three are open and two are closed.

Initial position

V-	<i>/i/</i>	‘this’, ‘it’
CV-	<i>/le/</i>	‘take’
VC-	<i>/ug/</i>	‘rise’
VCC-	<i>/ayj/</i>	‘today’
CVC-	<i>/Din-Da/</i>	‘bachelor’
CVCC-	<i>/rayt/</i>	‘night’

Medial position

-V-	<i>/ce-a-Di/</i>	‘arrow’
-CV-	<i>/Ay-rA-ga/</i>	‘more than enough’
-CVC-	<i>/e-rA n-Di/</i>	‘oil seed’

Final position

-V	<i>/A-ro-a/</i>	‘unboiled’
-CV	<i>/A-sA -ra/</i>	‘hope’, ‘expectation’
-CVC	<i>/sA-mud-dAr/</i>	‘sea’
-CCV	<i>/kAn-dra/</i>	‘cave’
-CVCC	<i>/a-dAyt/</i>	‘habit’

3. MORPHOLOGY

The word-classes of Nagpuria which have been established on morphological and syntactic criteria are the following: nouns, verbs, noun attributes, adverbs, post positions and particles. Of these the nouns and the verbs have been established on morphological consideration and rest of the word classes on syntactic criteria. Functionally, noun attributes include adjectives and numerals and on syntactic level they precede nouns and formally they take same formative affixes like nouns. So it can be said that they constitute a sub-group within the noun class. However, in the present analysis they have been treated separately for the convenience of description.

Pronouns also form a sub-class of nouns, for they too take case markers. Syntactically they behave alike i.e. both of them can occur as subject, object (direct and indirect) etc. They are, nevertheless, a separate sub-class as they differ morphologically in a number of ways, dealt with at appropriate places, in the analysis. Likewise, the adverbs have been established following morphological consideration but some words originally belonging to other classes function as adverbs on syntactic level. The post-positions and particles are syntactic classes.

The morphological processes employed by Nagpuria are prefixation, suffixation, reduplication, suppletion and compounding.

The nouns and pronouns (except 3rd personal pronoun) are all single-stem forms. The oblique formation is totally lost in nouns, but partially maintained in pronouns. The formations are mostly periphrastic; hence, when the morphological elements come together, the morpho phonemic changes that take place are very few.

1.1.NOUN MORPHOLOGY

3.1.1 Nouns

The noun is a class of forms which takes number, gender and case markers. The nouns can occur or function as subject or object in a construction. [designating person, place thing and quality]

In Nagpuria, the noun forms may be grouped under three types:

- A. Simple forms.
- B. Derived forms.
- C. Compound forms.

A. Simple forms

The simple noun stems or bases are mono morphemic in nature. They end in vowels or consonants.

<i>Admi</i>	‘man’
<i>jAni</i>	‘woman’
<i>nati</i>	‘grand son’
<i>roTi</i>	‘bread’
<i>rayt</i>	‘night’
<i>kaThi</i>	‘fuel, dry wood’
<i>geDe</i>	‘goose’
<i>gomke</i>	‘head of family, clan, village’
<i>sasu</i>	‘mother-in-law’
<i>balu</i>	‘sand’
<i>ghaTo</i>	‘crane’
<i>aja</i>	‘grand father’
<i>pap</i>	‘sin’
<i>jAbab</i>	‘answer’
<i>hath</i>	‘hand’
<i>lApAT</i>	‘flame’
<i>tel</i>	‘oil’
<i>lobh</i>	‘greed’
<i>nac</i>	‘dance’
<i>gAch</i>	‘tree’
<i>saj</i>	‘decoration’
<i>layj</i>	‘shame’
<i>bojh</i>	‘load’

<i>bihin</i>	‘seed’
<i>kam</i>	‘work’
<i>bhag</i>	‘share’
<i>badh</i>	‘rope’
<i>dan</i>	‘alms’
<i>muD</i>	‘head’
<i>rAs</i>	‘juice’
<i>bhor</i>	‘dawn’
<i>jal</i>	‘net’
<i>gal</i>	‘cheek’
<i>Dah</i>	‘envy’
<i>Thaw</i>	‘place’

B. Derived forms:

The derived nouns are those which are formed with other form-classes by using derivational affixes. (prefix and suffix) which serve as nominaliser. The affixes bring about a change in the semantic message conveyed.

<u>Prefixes</u>	<u>Noun stems</u>	<u>Noun forms</u>
<i>pAr</i> – ‘other’ country’	<i>des</i> ‘country’	<i>pArdes</i> ‘foreign’
<i>Aw</i> – ‘bad’	<i>gun</i> ‘quality’	<i>Awgun</i> ‘demerits’
<i>Ap</i> – ‘against’	<i>jAs</i> ‘good deed’	<i>Ap jAs</i> ‘defame’
<i>ni</i> – ‘with out’	<i>chAl</i> ‘deception’	<i>nichAl</i> ‘frankness’
<i>ku</i> – ‘bad’	<i>din</i> ‘day’	<i>kudin</i> ‘bad days’
<i>su</i> – ‘good’	<i>put</i> ‘offspring’	<i>suput</i> ‘worthy son’
<i>be</i> – ‘with out’	<i>lag</i> ‘control’	<i>belag</i> ‘uncontrolled one’

<i>bAd</i> – ‘bad’	<i>jayt</i> ‘caste,type’	<i>bAjjayt</i> ‘rogue’
<i>kAm</i> - ‘less’	<i>jor</i> ‘strength’	<i>kAmjor</i> ‘weak’
<i>mAha</i> - ‘great’	<i>jAn</i> ‘person’	<i>mAhajAn</i> ‘merchant’

B.1. Nouns derived by adding suffixes

<u>Noun stems</u>	<u>Suffixes</u>	<u>Derived Nouns</u>
<i>cor</i> ‘thief’	- <i>i</i> ‘action’	<i>cori</i> ‘theft’
<i>peT</i> ‘belly’	- <i>u</i> ‘agent’	<i>peTu</i> ‘greedy person’
<i>kam</i> ‘work’	- <i>dar</i> ‘agent’	<i>kamdar</i> ‘worker,labourer’
<i>mukh</i> ‘mouth’	- <i>ia</i> ‘belonging’	<i>mukhia</i> ‘spokesman’
<i>bhay</i> ‘brother’	- <i>aro</i> ‘relation’	<i>bhAyaro</i> ‘blood relation’
<i>dudh</i> ‘milk’	- <i>ayr</i> ‘belonging’	<i>dudhay</i> ‘milking animal’
<i>hAr</i> ‘plough’	- <i>waha</i> ‘agent’	<i>hArwaha</i> ‘ploughman’

B.2 Nouns derived from verb-roots

<u>Verb roots</u>	<u>Suffixes</u>	<u>Derived Nouns</u>
<i>hÃs</i>	‘laugh’	- <i>i</i> <i>hÃsi</i> ‘loughter’
<i>uTh</i>	‘rise’	- <i>an</i> <i>uThan</i> ‘risen land’
<i>khod</i>	‘dig’	- <i>ay</i> <i>khoday</i> ‘engraving’ ‘act of digging’
<i>bAyTh</i>	‘sit’	- <i>ki</i> <i>bAyThAki</i> ‘leisure’

B.3. Nouns derived from Adjectives

<u>Adjectives</u>	<u>Suffixes</u>	<u>Derived Nouns</u>
<i>khus</i> ‘happy’	- <i>i</i>	<i>khusi</i> ‘happiness’
<i>miTh</i> ‘sweet’	- <i>as</i>	<i>miThas</i> ‘sweetness’
<i>miTh</i> ‘sweet’	- <i>ay</i>	<i>miThay</i> ‘something’

C. Compound forms

Compound noun stems consist of more than one primary root; constituting a single word. It is a construction with underlying semantic structure. The compound forms share almost all the features of a phrase, but they function as a single unit. In Nagpuria this process (compounding and reduplication) is very distinct and are fragments. The examples of different types of compounding are cited below under three categories.

C.1. Copulative Compound:

(N1 + N2) Here meaning of each component part is retained. e.g.

<i>tir dhAnu</i>	‘bow and arrow’
<i>dail bhat</i>	‘pulse and rice’
<i>bhukh piyas</i>	‘hunger and thirst’
<i>sukh dukh</i>	‘joy and sorrow’

C.2 (N1 + N2) becomes N3

The meaning of each component part is combined to form a new meaning. e.g.

<i>maTi – kaThi</i>	‘earth and fuel’, ‘cremation ritual’
<i>chAwa – puta</i>	‘boy and son’, ‘off spring’
<i>diya – bati</i>	‘earthen lamp and cord’, ‘lightings’

C.3. Attributive Compound:

The second component is always a noun stem and the first an adjective i.e. the first component.

<i>nir bAsiya</i>	‘child less’
<i>ghoDr muha</i>	‘person having face like horse’
<i>kAri muhi</i>	‘black faced woman’

C.4. Determinative Compound:

The second component part is qualified by the first one e.g.

<i>lAnghAn dukh</i>	‘pain of lameness’
<i>tAruayr nac</i>	‘sword dance’

D. 5. Reduplication: (N1 + N1)

The reduplication process expresses that something exists or occurs distributed and expresses intenseness.

e.g.

<i>ghAri ghAri</i>	‘very often, frequently’
<i>ghAr ghAr</i>	‘every house’, ‘house to house’
<i>Thā w Thā w</i>	‘everywhere’, ‘here and there’
<i>dona dona</i>	‘with the help of cup-leaf’
<i>gAgAri gAgAri</i>	‘with the help of jar’
<i>khusi khusi</i>	‘happily, readily’
<i>TukAra TukAra</i>	‘in pieces’

C.6. Balance Nouns:

Balance nouns occur with other nouns in coordination and are in same grammatical class as the main nouns. Further the second member of the compound functions as the balance noun and it never occurs separately or independently, the second member always conveys the same of ‘etc.’ or ‘so on’ which may be regarded as a case of partial reduplication.

<i>pani – tani</i>	‘beverage’
<i>khArAc – bArAc</i>	‘spending’
<i>ujur – majur</i>	‘protest’
<i>baja – gaja</i>	‘solemnity’
<i>dAwe – biro</i>	‘medicine’
<i>mAyla – jhAyla</i>	‘garbage’, ‘dirty’

1.1.2 Number

There are two numbers in Nagpuria viz. Singular and plural. The singular number remains un-marked and plurality is expressed periphrastically. There are three plural denoting allomorphs {*mAn*} , {*mAne*} and {*mAna*}. The inanimate nouns take {*mAn*}, while animate

nouns including non-humans take {*mAne*} and {*mAna*} which are in free variation. Henceforth in the analysis, only {*mAne*} form has been used for denoting plurality of animate nouns.

Animate Nouns:

<u>Singular</u>		<u>Plural</u>	
<i>Admi</i>	‘man’	<i>Admi mAne</i>	‘men’
<i>jAni</i>	‘woman’	<i>jAni mAne</i>	‘women’

Inanimate Nouns:

<u>Singular</u>		<u>Plural</u>	
<i>phAr</i>	‘fruit’	<i>phAr mAn</i>	‘fruits’
<i>phul</i>	‘flower’	<i>phul mAn</i>	‘flowers’

If a numeral is used before a noun, there is no need of affixing plural markers {*mAn*} or {*mAne* ~ *mAna*} to express plurality. E.g. *duij chAwa* ‘two boys’, *cayr gAch* ‘four trees’ etc.

3.1.3 Gender

Gender in Nagpuria realized at lexical level only. The feminine gender has */-i/*, */-in /*, */-ni /* ~ */-ayn /* markers. However, there are certain pairs mostly of kinship relationship which have independent forms to denote gender distinction. In case of inanimate nouns all the feminine gender markers express diminutive sense.

The masculine suffixes are *-a*, \emptyset .

The feminine forms are marked. Final vowel *-a* is replaced by *-i*. e.g.

Masculine		Feminine	
<i>ghoD-a</i>	‘horse’	<i>ghoD-i</i>	‘mare’
<i>kak-a</i>	‘uncle’	<i>kak-i</i>	‘aunt’
<i>nan-a</i>	‘mother’s father’	<i>nan-i</i>	‘mother’s mother’
<i>aj-a</i>	‘grand father’	<i>aj-i</i>	‘grand mother’
<i>sar-a</i>	‘brother-in-law’	<i>sar-i</i>	‘sister-in-law’
<i>bAkAr-a</i>	‘he goat’	<i>bAkAri</i>	‘she goat’

<i>pot-a</i>	‘grand son’	<i>pot-i</i>	‘grand daughter’
<i>mam-a</i>	‘maternal uncle’	<i>mam-i</i>	‘maternal aunt’
<i>chōD-a</i>	‘lad’	<i>chōD-i</i>	‘lass’
<i>thar-a</i>	‘plate’	<i>thar-i</i>	‘small plate’

masculine nouns add /-in / to make feminine.

<i>Dom</i>	‘sweeper’	<i>Domin</i>	‘sweeper’s wife’
<i>bhAgAṭ</i>	‘vegetarian male person’	<i>bhAgAṭin</i>	‘vegetarian female person’
<i>bagh</i>	‘tiger’	<i>baghin</i>	‘tigress’
<i>sonar</i>	‘gold smith’	<i>sonarin</i>	‘goldsmith’s wife’
<i>siar</i>	‘jackal male’	<i>siarin</i>	‘jackal female’

/-I / ending masculine nouns add / -in / to make feminine.

<i>tel-i</i>	‘oil man’	<i>tel-in</i>	‘oil woman’
<i>dhob-i</i>	‘washer man’	<i>dhobin</i>	‘washer woman’
<i>mal-i</i>	‘gardener’	<i>mal-in</i>	‘female gardener’
<i>naṭ-i</i>	‘grand child’	<i>naṭ-in</i>	‘female grand child’

The -u ending masculine adds / -ain / to make feminine.

<i>sadhu</i>	‘monk’	<i>sAdhuayn</i>	‘women monk’
<i>guru</i>	‘priest’	<i>guruan</i>	‘female priest’

The followings are the oppositional pairs having independent lexemes to denote gender distinction:

<u>Masculine</u>		<u>Feminine</u>	
<i>bhay</i>	‘brother’	<i>bAhin</i>	‘sister’
<i>Admi</i>	‘man’	<i>jAni</i>	‘woman’
<i>aba</i>	‘father’	<i>aiy</i>	‘mother’
<i>ba:p</i>	‘father’	<i>ayA</i>	‘mother’

<i>kaDa</i>	‘he buffalo’	<i>bhĀys</i>	‘she buffalo’
<i>sAsur</i>	‘father-in-law’	<i>sas</i>	‘mother-in-law’
<i>Admi</i>	‘male’	<i>istiri</i>	‘female’
<i>Admi</i>	‘husband’	<i>pArani</i>	‘wife’
<i>goru</i>	‘bull’	<i>gay</i>	‘cow’
<i>kukur</i>	‘dog’ is used for both masculine and feminine forms.		

3.1.4 Case

The case inflections are suffixes which are added to the noun stems to establish some kind of relationship between nouns and other word-classes, particularly verb in an utterance. In Nagpuria, the noun stems are either inflected (in rare case i.e. only in locative) or take specific case markers or post-positions in order to participate in larger constructions.

As a marked feature, it is to be noted that all the nouns in Nagpuria are single stem nouns. The system of oblique formation in nouns is completely lost, but it is maintained in personal pronouns (first and second persons). There are eight cases in Nagpuria, discussed below.

<u>Cases</u>	<u>Markers</u>
Nominative	- Φ
Accusative / Dative	- <i>ke</i> , - Φ
Instrumental	- <i>le</i> , - <i>se</i> , - <i>e</i>
Ablative	- <i>le</i>
Genitive	- <i>kAr</i> , - <i>ker</i> , - <i>k</i>
Sociative	- <i>sAẽ</i>
Locative	- <i>e</i> , - <i>mẽ</i>
Vocative	<i>ne-</i> , <i>re-</i> , <i>he-</i>

Nominative Case

Nominative has no marker. The nominal bases function as nominative i.e. nominative goes unmarked. Semantically, nominative function as the subject of the verb or patients of the verb. e.g.

/ chAwa alAk / ‘the boy came.’

/ kukur bhukel / ‘the dog barks’

Accusative / Dative Case

The accusative is mainly used to mark the direct object of the transitive verb. The accusative case suffix is realized as */ -ke ∅ Φ /*.

∅ - *ke* is obligatory with animate nouns and determinate objects. e.g.

/ u mAne corke ni mar lAẽ / ‘They did not beat the thief’

/ hAmAre mAne gayke duhil / ‘we milk the cow’

/ u cArAy ke marel / ‘He hits the bird’

∅ Φ The inanimate objects do not take any accusative case marker generally. e.g.

/ bhAria kaThi lanlAk / ‘the porter fetched the word’

/ chAwa bhaṭ khalAk / ‘the boy ate rice’

/ jAnimAne luga māgen / ‘the women ask for clothes’

Instrumental Case

The instrumental case is realized as */ -le ∅ se /*. The inanimate objects, when become instrumental to perform some acts, take *-le* case markers. e.g.

/ u churi le Amba kaTAIAk / ‘he cut the mango with knife’

/ bhAria TaNale kaThi kaTel / ‘The labourer cuts wood with axe’

- *se* is in free variation with *-le* to denote instrumental case; but *-se* is not generally found in the usage of illiterate people. Instrumental case marker *-se* is apparently from Hindi source.

/ hath se dhAr , kAlAm se likh / ‘hold with the hand , write with pen’

The instrumental case is also expressed by the locative inflection *-e* generally when a body part is employed: e.g.

/ ā ykhe dekhAl kAhō na kane sunAl / ‘should I say what seen with eyes or heard with ears’

Dative Case

The dative case marker *-ke* is mainly used to mark the indirect object of the transitive verb. This is always semantically exception.

/ moē gAribmAne ke dan deona / ‘I give alms to the poor’

/ i mAn Amba chAwa ke de / ‘give these mangoes to the child.’

Ablative Case

The ablative case is realized by the marker */ - le /* ‘from’ in order to show separation or extraction. Of late, the case marker */ - se /* has become preferable because of growing impact of Hindi. e.g.

/ gAch le phAr giralAk / ‘the fruit fell down from the tree’

/ i bayt kekAr mūh le u sunAlAk / ‘from whose mouth ‘did he hear this’?’

Genitive Case

The genitive case is realized by the markers */ -kAr / ∞ / - ker / ∞ / -k /* The marker */ kAr /* occurs with animate base, */ ker /* with abstract and concrete base. e.g.

/ ghAr kAr dura / ‘gate of the home’

/ g āw kAr chAwa / ‘boy of the village’

∞ - ker occurs with abstract nominal bases and material nominal bases e.g.

/ layj ker bayt / ‘matter of shame’

/ dhArAm ker kaj / ‘work of religion’

∞ -k occurs with nominal and pronominal bases having plural marker */ - mAn /* and

/ - mAne / e.g.

/ hAmAre mAnek ghAr / ‘our houses’

/ rAwre mAnek bayt / ‘your(hon.)statement’

/ u mAnAk kimAt / 'price of those things'

Sociative Case

The sociative case is realized as / -sAẽ / 'with, in company', with pronominal bases genitive marker precedes sociative / -sAẽ /.

/ hAmAre sAẽ / 'with us'

/ u mor sAẽ peThia gelAk / 'he went to market with me'

Locative Case

The locative case is realized as / -mẽ / 'in, in to' and / -e /.

∞ - *mẽ* occurs after the nominal bases ending in vowels genially. e.g.

/ nAdi mẽ naw / 'a boat in the river'

/ oDia mẽ dhan / 'paddy in the basket'

/ khõta mẽ cArAy mAn / 'birds in the nest'

∞ - *e*. In locative case, the nominal bases ending in consonants get inflected. This is obligatory. e.g.

/ aba ghAre ahe / 'father is in the house'

/ cita i bAne ni / 'tiger is not in this forest'

/ sAmAy sire ahe / 'you will come in time'

/ u kAr hathe tAruayr ahe / 'he has a sword in his hand'

Vocative Case

The vocative case is realized as / *ne-* /, / *re-* / and / *he-* / . These markers precede the nouns (animate human).

ne- occurs before an unfamiliar nominal bases e.g.

/ ne bhay, toẽ cup rAhAbe / 'o brother, you will remain silent'

/ ne babu, iThAn a u / 'o sir, please come here'

he- occurs before intimate nominal base for address.

/ he ai, moẽ bhat ni khabõ / 'o mother, I will not eat rice.'

re - occurs before the nominal base of lower status and social position or in very close affairs to show utmost effecton.

3.2 Post-Positions

The postpositions occur medially after nominal and pronominal bases as free forms and the preceding bases generally take either accusative case marker *-ke*, or genitive case markers *-kAr*, *-ker* and *-k*. Semantically these post – positions have been grouped below.

Post – positions of place / location

These post-positions do take locative marker / *-e* / and convey the sense of adhesive or enessive locative sense.

<i>nAjik</i>	‘near’
<i>nerē</i>	‘near’
<i>pase</i>	‘near’, ‘close to’
<i>tire</i>	‘at the edge of’
<i>bhire</i>	‘to’
<i>Ara</i>	‘at the side of’
<i>lali</i>	‘around’
<i>layl</i>	‘around’
<i>agu</i>	‘in front of’, ‘before’
<i>age</i>	‘in presence of’
<i>ihā</i>	‘at’
<i>Thekan</i>	‘up to’
<i>bhitAr</i>	‘inside’
<i>majh</i>	‘among, amidst’
<i>madhe</i>	‘from among’
<i>upAre</i>	‘above’
<i>nice</i>	‘under’

<i>heThe</i>	‘below’
<i>tAria</i>	‘at the edge of’
<i>pache</i>	‘at the back of’
<i>ore</i>	‘this side of’
<i>lekAn</i>	‘through’
<i>jAg</i>	‘to’ ‘near’
<i>Thin</i>	‘at’
<i>ThAn</i>	‘at’
<i>dAn ~ dAne</i>	‘towards’
<i>bAT ~ bATe</i>	‘for, to, of’
<i>tAk</i>	‘up to’
<i>lay</i>	‘for’, ‘for the sake of’
<i>lagin</i>	‘for’, ‘for the sake of’
<i>lAkhe</i>	‘like’, ‘semi bar’
<i>niAr</i>	‘like’, ‘as’
<i>tAyr</i>	‘like’, ‘as’
<i>le</i>	‘in comparison of’
<i>niAn</i>	‘like’

3.3 Pronouns

Pronouns are a close group of words which can substitute nouns and can take case suffixes. In Nagpuria, the pronouns are the noun substitute as they take number and case markers, but in this analysis, they have been treated separately even on formal level for two reasons viz. i) they distinguish person and ii) in higher constructions the nouns are preceded by adjectives while pronouns follow the adjectives. On semantic level, the pronouns cover a wider range as they stand for noun and adjective too. In some cases, the pronouns function as relativizers above clause level constructions.

Thus the words such as / *i* / ‘this’ / *u* / ‘that’ are to be treated pronouns in one situation while adjective in another situation. Similarly, the words like / *iThAn* / ‘here’ and / *uThAn* / ‘there’ and / *kon* / ‘who / which’ are to be treated as pronouns and adverbs as well syntactically. The only difference will be that these words as pronouns have to behave like nouns on formal level.

(As stated earlier, the first and second personal pronouns are double stem nouns. i.e. base and oblique. Other pronominal forms are single-stem)

Pronouns in Nagpuria fall into six groups: They are

- | | |
|------------------|------------------|
| 1. Personal | 4. Relative |
| 2. Demonstrative | 5. Interrogative |
| 3. Reflexive | 6. Indefinite. |

Personal Pronouns

The personal pronouns are distinguished by three persons viz First person, second person (ordinary and honorific) and Third person; two numbers – singular and plural; and all the cases – which nouns take. Gender distinction is neutralized. The personal pronouns are as follows:

	<u>singular</u>	<u>plural</u>
<u>1st person</u>	<i>moẽ ~ hAm</i>	<i>hAmAre mAnẽ ~ hAmAre</i>
	‘I’	‘we’
<u>2nd person:</u>	<i>toẽ</i>	<i>tohAre mAnẽ~ tohAre</i>
(ordinary)	‘you’	‘you’
<u>2nd person :</u>	<i>rAwre</i>	<i>rAwre mAnẽ</i>
(honorific)	‘you’	‘you’
<u>third person</u>	<i>u</i>	<i>u mAnẽ</i>
Remote	(he, she)	(they)
Proximate	<i>i</i>	<i>i mAnẽ</i>
	(he, she)	(these)

Declension of personal pronouns

(singular)

Cases

STEMS

{ m o } { t̃ o } { rAwre } { u } { i }

Nominative-	ẽ	ẽ	Φ	Φ	Φ
Acc./ Dative-	ke	ke	ke	ke	ke
Genitive-	r	r	rAwr	kAr	kAr

The instrumental and sociative cases are realized after genitive base by adding respective case markers.

First Person (sg.) : / mo ẽ / , / hAm / ‘I ‘

/ mo / is the base form in the first person singular to which suffix - ẽ is added to denote singularity in nominative case. Base / mo / functions as an oblique form to take case suffixes / -ke / in dat / acc. and / -r / in genitive . e.g. / moke / to me / mor / ‘my’

/ moẽ / is used by the people having identical rank of social status and age. The other form to denote first person singular is / hAm / , which is predominantly used now instead of / moẽ / ; but it is to be noted that / hAm / form is strictly used in nominative only.

First person (plural) : / hAmAre mAne / , / hAmAre / ‘we’

For first person (plural) the form / hAmAre mAne / is used without any social restriction. As the plural marker - mAne is optional in nominative case, the form / hAmAre / ‘we’ is also widely used. The form / hAmre / in Acc. / Dat. and in Genitive cases does not take case markers directly. However, the oblique form / hAmAre / takes case markers preceded by plural marker - / mAne / e.g.

Acc / Dative - / hAmAre mAne ke / ‘to us’ ‘for us’

Genitive - / hAmAre mAnek / ‘our’

Second person (sg.) : / to ẽ / ‘you’

(ordinary)

/to/ is the base form in the second person singular to which –*ẽ* is added to denote singularity in nominative form. The base */to/* function as an oblique form to take case markers */-ke/* in Acc. / Dative and */-r/* in genitive case.

e.g.

/toke/ ‘to you’, */tor/* ‘you’

/toẽ/ is used by the people having same social status or having very intimate relations with each other. It is also used while addressing people of lower status, unfriendly and contemptuously.

Third Person (sg.): */u/*

(Remote)

As mentioned earlier, all other pronominal forms either first / second persons are single-stem nouns. So */u/* is the base form for 3rd person singular (remote) in nominative case. */u/* takes case markers – *ke* (Acc / Dative) and *-kAr* (genitive).

/uke/ ‘to him’ ‘to her’ ‘to that’

/ukAr/ ‘his’ ‘her’

Third Person Plural

(Remote)

/u mAne/ ‘They’ in nominative case and in acc / dative - */u mAneke/* ‘to them’
in genitive */u mAnek/* ‘their’ ‘of those’

Third Person (sg) : */i/*

(proximate)

/i/ is the form for nominative case for 3rd per.sg. (proximate). It is used exclusively to indicate near animate object.

/i/ takes case markers directly.

/ike/ to him, to her , to it.

/ikAr/ her, his, its.

Third Person (pl.) */i mAne/*

(proximate)

/ i mAnē / ‘these people’ is used in nominative form. and acc. / dative *- ke* and genitive *-k* are added to the nominative form.

/ imAnēke / ‘to these people’

/ imAnek / ‘of these people’

Second Person (plural): */ tohArē mAnē /* , */ tohArē /* ‘you all.’

(ordinary)

/ tohArē mAnē / for second person plural is used by the people having same social status or having very intimate relations with each other. Here also (as in First person(plural)) the plural marker *- mAnē* is optional in nominative case only; so the form */ tohArē /* is also widely used. The oblique */ tohArē /* will take */ - ke /* and */ -k /* acc./dat. and genitive case markers respectively preceded by plural marker */ mAnē /* .

e.g. */ tohArēmAnē ke /* ‘to you all’

/ tohArēmAnek / ‘yours’

Second Person : (sg.) (Honorific) : */ rAwre /* ‘your honour’

/ rAwre / ‘you’ is the base form for nominative case.

The form */ rAwre /* is not the oblique form but the reduced full form like expression. It takes Acc / Dative – marker *- ke*.

e.g. */ moē rAwre ke ni palō /* ‘I did not find you sir’

The form */ rAwr /* is genitive form.

e.g. */ rAwr chAwa /* ‘your son’

/ rAwr bayt / ‘your statement’, ‘your order’

Plural (Honorific) : */ rAwremAnē /* ‘you sirs’

/ rAwremAnē / is the form for second person (pl.) honorific’ in nominative case. The form (oblique) */ rAwre /* takes Acc / Dat. Case marker *-ke* preceded by plural marker */ mAnē /* .

e.g. */ rAwre mAnēke /* ‘to you sirs’

/ rAwre mAnek / ‘yours’

Demonstrative Pronouns:

	<u>sg.</u>	<u>Plural</u>
Remote	<i>u</i> ‘that’	<i>u mAn</i> ‘those’
Proximate	<i>i</i> ‘this,it’	<i>i mAn</i> ‘these’

/u/ is the form for singular remote demonstrative pronoun in nominative case. */u/* takes *-ke* and *-kAr* case markers in Acc / Dat. and genitive respectively. e.g.

/uke/ ‘to that’ */u mAnke/* ‘to them, to those’

/u kAr/ ‘of that’ */umAnkAr/* ‘of those’

/umAnAk/

/i/ is the form for singular base proximate demonstrative pronoun in nominative case .

/i/ takes case marker *-ke* and *-kAr* in Acc./Dat. and in genitive cases respectively. e.g.

/ike/ ‘to this, to it’ */imAnke/* ‘to these’

/i kAr/ ‘of this, of it’ */imAnkAr/* ~ ‘of these’

Reflexive Pronoun

/A pAn/ ‘self’ ‘one’s own’ ~ */ApAne/* / *ApAn/* is the base form and it takes *-e* in nominative case.

It is used with first person, second person and third person (singular and plurals) alike. e.g.

/moẽ ApAne dekhlo/ ‘I myself saw’

/toẽ Apne kAhAle/ ‘you yourself said’

/rAwre Apne sunAb/ ‘your honor,you will hear yourself’

/u ApAne mor ghAre alAk/ ‘he himself come to my house’

The form */ApAne/* takes case markers *-ke* (Acc / Dative) - *kAr* (Genitive).

/u ApAneke ni mari/ ‘he will not beat himself’

/u ApAnekAr kam bes kArel/ ‘he does his own work nicely’

Relative Pronouns : */je/* , */se/* , */te/*

Animate:	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>
	<i>je</i> ‘who’	<i>je mAne</i>
	<i>se</i> ‘he, she’	<i>se mAne</i>
Inanimate:	<i>je</i> ‘which’	<i>je mAn</i>
	<i>te</i> ‘that’	<i>te mAn</i>

/je/, /se/ are single – stem pronouns third person, singular number which in Nominative and in all other cases (Accusative, Dative, Genitive) are used. They are used for both animate and inanimate objects. e.g.

/je ke / ‘to one’ (acc./ dative)

/je kAr / ‘of some one’ (genitive)

/je / is used in the dependent clause of a complex sentence followed by */se /* in the following clause.

/je dekhAIk se bAtalAk / ‘he who saw, told’

/te / ‘that one’ is used for inanimate objects only in the following clause of a complex sentence. e.g.

/je pArIAk te Amba rAhIAk / ‘ That what fell down was a mango’

For the purpose of plural formations, the plural markers *- /mAne /* and *- /mAn /* are added to the pronominal base */je /* and then follow the case markers. e.g.

/jemAneke / acc / Dative (animate)

/jemAnke / acc / Dative. (inanimate)

/jemAnek / genitive (animate)

/jemAnAk / genitive (inanimate)

Interrogative Pronouns. */ke /, /ka /, /kon /*

Like relative pronouns, the interrogative pronouns too are one-term pronouns; used for animate and inanimate both.

	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>
Animate :	<i>ke</i> 'who'	<i>ke mAnē</i>
	<i>kon</i> 'who'	<i>kon mAnē</i>
Inanimate :	<i>ka</i> 'what'	<i>ka mAn</i>
	<i>kon</i> 'which'	<i>kon mAn</i>

/ *ke* / Interrogative pronoun 3rd person singular is used exclusively for animate beings. e.g. / *ke alAk* / 'who come ?' / *ke mAnē alAē* / 'who else come?'

The form / *ke* / takes case markers - *ke* (Acc / Dative) and -*kAr* in Genitive.

.	<i>keke</i> 'to whom'	<i>kemAnēke</i> 'to wom (pl.)
	<i>kekAr</i> 'whose (sg.)	<i>kemAnek</i> 'whose'(pl.)

/ *kon* / Interrogative third person singular used for animate and inanimate both in nominative case.

The form / *kon* / takes - *ke* (Acc. / dative) and -*kAr* in Genitive case.

<u>sg.</u>	<u>plural</u>
/ <i>kon ke</i> / 'to whom' (sg.)	/ <i>kon mAnē ke</i> / 'to whom' (plu.)
/ <i>kon kAr</i> / 'whose' (sg.)	/ <i>kon mAnek</i> / 'whose' (plu.)
/ <i>kon ke</i> / 'to whom' (sg.)	/ <i>kon mAnke</i> / 'to whom (pl.)
inanimate	inanimate
/ <i>konkAr</i> / 'whose' (sg.)	/ <i>kon mAnAk</i> / 'whose' (pl.)
inanimate	inanimate

/ *ka* / Interrogative third person sg. exclusively used for inanimate object in nominative case e.g.

/ *ka girIAk* / 'what fell down'

/ *ka* / takes case markers very rarely.

Indefinite Pronouns : / *keu* / , / *kono* /

The interrogative pronouns / *ke* / and / *kon* / have two functions. Besides their interrogative roles they have been extended to indefinite pronouns also. Structurally indefinite pronouns are:

Interrogative Pronoun i) *ke* + particle -u (animate)

ii) *kon* + particle -o (inanimate & animate)

Thus, / *keu* / (indefinite pronoun 3rd person singular) is used for animate beings. It takes / -*ke* / and - / *kAr* / Acc. / Dat. & genitive case markers respectively.

/ *keu ni dekhAlAk* / 'no one was seen'

/ *moẽ keu ke ni dekhLõ* / 'I did not see any me'

/ *keu kAr kuria* / 'some one's hut'

/ *kono* / Indefinite pronoun 3rd person singular is used for animate and inanimate alike.

e.g.

/ *kono bAn mẽ* / 'in some forest' 'in any forest'

/ *kono hok* / 'be if any thing' or 'be if any one'

It should be noted that / *ke* / and / *kon* / lose their number distinction when occurring as Indefinite pronouns.

3.4 Adjective

Adjective is a class of form which qualifies or functions as an attribute to a noun. Formally, in phrasal constructions, the adjectives precede the nouns.

In Nagpuria, there are only five adjectival forms available, which are inflected for gender; all other forms are indeclinable. The masculine forms ending in *-a* generally take *-i* to form their feminine counter parts. e.g.

<i>AndhAra</i>	'blind male'	<i>AndhAri</i>	'blind females'
<i>kana</i>	'one eyed male'	<i>kani</i>	'one eyed female'
<i>buDha</i>	'old male'	<i>buDhi</i>	'old female'
<i>cArAka</i>	'whitish male'	<i>cArAki</i>	'whitish female'
<i>kala</i>	'black male'	<i>kali</i>	'black female'

The adjectival forms are broadly grouped into three types viz.

- i) Simple forms.
- ii) Derived forms.
- iii) Numeral forms.

The simple adjectival forms are further sub-grouped in to a) Adjective of quality and b) Adjective of quantity.

Adjective of Quality

It is a simple adjectival form which functions as an inherent attribute to the nouns exposing their qualities.e.g.

bes jAni 'good woman'

bes Admi 'good man'

Adjective of Quantity

It is a simple adjectival form which functions as an attribute to the nouns exposing their quantity and measurement e.g.

Dheyr balu 'heap of sand'

thor dhan 'some paddy'

Derived Adjectives

The derived adjectives are formed by adding suffixes such as *- i* , *- u* and *- a* to the nouns. Syntactically, they function sometimes as nouns also. e.g.

<u>Nominal bases</u>		<u>suffixes</u>		<u>Derived Adjectives</u>
<i>dam</i>	'price'	<i>- i</i>		<i>dami</i> 'prized'
<i>pear</i>	'love'	<i>- a</i>		<i>peara</i> 'lovely'

Adjectival

There are some derived forms which on morphological level belong to some other form classes, nevertheless, they behave like attributes to nouns in syntactic level as and when they precede a noun phrase. Such forms as these are called adjectival. They are namely i) verbal adjectives and ii) pronominal adjectives (Demonstrative and Interrogative).

Verbal Adjectives

Any verb followed by the suffixes *-At* and *-Al* is participial form, but syntactically their functions are of the attributes to the noun they precede. e.g.

verb roots		suffixes		Derived Adjectives
<i>bhīj</i>	‘to wet’ +	<i>-Al</i>	<i>hījAl</i>	‘drenched, wet’
			<i>bhījAl luga</i>	‘wet cloths’
<i>bol</i>	‘to speak’+	<i>-At</i>	<i>bolAt</i>	‘speaking’
			<i>bolAt chAwa</i>	‘speaking child’

Pronominal Adjectives

Demonstrative: */i/* , */u/* proximate and remote demonstrative pronouns function as an attribute to a noun they precede.

e.g. <i>i ghAr</i>	‘this house’
<i>u chAwa mAne</i>	‘those children’

Interrogative Adjective : */ke/* , */ka/* and */kon/*

as and when precede the noun forms, function as an attribute to the noun which they precede and give various shades of meanings. Eg.

<i>/ke Admi hekeu/</i>	‘what man can he possible be?’
<i>/ka Admi heke/</i>	‘a man of what business or capacity is he?’
<i>/kon Admi heke/</i>	‘which man is it?’

Numeral forms:

Like simple adjectival forms, the numerals (cardinals as well as ordinals) also function as inherent attribute to nouns to express their numbers:

<i>cayr bhAria</i>	‘four laborers’
<i>e k kori bAkAra</i>	‘twenty goats’
<i>pAhila Admi</i>	‘first man’
<i>cAwth din</i>	‘fourth day’

dAswã mAhina 'tenth month'

There are no formal markers to denote or distinguish the singularity or plurality of adjective. But the process of re-duplication of simple adjectival forms indicate plurality. Eg.

bAD bAD kuria 'big huts'

lal lal phul 'red flowers'

Comparison of Adjective

A part from the simple attributive function adjectives have two more degrees

i) Comparative .

ii) Extentive.

Comparative Degree

Degrees of comparison are expressed periphrastically. The phrase consists of objects compared followed by the case marker (Ablative) *-le* + adjective.

e.g

/i Admi ukAr le bAd ahe / 'this man him (than) from taller is'

some free forms like */niAn /*, */lekha /* 'like' are used for showing comparison of similarity.

e.g.

/kukAr niAn lobhi / 'Greedy like dogs'

/tor lekha cor / 'thief like you'

Extentive: It expresses some fixed comparison, extent and intensifications. Eg.

/kAm log / 'few people'

/sAwb le bes / 'best of all.

Numeral System in Nagpuria :

All the numerals in Nagpuria are adjectives syntactically. They function as attributes to the nouns. They are of two types: cardinal and ordinal numbers. Further cardinal is divided into –Fractional and Integral numerals.

<i>e k</i>	‘one’
<i>duy</i>	‘two’
<i>dAs</i>	‘ten’
<i>kori / bis</i>	‘twenty’
<i>sAw</i>	‘hundred’

The cardinal numbers lying between twenty and one hundred and one thousand are formed by means of { *kori* } ‘score’ in remote rural areas .

e.g. <i>cayr kori tin</i>	‘eighty three’
<i>ek kori sat</i>	‘twenty-seven’

But the spread of education in the area has definitely brought about a change in younger generation. They count and use the numerals upto hundred as it is used in Hindi, which may be taken as contribution or impact of standard Hindi on Nagpuria.

{ *hAjar* } ‘thousand’ is only used in rural chhotanagpur region when it is necessary to express exactly a sum of rupees or the like. More often, however, expressions like { *bAhut* } ‘much’ { *Dheyr* } ‘many / much’ and { *AgAm* } ‘countless’ will be found instead of an exact rendering of large numbers.

Ordinal numbers:

The following are the ordinal number available in the data of Nagpuria :

<i>pAhila</i>	‘first’
<i>dosAr</i>	‘second’
<i>cAwth</i>	‘fourth’
<i>pAcwā</i>	‘fifth’
<i>dAswā</i>	‘tenth’

The formation after first four is regular e.g. number + *wā* gives the ordinal number as desired.

Fractional numbers

<i>Adhia</i>	‘half’
<i>adha</i>	‘half’

<i>pAwa</i>	‘one quarter’
<i>pAwe</i>	‘three forth’
<i>DeDh</i>	‘one and half’
<i>ADhay</i>	‘two and half’
<i>saDhe tin</i>	‘three and half’
<i>sAwa</i>	‘one and quarter’

{ *saDhe* } is added after cardinal number from three to twenty to express the desired number plus half.’

e.g. / *saDhe sat kAcia* / ‘seven and half rupees’

Multiplicative numbers

<i>dohAra</i>	‘twice’ ‘two bold’
<i>DeDhia</i>	‘one and a half time’
<i>tehAra</i>	‘three times, three fold’

other expressions are lacking in the language.

Classifiers

In Nagpuria, whenever a noun occurs with numerals, to denote exact enumeration or quantification, it is preceded by a classifier. These classifiers are the followings:

- *go* ~ *Thu*, *jAn*, *har* ~ *mũD*, *goT* ~ *khÃ D*.

{-*go*} ∞ -*jAn*, ∞ - *har* ~*mũD*, ∞ *goT* ~ *khÃ D*

-*go* occurs with intimate human beings and belongings

e.g. /*ukAr dui go* ~ *dui Thu beta ahe* /

(his two sons is)

(he has two sons)

-*jAn* occurs with unknown human beings

e.g. / *cayr jAn Admi ghael holaẽ* /

‘four persons injured become’

-har ~ - mũD - occurs with animals wild or pet.

e.g. / *tin har ~ mũD kaDa* / 'three buffaloes'

/ *ek har bagh* / 'one tiger'

/ *ek mũD siar* / 'one jackal'

- goT ~ khÃ D - occurs with inanimate objects.

e.g. / *dui goT ~ khÃ D ghAr* / 'two rooms'

/ *cayr khÃ D luga* / 'four pieces of clothes'

3.5 Verb Morphology

3.5.1 Verbs

Verb is a class of stems which takes tense, aspect and mood, person and number. Nagpuria verb forms are made of verb bases which function as the stem of a verb form.

Morphologically, the verb bases are of three types:

- i) Simple.
- ii) Complex.
- iii) Compound.

Simple: A simple base consists of a bare root. + /*ek*/

Complex : root + formative suffix ; again derived verb bases from other form classes (noun, adjective adverb etc.) and the causative formations.

Compound: The compound base consists of more than one root.

Canonical shape of verb – stems

The majority of the verb stems in Nagpuria end in consonants and a few end to vowels. Basis of their canonical shapes, the verb stems can be divided in to three groups such as.

(i) Monosyllabic (ii) Disyllabic and (iii) Tri syllabic. The various types of syllables are illustrated below, out of which *cvc* and *cv-cvc* patterns are on comparatively higher frequency.

(i) Monosyllabic

V C - *aw* - to come.

uth - to rise.

C V - *ja* - to go.

(ii) Disyllabic

(i) V – CV - *Agha* - ‘to have one’s fill’

uTha - ‘to lift’

oDha - ‘to wrap’ etc.

(ii) V – CVC - *utAr* - ‘to alight’

ughar - ‘to open’

ubar - ‘to rescue’, ‘to save’

Formation of Verb-bases

As stated earlier, the three types of Nagpuria verb - bases (simple, complex and compound) are discussed below:

Simple verb base

The simple verb-bases are further divided into 2 sub-groups:

(i) Roots as verb base: *an* ‘to bring’ *lan* ‘bring’, ‘to fetch’

uTh ‘to rise’ *puj* ‘to worship’ *Deg* ‘to jump’ *kud* ‘to run’

(ii) Nominals functioning as verb-base: A good number of nouns

(nominals) function as simple verb-bases in Nagpuria. Some of them

are the followings for example:

DAr ‘fear’ *bhēT* ‘meeting’ *bhul* ‘forgetfulness’ ‘error’

sōc ‘worry’ ‘thought’ *nac* ‘dance’ *kheyl* ‘play’

Complex verbal bases

The complex verbal-bases consist of three sub-groups.

- (i) Derived verb-bases from other form of classes like nouns, adjectives, adverbs and others. (Onomatopoeics)
- (ii) Simple verb-bases+formative suffixes:(roots + a) a transitive verb base.
- (iii) Causative formations:

Verb bases derived from nouns: (structurally noun + *-ia / -a*)

<u>Nouns</u>		<u>Suffix</u>	<u>Verb base</u>
<i>bayt</i>	‘talk’	<i>-ia</i>	<i>bAtia</i> ‘to talk’
<i>goyTh</i>	‘conversation’	<i>-ia</i>	<i>goThia</i> ‘to converse’
<i>chati</i>	‘chest’	<i>-a</i>	<i>chAtia</i> ‘to hug’ ‘to embrace’

Verb-bases derived from Adjectives: (Structurally Adjective + *-a*)

<u>Adjectives</u>		<u>Suffixes</u>	<u>Derived verb bases</u>
<i>gArAm</i>	‘hot’	<i>- a</i>	<i>gArAma</i> ‘to heat’

Verb bases derived from Adverbs: [structurally Adverb + *-a / -uwa*]

<u>Adverbs</u>		<u>Suffixes</u>	<u>Derived verb bases</u>
<i>nAjik</i>	‘near’	<i>- a</i>	<i>nAjika</i> ‘to near’
<i>dur</i>	‘far’	<i>- a</i>	<i>dura</i> ‘to flee’ ‘to while a way’
<i>pache</i>	‘back, behind’	<i>- uwapAchuwa</i>	‘to lag behind’ ‘to follow’

Verb- bases derived from onomatopoeic forms

It is one of the characteristic features of Nagpuria that onomatopaeic forms also make verb bases. Some of the most frequently used forms, for example, are given below:

<u>Onomatopoeics</u>	<u>suffixes</u>	<u>Derived verb bases</u>
<i>TAnTAn</i>	- a	<i>TAnTAna</i> } to make noise
<i>ThAnThAn</i>	- a	<i>ThAnThAna</i> } like brass

(i) (simple verb root + - a to make a transitive base)

Suffix *-a* is very productive type for transitivity of verb-roots.

<u>Intransitive</u>	<u>suffix</u>	<u>Derived transitive base.</u>
<i>bAn</i> 'to become'	- a	<i>bAna</i> 'to make'
<i>hAT</i> 'to move'	- a	<i>hATa</i> 'to move' 'to shift'

(ii) Causative formations: (simple verb root + a)

<i>pi</i> 'to drink'	<i>pi + a</i>	<i>pi-y-a</i> 'to make to drink'
<i>si</i> 'to stitch'	<i>si + a</i>	<i>si-y-a</i> 'to make to sew'
<i>dho</i> 'to wash'	<i>dho + a</i>	<i>dho-w-a</i> 'to make to wash'

The compound verb-bases have been discussed at length elsewhere.

Classification of verb- bases

Nagpuria verb-bases can be broadly divided into two classes syntactically viz. Intransitive and Transitive depending upon whether they require an object or not to give complete sense to a simple sentence. However, substantive verbs have been treated separately due to its variant morphological behavior and multiple syntactic functions.

Intransitive Verb bases:

The verb bases classified as intransitive do not take objects. The intransitive verb-bases can further be sub-divided into two categories (i) Intransitives which cannot be made into Transitive (Intransitive I or Inherent Intransitive) (ii) Intransitives, which can be transformed into Transitive by adding a formative suffix */-a /* to bases, are Intransitive of II category.

Category I

The Inherent Intransitive: They are the followings: *gusa* ‘to be angry’, *lAhAs* ‘to loan’, *rAh* ‘to live’, *mor* ‘to die’, *sAtha* ‘to rest’, *Deg* ‘to jump’, *pichAr* ‘to slip’, *sōc* ‘to think’

Intransitive verb- bases of category II

These verb-bases can be made into Transitive bases by adding /-a /, the most productive suffix, to the Intransitive bases. Some of them are given below. for example:

<u>Intransitive</u>	<u>Suffix</u>	<u>Transitive</u>
<i>uTh</i> ‘rise’	- a	<i>uTha</i> ‘to raise’
<i>uD</i> ‘fly’	- a	<i>uDa</i> ‘to fly’
<i>oDh</i> ‘to wrap one self’	- a	<i>oDha</i> ‘to wrap’
<i>usAr</i> ‘to root out’	- a	<i>usAra</i> ‘to take out’
<i>bAyTh</i> ‘to sit’	- a	<i>bAyTha</i> ‘to make sit’

There are a number of Reflexive bases which are transformed into Transitive verb-bases by internal changes. A few of them are given below for example:

<u>Reflexive</u>	<u>Transitive</u>
<i>ughAr</i> ‘to be uncovered’	<i>ughar</i> ‘to uncover’
<i>TuT</i> ‘to be broken’	<i>toD</i> ‘to break’
<i>nikAl</i> ‘to come out’	<i>nikal</i> ‘to take out’
<i>muD</i> ‘to be bent’	<i>moD</i> ‘to bend’
<i>ruk</i> ‘to be stopped’	<i>rok</i> ‘to stop’

Transitive verb- bases

The verb- bases classified as Transitive base require an object direct or indirect or both. The transitive verb – bases also can be sub-grouped into two categories. viz – (i) Derived Transitive verb-bases from Intransitive verb bases (discussed in preceding section) (ii) Inherent Transitive verb bases.

Examples:- *an* ‘to bring’ *pi* ‘to drink’ *pis* ‘to grind’

pADh 'to read' *lan* 'to fetch' *pa* 'to get'
puch 'to ask' *pos* 'to tame' *pindh* 'to wear'

Derivation of Causatives

A number of causative stems are derived from both the Transitive and Intransitive verb-bases by addition of derivational suffixes *-a* , *-uwa* . It may be mentioned that the causative formation is not universally applicable to all bases given.

Examples

<u>Inherent Transitive</u>	<u>Suffixes</u>	<u>Causative stems</u>
<i>pi</i> 'to drink'	<i>-a</i>	<i>pi-y-a</i> 'to cause to drink'
<i>cu</i> 'to brew'	<i>- a</i>	<i>cu-w-a</i> 'to make brew'
<i>de</i> 'to give'	<i>- uwa</i>	<i>de-w-wa</i> 'to cause to give'
<i>le</i> 'to take'	<i>- uwale-w-wa</i>	'to cause to take'
<i>kha</i> 'to eat'	<i>-uwakhA-w-wa</i>	'to make eat'

Intransitive of category II with causal forms

The intransitive verb-bases are first changed into transitive bases by adding formative suffix / *-a* / and then they are made causative base with the help of suffix / *- uwa* / . e.g.

<u>Intransitive</u>	<u>Transitive</u>	<u>Causative</u>
<i>uTh</i> 'arise'	<i>uTh - a</i> 'lift, rise'	<i>uTh</i> 'uwa'
	<i>uTh-w-wa</i> 'to come to rise'	
<i>uD</i> 'fly'	<i>uD -a</i> 'to fly'	<i>uD - uwa</i>
		<i>uD-w-wa</i> 'to make fly'

Intransitive of category I with causative forms

Some inherent intransitive bases can be changed into causative bases by adding /- *uwa*/ to them:

<u>Inherent Intransitive</u>		<u>Suffix</u>	<u>Causative forms</u>
<i>nihar</i>	‘peep’	<i>-uwa</i>	<i>nihArwwa</i> ‘to cause to peep’
<i>nAha</i>	‘bathe’	<i>-uwa</i>	<i>nAhwwa</i> ‘to cause to bath’

Double Causative formations:

Some of the verb-stems having double causative formations, are generally transitive verb-bases. Intransitive verb-bases when transformed into transitive may function as first causative also. For second – causative formations /-uwa / is added uniformly to transitive and intransitive- changed- transitive bases.

<u>Root</u>	<u>First causative</u>	<u>Second causative</u>
<i>likh</i> ‘to write’	<i>likh-a</i> ‘to make write’	<i>likh-uwa</i>
		<i>likhwwa</i> ‘to make someone write’
<i>pADh</i> ‘to read’	<i>pADh-a</i> ‘to make read’	<i>pADh-uwa</i>
		<i>pADh-w-wa</i> ‘to make someone read’

Verb-Formation

The verb-formations in Nagpuria take the categories in Tense, Mood and Aspects. The formations can be finite or non-finite. A tense construction, which is simple, is always finite and has the structure- Verb stem + Tense Marker + Person Number. A mood construction may be finite or non-finite. A finite mood has the structure – verb stem + mood marker. A non finite mood construction has the same structure as a finite mood construction but it needs a finite verb to complete its sense. An aspectual construction has the structure as non-finite aspect + substantive finite verb.

The Finite verb shows three distinct structural types in respect of category ‘Mood’ viz . – Indicative, Imperative and Subjunctive. Of these, only subjunctive is marked.

The indicative shows a three term tense distinction viz. Present, Past and Future ; two term aspect distinctions viz. Progressive and Perfect ; and six term person number(PN) distinctions viz. 1st person singular, IInd person singular, IIIrd person singular, Ist person plural, IInd person plural and IIIrd person plural.

Imperative shows only second person ordinary and honorific, singular and plural both.

The subjunctive mood shows two tenses - present and past and two term aspect-tense and six term person number distinction like that of indicative mood.

Thus, the mood, tense and aspect formations discussed earlier can be displayed in the following table.

Mood	Tense (single) formation	Extended Formations	
		A S P E C T S	
Indicative (un marked)	Present- simple Past - simple Future - simple	Progressive Progressive Progressive	Perfect. Perfect. Perfect.
Subjunctive (marked)	Present - simple Past - simple	*	*
Imperative (non-segmental)	Present – simple		

(The schematic Paradigms of moods, tenses and aspects with example for each in the 1st person singular and 3rd person singular have been given along with other paradigms in successive pages).

Indicative

Finite Verb: The structure is – Verb stem + Tense + P N . but in present tense different P.N. markers are used.

Present Tense: Terminations

<u>Sg.</u>	<u>plu.</u>	Verb stem + tense + P.N.	
Ist p. - <i>on (a)</i>	- <i>il (a)</i>	<i>kAr - on (a)</i>	<i>kAr - il (a)</i>
2 nd .p. - <i>is (la)</i>	- <i>al (a)</i>	<i>kAr - is (la)</i>	<i>kAr - al (a)</i>
3 rd . p. - <i>el (a)</i>	- <i>en (a)</i>	<i>kAr - el (a)</i>	<i>kAr - en (a)</i>

This tense is used for expressing simple present action, which takes place now or as a habit. It may be regarded as habitual aspect also.

<i>/ moẽ roj rãci jaon(a) /</i>	‘ I go to Ranchi every day’
<i>/ cãd rayte ugel(a) /</i>	‘ Moon rises at night’
<i>/ chAwamAne iskul jaen(a) /</i>	‘children go to school’.

Past Tense Terminations.Verb stem + tense + PN.

	<u>Sg.</u>	<u>plu.</u>		
Ist. Person	- l - \tilde{o}	- l - i	kAr - l - \tilde{o}	kAr - l - o - i
2 nd person	- l - e	- l - a	kAr - l - e	kAr - l - a
3 rd person	- l - Ak	- l - A \tilde{e}	kAr - l - Ak	kAr - l - A \tilde{e}

{ -l } is a past tense suffix which undergoes morphophonemic changes - cstem + Al, -V stem + l.

This tense is used to express simple past.

/ u biha kArAlAk / 'he / she married'

/ hAmAre buDh holi / 'we become old'

Future Tense :TerminationVerb stem + Tense + P.N.

	<u>sg.</u>	<u>plu</u>		
1 st person	- b - \tilde{o}	- b - φ	kAr - b - \tilde{o}	kAr - b - φ
2 nd person	- b - e	- b - a	kAr - b - e	kAr - b - a
3 rd person	- b - i	- b - A \tilde{e}	kAr - b - i	kAr - b - A \tilde{e}
		- i	kAr - i	

{ b } is a future tense suffix which undergoes morphophonemic change - c stem + A b , - V stem + b.

MOOD

Imperative Mood Formations

The imperative usages express command, request or order. They show distinctions such as ordinary (non-honorific) and honorific. This two way distinction is available in second person pronouns – singular and plural ; ordinary and honorific:

Structure:

I	Verb stem + Imperative (sg.) φ -	ordinary.
II	Verb stem + Imperative (plu.) - a	ordinary.

III Verb stem + Imperative (sg./plu) –*u* honorofic.

I Verb stem + Imperative (sg) \varnothing ordinary.

e.g.	<i>aw</i> - \varnothing	=	<i>aw</i>	‘come’
	<i>kha</i> - \varnothing	=	<i>kha</i>	‘eat’
	<i>ja</i> - \varnothing	=	<i>ja</i>	‘go’
	<i>cAl</i> - \varnothing	=	<i>cAl</i>	‘move,walk’
	<i>uTh</i> - \varnothing	=	<i>uTh</i>	‘rise, stand’
	<i>lan</i> - \varnothing	=	<i>lan</i>	‘fetch’

For inherent second person (sg.) reference, the bare roots or verb stems are used for imperative formations. But Father P.S. Nowrangi and Dr. S.K. Goswami in ‘Simple Sadani Grammar’ and ‘Nagpuria Bhasha’ on pages 79 and 99 respectively explain this formation (ordinary singular) by adding {-*hin*} to verb stems e.g. /*marhin*/ ‘beat’ /*jahin*/ ‘go’ etc. But it is not attested in data.

II Verb stem + Imperative (plu) –*a*

For second person (plural) reference, the verb stems ending in consonants take {-*a*} marker; verb stems –*V* take {-*a*} with glide *y* and *w*. Front vowels take *y* glide and back and central vowels take *w* glide. e.g.

<i>cAl</i> - <i>a</i>	=	<i>cAla</i>	‘(you all) move’
<i>mar</i> - <i>a</i>	=	<i>mara</i>	‘beat’
<i>uTh</i> - <i>a</i>	=	<i>uTha</i>	‘raise, lift’, rise’
<i>kha</i> - <i>a</i>	=	<i>khawa</i>	‘eat’
<i>ja</i> - <i>a</i>	=	<i>jawa</i>	‘go’
<i>chu</i> - <i>a</i>	=	<i>chuwa</i>	‘touch’
<i>dho</i> - <i>a</i>	=	<i>dhowa</i>	‘wash’
<i>pi</i> - <i>a</i>	=	<i>piya</i>	‘drink’
<i>si</i> - <i>a</i>	=	<i>siya</i>	‘stitch’

III verb stems + imperative (sg./plu.) – *u* (honorofic)

For second person (singular and plural) honorific imperative formations, the verb stems uniformly take *-u*: e.g.

rakh - u = *rakhu* 'please keep'
le - u = *leu* 'please take'

There is no future imperative in usage. For future imperative, the future finite verb in second person sg. and plu. is used. The following examples may illustrate:

/kayl abe/ 'come tomorrow' / 'you will come tomorrow'
/uThin rAhAbe, moẽ jabõ/ 'Remain there, I shall go'
/jor le nam bolAba/ 'tell your names loudly' / 'you all will tell your name loudly'

Substantive Verbs

In Nagpuria, there are four verb-stems for substantive in use with subtle semantic values. They are */hek/*, */ah/*, */hA/* and */rAh/*. The verb stem */hAk/* (sourced from kharia) meaning 'to be' showing substance has characteristically its negative counterpart */nA-lag/* 'not to be' and verb stem */ah/* (sourced from Marathi) meaning 'to exist' showing entity, has its negative counter part */nAkh/* 'not to exist'. These two verb-stems are conjugated only in present tense. Characteristically, Nagpuria uses different stems in different tenses; and its negative formation is entirely morphological. When */hek/* & */ah/* with their negative counter parts occur as the main verb, they give the substantive meaning, and in addition occur or function as copula in copular sentences.

The past and future forms of */hek/* and */ah/* are realized from verb- stem */rAh/* 'to remain' 'to be' 'to exist' and from */hA/* 'to become' 'to be to exist' etc.. The paradigms of the substantive verbs are given below:

<u>Present Tense:</u>		<u>(substantive + person number suffix)</u>	
<i>/hek/</i> 'to be'		<i>/nA-lag/</i> 'not to be'	
	<u>sg.</u>	<u>plu.</u>	
I st person	<i>hekõ</i>	<i>heki</i>	
	(I am)	(we are)	
		<u>sg.</u>	<u>plu.</u>
		<i>nA-lagõ</i>	<i>nA-lagi</i>
		(I am not)	(we are not)

2 nd person	<i>hekis</i>	<i>heka</i>	<i>nA – lagis</i>	<i>nA – laga</i>
	(you are)	(you (pl.) are)	(you are not)	(you (pl.)are not)
3 rd person	<i>heke</i>	<i>hekAẽ</i>	<i>nA - lage</i>	<i>nA-lagAẽ</i>
	(he/she is)	(they are)	(he,she is int)	(they are not)

/ah /, /hA / ‘to exist’ : (substantive + person number suffix)

	<u>sg.</u>	<u>Pl.</u>
Ist person	<i>ah-õ ~</i>	<i>ah-i ~</i>
	<i>h-õ.</i>	<i>hi.</i>
2 nd person	<i>ahis ~</i>	<i>aha ~</i>
	<i>his.</i>	<i>ha.</i>
3 rd person	<i>ahẽ ~</i>	<i>ah-Aẽ ~</i>
	<i>he</i>	<i>h-Aẽ</i>

Negative substantive /nA- kh / ‘not to exist’

	<u>sg.</u>	<u>Pl.</u>
Ist person	<i>nAkh- õ</i>	<i>nAkh-i</i>
2 nd person	<i>nAkh-is</i>	<i>nAkh-a</i>
3 rd person	<i>nAkh-e</i>	<i>nAkh-Aẽ</i>

Past-Tense

The verb-stem /rAh/ ‘to be, to exist’ is used exclusively in Past and Future tenses as substantive verb; it should be further noted that it is peculiarly conjugated in present tense pattern but gives the meaning of the past tense. e.g.

	<u>sg.</u>	<u>plu.</u>
1 st person	<i>rAh- õ</i>	<i>rAh-i</i>
	(I was)	(we were)
2 nd person	<i>rAh-is</i>	<i>rAh-a</i>

	(you were)	(you pl. were)
3 rd person	<i>rAh-e</i>	<i>rAh-Aẽ</i>
	(she/he was)	(they were)

Future Tense

/rAh/ ‘to be, to exist’

	<u>sg.</u>	<u>plu.</u>
1 st person	<i>rAh-b-õ</i>	<i>rAh-b-φ</i>
2 nd person	<i>rAh-b-e</i>	<i>rAh-b-a</i>
3 rd person	<i>rAh-b-i</i>	<i>rAh-b-Aẽ</i>
	<i>rAh-i</i>	

When the verb-stem */rAh/* is a substantive verb meaning ‘to be, to exist’, it is conjugated for two tenses (past and future) and in two moods (imperative and subjunctive). It is also used as auxiliaries in the formation of Past Perfect and Past imperfect (extended constructions)

e.g.	<i>/toẽ khae rAhis/</i>	‘you had eaten’
	<i>/aba khat rAhe/</i>	‘Father had eaten’
	<i>/moẽ khat rAhõ/</i>	‘I was eating’
	<i>/umAne jat rAhAẽ/</i>	‘They were going’

Irregular Verbs

In Nagpuria, two groups of verbs have to be distinguished

1. Regular or Non-Defective verb
2. Irregular or Defective verb

To the Category of Irregular verbs belong all those verbs which either occur in a single form only or have irregular conjugational pattern. They are the followings

{ <i>ah</i> }	‘to be, to exist’
{ <i>hek</i> }	‘to be, to exist’

{ <i>hA</i> }	‘to be, to exist’
{ <i>rAh</i> }	‘to remain, to exist’ (conjugated only in Past and Future Tens)
{ <i>nAkh</i> }	‘not to be, no to exist’
{ <i>nAlag</i> }	‘not to be, not to exist’
{ <i>nihĩ</i> }	‘is not, is not existent, is not possible, no’
{ <i>cahi</i> }	‘is necessary’

Besides, the verbs – {*ja*} ‘to go’, {*aw*} ‘to come’, {*bAys ~ bAyTh*} ‘to sit’,

{*pi*} ‘drink’, {*le*} ‘to take’, {*de*} ‘to give’, have been considered irregular verbs.

Extended Formation (Indicative)

The extended formations consist of all the periphrastic constructions i.e. a non-finite verb form followed by the auxiliary to express aspects and mode of actions:

1. Progressive ~ Imperfect Present

This is formed by present indeclinable participle of the verb + present tense *hA* and *ah* (to be) and *rAh* – to be. e.g.

/moẽ ekThu Amba khat hõ/ ‘I am eating a mango’

/u ekThu kitab pADhAt he / ‘he is reading a book’

/toẽ khat his / ‘you are eating’

when the auxiliary *ah* – is employed, it expresses emphasis. E.g.

/moẽ ekThu Amba khat ahõ/ ‘I am actually eating a mango’

/moẽ u ghAr jat ahõ/ ‘I am actually going to that house’

when the auxiliary *reh* – is employed, it expresses constant habit of the subject.Eg.

/ moẽ rayt le jagAt rAhona/ ‘I keep on waking till late night’

2. Progressive ~ Imperfect Past :

This is formed by present indeclinable participle of the Verb + Past Term of *hek*, *ahek* or *h* : e.g.

/chAwa kaynd A t rAhe/ 'The child was crying'

/moẽ peTh umAne sAne jat rAhõ/ 'I was going to market with them'

/rAwre ka kAhAt rAhi/ 'what were your honour saying'

3. Progressive ~ Imperfect Future:

This is formed by the present indeclinable participle of the verb + the future of *rAh*.

E.g.,

/u Amba khat rAhi/ 'he will be eating mango'

/chAwa mAne khelAt rAhAbAẽ/ 'The children will be playing'

/moẽ ghAre sutAt rAhAbõ/ 'I shall be sleeping in the house'

4. Perfect – Formation :

There are two types of formations for perfect viz. Perfect I, Perfect II. The former expresses the idea that action is well-over by this time, while the latter (Perfect II) expresses the intensive and passive meaning.

Present Perfect I

This is formed by the indeclinable conjunctive base of the verb + present tense of *hA*.

Eg.

/ moẽ roTi khae hõ/ 'I have eaten bread'

/hAmAre ajj Amba khae hi/ 'We have eaten mango today'

/u rāci me ekThu ghAr bAnae he/ 'He has built a house in Ranchi'

Present Perfect II

This is formed by the indeclinable past participle of the verb + the present tense of *ah*. Eg.

/ moẽ uke dekhAl ahõ/ 'Certainly I myself have seen him'

/i ghAr mor kinAl ahe/ 'This house has been bought by me'

5. Past Perfect I.

This is formed by the indeclinable conjunctive to base of the verb + past tense of *hA* and *ah*. Eg.

/moẽ kayl uke deykhe rAhõ/ 'I had seen him yesterday'

/toẽ bhore jANAl jae rAhis/ 'At morning you had gone to the forest'

Past Perfect II

This is formed by the indeclinable past participle form of the verb + past tense of *hA* and *ah*. e.g.

/ moẽ ukAr ghAre khal rAhõ/ 'I had certainly eaten at is home'

/u kAnia tor deykhAl rAhe/ 'That bride was seen by you'

6. Future Perfect I

This is formed by the indeclinable conjunctive base of the verb + future tense of *rAh*. e.g.

/tohAre ae rAhAba/ 'You (Plu) will have come'

/hAmAre jae rAhAb/ 'We shall have gone'

Future Perfect II

This is formed by the indeclinable past participle form of the verb + the future tense of *rAh*. e.g.

/ moẽ kAnna khal rAhAbõ/ 'I shall have eaten certainly the roots'

Progressive ~ Imperfect Conditional

This is formed by the present indeclinable participle of the verb + future form of *ho*. e.g.

/AgAr u jat hoi hole u moke bhẽTi/ 'If he is going he will meet me'

/AgAr u pADhAt hoi hole pas kAri/ 'If he is reading he will pass'

Perfect Condital (Subjunctive)

This is formed by the verb form in the past Indefinite of subjunctive mood + corresponding form of root *rah* in both the clauses. This formation is exactly realized as past conditional discussed earlier. e.g.

/AgAr moẽ bAysAtõ hole bAgAra kam kAyr rAhAtõ/

‘If I had sat, I would have done more/many work’

/ AgAr moẽ uThin rAhAtõ, u bAgAra kam kArek partAk/

‘If I had been there, he would have been able to do more works’

Passive Formation

The active formations being preferably in vogue, the passive formations are seldom made in Nagpuria. However, the passive formations express emphasis on some special ideas.

Structure of passive formation

Past participle of the verb + respective tense aspect and mood of { -ja , -ho } The subject takes –se (instrumental case marker)

Present Passive

This is formed by past participle of the verb + present tense of the verb -ja Indicative – simple. e.g.

/ moẽ dekhAl jao n(a)/	‘I am seen’
/roTi mor se khal jael (a)/	‘The bread is eaten by me’
/roTi mor se khal jat he/	‘The bread is being eaten by me’
/ moẽ dekhAl ahõ/	‘I have been seen’

Past Passive

This is formed by the Past Participle of the verb + past tense of the verb ja.

Indicative - Simple:

e.g.	
/ moẽ marAl getõ/	‘I was beaten’
/u peTh mẽ dekhAl gelAk/	‘he was seen in the market’
/ kam mor se kArAl jai ~ hoi /	‘The work will be done by me’
/ moẽ dekhAl jabõ ~ jamũ /	‘I shall be seen’

Non – Finite Verbs

The non-finite verb forms are forms which are not marked for mood, tense and aspect.
The non-finite verbs are of the following types.

I Participle – Present, Past, Perfect

II Infinitive

Participles : Structure

The Participles fall into two groups : Adjectival and Adverbial.

A. Adjectival Participle

There are two adjectival participles :

Present Participle - Present stem + *t* (if the stem is vowel ending)

Present stem + *At* (if the stem is consonant ending)

e.g. *khat, jat, kAhAt, dekhAt*

Past Participle - Present stem + *l* (if the stem is vowel ending)

Present stem + *Al* (if the stem is consonant ending)

e.g. *mArAl* 'dead', *dekhAl* 'seen', *khal* 'eaten' etc.

Besides being used as the adjective, the present participle is used in formation of all imperfect tenses of all moods, and the past participles beside being used as adjectival are used in the formation of past indefinite and second type perfect tenses of all moods.
e.g.

/ moẽ uget suruj pujon(a)/ 'I worship rising sun'

/gAch tAyr bAysAl siar moke dekhAlok/ 'The jackal sitting under the tree, saw me'

/u bhat khal ahe/ 'He has certainly eaten rice'

B. Adverbial participle

The structure of this participle is -

verb stem + participle present marker + *e*

kha+ t + e, khate 'while eating'

e.g. */u khate gelAk/* 'He went eating'

/kukur bhūkAte bhūkAte DegAlAk/ ‘The dog ran barking’

verb stem + past participle marker + e

e.g. *khale, gele, hole, girAle*

/Ab roTi khale ki hoi/ ‘What will be it good, if one eats bread now’

/u kudAle alAk/ ‘He came running’

The adverbial participle functions as a conditional also.

e.g. *kArAle* - after doing or if one does.

/i kArAle toẽ ghAr jabe/ ‘you will go home after doing it’

C. Perfect participle

It expresses an action completed by the time the main action takes place, but the result of which is a state which is simultaneous with the main action. The structure of this perfect participle may be explained as following.

Verb base + /i/ and /e/

kAr + i kAri, but by the tendency of an aptyxis at work in the language the resultant form would be

/kAyr/ instead of */kAri/* ‘having done’

/sun/ + /i/ - /suyn/ ‘having heard’

/dekh/ + /i/ - /deykh/ ‘having seen’

All the verb bases ending in vowel *-a* and *-o* take *-e/* for perfect participle formation.

e.g. *k h a e* ‘having eaten’

j a e ‘having gone’

h o e ‘having become’

d h o e ‘having washed’

All the verb bases ending in *-i, -u, -e* and in consonants take *-i* for perfect participle formation.

e.g. *c h u + e /chue/* ‘having touched’

d e + i /dei/ ‘having given’

l e + i /lei/ ‘having taken’

The perfect participle forms, besides being used as non-finite forms, are used in the formation of the first type of perfect tenses of all the moods.

Infinitive

The structure of infinitive is present stem + *ek*

e.g.	<i>ja</i>	+ <i>ek</i>	-	<i>jaek</i>	‘to go’
	<i>kha</i>	+ <i>ek</i>	-	<i>khaek</i>	‘to eat’
	<i>kAh</i>	+ <i>ek</i>	-	<i>kAhek</i>	‘to say’
	<i>chu</i>	+ <i>ek</i>	-	<i>chuek</i>	‘to touch’
	<i>uTh</i>	+ <i>ek</i>	-	<i>uThek</i>	‘to rise’
	<i>bAna</i>	+ <i>ek</i>	-	<i>bAnaek</i>	‘to make’

The infinitive is used as verbal nouns and can be declined as a singular noun in any case.

/ *kArek lagin*/ ‘for doing’

/ *sunek mē*/ ‘in hearing’

The infinitive is also used in forming compound verbs. e.g.

/ *jaek dek*/ ‘to allow to go’

/ *jaek parek*/ ‘to be able to go’

The infinitives are used in declarative type of sentences.

/ *moke jaek nAkhe*/ ‘I have not to go’

/ *uke awek rAhe*/ ‘She had to come’

/ *ni kArek cahi*/ ‘One must not do’

/ *ukAr jaek suyn ke moē udas ahō*/ ‘I am sad hearing his going’

Sample Paradigm

Transitive *kha* ‘eat’

Indicative

1. Simple Past

	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>
I	<i>kha l õ</i>	<i>kha li</i>
II	<i>kha le</i>	<i>kha la</i>
III	<i>kha lAk</i>	<i>kha l Aẽ</i>

Progressive ~ imperfect Past

I	<i>khat rAhõ</i>	<i>khat rAhi</i>
II	<i>khat rAhis</i>	<i>khat rAha</i>
III	<i>khat rAhe</i>	<i>khat rAhAẽ</i>

Perfect Past I

I	<i>khae rAhõ</i>	<i>khae rAhi</i>
II	<i>khae rAhis</i>	<i>khae rAha</i>
III	<i>khae rAhe</i>	<i>khae rAhAẽ</i>

Perfect Past II

I	<i>khal rAhõ</i>	<i>khal rAhi</i>
II	<i>khal rAhis</i>	<i>khal rAha</i>
III	<i>khal rAhe</i>	<i>khal rAhAẽ</i>

Simple Present

I	<i>kha on(a)</i>	<i>kha yl(a)</i>
II	<i>kha ysl (a)</i>	<i>kha wa l(a)</i>
III	<i>kha el(a)</i>	<i>kha en(a)</i>

Progress ~ imperfect Present

I	<i>khat hõ</i>	<i>khat hi</i>
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II *khat his* *khat ha*

III *khat he* *khat hAẽ*

Singular

Plural

Perfect present I

I *khæ hõ* *khæ hi*

II *khæ his* *khæ ha*

III *khæ he* *khæ hAẽ*

Perfect Present II

I *khal ahõ* *khal ahi*

II *khal ahis* *khal aha*

III *khal ahe* *khal ahAẽ*

Simple Future

I *khabõ~ũ~m ã* *kh ab*

II *kha be* *kha ba*

III *khay* *kha bAẽ*

Progressive ~ Imperfect Future

I *khat rAhAbõ~ũ~m ã* *khat rAhAb*

II *khat rAhAbe* *khat rAhAba*

III *khat rAhi* *khat rAhAbAẽ*

Perfect Future I

I *khæ rAhAbõ* *khæ rAhAb*

II *khæ rAhAbe* *khæ rAhAba*

III *khæ rAhi* *khæ rAhAbAẽ*

Perfect Future II

I	<i>khal rAhAbō</i>	<i>khal rAhAb</i>
II	<i>khal rAhAbe</i>	<i>khal rAhAba</i>
III	<i>khal rAhi</i>	<i>khal rAhAbAẽ</i>

Subjunctive

1. Simple Present

	<u>Singular</u>	<u>Plural</u>
I	<i>kha ō</i>	<i>kha y</i>
II	<i>kha ys</i>	<i>kha wa</i>
III	<i>kha e</i>	<i>kha ẽ</i>

Progressive ~ imperfect Present

I	<i>khat rAhō</i>	<i>khat rAhi</i>
II	<i>khat rAhis</i>	<i>khat rAha</i>
III	<i>khat rAhe</i>	<i>khat rAhAẽ</i>

Present Perfect I

I	<i>khae rAhō</i>	<i>khae rAhi</i>
II	<i>khae rAhis</i>	<i>khae rAha</i>
III	<i>khae rAhe</i>	<i>khae rAhAẽ</i>

Present Perfect II

I	<i>khal rAhō</i>	<i>khal rAhi</i>
II	<i>khal rAhis</i>	<i>khal rAha</i>
III	<i>khal rAhe</i>	<i>khal rAhAẽ</i>

Simple Past

I	<i>kha tō</i>	<i>kha ti</i>
II	<i>kha te</i>	<i>kha ta</i>
III	<i>kha tAk</i>	<i>kha t rAhAtAẽ</i>

Progress ~ imperfect Present

I	<i>khat rAhA t õ</i>	<i>khat rAhAt i</i>
II	<i>khat rAhA t e</i>	<i>khat rAhA t a</i>
III	<i>khat rAhA t Ak</i>	<i>khat rAhA t Aẽ</i>

Past Perfect I

I	<i>khae rAhA t õ</i>	<i>khae rAhAt i</i>
II	<i>khae rAhA t e</i>	<i>khae rAhA t a</i>
III	<i>khae rAhA t Ak</i>	<i>khae rAhA t Aẽ</i>

Past Perfect II

I	<i>khal rAhA t õ</i>	<i>khal rAhAt i</i>
II	<i>khal rAhA t e</i>	<i>khal rAhA t a</i>
III	<i>khal rAhA t Ak</i>	<i>khal rAhA t Aẽ</i>

Present

I	<i>kh a õ</i>	<i>kh a w</i>
II	<i>kha ~ kha hin</i>	<i>kha wa</i>
III	<i>kha o k(a)</i>	<i>kha õ k (a)</i>

Progressive ~ imperfect

I	<i>khat rAh õ</i>	<i>khat rAh u</i>
II	<i>khat rAh</i>	<i>khat rA hA</i>
III	<i>khat rAhok (a)</i>	<i>khat rAh õk (a)</i>

Perfect

I	<i>khae/khal rAh õ</i>	<i>khae/khal rAhu</i>
II	<i>khae/khal rAh</i>	<i>khae/khal rAhA</i>
III	<i>khae/khal rAhok(a)</i>	<i>khae/khal rAhõk(a)</i>

[Schematic paradigm of moods and the tenses with an example for each in the first person singular] Root - /kAr/ 'to do'

<u>Moods</u>	<u>Tense</u>	<u>Simple</u>	<u>Progressive ~</u>	<u>Perfect I</u>	<u>Perfect I</u>
		<u>Imperfect</u>			
Indicative	Present	<i>kAro n(a)</i>	<i>kArAt hõ</i>	<i>kAyr hõ</i>	<i>kArAl ahõ</i>
		'I do'	'I am doing'	'I have done'	'I have done'
	Past	<i>kAr A l õ</i>	<i>kArAt rAhõ</i>	<i>kAyr rAhõ</i>	<i>kArAl rAhõ</i>
		'I did'	'I was doing'	'I had done'	'I had done'
	Future	<i>kAr A b õ</i>	<i>kArAt rAhAbõ</i>	<i>kAyr rAhAbõ</i>	<i>kArAl rAhAbõ</i>
		'I shall do'	'I shall be doing'	'I shall have done'	'I shall have done'
Subjunctive	Present	<i>kAr õ</i>	<i>kArAt rAhõ</i>	<i>kAyr rAhõ</i>	<i>kArAl rAhõ</i>
		'May I do'	'May I be doing'	'May I have done'	'May I have done'
	Past	<i>kArA t õ</i>	<i>kArAt rAhAtõ</i>	<i>kAyr rAhAtõ</i>	<i>kArAl rAhAtõ</i>
		'I would do'	'I would be doing'	'I would have done'	'I would have done'
	Future	-	-	-	-
Imperative	Present	<i>kAr õ</i>	<i>kArAt rAhõ</i>	<i>kAyr rAhõ</i>	<i>kArAl rAhõ</i>
		<i>~ hon</i>	<i>~ hon</i>	<i>~ hon</i>	
	Future	'Let me I do'	'Let me doing'	'Let me have done'	'Let me have done'
		<i>kAr A b õ</i>	<i>kArAt rAhAbõ</i>	<i>kAyr rAhAbõ</i>	<i>kArAl rAhAbõ</i>
	'Let me do it to morrow'	'Let me be doing in future'	'Let me have done in future'	'Let me have done in future'	

Infinitive -	<i>kArAk</i>	‘to do’
Present	<i>kArAt</i>	‘doing’
Participle		
Past	<i>kArAl</i>	‘done’
Conjunctive -	<i>kAyr</i>	‘having done’

Schematic paradigm of mood and tenses with an example for each in the third person singular

Root - /kha/ ‘to eat’

<u>Moods</u>	<u>Tense</u>	<u>Simple</u>	<u>Progressive ~</u>	<u>Perfect I</u>	<u>Perfect II</u>	<u>Imperfect</u>
Indicative	Present	<i>kha e l(a)</i>	<i>khat he</i>	<i>khae he</i>	<i>khal ahe</i>	
		<i>kha lA k</i>	<i>khat rAhe</i>	<i>khae rAhe</i>	<i>khal rAhe</i>	
	Future	<i>khay</i>	<i>khat rAhi</i>	<i>khae rAhi</i>	<i>khal rAhi</i>	
Subjunctive	Present	<i>kha e</i>	<i>khat rAhe</i>	<i>khae rAhe</i>	<i>khal rAhe</i>	
	Past	<i>kha tAk</i>	<i>khat rAhAtAk</i>	<i>khae rAhAtAk</i>	<i>khae rAhAtAk</i>	
Imperative	Present	<i>kha ok(a)</i>	<i>khat rAhok(a)</i>	<i>khae rAhok(a)</i>	<i>khal rAhok(a)</i>	
	Past	<i>kha y</i>	<i>khat rAhi</i>	<i>khae rAhi</i>	<i>khal rAhi</i>	

Compound Verbs

A good number of compound verbs are available in Nagpuria. The compound verb is a morphological construction of two or more roots. The characteristic structure of a compound verb is –

Stem 1 + Stem 2

If stem 1 belongs to other form of classes, it is a non-verbal compound; and in cases where stem 1 also is a verb, it is a verbal compound. Stem 2 is necessarily a verb. In Nagpuria, compound verb consists of (i) Noun + Verb (ii) Adjective + Verb (non-verbal compound) and (iii) Verb + Verb (verbal compopund). The resultant combination forms either a new verb conceptually or semantically in forces the first member of the verbal compopund; i.e. the main verb maintains predominance over the second verb. The second verb has a function of intensifying the meaning of the main verb and in the process, looses its original lexical meaning.

As Stem 2 verbs, they modify the meaning of Stem 1 verbs; hence they may be regarded as operator verbs also. The set of verbs, which have been found in data, occurring in Stem 2 positions in verbal-compound are very limited in number. These are given below:

{pAr}	'fall'
{ho}	'become'
{kAr}	'do'
{lag}	'begin'
{pa}	'get'
{bAn}	'become'

{pAr} 'fall' ingressive mode of action; expresses obligation. It occurs with verb like

'ja, dhuyk, kha etc.

e.g. /okE jaek pAri/ 'he has to go'

{pAr} generally occurs with infinitive forms of the verb.

{ho} 'become' – compulsion of action. It occurs mostly with infinitive forms of the verb like *ja, kha, mar etc.*

e.g. /moke ayj iThAn rAhek holAk/ 'I had to stay here today'

{kAr} 'to do' - emphasis upon an action. It generally occurs with the verbs in future form.

e.g. /u khabe kAri/ 'He will eat definitely'

{lag} ‘begin, start’ - It shows inceptive mode of action. It occurs generally with the verbs in infinitive and conjunctive forms. It always comes in past tense form.

e.g. /chAwa kaynde lagAlAk/ ‘The child began crying’

{de} ‘give’ - It shows opportunity, chance and permission. The basic function of the verb¹ followed by {de} is to indicate that the effect of the action concerns somebody else than the actor. The function of v1 + {de} can be described as benefactive.

e.g. /u moke khae debe/ ‘He will allow me to eat’

{pa} - It shows acquisitive sense of the action.

e.g. /moẽ aba ke dekhe pabõ/ ‘I shall see my father in form’

{bAn} ‘become’ - It shows fitness, worthiness etc. It occurs generally with infinitive forms of the verb.

e.g. /i khet jotek bAni/ ‘It will do to be played in this field’

{le} ‘take’ - It expresses that main action is performed for the benefit of actor.

e.g. /i bayt suyn le/ ‘Listen to this carefully’

{khoz} ‘try, search’ – It shows contain meaning

e.g. /bagh sikar dhArAk khojAt rAhe/ ‘Tiger tried to seize the prey’

{cuk} ‘finish’ – It shows completive mode of action. It occurs with conjunction forms of the verbs.

e.g. /u khae cuk he/ ‘He has finished eating’

{a} ‘come’ - This is now conclusive action. It generally occurs with participle

{ja} (present & past) and adverb expressing manner of action.

e.g. /bhat khaek kud aba/ ‘Gallop along here to eat rice’

{*bAyTh*} ‘sit’ - It shows intensity and emphasis. It occurs generally in past form with conjunctive form of the verbs.

e.g. /*moke laThi le mayr bAyTh AlAk*/ ‘He beat me with stick’

{*uTh*} ‘rise’ - It also shows inceptive action. It occurs generally in past form with conjunctive forms of the verb.

e.g. /*sAwb jAn hADbADae uThAlAẽ*/ ‘All were seized with bewilderment’

/*chAwa tAkhAna kaynd uTh AlAk*/ ‘the boy, at the sometime, burst into crying’

{*rAh*} ‘remain’ - It shows continuity of the action. It also occurs with conjunctive forms of the verbs.

/*suyt rAhAbe*/ ‘you will lie’

{*rakh*} – ‘keep’, ‘put’, ‘hold’

It always follows verbs indicating motion and expresses that the motion is directed to or performed for, the benefit of somebody else than the actor.

e.g. /*de rakh*/ ‘give it for’

/*uke mãDa mẽ pohÃcae rakhAlAẽ*/ ‘They put him into the pit or ditch’

{*sira*}, {*nimra*} and {*phura*} mean ‘to complete, to finish’

They show a resultative – conclusive mode of action.

/*toẽ ka moro bhat khae sirale*/ ‘Did you finish eating my share of rice also?’

{*mora*} ‘to turn’, put down

It indicates that main action is performed by force.

It is either intensive resulting or only intensive.

/*uke kayT moralAk*/ ‘he stabbed him dead’

Non-Verbal-Compounds

Structurally - (i) Stem 1 (Noun) + Stem 2 (verb)

(ii) Stem 1 (Adjection) + Stem 2 (verb)

A number of nouns and adjectives immediately followed by a very small set of verb roots constitute nuclei of compound verb constructions. Semantically, these constructions fall into two groups – Productive and Idiomatic.

The verbs which occur in these constructions are only five viz :

{*ho*} ‘to be’

{*de*} ‘to give’

{*kAr*} ‘to do’

{*bhAr*} ‘to fill’

These above-mentioned verbs after nouns and adjectives we conjugated for different tenses, moods and aspects.

Noun-Verb Compounds

biha hoek ‘to be married’

biha dek ‘to give in marriage’

bi da kArek ‘to bid farewell’

g oD lag ek ‘to salute’

DAnD bhArek ‘to ask a fine’

gArAm kArek ‘to heat’

peTe ahek ‘to carry pregnancy’

Reduplication

Like other form – classes, the verbal forms also can be reduplicated to express various shades of meanings (emphasis, choice, distribution, degree and gradations etc.). e.g.

khabũ - khabũ 'insist on eating (obstinacy)

jaõ - jaõ 'doubt about going'

ao - ao }
de - de } insistance

le - le

ghuyr - ghuyr - participles expressing emphasis

pohÃcAte - pohÃcAte - in course of time, interval, degree

Balance Verbs

As in the case of the nouns, there are a few verb roots which occur as balance words with other verbs of similar sound and sense. They are very common and abundant in Nagpuria. e.g.

uT hek - bAy Thek 'to rise and sit' 'to keep company'

aeK - ja ek 'to come and go' 'to visit'

bu lek - cA lek 'to walk about' 'to loitre'

kA h ek - sunek 'to say and hear' 'to take interest'

Adverbs

Adverbs are a class of words which function as attributes to verb and verb phrases. A set of monomorphemic uninflected words also function as adverbs in Nagpuria. They have considerable freedom of occurrence, standing at the beginning or at the end or in various positions inside a sentence.

Morphologically, the adverbs are simple, complex and compound. Semantically this class includes adverb of place time, manner, direction, quantity and cause or reason.

Simp. Adv.

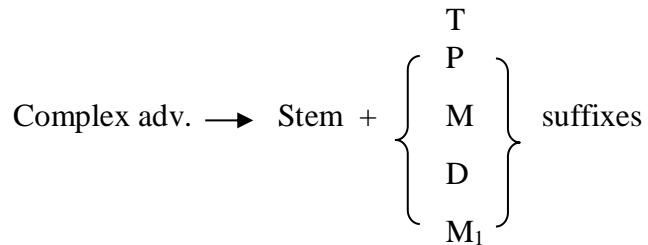
Adv. F Complex Adv.

Compd. Adv.

Simple stems : It consists of single stem morpheme. e.g.

ayj 'today'
kayl 'tomorrow'

Complex stems



The complex adverb stems consist of a stem belonging to nominal, pronominal and adjectival class followed by anyone of the derivative suffixes or additional suffixes denoting on showing (T) time, (P) Place, (M) manner, (D) directions, (M₁) measurement, etc. The derivative suffixes are *-e*, ∞ - *o*. The additional suffixes are *~ hã*, ∞ - *kh An*, ∞ - *ne*, ∞ - *sAn* and ∞ *t Ane*. e.g.

Stems	Adverbs	
<i>e</i>	<i>e khAn</i>	'now'
<i>u</i>	<i>u khAn</i>	'then'
<i>kA</i>	<i>kA khAn</i>	'when'
<i>tA</i>	<i>t AkhAn</i>	'then', 'at that time'
<i>i</i>	<i>ih ã</i>	'here'
<i>i</i>	<i>iT h An~ iT hin</i>	'here'
<i>u</i>	<i>uh ã</i>	'there'
	<i>uThin ~ uThAn</i>	'there'
<i>kA</i>	<i>kAThin</i>	'where'
<i>i</i>	<i>isAn</i>	'such', 'like this'
<i>hi</i>	<i>hine ~ hind e</i>	'in this direction'
<i>hu</i>	<i>hune ~ hund e</i>	'in that direction'
<i>kA</i>	<i>kAne</i>	'where'

<i>t A</i>	<i>t Ane</i>	‘in the same direction’
<i>i</i>	<i>i t Ane</i>	‘this much’
<i>u</i>	<i>u t Ane</i>	‘that much’
<i>par</i>	<i>pare</i>	‘across’
<i>s ã ynjh</i>	<i>s ã ynjh</i>	‘at evening’
<i>b i han</i>	<i>bi hane</i>	‘at dawn’
<i>kon</i>	<i>kono</i>	‘any, some’
<i>k Ahia</i>	<i>k Ahio</i>	‘some time, some day’
<i>u</i>	<i>ukh Ane</i>	‘at that moment’
<i>t A</i>	<i>t Akh Ane</i>	‘just then’

Compound stems

The compound adverb stems consist of more than one root with or without derivational or additional suffixes. Some times, the stems occur in duplications: e.g.

leMga b AT ‘left side’

gh Ari - gh Ari/ghAne ghAne ‘often’

Classification of Adverbs

The following is the classification of adverbs:

(A) Time : $T \longrightarrow khAn$

Additional suffix denoting time has only one alternant $\infty - khAn$; which occurs with all the stems. Adverb of time has simple structure also:

e.g. $i - khAn$ ‘now’

$u - khAn$ ‘then’

$kA ti khAn$ ‘till when’

(B) Place : $P \longrightarrow -hã , \infty - Thin \sim ThAn$

Additional suffixes denoting place (P) has two alternants ∞ - *hã* and ∞ - *Thin* ~ *ThAn*.

-*hã* occurs with the stem to indicate place in general but - *Thin* occurs to show specific place.
e.g.

t A <i>hã</i>	-	‘there’
i <i>hã</i>	-	‘here’
uhã	-	‘there’
i <i>ThAn</i>	}	‘here’
i <i>Thin</i>		
bhit Ar e		‘inside’
A gaDi		‘ahead’
he T he		‘below’

(C) Manner : M \longrightarrow ∞ - s An

Additional suffix denoting manner (M) has only one alternant ∞ - s An. e.g.

i s An	‘such, like this’
j Ays An	‘like that, such’

(D) Direction : D \longrightarrow ∞ - ne

Additional suffix denoting direction (D) has only one alternant ∞ - ne. e.g.

h i ne	‘in this direction’
hune	‘in that direction’
k Ane	‘in which direction’

(E) Measurement : M₁ \longrightarrow ∞ - t Ane, ∞ - t Ana

Additional suffixes denoting quantity or measurement are two viz ∞ - t Ane, ∞ - t Ana.

∞ - *t Ane/ne* occurs with the stem to express measure or quantity in surprise but ∞ - *t Ana/na* shows quantity or measurement in general. e.g.

<i>i t Ane/etna</i>	‘this much only’
<i>o t Ana/otna</i>	‘that much, so much’
<i>je t Ana/jetna</i>	‘as much as’
<i>je t Ane/jetne</i>	‘as much as!’

The case marked pronouns which function as adverbials are the followings for answering questions etc. e.g.

<i>ka lai</i>	‘for what reason’
<i>ka lakin</i>	‘from whom’, for whom’
<i>ka he</i>	‘why’
<i>ohe lai</i>	‘that is why’

Function words

Besides the major word – classes i.e. nouns (pronouns, noun attributes) verbs, adverbs, there are some uninflected forms in the languages, they have been treated here as particles, the function words. These function words include the conjunctives, relators, intensifiers, emphasis etc.

These function words are divided into groups according to their syntactic usage:

- The words, without being an immediate constituent of either unit, that connect two syntactic units are conjunctives and relators.
- The words which intensify a single syntactic unit (without being adjective or adverb) are intensifiers. They place emphasis upon a particular word or phrase.
- Words which are syntactically independent of the utterance in which they occur, or by themselves form an utterance. They include the vocative, interjectives and a set of command words.

Conjunctives

Co ordinating - *Aur* ‘and’

e.g. / *bhay al Ak Aur luga lan l Ak/* ‘brother came and brought clothes’

Adversative - *m AgAr ~ mu da* 'but'

e.g. / *moẽ dh Ani nAk hõ mu da toke mA dA yt kArAt hõ* / 'I am not rich but help you'

Disjunctive - *cahe* 'or'

e.g. / *bap jai cahe beTa* /

'Father go or the son'

Conditional - *ni to ~ nihole* 'otherwise'

e.g. / *to ã kha nito moẽ khae debũ* /

'you eat' otherwise 'I would eat'

Explanatory - *ki* 'that'

e.g. / *dekh Alõ ki chA wa khat rAAhe* /

'I saw that child was eating'

/ *bicar kAre lagAlõ ki chA wake konThin raykhe jabõ* /

'I began to think where I would put the child and go'

caDe 'therefore', 'thus'

Relators

The relators are a bit different from the conjunctives in the sense that they are the immediate constituents of the units : e.g.

le - 'till' 'upto' / *mo ã rawrekAr awAt le uThin rAhA mu* /

'I will be there till you come (you are coming)'

lagin 'for' / *kha ek lai/lagin mo ã awAt hõ* / 'I am coming to eat'

Intensifiers

The intensifier is a function word which is linked with a single syntactic unit it emphasizes :

i - 'certainly' e.g. / *mo ã jabõ i* / 'I shall go certainly'

e - 'emphasis' e.g. / *baghe khalAk* / 'It is the tiger and no other animal that devoured'

h ě - emphasis 'very one'

(strictly used with pronouns)

e.g. /*moh ě jae rA hō*/ 'I myself had gone'

o - 'also'

e.g. /*mANara o AlAk*/ 'mangra also came'

jun 'certainly'

e.g. /*ra tu alAk jun*/ 'Ratu certainly came'

Interjectives

(i) Vocative

re 'hullo' (enclearment)

e.g. /*ba re, iThAn aw*/ 'o mother, please come here'

A re 'hullo' (please surprise)

e.g. /*A re! to ě ale ka*/ 'oh! Did you really came?'

ae 'hullo' (when something unexpected happens)

e.g. /*ae be, Ab Ari ka hoi*/ 'o mother, now what will happen'

b AyTh Are 'now then!' (countering sudden difficulty)

hay 'ah!' (sadness)

(ii) Interjection

hĀ 'yes'

nihī ~ ni 'no'

bes 'right'

acha 'alright'

aga ~ agda 'oh! In pain as when tricked'

ba – re 'my God!'

ka jani 'dubitative'

<i>chi</i>	‘disgust’
<i>d hA t</i>	‘don’t’
<i>bhag</i>	‘keep away’
<i>sAt i</i>	‘used idiomatically to mean that me doesnot care’
e.g.	<i>/bhAle sA t i/</i> ‘I don’t care! I will do it all the same’
	<i>/more sA t i</i> ‘it matters to me not to you’
<i>ram ram</i>	‘greeting’
<i>hAiT/hAT</i>	‘commend to animal’

4. SYNTAX

Nagpuria is a SOV sentence pattern i.e., subject – object – verb language. It consists of noun phrase and verb phrase. Noun phrase functions as the subject. Without predicate, there is no sentence. Sometimes predicate itself may stand for a sentence. There are six types of sentences according to their function and structure.

These are the types of sentences given below:

- (a) Declarative
- (b) Interrogative
- (c) Imperative
- (d) Negative
- (e) Causative
- (f) Co-ordination

4.1 DESCRIPTION OF TYPES OF SENTENCES

There are six types of Sentences realised in Nagpuria. They are the following:

1. Declarative Sentences

It is a simple sentence, which has one subject and one predicate.

1. *i: hAmAr Ta:mga hAe*

this my axe is

‘This is my axe’

2. *hAmAr ghAr bARhiyā: hAe*

my house good is

‘My house is good’

2. Interrogative Sentences

In Nagpuria language, there are two types of interrogative sentences. One is yes/no questions and ‘wh’ type question sentence. Examples are given below:

Non-Wh Question Type

This type of interrogative sentence is indicated by changing the intonation of the sentence

ka: tohre duio jhAn Agla: mAhina: mē ja:ba

You(two) next month go+cont.

‘Will you (two) be going next month?’

ka admi: ka:il toke ma:rlAk ?

the man yesterday you(sg) hit

‘Did the man hit you(sg.) yesterday?’

Wh Question Type

This type of sentence is formed by addition of the interrogative particles in the sentence. It generally precedes the verb. Interrogative words are

/kAne/ ‘who’

/kAThin/ ‘where’

/kekAr/ ‘whose’

/kAkhAn/ ‘when’

/ka:le/ ‘why’

Example

apAn ghAr kAkhAn gele ‘Why did you go home?’

you home when go+past

ke mAnē lAurike lelAē? ‘who (pl.) took the stick?’

who(pl.) stick take+pl.

Imperative Sentence

Imperative sentence involves only the second person where the subject or the doer can occur optionally. The verb alone may indicate the imperative mood.

ja: Aur ghAr mē: bAiTh

go and house inside sit

‘Go and sit inside the house’

kuriya kAr ba:hAre na: rAhu

The hut outside don't wait

'Don't wait outside the hut'

3. Negative Sentence

Nagpuria verbs being added with the negative markers /*ni*/, /*nAi*/ help formation of the negative sentences.

to :r aĩkh beka :r ni hoi

your eye bad not is

'Your eye is not bad'

u: lu:gor piær nAi hAe

that cloth yellow not is

'That cloth is not yellow'

4. Causative Sentences

Action pertaining to the subject and the indirect object is expressed through the causative sentences. The causative verb in their sentence constitutes the verb phrase.

hAm ka:il u:ke piya:li:

I make him drink

'I make him drink'

hAm u:kAr se ekTho pAthAr ka:il phẽ kuwa:lu

I caused him a stone yesterday to throw

'I caused him to throw a stone yesterday'

5. Co-ordination Sentences

Co-ordination is a symmetrical relationship between the clauses and is independent in meaning. The co-ordinating connectives are /*Aur* / 'and' and /*i*/ 'or' for conjunction and disjunction respectively. These bring about a co-ordinating relationship among two or more noun phrases or two or more independent clauses.

u: Aur hAm ek duser ke muthAka: se ma:rAthi

He and I each other closed hands strike

He and I strike each other with closed hand'

i: lu:ga: mAn ke sOpha: kOr Aur oke cArAka keirde

These cloths wash and them white make

Wash the clothes and make them white'

4.1.DESCRPTION OF PATTERN OF SENTENCES

In Nagpuria, the sentences are classified into the following groups according to their respective patterns.

(1) Simple Sentence

(2) Complex sentence and

(3) Compound sentence

1. Simple Sentence

A simple sentence has only one subject and a predicate. In Nagpuria language sentences are of subject – object - verb pattern.

ghAr ã:c hAe 'The house is high'

The house high is

i: phu:l la:l hAe 'The flower is red'

the flower red is

ekhAn ja:R hAe 'It is cold now'

now cold is

2. Complex Sentence

Complex sentence consists of a simple sentence, which constitutes the principle or the main clause of the sentence and one or more subordinate clauses.

lAga :ta :r pa :ni : a :lAk sele nAdi : mē baich cAli a :lAk

on account rains of river flood+past.

‘On account of instant rains, the rivers are flooded

u: ApAn ghAr phoēic ke sute legir gelAk

his house reach sleep+to fall down+Pt.

‘Having reached his house he fell down to sleep’

3. Compound Sentences

Two or more simple sentences constitute a compound sentence. Each part of a compound sentence contains a subject and a predicate and thus constituting a separate clause. The two simple sentences in a compound sentence may be juxtaposed. In Nagpuria, these are connected with /Aur/, /ni/ ‘and’ ; /to:/ ‘if’ which may remain understood as well. The process of conjoining may take place both in the nominal and verbal phrases or the co-coordinated sentences.

nAi, u: hAmin duijhAn ke nAi dekhe pa:ri sAki Aur

no he us two not see can and

muda: unke/u:ke nAĩ dekhAl to: ghAr cail ja:b

I him not see if home go+fut.

‘If I don’t see him I will go home’

mai pali pleyerabi nimoē kuruyau ya

my foot slip + p.t. and I fall down

‘My foot is slipped and I fell down

khābā char ya khābā syoka ya

some new are some old are

‘Some are new, some are old’

Nagpuria Text

How the female crow killed the black snake.

meair kAuwa kAria sãpke ka niAr marlAk

A crow and his wife lived in the branch of a big banyan tree.

ego kAuwa apAnjoDise ego bADe bArgAch kAr Dairmẽ rAhAt rAhAẽ

They built a nest there.

umAn huã ekTho khota bAnaye rAhAẽ

There were four eggs in the nest.

khotamẽ cAirTho aDã rAhA ẽ

The parents guarded the eggs with great care

mae bap u aDã mAnke bAhut dhyanse dekhAt rAhAẽ

A black snake also lived in the same tree.

ego kAria sãp ohe gAchmẽ rAhAt rAhe.

The birds were very much scared of it.

cArAimAn ukArse bAhut DARat rAhAẽ

Always there were eggs, the snake crawled up to the nest and ate all the eggs.

bArabeir huã aDamAn hot rehẽ Aur sap upAr jaike khotase aDãke khai ja:t rAhe .

The female crow told the husband, “if the black snake comes and eat up my eggs this time also, I do not live in this tree anymore”

Dhail / meair kAuwa apAn gomke harse kAhAlAk AgAr u kAria sãp alAk Aur hamAr aDãmAnke ehughAri khaylelAk to moẽ i gAch upre Aur ni rAhAmũ.

We should go somewhere and build our nest.

hAmre mAnke Aur kAhõ jaek cahi Aur apAn khota bAnaek cahi.

The crow said, we have lived here for a long time. I cannot leave this place and go anywhere.

u kAuwa kAhAlAk hAmre hiã Dheir dinse rAhAtihi moẽ i Thaũke choiDeke Aur kAhõ ni jae sAkon.

While they were still talking they heard a hissing sound.

jAkhAn umAn bat kArAt rAhẽ sekhan umAn sãpkAr phũphũaik sunlẽ.

They knew it was the sound of the snake.

u mAn janAt rAhẽ ki i abaj Ta sãpekAr heke.

They were afraid

umAn DArai gelẽ

They did not know what to do.

umAn ni janAt rAhAẽ ki ka kAre .

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

kahe ukAria sãp khotame alAk Aur u cArAi mAnAk picha kArIAk.

One by one the snake ate the eggs.

sãp ek kAr bad ek aDã mAnke khai gelAk .

The parents became very sad.

mae bap harmAn bAhut dukhi hoigelẽ.

Now the crow said, I should find a way to destroy this poisonous snake.

Ab kAuwa kAhAlAk moke i jAhArila sãpke nas kArekle ego upay khojek hoi.

His wife asked, how can you kill this deadly snake?

ukAr bohoria har kAhAlAk i khAtArnak sãpke toẽ ka niAr mair sAkis .

Can you fight with him?

ka toẽ ikAr sAMge leiD sAkis ?

Do not worry my dear.

pari toe phikir mAit kAr.

I have a friend who is cunning to kill this snake.

mor ego sAMgi a:he je calaki se sãpke mair sAke .

Saying this he flew to another tree.

itna kAike u dusAr gAch upre uiD gelAk.

Under that tree one Jackal is living.

ohe gAchkar heThe ego siar rAhAt rAhe

When the jackal heard the entire story, he said , my friend those who are cruel always have bad end.

jAkhAn u siar pura kAgni sunlAk tAle u kAhIAk mor sAMgi jemAn niThur hoe na umAnAk bAra bAir bura Ant hoel.

I have a plan to kill him

mor Thina uke marek tehẽ goTek yojAna a:he .

Then the Jackal in a slow voice told something to the crow.

ukAr bade siar Asese kAuwake kono kAhIAk .

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

kAuwa apAn gomkain Thin uiD ghurlAk Aur u yojAnakar baremẽ kAhIAk.

I will do any thing to save my eggs told the female crow.

medi kAuwa kAhIAk mor aDãmAnke bacayek lAgin moẽ konouẽ kArmũ.

Then they flew towards the palace.

ukAr bade umAn mAhAl DAne uiD gelẽ.

The palace is not far from the tree.

mAhAl gAchle bAgra dur ni rAhe.

They approached a big pond and saw the royal ladies taking bath.

umAn goTek bADe pokha Thin pAhuclẽ Aur dekhẽ ki mAhAlkAr jAnanamAn huã nahAt rAhAẽ.

They left the jewels, necklace and golden chain on the edge.

umAn apAn gAhAna hair Aur sonakAr sikri mAnke ekTho konamẽ raikh de rehẽ.

The mother bird flew down and picked up one of the gold chain in her beak.

DhaiD kAuwa heThẽ uiDke gelAk Aur goTek sonakAr sikrike apAn Thoremẽ uThai lelAk.

It started flying slowly towards the tree in which she lived

u je gAchmẽ rAhAt rehe u baTe rAsese uDek laglAk.

When the palace guards saw this they took up their sticks and chased the bird.

jAkhAn mAhAlkAr digwarmAn i dekhlAye tAkhAn umAn apAn TheMga leke cArAikAr picha kArAlẽ.

They saw the bird dropping the chain in the hollow of the tree.

umAn dekhle i cArAi gAchkar DhoDrimẽ sikri ke saij delAk .

One of the guards climbed up the tree.

goTek digwar gAch upre cAghAlAk

As he put his hand inside the hole to get the chain he saw the black snake.

jAisne u DhoDrimẽ sikri ke lek lai apAn hãthke luDlAk to u goTek kAria sãpke dekhAk .

He killed the snake with a stick.

u sãpke apAn TheMgase mair delAk .

And that was the end of the black snake.

Aur i rAhAlAk u kAria sapkar TunDuAnt.

After that the crow and his wife lived in the tree happily and had many crows.

ukAr bade kAuwa apAn bAhuriya kAr sAMge khusise rAhe laglAk Aur unkArse Dheir kAuwa holẽ .

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PANCH PARGANIA

S.P. DUTTA*

1. INTRODUCTION

Panch Pargania was surveyed in the year 1995 while both Jharkhand and the Chota Nagpur Plateau were under the state of Bihar. Since, Jharkhand was declared as a separate state in the year 2002, during the finalization of the volume, a short field survey has been undertaken again in May 2010 to collect few data as per the modified format, lexicon and text.

The Panch Pargania speech of Chota Nagpur plateau is one of the ‘identifying dialects’ that acts as a bridge among the Aryan and the Non-Aryan speech communities. Due to pervading contact of Northern Magahi and Eastern Magahi with the long settled tribal communities i.e. the Mundas, the Oraons, the Kharia etc the speech has formed a unique base of its own, both from the linguistic and socio-linguistic points of view. Among the people of the Panch Pargania region, the caste – Hindus and the Scheduled Castes are ethnically the Aryans while the Scheduled Tribes come from different cultural stocks i.e. the Austric and the Dravidian. The tribes have been gradually getting acculturated with the Aryans in the societal plane.

1.1 FAMILY AFFILIATION

In the Census of 1971, the Mother Tongue Panch Pargania has been grouped under Hindi. The total population of Panch Pargania as per 1991 Census is 151, 599 and in 2001 Census the Panch Pargania speakers are 193,769.

1.2. LOCATION

The geographical position of the speech region of Panch Pargania is in the east is the district of Singbhum of Bihar, in the South-west is Sadar subdivision of Ranchi, in the north is the district of Hazaribagh of Bihar and the neighbouring languages are: Bengali in the East, Kurmali Thar in the North-East, Nagpuria and Sadan/Sadri in the South-West and Magahi in the South and North. The Panchparganah area, which comprises of five Parganas have been rejurisdictioned and renamed as Silli anchal, Angara anchal, Bundu anchal, Sonahatu anchal, Tamar-I and Tamar-II (Erki) anchal. The Panch Pargania MT is also known as Tamararia in the Tamar-I and Tamar-II (Erki) anchal.

* The list of lexicon and text on Panch Pargania along with few analysis and comparative lexicon as per the latest format is prepared and finalised by **Dr. Ranjita Pattanaik, Linguist**, after a short field investigation in Sonahatu & Silli anchal of Ranchi in Jharkhand State in the year 2010.

1.3 SPEAKERS' STRENGTH

Panch Pargania is a mother tongue under Hindi language. According to 2011 Census the population of the Panch Pargania has been given in the table.

INDIA/STATE/UNION TERRITORY	TOTAL			RURAL			URBAN		
	Person	Male	Female	Person	Male	Female	Person	Male	Female
INDIA	2,44,914	1,25,800	1,19,114	2,26,645	1,16,219	1,10,426	18,269	9,581	8,688
JAMMU & KASHMIR	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0
HIMACHAL PRADESH	3	2	1	0	0	0	3	2	1
CHANDIGARH	11	5	6	0	0	0	11	5	6
NCT OF DELHI	5	3	2	0	0	0	5	3	2
RAJASTHAN	3	2	1	3	2	1	0	0	0
UTTAR PRADESH	64	37	27	64	37	27	0	0	0
BIHAR	7	2	5	1	0	1	6	2	4
MEGHALAYA	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0
WEST BENGAL	505	277	228	500	276	224	5	1	4
JHARKHAND	2,44,290	1,25,456	1,18,834	2,26,075	1,15,902	1,10,173	18,215	9,554	8,661
ODISHA	7	6	1	0	0	0	7	6	1
CHHATTISGARH	9	4	5	1	1	0	8	3	5
MADHYA PRADESH	2	1	1	0	0	0	2	1	1
GUJARAT	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0
MAHARASHTRA	5	2	3	1	1	0	4	1	3

According to 2011 Census the population of the Panch Pargania of Jharkhand and its districts has been given in the table.

STATE/DISTRICT	TOTAL			RURAL			URBAN		
	Person	Male	Female	Person	Male	Female	Person	Male	Female
JHARKHAND	2,44,290	1,25,456	1,18,834	2,26,075	1,15,902	1,10,173	18,215	9,554	8,661
Garhwa	2	2	0	2	2	0	0	0	0
Chatra	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0
Kodarma	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0
Giridih	13,721	7,119	6,602	11,072	5,676	5,396	2,649	1,443	1,206
Deoghar	4	1	3	0	0	0	4	1	3
Godda	41	20	21	41	20	21	0	0	0
Dhanbad	46	25	21	8	6	2	38	19	19
Bokaro	389	189	200	4	3	1	385	186	199
Lohardaga	13	6	7	8	3	5	5	3	2
Purbi Singhbhum	801	421	380	18	8	10	783	413	370
Palamu	5	5	0	3	3	0	2	2	0
Latehar	11	8	3	2	2	0	9	6	3
Hazaribagh	8	6	2	2	2	0	6	4	2
Ramgarh	194	96	98	57	24	33	137	72	65
Dumka	2	2	0	1	1	0	1	1	0

Ranchi	2,11,114	1,08,601	1,02,513	1,97,919	1,01,720	96,199	13,195	6,881	6,314
Khunti	15,418	7,788	7,630	15,219	7,673	7,546	199	115	84
Gumla	45	19	26	26	15	11	19	4	15
Simdega	12	8	4	9	5	4	3	3	0
Pashchimi Singhbhum	621	316	305	83	43	40	538	273	265
Saraikela-Kharsawan	1,841	822	1,019	1,600	695	905	241	127	114

1.4 SOCIO-LINGUISTIC SETTING

The two groups of people namely the caste-Hindus and the Scheduled castes and the Scheduled Tribes have gradually learned towards the 'Language-in-use' of the soil in tune with the lesser use of their original mother tongues. Most of the tribals have abandoned their own mother tongue in favour of the newly emerging Aryan language i.e. Panch Pargania. This is testified from the census returns from the year 1901 onwards.

The 'Language-in-use' of the above said two groups of people thus is Panch Pargania and it has acquired certain specific domains of use in the societal plane. The domains of use are locality, market and public place in the oral communication level. While among the younger generation people Panch Pargania is used even in the home domain the community language is still alive among the older generation people in their conversation in the home domain. The older generation people, of course, can understand 'Panch Pargania'. In the Formal domains of school, office and Law courts, Panch Pargania is used in oral communication network. But, all formal communication, such as, imparting of lessons in the schools, officer-staff level communication in Govt. and Non-Govt offices, Banks and in the day to day execution of legal matters in the Tehsil and Sub-Division level Law courts use of Hindi is imperative. In the formal situation Hindi is the only medium and hence all written communications, issue of circulars and notices in the schools and offices and in the Law courts use of Hindi is must because of governmental intervention. In other words, it can be explained that there has been peaceful co-existence of Panch Pargania and Hindi in the soil of Panchparganah region.

Of course, because of Governmental initiatives, Panch Pargania is patronized in the domains of mass media i.e. broadcasting and Governmental publication of 'Adivasi' journals published from the Information centre, Ranchi. In Broadcasting of A.I.R., Ranchi Centre, several radio programmes are displayed between 5.30 p.m. to 7.30 p.m. In these programmes, generally the folk songs, folk tales / short stories, discussions on 'Khatibari' (Agricultural news) are done in the local patois i.e. Panch Pargania.

In Ranchi College Panch Pargania is also taught as a subject from intermediate up to the higher studies of Post-Graduation level. The prescribed books in Panch pargania language are "Mashal" by Dr. Paramananda Mahato, "dui Dair barA bArnA phul" by Dr. Dinabandhu Mahato, "gAid pAid jahaDan" by Dr Chandra Mohan Mahato, "adArshA Panch Pargania byakArAn" by Dr. Karmachand Ahir, "jivAn pAthe phul", "Panchapargania bhasha ", by Dr.

Paramanda Mahato, “ravAn bAddhA” by Dr. Chandra Mohan Mahato, “pAnchapArgAnia nupur” by Dr. Jyotilal Mahadani, julum naTAK” by Dr. Srishdhar Mahato etc.

1.5 REVIEW OF EARLIER LITERATURE

In the publication of cultural history of different tribes of the region, the Government regularly publishes the cultural products of the local poets and writers. Certain venture of preparation of Dictionaries in Panch Pargania and the local tribal languages by the personal initiative of the local writers and Scholars are observed. The venture needs careful patronage of the Government extending required financial support to these writers and scholar

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.

2.1 PHONEMIC INVENTORY

2.1.1 SEGMENTAL PHONEMES

Vowels

/i/	/u/
/e/	/o/
/A/	
/E/	/O/
/a/	

Consonants

	Bilabial		Dental		Alveolar		Retroflex		Palatal		Velar		Glottal	
	vl	vd	vl	vd	vl	vd	vl	vd	vl	vd	vl	vd	vl	vd
Stop	<i>p</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>d</i>			<i>T</i>	<i>D</i>			<i>k</i>	<i>g</i>		
Aspirated Stop	<i>ph</i>	<i>bh</i>	<i>th</i>	<i>dh</i>			<i>Th</i>	<i>Dh</i>			<i>kh</i>	<i>gh</i>		
Affricate									<i>c</i>	<i>j</i>				
Aspirated Affricate									<i>ch</i>	<i>jh</i>				
Fricative			<i>s</i>				<i>S</i>						<i>h</i>	
Nasal	<i>m</i>				<i>n</i>		<i>N</i>		<i>M</i>					
Lateral					<i>l</i>									
Trill					<i>r</i>									
Flap							<i>R</i>							
Aspirated Flap							<i>Rh</i>							

2.1.2. SUPRA SEGMENTAL PHONEMES

Nasalization: / *v~* /

In the following are presented the distribution pattern of Nasalization of vowels as Supra-Segmental feature.

Nasalized vowels	Initial	Medial	Final
/ĩ/	/ĩdu:r/ 'rat'	/pĩpa/ 'papaya'	---
/é/	/éRl/ 'ankle	/bhéRa/ 'sheep'	/bad mé/ 'afterwards'
/E/	---	/cÉka/ 'sour'	---
/Ã/	/Ãe/ 'he, she'	/bhÃis/ 'buffalo'	---
/ã/	/ãĩkh/ 'eye'	/bhap/ 'steam'	/dha/ 'flame'
/ũ/	/ũc/ 'high'	/bhũsRi/ 'mosquito'	---
/õ/	/õTh/ 'lip'	/bhõkek/ 'to stab'	---

Length of vowels

Length in Panch Pargania is not phonemic. However, it occurs in close syllable only.

[a: Th]	'eight'	[kapa:r]	'forehead'
[ĩ: T]	'brick'	[nAji:k]	'near'

2.2. PHONEMIC DESCRIPTION AND DISTRIBUTION

Vowels:

- /i/ - It is a front high vowel.
- /e/ - It is a front half close vowel.
- /E/ - It is a front half-open lower-mid vowel.
- /A/ - It is a central mean-mid vowel.
- /a / - It is a central open lax and low vowel
- /u/ - It is a back high-close sound.
- /o/ - It is a back half-close vowel.
- /O/ - It is a back half-open lower-mid vowel

The vowel phonemes are frequently distributed in the three positions – Initial, Medial and Final. The distribution pattern is as follows:

1. Initial, Medial & Final positions -/i/, /e/, /A/, /u/, /o/and /O/
2. Initial and Medial positions -/E/, /A/ (vowel E used in marginal cases)

The distribution pattern is exemplified below:

Vowel Phonemes	Initial	Medial	Final
/i/	/iTA/ ‘It’	/uRis/ ‘bed-bug’	/pipni/ ‘eye-lid’
/e/	/eklai/ ‘lonely’	/gendaphur/ ‘marigold’	/ke-ke/ ‘whom’
/A/	/Admi/ ‘man’	/nAjik/ ‘near’	---
/a/	/adha/ ‘half’	/casa/ ‘farmer’	/bhura/ ‘gray’
/u/	/uTã/ ‘that’	/Théuna/ ‘knee’	/ritul ‘season’ /jiul ‘tongue’
/o/	/oRhaek/ ‘cover’	/poka/ ‘warm’	/sAo/ ‘hundred’
/O/	/OsOt/ ‘dishonest’	/pokhOr/ ‘pond’	/OsOd/ ‘medicine’

Consonants

Distribution of consonant phonemes and other consonantal sounds.

Of the twenty-seven consonant phonemes and six consonant sounds – *D*, *Dh* are found only in the initial position; *[R]*, *[Rh]*, *M*, *[Q]* and *[ġ]* are found in the medial and final positions, *[S]* in the initial and medial positions and *[N]* only in the medial position. The rest are found in all three positions – initial, medial and final. Below are exemplified as the distribution pattern.

Consonant Phonemes	Initial	Medial	Final
/p/	/pichAr/ ‘slippery’	/kApar/ ‘forehead’	/kulup/ ‘lock’
	/pAthra/ ‘stone’	/cupe/ ‘secret’	/kitap/ ‘book’
			/sãp/ ‘snake’
/ph/	/pharsa/ ‘spear’	/sapha/ ‘clean’	/bArAph/ ‘snow’(ice)
		/tuphan/ ‘storm’	
/b/	/bAhin/ ‘sister’	/durbAl/ ‘weak’	---
	/biea/ ‘scorpion’		
/bh/	/bhi/ ‘also’	/cabhi/ ‘key’	/usAbh/ ‘they’
	/bhabek/ ‘to think’	/lobhi/ ‘greedy’	/sAbh/ ‘all’
/t/	/tita/ ‘bitter’	/hata/ ‘ladle’	/turut/ ‘haste’
	/tej/ ‘sharp’	/sAtruta/ ‘hostile’	/dãt/ ‘tooth’
/th/	/thali/ ‘pan’	/hãthi/ ‘elephant’	/hãth/ ‘hand’
	/thAila/ ‘bag’	/kathabatra/ ‘conversation’	/tirAth/ ‘pilgrimage’
/d/	/dil/ ‘heart’	/kada/ ‘mud’	/mAsjid/ ‘mosque’
	/din/ ‘day’	/gAddi/ ‘saddle’	/cand/ ‘moon’
/dh/	/dhire/ ‘slowly’	/sidha/ ‘straight’	/dudh/ ‘milk’
	/dhan/ ‘paddy’	/sadhek/ ‘to try out’	/judh/ ‘wrestling’
/T/	/TaMg/ ‘to hang’	/mATa/ ‘thick’	/TaiT/ ‘tight’

	/TukRa/ ‘trunk’		/nAsT/ ‘waste’
/Th/	/Thik/ ‘right’	/kATHin/ ‘hard’	kaTh/ ‘woods’
	ThaNDA/ ‘cool’	miTha/ ‘sweet’	/haTh/ ‘market’
/D/	DaRu/ ‘frier’	ThaNDA/ ‘cool’	---
	DahAr/ ‘road’	rãDi/ ‘widow’	
/Dh/	Dhila/ ‘lice’	/DhalDheluaek/ ‘to swing’	---
	Dhaba/ ‘verandah’		
/k/	/katari/ ‘hog plum’	/kukur/ ‘dog’	kãpek/ ‘to shiver’
	/kahe/ ‘why’	/phukaek/ ‘to blow’	/kudek/ ‘to run’
			dimak/ ‘brain’
/kh/	/khaRek/ ‘to chop wood’	/cArkha/ ‘spinning wheel’	nAkh/ ‘nail’
		/chîkhek/ ‘to sneeze’	/ãikh/ ‘eye’
		/Akhrek/ ‘to miss’	
/g/	/git/ ‘song’	/Degek/ ‘to dive’	/suhag/ ‘love’
	/gal/ ‘cheek’	/luga/ ‘cloth’	
/c/	/cimTi/ ‘ant’	/kacca/ ‘raw’	/jãc/ ‘examination’
	/ceMga/ ‘chicken’		/nãc/ ‘dance’
/ch/	/chat/ ‘roof’	/kAchim/ ‘tortoise’	/kuch/ ‘some’
		/micha/ ‘false’	/mach/ ‘fish’
/j/	/jindAgi/ ‘life’	/meje/ ‘floor’	/sAmaj/ ‘society’
	/jiu/ ‘tongue’	/sAhAj(e)/ ‘easy’	/STej/ ‘stage’
/jh/	/jhari/ ‘bush’	/sAjhA/ ‘straight’	sãijh/ ‘evening’
	/jhûkek/ ‘to lean’	/majhe/ ‘between’	
/s/	/siar/ ‘fox’	/sisir/ ‘dew’	/has/ ‘duck’
	/sidha/ ‘horizon’	/musa/ ‘mouse’	/mãs/ ‘meat’
/S/	/STej/ ‘stage’	/duSTo/ ‘cunning’	---
		/nASTo/ ‘waste’	
/h/	/hîde/ ‘here’	/loha/ ‘iron’	/muh/ ‘month’
	/hata/ ‘ladle’	/sahar/ ‘manure’	
/m/	/mae/ ‘mother’	/hamrek/ ‘we’	/lagam/ ‘anchor’
	/marek/ ‘kill’	sembi/ ‘beans’	nam/ ‘name’
	machi/ ‘fly’		
/n/	/nabhi/ ‘navel’	/nAnAd/ ‘husband’s sister’	/makhAn/ ‘butter’
			sAman/ ‘equal’
/N/	---	/ThaNDA/ ‘cold’	---
/M/	---	/sAMghe/ ‘with’	/siM/ ‘horn’
		/siMh/ ‘lion’	/lAbAM/ ‘clove’
/l/	/lila/ ‘blue’	/hulkek/ ‘to peep’	/lal/ ‘red’
	/lekin/ ‘but’		
/r/	/rait/ ‘night’	/hArin/ ‘deer’	/har/ ‘plough’
	/rãdha/ ‘cooked’	/sAru/ ‘narrow’	/sîdur/ ‘vermillion’

/R/	/koRo/ ‘duck’	/laMRa/ ‘crippled’	/haR/ ‘bone’
			/phéR/ ‘stem’
/Rh/		/caRhaek/ ‘to make ride’	/sãRh/ ‘ox’
		/saRhu/ ‘wife’s	/DeRh/ ‘1½
		sister’s husband’	(one and a half)’
[o]		[cAoRa/ ‘wide’	[nAo] ‘nine’
[e]		[mAedan] ‘field’	[tĀe] ‘you’
		[jaega] ‘place’	[mĀe] ‘I’

2.3 MAJOR ALLOPHONIC DISTRIBUTION

The phoneme /D/ has two allophones [D] and [R]. These occur in the following environments

/D/ /D/ initially; with clusters (i.e. homorganic) and geminations.

/R/ Intervocally and Finally. Examples are: -

/D/	/DahAr/	‘road’
	/Dor/	‘fear’
	/Dãir/	‘branch’
	/ThaNDA/	‘cool’
	/aDDa/	‘gossip’
/R/	/koRo/	‘duck’
	/haR/	‘bone’
	/phéR/	‘stem’
	/ToRek/	‘to smash’
	/saRi/	‘sari’
	/raR/	‘widow’

Equally, the phoneme /Dh/ has two allophones [Dh] and [Rh]. These occur in the following environments.

/Dh/ [Dh] Initially and in clusters -ldh-

[Rh] Intervocally and Finally. Examples are: -

[Dh]	/Dhila/	‘oven’
	/Dhaba/	‘roadside hotel’
	/Dhel Dheluaek/	‘swing’
[Rh]	/oRhaek/	‘to make fly’
	/caRhaek/	‘to make ride’
	/sãRh/	‘ox’

<i>/saRhu/</i>	‘wife’s sister’s husband’
<i>/DeRh/</i>	‘1½’

The phoneme /s/ has one allophone [S] occurring in the following environments.

/s/ [s] occurring independently and in clusters.

[S] occurring conditionally before the retroflex sounds.

[s]	<i>/sās/</i>	‘breath’
	<i>/sisir/</i>	‘dew’
	<i>/mAsjid/</i>	‘mosque’
	<i>/muskek/</i>	‘to smile’
[S]	<i>[STej]</i>	‘stage’
	<i>[nAST]</i>	‘waste’

The phoneme /n/ has one allophone occurring in the following environments.

/n/ [n] occurring independently and in clusters’

[N] occurring conditionally before the retroflex sounds. Examples are:

[n]	<i>/nAnAd/</i>	‘husband’s sister’
	<i>/inkar/</i>	‘refuse’
[N]	<i>[rANDi]</i>	‘pros’
	<i>[ThaNDa]</i>	‘cold’
	<i>[aNDa]</i>	‘egg’

The sound [o] becomes /b/ before an open vowel /a/ e.g.

[o]	[o] before/a/	<i>/bhAgbAn/</i>	‘god’
		<i>/bAlban/</i>	‘strong’

In other positions	<i>/cAORa/</i>	‘wide’
	<i>/nAo/</i>	‘nine’

2.4 CLUSTERS

Diphthongs / Vowel Clusters

The Diphthongs in Panch Pargania are twenty-nine and their first members are *I, e, E, A, u, o* and *O*. These first members receive the following half-vowels in the formation of diphthongs

<i>i</i> -	<i>e, a, A, O, u, ...</i>	<i>a</i> -	<i>i, e, u, o</i>
<i>e</i> -	<i>i, a, u, o</i>	<i>u</i> -	<i>i, e, a, o</i>
<i>E</i> -	<i>i, A, O</i>	<i>o</i> -	<i>i, e, a, u</i>
<i>A</i> -	<i>i, e, a, u, o</i>		

Diphthongs in three different positions - Initial, Medial and Final.

Initial diphthongs

<i>/Ae/</i>	<i>/Ãe/</i>	‘he, she’
<i>/ai/</i>	<i>/aij/</i>	‘today’
<i>/ae/</i>	<i>/aek/</i>	‘to come’

Medial diphthongs

<i>/ie/</i>	<i>/piek/</i>	‘to smoke’
<i>/ia/</i>	<i>/piAs/</i>	‘thirsty’
<i>/ei/</i>	<i>/pokheir/</i>	‘lake’
<i>/eu/</i>	<i>/Théuna/</i>	‘knee’
<i>/Ei/</i>	<i>/jEisAn/</i>	‘as’
<i>/EA EO/</i>	<i>/dear - dEOr/</i>	‘husbands’ brother’
<i>/Ai/</i>	<i>/tetAir/</i>	‘tamarind’
<i>/Ae/</i>	<i>/AtAeb/</i>	‘therefore’
<i>/Ao/</i>	<i>/cAora/</i>	‘wide’
<i>/ai/</i>	<i>/rait/</i>	‘night’
<i>/ae/</i>	<i>/gagaek/</i>	‘to shout’
<i>/au/</i>	<i>/chauni/</i>	‘shed’
<i>/ui/</i>	<i>/cuil/</i>	‘hair’
<i>/ua/</i>	<i>/kūari/</i>	‘unmarried girl’
<i>/uo/</i>	<i>/suor/</i>	‘pig’
<i>/oi/</i>	<i>/chagoir/</i>	‘goat’
<i>/oe/</i>	<i>/hoek/</i>	‘to be’
<i>/oa/</i>	<i>/aroa caur/</i>	‘perched rice’
<i>/ou/</i>	<i>/bhouji/</i>	‘brother’s wife’
<i>/Oi/</i>	<i>/pũthOil/</i>	‘idol’

Final Diphthongs

<i>/ia/</i>	<i>/khAtia/</i>	‘bedstead’
<i>/iu/</i>	<i>/ghiu/</i>	‘ghee’
<i>/eu/</i>	<i>/Dheu/</i>	‘wave’
<i>/eo/</i>	<i>/seo/</i>	‘apple’
<i>/Ai/</i>	<i>/kãcAi/</i>	‘comb’
<i>/Ae/</i>	<i>/tÃe/</i>	‘ye’
<i>/Aa/</i>	<i>/nAa/</i>	‘new’

/Ao/	/nAo/	‘nine’
/ai/	/kAlai/	‘wrist’
/ua/	/pechua/	‘bangle’
/oi/	/cAroi/	‘bird’
/oa/	/perōa/	‘parrot’

The Triphthongs

The Triphthongs are seven and their first members are *i*, *e*, *a* and *u*. The first members receive the following vowels as the second and third members:

<i>i</i>	-	<i>ae</i> ,
<i>A</i>	-	<i>ea</i> , <i>ua</i>
<i>a</i>	-	<i>ea</i> , <i>ua</i>
<i>a</i>	-	<i>ia</i> , <i>ea</i>
<i>u</i>	-	<i>io</i> , <i>ae</i>

The triphthongal formations are essentially available in the final position, least in the medial position and none in the initial position.

Examples:

Medial Triphthongs

/iae/	/khiaek/	‘to feed’
/aeA/	/saeAd/	‘perhaps’
/kae/	/khAjuæk/	‘to bite’

Final Triphthongs

/Aua/	/chAua/	‘baby, child’
/aia/	/maia/	‘daughter’
/uio/	/duio/	‘two’

Consonant Clusters

The consonant clusters in ‘Panch Pargania’ are hundred and thirteen in number and these are:

- a) Two-member consonantal clusters
- b) Three-member consonantal clusters.

The cluster pattern is basically the medial clusters while only six i.e. *pr-*, *Dr-*, *ghr-*, *st-* and *sr-* are the initial clusters and the ten i.e. *-rj*, *-rm*, *-ST*, *-nd*, *-ndh*, *-njh*, *-ns*, *-ND*, *-Mg* and *-Mgh* are the final clusters.

Below are exemplified the formation of clusters in different position of the words.

Initial Clusters:

<i>/pr -/</i>	<i>/prithibi/</i>	‘earth’
	<i>/prAtipAd/</i>	‘new moon’
<i>/Dr -/</i>	<i>/Dram/</i>	‘drum’
<i>/ghr -/</i>	<i>/ghrina/</i>	‘hatred’
<i>/sr -/</i>	<i>/srot/</i>	‘current’

II Medial Clusters:

<i>/-pp-/</i>	<i>/kAppur/</i>	‘camphor’
<i>/-khn-/</i>	<i>/rukhnA/</i>	‘chisel’
	<i>/pAkhna/</i>	‘stone’
<i>/-pt-/</i>	<i>/hApta/</i>	‘week’
<i>/-pr-/</i>	<i>/upre/</i>	‘above, on’
<i>/-gb-/</i>	<i>/bhAgban/</i>	‘god’
<i>/-pR-/</i>	<i>/kApRa/</i>	‘cotton’
<i>/-gR-/</i>	<i>/jhagRa/</i>	‘wrestling/quarrel’
<i>/-bth-/</i>	<i>/debthan/</i>	‘holy place’
<i>/-gn-/</i>	<i>/egna/</i>	‘courtyard’
<i>/-bbh-/</i>	<i>/Abbhas/</i>	‘habit’
<i>/-ck-/</i>	<i>/hécki/</i>	‘hiccough’
<i>/-bg-/</i>	<i>/cabgaek/</i>	‘to whip’
<i>/-cc-/</i>	<i>/kācca/</i>	‘raw’
<i>/-pr-/</i>	<i>/khapra/</i>	‘tile’
<i>/-cch-/</i>	<i>/Accha/</i>	‘good’
<i>/-chr-/</i>	<i>/pichrek/</i>	‘to slip’
<i>/-tn-/</i>	<i>/natni/</i>	‘daughter’s daughter’
<i>/-tt-/</i>	<i>/uttAr/</i>	‘north’
<i>/-dd-/</i>	<i>/gAddi/</i>	‘saddle’
<i>/-Adh-/</i>	<i>/mAddhe/</i>	‘inside’
<i>/-tr-/</i>	<i>/khAtra/</i>	‘danger’
	<i>/bhitrek/</i>	‘inside’
<i>/-dr-/</i>	<i>/-sAmudra-/</i>	‘sea’
<i>/-dl-/</i>	<i>/badli/</i>	‘bat’
<i>/-pl-/</i>	<i>/pepla/</i>	‘butterfly’
<i>/-dm-/</i>	<i>/Admi/</i>	‘man’
<i>/-tm-/</i>	<i>/atma/</i>	‘soul’
<i>/-dhn-/</i>	<i>/gidhni/</i>	‘vulture’
<i>/-kk-/</i>	<i>/dhakka/</i>	‘kick’
	<i>/mukka/</i>	‘fist’
<i>/-TTh-/</i>	<i>/muTThi/</i>	‘fist’

<i>/-Tk-/</i>	<i>/miTki marek/</i>	‘to wink at’
<i>/-kkh-/</i>	<i>/dAkkhin/</i>	‘south’
	<i>/pAikkho/</i>	‘fortnight’
<i>/-Tkh-/</i>	<i>/nATkhAT/</i>	‘naughty’
<i>/-ks-/</i>	<i>/baksa/</i>	‘box’
<i>/-Tn-/</i>	<i>/chuTek/</i>	‘left’
<i>/-kr-/</i>	<i>/bAtikrAm/</i>	‘peculiar’
<i>/-Thr-/</i>	<i>/pAThraek/</i>	‘wait for’
<i>/-kl-/</i>	<i>/bokTek/</i>	‘to pounce’
<i>/-kn-/</i>	<i>/dhukni/</i>	‘fan’
<i>/-rt-/</i>	<i>/dhArti/</i>	‘earth’
<i>/-khr-/</i>	<i>/Akhrek/</i>	‘to miss’
<i>/-rth-/</i>	<i>/soarhi/</i>	‘selfish’
<i>/-rd-/</i>	<i>/hArdi/</i>	‘yellow’
<i>/-mb-/</i>	<i>/kumba/</i>	‘hut’
	<i>/tamba/</i>	‘copper’
<i>/-rk-/</i>	<i>/tArkari/</i>	‘vegetables’
<i>/-mt-/</i>	<i>/bemta/</i>	‘green ant’
<i>/-rg-/</i>	<i>/murgi/</i>	‘hen’
<i>/-mdh-/</i>	<i>/ramdhenuk/</i>	‘rainbow’
<i>/-mT-/</i>	<i>/ghumTa/</i>	‘veil’
<i>/-rs-/</i>	<i>/pharsa/</i>	‘spear’
	<i>/arsa/</i>	‘mirror’
<i>/-mk-/</i>	<i>/AhAmkar/</i>	‘pride’
<i>/-rl-/</i>	<i>/barlik/</i>	‘barley’
<i>/-nh-/</i>	<i>/Denha/</i>	‘wing’
<i>/-rm-/</i>	<i>/tormuj/</i>	‘watermelon’
<i>/-rn-/</i>	<i>/purnima/</i>	‘full moon night’
<i>/-nn-/</i>	<i>/kAinna/</i>	‘daughter’
<i>/-sp-/</i>	<i>/naspati/</i>	‘pear’
<i>/-ND-/</i>	<i>/aNDa/</i>	‘egg’
<i>/-sph-/</i>	<i>/phusphusaek/</i>	‘to whisper’
<i>/-Mkh-/</i>	<i>/paMkha/</i>	‘fan’
<i>/-sph-/</i>	<i>/phusphusaek/</i>	‘to whisper’
<i>/-Mkh-/</i>	<i>/paMkha/</i>	‘fan’
<i>/-st-/</i>	<i>/aste/</i>	‘slowly’
<i>/-Mg-/</i>	<i>/AMgutha/</i>	‘thumb’
	<i>/taMga/</i>	‘axe’
<i>/-sk-/</i>	<i>/muskaek/</i>	‘to smile’
<i>/-Mgh/</i>	<i>/sAMghi/</i>	‘companion’
	<i>/suMghek/</i>	‘to smell’
<i>/-sc-/</i>	<i>/ascarj/</i>	‘astonished’
<i>/-sj-/</i>	<i>/mAsjid/</i>	‘mosque’

<i>/-Mh-/</i>	<i>/siMhA/</i>	‘lion’
<i>/-sr-/</i>	<i>/dusra/</i>	‘second’
<i>/-sl-/</i>	<i>/mAsla/</i>	‘spice’
<i>/-sm-/</i>	<i>/dusmAni/</i>	‘enmity’
<i>/-rp-/</i>	<i>/khurpi/</i>	‘crusher’
<i>/-rbh-/</i>	<i>/gArbhAboti/</i>	‘pregnant’
<i>/-rb-/</i>	<i>/pArbAt/</i>	‘mountain’
<i>/-mjh-/</i>	<i>/sAmjhek/</i>	‘to understand’
<i>/-mh-/</i>	<i>/kumhar/</i>	‘blacksmith’
<i>/-mr-/</i>	<i>/hAmre/</i>	‘we’
<i>/-mn-/</i>	<i>/umne/</i>	‘they’
	<i>/samne/</i>	‘forward’
<i>/-nph-/</i>	<i>/lonphAndia/</i>	‘pretend’
<i>/-nt-/</i>	<i>/jAntu/</i>	‘animal’
<i>/-nd-/</i>	<i>/kandek/</i>	‘to cry’
<i>/-nk-/</i>	<i>/inkar/</i>	‘refuse’
<i>/-IT-/</i>	<i>/ulTal/</i>	‘upset’
<i>/-lDh-/</i>	<i>/DhelDheluaek/</i>	‘to swing’
<i>/-lk-/</i>	<i>/hulkek/</i>	‘to peep’
<i>/-lh-/</i>	<i>/dulhin/</i>	‘bride’
<i>/-ln-/</i>	<i>/jalna/</i>	‘window’
<i>/-mp-/</i>	<i>/bhuikAmpA/</i>	‘earthquake’

III Final Cluster:

<i>/-ST/</i>	<i>/duST/</i>	‘cunning’
	<i>/nAST/</i>	‘waste’
<i>/-rj-/</i>	<i>/ascarj- aseArj/</i>	‘astonished’
<i>/-rm-/</i>	<i>/gArm/</i>	‘warm’
<i>/-nd-/</i>	<i>/cand/</i>	‘moon’
<i>/-ndh-/</i>	<i>/bAndh/</i>	‘shut’
<i>/-njh-/</i>	<i>/sainjh/</i>	‘evening’
<i>/-ns-/</i>	<i>/hans/</i>	‘duck’
<i>/-ND/</i>	<i>/ghAmAND/</i>	‘pride’
<i>/-Mg-/</i>	<i>/TaMg/</i>	‘fur of animal’

b) Three – Member Consonantal Clusters:

The three-member consonantal clusters are eight in number. The first members of the clusters are *s*, *l*, *n* and *M*. The first members receive the following consonants to form the three – member consonant clusters – *S – tr*; *l – pr*; *n – tr*; *dhr*; *jr*; *M – gr*; *gl*, *gn*. Below are exemplified the cluster pattern.

/ndr/	/indra/	‘well’
/ndhr/	/khundhri/	‘a type of vegetable’
njr/	/panjra/	‘rib’
/MgTh/	/AMgThi/	‘ring’
/Mgn/	/buTjhAMgRi/	‘green gram’
/Mgl/	/aMgli/	‘finger (toe)’
/Mgn/	/Amgna/	‘terrace’

2.5 SYLLABLE

The monosyllabic words are listed below

V	/a/	‘come’
CV	/de/	‘give’
	/pi/	‘drink’
	/ja/	‘go’
	/pa/	‘get’
	/dhu/	‘wash’
	/kha/	‘eat’
	/ho/	‘be’
	/Ga/	‘sing’
	/cho/	‘touch’
VC	/uTh/	‘rise’
	/uD/	‘fly’
	/an/	‘bring’
VCC	/Akhs/	‘miss’
CVC	/kAr/	‘do’
	/path/	‘send’
	/par/	‘except’
	/puj/	‘worship’
	/puDh/	‘burn’
	/man/	‘abide / accept’
	/poDh/	‘roast’
	/dekh/	‘see’
CVCC	/sungh/	‘small’
	/pinh/	‘wear’
	/bAnd/	‘shut’

	/bhang/	'grind'
	/bhing/	'wet'
CVVC	/pAiTh/	'send'
	/puich/	'ask'
	/bAis	'sit'

The dissyllabic words are the following:

CVVV	/khiao/	'feed'
CVCV	/baja/	'ring'
	/jaua/	inform'
	/jAga/	'awake'
	/baca/	'make free'
	/jhula/	'hang'
	/bAca/	'save'
	/dekha/	'see (something)'
	/kAra/	'do'
	/uTha/	'raise'
VCVC	/ulAg/	'vomit'
CVCVC	/pAkAD/	'arrest'
	/bAhAl	'flow'
	/samal	'enter'
	/dular/	'love'
	/TAhAl/	'travel'
	/ThAhAr/	'wait for'
	/jhApAD/	'pounce'
	/nikas/	'break'
CVCVV	/dekhao/	'show'
CVCCVC	/DhelDhel/	'swing'
	/bhinbhin/	'humming'

4. MORPHOLOGY

4.1 NOUN MORPHOLOGY

4.1.1. WORD FORMATION

All the free morphemes may be broadly divided into two groups, namely, inflected and uninflected. An inflected morpheme can occur both in isolation and in combination with a bound one. But non-inflected morphemes always occur in isolation. Similarly, bound morphemes are divided into two groups, i.e. inflectional and derivational. The first one denotes grammatical relationships while the latter forms a new word, which in its turn may take an inflectional affix. Indeclinable like adjectives, adverbs, post position, articles fall under the non-inflected group and nouns, pronouns and verbs come under the inflected group. Again, all the declensional and conjugational endings or terminations belong to the inflected group when affixes other than these (Prefixes and suffixes, both primary and secondary) constitute the derivational group.

4.1.2 NOUN

The nominal bases/stems end either in a vowel or in a consonant. Bases/stems end in *E*, *O* or *w* and *y*.

a) do not have /*E*/ and /*O*/ ending with vowels and /-*y*/ or /-*w*/ ending with the consonants.

Bases / stems ending with consonants are:

b) -*p*, -*b*, -*ph*, -*bh*, -*t*, -*d*, -*th*, -*dh*; -*T*, -*Th*, -*D*, -*Dh*, -*k*, -*g*, -*kh*, -*gh*; -*c*, -*j*, -*ch*, -*jh*; -*s*, -*h*, -*r*, -*l*, -*m*, -*n*, and -*n*.

This classification of noun stems on the basis their vowel and the number and gender morphologically conditioned consonantal ending. Categories will be dealt with in the following sections.

Number

Numbers are two i.e. singular (sg.) and plural (pl.). The sg. is unmarked while the markers for the pl. is {-*mAn*} for the human beings and {-*gula* or -*gila*} for the non-human beings and object. Following are examples:

A.	Sg. (unmarked)		Pl. marker {- <i>mAn</i> }	
	{ <i>Admi</i> }	'man'	{ <i>AdmimAn</i> }	'men'
	{ <i>chAua</i> }	'boy'	{ <i>chAuamAn</i> }	'boys'
	{ <i>beTichAua</i> }	'woman'	{ <i>beTichAuamAn</i> }	'women'
	{ <i>sara</i> }	'wife's brother'	{ <i>saramAn</i> }	'wife's brother'

B.	Sg. (unmarked)		Pl. markers { <i>-gula -gila</i> }
	{ <i>kukur</i> }	‘dog’	{ <i>kukurgula / -gila</i> } ‘dogs’
	{ <i>gae</i> }	‘cow’	{ <i>gaegula / -gila</i> } ‘cows’
	{ <i>kitab</i> }	‘book’	{ <i>kitabgula / -gila</i> } ‘books’
	{ <i>aikh / akh</i> }	‘eye’	{ <i>aikh / akhgula / -gila</i> } ‘eyes’

Besides, there are certain adjectives such {*bejain*} ‘many’ (for human beings)

{*Dher ~ bAhut*} ‘many’ (for non-human beings and objects). Which denote number at phrasal level. The examples are:

Sg. (only base form)		Pl. denoting words { <i>bejain-/Dher-~bAhut-</i> }
{ <i>mArAd</i> }	‘man/ husband’	{ <i>bejainmArAd</i> } ‘men/ husband’
{ <i>sAnghi</i> }	‘friend’	{ <i>bejain sAnghi</i> } ‘friends’
{ <i>lok</i> }	‘person’	{ <i>bejain lok</i> } ‘persons’
{ <i>cAroi</i> }	‘bird’	{ <i>Dher ∞ bAhut cAroi</i> } ‘birds’
{ <i>kALAm</i> }	‘pen’	{ <i>Dher ∞ bAhut kALAm</i> } ‘pens’
{ <i>pAkhna</i> }	‘stone’	{ <i>Dher ∞ bAhut pAkhna</i> } ‘stones’

Gender

There is grammatical gender in Panch Pargania some lexical pairs into morphological shown as male/female. Generation is not a significant feature in the language. The grammatical gender distinction is present only in some nouns gender as kinship terms, natural pairs etc. Such words bearing gender distinction are either marked by *-a*, *-i*, *-Φ* (for masc.) and *-i*, *-in/-ni* (for femi.) ending or by the use of two different words. Gender is basically lexical one. The examples are:

Masculine

1. Gender distinction marked by { *-a*, *-i*, *-Φ* } ending

Non-humans:

{ <i>murga / khukDa</i> }	‘cock’
{ <i>ghoDa</i> }	‘horse’
<i>saRha murga</i>	‘cock’

Feminine

Gender distinction marked by { *-i*, *-in/-ni* } ending.

{ <i>murgi / khukDi</i> }	‘hen’
{ <i>ghoDi</i> }	‘mare’
<i>DhaiR murgi</i>	‘hen’

Humans:

{ <i>buDha</i> }	‘old man’	{ <i>buDhi</i> }	‘old woman’
{ <i>mama</i> }	‘mother’s brother’	{ <i>mami</i> }	‘mother’s brother’s wife’

{ sara }	‘wife’s brother’	{ sari }	‘wife’s sister’
{ dulha }	‘bride groom’	{ dulhin }	‘bride’
{ nati }	‘daughter’s son’	{ natin / natni }	‘daughter’s daughter’

2. Gender distinction marked by the use of two different words:

Non-humans:

{ goru / saDh }	‘ox / bull’	{ gai }	‘cow’
{ kutta }	‘dog’	{ kuti }	‘bitch’

Humans:

{ mAdAd }	‘man’	{ jAni }	‘woman’
{ sosur }	‘father-in-law’	{ sas }	‘mother-in-law’
{ bhai }	‘brother’	{ bAhin }	‘sister’
{ bap }	‘father’	{ mae }	‘mother’

Case:

The cases are six. These are Nominative (Nom.) Accusative / Dative (Acc. / Dat.), Instrumental (Instr.) Ablative (Abl.), Genitive (Gen.) and Locative (Loc.) of these the Nom. is unmarked. Some cases -Instr., Abl. And Loc are marked with a number of postpositions are used, where in the base form take primarily the Gen. case markers { -kAr, -ker, -ek and -k }.

Case markers used with the nominal bases:

Cases	Case markers
Nom.	{ - Φ }
Acc. / Dat.	{ -ke }
Instr.	{ -se }
Abl.	(i) { -Thin }; { -lek ∞ le } (ii) { -se }
Gen.	(i) { -kAr ∞ -ker } (ii) { -ek } (iii) { -k }
Loc.	(i) -me }, (ii) -e }

Examples

Nom. { - Φ } { Admi } ‘man’; { ram } ‘Ram’; { gach } ‘tree’.

Acc/Dat. { -ke } { Admike } ‘to the man’; { ramke } ‘to Ram’; { gachke } ‘to the tree’.

Instr. { -se } { Admise } ‘by the man’; { gach se } ‘by the tree’.

Abl. (i) $\{-Thin\}$; $\{-lek \infty -le\}$ are phonologically conditioned by their occurrence with the nominal bases ending in consonant. Again $\{-lek \infty -le\}$ are allomorphs.

eg. $\{gachThin/-lek\}$ ‘from the tree’; $\{kukurlek \infty -le\}$ ‘from the dog’.

(ii) $\{-se\}$ is phonologically conditioned by its occurrence with the nominal bases ending in vowel. eg. $\{Admise\}$ ‘from the man’.

Gen. (i) $\{-kAr \infty -ker\}$ occur with any noun. The two markers $\{-kAr \infty -ker\}$ are allomorphs. eg $\{kukur-ker\}$ ‘of the dog’.

(ii) $\{-ek\}$ is phonologically conditioned by its occurrence with the nominal bases ending in consonants eg $\{kukurek\}$ ‘of the dog’.

(iii) $\{-k\}$ is phonologically conditioned by its occurrence with the nominal bases ending in vowel eg $\{Admik\}$ ‘of the man’; $\{nAdik\}$ ‘of the river’

Loc. (i) $\{-me\}$ – is phonologically conditioned by its occurrence with nominal bases ending in vowel. eg $\{sAmundrAme\}$ ‘in the sea’.

(ii) $\{-e\}$ is phonologically conditioned by its occurrence with nominal bases ending in consonant. Eg $\{ghAre\}$ ‘in the house’.

Post Position

The Post Position occur after the nominal or pronominal bases after genitive case markers $\{-kAr, -ker, -ek \text{ and } -k\}$.

The Post Positions are categorized into (i) Nominal Post Positions and (ii) Participial Post Positions. To cite a few examples:

Nominal Post Positions

$\{sAng(h) e\}$	‘with’	$\{ukAr sAng(h) e jao\}$	‘Go with him’.
$\{pas (e)\}$	‘near, to’	$\{dibarker pase thaDh ho\}$	‘Stand near the wall’.
$\{upAr/upre\}$	‘upon, on’	$\{pAkhnaaker upAr/upre bAis\}$	‘Sit on the stone’.
$\{kinare \infty dhare\}$	‘near’	$\{ghAr nAdikerdhare \infty kinareahe\}$	‘The house is near the river’.
$\{baTe\}$	‘at, into’	$\{TokribaTe na dekhbe\}$	‘Don’t look at/into the basket’.
$\{aghu\}$	‘before’	$\{mAy tor aghu jam\}$	‘I shall go before you’.
$\{picha\}$	‘follow’	$\{hAmre tinTa Admiker pichakAirrAhi\}$	‘I shall go before you’.
$\{dAra\}$	‘by’	$\{ekTa sap ukAr dAra marAl gelAk\}$	‘A snake is killed by him’.
$\{baTe \infty aDe\}$	‘at’	$\{u Admiker baTe \infty aDe deikh rAhe\}$	‘He was looking at the man’.

{ <i>khatir</i> }	for/ with a view to'	{ <i>cAroigilake dhAre khatir</i> }	'With a view to catch the birds'.
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Participial Post Positions:

{ <i>bhAr</i> }	'throughout',	{ <i>rait bhAr duar khula rAhe</i> }	'The door was open throughout the night'
{ <i>die</i> }	'with'	{ <i>tAy ar mAy apneme hath die tADhAti</i> }	'You and I strike each other with closed hands'
{ <i>choDkAn</i> }	'beyond'	{ <i>eDi gach choDkAn gelAk</i> }	'The arrow went beyond the tree'

The post positions are available for three cases – Instrumental, Ablative and Locative. Below are presented the post positions along with their occurrences in the construction.

Postposition	Occurrence in the construction	Examples
1. { <i>-dAra</i> ∞ <i>-dara</i> ∞ <i>-die</i> } 'by' (Instrumental)	{ <i>base + -kAr</i> ∞ <i>-ker, -ek, -k</i> (Gen.) + <i>-dAra</i> ∞ <i>-dara</i> ∞ <i>-die</i> }	{ <i>Admiker dAra, Admiker dara, Admiker die</i> } 'by the man' { <i>ramek dara</i> } 'by Ram' { <i>Admik dAra</i> } 'by the man'
2. { <i>-Thin</i> } 'from' (Ablative)	{ <i>animate base + -kAr, -ek, -k</i> (Gen.) + <i>-Thin</i> }	{ <i>Admiker / Admik Thin</i> } 'from the man' { <i>ramekThin</i> } 'from Ram'
3. { <i>-aDe</i> ∞ <i>-dike</i> ∞ <i>-dige</i> ∞ <i>-baTe</i> } 'at' (Locative)	{ <i>base + -kAr</i> ∞ <i>-ker, -ek, -k</i> (Gen.) + <i>-aDe</i> ∞ <i>-dike</i> ∞ <i>-dige</i> ∞ <i>-bhaTe/baTe</i> }	{ <i>kukur kAr</i> ∞ <i>-ker dige</i> } 'at the dog' { <i>nAdiker dike</i> ∞ <i>bhaTe/nAdik dike</i> ∞ <i>-bhaTe</i> } 'at the river' { <i>Admiker / Admik aDe</i> } 'at the man'

4.1.3 PRONOUN

The Pronouns are of five types – Personal, Demonstrative, Interrogative, Relative and Reflexive.

Personal Pronouns:

The Personal pronouns are distinguished by three persons [i.e Ist, 2nd ∞ 3rd], two numbers [i.e singular (sg.) ∞ plural (pl.)] with (i) two-tier bases [Direct ∞ oblique] in the Ist ∞ 2nd person (non-honorific) sg. and (ii) one-tier base [Direct] in the 1st, 2nd (non-honorific) pl. ∞

2nd (Honorific) and 3rd person sg. ∞ pl. besides three cases (Nom), Accusative (Acc.) ∞ Genitive (Gen.)].

The pl. markers used in the personal pronouns are four { *-mAn* } (in 2nd Hon. & 3rd p.), { *-in* } (in 2nd Hon.), { *-ra* } (in Ist, 2nd non-honorific & 3rd) and { *-re* } (in Ist p.). The pl. markers in Ist p. pl. & 2nd p. pl. { *-ra* & *-re* } are allomorphs.

Below are presented the pronominal bases with their formation in the three personal pronouns in two numbers – sg. & pl.

Personal Pronouns	Numbers	
	Sg.	Pl.
1 st Person	{ <i>mAy</i> }	{ <i>hAm + -re</i> }; { <i>ham + -ra</i> }
2 nd Person		
Non – Hon.	{ <i>tAy</i> }	{ <i>tohA + -re</i> ∞ <i>-ra</i> }; { <i>to + -ra</i> }
Ordinary	{ <i>tohA + -re</i> ∞ <i>-ra</i> }	{ <i>tohA + -re</i> ∞ <i>-ra + -mAn</i> }
Honorific	{ <i>raur</i> }	{ <i>raur + -in</i> }
3 rd Person	{ <i>u, o, Ay</i> }	{ <i>u + -mAn</i> }; { <i>o + -ra</i> }

Of the three personal pronouns the 2nd personal pronouns which are a three-term class show the subject predicate concordance only for the 1st and 3rd terms. eg

Subject-data	Predicate Concord
Ist degree <i>tAy</i>	I st degree
2 nd degree <i>tohAre</i>	2 nd degree
3 rd degree <i>raur</i>	3 rd degree

The three cases while declining the personal pronouns receive the following case markers: The case marker for the pronouns is as follows

Noun.	{ - Φ }
Acc.	{ - <i>ke</i> }
Gen.	{ - <i>r</i> } in Ist & 2 nd (non-hon) sg. { - <i>ker</i> & <i>-r</i> } in 2 nd ordinary sg.

{-ker} in 2nd ordinary pl. &

2nd Honorific sg. & pl.

{-r & -kAr} in 3rd sg.

{-ker & -k} in 3rd pl.

The declensional pattern, thus formed as base + number marker + case marker, is given in the tabular form below:

	Nom.	Acc.	Gen.
Ist p.			
Sg. Direct	{mAy}		
Oblique	{mo}	{moke}	{mor}
Pl. Direct	{hAm + -re}	{hAmreke}	{hAmrak}
	{ham + -ra}	{hamrake}	{hamrak}
2 nd p (Non – Hon.)			
Sg. Direct	{tAy}		
Oblique	{to}	{toke}	{tor}
Pl. Direct	{tohA +		
	{-re ∞ -ra}	{tohAreke}	{tohArar}
	{to + -ra}	{tohArake}	{tohArak}; {torak}
2 nd p (ordinary)			
Sg. Direct	{tohA + -re	{tohAreke}	{tohArar}
	∞ -ra}	{tohArake}	{TohArak}
Pl. Direct	{tohA +		
	-re ∞ -ra	{tohAremAnke}	{tohAremAnkAr}
	+ -mAn	{tohAramAnke}	{tohAramAnkAr}
2 nd P. (Hon)			
	Nom.	Acc.	Gen.
Sg. Direct	{raur}	{raurke}	{raurker}
Pl. Direct	{raur + -in}	{raurinke}	{raurinker}

3rd P.

Sg. Direct	{ <i>u, o, Ay</i> }	{ <i>uke, oke, Ake</i> }	{ <i>ur, ukAr or, okAr, AkAr</i> }
Pl. Direct	{ <i>u + -mAn</i> }	{ <i>umAnke</i> }	{ <i>umAnkAr</i> }
	{ <i>o + -ra</i> }	{ <i>orake</i> }	{ <i>orak</i> }

Demonstrative Pronouns:

The Demonstrative pronouns are two-member – Proximate and Remote and have two numbers – Sg. and Pl. The Sg. is unmarked and the Pl. is { *-gila* } for the bases { *i- / u-* } and { *-gula* } for the bases { *ehe-* } and { *ohe-* } respectively markers.

The Demonstrative pronouns in two numbers are:

Demonstrative Pronouns	<u>Sg.</u>	<u>Pl.</u>
Proximate	{ <i>i, ehe</i> }	{ <i>igila, ehgula</i> }
Remote	{ <i>u, ohe</i> }	{ <i>ugila, ohgula</i> }.

The bases {*ehe and ohe*} ‘that’ are available in silli and Angara while { *i and u* } are attested in other anchals.

Interrogative Pronouns:

The Interrogative pronominal bases {*ke ∞ kAnε*} ‘who’ and {*ka ∞ kina*} ‘what’ are distinguished by two numbers Sg. ∞ Pl. and three cases –Nom., Acc. And Gen. The case markers are – { *Φ (Nom.) -ke (Acc.) and -kAr ∞ -r (Gen.)* }.

Paradigms are given below

{*ke ∞ kAnε*} ‘who’

	Sg.	Pl.
Nom.	{ <i>ke; kAnE</i> }	{ <i>kemAn</i> }
Acc.	{ <i>ke ke</i> }	{ <i>kemAnke</i> }
Gen.	{ <i>ke kAr</i> }	{ <i>kemAnkAr</i> }

{*ka ∞ kina*} ‘what’

Nom.	{ <i>ka; kina</i> }	{ <i>kamAn</i> }
Acc.	{ <i>kake; kinake</i> }	{ <i>kamAnke</i> }
Gen.	{ <i>kakAr ∞ -r; kinar</i> }	{ <i>kamAnkAr</i> }

Relative Pronouns:

The Relative pronouns $\{je \infty jOn\}$ ‘who’ and $\{ja\}$ ‘what’ receive the case markers $\{ke\}$ (Acc.) and $\{-kAr\}$ (Gen.).

The declensional patterns of the relative pronouns are:

	$\{je \infty jOn\}$	‘who’	
Nom.	$\{je; jon\}$		$\{jemAn\}$
Acc.	$\{jeke; jOnke\}$		$\{jemAnke\}$
Gen.	$\{jekAr; jOnkAr\}$		$\{jemAnkAr\}$
	$\{ja\}$	‘what’	
Nom.	$\{ja\}$		$\{jamAn\}$
Acc.	$\{jake\}$		$\{jamAnke\}$
Gen.	$\{jakAr\}$		$\{jamAnkAr\}$

Reflexive Pronouns:

The Reflexive Pronominal bases are $\{nije \text{ and } ApAn\}$ ‘self’ and these receive the case markers $\{-ke\}$ (Acc.) and $\{-kAr\}$ (Gen.). The base $apAn$ has the pl. formation with $\{-mAn\}$.

1. $\{nije\}$ ‘self’	Nom. $\{nije\}$	
	Acc. $\{nijeke\}$	
	Gen. $\{nijekAr\}$	
2. $\{apAn\}$ ‘self’	Nom. $\{apAn\}$	$\{apAnmAn\}$
	Acc. $\{apAnke\}$	$\{apAnmAnke\}$
	Gen. $\{apAnkAr\}$	$\{apAnmAnkAr\}$

4.1.4. ADJECTIVES

The ‘Adjectives’ in ‘Panch Pargania’ are not inflected for number, gender. These act as attributes to the nouns. Semantically, the adjectival formation is shown as:

1. The Qualitative Adjectives and
2. The Quantitative Adjectives.

Qualitative Adjectives:

These refer to the qualities or state of the person or an object treated as the nominals.
eg.

{ <i>tita phAr</i> }	‘bitter fruit’
{ <i>miTha am</i> }	‘sweet mango’
{ <i>dubDal Admi</i> }	‘sick person’
{ <i>dusT siar</i> }	‘cunning fox’
{ <i>patAr beTichAha</i> }	‘thin / sim girl’
{ <i>ghAnA ∞ mATa ∞ gaDna dudh</i> }	‘thick milk’
{ <i>swarthy Admi</i> }	‘selfish man’
{ <i>bArabAr jAmin</i> }	‘flat land’
{ <i>sunDar jayga</i> }	‘beautiful place’
{ <i>uca gach</i> }	‘tall tree’
{ <i>naTa ∞ thoDcu chAua</i> }	‘short figured boy’
{ <i>bADe mAkan</i> }	‘big building’
{ <i>bes ∞ Accha ghoDa</i> }	‘good horse’
{ <i>purana kitab</i> }	‘old book’
{ <i>khaTi ghiu</i> }	‘pure ghee’

Quantitative Adjectives:

These indicate measurement of quantities of the nominals. eg

{ <i>besi cAroi</i> }	‘many birds’
{ <i>Dher kAlAm</i> }	‘many pens’
{ <i>pura peTa</i> }	‘fully loaded belly’
{ <i>tAnik pani</i> }	‘some water’
{ <i>kAm ∞ thoDa bhat</i> }	‘little rice’
{ <i>kuch khayek</i> }	‘some food’
{ <i>sAbh(e) janwAr</i> }	‘all the animals’

Degrees of Comparison in Adjectives:

The adjectives have three degrees of comparison – positive, Comparative and Superlative of the three while the first one is the base form itself the rest two are indicated preceding phrasal markers as

{*ukArse - ∞ ukArlek -∞ ukArle -*} (formed of 3rd. p. sg base

{*u* - + *gen. marker* - *kAr* + *abl. Marker* - *se* ∞ - *le* ∞ - *lek* } and { *sAbh(e) se* - ∞ *sAbh(e) lek* - ∞ *sAbh(e) le* - } (formed of the nominal base { *sAbh(e)* + *abl. Marker* - *se* ∞ - *lek* ∞ *le* }) respectively.

The examples are:

{ <i>bes</i> ∞ <i>Accha</i> }	‘good’
{ <i>ukArse</i> ∞ <i>ukArlek</i> ∞ <i>ukArle</i> - <i>bes</i> ∞ <i>Accha</i> }	‘better’
{ <i>sAbh(e) se</i> - ∞ <i>sAbh(e) lek</i> - ∞ <i>sAbh(e) le</i> - <i>bes</i> ∞ <i>Accha</i> }	‘best’
{ <i>kharap</i> } ‘bad’ { <i>ukArse</i> - ∞ <i>ukArlek</i> - ∞ <i>ukArle</i> - <i>kharap</i> }	‘worse’
{ <i>sAbh(e) se</i> - ∞ <i>sAbh(e) lek</i> - ∞ <i>sAbh(e) le</i> - <i>kharap</i> }	‘worst’
{ <i>uca</i> } ‘tall’ { <i>ukArse</i> - ∞ <i>ukArlek</i> - ∞ <i>ukArle</i> - <i>uca</i> }	‘faller’
{ <i>sAbh(e) se</i> - ∞ <i>sAbh(e) lek</i> - ∞ <i>sAbh(e) le</i> - <i>uca</i> }	‘tallest’

4.1.5 NUMERAL

The numerals in ‘Panch Pargania’ are of five types:

1. Cardinal – Integrals
2. Ordinals.
3. Aggregatives.
4. Multiplicatives.
5. Fractionals.

Cardinal-Integrals:

The Cardinal-Integral numerals system follows partly Indo-Aryan and partly Austro-Asiatic pattern. The numerals from 1 to 9 and 10 & 20 are the free forms like Indo-Aryan and of the rest 11 to 19 are ten-based compound forms with lesser number as suffixed and 21 onwards are twenty-based compound forms with lesser number being suffixed. Thus, the numerals above 10 up to 19 and 21 onwards follow the vigesimal system. The numerals can be grouped into three:

Group A:	{ <i>ek</i> }	‘one’
	{ <i>dui</i> ∞ <i>du</i> }	‘two’
	{ <i>tin</i> }	‘three’
	{ <i>car</i> ∞ <i>cair</i> }	‘four’
	{ <i>pach</i> }	‘five’
	{ <i>chAo</i> ∞ <i>chA</i> }	‘six’
	{ <i>sat</i> }	‘seven’

	{ <i>aTh</i> }	‘eight’
	{ <i>nAo</i> ∞ <i>nA</i> ∞ <i>nO</i> }	‘nine’
Group B:	{ <i>dAs</i> }	‘ten’
	{ <i>bis</i> ∞ <i>koDi</i> }	‘twenty’
Group C:	{ <i>sAo</i> }	‘hundred’
	{ <i>hajar</i> }	‘thousand’
Group D:	{ <i>dAsek</i> < 10+1}	‘eleven’
	{ <i>dAsdui</i> ∞ <i>du</i> < 10+2}	‘twelve’
	{ <i>dAspach</i> < 10+5}	‘fifteen’
	{ <i>dAsnAo</i> ∞ <i>nAp</i> < 10+9}	‘nineteen’
	{ <i>ek koDi cair</i> ∞ <i>car</i> < 1*20+4}	‘twenty-four’
	{ <i>ek koDi</i> ∞ <i>bis dAs pach</i> < 1*20+10+5}	‘twenty-five’
	{ <i>ek koDi</i> ∞ <i>bis chAo</i> < 1*20+10+6}	‘twenty-six’
	{ <i>dui</i> ∞ <i>du koDi</i> ∞ <i>bis pach</i> < 2*20+5}	‘forty-five’
	{ <i>dui</i> ∞ <i>du koDi</i> ∞ <i>bis dAschAo</i> < 2*20+10+6}	‘fifty-six’
	{ <i>tin koDi</i> ∞ <i>bis</i> < 3*20}	‘sixty’
	{ <i>car</i> ∞ <i>cair koDi</i> ∞ <i>bis dAspach</i> < 4*20+10+5}	‘ninety-five’
	{ <i>pach koDi</i> ∞ <i>bis</i> < 5*20}	‘hundred’
	{ <i>pach koDi</i> ∞ <i>bis ek</i> < 5*20+1}	‘hundred and one’

Ordinals:

Ordinal numerals are formed mainly with suffix {-*ba* (cf. *Bhojpuri* –*wa*) to the cardinals. It has three bounds alter ants with limited occurrence as:

{ <i>ila</i> } after <i>ek</i>	→ <i>pAh</i> : <i>pAhila</i> ‘first’
{ <i>-ra</i> ∞ <i>-Ar</i> ∞ <i>-Or</i> } after <i>du</i>	→ <i>dus</i> : <i>dusra</i> ∞ <i>dusAr</i> ∞ <i>dusOr</i> ‘second’.
{ <i>-ba</i> } after <i>pach</i> ‘five’ onwards	→ <i>pachba</i> ‘fifth’;
{ <i>-Am</i> } after <i>dAs</i>	→ <i>dAsAm</i> ‘tenth’.

Aggregative:

Aggregative are formed by adding suffix {-*o*} to the integrals. It gives a collective sense of participation to the integrals. eg

{ <i>dui</i> ∞ <i>du</i> }	‘two’	{ <i>duio</i> ∞ <i>dun -o</i> }	‘both’
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{ <i>tin</i> }	‘three’	{ <i>tin -o</i> }	‘all the three’
{ <i>car ∞ cair</i> }	‘four’	{ <i>car -o ∞ cair -o</i> }	‘all the four’
{ <i>pAcas</i> }	‘fifty’	{ <i>pAcas -o</i> }	‘all the fifty’
{ <i>hajar</i> }	‘thousand’	{ <i>hajar -o</i> }	‘in thousands’

Multiplicative:

The multiplicatives are formed by adding marker {-*bhaj*} and {-*dhao*} to the integral.

<u>eg</u>	{- <i>bhaj</i> } ‘fold’	{ <i>du bhaj</i> }	‘two-fold’;
	{ <i>car ∞ cair bhaj</i> }		‘four-fold’.
	{- <i>dhao</i> } ‘turn’	{ <i>ek dhao</i> }	‘once’
	{ <i>dui ∞ du dhao</i> }		‘twice’

Fractional:

The fractionals are simple terms as well as compounds:

- a. Simple terms:

{ <i>adha</i> }	‘1/2’;
{ <i>deDh</i> }	‘1.5’;
{ <i>aDhai</i> }	‘2.5’;
{ <i>sAa</i> }	‘1.25’.
- b. Compound Terms: used in case of measurement above two forming compounded forms or phrases –

{ <i>sAa du ∞ dui</i> }	‘2.25’
{ <i>saDhe tin</i> }	‘3.5’

The fractions precede the numerals

- c. Compound terms: Used with reference to share in an object, part of a coin and weight of an object as {*hisa*}, {*siki*}, {*pua*} respectively.

{ <i>hisa</i> }	‘share’	{ <i>ek hisa</i> }	‘one share’
{ <i>du hisa</i> }			‘two shares’
{ <i>sika</i> }			‘part of coin’
{ <i>ek siki</i> }			‘one fourth of a rupee’
{ <i>tin siki</i> }			‘three fourth of a rupee’
{ <i>pua</i> }	‘weights’	{ <i>ek pua</i> }	‘one fourth of a sheer in weight’
{ <i>tin pua</i> }			‘three fourth of a sheer in weight’

The fractions follow the numerals,

Syntactic fraction of Numerals and the use of classifiers:

Syntactically, the numerals function as adjectivals when they occur as adjectives receive the additional suffixes as the following:

{-Ta} classifier added to integrates.

{*ekTa*} ‘The-one’;

{*dui* ∞ *du Ta*} ‘The-two’

{*tinTa*} ‘The-three’

{*car* ∞ *cairTa*} ‘The-four’.

{-jhAn} Person noun classifier added before animate nouns.

{*ek jhAn (Admi)*} ‘ The-one (man)’.

{*dui* ∞ *du jhAn*} ‘The-two’.

The suffixes {-Ta} and {-jhAn} are mutually exclusive.

Additionally, adjectival numeral classifier is available also with –ek:

{-ek} Classified added with adusgial or adjectivals. eg *thoDek badcafer* sometime; after a while; *u thoDek dhur cAilgelAu ar ekTa jaygay luik gelAk* ‘He went some distance and got himself hide in a place’.

4.2.1 VERB

The Verbs in ‘Panch Pargania’ are made of verb bases which function as the stems of the verb forms. Structurally, the verb bases are either simple or compound. A simple base consists of one verb root while a compound base is constructed of more than one root.

Phonological Structure of verb base:

The verb bases in ‘Panch Pargania’ end more in consonants and less in vowels. Thus, two out of seven-types of monosyllabic vowel roots and two out of five-types of dissyllabic verb roots are marked with vowel ending. The rest are consonant ending.

The monosyllabic simple verb bases are listed below:

Mono-Syllabic verb bases ending in vowels:

V : *a* – ‘come’

CV : *de* – ‘give’

pi – ‘drink’

<i>ja</i> –	‘go’
<i>pa</i> –	‘get’
<i>dhu</i> –	‘wash’
<i>kha</i> –	‘eat’
<i>ho</i> –	‘be’
<i>ga</i> –	‘sing’
<i>cho</i> –	‘touch’

Mono-Syllabic verb bases ending in consonants:

<i>VC</i> :	<i>uTh</i> –	‘rise’
	<i>uD</i> –	‘fly’
	<i>pDh</i> –	‘warp up’
	<i>an</i> –	‘bring’
<i>VCC</i> :	<i>ubhe</i> –	‘over flow’
	<i>Akhs</i> –	‘miss’
<i>CVC</i> :	<i>kAr</i> –	‘do’
	<i>path</i> –	‘send’
	<i>par</i> –	‘except’
	<i>puj</i> –	‘worship’
	<i>puDh</i> –	‘burn’
	<i>man</i> –	‘abide / accept’
	<i>poDh</i> –	‘roast’
	<i>dekh</i> –	‘see’
<i>CVCC</i> :	<i>pichr</i> –	‘slip’
	<i>Thahar</i> –	‘wait’
	<i>sungh</i> –	‘small’
	<i>pinh</i> –	‘wear’
	<i>bAnd</i> –	‘shut’
	<i>Bhang</i> –	‘grind’
	<i>bhing</i> –	‘wet’

<i>CVVC</i> :	<i>pAiTh</i> –	‘send’
	<i>puich</i> –	‘ask’
	<i>bAis</i> –	‘sit’

The dissyllabic simple verb bases are the following:

Dissyllabic verb bases ending in vowels:

<i>CVVV</i> :	<i>khiao</i> –	‘feed’
<i>CVCV</i> :	<i>baja</i> –	‘ring’
	<i>jaua</i> –	‘inform’
	<i>jAga</i> –	‘awake’
	<i>bacA</i> –	‘make free’
	<i>jhula</i> –	‘hang’
	<i>bAca</i> –	‘save’
	<i>dekha</i> –	‘see (something) ‘seen’
	<i>kAra</i> –	‘do’,
	<i>uTha</i> –	‘raise’

Disyllabic verb bases ending in Consonants:

<i>VCVC</i> :	<i>ulAg</i> –	‘vomit’
<i>CVCVC</i> :	<i>pAkAD</i> –	‘arrest’
	<i>bAhAl</i> –	‘flow’
	<i>samal</i> –	‘enter’
	<i>dular</i> –	‘love’
	<i>TAhAl</i> –	‘travel’
	<i>ThAhAr</i> –	‘wait for’
	<i>jhApAD</i> –	‘pounce’
	<i>nikas</i> –	‘break’
<i>CVCVV</i> :	<i>dekhaO</i> –	‘show’.
<i>CVCCVC</i> :	<i>DhelDhel</i> –	‘swing’;
	<i>bhinbhin</i> –	‘humming’

Formation of verb bases:

Of the two-tier verb bases-simple verb base and compound verb base the former is Single verb base-type (Finite) and the latter is formed of verb + verb; noun + verb or adjective+verb. The verb bases discussed above are simple verb base-types.

The structure of compound verb base-types is:

I. Noun + Verb

<i>bat kAr</i>	‘talk’
<i>git ga</i>	‘sing’
<i>asra kArek</i>	‘hope’
<i>pAsind kAr</i>	‘like; choose’
<i>katha kAh</i>	‘talk’
<i>jAnAm le</i>	‘born’
<i>aghat kAr</i>	‘strike’
<i>aghat pa</i>	‘get hurt’; ‘injured’
<i>kosis kAr</i>	‘try’
<i>jhap de</i>	‘jump’
<i>ses hoija</i>	‘finished’
<i>baiR aeja</i>	‘get flooded’

II Adjective + Verb

<i>choTe kAr</i>	‘shorten’
<i>kAria kAr</i>	‘blacken’
<i>saph</i>	‘clean’
<i>lAmba kAr</i>	‘lengthen’ / ‘broaden’
<i>thAik ja</i>	‘get tired’
<i>gArAm lag</i>	‘feel not’
<i>ThanDa lag</i>	‘feel cold’
<i>tAklip lag</i>	‘feel hurt’
<i>khis lagek</i>	‘feel angry’

III Verb + Verb

<i>ghuir a</i>	‘return’; ‘come back’
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<i>ghuir ja</i>	‘go back’; ‘return’
<i>cAil ja</i>	‘go away’
<i>Dub ja</i>	‘drawn’
<i>suit ja</i>	‘sleep’
<i>jaykAhAn mil</i>	‘meet’; ‘get merged’
<i>nikal ja/baire ja</i>	‘go away’; ‘overflowed’.
<i>dekha kAr</i>	‘meet’
<i>jAma kAr</i>	‘gather’
<i>ane ja</i>	‘bring’
<i>TuiT ja</i>	‘broken’
<i>gir ja</i>	‘fall’
<i>suik ja</i>	‘get dry’
<i>de de</i>	‘give away’
<i>phek de</i>	‘throw away’
<i>bAhire ja</i>	‘go out’

Modification of verb bases

Intransitive	Derived Transitive	Causativization
<i>uTh</i> ‘rise’	<i>uTha</i> ‘to raise something’	<i>uThao</i> ‘to cause to rise’
Transitive	Derived Transitive	Causativization
<i>dekh</i> ‘see’	<i>dekha</i> ‘see something’	<i>dekhao</i> ‘to show’
<i>kAr</i> ‘do’	<i>kAra</i> ‘do some work’	<i>kArao</i> ‘to cause to do’.

Formation of Substantive Verbs:

The Substantive Verb bases are *ah* – and *hek* – Morphologically, the Substantive verb are distinguished by three term tenses – Present, Past and Future and six – term person-number markers – Ist P.sg., Ist p.pl., 2nd p.(ord) sg.; 2nd p(ord) pl. and 2nd p((Hon.))

Sg. ∞ pl.; 3rd p. sg. ∞ pl. Their negative counter parts are marked by the use of negative markers prefixed to the verb stems.

Stem formation of Substantive Verbs:

	Affirmative	Negative
Present	<i>ah</i> - ~ <i>hek</i> -	<i>nei</i> ~ <i>ne</i> + <i>ah</i> - / <i>hek</i> -

Past	<i>rAh -</i>	<i>ri - + rAh -</i>
Future	<i>ho - ∞ he - ∞ hA -</i>	<i>na ∞ nai - + ho - ∞ he - ∞ hA -</i>

Note: (i) *ah ∞ hek* – in the present tense are in free variation.

(ii) *ah - > rAh* – in the past tense

(iii) *ah - > ho -, hA -* and *he -* in the future tense

–*ho* stem occurs before person markers with front vowel (i) and central vowel (a)

- *hA* stem occurs before person markers with back vowel u, central vowel A or elsewhere

- *hestem* occurs before person markers with front higher –mid vowel e and elsewhere.

Person – number markers used with substantive verbs:

Person-numbers	Present	Past	Future
Ist p. sg	- A	- A	- i ~ mu
Ist p. pl.	- i ~ - iA	- i ~ iA	- o
2 nd p. (ord) sg.	- is	- is	- is ~ - e
2 nd p.(ord) pl.			
+ 2 nd p(Hon) sg. +	- a ~ - ia	- a ~ - ia	- a ~ - ehe
2 nd p(Hon)pl.			
3 rd p. sg	- e	- e ~ - eg,	- Ak - i ~ - ig
3 rd p. pl.	- en ~ - An	- Ay ~ - en	- Ay ~ - An

4.2.1.1. FINITE VERB

Structure of Finite Verbs: The verbs are basically categorized into two – Finite and Non – finite. The Finite verbs fall into three major structural types as

Indicative

Imperative

Optative.

These three types have negative formation with the help of negative particles.

The Indicative forms have three terms tense distinction – Present, Past ∞ Future; two – term Imperfect ∞ Perfect aspect – tense distinction in the present and Past and six-term person – number distinctions – 1st p. sg.; 1st p. pl.; 2nd p. (ord) sg.; 2nd p. (ord) pl. ∞ 2nd p. (Hon) sg. ∞ pl.; 3rd p. sg ∞ 3rd p. pl.

The Imperatives have two – term tense distinction Present ∞ Future and only in the 2nd person.

The optative has one – term person – number distinction in the 3rd person.

The structure of the verb categories are:

- Indicative: (i) Stem + Tense + Person-number marker
 Negative + Stem + Tense + Person-number marker.
- (ii) Stem + Aspect + Tense + Person-number marker.
 Negative + Stem + Aspect + Tense + person-number marker.
- Imperative: (iii) Stem + Mood-Tense-Person-number
 Negative + Stem + Mood-Tense-Person-number marker.
- Optative: (iv) Stem + Mood – Person-number marker
 Negative + Stem + Mood-Person-number markers.

Indicative stem formation

Class – I kha – ‘eat’

	Affirmative		Negative	
	Simple	Causative	Simple	Causative
Present	<i>kha</i>	<i>khiao</i>	<i>ne(i) kha</i>	<i>ne(i) khiao</i>
Past	<i>kha</i>	<i>khiao</i>	<i>ni kha</i>	<i>ni khiao</i>
Future	<i>kha</i>	<i>khiao</i>	<i>na~naikha</i>	<i>na~nai khiao</i>

Class – II ja - ‘go’

Present	<i>ja</i>	
Past	<i>ja - ∞</i>	<i>nija ∞</i>
Future	<i>ja</i>	<i>na~naija</i>

3rd p. sg. -e (pres) -e ~ -eg (past) -I ~ -ig (Fut.)

3rd p. pl. -en ~ -An (pres) -Ay ~ -en (past.) -Ay ~ -en (Fut.)

Aspect

The Aspect are two – Imperfect and perfect and these are realized in the present and past tense.

Structure of Imperfect present:

Stem + Imperfect aspect - t - + Tense - h - < - ah - + person - number - markers.

Structure of Imperfect past:

Stem + Imperfect aspect - t - + Tense - rAh - ~ - l - + Person - number markers.

Structure of Perfect Present:

Stem + Perfect - ay - + Tense - h - < - ah - + Person - number markers.

Structure of Perfect Past:

Stem + Perfect - ay - + Tense + rAh - ~ - l - + Person number markers.

Note: The person - number markers are same as the Simple Indicative.

Paradigms *kha* - 'eat'; *ja* - 'go'; *dekh* - 'see'; *uTh* - 'rise'; *khiao* - 'feed'; *dekhao* - 'show'; *uThao* - 'to make rise'.

Present [*stem + -h- < -ah-* (pres) + *person - number markers*]

<i>kha</i> -	'eat'	
Ist p. sg.	<i>khahA</i>	
Ist p. pl.	<i>khahi ~ khahiA</i>	
2 nd p. (ord)sg.	<i>khahis</i>	
2 nd p(ord) pl.	} <i>khaha ~ khahia</i>	
+		
2 nd p. (Hon) sg.		
+		
2 nd p. (Hon) pl.		
3 rd p. sg.	<i>khahe</i>	
3 rd p. pl.	<i>khahen ~ khahAn</i>	

ja-	'go'
Ist p. sg.	<i>jahA</i>
Ist p. pl.	<i>jahi ~ jahiA</i>
2 nd p(ord) sg.	<i>jahis</i>
2 nd p(ord) sg.	
+	
2 nd p. (hon) sg.	} <i>jaha ~ jahia</i>
+	
2 nd p. (Hon) pl.	
3 rd p. sg.	<i>jahe</i>
3 rd p. pl.	<i>jahen ~ jahAn</i>

dekh – 'see' [stem + -Φ- (pres) + person number markers]

Ist p. sg.	<i>dekhA</i>
Ist p. pl.	<i>dekhi ~ dekhiA</i>
2 nd p. (ord) sg.	<i>dekhis</i>
2 nd p.(ord) pl.	} <i>dekha ~ dekhia</i>
+	
2 nd p. (Hon) sg.	
+	
2 nd p. (Hon) pl.	
3 rd p. sg.	<i>dekhe</i>
3 rd p. pl.	<i>dekhen ~ dekhAn</i>

uTh – 'rise', 'get up' [stem + -Φ- (pres) + person – number markers]

Ist p. sg.	<i>uThA</i>
Ist p. pl.	<i>uThi ~ uThiA</i>

2 nd p.(ord) sg.	<i>uThis</i>
2 nd p.(ord) pl.	}
+	
2 nd p. (Hon) sg.	
+	
2 nd p. (Hon) pl.	
3 rd p. sg.	<i>uThe</i>
3 rd p. pl.	<i>uThen ~ uThAn</i>

khiao – ‘feed’ [stem + causative –ao- + -h-(pres) + person –number marker]

Ist p. sg.	<i>khiao hA</i>
Ist p. pl.	<i>khiaohi ~ khiaohiA</i>
2 nd p. (ord) sg.	<i>khiaohis</i>
2 nd p. (ord) pl.	}
+	
2 nd p. (Hon) sg.	
+	
2 nd p. (Hon) pl.	
3 rd p. sg.	<i>khiaohe</i>
3 rd p. pl.	<i>khiaohen ~ khiaohAn</i>

dekhao – ‘show’

Ist p. sg.	<i>dekhaohA</i>
Ist p. pl.	<i>dekhaohi ~ dekhaohiA</i>
2 nd p. (ord) sg.	<i>dekhaohis</i>
2 nd p. (ord) pl.	}
+	
2 nd p. (Hon) sg.	
+	
2 nd p. (Hon) pl.	

3 rd p. sg.	<i>dekhaohē</i>
3 rd p. pl.	<i>dekhaohen ~ dekhaohAn</i>
<i>uThao</i> –	‘cause to get up’
1 st p. sg.	<i>uThaohA</i>
1 st p. pl.	<i>uThaohi ~ uThaohiA</i>
2 nd p(ord) sg.	<i>uThaohis</i>
2 nd p(ord) pl.	} <i>uThaoha ~ uThaohia</i>
+	
2 nd p. (Hon) sg.	
+	
2 nd p. (Hon) pl.	
3 rd p. sg.	<i>uThaohe</i>
3 rd p. pl.	<i>uThaohen ~ uThaohAn</i>

Habitual Present is formed with –l- added to the verb: A few examples are cited below:

u ekTa nac dekhe cahela ‘He wants to see a dance’.

tAy jetna din cahisla hīa rAhAbe ‘You may stay here as many days as you want’

kAua dhure gAche rAhela ‘The crow lives in the far-off tree’.

past [stem + -rAh- ~ -l- (past) + person – number markers].

kha– ‘eat’

1 st p. sg.	<i>kha rAhA</i>
	<i>kha lA</i>
1 st p. pl.	<i>kha rAhi ~ kharAhiA</i>
	<i>khali ~ khaliA</i>
2 nd p(ord) sg.	<i>kharAhis</i>
	<i>Khalis</i>

2 nd p(ord) pl.	}	
+		
2 nd p(Hon) sg.		<i>kharAha ~ kharAhia</i>
+		<i>khala ~ khalia</i>
2 nd p(Hon) pl.		
3 rd p. sg.		<i>kharAhe ~ kharAheg</i>
		<i>khale ~ khaleg ~ khalAk</i>
3 rd p. pl.		<i>kharAhAy ~ kharAhen</i>
		<i>khalAy ~ khelen</i>

Note *kha* - > *khe* - : -*a* - > -*e*- because the following higher mid vowel –e-

<u>ja</u> –		‘go’
Ist p. sg.		<i>ja rAhA</i>
		<i>gela</i>
Ist p. pl.		<i>jarAhi ~ jarAhiA</i>
		<i>geli ~ geliA</i>
2 ^{ne} p(ord) sg.		<i>jarAhis</i>
		<i>gelis</i>
2 nd p(ord) pl.	}	
+		
2 nd p(Hon) sg.		<i>jarAha ~ jarAhia</i>
+		<i>gela ~ gelia</i>
2 nd p(Hon) pl.		
3 rd p. sg.		<i>jarAhe ~ jarAheg</i>
		<i>gele ~ geleg ~ gelAk</i>

Note: *ja* - > *ge*- indicates irregular stem alternation.

<i>dekh</i> –	‘see’
Ist p. sg.	<i>dekh rAhA;</i>
	<i>dekhLA.</i>

Ist p. pl.	<i>dekhrAhi ~ dekhrAhiA;</i> <i>dekqli ~ dekhliA.</i>
2 nd p(ord) sg.	<i>dekhrAhis;</i> <i>dekhlis.</i>
2 nd p(ord) pl.	} <i>dekhrAha ~ dekhrAhia;</i> <i>dekqla ~ dekhliA.</i>
+	
2 nd p(Hor) sg.	
+	
2 nd p(Hon) pl.	
3 rd p(Hon) pl.	<i>dekhrAhe ~ dekhrAheg;</i> <i>dekqla ~ dekhleg.</i>
3 rd p. pl.	<i>dekhrAhAy ~ dekhrAhen;</i> <i>dekhlAy ~ dekhlen.</i>
<i>uTh</i> –	‘rise’, ‘get up’
Ist p. sg.	<i>uThrAhA</i> <i>uThlA</i>
Ist p. pl.	<i>uThrAhi ~ uThrAhiA</i> <i>uThli ~ uThliA</i>
2 nd p(ord) sg.	<i>uThrAhis</i> <i>uThlis</i>
2 nd p(ord) pl.	} <i>uThrAha ~ uThrAhia</i> <i>uThla ~ uThlia</i>
+	
2 nd p(Hon) sg.	
+	
2 nd p(Hon) pl.	
3 rd p. sg.	<i>uThrAhe ~ uThrAheg</i> <i>uThle ~ uThleg ~ uThlAk</i>

3 rd p. pl.	<i>uThrAhAy ~ uThrAhen</i> <i>uThlAy ~ uThlen</i>
<i>khiao</i> –	‘feed’
Ist p. sg.	<i>khiaorAhA</i> <i>khiaolA</i>
Ist p. pl.	<i>khiaorAhi ~ khiaorAhiA</i> <i>khiaoli ~ khiaoliA</i>
2 nd p(ord) sg.	<i>khiaorAhis</i> <i>khiaolis</i>
2 nd p(ord.) pl.	<i>khiaorAhe ~ khiaorAheg</i> <i>khiaole ~ khiaoleg ~ khiaolAk</i>
+	
2 nd p.(Hon) sg.	
+	
2 nd p.(Hon) pl.	
3 rd p. pl.	<i>khiaorAhAy ~ khiaorAhen</i> <i>khiaolAy ~ khiaolen</i>
<i>uThao</i> –	‘cause to rise or get up’
Ist p. sg.	<i>uThaorAhA</i> <i>uThaolA</i>
Ist p. pl.	<i>uThaorAhi ~ uThaorAhia</i> <i>uThli ~ uThliA</i>
2 nd p. (ord) sg.	<i>uThaorAhis</i> <i>uThaoli.</i>
2 nd p. (ord) pl.	<i>uThaorAha ~ uThaorAhia</i> <i>uThaola ~ uThaolia</i>
+	
2 nd p. (Hon) sg.	
+	

2nd p. (Hon) pl.
 3rd p. sg. *uThaorAhe ~ uThaorAheg*
 uThaole ~ uThaoleg ~ uThaolA.
 3rd p. pl. *uThaorAhAy ~ uThaorAhen*
 uThaolAy ~ uThaolen

dekhaor – ‘show’

Ist p. sg. *dekhaorAhA*
 dekhaolA
 Ist p. pl. *dekhaorAhi ~ dekhaorAhiA*
 dekhaoli ~ dekhaliA
 2nd p(ord) sg. *dekhaorAhis*
 dekhaolis

2nd p(ord) pl. }
 + }
 2nd p (Hon) sg. } *dekhaorAha ~ dekhaorAhia*
 + } *dekhaola ~ dekhaolia*

2nd p(Hon) pl.
 3rd p. sg. *dekhaorAhe ~ dekhaorAheg*
 dekhaole ~ dekhaoleg ~ dekhaolAk
 3rd p. pl. *dekhaorAhAy ~ dekhaorAhen*
 dekhaolAy ~ dekhaolen

A sense of Remote Past is being conveyed by the formation –Al- + -rAh-. eg
hArin mArAl niar sutAl rAhe – ‘The deer was slept as if died’ or ‘died – as if’.

Future [stem + Φ – (Fut) + person-number markers]

kha - **‘eat’**
 Ist p. sg. *khai ~ khamu*
 Ist p. pl. *khab ~ khabik*

2 nd p(ord) sg.	<i>khais ~ khabe</i>
2 nd p(ord) pl.	}
+	
2 nd p. (Hon) sg.	
+	
2 nd p(Hon) p.	
3 rd p. sg.	<i>khai ~ khaig</i>
3 rd p. pl.	<i>khabAy ~ khaben</i>
ja -	'go'
Ist p. sg.	<i>jai ~ jamu</i>
Ist p. pl.	<i>jab ~ jabik</i>
2 nd p. (ord) sg.	<i>jais ~ jabe</i>
2 nd p. (ord) pl.	}
+	
2 nd p. (Hon) sg.	
+	
2 nd p. (Hon) pl.	
3 rd p. sg.	<i>jai ~ jaig</i>
3 rd p. pl.	<i>jabAy ~ jaben</i>
dekh -	'see'
Ist p. sg.	<i>dekhi ~ dekhmu</i>
Ist p. pl.	<i>dekhAb ~ dekhbik</i>
2 nd p(ord) sg.	<i>dekhis ~ dekhbe</i>
2 nd p(ord) p.	}
+	
2 nd p(Hon) sg.	
+	

2 nd p(Hon) pl.	
3 rd p. sg.	<i>dekhi ~ dekhig</i>
3 rd p. pl.	<i>dekhbAy ~ dekhben</i>
<i>uTh</i> -	‘rise’, ‘get up’
Ist p. sg.	<i>uThi ~ uThmu</i>
Ist p. pl.	<i>uThAb ~ uThbik</i>
2 nd p(ord) sg.	<i>uThis ~ uThbe</i>
2 nd p(ord) pl.	
+	} <i>uThba ~ uthbe</i>
2 nd p(Hon) sg.	
+	
2 nd p(Hon) pl.	
3 rd p. sg.	<i>uThi ~ uThig</i>
3 rd p. pl.	<i>uThbA ~ uThben</i>
<i>khiao</i> -	‘Feed’
Ist p. sg.	<i>khiaoi ~ khiaomu</i>
Ist p. pl.	<i>khiaob ~ kihobik</i>
2 nd p. (ord) sg.	<i>khiaois ~ khiaobe</i>
2 nd p(ord) pl.	} <i>khiaobe ~ khiaobehe</i>
+	
2 nd P(Hon) sg.	
+	
2 nd p(hon) pl.	
3 rd p. sg.	<i>khiaoi ~ khiaoig</i>
3 rd p. pl.	<i>khiaobAy ~ khiaoben</i>
<i>dekhaio</i> -	‘show’
Ist p. sg.	<i>dekhaoi ~ dekhaomu</i>

Ist p. pl.	<i>dekhaob ~ dekhaobik</i>
2 nd p. (ord) sg.	<i>dekhaois ~ dekhaobe</i>
2 nd p. (ord) pl.	} <i>dekhaoba ~ dekhaobehe</i>
+	
2 nd p. (Hon) sg.	
+	
2 nd p(Hon) pl.	
3 rd p. sg.	<i>dekhaoi ~ dekhaoig</i>
3 rd p. pl.	<i>dekhaobAy ~ dekhaoben</i>
<i>uThao</i> -	‘cause to rise or getup’
Ist p. sg.	<i>uThjai ~ uThaomu</i>
Ist p. pl.	<i>uThaob ~ uThaobik</i>
2 nd p. (ord) sg.	<i>uThaois ~ uThaobe</i>
2 nd p(ord) pl.	} <i>uThaoba ~ uThaobehe</i>
+	
2 nd p(Hon) sg.	
+	
2 nd p(Hon) pl.	
3 rd p. sg.	<i>uThaoi ~ uThaoig</i>
3 rd p. pl.	<i>uThaobAy ~ uThaoben</i>

Imperfect – Present: [stem + imperfect -t- + pres -h- < -ah- + person-number markers]

<i>kha</i> -	‘eat’
Ist p. sg.	<i>khatha</i>
Ist p. pl.	<i>khathi ~ khathiA</i>
2 nd p(ord) sg.	<i>Khathis</i>

2 nd p(ord) p.	}	<i>khatha ~ khathia</i>
+		
2 nd p(Hon) sg.		
+		
2 nd p(Hon) pl.		
3 rd p. sg.		<i>khathe</i>
3 rd p. pl.		<i>khathen ~ khathAn</i>
ja -		‘go’
Ist p. sg.		<i>jathA</i>
Ist p. pl.		<i>jathi ~ jathiA</i>
2 nd p. (ord) sg.		<i>jathis</i>
2 nd p. (ord) pl.	}	<i>jatha ~ jathia</i>
+		
2 nd p(Hon) sg.		
+		
2 nd p. (Hon) pl.		
3 rd p. sg.		<i>jathe</i>
3 rd p. pl.		<i>jathen ~ jathAn</i>
dekh -		‘see’
Ist p. sg.		<i>dekhAthA</i>
Ist p. pl.		<i>dekhAthi ~ dekhAthiA</i>
2 nd p(ord) sg.		<i>dekhAthis</i>
2 nd p(ord) pl.	}	<i>dekhAtha ~ dekhAthia</i>
+		
2 nd p(Hon) sg.		
+		
2 nd p(Hon) pl.		
3 rd p. sg.		<i>dekhAthe</i>

3rd p. pl. *dekhAthen ~ dekhAthAn*

***uTh* - ‘rise’; ‘get up’**

Ist p. sg. *uThAthA*

Ist p. pl. *uThAthi ~ uThAthiA*

2nd p(ord) sg. *uThAthis*

2nd p(ord) pl. }
 +
2nd p(Hon) sg. } *uThAtha ~ uThAthia*
 +

2nd p(Hon) pl.

3rd p. sg. *uThAthe*

3rd p. pl. *uThAthen ~ uThAthAn*

***khiao* - ‘feed’**

Ist p. sg. *khiaothA*

Ist p. pl. *khiaothi ~ khiaothiA*

2nd p(ord) sg. *khiaothis*

2nd p(ord) pl. }
 +
2nd p. (Hon) sg. } *khiaotha ~ khiaothia*
 +

2nd p. (Hon) pl.

3rd p. sg. *khiaothe*

3rd p. pl. *khiaohen ~ khiaothAn*

***dekhaio* - ‘show’**

Ist p. sg. *dekhaothA*

Ist p. pl. *dekhaothi ~ dekhaothiA*

2 nd p(ord) sg.	<i>dekhaothis</i>
2 nd p(ord) pl.	}
+	
2 nd p(Hon) sg.	
+	
2 nd p(Hon) pl.	
3 rd p. sg.	<i>dekhaothe</i>
3 rd p. pl.	<i>dekhaothern ~ dekhaothAn</i>
<i>uThao</i> -	‘cause to rise or get up’
Ist p. sg.	<i>uThaothA</i>
Ist p. pl.	<i>uThaothi ~ uThaothiA</i>
2 nd p. (ord) sg.	<i>uThaothis</i>
2 nd p(ord) pl.	}
+	
2 nd p(Hon) sg.	
+	
2 nd p. (Hon) pl.	
3 rd p. sg.	<i>uThaothe</i>
3 rd p. pl.	<i>uThaothen ~ uThaothAn.</i>

Imperfect – Past

<i>kha</i> -	‘eat’
Ist p. sg.	<i>khatrAhA</i>
Ist p. pl.	<i>khatrAhi ~ khatrAhiA</i>
2 nd p. (ord) sg.	<i>khatrAhis</i>

2 nd p. (ord) pl.	}	<i>khatrAha ~ khatrAhia</i>
+		
2 nd p. (Hon) sg.		
+		
2 nd p. (Hon) pl.		
3 rd p. sg.		<i>khatrAhe ~ khatrAheg</i>
3 rd p. pl.		<i>khatrAhen ~ khatrAhAy</i>
ja		‘go’
Ist p. sg.		<i>jatrAhA</i>
Ist p. pl.		<i>jatrAhi ~ jatrAhiA</i>
2 nd p(ord) sg.		<i>jatrAhis</i>
2 nd p. (ord) pl.	}	<i>jatrAha ~ jatrAhia</i>
+		
2 nd p(Hon) sg.		
+		
2 nd p(Hon) pl.		
3 rd p. sg.		<i>jatrAhe ~ jatrAheg</i>
3 rd p. pl.		<i>jatrAhen ~ jatrAhAy</i>
dekh -		‘see’
Ist p. sg.		<i>dekhAtrAhA</i>
Ist p. pl.		<i>dekhAtrAhi ~ dekhAtrAhia</i>
2 nd p(ord) sg.		<i>DekhAtrAhis</i>
2 nd p(ord) pl.	}	<i>dekhAtrAha ~ dekhAtrAhia</i>
+		
2 nd p(Hon) sg.		
+		
2 nd p(Hon) pl.		
3 rd p. sg.		<i>dekhAtrAhe ~ dekhAtrAheg</i>

3rd p. pl. *dekhAtrAhAy ~ dekhAtrAhen*

uTh- **‘rise or get up’**

Ist p. sg. *uThAtrAhA*

Ist p. pl. *uThAtrAhi ~ uThAtrAhiA*

2nd p(ord) sg. *uThAtrAhis*

2nd p(ord) pl. }
+ }
2nd p(Hon) sg. } *uThAtrAha ~ uThAtrAhia*
+ }

2nd p(Hon) pl.

3rd p. sg. *uThAtrAhe ~ uThAtrAheg*

3rd p. pl. *uThAtrAhAy ~ uThAtrAhen*

khiao - **‘feed’**

Ist p. sg. *khiaotrAhA*

Ist p. pl. *khiaotrAhi ~ khiaotrAhiA*

2nd p(ord) sg. *khiaotrAhis*

2nd p(ord) pl. }
+ }
2nd p(Hon) sg. } *khiaotrAha ~ khiaotrAhia*
+ }

2nd p. (Hon) pl.

3rd p. sg. *khiaotrAhe ~ khiaotrAheg*

3rd p. pl. *khiaotrAhAy ~ khiaotrAhen*

dekhao - **‘show’**

Ist p. sg. *dekhaotrAhA*

Ist p. pl. *dekhaotrAhi ~ dekhaotrAhiA*

2nd p(ord) sg. *dekhaotrAhis*

2 nd p(ord) pl.	}	<i>dekhaotrAha ~ dekhaotrAhia</i>
+		
2 nd p(Hon) sg.		
+		
2 nd p(Hon) pl.		
3 rd p. sg.		<i>dekhaotrAhe ~ dekhaotrAheg</i>
3 rd p. pl.		<i>dekhaotrAhAy ~ dekhaotrAhen</i>
<i>uThao</i> -		‘cause to rise or get up’
Ist p. sg.		<i>uThaet rAhA</i>
Ist p. pl.		<i>uThaotrAhi ~ uThaotrAhiA</i>
2 nd p. (ord) sg.		<i>uThaotrAhis</i>
2 nd p. (ord) pl.	}	<i>uThaotrAha ~ uThaotrAhia</i>
+		
2 nd p(Hon) sg.		
+		
2 nd p(Hon) pl.		
3 rd p. sg.		<i>uThaotrAhe ~ uThaotrAheg</i>
3 rd p. pl.		<i>uThaotrAhAy ~ uThaptrAhen</i>

Perfect – present

<i>kha</i> -		‘eat’
Ist p. sg.		<i>khaayhA</i>
Ist p. pl.		<i>khaayhi ~ khaayhiA</i>
2 nd p(ord) sg.		<i>khaayhis</i>
2 nd p (ord) pl.	}	<i>khaayha ~ khaayhia</i>
+		
2 nd p(Hon) sg.		
+		
2 nd p(Hon) pl.		

3 rd p. sg.	<i>khaayhe</i>
3 rd p. pl.	<i>khaayhAn ~ khAAyhen</i>
ja -	‘go’
Ist p. sg.	<i>jaayhA</i>
Ist p. pl.	<i>jaayhi ~ jaayhiA</i>
2 nd p. (ord) sg.	<i>jaayhis</i>
2 nd p(ord) sg.	} <i>jaayha ~ jaayhia</i>
+	
2 nd p. (Hon) sg.	
+	
2 nd p (Hon) pl.	
3 rd p. sg.	<i>jaayhe</i>
3 rd p. pl.	<i>jaayhen ~ jaayhAn</i>
dekh -	‘see
Ist p. sg.	<i>dekhayhA</i>
Ist p. pl.	<i>dekhayhi ~ dekhayhiA</i>
2 nd p(ord) sg.	<i>dekhayhis</i>
2 nd p(ord) pl.	} <i>dekhayha ~ dekhayhia</i>
+	
2 nd p. (Hon) sg.	
+	
2 nd p(Hon) pl.	
3 rd p. sg.	<i>dekhayhe</i>
3 rd p. pl.	<i>dekhayhen ~ dekhayhAn</i>
uTh -	‘raise’, ‘get up’
Ist p. sg.	<i>uThayhA</i>

Ist p. pl.	<i>uThayhi ~ uThayhiA</i>
2 nd p(ord) sg.	<i>uThayhis</i>
2 nd p(ord) pl.	} <i>uThayha ~ uThayhia</i>
+	
2 nd p. (Hon) sg.	
+	
2 nd p(Hon) pl.	
3 rd p. sg.	<i>uThayhe</i>
3 rd p. pl.	<i>uThayhen ~ uThayhAn</i>
khiao -	‘feed’
Ist p. sg.	<i>khiaoayhA</i>
Ist p. pl.	<i>khiaoayhi ~ khiaoayhiA</i>
2 nd p(ord) pl.	<i>khiaoayhis</i>
2 nd p(ord) pl.	} <i>khiaoayha ~ khiaoayhia</i>
+	
2 nd p. (Hon) sg.	
+	
2 nd p(Hon) pl.	
3 rd p. sg.	<i>khiaoayhe</i>
3 rd p. pl.	<i>khiaoayhen ~ khiaoayhAn</i>
dekha-	‘show’
Ist p.sg.	<i>dekhaoyhA</i>
Ist p. pl.	<i>dekhaoyhi ~ dekhaoyhiA</i>
2 nd p(ord) sg.	<i>Dekhaoyhis</i>

2 nd p(ord) pl.	}	<i>dekhaoyha ~ dekhaoyhia</i>
+		
2 nd p(Hon) sg.		
+		
2 nd p(Hon) pl.		
3 rd p. sg.		<i>dekhaoyhe</i>
3 rd p. pl.		<i>dekhaoyhen ~ dekhaoyhAn</i>
<i>uThao</i>		‘cause to rise or get up’
Ist p. sg.		<i>uThaoayhA</i>
Ist p. pl.		<i>uThaoayhi ~ uThaoayhiA</i>
2 nd p(ord) sg.		<i>uThaoayhis</i>
2 nd p(ord) pl.	}	<i>uThaoayha ~ uThaoayhia</i>
+		
2 nd p(hon) sg.		
+		
2 nd p(hon) pl.		
3 rd p. sg.		<i>uThaoayhe</i>
3 rd p. pl.		<i>uThaoayhen ~ uThaoayhAn</i>

Perfect Past [stem + perfect –ay- + past –rAh- + person – number markers].

<i>kha</i>	‘eat’
Ist p. sg.	<i>khaaurAhA</i>
Ist p. pl.	<i>khaayrAhi – khaayrAhiA</i>
2 nd p(ord) sg.	<i>khaayrAhis</i>

2nd p(ord) pl. }
 + }
 2nd p(Hon) sg. } *khaaurAha ~ khaayrAhia*
 + }

2nd p(Hon) pl.

3rd p. sg. *khaayrAhe ~ khaayrAheg*

3rd p. pl. *khaayrAhAy ~ khaayhen*

ja **‘go’**

Ist p. sg. *ja ay rAhA*

Ist p. sg. *ja ayrAhi ~ ja ayrAhiA*

2nd p(ord) sg. *ja ayrAhis*

2nd p(ord) pl. }
 + }
 2nd p(Hon) sg. } *jaayrAha ~ jaayrAhia*
 + }

2nd p(Hon) pl.

3rd p. sg. *jaayrAhe ~ jaayrAheg*

3rd p. pl. *jaayrAhAy ~ jaayrAhen*

Equivalent formation for 3rd p. pl. is *cAil jaayrAhAy* ‘They had gone’

dekh **‘see’**

Ist p. sg. *dekhayrAhA*

Ist p. pl. *dekhay rAhi ~ dekhayrAhiA*

2nd p(ord) sg. *dekhayrAhis*

2nd p(ord) pl. }
 + }
 2nd p(Hon) sg. } *dekhayrAha ~ dekhayrAhia*
 + }

2 nd p(Hon) pl.	
3 rd p. sg.	<i>dekhayrAhe ~ dekhayrAheg</i>
3 rd p. pl.	<i>dekhayrAhAy ~ dekhayrAhen</i>
<i>uTh</i>	‘rise or ‘get up’
Ist p. sg.	<i>uThayrAhA</i>
Ist p. pl.	<i>uThayrAhi ~ uThayrAhiA</i>
2 nd p. (ord) sg.	<i>uThayrAhis</i>
2 nd p(ord) pl.	} <i>uThayrAha ~ uThayrAhia</i>
+	
2 nd p(Hon) sg.	
+	
2 nd p(Hon) pl.	
3 rd p. sg.	<i>uThayrAhe ~ uThayrAheg</i>
3 rd p. pl.	<i>uThayrAhAy ~ uThayrAhen</i>
<i>khiao</i>	‘feed’
Ist p. sg.	<i>khiaoayrAhA</i>
Ist p. pl.	<i>khiaoayrAhi ~ khiaoayrAhiA</i>
2 nd p(ord) sg.	<i>khiaoayrAhis</i>
2 nd p(ord) pl.	} <i>khiaoayrAha ~ khiaoayrAhia</i>
+	
2 nd p(Hon) sg.	
+	
2 nd p(Hon) pl.	
3 rd p. sg.	<i>khiaoayrAhe ~ khiaoayrAheg</i>
3 rd p. pl.	<i>khiaoayrAhAy ~ khiaoayrAhen</i>

<i>dekhaō</i>	‘show’
Ist p. sg.	<i>dekhaōayrAhA</i>
Ist p. pl.	<i>dekhaōayrAhi ~ dekhaōayrAhiA</i>
2 nd p(ord) sg.	<i>dekhaōayrAhis</i>
2 nd p. (ord) pl.	} <i>dekhaōayrAha ~ dekhaōayrAhia</i>
+	
2 nd p(Hon) sg.	
+	
2 nd p(Hon) pl.	
3 rd p. sg.	<i>dekhaōayrAhe ~ dekhaōayrAheg</i>
3 rd p. pl.	<i>dekhaōayrAhA ~ dekhaōayrAhen</i>
<i>uThao</i>	‘cause to rise or get up’
Ist p. sg.	<i>uThaoayrAhA</i>
Ist p. pl.	<i>uThaoaurAhi ~ uThaoayrAhiA</i>
2 nd p. (ord) sg.	<i>uThaoayrAhis</i>
2 nd p(ord) pl.	} <i>uThaoayrAha ~ uthaoayrAhis</i>
+	
2 nd p(Hon) sg.	
+	
2 nd p(Hon) pl.	
3 rd p. sg.	<i>uThaoaurAhe ~ uThaoayrAheg</i>
3 rd p. pl.	<i>uThaoayrAhAy ~ uThaoayrAhen</i>

MOOD

Imperative Mood

The Imperative show one-term tense distinction-Present ∞ Future tense and only in the second person.

Imperative stem formation:

<i>kha</i>	‘eat’	<i>de</i>	‘give’
<i>ja</i>	‘go’	<i>kAr</i>	‘do’
<i>dekh</i>	‘see’	<i>bAiTh ~ bAis</i>	‘sit’
<i>uTh</i>	‘raise, get up’		

Their negative counter parts receive negative marker *nei / ne* prefixed to the stems. Imperative modal markers reflect gradations in the present tense, as:-

- (i) $-\Phi$ (zero) marker to the inferior.
- (ii) $-\Phi \infty -u$ marker to the equal aged.
- (iii) $-\text{hin} \infty -\text{in}$ marker to the aged in the sense of request-cum-command.

Structure of Imperatives:

I. (i) stem + Imperative –person-number marker

<i>kha</i> - + $-\Phi$	=	<i>kha</i>	‘eat’
<i>ja</i> - + $-\Phi$	=	<i>ja</i>	‘go’
<i>dekh</i> - + $-\Phi$	=	<i>dekh</i>	‘see’
<i>uTh</i> - + $-\Phi$	=	<i>uTh</i>	‘get up’
<i>de</i> - + $-\Phi$	=	<i>de</i>	‘give’
<i>bAiTh/bAis</i> + $-\Phi$	=	<i>bAiTh/bAis</i>	‘sit’
(ii) <i>kAr</i> - + $-u$	=	<i>kAru</i>	‘(you) do’
<i>a</i> - + $-o$	=	<i>ao</i>	‘(you) come’
(iii) <i>kAr</i> - + $-\text{in}$	=	<i>kAriIn</i>	‘(you) do’
<i>De</i> - + $-\text{hin}$	=	<i>dehin</i>	‘(you) give’

Note: $-\text{hin} \infty -\text{in}$ are morpho-phonemically conditioned. $-\text{hin}$ occurs in open-syllable while $-\text{in}$ occurs in the clos-syllable.

II. Future Imperative = -be

kAr - + -be = *kArbe* '(you) will do'

ja - + -be = *jabe* '(you) will go'

rok - + -be = *rokbe* '(you) will stop'

Optative: The Optatives show one-term person-number marker *-uk*.

Structure of Optatives:

ja - + -uk = *jauk* 'Let (him) go'

kha - + -uk = *khauk* 'Let (him) eat'

kAr - + -uk = *kAruk* 'Let (him) do'.

4.2.1.2 NON-FINITE VERB

The Non-finite verbs can be classed into four. These are:

1. Participles
2. Infinitives
3. Gerund
4. Verbal noun.

Participles

The participles are three-types – Present Participle (pres pc pl), Past Participle (p. pcpl.) and Perfective Participle (perf. Pcpl.) and their respective markers are *-te*, *-i* and *-kAn* ∞ *-ke*

Infinitives

Stem + *-ek* ∞ *-e*

rAhek < *rAh* - + -ek 'to stay'

u rAhek khojela 'He wanted to stay'

kaTek < *jaT* - + -ek

chura kaTek khatir 'Knife is to cut'.

dekhe < *dekh* - + -e

u ekTa nac dekhe cahela 'He wanted to see a dance'.

bAise < *bAis* - + -e

tAy ekhAn bAise parbe 'You can sit now'

Verbal noun

Stem + *-ek* eg.

kha 'eat' *khake* < *kha* - + *-ek* 'to eat' (or the eatable one).

dular 'love' *dularek* < *dular* - + *-ek* 'to love' (or the lovable one).

nac 'dance' *nacek* < *nac* - + *-ek* 'to dance' (or the dancing one).

- Any verb stem when takes infinitive suffix *-ek* at syntactic level functions as verbal noun.

Gerund

Stem + *-Al* ~ *-Ol* eg.

bAiThAl < *bAiTh* - + *-Al* 'sitting'

marAl ~ *marOl* < *mar* - + *-Al* ~ *-Ol* 'beating'

bacAl ~ *bacOl* < *bae* - + *-Al* ~ *-Ol* 'living / alive'

sikhAl ~ *sikhOl* < *sikh* - + *-Al* ~ *-Ol* 'learning'

sijhAl ~ *sijhOl* < *sijh* - + *-Al* ~ *-Ol* 'cooking'

ghurAl ~ *ghurOl* < *ghur* - + *-Al* ~ *-Ol* 'walking / moving'.

khojAl ~ *khojOl* < *khoj* - + *-Al* ~ *-Ol* 'searching'

Participle

Present Participle

stem + *-te* *ghurte ghurte*

ghurte ghurte uthAik gelAk 'Having moved on he got tired'.

Past Participle

Stem + *-i* *deidelAk*

beTichA uaTa pAisa deidelAk. 'The woman gave away or paid up the money'.

Perfect Participle

Stem + *kAn* ∞ *-ke* ∞ *-kAr*

bap moke jaeke i kAhAlAk. 'Having gone over (there) father told me this'

ghAr jaykAhAn u suit gelAk 'Having reached home he fell asleep'.

sikari khusi hAike umAn ker pase 'The hunter become happy over ran after the

chADilekAhAn peroa gilake mare 'pigeon's with stick/having taken stick in hand'
khatir kuid alAk.

4.2.1.3 CAUSATIVE VERB

uThao –	'cause to rise or get up'
Ist p. sg.	<i>uThaorAhA;</i> <i>uThaolA.</i>
Ist p. pl.	<i>uThaorAhi ~ uThaorAhia;</i> <i>uThli ~ uThliA.</i>
2 nd p. (ord) sg.	<i>uThaorAhis;</i> <i>uThaolis.</i>
2 nd p. (ord) pl.	} <i>uThaorAha ~ uThaorAhia;</i> <i>uThaola ~ uThaolia.</i>
+ 2 nd p. (Hon) sg.	
+ 2 nd p. (Hon) pl.	
3 rd p. sg.	<i>uThaorAhe ~ uThaorAheg;</i> <i>uThaole ~ uThaoleg ~ uThaolAk.</i>
3 rd p. pl.	<i>uThaorAhAy ~ uThaorAhen;</i> <i>uThaolAy ~ uThaolen.</i>

4.2.1. 4 AUXILIARY VERB

Formations of Auxiliary Verbs:

The 'Auxiliary Verbs' in Panch Pargania are *cah* – 'want' and *par* – 'may can'. These verbs conjugated receive the substantive verb bases *ah -*, *rAh -* and *ho - he - ∞ hA -* as the tense markers for Present, Past ∞ Future and their respective person – number markers.

4.2.1.5 NEGATIVE VERB

Their negative counter parts receive negative marker *nei / ne* prefixed to the stems. Imperative modal markers reflect gradations in the present tense, as: -

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|--|
| (i) $-\Phi$ (zero) marker | to the inferior. |
| (ii) $-\Phi \infty$ -u marker | to the equal aged. |
| (iii) $-\text{Hin} \infty$ -in marker | to the aged in the sense of request-cum-command. |

4.2.1.6 COMPOUND VERB

The structures of compound verb base-types are:

I. Noun + Verb

<i>bheT kAr</i>	‘meet’
<i>kaThi lAg</i>	‘join a piece of wood’
<i>bat kar</i>	‘talk’
<i>rah dekh</i>	‘wait for’
<i>git ga</i>	‘sing’
<i>asra ga</i>	‘hope’
<i>pAsind kAr</i>	‘like; choose’
<i>katha kAr</i>	‘talk’
<i>jAnAm le</i>	‘born’
<i>aghat kAr</i>	‘strike’
<i>aghat pa</i>	‘get hurt’; ‘injured’
<i>kAuis kAr</i>	‘try’
<i>jhap de</i>	‘jump’
<i>ses hoija</i>	‘finished’
<i>baRh aeja</i>	‘get flooded’

II Adjective + Verb

<i>choTe kAr</i>	‘shorten’
<i>kAria kAr</i>	‘blacken’
<i>saph</i>	‘clean’
<i>lAmba kAr</i>	‘lengthen / broaden’
<i>thAk ja</i>	‘get tired’
<i>gArAm lag</i>	‘feel not’
<i>ThanDa lag</i>	‘feel cold’

<i>tAklip lag</i>	‘feel hurt’
<i>khis lag</i>	‘feel angry’

III Verb + Verb

<i>ghuir a</i>	‘return’; ‘come back’
<i>ghuir ja</i>	‘go back’; ‘return’
<i>cAil ja</i>	‘go away’
<i>Dub ja</i>	‘drawn’
<i>Suit ja</i>	‘sleep’
<i>jaykAn mil</i>	‘meet’; ‘get merged’
<i>nikal ja</i>	‘go away’; ‘overflowed’.
<i>dekha kAr</i>	‘meet’
<i>jAma kAr</i>	‘gather’
<i>lane ja</i>	‘bring’
<i>TuT ja</i>	‘broken’
<i>gir ja</i>	‘fall’
<i>suika ja</i>	‘get dry’
<i>de de</i>	‘give away’
<i>phek de</i>	‘throw away’
<i>ghurie ja</i>	‘go out’

4.2.1.8 TRANSITIVITY

Intransitive	Derived Transitive
<i>uTh</i> ‘rise’	<i>uTha</i> ‘to raise something’

4.2.2. ADVERB

The Adverbs are modifier of verbs and these always precede the verbs in the construction of grammatical sentences.

Semantic categories of adverbs as –Adverb of manner, Adverb of direction, Adverb of place and Adverb of time also use some grammatical markers in the construction.

Adverb of manner: Adverbs referring to manner are either reduplicated or are having emphatic –e.

Adverb of manner:

<i>turut</i>	‘haste’	:	<i>turute</i>	‘hastily’
<i>dhir</i>	‘slow’	:	<i>dhire, dhire dhire</i>	‘slowly’
<i>sahAj</i>	‘smooth’	:	<i>sAhAje</i>	‘smoothly’
<i>caDh</i>	‘quick’	:	<i>caDhe; caDhe caDhe</i>	‘quickly’
<i>cup</i>	‘secret, silent’	:	<i>cupe cupe</i>	‘secretly, silently’
<i>guil</i>	‘loud’	:	<i>guile guile</i>	‘loudly’

The other forms are *kahe* (ki) ‘why’; *ka rAkAm ka rAkAme* ‘how’.

Adverb of direction:

Adverb of direction having loc-e in the construction.

<i>dAkkhin baTe</i>	‘in the south, towards the south’
<i>Dahina baTe</i>	‘in the right side’
<i>lenga baTe</i>	‘in the left side’
<i>pAscimbaTe</i>	‘in the west’
<i>hĩde</i>	‘this side’
<i>hũde</i>	‘that side’
<i>d(h) u:r</i>	‘far/distant’
<i>upre</i>	‘above on’
<i>hẽThe</i>	‘below’
<i>pase/nAjike</i>	‘near’
<i>bhitre</i>	‘inside’

Adverb of place:

Adverbs of place are having loc-e in the construction.

<i>cairo dhare</i>	‘every where’
<i>hĩa ~ hĩde</i>	‘here’
<i>hũa ~ hũde</i>	‘there’
<i>ukArbade ~ pichu</i>	‘after’

Other forms are: *pechu ~ pachu* ‘behind’; *kãha* ‘where’

Adverb of time:

Adverb of time is sometimes having loc-e in the construction.

<i>kakhAn</i>	‘when’
<i>tAb(e)</i>	‘then’
<i>jAbe~jekhAne</i>	‘while’
<i>jAtikkhAn</i>	‘till’
<i>jAkhAn ~ jekhAn</i>	‘since’
<i>din</i>	‘day’
<i>rat ~ rait (e)</i>	‘night’
<i>dupAhAr ~ duipAhAr</i>	‘noon’

<i>sājh ~ sainjh</i>	‘evening’
<i>aDbera</i>	‘after noon’
<i>bihan(e)</i>	‘morning’
<i>aghu</i>	‘early’
<i>aij(e)</i>	‘today’
<i>kal ~ kail(e)</i>	‘tomorrow’
<i>gAt rait (e) ~ bitAl rait (e)</i>	‘last night’
<i>gelAkse pArsu</i>	‘day after, yesterday’
<i>pAkkho</i>	‘fort night’
<i>rojdin</i>	‘daily’
<i>ekhAn</i>	‘now’
<i>phir ~ phin</i>	‘again’
<i>Acanak</i>	‘suddenly’

4.2.3 PARTICLE

The particles are six types-Adverbial, connective and Additive, emphatic, affirmative and Negative.

Adverbial particles

<i>jAbtAk tAbtAk</i>	‘till then’ < Relative pronoun
<i>jAb</i>	‘till’
<i>tAb</i>	‘then’
<i>jAb mĀy jamu tAbtAk hūa ~hūde ThaDh</i>	‘you will wait there till I come’
<i>rAhAbe</i>	
<i>esAn</i>	‘like this; like wise’
<i>tĀy esAn ni kArisla</i>	‘you don’t do like wise’
<i>kesAn</i>	‘how’
<i>tĀy kesAn kArisla</i>	‘how did you do the work’
<i>niar</i>	‘as if like’
<i>sikari hArinke mArAl niar deikhkAhAn soclAk</i>	‘The hunter seeing the deer died as if, thought’

Connective particles

<i>lekin</i>	‘but’
<i>tĀy jabe mAntu i sAub na kAhAbe</i>	‘you will go but won’t tell all these’
<i>hAle</i>	‘then’
<i>tĀy jAdi cahAbe hAle mĀy i kam kArAm</i>	‘If you want then I shall do this work’
<i>kaheki</i>	‘because’
<i>u nai awi kaheki u bimar ahe</i>	‘He will not come because he is sick’
<i>ar~aur</i>	‘and’
<i>hūa ~hūde jawa ar i kam kAra</i>	‘Go there and do this work’
<i>Sayed</i>	‘perhaps’
<i>Sayed ukAr pase kitap nekhe</i>	‘perhaps he does not have this book’

Affirmative particle

<i>hã</i>			‘yes’
<i>hã mÃy ghAr jamu</i>			‘yes, I shall go home’

Negative particles

<i>ne</i>	‘(is) not’	<i>ukAr pase nekhe</i>	‘(is) not to him’
<i>nei</i>	‘not’	<i>nei hoi</i>	‘won’t be’
<i>ni</i>	‘not’	<i>bat ni kAri</i>	‘did not talk’
<i>na</i>	‘(do) not’	<i>na pAiThabe</i>	‘don’t send’
		<i>na dekhbe</i>	‘don’t send’
		<i>na mÃy nai jamu</i>	‘no, I shall not go’
<i>nai</i>	‘not’	<i>nai parmu</i>	‘I shall not be able’

4.2.4 ECHO WORD

There are certain words get reduplicated and used in the sentential usages. For example;

1. *dhire dhire* ‘slowly’ *dhire dhire ja* ‘go slowly’
2. *caDe caDe* ‘quickly’ *caDe caDe cAla* ‘walk quickly’
3. *rijhe rijhe* ‘smoothly’ *rijhe rijhe kam holo* ‘works get done smoothly’
4. *bAisAl* ‘by sitting’ *bAisAl bAisAl thAik jay* ‘Got tired by sitting’
bAisAl continuously’ *aho* continuously’

Besides, partial reduplication also takes place with the forms as;

<i>luga phaTa</i>	‘clothes and etc.’
<i>kam dhandha</i>	‘works and etc.’
<i>basAn kusAn</i>	‘utensils& etc.’
<i>hAsi ThaTha</i>	‘laughs and jokes’

5. SYNTAX

5.1 ORDER OF WORDS IN A SENTENCES

Panch pargania is a subject+Object+Verb Language. A sentence in Panch Pargania consists of noun pahrase and a verb phrase.

Word order

Order of words in panch pargania is subject object verb.

māy ghar jam

I house go

Subject object verb

‘Shall I go home?’

u ekTa nac dekhe khAjela

he one dance see wants

Subject+art object verb

‘He wants to see a dance’

5.2 DESCRIPTION OF TYPES OF SENTENCES

There are five types of sentences realised in Panch Pargania Language. Those are Affirmative, Imperative, Interrogative, Negative and Coordinative sentences.

Affirmative sentences:

To denote the affirmatiion no marker is realised.

iTa ekTa kukkur heke

this a dog is

‘This is a dog’

hāa ekTa bilai a:he

here one cat is

‘Here is a cat’

Interrogative Sentences:

The interogation is realised by separate markers like /- *ke:/* ‘who’ and /-*ka:/* ‘where’

u ke: heke
he who is
'Who is he?'

ka: mÃe ja: mu
where I go shall
'shall I go?'

sAiTkaTa ke leglAk
stick + case who took
'who took the stick?'

Imperative Sentences:

Imperative/ command is realised by the intonation which is generally realised along with the verb.

mo: r ghAre ao
my house come
'Come to my house'

mo: r ghAre ja:
my house go
'Go to my house'

u:ke Da:k
him call
'Call him'

Negative Sentences:

Negation is realised by the morphemes either /-na/ or /-ni/ni:khe/nekhe

ugla sada phu:l na: lage
those white flower not are
'Those are not white flowers'

mÃe ni: ja: mu
I not go shall
'I shall not go'

to:r Ãikh khara:p ni:khe/nekhe
you eye bad not
'Your eye is not bad'

Coordination

Coordination is realised by the conjunctive particles like and, but, or etc.,

hAmre u:mAnke dekhAti: a:r hAmne hAmreke dekhAtAẽ
we them see and they us see

‘We see them and they see us’

i kArmẽ e:k TukRa kaThi lo:ga: a:r i:ke lamba kA:r
this one piece join wood and this long make

‘Join a piece of wood to this and make it longer’

5.3 DESCRIPTION OF PATTERN OF SENTENCES

There are three patterns of sentences realised in Panch Pargania language namely simple, complex and compound.

Simple

A sentence containing one subject and predicate is called simple sentence.

eTa mo:r gai he:ke
this my cow is

This is my cow.

mÃe caDe ja:TÃ
I early going

‘I am going early’

iTa ke:kAr churi he:ke

‘Whose knife is this?’

u:ke mo:r sada posa:k de

‘Give her my white dresses’

to:r ghAr

‘Your house’

mo:r ghAre a:o

‘Come to my house’

mo:r ghAr ni/na ja

‘Don’t come to my house’

Compound

Two or more main clauses joined by the particles to make compound sentences.

hAmre u:mAnke dekhAti: a:r urune hAmreke dekhAtē
we them see and they us see
'We see them and they see us'

i kArmē e:k TukRa kaThi lo:ga: a:r i:ke lamba kA:r
this one piece join wood and this long make
'Join a piece of wood to this and make it longer'

Complex

The subordinate clause and one or more main clauses jointly make a sentence.

JAdi kail ThanDha rAhi to: mĀe ni ja:mu
'If it is cold tomorrow I shall not go'

jAdi mĀe bhul kAhAtAhĀ hAle mo:ke ro:kbe
'Stop me if I say any thing wrong'

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PANCH PARGANIA TEXT

How the female crow killed the black snake.

ka rAkAm kAuaTa kAria sapke marlAk

A crow and his wife lived in the branch of a big banyan tree.

ekTa kAua AkAr jAni ekTa bADe bArgach ker ekTa Daire rAhAt rohAe

They built a nest there.

umAn hua ek Ta khondha bAnaye rohAe

There were four eggs in the nest.

khondha Tae cairTa aDa rohAe

The parents guarded the eggs with great care

mai bap u aDa gilake bejai dhiane dekhAt rohAe

A black snake also lived in the same tree.

ekTa kAria sap ohe gachTae rAhAt rAhe.

The birds were very much scared of it.

coroigila oke bejai Darat rohAe

Every time there were eggs, the snake crawled up to the nest and ate all the eggs.

lAgatar hua aDa rohAt rohAe ar sapTa upAr jaekhon khondha lek aDa pi ja:t rAhe

The female crow told the husband, “if the black snake comes and eat up my eggs this time also, I do not live in this tree any more”

Dha iD kAuaTa apAn purus ke kAhAlAk jAdi u kAria sapTa awi ar hamre aDa gilake i barou jAdi pi delAk ta hole moe i gachTae ar ni rAhAm.

We should go somewhere and build our nest.

hAmreke arA ka hau jaek cahi ar apAn khondha bAnaek cahi.

The crow said, we have lived here for a long time. I cannot leave this place and go anywhere.

u kAuaTa kAhAlAk hAmre hia bejai dinlek rAhAtihi moe i jaigaTake choiD kAhAn arA kahu jae ni paro.

While they were still talking they heard a hissing sound.

jAkhAn u mAn bat kArAt rAhu tA khAn umAn sapkAr phophual sunlAe.

They knew it was the sound of the snake.

umAn janAt rAhe ki i awazTa sapkere heke.

They were afraid

umAn Darai gelAe

They did not know what to do.

umAn ni janAt rAhu ki ka kore hui

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

u kAria sapTa khondaTae alAk arA cArAi gilak picha kArLak.

One by one the snake ate the eggs.

sapTa ekae ekae sAb aDake pi gelAk.

The parents became very sad.

mae bap bejai dukhi hAlAe.

Now the crow said, I should find a way to destroy this poisonous snake.

ebar kAua kAhAlAk mAke i bis dhAr sapTake nas kArek tehe ekTa upai khojek cahi.

His wife asked, how can you kill this deadly snake?

AkA bAhu kAhAlAk i khAtArnak sapTake toe karAkAm mare parbe .

Can you fight with him?

ka toe ekAr sAMge lADe parbe

Do not worry my dear.

pari toe cinta na kAr.

I have a friend who is cunning to kill this snake.

mor ekTa sAMgi a:he je calaki lek sapTake mare pare

Saying this he flew to another tree.

esAn koi kAhAn u dAsAr gache uiD gelAk.

Under that tree one Jackal is living.

ohe gachTak heThe ekTa siar rAhAt rohe

When the jackal heard the entire story, he said, my friend those who are cruel always have bad end.

jAkhAn u siar Ta sAub katha sunlAk tAkhAn u kAhLak mor sAMgi je lok niThur hoela umAnker sara khore kharap hoela.

I have a plan to kill him

mor pase oke marek tehe ekTa upai a:he .

Then the Jackal in a slow voice told something to the crow.

okAr bad siarTa cupei kAuaTake kichu kAhAlAk .

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

kAuaTa apAn bAhukpas uDkAhAn alAk arA u sAmbAndhe kAhAlAk

I will do any thing to save my eggs told the female crow.

DhaiD kAuaTa kAhAlAk moe apAn aDake bacaik tehe kono hole kore paro

Then they flew towards the palace.

takAr bad umAn mAhAl ker baTe uiD geloe .

The palace is not far from the tree.

mAhAlTa gachTalek besi dhure ni rohe

They approached a big pond and saw the royal ladies taking bath.

umAn ekTa bADe bandhker pas pAhuclAe arA dekhlAe ki mAhAlker raja ghArek beTi chuamAn hua nahat rohAe .

They left the jewels, necklace and golden chain on the edge.

umAn apAn gAhAna hair arA sonaker sikDi ekTa konae raikh de rohAe.

The mother bird flew down and picked up one of the gold chain in her beak.

DhaiD kAuaTa uD kAhAn heiTh baTe gelAk arA ekTa sonakAr hair apAn ThAre caib kAhAn uThalAk .

It started flying slowly towards the tree in which she lived

u je gachTae rAhAt rAhe u baTe u dhire dhirei uiDgelAk .

When the palace guards saw this they took up their sticks and chased the bird.

jAkhAn mAhAlker cAukidar iTa dekhAlAk tAkhAn u apAn ekTa TheMga lekAhAn cArAiTaker picha kArIAk .

They saw the bird dropping the chain in the hollow of the tree.

u dekhe pala ki cArAiTa gachker khondhAr bhitre hair Take girai delAk .

One of the guards climbed up the tree.

cAukidar gachTa upAr uThIAk

As he put his hand inside the hole to get the chain he saw the black snake.

jesei u khuDru bhitrelek hairTa lek tehe ha:th bhitralAk tAkhAn u kAria sapTake dekhe palAk .

He killed the snake with a stick.

u sapTake apAn Themgae mair delAk .

And that was the end of the black snake.

arA i heTae rohe u kAria sapTaker akhir.

After that the crow and his wife lived in the tree happily and had many crows.

takAr bad kAua apAn bAhu sAMge rijhe rijhe rohe lagIAk arA umAnlek bejai kAua hAlAe .

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SADAN/SADRI

TAPATI GHOSH

1. INTRODUCTION

Sadan/ Sadri is an Indo-Aryan language, spoken in many states of India such as Bihar, Jharkhand, Odisha, West Bengal and Assam etc. It is primarily used by the Sadan people, a non-tribal, Indo-Aryan speaking ethno-linguistic group of Jharkhand. However, it is also spoken by the Chero tribe as their first language. Moreover, the members of Oraon, Munda and Kharia community also use this language among each-other besides speaking their own mother tongues. So, it can be said that Sadan/ Sadri is also used as a lingua-franca for inter-tribal group communication in Jharkhand. It is also used as a lingua-franca among the tea-garden community of Assam, West Bengal and also in Bangladesh. Sadri as spoken in Assam has been termed as Assam Sadri in order to distinguish it from the Sadri spoken in Chhota Nagpur region which is commonly known as Nagpuria Sadri.

Sadan/Sadri language is known by many other alternative names like Sadana, Sadani, Sadati, Chota Nagpuri, Gawari, Gorai, Jharkhandi etc. Some of these names refer to the name of the village or the region where it is spoken, whereas some names denote the groups that speak the language. Moreover, there are many dialects of Sadan/Sadri that varies both in terms of phonological (pronunciation) as well as morphological (grammatical category) features. The dialects differ from each other on the basis of its location, caste and ethnicity. Being one of the linguistically most diverse state of the country, Jharkhand can easily be termed as a home for all three major language families of India i.e. Indo-Aryan (Indo-European), Munda (Austro-Asiatic) and Dravidian. While it is thus very likely that Sadan/Sadri has also borrowed largely from its neighbouring languages that belong to different language families as well. These undeniable facts lead us to the conclusion that Sadan/Sadri had a colloquial origin and was generously sourced from multiple contagious linguistic inputs.

In spite of the fact that Sadan/Sadri still lacks a standardized form, a good amount of literature can be found in this language. Several magazines and books are published in Sadan/Sadan language across India. Monthly magazines like ‘Gotiya’ and ‘Johar Sahiya’ have been published in Ranchi. Generally, Devanagari script is being used in writing this language. However, magazines like ‘Veer Birsa’ or ‘Adivasi Express’ which are published in Dooars and Terai regions West Bengal, use Alchiki script. Since 1980, many Sadri songs and videos have also been produced. A few feature films have been produced in this language in Jharkhand, Assam, Dooars (West Bengal) and Odisha in order to authentically depict the tribal lives of these regions.

* The list of lexicon and text on Sadri along with few analyses as per the latest format is prepared and finalized by Dr.Ranjita Pattanaik, Linguist, after a short field investigation at the Simdega district of Jharkhand State in the year 2010.

1.1 FAMILY AFFILIATION:

G.A. Grierson classified ‘Sadan/Sadri’ or ‘Nagpuria’ as a variety of Bhojpuri dialect although it is much influenced by Magahi dialect (Eastern Magahi) and Chhattisgarhi, as he described, “over nearly the whole of the Ranchi district, the language of the settled Aryan is a corrupt form of Bhojpuri which has undergone modifications, partly by the influence of Magahi dialects which surrounds it on three sides and of Chhattisgarhi spoken to its west and partly owing to the influx of words into its vocabulary which belong to the languages of the Non-Aryan population.” [cf. LSI. Vol. V pt – II. Pp.277].

Considering the geographical and other linguistic homogeneous factors and on the basis of analysis of grammatical data of Bhojpuri, Magahi, Panch Pargania and Sadan/Sadri, it seems that phonologically the speech Sadan/Sadri does not show very significant difference from Magahi, Bhojpuri and Panch Pargania but morphologically it shares features more similar to Panch Pargania and Magahi by agreeing in number and genitive case- suffix in nouns, second and third personal pronoun, articles and in past tense suffixes in verbal conjugation of Panch Pargania and in 1st personal pronouns, present tense of Magahi. Grierson has opined in L.S.I, it (Panch Pargania) varies so greatly in the mouths of different people that it might sometimes be classed as a form, not of Magahi, but of Nagpuria Bhojpuri. By Nagpuria Grierson meant Sadan/Sadri also. [of L.S.I. Vol. V pt II pp –167]. In 1971 Census, Sadan/Sadri has been shown under the big umbrella of Hindi. [A. Chandra Shekhar: Census of India ‘1971- Social and cultural Table. pt. II Cl. Series I. pp-6] basing on “functional classification” [B.P. Mahapatra: Languages of India: A brief survey, L.S.I. Silver Jubilee Sonvenir Vol. Pp.9-15]. The result of the present investigation shows that Sadan/Sadri as a speech is distantly related to Standard Hindi in comparison to its neighbouring speeches primarily Magahi and secondarily Bhojpuri. The comparative study of Sadan/Sadri a) with Standard Hindi and b) with Magahi, Bhojpuri, Nagpuria and Panch Pargania appended behind put forth a detailed account of all there.

1.2 LOCATION:

The speakers of the said speech are mostly concentrated in the Ranchi district of South Bihar. Still a large number of Sadri speakers are found in West Bengal, specifically in North Bengal and Madhya Pradesh where they have migrated mainly as industrial laborers temporarily or permanently. In Ranchi district, the spread of the speech covers the wide campus of the southern and the central part of the district ending towards the east.

1.3 SPEAKERS’ STRENGTH:

From 1901 till 1961, in every census the said speech has been recorded as Sadan/Sadri or in other form as Nagpuri/Nagpuria.

Grierson named it as Nagpuria or Sadan, as he said, “It is generally known as Nagpuria or the language of Chota Nagpur proper. It is also known as Sadan or Sadri, and is called by Non – Aryan Mundas ‘Dikku kaji or, the language of the Dikkus or Aryans’.”[cf :- L.S.I. vol. V pt.II PP. 277]

Sadan/Sadri, a speech mainly spoken in the Ranchi district of Jharkhand, has its immediate neighbours i.e. Magahi in its north west and Chhattisgarhi in the south west, Bengali and Kurmali Thar in the east and Panch Pargania in the north east. The basin of the speech is

in the southern part of Ranchi district and it spreads towards eastern region running through the central part of the district. Thus, as obvious, both Bengali and Chhattisgarhi have cast influence in Sadan/Sadri although at the substratum level Magahi appears to form the base.

The table shows more than 2/3 (two-third) concentrations of Sadan/Sadri speakers in Bihar in 1961 Census in comparison to the states of Madhya Pradesh, Assam and West Bengal.

However, in 1991 and 2001 Census, the Sadri speakers are distracted towards adjacent states of Bihar i.e., Jharkhand, West Bengal, Orissa, Chhattisgarh and Assam. Hence, the present survey is urged to concentrate also in Jharkhand in addition to the survey at Orissa and West Bengal.

As per the 2011 Census, Sadan/Sadri mother tongue speakers are distributed as follows

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	43,45,677	21,80,340	21,65,337	40,45,994	20,30,137	20,15,857	2,99,683	1,50,203	1,49,480
JAMMU & KASHMIR	298	213	85	215	141	74	83	72	11
HIMACHAL PRADESH	2,973	1,755	1,218	2,118	1,282	836	855	473	382
PUNJAB	648	371	277	505	275	230	143	96	47
CHANDIGARH	61	30	31	0	0	0	61	30	31
UTTARAKHAND	547	302	245	223	133	90	324	169	155
HARYANA	478	246	232	207	125	82	271	121	150
NCT OF DELHI	1,459	668	791	13	7	6	1,446	661	785
RAJASTHAN	2,11,102	1,06,907	1,04,195	2,11,033	1,06,877	1,04,156	69	30	39
UTTAR PRADESH	2,676	1,356	1,320	2,495	1,275	1,220	181	81	100
BIHAR	4,523	2,312	2,211	4,167	2,127	2,040	356	185	171
SIKKIM	148	83	65	65	44	21	83	39	44
ARUNACHAL PRADESH	14,333	7,515	6,818	13,962	7,311	6,651	371	204	167
NAGALAND	2,385	1,317	1,068	2,179	1,213	966	206	104	102
MANIPUR	30	18	12	24	16	8	6	2	4
MIZORAM	92	58	34	18	14	4	74	44	30
TRIPURA	2,305	1,250	1,055	2,163	1,176	987	142	74	68
MEGHALAYA	93	52	41	19	12	7	74	40	34
ASSAM	7,15,180	3,59,820	3,55,360	7,06,318	3,55,213	3,51,105	8,862	4,607	4,255
WEST BENGAL	7,41,528	3,69,418	3,72,110	7,11,065	3,54,150	3,56,915	30,463	15,268	15,195
JHARKHAND	16,27,083	8,17,916	8,09,167	14,79,617	7,44,084	7,35,533	1,47,466	73,832	73,634
ODISHA	3,46,927	1,72,354	1,74,573	2,72,771	1,35,625	1,37,146	74,156	36,729	37,427
CHHATTISGARH	6,47,154	3,23,637	3,23,517	6,17,643	3,08,728	3,08,915	29,511	14,909	14,602
MADHYA PRADESH	756	370	386	455	224	231	301	146	155

GUJARAT	339	239	100	206	153	53	133	86	47
DAMAN & DIU	43	31	12	0	0	0	43	31	12
DADRA & NAGAR HAVELI	44	25	19	37	21	16	7	4	3
MAHARASHTRA	527	302	225	97	65	32	430	237	193
ANDHRA PRADESH	56	28	28	18	8	10	38	20	18
KARNATAKA	152	79	73	34	15	19	118	64	54
GOA	325	224	101	184	125	59	141	99	42
KERALA	120	86	34	37	21	16	83	65	18
TAMIL NADU	238	125	113	56	34	22	182	91	91
PUDUCHERRY	6	1	5	4	0	4	2	1	1
ANDAMAN & NICOBAR ISLANDS	21,048	11,232	9,816	18,046	9,643	8,403	3,002	1,589	1,413

As per the 2011 Census, District-wise Sadan/Sadri mother tongue speakers are distributed as follows

State/Districts	Total			Rural			Urban		
	Person	Males	Females	Person	Males	Females	Person	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
JHARKHAND	16,27,083	8,17,916	8,09,167	14,79,617	7,44,084	7,35,533	1,47,466	73,832	73,634
Garhwa	71,262	36,163	35,099	71,224	36,141	35,083	38	22	16
Chatra	3,774	1,914	1,860	2,900	1,447	1,453	874	467	407
Kodarma	38	17	21	9	3	6	29	14	15
Giridih	79	46	33	67	40	27	12	6	6
Deoghar	38	26	12	34	23	11	4	3	1
Godda	115	49	66	109	45	64	6	4	2
Sahibganj	935	463	472	723	363	360	212	100	112
Pakur	235	130	105	229	127	102	6	3	3
Dhanbad	934	476	458	232	118	114	702	358	344
Bokaro	3,221	1,583	1,638	159	83	76	3,062	1,500	1,562
Lohardaga	1,10,985	56,178	54,807	1,08,534	54,924	53,610	2,451	1,254	1,197
Purbi Singhbhum	2,234	1,090	1,144	418	191	227	1,816	899	917
Palamu	6,492	3,330	3,162	6,461	3,313	3,148	31	17	14
Latehar	1,97,021	99,440	97,581	1,94,753	98,295	96,458	2,268	1,145	1,123
Hazaribagh	6,077	2,948	3,129	5,546	2,701	2,845	531	247	284
Ramgarh	7,097	3,634	3,463	4,428	2,314	2,114	2,669	1,320	1,349

Dumka	769	374	395	668	326	342	101	48	53
Jamtara	104	52	52	67	34	33	37	18	19
Ranchi	5,40,343	2,72,097	2,68,246	4,38,967	2,21,284	2,17,683	101,376	50,813	50,563
Khunti	92,594	46,286	46,308	85,162	42,538	42,624	7,432	3,748	3,684
Gumla	2,58,540	1,29,347	1,29,193	2,52,770	1,26,460	1,26,310	5,770	2,887	2,883
Simdega	2,94,037	1,47,358	1,46,679	2,79,388	1,40,050	1,39,338	14,649	7,308	7,341
Pashchimi Singhbhum	29,087	14,365	14,722	25,859	12,801	13,058	3,228	1,564	1,664
Saraikela-Kharsawan	1,072	550	522	910	463	447	162	87	75

1.4 SOCIOLINGUISTIC SETTINGS:

Sadan/Sadri is used as the mother tongue mainly among the castes of Teli, Rautia, Bhogta, Rajputs, Madlesias etc. of late, the tribes like Munda, Kharia, Oraon etc. who are inhabiting in the region since long past use Sadan/Sadri for the purpose of inter communication among themselves and eventually a good number among them have given up their original tribal speech in favour of Sadan/Sadri as mother tongue. This laid to the gradual emergence of Sadan/Sadri as the ‘lingua franca’ or ‘link language’ in the region of Chotanagpur plateau in its entirety. This ‘language-in-use’ Sadan/Sadri has attained a number of specific domains of use in the societal plane besides the role of the ‘institutional variety of Hindi’, i.e., standard Hindi. Below are discussed the several dimensions reflecting sociolinguistic situation around ‘Sadan /Sadri’ mother tongue one after another.

‘Sadan/Sadri’ is a stable mother tongue in rural areas of the Ranchi district leaving the places Bundu, Sonahatu and Tamar of ‘Khunti’ sub division, and ‘Silli’ and ‘Angara’ of Ranchi Sadar sub division. In the aforementioned places the Sadan/Sadri speakers who temporarily shifted being transferred in government services or being appointed as teachers in the educational institutions use Sadan/Sadri in informal situation. Here in, Sadan/Sadri is the language of the home and the kins, whereas, in rest other places it is the language of the locality and the market. Even the literates in very formal situation or, in ‘careful speech’ come down to ‘Sadan/Sadri’. It is noted from the filled in socio linguistic questionnaire schedules canvassed during the survey (1978) that across three generations of speakers, ‘parent-ego-children’ the mother tongue return of Sadan/Sadri is uniform. Of course, the children are not discouraged to learn Hindi besides their mother tongue.

Sadan/Sadri is used by its speakers in different types of correspondences among the relatives, i.e., in ordinary letters and in invitation and greetings. The speakers in general resort the popular Devanagari script.

The study shows that Sadan/Sadri is used for all types of written correspondences by Baithas, Machuas, Mundas, Mahilis, Kachuas, Oraons and Toppos (the scheduled tribes), the Bhagats, and Bauris (the scheduled castes) and even by some caste Hindus coming from higher social strata. Thus, as evident Sadan/Sadri has attained social acceptance almost as a “standard medium”.

It is noted from the study that the government of Bihar has taken up some positive steps to give coverage to Sadan/ Sadri in three domains:

First, although Hindi is the compulsory medium of education, Sadan/Sadri is given weightage in imparting teaching from class I to class III and the higher classes the students are given freedom to discuss even in the mother tongue. The local teachers prefer communicating even on the academic topics in the local patois.

Secondly, in the domain of judiciary, i.e., Law courts, arguments and cross – examinations are mostly done in the local link language, i.e., Sadan/Sadri even though Hindi is the recorded official medium.

Thirdly, in the domain of mass media, i.e., broad casting and publications Sadan/Sadri is given due recognition. The All India Radio, Ranchi Station, has regular programme of local news broad casting, discussions on ‘Khetibari’ (Agriculture) besides the programmes of cultural entertainments as of folk songs, folk stories, recitation of poems etc. A popular journal published by the information centre, Govt. of Bihar, named ‘Adivasi’ has taken lead to bring to light the social and cultural history of the tribes; literary achievements as publication of short stories, poems, and essays in the local patois is, i.e. Sadan/Sadri.

2. PHONOLOGY

Sadan/Sadri, as other speeches, has a typical phonological system of its own. It consists of thirty-five segmental phonemes of which six are vowels and the rest twenty-nine are consonants. The vowel phonemes have along with supra segmental nasalized counterparts.

2.1 PHONEMIC INVENTORY:

2.1.1 SEGMENTAL PHONEMES

Vowels:

	Front	Central	Back
High	/i/		/u/
Mid	/e/	/A/	/o/
Low	/a/		

2.1.2 SUPRA SEGMENTAL PHONEME Nasalization: /ĩ/

Consonants:

	Bilabial	Labio-Dental	Alveolar	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stops	/p/ /b/		/t/ /d/	/T/ /D/	/c/ /j/	/k/ /g/	
Aspirants	/ph/ /bh/		/th/ /dh/	Th Dh	/ch/ /jh/	kh gh	
Affricates							
Fricatives			/s/				/h/
Nasal	/m/		/n/			/M/	
Lateral			/l/				
Trill/Flap			/r/				
Semi Vowel	/w/			/y/			

Vowels:

The vowel phoneme in Sadan/ Sadri may be described according to the position of the tongue and height of the tongue. Thus, of the six vowel phonemes /i, e, a/ are front spread vowels /u, o/ are back rounded vowels and /A/ is mid central vowel. As the height of the tongue is high for /i/ vowel it is called high vowel; /e, o/ are high-mid vowels; /A/ is central mean-mid vowel, and /a/ is a low front vowel.

Diphthongs:

There are altogether eight diphthongs available in Sadan/Sadri of these the second component being formed with non-syllabic vowels (*i*) and (*u*). The diphthongs are /*ei, ui, oi, Ai, ai, ou, Au* and *au*/. So far the quality of the non-syllabic vowels are concerned, the diphthongs are rising in nature.

Consonants:

Sadan/Sadri has altogether twenty-nine consonant phonemes sixteen stops / *p, ph, b, bh, t, th, d, dh, t, th, d, dh, k, kh, g, gh* /; four affricates / *c, ch, j, jh* /; two fricatives / *s, h* /; three nasals / *m, n, M* /; one lateral /*l*/; one trill /*r*/ and two semivowels / *w, y* /. In the stop and affricate series ten are aspirated / *ph, bh, th, dh, Th, Dh, kh, gh, ch, jh* /; seventeen are voiced consonants /*b, bh, d, dh, D, Dh, g, gh, j, jh; m, n, M, l, r, w* and *y*/; the rest twelve are unvoiced ones / *p, ph, t, th, T, Th, k, kh, c, ch, s* and *h* /.

Supra Segmental /Features

Six segmental simple vowel phones are realized all are nasalized, the contrasting pairs are shown below.

/ <i>abba</i> /	‘father’
/ <i>bhãp</i> /	‘steam’
/ <i>dia</i> /	‘lamp’
/ <i>dãa</i> /	‘white ant’
/ <i>bhokek</i> /	‘barking of dogs’
/ <i>bhõkek</i> /	‘to stab’
/ <i>churi</i> /	‘knife’
/ <i>chũDi</i> /	‘girl’

Length:

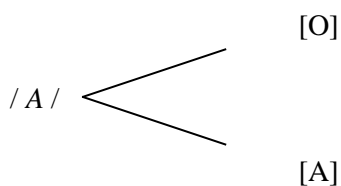
Length is not phonemic in Sadan/Sadri. Phonetically lengths of vowels are predictable only in the close syllable.

Stress:

Stress is not phonemic in Sadan/Sadri. It occurs mainly with long vowels in the close syllable.

Allophones

Vowels



Segmental:

The vowel [O] has an allophonic variation with / A / phoneme. The phoneme / A / is realized as [O] in the word initial, medial and final positions. Example:

[Ondhar]	/ Andhar /	‘dark’
[pOnja]	/ pAnja /	‘claw’
[pĩkDO]	/ pĩkDA /	‘nightingale’

The alveolar nasal phoneme / n / has three allophones consonants.

/ n /

- [n] Dental nasal occurs followed by dental stop.
- [ñ] Palatal nasal followed by palatal stop.
- [N] Retroflex nasal occurs followed by retroflex stop and affricates.
- [n] Alveolar nasal occurs elsewhere.

The retroflex voiced stop /D/ has two allophones as / D ~ R / where (D) occurs individually only in initial position and medially either in gemination, or in cluster with other retroflex phonemes, while, R occurs only in medial and final position.

/ D /

- [R] Medial and final position.
- [D] Occurs in all positions.

The phonemes / w / and / y / have allophonic variations as (u) and (i) respectively only when they are non-syllabic and occurring as the second component of the diphthongs.

2.2 DISTRIBUTION OF PHONEMES:

Vowels

All the vowel phonemes in Sadan/ Sadri are not equally distributed in three positions regularly. The distributional pattern of the vowels varies one from the other. The phonemes / i, e, a, u, o / occur regularly in the initial, medial and final positions while, /A/ occurs initially and medially.

/i/

Initial	<i>indrA dhAnus</i>	‘rainbow’
	<i>imAn</i>	‘these’
Medial	<i>dhipAl</i>	‘warm’
	<i>Akil</i>	‘brain’
Final	<i>pipni</i>	‘eyelash’
	<i>dui</i>	‘two’

/e/

Initial	<i>e: hele</i>	‘therefore’
	<i>ekdhāgo</i>	‘once’
Medial	<i>bes</i>	‘polite’
	<i>be Ti</i>	‘daughter’
Final	<i>ek lae</i>	‘alone’

/A/

Initial	<i>Ama:s</i>	‘moonless night’
	<i>AMuThi</i>	‘ring’
Medial	<i>umA:r</i>	‘age’
	<i>ApAM</i>	‘crippled’
	<i>patAr</i>	‘thin’

/a/

Initial	<i>aTa</i>	‘flour’
	<i>aji</i>	‘father’s mother’
	<i>aTh</i>	‘eight’
Medial	<i>pakAl</i>	‘ripe’
	<i>pap</i>	‘sin’
	<i>pawek</i>	‘get’
Final	<i>pala</i>	‘ice’
	<i>beTa</i>	‘son’
	<i>muThka</i>	‘fist’
	<i>murga</i>	‘cock’

/o/

Initial	<i>oTh</i>	‘lip’
	<i>oRhni</i>	‘veil’
Medial	<i>bok Tek</i>	‘bounce’
	<i>bolek</i>	‘speak’
Final	<i>kAkhnoho</i>	‘sometimes’
	<i>kado</i>	‘mud’

/u/

Initial	<i>uRis</i>	‘bed bug’
	<i>umAn</i>	‘they’
	<i>un</i>	‘wool’
	<i>uttAr</i>	‘north’
Medial	<i>AMur</i>	‘grapes’
	<i>pul</i>	‘bridge’
	<i>buRhi</i>	‘old woman’
Final	<i>tAmakhu</i>	‘tobacco’
	<i>daru</i>	‘wine’

Consonants:

The distribution pattern of consonant phonemes in Sadan/Sadri is mostly regular with a few exceptions. Among the stops / *p, ph, b, bh, t, th, d, T, Th, D, k, g, gh* / occur regularly in all the three positions, i.e. initially, medially, and finally. The affricates / *c, ch, j, jh* / are found to occur initially, medially and finally. Among fricatives / *s* / occurs initially, medially and finally.

The labial and alveolar nasals / *m, n* / occur in all the three positions.

The trill and laterals / *r, l* / are found to occur initially, medially and finally.

The cases of exceptions are as follows:

- (1) The stops / *dh, kh* / occur in initial and the medial position only.
- (2) The velar nasal / *M* / and labio-dental semi vowel / *w* / occur medially and finally.
- (3) The palatal semi vowel / *y* / occurs only in the medial position.

/p/

Initial	<i>pAtAi</i>	‘leaf’
	<i>poTu</i>	‘guts’
	<i>pota</i>	‘son’s son’
Medial	<i>dupAhAr</i>	‘noon’
	<i>upre</i>	‘up’
Final	<i>pap</i>	‘sin’
	<i>bap</i>	‘father’

/b/

Initial	<i>bohek</i>	‘carry’
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	<i>bAisla</i>	‘chisel’
	<i>bAkra</i>	‘goat’
Medial	<i>babu</i>	‘boy’
	<i>sembi</i>	‘beans’
Final	<i>dArAb</i>	‘metal’
/t/		
Initial	<i>topek</i>	‘burial’
	<i>takia</i>	‘pillow’
Medial	<i>moti</i>	‘pearl’
	<i>jatek</i>	‘press’
Final	<i>dāt</i>	‘tooth’
	<i>dhurt</i>	‘cunning’
/d/		
Initial	<i>dui</i>	‘two’
	<i>dekhek</i>	‘find’
Medial	<i>kado</i>	‘mud’
	<i>sundar</i>	‘beautiful’
Final	<i>nAnAd</i>	‘husband’s sister’
	<i>cand</i>	‘moon’
/T/		
Initial	<i>TukRa</i>	‘piece’
	<i>ToMri</i>	‘hill’
Medial	<i>TuTek</i>	‘break’
	<i>cimTi</i>	‘ant’
Final	<i>cArpAT</i>	‘clever’
	<i>jhuT</i>	‘dishonest’
/D/		
Initial	<i>Dubek</i>	‘dip’
	<i>DahAr</i>	‘street’

Medial	<i>ghuDDi</i>	‘kite’
	<i>bADhei</i>	‘carpenter’
Final	<i>phēD</i>	‘stem’
	<i>phophAD</i>	‘hollow’
	<i>bAD</i>	‘big’
/c/	<i>/cehra/</i>	‘face’
/j/	<i>/AcrAj/</i>	‘astonished’
/k/		
Initial	<i>kAtari</i>	‘sugarcane’
	<i>kAua</i>	‘crow’
	<i>kApar</i>	‘forehead’
Medial	<i>makra</i>	‘spider’
	<i>khirki</i>	‘window’
Final	<i>kāndek</i>	‘cry’
	<i>kāpek</i>	‘tremble’
	<i>musek</i>	‘smile’
/g/		
Initial	<i>gidh</i>	‘vulture’
	<i>geDe</i>	‘goose’
	<i>gāo</i>	‘village’
Medial	<i>jindgi</i>	‘life’
	<i>murga</i>	‘cock’
/ph/		
Initial	<i>pheTa</i>	‘turban’
	<i>phua</i>	‘father’s sister’
	<i>phul</i>	‘flower’
Medial	<i>phōphAD</i>	‘hollow’
	<i>sApha</i>	‘clean’
	<i>phupha</i>	‘father’s sister’s husband’
Final	<i>saph</i>	‘clean’

/bh/

Initial	<i>bheDa</i>	‘sheep’
	<i>bhüiya</i>	‘floor’
	<i>bhit</i>	‘wall’
Medial	<i>khAubhe</i>	‘very’
	<i>durbhawna</i>	‘worry’
	<i>sAbhe</i>	‘all’
Final	<i>jibh</i>	‘tongue’

/th/

Initial	<i>thukek</i>	‘spit’
	<i>thekAl</i>	‘tired’
	<i>tham</i>	‘pillar’
Medial	<i>nAthia</i>	‘nose ring’
Final	<i>hãth</i>	‘hand’

/dh/

Initial	<i>dhar</i>	‘sharp’
	<i>dhan</i>	‘paddy’
	<i>dhur balu</i>	‘sand’
Medial	<i>AndhAD</i>	‘storm’ (circling)
	<i>kudha</i>	‘heap’
Final	<i>dudh</i>	‘milk’
	<i>sAradh</i>	‘funeral’
	<i>gidh</i>	‘vulture’

/Th/

Initial	<i>ThAhArek</i>	‘wait’
	<i>Thã</i>	‘place’
	<i>ThATha kArek</i>	‘laugh at’
Medial	<i>peThia</i>	‘market’
	<i>hAsiThATha</i>	‘laughter’
	<i>uThek</i>	‘rise’

	<i>tAlhATHi</i>	‘palm’
Final	<i>piTh</i>	‘back’
	<i>oTh</i>	‘lip’
<i>/Dh/</i>		
Initial	<i>Dhila</i>	‘louse’
	<i>Dher</i>	‘many’
	<i>Dholki</i>	‘drum’
Medial	<i>ThAnDha</i>	‘cool’
	<i>koDhia</i>	‘lazy’
Final	<i>pakel muDh</i>	‘grey haired’
	<i>baiDh</i>	‘flood’
<i>/ch/</i>		
Initial	<i>ChAua</i>	‘child’
	<i>Churi</i>	‘knife’
Medial	<i>bercha</i>	‘spear’
	<i>puchek</i>	‘ask’
Final	<i>põich</i>	‘tail of animal’
	<i>gAch</i>	‘tree’
<i>/jh/</i>		
Initial	<i>jhulek</i>	‘swing’
	<i>jhũD</i>	‘bush’
Medial	<i>sijhal</i>	‘boiled rice’
	<i>bujhek</i>	‘understand’
	<i>majhe</i>	‘centre’
Final	<i>sojh</i>	‘straight’
	<i>sãjh</i>	‘evening’
<i>/kh/</i>		
Initial	<i>khisal</i>	‘angry’
	<i>kholek</i>	‘uncover’
	<i>khõTa</i>	‘nest’

Medial	<i>sukhAl</i>	‘dry’
	<i>rakhek</i>	‘put’
Final	<i>aikh</i>	‘eye’
	<i>du:kh</i>	‘sorrow’
	<i>pAkh</i>	‘fort night’
<i>/gh/</i>		
Initial	<i>ghumek</i>	‘travel’
	<i>ghuirlek</i>	‘turn’
	<i>ghao</i>	‘boil/ wound’
Medial	<i>sūghek</i>	‘smell’
	<i>ceMghna</i>	‘chicken’
Final	<i>bagh</i>	‘tiger’
	<i>ja : Mgh</i>	‘thigh’
<i>/m/</i>		
Initial	<i>musa</i>	‘mouse’
	<i>moc</i>	‘moustache’
	<i>moT</i>	‘thick’
	<i>muskek</i>	‘smile’
	<i>mAkra</i>	‘spider’
Medial	<i>u mAr</i>	‘age’
	<i>amba gAch</i>	‘mango tree’
	<i>AmmAt</i>	‘sour’
Final	<i>nim</i>	‘neem’
	<i>pAcchim</i>	‘west’
	<i>kAlAm</i>	‘pen’
<i>/n/</i>		
Initial	<i>nila</i>	‘blue’
	<i>no:h</i>	‘nail’
	<i>neora</i>	‘mongoose’
	<i>nArTi</i>	‘throat’

Medial	<i>pĩ ndhek</i>	‘wear’
	<i>purna</i>	‘old’
	<i>pa ni</i>	‘water’
	<i>pAkhAnd</i>	‘stone’
Final	<i>swadhin</i>	‘free’
	<i>tAnikun</i>	‘few’
	<i>ekhAn</i>	‘now’
<i>/M/</i>		
Initial	<i>maTi</i>	‘clay’
	<i>mameri bAhi :n</i>	‘mother’s brother’s daughter’
Medial	<i>tama:khu</i>	‘tobacco’
	<i>lAmba</i>	‘tall’
<i>/s/</i>		
Initial	<i>suti</i>	‘cotton’
	<i>supli</i>	‘feet’
	<i>suga</i>	‘parrot’
	<i>serso</i>	‘mustard’
	<i>sikri</i>	‘necklace’
Medial	<i>pArsu</i>	‘day before yesterday’
	<i>musRa</i>	‘root’
Final	<i>bes</i>	‘polite’
	<i>sas</i>	‘mother in law’
	<i>bAris</i>	‘year’
<i>/h/</i>		
Initial	<i>hApta</i>	‘week’
	<i>hAr</i>	‘plough’
	<i>hilaek</i>	‘shake’
	<i>hAriAr</i>	‘green’
Medial	<i>pAhil</i>	‘first’
	<i>loha</i>	‘iron’

/l/		
Initial	<i>lAhu</i>	‘blood’
	<i>lewek</i>	‘take’
	<i>lAmba</i>	‘long’
Medial	<i>pAlAk</i>	‘eyelid’
	<i>ekla</i>	‘only’
	<i>bokla</i>	‘bark’
	<i>a:lu</i>	‘potato’
	<i>pilua</i>	‘worm’
	<i>pala</i>	‘dew’
Final	<i>sArAl</i>	‘easy’
	<i>pAckAl</i>	‘rotten’
/r/		
Initial	<i>rãR</i>	‘widower’
	<i>rõã</i>	‘hair of body’
	<i>rAs</i>	‘juice’
Medial	<i>DAra : ek</i>	‘fear’
	<i>DãRa</i>	‘waist’
	<i>ke :ra gAch</i>	‘plantain’
Final	<i>DAhAr</i>	‘street’
	<i>Dhe : r</i>	‘enough’
/w/		
Initial	<i>lawa</i>	‘parched rice’
	<i>awaj</i>	‘noise’
	<i>awek</i>	‘come’
Final	<i>Thãw</i>	‘place’
	<i>se: w</i>	‘apple’
/y/		
Medial	<i>rupAiya</i>	‘money’
	<i>nayi</i>	‘naval’
	<i>kũiya</i>	‘well’

<i>kAniya</i>	‘bride’
<i>Ayna</i>	‘mirror’

2.4 CLUSTERS

Sadan/ Sadri has got two types of clusters-vowel and consonantal. The clusters are mainly of two-member combination in nature.

Vowel clusters

Initial	<i>aig</i>	‘fire’
	<i>aikh</i>	‘eye’
	<i>aij</i>	‘today’
	<i>aur</i>	‘and’
Medial	<i>tyeohar</i>	‘festival’
	<i>põurek</i>	‘swim’
	<i>paejAb</i>	‘anklet’
Final	<i>phua</i>	‘father’s sister’
	<i>eklae</i>	‘alone’

Consonant clusters

There are eighty-eight consonant clusters found in the data of which eight pairs are homogeneous *c c* type and the rest are heterogeneous *c c* type. Almost all the clusters occur only medially except /*cch, pr*/ which occur both initially and medially /*st, nd* and *gh*/ occurring medially and finally.

Medial	<i>pArsu</i>	‘day before yesterday’
	<i>purna</i>	‘old’
	<i>mATTa</i>	‘green ant’
	<i>bAMla</i>	‘building’
	<i>bAisla</i>	‘chisel’
	<i>bokTek</i>	‘pounce’
	<i>bArbad</i>	‘waste’
	<i>bãndek</i>	‘tie’
	<i>balTi</i>	‘basket’
	<i>bhArti</i>	‘full’
	<i>lemDa</i>	‘lame’

	<i>himmAtgAr</i>	‘brave’
	<i>santi</i>	‘peace’
	<i>TuTek</i>	‘break’
	<i>upre</i>	‘above’
	<i>eklae</i>	‘alone’
	<i>AnDa</i>	‘egg’
Final	<i>band</i>	‘shut’
	<i>cand</i>	‘moon’
	<i>nAnAnd</i>	‘husband’s sister’
	<i>dhurt</i>	‘cunning’
Three consonant cluster		
	<i>bAndra</i>	‘monkey’

2.5 SYLLABLES :

A syllable is an utterance of a sound or succession of sounds in a single breath. The syllabic structure of Sadan/Sadri words maybe classed as i) Monosyllabic, ii) Disyllabic, iii) Trisyllabic and iv) Polysyllabic.

All these syllables ending in vowel are of open syllable and those ends in consonants are of closed syllable.

i) Monosyllabic Words

<i>V</i>	-	<i>i</i>	‘this’
<i>CV</i>	-	<i>se</i>	‘by’
<i>CVV</i>	-	<i>gaõ</i>	‘village’
<i>VC</i>	-	<i>ek</i>	‘one’
<i>CVC</i>	-	<i>peT</i>	‘belly’
<i>CVCC</i>	-	<i>beMg</i>	‘frog’

ii) Disyllabic Words

<i>V.CCV</i>	<i>Ayna</i>	‘mirror’
<i>VC.CV</i>	<i>upre</i>	‘up, above’
<i>VC.CV</i>	<i>AMri</i>	‘finger’
<i>CV.CV</i>	<i>poTa</i>	‘liver’
<i>CVC.CV</i>	<i>pAnja</i>	‘claw’

<i>CVCC.CV</i>	<i>pAnjra</i>	‘rib’
<i>V.CVC</i>	<i>imAn</i>	‘these’
<i>CV.CVC</i>	<i>purub</i>	‘east’
<i>CV.VC</i>	<i>tiAn</i>	‘vegetable’
<i>CVC.CVC</i>	<i>kumhar</i>	‘potter’

iii) Tri-syllabic Words

<i>V.CCV.CV</i>	<i>ekdhāgo</i>	‘once’
<i>VC.CVC.CCV</i>	<i>AM gutThi</i>	‘ring’
<i>CV.CV.CV</i>	<i>pAhAla</i>	‘first’

iv) Polysyllabic Words

<i>V.CV.CV.VC</i>	<i>ekeniAr</i>	‘same’
<i>VC.CCV.CCV.CV</i>	<i>inDrAdhAnu</i>	‘rainbow’
<i>CV.CVC.CV.CV</i>	<i>pAhaRtAri</i>	‘valley’
<i>CV.CV.CV.V</i>	<i>bimAria</i>	‘sick’

3. MORPHOLOGY

Word Formation

Reduplication

Reduplication is a word formation process. The words are reduplicated in Sadri to form adjective, non-finite verb, adverbs.

u bhat khate khate suit gelAk 'While eating he slept.'

peThiya me burua burua lichi mile 'Sweet litchis are available in the market.'

However, the phoneme [b] occurs as an echo-formative in Sadri as;

bAgica me rAng birAng bes bes phul ahe 'Nice and colourful flowers are in the garden.'

u muke pAisa bAisa kono ni dela 'He did not give me any money etc.'

The reduplication also occurs with compound formation in Sadri as;

ukAr ThAn Dheir dhAn sAmpAd a:he 'He has lots of money'.

3.1. Noun Morphology

3.1.1. Noun

Sadri nouns are characterized by (i) Number, (ii) Gender and (iii) Case.

i) Number:

Nouns have two numbers, viz, Singular and Plural. In case of human being base form denotes singular number while plurality is marked by the use of *-mAn* to the base.

Examples:

Singular		Plural	
<i>admi</i>	'man'	<i>admimAn</i>	'men'
<i>beTa</i>	'son'	<i>beTamAn</i>	'sons'
<i>chAua</i>	'child'	<i>chAuamAn</i>	'children'

In case of non-human, plurality is determined by the prefixed phrasal use of the *Dheir*, *bAhut* - and *bAgra* to the base. Examples:

Singular		Plural	
<i>gAch</i>	'tree'	<i>Dheir gAch</i>	'many trees'
<i>cArAi</i>	'bird'	<i>cArAiman</i>	'many birds'
<i>Kukur</i>	'dog'	<i>Dheir kukur</i>	'many dogs'
<i>kaThi</i>	'stick'	<i>bAgra kaThi</i>	'many sticks'
<i>pAkhAn</i>	'stone'	<i>Dheir pAkhna</i>	'many stones'

Most of the inanimate nouns are distinguished on the basis of their shape, size or volume and for the same *-i* marker denotes the diminutive objects, e.g.

TaMa ‘big axe’ *TaM-i* ‘small axe’

ii) Gender

Sadri nouns are distinguished by natural genders. Grammatically, except the lexical level such genderisation is not significant.

A few nouns are having *-a*, *-i* (for masculine) and *-i*, *-in* (for feminine), markers and the rest are determined by the use of two different words.

1. Lexical gender with two different lexicons operative for the natural pairs in human and non-human nouns are listed below:

Masculine		Feminine	
<i>admi</i>	‘man’	<i>jAnana</i>	‘woman’
<i>sAsur</i>	‘father-in-law’	<i>sas</i>	‘mother-in-law’
<i>bap</i>	‘father’	<i>ma</i>	‘mother’
<i>bhai</i>	‘brother’	<i>bAhin</i>	‘sister’
<i>kaDa</i>	‘he-buffalo’	<i>kaDi</i>	‘she-buffalo’
<i>sadh</i>	‘ox/bull’	<i>gai</i>	‘cow’

ii) Lexical gender with *-a*, *-i* (masc.) *-i*, *-in* (fem.) grammatical difference such as *-a*, *-i* for masculine and *-i*, *-in* for feminine is listed below:

Masculine		Feminine	
<i>nana</i>	‘grandfather’(maternal)	<i>nani</i>	‘grandmother’ (maternal)
<i>aja/dada</i>	‘grandfather’ (paternal)	<i>aji/dadi</i>	‘grandmother’ (paternal)
<i>mama</i>	‘maternal uncle’	<i>mami</i>	‘maternal aunt’
<i>ghoDa</i>	‘horse’	<i>ghoDi</i>	‘mare’
<i>murga</i>	‘cock’	<i>murgi</i>	‘hen’
<i>dulha</i>	‘bridegroom’	<i>dulhin</i>	‘bride’
<i>nati</i>	‘grandson’	<i>natin</i>	‘granddaughter’

iii) Case

A noun in Sadan/Sadri is distinguished by six cases. There are nominative (Nom), Accusative/Dative (Acc./Dat.), Instrumental (Instr.), Ablative (Abl), Genitive (Gen.) and Locative (Loc.) of the six cases, Nominative is the base form and the rest have specific case markers. Below are discussed for the use of case markers.

Cases.		Examples	
<i>Nom</i>		<i>ram</i>	‘Ram’
<i>Acc/Dat</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>ram-ke</i>	‘to Ram’
<i>Instr.</i>	<i>-se</i>	<i>churi-se</i>	‘by/with a knife’
<i>Abl.</i>	<i>-se, -le</i>	<i>ghar-se</i>	‘from house’
<i>Gen.</i>	<i>-ker, -kr</i>	<i>ram-ker</i>	‘of Ram’
		<i>nadike-r</i>	‘of the river’ (used in open syllabic base)
<i>Loc.</i>	<i>-me, -e</i>	<i>ghar-me</i>	‘in the house’
		<i>ghAr-e</i>	‘in the house’
		<i>gAch-e</i>	‘in the tree’

3.1.2. Post Positions

Postpositions in Sadan/Sadri may be classed under different heads, viz.

1. Nominal post positions- follow a noun, pronoun or a verbal noun.

Post Positions		Examples	
<i>sath</i>	‘with’	<i>ikAr sath</i>	‘with it’
<i>jAgAn</i>	‘near’	<i>khet jAgAn</i>	‘near the field’
<i>le khatir</i>	‘for’	<i>kale khatir</i>	‘for what purpose’
		<i>dudin khator</i>	‘for two days’

Adverbial post position-follows an adverb e.g.

Post Position		Example	
<i>bATe</i>	‘towards’	<i>bhitre bATe</i>	‘towards inside’
<i>sath/sAMge</i>	‘with’	<i>eke sath/sAMge</i>	‘along with’

3.1.3. PRONOUN

Pronominal forms of Sadan/Sadri may be categorized into four, viz., Personal, Demonstrative, Interrogative, and Relative pronouns.

The personal pronouns are distinguished by two tier number markers, three-tier case markers and three-tier person markers.

Below are presented the personal pronominal declension of Sadan/Sadri in chart form.

Personal Pronoun

Declensional Pattern

(a) Base + Case marker for the singular number.

(b) Base + Plural marker + Case marker for the plural number.

Cases	1st person		2nd person		3rd person	
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
<i>Nom.</i>	<i>ham</i> <i>moe</i> 'I'	<i>hamin</i> , <i>hAmre-</i> <i>mAn-</i> 'we'	<i>tõe</i> 'you'	<i>tohremAn</i> 'you'	<i>u</i> 'he'	<i>umAn</i> 'they'
<i>Oblique</i>	<i>hamke</i> , <i>moke</i> 'to me'	<i>hAmre</i> <i>mAnke</i> 'to us'	<i>toke</i> 'to you/them'	<i>tohremAn</i> <i>ke</i> 'to you'	<i>uke</i> 'to him'	<i>umAnke</i> 'to them'
<i>Gen.</i>	<i>hamAr</i> <i>mor</i> 'my,mine'	<i>haminkAr</i> <i>hamnik</i> <i>hAmremAn</i> <i>kAr</i> 'our, of us'	<i>tohAr</i> 'your'	<i>tohremAn</i> <i>-kAr</i> 'your'	<i>ukAr</i> 'his'	<i>umAnkAr</i> 'their'

Demonstrative Pronoun

Demonstrative pronouns in Sadan/Sadri are declined only for number and case. The demonstrative pronoun pronominal forms are of two types, viz.,

- (i) Proximate denoting close-or-nearness, and
- (ii) Remote denoting distance.

Below are the two types of demonstrative pronouns declined for number and case:

Cases	Proximate		Remote	
	Sg.	Pl.	Sg.	Pl.
<i>Nom.</i>	<i>i</i> 'this'	<i>imAn</i> 'these'	<i>u</i> 'that'	<i>umAn</i> 'those'
<i>Oblique</i>	<i>i ke</i> 'to this'	<i>imAn ke</i> 'to these'	<i>uke</i> 'to that'	<i>umAnke</i> 'to those'
<i>Gen.</i>	<i>ikAr</i> 'of this'	<i>imAnkAr</i> 'of these'	<i>ukAr</i> 'of that'	<i>umAnk</i> 'of those'

Interrogative and Relative Pronouns:

Like demonstrative pronouns the interrogative and relative pronouns are also declined for number and case.

The declensional action of the interrogative and relative pronouns is presented in tabular form below.

	Interrogative Pronouns		Relative Pronouns	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
<i>Nom.</i>	<i>ke</i> 'who' <i>kon</i> 'who', 'which' <i>ka, kae</i> 'what'	<i>kemAn</i> 'who'	<i>je</i> 'who/that'	<i>jemAn</i> 'who'
<i>Oblique.</i>	<i>ke ke</i> 'to whom'	<i>kemAnke</i> 'to whom'	<i>jeke</i> 'to whom'	<i>jemAnke</i> 'to whom'
<i>Gen.</i>	<i>kekAr</i> 'whose'	<i>kemAnkAr</i> 'whose'	<i>jekAr</i> 'whose'	<i>jemAnkAr</i> 'whose'

General statement on the formation of the pronominal declensions:

The formation of the pronominal declension is base + number + case.

The pronominal bases are:

Personal – *ham, mo* (1st p. sg.); *to* (2nd p. sg.); *u* (3rd p. sg.)

hAmre (1st p. sg.); *toh/tohre* (2nd p. pl.)

Demonstrative – *i* (proximate); *u* (remote)

Interrogative – *ke, kon, ka*

Relative – *je*

These pronominal bases when declined in numbers and cases are given in the following formation.

Personal	1st P	2nd P	3rd P
Nom. Sg.	<i>ham + Φ</i>	<i>to +-e</i>	<i>u + Φ</i>
	<i>mo + e</i>		
<i>Pl</i>	<i>ham + in</i>	<i>toh -+- in</i>	<i>u + - khin</i>
	<i>hAmre + mAn</i>	<i>tohre -+- mAn</i>	<i>u + - mAn</i>
Personal	1st P	2nd P	3rd P

<i>Obl. Sg.</i>	<i>ham +- ke</i>	<i>to +- ke</i>	<i>u +- ke</i>
	<i>mo +- ke</i>		
<i>Pl.</i>	<i>ham +- in -+ ke</i>	<i>toh +- in +- ke</i>	<i>u + khin + - ke</i>
		<i>tohre +- mAn +- ke</i>	<i>u + - mAn + - ke</i>
<i>Gen. Sg.</i>	<i>ham +- Ar</i>	<i>to +- r</i>	<i>u +- kAr</i>
	<i>mo +- r</i>		
<i>Pl.</i>	<i>ham +- in -+ kAr</i>	<i>toh +- in - + kAr</i>	<i>u +- khin -+ kAr</i>
	<i>ham +- in > ni +- k</i>	<i>tohre +- mAn +</i>	<i>u + - mAn -+ kAr</i>
		<i>kAr.</i>	

Demonstrative Pronoun:

	Proximate	Remote
<i>Nom. Sg.</i>	<i>i +- Φ</i>	<i>u +- Φ</i>
<i>Pl.</i>	<i>i +- mAn</i>	<i>u +- mAn</i>
<i>Obl. Sg.</i>	<i>i +- ke</i>	<i>u +- ke</i>
<i>Pl.</i>	<i>i +- mAn +- ke</i>	<i>u +- mAn +- ke</i>
<i>Gen. Sg.</i>	<i>i +- kAr</i>	<i>u +- kAr</i>
<i>Pl.</i>	<i>i +- mAn -+- kAr</i>	<i>u +- mAn -+- kAr</i>

Interrogative Pronoun

Relative Pronoun

<i>Nom. sg. ke, kon + Φ</i>	<i>je +- Φ</i>
<i>ka + e</i>	
<i>pl. ke -+- mAn</i>	<i>je +- mAn</i>
<i>Obl. Sg. ke +- ke</i>	<i>je +- ke</i>
<i>pl. ke +- mAn -+- ke</i>	<i>je +- mAn +- ke</i>
<i>Gen. sg. ke + kAr</i>	<i>je +- kAr</i>
<i>ka +- kAr</i>	
<i>pl. ke +- mAn + kAr</i>	<i>je +- mAn -+ kAr</i>

Note:

In plural number the markers

i) – *in* occurs after consonant ending base

ii) – *mAn* occurs after the vowel ending base

In Genitive case the markers –

- i) – *Ar* occurs after the consonant ending base
- ii) – *r*, and –*k* occurs after vowel ending base

3.1.4. ADJECTIVES

The adjective in Sadan/Sadri acts as attributives which occurs immediately by preceding the nouns these are never inflected for number, gender and case. Semantically, the adjectives are of (a) qualitative and (b) quantitative types. Below are cited examples:

a) Qualitative adjectives: These refer to the qualities or state of the person or an objects:

<i>kasa phAl</i>	‘bitter fruit’
<i>dhurt siar</i>	‘cunning fox’
<i>bADe mAkan</i>	‘big building’
<i>bes ghoDa</i>	‘good horse, beautiful horse’
<i>nawa luga</i>	‘new cloth’

b) Quantitative adjectives: These indicate measurement of quantities of the objects:

<i>Dher/Dheir~besi~bAhut, cArAi</i>	‘many birds’
<i>tAnik/tAni pani</i>	‘some water’
<i>kuch khaek</i>	‘some food’

The qualitative adjectives are sometimes being added the markers– *kAn* and –*Al*, –*wAl* while the quantitative use only –*kAn*.

Qualitative adjectives

– <i>kAn</i>	<i>nankAn</i>	‘short’
– <i>Al</i> , – <i>wAl</i>	<i>sukhAl</i>	‘dry’
	<i>durbaAl/dubrawAl</i>	‘weak, thin’
	<i>motawAl</i>	‘fat’

Quantitative adjectives:

– <i>kAn</i>	<i>tAnikAn</i>	‘a little’
	<i>bAhut kAn</i>	‘a large number’

3.1.4.1. NUMERALS

The numerals are the adjectival qualifying the nominals those immediately follow in the structure. Like adjectives, the numerals are not inflected in numbers, genders and cases.

The numerals in Sadan/Sadri are semantically classed into cardinals, ordinals, aggregative and multiplications. To exemplify the numeral-types:

Cardinals

The cardinal numerals in Sadan/Sadri are similar to other Indo-Aryan languages with phonological modification e.g.

<i>ek</i>	‘one’
<i>dui</i>	‘two’
<i>tin</i>	‘three’
<i>cair</i>	‘four’
<i>pãc</i>	‘five’
<i>chAo</i>	‘six’
<i>sat</i>	‘seven’
<i>aTh</i>	‘eight’
<i>nAo</i>	‘nine’
<i>dAs</i>	‘ten’
<i>ek koRi</i>	‘twenty’
<i>pãckoRi</i>	‘hundred’

Numbers from one 1 to 10 (ten) and 20 (twenty) are free forms. Numbers beyond 10 (ten) i.e. from 11 (eleven) to 19 and 21 and beyond are compound formations by means of addition, or multiplication, e.g.

<i>dAsek</i>	‘eleven’
<i>dAspao</i>	‘fifteen’ (15)
<i>dAsnAo</i>	‘nineteen’ (19)
<i>ekkoRicair</i>	‘twenty-four’ (24)
<i>duikoRi pãc</i>	‘forty-five’ (45) etc.

Thus ‘*koRi*’ ‘twenty’ is the unit of counting the numbers beyond twenty.

Ordinals

The ordinals are formed by adding the markers - *Ala*; -*ra~Ar*; and to the ordinals, e.g.;

- <i>ila</i> , after <i>ek/pAh</i> , <i>pAhila</i>	‘first’
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- ra ~ Ar; after 'dui' > dus : dusra dusAr	'second'
after tin > tis : tisra tisAr	'three'
wã:	satwã; 'seventh'
	dAswã 'tenth'

Aggregative

The aggregative is formed with marker – ã. Examples:

du i ã ~ duno	'both'; hAjarã	'in thousands'
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Multiplicative

The multiplicative is added to the markers – bhãj; - hi sa, -dhão, -siki/suka and – pao/pAuwa meaning fold; share, turn, part of coin, and weight respectively, e.g.

-bhãj	cair bhaj	'four-fold'
-hisa	ek hisa	'one part or share'
- dhão	du dhao	'twice'
-sika	tin sika	'3/4 of a rupee'
-pao	tin pao	'3/4 of a seer'

Fractions

Fractions are either formed of single word or by compound forms or phrases e.g.

Single Words:

Adha/khaDa	'1/2'	'half'
DeRh	'1.1/5'	'one and a half'
ARhai	'2.1/2'	'two and a half'
sAwa	'1.1/4'	'one and a quarter'

Compound Words:

sAwa dui	'2.1/4'	'two and a quarter'
saDhe tin	'3.1/2'	'three and a half'

3.1.4.2. Classifiers:

The classifiers may be grouped as definite and non-definite types.

-hAr 'the' – the definite type referring to the noun in particular e.g.

rajahAr	'the king';	admihAr	'the man'
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-go 'a' – the non-definite type referring to the noun in general:

ego kisan 'a farmer' *ego ruTi* 'one piece of bread'

-jhAn 'one' – the non-definite type referring to the noun for humans e.g.

ekjhAn admi 'one man'

-Tho 'one' – the non-definite-type referring to the noun for non-human e.g.

ekTho kukur 'a dog' *ekTho siar* 'a jackal' *ekTho gAch* 'a tree'

3.2. VERB MORPHOLOGY

3.2.1. VERBS

The verb roots in Sadan/Sadri are of monosyllabic – and – disyllabic – types.

The monosyllabic roots are patterned in six:-

v, *vc*, *vcc*, *cv*, *cvc* and *cvcc*.

v / *a* / 'come'

vc / *an* / 'bring'; / *uTh* / 'rise'

cv / *pi* / 'drink'; / *ja* / 'go'; / *de* / 'give'; / *kha* / 'eat'; / *dho* / 'wash'.

cvc / *kAr* / 'do'; / *phũk* / 'blow'; / *bAh* / 'carry'; / *bhũk* / 'bark'; / *kaT* / 'cut' etc.

cvcc / *band* / 'shut'; / *sAmjh* / 'understand'; / *pichr* / 'slip'; / *sAmjh* / 'understand';
/ *bhang* / 'break' etc.

The disyllabic types

The disyllabic roots as *cvv*, *cvvc*, *cvcv* *cvcvc*

cvv / *khia* / 'feed'

cvvc / *pAis* / 'send'; / *bAiTh* / 'sit' / *puich* / 'ask'

cvcv / *jana* / 'inform'; / *jAga* / 'awake'; / *bAca* / 'save'; / *dAba* / 'break'
/ *nA ha* / 'bath' etc.

cvcvc / *samal* / 'enter'; / *dular* / 'love'; / *TAhAl* / 'travel' etc.

cvccvc / *dul dul* / 'swing'

The categories of verbs

The verbs in Sadan/Sadri may be categorized into: 1) Auxiliary, 2) Simple, 3) Continuous, 4) Participle, 5) Compound, 6) Imperative and 7) Causative.

3.2.2 AUXILIARY VERB TYPE:

The paradigmatic set of auxiliary verb / *ho* / 'to be' in Sadan/Sadri is structured as Base + Tense + Person marker (for the present and future tenses) (Base + TM + PM) and Base + Tense Marker included + person (Base + TM + PM). Below are presented the paradigmatic set of the auxiliary verb / *ho* / 'to be' in tabular form:

	Present	Future	Past
	Base + TM + PM	Base + TM + PM	Base + TM + PM
1 st p.sg	<i>ho + -k-t- i</i>	<i>ho +-Ab +- Φ</i>	<i>rAh - t - i</i>
pl.	<i>ho + - k +-i</i>	<i>ho +- Ab +- Φ</i>	<i>rAh - t - i</i>
2 nd p.sg.	<i>ho+ -k-t- is</i>	<i>ho +- Ab + -e</i>	<i>rAh +- is</i>
pl.	<i>ho +- k + A</i>	<i>ho +- Ab +- o</i>	<i>rAh +- A</i>
3 rd p.sg.	<i>ho +- k +- e</i>	<i>ho +- i +- Φ</i>	<i>rAh +- e</i>
pl.	<i>ho +- k +- Ë</i>	<i>ho +- Ab +- oi</i>	<i>rAh +- Ë</i>

From the table are derived the following:

- a) Tense marker:
- Present *-k-*
 - Future *-Ab-*
 - i-* (3p.sg.)
 - Past *-rA-*

- b) Person markers

	Present	Future	Past
1 st p.sg.+pl.	<i>-i</i>	<i>-Φ</i>	<i>-i</i>
2 nd p.sg.	<i>-is</i>	<i>-e</i>	<i>-is</i>
pl.	<i>-A</i>	<i>-o</i>	<i>-A</i>
3 rd p.sg.	<i>-e</i>	<i>-Φ</i>	<i>-e</i>
pl.	<i>-Ë</i>	<i>-oi</i>	<i>-Ë</i>

3.2.3 SIMPLE VERB

The paradigmatic set for the simple verb as seen in the data is distinguished by person, number and tense and the structure is base + tense marker + auxiliary + person marker + number marker.

Below are presented the paradigmatic set of the simple verbs /ja/ 'to go' and /dekh/ 'to see'

1 st p. present

sg.	pl.
<i>ja - ja - - At > + ho > h + A</i>	<i>ja - - - At > t + ho > h + - i</i>
<i>dekh - dekh + - At > t + ho > h + \tilde{A}</i>	<i>dekh + - At > t + ho > h + - i</i>

Past

sg.	pl.
<i>ja - ge + - l - + Φ - + - \tilde{A}</i>	<i>ge - + - l - + - Φ - + - i</i>
<i>dekh - dekh + - l - + - Φ + - \tilde{A}</i>	<i>dekh - + - l - + - Φ - + - e</i>

Future

sg.	pl.
<i>ja - ja - + - m + Φ - + u</i>	<i>ja - - - Ab > b + - Φ - + - e</i>

<i>ja - + - Ab > b + - Φ</i>	
<i>dekh - dekh - + - m - + Φ - + u ~</i>	<i>dekh - + - Ab > b + - Φ - + - e</i>
<i>dekh - + - Ab > b + - Φ</i>	

2 nd p. Present

sg.	pl.
<i>ja - ja - + At > t + ho > h + is</i>	<i>ja - - - At > t + - ho > h + - A</i>
<i>dekh - dekh - + At > t + ho > h + is</i>	<i>dekh - + - At > t + - ho > h + - A</i>

3 rd p. Past

sg.	pl.
<i>ja - ge - + - l - + - Φ + - is</i>	<i>ge - + - l - + - Φ - + - A</i>
<i>dekh - dekh - + - l - + - Φ + - is</i>	<i>dekh - + - l - + - Φ - + - A</i>

Future

Sg.	pl.
<i>ja - ja - + - Ab > b + - Φ - + - e</i>	<i>ja - + - Ab > b + - Φ</i>
<i>dekh - dekh - + - Ab > b + - Φ - + e</i>	<i>dekh - + - Ab > b + - Φ</i>

From the table are derived the following:

a) Modification of the base *ja - > ge -* in the past tense

b) Tense markers

Present – $At - t$ – (in all persons) because of morpho-phonemic change

Past – l – (in all persons)

Future – $Ab - b$ – (1 st sg. + pl; 2 nd sg. + pl + 3rd pl) because of

- m – (1 st sg) morphophonemic change

- Φ – (3 rd sg)

c) Auxiliary markers

Present– $ho - > h$ – because of morphophonemic change

Past/future – Φ –

d) Person markers

	present	past	future
1 st p. sg. –	\tilde{A}	- \tilde{A}	- $u, -\Phi$
pl. –	i	- i	- e
2 nd p. sg. –	is	- is	- e
pl. –	A	- A	- Φ
3 rd p. sg. –	e	- Ak	- i
pl.	\tilde{e}	- \tilde{e}	- oi

3.2.4 CONTINUOUS VERB-TYPE

The continuous verb-type may be analyzed as the following:

Base + Participle + Continuous marker + Tense marker + Auxiliary marker + Person marker.

The paradigmatic set of the base / ja / ‘to go’ may be presented as follows:

1st p. Present

sg.	pl.
$ja - + - t - + - rAh -$	$ja - + - t - + - rAh - At >$
$+ At > t - + ho > h + \tilde{e}$	$t + ho > h + i$

Past

sg.	pl.
$ja - + - t - + rAh -$	$ja - + - t - + - rAh - + - l$
$+ - l - + - \Phi - + \tilde{A}$	$+ - \Phi - + - i$

Future

sg.	pl.
<i>ja - + - t - + - rAh -</i>	<i>ja - + - t - + - rAh - + Ab > b</i>
<i>+ Ab - > b + - Φ + Φ</i>	<i>+ - Φ - + - e</i>
<i>+ - m - + - Φ - + u</i>	

2nd p. present

sg.	pl.
<i>ja - + - t - + - rAh -</i>	<i>ja - + - t - + - rAh -</i>
<i>+ - At > t + + ho > h + is</i>	<i>+ At > t - + ho > h + - A</i>

Past

sg.	pl.
<i>ja - + - t - + - rAh -</i>	<i>ja - + - t - + - rAh - +</i>
<i>t - l - + - Φ - + - is</i>	<i>- l - + - Φ - + A</i>

Future

sg.	pl.
<i>ja - + - t - + - rAh -</i>	<i>ja - + - t - + - rAh -</i>
<i>+ - Ab - > b - + - Φ - + - e</i>	<i>+ - Ab > b + Φ + - o</i>

3rd p. Present

sg.	pl.
<i>ja - + - t - + - rAh -</i>	<i>ja - + - t - + rAh - +</i>
<i>+ - At - > t + ho > h + - e</i>	<i>- At > t - + - ho > h - + ã</i>

Past

<i>ja - + - t - + - rAh - + l - + e</i>	<i>ja - + - t - + - rAh - +</i>
	<i>- l - + Φ - + - ã</i>

Future

<i>ja - + - t - + - rAh -</i>	<i>ja - + - t - + - rAh</i>
<i>+ - Φ - + - Φ - + - i</i>	<i>+ - Ab > b - + Φ + - oi</i>

From the table are divided the following.

- a) Tense markers - At - - t - (present) because of morphophonemic change
 - l - (past)

		- <i>Ab</i> , - <i>b</i> – (Future) because of morphophonemic change
		- Φ – (3 rd p. sg.)
b)	Auxiliary marker	- <i>ho</i> - > <i>h</i> – (in present) because of morphophonemic change - - (in past + Future)
c)	Continuous marker	- <i>rAh</i> –
d)	Participle marker	- <i>t</i> –
e)	Person marker	Present Past Future
	1 st p. sg.	- \tilde{A} - \tilde{A} - Φ , - <i>u</i>
	pl.	- <i>i</i> - <i>i</i> - <i>e</i>
	2 nd p. sg.	- <i>is</i> - <i>is</i> - <i>e</i>
	pl.	- <i>A</i> - <i>A</i> - <i>o</i>
	3 rd p. sg.	- <i>e</i> - <i>e</i> - <i>i</i>
	pl.	-- \tilde{e} - \tilde{e} - <i>oi</i>

The continuous verb-type may also be treated as a type of compound formation as main

Verb + Auxiliary.

3.2. 5. PARTICIPLE VERB TYPE

The participial verb type is formed conjugating the participle marker with the base. Thus, the structure is – Base + Participle marker – *e*, -*Al* /-*l* and –*Ak*.

The formations may be exemplified as:

Base + Participle marker – *e* (in the sense of compound verb formation)

ja - + - *e in* / *jae delAk* / ‘allowed to go’

khoj + - *e in* / *khoje laglAk* / ‘began to search’

kha - + - *e in* / *khaet cahathe* / ‘wants to eat’

Base + participle marker – *At* (in the sense of imperfective)

/ *bA iTh At* / in / *bAiThAt rAhAlA* / ‘remained on sitting’

/ *jat* / in / *jat rAhAlA* / ‘remained on moving/going or keep on going’

Base + Participle marker – *l* (in the sense of perfective)

/ *thAk –Al* / in / *w/bAhut thAkAl he* / ‘he is too tired’

/ *bAiTh –Al* / in / *ekjhAn hīa bAiThAl he* / ‘one man is seated here’

Base + Participle marker - *ek* (in the sense of infinitive)

/ la – ek / in / u pani laek khatir gelAk / ‘He went to bring water’

/ ghum – ek / in / hamAr bap ghumek khatir bahAre gelAk /

‘My father went out for a walk’

3.2.6. COMPOUND VERB TYPE

Compound verb in Sadan/Sadri are combination of two verb forms of which the basic verbs from the second component of the construction and the first component being the present or past participial formation. Thus, the structures are:

1. Non-finite (pres. pcpl) + Finite verb

khat rAh ‘keep eating’

2. Non-finite (past pcpl) + Finite verb

To exemplify the structures: *uThai lelAk* ‘lifted up’

pAkeiD lelAk ‘hold up’

1. Non-finite (pres. pcpl) + Finite verb

jae delAk ‘(he) allowed to go’

tode kAh Al Ak ‘(he) asked to break’

2. Non finite (past pcpl) + finite verb

cAil gelAk ‘(he) went away’

Duib gelAk ‘(he) get drowned’

3.2.7. IMPERATIVE VERB-TYPES

The Imperative verb-types in Sadan/Sadri are available in the second person in the present and future tenses. Thus, the structure is:

Base + Imperative – Φ (Present). –*be* (Future)

e.g.

Base + - Φ

diwar jAgAu ThaDe rAh ‘Stand near the wall’

bAksa baTe mAit dekh ‘Don’t look at the box’

hamAr TaMa bhuĩ a me rakh ‘keep my axe on the ground’

Base + - *be*

kumbaker bahAre mAit rAhA be 'Do not stay outside the hut'
ja, ghAr bhitre bAiTh be 'go and sit in the room'

himmAt mAit choD be 'Don't lose your courage'

3.2.8. CAUSATIVE VERB TYPE

The causative verb types in Sadan/Sadri are formed as the simple verbs with infixed causative marker *-aw-* after the base. Thus, the structure is Base + Causative – *aw-* + tense – marker + Auxiliary marker + person marker.

To exemplify the formation of causative verbs:

<i>dekhawA thĀ</i>	'I saw'
<i>dekhawA this</i>	'you show'
<i>khiawA thĀ</i>	'I feed'
<i>khiawA thi</i>	'I shall feed'
<i>dekhawA thi</i>	'I shall show'

3.3. PARTICLES

The particles used in Sadan/Sadri may be of five types:

1. Affirmative Particle : *hā* 'yes'
2. Negative Particle : *ni~mAit* 'not'
3. Emphatic particle with marker – *e:kuch – e* 'some'
sAbh – e 'all'
khub – e 'more'
4. Connective or additive particle: *aur* 'and'; *lekin~muda* 'but'
AgAr 'if'; *tAk* 'till'; *je* 'that'

5. Infinitive particle with – *e* or – *ek*

<i>dekhek</i>	'to see';	<i>piek</i>	'to drink'
<i>dekhe cahela</i>	'wanted to see'		
<i>jae delAk</i>	'allowed to go'		

isAn kahlse ka:le uke dukh laig gelAk 'While saying he became sad.'

3.4. ADVERBS:

The adverbs in Sadan/Sadri which are semantically classified into a) adverb of time, b) adverb of place c) adverb of number which are grammatically modifiers of the verbs invariably preceding the verbs in construction.

Of the three types of adverbs, those referring to adverb of manner have reduplicated or the '-e' marker is used to denote strong emphasis to the action of the verb:

a) Adverb of time: *aij* 'today', *kail* 'tomorrow', *ekhAn* 'now', *bitAl rait* 'last night'

b) Adverb of place: *hãa* 'here', *hũa* 'there', *kÕha* 'where', *cair baTe* 'everywhere'

c) Adverb of manner: *tA Dke* 'quickly', *teje* 'fast', *turte* 'hastily'; *suste suste* 'slowly', *cupe cupe* 'secretly'.

4. SYNTAX

4.1. WORD ORDER IN SENTENCES

In Sadan/Sadri, the word order is subject + object + verb (SVO).

Example:

ego kAua bhi ohe gAch upre rAheLA
one crow also that tree up lived

Subject

ego kAua bhi 'One crow also'

Object

ohe gAch upre 'that tree up'

Verb

rAheLA 'lived'

4.2. TYPES OF SENTENCES

The sentence patterns such as simple, complex and compound are all available in Sadan/Sadri.

4.2.1. SIMPLE SENTENCE

1) *dAkhin bATe sAhar ke nAji :g ekTho ghAn pAtra/bAn he*
south side city to near one thick forest is

'There is a thick forest near south of the city'

2) *ukAr me (AgAm) cArAi ApAnkhota me rAheLA*
there one sparrow own nest in lived

'There one sparrow lived in his own nest'

4.2.2. COMPLEX SENTENCE

Complex sentence is formed by tabu 'after that' a phrasal marking word.

1) *tab u bAr gAchme aike sAb cArAi mAnke u sikarike*
after that banyan tree come all birds that hunter

bareme bAtalAk

matter told

'After reaching the banyan tree the crow informed to all birds that a hunter has come'

2) *i badmas admi jArur hamAr u : bAr gAch me cArAimAn*
 this mischievous man sure our that banyan tree in birds
je rAhenA umAn kehẽ bAjhawe jathe
 who stays that kill go

‘This mischievous man will certainly go to our Banyan tree where the birds are staying to kill those birds’

4.2.3. COMPOUND SENTENCE

The two independent clauses are connected with a connector Aur ‘and’.

1) *sikari bAr gAch jÃn pÃhucke ApAn jalke gAchke tAre*
 hunter banyan tree reached now net tree down
roipdelek aur caur chiT delAk
 stretched and rice spread

‘The hunter reached the Banyan tree now under (which) he stretched the net and sprinkled the rice’

2) *ek din bihanbera jAb u kAua cara khoje jat rAhe to*
 one day afternoon time that crow eat to search went that time
dekhIAk ki ekTho sikari hãth me jal lele rAhe
 found what one hunter hand net carried

‘On one afternoon time a crow was going to search for the food found that time a hunter was carrying a net on his hand’.

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6. SADAN /SADRI TEXT

How the female crow killed the black snake.

medi kAua kAria sāpke ka kAre marlAk

A crow and his wife lived in the branch of a big banyan tree.

ego kAua Aur ukar jani bAr gAchkar Dairmẽ rAhAt rAhẽ

They built a nest there.

umAne huā ego khota bAnaye rAhẽ

There were four eggs in the nest.

umAnkAr cairgo aDā ohe khotamẽ rehe

The parents guarded the eggs with great care

u mai bap u aDā mAnke bADa sAmiTke rAkhat rAhẽ

A black snake also lived in the same tree.

ego kAria sāp ohe gAchmẽ rAhAt rehe.

Those birds were very much scared of it.

u cArAimAn ukArse bAhut DARat rehẽ

Every time there were eggs, the snake crawled up to the nest and ate all the eggs.

sAubkhan huā aDāmAn hot rehe Aur sāp upAr ceDke khotase aDāmAnke khaye det rAhe.

The female crow told the husband, “if the black snake comes and eat up my eggs this time also, I do not live in this tree anymore”

*medi kAua apAn dulhase kAhAlAk AgAr i kAria sap alAk Aur isnehe hamAr
aDāmAnke*

khatreho hAle mAe i gAchmẽ Aur ni rAhAmũ

.

We should go somewhere and build our nest.

hAmre mAnke Aur kAhõ jaeke apAn khota bAnaek cahi.

The crow said, we have lived here for a long time. I cannot leave this place and go anywhere.

u kAua kAhAlAk hAmre mAn hiã/ija Dheir dinse rAhAthi sele moe Aur kAhõ ni jaab .

While they were still talking they heard a hissing sound.

jAkhan umAne bolAt rAhe se bera umAn sãpkAr hiskAr abaj sunlẽ.

They knew it was the sound of the snake.

umAne jaingelẽ i abaj sãpekAr heke.

They were afraid

umAn Derai gelẽ

They did not know what to do.

umAne jane ni parlẽ ka kArek cahi .

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

u kAria sãp khotame ai gelAk Aur u cArAi mAnkAr picha kArelaglAk.

One by one the snake ate the eggs.

u sãp ekAk ekAk keirke sAub aDãk e khai delAk .

The parents became very sad.

mai bap bAhut dukhi hoi gelẽ.

Now the crow said, I should find a way to destroy this poisonous snake.

Ab kAua kAhAlAk hAmremAnke i jAhArila sāpke nas kAreke ego upay khojek ahe.

His wife asked, how can you kill this deadly snake?

ukAr jani kAhAlAk i khAtArnak sāpke toe ka mare parAb .

Can you fight with him?

ka toe ukAr sAMge lADek parAb ?

Do not worry my dear.

toe phikir na kAr pari .

I have a friend who is cunning to kill this snake.

mAr ego sAMgi a:he jA husiarse i sāpke mariye dei .

Saying this he flew to another tree.

isAn kAhike u dusAr gAchmē uDi gelAk.

Under that tree one Jackal is living.

ohe gAchkar heThe ego siar rAhAt rehe

When the jackal heard the entire story, he said , my friend those who are cruel always have bad end.

jAkhAn u ram siar sAub kahnike suinlAk u kAhAlAk e iar jemAn isAn niThur ahē umAnke sAub khAn bura Ant dekhek pADel.

I have a plan to kill him

mor ThAne ego upay uke marek lakin a:he .

Then the Jackal in a slow voice told something to the crow.

ukAr bade u ram siar dhirese u kAuake kono kAhAlAk .

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

u kAua ghuirke apAn janiThan alAk Aur uke u upaykAr baremẽ kAhAlAk.

I will do anything to save my eggs told the female crow.

u kAua kAhAlAk me apAn aDãmAn ke bAcayek lagin kuch bhi kAir sAkun.

Then they flew towards towards the palace.

ukAr bade umAne uiDke mAhaAl bATe gelAyẽ .

The palace is not far from the tree.

u mAhaAl gAchse Dheir dur ni rehẽ.

They approached a big pond and saw the royal ladies taking bath.

umAne ego pokhAra dekhlo jAhã mAhaAlkAr jani mAn nahat rAhẽ .

They left the jewels, necklace and golden chain on the edge.

ujAnanamAn apAn sAub gAhAna sonakAr sikri ha:r mAnke eke Than raikh rAhe.

The mother bird flew down and picked up one of the gold chain in her beak.

u kAua uThan gelAk Aur ego sonakAr sikrike apAn Thorme dAbaike uiDi gelAk .

It started flying slowly towards the tree in which she lived

u dhire dhirei jAha umAn rAhAt rAhe hue lek uiDigele .

When the palace guards saw this they took up their sticks and chased the bird.

jAkhAn mAhAlkAr cAukidar dekhlAk tA TheMga leike umAnkAr picha kArek lagelAk

They saw the bird dropping the chain in the hollow of the tree.

umAn dekhlek ki cArei u sonakAr sikrike gAchkar DhoDhrime reikhdelAk .

One of the guards climbed up the tree.

goTek cAukidar gAchkar uprek cADhlAk

As he put his hand inside the hole to get the chain he saw the black snake.

*jeisne u cAukidar sonakAr sikrike lebrek lagin u DhoDhrimē apAn hāth ke DallAk
to ego kAria sapke dekhlAk .*

He killed the snake with a stick.

u sāpke apAn TheMgase mairi delAk .

And that was the end of the black snake.

ehe kAria sāpkAr akhir sAmAy rehe.

After that the crow and his wife lived in the tree happily and had many crows.

*ukAr bad duiya kAua kawi ohe gAchme sukh ceinse rAhek laglAn Aur umAnkAr se
Dheir chAua putta holē .*

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KHORTHHA / KHOTTA

S.P.DUTTA

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 FAMILY AFFILIATION

Khortha/ Khotta is the speech of the 'high land' (*danghal jAmin* 'kultha' land situated above the bank of the river), according to some scholars Khortha comes from Kulthi (> kurthi) 'horse gram' the ancient most product of the soil.

Khortha / Khotta is the Mother Tongue essentially of the caste-Hindu people. A few of the tribes, are of course, reported to have returned Khortha / Khotta as their Mother Tongue in the then Bihar. These are – Bhumij (M 168, F-250) Korwa (M837, F 1048) Mahli (M 567, F 527) Malpaharia (M 623, F 673) and Oraon (M 679, F 574). (Ref: Special Tables for SC & ST, Bihar, vol – IV pt-V A 1961, P. 329).

According to LSI, the Mother Tongue Khortha/Khotta is classified under Eastern Magahi under Bihari of Eastern group of the outer Sub-Branch of Indo-Aryan family [Census of India 1961: Vol-I pt. II c(ii) Language Tables p.ccix; Census of India 1971 Language Hand book on Mother Tongues in Census-R.C. Nigam P.120]. In 1971 & 1981 census the Mother Tongue Khortha / Khotta has been grouped under 'Hindi' [Census of India 1971 series I Pt-IIc (i) Social and cultural Tables P.6 & Census of India 1981 series I paper I 1987 Household & Household population by languages mainly spoken in the household, p 10.].

1.2 LOCATION

Khortha/Khotta as Mother Tongue is alternatively known as Khontai, Kortha, Khatta or Khattalu. Grierson in his Linguistic survey of India treated Khoutai as the corrupt form of Eastern Magahi spoken in Western Malda (Bengal) [LSI vol I Pt II, P 467] bounded on the north and west by Maithili and east & south by Bengali [LSI vol-V pt II p.31]. It is the dialect of chain, Nagar and other similar castes in west Malda. [LSI Vol-V Pt II P.179]. In Manbhum and Kharsawan the corrupt form of Magali is known as Kortha or in the north-west of Manbhum as Khatta are in the west of the same district as Khattahi –[LSI: Vol-V Pt-II P. 147].

1.3 SPEAKERS' STRENGTH

According to 2011 Census data, total speaker strength of Khortha/ Khotta Mother Tongue of India and its States is mentioned below.

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	80,38,735	41,38,148	39,00,587	70,94,593	36,44,396	34,50,197	9,44,142	4,93,752	4,50,390
JAMMU & KASHMIR	55	42	13	16	13	3	39	29	10
HIMACHAL PRADESH	873	749	124	830	718	112	43	31	12
PUNJAB	36	29	7	15	14	1	21	15	6
CHANDIGARH	29	18	11	12	7	5	17	11	6
UTTARAKHAND	1,091	759	332	1,027	702	325	64	57	7
HARYANA	189	142	47	83	74	9	106	68	38
NCT OF DELHI	406	269	137	11	9	2	395	260	135
RAJASTHAN	291	152	139	180	75	105	111	77	34
UTTAR PRADESH	124	73	51	62	33	29	62	40	22
BIHAR	1,34,395	70,225	64,170	1,34,235	70,147	64,088	160	78	82
SIKKIM	78	76	2	77	75	2	1	1	0
ARUNACHAL PRADESH	44	24	20	34	18	16	10	6	4
NAGALAND	73	50	23	49	36	13	24	14	10
MANIPUR	1	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0
MIZORAM	28	26	2	20	20	0	8	6	2
TRIPURA	30	16	14	29	15	14	1	1	0
MEGHALAYA	19	15	4	4	4	0	15	11	4
ASSAM	2,137	1,080	1,057	2,081	1,052	1,029	56	28	28
WEST BENGAL	1,54,766	80,067	74,699	1,43,351	74,131	69,220	11,415	5,936	5,479
JHARKHAND	77,38,960	39,80,758	37,58,202	68,11,059	34,96,299	33,14,760	9,27,901	4,84,459	4,43,442
ODISHA	192	126	66	61	35	26	131	91	40
CHHATTISGARH	431	266	165	94	72	22	337	194	143
MADHYA PRADESH	144	106	38	105	84	21	39	22	17
GUJARAT	605	521	84	62	53	9	543	468	75
DAMAN & DIU	183	174	9	17	17	0	166	157	9
DADRA & NAGAR HAVELI	122	113	9	29	29	0	93	84	9
MAHARASHTRA	1,863	1,432	431	583	399	184	1,280	1,033	247
ANDHRA PRADESH	151	77	74	125	61	64	26	16	10

KARNATAKA	15	10	5	9	8	1	6	2	4
GOA	85	81	4	55	53	2	30	28	2
KERALA	18	17	1	2	1	1	16	16	0
TAMIL NADU	1,292	648	644	271	139	132	1,021	509	512
ANDAMAN & NICOBAR ISLANDS	9	7	2	4	3	1	5	4	1

According to 2011 Census data, total speaker strength of Khortha/ Khotta of Jharkhand state and its districts is mentioned below.

State/Districts	Total			Rural			Urban		
	Person	Males	Females	Person	Males	Females	Person	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
JHARKHAND	77,38,960	39,80,758	37,58,202	68,11,059	34,96,299	33,14,760	9,27,901	4,84,459	4,43,442
Garhwa	16	9	7	10	4	6	6	5	1
Chatra	4,14,102	2,10,565	2,03,537	4,01,497	2,03,900	1,97,597	12,605	6,665	5,940
Kodarma	3,55,695	1,80,371	1,75,324	3,14,183	1,58,916	1,55,267	41,512	21,455	20,057
Giridih	16,80,250	8,61,332	8,18,918	1,612,322	8,26,312	7,86,010	67,928	35,020	32,908
Deoghar	9,75,596	5,06,832	4,68,764	9,01,835	4,67,974	4,33,861	73,761	38,858	34,903
Godda	1,39,235	71,824	67,411	1,35,541	69,948	65,593	3,694	1,876	1,818
Sahibganj	1,31,386	68,141	63,245	1,18,699	61,520	57,179	12,687	6,621	6,066
Pakur	1,06,617	54,653	51,964	1,05,471	54,075	51,396	1,146	578	568
Dhanbad	6,76,456	3,52,659	3,23,797	4,70,221	2,44,458	2,25,763	2,06,235	1,08,201	98,034
Bokaro	9,53,493	4,93,257	4,60,236	6,75,259	3,47,827	3,27,432	2,78,234	1,45,430	1,32,804
Lohardaga	556	278	278	509	250	259	47	28	19
Purbi Singhbhum	623	353	270	69	35	34	554	318	236
Palamu	423	222	201	423	222	201	0	0	0
Latehar	5,945	2,977	2,968	5,934	2,972	2,962	11	5	6
Hazaribagh	10,68,147	5,45,575	5,22,572	10,17,062	5,19,311	4,97,751	51,085	26,264	24,821
Ramgarh	5,37,648	2,76,974	2,60,674	4,00,622	2,05,597	1,95,025	1,37,026	71,377	65,649
Dumka	4,55,046	2,32,831	2,22,215	4,30,204	2,19,863	2,10,341	24,842	12,968	11,874
Jamtara	2,20,977	1,13,643	1,07,334	2,09,124	1,07,436	1,01,688	11,853	6,207	5,646
Ranchi	16,209	7,944	8,265	11,852	5,542	6,310	4,357	2,402	1,955
Khunti	46	30	16	31	20	11	15	10	5
Gumla	78	47	31	66	41	25	12	6	6
Simdega	51	34	17	30	21	9	21	13	8

Pashchimi Singhbhum	96	58	38	28	17	11	68	41	27
Saraikela-Kharsawan	269	149	120	67	38	29	202	111	91

1.5 SOCIOLINGUISTIC SITUATION

A. Role of Khortha/Khotta Mother Tongue in different domains

Khortha/Khotta, as Mother Tongue is spoken across three generations 'Parent-Ego-Children' in the home-, kin-and locality-domain in informal (oral) communication network. Herein, locality includes public places like bazar; place of work and in the school. In the home-and kin-domain Khortha/Khotta operate as single communicative media in the role-relationship of father-mother, father-son, father-daughter, mother-son, mother-daughter, brother-sister, husband-wife, grandfather-grandson/ granddaughter, grandmother, grandson/ granddaughter in the congruent situation. In the extra-home and extra-kin domain it operates in the role-relationship of the teacher-taught, friend-friend, buyer-seller, employer-employee, employee-employee, priest-precept. In personal letters, greetings, rituals and invitations Khortha/Khotta as Mother Tongue controls the domain.

For development of the language creative literature in the form of short stories, riddles & folk songs are written in the local patois in Devanagari script. These are displayed, circulated and sold in the markets, weekly fairs and ceremonial fairs.

B. Role of other tongue in different domains

The subsidiary languages (other tongues) used for communication with the outsiders are either Bengali or Hindi. In the formal situation Hindi, the super-posed variety is being used as medium of administration, education, mass media, judiciary and legislation etc in Bihar. Thus, in school and in place of work all formal (written) communications are done in Hindi.

Below are given a picture of the extent of use of Hindi in different levels

a) With regard to 'language use' in religion

Except preaching and some literacy or ritualistic performances, which are done in Khortha/Khotta, teaching is done in Hindi and reading of sacred text is done in Hindi or Sanskrit.

b) With regard to 'language use' in mass media

In the region surveyed the newspapers are in Hindi, Bengali and English. The radio programmes are in Hindi while Tv programmes are in Bengali and Hindi in the local channel. The National TV channel programmes are broad casted only in Hindi from Delhi station. The movies entertained are exclusively in Hindi.

c) With regard to 'language use' in education

Hindi is the exclusive teaching medium from primary to university level. The textbooks are also written in Hindi only.

d) With regard to 'language use' in administration

Since Hindi is the language recognized by the State government for official use throughout the state all internal directions, rules, massages, notes and correspondences are done in Hindi only. Also, in external written correspondences with general public, with other govt. departments, private agencies and establishments and with State & Central Govt offices Hindi is the only medium. While the street signs in the urban complexes and the advertisements in the urban – and rural areas are either in Hindi or English public notices are served only in Hindi.

e) With regard to 'language use' in Judiciary

In the courts up to District-level while evidences are allowed in Khortha/Khotta also, pleading is done sometimes in Khortha/Khotta and mostly in Hindi, filling of affidavits and delivery of judgement is done only in Hindi.

f) With regard to 'language use' in industries

Both written publicity and labelling of product are done in Hindi

1.6 REVIEW OF EARLIER LITERATURE AVAILABLE

Khortha/Khotta is essentially the Mother Tongue of the Hindu-caste people. A few tribal have returned Khortha/Khotta as their Mother Tongue in Bihar. Khortha/Khotta as Mother Tongue is known differently as Khontai, Kortha, Khatta or Khattalu.

Grierson in his Linguistic Survey of India treated Khoutai as the corrupt form of Eastern Magahi spoken in Western Malda bounded on the north and west by Maithili and east and south by Bengali. It is the dialect of chain, Nagar and other similar castes in west Malda. In Manbhum and Kharsawan the corrupt form of Magali is known as Kortha, in the north-west of Manbhum as Khatta and in the west of the same district as Khattahi.

2. PHONOLOGY

2.1 PHONEMIC INVENTORY

2.1.1. SEGMENTAL PHONEMES

Vowels

i *u*
e *o*
A
ε
a

Consonants

Semi-vowel / Semi-consonant (w, y)

	Bilabial		Dental		Alveolar		Retroflex		Palatal	Velar	Glottal	
	Vl.	Vd.	Vl.	Vd.	Vl.	Vd.	Vl.	Vd.	Vl.	Vd.	Vl.	Vd.
Stop	<i>p</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>d</i>			<i>T</i>	<i>D</i>		<i>k</i>	<i>g</i>	
Asp. stop	<i>ph</i>	<i>bh</i>	<i>th</i>	<i>dh</i>			<i>Th</i>	<i>Dh</i>		<i>kh</i>	<i>gh</i>	
Affricate									<i>c</i>	<i>j</i>		
Asp.Affricate									<i>ch</i>	<i>jh</i>		
Fricative												<i>h</i>
Nasal	<i>M</i>					<i>n</i>						
Asp.Nasal	<i>(mh)</i>					<i>(nh)</i>						
Lateral						<i>l</i>						
Asp.Lateral						<i>(lh)</i>						
Trill						<i>r</i>						

Asp.Trill			(rh)				
Semi-Vowel	(w)				(y)		

2.1.2 SUPRA-SEGMENTAL PHONEMS

Nasalization /ĩ/ is phonemic.

Phonemic contrast of nasalized and non-nasalized vowels

Phonemes	Examples
/i/ ~ /ĩ/	/iTa/ ‘this’ ~ /ĩTa/ ‘brick’
	/kicAD/ ‘mud / dirt’ ~ /kĩcAD/ ‘gnat’
/e/ ~ /ẽ/	/bheT/ ‘presentation’ ~ /bhẽT/ ‘meeting’
/A/ ~ /Ã/	/kATa/ ‘brown’ ~ /kÃTa/ ‘nail’
	/bAea/ ‘save’ ~ /bÃea/ ‘rescue’ (a person) (money)
/a/ ~ /ã/	/sas/ ‘mother-in-law’ ~ /sãs/ ‘kernel’
	/bhasa/ ‘language’ ~ /bhãsa/ ‘nest’
	/paD/ ‘lace’ ~ /pãD/ ‘loom’
	/pso/ ‘one-fourth’ ~ /pão/ ‘feet’
	/as/ ‘hope’ ~ /ãs/ ‘fibre’
	/ghaT/ ‘ghat’ ~ /ghãT/ ‘smear’
/o/ ~ /õ/	/phoDa/ ‘pierce’ ~ /phõDa/ ‘boil’
/u/ ~ /ũ/	/uTh/ ‘rise’ ~ /ũTh/ ‘camel’
	/kuTa/ ‘hay’ ~ /khũTa/ ‘peg’
	/sur/ ‘tune’ ~ /sũDh/ ‘trunk’

Length in vowel

Length of vowel is not a phonemic feature. It is predictable in the mono-syllabic and di-syllabic words ending in close syllable. Below are exemplified the use of length in the mono- and di-syllabic words.

Mono-syllabic words

<i>ō : s</i>	‘dew’
<i>so:r</i>	‘current’
<i>bho:r</i>	‘dawn’,
<i>jA:r</i>	‘fewer’,
<i>jhā:s</i>	‘flame’,
<i>ca:nd</i>	‘moon’
<i>gha:gh</i>	‘waterfall’,
<i>ka:Th</i>	‘wood’,
<i>be:r</i>	‘sun’,
<i>ba:T</i>	‘road’,
<i>sa:s</i>	‘mother-in-law’.

Di-syllabic words

<i>paha:D</i>	‘hill’,
<i>utre:n</i>	‘slope’,
<i>asma:n</i>	‘sky’
<i>pathA:l</i>	‘stone’,
<i>dulhi:n</i>	‘bride’.
<i>SAmDhi:n</i>	‘son-in-laws mother’
<i>patA:r</i>	‘lean’,
<i>gidA:r</i>	‘son’
<i>pahu:n</i>	‘guest’.

Stress

Stress in Khortha/Khotta does not appear to be phonemic. In it each word when uttered in isolation is generally stressed ['] and the initial syllabic of each breath group bears stress.

'hamar' balbaccasAbhin 'iskule hEy; 'ay' 'my children are in the school'.

'hame' dosArgãwe 'kam' kArihe 'I work in other village

The breath group may comprise of one or more than one word.

Juncture

Junctures are syllabic or External. A syllabic juncture is a juncture operating in between syllables (-) whereas the External juncture is a juncture in between the words.

Syllabic juncture nair-kol 'coconut'

 Mur-gi 'hen'

External juncture : nair – kol # khApa 'coconut frond'

 Mur – gi # bacha 'chicken'

Intonation

Intonation is marked by sentential utterances. The type of intonation available are three.

1. Intonation in statement Herein, the rise and fall of the pitch is at equal level (→) eg

Aij jabe 'I shall go today'

CADoi khAndhay hEy, ay 'Birds are in the cage'

tohAranin kam kArAlhĩ, kArli 'you have done the work'

2. Intonation in question-sentence-Herein; the sentence is marked by rising pitch (→) eg

aij ki khabe → 'what shall I eat today'

aij ki khabhõ → 'what will you eat today'

u kAb dekhAlke → 'when did he see?'

3. Intonation in Exclamatory –sentence- Herein, the sentence is marked by rise (↗) and fall

(↘) in the pitch eg ↗ bagh ↘ tiger ! ↗ sãp ↘ snake!

2.2. PHONEMIC DESCRIPTION AND DISTRIBUTION

Vowels

- /i/ It is front high vowel. In closeness and tenseness it is equal to u.
- /e/ It is front half - close vowel. It is less tense and high than i.
- /ɛ/ It is front half-open lower-mid vowel. It is more lax and low than e.
- /A/ It is central mean mid vowel. It is pronounced in less laxness and highness to e and o and less openness to e.
- /a/ It is central open lax and low vowel.
- /u/ It is back high close vowel. In closeness and tenseness, it is equal to i.
- /o/ It is back half-close vowel. It is less tense and high than u

Distribution of vowel phonemes in different positions

Initial, Medial and Final

Phonemes	Initial	Medial	Final
/i/	/i/ 'this'	/sing/ 'horn'	/nati/ grandson
	/iTa/ 'this one'	/nisas/ 'breath'	/sari/ 'wifes sister'
		/kirmi/ 'worm'	/machi/ 'fly'
/e/	/ekra/ 'this	/beTi/ 'daughter'	/dudhe/ breasts.
	/eklai/ 'alone'	/kehumi/ 'elbow'	/ke/ who.
	/eksiria/ 'hernia'	/Dumer/ 'fig'	/satle/ with.
/ɛ/		/daAr/ 'husband brother'	
		/TEka/ 'money'	
		/bEtha/ 'pain'	
/A/	/Akra/ 'that'	/kArAt/ 'blade'	/ustA/ 'pipal'

	/Anar/ 'pineapple'	/patAr/ 'lean'	/solhA/ 'sixteen'
	/Anis/ 'nineteen'	/ghADa/ 'donkey'	/bADA/ 'big'
/a/	/anhar/ 'darkness'	/jari/ 'cataract'	/risa/ 'piles'
	/agni/ 'fire'	/casi/ 'farmer'	/gha/ 'scab'
	/aspatal/ 'hospital'	/rejai/ 'quilt'	/ata/ 'custard apple'
/O/	/ol/ 'arum'	/pota/ 'grandson'	/alo/ 'light'
		/boka/ 'billy-goat'	/sAo/ 'hundred'
		/jhol/ 'soup'	/seo/ 'apple'
/u/	/utren/ 'slope'	/ukuni/ 'louse'	/mAdhu/ 'honey'
	/ukhi/ 'flying insect'	/muTThi/ 'fist'	/aDu/ 'melon'
	/udhna/ 'veil'	/dudu/ 'milk'	/alu/ 'potato'

Phoneme contract of vowels

Contrasting phonemes

Contrasting pairs

/i/ ~ /u/	/hire ~ hĩde/ 'here'	~ /huse ~ hũde/ 'there'
	/I ~ iTa/ 'this'	~ /u~uTa/ 'that'
/i/ ~ /e/	/piTh/ 'back'	~ /peTh/ 'belly'
	/ki/ 'what'	~ /ke/ 'who'
	/bir/ 'courageous'	~ /ber/ 'sun'
/e/ ~ /o/	/des/ 'village'	~ /dos/ 'blame'
	/ser/ 'sheer'	~ /sor/ 'noise'
	/peTh/ 'belly'	~ /poTa/ 'bladder'
/e/ ~ /A/	/seo/ 'apple'	~ /sAo/ 'hundred'
	/ser/ 'sheer'	~ /sAr/ 'cream'
	/kera/ 'banana'	~ /kAra/ 'black'
/A/ ~ /o/	/sAr/ 'eleven'	~ /sor/ 'noise'
	/dAs/ 'ten'	~ /dos/ 'blame'

	/jAr/ ‘fever’	~ /jor/ ‘force’
/a/~/o/	/jar/ ‘net’	~ /jor/ ‘force’
	/sar/ ‘saltree’	~ /sor/ ‘noise’
	/khar/ ‘ash’	~ /khor/ ‘ear-wax’
/a/~/A/	/man/ ‘respect’	~ /mAn/ ‘mind’
	/har/ ‘necklace’	~ /hAr/ ‘plough’
	/jamin/ ‘bail’	~ /jAmin/ ‘land’
/u/~/o/	/alu/ ‘potato’	~ /alo/ ‘light’
	/bhukh/ ‘hunger’	~ /bhokh/ ‘bark’
	/churi/ ‘knife’	~ /cori/ ‘theft’
/u/~/A/	/sur/ ‘tune’	~ /sAr/ ‘cream’
	/kul/ ‘jujube’	~ /kAl/ ‘machine’
	/phur/ ‘flower’	~ /phAr/ ‘fruit’

Distribution of nasalized vowel phonemes in different position- Initial, Medial and Final

Phonemes	Initial	Medial	Final
/ĩ/	/iTa/ ‘brick’	/chaĩr/ shade	/ruĩ pok/ ‘earth warm’
		/bAĩsia/ ‘desendent’	/bhuĩ/ ‘land’
		/bhAĩs/ ‘buffalow’	
		/pĩjhra/ ‘cage’	
		/kĩcAD/ ‘gnat’	
		/chĩk/ ‘sneeze’	
		/hĩde/ ‘here’	
/ẽ/	/ẽDi/ ‘heel’	/khẽkDa/ crab	
	/ẽThua/ ‘defited’	/kẽklas/ chameleon	
	/ẽklai/ ‘alone’	/pẽca/ ‘owl’	
		/sẽka/ ‘fomentation’	

/ bēt / ‘came’
/ gēhu / ‘wheat’
/ kēuT / ‘fisherman’

/ Ā /
/ ĀteDi / ‘guts’ */ sĀtia /* ‘brook’
/ Āīla / ‘myrobalm’ */ jĀwai /* ‘son-in-law’
/ bĀk / ‘crave’
/ kĀcha / ‘front-tuck’
/ pāo / ‘feet’
/ khĀTi / ‘anchor’

/ ã /
/ ãdhi / ‘cyclone’ */ jhãs /* ‘flame’ */ chuã /* ‘touch’
/ ãs / ‘fibre’ */ lãD /* penis
/ ãcra / ‘lace’ */ Dhãk /* ‘drum’
/ ãspatal / ‘hospital’ */ sãs /* ‘kernel’
/ ãcar / ‘chutney’ */ pãkDi /* ‘petal’

/ ũ /
/ gũpha / ‘cake’ */ cũ cũ /* ‘brood’
/ kũhas / ‘fog’
/ hũDal / ‘hyna’
/ bhũsDi / ‘mosquito’
/ pũjh / ‘puss’
/ hũde / ‘there’

/ õ /
/ õs / ‘dew’ */ jõkh /* ‘leech’
/ õTh / ‘lip’ */ phõDa /* ‘boil’
/ khõsa / ‘pigtail’
/ jorDa / ‘maize’

Consonants

Distribution of phonemes in different positions-Initial, Medial and Final

Phonemes	Initial	Medial	Final
/ p /	/ prAtipal / ‘new moon day’	/ kApar / ‘forehead’	/ bhãp / ‘steam’
	/ pokheir / ‘pond’	/ phẽpDa / ‘lung’	/ gulap / ‘rose’
	/ pani / ‘water’	/ aphAt / ‘danger’	/ pap / ‘sin’
/ ph /	/ phen / ‘foam’		/ kÃph / phlegm
	/ phena / ‘hood’		
	/ phAr / ‘fruit’		
/ b /	/ baDh / ‘flood’	/ lAbAng / ‘clove’	/ purAb / ‘east’
	/ bAn / ‘forest’	/ jAba / ‘flower variety’	/ pasib / ‘urine’
	/ bArsat / ‘rains’	/ dibar / ‘wall’	/ pArAb / ‘festival’
/ bh /	/ bhor / ‘dawn’	/ cabhi / ‘key’	/ jibh / ‘tongue’
	/ bhudOl / ‘earth quake’	/ buDbhak / ‘blunt’	
	/ bhãTa / ‘low-tide’	/ lobhi / ‘greedy’	
/ t /	/ taTTi / ‘frying pan’	/ gutu / child	/ got / ‘corpse’
		/ chati / ‘breast’	/ bat / ‘gout’
		/ botAl / ‘battle’	/ bẽt / ‘cane’
/ th /	/ than / ‘udder’	/ bEtha / ‘pain’	/ AsAsth / ‘ill’
	/ tholi / ‘bag’	/ mAthni / ‘charming rod’	/ sath / ‘company’
	/ thari / ‘bowl, small plate’	/ suthuli / ‘jute rope’	

<i>/ d /</i>	<i>/ dAlki / ‘swamp’</i>	<i>/ bidur / ‘widower’</i>	<i>/ dAmad / ‘son-in-law’</i>
	<i>/ dulhin / ‘bride’</i>	<i>/ buda / ‘bush’</i>	<i>/ dad / ‘ringworm’</i>
	<i>/ dArAd / ‘pain’</i>		<i>/ chad / ‘roof’</i>
<i>/ dh /</i>	<i>/ dhur / ‘dust’</i>	<i>/ sAmdhi / ‘son-in-</i>	<i>/ kandh / ‘shoulder’</i>
		<i>law’s father’</i>	
	<i>/ dhArti / ‘earth’</i>	<i>/ gAdha / ‘ass’</i>	
	<i>/ dhũdla / ‘summer</i>	<i>/ godhi/ ‘lizard’</i>	
	<i>-loo wind’</i>		
<i>/ T /</i>	<i>/ TikAr / ‘chiff’</i>	<i>/ poTa / ‘bladder’</i>	<i>/ jhuT / ‘false’</i>
	<i>/ TaTTi / ‘human</i>	<i>/ naTa / ‘dwarf’</i>	
	<i>excrement’</i>		
	<i>/ TangAr / ‘rock’</i>	<i>/ bhaTa / ‘brinjal’</i>	
<i>/ Th /</i>	<i>/ ThanDa / ‘cold’</i>	<i>/ bhaThi / ‘brew’</i>	<i>/ kaTh / ‘wood’</i>
	<i>/ ThAg / ‘deceit’</i>	<i>/ peTha / ‘cake’</i>	<i>/ peTh / ‘belly’</i>
		<i>/ ãThi / ‘stone’</i>	
<i>/ D /</i>	<i>/ Dangal / ‘ground’</i>	<i>/ koDo / ‘duck’</i>	<i>/ vãD / ‘window’</i>
	<i>/ Dungri / ‘hill’</i>	<i>/ hũDal / ‘panther’</i>	<i>/ kicAD / ‘gnat’</i>
	<i>/ Damur / ‘jungle crow’</i>	<i>/ guDa / ‘goitre’</i>	<i>/ lãD / ‘penis’</i>
<i>/ Dh /</i>	<i>/ Dheu / ‘wave’</i>	<i>/ saDhu / ‘wife’s</i>	<i>/ muDh / ‘tip of</i>
		<i>sisters’ husband’</i>	<i>penis’</i>
	<i>/ Dhekun / ‘bug’</i>	<i>/ neDhi / ‘tail’</i>	
	<i>/ Dhil / ‘body-louse’</i>	<i>/ daDhi / ‘beard’</i>	

/ k /	/ kuas / ‘fog,mist’ / kada / ‘mud’ / kADhi / ‘beau’	/ jhĩkari / ‘cricket’ / phokra / ‘toothless’ / cikna / ‘butter’	/ pok / ‘insect’ / jhãk / ‘fish roe’ / nak / ‘nose’
/ kh /	/ khẽkDa / ‘crab’ / khArha / ‘hare’ / khur / ‘hoof’	/ makhAn / ‘butter’ / bhikhari / ‘beggar’	/ kakh / ‘arm pit’ / nAkh / ‘nail’ /murAkh/ ‘illiterate’
/ g /	/ gũpha / ‘cave’ / gArAm / ‘heat’ / guDi / ‘pebble’	/ sagun / ‘hawk’ / rogi / ‘patient’ / bagan / ‘garden’	/ lupung / ‘eunuch’ / rog / ‘disease’ / dimag/ ‘intellect’
/ gh /	/ ghagh / ‘waterfall’ / ghughi / ‘snail-variety’ / ghẽca / ‘neck’	/ sagha / ‘friend’ / ghaghra / ‘skirt’	/ bengh / ‘frog’ / bagh / ‘tiger’ / jangh / ‘thigh’
/ c /	/ cATan / ‘island’ / cand / ‘moon’ / cutAr / ‘anus’	/ cecAk / ‘small pox’ / koeAD / ‘waist’ / kAci / ‘wart’	/ ileic/ ‘cardamom’ / ghẽc / ‘thick’
/ ch /	/ chãur / ‘shadow’ / cheugra / ‘chicken’ / chena / ‘cheese’	/ bicha / ‘scorpion’ / pacha / ‘buttock’ / pichAr / ‘eye-sand’	/much/ ‘moustache’ / gãch / ‘tree’
/ j /	/ juar / ‘high-tide’ / jAmin / ‘land’ / jAni / ‘woman bride’	/ bhauji / ‘brothers’ wife’ / kuja / ‘hunchback’ / taja / ‘fresh’	/ puj / ‘puss’ / ilaj / ‘treatment’ / tej / ‘sharp’

/jh/	/jhAra / ‘fountain’	/sijhAl / ‘boiled’	
	/jhas / ‘flame’	/bojha / ‘basket’	
	/jhula / ‘swing’	/sAjhA / ‘straight’	
/s/	/sĀtia / ‘brook’	sAsur / ‘father-in-law’	/gomans / ‘beef’
	/sor / ‘current’	/khāsi / ‘cough’	/mans / ‘flesh’
	/siuli / ‘moss’	/masAl / ‘muscle’	/ās / ‘fibre’
/h	/hAnu / ‘baboon’	/sehAd/ ‘health’	/muh / ‘mouth’
	/hune / ‘there’	/nahi / ‘navel’	
	/hine / ‘here’	/salar / ‘manure’	
/m/	/maTi / ‘clay’	/bemar / ‘disease’	/cam / ‘skin’
	/megh / ‘cloud’		/tham / ‘pillar’
	/mAd / ‘wine’		/nim / ‘neem’
/n/	/nAdi / ‘river’	/jhArna / ‘spring of water’	/utren / ‘slope’
	/nuni / ‘younger sister’	/Denha / ‘wing’	/sAuten / ‘co-wife’
	/neur / ‘mongoose’	/cand / ‘moon’	/pahun / ‘guest’
/l/	/lata / ‘cave’	/paltu / ‘adopted’	/pathAl / ‘stone’
	/lar / ‘salive’	/bAkli / ‘beak’	/badul / ‘bat’
	/lor / ‘tears’	/bhalu / ‘bear’	/jhol / ‘soup’
/r/	/rog / ‘disease’	/baruka / ‘sand’	/ber / ‘sun’
	/ruā / ‘fibre’	/jari / ‘cataract’	/bAr / ‘bridegroom’
	/rAibar / ‘Sunday’	/sira / ‘vein’	/sAsur / ‘father-in-law’
			/gidAr / ‘son’

Distribution of marginal phonemes

	Initial	Medial	Final
(mh)		<i>kumhir</i> ‘crocodile’ <i>kumha</i> ‘hut made of leaf’ <i>kumhar</i> ‘potter’	
(nh)		<i>anhar</i> ‘darkness’ <i>Denha</i> ‘wing’	
(lh)		<i>kulha</i> ‘winnowing basket’ <i>dulha</i> ‘bridegroom’ <i>tAlhATi</i> ‘claw’	
(rh)		<i>gArhAn</i> ‘eclipse’	
(w)	<i>waste</i> ‘for’ <i>wAhã</i> ‘there’	<i>hawa</i> ‘air’ <i>jãwa</i> ‘twin’ <i>talwa</i> ‘palm’	
(y)		<i>besya</i> ‘pross’ <i>dAya</i> ‘pity’ <i>sayAd</i> ‘perhaps’	<i>gay</i> ‘cow’ <i>Aktay</i> ‘anger’ <i>may</i> ‘mother’

Phonemic contrast of consonants

A. stop versus stop (unvoiced vs. voiced)

/ p / ~ / b / /pap/ ‘sin’ ~ / bap / father ; / pacha / ‘buttock’ ~ / bacha / ‘calf’
/ pok / ‘worm’ ~ / boka / ‘he-goat’ / peTh / ‘belly’ ~ / bēTh / ‘nipple’

/ t / ~ / d / / til / ‘male’ ~ / dil / ‘heart’; / tin / ‘three’ ~ / din / ‘day’
/ tAsAr / ‘silk’ ~ / dosAr / ‘second’ / tis / ‘thirty’ ~ / dis / ‘appear’

/ T / ~ / D / / Taĩr / ‘fort’ ~ / Daĩr / ‘branch’

/ k / ~ / g / / kinek / ‘to buy’ ~ / ginek / ‘to count’
/ kenda / ‘deaf’ ~ / genda / ‘flower-veriety’
/ kaDhek / ‘to draw’ ~ / gaDlek / ‘to dig’.

B. Non-voiced affricate versus voiced affricate

/ c / ~ / j / / cat / (honey) comb ~ / jat / ‘caste’
/ cAlek / ‘to move’ ~ / jAlek / ‘to fire’
/ cair / ‘four’ ~ / jar / ‘net’

C. Unvoiced unaspirate versus unvoiced aspirate

/ p / ~ / ph / / pãD / ‘loom’ ~ / phãD / ‘breadth’ / sãp / ‘snake’ ~ / saph / ‘clean’
/ pan / ‘beetle’ ~ / phan / ‘knot’
/ t / ~ / th / / tara / ‘star’ ~ / thara / ‘plate’ / tir / ‘arrow’s ~ / thir / ‘deceision’
/ T / ~ / Th / / Tokek / ‘to tease’ ~ / Thokek / ‘to hammer’
/ beTi / ‘daughter’ ~ / bēTh / ‘nipple’
/ TahAlek / ‘to walk’ ~ / ThAlrArek / ‘to stop’
/ naTua / ‘actor’ ~ / naTha / ‘dwarf’

/ k / ~ / kh / / cArka / ‘white’ ~ / cArkha / ‘spinning wheel’
 / kal / ‘season’ ~ / khal / skin.
 / kiria / ‘oath’ ~ / khira / cucumber’
 / kuTa / ‘hay’ ~ / khũTa / ‘peg’
 / bAkra / ‘gnat’ ~ / bAkhra / ‘room’

/ c / ~ / ch / / caur / ‘rice’ ~ / chãur / ‘shadow’;
 / cikna / ‘butter’ ~ / chĩk / ‘sneeze’
 / ciDek / ‘to get angry’ ~ / chĩDek / ‘to fear’;
 / cabhi / ‘key’ ~ / chAbi / ‘picture’
 / cãe / ‘to scour’ ~ / chãc / ‘metal cast’.

D. Voiced unaspirate versus voiced aspirate

/ b / ~ / bh / / bap / ‘father’ ~ / bhãp / ‘steam’
 / bejua / ‘flute-singer’ ~ / bhej / ‘intellect’
 / biha / ‘marriage’ ~ / bhia / ‘vagina’
 / bulaek / ‘to touch mildly’ ~ / bhulack / ‘to make forget’

/ d / ~ / dh / / ada / ‘ginger’ ~ / adha / ‘half’;
 / gidAr / child ~ / gidhAr / ‘jackle’;
 / dur / ‘far’ ~ / dhur / ‘dust’;
 / dan / ‘contribution, donation’ ~ / dhan / ‘paddy’

/ D / ~ / Dh / / DeDh / ‘one and a half’ ~ / Dher / ‘enough’
 / Daba / ‘basket’ ~ / Dhaba / ‘verandah’

/ g / ~ / gh / / ga / ‘sing’ ~ / gha / ‘wound’;
 / gol / ‘circle’ ~ / ghol / ‘churned ‘milk’; ~ / ghol / ‘churned milk’;
 / griek / ‘to fall’ ~ / ghirek / ‘to surround’

/j/ ~ /jh/ /jaD/ 'winter' ~ /jhaD/ 'bush';
 / jākek/ 'to press' ~ /jhākek/ 'to shake';
 / jAr/ 'fever' ~ /jhAr/ 'to drip'

(l ~ lh) kul 'jujube' ~ kulha 'winnowing basket'
 cal 'game' ~ calha 'oven'.

(n ~ nh) mAina 'myna' ~ mAinha 'month'

(m ~ mh) kũar 'prince' ~ kumhar 'potter'

(r ~ rh) kAra 'black' ~ khArha 'hare'.

Un-voiced aspirate versus voiced aspirate

/ph/ ~ /bh/ /phagua/ 'spring festival' ~ /bhagua/ 'back tuck'
 / phas/ 'extra to the thing purchased' ~ / bhao/ 'price of commodity'

/th/ ~ /dh/ /tham/ 'pillar' ~ /dham/ 'holy place'
 / than/ 'one piece' ~ /dhan/ 'paddy'

/Th/ ~ /Dh/ /Theuna/ 'knee' ~ /Dheu/ 'wave'

/kh/ ~ /gh/ /khus/ 'happy' ~ /ghus/ 'bribe'
 / khur/ 'hoof' ~ /ghur/ 'move'

/ch/ ~ /jh/ /chĩk/ 'sneeze' ~ /jhik/ 'iron-stick of oven'

Alveolar Fricative versus Glottal Fricative

<i>/ s / ~ / h /</i>	<i>/ sar / ‘sal tree’</i>	~ <i>/ har / ‘necklace’;</i>
	<i>/ sātal / ‘swimming’</i>	~ <i>/ hātal / ‘a log of bamboo’;</i>
	<i>/ sara / ‘wifes brother’</i>	~ <i>/ hara / ‘green’;</i>
	<i>/ sAk / ‘suspicion’</i>	~ <i>/ hAk / ‘right’;</i>
	<i>/ sisa / ‘lead’</i>	~ <i>/ hisak / ‘habit’;</i>
	<i>/ sos / ‘thirst’</i>	~ <i>/ hos / ‘conscience’;</i>
	<i>/ dosi / ‘guilty’</i>	~ <i>/ dAhi / ‘curd’;</i>
	<i>/ sat / ‘seven’</i>	~ <i>/ hath / ‘head’.</i>

Bilabial nasal versus Alveolar nasal

<i>/ m / ~ / n /</i>	<i>/ jAmin / ‘land’</i>	~ <i>/ jAni / ‘woman’;</i>
	<i>/ am / ‘mango’;</i>	~ <i>/ ar / ‘bring’</i>
	<i>/ cuma / ‘kiss’</i>	~ <i>/ cuna / ‘lime’;</i>
	<i>/ malis / ‘massage’</i>	~ <i>/ nalis / ‘accusation’;</i>
	<i>/ dham / ‘holy place’</i>	~ <i>/ dhan / paddy;</i>
	<i>/ asman / ‘sky’</i>	~ <i>/ asnan / ‘bathing’.</i>

Trill versus lateralel

<i>/ r / ~ / l /</i>	<i>/ ber / ‘sun’</i>	~ <i>/ bel / ‘time’;</i>
	<i>/ sar / ‘teak wood’</i>	~ <i>/ sal / ‘shawl’</i>
	<i>/ lar / ‘saliva’</i>	~ <i>/ lal / ‘red’;</i>
	<i>/ sor / ‘noise’</i>	~ <i>/ sol / ‘fish-variety’</i>
	<i>/ kuri / ‘gargle’</i>	~ <i>/ kuli / ‘porter’</i>
	<i>/ aru / ‘melon’</i>	~ <i>/ alu / ‘potato’</i>
	<i>/ lok / ‘people’</i>	~ <i>/ rok / ‘stop’;</i>
	<i>/ tir / ‘arrow’</i>	~ <i>/ til / ‘mole’.</i>

Alveolar lateral versus Alveolar nasal

/l/ ~ /n/ /dil/ ‘heart’ ~ /din/ ‘day’;
 /til/ ‘mole’ ~ /tin/ ‘three’.

2.3. MAJOR ALLOPHONIC DISTRIBUTION

Allophones

The consonant phonemes /D/, /s/ and /n/ are leaving the following allophones

1. /D/ → When occurring medially and finally becomes [R]
 /Dh/ → When occurring medially and finally becomes [Rh]
2. /s/ → When occurring before dentals gets dentalized.
 → When occurring before retroflexes gets retroflexed.
3. /n/ → when occurring before dentals gets dentalized.
 → When occurring before retroflexes gets retroflexed.
 → When occurring before velars gets velarized.
 → When occurring before palatals gets palatalized.

The phonemes with their allophones are exemplified below

1. /D/ → [R] in medial position

[bARA] ‘big’; [sARA:k] ‘road’
[koRo] ‘duck’; [kaRuli] ‘young –calf’;
[ĀteRi] ‘guts’; [ēRi] ‘heel’; [cuRa] ‘parched rice’;
[ghARa] ‘horse’ [baRi] ‘crutch’.

[R] in final position

[paha : V] ‘hill’; [cha : R] ‘bed – bug’ [kīeA : R] ‘gnat’;
[haR] ‘bone’; [pichA : R] ‘eye-sand’
[lā : R] ‘penis’ [guR] ‘gur’; [muRi] ‘tip of penis’.

/ Dh / → [Rh] in medial position

[saRhu] ‘wife’s sister’s husband’; [naRhi] ‘vein’;
[muRhi] ‘fluffed rice’; [maRhi] ‘gum’;
[siRhi] ‘stair-case’ [piRhi] ‘sitting board’ [baRhi : n] ‘broom’.

[Rh] in final position

[sũ : Rh] ‘trunk’; [go : Rh] ‘leg’ [mã : Rh] ‘head’

2. / s / → gets dentalized before t and retroflexed before D [V]

/ s / → before t.

[rasta] ‘road’, [dost] ‘friend’ [nasta] ‘tiffin’
[pistAl] ‘pistal’

/ s / → before D [R]

[bhusRo] ‘mosquito’ [phusRi] ‘blister’

3. / n / → gets dentalization before t,d,dh

[nAndesu] ‘husband’s sister’s husband’; [kenda] ‘deaf’
[napAsAnd] ‘hatred’ [bAndAr] ‘port’ [mAndir] ‘temple’
[jindAgi] ‘life’ [cAnd] ‘moon’ [audhi] ‘blind’.
[khondhri] ‘attie’ [jandhAr] ‘thickness’ [sAntra] ‘orange’
[bAsAntA] ‘spring’ [geda] ‘flower-variety’ [cAndAn] ‘sandal-wood’.

/ n / → gets retroflexed before T, D Dh

[gANThi] ‘finger-joint’ [ghANTa] ‘hour’ [lANThAn] ‘lantern’
[haNDia] ‘wine/liquorice’ [aNDa] ‘egg’ [ghAmAND] ‘pride’
[paNDul] ‘jaundice’ [ThaNDa] ‘cold’ [raNDi] ‘press’
[haNDi] ‘pot’ [meNDha] ‘ram’

/ n / → gets velarized before g.

[<i>Dangal</i>] ‘ground’	[<i>Dungri</i>] ‘hill’	[<i>Denga</i>] ‘tall’;
[<i>pAtAng</i>] ‘kite’	[<i>rang</i>] ‘colour’	[<i>Tang</i>] ‘fur’
[<i>Tanga</i>] ‘axe’	[<i>hingu</i>] ‘asafoetida’	[<i>mAhAnga</i>] ‘costly’
[<i>bhinga</i>] ‘wet’	[<i>sutrang</i>] ‘so’	[<i>gungi</i>] ‘dumb’
[<i>kanghi</i>] ‘comb’	[<i>Thenga</i>] ‘stick’	[<i>anguThi</i>] ‘ring’
[<i>mung</i>] ‘beans’	[<i>ghunghAT</i>] ‘veil’	[<i>phenga</i>] ‘grass-hopper’;
[<i>lengRa</i>] ‘cripple’	[<i>angna</i>] ‘courtyard’	[<i>bengni</i>] ‘violet’
[<i>angli</i>] ‘finger’	[<i>nAngla</i>] ‘naked’	[<i>jangli</i>] ‘wild’
[<i>changra</i>] ‘chicken’		

/ n / → gets palatized before c, j.

[<i>benci</i>] ‘bench’;	[<i>bhanj</i>] ‘fold’	[<i>sanjh</i>] ‘evening’
[<i>injAt</i>] ‘moon-light’;	[<i>jhanjh</i>] ‘ray’	[<i>bhainja</i>] ‘nephew’
[<i>genji</i>] ‘banian’.		

2.4. CLUSTERS

Diphthongs

Diphthongs are eighteen in number. These are / *iA*, *ia*, *iu*, *ei*, *ea*, *eu*, *ai*, *au*, *ao*, *Ai*, *AA*, *Au*, *Ao*, *ui*, *uA*, *ua*, *oi* and *ou* /.

Below are exemplified the diphthongal uses

/ *ia* /

Initial / *iad* / ‘memory’

Medial / *siar* / ‘fox’ / *piasi* / ‘thirsty’, / *hAthiar* / ‘tool’, / *piaj* / ‘onion’

Final / *sĀtia* / ‘brook’, / *kAria* / ‘black’, / *beTa bAheria* / ‘daughter-in-law’

/ *bAĩsia* / ‘descendent’, / *bāhatia* / ‘left-handed’ / *Dīa* / ‘earth-worm’

/ *meleria* / ‘malaria fever’, / *bhia* / ‘vagina’ / *eksiria* / ‘hernia’

Consonant Clusters

Clusters are categorized into – Homo-Organic and Heterogenous-types. The homo-organic clusters are nine while the heterogenous clusters are eighty-two in number. By nature, the clusters except the three (-rk, -nk and -ns) are medially occurring.

Below are presented the cluster pattern in details with example

A. Homo-organic clusters All are medially occurring

/ tt, tth, dd, TT, TTh, DD, kkh, cc and cch /

Clusters	Examples
/ tt /	/ batti / ‘lamp or candle’; / patta / ‘leaf’
/ tth /	/ kAttha / ‘catacheu’
/ dd /	/ cAddAr / ‘bed-sheet’ / gAddi / ‘saddle’
/ TT /	/ ciTTi / ‘ant’ / khAtta / ‘acidity, sour’
/ TTh /	/ ciTThi / ‘letter’
/ DD /	/ guDDi / ‘kite’
/ kkh /	/ pAkkho / ‘fort-night’
/ cc /	/ bacca / ‘infant’ / kacca / ‘raw’
/ cch /	/ micchiri / ‘jaggery’ / accha / ‘good’

B. Heterogenous clusters

All are medially occurring except the three –rk, -nk and –ns. The clusters are formed as :

$p \rightarrow t, D, k, r;$	$b \rightarrow D, j, r, n;$	$t \rightarrow D, k, s, r, l, n;$	$d \rightarrow r, l, m; dh \rightarrow n;$
$T \rightarrow k, r, m, n;$	$Th \rightarrow r;$	$D \rightarrow k,$	$Dh \rightarrow n;$
$k \rightarrow t, s, r, l, n;$	$kh \rightarrow D, r, n;$	$g \rightarrow D, n;$	$gh \rightarrow r; c \rightarrow k; ch \rightarrow r; j \rightarrow g,$
$r, l, n;$	$s \rightarrow p, k, l, m, n;$	$h \rightarrow r;$	
$m \rightarrow p, b, bh, T, Th, k, c, r, n;$		$n \rightarrow p, k, kh, c, s;$	
$r \rightarrow b, bh, t, d, D, k, kh, g, c, ch, j, s, n;$		$l \rightarrow p, t, d, k, ch, j.$	

Medially occurring clusters

Clusters	Example
/ pt /	/ hApta / ‘week’

/ pD /	/ phēpDa / ‘lung’	/ khopDi / ‘skull’
/ pk /	/ DopkiciDAi / ‘king-fisher’	
/ pr /	/ khApra / ‘coconut Froud’	
/ bD /	/ dubDal / ‘weak’	
/ bj /	/ kAbja / ‘hinge’	/ sAbji / ‘vegetable’
/ br /	/ khabra / ‘threshing floor’	
/ bn /	/ Dabna / ‘lid’	
/ tD /	/ totDa / ‘stammerer’	
/ tk /	/ ketki / ‘flower-variety’	
/ ts /	/ kutsit / ‘ugly’	
/ tr /	/ chAtri / ‘rainhat’	/ jatra / ‘sail’
/ tl /	/ putli / ‘doll’;	/ mAtlab / ‘intention’
/ tn /	/ gotni / ‘husband’s brother’s wife’	
/ dr /	/ gidri / ‘daughter’	
/ dl /	/ dhūdla / ‘summer loo wind’;	
	/ bAdlam / ‘blame’	
/ dm /	/ admi / man	/ bAdmas / ‘naughty’
/ dhn /	/ gidhni / ‘vulture’	
/ Tk /	/ lATkAndar / ‘grocer’	
/ Tr /	/ kēTra / ‘miser’	
/ Tm /	/ khATmAl / ‘bed-bug’	
/ Tn /	/ chuTna / ‘agreement’;	/ cāTni / ‘chutney’
/ Thr /	/ ThēThra / ‘copper-smith’	
/ Dk /	/ lADki / ‘girl’;	/ khiDki / ‘shutter’
/ Dhn /	/ uDhna / ‘veil’	
/ kt /	/ rAktA / ‘blood’;	/ cukti / agreement;
		/ jōkti / ‘mucus’
/ ks /	/ reksa / ‘rickshaw’	
/ kr /	/ bAkra / ‘goat’	/ makra / ‘spider’

/ kl /	/ bAkli / ‘beak’	/ sīli / ‘sickle’	/ ekla / ‘alone’
/ kn /	/ Dhakna / ‘lid’;	/ dhukni / ‘winnowing fan’	
/ khD /	/ pAkhDi / ‘petal’		
/ khr /	/ bAkhra / ‘room’		
/ khn /	/ rAuhni / ‘mistress’;	/ rukhna / chisel;	/ kĀkhni / ‘when’
/ gD /	/ pAgDi / ‘turban’;	/ TugDa / ‘trunk’	
/ gn /	/ bAghna / ‘calf’;	/ bhogjAgni / ‘glow-warm’	
/ ghr /	/ ghaghra / ‘skirt’		
/ ck /	/ hēcki / ‘hiccough’		
/ chr /	/ mAchri / ‘fish’		
/ jg /	/ AjgAr / ‘python’		
/ jr /	/ kajra / ‘collirium’	/ khujra / ‘change of money or coin’.	
/ jl /	/ khujli / ‘itch’		
/ jn /	/ sAjna / sajna		
/ sp /	/ naspati / ‘pear’		
/ sk /	/ iskul / ‘school’		
/ sl /	/ mAsal / ‘spice’;	/ basli / ‘chisel’	
/ sm /	/ asman / ‘sky’;	/ rismi / ‘silk-bug’	
	/ cAsma / ‘spectacle’	/ jesmin / ‘jasmine’.	
/ sn /	/ asnan / ‘bathing’	asni / ‘mattress’	
/ hr /	/ lehra / ‘eunuch’		
/ mp /	/ cAmpa / ‘flower-variety’		
/ mb /	/ kAmbAl / ‘rug’;	/ tamba / canopy;	/ lembu / ‘lemon’
	/ lAmba / ‘long’		
/ mbh /	/ cumbhAk / ‘magnet’		
/ mdh /	/ sAmbdli / ‘son-in-law’s father’		
/ mT /	/ cimTi / ‘ant’		
/ mTh /	/ cimTha / ‘tongs’		

/ mk /	/ cAmkela / ‘bright’		
/ mc /	/ Domcil / ‘black kite’		
/ mr /	/ kAmra / ‘room’	/ Amrud / ‘guava’	
/ mn /	/ kamni / ‘night queen’		
/ np /	/ jhunpuki / ‘night queen’		
/ nk /	/ pAnkha / ‘fan’		
/ nc /	/ benci / ‘bench’		
/ rb /	/ cArbi / ‘fat’		
/ rbh /	/ tArbhuj / ‘water-melon’		
/ rt /	/ dhArti / ‘earth’	/ pArtipAd / ‘new moon day’;	
	/ kurta / ‘skirt’		
/ rd /	/ hArdia / ‘yellow’	/ pArda / ‘certain’	/ murda / ‘dead’
/ rD /	/ hurDa / ‘myrobalm’	/ jÃrDa / ‘maize’	
/ rk /	/ jhArka / ‘window’;	/ cArka / ‘white’	
/ rkh /	/ cArkha / ‘spinning wheel’	/ purkha / ‘ancestor’	
	/ morkhi / ‘epilepsy’		
/ rg /	/ murga / ‘fish-variety’	/ mirca / chilly	
	/ clarcini / ‘cinnamum’		
/ rch /	/ bArcha / ‘spear’.		
/ rj /	/ pArjapAti / ‘butterfly’	/ tArjan / ‘sheer’	/ dArja / ‘door’
/ rs /	/ bArsat / ‘rainy season’	/ arsAla / ‘cockroach’	
	/ kursi / ‘chair’	/ sArsã / ‘mustard’	
/ rn /	/ purnima / ‘full moon night’;	/ jhArna / ‘spring of water’	
	/ kurni / ‘grater’	/ ghirni / ‘pully’	
/ lp /	/ silpi / ‘artist’		
/ lt /	/ paltu / ‘adopted’		
/ ld /	/ jAldi / ‘soon’		
/ lk /	/ halka / ‘light’		

/ lch / / belcha / ‘shovel’
 / lj / / kAlja / ‘heart’

Final Clusters

Clusters	Examples
/ rk /	/ kalark / ‘clerk’
/ nk /	/ pAlAnk / ‘decorated cot’
/ ns /	/ hans / ‘duck’

2.5. SYLLABLE

The syllabic-types in Khortha/Khotta are four- Mono-syllabic, Di-syllabic, Tri-syllabic and Tetra-syllabic. Below are exemplified the syllabic-structure involved in the four syllable types.

Mono-Syllabic

v	<i>I</i> ‘this’ <i>u</i> ‘that’
vc	<i>õs</i> ‘dew’ <i>ũTh</i> ‘camel’; <i>õTh</i> ‘lip’, <i>Ãy</i> ‘he/she’ or ‘and’ <i>un</i> ‘wool’ <i>ol</i> ‘arum’ <i>am</i> ‘mango’ <i>an</i> ‘bring’ <i>uD</i> ‘fly’ <i>uTh</i> ‘rise/get up.
vvc	<i>aig</i> ‘fire’
cv	<i>gha</i> ‘wound’ <i>sẽ</i> ‘from’ <i>ba</i> ‘or’ <i>je</i> ‘that’ <i>ca</i> ‘tea’ <i>ke</i> ‘who’ <i>dho</i> ‘wash’ <i>la</i> ‘bring’ <i>ho</i> ‘be’ <i>ja</i> ‘go’ <i>pa</i> ‘get’ <i>de</i> ‘give’ <i>cũ</i> ‘leak’ <i>pi</i> ‘drink’ <i>kha</i> ‘eat’ <i>chũ</i> ‘touch’
cvv	<i>Dheu</i> ‘wave’
cvvc	<i>rAud</i> ‘sunshine’, <i>juar</i> ‘tide’
cvc	<i>megh</i> ‘cloud’ <i>sor</i> ‘current / stream’, <i>dhur</i> ‘dust’ <i>baDh</i> ‘flood’ <i>phom</i> ‘foam’ <i>bAn</i> ‘forest’ <i>baT</i> ‘way’ <i>ber</i> ‘sun’ <i>kAth</i> ‘wood’ <i>bap</i> ‘father’ <i>sas</i> ‘mother-in-law’ <i>dim</i> ‘egg’ <i>khur</i> ‘hoof’ <i>jõuh</i> ‘leach’ <i>likh</i> ‘louse-egg’

sāp ‘snake’ *bagli* ‘tiger’ *sūDh* ‘trunk’ *bis* ‘poison’ *kaḱh* ‘waist’ *haD* ‘bone’
dudh ‘milk’ *khōr* ‘earwax’ *jAr* ‘fever’ *nAkh* ‘nail’ *bhej* ‘in telecet’
bēTh ‘handle’ *lāD* ‘penis’ *lar* ‘saliva’ *roj* ‘daily’ *hAr* ‘plough’ *sAk* ‘doubt’
gut ‘dip into’ *ghĀs* ‘rub’ *phoD* ‘pierce’, *sīe* ‘irrigate’ *duh* ‘milk (verb)’
sujh ‘swell’ *Tok* ‘tease’.

cvcc *cand* ‘moon’ *sanDh* ‘bull’ *hans* ‘duck’, *Tangh* ‘leg’ *bhanj* ‘fold’, *mans* ‘flesh’,
mung ‘mung dal’, *murkh* ‘fool’ *banh* ‘tie’.

Di-Syllabic

vvv *ulā* ‘sunrise’

vvc *āikh* ‘eye’ *aij* ‘today’ *iad* ‘memory’

vvcv *aina* ‘mirror’

vcv *aja* ‘father’s father’, *ēDi* ‘heel’ *ūea* ‘tall’ *aghu* ‘before’ *ehā* ‘here’ *īTa* ‘brick’
aTa ‘flour’ *ada* ‘ginger’ *aru* ‘melon’ *āThi* ‘stone’ *asi* ‘eighty’.

cvc-cv-cvc *pArtipAd* ‘new moonday’ *pAngApal* ‘louest’ *makrajar* ‘spider’s nest’ *hamranin*
‘we’ *nispeTar* ‘Inspector’ *tirthaTAN* ‘holy place’ *bAgeadar* ‘gardenar’.

cvc-cvc-v *dAldAli* ‘damp’ *patpAni* ‘butterfly’ *dArkari* ‘useful’ *phirphiri* ‘spindle’ *tArkari*
‘curry’ *miTmiTi* ‘deam’

cvc-cvc-vv *nATkhATia* ‘nauguty’

cvc-cvc-cv *bhogjogni* ‘migatqueen’ *durgAndhi* ‘state’ *buThjogni* ‘green-gram’
cAndAnkaTh ‘scandal wood’ *hamadesta* ‘grinder pestle’ *ramjhingā*

- ‘lady’s finger’, *bhikhmanga* ‘begger’ *pArsAnsa* ‘praise’.
- cvcc-cv-cu* *sanjh be la* ‘evening’
- cv-cv-cvc-cv* *Ta li khabra* ‘tile’
- cv-cvc-cv-v* *ku-lAk-ri-a* ‘crooked’
- cv-cvc-cv-cv* *lA-kAD-ha-ra* ‘wood cutter’, *je-hel-kha-na* ‘prison’ *ci-rag-ba-ti* ‘ghee-deep’
ba-dam-khu-sa ‘ground nut shell’ *pa-thAl-ba-Ti* ‘stone-plate’ *sA-lai-ka-Thi*
‘match stick’
- cv-cvc-cv-cvc* *pA-rAs-pa-thAt* ‘touch stone’; *ba-sAn-ku-sAn* ‘utensil’
- cv-cvc-cvc-cv* *su-khAl-mir-ca* ‘chilly paper’
- cvc-v-v-cvc* *kAr-i-a-nag* ‘cobra’
- cvc-v-cvc-cv* *dekhe ba la* ‘audience/spectator’
- cvc-vv-cv-cv* *dAb-ei-da-ru* ‘treatment’ *Dar-ai-ba-la* ‘afraid’ *gel-ek-ka-il* ‘yesterday’
- cvc-vc-cv-vc* *kanAk cuir* ‘carlobe’
- cvc-vc-cvc-cv* *sukh-Al-mAch-ri* ‘dryfish’
- cv-v-cv-cv* *pa-i-ja-ma* ‘trouser’ *chu-a-be-ra* ‘childhood’ *pa-I-kha-na* ‘toilet’
- cv-cv-cv-v* *mAhA-kia* ‘scanded’ *pa-ha-Di-a* ‘hill people’ *bha-ri-pa-o* ‘pregnant’
rā-dhu-ni-a ‘cook’ *mA-ha-ki-a* ‘ridicule’ *Te-Tu-ni-a* ‘naughty’
- cv-cv-cv-vc* *mu-li-du-ar* ‘gate’ *ghA-Da-cu-ir* ‘mare’
- cv-cv-cv-cv* *cha-pa-ba-la* ‘printer’ *ka-ra-ga-Di* ‘bullock cart’ *mA-ha-ma-ri* ‘epidemic’ *khu-sa-mA-ti* ‘flating’ *mi-sa-mi-si* ‘adulty’ *bā-da-kA-bhi* ‘cabbage’
khe-ti-ba-Di ‘farm’ *mA-hu-ma-chi* ‘bee’ *lA-ga-lA-gi* ‘attachment’ *ba-hA-re-me*
‘outside’
- cv-cv-cv-cvc* *ku-li-ka-min* ‘labourer’ *go-la-ba-rud* ‘gun-powder’, *ka-ju-ba-dam* ‘cashewnut’
sa-gha-ka-tum ‘relatives’
- cv-ccv-cv* *micchiri* ‘jaggry’
- cvc-v-v* *peroa* ‘pigeon’ *cAhua* ‘jaw’ *Darua* ‘leopard’ *holeu* ‘otherwise’
- cvc-v-cv* *bad-e-me* ‘afterwords’ *hAthiar* ‘weapon’ *pADhaghAr* ‘study room’.
- cvc-vc-cv* *sAmAymē* ‘in time’ *pAkAuDa* ‘pakoda’

<i>cvc-cv-v</i>	<i>ranDua</i> ‘widower’ <i>bAnbhua</i> ‘squirrel’ <i>hanDia</i> ‘liquorice’ <i>hArdia</i> ‘powder (yellow)’
<i>cvc-cv-vc</i>	<i>rajkuar</i> ‘prince’ <i>ghATual</i> ‘boatman’
<i>cvc-cv-cv</i>	<i>cArwaha</i> ‘shepard’ <i>bengAni</i> ‘violet’ <i>pArsAti</i> ‘pregnant’ <i>jindAgi</i> ‘life’ <i>tAlhATi</i> ‘jaw’ <i>nacbala</i> ‘dancer’ <i>jArmana</i> ‘fine’ <i>jhunpuki</i> ‘night queen’ <i>thukdani</i> ‘spittoon’ <i>ghirnAhi</i> ‘spinning wheel’ <i>bArbAThi</i> ‘beans’ <i>kAstana</i> ‘bargain’ <i>mAgdAma</i> ‘case’.
	<i>BipArit</i> ‘opposite’ <i>kirosin</i> ‘kerosin’ <i>khAlihan</i> ‘farm-land’ <i>khetihAr</i> ‘farmer’
	<i>Thanadar</i> ‘police’ <i>jAmanAt</i> ‘bail’
<i>cv-cvv-cvc</i>	<i>roseighAr</i> ‘kitchen’
<i>cv-cvc-vv</i>	<i>bahatia</i> ‘left handed’
<i>cv-cvc-cv</i>	<i>mAhAnga</i> ‘costly’ <i>gAhAnda</i> ‘dirty’ <i>ghAmAnDi</i> ‘proud’ <i>tohArke</i> ‘to you’
	<i>cicinga</i> ‘snake-gourd’ <i>jabuDna</i> ‘embrace’
<i>cv-cvc-cvc</i>	<i>risinpok</i> ‘silk-bag’ <i>gubArpok</i> ‘beetle’ <i>murgajhor</i> ‘chicken-soup’ <i>hẽmAtkal</i> ‘autumn’ <i>guhAlghAr</i> ‘cow-shed’ <i>gosAlghAr</i> ‘bathroom’ <i>tirAtthan</i> ‘pilgrimage’
	<i>badamtel</i> ‘ground-nut-oil’; <i>mAhAbbAt</i> ‘love’

Tetra-syllabic

<i>v-cv-cv-cv</i>	<i>alu-mi-na</i> ‘aluminium’
<i>v-cv-cv-vc</i>	<i>a-r-A-ca-ur</i> ‘parched rice’
<i>v-cvc-vc-cv</i>	<i>i-sA-m-Ay-me</i> ‘meanwhile’
<i>vc-v-cv-vc</i>	<i>Adma-rait</i> ‘midnight’
<i>vc-cv-cvc-cvc</i>	<i>ukh-ra-nin-kAr</i> ‘their’
<i>vc-cvc-cv-cv</i>	<i>ub-tAr-be-Te</i> ‘north side’
<i>cv-v-v-cvc</i>	<i>si-a-i-sus</i> blotting paper
<i>cv-vc-cv-v</i>	<i>su-ar-thi-a</i> ‘selfish’
<i>cv-cv-v-v</i>	<i>bu-la-i-a</i> ‘hawker’ <i>pA-DhA-I-a</i> ‘student’ <i>ru-pA-I-a</i> ‘money’
<i>cv-v-cv-v</i>	<i>tA-u-li-a</i> ‘towel’ <i>ra-u-ri-a</i> ‘boatman’
<i>cv-v-cv</i>	<i>TuAri</i> ‘orphan’ (F) <i>kũari</i> ‘princess’ <i>bAĩsl</i> ‘flute’ <i>kuili</i> ‘cuckoo’
	<i>Thẽuna</i> ‘knee’ <i>piasi</i> ‘thirpty’ <i>pAisa</i> ‘coin’ <i>pAiThi</i> ‘staircase’

	<i>Juani</i> ‘ajawan’ <i>cAuta</i> ‘fold’ <i>kAidi</i> ‘prisoner’ <i>pauna</i> ‘fee’ <i>juali</i> ‘yoke’
	<i>bhauri</i> ‘hawker’
<i>cv-v-cvc</i>	<i>rAibar</i> ‘Sunday’ <i>sAitan</i> ‘devil’
<i>cv-vc-v</i>	<i>mAila</i> ‘dirty’
<i>cv-vc-cv</i>	<i>bhainja</i> ‘nephew’ <i>mAinha</i> ‘month’ <i>choiDke</i> ‘without’ <i>sAilta</i> ‘candle/lamp’.
<i>cv-vc-cvc</i>	<i>nairkol</i> ‘coconut’
<i>cv-cv-v</i>	<i>pilua</i> ‘pale’ <i>sethua</i> ‘anaemia’ <i>bejua</i> ‘shepard’ <i>naTua</i> ‘actor’ <i>lajua</i> ‘shy’
	<i>harua</i> ‘defeated’ <i>telia</i> ‘oilman’ <i>bharia</i> ‘porter’ <i>sāpua</i> ‘snake-charmer’, <i>kerua</i> ‘oar’ <i>tatua</i> ‘hot’ <i>Darua</i> ‘ofraid’ <i>surei</i> ‘pitcher’ <i>kiria</i> ‘oath’ <i>gunia</i> ‘witchcraft’
<i>cv-cv-vv</i>	<i>haluai</i> ‘sweet-maker’
<i>cv-cv-cvc</i>	<i>pokheir</i> ‘pond’ <i>puthAir</i> ‘doll’ <i>kATHAir</i> ‘jack-fruit’ <i>kAdair</i> ‘spode’ <i>tetAir</i> ‘tamarind’ <i>chagoir</i> ‘goat’ <i>lahoiD</i> ‘Dal variety’
<i>cv-cv-cv</i>	<i>sAruta</i> ‘nutmeg’ <i>mAsuri</i> ‘dal-variety’ <i>sikari</i> ‘hunter’ <i>sahasi</i> ‘brave’ <i>bichana</i> ‘bed’ <i>mAsari</i> ‘masquito-net’ <i>liphapha</i> ‘envelope’ <i>bhAnja</i> ‘brother’s son’
	<i>patAri</i> lean (F) <i>mejuri</i> ‘peacock’ (F) <i>dahina</i> ‘right side’ <i>bimari</i> ‘sick’ <i>kehuni</i> ‘elbow’ <i>pAsina</i> ‘sweat’ <i>tamaku</i> ‘tobacco’ <i>kaDuli</i> ‘young-cow’ <i>bhitAre</i> ‘inside’ <i>kaheki</i> ‘because’
<i>cv-cv-cvc</i>	<i>pAribar</i> ‘family’ <i>musakAl</i> ‘trap’ <i>cinirog</i> ‘diabetes’ <i>mAhajAn</i> ‘money lender’
	<i>dupAhAr</i> ‘noon’ <i>ghADasal</i> ‘stable’ <i>pujhaghAr</i> ‘worship-room’ <i>bArobAr</i> ‘flat’
<i>cvcc</i>	<i>bengh</i> ‘frog’
<i>cvccv</i>	<i>cikna</i> ‘cheese’ <i>gAmcha</i> ‘towel’ <i>caddAr</i> ‘scarf’ <i>makDi</i> ‘ring’ <i>chAtri</i> ‘umbrella’
	<i>ghungTa</i> veil ‘kurta’ shirt’ <i>bArcha</i> ‘spear’ <i>jalna</i> ‘window’ <i>tambu</i> ‘tent’ <i>khabra</i> ‘tile’ <i>khujla</i> ‘itch’ <i>ruchna</i> ‘chisel’ <i>kenda</i> ‘deaf’ <i>sĀthra</i> ‘season’ <i>chuTna</i> ‘agreement’
<i>cvccvc</i>	<i>gArhAn</i> ‘eclipse’ <i>Dangal</i> ‘farm land’ <i>bArsat</i> ‘rainy-season’ <i>bAcpAn</i> ‘childhood’
	<i>sAmdhen</i> ‘son-in-law’s mother’ <i>kēklas</i> ‘chameleon’ <i>pakdar</i> ‘intestine’ <i>kutsit</i> ‘ugly’ <i>kAmbAl</i> ‘rug’.
<i>cvccvcv</i>	<i>tArkari</i> ‘curry’ <i>Darcini</i> ‘cinnamum’ <i>kutkuta</i> ‘tickle’
<i>cvcccv</i>	<i>lengDa</i> ‘cripple’ <i>pinjhra</i> ‘cage’ <i>cendla</i> ‘baldheaded’ <i>nAngla</i> ‘naked’ <i>jAngli</i> ‘wild’ <i>Tengna</i> ‘fish-variety’ <i>khondhri</i> ‘attic’ <i>sAntra</i> ‘orange’ <i>mistri</i>

‘carpenter’

Tri-Syllabic

<i>v-v-cv</i>	<i>ekeTho</i> ‘one’ <i>ãkusi</i> ‘hook’ (fruit pick) <i>Aĩla</i> ‘myrobalm’
<i>v-cv-v</i>	<i>ẽThua</i> ‘defiled’
<i>v-cv-cv</i>	<i>ÃteDi</i> ‘guts’ <i>Asuni</i> ‘ugly’ <i>egarA</i> ‘eleven’ <i>ilaka</i> ‘boundary’
<i>v-cv-ccv</i>	<i>AbhAdrA</i> ‘uncivilized’
<i>vc-v-vc</i>	<i>Aneis</i> ‘19’ <i>ileic</i> ‘cardamon’
<i>vc-vc-cvc</i>	<i>asirbad</i> ‘blessings’
<i>vc-cv-v</i>	<i>ujnia</i> ‘weighty’ <i>ulTia</i> ‘opposite’
<i>vc-cv-cv</i>	<i>arsAla</i> ‘cockroach’ <i>aDbela</i> ‘afternoon’ <i>Akhrani</i> ‘his/her’
<i>vc-cv-cvc</i>	<i>Akhramin</i> ‘to them’ <i>intehan</i> ‘examination’
<i>vcv-v-cv</i>	<i>agheme</i> ‘before/infront’
<i>cv-v-v</i>	<i>kũla</i> ‘well’ <i>siai</i> ‘ink’
<i>cv-v-vc</i>	<i>duair</i> ‘door’
<i>vcvc</i>	<i>akas</i> ‘sky’ <i>ukhen</i> ‘louse’ <i>Ansa</i> ‘part’ <i>AkhAr</i> ‘him/her’ <i>isin</i> ‘these’ <i>Anar</i> ‘pine apple’ <i>aphAt</i> ‘worry’ <i>adAt</i> ‘habit’ <i>ukhaD</i> ‘uproot’.
<i>vccv</i>	<i>andha</i> ‘blind’ <i>admi</i> ‘people’ <i>anDa</i> ‘egg’ <i>ulTi</i> ‘vomit’ <i>alsi</i> ‘lazy’.
<i>vccvc</i>	<i>enjin</i> ‘engine’ <i>iskul</i> ‘school’
<i>vcccc</i>	<i>indra</i> ‘well’ <i>angli</i> ‘finger’ <i>angThi</i> ‘ring’ <i>angna</i> ‘yeard’.
<i>cvv</i>	<i>chua</i> ‘child’ <i>dhai</i> ‘mid-wife’ <i>bhea</i> ‘vagina’ <i>khAi</i> ‘pop-corn’ <i>sui</i> ‘needle’ <i>jua</i> ‘gamble’ <i>sAo</i> ‘hundred’, <i>pao</i> ‘one-fourth’
<i>cvvv</i>	<i>taua</i> ‘frying pan’
<i>cvcc</i>	<i>chaur</i> ‘shade’ <i>kũar</i> ‘unmarried’ <i>TuAr</i> ‘orphan’ <i>sia</i> ‘jackle’ <i>neur</i> ‘mongoose’ <i>puĩch</i> ‘tail’ <i>rait</i> ‘might’ <i>sAin</i> ‘Saturday’ <i>cant</i> ‘fold’ <i>Tair</i> ‘fort’ <i>dAuD</i> ‘run’
<i>cvvcv</i>	<i>siuli</i> ‘moss’ <i>bhAiri</i> ‘whirlwind’ <i>mausi</i> ‘mother’s sister’ <i>mAina</i> ‘myna’ <i>pAida</i> ‘birth’ <i>nAuka</i> ‘boat’ <i>cAuDA</i> ‘14’ <i>cAuDa</i> ‘wide’ <i>kuili</i> ‘cuckoo’ <i>mAinha</i> ‘month’
<i>cvvcvc</i>	<i>sAuten</i> ‘co-wife’ <i>kAisAn</i> ‘how’ <i>jAisAn</i> ‘any how’ <i>rAibar</i> ‘Sunday’
<i>cvcv</i>	<i>kAcha</i> ‘tuck (front)’ <i>kata</i> ‘coconut rope-fibre’ <i>Dorhi</i> ‘rope’ <i>bãsi</i> ‘flute’

	<i>mAni</i> ‘jewel’ <i>saDhi</i> ‘sari’ <i>jhula</i> ‘sling’ <i>cabhi</i> ‘key’ <i>siDhi</i> ‘staircase’
	<i>khũTa</i> ‘peg’ <i>khira</i> ‘cucumber’
<i>cvcv</i>	<i>sĀtia</i> ‘damp’ <i>jĀwai</i> ‘son-in-law’ <i>bAnua</i> ‘wild’ <i>ciDAi</i> ‘bird’ <i>pilua</i> ‘worm’
	<i>bilei</i> ‘cat’ <i>mukai</i> ‘fist’ <i>dAbei</i> ‘medicine’ <i>jAmhai</i> ‘yawn’ <i>bhotua</i> ‘blunt’
	<i>khATia</i> ‘cot’ <i>dhAnia</i> ‘coriander’ <i>gōsai</i> ‘milkman’ <i>lADhai</i> ‘fight’
<i>cvcvc</i>	<i>baDuin</i> ‘broom’ <i>paTen</i> ‘ceiling’ <i>ceTai</i> ‘mat’ <i>gadAr</i> ‘carrot’ <i>jhājhal</i> ‘water-weed’ <i>hisak</i> ‘habit’ <i>bikheD</i> ‘spread’
<i>cvcvcv</i>	<i>baruka</i> ‘sand’ <i>kehuni</i> ‘elbow’ <i>turute</i> ‘quickly’
<i>cvcvcc</i>	<i>lupung</i> ‘eunuch’ <i>ghAmAND</i> ‘proud’ <i>kalark</i> ‘clerk’ <i>pAsAnd</i> ‘liking’
<i>cvc-cv-v-v</i>	<i>rAngAia</i> ‘painter’
<i>cvc-cv-cv-v</i>	<i>sAt-la-bha-I</i> ‘step brother’ <i>nik-la-bhe-a</i> ‘clitoris’ <i>ker-ke-ci-a</i> ‘crooked’
<i>cvc-cv-cv-cv</i>	<i>bhur-ka-ta-ra</i> ‘morning star’ <i>pAr-na-tu-ni</i> ‘great granddaughter’ <i>pArja pAti</i> ‘butterfly’ <i>khēk-da da-da</i> ‘crab-stink’ <i>sAl-ta-be-la</i> ‘evening’.
<i>cvc-cv-cv-cvc</i>	<i>bAD-ka-ce-cAk</i> ‘chicken pox’
<i>cvc-cv-cvc-cv</i>	<i>ghur-ni-cAk-ka</i> ‘spinning wheel’ <i>hamraminke</i> ‘to us’ <i>toh ra min ke</i> ‘to you’
<i>cvc-cv-cvc-cvc</i>	<i>kus-ti-kAs-rAt</i> ‘wrestling’ <i>ham ra min kAr</i> ‘our’ <i>toh-ra-min-kAr</i> ‘your’
<i>cvc-cvc-v-cv</i>	<i>luk lu ka ni</i> ‘hide and sick’
<i>cvc-cvc-vc-cv</i>	<i>mur-da-ad-mi</i> ‘dead body’.

3. MORPHOPHONEMICS

1. Use of feminine marker – I with the nominal stem ending in close syllable results in clusterization

gidAr ‘boy’ + - i (Femi) → *gidri* ‘girl’

patAr ‘lean’ + -I (Femi) → *patri* ‘lean/thin’

2. The oblique base of the Demonstrative pronouns receiving –e in the adverbial and the Demonstrative, Interrogative and Relative pronouns receiving –o in the adjectival formation at the expense of –A- in the following syllable indicate clusterization

oblique base with –e

ikAr > *ekAr* + -e → *ekre* ‘of this (place)’

ukAr → *AkAr* + - e → *Akre* ‘of that (place)’

oblique base with –o

ikAr → *ekAr* + - o → *ekro* ‘of this (person)’

ukAr → *AkAr* + -o → *Akro* ‘of that (person)’

kekAr + -o → *kekro* ‘of what; whose (inter)’

jekAr + -o → *jekro* ‘of what; whose(rel.)’

3. Declusterization results in by the insertion of vowel in between the base and the affix or because change of gender.

khetAme / *ma* < *khetme* ‘in the field’

bAnAme / *ma* < *bAnme* ‘in the forest’

ragAse < *rages* ‘in anger’

Darese < *Darse* ‘in fear’

Thikese < *Thikse* ‘correctly’

natni < *natni* ‘grand-daughter’

durese < *durse* ‘far away’

ekeTho < *ekTho* ‘one’

aTeTho < *aTTho* ‘eight’

4. Declusterisation resulted from insertion of vowel in between the base and the affix cause further clusterization also

hamArse → *hamrose* ‘by me; from me’

bhitAr me → *bhitrome* ‘in the inside’

5. Declusterization also results from shortending of the ultimate syllable in the normal declension

baghke(r) → *baghAk* ‘of the tiger’

ghãske(r) → *ghãsAk* ‘of the grass’

gãchke(r) → *gãchAk* ‘of the tree’

ghArke(r) → *ghArAk* ‘of the house’

dinke(r) → *dinAk* ‘of the day’

6. The compound verbs formed of subsidiary ja, a and de result to metathetic change of vowel in the main verb. Also, the participial formation indicates such metathetic change due to change of place of the following consonant.

thAik jaek < *thAki jana* ‘tired’

chaD dewek < *chaDi dew* ‘refuse’

cAilgelke < *cAligel* ‘went away’

cAil a < *cAlia* ‘come’

kAirke < *kArike* ‘having done’ Phonological changes

Vowel changes

a<A *ghar* < *ghAr* ‘house’

calte calte < *cAlte cAlte* ‘while going’

e<A *keria* < *kAria* ‘black’

neuta < *nAuta* ‘in vitation’

ebtAk < *AbtAk* ‘till now’

jebtAk < *jAbtAk* ‘till then’

A<i *jAtna* < *jiTna* ‘as much’

KAtna, kAte < *kitna* ‘how much’

Atna < *itna* ‘this much’

Consonant Changes

r<l	<i>dhuir</i> < <i>dhur</i> < <i>dhul</i> ‘dust’	<i>ācra</i> < <i>anchAl</i> ‘lace’
	<i>lar</i> < <i>lal</i> ‘red’	<i>bar</i> < <i>bal</i> ‘hair’
	<i>siar</i> < <i>sial</i> ‘jackte’	<i>chua bera</i> < <i>chua bela</i> ‘childhood’
	<i>kApar</i> < <i>kApal</i> ‘forehead’	
	<i>cuir</i> < <i>cuil</i> ‘hair’	<i>kera</i> < <i>kela</i> ‘plaintain’
	<i>neur</i> < <i>neul</i> ‘mongoose’	<i>kurthi</i> < <i>kulthi</i> ‘horse-gram’
	<i>thari</i> < <i>thali</i> ‘plate’	<i>hAr</i> < <i>hAl</i> ‘plough’
	<i>jhor</i> < <i>jhol</i> ‘soup’	
	<i>madAr</i> < <i>madAl</i> ‘drum’	
	<i>sara</i> < <i>sala</i> ‘wifes brother’	
	<i>khor</i> < <i>khol</i> ‘ear-was’	
	<i>kajra</i> < <i>kajla</i> ‘collirium’	
	<i>phAr</i> < <i>phAl</i> ‘fruit’	
	<i>angur</i> < <i>angul</i> ‘finger’	
	<i>caur</i> < <i>caul</i> ‘rice’	
	<i>mAchri</i> < <i>mAchli</i> ‘fish’	
l<r	<i>pācil</i> < <i>pracir</i> ‘wall’	
	<i>pathAl</i> < <i>pathAr</i> ‘stone’	
	<i>lesun</i> < <i>rAsun</i> ‘garlic’	
<i>h<dh,bh</i>	<i>anhar</i> < <i>andhar</i> ‘darkness’	
	<i>mAhumachi</i> < <i>mAdhu machi</i> ‘bee’	
	<i>gAhir</i> < <i>gAbhir</i> ‘deep’	
<i>t<d</i>	<i>suat</i> < <i>suad</i> ‘taste’	
<i>d<j</i>	<i>gadAr</i> < <i>gajAr</i> ‘carrot’	
<i>j<y</i>	<i>mejur</i> < <i>mAyur</i> ‘peacock’	
<i>n<r</i>	<i>phenu</i> < <i>pheru</i> ‘again’	

Stops aspiration

<i>bh</i> < <i>b</i>	<i>bhāsa</i>	< <i>basa</i> ‘nest’
	<i>cumbhAk</i>	< <i>cumbAk</i> ‘magnet’
	<i>buDbhak</i>	< <i>buDbak</i> ‘blunt’
	<i>cArbhi</i>	< <i>cArbi</i> ‘fat’
<i>th</i> < <i>t</i>	<i>hāthi</i>	< <i>hati</i> ‘elephant’
<i>kh</i> < <i>k</i>	<i>ukhen</i>	< <i>ukun</i> ‘lik’
	<i>jhArkha</i>	< <i>jhArka</i> ‘window’
<i>Dh</i> < <i>D</i>	<i>Dhiā</i>	< <i>Dia</i> ‘earthworm’
	<i>gAnDhar</i>	< <i>gAnDar</i> ‘bison’
<i>gh</i> < <i>g</i>	<i>Dangha</i>	< <i>Danga</i> ‘boat’
	<i>Danghal</i>	< <i>Dangal</i> ‘ground’
	<i>Aghu</i>	< <i>agu</i> ‘infront of, before’
<i>jh</i> < <i>j</i>	<i>pujha</i>	< <i>puja</i> ‘worship’
	<i>pAnjha</i>	< <i>pAnja</i> ‘wing’

use of paragogic –r, -D, -k-, h- and –w

use of – r	<i>chāīr</i> ‘ashes’	<i>chaur</i> ‘shade’
- D	<i>dubDal</i> ‘weak’	
-k-	<i>phuTkaek</i> ‘bubble’	
h-	<i>hīcDana</i> / <i>hīcDaek</i> ‘comb’	
i-		
-w	<i>gAdhwa</i> ‘ash’	
	<i>buDhwa</i> ‘oldman’	

Elision of h- *aspatal* < *haspatal* ‘hospital’

Insertion of –h-	<i>sahar</i>	< <i>sar</i> ‘manure’
	<i>jehelkhana</i>	< <i>jelkhana</i> ‘prison’
	<i>kuhas</i>	< <i>kuas</i> ‘fog, mist’
	<i>lamheri lek</i>	‘take down’

Back formation *nispeTar* < *inspekTar* ‘Inspector’

Phonotatic rules

1. Of the consecutive syllabic of the preceding syllable having / a / and the following syllables are having / e, a or A / a glidic semi-vowel –w- appears.

a – e / *awek* / ‘to come’

a – A / *pActawAl* / ‘repent’ / *bAtawa* / ‘tell’ / *hawa* / ‘air’ / *jãwa* / ‘turin’

2. If the following syllable is having / a / the vowel of the preceding syllable becomes / A /

angna < *AngAna* ‘yard’; *accha* < *Accha* ‘good’

baksa < *bAksa* ‘box’; *kãha* < *kAha* < *kÃha* ‘where’

andha < *Andha* ‘blind’ *kahani* < *kAhani* ‘story’

bacca < *bAcca* ‘child’ *anDa* < *AnDa* ‘egg’

khaDa < *khADa* ‘erect’

3. Simplification of conjunct consonant due to anaphytic change

pArsAti < *prAsAti* ‘pregnancy’, *bAjAr* < *bAjrA* ‘thunder’

gupAt < *guptA* ‘secret’; *citAr* < *citrA* ‘picture’

sAbAd < *sAbdA* ‘noise’; *chatAr* < *chatrA* ‘student’

rAkAt < *rAktA* ‘blood’

4. Haplological changes due to change of the preceding position

dhuir < *dhur* < *dhul* (i) ‘dust’; *aïkh* < *ãkh* ‘eye’

aig < *ag* ‘fire’; *puïch* < *pũch* ‘tail’; *puin* < *punyA* ‘virtue’;

sAilta < *sAlita* ‘lamp-lace’;

cair < *car* ‘four’

chail < *chal* ‘bark’; *Dair* < *Dar* < *Dal*(i) ‘branch’;

duair < *duar* ‘door’; *nairkAl* < *narikAl* ‘coconut’

kÃThAir < *kÃThAr* ‘jack-fruit’, *raij* < *raj* ‘kingdom’

mAinha < *mAhina* 'month'; *rait* < *rat* 'night'; *aij* < *aj* 'today';
kail < *kal* 'tomorrow'; *bhainja* < *bhanja* 'nephew'

5. Clusterisation results from dropping of vowels in the following syllable

mArDA < *mArAd* 'male'; *bAca* < *bAgica* 'garden'

jArmana < *jArimana* 'fine, penalty'

4. MORPHOLOGY

4.1. Noun Morphology

A general account of the Nouns stems and their classification – Animate and Inanimate.

Stems ending in vowels

-i

Animate

jAn-i ‘bride’ *gird-i* ‘daughter’ *pis-i* ‘father’s sister’
kuil-i ‘cuckoo’ *lilch-i* ‘insect’ *dha-i* ‘nurse’ *tãt-i* ‘weaver’.

Inanimate

nAd-i ‘river’; *maT-i* ‘clay’; *dhArt-i* ‘earth’ *siul-i* ‘moss’
guD-i ‘pebble’ *pan-i* ‘water’ *bhoir-i* ‘whirlpool’.

-e

Animate

ham-e ‘I’

Inanimate

samAy-e ‘in time’, *Thik-e* ‘correct’ *hĩd-e / hin-e* ‘here’;
hũd-e / hun-e ‘there’ *kAt-e* ‘how many’

-A

Animate

sĩh-A ‘lion’ *rAkt-A* ‘blood’ *apn-A* ‘self’

Inanimate

ust-A ‘pipal’ *sAndeh-A* ‘doubt’ *bar-A* ‘twelve’
ter-A ‘thirteen’ *cAud-A* ‘forteen’ *pAnr-A* ‘fifteen’
solh-A ‘sixteen’ *sAthr-A* ‘seventeen’ *aThr-A* ‘eighteen’
bAD-A ‘big’ *choT-A* ‘small’ *ghAn-A* ‘thick’
khAnD-A / Ans-A ‘part’; *bAsAnt-A* ‘spring’

-a

Animate

chu-a ‘baby’; *sar-a* ‘wife’s brother’ *lengD-a* ‘cripple’ *ruTh-a* ‘pale’

Inanimate

haw-a ‘air’ *jhAr-a* ‘fountain’ *gũph-a* ‘cave’

ThanD-a ‘cold’ *jhAl-a* / *dhũdl-a* ‘summer-loo-wind’ *c-a*
‘tea’

-u

Animate

run-u ‘young’s brother’; *bAh-u* ‘brother’s wife’; *mehAraru* ‘pregnant woman’

saDh-u ‘wife’s sister’ *hAn-u* ‘baboon’

Inanimate

rit-u ‘season’ *tArj-u* ‘sheer’ *se-u* ‘apple’ *la-u* ‘gourd’

aD-u ‘melon’ *KAd-u* ‘pumkin’, *kuch-u* ‘few’ *sAr-u* ‘narrow’

-o

Animate

bharipa-o ‘pregnancy’ *koD-o* ‘duck’

Inanimate

chA-o ‘six’ *nA-o* ‘nine’ *sA-o* ‘hundred’ *pa-o* ‘one-fourth’

Stems ending in consonants:

-p

Animate

ba-p ‘father’ *sã-p* ‘snake’

Inanimate

bhã-p ‘steam’ *sũ-p* ‘winnowing fan’ *kulu-p* ‘stalk’

Tap ‘pot for plant’ *MAnDA-p* ‘alter’ *mera-p* ‘stage’ *pa-p* ‘sin’

-*ph*

Inanimate

bArA-ph ‘ice’ *kĀ-ph* ‘phlagm’

-*b*

Animate

cendlabha-b ‘bald-headednes’ *pisa-b* ‘urine’ *sA-b* ‘all’ *khAra-b* ‘bad’
gAri-b ‘poor’

-*bh*

Animate

ji-bh ‘tongue’

-*t*

Animate

dos-t ‘friend’ *AurA-t* ‘woman’ *ba-t* ‘gout’
khA-t ‘wound’ *mahu-t* ‘elephant-driver’.

Inanimate

bhi-t ‘foundation’ *bē-t* ‘came’ *khe-t* ‘field’
kAra-t ‘saw’ *sua-t* ‘taste’ *gupA-t* ‘secret’
hAjA-t ‘prison’ *sA-t* ‘oath’

-*th*

Animate

hā-ta ‘hand’ *AsAs-th* ‘ill’

Inanimate

rA-ta ‘chariot’

-*d*

Animate

mArA-d ‘husbad’ *nana-d* ‘husban’s sister’ *sAhe-d* ‘health’
da-d ‘ringworm’

Inanimate

<i>pArtipA-d</i>	‘new moonday’	<i>dArA-d</i>	‘pain’	<i>mA-d</i>	‘wine’	<i>cha-d</i>	‘roof’
<i>Amru-d</i>	‘guava’	<i>sAbA-d</i>	‘noise’	<i>gẽ-d</i>	‘gum’	<i>du-dh</i>	‘milk’
<i>ia-d</i>	‘memory’	<i>KagA-d</i>	‘paper’				

-dh

Animate

<i>kan-dh</i>	‘shoulder’
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Inanimate

<i>du-dh</i>	‘milk’	<i>ju-dh</i>	‘war’	<i>su-dh</i>	‘interest’	<i>sAugAn-dh</i>	‘oath’
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-t

Animate

<i>kẽu-T</i>	‘fisherman’	<i>sAcu-T</i>	‘honest’
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Inanimate

<i>ba-T</i>	‘road’	<i>ghunghu-t</i>	‘apron’	<i>bel-T</i>	‘belt’	<i>dã-T</i>	‘strong’
<i>jaki-T</i>	‘blouse’	<i>ko-T</i>	‘coat’	<i>LenghA-T</i>	‘loin-cloth’;		

-Th

Animate

<i>ũ-Th</i>	‘camel’;	<i>pi-Th</i>	‘back’	<i>pe-Th</i>	‘belly’	<i>õ-Th</i>	‘lip’
<i>bẽ-Th</i>	‘nipple’						

Inanimate

<i>ka-Th</i>	‘wood’	<i>bu-Th</i>	‘pea’	<i>jũa-Th</i>	‘yoke’	<i>sa-Th</i>	‘sixty’
<i>jhu-T</i>	‘false’						

-D

Animate

<i>cha-D</i>	‘cockroach’	<i>kicA-D</i>	‘gnat’	<i>ha-D</i>	‘bone’	<i>lã-D</i>	‘penis’
<i>pichA-D</i>	‘eye-sand’	<i>ghAmAn-D</i>	‘proud’				

Inanimate

paha-D ‘hill’ *gu-D* ‘gur’ *papa-D* ‘papad’ *pã-D* ‘loom’
lahoi-D ‘arhar dal’ *Khe-D* ‘hay’

-Dh

Animate *sũ-Dh* ‘trunk’ *go-Dh* ‘leg’
Inanimate *ba-Dh* ‘flood’ *de-Dh* ‘1½’

-k

Animate

mali-k ‘master’ *po-k* ‘worm’ *bÃ-k* ‘crane’ *na-k* ‘nose’

Inanimate

sADA-k ‘road’ *cecA-k* ‘chickenpox’ *ca-k/jhã-k* ‘roe’ *Dhã-k* ‘drum’
sA-k ‘doubt’ *hisa-k* ‘habit’ *nArAk-k* ‘hell’
cumbhA-k ‘magnet’ *tAni-k* ‘some’

-kh

Animate *jÃ-kh* ‘leech’ *ka-kh* ‘arm-pit’ *aĩ-kh* ‘eye’ *nA-kh* ‘nail’
Inanimate *du-kh* ‘worry’ *bhu-kh* ‘hunger’ *su-kh* ‘happiness’ *tari-kh* ‘date’

-g

Animate *lo-g* ‘people’ *dima-g* ‘brain’
Inanimate *ai-g* ‘fire’ *ro-g* ‘disease’ *suha-g* ‘love’ *sArA-g* ‘heaven’

-gh

Animate *ba-gh* ‘tiger’
Inanimate *me-gh* ‘cloud’ *gha-gh* ‘waterfall’

-c

Inanimate *ilei-c* ‘cardamom’ *mir-c* ‘chilly’ *chã-c* ‘clay-mould’
jã-c ‘examination’ *ghẽ-c* ‘thick’

-ch

Animate *ma-ch* ‘fish’ *puĩ-ch* ‘fail’ *mu-ch* ‘moustache’ *kuch* ‘few’
Inanimate *gã-ch* ‘tree’

-j

Animate *bhe-j* ‘head/brain’; *mija-j* ‘temper’

Inanimate *surA-j* ‘sun’ *rai-j* ‘kingdom’ *te-j* ‘sharp’ *ro-j* ‘daily’

-jh

Inanimate *pu-jh* ‘puss’ *me-jh* ‘floor’ *san-jh* ‘evening’

-s

Inanimate *ō-s* ‘dew’ *jhã-s* ‘flame’ *kũha-s* ‘fog’ *aka-s* ‘sky’

bi-s ‘poison’ *ã-s* ‘scale’

-h

Animate *mu-h* ‘face’

-r

Animate

gidA-r ‘boy’ *bhasu-r* ‘husbands’ elder brother’ *TuA-r* ‘orphan’

patA-r ‘lean’ *kumhi-r* ‘crocodile’ *cui-r* ‘hair’

Inanimate

tikA-r ‘cliff’ *so-r* ‘current’ *auha-r* ‘darkness’ *bho-r* ‘dawn’

dhu-r ‘dust’ *jua-r* ‘tide’ *bAjA-r* ‘thunder’; *jhalA-r* ‘ray’

be-r ‘sun’ *Ana-r* ‘pineapple’ *Dume-r* ‘fig’ *pA-r* ‘feather’

la-r ‘saliva’, *kho-r* ‘ear-wax’

-l

Animate

badu-l ‘bat’ *hũDa-l* ‘hyena’ *ci-l* ‘kite’ *bhõtA-l* ‘blunt’

Inanimate

bhuDo-l ‘earthquake’ *Dangha-l* ‘ground’ *pathA-l* ‘stone’ *panDu-l* ‘jaundice’

Te-l ‘oil’ *manDha-l* ‘custardapple’ *da-l* ‘dal’ *ku-l* ‘jujube’

la-l ‘red’

-m

Animate *kuTu-m* ‘relative’

Inanimate

<i>gArA-m</i> ‘heat’	<i>puni-m</i>	‘full-moon night’	<i>di-m</i> ‘egg’
<i>ca-m</i> ‘skin’	<i>tha-m</i>	‘pillar’	<i>kAksi-m</i> ‘cluster-beans’
<i>a-m</i> ‘mango’	<i>gAhA-m</i>	‘wheat’	<i>bAdla-m</i> ‘blame’

-n

Animate

<i>sauté-n</i> ‘co-wife’ daughter’	<i>sAmdhe-n</i>	‘daughter-in-laws mother’	<i>rati-n</i>	‘grand-
<i>bAhi-n</i> ‘sister’	<i>pahu-n</i>	‘guests’	<i>hAri-n</i>	‘deer’
<i>ukhe-n</i> ‘bug’				

Inanimate

<i>gArhA-n</i> ‘eclipse’	<i>phe-n</i> ‘foam’	<i>bA-n</i> ‘forest’	<i>cATa-n</i> ‘island’
<i>asma-n</i> ‘sky’	<i>Utre-n</i> ‘slope’	<i>tArigA-n</i> ‘star’	<i>aphi-n</i> ‘opium’

-y

Animate	<i>ma-y</i> ‘mother’	<i>ga-y</i> ‘cow’
Inanimate	<i>bã-y</i> ‘left’	<i>Akta-y</i> ‘anger’

4.1.1. Word- Formation

Derivation

Derivational affixes are of two types-suffixation and prefixation. Below are presented the affixes used in Khortha/Khotta with examples.

Noun-forming suffixes:

1. Forming nouns from nouns:

--i (abstract) <i>jAbani</i> ‘youth’; <i>ranDi</i> ‘widow’, ‘courageous’	<i>bengni</i> ‘violet’,	<i>dAmbaji</i>	
<i>khusamAti</i> ‘flattery’	<i>kAidi</i> ‘prisoner’	<i>dosi</i> ‘accused’	<i>peari</i> ‘dear’
<i>ghAmAnDi</i> ‘proud’.			

--i (occupation) *haluai* ‘sweet-cake maker’ *sikari* ‘hunter’ *dhobi* ‘washerman’ *bhAnDari* / *nauri* ‘barber’ *kheti* ‘farming’

--i (agentive) *teli* ‘oilman’ *tãti* ‘weaver’

--ia (abstract) *bAĩsia* ‘descouder’, *bãhatia* ‘left-handed’ *koDhia* ‘lazy’ *kAria* ‘black’ *pahaDia* ‘hill-people’ *dAldAlia* ‘damp’ *mAjakia* ‘ridiculous;’ *durbAlia* ‘weak’ *hanDia* ‘liquorice’.

--ia (diminutive) *khATia* ‘bedstead/cot’.

--ia (agentive) *bADhia* ‘artisan’ *naia* ‘boatman’

--ia (occupation) *rAngAia* ‘painter’ *bharia* ‘porter’ *gunia* ‘witch craft’

--in (abstract) *kamin* ‘labourer’

--a (abstract) *khATa* ‘acidity’ *titia* ‘bitter’ *maThia* ‘brown’ *hArdia* ‘yellow’ *khosa* ‘matled hair’

--ar (agentive) *cAmar* ‘shoemaker’

--a (abstract) *Danghal* ‘fallow-land’

--Ak (abstract) *naTAK* ‘play’

--Al (abstract) *jhãjAl* ‘water-weed’ *bhukhAl* ‘hungry’

--ela (abstract) *cAmkela* ‘shinning’

-ua (abstract) *tatua* ‘hot’ *Darua* ‘afraid’ *lajna* ‘timid’ *bejua* ‘shepard’ *naTua* ‘player’
rauDua ‘widower’ *arlar* ‘sum-dried’ *miTmiTua* ‘dim’

--ual (abstract) *ghATual* ‘boatman’

--ka (abstract) *bADka* ‘biggest/eldest’ *choTka* ‘younger’

-prn (abstract) *bAcpAn* ‘childwood’

--bala (occupation) *chapabala* ‘printer’ *jadubala* ‘magician’ *rAngbala* ‘painter’
panbala ‘panseller’ *nacbala* ‘dancer’

--dar (occupation) *gArdar* ‘groceer’

--dar (abstract) *mAhAkdar* ‘scented’

--ni (agentive) *rãdhuni* ‘cook’

--ni (abstract) *jalni* ‘fuel’ *mAthni* ‘churning rod’ *kamni* ‘nightqueen’ *tArApsani* ‘partiality’

- na (abstract) *cikna* ‘shinning’ *chuTna* ‘agreement’ *mulna* ‘bargain’
- r (agentive) *sunar* ‘copper smith’
- ri (abstract) *mAsari* ‘mosquito-net’
- gAr (occupation) *karigAr* ‘tailor’
- Da (abstract) *dātnDa* ‘uneven teathed’ *hAthDa* ‘hammer’
- Di (abstract) *khelaDi* ‘player/athelate’

Forming noun from verb :

- ia (abstract) *pADhAia* ‘student’ *likhAia* ‘writer’ *bhulaia* ‘child-rhyme’.
- ei (abstract) *lADhei* ‘fight’
- Al (abstract) *sijhAl* ‘boiled’ *sukhAl* ‘dried’ *pakAl* ‘ripe’
- baha(occupation) *cArbaha* ‘shepard’
- bala (abstract) *dekhebala* ‘spectator’ *kArebala* ‘doer’
- ni (instrument) *Dhāknī* ‘lid’
- na (instrument) *belna* ‘rolling pin’

Forming noun from adjective :

- ai (abstract) *burai* ‘harm’
- i (abstract) *gAribi* ‘poverty’ *bidhyani* ‘wise’ *gArmi* ‘hot’ *sArdi* ‘cold’
- ia (abstract) *kucAkria* / *kerkecia* ‘crooked’
- pa (abstract) *buDhapa* ‘oldage’ *moTapa* ‘fattish’

Adjective forming suffixes:

Forming adjective from noun

- i (abstract) *bhari* ‘weightly’ *gulabi* ‘rose’
- era (abstract) *mAsera* ‘of mother’s relation’
- ban (abstract) *dhAnabn* ‘wealthy / rich’ *bAlban* ‘strong’

Forming adjective from noun or verb :

- iya *bADhiya* ‘best’ *ghATiya* ‘rough’
- aw *AnaDarawAna* ‘showing fear / threateming’ *lubhawAna* ‘showing of temptation’
- na *rona* ‘weeping’

Prefixation

A-	<i>AbhAdrA</i>	‘uncivilized’
na-	<i>napAsAnd</i>	‘not-liking’

NOUN

Nouns are distinguished by two tier-numbers (sg. & pl.), two-tier lexical genders (Masc & Feni) and five-tier cases (Noun, acc, Instr / Abl, Gen and Loc). Below are discussed the use of numbers, genders and cases with the nominal bases

Number

The numbers are two-singular (sg) and plural (pl) while singular is the base itself the plural markers as + human and –human. Below are presented the markers :

sg.	-Φ		
pl.	+ Human	-sAb (<i>Dum</i>)	-sAbhin (<i>Dhau</i>)
	- Human	- guli (<i>Dum</i>)	-gela (<i>Deo</i>).

Pl. markers for *Dum.* & *Deoghar* are same.

Examples

Pl. + Human - sAb (*Dum*) – sAbhin (*Dh*)

<i>beTa sAb (Dum)</i>	<i>beTasAbhin (Dhau)</i>	↘	
<i>gidAr sAb (Dum)</i>	<i>gidArsAbhin (Dhau)</i>	↗	Son : Sons
<i>bAhin sAb (Dum)</i>	<i>beTi sAbhin (Dhau)</i>	↘	
<i>gidri sAb (Dum)</i>	<i>gidri sAbhin (Dhau)</i>	↗	Daughter : Daughters
<i>admi sAb (Dum)</i>	<i>admisAbhin (Dhau)</i>		Man : Men
<i>baceasAb (Dum)</i>	<i>baceasAbhin (Dhau)</i>		Child : Children

pl. -Human – guli (*Dum*) – gela (*Dhau*)

<i>gharguli</i>	<i>ghArgela</i>	House : Houses
<i>hãtguli</i>	<i>hãthgela</i>	Hand : Hands
<i>aĩkhguli</i>	<i>aĩkhgela</i>	Eye : Eyes
<i>gãchguli</i>	<i>gãchgela</i>	Tree : Trees
<i>kahaniguli</i>	<i>kahanigela</i>	Story : Stories
<i>gayguli</i>	<i>gaygela</i>	Cow : Cows

<i>bElguli</i>	<i>bElgela</i>	Bull : Bulls
<i>hãtiguli</i>	<i>hãthigela</i>	Elephant : Elephants.

Gender

Gender is not grammatically significant and it does not bear concordance between noun and verb.

Gender distinction is basically lexical realized either by two different words or by the use of markers *-a, -I* (Mase) *-I, -ni, -uni, -in* (Femi) in the nouns and adjectives.

Below are exemplified the use of gender markers,

Φ *-a, -I* (Mase). *-I, -ni, -in, -uni* (Femi)

Noun : Human

<i>pota</i> ‘grandson’	<i>poti</i> ‘grand-daughter’
<i>nati</i> ‘grandson’	<i>natni (Dum) natuni (Dhau)</i> ‘grand-daughter’
<i>beta / gidAr</i> ‘son’	<i>beTi / gidri</i> ‘daughter’
<i>kũar</i> ‘spinister’	<i>kũari</i> ‘spinster’
<i>tuAr / Anath</i> ‘orphan’	<i>TuAri / Anathis</i> ‘orphan’
<i>dada</i> ‘grand-father’	<i>dadi</i> ‘grand mother’
<i>nunu</i> ‘baby’	<i>nuni</i> ‘boy’

Noun : Non-human

<i>hãthi</i> ‘elephant’	<i>hãthini</i> ‘elephant’
<i>bAkra</i> ‘he-goat’	<i>bAkri</i> ‘she-god’
<i>murga</i> ‘cock’	<i>murgi</i> ‘hen’
<i>kukur</i> ‘dog’	<i>kukuri</i> ‘bitch’
<i>mejur</i> ‘peacock’	<i>mejuri</i> ‘peahen’

Adjectives

<i>Dengha</i> ‘tall’	<i>Deughi</i> ‘tall’
<i>naTha</i> ‘short’	<i>naThi</i> ‘short’
<i>moTa</i> ‘fat’	<i>moTi</i> ‘fat’

<i>gunga</i> ‘dumb’	<i>gungi</i> ‘dumb’
<i>bAhira</i> ‘deaf-mute’	<i>bAhiri</i> ‘deaf-mute’
<i>thotDa</i> ‘stammerer’	<i>thotDi</i> ‘stammerer’
<i>lengDa</i> ‘cripple	<i>lengDi</i> ‘cripple’
<i>kuja</i> ‘hunch back’	<i>kuji</i> ‘hunch back’
<i>andha</i> ‘blind’	<i>andhi</i> ‘blind’
<i>patAr</i> ‘lean’	<i>patri</i> ‘lean’

Use different words

<i>admi</i> ‘man’	<i>mehAraru</i> ‘women’
<i>bap</i> ‘father	<i>may</i> ‘mother’
<i>mArAd</i> ‘husband’	<i>jAni</i> ‘wife’
<i>Sasur</i> ‘father-in-law’	<i>sas</i> ‘mother-in-law
<i>bhai</i> ‘brother’	<i>bAhin</i> ‘sister’
<i>bEl</i> ‘bull’	<i>gay</i> ‘cow’

Case

Cases are five. These are Noun, Acc.instr/Abl., Gen. and Loc. of the five cases Noun. is the base itself and the rest are having the following markers :

Noun : -Φ Acc -kc/-Ak Instr/Abl -Se Gm -k, -kc(r) Loc-e

Below are exemplified the use of case markers :

Case	Case-markers	Examples
Noun.	-Φ	<i>ghar(Dum) ghAr(Dham)</i> ‘House’ <i>gãch</i> ‘tree’ <i>ghãs</i> ‘grass’ <i>hat(Dum) hãth(Dhau)</i> ‘Hand’
Acc.	-kc / Ak	<i>ghãske/ghãsAk</i> <i>AlAg kAr</i> ‘remove the grass’
	-k	<i>tor gidrik(e) Dak</i> ‘call your daughter’
Inrfr/Abl.	-se	<i>gãchse dhure</i> ‘Away from the tree’ <i>lAkDise mare</i> ‘Beat by the stick’ <i>gharse nikali</i> ‘Get out from the house’ <i>pãase pAresan chele</i> ‘was tired with thirst’

		<i>hãthse buna</i> ‘kneat by hand’
		<i>danDhase marAlke</i> ‘Beat/stike with the stick’
Gen	-k, -kc(r)	<i>baceak hãthgela</i> ‘Hands of the child’
		<i>gãchAk patagela</i> ‘Leaves of the tree’
		<i>bAhut admik abagAmAn hoiche</i>
		‘Many people have come’
		<i>hamar ghArAk rang lal</i> ‘My house is red’
		<i>rajake(r) amla dAphla</i> ‘Courtiers of the king’
		<i>rajake(r) hãthi</i> ‘Elephant of the king’.
Loc.	-e, -me	<i>ghare/ghAre</i> ‘In the house’.
		<i>bagane</i> ‘In the garden’.
		<i>asmane</i> ‘In the sky’
		<i>bhitArme</i> ‘Inside’.

Post position

The following are the post position used with the nominal bases.

<i>tAr</i> ‘upon, in’	<i>jAmintAr bAisa</i> ‘Sit on the ground’.
	<i>TebultAr khaDa hoja</i> ‘Stand on the table’
	<i>SamAytAr kahe niale</i> ‘why did you not come in time’
<i>PAr</i> ‘on’	<i>PanrA ana admi khetipAr jieiche</i> ‘About 15 ana people live on agriculture’
Waste ‘for’	<i>aij hamrak jar nei mille wAhĩ waste hame aij mach pAkDel nei gelie</i>
Become’	‘Today I did not find my net hence I did not go to catch fish’
	<i>u / Aẽ Dakeitike waste kAidibhele</i> ‘He was caught for robbery’
<i>Thina</i> ‘from’	<i>gãchAk Thina</i> ‘from the tree’ <i>jekArthina</i> ‘from whom’
<i>Waja</i> ‘for,	<i>tupthanke Wajase nAuka gutigelke</i> ‘Boats drawnd due to cyclone’
due to’	<i>bhuDolke Wajase ghar sAbhin TuTi pADAlke</i> ‘House collapsed due to earthquake’
<i>dwara</i> ‘by’	<i>tor dwara</i> ‘By you’ <i>ramAk dwara</i> ‘By Ram’
<i>khatir</i> ‘for’	<i>pADha likhake khatir sAhAr cAil gelke</i> ‘(He) went to the city for education’

aghu ‘before’ *hamrak jaike aghu u vAilgelke* ‘He went before I came’

tAk ‘fill’ *hame ebtAk hamar gãonei chaiDelie* ‘I have not left my village till now’
duibajetAk sAmAy rAhAlke lekin hamrak kam khAtAm naibhele ‘Time
given was 2 ‘o’ clock but my work did not finish’

Lagi ‘for’ *hamar lagi jhagDa bhele* ‘On account of me there was a quarrel’
hamar gidArke lagi hame dukhit hEy. ‘I feel sorry for my son’

choiD *ekra choDik hamke ar kuehu de* ‘Give me something else’
‘leaving aside’

bhAr *dinbhAr kam kAirke raitke sute(he)* ‘work in the day and sleepat night’
‘throughout’ *murgi dinbhAr TahAlke* ‘cock moves throughout the day’.
RaitbhAr pani bhele ‘It rained throughout the night’

4.1.3. PRONOUN

Pronouns are of five – types. These are personal, Demostrative, Relative, Interogative and reflexive. The personal pronouns are realized in

- (i) three persons-Ist, 2nd 3rd
- (ii) two Numbers-sg. & pl.

The second personal pronouns have two-tier social gradings inferior and non – inferior and the third personal pronouns are having two tier social gradings i.e. ordinary and Honorific. The Demostrative pronouns are of proximate and Remote-types. These are Adjectival and adverbial also in function.

The Relative and Interogative pronouns are person-and object – specific being determined by the pheralisers they use.

The pronouns in general have five cases using case markers of which three also receive postpositions.

The system of pronominal formation one after another is presented below.

Personal Pronouns

Pronominal bases

Ist p.	<i>ham-</i>	(<i>Dum, Deo, Dhau</i>)
2 nd p	<i>to-</i>	(<i>Dum, Dhau</i>)
	<i>toh-</i>	(<i>Dum, Deo, Dhau</i>)
3 rd p	<i>u-</i>	(<i>Dum, Deo, Dhau</i>)
	<i>A-</i>	in oblique base (<i>Deo, Dum, Dhau</i>)

[*AkAr (Deo, Dum) > Akhra (Dhan)*].

Unhi-, inhi – (*Deo, Dhau*)- in Honorific

Un - (Dum) } - in Honorific.
We - (Dum) }

Pluralisers

Single pluraliser – *ra (Dum, Deo, Dhan)*

- *ni (Deo)*
- *khani (Dum)*
- *sAbhi (Deo)*
-

Double pluraliser- *rani (Dum)*

- *ranin (Dhan)*
- *rasAbhin (Dhau)*
- *ra sini (Dum-sikaripara)*
-

Herein, - *ra* → used in Ist, 2nd, 3rd p (*Dum, Deo, Dhan*)

- *ni* → used in Ist & 2nd p (*Deo*)

- *khani* → used in 3rd p (*Dum*)

- *sAbhi* → used in 3rd p (*Deo*)

- *rani* → used in Ist & 2nd p (*Dum*)

- *ranin* → used in Ist, 2nd & 3rd p (*Dhau*)

- *rasAbhin* → used in Ist, 2nd & 3rd p (*Dhau*)

- *rasini* → used in Ist, 2nd & 3rd p (*Dum-sikari para*)

Cases

Six cases – Noun, Ace, instr / Abl. Gen and Loc. Have the following case markers :

Noun - Φ, -e

Ace. - *k*, -*ke*

Instr / Abl. – *se*

Gen. -*r* (in open syllable)

-*k* (in open syllable except in -A)

-*ar* / -*Ar* (in close syllable)

-*kAr* (in close syllable + after A vowel)

Loc. *e* / -*ay* (in close syllable)

-*I* (in open syllable)

Formation of pronominal declension – Base (+ pluraliser) + case marker.

Cases	Casemarker	Declensional formation
Noun	-Φ, -e	<p><i>hame</i> (<i>Dum, Deo, Dhau</i>) ‘I’; <i>hamra, hamramihamramin</i> (<i>Dhau</i>)</p> <p><i>hamrasAbhin</i>(<i>Dhau</i>) <i>hamrasini</i> (<i>Dum – sikaripara</i>) <i>hamri</i> (<i>Deo</i>)</p> <p>‘we’ <i>toẽ</i> (<i>Deo, Dum, Dhau</i>) ‘you (inferior)’ <i>tohẽ</i> (<i>Dum</i>)you</p> <p>(familiar) <i>tohAni</i> (<i>Deo</i>) ‘you (familiar)’ <i>tohArani</i> (n),</p> <p><i>tohArasAbhin</i> (<i>Dhau</i>) to <i>hArasini</i> (<i>Dum-sikaripara</i>)</p> <p>‘you(familiar)’; <i>u</i> (<i>Dum, Deo, Dhau</i>) <i>Aẽ</i>(<i>Dhau</i>) ‘he/she’</p> <p><i>we</i>(<i>Dum</i>) he/she (<i>Honorific</i>) <i>inhi</i>(<i>Dum</i>) ‘he/she’ (Non. Proxi-</p> <p>mate) <i>urali</i> he/she (<i>Hon.Remote</i>); <i>Akhrani</i>(n), <i>ukhrani</i>(n),</p> <p><i>ukhrasAbhin</i> (<i>Dhau</i>) ‘They (ordinary); <i>usAbhi</i> (<i>Deo</i>) They</p> <p>(ordinary) <i>unhisAbhi</i> (<i>Deo</i>) ‘They (Hon.-Remote) <i>unkhani</i></p> <p>(<i>Dum</i>) they (<i>Hon.Remote</i>) <i>unsini</i> (<i>Dum-sikari para</i>) ‘They</p> <p>(<i>Hon. Remote</i>)</p>
Acc	- <i>k</i> , - <i>kc</i>	<p><i>hamake</i>, ‘to me’ <i>hamrak</i> ‘to us’, <i>hamnike, hamranike, hamr-</i></p> <p><i>aninkehamrasAbhike, hamrasAbhinke</i> ‘to us’; <i>toke</i> ‘toyou’</p> <p>(inferior) <i>tohArke</i> ‘to you’(ordinary) <i>tohArak</i> ‘to you’ (familiar);</p>

tohAnike, tohAramike, tohAraminke, tohArasAbhinke ‘to you’ (familiar+pl) *toranike* ‘to you’(inferior+pl) *Uke, Akhrake* ‘to him / her (ordinary), *usAbhinke* (ordinary) ‘to them (pl)’; *inhisAbhike* ‘to them’ (Hon-proximate-pl) *unhisAbhike* ‘to them’ (Hon-Remote-pl) *unkhanike* ‘to them’ (ordinary)

Intr / Abl. –se

hamse ‘by/from me’ *hamrase, hamrise, hamrarise, hamrarinse, HamrasAbhinse* ‘by/from us’, *torse* ‘by/from you’ (inferior) *tohArse* ‘by/from you (familier) *tohAranise, tohArarinse, TohArasAbhinse* ‘by/from you’ (familiar pl) *toranise* ‘by/from you’ (inferior-pl). *Akhrase* ‘by/from him/her (ordinary) *inhise* ‘by/from him/her (Hon-proximate) *unhise* ‘by/from him/her (Hon-Remote); *AkhApse/AkArse* ‘by/from him/her’ (ordinary), *Akhrase/Akrase* ‘by/from him/ her’ (ordinary) *inhisAbhi(n) se* ‘by/from them’(Hon.oximate); *unhisAbhi(n) se* ‘by/from them (Hon Remote)*ukhranise, ukhraninse, ukhrasAbhi(n) se* ‘by/from them (ordinary, *Akhranise* ‘by/from them (ordinary) *unkhaniseunsinise* ‘by/from them’ (Hon.-Remote)

Geu. –k, -r, -kAr,-ar,-Ar.

Hamrak ‘our’ *hamri, ‘our’, torak* ‘you (inferior) *toranik* ‘you’ (inferior-pl), *inhik* ‘of him/her (Hon. proximate) *unhik* ‘of him/her (Hon-Remote) *unkhanik* ‘to them(ord.pl). *hamrani(N) kAr, hamrasAbhi(n) kAr* ‘your’ *tohArani(n) kAr, tohArasAbhi(n) kAr* ‘your’ (familiar-pl). *ukhrani(n) kAr, ukhrasAbhi(n) kAr* ‘their (ordinary) *unhisAbhinkAr* ‘their’ (Hon.Remote) *inhisAbhin-kAr* (Hon. proximate).*Hamar* ‘my’ tor ‘your (inferior) *AkAr/AkhAr* his/her (ordinary)

Loc –e/-y-ay

Akre/Akhre ‘at him/her’ (ordinary) *inhine* ‘at him/her’ (Hon.proximate) *unhine* ‘at him/her’ (Hon.Remote) *ukhranine* ‘at them (ordinary) *inhisAbhine* ‘at them’ (Hon.proximate) *unhisAbhine* ‘at them’(Hon.Remote)

hamranine/hamrasAbhine ‘at us’

TohAranine/tohArasAbhine ‘at you’ (familiar-pl);

Hamay ‘at me’, *toy* ‘at thee’(inferior).

Demonstrative pronouns:

Pronominal bases:

Proximate *-i (Dum, Deo, Dhau) ekra (Dum, Deo) ekhra (Dhau)*

Remote *-u (Dum, Deo, Dhau) Akra (Dum, Deo) Akhra (Dhau)*

Pluralisers	sg	pl
1. a) <i>-sAb(Dum)</i> → Human	<i>I, ekra</i> ‘this’ <i>u, Akra</i> ‘that’	<i>i sAb, ekrasAb</i> ‘these’ <i>u sAb, AkrasAb</i> ‘those’
b) <i>-guli (Dum)</i> → Non-human	<i>i, ekra</i> ‘this’ <i>u, Akra</i> ‘that’	<i>i guli, ekraguli</i> ‘these’ <i>u guli, Akraguli</i> ‘those’
2. <i>-sAbhi (Deo)-</i>	<i>i, ekra</i> ‘this’ <i>u, Akra</i> ‘that’	<i>i sAbhi, ekra sAbhi</i> ‘these’ <i>u sAbhi, Akra sAbhi</i> ‘those’
3. a) <i>-sAbhin(Dhan)</i> Human	<i>i, ekhra</i> ‘this’ <i>u, Akhra</i> ‘that’	<i>i sAbhin, ekhra sAbhin</i> ‘those’ <i>u sAbhin, Akhra sAbhin,</i> ‘those’
b) <i>-gela(Dhan)</i> → Non-Human	<i>i, ekhra</i> ‘this’ <i>u, Akhra</i> ‘that’	<i>i gela, ekhragela</i> ‘these’ <i>u gela, Akhragela</i> ‘those’

Case markers :

Case markers used with the Demoustrative pronouns are the following:

- Φ → Noun
- ke → Acc.
- se → inslr /Abl.
- kAr → Gen.(in close syllable)
- k /-r → Gen.(in open syllable)
- e, -ay → Loc.

Relative Pronouns

Pronominal base	je	
Pluralisers person-Specific	-sAb(Dum) – sAbhi (Dco) – sAbhin (Dhau)	
Object-Specific	-guli(Dum)	-gela(Dhau)

Casemarkers - Φ (Noun) –ke (Ace) –sc (Inslr/Abl)
-kAr (Gen-in close syllable)-k/-r Gen-in open syllable
-e/-ay(Loc.)

Interogative pronouns :

Pronominal bases : ke, kon

Pluralisers person-specific	-sAb(Dum) –sAbhi(Deo)-sAbhin(Dhau)	
object-specific	-guli (Dum)	-gela(Dhau)

Case markers - Φ (Noun) –kc(Acc) –se(instr/Abl.) –kAr (Gen is close syllable) –k/-r (Gen is open syllable) -e /-ay (Loc.)

Reflexive pronoun

Pronominal bases : apnA, apAn

Pluraliser : -sAb(Dum) –sAbhi(Deo) –sAbhin(Dhau)

Case-markers : - Φ (Noun) –ke(Ace.)-se(Instr/Abl)
-kAr (Gen. in close syllable) –k/-r (Gen. in open syllable)
-e/-ay (Loc).

Post positions in different cases :

- 1) *dwara* ‘by’: Instr Base + Gen. Affix + *dwara*
hamar dwara ‘by me’ *AkAr/AkhAr dwara* ‘by him/her’
- 2) *waste* ‘for : Instr : Base + Gen. Affix + *wAste*
AkAr / AkhArwAste ‘for him / her or that’
Admik wAste ‘for the man’ *unhikwAste* ‘for him / her(Hon).
- 3) *Thina* ‘from’ : Abl. Base + Gan. Affix + *Thina*

AkAr / AkhArThina ‘from her/him’

GachAkThina ‘from the tree’

UnlikThina from him / her (Hon)

4) *dige* ‘at’ : Loc Base + Gen affix + -dige
hamardige ‘at me’

tor dige ‘at you’

tohAr dige ‘at you’ (familiar)

unkhanik dige ‘at them’

4.1.4. ADJECTIVE

Formation of Adjectives:

Adjectivals are formed by addition of the following affixes with the bases :

Base + affixes - Φ : *lal* ‘red’ *patAr* ‘lean’, *tej* ‘sharp’

- *i*: *Dengi* ‘tall’ (F) *moTi* ‘fat’ (F) *naTi* ‘short’ (F)
patAri ‘lean’ (F) *gungi* ‘dumb’ (F) *sati* ‘step’ (F)
totDi ‘stammerer’ (F) *lengDi* ‘cripple’ (F) *kuji*
‘hunch back’ (F) *andhi* ‘blind’ (F) *gori* ‘fair’ (F)
kendi ‘deaf mute’ (F) *bengni* ‘violet’ *alsi* ‘lazy’
acchi ‘good’ (F) *gAribi* ‘poverty’ *dhobi* ‘washerman’
ghAmAnDi ‘proud’ *dosi* ‘guilty’ *khusamAti* ‘flattery’
lobhi ‘greedy’ *jangli* ‘wild’ *dArkari* ‘useful’ *abadi*
cultivation *gulabi* ‘rosy’ *bhari* ‘weighty’ *tiari*
‘ready’ *dhAni* ‘wealthy’ *bidyani* ‘wise’ (F) *durgAndhi* ‘shinky’.
- *ia* *bahatia* ‘left-handed’ *mujria* ‘labourer’
bhulaia ‘seducer’ *mAjakia* ‘ridiculous’
ojnia ‘weighty’ *durbAlia* ‘weak’ *dAldAhia*
‘swamp’ *kueAkria / kerkecia* ‘crooked’

- *iar* *husiar* ‘intelligunt’
- *ik* *tAmik* ‘a little’
- *cla* *cAmkela* ‘bright’
- *a* *Denga* ‘tall (M)’ *naTa* ‘short’ (M)’ *moTa* ‘fat’(M)
gunga ‘dumb’ (M) *bAhira* ‘deaf-mute’ (M)
totDa ‘stammerer’ (M) *lengDa* ‘crippled’(M)
kuja ‘hunchback’(M) *andha* ‘blind (M)’
tita ‘bitter’ *cēka* ‘acidity’ *hArdia* ‘yellow’
bhura ‘grey’ *cArka* ‘white’ *bAka* ‘bend’
bhinga ‘wet’ *taja* ‘fresh’ *ũca* ‘high’ / ‘tall’
thoDa ‘a few’ *lAmba* ‘tall / long’ *kēTra*
‘miser’ *khola* open *ruTha* ‘pale’ *pAca*
‘ripe’ *sADha* ‘rotten’ *roga* ‘ill’
cAuDa ‘wide’ *bhukha* ‘hungry’ *Adhura*
‘incomplete’ *mirca* ‘chilly’.
- *an* *khAdan* ‘mineral’
- *ay* *Aktay* ‘enrage / reluctance’
- *u* *sAru* ‘narrow’ *nicu* ‘low’
- *ua* *lajua* ‘shy’ *miTmiTna* ‘dim’ *tatua* ‘hot’
bejua ‘shepard / one who plays flute’.
naTua ‘actor’ *bAnua* ‘wild’
- *uT* *sAcaT* ‘honest’
- A- *AbhAdrA* ‘uncivilized’
- A *sAjhA* ‘fresh’
- Al *bhukhAl* ‘hungry’ *thokAl* ‘tried’ *sijhAl* ‘friend’ *pakAl* ‘ripe’
pAcAl / *sADhAl* ‘ratten’ *sukhAl* ‘dry’
- An *kuchAn* ‘a few’
- Ar *sutAr* ‘sober’ *dusAr* ‘second’

- *la ekla* ‘alone’, *bajala* ‘noisy’
- *dar mAhaKdar* ‘scenty / secuted’
- *dhAr jandhAr* ‘thick’
- *na jAtna* ‘as much’ *utna* ‘that much’ *etna* ‘this-much’ *ketna* ‘how much’

Semantical categories of Adjectives:

The adjectives as attributes preceded the noun in the construction. Semantically, the adjectives are of qualitative and quantitative types of which the former denotes quality and the latter the quality of the noun. Below are exemplified the adjective-types.

Qualitative: *kAria sãp* ‘black snake’ *sade ghADa* ‘white house’

nATkhATgidAr ‘naughty boy’. *Adhurakam* ‘incomplete’ *andha admi* ‘blindman’ *kAca*

<i>tetAir</i>	‘raw-tamarind’	<i>kADi dhup</i>	‘hot sun’
<i>sAkAt kaTh</i>	‘hard wood’	<i>chapa kitab</i>	‘printed book’.

Quantitative: *tAnik dudh* ‘a little milk’, *kuchAn admi* ‘a few men’ *bejain gidAr* ‘many boys’.

Gender distinction:

The adjectives bear concordance with nouns in question of gender distinction. The gender markers being used with the base form lexical genders. The gender-types-Masc.& Femi are realized by markers : - Φ / -a (Masc) : -i (Femi). Below are noted the examples.

Gender marker	Masc	Femi
- Φ : -i	<i>patAr</i>	<i>patAri, patri</i> ‘lean’
- a : -I	<i>denga</i> <i>moTa</i>	<i>Dengi</i> ‘tall’ <i>moTi</i> ‘fat’
	<i>gunga</i>	<i>gungi</i> ‘dumb’
	<i>naTa</i>	<i>naTi</i> ‘short’
	<i>lengDa</i>	<i>lengDi</i> ‘cripple’
	<i>sAta-</i>	<i>sati</i> ‘step’
	<i>totDa</i>	<i>totDi</i> ‘stammerer’
	<i>kuja</i>	<i>kuji</i> ‘hunchback’

<i>aceha</i>	<i>acchi</i> ‘good’
<i>gora</i>	<i>gori</i> ‘fair’

Degrees of comparisons in adjectives:

Three tier degrees of comparison is available Nominative, Comparative and Superlative of which the finest one is the base itself while the latter two have *Akhra/AkAr/ukArse* (Comparative degree) and *sAbse* (Superlative degree) prefixed to the base. eg

<i>accha</i> ‘good’:	<i>ukAr/AkAr/Akhraseaccha</i> ‘better’	<i>sAbse accha</i> ‘best’
<i>khArab</i> ‘bad’	<i>ukAr/AkAr/Akhrase khArab</i> ‘worse’	<i>sAbse khArab</i> ‘worse’
<i>ũca</i> ‘high’	<i>ukAr/AkAr/Akhraseũca</i> ‘higher’	<i>sAbse ũca</i> ‘highest’

4.1.5. NUMERAL

Numerals are adjectivals occur preceding the noun in the construction. The Numerals sometimes receive classifiers. Below are presented the different types of numerals wise example :

Cardinal-Integral:

<i>ek</i> ‘one’	<i>do</i> ‘two’	<i>tir</i> ‘three’	<i>cair</i> ‘four’	<i>pãc</i> ‘five’
<i>chAo</i> ‘six’	<i>sat</i> ‘seven’	<i>aTh</i> ‘eight’	<i>nAo</i> ‘nine’	<i>dAs</i> ‘ten’
<i>egarA</i> ‘eleven’	<i>barA</i> ‘twelve’	<i>’terA</i> ‘thirteen’	<i>cAudA</i> ‘fourteen’	<i>pAnrA</i> ‘fifteen’
<i>solhA</i> ‘sixteen’	<i>sAthra</i> ‘seventeen’	<i>aThrA</i> ‘eighteen’	<i>Anis</i> ‘nineteen’	<i>bis</i> ‘twenty’
<i>tis</i> ‘thirty’	<i>calis</i> ‘forty’	<i>pAcas</i> ‘fifty’	<i>saTh</i> ‘sixty’	<i>sAtthAr</i> ‘seventy’
<i>asi</i> ‘eighty’	<i>nAbbe</i> ‘ninety’	<i>sAo</i> ‘hundred’		

Cardinal-Fractioned :

Formed by single word $\frac{1}{2}$ *adha* $\frac{1}{2}$ *deDh* $\frac{2}{2}$ *aDhai* Formed by
componad words $\frac{3}{4}$ *tin-cAuthai* $\frac{1}{4}$ *sAwa ek*

Ordinal: *-ila/-Ala* (after *pAh*) : *pAhila/pAhAla* ‘first’

-Ar (after *du*) : *dusAr* ‘second’

(after *tis*) : *tisAr* ‘third’

4.2 VERB MORPHOLOGY

4.2.1. VERB

A general account of the verb stems and their classification :

In Khortha/Khotta the verb stems are formed either with vowel or consonant i.e either in open syllable or in close syllable. Below are exemplified the verb stems.

<i>Vc</i>	<i>an</i> ‘bring’	<i>uD</i> ‘fly’	<i>uTh</i> ‘rise/get up’			
<i>Vcvc</i>	<i>ukhaD</i> ‘pull out’					
<i>Vccv</i>	<i>upja</i> ‘grow’	<i>usma</i> ‘set on(eggs)’	<i>Akhra</i> ‘miss’			
<i>cv</i>	<i>dho</i> ‘wash’	<i>la</i> ‘bring’	<i>ho</i> ‘be’	<i>ja</i> ‘go’	<i>pa</i> ‘get’	<i>de</i> ‘give’
	<i>cũ</i> ‘leak’	<i>pi</i> ‘drink’	<i>kha</i> ‘eat’	<i>chũ</i> ‘touch’		
<i>cvc</i>	<i>khod</i> ‘dig’	<i>toD</i> ‘break’	<i>chiD</i> ‘break/tear’	<i>put</i> ‘burry’	<i>bAh</i> ‘carry’	
	<i>lad</i> ‘collect’	<i>kAr</i> ‘do’	<i>cud</i> ‘cohabit’	<i>gut</i> ‘dip into’	<i>gũth</i> ‘pierce’	
	<i>joD</i> ‘fold’	<i>ghĀs</i> ‘rub/grate’	<i>dhAr</i> ‘hold’	<i>jãk</i> ‘iron/press’	<i>ghĩc</i> ‘pull’	
	<i>jhũk</i> ‘lean’	<i>cãT</i> ‘lick’	<i>khol</i> ‘open’	<i>chi</i> ‘skim’	<i>chĩD</i> ‘tear’	
<i>kaT</i>	‘cut’ <i>khel</i> ‘play’ <i>Dhal</i> ‘pour’ <i>phoD</i> ‘pierce’ <i>Thal/Dhek</i> ‘push’ <i>bhAr</i> ‘pushinto/pour/fill up’, <i>rAkh</i> keep <i>chĩc</i> ‘irrigate’ <i>bẽc</i> ‘sell’ <i>kãp</i> ‘shiver’ <i>mud</i> ‘close’ <i>Dub</i> ‘dip into’ <i>chãk</i> ‘strain’ <i>ghãt</i> ‘smear’ <i>sĩc</i> ‘irrigate’ <i>rẽt</i> ‘stagger’ <i>phẽk</i> ‘throw’ <i>bun</i> ‘weave’ <i>Dhãk</i> ‘cover’ <i>phaD</i> ‘cut(wood)’ <i>kuT</i> ‘grind’ <i>lADh</i> ‘fight’ <i>bhus</i> ‘stab’ <i>phũk</i> ‘blow’ <i>dis</i> ‘see/appear’; <i>cADh</i> ‘ride’ <i>ghus</i> ‘enter’ <i>nac</i> ‘dance’ <i>gir</i> ‘fall’ <i>dhuk</i> ‘fan’ <i>bhãs</i> ‘float’ <i>ghur</i> ‘move’ <i>cal</i> ‘move a game’ <i>bhej</i> ‘send’ <i>mel</i> ‘spread’ <i>ghir</i> ‘surround’ <i>dul</i> ‘swing’ <i>khoj</i> ‘search’ <i>mag</i> ‘beg’ <i>nap</i> ‘measure’ <i>duh</i> ‘milk’ <i>pal</i> ‘tender’ <i>cug</i> ‘select’ <i>bhok</i> ‘hawl’ <i>cab</i> ‘bite’ <i>rãdh</i> ‘cook’ <i>thuk</i> ‘spit’ <i>cus</i> ‘suck’ <i>cakh</i> ‘taste’ <i>makh</i> ‘oint’ <i>puch</i> ‘ask’ <i>Dak</i> ‘call’ <i>bol</i> ‘say’ <i>buj</i> ‘understand’ <i>Tok</i> ‘lease’ <i>rAD</i> ‘roar’ <i>jAl</i> ‘burn’ <i>cun</i> ‘select’ <i>mAr</i> ‘die’ <i>rAh</i> ‘remain/stray’ <i>rAkh</i> ‘keep’ <i>Tip</i> ‘stitch’ <i>sujh</i> ‘arange’ <i>chĩk</i> ‘sneeze’ <i>jhĩT</i> ‘sprinkle’ <i>gel</i> ‘wean’ <i>bãT</i> ‘distribute’ <i>KaDh</i> ‘draw’ <i>rokh</i> ‘make stop’ <i>tham</i> ‘stop’ <i>sus</i> ‘soak’ <i>phul</i> ‘swell’ <i>gin</i> ‘count’ <i>dekh</i> ‘see’ <i>bhul</i> ‘forget’ <i>sikh</i> ‘learn’ <i>pAdh</i> ‘read’ <i>soc</i> ‘think’ <i>khãs</i> ‘cough’ <i>Dar</i> ‘fear’ <i>sun</i> ‘hear’ <i>sut</i> ‘sleep’ <i>cãh</i> ‘what’ <i>kin</i> ‘buy’ <i>mil</i> ‘get back’ <i>baDh</i> ‘increase’					
<i>cvcv</i>	<i>bĀka</i> ‘bend’	<i>saja</i> ‘arrange’	<i>libha</i> ‘extinguish’	<i>misa</i> ‘mix’		
	<i>bAsa</i> ‘make sit’	<i>hila</i> ‘shake’	<i>lAga</i> ‘reap/transplant’	<i>bicha</i> ‘spread’		

	<i>chADa</i> ‘sprinkle’ <i>Dara</i> ‘frighten’	<i>hAja</i> ‘loose’ <i>Duba/guta</i> ‘make dip into’.	<i>cADha</i> ‘make <i>ride</i> ’ para ‘escape’	
<i>cvcv</i>	<i>jAmhai</i> ‘belch’			
<i>cvcvc</i>	<i>bikheD</i> ‘scatter’ <i>ghÃAsAr</i> ‘crawl’ <i>jabaD</i> ‘embrace’	<i>nicuD</i> ‘rinse’ <i>pachuD</i> ‘winnow’	<i>sAjaD</i> ‘arrange’ <i>khAsAr/pichAr</i> ‘slip’	<i>pAkAD</i> ‘catch’ <i>TahAl</i> ‘visit’
<i>cvcc</i>	<i>banh</i> tie			
<i>cvccv</i>	<i>pATHra</i> ‘send’ <i>hĩcDa</i> ‘drag’ <i>phuTka</i> ‘bubble’ <i>chilka</i> ‘shed of’	<i>Dhekra</i> ‘belch’ <i>muska</i> ‘smile’ <i>capDa</i> ‘clap’ <i>chingla</i> ‘spin’(thread)	<i>sÃAthra</i> ‘swim’ <i>pasta</i> ‘repent’ <i>dhAska</i> ‘demolish’ <i>nigDa</i> ‘squeeze’	<i>migla</i> ‘swallow’ <i>bhulka</i> ‘seduce’ <i>khujla</i> ‘scratch’
<i>cvccvcv</i>	<i>kutkuta</i> ‘tickle’			

Classification of verb stems : Transitive and Intransitive

Transitive verb :

<i>pAkAD</i> ‘catch/hold’	<i>khod</i> ‘dig’	<i>rAkh</i> ‘keep/place’
<i>phẽk</i> ‘throw’	<i>kha</i> ‘eat’	<i>la</i> ‘bring’
<i>bÃaka</i> ‘bend’	<i>cãB</i> ‘lick’	<i>sikarkAr</i> ‘hunt’
<i>kuT</i> ‘grind’	<i>cus</i> ‘suck’	

Intransitive verb :

<i>uD</i> ‘fly’	<i>ja</i> ‘go’	<i>hAs</i> ‘laugh’
<i>a</i> ‘come’	<i>dAuD</i> ‘run’	<i>so</i> ‘sleep’
<i>buD/gut</i> ‘sink’	<i>Dak</i> ‘call’	<i>ro</i> ‘cry’
<i>bAiTa</i> ‘sit’	<i>gir</i> ‘fall’	<i>nac</i> ‘dance’
<i>cADh</i> ‘climb’	<i>ghum</i> ‘move’	
<i>chup</i> ‘hide’	<i>khãS</i> ‘cough’	

Process of transitivization:

Intransitive > Transitive

a) - A - > - a -

utAr>utar ‘get down’

‘place down’

ukhAD > ukhaD ‘pull out’

pAD > paD ‘fall, drop’

phĀs > phās ‘tie’ knot

phAT > phaT tear

bigAD > bigaD ‘make loose’

kAT > kaT ‘cut’

kADh > kaDh ‘draw’

gAD > gaD ‘brewery’

cAl > cal ‘move’

Tal > Tal ‘shake’

lAd > lad ‘gather’

nikAl > nikal ‘get out/drive away’

mAr > mar ‘beat,kill’

sAmbhAl > sAmbhal ‘control, check’

b) *-u-* > *-o-*

chuT > choD ‘release’

juT > joD ‘add’

TaT > toD ‘break’

khul > khol ‘open’

muD > moD ‘fold’

ghul > ghol ‘smear’

c) *-i-* > *-e*

ghir>gher ‘surround’

dikh>dekh ‘see’

phir>pher ‘turn’

bik>bec ‘sell’

Persons :

The verbs are distinguished by three persons –1st, 2nd and 3rd. The personal markers do not distinguish for number and gender. Below are presented the personal markers

Used in different tenses:

Personal markers:

A. Auxiliary verbs \sqrt{Ach} - / \sqrt{ho} –

Present	1st person	2 nd person	3 rd person
<i>Dum + Deo</i>	- <i>i</i>	- <i>ē</i>	- <i>e</i>
<i>Dhau</i>	- <i>ie</i>	- <i>e</i>	- <i>Ey</i>

Past
Dum + Deo - *ie* - *ie* - *e*

Dhau - *ie* - *i* - *e*

Future
Dum + Deo - *e* - *e* - *e*

Deo - *o*

Dhau - *oi* - *e / hõ* - *e*

Conditional

Dum + Deo - *io* - *hĩ* - *e*

Dhau - *ie* - *hĩ* - *e*

B. Finite verb

Present

Dum + Deo - *i* - *ẽ* - *e*

Dhau - *ẽ* - *e* - *ẽ*

Past

Dum + Deo + Dhau - *ie* *Dum + Deo* - *ẽ* *Dum+Deo+Dhau* - *ke*

Dhau - *hĩ, -ĩ* *Deo* - *ko*

Dhau - *e*

Future

Dum+Deo+Dhau - *e* - *e* - *e*

Dhau - *oi* - *hõ* *Deo.* - *o*

Conditional

Dum + Deo - *io* - *i* *Dum+Deo+Dhau* - *e*

Dhau - *ie* - *e*

Perfective present

Dum + Deo - *i* - *ẽ* *Dum+Deo+Dhau* - *e*

Deo + Dhau - *ie* - *ĩ*

Perfect past

Dum+Deo+Dhau - *ie* *Dum+Deo* - *ĩ* *Dum+Deo+Dhau* - *e*

Deo - *io* *Dhau* - *ok, õ* *Dhau* - *oi*

Perfective Future

Dum - *ie* - *i* *Dum+Deo* - *e*

Deo - *i* - *e*

Imperfective present

Dum + Deo - *i* - *ẽ* *Dum+Deo+Dhau* - *e*

Deo + Dhau - *ie* - *ĩ*

Imperfective past

Dum+Deo+Dhau - *ie* - *ĩ* - *e*

Deo - *io* *Dhau* - *õ* *Deo + Dhau* - *o*

Imperfective Future

Dum+Deo+Dhau - *e* *Dum+Deo* - *ĩ* *Dum+Deo+Dhau* - *e*

Dhau - *oi* *Dhau* - *hĩ, -õ* *Dhau* - *ok*

Tense Markers

Tenses	Persons	Tense markers	Tense-markers in Aspect formation		
Present	1 st	}	Perfective (Used after auxiliary verb)		
	2 nd			-ei-	present --- Φ
	3 rd				past -- el
past	1 st	}	Future -Ab-		
	2 nd			-l-	Imperfective (Used after auxiliary verb)
	3 rd			-el-	present- Φ-

Future	1 st	}	-b-	past - <i>el-</i>
	2 nd			Future – <i>Ab-</i>
	3 rd		-t-	
Conditional	1 st	}		
	2 nd			-tAl
	3 rd			

Aspect markers

Aspect	Tenses	Aspect-markers	
Perfective	present	}	
	Past		-lA-
	Fut-Cond		
Imperfective	Present	-i-	
	Past	}	
	Future		-te-

Use of copula verb:

Copula verb is used in Khortha/Khotta which is a feature similar to st. Hindi. The feature is absent in Bengali copula verbs are attested in the present tense only:

<i>Dum/Deo = i ek kukur che</i>	}	This is a dog.
<i>Dhau = i ek kukur hEy / ay</i>		

<i>Dum/Deo = tinTho kukur che</i>	}	'There are two dogs'
<i>TinTho kukur hEy / ay</i>		

4.2.1.1. FINITE VERB

The finite verbs are conjugated in four basic tenses – Present, Past, Future and Conditional, each in three persons – 1st, 2nd and 3rd. The verbs do not differ in number and gender.

Tense

Below are presented the conjugational patterns of the finite verbs √kArek ‘to do’ √kArna ‘to do’.

Simple tenses

Present = Base + TM + Aux + PM

Past = Base + TM + PM

Future = Base + TM + PM

Conditional = Base + TM + PM

Paradigmatic Set : √kArek √kArna ‘to do’

Present Base + TM + Aux + PM

1. sg + pl

Dumka kAr- + -ei- + -ch- + -i ‘I do; We do’

Deoghar kAr- + -ei- + -ch- + -i
kAr- + -ci- + -h- + -ĩ (*karon*)

Dhanbad kAr- + -ei- + -h- + -e

2. sg + pl

Dumka kAr- + -ei- + -ch- + -ẽ ‘Thou doesn’t; You do’

Deoghar kAr- + -ei- + -ch- + -ẽ
kAr- + -ei- + -h- + -ẽ (*karon*)

Dhanbad kAr- + -ei- + -h- + -ẽ

3. sg + pl

Dumka kAr- + -ei- + -ch- + -e ‘He/She does, They do’

Deoghar kAr- + -ei- + -ch- + -e

	<i>kAr-</i> + <i>-ei-</i> + <i>-h-</i> + <i>-e</i> (<i>karon</i>)	
<i>Dhanbad</i>	<i>kAr-</i> + <i>-ei-</i> + <i>-h-</i> + <i>-e</i>	
Past	Base + TM + PM	
1. sg + pl		
<i>Dumka</i>	<i>kAr-</i> + <i>-l-</i> + <i>-ie</i>	‘I did; We did’
<i>Deoghar</i>	<i>kAr-</i> + <i>-l-</i> + <i>-ie</i>	
<i>Dhanbad</i>	<i>kAr-</i> + <i>-l-</i> + <i>-ie</i>	
2. sg + pl		
<i>Dumka</i>	<i>kAr-</i> + <i>-l-</i> + <i>-ẽ</i>	‘Thou didn’t; You did’
<i>Deoghar</i>	<i>kAr-</i> + <i>-l-</i> + <i>-ẽ</i>	
<i>Dhanbad</i>	<i>kAr-</i> + <i>-l-</i> + <i>-hĩ</i>	
	<i>kAr-</i> + <i>-l-</i> + <i>-ĩ</i> (<i>sindhri</i>)	
3. sg + pl		
<i>Dumka</i>	<i>kAr-</i> + <i>-el-</i> + <i>-ke</i>	‘He/She did; They did’
<i>Deoghar</i>	<i>kAr-</i> + <i>-el-</i> + <i>-ke/ -ko</i>	
<i>Dhanbad</i>	<i>kAr-</i> + <i>-el-</i> + <i>-ke</i>	
	<i>kAr-</i> + <i>-el-</i> + <i>-e</i>	
Future	Base + TM + PM	
1. sg + pl		
<i>Dumka/Deoghar</i>	<i>kAr-</i> + <i>-b-</i> + <i>-e</i>	‘I shall do; We shall do’
<i>Dhanbad</i>	<i>kAr-</i> + <i>-b-</i> + <i>-e ~ oi</i>	
2. sg + pl		
<i>Dumka/Deoghar</i>	<i>kAr-</i> + <i>-b-</i> + <i>-e</i>	‘Thou will do; You will do’
<i>Dhanbad</i>	<i>kAr-</i> + <i>-b-</i> + <i>-e</i>	
	<i>kAr-</i> + <i>-b-</i> + <i>-hõ</i> (<i>Sindhri</i>)	
3. sg + pl		

Dumka *kAr-* + *-t-* + *-e* 'He/She will do; They will do'

Deoghar *kAr-* + *-t-* + *-e/-o*

Dhanbad *kAr-* + *-t-* + *-e*

Conditional Base + TM + PM

1. sg + pl

Dumka/Deoghar *kAr-* + *-tAl-* + *-io* 'I would do; We would do'.

Dhanbad *kAr-* + *-tAl-* + *-ie*

2. sg + pl

Dumka/Deoghar *kAr-* + *-tAl-* + *-i* 'Thou wouldn't do; You would do'

Dhanbad *kAr-* + *-tAl-* + *-e*

3. sg + pl

Dumka/Deoghar/Dhanbad *kAr-* + *-tAl-* + *-e* 'He/She would do; They would do'

Aspects :

Perfective and Imperfective

Perfective : Present Base + Asp + Aux + Pm

1. sg + pl *Dumka* *kAr-* + *-lA-* + *-ch-* <*Ach-* + *I* 'I have done; We have done'

Deoghar *kAr-* + *-lA-* + *-h-* <*ho-* + *-ie* (*karon*)

Dhanbad *kAr-* + *lA-* + *-h-* <*ho-* + *-ie*

2. sg + pl *Dumka* *kAr-* + *-lA-* + *-ch-* <*Ach-* + *-ẽ* 'Thou havst done; you have done'

Deoghar *kAr-* + *-lA-* + *-ch-* <*Ach-* + *-ẽ*

kAr- + *-lA-* + *-h-* <*ho-* + *-i* (*karon*)

Dhanbad *kAr-* + *-lA-* + *-h-* <*ho-* + *-ĩ*

3. sg + pl *Dumka* *kAr-* + *-lA-* + *-ch-* <*Ach-* + *-e* 'He/She has done; They have done'

Deoghar *kAr-* + *-lA-* + *-ch-* <*Ach-* + *-e*

kAr- + *-lA-* + *-h-* <*ho-* + *-e* (*karon*)

Dhanbad *kAr-* + *-lA-* + *-h-* <*ho-* + *-e*

Perfective : Past *Base + Asp + Aux + TM + PM*

1. *sg + pl Dumka* *kAr- + -lA- + -ch- <Ach- + -el- + -ie* ‘I have done; We had done’

Deoghar *kAr- + -lA- + -ch- <Ach- + -el- + ie/io*

kAr- + -lA- + -h- <ho- + -el- + -ie(karon)

Dhanbad *kAr- + -lA- + -h- <ho- + -el- + -ie*

2. *sg + pl Dumka* *kAr- + -lA- + -ch- <Ach- + -el- + ã* ‘Thou hadn’t done; You had done’

Deoghar *kAr- + -lA- + -ch- <Ach- + -el- + ã*

kAr- + -lA- + -h- <ho- + -el- + ã (karan)

Dhanbad *kAr- + -lA- + -h- <ho- + -el- + -Ak*

kAr- + -lA- + -h- <ho- + -el- + -õ (sindhri)

3. *sg + pl Dumka* *kAr- + -Al- + -ch- <Ach- + -el- + -e* ‘He/She had done; They had done’

Deoghar *kAr- + -lA- + -ch- <Ach- + -el- + -e*

kAr- + -lA- + -h- <ho- + -el- + -e-(karan)

Dhanbad *kAr- + -lA- + -h- <ho- + -el- + -oi*

kAr- + -lA- + -h- <ho- + -el- + -e (sindhri)

Perfect : Future – Conditional *Base + Asp + Aux + Fut Pcpl + cond/Fut TM + PM*

1. *sg + pl Dumka / Deoghar* *kAr- + -lA- + -rAh- + -A(t) + tAl + -ie* ‘I shall have done; We shall have done’

Deoghar *kAr- + -lA- + -rAh- + -At- + -Ab- + -i (karon)*

Dhanbad no perfect Future-Conditional formation.

2. *sg + pl Dumka* *kAr- + -lA- + -rAh- + -A(t) + -tAl- + -i* ‘Thou will have done; you will have done’

Deoghar *kAr- + -lA- + -rAh- + -A(t)- + -tAl- + -e*

kAr- + -lA- + -rAh- + -At- + -Ab- + -e(karon)

Dhanbad No perfect Fut-cond. formation.

3. sg + pl *Dumka* *kAr-* + *-lA-* + *-rAh-* + *A(t)* + *-tAl* + *-e* ‘He/She will have
done; They will have done’
- Deoghar* *kAr-* + *-lA-* + *-rAh-* + *-A(t)-* + *-tAl-* + *-e*
kAr- + *-lA-* + *-rAh-* + *-At-* + *-Ab-* + *-e(karon)*
- Dhanbad* No perfect Fut-condt, formation.

Imperfect : Present : Base + Asp. + Aux. + (pres pcpl) + Aux + PM

1. sg + pl *Dumka* *kAr-* + *-i-* + *-rAh-* + *-Al-* + *-ch-* + *-i* ‘I am doing; We are doing’.
- Deoghar* *kAr-* + *-i-* + *-rAh-* + *-Al-* + *-ch-* + *-i*
kAr- + *-i-* + *-rAh-* + *-Al-* + *-h-* + *-ie(karon)*
- Dhanbad* *kAr-* + *-i-* + *-h-* + *-ie*
2. sg + pl *Dumka* *kAr-* + *-i-* + *-rAh-* + *-Al-* + *-ch-* + *-ẽ* ‘Thou are doing; You are doing’
- Deoghar* *kAr-* + *-i-* + *-rAh-* + *-Al-* + *-ch-* + *-ẽ*
kAr- + *-i-* + *-rAh-* + *-Al-* + *-h-* + *-ẽ*
- Dhanbad* *kAr-* + *-i-* + *-h-* + *-ĩ*
3. sg + pl *Dumka* *kAr-* + *-i-* + *-rAh-* + *-Al-* + *-ch-* + *-e* ‘He/She is doing; They are doing’
- Deoghar* *kAr-* + *-i-* + *-rAh-* + *-Al-* + *-ch-* + *-e*
kAr- + *-i-* + *-rAh-* + *-Al-* + *-h-* + *-ẽ*
- Dhanbad* *kAr-* + *-i-* + *-h-* + *-e*

Imperfect : past : Base + Asp. + Aux. + (pres. Pcpl) + (Aux) + TM + PM

1. sg + pl *Dumka* *kAr-* + *-te-* + *-ch-* + *el-* + *-ie* ‘I was doing; We were doing’;
- Deoghar* *kAr-* + *-te-* + *-ch-* + *-el-* *-ie-/ -io*
kAr- + *-i-* + *-rAh-* + *-Al-* + *-h-* + *-el-* + *-ie(karon)*
- Dhanbad* *kAr-* + *-i-* + *-h-* + *-el-* + *-ie*
2. sg + pl *Dumka* *kAr-* + *-te-* + *-ch-* + *-el-* + *-ĩ* ‘Thou were doing; You were doing’.
- Deoghar* *kAr-* + *-te-* + *-ch-* + *-el-* + *-ĩ*

kAr- + *-I-* + *-rAh-* + *-Al-* + *-h-* + *-el-* + *ĩ(karon)*

Dhanbad *kAr-* + *-i-* + *-h-* + *-el-* + *-ĩ/- õ(sindhri)*

3. sg + pl *Dumka* *kAr-* + *-te-* + *-ch-* + *-el-* + *-e* ‘He/She was doing; They were doing’

Deoghar *kAr-* + *-te-* + *-ch-* + *-el-* + *-e/-o*

kAr- + *-i-* + *-rAh-* + *-Al-* + *-h-* + *-h-* + *-el-* + *-o*

Dhanbad *kAr-* + *-i-* + *-h-* + *-el-* + *-e*

Imperfect Future: Base + Asp. + Aux. + Fut. Pcpl / Fut. TM + PM.

1. sg + pl *Dumka* *kAr-* + *-te-* + *-rAh-* + *-At-* + *e* ‘I shall be doing; Weshall be doing’

Deoghar *kAr-* + *-te-* + *-rAh-* + *-Ab-* + *-e*

Dhanbad *kAr-* + *-te-* + *-vAh-* + *-Ab-* + *-oi*

kAr- + *-te-* + *-rAh-* + *-Ab-* + *-e(sindhi)*

2. sg + pl *Dumka /* *kAr-* + *-te-* + *-rAh-* + *-Ab-* + *-ĩ* ‘Thou will be doing;

Deoghar You will be doing;.

Dhanbad *kAr-* + *-te-* + *-rAh-* + *-Ab-* + *-hĩ/-õ*

3. sg + pl *Dumka* *kAr-* + *-te-* + *-rAh-* + *At-* + *-e* ‘He/She will be doing;

They will be doing’.

Deoghar *kAr-* + *-te-* + *-rAh-* + *-At-* + *-e/-o*

Dhanbad *kAr-* + *-te-* + *-rAh-* + *-At-* + *-ok*

kAr- + *-te-* + *-rAh-* + *-At-* + *-e(sindhri)*

Mood

Imperative Mood :

Imperative mood operates only in the second person. In the three districts – Dum, Deo and Dhau, the common imperative markers are – Φ , -a, -e, -A. In Dhau. An additional imperative marker is – ehe.

Below are presented the imperative formation

Imperative markers

Examples

Φ *wAhã jA (Dum./ Deo.) wAhã ja (Dhau)*

bAiTh jA (Dum / Deo) bAis ja (Dhau)
uThek khaDa ho (Dum / Deo) uThek khaDa ho ja (Dhau.)
pathAlke upArkhaDa ho jA (Dum / Deo)
pathArke upAr khaDa ho ja (Dhau)
Akre ek kahani bol (Dum / Deo)
iskul jA (Dum / Deo) iskul ja (Dhau)
ghAr jA ar ghurik a (Dum / Deo)
ghar ja ar ghurik a (Dhan)
etna jAldi sutAl mAtja (Dum / Deo)
Atna jAldi sutAl nei ja (Dhau)
uTh (Dhau)
khete ja (Dhau)
jAmintAr bAis ja (Dhau)
Tebul tAr khaDa hoja (Dhau)
gharek cairodige TahAl (Dhau)
diwar phani laphei ja (Dhau)
hamar kitab ehã an (Dhau)
karagaDike ghuir ghuirke ja (Dhau)
tar bhaike Dak (Dhau)

-a *jAmin pAr bAiTha (Dum / peo)*
jAmin tAr bAisa (Dhau)
ekra upAr uTha (Dum / Deo)

-A *uThA (Dum / Deo / Dhau)*

-e *Akra bolawe (Dum / Deo)*
 bhitAr awe (Dum / Deo)
 aste aste bolě (Dum / Deo)
 ekra toDe (Dum / Deo)
 sAbAdgela saph saph kArike likhe (Dum / Deo)
 sAbAdgela saph saph kAirke likhe (Dhan)
 iskul awe (Dum / Deo)
 duar khale (Dum / Deo) duair khole (Dhan)
 tohArni mese koi jaike le ane (Dum / Deo)
 Akhrake Dake / bolawe (Dhau)
 Cair baje bad awe (Dhau)
 ghArTak bhitAre awe (Dhau)

ehe ~ e *tohAre duio ehã / hĩde awehe ~ awe (Dhau)*
 aste aste bolehe ~ bole (Dhau)
 hamke ekTa kahani bolehe ~ bole (Dhau)
 ekhra toDehe ~ toDe (Dhau)
 ekhra niehe ~ nie (Dhau)
 ekhrake pAkDehe ~ pAkDe (Dhau)
 ekhrake nice vakhehe ~ rakhe (Dhau)
 iskul awehe ~ awe (Dhau)
 iskulse jahe (Dhau)
 kitabTa pheri anche ~ are (Dhau)
 duair kholehe (Dhau)
 duair band kArehe (Dhan).

4.2.1.2 .NON FINITE VERBS

Non-finite verbs comprise of Infinitive, participial formations Gerund and verbal noun. Below are exemplified the formations.

Infinitive - *na* (*Dum, Deo*) : - *na/ -ek* (*Dhanbad*)

karna : *kArna / kArek* 'todo' *sAjana* : *sAjana / sAjaek* 'to arrange' *jhãpei pADna* : *jhãpei pADna / pADak* 'to bounce upon'; *toDna* : *toD na / toDek* 'to break'; *putna* : *topna / todek* 'to buray'; *gol kArna* : *guil kArna / kArek* 'to circum sice'; *ghAsArna* : *hambuDi dena / dewek* 'to crawl'; *patAr kArna* ; *patAr kArna / kArek* 'to dilute'; *libhana* : *muchi dena / dewek* 'to erase'; *dhArna* : *dhArna / dhArek* 'to holed'; *cãTna / cãTek* 'to lick'; *uThana* : *uThana / uThaek* 'to pickup; *phoDna* : *gũthan / gũthek* 'to prick'; *Dubna* : *gutna / gutek* 'to dip into'; *BhArna* : *ghusam / ghusaek* 'to push into'; *chilkana* : *chilna / chilek* 'to shed'; *phẽTna* : *ghãTna / ghãTek* 'to smear' *nicuDna* : *ningDana / ningDaek* 'to rinse / squeeze'; *pachuDna* : *Dhukna / dhukek* 'to winnow'; *phaDna* : *cirna / cirek* 'to cut(wood)'; *bẽTke jana* : *khãaki dena / dewek* 'to kill'; *parana* : *parana / paraek* 'to escape'; *chaDi jana* : *chaid jana / jaek* 'to divorce'; *nAjArdari kArna* : *nAjirdari kArna / kArek* 'to guard'; *bãchna* : *cugna / cugek* 'to weed' (remove weeds).

Besides, in the region as a whole, the Infinitive is also formed with *-el eg*

HamekArelcaliye 'I have to do';
hamrakjaelcahiye 'we have to go';
hamemAchripAkDeljaichi 'I am going to catch fish'.

Verbal noun

- *na* (*Dum / Deo*), - *a/ -ek* (*Dhau*)

gArAm cayker bad pani pina Thik neikhe 'It is not good to drink water after hot tea'
iTho kAra / kArek kam che 'The work is to be done'
admik nAukri khojekche 'one has to find a job'
AkAr ek kitab likhna / likhek caluiye 'He should write a book'
tor i bolna / boleka cahiye 'you should tell this'
iTa khaek neikhe 'It is not eatable'
paniTa piek neikhe 'This water is not drinkable'

Participle

Participle are of four types – present participle (pres. Pcpl), past participle (p. pcpl) Future participle (Fut. Pcpl) and relative participle (Rel. pcpl.). Below are presented the participle – types with example.

Pres. Pcpl.

-te, -Al

-te *jate jate thAik gele*

(He) got tired while walking;

pADhte pADhte likhAlche

(He) is writing while reading.

-Al *piAl* ‘while smoking / drinking’; *sutAl* ‘while lying down’; *bolAl* ‘while speaking’;

phaDAI ‘while chopping’; *dial* ‘while giving’.

p. pcpl.

-i, - ike, - ei

- i *jhAri pADelke* ‘dripped’; *ghAbDi gele* ‘got confused’ *pichrigele* ‘slipped’ *pheri*

pawAlke ‘got recorved’; *choiD delke* ‘acquited / released’; *jAimgele* ‘settled / freezed’

- ike *jaike* ‘having gone’; *kAirke* ‘having done’; *suinke* ‘having heard’; *choiDke*

‘having left’; *lukeike* ‘having kept in hide’; *bADheike* ‘having exaggerated’

- ei *muchei lelke* ‘erased’; *sukhei gelke* ‘dried’; *ghumei rAkhle* ‘removed’

Fut . pcpl. – At

- At *karat* ‘would have done’; *rAhAt* ‘would have stayed’;

becAt ‘would have sold’; *socAt* ‘would have sold’

Rel. pcpl –Al

- Al *lATkAl (am)* ‘(Mango) that is hanging’; *cArawAl* ‘one who is grazing’;

sukhAl ‘one that is dried’; *sunAljay* ‘one that is heard’.

Gerund

- te (*DumDeo*) – ek (*Dhau*)

U pani khate caheiche / u pani piek caheiche ‘He wants to drink water’;

u cAroimarte pare / u cAroi marek pare ‘He can kill the bird’.

4.2.1.3. CAUSATIVE VERB

- a, - la / - wa

Base + - a

<i>sAj</i> - + - a	‘arrange’
<i>bĀk</i> - + - a	‘bend’
<i>libh</i> - + - a	‘erase’
<i>jAl</i> - + - a	‘kindle’
<i>khATkhAT</i> - + - a	‘knock’
<i>mis</i> - + - a	‘mix’
<i>bAn</i> - + - a	‘prepare’
<i>bAs</i> - + - a	‘make sited’
<i>hil</i> - + - a	‘shake’
<i>Dar</i> - + - a	‘frighten’
<i>baj</i> - + - a	‘beat’
<i>dekh</i> - + - a	‘show’
<i>jhul</i> - + -	‘hang’
<i>gir</i> - + - a	‘make fall’
<i>uTh</i> - + - a	‘lift’
<i>ghur</i> - + - a	‘make move’
<i>ghum</i> - + - a	‘make move’
<i>cAl</i> - + - a	‘move’
<i>lAg</i> - + - a	‘attach’
<i>car</i> + - a	‘graze’
<i>bAc</i> + - a	‘save’
<i>hĀs</i> + - a	‘make laugh’
<i>ATAk</i> + - a	‘hinder’

Base + - la / - wa

<i>dekh</i> + - la > <i>dikhla</i>	‘show’
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+ - wa > *dikhwa* 'show'

kha + - la > *khila* 'feed'

+ - wa > *khiwa* 'feed'

4.2.1.4 AUXILIARY VERB

A. Auxiliary verbs $\sqrt{\text{Ach}}$ - / $\sqrt{\text{ho}}$ -

Present	Ist person	2 nd person	3 rd person
<i>Dum + Deo</i>	- <i>i</i>	- <i>ẽ</i>	- <i>e</i>
<i>Dhau</i>	- <i>ie</i>	- <i>e</i>	- <i>Ey</i>
Past			
<i>Dum + Deo</i>	- <i>ie</i>	- <i>ie</i>	- <i>e</i>
<i>Dhau</i>	- <i>ie</i>	- <i>i</i>	- <i>e</i>
Future			
<i>Dum + Deo</i>	- <i>e</i>	- <i>e</i>	- <i>e</i>
<i>Deo</i>			- <i>o</i>
<i>Dhau</i>	- <i>oi</i>	- <i>e / hõ</i>	- <i>e</i>
Conditional			
<i>Dum + Deo</i>	- <i>io</i>	- <i>hĩ</i>	- <i>e</i>
<i>Dhau</i>	- <i>ie</i>	- <i>hĩ</i>	- <i>e</i>

Auxiliary verb $\sqrt{\text{Ach}}$ / $\sqrt{\text{ho}}$ - 'to be'

Present Base + TM (Φ) + PM

Dumka / Deoghar

1.sg. } <i>chi</i> <Ach+ - <i>i</i>	'I am, we are'
pl. } <i>chike</i> (with phonastic-ke)	

2.sg. } pl }	<i>chẽ</i> < Ach - + - <i>ẽ</i>	‘Thou art; you are’
3.sg } Pl. }	<i>che</i> < Ach - + - <i>e</i> <i>cheke</i> (with pleouasfic – <i>ke</i>)	‘He / she is; They are’
Dhanbad		
1. sg } pl }	<i>hie</i> < <i>ho</i> > <i>h</i> - + - <i>ie</i> <i>ay</i> < <i>ho</i> > <i>ha</i> > <i>a</i> + - <i>y</i> (<i>sindhri</i>)	‘I am, We are’
2. sg. } pl }	<i>he</i> < <i>ho</i> > <i>h</i> - + - <i>e</i> <i>ay</i> < <i>ho</i> > <i>ha</i> > <i>a</i> + - <i>y</i> (<i>sindhri</i>)	‘Thou art, You are’
3. sg. } pl }	<i>hEy</i> < <i>ho</i> > <i>h</i> - + - <i>Ey</i> <i>uy</i> < <i>ho</i> > <i>ha</i> > <i>a</i> - + <i>y</i> (<i>sindri</i>)	‘He/She is; They are’

past Base + TM + PM

Dumka / Deoghar

1. sg. } pl. }	<i>chelic</i> < Ach + - <i>el</i> - + <i>ie</i>	I was; We where.
2. sg. } pl. }	<i>chelic</i> < Ach + - <i>el</i> - + - <i>ie</i>	Thou wart; You were.
3. sg. } pl. }	<i>chele</i> < Ach - + - <i>el</i> - + - <i>e</i>	He / She was; They were.

Dhanbad

1. sg. } pl. }	<i>holie</i> < <i>ho</i> + - <i>l</i> - + - <i>ie</i>	‘I was; We were’
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2. sg. } *heli* < *ho* > *he* + - *l* - + - *i* 'Thou wart; You were'
 Pl. }

3. sg. } *hele* < *ho* > + - *l* - + - *e* 'He / She was; They were'
 Pl. }

Future Base + TM + PM

Dumka / Deoghar

1. sg. } *ho be* < *ho* + - *b* - + - *e* 'I shal be; We shall be'
 pl. }

2. sg } *ho be* < *ho* - + - *b* - + - *e* 'Thou will be; You wil be'
 Pl.

Dumka

3. sg. } *hote* < *ho* - + - *t* - + - *e* 'He/She will be; They will be'
 pl. }

Deoghar

3. sg. } *hote/hoto* < *ho* - + - *t* - + - *e* / - *o* 'He/She will be; They will be'
 Pl. }

Dhanbad

1. sg. } *hoboi* < *ho* - + - *b* - + - *oi* 'I shall be; We shall be'
 Pl. *hobe (sindhri)* < *ho* - + - *b* - + - *e*

2. sg. } *hobhã* < *ho* - + - *b* - + - *hã* 'Thou will be; You will be'
 Pl. *hobe (Sindhri)* < *ho* - + *b* - + - *e*

3. sg. } *hote* < *ho - + - t - + - e* 'He/She will be; They will be'
 Pl.

Conditional Base + TM + PM

Dumka / Deoghar

1. sg. } *hotA lio* < *ho - + - tAl + - io* 'I would be; we would be'
 Pl }

2. sg. } *hotAlhĩ* < *ho - + - tAl - + - hĩ* 'Thou wouldn't be; you wouldn't be'
 Pl.

3. sg. } *hotAle* < *ho - + - tAl - + - e* 'He/She would be; They would be'
 Pl

Dhanbad

1. sg. } *hotAlie* < *ho - + tAl - + - ie* 'I would be; We would be'
 Pl. }

2. sg. } *hotAlhĩ* < *ho - + - tAl - + - hĩ* 'Thou wouldn't be; you would be'
 Pl

3. sg. } *hotAle* < *ho - + - tAl - + - e* 'He/She would be; They would be'
 Pl. }

4.2.1.5 .NEGATIVE VERB

The negative marker is *nei*. In construction it precedes the verb. Thus, the construction-type is

nei + - ch – (Dum / Deo) in 1st & 2nd person

nei + - *ho* – (Dum / Deo) in Future & conditional tenses.

(Dhau) in prcs. Past, Future & conditional tenses

In Dhanbad in the 3rd person present *ho* > *he* > *khe* eg 3rd sg + pl.

U, Aẽ ‘he / She’; *ukhranin / Akhrani nei + ho* > *khe*.

Below are presented the paradigmatic set of Negative Auxiliary verb :

Present Neg, marker + Base + TM (Φ) + PM

Dum /Deo

1.sg. } *nei chi* *nei chike* ‘I am not; We are not’.
pl

2. sg } *nei chẽ* ‘Thou are not, You are not’.
pl

3. sg } *nei che* *nei cheke* ‘He/She is not; They are not’.
pl

Dhan

1. sg } *nei hie* ‘I am not; We are not’
pl } *nei ay (sindhri)*

2. sg } *nei he*
pl } *nei ay (sindhri)* ‘Thou are not; You are not’

3. sg } *nei khe*
pl } *nei ay(sindhri)* ‘He/She is not’ They are not’.

Past Neg. marer + Base + TM + PM

Dum / Deo

1. sg } *nei chelie* ‘I was not; We were not’
pl }

2. sg } *nei chelie* ‘Thou was not; You were not’
pl }

3. sg } *nei chele* ‘He/She was not; They were not’
pl

Dhan

1. sg } *nei holie* 'I was not; We were not'
pl
2. sg } *nei heli* 'Thou was not; You were not'.
pl
3. sg } *nei hele* 'He/She was not; They were not'
pl

Future Neg. marker + Base + TM + PM

Dum / Deo

1. sg } *Nei hobe* 'I shall not be; We shall not be'
pl }
2. sg } *nei hobe* 'Thou will not be; You will not be'.
pl }
3. sg } *nei hote / hoto* 'He / She will not be; They will not be'.
Pl }

Dhan

1. sg } *nei hobe (sindhri)* 'I shall not be; We shall not be'
pl } *nei hoboi*
2. sg } *nei hobe (sindhri)* 'Thou will not be; You will not be'
pl } *nei hobhÃ*
3. sg } *nei hote* 'He / She will not be; They will not be'.
pl }

Conditional Neg. marker + Base + TM + PM

Dum / Deo

1. sg } *nei hotA lio* 'I would not be; We would not be.'
pl
2. sg } *nei hotAlhĩ* 'Thou wouldst not be; You would not be'.

pl

3.sg } *nei hotAle*

‘He / She would not be; They would not be’.

pl

Dhan

1. sg } *nei hotAlio*

‘I would not be; We would not be’.

Pl }

2. sg } *nei hotAlhĩ*

‘Thou wouldst not be; You would not be’.

Pl }

3. sg } *nei hotAle*

‘He / She would not be; They would not be;.

Pl }

System of negativization :

Below are presented the system of negativization in Khortha / Khotta.

Dum / Deo hame kam kAreichi > hame kam nei kAreichi

‘I do the work’ ‘I do not do the work’

hame kam kArlie > hame kam nei kArlie

‘I did the work’ ‘I did not do the work’

hame kam kArbe > hame kam nei kArbe

‘I shall do the work’ > ‘I shall not do the work’

hame kam kArel cahiye > hame kam nei kArel cahiye

‘I should do the work’ > ‘I should not do the work’.

hame pADhte chelie > hame nei pADhte chelie

‘I was reading’ ‘I was not reading’

hame jAdi bAithiye > hame jAdi nei bAiThiye to kam nei huyeto kam huye

‘I sit upon ‘If I do not sit upon the work will not be done’

the work will be done’

hame jAdi bAiThA to > hame jAdi nei bAiThA to hame kam nei

hame kam kArtAlio > kArtAlio

‘ If I sat upon I would ‘If I had not sat upon I would not have done

roTi hamra se khalA jahe > *roTi hamara se khalA nei jahe*

‘The bread is being eaten by me’ ‘The bread is not being eaten by me’

i kam hamara se hote > *i kam hamara se nei hote*

‘The work will be done by me’ ‘The work will not be done by me’

Koibhi admi kamTa kArel > *koibhi admi kamTa nei kArel pare*

Pare

‘Any body can do this work’. ‘No body can do this work’

4.2.1.6. COMPOUND VERB

Compound verbs are formed of Noun + verb (N + V) and participle + verb (pcpl. + v).
Below are exemplified the formation of compound verbs.

A. Noun + verb [N + V].

a) N + V [$\sqrt{\text{kAr}}$]

<i>vAngA kAr</i>	‘to act’	<i>aram kAr</i>	‘care’
<i>sapha kAr</i>	‘to clean/plunder’	<i>rang kAr</i>	dye
<i>guil kAr</i>	‘to circumcise’	<i>riphu kAr</i>	‘mend’
<i>bAndh kAr</i>	‘to close, shut’	<i>palAn kAr</i>	‘nurse’
<i>patAr kAr</i>	‘to dilute’	<i>palis kAr</i>	‘polish’
<i>khali kAr</i>	‘to empty’	<i>Dakali kAr</i>	‘rob’
<i>bhāj kAr</i>	‘to fold’	<i>raij kAr</i>	‘rule’
<i>tAiar kAr</i>	‘to make’	<i>seba kAr</i>	‘serve’
<i>malis kAr</i>	‘to massage’	<i>silei kAr</i>	‘sew’
<i>cori kAr</i>	‘to steal’	<i>AlAg kAr</i>	‘short’
<i>Dhila kAr</i>	‘to untie’	<i>cikna kAr</i>	‘tan’ (leather)
<i>ujAn kAr</i>	‘to weight’	<i>dhAndha kAr</i>	‘trade’
<i>kam kAr</i>	‘to work’	<i>ilaj kAr</i>	‘treat’

<i>guli kAr</i>	‘to shoot’	<i>puja kAr</i>	‘worship
<i>TugDa kAr</i>	‘to split’	<i>ThanDa kAr</i>	cool
<i>aghat kAr</i>	‘to injure’	<i>laj kAr</i>	‘sigh’
<i>jhagDa kAr</i>	‘to quarrel’	<i>ulTi kAr</i>	‘vomit’
<i>khantalasi kAr</i>	‘to raid’	<i>uttAr kAr</i>	‘answer’
<i>hAlakit kAr</i>	‘to torture’	<i>Anurodh kAr</i>	‘ask for’
<i>khAsamAti kAr</i>	‘to flatter’	<i>tAy kAr</i>	‘confirm’
<i>turAt kAr</i>	‘to hurry’	<i>Tokna kAr</i>	‘gossip’
<i>sAk kAr</i>	‘to accuse’	<i>bAdlam kAr</i>	‘insult’
<i>udhar kAr</i>	‘to borrow’	<i>mAjak kAr</i>	‘joke’
<i>khasi kAr</i>	‘to castrate’	<i>okalAti kAr</i>	‘plead’
<i>Asul kAr</i>	‘to collect’	<i>cinit kAr</i>	‘point out’
<i>kakAi kAr</i>	‘to comb’	<i>bahana kAr</i>	‘pretend’
<i>cas kAr</i>	‘to cultivate’	<i>sAcet kAr</i>	‘warn’
<i>thira kAr</i>	‘to care’	<i>khujra kAr</i>	‘change’
<i>khar kAr</i>	‘to consume’	<i>bAdlami kAr</i>	‘offend’
<i>Thike kAr</i>	‘to decide’	<i>birudh kAr</i>	‘rebel’
<i>khus kAr</i>	‘to satiate’	<i>adAt kAr</i>	‘practice’
<i>dArAd kAr</i>	‘to pain’	<i>lAdhei kAr</i>	‘hitch’
<i>Aktay kAr</i>	‘to annoy’	<i>sAsta kAr</i>	‘heel’
<i>ghAmAnD kAr</i>	‘to boast’	<i>risa kAr</i>	‘resent’
<i>dukh kAr</i>	‘to mourn’	<i>mihi kAr</i>	‘sift’
<i>manAt kAr</i>	‘to pray’	<i>pap kAr</i>	‘sin’
<i>dhArsAn kAr</i>	‘to rape’	<i>sadi kAr</i>	‘marry’
<i>pEida kAr</i>	‘to beri’	<i>kAsis kAr</i>	‘try’
<i>mAuJ kAr</i>	‘to enjoy’	<i>pisab kAr</i>	‘urinate’
<i>jàc kAr</i>	‘to examine’	<i>bebhar kAr</i>	‘use’
<i>asa kAr</i>	‘to expect’	<i>adAl / gel kAr</i>	‘wean’ (a child)

<i>upas kAr</i>	‘to fast’
<i>kuli kAr</i>	‘to gurgle’
<i>gArAm kAr</i>	‘to heat’
<i>goTh kAr</i>	‘to herd’
<i>bhaDa kAr</i>	‘to hire’
<i>bhēT kAr</i>	‘to meet’

b) N + V [\sqrt{de}]

<i>maphi de</i>	‘forgive’	<i>khācki de</i>	‘kill’
<i>gat de</i>	‘burry’	<i>neuta de</i>	‘invite’
<i>jAbab de</i>	‘answer’	<i>sahara de</i>	‘help’
<i>sīkli de</i>	‘shut out’	<i>anDa de</i>	‘lay egg’
<i>sap de</i>	‘curse’	<i>dAnDA de</i>	‘punish’
<i>laph de</i>	‘jump accross’	<i>nAucar de</i>	‘sacrifice’
<i>sahas de</i>	‘encourage’		
<i>udhar de</i>	‘lend’		

c) N + V [\sqrt{mar}]

<i>ghēuDi mar</i>	‘blow, snore’	<i>miTki mar</i>	‘wink at’
<i>hathuDi mar</i>	‘hammer’	<i>ghusa mar</i>	‘strike’
<i>tir mar</i>	‘shoot’	<i>cabuk mar</i>	‘whip’

d) N + V [\sqrt{banh}]

<i>pATLi banh</i>	‘plaster’
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e) N + V [\sqrt{bAna}]

<i>khōsa bAna</i>	‘tie/braid’
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f) N + V [\sqrt{khel}]

baji khel 'stalk'

khel kad 'play'

jua khel 'gamble'

g) N + V [\sqrt{pat}]

phan pat 'set a trap'

h) N + V [\sqrt{bAsa}]

anDa bAsa 'set on(eggs)'

i) N + V [\sqrt{rAkh}]

khaDa rAkh 'set erect'

nAjAr rAkh 'watch'

nam rAkh 'give name'

j) N + V [\sqrt{lAga}]

dhar lAga 'sharpen'

khiDki lAga 'shut in'

isra lAga 'signal'

phan lAga 'tangle'

cabuk lAga 'whip'

bēT lAga 'hunt'

dhAkka lAga 'collide'

k) N + V [\sqrt{chila}]

chal chila skin

l) N + V [\sqrt{cAla}]

hokum cAla 'commend'

m) N + B [\sqrt{ho}]

kuja ho 'stoop'

cADhei ho 'attack'

par ho 'pass by'

pãobhari ho 'Pregnant/Conceive'

khaDa ho 'stand up'

cup ho 'be silent'

sAphli ho 'succeed'

raji ho 'approve'

Abhab ho 'lack'

tArAl ho 'ferment'

saphsutAr ho 'refresh'

n) N + V [\sqrt{Dal}]

mar Dal 'kill'

o) N + V [\sqrt{cip}]

tÃTi cip 'strangle'

p) N + V [\sqrt{lADh}]

kusti lADh 'wrestle'

q) N + V [\sqrt{ga}]

git ga 'sing'

r) N + V [\sqrt{gaDh}]

Theuna / āThu gaDh ‘kneel down’

s) N + V [\sqrt{kaT}]

sātal kaT ‘swim’

t) N + V [\sqrt{ghum}]

bemAtlAb ghum ‘wander’

u) N + V [\sqrt{mag}]

bhikh mag ‘beg’

v) N + V [\sqrt{kha}]

kiria kha ‘betroth’

kAsAm kha ‘promise’

cuma kha ‘kiss’

w) N + V [\sqrt{kaDh}]

phul kaDh ‘embroider’

x) N + V [\sqrt{dekh}]

naDi dekh ‘beat’ (pulse)

dosi dekh ‘condemn’

asa dekh ‘hope’

asra dekh ‘wait for’

sApun dekh ‘dream’

lobh dekh ‘tempt’

xi) N + V [\sqrt{tul}]

hali tul 'yawn'

xii) N + V [\sqrt{Tan}]

huDka Tan 'fasten' (a door)

xiii) N + V [\sqrt{kAh}]

pheru kAh 'persist'

jhuTh kAh 'lie'

xiv) N + V [\sqrt{choD}]

rang choD 'bleach'

xv) N + V [\sqrt{nikal}]

khun nikal 'blood'

xvi) N + V [\sqrt{ja}]

murcha ja 'faint'

xvii) N + V [\sqrt{le}]

sās le 'breath'

xviii) N + V [\sqrt{kAs}]

pēc kAs 'conspire'

xix) N + V [\sqrt{pher}]

sAbAd pher 'echo'

xx) N + V [\sqrt{pAkAd}]

mAchri pAkAD ‘fish / catch’

xxi) N + V [\sqrt{uTh}]

hũcki uTh ‘hicough’

xxii) N+V [\sqrt{piTh}]

naDa piTh ‘threst’

xxiii) N + V [\sqrt{man}]

har man ‘loose’

xxiv) N + V [\sqrt{utra}]

bis utra ‘poison’

xxv) N + V [\sqrt{pADh}]

bemar pADh ‘take sick’

B. Participle + verb [pcpl + v]

a) pcpl + v [pAD]

jhãpei pAD ‘bounce’

jhAri pAD ‘drop / drip’

khAsi pAD ‘fall of / shide’

laphei pAD ‘jump up’

ũchli pAD ‘overflow’

dhAski pAD ‘collapse’

b) pcpl + v [\sqrt{de}]

hambuDi de ‘crawl’

<i>phēki de</i>	‘kick’
<i>biehei de</i>	‘spread out’
<i>muchei de</i>	‘wipe off’
<i>bhuseide</i>	‘stab’
<i>chaDi de</i>	‘let go; acquite’
<i>ghurei de</i>	‘return’
<i>pheri de</i>	‘return’
<i>ghīcide</i>	‘trip’
<i>dekha de</i>	‘appear’
<i>thamei de</i>	‘stop’
<i>sujhei de</i>	‘avenge’
<i>ThAkei de</i>	‘cheat’
<i>Deide</i>	‘pay’
<i>choiDde</i>	‘refuse’
<i>MiTei de</i>	‘repay’
<i>PuDei de</i>	‘singe’

c) pcpl + V [\sqrt{uTh}]

<i>gūthike uTh</i>	‘dip up’
<i>jagi uTh</i>	‘wake up’

pcpl + V [\sqrt{le}]

<i>muchei le</i>	‘erase’
<i>ghēcike le</i>	‘pull up’
<i>khedei le</i>	‘drive’
<i>guTei le</i>	‘roll up’
<i>lamhei le</i>	‘take down’
<i>nigli le</i>	‘swallow’
<i>khuli le</i>	‘take off’

Daki le 'welcome'
Mani le 'admit / surrender'

Pcpl + V [\sqrt{tul}]

ghĩci tul 'pull up'

pcpl + V [\sqrt{ja}]

libhi 'go out (fire)'

ubhi ja 'disappear'

parai ja 'go out of'

lei ja 'remove'

sukhei ja 'wither'

chaiD ja 'divorce'

jAim ja 'settle / freeze'

misei ja 'dissolve'

sukhei ja 'dry up'

choiD ja 'wade'

thAik ja 'strain'

kAim ja 'decrease'

jail ja 'flash'

phuil ja 'inflate'

hAji ja 'stray'

pcpl + $\sqrt{[rAkh]}$

ghumei rAkh 'move'

ghurei rAkh 'turn back'

lukei(ke) rAkh 'hide', ambush, skip'

Pcpl + V [\sqrt{dhAr}]

meli dhAr 'stretch'

pcpl + V [\sqrt{phir}]

ghumi phir 'turn'

pcpl + V [\sqrt{kha}]

cobei kha 'chew'

pcpl + V [\sqrt{bol}]

bujhei bol 'explain'

pcpl + V [\sqrt{rAh}]

lukcike rAh 'hide'

lagi rAh 'persuade'

dhAri rAh 'stick to'

pcpl + V [\sqrt{jan}]

chuïke jan 'touch'

pcpl + V [\sqrt{kAh}]

bADheike kAh 'exaggerate'

pcpl + v [*cAl*]

lengDei cAl 'limp'

pcpl + [\sqrt{pAkAD}]

lukeike pAkAD 'prey'

pcpl + V [\sqrt{pa}]

pheri pa 'recover'

pcpl + V [\sqrt{dekh}]

TeDhei dekh 'squint'

Pcpl + V [\sqrt{ho}]

jhuTei ho 'stumble'

Pcpl + V [\sqrt{bAta}]

khulei bAta 'unravel'

4.2.1.7. PASSIVE FORMATION

A few examples of passive formation are *sArkar dwara gAribke rupAiya dial jaiche (Dum / Deo)* *sArkarse gAribke rupAiya dial gelke (Dhau)* – 'Money is given by the Government to the poor'. *gharTa bAna hohe (Dhau)* 'The house is built' *AkhAr kamijsiahohe (Dhau)* 'Her petticoat is stitched' *AkAr dwara kitab pADha hoiche (Dum/Deo)* 'The book is being read by him' *BambhAn sAb dwara mans nai khala chale (Dum/Deo)* 'Meat was not eaten by the Brahmins; *AkAr dwara tipni likha hoiche (Dum/Deo)* 'A note is being written by him'.

The passive sentences are constructed of :

1. Object + Subject \rightarrow Instr. *Se* + Mv + Sv.
2. Object + Subject \rightarrow Instr. *Se* + Mv.
3. Subject \rightarrow Gen. – *K* + Mv + Sv.
4. Subject \rightarrow Instr. *Se* + Object – *Ke* + Object + Mv + Sv.
5. Subject \rightarrow Instr. *Se* + Object + Sv + Mv

Meido – Passive Sentences

The Medio – Passive sentences are constructed of :

Object + Mv + Sv.

Herein, Mv = Main Verb; Sv = Subsidiary verb (eg *ja, ho, par*)

Below are exemplified the constructions :

Passive Sentences

1. Object + Subject → Instr. Se + Mv + Sv

roTi hamrase khalA jahe 'The bread is being eaten by me'

amgela hamrase khalA jahe 'The Mangoes being eaten by me'

Kitab Akhrase likha hohe 'The book is written by him'

2. Object + Subject → Instr. Se + Mv.

i kamTa hamrase hote 'The work will be done by me'

3. Subject → Instr. Se ± Object – ke + Object + Mv + Sv.

Sarkarse gAribke rupAiya dial jahe 'Money is given to the poor' by the govt'

Sarkarse gAribke rupAiya dial gelke 'Money was given by the govt. to the poor'

Akhrase kitab pADhahohe 'The book was being read by him'

4. Subject → Gen. K + Mv + Sv.

ghADak dAuDa hohe 'Running is done by the horse'

ghADak dAuDa hole 'Running was done by horse'.

5. Subject → Instr. Se + Object + Sv + Mv

Akhrak bAhinse Akhra surei nai uTheihe 'Her water pot is lifted by her sister'

Medio – Passive Sentences

Object + Mv + Sv.

1. *gana gaya hohe* 'The song is sung'

2. *gharTa bAna hohe* 'The house is built'

In passive formation the negative marker *nei* sits in between the non-finite (participle) Verb and the subsidiary verb. In rest other cases, the negative marker invariably precedes the verbal formation.

Irregular or Defective verbs :

The following are the irregular or defective verbs available in Khortha / Khotta.

1. Auxiliary verb \sqrt{Ach} → *ch* in pres, past in Dum. & Deo.

2. Auxiliary verb \sqrt{ah} → *ho* is pres, past, Fut, condit in Dhau.

bhe in past in Dhau. (bheIA)

3. Auxiliary verb $\sqrt{rAh} \rightarrow$ in perf – Fut – condit;
in Imperfect – pres, past & Fut.
4. Intransitive verb $\sqrt{ja} \rightarrow g$ in past tense.
5. Intransitive verb $\sqrt{as} \rightarrow a$ in past tense.

Tense – Number – Person markers remain unaffected in the conjugation of irregular or defective verbs.

4.2.1.8 TRANSITIVITY

Transitive verb :

<i>pAkAD</i> ‘catch/hold’	<i>khod</i> ‘dig’	<i>rAkh</i> ‘keep/place’
<i>phēk</i> ‘throw’	<i>kha</i> ‘eat’	<i>la</i> ‘bring’
<i>bĀka</i> ‘bend’	<i>cāB</i> ‘lick’	<i>sikarkAr</i> ‘hunt’
<i>kuT</i> ‘grind’	<i>cus</i> ‘suck’	

Intransitive verb :

<i>uD</i> ‘fly’	<i>ja</i> ‘go’	<i>hAs</i> ‘laugh’
<i>a</i> ‘come’	<i>dAuD</i> ‘run’	<i>so</i> ‘sleep’
<i>buD/gut</i> ‘sink’	<i>ro</i> ‘cry’	
<i>bAiTa</i> ‘sit’	<i>gir</i> ‘fall’	<i>nac</i> ‘dance’
<i>cADh</i> ‘climb’	<i>ghum</i> ‘move’	
<i>chup</i> ‘hide’	<i>khās</i> ‘cough’	

Process of transitivity :

Intransitive > Transitive

a) - A - > - a -

<i>utAr</i> > <i>utar</i> ‘get dpwn’ ‘place down’	<i>bigAD</i> > <i>bigaD</i> ‘make loose’
<i>ukhAD</i> > <i>ukhaD</i> ‘pull out’	<i>kAT</i> > <i>kaT</i> ‘cut’
<i>pAD</i> > <i>paD</i> ‘fall, drop’	<i>kADh</i> > <i>kaDh</i> ‘draw’
<i>phĀs</i> > <i>phās</i> ‘tie’ knot	<i>gAD</i> > <i>gaD</i> ‘bvery’
	<i>cAl</i> > <i>cal</i> ‘move’

phAT > *phaT* 'tear'

lAd > *lad* 'gather'

nikAl > *nikal* 'get out/drive away'

mAr > *mar* 'beat,kill'

sAmbhAl > *sAmbhal* 'control, check'

b) -u- > -o-

chuT > *choD* 'release'

khul > *khol* 'open'

juT > *joD* 'add'

muD > *moD* 'fold'

TaT > *toD* 'break'

ghul > *ghol* 'smear'

c) -i- > -e

ghir > *gher* 'surround'

phir > *pher* 'turn'

dikh > *dekh* 'see'

bik > *bec* 'sell'

4.2.2. ADVERBS

Adverbs are modifiers of verbs. As such, adverbs precede the verb in the construction. Semantically adverbs are categorized as adverb of time, adverb of place and adverb of manner.

Below are presented the formative affixes helping in the formation of adverbs :

Adv. affixes

Example

-e

aD + *e* 'at'; *pAch* + *e* 'behind'; *agh<ag* + *-e* 'before'; *purAbdig* + *-e* / *beT* + *-e* 'towards the east'; *lenga beT* + *-e* 'towards the left (side)'; *pas* + *-e* / *nikAT* + *-e* 'near'; *upar* + *-e* 'over'; *hun* + *-e* / *hũd* + *-e* 'there'; *hin* + *-e* / *hĩd* + *-e* 'here'; *dhur* + *-e* 'far away'; *nic* + *-e* 'below'; *bad* + *-e* 'afterwards'; *turut* + *-e* 'quickly / soon'; *bhitAr* + *-e* 'during / in'; *jAb* + *-e* 'mean while'; *tAb* + *-e* 'then'; *eve Ane* 'to and fro'

-ea / -ia

ber ug + *-ea ~ ia* 'sunrise'

-ea + -me

(Double affixation) *bahAr* + -e + -me ‘outside’ *bad* + e + -me ‘afterwards’

-ese *dhur* + -e + -se ‘away from’

-ek *gelek kail* ‘yesterday’; *abek kail* ‘tomorrow’

-i *lengahat* + -i ‘in left hand direction’; *Dahinahat* + -i ‘in right hand direction’; *jAkhn* < *jAkhAn* + -i ‘when (Rel.)’ *kAkhn* < *kAkhAn* + -i ‘when (Inter)’ *tAkhn* < *tAkhAn* + -i ‘then’ *jAtkhAn* + -i ‘till’.

-ie *jAld* + -ie ‘soon’

-a *ber gut* + -a ‘sunset’; *wAh* + -ã ‘there’ *kAh* + -ã ‘where’.

-ke *hApta bhAir* + -ke ‘through out the week’;

-me *bad* + -me ‘afterwards’; *upAp* + me ‘upwards’ *sAmAy* + me ‘in time / moment’

-re *mAjhi* + -re ‘middle / between’

-sAn *kAisAn* ‘how’ *jAisAn* ‘as’ *AisAn* ‘like that’ *kAisAn hele* + ‘some how’

-sin / sAm *isin* ~ *sAm* ‘like this / this like’ *usin* ~ *sAm* ‘that like’

-tAk *ab* / *ebtAk* ‘till now’ *jAbtAk* ‘until’ *tAbtAk* ‘till then’

Reduplicated words (Adverbial)

kAkhni kAkhni ‘sometimes’;

cãDhe cãDhe ‘quickly’; *ghai ghai* ‘often’.

4.2.3. PARTICLE / CLITIC

There are eight types of particles available in Khortha / Khotta. These are :

1. Connective : *ar* ‘and’; *ba* / *Athba* ‘or’; *ki* ‘that’; *je* ‘that’
2. Adversative : *lekin* / *mAtur* ‘but’; *tAbhẽu* / *tAbeshi* ‘still’
jAdiba / *jadiu* ‘although’; *holeu* ‘yet’; *holebhi* ‘yet’
3. Exceptive *naihele* / *nahele* ‘otherwise’; *bina* / *choiDke* ‘without’

	<i>neito</i> ‘otherwise’
4. concessive :	<i>sutrang / AtAh</i> ‘so, thus’
5. Adverbial	<i>jAtkhAni / AbtAk / ebtAk</i> / ‘till’; <i>jAbtAk / jebtAk</i> ‘until’ <i>jAb / jAkhni</i> ‘while’; <i>jAkhnitAkhni</i> ‘when... then’.
6. conditional	<i>jAcli</i> ‘if’, <i>je</i> ‘then.’
7. causal	<i>kahēki / wAjese</i> ‘because’; <i>jAisAn</i> ‘as’.
8. Relative	<i>je</i> ‘which’.

Clitics

The clitics are of the following types :

1. Definitive clitics :

-Tho *hamranin kAr Tho kāha* ‘where is ours’

(Herein, substantive is suppressed).

2. Adverbial clitics :

-ihũ(inclusive) *ebrihũ jAdi sāpe hamar dimgela khaijay tAbe hame i gāche ar nei*

rAhAbe ‘If this time also my eggs are eaten away (then) I shall no more live in this tree’

-O (inclusive) *bandh ker bhitAr ekTa kumhir o rAhAl* ‘There was also a crocodile

in the same pond’

-bhi (inclusive) *wAhā ek ghar kumhar bhi rAhAle* ‘There stayed / lived a family of kumhar’

rajak gidArbhi lAkAD harake khub pear kAre lagle

‘The prince also started loving the wood-cutter’

-hi(emphatic) *hame Dimgela jirAmse hi bĀcay labe* ‘I shall save the eggs by any means’.

-ei(emphatic) *tAbhe ajei cAla ?* ‘Then let us go today itself’

bhAgwan je kAre bhaloi kAre se thikei kAhAl

‘what god does is indeed for our welfare’

-he rightly told.

-to(deliberative and contrastive)

hamar to ekTa gidAr ar Akhra ekmAn caurek bhat, Dair, tArkari debe

hote ‘I ought/am bound to give one son, one maund of boiled rice, dal and vegetables’

MAinisAbhin to apAn apAn khĀdhay cAilgele ‘The Mynas all went away to their nests’

rukH jao ito dosi ho ‘stop, it is not without wounds’.

Bhay bĀdAre ete sundAr miTha phAr raj khahe to ekhra miTha phAr

roj khahe to ekhra kAlejaTa kAte miTha hotei ‘The dear monkey

regularly takes such sweet fruits, how sweet and tender would his heart be’

-je(deliberative and contrastive)

phArTa ete miTha je tohAr kAlejaTa kAte miTha hote ‘If the fruit is

so sweet, how sweet would have been your heart’

Interjection & vocatives

Interjection :

- a) of Disgust , *chi chi; ram kAhA, heĩ; dhurtika*
- b) of Fear, pain, sufferings hay, oh, uph.
- c) of surprise : *ẽ, bapre bap*
- d) of pity *aha! hare! may! bape! aha ha ! hay hay*

Vocatives

he mor dost ! priye ! didi ! hei gidri !

are bĀdAr toẽ ete bADA januAr

ke sutAl ke re ‘Halo, who is sleeping’.

4.2.4 ECHO WORD

The Echo word are formed using u – in the beginning of the second component. Eg

dekhi ukhi ‘seeing and the like’

khai ui ‘Eating and the like’

suni uni ‘hearing and the like’

pi ui ‘Drinking and the like’

With Echo – verbs the past pcpl –(i)ke is used with the second component, eg *dekhiukhike* ‘having seen and the like’; *khaiuike* ‘having eaten and the like’; *suniuinike* ‘having heard and the like’

Pi –u(i) *ke* ‘having drunk and the like’

-*Th*- being used in the second component of the nominal words :

kAlAm ThAlAm ‘pen etc’; *bhat That* ‘rice eTc’; *dAt That* ‘tooth eTc’, *Tebul Thebul* ‘table eTc’; *kagAj ThagAj* ‘paper eTc’ *pauithani* ‘water eTc’. Echo-verbs are discussed in the earlier pages.

5. SYNTAX

5.1. Order of Words and phrases in a Simple Sentence

The constituent structure of a simple sentence is subject + predicate (s + v). The subject may comprise of nominals (Noun + Pronoun) or Noun phrase (NP) representing the head of the construction while the predicate counter part may have Finite verb, verb phrase (VP), Nominals (N), NP. Adjective, Adjective phrase (AP) and Pronominal Adverb following the head construct.

Below are presented the order of words and phrases of simple sentence:

Subject (N; N + N) Predicate (V, N+ V, N + pcpl + V; N + adv + v; pr + v, Adj + v;

Adv + v; pcpl + v.)

<i>kurkur</i>	<i>bhukei hey, ay</i>	‘The dog barks’	→ vp.
<i>cADoi</i>	<i>uDe</i>	‘Birds fly’	→ VP.
<i>gay</i>	<i>care</i>	‘The cow grazes’	→ VP.
<i>bacea</i>	<i>pADhele, pADhle</i>	‘The child reads’	→ VP.
<i>gaygela</i>	<i>dudh dihe, die</i>	‘cows give milk’	→ VP.
<i>kurkur</i>	<i>bileike dekhike bhuke</i>	‘The dog barks at the cat’	→ VP.
<i>cADoi</i>	<i>gãchAk upAre bAise</i>	‘The bird sits on the tree’	→ VP.
<i>suga</i>	<i>khAndha bhitre hEy, ay</i>	‘The parrot is in the cage’	→ VP.
<i>murgi</i>	<i>dinme eneAne ghume</i>	‘The hen moves to and fro in the daytime’	→ VP.
<i>bacea</i>	<i>Akhrake dekhe</i>	‘child sees him’	→ VP.
<i>pADhAiasAbhin</i>	<i>i ãkhTalikhe</i>	‘The students make the sum’	→ VP.
<i>baccaTa</i>	<i>lAmbha hey, ay</i>	‘The boy is tall’	→ VP. (<i>baccaTa lAmbha</i> → NP)
<i>gãchTa</i>	<i>bAhut lAmbha hEy, ay</i>	‘The tree is very tall’	→ VP. (<i>bAhut lAmbha</i> → AP.)
<i>patagela</i>	<i>hara hEy, ay</i>	‘The leaves are green’	(<i>patagela hara</i> → AP.)
<i>rastaTa</i>	<i>ũca hEy, ay</i>	‘The road is high’	→ VP (<i>rastaTa ãca</i> → AP).
<i>bacca</i>	<i>eha, hĩde awe</i>	‘The child comes here’	→ VP.
<i>bacea</i>	<i>wAha bAise</i>	‘The child sits + here’	→ VP.

<i>sāp</i>	<i>teD meDeike cAle</i>	‘The snake moves zig zag’	→ VP.
<i>gāchse pata</i>	<i>girAlke</i>	‘Leaves fall from the tree’	→ VP.
<i>ekTa admi</i> → NP	<i>bAise</i>	‘One man sits’	→ VP.
<i>chaTA bacea</i> → NP	<i>wAhā bAise</i>	‘The small child sits there’	→ VP.

Subject (Pr. , pr. + N) Predicate (v + pcpl + v; N + U; Pr + V,
Pr + N + V, N + pcpl + V, N + Adv + V,
Adj + N + N, Adv + V, Adv + N + V,
Pcpl + Pr. + V)

<i>hame</i>	<i>girle</i>	‘We fell down’	→ VP.
<i>u, Aẽ</i>	<i>jate</i>	‘He will go’	→ VP.
<i>hame</i>	<i>pADhA hie</i>	‘I am reading’	→ VP.
<i>hame</i>	<i>ghAlADei gelihe, gelie</i>	‘I got confused’	→ VP.
<i>hamramin</i>	<i>cAil gelihe, gelie</i>	‘We went away’	→ VP.
<i>u, Aẽ</i>	<i>ghare hEy, ay</i>	‘He is in the house’	→ VP.
<i>u, Aẽ</i>	<i>cADoike mare</i>	‘He kills the bird’	→ VP.
<i>hame</i>	<i>rupAiyaTa lelie</i>	‘I took the money’	→ VP.
<i>hame</i>	<i>cor dekhAlie</i>	‘I saw the thief’	→ VP.
<i>hame</i>	<i>Dakeitke pAkADlie</i>	‘I caught the robber’	→ VP.
<i>hame</i>	<i>ghADa cADhlie</i>	‘We ride the donkey’	→ VP.
<i>hame</i>	<i>kami kArlie</i>	‘I did the work’	→ VP.
<i>u, Aẽ</i>	<i>kitab pADhte</i>	‘He will read the book’	→ VP.
<i>ukhramin</i>	<i>khate jahe, jay</i>	‘They go to the field’	→ VP.
<i>toẽ</i>	<i>hamrake dekhehe</i>	‘You see us’	→ VP.
<i>ukhramin</i>	<i>diwar tADpi jahe, jay</i>	‘He jumps over the wall/fence’	→ VP.
<i>hame</i>	<i>gāchke nAjik hEy, ay</i>	‘I am near the tree’	→ VP.
<i>iTa, eha</i>	<i>hamar ghar hEy, ay</i>	‘This is my house’	→ VP. (<i>hamar ghar</i> → NP)
<i>igela</i>	<i>hamar kitab hEy, ay</i>	‘These are my books’	→ VP. (<i>hamar kitab</i> → NP)

<i>toẽ</i>	<i>hamar ghar ja, jahĩ</i>	‘You go to my house’	→ VP. (<i>hamar ghar</i> → NP.)
<i>u, Aẽ</i>	<i>hamar bap hEy, ay</i>	‘He is my father’	→ VP. (<i>hamar bap</i> → NP.)
<i>u, Aẽ</i>	<i>hamar gidAr hEy, ay</i>	‘He is my son’	→ VP. (<i>hamar gidAr</i> → NP.)
<i>unlei</i>	<i>hamar may hEy, ay</i>	‘She is my mother’	→ VP. (<i>hamar may</i> → NP.)
<i>hame</i>	<i>pãc rupAiya diAhie</i>	‘I give five rupees’	→ VP. (<i>pãc rupAiya</i> → NP.)
<i>hame</i>	<i>ekTa am neihe</i>	‘I take a mango’	→ VP. (<i>ekTa am</i> → NP)
<i>hame</i>	<i>choTA gã we kam kArihe</i>	‘I work in the small village’	→ VP (<i>choTA gão</i> → NP.)
<i>hame</i>	<i>kail aylie</i>	‘I came yesterday’	→ VP.
<i>hame</i>	<i>sese aylie</i>	‘I came last’	→ VP
<i>hame</i>	<i>kail abe</i>	‘I shal come to morrow’	→ VP
<i>toẽ</i>	<i>hĩde vAhAbe</i>	‘You will stay here’	→ VP
<i>u, Aẽ</i>	<i>wAhã khaDa hEy, ay</i>	‘He stands there’	→ VP
<i>u, Aẽ</i>	<i>kail cADoike marAlke, marle</i>	‘He killed the bird yesterday’	→ VP
<i>u, Aẽ</i>	<i>roj cADoi mare</i>	‘He kills bird every day’	→ VP
<i>hamar gidAr</i>	<i>ale, awAlke</i>	‘My son has come’	→ VP
<i>hei lAkDi</i> → NP	<i>bAhut Tan hEy, ay</i>	‘That wood is very hard’	→ VP (<i>bAhut Tan</i> → AP)
<i>hamar ghar</i>	→ NP <i>choTA hEy, ay</i>	‘My house is small’	→ VP
<i>Akhra admĩTa</i>	→ NP <i>moTa hEy, ay</i>	‘That man is fat’	→ VP
<i>hamar kitab</i>	→ NP <i>hĩde hEy, ay</i>	‘My book is here’	→ VP
<i>hamar giDar</i>	→ NP <i>hĩde hEy, ay</i>	‘My son is here’	→ VP
<i>hamar ekTa bhAĩsi</i>	→ NP <i>hEy, ay</i>	‘I have a buffalow’	→ VP

Thus, the constituent structure of a simple sentence is subject consisting of N, NP., Pr. And Predicate consisting of VP, NP + VP, and AP + VP.

ii) Description of phrases

Construction of phrases:

a) Construction of NP:

N / pr. + N; Adj. + N; Nu + Adj + N; Pr. + Adj + N.

<i>tor ghAr</i>	‘your house’
<i>Akhra gidAr</i>	‘His/Her son’
<i>tor bAhin</i>	‘Your sister’
<i>hamar balbacca</i>	‘My children’
<i>hamar hāth</i>	‘My hand’
<i>tor pay/goD</i>	‘Your leg’
<i>tohAr kitab</i>	‘Your book’
<i>Akhrak nAukar</i>	‘His/Her servant’
<i>ukhranik ghar</i>	‘His house’
<i>Akhrak kam</i>	‘His work’
<i>baccak hāth</i>	‘Hand of the child’
<i>Akhrak aīkhgela</i>	‘His/Her eyes’
<i>Akhrak bojha</i>	‘His/Her luggage’
<i>accha gidArsAbhin</i>	‘good boys’
<i>acchi gidri sAbhin</i>	‘good girls’
<i>choTA bacca</i>	‘Small child’
<i>bADA bacca</i>	‘Big child’
<i>bADA kitab sAbhin</i>	‘Big books’
<i>sada ghADa</i>	‘white horse’
<i>sada ghADa gela</i>	‘white horse’
<i>keria badAr</i>	‘Dark cloud’
<i>kara pata</i>	‘green leaves’
<i>bADA ghar</i>	‘Big room’
<i>bADA baksagela</i>	‘Big boxes’
<i>choTA bAkhra</i>	‘Small house/room’
<i>mAila hāth</i>	‘Dirty hand’
<i>iTa sundAr gāo</i>	‘This is a beautiful village’

duiTa kharab gão 'Two bad villages'
duiTa accha gão 'Two good villages'

b) Construction of AP.

Adj + Adj +iv

bAhut Tan kãTh 'very hard wood'
bAhut accha gidAr 'very good boy'
Dher keria badAr 'very dark cloud' 'heap of dark cloud'
BAhut choTA bacca 'very small child'

c) Construction of VP.

V; N + V; pr. + v; pcpl + V; Adv.(pr) + V;

Adj + N + pcpl + v; Adv + V; pr. + Adv. + V; Adv + pcpl,

uTh / uThA 'rise'
cADoi uDe 'Birdsfly'
gArugela care 'Cows graze'
gidAr gire 'The boy falls'
hame khaihe 'I eat'
hame abe 'I shall come'
bAis ja 'sitdown'
wAhã ja 'Go there'
bahAr ja 'Go out, get out'.
thoDa pani le a 'Bring some water'
jAmintAr bAisa 'sit on the floor'
khaDa ho ja 'stand up'
aste aste bolehe, bole 'speak slowly'
ekhra toDehe, toDe 'Break it'
hame kail abe 'I shall come tomorrow'

<i>jAldi cAil a</i>	‘come quickly’
<i>jAldi sutAl ja</i>	‘Go to bed soon’
<i>iTa bhele</i>	‘It happened’
<i>iTa hoel pare</i>	‘It may happen’

5.2 DESCRIPTION OF TYPES OF SENTENCES

Interogative sentences

1. ± subject ± object + Interogative + verb.
2. + Interogative + Subject + Verb
3. + Object + Subject + Interogative + Object + Verb
4. + Object + Object + Object + Adverb + Verb
5. + Object + Interogative + Object + Verb
6. + Subject + Interogative + Adverb + Verb

Below are exemplified the constructions:

1. ± Subject ± Object + Interogative + Verb

<i>kejanAlhe, janle</i>	‘who knows’
<i>tohAr balbacca kãha hEy, ay</i>	‘where are your children’
<i>toẽ ki cahAlhĩ, cãhAli</i>	‘what do you want’
<i>toẽ ki khayehe, khaye</i>	‘what do you eat’
<i>tor kAtna balbacca hEy, ay</i>	‘How many children have you’
<i>tor ki nam hEy, ay</i>	‘what is your name’
<i>toẽ kAkhni uThlhĩ, uThlĩ</i>	‘when do you get up’
<i>toẽ kãha rAhehe, rAhe</i>	‘where do you stay/live.
<i>toẽ ki kArehe, kAre</i>	‘what do you do’
<i>tohAr ki kam hEy, ay</i>	‘what is your occupation’
<i>toẽ ki kAhAl cahehe, cahe cahis</i>	‘what do you want to stay’

<i>hame kAisAn bolbe</i>	‘How will I speak’
<i>u, Aẽ ke hEy, ay</i>	‘who is he’
<i>u, Aẽ kãhase awAlke, ale</i>	‘where has he come from’
<i>Akhra kekAr ghADa hEy, ay</i>	‘whose horse is that’
<i>ukhranin ki ghare hEy, ay</i>	‘Are they at home’
<i>Auhra kAisAn kam hEy, ay</i>	‘what kind of work is that’

2. + Interrogative + Subject + Verb

<i>kahe tohAranin jahĩ</i>	‘why are you going’
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2. + Object + Subject + Interrogative + Interrogative + Verb

<i>AkhrawAste toẽ kAte rupAiyadebe debhõ</i>	‘what will you pay for it’
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4. + Object + Object + Object + Interrogative + Verb

<i>tohAr AisAn admike rupAiya ke dete</i>	‘who will give money to a man like you’
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5. + Object + Interrogative + Object + Verb

<i>I khAlihane kon cije huye</i>	‘what is grown in this field’
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6. + Subject + Interrogative ± Adverb + Verb

<i>hame ki wAhã jabe</i>	‘shall I go there’
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<i>hame kahe jabe</i>	‘why shall I go’
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<i>toẽ kAtek dhur abe</i>	‘How far will you come’
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Imperative Sentences

The Imperative sentences are constructed of :

1. - Subject - object + Verb
2. – Subject + Object + Verb

3. – Subject + Object + Adverb + Verb
4. – Subject + Adverb + Verb
5. – Subject + Object + Adverb + Pcpl + Verb
6. – Object + Pcpl + Verb.

Below are exemplified the constructions:

1. – Subject – Object + Verb

<i>bAisja</i>	‘sitdown’
<i>khaDa hoja</i>	‘stand up’
<i>uTh, uThA</i>	‘Rise’

2. – Subject + Object + Verb

<i>hamar ghar ja</i>	‘Go to my house’
<i>hamar ghar ahĩ, a</i>	‘come to my house’
<i>hamar kara gaDie ja</i>	‘Go to my cart’
<i>Akhrake bolawe, Dake</i>	‘call him’.
<i>Ekhra toDehe</i>	‘Break it’

3. – Subject + Object ± Adverb + Verb

<i>hamar kitab ehã an</i>	‘Bring my book here’
<i>thoDa pani le a</i>	‘Bring some water’
<i>pathArke upAr khaDa hoja</i>	‘step on the stone’

4. – Subject + Adverb + Verb

<i>aste aste bolehe, bole</i>	‘speak slowly’
<i>iskule awehe, awe</i>	‘come in’
<i>AisAn bolehe</i>	‘Do say thus’

5. – Subject + Object + Adverb + Pcpl + Verb

sAbAdgela saph saph kAirke likhehe ‘write the words neatly’

katha dhire dhire kAirke bolehe ‘Tell the story slowly’

diwar phani laphei ja ‘Jump over the fence’

6. – Subject + Object + Pcpl + Verb

kitabta phari avehe, aue ‘Bring the book back’

karagaDike ghuir ghuir ke ja ‘creep below the cart’

Negative Sentences

The Negative sentences are constructed of

1. + Subject + Object ± Infinitive + Ng. Verb
2. + Object + Object + Ng. Verb
3. + Subject + Negative + Verb
4. + Subject + Object + Negative + Verb
5. + Subject + Object + Adverb + Negative + Verb
6. + Subject + Adverb + Negative + Verb
7. + Subject + Verbal Noun + Negative + Verb
8. + Object + Adverb ± Verb + Negative Verb
9. + Adverb + Negative + Verb
10. + Adverb + Object + Negative + Verb
11. + Adverb + Verbal Noun + Negative + Verb

Below are exemplified the constructives:

1. + Subject + Object ± Infinitive + Ng. Verb.

hamranin ristay neikhe ‘we are not related’

hame kam kArek neikhe ‘I do not have to work’

Akhrake kam kArek neikhe ‘He/She does not have to work’

2. + Object + Object + Ng. Verb

i sAbhin accha bat neikhe 'These are not good words'

iTa sAmbhAb neikhe 'It is not possible'.

3. + Subject + Negative + Verb.

toẽ nei janehe, jane 'you do not know'

hame nei janihe, janei 'I do not know'

hame nei pADhAhie 'I am not reading'

u, Aẽ nei pADhelke, pADhle 'He/She was not reading'

kukur nei bhuke 'The dog is not barking'

4. + Subject + Object + Negative + Verb

hame kuch nei kAhAlie 'I said nothing'

toẽ kam nei kArtArAhAtAlhĩ, rAhAlĩ 'you would not have done the work'

u, Aẽ kam nei kArtArAhAtAle 'she would not have done the work'

hamar kam nei kArel cahiye 'I should not have done the work'

hame kam nei kArlie 'I did not do the work'

u, Aẽ kamTa nei kAir partAle 'she would not have done the work'

hame kam nei kArbe 'I shall not do the work'

5. + Subject + Object + Adverb + Negative + Verb

hame toke kAkhni/kAbhi nei dekhAlhie 'I have not seen you before'

6. + Subject + Adverb + Negative + Verb

relgaDi sAmAytAr nei jairAhe, jairhe 'The train is not running in time'

Akhra admi eẽbtAk nei awAlke, ale 'That man has not yet come'

7. + Subject + Verbal noun + Negative + Verb

u, Aẽ kArel nei parte 'He could not do'

8. + Object + Adverb ± Verb + Negative + Verb

hamar awek pAhAle nei jahĩ, ja 'Do not go before I come'

hamar aghu khaDa nei hohe 'Do not stand before me'

9. + Adverb + Negative + Verb

AisAn nei bolehe 'Do not say thus'

10.+ Adverb + Object + Negative + Verb

aijtAk kamTa nei hohe 'The work was not done till today'.

11. + Adverb + Verbal noun + Negative + Verb

Atna jAldi sutAl nei ja 'Do not go to bed so soon'

Cansative Sentences:

The cansative sentences are constructed of

1. Subject + Object → Instr. *Se* + Object + Caus. V – *Wai* -
2. Subject + Object → Ace. *Ke* + Object → Instr. *Se* + Object + Caus – V – *Wai* + V
3. Subject + Object → Ace. *Ke* + Object + Caus. V - *Wai*
4. Subject + Object → Ace. *Ke* + Caus V – *Wai* - + Sv
5. Subject + Object → Instr. –*Se* + Object + *Ke* + Object + Caus V – *Wai*
6. Subject + Adverb + Object → Ace – *Ke* + Caus V + *Wai* - + Pcpl + Sv

Below are exemplified the constructions

1. Subject + Object → Instr – *Se* + Object + Caus. V + *Wai* -

hame Akhrase kitab diwaihe 'I am making her give a book'

2. Subject + Object → Ace. *Ke* + Object → Instr. – *Se* + Object + Caus. V + *Wai*

hame Akhrake Akhra mehAraru se kitab diwai bolihe ‘I ask him to make her give the book’

3. Subject + Object + Ace. *Ke* + Object + Caus V. – *Wai* -

hame gidArke miThei khiwaihe ‘I make the boy eat sweet’

4. Subject + Object → Ace. *Ke* + Caus V – *Wai* - + Sv

hame ghADake dAuDwai dieihe, die ‘I am making the horse run’

hame ghADake dAuDwai delihe ‘I made the horse run’

5. Subject + Object → Instr. *Se* + Object – *Ke* + Object + Caus- V – *Wai*.

u, Aẽ Koise Kaminke pãc rupAiya diwaihe

‘She is making some one give 5 rupees to the worker’

6. Subject + Adverb + Object → Ace. *Ke* + Caus . V – *Wai* - + PcpI + Sv.

Hame raj bhAĩsike cArwai lei jaihe, jaie

‘I used to take the she – braffaloe for grazeing every day’

Co – Ordination

Co – ordinations are indicated by the use of *ar, ba, neito, Lekin, to*.

Below are exemplified the use of Co – Ordinatives.

use of *ar*

u, Aẽ kail ale ar cAilgelke, cAilgele ‘He came yesterday and went away’

ja ar jAldi cAila ‘Go and quickly come back’

kuch cij nAya hEy, ay ar kuch purana hEy, ay ‘Some are new some are old’

Mela bhitAre ar bahAre hoihe ‘Fair is going on inside and outside’

Use of *ba*

toẽ nei janehe ba hame neijanihe, Janie ‘You don’t know nor do I’

Use of *neito*

toẽ rupAiya pheri de neita mar khabe, mar khabhõ

‘Return the money otherwise you will get beating’

Use of *lekin*

kail hame aytAlie lekin hame bimar ke wAste nei aylie

‘I would have come yesterday but I could not come because I felt sick’

ekhra wAha hele lekin jAldi eAilgelke, gele ‘It was there but (it) went away soon’

dui bajetAk sAmAy rAhAlke lekin hamrak kam khAtAm nei bhele

‘Time given was upto two o’clock but our work did not finish’

Relative clause

The Relative clause is constructed with *je* which is either expressed or embedded. Herein, *je* implies ‘that, those’ meaning ‘which. eg.,

iTa accha hEy / Ay je u / Aẽ awelke / ale ‘It was good that he come’

Ukhranin / ukhrasAbhin kon admi hEy / ay je ãkhni awAlke / ale

‘who are these people (who) came just now’

toẽ je sAb admike bolhĩ usAbhin alAhe ‘They have all come whom you invited’

je ghare have rAhihe uTa bADA hEy / ay ‘The house I live in is large one’

Relative clause marker remaining embedded.

u / Aẽ girAlphAr cunle, cunAlke ‘He collected the fallen fruits’

Herein, *givAlphArimplyhArjegivAlke* ‘fruit that is fallen’

5.3 DESCRIPTION OF PATTERNS OF SENTENCES-

The simple sentences in the language are as follows-

hamrani bElgaDimaaylie ‘We came in a cart’

hame wAãha gelAchelie ‘I went there’

hame aj saradin sutAlie ‘I was sleeping all the day’

The complex sentences in the language are as follows-

hame jÃkhni gelechelie tÃkhni u sutAlchele ‘He was sleeping when I went to see him’

hame jÃkhni dekhlie tÃkhni Akra jAmin pAr sutAlchele

‘He was lying on the ground when I saw him’

hamar jaike pAhAle u cAligelchele ‘He might have gone before I reached them’

jAdi ghADake Dena hotle u uDtAle.

'If horses had wings they would have flown'

The compound sentences in the language are as follows-

u kal ale ar cAilgele

'He came yesterday and went away'

jA ar jAldi cAlia

'Go and come back'

AkAr awek bad hame jak

'I shall go after he comes'

tor kArek aghu u i kam kArelke

'He did the work before you did'

KHORTHAKHOTTA TEXT

kauain kAise kArike kAria sãpke marAlkeDumka

How Crow hen Killed the Black Snake

ek bisal bADgãchke ek DaripAr ek kAua ar
one big banyan tree-to one branch-upon/in one crow and

ek kAuain bas kAreichele Akre ghoslake bhitAr me
one crow-hen live did their nest-of inside-into

car anDa delAchele jekAr duio pAribar milike
four egg give-did/gave who-of(whose)two-both husband-wife unitedly

dekh rekh kAreichele i gãchke bhitAr me ek
care/guard did this tree-of inside-into one

kAria sãp rAheichele ar dui kAria sãpke bAhut
black snake stay-did and two-both black snake-to much

Dareichele hArek sAmay jAb jAb kAuain anDa
fear-did every time when when crow-hen egg

deichele tAb tAb i kAria sãp ghurte ghurte
gave/give-did then then this black snake move-doing move-doing
(moving) (moving)

ghoslake pas pĀhAcijake anDa khaichele AgAr Abri
 nest-of(to) near reach go-doing egg eat-did if this time
 (gone-having) also

jĀdi hamar anDa kAria sĀp khaijate to hamrani
 if our/my eggs black snake eat-go-does then we

ehāse kAhĩ dusAr jaga apAn ghosla bAnabe hame
 here-from where some-other place self nest build-will-do I

ehāpAr ar nai rAhAbe - i kAuain apAn mArAdke
 here-in more not stay-shall this crow-hen self husband-to
kAhAlke
 say-did.

kAua kAhAlke ki i gāchke nai choDbe
 crow tell-did that this tree-to not leave-shall

karAn ehā hamrani bAhut dinse basal chie jAkhni
 because here we much/many days-from live-have-done when

duiome i sAb batcit kAri rAhAlchele tAkhri
 two-both-among this ak coversation do-ing was/were then

nice gaDhase phusphusabaj mille u log
 below-in hole-from whisper sound get-did(hear-did) he-all(They)

sAmjhAlke *ki* *i* *abajke* *kimane* *che* *usAb*
understand-did that this sound-of what meaning is They

apAn ghosle ar *apAn anDake* *bAcate* *huye*
self nest and self egg-to save-to while/having.

udas *hoke* *wAhã bAiThAl chele* *u* *kAria sãp*
despair having there sit-did that black snake
uThike *ghoslake* *nAjdik pÃhAcle* *u* *kAria sãp*
get-up-having rest-to near reach-did that black snake

upAr uThike *duio* *cidAi pAr phus kArike* *abaj*
above having-gotup both bird at hiss doing sound

delke *lekin* *i* *abaj sunike* *duio* *ciDAi* *Darese*
give-did but this sound hear-doing both bird fear-in

uDigele *ek* *ek* *kArike* *kAria sãp* *sAb*
fly-did one one doing black snake all

anDa ke *nigligele*
egg-to swallow-did

duio *kAua* *kAuain* *thoDa derke* *bad*
both crow crow-her some late of after
wapAs *bhele* *lekin* *apAn ghoslake* *khali*
return become but self rest-to empty

dekhAlke jekrase Akra bAhut udas bhele
see-dwing which-by/from they much despondent because

kAua kAhAlke ki i anDa khaybala kAria
crow say-did that this egg eater black

sāpke kAise kArike marbe
snake-to some-one-by(means) doing kill-will

kAuain hAtas ho kArike kAuase kAhAlke
crow-hen despondent becoming crow-to say-did

ki tohē u sāpke kAise marAl parbhA AkAr
that you that snake to some-means-by kill-doing can-be their

badAn me bAhut kāTa che
cheek-in much/many thorn are

kAua kAhAlke he priye ekra wAste
crow say-did o dear! this for

tora cinta nai kArAlhotA ekra mareke
you thick not do-have this(to) die-doing

wAste hamar ek dost bAhut husiar che i
for my one friend much constins is this

bat kAhike u kAua wAhase uDike bAgAlbala
talk say-doing that crow these from fly-doing near-of

gãchke nice AkAr ek dost siar ke pas pÃhAcle
tree-to down/below his one friend fox-to near arrive-did

jAkhni siar kAuke bat sunAlke kAhAlke ki ei hamar
when fox/jackle crow-to talk hear-did say did that halo my

dost jie anDa khay bala loAhi ar niThur hoeiche
friend who egg eater greedy and crooked become-does

AkAr antim khArab hoeiche ekra waste tor Dar nai
his(he-of) last bad become-does this for you-of fear not

hame ekra khAtAm kare wAste ek bicar socAlchi
I this-to finish doing for one plan think-have done

kAua kAhAlke ki bAtawa kAise Akra nAst
crow say-did that tell how he-to destroy

kArAl jate tAbe siar socAlke je koi jodi hamramike
doing go-to then jackle(fox) think-did that any-one if we-to

bat sunilie wAhi DArse AkAr kano me jaike sãp
talk hear-did for that fear-from he-of ear-in go-having snake

mareke upay kAhAlke tAkhni kAua wAhase uDike ayke
kill-to way plan say-did then crow these from fly-doing come-doing

apAn kAuainke pas sãpke mareke upay kAhAlke
own crow-hen of near snake-to kill-for plan fall-did

kAua kAhAlke i bAhut khAtArnak kam che Akra
crow tell-did this much dangerous work is this

wAste bAhut husiarse rAhAlhote
for much careful-by stay/live-have to

kAuain kAhAlke ki anDa ke bAcaweke
crow-hen say-did that egg-to make-live-to(save to)

wAste hame bAhut cesTa kArbe
for I much try do-will

AkAr bad duio gãoke rajake mAhaAlke
that after both(two-the) village-of king-of place-of

tArAph uDike cAli gele jãha u sAbhi ke ghosla
near fly-having went-away(go-did) where he-all-to(they-to) nest

chele wAhase raj dAr bar khub dur nai chele
was these-from royal-place much far not was

u sAb rajdArbarke baganke pokhAr me pÃhucle
he-al(they) palace – to garden-to/at pond-in arrive-did

jãheki raja pAribar ke ek janana asnan/nahay
where-in king(royal) family-to one woman bath

rAhAl chele ar apAn gAlake har mukti mala
doing-was and self throat-of chain pearls

aro sAb gAhAna pokhArke pidipAr rakhi del chele
and-also all ornament pond-to edge-at keep-give-was

kAuain uDike nice ale ar sonake har cōcse
crow-hen fly-doing down-in come-did and gold-of chain beak-by

uThay ke dhire dhire uDte cAligele jāhaki usAb
raise-having slowly slowly fly-doing went-away where they

apAn rAheibala gāch chele jAkhni rajake paharadar
self stay-doer tree was when king-of guard

sona cen leke kAuain bhagAljayrAhAlche tAkhni unkhanisAb
gold-chaintaken crow-hen go was doing then they-all
- having

apAn Awjar laThi lekAr AkAr piche piche gāchtAk gele
self weopen stick taken-having he-of behind behind tree-upto went

paharadar chelame girate dekhAlke Akramese ek
guard hollow-into fall-doing see-did that-in by one

paharadar gāchke upArme cADhigele ar jāhaki
guard tree-of upon ride-did and where

har girAlchele u gaDhame apAn hãth har uThay
chain falling-was he/it hole self hand chain raising

wAste diel cahAlke ki dekheiche ki wAhã ek
for give-to want-did that see-does that there one

kAria sãp golmoT kArike bAiThAlchele u apAn
black snake circle done-having set-doing was he/it self

davDhase kAria sãpke upAr marAlke jekrase
stick-by black snake-to upon beat-did which-by

sãp mArigele
snake die-did

tAb kAua ar kAuain duio gãch pAr
then crow and crow-hen both tree-upon

khusi khusi se rAhe lagle ar balbacca AkAr
happy happy-in stay-stated and children he-of it

bAhut hole ar AkrasAb apan sukhi jibAn
many born-did and he/it-all(They) self happy life

bitawe lagle.
Pass-doing- did.

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MAHILI

P.EDWARD VEDAMANICKAM

INTRODUCTION

Mahili is a tribal mother tongue of India, spoken by an ethnic group called Mahli or Mahili. The Mahilis are one of the scheduled tribes of India (as per the scheduled caste and tribe act, 1956) residing in the states of Jharkhand, Bihar, Odisha, West Bengal and Assam. The Chota-Nagpur plateau region of Jharkhand is considered as the native place of the Mahili tribe from where they had migrated to the adjoining regions and states.

The word 'Mahili' has been originated from two words: 'Mah' means bamboo and 'Ali' means specialized. So etymologically the word denotes those people who are specialized in bamboo work. The Mahilis are known as an artisan community involved in traditional bamboo craft and they operate like an occupationally specialized caste group within the broad frame work of the agrarian economic structure of rural India.

The Mahilis have greater affinity to that of the Santals and they have been considered as an offshoot of the Santals. Some scholars have considered them as one of the branches of the Santals, separated in comparatively recent times from the present time. Both the Santals and the Mahilis share common surnames that also indicate their same origin. Some researchers also opine that previously the Mahilis and the Santals were the same tribe; later the persons who are specialized in bamboo craft create a separate group and they are known as the Mahili tribe and the mother tongue spoken by them is known as Mahili.

1.1 FAMILY AFFILIATION

The Mahili mother tongue belongs to the Munda group of the Austro-Asiatic sub family of the Austria family. According to Census classification the Mahili mother tongue is treated as a Mother tongue or a variant of the Santali language which belongs to the Munda family, the least numerous of the four linguistic families. Socio-culturally as well as linguistically the Mahalis and the Santals show more similarity than differences.

1.2. LOCATION

The Mahili mother tongue is spoken in five Indian states. i.e. Jharkhand, Bihar, Odisha, West Bengal and Assam.

1.1 BILINGUALISM.

Since Mahili mother tongue is a variant of Santali, almost everyone speaks Santali language. They also speak their regional language, i.e. Hindi though the exact number of bilingualism is not available.

1.3. SPEAKERS' STRENGTH

Speakers' strength of Mahili mother tongue according to 2011 Census in India and its States have been given below:

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	26,399	13,177	13,222	24,569	12,239	12,330	1,830	938	892
HIMACHAL PRADESH	482	237	245	477	234	243	5	3	2
CHANDIGARH	3	3	0	0	0	0	3	3	0
HARYANA	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0
NCT OF DELHI	2	2	0	0	0	0	2	2	0
RAJASTHAN	6	3	3	0	0	0	6	3	3
UTTAR PRADESH	16	9	7	3	2	1	13	7	6
BIHAR	26	12	14	26	12	14	0	0	0
SIKKIM	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0
NAGALAND	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0
ASSAM	104	56	48	102	56	46	2	0	2
WEST BENGAL	5,653	2,771	2,882	4,461	2,180	2,281	1,192	591	601
JHARKHAND	18,828	9,442	9,386	18,374	9,206	9,168	454	236	218
ODISHA	920	444	476	864	416	448	56	28	28
CHHATTISGARH	4	3	1	1	0	1	3	3	0
MADHYA PRADESH	12	7	5	0	0	0	12	7	5
GUJARAT	18	11	7	1	1	0	17	10	7
DAMAN & DIU	4	4	0	0	0	0	4	4	0
MAHARASHTRA	301	161	140	254	128	126	47	33	14
ANDHRA PRADESH	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0
KARNATAKA	9	4	5	0	0	0	9	4	5
TAMIL NADU	4	3	1	0	0	0	4	3	1
ANDAMAN & NICOBAR ISLANDS	3	1	2	3	1	2	0	0	0

Speakers' strength of Mahili mother tongue according to 2011 Census in Jharkhand and its districts have been given below:

State/Districts	Total			Rural			Urban		
	Person	Male	Female	Person	Male	Female	Person	Male	Female
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
JHARKHAND	18,828	9,442	9,386	18,374	9,206	9,168	454	236	218
Giridih	199	106	93	199	106	93	0	0	0
Deoghar	1,449	728	721	1,449	728	721	0	0	0
Godda	584	299	285	548	281	267	36	18	18
Sahibganj	1,248	610	638	1,248	610	638	0	0	0
Pakur	1,290	642	648	1,277	636	641	13	6	7
Dhanbad	296	150	146	295	149	146	1	1	0
Bokaro	2	0	2	2	0	2	0	0	0
Purbi Singhbhum	409	208	201	207	101	106	202	107	95
Palamu	4	3	1	2	2	0	2	1	1
Hazaribagh	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0
Dumka	5,869	2,905	2,964	5,869	2,905	2,964	0	0	0
Jamtara	1,197	604	593	1,197	604	593	0	0	0
Ranchi	19	10	9	10	6	4	9	4	5
Simdega	4	3	1	4	3	1	0	0	0
Pashchimi Singhbhum	3,595	1,796	1,799	3,462	1,728	1,734	133	68	65
Saraikela-Kharsawan	2,662	1,377	1,285	2,604	1,346	1,258	58	31	27

1.5. SOCIOLINGUISTIC SITUATION / INFORMATION

Occupation: - The Primary occupation of the Mahilis is basket making from bamboo all families know basket making. They sell their baskets to the neighbouring population for cash or food grains. Boys above the age of eight to nine are required to earn by tending cattle, collection of jungle products such as fruits, green leaves, roots and tubers which supplement their diet.

Food: -Rice is their staple food and is taken twice a day. Occasionally vegetables and green leaves constitute the side dish.

Dress:-Men wear short cloth while Women wear mill-made saree as common dress. Women wear very few ornaments in their nose, ear, neck and wrist. Clan organization: - The Mahilis are divided into a number of exogamous clans known as kili. The kili is a strictly exogamous unit and its members, cannot marry among themselves. The kili is a patrilineal group which

descends to father to children. The following are the names of the “kili”. Hemrum, Mardi, Baske, Muram, Thdu, Handsa, Soren, Besra and Isku.

Language use:- The Mahili Mother tongue is not used in all the domains. It is restricted to the family only. Since the Mahili mother tongue is not much different from santali language, the use of Santali language is found in most of the domains.

Mahili mother tongue is an unwritten mother tongue having no script of its own to represent the mother tongue orthographically.

1.6 REVIEW OF EARLIER LITERATURE

Since Mahili mother tongue has no script of its own, there are no literatures available in this mother tongue.

The present report on Mahili mother tongue is based on the linguistic data collected from the villages of Singhbhum Districts, [Block: Gidini] in Bihar by a survey conducted for L S I project in the period from December, 2000 to January 2001.

This study shows that Mahili mother tongue spoken in Bihar is not different from the Santali language.

2. PHONOLOGY

Phonology deals with the patterns and organizations of a language in terms of the sound involved. The phonemic analysis consists in allotting the indefinite number of sounds occurring in a particular language to a definite and limited set of phonemes. Accordingly, the phonemic inventory of Mahili mother tongue is given below.

2.1 PHONEMIC INVENTORY

2.1.1. SEGMENTAL PHONEMES

Vowels

Mahili mother tongue has got five-vowel system and is represented as follows:

	Front	Central	Back
Close	<i>i</i>	--	<i>u</i>
Close mid	<i>e</i>	--	<i>o</i>
Open	--	<i>a</i>	--

Consonants

The following 32 consonantal phonemes are found in this mother tongue

	Bilabial	Alveolar	Dental	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>	?
	<i>ph bh</i>		<i>th dh</i>	<i>Th Dh</i>	<i>ch jh</i>	<i>kh gh</i>	
Nasals	<i>m</i>		<i>n</i>		<i>N</i>	<i>M</i>	
Fricative			<i>s</i>				<i>h</i>
Flap		<i>r</i>		<i>R</i>			
Lateral		<i>l</i>					
Continuant					<i>y</i>		

2.1.2 SUPRA SEGMENTAL PHONEMES

Though length and nasalization are not phonemic in this mother tongue, yet it appears in Mahili mother tongue. Therefore, the five short vowels have their nasalized counterparts and long counter parts.

<i>i</i>	-	<i>i:</i>	<i>ĩ</i>
<i>e</i>	-	<i>e:</i>	<i>ẽ</i>
<i>a</i>	-	<i>a:</i>	<i>ã</i>
<i>o</i>	-	<i>o:</i>	<i>õ</i>
<i>u</i>	-	<i>u:</i>	<i>ũ</i>

2.2 PHONEMIC DESCRIPTION AND DISTRIBUTION

Vowels

/i/ High front unrounded short vowel. It occurs in the initial, medial and final positions.

<i>ita</i>	‘seed’
<i>ika</i>	‘pardon’
<i>bis</i>	‘poison’
<i>disa</i>	‘remember’
<i>badai</i>	‘pride’
<i>jhali</i>	‘snare’

/e/ High mid front unrounded short vowel. It occurs initially, medially and finally.

<i>edre</i>	‘anger’
<i>eTet</i>	‘fence’
<i>beger</i>	‘separate’
<i>lebet</i>	‘trample’
<i>barge</i>	‘field’
<i>nake</i>	‘village priest’

/a/ Low central unrounded short vowel. It occurs initially, medially and finally.

<i>arsi</i>	‘mirror’
<i>asre</i>	‘shelter’
<i>kandha</i>	‘room’

<i>nahak</i>	‘soon’
<i>moca</i>	‘mouth’
<i>nala</i>	‘ditch’

/o/ High mid back rounded short vowel. It occurs initially, medially and finally.

<i>oRak</i>	‘house’
<i>okte</i>	‘season’
<i>pond</i>	‘white’
<i>dhorom</i>	‘truth’
<i>jo</i>	‘fruit’
<i>nosTo</i>	‘ruin’

/u/ High back rounded short vowel. It occurs initially, medially and finally.

<i>udgar</i>	‘hot’
<i>uTi</i>	‘joint’
<i>usul</i>	‘high, tall’
<i>phuRuk</i>	‘leaf cup’
<i>utu</i>	‘relish’
<i>purau</i>	‘complete’

Consonants

/p/ Bilabial voiceless un-aspirated stop. It occurs initially, medially and finally.

<i>pond</i>	‘white’
<i>pante</i>	‘line, row’
<i>tapis</i>	‘force’
<i>japit</i>	‘sleep’
<i>haRup</i>	‘embrace’
<i>ehop</i>	‘begin’

/ph/ Bilabial voiceless aspirated stop. It occurs initially and medially.

<i>phak</i>	‘open space’
<i>phuRuk</i>	‘leaf cup’
<i>khaphri</i>	‘skill’
<i>guphi</i>	‘herd’

/b/ Bilabial voiced un aspirated stop. It occurs initially, medially and finally.

<i>barge</i>	‘field’
<i>beger</i>	‘separate’
<i>rabaN</i>	‘cold’

	<i>lebet</i>	‘trample’
	<i>khub</i>	‘well’
<i>/bh/</i>	Bilabial voiced aspirated stop. It occurs in initial and medial position.	
	<i>bharki</i>	‘blanket’
	<i>bhinti</i>	‘an instrument for cutting vegetables’
	<i>babhat</i>	‘itching’
	<i>bhabhnai</i>	‘sorrow’
<i>/t/</i>	Dental voiceless un aspirated stop. It occurs in all the three positions.	
	<i>tiga</i>	‘tread’
	<i>tiganam</i>	‘to find something by treading it’
	<i>ita</i>	‘seed’
	<i>okte</i>	‘season’
	<i>lebet</i>	‘trample’
	<i>dasiguti</i>	‘servant and slave’
<i>/th/</i>	Dental voiceless aspirated stop. It occurs initially and medially.	
	<i>thar</i>	‘A line, row’
	<i>thoRah</i>	‘little’
	<i>nether</i>	‘now a days’
	<i>matha</i>	‘chief’
<i>/d/</i>	Dental voiced unaspirated stop. It occurs in all the three position.	
	<i>dag</i>	‘mark, stain’
	<i>dak</i>	‘water, rain’
	<i>cedak</i>	‘why’
	<i>edre</i>	‘anger’
	<i>pond</i>	‘white’
	<i>bad</i>	‘guess’
<i>/dh/</i>	Dental voiced aspirated stop. It occurs in initial and medial position.	
	<i>dhorom</i>	‘truth’
	<i>dhes</i>	‘excuse’
	<i>kandha</i>	‘room’
	<i>ardhakuRi.</i>	‘virgin’
<i>/T/</i>	Retroflex voiceless unaspirated stop. It occurs in all the three positions.	
	<i>Tahri</i>	‘gently’
	<i>Talsa</i>	‘flour’
	<i>nosTo.</i>	‘ruin’
	<i>TanalT</i>	‘similar’

/Th/	Retroflex voiceless aspirated stop. It occurs initially and medially. In final position it is half-released.
	<i>Thabu</i> 'Large, big,'
	<i>Thah</i> 'Bottom'
	<i>ThakThakao</i> 'to hinder, to impede'
	<i>hoTh</i> 'lip'
/D/	Retroflex voiced unaspirated stop. It occurs in all the three positions.
	<i>Dayik</i> 'responsible'
	<i>DemDa</i> 'under-sized'.
	<i>DanDom</i> 'penalty'
	<i>DespoD</i> 'wanderer, a vagrant'
/Dh/	Retroflex voiced aspirated stop. It occurs in all the three positions.
	<i>DhaN</i> 'to stick'
	<i>Dhar</i> 'edge'
	<i>duDhrum</i> 'drowsiness'
	<i>kanDha</i> 'room'
	<i>kaDh</i> 'prison'
/c/	Palatal voiceless unaspirated stop. It occurs in all the three positions.
	<i>corcota</i> 'passionate'
	<i>corkhedwa?</i> 'the planet Jupiter'
	<i>gubalc</i> 'mole of the body'
	<i>moca</i> 'mouth'
	<i>curcutud</i> 'stunted'
/ch/	Palatal voiceless aspirated stop. It occurs in all the three positions,
	<i>chutar</i> 'carpenter'
	<i>chur?</i> 'bracelet'
	<i>churach</i> 'pinnacle'
	<i>chuikuch</i> 'shriveled leaf'
/j/	Palatal voiced unaspirated stop. It occurs in all the three positions.
	<i>jo</i> 'fruit'
	<i>jima</i> 'trust'
	<i>khajna</i> 'rent'
	<i>manjan</i> 'breakfast'
	<i>sirjau</i> 'to create'
	<i>saj</i> 'dress'

<i>/jh/</i>	Palatal voiced aspirated stop. It occurs initially and medially.
<i>jhali</i>	‘snare’
<i>jhaba</i>	‘hanging shelf’
<i>jhajharii</i>	‘charm doctor’
<i>jhajharo?</i>	‘mud stone’
<i>/k/</i>	Velar voiceless unaspirated stop. It occurs initially and medially.
<i>kandha</i>	‘room’
<i>tako</i>	‘bitter’
<i>nake</i>	‘village priest’
<i>okte</i>	‘season’
<i>phuRuk</i>	‘leaf cup’
<i>oRak</i>	‘house’
<i>/kh/</i>	Velar voiceless aspirated stop. It occurs in all the three positions.
<i>khajna</i>	‘rent’
<i>khaTo</i>	‘brief’
<i>gakhur</i>	‘clever’
<i>lekha</i>	‘to count’
<i>/g/</i>	Velar voiced unaspirated stop. It occurs initially and medially and finally.
<i>gidi?</i>	‘vulture’
<i>giDra</i>	‘child’
<i>beger</i>	‘separate’
<i>enga</i>	‘mother’
<i>rog</i>	‘disease’
<i>/gh/</i>	Velar voiced aspirated stop. It occurs in all the three positions.
<i>ghiro goco</i>	‘to push a person’
<i>gholtao</i>	‘to roll’
<i>ghua</i>	‘bribe’
<i>baghe</i>	‘field’
<i>/m/</i>	Bilabial voiced un aspirated nasal. It occurs in all the three positions.
<i>moca</i>	‘mouth’
<i>?omtor</i>	‘mind’
<i>komao</i>	‘decrease’
<i>munDam</i>	‘ring’

	<i>dhorom</i>	‘truth’
/n/	Dental voiced unaspirated stop. It occurs initially, medially and finally.	
	<i>nake</i>	‘village priest’
	<i>nuhum</i>	‘twilight’
	<i>kandha</i>	‘room’
	<i>khajna</i>	‘rent’
	<i>pon</i>	‘four’
	<i>rin</i>	‘debt’
/N/	Retroflex voiced unaspirated nasal. It occurs initially, the medial and final position.	
	<i>Nal</i>	‘ruby’
	<i>laN?ga</i>	‘fatigue’
	<i>rabaN</i>	‘cold’
	<i>setoN</i>	‘heat’
/M/	Velar voiced unaspirated nasal. It occurs initially and finally.	
	<i>Macha</i>	‘little’
	<i>Monj</i>	‘beautiful’
	<i>haMal</i>	‘heavy’
	<i>niaM</i>	‘covenant’
/s/	Dental voiceless fricative. It occurs in all the three positions	
	<i>silpin</i>	‘door’
	<i>sana</i>	‘desire’
	<i>disa</i>	‘remember’
	<i>casa</i>	‘farmer’
	<i>cas</i>	‘cultivation’
	<i>upas</i>	‘to fast’
/r/	Alveolar flap. It occurs in all the three positions	
	<i>raska</i>	‘rejoice’
	<i>ra?ma</i>	‘claw’
	<i>parkom</i>	‘bed’
	<i>dhorom</i>	‘truth’
	<i>koThar</i>	‘go down’
	<i>beger</i>	‘separate’
/R/	Retroflex flap. It occurs initially, medially and finally.	
	<i>Raimal</i>	‘centipede’
	<i>Rukas</i>	‘glutton’
	<i>oRak</i>	‘house’

	<i>phuRuk</i>	‘leaf cup’
	<i>koraR</i>	‘grand child’
	<i>dobor</i>	‘double fold’
/l/	Alveolar lateral. It occurs initially, medially and finally.	
	<i>lebet</i>	‘trample’
	<i>lilam</i>	‘auction’
	<i>jhali</i>	‘snare’
	<i>solho</i>	‘advice’
	<i>phosol</i>	‘crop’
	<i>rimil</i>	‘cloud’
/y/	Palatal continuant. It occurs initially and medially.	
	<i>yar</i>	‘friend’
	<i>yohi:</i>	‘this very’
	<i>yu:</i>	‘in this way’
	<i>aniyaro</i>	‘face’
	<i>hiyo</i>	‘heart’
/h/	Glottal, fricative. It occurs initially and medially.	
	<i>halkal</i>	‘to overcome’
	<i>haʔmal</i>	‘burdensome’
	<i>laha</i>	‘before, in front of’
	<i>hanhar</i>	‘mother in law’
	<i>hahaRa</i>	‘wonder’
	<i>ohuch</i>	‘trouble’
/ʔ/	Glottal stop. It occurs in all the three positions.	
	<i>ʔdad</i>	‘Ringworm’
	<i>ʔtolob</i>	‘wages’
	<i>haʔmal</i>	‘burdensome’
	<i>raʔma</i>	‘claw’
	<i>jhajharoʔ</i>	‘mud stone’
	<i>gidiʔ</i>	‘vulture’

2.4 CLUSTERS

Diphthongs / Vowel Clusters

Mahili mother tongue has initial, medial and final two vowel clusters. The three vowel clusters are found in the final position only.

Initial two vowel clusters

<i>ai -</i>	<i>aida : ri</i>	‘inheritance’
<i>ae -</i>	<i>aema</i>	‘many’
<i>au -</i>	<i>auria</i>	‘epilepsy’
<i>ui -</i>	<i>uihar</i>	‘memory’

Medial two vowel clusters

<i>- ae -</i>	<i>paera</i>	‘to swim’
<i>- oe -</i>	<i>boeha</i>	‘brother’
<i>- io -</i>	<i>join</i>	‘life’
<i>- oi -</i>	<i>hoida?</i>	‘rain’
<i>- ui -</i>	<i>kuin</i>	‘well’

Final two vowel clusters

<i>- oa</i>	<i>noa</i>	‘this one’
<i>- ai</i>	<i>gai</i>	‘cow’
<i>- ea</i>	<i>barea</i>	‘seven’
<i>- iu</i>	<i>jiu</i>	‘spirit’
<i>- ui</i>	<i>sui</i>	‘needle’

Three vowel clusters: - The three vowel clusters are found only in the final position.

<i>- eoa</i>	<i>keoa</i>	‘chin’
<i>- uiu</i>	<i>tuiu</i>	‘jackal’

Consonant Clusters

The consonant Clusters are not found in the medial position.

<i>- ck -</i>	<i>acka</i>	‘suddenly’
<i>- kr -</i>	<i>akrin</i>	‘to sell’
<i>- lg -</i>	<i>alga</i>	‘light’
<i>- rm -</i>	<i>serma</i>	‘sky’
<i>- md -</i>	<i>amdaj</i>	‘approximate’
<i>- ND -</i>	<i>hoibaruNDu</i>	‘cyclone’
<i>- rd -</i>	<i>terdei</i>	‘moonlight’
<i>- tr -</i>	<i>babotre</i>	‘about’
<i>- ks -</i>	<i>noksan</i>	‘loss’
<i>- dr -</i>	<i>gidru</i>	‘boy’

- lp -	<i>silpin</i>	‘a door’
- sr -	<i>asrae</i>	‘shelter’
- mb -	<i>kombro</i>	‘thief’
- gl -	<i>cugli</i>	‘inform’
- ?t -	<i>do?tA</i>	‘tobacco’
- lt -	<i>celtu</i>	‘wax candle’
- pp -	<i>huppu</i>	‘temple’
- cc -	<i>mocca</i>	‘mouth’
- kk -	<i>sikkiNi</i>	‘mosquito’
- nn -	<i>janno?</i>	‘broom’
Final Clusters		
- ?n	<i>ko?n</i>	‘crane’
- ?d	<i>ju?lupi?d</i>	‘porcupine’
- Mk	<i>jiMk</i>	‘porcupine’

2.5 SYLLABLE

Monosyllabic words (open) :

CV	<i>re</i>	‘in’
	<i>lo</i>	‘to burn’
	<i>mũ</i>	‘nose’
	<i>ji</i>	‘to smell’
CVV	<i>gai</i>	‘cow’
	<i>kai</i>	‘sin’
	<i>koe</i>	‘to ask for’
	<i>kui</i>	‘well’
CVVV	<i>tuiu</i>	‘jackal’
VVV	<i>eai</i>	‘seven’

Mono-Syllabic words. (Close):

VC	<i>ol</i>	‘to write’
	<i>ak</i>	‘bow’
VCC	<i>aTk</i>	‘to feel’
	<i>uNt</i>	‘camel’
CVC	<i>bar</i>	‘two’
	<i>bas</i>	‘smell’
	<i>jan</i>	‘bone’

CVVC	<i>duar</i>	‘door’
	<i>Tuar</i>	‘orphan’
CVCC	<i>jimk</i>	‘porcupine’
	<i>ko?n</i>	‘crane’

Tri Syllabic:

CV CV CCV	<i>ba bo tre</i>	‘about’
VC CVC CVC	<i>en dek han</i>	‘then’
CV CV CV	<i>mi se ra</i>	‘sister’
V CV CV	<i>o mo ri</i>	‘immortal’
CVC CV CV	<i>sam To lu</i>	‘plain’
CV CV V	<i>do re a</i>	‘bay’
VC VC CVC	<i>a cam vit</i>	‘onion’
VC CV CVC	<i>em ga sim</i>	‘hen’

3. MORPHOPHONEMICS

The distributives in Mahili mother tongue are formed by reduplicating the first two letters of the word if it begins with a consonant or by inserting 'k' immediately after the initial vowel. The suffix 'kate' is added in either cases.

Eg;	<i>bar</i>	'two'
	<i>babarkate</i>	'in twos' 'by twos'
	<i>iral</i>	'eight'
	<i>ikralkate</i>	'in eights' 'by eights'

If two vowels occur together then the semi vowel 'y' is inserted in between.

unie > *uniye*

If the two vowels are 'a' then 'w' is inserted in between.

aka aeme > *akawaeme*

4. MORPHOLOGY

4.1 NOUN MORPHOLOGY

4.1.1. WORD FORMATION

There are two types of nouns namely simple noun and the derived nouns. The simple nouns usually consist simply of the root and the derived nouns are derived from the verb or an adjective by the addition of certain suffixes to an adjective or a verb.

Simple Noun:

dhiri 'stone'

giDra 'child'

Derived Noun

1. '-ic' a suffix used to indicate an animate noun, meaning "the one"
'dal' to strike.
'dalic' the one who strikes.
2. "-ak" a suffix used to indicate an inanimate noun, meaning 'the thing'
'dal' to strike
'dalak' the thing that strikes.
3. "-tet" a suffix used commonly for an abstract noun.
"pond" white.
pond tet whiteness.

4.1.2. NOUN

Number

Mahili mother tongue has three way distinction for numbers (i.c.) singular, plural and Dual.

The singular nouns are unmarked where as the dual and plural nouns are marked.

'kin' is the marker for dual and

'-ko ' is the plural marker.

maejju 'lady'

maejjukin 'two ladies'

maejjuko 'ladies'

<i>dhiri</i>	‘stone’
<i>dhirikin</i>	‘two stones’
<i>dhiri ko</i>	‘stones’

Gender

Gender has two-way distinctions in Mahili mother tongue. (i.e.) male and female. The gender distinction can be made by two different ways, one by having different words and another by changing the terminal marker.

1. Different words for different genders

<i>jawae</i>	‘husband’
<i>bahu</i>	‘wife’
<i>daNgra</i>	‘bullock’
<i>gai</i>	‘cow’

2. By changing the terminal marker

The terminal ending “-a” found in the male is modified into “-i” to denote the female counter part.

<i>koRa</i>	‘boy’
<i>koRi</i>	‘girl’
<i>buDha</i>	‘old man’
<i>buDhi</i>	‘old lady’

Cases

Nominative Case:

The nominative case is unmarked in Mahili mother tongue.

<i>dak in nukeda</i>	‘I drank water’
<i>seta goijana</i>	‘Dog died’

Locative Case:

<i>-re</i>	‘in, within ‘
<i>oRakre</i>	‘in the house’
<i>abore</i>	‘among ourselves’

Possessive Case

'ren' / 'reak' 'of'

The Mahili mother tongue has two different types of possessive marker. One for animate nouns and the for inanimate nouns.

'-ren'	'of'	Animate nouns.
'reak'	'of'	In Animate nouns.
'atoren horko'		'people of the village'
dare reak usulgea		'tallness of the tree'

Instrumental case

'-te'	'by'	'by means of'
nahel te		'by the plough'
pon takate		'by four rupees'

Vocative Case

It is denoted by the use of '-o' and '-a'

'o sukri'

'a sukri'

Post positions

In Mahili mother tongue the relationship of two nouns and of pronouns are indicated by the use of post positions.

- | | | |
|------------|---------|-------------------|
| 'tuluc' | 'songe' | 'with' |
| enga tuluc | | 'with the mother' |
| ale songe | | 'along with us' |
- | | | |
|---------|--------------|-----------------|
| 'begor' | | 'without' |
| | kicric begor | 'without cloth' |
- | | | |
|------------------|--|---------------------------|
| then | | 'near , towards' |
| oRak thenak dare | | 'the tree near the house' |
- | | | |
|----------------------|--------|--------------------------------|
| 'khon' | 'khoc' | 'away from' |
| 'ato khon' | | from the village' |
| mente | | 'for the purpose of' |
| ona menten hec akana | | 'I have come for that purpose' |

4.1.3 PRONOUNS

There are three personal pronouns in Mahili mother tongue, namely first personal pronoun, second personal pronoun and third personal pronouns.

First personal pronouns

Singular	<i>in</i>	‘I’
Dual (inclusive)	<i>alan</i>	‘we two’
Dual (exclusive)	<i>alin</i>	‘we two’
Plural (inclusive)	<i>abon</i>	‘we’
Plural (exclusive)	<i>ale</i>	‘we’

Second personal pronoun

Singular	<i>uni</i>	‘He / She’
Dual	<i>unkin</i>	‘They two’
Plural	<i>onko</i>	‘They (more than two)’

Demonstrative pronoun

<i>ona</i>	‘that one’
<i>noa</i>	‘this one’

Indefinite pronoun

<i>jahae</i>	‘any one’
<i>jaha</i>	‘any thing’

Interrogative pronoun

<i>okoe ?</i>	‘who’
<i>oka?</i>	‘which’
<i>cele</i>	‘what’

In pronouns, suffixing “-ren” with the pronominal form if the following noun is animate and “-ak” with the pronominal form if the following noun is inanimate shows the possessive relationship

<i>inren</i>	<i>giDra</i>	‘my child’
<i>onak</i>	<i>bo hok</i>	‘that one’s child’

The suffixes ‘-kin’ and ‘-ko’ found respectively in the dual and plural forms of the third personal pronoun.

<i>manjhikin</i>	‘the two head man’
<i>noakin</i>	‘these two things’
<i>onako</i>	‘those things’

<i>unkin dekin usulgea</i>	‘those two are tall’
<i>noko giDrako do</i>	‘these children are’
<i>adi mo bhgeajo</i>	‘very good looking’

4.1.4. ADJECTIVES

In Mahili mother tongue, the adjectives follow the noun it denotes. In between the noun and the adjectives comes a particle / do / which has no meaning when used by itself, but only added to the nouns. It follows the word, which is the subject of the verb.

<i>baha</i>		‘flower’
<i>monja</i>		‘beautiful’
<i>baha do monja</i>		‘beautiful flower’
<i>are + usul</i>	>	<i>dare do usul.</i>
Tree + Tall	>	Tall tree.

Some of the common adjectives are as follows

<i>pound</i>	‘white’
<i>hende</i>	‘black’
<i>hariar</i>	‘greed’
<i>monja</i>	‘beautiful’
<i>herem</i>	‘sweet’
<i>rear</i>	‘cold’
<i>bes</i>	‘good’
<i>hudin</i>	‘small’
<i>maran</i>	‘large’
<i>laser</i>	‘sharp’
<i>hamal</i>	‘heavy’
<i>arak</i>	‘red’
<i>bāric</i>	‘evil’
<i>khoTo</i>	‘short’
<i>sāngin</i>	‘distant’
<i>sor</i>	‘near’

These adjectives are used as verbs simply by adding tense signs and the verbal sign “-a” with or without the emphatic particle “ge”

Verbal participles are often used adjectively.

<i>ne:l akar ho:rko</i>	‘the people who have seen it’
<i>ne:lan ho:rko</i>	‘those who see for themselves’

A noun may also be used as an adjective by simply placing it before another noun. Or by adding to it the suffix “-an”

<i>bir</i>	<i>dare</i>	‘a jungle tree’
<i>theMgawan</i>	<i>ho:ra</i>	‘a person with a stick’

There are no comparative or superlative forms of the adjectives. Comparison is indicated by

(a) using the simple adjective with the postposition /khon/

<i>in do:am khon in marangera</i>	‘I am bigger than you’
-----------------------------------	------------------------

(b) by putting /artet/ /ta:rTi/ before the compared word.

<i>artet</i>	<i>mara:n</i>	‘greater’
<i>ba:rti</i>	<i>usul</i>	‘taller’

The superlative is indicated:

by using the simple form of the

Adjective after /jo:+o:khon/ - “than all”

(1) *nui do: jo: to: khon usul* “this one is the tallest”

(2) *nota:k ho:r do: jo:to: khon jeleNa* “this road is the longest”

by adding the word /boge/ which means

“the limit” to the adjective.

‘*usula*’ tall

‘*boge usula*’ “tallest” (literal meaning ‘is the best of the tall’)

4.1.5. NUMERAL

Mahili mother tongue has its own numeral only upto 20. Among the cardinal numerals are from eleven onwards. The numerals are forms like 10+1 and so are ordinal numerals.

<i>mit</i>	‘one’
<i>bar</i>	‘two’
<i>pe</i>	‘three’
<i>pon</i>	‘four’

<i>more</i>	‘five’
<i>turui</i>	‘six’
<i>eae</i>	‘seven’
<i>iral</i>	‘eight’
<i>are</i>	‘nine’
<i>gel</i>	‘ten’
<i>gel mit</i>	‘eleven’
<i>gel bar</i>	‘twelve’
<i>gel pe</i>	‘thirteen’
<i>gel pon</i>	‘fourteen’
<i>gel more</i>	‘fifteen’
<i>gel turui</i>	‘sixteen’
<i>gel eae</i>	‘seventeen’
<i>gel iral</i>	‘eighteen’
<i>gel are</i>	‘nineteen’
<i>isi</i>	‘twenty’

The higher numbers are obtained by clubbing two numerals too.

<i>pe isi pon</i>	(sixty four)
	$3 \times 20 + 4$

still higher numbers are adopted from Hindi :

<i>sae</i>	‘hundred’
<i>hajar</i>	‘one thousand’
<i>lakh</i>	‘one lakh’

Ordinals

The following ordinals are formed based on Hindi ordinals.

<i>pahil</i>	‘first’
<i>dosar</i>	‘second’
<i>tesar</i>	‘third’

Animate	inanimate	meaning
<i>ponic</i>	<i>ponak</i>	‘fourth’
<i>moreic</i>	<i>moreak</i>	‘fifth’
<i>turuic</i>	<i>turuiak</i>	‘sixth’

<i>eaeic</i>	<i>eaeak</i>	‘seventh’
<i>iralic</i>	<i>iralak</i>	‘eighth’
<i>areic</i>	<i>areak</i>	‘ninth’
<i>gelic</i>	<i>gelak</i>	‘tenth’
<i>isic</i>	<i>isiak</i>	‘twelfth’

Multiplication is indicated by using the word ‘*dobor*’ which means times / fold.

<i>pe doberte</i>	three fold
<i>more doberte</i>	five times.

The following collectives are commonly used

<i>bannar</i>	both
<i>pe:ne:</i>	all three
<i>ponon</i>	all four.

Distributives

These are formed by reduplicating the first two letters of the word, or (when it begins with a vowel) inserting “*k*” immediately after the initial vowel and adding the suffix “*-kate*”

<i>babarkate</i>	‘in twos’
	‘by twos’
	‘two each’
<i>pe pe kate</i>	‘in threes’
	‘by threes’
	‘three each’
<i>ikra l kate</i>	‘in eights’
	‘by eights’
	‘eight each’

4.2 VERB MORPHOLOGY

4.2.1 VERB

Verbs are inflected for tense, mood and aspect. The nucleus of the verb form is the verb stem. Morphologically finite verbs possess person-number gender marker while non-finite verbs do not.

The Basic structure of verb in Mahili mother tongue is

Verbal base + tense marker + person marker + number

4.2.1.1 FINITE VERB

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.

Some of the verb roots both of transitive and intransitive categories require to be shown at random.

Tense

(1) The indefinite present

It is formed by adding / -et / to the root.

neletan 'I see'

This is used of actions in the present time with no particular stress on the present moment.

(2) The Definite present

It is formed by adding / -et kan / to the root.

nelet kanan 'I am at the moment seeing'

khetreye kamiyet kana 'He is now working in field'

In this case, stress is laid on the present moment of time.

(3) The Recent past

It is formed by adding / -ket / to the root.

nelketan 'I saw'

(4) The anterior past

It is formed by adding / -let / to the root.

nelletan 'I saw'

This refers to the action in the past more remote.

(5) The perfect tense

It is formed by adding / akaat / to the root.

nel akat an 'I have seen'

(6) The future tense

It is formed by adding the suffix -a to the verb root.

nelan 'I will see'

In addition to the future it is used in a general sense, for a habitual state or an act habitually performed with no special reference to the present time.

Mood

The mood expresses the mode or manner in which the verb is used.

(1) The optative mood

It signifies choice, wish, or desire on the part of the subject of the verb and can often translated by 'would' or 'could' in English. In Mahili mother tongue it is formed by adding '-ke' to the root of the verb

inak oRak em nel ke ? 'would you like to see my house ?'

tehen thoragan dakan jonke ? 'I would like to eat little rice'

(2) *The causative mood* :- It is formed by prefixing / oco- / to the root.

kurin sen ocokedca 'I caused the girl to go'

khetre kami ocokom 'caused them to work in the field'

(3) The Benedictive mood: -

It is formed by inserting – m – between the verb stem and personal suffix.

helae 'He sees'
helmae 'He may see'
hijukako 'They come'
hijukmako 'let them come'

(4) The intentional mood: -

It is formed by adding inserting / -ka / between the verb stems and tense to the present marker.

“-kaf “ to the root in the past tense. and inserting / -kaf- / in case of past tense.

dal ka ko 'he will beat them'
dal ka ko kanae 'he is beating them'
dal kaf koae 'he beat them' (past)

4.2.1.2 NON FINITE VERB

Infinitive

Verbal Noun

The addition of an infix to a verb changes the verb to a noun.

The verb roots receiving the infixes *-no-* and *-na-* act as verbal nouns.

<i>ol</i>	>	<i>onol</i>
'to write'		'written piece'
<i>jok</i>	>	<i>jonok</i>
'to sweep'		'broom stick'
<i>rakap</i>	>	<i>rana kap</i>
'to develop'		'development'
<i>jot</i>	>	<i>jonot</i>
'to wipe'		'duster'

Participle:

The adjectives in Mahili mother tongue are formed from verbs also and these are formed simply by omitting the verbal 'a' which act as verbal participle.

Eg:	<i>nel kedin hoRko</i>	'the people who saw me'
	<i>sen akantin gidra</i>	'my child who has gone suddenly'
	<i>ematme maejiu</i>	'the woman who gave it to you'
	<i>buRure nelogok kan dare</i>	'the tree visible on the hill'

These participles are often employed as nouns, by adding the appropriate suffix. In Mahili when you say 'that woman is a Mahili', it is simply joining or coupling two words, woman and Mahili. But when you say that woman is in the house, here the 'is' has a different meaning, namely exists. The Mahili word which gives the first is '*kana*' kan being the root word and the final 'a' is participle.

4.2.1.3. CAUSATIVE VERB

The morphological process involved in the causative formation in verbs is:

Prefixation and Suffixation. The prefix /*a-*/ is used only in the two verbs.

jom 'eat'
nu 'drink'

In all other verbs the suffix /-oco/ is added to form the causatives.

Prefixation / a- /

a + *jom* 'eat' > *ajom* 'feed'
a + *nu* 'drink' > *anu* 'making to drink'

Suffixation / -oco /

dal 'beat' + *oco* > *daloco* 'cause to beat'
men 'say' + *oco* > *menoco* 'cause to say'
nel 'see' + *oco* > *neloco* 'cause to see'
uyuk 'bring' + *oco* > *uyukoco* 'cause to bring down'
sen 'go' + *oco* > *senoco* 'cause to go'

4.2.1.4. AUXILIARY VERB

There are two ways in which the English word 'must' is expressed in Mahili
 Eg: *calak hoyk tina* 'I must go'.

The other is by the use of the word *jarur*

jarur tina 'I must go'

In negative sentences the use of 'ban' is always followed by the short subject pronoun if that precedes the verb. *ban a baDaea* 'they do not know you'.

4.2.1.5 NEGATIVE VERB

Three types of particles are distinguished in this mother tongue to denote negation. These are / -baM /, / alo / and / oho /

1) / -baM / is used as on ordinary negative.

nui do mitTay seta 'This is dog'
nui do mitTay seta baM 'This is not a dog'
nui do amij misra 'Is she your sister?'
baM nui iM hopOn 'No, she is my daughter'
unku bako baM ko badaya 'they do not know'
seton si tuMre hor baM 'the road is not seen in the dark'

- 2) / *alo* / is prohibitive negative marker that occurs in the simple present / future formation in the second person.

sinbera alom japida 'do not sleep by day'

iskul alope calaka 'do not go to school'

- 3) / *oho* / is the emphatic negative marker that occurs the subjunctive formation.

in doohok lai 'I might not say'

in do nui giDra ohon goadareke a 'I am unable to kill this baby'

4.2.1.6. COMPOUND VERB

Two simple verb roots are juxtaposed to give out a compound stem.

Juxtaposition of two transitive roots

- i)
- | | | | | |
|---------------|---|-------------|---|------------------|
| <i>sendra</i> | + | <i>nam</i> | > | <i>sendranam</i> |
| 'search' | | 'get' | | 'search & get' |
| <i>kami</i> | + | <i>dare</i> | > | <i>kamidare</i> |
| 'work' | | 'be able' | | 'able to work' |
| <i>em</i> | + | <i>dare</i> | > | <i>emdare</i> |
| 'give' | | 'be able' | | 'able to give' |
| <i>mak</i> | + | <i>agu</i> | > | <i>makagu</i> |
| 'cut' | | 'bring' | | 'cut and bring' |

- ii) Juxtaposition of two intransitive roots

<i>rakap</i>	+	<i>hec</i>	>	<i>rakaphec</i>
'ascend'		'come'		'ascend & come'
<i>ruar</i>	+	<i>hec</i>	>	<i>ruarhec</i>
'return'		'come'		'return & come'

- iii) Juxtaposition of intransitive and transitive roots

<i>sen</i>	+	<i>dare</i>	>	<i>sendare</i>
'go'		'be able'		'able to go'

Two or more verbs are often used in forming combination verb. If one of them is transitive then the combination verb takes its construction.

nel l he-ckedean 'I saw him come'

anjom ror akat koam ? 'Have you heard them say so ?'

sen nal mkedean 'I went and found him'

With two intransitive verbs, the first gives the emphasis.

<i>hec ruar akanae</i>	‘he has come back’
<i>ruar hec akanae</i>	‘he has come back’

Both the sentences mean the same, but the first sentence the emphasis on coming whose as in the second sentence the emphasis is on returning.

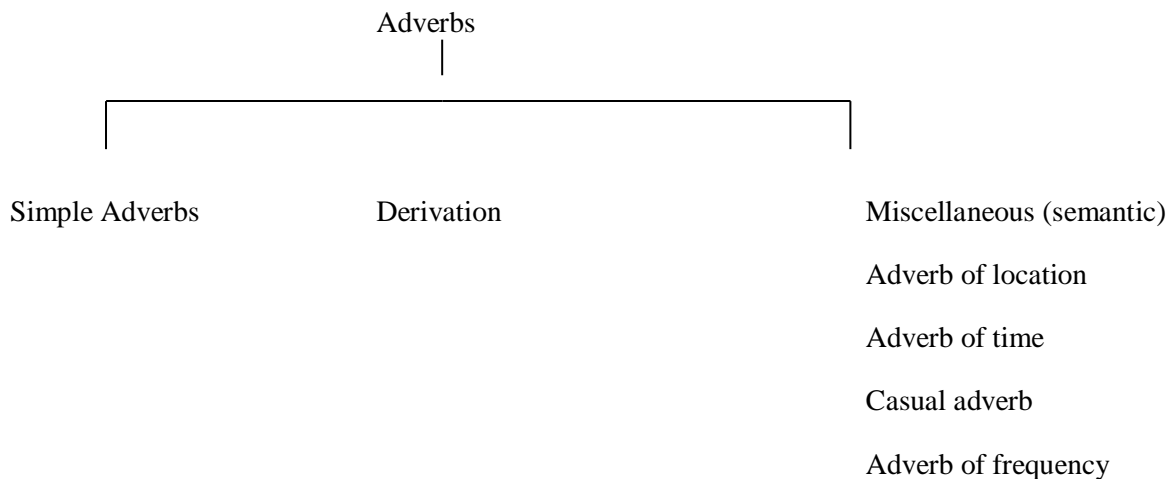
4.2.1.7 PASSIVE FORMATION

As a general rule, it may be said that when a verb is used transitively with an expressed object it is in the active voice. When it is used passively it is in the passive voice. In this mother tongue the passive voice is obtained by inserting the infix ‘ok’

eg;	<i>nel</i>	‘see’
	<i>nelae</i>	‘he will see’
	<i>nelokae</i>	‘he will be seen’
	<i>sikan</i>	‘plough’
	<i>sikanae</i>	‘will plough’
	<i>siokkanae</i>	‘will be ploughed’

4.2.2. ADVERBS

Adverbs in this mother tongue can be classified as follows.



Simple adverbs

The simple adverbs are mono morphemic and these occur before the verbs.

<i>usara</i>	‘quickly’
<i>usara kani me</i>	‘do quickly’

<i>logon</i>	‘hurriedly’
<i>logon hatao me</i>	‘take hurriedly’
<i>nahak</i>	‘presently’
<i>nahake hijuka</i>	‘he will go presently’
<i>acka</i>	‘suddenly’
<i>acka e nurena</i>	‘he fell suddenly’

Derived adverbs

The adverb word	<i>mitdhao</i> ‘once’	is derived from the
	<i>mit</i> ‘one’	
	<i>uni mitdhao hec lena</i>	‘he come once’

Words with the suffix / -te / are used as adverbs.

<i>car</i>	>	<i>car te</i>	‘sincere’ ‘sincerity’
<i>ekkal</i>	>	<i>ekkalte</i>	‘instant’ ‘instantly’

Miscellaneous

These adverbs are semantically significant. The semantically determined adverbs can be categorised as follows

Adverb of Location

<i>sanginre</i>	‘far’
<i>cotte</i>	‘upwards’
<i>samanre</i>	‘infront’
<i>bhitrire</i>	‘inside’

Adverb of time

<i>seday</i>	‘in old days’
<i>nit</i>	‘now’
<i>nahak</i>	‘presently’
<i>nes</i>	‘this year’
<i>hetar</i>	‘now-a-days’

Adverb of frequency

<i>bardhao dom</i>	‘twice’
<i>pondhao dom</i>	‘four times’
<i>tindhao dom</i>	‘how many times’

Casual adverb

<i>botorte</i>	‘in fear’
<i>bhabhate</i>	‘in grief’
<i>kusite</i>	‘enjoy’

4.2.3 PARTICLE

Generally, particles, which have neither the exact meaning nor the weight of the full words, are untranslatable. The particle “ma” and “do” are generally used to soften the imperative of the verb, making a command into something that is nearer to a request.

“ma” is used in connection with the ideas of ‘coming’ or ‘bringing’ in a manner of request.

“do” is used in connection with the ideas of “going” or ‘taking away’ in a manner of request.

- | | | |
|----|--------------------|-------------------|
| 1) | <i>hijuk me</i> | ‘come on’ |
| | <i>ma hijuk me</i> | ‘please come on’ |
| 2) | <i>agui me</i> | ‘bring it’ |
| | <i>ma agui me</i> | ‘please bring it’ |
| 3) | <i>calak me</i> | ‘you go’ |
| | <i>do calak me</i> | ‘you please go’ |
| 4) | <i>id ime</i> | ‘take it’ |
| | <i>do idime</i> | ‘you take it’ |

The particle / *coM* / is used to imply doubt or uncertainty.

- | | | |
|----|-----------------|----------------------|
| 1) | <i>okoe</i> | ‘someone’ |
| 2) | <i>okoe con</i> | ‘someone or other’ |
| 3) | <i>cet</i> | ‘something’ |
| | <i>oko cet</i> | ‘something or other’ |

The particle ‘*macha*’ is commonly in conjunction with adjectives, means slightly.

<i>hende</i>	‘black’
<i>hende mocha</i>	‘blackish’
<i>usul</i>	‘tall’
<i>usul macha</i>	‘on the taller side’

The particle ‘*ba*’ is commonly combined with the short subject pronoun.

<i>tako baDaea</i>	‘they know’
<i>bako baDaca</i>	‘they don’t know’

Here the pronoun 'tako' is shortened to 'ko' and the negative particle 'ba' is added before that.

Conjunction

The common conjunctions in Mahili mother tongue are

<i>ar</i>	'and'
<i>menkhan</i>	'but'
<i>enho</i>	'yet'
<i>ente</i>	'for'
<i>enDekhan</i>	'then'
<i>unre</i>	'then / at. That time'
<i>ho</i>	'also'
<i>ban</i>	'not'
<i>bickom</i>	'rather'

Verbal Particles

Certain pa particle may be inserted in the verb to modify the meaning corresponding to adverbs in English. They are inserted between the root and tense signs. The commonest are

<i>gof</i>	'suddenly'
<i>nir gof enac</i>	'suddenly the van off.'
<i>agu</i>	'to do something when coming.'
<i>hiri agukom</i>	'visit them as you come'
<i>ne aguime</i>	'see it and bring word'
<i>nok</i>	'a little, slightly'
<i>nel nok kedean</i>	'I caught a glimpse of him'
<i>-oTo</i>	'something left behind'
<i>oRak ren ne l otokedea</i>	'I saw him in house and left him these'

4.2.4 ECHO WORD / REDUPLICATION

<i>agar ogor.</i>	Fat and short, plumpy.
<i>ambak omboK</i>	To go hither and thither aimlessly, to go from one side to another.
<i>jel ambak ombokko liir bafaekana, sendra bor botorte.</i>	"The deer are running hither and thither by the fear of the hunters.
<i>asam osum.</i>	Half-awake, drowzy, sleepily.
<i>asam osume bere akana.</i>	He has risen before being properly awake.

5. SYNTAX

Syntax is the study of the arrangement of words in a sentence. The syntax of Mahili is discussed below.

5.1. ORDER OF WORDS IN SENTENCES

Generally, in Mahili mother tongue, long sentences are avoided. Most of the idioms are also short, separate sentences. It may be taken as a general that the verb comes at the end, either of the clause or of the main sentence. So Mahili mother tongue is a S-O-V language where S is the subject, O is object and V is verb.

hola in thehe heclena ‘he came to me yesterday.

na atore aema hor menak koa ‘there are many people in the village’

Mahili mother tongue belongs to the agglutinative group of languages. Instead of classified parts of speech in its place in the sentence, suffixes and particles joined together or agglutinated in such a way to form a sentence.

5.2 DESCRIPTION OF TYPES OF SENTENCES

Interrogatives

The only difference between a question and a statement is in the inflection of the tone or voice. The interrogative sentence can also be formed by beginning the sentence with the interrogative sign “*cet*” which have an intensive significance showing doubt or disbelief.

cet nonDe menakkoa ‘what, are they really here ?’

cet nu nake maran akana ‘what, has he really grown big like this ?’

By adding the conjunction ‘*se*’ literal meaning “or not”

nonDe menakkoa se ‘Are they really here or not?’

nu nake maran akana se ‘Has he really grown big like this or not?’

Imperatives

The imperative is generally used in commands or instruction. This is formed by adding a special form of the 2nd person pronoun to the root of the verb.

nelme ‘see’ Second person singular

nelben ‘see’ Second person dual

nelpe ‘see’ Second person plural.

gidra dalme ‘beat the child’

gei idikotinpe ‘take away my cows’

In the prohibitions or negative commands, the negative marker 'alo' is used.

<i>alo gidra dalme</i>	'do not beat the child'
<i>alo gei idikotinpe</i>	'do not take away my cows'.

Negative sentence

The negative prefix "ama-" is added to the verb

<i>kniye roRA</i>	'He will speak'
<i>kniye ama roRa</i>	'He will not speak'
<i>oRak in nela</i>	'I will see the house'
<i>oRak in ama hela</i>	'I will not see the house'

Causative sentence

The causative sentences are formed by adding 'oco' to the root of the verb followed in the active voice by the direct inanimate object if present. This is also used with various tenses.

eg;	<i>kuRin sen ocokedeae</i>	'I caused the girl to go'
	<i>khetre kAmi oco kom</i>	'I caused them to work in the field'

5.3 DESCRIPTION OF PATTERNS OF SENTENCES

Simple Sentence

A simple sentence is one which has only one subject and one predicate.

<i>noa baha do ponDa</i>	'This flower is white'
<i>hor do jelena</i>	'The path is long'
<i>nui mejiu do aDi monjgeae</i>	'This woman is very beautiful'
<i>hola in thene heclena</i>	'he came to me yesterday.'
<i>na atore aema hor menak koa</i>	'there are many people in the village'
<i>noa oRak do saphgara</i>	'This house is clean'
<i>vengeç edin kana</i>	'I am hungry'

Complex sentences:

A Complex sentence consists of one main clause and one or more subordinate clause.

When two or more clauses are connected by coordinator complex sentences are formed.

<i>une giDra okare menaea</i>	'where is the child'
-------------------------------	----------------------

uni janga rapulentac

‘the leg broken’

These two are joined by a relative sign ‘one’ and produce a complex sentence like.

“where is the child whose leg was broken ?

uni giDra okare menaea oNe uni janga rapulentae?

‘where is the child whose leg has broken ?

am alom hicten khan unko doko dalkien honan

If ;you had not come they would have beaten me”

nonle karem tohelen khan honan in babu dophom goẽ lena

‘If you had been these my father would have died.’

Compound sentences:

The compound sentences are formed by connecting two independent sentences.

lokhon teko do hola kolkatako senlena ‘Lohon and those with him went to Kolkata’.

Inren gai reak janga do raput lena ‘The leg of my cow has broken but it healed’.

ale do gapa aleren getekole ar enko

‘we will see our friends

tulud dakale joma

‘tomorrow and eat rice with them’

*uni then moRe Takan koelana menkhan
bae em aka wadina*

‘I begged for him for five rupees,
but he has not given it to me’

*onagen laidea menkhan bae anjolmet
tiina*

‘I told him but he did not listen to
my word’

oRakte calakme ar noa caole idi toraeme

‘Go home and take this rice with
you’

*mittun kahu ar uni ren juri mitten
latu bare dare dar rekintahenkana*

‘A crow and his wife lived in
the branch of a big banyan tree.’

*mitten maran pukri ko tiak keda ar
mitten kisar ayo hor ko dabrak kan*

‘They approached a big pond
and saw the royal ladies taking
bath’

*ko nel ketkoa khnbe kisajra ar acel
pacel jomatmenaltaea*

‘He is very rich and has
abundance of food’

TEXT-MAHILI

cekate enga kahu do hendé bine goc?kedeá

How the female crow killed the black snake.

*mittun kahu ar uni ren juri mitten latu bare dare dar
rekin tahekana*

A crow and his wife lived in the branch of a big banyan tree.

onde mitten tukaken benaokeda

They built a nest there.

onde do ponea belea tahe kana

There were four eggs in the nest.

enga apa kin sontor te bele koken rukhia akada

The parents guarded the eggs with great care

mit hendé bin ho ina dare regeye tahekana

A black snake also lived in the same tree.

onko cire do uni bin adi atko botorae tahekana

The birds were very much scared of it.

*jage onde bele tahe bin do tuka thinken sen kate
beleye*

jomit tahe kana

Every time there were eggs, the snake crawled up to the nest and ate all the eggs.

enga kahui juri tete metadea judi noa bele ho uni

*hende nine nu lakhan in
do ar noa dare re ban*

tahena

The female crow told the husband, “if the black snake comes and eat up my eggs this time also, I do not live in this tree any more”

jaha itak se laN tukaia

We should go somewhere and build our nest.

kahui menkeda nonde aema diN lan taheyema

The crow said, we have lived here for a long time.

Noa jaga bagi kate jaha sec do ohon senlena

I cannot leave this place and go anywhere.

*enkakin galmaraok kan tahekanre, kho-kho saDe ken
anjomkeda*

While they were still talking they heard a hissing sound.

bujahau kadakin ona do benak sabad kana

They knew it was the sound of the snake.

botor enakin

They were afraid

cetkin cekaea bakin bujahau darek kana

They did not know what to do.

uni hende bin do tuka thene

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

mimit gotec? te bin do belaye jom keda

One by one the snake ate the eggs.

juri-pari ken do adi kin bhabnayena

The parents became very sad.

*nitok kahui menkeda upain sendra odoka ar
uni bisan*

binen gojea

Now the crow said, I should find a way to destroy this poisonous snake.

*juri tete kulekdea cekate nui botaranic bin dom
~gojea*

His wife asked, how can you kill this deadly snake? Can you fight with him?

*alom bhabanaka in
ren adi sean gate menaea area seana gea
nui goje lagit*

Do not worry my dear. I have a friend who is cunning to kill this snake.

Noa menkate etak dare teyne udau calaoena

Saying this he flew to another tree.

ona dare latarre mittin toyoye taken kan tahena

Under that tree one Jackal is living.

*tayo do joto kahniye anjon keda are menkeda gaten ho
joto hadrap koak mucat do baric ge hoyoka*

When the jackal heard the entire story, he said , my friend those who are cruel always have bad end.

uni goje mitten pontha menak tina

I have a plan to kill him

inakate tuyo do khae-khoe cetco kahni metadea

Then the Jackal in a slow voice told something to the crow.

*kahu do juri tet then udau ren ruarena
ar ona pontha*

laiadea

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

jahanak cekaea inak bele bancao lagitte enga kahui menkeda gen

I will do any thing to save my eggs told the female crow.

inakate onathai seckin udau calaoina

Then they flew towards towards the palace.

onathai dare then khon adi jhal do ban tahekana

The palace is not far from the tree.

*mitten maran pukri ko tiak keda ar mitten kisar
ayo hor ko dabrak kan ko nel ketkoa*

They approached a big pond and saw the royal ladies taking bath.

dhip re sona reak mala pagra ko doho akat tahena

They left the jewels, necklace and golden chain on the edge.

enga kahu do udau phed kate thonTe mitten sona
malaye halan idi keda

The mother bird flew down and picked up one of the gold chain in her beak.

bai baite ace taken kan dare sene udau calaoena

It started flying slowly towards the tree in which she lived

dolen ren sontoriako ona relkate thengawante cereko
lagakedea

When the palace guards saw this they took up their sticks and chased the bird.

onko do uni cere dare donDhorre ona mala doho
kedeko relkedeas

They saw the bird dropping the chain in the hollow of the tree.

mitten sontoria do ona dare reyedecena

One of the guards climbed up the tree.

tinre ona mala hataolagait tiye bhora ketre
onde uni hende
bine nelkedeas

As he put his hand inside the hole to get the chain he saw the black snake.

uni do thengate bine gockedeas

He killed the snake with a stick.

ar noage uni binak mucat do tahekana

And that was the end of the black snake.

ina tayom kahu acren juri songete raskew bele ye

taheyena ar dher kahu hoponkin busak ketkoa

After that the crow and his wife lived in the tree happily and had many crows.

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MALPAHARIA

KAKALI MUKHERJEE

1. INTRODUCTION

Malpaharia is the mother tongue returned by Malpaharia tribe who inhabit in West Bengal, Bihar and Assam. The Malpaharias are Dravidian by origin and Hindu by religion (Grierson: LSI-Vol-I: PT-1 pg.99). The people call themselves Mao (*maO*) and the speech is called by themselves *maOer boli* / *maOer nOndi* as per the information received from the informants.

According to geographical region the Malpaharias are divided in the following group:

1. Purbā māo ‘The mao of Bengal area’
2. Pachimā māo ‘The mao of West’
3. Dakhinā māo ‘The mao of South’
4. Utrā māo ‘The mao of North’
5. Dāngār māo ‘The mao of plain land’
6. Jabdir māo ‘The mao of Damin area’

The language of the Dāngār māo has been regarded as the Standard Malpaharia based on field information.

1.1 FAMILY AFFILIATION

Malpaharia is an Indo-Aryan speech and is treated as one of the variants grouped under Bengali language. Shri.R.C. Nigam in his Language Handbook on Mother Tongues in Census also describes Malpaharia as the form of the Western dialect of Bengali (Pp.157).

According to Sir George Abraham Grierson in *Linguistic Survey of India (LSI) Vol.V Part-I* the Malpaharia is the variety of Western Bengali, spoken in the centre of the Santal Paraganas (presently the area is included in the state of Jharkhand). It is “spoken by the Malpaharias, a Dravidian tribe which has abandoned its original customs and language, and has become Hinduised. Its present language is a corrupt Bengali” including stray word of Dravidian birth. The language of Malpaharias closely resembles the Kharia Thar (another Western Bengali dialect) spoken in Manbhum, based on the availability of Cerebral *N* in place of dental *n* (the feature is close to Oriya language) and the presence of *-ã* in case of third person singular past tense as well as the presence of Conjunctive particle */-henak/* etc (1903: pp18-19 & 99).

1.2 LOCATION

At the time of Grierson’s study under *LSI* the Malpaharias inhabited the centre portion of the District of the Santhal Parganas (the area presently is the part of the Jharkhand state). As per the latest appeared Census data on Malpaharia (i.e. 1961) the concentration of Malpaharia is in Santhal Pargana district of Bihar (present Jharkhand).

The area of present study on Malpaharia is the Santal Parganas district of earlier Bihar state (presently Jharkhand) where the Malpaharia people are majorly concentrated. And the population of Malpaharia tribe in Santal Parganas is 42,433 (Census of India 1961, Bihar D.C.H. Santal Parganas p-158) (Set-I).

1.3 SPEAKERS' STRENGTH: LANGUAGE – MOTHER TONGUE - BILINGUALISM

In Indian census, Malpaharia was classified as a mother tongue grouped under Bengali. The independent Census figure of Malpaharia as a variant of Bengali language has been available up to 1961 Census. After that the individual census returns are not published following the decision of Government of India.

As per 1961 Census, the all India Malpaharia returns are 9,077 (male-4,858 + female 4,219) and is returned from West Bengal by 7,992 speakers (male-4,302 + female-3,609), Assam by 760 speakers (male- 404 + female-356) and from Bihar by 325 speakers (male-152 + female- 173).

As the present study is based on Bihar (present Jharkhand) so, the detailed census figure of Santal Pargana District of the then Bihar regarding the distribution of Malpaharia mother tongue is presented below.

Dumka sub-division =277 (male 123 + female 154)

[Shikari para M. -27 + F. 24, Ramgarh-14 + Kathikund 4 + Gopikander 96 + 112]

Godda sib-division = 19 (Male 14 + Female 5)

[Godda 8 + Sundarpahari 11]

Rajmahal sub-division = 2 (Male 1 + Female 1)

[*Borio*- 2]

Pakur sub-division = 26(Male 14 + Female 12)

[Pakur 17 + Mahespur 3 + Litipara 3 + Amrapara 3]

So far, the bilingualism data is concerned, the last appeared data is that of 1961 census. Accordingly, the bilingualism strength among the Malpaharia speakers, according to 1961, are the following:

Out of the 42,433 population (of 1961 Census) only 8, 371 Malpaharias are bilinguals. And they are bilinguals in the following languages.

1. Santali (3,764)
2. Bengali (2,823)
3. Hindi (1,666)
4. Khortha/Khotta (96)
5. Malto (18)

6. English (3)
7. Bhojpuri (1)

The rate of bilingualism among Malpaharia speakers might have increased or changed in the gap of 4-5 years.

Both in 1971 & 1981 census only those mother tongues which were co-termed with language names were published. From 1991 census onwards, mother tongue names with population above 10,000 speakers were published along with language name; however, Malpaharia did not reach required speakers' strength and hence was not published further.

1.4 SOCIOLINGUISTIC SETTING

The Malpaharias belong to Pahariya group of tribes in Santhal Parganas. Leaving aside Malpaharias there are three other groups of Pahariyas namely 1. Kumarbhag Pahariya, 2. Sauriya Pahariya and 3. Kadar Pahariya. Regarding the social relationship among each other, the Malpaharias have established marriage relationship with Kumarbhag Pahariya long ago. At present they are considering Saurias into account for their marriage and other social customs, as the later ones are leaving their habit of eating beef. The Malpaharias have no relation with Kadar Pahariyas. The languages used by Malpaharias and other Pahariyas are not the same. The Malpaharias speak an Indo-Aryan language, but the speech used by Kumarbhag and Sauriyas is a Dravidion one- the language name being Malto.

The Malpaharias are divided into the totems like deheri (*deheri*), kumar (*kũOr*), Dalai (*dOLOi*) singh (*siMh*), pujhar (*pujhOr*), majhi (*majhi*), Ahani (*ahari*), Naya (*nOa*), sirka (*sirka*) etc.

Regarding the etymology of mal or *maO* Das Gupta's hypothesis may be justly noted that the meaning of *mal* may be derived from the Dravidian word /*mala*/ "hill", "mountain". And the cognates, he has mentioned, are Tamil. /*Malai*/ "hill", "mountain"; Kannada. /*male*/ "mountain / forest"; Telugu. /*malal*/ "mountain"; Ollari. /*mare*/ "hillock", Malto. /*maler*/ "men, "hillmen" (Das Gupta: 1978).

Grierson's observation in *LSI* regarding Malpaharia language is that Maṅṅpaṅhaṅriya is a form of western dialect of Bengali language spoken in the center portion of the Santhal Parganas district (i.c. Bihar and Orissa). The *LSI* estimated figure of Malpaharia speakers is 27,908. Grierson observes the resemblance of Maṅṅpaṅhaṅria with Kharia Thar of Manbhum. (*LSI*-Vol.1. Pt.1. p.479 and Vol IV-pt1.p-446).

The Malpaharia speaking population is using the major dominant language of the area where they are concentrated. As a result, they are firstly bilingual in Santali followed by Bengali since Bengali is the next neighbouring language of the Santhal Paraganas. Since Hindi is the lingua franca of the entire region where study has been conducted, the Malpaharia speakers are bilingual in Hindi also. Accordingly, except in home domain as well as in the communication network with the kith and kin, the Malpaharia speakers use Hindi, Santali, and Bengali etc as per their need. Malpaharia is not used as the medium of instruction in educational institute. Rather Hindi is the medium of instruction in the entire region. Malpaharia is not having its own script too. It is not found as a language used in judiciary mass-media or so.

1.5 REVIEW OF EARLIER WORKS

It can be said that prior to the present attempt of Language Division centering round LSI-Bihar (currently Jharkhand) state, several studies have been carried out on Malpaharia language. Firstly, we get the introduction of Malpaharia in *LSI* through the fragmentary sample of Sir George Abraham Grierson where he has classified Malpaharia as a dialect of Bengali [Grierson G.A.1903.Linguistic Survey of India, Vol. V: part-I: pp 101-103]. A study was conducted on Malpaharias of West Bengal by Shri A.K. Das [Das, A.K.& other, 1966, *The Malpaharias of West Bengal*, chapter IV, pp 24-29] where the linguistic information of Malpaharia appears to be impressionistic. The most valuable data on Malpaharia, so far, is available in “*A Descriptive study of Malpaharia*” (1967) by Shri Dipankar Das Gupta where he mentions “Grierson is Justified in classifying Malpaharia as a form or dialect of Bengali” He also shows that Malpaharia bears greater resemblances with Kharia Thar (a form of Bengali spoken by the Hill Kharias of Manbhum) dialect of Bengali than other dialects.

The present study is a humble attempt to present the detailed phonological, morphological and syntactical features of Malpaharia based on the field data collected from Dumka-Godda of Bihar (present Jharkhand) in the year 1988. The duration of field Survey was one month only.

2. PHONOLOGY

The structure of Segmental and Supra segmental Phonemes of Malpaharia are furnished below.

2.1 PHONEMIC INVENTORY

The phonemic inventory of Malpaharia comprises of 37 segmental phonemes, out of which 5 are vowels and 32 consonants.

Vowels

	Front	Central	Backs
High	<i>i</i>		<i>u</i>
High-Mid	<i>e</i>		
Low-Mid			<i>o</i>
Low		<i>a</i>	

These 5 vowels are distinctive in terms of tongue-height and position. There is five degree of tongue- height viz. High, High- mid, Low- mid and Low. There is also another position of tongue-height – mean-mid, which is observed on the occasion of free- variation. And there are three degrees of position in vowel utterance viz. front, central and back. Out of the 5 vowels 2 are front vowels, 1 central and 2 are Back vowels. The central vowel has no corresponding member in other position of the same tongue- height, so it has no position contrast in its tongue height. The high vowels have a two-way contrast of position: front vs back. And out of 5 vowels of Malpaharia only the high-back vowel / *u* / is rounded.

Consonants

	Bilabial	Dental	Alveolar	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Plosive (Unasp.)	<i>p b</i>	<i>t d</i>		<i>T D</i>	<i>c j</i>	<i>k g</i>	
Asp.	<i>ph bh</i>	<i>th dh</i>		<i>Th Dh</i>	<i>ch jh</i>	<i>kh gh</i>	
Nasal	<i>M</i>	<i>n</i>		<i>N</i>	<i>M'</i>	<i>M</i>	
Fricative			<i>s</i>				<i>H</i>
Lateral			<i>l</i>				
Aspirated			<i>lh</i>				
Trill			<i>r</i>				
Flap (Unasp)				<i>R</i>			
Aspirated				<i>Rh</i>			
Semi Vowel					<i>y</i>		

2.2 DESCRIPTION AND DISTRIBUTION OF PHONEMES

The distribution and examples followed for the description of vowels and consonants are phonemic.

Vowels

/i/ high, front, unrounded vowel- occurs initially, medially and finally.

<i>Is</i>	‘head of the plough’	<i>bihan</i>	‘dawn’	<i>laRhai</i>	‘war’
<i>Iskul</i>	‘school’	<i>girthaiN</i>	‘wife’	<i>ciMari</i>	‘summer loo wind’
<i>iMgna</i>	‘courtyard’	<i>kichu</i>	‘something’	<i>bhukmari</i>	‘poverty’
		<i>kis</i>	‘shat’	<i>cheNDi</i>	‘girl’

/e/ high-mid, front, unrounded vowel- occurs initially, medially, finally.

<i>ekTO</i>	‘one’	<i>pheN</i>	‘from’	<i>bhaje</i>	elder brother’s’
<i>Ekla</i>	‘alone’	<i>kenia</i>	‘bird’		wife’
<i>Etugi</i>	‘few’	<i>leTra</i>	‘left-handed’	<i>majhie</i>	‘female’
<i>ekdOm</i>	‘fully’	<i>bhegNa</i>	‘nephew’	<i>sOMe</i>	‘with’

[/e/ free varies from high-mid to mean-mid position [E]

<i>cepThO</i>	~	<i>cEpThO</i>	‘flat’
<i>cOrkheda</i>	~	<i>cOrkhEda</i>	‘comet’]

/a/ low, central, unrounded vowel- occurs initially, medially, finally.

<i>aguN</i>	‘fire’	<i>baN</i>	‘flood’	<i>mOTa</i>	‘fat’
<i>akhO</i>	‘oven’	<i>maTi</i>	‘day’	<i>jhOrNa</i>	‘fountain’
<i>Ati</i>	‘stomach’	<i>karja</i>	‘debt’	<i>kemia</i>	‘servant’

/O/ low, mid, back, rounded vowel- occurs initially, medially, finally.

<i>OsarO</i>	‘wide’	<i>kOndOO</i>	‘quarrel’	<i>hOlko</i>	‘light’
<i>OkhON</i>	‘now’	<i>bOrlOm</i>	‘spear’	<i>GalO</i>	‘check’
<i>OsOmOe</i>	‘un time’	<i>mOtlOb</i>	‘means’	<i>hiSo</i>	‘jealousy’

/u/ high, back, rounded vowel- occurs initially, medially, finally.

<i>uphai</i>	‘dandruff’	<i>nuN</i>	‘salt’	<i>baju</i>	‘arm’
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<i>uDli</i>	‘basket’	<i>phul</i>	‘friend’	<i>saRhu</i>	‘wife’s sister’s
<i>upae</i>	‘means’	<i>dukhi</i>	‘sand’		husband’
<i>uDOes</i>	‘bug’	<i>buDha</i>	‘old man’	<i>lOhu</i>	‘blood’

Consonants

/p/ bilabial voiceless unaspirated stop – occurs initially, medially and finally.

<i>paNi</i>	‘water’	<i>lapit</i>	‘barber’	<i>sāp</i>	‘snake’
<i>pipOiR</i>	‘relatives’	<i>pipoiR</i>	‘ant’	<i>pap</i>	‘rice’
<i>paraN</i>	‘younger sister’s husband’	<i>khOpci</i>	‘brain’	<i>khup</i>	‘room’

/ph/ bilabial voiceless aspirated stop-occurs initially, medially and finally.

<i>phaO</i>	‘head of the plough’	<i>serpha</i>	‘apple’	<i>bOrOph</i>	‘ice’
<i>phul</i>	‘flower’	<i>aphigi</i>	‘some’	<i>heph</i>	‘yawn’
<i>phOO</i>	‘fruit’	<i>hephia</i>	‘yawning’	<i>laph</i>	‘jumping’

/b/ bilabial voiced unaspirated stop-occurs initially, medially and finally.

<i>bODO</i>	‘big’	<i>bhOgOban</i>	‘bod’	<i>jib</i>	‘tongue
<i>bON</i>	‘forest’	<i>dibia</i>	‘lamp’	<i>pOrOb</i>	‘festival’
<i>bihan</i>	‘morning’	<i>baba</i>	‘father’	<i>kharab</i>	‘bad’

/bh/ bilabial voiced aspirated stop-occurs initially, medially and finally.

<i>bhai</i>	‘brother’	<i>nabha</i>	‘hare’	<i>labh</i>	‘gain’
<i>bhejjO</i>	‘brother’s son	<i>labhra</i>	‘funny’	<i>lObh</i>	‘breed’
<i>bhukmari</i>	‘poverty’	<i>lObhi</i>	‘greedy’		

/t/ dental voiceless unaspirated stop – occurs initially, medially and finally.

<i>tetOO</i>	‘tamarind’	<i>rOti</i>	‘a measurement’	<i>raet</i>	‘night’
<i>tau</i>	‘palate’	<i>nati</i>	‘grandson’	<i>pat</i>	‘leaf’
<i>tel</i>	‘oil’	<i>tetOO</i>	‘tamarind’	<i>bhut</i>	‘ghost’

/th/ dental voiceless aspirated stop – occurs initially, medially and finally.

<i>thuk</i>	‘spit’	<i>pathOr</i>	‘stone’	<i>deOnath</i>	‘God’
<i>thureh</i>	‘a little’	<i>girthaiN</i>	‘wife’	<i>Onath</i>	‘orphan’

/d/ dental voiced unaspirated stop – occurs initially, medially and finally.

<i>dāt</i>	‘teeth’	<i>gida</i>	‘kernel of fruit’	<i>nOid</i>	‘river’
<i>dukhO</i>	‘pain’	<i>gidOr</i>	‘a kind of animal’	<i>hOid</i>	‘turmeric’
<i>dOr</i>	‘price’	<i>kOdu</i>	‘gourd’	<i>bOrOd</i>	‘bull’

/dh/ dental voiced aspirated stop – occurs initially, medially and finally.

<i>dhan</i>	‘paddy’	<i>gadha</i>	‘ass’	<i>bādh</i>	‘tie’
<i>dhOrti</i>	‘earth’	<i>gidhi</i>	‘brain’	<i>gidh</i>	‘vulture’

/T/ retroflex voiceless unaspirated stop – occurs initially, medially and finally.

<i>TeDhO</i>	‘curved’	<i>ekTO</i>	‘one’	<i>peT</i>	‘belly’
<i>TuOr</i>	‘orphan’	<i>mOTa</i>	‘fat’	<i>ghOT</i>	‘a kind of pot’
<i>TeM</i>	‘leg’	<i>bhOti</i>	‘stomach’		

/Th/ retroflex Noiseless aspirated stop – occurs initially, medially and finally.

<i>TheheNi</i>	‘elbow’	<i>kaThaO</i>	‘jack-fruit’	<i>pith</i>	‘back’
<i>Thor</i>	‘lip’	<i>cepThO</i>	‘flat’	<i>ghaT</i>	‘side of the pond’
<i>Thik</i>	‘right’	<i>siThu</i>	‘marriage’	<i>muTh</i>	‘grip’

/D/ retroflex voiced unaspirated stop – occurs initially, medially and finally.

<i>Dimba</i>	‘egg’	<i>bODO</i>	‘big’	<i>jaD</i>	‘cold’
<i>DoDa</i>	‘a kind of ant’	<i>bheDO</i>	‘sheep’	<i>haD</i>	‘bone’
<i>DaMa</i>	‘field’	<i>uDli</i>	‘basket’	<i>maD</i>	‘beating’

/Dh/ retroflex voiced aspirated stop – occurs initially and medially.

<i>DhaMgO</i>	‘tall’	<i>buDhi</i>	‘old woman’		
<i>Dhela</i>	‘large’	<i>khoDha</i>	‘lame’		

	<i>DhuDhrO</i>	‘hole’	<i>DhuDhrO</i>	‘hole’		
/c/	palatal voiceless affricate stop – occurs initially, medially and finally.					
	<i>ciMari</i>	‘summer loo wind’	<i>kācO</i>	‘row’	<i>mOric</i>	‘pepper’
	<i>cauu</i>	‘rice’	<i>ũcO</i>	‘high’	<i>bic</i>	‘seed’
	<i>cepThO</i>	‘flat’	<i>peca</i>	‘owl’	<i>kāec</i>	‘scissor’
/ch/	palatal voiceless aspirated affricate stop – occurs initially, medially and finally.					
	<i>chae</i>	‘ash’	<i>kichu</i>	‘some’	<i>gach</i>	‘tree’
	<i>churi</i>	‘knife’	<i>bichOn</i>	‘seed’	<i>mach</i>	‘fish’
	<i>chOa</i>	‘boy’	<i>pechu</i>	‘behind’	<i>cāch</i>	‘to draw’
/j/	palatal voiced un aspirated affricate stop – occurs initially, medially and finally.					
	<i>jaD</i>	‘cold’	<i>gajO</i>	‘cloud’	<i>bhOj</i>	‘feast’
	<i>jOO</i>	‘moss’	<i>puja</i>	‘worship’	<i>pūj</i>	‘pus’
	<i>jika</i>	‘monkey’	<i>khajurpata</i>	‘centipede’	<i>aOaj</i>	‘sound’
/jh/	palatal voiced aspirated affricate stops – occurs initially, medially and finally.					
	<i>jhOgRa</i>	‘quarrel’	<i>bOjha</i>	‘luggage’	<i>keOrmajh</i>	‘the inner part of the
	<i>jhOOK</i>	‘heat’	<i>pOjhOar</i>	‘falcon’		banana tree’
	<i>jhOrNa</i>	‘fountain’	<i>majhie</i> (<i>Manus</i>)	‘woman’		
/k/	velar voiceless unaspirated stop – occurs, initially, medially and finally.					
	<i>kOndOO</i>	‘quarrel’	<i>jika</i>	‘a kind of monkey’	<i>sOROk</i>	‘road’
	<i>kOdu</i>	‘gourd’	<i>lOuka</i>	‘a boat’	<i>sāk</i>	‘swan’
	<i>kan</i>	‘ear’	<i>hĩskO</i>	‘habit’	<i>lik</i>	‘louse’
/kh/	velar voiceless aspirated stop – occurs initially, medially and finally.					
	<i>khOpci</i>	‘skull’	<i>cOkhO</i>	‘sharp’	<i>dekh</i>	‘see’
	<i>khaT</i>	‘cot’	<i>tOkhON</i>	‘then’	<i>āikh</i>	‘eye’
	<i>khetihar</i>	‘farmer’	<i>pakhuir</i>	‘bird’	<i>pakh</i>	‘keep’
/g/	velar voiced unaspirated stop – occurs initially, medially and finally.					
	<i>goru</i>	‘cow’	<i>aguN</i>	‘fire’	<i>sOROG</i>	‘sky’

<i>girthaiN</i>	‘wife’	<i>bagdhOnu</i>	‘rainbow’	<i>sag</i>	‘edible greens’
<i>gaDha</i>	‘deep’	<i>bhogOban</i>	‘god’	<i>bOg</i>	‘crane’
/ gh / velar voiced aspirated stop – occurs initially, medially and finally.					
<i>ghORa</i>	‘horse’	‘horse’	‘place’	<i>bahg</i>	‘tiger’
<i>ghOr</i>	‘house’	<i>satghOrOa</i>	‘saptarshi’	<i>magh</i>	‘a regional month’
<i>ghaR</i>	‘neck’	<i>sOdaghORi</i>	‘always’	<i>Ogh</i>	‘sin’
/ m / bilabial voiced nasal- occurs initially, medially and finally.					
<i>mach</i>	‘fish’	<i>kemia</i>	‘servant’	<i>bOrlOm</i>	‘a spear’
<i>mOd</i>	‘liquor’	<i>bhukmari</i>	‘poverty’	<i>kOlOm</i>	‘pen’
<i>muND</i>	‘head’	<i>kamar</i>	‘black smith’	<i>kam</i>	‘work’
/ n / dental voiced nasal – occurs initially, medially and finally.					
<i>nOid</i>	‘river’	<i>sona</i>	‘gold’	<i>kan</i>	‘ear’
<i>nORri</i>	‘Adam’s apple’	<i>kan</i>	‘cloth’	<i>cun</i>	‘line’
<i>nuN</i>	‘salt’	<i>jinis</i>	‘thing’	<i>din</i>	‘paddy’
/ M’ / palatal voiceless nasal affricate stop – occurs medially and finally.					
		<i>jhOM’jhOt</i>	‘trouble’	<i>ghuM’j-ghuM’jia-tarOi</i>	‘saptarshi’
		<i>saM’gaNe</i>	‘with’		
/ N / retroflex voiced flapped nasal – occurs medially and finally.					
		<i>pahaNO</i>	‘relatives’	<i>aguN</i>	‘fire’
		<i>paNi</i>	‘water’	<i>nuN</i>	‘salt’
		<i>kaNa</i>	‘one eyed’	<i>bON</i>	‘forest’
/ M / velar voiced nasal – occurs, medially and finally.					
		<i>ciMari</i>	‘summer loo wind’	<i>teM</i>	‘leg’
		<i>sOMge</i>	‘with’	<i>beM</i>	‘frog’
/ r / alveolar voiced trill – occurs initially, medially and finally.					
<i>raet</i>	‘hight’	<i>karja</i>	‘debt’	<i>kukur</i>	‘dog’

<i>rOM</i>	‘colour’	<i>paraN</i>	‘younger sister’s husband’	<i>ghOr</i>	‘house’
/R/ post- alveolar retroflex flap- occurs medially and finally.					
		<i>TaRi</i>	‘country liquor’	<i>ghaR</i>	‘neck’
		<i>cORkO</i>	‘white’	<i>pakhuiR</i>	‘bird’
		<i>cOROk</i>	‘thunder’	<i>pipOiR</i>	‘ant’
/Rh/ retroflex voiced flap aspirated – occurs initially, medially and finally.					
<i>daRhi</i>	‘beard’	<i>pORha</i>	‘reading’	<i>pORh</i>	‘read’
<i>sORhO</i>	‘locust’	<i>laRhai</i>	‘war’	<i>lORh</i>	‘fight’
/l/ alveolar voiced lateral – occurs initially, medially and finally.					
<i>lOuka</i>	‘boat’	<i>bali</i>	‘sand’	<i>jal</i>	‘net’
<i>laRhai</i>	‘war’	<i>lOkLOki</i>	‘uvula’	<i>phul</i>	‘flower’
<i>lakRa</i>	‘wolf’	<i>kali</i>	‘goddess Kali’	<i>kal</i>	‘yesterday/ tomorrow’
/s/ alveolar voiceless groove fricative- occurs initially, medially and finally.					
<i>suga</i>	‘parrot’	<i>bhinsOrO</i>	‘terrific’	<i>mas</i>	‘month’
<i>sundOr</i>	‘fair’	<i>mOsO</i>	‘mosquito’	<i>purus</i>	‘husband’
<i>sum</i>	‘cave’	<i>mãisO</i>	‘mother- in- law’	<i>is</i>	‘head of plough’
/h/ voiced glottal fricative- occurs initially, medially and finally.					
<i>haO</i>	‘plough’	<i>pahaNO</i>	‘relatives’	<i>muh</i>	‘face’
<i>haD</i>	‘bone’	<i>TheheNi</i>	‘elbow’	<i>jih</i>	‘tongue’
<i>hOid</i>	‘turmeric’	<i>biha</i>	‘marriage’	<i>duh</i>	‘to milk’

2.3 SUPRA SEGMENTAL PHONEMES

Nasalization

All the 5 vowels of Malpaharia occur with nasalisation. Accordingly, we have both oral as well as nasalized vowels.

Oral vs. Nasalized Vowel.

/i/-/ĩ/	<i>ĩcamach</i>	‘prawn’	<i>hĩskO</i>	‘habit’
	<i>girthaiN</i>	‘wife’		
/e/-/ẽ/	<i>DẽT</i>	‘handle’	<i>kitẽ</i>	‘why’
/a/-/ã/	<i>ãikh</i>	‘eye’	<i>ghãS</i>	‘grass’
	<i>kãCo</i>	‘raw’		
/O/-/Õ/	<i>bhÕTi</i>	‘guts’	<i>khÕcli</i>	‘big basket’
	<i>jÕk</i>			
/u/-/ũ/	<i>tũk</i>	‘a kind of bird’	<i>behũS</i>	‘senseless’
	<i>pũj</i>	‘puss’	<i>pũthi</i>	‘book’

Stress [']

Each Malpaharia word is uttered with a stress on the initial syllable which is not phonemic but a mere breath group only e.g. /mu¹ĩ/, /turũ¹the/, /ki¹srOkOme/, /sã¹pTOk/, /khO¹tOm ke¹ra huibek/, /ta¹har upae/, /hu¹dis ke¹rĩchO/ ‘I have found out the way quickly how the shake will called?’

Juncture

In Malpaharia the existence of both the syllabic juncture and word juncture is found.

E.g. *am – hi* [amhi] ‘we’ - syllabic juncture
amhi jati pahaRia - word juncture
 ‘We are (mal) pahariya people’

Intonation

Three types of intonation are distinctive in Malpaharia like.

Question intonation [↗] (tOhOr) beTa ↗ ‘Is he your son?’
 Exclamation intonation [↘] (tOhOr) beta ↘ ‘Your son!’
 Statement intonation [→] (tOhOr) beTa → ‘This is your son.’

2.4 MAJOR ALLOPHONIC DISTRIBUTIONS

Vowels

[i] when the [i] is preceded or followed by vowel except /i/ it becomes non - syllabic.

kakOir 'cucumber'

piaÕ 'guava'

[e] when /e/ is preceded or followed by /O/, /a/ it becomes non-syllabic.

hOed 'turmeric'

keO 'banana'

[u] when /u/ is preceded or followed by /e/, /O/, /a/ it becomes non-syllabic.

kauae 'kidney bean'

suOr 'pig'

caur 'rice'

[a] when /a/ is followed by /e/ it becomes front.

bilae 'cat'

gae 'cow'

doel 'pulse'

[e]and [E] are in free variation in inter consonantal position.

beM~ b E M 'frog'

TeM ~ TE M 'leg'

Consonants

All these aspirated consonantal phonemes when they occur in the final position of a word become weakly aspirated or desaspirated; otherwise aspirated.

/kh/ /gh/ : All these aspirated consonantal phonemes when they occur in

/ch/ /jh/ : the final position of a word become weakly aspirated or

/Th/ /Dh/ desaspirated; otherwise aspirated.

/th/ /dh/ :

/ph/ /bh/ :

/Rh/ :

:

/n/ : This dental nasal when occurs before palatal affricate

becomes slightly palatalized nasal; otherwise dental nasal.

/D/ (post alveolar retroflex voiced stop) and /R/(post alveolar retroflex flap) are in free variation is intervocalic and final position. e.g.

bODO ~ *bORO* ‘big’

sãD ~ *sãR* ‘ox’

only in case of *gaRi* ‘cart’ *muRi* ‘fry rice’ *ghaR* ‘neck’

/R/ is not in free variation with /D/]

2.5 CLUSTERS

Both Vowel and Consonant clusters are available in Malpaharia.

Vowels

Vowel clusters in Malpaharia are available in following ways. The clusters are realized medially or finally and rarely in initial position.

Clusters with /i/

	Initial		Medial		Final	
<i>ie/ iẽ/ ãe</i>	<i>iẽkh</i>	‘eye’	<i>pĩeri</i>	‘eye lid’	<i>majhie</i>	‘woman’
<i>ia/ iã</i>			<i>siaNO</i>	‘young’	<i>kehia</i>	‘when’
			<i>piaj</i>	‘onion’	<i>kemia</i>	‘servant’
			<i>husiãr</i>	‘clever’	<i>kecia</i>	‘hair’
					<i>pekhia</i>	‘insect’
<i>iO</i>			<i>jiOl</i>	‘a kind of fish’	<i>OheNDiO</i>	‘liquor’
			<i>khuiO</i>	‘(we) eat’		
			<i>keriO</i>	‘(we) do’		

Clusters with /e/

	Initial		Medial		Final	
<i>ei</i>			<i>heiThen</i>	‘here’		
<i>ee</i>					<i>ketee</i>	‘where’
<i>ea</i>			<i>tear</i>	‘ready’	<i>dea</i>	‘kind’
<i>eu</i>			<i>deur</i>	‘husband’s brother’	<i>Dheu</i>	‘wave’
<i>eO</i>					<i>keO</i>	‘banana’

Clusters with /a/

	Initial		Medial		Final	
<i>ai/ ãi</i>			<i>anaij</i>	‘vegetables’	<i>bhai</i>	‘brother’
			<i>sãkrait</i>	‘a festival’	<i>nidãi(chilo)</i>	‘I slept’
			<i>uDaila</i>	‘flew away’		
<i>ae/ ãe/ aẽ</i>			<i>raet</i>	‘night’	<i>jae</i>	‘goes’
			<i>kael</i>	‘yesterday’	<i>jiMae</i>	‘glow worm’
			<i>kãec</i>	‘scissors’		
			<i>hOgaẽ</i>	‘they’		
<i>aO</i>					<i>dukhaO</i>	‘pain’
					<i>kodaO</i>	‘spade’
					<i>phaO</i>	‘plough’
					<i>taO</i>	‘palm-fruit’
<i>au</i>			<i>caur</i>	‘rice’	<i>tau</i>	‘palate’

Clusters with /O/

	Initial		Medial		Final	
<i>Oi</i>			<i>kakOir</i>	‘cucumber’	<i>bhONOi</i>	‘elder sister’s husband’
					<i>kerOi</i>	‘lots’
					<i>khaOi</i>	‘eats’
<i>Oe</i>			<i>upOer</i>	‘up’	<i>sOmOe</i>	‘time’
			<i>DumbOer</i>	‘fig’	<i>bONDOe</i>	‘cyclone’
<i>OO</i>			<i>pOOne</i>	‘quarter’	<i>kOndOO</i>	‘quarrel’
					<i>tetOO</i>	‘tamarind’
					<i>jOO</i>	‘moss’
<i>Ou</i>			<i>lOuka</i>	‘boat’		

Clusters with /u/

	Initial		Medial		Final	
<i>ui/ũi</i>			<i>kukuir</i>	‘hen’	<i>pecui</i>	‘a kind of country liquor’

			<i>neMguir</i>	‘tail’		
			<i>cuit</i>	‘tuft of hair on the head’	<i>dui</i>	‘two’
			<i>pakhuir</i>	‘bird’	<i>bhūi</i>	‘earth’
					<i>tūi</i>	‘you’
					<i>mūi</i>	‘I’
<i>uo</i>			<i>dhuo</i>	‘dust’		
<i>uu</i>					<i>aMguu</i>	‘finger’
					<i>cuu</i>	‘hair’

Three-member(s) Vowel Cluster

	Initial		Medial		Final	
<i>uai</i>			<i>kuTuailOk</i>	‘castrated animal’		
<i>uoe</i>			<i>uDuoēs</i>	‘bug’		
<i>OOa</i>			<i>bOOasin</i>	‘brother’s wife (young)’		
<i>OOe</i>			<i>hOOed</i>	‘yellow’		
<i>Oua</i>					<i>chOua</i>	‘baby’
					<i>kOua</i>	‘crow’
<i>Ōai</i>					<i>jŌai</i>	‘son-in-law’
<i>aOa</i>					<i>haOa</i>	‘air’

Consonants

Both Homogeneous and Heterogeneous consonant clusters are realized in Malpaharia occurring mostly in the medial position as per the collected data.

Homogeneous Consonant Clusters

-TT-	<i>baTTo</i>	‘road’
-DD-	<i>bODDO</i>	‘big’
	<i>geDDa</i>	‘short’

-ss-	<i>amabessa</i>	‘no moon night’
-ll-	<i>bOllek</i>	‘said’
	<i>gillek</i>	‘swallowed’ etc.

Heterogeneous Clusters

-pt-	<i>sOpta</i>	‘week’
-pTh-	<i>cepThO</i>	‘flat’
-bhr-	<i>labhra</i>	‘funny’
-tr-	<i>thOtra</i>	‘stammer’
	<i>butru</i>	‘boy’
-thr-	<i>bhOthrO</i>	‘blunt’
-Tr-	<i>leTra</i>	‘left handed’
-cr-	<i>kocra</i>	‘one kind of fruit’
-kn-	<i>kekni</i>	‘centipede’
-kt-	<i>sOkTi</i>	‘strength’
	<i>bhOkTi</i>	‘virtue’
-kr-	<i>sākraIt</i>	‘last day of the native month’
-kR-	<i>lakRa</i>	‘tiger’
-gl-	<i>ugla</i>	‘vomit’
	<i>pagla</i>	‘mad’
-Mg-	<i>DhaMgO</i>	‘tall’
	<i>leMgRa</i>	‘lame’
-mb-	<i>nembu</i>	‘lime’
	<i>kusumbi</i>	‘one kind of flower’
-mbh-	<i>nambha</i>	‘hare’
	<i>(bagher) sumbh</i>	‘cave’
-mp-	<i>sOmpOrkO</i>	‘relation’
-mph-	<i>(bhūi)kOmphu</i>	‘earthquake’
-mD-	<i>kumDO</i>	‘pumpkin gourd’
-nd-	<i>undur</i>	‘rat’

	<i>sundOr</i>	‘beautiful’
<i>-ndh-</i>	<i>andhi</i>	‘storm’
	<i>Andhera</i>	‘darkness’
<i>-nj-</i>	<i>ginjuO</i>	‘dirty’
	<i>genjilO</i>	‘forth’
<i>-NT-</i>	<i>ghONTa</i>	‘hour’
<i>-ND-</i>	<i>cheNDa</i>	‘boy’
	<i>cheNDi</i>	‘girl’
	<i>heNDiO</i>	‘liquor’
<i>-NDh-</i>	<i>koNDhi</i>	‘bud of flower’
<i>-Tn-</i>	<i>jOTni</i>	‘mouse’
<i>-sr-</i>	<i>dusra</i>	‘second’
	<i>tisra</i>	‘third’
<i>-st-</i>	<i>aste</i>	‘slow’
<i>-rk-</i>	<i>sOmpOrkO</i>	‘relation’
	<i>bhurka</i>	‘morning star’
<i>-rd-</i>	<i>mOrDa</i>	‘unmarried’
<i>-rth-</i>	<i>kurthir (Dael)</i>	‘one kind of pulse’
<i>-rj-</i>	<i>kurja</i>	‘hunchback’
<i>-rs-</i>	<i>pOrsu</i>	‘day after/before’
	<i>Serso</i>	‘mustard seed’
<i>-rN-</i>	<i>jhOrNa</i>	‘fountain’
	<i>purNua</i>	‘full moon night’
<i>-Rr-</i>	<i>nORri</i>	‘Adam’s apple’
<i>-Rl-</i>	<i>nORli</i>	‘throat’ etc.

2.6 SYLLABLES

The syllabic system is realized in following ways in Malpaharia.

Monosyllabic

cvc	<i>phul</i>	‘friend / flower’
	<i>nak</i>	‘nose’
	<i>kan</i>	‘ear’
	<i>hat</i>	‘hand’
	<i>gal</i>	‘check’
	<i>tel</i>	‘oil’
	<i>peT</i>	‘belly’
	<i>jOr</i>	‘disease’
	<i>Thor</i>	‘lip’
	<i>gach</i>	‘tree’

Disyllabic

v-cv	<i>aja</i>	‘grandfather’
	<i>adi</i>	‘ginger’
cv-cv	<i>da-ru</i>	‘wine’
	<i>ma-tho</i>	‘head’
	<i>ro-Thi</i>	‘cooked bread’
cv-cvc	<i>kaA-paR</i>	‘forehead’
	<i>bi-han</i>	‘dawn’
vc-vc	<i>uk-eN</i>	‘louse’
cvc-vc	<i>pakh-ir</i>	‘bird’
	<i>khuR-ia</i>	‘hoof’
cvc-cv	<i>kaN-hO</i>	‘blind’
	<i>kub-jO</i>	‘hunchback’
	<i>naR-ri</i>	‘throat’
cv-cvV	<i>he-Tua</i>	‘lower portion of leg’
cv-cvV	<i>pa-tuO</i>	‘leave’
cv-vv	<i>pi-aÕ</i>	‘guava’

cvv-vv	<i>kau-ae</i>	‘kidney bean’
cvc-cvc	<i>ban-dOr</i>	‘monkey’

Trisyllabic

cv-cv-cv	<i>The-he-NO</i>	‘knee’
	<i>ku-hu-rO</i>	‘fog’
	<i>pu-to-hu</i>	‘daughter-in-law’
cvc-cv-cvv	<i>ama-bA-sia</i>	‘no moon day’
	<i>kAr-kA-Toi</i>	‘squirrel’
	<i>khe-he-nia</i>	‘elbow’
cvc-cv-vv	<i>khek-si-aO</i>	‘fox’ etc.

3. MORPHOPHONEMICS

The morphological environments of the morpho-phonemics in Malpaharia are the following. The base with the phonemic change derived from the change of morphological environment is framed as a new variant / base.

In Malpaharia the morphological alternations are of two types – **Regular** and **Irregular**.

Regular alternation

1. In declensional system (noun-morphology) the vowel /- u -/ of the pronominal forms (direct base) like *muĩ*, *tuĩ* changes into /-O-/ when the case suffixes are added with the base resulting in oblique base like *mO-*, *tO-*.

<i>Muĩ</i> ‘I’ > <i>mO</i>	-	<i>mOkhe</i>	‘to
me’		<i>mOhOr</i>	‘my’
<i>tuĩ</i> ‘you’ > <i>tO</i>	-	<i>tOkhe</i>	‘to
you’		<i>tOhOr</i>	‘your’

2. In conjugational system (verb morphology) when verbal inflection is added to the verb root ending with *-a* (like \sqrt{ja} , \sqrt{kha}) the / *-a* / vowel becomes /-O-/

<i>kha</i> - + - <i>ite</i>	=	<i>khOite</i>	‘to eat’
<i>ja</i> - + - <i>ite</i>	=	<i>gOite</i>	‘to go’
<i>kha</i> - + - <i>ichilÕ</i>	=	<i>khOichilÕ</i>	‘(he) ate’
<i>ja</i> - + - <i>ichilÕ</i>	=	<i>gOichilÕ</i>	‘(he) went’

3. When the conjugational inflections are added with the verb root with *-O* (like \sqrt{rO}) the *-O* vowel becomes *-u*

<i>rO</i> -	+	-	<i>iti</i>	=	<i>ruite</i>
<i>Oes</i> -	+	-	<i>ite</i>	=	<i>uiste</i>
<i>rO</i> -	+	-	<i>ichilÕ</i>	=	<i>ruichilÕ</i>
<i>Oes-</i>	+	-	<i>ichilÕ</i>	=	<i>uisichilÕ</i>

Irregular alternation

When the conjugational inflections are added with the root \sqrt{ja} (except the present and future tense) the /*j* -/ becomes /*g* -/

<i>ja</i> -	+	-	<i>ite</i>	=	<i>gOite</i>
<i>ja-</i>	+	-	<i>ichilÕ</i>	=	<i>gOichilÕ</i>

This alternation of *j-* to *g-* is irregular as this verb root is irregular verbs in all Indo-Aryan languages.

[Detailed study of morpho-phonemics cannot be possible owing to non-availability of exhaustive data].

4.MORPHOLOGY

Morphology deals with the internal structure of words of Malpaharia.

4.1.1 WORD FORMATION

Malpaharia words are pronounced with a potential pause before and after it containing stems and affixes.

A stem in Malpaharia may be defined as a free form which is capable of taking inflectional or derivational suffixes. A stem also may be a word in Malpaharia. For example, /*cOROi*/ is a stem as well as a word which means 'bird'. At the same time /*cOROiga*/ 'birds' is also a word consisting of /*cOROi*-/ 'bird' and /-*ga*/ plural suffix. Similarly, /*phOO*/ 'fruit' is a stem as well as a word and /*phOOga*/ 'fruit' is a word consisting /*phOO*-/ and /-*ga*/.

WORD CLASSES

Word classes as well as stem classes in Malpaharia, being established on the basis of morphological and / or syntactic grounds can be divided into the following groups on the basis of the inflexional endings.

1. Noun
2. Pronoun
3. Adjective
4. Verb
5. Adverb
6. Conjunction
7. Post position.

Out of the above word classes nouns, pronouns and verbs are established on the morphological grounds and rest of the word classes on the syntactic grounds.

4.1 NOUN MORPHOLOGY

Noun Morphology deals with the nouns, pronouns and their various formations.

4.1.2 Nouns

Noun is a word class which functions as a subject or object of a verb in a sentence.

Classification of noun stems

The Malpaharia nouns are available into two classes – animate and inanimate. And this distinction is determined by the concord between the plural form of nouns and verbal formations, e.g.

Animate noun

Singular	<i>chOaTO</i>	<i>khelOi</i>	'the boy plays'
	boy – the	plays	
Plural	<i>chOaga</i>	<i>khelÕt</i>	'the boys play'
	boy-s	play	

Inanimate nouns

Singular	<i>gacher</i>	<i>pat</i>	<i>pOrOi</i>	'The leaf of the tree falls'
	tree- of	leaf	fall-s	
Plural	<i>gacher</i>	<i>patga</i>	<i>pOrOi</i>	'The leaves of the tree fall'
	Tree- of	leaves	fall	

So, in case of the animate nouns the verbal form changes according to the number as per above examples whereas verbal form does not change according to the number in case of inanimate nouns. The inanimate nouns take the third personal singular verbal form. All the living beings like human being, animals etc. and movable things like ship, car etc. belong to animate class of nouns. And other remaining belongs to inanimate class of nouns.

Generally, the Malpaharia nouns are simple. But some derived nouns are also realised in Malpaharia like the following.

buthrupAN ‘child hood’ derived from *buthru* - ‘child’ and *-pAN* (the noun forming suffix).

dhArtiDolla ‘earthquake’ derived from *dhArti* - ‘earth’ and *-Dolla* ‘moving’

bhũkÃp ‘earthquake’ derived from *bhũ* - ‘earth’ and *-kÃp* ‘to tremble’

mathapiRi ‘headache’ derived from *mathO / matha* - ‘head’ and *- piRi* ‘pain’

Leaving aside these kinds of derived nouns some Compound nouns are also available in Malpaharia as shown below:

The formation of compound nouns in Malpaharia is of two types.

- i. The Compound Nouns with combination of the genitive form of noun and another noun. e.g.

jOnoar jaO ‘rice made from millet’ (*jOnoar* is the genitive of *jOnoa*)

gONDir jaO ‘rice made from maize’ (*gONDir* is the genitive of *gONDi*)

mOhuler mOd ‘liquour made from mahul’ (*mOhuler* is the genitive of *mOhul*)

caOer mOd ‘liquor made from rice’ (*caOer* is the genitive of *caO*)

sendhNar sag ‘The leaf of drumstick tree’ (*sendhNar* is the genitive of *sendhNa*)

kurthir Dael ‘one kind of pulse’ (*kurthir* is the genitive of *kurthi*)

- ii. The Compound Nouns with the combination of two simple nouns.

sOsan ghaT ‘The ground for cremation’

basi bhat ‘The rice prepared last night’

bON sOkti puja ‘The worshipping of forest God’

bhũideO puja ‘The worshipping of earth God’

gur piTha ‘The sweet made from Gur (sweet)

aTa pitha ‘The cake made from wheat’

Number

The Malpaharia nouns have two numbers - singular and plural.

The singular suffix is -TO as well as unmarked also e.g.

chOaTO ‘the boy’ ; *beTaTO* ‘the son’

kukurTO ‘the dog’ ; *chagOOTO* ‘the goat’ etc.

The plural suffix is -ga e.g.

chOaga ‘the boys’ ; *beTaga* ‘the sons’
kukurga ‘the dogs’ ; *chagOOga* ‘the goats’

Leaving aside the function of *-TO* as singular marker it occurs as definitive suffix and classifier also. e.g.

-TO as definitive suffix

chOaTO ‘the boy’ ; *kukurTO* ‘the dog’
ghOrTO ‘the house’ ; *phoTo* ‘the fruit’

-TO as classifier

ekTO (chOa) ‘one (boy)’
duiTO (chOa) ‘two boys’
tinTO (chOa) ‘three boys etc.’

Gender

The Malpaharia animate nouns belong to two genders only – masculine and feminine. And this gender distinction is morphologically conditioned.

The formation of feminine nouns from masculine nouns is like the following:

a) The masculine nouns ending with *-a* form the feminine form by changing *-a* to *-i*.

Masculine	Feminine
<i>kaka</i> ‘father’s younger brother’	<i>kaki</i> ‘father’s younger brother’s wife’
<i>mama</i> ‘mother’s brother’	<i>mami</i> ‘mother’s brother’s wife’
<i>ghORa</i> ‘horse (male)’	<i>ghORi</i> ‘female horse’
<i>mOsa</i> ‘mother’s younger sister’s husband’	<i>mOsi</i> ‘mother’s younger sister’
<i>pisa</i> ‘father’s younger sister’s husband’	<i>pisi</i> ‘father’s younger sister’

b) The masculine nouns based on communities, castes, occupations are classified into feminine nouns with the suffix *-N, -in, -aiN* after the masculine nouns.

i) The masculine nouns ending with the vowel *-i* take the feminine suffix *-N*

Masculine	Feminine
<i>baMali</i> ‘A Bengali male’	<i>baMaliN</i> ‘A Bengali female’
<i>beragi</i> ‘A male Bairagi’	<i>beragiN</i> ‘A female Bairagi’

<i>mOhli</i>	‘A male Mahli’	<i>mOhliN</i>	‘A female mahli’
<i>bauRi</i>	‘A male Bauri’	<i>bauRiN</i>	‘A female Bauri’

ii) The masculine nouns ending with diphthongs or consonant or vowel –*a* take the suffix –*iN* for feminine formation.

Masculine		Feminine	
<i>maO</i>	‘A male Malpaharia’	<i>maOiN</i>	‘a female Malpaharia’
<i>kepRia</i>	‘A male Kepria’	<i>kepRiaiN</i>	‘a female kepria’
<i>bagh</i>	‘tiger’	<i>baghiN</i>	‘tigress’
<i>camar</i>	‘A male cobbler’	<i>camariN</i>	‘a female cobbler’
<i>DOm</i>	‘A male Dom’	<i>DOmiN</i>	‘a female Dom’
<i>dhoba</i>	‘A male washer man’	<i>dhobain</i>	‘a female washer man’
<i>musla</i>	‘A male Muslim’	<i>muslaiN</i>	‘A female Muslim’

iii) The masculine nouns ending with –*u* take the suffix –*aiN* for feminine formation.

Masculine		Feminine	
<i>Babu</i>	‘a gentleman’	<i>babuaiN</i>	‘a gentle lady’
<i>sadhu</i>	‘a sage’	<i>sadhuaiN</i>	‘a female sage’

–*aiN* is found in free variation with –*iN* and –*N* after the nouns like.

Masculine		Feminine	
<i>bamhON</i>	‘a Brahmin’	<i>bamhONiN/</i>	‘a Brahmin woman’
<i>bamhONaiNkaest</i>	‘a kayastha man’	<i>kaestiN</i>	‘a kayastha woman’
<i>kaestaiN teli</i>	‘An oil man’	<i>teliN / teliaiN</i>	‘an oil man’s wife’
<i>bauRi</i>	‘A Bauri male’	<i>bauRiN / bauRiaiN</i>	‘A Bauri female’

Some non-human animate masculine nouns form their feminine by prefixing a morpheme / *DaeD* / which carries the meaning ‘non-male’. e.g.

<i>kOua</i>	‘crow’	<i>DaeD kOua</i>	‘female crow’
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Occasionally a prefix /*eNDia* / is used for maculating a female animal.

<i>DaeD bilai</i>	‘female cat’	<i>eNDia bilai</i>	‘a male cat’
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Cases

The Malpaharia cases are the following.

Nominative case

i) Nominative case is unmarked in case of intransitive verbs

<i>chOA</i>	‘boy’	<i>chOaga</i>	‘boys’
<i>chOaTO suOi</i>	‘the boy sleeps’	<i>chOaga suÕt</i>	‘the boys sleep’

ii) Nominative case is marked by *-ẽ* in case of Transitive verb

<i>chOaTOẽ pakhuir dekhOi</i>	‘the boy sees the bird’
<i>chOagaẽ pakhuir dekhÕt</i>	‘the boys see the bird’

Accusative Case

i) Accusative Case is unmarked in case of direct object.

<i>chOaTO phOO khuOi</i>	‘the boy eats fruit’
<i>chOaga phOO khãt</i>	‘the boys eat fruit’

ii) Accusative Case is marked by *-k* in case of indirect object.

<i>chOaTOk phOO de</i>	‘give fruit to the boy’
<i>chOagak phOO de</i>	‘give fruits to the boy’

Dative Case

The suffix *-k* after vowel ending nouns and the suffix *-ek* after consonantal ending nouns occur sometime as dative marker. e.g.

<i>ui pat-ek jae</i>	‘He goes for collecting leaves’
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Genitive Case

Marked by *-r* after vowel ending noun *chOa-r* ‘of the boy’

Marked by *-er* after consonantal ending noun e.g.

<i>maNuser</i>	‘of the man’
<i>maNusgar</i>	‘of the men’

Locative Case

Marked by *-t* after vowel ending noun. *chOa -t* ‘is the boy’ *chOagat*

Marked by *-et* after consonantal ending noun *maNuset* ‘is the man’ *maNusgat*

Post-position

The Malpaharia post-positions occur after the genitive forms of the preceding nouns.

e.g. *mOhOr lagĩ tOkhe hitO kam kerit huibek* ‘You have to do this for me’ [here *lagĩ* is the post position]

Thus, the post-positions in Malpaharia are like the following

<i>pechu</i>	‘after’
<i>pechu nakhO</i>	‘behind’
<i>majhut</i>	‘between’
<i>se</i>	‘by’
<i>lagĩ</i>	‘for’
<i>jeNO</i>	‘like’
<i>samNet</i>	‘opposite’
<i>Then</i>	‘ear’
<i>calaĩ / ni</i>	‘than’ ‘from’ ‘since’
<i>saMge</i>	‘with’
<i>chaDi</i>	‘without’
<i>guDDi</i>	‘under’ ‘near’

4.1.3 PRONOUNS

The Malpaharia pronouns are the following:

- Personal Pronouns
- Demonstrative pronouns
- Relative pronouns
- Interrogative pronouns.

Each kind of pronouns is being dealt here separately in details.

Personal Pronouns

There are three persons available in Malpaharia Personal Pronouns – 1st person, 2nd person and 3rd person

	Singular		Plural	
1 st Person	<i>mũi</i> ‘I’		<i>amhi-ga</i>	‘we’
			<i>amhi-gaĩ</i>	‘we’
				[<i>amhi-ga-ẽ</i> occurs only when the finite verb is transitive]
2 nd Person	<i>tũi</i> ‘you’ (ordinary)		<i>tumhi-ga</i>	‘you’
			<i>tumhi-gaẽ</i>	
			<i>tumhi</i> (honorific)	[<i>tumhigaẽ</i> occurs only when the finite verb is transitive]
3 rd Person	<i>ũi</i> ‘he’ (ordinary)		<i>hOga</i>	‘they’

ũhĩ ‘he’ (honorific) *hOgaẽ* ‘they’

[*hOgaẽ* occurs when the verb is transitive]

Remote *ũi* ‘he’ *haga / hagaẽ* ‘they’

Proximate *ĩ* ‘he’ *hOga / hOgaẽ* ‘they’

The above pronominal forms are nominative forms and also regarded as direct bases. The oblique bases of these forms to which the case- suffixes are added are the following:

For Accusative case

	Singular	Plural
1 st Person	<i>mo</i> - <i>mOkhe</i> ‘to me’	<i>amha</i> - / <i>amhaga</i> - <i>amhak</i> ‘to us’ <i>amhagak</i> ‘to us’
2 nd Person	<i>tO</i> – (ordinary) <i>tumha</i> – (honorific) <i>tOkhe</i> ‘to you’ <i>tumhak</i> ‘to you’	<i>tumha</i> - / <i>tumhaga</i> - <i>tumhak</i> ‘to you’ <i>tumhagak</i> ‘to you’
3 rd Person	<i>ũha</i> - <i>hO</i> - <i>ga</i> - <i>ĩha</i> - <i>ha</i> - <i>ga</i> - <i>ũhak</i> ‘to him / to her’ <i>ĩhak</i> ‘to him / to her’	<i>hOgak</i> ‘to them’ <i>hagak</i> ‘to them’

For Genitive case

	Singular	Plural
1 st Person	<i>mOhO</i> - <i>mOhOr</i> ‘my’	<i>amha</i> - / <i>amhaga</i> - <i>amhar</i> ‘our’ <i>amhagar</i>
2 nd Person	<i>tOhO</i> - <i>tOhOr</i> ‘your’	<i>tumha</i> - / <i>tumhaga</i> - <i>tumhar</i> ‘your’ <i>tumhagar</i>
3 rd Person	<i>ũha</i> - <i>ũhar</i> ‘his / her’ <i>ĩha</i> - <i>ĩhar</i> ‘his / her’	<i>hOga</i> - <i>hOgar</i> ‘their’ <i>haga</i> - <i>hagar</i> ‘their’

In Instrumental, dative, ablative, locative cases the pronominal / forms are formed with genitive forms of the pronoun along with the respective post- positions followed. For Example,

Dative case

<i>mOhOr</i>	<i>lagĩ</i>	‘for me’
<i>tumhar</i>	<i>lagĩ</i>	‘for you (hon.)’
<i>tOhOr</i>	<i>lagĩ</i>	‘for you’
<i>ũhar</i>	<i>lagĩ</i>	‘for his’

Ablative Case

<i>mohOr</i>	<i>se / ni</i>	‘from me’
<i>tOhOr</i>	<i>se / ni</i>	‘from you’
<i>ũhar</i>	<i>se / ni</i>	‘from him / her’

Instrumental case

<i>mOhOr</i>	<i>herOĩ</i>	‘by me’
<i>tOhOr</i>	<i>herOĩ</i>	‘by you’
<i>ũhar</i>	<i>herOĩ</i>	‘by him / her’

Locative case

<i>mOhOr</i>	Then	‘to me’
<i>tOhOr</i>	Then	‘to you’
<i>ũhar</i>	Then	‘to his / his’ etc.

The Instrumental post-position *-herOĩ* is used in rare occasion.

The general trend of the instrumental formation is realized by *-se*.

Demonstrative Pronoun

There are two types of Demonstrative – Proximate and Remote. like ‘this’ and ‘that’ respectively. Both the types have the nominative and oblique forms.

Proximate Demonstratives

Nominative:

Impersonal	sg.	<i>ha – TO</i>	‘this’
Demonstrative		<i>haTO khub bORhia</i>	‘This is very good’
	pl.	<i>ha – ga</i>	‘these’
		<i>ha – ga khub bORhia</i>	‘These are very good’
Personal	sg.	<i>ĩ</i>	‘ordinary
Demonstrative		<i>ĩ maNusTO</i>	‘this man’

	<i>ĩhĩ / ĩhĩe</i>	‘honorific’
	<i>ĩhĩ maNusTO</i>	‘this gentleman’
	<i>ĩhĩ maNusTO bes bORhia achOi</i>	‘This man is very good’
pl.	<i>haga / hagaẽ</i>	
	<i>haga maNusga</i>	‘these men’
	<i>ĩhĩ ga / ĩhĩ gaẽ</i>	
	<i>ĩhĩga maNusga</i>	‘these gentlemen’

haga maNusga mOhOr ghOret uisinchil ‘These men came to my house’

[*ẽ* occurs in case of transitive verbs]

The Oblique forms of the above Pronouns are the following

Personal Demonstrative

sg.	<i>iha -</i>	<i>ihak</i>	‘to him’
	<i>ĩhĩa - ‘hon’</i>	<i>ĩhĩak</i>	‘to him’
pl.	<i>iha-ga -</i>	<i>iha – ga-k</i>	‘to them’
	<i>ĩhĩaga-</i>	<i>ĩhĩ agak</i>	‘to them(hon)’

Remote Demonstratives

Remote Demonstratives are of two kinds –

- i) which is distantly visible.
- ii) which is not visible and present.

The demonstrative formation of the category (i)

Nominative	sg.	<i>hO – TO</i>	‘that’
(Impersonal)	pl.	<i>ho ga</i>	‘those’
Nominative	sg.	<i>ũi</i>	‘ordinary’
(Personal)		<i>ũhĩ</i>	honorific
	pl.	<i>hOga / hOgaẽ</i>	
Oblique form	sg.	<i>uha -</i>	<i>uhar</i> ‘his’
		<i>ho – ga -</i>	<i>hOgar</i> ‘their’

The demonstrative formation of the category (ii)

	sg.	<i>uha-i-TO</i>	‘that’
	pl.	<i>uha-i-ga</i>	‘those’

uha –iTO maNuser kOtha mũ tOkhe bOlchelÕ ‘I was talking to you about that now’

Relative Pronouns

Malpaharia relative pronouns are like the following

Nominative

sg. *je – se* ‘that – which’
baTet je chOaTOk bheTle se chOaTO mOhOr beTa

in the road which boy met that boy my son
‘The boy you met in the road is my son’

pl. *jhiga – thiga* ‘those – which’
jihiga chOaga maThet khelte achÕT thiga chOagar bhitOeret mOhOr
which boy-s fields- in playin are those boys – of among my
beta achOi
son is
‘Among the boys who are playing in the field, there is my son’

Oblique sg. *ja - ta -*
jaha - taha -

 pl. *jhiga - thiga*
jhigar ghOr hiTO gaOet achÕt thigar sObhirThen khet nahai achOi
whose house this village-in are those-of all with land not are
‘All the people of this village do not have their own lands’

Interrogative Pronouns

Malpaharia Interrogative pronouns are like the following

Nominative sg. *kONe* ‘who’ ; *kis* ‘what’ , ‘which’
 pl. *kONega / kONegaẽ* [*kONegaẽ* occurs with transitive verbs]

tumhagar majhut kONega chOa mOhOr sOMge jOita ?

‘Among you who will accompany me’

Oblique - *kaha -*

kahar lagĩ tui paNi aNOs ?
whom for you water bring

‘For whom do you bring water’

The case formations of the Interrogative Pronouns are

Accusative	-k <i>kahak pOesa dEm</i>	‘To whom shall I give the money’
	- ek [only with <i>kis-</i>]	
	<i>kisek lagĩ tũI hiTO kam kerĩ ehOs</i>	‘What for have you done this?’
Ablative	-ni <i>kahar ni tũi hiTO bheTle</i>	‘From whom did you get this?’
Genitive	- er <i>tui kahar sOMge khelOs ?</i>	‘With whom do you play?’
Locative	-et only with <i>kis –</i>	
	<i>tũi kiset kerĩ ghOret jOibe</i>	‘In which way you will go to your house?’
Instrumental	-ẽ <i>tui kisẽ hiTO kam kerbe</i>	‘by which means you will do this ?’

According to the above discussion the Declension of pronouns may be shown in the following chart.

Declension of Pronouns

Cases	base	+ suffix
Accusative	oblique	+ - <i>khe /-k / - ek</i>
Instrumental	oblique	+ - <i>r + -kerOĩ / -se / - ẽ</i>
Ablative	oblique	+ - <i>r + - calaĩ / -n ĩ</i>
Genitive	oblique	+ - <i>r / -er</i>
Locative	oblique	+ - <i>r + - Then</i>
Dative	oblique	+ - <i>r + - lagĩ</i>

PRONOMINAL ADJECTIVES

The suffixes of the pronominal adjectival formation are

Pronoun	Base	Quantity	Comparison
Demonstrative	<i>he -</i>	- <i>ta, tO</i>	- <i>rOM</i>
	<i>hi -</i>	<i>heta</i> ‘this’	<i>herOM</i> ‘like’
	<i>hitO</i>	‘much’	<i>hirOng</i> ‘this’
	<i>hO-</i>	<i>hOta</i> ‘that much’	<i>hO-rOM</i> ‘like that’
	<i>e-</i>		<i>etOaik</i> ‘this size’
	<i>O-</i>		<i>OtOaik</i> ‘that size’
Relative	<i>jO</i>	<i>jOtO</i> ‘as much’	
Interrogative	<i>kO-</i>		<i>kOtO</i> ‘how much’

kis-

kis rOM 'how' / 'like what'

PRONOMINAL ADVERBS

The suffixes of the pronominal Adverbial formation are like following:

Pronoun	Bases	Adverb of place	Adverb of time
Demonstrative	<i>ha-</i>	<i>-dĩ / -Th en / -te</i> <i>hadĩ / hudĩ</i>	<i>- khON</i>
	<i>hu-</i>	'this side' 'that side'	
	<i>hO</i>	<i>hOThen</i> / 'there'	
	<i>uhai -</i>	<i>uhaiThen</i> <i>haThen</i> 'here'	
	<i>O-</i>	<i>OkhON / OkhuiN</i> 'now'	
	<i>tO-</i>		<i>tOkhON / 'then'</i> <i>tOkhuiN</i>
Relative	<i>je-</i>	<i>jeThen</i> 'where'	
	<i>se-</i>	<i>se Then</i> 'there'	
	<i>jO -</i>		<i>jOkhON / jOkhuiN</i> 'when'
Interrogative	<i>kO -</i>		<i>kOkhON / kOkhuiN</i> 'when'

4.1.4 ADJECTIVE

Malpaharia adjectives are used before the nouns to qualify and quantify the nouns.

The adjectives are not inflected by gender variation.

- e.g. *sundOr cheNDi* 'a beautiful daughter'
bhalO chOa 'a good boy'
caerga chOua(ga) 'four boys'

A list of adjectives is given below.

- bhOthrO* 'blunt'
cOkhO 'sharp'
geDDa 'short'
DhaMgO 'tall'
bhija 'wet'
sukhNa 'dry'
nOrOm / lOrOm 'soft'
dOrhO 'hard'

<i>ũcO</i>	‘high’
<i>khal</i>	‘low’
<i>cepThO / cEpThO</i>	‘flat’
<i>teDhO / tEDhO</i>	‘curved’
<i>dObRi</i>	‘folded’
<i>bODDO</i>	‘big’
<i>chuTTu</i>	‘small’
<i>cORkO</i>	‘white’
<i>kaO</i>	‘black’
<i>sãOla</i>	‘green’ (this of less use)
<i>sObuj</i>	‘green’
<i>lal</i>	‘red’
<i>heriO</i>	‘green’
<i>lil</i>	‘blue’
<i>kuThia</i>	‘miser’
<i>dealu</i>	‘kind’
<i>lubhi</i>	‘greedy’
<i>Osar</i>	‘wide’
<i>sãkRO</i>	‘narrow’
<i>kãcO</i>	‘raw’
<i>paka</i>	‘ripe’
<i>hOlkO</i>	‘light’
<i>bhari</i>	‘heavy’
<i>TaTka</i>	‘fresh’
<i>pOca</i>	‘rotten’
<i>akhri</i>	‘last’
<i>pOhilO</i>	‘first’

The above-mentioned adjectives are all independent free words. Some adjectives are derived from the verb, which are called verbal adjectives e.g.

<i>pORhOk – likhOk lok</i>	‘The learned people’
<i>pORhOk</i> < √ <i>pORh</i> – ‘to read’ + <i>-lOk</i> adjective suffix	
<i>likhOk</i> < √ <i>lekh</i> – ‘to write’ + <i>-lOk</i> adjectival suffix	
<i>kerlOk kam</i>	‘done work’

kerlOk < √ *ker* - + - *lOk*

paklOk phOOga 'the ripe fruits' (which have ripened) etc.

4.1.5 NUMERAL

The Malpaharia numerals belong to noun adjective class. And they have no gender distinction.

Cardinal numeral

<i>ek</i>	'one'
<i>dui</i>	'two'
<i>tini</i>	'three'
<i>caer</i>	'four'
<i>pac</i>	'five'
<i>chO</i>	'six'
<i>sat</i>	'seven'
<i>aTh</i>	'eight'
<i>nO</i>	'nine'
<i>dOs</i>	'ten'

Cardinal numerals are monomorphemic. From 'eleven' onwards the cardinal numbers are poly morphemic except some of them.

The formation of numerals from eleven to ninety-nine resembles the formation of numerals in other Indo – Aryan languages.

<i>ega – rO</i>	'eleven'
<i>ba - rO</i>	'twelve'
<i>te - rO</i>	'thirteen'
<i>cO - ddO</i>	'fourteen'
<i>pOne – rO</i>	'fifteen'
<i>sO - lO</i>	'sixteen'
<i>sOte-rO</i>	'seventeen'
<i>aTha-rO</i>	'eighteen'
<i>un - nisi</i>	'nineteen'
<i>bi - si</i>	'twenty'

Here /- rO/ stands as the allomorph of /dOs/ ‘ten’ and / ega - / is the allomorph of / ek / ‘one’; /ba- / is the allomorph of /dui/ ‘two’; / te - / is the allomorph of / tini / ‘three’; / pone - / is the allomorph of / pac / ‘five’; / sOte - / is the allomorph of / sat / ‘seven’; / aTha - / is the allomorph of / aTh / ‘eight’. The forms of fourteen and sixteen are somewhat different.

The formation of the cardinal numbers preceding each unit like ‘twenty’, ‘thirty’, ‘forty’, ‘fifty’ [*bisi, tiris, calis, pOn̄cas*] is somewhat different. The formation of /uniisi/ ‘nineteen’ is made by prefixing /un-/, the allomorph for /nO / ‘nine’ with the allomorph – /isi/ of the morpheme /bisi/ ‘twenty’. Thus, the formation of the numerical units ‘twenty-nine’, ‘thirty-nine’, ‘forty-nine’, ‘fifty-nine’, ‘sixty-nine’, ‘seventy-nine’, ‘eighty-nine’, ‘ninety-nine’ respectively follow the same rule. Likewise, the forms are /unisi/, /untris/, /uncalis/, /unpOncas/, /unsaT/, /unsOttOr/, /unasi/, /unnObbui/. [The number one hundred is / eksO / in Malpaharia.]

Ordinals

The ordinals of Malpaharia are like the following: -

<i>pOhilo</i>	‘first’	(for inanimate noun) e.g.	<i>pohilo kam</i>	‘first job’ and non-human noun
<i>bODDO</i>	‘first’	(for animate noun) e.g.	<i>bODDO chOa</i>	‘first son’ human noun
<i>dOsra</i>	‘second’	(for in animate noun) e.g.	<i>dOsra kam</i>	‘second work’ and non-human being
<i>mejlo</i>	‘second /	(for human noun) e. g	<i>mejlo beta</i>	‘second son’ middle’
<i>tesra</i>	‘third’	(”)		
<i>cOtha</i>	‘fourth’	(”)		
<i>pacua /</i>	‘fifth’	(”)		
<i>pOncOm</i>				
<i>chOtha</i>	‘sixth’	(”)		
<i>satua</i>	‘seventh’	(”)		
<i>aThua</i>	‘eight’	(”)		
<i>nOa /</i>				
<i>nObOm</i>	‘ninth’	(”)		
<i>dOsua /</i>				
<i>dOsOm</i>	‘tenth’	(”) etc.		

So, for ‘first’ and ‘second’ two (four) different morphemes of completive nature of the cardinal number are used as ordinals, from ‘three’ onwards the cardinal forms are used with

the ordinal suffix. Only for ‘third’ and ‘fourth’ allomorph / *te-* /of / *tini* / ‘three’ and *cO-* /of / *caer* / ‘four’ are used with ordinal suffix.

The ordinal suffix / - *O* / has the allomorphs / - *O* ~ / - *a* ~ - *ua* /, / - *a* / ~ - *Om* ~ - *bOm* / occurs after vowels like *dOsra* ‘second’, / *tesra* / ‘third’, / *cOtha* / ‘fourth’ and / - *ua* / occurs after consonant e.g. / *pacua* / ‘fifth’, / *aThua* / ‘eighth’ / *nOa* / ‘ninth’ etc.

-*Om* is used only with *dOs* – (*dOsOm* ‘tenth’) and -*bOm* is used only with *nO* – (*nObOm* ‘ninth’).

-*O* occurs for ‘first’ and ‘second’ *pOhilO*, *bODDO*, *mejlo*.

Fractional

The formation of fractions in Malpaharia are the following: -

<i>ek hissa</i>	‘quarter’
<i>adha</i>	‘half’
<i>tin hissa</i> / <i>pone hissa</i>	‘three-fourth’
<i>pura (hissa)</i>	‘full’

From the above sets it is found that the formation of fraction is the combination of two *morphs* / *hissa* / ‘part’ and the cardinal numbers like / *ek* /, / *tin* / except ‘full’ and ‘half’ for which a single morpheme is used.

4.2 VERB MORPHOLOGY

Verb Morphology deals with the class of verbs and their finite and non-finite formations in Morphology.

Verbal formations in Malpaharia are based on Base roots and Derivative roots. Base roots are the mono- morphemic root with which suffixes are added for verbal formation- both finite and non-finite. e.g.

Finite		Non-Finite	
√ <i>ker</i> + - <i>Ō</i>	‘I do’	√ <i>ker</i> + - <i>it</i>	‘to do’
√ <i>ker</i> + - <i>iO</i>	‘we do’	√ <i>ker</i> + - <i>it</i> + <i>lagĩ</i>	‘for doing’

Derivative roots are derived from the base roots with the addition of a derivative suffix.

Causative roots are the derivative roots.

√ <i>ker</i> + - <i>a</i> = <i>ker a</i>	‘to cause to do’	(Direct causative root)
√ <i>ker</i> + - <i>Oa</i> = <i>kerOa</i>	‘to get done’	(Indirect causative)

The Malpaharia base verb roots are of two categories – transitive and intransitive. The difference between transitive and intransitive verb is determined lay the use of -*ẽ* suffix with the nominal and pronominal form. And syntactically, a transitive verb takes an object - direct or indirect - while intransitive verb does not take only object.

A brief list of intransitive and transitive verb roots is given below.

Intransitive Roots		Transitive Roots	
√ <i>ja</i>	‘to go’	√ <i>dekh</i>	‘to see’
√ <i>Oes</i>	‘to come’	√ <i>mar</i>	‘to hit’
√ <i>thia</i>	‘to stop’ / ‘to stand’	√ <i>de</i>	‘to give’
√ <i>bOes</i>	‘to sit’	√ <i>duh</i>	‘to milk’
√ <i>nida</i>	‘sleep’	√ <i>DaMa</i>	‘to beat’
√ <i>uD</i>	‘fly’	√ <i>kha</i>	‘to eat’
√ <i>s cOr</i>	‘graze’	√ <i>ker</i>	‘do’
√ <i>cap</i>	‘ride’	√ <i>aN</i>	‘bring’
√ <i>lapha</i>	‘jump’	√ <i>hãka</i>	‘call’
√ <i>rOh</i>	‘live’/ stay’	√ <i>bOl</i>	‘speak’
√ <i>uTh</i>	‘get up’/ ‘rise’	√ <i>ne</i>	‘take’
√ <i>ghur</i>	‘go around’	√ <i>rakh</i>	‘keep’
√ <i>so</i>	‘lie down’	√ <i>uTha</i>	‘lift up’
√ <i>pOhũc</i>	‘to reach’	√ <i>khÕj</i>	‘search’
√ <i>cOl</i>	‘run’	√ <i>dhOr</i>	‘catch’
√ <i>cO</i>	‘move’	√ <i>bheT</i>	‘find out’ / ‘get’
√ <i>lag</i>	‘to start’	√ <i>bãdh</i>	‘to tie’
√ <i>jag</i>	‘go wake’	√ <i>kuRha</i>	‘to collect’
√ <i>Dub</i>	‘to brown’	√ <i>pORh</i>	‘to read’
√ <i>bhuk</i>	‘to bark’	√ <i>jaN</i>	‘to know’
√ <i>hãs</i>	‘laugh’	√ <i>gitia</i>	‘to sing’
√ <i>kand</i>	‘to weep’	√ <i>jhabda</i>	‘to throw’

4.2.1 FINITE VERB

The finiteness of Malpaharia verbs are expressed in the following ways according to tenses and aspects.

Present Tense

Verb Root	Tense	Aspect	Person	Number	Suffix and form
<i>ja</i> ‘to go’	Present	Indefinite	1 st	Singular	<i>ja-m</i> , <i>ker-Õ</i> ‘I go’, ‘I do’
(Vowel ending				plural	<i>jO-iO</i> , <i>ker-iO</i> ‘we go’, ‘we do’

2 nd person singular -	-s	for vowel ending root
2 nd person singular -	- Os	for consonantal ending root
2 nd person plural -	- h	for vowel ending root
2 nd person plural -	- ah	for consonantal ending root
3 rd person singular -	- Oi	
3 rd person plural -	- t	for vowel ending root along with notating the preceding vowel.
	- Õt	for consonantal ending root.

And aspect markers are the following for the present tense

Present Indefinite	-	unmarked
Present Continuous	-	√ + - ã + aoh - [- in + ach -]
Present perfect	-	√ + - ã -ch - [- in + - ch]

Past Tense

Verb	Tense	Aspect	Person	Number	Suffix and form	
<i>ja</i> - 'to go'	Past	Indefinite	1 st	singular	<i>gO- il -Õ, ker- l -Õ</i>	
				plural	<i>gO- il, ker- il</i>	
			2 nd	singular	<i>gO- il- e, ker- l- e</i>	
				plural	<i>gO- il -eh, ker- l- eh</i>	
<i>ker</i> - 'to do'			3 rd	singular	<i>gO- il- ek, ker- l- ek</i>	
				plural	<i>gO -il -a, ker- l- a</i>	
<i>ja</i> - 'to go' <i>ker</i> - 'to do'	past	continuous	1 st	singular	<i>gO - itẽ - ch - il - Õ,</i> <i>ker - tẽ - ch - il - Õ</i>	
				plural	<i>gO - itẽ - ch - il</i> <i>ker - tẽ - ch - il</i>	
				2 nd	singular	<i>gO - itẽ - ch - il - e,</i> <i>ker - tẽ - ch - il - e</i>
					plural	<i>gO - itẽ - ch - il - eh,</i> <i>ker - tẽ - ch - il - ch</i>
			3 rd	singular	<i>gO - itẽ - ch - il - ek,</i> <i>ker - tẽ - ch - il - ek</i>	

				plural	<i>gO - itẽ - ch - il -a,</i> <i>ker - tẽ - ch - il -a</i>
Perfect	1 st	singular			<i>gO - ïch -il - Õ,</i> <i>ker - ïch - il - Õ</i>
				plural	<i>gO- ïch - il,</i> <i>ker - ïch -il</i>
	2 nd	singular			<i>gO - ich - il - e,</i> <i>ker - ïch -il- e</i>
				plural	<i>gO - ïch - il -eh,</i> <i>ker - ïch -il- eh</i>
	3 rd	singular			<i>gO - ïch - il -ek,</i> <i>ker - ïch -il -ek</i>
				plural	<i>gO - ïch - il - a,</i> <i>ker -ich- il -a</i>

[the *-ïch* is pronounced as *-inch* by some speakers like *gO -inch -il -ek*]

<i>ja</i> -‘to go’	past	Habitual	1 st	singular	<i>gO -il - Õ + huĩ</i> <i>ker -l -Õ + huĩ</i>
				plural	<i>gO -il - + - huĩ</i> <i>ker -il - + - huĩ</i>
<i>ker</i> -‘to do’	2 nd	singular			<i>gO - il - e - + - huĩ</i> <i>ker - te - + - huĩ</i>
				plural	<i>gO -il - eh - + - huĩ</i> <i>ker -l - eh - + - huĩ</i>
	3 rd	singular			<i>gO - il - ek - + huĩ</i> <i>ker - l -ek - + huĩ</i>
				plural	<i>gO - il -a - + - huĩ</i> <i>ker -l -a - + - huĩ</i>

Accordingly, for the past tense the personal endings are the following: -

1 st person	singular	-	- Õ
	plural	-	unmarked

2 nd person	singular	-	- e
	plural	-	-eh
3 rd person	singular	-	-ek
	plural	-	-a

And the aspect markers of the past tense are the following: -

The past indefinite aspect - - *il* – for vowel ending root.

- - *l* - for consonant ending root.

The past continuous aspect - - *itēch* (+ - *il* -) for vowel ending root.

- - *tēch* (+ - *il* -) for consonant ending root.

The past perfect aspect - - *īch* (+ - *il* -)

The past habitual aspect - - *huĩ* which is added after the past indefinite forms.

Future Tense

Verb	Tense	Aspect	Person	Number	Suffix and Form
<i>ja</i> -‘to go’	future	Indefinite	1 st	singular	<i>jO -ib - Õ, ker - b - Õ</i>
				plural	<i>JO -ib, ker -ib</i>
<i>ker</i> -‘to do’			2 nd	singular	<i>jO -ib -e, ker- b -e</i>
				plural	<i>jO- ib -eh, ker - b -</i>
<i>eh</i>					
<i>ek</i>			3 rd	singular	<i>jO -ib -ek, ker- b -</i>
				plural	<i>jO- it -a, ker -t -a</i>

Thus, the personal endings for the future tense are the following: -

1 st person	singular	-	- Õ
	plural	-	unmarked
2 nd person	singular	-	- e
	plural	-	- eh
3 rd person	singular	-	- ek
	plural	-	- a

The future tense markers are

- *ib/ b / –* for 1st person and 2nd person

it / -t / - for 3rd person

4.2.2 MOOD

The following Modal categories are realized in Malpaharia:

i. Indicative mood

Simple declarative sentences indicate this modal category. The examples are

Muĩ apONO phuler Then gelchelO

(I) (my) (friend-to) (had gone)

‘I had gone to my friend’

muĩ ruTi / piTha kham

(I) (bread) (eat)

‘I eat bread’

hOgae khetet jaĩ

(they) (field-to) (go)

‘They go to the field’

ii. Imperative Mood

This mood is marked for expressing request, order, comment etc. In Malpaharia the Imperative modal category is marked in the following way.

	Person	singular	plural
Present Imperative	2 nd	<i>ja</i>	<i>jah</i>
		<i>ker</i>	<i>kerah</i>
	3 rd	<i>jak</i>	<i>jaĩ</i>
Future Imperative	2 nd	<i>kerOk</i>	<i>kerOĩ</i>
		<i>jOis</i>	<i>jOiah</i>
	3 rd	<i>keris</i>	<i>keriah</i>
		<i>jak</i>	<i>jaĩ</i>
		<i>kerOk</i>	<i>kerOĩ</i>

Mood for direct Causative verb

	Person	Singular	Plural
Present Imperative	2 nd	<i>jOa</i>	<i>jOaOah</i>
		<i>kerá</i>	<i>keráOah</i>
	3 rd	<i>jOak</i>	<i>jOaãt</i>
		<i>kerak</i>	<i>keráÕt</i>
Future Imperative	2 nd	<i>jOais</i>	<i>jOaiah</i>
		<i>kerais</i>	<i>keraiiah</i>
	3 rd	<i>jOak</i>	<i>jOaãt</i>
		<i>kerak</i>	<i>keráãt</i>

Mood for Indirect Causative verb

	Person	Singular	Plural
Present Imperative	2 nd	<i>jOa</i>	<i>jOaOah</i>
		<i>kerOa</i>	<i>kerOaOah</i>
	3 rd	<i>jOak</i>	<i>jOaãt</i>
		<i>kerOak</i>	<i>kerOaãt</i>
Future Imperative	2 nd	<i>jO – a is</i>	<i>jOa iah</i>
		<i>ker Oa is</i>	<i>ker Oa iah</i>
	3 rd	<i>jo – a – k</i>	<i>jO – a – ãt</i>
		<i>ker Oak</i>	<i>ker Oa ãt</i>

iii. Interrogative mood

This modal category is marked for expression of question type sentences by using the interrogative particles. The particles precede the finite verbal form in Malpaharia.

<i>tuĩ</i>	<i>ki</i>	<i>khas</i>		‘What do you eat?’
	(you)	(what)	(eat)	
<i>tuĩ</i>	<i>ketey</i>	<i>rOhOs</i>		‘Where do you live?’
	(you)	(where)	(live)	
<i>tOhOr</i>	<i>kOtOga</i>	<i>chOa</i>	<i>achÕt</i>	‘How many children have you?’
	(your)	(how many)	(children)	(have)

iv. Infinitive mood

This modal category is marked for the non-finiteness of the object verb.

uĩ phOO khOit pOsOnd kerlek 'He liked to eat fruit'

(he) (fruit) (to eat) (liked)

muĩ Oesit khOjÕ 'I want to come'

(I) (to come) (want)

v. Conditional mood

When the condition of a finite verb is dependent on the action of another verb that expression marks the conditional modal category. For example,

jOdi muĩ nikO rOhO tO kael Oesbuĩ

(if) (I) (well) (am) (then) (tomorrow) (will come)

'If I am well I will come tomorrow'

jOdi ghORagar pakhO rOhilek huĩ tO huga uDuit parla huĩ

(if) (horses-of) (wings) (had) (then) (they) (would have flown)

'If horses had wings they would have flown'

jOdi uĩ mehnOet kerĩ kam kerOi tahuileĩ uĩ sOphOl huibek

(if) (he) (works hard) (then) (he) (will succeed)

'If he works hard he will succeed'

vi. Compulsive mood

This category of mood expresses the action of compulsion/promise etc.

mOkhe Oesit he huibek 'I ought to come'

(I) (to come) (ought)

uhak ekTO puĩhi likhit he huibek 'He ought to write a book'

(he) (a) (book) (to write) (ought)

kakhO kam khOjit jOet cahi 'One should go to find a job'

(anyone) (job) (to find) (should go)

vii. Optative mood

This mood is marked for expression of a desire, permission etc.

hOgak Oesit deh 'Let them all come'

(them) (come) (let-pl.)

tumhar mOiddhẽ kOi jah ar niaNah 'Let some of you go and fetch'

(among you) (some) (let go-pl.) (and) (let-pl. fetch)

viii. Probability mood

This modal category expresses the probability of action denoted by the verb.

muĩ kael Oesit parO 'I may come'

(I) (tomorrow) (come) (may)

uĩ pakhuirTO marit parOe 'He may kill the bird'

(he) (the bird) (kill) (may)

hOgae~ sudhait parOĩ 'They may ask'

(they) (ask) (may)

4.2.3 NON – FINITE VERB

The following categories of non-finite verbal forms are realized in Malpaharia as per the collected data.

GERUND

The Gerundial Definitive - formed by verb root + - *it*. e.g. *jO - it, ker - it*

uhak huThen jOit de 'let him go there'

tOkhe nahaĩ khOit dEm 'I won't give you to eat'

mOkhe kam kerit de 'give me work to do'

CONJUNCTIVE

i) The conditional Conjunctive: formed by verb root + - *le* for consonantal ending verb root like *kerle* and verb root + - *ile* for vowel ending verb root e.g. *khOile*

uĩ kerle muĩ kerbOĩ 'If he does I will do'

tuĩ khOile muĩ khOibOĩ 'If you eat I will eat'

uĩ gele tuĩ jOis 'If he goes you will also go'

ii) The non-conditional Conjunctive: formed by verb root + - *ĩ*, e.g.

gOĩ 'having gone' , *kerĩ* 'having done'

kamTO kerĩ muĩ nidailOĩ 'having done the work I slept'

huThen gOĩ muĩ uhak bheTlÕ ‘Having gone there I met him’
bihar khOĩ amhi khetet gel ‘Having eaten food we went to the field’

Sometimes an emphatic particle *-hinOk* is added after the conjunctive form which indicates the completion of an action.

kerĩ hinOk ‘having done’
gOĩ hinOk ‘having gone’
khOĩ hinOk ‘having eaten’
kamTO kerĩ hinOk muĩ nidailÕ ‘After doing the work I slept’ etc.

PARTICIPLE

The Adverbial Participial form : formed by reduplicating the conjunctive form

e.g. *gOĩ - gOĩ*, *kerĩ - kerĩ*, *khOĩ - khOĩ* etc.

hOgaẽ git suNĩ - suNĩ bulÕt ‘They loiter on listening songs’
hOgaẽ khOĩ khOĩ jãt ‘They go on eating’

Another form is formed by reduplicated use of verb + *-itẽ* and *-tẽ*

jOitẽ - jOitẽ, *khOitẽ - khOitẽ*, *kertẽ kertẽ*, *likhtẽ likhtẽ* etc.

uĩ khOitẽ khOitẽ hiThen Oesĩchil ‘while eating he came here’
uĩ kam kertẽ kertẽ pORĩ gelek ‘while working he fell down’

VERBAL NOUN

The Malpaharia verbal nouns are formed in the following ways.

a) Verb root + *-a*

= *ker - + - a = kera*.

kamTO OkhON hi kera dOrkar ‘Doing the work now is itself very important’

= *suN - + - a = suNa*

hiTO kahaNi suNar dOrkar nahaĩ achOi ‘There is no need of listening the story’

= *jO - (< √ ja) + - a = jOa*

tOhOr jOaTO nahaĩ huibek ‘Your going will not be allowed’

[In case of vowel ending verbal root there is a morphophonemic change in the verb base for adding the verbal suffix so, *jOa*, *khOa* etc.]

b) Verb + *-ibar* (in case of vowel ending verb root) e.g. $\sqrt{ja} > jO$ – by morphophonemic change + *-ibar* = *jOibar*, *khOibar* etc.)

Verb + *-bar* (in case of consonantal ending verb root)

kert - bar = kerbar - mOkhe kamTO kerbar lagĩ jOit huibek ‘I have to go to do the job’

suN + - bar = suNbar.

4.2.4 CAUSATIVE VERB

The Malpaharia causative verbal base belongs to two categories (direct and indirect) based on two constituents – verb stem + causative suffix.

Direct Causative: which is formed by adding – *a* with verb root .

<i>ker</i>	‘to do’	+ – <i>a</i> -	<i>ker a</i>	‘to cause to do’
<i>pORh</i>	‘to read’	+ - <i>a</i> -	<i>pORha</i>	‘to cause to read / to cause to teach’
<i>suN</i>	‘to listen’	+ - <i>a</i> -	<i>suNa</i>	‘to cause to listen’
<i>kha</i>	‘to eat’	+ - <i>a</i> -	<i>khOa</i>	‘to feed’

(with morphs phonemic change of the root)

Indirect Causative which is formed by adding –*Oa* - with

The verb root.	<i>ker</i>	‘to do’	+ - <i>Oa</i>	=	<i>kerOa</i>	‘to get done’
	<i>pORh</i>	‘to read’	+ - <i>Oa</i>	=	<i>pORhOa</i>	‘to get read’
	<i>suN</i>	‘to listen’	+ - <i>Oa</i>	=	<i>suNOa</i>	‘to get listen’
	<i>kha</i>	‘to eat’	+ - <i>Oa</i>	=	<i>khOa</i>	‘to get feed’

[for the vowel ending verb root –*a* is added with the verb root (with morphophonemic change in verb root) both for direct and indirect causative. So, *kha* > *khOa*. Only the context determines the difference between the direct and indirect]

With these causative verb bases the different tense - aspect - person number suffixes are added according to the situation.

mOkhe ekTO kahaNi suNa ‘tell me a story’

chOagak uhak dī kahaNi suNOa ‘Children may get to listen stories by him’

4.2.5 AUXILIARY VERB

The Auxiliary verbs have been discussed at length under Compound verb section. However, the auxiliary verb roots in Malpaharia are verb root + root

rAh-, *lag -*, *de -*, *ne -*, *ho -*, *ja -*, etc.

Examples (cf. Compound Verb).

4.2.6 NEGATIVE VERB

The Malpaharia negative particle is / *nahaĩ* / everywhere except in Imperative mood where it is / *ma* // *na* /.

Uses of Negative / *nahaĩ* /

nahaĩ as substantive: *ũi khetet nahaĩ [achOi]* ‘he is not in the field’

nahaĩ as negative verb: *muĩ bagaNet nahaĩ jam* ‘I don’t go to the garden’

muĩ aj nahaĩ OesbÕ 'I will not come today'

Generally *nahaĩ* occurs before the finite verb as it has occurred but some speakers use *nahaĩ* after finite verb like

uĩ hiTO kam kerOi nahaĩ 'He does not do this work'

The imperative negative /*ma* // /*na* / occurs before the verb e.g.

<i>ma ja</i>	'don't go'	present imperative
<i>ma jOis</i>	'don't go'	future imperative
<i>na ker</i>	'don't do'	present imperative
<i>na bOlis</i>	'don't say'	future imperative.

Like *nahaĩ* some speakers use /*ma* // /*na* / after the verbal form

keris ma 'don't do' *jOis ma* 'don't do'

4.2.7 COMPOUND VERB

Compound verbs in Malpaharia are like the following.

- i) noun + verb (The Tense, aspect, person marker are added after second element)
khOtOm + √ker –

muĩ kamTO khOtOm kerĩchÕ 'I have finished the job'

- ii) Verb + auxiliary verb \sqrt{rOh} (where the non – finite form of the first element occurs and the tense, aspect person markers are added after second element)

jOit rOhibÕ 'I will be going'

kerit rOhibÕ 'I will be doing'

- iii) Verb + auxiliary verb \sqrt{lag} [where the main verb & in conjunctive gerundial form and the tense, aspect, person marker are added with auxiliary]

amhi jOit lagil 'we went on going'

muĩ kamTO kerit laglÕ 'I went on doing this job'

- iv) Verb + auxiliary \sqrt{de}

tuĩ kamTO kerĩ dis 'you will do the work'

uĩ kabTO bhaMgĩ dilek 'He broke the glass'

- v) Verb + auxiliary \sqrt{ne}

muĩ kamTO kerĩ nEm 'I will do the job'

uĩ khOĩ nebek / IOibek 'He will eat himself'

- vi) Verb + auxiliary \sqrt{hO} which is used in passive construction.

mOhOr se huThen jOa nahaĩ hOOi 'I don't go there'

- vii) Noun + verb = main verb + auxiliary \sqrt{ja}

kisrAM hiTO sap khOtOm kera jOibek- hOgaẽ uhar hudis kerit lagla.

‘They were thinking how the snake will be killed’.

Thus, in the Compound Verb formation the first element is the main verb, which is always in non-finite form, and the finite verbal formation is made by the second element, that is the auxiliary verb.

4.2.8 PASSIVE VERB

The Passive sentences in Malpaharia are formed in the following ways under 2 categories:

Category 1: where the Passive is formed by changing the Subject of the Active sentences into the

Object of the Passive sentences by adding particle *ni*, which is used after the Genitive form of the Object and the finite verb is expressed in participial form.

Passive

1. *kaharO ni hiTO kam nahae kerit para jae / kera jae*

anybody by this work not done can be

‘This work cannot be done by anybody’

Active

hiTO kam kOihe nahae kerit parÕ

this work nobody not do can

‘Nobody can do this work.’

kOihe>kaharO ni in Passive Construction.

Passive

2. *bahmONer ni mas nahae khua jOibek*

Brahmins by meat not eaten

‘The meat will not be eaten by the Brahmins’

Active

bahmONẽ mas nahae khOita

Brahmins meat not eat

‘Brahmins do not eat meat’

bahmONẽ>bahmONer in Passive Construction.

Passive

3. *uhar ni ekTO lekh lekha hOwOi*

him by one note written – is

‘A note is written by him’

Active

uĩ ekTO lekh lekhOi achOi
he one note writing is
'He is writing a note'

Category 2: Where the Passive form is also realized without the construction formed by particle *ni*.

1. *gittO gitia huOi* "The song is being sung"
2. *chOaTOk khua huOi achOi* "The boy is being fed"

4.2.9 ADVERB

Morphologically adverbs are indeclinables, though syntactically they are modifiers of verb. Sometimes adverbs occur as post-positions also. Adverbs are used before the finite verb of sentence and are divided into three categories.

- a) Adverbs of place
- b) Adverbs of time
- c) Adverbs of manner.

And all categories of adverbs occur as interrogative adverb also.

Adverbs of place.

<i>hiThen</i>	'here'
<i>huThen</i>	'there'
<i>ketei</i>	'where'
<i>bhitOer</i>	'in' (used as post-position also)
<i>bahir</i>	'out' (used as post-position also)
<i>Then</i>	'near' (used as post-position also)
<i>guDDi</i>	'near'
<i>dur</i>	'distant'
<i>samNe</i>	'in front of'
<i>nakhO</i>	'to wards'
<i>guDDi</i>	'undue'
<i>upOer</i>	'up'
<i>pechu</i>	'back'

Adverbs of time

<i>OkhON</i>	'now'
<i>tOkhON</i>	'then'
<i>bad / pechu</i>	'afterwards'
<i>agu</i>	'previously'
<i>aj</i>	'today'

<i>kal</i>	‘yesterday’	}	context determines the distinction
<i>kal</i>	‘tomorrow’		
<i>pOrOru</i>	‘day before yesterday’	}	context determines the distinction between ‘yesterday’ and ‘tomorrow’
	‘day after tomorrow’		
<i>kOkhON</i>	‘when’		
<i>bihan</i>	‘morning’		
<i>sOndhakal</i>	‘evening’		

Adverbs of manner

<i>hirOkOm / hirOMg</i>	‘like this’ / ‘thus’
<i>herOkOm / herOMg</i>	‘like that’
<i>kisrOkOm / kisrOMg</i>	‘how’ / ‘like what’
<i>jOldi</i>	‘fast’
<i>dhir</i>	‘slowly’

4.2.10 PARTICLE

Malpaharia particles are of the following types:

Interjectional: to express feeling, emotion, particles like the following are used

<i>hÕ</i>	‘yes?’
<i>naki</i>	‘is it?’
<i>taha / naki</i>	‘is it?’

Emphatical: to express acute reality, the particles are used like the following

- <i>i</i>	<i>amhi –i</i>	‘we only’
- <i>he</i>	<i>tuĩ he</i>	‘you only’

Conjunctivae

<i>ar</i>	<i>muĩ ar mOhOr beta</i>	‘my son and I’
<i>arhu</i>	<i>uĩ arhu uhar beTi</i>	‘he and his son’
<i>tO</i>	<i>uĩ gelek tO muĩ ar kisek jOibÕ</i>	

‘If he has gone already then why should I go?’

Concessival

<i>lagĩ</i>	<i>uhai lagĩ</i>	‘for that’
<i>kisek</i>	<i>lagĩ</i>	‘for what’
<i>karne</i>	<i>ihar karne</i>	‘for this’

Affirmative

<i>hÕ</i>	‘yes’
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Conditional is used only with condition form of the verb.

jOdi *jOdi ã hiTO kerOi tO muĩ hOTO kam kerbÕ*
 ‘If he does this then I will do that job.’

Interrogative

ki ‘Is it?’
naki ‘Is it really?’

Alternative

ba ‘or’
cahẽ ‘rather’

Additive

sObhi *amhi sObhi pOrhÕ* ‘we all study’
sOb *chOaga sOb khelÕt* ‘All the boys play’

Adversative

lekin ‘but’
bOrOM ‘rather’

Negative

nahai ‘not’ *hitO uhar beta nahai* ‘This is not his son’
na ‘no’ *na , muĩ nahai kerbÕ* ‘No, I will not do’

Inclusive

- ho *hOgaho* ‘they together’
duho murobi ‘the two persons together’

4.2.11 REDUPLICATION

dhOr – dhOr - Dore mOhOr bukTO dhOr dhOr kerOi ‘My heart beats out of fear’
TOn - Ton - mOhOr phoRaTO bejae tON TOnae ‘My boils pains me severely’
dil - dil - a gunTO ekdOm dildilaĩ uThlek ‘The fire become high-flamed’
thOr thOr - muĩ thOrthOraitÕ ar Dore kãpit laglÕ ‘I got frightened and trembled’
phOR phOR -kaner bhitoer ki pusĩ chOi ji kanTO bejae phORphORai ‘Something has gone inside my ear for which the ear is getting disturbed’

Thus, the reduplicated words are used for verbal formation. They both function as finite verb in non-compound verbs and as the main verb in the compound verbs.

4.2.12 ECHO WORDS

Declensional

<i>kagOj</i> -	<i>tagOj</i> ‘papers etc.’
<i>kurta</i> -	<i>kurta</i> ‘dress etc.’
<i>paNi</i> -	<i>Tani</i> ‘water etc.’
<i>cah</i> -	<i>Tah</i> ‘tea etc.’
<i>pOal</i> -	<i>tOal</i> ‘straw etc.’

Here, the balancing part begins with /t/ only and without the first part it has no meaning and existence. But the other category of Balance words form with two words both of which have independent meaning and existence also.

<i>chOa</i> -	<i>nenda</i> ‘children’
<i>dhOti</i>	<i>kani</i> ‘dress’
<i>saRi</i>	<i>kani</i> ‘dress’ etc.

chOa is ‘boy’, while *nenda* is ‘pet child’
dhoti is ‘Dhoti’ while *kani* is ‘cloth’
SaRi is ‘Saree’ *kani* is ‘cloth’

Conjugational

Here the two words are derived from verb root.

<i>ruhiÕ</i> - <i>khuiÕ</i>	(lit. meaning ‘I live and I eat’) My days pass.
<i>bulil</i> - <i>bulOi</i>	“He loiters here and there”
<i>khuite</i> - <i>ruite</i>	‘gradually (by living and eating) - A non-finite formation.
<i>pORhIOk</i> - <i>likhIOk</i>	‘the learned’ - verbal adjective

5. SYNTAX

Malpaharia is having Subject-Object-Verb (SOV) type of Word order.

5.1. PATTERNS OF SENTENCES

Malpaharia sentences are of two types – major and minor.

The major type of sentence is a Predicative type, i.e. subject- predicate sentence where the predicate possesses a verb as a nucleus. This type of sentences may be divided into three categories.

Major Sentences:

A) **Affirmative:** - This type of sentence has a finite verb or a verb phrase, a finite mood.

chOaTO hiThen OesOi 'The boy comes here'

tuĩ uhar Then ja 'you go to him'

uĩ mOhOr bap achOi 'He is my father'

B) **Negative:** - This type of sentence has a negative verb.

hiThen kONe nahaĩ achOi 'None is here'

uĩ tOkhe nahaĩ bOlbek 'He will not tell you'

tuĩ huThen ma jOis 'You should not go there'

haThO jinis muĩ nahaĩ khOjÕ 'I don't want this'

C) **Interrogative:** - This type of sentence has a interrogative particle [*ki*] in final position or Interrogative words of adverbial nature preceding the predicate e.g.

tuĩ OkhON Oesbe ki ? 'Are you coming now?'

tuĩ ketei rOhOs 'Where do you live?'

The major type of sentence is being discussed in details. In this connection the syntactic functions of noun, adjective, adverb, verb in a sentence are mentioned below.

Nouns: - all kinds of nouns and pronoun both are basic and declined.

Adjectives: - all kinds of adjectives, genitive form of a noun or pronoun which occurs as attributes to nouns.

Adverbs: - an adverb, a verbal participial form, locative, instrumental form of nouns which modify the predicate of a sentence.

Verbs: - all kinds of verbs both simple and compound.

Minor Sentences:

The minor sentence does not have subject and predicate. This may be word, particle and phrase with a kind of intonation. A minor type of sentence can be any one of the following.

a. **Nominal:** - This type of minor sentence has a noun or noun phrase as nucleus instead of predicate.

i. *tOhOr beTi ?* 'Is she your daughter?'

ii. *i mOhOr beTi* 'she is my daughter'

iii. *OkhON raet* 'It is night now'

- b. **Interrogative:** - This type of sentence has interrogative word of a nominal nature as the nucleus.

uĩ ketei 'where is he'
haThO ki 'what is this?'

However, the other categories of major sentence pattern are discussed below:

- c. **Causative:** - The Causative sentences in Malpaharia are formed in the following ways. The Causatives are formed by adding *-a* suffix after the verbal root. For example, *jo* 'to go' > *jOa* 'to cause to go'. Few examples are given below:

1. *muĩ ekTO pũthi dem achÕ*
 I a book giving am

"I am giving a book"

vs

muĩ uhar ni pũthi dia keram

I by him book to give cause

"I am causing him to give a book"

2. *muĩ ghOraTOk jiNhua kerOam achÕ*

I horse-the run causing to do

"I am causing the horse to run"

3. *muĩ chOaTOk miThai khuailÕ/khOailÕ*

I boy-the sweet causing to eat

"I make the boy to eat the sweet"

- d. **Imperative:** - This type of sentence is formed without the direct reference of the Subject.

Singular

Plural

dhirẽ bOl

dhirẽbOlah

"speak slowly"

jOrẽ ma bolis

zorẽ ma boliah

"don't speak loudly"

mOkhe ekTO kahaNi suNa mOkhe ekTO kahaNi suNa wah "tell me a story"
 etc.

- e. **Coordinative:** - Coordinating sentences are those where two or more clauses are combined into a single sentence by the addition of particles. For example,

muĩ apoNar jal nahae khujĩ bheTÕ tathe aj nahae gelOI
 own(my) net not found so today not went

"I could not find my net so I did not go today"

tuĩ huThen achle kintu kOpaĩ rOhile

you there were yet quiet kept

“you(sg.) were there, yet you kept quite”

Taka ghuraĩ de, nahaetO tOkhe DaMait huibek
(the)money return otherwise you-to have to be beaten

“Return the money otherwise you will get a beting”

ui kael huThen rOhilek / rOhit parlek huĩ, kintu jOrOa pORlek
she yesterday there would have been but fever (sick) fell

“She would have been there but she felt sick”

In all the sentences two clauses are coordinated by the particles like *tathe* ‘so’, *kintu* ‘yet’, ‘but’, *nahaeto* ‘otherwise’.

- f. **Interjection:** - This type of sentence has single word or word sequence utterances with interjectional infonation.

tahai naki ? ‘Is that so?’

5.2 TYPES OF PHRASES

The base of the syntactic analysis of a sentence is phrase which is a larger construction with a head-word. And the morphological category of the headword determines the type of the phrase. And the constituents preceding the headword determine the sub-types of a phrase.

The Phrases of Malpaharia sentences are:

- i. Noun Phrase:- Where a noun is the center of the construction, e.g.

bhalO chOa ‘good boy’

haTO chOa ‘this boy’

mOhOr chOa ‘my son’

- ii. Adjective Phrase:- Where an adjective is the center of the construction e.g.

kOThin bhalO / bejae bhalO ‘very good’

But in noun phrase the adjective phrase occurs as a part of the noun phrase but not as subject, e.g.

kOThin bhalO chOa ‘very good boy’

bejae bes manus ‘very kind man’

- iii. Verb Phrase:- where a finite verb is the center of the construction. e.g.

dudh duhOi ‘milks the (cow) milk’

bhat khaOi ‘eats rice’

jOldi Oes ‘come quickly’

Details of each phrasal construction are discussed below.

A. NOUN PHRASE: - It is of three types – attributive, co-ordinative, Appositional.

1. **Attributive** – It consists of two constituents – (a) head and (b) attributive proceeding to the head. The attributive may be an adjective, an adjective phrase or noun or pronoun.

Adjective

<i>bhisON raet</i>	‘dark night’
<i>cORkO phul</i>	‘white flower’
<i>hOTO chOa</i>	‘that boy’
<i>uhar beTa</i>	‘his son’
<i>dOsjON maNus</i>	‘ten men’

Adjective phrase: - has an adjective as head preceded by another adjective.

<i>ekTO khub chOTO bON</i>	‘one very small forest’
<i>ekjON bejae bhalO maNus</i>	‘a very good men’

Adjectival

<i>PaklOk phOOga</i>	‘the ripen fruits’
<i>bādhLOk nOuka</i>	‘tied boat’

2. **Co-ordinative** – consists of two or more nouns or noun-phrases Co-ordinate in nature.

The nouns are co-ordinated either by the

- use of the conjunctive particle / *ar* / ‘and’
- additive suffix
- an *echo*-word construction.

<i>muĩ ar mOhOr saMgO</i>	‘myself and my friend’
<i>ekTO ma ar tahar chOa</i>	‘A mother and her child’
<i>khOa - pia</i>	‘meals’
<i>ghOr - duar</i>	‘house’

3. **Appositional** - where two or more nouns, adjectives, stand in apposition to each other

<i>haTO kaniTO</i>	‘this cloth’
<i>mOhOr chOa</i>	‘my son’
<i>hOTO cORkO ghOr</i>	‘that white house’

B. ADVERB PHRASE: - has an adverb as head and an adjective or a noun as attributive.

<i>bOhut jOldi</i>	‘very quickly’	<i>gacher guDDit</i>	‘under the tree’
<i>kal bihan</i>	‘yesterday morning’	<i>gaRir Then</i>	‘near the cart’
<i>khub dami</i>	‘very costly’	<i>bOhut hāsī hāsī</i>	‘very smilingly’
<i>jore</i>	‘loudly’	<i>dhire</i>	‘slowly’

tOhOr haTO kOThinbhalO
 Apposition Adjective

tOhOr haTO kOthintOhOr haTO
 Demonstrative Attributive Pronominal Definitive

mOhOrghOretkisĩ kisĩ bOhut sunder git suNai
 Adverb (locative) Non-finite verb Adverbial phrase Nominal Finite verb
mOhOr ghOretuisĩ uisĩbOhut sundOr
 Pronominal Nominal participial apposition adverb

Sentence = subject (N P + V P)
 = NP (Adjective phrase + Nominal)
 = AdjectivePhrase (Apposition + Adjective)
 = Apposition (Demonstrative + Attributive)
 = Demonstrative (Pronominal + Definitive)
 = VP (Adverb of place + Non-finite verb + Adverbial Phrase +
 Nominal + Finite verb)
 = Adverb of place (Pronominal + Nominal)
 = Non-finite verb (Continuity of verbal participial form indicated by
 reduplication)
 = AdverbialPhrase (Apposition + Adverb of manner)

Subject	Predicate	Constituents		
<i>tuĩ</i> 'you are good'	<i>bhalO</i>	Nominal	+	Adjective
<i>maNusTO</i> 'the man is very good'	<i>bejae bhalO</i>	Nominal	+	Apposition
<i>haTO ghOrTO</i> 'this house is very clean'	<i>bOhut sapha</i>	Noun phrase	+	Apposition
<i>haTO</i> 'this is his house'	<i>khar ghOr</i>	Nominal	+	Noun phrase
<i>maNusTOr mOnTObes</i> 'He is kind'		Noun phrase	+	Adjective
<i>hoto chOaTODhaMgO chOa</i> Phrase 'That boy is tall boy'		Noun Phrase	+	Noun
<i>maNusTO bhisMO</i>		Nominal	+	Nominal

‘the man is Bhisma’			
<i>uhar nam kis</i>	Noun phrase	+	Nominal
‘what is his name?’			
<i>uhar nam mOhadeb</i>	Noun Phrase	+	Nominal
‘His name is mahadeb’			
<i>uhar ghOr kete</i> Pronominal	Noun Phrase	+	
‘Where is his house?’ Adverb			
<i>mOhOr ghOrTOhaTO</i>	Noun Phrase	+	Nominal
‘my house is this’			
<i>phulmOni kete</i>	Nominal	+	Pronominal
‘where is Phulmani?’			Adverb

5.3 TYPES OF SENTENCES

Malpaharia sentences are broadly divided under two heads : 1. Basic and 2. Extended Constructions. The Simple sentences belong to Basic category and Extended constructions include Complex and Compound sentences.

Simple Sentences

A Simple sentence has only one predicate – the nucleus of sentence construction. The Predicate is always a verb or verb phrase. For example

<i>amhi hiTO sORke Oesil</i>	‘We came by this road’
(we) (this) (road-by) (came)	
<i>patga gacher calae~ pORi jae</i>	‘The leaves fall from the tree’
(leave-s) (tree-of) (from) (fall)	
<i>ĩ pakhuirTok marOe</i>	‘He hits the bird’
(he) (bird-to) hit-s	
<i>amhigae~ sadai gaerdudh duhio</i>	‘We milk the cows everyday’
(we) (everyday) cows-milk milk	

In the above set of sentences there is only one finite verb form in each sentence like /*Oesil*/, /*pORi jae*/, /*marOe*/, /*duhio*/.

Complex sentences

The Complex sentence is a combination of two or more clauses. One is main clause, which is independent. The other is/are Subordinate clause(s), which is/are dependent upon the main clause. For example,

<i>jodi hOgae~ nahae cahÕt hiTO mOkhe de</i>
(if) (they) (do not) (want) (this) (to me) (give)
‘If they do not want to give it to me’

uĩ nidaitẽ chelek jOkhOn muĩuhak dekhit gelchelO

(he) (sleeping) (was) (when) (I) (him) (to see) (went)

‘He was sleepy when I went to see him’

jhiTO ghOret muĩ rOhÕ huTO bOhut bODO

(the) (house) (I) (live) (that) (very) (big)

‘The house I live in is a large one’

In the above set of sentences */hiTo mOkhe de/*, */uĩ nidaitẽ chelek/*, */muĩ rOhõ/* are the main clause and */jodi.....cahõt/*, */jOkhOn muĩ.....gelchelõ/* */hiTo bOhut bODO/* (verbless sentences) are the subordinate clauses.

Compound sentences

Compound sentence is constituted by more than one main clause. The clauses are compounded into single sentence by connectives. For example,

tumhar mOiddhẽ kOi jah ar nia Neh ‘Let some of you go and fetch’

(your) (among) (some) (go) (and) (fetch)

kichu nava ar kichu puRRa ‘Some are new, some are old’

(some) (new) (some) (old)

uĩ suĩe achOi ar puthi pORhOi ‘He is lying down and reading’

(he) (lying) (is) (and) (book) (reads)

uĩ kael Oesĩ chelek ar ghurĩ gelek ‘He came yesterday and went away’

(he) (yesterday) (came) (and) (went) (away)

ghOr ja ar ghuri Oes ‘Go home and come back’

(home) (go) (and) (back) (came)

In the above set of sentences */ar/* ‘and’ connects two sentences.

6. CONCLUSION

In view of the foregone analysis of data based on the investigation conducted at Bihar (currently Jharkhand), the following statement may be concluded that:

The presence of the following features in Malpaharia, as shown below, is also available in Oriya language among the cognates of Eastern New Indo-Aryan languages (Assamese, Bengali, Oriya).

- | | | |
|---|--------------|------------------------------|
| A. 1.The word-final low-mid vowel <i>O</i> | <i>cORkO</i> | ‘white’ |
| | <i>OsarO</i> | ‘wide’ |
| 2.The retroflex nasal <i>N</i> | <i>paNi</i> | ‘water’ |
| | <i>nuN</i> | ‘salt’ |
| B. The pronominal formation | <i>mũi</i> | ‘I’. |
| | <i>amhi</i> | ‘we’ |
| | <i>tũi</i> | ‘you’ |
| | <i>tumhi</i> | ‘you(pl)’ |
| C. The concord between person and number in conjugational system. | | |
| <i>mũi kerÕ</i> | ‘I do’ | <i>ũi kerOe</i> ‘he does’ |
| <i>amhi kerio</i> | ‘we do’ | <i>hOgae kerÕt</i> ‘they do’ |
| D. In the lexical level the words like <i>kaNi</i> ‘cloth’ <i>paNi</i> ‘water’, <i>pindh</i> ‘to wear’ etc. this language shows greater affinity with Oriya – an Indo Aryan language –as the mentioned features are present in Oriya also. The pronominal cognates are: | | |
| <i>mũ</i> | ‘I’ | <i>amhe</i> ‘we’ |
| <i>tu</i> | ‘you’ | <i>tOmhe</i> ‘you’ |
| <i>se</i> | ‘he’ | <i>semaNe</i> ‘they’ etc. |

8. MALPAHARIA TEXT

kis rOkOme ekTO DaeD kOuaẽ ekTo kaO sãp marlek
how one crow-hen one black snake killed
“How one crow-hen killed a black snake”

1. *ekTO bOhut bODDO bORer gacher Daoet duiTo kOua (dui murobi kOua) ruliẽ chila.*

one very big banyan tree –of in the branches two crows were living

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

2. *hOgãr basOt caerTO chOTO chOTO / chuTu chuTu Dimba hOin chelek / hOĩ chelek*

their nest-in four little egg were they
hOgak hOgãe bacaebar lagĩ bOhut mihinOte jOgaitechela / jagaitechila.
which they saving for great care guarded

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

3. *gacher gaNDit ektO DhuDhuROr bhitOre ekTO kaO sãp ruhite chelek jahak (uhak dekh)*

tree-of trunk-in a hollow-of inside a black snake was living whom

kOua duhO murObi bejaẽ DOraitechila/ kOthin DOraite chela.

the crows greatly feared

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

4. *jOtObar DaeD kOẽ / kOuae Dimba paRlek tOtObar sãpTOe gachTO beDhil beDhil*

every time the crow-hen eggs laid then the snake the tree crawling

uThi Dimbagak khOẽ juĩte chelek / khOẽ gelekar.

upeggs ate them up

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

5. *DaeD kOuaToẽ apONO buDhaTok bOllek je “ihabar jOdi sãpẽ amhar Dimbagak the crow-hen her husband-to told that this time if snake my eggs*

khOẽjibek / khuĩbek tObe muĩ ar haeT hen nahae rOhibÕ. tObe amhi amhar ghOr

will eat up then I no more this place not will live then we
our nest

dOsrO kONhOThen banaib”.

other some place will build

“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.

6. *buDhaTO bOllek- Dher diner calae amhi haThen ruhite chiO. heThO thaNer chaDĩ dĩethe crow said for a long time we here have lived. This place leaving*

kethO dOsrO Then gOẽ ruhibar bat muĩ hudishe nahae kerÕ /

some there place going livng-of thought I cannot bear

or

haTho bat muĩ sohit nahae parÕ.

that idea I cannot bear

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

7. *jukhON hugãe haThO ihairOkOm bat kerte chila/ hirOM bat kerte chela while they there thus were talkng*

tukhON hi gacher guDDit hOgãe bhursaite suNla.

then itself tree-of below they hissing sound heard.

haThO aOajer mOtlOb hOgãe khub bes kerı jaNte chela.

this sound-of meaning they very well were knowing.

“While they were talking, they heard a hissing sound just below them. They knew what the sound meant.”

8. *huga apONO basÕt Dimbaga bacaẽbar lagi niras hoi busi ruhila.*
 they own nest-in eggs protecting for helplessly
 sat.

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

9. *kaO sãp dhirẽ dhirẽ upOer uThit laglek ar basÕr ekdOm ãTOt*
uislek black snake slowly climbed and nest -of very
 near came.

“The black snake crept higher and closer to the nest”.

10. *tOkhON sãpToe khub jore bhurSaRĩ pakhuir / kOuagak khap saRit khojlek ar*
huga then the snake loud hissing birds (at the)
 tried to strike and they
DOre udaĩ pOlaila.

terror-in flew away .

“Then with a loud hiss he tried to strike at the birds, which flew away in terror.”

11. *eker bad ek / ek ek kerĩ kaO sãpTOẽ sObga Dimbak gillek.*
 one by one black snake all the eggs swallowed

“One by one, the black snake swallowed all the eggs.”

12. *duhO murObi (kOua) bOhut dukhi hoĩ basÕt ghurĩ esla. hOgãe jaNte chela*
 the parents very sadly nest-in came back. they were
 knowing

je hOgãe goĩ apONo bãso khali / sudhe he dekhta.

That they goingown nest empty only would find.

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

13. *buDhaTOẽ bollek ki kerĩ heThO bOdmas sãpek khOtOm kera huibek*
uhar the crow said how this murderous snake to be
 destroyed that-of

upae muĩ jOrur he khOjĩ gucaebÕ.

way I must will find.

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

14. *uhar budhTOe niras hoĩ bollek “ ki kerĩ tuĩ uhar sOMe laRai kerbe*
 his wife in despair said how you his with will
 fight

uhar phEn tO mOrONer sOman.

his sting (is) so deadly.

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

15. *buDhaToe bOlek “tũi hudis kerī DOræs ma. mOhOr ekphul achOe*

the crow said you thinking don’t worry. my one friend is
jĩ bisal sãp marte bOhut calak”. taharbad uĩ uDaẽ gelek ek
dOsro

who poisonous snake to destroy very cunning.” after that he
flew another

gacher dige jahar guDDit uharphul ruhite chelek, ekTO khẽksiaO.

tree towards which-of under his friend lived, one
jackal.

“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.”

16. *kheksĩaOẽ jukhOn suNlek je kirOkOme ekTO kaO sãpẽ*
pOtibarthe jackal when heard that how
one black snake always

kOuar Dimba khOẽ jae tOkhOn uĩ bOlek “ heThO pirthibit jẽ
kurur crow-of eggs ate up then he said this
world-in who cruel

hOgar sesTa baRa kharap / heThOk prithibit jĩ kurur takhe
seset their end very bad / this world-in who
cruel they at the end

bOhut kOThin halOter mukabila kerit howOe.

very bad condition-of have to face.

uhathe, tuĩ ma Darae, muĩ turũt he kirOkOme
sãpTOk for that you don’t fear, I now itself how snake-to

khOtOm kera huibek tahe upae hudis kerĩchO.

to be destroyed that-of means have planned.

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

17. *kOuaẽ bollek* “*tahae naki bol tO ki hudis kerichOs*”
 the crow said is it so !Oh ! do tell me what you have planned
tukhON sãaOTOẽ dOsraẽ kOi suNta bolĩ kOuar kanet khOskhOsaĩ
bollek then the jackal someone else may over hear crow-of
 ear- in whispered
je sãpTOk marbar lagĩ uĩ kiki kerbek
 that snake-to destroying for he what will do.
 “Oh ! do tell me what it is” – said the crow. Then the jackal, fearing he might be
 overheard, whispered to his friend what he should do to destroy the snake.”

18. *kOuaTO turũt apONOk bhuDhiTOr Then uDaĩ gelek*
 the crow immediately his wife-towards flew back
ar sOb upaer bat bolĩ suNailek. ar bollek “*kamTO*
 and all plan-of told and said the work
jahae rOkOm muskil. uhathe amhak khub husiarẽ ruhit huibek / husiar hOit
lagbek. is very risky for this we very will have to be careful
 “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”.

19. *buDhiTOe sahÕs kerĩ bollek muĩ apONO Dimbak bacãebar lagĩ sOb*
kichu the mother bird bravely said I my eggs saving for everything
kerit parO / kerbÕ.
 will do.
 “I’ll do anything to save my eggs” – said the mother bird bravely.”

20. *uhathe tahar bad huga rajmOhOler dige uDaĩ gela.*
 so after that they palace of the king towards flew-off.
 “So off they flew towards the palace of the king of the country.”

21. *jhiTO gachet huga ruhite chela / bas kerte chela huTO gacher calae*
 the tree- in they were living that tree-of from
rajmOhOl Dher duret / bODDO duret nahae achlek.
 palace very far not was.
 “The palace was not far from the tree in which they lived.”

22. *rajmOhOler ekTO bODDO pOkhrit rajar ghOrer beTichuaga sinaite chela.* Palace-off one big pond-in the royal ladies were taking bath

uhaeTO pOktrir dike huga aguaila.

That pond – towards they approached.

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

23. *rajar ghOre beTichuagaẽ apONO ghaRer sOnar Mala arhO dOsrO dOsrO gahna* the royal ladies their golden chain and other jewellery

pokhrir dharet kholĩ rakhĩ sinaite chela.

pond-of on the edge laying down were taking bath.

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

24. *buDhiTO gODDi dige / gODDi nakhOe uDaĩ namlek ar cÕce kerĩ sOnar mala* the mother bird downwards down and beak-in gold chain

uThae nĩ dhirẽ dhirẽ / aste aste jeTO gachet huga ruhite chela, hOTO picking up slowly which tree-in they were living that

gacher dige uDaẽ jOit laglek.

tree-towards flying went.

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

25. *rajmOhOler sipahigaẽ jOkhON dekhla je kOuaTOe / pakhuirTOe sOnar mala* the palace guards when saw that the bird gold chain

nĩjae tukhON hugae sabOl – TaMi- bhala – bOrlOm sOb nĩ kOuatOr pechutaking away then they club – sword etc. taking the crow - behind

juTĩ pORla.

chased.

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

26. *hugaẽ dekhla je kOuaTOẽ / pakhuirTOe sOnar malaTO ekTO gacher*
DhuDhrOt they saw that the bird the gold chain
 one tree-of hollow-in

pelaẽ dilek.

dropped.

“They saw the bird dropped the chain into the hollow of a tree.”

27. *sipahir mOiddhẽ ek maNOs malaTO bheTbar lagĩ gachet caplek/ uThlek.*
 one of the guards the chain getting for tree-in
 climbed up

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

28. *malaTO nibar lagĩ jhirOMhe DhuDhrOt hat dilek tukhON he*
uĩ the chain taking for as hollow-in hand put
 then itself he

dekhlek je ekTO kaO sãp beNDuae achOe / beNDuae busi achOe .
 saw that a black snake curled up
 there.

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

29. *sabOler ekhe jObaẽ sãpTOk marlek / marĩ pelailek. sãp mOrĩ gelek / khOtOm*
huilek.

club-of one only stroke snake-to killed snake was killed

sãper ses huĩ gelek.

Snake-of end became.

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

30. *tahar bad kOuaga duhO murObi huThO gachet sukhẽ ruhil lagla.*
 after that the crow and crow-hen that tree-in happily started
 to live.

tahar bade hugar Dher chOua nenda huila.

after that they-of many little baby had.

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

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COMPARATIVE LEXICON

INDO-ARYAN LANGUAGE FAMILY								
Hindi and its Mother Tongues								
S.No	Gloss	Hindi	Khortha/ Khotta	Magadhi/ Magahi	Nagpuria	Panch pargania	Sadan/ Sadri	Malpaharia
1	air	<i>hawa</i>	<i>hawa</i>	<i>hAwa / beyar</i>	<i>dhuka / hawa</i>	<i>ha:wa</i>	<i>bayu , hawa</i>	<i>batas / haOa</i>
2	ashes	<i>rakh</i>	<i>kha:r, chā</i>	<i>rakh / chā</i>	<i>ra:kh</i>	<i>kha:r</i>	<i>rakh</i>	<i>chae</i>
3	cloud	<i>bAdal</i>	<i>me:gh</i>	<i>ghATa</i>	<i>bAdri</i>	<i>badeir</i>	<i>bAdri</i>	<i>badOO</i>
4	cold	<i>thanDa</i>	<i>ThaNDa</i>	<i>Thar / ThAndh</i>	<i>kAnkAn</i>	<i>thaDhā</i>	<i>thAnDha</i>	<i>jaR / jaRae</i>
5	darkness	<i>andhera</i>	<i>anha:r</i>	<i>Anhar, Andhar</i>	<i>Andhar / Andhariya</i>	<i>andhar</i>	<i>Andhriya</i>	<i>andhar</i>
6	earth	<i>dharti</i>	<i>dhArti</i>	<i>dhArAti / maTi, dhARTi</i>	<i>bhuĩ</i>	<i>bhui</i>	<i>bhuĩ</i>	<i>dhOrti/bhũi</i>
7	eclipse	<i>grahan</i>	<i>gArhAn</i>	<i>gerAn</i>	<i>gArhAn</i>	<i>gArhna</i>	<i>gArhAn</i>	<i>gOrhON</i>
8	fire	<i>Ag</i>	<i>agni</i>	<i>ag</i>	<i>aig</i>	<i>aig</i>	<i>aig</i>	<i>iag / aguN / agiN</i>
9	fog	<i>kuhasa</i>	<i>kūas, kuhara</i>	<i>kohra</i>	<i>kuhes</i>	<i>kua:s</i>	<i>kuhura</i>	<i>kuha / kuhO / kuhurO</i>
10	forest	<i>wan</i>	<i>bAN, jAngA:l, jha:R</i>	<i>bAn</i>	<i>bAn</i>	<i>bAn</i>	<i>bAn</i>	<i>jOMOL / bOn</i>
11	hill	<i>pahar</i>	<i>dungri, paha:r</i>	<i>pahaRi</i>	<i>ToMri / pahar</i>	<i>pahaDi</i>	<i>ToMri</i>	<i>pahaRi</i>
12	ice	<i>barf</i>	<i>bArAph</i>	<i>bArAph</i>	<i>b Arph</i>	<i>bArAph</i>	<i>bArAph</i>	<i>bOrOph</i>
13	moon	<i>chandramA</i>	<i>ca:nd</i>	<i>can / cAnAnma</i>	<i>cānd</i>	<i>cānd</i>	<i>cand</i>	<i>cOnOrma / can / cād</i>
14	mountain	<i>parbat/parwat</i>	<i>paha:r</i>	<i>pahaR</i>	<i>pahar</i>	<i>pahaD</i>	<i>pahar/ pArbAn</i>	<i>pahaR</i>
15	rain	<i>bAris</i>	<i>bArsa:t</i>	<i>bArkha</i>	<i>bArkha</i>	<i>bArisa</i>	<i>bari</i>	<i>paNi</i>
16	river	<i>nadi</i>	<i>nAdi</i>	<i>nAdi</i>	<i>nAdi</i>	<i>nAdi</i>	<i>nAdi</i>	<i>nOdi / nOed</i>
17	road	<i>rasta</i>	<i>sARAK, rasta</i>	<i>sARAK, rasta</i>	<i>DAhAr</i>	<i>DAhAr</i>	<i>DAhAr</i>	<i>sOROk / rasta / baT</i>
18	sand	<i>balu</i>	<i>baruka</i>	<i>balu</i>	<i>bala</i>	<i>bali</i>	<i>dhurbalu</i>	<i>balu / bali</i>
19	sea	<i>sAgar</i>		<i>sagAr</i>	<i>sAmundAr</i>	<i>sAmunddAr</i>	<i>sAmudAr</i>	
20	sky	<i>Akas</i>	<i>aka:s, asma:n</i>	<i>Asman / Akas , asman</i>	<i>Akas</i>	<i>akas</i>	<i>ukas</i>	<i>akas / iakas / sOrOM</i>
21	snow	<i>him</i>	<i>bArAph</i>	<i>bArAph</i>	<i>bArph</i>	<i>bArAph</i>	<i>pala</i>	<i>bOrOph</i>
22	star	<i>tAra</i>	<i>tArigAn, tara</i>	<i>jonhi</i>	<i>terigAn</i>	<i>tarea</i>	<i>tAirgAn</i>	<i>tariMOn / tarOi</i>

AUSTRO-ASIATIC LANGUAGE FAMILY					DRAVIDIAN LANGUAGE FAMILY		
Santali	Ho	Kharia	Mahili	Mundari	Kurukh/ Oraon	Gloss	S.No
<i>hoe</i>	<i>hoyo</i>	<i>koyo</i>	<i>hoai</i>	<i>hoyo</i>	<i>takka</i>	air	1
<i>toroj</i>	<i>mo</i>	<i>kharom</i>	<i>toroi</i>	<i>toro?e</i>	<i>chind</i>	ashes	2
<i>rimil</i>	<i>ri: mi: l</i>	<i>tirib</i>	<i>rimil</i>	<i>rimil/rimbil</i>	<i>badali</i>	cloud	3
<i>rabaM</i>	<i>raba: n</i>	<i>ranga / daɽdaɽ / daida</i>	<i>raban</i>	<i>rabang</i>	<i>kiirma</i>	cold	4
<i>niyut / andha</i>	<i>he: nde</i>	<i>nialoŋg</i>	<i>nuat</i>	<i>nuba</i>	<i>uk?a:</i>	darkness	5
<i>hasa, o:t</i>	<i>ote</i>	<i>lokho</i>	<i>hasa</i>	<i>hotte</i>	<i>ke:kel</i>	earth	6
<i>gahnah</i>	<i>ga: ruyi</i>	<i>gha'n</i>	<i>gakhana</i>	<i>chanDu-gan</i>	<i>gak?Ra</i>	eclipse	7
<i>seNgel</i>	<i>se: Mkel</i>	<i>timsong</i>	<i>sen?gel</i>	<i>sengel</i>	<i>chich</i>	fire	8
<i>kuasa</i>		<i>kukhas</i>	<i>ku?khulu</i>	<i>kukhasi</i>	<i>kuhas</i>	fog	9
<i>bir</i>	<i>bir</i>	<i>kinis</i>	<i>bir</i>	<i>bir</i>	<i>toRang</i>	forest	10
<i>buru</i>	<i>buru</i>	<i>biru</i>	<i>buru</i>	<i>buru</i>	<i>tungri</i>	hill	11
<i>arel</i>	<i>a: ril</i>	<i>arel</i>	<i>arel</i>	<i>ratang</i>	<i>kiwa:</i>	ice	12
<i>nindacando</i>	<i>ca: Ndu</i>	<i>lerang</i>	<i>ninDa, cando</i>	<i>chandU</i>	<i>cando</i>	moon	13
<i>buru</i>		<i>biru</i>	<i>buru</i>	<i>buru</i>	<i>partar</i>	mountain	14
<i>dak / japat / hoida?</i>	<i>gama</i>	<i>gim</i>	<i>dak</i>	<i>da gama</i>	<i>che:p</i>	rain	15
<i>gaDa</i>	<i>gara</i>	<i>khirom (Long), ompang (short)</i>	<i>gaDa</i>	<i>gaRa</i>	<i>khar</i>	river	16
<i>soRok</i>	<i>ho: ra</i>	<i>gojhung</i>	<i>soRok</i>	<i>hoRa</i>	<i>saTak</i>	road	17
<i>gitil</i>	<i>gi: til</i>	<i>rokeD</i>	<i>gitil</i>	<i>gitil</i>	<i>calkur</i>	sand	18
<i>doreao / jalapnri</i>	<i>samuddar</i>		<i>doreao</i>	<i>daria:o</i>	<i>merka</i>	sea	19
<i>serma</i>	<i>sirma</i>	<i>tirib</i>	<i>serma</i>	<i>sirma</i>	<i>akash</i>	sky	20
<i>baraph</i>	<i>aril</i>	<i>derenga</i>		<i>ratank</i>	<i>kiwa:</i>	snow	21
<i>ipil</i>	<i>ipil</i>	<i>semkhom, simkom</i>	<i>ipil</i>	<i>lpil</i>	<i>benko</i>	star	22

INDO-ARYAN LANGUAGE FAMILY								
Hindi and its Mother Tongues								
S.No	Gloss	Hindi	Khortha/ Khotta	Magadhi/ Magahi	Nagpuria	Panch pargania	Sadan/ Sadri	Malpaharia
23	stone	<i>path-thar</i>	<i>pathAl</i>	<i>pAthAr/l , pAthAr</i>	<i>pAkhna / pAkhAl</i>	<i>pakhna</i>	<i>pAthAr/pAkhAnd</i>	<i>pathOr</i>
24	storm	<i>tufan</i>	<i>adhi, tupha:n</i>	<i>anhi</i>	<i>andhi</i>	<i>cAkrAbak / hurlusi</i>	<i>boronDo</i>	<i>andhi</i>
25	Island	<i>tApu</i>		<i>Tapu</i>	<i>Tapu</i>	<i>Tapu</i>	<i>Tapu</i>	
26	sun	<i>suraj</i>	<i>be:risurAj</i>	<i>suruM</i>	<i>beir / suruj</i>	<i>suruj</i>	<i>beir/ suruj</i>	<i>suruj / surj</i>
27	water	<i>pAni</i>	<i>pani</i>	<i>pani , jAl</i>	<i>pani</i>	<i>pani</i>	<i>pani</i>	<i>paNi</i>
28	weather	<i>mausam</i>	<i>ritu</i>	<i>mosAm</i>	<i>mosAm</i>	<i>mousam</i>	<i>abhawa</i>	<i>haOa-batas / paNi-batas</i>
29	wind		<i>batas, hawa</i>	<i>hAwa / bAtas , hawa</i>	<i>bornDo</i>	<i>dhūdhbarat</i>	<i>tuphan</i>	
30	wood	<i>kAth</i>	<i>ka:th</i>	<i>jAMAl , kATH</i>	<i>kaThi / kaTha</i>	<i>kaTh</i>	<i>kaThi</i>	<i>bOn / jOMOL / jhOp / kaTh</i>
31	baby	<i>bach-cha</i>	<i>chua, bacca, gutu(sikaripara)</i>	<i>bAcca</i>	<i>chAua</i>	<i>chua</i>	<i>chAua</i>	<i>butru / bacca / chOa</i>
32	boy	<i>lAdka</i>	<i>chua, lArka</i>	<i>lARka</i>	<i>chōDa</i>	<i>chua</i>	<i>babu</i>	<i>gidOr / chOa</i>
33	bride	<i>dulhan</i>	<i>jAne, dulhin</i>	<i>dulhin</i>	<i>dulhin / kAnyA</i>	<i>dulhin</i>	<i>dulhin</i>	<i>leRki / kenia</i>
34	bride groom	<i>dulhA</i>	<i>dulha, bAr</i>	<i>dulha</i>	<i>dulha</i>	<i>dulha</i>	<i>dulha</i>	<i>leRka / dulha</i>
35	brother elder	<i>bada bhai</i>	<i>bARAbhai</i>	<i>bhat , bhai</i>	<i>dada</i>	<i>dada</i>	<i>bAD bhai</i>	<i>bhae / dada</i>
36	brother younger	<i>chota bhai</i>	<i>chotA bhai</i>		<i>bhAiya / bhai</i>	<i>bhai</i>	<i>choT bhai</i>	<i>bhae / nanua</i>
37	child	<i>bacca</i>	<i>chua ,bacca, gutu(sikaripara)</i>	<i>bAcca</i>	<i>chua</i>	<i>chua</i>	<i>chAua</i>	<i>buthru / gidOr/ chOa /chOua</i>
38	daughter	<i>beti</i>	<i>beTi</i>	<i>beTi</i>	<i>beTi</i>	<i>beTi</i>	<i>beTi</i>	<i>leRki / beTi</i>
39	father	<i>pitaji</i>	<i>ba:p</i>	<i>bap / babuji</i>	<i>ba:p</i>	<i>bap / ba:</i>	<i>ba:p/ abba</i>	<i>buba / bappa / bap / bapO</i>
40	friend	<i>dost</i>	<i>sagha, dost</i>	<i>dost / sathi</i>	<i>sAMgi /sAMg</i>	<i>sAMgi</i>	<i>sAMgi</i>	<i>dost / phul</i>
41	girl	<i>ladki</i>	<i>beTi, lARki</i>	<i>lARki</i>	<i>chōDi</i>	<i>beTichua</i>	<i>choDi</i>	<i>leRki / beTi</i>
42	husband	<i>pati</i>	<i>mArAd, swami</i>	<i>bhAtar / mArAd / pAti</i>	<i>gomke / Admi</i>	<i>purus</i>	<i>dulha</i>	<i>mOrOd / herOĩ</i>
43	male	<i>purus</i>	<i>mArAd, purus</i>	<i>purs</i>	<i>Admi</i>	<i>mArd</i>	<i>mArAd</i>	<i>mOrOd</i>
44	man	<i>Admi</i>	<i>admi</i>	<i>Admi / mAnukh</i>	<i>mArd</i>	<i>lAg</i>	<i>Admi</i>	<i>maNus / mOrOd</i>
45	marriage	<i>sAdi</i>	<i>sadi</i>	<i>biya</i>	<i>biha</i>	<i>biha</i>	<i>biha</i>	<i>biha</i>

AUSTRO-ASIATIC LANGUAGE FAMILY					DRAVIDIAN LANGUAGE FAMILY		
Santali	Ho	Kharia	Mahili	Mundari	Kurukh/ Oraon	Gloss	S.No
<i>dhiri / retjilgei</i>	<i>di: ri</i>	<i>soreng</i>	<i>dhi</i>	<i>dhiri</i>	<i>ca:cha / paklana</i>	stone	23
<i>baudo</i>	<i>ho: r lo: si</i>	<i>maka, koyo (toofan)</i>		<i>marang hoyo</i>	<i>taka puli</i>	storm	24
		<i>Tappu</i>	<i>Tappu</i>			Island	25
<i>siNcando</i>	<i>siMi</i>	<i>beRo</i>	<i>sin cando</i>	<i>singhi</i>	<i>biRi</i>	sun	26
<i>dak</i>	<i>da ' a</i>	<i>Da</i>	<i>dak</i>	<i>da:</i>	<i>amm</i>	water	27
<i>abhasa</i>		<i>koyoRa</i>		<i>sa:</i>		weather	28
<i>hoe</i>	<i>hoyo</i>	<i>koyo</i>	<i>hoe</i>	<i>hoyo</i>		wind	29
<i>sahan</i>	<i>sa: n</i>	<i>PaTol</i>	<i>sahan</i>	<i>sahan/daru</i>	a) small forest : <i>paThDa</i> b) timber : <i>kankk</i>	wood	30
<i>gidra</i>	<i>ba: le'e ho: n</i>	<i>chhonDa</i>	<i>bale giDra</i>	<i>balehon</i>	F.M.C : <i>bo:lo, M.Cc, bo:los</i>	baby	31
<i>koRa</i>	<i>siTi: ya ho: n</i>	<i>kunRu</i>	<i>koRa</i>	<i>kuRahon</i>	<i>kukhors</i>	boy	32
<i>bahu kuri</i>	<i>nama era</i>	<i>konsol</i>	<i>bahu kuri</i>	<i>koniya</i>	<i>kania</i>	bride	33
<i>jama:kora</i>	<i>nama kowa</i>	<i>kenDor</i>	<i>jamai kora</i>	<i>bo:r</i>	<i>ba:Ras dulhus</i>	bride groom	34
<i>boko</i>	<i>baute</i>	<i>kulam</i>	<i>boyya</i>	<i>bharang haga</i>	<i>da:das</i>	brother elder	35
<i>boeha</i>	<i>u: nDite</i>	<i>kulam</i>	<i>boyya</i>	<i>uRing haga</i>	<i>Rish</i>	brother younger	36
<i>gidra, hopon</i>	<i>ho: n</i>	<i>KunRu, kuNDu</i>	<i>hopon</i>	<i>hon</i>	(M) <i>khaddus</i> , (F) <i>khad</i>	child	37
<i>hoponera</i>	<i>hon era, kui hon</i>	<i>beTi</i>	<i>hoponera</i>	<i>kuri hon</i>	(a) <i>engDa</i> 'my daughter'(b) your daughter ningDa, (c) 'his/her daughter'tangDa.	daughter	38
<i>apa, baba</i>	<i>ba: ba</i>	<i>bua, apa</i>	<i>apa, baba</i>	<i>apu</i>	<i>ba:ba</i>	father	39
<i>gate / peRa</i>	<i>ju: Di</i>	<i>Soir saNgo</i>	<i>gate, peRa</i>	<i>songe</i>	<i>saik?a</i>	friend	40
<i>kuRi</i>	<i>kui</i>	<i>buy (upto 8 yrs)</i>	<i>kuri</i>	<i>kuri</i>	<i>kukoy</i>	girl	41
<i>jawae / heral</i>	<i>ho:</i>	<i>sahu, sahuDom</i>	<i>jawa?e</i>	<i>kisan</i>	<i>me:tus</i>	husband	42
<i>anDia</i>	<i>sa: NDi</i>	<i>bigar</i>	<i>andia</i>	<i>saNri</i>	<i>ā:lus</i>	male	43
<i>herel</i>	<i>ko'a / kowa</i>	<i>lebu</i>	<i>herel</i>	<i>horo</i>	<i>ā:lus</i>	man	44
<i>bapla</i>	<i>a'a: ndi</i>	<i>Biha, bihaDom</i>	<i>bapla</i>	<i>arandi</i>	<i>benja</i>	marriage	45

INDO-ARYAN LANGUAGE FAMILY								
Hindi and its Mother Tongues								
S.No	Gloss	Hindi	Khortha/ Khotta	Magadhi/ Magahi	Nagpuria	Panch pargania	Sadan/ Sadri	Malpaharia
46	maternal uncle	mAmA		mama	mama	mama	mamu/mama	mama
47	maternal uncle's daughter	bahan		mAmAur bAhin	bhaTa	bAhin	mameri bAhin	mamar beTi
48	mother		may	maua / may	ayA	ma:	mae	ma / mae
49	nephew	vatija	bhAtija, bha:nja	bhAgha	bhAtija	bhAtij	bhAtij	bhagNa / bhegNa
50	niece	vatiji	bhAtiji, bhanji	bhAgni	bhAtiji	bhAtij	bhAtijin	bhagNi
51	oldman	buda Admi	buRha admi	buRh Admi , buRha	buRha	buDha	buRha Admi	buDhO maNus
52	person	byakti		Admi	lAg	lAg	Admi	maNus
53	tall	lamba	Denga(man), Dengi(woman)	lam	lAmba	lamba	lAmba	nOmba / DheMa
54	lean	dublA	patAr(man), patAri(woman)	patAr	patAr	patAr	patAr/ dubAr	patuO / patlO / mOrORO
55	fat	motA	cArbi	moT , moTA	mo:T	moTa	moT	mOTO / mOTa
56	dumb			guM , guMA	koka	ghūMga	bAhira	bOMa
57	blind	andha	anha, andha	anhAr	andhra	andha	andhra	ianrha / kaNhO / kaNa
58	sister	bahan	bArA bAhin, nuni(E),choT bahin(Y)	bAhin	bhāTa	bAhin	bAhin	behin / bOhin
59	sister in law		sari	nAnAdi , Sali	bhAuji	bhAuji	bAhu	nOnOd (husband's sister) / bhaje / bOasim
60	son		beta, gidAr	beta , beTa	beTa	beTa	beTa	leRka / beTa
61	widow	bidhwa	ṛā:r	musmat rar	raDi	rāDi / rāDa	bidhuwa	bewa / raNDi
62	wife	bibi	jAni, bAhu	jAnana / mehiritistiri pAtni , mehAr	gomkain / bohoria	bohu	jAni	Istiri/ majhia / giRthaiN
63	woman		jAni, aurAt	mehrraru lAurAti jAlana ,	jAni	jAni	jAnana	istiri
64	ant	chiti	ciTTi	caTi , ciTi	cimTi	cimTi	cimTi	pipiRi / pipOR
65	bird	chidiya	ciRAi, pArehī	ciRiya	pĀnchi	cAroi	cArAi / cirgun	pakhuir / cireiyā
66	cat	bili	bilei	Bilai	bilei	bilai	billAi	bilae
67	cobra	nag			na:g	nagsāp	nag	khOris (sāp)
68	cock	muRga	murga	Muruga	murga	khukDi (saDhā)	murga	murgi

AUSTRO-ASIATIC LANGUAGE FAMILY					DRAVIDIAN LANGUAGE FAMILY		
Santali	Ho	Kharia	Mahili	Mundari	Kurukh/ Oraon	Gloss	S.No
<i>mama</i>	<i>ma: mu</i>		<i>mamo</i>	<i>kume</i>	<i>musi</i>	maternal uncle	46
			<i>kuri giDra</i>	<i>kumekui</i>	<i>bahin</i>	maternal uncle's daughter	47
<i>engago</i>	<i>ma:</i>	<i>ma</i>	<i>enga go</i>	<i>enga</i>	<i>a:yo</i>	mother	48
	<i>gungu</i>	<i>bagina</i>	<i>dach gidura</i>	<i>hon-sered</i>	<i>bhatija</i>	nephew	49
	<i>homoni M</i>	<i>bhagni</i>	<i>dach kuri</i>	<i>hon-sered kuri</i>	<i>bahin</i>	niece	50
<i>haram herel / buDha</i>	<i>munuren ho:</i>	<i>buRha</i>	<i>haRam, buDha</i>	<i>haram-hoRo</i>	<i>pachigis</i>	oldman	51
<i>hoR</i>		<i>kaR</i>	<i>hor</i>		<i>je:n,jhan</i>	person	52
<i>usul</i>	<i>hundi :</i>	<i>Jalhong le bu (M), kon se lDu (F)</i>	<i>canDbol</i>	<i>'jiling/salangi {koRa (male) koRa (female)}</i>	<i>mecha</i>	tall	53
<i>cet</i>	<i>batori</i>	<i>mettong</i>		<i>usu koRa</i>	<i>lepa</i>	lean	54
<i>itil</i>	<i>mo: TTa</i>	<i>moTo</i>	<i>itil</i>	<i>koRa</i>	<i>dargar</i>	fat	55
	<i>ko: nda</i>	<i>konda</i>		<i>gala</i>	<i>gu:nga</i>	dumb	56
<i>kaRa (M), KaRi (F)</i>	<i>ka: na :</i>	<i>andhra</i>	<i>tol</i>	<i>jala kora (M), jala kori (f)</i>	<i>(i) two: a:ndra (ii) one; kanna kayenga</i>	blind	57
<i>boeha / misera</i>	<i>dayi(E),unDi kui(Y)</i>	<i>nana</i>	<i>boeha, misera</i>	<i>misi, day</i>	<i>(i) elder: dai (ii) younger mai</i>	sister	58
<i>irul kuri</i>	<i>hili</i>	<i>aji (bhauji)</i>		<i>kimin</i>	<i>jaunadhis</i>	sister in law	59
<i>hopon / babu</i>	<i>honseD, hon</i>	<i>beTa</i>	<i>hopon</i>	<i>kora: hon</i>	<i>da: / eNgdas 'My son'</i>	son	60
<i>ranDi / bni herel</i>	<i>raNDi</i>	<i>rari , rara</i>	<i>ranDi</i>	<i>ranDi-kuRi</i>	<i>rali</i>	widow	61
<i>bahu / era</i>	<i>era</i>	<i>sowday</i>	<i>bahu, era</i>	<i>oRavan, kuri</i>	<i>a:li / mukka</i>	wife	62
<i>maejju</i>	<i>erata: ni</i>	<i>koselDu</i>	<i>maejju</i>	<i>kuri</i>	<i>a:li</i>	woman	63
<i>mui</i>	<i>mūi</i>	<i>ToTo</i>	<i>muċc</i>	<i>mui</i>	<i>pook</i>	ant	64
<i>ceRe</i>	<i>o: ye</i>	<i>konteD</i>	<i>ceRe</i>	<i>chenre</i>	<i>o:Ra:</i>	bird	65
<i>pusi</i>	<i>biley</i>	<i>bilai, biloy</i>	<i>pusi</i>	<i>pusi</i>	<i>berha</i>	cat	66
<i>nag</i>		<i>sarga</i>		<i>banDubing</i>		cobra	67
<i>sa:Ndi sim</i>	<i>sa: NDi sim</i>	<i>kokro</i>	<i>saṅdisim</i>	<i>sanDising</i>	<i>kokRo</i>	cock	68

INDO-ARYAN LANGUAGE FAMILY								
Hindi and its Mother Tongues								
S.No	Gloss	Hindi	Khortha/ Khotta	Magadhi/ Magahi	Nagpuria	Panch pargania	Sadan/ Sadri	Malpaharia
69	cow	<i>gai</i>	<i>ga:y</i>	<i>gay</i>	<i>gay</i>	<i>gayi</i>	<i>gay</i>	<i>gae</i>
70	crab	<i>kekrA</i>	<i>khēkRa</i>	<i>kokAra</i>	<i>khakra</i>	<i>khākhDa</i>	<i>khakhra</i>	<i>kōkaRa</i>
71	dog	<i>kutta</i>	<i>kukur</i>	<i>kukur</i>	<i>kukur</i>	<i>kukur</i>	<i>kukur</i>	<i>kukur</i>
72	egg	<i>anda</i>	<i>anDa</i>	<i>Anda , AnDa</i>	<i>aRa</i>	<i>aDā</i>	<i>āDa</i>	<i>Dima / iaNDa</i>
73	feather	<i>pankh</i>	<i>pākhA,pA:r</i>	<i>pAMkh</i>	<i>paīnkh / puduga</i>	<i>paīkh</i>	<i>paīkh</i>	<i>pēkh / pākh</i>
74	fish	<i>machli</i>	<i>mAchri</i>	<i>mAchri</i>	<i>mAchri</i>	<i>macher</i>	<i>mAchri</i>	<i>macho / mOchli</i>
75	fly	<i>udnA</i>	<i>machi</i>	<i>uRAL , makhi</i>	<i>machi</i>	<i>machi</i>	<i>mAkki</i>	<i>machi</i>
76	fox		<i>siar, gidaR</i>	<i>khekhAri</i>	<i>siar</i>	<i>siar</i>	<i>sia:r</i>	<i>neRua</i>
77	goat	<i>bakri</i>	<i>bAkra, chagoir</i>	<i>bAkAri , bAkri</i>	<i>chAgri</i>	<i>chager</i>	<i>chAgri</i>	<i>chagOr / chagOO</i>
78	hare	<i>khargos</i>			<i>khArha</i>	<i>kherha</i>	<i>khArha</i>	<i>kherha / nambha</i>
79	hen				<i>murgi</i>	<i>Dhaid khukDi</i>	<i>murgi</i>	<i>murga / kukuir</i>
80	horn	<i>sing</i>	<i>sing</i>	<i>siMa</i>	<i>siMgh</i>	<i>siMg</i>	<i>siMghA</i>	<i>siM</i>
81	horse	<i>ghoda</i>	<i>ghARa</i>	<i>ghoRa</i>	<i>ghoRa</i>	<i>ghoDa</i>	<i>ghoRa</i>	<i>ghoRa</i>
82	lion	<i>sher</i>	<i>sīhA</i>	<i>ser</i>	<i>se:r</i>	<i>siM / se:r</i>	<i>sihA</i>	<i>bagh</i>
83	hut	<i>jhopri/kutia</i>			<i>kumba</i>	<i>kumba</i>	<i>kumba</i>	
84	monkey	<i>bandar</i>	<i>bandAr</i>	<i>banAr</i>	<i>bAndra</i>	<i>bandor</i>	<i>bAndra</i>	<i>banOr / bandOr</i>
85	nest	<i>ghosla</i>	<i>pījra, bhāsa</i>	<i>khota , ghosla</i>	<i>khota</i>	<i>khondha</i>	<i>ghōsra</i>	<i>piM'jra / ghOr / bas</i>
86	tail	<i>puch</i>	<i>neRhi, pūich</i>	<i>poch</i>	<i>pōic</i>	<i>puīch</i>	<i>pōich</i>	<i>naMer / neMuir</i>
87	tiger	<i>bagh</i>	<i>ba :gh</i>	<i>bagh</i>	<i>ba:gh</i>	<i>bagh</i>	<i>bagh</i>	<i>ser / lakRa</i>
88	tortoise	<i>kachua</i>	<i>kAchua</i>	<i>kA:chu , kAchu</i>	<i>kAchua</i>	<i>kachim</i>	<i>kAchua</i>	<i>kach</i>
89	wing	<i>par</i>	<i>Denha, Dena</i>	<i>pakh</i>	<i>Dena</i>	<i>Dena</i>	<i>Dena</i>	<i>pākh</i>
90	work	<i>kam</i>		<i>kam kAel kArawAl kArwawAl , kam</i>	<i>kam</i>	<i>kam</i>	<i>kam</i>	<i>kam</i>
91	back	<i>pechay</i>	<i>pi:Th</i>	<i>pi:Th , piTh</i>	<i>pache</i>	<i>pi:Th</i>	<i>piTh</i>	<i>piTh</i>
92	belly	<i>pet</i>	<i>pe:tu</i>	<i>peT</i>	<i>pe:T</i>	<i>peT</i>	<i>peT</i>	<i>peT</i>

AUSTRO-ASIATIC LANGUAGE FAMILY					DRAVIDIAN LANGUAGE FAMILY		
Santali	Ho	Kharia	Mahili	Mundari	Kurukh/ Oraon	Gloss	S.No
<i>gai</i>	<i>guNDi</i>	<i>gongtank</i>	<i>gai dangri</i>	<i>gay</i>	<i>o:y (ga:y)</i>	cow	69
<i>sicita?</i>	<i>ka: kom / ka: Rob</i>	<i>kangaRa</i>		<i>kaTakom</i>	<i>kukRo</i>	crab	70
<i>seta</i>	<i>seta</i>	<i>solo</i>	<i>seta</i>	<i>seta</i>	(M) <i>alla</i> , (F) <i>kuTialla</i>	dog	71
<i>bele</i>	<i>ja: rom</i>	<i>anDa</i>	<i>bele</i>	<i>jyarom</i>	<i>bi</i>	egg	72
<i>i:l</i>	<i>ɽyal</i>	<i>putu'ga</i>	<i>il</i>	<i>apro/galgi(murga)</i>		feather	73
<i>hako /mangri</i>	<i>ha: ku</i>	<i>kadong</i>	<i>hako</i>	<i>hai</i>	<i>iñjo</i>	fish	74
<i>ro</i>	<i>roko</i>	<i>konDoy</i>	<i>ro</i>	<i>rokko</i>	<i>tingli</i>	fly	75
<i>toyo</i>	<i>karamca:</i>	<i>kikki</i>	<i>kikidi / toyo</i>	<i>luyu</i>	<i>khorkhoRa</i>	fox	76
<i>merom</i>	<i>merom</i>	<i>merom</i>	<i>merom</i>	<i>merom</i>	<i>eRa</i>	goat	77
<i>kulai</i>		<i>poRon/karkha</i>		<i>kulai/kuRing</i>		hare	78
<i>mayam</i>		<i>burki/singkoy</i>		<i>murgi</i>		hen	79
	<i>diriM</i>	<i>deReng</i>	<i>derem</i>	<i>diring</i>	<i>maRag</i>	horn	80
<i>sadom</i>	<i>sa: dom</i>	<i>martang</i>	<i>sadom</i>	<i>sadom</i>	<i>ghoRo</i>	horse	81
<i>kul</i>	<i>siMkula</i>	<i>makido</i>		<i>sing-kula</i>	<i>singh</i>	lion	82
		<i>jobRi</i>		<i>guyu</i>		hut	83
<i>poesa</i>	<i>gai</i>	<i>sakkoï</i>		<i>bandra</i>	<i>bandra</i>	monkey	84
<i>tuka</i>	<i>luga</i>	<i>khota</i>		<i>tukka</i>	<i>ko:tha</i>	nest	85
<i>canDbol</i>	<i>cha: tlom</i>	<i>pata</i>		<i>chalom</i>	<i>khola</i>	tail	86
<i>kul</i>	<i>ku: la</i>	<i>kiRo / kirog</i>	<i>kul</i>	<i>kula</i>	<i>lak?da</i>	tiger	87
<i>kachua</i>	<i>horo</i>	<i>kulu</i>		<i>horo</i>	<i>eka</i>	tortoise	88
<i>il</i>	<i>aparob</i>	<i>pener</i>		<i>apro</i>	<i>de:na</i>	wing	89
<i>kami</i>		<i>benhiyar</i>	<i>ka om</i>	<i>paity</i>	<i>nalakha:na</i>	work	90
<i>dea / holomo</i>	<i>doya</i>	<i>kunDap</i>		<i>doia</i>	<i>me:l</i>	back	91
<i>lac</i>	<i>la: yi</i>	<i>iaj</i> (be pregnant)	<i>dea</i>	<i>la:i</i>	<i>kool</i>	belly	92

INDO-ARYAN LANGUAGE FAMILY								
Hindi and its Mother Tongues								
S.No	Gloss	Hindi	Khortha/ Khotta	Magadhi/ Magahi	Nagpuria	Panch pargania	Sadan/ Sadri	Malpaharia
93	blood	khun	khu:n, rAktA	khun / rAktA	lAhu	rAktAt	lAhu	khun / rOkOt
94	body	sarir	dehA	deh	gATAr	gath	gAtAr	deh / dhOr
95	bone	hadi	ha:R	haR	haD	ha:D	ha:D	haR
96	breast	chati	chati(male), dudhe(female)	chati / cu:ci , cuci	du:dh	du:dh	dudh	chati / buk
97	chest	sina	chati	chati	chati	chati	chati	chati / buk
98	ear	kan	ka:n	kan	ka:n	kan	ka:n	kan
99	eye	ankh	ã:kh	akhi	aïkh	aïk	aïkh	ãkhi / iëkh/ aïkh
100	face	chehra	mu:h	cehra:; cehra	muh	muh	lila:r	muh
101	fever	bukhar	jA:r	jA:r / bokhar , tAp	jAr	jA:r	jAr	jOr
102	finger	ungli	angli	ANuri	Ãngri	aMgur	AMur	aMuu
103	flesh	mansh		mas	ma:s	ma:s	ma:s	mã:s / camOROa
104	foot	pair		sipuli , sipul	supli	gAD	supli	bhOer
105	hair	bal	cuir,ba:l,ro:m	cu:l / bar	kẽ :s	cuil	ke:s	cuu / khëkhrO
106	hand	hath	hã:th	hath	hãth	hath	ha:th	hath / hat
107	head	sar	mũRh,muND	muRi / math	muD	muD	muR	muND
108	heart	dil	di:l, kAlja	dil / hirde	hia	dil	di:l/kArji	dil / dhOrdhOrai
109	leg	tang	go:r	goR	goD	gAD	goD	TeM / gOr
110	lip	hoth	õ:Th	Thor	oTh	ATh	oTh	ThOr
111	lung	phepra	phẽpra	phAphAr	phapsa	kAreju	sãse	phOpsi / phukphukia
112	mouth	mukh	mu:h	muh	muh	muh	muh	muh / mukh
113	neck	gardan	ghẽca, gAlle	neTi	ghẽca	gheca	gArdAn	ghaR / ghẽcO
114	nose	nak	na:k	nak	na:k	nak	nak	nak
115	spine		doRi ha:R	meru	bArnDi ha:D	bisi	barundi	

AUSTRO-ASIATIC LANGUAGE FAMILY					DRAVIDIAN LANGUAGE FAMILY		
Santali	Ho	Kharia	Mahili	Mundari	Kurukh/ Oraon	Gloss	S.No
māyām	mayo: m	inyam	mayam	maiom	hesso	blood	93
hoRmo / cola	ho: mo	neri	holomo	hoRomo	kaya	body	94
jaN	jaM	jang	jam	jang	khostol	bone	95
koRom	toa:	mañõN	nunu	kudam	echk; dudkhi	breast	96
mi: ?da	ku: am	manyong	lolam	kuRam	sa:ti	chest	97
lutur	lutu: r	lutur	lutur	lutur	hebda	ear	98
me:t	meD	mõD	me?D	met	khan	eye	99
metaha	meDmoca	rumang	me ^o ta ^o ha	met muar	mukhi	face	100
rua	hasu	kulDa	ruA	rua	naRi	fever	101
kaTup	ga: NDa	anGri	katup	kaTTu	angli	finger	102
mans	ji: lu	mās, kumāg	jil	jilu	akaDa	flesh	103
jaNga	pa :	kaTa	janga	kata	hed	foot	104
u:p	bo: ñyal	ului	u ^o p	up, u?b	cuTTi	hair	105
ti:	ti :	ti	ti	ti	hok?a	hand	106
bohok	bo :	bokko	bohok	bo	kukk	head	107
ontor	su: r	gore	on tor	ji	karja	heart	108
jaNga	ka: Ta	kaTa	janga	jang / kaTTa	head	leg	109
luTi	a: luTi	lucur	luTi	lacho	sombe	lip	110
boro		paksa	boro	borkon	poxha	lung	111
moca	a : moca	tomong	moc ^o a	moccu	bai	mouth	112
hoTok	hoTo	konko	hoTok	serom, tutka	heser	neck	113
mu:	mu'Te	romoN	mũ	mun	mui	nose	114
bisi	sindu: rijaM		bisi	te-a-jang	baranDi	spine	115

INDO-ARYAN LANGUAGE FAMILY								
Hindi and its Mother Tongues								
S.No	Gloss	Hindi	Khortha/ Khotta	Magadhi/ Magahi	Nagpuria	Panch pargania	Sadan/ Sadri	Malpaharia
116	tongue	jev	ji:bh	jibh	jibh	jiu	jih	jih
117	tooth	dath	dā:t	dat	dāt	dat	dānt	dāt
118	waist	kamar	komAr, kocoR	kA:mAr / daR , gaTa	dāDa	daDā	dāRa	kOmOr / darO
119	fruit	fal	phA:r	phAr	phA r	phAr	phAr	phOO
120	liquor	sara: ph	mA:d	daru	hāDi	daru	daru	mOd
121	milk	dudh	du:dh	dudh , duhAl	du:dh	dudh	dudh	dudh
122	salt	namak	nu:n	nu:n / lO:n , lon	nun	nun	nun	nON / nuN
123	smoke	dhuwa	dhua:	dhua	dhuMgia / huMga	dhuMga	dhuMga	dhua
124	uncooked rice	chawal	usna caur	cawl	bhat	caur / bhat	caur	caO
125	ear ring	bali			kArAnj phul	kanphul	bali	kaner bali
126	cloth	kapda	luga	kApRa	luga	luga	luga	kaNi
127	cotton	tula	kApRa	rui	rua	rua	rua	suta / kapas
128	spoon	chamach			sip / laku:D	cAmAc	camca	camOc
129	flute	bansuri	bāsi	bAsuri , bAsri	bĀsri , murli	basī	murli	bāsi / bāsuri
130	seed	bej			bihin	bihin	bihAin	bij / bjhOn
131	soap	sabun			sabund	sabAn	sabund	saban
132	stick	lathi	baRi, thenga	laThi marAl , DANDa	danTa	TheMga	TheMga / soTi	bet / laThi
133	bed	bistar	bichana	bichAona	khaTi	bichna , khaTi	khaTia	bichana
134	door	darwaja	dArja,khirki	duar / dArwaja	dura	dArAja , dura	dura	duar
135	house	ghar	ghA:r	ghAr	ghAr	ghAr	ghAr	ghOr
136	roof	chat	cha:d	chat	chain	chAt	chĀid	chapOr
137	rope	rasi	dori	rA:si , rAssi	Dora	Dora	Dora	rOsi
138	wall	diwar	pācil, diwa:r	diwal , dial	bhit	pācer	bhit	deyal

AUSTRO-ASIATIC LANGUAGE FAMILY					DRAVIDIAN LANGUAGE FAMILY		
Santali	Ho	Kharia	Mahili	Mundari	Kurukh/ Oraon	Gloss	S.No
<i>alaN</i>	<i>le'e</i>	<i>lang / lan</i>	<i>alan</i>	<i>le?e</i>	<i>tatha:</i>	tongue	116
<i>DaTa</i>	<i>daTTa</i>	<i>gone</i>	<i>data</i>	<i>daTa</i>	<i>pol</i>	tooth	117
<i>da:Nda</i>	<i>mayam</i>	<i>koRi</i>	<i>da^onDa</i>	<i>mayang</i>	<i>katama</i>	waist	118
<i>jo</i>	<i>jo:</i>	<i>loku / luku</i>	<i>jo</i>	<i>jo</i>	<i>xhañjpa</i>	fruit	119
<i>paura</i>	<i>a: rki</i>	<i>arki</i>	<i>puwri</i>	<i>rasi</i>		liquor	120
<i>toa</i>	<i>toa</i>	<i>tomleng</i>	<i>toa</i>	<i>towa</i>	<i>tudk?I</i>	milk	121
<i>buluN</i>	<i>bu: luMg</i>	<i>bilung</i>	<i>bulun</i>	<i>bulung</i>	<i>beeg</i>	salt	122
<i>dhua</i>	<i>mo`o</i>	<i>mo</i>	<i>dhua</i>	<i>sukul</i>	<i>mojha</i>	smoke	123
<i>caole</i>	<i>cawli</i>	<i>rumkuk</i>	<i>caole</i>	<i>chawli</i>	<i>noDipar</i>	uncooked rice	124
<i>munDam</i>		<i>loroko</i>		<i>taraki</i>		ear ring	125
<i>kieRic</i>	<i>sutui</i>	<i>lutuy</i>		<i>lija</i>	<i>kiehRi</i>	cloth	126
<i>rui</i>	<i>kaTsom</i>	<i>sidij, kapas, tuRay</i>		<i>tulam</i>	<i>tu:li</i>	cotton	127
<i>chammaj</i>		<i>chamaj</i>		<i>chamaj</i>		spoon	128
<i>bansi</i>	<i>ru: tu</i>	<i>rutu</i>		<i>rutu</i>	<i>uRna:</i>	flute	129
<i>ita</i>		<i>khator bijong</i>		<i>manijang</i>		seed	130
<i>saboon</i>		<i>sabun</i>		<i>sabun</i>		soap	131
<i>TheNga</i>	<i>soTa</i>	<i>agro</i>			<i>TanDa</i>	stick	132
<i>parkom</i>	<i>parkom</i>	<i>khaTi / pakRom/disna</i>	<i>bican</i>	<i>parkom</i>	<i>oiTRi</i>	bed	133
<i>duar / silpin</i>	<i>nil</i>	<i>dura / kapTo</i>	<i>duar</i>	<i>duar</i>	<i>duRa</i>	door	134
<i>oRak</i>	<i>o'a / owa</i>	<i>o?</i>	<i>ola</i>	<i>oRa</i>	<i>leDapa</i>	house	135
<i>cal</i>	<i>o'a cetan</i>	<i>jud/telom</i>	<i>salim</i>	<i>chatima</i>	<i>misga</i>	roof	136
<i>babaer</i>	<i>paga (big), sutom (small)</i>	<i>kokay / keke</i>	<i>babar</i>	<i>bayar</i>	<i>e:p</i>	rope	137
<i>bhit</i>	<i>gini: l</i>	<i>bhiT</i>	<i>ka^ont</i>	<i>pacri</i>	<i>pañchRi</i>	wall	138

INDO-ARYAN LANGUAGE FAMILY								
Hindi and its Mother Tongues								
S.No	Gloss	Hindi	Khortha/ Khotta	Magadhi/ Magahi	Nagpuria	Panch pargania	Sadan/ Sadri	Malpaharia
139	well water		<i>kuā</i>	<i>kuia jAl</i>	<i>kuakAr pani</i>	<i>kuākpani</i>	<i>indra pani</i>	
140	window	<i>khidki</i>	<i>jalna</i>	<i>khiRki / jAMgla</i>	<i>jAMgla</i>	<i>jalna , khiDki</i>	<i>khiDki</i>	<i>jhOrOkha / jaMla</i>
141	bamboo	<i>bans</i>	<i>bā:s</i>	<i>bās</i>	<i>bā:s</i>	<i>bās</i>	<i>bās</i>	<i>bās</i>
142	banana	<i>kela</i>	<i>kerā</i>	<i>kela</i>	<i>kerā</i>	<i>kerā</i>	<i>kerā</i>	<i>keO / kerā</i>
143	barks	<i>vaukna</i>	<i>chail</i>	<i>chal</i>	<i>bAkla</i>	<i>chali</i>	<i>bAkla</i>	<i>chal</i>
144	brinjal	<i>baigan</i>	<i>bengAn, bhaTa</i>	<i>bhata / bAigAn</i>	<i>bhāTa</i>	<i>bhaTā</i>	<i>bhaTa</i>	<i>bēMOn</i>
145	chilly	<i>mirchi</i>	<i>jha:l, mirca</i>	<i>mirAc</i>	<i>mArāi</i>	<i>mArīc</i>	<i>mArcaī</i>	<i>lOMka / mOrca</i>
146	coconut	<i>nariyal</i>	<i>nairkol</i>	<i>nAriar</i>	<i>nAriyAr</i>	<i>narīkAl</i>	<i>nariAr</i>	<i>narkOl / nariOl</i>
147	creeper	<i>sarsrip</i>	<i>lArAng, lATa</i>	<i>lAtiya / jhaRi</i>	<i>lArAMg</i>	<i>lAt</i>	<i>lArAM</i>	<i>lOta</i>
148	flower	<i>phul</i>	<i>phu:r</i>	<i>phul</i>	<i>phul</i>	<i>phul</i>	<i>phul</i>	<i>phul</i>
149	fruit		<i>phA:r</i>		<i>phAl</i>	<i>phAr</i>	<i>phAr</i>	
150	garden	<i>bagicha</i>	<i>bagan</i>	<i>bag / bagAica</i>	<i>bAgAica</i>	<i>bagan</i>	<i>bAgAica</i>	<i>bOgica / bagaN</i>
151	grass	<i>ghas</i>	<i>ghās</i>	<i>ghas (I), ghas</i>	<i>ghās</i>	<i>ghās</i>	<i>ghas</i>	<i>ghas</i>
152	guava	<i>amrudh</i>	<i>Amru:d</i>	<i>Amrudh / Amdur</i>	<i>T AmrAs</i>	<i>TamrAs</i>	<i>tAmrAs</i>	<i>piāŌ / anjir</i>
153	jack fruit	<i>kathal</i>	<i>kĀthAir</i>	<i>kATHAr</i>	<i>kATHAr</i>	<i>kATHAr</i>	<i>kATHAr</i>	<i>kaThaO</i>
154	leaf	<i>patta</i>	<i>pAtAr, patta</i>	<i>pata</i>	<i>pATAL</i>	<i>pat</i>	<i>pAtoi</i>	<i>pat (singular) / patga (plural)</i>
155	lemon	<i>nimbu</i>			<i>lembu</i>	<i>lembu / kagji</i>	<i>kagdi</i>	<i>nembu</i>
156	mango	<i>Aam</i>	<i>a:m</i>	<i>am</i>	<i>amba</i>	<i>am</i>	<i>amba</i>	<i>am</i>
157	paddy	<i>dhan</i>	<i>dha:n</i>	<i>Dhan</i>	<i>dhan</i>	<i>dhan</i>	<i>dhan</i>	<i>dhan</i>
158	plough		<i>hA:r</i>	<i>hAr</i>	<i>hA:r</i>	<i>ha:r</i>	<i>hAr</i>	
159	potato	<i>alu</i>	<i>alu</i>	<i>Alu</i>	<i>alu</i>	<i>alu</i>	<i>alu</i>	<i>alu</i>
160	root	<i>jad</i>	<i>ce:r, nudi, sikAR</i>	<i>JA:R, jAR</i>	<i>jeir</i>	<i>je:r</i>	<i>musRa</i>	<i>mul</i>
161	sweet	<i>metha</i>	<i>miTha</i>	<i>miTh , miThA</i>	<i>miTha</i>	<i>swad</i>	<i>miTha</i>	<i>miThO</i>

AUSTRO-ASIATIC LANGUAGE FAMILY					DRAVIDIAN LANGUAGE FAMILY		
Santali	Ho	Kharia	Mahili	Mundari	Kurukh/ Oraon	Gloss	S.No
<i>kuin</i>	<i>kūa</i>	<i>chungDa</i>	<i>ka^ont</i>	<i>ku?a</i>	<i>indra, ku:bi</i>	well water	139
<i>khiRki</i>	<i>kiDikki</i>	<i>kiRki</i>	<i>jorka / janala</i>	<i>kiRki</i>	<i>jungla:</i>	window	140
<i>mat</i>	<i>ja: Mi</i>	<i>konDeng</i>		<i>ma?n / mud</i>	<i>ba:ss</i>	bamboo	141
<i>kaera</i>	<i>ka: dal</i>	<i>kerā / komdong</i>		<i>katal</i>	<i>keRa</i>	banana	142
<i>cilka</i>		<i>kalob</i>		<i>suvam</i>	<i>keRa</i>	barks	143
<i>began</i>	<i>da: ru beMa</i>	<i>kandray</i>		<i>bēngRa</i>	<i>biTTango</i>	brinjal	144
<i>mirchi</i>	<i>ma: rci</i>	<i>marchi</i>		<i>marci</i>	<i>mercha</i>	chilly	145
<i>nariyal</i>	<i>nariye: l</i>	<i>narkel</i>		<i>narial</i>	<i>neRkal</i>	coconut	146
<i>naRi /goto lutur</i>		<i>landam / larang</i>		<i>nani</i>	<i>laRaNg</i>	creeper	147
<i>baha</i>	<i>ba:</i>	<i>rara</i>	<i>baha</i>	<i>ba</i>	<i>po:mp</i>	flower	148
<i>jo</i>	<i>jo:</i>	<i>loku</i>	<i>jo</i>	<i>jo</i>	<i>xhañjpa</i>	fruit	149
<i>ba:lege</i>	<i>bakayi</i>	<i>baRi (small)bagayche (big)</i>	<i>baga^on</i>	<i>bagan / ba bakri</i>	<i>paTngi</i>	garden	150
<i>tasad /gha:s</i>	<i>tasaD</i>	<i>ghaNs / ja?a, ja</i>	<i>ga^os</i>	<i>tasad</i>	<i>gra:si</i>	grass	151
<i>amrut</i>	<i>amru: d</i>	<i>tambras</i>	<i>peda</i>	<i>tumbarsa</i>	<i>tamarus</i>	guava	152
<i>kanThar</i>	<i>poRoso</i>	<i>kanTaTa</i>	<i>kantalu</i>	<i>kandaRa</i>	<i>gathRa</i>	jack fruit	153
<i>sakam</i>	<i>patta :</i>	<i>ula</i>	<i>sakom</i>	<i>sakkam</i>	<i>pata</i>	leaf	154
<i>lebu</i>		<i>lembu</i>		<i>nimbu</i>		lemon	155
<i>u:l</i>	<i>ulli</i>	<i>kayar</i>	<i>u^ol</i>	<i>uli</i>	<i>ta:Tk?a</i>	mango	156
<i>hoRo</i>	<i>baba</i>	<i>Pba?a</i>	<i>hulu</i>	<i>baba</i>		paddy	157
<i>si:</i>	<i>si :</i>	<i>sini</i>	<i>si:</i>	<i>seu</i>	<i>uyna:</i>	plough	158
<i>ha:ru</i>	<i>alu</i>	<i>alu</i>	<i>ha^oru</i>	<i>rid / re:d'</i>	<i>aluwa</i>	potato	159
<i>rehe?T</i>	<i>re: D</i>	<i>juD</i>	<i>rehe?d</i>	<i>hoRem</i>	<i>pa:dha</i>	root	160
<i>heRem</i>	<i>nokoD</i>	<i>sebol, jomem</i>	<i>hedem</i>	<i>daru</i>	<i>emba: / ti:rna</i>	sweet	161

INDO-ARYAN LANGUAGE FAMILY								
Hindi and its Mother Tongues								
S.No	Gloss	Hindi	Khortha/ Khotta	Magadhi/ Magahi	Nagpuria	Panch pargania	Sadan/ Sadri	Malpaharia
162	tree	<i>ped</i>	<i>gach</i>	<i>pheR, p^heR</i>	<i>gAch</i>	<i>gach</i>	<i>gach</i>	<i>gach</i>
163	vegetable	<i>sabji</i>	<i>tiAn,tArkari,sApji</i>	<i>tOrkari , tArkari</i>	<i>tiAn</i>	<i>tArkari , tiAn</i>	<i>tiAn</i>	<i>anaij</i>
164	wheel	<i>chakka</i>	<i>caka</i>	<i>cAkka</i>	<i>cArkha</i>	<i>cak</i>	<i>cAka</i>	<i>cOka</i>
165	gum	<i>gaund</i>		<i>mAsur</i>	<i>lassa</i>	<i>lasa</i>	<i>lasa</i>	<i>maRhi</i>
166	labourer	<i>majdur</i>	<i>kamin, kuli</i>	<i>mAjura / jana , mAjur</i>	<i>kAmia</i>	<i>kAmia</i>	<i>kuli</i>	<i>kamia maNus</i>
167	farmland	<i>kheth</i>	<i>cas jAmin</i>	<i>kheti jAmin</i>	<i>doi</i>	<i>khetibaDi</i>	<i>khet</i>	<i>cas khet</i>
168	money lender	<i>sahukar</i>	<i>mAhajAn</i>	<i>bAnia</i>	<i>riNpĀica</i>	<i>mAhajAn</i>	<i>mAhajAn</i>	<i>mahajOn</i>
169	mid wife	<i>rakhail</i>	<i>dhai</i>	<i>dai</i>	<i>kAmia</i>	<i>kamin</i>	<i>dhAmrin</i>	<i>dhai</i>
170	net	<i>jal</i>	<i>ja:r</i>	<i>Jal</i>	<i>ja:l</i>	<i>jal</i>	<i>jal</i>	<i>jal</i>
171	potter	<i>kumhar</i>	<i>kumha:r</i>	<i>kohar , kumhar</i>	<i>kumha:r</i>	<i>kumhar</i>	<i>kumhar</i>	<i>kumhar</i>
172	weaver	<i>tāti</i>	<i>bAilgaRhi</i>	<i>jolAha , jolha</i>	<i>binka:r</i>	<i>tāTi , bunAya</i>	<i>jolha</i>	<i>tāti</i>
173	bullock cart	<i>garu gadi</i>	<i>bAilgaRhi</i>	<i>bael gaRi</i>	<i>sAgAD / belgaDi</i>	<i>gorugaDi</i>	<i>belgaRi</i>	<i>bOlda gaDi</i>
174	bus	<i>bas</i>	<i>ba:s</i>	<i>bas</i>	<i>bAs</i>	<i>bAs</i>	<i>bAs</i>	<i>bas</i>
175	bitter	<i>tita</i>	<i>tita</i>	<i>Tit, titA</i>	<i>tita</i>	<i>tita</i>	<i>tita</i>	<i>tittO</i>
176	black	<i>kala</i>	<i>kAria</i>	<i>kAria , kAriya</i>	<i>kAria</i>	<i>kAria</i>	<i>bichi</i>	<i>kaO</i>
177	scorpion	<i>bichu</i>			<i>bichi</i>	<i>pAkemakAD</i>	<i>karia</i>	<i>bicchu</i>
178	blue	<i>nila</i>	<i>lila</i>	<i>ni:l , nil</i>	<i>li:l</i>	<i>lil</i>	<i>lil</i>	<i>lilO / lil</i>
179	bright	<i>ujala</i>	<i>cAmkela</i>	<i>cAmAkdar , cAmkila</i>	<i>jhilmil / te:j</i>	<i>cAmkAiya</i>	<i>cAmkila</i>	<i>sapha</i>
180	brown	<i>bhura</i>	<i>mathia</i>	<i>bhura</i>	<i>mAtmAila</i>	<i>dhuria</i>	<i>dhusAr</i>	
181	coldness	<i>thandi</i>	<i>ThaNDa</i>	<i>serial</i>	<i>kAnkAni</i>	<i>thaDhā</i>	<i>ja:d</i>	<i>thaNDa</i>
182	green	<i>hara</i>	<i>hara</i>	<i>hAriAr</i>	<i>hAriyAr</i>	<i>hara , sAbuj</i>	<i>hAriyAr</i>	<i>sāOla / heriO</i>
183	hat	<i>topi</i>			<i>Topi</i>	<i>Topi</i>	<i>Topi</i>	
184	light	<i>halka</i>	<i>halka</i>	<i>ajor / rosin</i>	<i>ijAt</i>	<i>ijAt</i>	<i>ijot</i>	<i>halkO</i>

AUSTRO-ASIATIC LANGUAGE FAMILY					DRAVIDIAN LANGUAGE FAMILY		
Santali	Ho	Kharia	Mahili	Mundari	Kurukh/ Oraon	Gloss	S.No
<i>dare</i>	<i>da: ru</i>	<i>daru</i>	<i>dare</i>	<i>a: R</i>	<i>mana</i>	tree	162
<i>uttuko</i>	<i>torkari</i>	<i>luku</i>	<i>uttuko</i>	<i>a: R</i>	<i>a:rka:chiRgar</i>	vegetable	163
<i>cak</i>	<i>cakka :</i>	<i>chakar</i>	<i>maran giridi</i>	<i>cakka</i>		wheel	164
<i>danth</i>	<i>ja: yer</i>	<i>lassa</i>	<i>ba^onduk</i>	<i>dasi</i>	<i>la:hi</i>	gum	165
<i>karmachari</i>	<i>kuli</i>	<i>sawang</i>		<i>dasi</i>	<i>lassi: (a day labourer)</i>	labourer	166
<i>keti</i>		<i>kōylo</i>		<i>goRa</i>		farmland	167
<i>mahajon</i>	<i>udarte</i>	<i>saku</i>	<i>mahajoⁿ</i>	<i>manDwari</i>		money lender	168
	<i>da: yi era</i>	<i>dagari</i>		<i>kamuRi</i>	<i>kusurain</i>	mid wife	169
<i>jal</i>	<i>ja: lom</i>	<i>jal</i>	<i>jhalli</i>	<i>jalom</i>		net	170
<i>bhajan</i>	<i>kuma: r</i>	<i>tumkui</i>		<i>kumber</i>		potter	171
	<i>ta: nti</i>	<i>chiko</i>		<i>te:ngi, peRāy, te:ngo'</i>		weaver	172
<i>dangra gaRi</i>	<i>uri ga: Di</i>	<i>baya gara</i>	<i>dan^gra ga^odi</i>	<i>uRi sa:ri</i>		bullock cart	173
<i>gaRi</i>	<i>bas</i>	<i>motar gaRi</i>	<i>bus</i>	<i>motor gaRi'</i>		bus	174
<i>haRhat</i>	<i>me: rra</i>	<i>kaRkaR</i>	<i>halahad</i>	<i>juju</i>		bitter	175
<i>hende</i>	<i>hende</i>	<i>mogher</i>	<i>hende</i>	<i>hende</i>		black	176
<i>marmarda?</i>		<i>bici</i>		<i>marmar</i>		scorpion	177
<i>lil</i>	<i>ni: la</i>	<i>neela</i>	<i>hariali</i>	<i>neelrang</i>		blue	178
<i>ma:rsal</i>		<i>tarkeleng</i>	<i>marla^ol</i>	<i>masakkal</i>		bright	179
<i>aRak</i>	<i>ara</i>	<i>kaseri</i>	<i>pund; harid;</i>	<i>ara?</i>		brown	180
<i>raban</i>	<i>rabaM</i>	<i>oRep</i>	<i>rabam</i>	<i>rabang' / tutukun 'cold'</i>		coldness	181
<i>hariaR</i>	<i>ga: deT roM</i>	<i>kariar</i>	<i>sakam hariali</i>	<i>hariar</i>	<i>hairer</i>	green	182
<i>lolo</i>		<i>topi</i>	<i>to^opi</i>	<i>lolo</i>		hat	183
<i>marsal</i>	<i>maskal</i>	<i>loyoD/haluk</i>	<i>marsa^ol</i>	<i>masakkal</i>		light	184

INDO-ARYAN LANGUAGE FAMILY								
Hindi and its Mother Tongues								
S.No	Gloss	Hindi	Khortha/ Khotta	Magadhi/ Magahi	Nagpuria	Panch pargania	Sadan/ Sadri	Malpaharia
185	red	<i>lal</i>	<i>la:l</i>	<i>lal</i>	<i>la:l</i>	<i>lal</i>	<i>lal</i>	<i>lal</i>
186	sour	<i>khata</i>	<i>čeka, khATTa</i>	<i>khaT, khaTA</i>	<i>amAt</i>	<i>ceka</i>	<i>AmbAt</i>	<i>khOTTa / TOk</i>
187	skin	<i>chamda</i>			<i>cAmDi</i>	<i>cam</i>	<i>cAmDa</i>	<i>camOROa</i>
188	white	<i>safed</i>	<i>sAphed</i>	<i>ujAr</i>	<i>cArka , ujAr</i>	<i>carka</i>	<i>carka</i>	<i>cORkO</i>
189	yellow	<i>pila</i>	<i>hArdia</i>	<i>piAr</i>	<i>piAr</i>	<i>hArdi:a</i>	<i>piAr</i>	<i>hOid</i>
190	hungry	<i>bhukha</i>	<i>bhukhAl, bhukha</i>	<i>bhukhail , bhukha (il)</i>	<i>bukhAl</i>	<i>bhukhAl</i>	<i>bhukhAl</i>	<i>bhukh</i>
191	love	<i>pyar</i>	<i>suha:g</i>	<i>manAl pArem kAel piarkAel , prem</i>	<i>dula:r , maya kArna</i>	<i>prem</i>	<i>dular kArek</i>	<i>pirit</i>
192	blister	<i>malak marna</i>			<i>gura</i>	<i>phoDa</i>	<i>ghao</i>	<i>phusuRi</i>
193	TRUE	<i>sach</i>	<i>sAhi</i>	<i>sac , sAc</i>	<i>sA:c</i>	<i>sAt</i>	<i>sAc</i>	<i>bes / Thik / săc</i>
194	wish	<i>ichcha</i>	<i>ikcha</i>	<i>as</i>	<i>mAn</i>	<i>iceha</i>	<i>mA:n</i>	<i>iccha / caha</i>
195	ink	<i>syahi</i>	<i>kali, sehi</i>	<i>sai</i>	<i>siahi</i>	<i>kali</i>	<i>siahi</i>	<i>kali</i>
196	school	<i>patshala</i>	<i>iskul</i>	<i>sAkul</i>	<i>iskul</i>	<i>iskul</i>	<i>iskul</i>	<i>iskul</i>
197	student	<i>chatra</i>	<i>pARhaia</i>	<i>chatrA</i>	<i>pADhia choRa</i>	<i>pADhwachua</i>	<i>iskulia</i>	<i>pORhua chOa / chatrO</i>
198	teacher	<i>sikshak</i>	<i>masTAr</i>	<i>mastar</i>	<i>masTAr</i>	<i>masTAr</i>	<i>masTAr</i>	<i>mahasOe</i>
199	drum	<i>dhindhora</i>	<i>dhā:k</i>	<i>Dhol</i>	<i>Dholki</i>	<i>Rhol , pipti , kuLudhutu</i>	<i>Dholki</i>	<i>Dhak / Dhol</i>
200	enemy	<i>dusman</i>	<i>dusmAn</i>	<i>dusmAn</i>	<i>dusmAn</i>	<i>dusmAn</i>	<i>dusmAn</i>	<i>dusmOn</i>
201	debt	<i>gahrai</i>		<i>kArj</i>	<i>rin</i>	<i>rin</i>	<i>pAica</i>	<i>dhar / dena</i>
202	divorce	<i>talak</i>	<i>chari jaba , talaAk</i>	<i>tAlak</i>	<i>chaDi</i>	<i>chaDi</i>	<i>telakh</i>	<i>talak / bihaTuTi</i>
203	theft	<i>chori</i>	<i>cori</i>	<i>cori</i>	<i>coriheri</i>	<i>cori</i>	<i>cori</i>	<i>curi</i>
204	festival	<i>parv</i>	<i>puja, pArAb</i>	<i>tewhAr</i>	<i>pArAb</i>	<i>pArAb</i>	<i>pArAb</i>	<i>pOrOb</i>
205	garland	<i>mala</i>	<i>mala, ha:r</i>	<i>mala</i>	<i>mala</i>	<i>phulmala , phulkahar</i>	<i>mala</i>	<i>mala</i>
206	heaven	<i>swarg</i>	<i>sArAg</i>	<i>swArg</i>	<i>sArAg</i>	<i>sArAg</i>	<i>sArAg</i>	<i>sOrOg</i>
207	hell	<i>narak</i>	<i>nArAk</i>	<i>nArk</i>	<i>nArAk</i>	<i>nArAk</i>	<i>nArAk</i>	<i>nOrOk</i>

AUSTRO-ASIATIC LANGUAGE FAMILY					DRAVIDIAN LANGUAGE FAMILY		
Santali	Ho	Kharia	Mahili	Mundari	Kurukh/ Oraon	Gloss	S.No
<i>aRak</i>	<i>jeMa</i>	<i>rusung</i>	<i>ara</i> ◌	<i>haRa:</i>		red	185
	<i>moroya</i>	<i>rojoD</i>	<i>jojo</i>	<i>jojo</i>	<i>kaNgia:</i>	sour	186
<i>harta</i>		<i>cala/usal</i>		<i>ur</i>		skin	187
<i>ponD / sada</i>	<i>pu: nDi</i>	<i>osel</i>	<i>kpumdi</i>	<i>pundi kijū</i>		white	188
	<i>sasaM roM</i>	<i>sang / hardiar</i>	<i>sasamran</i>	<i>sasang pundi'</i>	<i>kalia:</i>	yellow	189
<i>reNgec</i>	<i>reMge</i>	<i>BeTod / bedoRa (R)</i>	<i>rengai</i>	<i>reng : tany'</i>		hungry	190
<i>dulaR</i>	<i>apasorai</i>	<i>thorn / lebui</i>	<i>be</i> ◌ <i>smyam</i>	<i>dulara</i>		love	191
<i>basan</i>		<i>poksa</i>		<i>dutuputu</i>		blister	192
<i>sari</i>	<i>sarige</i>	<i>soto</i>	<i>sotto</i>	<i>sarti</i>		TRUE	193
<i>sana</i>		<i>mang</i>	<i>icha</i>	<i>sanaM</i>		wish	194
<i>siahi</i>	<i>si: ai</i>	<i>ciyari</i>	<i>kaRi</i>	<i>ceay</i>		ink	195
<i>iskul</i>	<i>isku: l</i>	<i>isku:l</i>	<i>olakali</i>	<i>isku:l'</i>		school	196
		<i>isku:lia</i>	<i>cella</i>	<i>paRau-tanny'</i>		student	197
<i>guru</i>	<i>ma: sTor</i>	<i>isku:lia</i>	<i>ma</i> ◌ <i>ocet</i>	<i>mistress</i>		teacher	198
	<i>dama (drum), horo siMa</i>	<i>buteki / turkhi</i>		<i>marang dulki turu:p'</i>		drum	199
<i>bairi</i>	<i>dusman</i>	<i>bairi</i>		<i>dusman</i>		enemy	200
<i>rin</i>	<i>rin, ri :</i>	<i>saka</i>				debt	201
	<i>era icikiye</i>	<i>talak</i>		<i>wa page</i>		divorce	202
<i>kombRo</i>	<i>ku: mbu: yina</i>	<i>surum</i>		<i>kumbRu</i>		theft	203
<i>sohrae</i>		<i>porob</i>		<i>ne:g / parap</i>		festival	204
	<i>hisir</i>	<i>ha:r</i>	<i>ma</i> ◌ <i>la</i>	<i>mala</i>	<i>poon</i>	garland	205
	<i>pata: lpur</i>	<i>kitung</i>		<i>cirma</i>		heaven	206
	<i>narak</i>	<i>narak</i>		<i>narak</i>		hell	207

INDO-ARYAN LANGUAGE FAMILY								
Hindi and its Mother Tongues								
S.No	Gloss	Hindi	Khortha/ Khotta	Magadhi/ Magahi	Nagpuria	Panch pargania	Sadan/ Sadri	Malpaharia
208	worship	<i>puja</i>	<i>puja, pArAb</i>	<i>pujil , pujAl</i>	<i>puja</i>	<i>puja kArek</i>	<i>puja</i>	<i>puja</i>
209	games	<i>khel</i>	<i>khel ku:d</i>	<i>khel</i>	<i>kheil</i>	<i>kheil</i>	<i>kheil</i>	<i>khela</i>
210	forehead				<i>kApar</i>	<i>kapaD</i>	<i>kApar</i>	
211	brass	<i>tamba</i>	<i>pittAl</i>	<i>tama</i>	<i>tamba</i>	<i>tamba</i>	<i>tamba</i>	<i>pitOl</i>
212	gold	<i>sona</i>	<i>sona</i>	<i>sona</i>	<i>sona</i>	<i>sona</i>	<i>sona</i>	<i>sOna</i>
213	iron	<i>loha</i>	<i>luha</i>	<i>loha , lohA</i>	<i>loha</i>	<i>luha</i>	<i>loha</i>	<i>lOha</i>
214	honey	<i>madhu</i>			<i>mAudh</i>	<i>mAdhu</i>	<i>mAudh</i>	<i>mOdhu</i>
215	money	<i>paisa</i>	<i>pAisa, rupAiya</i>	<i>dhAn , pAisa</i>	<i>kAcia</i>	<i>pAisa</i>	<i>kacia</i>	<i>Taka</i>
216	silver	<i>chandi</i>	<i>candi</i>	<i>cani</i>	<i>candi</i>	<i>rupa</i>	<i>candi</i>	<i>rupa</i>
217	first	<i>pehla</i>	<i>pAhAla</i>	<i>pAhila</i>	<i>pAhil</i>	<i>pAhila</i>	<i>pAhila</i>	<i>bODDO</i>
218	second	<i>dusra</i>	<i>dusAr</i>	<i>dusAr</i>	<i>dusAr</i>	<i>dAsAr</i>	<i>dusra</i>	<i>dusra</i>
219	third	<i>tesra</i>	<i>tisAr</i>	<i>tisrAka / tisAr</i>	<i>tisAr</i>	<i>tisAr</i>	<i>tisra</i>	<i>tisra</i>
220	one	<i>ek</i>	<i>ek, eke</i>	<i>Ek , ek / ego</i>	<i>ego</i>	<i>ek</i>	<i>ego</i>	<i>ek</i>
221	two	<i>do</i>	<i>dui, duio</i>	<i>du (I), du / dugo</i>	<i>dui</i>	<i>dui</i>	<i>dui</i>	<i>dui</i>
222	three	<i>ten</i>	<i>tin</i>	<i>tin</i>	<i>tin</i>	<i>tini</i>	<i>tin</i>	<i>tin</i>
223	four	<i>char</i>	<i>cair</i>	<i>car</i>	<i>cair</i>	<i>cair</i>	<i>cair</i>	<i>caer/ ek geNDa</i>
224	five	<i>panch</i>	<i>pā:c</i>	<i>pāc</i>	<i>pānch</i>	<i>pānc</i>	<i>pānc</i>	<i>pāc / pāj</i>
225	six	<i>chay</i>	<i>chāo</i>	<i>cho / chAO</i>	<i>chA</i>	<i>chA</i>	<i>chA</i>	<i>chO</i>
226	seven	<i>sath</i>	<i>sa:t</i>	<i>sat</i>	<i>sa:t</i>	<i>sat</i>	<i>sat</i>	<i>sat</i>
227	eight	<i>ath</i>	<i>a:Th</i>	<i>ATH , aT</i>	<i>aTh</i>	<i>aTh</i>	<i>aTh</i>	<i>aTh</i>
228	nine	<i>nau</i>	<i>nAo</i>	<i>nAw , nAu</i>	<i>nA</i>	<i>nA</i>	<i>nA</i>	<i>nO</i>
229	ten	<i>dus</i>	<i>dA:s</i>	<i>dAs</i>	<i>dAs</i>	<i>dAs</i>	<i>dAs</i>	<i>dOs</i>
230	sixteen	<i>solah</i>	<i>solhA</i>	<i>sora</i>	<i>sola</i>	<i>sola</i>	<i>sora</i>	<i>sOlha</i>

AUSTRO-ASIATIC LANGUAGE FAMILY					DRAVIDIAN LANGUAGE FAMILY		
Santali	Ho	Kharia	Mahili	Mundari	Kurukh/ Oraon	Gloss	S.No
	<i>johar / jowhar</i>	<i>sungna</i>	<i>sTuti</i>	<i>bo:ng</i>		worship	208
	<i>inuM</i>	<i>abo</i>	<i>ghel</i>	<i>inonko</i>		games	209
<i>matha</i>		<i>kappar</i>		<i>molong</i>		forehead	210
		<i>pitor (pital)</i>		<i>lamba</i>		brass	211
<i>sona</i>	<i>sona</i>	<i>sona</i>		<i>sona</i>	<i>sona:</i>	gold	212
<i>meRhet</i>	<i>mēD</i>	<i>logsing</i>	<i>merhet</i>	<i>merhet</i>	<i>panna:</i>	iron	213
		<i>terom,maudh</i>		<i>horum sukku rasi</i>		honey	214
<i>Taka</i>	<i>poisa, Takka</i>	<i>kachia</i>		<i>taka /. paisa'</i>		money	215
<i>rupa</i>	<i>ca: ndi</i>	<i>chandi</i>	<i>ruṁpa</i>	<i>candi</i>		silver	216
	<i>a: yarte</i>	<i>pahela</i>	<i>maram / pahil</i>	<i>sidautar</i>	<i>munDa</i>	first	217
		<i>dusra</i>	<i>tayom / dosar</i>	<i>tayom</i>	<i>enTa</i>	second	218
		<i>tisra</i>	<i>nanam / tesar</i>	<i>mayam</i>	<i>munda</i>	third	219
	<i>miyaT</i>	<i>mōn</i>	<i>mi ?</i>	<i>moyod</i>	<i>o:n/ondh/onta</i>	one	220
<i>bar</i>	<i>bariye</i>	<i>ubar</i>	<i>baria</i>	<i>bariya</i>	<i>e:R</i>	two	221
<i>pe</i>	<i>apiye</i>	<i>upey</i>	<i>pe</i>	<i>apiya</i>	<i>mu:nd</i>	three	222
<i>pun</i>	<i>upuniye</i>	<i>iphon</i>	<i>pon</i>	<i>upunia</i>	<i>naxh</i>	four	223
<i>moRa</i>	<i>mōya</i>	<i>moloy</i>	<i>more</i>	<i>moneya</i>	<i>pañche</i>	five	224
<i>tutuy</i>	<i>turue</i>	<i>tiburu</i>	<i>turi</i>	<i>turiya</i>	<i>soi</i>	six	225
<i>eyay</i>	<i>a: yie</i>	<i>tom</i>	<i>eae</i>	<i>e?a</i>	<i>say</i>	seven	226
<i>iral</i>	<i>iruLiya</i>	<i>tam</i>	<i>iral</i>	<i>eraliya</i>	<i>a:kh</i>	eight	227
<i>arel</i>	<i>are'e</i>	<i>tomsing</i>	<i>are</i>	<i>area</i>	<i>nyne</i>	nine	228
<i>gel</i>	<i>gel'eya</i>	<i>gol</i>	<i>gel</i>	<i>gile-a</i>	<i>doy</i>	ten	229
<i>sula</i>	<i>gel turu'e</i>	<i>glomōn</i>	<i>sula</i>	<i>gol moyon</i>	<i>doy soi</i>	sixteen	230

INDO-ARYAN LANGUAGE FAMILY								
Hindi and its Mother Tongues								
S.No	Gloss	Hindi	Khortha/ Khotta	Magadhi/ Magahi	Nagpur ia	Panch pargan ia	Sadan/ Sadri	Malpahar ia
231	twenty	bes	bi:s	bis	bi:s	bis , kuDi	bi:s	kuRi
232	forty	chalis	cali:s	calis	dui kori	calis , duikuDi	cAlis	callis
233	bind	badna	bādhna	bandhAl	bandhek	bandhe k	bAindh	bādh-
234	blow	marna	ghungRi marna	bAjawAl	phukek	phukek	phukek	bOh-
235	break	todna,phor dna	toRna(stick),toRna(p ot), chiRna(rop)	turAl	torek	tuTaek	toDek	bhaM-
236	burn	jalna	ag jalana	jArawAl	poDaek	jArek	jAlaek	Jal-
237	carry	dhona,leja na	bAhAna	DhowAl	Taink legAk	legaek	uThaike,bohi ke	dhOr-
238	catch	pakadna,jh apatna	dhArna,pAkArna(cha se and catch),rokana(somet hing thrown)	dhArAl,pA:kRAL(ch ase and catch)	dhArek	dhArek	dheirke	dhOr-
239	clean	safai			sApha kArek	sapha kArek	saph	sapha ker-
240	do	karna	kArna	kAel	kArek	kArek	kArek	ker-
241	fall	girna		girAl	girek	girek	girek	pORĩ ja-
242	float	tairna		utArail , utrAil	bohaek	bAhek	bohaek	
243	flow	bahana		bAhAl	bohaek	bAhek	bohaek	
244	hit	marna		marAL koT kAel	bAjraik	marek	mair delAk	mar-
245	hold	pakadna	dhArna	dhAel / pAkRAL , dhArAl	dhArek	dhArek	dhArek	dhOr-
246	lean	tek lagana	jhūkna	jhukAl	niheirke dekhek	nihirke dekhek	lAhes	
247	lick	chatna	cātna	catAl	caTek	caTek	caTAt	caT-
248	make	banana	tAiar kArna	bAnawAl	bAnaek	bAnaek	bAnaek	bana-
249	mix	milana	misana	phetAl milawAl	misaek	milaek , mesaek	misaek	misa-
250	open	kholna	kholna	khulAl , kholAl	ughraie k	kholaek	kholek	khOl- / khul-
251	pick	uthana	tulna	uThAl --- uThAwAl	bichek	uThaek	bichek	uTha-
252	play	khelna	khelna	khelAl	khelek	khelek	khelek	khel-
253	pull	khichna	ghīcna	khicAl	Tanek	Tanek	khicek	TaN-
254	push	dhakelna	thelna, dhekna	dhAkiawAl DhAkelAl	dhAkiak k	dheklek	Dheklek	Thel

AUSTRO-ASIATIC LANGUAGE FAMILY					DRAVIDIAN LANGUAGE FAMILY		
Santali	Ho	Kharia	Mahili	Mundari	Kurukh/ Oraon	Gloss	S.No
<i>isi</i>	<i>isi</i>	<i>ekiRi</i>	<i>isi</i>	<i>mon-hisi</i>	<i>enddoy</i>	twenty	231
	<i>ba: r hisi</i>	<i>barekiRi</i>	<i>ca^olis / baisi</i>	<i>bar-hisi</i>	<i>naxhdoy</i>	forty	232
<i>tol</i>		<i>toina</i>	<i>joRa</i>	<i>to:l</i>		bind	233
	<i>o:M (mouth) / cului (nose)</i>	<i>humperna</i>	<i>lo</i>	<i>o : ng</i>	<i>u:rna</i>	blow	234
<i>gejer, kecak</i>	<i>peDe(stick), rupudiyana(pot,rope)</i>	<i>teg / pitna (stick), pa:na (pot)</i>	<i>raput</i>	<i>rabbun, kon-od</i>	<i>esna, khottuna, khachna</i>	break	235
<i>jereT</i>		<i>tekna (trans)</i>	<i>jeret</i>	<i>lo</i>	<i>māRna</i>	burn	236
<i>bhaRia, gok</i>	<i>duplike :m(head),tu:l ke:m(hand),go'o ke:m(shoulder)</i>	<i>be, kunDum</i>	<i>dipil [head],bharia [shoulder] heo [hip]</i>	<i>bore/dupil</i>	<i>kumna, hathla:na, cheRna</i>	carry	237
<i>sap</i>	<i>sabi: m(chase and catch)</i>	<i>kuday keddona</i>		<i>su?b</i>	<i>pāchRa!rna, bajha:ba:na</i>	catch	238
<i>sapha</i>		<i>osel (dowDāna)</i>	<i>sapha</i>	<i>parchi / safa</i>	<i>horna</i>	clean	239
<i>kami</i>		<i>karau</i>	<i>ka^omi</i>	<i>rikka</i>		do	240
<i>gur / nur</i>	<i>guriyena(while walking),yu(fruit,water)</i>	<i>gur</i>	<i>gur</i>	<i>uiiu</i>	<i>khatarna</i>	fall	241
	<i>saino otana</i>	<i>tuDa</i>		<i>depel,oyaren</i>	<i>uplarna</i>	float	242
<i>aTu</i>	<i>ha:Ritana</i>	<i>longe / dup-dalng</i>	<i>a^otu</i>	<i>lingi</i>	<i>bohavna</i>	flow	243
<i>dal</i>			<i>da^ol</i>	<i>usu</i>		hit	244
<i>oDok</i>	<i>sab</i>	<i>tona</i>		<i>sub</i>	<i>dharna</i>	hold	245
<i>moRe</i>	<i>te:NDer</i>	<i>ottengna</i>	<i>asul</i>		<i>oThōgarnā</i>	lean	246
	<i>le'em</i>	<i>chaTeRi</i>	<i>nunu</i>	<i>uRing uRing</i>	<i>TaTna</i>	lick	247
<i>doho</i>	<i>bai</i>	<i>bayna</i>	<i>benao</i>	<i>bai</i>	<i>kamna</i>	make	248
<i>ehijau</i>	<i>milaw em</i>	<i>mesana</i>	<i>mesal</i>	<i>misai / suid</i>	<i>messa ba:na</i>	mix	249
<i>jic</i>	<i>nil i:m(a door),meD em(eye)kula :em(bag)</i>	<i>yuna</i>	<i>jhic</i>	<i>oTa / ni : hi</i>	<i>kollna, tisigna, evna(eyes)</i>	open	250
<i>potor</i>	<i>goDem</i>	<i>kedna</i>	<i>benao</i>	<i>go?d</i>	<i>chokhna</i>	pick	251
<i>enec</i>	<i>inu: M</i>	<i>abona</i>		<i>inung</i>	<i>tunda:</i>	play	252
<i>mambrao</i>	<i>tau: m</i>	<i>digna</i>	<i>or / oar</i>	<i>udu:r</i>	<i>natagna</i>	pull	253
<i>tulrakab</i>	<i>udurtam</i>	<i>dekana</i>	<i>Dhaka</i>	<i>udu:r</i>	<i>tukkna</i>	push	254

INDO-ARYAN LANGUAGE FAMILY								
Hindi and its Mother Tongues								
S.No	Gloss	Hindi	Khortha/ Khotta	Magadhi / Magahi	Nagpur ia	Panch pargania	Sadan/ Sadri	Malpaha ria
255	put	<i>dalna</i>	<i>rAkhna</i>	<i>dhAel</i>	<i>rakhek</i>	<i>rakhek</i>	<i>rAkhek</i>	<i>rakh-</i>
256	rub	<i>ghisna</i>	<i>ghĀsna</i>	<i>rAgARAl / lAgARAl</i>	<i>pocheck</i>	<i>ghĀsek , pocheck</i>	<i>pocheck</i>	<i>ghOs-</i>
257	sell	<i>bechna</i>	<i>bikna, bēena</i>	<i>becAl</i>	<i>becek</i>	<i>becek</i>	<i>becek</i>	<i>bec-</i>
258	shut	<i>bandh karna</i>	<i>bAndh kArna, mudna(eye)</i>	<i>bAn kAel / bAn kArwae</i>	<i>Dhapek , Dhabek</i>	<i>lAgaek</i>	<i>bAndkAr</i>	<i>bOndh ker-</i>
259	sink	<i>dobna</i>	<i>Dubna</i>	<i>DubAl</i>	<i>Dubaek</i>	<i>Dubek</i>	<i>Du: bgel Ak</i>	<i>Dub-</i>
260	sprinkle	<i>chamakana</i>	<i>šćna</i>	<i>chiRkAl</i>	<i>pATAek</i>	<i>chikAnade k</i>	<i>pATAek</i>	<i>chiTa-</i>
261	squeeze	<i>nichodna</i>	<i>nicurna, cipidena</i>	<i>garAl</i>	<i>AiThek</i>	<i>nigraek</i>	<i>gairde</i>	<i>cus-</i>
262	spit	<i>thukna</i>		<i>thukAl</i>	<i>thukek</i>	<i>thukek</i>	<i>thukek</i>	<i>thukO-</i>
263	swell	<i>phulna</i>		<i>phulAl , sujAl</i>	<i>phulek</i>	<i>phulek</i>	<i>phuigel Ak</i>	
264	wipe	<i>mochna/pochna</i>			<i>pocheck</i>	<i>pocheck</i>	<i>pocheck</i>	
265	tear	<i>phadna</i>	<i>phaRna, dhiRna</i>	<i>lor / asu phaRAl</i>	<i>lo:r</i>	<i>lA:r</i>	<i>lo:r</i>	<i>phaR-</i>
266	throw	<i>phekna</i>	<i>phēkna</i>	<i>phekAl / phekawAl / phekwawAl</i>	<i>digek</i>	<i>phekek</i>	<i>phekek</i>	<i>jhabda-</i>
267	wash	<i>dhona</i>	<i>dhona, majna(utensils)</i>	<i>dhowAl</i>	<i>sApha kArek</i>	<i>dhoek</i>	<i>dhoek</i>	<i>sapha ker-</i>
268	cut	<i>katna</i>	<i>kaTna(cloth), chirNa(ropes) kaTna(meat)</i>	<i>bAhrael, bAhraul</i>	<i>kaTek</i>	<i>kaTek</i>	<i>kaTek</i>	<i>kaT -</i>
269	dig	<i>khodna</i>	<i>khodna, kuRna</i>	<i>khodAl</i>	<i>khoDek</i>	<i>khAnek</i>	<i>khodek</i>	
270	hunt	<i>sikar karna</i>	<i>sikar khelna, bēTke</i>	<i>sikar kAel</i>	<i>sika:r kArek</i>	<i>sikar kArek</i>	<i>sika:r</i>	<i>sikar ker-</i>
271	pond	<i>tala:b</i>	<i>kuTna</i>		<i>pokhra</i>	<i>bandh</i>	<i>pokhra</i>	
272	shoot	<i>dagna</i>	<i>guli kArna</i>	<i>goli marAl / misan sadhAl</i>	<i>goli marek</i>	<i>golicAlana , tirbindhek</i>	<i>bindhna</i>	
273	split	<i>tutna</i>	<i>TugRa kArna</i>	<i>cirAl / cirawAl / cirwawAl</i>	<i>cirek</i>	<i>kaThphaDek , khaDa</i>	<i>cirek</i>	<i>ciR-</i>
274	kill	<i>marna</i>	<i>mar Dalna, bhuseidena</i>	<i>muawAl</i>	<i>marek</i>	<i>marek</i>	<i>paThka</i>	<i>mar-</i>
275	quarrel	<i>jhagadna</i>	<i>jhagra kArna</i>	<i>jhAgARAl</i>	<i>jhAgra lagek</i>	<i>jhAgDa</i>	<i>marek</i>	<i>kOndOO ker -</i>
276	fight	<i>ladna</i>			<i>laDhek</i>	<i>lADhek</i>	<i>lADhek</i>	<i>laRhai ker-</i>
277	stab	<i>chapna</i>	<i>bhusei dena</i>	<i>churamarAl , caku marAl</i>	<i>churi jobek</i>	<i>bhAsek</i>	<i>marek</i>	<i>mar-</i>

AUSTRO-ASIATIC LANGUAGE FAMILY					DRAVIDIAN LANGUAGE FAMILY		
Santali	Ho	Kharia	Mahili	Mundari	Kurukh/ Oraon	Gloss	S.No
<i>doha</i>	<i>emtam</i>	<i>u?nu-na</i>	<i>tahe</i>	<i>do, jogar</i>	<i>uina</i>	put	255
<i>rabat</i>	<i>gosoo</i>	<i>ragday-na</i>	<i>iskir</i>	<i>gošo</i>	<i>ragaddna</i>	rub	256
<i>akrid</i>	<i>kiriM</i>	<i>hopsona</i>	<i>akrin</i>	<i>akring</i>	<i>be:sna</i>	sell	257
	<i>ha: nDet(door),ja: piT(eye),hapa :nme(mouth)</i>	<i>sangodna</i>	<i>sin</i>	<i>hanDen</i>	<i>minkhna</i>	shut	258
	<i>yuiyana</i>	<i>debena</i>		<i>dumpui</i>	<i>sikuRarna</i>	sink	259
	<i>hircitana</i>	<i>jim kay-na</i>		<i>herchy</i>	<i>chirka:na, chitrana</i>	sprinkle	260
	<i>cippa: tam</i>	<i>ottom-na</i>		<i>cippa</i>	<i>chiku nanna</i>	squeeze	261
<i>tho</i>		<i>bithunga</i>	<i>tho</i>	<i>be?E</i>	<i>tupna</i>	spit	262
<i>phulan</i>		<i>kung</i>	<i>phula</i>	<i>mo?</i>	<i>phuburna:</i>	swell	263
		<i>chodna</i>		<i>meTTau / gose</i>	<i>chüichna</i>	wipe	264
<i>conthao</i>	<i>oy'e</i>	<i>gag</i>	<i>orec</i>		<i>chaRRna(rip cloth)</i>	tear	265
<i>mandua</i>	<i>terem</i>	<i>guy-na</i>	<i>gidi</i>	<i>lijanura</i>	<i>heberna</i>	throw	266
<i>ari?b</i>	<i>abuM(hand),capi(utensil)</i>	<i>ragōyt-na</i>	<i>ari?b</i>	<i>1. nanakkan 'pure' 2. narakkan</i>	<i>noRbo (hans), noR horna (in hans)</i>	wash	267
<i>geT, mak</i>	<i>racam(cloth,rope),geDe(meat)</i>	<i>degna</i>		<i>sa?n</i>	<i>khaīha:na, khanDa</i>	cut	268
<i>la</i>	<i>u: r em</i>	<i>lāyna</i>		<i>u?r</i>	<i>arkhna</i>	dig	269
<i>sendra</i>		<i>tarna</i>		<i>cendra</i>	<i>sendra bechna</i>	hunt	270
						pond	271
	<i>toDi: m</i>	<i>tarna</i>	<i>Thu</i>	<i>tuin</i>	<i>tukna darapitan</i>	shoot	272
<i>parak</i>	<i>hake</i>	<i>pāRa-na</i>		<i>belca / LunDi</i>	<i>palakhna</i>	split	273
<i>beNdao/ goc</i>	<i>go'e</i>	<i>o?bgoy-na</i>	<i>benDao</i>	<i>goj / goye</i>	<i>piTna</i>	kill	274
<i>jhogra</i>	<i>gopoe</i>	<i>golgamna</i>	<i>la</i>	<i>epperang</i>	<i>kalana nana</i>	quarrel	275
<i>laRhai</i>	<i>gusaitana</i>		<i>la</i>		<i>leggea- nakhana</i>	fight	276
<i>sobok</i>	<i>gusakiye</i>	<i>tarna</i>		<i>hud/ma:?</i>	<i>jobna-khotna</i>	stab	277

INDO-ARYAN LANGUAGE FAMILY								
Hindi and its Mother Tongues								
S.No	Gloss	Hindi	Khortha/ Khotta	Magadhi/ Magahi	Nagpuria	Panch pargania	Sadan/ Sadri	Malpaharia
278	beat		<i>bajana</i>	<i>bAjawAl</i>	<i>marek</i>	<i>marek</i>	<i>marek</i>	<i>DaMa-</i>
279	sing	<i>gana</i>	<i>git gana</i>	<i>gawAl</i> <i>gAwawAl</i>	<i>gitaek</i>	<i>gaek</i>	<i>git gawek</i>	<i>(git) gitia-</i>
280	arrive	<i>ana</i>	<i>pĀhAcna</i>	<i>Ail</i>	<i>pAhūcek</i>	<i>pAhūcek</i>	<i>pAhūcek</i>	<i>Oes -</i>
281	ascend	<i>badhna</i>	<i>cARhna</i>	<i>cARhAl</i>	<i>age jaik</i>	<i>aguaek</i>	<i>bADhek</i>	<i>uTh-</i>
282	bring	<i>lana</i>	<i>lana</i>	<i>anAl lawAl</i>	<i>leke anek</i>	<i>anek</i>	<i>lanek</i>	<i>Ni aN -</i>
283	climb	<i>chadna</i>	<i>cARhna</i>	<i>cARhAl</i>	<i>cAghek</i>	<i>ceDhek</i>	<i>cARhek</i>	<i>uTh - / cap-</i>
284	come	<i>ana</i>	<i>ana</i>	<i>Ail</i>	<i>aek</i>	<i>aek</i>	<i>awek</i>	<i>Oes-</i>
285	dance	<i>nachna</i>	<i>nacna</i>	<i>nacAl</i>	<i>nacek</i>	<i>nacek</i>	<i>nacek</i>	<i>lac -</i>
286	drag	<i>khichna</i>	<i>ghīcna</i>	<i>dhAkiawAl /</i> <i>dhAsorAl</i> <i>TanAl</i>	<i>Tanek</i>	<i>Tahek</i>	<i>khicek</i>	<i>hīca-</i>
287	enter	<i>ghusna</i>	<i>ghusna</i>	<i>DhukAl</i>	<i>Dhukek</i>	<i>samaek</i>	<i>DhukeAk</i>	<i>DhOk - /</i> <i>Dhuk-</i>
288	escape	<i>bhagna</i>	<i>paray jana</i>	<i>chuTAl</i>	<i>pAraik</i>	<i>paraek</i>	<i>ceilgelAk</i>	<i>pala -</i>
289	fly	<i>udna</i>	<i>uRna</i>	<i>uRAL</i>	<i>uDek</i>	<i>uDek</i>	<i>uDek</i>	<i>iDuŌ - /</i> <i>uDūŌ -</i>
290	get	<i>pana</i>	<i>pana</i>	<i>pawAl</i>	<i>milek</i>	<i>paek</i>	<i>milgelAk</i>	<i>pa-</i>
291	get up	<i>uthna</i>	<i>uThna, ūgna</i>	<i>uThAl</i>	<i>uThen</i>	<i>uThek</i>	<i>uiThja</i>	<i>uTh-</i>
292	give	<i>dena</i>	<i>dena</i>	<i>del</i>	<i>dek</i>	<i>deAK</i>	<i>de</i>	<i>de-</i>
293	go	<i>jana</i>	<i>jana</i>	<i>jail</i>	<i>jaek</i>	<i>jaek</i>	<i>ja</i>	<i>ja-</i>
294	jump	<i>uchalna</i>	<i>laphana, laph</i> <i>dena</i>	<i>kudAl</i>	<i>kudek</i>	<i>Degek</i>	<i>bAdAk</i>	<i>lapha-</i>
295	move	<i>chalna</i>	<i>ghurana,</i> <i>ghumana</i>	<i>hilAl</i>	<i>ghumeik</i>	<i>ghurek</i>	<i>ja</i>	<i>ghurī bul-</i>
296	run	<i>daudna</i>	<i>dAuRna</i>	<i>dhAurAl</i>	<i>kudek</i>	<i>kudek</i>	<i>bAdAk</i>	<i>dOR-</i>
297	sent	<i>bhejna</i>	<i>bhejna,</i> <i>pATHana</i>	<i>bhejAl</i>	<i>pAiThaek</i>	<i>paThaek</i>	<i>bheij</i>	<i>pOTha-</i>
298	slip	<i>fisalna</i>	<i>pichArna</i>	<i>phisAlAl /</i> <i>bichlAl</i>	<i>khAskek</i>	<i>pichrek</i>	<i>pichalgelAk</i>	
299	stand up	<i>khada</i> <i>hona</i>	<i>khaRa hona</i>	<i>khaR howAl</i>	<i>uThek ,</i> <i>ThaD jaek</i>	<i>ThaDrAhek</i>	<i>uiTh</i>	<i>thia- / thiaī</i> <i>ach-</i>
300	swim	<i>tairna</i>	<i>sātalkatnai</i>	<i>pAwrAl ,</i> <i>pAwrhAl</i>	<i>pōgrek ,</i> <i>pōurek</i>	<i>poīrek</i>	<i>paurek</i>	

AUSTRO-ASIATIC LANGUAGE FAMILY					DRAVIDIAN LANGUAGE FAMILY		
Santali	Ho	Kharia	Mahili	Mundari	Kurukh/ Oraon	Gloss	S.No
<i>dal</i>	<i>ru: tam(a drum)</i>				<i>assna</i>	beat	278
<i>sereM</i>	<i>duraM</i>	<i>damna</i>	<i>serem</i>	<i>duRang</i>	<i>parna</i>	sing	279
<i>tiok, seTer</i>	<i>beTayanam</i>	<i>damna</i>	<i>ruar</i>	<i>deba?</i>	<i>ãRsna</i>	arrive	280
	<i>rakap tana</i>	<i>debna</i>	<i>rakap</i>	<i>rakkam</i>	<i>aRgna:</i>	ascend	281
<i>agu</i>	<i>iDetanain</i>	<i>olgoredo</i>	<i>agu</i>	<i>agu</i>	<i>ondorna:</i>	bring	282
<i>dec</i>	<i>(da : ru) de'e</i>	<i>Deb</i>	<i>dec·</i>	<i>daru de?e</i>	<i>argna:</i>	climb	283
<i>dela / hiju</i>	<i>huju um</i>	<i>ay</i>	<i>hec</i>		<i>barna</i>	come	284
<i>enec</i>	<i>susu: n</i>	<i>ebo' / kuitna</i>	<i>hila ̣u</i>	<i>susung</i>	<i>nalna-bechnā</i>	dance	285
<i>or</i>	<i>canam pa: te</i>	<i>dingna</i>		<i>do : ndo</i>	<i>ghisTg:na:, ghisya:na:, natogna:</i>	drag	286
<i>bolo</i>	<i>bitar bolam</i>	<i>diarna</i>	<i>bolo</i>	<i>bo:lo</i>	<i>korna:</i>	enter	287
<i>paskao</i>	<i>nirem</i>	<i>yarna</i>		<i>banchav/urung</i>	<i>bachanna:</i>	escape	288
<i>ro</i>	<i>apirentana(as a bird)</i>	<i>leng-na(as a bird)</i>	<i>a ̣tu</i>	<i>apir</i>	<i>uRhiyarna</i>	fly	289
<i>nam</i>	<i>iDem</i>	<i>doDna</i>		<i>idi</i>	<i>beddna,onda</i>	get	290
<i>uT</i>	<i>uTenme</i>	<i>beRodna</i>	<i>beret</i>	<i>birid / tingu</i>	<i>choa:</i>	get up	291
<i>e?m</i>	<i>emenj</i>	<i>terna</i>	<i>e?m</i>	<i>om</i>	<i>chia:</i>	give	292
<i>seno</i>	<i>seno'om</i>	<i>chona</i>	<i>seno</i>	<i>(i) sen, (ii) seno</i>	<i>kala:</i>	go	293
<i>don</i>	<i>u: yi</i>	<i>puTna</i>	<i>don</i>	<i>kutil 'kutil parom' (across)</i>	<i>ujdar-av darakaTna:</i>	jump	294
	<i>u : dur(tram)</i>				<i>ka:na</i>	move	295
<i>niR</i>	<i>nir</i>	<i>dāyna</i>	<i>nir</i>	<i>dauri . Nir</i>	<i>teremna</i>	run	296
<i>kol</i>	<i>seno</i>	<i>dañgna</i>		<i>kul / jana idi</i>	<i>bedna</i>	sent	297
	<i>jil</i>	<i>joloTna</i>		<i>jiled</i>	<i>nurutuna</i>	slip	298
	<i>uTenme</i>	<i>tongon-na</i>		<i>tingu</i>	<i>ijña</i>	stand up	299
<i>paera</i>	<i>oyar</i>	<i>pawrena</i>	<i>paera</i>	<i>oyar / debe'</i>	<i>ōguna</i>	swim	300

INDO-ARYAN LANGUAGE FAMILY								
Hindi and its Mother Tongues								
S.No	Gloss	Hindi	Khortha/ Khotta	Magadhi/ Magahi	Nagpuria	Panch pargania	Sadan/ Sadri	Malpaharia
301	swing	lehrana	dulna	jhulAl	jhulek	jhulek	jhulek	
302	take	lena		lel liawAl	leik	leAk	lei	Ne- / ne-
303	vomit	ulti		bokArAl upatAl	okek	ulgek , uchalkArek	ubat	igla- / ugla-
304	walk	chalna	ghumna	cAlAl / ghumAl	cAleK	cAleK	cAleK	cal-
305	cultivate	kheti	ca:s kArna	bunAl	ca:skArek	khetikArek	joitkoiDke	cas ker-
306	comb	kanghi	kakAi kArna	kAkAhi kArAl maM pharAl / babRi jharAl	koraek , ke:sciraek	kokoikArek	koraicirai	kakŌa-
307	graze	chabana	cArana	cArAl	cArek	cArek	cArAthe	cOr-
308	harvest	fasal	buNna	bunAl	kATni	dhan / gehū kaTek	kATni	dhan
309	lend	udhar	udha:r dena	udhar del	riNlek	rinleAk , dha:r leAk	pAīca	dhar de-
310	meat	mansh			ma:s	ma:s	mas	
311	plant	ped	lAgana	pAudha lAgawAl	buda	gach	buda	rOp-
312	reap	katna	kaTna	bunAl	pakek	pakek	paik	kaT-
313	saw	dekhna		dekhAl thin / thAn	dekhek	dekhek	dekhek	
314	sow	bona	bunna	bAnAl	bunek	bunek	bunek	rOp -
315	bark	vaukna	bhokna	bhukAl	bhukek	bhukek	bhukek	bhuk-
316	bite(dog)	katna	kaTna,kamuRna	katAl , kaTAl	cabek	cabek	cAbaik	kecaR-
317	cook	pakana	rādhna	pAkawAl	randhek	randhek	randhek	rādh-
318	drink	pina	pina	pibAl	piek	piek	piek	pi -
319	buffalo	bhais			bhĀis	bhĀis	bhAis	
320	feed	khilana	khilana	khilawAl	khiaek	khawaek	khiyalAk	khua-
321	suck	chusna	cusna	cabhAl / cusAl	cusek	cusek	cuisse	cus- / cos-
322	tie	badhna	pindhna	bAnhAl banhAl bAnhwawAl	bandhek	bandhek	baindh	bādh-
323	wear	pahenna	pindhna	pAhirAl pAhirawAl pAhirwawAl	pindhek	pindhek	pindh	pindh-

AUSTRO-ASIATIC LANGUAGE FAMILY					DRAVIDIAN LANGUAGE FAMILY		
Santali	Ho	Kharia	Mahili	Mundari	Kurukh/ Oraon	Gloss	S.No
<i>jok</i>	<i>cakur</i>	<i>jule</i>			<i>dilwa julugña</i>	swing	301
<i>ne /ni</i>	<i>yiDem</i>	<i>abrena</i>		<i>au / barasi</i>	<i>etnana</i>	take	302
<i>ulli</i>		<i>bajana</i>	<i>pahTkar</i>	<i>ula?</i>		vomit	303
<i>dara /daran</i>	<i>sen</i>	<i>sangodha</i>	<i>taram</i>	<i>sen</i>	<i>ekkna</i>	walk	304
<i>cas</i>	<i>syu: tanko</i>	<i>ponu-na</i>	<i>ir</i>	<i>(i) hero, (ii) roo</i>	<i>uiñakhosuna</i>	cultivate	305
<i>nakic</i>	<i>na: ki</i>	<i>kekke cheRay-na</i>	<i>nakic</i>	<i>sutom / tengo : nakki</i>	<i>bagirka:</i>	comb	306
<i>aTin</i>	<i>ta sa: D</i>	<i>hariyōgna</i>	<i>a_otin</i>	<i>hating</i>	<i>meñña (in trans), meñta:na (trans)</i>	graze	307
<i>sawae</i>	<i>data: rum</i>	<i>kettina</i>	<i>ir</i>	<i>iro</i>	<i>khoina hajna</i>	harvest	308
<i>panca</i>	<i>udar</i>	<i>terna</i>	<i>pan_occa</i>	<i>om</i>	<i>paincha cina</i>	lend	309
<i>jel</i>						meat	310
<i>rohoe</i>	<i>roaem</i>	<i>onu-na</i>		<i>kalamakkan daru on ko</i>	<i>idna:</i>	plant	311
<i>ir</i>	<i>yir</i>	<i>seg, se, sey</i>	<i>ir</i>	<i>jarom</i>	<i>khoyna</i>	reap	312
		<i>ari</i>	<i>nel</i>		<i>e: rkan (I), eevkay (you), c:rya (she)</i>	saw	313
<i>aphor / er</i>	<i>here: tana</i>				<i>chakña</i>	sow	314
	<i>bu: itna</i>	<i>baguruna</i>	<i>agu</i>	<i>bu?u</i>	<i>parmna</i>	bark	315
<i>ger</i>	<i>huwa</i>	<i>kedna</i>		<i>ceTahua</i>	<i>parmna:</i>	bite(dog)	316
<i>isin</i>	<i>isintana</i>	<i>gom-na</i>	<i>isin</i>	<i>mandi / isin</i>	<i>ekhta:na</i>	cook	317
<i>nu</i>	<i>nu:</i>	<i>uD</i>	<i>nu_o</i>	<i>nu</i>	<i>onna</i>	drink	318
<i>bitkil (f) kaDa (m)</i>		<i>bontel</i>		<i>keRa</i>		buffalo	319
	<i>nunu aim</i>	<i>obnyo</i>		<i>a jom</i>	<i>onta:na- mokhta:na</i>	feed	320
<i>nunu</i>		<i>ud (av), jobna</i>		<i>cheppe</i>	<i>cheepna</i>	suck	321
	<i>tolen me</i>	<i>ghaT lolna</i>	<i>tol</i>	<i>tondom</i>	<i>cho:na</i>	tie	322
		<i>sosina</i>		<i>kecajana</i>	<i>atna:</i>	wear	323

INDO-ARYAN LANGUAGE FAMILY

Hindi and its Mother Tongues

S.No	Gloss	Hindi	Khortha/ Khotta	Magadhi/ Magahi	Nagpuria	Panch pargania	Sadan/ Sadri	Malpaharia
324	answer	uttar	jAba:b dena	jAbab del	jAbabdek	jAwabdeAk	jababdelAk	jObab de-
325	ask	puchna	puchna	puchAl	puchek	puchek	puch	sudha-
326	call	bulana	Dakna	bolawAl	hānkaek , bolaek	hakaek / dakek	bulao	hāk
327	say	bolna	bolna	kAhAl	kahek	kAhek	kAh	bOl-
328	shout	chilana	cillana	ciciail / gA:rjAl	ciciaek	cēcaek	gul kArek	hāk-
329	write	likhna	likhna	lihAl	likhek	likhek	likhek	lekh-
330	crawl	sarakna			habuDhabu Dhoek	ghisrek	ghusAk	beDh-
331	choose	chunna	cunna	bachAl	bachek	bachek	bichek	pOsOnd ker-
332	die	marna	mArna	mual	mArek	mArek	moirijaek	mOr-
333	live	rahena		rAhAl / jail	rAhek	rAhek	rAhek	rOh-
334	earn	kamana	kAmana	uprajAl	kAmaek	kamaek	kAmaek	kama-
335	hide	chupna	lukeike rAkhna	chipAl / chipawAl	lukek	lukek	lukaek	luka-
336	keep	rakhna	rAkhna	rakhAl	mADaek	rakhek	rAkhek	rakh-
337	turn	ghumna		piche ghumAl	phaTek	ghuraek	ghuimek	ghur
338	sit	baithna	bAiThna	bAiThAl	bAisek	bAisek	bAiTh	bOes- / bOesī ach-
339	stop	rukna	ro:k jana	rukAl thAhrAl / thAmhAl	Dhapek	rAhedek	bAnd	thia-
340	change	badalna	bAdAlna	bAdlAl	bAdlek	bAdlaek	bAdlek	bOdOl ker-
341	freeze	jamna	jAim jana	jAmAl	jAmaek	jAmeek	jAim	
342	grief	sok			dukh	kAsTA , dukh	dukh/tAklipa	
343	wet	bhigna	bhingna	gil, gilAl	simdAl	bhijek	bhijek	bhiji ja-
344	count	ginna	ginna	ginAl	ginek	gAnek	ginek	gON-
345	know	jana	janna	janAl jAnawAl jAnwawAl bujhAl bujhawAl	janek	janek	janek	jaN-
346	learn	sikhna	sikhna	sikhAl	sikhek	sikhek	sikhek	sekh-

AUSTRO-ASIATIC LANGUAGE FAMILY					DRAVIDIAN LANGUAGE FAMILY		
Santali	Ho	Kharia	Mahili	Mundari	Kurukh/ Oraon	Gloss	S.No
<i>roR ruaR</i>	<i>kaji ure etana</i>	<i>gamyongna</i>	<i>lai / lor ruar</i>	<i>kajlura</i>	<i>ãna-kirta:na:</i>	answer	324
<i>kuli</i>	<i>kuli ure etana</i>	<i>jung-na</i>	<i>kuli</i>	<i>ku : li</i>	<i>menna</i>	ask	325
<i>hoho</i>	<i>misatelana</i>	<i>rema-na</i>		<i>rahau</i>	<i>me:khna, eRna</i>	call	326
<i>me?n / lai</i>	<i>kaji</i>	<i>gam-na</i>	<i>men</i>	<i>kaji</i>	<i>anna:</i>	say	327
<i>hoho</i>	<i>kakla, iyu</i>	<i>yam (v)</i>	<i>hoho</i>	<i>kakala</i>	<i>chichyarna</i>	shout	328
<i>ol</i>	<i>o: letana</i>	<i>likhay-na</i>	<i>ol</i>	<i>ōt</i>	<i>tuRna:</i>	write	329
						crawl	330
<i>bachao</i>	<i>salaime</i>	<i>ray-na</i>		<i>sala</i>	<i>chajna</i>	choose	331
<i>benDaok</i>	<i>go: jiena</i>	<i>goy-na</i>		<i>goj / goye'</i>	<i>khe:na</i>	die	332
<i>jiwet</i>	<i>mena aMa</i>	<i>awna</i>	<i>jiwet</i>		<i>ra:na:</i>	live	333
	<i>nala</i>				<i>arja:na:</i>	earn	334
<i>coko</i>	<i>ukuitana (something) / ukun (self)</i>	<i>okub</i>	<i>oko</i>		<i>nuRna:</i>	hide	335
<i>doho</i>		<i>uñ</i>			<i>u:ina</i>	keep	336
<i>acur</i>		<i>gumroy-na</i>		<i>biur</i>	<i>pali</i>	turn	337
<i>duRup</i>	<i>dupme</i>	<i>Doko</i>		<i>dub</i>	<i>okkna:</i>	sit	338
	<i>ti: Muim</i>	<i>milayna</i>		<i>hokkatam</i>	<i>utugna:</i>	stop	339
<i>pherao</i>	<i>bo: dulem</i>	<i>rejki</i>	<i>ruar</i>	<i>bach-avu</i>	<i>pattarna:</i>	change	340
	<i>sakkiDekna</i>	<i>karray-na</i>		<i>sakki</i>	<i>kaThuarna</i>	freeze	341
						grief	342
<i>gorboea</i>	<i>lu: mtam</i>	<i>hosoTna</i>	<i>lohot</i>	<i>lum</i>	<i>chīdna</i>	wet	343
<i>lekha</i>	<i>le: ka</i>	<i>kolna</i>		<i>leka</i>	<i>gan-na:</i>	count	344
	<i>ada: nai</i>	<i>oñgna</i>	<i>badae</i>	1. <i>sare</i> 2. <i>uRu</i>	<i>akhna:</i>	know	345
<i>ceT</i>	<i>paRa: wtanai</i>	<i>soig-na</i>	<i>cike</i>	<i>itun, sari</i>	<i>sikhrna</i>	learn	346

INDO-ARYAN LANGUAGE FAMILY								
Hindi and its Mother Tongues								
S.No	Gloss	Hindi	Khortha/ Khotta	Magadhi / Magahi	Nagpuria	Panch pargania	Sadan/ Sadri	Malpaharia
347	think	sochna	bhabna, socna	solAl	socek	socek	socek	hudis ker-
348	chase	lalkarna			pichakArek	picha kArek	pache kudek	juTĩ pOr-
349	cry	rona	kādna	cocoae;	kandek	kandek	kandek	kād-
350	fear	darna	DARna	DARAl	DAREk	DARaek	DAREk	DORa-
351	hear	suna	su nna	sunAl sunawAl	sunek	sunek	sunek	suN-
352	laugh,smile	hasna/muskarana	hāsna	hAsAl hAsawAl hAswawAl	hāsek , muskek	hāsek , muckek	hAnsek	hās-
353	read	padna	pARhna	pARhal	pADhek	pARhek	pADhek	pORh-
354	sleep	sona/aram	sona, sutna	sutAl , pA:rAl / letAl / PAsArAl	nindaek	nidaek	sutek	sO- / nida- / su rOh-
355	smell	sungna	sunghna	mAhkAl gAmkAl gAnhail (in bad sense)	suMghek	suMghek	suMghek	sūk-
356	taste	swad	cākhna	cikhAl	cakhek	cakhek	cakhek	cakh-
357	touch	chuna	chōna, chūkedekhnā	chuwAl chuwawAl	chuek	chuek	chuek	chū-
358	wake up	jagna	jagi uThna	jagAl	uThek ,	jagek , uThek	jagek	uTh-
359	annoy	gussa	rAgana, birAkt kArna, Aktay kArna	khisia wAl	khisaek	ragaek	khisaik	
360	kiss	chumna	cuma khana	cummAl cumawAl	cumakArek	cumadeAk	cuma	
361	love	pyar karna	pear kArna, prem kArna	manAl pArem kAel piarkAel	dula:r kArek	prem kArek	dular	
362	tired	thakna	thAik jana	thAkAl	thakek	thAkek	thaik gelAk	
363	bathe	nahana	nahana	mAhail, nAhawAl	nahaek	nahaek	nAhake	sina- / naha-
364	buy	kharidna		kinAl	kinek	kinek	kinek	kiN-
365	drip	chuna	jhARi pARna	DubawAl	girek	kaTaek	girgelAk	
366	meet	mulakat karna	bhēt kArna	milAl bhetAl	milek	milaek	milek	dekha ker-
367	repay	chukana	sujhna	kArj del	kAchia ghuraek	pAisa ghuraek	ghuraidelAk	ghura-
368	ridicule, joke	majak karna	tokna marna	mAja kAel	hasi mAjak	hasimAjak k , TheTha	mAjak/hAsi	mOja ker-
369	show	dikhana	dikhana	dekhawAl	dekhaek	dekhaek	dekho	dekha-
370	scratch	kharochna		khurOAl hocAl khArolal , khurAwAl / hocAwAl	nocek	nocek	goderlAk	

AUSTRO-ASIATIC LANGUAGE FAMILY					DRAVIDIAN LANGUAGE FAMILY		
Santali	Ho	Kharia	Mahili	Mundari	Kurukh/ Oraon	Gloss	S.No
<i>hudis</i>	<i>uRu uyme</i>	<i>milna rayna</i>	<i>hudis</i>	<i>uRu</i>	<i>chokhna</i>	think	347
						chase	348
<i>aRan</i>	<i>raaetana</i>	<i>foro, (for animals), yam (prchildun)</i>	<i>rak</i>	<i>ra:</i>	<i>garjarna:</i>	cry	349
<i>botor</i>	<i>boro etanai</i>	<i>botem-na</i>	<i>anjom</i>	<i>boro</i>	<i>elechna</i>	fear	350
<i>anjom</i>	<i>ayume: tanai</i>	<i>onDor, onDr</i>	<i>aten</i>	<i>aium</i>	<i>minna</i>	hear	351
<i>landa</i>	<i>landa: etana</i>	<i>leDa</i>	<i>landa</i>	<i>landa</i>	<i>musumusurna</i>	laugh,smile	352
<i>paRhao</i>	<i>de: k karke</i>	<i>paRhe</i>	<i>paRhao</i>	<i>paRov</i>	<i>bachna, paRhna</i>	read	353
<i>japiT</i>	<i>gi: ti</i>	<i>lemed</i>	<i>japit</i>	<i>durum / hosoro</i>	<i>khandavna</i>	sleep	354
<i>bas / ji / so</i>	<i>swan</i>	<i>Juny juy</i>	<i>ji</i>	<i>soang</i>	<i>ToTna</i>	smell	355
<i>cakha</i>	<i>cakaleka</i>	<i>Jemeng, sebol</i>	<i>aiku</i>	<i>sugaRa soang</i>	<i>taTna</i>	taste	356
<i>joTed</i>	<i>taki</i>	<i>jib</i>	<i>jotet</i>	<i>juTin</i>	<i>ōsorna, (hand touch) kappna</i>	touch	357
<i>beret /rakap</i>	<i>uTeyme</i>	<i>berona</i>		<i>birin</i>		wake up	358
<i>ikau</i>		<i>heptegna</i>	<i>danTao / edre</i>	<i>kairov-rika</i>	<i>chirbaba:na</i>	annoy	359
<i>copok</i>	<i>jere: b</i>	<i>cuma</i>	<i>co ċk</i>	<i>choko</i>	<i>chōkhna:</i>	kiss	360
<i>dular</i>	<i>apa: sora</i>	<i>lebui-na</i>	<i>dular</i>	<i>dular / dulaDa</i>	<i>chonhā nanna:</i>	love	361
<i>alopalo</i>	<i>laga</i>		<i>mokon</i>	<i>laga, jan</i>	<i>khaRadna:</i>	tired	362
<i>u?m</i>	<i>o: lanaM</i>	<i>uana</i>	<i>um</i>	<i>re:Ren</i>	<i>enna:</i>	bathe	363
<i>kirin</i>	<i>kiriM</i>	<i>songna</i>	<i>kirin</i>	<i>kiring</i>	<i>khendna:</i>	buy	364
	<i>dule: tana</i>	<i>Tippa</i>		<i>dumpui</i>		drip	365
	<i>jagarlaM</i>	<i>katib / kolku'na</i>	<i>daram / hapam</i>	<i>rapam</i>		meet	366
<i>adai / hala</i>	<i>jokko joko ten pere eya</i>	<i>oy'en / tenoy'eag-na</i>		<i>om-ruar hal ruRa (loan)</i>	<i>kirta:na:</i>	repay	367
		<i>banchayna</i>	<i>tama ċsa</i>	<i>banjav</i>	<i>chika:bana:</i>	ridicule,joke	368
<i>uDuk</i>	<i>udup</i>	<i>oboy-na</i>	<i>uduk</i>	<i>udub</i>	<i>eDha</i>	show	369
<i>raboR</i>	<i>husiD</i>		<i>rabor</i>		<i>khāsna</i>	scratch	370

INDO-ARYAN LANGUAGE FAMILY								
Hindi and its Mother Tongues								
S.No	Gloss	Hindi	Khortha/ Khotta	Magadhi/ Magahi	Nagpuria	Panch pargania	Sadan/ Sadri	Malpaharia
371	stick	chipkana		cipAkwAl	laThi	lAthi	danTa	lOga-
372	kick	lath marna			eDiaek	lait marek	lait marek	gOr mar-
373	win				jitek	jetek	jitek	
374	disappear	andekha			chAyAman hoegelak	gaib , chAnhAek	luik gelAk	
375	name	nam		nam	nau	nam	naō	nam-
376	all	sab	sAb, sAbhe	sAb (h), sAbh	sAub , sAbhe	sAub	sAubmAn	sOb
377	bad	kharab	khArab	khArab	bekar	kharap	beka:r	kharap
378	big	bada	bARA	bAR (hAh), bARhA	bAD	bADe	bAD	bODDO
379	dirty	ganda	gAhAnda, mAila	gAnda	ghin ghina	kharap	gAnda	giM'juO
380	dry	sukha	sukha, sukhAL	sukhAl	sukhAl	sukhel	sukhAl	sukhNa
381	few	kum	tAnik	thwAr	kAm , tAnik	kichu	thoDe	itugi / itigi
382	full	bhara	pura	bhArAl	pura , bhArAl	bhArti	bhArAl	bhOrlOk
383	good	a:cca	accha	bA:Rhia, bARhia	be:s	be:s	be:s	bes
384	knock	dhak dhakana			khATkhATAek	ThAkThAkaek	khATkhATAek	
385	honest	imandar	sadhu, sAcut	imandar / sAcca	imanda:r	imandar	sAnth	bOrhia / sabit (maNus)
386	long	lamba	lAmba	lAmhAr	lAmba	lamba	lAmba	nOmba
387	many	bahut	bAhu:t, khu:b	bAhut, begini / begenti	Dhei r	bejaĩ	Dheir	Dher
388	narrow	choti	sAru	patAr	patAr	sakAt	patAr	sākrO, suru
389	new	naya	nAya	nAya	nāwa	nawā	nāua	nOwO
390	old	purana	buRha, purana	buRh, buRhA	purna	purna	puruna	buDhO (m.) / buDhi (f.)
391	raw	kachcha	kacca	kac , kacA	kaca	kānca	kAcca	kacO
392	rotten	sadna	pAca, sARha, sARhAl	sARAl	sARAl	pAcAL	sADAL	pOca / sOROa
393	right	sahi	Thik, Thike	Thik	be:s	DAhina	be:s	bes

AUSTRO-ASIATIC LANGUAGE FAMILY					DRAVIDIAN LANGUAGE FAMILY		
Santali	Ho	Kharia	Mahili	Mundari	Kurukh/ Oraon	Gloss	S.No
<i>Thenga</i>			<i>laTkao</i>			stick	371
						kick	372
						win	373
<i>adger</i>						disappear	374
<i>nutum</i>		<i>nami</i>	<i>na^om</i>	<i>nutum</i>	<i>name:</i>	name	375
<i>joto, sanam</i>	<i>sabinko</i>	<i>jhaRi</i>	<i>joto / sanam</i>	<i>soben</i>	<i>ormar/hoRmar</i>	all	376
<i>baric / curthi</i>	<i>kara: p</i>	<i>umbes / umbáru</i>		<i>etkan</i>	<i>maldaw</i>	bad	377
<i>maraN</i>	<i>mara: M</i>	<i>maha</i>		<i>maRang</i>	<i>koha:</i>	big	378
<i>ghestah /maila</i>	<i>hu mu:, moila</i>	<i>koDil</i>	<i>kanDa</i>	<i>humu</i>	<i>lesso</i>	dirty	379
<i>rohoR</i>	<i>ro: anjeD</i>	<i>kosor</i>	<i>roho^or</i>	<i>ror / roRo</i>	<i>khaika</i>	dry	380
<i>aDikom / thoRa</i>	<i>jokalika</i>	<i>cuTTito</i>	<i>adikom</i>	<i>uRiñg</i>	<i>jukki</i>	few	381
<i>bhor</i>	<i>sabin</i>	<i>ho?re</i>	<i>pere?</i>	<i>pēre</i>	<i>nindka</i>	full	382
<i>bhage / boge</i>	<i>bukin</i>	<i>baru</i>	<i>be^os</i>	<i>bugin</i>	<i>daw/dawle:</i>	good	383
						knock	384
<i>be:s</i>	<i>emma : nda : ri</i>		<i>be^os</i>	<i>sartihoRe</i>	<i>imandar</i>	honest	385
<i>jelen</i>	<i>ji: liM</i>	<i>jhelob/ celo</i>	<i>jhal</i>	<i>jiling</i>	<i>digha:</i>	long	386
<i>De:r</i>	<i>pure</i>	<i>jughay</i>	<i>de^or</i>	<i>puRa:</i>	<i>bagge, dher dher</i>	many	387
<i>sului</i>	<i>su: Ri</i>	<i>pōnke</i>	<i>sului</i>	<i>nana</i>	<i>sokRo</i>	narrow	388
<i>nouya</i>	<i>nama</i>	<i>tonme</i>	<i>nouwa</i>	<i>nawa</i>	<i>buna:</i>	new	389
<i>ma:re</i>	<i>buRa</i>	<i>bair / buRha</i>	<i>ma^ore</i>	<i>haram</i>	<i>pacha:</i>	old	390
<i>berel</i>		<i>borol</i>	<i>beral</i>	<i>barel</i>		raw	391
<i>siya</i>	<i>soya</i>	<i>loro</i>	<i>siya^o</i>	<i>soya-kana</i>	<i>kitka, puchchka:</i>	rotten	392
<i>etom / hojom</i>	<i>Ti: ki</i>	<i>taukka</i>	<i>jo?jo</i>	<i>jom ti sa</i>	<i>thāwa, thāwa:, Tipal</i>	right	393

INDO-ARYAN LANGUAGE FAMILY								
Hindi and its Mother Tongues								
S.No	Gloss	Hindi	Khortha/ Khotta	Magadhi/ Magahi	Nagpuria	Panch pargania	Sadan/ Sadri	Malpaharia
394	dull	<i>buddhu</i>		<i>lArAm / korhia</i>	<i>kAmjor</i>	<i>phiki</i>	<i>DhilAm</i>	<i>bhOthrO</i>
395	lie	<i>jhuta</i>		<i>jhuT</i>	<i>jhuTh</i>	<i>micha</i>	<i>jhuTh</i>	<i>jhuTO / micha-</i>
396	sharp	<i>dharidar</i>	<i>te:j</i>	<i>dhArgAr</i>	<i>te:j</i>	<i>tej</i>	<i>dha:r/cAukh</i>	<i>cOkhO</i>
397	short	<i>chota</i>	<i>naTa</i>	<i>choT</i>	<i>cho:T</i>	<i>choTe</i>	<i>cho:T</i>	<i>geDrO/ geDDa</i>
398	some	<i>kuch</i>		<i>kuch</i>	<i>TAnik</i>	<i>kichu</i>	<i>Thore</i>	<i>itigi / itugi</i>
399	small	<i>chota</i>	<i>choTA</i>	<i>choT</i>	<i>cho:T</i>	<i>choTe</i>	<i>cho:T</i>	<i>chuTu</i>
400	smart	<i>chatur</i>	<i>cālak</i>	<i>sunAr</i>	<i>te:j</i>	<i>tej</i>	<i>te:j</i>	<i>bes</i>
401	smooth	<i>lachila</i>		<i>chikAn, cikAn</i>	<i>nAgde</i>	<i>Thike Thik</i>	<i>dhire</i>	<i>lOrOm/ nOrOm</i>
402	soft	<i>naram</i>	<i>nArAm</i>	<i>molayem</i>	<i>nArAm</i>	<i>nArAm</i>	<i>nArAm</i>	<i>lOrOm/ nOrOm</i>
403	straight	<i>sidha</i>	<i>sidha, sAjhA</i>	<i>sojh / sidhe, sojhA</i>	<i>so:jh</i>	<i>sAjha</i>	<i>sojh</i>	<i>sOjhO</i>
404	strength	<i>jod</i>	<i>jo:r</i>	<i>takAt</i>	<i>jo:r , paya</i>	<i>bAL</i>	<i>bAl , takAt</i>	<i>dOrhO / bOlwan</i>
405	thick	<i>mota</i>	<i>ghē:c, ghAnA</i>	<i>ghAn</i>	<i>mo:T</i>	<i>dAli</i>	<i>moT</i>	<i>mOTO</i>
406	thin		<i>patAr</i>	<i>patAr / chehAr</i>	<i>kindra:ek , ghumra:ek</i>	<i>moTa</i>	<i>patAr</i>	<i>suru / patOrO</i>
407	ugly	<i>kharab</i>	<i>kutsit</i>	<i>khArab</i>	<i>beka:r</i>	<i>bAThAD</i>	<i>beka:r</i>	<i>kharap</i>
408	wise	<i>budhiman</i>	<i>bidyani</i>	<i>guni</i>	<i>buidhgAr</i>	<i>buiDhgAr</i>	<i>husiar</i>	<i>bOrhia / budhgOrO/ bes</i>
409	virtue	<i>sachchai</i>	<i>sAtgun</i>	<i>punyA</i>	<i>sAnjog</i>	<i>reakai</i>	<i>sAnjog</i>	<i>dhOrOm / bhOkti</i>
410	warm	<i>garam</i>		<i>gArAm , usnA</i>	<i>Deke</i>	<i>gArAm , tatAl</i>	<i>gArAm</i>	<i>gOrOm</i>
411	weak	<i>kamjor</i>	<i>dubra:l</i>	<i>kAmjor / AbAr</i>	<i>dhipAl</i>	<i>patAr</i>	<i>patAr</i>	<i>dublo / kOmjOr</i>
412	clap	<i>tali</i>			<i>ThapDi</i>	<i>hatThapDi</i>	<i>ThapDi</i>	<i>tali</i>
413	wide	<i>chauda</i>	<i>cAuRa</i>	<i>cakAr</i>	<i>cakAr</i>	<i>pAsar</i>	<i>cakAr</i>	<i>Osar</i>
414	wild	<i>jungli</i>	<i>jAngli, bAnua</i>	<i>bAnua</i>	<i>bAnia</i>	<i>hisrA</i>	<i>khAtArnak</i>	<i>bOntari / jOMoltari</i>
415	east	<i>purab</i>	<i>purAbdige/beTe</i>	<i>purub</i>	<i>purub</i>	<i>purub</i>	<i>purub</i>	<i>purub</i>
416	end	<i>anth</i>	<i>se:s</i>	<i>khtAm</i>	<i>at , TunDu</i>	<i>akhri</i>	<i>akhri</i>	<i>khOtOm</i>

AUSTRO-ASIATIC LANGUAGE FAMILY					DRAVIDIAN LANGUAGE FAMILY		
Santali	Ho	Kharia	Mahili	Mundari	Kurukh/ Oraon	Gloss	S.No
						dull	394
<i>eRe</i>			<i>eRe</i>	<i>hosoro</i>	<i>beDDerna</i>	lie	395
<i>cuihor</i>	<i>leser</i>	<i>long / cho 'k</i>	<i>laser</i>	<i>leser</i>	<i>chōkh</i>	sharp	396
<i>khaTo</i>	<i>huRiM</i>	<i>doRe</i>	<i>khato</i>	<i>uRing / Dingha</i>	<i>puDDa</i>	short	397
<i>adom</i>		<i>timsong</i>		<i>jalekha</i>	<i>juk'im</i>	some	398
<i>huDin / katic</i>	<i>huRiM</i>	<i>konon / kaTTa-tu</i>		<i>huDing / huRing'</i>	<i>sanni</i>	small	399
	<i>bugin</i>	<i>seRRe</i>		<i>pokotto</i>	<i>pharkar</i>	smart	400
<i>lebRec / noRom</i>					<i>chikan</i>	smooth	401
	<i>lebe</i>	<i>lemu, ludur</i>	<i>lebRec</i>	<i>lebo</i>	<i>ujgo</i>	soft	402
	<i>si: de</i>	<i>sengor</i>		<i>soj</i>	<i>ujgo</i>	straight	403
<i>daRe</i>	<i>keDego</i>	<i>jor paRom</i>	<i>hamal</i>	<i>quRe</i>		strength	404
	<i>ibil</i>	<i>mo 'TTo</i>		<i>moTTo</i>	<i>moT, roTha:</i>	thick	405
	<i>batari</i>	<i>konke / rogay</i>		<i>nana</i>	<i>chirāga:</i>	thin	406
	<i>Tik ka: e lelua</i>		<i>baric</i>	<i>sādaRa</i>	<i>maldaw</i>	ugly	407
<i>akil</i>	<i>hataM</i>	<i>kinira</i>		<i>ceRa-n-hoRo</i>	<i>lurgar/lurg?r</i>	wise	408
		<i>gun</i>		<i>gu:n</i>	<i>guni (H. also)</i>	virtue	409
<i>lolo / urgum</i>			<i>lolo, urgum</i>	<i>tiju</i>		warm	410
<i>komjor / nijor</i>	<i>kamjo: r</i>	<i>ten</i>	<i>komjor</i>	<i>kamjor</i>	<i>payha, lepa</i>	weak	411
						clap	412
<i>pabdaba</i>	<i>maraM mara:M</i>	<i>Dobre</i>	<i>osar, phaelao</i>	<i>cakor</i>	<i>chakaR</i>	wide	413
	<i>jaMli</i>	<i>cakkar</i>		<i>jungli</i>	<i>banaya</i>	wild	414
<i>purub</i>	<i>siMi o: l</i>	<i>munusing</i>	<i>purub</i>	<i>singhituru</i>	<i>argu; purbe</i>	east	415
<i>mucat</i>	<i>tunDu</i>	<i>Tundu / onTu</i>	<i>mucat</i>	<i>chaba</i>	<i>mū: jja:</i>	end	416

INDO-ARYAN LANGUAGE FAMILY								
Hindi and its Mother Tongues								
S.No	Gloss	Hindi	Khortha/ Khotta	Magadhi/ Magahi	Nagpuria	Panch pargania	Sadan/ Sadri	Malpaharia
417	far	<i>dur</i>	<i>dhu:r</i>	<i>Dur, dur</i>	<i>du:r</i>	<i>dhu:r</i>	<i>dur</i>	<i>dur</i>
418	left side	<i>bai taraf</i>	<i>lenga beTe</i>	<i>baye</i>	<i>leMga</i>	<i>nega baTe</i>	<i>leMga baTe</i>	<i>bāO dhar</i>
419	middle	<i>bech</i>	<i>mAjire</i>	<i>bic</i>	<i>majhe</i>	<i>majhe</i>	<i>majhe</i>	<i>majhO dhar</i>
420	near	<i>najdik</i>	<i>pase, nikAte</i>	<i>nAgic / pAjAre , pAjre / nAjik</i>	<i>bhire</i>	<i>pase</i>	<i>pase</i>	<i>Then</i>
421	north	<i>utar</i>	<i>uttAr beTe/dige</i>	<i>utAr</i>	<i>uttAr</i>	<i>uttAr</i>	<i>utAr</i>	<i>utur</i>
422	out		<i>bahAreme</i>	<i>bahAr</i>	<i>bahre</i>	<i>baHer</i>	<i>bahre</i>	
423	right hand side	<i>dahina</i>	<i>Dahina beTe/hāth</i>	<i>dAhina</i>	<i>bhAtkhAiya bATe</i>	<i>dAhina bATe</i>	<i>bhat khAiya baTe</i>	<i>dehenO hat</i>
424	south	<i>dakshin</i>	<i>dAkhin beTe</i>	<i>dAkhin</i>	<i>dAkhin</i>	<i>dAkhin</i>	<i>dAkhin</i>	<i>dakhin</i>
425	again	<i>phir</i>	<i>phinu, pheru</i>	<i>do bara / phir</i>	<i>ghAri ghAri</i>	<i>phir</i>	<i>aur</i>	<i>duibar</i>
426	always	<i>sada</i>	<i>sAb sAmAy</i>	<i>hArmes, hArimesa</i>	<i>hArdinA , rojdin</i>	<i>sara khAn</i>	<i>sAbkhAn</i>	<i>sOda</i>
427	before	<i>pehle</i>	<i>aghu, age</i>	<i>age / aMe, pAhile</i>	<i>age</i>	<i>pAhil</i>	<i>pAhile</i>	<i>agu</i>
428	daily	<i>roj</i>	<i>rojdin</i>	<i>roj</i>	<i>rokaDi</i>	<i>roje</i>	<i>ro:j</i>	<i>rOje / roj</i>
429	day	<i>din</i>	<i>di:n</i>	<i>din</i>	<i>din</i>	<i>din</i>	<i>din</i>	<i>din</i>
430	evening	<i>sam</i>	<i>sa:nju</i>	<i>sajh (i), sājh</i>	<i>sanjh</i>	<i>sānjh , sāinj</i>	<i>sanj</i>	<i>dOsro bela / saM'jher pOhOri / andhar muhO / sājhki</i>
431	fast/quick	<i>jaldi</i>	<i>turut</i>	<i>hali</i>	<i>jhATHke</i>	<i>caRe</i>	<i>jhAT</i>	<i>bejae / jOldi</i>
432	full moon day	<i>puṇima</i>	<i>puṇima</i>		<i>puni</i>	<i>puṇima</i>	<i>puni</i>	<i>cOnOrma / sapha alo din</i>
433	late	<i>der</i>	<i>deri</i>	<i>Der, der</i>	<i>deri</i>	<i>deri</i>	<i>deri</i>	<i>deri</i>
434	month	<i>mahina</i>	<i>mAinA</i>	<i>mAhina</i>	<i>mAhina</i>	<i>mAhina</i>	<i>mAhina</i>	<i>mas / mahina</i>
435	morning	<i>subah</i>	<i>bihan</i>	<i>bhor</i>	<i>bihAn , bhinsa:r</i>	<i>bihan</i>	<i>bihen</i>	<i>bihan</i>
436	night	<i>rat</i>	<i>ra:t, rait</i>	<i>rati</i>	<i>rait</i>	<i>rait</i>	<i>rait</i>	<i>raet</i>
437	season	<i>mausam</i>	<i>ka:l</i>	<i>din / ritu / mosim, mAusim</i>	<i>mosam , ritu</i>	<i>ritu</i>	<i>ritu</i>	<i>din / mahina</i>
438	today	<i>aj</i>	<i>a:j,aij</i>	<i>Aj , aj</i>	<i>aijh</i>	<i>aij</i>	<i>aij</i>	<i>aej / iaj</i>

AUSTRO-ASIATIC LANGUAGE FAMILY					DRAVIDIAN LANGUAGE FAMILY		
Santali	Ho	Kharia	Mahili	Mundari	Kurukh/ Oraon	Gloss	S.No
<i>sangin</i>	<i>saMin</i>	<i>disa</i>	<i>sangain</i>	<i>sangin</i>	<i>gechcha:</i>	far	417
<i>langa?</i>	<i>konye pa</i>	<i>milāy goTTo</i>	<i>langa pahatta</i>	<i>lenga sa</i>	<i>debba: tara:/ lēga tara:</i>	left side	418
<i>talla</i>	<i>talare</i>	<i>mojji</i>	<i>talla</i>	<i>tala</i>	<i>majha-majhi</i>	middle	419
<i>su:r</i>	<i>jappa</i>	<i>heppeR / ekko</i>	<i>suṛ</i>	<i>nare</i>	<i>hedde; chakha</i>	near	420
<i>uttar</i>	<i>boopa, bo ka : ndu ukaT</i>	<i>arlo</i>	<i>uttar</i>	<i>bòjama</i>	<i>kukk-chappo; utre</i>	north	421
<i>bahare</i>	<i>ba: har</i>		<i>bahar</i>		<i>bahri</i>	out	422
<i>jo?jo pahaTTa</i>	<i>jo:m pa / ti :</i>	<i>nōnōTi</i>	<i>jo?jo pahatta</i>	<i>jom ti sa</i>	<i>teena:/teena: khekha</i>	right hand side	423
<i>dakkin</i>	<i>kaTTa cambara</i>	<i>turlo</i>	<i>duṛkin</i>	<i>katajama</i>	<i>kheD-chappo; dakhine</i>	south	424
<i>arho</i>	<i>onDomise</i>	<i>oRo</i>	<i>dohola</i>	<i>oRo</i>	<i>phin; aurbū</i>	again	425
<i>jaejug, jaoge</i>	<i>barabari</i>	<i>jariga</i>	<i>sarastu</i>	<i>soben samay</i>	<i>hardam</i>	always	426
<i>laha</i>	<i>a: yerte</i>	<i>seng</i>	<i>manam</i>	<i>sida</i>	<i>mundh</i>	before	427
<i>di:n</i>	<i>jawge</i>	<i>dio</i>	<i>din din</i>	<i>janow</i>	<i>nitki, ulla ru:tki, ulla-ulla</i>	daily	428
<i>māha, din</i>	<i>di: n</i>	<i>to</i>	<i>din / siṃm</i>	<i>hulang, singhi</i>	<i>ulla:</i>	day	429
<i>ayub</i>	<i>ayu paM</i>	<i>eDip</i>	<i>ayuṃb</i>	<i>aiub, sa</i>	<i>putbiri</i>	evening	430
<i>logon</i>	<i>aMja</i>	<i>Dap / ba</i>	<i>logon</i>	<i>ce keTa / bega</i>	<i>pakh; pakhwara</i>	fast/quick	431
	<i>ponai</i>	<i>poorniom</i>		<i>poornima</i>	<i>punay ulla</i>	full moon day	432
	<i>ga:Dite</i>		<i>bilom</i>	<i>tayom</i>	<i>teeraR / teerkay / teerki i.e. (you are late)</i>	late	433
	<i>ca: nDu</i>	<i>lerang</i>	<i>maṃs</i>	<i>chanDu</i>	<i>chando</i>	month	434
	<i>seta</i>	<i>mēya</i>	<i>setak</i>	<i>seta</i>	<i>pairi, pairi-biri</i>	morning	435
	<i>ni: r sanDi, nida</i>	<i>iDip</i>		<i>nida</i>	<i>mākha</i>	night	436
		<i>lerang</i>		<i>kadom</i>	<i>ghali</i>	season	437
	<i>tisiM</i>	<i>musa</i>	<i>din / tehen</i>	<i>tising</i>	<i>inna:</i>	today	438

INDO-ARYAN LANGUAGE FAMILY								
Hindi and its Mother Tongues								
S.No	Gloss	Hindi	Khortha/ Khotta	Magadhi/ Magahi	Nagpuria	Panch pargania	Sadan/ Sadri	Malpaharia
439	tommorrow	kal	ka:l, kail	kalh, kal ^h	kaul	kail	kail	kael
440	yesterday	bita hua kal	gelek kail/ka:l	kalh, kal ^h	kail	kail	kail	kael
441	afterwards	badme	Akra badmē	pache / badme	bade	bade	badme	tahar bad
442	behind	peche	pAche	piche	pechu	pechu	pache	pechu nacho
443	between	bech	mAjhire	bice	majhe	majhe	majhe	majhut
444	by	duara	dwara, sē	se	se	ye	se	-se
445	down	nechay	nicu	nice	heThē	hēThe	heThe	heThet
446	for	liye	khatir, wAste	liye	le , laI , lAgin	tehē	lagin	lagī
447	from	se	sē, thina, sĀ	se	le	lek	se	calae
448	he	wah	u,wē	u	u , u	u , u	u	Uī
449	she	wah	u,wē	u	u , u	u , u	u	Uī
450	to him	uske/uski	Akra (ke)	okArake	uke , uke	uke	uke	takhe
451	to her	uske/uski	Akra (ke)	okArake	uke	uke	uke	takhe
452	here	yaha	ehā	i ha, iha	hiā	hiā	hia	eiThen/ hiThen
453	his	uska/uski	AkAr	okAr	ukAr , ukAr	okAr	ukAr	ihar
454	her	uska/uski	AkAr	okAr	ukAr , ukAr	okAr	ukAr	uhar
455	how	kaise	kAisAn	kAise	kAisAn	kesAn	kAisAn	kisrOM
456	i	mye	hame	hAm	moē	moē	moe	Muī
457	it/this	yah	i ,ekra	i:, i	i	iTa	i	Uī
458	to it/to his	iske liye	ekra (ke)	i, ke	uke	oke	uke	Uīkhe
459	its/of this	iske/isko	ekAr	iharke	ikAr	okAr	ukAr	Uhar
460	like	jaise	isAm, isin/usin (like this/that)	uhe	ekniAr , eklAkhe	ekrAkAm	eke jeisAn	jenO/ paRa / jenne
461	to me	mujhe	hamke	hAmArake, hAmArake	moke	moke	moke	mOkhe

AUSTRO-ASIATIC LANGUAGE FAMILY					DRAVIDIAN LANGUAGE FAMILY		
Santali	Ho	Kharia	Mahili	Mundari	Kurukh/ Oraon	Gloss	S.No
	<i>gapa</i>	<i>tuDa</i>	<i>gapa</i>	<i>gapa</i>	<i>nela:</i>	tommorrow	439
	<i>gappa</i>	<i>iDDa</i>	<i>mahnder</i>	<i>hola</i>	<i>chero</i>	yesterday	440
<i>tayom</i>	<i>canapte</i>	<i>lDo</i>	<i>tagom</i>	<i>taiom / tayemte</i>	<i>pisa:</i>	afterwards	441
<i>oTo, tayom</i>	<i>aMjanam</i>	<i>kunDabte</i>	<i>peclu</i>	<i>doia.re</i>	<i>khokha:</i>	behind	442
<i>talla</i>	<i>talare</i>	<i>moji-te</i>	<i>talla</i>	<i>ladar</i>	<i>majhinu</i>	between	443
<i>hotete</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>ekcordage</i>	<i>tel</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>chokh nu</i>	by	444
<i>dalaM</i>	<i>latar</i>	<i>tuta</i>	<i>dalam</i>	<i>ladar</i>	<i>kiyya</i>	down	445
<i>lagit</i>	<i>mente</i>	<i>gaT / tong</i>	<i>lagit</i>	<i>nagin</i>	<i>ge</i>	for	446
<i>kon</i>	<i>ete</i>	<i>tay</i>	<i>kon</i>	<i>ete, inta?te</i>	<i>te</i>	from	447
<i>uni</i>	<i>a'e</i>	<i>ADi (himself) / hokkaR (he)</i>	<i>uni</i>	<i>ini</i>	<i>a:s</i>	he	448
<i>uni</i>	<i>a'e</i>	<i>adiga</i>	<i>uni</i>	<i>ini</i>	<i>a:dige</i>	she	449
	<i>ayataa</i>	<i>hokkaR-te</i>		<i>inia</i>		to him	450
	<i>ayataa</i>	<i>hokkaR-te</i>		<i>inia</i>		to her	451
<i>noNde</i>	<i>nenta</i>	<i>utte</i>	<i>nonDe</i>	<i>ne tare</i>	<i>isan</i>	here	452
<i>aja</i>	<i>aya</i>	<i>hokRa</i>	<i>aja</i>	<i>inia</i>	<i>a:s gahi</i>	his	453
<i>unia</i>	<i>aya</i>	<i>aDiã</i>	<i>unia</i>	<i>ini</i>	<i>a: sge</i>	her	454
<i>cekate</i>	<i>cilika</i>	<i>iga'y</i>	<i>okalika^ote</i>	<i>chilikate / cilka'te</i>	<i>ekka:na/ekkase</i>	how	455
<i>in</i>	<i>aM</i>	<i>iñg</i>	<i>im</i>	<i>aing / añdo</i>	<i>e:n</i>	i	456
<i>ru?do</i>	<i>nena</i>	<i>hoje / u:</i>	<i>nu?do</i>	<i>ena / nea</i>	<i>i : d/</i>	it/this	457
<i>nuwado</i>	<i>nenataa</i>	<i>hokRa</i>	<i>nuwa^odo</i>	<i>can-ra</i>		to it/to his	458
<i>nuwa</i>	<i>nenrea</i>	<i>hokRa</i>	<i>nuwa</i>	<i>ini ya</i>		its/of this	459
<i>leka</i>	<i>leka</i>	<i>guR</i>	<i>leka</i>	<i>en-leka (object), ini-leka (for person)</i>		like	460
<i>hiMdo</i>	<i>aMtaa</i>	<i>iñgte</i>	<i>himdo</i>	<i>ayñg</i>	<i>ēgga, ēgga ge</i>	to me	461

INDO-ARYAN LANGUAGE FAMILY

Hindi and its Mother Tongues

S.No	Gloss	Hindi	Khortha/ Khotta	Magadhi/ Magahi	Nagpuria	Panch pargania	Sadan/ Sadri	Malpaharia
462	my	mera	hamar	mor / hAmar	mo:r	mor	mor	mOhOr
463	our	hamara	hamranik	hAmkAr	hAmre mAnAk	hamre	hAmrekAr	Amhagar
464	not	nahi	nai, nei	nA:, nA	nihī	nihī	ni	nī / na / ma
465	so/thus	jaise/jaisa	sutrang	Aehla	ilAgin	sei tehē	ehele	heTho khatir
466	that	waha	Akra	u	u	u	u	huī
467	to them	unko	unkhanik	u log ke, u ke	umAnke	umAnke	unke	hogak
468	then	tab	tēbe, tAkhni	tAb / tAbri	ukAr bade	tAbe	badme	tukhON / tOkhON
469	those	wo	usAb, AkrasAb	usAbh	u mAnke	u sAub	usAub	huga
470	there	waha	wAhā, hune	uha	huā	huā	huā/ujAg	huThen
471	they	woh sab	unkhani	u log	u	umAn	umAn	hogaē
472	their	woh sabka	unkhanik	unkAr	u mAnkAr	umAnkAr	unkAr	hogar
473	these	yah sab	isAb, isin, iguli	i sAbh	isAub	igAla	esAub	Higa
474	to us	hame	hamranike	hAmAhike	hAmre mAnke	hAmreke	moke	Amhagak
475	we	ham	hamrani	hAmsAbh	hAmre	hAmre	hAmemAn	amhi / hamhi / amhiga
476	what	kab	ki, je	ki, ka	ka	ka	ka	kis
477	when	kab	kebe, jAkhni	kAb	kAkhAn	kAbe	kAkhAn	kahia / kehia / kOtO ghORi
478	where	kaha	kahā	kAhwa	kAhā	kahā	kahā	kethO / keteē
479	who	kaun	ke	kAun, je	ke	ke	ke	kONe
480	which	kaunsa	ko:n	kAun / kouci	kon	kon	kekar	kON
481	whom	kisko	keke	kekAr / kinkAr	keke	kake	keke	kakhe
482	you	tum	tohē/toē, tohArani	tu / aphe	toe	toe	toe	tuī
483	to you	tumko	toke, tora, tohAranike	tohrake	toke	toke	toke	tOkhe

AUSTRO-ASIATIC LANGUAGE FAMILY					DRAVIDIAN LANGUAGE FAMILY		
Santali	Ho	Kharia	Mahili	Mundari	Kurukh/ Oraon	Gloss	S.No
	<i>aMa</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>ima</i>	<i>ainga</i>	<i>ēghai</i>	my	462
<i>alia</i>	<i>abua, alea</i>	<i>ela / aniña</i>	<i>alia</i>	<i>alea / abaa</i>	<i>emhai</i>	our	463
<i>baM</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>um</i>	<i>bam</i>	<i>ale</i>	<i>mala / malla:</i>	not	464
<i>onate</i>	<i>enam ente</i>	<i>la' / ughay</i>	<i>onate</i>	<i>enka</i>	<i>enne</i>	so/thus	465
<i>uni / hani</i> (animate) <i>ona/hana</i> (inanimate)	<i>ena</i>	<i>han, hin, ho</i> (demonst),ho'(that),hotlj	<i>on a</i>	<i>ena.te</i>	<i>assan/ash</i>	that	466
<i>unku</i>	<i>akota</i>	<i>hokki-te</i>	<i>unku</i>	<i>inku</i>	<i>aRge</i>	to them	467
<i>ado / enDekhan</i>	<i>ente</i>	<i>tay</i>	<i>kate</i>	<i>inta</i>	<i>antile</i>	then	468
<i>unkin / onko</i> (animate) <i>onakin</i> (inanimate)	<i>enako</i>	<i>hokki</i>	<i>onaku</i>	<i>enre</i>	<i>a:R</i> (human beings); <i>a:bDa</i> (others)	those	469
<i>onDe</i>	<i>enta</i>	<i>hotte</i>	<i>onDe</i>	<i>enre</i>	<i>assan</i>	there	470
<i>unkin / onko</i>	<i>enko</i>	<i>aRki / hokki</i>	<i>unku</i>	<i>enko</i>	<i>a:r</i>	they	471
<i>unkua</i>	<i>enkowa</i>	<i>hokkiya</i>	<i>unkua</i>	<i>enku-a</i>	<i>tamai/ a:rgahi</i>	their	472
<i>nukin</i> (animate) <i>noakin</i> (inanimate)	<i>nenako</i>		<i>dhe:r</i>	<i>ninako</i>		these	473
<i>ale / abo</i>	<i>abuta</i>		<i>abo</i>	<i>ale</i>	<i>na:m/mamage</i>	to us	474
<i>abo</i> (inclusive) <i>ale</i> (exclusive)	<i>abu</i>	<i>ajjar</i> 'we (dual excl) are'	<i>ale</i>	<i>ale / abu</i>	<i>na:m / na:m and em</i>	we	475
<i>ceT / oka</i>	<i>cikana</i>	<i>i , aTa'</i>	<i>ce^o?d / oka</i>	<i>ce'na</i>	<i>enDRa</i>	what	476
<i>tire / tis</i>	<i>cimita</i>	<i>kiTia'te</i>	<i>tinre</i>	<i>chilau</i>	<i>ekka biri</i>	when	477
<i>okare</i>	<i>akontaa</i>	<i>ate?, ata', bo'te</i>	<i>okare</i>	<i>kota</i>	<i>exhan</i>	where	478
<i>cele / okoe</i>	<i>akoe</i>	<i>behar / bor</i>	<i>hokkol / okoe</i>	<i>okōy</i>	<i>ne:</i>	who	479
	<i>akona</i>	<i>aje/ata</i>		<i>okua</i>		which	480
	<i>akoe</i>			<i>okoy</i>	<i>ne:ka</i>	whom	481
<i>ape</i>	<i>am</i>	<i>am</i> (sing)aij pe (pl) you are	<i>aben</i> (you two) <i>ape</i> (you,more than two)	<i>am</i>	<i>ni:n</i>	you	482
	<i>amta</i>	<i>am</i>		<i>am</i>	<i>ningage / ninga / ninga gem</i>	to you	483

INDO-ARYAN LANGUAGE FAMILY								
Hindi and its Mother Tongues								
S.No	Gloss	Hindi	Khortha/ Khotta	Magadhi/ Magahi	Nagpuria	Panch pargania	Sadan/ Sadri	Malpaharia
484	your	tumhara	tor, tohAranik	tor / tohar	tohre	tohre	tor	tOhOr
485	year	warsh		sal / bAris	we	bAchAr	bAris	bOchOr
486	and	aur	a:r	Aur	bAris , sa:l	arA	Aur	arhO
487	at	mei	bete, aRe	pA: R , pAr	mē	mē	mē	-et / dige
488	if	yadi	jAdi	tA: / AgAr	AgAr	jodi	AgAr	jOdi
489	in	andar	bhitre, bhitAre	me	mē	mē	mē	-et
490	wave	lahar	Dheu	lA:hAr , lAhAr	lAhAr / hAka	lAhAr , hikar	lAhAr	Dheu
491	ancestor	purwaj	purkba	purwAj	purkha	purkha , purbAj	purkha	baper bap
492	brother in law	sala		bAhnoi, sala	sara	sara	sara	saRhu (wife's brother), deOr (husband's brother)
493	brother in law(elder brother of husband)				bhaTu , sara	bhēsur	sara	
494	mother in law				sai:s	sais	sai:s	sasu mae
495	mouse	chuha	undra	mus	musa	musa	musa	indur / undur
496	spider	makadi	makra	mAkARi , mAkRi	mAkra	bhitmachi	makra	makOR
497	beard	dari	daRhi	daRi	daRhi	daRhi	daRhi	daRhi
498	moustache	much	mu:ch	goph	mōch	moc	mecha	muc
499	destroy	todna			na:s kArek	naskan	na:s kArek	khOtOm
500	mirror	aina		si:sa , sisa	aina , arsi , dArpAn	arsi	aina	aina

AUSTRO-ASIATIC LANGUAGE FAMILY					DRAVIDIAN LANGUAGE FAMILY		
Santali	Ho	Kharia	Mahili	Mundari	Kurukh/ Oraon	Gloss	S.No
	<i>ama</i>	<i>ampea</i>		<i>ama:, apea</i>	<i>ninghai</i>	your	484
<i>sa:l</i>	<i>bacar munDi</i>	<i>memõng</i>		<i>kalom, sirma</i>		year	485
<i>ar</i>	<i>onDo</i>	<i>ro</i>	<i>ar</i>	<i>oRo</i>	<i>ara</i>	and	486
<i>Thec</i>	<i>re, imita</i>	<i>te</i>		<i>te (enRe)</i>	<i>nu</i>	at	487
	<i>redo</i>	<i>idu</i>		<i>jaa</i>	<i>jadi, agar</i>	if	488
<i>re</i>	<i>re</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>re</i>	<i>re</i>	<i>nu</i>	in	489
	<i>cē:l</i>	<i>alpha</i>		<i>ti-ekla, 'hemmer'</i>		wave	490
<i>mare / aja purkh</i>	<i>aira pi:Di</i>	<i>purka</i>		<i>purka</i>	<i>puruk?er</i>	ancestor	491
	<i>tēyate (younger)</i>	<i>boker</i>	<i>teiman</i>		<i>aivaiya:r</i>	brother in law	492
	<i>bau honyarte</i>	<i>bowtank</i>		<i>guiram</i>		brother in law(elder brother of husband)	493
<i>hanhar</i>		<i>kinker</i>		<i>enga</i>		mother in law	494
<i>cutia</i>	<i>cuTu</i>	<i>kone</i>		<i>kaTTaya / guRu'</i>	<i>oso:gho</i>	mouse	495
	<i>kopeD, bindiram (big)</i>	<i>benDi</i>		<i>bindiram</i>	<i>makkRa</i>	spider	496
<i>goco</i>	<i>daDiya</i>	<i>guchu</i>	<i>goco</i>	<i>guchu</i>	<i>jaunkhaddir</i>	beard	497
	<i>mo:c</i>		<i>much</i>	<i>guchu</i>	<i>mo:ch</i>	moustache	498
<i>nosTo</i>		<i>nasaina</i>		<i>rapud (small items)</i>		destroy	499
<i>aRsi</i>	<i>harsi</i>	<i>ayana</i>	<i>aōrsi</i>	<i>dorpon</i>	<i>anna:</i>	mirror	500



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