3.1. Nouns:

Nouns are a class of words whose bases can be inflected for gender, number or case. There are also a few subsidiary criteria by which the nouns can be identified, i.e., the noun classifiers.

3.2. Gender and Number:

Emeneau recognises four types of Gender systems for Dravidian languages, and he includes Malto with a question mark to the third type, i.e., "a type with different forms for male person sg., person pl., female person and non-person sg. (i.e., sg. denoting anything other than a male person), non-person pl." (Emeneau, 1961, p. 148). This would give us a system of -

(i) male person singular
(ii) female person and non-person singular
(iii) person plural
(iv) non-person plural.

This system is over-differentiated unless the 'non-person plural' is taken as unmarked. Excepting a small dialect
area, where there is overt pronominal reference to the 'non-person plural' (See, Chapter-VIII), Malto has two genders, masculine and non-masculine. All nouns in the nominative singular are marked for genders. Nouns denoting male persons belong to the masculine gender; other nouns—denoting female persons and non-persons—belong to the non-masculine gender. In the plural, the gender difference is made along a different semantic dimension, i.e., the classification of nouns in plural is based on the dimension of 'person/non-person' opposition.

The masculine in singular is realized as /-h/. For example,

- male - h - 'man'
- gole - h - 'a Hindu man'
- musle - h - 'a Muslim man'
- tangade - h - 'son'
- ike - h - 'who'

The non-masculine in singular is realized as /-d/.

- maini - d - 'woman'
- maqo - d - 'girl'
- taŋadi - d - 'daughter'
- a: - d - 'she'

The -du ending nouns, a sub-class of the non-masculine nouns take the gender suffix after the -du is
dropped.

tu:d - d  - 'tiger'
o:y - d  - 'cattle'
maq - d  - 'insect'
tumgl - d  - 'dream'

The only exception to this gender system is the person noun aba- 'own father'. Although it is a male person it takes the non-masculine suffix -d. Even, abo- 'your father', and tambako - 'his father' take the usual masculine suffix.

3.2.1. Covert Gender System:

All nouns in Malto may be substituted by demonstrative pronouns. For example,

(1) sardareh barcah - a:h enki bayah
   'The village chief came, he is my brother'
(2) ort peld barcah - a:d enginte be:dod
   'One woman came, she is older to me'
(3) a: bardid enkid - a:d qotrod
   'That bullock is mine, it is blind'

The above data show that the gender distinction of the nouns with reference to the pronouns is again two-fold, i.e., masculine and non-masculine. But, when the pronominal reference is in the accusative, ablative, locative and instrumental cases, the gender system is a three term one, i.e., masculine, feminine and neuter. Note these sentences.
(1) palna desino ort ra:jah beydah. maler ahin poka ra:jah a:nnar.
'In a certain country, there was a king.
People call him the sick king'.

(2) niň maqeki bohu beyid. aďin oce dadeno pithe kunok.
'Your son has a wife, kill her taking to the forest'

(3) sat batan moydeno maqond sa:\re beyid. aden ocer bisok.
'There is a bull in the seven herds of cattle.
Sell it'

Thus, covertly the Malto nouns show three genders, depending upon whether the pronominal reference in accusative case is ahin, aďin or aden, corresponding to masculine, feminine and neuter respectively. Similarly, for the other three cases, demonstrative base ĭde or ađe are used exclusively for the neuter nouns.

3.3. Plural:

The plural morpheme is added only to person nouns. The non-person nouns are unmarked. The morpheme is realized as /-r ~ -er/.

(1) -r occurs only after vowel ending bases

  male - r - 'men'

  maqe - r - 'boys'
When the demonstrative a:tar occurs before the person nouns it takes the usual plural suffix.

- a:tar - er male - r - 'those men'
- a:tar - er corge - r - 'those wizards'

But it does not take the plural suffix when it occurs before non-person nouns.

- a:tar si:jeed - 'all those things'
- a:tar gorod - 'all those horses'

A few collective pronouns like gote and gahndi also behave similarly.

- goter maler - 'all men'
- got siyared - 'all jackab'

There are some person nouns which always occur with a plural suffix. These are collective nouns which semantically denote persons in specific kinship relation.

- undqul - er - 'siblings'
- manql - er - 'parents and children'
- be:rql - er - 'woman's brother and her husband'
- mamql - er - 'maternal uncle and nephew'
- jo:rql - er - 'husband and wife'
3.3.1. Extension of Plurality:

The extension of plurality to the kinship domain is an interesting phenomenon in Maito. To begin with, the Maito kinship domain is broadly divided into two sub-domains, /ba:ycaqpor/ - 'relationship of mutual avoidance' and 'others'. The domain of 'mutual avoidance' is an extremely delicate form of relationship, manifested in characteristic behavioural patterns like, restraint, formality, respect and politeness. Generally, the 'mutual avoidance' is practised between affinal relatives. Just as aba 'one's own father' is marked with a feminine suffix as a mark of 'closeness', many of the kinship terms falling into the domain of 'ba:ycaqpor' are marked with the plural suffix, irrespective of singularity or plurality, as a mark of 'social distance'. The extension of these gender-number markers for showing social proximity/distance is an interesting ethno-semantic feature.

Proximity - 'non-masculine'

aba - d - 'my father'

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It is most likely that -ql- in these words is an old plural formative and occurs only in these fused forms. Synchronically, although it is not possible to identify this marker, one wonders if it also occurs in other words like ti:ql - 'rice', geql - 'earth', jañjql - 'fruit fibers', ba:ql - 'spider', etc.
Distance - 'plurality'

'broader' - baya, bayanda - r - 'husband's elder brother'
'sister' - bayi, banyal - er - 'female relative elder to one's wife'
'father' - aba, abanda - r - 'father-in-law'
'mother' - dudu, dudunda - r - 'mother-in-law'
'younger sister's husband'
'younger brother's wife' son's wife'
'in the above examples, male-h and tu:id-å are marked not
only for the two genders, but also for the nominative case.
Therefore, when other case suffixes are added the gender
suffixes are deleted. Thus, the forms are,
male - ki  - 'of the man'
\text{"tu:d - ki"} - 'of the tiger'

The demonstrative pronouns \text{"a:h, a:d, etc."} are exceptions to this rule, i.e., these pronouns retain the gender markers even when other case suffixes are added. For example,

\text{"ahi - ki"} - 'his'
\text{"adi - ki"} - 'her'

In case of the number marker, it is regularly retained before all case suffixes. Therefore, the morphological structure for noun formations may be given as, noun stem + (Number) + (Case).

Syntactically, nouns in the nominative are nominal; in the accusative and dative are nominal or adverbial; in the genitive are adjectival; in other cases they are adverbial.

With reference to the case suffixes, the nouns fall into two broad classes.

(i) The two-stem nouns, one nominative and the other oblique. The stem to which case suffixes are added is called the oblique stem. The pronouns belong to this class.

(ii) The single stem nouns. The single stem nouns also fall into two sub-classes, the \text{"-du ending nouns"} and
the rest. The -du ending nouns drop the ending before case suffixes.

There are seven cases in Malto; nominative, accusative, dative, genitive, instrumental, ablative and locative.

3.4.1. Nominative:

It has been already said that the nominative has no special suffix, except for the fact that the gender markers occur only in nominative, i.e., when the noun is used as the subject of a sentence, or in the predicative complement position. For example,

ra:jah awdah - 'the king said'

dol ul a okuh kurka tungah - 'the person sitting in the drum wrote it down'

ra:ja taŋgadeh eŋki sa:ryeh - 'the king's son is my friend'

a: ga:dię sapa manenid - 'that wound will heal'

a:r puďyar tundnar tan se ṭakaę - 'Having poured, they saw that, it is money'

Similarly, in case of plural nouns,

org loker lotan petar tundnar - 'the people of the house/ lifting the /see pitcher'

pokirer at caleno dera manjor - 'the mendicants camped in the market place'

i: maler eŋki peŋra - 'these men are my relatives'
Surprisingly, Das claims that the nominative case ending $\&$ has two allomorphs — $\vartheta$ and $\emptyset$. The former occurs after vowels and the $\emptyset$ after consonants. This is rather doubtful. But, in certain cases, i.e., when some nouns are mass nouns or are treated like mass nouns, the usual gender suffix in the nominative is optional.

However, the regular forms are,

\begin{align*}
\text{a:h tunddah tan se sude ti:ql} & \quad \text{-'he saw that it is only rice'} \\
\text{teni nindkid ehyad} & \quad \text{-'the honey got filled and became surplus'}
\end{align*}

3.4.2. Accusative:

The accusative has several syntactic functions but mainly it is used to mark the direct object of the transitive verbs. The case suffix is realized as $/\text{-n} \sim /\text{-in}/$ when the noun is not a $-\text{du}$ class noun. After the $-\text{du}$ class nouns, the suffix is $/\text{-a} \sim /\text{-an}/$. The distribution of the allomorphs are,

\begin{align*}
\text{-n occurs after the vowels only}
& \quad \text{male - n} \quad \text{-'to the man'} \\
& \quad \text{maqe - n} \quad \text{-'to the child'} \\
& \quad \text{kuco - n} \quad \text{-'to the dog'}
\end{align*}
-in occurs after consonants only

  maler - in - 'to the men'
  maqer - in - 'to the boys'

After the -du class nouns the suffix is -a which freely varies with -an.

  ṭu:d - a • ṭu:d - an - 'to the tiger'
  kank - a • kank - an - 'to the wood'
  pel - a • pel - an - 'to the woman'

The following examples show various syntactic functions of the accusative.

(i) The direct object of a transitive verb is marked with accusative

  aš: dadin qohdah - 'he is cutting the branch'
  kamareh gowaren bi:kyah - 'the blacksmith called the cowherd'
  e:n kanka:qe:gan - 'I shall buy wood'

The co-ordinated direct objects are also marked individually.

  ra:jah ukan aman cicah - 'the king gave 'hukka' and water'
  ni:n ga indran o:nene - birin cuṭin mala ukan - 'what will you take, 'biri', cigar or 'hukka'?'
  e:m mulkeki mandran oṭon ogtam - 'we applied all medicines and charms'

(ii) With intransitive verbs, particularly with the verbs of motion, the accusative is used adverbially.
(iii) When two accusatives occur with a causative verb, one of the accusatives is instrumental.

a:h a: godrin taßbahun meqtarah - 'he got the intestines roasted by his sister-in-law'

a:h malerin pa:no daden qettarah - 'he got the jungles surrounded by the people'

a: jogyeh boran maqerin pehtar - 'the begger got the sack loaded by the boys'

There are also some examples of two accusatives occurring with double transitive verbs like, show, say, inform, send, etc.

e:n geporin i: saban awdatan - 'I told this matter to the villagers'

mandrawen tetun e:da - 'show the hand to the medicine man'

3.4.3. Dative:

The dative is realized as /-k ~ -ik/.

The -k occurs after nouns ending in vowel.

dade - k - 'to the jungle'
pokri - k  - 'to the pond'
pokirni - k  - 'to the female mendicant'

The -ik occurs after nouns ending in consonant and after -du class nouns.

maler -ik  - 'to the men'
qep - ik  - 'to the village'
org - ik  - 'to the house'

The following examples show the syntactic functions of the dative.

(i) The indirect object of the transitive verb is marked with dative.

a:h tan malerin i: desik teyah  - 'he sent his people to this country'

a:r maqen manik argtarah  - 'they made the boy climb the tree'

a:h pokirek ti:qalan cicah  - 'he gave rice to the beggar'

(ii) With the intransitive verbs, particularly with the verbs of motion, the dative is used in the sense of 'for'.

e:m benjek e:kdam  - 'we are going for the wedding'
goter orgik arsyar  - 'all reached home'

(iii) With the intransitive verbs the dative shows location. These verbs are of two types, be - verbs and others.

maqek tetu mackaraad  - 'the boy's hand got dislocated (lit. The hand got dislocated to the bpy)'
dokanawek ťaka ďuňyaď - 'the shop keeper's money got lost'

bahondno okno ďa:gdorek ka:je calarlenid - 'the work will not be done if the doctor sits at one place'

With the be - verbs.

ra:jak tin jen pelmaqer manjian - 'the king had three wives (lit. there were three wives to the king)'

ra:mak maqond kuço beyid - 'Rama has a dog'

sardarek e:na gotu ga:ydu - 'How many cows does the chief have?'

The dative is also used in the meaning of location with the third group of verbs, signifying 'feeling'.

ramak panye lagid - 'Rama is feeling cold'

maqek pura nuňtariď - 'the child's stomach hurts'

mesak qandro bedid - 'Mesa is feeling sleepy'

mesak esa alsi urqiď - 'Mesa is perspiring'

When the predicate is ca:de lagjad, the dative is used.

ramak dudiki ca:de lagjad - 'the milk was wanted by Rama'

In the present tense the 'lagjad' is dropped.

ramak dudiki ca:deď - 'the milk is wanted by Rama'

(iv) When two datives occur in a sentence, the former usually means the 'goal' and the latter 'purpose'.

3.4.4. Genitive:

The genitive is realized as /-ki/.

- male - ki - 'of the man'
- tüd - ki - 'of the tiger'
- mäler - ki - 'of the men'

The noun in genitive is always in collocation with other nouns and generally means 'possession'.

- maqeki te̱tu̱d maclcarad - 'the boy's hand got dislocated'
- ra:meh dasroteki taŋgadeh manjah - 'Ram was Dasaratha's son'
- caṉ̃ki ma:kdu esa sawadi̱ - 'the deer meat is very tasty'

As an adjectival it also occurs in the predicative position. In this position it agrees with the subject in person and number.

- i: kisdu dahekid - 'this pig is of the forest'
- i: maqer sardarekir - 'these boys are of the chief'

Under "Possessive Pronouns" Droese gives a whole paradigm, which shows that the genitives of personal and demonstrative
pronouns can be further declined for all cases (1884, p.32). He gives the whole set for the first person singular possessive pronoun engki and says that the rest of the possessive pronouns follows the same process. My dialect data show that the rules for the declension of the possessive nouns have to be framed differently. First of all, not only the possessive pronouns, but all nouns in the genitive case can take further case suffixes optionally, i.e., there is agreement in the case between the noun in the genitive case and the noun which is in collocation with it. But, this agreement is limited to two cases only, nominative and accusative.

\texttt{tangadekid pel\=be:barcad} — 'the son's wife came'
\texttt{orgawekih maqeh e\=nginte bedoh} — 'the house owner's son is elder to me'

Similarly,
\texttt{cari pesakin be:ka qata} — 'give salt for four paise'
\texttt{e:m ramakin takan pesan tundlaydam} — 'we have not seen Rama's money'

3.4.5. Instrumental:

The instrumental is realized as /-t~/ -it~/ -et/.

The alternant -et occurs only after -du ending noun bases.

\begin{itemize}
\item \texttt{am - et} — 'by the water'
\item \texttt{qaj - et} — 'by the mud'
\item \texttt{ca:r - et} — 'by the arrow'
\end{itemize}
The alternant -t occurs after bases ending vowel.

- tetu - t - 'by the hand'
- karone - t - 'by the disease'
- ki:re - t - 'by the hunger'

The alternant -it occurs elsewhere.

- maler - it - 'by the men'
- maqer - it - 'by the children'

The case has the general meaning of 'by' and 'with'.

- pa:no karone m:a hoyt lo:ro malah - 'he is not able to get up due to illness'
- iden curit mo:ca - 'cut it with the knife'

3.4.6. Ablative:

The ablative is realized as /-nte~inte/.

The alternant -nte occurs after bases ending in vowel.

- iskule - nte - 'from the school'
- patli - nte - 'from the pot'

The alternant -inte occurs elsewhere.

- org - inte - 'from the house'
- qep - inte - 'from the village'
- maqer - inte - 'from the boys'

The case has the general meaning of 'from'.

- maqer iskulente klnr - 'the children are returning from the school'
3.4.7. Locative:

The locative is realized as /-no ~ -ino/. But when the morpheme occurs before the emphatic particle i, -no has a variant -ni. The alternant -no occurs after bases ending in vowel, and after -du ending bases.

qe:ql - no - 'in the earth'
man - no - 'in the tree'
tetu - no - 'in the hand'

The alternant -ino occurs elsewhere.

maler - ino - 'in the people'
maqer - ino - 'in the children'

Before the emphatic particle, (See, morphophonemic rule for intrusive h).

qe:ql - ni - hi - 'in the earth too'
tetu - ni - hi - 'in the hand too'
maqer - ini - hi - 'in the boys too'

The suffix has the general meaning of 'in'.

e:m at caleno dera manjyadam - 'we have camped in the market place'
darino pesa beyid - 'money is in the cloth'
a:h pa:wno e:ka jimrah - 'he met on the road'
3.4.8. Systematization of Case Morphemes:

The following list shows the morphemic systematization of the case suffixes.

- **Nominative**
  - -h (masculine singular)
  - -ā (non-masculine)

- **Accusative** - -n

- **Dative** - -k

- **Genitive** - -ki

- **Instrumental** - -t

- **Ablative** - -nte

- **Locative** - -no

3.5. Conjugated Nouns:

When the nouns occur in the predicative position and in apposition, these take pronominal suffixes in agreement with the subject. For example,

- e:n endo - n - 'I am your younger brother'
- ni:n endo - y - 'you are my younger brother'
- a:h endo - h - 'he is my younger brother'
- a:ā endo - ā - 'she is my younger sister'
- e:m endo - m - 'we (exclusive) are younger brothers'
- na:m endo - y - 'we (inclusive) are younger brothers'
- ni:m endo - r - 'you are younger brothers'
- a:r endo - r - 'they are younger brothers'
Similarly, the nouns in apposition are,

e:n to malen ki:ret kabu manjatan – 'I the man, have succumbed to hunger'

ni:n pokirnîy ni:n to des desi guraruy – 'you, the mendicant, you are a wanderer'

e:m dadeno do:ku malem, iker jahan cinyomalar – 'we, the forest dwellers, none could know us'

Thus, the pronominal suffixes, which are added to the nouns are,

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Suffix</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st sing.</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd sing.</td>
<td>y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd masc. sg.</td>
<td>h</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd fem. sg.</td>
<td>d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st excl. pl.</td>
<td>m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st incl. pl.</td>
<td>y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>non-1st plural</td>
<td>r</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.6. Pronouns:

The pronouns are a close group of words which can substitute nouns and can take case suffixes. The pronouns fall into four groups; personal, demonstrative, interrogative and reflexive. All personal pronouns are two-stem nouns, i.e., nominative and oblique. The nominative stem when occurs with the optional -u, the stem vowel is long. When the final -u is dropped, the stem becomes monosyllabic (See, morphophonemic rule).
The corresponding oblique bases for the personal pronouns are,

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Nominative</th>
<th>Oblique</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 sg.</td>
<td>e:n</td>
<td>en-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 sg.</td>
<td>ni:n</td>
<td>ni:n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 pl. excl.</td>
<td>e:m</td>
<td>em-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 pl. incl.</td>
<td>na:m</td>
<td>nam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 pl.</td>
<td>ni:m</td>
<td>nim</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The oblique base functions as the genitive or it may optionally take the suffix -ki. All other case suffixes and the post-positions occur after the oblique base. The following is a list of allomorphs of case suffixes which occur only after personal pronouns.

Dative - -e : eŋ-e, niŋ-e, em-e, nam-e, nɪm-e.

Instrumental - -et : eŋ-et, niŋ-et, em-et, nam-et, nɪm-et.

Ablative - -ente : eŋ-ente, niŋ-ente, em-ente, nam-ente, nɪm-ente.


Thus, the system of personal pronouns in Malto is a five term one, i.e., 1st person singular and 2nd person singular. The 1st person plural consists of two members, inclusive and exclusive. The other term is the 2nd person plural.
3.6.1. **Demonstrative Pronouns:**

The demonstrative pronominal system is a two term one, formed on the demonstrative adjective bases i: - 'proximate', and a: - 'remote'. With the gender and number markers, six demonstrative pronouns are formed. These are,

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{i:h} & \quad \text{'proximate masculine'} \\
\text{a:h} & \quad \text{'remote masculine'} \\
\text{i:a} & \quad \text{'proximate non-masculine'} \\
\text{a:a} & \quad \text{'remote non-masculine'} \\
\text{i:r} & \quad \text{'proximate plural'} \\
\text{a:r} & \quad \text{'remote plural'}
\end{align*}
\]

Two other demonstrative pronouns are also formed with the plural suffix -tar, which has the meaning 'all'.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{i:tar - er} & \quad \text{'proximate collective plural'} \\
\text{a:tar - er} & \quad \text{'remote collective plural'}
\end{align*}
\]

The oblique bases are distinguished from the nominatives, i.e., the stem vowels in the former bases are short. As regards the non-masculine oblique base, a further morphological distinction is made between feminine and neuter pronouns. The oblique base for the feminine pronouns are idi-, adi- and for the neuter pronouns are ide-, ade-.

Except for accusative, instrumental, ablative and locative, the opposition between feminine and neuter is neutralised and realized as idi-, adi-.
Feminine | Neuter
---|---
Nominative | iːd | iːd
 | aːd | aːd
Oblique | idi | ide
 | adi | ade

In the four cases, where the contrast is registered,
Accusative | adin | ade/optionally aden
Instrumental | adit | adet
Ablative | adinte | adente
Locative | adino | adeno

In the two cases, where the contrast is neutralised,
Genitive | adiki
Dative | adik

The proximate demonstrative pronoun also shows the same morphological distinction.

3.6.2. Interrogative Pronouns:

There are two sets of interrogative pronouns corresponding to the person and the non-person nouns. The first set consists of two pronouns neːdu and ike, meaning 'who' and the other set consists of one member indru, meaning 'what'. As regards, the two pronouns neːdu and ike, considerable overlapping between them is to be noted in this dialect, and there is a tendency to replace the former by the latter. In some environments the two pronouns do not contrast.
gosānīn ne:d jahan tundlah — 'no one has seen the god'

or
gosānīn iker jahan tundlar

ne:d jahan barlah — 'no one came'

or
iker jahan barlar.

However, the pronouns differ in following syntactic functions.

(1) ike alone occurs in the predicative position and shows concord with the subject. It also takes the number marker.

e:n iken — 'who am I?'

ni:m iker — 'who are you?'

a:r iker — 'who are they?' etc.

(2) Although both the pronouns can substitute person nouns in the nominative case, ike occurs exclusively for the non-person nouns.

ikē pindiē — 'what is beating?' (as a drum)

ikē targrad — 'what did break?'

(3) With other case markers, nek (the oblique of ne:d) occurs with reference to person nouns.

i:d nek taṅgadiē — 'whose daughter is she?'

i: jinse nekkī a:h oyanah — 'whose things are these, he will take those'
The paradigm for nesd is as follows. It has no plural form.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>- ne:d</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obl./Gen.</td>
<td>nek/nekki</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>- neken</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>- neke</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instr.</td>
<td>- neket</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abl.</td>
<td>- nekente</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loc.</td>
<td>- nekeno</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The paradigm for ike is

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>- ike - h/d</td>
<td>ike - r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>- iken</td>
<td>ikerin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>- ikek</td>
<td>ikerik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>- ikeki</td>
<td>ikerki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instr.</td>
<td>- iket</td>
<td>ikerit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abl.</td>
<td>- ikente</td>
<td>ikerinte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loc.</td>
<td>- ikeno</td>
<td>ikerino</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The paradigm for indru is,

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>- indr</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>- indra/indran</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>- indrik</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>- indrki</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instr.</td>
<td>- indret</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abl.</td>
<td>- indrente</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loc.</td>
<td>- indreno</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
When the pronouns ne:du and indrdu occur in co-ordination with other nouns, these have the general meaning of 'etcetra' or 'the like'.

a:h loket neket kankan pehtar ah - 'he got the wood removed by people, etc.'

a:h maqen neken bi:ktarah - 'he summoned the boys etc.'

Similarly,

pesan indran e:m tundlaydam - 'we have not seen money or the like'

a:h patlino indreno ja:gu bitah - 'he was cooking rice in a pot or something'

There are also two markers like ba:de and goto which when suffixed to ike gives the meaning of indefiniteness to the pronoun.

ike ba:de - 'some one'
ike goto - 'any one'

3.6.3. Reflexive Pronouns:

The reflexive pronouns are formed by adding the reflexive morpheme -i to the personal pronouns.

1 sg. - e:n - i
2 sg. - ni:n - i
1 pl. excl. - e:m - i
1 pl. incl. - na:m - i
2 pl. - ni:m - i
Some examples of the use of the reflexive pronouns are,

- eːn eːni bərən - 'I came by myself'
- niːm niːmɪ kəndən mənəmə - 'do not fight among yourselves'

In the case of demonstrative pronouns, the forms have distinct allomorphs before the reflexive. These are taːn and taːm for the 3rd singular and plural respectively. These are also two stem pronouns showing nominative/oblique distinction. The oblique stem for the third singular is taŋ and for the third plural tam.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>taːn - i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>taːm - i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obl./Gen.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>taŋ/taŋki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tam/tamki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>taŋgen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tamen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>taŋge</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tame</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instr.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>taŋget</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tamet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abl.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>taŋgenəte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tamente</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loc.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>taŋgeno</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tameno</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.7. Proper Nouns:

The proper nouns or personal names are one of the major areas of the Malto language which is considerably affected by the process of acculturation. The two main factors, affecting this are conversion to Christianism and admission to educational institutions. Although very, little attention is paid to this area of acculturation in the existing ethnographic literature, there are reasons to
believe that the traditional naming in this culture is systematic, i.e., both male and female names of the grand parents are inherited. This fact is also indirectly corroborated by the few geneological tables given by Sarkar (1938). So, the traditional naming system is partially a closed system, with a limited number of personal names which are likely to be repeated in every third generation. But due to conversion to Christianism many of the old names are replaced by new names like, Peter, Maichel, Alexander, Parameswar, Mary, Susan, etc. Similarly, the schools run by the Paharia Welfare Department of the Bihar State Government, change the names of the entrants at the time of admission, and bestow new names like Kamala, Buddhinath, Chandrama, Naresa, Sukadeva, etc. These Anglicised and Sanskritised names are characteristically different from the traditional names. The Maito names are generally paired along the dimension of sex and the distinction is manifested by marked features. This process is not an isolated one, but also runs through other word classes like nouns and adjectives. The morphological rule operating in the proper nouns is,

\[
\text{name final } -V \rightarrow -i/\text{when female}
\]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ra:ma</td>
<td>ra:mi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>me:sa</td>
<td>me:si</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jawra</td>
<td>jawri</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
There are also some names which are not paired. These are usually given after 'animals' or 'adjectives of quality'.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>moňla</td>
<td>moňli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>guya</td>
<td>guyi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>de:wa</td>
<td>de:wi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beyda</td>
<td>beydi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bi:ma</td>
<td>bi:mi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sonya</td>
<td>sonyi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bamna</td>
<td>bamni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bandra</td>
<td>bandri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baňgra</td>
<td>bangrí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma:ga</td>
<td>ma:gi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na:ra</td>
<td>na:ri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be:wa</td>
<td>be:wi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>si:ba</td>
<td>si:bi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kana</td>
<td>kani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gande</td>
<td>gandi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rawte</td>
<td>rawti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>margro</td>
<td>margri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sanjo</td>
<td>sanji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>budu</td>
<td>budi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>loku</td>
<td>loki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jetu</td>
<td>jeti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ca:ndu</td>
<td>ca:ndi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kalu</td>
<td>kali</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
For example,

osge — 'mouse'
kuco — 'dog'
oido — 'musk rat'
bogole — 'crane'
qa:qa — 'crow'

and,

kitro — 'rotten'
anglo — 'open mouthed'
bombo — 'deep voiced'
cu:co — 'pointed'
ca:po — 'short'
ci:pro — 'wrinkled'

It is also interesting to note that the proper nouns, like other nouns, may take the gender suffixes in the nominative case.

ra:meh dasroteki taṅgadeh mañjah — 'Rama was Dasaratha's son'
binodaneh ahin namyah — 'Binodane scolded him'
pulomatiো esa sajyid — 'pulomot is very pretty'

The above names are borrowed or fancy names which occur in folklores.

3.8. Adverbial Nouns:

There is a class of noun-stems, which are not distinguished for number and gender, but are inflected
with certain case suffixes. They are, by definition, nouns on the morphological level, although syntactically they function as adverbials or relators (See, Chapter-VII). These nouns occur after a noun or a noun phrase which they govern. The noun which is governed is in oblique case if it is a two stem noun or else it is uninflected.

qoq - 'behind'

kucođ eñ qoq barië - 'the dog is coming behind me'.

ula - 'inside'

dari ula pesa beyid - 'the money is inside the cloth'.

pisi - 'under'

qaj pisi amà ko:dië - 'there is water under the earth'.

pa:w - 'from the side'

diyal pa:w amà ourgrad - 'water ran from the side of the wall'.

piki - 'direction'

tu:đë maqe piki ekyad - 'the tiger went in the direction of the boy'.

meca - 'above'

man meca pujë okië - 'the bird is sitting on the tree'.

ba:dgi - 'side'

eñ ba:dginoz ko:da - 'lie down by my side'.

kite - 'near'

a:r ra:jbari kiteno dera manjar - 'they made their camp near the palace'.

baha - 'place, near'

eñ bahak bara - 'come near me'.
iden qeś bahano kiša — 'place it near the foot'
i:š eš bahante ťa:ţgen bacdah — 'he is snatching mangoes from me'

3.9. Complex Nouns:

Noun stems consisting of one root and one or more derivational suffixes are called complex nouns. Complex noun stems behave like simple stems in entering into inflection, representing the categories of gender, number and case. The following groups of derivative suffixes are morphologically segmentable.

(1) Suffixes denoting sex difference in persons.

(i) Nouns which are formed by the morphological rule,

\[
\text{final } -e \rightarrow -ni/\text{when female}
\]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>adye</td>
<td>adyni</td>
<td>'man of Hari Caste'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kamare</td>
<td>kamarni</td>
<td>'blacksmith'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>male</td>
<td>malni</td>
<td>'the Malpahria man'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gole</td>
<td>golni</td>
<td>'Hindu man'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rakse</td>
<td>raksni</td>
<td>'demon'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>randye</td>
<td>randyni</td>
<td>'widower'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gondye</td>
<td>gondyni</td>
<td>'fisherman'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>malike</td>
<td>malikni</td>
<td>'master'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sinare</td>
<td>sinarni</td>
<td>'rich man'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sardare</td>
<td>sardarni</td>
<td>'chief'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>becare</td>
<td>becarni</td>
<td>'poor fellow'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Notes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eerge</td>
<td>eergni</td>
<td>'wizard'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bayare</td>
<td>bayarni</td>
<td>'male relative'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>camare</td>
<td>camarni</td>
<td>'cobbler'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>goware</td>
<td>gowarni</td>
<td>'cowherd'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qalwe</td>
<td>qalwni</td>
<td>'thief'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>debane</td>
<td>debami</td>
<td>'lord'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>te:ne</td>
<td>te:nni</td>
<td>'relative'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pokire</td>
<td>pokirni</td>
<td>'mendicant'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kumre</td>
<td>kumrni</td>
<td>'the kumarbhag'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma:re</td>
<td>mar:ni</td>
<td>'the Marpaharia'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iňjqade</td>
<td>iňjqadni</td>
<td>'orphan'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maştare</td>
<td>maştarni</td>
<td>'teacher'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>setale</td>
<td>setalni</td>
<td>'the Santal'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dombe</td>
<td>dombni</td>
<td>'the Dom'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ra:re</td>
<td>ra:rnî</td>
<td>'enemy'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dobye</td>
<td>dobyni</td>
<td>'washer'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are a few nouns which are marked with the male - e, but do not have female counterparts.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sa:rye</td>
<td></td>
<td>'friend'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bo:nde</td>
<td></td>
<td>'fat man'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dagdare</td>
<td></td>
<td>'doctor'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pulise</td>
<td></td>
<td>'policeman'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mahjane</td>
<td></td>
<td>'money lender'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ceťe</td>
<td></td>
<td>'the Sawrya Paharia'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dase</td>
<td></td>
<td>'member of a village council'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
kōtware - 'an official of village council'
majye - 'village chief'
napite - 'barber'
ṭo:ge - 'cheat'
jogye - 'begger'

There are a few nouns which are marked with the female -ni but do not have male counterparts.

bagmanni - 'goddess'
batgni - 'maiden'

(ii) Nouns differentiated for sex by different morphemic realization.

(a) final -o → -i/when female
　qalapo qalapi - 'nephew - niece'
　me:gro me:gri - 'eldest son - eldest daughter'
　pocro poci - 'baby son - baby daughter'

(b) final -a → -i/when female
　bagna bagni - 'sister's son - sister's daughter'
　domna domni - 'baby son - baby daughter'
　sa:ra sa:ri - 'wife's brother - wife's sister'
　beda bedi - 'father's father - father's mother'
　qawra qawri - 'illegitimate boy - girl'
(iii) Derived nouns which are differentiated along sex by different morphemic realization.

- awe → ani/when female
- mandr - 'medicine'
  - mandrwe mandrani - 'medicine man'
- org - 'house'
  - orgawe organi - 'house owner'
- dokani - 'shop'
  - dokanawe dokanani - 'shop keeper'

Other derived nouns of the same structure are,

- kete - 'field'
  - ketawe - 'farmer'
- bora - 'sack'
  - borawe - 'person having sacks'

(2) -ndr suffix which signifies 'affinal relationship'.

- aba - 'father'
  - aba - ndar - 'father-in-law'
- dudu - 'mother'
  - dudu - ndar - 'mother-in-law'
- baya - 'brother'
  - baya - ndar - 'brother-in-law'

(3) Bound kinship terms which occurs only with personal pronouns eñ - 'my', niñ - 'you', and tañ - 'his'.

- eñ - gad - e - 'my son'
- eñ - gad - i - 'my daughter'
- niñ - gad - e - 'your son'
nin - gad - i — 'your daughter'
taņ - gad - e — 'his son'
taņ - gad - i — 'his daughter'
eh - do — 'my younger brother/sister'
niņ - do — 'your younger brother/sister'
taņ - do — 'his younger brother/sister'

(4) -yo suffix meaning 'a person who possesses or performs'.

When the suffix is attached to a vowel ending stem, the vowel is deleted.

ahre — 'hunting' ahr - yo — 'hunter'
came — 'song' ca:m - yo — 'singer'
payt — 'work' payt - yo — 'worker'
cakri — 'service' ca:kr - yo — 'servant'
tadi — 'toddy' tad - yo — 'drunkard'
ledra — 'left hand' ledr - yo — 'left handed person'
duke — 'sorrow' duk - yo — 'miserable person'
er — 'bow' er - yo — 'archer'
benje — 'marriage' beņj - yo — 'person going in a wedding party'
cuți — 'tuft of hair' cuț - yo — 'person having a tuft of hair'

3.10. **Compound Nouns:**

Compound noun stems consist of more than one primary roots. Both of these roots may be free or one of these may be unique. A compound is not merely a juxtaposition of two independent roots, but is a construction with different
kinds of underlying semantic structure. For example, 
mal - tu:d - 'man - tiger' is a 'man who is a tiger',
tu:da - teŋgu - 'to the tiger - speaker' is 'one who reports to the tiger'. Similarly, mal - saba - 'man - language' is 'the language of the man', muso - tu:tro - 'nose - hole' is 'the hole of the nose'. Therefore, the compounds are in a sense quasi-idiomatic, i.e., the meaning of the parts is not equivalent to the whole. Structurally, most of the compounds in Malto are subordinate constructions, i.e., one of the roots, the preceding one, is a modifier of the second. These are the various types of modifications noted in the data.

(i) Modified by a noun in attributive position.
mal - tu:d (man who is a tiger) - 'a sadist'
qe:s - koco (blood that is belly) - 'blood dysentry'
neña - ma:k (fat that is meat) - 'fat meat'

(ii) Modified by a noun which is semantically a possessive.
mal - saba (man's language) - 'the Malto language'
muso - tu:tro (nose's hole) - 'nostril'
melq - mo:cu (throat's cutter) - 'a cut throat'
na:d - ma:k (god's meat) - 'sacrificed meat'
bilp - nire (moon's light) - 'moon-light'
pok - tola (ant's nest) - 'ant nest'
qa:n - pocro (eye's filth) - 'eye sand'
kuk - kati (head's pin) - 'hair pin'
pokl - suta (silk moth's thread) - 'tusser silk'
kulp - kati (lock's stick) - 'key'
jar - demano (rain's diviner) - 'sky lark'
karm - gata (waist's rope) - 'waist-band'

(iii) Modification by a noun in accusative case.
qa:nan - iou (digger of the eye) - 'name of a bird'
mana - pakru (catcher of the tree) - 'the wood pecker'
ṭu:da - teṅgu (reporter to the tiger) - 'the praying mantis'

(iv) Modification of a generic noun by a specific noun.
a:tg - kobi (leaf - cauliflower) - 'cabbage'
am - boda (water - snake) - 'kind of snake'
kakro - te:le (crab - centipede) - 'scorpion'
mo:kro - o:s (hollow - mushroom) - 'kind of mushroom'
muhni - mandr (charm - medicine) - 'magic medicine'
raksi - tadi (mohwa - liquor) - 'kind of liquor'
pi:k - turu (excreta - bug) - 'dung beetle'
sona - pocr (gold - insect) - 'kind of chrysalis'
te:ni - rasi (honey bee - juice) - 'honey'
mu:q - mi:n (frog - fish) - 'kind of fish'
jata - ali (grinding stone - tuber) - 'kind of tuber'
ṭu:d - mi:n (tiger - fish) - 'kind of fish'

(v) Modified by a descriptive adjective.
qe:so - pok (red - ant) - 'kind of ant'
qe:po - ma:s (belonging to village - bamboo) - 'kind of bamboo'
paco - palangje (old - melon) - 'kind of melon'
patro - simbi (flat - bean) - 'kind of bean'

(vi) Modified by a verb root.
murg - mandr (uprooting - medicine) - 'slow poison'
arg - be:r (climbing - sun) - 'rising sun'
bij - merg (dawning - sky) - 'morning sky'
ka:gl - dole (dying - drum) - 'death drum'
ugsa - di:ne (fasting - day) - 'day of fasting'
ti:na - te:tu (eating - hand) - 'right hand'

3.11. Balance Nouns:

Balance nouns are those nouns which occur with other nouns in co-ordination and are in the same grammatical class as the main nouns. It is the second member of the compound which functions as the balance noun. There are only a limited number of nouns which function as balance words and they may or may not occur independently.

pesa taka (money - rupee) - 'money'
dari daba (cloth - rags) - 'clothings'
saba kata (language - talk) - 'discussion'
si:je ma:le (things - goodies) - 'riches'
ja:gu arage (rice - curry) - 'meals'
org duwari (house - door) - 'whole house'
kete bakri (rice field - corn field) - 'cultivated land'
dade jare (woods - vines) - 'forest'
to:ke pahri (hill - mound) - 'hills'
laray jagra (fighting - quarrels) - 'feuds'
pa:n o:tr (fruit - flower) - 'edible vegetables'
puj gugri (bird - dove) - 'game birds'
maq pa:n (animal - egg) - 'game animals'
ra:ji desi (kingdom - country) - 'countries'
pel maqo (woman - child) - 'women and children'
ki:re am (hunger - water) - 'hunger and thirst'
jaga baha (place - place) - 'places'
jare bilo (vine - creeper) - 'vines'
țu:d ej (tiger - bear) - 'predatory animals'
małe golę (natives - Hindus) - 'people'
goda colo (open space - back yard) - 'secluded places'
teło tambakor (mother - father) - 'parents'
mulk dunya (country - world) - 'world'
duri muti (dust - filth) - 'dust'
cotr motr (body filth - nonsense word) - 'filth'
pen petr (louse - worm) - 'worms'
duke ki:re (suffering - hunger) - 'troubles'
tari kuri (dish - cup) - 'utensils'
aba bedoba (father - grand-father) - 'ancestors'
dalame mahle (balcony - palace) - 'buildings'
ti:ql dali (rice - pulse) - 'provisions'
nokre oakre - (servant - servant) - 'servants'
dana pani (foot - water) - 'food stuff'
o:ne done (drinks - wealth) - 'wealth'
saje baje (dress - nonsense word) - 'ornaments'
sona rupa - (gold - silver) - 'riches'
kursi mence (chair - bench) - 'furniture'
ra:ja poylar (king-attendant) - 'royal persons'
kando macli (stool - foot-rest) - 'indigenous furniture'
duke suke (misery - happiness) - 'go of life'
biri cuti ('biri' - cigar) - 'items of hospitality'
duke koste (misery - difficulty) - 'misery'
duke ki:re (misery - hunger) - 'wants'
mandr ce:to (medicine - herbs) - 'medicines'
ro:ge karone (disease - illness) - 'illness'
oja bejar (medicine man - witch doctor) - 'medicine men'
ra:ji pa:ti (kingdom - land) - 'kingdoms'
țetu qed (hand - leg) - 'limbs'
ka:je ka:me (work - work) - 'works'
pole dole (nonsense word - drum) - 'belongings'
pa:w qa:l (road - field) - 'places frequented by people'
ma:k ja:gu (meat - rice) - 'sumptuous food'
sa:ge puro (greens - herbs) - 'poor food'
ma:k cãnj (hornless deer - deer) - 'game animals'
jagra kandre (fighting - quarrel) - 'quarrelings'
ma:le jale (precious things - nonsense word) - 'riches'
pa:w ta:re (road - flat land) - 'roads'
maqer ponder (children - women) - 'dependants'

3.12. Classification of Nouns:

(1) The Malto nouns can be classified by applying syntactic and morphological criteria. Syntactically, the
nouns can be divided into mass and count nouns. Although all nouns, except the abstract noun, can be pronominally referred by the interrogative adjective e:na gur – 'how many/much', only the count nouns can take a special set of classifiers in the place of gur. The mass nouns cannot occur in the above frame. For example,

a:h e:na gur isgnan qe:gyah – 'how much oil did he buy?'

a:h e:na gur tadin ondaycah – 'how much toddy did he drink?'

The gur in the above sentences cannot be substituted by any other morpheme except the 'container' and the 'measure' words. The nouns which occur only in this frame are 'mass' nouns.

In case of 'count' nouns, 'gur' can be substituted by a special set of classifiers. For example,

(i) a:dek e:na gur maler barcar
   or
   a:dek e:na jen maler barcar – 'how many people came there?'

(ii) ahik e:na gur bardi beyid
    or
    ahik e:na maq bardi beyid – 'how many cows does he have?'

(iii) a:h e:na gur kaldin lapiycah
     or
     a:h e:na para kaldin lapiycah – 'how many bananas did he eat?'

(iv) a:h e:na gur patlin ocah
     or
     a:h e:na gut patlin ocah – 'how many pots did he take?'
Furthermore, in an affirmative frame the classifiers can be preceded by numerals. For example,

a:dek tini jen maler barcar – 'Three people came there'
ahik tini maq bardı beyiđ – 'he has three cows'
a:h tini para kaldın lapiycah – 'he ate three bananas'
a:h tini gut patlin ocah – 'he took three pots'
i: qepno tini man man# i:liđ – 'There are three trees in this village'

Thus, the Malto nouns fall into three distinct classes.

Mass nouns – nouns which occur only in e:na gur frame.
Count nouns – nouns which occur in e:na gur and also in numeral frame.
Abstract nouns – nouns which do not occur in e:na gur frame.

(2) The second type of classification of the nouns is based on morphological criterion, i.e., the nouns which end with the suffix -du and the rest. All the -du ending nouns are monosyllabic and have the canonical shape $C_{0-1} V C_{1-4}$. For example,

ej -du – 'bear'
adır - du – 'broken particles of corn'
isgn – du – 'oil'
qed – du – 'leg'
poor - du — "worm"
jurpl - du — "bush"
jaŋjql - du — "portions of fruit"

Secondly, the -du ending nouns are marked differently in the accusative case, i.e., with -a or optionally -an, unlike other nouns. For example,

ej — 'bear' — eja/ejan — 'to the bear'
qed — 'leg' — qeda/qedan — 'to the leg'
isgn — 'oil' — isgna/isgnan — 'to the oil'

A note on these nouns may be given here in view of Droese's treatment of the subject. To begin with, in the two other dialects of Malto the ending -du corresponds to -u, which is called "enunciative" by Droese. Isolating this criterion, Droese says "there is but one declension of the Malto nouns and it is effected by means of case signs, which in the singular are appended to the noun as it is, when the latter ends with a vowel. When nouns terminate with a consonant invariably followed by an enunciative short u, and which nouns are always neuter, this u disappears before the case signs of four of the cases, while in two, viz., the Dative short i, and the instrumental short e, take the place of the enunciative short u" (1884, p.3). Without judging the merits of Droese's treatment, it should suffice to note here, he too has identified two classes of nouns, one class which ends with an "enunciative short u" and the
other which does not. It may however, be asked if this -u of the Sawria dialect isolates the very same nouns as does the corresponding -du of the present dialect. My own findings are that, although both the lists compare well in most details, there are a few deviations. For example, in the Sawria dialect of Rajmahal and Godda, the items for 'women - peli, 'dream' - tumgle are not -u ending nouns. Similarly, in the Malpaharia dialect, the items for 'snake' - bođa (Sawria - ner-u), 'thread' - suta (Sawria - mea*-u) are not -du ending nouns. From the point of our present analysis these differences are of little consequence. Between the Kumarbhag and the Malpaharia dialects, the items isolated by this marker are far more comparable. Furthermore, it must be made clear that the -du ending nouns are not a sub-class of nouns as such, for on the basis of gender distinction the noun class is divided first into masculine (marked with -h) and non-masculine (marked with -d) nouns. The -du class nouns do not cut across this basic dichotomy. These nouns are in fact, a sub-class of the non-masculine class, as all the -du nouns in nominative singular are marked with -d. There is no exception to this rule. But, this class cuts across the covert classification of non-masculine into feminine and neuter, as pel-du - 'woman' is a 'feminine' noun and also a -du class noun.

The following is a list of -du ending nouns.

1. akř - du - 'new shoots'
2. akl - du - 'a parasitic plant used as medicines'
3. ac - du - 'thorn'
4. adr - du - 'broken particles of corn'
5. am - du - 'water'
6. awg - du - 'kind of honey bee'
7. a:wqr - du - 'steam, moisture, hot wind of summer'
8. isg - du - 'kind of honey bee'
9. isgn - du - 'oil'
10. i:lkr - du - 'kind of edible berry'
11. ul - du - 'day time'
12. ej - du - 'bear'
13. edr - du - 'parakeet'
14. ert - du - 'bow'
15. e:q - du - 'rainy season'
15.a. e:p - du - 'fiber vine'
16. org - du - 'nail'
17. org - du - 'house'
18. o:s - du - 'mush room'
19. o:y - du - 'cattle'
20. katr - du - 'rashes, skin disease'
21. kank - du - 'wood'
22. kis - du - 'pig'
23. ki:l - du - 'edible ant eggs'
24. ki:r - du - 'grass'
25. ke:tn - du - 'winnowing basket'
26. kuk - du - 'head'
27. kukr - du - 'portions of fibrous juicy fruit as a ripe palm'
28. ku:r - du - 'razor'
29. gagy - du - 'cow'
30. cānj - du - 'deer'
31. cawr - du - 'abdomen, entrails'
32. ca:r - du - 'arrow'
33. cīc - du - 'fire'
34. citr - du - 'porcupine'
35. cīrg - du - 'summer'
36. cēgl - du - 'millet husk'
37. cotr - du - 'body dirt'
38. jaŋql - du - 'sections or portions of a fruit as of an orange'
39. jabr - du - 'fruit pulp'
40. jurpl - du - 'bush'
41. tu:d - du - 'tiger'
42. dumbl - du - 'fermented grain for alcohol'
43. ta:tr - du - 'sickle'
44. tiln̄r - du - 'fly'
45. ti:ql - du - 'rice'
46. tumgl - du - 'dream'
47. naql - du - 'epiglottis'
48. naŋñj - du - 'winter'
49. na:d - du - 'god'
50. nitl - du - 'crown of head'
51. no:l - du - 'gourd'
52. pa:n - du - 'fruit'
53. pa:l - du - 'tooth'
54. pa:w - du - 'path'
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<td>55.</td>
<td>pin - du</td>
<td>'large staff'</td>
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<td>56.</td>
<td>pi:k - du</td>
<td>'excreta, dung'</td>
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<td>57.</td>
<td>puj - du</td>
<td>'bird'</td>
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<td>58.</td>
<td>pudg - du</td>
<td>'genital hair'</td>
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<td>59.</td>
<td>pu:n - du</td>
<td>'beads'</td>
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<td>60.</td>
<td>pu:p - du</td>
<td>'flowers'</td>
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<td>61.</td>
<td>pel - du</td>
<td>'woman'</td>
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<td>62.</td>
<td>pe:n - du</td>
<td>'louse'</td>
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<td>63.</td>
<td>pokl - du</td>
<td>'silkworm'</td>
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<td>64.</td>
<td>poor - du</td>
<td>'worn, caterpillar'</td>
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<td>65.</td>
<td>po:k - du</td>
<td>'ant'</td>
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<td>66.</td>
<td>bahgl - du</td>
<td>'intermediate space'</td>
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<td>67.</td>
<td>ba:ql - du</td>
<td>'spider'</td>
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<td>68.</td>
<td>bilr - du</td>
<td>'kind of edible berry'</td>
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<td>69.</td>
<td>bilp - du</td>
<td>'moon'</td>
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<td>70.</td>
<td>bumgl - du</td>
<td>'kind of poisonous berry'</td>
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<td>71.</td>
<td>be:k - du</td>
<td>'salt'</td>
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<td>72.</td>
<td>be:r - du</td>
<td>'sun'</td>
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<td>73.</td>
<td>maq - du</td>
<td>'insect'</td>
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<td>74.</td>
<td>man - du</td>
<td>'tree'</td>
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<td>75.</td>
<td>mandr - du</td>
<td>'medicine'</td>
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<td>76.</td>
<td>mang - du</td>
<td>'buffalo'</td>
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<td>77.</td>
<td>marg - du</td>
<td>'horn'</td>
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<td>78.</td>
<td>mas - du</td>
<td>'axe'</td>
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<td>79.</td>
<td>ma:k - du</td>
<td>'flesh'</td>
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<td>80.</td>
<td>ma:k - du</td>
<td>'hornless deer'</td>
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<td>81.</td>
<td>ma:q - du</td>
<td>'night'</td>
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3.12.1 Internal Logic of the -du Class:

It is possible that the nouns isolated by this class marker are not a haphazard collection of random items but are organized around certain ethno-semantic rationale. This
rationale is to be found in the way the items or the phenomena they represent are concatenated. It must be appreciated that the -du class nouns are an important group of nouns as all the three dialects isolate them covertly (See, Chapter-VIII). Although some differences are to be found between the dialects in assimilating and discarding elements from this domain, the main logical nexus which holds the configuration together remains intact. The comparative list of items show that, the affected items are either redundant, ambiguous or peripheral to the main system. But before we go to discuss the questions of these details, it is of importance to know the processes which transform a formal class into a semantic or even logical one. In this connection Whorf's ideas are particularly illuminating. "As outward marks become few, the class tends to crystallize around an idea - to become more dependent on whatever synthetizing principle there may be in the meanings of its members. It may even be true that many abstract ideas arise in this way; some rather formal and not very meaningful linguistic group, marked by some overt feature, may happen to coincide very roughly with some concatenation of phenomena in such a way as to suggest a rationalization of this parallelism. In the course of phonetic change, the distinguishing mark, ending, or what not is lost, and the class from a formal to a semantic one. Its reactance is now what distinguishes it as a class, and its idea is what unifies it. As time and use go on, it becomes increasingly organised around a rationale, it
attracts semantically suitable words and loses former members that are now semantically inappropriate logic is now what holds it together, and its logic becomes a semantic associate of that unity of which the configurative aspect is a bundle of nonmotor linkages mooring the whole fleet of words to their common reactance" (1959, pp. 80-81). Although, in this case, the overt class marker is not lost, for all the nouns are still marked with -du, it serves only as a mnemonic device for identifying a group of items which are otherwise held together by their internal logic. This internal logic, as Levi-Strauss puts it, "works like a Kaleidoscope, an instrument which also contains bits and pieces by means of which structural patterns are realized" (1968, p. 36). These patterns emerge when we try to relate the ethno-semantic contents of the items belonging to this domain. The elaboration of the lexicon along vertical dimensions of generalization and horizontal dimensions of discrimination reflects not only the importance of the objects to the way of life of the people concerned, but what is more important, projects models of intelligibility in terms of which the objects have to be first understood. If there is such a model underlying this class, it is only a tentative one mainly because the majority of items at the most specific level of generalization, combine into a few paradigm-like sets. Any complete taxonomic ordering of these sub-domains in terms of a semantic structure of the system with categorical rules has proved to be less
satisfactory. But whatever ordering is there, it is sufficient to give us some insight into the Malto culture and the Malto world.

The recording of the complete set of terms by using the boundary-setting criterion -du is already given. The set, according to my data consists of 104 items, with a few doubtful items like, e:pu-du - 'fiber vine', qolr-du - 'rain hat made of leaves'. Each item in the list is provided with rough denotation and a number for easy reference. The set can be resolved into following semantic subsets.

Subset-I: 'Woman' 61

It is the only category of its kind and dominates the whole domain. The Malto universe already divided by a gender system into masculine and non-masculine, finds in this category the supreme symbol for the whole world. The subjective uniqueness of 'man' in this system, leaves the category 'woman' to characterize everything else of the universe. If our interpretation of the category is correct then its function is a redundant one, for it merely substitutes for an opposition, i.e., man/non-man, which is pre-existing, by virtue of the covert gender system. Therefore, this redundancy has given the category an unstable status as in some dialects it has fallen out of the system.

Subset-II: Space 104

This class consists of three categories, 'the top' 104,
'the bottom 103, and 'the intermediate space' 66. These spatial categories have particular significance when we relate these concepts to other categories, i.e., the ariel, the terrestrial and the supernatural, respectively.

Subset-III: Ariel or the Phenomena of the 'Sky' 84

This class consists of seven categories which fall into two groups; diurnal and non-diurnal.

(a) Diurnal: 'day' 11 and 'night' 81. These two categories are supplemented further by two other complementary categories like 'sun' 72 and 'moon' 69 respectively.

(b) Non-diurnal: 'summer' 35, 'rain' 15, and 'winter' 48. It is important to note that these seasonal categories are fundamentally connected with the Malto agricultural cycle. Although, they are familiar with the Hindu calendar system of 12 months, they have little idea about the six season cycle. The above three season cycle corresponds to the three crucial phases of indigenous shifting cultivation, i.e., the summer is the season for 'clearing the forest', the rain for 'sowing' and the winter for 'harvesting'.

Subset-IV: Terrestrial or the Phenomena of 'the earth' 97

This class naturally consists of the largest number of categories and these may be grouped under the following sub-domains with reference to their common ethno-semantic reactance. The sub-domains are, elemental, nature-cultural, body, animates and plants.
(a) Elemental: 'soil' 87, 'salt' 71, 'moisture/hot air' 7, 'water' 5, and 'fire' 33. Of these five categories, the category 'moisture/hot air' 7 is rather a difficult one. It has several meanings like, 'the sub-soil moisture content of the land' which is extremely important for the plant growth. It may mean 'water vapour' or 'mist' as seen over water holes in winter mornings. It also means, 'the current of hot wind' which blows in summer. In any case, all these categories represent certain elements of the earth and cannot be treated under any other sub-domain.

(b) Nature-culture: The domain consists of fourteen categories. 'forest' 91, 'village' 94, 'field' 90, 'road' 54, 'house' 16, 'bow' 14, 'arrow' 32, 'stick' 55, 'sickle' 43, 'axe' 78, 'razor' 28, 'winnowing basket' 25, 'drum' 99, and 'beads' 59. This domain is a continuum between the nature and the culture. The complex is articulated with four basic categories like forest - village - road - field. The ecological balance between these phenomena is indispensable for the survival of the tribe. In this context Vidyarthi says, that "the Maler culture originated, developed and even today largely flourishes in the lap of the nature. The natural setting for the Maler habitat comprises mainly of forests and hills. The influence of forest is reflected on every aspect of Maler culture and a comprehensive understanding of its culture, it appears, can be had mainly by examining it in context with its forests" (1963, p.12).
Forest - The economy of the tribe revolves round the forest. Vidyarthi outlines the main functions of the forest under three headings -

a) Forest as a source of food and drink,
b) Forest as a source of providing shelter, and
c) Forest as a source of providing raw materials for cottage industry (1963, p.16).

The familiarity of the Maler children with this ecological setting develops gradually from the beginning of their childhood as they spend most of their time in the forest grazing cattle and collecting fruits, flowers, mushroom, roots, grasses and herbs. During the lean months, or in case of a crop failure, the forest remains the only source for food. Besides remaining a major source of food, drinks, honey and medicines for the people and the domestic animals, the forest also provides them raw materials for the preparation of their huts and many of their household articles. Bamboos, grasses, leaves, straws, vines, cane and wood are important raw materials for building a house which they get from the surrounding forest. The forest also abounds in such plants and trees which provide them with raw materials for making many goods which are used by them or are sold in the local market. Thus, a Maler village cannot be conceived without its ecological setting.

Village - Usually the high forested hills provide the sites for the Maler villages on their isolated peaks. According to Vidyarthi, "the hill villages of the Maler
have a peculiar setting from the point of view of natural vegetation and topography. High on the peak of the hills, on somewhat flat land, are the small Maler villages consisting of neighbouring jungles. The somewhat slopy or undulating areas surrounding a Maler village have a number of fruit trees, wild scrubs, creepers and bamboo groves" (1963, p.13). Normally a Maler village is of a linear type running from one margin of the top of the hill to the other. The huts are arranged on both sides of a wide rocky street. As an organisational unit, every Maler village is identified by a particular name, and delimited by geographical boundaries. It has its own sacred centres and a political head called 'majye'. The number of families who live in a single village may be related through a single system of lineage. A village is usually in relationship with other neighbouring villages within a radius of ten miles. This 'extension' of the village are in forms of social, economic, ritualistic and political activities.

Field - The economy of the Maler mainly revolves round agriculture. Every family has a set of forest tracts and it selects, in turn, the suitable tracts one by one for 'slash and burn' cultivation. It cannot go beyond its limited forest tract. According to Vidyarthi, the Khallu (phonemically /qaːldaː/) cultivation, is marked with a series of processes of "(1) selection and cutting of forest, (2) burning and removing of wood, (3) sowing, (4) weeding, (5) watching, (6) harvesting, (7) worshipping, (8) merry
making" (1963, p.33). He further observes that - "khallu in the life of the Maler is the most central because it provides maize to them which subsists their life. It is religious because the moral and religious system is determined by it. The sacredness of the Paharia life is reflected in the sanctions and taboos associated with the khallu operation. Khallu land is considered to be sacred and "impure" persons do not dare enter the khallu land" (p.44, ff.)

Road - This represents the network of communication. As the Malers rarely have any cart or carriage of their own, the roads are merely tracks being beaten by use. These narrow paths are contrasted with sarke, or the regular broad roads of the valley.

Thus, these four categories bring into relief the fundamental relationship between the nature and the culture or the process of transforming the nature into culture which never ceases. Further elaboration of the lexicon shows that the category of culture is extended to several particular items, the most important of which is the 'house'.

House - Structurally, the Maler house is a one-roof construction made of wood, bamboo and grass. It forms a distinct unit of the village. Functionally, it houses a single nuclear family which is basically patrilineal and patrilocal. "The family is the primary, as also the most dominant institution of the Maler villages. The major
economic, social, religious and reproductive activities are centered around a Maler family. A Maler family is usually composed of husband, wife and their unmarried children who live together in a single hut and do their cooking together and for all practical purposes constitute one single economic unit" (Vidyarthi, 1963, p.74). Thus, formation of a new family entails the construction of a new house. For example, when a son is married, he makes his own hut in the same village and goes to live there with his wife.

A typical Maler hut, consists of many kinds of household and domestic objects; such as: agricultural implements and hunting weapons; objects of material culture or decoration. However, our lexicon includes only nine representative items of material culture and these may be grouped in the following manner with reference to their function in the Maler culture.

Hunting - Bow, arrow, stick.
Agricultural - Sickle, axe, winnowing basket.
Ritualistic - Razor. This instrument is connected with the rituals of cutting the umbilical cord by the maternal uncle.
Decorative - Beads.
Recreational - Drum.

(c) Body: This group consists of the word for 'body' 85, and various 'body parts'. It is interesting to note that only two words, i.e., 'the throbbing temple
of the head as the human babies have at the time of 'birth' 50 and 'horns' 77, refer to the parts of specific kinds. All other words are applicable to bodies in general, whether of man or animal. These are: 'head' 26, 'temple' 50/'horn' 77, 'eye' 89, 'ear' 96, tooth' 53, 'epiglottis' 47, 'neck' 88, 'intestine' 31, 'vein' 92, 'genital hair' 58, 'nail' 16, 'leg' 93, and 'flesh' 79, 'blood' 100, 'bone' 101, 'semen' 102, 'excreta' 56, and 'body filth' 37.

(d) Animates: This group includes animals, birds, fish and bugs. The animals represent several sub-categories.

   Game - 'deer' 30, 'hornless deer' 80, 'porcupine' 34.
   Domestic - 'cattle' 19 and 'cow' 29 (See, foot-note 2), 'buffalo' 76, 'pig' 22.

The category of 'bird' 57, consists of the generic term 'bird' and two other species, perhaps representing the domesticated and the wild or game varieties.

   Domestic - 'chicken' 98.
   Game - 'parakeet' 13.

Although many varieties of fish are known, only the generic term 'fish', occurs in the list (See, foot-note 3).

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2 It is interesting to note that the beef-eating sections of Paharia do not have a separate word for 'cow'. For others, the item is not only borrowed from the neighbouring Indo-Aryan, but is marked as a du-class noun.

3 The word for 'snake' structurally belongs here, as the corresponding Sawriya word is ner-u. But this word no longer occurs in our list. The regular word for 'snake' is boda.
The category of 'bug' or 'insect', is an assorted list of various kinds. The markedness represents the people's concern with them rather than their usefulness. These are,

'bug' 73
'worm' 64
'honey bee' - 'two varieties' 6, 8
'silk moth' 63
'fly' 44
'spider' 67
'ant' 65
'louse' 62
'ant larva' - (these are edible 23.

(c) Plants: This list consists of the basic classification of the plants into tree, bush and grass. Other varieties like fiber vine or mushroom which do not fall under this classification are listed separately. The other items of the list are either particular parts of plants or vegetable products.

Primary plant kinds: 'tree' 74
            'bush' 40
            'grass' 24

Secondary plant kinds: 'fibre yielding vine' 15.a(?)
            'mushroom' 18

Plant parts: 'wood' 21
            'bamboo' 82
'thorn' 3
'flower' 60
'fruit' 52
'portions of ripe palm' 27
'sections of orange' 38
'fruit pulp' 39
'edible berry' - 'two kinds' 10, 68
'poisonous berry' - 'two kinds' 2, 70
(mainly used to kill fish or to poison arrow heads)
'gourd' 51
'shoot' 1
'paddy' 95
'rice' 45
'fermented grain for alcohol' 42
'corn meal' 4
'millet husk' 36

Plant Products: 'oil' 9
'medicine' 75

Subset-V: Supernatural or Phenomena of the 'intermediate space'

This list consists of four categories, 'god' 49, 'dream' 46, 'disease' 86, and 'skin disease' 20. There is compelling ethnographic evidence to show that god, dream and disease are interrelated, firstly because these are all supernatural phenomena and secondly the items do not fit into any other semantic subset, within the structural whole.
Thus, a tentative model can be proposed here towards a possible taxonomic relationship between different semantic subsets.

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It is indeed tempting to explain the logic of this classification in terms of Durkheimian "sociocentrism", which posits the centre of the first schemes of nature in society itself. For him, all logical hierarchies are only different aspects of social hierarchy, "and the unity of knowledge is nothing else than the very unity of the collectivity extended to the universe" (1903, pp. 83-84). Although Durkheim sees all other classificatory systems
in relation to and as a consequence of the cardinal system of totemic classification, which no doubt is untenable, for all societies with or without totemic systems do classify humans and objects according to their form, character or utility, however, the crux of his argument lies not in explaining the nature or the elements of classification but in providing a model for the development to systems of hierarchalized notions.

In this connection, it is also important to note that, although, the social and political organisations of the Malers is not based on any form of totemism, the social organisation of the Oraons, a tribe which is genetically closest to the Maler (See, Chapter-I), is fundamentally totemistic. According to Roy, among the Oraons, "individual totems, sex totems are unknown. The fauna and flora of their past and present habitats naturally supply the bulk of the totem names. With the acquisition of a knowledge of agriculture and the use of metals, a few totem names have been since added" (1915, p.324). What is of interest to us is the logic of the totemic classification of this related tribe and Roy's classification consists of the following sub-classes.

(i) Beast totems: Ox, dog, wild cat, wild dog, squirrel, jackal, rat, common monkey, baboon, pig, tiger, field rat, fox, species of monkey, young mice.
(ii) Bird totems: Paddy bird, a small black bird with a long tail, stork, duck, vulture, species of bird, raven, hedge sparrow, cock, hawk, the Tithiocharai bird, a species of long tailed bird.

(iii) Fish and other aquatic totems: Sub-divisions of the eel, several species of fish, a large fish with thorns on the back, tortoise, crocodile, etc.

(iv) Reptiles: Cobra snake.

(v) Vegetable totems: A species of grass, ficuss indica, several kinds of trees, sweet potato, a curry vegetable, paddy, date palm, a kind of fruit, the Mohwa tree, a kind of creeper, fruit of the Kusum tree, a kind of fruit, a curry vegetable, a kind of bush.

(vi) Mineral totems: Iron, salt.

(vii) Place totems: An embanked reservoir of water, a marsh or surface spring.

(viii) Split totems: Rice soup, pig's entrails.

Comparative ethnographic materials show that, this totemic system like the classificatory system of Malto, also changes. It incorporates new items by the segmentation of a single original clan which had a whole animal for its totem into a number of totems, either of which took the name either of a part of the original animal or of a sub-species of it. On the other hand, synonyms have played a role in the
merging of distinct sibs into single one. Commenting on both these processes Das and Raha say that "among the Oraon immigrants of the Sunderban area, a number of new sibs has developed which are not found among the Oraons of Chotā Nagpur. Some of the sibs of the Oraon of the Tea garden areas are quite different from those present in Ranchi district or in the Sunderban area. An interesting thing that may be noticed among the Oraons of the Sunderban is that some Oraons have kiss some suār and some kālaharin as their sib names. All these mean 'pig' .... The same has happened in the case of kinduar and 'shcl' (meaning a kind of fish), Laban and nun (salt), Kak and kāuyā (crow) and so on. These may be local adoptations due to the effect of migration and contact" (1963, p.96).

Whatever the case may be, it is rather surprising that these two tribes, separated by some one thousand years only (See, Chapter-I, for lexico-statistical findings), should develop such functionally different types of conceptual systems and if these systems are not somehow related irrespective of varied functions in the societies concerned. If the Oraon system of totems is one that is 'lived', the Maler system is primarily a 'means of thinking'. While the former being constantly subjected to the whims of demographic change, has lost the original scheme and is restructured, the latter has gained logical symmetry by contemplative intellectual operations. Therefore, the
elaborateness of one system is not necessarily qualitatively different from a less elaborate one, as long as both are conceptual systems but serving different functions.

Furthermore, the classification of nouns along semantic dimensions is not so peculiar to Malto only. With reference to the other languages of this area, notably for South Munda, Mahapatra and Zide say that "Gta? - like - Sora preserves an old set of syntactic-semantic structures (reconstructable for South Munda) which use compositional 'combining forms' (CFs) of nouns in a variety of constructions" (1972, p.179) (For Sora combining forms see Mahapatra and Mahapatra, 1968). According to the authors, the semantic classification of these noun forms is made in seven semantic categories.

(i) Human/Animal: Body parts and products. This class consists of a large number of words which are body parts in general; only one specific term like 'feather', four animal product terms like egg, honey, milk and cow-dung and also the term for wound, disease.

(ii) Animal Species: This class consists of several species of animals both domestic and wild, birds, snake, fish, insects, bugs and worms.

(iii) Human Age: Kin, status. This class consists of the words for different sex groups like man/woman, age groups like child/young man, identity groups like Don/Government official and for the ghost, spirit.
(iv) Plants: This class consists of terms for different plant species and surprisingly two terms like soil and field.

(v) Plant Parts and Products: This class consists of the forms for plant parts and some products like oil, juice of the sago palm, etc.

(vi) Artifacts: This list consists of mainly the items of material culture and a few terms like village, field, embankment, field watchman's platform, etc.

(vii) Other Natural Objects, Phenomena: This is a list consisting of various kinds of phenomena like sun-moon-star, day-night, water-fire, soil-salt-ashes, etc.

As this classification is proposed to be expanded and justified in detail by the authors later, it would be premature to go into the rationale of the arrangement at this state. Unfortunately also, the items completely devoid of their ethnographic significance are mute and inarticulate. Nevertheless, the Gta? classification like the Malto has the potentiality of a system with underlying semantic principles, which may be important to its speakers in their observation, analysis and categorizing of experience. These structural-semantic patterns of a language in Hoijer's words, are needed to be covered, "even though many of these exist more as potentialities of the system than in actual usage". (1954, p.96).