Morphology includes the stock of segmental morphemes, and the ways in which the words are built of them. There are two morphological categories:

I Derivational category and II Inflectional category

I Derivational category

The words containing affixes are derivatives.

Affixes are of two types i) prefixes and ii) suffixes.

These derivatives contain an affix as one immediate constituent. The process from morpheme to stem is:

a) Derivation by prefixes:

i) Substantive forming prefixes:

\{ \text{ap - js} \} \quad \text{'infamy'}

\{ n - \text{rth} \} \quad \text{'misfortune'}

ii) Adjective forming prefixes:

\{ \text{be - loRs} \} \quad \text{'unwanted'}

\{ \text{N - b\text{ol}} \} \quad \text{'speechless'}

iii) Adverb forming prefixes:

\{ \text{bI1 - kU1} \} \quad \text{'all'}

\{ \text{be - T\text{Rm}} \} \quad \text{'untimely'}
b) Derivation by suffixes:

i) Substantive forming suffixes:

\[
\begin{align*}
\{ \text{par} - \text{otto} \} & 'bundle (especially of wooden sticks)' \\
\{ \text{b}^2\text{Nj} - \text{ara} \} & 'business man' \\
\end{align*}
\]

ii) Adjective forming suffixes:

\[
\begin{align*}
\{ \text{nig} - \text{a} \} & 'moderate warm' \\
\{ \text{mint} - \text{khor} \} & 'hard worker' \\
\end{align*}
\]

iii) Adverb forming suffixes:

\[
\begin{align*}
\{ \text{kh}^\prime \text{l} - \text{o} \} & 'from down side' \\
\{ \text{t}^2\text{L} - \text{o} \} & 'quickly' \\
\end{align*}
\]

iv) Verb forming suffixes:

- **Denominatives**
  
  \[
  \begin{align*}
  \{ \text{h}^2\text{rm} - \text{a} \} & 'blush' \\
  \end{align*}
  \]

- **Causal, simple**
  
  \[
  \begin{align*}
  \{ \text{h}^2\text{tth} - \text{ya} \} & 'catch, snatch' \\
  \end{align*}
  \]

- **Causal, double**
  
  \[
  \begin{align*}
  \{ \text{t}^2\text{L} - \text{u} \} & 'fry' \\
  \{ \text{t}^2\text{r} - \text{u} \} & 'place' \\
  \end{align*}
  \]

- **Potential**
  
  \[
  \begin{align*}
  \{ \text{b}^2\text{T} - \text{o} \} & 'twist' \\
  \{ \text{mUR} - \text{o} \} & 'turn' \\
  \end{align*}
  \]


c) Derivation by phoneme substitution:

i) **v. int. and phoneme substitution**, **v.t.**:

\[
/\text{u}/ \rightarrow /\text{o}/ \\
\begin{align*}
\{ \text{khU} \} & \{ \text{kh}^\prime \text{l} \} & 'open' \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
/\text{I}/ \rightarrow /\text{a}/ \\
\begin{align*}
\{ \text{phIr} \} & \{ \text{ph}^\prime \text{r} \} & 'turn' \\
\end{align*}
\]

ii) **v. and phoneme substitution**, **substantive**:

\[
/\text{a}/ \rightarrow /\text{a}/ \\
\begin{align*}
\{ \text{~} \} & \{ \text{~} \} & 'worship' \\
\end{align*}
\]
\(/\text{u}/ \rightarrow /\text{o}/ \quad \{ \text{r}\text{u}k \quad \text{r}\text{o}k \} \quad \text{'stop'}

d) Reduplication

These consist of two phonemically identical syllables:

i) without internal alternation:

\[
\begin{align*}
\{ \text{m}\text{UNi} \quad \text{m}\text{UNi} \} & \quad \text{'little'} \\
\{ \text{S}\text{EL} \quad \text{S}\text{EL} \} & \quad \text{'fine'}
\end{align*}
\]

ii) with alternation of the initial consonant in the reduplicator:

\[
\begin{align*}
\{ \text{syaNi} \quad \text{byaNi} \} & \quad \text{'old, wise (F. sg.)'} \\
\{ \text{r}\text{La} \quad \text{g}\text{La} \} & \quad \text{'noise'}
\end{align*}
\]

iii) with alternation of the vowel in the reduplicator:

\[
\begin{align*}
\{ \text{\overset{\text{\textquotesingle}R}{\text{o}}} \text{a} \quad \text{\overset{\text{\textquotesingle}R}{\text{s}}} \text{i} \} & \quad \text{'jealously'} \\
\{ \text{\overset{\text{\textquotesingle}R}{\text{\textquotesingle}l}} \text{o} \quad \text{\overset{\text{\textquotesingle}R}{\text{\textquotesingle}l}} \text{i} \} & \quad \text{'forcibly'}
\end{align*}
\]

iv) with linking element in the first stem:

\[
\begin{align*}
\{ \text{\overset{\text{\textquotesingle}R}{\text{\textquotesingle}m} \text{a} \quad \text{\overset{\text{\textquotesingle}R}{\text{\textquotesingle}m} \text{m}} \} & \quad \text{'hot'} \\
\{ \text{\overset{\text{\textquotesingle}l}{\text{yaj}} \quad \text{\overset{\text{\textquotesingle}l}{\text{yaj}}} \} & \quad \text{'partially'}
\end{align*}
\]

v) with linking element in the second stem:

\[
\begin{align*}
\{ \text{\overset{\text{\textquotesingle}R}{\text{\textquotesingle}R}} \text{a} \quad \text{\overset{\text{\textquotesingle}R}{\text{\textquotesingle}R} \text{a}} \} & \quad \text{'thunder'} \\
\{ \text{\overset{\text{\textquotesingle}k}{\text{\textquotesingle}R} \quad \text{\overset{\text{\textquotesingle}k}{\text{\textquotesingle}R} \text{a}} \} & \quad \text{'cracking sound'}
\end{align*}
\]
vi) with linking elements in both the stems:
{ jora jori } 'forcibly'
{ bolla bolli } 'quarrel'
vii) with addition of consonant and vowel in the
reduplicator:
{ Tae b?Tae } 'tittle-tattle'
{ lekkha p?lekkha } 'omission'
e) Composition

By a compound we mean a combination of two
or more free forms, which are reductions of a particular
syntactic construction underlying a compound form:
{ j?L kUkRi } 'water hen'

Here the corresponding phrase is with \{ d/i \} as:
{ j?Ledi kUkRi } 'water hen'
Likewise: \{ p?mrItedi tara \} 'nectar flow'

II Inflectional category

The stems are classified in two main categories:

a) Nominals and  

b) Verbals.

The others remaining are the particles:

a) Nominals:

These are divided into substantives,  

adjectives and adn pronouns.
The nominals are inflected for number and case with the assigned gender. In pronouns the gender is variable.

b) Verbal:

The roots from which the verbs can be formed, occur in two major classes:

i) Transitives:

\[ \text{mar} \]

'beat'

ii) Intransitives:

\[ \text{mr} \]

'die'

The uniform structure of a verb is:

Stem and mode morpheme and GNP. In some forms the categories of person and number occur as combined in the same morpheme.

c) Particles:

Particles are those items which are not inflected and which convey structural relationship.

These include:

2.1 Stem formation

The stems are formed by the derivational processes. Generally these processes are productive.

Mainly the processes are of the following types:

i) Noun as a nuclear.

ii) Verb as a nuclear.

iii) Adverb as a nuclear.

The wealth in the data is represented by the nouns which include substantives, adjectives and pronouns. The substantives occur as nuclear in a large number of the formation.

In some case the resultant substantives and adjectives derived by a common suffix are determined by the context.

2.2 Categories

A summary list is presented here to enumerate the very productive suffixes in the following categories:

i) Feminine markers:

akh -i is very productive suffix which occurs with substantives, adjectives and verbs. The other
common ones are: - Ni, - ni, -aN, - a, -aNi, - ENi, - o.

ii) Masculine markers:

- a is very productive suffix. It also occurs with substantives, adjectives and verbs. The other common ones are: - i, - u.

iii) Size markers:

a) Diminutives:

-u is very productive and common. It occurs in alternation with the vowels mostly with - a and - i.

b) Magnittudes:

-a occurs in alternation mostly with the feminine marker - i.

iv) Agent noun markers:

The following suffixes are common and productive:

- ?k, - ?kkR, - ak, - aku, - aT/a, - aRi, - ar,
- ar/a, - i, - iu, - in, - u, - eti, - E1, - ?Ra, - kar, - khor,
- ?R, - ta, - dan, - dar, - poS, - bag, - bi, - mN/nd, - ?N,
- ?R, - ?k?l, - aju, - ana, - api, - aru, - und/a, - a,
- et?r, - era, - nak, - ban, - bar, - bin, - e, - La,
- sar.
v) Abstract noun markers:
- a, - ai, - ap, - ab, - abt, - amat, - EN, - N, - Ni, - t b, - ti, - ni, - jk, - jt, - ai, - apa, - E, - ES, - gi, - ta, - ti.

vi) Instrument noun markers:

vii) Kinship markers:

viii) Qualitative markers:
- a, - au, - ia, - ila, - lu, - la, - ES.

ix) Inhabitant markers:
- e is very common and productive.

To exhaust the possibility of affixes the complete description of the occurrences in the dialect will be a long range process of the study. It is preferred to give a list of available prefixes and suffixes arranged in the alphabetic order of consonants and vowels as in Devanagari under the major classes.
2.2.1 Derivational prefixes

The prefixes are a class of bound phoraes occurring only in stem initial. In the dialect under investigation, negative prefixes are much in quantity than other prefixes. They negate the meanings of stems to which they are prefixed.

2.2.1.1 Substantive forming prefixes

2.2.1.1.1 Nuclear as a substantive

Prefix  &  Sub.  |  Resultant Sub.

? - 'negative'

? - tɔrm  |  ɔtɔrm  'impiety'

Likewise: 9- 9yan  'ignorance'

9- 'negative'

9- adar  |  9Nadɔr  'ignominy'

9- 'bad'

9- jɔs  |  9pjɔs  'infamy'

Likewise: 9pmun  'disgrace', 9pkar  'disfavour'

9 - 'bad'

9 - gUN  |  9gUN  'defect'
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prefix</th>
<th>Sub.</th>
<th>Resultant Sub.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kp-</td>
<td>'bad'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ra</td>
<td></td>
<td>kpra 'bad path'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Likewise:</td>
<td>kpbel 'lateness'</td>
<td>kp9xw 'bad deed'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c?</td>
<td>'four'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r?sta</td>
<td></td>
<td>c?r?sta 'crossing (meeting place of four routes)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d?r</td>
<td>'indeed'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r?sta</td>
<td></td>
<td>d?r?sta 'in reality'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dUr</td>
<td>'bad'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td>dUr - g?t dUrg?t 'bad condition'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Likewise:</td>
<td>dUrmt 'bad advice',</td>
<td>dUrgUN 'blemish'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>'negative'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
<td>n?rth n?rth 'misfortune'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p2R</td>
<td>'grand, great'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p2R</td>
<td></td>
<td>p?Rott/i 'grand-daughter'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Likewise:</td>
<td>p?Rmann/i 'maternal great grand-mother',</td>
<td>p?Rdadd/i 'great grand-mother'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p?r</td>
<td>'other'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p?r</td>
<td></td>
<td>p?rlok 'other world'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Likewise:</td>
<td>p?rdes 'foreign land'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Prefix & Sub. Resultant Sub.

per - 'around'
I

pər - karma pər:karma 'circumambulation'

bə 'negative'

bə - rag bə:rag 'renunciation'

Likewise: bə:jog 'separation'

sə - 'well'

sə - bel sə:bel 'good time'

Likewise: sə:putt r 'good son, dutiful son'

sə:n - 'in the sense of connection'

sə:n - jog sə:n:jog 'good opportunity'

sə:r - 'head'

sə:r - pənc sə:pənc 'arbitrator'

Likewise: sə:rtəj 'head crown', sə:rad 'on the boundary'

2.2.1.1.2 Nuclear as a verb

Prefix & v. Resultant Sub.

ə:N - 'negative'

ə:N - bə:N ə:bə:N 'discord'
2.2.1.2 Adjective forming prefixes

2.2.1.2.1 Nuclear as a substantive

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Prefix</th>
<th>Sub.</th>
<th>Resultant Adj.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>əN -</td>
<td>'negative'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>əN -</td>
<td>bol</td>
<td>əNbol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Likewise:</td>
<td>əNgINT</td>
<td>'countless'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k? -</td>
<td>'bad'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k? -</td>
<td>sut/a</td>
<td>k?sutt/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Likewise:</td>
<td>k?rup</td>
<td>'ugly', k?pUttr 'bad son'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k?m -</td>
<td>'less'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k?m -</td>
<td>jor</td>
<td>k?mjr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dU -</td>
<td>'negative'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dU -</td>
<td>b?L/a</td>
<td>dUbL/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n? -</td>
<td>'negative'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n? -</td>
<td>rog</td>
<td>n?rog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Likewise:</td>
<td>n?D?r</td>
<td>'fearless', n?ps?nd 'unliked'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b? -</td>
<td>'negative'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b? -</td>
<td>$?rm</td>
<td>b?$$rm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Likewise:</td>
<td>b?cEn</td>
<td>'restless', b?d?rd 'ruthless'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Prefix & Sub. Resultant Adj.

be - 'without'

be - k"r bek"r 'homeless'

Likewise: benam 'nameless'

bɔ - occurs in free variation with be -:

bajoR ~ bejoR 'unmatched'

bɔd - 'bad'

bɔd - surɔt bɔdsurɔt 'ugly'

Likewise: bɔdnam 'defamed'

la - 'negative'

la - pɔta lapɔta 'untraceable'

Likewise: lalaj 'uncurable'

2.2.1.2.2 Nuclear as an adjective

Prefix & Adj. Resultant Adj.

n- 'negative'

n- astɔk nastɔk 'atheist'

nɔ - 'negative'

nɔ khɔTTu nɔkhɔTTu 'worthless, unearning person'

Likewise: nɔlɛk 'unfit'
2.2.1.2.3 Nuclear as a verb

Prefix & v. Resultant Adj.

\( ?N_{-} \) 'negative'
\( ?N_{-} \)
\( ?N_{-} \) thqk
\( ?N_{-} \) thqk 'unwearied'

 Likewise: \( ?Np^R \) 'illiterate'

\( n^? \) - 'negative'
\( n^? \)
\( n^? \) DqR
\( n^? \) DqR 'fearless'

2.2.1.3 Adverb forming prefixes

2.2.1.3.1 Nuclear as a substantive


\( be \) - 'negative, without'
\( be \)
\( be \) TEM
\( be \) TEM 'untimely'

2.2.1.3.2 Nuclear as an adjective


\( bll \) - 'all'
\( bll \)
\( bll \) kUL
\( bll \) kUL 'all'
2.2.2 Derivational suffixes

2.2.2.1 Substantive forming suffixes

2.2.2.1.1 Nouns of agency

Nouns of agency are derived from various nominal, adjectival and verbal stems by adding the following suffixes:

-\( ?k \) added to nouns and verbal stems:
  
  \( \text{mal} - ?k \quad \text{mal}k \quad 'master' \)

Likewise: \( \text{lekh?k} \quad 'writer' \)

-\( ?kk\?R \) added to verb stems, common and productive. It conveys the meaning of habitual agent:
  
  \( \text{kum} - ?kk\?R \quad \text{k}\?m?kk\?R \quad 'wanderer' \)

Likewise: \( ?\lll ?kk\?R \quad 'oblivious', \quad \text{py}\?kk\?R \quad 'dead drunkard' \)

-\( ?n \) added to noun stems:
  
  \( \text{sanyas} - ?n \quad \text{sanyassan} \quad 'nun' \)

-\( a \) added to noun stems:
  
  \( \text{git} - a \quad \text{gita} \quad 'Gita (sacred book of Hindus)' \)

-\( ak \) added to verb stems:
  
  \( \text{tar} - \text{ak} \quad \text{tarak} \quad 'swimmer' \)
-a, -k/u added to verb stems:

\[ p\overline{R} \rightarrow a, -k/u \]
\[ p\overline{Ra}k\overline{k}/u \quad \text{'student'} \]

Likewise:

\[ l\overline{R}a\overline{k}/u \quad \text{'fighter'} \]

-a, -T/a added to verb stems:

\[ k\overline{U} \rightarrow a, -T/a \]
\[ k\overline{La}T\overline{a} \quad \text{'wrestler'} \]

-a, -R/i added to verb and noun stems:

\[ k\overline{h}e\overline{l} \rightarrow a, -R/i \]
\[ k\overline{h}\overline{a}R\overline{i} \quad \text{'player'} \]

Likewise:

\[ p\overline{cha}R\overline{i} \rightarrow p\overline{ca}R\overline{i} \quad \text{'back part of a house'} \]

-aN added to noun stems:

\[ t\overline{i} \rightarrow aN \]
\[ t\overline{ya}N \quad \text{'married daughter'} \]

-aNi (kinship) added to noun stems:

\[ j\overline{e}Th \rightarrow aNi \]
\[ j\overline{R}a\overline{Ni} \quad \text{husband's elder brother's wife'} \]

Likewise:

\[ d\overline{raNi} \quad \text{'husband's younger brother's wife'} \]

-ar added to noun stems:

\[ c\overline{m} \rightarrow ar \]
\[ c\overline{ma}r \quad \text{'cobbler'} \]

Likewise:

\[ l\overline{U}ar \quad \text{'iron smith'} \]

-ara added to noun stems:

\[ b\overline{Nj} \rightarrow ara \]
\[ b\overline{Nj}a\overline{ra} \quad \text{'business man'} \]
-ar/i added to noun stems:
  juar/i 'gambler'

-a, -r/i added to verb stems:
  pjar/i 'worshipper'

-sL added to noun stems:
  d?ndal 'teeth ridge'

-sL/a added to noun and verb stems:
  l?kh?NaL/a 'writer'

-bDD?NaL/a 'biting (especially dog)',
  dUdeL/a 'milkman'

-i added to noun stems:
  k?ddi 'prisoner'

-gUnDi 'neighbour',
  danni 'doner'

-l added to noun to denote inhabitation of a particular
country:
  rusl 'Russian'

-as added to noun stems:
  Dakia 'postman'

-p?ThankanTia 'person belonging to Pathankot'
-in added to noun stems:

- k?m -in k?min 'low caste bonded labourer'

-u added to verb stems:

/ kha -u khau 'glutton'

Likewise:

-u (dim.) added to noun stems:

- rokku 'stopper'

-utt r (kinship) added to noun stems:

-j?Th -utt?r j?Thutt?r 'son of husband's elder brother'

-ekkha added to noun stems:

- pul -ekkha p?lekkha 'omission'

-et/i added to noun stems:

-j?N -et/i j?Net/i 'member of a marriage party'

-es added to noun stems:

- Mad -es d?des 'mother of spouse's father'

-ET added to noun stems:

- p?mnc -ET p?ncEt 'arbitration'

-El added to verb and noun stems:

- r?kkh -El r?khEl 'kept wife'

Likewise:

-ph?1El 'fragrant hair oil'
-PR/a added to noun stems:
   pag ->PR/a p?g?R/a 'absconder'

-oia added to noun stems:
   n?Nan - oia n?Noia 'husband sister's husband'

-ota added to noun stems:
   s?m?j - ota s?m?jotta 'compromise'

-oT/u added to noun stems:
   par -oT/u p?roTTu 'bundle (especially of wooden sticks)'

-kar added to noun and verb stems:
   b?d -kar b?dkar 'licentious'

Likewise: sClakar 'adviser'

-khor added to noun stems:
   r?Sb?t -khor r?Sb?tkhor 'bribe taker'

Likewise: sudkhor 'usurer'

-g?r added to noun stems:
   s?dda -g?r s?dag?r 'merchant'

Likewise: bajig?r 'conjurer', jadug?r 'magician'

-j/a (kinship) added to noun stems:
   pEN -j/a panj/a 'sister's son'
-jad/a added to noun stems:
  ram -jad/a ramjad/a 'bastard'
-t/a added to verb stems:
  m?ng -t/a m?ngt/a 'beggar'
-dan added to noun stems:
  sEns -dan sEnsdan 'scientist'
-dar added to noun stems:
  jImi -dar jImidar 'land holder'

Likewise:
  subbedar 'Subedar'

-ni (F. marker) added to noun stems:
  mor -ni morni 'peacock(F.)'

Likewise:
  jerni 'lioness'

-Ni (F. marker) added to noun stems:
  uTh -Ni uThNi 'camel (F.)'
-poS added to noun and adjective stems:
  sphEd -poS sphEdpoS 'wearing a white dress, perfect gentleman'

Likewise:
  rupoS 'underground'

-baj added to noun stems:
  r?NDi -baj r?NDibaj 'brothel holder'

Likewise:
  tokkhebaj 'cheat'
-b/1 added to verb stems:
  to -b/1 tobb/1 'washerwoman'

-m?nd added to noun stems:
  ʔk?l m?nd ʔk?lm?nd 'wise man'

-yor/a (kinship) added to noun stems:
  dad -yor/a dʔdyor/a 'father of spouse\'s father'

Likewise: pʔtyor/a 'spouse\'s uncle', mʔyor/a 'spouse\'s maternal uncle'

-Li added to noun stems:
  sut -Li sutLi 'small spinning instrument'

2.2.2.1.2 Abstract nouns

2.2.2.1.2.1 Nuclear as a verb

-∅ mar -∅ mar 'beating'

Likewise: ʔʔr 'fear', kar 'work'

-a puj -a puja 'worship (F)'

(M. & F. marker)

Likewise: ʔʔga 'attachment (M.)'

-as pʔR -ai pʔRaʔ 'reading, study'

Likewise: tʔuai 'washing (washing charges)', lʔpai 'mud plastering'
-a,-p  m1l  -a,-p  mR  m?lap  'meeting'
-a,-b?T  m1l  -a,-b?T  m?lab?T  'adulteration'
-a,-mat  k?r  -a,-mat  k?ramat  'miracle'
-kar/i  jaN  -kar/i  jaNkar/i  'knowledge'
-N  de  -N  deN  'blessing'

Likewise: leN  'taking',  siN  'sewing'
-N/i  m1l  -N/i  m1N/i  'meeting'
-t?b  k?r  -t?b  k?rt?b  'action'
-ti  gIN  -ti  gINTi  'counting'
-n  m?r  -n  m?rn  'death'
-ni  k?r  -ni  k?rni  'deed'
-S  m?L  -S  maLS  'oil bath'

2.2.2.1.2.2  Nuclear as noun and adjective stems
-?k  Th?ND  -?k  Th?ND?k  'coolness'
-?t  s?ng  -?t  s?ng?t  'company'
-ai  p?ntai  -ai  p?ntai  'erudition'

Likewise: s?phai  'cleanliness',  r?ngai  'dying'
-ap/a  bUR  -ap/a  b?Rapp/a  'oldage'

Likewise: m?Tapp/a  'fatness'
-i  g?rm  -i  g?rm  'warmth'
Likewise:  n?rm  'politeness',  nekki  'goodness'
-Es  -g?rm  -Es  g?rmES  'heat'
Likewise:  n?rmES  'softness'
-khor/i  rISbat  -khor/i  rISbatkhor/i  'bribery'
-g?r/i  jaddu  -g?r/i  jaddug?r/i  'magic'
Likewise:  jadg?r/i  'memorial'
-gl  lai  -gl  lalgi  'redness'
Likewise:  ps?ndgi  'liking'
-car/i  mIttrar  -car/i  mIttracar/i  'friendship'
-ta  sUndar  -ta  sUnd?rtta  'beauty'
Likewise:  murkhta  'foolishness'
-ti  jad  -ti  jadtii  'excess, high-handedness'
Likewise:  lUcp  N/a  'gangsterism, hooliganism'
-m?nd/i  k?l  -m?nd/i  k?lm?nd/i  'wisdom'
-man/i  j?g  -man/i  j?jm?n/i  'office of the priest'
-yal/i  h?r  -yal/i  ryal/i  'greenness'
2.2.2.1.3 Nouns of instrument

The following suffixes are added to noun and verb stems to derive nouns of instrument:

-2N added to verb stems:
  "Tak -2N - Takkk2N 'lid'"

-2N/a extended form of - N
  "Tak -2N/a - TakkkN/a 'lid'"

-a added to noun and verb stems:
  "ker - a - kera 'circumference'"
  Likewise: b2tth/a 'handle'

-assa added to noun stems:
  "-d2nd -assa - d2ndassa 'walnut tree bark used for cleaning the teeth'"

-aNi added to noun stems:
  "n@tth - aNi - naNi 'churning stick'"

-uNi added to noun stems:
  "d@uNd - uNi - duuNi 'earthen milk pot'"

-el added to noun stems:
  "n@k - el - nk@el 'string fixed in a camel's nose to serve as a rein'"
-ENA added to noun stems:
  sir -ENA s?rENA 'pillow'

-?R/i added to noun stems:
  h?tth -?R/i th?R/i 'hammer'

-ollu added to noun stems:
  khInd -ollu khIndollu 'sheet of tattered cloth'

-ki added to verb stems:
  paL -ki paLki 'palanquin'

-ca added to noun stems:
  deg -ca degca 'cauldron'
  dej dejca

-Na added to verb stems:
  bel -Na belNa 'pastry-roller'

-Ni added to noun stems:
  phuk -Ni phukNi 'blow pipe'

-dan added to noun stems:
  k?lm -dan k?lmdan 'inkstand'

-dan/i added to noun stems:
  tuph -dan/i tuphdann/i 'incense container'

Likewise: lundam/i 'salt container'
-poS added to noun stems:
  mej -poS mejpoS 'table cloth'

-bönd added to noun stems:
  këmrö -bönd këmrbönd 'girdle'
Likewise: blastörbönd 'holdall'

-yar added to noun stems:
  bötth -yar thyar 'weapon'

2.2.2.2 Adjective forming suffixes

Adjectives are formed with the help of the following suffixes:

-òk added to noun and verb stems:
  pal -òk palòk 'guardian'
Likewise: tarmök 'religious'

-òkköör added to verb stems:
  küm -òkköör këmkëkköör 'wanderer'

-ònt added to verb stems:
  phir -ònt phërant 'wanderer'
-?R added to noun and verb stems:

pUKkh -?R pUKkh?R 'hungry'

Likewise:

sUKkh?R 'lean'

-a added to noun and adjective stems:

nig -a nigga 'moderate warm'

Likewise:

Tilla 'sluggish'

-au added to verb stems:

Tik -au Tikau 'durable'

Likewise:

b?kau 'saleable'

-akk?L added to noun stems:


Likewise:

Dr?kk?L 'timid'

-ak/u added to verb stems:

p?R -ak/u p?Rakk/u 'student'

Likewise:

l?Rakk/u 'fighter'

-aj/u added to adjective stems:

do -aj/u doajj/u 'twice married'

-an/a added to adjective stems:

m?st -an/a m?stann/a 'over joyed'
-sp/i added to verb stems:

- mil -sp/i m:lap/i 'friendly'

-aru added to noun stems:

/ dUd -aru d:daru 'milch animal'

-al/a added to adverb stems:

/ upper -al/a pralla 'pertaining to outside'

-Ind/a added to verb stems:

/ b:sa -Ind/a b:saInd/a 'resident'

-i added to noun stems:

/ dUkhi -i dUkhi 'sad'

Likewise: pari 'heavy', luNi 'salty'

-ia added to noun and adjective stems:

/ k?T -ia k?Tia 'inferior'

Likewise: s?rtia 'sure'

-il/a added to noun stems:

/ ret -il/a r:til/a 'sandy'

Likewise: n:kill/a 'pointed'
-u added to noun and verb stems:

peT -u peTTu 'voracious'

Likewise: khau 'glutton'

-et/a added to adverb stems:

-g -et/a get/a 'first'

Likewise: puchett/a 'last'

-et r added to verb stems:

-ming -et r mungett r 'betrothed (M.)'

-eR added to adjective stems:

-d -eR deR 'middle aged'

-er/a added to adjective stems:

-bD -er/a bDer/a 'elder (M.)'

-el/u added to noun stems:

-kor -el/u korell/u 'domestic'

-EI added to verb stems:

-rakh -EI rakhEl 'kept wife'

-EI/a added to noun stems:

-kse -EI/a kseEl/a 'pungent'
-\(k/a\) added to adverb stems:
\(\text{khab}\) \(-k/a\) \(\text{khab}\)
to 'pertaining to down side'

-kar added to noun and verb stems:
\(\text{sakh}\) \(-\text{kar}\) \(\text{sakkar}\)
'teacher'

Likewise: \(\text{jaakaar}\) 'acquainted'

-khor added to noun and adjective stems:
\(\text{mint}\) \(-khor\) \(\text{mintkhor}\)
'hard-worker'

Likewise: \(\text{cugkhor}\) 'back biter'

-gar added to noun stems:
\(\text{jadgur}\)
'artisan'

Likewise: \(\text{karigar}\)

-gin added to noun stems:
\(\text{gugin}\)
'gloomy'

-jad/a added to noun stems:
\(\text{ramjad/a}\)
'bastard'

-Th/a added to adjective stems:
\(\text{kitTh/a}\)
'united'
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Added to Noun Stems</th>
<th>Added to Verb Stems</th>
<th>Added to Adverb Stems</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-dar</td>
<td>mal -dar maldar</td>
<td>-d/a UDd/a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-nak</td>
<td>khūtēr -nak khūtērnak</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ban</td>
<td>gUN -ban gUNban</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-bar</td>
<td>med -bar medbar</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-baj</td>
<td>dōga -baj dōgabaj</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-bin</td>
<td>tmaš -bin tmašbin</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Likewise:
- Shadowy: chādar
- Relishing, giving pleasure: mājēdar
- Eating: khand/a
- Dangerous: khūtērnak
- On-looker: tmašbin
- Candidate: medbar
- Cheat: dōgabaj
- Flying: UDd/a
- Wealthy: maldar
-mánd added to noun stems:
  - kól - mánd kólmánd 'wise'

-r/a added to adjective stems:
  - do - r/a dur/a 'double folded'

-l added to noun stems:
  - dyá - l dyal 'generous'

-l/u extended form of -l
  - dyá - l/u dyall/u 'generous'

Likewise: kärpall/u 'kind'

-l/a added to adverb stems:
  - ñndór - l/a ñndór1/a 'pertaining to inside'

Likewise: barl/a 'pertaining to outside'

-lu added to noun stems:
  - cəgRa - lu cəgRallu 'quarrelsome'

-L/a added to adjective stems:
  - bəkkh - L/a bəkhl/a 'stranger'

Likewise: rʊngL/a 'colourful'
-saj added to adjective stems:
  jal -saj jalsaj 'deceitful'

-sar added to noun stems:
  mI19n -sar mi19nsar 'friendly'
Likewise: Sørmsar 'bashful'

-su added to noun stems:
  b?n -su bassu 'pertaining to forest'

-sr/i added to adjective stems:
  do -sr/i dusr/i 'second (F.)'

2.2.3 Adverb forming suffixes

The following suffixes are added to nouns, adjectives, verbs and adverbs to derive adverbs:

-i added to noun stems:
  s?c -i s?cci 'truly'
Likewise: cuTThi 'falsely'

-ia added to noun stems:
  t?rm -ia t?rmiia 'to assert something on oath'
Likewise: Sörtia 'surely'
-e added to noun stems:
  pEll -e pEllle 'first'
Likewise: tDel 'quickly'
-e added to adjective stems:
  I
do -e doe 'both'
Likewise: tInne 'all the three'
-e added to verb stems:
  II
c2ld -e c2lde 'while going'
Likewise: jagde 'while awaking'
-o added to adjective stems:
  -
Ik -o Ikko 'once'
Likewise: s2bbo ~ s2bbe 'all'
-o added to adverb stems:
  UppOr -o UppOr 'from upside'
Likewise: baro 'from outside'
-pOr added to noun stems:
  rat -pOr ratpOr 'whole night'
Likewise: kRRipOr 'for a while'
-bar added to noun stems:
  nóbOr ~ 1óbOr -bar nóbOrbar ~ 1óbOrbar 'serial'
-sIr added to noun stems:
  nökke -sIr nökkesIr 'timely'
Likewise: rasIr 'by proper way'
### 2.2.2.4 Pronouns and derivational suffixes

Pronominal stems as well as derivative suffixes have irregular allomorphy. The following are the initial phormes ready to join suffixes to form adjectives, adverbs and conjunctives:

- **proximate**: I-, I-, i-, hu-
- **distal**: U-, U-, u-
- **interrogative**: k-
- **relative**: j-

#### 2.2.2.4.1 Adjective forming suffixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pronoun &amp; Suffix</th>
<th>Resultant Adj.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>proximate</strong></td>
<td>distal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>quantity</td>
<td>I-mm/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>quality</td>
<td>(a-) je/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>time</td>
<td>hu-Nd/a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**glossed**: last one

- **how much?**
- **what kind of?**
- **of what time?**

#### 2.2.2.4.2 Adverb forming suffixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pronoun &amp; Suffix</th>
<th>Resultant adv.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>proximate</strong></td>
<td>distal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>place</td>
<td>J-ttho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>U-ttho</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**glossed**: last one

- **where?**
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Proximate</th>
<th>distal</th>
<th>relative</th>
<th>interrogative</th>
<th>glossed last one</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>time :</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>k-ʔdo ~</td>
<td>'when?'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ʔ-ʔdu</td>
<td>j-ʔdu</td>
<td>k-ʔdu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>manner :</td>
<td>i-ʔa</td>
<td>u-ʔa</td>
<td>j-ʔa</td>
<td>k-ʔa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>direction</td>
<td>I-ddər</td>
<td>U-ddər</td>
<td>j-Iddər</td>
<td>k-Iddər</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>reason :</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>k-E ~</td>
<td>'why?'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>purpose :</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>k-E st ~</td>
<td>'for what'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.2.2.5.3 Conjunctive forming suffixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pronoun &amp; Suffix</th>
<th>Resultant conjunctive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>time, manner, t-ʔ</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>condition :</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>j-I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>j-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'or'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.2.2.5 Root and derivational suffixes

2.2.2.5.1 Causal

2.2.2.5.1.1 Causal simple

-a

'suppress' kUT -a k?Ta
'grind' d?L -a d?qLa
'beat' kUT -a k?Ta
'catch' ph?R -a ph?Ra
'fry' t?L -a t?La
'see' dIkkh -a d?qka
'chisel' k?R -a k?qRa

2.2.2.5.1.2 Causal, double

-Ua

'place' t?r -Ua t?qRu
'throw' sUT -Ua s?qTu
'draw' ba -Ua b?u
'sing' ga -Ua g?u
'eradicate' pUT -Ua p?qTu
2.2.2.5.2 Potential

- o

'cut' cir - o c?re
'turn' mUR - o m?Ro
'twist' b?T - o b?To
'fill' p?r - o p?ro
'fry' t?L - o t?Lo

2.2.2.5.3 Nominal

-er

kh?D -er kh?Der 'to make stand'
b?D -er b?Der 'to bathe babies'
n?tth -er n?ther 'filter'
la -er ler 'shake'
b?T -er b?Ter 'collect'
Ik -Th,-er k?Ther 'collect'
Derivational morphemes verbalizing substantives

Sub. & Suffix Resultant v.

-\text{a}

\text{S\text{\text-\text{a}}} \quad \text{\text-dma} \quad '\text{blush}'

Likewise: \text{c\text{-kra}'} '\text{whirl}', \text{T\text{-kra}'} '\text{kick}'

-\text{ya}

\text{h\text{-tth} -ya -thya} '\text{snatch}'

-\phi

\text{ph\text{-tkar} -\phi -ph\text{-tkar}'} '\text{scold}'

Likewise: \text{ph\text{-nk}ar} '\text{make hissing sound}'

\text{ch\text{-nk}ar} '\text{tinking}'

Derivation by phoneme substitution

2.2.3.1 Transitive verbs

\begin{align*}
\text{v.int.} & \quad \text{phoneme substitution} & \text{Resultant v.t.} \\
/I/ & \rightarrow /e/ \\
'\text{turn}' & \text{kir} & /I/ & \rightarrow /e/ & \text{ker} \\
'\text{turn}' & \text{phir} & /I/ & \rightarrow /e/ & \text{pher} \\
'\text{meet}' & \text{mil} & /I/ & \rightarrow /e/ & \text{mel}
\end{align*}
### 2.2.3.2 Substantives

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phoneme Substitution</th>
<th>Resultant Sub.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>phoneme substitution</td>
<td>phoneme substitution</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### /ʊ/ → /o/:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Phoneme</th>
<th>Substitution</th>
<th>Resultant</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>flow'</td>
<td>rUR</td>
<td>/ʊ/ → /o/</td>
<td>roR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>turn'</td>
<td>mUR</td>
<td>/ʊ/ → /o/</td>
<td>moR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>open'</td>
<td>khol</td>
<td>/ʊ/ → /o/</td>
<td>khol</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### /ə/ → /a/:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Phoneme</th>
<th>Substitution</th>
<th>Resultant</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tear'</td>
<td>phaR</td>
<td>/ə/ → /a/</td>
<td>phaR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bring up'</td>
<td>paL</td>
<td>/ə/ → /a/</td>
<td>paL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>die'</td>
<td>mar</td>
<td>/ə/ → /a/</td>
<td>mar</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### /ɪ/ → /e/:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Phoneme</th>
<th>Substitution</th>
<th>Resultant</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>meet'</td>
<td>mel</td>
<td>/ɪ/ → /e/</td>
<td>mel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>turn'</td>
<td>pher</td>
<td>/ɪ/ → /e/</td>
<td>pher</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### /ɔ/ → /a/:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Phoneme</th>
<th>Substitution</th>
<th>Resultant</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>worship'</td>
<td>jap</td>
<td>/ɔ/ → /a/</td>
<td>jap</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dance'</td>
<td>nac</td>
<td>/ɔ/ → /a/</td>
<td>nac</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Reduplication

Reduplication means the repetition of a word. Repetition may be partial or complete, depending on a part or whole of the stem being repeated. The reduplicated items have two functions. First, they are used to convey the idea of continuation of an act and second, to show emphasis. The structure of the reduplicated stem is described as follows:

Two phonemically identical syllables are repeated. The reduplicand and reduplicator occur without alternation:

a) Substantives:

- b?k b?k 'gabble'
- kUR kUR 'cluck'
- bo bo 'barking'

b) Pronouns:

- kUN kUN 'who'
- jisi jisi 'whom'
- kusi kusi 'whom'
c) Adjectives:
   - mUNi  mUNi  'little'
   - ∊SI  ∊SI  'fine'
   - khra  khra  'good'

d) Verbs:
   - khll  khll  'laugh heartily'
   - phr  phr  'flutter'
   - gUN  gUN  'mutter'

e) Adverbs:
   - kh`lle  kh`lle  'down wardly'
   - b`lle  b`lle  'slowly'
   - k`di  k`di  'seldom'

f) Postpositions:
   - k`nne  k`nne  'alongwith'

g) Interjections:
   - hLa  hLa  '(caution)'

2.2.4.2 The alternation of the initial consonant occurs
in the reduplicator:

a) Substantives:
   - gFR  gFR  'disorder'
Reduplication with alternation of vowels

The alternation of the vowel occurs in the reduplicator:

a) Substantives:

- n?TTho  n?TTThi  'hurry'

b) Adjectives:

- r?La  g?La  'noise'
- gIT  mIT  'meaningless talk'

- goL  moL  'round'

- cURu  mURu  'little pieces of wood'

- syaNi  byaNi  'old, wise (F.)'

c) Verbs:

- m?ngi  s?ngi  'beg, borrow'

- gUN  mUN  'mutter'

- gaJ  baJ  'show'

d) Adverbs:

- c?T  p?T  'quickly'

- g?jiJi  b?jiJi  'with pomp and show'

- lagge  Sagge  'nearby'

2.2.4.3 Reduplication with alternation of vowels

The alternation of the vowel occurs in

the reduplicator:
m?llol m?llil 'anarchy'
T?nn T?Un 'ringing (of a bell)'
b) Verbs:
chu cha 'touch (etc.)'
l? lu 'shake (etc.)'
kha khu 'eat (etc.)'
c) Adverb:
k?llo k?lle 'alone'
b?do b?di 'forcibly'
l?ggo l?ggi 'nearby'

2.2.4.4 Reduplication of stems with derivational suffixes

2.2.4.4.1 Linking element in the first stem:

Reduplicand & Suffix & Reduplicator

a) Substantives:
- dIN o dIN 'everyday'
- rat o rat 'every night'
- lyaj o lyaj 'partiality'
b) Adjectives:
- g?rm a garm 'very hot'
n2k o n2k 'brim full'
n3rm o n3rm 'very soft'
c) Adverbs:
ph3T a ph3T 'quickly'
- g3T a g3T 'drink with one breath'

2.2.4.2 Linking element in the second stem
Reduplicand & Reduplicator & Suffix

a) Substantives:
ph?R ph?RaT 'flutter'
- k?R k?RaT 'cracking sound'

b) Verbs:
t2R t2R a 'break'
g2R g2R a 'thunder'

2.2.4.3 Linking elements in the reduplicand and the reduplicator
Reduplicand & Reduplicator & Suffix

a) Substantives: b
boll a boll i 'quarrel'

b) Adverbs:
jor a jor i 'forcibly'
2.2.4.5 Reduplication with addition of consonant and vowel

a) Substantives:

- Tae b? Tae 'tittle-tattle'
- lekkha p? lekkha 'omission'

b) Adjectives:

- okkhi s okkhi 'inconvenient (F.)'
- old p old 'innocent (F.)'

2.2.4.5.1 Summary

The typical structure of reduplicated stems is summarized as follows:

I Both the 'sound' words and non 'sound' words are reduplicated.

II It contains a reduplicand.

III The reduplicator may be either identical or may be a phonologic modification of the reduplicand.

IV The reduplicated stem may include, in addition, a suffix between two matching elements or at the end of the stem.

V The corresponding unreuplicated form which undertakes reduplicated stem occurs with

\{ konne \} 'and e.g. p?Lop?L corresponding with \{ p?L konne p?L \} 'moment and moment'
2.2.5 Composition

The composition consists of two or more free forms which are reduction of a particular syntactic construction underlying a compound form. The structure of compound is very compact and rigid. Nothing can interrupt these. The bases belong to different grammatical classes and subclasses such as substantives, adjectives, numerals, pronouns, verbs and adverbs; however the resultant stems belong to only three classes, namely substantives, adjectives and adverbs.

2.2.5.1 The resultant combination in substantives

a) Sub. & Sub. Resultant Sub.

jñLkUkRi 'water hen'

The corresponding phrase is with {-d/i}
as jñLedi kUkRi 'water's hen'

Likewise: gñngajñL 'Ganga water' gñnga da jñL 'Ganga- of water'

omrIttara 'nectar-flow' omrItte de tara 'nectar-of flow'

dešmkaLa 'country-exodus' dešse te nkaLa 'country-from exodus'

Such types of combinations are termed as 'tatpurussamasa'
b) **Attribute- substantive compound termed as 'karmadhâraya'**

i) The classes of immediate constituents are substantially the same. The first constituent expresses a comparison:

SerdIL 'lion-heart' Sere lekkha dIL

'lion-like heart (brave man)'

Likewise: pûthârdIL 'stone heart' pûthâre lekkha dIL

'stone-like heart (cruel hearted)'

ii) Adj. & Sub Resultant Sub.

lalmôrc 'chilli'
pûlmaNsi 'gentlemanniness'

In these examples the adjective as a first constituent is combined with the substantive.

c) Sub. & v. Resultant Sub.

kûppRto 'cloth-wash' kûpRêa~kûpRya d to

' clothes-of wash'

Likewise: gribmar 'poor-kill' gribbe ki mar

'poor-to kill'

d) Sub. & Sub. Resultant Sub.

hana 'yest-no' hâ já ná 'yes or no'

The combination of particles occurs in this example.
e) v. & Sub.  
chumantor 'touch-incantation (miracle)'

f) Num. & Sub.  
                                      Resultant Sub.
p?njphulli 'five-flowers' p?nj phulla ali
‘five flowers having’
Likewise: s?tnajja ‘seven-cereal’
c?r?sta ‘four- ways’

Such types of combinations occur with numerals as first constituents and are termed as dhuisu.

g) In the following combinations, termed as copulative, dvandva. Both constituents occur as substantives terminating in singular or plural:

i) Sub. & Sub.  
resultant Sub (sg.)
dalpat 'pulse-rice'
The corresponding phrase is with {k?mme} ‘and’ as dal k?mme p?at ‘pulse and rice (prepared)’
Likewise: muh?tth ‘mouth-hand’
pukkhtre ‘hunger-thirst’
ii) Sub. & Sub. Resultant Sub. (pl)

\[ ph\text{pra} \quad 'sister-brother' \quad p\text{EN} \quad k\text{?nme} \quad pra \]

'sister and brother'

Likewise:

\[ putpret \quad 'gobblin-gobblin' \]

The combination of more than two constituents occurs as:

\[ br\text{mmaibISNama} \quad 'Brahma-Mahru-Mahesa (trinity of Goda)' \]

iii) Semantically different combination of two immediate constituents occurs as:

Sub. & Sub. Resultant Sub. (sg.)

\[ mir\text{grib} \quad 'rich-poor' \quad mir \quad k\text{?nme} \quad grib \]

'rich and poor'

Likewise:

\[ kaSp\text{tal} \quad 'sky-netherworld' \]

\[ pappUn \quad 'sin-virtue' \]

\[ man\text{p\text{man}} \quad 'grace-disgrace' \]

\[ s\text{Urgm\text{r}rk} \quad 'heaven-hell' \]

Adj. & Adj. Resultant Sub. (sg.)

\[ n\text{maP\text{raNa} \quad 'new-old' \quad n\text{ma} \quad k\text{?nme} \quad p\text{raNa} \]

'new and old'

Likewise:

\[ s\text{ccacuTTa} \quad 'true-false' \]

\[ kh\text{rakhoTTa} \quad 'good-bad' \]
v. & v. Resultant Sub. (sg.)
\[ p^\text{R}\text{Iikkh} \quad \text{'read-write'} \quad p^\text{R} \text{ k}\text{omne l}\text{Iikkh} \]
\[ 'read and write' \]
Likewise: \[ m\text{\text{'mrji} \quad 'die-live' \]
\[ d\text{\text{'Ikh\text{'UN} \quad 'see-bear' \]

Adj. & Sub. Resultant Sub.
\[ \text{baddu p^\text{'Sa} \quad 'extra-money' \quad baddu da p^{	ext{'Sa}} \]
\[ 'extra money' \]
Likewise: \[ \text{baddukh\text{'rc} \quad 'extra expenditure' \]

2.2.5.2 Resultant combination in adjectives termed as \textit{bahubrihi}

In this group of compounds neither of the constituents play the role of determinatum. The determinatum is implicitly understood:

a) Sub. & Sub. Resultant Adj.
\[ \text{k\text{\text{'rkuRu} \quad 'house-axe' \quad k\text{\text{'re ki k\text{\text{'Ru}} \]
\[ 'house-to axe( house ruiner)' \]
Likewise \[ \text{TIDkroRu} \quad 'belly-to scratcher(lost child)' \]

b) Sub. & Adj. Resultant Adj.
\[ \text{b\text{\text{'glap'}gt} \quad 'heron devout' \quad b\text{\text{'gle lek}\text{\text{'kha p\text{\text{'gt}} \]
\[ 'heron-like devout(false person)' \]
Likewise: \[ \text{k\text{\text{'mpa\text{'Ta} \quad 'ear-cropped' \quad b\text{\text{'Ulpa\text{'Ta} \quad 'lip-cropped' \]

c) Sub & v. Resultant Adj.

\[ \text{colicuk} \] 'cloak-lifter' \[ \text{coli ki} \] \[ \text{cuUda} \]
'cloak-to lifter (flatterer)'

Likewise: \[ \text{mul g} \] 'face-attach (very close)'

d) Adj & Sub Resultant Adj.

\[ \text{palamena} \] 'goodman'


\[ \text{kh\-TmItha} \] 'sour-sweet' \[ \text{kh\-TTa} \] \[ \text{konne mITtha} \]
'sour and sweet'

Likewise: \[ \text{ala\-ila} \] 'red-yellow'

f) Num & Adj. Resultant Adj.

\[ \text{changi} \] 'six-parts' \[ \text{che} \] \[ \text{nga} \] \[ \text{ali} \]
'six-parts-with (women having singers)'

Likewise: \[ \text{dom\-un} \] 'two-mouhted (tricky)'

g) Num & Num. Resultant Adj.

\[ \text{dotin} \] 'two-three' \[ \text{do} \] \[ \text{ja} \] \[ \text{tin} \]
'two or three'

Likewise: \[ \text{p\-njd\-un} \] 'five or ten'
2.2.5.3 Resultant combination in adverbs termed as avyayibhava

a) Sub. & adv. Resultant adv.
   - suilmattar 'needle-only (very little)'
   Likewise: tilmattar 'oil-seed only (very little)'

b) Adj. & Adj. Resultant adv.
   - pUTHaSId 'back-front' pUTHa konne sIdda
   'back and front (disorderly)'

c) Num. & Sub. Resultant adv.
   - Ikd?m 'one breath (suddenly)'
   Likewise: Ikb?ri 'one turn (once)'

d) v. & v. Resultant adv.
   - UTpULT 'turn-turn' UT konne pULT
   'turn and turn'

e) adv. & adv. Resultant adv.
   - heThUppar 'up-down' heTh ja Uppar
   'up or down'

f) Postposition & Sub. Resultant adv.
   bInab?ja 'sans reason'

In such a combination /bIna/ occurring usually as a postposition takes the form of preposition.
Inflection

2.3.1 Nominal inflection: a general statement

I Number and case

Nouns are inflected for number and case. There are two numbers: i) singular and ii) plural and three cases: i) nominative, ii) oblique and iii) vocative.

II Gender

There are two genders: i) masculine and ii) feminine. The gender marking suffixes are described in 2.2 (i & ii). The feminine markers i, - Mi ~ -ni, -aMi ~ -ani occur if the masculine ending is in a consonant. No doubt it covers the majority of cases but cannot be applicable to all the cases. Some are formed by derivations as in ənn-a 'blind man' and ənn-i 'blind woman' or lexically conditioned as in sur 'pig' and DüD 'swine'.

III Substantives with incomplete inflection

1) The following substantives occur in singular only:

a) Time and date
   ətrtru 'day before yesterday', əj 'today'
b) Group

- phoj 'army(F.)', phIR 'crowd(F.)'

c) Material

- candi 'silver(F.)', loa 'iron(M.)'

d) space

- swan 'sky (M.)', gmIn 'earth(F.)'

e) Animate Substantives

- matma 'saint (M.)', nai 'barber(M.)'
- dörji 'tailor(M.)'

f) Feelings and emotions

- pükkh 'hunger(F.)', gUsssa 'anger (M.)'

g) Diseases

- tap 'fever(M.)', khong 'cough (F.)'

h) Infinitive

- p'Ra 'reading', liKhNa 'writing'

ii) The following few substantives occur in plural only:

- ma 'horse bean', cholle 'gram' (a kind of pulse)
- c'L 'rice', jö 'barley'
- rong 'bean'
IV Pairs

A few substantives in pairs refer to associate objects of different kinds:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>M</th>
<th>F</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>guTha</td>
<td>guThi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'thumb'</td>
<td>'ring'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kangRa</td>
<td>kangRi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'a place name'</td>
<td>'earthen fire-pot'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

V Defective genders

a) Masculine

i) The following animate substantives occur in M. only:

- ba'j 'eagle', l?ngur 'ape', mINk 'frog'
- Ullu 'owl', ka 'crow'

ii) Most of the diminutives occur in M. only:

- kUttu 'pup', Tekru 'basket', kUaRu 'axe'

iii) Most of the magnitudes occur in M. only:

- r?ssa 'rope', g0La 'bomb', Dora 'thread'
b) **Feminine**

The following animate substantives occur in F. only:

- khacegr 'mule', makkhi 'fly,
  
- csmcRlk... bat* tPrmoRi 'yellow wasp'

**c) Masculine and feminine**

In such cases the choice varies from speaker to speaker. The gender is determined by context in the given names:

- sirgIT ~ sirgT 'cigarette', sRab 'wine'
  
- dei 'curd', snggL snggL 'chain'

**d) Masculine and feminine in free variation**:

- joRa (M.) joRi (F.) 'couple'
  
- m?nja (M.) m?nji (F.) 'cot'

**e) Synonymy**

- paLa (M.) Th?ND (F.) 'cold'

- khissa (M.) jeb (F.) 'pocket'

- ch?pp?r (M.) ch?n (F.) 'cote'

**f) Grammatical homonymy**

- daru 'lead' (M.) : 'wine (F.);

- a?N?k 'sepoy' (M.) : 'gesture (F.)'

**VI Opposition**

- b?T 'earn'; b?TTa 'stone' : b?TTi 'unit of weight about two K

- k?l 'yesterday'; k?lla 'alone(M)' : k?lli 'alone tomorrow'
### 2.3.1.1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MASCULINE CASE MARKERS</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SIMILAR</td>
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<td>I 1st</td>
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<td>I 3rd</td>
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<td>II 1st</td>
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<td>II 2nd</td>
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<td>II 3rd</td>
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</table>
2.3.1.1 Masculine

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<th>Singular</th>
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<th>Plural</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nom. obl.</td>
<td>voc.</td>
<td>Nom. obl.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>-ø -e</td>
<td>-ø -a</td>
<td>-ø -ø-ɑ</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

jagt jagt jagte jagt-jagta jagt jagta jagta jagto
(child(M.))

boru boru borue boru-borus boru borue-borus boru
'sack'

Other examples:

a) Stems ending in /C/

por 'honey-comb', rɔng'e 'vasp', mɔnd'r 'temple'
b) Stems ending in /I/

tellî 'oil man', mällî 'gardner', hælî 'ploughman'
c) Stems ending in /E/

the 'destruction', sme 'love'
d) Stems ending in /E/

pɔrɪn 'dissolution', grɔ 'planet'
e) Stems ending in /ɑ/

pra 'brother'

Note: In voc. singular /ɑ/ coincides into a.
f) Stems ending in /u/

loRu 'machine for seeding cotton', SEru 'hare',
- potru 'grand-son'

g) Monosyllabic stems ending in /o/

to 'hull of rice', co 'rivulet'

Note: In voc. plural /o/ coincides into o.

M 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>voc.</td>
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<tr>
<td>-a</td>
<td>-e</td>
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<tr>
<td>laR</td>
<td>laRa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Other examples:

- nan - 'mother's father', til- 'straw',
- saL- 'wife's brother', cac- 'father's younger brother'

-a in voc. singular occurs in a familiar discourse.

-ea in emphatic speech and for calling aloud.

-e elsewhere.

M 3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>voc.</td>
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<td>-ø</td>
<td>-ø</td>
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<td>-mbo</td>
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Other examples:

p*$me$ro, Sammo, camno, tyanno etc. are all male given names.
Feminine

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<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Nom.</th>
<th>obl.</th>
<th>voc.</th>
<th>Nom.</th>
<th>obl.</th>
<th>voc.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>laR-i</td>
<td>-Ø</td>
<td>-e</td>
<td>-ø~e</td>
<td>-ã</td>
<td>-ã~e</td>
<td>-ø</td>
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<tr>
<td>laRl</td>
<td>laRl</td>
<td>laRl-laRl</td>
<td>laRl</td>
<td>laRl-laRl</td>
<td>laRl</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**Other examples:**

a) Stems ending in /C/

- bodd?R 'peahen', pEN 'sister'
- g barber | large lemon', rat 'night' |

b) Stems ending in /I/  

- tai 'father's elder brother's wife'  
- tilli 'match stick'  

c) Monosyllabic stems ending in /V/  

- i : li 'track', ti 'daughter'
- e : de 'body', Te 'not on good terms'
- e : ge 'step', ke 'vomiting'  
- a : cha 'shadow', ca 'tea'
- o : re 'sugarcane, gO 'lizard'  
- u : lu 'hot wind', nu 'son's wife'
### 1.1 Singular Plural

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<th>Nom.</th>
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<th>obl.</th>
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- **Nob. obi. voc.**
  - s's
  - s'su
  - s'su s'sse
  - s'ssā s'ssā s'ssē s'sse

- **'spouse's mother'**

#### F 2

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</table>

- **maLa**
  - maLa
  - maLa maLa
  - maLa maLa maLa

- **'given name'**

Other examples:

- mata 'mother'
- gita 'female, a given name'

#### F 3

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</table>

- **'mother'**
  - pabbo pabbo pabbo pabbo pabbo pabbo pabbo

Other examples:

- bobbo 'sister'
- bante 'female, a given name'

### 2.3.2 Pronouns: a general statement

Pronouns are semantically substitutes for the substantives. These are inflected for number and case. The relative pronouns are inflected for G N C like M 2 and F I. In other pronouns the gender is variable as it is ascertained by context.
The inventory of pronouns is as follows:

I  Personal:
   a) first person : \( m\mathbb{E} \)
   b) second person : \( t\mathbb{u} \) and
   c) third person : \( o \)

II  Demonstrative:
   a) distal : \( o 'that' \) and
   b) proximate : \( e 'this' \)

III  Indefinite:
   a) kei 'any'
   b) k\text{Cch} \sim k\text{Cch} 'some'

IV  Relative:
   a) \( ?\text{RN} \)
   b) je\text{R} inflected like M 2 and F I

V  Reflexive:
   \( \text{appu} \sim ?\text{ppu} \sim \text{ppe} 'self' \)

VI  Interrogative:
   a) personal \( \text{kUN} 'who?' \) and
   b) non-personal \( \text{ke} 'what?' \)
Many of the oblique cases have alternants which are conditioned grammatically according to the post-positions they follow.

### 2.3.2.1 Pronouns and inflection categories

#### I Personal:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a) first person</td>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>obl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mə</td>
<td>ʔə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) second person</td>
<td>tu</td>
<td>te</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c) third person</td>
<td>ʔ</td>
<td>ʔu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### II Demonstrative:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>like third person sg. &amp; pl. as above in I</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a) distal</td>
<td>'that'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) proximate</td>
<td>ʔə</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### III Indefinite:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>koi ~ kUs ~ kei ~ kei</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a) 'any'</td>
<td>koi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) 'some'</td>
<td>kloch ~ kūch (sg. &amp; pl. like koi as above)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
IV Relative: Singular Plural
Nom. obi. Nom. obi.
a) 2^pN -a (like M 2)
  2^pN -i (like F I)
b) JeR -a (like M 2)
  JeR -i (like F I)
c) jIs
  jINa

V Reflexive:
ɔppʊ ~ ɔppʊ ~ ɔppe (sg. and pl. alike) No
alternation in stem
before PPs)

VI Interrogative:
a) personal:
  kUn (like koi as above) kUn kUNa kUNE
b) non-personal:
  ke

2.3.2.2 Pronouns and their formation

I Personal:
a) first person Nom. obi. PP. Formation
  sg. mE
    me -ki mekki
    me -tho mettho
    mē -r- mēr-a (like M 2)
    mēr-i (like F I)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nom.</th>
<th>obl.</th>
<th>PP</th>
<th>Formation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>ṣa~ṣ</td>
<td>ṣi</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sa</td>
<td></td>
<td>-ki</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-tho</td>
<td></td>
<td>sattho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-R~</td>
<td></td>
<td>SAR-a (like M 2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SAR-i (like F I)</td>
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</table>

b) second person:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>tu</th>
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<tbody>
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<td></td>
<td>te</td>
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<td>-ki</td>
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<td>-tho</td>
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<td></td>
<td>-R~</td>
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<td></td>
<td>TER-i (like F I)</td>
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</table>

pl.  tUṣ~tUṣ  tUṣi

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>tUa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-ki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-tho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-R~</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tUaR-i (like F I)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

c) third person:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>o</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Us</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-i~ki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-gi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-tho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ud-a (like M 2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ud-i (like F I)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>obl.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>ो</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNe</td>
<td>-ki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNe</td>
<td>-tō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNe</td>
<td>-d-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### II Demonstrative:

a) distal:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>ो</th>
<th>like third person sg. as above in I(c)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>ो</td>
<td>like third person pl. as above in I(c)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

b) proximate:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>'this' e</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Is</td>
<td>-kí~ -gi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Is</td>
<td>-tō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>-d-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>pl.</th>
<th>ो</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>INe</td>
<td>-ki~ -gi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INe</td>
<td>-tō</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INe</td>
<td>-d-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### III Indefinite:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nom.</th>
<th>obl.</th>
<th>PPs</th>
<th>Formation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a) sg. 'any' koi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kûs</td>
<td>-i<del>ki</del>gi</td>
<td>kûsi ~ kûski</td>
<td>~kûsgi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kûs</td>
<td>-tô</td>
<td>kûtô</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kûs</td>
<td>-d-</td>
<td>kûsd-a ~ kûd-a</td>
<td>(like M 2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kû</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kûsd-i ~ kûd-i</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**pl.** kei

| kei          |      |     |                  |
| kei          | -ki~gi | keiaki ~ keiagi |                  |
| kei          | -tô    | keiató    |                  |
| kei          | -d-    | këiad-a (like M 2) | keiád-i (like F I) |

b) 'some' kIoch ~ kUoch like koi as above (sg. & pl. alike)

### IV Relative:

<p>| | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>@pN-a</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>like M 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>@pN-i</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>like F I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) 'who, which' jeR-a</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>like M 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jeR-i</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>like F I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nom.</td>
<td>obl.</td>
<td>PPs.</td>
<td>Formation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e)</td>
<td>je</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- $\text{Jls} -i -ki -gi$ $\text{Jls} - j\text{lski} - j\text{lsgi}$
- $\text{Jls} - j\text{ls} - j\text{lsto}$
- $\text{Jls} - d - j\text{lsd-a}$ (like $H_2$)
- $\text{Jlsd-i}$ (like $F_1$)

V Reflexive:

'self' $\text{appu}$ (sg. and pl. alike) all PPs $\text{appuki} \sim \text{appuki}$
- $\text{appu}$
- $\text{appu}$

VI Interrogative:

a) Personal:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>kun</th>
<th>like $koi$ as above in III</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>kun</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- $\text{kUNa}$ $\text{kUMi}$ all PPs $\text{kUNeki}$ $\text{kUNoto}$ $\text{kUNada}$

b) Non-personal:

'what' sg. only ke

- $\text{kEs}$ $i - ki - gi$ $\text{kEs} - j\text{ks} - j\text{ks} - j\text{ks} - j\text{ks}$
- $\text{d}$ $\text{kEs} - j\text{sa}$
2.3.3 Adjectives

The adjectives in this dialect are a sub class of substantives, a member of which may be a primary stem or a derived stem. These are inflected like substantives for G N C.

a) The stems ending in -a decline like M2:

- manDa 'short, of low stature', khəra 'good',
- brikke 'naughty', silla 'damp', məngəra 'expensive'
- kʊŋla 'soft'

b) The stems ending in C and other vowels except o decline like M1:

- ʃdai 'mad', pərmi 'whimsical', moTTu 'fat',
- jʊkrɪND 'clever, perfect', Dəpph 'inactive'

c) The feminine stems ending in -i decline like F1:

- məti 'much', phlkki 'vapid', nilli ~ lilli 'blue'
- kəNI 'one-eyed'

d) The stems ending in vowel -e decline like F3:

- moTTo 'fat (F.)', SoTTe 'small (F.)'
- ləmbo 'tall (F.)', manne 'male, a given name'
2.3.3.1 Numerals and inflection categories

The numerals are either primary or derived, or composite stems and belong to one of the following three groups:

I Cardinals: Ik, do, trē etc.

II Ordinals: kera, dura, trira etc.

III Fractions: DaR, Tsi etc.

I Cardinals are of the following subcategories:

i) base items:
   - Ik, do, trē, car, pānj, che, sēt, ñTh, nō, dēs

ii) non-base items:
   - jara, bara

iii) tens:
   - dēs, bi, ti, caLi, pānjā, ñTh, sēttēr,

   - saṣi, naḥbe, sa

iv) compound stems:
   - terā, cēda, pāndrā, saLa, sētarā, Thara,
   - Umni, Ikki, to nētti, kētti to Untalī,
   - kōtalī to nūnja, kūnja to nāTh,
   - kaTh to nēttēr, kēttēr to nāssi,

   - kāssi to nāmme, kanme to nāRīnme
II The ordinal numerals denoting folds, multiplications etc. derived from cardinal numerals. The detailed treatment is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cardinals</th>
<th>Ordinals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Set I</td>
<td>II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-12, 20</td>
<td>1st-12th,20th</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cardinals</th>
<th>Ordinals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nom. obl.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ik</td>
<td>ikke</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do</td>
<td>doa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trE</td>
<td>trE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>car</td>
<td>c~</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>che</td>
<td>che</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s?t</td>
<td>s?ta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?TTh</td>
<td>?TTha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n?</td>
<td>m?a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d?sa</td>
<td>d?ssa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jara</td>
<td>jara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bara</td>
<td>bara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bi</td>
<td>bi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Set I — a occurs in M. & F. obl. in 2, 5, 7 to 99.

From 11 to 99 the stem bears the high tone / . /.
Set XI - a M. marker occurs in 1-4 and -ma onwards.
From 11-99 the stem bears the high tone /V/.
These numerals are inflected like M2.
-i F. marker occurs in 1-4 and -mi onwards.
From 11-99 the stem bears the high tone /V/.
These numerals are inflected like F1.

Set III & IV are inflected like M2 and F1.

Set V -o occurs after the cardinal stem bearing high tone in 3 & onwards.

III

The fractions are: 0 1d 'half', p3N 'three quarters'
and DyoR 'one and a half' are inflected like M2 and F1.

soa 'one and a quarter (M.)' obl. sg. sUae,
Nom. pl. soa , obl. pl. sUae and Faoai like F1.
DuR 'one and a half' sg. only, no change, alike in M.& F.
Tai 'two and a half' pl. only, obl. Tai like M. & F.
saD 'one half more than' pl. only like M2 and F1

This occurs always with the cardinal 3 & onwards.

Note: The following substantives denoting units, aggregation etc.
are derived from cardinal numerals:
a) kasi 'one unit', dai 'unit of ten' like F1

sEnkR 'unit of hundred' like M2 and F1
Verb inflection

A verb is a member of the class of stems which is subject to inflection like nouns. The verbal stems may be simple or complex, derived from other verbal or nonverbal stems.

I Simple: These types contain one morpheme in

- **a)** monosyllabic

  - V. : 'a' 'come'
  - VC : akh 'say', zk 'tire', ud 'fly'
  - VCC : drk 'wait', urk 'jump'
  - CV : bo 'sit', de 'give', le 'take'
  - GVC : ker 'scatter', cus 'suck', k2r 'chisel', tak 'see'
  - CVCC : c2pph 'pounce', kusk 'utter'
Complex type: a root and a derivative suffix

The nuclear morpheme may be one of the following:

a) single nominal root

- ƙarma 'earn', ƙarma 'be shy', dukha 'hurt'

b) reduplicated stem

- kURkUR 'crow', ṭ2RtRa 'break'

These occur in reduplicated forms as described in 2.2.4.4.2 (b).

c) stems with peripheral morpheme

i) Ḍk -a 'stop (Caus I)'

ii) Ḍk -u 'stop (Caus II)'

iii) Ḍk -o 'stop (Potential)'

b) disyllabic

- VCCVC : UccR 'uproot', UddR 'unstich', ppR 'reach'

- CVV : koa 'call', choa 'touch'

- CVCVC : łtaR 'crush', ṇthar 'filter'

- CVCCVC : ṇkkhār 'scold', jttār 'steel'

- mūkkār 'refuse'
2.3.4.1 Verb and the inflection categories

Most of the verbs are very simple in their inflected categories. Only a few ones present an irregularity indicated in the context wherever they occur. The uniform structure is:

stem & mood morphemes & G N P as the case may be.

In some forms the categories of person and number occur as combined in the same morpheme.

The morpheme alternants, wherever they occur, are connected by a curve (—).

On the basis of finiteness, the verb constructions make a two-fold distinction such as i) finite & ii) non-finite. The inflected forms of verbs for different mood and tenses come under the finite verbs, while the inflected forms of verbs are for participles, gerund and infinitive come under non-finite verbs.

2.3.4.1.1 Finite categories

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Contingent mood</th>
<th>Imperative mood</th>
<th>Future tense</th>
<th>Imperfective aspect</th>
<th>Durative aspect</th>
<th>Perfect aspect</th>
<th>Prospective aspect -N/-m,-a</th>
<th>Present tense</th>
<th>Past tense</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Common</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Restricted to auxiliary and copulative.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The three roots, the most popular in usage are selected here to represent the structure of the verb.

These are:

I  Intransitive:  cõl  'go'
II  Transitive:  mar  'beat'
III  Auxiliary & copulative:  ho  'be (limited only for present & past tenses)

2.3.4.1.1.1  Contingent mood

Verbal stem & NP endings occur as:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>int.</th>
<th>t.</th>
<th>Auxiliary</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bare stem:</td>
<td>cõl</td>
<td>mar</td>
<td>ho</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>ag.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>ie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>N/N</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ag. 1st me cõli: mara: hoa

2nd tu cõlie: mare: hoe

3rd o cõlie: mare: hoe

pl. 1st ?asi cõlie: marie: hoie

2nd tuN cõlo: maro: ho o

3rd o cõliN: maraN: hoN

It is employed to express permission, wish, possibility in the present or in the near future.
Note: High tone / / occurs on the syllable preceding the ending - N/N.

-N occurs after the stem ending in a vowel and - N elsewhere.

2.3.4.1.1.2 Imperative mood

Verbal stem and NP endings occur as:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2nd person</th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ord.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>polite</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>int.</th>
<th>t.</th>
<th>Auxiliary</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ord. sg.</td>
<td>tú</td>
<td>cēl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl. tUs</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>cēlo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>polite sg.</td>
<td>tú</td>
<td>cēli</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| - | - | hoāa/hoya |
| cēléa/cēlyā | marēa/marya |
| pl. tUs | - | cēlyo | marya | hoyo |
| ~cēleo | ~ | mero | ~hoeo |
| ~cēlgo | ~ | maro | ~hoggō |

Note: I There are two forms of imperative: ordinary and polite and both occur only with the second person singular and plural. The ordinary type expresses command, request or mild coaxing, mostly in present. Polite imperative is employed to express formal
polite orders or requests.

II Two successive vowels coalesce into one:

\[ \text{ho} -\text{o} \quad \text{ho} \quad 'be' \]

III -go occurs after the stem ending in consonant and -ggo elsewhere.

2.3.4.1.3 Future tense

Verbal stem & mood ending -ng-/ -g- & G N ending, occur as:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All persons</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M.</td>
<td>ng/-g-</td>
<td>a $-e$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F.</td>
<td>ng/-g-</td>
<td>i -ia</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>int.</th>
<th>t.</th>
<th>Auxiliary</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sg. M.</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ist &amp; 2nd</td>
<td>mä/tu</td>
<td>e̞l̃-g-a</td>
<td>marg-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd M. &amp; F.</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>e̞l̃g</td>
<td>marg</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

|          |       |    |           |
| pl. M.   |       |    |           |
| Ist.2nd  | sī̞/   | e̞l̃g-e|marg-e   | hong-e    |
| & 3rd F. | tūs/   | e̞l̃g-ia|marg-ia  | hong-ia   |

Note: The future marker -ng- occurs after the stem ending in a vowel and -g- elsewhere.

/ - / → / / / mid tone is replaced by high tone before the future marker.
2.3.4.1.4  Imperfect aspect

Verbal stem & mood ending -nd-/d- & G N
endings occur as:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M.</td>
<td>-nd-/d-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F.</td>
<td>-nd-/d-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

int.  t.  Auxiliary

| sg. M. | me/tü/o  |
|        | cöl-d-a  |
| F.     | cöl-d-i  |
| pl. M. | çösi/tüs/o |
|        | cöl-d-e  |
| F.     | cöl-d-ía |

| sg. F. | mar-d-a  |
|        | hond-a   |
|        | hünd-a   |
|        | hünd-i   |

Note: -nd- occurs after the ending in a vowel and -d- elsewhere.

2.3.4.1.5  Durative aspect

Verbal stem & mood ending -a, -d- & G N
endings occur as:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M.</td>
<td>-a,-d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F.</td>
<td>-a,-d</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

int.  t.  Auxiliary

| sg. M. | me/tü/o  |
|        | çölad-a  |
| F.     | çölad-i  |

| sg. F. | marad-a  |
|        | hoad-a   |
|        | hoad-i   |
int. | t. | Auxiliary
---|---|---
pl. M. | əsi/tUš/o | cəlad-e | marad-e | hoad-e
F. | cəlad-ia | marad-ia | hoad-ia

Note: The suffix -a- occurs before -d- the marker of imperfect aspect. The formation is like imperfect aspect as described above 2.3.4.1.4

2.3.4.1.5 Perfective aspect

Verbal stem & G N endings occur as:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M.</td>
<td>ə-ya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F.</td>
<td>ə-ı</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>int.</th>
<th>t.</th>
<th>Auxiliary</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M.</td>
<td>əlyə</td>
<td>marya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F.</td>
<td>cəli</td>
<td>məri</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Generally it described an action in the past. It may describe even near future besides present:

/ tUš cəli pəgənə məz əys / 'go ahead, I shall come presently'

-ya is used in free variation with -ea.

2.3.4.1.7 Prospective aspect with -N/-n, -a

The suffix -N & -a occur after the verb base in the sense of future:

/tUšə kəl təLe əThnə / 'you should get up soon tomorrow'
2.3.4.1.1.8 Present tense

The verb base /ho/ has two additional moods: Present and Past. The following number endings occur in the present mood after the base allomorph /h-/:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>E</th>
<th>mE/tu/o</th>
<th>hE</th>
<th>'am/are/is'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>ʔsi/tu/o</td>
<td>hʔn</td>
<td>'are'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.3.4.1.1.9 Past tense

The following number endings occur after the base allomorph /h-/:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg.</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M.</td>
<td>-a</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F.</td>
<td>-e</td>
<td>-iʔa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg.</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M.</td>
<td>mE/tu/o</td>
<td>ha</td>
<td></td>
<td>'was'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F.</td>
<td></td>
<td>hi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>ʔsi/tu/o</td>
<td>he</td>
<td></td>
<td>'were'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F.</td>
<td></td>
<td>hʔa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.3.4.1.2 Non-finite categories

2.3.4.1.2.1 Imperfective aspect: verbal Adj.

Verb base & participle & declinable form:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sg.</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>M.</td>
<td>-d</td>
<td>-a</td>
<td>-e</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F.</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>-iʔa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.3.4.1.2.2 Imperfective aspect: verbal adv.

Verb base & -d -and ya ~ ea /e/ia occur adverbially with agentive case:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>M.</th>
<th>sg.</th>
<th>pl</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>-ya~e'a</td>
<td>-ya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>-q</td>
<td>-ia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.3.4.1.2.3 Infinitive -N: verbal noun

The infinitive, the traditional entry form, occur with the suffix -N-

/mora khan Thik ni he /'more eating is not good'
/ khaNe da prej / 'temperance from eating'
2.3.4.1.2.4 Prospective aspect: verbal Adj.

The suffix -N followed by G N in nominative case only agrees with the substantive:

M. sg. /koRa c?1Na hE/ 'the horse is to go'
pl. /koRe c?1Ne h?n/ 'the horses are to go'

F. sg. /koRi c?1Ni hE/ 'the mare is to go'
pl. /koRía c?1Nía h?n/ 'the mares are to go'