- Part II -

THE ANALYSIS
(Part I: The Analysis)

AIDS TO REFERENCE

Note: These exclude the abbreviations etc. of common knowledge and use, as well as the signs, symbols or abbreviations erected temporarily and explained on the spot.

\[ \text{enclose the phonemic writing; and} \]

\[ \text{the phonetic writing.} \]

\[ \text{enclose the morphemic writing; and} \]

\[ \text{precedes the allomorphic writing.} \]

(underline) is used (besides in the titles etc.) to point out a Koli item; while it is not used when the items are entered into rows or tables.

between Koli items, shows free variation.

before a Koli item, shows its reconstructed nature.

(hyphen) separates and shows the position of the expressed or expected Koli items (as in -a, a-, a-b).
(double hyphen) between Koli items, means '
-following'.

(plus) means 'immediately followed by'.

(Equation) (1) shows the resultant form obtained from the immediately following Koli items.

(2) when following a morpheme, shows its existing allomorphs that immediately follow the sign.

(space) within an utterance, shows word-juncture;

/ (slanting line) shows utterance-juncture.

ρ is used for the zero (or nonperceptible) allomorph.

' ' (single quotes) enclose the gloss of a Koli item.

[ ] (square brackets) enclose the inherent semantic idea, within the gloss;

( ) (round brackets) enclose other needed explanation, within the gloss.
F.C. : First Classification;
S.C. : Second Classification;
T.C. : Third Classification;

Cl. : Class;           Gr. : Group;
n. : name;              k. : kind;
hon. : honorific;       obl. : oblique;
S. : Suffix.
Chapter 1
PHONOLOGY
CHAPTER I

PHONOLOGY

§ 1.0. The phonemes of Koli are twenty-six in number,
with seven vowels and nineteen consonants:

Vowels: /ə ai u e ə o /
Consonants: / k g n c j t q ñ p b m y r l v s h /

1. Statements on juncture are not incorporated here;
   however, word-juncture is indicated by space, and
   utterance-juncture by a slanting line.

2. The order of the inventory of phonemes here closely
   follows that commonly used in the alphabet of
   Marathi of which Koli is a dialect, and as such is
   followed throughout in the present work.

3. The symbols used show approximately the values as
   represented by similar symbols of the I.P.A.
§ 1.1 VOWEL PHONEMES

§ 1.1.1. Vowel phonemes consist of seven vowels represented by the symbols: e, a, i, u, e, o, ɔ.

The Vowel Chart

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tongue height</th>
<th>Tongue Position</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Front</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid</td>
<td>e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The vowels show a threefold contrast of being front, central, and back in tongue position; and a threefold contrast of being high, mid and low in tongue height. Back vowels are rounded, and front vowels unrounded. The low back vowel, /ɔ/, is higher than the low front vowel, /a/. All the vowels are fairly lax.

§ 1.1.2. THE VOWEL CONTRASTS

Contrasts among the vowel phonemes can be
illustrated by the following examples\(^4\):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>/æ/</th>
<th>/ə/</th>
<th>/i/</th>
<th>/u/</th>
<th>/e/</th>
<th>/o/</th>
<th>/ɔ/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/tər/</td>
<td>/tər/</td>
<td>/tɪr/</td>
<td>/tɜːr/</td>
<td>/tel/</td>
<td>/tɛr/</td>
<td>/tɔr/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/tel/</td>
<td>/tel/</td>
<td>/tɛl/</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/pol/</td>
<td>/pəl/</td>
<td>/pɪl/</td>
<td>/pʊl/</td>
<td>/pɛl/</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/kər/</td>
<td>/kər/</td>
<td>/kɪr/</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/pərə/</td>
<td>/pərə/</td>
<td>/pɛrɪ/</td>
<td>/pɜːrə/</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>/bɔdɪ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/kələ/</td>
<td>/kələ/</td>
<td>/kɛlə/</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>/bərɪ/</td>
<td>/bərɪ/</td>
<td>/bərɪ/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/məkə/</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>/mʊkə/</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 1.1.3. Vowel Length

Vowel length is phonemically not significant. A vowel is extra-long in a monosyllabic word, long in the final syllable of a polysyllabic word, and short elsewhere\(^5\). Instances are:

- **Extra-long**, as /a/ in /man/ \(\text{ma : n}\) 'neck',
  /e/ in /tel/ \(\text{tɛl}\) 'oil';
- **Long**, as /a/ in /bɪbəl/ \(\text{bɪbə.l}\) 'eye-ball',
  /e/ in /tʊkəra/ \(\text{tʊkə.rə}\) 'piece';
- **Short**, as /a/ in /pəni/ \(\text{pən.i}\) 'water',
  /o/ in /bʊkə/ \(\text{bʊkə}\) 'goat'.

4. Each carrying a different meaning for which see Part III—Section 2 'Vocabulary of stems'. Of these, /kəla/ is a masc. sg. from the Vocabulary—entry 'kal', /pərə/ a plural from the entry 'pera', /bərɪ/ a fem. sg. from the entry 'bər' and /məkə/ a masc. sg. from the entry 'muk-'.

5. The length of an extra-long vowel is marked by two vertical dots in front, cf. \(\text{æ} : \text{æ}\); that of a long vowel, by a lower dot in front, cf. \(\text{a} : \text{a}\); while that of a short vowel, by nothing, cf. \(\text{a\_}\).
§ 1.1.4. ALLOPHONIC VARIATIONS OF VOWELS

/a/, when followed by a high vowel of the next syllable, has a strictly raised allophonic variety, \( \text{\hat{a}} \): e.g. /ais/, 'mother', is phonetically, \( \text{\hat{a}i} \).

/e/ and /o/ are fairly low. In a polysyllabic word they have a still lowered variety of \( \text{\hat{e}} \) and \( \text{\hat{o}} \) respectively, before a low front vowel, /a/, of the following syllable. Thus, /sela/, 'a goat', is phonetically, \( \text{\hat{e}vla} \); /ghore/, 'a horse', is phonetically, \( \text{\hat{ho}ra} \).

§ 1.1.5. DISTRIBUTION OF THE VOWEL PHONEMES

§ 1.1.5.1. /a \ i \ u/ occur initially; all the vowels occur medially; and all the vowels except /ɔ/ occur finally. /ɔ/ is found in a single borrowed word, /bɔjːi/ (bɔjĩ) 'under-shirt'.

Examples of the positional distribution of vowels are as follows.

(a) Initial Position.

/\( \text{\hat{a}} \)/ /\( \text{\hat{a}s} \)\( \text{\hat{a}} \) /\( \text{\hat{a}} : \text{s} \) /a loop of a net'/
/\( \text{\hat{i}} \)/ /\( \text{\hat{i}s} \)\( \text{\hat{i}} \) /\( \text{\hat{i}} : \text{s} \) /'poison'/
/\( \text{\hat{u}} \)/ /\( \text{\hat{u}s} \)\( \text{\hat{u}} \) /\( \text{\hat{u}} : \text{s} \) /'sugarcane'/

(b) Medial Position.

/\( \text{\hat{e}} \)/ /\( \text{\hat{e}l} \)\( \text{\hat{e}} \) /\( \text{\hat{e}} : \text{l} \) /'bottom; [you (sg.)] fry'/
/\( \text{\hat{a}} \)/ /\( \text{\hat{a}l} \)\( \text{\hat{a}} \) /\( \text{\hat{a}} : \text{l} \) /'rhythm'/
/\( \text{\hat{i}} \)/ /\( \text{\hat{i}l} \)\( \text{\hat{i}} \) /\( \text{\hat{i}} : \text{l} \) /'sesamum'/
/\( \text{\hat{u}} \)/ /\( \text{\hat{u}r} \)\( \text{\hat{u}} \) /\( \text{\hat{u}} : \text{r} \) /'yellow gram'/
/\( \text{\hat{e}} \)/ /\( \text{\hat{e}l} \)\( \text{\hat{e}} \) /\( \text{\hat{e}} : \text{l} \) /'oil'/
/\( \text{\hat{o}} \)/ /\( \text{\hat{o}r} \)\( \text{\hat{o}} \) /\( \text{\hat{o}} : \text{r} \) /'[you (sg.)] cut'/
/\( \text{\hat{u}l} \)/ /\( \text{\hat{u}l} \)\( \text{\hat{u}} \) /\( \text{\hat{u}} : \text{l} \) /'balance'/
/\( \text{\hat{c}} \)/ /\( \text{\hat{c}j} \)\( \text{\hat{c}} \) /\( \text{\hat{c}} : \text{j} \) /'under-shirt'/
§ 1.1.5.2. There is a free variation between /i/ and /y/ and between /u/ and /v/, when preceded by a vowel and followed by a syllable comprising CV or $C_1C_2V$ (where 'C' represents any consonant, 'C₂' represents /h/ and 'V' any vowel). For instance:

/maina/ [maina.] , 'a month', varies freely with /meyna/ [meyna.].
/diuli/ [diuli.], 'an earthen lamp', varies freely with /divli/ [divli.].
/cothha/ [cothha.], 'fourth', varies freely with /cothha/ [cothha.].

---

6. For additional illustrations: see (I): (I):l: (b), (III): (A): (c), and (III): (i): (c) under § 2.1.1; and Group 2 under § 2.1.4.1.2.1.
The sequence /vi/ shows contrast with the sequence /vy/ in some other positions; e.g.:
/cai/ 'a screw', shows contrast with /cyay/ 'tea';
/nhai/ 'a barber', shows contrast with /nhay/ 'a river'.
No contrast has been found between /Vu and /Vv.

§ 1.1.6. Vowel Sequences

§ 1.1.6.1. A sequence of more than two vowels is not found.

The sequence /œ/ is found to occur in free variation with /œœ/, as in /grœ/ 'a planet', in free variation with /grœœ/ where both the words are disyllabic.

/i/ as the second member of a sequence occurs after all the vowels except /œ/. /œ/ and /œ/ do not seem to occur as the second member of a sequence.

Vowel Sequence Chart

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>First member</th>
<th>Second member</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>ee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>ee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>oo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
§ 1.1.6.2. LIST OF VOWEL SEQUENCES

The following list illustrates the sequences that are found.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sequence</th>
<th>Illustration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/œ/</td>
<td>/gœə/ ḡœə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ea/</td>
<td>/pœə/ ḫœə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ei/</td>
<td>/bœi/ ḡœi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/eu/</td>
<td>/cœut/ ḡœu.t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/aa/</td>
<td>/dhaakra/ ḡhaakra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ai/</td>
<td>/bai/ ḡai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/au/</td>
<td>/paul/ ḡpaul</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ia/</td>
<td>/tritia/ ḡtritia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ii/</td>
<td>/piit/ ḡpiit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/iu/</td>
<td>/diuli/ ḡdiuli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ui/</td>
<td>/rui/ ḡrui</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/œœ/</td>
<td>/œœra/ ḡœœra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/œi/</td>
<td>/œi/ ḡœi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/œu/</td>
<td>/œuli/ ḡœuli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/œœ/</td>
<td>/œœra/ ḡœœra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/oi/</td>
<td>/œœni/ ḡœœni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ou/</td>
<td>/houns/ ḡhouns</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some further illustrations are:
/kœœi/, /mais/; /laun/; /dœur/; /cœi/, /vaït/, /ais/;
/arutia/; /phui/; goība/.
§ 1.2. CONSONANT PHONEMES

§ 1.2.1. Consonant phonemes are nineteen, as represented by the symbols: $k, g, \eta, c, j, \varsigma, q, t, d, n, p, b, m, y, r, l, v, s, h$; and consist of ten stops, three nasals, and six continuants.

### THE CONSONANT CHART

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Manner of Articulation</th>
<th>Place of Articulation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bilabial</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### STOPS

- Voiceless: $p, t, c, t$, $k$
- Voiced: $b, d, j, q$, $g$

### NASALS

- $m$, $n$, $\eta$

### CONTINUANTS

- lateral: $l$
- trilled: $v$
- fricative: $s$, $y$, $r$, $h$

---

7. The chart to be more serviceable and of easier reference in the present work (cf. footnote 2 of this chapter) is reproduced here under a changed order:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Manner of Articulation</th>
<th>Place of Articulation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Glottal</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### STOPS

- Voiceless: $k, c, t, t$, $p$
- Voiced: $g, j, q, d$, $b$

### NASALS

- $\eta$, $n$, $m$

### CONTINUANTS

- lateral: $l$
- trilled: $v$
- fricative: $h$, $y$, $r$, $s$, $v$
The **stops** have a threefold contrast depending on the point of articulation being the tip of the tongue, the blade of the tongue, and the dorsum. They have a fivefold contrast depending on the place of articulation, their being velar, post-dental, post-alveolar, dental and bilabial. The stops are either voiceless or voiced.

The stop phonemes are /k g c ɟ ʧ ʤ t d p b/, of which /k g c ʧ t p/ are voiceless and /ɟ ʤ d b/ are voiced. /k g/ are dorso-velar; /c ɟ/ are blade-post-dental affricates; /ʧ ʤ/ are apico-post-alveolar retroflex; /t d/ are apico-dental; and /p b/ are bilabial.

The **nasals** have a two-fold contrast depending on the point of articulation being the tip of the tongue and the dorsum, and have a threefold contrast depending on the place of articulation, their being velar, dental, and bilabial.

The nasal phonemes are /n m/. /n/ is dorso-velar; /m/ is apico-dental; and /m/ is bilabial.

The **continuants** have a threefold contrast depending on the point of articulation being the tip of the tongue, the blade of the tongue, and the dorsum. They have a fivefold contrast depending on the place of articulation,
their being post-dental, post-alveolar, dental, labio-
dental and glottal. They have a threefold contrast in the
manner of articulation, their being lateral, trilled,
and fricative.

The continuant phonemes are /y r l v s h/.
/y/, is a post-dental fricative; /r/, a post-alveolar
trilled; /l/, a dental lateral; /v/, a labio-dental
fricative; /s/, a dental fricative; and /h/ a glottal
fricative.

§ 1.2.2. THE CONSONANT CONTRASTS

Consonant contrasts can be illustrated by the
following :-

(l) /k g η h/ :-
   /k g/:       /kak/ {ka:k} 'nose',
            /kaŋ/ {kaːŋ} 'cobra'.
   /k g h/:    /kal/ {ka:l} 'yesterday',
            /gal/ {ga:l} 'cheek',
            /hal/ {haːl} 'troubles'.
   /g η/       /gaŋ/ {aː ŋ} 'fire',
            /gaŋ/ {aː ŋ} 'body'.

(2) /c j t a s/ :-
   /c j/:       /caŋ/ {caːŋ} '[you(sg.)] feed',
             /jaŋ/ {jaːŋ} 'fatty'.
   /c j t/:     /paʊ/ {paːʊ} 'five',
             /paː/ {paː} '[you(sg.)] make drink',
             /paːt/ {paːt} 'blade of the lemon-grass'.
   /t a s/:     /taŋ/ {taːŋ} 'wire',
             /daŋ/ {daːŋ} 'door',
             /taːŋ/ {taːŋ} '[you(sg.)] take off'.

(3) /t a t a/ : -  
/taː/ ⟨taː⟩ 'a small branch',  
/dəl/ ⟨dəːl⟩ 'grain or seed of beans',  
/tal/ ⟨taːl⟩ 'rhythm',  
/dər/ ⟨dəːr⟩ 'door'.

/t a t/ :
/atə/ ⟨atə⟩ 'a turn around [a post etc. with a rope]',  
/atə/ ⟨atə⟩ 'now',  
/ɪl/ ⟨iːl⟩ 'brick',  
/ɪl/ ⟨iːl⟩ 'the long span between the extended thumb and little finger'.

/q a/ :
/dɔrə/ ⟨dɔɾə⟩ 'a well that is not built',  
/dɔrə/ ⟨dɔɾə⟩ 'thread'.

(4) /t ə n s/ :
/ut/ ⟨uːt⟩ 'boiling up and flowing over',  
/ud/ ⟨uːd⟩ 'name of a water-animal',  
/un/ ⟨uːn⟩ 'hot',  
/υs/ ⟨υs⟩ 'sugarcane'.

(5) /p b m v/ :
/paɾ/ ⟨pæːr⟩ ' [you (sg.)] make fall',  
/bəɾ/ ⟨bəːr⟩ 'weight',  
/maɾ/ ⟨maːr⟩ ' [you (sg.)] beat',  
/vaɾ/ ⟨vaːɾ⟩ 'attack, stroke'.

/p m v/ :
/paɾ/ ⟨pæːp⟩ 'sin',  
/paɾ/ ⟨pæːm⟩ 'name of a kind of grass',  
/paɾ/ ⟨pæːv⟩ ' [you (sg.)] be pleased [with someone]'.

(6) /n n m/ :
/ŋ n/ :
/men/ ⟨meːn⟩ 'the exuviae or slough of a snake',  
/men/ ⟨meːn⟩ 'wax'.

/n m/ :
/paɾ/ ⟨pæːn⟩ 'leak',  
/paɾ/ ⟨pæːm⟩ 'name of a kind of grass'.
§ 1.2.3. ALLOPHONIC VARIATIONS OF CONSONANTS

All the stops have an automatic release in the word-final position.

/\o\/ has two allophones:

(a'\), a palatalized variety, occurring before the vowels, /i e/; and
(a), elsewhere.

/\j\/ too has two allophones:

(j\'), a palatalized variety, occurring before the vowels, /i e/; and
(j), elsewhere.

/\q\/ has two allophones:

(q\), a flapped variety, occurring medially and finally; and
(q), occurring elsewhere.
/n/ has four allophones:

\(\{n\}\), a retroflex variety, before a retroflex stop;
\(\{\text{n}\}\), a slightly retracted variety, before a high front vowel;
\(\{\text{n}\}\), a weakly articulated variety, before a homorganic dental or a post-dental stop; and
\(\{\text{n}\}\), elsewhere.

/s/ has three allophones:

\(\{s^{y}\}\), a palatalised variety, before the vowels /i e/;
\(\{s\}\), a retroflex variety, before a retroflex stop; and
\(\{s\}\), elsewhere.

Illustrations:

/æ/ \(\{æ^y\}\) : /sir/ \(\{æ^y\text{i}:r\}\) 'sparrow',
\(\{æ\}\) : /cak/ \(\{æ\text{a}:k\}\) 'wheel'.
/s/ \(\{s^{y}\}\) : /jîn/ \(\{s^{y}\text{i}:n\}\) 'saddle',
\(\{s\}\) : /jâl/ \(\{s\text{a}:l\}\) 'net'.
/g/ \(\{g\}\) : /kurâî/ \(\{k\text{ur}â\text{i}\}\) 'axes',
\(\{g\}\) : /berûq/ \(\{b\text{er}û\text{q}\}\) 'basket-maker',
\(\{\text{g}\}\) : /gêl/ \(\{\text{g}â\text{l}\}\) 'pulses'.
/n/ \(\{\text{n}\}\) : /qand/ \(\{q\text{and}\}\) 'mouth',
\(\{\text{n}^{y}\}\) : /phâî/ \(\{\text{f}h\text{â}i\}\) 'comb',
\(\{\text{n}\}\) : /kànda/ \(\{k\text{â}nd\}\) 'caion',
\(\{\text{n}\}\) : /mânja/ \(\{m\text{â}n\text{j}a\}\) 'amusement',
\(\{\text{n}\}\) : /kân/ \(\{k\text{â}n\}\) 'ear',
\(\{\text{n}\}\) : /mâk/ \(\{m\text{â}k\}\) 'nose'.
/s/ \(\{s^{y}\}\) : /sîr/ \(\{s^{y}\text{i}:r\}\) 'a sail',
\(\{s\}\) : /sep/ \(\{s\text{e}:p\}\) 'tail'.
\(\{\text{s}\}\) : /astâmî/ \(\{a\text{stâmî}\}\) 'eighth day [in order in a fortnightly half division of a lunar month]',
\(\{\text{s}\}\) : /sâl/ \(\{s\text{â}l\}\) 'bark of a tree',
\(\{s\}\) : /sâsâ/ \(\{s\text{s}â\}\) 'rabbit'.

§ 1.2.4. DISTRIBUTION OF CONSONANT PHONEMES

All the consonants except /n/ occur in the initial and intervocalic positions; while all the consonants occur
in the final position.

/h/ in the final position is preceded by a stop, and in the intervocalic position is in free variation with its absence; e.g. /soj/ -səː.j- 'unintentionally', is in free variation with /səj/ -səː. jwhere both the forms are dissyllabic.

The occurrence of the consonants in different positions is illustrated in the following table.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phoneme</th>
<th>Distribution</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Initially</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/k/</td>
<td>/kæj/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/g/</td>
<td>/gæj/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/n/</td>
<td>/næj/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/s/</td>
<td>/sæj/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/t/</td>
<td>/tæj/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/k/</td>
<td>/kæj/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/t/</td>
<td>/tæj/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/t/</td>
<td>/tæj/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/d/</td>
<td>/dæt/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/n/</td>
<td>/næj/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/p/</td>
<td>/pæj/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/b/</td>
<td>/bæj/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/m/</td>
<td>/mæj/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/y/</td>
<td>/yæj/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/r/</td>
<td>/ræj/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/l/</td>
<td>/lægæj/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/v/</td>
<td>/væj/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/s/</td>
<td>/sæj/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/h/</td>
<td>/hæj/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

8. For an additional example, see under § 1.1.6.1.
§ 1.2.5. CONSONANT CLUSTERS

§ 1.2.5.1. The following are the different types of clusters which occur initially:

(A) Types of two-consonant clusters:

1. C + /h/, where 'C' represents any one of /k g j t d n p b m r v/; e.g. /khori/ 'mischief', /ghat/ 'bell',
   /jhoka/ 'swing', /tanchi/ 'cold',
   /rha/ '[you] stay', /vheri/ 'boat'.

2. C + /r/, where 'C' represents any one of /k g j t d p/; e.g. /krisnaron/ 'solemn offering (of food) to the god',
   /graha/ 'planet', /tram/ 'tram-car',
   /qram/ 'small bowl made of a tree-leaf',
   /tritic/ (see under § 1.1.6.2), /drutic/ 'second day [etc.], /pruthumi/ 'the earth'.

*Note: Clusters of this type are rare and mostly found in borrowed words."

3. C + /y/, where 'C' stands for any one of /k g c j t d p b s h/; e.g. /kyslen correlated/ 'calendar',
   /gyal/ 'gallon', /eyaku/ 'pen-knife', /jya/ 'tight', /tya/ 'they [fem.], /dyal/ [you (pl.)] give', /pya/
\[ \text{drink', } /\text{byes/ 'excellent', } /\text{syati/ 'chest, } /\text{hyat/ 'hat'.} \]

(B) **Types of three-consonant clusters:**

(4) \( C+y+j/h, \) where 'C' stands for /\( c/ \) or /\( j/, \) e.g.

/\( syheppen/ 'fifty-six', /\( jyhepoli/ 'swing in the air'.

(5) \( C+y+j/y, \) where 'C' stands for /\( s/; \) e.g. /\( shyas/ 'gas'.

§ 1.2.5.3. The following are the different types of clusters that occur finally :-

(A) **Types of two-consonant clusters:**

(1) \( C + /h/, \) where 'C' represents any one of /\( k \, \tilde{t} \, t/; \)

 e.g. /\( nakh/ 'finger-nail', /\( mith/ 'salt', /\( thith/ 'a day in order from the fortnightly half division of a lunar month'.

(2) Nasal + C, subdivided into the following:

(i) /\( n/ + C, \) 'C' standing for /\( k/ \) or /\( s/; \)

 e.g. /\( s\text{o}\text{nk}/ 'conch' (occurring, however, in free variation with /\( s\text{o}\text{nhk}/), /\( n\text{ng}/ 'colour'.

(ii) /\( n/ + C, \) 'C' standing for any one of /\( c \, j \, q \, \tilde{d}/; \) e.g. /\( p\text{nce}/ 'a member of a village jury of five persons, /\( s\text{lun}\text{g}/ 'flute',

 /\( \text{tun}\text{g}/ 'mouth', /\( r\text{und}/ 'wide'.

(iii) /\( m/ + C, \) 'C' standing for /\( b/, \) e.g. /\( tamb/ 'name of a kind of fish'.


(B) A cluster composed of more than two consonants in the final position is altogether rare. A single case of /ŋkh/ is recorded in /səŋkh/, 'conch', which also is found to be in free variation with /sənk/ showing a two-consonant cluster /ŋk/.

§ 1.2.5.3. Clusters occurring intervocally. 9a

(A) The two-consonant clusters found to occur in the intervocalic position are entered in the chart given separately. (See page 50.)

The following observations emerge from the occurrence of these clusters (in the ascending order of frequency):

The cluster-type vl + hom. vd ----- occurs never.
    "    vd + hom. vl -----    "    "
    "    /h/ as F.M. -----    "    "
    "    /ŋ/ as S.M. -----    "    "
    "    stop + stop -----    "  less times.
    "    continuant + stop -----    "  } more times.
    "    stop + continuant -----    "

9a. For meanings of the words (either stems or their formations) cited as illustrations here, see Part III, Section 2: "Vocabulary of stems."

9b. Where, vl means a voiceless stop;
    vd    " a voiced stop;
    hom.    " a homorganic stop;
    F.M.    the first member of a cluster;
    S.M.    the second member of a cluster.
(8) The cluster-type with /y/, /v/ as F.M. ---- less times }
(9)      " with /y/, /v/ as S.M. ---- more times }
(10)     " with gemination ---- with all consonants except /a/, /i/, /y/, /r/
(11)     " with /a/, /i/, /l/ as F.M. ---- with most consonants
(12)     " with /a/, /i/, /l/ as S.M. ---- with most consonants

Illustrations :

(With /k/ as the First Member:—)

/kk/ - /dhakka/; /kt/ - /pəkti/;
/kct/ - /ikta/; /kn/ - /əkna/;
/kp/ - /səkpi/; /ky/ - /tykya/;
/kjr/ - /təkra/; /kl/ - /pekli/;
/kv/ - /əkva/; /ks/ - /təksi/;
/kh/ - /jekha/;

(With /g/ as the First Member:—)

/ga/ - /aggari/; /gb/ - /bhigbal/;
/gy/ - /legya/; /gr/ - /lugra/;
/g1/ - /gəgla/; /gs/ - /margisra/;
/gb/ - /keghay/;

(With /n/ as the First Member:—)

/nk/ - /konku/; /ng/ - /bengi/;
/nd/ - /sendana/; /nn/ - /runni/;
/nr/ - /benri/; /nl/ - /beanca/;
(With /o/ as the First Member:—)

/ok/-/ouaki/; /ot/-/ootey/;
/en/-/khioni/; /oy/-/ioyra/;
/or/-/buora/; /ol/-/oeola/;
/ov/-/moeva/;

(With /i/ as the First Member:—)

/jt/-/vajta/; /jb/-/mibut/;
/jy/-/kojya/; /jr/-/bajri/;
/jl/-/tajla/; /jv/-/ujva/;
/js/-/rajsaib/;

(With /u/ as the First Member:—)

/uk/-/moți/; /u志强/-/po志强/;
/um/-/coți/; /um/-/ghu志强u志强li/;
/uy/-/tați/; /ur/-/petrol/;
/ul/-/po志强li/; /uh/-/pa志强n/;

(With /a/ as the First Member:—)

/ag/-/va志强ga/; /aq/-/ko志强goy/;

(With /t/ as the First Member:—)

/tk/-/bhatkun/; /tg/-/hatga志强/;
/tt/-/pittal/; /tn/-/hitna/;
/tu/-/tb志强tus志强/; /tm/-/bat志强/;
/tu/-/s志强vatya/; /tr/-/jet志强/;
/tl/-/pat志强li/; /tv/-/g志强tv志强/;
/ts/-/m志强sup志强/; /th/-/s志强tha/;
(With /d/ as the First Member: -)
/ḍg/ - /madgələna/;  /dd/ - /muddam/;
/ḍb/ - /kodbir/;  /dy/ - /dədəya/;
/ḍr/ - /lərdən/;  /dl/ - /modəla/;
/ḍv/ - /budvar/;  /dh/ - /dəhrudhər/;

(With /n/ as the First Member: -)
/ṅk/ - /cinkuṅ/;  /ng/ - /dəṅγər/;
/ṅn/ - /lonca/;  /nj/ - /pənja/;
/ṅt/ - /rənti/;  /nq/ - /pəŋa/;
/ṅn/ - /gonqa/;  /nrd/ - /bundı/;
/ṅn/ - /canqa/;  /nm/ - /musunmən/;
/ṅy/ - /qonia/;  /nr/ - /conros/;
/ṅl/ - /hanla/;  /nv/ - /jenqa/;
/ṅs/ - /mansa/;

(With /p/ as the First Member: -)
/pk/ - /təpka/;  /pe/ - /kəpe/;
/pt/ - /təpti/;  /pt/ - /təpti/;
/pn/ - /thapni/;  /pp/ - /gəppa/;
/py/ - /upyg/;  /pr/ - /papri/;
/pl/ - /phopli/;  /ps/ - /qhepsa/;
/ph/ - /eapha/;

(With /β/ as the First Member: -)
/ββ/ - /təββa/;  /by/ - /ubyə/;
/βr/ - /thəbrı/;  /bl/ - /təbla/;
(With /m/ as the First Member:--)

/mg/ - /simga/;  /mj/ - /sə̞mjə̞v/;
/ml/ - /timli/;

/mm/ - /samni/;
/mn/ - /tə̞mbə̞khu/;
/mn/ - /kə̞mra/;

(with /y/ as the First Member:--)

/yk/ - /bə̞yko/;  /yt/ - /koyti/;
/yb/ - /goyba/;

/yn/ - /mə̞yna/;  /yl/ - /pə̞ye̞la/;

/yr/ - /pə̞yr\/;  /ya/ - /pə̞ysikə̞l/;

(with /r/ as the First Member:--)

/rk/ - /perkuṭə̞/;  /rg/ - /bə̞rguli/;

/rq/ - /so̞rə̞rə̞rit/;  /rj/ - /kə̞rji/;

/rq/ - /sə̞rgə̞k/;  /rt/ - /phə̞rtə̞l/;

/rd/ - /kə̞rdu̞n/;  /rn/ - /bə̞rni/;

/rp/ - /kə̞rə̞pə̞t/;  /rb/ - /pə̞rba/;

/rm/ - /bə̞rmə̞l/;  /ry/ - /pə̞ryə̞/;

/rl/ - /dorla/;  /rv/ - /pə̞rve̞/;

/ra/ - /gə̞rsoli/;

(with /l/ as the First Member:--)

/lk/ - /phalə̞ka/;  /lg/ - /phalgun/;

/lo/ - /kalə̞/;  /lt/ - /kə̞ltə̞n/;

/lt/ - /culit/;  /ld/ - /bə̞lə̞di/;
\[ /\ln/ = /\doln\a/; \quad /\lp/ = /\malpo\va/; \]
\[ /\lb/ = /\dolb\i/; \quad /\lm/ = /\jolm\a/; \]
\[ /\ly/ = /\jol\la/; \quad /\ll/ = /\kh\alla/; \]
\[ /\lv/ = /\malvar\i/; \quad /\ls/ = /\m\angulsut/; \]
\[ /\lh/ = /\jilh\a/; \]

(With /\v/ as the First Member:-)
\[ /\vk/ = /\thavka/; \quad /\vg/ = /\cev\gera/; \]
\[ /\vo/ = /\gav\va/; \quad /\vj/ = /\thavj\oy/; \]
\[ /\vt/ = /\bav\tsa/; \quad /\vn/ = /\mev\ma/; \]
\[ /\vm/ = /\nev\mi/ \quad /\vr/ = /\bhe\vre/; \]
\[ /\vl/ = /\divli/; \quad /\vv/ = /\nev\ved/; \]
\[ /\vs/ = /\bav\va/; \]

(With /\s/ as the First Member:-)
\[ /\sk/ = /\mus\ka/; \quad /\st/ = /\je\st\oa/; \]
\[ /\st/ = /\bistir\var/; \quad /\sn/ = /\bass\ne/; \]
\[ /\sm/ = /\de\smi/; \quad /\sy/ = /\tas\ya/; \]
\[ /\sr/ = /\vasru/; \quad /\sl/ = /\kes\la/; \]
\[ /\sv/ = /\as\vin/; \quad /\ss/ = /\tes\si/; \]

§ 1.2.5.3. (Continued).

(B) Types of three-consonant clusters:

10

(1) \(HN + S + C\), where 'C' is not a nasal.

10. Where \(HN\) stands for a homorganic nasal; \(S\) stands for a stop; \(C\) stands for a consonant.
The following clusters of this type are found to occur:

\[ /n\text{i}r/ - /\text{cun}\text{i}r/; \]
\[ /n\text{j}r/ - /\text{jha}\text{n}\text{j}r/; \quad /n\text{j}v/ - /\text{gan}\text{j}v/; \]
\[ /n\text{q}k/ - /\text{tonq}\text{k}/; \quad /n\text{q}g/ - /\text{tonq}\text{ger}/; \]
\[ /n\text{q}b/ - /\text{bonq}\text{ba}\text{j}/; \quad /n\text{q}y/ - /\text{k}\text{q}\text{ikanq}/; \]
\[ /n\text{dr}/ - /\text{pan}\text{dra}/; \quad /n\text{dl}/ - /\text{tonq}\text{la}/; \]
\[ /n\text{q}v/ - /\text{lonq}\text{ver}/; \quad /n\text{dr}/ - /\text{nandru}/; \]
\[ /n\text{dl}/ - /\text{andla}/; \quad /n\text{mp}/ - /\text{ramph}\text{el}/; \quad /n\text{my}/ - /\text{temby}/; \]

(2) \(c + s + /h/\), the following clusters of which type are found to occur:

\[ /k\text{k}h/ - /\text{mukk}\text{hi}/; \quad /p\text{kh}/ - /\text{sy}\text{apkh}\text{ana}/; \]
\[ /m\text{k}h/ - /\text{takkh}\text{eri}/; \quad /r\text{kh}/ - /\text{cark}\text{ha}/; \]
\[ /v\text{th}/ - /\text{anq}\text{tha}/; \quad /t\text{th}/ - /\text{bq}\text{th}\text{a}/; \]
\[ /l\text{th}/ - /\text{jelq}\text{ha}/; \quad /v\text{th}/ - /\text{gavq}\text{hi}/; \]
\[ /r\text{th}/ - /\text{cy}\text{turq}\text{hi}/; \quad /l\text{th}/ - /\text{kq}\text{tha}/; \]
\[ /v\text{th}/ - /\text{osq}\text{tha}/; \]
\[ /t\text{d}h/ - /\text{atq}\text{ha}/; \]
\[ /t\text{ph}/ - /\text{phq}\text{pa}\text{th}\text{a}/; \quad /m\text{ph}/ - /\text{ramph}\text{el}/; \]
\[ /y\text{ph}/ - /\text{jeyp}\text{h}\text{el}/; \]
\[ /r\text{bh}/ - /\text{darbh}\text{ja}/; \quad /s\text{bh}/ - /\text{mah}\text{av}/; \]
(3) C + C + /y/, the following clusters of which type are found to occur:

/ncuy/ - /tineyar/;  
/rucy/ - /kireyɔn/.  
/biy/ - /kɔbiya/;  
/ndy/ - /kɔikandya/;  
/tncy/ - /puncyan/;  
/mby/ - /tambya/;  
/gly/ - /ghuglya/;  
/ply/ - /ciplya/;  
/lvy/ - /gholvyla/;  
/kay/ - /mənukeya/;  
/vay/ - /tovysarka/;  
/θy/ - /pithya/.  

(4) S + /h/ + C, where 'C' is not a stop. The following clusters of this type are found to occur:

/khn/ - /qehhme/;  
/khr/ - /pakhrum/;  
/dhr/ - /godhri/.  

(5) C + /y/ + C, only one instance of which type is found:

/syr/ - /tisyri/.
§ 1.5. SYLLABLE PATTERNS

The following syllable patterns are found to occur (the syllable illustrated being underlined) :-

1. V /ais/ 'the mother'.
2. VC /ais/ 'the mother'.
3. VCc /əθh/ 'eight'.
4. CV /gola/ 'eyes'.
5. CVc /b'ura/ 'knot of hair'.
6. CVCC /məngsir/ 'name of a month'.
7. CCV /ghora/ 'horse'.
8. CCVC /nha'ni/ 'eyelid'.
9. CCVCC /bhandla/ 'tied'.
10. CCCCVC /jyhal'ari/ 'the seed of a kind of tree'
11. CCCCVC /jyhing/ 'to be intoxicated'.

Of these the patterns, 9, 10 and 11, seem to occur rarely.
Chapter 2
MORPHOLOGY
Chapter 2.

MORPHOLOGY

§ 2.0. Morphemes are divided into three classes:

(1) Stem Morphemes; (2) Suffix Morphemes;
(3) Particles.

Of a Stem Morpheme, or a stem, one chosen allomorph is referred to here as a stem.\footnote{1}

Similarly, of a Suffix Morpheme, or a suffix, one chosen allomorph is referred to here as a suffix.\footnote{1}

\footnote{1}{That means, in the discussions hereafter, the two terms ("stem" and "suffix") when used with a capital letter at the beginning denote a morpheme, and when used with a small letter at the beginning denote an allomorph.}
§ 2.1.

STEM MORPHEMES

§ 2.1.0.
§ 2.1.0.1. Stem morphemes (or Stems) are classified under three heads:-

1) Substantives, (2) Verbs, and (3) Adverbs.

A **Substantive** takes a Suffix for the Oblique.
A **Verb** takes a Suffix for the Tense.
An **Adverb** takes neither a Suffix for the Oblique nor a Suffix for the Tense.

§ 2.1.0.2. **SUBSTANTIVES**.

Substantives take a Suffix for the Oblique.
These are further divided into three classes:-
1) Nouns, (2) Adjectives, and (3) Pronouns.

A **Noun** takes a Suffix for the Oblique Singular and a Suffix for the Oblique Plural.
An **Adjective** takes a Suffix for the Oblique that is non-indicative of singularity or plurality.
A **Pronoun** behaves partially like a Noun and partially like an Adjective.
§ 2.1.0.3. A FORM, A BASE, AND A STEM.

A form is a stem with the addition of a suffix or suffixes (e.g. the underlined portions in: \(\text{jhar-a-la, mil-\text{\underline{\varepsilon}}\text{\varepsilon}-\text{\varepsilon}t\text{i}}\)); may or may not be a word (e.g. a word: \(\text{jhar-a-la, mil-\text{\varepsilon}\text{\varepsilon}-\text{\varepsilon}t\text{i, cor-i}}\); not a word: \(\text{jhar-a, mil-\text{\varepsilon}\text{\varepsilon}-}\)); and is sometimes also substitutable for a stem (e.g. \(\text{cor-i}\)) or a base.

A base is a form which is neither a word nor a stem, being always followed by a suffix (e.g. \(\text{jhar-a- in jhar-a-la, or jha-i- in jha-i-u}\)).

A stem, thus, is of two kinds:

(a) A \underline{\text{Primary Stem}}, when it is composed of a single morph (e.g. \(\text{nokr}\)); and

(b) A \underline{\text{Secondary Stem}}, when it is composed of two morphs, viz. a stem followed by a suffix (e.g. \(\text{nokr-i}\)).

§ 2.1.0.4. Five Types of stems:

The allomorph of any one of the above Stem morphemes (or Stems), whether primary or secondary, that occurs without the addition of a suffix is taken to be a stem of that Stem morpheme. Thus there can be the following types of (a) primary and (b) secondary stems:
1. Noun stem (for the)
   (a) ✓ ghor-
   (b) ✓ cal-øn
   Noun Stem
   {ghor}  'horse'
   {caløn}  'strainer'

2. Adjective stem (for the)
   (a) ✓ øeml-
   (b) ✓ gher-c-
   Adjective Stem
   {øeml}  'good'
   {ghere}  'of the house'

3. Pronoun stem (for the)
   (a) ✓ mi
   (b) ✓ yek-t-
   Pronoun Stem
   {mi}  'I'
   {yekt}  'alone'

4. Verb stem (for the)
   (a) ✓ ut[h]
   (b) ✓ ut[h]-øv
   Verb Stem
   {ut[h]}  'to rise up'
   {ut[h]-øv}  'to make rise up'

5. Adverb stem (for the)
   (a) ✓ khal-
   (b) ✓ j-it-
   Adverb Stem
   {khal}  'down'
   {jít}  'where in relation'
§ 211.0.
§ 211.0.1. Nouns form a sub-class of Substantives.

They take a Suffix for the Oblique Singular and a Suffix for the Oblique Plural.

These Suffixes are always followed by some other suffix. The oblique singular Suffix is sometimes found to be followed by a noun form (comprising a noun stem plus an oblique suffix plus a suffix); e.g.

\textit{kam-a-dhend-va-ver} 'for work and business'.

§ 211.0.2. MORPHOPHONEMIC CHANGE IN A NOUN STEM

\(C_1C_2\) of a noun stem of the phonemic pattern \(CVC_1C_2VC\) (where 'C' is any consonant, 'V' any vowel, 'C_1' a nasal, and 'C_2' a homorganic voiced stop), which, when followed by a suffix, undergoes a change by dropping the vowel in the final syllable, varies freely with \(C_1\).

For instance:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Allomorphs varying with the stem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kembar</td>
<td>'waist'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nangar</td>
<td>'plough'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textit{kembr/-kemr-} \hspace{1cm} \textit{nangr/-nahr-}

2. This means a Suffix for the oblique singular. In the same way, a suffix (or Suffix) that indicates something is throughout mentioned either as 'a (or the) suffix (or Suffix) for the ....' or as 'a(or the) ... suffix (or suffix)'.

\[\text{Section 2.1. Stem Morphemes; \hspace{1cm} Section 2.1.1. Nouns} \]

\[\text{Paragraph 2.1.0. \hspace{1cm} Paragraph 2.1.0.1. Nouns form a sub-class of Substantives.} \]

\[\text{Paragraph 2.1.0.2. MORPHOPHONEMIC CHANGE IN A NOUN STEM} \]

\[\text{Table: Stems and Allomorphs} \]

\[\text{Example: 'kembar' as 'waist', 'nangar' as 'plough'} \]

\[\text{Explanation: Suffix for oblique singular followed by another suffix.} \]
§ 211.1. CLASSIFICATIONS OF NOUNS

§ 211.1.0. PRINCIPLES UNDERNEATH THE DIFFERENT CLASSIFICATIONS OF NOUNS

The basis on which nouns are each time differently classified is taken up from one of the following:

1. Whether the stem takes the Suffix for the plural, or the Suffix for the gender and number together.

   This gives, what is called, the First classification of Nouns, shown by: (I).

2. The particular allomorph of the oblique singular Suffix the stem takes.

   This gives, what is called, the Second classification of Nouns, shown by: (II).

3. The particular allomorph of the oblique plural Suffix the stem takes.

   This gives, what is called, the Third classification of Nouns, shown by: (III).

§ 211.1.1. (I). FIRST CLASSIFICATION OF NOUNS

(Basis: Whether the stem takes the Suffix for the plural, or the Suffix for the gender and number together.)

Nouns are here grouped into two classes, (I) and (II):

Nouns of Class (I) take a Suffix for the plural number, {Plu.}; they do not take a Suffix for the gender

2. Reference may be made to the section 'Noun and Gender' (§ 211.2).
Number together.

Nouns of Class (II) take a Suffix for the gender and number together; they do not take the Suffix \{Plu.\}.

§ 211.1.1.1.(I): NOUNS OF CLASS (I)

Noun stems of this class take the Suffix for the plural, \{Plu.\}. This Suffix is not further followed by any suffix.

The allomorphs of this morpheme are five in number as follows:

\[
\begin{array}{ccccc}
1 & 2 & 3 & 4 & 5 \\
\{\text{Plu.}\} & \text{-a} & \text{-i} & \text{-o} & \text{-e} & \text{-ę}
\end{array}
\]

The occurrence of these allomorphs is morphologically conditioned. On the basis of that nouns here are classified under five Groups, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, in the order of the allomorphs as stated above.

\((I):(I):\text{GROUP 1}:

Noun stems falling under this Group take \text{-a} as the plural suffix. This Group has three sub-groups, (a), (b), and (c).

---

3. Generally referred to hereafter as the "G - N" Suffix. When a superscript number is added after "G-N" that indicates a particular set of those Suffixes.
Before the suffix, stems of (a) remain unchanged, those of (b) undergo a morphophonemic change, /i/ and /u/ of the final syllable of the stem changing to /y/ and /v/ respectively, and those of (c) undergo a change in their phonemic shape by dropping the vowel of their final syllable.

Illustrations:

**Sub-group (a)** .... (The stem remaining unaltered)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>stem</th>
<th>Plural form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>galas</td>
<td>galas-a 'glasses'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ghar</td>
<td>ghar-a 'houses'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pip</td>
<td>pip-a 'drums'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>phul</td>
<td>phul-a 'flowers'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rakayes</td>
<td>rakayes-a 'demons'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Sub-group (b)** .... (/i/ and /u/ of the final syllable changing to /y/ and /v/ respectively).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>stem</th>
<th>Plural form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dori</td>
<td>dory-a 'ropes'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bai</td>
<td>bay-a 'women'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>asu</td>
<td>asv-a 'fishing nets'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaul</td>
<td>kaul-a 'tiles'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paul</td>
<td>paul-a 'feet'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4. /v/ in this varies freely with /u/; see under § 1.1.2; and also (II): (a) and (III): (i): (c) under § 211.1; and Group 2 under § 214.1.2.1.
Sub-group (e) ..... (Vowel of the final syllable being dropped).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>stem</th>
<th>Plural form</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>jenavor</td>
<td>jenavr-a</td>
<td>'animals'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>phopel</td>
<td>phopl-a</td>
<td>'betel-nuts'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>manus</td>
<td>mans-a</td>
<td>'men'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pakhru</td>
<td>pakhr-a</td>
<td>'birds'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lakru</td>
<td>lakr-a</td>
<td>'pieces of wood'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(I): (I): GROUP 2:

Noun stems of this Group take -(ə)i as the plural suffix. This Group has two sub-groups, (a) and (b).

The stems of (a) remain unaltered; while in the case of the stems of (b) the vowel in the final syllable is dropped.

Illustrations:

Sub-group (a) ..... (The stem remaining unaltered).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>stem</th>
<th>Plural form</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>qol</td>
<td>qol-i</td>
<td>'nets'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>parwağ</td>
<td>parwağ-i</td>
<td>'a layer in a stack'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bënduk</td>
<td>bënduk-i</td>
<td>'guns'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sub-group (b) ..... (Vowel in the final syllable being dropped).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>stem</th>
<th>Plural form</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kela</td>
<td>kel-i</td>
<td>'bananas'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>goște</td>
<td>goșt-i</td>
<td>'tales'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ťikiṭ</td>
<td>ťikṭ-i</td>
<td>'tickets'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(I): (I) Group 3:

Noun stems of this Group take \( \mathcal{V} - \mathcal{U} \) as the plural suffix, the vowel in the final syllable of a polysyllabic stem being dropped before the suffix. — Most of the stems here are found to end in /a/.

Illustrations:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Plural form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>khamb</td>
<td>khamb-(\mathcal{U})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a(\mathcal{R})</td>
<td>a(\mathcal{R})-(\mathcal{U})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k(\mathcal{E})</td>
<td>k(\mathcal{E})-(\mathcal{U})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thoma</td>
<td>thoma-(\mathcal{U})</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(II): (I) Group 4:

Noun stems of this Group take \( \mathcal{V} - \mathcal{E} \) as the plural suffix, at the same time dropping the vowel of the final syllable of a polysyllabic stem.

Illustrations:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Plural form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tasya</td>
<td>tasy-(\mathcal{E})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bai(\mathcal{Y})</td>
<td>bai(\mathcal{Y})-(\mathcal{E})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rup(\mathcal{E})</td>
<td>rup(\mathcal{E})-(\mathcal{E})</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: There are some stems that are found to belong both to Group 3 as well as to Group 4; i.e., they take either of the suffixes, \( \mathcal{V} - \mathcal{U} \) and \( \mathcal{V} - \mathcal{E} \).
Illustrations:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Plural form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ana</td>
<td>'annas'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>peysa</td>
<td>'pice'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moyna</td>
<td>'months'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(I) : (I) : Group 5 :

Noun stems belonging to this Group take \(-\phi\) as the plural suffix.

Illustrations:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Plural form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>vag</td>
<td>'tigers'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sipai</td>
<td>'sepoys'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 211.1.1.2. (I) : Nouns of Class (II)

Noun stems of this Class take the G-N Suffixes; they do not take the Suffix \{Plu\}.

The G-N Suffixes that these stems take, having one allomorph for each (as indicated against them) are as follows:

(1) \{Masc. sg.\}, the morpheme for the masculine singular  \[= \checkmark -a\]
(2) \{Masc. pl.\}, the morpheme for the masculine plural   \[= \checkmark -\circ\]
(3) \{Fem. sg.\}, the morpheme for the feminine singular \[= \checkmark -I\]
(4) \{Fem. pl.\}, the morpheme for the feminine plural   \[= \checkmark -ya\]

These Suffixes are not further followed by any suffix
Note 1: Noun stems of this class [unlike those of (1)] (1) do not occur without the addition of a suffix.

Illustrations:

We get the following forms from the stems by the addition of the G-N₁ suffixes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ghor- 'horse'</td>
<td>ghor-a</td>
<td>ghor-a</td>
<td>ghor-i</td>
<td>ghor-ya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭopl- 'basket'</td>
<td>ṭopl-a</td>
<td>-5</td>
<td>ṭopl-i</td>
<td>ṭopl-ya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nəvr- 'person about to marry'</td>
<td>nəvr-a</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>nəvr-i</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hərg- 'big basket'</td>
<td>hərg-a</td>
<td>hərg-a</td>
<td>hərg-i</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note 2: Some of the stems of this class may not take all the four suffixes.

For instance, the forms obtained from

mulg-, 'child': (1) are: mulg-a, mulg-ə, mulg-i; 'boy' 'boys' 'girl'

but, in stead of the expected form ... *mulg-ya, ('girls')
what we find is the form ... ... muli 'girls'.

§ 811.1.2 (II). SECOND CLASSIFICATION OF NOUNS

(Basis: The particular allomorph of the oblique singular Suffix the stem takes.)

Noun stems of this Class take the Suffix for the oblique singular, {obl. sg.₁}. This Suffix is always followed by some suffix.

5. The gaps only show that the forms were not available in the collected data.
Nouns are here grouped into six classes (A, B, C, D, E, F) according as the allomorph of the \( \{ \text{obl. sg.}^1 \} \) they take. The morpheme for the oblique singular has six allomorphs that are all morphologically conditioned. Thus:

\[
\begin{array}{cccccc}
(A) & (B) & (C) & (D) & (E) & (F) \\
\{ \text{obl. sg.}^1 \} & \text{a-}, & \text{ya-}, & \text{a-}, & \text{e-}, & \text{i-}, & \text{e-} \\
\end{array}
\]

(II) : Class (A)

Noun stems belonging to this class take \( \text{ya-} \) as the oblique singular suffix. They are further grouped into the four sub-classes:

(a), where the stem remains unaltered;
(b), where /i/ of the final syllable invariably changes to /y/;
(c), where /i/ and /u/ of the final syllable voluntarily change to /y/ and /v/ respectively;
(d), where the vowel in the final syllable of the stem is dropped.

Illustrations:

Sub-class (a) .... (The stem remaining unaltered.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>stem</th>
<th>Obl. sg. form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gebaš  'a glass'</td>
<td>gebaš-a-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭambeto  'tomato'</td>
<td>ṭambeto-a-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6. As there is a free variation between /i/ and /y/ and between /u/ and /v/, when /i/ and /u/ are preceded by a vowel and followed by an open syllable. Refer to § 1.1.5.2; see also I : (I): 1:(b) and (III): (I):(e) under § 211.1; and Group 2 under § 214.1.2.1.
Sub-class (b) .... (/i/ of the final syllable invariably changing to /y/.)

Sub-class (c) .... (/i/ and /u/ of the final syllable voluntarily changing to /y/ and /v/ respectively. 

Sub-class (d) .... (Vowel of the final syllable being dropped.)

6. As there is a free variation between /i/ and /y/ and between /u/ and /v/, when /i/ and /u/ are preceded by a vowel and followed by an open syllable. Refer to § 1.1.5.2; see also (I) : (I) : (I) : (I) : (I) : (I) under § 21.1.2 and Group 2 under § 214.1.2.1.
**stem** | **Obl. sg. form**
--- | ---
manus | 'man' | mans-a-
veris | 'year' | veras-a-
lakru | 'piece of wood' | lakr-a-

**II**: Class (2).

Noun stems of this class take */-ya-* as the oblique singular suffix.

When it is added to the stems of **I**: (I), the vowel of the final syllable of a polysyllabic stem is dropped. — Most of the stems here are found to end in */a/.*

When it is added to the stems of **I**: (II), stems remain unaltered.

**Illustrations**:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>stem</strong></th>
<th><strong>Obl. sg. form</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
**I**: (I) | | 
amba | 'mango' | amb-ya-
kera | 'bracelet' | ker-ya-
tala | 'lake' | tal-ya-

**I**: (II) | 
ghor- | '(male) horse' | ghor-ya-
cimbor- | '(male) crab' | cimbor-ya-
nev- | 'bridegroom' | nev-ya-
(II ) : Class (C).

Noun stems of this class take √ -e- as the oblique singular suffix, — with the monosyllabic stem remaining unchanged, while the vowel in the final syllable of the polysyllabic stem being dropped.

Illustrations:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>stem</th>
<th>Obl. sg. form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kac</td>
<td>kac-e-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>toph</td>
<td>toph-e-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vhöl</td>
<td>vhöl-e-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kəmbar</td>
<td>kəm-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tarikh</td>
<td>tarikh-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bherəs</td>
<td>bherə-e</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(II ) : Class (D).

Noun stems of this class take √ -e- as the oblique singular suffix, — with the monosyllabic stem remaining unchanged, while the vowel of the final syllable of a polysyllabic stem being dropped.

Illustrations:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>stem</th>
<th>Obl. sg. form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sig</td>
<td>sig-e-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>soba</td>
<td>sob-e-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'iron bar'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'beauty; decoration'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Nouns stems of this Class take /-i- as the oblique singular suffix. These are divided into three sub-classes, (a), (b), and (c).

Before the suffix, stems of (a) remain unaltered; the final /y/ and /v/ of the stems of (b) are voluntarily dropped; while the vowel of the final syllable of a poly-syllabic stem of (c) is dropped.

Illustrations:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sub-class (a)</th>
<th>Obl. sg. form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stem</td>
<td>'boat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ag</td>
<td>ag-i-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kervet</td>
<td>kervet-i-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jomin</td>
<td>jomin-i-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>benduk</td>
<td>benduk-i-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>botş</td>
<td>botş-i-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sikar</td>
<td>'hunting'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>suser</td>
<td>'crocodile'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sub-class (b)</th>
<th>Obl. sg. form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stem</td>
<td>'river'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nhoy</td>
<td>nhoy-i-/nho-i-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bav</td>
<td>bav-i-/ba-i-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Sub-class (c) .... (Vowel in the final syllable being dropped).

stem | Obl. sg. form
---|---
ais | 'mother' as-i-
kelkh | 'cane' kelkh-i-

(II) Class (F).

Noun stems of this Class take √ -φ- as the oblique singular suffix.

Illustrations:

| stem | Obl. sg. form | meaning |
---|---|---|
akri | akri-φ- | 'instrument for wood-cutting' |
peçi | peçi-φ- | 'box' |
bai | bai-φ- | 'woman' |
bayko | bayko-φ- | 'wife' |
vestu | vestu-φ- | 'thing' |
sokal | sokal-φ- | 'morning' |

§ 211.1.3. (III). THIRD CLASSIFICATION OF NOUNS

(Basis: The particular allomorph of the oblique plural Suffix the stem takes.)

Noun stems of this Class take the Suffix for the oblique plural, {Obl. pl.1}. This Suffix is always followed by some suffix.
Nouns are here grouped into four classes (i, ii, iii, iv) according as the allomorph of the \{Obl. pl.\} they take. The morpheme for the oblique plural has four allomorphs that are all morphologically conditioned. Thus:

\{Obl.pl.\} = \sqrt{-an-}, \sqrt{-yan-}, \sqrt{-in-}, \sqrt{-n-}

\((\text{III})\); Class (i).

Noun stems of this Class \sqrt{-an-} as the oblique plural suffix. These are further grouped into four sub-classes, (a), (b), (c), and (d).

Before the suffix, stems of (a) remain unaltered; the final /i/ and /u/ of the stems of (b) invariably change to /y/ and /v/ respectively; /i/ and /u/ of the final syllable of the stems of (c) voluntarily change to /y/ and /v/ respectively; and the vowel of the final syllable of the stems of (d) is dropped.

**Illustrations:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sub-class (a)</th>
<th>(The stem remaining unaltered.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>stem</td>
<td>Obl. pl. form</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kes</td>
<td>'hair'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>golas</td>
<td>'a glass'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gay</td>
<td>'cow'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ghor</td>
<td>'house'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>phul</td>
<td>'flower'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

**Notes:**

7. Refer to § 1.1.5.2; also see (I): (I):1:(b) and (II): (A):1:(c) under § 11.1; and Group 2 under § 14.1.2.1.
Sub-class (b) .... (Final /i/ and /u/ invariably changing to /y/ and /v/ respectively.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>stem</th>
<th>Obl. pl. form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>keli</td>
<td>koly-an-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dori</td>
<td>dory-an-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>asu</td>
<td>asv-an-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laru</td>
<td>larv-an-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sub-class (c) .... (/i/ and /u/ of the final syllable voluntarily changing to /y/ and /v/ respectively.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>stem</th>
<th>Obl. pl. form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>naik</td>
<td>naik-an-/nayk-an-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kœul</td>
<td>kœul-an-/kœyl-an-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paul</td>
<td>paul-an-/pavl-an-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sub-class (d) .... (Vowel of the final syllable being dropped.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>stem</th>
<th>Obl. pl. form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>naral</td>
<td>narl-an-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>manus</td>
<td>mans-an-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>varis</td>
<td>vers-an-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lakru</td>
<td>lakr-an-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(III) : Class (ii).

Noun stems of this Class take /-yan-/ as the oblique plural suffix.
The vowel of the final syllable of a poly-syllabic stem of ⟨I⟩: (I) is dropped; while stems of ⟨I⟩: (II) remain unaltered.

Illustrations:

\[
\begin{array}{lll}
\text{stem} & \text{Obl. pl. form} \\
\langle I \rangle: (I) & \text{amba} & \text{amb}-\text{yan-} \\
 & \text{kəprə} & \text{kəpr}-\text{yan-} \\
 & \text{masa} & \text{mas}-\text{yan-} \\
\langle I \rangle: (II) & \text{ghor-} & \text{ghor}-\text{yan-} \\
 & \text{ṭopl-} & \text{ṭopl}-\text{yan-} \\
\end{array}
\]

⟨III⟩: Class (iii).

Noun stems of this class take √⁻in⁻ as the oblique plural suffix.

Illustrations:

\[
\begin{array}{lll}
\text{stem} & \text{Obl. pl. form} \\
\text{top} & \text{cannon'} & \text{top}-\text{in-} \\
\text{por} & \text{girl'} & \text{por}-\text{in-} \\
\end{array}
\]

⟨III⟩: Class (iv).

Noun stems of this class take √⁻n⁻ as the oblique plural suffix.
**Illustrations:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>stem</th>
<th>Obl. pl. form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bai</td>
<td>'woman'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bai-n-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Note:** This morpheme sometimes occurs when reverence is meant towards a single object expressed by a noun stem. For instance:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>stem</th>
<th>Obl. pl. form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bai</td>
<td>bai-n-(la)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'(to) a respectable woman'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sayeb</td>
<td>sayb-an-(la)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'(to) a respectable man'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
§ 211.2. NOUN AND GENDER

§ 211.2.1. Nouns are masculine or feminine.

As a general rule, among most of the nouns indicating animate objects those belonging to the male sex are masculine and those belonging to the female sex are feminine. In the case of the nouns indicative of the same species of an animate object, the selection, for the purpose of a general reference, between the noun with a masculine gender and the noun with a feminine gender, is governed sheeprly by convention. For instance: in reply to a question, "what is that?", put by pointing to a 'horse', the informant would give the form, *ghora*, indicative of a masculine gender; while for a 'bear' his response to a similar question would be *asol*, indicative of a feminine gender. — Again, when a general reference to a mixed group of animate objects of the same species is meant, the choice between a masculine plural form and a feminine plural form is, as above, purely conventional. Thus: for 'horses' the masculine plural form, *ghora*, is used; while for 'bears' the feminine plural form, *asoli*, is used.

In the case of nouns indicating inanimate objects the gender is purely morphologically conditioned. For instance: /dar/ 'door', /jhar/ 'tree' are masculine; while /dar/ 'layer of leaves on a field', /vheri/ 'boat' are feminine.
§ 211.2.2. PREDICTABILITY OF GENDERS.

(A) Certain phonemic shapes of nominal suffixes are helpful to predict the gender of the derived i.e. secondary noun stem.

1. Noun stems with \(-n\) are feminine; e.g. koli-n 'Koli woman', mali-n 'wife of a gardener'.

2. Noun stems with \(-i\) are generally found to be feminine; e.g. dor-i 'small rope', cōr-i 'theft', rund-i 'width', nokr-i 'service'.

3. Certain stems with \(-i\), however, are masculine; e.g. sīkār-i 'hunter', yapar-i 'merchant', vēraḍi 'one belonging to a marriage party'.

(B) Between two stems with the same phonemic shape, the one taking \(-a\) as the oblique singular suffix is masculine, and the one taking \(-i\) as the oblique singular suffix is feminine. For instance:

8. That is, those which, when added, produce noun stems.
9. For a description of these suffixes, refer to § 22.2. (l).
§ 211.3. IN CONCLUSION

From the above discussion it will be seen that each noun stem requires the following information:

1. Its Class, (I) or (II)  : on the basis of whether it takes the plural morpheme [Cl. (I)] or the G-N morphemes [Cl. (II)].

2. Its Group, 1, 2, 3, 4, or 5 : on the basis of its allomorph of the plural morpheme [— Vide the F.C.]

3. Its Class, (A), (B), (C), (D), (E), or (F): on the basis of its allomorph of the oblique singular morpheme. [— Vide the S.C.]

4. Its Class, (i), (ii), (iii), or (iv) : on the basis of its allomorph of the oblique plural morpheme. [— Vide the T.C.]

5. The Gender to which it belongs. [— Vide the section 'Noun and Gender.']

10. Taking into consideration the above type of information for each stem, nouns can be grouped into various classes; however, owing to the restricting circumstances that generally obtain the collection of this type of the data (— for which, refer to §5 — The Types of Handicaps Experienced etc... of the Introduction—), such a classification was not possible.
§ 212.0

§ 212.0.1. Adjectives form a sub-class of Substantives.

They take a Suffix for the Oblique which is non-indicative of singularity or plurality.

This Suffix is not further followed by any suffix. The exception to this is the condition when the oblique form of the noun qualified is suppressed, when this oblique Suffix is followed by the suffix taken by the oblique form of that noun; for instance, ṣagl-ya-ca from the utterance, ṣaglyaca udla korsil ' [You (sg.)] will make a free spending of the whole money ', where, in the explicit absence of the oblique form, peysya; from the related noun form, peys-ya-ca 'of money' (from the peysa of the preceding sentence), the suffix -ya is drawn by the oblique form, ṣagl-ya, of the adjective, ṣagl- 'whole'.

§ 212.0.2. Morpheme for the Oblique

The morpheme for the oblique (non-indicative of singularity or plurality) the adjective takes, {Obl.¹},

(§ 2.1. STEM MORPHEME:)

§ 2.1.2. ADJECTIVES
has three allomorphs, \( \sqrt{-ya}, \sqrt{-e}, \) and \( \sqrt{-\phi} \), all of which are morphologically conditioned.

\[ \text{§ 212.1. CLASSIFICATION OF ADJECTIVES} \]

\[ \text{§ 212.1.0. PRINCIPLES OF CLASSIFICATION OF ADJECTIVES.} \]

Adjectives are grouped into four Classes, 1, 2, 3, and 4, on the basis of whether they take a G-N Suffix and what allomorph of the Suffix for the oblique they take.

\text{Those of Cl. [1], such as mhot- 'big', take } \sqrt{-ya} \text{ for the oblique. These take the G-N Suffixes.}

\text{Those of Cl. [2], such as petals 'thin', take } \sqrt{-ya} \text{ for the oblique. These are, however, non-indicative of the gender and number.}

\text{Those of Cl. [3], such as akkh- 'entire', take } \sqrt{-e} \text{ for the oblique. These like those of Cl. [1] take the G-N Suffixes.}

\text{Those of Cl. [4], such as vait 'bad', take } \sqrt{-\phi} \text{ for the oblique. These are non-indicative of the gender and number.}

\[ \text{§ 212.1.1. ADJECTIVES OF CLASS [1].} \]

The stems of this class take \( \sqrt{-ya} \) for the oblique (e.g. na\(\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{e}}}1-ya} \)) and the G-N\(^2 \) Suffixes which are not further
followed by any suffix.

The G–N$^2$ Suffixes with their allomorphs are as follows:

(1) {Masc. sg.$^2$}: The morpheme for the masculine singular has two allomorphs, \( \checkmark -e \) and \( \checkmark -a. - \)
\( \checkmark -e \) occurs when honour is meant towards a single object showing concord with a second person plural pronoun. II
\( \checkmark -a \) occurs elsewhere; e.g. cənl-a (mulga, mesa), 'good (boy, fish)'.

(2) {Masc. pl.$^2$}: The morpheme for the masculine plural has two allomorphs, \( \checkmark -i \) and \( \checkmark -e. - \)
\( \checkmark -i \) occurs when the adjective shows concord with a masculine plural noun form having \( \checkmark -a \) as the plural suffix (of {Plu.}); e.g. cənl-i (mul-a), 'good boys'. \( \checkmark -e \) occurs elsewhere; e.g. cənλ-a (mas-a), 'good (fish)'.

(3) {Fem. sg.$^2$}: The morpheme for the feminine singular has only one allomorph, \( \checkmark -i \); e.g. cənl-i (por 'good (girl)').
The same allomorph occurs when honour is meant towards a single object showing concord with a second person plural pronoun. II

II. For illustration, see § 213.1.2.2.1:5 and § 214.2.1.1:1.
(4) \{Fem. pl.²\}: The morpheme for the feminine plural has only one allomorph, \(-ya\); e.g. cawl-\(ya\) \(\text{(pory)}\) 'good girls'.

Some stems coming under this class are: kal- 'black, khar- 'saltish', ney- 'new', sat- 'cheap', hirv- 'green'.

212.1.2. ADJECTIVES OF CLASS [2].

The stems of this class take \(-ya\) for the oblique and are non-indicative of the gender and number.

The vowel in the final syllable of a polysyllabic stem is dropped before this suffix. A monosyllabic adjective stem is not found.

Illustrations:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>stem</th>
<th>Obl. form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>patel</td>
<td>patl-(ya) (\text{(jalala)})</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>berik</td>
<td>bark-(ya) (\text{(jharala)})</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

212.1.3. ADJECTIVES OF CLASS [3].

The stems of this class take \(-e\) for the oblique and the G-N² Suffixes (as described under § 212.1.1) which are not further followed by any suffix.
Illustrations:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>stem</th>
<th>Obl. form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>akkh-</td>
<td>akkh-ǝ (pausbhor)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mhot-</td>
<td>mhot-ǝ (mansani)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note 1: Some stems of this class are also found to take the oblique suffix, */-ya/*, of Cl. [1].

Note 2: Very few stems are found to belong to this class.

§ 212.1.4. ADJECTIVES OF CLASS [4].

The stems of this class take */-ǝ/* for the oblique and are non-indicative of the gender and number.

Illustrations:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>stem</th>
<th>Obl. form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gǝc</td>
<td>gǝc-ǝ (gǝthica)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lǝr</td>
<td>lǝr-ǝ (phulaca)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 212.2 ADJECTIVE-NOUN CONCORD

The choice of an adjective form is governed by the form, gender, and number of the noun the adjective qualifies.

If the noun qualified occurs along with its oblique suffix, the adjective stem also occurs along with its oblique suffix, e.g. patl-ǝva jǝl-ǝ-(la), 'to a thin net'.
Further, the adjective stem takes the suffixes for the same gender and number as that of the noun qualified. E.g. **suk-e jaga**, 'a dry spot'; **santi har-e** 'good garlands'.

The noun qualified may be implicit in an utterance, while still the concord is retained. E.g.

**sark-i**, 'straight', and **vakr-i**, 'curved', in the utterance,

**hi tya tok aer dori dhör/sarki dhör/vakr i nako/**

'Hold this string at that end; hold (the string) straight, not curved'.

§ 212.3. **ADJECTIVE, AN EPITHET OR A QUALIFIER**

According to its function an adjective is either an **epithet**, when it always precedes the noun it qualifies, or a **qualifier**, when it always follows the noun it qualifies.

**Epithet**: **ubi** in the utterance,

**tsala duari ubi bhit ghalavoi/**

'A second straight wall is to be erected to it'.

**Qualifier**: **thori** in the utterance,

**supari thori hay/**

'The betel-nut powder is little in quantity.'
(§ 2.1. STEM MORPHEMES:)

§ 2.1.3. PRONOUNS

§ 213.0

§ 213.0.1. Pronouns form a sub-class of Substantives.

They behave partially like a Noun and partially like an Adjective.

§ 213.0.2. They behave like nouns in the sense that their oblique form is always followed by some suffix. Some of them, like the nouns of (I): (II) and the adjectives (of Cl. [1]), take the G-N Suffixes, while some others, unlike the nouns of (I): (I) and the adjectives, do not take a Suffix for the plural. Some of them, unlike the adjectives but like the nouns, take an oblique Suffix indicative of singularity or of plurality; — while the others, like the adjectives and unlike the nouns, take an oblique Suffix which is non-indicative of singularity or plurality.

§ 213.1. CLASSIFICATIONS OF PRONOUNS

§ 213.1.0. Principles under the Classifications of Pronouns.

Pronouns are classified differently on the basis of either of the following:

1. The person they belong to.

— This gives, what is called, the First Classifica-

§ 213.1.0. Principles under the Classifications of Pronouns.

Pronouns are classified differently on the basis of either of the following:

1. The person they belong to.

— This gives, what is called, the First Classifica-
2. The similarity of behaviour they show with that of the nouns or that of the adjectives. — This gives what is called the Second Classification of Pronouns.

§ 213.1.1. FIRST CLASSIFICATION OF PRONOUNS.

(BASIS: The person they belong to.)

Pronouns are classified by this into three groups (1, 2, 3) as follows:

Group 1: Those belonging to the First Person \{mi\}; \{ami\}, \{apun\}.

Group 2: Those belonging to the Second Person \{tu\}; \{tumi\}.

Group 3: Those belonging to the Third Person: all those pronouns except those of Groups 1 and 2.

§ 213.1.2. SECOND CLASSIFICATION OF PRONOUNS.

(BASIS: The similarity of behaviour they show with that of the nouns or that of the adjectives.)

§ 213.1.2.0.1. Pronouns are grouped by this into three classes (A, B, C) as follows:

Class (A): Stems of this class take, like the nouns, a suffix for the oblique singular and a suffix for the
oblique plural; like the nouns of \( \langle I \rangle \): (II) and the adjectives of Cl. [I], the G-N Suffixes; and, like the adjectives, a Suffix for the oblique that is non-indicative of singularity or plurality.

The following morphemes come under this Class:

\{j\} 'who or which'; 'who or which in relation'.
\{t\} 'that'; 'that in relation'.
\{h\} 'this'.

Class (B): Stems of this Class, like the adjectives but unlike the nouns, take a Suffix for the oblique that is non-indicative of singularity or plurality. This oblique Suffix, however, unlike in the case of adjectives but as in the case of nouns, is always followed by some other Suffix. The Stems here, like the nouns of \( \langle I \rangle \): (I), are non-indicative of the gender, but, unlike them, take no Suffix for the plural.

The following morphemes constitute this Class:

\{mi\} 'I', \{ami\} 'we [exclusive]', \{apun\} 'we [inclusive]',
\{tu\} 'you [sg.]', \{tumi\} 'you [pl.]',
\{sota\} 'oneself',
\{kon\} 'who?'; 'one in particular' (when implied occurring after the suppressed \{j\} 'who in relation').

\{kay\} 'which'
Class (C): Stems of this Class like the nouns of (I) : (I) and the adjectives of Cl. [2] and Cl. [3]
do not take the G-N Suffixes; like the nouns and unlike
the adjectives, take a Suffix for the oblique singular and
a Suffix for the oblique plural; and, like the adjectives
but unlike the nouns, take a Suffix for the oblique that
is non-indicative of singularity or plurality.

All the numerals occur under this Class.

§ 215.1.2.0.2. Morphemes for the Oblique.

The morphemes for the oblique the pronouns take, and
their allomorphs that are all morphologically conditioned,
are:

1. {Obl. sg. \( \bar{g} \)} . This morpheme for the oblique singular has
   three allomorphs, \( \sqrt{-ya-} \), \( \sqrt{-i-} \), and \( \sqrt{-a-} \). \( \sqrt{-ya-} \) and \( \sqrt{-i-} \) occur after the stems of
   Cl. (A). \( \sqrt{-a-} \) occurs after the stems of
   Cl. (C). This morpheme is always followed by
   some suffix.

2. {Obl. pl. \( \bar{g} \)} . This morpheme for the oblique plural has
   two allomorphs, \( \sqrt{-yan-} \) and \( \sqrt{-an-} \). \( \sqrt{-yan-} \) and \( \sqrt{-i-} \) occur after the stems of Cl. (A).
   \( \sqrt{-an-} \) occurs after the stems of Cl. (C).
   This morpheme is always followed by some
   suffix.
3. \{obl.\}^2. This morpheme for the oblique (non-indicative of singularity or plurality) has \textbf{three} allomorphs, \(\sqrt{\text{-ya}}\), \(\sqrt{-\beta}\), and \(\sqrt{-a}\). \(\sqrt{-ya}\) occurs after the stems of Cl. (A). \(\sqrt{-\beta}\) and \(\sqrt{-a}\) occur after the stems of Cl. (C). This morpheme is \textbf{never} followed by any other suffix.

4. \{obl.\}^3. This morpheme for the oblique (non-indicative of singularity or plurality) has \textbf{two} allomorphs, \(\sqrt{-\beta-}\) and \(\sqrt{-a-}\). The morpheme occurs after the stems of Cl. (B). This morpheme is \textbf{always} followed by some suffix.

\section*{§ 215.1.2.1. CLASS (A).}

§ 215.1.2.1.0. Stems of this Class take the following Suffixes:

\begin{align*}
(1) & \text{G - H}^3 \text{ Suffixes } ; \\
(2) & \{\text{obl. sg.}^2\} ; \\
(3) & \{\text{obl.pl.}^2\} ; \\
(4) & \{\text{obl.}^2\} .
\end{align*}

The \textbf{allomorphs} of the \textbf{morphemes} of this \textbf{class} are

as follows:

1. \{j\} : has only one : \(\sqrt{j-}\).

2. \{t\} : has only one : \(\sqrt{t-}\).

3. \{h\} : has these three : \(\sqrt{y-}\), \(\sqrt{\beta-}\), \(\sqrt{h-}\). Of these, \(\sqrt{y-}\) occurs before /a/; \(\sqrt{\beta-}\) occurs before /a/ and \(\sqrt{h-}\) in free variation before the Suffixes \{it\} and \{ik\}; and \(\sqrt{h-}\) occurs elsewhere.
§ 213.1.2.1.1. A List of the Suffixes with their Allomorphs occurring after the Stems of this Class:

(G-NN Suffixes :-)

1. {Masc. sg. 3} . This morpheme for the masculine singular has two allomorphs, √-o and √-a, which are morphologically conditioned. √-o occurs after the stems √ j- and √ t-.
   √-a occurs after the stem √ h-.

2. {Masc. pl. 3} . This morpheme for the masculine plural has two allomorphs √ -i and √ -e. — √-i occurs when the pronoun form shows concord with a masculine plural noun form having √ -a as the plural suffix (of Plu. ). √-e occurs elsewhere.

3. {Fem. sg. 3} . This morpheme for the feminine singular has only one allomorph, √ -i.

4. {Fem. pl. 3} . This morpheme for the feminine plural has only one allomorph, √ -ya.

— These Suffixes are never further followed by any suffix.

(Oblique Suffixes :-)

5. {Obl. sg. 2} . Of this morpheme for the oblique singular, the two allomorphs, √-ya- and √-i-, occur after the stems of this Class:
√ -ya-, when the masculine gender is intended, and √ -i-, when the feminine gender is intended.
This morpheme is always followed by some suffix.

6. {Obl. pl. ²} . Of this morpheme for the oblique plural, the allomorph √ -yan- occurs after the stems of this Class.
This morpheme is always followed by some suffix.

7. {Obl. ²} . Of this morpheme for the oblique, the allomorph √ -ya occurs after the stems of this Class.
This morpheme is never followed by any other suffix.

The addition of these suffixes gives the following forms from the stems of this Class:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. j-</td>
<td>j-o</td>
<td>j-1, j-e</td>
<td>j-i</td>
<td>j-ya</td>
<td>j-ya-</td>
<td>j-i-</td>
<td>j-yan-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. t-</td>
<td>t-o</td>
<td>t-1, t-e</td>
<td>t-i</td>
<td>t-ya</td>
<td>t-ya-</td>
<td>t-i-</td>
<td>t-yan-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. h-</td>
<td>h-a</td>
<td>h-i, h-e</td>
<td>h-i</td>
<td>h-ya</td>
<td>h-ya-</td>
<td>h-i-</td>
<td>h-yan-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 213.1.2.1.2. SUFFIXES FOLLOWING THE STEMS OF THIS CLASS.

These are adjectival ² suffixes and adverbial ³ suffixes,

12. That is, those which, when added, produce adjective stems.
See further § 22.2. (2).
13. That is, those which, when added, produce adverb stems.
See further § 22.2. (4).
illustrated as follows:

(1) **Adjectival suffixes**

1. {əs} 'like': √-əs-
   - j-əs-, 'like which in relation'
   - t-əs-, 'like that'
   - p-əs-, 'like this'

2. {evr} 'of size': √-evr-
   - j-evr-, 'of what size in relation', 'as much'
   - t-evr-, 'of that size', 'that much'
   - y-evr-, 'of this size', 'this much'

(2) **Adverbial suffixes**

3. {ik} 'at': √-ik-
   - j-ik-, 'where in relation' (in j-ik-na, 'from where in relation')
   - t-ik-, 'there' (in t-ik-na, 'from there')
   - h-ik-, 'here' (in h-ik-na, 'from here')
   - p-ik-, 'there' (in p-ik-na, 'from there')

4. {it} 'at': √-it-
   - j-it-, 'where in relation (in j-it-ə, 'from where in relation')
   - t-it- 'there' (in t-it-ə, 'from there')
   - h-it- 'here' (in h-it-ə, 'from here')
   - p-it- 'there' (in p-it-ə, 'from there')

5. {eva} 'at time': √-eva
   - j-eva, 'at what time in relation'
   - t-eva, 'at that time'
   - y-eva, 'at this time'
§ 215.1.2.2. CLASS (B).

§ 215.1.2.2.0. Stems of this Class take the Suffix, \{obl. 3\}, that it non-indicative of singularity and plurality. It is always followed by some other Suffix.

The allomorphs of the \{obl. 3\} taken by these stems are \(\check{-}\phi\) and \(\check{-}a\), the occurrence of which is conditioned by the preceding stem and the following suffix.

§ 215.1.2.2.1. A LIST OF STEMS OF THIS CLASS WITH THEIR ALLOMORPHS. (Illustrations in all these cases are tabulated separately below).

1. \{mi\}, 'I'. This morpheme for the first person singular pronoun has four allomorphs, \(\check{v}m\), \(\check{v}m\), \(\check{v}m\) and \(\check{v}m\). — \(\check{v}m\) occurs as a free form. All the allomorphs occur before the oblique suffix \(\check{-}\phi\). — The choice of an allomorph before an oblique suffix depends on the suffix following the oblique form.

2. \{ami\}, 'We [exclusive]'. This morpheme for the first person plural pronoun has three allomorphs, \(\check{v}m\), \(\check{v}m\) and \(\check{v}m\). — \(\check{v}m\) and \(\check{v}m\) occur as free forms in free variation with each other. All the allomorphs occur before the oblique suffix \(\check{-}\phi\). \(\check{v}m\) occurs also before the oblique suffix \(\check{-}a\). — The
choice between ∨-n- and ∨-Ʌ- is conditioned by the following morpheme. The choice of the allomorph before ∨-Ʌ- is also conditioned by the suffix following ∨-Ʌ-.

3. {apun} 'We [inclusive]'. This morpheme for the first person plural pronoun has two allomorphs, ∨apun and ∨ap-. ∨apun occurs as a free form and also before ∨-Ʌ- of the oblique when followed by {Instru.}. ∨ap- occurs elsewhere.

4. {tu}, 'You [singular]'. This morpheme for the second person singular pronoun has only one allomorph, ∨tu.

5. {tumi}, 'You [plural]'. This morpheme for the second person plural pronoun has three allomorphs, ∨tumi, ∨tummi, and ∨tum-. ∨tumi and ∨tummi occur as free forms in free variation with each other. All

14. Numerical as well as honorific. Illustrations for the sense of an honorific plural:

\[\text{tumi mhoṭe jhalav - jhalav 'You [masc. sg.] have become an important person'}\];
\[\text{tumi mhoṭi jhaliv 'You [fem. sg.] have become an important person'.}\]

See also § 212.1.l. (1), - (4) and § 214.2.1.l.1.
the allomorphs occur before the oblique suffix \( \vee \hat{\beta} \). \( \vee \text{tum} \) occurs also before the oblique suffix \( \vee \hat{a} \). — The occurrence of the allomorph before \( \vee \hat{\beta} \) is conditioned by the suffix following \( \vee \hat{\beta} \).

6. \( \{ \text{sota} \} \), 'oneself'. This reflexive morpheme has only one allomorph, \( \vee \text{sota} \).

7. \( \{ \text{kon} \} \), 'who?'; 'who in relation'. This morpheme has three allomorphs, \( \vee \text{kon} \), \( \vee \text{kun} \), and \( \vee \text{k} \). — \( \vee \text{kon} \) occurs as a free form. \( \vee \text{kun} \) occurs before \( \vee \hat{\beta} \) of the oblique when followed by \( \{ \text{Instru.} \} \); \( \vee \text{kon} \) and \( \vee \text{kun} \) occur in free variation before \( \vee \hat{a} \) of the oblique; and \( \vee \text{k} \) occurs before the derivative suffixes, \( \vee \hat{\alpha} \), \( \vee \text{evr} \), \( \vee \text{eva} \), \( \vee \text{eva} \).

8. \( \{ \text{kay} \} \), 'which?': 'some thing'. This morpheme has two allomorphs, \( \vee \text{kay} \) and \( \vee \text{k\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{'}}}}}}}}}} \). — \( \vee \text{kay} \) occurs as a free form. \( \vee \text{k\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{'}}}}}}}}} \) occurs before \( \vee \hat{\beta} \) for the oblique.

§ 213.1.2.2.2. Illustrations of the pronouns with their free forms, pre-oblique allomorphs, and some post-oblique Suffixes.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pronoun</th>
<th>Allophrgráfica</th>
<th>Pre-oblique Allomorphs with Post-oblique Suffixes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stem</td>
<td>Instru.</td>
<td>Dat.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Free Form</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. mi</td>
<td>mi-β-β</td>
<td>ma-β-la</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. ami</td>
<td>ami-β-β</td>
<td>am-α-la</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. apun</td>
<td>apun-β-β</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. tu</td>
<td>tu-β-β</td>
<td>tu-β-la</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. tumi</td>
<td>tumi-β-β</td>
<td>tum-α-la</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. sota</td>
<td>sota-β-β</td>
<td>sota-α-la</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. kon</td>
<td>kun-β-ι</td>
<td>kon-α-la</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. kay</td>
<td>kεsya-β-νi</td>
<td>kεsya-β-la</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 213.1.2.3. 

CLASS (G).

§ 213.1.2.3.0. Stems of this Class take the following suffixes with their allomorphs:

1. {Obl. sg. ²} :- π-α- ; (2) {Obl. pl. ²}:- π-α-;
2. {Obl. ²} :- π-β,- π-α.

Of these, the morphemes {Obl. sg. ²} and {Obl.pl. ²} are always followed by some suffix, while the morpheme 15. For a treatment of this morpheme, refer to § 213.4.1.

16a. “ ” “ ” ” , refer to § 213.4.5.
\{obl. \textsuperscript{2}\} is \textbf{never} followed by any suffix.

The morphemes for numerals come under this class. \{\texttt{serve}\}, 'all', also belongs to this class.

The occurrence of the \{obl.sg. \textsuperscript{2}\} after the stems bearing a meaning indicative of plurality is not found except after \{\texttt{serve}\}.

Similarly, the occurrence of the \{obl.pl. \textsuperscript{2}\} after the Stem \{\texttt{yek}\}, 'one', is not found.

\S\ 213.1.2.3.1. Some Stems of this Class.

1. \{\texttt{serve}\}, 'all'. This morpheme has \textbf{two} allomorphs, \texttt{\textbackslash serve} and \texttt{\textbackslash serve-}. \texttt{\textbackslash serve} occurs as a free form, and before the suffix \texttt{\~-p} of \{obl. \textsuperscript{2}\}; e.g. (\textit{louka}) \texttt{serve} (\textit{gelli}) 'All (the people went)', \texttt{serve-\~p} (\textit{porani}) 'by all (the children)'.

\texttt{\textbackslash serve-} occurs elsewhere, i.e. before the (\texttt{\~-a-} of) \{obl.sg. \textsuperscript{2}\} and the (\texttt{\~-an-} of) \{obl.pl. \textsuperscript{2}\}; e.g. \texttt{serve-a-la} 'to serve-an-la 'to all'.

2. \{\texttt{yek}\}, 'one'. This morpheme has only \textbf{one} allomorph \texttt{\textbackslash yek}. -- It takes the suffix (\texttt{\~-a-}) for the \{obl.sg. \textsuperscript{2}\}, e.g. \texttt{yek-a-la} 'to one', and both the suffixes (\texttt{\~-p} and \texttt{\~-a}) for the \{obl. \textsuperscript{2}\},
e.g. yek-petila 'per each box', yek-a
mansi 'by one man'.

Suffixes following this morpheme:

1. \( \{t\} \), 'alone', with only one allomorph,
\( \sqrt{-t} \), producing the pronoun stem,
yek-t-, that falls under Cl.(A) of
the pronouns.

2. \( \{l\} \), 'alone', with only one allomorph,
\( \sqrt{-l} \), producing the pronoun stem,
yek-l-, that falls under Cl.(A) of
the pronouns.

3. \{sar\}, showing 'uniformity', with only one
allomorph, \( \sqrt{-sar} \), producing the
adjective stem, yek-sar- 'even'.

4. \{dem\}, 'at the time', has only one allomorph,
\( \sqrt{-dem} \), producing the adverb stem,
yek-dem ' [all] - at once, suddenly'.

5. \{don\}, 'two. This morpheme has three allomorphs,
\( \sqrt{don} \), \( \sqrt{do} \), and \( \sqrt{du} \). \( \sqrt{don} \) can occur as a
free form and before \{vil\} ; \( \sqrt{do} \) occurs
before \{g\} ; and \( \sqrt{du} \) before the \{Ordinal\}.

4. \{tin\}, 'three'. This morpheme has two allomorphs,
\( \sqrt{-tin} \) and \( \sqrt{-ti} \). \( \sqrt{-tin} \) can occur as a free
form and before \{vil\} ; and \( \sqrt{-ti} \) occurs before
\{g\} and the \{Ordinal\}. 
5. \{eyar\}, 'four. This morpheme has two allomorphs, \\
\hbox{\~}eyar, which can occur as a free form, \\
and \hbox{\~}ey\sr, otherwise.

\S\ 213.1.2.3.2. Suffixes following some stems of this class:

(a) Pronominal Suffixes:

1. \{\hbox{\~}i\}, 'alone'. This is added only to \{yek\}. (See above).

2. \{L\}, 'alone'. This is added only to \{yek\}. (See above).

3. \{g\}, 'together'. This morpheme, with its two 
allomorphs, \hbox{\~}g\- and \hbox{\~}gh\-s, varying freely, 
occurs after \{don\}, \{tin\} and \{eyar\}, 
producing the following pronoun stems 
respectively:

du\hbox{\~}g\- \~ du\hbox{\~}gh\-, ti\hbox{\~}g\- \~ ti\hbox{\~}gh\-, ey\hbox{\~}g\- \~ ey\hbox{\~}gh

\hbox{\~}-----\hbox{\~} All these are always followed by some suffix.

(b) Adjectival Suffixes:

1. \{Ordinal\}. This morpheme for ordinals has the 
following three allomorphs which are all 
morphologically conditioned:

(1) \hbox{\~}sr\-, occurring after \{don\} and \{tin\} 
and producing the forms du\hbox{\~}sr\- 'second' 
and ti\hbox{\~}sr\- 'third'.

----------------------------------

16b. That is, those which, when added, produce pronoun 

stems. See further \S\ 22.2.(3).
(2) ∨-th-, occurring after {eyar} and producing the form oerth-

(3) ∨-v-, occurring after the subsequent numerals; e.g. {pav} 'five' producing the form pæv- 'fifth'.

2. {wil}, 'together'. This morpheme has two allomorphs, ∨-il and ∨-vil that vary freely. This morpheme is found to occur with only two stems, {don} and {tin}.

3. {sar}, showing 'uniformity'. This morpheme has only one allomorph, ∨-sar-, and is found to occur only with {yek}. (See above.)

— All these are always followed by some suffix.

(c) Adverbial Suffixes:

1. {dom}, 'at the time'. This is added only to {yek}. (See above).

2. {sr}, 'at the side [of]'. This morpheme having only one allomorph, ∨-sr-, is found to occur only after ∨du- or {don}, 'two'; e.g. du-sr-un 'from at the second (i.e. other) side'.

3. {da}, 'at — repetition(s)'. This morpheme has only one allomorph, ∨-da; e.g. yek-da 'once', don-da 'twice'.

— Of these, {sr} is always followed by some suffix.
§ 2.1. Stem Morphemes:

§ 2.1.3-4. OBLIQUE = SUFFIXES
(or: SUFFIXES FOLLOWING THE OBLIQUE SUFFIX)

§ 213-4.0.

§ 213-4.0.1. As the oblique suffix for the adjective stems is not followed by any other suffix, the present Suffixes are restricted to the oblique forms of nouns and pronouns only. And as the discussion of the nouns and pronouns would not be complete without them they need a reference at this stage.

§ 213-4.0.2. These Suffixes can be classified into three Groups of:

(A) those that are never further followed by any suffix,
(B) those that may be further followed by some suffix,
(C) those that are always further followed by some suffix.

§ 213-4.1. GROUP (A).

This brings together the Suffixes that are never further followed by any suffix.

17. As an exception to this general behaviour of an adjective stem, the oblique form of an adjective is followed by the suffix(es) of the suppressed oblique form of the related noun. See under § 213.0.1.
The following morphemes make this Group:

{Instru.}, {Dat.}, {saṭi}, {kṛta}, {a}, {Voc.}:

{bher}, {saṭṭi}, {Si}, {sivey}. (See "Note" at the end of this Group.)

1. {Instru.}. This morpheme indicates that the stem is an agent or an instrument of something. It has four allomorphs, √-i, √-ni, √-n, √-ṇ, all of which are mostly morphologically conditioned.

√-i occurs (1) in both the senses of (a) plurality and (b) honour, after the oblique plural Suffix, e.g.

(a) naral-an-i, 'with the coconuts',
    kutr-yen-i, 'by the dogs',
    bal-in-i tuja hat bhaiəl,
    'Your hand will get burnt by the flames',
(b) tumala punyala bai-n-i bolvələv,
    'The lady has invited you to Poona';

(2) in both the senses of (a) plurality and (b) honour, after the oblique singular Suffix, e.g.

(a) kutr-ya-i jhombi keli te burela
    'The dogs fought among each other and got drowned',
(b) copri bai-ş-i saybanjøvel ñili.
'The mistress gave the note-book in the possession of the master';

(3) after the pronoun {kon}, e.g. kun-ş-i
'by whom?'

ñ-ni occurs, in the sense of singularity,

(1) with the pronouns of Cl. (A), e.g.
h-ya-ni gorun nhelen.
'(It) has been stolen by this person';

(2) with the pronouns {mi}, {tu} of Cl. (B), e.g.
mi-ş-ni paitlu 'I saw',
tu-ñi ate nhelas te nhelas
'[That] (it) is taken away by you, let (it) now be taken away, (i.e. we shall close the incident now).'

Note: It is suspected that ñ-ni indicates an agent, but it is not always so.

ñ-n occurs, in the sense of singularity, after an oblique singular suffix, e.g.
var-ya-ni jhar mortsa.
'The tree gets shattered with the wind'.

ñ-ş occurs with all the pronouns of Cl. (B) except {kon}. (For illustrations, see $2^\text{13}.1.2$.
2.2.)
2. {Dat.} This morpheme indicates that the stem is a receiver of something. It has three allomorphs, \(-la\), \(-ne\), and \(-a\).

\(-la\) occurs (1) after an oblique singular suffix, e.g.

\[-\text{va-la khalali boltan.}\]

'\text{To that they call khalali}', i.e.

'\text{That is called khalali}';

\[-\text{ami gev-a-la rhatu.}\]

'\text{We stay in a village}';

(2) after an oblique suffix when honour is meant, e.g.

\[-\text{mi bei-n-la teblever pust\text{\textcircled{a}}ka hait te sant\text{\textcircled{a}}y.}\]

'I am telling the lady that books are lying on the table'.

\(-na\) occurs after the oblique forms of the pronouns of Cl. (B) and after those of some pronouns of Cl. (C), in free variation with \(-la\), e.g.

\[-\text{tand\text{\textcircled{a}}l me\text{-}\text{\textcircled{a}}-na gols\text{\textcircled{a}}tawh ny\text{\textcircled{a}}.}\]

'\text{Captain, carry me on the ship}';

\[-\text{apl-va-na sek\text{\textcircled{a}}l hite sat\text{\textcircled{a}} gheil}\]

'\text{The bus will pick us up here in the morning}'

18. \(-la\), a dative suffix, gets this sense of specification of place, by way of an exception.
>a occurs after an oblique plural suffix, e.g.

\textit{master por-an-a sikāvtey}

'\textit{The teacher is teaching the children}',

\textit{tya tan-yen-a pukal draksya ali ṣhati}

'\textit{Many grapes had appeared to (i.e. on) those creepers}'.

3. \{\textit{saṭi}\}. This morpheme gives the meaning of 'for' or 'for the sake of' and has two allomorphs, \textit{ṣaṭi} and \textit{ṣaṭhi}, which occur in free variation with each other.

\textit{E.g. peyva-saṭi kam kārte}

'I work for the sake of money',

\textit{kal ṭopli peru-ṣ-saṭhi hanli}

'The basket was brought (or bought) yesterday for [keeping] the guavas'.

4. \{\textit{kārta}\}. This morpheme means 'for' or 'for the sake of' and has only one allomorph, \textit{ṣaṭa}.

\textit{E.g. kal ṭopli peru-ṣ-kārta hanli}

'The basket (etc. as above)'.

--- The occurrence of this morpheme is not frequent.

5. \{\textit{s}\}. This morpheme gives the meaning of 'since', and has only one allomorph, \textit{ṣ}.

Only two illustrations are found in the collected data:
mi jālm-a-s daru piit rhai
'I have not been drinking since (my very) birth',
dusrya dīvēs sēkala paḥ-o-s titnē tī nigali
'The next day in the morning she started from there at the (very) day-break'.

6. {Voc.}. This is a morpheme for address and has three allomorphs, √-b, √-u and √-e.

√-b occurs after an oblique singular suffix, e.g.
bal-a-∅ tu aptya gōri rhatās
'Child, you stay in your own house',
dheny-a-∅ dheny-a-∅ majya gōsāīcya
dny-a-∅ hya velēla pay ātā
'O husband dear, O bead of my suspicious wedding necklace! be now pleased at this moment.'

√-u occurs after an oblique plural suffix, e.g.
bal-an-∅ tumī aptya gōri rhatāv
'Children, you stay in your own houses',
bīn-in-u pētāv to thōrya panyan pēva
'Girls, [that] you are swimming, then
[at least] be swimming in little water'.

√-e is morphologically conditioned, being found to occur only with a limited number of nouns, bhavī and bāy, e.g.
bhavī-∅-ē gēla ātā to aŋbysa jhar toraycay
'Brother -in-law, come now; that mango tree is to be cut down,'
mela bey-š-e jeyan var
'Serve the meal to me, daughter'.

Note: The morphemes that follow are stated as belonging to this Group along with those above, only as instances of their being followed by a suffix do not obtain in the written data; however, they are known to be really belonging to the next Group the missing instances for which were orally obtained in free conversations with the speakers of the dialect.

7. {bhər}. This morpheme, meaning 'throughout the full extent of', has only one allomorph, √-bhər.
   E.g. rat-š-bhər 'during the whole night',
   təpli-š-bhər 'so as to fill the whole basket'.

8. {səgət}. This morpheme, meaning 'together with', including', has only one allomorph, √-səgət.
   E.g. sur-ya-səgət 'including the leg-like limb'.

9. {si}. This morpheme meaning 'with' has only one allomorph, √-si.
   E.g. t-ya-si 'with him'.

10. {sivəy}. This morpheme has the meanings 'than' and 'without', as the context demands. It has only one allomorph, √-sivəy.
E.g. ape baap-a-sivy rajye anand en allay

'The reign proceeds more happily than (that of) one's own father'.

kay kaw-a-sivy alay kay

'Do you mean to say that I have come without work (or purpose) ?'

§ 213-4.2. GROUP (B).

This brings together Suffixes that sometimes are and sometimes are not followed by another suffix.

The following morphemes can be listed in this Group:

\{get\}, \{paryant\}. (See "Note" at the end of the morpheme no.6 from the earlier Group.)

1. \{get\}. This morpheme meaning 'like' has only one allomorph, √-get.

E.g. asu-√-get 'like a net',
jaal-√-get-ni 'like a net'.

2. \{paryant\}. This morpheme means 'upto, till', and has only one allomorph, √-paryant.

E.g. astami-√-paryant 'up to the eighth day [in order in a fortnightly half division of a lunar month]',
agoth-√-paryant-æ-æ 'of what is till the beginning of the rainy season'.

§ 213-4.3. GROUP (C).

This Group collects those Suffixes that are always followed by some suffix.
The following morphemes belong to this Group:
\[
\{c^1\}; \{kr\}, \{pas\}, \{mul\}.
\]

1. \(\{c^1\}\). This morpheme meaning 'of' is always followed by the \(g-h^2\) suffixes and the suffixes \(\sim\)-ya and \(\sim\)-e for the \(\{obl.1\}\).

It has three allomorphs, \(\sim\)-c-, \(\sim\)-j-, and \(\sim\)-l-.

\(\sim\)-l- occurs after the oblique form of the pronoun apun and takes \(\sim\)-ya and \(\sim\)-e for the \(\{obl.1\}\).

*e.g.*

\textit{bala tu ap-\(\sim\)-l-ya shərī rhat-es}

'Child, you stay in your own house'.

\textit{ap-\(\sim\)-l-ə bepa\(\i\)siv\(\o\)} 'than (that of) one's own father;

\(\sim\)-j- occurs after the oblique forms of the pronouns, \{mi\}, \{tu\}, and takes \(\sim\)-ya for the \(\{obl.1\}\).

*e.g.*

\textit{ma-\(\sim\)-j-ə kəm həv} 'I have got work (with you),

\textit{ma-\(\sim\)-j-ya vəlkhiəs hait} 'He \{hom.\} is of my acquaintance';

\(\sim\)-c- occurs elsewhere and takes \(\sim\)-ya for the \{obl.1\}.

*e.g.*

\textit{wun-g-ə-ə kənji ghal}

'Prepare a soup from the green gram'.

\textit{əmbərə-\(\sim\)-ə-ι kənji nhetən}

'They take (with them) the big stalk of the esculent plant, \textit{əmbərə}',

\textit{ma-\(\sim\)-c-ə ker nəvə-ə-ə hait}

'Our hair (that are kept on the head) are for the purpose of (abiding by or satisfying) a vow'.

te kol-ya-e-va hatasi yet nevte
'It was not reaching the hand of the Koliman',
am-jo-e-ya gheri 'at our house'

2. \{kr\} . This morpheme means 'towards', 'on the side of', and has two allomorphs, √-kr- occurring before the suffix √-e of \{Loc.\} and √-ker- elsewhere.

E.g. gher-e-kr-e 'towards the house',
raja-jo-ker-ni 'from at the king'.

3. \{pas\} . This morpheme meaning 'from' has only one allomorph, √-pas-.

E.g. gher-e-pas-ni 'from near a house'.

4. \{mul\} . This morpheme meaning 'because of' has only one allomorph, √-mul-.

E.g. t-ya-mul-e 'because of that'.
§ 2.1. Stem Morphemes:

§ 2.1.4. VERBS

§ 2.14.0. Verbs take a Suffix for the Tense.


A secondary verb stem, that behaves like a primary stem in every respect, is formed by the addition of the causative morpheme, \{Caus.\}, to a primary stem. This morpheme has three allomorphs, \(-v\)-, \(-ev\)- and \(-\phi\)-, that are morphologically conditioned.

Illustrations:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Primary stem</th>
<th>suffix</th>
<th>Secondary stem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ja- 'to go'</td>
<td>(-v)-</td>
<td>ja-v- 'to make oneself go'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sek- 'to get heat'</td>
<td>(-ev)-</td>
<td>sek-ev- 'to give heat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mar- 'to die'</td>
<td>(-\phi)-</td>
<td>mar-(\phi)- 'to kill'.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The phonemic shapes of the verb stems, mono-syllabic as well as disyllabic, are found to be the
following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Monosyllabic</th>
<th>Dissyllabic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>VC</td>
<td>VCVC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VCVC</td>
<td>VCVC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CV</td>
<td>VCCVC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVVC</td>
<td>VCCVC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVCC</td>
<td>VCCVC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CCCV</td>
<td>VCCVC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CCCVC</td>
<td>VCCVC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CGCC</td>
<td>VCCVCC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CGVC</td>
<td>CGCCVC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CGVCVC</td>
<td>CGVCVC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CGCCVC</td>
<td>CGVCVC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CGCCVC</td>
<td>CGVCVC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CGCCVC</td>
<td>CGVCVC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CGCCVC</td>
<td>CGVCVC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CGCCVC</td>
<td>CGVCVC</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 214.1. CLASSIFICATION OF VERBS

§ 214.1.0. On the basis of the allomorphic changes that they undergo before the past tense suffix \( 1 \), verbs are divided into two classes: (1) regular and (2) irregular. — In the case of the regular verbs the allomorphic changes are predictable, while in the case of the irregular verbs they are not predictable.
§ 214.1.1. Regular Verbs.

The morphophonemic changes in the regular verb stems can be stated as follows:

(i) /i/ as the $v_2$ of a stem containing a two-vowel sequence, $v_1v_2$, varies freely with /y/ when the stem is followed by a vowel.

**Illustrations:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>stem</th>
<th>suffix</th>
<th>Verb form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sik- 'to hear'</td>
<td>-un</td>
<td>sik-un</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ayk-un</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>veir- 'to pour'</td>
<td>-un</td>
<td>veir-un</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>veyr-un</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(ii) The second vowel of a disyllabic stem when preceded by a consonant is dropped before a vowel except /i/.

**Illustrations:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>stem</th>
<th>suffix</th>
<th>Verb form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pathəv- 'to send'</td>
<td>-en</td>
<td>pathəv-en</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-el</td>
<td>pathəv-el</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>benəv- 'to prepare'</td>
<td>-ay</td>
<td>benəv-ay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>utar- 'to get down'</td>
<td>-un</td>
<td>utar-un</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(iii) The final /v/ is dropped before /i/, and, when of a monosyllabic stem, also before /u/.

**Illustrations:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>stem</th>
<th>suffix</th>
<th>Verb form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pathəv- 'to send'</td>
<td>-it</td>
<td>pathə-it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-in</td>
<td>pathə-in</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(iv) In a normally fast speech, the final dental voiced stop, /d/, optionally becomes voiceless, before a dental voiceless stop, /t/.

*Illustration:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>stem</th>
<th>suffix</th>
<th>Verb form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sod-</td>
<td>'to search'</td>
<td>sod-tay</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(v) In a normally fast speech, the final dental affricate, /c j/, freely varies with a dental voiceless stop, when followed by a dental voiceless stop, /t/.

*Illustrations:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>stem</th>
<th>suffix</th>
<th>Verb form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>rae-</td>
<td>'to pile'</td>
<td>rae-tay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pae-</td>
<td>'to make drink'</td>
<td>pae-tay</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(vi) The final stop preceded by a homorganic nasal is optionally dropped before a consonant.

*Illustrations:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>stem</th>
<th>suffix</th>
<th>Verb form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bhand-</td>
<td>'to tie'</td>
<td>bhand-tay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>~ bhan-tay</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
monj- 'to count' -t-əy monj-əy - mon-əy
khand- 'to dig' -la- khand-la - khand-la

§ 214.1.2. Irregular Verbs.

§ 214.1.2.1. Most of the stems of this class behave like regular verb stems before all the verb-suffixes except the past tense Suffix, \{l\}. Before that Suffix, their allomorphic changes are not predictable.

§ 214.1.2.1. Possible Grouping:

Though thus morphologically conditioned, some stems of this class can, however, be grouped in the following manner on the basis of the similarity of behaviour they show.

Group 1.

/e/ is added to the stem after dropping its final vowel and the following consonant. E.g. -

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Allomorph</th>
<th>Verb form with -l-a</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kər-</td>
<td>k-e-</td>
<td>k-e-la</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dhər-</td>
<td>dh-e-</td>
<td>dh-e-la</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mər-</td>
<td>m-e-</td>
<td>m-e-la</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Group 2.

/i/, that varies with /y/, is added to the stem. E.g. -

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Allomorph</th>
<th>Verb form with -l-a</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pa-</td>
<td>'to see'</td>
<td>pa-i-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>pa-i-la ~ pa-y-la</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rha-</td>
<td>'to stay'</td>
<td>rha-i-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>rha-i-la ~ rha-y-la</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Group 3.

/t/ is added to the stem after dropping the final consonant if any. E.g. -

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Allomorph</th>
<th>Verb form with -l-a</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ghal-</td>
<td>'to pour'</td>
<td>gha-t-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>gha-t-la</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ghe-</td>
<td>'to take'</td>
<td>ghe-t-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ghe-t-la</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Group 4.

/it/ is added to the stem. E.g. -

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Allomorph</th>
<th>Verb form with -l-a</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pa-</td>
<td>'to see'</td>
<td>pa-it-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>pa-it-la</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bøg-</td>
<td>'to see'</td>
<td>bøg-it-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>bøg-it-la</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

19a. Refer to § 1.1.5.2; and also to (I): (I):1: (b), (II): (A): (c), and (III): (i): (c) under § 211.1.
man̓a̓l- 'to ask for'  man̓a̓l-  man̓a̓l-la
sang- 'to tell'  sang-  sang-  la

Group 5.

/a/ is added to the stem. E.g.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>stem</th>
<th>Allomorph</th>
<th>Verb form with -la</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pol-</td>
<td>pol-</td>
<td>pol-la</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mil-</td>
<td>mil-</td>
<td>mil-la</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mhen-</td>
<td>mhen-</td>
<td>mhen-la</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Group 6.

/ya/ is added to the stem. E.g.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>stem</th>
<th>Allomorph</th>
<th>Verb form with -la</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pi-</td>
<td>pi-ya-</td>
<td>pi-ya-la</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: The addition of -it, -a-, -ya-, to the verb stems (as stated in Groups 4, 5 and 6, respectively) is optional. However, the forms with these suffixes are preferred over the other forms without these suffixes.
— There is one exception to this, the stem pa- 'to drink': when it does not take -it, it has the only alternative stem of pa-i- (stated in Group 2).
Group 7.

Miscellaneous:

1. \{kha\}, 'to eat', has two allomorphs, \sqrt{kha}- and \sqrt{khal}-. Both vary freely before \{l\}. \sqrt{kha}- occurs otherwise.

2. \{ja\}, 'to go', has two allomorphs: \sqrt{ge}- occurring before \{l\}, and \sqrt{ja}- elsewhere.

3. \{de\}, 'to give', has two allomorphs: \sqrt{di}- occurring before \{l\}, and \sqrt{de}- elsewhere.

4. \{ye\}, 'to come', has three allomorphs: \sqrt{a}- occurring before the past tense suffix, \{l\}; \sqrt{ye}- before the present tense suffix, \{t\}; and \sqrt{ye}- elsewhere.

5. \{ho\}, 'to become', has three allomorphs: \sqrt{jha}- occurring before \{l\}, and \sqrt{ho}- and \sqrt{wha}- that vary freely with each other occurring elsewhere.
§214.1.2.2. Verbs with Defective Paradigms.

There are four stems that take only a limited number of suffixes: \{ha\}, \{na\}, \{payje\}, and \{nako\}. Of these: \{ha\} and \{na\} take suffixes only for the present tense and for the past tense (which is followed by the \(\sigma\)-\(\kappa\) Suffixes and the First Person Suffix); and \{payje\} and \{nako\} occur as free forms, the latter also taking a suffix for the imperative.

(a) 1. \{ha\}, 'to be', has three allomorphs: \(\nu\)-ho-, \(\nu\)-\(\nu\)-ho-, and \(\nu\)-ha-.

1. \(\nu\)-ho- and \(\nu\)-\(\nu\)-ho- occur in free variation with each other and only before the suffix \(\nu\)-t- (of \(\nu\)-t-) of the past tense.

2. \(\nu\)-ha- takes only the morpheme for the present tense, \{Pres.\}, which is never followed by any suffix.
This morpheme has four allomorphs:
\(\nu\)-y, \(\nu\)-is, \(\nu\)-v, and \(\nu\)-it.
\(\nu\)-y occurs for singularity when concord is meant with the first and third person pronouns and with nouns;
\(-is\) occurs for singularity when concord is meant with the second person pronoun;

\(-v\) occurs for plurality when concord is meant with the first and second person pronouns;

\(-it\) occurs for plurality when concord is meant with the third person pronouns and nouns.

These give the following forms:

ha-\(y\) 'I am',
ha-\(v\) 'we are',
ha-\(is\) 'You (sg.) are',
ha-\(v\) 'You (pl.) are',
ha-\(y\) 'He or she or it is',
ha-\(it\) 'They are'.

2. \{\(na\)\}, 'not to be' has three allomorphs: \(\sqrt{na}\)-, \(\sqrt{na}\)-, and \(\sqrt{nha}\)-.

\(\sqrt{na}\)-, like the \(\sqrt{be}\)- and \(\sqrt{have}\)- above, occurs only before the suffix \(-t\)-(of \{\(l\)\}) of the past tense.
(2) 'na- and 'nha-, like the 'ha- above, take only the morpheme for the present tense, Pres. (as described above).

These give the following forms:

\[\text{na-y} \sim \text{nha-y} \quad *\text{na-y} \sim *\text{nha-y}\]
\[\text{'[I] am not',} \quad *\text{[we] are not'},\]
\[*\text{na-is} \sim *\text{nha-is} \quad *\text{na-y} \sim *\text{nha-y}\]
\[\text{'[You (sg.)] are not} \quad *\text{[You (pl.)] are not'}\]
\[\text{na-y} \sim \text{nha-y} \quad \text{na-it} \sim \text{nha-it}\]
\[\text{'[He or she or it] is not',} \quad *\text{[They] are not'}\]

(b) 1. {pajje\textsuperscript{3}}, 'to want', has two allomorphs, 'payje and 'payje, both occurring only as free forms and in free variation with each other.

2. {nejko\textsuperscript{3}}, 'not to want', has two allomorphs, 'nek- and 'nejko.

'nek- occurs before 'a (of \{a\textsuperscript{3}\}) of the imperative;

'nejko occurs elsewhere as a free form, and before \(\&\) (of \{a\textsuperscript{3}\}) of the

19b. The reconstructed forms were not actually found in the collected data. But it was reasonably suspected that they also existed in the speech side by side with those of 'ha-.
imperative.

§ 214.2. SUFFIXES FOR TENSE

§ 214.2.0. These Suffixes are classified into two groups:

1. Suffixes showing only tense.
2. Suffixes showing tense, person, and number together.

§ 214.2.1. Suffixes Showing Only Tense.

§ 214.2.1.0. Two morphemes come under this group:

1. \{1\}, indicating the past tense.
2. \{t\}, indicating the present tense.

§ 214.2.1.1. The Morpheme for the Past Tense.

\{1\}, the morpheme for the past tense, has two allomorphs: \(\sqrt{-t}\) and \(\sqrt{-l}\).

\(\sqrt{-t}\) occurs only after the two stems, \{ha\} 'to be' and \{na\} 'not to be', and is always -------

20. Called the Tense Suffixes.

21. Referred to generally as the T-P-N Suffixes.
followed by the $G-N^4$ Suffixes and the First Person Suffix.

$\sqrt{-1}$ occurs elsewhere, and is always immediately followed by one of the following Suffixes:

1. The $G-N^4$ Suffixes;
2. The First Person Suffix:
   \{1st Per.\}
3. The Adjectival Suffix: \{el\}   
4. The Suffix for the Oblique: \{obl.\}

**Illustrations:**

The addition of these to the stem $\sqrt{jha-}$ of \{ha\}, 'to become', gives the following forms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SS.</th>
<th>PL.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1, 2.</td>
<td>1st per.</td>
<td>Jha-1-u, Jha-1-u-y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2nd per.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
|       | masc.    | Jha-1-a-s   | Jha-1-a-v;    
|       |          |               | (Jha-1-a-v,   |
|       |          |               | Jha-1-e-v)    |
|       | fem.     | Jha-1-i-s   | Jha-1-ya-v;   
|       |          |               | (Jha-1-i-v)   |
|       | 3rd per. |                |               |
|       | masc.    | Jha-3-a, Jha-3-a-y | Jha-3-a, Jha-3-i |
|       | fem.     | Jha-3-i, Jha-3-i-y | Jha-3-ya     |
3. Adjective stem: jha-l-al- 'that had been'.

4. Adverb form: jha-l-ya-ver 'on having become'.

1. The C- in 4 Suffixes.

The morphemes for the gender-and-number, suffixed to the verb forms here, show a concord with the pronouns only of the second and the third persons and with the nouns.

The morphemes with their allomorphs are as follows:

(1) {Masc. sg. 4}. This morpheme for the masculine singular has two allomorphs, /-e- and /-a/.

/-e- occurs only before the second person suffix, /-v (of 2nd Per.), when honour is meant towards a single object showing concord with a second person plural pronoun.

/-a occurs (1) exactly in the above condition and
sense, or (2) elsewhere in the sense of singularity, or (3) when a specific reference to gender and number is not intended.

(2) ³Masc. pl. ⁴½. This morpheme for the masculine plural has two allomorphs, /-i and /-ə.

/:-i occurs (1) when the related noun is masculine and having the plural suffix /:-a, or (2) when a (third person) pronoun (in concord with such a noun) has the masculine plural suffix /:-i.

/-ə occurs elsewhere.

(3) ³Fem. sg. ⁴½. This morpheme for the feminine singular has only one allomorph, /:-i. Like the masculine singular suffix, /:-a (of ³Masc. sg. ⁴½), above, it occurs (1) before the second person suffix, /:-w (of ³2nd Per. ³½), when honour is
meant towards a single object showing concord with a second person plural pronoun, or (2) elsewhere in the sense of singularity.

(4) \{Fem. pl.\}^4. This morpheme for the feminine plural has only one allomorph, \/~ya.\)

**Suffixes that follow these:**

(1) When there exists a concord between a second person pronoun and its related verb form, all the above morphemes are always followed by the morpheme for the second person, \{2nd Per.\}, which has two allomorphs, \/~s and \/~v, occurring as follows:

\/~s follows the masculine singular suffix, \/~\-a-(of \{Masc. sg.\}^4),
or the feminine singular suffix, \/~i- (of \{Fem. sg.\}^4). E.g.

\textit{tu whota jha-l-\textcolor{red}{a}} 'You [masc. sg.] have become big',

\textit{tu whoti jha-l-\textcolor{red}{i}} 'You [fem. sg.] have become big'.

\/~v (a) When simply endorsing the numerical plurality, this follows the masculine
plural suffix, √-a- (of \{Masc.pl. \} ), or the
feminine plural suffix,
√-ya- (of \{Fem.pl. \} ).

E.g. **tumi mhoţe jha-l-a-y**

'You [masc. pl.] have become big'.

**tumi mhotya jha-l-ya-y**

'You [fem.pl.] have become big'.

(b) In the sense of honour meant
towards a single object,
this follows the masculine
singular suffix, √-a- or √-e-
(of \{Masc. sg. \} ), or the
feminine singular suffix,
√-i- (of \{Fem.sg. \}).

E.g. **tumi mhoţe jha-l-a-y**

"Jha-l-e-a-y"

'You [masc. sg.] have become important'.

**tumi mhoti jha-l-i-y**

'You [fem.sg.] have become important'.

This morpheme is never followed
by any suffix.

22a. See also § 212.1.1.(1), - (4) and § 213.1.2.1.5.
Note: when there exists a concord between a noun or a third person pronoun and its related verb form, none of the above morphemes is followed by any morpheme for the third person.

(2) When there exists a concord between a noun or a third person singular pronoun and its related verb form, the suffix √-a (of \{Masc. sg.\} or √-i (of \{Fem. sg.\}) may be further followed by the morpheme for the auxiliary, \{Aux.\} which has only one allomorph, √-y, as in jha-l-a-y ' [he] has become'.

This morpheme is never followed by any suffix.

2. The First Person Suffix.

The morpheme for the first person, suffixed to the verb forms, shows a concord with the related first person pronoun.

The morpheme and its allomorph is as follows:

\{1st Per.\}. This morpheme for the first person has only one allomorph, √-u.
E.g. mi mhotë jha-l-u 'I [masc. sg.] have become big',
mi mhoti jha-l-u 'I [fem. sg.] have become big'.
ami mhotë jha-l-u 'We [masc. pl.] have become big'.
ami mhotya jha-l-u 'We [fem. pl.] have become big'.

Suffix following this:

This morpheme may be further followed by the morpheme for the auxiliary,

{Aux.}, with its only one allomorph, ∨-y, as in jha-l-u-y 'I or we] have become'.

3. The Adjectival Suffix.

This morpheme, {el¹}, deriving an adjective stem and meaning 'which has completed (a particular action)', has only one allomorph, ∨-el-.

E.g. por pik-l-el-a mba eptshay 'The child is sucking a ripened mango'.

4. The Suffix for the Oblique.

The morpheme for the oblique, {obl.²} has only one allomorph, ∨-ya; and, (1) when following the {1}, it is always followed by some suffix, while (2) otherwise,
it may or may not be followed by some suffix.

Examples: (1) vac-l-ya-horobar 'immediately after having read',
       par-l-ya-ver 'on having fallen';
       
(2) jhol-sy-o-ya asugteni 'like the net meant for swinging'.

§214.2.1.2. The Morpheme for the Present Tense.

\{t\}, the morpheme for the present tense, has three allomorphs, \*-\(x\)-, \*-th-, and \*-t-, which are all phonologically conditioned. -- \*-\(x\)- follows a stem ending in the retroflex voiceless stop, /\(k\)/
(e.g. par-\(k\)-\(o\) 'I like' or 'He or she likes');
\*-th-, in free variation with \*-t-, follows a stem ending in /h/, the stem-final /h/ being dropped before this suffix (e.g. eup-th-\(e\) \(\sim\) euph-t-\(e\) 'I suck', or 'he/she sucks'); \*-t- occurs elsewhere.

This morpheme is always immediately followed by one of the following Suffixes:

1. The P - N Suffixes.\(^{22b}\)
2. The Adjective = Suffixes : G-N\(^2\) or \{obl.\}\(^{2}\}.
3. The Adverbial Suffixes: \{ana\} or \{a\}\(^{2}\}.

\(^{22b}\) Meaning: Suffixes showing person and number together.
Illustrations:

1. The addition of the P-N Suffixes to the stem \( kər^- \) of \( \{kər\} \), 'to do', gives the following forms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1st per.</th>
<th>2nd per.</th>
<th>3rd per.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( kər-t-ə ), ( kər-t-u )</td>
<td>( kər-t-ə-y ), ( kər-t-u-y )</td>
<td>( kər-t-ə ), ( kər-t-an )</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. Adjective form: \( vha-t-ı \) 'sharp'; \( bhant-e \) '— of fixing'.

3. Adverb forms: \( nhe-t-ana \) 'while carrying'; \( yat-t-a \) 'o'clock'.

1. The P-N Suffixes.

There exists a concord between a noun or a pronoun and its related verb form in respect of the person and the number. Thus, with a first person singular pronoun form the related verb form occurs with the first person singular suffix, as in \( mi \ kəm kərte \) ('I do a work') where for the first person singular pronoun, \( mi \), the verb form occurs with the first person singular suffix, \( v-ə \).
The person-number morphemes for the present tense are as follows:

1. $\{s^1\}$. This morpheme for the (present) first, second and third person singular has only one allomorph, $\sim-a$.

2. $\{u^1\}$. This morpheme for the (present) first person plural has only one allomorph, $\sim-u$.

3. $\{a^1\}$. This morpheme for the (present) second person plural has only one allomorph, $\sim-a$.

4. $\{an\}$. This morpheme for the (present) third person plural has only one allomorph, $\sim-an$.

Suffixes that follow these:

Some of the above morphemes are further followed by certain suffixes.

1. When there exists a concord between a second person pronoun and its related verb form, the suffixes $\sim-a$ (of $\{u^1\}$) and $\sim-a$ (of $\{a^1\}$) are always
followed by the morpheme for the second person,
\{2nd Per.\}, with its two allomorphs, √-s and √-v, occurring as follows:
√-s follows the present second person singular suffix √-o of \{\text{a}^1\} above;
√-v follows the present second person plural suffix √-a of \{\text{a}^1\} above.

(2) When there exists a concord between a verb form and a first person singular pronoun, or a noun or a third person singular pronoun, or a first person plural pronoun, the suffixes √-s (of \{\text{a}^1\} above) and √-u (of \{\text{u}^1\} above) may be further followed by the morpheme for the auxiliary, \{Aux.\}, with its only one allomorph, √-ya, as in \text{mi ker-t-o-ya} 'I am doing'.

2. The Adjective-Suffixes.

The \text{G-W}^2 Suffixes or the \{\text{obl.}^1\} occurring after an Adjective Stem also occur after the Present Tense Morpheme, \{t\}. 
Examples: koyti vha-t-i hay 'The chisel is sharp'.
mi ye-t-e velela chaunon van 'I will definitely bring ...
... at the time of [my] coming'.

3. The Adverbial Suffixes.

(1) {ana}. This morpheme, meaning 'while doing simultaneously', has only one allomorph, √-ana, and is not further followed by any suffix. Thus:

parer nhe-t-ana mana bhet 'See me while carrying again'.

(2) {a²}. This morpheme, meaning 'at', has only one allomorph, √-a, and is not further followed by any suffix. Thus:

sat vat-t-e 'At seven o'clock'.

§ 314.2. Suffixes Showing Tense, Person, and Number Together Of Morphemes for the Future Tense.

The morphemes for the future tense form a set of six morphemes indicative of the tense, person and number at the same time.

The addition of these to the stem √-bol of
{bol}, 'to speak', gives the following forms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st per.</td>
<td>bol-en</td>
<td>bol-u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd per.</td>
<td>bol-sil</td>
<td>bol-siv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd per.</td>
<td>bol-əl</td>
<td>bol-tin - bol-til</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The T-P-N Suffixes:

There exists a concord between a noun or a pronoun and its related verb form in respect of the person and the number. Thus with a first person singular pronoun form the related verb form occurs with the first person singular suffix, as in mi sikən (I shall learn) where for the first person singular pronoun, mi, the verb form occurs with the future first person singular suffix, ə-n.

The tense-person-number morphemes for the future tense are as follows:

(1) {en}. This morpheme for the future first person singular has three allomorphs, ə-n, ə-en, and ə-in, their particular choice being mostly morphologically conditioned. Of these:
\( \checkmark\text{-n} \) is found to occur after the verb stems, \( \text{ghe-}'\text{to take}', \text{de-}'\text{to give}', \text{and ye-}'\text{to come}'; \ e.g. \( \text{mi\ ye-n} \ 'I \text{shall come}'; \)

\( \checkmark\text{-n} \) is found to be in free variation with \( \checkmark\text{-in} \) after a stem-final /\( \text{av} /\); \ e.g. \( \text{pathav} + \checkmark \text{n} \rightarrow \text{pathv-\checkmark\text{n}} \rightarrow \text{in} = \checkmark\text{pathv-in} \ 'I \text{shall send}'; \)

\( \checkmark\text{-in} \) is found to occur after stems ending in /\( a /\); \ e.g. \( \text{ja-in} , \ '[I] \text{shall go}' . \)

(2) \( \{u^{2}\} \). \ This morpheme for the future first person plural has two allomorphs, \( \checkmark\text{-v} \) and \( \checkmark\text{-u} . \)

\( \checkmark\text{-u} \) occurs in free variation with \( \checkmark\text{-u} , \)
when added to a stem ending in a vowel; \ e.g. \( \text{ye-u} \sim \text{ye-v} \ '[[wv]] \text{shall come}'. \)

\( \checkmark\text{-u} \) occurs after a stem ending in a consonant; \ e.g. \( \text{bol-u} . \)
Note: The stem-final /v/ is dropped before the suffix /-u/, the stem thereby turning into one ending in a vowel. 23

(3) {sil}. This morpheme for the future second person singular has only one allomorph, /-sil/.

(4) {siv}. This morpheme for the future second person plural has only one allomorph, /-siv/.

(5) {il}. This morpheme for the future third person singular has three allomorphs, /-l/, /-əl/, and /-il/, which are mostly morphologically conditioned. Of these:

/-l/ is found to occur with the verb stems che-, de-, and ye-:

23. Refer to § 214.1.1. (iii)
\(\check{-\text{el}}\) is found to be in free variation with \(\check{-\text{il}}\) after stems ending in \(/\text{av}/\); e.g. \textit{pathe\text{-}\check{-e}l = il} = \textit{pathv-\check{-e}l = path\text{-}\check{-il}}, '[\textit{he}] will send';

\(\check{-\text{il}}\) is found to occur after stems ending in \(/\text{a}/\); e.g. \textit{j\check{-e}l}, '[\textit{he}] will go'.

\(6\) \{\textit{tin}\}. This morpheme for the \textit{future third person plural} has two allomorphs, \(\check{-\text{tin}}\) and \(\check{-\text{til}}\), which vary freely.

These morphemes are \underline{not} further followed by any \textit{Suffix}.  

\(\S\) 214.3. \textit{OTHER SUFFIXES.}

\(\S\) 214.3.0. Verb stems can also be immediately followed by \textit{Suffixes} other than those for the future. These are:
(A) Modifier Suffixes.
(B) Nominal Suffixes.
(C) Adverbial Suffixes.

§ 214.3.1. Modifier Suffixes.

The following morphemes come under this class:

1. The Imperative Morpheme; \{a^3\}.
2. The Potential Morpheme; \{av\}.
3. The Habitualness Morpheme; \{i^1\}.

§ 214.3.1.1: The Imperative Morpheme.

The morpheme for the imperative, \{a^3\}, has four allomorphs, \(^{- }\_a\), \(^{- }\_\beta\), \(^{- }\_ya\), and \(^{- }\_a\). The first two occur in the sense of singularity, \(^{- }\_a\) occurring after only one stem \textit{de-} 'to give', and \(^{- }\_\beta\) occurring elsewhere (e.g. \textit{de-\_a}, '[You (sg.)] give', \textit{bol-\_\beta}, '[You (sg.)] speak'). The next two occur in the sense of plurality, \(^{- }\_ya\) occurring after stems ending in /\_a/ (the final /\_a/ being dropped before this suffix), and \(^{- }\_a\) occurring elsewhere, (the stem-final /\_a/ being dropped before this) (e.g. \textit{\_ya}, '[You (pl.)] give', \textit{bol-\_a}, '[You (pl.)] speak', \textit{rha}, '[You (pl.)] stay').
This morpheme is never followed by any suffix.

§ 214.3.1.2. The Potential Morpheme.

The morpheme for the potential mood, \{av\}, has three allomorphs, \(-yav-, \(-v-,\) and \(-av-,\) which are phonologically conditioned. \(-yav-\) occurs after stems ending in /e/, the stem-final /e/ being dropped before this suffix, e.g. \(d-yav-\). \(-v-\) occurs after stems ending in a vowel other than /e/, e.g. \(rhe-v-\). \(-av-\) occurs after stems ending in a consonant, e.g. \(bol-av-\).

This morpheme is always followed by the G-N\(^4\) Suffixes.

E.g. \(kuni hak marli ki caqli sad d-yav-a\)

'[If] anyone gave a call, then [one] should give a good response (to it)'.

§ 214.3.1.3. The Habitualness Morpheme.

The morpheme for habitualness, \({i^1}\), has three allomorphs, \(-y, \(-i,\) and \(-o.\) \(-y-\) occurs after stems ending in a vowel. \(-i-\) and \(-\omega-,\) which are morphologically conditioned, occur after stems ending in a consonant.
This morpheme is not followed by any other suffix.

Examples:

**tya pulaversi yeke na manukyes ja-y na yeke ye-y**

'From over that bridge only one person would go and only one would come'.

**to parva lej unarpes kaer-1**

'That boy used to do much vagabondism'.

**asun massa alela dis-e**

'It would appear that a fish has come in the (particular) fishing-net'.

§ 314.3.2. **Nominal Suffixes.**

The following morphemes come under this class:

1. The Morpheme for General Action: \{na\}.

2. The Morpheme for Particular Action: \{ni\}.

4. The Morpheme for General State, Act, or Behaviour: .. \{u\}.

§ 314.3.2.1. **The Morpheme for General Action.**

The morpheme for general action, \{na\}, has only one allomorph, \/~na/. Example:
li-na sikava
' [One] should learn writing.'

This suffix may be further followed by the
pronominal suffix -r (from \{r\}) meaning 'one
going to be a doer of the action [indicated in the
verb stem] ', which itself may be further followed
by the G-N suffixes. Examples:

pel-na-r yari oleva
'The balancer (i.e. boatman) rows
the boat'.

tisvri kar-na-r-a-ayu hoten
'The shuttle [is to be kept] in
the hand of the drawer (i.e. the
knitter)'.

§ 214.3.2.2. The Morpheme for Particular Action.

The morpheme for particular action, \{ni\},
has only one allomorph, -ni. Examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>stem</th>
<th>form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>jhor 'to strike'</td>
<td>jhor-ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mol 'to thrash'</td>
<td>mol-ni</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 214.3.2.3. The Morpheme for General State, Act, or
Behaviour.

The morpheme for general state, act, or
behaviour is \{a^4\}, with four of its allomorpha, \(-\text{en}\), \(-\text{an}\), \(-\text{a}\), and \(-\text{ti}\), that are morphologically conditioned. **Illustrations:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Verb stem</strong></th>
<th><strong>Noun stem</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cear- 'to climb'</td>
<td>cear-en 'steepness'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vek- 'to bend'</td>
<td>vek-en 'a turning'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dhav- 'to run'</td>
<td>dhav-a 'prayer'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bhav- 'to fill up'</td>
<td>bhav-ti 'the state of high tide'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 214.3.3. **Adverbial Suffixes.**

The following morphemes come under this group:

1. The Morpheme for Purpose of Action : \{u^3\}
2. The Morpheme for Future Condition : \{nar\}
3. The Morpheme for Capacity of Action : \{e^2\}
4. The Morpheme for Presence of Action : \{ay\}
5. The Morpheme for Continuity of Action : \{it^2\}
6. The Morpheme for Completeness of Action : \{un^1\}

Of these : \{u^3\}, \{nar\}, and \{it^2\} are never followed by any suffix; \{e^2\}, \{ay\}, and \{un^1\} may be followed by some suffix.
§ 214.3.3.1. The Morpheme for Purpose of Action.

This morpheme for purpose of action, {u}², has two allomorphs, √-v and √-u. √-v occurs in free variation with √-u after stems ending in a vowel (e.g. je-v ~ ja-u); and √-u occurs after stems ending in a consonant. The stem-final /v/ is dropped before the suffix √-u, the stem thereby turning into one ending in a vowel. 24

Illustrations:

asa kay kər-u neko 'Do not do anything like this'.

vaic jəra thəmbə məla
je-v dya

(jev + v = je + v = jev)

'Just wait; let me take my meal'.

§ 214.3.3.2. The Morpheme for Future Condition.

The morpheme for future condition, {nər}, has only one allomorph, √-nər.

Example: mi udya jənər 'I am to go tomorrow'.

§ 214.3.3.3. The Morpheme for Capacity of Action.

The morpheme for capacity of action, {ə²}, has two allomorphs, √-i and √-ə. √-i occurs after stems ending in a vowel (e.g. rkg-i, pi-i, da-i); and √-ə occurs after stems ending in a consonant (e.g. . . . .

24. Refer to § 214.1.1. (iii).
aik-ə; as paŋ-ə ney 'the fire is not able to catch a flame'). The forms with this morpheme are found to occur along with a verb form indicating negation. The forms with ∨-ə are found to be followed by the adjectival suffix ∨-itk- (of itk ) meaning 'so much' (e.g. uul-ə-itko 'as much as could be lifted up'). The forms with ∨-i as followed by this suffix (∨-itk-) are not found in the collected data.

§ 214.3.5.4. The Morpheme for Presence of Action.

The morpheme for presence of action, {ay}, has three allomorphs, ∨-ya, ∨-y, and ∨-ay. ∨-ya occurs after all stems ending in a vowel (e.g. rha-ya). The occurrence of ∨-y is restricted to the stems ja 'to go' and pa 'to see' (e.g. ja-ya, ja-y; pa-ya, pa-y). ∨-ay occurs after stems ending in a consonant (e.g. kar-ay).

The forms with this morpheme, without the addition of any other suffix, are found to occur before a verb form obtained from the stem lag 'to start [on something] ' and before a verb form having the potential-morpheme.
Examples: to asi jēval pani mang-ay lagle

'He started asking for water to [his] mother'.

tu .... loli ṭakāḥ-ay java

'You should go to leave the small anchor'.

This morpheme may be further followed by

(1) the suffix √-c- (of \{c^3\}) together with the G-N\textsuperscript{4} Suffixes, or

(2) some other suffixes like √-la (of \{la^2\}), √-saṭi (of \{saṭi^2\}), etc.

Examples: tisvrin sut bhār-ay-c-e

'Twine is to be wound over the shuttle'.

meg tu nay per-ay-c-i-s

'Then you [fem. sg.] will not be falling'.

mēla bhāir ja-va-c-a-y

'I have to go out'.

mith masālā la-va-ay-la yete

'Salt can be used for the purpose of being applied to the fish.

pēyse mil-ay-saṭi kam karte

'[I] work (or He works) for the sake of obtaining money'.

§ 214.3.3.5. The Morpheme for Continuity of Action.

The morpheme for continuity of action, \{it\}, has three allomorphs, √-tt, √-it, and √-st. — √-t
occurs after the verb stems de, ghe, and ye (e.g. de-t, etc.). \(\sqrt{-it}\) occurs in free variation with \(\sqrt{-t}\) after all other verb stems ending in a vowel (e.g. ja-it \(\sim\) ja-t). \(\sqrt{-et}\) and \(\sqrt{-it}\) occur, morphologically conditioned, after all verb stems ending in a consonant (e.g. uthy-et, mātē-it). Some consonant-ending stems are found to take alternatively both the suffixes, \(\sqrt{-et}\) and \(\sqrt{-it}\) (e.g. kāp-et \(\sim\) kāp-it).

§ 214.3.5.6. The Morpheme for Completeness of Action.

The morpheme for completeness of action, \{un\), has only one allomorph, \(\sqrt{-un}\), which may be further followed by the suffix \(\sqrt{-si}\) (of \{si\) meaning 'from'. The form with \(\sqrt{-un}\) (of \{um\) is found to occur in free variation with the form with \(\sqrt{-un-si}\).

Illustrations:

\[\text{dumala mar-un jhalysor payli kar-un gheta-t (\text{'After having fixed the dumala they out the payli'})} \]

\[\text{ti jala nhe-un-si dērēla lāsāyōi (\text{'Those nets, on having been carried, are to be fixed to the bank'})} \]

\[\text{kēpra phar-un \(\sim\) phar-un-si tukro kale (\text{'On having torn the cloth pieces were made (out of it)'})} \]
§ 215.0. Adverbs do not take a Suffix for the Oblique nor a Suffix for the Tense.

§ 215.1. CLASSIFICATIONS OF ADVERBS

§ 215.1.0. Principles under the Classification of Adverbs

The basis on which adverbs are each time differently classified is taken up from one of the following:

1. Whether the stem takes a Suffix or not.
   -- This gives, what is called, the First Classification of Adverbs.

2. Whether the stem behaves like a suffix or not.
   -- This gives, what is called, the Second Classification of Adverbs.

§ 215.1.1. FIRST CLASSIFICATION OF ADVERBS

(Basis: Whether the stem takes a suffix or not).
§ 215.1.1.1. Adverbs are here classified into three groups (1, 2, 3):

**Group 1:**

— Stems of this group **never** take a suffix.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>stem</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ani ~ ni</td>
<td>'and'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na</td>
<td>'is it not so?'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>are ~ are</td>
<td>'hello, Oh!'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pen</td>
<td>'but'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kiva</td>
<td>'or'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ve</td>
<td>'and'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Group 2:**

— Stems of this group **always** take a suffix.

The suffix taken by the stem is either a suffix for Location or some other suffix (for which see under § 215.1.2.).

The morpheme for Location, \{Loc.\}, has **two** allomorphs, \( \sqrt{\text{e}} \) and \( \sqrt{\text{i}} \), that are morphologically conditioned. This morpheme is **never** followed by any suffix.

**Illustrations:**

('Form one' means a form with a suffix for Location; 'Other Form' means a form with some other suffix.)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>stem</th>
<th>Form one</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Other Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>manγ-</td>
<td>manγ-α</td>
<td>'at' behind</td>
<td>manγ-ni</td>
<td>'from behind'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>manγ-un</td>
<td>'from behind'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>phur-</td>
<td>phur-α</td>
<td>'in front'</td>
<td>phur-ca</td>
<td>'of (i.e. being in) front'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khal-</td>
<td>khal-i</td>
<td>'at' below</td>
<td>khal-ti</td>
<td>'at' below</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Group 3:**

- Stems of this Group may or may not take a suffix.

When the stems here take a suffix, it is other than the suffix for Location.

**Illustrations:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>stem</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>uδya</td>
<td>'tomorrow'</td>
<td>uδya-la</td>
<td>'at' tomorrow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kal</td>
<td>'yesterday'</td>
<td>kal-c-</td>
<td>'of yesterday'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vεr</td>
<td>'upon'</td>
<td>vεr-si</td>
<td>'from upon'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 15.1.1.2. The following is a List of Suffixes (excluding {Loc.}) that are found to occur after the stems of Group 2 and Group 3. The choice of a Suffix from among them depends upon the sensibility of the form arrived at.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Allomorph</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>{un}</td>
<td>'from'</td>
<td>-un</td>
<td>mang-un</td>
<td>'from behind'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>mag-un</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>{k}</td>
<td>'as much'</td>
<td>-k-</td>
<td>tit-k-</td>
<td>'that much'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Adjectival)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>{c}</td>
<td>'of'</td>
<td>-c-</td>
<td>kal-c-</td>
<td>'of yesterday'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Adjectival)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-l-</td>
<td>at-l-</td>
<td>'of inside'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>{ti}</td>
<td>'at'</td>
<td>-ti</td>
<td>ver-ti</td>
<td>'at on'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>{ni}</td>
<td>'from'</td>
<td>-ne</td>
<td>ver-ne</td>
<td>'from above'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-na</td>
<td>jik-na</td>
<td>'from here'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>mang-ni</td>
<td>'from behind'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>mag-ni</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>{pɛrɛyɛnt}</td>
<td>'upto'</td>
<td>-pɛrɛyɛnt</td>
<td>tit-pɛrɛyɛnt</td>
<td>'upto that'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>{lɛ}</td>
<td>'at'</td>
<td>-la</td>
<td>udy-a-la</td>
<td>'[at] tomorrow'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>{sɛ}</td>
<td>'from'</td>
<td>-sɛ</td>
<td>lamb-si</td>
<td>'from away'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(\oplus\) All the three allomorphs of this are morphologically conditioned.

\(\S\ 215.1.2.\) SECOND CLASSIFICATION OF ADVERBS.

(Basis: Whether the stem behaves like a suffix or not).

Adverbs are here grouped into two Classes

(A, B) :
Class (A):

— Stems of this class never behave as a suffix.

Illustrations:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>stem</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>stem</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>agoder</td>
<td>'earlier'</td>
<td>jam - jyan</td>
<td>'tightly'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aj</td>
<td>'today'</td>
<td>bes</td>
<td>'enough'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ani - ni</td>
<td>'and'</td>
<td>bes - byes</td>
<td>'excellent'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>are - are</td>
<td>'hullo, Oh!'</td>
<td>ləvər</td>
<td>'quickly'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kal</td>
<td>'yesterday'</td>
<td>lam - lamb</td>
<td>'away'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Class (B):

— Stems of this class may or may not behave as a suffix.

Note: When they behave as a suffix these are called to belong to locational suffixes for general reference.

Illustrations:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>stem</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Behaviour as a suffix</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>at</td>
<td>'in'</td>
<td>(rajvarya-)t</td>
<td>'inside (the palace)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khal-</td>
<td>'down'</td>
<td>(pərdya-)khal-(i)</td>
<td>'under (the curtain)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jəvəl</td>
<td>'near'</td>
<td>(dara-)jəvəl</td>
<td>'near (the door)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mag-</td>
<td>'behind'</td>
<td>(ghəra-)mag-(ə)</td>
<td>'behind (the house)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>var</td>
<td>'on'</td>
<td>(jha-ra-)var</td>
<td>'on (a tree)'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. \{at\}. This morpheme, meaning 'in', has three allomorphs, \(\checkmark\) at, \(\checkmark\)-t, and \(\checkmark\)-n.

\(\checkmark\) at occurs as a free form.
\(\checkmark\)-t and \(\checkmark\)-n vary freely when not followed by a suffix; e.g. g\(\text{h}er\)a-t ~ g\(\text{h}er\)a-n 'inside the house'. The choice between \(\checkmark\)-t and \(\checkmark\)-n, when followed by some suffix, is conditioned by that following suffix; thus, \(\checkmark\)-t occurs before the adjectival suffix \(\checkmark\)-l- (of \(\{e^2\}\)), while \(\checkmark\)-n occurs before the adjectival suffix \(\checkmark\)-c- (of \(\{e^2\}\)); e.g. gava-t-l-ya 'of inside the village', m\(\text{h}e\)ne-n-c-ya 'of inside the mind'.

2. \{med\}. This morpheme, meaning 'amidst', has three allomorphs, \(\checkmark\) med, \(\checkmark\) mend, and \(\checkmark\) medh; that vary freely. \(\checkmark\)medh is found to occur very rarely. Ex. m\(\text{h}i\)d ~ m\(\text{h}i\)d ~ medhi 'in the middle'.

3. \{mag\}. This morpheme, meaning 'behind', has three allomorphs, \(\checkmark\) mag, \(\checkmark\) man, and \(\checkmark\) mang.
\text{mag}-\text{and} \text{ mang-} \text{ vary freely before a vowel. E.g.}
\text{mag-} \text{ - mang-} \text{ 'behind'}. \\
\text{mag-} \text{ and} \text{ mang-} \text{ vary freely before a consonant. E.g.}
\text{mag-ca} \text{ - mang-ca} \text{ 'of behind'}. 
§ 2.2. SUFFIX MORPHEMES

§ 22.0 Suffix morphemes are added to the Stem morphemes.

§ 22.1. CLASSIFICATIONS OF SUFFIX MORPHEMES.

§ 22.1.0. PRINCIPLES UNDERNEATH THE DIFFERENT CLASSIFICATIONS OF SUFFIXES:

The basis on which Suffixes are each time differently classified is taken up from one of the following:

1. Whether they are or are not followed by a suffix.
   — This gives, what is called, the First Classification of Suffixes.

2. What they follow.
   — This gives, what is called, the Second Classification of Suffixes.

3. Whether they produce a stem or a base.
   — This gives, what is called, the Third Classification of Suffixes.

§ 22.1.0.1. First Classification of Suffixes.

(Basis: Whether they are or are not followed by a suffix).

25. Adverbs behaving as a suffix are also included here.
Suffixes are here grouped into the following three Classes:

1. Those that are never followed by a suffix.
2. Those that may or may not be followed by a suffix.
3. Those that are always followed by a suffix.

§ 22.1.0.2. Second Classification of Suffixes.
(Basis: what they follow).

Suffixes are here grouped into the following nine classes:

(A) Noun = Suffixes: Those that follow a Noun Stem.
(B) Adjective-Suffixes: Those that follow an Adjective Stem.
(C) Pronoun = Suffixes: Those that follow a Pronoun Stem.
(D) Verb = Suffixes: Those that follow a Verb Stem.
(E) Adverb = Suffixes: Those that follow an Adverb Stem.

-----------------------------

26. The double hyphen in each such case is given the technical meaning of 'following'.
(F) Oblique = Suffixes: Those that follow the Suffixes for the Oblique (viz., \{obl.sg.\textsuperscript{1}\}, \{obl.pl.\textsuperscript{1}\}, \{obl.sg.\textsuperscript{2}\}, \{obl.pl.\textsuperscript{2}\}, \{obl.\textsuperscript{1}\}, \{obl.\textsuperscript{2}\}, \{obl.\textsuperscript{3}\}, \{obl.\textsuperscript{4}\}).

(G) Tense = Suffixes: Those that follow the Suffixes for the Tense (viz., \{l\}, \{t\}).

(H) G-N\textsuperscript{4} = Suffixes: Those that follow the set of G-N\textsuperscript{4} Suffixes.

(I) PER = Suffixes: Those that follow the Suffixes that indicate at least the person.

§ 22.1.0.3. Third Classification of Suffixes (Basis: Whether they produce a stem or a base.)

(I) Nominal Suffixes: Those which, when added, produce a noun stem.
(II) Adjectival Suffixes: Those which, when added, produce an adjective stem.

(III) Pronominal Suffixes: Those which, when added, produce a pronoun stem.

(IV) Verbal Suffixes: Those which, when added, produce a verb stem.

(V) Adverbial Suffixes: Those which, when added, produce an adverb stem.

(VI) Basal Suffixes: Those which, when added, produce a base.

§ 22.1.1. LISTING OF SUFFIXES ACCORDING TO THE FIRST CLASSIFICATION.

(1) Suffixes that are never followed by a suffix.

(1)(Among the Noun = Suffixes:)

\{Plu.\} = √-e, √-a, √-i, √-e, √-i

(C-N Prefixes:-)

\{Masc. sg.\} = √-e.
\{Masc. pl.\} = √-a.
\{Fem. sg.\} = √-i.
\{Fem. pl.\} = √-ya.

(2)(Among the Adjective = Suffixes:)

\{Obl.\} 27 = √-e, √-ya, √-i.

---------------

27. For the exception in this case, see under § 212.0.1.
(G-N\textsuperscript{2} Suffixes: -)

\{Masc. sg.\textsuperscript{2}\} = \checkmark-a, \checkmark-e.
\{Masc. pl.\textsuperscript{2}\} = \checkmark-o, \checkmark-i.
\{Fem. sg.\textsuperscript{2}\} = \checkmark-i.
\{Fem. pl.\textsuperscript{2}\} = \checkmark-ya.

(3) (Among the Pronoun = Suffixes:)

\{Obl.\textsuperscript{2}\} = \checkmark-a, \checkmark-ya, \checkmark-\beta.

(G-N\textsuperscript{3} Suffixes: -)

\{Masc. sg.\textsuperscript{3}\} = \checkmark-a, \checkmark-o.
\{Masc. pl.\textsuperscript{3}\} = \checkmark-i, \checkmark-e.
\{Fem. sg.\textsuperscript{3}\} = \checkmark-i.
\{Fem. pl.\textsuperscript{3}\} = \checkmark-ya.

(4) (Among the Oblique = Suffixes:)

\{Instru.\} = \checkmark-i, \checkmark-n, \checkmark-ni, \checkmark-\beta.
\{Dat.\} = \checkmark-a, \checkmark-na, \checkmark-la.
\{sa\textsuperscript{ṭi}\} = \checkmark-sa\textsuperscript{ṭi}, \checkmark-sa\textsuperscript{ṭhi}.
\{k\textsuperscript{ṛ}ta\} = \checkmark-k\textsuperscript{ṛ}ta.
\{s\} = \checkmark-s.
\{Voc.\} = \checkmark-u, \checkmark-e, \checkmark-\beta.
\{b\textsuperscript{h}er\}\textsuperscript{28} = \checkmark-b\textsuperscript{h}er.
\{saga\textsuperscript{ṭ}\} = \checkmark-saga\textsuperscript{ṭ}.

\textsuperscript{28} For the morphemes that follow in this group, 
see "Note" at the end of the morpeme no. 6 
from § 2I5-4.1.
\{si\} = \vee -si.
\{sivey\} = \vee -sivey.

(5) **Among the Verb = Suffixes:**

\{Pres.\} = \vee -a, \vee -it, \vee -is, \vee -y.

(T-P-N Suffixes:-)

\{in\} = \vee -en, \vee -in, \vee -n.
\{u^2\} = \vee -u, \vee -v.
\{sil\} = \vee -sil.
\{siv\} = \vee -siv.
\{il\} = \vee -al, \vee -il, \vee l.
\{tin\} = \vee -tin, \vee -til.

(Among Modifier Suffixes:-)

\{a^3\} = \vee -a, \vee -s, \vee -ya, \vee -\phi.
\{i^4\} = \vee -\iota, \vee -i, \vee -y.

(Among Adverbial Suffixes:-)

\{u^3\} = \vee -u, \vee -v.
\{nar\} = \vee -nar.
\{it^2\} = \vee -at, \vee -it, \vee -t.

(6) **Among the G-N^6 = Suffixes:**

\{2nd Per.\} = \vee s, \vee v.
\{Aux.\} = \vee -y.

(7) **Among the Tense = Suffixes:**

(Following \{t\} :-)

\{an\} = \vee -an
\{\text{ana}\} = \sqrt\{-\text{ana}\}.
\{\text{a}^2\} = \sqrt\{-\text{a}\}.

(3) (Among the Adverb = Suffixes:)

\{\text{ti}\} = \sqrt\{-\text{ti}\}.
\{\text{ni}^2\} = \sqrt\{-\text{na}, \sqrt\{-\text{na}, \sqrt\{-\text{ni}\}\}\}.
\{\text{la}\} = \sqrt\{-\text{la}\}.
\{\text{si}\} = \sqrt\{-\text{si}\}.

(4) (Among the Adverbial Suffixes:)

Those producing adverb stems of F.C.-Gr.1.

(2) Suffixes that may or may not be followed by a suffix.

1. (Among the Oblique = Suffixes:)

\{\text{get}\} = \sqrt\{-\text{get}\}.
\{\text{pəryənt}\} = \sqrt\{-\text{pəryənt}\}.

2. (Among the Tense = Suffixes:)

((Among those following \{i\} :- ))

\{\text{Obl.}^4\} = \sqrt\{-\text{ya}\}.

(When not in concord with the second person pronoun,

G-N^4 Suffixes:)

\{\text{Masc. sg.}^4\} = \sqrt\{-\text{a}, \sqrt\{-\text{e}\}\}.
\{\text{Masc. pl.}^4\} = \sqrt\{-\text{e}, \sqrt\{-\text{i}\}\}.\]
\{\text{Fem. ag.} \}^4 = \sqrt{-i}.
\{\text{Fem. pl.} \}^4 = \sqrt{-ya}.

(Among those following \{ t \} : -)

(When in concord with the first or the third person pronouns :)
\{e^3\} = \sqrt{-e}
\{u^3\} = \sqrt{-u}.

3. (Among the Adverb = Suffixes:)
\{un^2\} = \sqrt{-un}.
\{Loc.\} = \sqrt{-e}, \sqrt{-i}.

4. (Among the Nominal Suffixes:)
Those producing noun stems of \((I)\): \((I)\).

5. (Among the Adjectival Suffixes:)
Those producing adjective stems of Classes \([2]\) and \([4]\).

6. (Among the Pronominal Suffixes:)
Those producing pronoun stems of the Classes S.C. \(- (B), -(C).\)
\( (B), -(C).\)

7. (Among the Adverbial Suffixes:)
Those producing adverb stems of F.C. \(- \text{Gr.3}.\)

8. The Locational Suffixes.
(3) Suffixes that are always followed by a suffix.

1. (Among the Noun = Suffixes:)

   \{obl.sg.\} = \sqrt{-a-}, \sqrt{-a-}, \sqrt{-e-}, \sqrt{-ya-}, \sqrt{-\phi-}.

   \{obl.pl.\} = \sqrt{-an-}, \sqrt{-in-}, \sqrt{-n-}, \sqrt{-yan-}.

2. (Among the Pronoun = Suffixes:)

   \{obl.sg.\} = \sqrt{-a-}, \sqrt{-i-}, \sqrt{-ya-}.

   \{obl.pl.\} = \sqrt{-an-}, \sqrt{-yan-}.

   \{obl.\} = \sqrt{-a-}, \sqrt{-\phi-}.

3. (Among the Oblique = Suffixes:)

   \{g\} = \sqrt{-c-}, \sqrt{-j-}, \sqrt{-l-}.

   \{kr\} = \sqrt{-k\theta-}, \sqrt{-ker-}, \sqrt{-kd-}, \sqrt{-kr-}.

   \{pas\} = \sqrt{-pas-}.

   \{mul\} = \sqrt{-mul-}.

4. (Among the Verb = Suffixes:)

   \{l\} = \sqrt{-t-}, \sqrt{-l-}.

   \{t\} = \sqrt{-t-}, \sqrt{-t-}, \sqrt{-th-}.

   \{av\} = \sqrt{-av-}, \sqrt{-yav-}, \sqrt{-v-}.

   \{Caus.\} = \sqrt{-av-}, \sqrt{-v-}, \sqrt{-\phi-}.

5. (Among the Tense = Suffixes:)

   (When in concord with the second person pronoun, G-\(N^4\) Suffixes).
6. (Among the Adverbial Suffixes:)
\{k\} = \sqrt{-k-}
\{c^2\} = \sqrt{-c-}.

7. (Among the Adjectival Suffixes:)
Those producing adjective stems of Classes [l] and [ɔ].

8. (Among the Pronominal Suffixes:)
Those producing pronoun stems of the Class S.C.
-- (A).

9. (Among the Adverbial Suffixes:)
Those producing adverb stems of V.C. - Gr.2.

§ 22.2. SUFFIXES NOT FULLY TREATED OR NOT OCCURRED EARLIER.

(1) Nominal Suffixes:
-- 1. The allomorphs of each of the Suffixes are morphologically conditioned.
-- 2. All the suffixes except \sqrt{-g-} of \{ga\} produce the noun stems of (I): (I).

(1) \{en\} = \sqrt{-en}, \sqrt{-n}.
   'Wife'.
   (After a noun stem):
   mal-en 'wife of a gardener',
   koli-n 'fisherwoman'.

(2) \{a\} = \sqrt{-en}, \sqrt{-a}, \sqrt{-at}, \sqrt{-an}, \sqrt{-i}, \sqrt{-ti}. 'Behaviour, act, state'.
(— After a noun stem: ) nokr-i 'service',
(— After a verb stem: ) ser-an 'steepness',
puj-a 'worship',
khav-an 'eating',
bher-ti 'high tide'.

(— After an adverb stem: ) surv-at 'beginning'.

(3) {andi} = √andi, √undzi, √oli, √ger. 'Small act'.
(— After a noun stem: ) jhok-andi 'loss of bodily balance',
burk-undu 'plunge in water'.
(— After a verb stem: ) jyhep-oli 'swinging of the body',
bhang-ger 'quarrel'.

(4) {ar} = √a, √ar, √i, √un, √ori, √tha, √var. 'Thing belonging to'.
(— After a noun stem: ) gav-ar 'pasture',
narl-i 'cocosnut tree',
til-ori 'sesamum plant',
go-tha 'cowpen',
(— After a verb stem: ) hatr-un 'bed',
konj-var 'fold to confine cattle'.
(— After an adverb stem: ) phur-a 'fore part'.

(5) {ala} = √avra, √avla, √ala. 'Season'.

(1) After a noun stem: **nays-ala** 'rainy season';
(2) After a pronoun stem: **sath-avra** 'week';
__________________________
    **pendr-evla** 'fortnight'.
(6) \{i²\} = \(\check{v}-i, \check{v}-li\) 'Person related to'.
(7) \{u⁴\} = \(\check{v}-i, \check{v}-u, \check{v}-kari\). 'Means of an action'.
     (-After a noun stem:) **sikar-i** 'hunter'.
     **gəv-li** 'milkman'.
(8) \{el²\} = \(\check{v}-el\). 'Product of'.
     (-After a noun stem:) **khobr-el** 'cocoanut oil'.
(9) \{ol\} = \(\check{v}-at, \check{v}-ol\). 'Collection'.
     (-After a noun stem:) **bomb-at** 'loud cry',
     **dhək-el** 'conflagration'.
(10) \{kəri\} = \(\check{v}-kəri, \check{v}-gar, \check{v}-dar, \check{v}-ya\). 'Doer of an action'.
     (-After a noun stem:) **mələn-kəri** 'corn-thresher'
     **məjər-gər** 'labourer',
     **jəmə-dər** 'police officer',
     **məski-mər-ya** 'fly-killer'.

11. \( \{ \text{ga} \} = \text{ ∨-a, ∨-g-, ∨-ga, ∨-ra} \) 'Big-sized'.

(After a noun stem:) \text{dor-a} 'cord',
\text{mul-g-a} 'boy',
\text{vag-ga} 'large bowl',
\text{bunda-ra} 'tree-trunk at the bottom'.

12. \( \{ \text{gi} \} = \text{ ∨-a, ∨-i, ∨-gi, ∨-pon, ∨-pena} \) 'State, quality'.

(After a noun stem:) \text{lukan-gi} 'damage'.

(After an adjective stem:) \text{gêm-a} 'heat',
\text{thandi} 'cold, chill',
\text{badur-gi} 'approbation'.

(After a verb stem:) \text{unar-pon} 'vagrancy'.

(After an adverb stem:) \text{khe-li-pena} 'humiliation'.

13. \( \{ \text{ča} \} = \text{ ∨-ala, ∨-ga, ∨-ča, ∨-ri} \) 'Thing useful for'

(After a noun stem:) \text{ča-ala} 'mould of a brick',
\text{sev-ga} 'kind of a culinary mould-pot',
\text{mep-ča} 'measuring pot',
\text{pay-ri} 'a step of a stair-case'.

14. \( \{ \text{i1} \} = \text{ ∨-č, ∨-ali, ∨-i, ∨-ki, ∨-či, ∨-ri, ∨-li} \) 'Diminutive object'

(After a noun stem:) \text{cayk-č} 'rectangular frame',
dor-i 'string',
ketki 'small stick',
sep-ri 'tail',
tsep-ri 'hillock',
sup-li 'small winnowing basket'.

(— After an adverb stem): khel-ali 'little noise of flowing water'.

15. {s} = √-as, √-is, √-us, √-s. 'Kith'.

(— After a noun stem:) sun-əs 'daughter-in-law'
nat-is 'grand-daughter',
dir-us 'husband's brother',
bhau-s 'brother'.

(2) Adjectival Suffixes:

— 1. The allomorphs of each of the Suffixes are morphologically conditioned.

— 2. The morphemes {kar} and {ti} and √-okhi of {i} produce the adjective stems of Cl. [4]; the rest, of Cl. [1].

1. {es} = √-as-, √-as-, √-s- 'Of the type of'.

(-- After an adjective
construction:) \( \text{baris-s-} \) 'of a considerable quantity'.

(-- After a pronoun
stem:) \( \text{k-as-} \) 'of what type?'
\( \text{ga-as-} \) 'of this type'.

(-- After an adverb
stem:) \( \text{nev-s-} \) 'as if not',
\( \text{jera-s-} \) 'of a little quantity'.

2. \( \{ar\} = \text{\textasciitilde-ar-} \). 'Of the side'.

(-- After an adverb
stem:) \( \text{maug-ar-} \) 'of the back side'.

3. \( \{i^3\} = \text{\textasciitilde-avl-}, \text{i\textasciitilde-okhi} \) 'of the shade of'.

(-- After a noun
stem:) \( \text{held-avl-} \) 'yellowish',
\( \text{qulab\textasciitilde} \) 'rosy'.

(-- After an adjective
stem:) \( \text{lal-okhi} \) 'reddish'.

4. \( \{evr\} = \text{\textasciitilde-evr-} \). 'Of the size of'.

(-- After a pronoun
stem:) \( \text{t-evr-} \) 'of that size'.

5. \( \{k\} = \text{\textasciitilde-k-} \). 'Of the nature of'.

(-- After a verb
stem:) \( \text{sav-k-} \) 'given to biting'.

(-- After an adverb
stem:) \( \text{tit-k-} \) 'that much'.

6. \( \{kar\} = \text{\textasciitilde-kar} \). 'Having the quality of'.

(-- After a noun
stem:) \( \text{dhir-kar} \) 'courageous'.
7. \( \{c^2\} = \forall-c, \forall-t, \forall-l \) (a) 'Belonging to',
(b) 'Identifying'.

(a)

(—After a noun stem:) \( gh\text{-}c \) 'of the house',
\( kh\text{-}c \) 'of below',
\( k\text{-}l \) 'of what place?'

(b)

(—After an adjective stem:) \( k\text{-}s-l \) 'of what type? Which?'

(—After a pronoun stem:) \( k\text{-}n-c \) 'Who?'

(—After an adverb stem:) \( k\text{-}t \) 'so much'.

8. \( \{\xi\} = \forall-\xi, \forall\xi \). 'Peculiar to'.

(—After a noun stem:) \( r\text{-}\xi \) 'forest-type, wild',
\( g\text{-}\xi \) 'village-type'.

(3) **Pronominal Suffix**:

1. \( \{\text{val}\} = \forall-\text{val-} \) 'Possessor'.

(—After a noun stem, and producing a pronoun of Cl. (A) :) \( m\text{-}l\text{-}\text{ni}-\text{val-} \) 'the owner of the stack'.

(4) **Adverbial Suffixes**:

—1. The allomorphs of each of the Suffixes are morphologically conditioned.
8. The morphemes \{e^2\} and \{i^4\} produce the adverb stems of Group 1; \{ik\} and \{it^1\} those of Group 2; and \{eva\} does that of Group 3.

1. \{e^2\} = \/-e. 'Sir (—as an honorific address).'

   (—After a noun stem:) **pav\textsuperscript{-}e** 'Guest, sir!'

2. \{i^4\} = \/-i, \/-ya, \/-\partial. 'At, on (showing place or time)'.

   (—After a noun stem:) **se\textsuperscript{k}al\textsuperscript{-}i** 'in the morning',
   **se\textsuperscript{sr}-ya** 'to the father-in-law's house'
   **di\textsuperscript{\text{\textpartial}}-\partial** 'on the day'.

3. \{ik\} = \/-i-, \/-ik- 'at (showing the place)

   (—After a pronoun stem:) **t\textsuperscript{\text{-}i\text{-}{	ext{kro}}}** ' [to] there',
   **h-ik\textsuperscript{-}{\text{na}}** ' [from] here'.

4. \{it^1\} = \/-it-, \/-u\textsuperscript{-}\text{\textpartial} 'At (showing the place)'.

   (—After a pronoun stem:) **t-it\textsuperscript{-}** 'there',
   **k-u\textsuperscript{-}\text{\textpartial}** 'where?'

5. \{eva\} = \/-eva, \/-eva 'At time'.

   (—After a pronoun stem:) **k-eva** 'at what time?'

5) Miscellaneous Suffixes:

1. \{aux.\} = \/-y. 'state of action'.
(a) This morpheme is *never* followed by any suffix.
(b) It can follow only the verb forms ending with the following:

1) \(\{l\} + G-N^4S\). — In case of a concord between a noun or a third person singular pronoun and its related verb form; e.g. \(jha-l-ay\) 'He has become'.

2) \(\{l\} + \{1st Per\}\). — In case of a concord between a first person pronoun and its related verb form; e.g. \(jha-l-u-\) 'I or we have become.

3) \(\{t\} + \{a^{1}\}\) — In case of a concord between a first person singular pronoun, or a noun, or a third person singular pronoun with its related verb form; e.g. \(kar-t-\) 'Am [or is] doing'.

\[(4) \{t^3\} + \{u^1\} \] — In case of a concord between a first person plural pronoun and its related verb form; e.g. \(k\bar{t}r-t-u-y \) 'we' are doing.

\[(5) \{s^3\} + \{e^5\} + \{n^4\} \] Where the \(G-N^4s\), is found to be \(S-a\) of \(Masc. \text{ sg.} \{4\}\); e.g. \(ja-sa-n-a-y \) 'I have to go'.

\[\{kr\} = (\sqrt{-k\bar{a}-}) \sqrt{-k\bar{r}-}, (\sqrt{-k\bar{a}-}) \sqrt{-kr-} 'Towards'.\]

(a) Of these, \(\sqrt{-k\bar{a}-}\) and \(\sqrt{-k\bar{a}-}\) occur very rarely and in free variation with \(\sqrt{-k\bar{r}-}\) and \(\sqrt{-kr-}\) respectively.

(b) \(\sqrt{-k\bar{a}-}\) and \(\sqrt{-kr-}\) occur before \(\sqrt{-a}\) of \(\{Loc.\}\); \(\sqrt{-k\bar{a}-}\) and \(\sqrt{-k\bar{r}-}\) elsewhere.

(c) This morpheme occurs:

1. after the oblique suffixes: e.g. \(shar-a-kr-o\) 'towards the house',

2. after an adverb stem: e.g. \(ti-kr-o\) 'to there', \(ti-k\bar{a}r-ni\) 'from there'.

3. \( e^5 \) = \( \sim e \). 'Futurity; Intention; Ability;
Advisability; Habit; Use'.

(a) This morpheme occurs only after the Adverbial
Suffix, \( \{s\} \).

(b) It is always followed either by the \( G-M^4 \)
Suffix or by the \( \{obl.\} \).

**Illustrations:**

**Futurity**  
: mela dusrikrā ja-ya-e-a hay

'I have to go to the other one'.

**Intention**  
: amela royala rha-ya-e-a hai

'I have no intention to stay at Roha'.

**Ability**  
: tula siravor nay ja-ya-e-a

'You will not be able to climb the sail'.

**Advisability:**  
: to gara gopkan uol-a-e-a

'That mass is to be picked up swiftly'.

**Habit**  
: kutra palla tori bhubhu kār-a-yā-e-3

'A dog, howsoever maintained, is [sure] to make barks'.

**Use**  
: jhol-a-yā-ya asugetnai

'Like a fishing net meant for swinging'.


4. \{pərəyənt\} =  \_/\-pərəyənt. 'Up to'.

(a) After the oblique suffixes:
   \textit{ghər-a-pərəyənt}  'up to the house'.

(b) After an adverb stem:
   \textit{vər-pərəyənt}  'till upwards i.e. upto the upper part'.

5. \{saṭi\} =  \_/\-saṭi - \_/\-saṭhi. 'For the sake of'.

(a) After the oblique suffixes:
   \textit{psəs-ya-saṭi}  'for the sake of money'.

(b) After an adverb stem:
   \textit{mil-ay-saṭi}  'in order to get'.

§ 22.3. General Observations on Some Types of Suffixes.

(1) The Oblique Suffixes.

The Suffixes that produce various types of the oblique forms are considered here.
(a) A List:  
1. \{obl.sg.1\}  
2. \{obl.sg.2\}  
3. \{obl.pl.1\}  
4. \{obl.pl.2\}  
5. \{obl.1\}  
6. \{obl.2\}  
7. \{obl.3\}  
8. \{obl.4\}

(b) (i) \{obl.sg.1\}, \{obl.pl.1\} — occur after a noun stem.
   (ii) \{obl.1\} — occurs after an adjective stem.
   (iii) \{obl.sg.2\}, \{obl.pl.2\}, \{obl.2\}, \{obl.3\} — occur after a pronoun stem.
   (iv) \{obl.4\} — occurs after a verb stem followed either by \{1\} or by \{ay\} + \{e3\}.

(c) (i) \{obl.sg.1\}, \{obl.sg.2\} — occur when singularity is meant.
   (ii) \{obl.pl.1\}, \{obl.pl.2\} — occur when plurality is meant.
   (iii) \{obl.1\}, \{obl.3\}, \{obl.4\} — are not indicative of either singularity or plurality

(d) (i) \{obl.sg.1\}, \{obl.sg.2\}, \{obl.pl.1\}, \{obl.pl.2\}, \{obl.2\}, \{obl.3\} — are always followed by a suffix.
   (ii) \{obl.1\}, \{obl.2\} — are not followed by a suffix.
   (iii) \{obl.4\} — may or may not be followed by a suffix.
(2) The G-N Suffixes.

The suffixes that indicate the gender and number together are considered here.

(a) A List:  1. G-N¹ Suffixes  5. G-N³ Suffixes


(b) (1) G-N¹ Suffixes -- occur after a noun stem.
(2) G-N² Suffixes -- occur after an adjective stem.
(5) G-N³ Suffixes -- occur after a pronoun stem.
(4) G-N⁴ Suffixes -- occur after a verb stem followed
either by \{l\} or by \{sy\} + \{e\}.

(c) (1) G-N¹ Suffixes: Of these, \{Masc. sg.¹\} and
\{Masc. pl.¹\}
— indicate either
(i) a male sex,
or (ii) a large size;

\{Fem.sg.¹\} and \{Fem.pl.¹\}
— indicate either
(i) a female sex,
or (ii) a small size.

(2) G-N² Suffixes, — These are non-indicative
G-N⁴ Suffixes of either the sex or the
size. However, the
selection here of a Suffix with a particular gender and number is required to maintain concord with the gender and number of the related noun or pronoun.

(3) G-N³ Suffixes: These show sometimes the character of the first group here and sometimes that of the second group here, in similar conditions.

(3) The PER Suffixes:

The Suffixes that are termed the PER Suffixes or the Person Suffixes and that indicate at least the person are considered here.

(a) A List: 1. The First Person Suffix — {1st Per.}.

2. The Second Person Suffix — {2nd Per.}.
3. **P-N Suffixes** — \{s\}, \{u\},
   \{l\}, \{an\}.

4. **T-P-N Suffixes** — \{in\}, \{u\}, \{sil\},
   \{siv\}, \{il\}, \{tin\}.

\(\text{(b) (1) \{1st Per.\}}\) — occurs after \{t\}.

\(\text{(2) \{2nd Per.\}}\) — occurs after \{t\} + \{s\},
   or \{s\} + \{s\},
   or \{t\} + \{\text{M}^4\}
   Suffixes,
   or \{sy\} + \{\text{M}^3\} + \{\text{M}^4\}
   Suffixes.

\text{NOTE: Redundancy}

As the \{2nd Per.\} has allomorphs for singularity and plurality, and as the morphemes \{s\} and \{s\} and the required \{M\} Suffixes (to either of which the \{2nd Per.\} comes attached) also show the concordant singularity or plurality, redundancy in number is here found.

5. **P-N Suffixes** — occur after \{t\}.

6. **T-P-N Suffixes** — occur after a verb stem.

\(\text{(c) (1) \{2nd Per.\} , \{T-P-N Suffixes\}}\) — are never followed by any suffix.

\(\text{(2) \{1st Per.\}}\) — is optionally followed by \{Aux.\}.
(3) P-N Suffixes

- Of these

\{a\}, \{u\} are optionally followed by \{Aux.\};

\{a\} is followed by \{2nd Pers.\} in the case of concord;

\{a\} is always followed by \{2nd Pers.\};

\{an\} is never followed by any suffix.

(4) Locational Suffixes:

The Suffixes termed like these differ in their behaviour from the other Suffixes in that these can occur also as the Adverb Stems.

§ 22.4. A COMPLETE LIST OF SUFFIXES.

The following is a complete list of Suffixes treated in the preceding pages, arranged in the alphabetical order and showing in brief the

-----------------------------

29. The order followed is:

c, a, i, u, e, o, ñ, k, g, ñ, c, j, ñ, t, ñ, n, p, b, m, y, r, l, v, s, h.

(For ready reference at one place, the same holds good for morphemes containing full or abbreviated English terms.)
peculiar characteristic of each with an illustration.

Note: 1. N=, Adj=, P=, V=, and Adv=, mean respectively:
    noun-following, adjective-following, pronoun-following, verb-following, and adverb-following.

2. Nl, Adjl, Pl. Vl, and Advl, mean respectively:
    nominal (i.e. noun-producing), adjectival, pronominal, verbal, and adverbial.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Illustrations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>{ə₁}</td>
<td>After {t}</td>
<td>kərətə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>{ə²}</td>
<td>V=, Advl</td>
<td>pətə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>{ən}</td>
<td>N=, NL</td>
<td>malən</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>{əə}</td>
<td>P=, Advj; Adv=, Advj</td>
<td>təs-ː jərəs-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>{ə¹}</td>
<td>After {t}</td>
<td>kərətav</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>{ə²}</td>
<td>After {t}, Advl</td>
<td>vətə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>{ə³}</td>
<td>V=</td>
<td>kərə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>{ə⁴}</td>
<td>N=, NL; V=, NL</td>
<td>nokri; puja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>{Aux.}</td>
<td>After S-N⁴ Suffixes;</td>
<td>jhalay, jayacay;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>after PER Suffixes</td>
<td>jhaluy, kərəy, kərəuy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>{an}</td>
<td>After {t}</td>
<td>kərətan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>{ana}</td>
<td>After {t}, Advl</td>
<td>kərtana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>{əndi}</td>
<td>N=, NL; V= NL</td>
<td>jhokəndi; bhanḍər</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>{əy}</td>
<td>V=, Advl</td>
<td>məngay-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>{ər}</td>
<td>Adv=, Advj</td>
<td>məngər-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>{ala}</td>
<td>N=, NL</td>
<td>unala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>{əv}</td>
<td>V=</td>
<td>bolav</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>{i₁}</td>
<td>V=</td>
<td>jəy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>{i²}</td>
<td>N=, NL</td>
<td>sikari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>{i³}</td>
<td>N=, Advj; Adv=, Advj</td>
<td>pəti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>{i⁴}</td>
<td>N=, Advl</td>
<td>ṭərsəri; ləlokhə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>{ik}</td>
<td>P=, Advl</td>
<td>səkəli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tik-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suffix</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Illustrations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>{it₁}</td>
<td>P=, Advl</td>
<td>tit-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>{it₂}</td>
<td>V=, Advl</td>
<td>kət-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>{in³}</td>
<td>V=</td>
<td>kərin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>{instru.}</td>
<td></td>
<td>kərəli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>{il}</td>
<td>V=</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| u₁     | After {t}   | kərtu          |
| u₂     | V=          | kəru           |
| u₃     | V=, Advl    | kəru           |
| u₄     | V=, NI      | jharu          |
| un₁    | V=, Advl    | kərən          |
| un₂    | Adv=        | məngun         |

| el₁    | After {l}, Adjl | perlel-      |
| el₂    | N=, NI        | khəbrel       |
| eva    | P=, Advl      | teva          |
| evr    | P=, Adjl      | tevr-         |

<p>| obl₁   | Adj=         | oan-lya       |
| obl₂   | P=           | tya           |
| obl₃   | P=           | mə-           |
| obl₄   | After {il};  | pərlyə-;      |
|        | after {s³}   | jholayoya     |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Illustrations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>{obl.pl.1}</td>
<td>N=</td>
<td>jheran-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>{obl.pl.2}</td>
<td>P=</td>
<td>tyan-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>{obl.sg.1}</td>
<td>N=</td>
<td>jhara-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>{obl.sg.2}</td>
<td>P=</td>
<td>tya-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>{ordinal}</td>
<td>P=, Adj=</td>
<td>duar-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>{ol}</td>
<td>N=, N1</td>
<td>dhokol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>{k}</td>
<td>V=, Adj=; Adv=, Adj=</td>
<td>cavk-; titk-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>V=, Adj=</td>
<td>cavk-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>{kari}</td>
<td>N=, N1</td>
<td>mełənkari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>{kerta}</td>
<td>After Oblique Suffixes</td>
<td>peřukerta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>{kar}</td>
<td>N=, Adj=</td>
<td>dhirkar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>{kr}</td>
<td>After Oblique Suffixes; Adv=</td>
<td>ghərek-; tikr-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>{g}</td>
<td>P=, Pl</td>
<td>dog-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>{gat}</td>
<td>After Oblique Suffixes</td>
<td>asugat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>{ga}</td>
<td>N=, N1</td>
<td>vaďga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>{gl}</td>
<td>N=, N1; Adj=, N1; Adv=, N1</td>
<td>luskang; ḥəndʒi; khalipəna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>{c₁}</td>
<td>After Oblique Suffixes</td>
<td>ghərac-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>{c₂}</td>
<td>N=, Adj=; Adv=, Adj=</td>
<td>ghore-; kalo-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suffixes</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Illustrations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>{a³}</td>
<td>After {ay}</td>
<td>porayc-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>{Caus.}</td>
<td>V=, VI</td>
<td>poraw-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>{y}</td>
<td>P=, Pl</td>
<td>yekt-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>{ṣa}</td>
<td>N=, NI</td>
<td>mapṣa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>{ṭl}</td>
<td>N=, Adj</td>
<td>ranṭi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>{ṣ}</td>
<td>V=</td>
<td>kert-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>{ti}</td>
<td>Adj=</td>
<td>vorti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>{tin}</td>
<td>V=</td>
<td>kertin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>{dēm}</td>
<td>P=, Adv</td>
<td>yekdēm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>{da}</td>
<td>P=, Adv</td>
<td>donda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>{Dat.}</td>
<td>After Oblique Suffixes</td>
<td>jharala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>{na}</td>
<td>V=, NI</td>
<td>khana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>{nar}</td>
<td>V=, Adv</td>
<td>jenar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>{ni¹}</td>
<td>V=, NI</td>
<td>jhorn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>{ni²}</td>
<td>Adv=</td>
<td>khalni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>{poyont}</td>
<td>After Oblique Suffixes</td>
<td>agoṭhpoyont</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>{pas}</td>
<td>After Oblique Suffixes</td>
<td>gharapas-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suffix</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Illustrations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fem.pl.1</td>
<td>N=</td>
<td>ghorya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fem.pl.2</td>
<td>Adj=</td>
<td>caulya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fem.pl.3</td>
<td>P=</td>
<td>tya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fem.pl.4</td>
<td>After {1}; after {e^3}</td>
<td>jhalya; porayoa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fem.sg.1</td>
<td>N=</td>
<td>ghorı</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fem.sg.2</td>
<td>Adj=</td>
<td>cauli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fem.sg.3</td>
<td>P=</td>
<td>ti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fem.sg.4</td>
<td>After {1}; after {e^3}</td>
<td>jhali; porayoa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>bhor</th>
<th>After Oblique Suffixes</th>
<th>yoplībor</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<p>| Masc.pl.1 | N=          | ghora    |
| Masc.pl.2 | Adj=        | cauli    |
| Masc.pl.3 | P=          | te       |
| Masc.pl.4 | After {1}; after {e^3} | jhalya; bənəyəca |
| Masc.sg.1 | N=          | ghora    |
| Masc.sg.2 | Adj=        | cauli    |
| Masc.sg.3 | P=          | to       |
| Masc.sg.4 | After {1}; after {e^3} | jhalya; bənəyəca |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Illustrations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>{mul}</td>
<td>After Oblique Suffixes</td>
<td>tyamul-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>{P}</td>
<td>N=, Pl</td>
<td>pelnar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>{l}</td>
<td>V=</td>
<td>jhal-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>{L}</td>
<td>P=, Pl</td>
<td>yekl-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>{la}</td>
<td>Adv=</td>
<td>udyala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>{ll}</td>
<td>N=, Nl; Adv=, Nl</td>
<td>supli; khelali tite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>{Loc.}</td>
<td>Adv=</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>{val}</td>
<td>N=, Pl</td>
<td>mënival-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>{vill}</td>
<td>P=, Adjl</td>
<td>tinvil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>{Voc.}</td>
<td>After Oblique Suffixes</td>
<td>balanu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>{g}</td>
<td>After Oblique Suffixes</td>
<td>jyelmas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>{S}</td>
<td>N=; Nl</td>
<td>bhaus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>{sæ̱ŋt}</td>
<td>After Oblique Suffixes</td>
<td>aryanæ̱ŋt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>{saṭi}</td>
<td>After Oblique Suffixes</td>
<td>perusāṭi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>{sar}</td>
<td>P=, Adjl</td>
<td>yeksar-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>{si}</td>
<td>Adv=</td>
<td>versi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>{Si}</td>
<td>After Oblique Suffixes</td>
<td>tyasi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suffixes</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Illustrations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>{sil}</td>
<td>V=</td>
<td>kərsil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>{siv}</td>
<td>V=</td>
<td>kərsiv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>{sivey}</td>
<td>After Oblique Suffixes</td>
<td>bəasivey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>{sr}</td>
<td>P=, Adjl</td>
<td>dusr-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>{1st Per.}</td>
<td>After {1}</td>
<td>jhalu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>{2nd Per.}</td>
<td>After G-N^4 Suffixes; after P-N Suffixes</td>
<td>perlis, pəreycis; kərtəs, kərtəv</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
§ 23.0. Particles never occur as free forms. They are never followed by any suffix. They occur after words and add to them the idea of emphasis.

§ 23.1. The following morphemes come under this group:

1. \{ee\}. This morpheme has three allomorphs, \(\vee\circ\), \(\vee\mathring{s}\), and \(\check{s}\circ\). \(\vee\circ\) occurs after a vowel; \(\vee\mathring{s}\) occurs after a vowel but only before \(/s/\); and \(\check{s}\circ\) occurs after a consonant.
   E.g. burvayce\(-\circ\), beris\(-\mathring{s}\), kut\(-\check{s}\circ\).

2. \{pan\}. This morpheme has only one allomorph, \(\check{s}\mathring{\circ}\).
   E.g. tu-\check{s}\mathring{\circ} jeyayla ye 'You too come to have a meal'.

3. \{suda\}. This morpheme has two allomorphs, \(\check{s}\mathring{\circ}\)-suda and \(\check{s}\mathring{\circ}\)-sudda which vary freely with each other.
   E.g. to pani ghran\(-\mathring{s}\)-suda khirta 'That water enters also inside the house'.
nustya bharyan-sudha sivten

"[They] do the thatching
even with the ordinary
straw."
§ 24.0. Words show three different kinds of formations according to the number and types of morphs they comprise:

1. Simple
2. Complex
3. Compound


This comprises a single morph.
The morph can be one of the following:

1. A noun stem of Class (1): (I);
   — e.g. ḫer ‘tree’.

2. An adjective stem of Class [2] or of Class [4];
   — e.g. ʿatul ‘thin’,
   vaṭ ‘bad’.

3. A pronoun stem of Class (B) or Class (C)
   — e.g. mi ‘I’,
   yek ‘one’.

4. The verb stems ︶payje ‘to want’ and ︶nako ‘not to want’.

5. An adverb stem of Group 1 or of Group 5;
   — e.g. ṭan ‘but’,
   udy ‘tomorrow’.

This comprises a single stem followed by a suffix or suffixes. The stem may be a primary one or a secondary one.

The following patterns are found:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pattern</th>
<th>Illustration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. stem + (1)</td>
<td>jhar-a 'trees'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. stem + (2)</td>
<td>nokr-i 'service'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. stem + (3) + (1)</td>
<td>jhar-a-la'to a tree'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. stem + (3) + (2)</td>
<td>jhar-a-va'or 'on a tree'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. stem + (3) + (3) +(1)</td>
<td>jhar-a-c-a 'of a tree'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. stem + (3) + (3) + (2)</td>
<td>por-la-yo-va'or 'on having fallen'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

§ 24.3. A Compound Word.

This comprises either two stems or two stems followed by a suffix or suffixes.

Instances of compound words composed of more than two stems are not obtained in the collected data.

31. Where the figures (1), (2), and (3) denote the particular group of a suffix according to the F.C. of Suffixes.
The patterns of a compound word are found to be following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pattern</th>
<th>E. E.</th>
<th>Illustration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. stem+stem</td>
<td>N+N</td>
<td>holod-kunku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Adj+N</td>
<td>khopil-kam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>V+V</td>
<td>bes-uth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Adv+Adv</td>
<td>nay-ta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. stem+stem+(1)</td>
<td>Adj+Adv+(1)</td>
<td>maj-ikre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. stem+stem+(2)</td>
<td>N+V+(1)</td>
<td>phat-i-tor-ya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. stem+(1)+stem+(1)</td>
<td>Adv+(1)+Adv+(1)</td>
<td>kud-i-tor-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. stem+(3)+stem+(3)</td>
<td>N+(3)+N+(3)+(1)</td>
<td>il-i-wet-h-a-la</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N+(3)+N+(3)+(2)</td>
<td>kam-a-dhund-ya-vere</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

APPENDIX

A Few Observations and Notes

§ 1. The General Structure.

It is found that the Koli speech shows independently or in certain limited types of combinations (such as the G-N, the P-N, or the T-P-N Suffixes):

- an oblique;
- two genders: masculine and feminine;
- two numbers: singular and plural;
- three persons: first, second and third; and
- three tenses: present, past and future.

This will be found amply illustrated through the preceding pages.

§ 2. The Concord Relationship.

Concord in the Koli speech is found to exist

(1) between a Noun and an Adjective, in respect of oblique or of the gender and number together (vide "Adjectives": § 212.2).
(2) between a Noun and a Verb, in respect of the gender and number together (in all cases where N-M$^4$ Suffixes occur, *vide* "Verbs" : § 314.2.1.1);

(3) between a Pronoun and a Verb, in respect of the person (*vide* "Verbs" : § 314.2.2).

§ 3. The Substitution Relationship.

A relationship of the nature of substitution (by a pronoun) exists between a pronoun and a relevant noun from a closely preceding utterance.

A pronoun stem occurs with the suffixes for the same gender and number together as those of the noun which it substitutes; expressly in the case of a pronoun which takes the N-M Suffixes, and by way of mental superimposition in the case of a pronoun which is non-indicative of the gender and number.