PART II
NORTH BHILI
CHAPTER I PHONEMICS

PHONEMES

a. Vowels
   i  @  u
   e  a  o

b. Semivowels
   w  y

c. Consonants
   p  t  T  k
   b  d  D  g
   p' t' T' k'
   b' d' D' g'
   j
   s  h
   l  L
   r
   m  n  N

Juncture

Juncture phoneme is symbolized by /+/-sign.

a. Vowels

a₁ contrasts
There are two height contrasts in the front, central and the back vowels.

In the front series there is a contrast between /i/ and /e/. /keDi/ she goat and /kiDi/. /bi/-seed and /be/- two. The range of /e/ is from \[ e \] to \[ E \]. Usually \[ E \] occurs in final positions and in monosyllabic words.

In central series there is a contrast between /a/ and /a/. /Dabo/- tin and /DaboZ/- left.

In the back series there is a contrast between /u/ and /o/. /soru/- a child and /soro/- a boy. The range of /o/ is from [o] to [O]. Usually [O] occurs in final positions and in monosyllabic words.

\( a_2 \) phonetic features and allophones

/ i/ high front vowel
It has two allophones, \([i]\) and \([\tilde{i}]\).
\([i]\) high front unrounded long vowel.
It occurs with nasalisation, in final position and in monosyllabic words.
bi seed
sori a girl
b'ili name of the caste Bhill.
r 'ADiili widow.
[I] high front unrounded vowel.

It occurs elsewhere.

pîplo - a tree named Piplo
I y ə' here
I Di heel
pIdü drank

/e/ monhigh front vowel.

It has two allophones, [E] and [e].

[E] low front unrounded long vowel.

It occurs with nasalization, in final positions and in monosyllabic words.

Ek one
bE two
ewE now
bolE (he) speaks

[e] mid front unrounded vowel,

It occurs elsewhere.

el@N prize or reward
kenu whose
b'edu frong
tetor name of one bird - robin

/@/ nonlow central vowel.

It has two allophones, [E] and [@].

[@] nonlow central unrounded retracted vowel.
It occurs usually in final position.

hu'D3 parrot like bird
1 @br з clothes
 sor з children

[ə] nonlow central unrounded vowel.

It occurs elsewhere.

@m we (exclu.)
@tre therefore
@reDi pulley
© No this

/a/
low central vowel.

It has two allophones, [a] and [A].

[A] low central unrounded long vowel.

It occurs with nasalization, in final position
and in monosyllabic words.

Ag fire
Ä' k'è eyes
Aj today
gi please, sing
sorA boys

[a] low central unrounded vowel.

It occurs elsewhere.
/u/ high back vowel.
It has two allophones, [u] and [U].
[U] high back rounded long vowel.
It occurs with nasalization, in final position and in monosyllabic words.

/u/ please, get up
rupłu silver
tù you (sg.)
m ü I

[ù] high back rounded vowel.
It occurs elsewhere.

/ø/ nonhigh back rounded vowel.
It has two allophones [ø] and [O].
[O] low back rounded long vowel.
It occurs with nasalization, in final position and in monosyllabic words.
[o] mid back rounded vowel. 
It occurs elsewhere.
toDu (I) break
ogNih nineteen
soka rice
atoDO hammer

b semivowels / au / - pouch

\( b_1 \) contrasts / aw / - come

\( b_2 \) Phonetic features and allophones
/ w / and / y / function as consonants as well as vowels.

/ w / bilabial rounded semivowel.
It occurs in initial, medial and in final positions. The range of / w / is from [w] to [v]. They are in free - variation.

wat story
waTw@T@wDu traveller
wy @ there
aw to come
pawDo shovel
wisar thought
h@w alright

/y/ frontal unrounded semivowel.
It occurs in medial and in final positions.

syar four
h@yy@N tailor (she)
j@may son-in-law
b'ay brother
hoy needle
Dakjyo (he) jumped.

C CONSONANTS

/p/ vs /b/
    /peTo/ enter
    /beTo/ sit
/p/ vs /b'/ /bar/ twelve
    /b'ar/ weight
/t/ vs /T/ /kam tu k@r/ please, you(sg) do the work
    /kamTu k@r/ please, do the bow
/wat/ story
/wat/ road
/t/ vs /d/ /hat/ seven
    /had/ voice
: 118 :

/p/ vs /t/

\[ /\text{hap} / \text{serpent} \]
\[ /\text{hat} / \text{seven} \]

/d/ vs /D/

\[ /\text{buDe} / \text{The bottom} \]
\[ /\text{buDe} / \text{sinking} \]

/t/ vs /t'/

\[ /\text{t'oD'u} / (I) \text{break} \]
\[ /\text{t'oD'u} / \text{little or some} \]

/d/ vs /d'/

\[ /\text{damNi} / \text{forehead locket} \]
\[ /\text{d'amNyo} / \text{name of a tree} \]

/T/ vs /D/

\[ /\text{TaTlu} / \text{bald} \]
\[ /\text{DaTlo} / \text{packing, book} \]

/T/ vs /T'/

\[ /\text{Tali} / \text{avoided} \]
\[ /\text{T'ali} / \text{empty} \]

/D/ vs /D'/

\[ /\text{DaL} / \text{branch of a tree} \]
\[ /\text{D'al} / \text{slope} \]

/k/ vs /g/

\[ /\text{kam} / \text{work} \]
\[ /\text{gam} / \text{village} \]

/k/ vs /k'/

\[ /\text{kam k@rjyu} / \text{the work done} \]
\[ /\text{pan@Du k'@rjyu} / \text{leaf dropped} \]
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>/g/</th>
<th>vs</th>
<th>/g'/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| /g/  |    | /g'/ | please, sing
| /g'a/|    | wound |
| /j/  | vs | /s/  |
| /j/  |    | /s/  | please, see
| /s' /|    | six  |
| /s/  | vs | /h/  |
| /s/  |    | /h/  | six
|      |    | ho   | hundred
| /i/  | vs | /l/  |
| /i/  |    | /l/  | to-morrow
| /kal/|    | death or time
| /m/  | vs | /n/  |
| /m/  |    | /n/  | corn
|      |    | m@ki | definite
| /m/  | vs | /n'  |
| /m/  |    | /n'  | panu |
|      |    | /n'  | leaf
| /n/  | vs | /N/  |
| /n/  |    | /N/  | panu |
|      |    | /N/  | leaf
| /u/  | vs | /u' /|
| /u/  |    | /u' /| camel
| /uTu/|    | (I) get up. |
C Phonetic features and allophones:

Stops: There is a fourfold contrast in the stop series; voiced vs voiceless and aspirated vs non aspirated.

/p/ labial, voiceless unaspirated stop.

It occurs in initial, medial and in final positions.

peTo enter
pog leg
paNo stone
k@palyu forehead
h@pnu dream
hap serpent
bap father.

/t/ dental, voiceless unaspirated stop.

It occurs in initial, medial and in final positions.

tabo copper
tetor one kind of bird
toDi pot
toDu (I) break
pitol brass
hatro coal
hat seven
at hand
/ T /  alveolar, voiceless unaspirated stop.
It occurs in initial, medial and in final positions.

    TatLu  bald
    Tali   avoid
    uTu    camel
    moTu   big or elder
    haTa   sugar cane
    roTo   loaf or bread
    aTku   bone
    uT     please, get up.

/ k /  velar, voiceless unaspirated stop.
It occurs in initial, medial and in final positions.

    kadT®  lumps of earth
    keDi   calf (f.)
    kasi®  bangles
    ha kDu narrow
    soka   rice
    ek     one
    t'ak   wearyness
    t'ok   trunk

/ b /  labial, voiced unaspirated stop.
It occurs in initial, medial and in final positions.
/d/ dental, voiced unaspirated stop.
It occurs in initial, medial and in final positions.

da'Jo day
dat teeth
b'edu front
'udro mouse
kad dom certain
hed voice
ka'do paper

/D/ alveolar, voiced unaspirated stop.
It occurs in initial, medial and in final positions.

Dakjyo (he) jumped
Da'an branch of a tree
daDo day
laDga sweet balls
hakDu narrow
paD drop, (imp)
toD please, break
p'aeD half
velar, voiced unaspirated stop.
It occurs in initial, medial and in final positions.

gam village
ga please, sing
gameti leader of the village
ug@mNi east
ugDo p@Djyo fallen on the face
pog leg
ag fire

labial, voiced aspirated stop.
It occurs in initial position and in medial positions in loan words.
p'aD half
p'dDyu tared
p'oDyu cracked
p'al^u turben
p'erwi turned
p'@p'Di fluttered.

dental, voiceless aspirated stop.
It occurs in initial positions.
t'oDu some or little
t'ali dish


/ T'/ alveolar, voiceless aspirated stop
It occurs in initial position and in medial position in few items.

T'ajyu
has been done

T'ak
weariness

T'epaDu
dhoti

T'ok
trunk

/ k'/ velar, voiceless aspirated stop.
It occurs in initial position.

k'eti
agriculture

k'osi lidiu
snatch

k'el
play

k'elD
grass

k'a
to eat

k'ol
to open

k'okat
time

/ b'/ labial, voiced aspirated stop.
It occurs in initial position.

b'il
community named Bhil

b'ay
brother

b'ik
begging
b'ar weight
b'ua aunt
b'a father
b'opo magician
b'edu frog

/d'/ dental, voiced aspirated stop.
It occurs in initial position.

d'@Ni husband or owner
d'am@Nyo name of one tree
d'ow 'u to wash
d'ire slowly

/D'/ alveolar, voiced aspirated stop.
It occurs in initial position.

D'ahi cow
D'aL slope
D'ekDu one kind of bird

/g'/ velar, voiced aspirated stop.
It occurs in initial position.

g' a wound
g' @ N To hour
g' @ Di made
g' o Do horse
g'agro peti-coat, skirt.
g'imag'im hustle and bustle
Affricate and fricatives

Affricate and fricatives have prominent friction in initial position which is allophonic.

/j/ palatal affricate.
It has three allophones, [j], [ɔ] and [ç].

[Ç] palatal voiceless affricate.
It occurs in medial position after voiceless stop.

kuTCyo punished
Dakcyo jumped
uTCyo got up

[ɔ] palatal voiced aspirated affricate.
It occurs in free variation with [j] in initial position

Z @ rur ~ j @ rur definite
Z @ lal ~ j @ lal mistake
Z @ mi ~ j @ mi earth

[j] palatal voiced unaspirated affricate.
It occurs in initial, medial and in final positions. [ɔ] and [j] are in free-variation in initial position.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>j@lal</td>
<td>mistake</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j@mi</td>
<td>earth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>raja</td>
<td>king</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pusjyu</td>
<td>asked</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>boljyo</td>
<td>spoke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>keDjye</td>
<td>she calves</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aj</td>
<td>to-day</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p’oj</td>
<td>army</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>raj</td>
<td>kingdom</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

/s/ dental, voiceless fricative.
It occurs in initial, medial and in final positions.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>si</td>
<td>lian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s a di</td>
<td>silver</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s d do</td>
<td>moon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g’..si</td>
<td>oilman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>masi</td>
<td>fisherman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>masli</td>
<td>fish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pas</td>
<td>five</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pus</td>
<td>please, ask</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

/h/ glottal, voiceless fricative.
It occurs in initial, medial and in final positions.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hasu</td>
<td>true</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hahro</td>
<td>father-in-law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hap</td>
<td>serpent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h u</td>
<td>what</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g a hDi</td>
<td>bale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rah</td>
<td>rope</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Laterals.

/l/

alveolar lateral.
It occurs in initial, medial and in final positions.

lon salt
l@g@N upto
lck people
kas@ bangles
da@nw@rjyalal Mr.Dhanwaryalal
tol please, speak
tal please, give
tal please, put

/r/

retroflex lateral.
It occurs in medial and in final positions.

olku (I) know
@#W
kalo black
mali gardner
pitol brass
kal time
nal canal

Trill.

/al/

alveolar, voiced trill.
It occurs in initial, medial and in final positions.
Nasals.

/m/ bilabial nasal.
It occurs in initial, medial and in final positions.

\( m@ki \) corn
\( m@Nku \) head
\( m@lu \) root
\( ham@li \) kite
\( dim@Nyo \) name of a tree
\( dam@Ni \) forehead locket
kam work
gam village
\( @m \) we (exclu.)

\( /n/ \) alveolar nasal.
It occurs in initial, medial and in final positions.

nyα justice
nano young
\( n@ki \) definatly
panu leaf of the tree
/N/ retroflex voiced nasal.
It occurs in medial and in final positions.

w @ No that
@ No this
muNku head
haNNu vegetable
raNNu infinite form of verb
'/raN -^ to play
kuN who
h@yy@N wife of the tailor

/ ^/ nasalization.
It has two allophones; [ a ] and [ y ].

[ y ] It occurs after [ h ] and before velar stops.

r @ y g colour
@ ygli finger

[ a ] nasalization of vowels.
It occurs with vowels.

a be mango tree
h a kDu narrow
Consonant length is not phonemic in N. Bhili.

d. Juncture:

Juncture phoneme is symbolized by /+/- sign.

Juncture is a suprasegmental element.

Phonetically it marks the lengthening of the preceding syllabic and a potential pause.

i.e. / műhů kam ne t'ajyu /

me by the work not has been done

/ műhů /

I am

c. Syllable:

The peaks of syllable are formed by the vocalic nuclei which can be simple or complex. Simple peaks consist of single vowels (nasalized or not-nasalized) and complex peaks consist of vowel + semivowel / y / and /w/. Complex peaks are limited in number compare to simple peaks.
Complex peaks:

A.
- @y uy - @w uw
- ay oy - aw ow

(A) /@y/
   /h@y/ tailor
   /s@y/ went (f)
   /ay/ hay to catch
   /b'ay/ brother
   /hay/ a woman
   /uy/ huy slept
   /@y/
       /hoy/ needle

(B) /@w/
   /h@w/ alright
   /w@w/ wife
   /j@w/ (I) go
   /aw/
       /pawDo/ shovel
       /awDo/ this much
   /uw/
       /huw/ (I) sleep
   /ow/
       /how/ yes
The structure of the monosyllabic utterance could be

a. $V /i/- he$

b. $V +$ semivowel.

/ ay/ - mother

c. $V + C$

/ ek / - one

d. $c + V$

/ be / - two

e. $c + v$ semivowel

/ hoy / - needle

/ huy / - slept

/ hay / - catch.

f. $c + c + v$

/ syar / - four

(This structure is rare).

Stress is not distinctive. Syllable division clearly be made in terms of phonetic criteria. We can cut sequences at the point of closest stricture.

All the consonants except / l / and /N/ are permissible as onset and all the consonants are permissible as coda.

Any sequence of two consonants except / jy / /s/ and /sy / is not permissible as an onset or a coda. These types of sequences of two consonants occurring between two syllables split into coda-onset sequence.
i.e. /haNNu/ - /haN - Nu/ vegetable
/ hiwNu/ / hiw - Nu/ inf.of v.hiw-to sew
/ aTku/ / aT-ku/ bone

The structure of the syllable in this dialect is

1. C V | V 0
2. sy ~ jy V | V 0

we do not find

* CCV | V 0
* CV | V 0

If we consider aspirated consonants as sequences of phonemes then we shall have to incorporate additional syllable-structure types, namely the two starred types above, because aspirated consonants occur as onset as well as coda in this dialect.

Secondly, we have minimal pairs like /bar/-twelve, /b'ar/-weight; /paD/-to fell, /p'aD/-half, etc. which show contrast between aspirated and unaspirated consonants.

Thirdly and finally, we have no consonant clusters like /mh/ /nh/ /sh/ etc.

So on the basis of these facts we consider
/p'/ /t'/ /T'/ /k'/ /b'/ /d'/ /D'/ /g'/ as unit phonemes.
(i) Morphophonemics.

Morphophonemic statements are of two types. (1) Phonologically conditioned and (2) grammatically conditioned. First is called morphophonemics and other one is called morpho-tactics.

(1.) Morpho-phonemics:

These are the statements which describe the alternant shapes of morphemes stateable in terms of phonological environment. The formula \( a // b/c \) employed below to state the morpho-phonemic alternations can be explained as: the morpho-phoneme \( a \) in the (morpho-phonemic) environment \( b \) is phonemically realised as \( c \).

1. A medial sequence \( //ccc// \) is split as \( //c@cc// \) except in one item \( //g'eTljye// \), where it is split as \( //g'eTljye@jye// \) that means only in this item \( //ccc// \) is split as \( //cc@c// \). However, variants of /c@cc/ sequences accordingly are noticed also as examples: /cc@c/ but not vice versa.

\[
\begin{align*}
// \text{w@drjye} // & \quad /w@drjye - w@drjye/ \\
// \text{kutrjye} // & \quad /bak@rjye - bakr@jye/ \\
// \text{b@bkrjye} // & \quad /bak@rjye - bakr@jye/ \\
// \text{g'eTljye} // & \quad /g'eTljye/ \\
\end{align*}
\]
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1. Monkeys(f) 2. bitches 3. she goats.
4. sheep(f).

2. Vowels other than a + i // e ~ e/jy in noun stems.

examples:
// 1 @ T @ kNje // / 10T@kNjye/ - danglers
// pelie // / peljye / - those(f) have
// b@hirie // / b@hirjye / - women
// keDië // / keDjye / - calves (f)
// sorie // / sorjye e/ - girls
// g'eTlie // / g'eTl@jye / - sheep(f)
// g'oDië // / g'oDjye e/ - mares
// l iDië // / l iDjye / - goat dung
// toDië // / toDjye e / - clay pot

3. a + i // e ~ e/ - y

examples:
// raNije // / raNye e/ - queens
// salije // / saly e/ - she goats
// gaDië // / gaDy e/ - carts

4. vl // - vd / vd

examples:
// rat daDo // / raddaDo / - day and night
// hat Dalì // / haddali / - seven branches
// b@ll@hi // / b@ll@hi / - seven evening.
// wad g@lji // / wadg@lji / - know the-sp.
// hap bOljyo // / habbOljyo / - serpent burnt
5. /i// - i / i

A morphophonemic sequence of /ii// is phonemically represents as /i/.

examples : /lii// /li/ take
/ pii // /pi/ drink
/ kii // /ki/ tell

6. /@// - ê / ê

A morphophonemic sequence of /@ ê // is phonemically represents as /ê/.

examples : / i ê ê // /l ê / (we) take
/ k'ê ê // /k'ê/ (we) eat

7. /i// - a ~ - o / y

examples : /di aljo // /dialjo/ - please, go
/ pi awjo // /pyowjo/ - go and drink
/ li awjo // /lyawjo/ - go and take
/ lio // /lyo/ - please take
/ pio // /pyo/ - please drink

8. Consonant initial - suffixes have an alternant / @ c / when it follows any consonant ending stem.

examples : /markNo // /mar@kNo/ - fighting cock.
(ii) Morphotactics

These are the statements which describe the alternant shapes of morphemes stateable in terms of grammatical environment.

(1) All the vowel ending verb bases have an alternant shape ending with / - w - / before passive and causal morphemes.

examples:

(a) / d'ɔ / ~ / d'ow / to wash
   / k'ɔ / ~ / k'ow / to loose
   / jɔ / ~ / jow / to see
   / rɔ / ~ / row / to cry

(b) / le / ~ / lew / to take
   / ke / ~ / kew / to say
   / re / ~ / rew / to live

(c) / hu / ~ / huw / to sleep

(d) / pi / ~ / piw / to drink
   / bi / ~ / biw / to fear

(e) / ga / ~ / g@w / to sing
   / ja / ~ / j@w / to go

It may be noted that all the vowel ending verb bases are monosyllabic.
2. Verb bases ending in /-o/ have an alternant shape ending in /-u/ before 2nd person sg.pl. of indicative, 3rd person sg.pl. of indicative and second person pl. of imp. and pol.imp.

i.e. /d'o/ ~ /d'u/ to wash
     /k'o/ ~ /k'u/ to loose
     /jo/ ~ /ju/ to see
     /ro/ ~ /ru/ to cry

3. Verb bases ending in /-e/ have an alternant shape ending in /-∅/ before 2nd person pl. of pol.imp. and imp.; an alternant shape ending in /-∅/ before 1st person sg.pl. of indicative and an alternant shape ending in /-i/ before relational /-i/ and perfective.

i.e. /le/ ~ /l∅/ ~ /li/ ~ /l-/ to take
     /ke/ ~ /k∅/ ~ /ki/ ~ /k-/ to say
     /re/ ~ /r∅/ ~ /ri/ ~ /r-/ to stay

4. Verb bases ending in /-a/ have an alternant shape ending in /-∅/ before 1st person sg.pl. of indicative and future.

i.e. /k'a/ ~ /k'∅/ to eat
     /ga/ ~ /g∅/ to sing
     /ja/ ~ /j∅/ to go
5. Verb bases with /-a/ as the initial syllable have an alternant shape as the initial syllable /-@/ when the following suffix has /-a/ as the initial syllable.

i.e. /dab/ ~ /d@b/ to press
     /mag/ ~ /m@g/ to beg
     /law/ ~ /l@w/ to bring
     /upaD/ ~ /u@D/ to lift

6. /be/- two and /so/- six, have alternant shapes /b@/- and /s@/- before /- h@e/- hundred. /ho/- hundred, has an alternant shape /- h@e/- when it follows any number.

Echo words
Undermentioned echo words are noticed.

/laDga - haDga/ - sweet-balleś
/daru - haru/ - wine
/to Di - ho Di/ - pot of day
/gar-har/ - mixture of clay and dung.

All echo words begin with /h-/, the rest of the shape remains the same. The words which begin with /h-/ make echo words with /b-/ . The rest of the shape remains the same.

i.e. /hap - bap/ - serpent
(iii) Morphemes

A Nouns

Substantives and adjectives participate in a system of three genders and two numbers. One important point noticed is that, that f. substantives and adjectives have separate gender marker and separate number marker. The structure of the f. sub. or adj. is

1. Stem + f. marker + -Ø sg. number marker or
2. Stem + f. marker + -e pl. number marker.

m. and neu. subs. and adj. have no separate GN suffixes. Subs. and adj. stems followed by GN suffixes are called marked nouns. GN of unmarked nouns are signalled by concord.

A1 Substantives

Marked substantives form smaller sets of substantives which participate

a with all the three gender suffixes
b with either f. or neu. gender suffixes
c with either m. or f. gender suffixes
d with only one gender suffix and
e with only number suffix.
Each type of above sets can be displayed in the following boxed diagrams.

a. Generally animate nouns are members of this set.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>stem +</td>
<td>-Ø</td>
<td>-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f.</td>
<td>-u</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neu.</td>
<td>-@</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>m.</td>
<td>keDo</td>
<td>keDa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>calf (m)</td>
<td>calfs (m)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f.</td>
<td>keDi</td>
<td>keDji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>calf (f.)</td>
<td>calfs (f.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neu.</td>
<td>keDu</td>
<td>keDu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>calf (neu)</td>
<td>calfs 'neu.'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m.</td>
<td>salo</td>
<td>sala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>he goat</td>
<td>he goats</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f.</td>
<td>sali</td>
<td>salye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>she goat</td>
<td>she goats</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>neu.</td>
<td>salu</td>
<td>salu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>small goat</td>
<td>small goats</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

b. Generally inanimate nouns are members of this set.
c. Generally animate nouns and inanimate nouns are members of this set.

```plaintext
examples : sg.    pl.

m. / w@ re Do /   / w@ re Da /
big rope   big ropes

f. / w@ re Di /   / w@ re Djy e /
small rope  small ropes

m. / kiDo /       / kiDa /
insect  insects

f. / kiDi /       / kiDjy e /
ant   ants

m / m@ koDo /   / m@ koDa /
black ant(big)  black ants (big)

f. / m@ koDi /   / m@ koDjy e /
black ant(small)  black ants (small )
```
d. Generally animate and inanimate nouns are members of this set.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{m. stem} & + & \text{f. stem} + \\
\text{sg.} & + & \text{pl.} \\
\hline
-0 & - & - \\
- & - & - \\
\end{align*}
\]

Examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>m. / saTo/</td>
<td>/ saTa /</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>drop</td>
<td>drops</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m. / pano/</td>
<td>/ pana /</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stone</td>
<td>stones</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. / raNi/</td>
<td>/ raNe /</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>queen</td>
<td>queens</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f. / laDi/</td>
<td>/ laDe /</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bride</td>
<td>brides</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

e. Generally inanimate nouns are members of this set.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{f. stem} & + \\
\text{sg.} & + & \text{pl.} \\
\hline
- & - & - \\
-0 & - & - \\
\end{align*}
\]

Examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>f. / rah/</td>
<td>/ rah e /</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rope</td>
<td>ropes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ rat/</td>
<td>/ rat e /</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>night</td>
<td>nights</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the m. substantives the sg.pl. opposition is neutralised before post-positions and pl. form is used before post-positions and markers.
examples: /sorahu kam ne t'ajyu he/
boy by work not done has been

Here, /sora/ is an oblique form therefore
/sora/ can be interpreted as either sg. or either pl.

In the neu-substantive the sg.pl. opposition
is retained before post-positions. Oblique form for
sg. neu. is /sora/ and oblique form for pl.neu.
is /sor@/.

examples: /sorae kam kidu/
boy the work did
/sorehu ne @way/
boy cannot come
/sor@e kam kidu/
children the work did
/sor@hU kam ne t'ay/
children by work cannot be done
/sor@ne puso/
children to ask

m. and neu. stems can be directly marked
by agentive / - e / marker also.

examples: /sore kam kidu /
the boy the work did
/ child the work did /
The question of oblique form for f.subs. does not arise because f.stems regularly take f. gender marker /- i~ y ~ jy/. (For conditioning of allomorphs please see morphophonemic rules No.2 and 3.)

All unmarked subs. are invariable. Their shapes remain constant before markers and post-positions.

examples: / ek soD he /

one plant is

/söDne paMi page /

plant to water please give

/t'oDi TaD p@De he /

little cold is

/TaDm'e awjo r@ke /

cold in come don't

/TaDe m@rjy a /

cold by died

/d'umm'e awjo r@ke /

sunshine in come don't

/g'@ No d'um p@De he /

much sunshine is
A2 Adjectives

Marked adjectives enter into construction with the GN suffixes and form three GN sets similar to the substantives of (a) type except in pl. form of f. gender. In pl. form of f. gender, adj. remains the same as sg. Marked adj. are in agreement with the subs. they modify.

examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/b'urjyc kutro/</td>
<td>/b'urjya kutra/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>black dog(m)</td>
<td>black dogs (m.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/b'urjyi kutri/</td>
<td>/b'urjyi kut@rjye/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>black bitch</td>
<td>black bitches</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/b'urjyu kutru/</td>
<td>/b'urjy@ kutr@/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>black dog(neu.)</td>
<td>black dogs (neu.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some qualitative and quantitative adj. are unmarked and like unmarked subs. they do not enter into construction with GN suffixes.

examples:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/T'ik l@bru/</td>
<td>/T'ik l@br@/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>good cloth</td>
<td>good clothes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/T'ik kutro/</td>
<td>/T'ik kutra/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>good dog</td>
<td>good dogs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ek soro/</td>
<td>/w@dare sora/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>one boy</td>
<td>many boys</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ek kutri/</td>
<td>/w@ dare kut@rjye/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>one bitch</td>
<td>many bitches</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Derivative adj.

The pronominal forms are derived as adjectives.

/ @N - / this, / w@N - ~Pel- / that and / ew- / that type are qualitative demonstrative adj.
All these adj. are in agreement with subs. they specify or demonstrate except in pl. form of f. There they remain constant.

examples:

/ @N - / this
/ aNa sorae kam kidu / this boy the work did
or these boys the work did
/ @No soro k'@rab he / this boy bad is
/ @Na sora k'@rab he / these boys bad are
/ @Mi sori k'@rab he / this girl bad is
/ @Mi sorji'e k'@rab he / these girls bad are
/ @Mu soru k'@rab he / this child bad is
/ @M@ sor@ k'@rab he / these children bad are
/w@N - ~ pel- / that

sg.                      pl.
/ w@No soro /         / w@Na sora /
that boy               those boys
/ w@Ni sori /         / w@Ni sorjye /
that girl              those girls
/ w@Nu soru /         / w@Nu sor@ /
that child             those children
/ pelo soro /         / pela sora /
that boy               those boys
/ peli sori /         / peli sorjye /
that girl              those girls
/ pelu soru /         / pel@ sor@ /
that child             those children

/ ew - / that type
/ ewo soro /         / ewa sora /
that type of boy       that type of boys
/ ewi sori /         / ewi sorjye /
that type of girl      that type of girls
/ ewu soru /         / ew@ sor@ /
that type of child     that type of children
2 Quantitative demonstrative adj.
/ @tr - / this much, is a quantitative demonstrative adj. It is in agreement with subs. it demonstrate, except in pl. form of f. subs.

examples:
/ @tra sora /
these many boys
/ @tri sorjiye /
these many girls
/ @tr@ sor@ /
these many children

3 Relational qualitative adj.
/ je - / that (relational) / jew /.

examples:
sg. pl.
/ jeno soro / / jena sora /
whose boy whose boys
/ jeni sor@ / / jeni sorjiye /
whose girl whose girls
/ jenu soru / / jen@ sor@ /
whose child whose children
/ jewo raja ewi dunya /
what type of king that type of the world
/ jewi wat uge ewi k@ro /
what type of story (you sig.) know that type of narrate
/ jewu h@mm uge ewu lawje /
what type of vegetable (you) find that type please, bring.
4. Relational quantitative adj.
   / jetr - / - so much as
   examples:
   / jetro mal / so much as goods
   / jetra soka / so much as rice
   / jetri wat / so many as stories
   / jetru kam / so many as works

5. Interrogative qualitative adj.
   / k@T1- / - how
   examples:
   sg. pl.
   / k@Tlo moTo soro / / k@Tla moTa sora / how old a boy how old boys
   / k@Tli moTi sori / / k@Tli moTi sorjye / how old a girl how old girls
   / k@Tlu moTu soru / / k@Tlu moTu sor@ / how old a child how old children

A Pronouns

The first and second personal pronouns form a set. It can be displayed in the following boxed diagram.

1st and 2nd person pronoun: 

1st person / m - /  
2nd person / t - / 

Examples:

/ mu awih / I will come
/ mone alo~m@y alo / please, give me
/ me pusyu / I asked
/ @m@ awih @ / we (excl.) will come
/ @mne alo / please, give us.
/ @me pusyu / we (excl.) asked
/ tu awih / you (sg.) will come
/ t@ne aljyu~t@y aljyu / given to you.
/ te aljyu / you (sg.) gave
/ t@m@ awh @ / you (pl.) will come
/ t@mne aljyu / given to you (pl.)
/ t@me aljyu / you (pl.) gave

These can be derived as possessive pronouns and function as marked adj.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st person</td>
<td>mar - /</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd person</td>
<td>tar - /</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>maro soro / my son</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>@maro soro / our son</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>taro soro / your (sg.) son</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>t@maro soro / your (pl.) son</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Demonstrative pronouns

These pronouns form a set. They take GN suffixes and the set can be displayed in the following boxed diagram.

```
/ @N - / this + GN suffixes + [- g~ e] sub.marker
/ w@N~i~ im-/ + [- ne] adj.marker
```

demonstrative pronouns:  

```
/ @No ubo / This(boy) stand  
/ @Nane aljo / please, give to this(boy)  
/ @Ne pusyu/ This (boy) asked  
/ @Na uba / These(boys) stand  
/ @Nine aljo / give to these (women)  
/ w@No~i~ ubo / he stands.  
/ w@Nane~ine aljo/ give him  
/ w@Ne wat kidi/ he narrates the story  
/ w@Na~i~ uba / They stand  
/ w@Nane~imne aljo / give them  
/ w@Na~e wat kidi / They narrate the story
```

These are derived as possessive pronouns

```
/ @Nan - / / w@Nan - /  
/ jen - / / en~ in /  
/ jim - / / imm~ emn - /
```

Examples:

```
/ @Nano soro / / @Nana sora /  
this of boy these of boys
```
Reflexive and inclusive pronouns
They are / pOND- / and / apD- / both can be displayed in the following boxed diagram.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{subject marker} \\
\text{object marker}
\end{align*}
\]

examples:

/ mų pONDë awih /  
I myself will come

/ mënë pONDë wat K@rili /  
me to myself talked = talked me personally

/ me pONDë alju /  
myself gave = I gave personally

/ apDe be jΩnë JΩnë /  
both of us will go

/ apD@në pusyü /  
us asked

/ apDe alju /  
we (inclu.) gave

/ apD- / can be derived as possessive pronoun.

i.e. / apDu soru /  
our child
Interrogative pronoun.

They are / koN - / and / hü- /.

Examples:

/ koN awjyu /
who came

/ t@me kene pusi awjya /
you whom ask did

/ k@Ne wat kidi he /
who the story told

/ hü k@re he /
what doing are (you.sg.)

/ h@ne awjya /
why came

Possessive stems are / ken - / and / h@N - /.

Examples:

/ kenu sorrow he /
whose child is

/ keno soro he /
whose boy is

/ keni sori he /
whose girl is

/ h@Ni wat kidi /
which the story told

/ D@bi h@Name he /
box which in is
Indefinite pronouns.

They are / kuNek - / someone, / Hoy / any and / ky / something.

Examples:

/ kuNek awNan u he /
somebody coming is

/ aj hay kam ne t'ajyu /
today any work not done

/ koy alo /
something give

/ kuNek - / functions as possessive.
i.e. / kuNekno soro uge /
somebody of boy looks

Alternants (pronouns.)

/ m ~ om / and / t ~ tm / are allomorphs of 1st and 2nd person pronouns, / m- / and /t- / occur with sg. and / tm- / and / om / occur with pl. before sub. and obj. marker.

/- u- ~ o- ~ o / are allomorphs of sg. morpheme. / - u- / occurs before - y sub. marker;
/- o- / occurs before - ne obj. marker and / - o- / occurs elsewhere.

/- o- / and / - o- / are allomorphs of pl. morpheme. / - o- / occurs before - ne obj. marker and / - o- / occurs elsewhere.
A. Numerals and ordinals

The first numeral has varying type of corresponding ordinal and there after ordinaliser/-m- regularly form a variable adj. type of ordinal.

\[-ek/ \text{one}/ \text{pello} / \text{first}\]
\[-be/ \text{two}/ \text{bemu} / \text{second}\]
\[-\ThetaN/ \text{three}/ \ThetaNu / \text{third}\]
\[-syar/ \text{four}/ \text{syamu} / \text{fourth}\]
\[-pa\text{a}/ \text{five}/ \text{pasmu} / \text{fifth}\]
\[-so/ \text{six}/ \text{somu} / \text{sixth}\]
\[-ha/ \text{seven}/ \text{hatmu} / \text{seventh etc.}\]

The counting is upto twenty

\[-aT/ \text{eight}\]
\[-no/ \text{nine}\]
\[-dah/ \text{ten}\]
\[-@jyar/ \text{eleven}\]
\[-\text{bar}/ \text{twelve}\]
\[-\text{ter}/ \text{thirteen}\]

* For more detail see marker section : 

/ /
After twenty the counting is again starting from one. It is an addition.

i.e. / wih ne ek / twenty-one
     / wih ne be / twenty-two etc.

/ be wihu / forty, / t@N wihu / sixty, / syar wihu / eighty and / p@s wihu / ho/- hundred.

Fractions by quarter and half are additive.

i.e. / h@wa / one and quarter
     / h@wabe / two and quarter
     / h@wat@N / three and quarter etc.

The word for quarter is / sotyu / and half is / p'aD / and / @rdu / . The word for three quarter is / poN@ / . It is by subtracting. / @rdu / and / paNu / are variable type of adj.

i.e. / @rdi wat / half the story
     / @rdu k'et@r / half the farm
     / @rda sora / half the boys
     / poNi wat / three quarters the story
     / poNa sora / three quarters the boys.
Fractions by half are / doD / - one and half, / Di/ two and half, and there after / haDa t@N / three and half, / haDa syar / four and half etc. where / haDa / is additive.

Counting for hundred and on is regular and the first nine numbers are prefixed in counting. i.e. / ho / hundred
/ h@he / two hundred
/ t@Nh e/ three hundred
/ syarh e/ four hundred
/ pash e / five hundred
/ s@h e / six hundred
/ hath e / seven hundred

Here, / ho ~ he/ are two allomorphs. / he/ occurs only after numbers. / ho / occurs elsewhere.

/ be ~ b@ - / and / so ~ s@ - / are two allomorphs. / b@ - / and / s@/ occur only before / - h e / which is an allomorph of / ho/, / be / and /so / occur elsewhere.

For thousand, there is a word / @jar /.

Counting is given below:
/ dah @jar b@h e bewihu rupjya / ten thousand two hundred forty rupees.
Apart from some nouns having natural gender distinctions associated with gender suffixes, this category is a grammatical gender type. Among the subs. which denote animate things and which participate with one of the two or three gender sets ( i.e. with m./f. set or with m.f. and neu. set )/-o/ and /-i/ indicate m. and f. of the species. /-u/ neu.gender indicates either indference or ignorane of gender and neu.pl. refers to combination of m. and f.
examples :

/ kiDo he /
   insect is
/ kiDi he /
   ant is
/ D'aho he /
   bull is
/ D'ahi he /
   cow is
/ soro he /
   boy is
/ sori he /
   girl is
/ soru he /
   child is
/ sor@ he /
   children are
In the same way neu. gender adj. without a subs. referent is indifferent or refers to a combination of m. and f.

Examples:

/ hettu lawjo /
all bring

/ hasu bolje /
true speak

/ g@Nu lawje /
much bring

When the inanimates participate in a two-gender m./f. set, the m. is big and f. is small.

Examples:

/ w@reDo / - rope

/ w@reDi / small rope

/ kuDo / well

/ kuDi / small well

When the inanimates participate in a two-gender f. neu. set, the f. is small and refined and neu. is big and rustic.

Examples:

/ gaDi / small refined cart

/ gaDu / big rustic cart.

In this way among the set of inanimate subs. though these morphemic elements /-o/, /-i/ and /u/ are employed, the gender oppositions are binary. This binary opposition can be stated as follows:
Some nouns have natural gender distinctions associated with gender suffixes.

examples:

/ Doho / an old man
/ Dohi / an old woman

A. Number

Unmarked nouns do not display gender-number opposition.

Marked nouns (sub. adj. and pronouns) display number opposition.

In m.subs. and adj. the number opposition is neutralised before post-positions and markers. Pl. form is an oblique form.

In neu. subs. number opposition is retained before post-positions and markers.

/ - a / is a pl. suffix for m.
/ - e / is a pl. suffix for f.
/ - @ / is a pl. suffix for neu.

examples:

m. /soro/ - a boy /sora/ boys
f. /sori/ - a girl /sorje/ girls
When the f. subs. end with the vowel /i/ (which is a regular f. gender marker) where the vowel of the preceding syllable is /-a-/; i /- e/; and where the vowel of the preceding syllable is other than /-a-/; i /- e/jy. (please, see morphophonemic statements No. 2 and 3).

A7 Modifiers

/n-/ marked phrases, aspectual verb forms, substantives and adjectives function as modifiers.

1. /-n-/ marked phrases as modifiers
   / w@Nano moTo soro /  
   his elder boy
   / @Na gamni wat /  
   this village of story

2. Aspectual verb forms as modifiers
   / mari pusili wat ko /  
   by me asked the story tell
   / alilu w@@n ke g@jyu /  
   given promise where went
   - you do not act according to the promise.
3. Adj. as modifiers

The notion of comparison is expressed by adj. + me + adj.
i.e. / @sli me @sli wat /
    the best story
/ taja me tojo g'oDo /
    the finest horse

Pronoun + hu + adj. is also equivalent to adj. + me + adj. as above.
i.e. / hett@hu tajo soro /
    in all the best boy

The notion of comparison is expressed by subs. + hu + adj.
i.e. / sorahu taji sori /
    than a boy better a girl

Ag Markers and post-positions

a phrase or link marker

/ - n - / is a phrase marker as well as it functions as link marker
i.e. / sorano soro /
    / sorani sori /
    / soranu soru /

In the above examples a phrase marker /-n-/ followed by GN markers.
/-n-/ also acts as a link to some adjuncts.
Link elements are /na/, /ni/, and /ne/.

examples:
/ gerna ahnu Tes@N he /
house to near station is
/ ger ahnu Tes@N he /
house near station is
/ rukDani up@r w@dru he /
the tree on monkey is
/ rukDa up@r w@dru he /
the tree on monkey is
/ rukDani nise m@n@k he /
the tree under man is
/ rukDa nise m@n@k he /
the tree under man is
/ g@Nes w@na kuNe ne awhe /
ganesh without nobody come will
/ m@lkine haru kam k@rjo /
Malki for the work please do
/ mari hate awjo /
me with please come

In the above examples /-n-/ marker is optional and in given examples we note that some adverbs following a noun phrase are also linked by /-n-/ marker.
some of which functions as adverbs. They can be treated as post-positions.

b subject marker or Agent marker

/- ø~ -e ~ - -e/ is a subject marker or an agent marker. In Intr. perf. verbs the subject takes /- e ~ -e/ as marker. There is a concord between this form of subs. and Intr. perf. verb.

i.e. / soro pusyu /                          

the boy asked

/ te l@kyu /                                 

you(sg.) wrote

/ p@nehu m@ryo /                             

/- -e/ occurs with 1st and 2nd person sg. pronoun before Intr. perf. verb. /-e/ occurs with other pronouns and subs. before Intr. perf. verb and /-ø/ occurs elsewhere.

i.e. / soro bolyo /                          

boy spoke

/ soro bole he /                             

boy speaking is
: 167 :
C object marker
/-ne/ is an object marker
i.e. / rame m@lkine pusi'yu /
Ram Malki to asked
/ ramne wagy'u /
Ram hurt
d location markers
/-e^/,-m@~ -m a -m e/ in
free-variation and/-h u/ are location markers.
/-hu/ marks a location phrase with/-e^/ and
/-m@~ -m a -m e/ also.

i.e. / g'oDe s@Dyo /
the horse mounted
/ germ@ s@Dyo /
the house into went
/ g'oDehu p@Dyo /
the horse from fell
/ gem@hu s@Dyo /
the house from went
e Gender-number markers

m. and neu. subs. are inflected for
GN markers:/-o/,-a/ and/-u/,-@/. refer
gender and number both while in f. gender subs. and
adj. /-i/ indicates only f. gender. Marked f. gender
subs. and adj. are inflected for number marker.
examples:
/ soro / boy / sora / boys
/ paNo / stone / paNa / stones
/ soru / child / sor@ / children

\( e_2 \) Gender marker

/ -i / is a regular f. gender marker.
examples:
/ sori / a girl
/ gaDi / a small cart
/ kiDi / an ant
/ waDi / a small garden

\( e_3 \) Number marker

f. gender subs. and adj. are inflected
for number markers, / -a/ sg. and / -e / pl.
examples:
/ raNi / a queen / raNy'e / queens
/ sori / a girl / sorjye / girls
/ rah / a rope / rahe / ropes
There are three types of verb-forms in this dialect: modal, temporal, and aspectual. These could be simple forms or complex forms. The simple forms are structures of one verbal base and suffixes and the complex forms are structures of two or more verbal bases with suffixes.

b. simple verbs

Modal and temporal verb forms are inflected for PN categories, aspectual verb forms are participles and are inflected as marked nouns for GN categories.

1. Modal verb forms are indicative, imperative and polite imperative.
2. Temporal verb form is future.
3. Aspectual verb forms are perfective and imperfective.

All three types of above structures can be displayed in the following boxed diagrams.

1. Modal verb forms
   a. Indicative and polite imperative verb forms enter into the same PN inflectional set.
indicative verb base* or

pol. imp.

pol. imp. is only inflected for 2nd person

sg. pl. morphemes. It is a structure of verb base +

\( \emptyset - j - \emptyset \) morpheme of pol. imp. + 2nd person sg. pl.
i.e. / h\&T awje /

quickly come (sg).

/ awje / is a structure of

\( \emptyset \) aw- \( \emptyset \) verb base + \( \emptyset - j - \emptyset \) morpheme of pol. imp. + \( \emptyset - o \) 2nd person sg. suffix.

/ h\&T awjo /

quickly come (pl.) please

/ awjo / is a structure of

\( \emptyset \) aw- \( \emptyset \) verb base + \( \emptyset - j - \emptyset \) morpheme of pol. imp. + \( \emptyset - o \) 2nd person pl. suffix.

Indicative verb is a structure of verb base +

PN suffix.
i.e. / m\i mu bol\u /

I speak

/ bol\u / is a structure of

/ bol- / verb base + \( \emptyset - \u\u \) 1st person sg. suffix.

/ \&\& bol\@ /

we (exclu) speak

/ bol\@ / is a structure of
0 bol-0 verb base + 0-0 2nd person pl. suffix.

/ tū bol /  / wəNa bol /  / wəNa bolo /
you(sg.) speak  he speaks  they speak

/bolo/ is a structure of
0 bol-0 verb base + 0-e 0 2nd person sg. and 3rd person sg. pl. suffix.

/ təmə bolo /
you(pl.) speak

/bolo/ is a structure of
0 bol-0 verb base + 0-o 0 2nd person pl. suffix.

b. Imp. verb is a structure marked by an opposition between the uninflected base and inflected verb base in 2nd person pl. indicative verb.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>verb base  +</td>
<td>- o</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

i.e.  / tū bol /
you(sg.) speak

/bol/ is a structure of
0 bol-0 verb base + 0-∅ 0 2nd person sg. suffix.

/ təmə bolo /
you(pl.) speak

/bolo/ is a structure of
0 bol-0 verb base + 0-o 0 2nd person pl. suffix.
2. Temporal verb forms

Temporal verb form is future.
Future morpheme has two allomorphs,
∅ - h- ~ -ih∅. /-ih/ occurs only with the 1st
and 2nd person sg. suffixes. /-h- / occurs elsewhere.

Future verb forms are inflected for FN suffixes.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>verb base + future</td>
<td>1st</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2nd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3rd</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

i.e. /  mũ awih / /tu awih /
I will come you(sg) will come

/awih / is a structure of

∅ aw - ∅ verb base + ∅ -ih ∅ future + ∅ -∅ ∅ 1st,2nd
sg. suffix.

/@m awh@ / /b@m awh@ /
we will come you(pl) will come

/awh@ / is a structure of

∅ aw - ∅ verb base + ∅ -h- ∅ future + ∅ -∅ ∅ 1st,2nd pl. suffix.

/ w@No awhe /
he will come

/awhe / is a structure of

∅ aw - ∅ verb base + ∅ -h- ∅ future + ∅ -e ∅ 3rd sg. suffix.
The two aspectual verb forms are perf. and imperf. They are participles. They occur in noun phrases as well as in verb phrases.

The perf. morpheme has five allomorphs, $\emptyset - y - \sim - jy - \sim - d - \sim - T - \sim - n - \emptyset$; $\emptyset - t - \emptyset$ are in free variation.

i.e. / boljo / - spoke
     / pido / - drunk
     / lido / - took
     / psTo / - entered
     / bsTo / - set
     / bino / - afraid.

The imperf. morpheme is $\emptyset - t - \emptyset$. These imperf. and perf. morphemes are followed by GN suffixes and inflected as marked nouns.

The perf. is derived as past-perf. and as an adj. by a suffix / il/ and these types of adjectives are in agreement with noun they modify.

i.e. / Dāhi lidīli /
     (we) cow purchased
Here the form / lidili / indicates that in the past the action took place and completed in the past itself.

But in the phrase / lidili D'ahi / - purchased cow, the form / lidili / is a modifier of the noun /D'ahi /.

The perf. verb occurs in the predicative phrase and functions as the past.
i.e. / D'ahi lidi / purchased a cow
     / soro boljyo / a boy spoke

Here the form / lidi / indicates that the action took place in the past but completed very recently.

The imperfective verb functions as conditional and occurs as an attributive in NP.
i.e. / tona hIDta te u bolto /
     if you(pl) would have walked I would have spoken
/hIDta / is a structure of
0 hID-0 verb base + 0-t-0 imperf.suffix + 0-a0m.pl.suffix.
/bolto / is a structure of
0 bol-0 verb base + 0-t-0 imperf.suffix + 0-o0 m.sg.suffix.

...
The imperf. occurs as an attributive in noun phrase.

i.e. sg. pl.
/Dakto soro/ /Dakto sora/
jumping boy jumping boys
/Dakti sori/ /Dakti sorje /
jumping girl jumping girls
/Daktu soru/ /Dakti sor /
jumping child jumping children

b. Auxiliary verb

Verb /h/- to be, is primary as well as auxiliary verb. It has two allomorphs; /h-/ and /©-/. /h-/ occurs as indicative auxiliary verb and participates in FN inflectional set. /©-/ occurs before perfective and is inflected for GN suffixes.

Indicative auxiliary verb /h-/ can be displayed in the following boxed diagram:

```
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/h-/</td>
<td>- u</td>
<td>- ©</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1st</td>
<td>2nd</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
```

i.e. Indicative sg. pl.
1st /mu hu/ I am /©me h© / we are
2nd /tu he/ you(sg) are /t©m ©o/ you(pl. are
3rd /w@Nc he/ he is /w©Nc he/ they are
perfective

1st / m ü @to / I was /@n@ @ta / we (excl.) were
2nd / tu®to / you (sg) were / t®@®to / you (pl.) were
3rd / w@N@to / he was / w@Na @ta / they were

b3 Complex verb forms

Indicative, imperf. and perf. verb forms in construction with auxiliary, form complex verb forms.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>indicative</th>
<th>past</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg.</td>
<td>pl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imperf.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bolu hu</td>
<td>bol® h®</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>perf.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bolyo hu</td>
<td>boly® h®</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Here, / bolu hu / - I am speaking, is a complex form of indicative but it is in opposition with perf. indicative so we consider it as an imperf. indicative complex verb.

In negation all the complex verb forms take /ne ~ na ~ rhe / negative marker and /r@ke / prohibitive negative.

(for conditioning please see pp... )

i.e. / m ü ne bolu / - I will not speak
     / t®me ne bolta / - you (pl) would not speak
     / m ü boljyo ~ bolyo rhe / - I have not spoken
     / i ne awhe / - he will not come
     / t®@® bolta r@ke / - you (pl.) please, do not speak
     / tu® awto r@ke / - you (sg.) please, do not come.
Allomorphs of PN suffixes.

/- ü cv - / is 1st person sg. suffix.
/- ü cv - / occurs with future suffix and / - ü / occurs elsewhere.

/- @ / is 1st person pl. suffix.
/- e cv - / is 2nd person sg. suffix.
/- @ / occurs with future and imp. suffix and / - e / occurs elsewhere.

/- o cv - @ / is 2nd person pl. suffix.
/- @ / occurs with future suffix and / - o / occurs elsewhere.

/- e / is 3rd person sg. suffix.
/- e - - e / is 3rd person pl. suffix.
/- e / occurs with indicative suffix and / - e / elsewhere.

In indicative verb form there is no opposition in 2nd person sg. and 3rd person sg. pl. verb forms.

In future verb form there is no opposition in 1st and 2nd sg. pl. verb forms.

In auxiliary verb forms there is no opposition in 2nd and 3rd person sg. verb forms.
Phrasal verbs

The expansion of a simple or a complex verb results in a verb sequence $v_1 \, Aff. \, v_2$. In sequence $v_1 \, Aff \, v_2$ the members of the $v_2$ class are called modals.

There are some restrictions on the co-occurrence of $v_1$ class but they are few while the stems occurring as $v_2$ form a more limited class.

Various phrasal verbs observed are listed below:

1. $N \, v_1 \, wa \, v_2$

   \[
   \begin{align*}
   \{ & wa \, lag- \} \\
   N \, v_1 \{ & wa \, m\, \text{aD} - \} ^{PN \, suffix \, auxiliary} \\
   \{ & wa \, dye - \} \\
   \end{align*}
   \]

   In this sequence $v_2$ is a small verb class of /lag-/, /m\,\text{aD}-/ and /dye-/ verb stems.

   The meaning of the mode is to help, to assist and to allow.

   examples :
   \[
   / \text{k@rwa} \, lage \, he / \\
   \text{to do helps or assists} \\
   / \text{k@rwa} \, m\, \text{aDe} \, he / \\
   \text{to do starts}
   \]
2. (a) Ne $v_1$ wù $v_2$  
(b) Nne $v_1$ wù $v_2$

N $v_1$ + PN suffix expose to ,

(a) Ne $v_1$ \{ wù \[\text{PN suffix}\] - \} + PN suffix.  
(b) Nne $v_1$ \{ wù \[\text{PN suffix}\] - \} + PN suffix.

When the object occurs in the sentence, Aff / w-/ takes GN suffix whichever GN suffix is taken by the object.
In such sequence the verb of \( v_1 \) class is always transitive.

\( v_2 \) bases are \( juj- \) and \( pD- \). The meaning of the mode is "has to" and "should".

Examples:

\[
/ \text{m@y} \quad \text{wat} \quad \text{puswi} \quad \text{pDe} / \\
/ \text{boy} \quad \text{the story} \quad \text{ask} \quad \text{has to} \\

/ \text{m@ne} \quad \text{jowu} \quad \text{juje} / \\
/ \text{Magan} \quad \text{see} \quad \text{should} \\
/ \text{@Nani} \quad \text{watm@} \quad \text{bolwu} \quad \text{juje} / \\
/ \text{of this man the story in speak should} \\
/ \text{t@mone} \quad \text{jowu} \quad \text{pDe} / \\
/ \text{you(pl) see have to} \\
\]

3. \( N \text{ne} \quad v_1 \quad wGN \quad v_2 \)

\( N \quad v_1 + \text{PN suffix} \quad \text{expanse to,} \)

\( N \text{ne} \quad v_1 \quad 0 \quad wGN \quad @m- \quad 0 + \text{PN suffix}. \)

\( v_2 \) verb base is \( @m- \) to like and it is a reflexive verb.
In this sequence Aff. /-w-/ takes GN suffix whichever GN suffix is taken by the object. No Intr. verb can occur as the member of \( v_1 \) class unless it is transitivised.

Examples:

/ sorane sopDi w aswi @me he /
the boy the book to read likes

/ @me ser joju @me he /
we(excl.) the city to see like

/ m@y roTo kawo @me he /
I bread to eat like

/ sorine salu us@kwu @me he /
girl a goat(neu.) to lift like

4. (a) \( v_1 \) ye ~ jye \( v_2 \)

(b) \( v_1 \) y@ \( v_2 \)

\( v_1 \) \{ -ye ~ jye rak - \} + PN suffix.

\( v_1 \) \{ -y@ k@r - \}

In sequence (a) \( v_2 \) base is / rak- / and in sequence (b) \( v_2 \) base is / k@r - /.

The meaning of the mode is of continuous action.

Examples:
5. Nne v₁ tō Na v₂

Nne v₁ tō Na awD- { + PN suffix

The meaning of the mode is "to know".

d. examples:

/sorane r@mNa awDe he /
boy to play knows

/sorine Dakt@ awDe he
girl to jump knows

/m@y l@kt@ awDe he /
I to write know

/t@y wast@ awDe he /
you(sg.) to read know

/t@y l@kt@ ne awDtu /
you(sg.) to write do not know

The suffix /-tō/ derives imperf. stem as an adverbial and functions as an adverbial phrase.
i.e. / k'at® k'at® wate røke tøro /
while eating speak do not

/bolt® bolt® sopDi wäso røke /
while speaking the book read donot.

6. \( v_1 \ i \ v_2 \)

\( v_1 \ 0 \ i \ jaN - 0 + \text{PN suffix} \)

\( v_2 \ \text{base is} / jaN- / \).

The meaning of the mode is "to know"

examples:

/soro b@Ni jaNe he /
boy to learn knows

/soro l@ki jaNe he /
boy to write knows

/soro boli jaNe he /
boy to speak knows

/ mù kam k@ri jaNü hü /
I the work todo know

/ mù h@Di janü hü /
I to walk know

7. \( v_1 \ i \ v_2 \)

\( v_1 \ 1 \ ) 1 \ \text{al - \{ } \)

\( v_1 \ 1 \ ) 1 \ \text{k@D - } \)

\( v_1 \ 1 \ ) 1 \ \text{ja - \{ } \)

\( v_1 \ 1 \ ) 1 \ \text{w@L - } + \text{PN Suffix} \)

\( v_1 \ 1 \ ) 1 \ \text{le - } \)

\( v_1 \ 1 \ ) 1 \ \text{nak - } \)
v₂ bases are Tr. verbs /al-/, /le-/, /nak-/, /kaD-/ and Intr. verbs /ja-/, /f@D-/ and / v@L -/

The meaning of the mode is to emphasize the action. examples:

/ kapi al /
(you sg.) cut it

/ l@y le /
(you sg.) take it

/ boli de /
(yousg.) speak

/ boli f@Dyo /
(he) speaks

/ boli ja /
(you sg.) speak

/ boli nak /
(you sg.) speak

Affixes in phrasal verbs

/-w-/, /-y- - jy-/, /-t/- and /-i-/ are affixes in phrasal verbs. /-w-/ functions as infinitive suffix, /-y- - jy- / functions as perf. suffix, /-t-/ functions as imperf. suffix and / - i - / functions as relation suffix.

examples:

/ has'ú bolwú /
true to speak

/ h@warm'è jilwu /
in the morning to take bath
Possible restrictions on co-occurrence of \( v_1 \) class in modal verb phrases:

There are some semantic restrictions on co-occurrence of \( v_1 \) class in some of the phrasal verbs. We saw in phrasal verbs no. 2 and 3 that there are some restrictions which can be described structurally.
In the phrasal verb no. 2, if the object occurs in the sentence, only Tr. verb can occur as a member of v₁ class.

In the phrasal verb no. 3, no Intr. verb can occur as a member of v₁ class unless it is transitivized.

examples:

/ paN@ Dwo juje /
the stone to throw has

/ sorae wat puswi p@De /
the boy the story to ask has

/ sorane sopDi waswi g@me he /
the boy a book to read likes

/ m@y roTo k'awo g@me he /
I bread to eat like

A note on concord rule in phrasal verbs:

In phrasal verb no. 2, an affix / -w-/ takes GN suffixes according to the gender of the object in the phrase.

i.e.

/ sorae wat puswi p@De /
the boy the story to ask has

Here, v₁ functions as the main verb.
Any verb, except auxiliary verbs can be derived as causal by suffixes added to the stem. /-aD-/ -aw- ^-eD-^-ar- / are the suffixes.

/ -aD- / / hu - / / huwaD/ - to sleep
/ jag - / / j@gaD / - to get up
/ uT - / / uTaD / - to get up
/ pi - / / piwaD/ - to drink
/ aw - / / k@r - / / k@raw / - to do
/ bol - / / bolaw / - to speak
/ -ed-/ / @h- / / @heD / - to rub
/ -ar- / / w@d - / / w@dar / - to increase

These causal stems can be further derived as causal.

i.e. / j@gaD / / j@gaDaw / - to get up
/ uTaD / / uTaDaw / - to get up
/ k@raw / / k@rawaD/ - to do
/ bolaw / / bolawaD/ - to speak
/ @heD / / @heDaw ~ @heDaD / - to rub
/ w@dar / / w@daraw ~ w@daraD/ - to increase

b6 passive
A simple or a causal verb base may be followed by a passive suffix /-a/. Verb phrases other than the imp. and auxiliary verb forms, could be transformed into passive forms. The subject in the sentence co-occurents of the passive verb phrase is marked by /-hū/.

i.e. /mērehū ne dābay /

me by not be pressed

/māgānhū kam ne kāray /

Magan by work not be done

/sorihū āway /

girl by came

/rāmhū ĥāDay /

Ram by be walked

/tarhū wat kāray /

you(sg) talks are done

b7 Transitive and Intransitive.

Noun phrase can occur with agentive marker or without it. Tr. verbs are those which subject occurs with an agentive marker in a perf. construction. Others are Intr. verbs.

Transitive verbs:

Tr. verbs can be expanded to,

1 Ne v
2 Ne Nw
3 Ne Nne (N) v.
1. Ne v' and 2. Ne Nv

examples:

\[\text{/ sore \, wāsyū /} \]
the boy read

\[\text{/ məgəne \, ləkyū /} \]
Magan wrote

\[\text{/ sore \, sopD1 \, wāsi /} \]
The boy the book read

\[\text{/ məgəne \, kagəd \, əkyū /} \]
Magan a letter wrote

\[\text{/ wās-/ to read, /kə-/ to write, /hay-/ to catch, /k'ə-/ to eat, /pi-/ to drink etc. are} \]
\[\text{Tr₁ and Tr₂ verbs.} \]

3 Ne Nne \sim Nəy (N) v

\[\text{/ pus-/ to ask, /al-/ to give, /ke-/ to say etc. are Tr₃ verbs.} \]

examples:

\[\text{/ sore \, ramne \, sopD1 \, ali /} \]
The boy Ram to the book gave

\[\text{/ məgəne \, məy \, wat \, pus\text{i} /} \]
Magan me the story asked

\[\text{/ sore \, məy \, pusyū /} \]
The boy me asked

\[\text{/ rame \, təy \, wat \, kidi /} \]
Ram to you the story told
Intransitive verbs

Intransitive verbs can be expanded to,

1. Mv
2. N - Nv
3. Nne (N) v

1. Mv

Examples:

/soru/ hutu /
The child slept
/mag@n/ bolyo /
Magan spoke
/ rukDuyu up@Djyu ~ up@Dyu /
The tree thrown out

/hu-/ to sleep, /up@D-/ to throw out,
/bol-/ to speak, /buD-/ to sink, etc. are the members of Intr\textsubscript{1} verb class.

2. N N v

Examples:

/mag@n/ rukDaupDor s@Dyoy ~ s@Djyo /
Magan the tree on climbed
/soro/ waD Dakyo ~ Dakjyo /
The boy the fance jumped
/soro/ sori p@Nyo /
The boy the girl married

/s@D-/ to climb, /Dak-/ to jump, /p@N-/ to marry etc. are the members of Intr\textsubscript{2} verb class.

/*
3. Nne (N) v

These are the reflexive verbs.

examples:

/mægɪnne hɪɡDu wagyu ~ wagjyu /
Magan  horn  hurts

/ramne  ləbrə gəmyə /
Ram     clothes  likes

/soran   kam   awəDjyu /
the boy  the work knows

/wag-/ to hurt: /gəm-/ to like, /awəD-/ to know etc. are the members of Intr3 verb class.

Transitive and Intransitive are statements of syntactic relations but there is a set of verbs where it is convenient to label umlaut as a transitivising morpheme.

(1)  /ə/ → /a/

i.e. Int. /pəD/  Tr. /paD/ - to fall

/bəL/  /baL/ - to burn
/təp/  /tap/ - to heat
/upəD/  /upaD/ - to lift
/mər/  /mar/ - to bet
/wəL/  /wal/ - to turn

(ii)  /u/ → /o/ with the voicing of the following C if it is not voiced.

i.e.

/k'ul/  /k'əl/ - to open
/suT/  /soD/ - to relieve
/p'ul/  /p'oD/ - to break
/tuT/  /toD/ - to break
The following may be related as Inland Tr. pair though segmentation is not convenient.

\[ \text{buD} / \quad \text{boL} / \quad \text{to dip} \]

A set of / - a / ending Intr. verbs can be derived as causal and then only they can be derived as passive.

i.e. \[ / \text{saorah} \, \text{u} \quad \text{g@way} / \quad \text{A song is sung by a boy.} \]

b. Negation

There are three negative markers / ne/, /n@he / and / n@ y /. The negative sentence followed by / n@he / or / n@ y / if the verb is perf. / ne / occurs elsewhere.

/ n@ke / is prohibitive.

examples:

\[ / \text{n@gh@nhu} \quad \text{ne} \quad \text{k@way} / \quad \text{Magan by cannot be eaten} \]

\[ / \text{mu} \quad \text{ne} \quad \text{bolu} / \quad \text{I not speak} \]

\[ / \text{em@ne} \quad \text{awh@} / \quad \text{we(exclu) not will come} \]

\[ / \text{em@bolta} \quad \text{n@ y} / \quad \text{you(pl) speak do not} \]

\[ / \text{mara} \quad \text{w@Na} \quad \text{kuNe ne awhe} / \quad \text{me without nobody will come} \]
: 193 :

/ i bolyo m@he /
he speak has not
/ mʊ bolyo m@y /
I speak did not
/ tʊ bol r@ke /
you(sg.) speak do not
/ tʊm awjo r@ke /
you(pl) come do not
/ tʊ pus r@ke /
you(sg.) ask do not
Adverbs and particles

Adverbs and adverbial phrases

Adverbs are derivate and non-derivate.

Non-derivate adverbs belong to the class of /Jo#ur/ - definite, /k@das/ - perhaps or probably, /t@r@t/ - immediately and others.

Examples:

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{/mū Jo#ur awih/} \\
\text{I definitely will come} \\
\text{/mū k@das awih/} \\
\text{I perhaps will come} \\
\text{/mū t@r@t awih/} \\
\text{I immediately will come}
\end{array}
\]

Derivative adverbs are (i) a set of correlative-relative and interrogative adverbs of place, time and manner derived from pronominal stems (ii) Aspectual verb stems derived with /-e/ and /-a/ and (iii) a group of nominals with locational /-e/ and/-mā/.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(i)</th>
<th>relative</th>
<th>correlative</th>
<th>interrogative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>jy@</td>
<td>ty@</td>
<td>ke</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jem</td>
<td>tem</td>
<td>kem</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>je</td>
<td>t@y</td>
<td>kere</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples:
: 195 :

/ jyə jú tyə awo /

where (I) go there (you.pl.) come

/ jem kərwu uge tem kəro /

(you sg.) what to do like that do

/ je k'əwt Tem m@le təy awjo /

whenever (you sg.) time find please come

/ ke jo /

where are (you pl.) going?

/ kem bolyo /

why (you sg.) speak?

/ təm kere awho /

you(pl.) when will come?

/ awe / - now, / iyə / here and / wyə / are also adverbs for time and place.
examples:

/ awe jo /

now go

/ iyə hu juwo /

here what see

(11) Aspectual stems (imperf. stems) / k'ate /- while eating, / boltə /- while speaking, / həDtə /- while walking, etc. and (perf. stems) / pide /- having drunk, / awe /- having come etc. function as adverbs.

Duplication indicates the continuation.

examples:
(iii) Nominal stems marked by locational / -e / and / -m@ / function as adverbs. Post-positions also function as adverbs.

i.e. / gem@ melo /
the house in put

/rate awjo /
at night please, come

/ kini nate awjyo /
whom with came

/ ke hudi j@ho /
where upto go will

/k@tlak i@n j@ho /
where upto go will

/nise uba rejo /
under (the tree) stand please

/ d@d@r jo /
inside go

62 connectives

Different relationship between clauses are exhibit by this connectives. They are of four types.
1. Conjunctive and disjunctive
   / ne / and, /ke/- or
i.e. / tu ne g@Nes awjo /
you(sg) and Ganes please, come
/ t@me ke m@ne bolawhe /
you(pl) or me will call

2. Explicative
   / @Te/- therefore.
i.e. / ū bolū @Te awjo /
when I speak therefore (you pl.) come
/ g@Nese kidū @Te awjyo /
Ganes said therefore (I) came.

3. Cause and effect
   / te/- that
i.e. / bolyo te ne g@myū /
(I) speak that (he) did not like
/ awho te g@mhe /
(you pl.) will come that like

4. Adversative
   / p@N/- while, but
i.e. / mū awNano @to p@N ne ayo /
I was to come but did not come
/ t@me bolawe p@N t@m @bLo s n@y /
you(pl.) calls (he) but you(pl.) hear did not
There are four particles.

/s/ and /mN/ are emphatic particles.
It follows a noun phrase.
/ne/ indicates polite request and
/ji/ indicate respect.

i.e. /@me s awh@ /
we(exclu) only will come
/m@ne s aljo /
me only give
/ben ne /
sit please
/bol ne /
speak please
/na ji kam ne t'ay /
no sir, work cannot be done
/ha ji m'u awh /
yes sir, I will come
/m@ne mN alo /
me too give