Chapter 3

STRUCTURE AND FUNCTION OF STEMS

1 Functional Classification of Stems.

A Halbi stem may occur in its base form or it may be accompanied by various affixes. On the basis of co-occurrence restrictions between stems and affixes, the stems can be divided into various sub-classes.

(a) Nominal: A nominal stem may occur independently or it may co-occur with the class of nominal affixes.

(b) Verbal: A verbal stem occurs in the verb position, with verbal affixes.

(c) Particles: Particles are not inflected and do not enter into the morphological construction. They are closed-system grammatical items. Some of them are bound forms while the others are free forms. They are discussed fully in Chapter 5. A special note should be made here, however, of 'coverbals', since they are mentioned frequently in the forthcoming chapters. 'Coverbals' are the particles which are combined with verb roots and the resulting sequences function as unit main verbs.

1.1 Canonical Shapes: The canonical shapes of the verbal roots have been investigated. The resulting patterns are presented below. No typical patterns of the other stem-classes have been found.
Monosyllables: \( (C)V(C) \)
- CVCC

Examples:
- \( v \) e- 'come'
- \( VC \) uδ- 'fly'
- \( CV \) de- 'give'
- \( lev- \) 'bend'
- \( CVC \) cinh- 'recognise'
- \( CVCC \) phand- 'tie'

Disyllables: \( (C)VC(C)V(C) \)

Examples:
- \( VCV \) osa- 'spread'
- \( VCCV \) ucla- 'peel'
- \( VCVC \) upheδ- 'come up'
- \( VCCVC \) -- --
- \( CVVC \) suka- 'dry'
- \( CVCCV \) murya- 'begin'
- \( CVVCVC \) kocak- 'prick'
- \( CVCCVC \) kinjer- 'rotate, go-round'

Trisyllables: \( CVC(C)VCV \)
- \( VCCVCV \)

Examples:
- \( CVVCVC \) gothiya- 'talk'
- \( CVCCVC \) ceđcađa- 'get sultry'
- \( VCCVCV \) onđaya- 'collect'
1.2 Sub-classification

1.2.1 The nominal stems of Halbi are classified into:


1.2.1.1. Nouns: Noun stems are classified into certain categories that are relevant to the inflectional system into which they enter. These categories are:

(a) Animate nouns: They are sub-classified into human and non-human categories. Each category includes collective nouns.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Human</th>
<th>'servant'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kobagi</td>
<td>'man, husband'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>devka</td>
<td>'woman, wife'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>devki</td>
<td>'people (collective)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>log</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Non-human</th>
<th>'bull'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>beyle</td>
<td>'fly'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mosi</td>
<td>'mosquito'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bhursundi</td>
<td>'cattle, (collective)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gohdi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(b) Inanimate Nouns: They are sub-classified into two categories - countable and non-countable.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Countable</th>
<th>'stone'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pakhna</td>
<td>'field'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baca</td>
<td>'wild fig'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Non-countable: kudur</th>
<th>'sand'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>selpi</td>
<td>'(fermented sap of the sago-palm)'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1.2.1.2 Pronouns: The sub-classes of pronouns are:

(a) Personal, (b) demonstrative (c) interrogative, (d) indefinite, (e) reflexive, and (f) relative.

(a) Personal pronouns:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sg.</th>
<th>Pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First</td>
<td>məy</td>
<td>hamı - amı, he-mən, he-mən-mən</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second</td>
<td>tui</td>
<td>tumı, tu-mən, tu-mən-mən</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third</td>
<td>(a) hun</td>
<td>hun-mən</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(b) te</td>
<td>te-mən.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Note the allomorphs he- and tu- before the plural marker -mən.)

The occurrence of the third person pronouns te and te-mən is not very frequent. Moreover, they occur more with postpositions than alone. Otherwise, there is no semantic difference between hun and te.

'tumı' is also used honorifically for single person.

The first and second person pronouns have the following bound allomorphs before taking postpositions.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sg.</th>
<th>Pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First</td>
<td>mə-</td>
<td>ham- - am-, he-mən-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second</td>
<td>tu-</td>
<td>tum-, tu-mən-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The distribution of the first and second person plural allomorphs before the postpositions has not been determined.
tihi - is the bound form used before postpositions in referring to pluralized human nouns or referring honorifically to a third person.

(b) Demonstrative Pronouns.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sg.</th>
<th>Pā.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>e-mën, e-mën-mën</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hun</td>
<td>hun-mën</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'this'</td>
<td>'these'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'that'</td>
<td>'those'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(c) Interrogative Pronouns:

The interrogative pronouns are kon 'who?' and kay 'what?' kon has a bound allomorph ka- before taking postpositions. These two interrogative pronouns when repeated have a distributive sense.

kon kon : kon kon tu-mên-ke ni saṅgla ?
"which of them did not tell you ?"

kay kay : kay kay-ke dherlo aplo pakit-me ?
"which things did he carry in his pocket ?"

(d) Indefinite Pronouns:

kon to       'somebody'
koni, kohu* 'anybody',
kah - kai, 'anything, something'
käh-jähī

kon and koni have the bound allomorph ka- when followed by postpositions.

* kohu is a Chhattisgarhi form, usually used while telling stories.
(e) Reflexive Pronouns:

Sg.  Fl.
apən      apən-mən

apən has the form ap-lo instead of apən-co (the post-position which joins the possessor with the thing possessed). For apən-mən-co, there is another form ap-lo-han. These pronouns occur when the possessive noun is coreferential with the subject of the sentence. e.g.

dərji dharlo ap-lo kəpəa silto mesin
'tailor took his own clothes sewing machine'
"The tailor took his own sewing machine"

(f) Relative Pronoun: The relative pronoun is je 'who, which'.

1.2.1.3. Adjectives: Adjectives, unlike nouns and pronouns are not inflected, except that a few qualitative adjectives are gender-marked. Among adjectives a special sub-class of numerals can be recognised.

(a) Cardinals:

ek, goṭok        'one'
dui              'two'
tin              'three'
car              'four'
pāc              'five'
chəy             'six'
sat
āṭh
nēv
dēs
igyara - gyara
bāra
terā
cēvda
pāndra
sola
sētra
āṭhara
onēis
bis, koḍi
'seven'
'eight'
nine'
'ten'
'eleven'
'twelve'
'thirteen'
'fourteen'
'fifteen'
'sixteen'
'seventeen'
'eighteen'
'nineteen'
'twenty'

The numerals after 'twenty' are counted in the following way:

ek-koḍi-ek '1 x 20 + 1, twenty-one'

till

ek-koḍi-cēvda 'thirty-four'

afterwards

ek-koḍi-pāndra '1 x 20 + 15 )
or or ) 'thirty-five'

pāc-kām-dui-koḍi '5 + 2 x 20,)
car-kām-dui-koḍi 'thirty-six'
tin-kām-dui-koḍi 'thirty-seven'
dui-kām-dui-koḍi 'thirty-eight'
ek-kam-dui-kogi  'thirty-nine'
dui-kogi  'forty'

Again, due-kogi-ek  'forty-one' etc., in the same way as shown above, till tin kogi  'sixty' and so on.

(b) Ordinals:
   pahili  'first'
dusar  'second'
tisar  'third'

(c) Multiples:
duhda  'double in quantity'
tihda  'triple in quantity'

(d) Fractions:
   There are no fractions in Halbi. The fractions like (in Hindi) adha  '1/2', degh  '1 1/2', dhai  '2 1/2' are used mainly by literate Halbas and also by those who know some Hindi.

   In the same way numerals like sev  'hundred', hejar  'thousand' are borrowed from Hindi and only the speakers who know Hindi use them. Even when these numerals are used, the speakers, unless they are educated, may be using them vaguely as standing for some large number.

   Adjectives as a whole may be divided into three subclasses correlated with the three pronominal adjectives, kay  'what ?', which ?(thing)' or kon  'which ?(person)', kitro  'how much ?', how many ?', and kasan  'how ?' (See 3.1.2.14).
(a) Adjectives of identity: This class includes ordinals.

pehli 'first'
dusar 'second' etc.

(b) Adjectives of quantity: Apart from the remaining numerals, this class includes, e.g.,

thoge 'a little'
khub(e) 'many, much'

(c) Adjectives of quality: These form the largest class

(See 4.3.3.)

1.2.1.4 Pronominal Adjectives:

There is a relatively well-defined set of pronominal adjectives which can be sub-classified as demonstrative, relative, interrogative and indefinite. These can be tabulated as follows:

^w

(for table - please see next page)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Identification</th>
<th>e 'this'</th>
<th>hun 'that'</th>
<th>je 'who, which'</th>
<th>kay 'what?'</th>
<th>kon/to 'some(anim.)'</th>
<th>koni 'any(anim.)'</th>
<th>kon 'which?'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kāhi - kāi</td>
<td>kāhi-jāhi</td>
<td>'some(inanim.)'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Quantity</th>
<th>i-tro 'this much'</th>
<th>hu-tro 'that much', ji-tro 'as/much', ki-tro 'how much'</th>
<th>--</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'this many'</td>
<td>'that many', as many, how many?'</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Quality</th>
<th>o-sen 'like this'</th>
<th>hu-sen-usen 'like that', josen 'like what?'</th>
<th>--</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kosen 'like what?'</td>
<td></td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1.2.2 The verbal stems of Halbi are functionally classified into:

1. Copulative.
2. Intransitive.
3. Patient-intransitive.
4. Transitive.
5. Receptant-transitive.

(For the detailed discussion see 6.1.1.)
1.3. Stem-Class homonymy: Some stems are the members of several morph-classes, giving instances of grammatical homonymy. The following are of frequent occurrence:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adverbs</th>
<th>Adjectives</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>khodya</td>
<td>'lame'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ødøy</td>
<td>'next'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| øyle    | 'this side'
| phøyle  | 'the other side' |
| pøhili  | 'first'    |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pronominal Adverbs</th>
<th>Pronominal Adjectives</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>husøn-usøn</td>
<td>'that way'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jøzen</td>
<td>'which way'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>køsen</td>
<td>'which way ?, how ?'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adverb</th>
<th>Intensifier</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ekømøm</td>
<td>'at once'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'a lot'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adverbs</th>
<th>Postpositions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pøathpøath</td>
<td>'behind'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pøiche</td>
<td>'behind'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>søøn</td>
<td>'with'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bhøtør</td>
<td>'inside, in'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>løøgø</td>
<td>'near'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kholøe</td>
<td>'down, below'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dhøøpi</td>
<td>'side'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>purhe</td>
<td>'in the front'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Adverbs

pher  'again'
pache 'behind'

Pro-Adv.
tebe 'then'

Postposition

ka je 'for'

Conjunctions

'then, afterwards'

'only then, at that time (when)'

Conjunction

'therefore'

Pronominal Adjectives

e 'this'
hun 'that'
kon 'which'

je 'which'
kono 'some (anim.)'
koni 'any (anim.)'
kāhi - kāi, 'some (inanim.)'

Intro

'his (demon.)'

'that, he (demon. & per.)'

'who?, somebody (intro. and indef.)'

'which (Rel.)'

'somebody (indef.)'

'anything, something (indef.)'

Pronoun

kitro 'how much?' how many?'

Inten.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Part of Speech</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>idlanh</td>
<td>Adjective</td>
<td>'this big'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thọgü</td>
<td>Adjective</td>
<td>'a little'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñahaña</td>
<td>Adjectives</td>
<td>'cold'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lam</td>
<td>Adjective</td>
<td>'long'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñur</td>
<td>Conjunction</td>
<td>'another, different'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>khub</td>
<td>Intensifiers</td>
<td>'much, many'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>juge</td>
<td>Intensifier</td>
<td>'very'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ijik</td>
<td>Adverb</td>
<td>'a little'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ñesän</td>
<td>Pronoun</td>
<td>'like this'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>Expletive</td>
<td>'this'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kay</td>
<td>Pronoun</td>
<td>'what, which' 'what?' 'or, whether' 'please' (used in yes-no questions)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nouns</td>
<td>Adjectives</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hərīkh</td>
<td>'happiness'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saṃkara</td>
<td>'rich man'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nouns</td>
<td>Adjectives</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baṭṭ</td>
<td>'way, path'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jaga</td>
<td>'place'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dera</td>
<td>'place'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nouns</td>
<td>Adjectives</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ris</td>
<td>'anger'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bhṛṭ</td>
<td>'meeting'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jhagda</td>
<td>'quarrel'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bihav</td>
<td>'marriage'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kolhar</td>
<td>'noise'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gagarevaḥ</td>
<td>'crying'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>setyanas</td>
<td>'destruction'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gonda</td>
<td>'big piece'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bhelai</td>
<td>'goodness'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>seva-jutaṇa</td>
<td>'care'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bṛdi</td>
<td>'badness'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sud</td>
<td>'memory'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kayd</td>
<td>'arrest'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noun</td>
<td>Verb</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nac</td>
<td>'dance'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nac-</td>
<td>'to dance'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Postpositions

'un the way to'

'at the place of'

Coverbals

'(to be) angry'

'(to) meet'

'(to) quarrel'

'(to) marry'

'(to) make noise'

'(to) cry'

'(to) destroy'

'(to) cut'

'(to) make big piece'

'(to) do) good'

'(to take) care'

'(to consider) bad'

'(to) remember'

'(to) arrest'
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Plural marker</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>men</td>
<td>'people'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-men</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Converbal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ţet</td>
<td>'fear' ţet- '(to be)'</td>
<td>'(to be)afraid'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pronoun</th>
<th>Expletive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>te</td>
<td>'he'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'(emphatic)'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Conjunction</th>
<th>Expletives</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>jale</td>
<td>'if... then, when...then'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'(doubt, displeasure, indifference)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na</td>
<td>'moreover'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'(emphatic)'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Conjunction</th>
<th>Pro-sentence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kəsəni ki</td>
<td>'because'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'who know ! (excl.)'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Intensifier</th>
<th>Pro-sentence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>öccha</td>
<td>'well, good'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'O.K. (assert.)'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Expletive</th>
<th>Pro-sentence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ho</td>
<td>'(vocative)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'(assertive)'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.2 Structural classification of stems.

Stem forming constructions: Halbi stems can be either simple (one morpheme) or complex. The main types of formation yielding complex stems are —

1. Derivation, yielding derived stems.
2. Composition, yielding composite stems.
3. Reduplication, yielding reduplicated stems.

3.2.1 Derivation: The process employed for derivation is usually suffixation. The following types of derivation are discussed below.

1. Derivation of verbs from verbs, nouns and adjectives.
2. Derivation of nouns from verbs, nouns and adjectives
3. Derivation of adjectives from nouns and adverbs.
4. Derivation of adverbs from nouns.

The direction of the derivation is sometimes not clear and the formal details of derivation are often complicated. Therefore, we will give lists rather than attempt to state consistent patterns.

3.2.1.1 Derivation of verbs from verbs, nouns and adjectives.

3.2.1.1.1 Causatives: There is a single causative ending -a which is added to the verb roots to turn them into causatives. When this ending is added, the verb root undergo some morphophonological changes which are discussed in chapter 2.
(a) Causatives derived from some intransitive verbs:
Examples:

nikær- 'come out'
nikr-a- 'make someone come out'
oyel- 'enter'
oyl-a- 'make someone enter'
sø- 'sleep'
søv-a- 'make someone sleep'
gag- 'cry'
gøg-a- 'make someone cry'
hæs- 'laugh'
hæs-a- 'make someone laugh'

There are many intransitive verbs from which causatives
can not be derived, e.g.

soc- 'think'
nev- 'invite'
sepən- 'dream'

(b) Causatives derived from some transitive verbs:
Examples:

pi- 'drink'
piy-a- 'make someone drink'
kʰa- 'eat'
kʰov-a- 'make someone eat'
de- 'give'
dey-a-  'make someone give'
ne-    'take'
ney-a-  'make someone take'
dhr-   'hold, take'
dhr-a-  'make someone hold, take'

There are some transitive verbs from which causatives cannot be derived, e.g.

an-    'bring'
bed-   'remove'
kat-   'cut'
ţid-   'pull'

3.2.1.1.2 Transitives: Transitive verbs are derived from some intransitive verbs. There are two ways of forming transitives from intransitive verbs.

(a) by adding the transitive ending -a
(b) roots of the form CVC where the vowel is 'u' or 'a' and the final consonant is 't', are made transitive by replacing 'u' by 'o' ('a' is left unchanged) and 't' by 'd.'

Examples of (a)

đer-    'be frightened'
đer-a-  'frighten'
hiţ-    'get removed'
hiţ-a-  'remove'
tap-    'get heated'
top-a- 'heat'
phij- 'get wet'
phij-a- 'wet'
uḍ- 'fly'
uḍ-a- 'fly(something)'

Examples of (b):
ţuţ- 'get broken'
ţog- 'break'
phaţ- 'get torn'
phaḍ- 'tear'

These verbs are also made transitive by adding -a to the verb roots. If the V\^CVC is 'a', it is changed into 'e'. e.g.

ţuţa- , phaţa-

There are many intransitive verbs which do not have the corresponding transitive verbs, e.g.

phaḥ- 'get leisure'
bul- 'roam'
dega- 'jump'
cuh- 'leak'
jaḥ- 'peep', etc.
3.2.1.3 Intransitives: There are some intransitive verbs which are derived from some transitive verbs. The transitive verbs having the form CVC where V is 'a' are made intransitive by replacing 'a' by 'e'.

Examples:

- sar- 'finish'
- ser- 'get finished'
- phand- 'tie, entangle'
- phand- 'get tied or entangled'
- gagi- 'nail, pierce'
- gazi- 'get nailed, pierced

There are many transitive verbs which do not have corresponding intransitive verbs. e.g.

- mañ- 'ask'
- cor- 'rob'
- pindh- 'wear'
- bec- 'pick-up'
- bo- 'sow' etc.

3.2.1.4 There are a few verbs which are derived from nouns and adjectives.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nouns</th>
<th>Verbs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>goṭʰ</td>
<td>'knot'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>goṭʰ</td>
<td>'language'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ris</td>
<td>'anger'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>geṭʰ</td>
<td>'knot'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>geṭʰ</td>
<td>'to knot'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>geṭʰ</td>
<td>'talk'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>geṭʰ</td>
<td>'to talk'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ris-a-</td>
<td>'get angry'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Adjectives
long 'lam'

Verbs
lam-a- (to) be lengthened

3.2.1.2 Derivation of nouns from verbs, nouns and objectives.

3.2.1.2.1 Nouns derived from verbs can be roughly grouped into agents, actions, objects, and instruments.

They are derived in the following various ways:

(a) Agents:

Verbs
randh- 'cook'
kanď- 'pound'
cŏra- 'graze (caus.)'
kŏma- 'earn'
kha- 'eat'
nac- 'dance'

Nouns
randh-ey-a 'a cook'
kŏnd-ey-a 'one who pounds'
cŏr-ey-a 'one who takes cattle for grazing'
kŏme-y-a 'one who earns'
kha-y-a 'one who eats'
nac-kari 'dancer'

(b) Actions:

Verbs
mar- 'kill, beat'
likh- (and) pedh 'read and write'
cor- 'rob'
gag- 'cry'
tiyar- 'serve'
nikra- 'turn-out'

Nouns
mar-a-mar-i 'fighting'
likh-a-pedh-i 'reading and writing'
cor-i 'robbing'
gag-aravā 'crying'
tiyar-a 'service'
des-nikar-a 'turning out of the country'
(c) Objects:

Verbs

*nind-*  'weed'
*kʰokel-* 'cough'
*nnev.*  'invite'
*nsc-*   'sleep'
*nogd-*  'vaccinate, tattoo'

Nouns

*nind-ei* 'weeding'
*kʰokl-i* 'coughing'
*nnev-ta* 'invitation'
*nsoy-ta* 'sleeping'
*nogd-na* 'vaccination, tattooing'

(d) Instruments:

Verbs

*bʰanj-*  'roast'
*kʰand-*  'pound'
*randʰ-*  'cook'
*kəmə-*  'earn'
*ga-*     'sing'

Nouns

*bʰanj-a*  'anything roasted'
*kʰand-a*  'anything pounded'
*randʰ-a*  'anything to be cooked'
*kəmə-i*  'things earned'
*git*      'song'

*jʰul-*  'swing'

*Nouns

*jʰul-na*  'a swing'

3.2.1.2.2 Nouns derived from nouns:

3.2.1.2.1

Nouns

Derived Nouns

*sege*  'relative'
*pʰul*   'flower'
*muṭʰi*  'fist'
*got*    'relation'
*kevəd*  'bamboo carrying pole'
*perdes* 'country or Province'

*sage-i*  'relation'
*pʰul-var* 'flower-garden'
*muṭʰ-ela* 'hammer'
*got-eys-a* 'relative'
*kevəd-ay-a* 'one who carries kevəd'
*perdes-iy-a* 'person from other country or Province'
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Keyd</th>
<th>'arrest'</th>
<th>Keyd-ah-a</th>
<th>'one who is arrested'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mand</td>
<td>'liquor'</td>
<td>Mand-ah-a</td>
<td>'drunkard'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semať</td>
<td>'nasal mucus'</td>
<td>Semať-ah-a</td>
<td>'one whose nose is</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>full of mucus'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rog</td>
<td>'leprosy'</td>
<td>Rog-ah-a</td>
<td>'leper (term of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>abuse)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tek</td>
<td>'pride, obstinacy'</td>
<td>Tek-ah-a</td>
<td>'proud or abstainite</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J'egaţa</td>
<td>'quarrel'</td>
<td>J'egaţa-sin</td>
<td>'quarrelsome woman'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.2.1.2.2. Derivation of animate non-masculine nouns from masculine nouns (which are always animate)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>M. substantives</th>
<th>Non-M. substantives</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>reţk-a</td>
<td>'demon'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>helb-a</td>
<td>'Halba man'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ceţey-a</td>
<td>'male sparrow'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b'alu</td>
<td>'bear'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>natí</td>
<td>'grandson'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bag</td>
<td>'tiger'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dada</td>
<td>'elder brother'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the following case the direction of the derivation seems to be reversed.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Non-M.</th>
<th>M</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>rand-i</td>
<td>'widow'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.2.1.2.3 A special sub-class is that of nouns meaning 'wife of' derived from other masculine nouns.

Masculine nouns Nouns meaning 'wife of'
raja 'king' rani
devar 'husband's younger brother' devrani
kaka 'father's younger brother' kaki

3.2.1.2.3 Nouns derived from adjectives:

Adjectives Nouns
bagdi (caur) 'rough, unclean (rice)' begad 'gruel made of such rice'
bhéla 'noble, good' bhél-à-i 'nobility, goodness'
kam 'small quantity' kem-ti 'lack of something'

3.2.1.3 Derivation of adjectives from nouns and adverbs:

3.2.1.3.1 Adjectives derived from nouns:

Nouns Adjectives
bhuk 'hunger' bhuk-à-a 'hungry'
kasi 'unripe fruit' kes-a 'having the taste of unripe fruit'
den 'height' den-ga 'tall, 
phend 'falsehood' phend-à-i 'lier'
bikh 'poison' bikh-à-is 'poisonous'
3.2.1.3.2 Adjectives derived from adverbs:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adverb</th>
<th>Adjective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mënḫi</td>
<td>'in the middle'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mënḫ-ša</td>
<td>'the middle one'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.2.1.4 Derivation of Adverbs from nouns:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Adverb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mündeša</td>
<td>'near or at one's head when one is lying down'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.2.2 Composition: A composite stem is a combination of two or more forms at least one of which is a free form. Some compounds have resulted from juxtaposition of two forms whereas others have resulted from the reduction of a particular syntactic construction underlying them. Sometimes two compounds look alike in their surface structure but will be understood differently, pointing towards different underlying sources.

3.2.2.1 Compounds which have resulted from the reduction of the phrase $N_1 \text{Con} \hspace{1pt} N_2$ to $'N_1's \hspace{1pt} N_2'$

- **muñ-co-mērhan** 'green pulses-of field' $\rightarrow$ muñ-mērhan
- **ṇēvki-men-co-gohda** 'women-of group' $\rightarrow$ ṣēvki-gohda
- **cēpōda-co gar** 'red-ant-of egg' $\rightarrow$ cēpōda-gar
- **aden-co pan** 'aden(tree)-of leaf' $\rightarrow$ aden-pan
- **kūkōi-co pila** 'hen-of youngones' $\rightarrow$ kūkōi-pila
- **cheri-co kōṭha** 'goats-of shade' $\rightarrow$ cheri-kōṭha
- **chind-co kōdi** 'palm(tree)-of snail' $\rightarrow$ chind-kōdi
- **gorās-co cēha** 'milk-of tea' $\rightarrow$ gorās-cēha
  - 'tea with milk'
- **bihav-co joḍa** 'marriage of arrangement' $\rightarrow$ bihav-joḍa
- **ongar-co tel** 'honey-bee-of oil' $\rightarrow$ ongar-tel 'honey'

3.2.2.2 Compounds which have resulted from the reduction of the phrase $N_1$ and $N_2$, $'N_1 and N_2'$

- **bhat aru sag** 'rice and curry' $\rightarrow$ bhat-sag
gepli aru ῥakri aru ῥukri 'three types of baskets' ———> gepli-῾akri-῾ukri
beṭe aru beṭi 'son and daughter' ———> beṭa-beṭi

3.2.2.3 Compounds which are understood as:

a) je $N_2$, $N_1$ ase 'N$_2$ who or which is N$_1$'.

b) je $N$ X(Adj) ase 'N which is X'

(a) je ῥeˈvka dulha ase 'man who is ῥ in a bride-groom

———> dulha - ῥeˈvka 'bridegroom'

je pila leka ase 'child who is a boy'

———> leka-pila 'male child'

(b) je ῥokri N (Adj + N)

———> ῥanda-῾okri 'widowed old woman'

je pərbi hu meha ase 'God who is great'

———> meha-pərbi hu 'Great-God'

3.2.2.4 Compounds in which one element has a lexical meaning but no definite lexical meaning can be assigned to the other element which is a unique constituent. The second members of the following compounds are such elements.

$N + N$

pila - picka 'children'

sada - bada 'sprinkling on the ground of water mixed with cow-dung'

hada - gođa 'bones'
lugga - pāṭa  'clothes'
sīngar - bāghar  'things for the decoration of body'

3.2.2.5 Compounds in which the first N-stem restricts the application of the other N-stem. The first-members in the following compounds (a) either single out sub-classes or (b) single out individuals.

N + N

(a)  māi - ṣāṅkkha  'toe-finger i.e. toe'
    ṭheṇrī - bāggi  '(kind of stick)' 
    cini - ṣāṅkkhi  'little finger'
    semēr - rukh  '(tree named semēr)'
    bōgendā - kanda  '(bulb named Bōgendā)'
    raheṅ - dār  '(pulse named raheṅ)'

(b)  bēnṛya - nāṅ  '(cobra named Benṛya)'
    lākkhīn - bār  '(day named Lākkhīn, Thursday)'
    somēr - din  '(day named Somēr, Monday)'
    selābēndhū - rāja  '(king named Selābēndhū)'
    mēṅgh - rāja  '(king, who is a cloud, personification)'

3.2.2.6 Compounds in which one of the elements is a noun derived from the verb meaning 'doer of something'. In the following compounds the second element is such and the first element shows the noun on which the action is done.

ghēr-jiya  '(lit., house-one who lives), husband who lives in his wife's family'
cherti-cot-hin (cot-vb) (lit., goat-grazer) Woman who takes goat for grazing
gher-jiya (lit., house-one who lives), 'husband who lives in his wife's family'
may-loja 'mother-fucker (term of abuse)'
mennikh-khol-man (lit., man-eaters), 'women who eat-humans, demon women'

2.2.7 Compounds in which two different elements with similar lexical meaning are combined.

N + N
kam-buta 'work'
nokar-caker 'servants'
rupiya-peysa 'money'
dhen-mal 'property'
mehina-din '(lit., month-day) month or so'
berekh-kal '(lit., year-time) year or so'
ran-ben 'jungle'
hat-hepri 'market'
chechi-begi 'stick'
lut-mar 'arson'

Adj. + Adj.
andhva-kenva 'blind'
ek-ad- '(lit., one or half) approximately-one'
ser-ek '(four-or-one) approximately-four'
3.2.2.8 Compounds in which a sequence of an adverb and a noun is used as a noun.

Adv. + N

bair - geō '(lit., out-area comprising of several villages)' the place which is outside the geō'

3.2.2.9 There are some exocentric compounds which are sequences of prefixes and nouns used as adjectives. They seem to be borrowed.

Prefix + N

be - sērm-i '(lit., without-modesty)' immodest'

be - budh-i '(lit., without-intelligence) unintelligent'

3.2.2.10 There is a compound of the form \( N + N \) (with a derivational ending -ō) which is used as an adjective. The first \( N \) in this compound is any noun and the second \( N \) is gher 'house', e.g.

sonar - gher-ō '(lit. goldsmith-house-of) of the goldsmith's house'

3.2.2.11 Compounds, having a sequence of two adverbs, an adjective and a noun, and two nouns are used as adverbs.


aj - kal '(lit., today-yesterday, tomorrow) these days'

Adj. + N.

ēccha-mōnja '(lit., good-fun) with fun'

# + #

ek - dēm '(lit., one-breath) at once'
3.2.2.12 There are some coverbals which are compounds. They are made of various elements.

(a) verbroot + verbroot

\[ \text{jai} - \text{cinh} = \text{'(lit., know-know)(to) know'} \]
\[ \text{mil} - \text{bhe} = \text{'(lit., get-meet) (to) meet'} \]

(b) \(N + N\)

\[ \text{se} - \text{je} = \text{'(lit., service-care)(to) take care'} \]
\[ \text{nen} - \text{ja} = \text{'(to) keep a watch'} \]

3.2.2.13 Compounds whose meaning is very different from the lexical meaning of the elements of which they are composed.

\[ \text{raj-ba} - \text{dev-ba} = \text{'(lit., kingdom-way, god-way) quickly'} \]

\[ \text{ex.} \]
\[ \text{leki} \text{raj-ba} - \text{dev-ba} = \text{ba} = \text{ghil} \text{'The girl grew up quickly'} \]

(The use of this compound as an adverb is restricted to story-telling.)

\[ \text{lal-pila} = \text{'(lit. red-child), Prince'} \]
\[ \text{pan-koyki} = \text{'(kind of bird)'} \]
\[ \text{doni-ek} = \text{'(lit., leaf-cup one) one or two leaf cups'} \]

3.2.2.14 Pronominal compounds consisting of two bound morphs.

(See 3.1.3.1.4 and 5.4)

Adjectives: \(1 - \text{tro} = \text{'this much, this many'} \)

\[ \text{ki} - \text{tro} = \text{'how much? how many?'} \]
\[ \text{ji} - \text{tro} = \text{'as much, as many'} \]

etc.
Adverbs:

hu - sən 'that way'
θ - əsən 'this way'
k - əsən 'which way?'
θ - ebe 'now'
t - ebe 'then'
i - tha 'here'
hu - ta 'there'
etc.

3.2.2.15 Numerical Compounds (See 3.1.2.1.3)

ek-kɔ̀dì-ek '1 \times 20 + 1, twenty-one'
dui-kɔ̀dì-tin '2 \times 20 + 3, forty-three'
tin-kɔ̀dì-das '3 \times 20 + 10, seventy'
car-kəm-tin-kɔ̀di '-4 + 3 \times 20, fifty-six'
dui-kəm-car-kɔ̀di '-2 + 4 \times 20, seventy-eight'
tin-car 'three or four'

ek-ad '(lit., one or half) approximately one'
car-ek '(lit., four-one) approximately four'
3.2.3 Reduplication

Halbi makes use of reduplications extensively. Nouns, adjectives, pronouns, verbs, adverbs and coverbals can all be reduplicated. The reduplicator repeats the reduplicandum either exactly or with statable variation. Following are the sub-types:

3.2.3.1 The grammatical status of the reduplicandum and the resultant reduplicated stem remains the same.

(a) The reduplicandum and the reduplicator are identical, i.e. without any change in their phonemic shape.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nouns</th>
<th>behim behin</th>
<th>'sisters'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>bhai bhai</td>
<td>'brothers'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ñevki ñevki</td>
<td>'women'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>raj raj</td>
<td>'every kingdom(distributive)'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adjectives</th>
<th>bege bege</th>
<th>'big (intensive)'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>chaey chaey</td>
<td>'six'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>reñ reñ(-co)</td>
<td>'(of) different types'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pronouns</th>
<th>kon kon</th>
<th>'who (distributive)'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>kay kay</td>
<td>'what (distributive)'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Non-finite verbs</th>
<th>khaun khaun</th>
<th>'having eaten(intensity or prolonged action)'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>anun anun</td>
<td>'having brought'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>basu basu</td>
<td>'till the rowing of a rooster'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
eu eu 'till the coming'
gevte gevte 'singing'
karte karte 'doing'

Adverbs:
husne husne 'like that'
itha itha 'here'
jaṭṭaṭaṭ jaṭṭaṭaṭa 'quickly'

(b) The reduplicandum and the reduplicator are identical except for the initial consonant which is different.

Indefinite Pronoun: kāhi - jāhi 'something'

Non-finite verb: kośmaun-dhāmaun 'after having earned'

(c) The reduplicandum is the manner adverb ending with -ne which is the second element and the first element is the reduplicator without -ne e.g.,

paṭaṭ paṭne 'at-once'
tup tupna 'a lot'

3.2.3.2 When reduplicandum X is repeated the resultant reduplicated stem will have the meaning 'X etc.' The reduplicandum is always a noun in this case. If the nouns end with the vowels -a and -o, semivowels, and consonants, they are repeated by a form identical except for the last vowel which is -i. Nouns ending with -i are repeated by the form identical except for the last vowel which is -a. If -i is preceded by -h, then the repeated form will have -ya in place of -a.
pila-pili 'children (etc.)'
phiga-phigi 'board for sitting (etc.)'
mango-mangi 'marriage-pole (etc.)'
pej-peji 'rice-gruel (etc.)'
nav-navi 'name (etc.)'
ghiv-ghivi 'ghee (etc.)'
kas-i-kasa 'unripe fruit (etc.)'
chati-cheta 'naming-ceremony (etc.)'

dahi-dahya 'place in the jungle cleared for farming (etc.)'
mah-mahya 'butter-milk (etc.)'

3.2.3.3. When the reduplicandum which is a verb root is repeated, the resultant reduplicated stem will be a coverbal.

(a) The reduplicandum and the reduplicator are identical.

*emer *emer (ho-) 'come near the intended spot or goal'

(b) The reduplicated form consists of the following:

V-a-V-i (where V stands for the reduplicandum):

dekh-a- dekh-i(ho-) 'see each other'
chang-a- chang-i(ho-) 'leave each other'

(c) The reduplicandum and the reduplicator are identical except for the initial consonant which is different.

dekh-rekh(kar-) 'supervise'

(d) The reduplicandum and the reduplicator are identical except for the medial vowel which is different.

heg-hug (kar-) 'remove'
(e) The reduplicandum and the reduplicator are identical except that the reduplicator does not have the initial consonant. 
\[ \text{pe:\text{ghav-\text{ghav} (\text{ker-}) 'bow down'}} \]

3.2.3.4. The reduplicandum is a unique form which does not occur independently but when it is repeated the resultant reduplicated stem has a grammatical status.

(a) The reduplicandum and the reduplicator are identical.

- **Finite verbs**: e\text{dg}e\text{gd}-to 'to be hot'
- therther-to 'to shiver'
- **Coverbals**: cunacum (ker-) 'break into small pieces'
- keke\text{c} (ker-) 'irritate'
- **Adverbs**: gu\text{d}e\text{d}gu\text{d} \text{udder} '(the way peacocks walk)'
- phuduphu\text{d}uk 'the way animals dance)'

(b) The reduplicandum \( y \) (second element) and the reduplicator \( X \) are such that \( X \) is \( Y \) minus the first consonant.

- **Nouns**: el\text{v}\text{a} jhel\text{v}\text{a} 'so and so'
- **Adverbs**: a\text{d}bas 'very much'
- arata \text{r}ara 'here and there'
- e\text{h}\text{v}a/te\text{h}va 'somehow'

(c) The reduplicandum and the reduplicator are identical except for the first consonant which is different.

- **Adverbs**: te\text{k} pe\text{k} 'hurridly'
- jet khet 'here and there'
- jhet pe\text{t} 'quickly'
(d) The reduplicandum and the reduplicator are identical except for the first vowel which is different.

Adverbs: khis khos khis khos 'sound of a snake hissing'
phus phas phus phas 'sound of whispering'
ṭiṅḍo ṭiṅḍo ṭiṅḍo 'in bunches'

Coverbals: cīvre cāvre (ho-) 'noise made by animals'

(e) The reduplicandum Y (second element) and the reduplicator X are such that X is Y minus the last vowel.

Adjectives: gil gila 'soft'
edə ñeda 'cold'

Adverbs: lət ləta 'in big bunches'

(f) The reduplicandum (first element) and the reduplicator Y are such that Y is X minus the last vowel.

Adverbs: apsəap 'of itself'
sama sam 'in front of each other'
heḷa heḷ 'greedily'

1.2.3.5 The numerals etc. 'one' and dui 'two' have the following phonemic shape when repeated.

ek ek ———> ekok, ekok
dui dui ———> dudi