3. MORPHOLOGY

3.1. Verbs

A verbal construction can be analysed as a base followed by suffixes indicating tense-mode and/or person. A verbal base may be a simple root, or a root followed by a derivational suffix.

3.1.1. Derivation of verbs

Excepting the cases of inherent ones, all transitive bases can be derived from intransitive bases, by the addition of the transitive suffix.

3.1.1.1. Transitive suffix

Transitive suffix has the following six allomorphs:

/ -p-, -pih-, -h-, -s-, -k-, -ih- /

3.1.1.1.1. -p- occurs after the following seven bases. First five bases drop their final phoneme before it.

ka:lī- 'meet'  ka:l-p- 'mix'
ka:s- 'become hot'  ka:-p- 'make hot'
ği- 'come down' ği-p- 'bring down'
ma:y- 'get lost'  ma:-p- 'lose'
ma:r- 'exhaust'  ma:-p- 'finish'
va:r- 'drip'  var-p- 'drop'
kar- 'be entangled (as thread)'  kar-p- 'interweave'

3.1.1.1.2. -pih- occurs:

(1) after the following four bases ending in -l. It freely alternates with -ih-.
el- 'be uprooted' el-pih/-ih- 'uproot'
ol- 'thrust into' ol-pih/-ih- 'pierce'
kil- 'mourn' kil-pih/-ih- 'make to mourn'
ḍol- 'be threshed' ḍol-pih/-ih- 'thresh'

(2) after the following five bases ending in -y. It freely alternates with -ih- after the first four bases.

key- 'cry, coo' key-pih/-ih- 'make to cry, coo'
puy- 'bloom' puy-pih/-ih- 'make to bloom'
toy- 'swell' toy-pih/-ih- 'make to swell'
vey- 'be cooked' vey-pih/-ih- 'cook'
muy- 'be matured, old' muy-pih- 'make mature'

(3) after the following nine bases ending in -r or -r. It freely alternates with -ih- after all these bases except the last two.

air- 'become cool' air-pih/-ih- 'make cool'
ker- 'wear' ker-pih/-ih- 'put on someone else'
tar- 'climb up' tar-pih/-ih- 'make to climb'
mir- 'run away' mir-pih/-ih- 'make to run away'
ea- 'move aside' ea-pih/-ih- 'move aside'
jir- 'win' jir-pih/-ih- 'make to win'
jur- 'become dirty' jur-pih/-ih- 'make dirty'
gusk viir- 'hang' gusk viir-pih- 'hang (someone)'
tir- 'be finished' tir-pih- 'finish'

(4) after the following three bases ending in -s. The bases drop their final consonant before taking this suffix, and the suffix freely alternates with -ih- in these bases.

kars- 'play' kars-pih- kars-ih- 'make to play'
pers- 'grow' pers-pih- pers-ih- 'make to grow'
nars- 'be in habit of  nap-pih- nap-ih- 'form the habit of'

(5) after the following two bases which drop their final consonant before it.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>base</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>transitive forms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ud-</td>
<td>'sit'</td>
<td>u-pih- 'make to sit'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>un-</td>
<td>'drink'</td>
<td>u-pih- 'make to drink'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(6) after the following one base. The base drops its last two consonants before it.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>base</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>transitive forms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pe:yi-</td>
<td>'come out'</td>
<td>pe:-pih- 'make to come out'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(7) after the following one base which has an allomorph nil - before it.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>base</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>transitive forms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nit-</td>
<td>'stand'</td>
<td>nil-pih- 'make to stand'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(8) after the following eleven bases ending in -i, in free variation with -ih-. When -pih- occurs after these bases, the final vowel of the base is dropped. In case of -ih-, the final vowel is optionally dropped, and if the base-final vowel is retained, a glide occurs between the base and the suffix.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>base</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>transitive forms</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>u:ri-</td>
<td>'melt'</td>
<td>ur-pih-/-ih- uriyih-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ori-</td>
<td>'enter'</td>
<td>or-pih-/-ih- oriyih-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kari-</td>
<td>'rot'</td>
<td>kar-pih-/-ih- kariyih-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuri-</td>
<td>'fall down'</td>
<td>kur-pih-/-ih- kuriyih-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>guri-</td>
<td>'sleep'</td>
<td>gur-pih-/-ih- guriyih-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tiri-</td>
<td>'revolve'</td>
<td>tir-pih-/-ih- tiriyih-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na:ri-</td>
<td>'swim'</td>
<td>na:r-pih-/-ih- na:riyih-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pa:rri-</td>
<td>'fly'</td>
<td>pa:r-pih-/-ih- pa:riyih-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>meli-</td>
<td>'shake'</td>
<td>mel-pih-/-ih- meliyih-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>veri-</td>
<td>'fear'</td>
<td>ver-pih-/-ih- veriyih-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>veli-</td>
<td>'roam'</td>
<td>vel-pih-/-ih- veliyih-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.1.1.1.3. -h- occurs

(1) after the following six bases ending in -y. All these bases drop their final consonant and the last two lengthen their vowel before the suffix.

- ney- 'be saved'  - ne-h- 'save'
- pay- 'be split'  - pa-h- 'split'
- poy- 'be spilt'  - po-h- 'spill'
- mey- 'collapse'  - me-h- 'dismantle'
- mey- 'graze'  - me:-h- 'graze'
- piy- 'be extinguished'  - pi:-h- 'put out'

(2) after the following six bases which drop their final -nd before it.

- e:nd- 'dance'  - e:-h- 'make to dance'
- to:nd- 'appear'  - to:h- 'show'
- na:nd- 'became wet'  - na:h- 'dampen'
- nind- 'be filled'  - ni-h- 'fill'
- mirnd- 'turn'  - mir-h- 'turn over'
- murnd- 'be immersed'  - mur-h- 'immerse'

(3) after the following twelve bases which drop their final -ng before it.

- urng- 'be broken'  - ur-h- 'break'
- a:ng- 'stretch'  - a:-h- 'stretch'
- u:ng- 'swing'  - u:-h- 'swing'
- ne:ng- 'enter'  - ne:-h- 'push in'
- pong- 'flow'  - po-h- 'make to flow'
- le:ng- 'untied'  - le:-h- 'untie'
- le:ng- 'be deserted'  - le:-h- 'desert'
- va:ng- 'leak'  - va:-h- 'pour out'
verng- 'hang'  ver-h- 'hang'  
verng- 'be scorched'  var-h- 'fry in oil'  
pairng- 'be opened'  pair-h- 'open'  
kalng- 'be muddled'  kal-h- 'muddle'  

(4) after the following seven bases which drop the base-final consonant before it. The base tin- lengthens its vowel before it.

ori- 'break (as pot)'  ori-h- 'break'  
te:di- 'get up'  te:di-h- 'make to get up'  
to:pi- 'appear'  to:pi-h- 'show'  
deg- 'cut off'  de-g- 'cut off'  
marg- 'blaze'  mar-g- 'burn'  
ven- 'listen'  ve-n- 'tell'  
tin- 'eat'  ti-n- 'feed'  

(5) after the following four bases:

ar- 'fall'  ar-h- 'fell'  
mal- 'return'  mal-h- 'return'  
tul- 'be bored'  tul-h- 'bore (a hole)'  
mil- 'bathe'  mil-h- 'bathe'  

3.1.1.1.4. -s- occurs after the following two bases, which drop the base-final -nj.

minj- 'hide'  mi-s- 'hide'  
ti:nj- 'become straight'  ti:s- 'make straight'  

3.1.1.1.5. -k- occurs after the following base only which drops its final -ng before it.

ing- 'be torn'  i:-k- 'tear'
3.1.1.6. -ih- occurs elsewhere, e.g.:

uy- 'be peeled'  uy-ih- 'peel'
kav- 'laugh'  kav-ih- 'make to laugh'

3.1.2. Base form classes

On the basis of the distribution of tense-mode suffixes, and morphophonemic changes which occur during the inflection, the verbal bases of DM can be grouped under three major classes:

(1) Regular verbal bases,
(2) Irregular verbal bases, and
(3) Defective verbal bases.

The regular verbal bases contain three subclasses; I, II and III. The irregular bases have been grouped under IV subclass and the defective bases form the V subclass.

3.1.2.1. Regular verbal bases

Regular verbal bases remain unchanged before the inflectional suffixes. As mentioned above, this class consists of three subclasses.

Subclass I This is further divided into IA and IB.

IA contains:

(1) bases ending in the vowel -i, as in kari- 'learn', ka:li- 'meet', guri- 'sleep'
(2) bases ending in a cluster of two or three consonants of which the final consonant is not -r-, -l, or -h, as in ask- 'massage', vaing- 'leak', ursk- 'transplant'
(3) the following bases of (C) VC type:
   (a) in which the final consonant is not -t, -l, -r, -h, -y, -n, or -r,
(b) in which the final consonant is -t, except the following three:
ket- 'tell', tat- 'bring', nit- 'stand'

(c) in which the final consonants is -l, except the following five bases:
kul- 'be wrinkled', tul- 'be bored (of hole)',
mul- 'sun to set', mal- 'return (tr.)', il- 'be not'

(d) in which the final consonant is -r. This includes the following three bases only:
tar- 'climb', mir- 'run', bur- 'kiss'

(4) all the bases of (C)V:C type, in which the final consonant is not -y or -h.

IB contains:
(1) bases of (C)V:y type:
key- 'cry, coo, call', to:y- 'swell', pu:y- 'bloom'

(2) the following bases of (C)Vy type:
uy- 'be peeled', quy 'take out oil with a ladle',
mey- 'graze', vey- 'be cooked', goy- 'crawl as a child'

Subclass II This is comprised of IIA and IIB.

IIA includes all the bases ending in -h, e.g.
e:kh- 'make to dance', veh- 'tell', ar:h- 'fell'.

IIB includes the following six bases of which the final consonant is -y:
key- 'be bitter', may- 'be surplus', vay- 'be necessary'
ey- 'sweep', poy- 'hold', loy- 'take out (food) with a ladle'.
**Subclass III** contains the bases of \((C_1 V C_2)\) type. They can be further classified into the following five types:

**III A** includes the bases in which \(C_2\) is \(-v\), e.g. kav- 'laugh', ev- 'arrive'.

**III B** includes the bases in which \(C_2\) is \(-y\), excluding those listed under IA and IIID, e.g. pay- 'be split', ney- 'be saved', koy- 'harvest'.

**III C** includes the bases in which \(C_2\) is \(-i\). This includes the following four bases only:

- mal- 'return(vi)', kul- 'be wrinkled', tul- 'be bored (of hole)', mul- 'set (as sun)'

**III D** includes the bases in which \(C_2\) is \(-r\), e.g. van- 'drip(vi)', ur- 'plough'.

**III E** includes the bases in which \(C_2\) is \(-r\), except those listed under IA, e.g. par- 'be able', ker- 'wear', nor- 'wash'.

**3.1.2.2. Irregular bases**

Irregular bases exhibit alternation in taking certain tense-mode suffixes. All such bases have been grouped under the subclass IV, which is further divided into IVA, IVB, IVC, IVD and IVE.

**IV A** includes the following eight bases ending in a consonant cluster, of which the final consonant is \(-r\) or \(-l\).

- apr- 'shrivel'
- idr- 'thunder'
- pongr- 'blister'
- avl- 'chew'
- ingl- 'shout'
- idl- '(rice) be sour'
- ādl- 'cough'
- perl- 'backbite'

**IV B** includes the following three bases ending in a vowel:

- a: 'be/become'
- e: 'pain'
- o: 'take away'
IVC includes the following five bases ending in a vowel:

1.1:1
1.1:1
1.1:1
1.1:1
1.1:1

IVD includes the following six bases ending in -n:

1.1:1
1.1:1
1.1:1
1.1:1
1.1:1
1.1:1

IVR includes the following three bases ending in -t:

1.1:1
1.1:1
1.1:1

3.1.2.3. Defective bases

Defective bases do not fit into regular conjugational pattern, and they form subclass V. They are:

1.1:1
1.1:1
1.1:1

3.1.3. Base alternation

The bases belonging to subclass IV, alternate before the tense-mode suffixes as described below.

3.1.3.1. Alternation in the bases of IVC

When the bases belonging to this group occur before any tense-mode suffix beginning with a consonant or containing a single consonant, i is inserted between the members of their final consonant-cluster, e.g.

1.1:1
1.1:1
1.1:1

3.1.3.2. Alternation in the bases of IVD

The bases belonging to this group show the following alternation:

(i) The vowel occurring in these bases is shortened before the past suffix -t-:
ai-t-a    >   a-t-a    'it became'
ori-tom    >   o-t-tom    'we (excl.) took away'
noi-t-a    >   no-t-ta    'it pained'

(ii) They alternate with ay-, oy- and noy- respectively before contingent -e-, negative -o- and -v-, prohibitive -ma-, optative (negative) -maki- and optative -i- e.g.
ai-e-r    >   aye    'she/it would have become/would become'
ai-o    >   ayo    'she/it is/was/will be not'
o:-v-in    >   oyvin    'you (sg.) do/did/will not take'
noi-maki    >   noy-maki    'let it not pain'
no:i    >   noyi    'let it pain'

3.1.3.3. Alternation in the bases of IVa

The bases of this group alternate as following:

(i) They shorten their vowel before the past tense suffix -t- e.g.
i:-t-a    >   ita    'she/it gave'
ki:-t-or    >   kitor    'he did'
va:-t-a    >   vata    'she/it came'

(ii) The base va:- 'come' has an alternant va:- before the imperative suffix, e.g.
va:-n    'come (imp. sg.)'

3.1.3.4. Alternation in the bases of IVb

The bases of this group alternate as follows:

(i) Bases of this group drop their final -n before the past suffix -t- or -t-, e.g.
tin-t-an    >   tita    'I ate'
am-t-enke    >   atanke    'since (one came')
un-t-om    >   utos    'we (excl.) drank'

(ii) The base an- 'go' has an alternant dai- before the non-past, hortative and infinitive suffixes:
da:-t-or    'he goes/will go'
da:-b-t    'let us go (pl. addresses)'
da:-y    'to go'
3.1.3.5 Alternation in the bases of IV.

Bases of this group alternate as follows:

(i) ket- 'tell', alternates with kel- before the negative suffix -e-, -v-, prohibitive suffix -ma-, optative (neg.) -maki-, and negative adverbial participle -va, e.g.
   ket-ve-r 'he would have told/would tell'
   kel- 'tell (imp. sg.)'
   kel-ma-t 'do not tell (2d. pl.)'

(ii) ket- drops its final consonant before the past suffix -t-, past habitual -n-, past adverbial participle -c, non-past adverbial participle -co(r), temporal (non-past) -na, and extensive -na, e.g.
   ket-tan > ke-tan 'I told'
   ket-na > kena 'till (one) tells'

(iii) tat- 'bring' also drops its final consonant before the past habitual suffix -n-, past -t-, contingent -vo-, negative -vo- and -v-, prohibitive -ma-, optative -vi-, optative (negative) -maki-, past adverbial participle -c, non-past adverbial participle -co(r), negative adverbial participle -va, temporal -na, and extensive -na, e.g.
   ta-n-an 'I used to bring'
   ta-vo-n 'I do/did/will not bring'
   ta-na 'do not bring (2d. sg.)'
   ta-c 'having brought'
   ta-ne 'while (one) is bringing'

(3) nit- 'stud' alternates with ni- before the past adverbial participle suffix -c, and present adverbial participle suffix -co(r).
3.1.4. Finite and Non-finite forms

The verbal forms are divided into two classes: (i) finite, and (ii) non-finite. The finite forms generally occur at the utterance-final position. They contain an obligatory tense-mode suffix. This is followed by a personal suffix. The imperative, prohibitive and hortative do not take any personal suffix, but always refer to the second person. They take a number suffix to indicate plurality. The non-finite forms contain non-finite suffixes.

3.1.4.1. Finite forms

The following are the finite forms found in this dialect:

(1) Past habitual
(2) Past
(3) Non-past
(4) Future
(5) Contingent
(6) Negative
(7) Imperative
(8) Prohibitive
(9) Hortative
(10) Optative
(11) Optative (negative)

3.1.4.1.1. Tense-mode suffix

The allomorphy of the tense-mode suffix is discussed in detail hereafter.

3.1.4.1.1.1. Past habitual

Past habitual is formed by adding the suffix -n- to a verbal base.

nark-n-un 'we (excl.) used to cut'
key-n-ur 'she/it used to cry'

3.1.4.1.1.2. Past

Past is formed by adding the suffix -t- or -t- to a verbal base.
-t- occurs after the base un- 'drink', which drops its final consonant before it.

un-t-an > uṭan 'I drank'

-t- occurs elsewhere, e.g.

mir-t-a 'she/it ran away'
ev-t-in 'you (sg.) arrived'
o-t-om 'we (excl.) took away'
ke:nj-t-al 'we (incl.) heard'

3.1.4.1.1.3. Non-past

Non-past suffix has the following allomorphs:
/-t-, -t-, -it-, -tit-, -dit- /

-t- occurs after bases ending in a long vowel or -n excepting the base un- 'drink'.

daː-t-an 'I go/will go'
noː-t-a 'it pains/will pain'
tin-t-or 'he eats/will eat'

-t- occurs after the base un- 'drink'

un-t-om 'we (excl.) drink/will drink'

-tit- occurs after the bases ending in -h and six bases ending in -y grouped under IIB.

veh-tit-or 'he tells/will tell'
pah-tit-an 'I split/will split'
ey-tit-a 'she sweeps/will sweep'
poy-tit-in 'you (sg.) hold/will hold'

-dit- occurs after the bases grouped under subclass III.

mal-dit-an 'I return/will return'
kav-dit-a 'she laughs/will laugh'
koy-dit-om 'we (excl.) cut/will cut'
ker-dit-or 'he wears/will wear'
-it- occurs elsewhere.

mehk-it-in 'you (sg.) search/will search'
karn-g-it-or 'they (m.) call/will call'
o: r-it-a 'it breaks/will break'
puty-it-a 'it blooms/will bloom'

3.1.4.1.1.4. Future

This is formed by adding -ik- or -k- to an infinitive form. A verbal base in this tense can be inflected for the first person (incl.) plural and second person only.

-ik- occurs after an infinitive ending in -a before the second person singular or plural suffix. This -a is dropped before the future suffix.

-ik- occurs after an infinitive ending in -a before the second person singular or plural suffix. This -a is dropped before the future suffix.

tin-da-ik-in > tindikin 'you (sg.) will eat'
as-a-ik-ir > asikir 'you (pl.) will buy'

-k- occurs elsewhere.

i:-y-k-ir 'you (pl.) will give'
ki:-y-k-in 'you (sg.) will do'
tin-da-k-al 'we (incl.) will eat'
da:y-k-al 'we (incl.) will go'

3.1.4.1.1.5. Contingent

This suffix has the following allomorphs:

/ -ve-, -ye-, -e- /

-ve- occurs after all bases listed under IIIC, IIID, IIIE, and IV. It also occurs after the alternant base ta- 'bring'.

mal-ve-r 'he would have returned/would return'
ur-ve-ni 'you (sg.) would have ploughed/would plough'
ker-ve-na 'we (excl.) would have worn/would wear'
The negative suffix indicates negation in the present, past and future tenses. Its allomorphs are:

\[-v-, -vo-, -yo-, -o-/ \]

-\(v\)- occurs after all the bases, provided that the suffix is further followed by the first person (incl.) plural or second person (sg. or pl.) suffix.

ki:-v-in 'you (sg.) do/did/will not do'

nor-v-iř 'you (pl.) do/did/will not rinse'

tin-v-al 'we (incl.) do/did/will not eat'

oy-v-in 'you (sg.) do/did/will not take away'

-\(vo\)- occurs after all those bases which can be followed by the contingent suffix -\(ve\)- (see 3.1.4.1.1.5.) provided they are not further followed by the first person (incl.) plural or second person (sg. or pl.) suffix.

mal-vo-n 'I do/did/will not return'

ar-vo-m 'we, do/did/will not fall'
ker-vo-r  'he does/did/will not wear'
va:-vo-~  'they (nm.) do/did/will not come'
ta-vo-r  'he does/did/will not bring'

-yo- occurs after the bases ending in -i, provided they are not further followed by the first person (incl.) plural or second person (sg. or pl.) suffix.
guri-yo-m  'we (excl.) do/did/will not sleep'
veri-yo-r  'he does/did/will not fear'

-o- occurs after other bases, provided they are not further followed by the first person (incl.) plural or second person (sg. or pl.) suffix.
mir-o-r  'he does/did/will not run'
u:-ro  'she/it does/did/will not see'
pun-o-n  'I do/did/will not know'

3.1.4.1.1.7. Imperative

Verbal bases in the imperative mode are not inflected for person. They always refer to the second person. They take the suffix -t to indicate the plural number. Imperative suffix has the following allomorphs:

/-u-, -mu-, -yimu-, -imu-, -ya-, -a-/ 

Of these, the suffix -u- can be dropped in cases where it is not further followed by the number suffix -t. The allomorphs -mu-, -yimu-, -yimu-, and -imu- drop their final -u in the similar environment.

-u- occurs after bases ending in -n.
tin-(u)  'eat (imp. sg.)'

an-(u)  'go (imp. sg.)'
un-u-t • 'drink (imp. pl.)'

-yimu- occurs after the bases belonging to subclass IVB.
o:-yimu(u) 'take away (imp. sg.)'
a:-yimu-t • 'become (imp. pl.)'

-imu- occurs after the bases of sub-class IIIB and IIIB.
poy-im(u) 'hold (imp. sg.)'
koy-im(u) 'harvest (imp. sg.)'

-mu- occurs after (i) the four bases: i:- 'give', i:- 'beat',
    ki:- 'do' and mi:- 'batho', and (ii) the bases grouped
    under the sub-classes IIIA, IIIC, IID, and IIE.
i:-m(u) 'give (imp. sg.)'
kav-m(u) 'laugh (imp. sg.)'
ker-mu-t • 'wear (imp. pl.)'
mal-m(u) 'return (imp. sg.)'
um-mu-t • 'plough (imp. pl.)'

-ya- occurs after the bases ending in -i.
guri-ya-t • 'sleep (imp. pl.)'
veli-ya • 'roan (imp. sg.)'

-a- occurs elsewhere.
kel-a • 'tall (imp. sg.)'
var-a-t • 'come (imp. pl.)'
at-a • 'cook (imp. sg.)'

3.1.4.1.1.8. Prohibitive

Prohibitive mode is denoted by -ma-.

kel-ma-t • 'do not tell (2d. pl.)'
ta-ma • 'do not bring (2d. sg.)'
var-ma-t • 'do not come (2d. pl.)'
an-ma • 'do not go (2d. sg.)'
3.1.4.1.9. Hortative

Hortative suffix is -%-. Only the base da- (which is an allomorph of an- 'go') is found to inflect in this mode. Other bases enter into periphrastic constructions to express the hortative mode. (see 4.1.4.2.2).

\[
\begin{align*}
da-% & \quad \text{let us go (sg. addressed)} \\
da:-% & \quad \text{let us go (pl. addressed)}
\end{align*}
\]

3.1.4.1.10. Optative

This mode, which expresses desire, permission, curse or probability, is denoted by the allomorphs: /-vi-, -yi-, -i/ These can be followed by the third person masculine singular or plural or nonmasculine plural suffix. When it is not followed by any personal suffix, it indicates the third person nonmasculine singular.

\[-vi-\] has the same distribution as the contingent suffix

\[-vo-\] (see 3.1.4.1.5)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ker-vi-r</td>
<td>'he may wear/let him wear'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ur-(\text{\textit{vi}})-r</td>
<td>'they (m.) may plough/let them plough'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mal-(\text{\textit{vi}})</td>
<td>'she/it may return / let her/it return'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>muser va(\text{\textit{vi}})</td>
<td>'it may rain'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ur-(\text{\textit{vi}})-i</td>
<td>'they (m.) may fall / let them (m.) fall'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[-yi-\] occurs after the bases ending in -i.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gur-(\text{\textit{yi}})</td>
<td>'she/it may sleep / let her / it sleep'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>veli-(\text{\textit{yi}})-r</td>
<td>'he may roam / let him roam'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[-i-\] occurs elsewhere.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gur poy-i</td>
<td>'may tiger catch (somebody)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>an-i-r</td>
<td>'he may go / let him go'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.1.4.1.11. Optative (negative)

This is formed by adding -maki- to a verbal base.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tin-maki-r</td>
<td>'he may not eat / let him not eat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>muser va(\text{\textit{maki}})</td>
<td>'rains may not come'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.1.4.1.2. Personal suffixes

The personal suffixes show a nine-fold distinction in the past habitual, past, non-past, contingent and negative paradigms, whereas after optative they show a four-fold distinction having no overt marker for the third person nonmasculine singular. The future stems take the suffixes of the first person plural (incl.) and second person singular or plural. The imperative, prohibitive and hortative paradigms, however, do not take any personal suffix. They always refer to the second person.

A detailed statement of the distribution of the allomorphs of these suffixes is given below. The personal suffixes occurring after two defective bases, namely, il- 'be not' and man- 'live, stay' are not included in this description. They have been described under 3.1.4.3(below).

3.1.4.1.2.1. First person singular

This suffix has the allomorphs /-na, -an, -n/.

-na occurs after the contingent suffix.

\[\text{as-e-na} \quad 'I \text{ would have bought/I would buy'}\]
\[\text{ar-ve-na} \quad 'I \text{ would have fallen/I would fall'}\]

-an occurs after the suffixes of past-habitual, past, and non-past.

\[\text{at-n-an} \quad 'I \text{ used to cook'}\]
\[\text{va-t-an} \quad 'I \text{ came'}\]
\[\text{dig-it-an} \quad 'I \text{ come/will come down'}\]

-n occurs after the negative suffix.

\[\text{tin-o-n} \quad 'I \text{ do/did/will not eat'}\]
\[\text{mal-vo-n} \quad 'I \text{ do/did/will not return'}\]
\[\text{guri-vo-n} \quad 'I \text{ do/did/will not sleep'}\]
3.1.4.1.2.2. First person (excl.) plural

This suffix has the allomorphs /-ma, -um, -om, -m /.
- ma occurs after the contingent suffix.
   - end-e-ma   'We (excl.) would have danced/would dance'
   - va:-ve-ma  'we (excl.) would have come/would come'
- um occurs after the past habitual suffix.
   - ke:nj-n-um  'we (excl.) used to hear'
   - ur-n-um    'we (excl.) used to see'
- om occurs after the past and non-past suffixes.
   - da:-t-om    'we (excl.) go/will go'
   - un-t-om    'we (excl.) drink/will drink'
   - o:i-t-om    'we (excl.) take away/will take away'
- m occurs after the negative suffix.
   - te:d-o-m    'we (excl.) do/did will not get up'
   - pun-o-m     'we (excl.) do/did/will not know'

3.1.4.1.2.3. First person (incl.) plural

This suffix has the allomorphs /-la, -al /.
- la occurs after the contingent suffix.
   - ur-ve-la    'we (incl.) would have seen/would see'
   - awk-e-la    'we (incl.) would have killed/would kill'
- al occurs elsewhere.
   - ta-n-al     'we (incl.) used to bring'
   - va-t-al     'we (incl.) came'
   - ke:nj-ik-al  'we (incl.) hear/will hear'
   - as-a-k-al    'we (incl.) will purchase'
   - phk-v-al    'we (incl.) do/did/will not gather'

3.1.4.1.2.4. Second person singular

This suffix has the allomorphs /-n(i), -i(n) /.
-n(i) occurs after the contingent suffix.

ui:e-n(i) 'you (sg.) would have seen/would see'
tin-e-n(i) 'you (sg.) would have eaten/would eat'

-i(n) occurs elsewhere.

i:-n-i(n) 'you (sg.) used to give'
\text{a-t-1(n)} 'you (sg.) went'
k\text{e:}y-it-i(n) 'you (sg.) call/will call'
\text{a-s-s}ak-i(n) > asikin 'you (sg.) will purchase'
k\text{e:}l-v-i(n) 'you (sg.) do/did/will not tell'

3.1.4.1.2,5. Second person plural

This suffix has the allomorphs / -r\text{i}, -i\text{r} /.

-r\text{i} occurs after the contingent suffix.

k\text{a:s-e-}r\text{i} 'you (pl.) would have played/would play'
\text{a-t-e-}r\text{i} 'you (pl.) would have cooked/would cook'

-i\text{r} occurs elsewhere.

t\text{a:k-n-\text{ir}} 'you (pl.) used to walk'

mis-t-\text{ir} 'you (pl.) hid (something)'
k\text{e:}t-it-\text{ir} 'you (pl.) tell/will tell'

3.1.4.1.2,6. Third person masculine singular

This suffix has the allomorphs / -ur, -or, -r /.  

-ur occurs after past habitual suffix.

d\text{on}g-n-ur 'he used to steal'

ke:p-n-ur 'he used to wait'

-or occurs after the past and non-past suffixes.

t\text{o:h-t-or} 'he showed'
k\text{a:s-}k-it-or 'he plays/will play'

-r occurs elsewhere.

m\text{a:l}v-e-r 'he would have returned/would return'
3.1.4.1.2.7. Third person masculine plural

This suffix has the allomorphs /-ur-, -or, -r/.
-ur occurs after the past habitual suffix.

pair-n-ur 'they (m.) used to sing'
visit-n-ur 'they (m.) used to sing'

-or occurs after the past and non-past suffixes.

nark-t-or 'they (m.) cut'
veh-tit-or 'they (m.) tell/ will tell'

-r occurs elsewhere.

poy-o-r 'they (m.) do/did/will not catch'
as-e-r 'they (m.) would have purchased/ would purchase'

un-i-r 'they (m.) may drink/ let them (m.) drink'
un-maki-r 'they (m.) may not drink/ let them (m.) not drink'

3.1.4.1.2.8. Third person nonmasculine singular

This suffix does not overtly occur after the negative and optative modes. Elsewhere it is denoted by the allomorphs /-ur, -r, -a/.

-ur occurs after the past habitual suffix.

ii-n-ur 'she/it used to give'
ke:ni-n-ur 'she/it used to listen'

-r occurs after the contingent suffix.

u:i-e-r 'she/it would have seen/ would see'
e:nd-e-r 'she/it would have danced/ would dance'
-a occurs after the non-past and past suffixes.

pair-ita  'she(it) sings/ will sing'
ka:t-ta  'she(it) dug'

3.1.4.1.2.9. Third person nonmasculine plural

This suffix has the allomorphs / -u, -a:\ -/.

-u occurs after the past-habitual suffix.

veh-n-u  'they (nm.) used to tell'
kars-n-u  'they (nm.) used to play'

-a:\ occurs after the past and non-past suffixes.

va-t-a:\  'they (nm.) came'
ud-it-a:\  'they(nm.) sit/ will sit'

-\: occurs elsewhere.

kel-o-:\  'they (nm.) do/did/will not tell'
uir-e-:\  'they (nm.) would have seen/ would see'
tin-i-:\  'they (nm.) may eat/ let them (nm.) not eat'

3.1.4.1.3. Number suffix

Number suffix has a single allomorph -t. As mentioned earlier, it occurs after the imperative, prohibitive, and hortative suffixes only.

kel-a-t  'tell (2d. pl.)'
kel-ma-t  'do not tell (2d. pl.)'
da:-Ø-t  'let's go (more than one addressee)'

3.1.4.2. Non-finite forms

These are:

(1) Past adverbial participle

(2) Non-past adverbial participle
(3) Negative adverbial participle
(4) Past adjectival participle
(5) Non-past adjectival participle
(6) Negative adjectival participle
(7) Conditional
(8) Conditional
(9) Conditional (negative)
(10) Causal
(11) Causal (negative)
(12) Temporal (past)
(13) Temporal (non-past)
(14) Temporal (negative)
(15) Extensive
(16) Infinitive
(17) Purposive
(18) Verbal noun

3.1.4.2.1. Past adverbial participle

Past adverbial participle has the following allomorphs:
/ -j, -c, -s, -i /
-j occurs after bases ending in -n.
   an-j   'having gone'
   un-j   'having drunk'
   tin-j  'having eaten'
-c occurs after the following three bases belonging to subclass IVE
   ni-c   'having stood'
   ke-c   'having said'
   ta-c   'having brought'
-s occurs after bases belonging to subclasses II, III, IVB, and IVC.
to:h-s > to:s  'having shown'
mal-s  'having returned'
ar-s  'having fallen'
ki:-s  'having done'

-i occurs elsewhere.
ta:k-i  'having walked'
vi:t-i  'having sowed'
marng-i  'having forgotten'
ke:yi-i  'having cried'

3.1.4.2.2. Non-past adverbial participle

Non-past adverbial participle has the following allomorphs:

/ -jo(r), -co(r), -so(r) /

-jor(r) occurs after the bases ending in -n.
an-jo(r)  'going'
tin-jo(r)  'eating'
un-jo(r)  'drinking'

-co(r) occurs after three bases grouped under subclass IV.
ke-co(r)  'saying'
ta-co(r)  'bringing'
i:-co(r)  'standing'

-so(r) occurs after the remaining bases.
ta:k-so(r)  'walking'
:i:-so(r)  'giving'
va:-so(r)  'coming'

3.1.4.2.3. Negative adverbial participle

This is formed by adding -va to a base.

u:-r-va  'without seeing'
up-va  'without ploughing'
tin-va  'without eating'
ta-va  'without bringing'

th-va  'without feeding'

Sometimes the particles galay, na:holo or the negative adverbial participial form of the defective base le- 'be, without' occurs after such constructions. Of these galay seems to emphasize an utterance. The meaning of the particle na:holo could not be clear, e.g.

'He went without seeing.'

3.1.4.2.4. Past adjectival participle

This is formed by adding -a to a past stem.

pang-t-a  'that ripened'
as-t-a  'that bought'
uu-t-a  'that sat'

Syntactically the past adjectival participle precedes the noun to which it is related, e.g.

va-t-a pisk  'girl that came'
as-t-a gisir  'cloth that was purchased'

It also modifies the time adverbials pay, pe:rkə both meaning 'after', mune 'before', and acut 'at that time', e.g.

ti-t-a pay  'after (one) ate'
tum-t-a pe:rkə  'after (one) sneezed'
a-t-a mune  'before (one) went'
mal-t-a acut  'while (one) returned'

3.1.4.2.5. Non-past adjectival participle

Non-past adjectival participle is formed by adding -yan, -an, or -n to an infinitive stem. This construction is always
followed by a particle pay.

-yan occurs after the infinitive suffix ə.

iː-ə-yan pay 'while giving'
kıː-ə-yan pay 'while doing'

-an occurs after the infinitive suffix -y.

oː-ɨ-y-an pay 'while taking away'
vaː-ɨ-y-an pay 'while coming'

-n occurs elsewhere.

tın-da-n pay 'while eating'
um-ça-n pay 'while drinking'

3.1.4.2.6. Negative adjectival participle

Negative adjectival participle is formed by adding the negative suffix -v- to a base which is further followed by the adjectival participle suffix -a.

kars-v-a 'that does/did not play'
toh-v-a 'that is/was not tied'
iː-v-a 'that is/was not given'

3.1.4.2.7. Conditional

This is formed by adding -ke to verbal bases. The monosyllabic bases ending a in a vowel or containing a single vowel take the past suffix -t- before -ke. The bases ending in -y, -r, -ʔ, -l, -v, or -h also take -t- but only optionally.

(i) ud-ke 'if (one) sits/sat'
pət-ke 'if (one) lies/lay'
(ii) va-t-ke 'if (one) comes/came'
i-t-ke 'if (one) gives/gave'
(iii) ey-t-ke - ey-ke 'if (one) sweens/swent'
ker-t-ke - ker-ke 'if (one) wears/wore'
u:ɾ-t-ke - u:ɾ-ke  'if (one) sees/saw'
al-t-ke - al-ke  'if (one) weaves/weaved'
kav-t-ke - kav-ke  'if (one) laughs/laughed'
toh-t-ke - toh-ke  'if (one) ties/tied'

3.1.4.2.8. Conditional2

This is formed by adding -nike to an infinitive stem.
ker-da-nike  'if (one) wears/wore'
tin-da-nike  'if (one) eats/ate'
toh-ta-nike  'if (one) ties/tied'
va:-y-nike  'if (one) comes/came'

3.1.4.2.8.1. Usage of Conditional1 and Conditional2

Conditional1 cannot co-occur with a verb in the past tense; while Conditional2 always co-occurs with a verb in contingent mode.

Some examples may be given here:

1. Conditional1

(a)nima na:ɾ lo:n matke nan ka:liyan.
 'If you stay at home to-morrow, I will meet you.'

(b)nima ne:nd lo:n matke nan ka:liyan.
 'If you stay at home to-day, I will meet you.'

(c)nima nine lo:n matke nan ka:liyena.
 'If you had stayed at home yesterday, I would have met you.'

2. Conditional2

(a)nima nine lo:n mandanike nan ka:liyena.
 'If you had stayed at home yesterday, I would have met you.'

(b)nima na:ɾ lo:n mandanike nan ka:liyena.
 'If you stay at home tomorrow, I would meet you.'

(c)nima ne:nd lo:n mandanike nan ka:liyena.
 'If you stay at home today, I would meet you.'

Conditional1 is also used in the sense of 'if (one) wants to'
as in the following examples:

- *titke tin* 'eat, if (you sg.) want to eat'
- *vatke vara* 'come, if (you sg.) want to come'

### 3.1.4.2.9. Conditional (negative)

This is formed by adding the negative suffix -o-, -vo-, -yo- to a base which is further followed by the conditional suffix -k.

The distribution of -o-, -vo-, and -yo- has been described in 3.1.4.1.1.6. (above).

- *an-o-k* 'if (one) does/did/will not go'
- *koy-o-k* 'if (one) does/did/will not resp'
- *va:-vo-k* 'if (one) does/did/will not come'
- *gurfi-yo-k* 'if (one) does/did/will not want sleep'

### 3.1.4.2.10. Causal

This is formed by adding -anke to a past stem.

- *ti-t-anke* 'since (one) ate'
- *e:nd-t-anke* 'since (one) danced'
- *u-t-anke* 'since (one) drank'

### 3.1.4.2.11. Causal (negative)

This is formed by adding the negative suffix -v- to a verb base which is followed by the causal suffix -anke.

- *tin-v-anke* 'since (one) did not eat'
- *a:t-v-anke* 'since (one) did not cook'
- *kars-v-anke* 'since (one) did not play'

### 3.1.4.2.12. Temporal (past)

This is formed by adding -ake(n) to a past stem of a verb.

- *ki-t-ake(n)* 'as soon as (one) has done'
3.1.4.2.13. Temporal (non-past)

This is formed by adding -ne to a base.

- te:de-ne  'while (one) is getting up'
- tin-ne  'while (one) is eating'
- kars-ne  'while (one) is playing'

Very often this form is duplicated for emphasis, e.g.

nan te:de-ne te:de-ne o:r mirtor.
'He ran away, while I was getting up.'

3.1.4.2.14. Temporal (negative)

This is formed by adding the negative suffix -v- to a verb base which is further followed by -ake(n).

- at-v-ake(n)  'before not having cooked'
- pu:y-v-ake(n)  'before not having bloomed'
- ti:h-ake(n)  'before not having fed'

3.1.4.2.15. Extensive

This is formed by adding -na to a verb base. This form indicates the extension of an action denoted by the verb.

- kars-na  'till (one) plays'
- ev-na  'till (one) reaches'
- o:-na  'till (one) takes away'

3.1.4.2.16. Infinitive

Infinitive suffix has the following allomorphs:

/ -∅, -y, -ta, -da, -da, -y∅, -a /

-∅ occurs after the following four bases:

i:-∅  'to give'
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Base</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i:-ø</td>
<td>'to beat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ki:-ø</td>
<td>'to do'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mi:-ø</td>
<td>'to bathe'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

-y occurs after the following four bases:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Base</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>no:-y</td>
<td>'to pain'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o:-y</td>
<td>'to take away'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>va:-y</td>
<td>'to come'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>da:-y</td>
<td>'to go'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

-ta occurs after the bases grouped under sub-class II.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Base</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>to:hta</td>
<td>'to show'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>poy-ta</td>
<td>'to hold'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>may-ta</td>
<td>'to be surplus'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

-da occurs after the bases grouped under subclass III and IVD (except an- 'go' and un- 'drink').

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Base</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ker-da</td>
<td>'to wear'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tul-da</td>
<td>'to be bored (of hole)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>koy-da</td>
<td>'to cut, reap'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tin-da</td>
<td>'to eat'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

-qa occurs after the base un- 'drink'

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Base</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>un-qa</td>
<td>'to drink'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

-ya occurs after bases grouped under IA.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Base</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gupi-ya</td>
<td>'to sleep'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kari-ya</td>
<td>'to learn'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

-a occurs elsewhere.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Base</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ket-a</td>
<td>'to tell'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tat-a</td>
<td>'to bring'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>angl-a</td>
<td>'to shout'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to:y-a</td>
<td>'to swell'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>as-a</td>
<td>'to buy'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.1.4.2.17. Purposive

The purposive is formed by adding -na(n) or -lay to an infinitive stem. They occur in free variation with one another.

- i:-k1-na( n) - i:-k1-lay 'for giving'
- to:h-ta-na( n) - to:h-ta-lay 'for showing'
- tin-da-na( n) - tin-da-lay 'for eating'
- un-qa-na( n) - un-qa-lay 'for drinking'
- veli-ya-na( n) - veli-ya-lay 'for roaming'
- as-a-na( n) - as-a-lay 'for purchasing'

3.1.4.2.18. Verbal noun

Verbal noun is formed by adding -na(d) to an infinitive stem, e.g.

- i:-k1-na(d) 'giving'
- o:-y-na(d) 'carrying away'
- to:h-ta-na(d) 'showing'
- as-a-na(d) 'buying'

3.1.4.3. Defective verbal bases

The bases, which cannot show all the finite and non-finite forms, described in the previous sections are termed as defective bases. These are: il- 'be not', le:- 'be without', and man-'be 'exist, stay, live'.

3.1.4.3.1. The base il-

This base can show the negative forms of present tense, adverbial participle, conditional, and causal.

1. Present(neg.) is formed by adding the negative suffix (-o-, -v-, or -a-) which is followed by a personal suffix. Note that nonmasculine third person singular is unmarked. To illustrate
the distribution of negative and personal suffixes, a full paradigm is given below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>il-o-n</td>
<td>'I am not (there)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>il-o-m</td>
<td>'we (excl.) are not (there)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>il-v-ala</td>
<td>'we (incl.) are not (there)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>il-v-in</td>
<td>'you (sg.) are not (there)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>il-v-in</td>
<td>'you (pl.) are not (there)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>il-o-r</td>
<td>'he is not (there)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>il-o-r</td>
<td>'they (m.) are not (there)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>il-a</td>
<td>'she/it is not (there)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>il-a-:</td>
<td>'they (nm.) are not (there)'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. The non-finite forms of il- are as follows:

   (i) Negative adverbial participle il-va 'without'
   (ii) Negative conditional il-o-k 'if not so'
   (iii) Negative causal il-v-anke 'since (one) is/was not (there)'

3.1.4.3.2. The base le:-

This occurs in the following two non-finite forms:

   (i) Negative adverbial participle le:-va 'without'
   (ii) Negative causal le:v-anke 'since (one) was without (something)'

Note: The negative and other non-finite suffixes occurring here have already been described in the relevant sections.

3.1.4.3.3. The base man-

This base shows all the finite and non-finitee verbal forms. However, it is different from the regular and irregular verbal bases in that it has three tense paradigms, i.e. past, present, and future, instead of the normal two, i.e. past and non-past.
1. Present

The present stem is formed by adding -de- to the allomorph min- of the above verbal base. This stem is followed by personal suffix (as shown in the paradigm) to complete the form. The nonmasculine third person singular suffix is unmarked. A complete paradigm is as follows:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{min-de-n(a)} & : \text{I am (there)} \\
\text{min-de-m(a)} & : \text{we (excl.) are (there)} \\
\text{min-de-la} & : \text{we (incl.) are (there)} \\
\text{min-de-ni} & : \text{you (sg.) are (there)} \\
\text{min-de-rj} & : \text{you (pl.) are (there)} \\
\text{min-de-r} & : \text{he is (there)} \\
\text{min-de-r} & : \text{they (m.) are (there)} \\
\text{min-de} & : \text{she/it is (there)} \\
\text{min-de-y} & : \text{they (nm.) are (there)}
\end{align*}
\]

2. Future

Future stem is formed by adding non-past suffix -t-. This is followed by the personal suffix as shown in the following paradigm:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{man-t-an} & : \text{I will live/stay (there)} \\
\text{man-t-on} & : \text{we (excl.) will live/stay (there)} \\
\text{man-t-al} & : \text{we (incl.) will live/stay (there)} \\
\text{man-t-in} & : \text{you (sg.) will live/stay (there)} \\
\text{man-t-if} & : \text{you (pl.) will live/stay (there)} \\
\text{man-t-or} & : \text{he will live/stay (there)} \\
\text{man-t-or} & : \text{they (m.) will live/stay (there)} \\
\text{man-t-a} & : \text{she/it will live/stay (there)} \\
\text{man-t-a} & : \text{they (nm.) will live/stay (there)}
\end{align*}
\]
3. Other forms of man-

In other finite and non-finite forms, man- occurs with the same set of tense-mode and personal suffixes with which the bases grouped under subclass IVD (i.e., tin- 'eat' etc.) occur. Like them, it also drops its final -n before the past suffix -t. 

M man- has another allomorph mun- which occurs in the periphrastic present durative and is discussed under 4.1.1.4.2.

3.1.4.4. Sample paradigms

The paradigms of the defective verbs have already been given in the preceding section. Here follow the sample paradigms of one regular verb kars- 'play' and one irregular verb an- 'go' in their finite and non-finite forms.

3.1.4.4.1. Finite forms

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>kars- 'play'</th>
<th>an- 'go'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Past-habitual</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st sg.</td>
<td>kars-n-an</td>
<td>an-n-an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(excl.) pl.</td>
<td>kars-n-um</td>
<td>an-n-un</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(excl.) pl.</td>
<td>kars-n-al</td>
<td>an-n-al</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d sg.</td>
<td>kars-n-i(n)</td>
<td>an-n-i(n)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>kars-n-ir</td>
<td>an-n-ir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d (m.) sg.</td>
<td>kars-n-ur</td>
<td>an-n-ur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(m.) pl.</td>
<td>kars-n-ur</td>
<td>an-n-ur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(m.) sg.</td>
<td>kars-n-ur</td>
<td>an-n-ur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(m.) pl.</td>
<td>kars-n-u</td>
<td>an-n-u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Past</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st sg.</td>
<td>kars-t-an</td>
<td>a-t-an</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(excl.) pl.</td>
<td>kars-t-om</td>
<td>a-t-om</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(incl.) pl.</td>
<td>kars-t-al</td>
<td>a-t-al</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d sg.</td>
<td>kars-t-i(n)</td>
<td>a-t-i(n)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>kars-t-ir</td>
<td>a-t-ir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d (m.) sg.</td>
<td>kars-t-or</td>
<td>a-t-or</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(m.) pl.</td>
<td>kars-t-or</td>
<td>a-t-or</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(nm.) sg.</td>
<td>kars-t-a</td>
<td>a-t-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(nm.) pl.</td>
<td>kars-t-a:</td>
<td>a-t-a:</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3. Non-past

<p>| | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st sg.</td>
<td>kars-it-an</td>
<td>da:-t-an</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(excl.)pl.</td>
<td>kars-it-om</td>
<td>da:-t-om</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(incl.)pl.</td>
<td>kars-it-al</td>
<td>da:-t-al</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d sg.</td>
<td>kars-it-i(n)</td>
<td>da:-t-i(n)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>kars-it-ir</td>
<td>da:-t-ir</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d (m.) sg.</td>
<td>kars-it-or</td>
<td>da:-t-or</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(m.) pl.</td>
<td>kars-it-or</td>
<td>da:-t-or</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(nm.) sg.</td>
<td>kars-it-a</td>
<td>da:-t-a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(nm.) pl.</td>
<td>kars-it-a:</td>
<td>da:-t-a:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4. Future

<p>| | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st(incl.)pl.</td>
<td>kars-a-k-al</td>
<td>da:-y-k-al</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d sg.</td>
<td>kars-ik-i(n)</td>
<td>da:-y-k-i(n)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>kars-ik-ir</td>
<td>da:-y-k-ir</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5. Contingent

<p>| | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st sg.</td>
<td>kars-e-na</td>
<td>an-e-na</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(excl.)sg.</td>
<td>kars-e-ma</td>
<td>an-e-ma</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(incl.)pl.</td>
<td>kars-e-la</td>
<td>an-e-la</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d sg.</td>
<td>kars-e-n(i)</td>
<td>an-e-n(i)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>kars-e-rī</td>
<td>an-e-rī</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d (m.) sg.</td>
<td>kars-e-r</td>
<td>an-e-r</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(m.) pl.</td>
<td>kars-e-r</td>
<td>an-e-r</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(nm.) sg.</td>
<td>kars-e-r</td>
<td>an-e-r</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(nm.) pl.</td>
<td>kars-e-ī</td>
<td>an-e-ī</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
6. Negative

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>kars-o-n</td>
<td>an-o-n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(excl.)</td>
<td>kars-o-m</td>
<td>an-o-m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(incl.)</td>
<td>kars-v-al</td>
<td>an-v-al</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d</td>
<td>kars-v-in</td>
<td>an-v-in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d (m.)</td>
<td>kars-o-r</td>
<td>an-o-r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(m.)</td>
<td>kars-o-r</td>
<td>an-o-r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(nm.)</td>
<td>kars-o-:</td>
<td>an-o-:</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7. Imperative

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2d</td>
<td>kars-a</td>
<td>an-(u)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>kars-a-t</td>
<td>an-u-t</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

8. Prohibitive

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2d</td>
<td>kars-ma</td>
<td>an-ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>kars-ma-t</td>
<td>an-ma-t</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

9. Hortative

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2d</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>da:-Ø</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>da:-Ø-t</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

10. Optative

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3d (m.)</td>
<td>kars-i-r</td>
<td>an-i-r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(m.)</td>
<td>kars-i-r</td>
<td>an-i-r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(nm.)</td>
<td>kars-i-:</td>
<td>an-i-:</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

11. Optative (neg.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3d (m.)</td>
<td>kars-maki-r</td>
<td>an-maki-r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(m.)</td>
<td>kars-maki-r</td>
<td>an-maki-r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(nm.)</td>
<td>kars-maki</td>
<td>an-maki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(nm.)</td>
<td>kars-maki-:</td>
<td>an-maki-:</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.1.4.4.2. Non-finite forms

1. Past adverbial participle
   kars-i an-j

2. Non-past adverbial participle
   kars-o(r) an-j-o(r)

3. Negative adverbial participle
   kars-va an-va

4. Past adjectival participle
   kars-t-a a-t-a

5. Non-past adjectival participle
   kars-a-n pay da:-y-an pay

6. Negative adjectival participle
   kars-v-a an-v-a

7. Conditional
   kars-ke a-t-ke

8. Conditional
   kars-a-nike da:-y-nike

9. Negative conditional
   kars-o-k an-o-k

10. Causal
    kars-t-anke a-t-anke

11. Causal (negative)
    kars-v-anke an-v-anke

12. Temporal (past)
    kars-t-ake(n) a-t-ake(n)

13. Temporal (non-past)
    kars-ne an-ne

14. Temporal (negative)
    kars-v-ake(n) an-v-ake(n)

15. Extensive
    kars-na an-na

16. Infinitive
    kars-a da:-y

17. Purposeful
    kars-a-na(n) da:-y-na(n)
    kars-a-lay da:-y-lay

18. Verbal noun
    kars-a-na(d) da:-y-na(d)

3.2. Nominals

Nominals can be defined as those bases which can take case suffixes. They may also take the suffixes of gender, number or person.

The nominals include the following subclasses:

(1) nouns (2) pronouns, and (3) numerals.
3.2.1. Nouns

The nouns, which form a major part of the morphemic inventory of this dialect, fall into two structural types:

(1) Simple nouns, (2) Derived nouns.

3.2.1.1. Simple nouns

Simple nouns consist of a base which cannot be further morphologically segmented into more than one constituent element, as for example: mane 'man', ma:pa(m) 'tree', lom 'house', and so on.

3.2.1.2. Derived nouns

Derived nouns result from the derivational process involving suffixation and compounding. The addition of personal suffixes to nominal or verbal stems is the most productive way of derivation. The nouns derived in this way are distinguished for all the three persons and both the numbers, except a few which are derived only in the first or second person. Since these nouns show personal distinction unlike other nouns, we will refer to them as personal nouns while discussing their formation. There are also a few additional derivational suffixes that can be seen occurring in some nouns but they are not very productive. The compounding of two roots of the same word class (i.e., noun + noun) or of two different word classes (e.g., verb + noun) or the partial reduplication of a root forms the second type of derivation. Derivation by suffixation and compounding is discussed below.

3.2.1.2.1. Derivation by suffixation

3.2.1.2.1.1. Derivation by adding personal suffixes
As noted earlier, personal suffixes are added to nominal or verbal stems to form the personal nouns. These fall into two types: (i) conjugated nouns, and (ii) participial nouns. Conjugated nouns are derived by adding the personal suffixes to nominal bases (i.e., nouns, pronouns, numerals) and adjectives. Participial nouns are derived by adding the personal suffixes to participial stems of the verbs.

The personal suffixes added to form the personal nouns can be subgrouped into the following four sets:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person Number</th>
<th>Personal suffixes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st sg.</td>
<td>-ona</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl.(excl.)</td>
<td>-oma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl.(incl.)</td>
<td>-ola</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d sg.</td>
<td>-oni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>-ori</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3d sg.(m.)</td>
<td>-or</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl.(m.)</td>
<td>-or</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sg.(nm.)</td>
<td>-ad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl.(nm.)</td>
<td>-av</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.2.1.2.1.1. Derivation of conjugated nouns

Conjugated nouns are derived by adding personal suffixes to the oblique forms of the nominals or to the adjectives. The formation of the oblique forms of the nominals has been discussed below (see 3.2.5.2.). The adjectives take a formative suffix before taking the personal suffixes. This will be discussed under subtype 3. Conjugated personal nouns fall into six subtypes.
Subtype 1.

This is formed by adding personal suffixes of set 1 to a noun indicating place or time, e.g.

karka-t-ona 'we are the ones of Karka village'
nine-t-oni 'you (sg.) of the yesterday'
iga-t-ad 'she/it who belongs to this place'

Subtype 2.

This is formed by adding personal suffixes of set 1 to an oblique base of a noun, e.g.

gud-t-ona 'I who own the cow'
mai-ra:~n-or 'they (m.) who own the trees'
pate-t-ori 'you (pl.) who own the field'

Subtype 3.

This is formed by adding personal suffixes of set 1 to the adjectives. The adjectives take a formative suffix before taking the personal suffixes. It has the allomorphs: -n-, -t- and -t-. Of these, -n- occurs after the adjectives ending in a vowel excepting :to 'of this type', :to 'of that type', be:to 'of which type' and nela 'good'. -t- occurs after nela 'good', and -t- occurs elsewhere. Following are the few examples of such derivation:

cudla-n-ona 'I am the small one'
biriya-n-or 'he is the big one'
nela-t-ad 'she/it is the good one'
sokon-t-or 'he is the beautiful one'
ito-t-or 'they (m.) are of this type'

The following adjectives are found to optionally take the personal suffixes directly, i.e., without taking the formative suffix.
pu:na-ona  >  pu:nona  'I am the new one'
cu:da-oni  >  cu:loni  'you (sg.) are the small one'
biriya-or  >  biriyor  'he is the big one'
painta-ad  >  paintad  'she/it is the old one'
painta-av  >  paintav  'they (nm.) are the old ones'

Subtype 4.

In this type of derivation, the following personal suffixes are added to the oblique base of a noun:

(i) The nouns which take the oblique suffix -n-, are derived by adding the first person singular or second person singular suffixes of the set 2.

(ii) The masculine plural nouns ending in -r take the personal suffixes of the set 3. Elsewhere the personal suffixes of the set 1 are used. It may be noted that this type is not derived in the third person.

Masculine nouns ending in Vl, Vr or Vr drop their final consonant before the oblique suffix.

Examples:

pe:kal-n-a  >  pe:knna  'I am a boy'
koytor-n-a  >  koytona  'I am a Gond'
koytor-∅-ma  >  koytona  'we(excl.) are Gonds'
pe:kal∅-∅-la  >  pe:kalolai  'we(incl.) are the boys'
mayak-n-ona  >  pe:kalolen  'we(excl.) are the daughters'
mayark-t-ona  >  pe:kalolen  'I am a daughter'
pi:k-t-oni  >  'you (sg.) are a girl'
pi:ki:-n-ori  >  'you (pl.) are the girls'

The last three examples are identical with the forms derived in subtype 2, hence they produce ambiguity. The respective forms may also mean 'I am the one who has a daughter', 'you (sg.) are the one who has a girl', 'you (pl.) are the ones
who have the girls'.

Subtype 5.

This is formed by adding personal suffixes of the set 1 to the oblique bases of pronouns (see 3.2.2.1.)

- **ma:-oni** > **ma:von1** 'my you (sg.)'
- **ma:-orî** > **ma:vori** 'my you (pl.)'
- **ma:n-or**
- **mi:-ona** > **mi:von1a** 'your (sg.) I'
- **mi:-orî** > **mi:vori** 'your (pl.) they"(m.)'
- **o:r-n-ona** > **o:noma** 'his (distant) we(excl.)'
- **o:r-ô-on1**
- **ve:r-n-ad** > **ve:nad** 'his (prox.) her/it'
- **te:n-ona**
- **ta:n-or**

Subtype 6.

This is formed by adding the first and or second person suffixes of the set 4 to the oblique base of masculine numeral. Though these forms are derived from the masculine numerals, they do not exhibit gender distinction here.

The numeral **veror** 'one (m.)' drops its final -r before -n-. The other numerals drop their final -r, in the first person plural (excl.) and final -ur in the first person plural (incl.) and second person plural derivation.

- **veror-n-an** > **verona** 'I am one'
- **veror-n-i** > **veroni** 'you (sg.) are one'
- **i:vur-ô-n** > **i:vuna** 'we (excl.) are two'
- **i:vur-ô-al** > **i:vual** 'we (incl.) are two'
- **i:vur-ô-i1** > **i:viri1** 'you (pl.) are two'
3.2.1.2.1.1.2. Derivation of participial nouns

Participial nouns are of three types:

(1) Non-past participial nouns

(2) Past participial nouns, and

(3) Negative participial nouns.

(1) Non-past participial nouns

These are formed by adding the formative suffix \(-n\)- to the infinitive stem which is further followed by the personal suffix of set 1.

Illustrations:

\begin{align*}
\text{da:}-y-n-\text{on}\; & \quad \text{I who go/will go' } \\
\text{da:}-y-n-\text{oma} & \quad \text{'we (excl.) who go/will go' } \\
\text{da:}-y-n-\text{ola} & \quad \text{'we (incl.) who go/will go' } \\
\text{da:}-y-n-\text{oni} & \quad \text{'you (sg.) who go/will go' } \\
\text{da:}-y-n-\text{ori} & \quad \text{'you (pl.) who go/will go' } \\
\text{da:}-y-n-\text{or} & \quad \text{'he who goes/will go' }
\end{align*}
(2) Past participial nouns

This is formed by adding the formative suffix -n-, -r-, or Ø to the past adjectival participle stem which is further followed by the personal suffix of set 1. -n- is added before the first and second person suffixes, -r- is added before the third person (m.) and -Ø- occurs before the third person (nm.) suffix as illustrated below:

vata-n-ona  'I who came'
vata-n-ona  'we (excl.) who came'
vata-n-ona  'we (incl.) who came'
vata-n-ona  'you (sg.) who came'
vata-n-ona  'you (pl.) who came'
vata-r-or  'he who came'
vata-r-or  'they (m.) who came'

(3) Negative participial nouns

Negative participial noun is formed by adding stem formative -n-, -r-, or -Ø- to a negative adjectival participle stem. This is further followed by the personal suffix of set 1. The distribution of the stem-formative suffix is similar as described in relation with the past participial noun. A sample illustration is given below:

va:va-n-ona  'I who do/did/will not come'
va:va-n-ona  'we (excl.) who do/did/will not come'
va:va-n-ola  'we (incl.) who do/did/will not come'
va:va-n-oni  'you (sg.) who do/did/will not come'
va:va-n-oři  'you (pl.) who do/did/will not come'
va:va-r-оr  'he who does/did/will not come'
va:va-r-op  'they (m.) who do/did/will not come'
va:va-š-ad, va:vad  'she/it who does/did/will not come'
va:va-š-av, va:vev  'they (nm.) who do/did/will not come'

3.2.1.2.1.2. Derivation by adding gender suffixes

Following are the gender derivative suffixes:

(i) masculine  -al and -u  
(ii) feminine  -i, -o and -e  

Examples of such derivation have been presented in five sets. In the first three sets, nouns with masculine derivative suffix -al have been listed with the corresponding feminine forms with feminine derivative suffix -i, -o and -e. In the fourth and fifth sets nouns with the masculine derivative suffix -u have been listed with the corresponding feminine forms with derivative suffixes -e and -i.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>mas.</th>
<th>-al</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>karna</td>
<td>-al</td>
<td>'blind man'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kond</td>
<td>al</td>
<td>'dumb man'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kol</td>
<td>al</td>
<td>'crippled man'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭarg</td>
<td>al</td>
<td>'tall and thin man'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bayr</td>
<td>al</td>
<td>'deaf man'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>karnj</td>
<td>al</td>
<td>'tallless animal'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>karnj</td>
<td>al</td>
<td>'mother's brother's son'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>fem.</th>
<th>-i</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kari</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kondi</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kali</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭargi</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bayri</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>karnji</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mas. -al</td>
<td>gloss</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qorął</td>
<td>'widower'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḍęŋgal</td>
<td>'tall man'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḍokral</td>
<td>'old man'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jo:gal</td>
<td>'a male personal name'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cukal</td>
<td>'a male personal name'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>du:šal</td>
<td>'a male personal name'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>morkal</td>
<td>'one-horned male animal'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Set 2.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>mas. -al</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>fem.  -e</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ku:ŋal</td>
<td>'naked man'</td>
<td>kuoro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ku:ţal</td>
<td>'lame man'</td>
<td>ku:ţo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gu:ţal</td>
<td>'short man'</td>
<td>gu:ţo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gero</td>
<td>'squint man'</td>
<td>gero</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ţakal</td>
<td>'bald man'</td>
<td>ţako</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḍo:ral</td>
<td>'potbellied man'</td>
<td>ḍo:ro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vanjal</td>
<td>'childless man'</td>
<td>vanjo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>monjal</td>
<td>'a man crippled with fingers'</td>
<td>monjo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>morkal</td>
<td>'one-horned male animal'</td>
<td>morko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cukal</td>
<td>'a male personal name'</td>
<td>cuko</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Set 3.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>mas. -al</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>fem.  -e</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bayal</td>
<td>'mad man'</td>
<td>baya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ka:mal</td>
<td>'a male personal name'</td>
<td>ka:me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>de:val</td>
<td>'a male personal name'</td>
<td>de:ve</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>du:šal</td>
<td>'a male personal name'</td>
<td>du:še</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bi:mal</td>
<td>'a male personal name'</td>
<td>bi:me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ma:sal</td>
<td>'a male personal name'</td>
<td>ma:še</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laknal</td>
<td>'a male personal name'</td>
<td>lakme</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.1.1.2.1.3. Derivation by adding other suffixes

Nouns are also derived by adding other derivative suffixes to a noun or a verb root.

3.2.1.2.1.3.1. Derivation of nouns from verbal bases

1. -a
   ek- 'scrape' eka 'peel'
   u:sa 'overflow' u:sa 'flood'
   nisa 'blush' nisa 'blushing'
   bu:sa 'pretend' bu:sa 'pretension'
   qty-'take out (oil) with a ladle' qtya 'a ladle'

2. -al
   kut- 'be lane' kutal 'lane man'
   dong- 'steal' dongal 'thief (m.)'

3. -am
   nadj 'put laths across a rafter' adam 'barrier'
<p>| | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 4. | əɾ | 'get intoxicated' o:caɾ  
|   | u:s- | 'tree to drop  
|   |   | leaves' u:caɾ  
|   | kars- | 'play' karsəɾ  
|   | ne:sk- | 'ring' ne:skəɾ  
|   | pi:τ- | 'fart' pi:τaɾ  
|   | po:ɾs- | 'vomit' po:ɾsaɾ  
| 5. | -i |   
|   | koɾk- | 'hoe' koɾki  
| 6. | -ul |   
|   | uc- | 'spit' ucul  
| 7. | -um |   
|   | puτ- | 'be born' puτum  
| 8. | -ur |   
|   | anj- | 'climb up' anjur  
| 9. | ə |   
|   | muc- | 'cover' muce  
|   | le:sk- | 'forget' le:skə  
| 10. | -el |   
|   | koy- | 'cut(paddy etc)' koyel  
| 11. | -o |   
|   | miɾk- | 'glow, flash' miɾkə  
|   | kuːt- | 'be lame' kuːto  

- Intoxication'
- Defoliation'
- 'Same, religious fair'
- 'Twinkling sound'
- 'Breath'
- 'Fart'
- 'Vomit'
- 'A hoe'
- 'Spittle'
- 'Offspring'
- 'Ascent'
- 'Cover, lid'
- 'An insect, if stepped across, one may forget the way'
- 'Stubble'
- 'Glow worm'
- 'Lame woman'
12. -or
ku:sa- 'coo, crow'  ku:sor  'cooing of bird'
13. -k
pir- 'be parched'  pirk 'parched grain'
14. -ka
uy-'bo peeled'  uyka 'slough'
15. -pa
ar- 'fell'  appa 'slope'
16. -pal
us- 'pound'  uspal 'pistle'
noy- 'catch'  poypal 'kidnapper'
17. -pe
mul- 'set (as sun)  mulpe 'evening'
18. -sar
mi:ng- 'be sweet'  mi:ngsar 'sweets'

3.2.1.2.1.3.2. Derivation of nouns from nouns

1. -am
iŋga 'winter'  iŋgam  'cold'
oy 'porcupine'  oyan  'a clan name'
kunje 'owl'  kunjam 'a clan whose totem is owl'
kurs 'sp. tree'  kuras 'a clan name'
kor 'fowl'  koram 'a clan name'
țe:ka 'teak'  țe:kam 'a village name'
pad 'pig'  padam 'a clan name'
panje 'frog'  panjam 'a clan name'
pọriya 'so. bird'  pọriyam 'a clan whose totem is pọriya bird'
3.2.1.2.1.3.3. Derivation from pronominal bases

A small section of nouns is derived from pronominal bases. These are: (i) i- and iː- proximate, (ii) a- remote, and (iii) be- interrogative. Nouns derived from these bases are listed below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pronominal Base</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i-</td>
<td>'here'</td>
<td>i-ga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a-</td>
<td>'there'</td>
<td>a-ga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be-</td>
<td>'where'</td>
<td>be-ga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iː</td>
<td>'this time'</td>
<td>i-ːcuː</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aː</td>
<td>'that time'</td>
<td>aː-ːcuː</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>beː</td>
<td>'when'</td>
<td>beː-ːcuː</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Compound Base</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>marka</td>
<td>'sp. bird'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>miiya</td>
<td>'chilli'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>renga</td>
<td>'hog plum'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vanj</td>
<td>'paddy'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nio</td>
<td>'sp. tree'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>got</td>
<td>'sp. tree'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gong</td>
<td>'sp. tree'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eːp</td>
<td>'sp. tree'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kay</td>
<td>'hand'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ita</td>
<td>'tamarind'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tumir</td>
<td>'tendu'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>land</td>
<td>'dullness'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gade</td>
<td>'rice-beer pot'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>narka</td>
<td>'night'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

markam: 'a clan name'
miiyan: 'a clan name'
rengam: 'a village name'
vanjam: 'a clan name'
micum: 'a village name'
gotum: 'a village name'
gongum: 'a village name'
eːpum: 'a village name'
kayvor: 'handle of a plough'
itavar: 'a village name'
tumirvar: 'a village name'
landi: 'yawn'
gadel: 'precipitate'
narkom: 'morning'
3.2.1.2.2. Derivation of nouns by compounding

Compounds are closeknit or juxtaposed roots, which are modified as a whole, and cannot be interrupted. Compounds have been grouped under the three subclasses: (1) true compounds, (2) probable compounds, and (3) reduplicated compounds.

3.2.1.2.2.1. True compounds

True compounds are those in which both the constituent elements can easily be identified. They are listed below:

1. verb root + noun root

   urk + e:r  urker  'urine'
   (urk- 'urinate', e:r 'water')

   ursk + kal  urskal  'menhir'
   (ursk- 'plant; fix in the ground', kal 'stone')

   ursk + guta  ursgutara  'memorial wooden pillar'
   (ursk- 'plant; fix in the ground', guta 'peg')

2. noun root + noun root

   gura + e:r  gurer  'juice of sugarcane'
   (gura 'sugarcane', e:r 'water')

   pin4 kal  'soap stone'
   (pin4 'flour', kal 'stone')

   musur guge  'fire fly'
   (musur 'rains', guge 'butterfly')

   pord ka:l  'sun rays'
   (pord 'sun', ka:l 'leg')

   pa:lnity  'ghee'
   (pa:l 'milk', ni:y 'oil')

   erj upe  'musk rat'
   (erj 'bear', upe 'rat')

   e:te mindis  'scorpion'
   (e:te 'crab', mindis 'sting')
bala ka:l 'sole (of foot)'
(bala 'plank', ka:l 'leg')

bala kav 'palm'
(bala 'plank', kav 'hand')

konda pila 'pupil (of eye)'
(konda 'eye', pila 'baby')

motol pila 'jeep'
(motol 'bus', pila 'baby')

tala musur 'first rain of the season'
(tala 'head', musur 'rain')

tala burka 'sp. gourd'
(tala 'head' burka 'gourd')

ane mar 'father's sister's son, mother's brother's son'
(ane 'son-in-law', mar 'son')

3. noun + numeral

Occasionally numerals are postposed to certain kinship terms. In such cases the involved meaning is different from the literal one. In the following compounds the postposed numeral refers to the person who has higher social status than the preceding kin. The masculine numerals are used when both the persons indicated belong to masculine gender or when they are of the opposite sex. The nonmasculine numeral is used when both the kins belong to nonmasculine gender.

mute irvur 'wife and husband'
(lit. wife two (m.))

mar irvur 'son and father'
(lit. son two (m.))

ela: irvur 'sister and brother'
(lit. younger sister two (m.))

tamu: irvur 'younger brother and elder brother'
(lit. younger brothers two (m.))

ela: rend 'younger sister and elder sister'
(lit. younger sisters two (m.))

maya: rend 'daughter and mother'
(lit. daughters two (m.))
3.2.1.2.2. Probable compounds

Probable compounds are those, where one constituent is clearly identified, but the other cannot be easily assigned any meaning.

1. In the following, all the words have -er as a component, which is related to -er 'water'.
   - guimer: 'waterfall'
   - kuyer: 'river'
2. In the following, one component, which has some semantic relation with the word, is identifiable.
   - argo:da: 'door sill' (ar 'path')
   - ange a:h: 'elder brother's wife married to younger brother' (ange 'elder brother's wife')
   - irnu:ka: 'fragment of rice' (nu:ka 'rice')
   - u:ra ve:yi: 'whirl wind' (ve:yi 'wind')
   - tir:duq: 'dancing staff with pellet bells' (duq 'stick')
   - me:se kal: 'whetstone' (kal 'stone')
   - la:mane: 'a boy who seeks his bride by serving' (ane 'son-in-law'
   - sa:m do:il: 'drum beaten at the marriage ceremony' (do:il 'drum')

3.2.1.2.2.3. Reduplicated compounds

Following are the common reduplicated compounds, in which the root occurs partially reduplicated as the second part of the word.

- e:ri mi:ri: 'water etc.'
- kelk milk: 'hair (nl.) etc.'
- kork mirk: 'fowls & etc.'
- gis:ri: mis:ri: 'clothes etc.'
- gotk mi:t: 'cows etc.'
- pila: mila: 'children etc.'
- karsap marsap: 'fair etc.'
- me:ta: mi:ta: 'mountains etc.'
- pila: jila: 'children etc.'
- le:k mi:k: 'houses etc.'
- ra:nd su:nd: 'widows etc.'
- padi: mid: 'pigs etc.'
3.2.2. Pronouns

Pronouns can be subclassified into
(1) Personal pronouns of first and second person,
(2) Personal pronouns of third person.

3.2.2.1. Personal pronouns of first and second person

Personal pronouns of the first and second person are marked for person and number. First person plural exhibits the exclusive-inclusive distinction also. Case suffixes are added to their oblique forms. Direct forms are used in the nominative. They are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Direct form</th>
<th>Oblique form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st sg.</td>
<td>nan(a)</td>
<td>na:-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl.(excl.)</td>
<td>mom(o)</td>
<td>ma:-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl.(incl.)</td>
<td>manal</td>
<td>mana- (before acc./dat.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2d sg.</td>
<td>nim(a)</td>
<td>ni:-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>mi:ɔ</td>
<td>mi:-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.2.2.2. Personal pronouns of third person

Personal pronouns of third person are: (1) Demonstrative, (2) Interrogative, and (3) Reflexive. Of these the demonstrative and interrogative pronouns show number and gender distinction. Reflexive pronouns show only number distinction.

3.2.2.1. Demonstratives and Interrogatives

These pronouns are derived by adding gender-number suffixes to the demonstrative and interrogative bases. Demonstrative bases also express proximity or remoteness of the object denoted. They are:
Oblique bases.

Oblique bases of demonstratives and interrogatives are formed by adding oblique suffixes (see 3.2.5.2.). Following three pronouns have their alternant oblique forms as shown against each of them.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Direct form</th>
<th>Oblique form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>id 'she/it(prox.)'</td>
<td>tan-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ad 'she/it(remote)'</td>
<td>tam-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>av 'they (nm.)'</td>
<td>va:n-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.2.2.2. Reflexive pronouns

As indicated earlier, the reflexive pronouns do not show gender distinction, but they are distinguished for number and always refer to third person. Their forms are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Direct form</th>
<th>Oblique form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg. tanak</td>
<td>tan-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl. tamak</td>
<td>tam-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.2.3. Numerals

Basic numeral are limited up to number 20. They can occur alone, while counting and in other slots, where a noun can occur. As attributes they always precede the head noun, and agree with the gender of the head, but the distinction of gender is observed
in numerals up to 6 only. On morphological grounds, numerals can be sub-grouped into two classes:

1) Numerals up to 6,
2) Other numerals.

3.2.3.1. Numerals of class (1)

These have two series: One for masculine and the other for nonmasculine. They are derived by adding masculine suffixes -or and -vur, and nonmasculine suffixes -n\, -ng, and -u.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Nonmasculine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ver-or</td>
<td>'one'</td>
<td>o-n,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ir-vur</td>
<td>'two'</td>
<td>re-n,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mu:-vur</td>
<td>'three'</td>
<td>mu:-n,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na:-vur</td>
<td>'four'</td>
<td>na:-u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ey-vur</td>
<td>'five'</td>
<td>ey-ng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a:-r-vur</td>
<td>'six'</td>
<td>ar-u</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.2.3.2. Numerals of class (2)

Historically, the numerals from 7 to 20 have been borrowed from Halbi. They are listed below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Satt</th>
<th>'seven'</th>
<th>Savda</th>
<th>'fourteen'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a:t,</td>
<td>'eight'</td>
<td>Pandra</td>
<td>'fifteen'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nav</td>
<td>'nine'</td>
<td>So:ra</td>
<td>'sixteen'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Das</td>
<td>'ten'</td>
<td>Satra</td>
<td>'seventeen'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Igra</td>
<td>'eleven'</td>
<td>At,ra</td>
<td>'eighteen'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bara</td>
<td>'twelve'</td>
<td>Anis</td>
<td>'nineteen'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tetra</td>
<td>'thirteen'</td>
<td>B,is</td>
<td>'twenty'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.2.3.2.1. Formation of numerals above 20

Numerals above twenty are formed by the following three

The illustration of the procedures for forming the numerals up to 100 is as follows:

1. Summation

This procedure is used to form numerals from 21 to 39. The higher number is placed first, and the lower one follows it.

Examples:
- kôrek onq: 21  (20 + 1)
- kôrek das: 30  (20 + 10)
- kôrek anis: 39  (20 + 19)

2. Multiplication

Numerals in arithmetic progression with the difference of 20 from 40 (i.e., 40, 60, 80, 100) are formed by multiplication. In this the multiplier which is a lower number is placed before the multiplicand kôrî 'twenty'.

Examples:
- renq kôrî: 40  (2 X 20)
- munq kôrî: 60  (3 X 20)
- na:lû kôrî: 80  (4 X 20)
- eyng kôrî: 100  (5 X 20)

3. Multiplication plus summation

Numerals denoting the numbers from 41 to 59, 61 to 79, and 81 to 99 are formed by a combined process of multiplication and summation.

Examples:
- renq kôrî: onq 41  (2 X 20 + 1)
- munq kôrî igrî: 71  (3 X 20 + 11)
- na:lû kôrî anis: 99  (4 X 20 + 19)
3.2.3.3. Distributive numerals

Following are the distributive numerals, which always occur in interactive form:

- re'hk re'hk 'two each'
- mu'hk mu'hk 'three each'
- na'ilk na'ilk 'four each'
- eyk eyk 'five each'
- a'rk a'rk 'six each'

3.2.3.4. Fractionals

Only one fractional, viz. angum 'half' occurs in the data as in the following example:

angum angum tu:sa 'divide (it) half-half'

3.2.4. Gender-Number

All the nouns are either masculine or nonmasculine. Masculine nouns include the human masculine only. Rest of the nouns are nonmasculine. The gender distinction is best expressed in the plural suffix which employs distinct sets for the masculine and nonmasculine nouns. Third person pronouns also mark the gender distinction along with the number.

3.2.4.1. Plural formation

Plural forms are formed by adding the plural suffix to a noun base. The nouns listed below do not take the plural suffix and they are always used in the singular sense.

A. Liquids:

- kal 'liquor'
- kather 'water of boiled rice'
- kirsa 'curd'

B. Other:

- ala 'butter milk'
- upam 'a kind of drink'
- jona 'soup'
| ni:yi | 'oil' | nac | 'dew' |
| pail | 'milk' | mail | 'fruit-juice' |
| painniti | 'ghee' |

**R. Excrement of body:**

| ubam | 'sweat' | netur | 'blood' |
| urker | 'urine' | neskar | 'breath' |
| ucul | 'spittle' | pitar | 'fart' |
| u:kur | 'breath' | pus | 'semen' |
| a:rap | 'cow dung' | porser | 'vomit' |
| ku:lam | 'pus' |

**C. Abstract nouns:**

| Alam | 'anger' | qaha | 'heat' |
| i:kar | 'darkness' | neskar | 'twinkling sound' |
| uskar | 'sleepiness' | nisa | 'blushing' |
| ari | 'pain' | paz | 'sin' |
| orka | 'memory, worry' | bi:q | 'pride' |
| u: sur | 'whistling' | busa | 'pretension' |
| oc:ar | 'intoxication' | ras: | 'noise' |
| ir:ngan | 'cold' | ra:v | 'evil spirit' |
| kar | 'hunger' | le:ng | 'sound' |
| kayd | 'imprisonment' | va:y | 'edge(of knife)' |
| kaq | 'moment' | veqka | 'pleasure' |
| ku: sor | 'cooing of birds' | ve:s | 'light' |
| gab | 'smell' | ve: | 'time' |

**D. Other nouns:**

<p>| ava | 'air' | karka | 'rust' |
| u:na | 'smoke' | k | 'manure' |
| kac | 'iron' | kis | 'fire' |
| koyel | 'stubble' | karp | 'pollen in honey comb' |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dongal</td>
<td>'thief'</td>
<td>dongalor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mujal</td>
<td>'husband'</td>
<td>mujalor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ka:kal</td>
<td>'father's younger brother'</td>
<td>ka:kalor</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: The noun gohk 'wheat' is always used in plural.

3.2.4.1.1. **Plural suffix**

3.2.4.1.1.1. **Masculine plural suffix**

This plural suffix shows the following alternants after the masculine nouns:

/ -or, -ir, -r, -k, -/: 

3.2.4.1.1.1. -or occurs after all masculine nouns ending in -al.

Examples:
3.2.4.1.1.2. -ir occurs after all masculine nouns ending in a consonant other than -l or -r.

Examples:

mašq 'blacksmith' mašqir
pešp 'father's elder brother' pešpir
našt 'son's son' naškir

3.2.4.1.1.3. -r occurs

(1) after the following masculine kinship terms ending in a vowel:

dašdo 'father's father' dašdor
bašbo 'father' bašbor
bašto 'elder sister's husband' baštor
ako 'mother's father' akor

(2) after the following three nouns which drop their final -r before it:

ervur 'spouse's younger brother' ervur
košytor 'Gond man' košytor
tamur 'younger brother' tamur

Note: tamur and ervur have optional plural forms (see 3.2.4.1.1.5. below)

3.2.4.1.1.4. -k occurs after the following one masculine noun:

nar 'son' mark

3.2.4.1.1.5. -: occurs after the following nouns. The last two nouns drop their final -r before this suffix.

mašne 'man' mašne:

tamur 'younger brother' tamur

ervur 'spouse's younger brother' ervur
3.2.4.1.1.2. Nonmasculine plural suffix

This plural suffix shows the following alternants after the nonmasculine nouns:

/ -k, -sk, -hk, -ng, -i:, -:/

3.2.4.1.1.2.1. -k occurs

(1) after all monosyllabic nouns ending in -l or -y except -ul
'onion', -il 'an implement for carrying manure etc.', and
-ray 'forked wooden post'.

Examples:
kel 'hair' kelk
pal 'tooth' palk
nay 'dog' navk
kay 'hand' kayk

(2) after the following three disyllabic nouns ending in -l:
pupul 'black gram' pupulk
moyol 'cloud' moyolk
modol 'trunk' modolk

(3) after the remaining disyllabic nouns ending in -l except:
(1) which indicate an animate noun and are derived by
adding the suffix -al 'male' and (ii) two bases: pesel 'sp.
pulse' and picil 'straw'. However, in the latter cases it
is found to freely vary with -i:.

Examples:
urpal 'iguana' urpalk - urpali:
esimul 'tortoise' esimulk - esimuli:
jurel 'cricket' jurelk - jureli:
mosol 'coccodile' mosolk - mosoli:

(4) after the following three nouns ending in -nd:
end 'head of naddy' endk
kaŋŋ 'rafter' kaŋŋk
punŋ 'wound' punŋk

(5) after the following nouns ending in -nj. In case of the last two nouns, it varies freely with -i:. The base-final consonant is changed before the suffix -k. Nouns grouped under (b) and (c) except kuŋŋj may drop their penultimate -n optionally.

(a) eŋ 'bear' ẹŋsk
muŋŋ 'black-faced monkey' mu:sk
lenŋ 'month' le:sk

(b) iŋŋ 'finger-nail' iŋsk ← iŋsk
veŋŋ 'finger' veŋsk ← veŋsk
nay nornŋ 'sp.lizard' nay norŋsk ← norŋsk
korvenŋ 'fat' korvensk ← korvesk
ervenŋ 'saliva' ervonsk ← ervosk

(c) kaːranŋ 'young female pig' karansk ← kaːranjι:
kuŋŋj 'crow-bar' kuːsk ← kuːŋŋjι:

(6) after the following nouns ending in -s:

noros 'bark strip' norosk
taːpas 'snake' taːpask
panas 'jack-fruit' panask
ainːdis 'a pair of tongs' ainːdisk
dumis 'dung beetle' dumisk
mindis 'sting' mindisk
viːs- 'disposal place for the dead' viːsk ← viːːsk
viːc

(7) after the following nouns ending in -r. The suffix -k varies
with -i: after the nouns grouped under (b) and with -i: after the nouns grouped under (c).

(a) ga:duŋ 'sp. bat'  \( \Rightarrow \) ga:duŋk  
a:duŋ 'hail-stone'  \( \Rightarrow \) a:duŋk  
(b) bi:jar  'bull'  \( \Rightarrow \) bi:jari:  
moloŋ 'here'  \( \Rightarrow \) molori:  
ma: sor  'python'  \( \Rightarrow \) ma:sori:  
karsaŋ 'game, religious fair'  \( \Rightarrow \) karsari:  
kaneŋ 'tear'  \( \Rightarrow \) kaneri:  
(c) veduŋ 'bamboo'  \( \Rightarrow \) vedu:  
etar  'sickle'  \( \Rightarrow \) eta:  
ku:kuŋ  'cock's comb'  \( \Rightarrow \) ku:ku:  
gogoŋ 'cock'  \( \Rightarrow \) gogo:  

(8) after the following monosyllabic nouns ending in -v, -r, or -r. In the case of the last two, the suffix -k varies with -i:.

kev  'ear'  \( \Rightarrow \) kevk  
kar  'bamboo shoot'  \( \Rightarrow \) kark  
kor  'fowl'  \( \Rightarrow \) kork  
o:t  'field'  \( \Rightarrow \) o:tk  
ju:r  'a fishing arrow'  \( \Rightarrow \) ju:ri:  
ju:ɾ  'pair'  \( \Rightarrow \) ju:ɾk  \( \Rightarrow \) ju:ri:  

(9) after the following nouns ending in -t. Of these the nouns grouped under (b) can take the suffix -i: optionally.

(a) a:t  'market'  \( \Rightarrow \) a:tk  
po:t  'mole'  \( \Rightarrow \) no:tk  
bo:t  'drop'  \( \Rightarrow \) bo:tk
(10) after the following nouns ending in -t in free variation with -i:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mot</th>
<th>'log'</th>
<th>Mat</th>
<th>'memorial tomb'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tirimoț</td>
<td>'oil-press'</td>
<td>Maț</td>
<td>'knot'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kațmoț</td>
<td>'field-leveler'</td>
<td>Gat</td>
<td>'knot'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uț</td>
<td>'sling'</td>
<td>Pet</td>
<td>'bund of field'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jut</td>
<td>'topknot'</td>
<td>Teț</td>
<td>'adze'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teț</td>
<td>'bambu mat'</td>
<td>Maț</td>
<td>'tuber'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lup koț</td>
<td>'male deer'</td>
<td>Kuaț</td>
<td>'iron nail'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kapăț</td>
<td>'door'</td>
<td>Ka:roț</td>
<td>'hornbill'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kuț</td>
<td>'iron nail'</td>
<td>Kapăț</td>
<td>'door'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Motk</td>
<td>'log'</td>
<td>Matk</td>
<td>'memorial tomb'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tirimoțk</td>
<td>'oil-press'</td>
<td>Mațk</td>
<td>'knot'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kațmoțk</td>
<td>'field-leveler'</td>
<td>Gatk</td>
<td>'knot'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ut-k</td>
<td>'sling'</td>
<td>Petk</td>
<td>'bund of field'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jut-k</td>
<td>'topknot'</td>
<td>Teț-k</td>
<td>'adze'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teț-k</td>
<td>'bambu mat'</td>
<td>Maț-k</td>
<td>'tuber'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lup koț-k</td>
<td>'male deer'</td>
<td>Kuaț-k</td>
<td>'iron nail'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kapăț-k</td>
<td>'door'</td>
<td>Ka:roț-k</td>
<td>'hornbill'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kuț-k</td>
<td>'iron nail'</td>
<td>Kapăț-k</td>
<td>'door'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(11) after the following monosyllabic nouns ending in -d. In case of the first three, -k varies with -i: The noun goq 'cow' deviates its final consonant before the plural suffix.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Goq</th>
<th>'river bank'</th>
<th>Duq</th>
<th>'stick'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gok</td>
<td>'roș'</td>
<td>Duok</td>
<td>'roș'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doq</td>
<td>'doș'</td>
<td>Duqi</td>
<td>'duș'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coq</td>
<td>'coș'</td>
<td>Goq</td>
<td>'cow'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(12) after the following nouns ending in -n. The first five nouns drop their final consonant and the last one drops its penultimate vowel and the final consonant.

peşem 'seed' peşek
neşem 'bead necklace' neşek
mi:son 'moustache' mi:sok
gaşom 'beard' gaşok
pohum 'intestine' pohk

(13) after the final nouns ending in -n. The noun lo:n 'house' drops its final consonant before it. The last two nouns may optionally take the plural suffix -i:

lo:n 'house' lo:k
pe:n 'deity' pe:nk
e:n 'elephant' e: nk - e: ni:
butvani: 'fountain' butvank - butvani:

(14) after the following noun ending in a vowel, which is dropped before it.

purî 'insect' purk

3.2.4.1.1.2.2. -sk occurs in free variation with -:, after the following kinship terms. The bases drop their final consonant before the plural suffix.

e:la: 'younger sister' e:lask - e:la:
poi:da: 'wife's elder sister'

maya: 'daughter' mayask - maya:
ko:riya: 'son's wife' ko:riyask - ko:riya:

3.2.4.1.1.2.3. -hk occurs

(1) after the following seven nouns ending in -r, -v, or -t.

These drop their final consonant before it. The last one
lengthens its vowel before the suffix.

a:ır  'necklace'  a: hk
e:ır  'water'  e: hk
ko:ır  'horn, branch'  ko: hk
na:ır  'village'  na: hk
ni:ır  'ash'  ni: hk
mab  'medicine'  mab hk
quv  'tiger'  qn: hk

(2) after the following two nouns ending in -m. These retain their first syllable only, and lengthen the vowel before the suffix.

kundum  'mushroom'  kush: hk
nun gum  'sesamum'  nu: hk

3.2.4.1.1.2.4. -ng occurs

(1) after all disyllabic nouns ending in -y.

Examples:

alay  'red ant'  alayng
pa:̀ay  'waist'  pa:̀ayng
tupay  'gun'  tupayng

(2) after the following nouns ending in -i.

uri  'trap'  uri:ng
kori  'leaf bud'  kor:ing
guri  'shrine'  gur:ing
gar(i)  'town'  gar:ing
piri  'twisted cord'  pir:ng

(3) after all the monosyllabic nouns ending in -r and preceded by a short vowel, except kor 'fowl' and kar 'bamboo shoot'.

Examples:

ar  'path'  ar: ng
or  'black ant'  orng
jer  'centipede'  jerng
tor  'flock'  tornng
tar  'fratry'  tarnng

(4) after the following nouns ending in -v. It varies with -i:, in case of the last two words.

ma:v  'sambhar'  maivng
av  'meat'  avng
irv  'lip'  irvng  ~  irvi:
erv  'tank'  ervng  ~  ervi:

3.2.4.1.1.2.5. -i: occurs

(1) after (a) all the nouns ending in -k or -g, (b) all the monosyllabic nouns ending in -m, (c) all the nouns ending with derivational suffix -al indicating male sex of non-human nouns, (d) all monosyllabic feminine kinship terms ending in a consonant, and (e) one disyllabic kinship term avat 'co-wife'.

Examples:

(a) a:k  'leaf'  a:ki:
tog  'rubbish'  togi:
marnng  'rib'  mornngi:

(b) tu:m  'hollow trunk of tree'  tu:mi:

(c) burgal  'old bullock'  burgali:

(d) pe:ri:  'father's elder brother's wife'  pe:ri:
ku:ci  'father's younger brother's wife'  ku:ci:

(e) avat  'co-wife'  avati:
(2) after the following four nouns ending in -j:

- munj: 'forehead'
- vanj: 'paddy'
- gonj: 'foot print'
- gaj: 'itch'

(3) after the following four nouns ending in -l. The penultimate vowel in the last two nouns is dropped before this suffix.

- ul: 'onion'
- qil: 'an implement for carrying manure'
- pesel: 'mung pulse'
- picil: 'straw'

(4) after all disyllabic nouns ending in -ir. All the words except the last one drop their penultimate vowel before this suffix.

- kair: 'carrying yoke'
- gisir: 'cloth, dewlap'
- cipir: 'leaf-cup'
- kusir: 'vegetable'
- kir: 'fiddle'
- kustir: 'a cat-like animal'

(5) after the following monosyllabic nouns ending in -dt:

- pad: 'pig'
- gad: 'rice-beer pot'
- ad: 'rock'
- id: 'bamboo grove'
- id: 'roof top'
- did: 'feather'
lod 'pointed stick for fishing'

(6) after the following nouns ending in -t, -ç, -p, -ŋ, -v, -s:
- rat 'temple car' ratı:
- u:t 'quail' u:ti:
- la:ç 'pole' la:tı:
- pa:t 'beam' pa:tı:
- belo:ç 'guava' belo:tı:
- a:ç 'black drongo' a:çı:
- lup 'female deer' lupı:
- ra:çy 'forked wooden post' ra:çı:
- da:çv 'oar' da:çvi:
- nus 'weevil' nusi:
- vi:ç 'fly' vi:si:

(7) after the following nouns ending in consonant clusters viz, -nd, -nd, -nt, -rt, -rd, -rs, -hp:
- ne:nd 'jamun fruit' ne:ndi:
- min:q 'eye lash' min:çi:
- pan:q 'ripe fruit' pan:çi:
- ne:nd 'castor seed' ne:ndi:
- gond 'corner' gondi:
- pant 'bow-string' pantı:
- ba:rt 'adze' ba:rtı:
- ga:rd 'ass' ga:rdi:
- pars 'kind of axe' parsı:
- po:hp 'chisel' po:hpı:

(8) after the following monosyllabic nouns ending in -r:
pu:ç 'tail feathers of peacock' pu:çı:
(9) after the following two nouns. The penultimate vowel and final consonant are lost before this suffix.

kořek  'twenty' koři:
kanđen 'a measurement' kanđi:

3.2.4.1.1.2.6. -ː occurs

(1) after all the nouns ending in a vowel, except those listed under 3.2.4.1.1.1.3. (1), 3.2.4.1.1.2.1. (14), and 3.2.4.1.1.2.4.(2).

Examples:

konđa  'eye' konđa:
barńji  'sister's daughter' barńji:
mute  'wife, woman' mute:
goːdo  'large black ant' goːdo:

(2) after all disyllabic nouns ending in -m, excepting those which are listed in 3.2.4.1.1.2.1.(12). The bases drop their final -m before this suffix. In case of the following nouns listed below, it freely varies with -k.

akum  'horn(for blowing)' aku:  -  akuk
apřam  'ceremonial canopy' apřa:  -  apřak
ilkum  'a parasite plant' ilku:  -  ilkuk
iːtam  'leaf-pin' iːta:  -  iːtak
ukam  'star' uka:  -  ukak
erpum  'sandal' erpu:  -  erpuk
eːŋram  'kind of arrow' eːŋraː  -  eːŋrak
koṭam  'cow-shed' koṭa:  -  koṭak
kurpum  'big wound' kurpu:  -  kurpuk
(3) after all disyllabic nouns ending in -r, except those which have been listed under 3.2.4.1.1.2.5.(4). The bases drop their final -r before this suffix. However, it freely varies with -i: after the nouns listed below:

garban 'egg' garba: - garbak

galarn 'fishing rod' gaila: - gailak

guram 'horse' gura: - gurak

jo:gram 'luggage' jo:gra: - jo:grak

dukam 'sickness' duka: - dukak

deyam 'deity' deya: - deyak

paga: 'rope' paga: - pagak

but:ram 'pubic hair' but:pa: - but: rak

bi:nu: 'dead body' bi:nu: - bi: nuk

ma:ram 'tree' ma:re: - ma: rak

miriyam 'chilli' miriya: - miriyak

ro:sum 'an implement' ro:su: - ro: suk

va:sa: 'rafter' va:sa: - va: sak

veppum 'ear ornament' veppu: - veppuk

vehkum 'cucumber' vehku: - vehkuk

jurngam 'bean' jurngu: - jurnk
(4) after all the disyllabic nouns ending in -r. It freely varies with -i: after the first two bases. The base-final -r is dropped before this suffix.

Examples:

- o:ser 'verandah' o:se: - o:seri:
- ti:ter 'sp. lap winr' ti:te: - ti:teri:
- umar 'head-pad' uma: - umari:
- pungar 'flower' punga: - pungari:

3.2.5. Case

3.2.5.1. Classification of the nominals

Case suffixes are added to the oblique forms of the nominals. The oblique forms of the first and second persons and reflexive pronouns have been described under 3.2.2.1. and 3.2.2.2.2. respectively. The demonstrative pronouns id 'she/it (prox.)', ad 'she/it (remote)', and av 'they (mn.)' also have their oblique forms (see 3.2.2.2.1.), but they may optionally be formed by adding the oblique suffix. The remaining nominals would also require this suffix for their oblique formation. With a view to simplify the statement regarding the allomorphic distribution of
this suffix, the nominals are classified into six classes as described below.

Class I:

A. Monosyllabic irrational nouns ending in -r, -ɨ, -l, -v, or -y. This class also includes a bound morpheme ba:j- 'out' occurring in the locative only.

B. The following nouns ending in -i:

opi 'pain', uri 'trap', gar(i) 'town', guri 'shrine', tori 'clay', puri 'insect', and veri 'wind'.

Class II:

A. (1) Monosyllabic irrational nouns ending in a consonant other than -r, -ɨ, -l, -v, or -y.

(2) Irrational singular nouns ending in a vowel except those grouped under IB. This subclass also includes

(a) pila 'child/young one', (b) the bound morpheme bo:ka- 'near' occurring in the locative only, and

(c) na:tc- an alternant base of nair 'village', provided the oblique suffix is added to it, and is further followed by the accusative.

B. Polysyllabic irrational singular nouns ending in ɨ or ɨn (V= vowel) with the following exceptions:

askul 'axle' taral 'barkoot' urpal 'iguana' na:rel 'coconut'
uspal 'peste' payal 'day time'
urskal 'menhir' boyil 'open space of ground'
eimul 'tortoise' boyul 'foam'
ka:rel 'bitter sourd' mosol 'crocodile'
kukal 'leonard' u:ram 'kind of drink'
gongal 'male of dog'
C. (1) Polysyllabic irrational singular nouns ending in \( \text{vr} \) or \( \text{vr} \) excluding the followings:

- \( \text{eṭaṛ} \) 'sickle'
- \( \text{utṣuṛ} \) 'whistling'
- \( \text{kaṇeṛ} \) 'tears'
- \( \text{kaṛkaṛ} \) 'crow'

(2) The following time nouns:

- \( \text{i:yen} \) 'this year'
- \( \text{ayen} \) 'year before'
- \( \text{peren} \) 'next year'
- \( \text{mayen} \) 'Year after next year'

D. Polysyllabic irrational singular nouns ending in a consonant, except those belonging to IIB and IIC.

E. The following singular rational nouns:

- \( \text{e:laṛ} \) 'younger sister'
- \( \text{pi:ki} \) 'girl'
- \( \text{mayaṛ} \) 'daughter'
- \( \text{po:daṛ} \) 'wife's elder sister'

Class III:

A. (1) Singular masculine nouns, pronouns and numeral veror 'one (m.)' ending in \(-r\), except \( \text{mar} \) 'son'.

(2) Masculine singular nouns ending in the derivational suffix \(-\text{al}\).

B. (1) Rational singular nouns ending in a vowel except \( \text{pila} \) 'child / young one', \( \text{ma:ne} \) 'man', and \( \text{leya} \) 'young woman'.

(2) Nonmasculine numerals \( \text{na:lu} \) 'four', \( \text{a:ru} \) 'six', and pronoun \( \text{be:n} \) 'who (m.)'. This subclass also includes the alternant base \( \text{na:ṭe-} \) 'village', in case the oblique suffix is added to it which is followed by the genitive suffix.

Class IV:

A. Rational singular nouns ending in a consonant and not included in the class IIE and IIIA.

B. The following nonmasculine demonstrative and interrogative
pronouns:
'id 'she/it (prox.)',  nd 'she/it (remote)',  iv 'these';
av 'those',  isk 'this many',  ask 'that many',  bed
'who (sg.)',  bev 'who (pl.)',  besk 'how many'.

Class V:
A. Masculine plural nominals ending in -r.
B. (1) Plural nouns ending in a consonant cluster or a
    consonant other than -r.
    (2) Nonmasculine numerals ending in a consonant cluster.
C. Plural nouns ending in -: .

Class VI:
A. The following place nouns and time nouns ending in a vowel:
    iga 'here'  paya 'after'
    a:ga 'there'  pe:irke 'after'
    be:ga 'where'  nine 'yesterday'
    i:ke 'this side'  narka 'night'
    a:ke 'that side'  na:ng 'then'
    be:ke 'which side'  mulpe 'evening'
    po:vo 'above'  inje 'now'
    na:rna 'middle'  ni:pe 'last year'
B. The following bound morphemes occurring in the instrumental
    case only:
    i:ve- 'this',  a:ve- 'that',  and ba:pe- - ba:pe- 'what'.

3.2.6.2. Oblique suffix

The oblique suffix has the following allomorphs:
/ -d-, -t-, -n-, -in-, -g- /

3.2.6.2.1. -d- occurs after all nouns belonging to class I.
Examples:
kaːl-d-a  'of the leg'
kay-d-e  'with the hand'
guri-d-ag  'near the shrine'
nar-d-ag  'near the village'

3.2.5.2.2. -t- occurs after all nouns of class II. However, nouns of class IIC do not take this allomorph when they have dropped their final consonant as an optional process (see 3.2.5.2.3. below). Note that neːŋ-t-ina 'today' has an alternate base before this suffix.

Examples:
num-t-a  'of the rock'
gudel-t-e  'with the axe'
jaːri-t-e  'with the fishing net'
kuyer-t-ag  'near the river'
bokan-t-e  'near'
eːlar-t-ag  'near the younger sister'
nar-te-t-un  'village (acc.)'
acut-t-ina  'from that time'
iːyen-t-a  'of this year'
neːŋ-t-ina  'from today'
neːt-t-ina  'from today'

Note: Nouns belonging to the subclass IIB can optionally drop their final consonant, e.g.
kaːtu-t-ag  - kaːtu-t-ag  'near the cot'
erpum-t-e  - erpu-t-e  'in the sandal'

3.2.5.2.3. -t- occurs (1) after the nouns naːr 'village' before taking the locative suffix, provided its final -r is dropped optionally (naːr takes -d- when -r is not dropped, see
3.2.5.2.1. (2) after the nouns belonging to class IIc, provided they have dropped their final consonant as an optional process. In case they do not drop it, they take -t- instead of -t-, see 3.2.5.2.2., and (3) after the time and place nouns grouped under class VI.

Examples:

na: -t-e → na: r-d-e 'in the village'
kase- t-e → kaser-t-e 'with the knife'
nine- t-ina

3.2.5.2.4. -n- occurs after the nominals grouped under class III. It also occurs after all the nominals grouped under class VI and VC, provided they are further followed by the locative, ablative, genitive, or in some instances vocative case suffix. Those of class IIIA, drop their final -r or -l before this suffix.

Examples:

tamur-n-ina > tamunina 'from the younger brother'
o: r-n-ag > o:nag 'near him'
pe: kal-n-a > pe: kana 'of the boy'
mute-n-(k) 'woman (acc-dat.)'
ara-n-a 'of the six (nm.)'
be:n-n-a 'whose (m.)'
lo:k-n-ag 'near the houses'
pi:ki-n-ina 'from the girls'
onq-n-a 'of the one (nm.)'
mayask-n-1 '0 daughters!'

3.2.5.2.5. -in- occurs after nominals grouped under class IV.

Examples:

mar-in-k 'son (acc.-dat.)'
poo: p-in-a 'father's elder brother's'
ad-in-ag 'near her/it'
3.2.5.2.6. -& occurs after the plural nominals grouped under VA. It also occurs after the nouns and numerals grouped under VB and VC, provided they are further followed by the accusative-dative suffix -in or -kin.

Examples:

- o:pi-Ø-a
- ko:ytor-Ø-ina
- mayask-Ø-in
- muta:Ø-kin
- ond-Ø-in

3.2.5.3. Case suffixes

Since nominative case base no overt marker, it is not included in the following description. The other cases are:

1. accusative-dative, 2. instrumental-locative, 3. ablative, 4. genitive, and 5. vocative.

3.2.5.3.1. Accusative-Dative

This case suffix has the following allomorphs:

/ -k, -Ø, -un, -in, -kin /

1. -k in free variation with -Ø, occurs after the oblique suffix -in-, -n-, or the oblique bases te:n-, ta:n-, and va:n-.

Examples:

- mar-in-k ➞ mar-in-Ø 'son (acc.-dat.)'
- id-in-k ➞ id-in-Ø 'she/it (acc.-dat.)'
- veror-n-k ➞ veronk 'one (m., acc.-dat.)'
- veror-n-Ø ➞ veron 'one (m., acc.-dat.)'
- pe:kal-n-k ➞ pe:kan 'boy (acc.-dat.)'
- pe:kal-n-Ø ➞ pe:kan 'boy (acc.-dat.)'
te:n-k ➞ te:n-∅ 'she/it (prox., acc.-dat.)'
ta:n-k ➞ ta:n-∅ 'she/it (remote, acc.-dat.)'
va:n-k ➞ va:n-∅ 'they (nm.) remote, acc.-dat.)'

(2) -un occurs after the oblique suffixes -t-, -t-, or -d-. It freely varies with -in.

Examples:

mayar-t-un ➞ mayar-t-in 'daughter (acc.-dat.)'
i:ca-t-un ➞ i:ca-t-in 'comb (acc.)'
kor-d-un ➞ kor-d-in 'fowl (acc.-dat.)'

(3) -in occurs after the oblique forms of the nouns and numerals grouped under VB, as in

ur-ing-∅-in 'bird-trap (acc.)'
mark-∅-in 'sons (acc.-dat.)'
ond-∅-in 'one (nm., acc.-dat.)'

(4) -kin occurs elsewhere. It varies with -k after the oblique bases of first and second person pronouns.

ma:ne-∅-kin 'men (acc.-dat.)'
da:d-alor-∅-kin 'elder brothers (acc.-dat.)'
na:-kin-na:k 'me'
mi:-kin-mi:k 'you (pl., acc.-dat.)'

Note: the accusative-dative suffix is preferably omitted after the inanimate nouns.

3.2.5.3.2. Instrumental-Locative

Instrumental-locative suffix is -e. It occurs with the inanimate nouns only, as in

kay-d-e 'in/with the hand'
kayk-n-e 'in/with the hands'
gupa-t-e 'in the jungle'
ave-t-e 'with it (remote)'

3.2.5.3.3. Ablative

The suffix is -ina occurring after the oblique forms, as in

- na:1-d-ina 'from the milk'
- iqa-t-ina 'from this place'
- mar-in-ina 'from the son'
- koyto-ê-ina 'from the Gonds'

3.2.5.3.4. Genitive

This is denoted by the allomorphs: /-va, -ê, -a/.

(1) -va -ê occurs after the oblique bases of first and second person and reflexive pronouns, as in

- na:-va - na:-ê 'my'
- mi:-va - mi:-ê 'your (pl.)'
- tam-va - tam-ê 'their'
- tan-va - tan-ê 'his/her'

(2) -a occurs elsewhere, as in

- o:ra-n-a > o:na 'his'
- te:n-a 'her/its (prox.)'
- o:ra 'their (m.)'
- pite-t-a 'of the bird'
- mar-in-a 'of the son'

3.2.5.3.5. Vocative

This suffix has the allomorphs: /-i, -ê/.

(1) -i can be directly suffixed to all the kin terms, and the noun pi:k 'girl' ending in a consonant (except e:laê, nayar, koriyar, and po:daê), or after their oblique forms. In other cases it is suffixed to the oblique forms.
Examples:

- pe:p-in-i ➔ pe:p-i '0 father's elder brother!'
- pik-t-i ➔ pik-i '0 girl!'
- mayar-t-i ➔ '0 daughter!'

(2) -∅ occurs elsewhere. Masculine nouns ending in -al drop their final -l before this allomorph.

Examples:

- pe:kal-∅ ➔ pe:ka '0 boy!'
- da:daï-∅ ➔ da:da '0 elder brother!'
- ka:nal-∅ ➔ ka:na '0 blind man!'

### 3.2.5.4. Specimen paradigms

#### 3.2.5.4.1. Nouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class I</th>
<th>Class II</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Nom.</strong></td>
<td>ka:ɾ 'arrow'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Acc.-Dat.</strong></td>
<td>ka:ɾ-d-un</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Instr-Loc.</strong></td>
<td>ka:ɾ-d-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Abl.</strong></td>
<td>ka:ɾ-d-ina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Gen.</strong></td>
<td>ka:ɾ-d-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Class III</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Nom.</strong></td>
<td>pe:kal 'boy'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Acc.-Dat.</strong></td>
<td>pe:ka-n-(k)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Abl.</strong></td>
<td>pe:ka-n-ina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Gen.</strong></td>
<td>pe:ka-n-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Voc.</strong></td>
<td>pe:ka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Class V</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Nom.</strong></td>
<td>e:lañk 'younger sisters'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Pronouns

#### (1) First person

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Singular (excl.)</th>
<th>Singular (incl.)</th>
<th>Plural (excl.)</th>
<th>Plural (incl.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>nan(a)</td>
<td>nom(o)</td>
<td>man(a)</td>
<td>man(an)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.-Dat.</td>
<td>na:-k(in)</td>
<td>na:-k(in)</td>
<td>man:-k(in)</td>
<td>man:-k(in)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abl.</td>
<td>na:-yina</td>
<td>na:-yina</td>
<td>man:-yina</td>
<td>man:-yina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>na:- (va)</td>
<td>na:- (va)</td>
<td>man:- (va)</td>
<td>man:- (va)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### (2) Second person

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>nim(a)</td>
<td>mi:r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.-Dat.</td>
<td>ni:-k(in)</td>
<td>mi:-k(in)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abl.</td>
<td>ni:-yina</td>
<td>mi:-yina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>ni:- (va)</td>
<td>mi:- (va)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### (3) Third person

##### (A) Demonstratives

#### (1) Masculine (prox.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>ve:r</td>
<td>ve:r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.-Dat.</td>
<td>ve:-n-(k)</td>
<td>ve:r-θ-kin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abl.</td>
<td>ve:-n-ina</td>
<td>ve:r-θ-ina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>ve:-n-a</td>
<td>ve:r-θ-a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### (2) Masculine (remote)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>o:e</td>
<td>o:e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.-Dat.</td>
<td>o:-n-(k)</td>
<td>o:e-θ-kin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### (iii) Nonmasculine (prox.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Abl.</td>
<td>o:~n-ina</td>
<td>o:~n-(k)</td>
<td>o:~n-ina</td>
<td>o:~n-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>o:~n-a</td>
<td>te:n-(k)</td>
<td>te:n-ina</td>
<td>te:n-a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### (iv) Nonmasculine (remote)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
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<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Abl.</td>
<td>ad-in-(k)</td>
<td>ad-in-(k)</td>
<td>ad-in-ina</td>
<td>ad-in-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>ad-in-a</td>
<td>te:n-(k)</td>
<td>te:n-ina</td>
<td>te:n-a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### (B) Interrogatives

#### (i) Masculine

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Abl.</td>
<td>be:nor</td>
<td>be:no-n-(k)</td>
<td>be:no-n-ina</td>
<td>be:no-n-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>be:no-n-a</td>
<td>be:no-n-ina</td>
<td>be:no-n-ina</td>
<td>be:no-n-a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### (ii) Nonmasculine

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Abl.</td>
<td>bed</td>
<td>bed-in-(k)</td>
<td>bed-in-ina</td>
<td>bed-in-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>bed-in-a</td>
<td>bev-in-(k)</td>
<td>bev-in-ina</td>
<td>bev-in-a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.2.5.4.3. Numerals

(1) Masculine

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Form 1</th>
<th>Form 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>veror 'one'</td>
<td>naːlvur 'four'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.-Dat.</td>
<td>vero-n</td>
<td>naːlvur-∅-kin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abl.</td>
<td>vero-n-ina</td>
<td>naːlvur-∅-ina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>vero-n-a</td>
<td>naːlvur-∅-a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(2) Nonmasculine

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Form 1</th>
<th>Form 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>onq 'one'</td>
<td>naːlu 'four'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc.-Dat.</td>
<td>onq-∅-in</td>
<td>naːlu-∅-(k)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abl.</td>
<td>onq-∅-ina</td>
<td>naːlu-∅-ina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen.</td>
<td>onq-∅-a</td>
<td>naːlu-∅-a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.2.5.5. Postpositions

Postpositions are suffixed to the oblique or genitive forms of the nominal bases. These can substitute case suffixes, or can occur independently, whereas the case suffixes cannot occur alone. Following is the list of frequently used postpositions:

- ag(a) 'at, near'
- naːma 'between'
- aːbar 'beyond'
- peːrke 'behind'
- aːdın 'below, under'
- poɾo 'upon, above'
- aːŋ 'below, under'
- mune 'before, in front'
- uːtul 'by the side'
- sapne 'close'
- eːre 'near'

In addition to the above the following particles also function as the postpositions:

- aːle 'like'
- leː 'than'
- lek 'like'
- naːye(n) 'for'
- suːta 'like'
3.3. Adjectives

Adjectives are those items which can occur as attributes in a noun phrase. They also occur as complements to the verb man- 'exist', stay, live', or a:- 'become'.

3.3.1. Usage of nominals as adjectives

Nouns, pronouns, and numerals can also function as adjectives. It may be mentioned here that certain masculine nouns ending in -al, drop their final consonant when they are used as attributes, e.g.

*đe:ngal* 'tall man'  *đe:ngana ma:ne* 'tall man'

*kə:nal* 'blind man'  *ka:na pe:kal* 'blind boy'

Similarly the clan names can also be used attributively. The clan names ending in -am also drop their final consonant, e.g.

(1) *kuhram* 'a clan name'

*kuhrapa pe:kal* 'a boy of kuhram clan'

*kuhra pi:k* 'a girl of kuhra clan'

(2) *mə:kam* 'a clan name'

*mə:kama ma:ne* 'a man of mə:kam clan'

*mə:kama mute* 'a woman of mə:kam clan'

3.3.2. Subclasses of adjectives

On the basis of their function, the adjectives can be classified as (1) descriptive adjectives, and (2) quantitative adjectives, and (3) determinitive adjectives. All these types are morphologically simple, or derived.

3.3.2.1. Descriptive adjectives

(1) Simple

(a) Colour:
paːnde 'white' jaːbur 'green'
gudʊm 'black' natʊɾ 'red'

(b) State and quality:
acam 'empty' paːnta 'old'
aqra 'bad' palca/palsa 'thin'
una 'deserted' pand 'fraudulent'
jinjor 'miserly' badmas 'fraudulent'
delam 'thick' leya 'young'
anela 'good' laːv 'hard'
pepaying 'light' gaːdra: 'partially ripe'
padlam 'strong' sapur 'gentle'
puːna 'new' pula 'sour'

(c) Size and shape:
cudla 'small' qaːng 'tall'
cuːtel 'lean and thin' biriya 'big'
laːtum 'long' dikor 'thin and tall'
bernda 'flat, wide'

(d) Gender-distinguishing classifiers:
dada 'female of animals'
potaːl 'male of animals'
talʊɾ 'female of birds'
gogor 'male of birds'

(2) Derived:

(a) from the pronominal bases iː-, aː-, and beː-
iː-sun 'of this type' iː-ːto 'of this type'
aː-sun 'of that type' aː-ːto 'of that type'
beː-sun 'of what type' beː-ːto 'of what type'

(b) from nouns and verbs:
kankol 'yellow' (kanka 'turbanic')
vangːrə 'bent, crooked' (vang- 'bend')
(c)by reduplication:
vinko vanko 'crooked' gilgil 'soft'
kikik koko 'crooked' givgiv 'cool (breeze)'

3.3.2.2. Quantitative adjectives

On the basis of their distribution, quantitative adjectives can be either (1) unmarked, or (2) marked.

3.3.2.2.1. Unmarked quantitative adjectives

These are free to occur with masculine or nonmasculine (count or mass) nouns, e.g.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ma:ne:} & \quad \text{men} \\
\text{pi:te:} & \quad \text{birds} \\
narge & \quad \text{many/much} \\
mute: & \quad \text{women} \\
kalk & \quad \text{stones} \\
ni:yi & \quad \text{oil}
\end{align*}
\]

A list of such quantitatives is given below:

(a) Simple:

\[
\begin{align*}
narge & \quad \text{many/much} \\
dibe & \quad \text{many/much} \\
saman & \quad \text{many/much}
\end{align*}
\]

(b) Derived:

\[
\begin{align*}
i-cor & \quad \text{this much/many} \\
a-cor & \quad \text{that much/many} \\
be-cor & \quad \text{how much/many}
\end{align*}
\]

3.3.2.2.2. Marked quantitative adjectives

These are used with certain restrictions. They are marked for the feature of the gender, or + countability.
(1) Gender-marked quantitative adjectives

These are arranged into set 1 and set 2. Quantitatives grouped under set 1 can occur with the masculine nouns, and those which are grouped under set 2, can occur with the nonmasculine nouns only.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Set 1</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>Set 2</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sober</td>
<td>'all'</td>
<td>sober</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>umker</td>
<td>'all'</td>
<td>umke</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>konder</td>
<td>'all'</td>
<td>konde</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ad:or</td>
<td>'remaining'</td>
<td>a:do</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-svur</td>
<td>'this many'</td>
<td>i-sk</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a-svur</td>
<td>'that many'</td>
<td>a-sk</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be:-svur</td>
<td>'how many'</td>
<td>be-sk</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(2) Countability-marked quantitative adjectives

These can also be arranged into two sets. Those listed under set 1 can occur with the count nouns, and those under set 2 can occur with the mass nouns.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Set 1</th>
<th>gloss</th>
<th>Set 2</th>
<th>gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>cuquk</td>
<td>'some'</td>
<td>cuqun</td>
<td>'some'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i-suk</td>
<td>'this many'</td>
<td>i-cun</td>
<td>'this much'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a-suk</td>
<td>'that many'</td>
<td>a-cun</td>
<td>'that much'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be-suk</td>
<td>'how many'</td>
<td>be-cun</td>
<td>'how much'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.3.2.3. Determinative adjectives

The following two may be grouped under this subclass.

i: 'this/these' a: 'that/those'

3.4. Adverbs

Adverbs either modify a verb, or occur as its complement.
3.4.1. Subclasses of adverbs

According to their functions, adverbs fall into five subclasses (1) manner adverbs, (2) degree adverbs, (3) time adverbs, (4) frequency adverbs, and (5) location adverbs. Structurally they are either simple or derived.

3.4.1.1. Manner adverbs

(1) Simple:
   - any 'without any purpose'
   - custom 'reusely'
   - laby 'quickly'

(2) Derived:
   The suffixes /-le, -ne(n), -e/ are found to occur in the derivation of following manner adverbs.

(a)-le is suffixed to derive adverbs from the pronominal bases i:-, a:-, be:-, and ba:-.
   - i:-le 'in this manner'
   - a:-le 'in that manner'
   - be:-le 'in what manner'
   - ba:-le 'in what manner'

(b)-ne(n) is suffixed to derive the following adverbs.
   - mîrk-ne(n) 'brightly' (< mîrk- 'glow')
   - gi:r-ne(n) 'tightly' (< gi:r- 'tighten')

(c)-e occurs in the following one word, in free variation with -ne(n).
   - tîg-e tîgne(n) 'straightly' (< tîg 'straight')

The following adverbs also appear to contain -ne(n) and -e, even though there is no other evidence for segmentation. In the first two adverbs -ne(n) varies with -re. In the third one, it varies
3.4.1.2. Degree adverbs:

murse 'at all'
na:k murse tinta va:ho 'I do not feel like eating at all'
jaima 'a little'
jaima ke:pa 'wait a little'
mal mal 'a bit (hot)'
e:r mal mal ka:sta 'water is a bit hot'

3.4.1.3. Time adverbs

ideken 'now'
adeken 'then'

3.4.1.4. Frequency adverbs

a:nte 'always'
dural 'daily'

3.4.1.5. Location adverbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location adverb</th>
<th>Note</th>
<th>Note</th>
<th>Note</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>i:</td>
<td>'here'</td>
<td>je:k</td>
<td>'far away'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a:</td>
<td>'there'</td>
<td>eray</td>
<td>'far away'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be:</td>
<td>'where'</td>
<td>gulay</td>
<td>'every where'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In addition to the above, a number of time and place nouns, and postpositions are found to function as adverbs, e.g.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location adverb</th>
<th>Note</th>
<th>Note</th>
<th>Note</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ieu:</td>
<td>'this time'</td>
<td>nero</td>
<td>'above'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inje</td>
<td>'now'</td>
<td>nqin</td>
<td>'below'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i:yen</td>
<td>'this year'</td>
<td>narma</td>
<td>'middle'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na:ng</td>
<td>'then'</td>
<td>bokate</td>
<td>'near'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na:nd</td>
<td>'today'</td>
<td>iga</td>
<td>'this place'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sombar</td>
<td>'Monday'</td>
<td>sapne</td>
<td>'closely'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.5. Particles

Particles are also uninflectable elements. On the basis of their distribution, they can be classified into two types (1) independent particles, and (2) enclitic particles.

3.5.1. Independent particles

Independent particles are connectors, modals, interjections, and vocatives and some others.

(1) Connectors

(a) nu 'and'

This joins two phrases, e.g.

koyla nu ku:kal 'fox and the leopard'

iẓnal nu laknal 'Idma and Lakna'

(b) aru 'and'

This joins two sentences, e.g.

nař nana aṣi da:tan aru nát asitan
'I will go to market to-morrow and buy medicine'
(c) galay 'and then'

This is also used to join two sentences, e.g.

-mar ro vato galay suvatag udor.
(We did care and then sat down near the well.)

Galay is also used for emphasis, e.g.

nan galay kainjon. 'Even I could not carry (it)'

(d) ki 'or'

This is a disjunctive connective, e.g.

(id) kura ki pañña? 'Is this a cow calf or a bull calf?'

o:ër vator ki va:vor? 'Did he come or not?'

Ki also functions as an interrogative particle. In this usage, it occurs in the sentence-final position, e.g.

o:ër vator ki? 'Did he come?'

(e) aden 'because, so'

This is a subordinate connective joining two sentences.

Some times mayden 'for' is also used after it.

o:na ji:va o:po aden (mayden) o:ër va:vor.
'He is not well so he did not come.'

(f) mat(i) 'but'

This is an adversative connective.

-qcor titañ mat(i) pọṭa panjo.
'(I) ate so much but the stomach did not fill.'

It is also used as dubitative particle, e.g.

ba:lo ki:tan mati? 'How (I) shall do it (is) uncertain.'

(2) Modals

(a) be:he expresses probability.

musur va:ta be:he. 'Rains may come.'

(b) ven(g) mend(e) expresses emphasis.

inje ven! mend. 'even now'

nan ven! 'I too'
They are also used as frequency adverbs, e.g.
ven(ə)-men(ə) vara. 'Come again (2d. sg.).'

(3) Interjections

Following are the frequently used interjections in this dialect.

- o: 'yes'
- ale 'alright'
- ci: ci: 'an expression of disgust'
- johar 'a term of greeting'
- vay 'an expression of surprise'
- ayayyo 'alas'
- a:yico 'alas'
- aysidani 'alas'
- ayodani 'alas'

(4) Vocatives

(a) The vocatives adal, o:, and e: are used before the
kin terms or personal names, e.g.
adal ya:yo 'O mother!'
o: na:no 'O elder sister!'
e: lakma 'O Lakma!'

(b) The vocative ṭa: - ra, is used to address a man, and
ṛi - ri is used to address a woman, e.g.
ha:ta ṭa:- ra 'what? (addressing to a man)'
uda ṛi - ri 'sit down! (addressing to a woman)'

(c) The particle bo can be used to address either a man or
a woman, e.g.
da: bo 'let us go (addressing to some one)'

(5) Other particles

(a) ina 'expresses similarity.
duv ina  'like a tiger'
koytor ina  'like a Gond'

(b) neka is an intensifier particle.
neka nela  'very good'

(c) kot is generally used after interrogatives to express indefiniteness.
barta kot  'some thing'
bed kot muta  'a certain woman'

(d) mend corresponds to '-ful'.
kunda mend  'potful'
egra mend  'handful'

(e) met is used after time nouns.
le:nj met  'within a month'
ganta met  'within an hour'

(f) ja:r is a human classifier used after the numerals after 6.
sait ja:r maine:  'seven men'
a:t ja:r mute:  'eight woman'

3.5.2. Enclitic particles

Enclitic particles are suffix-like elements with greater freedom to occur with different word classes. These are; ay, e, and lek. a and ay are emphatic particles, and lek expresses similarity. Generally they occur with numerals, demonstratives, or personal pronouns, words denoting time or place, a verb and particles: mend and neka, e.g.

on'day  'only one (nm.)'  va:vore  'they (m.) have yet not come'
nanay  'myself'  vende  'again (emph.)'
narkay  'morning (emph.)'  na:valek  'like mine'
nekar  'very much'  titlek  'as if eaten'
ade  'she/it (emph.)'