



LANGUAGE DIVISION  
OFFICE OF THE REGISTRAR GENERAL, INDIA  
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# LINGUISTIC SURVEY OF INDIA

# LSI

## WEST BENGAL

### PART-I



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## FOREWORD

The state survey by the Language Division of the Office of the Registrar General, India is an ongoing programme. People expect to learn about their state of the art, about languages of India, their structure, function, use and application. The growing inquisitiveness and expectations of the people result in frustration when they do not find the answers to all their queries. I do not think our institutions and even universities are geared up to answer questions in the context of the growing immigration and endangerment of languages. It is a great challenge to make ourselves up to date and integrate contemporary knowledge with indigenous knowledge.

The first issue is identification of languages. So far Linguistic surveys have been conducted on the basis of language names given by Pandits. Confrontations take place when languages named by people come into conflict with languages named by Pandits. Thus, Maithili comes into conflict with Hindi and Konkani with Marathi.

I feel immensely gratified in presenting the LSI-West Bengal Volume, the sixth presentation, of the post Griersonian Linguistic Survey of India. The organization of the present volume is somewhat different. Bengali has two mother tongues; Bengali and Rajbangsi. Bengali has three dialectal varieties, Radhi, Barendri and Jharkhandi. This raises questions about mother tongues and dialects.

The following are other languages in West Bengal covered in the volume: Nepali, Mundari, Koda/ Kora, Lodha, Bodo, Bhotia and Toto. A cursory look at this list would be enough to show that many of these languages are spoken in three or four states. Taking the descriptions of one state variety and copying it in the rest of the states would be a distortion of reality. It must be recognized that change is constant. Therefore, it must be our effort to capture the change in different regional varieties. Then only we can make statements about the boundaries of languages. It goes without saying that in a multilingual situation language boundaries are spongy. That is why there is no break in communication in neighbouring languages.

Mother Tongue is a language which a child learns without tuition, within the protective care of parents, peers and other care givers till the age of four. This extends the currently accepted definition that mother tongue is a language spoken by the mother to the child. In a family where a Bengali boy is married to a Tamil girl, both speaking English at home, serving in a small town in Karnataka where everybody speaks Kannada, the children with a Hindusthani ayah, then the child has five or six mother tongues. They are different from regional or social varieties of a language which have their dialects. Therefore while writing the descriptions of the language one need to capture these relations.

Similar are the cases of Santali, Mundari, Bhotia which are spoken in more than one state. Santali is spoken in Orissa, West Bengal, Assam, Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh and Andhra Pradesh. Mundari is spoken in Orissa, Andhra Pradesh, West Bengal, Jharkhand, Chhattisgarh and Assam. It is expected that these varieties would differ structurally and functionally from one another. These differences need to be studied in order to find a language area, linguistic area and culture area.

One of the greatest omissions of this volume is Santali. The West Bengal volume cannot be said to be completed without Santali. I hope a West Bengal volume II would be planned with Bengali,

Santali and Mundari in different parts of the country. Regional Bengali would be a significant contribution to the study of Bengali and other languages in the country.

This volume has been under the planning stage during the past decade. In spite of all the limitations, this volume is expected to go a long way in acquainting people about the state language and the indigenous languages of the state.

I must place on record the efforts of the team more particularly that of Dr. Kakali Mukherjee, Assistant Registrar General (Language) and Dr. P. Perumalsamy, Research Officer (Language). Dr. C. Chandramouli the former Registrar General & Census Commissioner, India and Shri Sailesh, the present Additional Secretary & Registrar General & Census Commissioner, India took special interest to bring this volume to a publishable form. I hope that the volume would find favour with linguists and social scientists.

**1<sup>st</sup> August, 2016**

**Prof. Debi Prasanna Pattanayak**

## PREFACE

With the objective to present updated linguistic scenario, taking account of the changes in our society and territorial boundary as well as in our language resources, the “Linguistic Survey of India” project of the Office of the Registrar General, India, Language Division is under operation state by state since the end of the last century. The present Project is, in all respect, a supplementation and complementation of the ‘*Linguistic Survey of India*’ by Sir George Abraham Grierson in the pre-Independence India as well as in the first half of the twentieth century when the Indian Sub- continent comprised Afghanistan, Baluchistan, Pakistan, Bangladesh and Burma which are no more part of present India.

The changed geopolitical boundaries of Indian sub-continent, scanty coverage of the greater part of Deccan and Madras Presidency of pre-Independence India, have made it imperative on the part of linguists to see the changes taken place in Indian languages after Grierson’s study in *Linguistic Survey India*.

**After publication of Survey under *Linguistic Survey of India Project* in LSI-Orissa, LSI-Dadra & Nagar Haveli, LSI-Sikkim (Part-I & II), LSI-Rajasthan (Part-I), the survey result of the present Volume LSI-West Bengal (Part-I) has been produced based on the Survey conducted in present Indian state of West Bengal during the period from 1994 to 2003. The Volume is the Sixth presentation of the post-Griersonian *Linguistic Survey of India Project* series of the Office of the Registrar General, India.**

**The present Volume of West Bengal, prepared and presented as Part-I, does not include the description of Santali – the third populous language as well as one of the Official languages of West Bengal. It has been planned to give a detailed description of Santali, spoken in West Bengal, along with comprehensive and comparative study of Santali surveyed in other parts of India – Odisha (survey result published), Bihar & Jharkhand (under process of publication).**

The result of Survey under ‘Linguistic Survey of India – West Bengal (Part-I)’ has been presented under following chapters:

1. Introduction has covered
  - a) West Bengal as a state with its history, geography and administrative Division.
  - b) Linguistic history of West Bengal.
  - c) Linguistic composition of West Bengal and distribution of Surveyed Languages/Mother Tongues and Bilingualism/ Trilingualism.
  - d) Brief note on the Surveyed languages and their treatment in Grierson’s *Linguistic Survey of India*.
  - e) Brief Sociolinguistic information of all the Languages/Mother Tongues surveyed under the Volume.

- f) The approach of the present Volume as well as the follow up of the present Volume.
  - g) Exhibiting the profile of West Bengal State by specific 10 (ten) maps developed for the Volume.
2. Bengali, being one of the Scheduled Languages of India and the superposed variety for all the linguistic communities of West Bengal as well as the official language of the state and the medium of instruction, has been presented as the first description in the series under Indo-Aryan language family followed by Nepali, which is also one of the Scheduled Languages as well as one of the official languages in Darjeeling district of the state.
  3. The description of the languages under Austro-Asiatic language family includes the presentation on Mundari, Koda/ Kora and Lodha.
  4. The state- specific languages under Tibeto-Burman family, namely Bodo, Bhotia, Toto have been presented in the last part of the Volume out of which Bodo is also one of the Scheduled Languages of India.

The information on bibliographical references has been presented separately at the end of each section so there has been no general Bibliography for the Volume.

The population data in respect of Toto and Lodha languages, included in the present Survey, has been presented as per the last appearance of Census data on language / mother tongues i.e. 1961. Beyond 1961 Census both the languages could not qualify to appear in Census publications following the criteria of publication by 10,000 and above population of mother tongues at all India level.

The sociolinguistic descriptions of the languages in general under Introduction Chapter and in specific under respective Reports give a glimpse of the dynamics of the sociolinguistic situation as found in West Bengal.

Regarding the distribution of languages / mother tongues two sets of data have been presented, where required, one for 'language' and other for 'mother tongue'. 'Language' and 'mother tongue' are co-terminus in Census as the mother tongue data indicates the exclusive data and the language data includes the variants / mother tongues grouped under it. The Bilingualism and Trilingualism table based on 2001 Census returns, presented for the relevant languages/mother tongues, throws light on the attitude towards language use of the linguistic communities inhabiting West Bengal.

For the field surveys one common questionnaire containing the exhaustive word list, sentence list and story, specifically developed by Language Division, Office of the Registrar General, India for the post-Independence Linguistic Survey of India, was canvassed in West Bengal. At the end of the grammatical description of all languages / mother tongues Language family wise 500 comparative lexicons have been appended considering the limitation of the pages of the Volume. Of course, the

story as well as text has been presented at the end of the grammatical description of each language/mother tongue.

The Survey under Linguistic Survey of India, West Bengal was initiated by Dr. B.P. Mahapatra, Ex-Deputy Registrar General, (Language) in the year 1994. The field-surveys in respect of all the languages / mother tongues under this Volume had been completed by 2001 under the supervision of Shri S.S. Bhattacharya, Ex-Senior Research Officer (Language). Following his superannuation in January, 2004, Dr. S.P. Datta, Ex- Senior Research Officer (Language) supervised the submission and preliminary scrutiny of Reports. In the event of his superannuation in February, 2005, the finalization of the Volume(s) under Linguistic Survey of India scheme was entrusted to Dr. Kakali Mukherjee, Senior Research Officer (Language) who carried out the finalization of the present Volume being coordinated by Dr. P. Perumalsamy, Research Officer (Language) and Dr. Sibasis Mukherjee, Investigator (Language) along with the cooperation of the contributors, namely, Dr. S. Ganesh Baskaran, Research Officer (Language), Shri P. Edward Vedamanickam, Investigator (Language) and being assisted by Dr. R. Nakkeerar, Research Officer (Language) and Dr. N. Gopalakrishnan, Investigator (Language) in the planning for Maps of the Volume and collection of the materials for Introduction of the volume respectively. The inspiration rendered by Shri S.P.Ahirwal, Senior Research Officer (Language) is also valuable for the present Volume.

The Field Surveys under the Volume have been completed under the directions of Shri J.K. Banthia, Ex-Registrar General and Census Commissioner, India.

The survey results as well as reports of the Volume have been finalized with the constant directions, monitoring and supervision of Shri D.K. Sikri, Secretary, the Registrar General and Census Commissioner India. He has been the regular source of inspiration in completion of the present Volume.

The efforts of Dr. C. Chandramouli, the Additional Secretary & the Registrar General & Census Commissioner, India deserves special mention in introducing the system of evaluation and editing of the Volume by one Consultant of high esteem. The present Volume has been evaluated by Prof. D.P. Pattanayak. Dr. C. Chandramouli has been the constant source of encouragement for the evaluation.

The inspiration and encouragement received from Shri R.C. Sethi, Additional Registrar General, India deserve due acknowledgement.

The constant tab and vigil by Shri.Kameshwar Ojha, Additional Registrar General, India, over the preparation and finalization of LSI-West Bengal (Part-I) Volume is duly acknowledged.

Acknowledgement is due to Shri P.K. Banerjee, Deputy Registrar General for his inspiration in finalization of the Volume.



The efforts of Shri Manoj Kumar, Deputy Registrar General also deserve in monitoring the evaluation of the Volume by the Consultant and drawing of the Maps of the Volume.

The Volume could not achieve its present shape and form without the coordination and liaisoning of Shri Anand Kumar, Joint Director of Census Operations.

The contributions made by Shri Manoj Kumar, Deputy Registrar General and Shri Kandhai Singh, Research Officer (Map) and others of Map Division of the Office of the Registrar General, India in drawing the maps of the Volume are sincerely acknowledged.

The Director, Anthropological Survey of India is duly acknowledged in this Volume for his kind cooperation in finalization of the Volume by allowing to utilize his Library.

Collection of data on the languages / mother tongues surveyed in West Bengal under Linguistic Survey of India – West Bengal would not have been possible without kind cooperation and help of the Directorate of Census Operations, West Bengal and the various District Magistrates as well as other officials of the State of West Bengal.

Further acknowledgements are due to the cooperation, understanding received from the members of the staff of Language Division during the survey, writing of reports, computerization of the reports, plan for drawing of Maps, assisting the Consultant in evaluation of the Volume and finalization of the Volume including the preparation of CRC for submission. The deputed Data Entry Operators of Directorate of Census Operations, West Bengal are also acknowledged for their work.

**1<sup>st</sup> August, 2016**

**New Delhi**

**SHAILESH  
ADDITIONAL SECRETARY  
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## ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

### Abbreviations: General

AA	Austro-Asiatic
ASI	Anthropological Survey of India
CRI	Cultural Research Institute
DCO	Directorate of Census Operations
e.	Elder
F	Female
i.e.	That is
IA	Indo-Aryan
L/Lg	Language
LSI	Linguistic Survey of India
MT	Mother Tongue
M	Male
ORGI	Office of Registrar General of India
P	Person
R	Rural
Std.B.	Standard Bengali
T	Total
U	Urban
UTs	Union Territories
vol	Volume
y	Young

## Abbreviations: Grammatical Descriptions

abl.	Ablative	masc.	Masculine
acc.	Accusative	neg.	Negative
adj.	Adjective	nom.	Nominative
adj. cl.	Adjective clause	non-ft.	Non-finite
adv.	Adverb	non-hum.	Non-human
agr.	Agreement	n.	Noun
AL.	Alveolar	NP	Noun phrase
anim.	Animate	num.	Number
asp.	Aspect	neu.	Neuter
Asp.	Aspirated	obj.	Object
aux.	Auxiliary	obl.	Oblique
Ben.	Bengali	p. cl.	Principal clause
BL.	Bilabial	pre.	Present
C	Consonant	prep.	Preposition
card.	Cardinal	pred.	Predicate
caus.	Causative	pt.	Past
cl.	Clause	prcpl.	Participle
concl.	Conditional	pass.	Passive
cont.	Continuous	per.	Person
dat.	Dative	perf.	Perfect
dem.	Demonstrative	PNG	Person-Number-Gender
dir.	Direct	Poss.	Possesive
DL.	Dental	PL.	Palatal
dl.	Dual	pl.	Plural
excl.	Exclusive	reflex.	Reflexive
fem.	Feminine	relat.	Relative
frac.	Fractional	RT.	Retroflex
ft.	Finite	sg.	Singular
fut.	Future	subst.	Substantive
gen.	Genitive	soc.	Sociative
GL.	Glottal	SOV	Subject – Object – Verb
hon.	Honorific	sub.	Subject
hum.	Human	ten.	Tense
imp.	Imperative	tran.	Transitive
imperf.	Imperfect	Unasp.	Unaspirated
incl.	Inclusive	V	Vowel
indef.	Indefinite	vb.	Verb
inf.	Infinitive	VL.	Velar
instr.	Instrumental	voc.	Vocative
inter.	Interrogative	VP	Verb phrase
intran.	Intransitive	vr.	Variable Rule
loc.	Locative	I	First Person
LD	Labio-Dental	II	Second Person
m.	Marker	III	Third person

## Symbols Used

i	Front close vowel	j	Palatal voiced stop
E	Open mid front unrounded Vowel / Lower-mid front vowel	c	Palatal voiceless stop
E'	Lower front open mid vowel	c <sup>h</sup> /ch	Palatal voiceless aspirated stop
ɥ	Vowel glide	jh	Palatal voiced aspirated stop
O	Mid open back rounded vowel / Low-mid back vowel	k	Velar voiceless stop
A	Mid central unrounded vowel	g	Velar voiced stop
e	Mid front unrounded vowel	k <sup>h</sup> /kh	Velar voiceless aspirated stop
	Low front rounded vowel	g <sup>h</sup> /g <sup>h</sup>	Velar voiced aspirated stop
a	Low back Rounded Vowel	m	Bilabial voiced nasal
o	Mid close back rounded vowel	mh	Bilabial voiced aspirated nasal
u	High back rounded vowel	n/ŋ	Alveolar/dental voiced nasal
p	Bilabial voiceless stop	nh	Alveolar voiced aspirated nasal
p <sup>h</sup> / ph	Bilabial voiceless aspirated stop	b	Bilabial voiced stop
b <sup>h</sup> / bh	Bilabial voiced aspirated stop	y	Palatal voiced Approximant/Semi vowel
T	Retroflex voiceless stop	s	Voiceless dental fricative / Voiceless alveolar fricative
Th	Retroflex voiceless aspirated stop	l	Alveolar/dental voiced lateral
D	Retroflex voiced stop	r	Alveolar voiced trill
Dh	Retroflex voiced aspirated stop	z	Voiced alveolar fricative
t <sup>h</sup> / th	Dental voiceless aspirated stop	S'	Voiceless palatal fricative
d <sup>h</sup> /dh	Dental voiced aspirated stop	C	Voiceless alveolar affricate
t	Alveolar voiceless stop	J	Voiced alveolar affricate
d	Alveolar voiced stop	N	Retroflex Nasal
th	Alveolar voiceless aspirated stop	f	Voiceless labial dental fricative
dh	Alveolar voiced aspirated stop	ˊ	Rising tone
M	Velar nasal	ˋ	Falling tone
M'	Palatal nasal	>	indicates “Becomes”
R	Voiced retroflex flap	<	indicates “Comes from”
x	Voiceless velar fricative	/ /	Phonemic representation
C'	Checked consonants	[ ]	Phonetic representation
h	Voiceless glottal fricative	Φ	Zero morpheme
ɦ	Glottal voiced fricative	~	Alternation
w	Bilabial voiced Approximant/Semi vowel	˜ v	Nasalised vowel
ʌ	Lower mid back unrounded vowel		

?/ʔ	Glottal stop
{ }	Conditions on variables
( )	Parenthesis
=	Equal to
+	Plus
:	Length

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## INTRODUCTION

### I

#### 1. *WEST BENGAL AS A STATE OF THE INDIAN SUB-CONTINENT*

West Bengal is one of the thirty-five states of the Indian sub-continent with an area of 88,752 square kilometers and with a population of 80,176,197 as per the Census of India, 2001. According to the population this state is the fourth largest state of the Indian Union.

##### 1.1. *BRIEF HISTORY OF THE STATE*

The name 'Bengal' originally derives from the word 'Bang' or 'Banga' or 'Vanga' as Abu-l-fazl opines. This opinion is based on references to a territory that we identify as Bengal, mentioned in early Sanskrit texts dating back to the 6<sup>th</sup> Century B.C. The word 'Banga' perhaps means a riverine, low-lying, flood prone terrain. Another notion also exists for the English name 'Bengal' and its Portuguese form 'Bangala': that both the names have been derived from the word Vangala which the Muslim rulers adopted as the name of the province from the 12<sup>th</sup> Century. However, from 'Vanga' to 'Vangala' and to 'Bengal' the nomenclature has a natural course of development from 'Gauda' to Bengal.

From the historic time till the 6<sup>th</sup>-7<sup>th</sup> Century AD ancient Bengal was divided into several tribes or kingdoms known as Janapadas according to totems like Pundrabardhana, Radh, Suhma, Bajra or Brahman, Tamralipti, Banga and so on. Out of these divisions 'Banga' (which is currently Bangladesh), Radh, i.e. the Western part of present West Bengal and Barendra (or Pundra) as well as the northern part of modern West Bengal are of much importance since these regions have been in a flux and their boundaries are constantly changing. And it was in the early 7<sup>th</sup> Century that the territory of Bengal was extended up to Orissa (Utkal of ancient times) and the political unity was established under the king Shashanka (AD 595-621) of Gauda – the capital of historic Bengal. The process of unification across tribal formations of Bengal under Gauda continued during the Pal and Sen dynasty (8<sup>th</sup> – 13<sup>th</sup> Century AD). The process was completed after Akbar's conquest of Bengal (1574-75) with the creation of the Bengal Subah, which continually grew in size through the incorporation of the adjoining parts of Bihar and Orissa. The process of territorial expansion of Bengal also continued under the British who gained complete control over the administration of Bengal during the period from 1757 to 1790. In 1905 the first partition of Bengal took place when the eastern districts of Chittagong, Dacca and Rajshahi Divisions along with the districts of Malda and hill Tippera were separated constituting a new province together with Assam and being detached from Bengal Presidency of British India. However, this territorial arrangement had to be revoked in 1911 under the pressure of a nationalistic movement resulting in the reuniting of the eastern Bengal districts with Bengal proper while linguistically distinct Orissa and Bihar were separated from Bengal. This set-up continued until the next important change in political geography, which came with the transfer of power from the British through the Independence of India in 1947 along with the creation of East Pakistan, dividing Bengal for the second time. In Independent India, West Bengal emerged in its present shape as a distinct state within the Union of India with three regions, North Bengal, Radh Bengal, as well as South and

Lower Bengal, by the transference of the Bengali speaking areas from Bihar to West Bengal following the State Reorganization Act in 1956.

[Ref: *People of India, West Bengal Volume (XXXXIII), Part two 2008: Foreword*]

## 1.2.GEOGRAPHY OF THE STATE

Being a state in the eastern part of India, West Bengal is diverse in its geography stretching from the Himalayas in the north to the Bay of Bengal in the south. The remaining areas are covered with the plains of the Gangetic Delta and plateau. The state forms the ethno-linguistic region of Bengal along with Bangladesh, which lies on its eastern border. In the north-east the state is bounded by Assam, Sikkim of India and the Kingdom of Bhutan. The state of Orissa lies in the south-west of the state while Jharkhand and Bihar bound the state in the west. To the north-west the state shares a border with Nepal. The capital of the state is Calcutta (Kolkata) which is the third largest urban agglomeration and the third largest city in India.

## II

### ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISION OF THE STATE

Administratively the state is divided into 18 districts and 3 sub-divisions, which are as follows.

Burdwan Sub-Division comprising 7 districts

- |              |              |             |
|--------------|--------------|-------------|
| 1. Bankura   | 2. Bardhaman | 3. Birbhum  |
| 4. Medinipur | 5. Hooghly   | 6. Puruliya |

Jalpaiguri Division consisting of 6 districts

- |                   |                     |               |
|-------------------|---------------------|---------------|
| 1. Uttar Dinajpur | 2. Dakshin Dinajpur | 3. Koch Bihar |
| 4. Darjiling      | 5. Jalpaiguri       | 6. Malda      |

Presidency Division comprising 6 districts

- |                       |                       |           |
|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------|
| 1. Kolkata            | 2. Murshidabad        | 3. Nadia  |
| 4. North 24 Paraganas | 5. South 24 Paraganas | 6. Howrah |

The details of district wise population of West Bengal state along with rural-urban break-up are furnished below as per the latest published data of 2001 Census.

State / District	Total	Rural	Urban
<b>West Bengal</b>			
Person	80176197	57748946	22427251
Male	41465985	29616009	11849976
Female	38710212	28132937	10577275

<b>1. Darjiling</b>	1609172	1088740	520432
Person	830644	556633	274011
Male	778528	532107	246421
Female			
<b>2. Jalpaiguri</b>			
Person	3401173	2794291	606882
Male	1751145	1437156	313989
Female	1650028	1357135	292893
<b>3. Koch Bihar</b>			
Person	2479155	2253537	225618
Male	1272094	1157241	114853
Female	1207061	1096296	110765
<b>4. Uttar Dinajpur</b>			
Person	2441794	2147351	294443
Male	1259737	1104224	155513
Female	1182057	1043127	138930
<b>5. Dakshin Dinajpur</b>			
Person	1503178	1306324	196854
Male	770335	669796	100539
Female	732843	636528	96315
<b>6. Maldah</b>			
Person	3290468	3049528	240940
Male	1689406	1565654	123752
Female	1601062	1483874	117188
<b>7. Murshidabad</b>			
Person	5866569	5133835	732734
Male	3005000	2633196	371804
Female	2861569	2500639	360930
<b>8. Birbhum</b>			
Person	3015422	2757002	258420
Male	1546633	1414097	132536
Female	1468789	1342905	125884
State / District	Total	Rural	Urban
<b>9. Barddhaman</b>			
Person	6895514	4348466	2547048
Male	3588376	2239187	1349189
Female	3307138	2109279	1197859

**10. Nadia**

Person	4604827	3625308	979519
Male	2366853	1867682	499171
Female	2237974	1757626	480348

**11. North Twenty Four Parganas**

Person	8934286	4083339	4850947
Male	4638756	2102208	2536548
Female	4295530	1981131	2314399

**12. Hugli**

Person	5041976	3354227	1687749
Male	2589625	1699831	889794
Female	2452351	1654396	797955

**13. Bankura**

Person	3192695	2957447	235248
Male	1636002	1515450	120552
Female	1556693	1441997	114696

**14. Puruliya**

Person	2536516	2281090	255426
Male	1298078	1165054	133024
Female	1238438	1116036	122402

**15. Medinipur**

Person	9610788	8626883	983905
Male	4916370	4407920	508450
Female	4694418	4218963	475455

**16. Haora**

Person	4273099	2121109	2151990
Male	2241898	1083410	1158488
Female	2031201	1037699	993502

**17. Kolkata**

Person	4572876	-	4572876
Male	2500040	-	2500040
Female	2072836	-	2072836
State / District	Total	Rural	Urban

**18. South Twenty Four Parganas**

Person	6906689	5820469	1086220
Male	3564993	2997270	567723
Female	3341696	2823199	518497

### III

#### LINGUISTIC HISTORY OF WEST BENGAL

West Bengal is the meeting ground of the four language families in India: Indo-Aryan, Austro-Asiatic, Dravidian and Tibeto-Burman languages. The Indo-Aryan languages, mainly represented by Bengali, are most widespread due to the process of Aryanisation. The geographical situation, linguistic evidence, tradition, and history of West Bengal prove that the Aryan language came to Bengal as an overflow from Bihar during the period when Bengal was joined with Magadha around the 3<sup>rd</sup> century B.C. The Magadhan people who made Bengal their homeland brought the Aryan speech into Bengal from Magadha.

Before the advent of the Aryans, Bengal was inhabited by Kol (Mundari, Santali, Ho, Bhumij etc.) and Dravidian (Malto of the Maler, Oraon etc.) speakers in the western fringe. The northern and eastern frontiers of Bengal were populated by Bodo and Mon-Khmer speakers. These early tribes of Bengal, mainly of Dravidian and Kol stock, were well organized and seem to have possessed a culture of their own. The Tibeto-Chinese tribes came into Bengal later than the Dravidian and Kol. The Bodo section of the Tibeto-Burman branch of the Tibeto-Chinese people (Bodo, Mech, Koch, Rabha, Kachari, Garo, Tripuri) came to Assam and what was then East Bengal (present Bangladesh included upto pre-Independence) and spread all over north Bengal and East Bengal. It is during the Maurya period that Bengal was brought in line with Aryan states being conquered by Magadha. The process of Aryanisation of West Bengal evolved since then.

The historic Bengal was divided into four non-Aryan tribal tracts by the course of the river Ganges (Padma) with its branch of Bhagirathi or Hugli and the Brahmaputra:

- i) the tribes of the Pundras (in North Central Bengal, roughly in the tract bounded by the Ganges to the South and Karatoya in the east)
- ii) the tribes of Vangas (in Bengal located east of Brahmaputra and north of the river Padma)
- iii) the Radhas
- iv) the Suhmas (west of the river Hugli)

These four tribes – Pundra, Vanga, Radha, Suhma - were the important ones, who gave their names to the various tracts they inhabited. Leaving aside these four tribes there were also tribes like Kaivarttas, Haris, Candalas and so on who also form the Non-Aryan tribes of Bengal and who have become gradually occupational castes in the Aryanised Bengal. The tribes of Anga (East Bihar) and Magadha as well as Odras and Kalingas of Orissa were allied. Thus, there seems to have been an unbroken connection between Bihar, West Bengal, Orissa and Assam both racially and linguistically.

The establishment of Aryandom in West Bengal has brought the changes in the names of the tracts named after the inhabitation of tribes, namely, Pundra, Vanga, Radha, Suhma. Even in the religious documents like ‘Tripitaka’ or ‘Palijataka’ this fact can be evidenced. (Extracted from *Origin and Development of Bengali Language*, S.K. Chatterji, 1975)

The territory of British Bengal included the territories of present Bihar – Orissa – Assam, which were subsequently excluded from Bengal in the course of political history. And finally, with the Independence of India in 1947, what used to be called Bengal has been divided broadly into West Bengal and East Bengal by way of giving birth to East Pakistan (present Bangladesh) which included the territory of East Bengal.

However, the present state of West Bengal is geographically and culturally divided into three regions, namely,

North Bengal	comprising the districts of Darjeeling, Koch Bihar, West Dinajpur, Malda;
Radh Bengal	comprising plateau regions of Birbhum, Bankura, Puruliya and western part of Midnapur, Burdwan, Hooghly, Murshidabad;
South and Lower Bengal	comprising Howrah, Calcutta (Kolkata), South 24-Parganas, Nadia part of Hooghly and Burdwan, eastern part of Midnapur, Gangetic part of Murshidabad.

The Bengali language is spoken in three different forms in these three cultural zones, as follows,

- Varendri dialect of Bengali in North Bengal
- Radhi dialect of Bengali in Radh Bengal
- Jharkhandi dialect of Bengali in South and lower Bengal

Of course, the Standard variety of Bengali is spoken in the capital city of West Bengal, i.e. Calcutta (Kolkata), and the entire state, being the superposed variety for all linguistic communities as well as the language of elite society, education, administration etc., and seems to be based on the Radhi dialects of the Bengali language.

Leaving aside Bengali, 111 other languages are spoken in the state (as per 2001 Census), which have been presented in detail in the next section. Of course, Bengali is the largest speech community constituting 85.27% of the population of West Bengal followed by Santali (2.80%), Nepali (1.28%) and others.

## *IV*

### *LINGUISTIC COMPOSITION OF THE STATE*

As per the latest census publication of 2001 West Bengal showcases 112 languages out of 122 languages of India. These 112 languages include all the 22 Scheduled languages. Out of 234 mother tongues at the all India level 172 mother tongues have been returned from West Bengal in 2001 census.

The dichotomy of ‘Language’ and ‘mother tongue’ nomenclature in Census publication is coterminous and, as such, both the language and the mother tongue data are

presented in Census publications. The ‘mother tongue’ indicates the exclusive entity whereas the ‘language’ includes the mother tongues/variants grouped under it. The 172 mother tongues, being grouped under 112 languages, are presented in a classified manner under the category of Scheduled and Non Scheduled languages.

<b>SCHEDULED LANGUAGES</b>			
<b>1. ASSAMESE</b>	<b>7835</b>	HARYANVI	2043
ASSAMESE	7695	HINDI	4206188
OTHERS	140	KANGRI	7
		KHAIRARI	18
<b>2. BENGALI</b>	<b>68369255</b>	KHARI BOLI	9
BENGALI	67762952	KHORTH/KHOTTA	167889
CHAKMA	391	KUMAUNI	454
HAIJONG/HAJONG	11	KURMALI THAR	306756
RAJBANGSI	30551	LABANI	2
OTHERS	575350	LARIA	27
		LODHI	6
<b>3. BODO</b>	<b>37654</b>	MAGADHI/MAGAHI	1823
BODO/BORO	27823	MALVI	2
OTHERS	9831	MANDEALI	58
		MARWARI	48113
<b>4. DOGRI</b>	<b>2006</b>	MEWARI	316
DOGRI	2002	MEWATI	1
OTHERS	4	NAGPURIA	860
		NIMADI	1
<b>5. GUJARATI</b>	<b>46926</b>	PAHARI	2747
GUJARATI	44078	PANCH PARGANIA	132
GUJRAO/GUJRAU	7	PAWARI/POWARI	3
SAURASHTRA/SAURASHTRI	15	RAJASTHANI	16735
OTHERS	2826	SADAN/SADRI	574142
		OTHERS	322778
<b>6. HINDI</b>	<b>5747099</b>		
AWADHI	147	<b>7. KANNADA</b>	<b>2755</b>
BAGHELI/BAGHEL KHANDI	17	BADAGA	4
BHADRAWAHI	1	KANNADA	2591
BHOJPURI	92207	KURUBA/KURUMBA	43
BRAJBHASHA	33	OTHERS	117
BUNDELI/BUNDELKHANDI	171		
CHHATTISGARHI	1868	<b>8. KASHMIRI</b>	<b>1084</b>
CHURAH	1	KASHMIRI	1078
GARHWALI	1500	KISHTWARI	3
GOJRI	1	OTHERS	3
HARAUTI	43		

<b>9. KONKANI</b>	<b>960</b>	<b>19. SINDHI</b>	<b>5749</b>
KONKANI	785	KACHCHHI	246
KUDUBI/KUDUMBI	13	SINDHI	5168
MALWANI	1	OTHERS	335
OTHERS	161		
		<b>20. TAMIL</b>	<b>20238</b>
<b>10. MAITHILI</b>	<b>22064</b>	TAMIL	20169
MAITHILI	21993	OTHERS	69
OTHERS	71		
		<b>21. TELUGU</b>	<b>208769</b>
<b>11. MALAYALAM</b>	<b>17043</b>	TELUGU	208689
MALAYALAM	16723	OTHERS	80
OTHERS	320		
		<b>22. URDU</b>	<b>1653739</b>
<b>12. MANIPURI</b>	<b>1075</b>	URDU	1653580
MANIPURI	1065	OTHERS	159
OTHERS	10		
		<b>NON SCHEDULED LANGUAGES</b>	
<b>13. MARATHI</b>	<b>15176</b>		
MARATHI	12324	<b>23. ADI</b>	<b>159</b>
KAMARI	339	ADI	124
OTHERS	2513	ADI GALLONG/GALLONG	1
		OTHERS	34
<b>14. NEPALI</b>	<b>1022725</b>		
NEPALI	1022683	<b>24. AFGHANI/KABULI/PASHTO</b>	<b>111</b>
OTHERS	42	AFGHANI/KABULI/PASHTO	111
<b>15. ORIYA</b>	<b>186391</b>	<b>25. ANAL</b>	<b>108</b>
ORIYA	185365	ANAL	108
PROJA	495		
SAMBALPURI	56	<b>26. ANGAMI</b>	<b>8</b>
OTHERS	475	ANGAMI	8
<b>16. PUNJABI</b>	<b>67952</b>	<b>27. AO</b>	<b>90</b>
BAGRI	12	AO	82
PUNJABI	61136	OTHERS	8
OTHERS	6804		
		<b>28. ARABIC/ARBI</b>	<b>2913</b>
<b>17. SANSKRIT</b>	<b>138</b>	ARABIC/ARBI	2913
SANSKRIT	138		
		<b>29. BHILI/BHILODI</b>	<b>103</b>
<b>18. SANTALI</b>	<b>2247113</b>	BAORI	19
KARMALI	479	BHILI/BHILODI	2
SANTALI	2164948	KOKNA/KOKNI/KUKNA	5
OTHERS	81686	MAWCHI	4



PARADHI	3	<b>41. GANGTE</b>	<b>4</b>
PAWRI	1	GANGTE	4
RATHI	8		
TADAVI	2	<b>42. GARO</b>	<b>1457</b>
VARLI	1	GARO	1423
WAGDI	4	OTHERS	34
OTHERS	54		
		<b>43. GONDI</b>	<b>375</b>
<b>30. BHOTIA</b>	<b>6508</b>	GONDI	49
BHOTIA	6030	MARIA	87
OTHERS	478	OTHERS	136
<b>31. BHUMIJ</b>	<b>6304</b>	<b>44. HALABI</b>	<b>10</b>
BHUMIJ	1149	OTHERS	10
OTHERS	5155		
		<b>45. HALAM</b>	<b>12</b>
<b>32. BISHNUPURIYA</b>	<b>41</b>	OTHERS	12
BISHNUPRIYA MANIPURI/MANIPURI BISHNUPRIYA	8		
OTHERS	33	<b>46. HMAR</b>	<b>31</b>
		HMAR	31
<b>33. CHAKHESANG</b>	<b>2</b>		
CHAKHESANG	2	<b>47. HO</b>	<b>4235</b>
		HO	<b>4235</b>
<b>34. CHAKRU/CHOKRI</b>	<b>1</b>		
CHAKRU/CHOKRI	1	<b>48. KABUI</b>	<b>9</b>
		KABUI	3
<b>35. CHANG</b>	<b>1</b>	RONGMEI	6
CHANG	1		
		<b>49. KARBI/MIKIR</b>	<b>22</b>
<b>36. COORGI/KODAGU</b>	<b>21</b>	KARBI	22
COORGI/KODAGU	21		
		<b>50. KHANDESHI</b>	<b>26</b>
<b>37. DEORI</b>	<b>6</b>	GUJARI	26
DEORI	6		
		<b>51. KHARIA</b>	<b>7276</b>
<b>38. DIMASA</b>	<b>4</b>	KHARIA	7179
OTHERS	4	OTHERS	97
<b>39. ENGLISH</b>	<b>15681</b>	<b>52. KHASI</b>	<b>200</b>
ENGLISH	15681	KHASI	200
<b>40. GADABA</b>	<b>110</b>	<b>53. KHEZHA</b>	<b>57</b>
OTHERS	110	KHEZHA	54

OTHERS	3	KURUKH/ORAOON	197149
		OTHERS	4160
<b>54. KHOND/KONDH</b>	<b>10</b>		
KHOND/KONDH	6	<b>68. LADAKHI</b>	<b>44</b>
OTHERS	4	LADAKHI	44
<b>55. KINNAURI</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>69. LAHAULI</b>	<b>1</b>
KINNAURI	15	OTHERS	1
OTHERS	21		
		<b>70. LAHNDA</b>	<b>30</b>
<b>56. KISAN</b>	<b>101</b>	MULTANI	14
KISAN	101	PUNCHHI	4
		OTHERS	12
<b>57. KOCH</b>	<b>1583</b>		
KOCH	1264	<b>71. LEPCHA</b>	<b>14731</b>
OTHERS	319	LEPCHA	14731
<b>58. KODA/KORA</b>	<b>33218</b>	<b>72. LIANGMEI</b>	<b>5</b>
KODA/KORA	32491	OTHERS	5
OTHERS	727		
		<b>73. LIMBU</b>	<b>2377</b>
<b>59. KOM</b>	<b>16</b>	LIMBU	2177
KOM	16	OTHERS	200
<b>60. KONDA</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>74. LOTH</b>	<b>33</b>
OTHERS	8	LOTHA	33
<b>61. KONYAK</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>75. LUSHAI/MIZO</b>	<b>489</b>
KONYAK	11	LUSHAI/MIZO	488
		OTHERS	1
<b>62. KORKU</b>	<b>201</b>		
OTHERS	201	<b>76. MALTO</b>	<b>1961</b>
		PAHARIYA	1122
<b>63. KORWA</b>	<b>146</b>	OTHERS	839
OTHERS	146		
		<b>77. MARAM</b>	<b>10</b>
<b>64. KOYA</b>	<b>92</b>	MARAM	10
KOYA	92		
		<b>78. MARING</b>	<b>5</b>
<b>65. KUI</b>	<b>13</b>	MARING	5
KUI	13		
		<b>79. MIRI/MISHING</b>	<b>5</b>
<b>66. KUKI</b>	<b>251</b>	MIRI/MISHING	5
KUKI	251		
		<b>80. MISHMI</b>	<b>19</b>
<b>67. KURUKH/ORAOON</b>	<b>201309</b>	MISHMI	2

OTHERS	17	<b>93. POCHURY</b>	<b>1</b>
		POCHURY	1
<b>81. MOGH</b>	<b>745</b>		
MOGH	745	<b>94. RABHA</b>	<b>10967</b>
		RABHA	10967
<b>82. MONPA</b>	<b>29</b>		
MONPA	24	<b>95. RAI</b>	<b>1137</b>
OTHERS	5	RAI	1137
<b>83. MUNDA</b>	<b>61862</b>	<b>96. RENGMA</b>	<b>3</b>
KOL	4426	RENGMA	3
MUNDA	56357		
OTHERS	1079	<b>97. SANGTAM</b>	<b>7</b>
		SANGTAM	7
<b>84. MUNDARI</b>	<b>32571</b>		
MUNDARI	32246	<b>98. SAVARA</b>	<b>1696</b>
MURA	310	SAVARA	1696
OTHERS	15		
		<b>99. SEMA</b>	<b>32</b>
<b>85. NICOBARESE</b>	<b>28</b>	SEMA	32
NICOBARESE	28		
		<b>100. SHERPA</b>	<b>2902</b>
<b>86. NISSI/DAFLA</b>	<b>49</b>	SHERPA	2902
APATANI	9		
NISSI/DAFLA	9	<b>101. SHINA</b>	<b>1</b>
OTHERS	31	SHINA	1
<b>87. NOCTE</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>102. SIMTE</b>	<b>2</b>
NOCTE	11	SIMTE	2
<b>88. PAITE</b>	<b>66</b>	<b>103. TAMANG</b>	<b>4897</b>
PAITE	66	TAMANG	4897
<b>89. PARJI</b>	<b>188</b>	<b>104. TANGKHUL</b>	<b>27</b>
PARJI	35	TANGKHUL	25
OTHERS	153	OTHERS	2
<b>90. PAWI</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>105. THADO</b>	<b>121</b>
PAWI	4	THADO	42
		OTHERS	79
<b>91. PERSIAN</b>	<b>3670</b>		
PERSIAN	3670	<b>106. TIBETAN</b>	<b>7107</b>
		TIBETAN	6290
<b>92. PHOM</b>	<b>1</b>	OTHERS	817
PHOM	1		

<b>107. TRIPURI</b>	<b>98</b>	<b>109. VAIPHEI</b>	<b>29</b>
KOK BARAK	32	VAIPHEI	29
REANG	1		
TRIPURI	61	<b>110. WANCHO</b>	<b>12</b>
OTHERS	4	WANCHO	12
<b>108. TULU</b>	<b>84</b>	<b>111. ZEMI</b>	<b>1</b>
TULU	79	ZEMI	1
OTHERS	5		
		<b>112. ZOU</b>	<b>19</b>
		ZOU	19

## V

### *THE LANGUAGES SURVEYED IN LSI WEST BENGAL*

Settlement in the state of West Bengal started approximately ten thousand years ago. Though languages like Maler, Oraon etc., of Dravidian origin are traced, on the whole the original settlers of so-called Bengal were of Austro-Asiatic family namely, Kol, Munda, Santali, Savara, etc. Subsequently people of Tibeto-Burman and Aryan stock also settled here during the course of time. Accordingly, the specific languages of the three families, namely, Austro-Asiatic, Indo-Aryan and Tibeto-Burman, have been studied under the present scheme.

Language-family wise the languages/mother tongues surveyed are the following:

#### Indo-Aryan Language Family

1. Bengali (Scheduled language)
2. Rajbangshi
3. Regional Varieties of Bengali (Radhi of Burdwan, Radhi of Howrah & Hoogly, Barendri, Jharkhandi)
4. Nepali (Scheduled language)

#### Austro-Asiatic Language Family

1. Koda/Kora
2. Lodha
3. Mundari

#### Tibeto-Burman Language Family

1. Bodo (Scheduled language)
2. Bhotia
3. Toto

**Santali, being one of the 22 Scheduled Languages and one major language so far as West Bengal state is concerned, has not been surveyed under the present Volume. Santali has been studied under *LSI-Orissa* and *LSI-Bihar & Jharkhand*. West Bengal is adjacent to these two states. The survey of Santali along with documentation in West**

**Bengal is in progress under *Mother Tongue Survey of India Project* of 12<sup>th</sup> Five Year Plan. The result of Santali, thus surveyed, will be furnished in detail in LSI-West Bengal Volume Part-II. The comparison of Santali spoken with variation in Orissa, Bihar, Jharkhand will be presented in the Part-II of LSI-West Bengal Volume where the comparison of Mundari, Bhotia, surveyed across West Bengal, also will be presented.**

The distribution of the surveyed languages in India and its States as well as in West Bengal and its districts is presented below in descending order as per C-16 Language Table of 2001 Census. The distribution of Radhi, Varendri etc. being regional varieties is not available in Census Table. Hence, cannot be furnished here.

### **1. Bengali Language in India and West Bengal State and its districts**

Language/India/State/ Union Territory	Total			Rural			Urban		
	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
<b>2. BENGALI</b>									
INDIA	83,369,769	42,889,519	40,480,250	63,291,897	32,503,210	30,788,687	20,077,872	10,386,309	9,691,563
West Bengal	68,369,255	35,075,010	33,294,245	51,865,095	26,603,441	25,261,654	16,504,160	8,471,569	8,032,591
1 Medinipur	8694662	4453222	4241440	7899817	4043690	3856127	794845	409532	385313
2 North Twenty Four Parganas	7851646	4025647	3825999	4032448	2074595	1957853	3819198	1951052	1868146
3 South Twenty Four Parganas	6762970	3481784	3281186	5779423	2973892	2805531	983547	507892	475655
4 Murshidabad	5764774	2950671	2814103	5050200	2588589	2461611	714574	362082	352492
5 Bardhaman	5508382	2841512	2666870	3952359	2033919	1918440	1556023	807593	748430
6 Nadia	4510775	2315221	2195554	3564535	1834324	1730211	946240	480897	465343
7 Hugli	4354426	2207358	2147068	3147932	1592910	1555022	1206494	614448	592046
8 Haora	3608578	1850784	1757794	2103707	1073582	1030125	1504871	777202	727669
9 Maldah	2906526	1493789	1412737	2685457	1380737	1304720	221069	113052	108017
10 Bankura	2869746	1471727	1398019	2642637	1355639	1286998	227109	116088	111021
11 Kolkata	2836674	1462178	1374496	0	0	0	2836674	1462178	1374496
12 Birbhum	2772232	1422928	1349304	2537551	1302874	1234677	234681	120054	114627
13 Koch Bihar	2406090	1230639	1175451	2207890	1130785	1077105	198200	99854	98346
14 Jalpaiguri	2207149	1135517	1071632	1734801	894317	840484	472348	241200	231148
15 Puruliya	1943888	996203	947685	1751382	896347	855035	192506	99856	92650
16 Uttar Dinajpur	1675374	864735	810639	1437654	739496	698158	237720	125239	112481
17 Dakshin Dinajpur *	1237983	634668	603315	1056059	542218	513841	181924	92450	89474
18 Darjiling	457380	236427	220953	281243	145527	135716	176137	90900	85237

#### **1.1. Bengali Mother tongue in India and West Bengal State and its districts**

Language/ Mother Tongue/India/ State/Union Territory	Total			Rural			Urban		
	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
<b>1. BENGALI (Mother Tongue)</b>									
INDIA	82,462,437	42,421,466	40,040,971	62,406,257	32,046,579	30,359,678	20,056,180	10,374,887	9,681,293

West Bengal	67,766,217	34,763,480	33,002,737	51,275,632	26,299,012	24,976,620	16,490,585	8,464,468	8,026,117
1 Medinipur	8694651	4453214	4241437	7899815	4043688	3856127	794836	409526	385310
2 North Twenty Four Parganas	7851246	4025372	3825874	4032121	2074357	1957764	3819125	1951015	1868110
3 South Twenty Four Parganas	6762967	3481783	3281184	5779420	2973891	2805529	983547	507892	475655
4 Murshidabad	5764762	2950665	2814097	5050188	2588583	2461605	714574	362082	352492
5 Bardhaman	5508302	2841473	2666829	3952301	2033893	1918408	1556001	807580	748421
6 Nadia	4510072	2314862	2195210	3563837	1833966	1729871	946235	480896	465339
7 Hugli	4354407	2207344	2147063	3147921	1592901	1555020	1206486	614443	592043
8 Haora	3608569	1850778	1757791	2103707	1073582	1030125	1504862	777196	727666
9 Maldah	2900489	1490731	1409758	2679432	1377685	1301747	221057	113046	108011
10 Bankura	2869745	1471726	1398019	2642636	1355638	1286998	227109	116088	111021
11 Kolkata	2836647	1462161	1374486	0	0	0	2836647	1462161	1374486
12 Birbhum	2772232	1422928	1349304	2537551	1302874	1234677	234681	120054	114627
13 Koch Bihar	2239155	1144580	1094575	2042961	1045757	997204	196194	98823	97371
14 Puruliya	1943822	996169	947653	1751316	896313	855003	192506	99856	92650
15 Jalpaiguri	1897125	975207	921918	1434537	739074	695463	462588	236133	226455
16 Uttar Dinajpur	1631149	841892	789257	1393736	716841	676895	237413	125051	112362
17 Dakshin Dinajpur *	1235156	633246	601910	1053240	540800	512440	181916	92446	89470
18 Darjiling	385721	199349	186372	210913	109169	101744	174808	90180	84628

## **2. Distribution of Rajbangsi Mother tongue in India and West Bengal State and its districts**

AREA NAME	TOTAL			RURAL			URBAN		
	P 2	M 3	F 4	P 5	M 6	F 7	P 8	M 9	F 10
<b>4. RAJBANGSI (Mother Tongue)</b>									
INDIA	82,570	42,387	40,183	77,955	39,997	37,958	4,615	2,390	2,225
West Bengal	30,551	15,627	14,924	27,198	13,928	13,270	3,353	1,699	1,654
1 Jalpaiguri	18251	9360	8891	15564	7990	7574	2687	1370	1317
2 Darjiling	9716	4923	4793	9311	4727	4584	405	196	209
3 Koch Bihar	1122	585	537	984	521	463	138	64	74
4 Uttar Dinajpur	1073	556	517	1015	524	491	58	32	26
5 Maldah	223	112	111	212	107	105	11	5	6
6 Puruliya	63	34	29	63	34	29	0	0	0
7 Dakshin Dinajpur *	36	18	18	36	18	18	0	0	0
8 Bardhaman	23	14	9	1	1	0	22	13	9
9 Kolkata	18	11	7	0	0	0	18	11	7
10 North 24 Parganas	15	8	7	5	2	3	10	6	4
11 Hugli	4	2	2	4	2	2	0	0	0
12 Haora	4	2	2	0	0	0	4	2	2
13 South 24 Parganas	2	1	1	2	1	1	0	0	0
14 Medinipur	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0

### 3. Distribution of Nepali Language in India and West Bengal State and its districts

Language/India/State/Union Territory	Total			Rural			Urban		
	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
<b>NEPALI</b>									
INDIA	2,871,749	1,534,746	1,337,003	2,130,528	1,118,493	1,012,035	741,221	416,253	324,968
West Bengal	1,022,725	514,596	508,129	776,257	389,186	387,071	246,468	125,410	121,058
1 Darjiling	739830	370330	369500	559766	280815	278951	180064	89515	90549
2 Jalpaiguri	234500	116839	117661	204908	101846	103062	29592	14993	14599
3 Kolkata	12492	7249	5243	0	0	0	12492	7249	5243
4 Medinipur	8348	4495	3853	6434	3497	2937	1914	998	916
5 North Twenty Four Parganas	7465	4399	3066	352	201	151	7113	4198	2915
6 Barddhaman	6264	3408	2856	846	477	369	5418	2931	2487
7 Haora	2682	1548	1134	55	36	19	2627	1512	1115
8 Hugli	2235	1293	942	513	305	208	1722	988	734
9 Uttar Dinajpur	2004	1121	883	1097	608	489	907	513	394
10 South Twenty Four Parganas	1747	1011	736	392	228	164	1355	783	572
11 Koch Bihar	1681	905	776	447	264	183	1234	641	593
12 Nadia	898	508	390	416	245	171	482	263	219
13 Dakshin Dinajpur *	634	351	283	267	160	107	367	191	176
14 Puruliya	580	315	265	165	102	63	415	213	202
15 Maldah	509	295	214	232	157	75	277	138	139
16 Birbhum	352	227	125	182	120	62	170	107	63
17 Murshidabad	281	164	117	81	58	23	200	106	94
18 Bankura	223	138	85	104	67	37	119	71	48

### 3.1. Nepali Mother tongue in India and West Bengal State and its districts

Language/ Mother Tongue/India/State/Union Territory	Total			Rural			Urban		
	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
<b>1.NEPALI (Mother Tongue)</b>									
INDIA	2,867,922	1,532,651	1,335,271	2,127,795	1,116,983	1,010,812	740,127	415,668	324,459
West Bengal	1,022,683	514,577	508,106	776,225	389,170	387,055	246,458	125,407	121,051
1 Darjiling	739821	370326	369495	559757	280811	278946	180064	89515	90549
2 Jalpaiguri	234489	116833	117656	204898	101840	103058	29591	14993	14598
3 Kolkata	12484	7246	5238	0	0	0	12484	7246	5238
4 Medinipur	8348	4495	3853	6434	3497	2937	1914	998	916
5 North 24 Parganas	7465	4399	3066	352	201	151	7113	4198	2915
6 Barddhaman	6262	3407	2855	844	476	368	5418	2931	2487
7 Haora	2682	1548	1134	55	36	19	2627	1512	1115
8 Hugli	2224	1288	936	502	300	202	1722	988	734
9 Uttar Dinajpur	2004	1121	883	1097	608	489	907	513	394
10 South 24 Parganas	1747	1011	736	392	228	164	1355	783	572

11 Koch Bihar	1680	905	775	447	264	183	1233	641	592
12 Nadia	898	508	390	416	245	171	482	263	219
13 Dakshin Dinajpur *	634	351	283	267	160	107	367	191	176
14 Puruliya	580	315	265	165	102	63	415	213	202
15 Maldah	509	295	214	232	157	75	277	138	139
16 Birbhum	352	227	125	182	120	62	170	107	63
17 Murshidabad	281	164	117	81	58	23	200	106	94
18 Bankura	223	138	85	104	67	37	119	71	48

#### **4. Mundari Language in India and West Bengal and its districts**

Language/ Mother Tongue/India/ State/Union Territory	Total			Rural			Urban		
	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
<b>MUNDARI</b>									
INDIA	1,061,352	533,924	527,428	964,364	484,462	479,902	96,988	49,462	47,526
West Bengal	32,571	16,330	16,241	30,896	15,492	15,404	1,675	838	837
1 Medinipur	19998	10016	9982	19889	9960	9929	109	56	53
2 Jalpaiguri	5931	2978	2953	4830	2446	2384	1101	532	569
3 Dakshin Dinajpur *	1879	935	944	1876	934	942	3	1	2
4 Puruliya	1780	900	880	1764	895	869	16	5	11
5 Darjiling	745	367	378	739	364	375	6	3	3
6 Bardhaman	405	201	204	195	92	103	210	109	101
7 Bankura	398	207	191	398	207	191	0	0	0
8 Hugli	350	173	177	340	167	173	10	6	4
9 Maldah	334	170	164	327	167	160	7	3	4
10 Uttar Dinajpur	267	143	124	248	131	117	19	12	7
11 Haora 16	153	60	93	134	53	81	19	7	12
12 Kolkata 17	127	80	47	0	0	0	127	80	47
South Twenty Four									
13 Parganas	107	51	56	102	49	53	5	2	3
North Twenty Four									
14 Parganas	44	23	21	10	7	3	34	16	18
15 Nadia	35	16	19	35	16	19	0	0	0
16 Birbhum	11	5	6	6	1	5	5	4	1
17 Murshidabad	5	3	2	1	1	0	4	2	2
18 Koch Bihar	2	2	0	2	2	0	0	0	0

#### **4.1.Mundari Mother tongue in India and West Bengal and its districts**

Language/ Mother Tongue/India/ State/Union Territory	Total			Rural			Urban		
	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
<b>1. MUNDARI (Mother Tongue)</b>									
INDIA	1,046,951	526,569	520,382	950,081	477,167	472,914	96,870	49,402	47,468
West Bengal	32,246	16,164	16,082	30,579	15,330	15,249	1,667	834	833
1 Medinipur	19997	10015	9982	19888	9959	9929	109	56	53



2 Jalpaiguri	5839	2925	2914	4738	2393	2345	1101	532	569
3 Dakshin Dinajpur *	1785	889	896	1782	888	894	3	1	2
4 Puruliya	1765	899	866	1749	894	855	16	5	11
5 Darjiling	695	340	355	689	337	352	6	3	3
6 Barddhaman	405	201	204	195	92	103	210	109	101
7 Bankura	398	207	191	398	207	191	0	0	0
8 Hugli	342	169	173	340	167	173	2	2	0
9 Maldah	334	170	164	327	167	160	7	3	4
10 Uttar Dinajpur	202	109	93	183	97	86	19	12	7
11 Haora	153	60	93	134	53	81	19	7	12
12 Kolkata	127	80	47	0	0	0	127	80	47
13 South Twenty Four Parganas	107	51	56	102	49	53	5	2	3
14 North Twenty Four Parganas	44	23	21	10	7	3	34	16	18
15 Nadia	35	16	19	35	16	19	0	0	0
16 Birbhum	11	5	6	6	1	5	5	4	1
17 Murshidabad	5	3	2	1	1	0	4	2	2
18 Koch Bihar	2	2	0	2	2	0	0	0	0

### **5. Koda/ Kora Language in India and West Bengal State and its districts**

Language/India/State/Union Territory	Total			Rural			Urban		
	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
<b>KODA/KORA</b>									
INDIA	43,030	21,552	21,478	37,839	18,972	18,867	5,191	2,580	2,611
West Bengal	33,218	16,616	16,602	28,887	14,478	14,409	4,331	2,138	2,193
1 Medinipur	10639	5357	5282	10298	5197	5101	341	160	181
2 Barddhaman	10432	5228	5204	7024	3522	3502	3408	1706	1702
3 Birbhum	5506	2721	2785	5127	2546	2581	379	175	204
4 Maldah	2810	1414	1396	2810	1414	1396	0	0	0
5 Hugli	1111	557	554	940	475	465	171	82	89
6 Uttar Dinajpur	880	438	442	880	438	442	0	0	0
7 Dakshin Dinajpur *	779	374	405	779	374	405	0	0	0
8 Bankura	302	147	155	302	147	155	0	0	0
9 Jalpaiguri	282	144	138	282	144	138	0	0	0
10 Murshidabad	258	127	131	258	127	131	0	0	0
11 Puruliya	171	88	83	165	84	81	6	4	2
12 Darjiling	18	8	10	18	8	10	0	0	0
13 Haora	15	8	7	4	2	2	11	6	5
14 Kolkata	7	1	6	0	0	0	7	1	6
15 Nadia	5	3	2	0	0	0	5	3	2
16 Koch Bihar	3	1	2	0	0	0	3	1	2

### **5.1. Koda/ Kora Mother tongue in India and West Bengal and its districts**

Language/ Mother Tongue/India/ State/Union Territory	Total			Rural			Urban		
	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
<b>1. KODA/KORA (Mother Tongue)</b>									
INDIA	36,528	18,317	18,211	31,783	15,964	15,819	4,745	2,353	2,392
West Bengal	32,491	16,258	16,233	28,172	14,126	14,046	4,319	2,132	2,187
1 Medinipur	10639	5357	5282	10298	5197	5101	341	160	181
2 Bardhaman	10431	5227	5204	7024	3522	3502	3407	1705	1702
3 Birbhum	5495	2714	2781	5116	2539	2577	379	175	204
4 Maldah	2698	1362	1336	2698	1362	1336	0	0	0
5 Hugli	1109	557	552	940	475	465	169	82	87
6 Dakshin Dinajpur *	779	374	405	779	374	405	0	0	0
7 Uttar Dinajpur	730	364	366	730	364	366	0	0	0
8 Bankura	288	140	148	288	140	148	0	0	0
9 Murshidabad	258	127	131	258	127	131	0	0	0
10 Jalpaiguri	26	21	5	26	21	5	0	0	0
11 Haora	15	8	7	4	2	2	11	6	5
12 Darjiling	10	3	7	10	3	7	0	0	0
13 Kolkata	7	1	6	0	0	0	7	1	6
14 Nadia	5	3	2	0	0	0	5	3	2
15 Puruliya	1	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0

### **6. Lodha Language in India and West Bengal State and its districts**

Being returned by less than 10000 speakers the figure of Lodha could not be published in Language Table and hence, cannot be furnished here.

### **7. Bodo Language in India and West Bengal State and its districts**

Language/India/State/U nion Territory	Total			Rural			Urban		
	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
<b>3. BODO</b>									
INDIA	1,350,478	683,191	667,287	1,303,005	658,365	644,640	47,473	24,826	22,647
West Bengal	37,654	19,076	18,578	36,546	18,495	18,051	1,108	581	527
1 Jalpaiguri	34801	17567	17234	34053	17185	16868	748	382	366
2 Darjiling	2375	1240	1135	2300	1191	1109	75	49	26
3 Koch Bihar	178	88	90	66	41	25	112	47	65
4 North Twenty Four Parganas	71	41	30	9	7	2	62	34	28
5 Medinipur	61	39	22	47	27	20	14	12	2
6 Kolkata	50	29	21	0	0	0	50	29	21
7 Uttar Dinajpur	33	18	15	26	15	11	7	3	4
8 Maldah	23	10	13	14	6	8	9	4	5

9 Nadia	22	15	7	21	14	7	1	1	0
10 Bardhaman	19	17	2	3	3	0	16	14	2
11 South Twenty Four Parganas	7	4	3	1	1	0	6	3	3
12 Puruliya	4	1	3	0	0	0	4	1	3
<sup>13</sup> Dakshin Dinajpur *	3	3	0	3	3	0	0	0	0
14 Haora	3	2	1	2	1	1	1	1	0
15 Murshidabad	2	1	1	1	1	0	1	0	1
16 Hugli	2	1	1	0	0	0	2	1	1

### 7.1. Bodo Mother tongue in India and West Bengal and its districts

Language/ Mother Tongue/India/ State/Union Territory	Total			Rural			Urban		
	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
<b>1. BODO/BORO (Mother Tongue)</b>									
INDIA	1,330,775	673,087	657,688	1,285,708	649,479	636,229	45,067	23,608	21,459
WEST BENGAL	27823	14048	13775	27170	13701	13469	653	347	306
1 Jalpaiguri	26595	13377	13218	26191	13176	13015	404	201	203
2 Darjiling	869	460	409	814	421	393	55	39	16
3 Koch Bihar	116	60	56	57	36	21	59	24	35
<sup>4</sup> North 24 Parganas	58	33	25	9	7	2	49	26	23
5 Medinipur	46	30	16	37	21	16	9	9	0
6 Kolkata	37	23	14	0	0	0	37	23	14
7 Uttar Dinajpur	33	18	15	26	15	11	7	3	4
8 Maldah	20	10	10	11	6	5	9	4	5
9 Nadia	18	13	5	17	12	5	1	1	0
10 Bardhaman	15	14	1	2	2	0	13	12	1
<sup>11</sup> South 24 Parganas	7	4	3	1	1	0	6	3	3
12 Haora	3	2	1	2	1	1	1	1	0
<sup>13</sup> Dakshin Dinajpur *	2	2	0	2	2	0	0	0	0
14 Murshidabad	2	1	1	1	1	0	1	0	1
15 Hugli	2	1	1	0	0	0	2	1	1

### 8. Bhotia Language in India and West Bengal and its districts

Language/India/State/Union Territory	Total			Rural			Urban		
	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
<b>9. BHOTIA</b>									
INDIA	81,012	41,118	39,894	70,011	35,499	34,512	11,001	5,619	5,382
West Bengal	6,508	3,291	3,217	3,593	1,795	1,798	2,915	1,496	1,419
1 Darjiling	5636	2811	2825	3052	1508	1544	2584	1303	1281
2 Jalpaiguri	679	364	315	464	243	221	215	121	94
3 Uttar Dinajpur	60	31	29	58	29	29	2	2	0
4 Kolkata	51	32	19	0	0	0	51	32	19
5 North Twenty Four Parganas	33	19	14	0	0	0	33	19	14

6 Medinipur	12	11	1	12	11	1	0	0	0
7 Koch Bihar	11	8	3	0	0	0	11	8	3
8 Haora	11	6	5	0	0	0	11	6	5
9 Bardhaman	8	5	3	0	0	0	8	5	3
10 Maldah	3	1	2	3	1	2	0	0	0
11 Puruliya	3	3	0	3	3	0	0	0	0
12 Nadia	1	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0

### 8.1. Bhotia Mother tongue in India and West Bengal and its districts

Language/ Mother Tongue/India/ State/Union Territory	Total			Rural			Urban		
	Persons	Males	Females	Persons	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
<b>1. BHOTIA (Mother Tongue)</b>									
INDIA	68,800	34,837	33,963	58,003	29,339	28,664	10,797	5,498	5,299
West Bengal	6,030	3,025	3,005	3,274	1,621	1,653	2,756	1,404	1,352
1 Darjiling	5559	2767	2792	3023	1492	1531	2536	1275	1261
2 Jalpaiguri	285	146	139	174	85	89	111	61	50
3 Uttar Dinajpur	60	31	29	58	29	29	2	2	0
4 Kolkata	51	32	19	0	0	0	51	32	19
5 North 24 Parganas	26	15	11	0	0	0	26	15	11
6 Medinipur	12	11	1	12	11	1	0	0	0
7 Koch Bihar	11	8	3	0	0	0	11	8	3
8 Haora	11	6	5	0	0	0	11	6	5
9 Bardhaman	8	5	3	0	0	0	8	5	3
10 Maldah	3	1	2	3	1	2	0	0	0
11 Puruliya	3	3	0	3	3	0	0	0	0
12 Nadia	1	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0

As per the above statistical data of 2001 census the percentage of the languages surveyed to the population of India and West Bengal are furnished below, barring Lodha and Toto which are not included in the publication list of languages of 2001 census following decision of the Government of India.

Sl.No.	Name of Language	Population		Percentage to the Total Population	
		India	West Bengal	India	West Bengal
1	2	3	4	5	6
	<b>All Languages</b>	<b>1028610328</b>	<b>80176197</b>		
1	Bengali	83369769	68369255	8.11	85.27
2	Nepali	2871749	1022725	0.28	1.28
3	Bodo	1350478	37654	0.13	0.05
4	Bhotia	81012	6508	0.01	0.01
5	Mundari	1061352	32571	0.10	0.04
6	Koda/Kora	43030	33218	0.00	0.04

Out of the 9 linguistic communities categorically covered in the survey, the following names appear as Scheduled tribes whose linguistic identity can be correlated with their ethnic identity. These are 6 in number and are as follows.

Serial No.	Language/mother tongue	Language Family	Scheduled tribe names in West Bengal	Population of the Tribe as per 2001
1.	Mundari	Austro-Asiatic	Munda	341,542
2.	Koda/Kora	Austro-Asiatic	Kora	142,789
3.	Lodha	Austro-Asiatic	Lodha, Kheria, Kharia	84,966
4.	Bodo	Tibeto-Burman	Mech	35,996
5.	Bhotia	Tibeto-Burman	Bhutia, Sherpa, Toto	60,091
6.	Toto	Tibeto-Burman		

The descriptions of the languages of the above mentioned communities along with the description of other 3 communities like Bengali, Nepali, Rajbangshi reveal the linguistic situation of West Bengal, where the Aryan features of the languages like Bengali, Nepali, Rajbangshi get influenced by the features of non-Aryan languages like Bodo-Bhotia-Toto on the one hand and Mundari, Lodha, Koda/ Kora at the other hand.

## VI

### *THE STATUS OF BILINGUALISM / TRILINGUALISM OF THE LANGUAGES SURVEYED*

According to the latest published Census data of 2001 the status of bilingualism and trilingualism in respect of Bengali, Nepali, Bodo, Bhotia, Koda/ Kora, Mundari languages in India and West Bengal is presented below.

Language	India/State	Total Speakers	Mono-Linguals	Bilinguals			Trilinguals			
				Total	Language of bilingualism	Strength	Total	Language of trilingualism	Strength	
BENGALI	INDIA	83369769	66359163	17010606			5434085			
						ENGLISH		9242019		
									HINDI	2731820
									ASSAMESE	57659
							ARABIC/ARBI	40912		
							SANSKRIT	25747		

		ORIYA	16632
		MUNDARI	35
		BODO	25
		KODA/KORA	4
		BHOTIA	3
		OTHERS	25002
HINDI	5031643		
		ENGLISH	1423064
		ASSAMESE	114675
		ORIYA	35631
		URDU	31212
		NEPALI	27821
		MARATHI	23529
		SANTALI	11571
		MUNDARI	648
		BODO	111
		BHOTIA	4
		OTHERS	24725
ASSAMESE	2074530		
		HINDI	518437
		ENGLISH	116617
		NEPALI	4469
		ARABIC/ARBI	2556
		BODO	1876
		MUNDARI	4
		OTHERS	5663
ORIYA	283565		
		HINDI	40997
		ENGLISH	35523
		SANTALI	655
		MUNDARI	60
		OTHERS	1482
URDU	108863		
		HINDI	23668
		ARABIC/ARBI	8062
		ENGLISH	4846
		MUNDARI	6
		OTHERS	665
ARABIC/ARBI	105416		
		URDU	8466
		ENGLISH	8216
		HINDI	3735
		BODO	2

		MUNDARI	1
		OTHERS	535
SANTALI	55891		
		HINDI	2756
		ENGLISH	834
		KODA/KORA	10
		BODO	5
		OTHERS	376
NEPALI	19383		
		HINDI	8832
		ENGLISH	1277
		ASSAMESE	669
		BODO	23
		BHOTIA	5
		OTHERS	268
MUNDARI	6186		
		HINDI	334
		ENGLISH	276
		SANTALI	110
		KODA/KORA	16
		OTHERS	67
KODA/KORA	1643		
		ENGLISH	17
		HINDI	13
		OTHERS	5
BODO	1024		
		ASSAMESE	286
		HINDI	84
		NEPALI	23
		OTHERS	33
BHOTIA	8		
		HINDI	2
OTHERS	80435		
		OTHERS	40393

Language	India/State	Total Speakers	Mono-Linguals	Total	Bilinguals		Total	Trilinguals	
					Language of bilingualism	Strength		Language of trilingualism	Strength
BENGALI	WEST BENGAL	68369255	57394468	10974787			3188202		
					HINDI	2386095			
								ENGLISH	718060
								NEPALI	25591
								URDU	12318
								ORIYA	8419
								ASSAMESE	4777
								BODO	50
								MUNDARI	22
								KODA/KORA	4
								BHOTIA	4
								OTHERS	11043
								ENGLISH	8293397
								HINDI	2259777
								ARABIC/ARBI	38744
								SANSKRIT	23295
								URDU	7679
		ORIYA	4569						
		BODO	9						
		MUNDARI	9						
		KODA/KORA	4						
		OTHERS	11606						
		ARABIC/ARBI	96368						
		ENGLISH	7594						
		URDU	7102						
		HINDI	2873						
		BODO	2						
		OTHERS	180						
		MUNDA	1						
		URDU	60391						
		HINDI	7538						
		ARABIC/ARBI	5692						
		ENGLISH	3741						
		OTHERS	188						
		SANTALI	46929						
		HINDI	919						
		ENGLISH	809						



		ORIYA	134
		KODA/KORA	9
		OTHERS	44
ORIYA	37023		
		HINDI	3836
		ENGLISH	1973
		SANTALI	121
		KODA/KORA	1
		OTHERS	120
NEPALI	15571		
		HINDI	7503
		ENGLISH	1028
		OTHERS	107
		ASSAMESE	83
		BODO	14
		OTHERS	84
ASSAMESE	9192		
		HINDI	2476
		ENGLISH	1005
		NEPALI	97
		BODO	17
		OTHERS	85
MUNDARI	2565		
		ENGLISH	16
		KODA/KORA	16
		OTHERS	33
KODA/KORA	1641		
		ENGLISH	17
		HINDI	13
		OTHERS	3
BODO	319		
		HINDI	37
		NEPALI	11
		ENGLISH	5
		OTHERS	4
OTHERS	25296	OTHERS	6691

Language	India/State	Total Speakers	Mono-Linguals	Total	Bilinguals		Trilinguals		
					Language of bilingualism	Strength	Total	Language of trilingualism	Strength
NEPALI	INDIA	2871749	1355057	1516692			647297		
					HINDI	869261		ENGLISH	145017
								ASSAMESE	53606
								BENGALI	47834
								MARATHI	7728
								MANIPURI	6854
								BODO	89
								MUNDARI	10
								OTHERS	16430
					ASSAMESE	325989		HINDI	149797
								ENGLISH	10187
								BENGALI	4083
								BODO	581
								MUNDARI	1
								OTHERS	1183
					ENGLISH	211211		HINDI	129613
								BENGALI	4613
								ASSAMESE	4394
								SANSKRIT	2789
								BHOTIA	86
								BODO	13
								MUNDARI	1
								OTHERS	3472
					BENGALI	57705		HINDI	28167
								ENGLISH	3938
								ASSAMESE	794
								BODO	30
								BHOTIA	3
								OTHERS	279
					BHOTIA	1001		HINDI	234
								ENGLISH	92
								LEPCHA	17
								BODO	1
								OTHERS	18



Language	India/State	Total Speakers	Mono-Linguals	Total	Bilinguals Language of bilingualism	Strength	Total	Trilinguals Language of trilingualism	Strength
								HINDI	8
								ENGLISH	7
								BENGALI	6
					BODO	15			
								BENGALI	6
								HINDI	4
					KODA/KORA	1			
					OTHERS	5373		OTHERS	1409
<b>MUNDARI</b>	<b>INDIA</b>	1061352	486918	574434			76768		
					HINDI	432198			
								ENGLISH	26433
								BENGALI	6073
								ORIYA	4364
								NEPALI	94
								BODO	2
								KODA/KORA	1
								OTHERS	4050
					ORIYA	71638			
								HINDI	8078
								ENGLISH	4883
								BENGALI	1193
								SANTALI	1028
								OTHERS	99
					BENGALI	42094			
								HINDI	5931
								ORIYA	849
								SANTALI	613
								KODA/KORA	2
								BODO	1
								OTHERS	818
					NEPALI	114			
								HINDI	27
								BENGALI	5
								OTHERS	22
					BODO	9		ASSAMESE	6
					OTHERS	28381		OTHERS	12196
<b>MUNDARI</b>	<b>WEST BENGAL</b>	32571	9858	22713			2057		
					BENGALI	17953			
								ENGLISH	441
								HINDI	430
								KODA/KORA	2
								BODO	1
								OTHERS	212

HINDI	4322	BENGALI	463
		ENGLISH	139
		NEPALI	79
		OTHERS	19
ENGLISH	211	HINDI	98
		BENGALI	44
		NEPALI	2
		OTHERS	4
NEPALI	39	HINDI	20
		BENGALI	4
		ENGLISH	2
OTHERS	188	OTHERS	97

Language	India/State	Total Speakers	Mono-Linguals	Total	Bilinguals	Strength	Total	Trilinguals	Strength		
					Language of bilingualism			Language of trilingualism			
KODA/KORA	INDIA	43030	12517	30513	BENGALI	24102	3015	HINDI	641		
								SANTALI	378		
								ENGLISH	359		
								NEPALI	1		
								MUNDARI	1		
								OTHERS	13		
								HINDI	3098	BENGALI	294
										ENGLISH	178
										MUNDARI	15
										NEPALI	3
										OTHERS	115
								ORIYA	2008	HINDI	270
										ENGLISH	88
										BENGALI	2
		OTHERS	28								
MUNDARI	52	HINDI	21								
		BENGALI	11								
OTHERS	1253	OTHERS	597								
KODA/KORA	WEST BENGAL	33218	8578	24640	BENGALI	23879	1804	HINDI	605		
								SANTALI	360		
								ENGLISH	359		
								NEPALI	1		
								OTHERS	11		
HINDI	527										

Language	India/State	Total Speakers	Mono-Linguals	Total	Bilinguals		Trilinguals			
					Language of bilingualism	Strength	Language of trilingualism	Strength		
BODO	INDIA	1350478	575553	774925	ASSAMESE	627207	BENGALI	280		
							NEPALI	2		
							OTHERS	15		
							ENGLISH	119	BENGALI	60
									HINDI	27
									ASSAMESE	1
							OTHERS	115	OTHERS	83
									HINDI	93928
									ENGLISH	36925
									BENGALI	27516
									NEPALI	4047
									MUNDARI	7
									OTHERS	2538
									BENGALI	52874
		HINDI	6252							
		ASSAMESE	4652							
		ENGLISH	2388							
		NEPALI	1060							
		OTHERS	344							
		ENGLISH	47818	HINDI	25921					
				ASSAMESE	12355					
				BENGALI	1115					
				NEPALI	31					
				OTHERS	44					
			NEPALI	2832	ASSAMESE	619				
					HINDI	339				
					BENGALI	294				
					OTHERS	97				
			BHOTIA	1						
			MUNDARI	1						
			OTHERS	44192	OTHERS	31232				
BODO	WEST BENGAL	37654	10918	26736	BENGALI	23658	HINDI	4179		
							ENGLISH	1960		
							NEPALI	888		
							OTHERS	131		
							HINDI	1814	BENGALI	682
									NEPALI	201
		ENGLISH	166							

NEPALI	650	OTHERS	34
		BENGALI	189
		HINDI	154
		OTHERS	9
OTHERS	614	OTHERS	452

Language	India/State	Total Speakers	Mono-Linguals	Bilinguals		Trilinguals		
				Language of bilingualism	Strength	Language of trilingualism	Strength	
<b>BHOTIA</b>	<b>INDIA</b>	<b>81012</b>	<b>27214</b>	<b>53798</b>		<b>24469</b>		
					BENGALI	256		
							HINDI	55
							ENGLISH	25
							NEPALI	12
							LUSHAI/MIZO	1
					HINDI	16444		
							ENGLISH	4250
							NEPALI	1729
							BENGALI	49
							OTHERS	131
					NEPALI	24048		
							HINDI	4376
							ENGLISH	3053
							LEPCHA	236
							OTHERS	242
					ENGLISH	10033		
							NEPALI	4247
							HINDI	3962
							URDU	420
							BENGALI	64
							OTHERS	99
					<b>OTHERS</b>	<b>3017</b>		
							<b>OTHERS</b>	<b>1518</b>

Language	India/State	Total Speakers	Mono-Linguals	Bilinguals		Trilinguals	
				Language of bilingualism	Strength	Language of trilingualism	Strength
<b>BHOTIA</b>	<b>WEST BENGAL</b>	<b>6508</b>	<b>1689</b>	<b>4819</b>		<b>2245</b>	
					NEPALI	3011	

		HINDI	544
		ENGLISH	392
		BENGALI	22
		OTHERS	4
ENGLISH	818		
		NEPALI	326
		HINDI	302
		OTHERS	17
HINDI	880		
		NEPALI	290
		ENGLISH	249
		BENGALI	34
		OTHERS	2
BENGALI	100		
		HINDI	43
		NEPALI	9
		ENGLISH	4
OTHERS	10	OTHERS	7

As per the above statistical data, the language wise percentage of bilingualism and trilingualism in India as well as West Bengal in respect of the languages surveyed under LSI West Bengal are furnished below except Lodha and Toto, whose population has not been published in the 2001 census, as mentioned earlier too. Further, the bilingualism and trilingualism status of Rajbangshi is taken care by Bengali language, being the grouped Mother Tongue under Bengali language.

Sl.No.	Name of Language	Percentage of Bilingualism		Percentage of Trilingualism	
		India	West Bengal	India	West Bengal
1	2	3	4	5	6
1	Bengali	20.40	16.05	6.52	4.66
2	Nepali	52.81	44.51	22.54	18.29
3	Bodo	57.38	71.00	18.64	24.02
4	Bhotia	66.41	74.05	30.20	34.50
5	Mundari	54.12	69.73	7.23	6.32
6	Koda/Kora	70.91	74.18	7.01	5.43



## VII

### *BRIEF NOTE ON THE LANGUAGES SURVEYED UNDER THE VOLUME AND THEIR TREATMENT IN GRIERSON'S LSI*

#### **1. BENGALI**

Bengali is one of the main regional languages of Eastern India. Immediate neighbours of the Bengali language include Assamese, Oriya and Maithili which are also its cognates being members of the Indo-Aryan sub-family of the Indic sub-branch of the Indo-Iranian branch of the Indo-European family of languages. Bengali is one of the official state languages in West Bengal and is one of the 22 languages specified in Schedule VIII to the Constitution of India. It is the second largest speech community in India and seventh largest in the world. In the Indian subcontinent leaving aside West Bengal, Bengali is the co-official language in the state of Tripura, Cachar district of Assam and the Union Territory of Andaman and Nicobar Islands. It is the national and official language of Bangladesh.

The historical development of any language is generally divided into two major periods, namely (i) prehistory, which explains the special developments that have taken place in a language and are responsible for differentiating the particular language from other genetically related languages, and (ii) recorded history, which explains the development of the structure from the period of the earliest written documents to the modern period. Accordingly, Bengali along with its cognates Assamese and Oriya as well as Magadhi, Maithili and Bhojpuri in the south-east zone forms a linguistic group of eastern Indo-Aryan languages. This language has evolved from the eastern Middle Indo-Aryan language of the Indian subcontinent, usually called Magadhi Prakrit or Eastern Prakrit. The Magadhi Prakrit, which was the earliest recorded spoken language in the region as well as the language of Lord Buddha, had evolved into Ardha Magadhi in the early part of first millennium. Ardha Magadhi, as with all other Prakrits of North India, began to give way to Apabhramsa languages just before the turn of first millennium. The local Apabhramsa language of the eastern region which is known as Purbi Apabhramsa or Apabhramsa – Avahattha eventually evolved into regional dialects giving birth to three groups namely,

1. The Bihari languages (Maithili, Magadhi, Bhojpuri)
2. The Oriya language
3. Bengali - Assamese languages

Assamese and Bengali are believed to have been the same language for a considerable period of time. Separation between Bengali - Assamese and Oriya took place in the closing centuries of the first millennium A.D. Maithili is considered to have separated from Bengali – Assamese and Oriya one or two centuries before that date. As a distinct language Bengali emerged around 1000 AD, the approximate date of its differentiation from Magadhan Apabhramsa. Or in other words, Magadhi Prakrit is believed to have evolved into Apabhramsa - Avahattha around the 6<sup>th</sup> century, leading eventually to the formation of the Bengali language over a period of time. (Chatterji : 1975).

### *Development of Bengali*

The development of Bengali language is characterized in terms of three different stages.

- i) Old Bengali stage (1000-1300 A.D.) represented by 'devotional songs' or '*Caryāpada*'. Linguistically this stage is marked by
  - a) emerging of pronominal formation of *ami* 'I', *tumi* 'you' etc.
  - b) branching out of Oriya and Assamese
- ii) Middle Bengali stage (1300-1750 A.D.) represented by a number of literary works (mostly in the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century) including Chandidas's *Srikrishnakirtana*. Linguistically, this stage is marked by
  - a) elision of word final *-o* sound
  - b) spread of compound verbs
  - c) influence of Persian language
- iii) Modern Bengali period (1750 A.D. onwards) represented by literary activities mainly in prose form. Linguistically the period is marked by
  - a) shortening of verbs
  - b) shortening of pronouns
  - c) all other 'modern' features

Until 1800 A.D. all literary documents in Bengali were composed in poetic form barring personal letters, property deeds and official documents where some form of prose was available. Hence, this prose could not be considered as the literary style of Bengali. As a medium of literary compositions prose emerged since the end of Nineteenth Century.

In the prose form of Bengali language there are two well-marked varieties: *Literary* and *Colloquial, Written* and *Spoken* Sadhu Bhasha (Chaste language) and Chalit Bhasha (Current language). Chalit Bhasha is designated as the standard colloquial Bengali variety. The base of this variety is the Standard Calcutta dialect and the greater dialect group of Radha. Towards the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century Calcutta became the capital of Bengal as well as of India and the centre of socio-political, educational and cultural affairs. Accordingly, the dialect of Calcutta became the predominant speech being influenced by the speech of other dialect groups.

For example:

Calcutta Bengali	Eastern Bengali	Standard Bengali or Chalit Bhasha
<i>dilum</i> 'I gave'	<i>dilam</i> 'I gave'	<i>dilam</i> 'I gave'
<i>khelum</i> 'I ate'	<i>khelam</i> 'I ate'	<i>khelam</i> 'I ate'
<i>dile</i> 'he gave'	<i>dilo</i> 'he gave'	<i>dilo</i> 'he gave'

The difference between these two varieties is marked in the following ways :

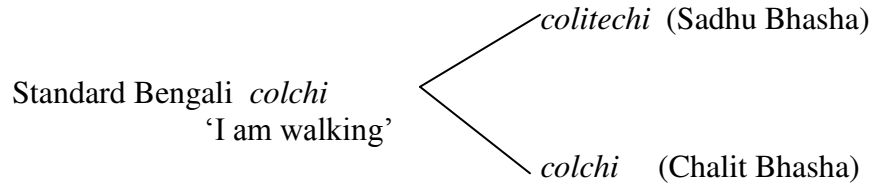
1. Sadhu Bhasha is distinguished by the adherence to traditional grammar ;
2. Predominance of Sanskritised vocabulary;
3. Sadhu Bhasha is never a spoken form. It is exclusively a form confined to literary and formal contexts.

In contrast, Chalit Bhasha is distinguished by

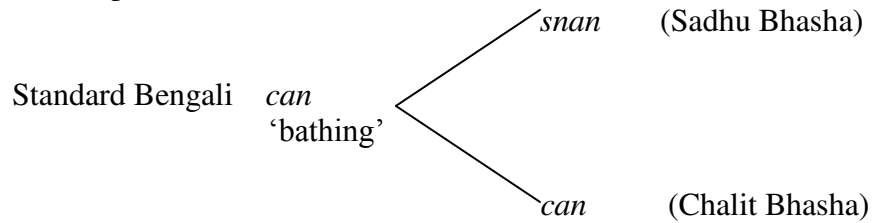
1. The Standard pronunciation of Bengali which serves as the basis for the orthography of most Bengali writing at present.
2. The variety of Chalit Bhasha Bengali is based on the dialect spoken in Kolkata by the elite or educated class.
3. Chalit Bhasha as a colloquial dialect derives its lexicon from several sources like Sanskrit based sources, English, Arabic, Persian sources.

From the strict linguistic point of view the Chalit Bhasha is distinguished from the Sadhu Bhasha in the following ways:

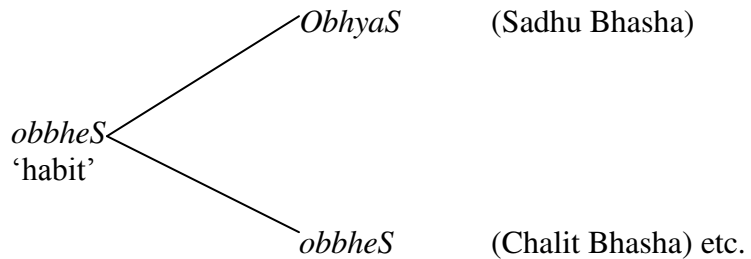
1. Presence or absence of clipped verbal forms in continuous aspect



2. Simplification in consonant clusters



3. Raising of vowels



Standard Bengali	Sadhu Bhasha	Chalit Bhasha
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4. Change of Vowel

From <i>a</i> to <i>e</i>	<i>beRal</i> 'cat'	<i>biRal</i> 'cat'	<i>beRal</i> 'cat'
From <i>a</i> to <i>o</i>	<i>Sondhe</i> 'evening'	<i>Sondhya</i> 'evening'	<i>Sondhe</i> 'evening'

*buRo* ‘old’                      *buRa* ‘old’                      *buRo* ‘old’

#### 5. Variation in suffixes

Definite articles	- <i>Ta</i> <i>cheleTa</i> ‘the boy’ - <i>gulo</i> <i>chelegulo</i> ‘the boys’	- <i>Ti</i> <i>cheleTi</i> - <i>gula</i> <i>chelegula</i>	- <i>Ta</i> <i>cheleTa</i> - <i>gulo</i> <i>chelegulo</i>
Past tense formation	- <i>lam</i> <i>korlam</i> ‘I did’	- <i>ilam</i> <i>korilam</i>	- <i>lum</i> / - <i>lem</i> <i>korlum/korlem</i> etc.

In spite of the above cited variations Sadhu Bhasha and Chalit Bhasha may be better termed as two literary forms on a continuum, with Sadhu Bhasha at one end and the local Calcutta dialect or Chalit Bhasha at the other. The latter is generally regarded as being somewhere between Sadhu Bhasha and the regional variety spoken in and around Kolkata.

Speakers of Chalit Bhasha outside Kolkata use this dialect with fewer Kolkata-specific features, ranging from lexical choice to verbal conjugation.

#### *Regional Varieties of Bengali Language as per Grierson’s LSI*

According to Grierson (1903) Bengali has been referred to as ‘Banga Bhasha’ or the language of ‘Banga’ or ‘Vanga’. In Sanskrit the word ‘Vanga’ meant Eastern and Central Bengal. In modern times it is applicable to the whole territory where the Bengali language is primarily spoken. Bengali or Banga Bhasha is the language of lower Bengal, or the region of the Gangetic delta and of the district immediately above it and to its east. The dialects of Bengali as per Grierson are the following. [pp-19, 37, 69, 105, 119, 120, 201, 203, 291, 352, 353, 354, 355]

1. Central or Standard
2. Western (including Malpahariya etc.)
3. South-Western
4. Northern (including Koch)
5. Rajbangshi
6. Eastern (including Hajang)
7. South-Eastern (including Chakma)

#### *The Standard or Central dialect*

A language is primarily divided into dialects on the basis of marked varieties – the language of the educated elite and the language of the masses. Following this, the dialect of the educated people is recognized as standard Bengali, as opposed to the colloquial dialect. The dialect of the masses is the colloquial dialect of Bengali.

The standard dialect is based on the central dialect spoken mainly in the districts of Hooghly, Howrah, 24 Parganas, Nadia, Murshidabad.

### *Western dialect*

This dialect is spoken in the east of Chotanagpur Division, in the district of Manbhum and in Dholbhum and Singbhum (a district that is currently located in the Jharkhand state of India). This dialect (mainly concentrated in Purulia district of West Bengal) is bordered by the Munda dialects in the west, by Bihari group of Hindi in the north and by Oriya in the south. Its eastern neighbour is the western dialect spoken in Birbhum, Bankura, Burdwan, which gradually merges into Central or Standard Bengali.

### *South-Western dialect*

This dialect is spoken in Central Midnapur and is bounded by the standard dialect to the east and north and by Oriya to the south and west.

### *Northern dialect*

Mainly spoken in the district of Dinajpur. It merges into the Maithili language in the west and merges with the Rajbangshi dialect in the north. In the south it meets the Standard or Central dialect.

### *Eastern dialect*

This dialect of Bengali is the dialect of districts like Jessore, Khulna, Dacca, Mymensingh (which are parts of what is now Bangladesh) and Kachar district of Assam and is also spoken in the state of Tripura.

The present day Haijong/Hajong mother tongue of Bengali language is also close to this dialect.

### *South-Eastern Bengali dialect*

Spoken mainly in the coastal area of East Bengal (present Bangladesh) mainly, Chittagong, Noakhali districts. It is a corrupt form of Eastern Bengali. This dialect is very difficult to understand for speakers from other parts of Bengal.

The present day Chakma mother tongue of Bengali is also close to this dialect.

### *Physical existence of the dialects in West Bengal at present*

Of the above mentioned dialects as attested in Grierson's Linguistic Survey of India the north-eastern variety of the northern dialect (also known as the Kamrupi dialect) and the eastern dialect (also known as the Vangali dialect) fall within the area of Bangladesh, created by the partition of India in the course of Independence in 1947. The three remaining dialects are within the area of what is now the West Bengal state of India namely, the Central or Standard Bengali (also known as the Radhi dialect), the South-Western dialect of Bengali (also

known as the Jharkhandi dialect), and the Northern dialect of Bengali (also known as the Varendri dialect). Radhi has been presented in two different areas, namely  
Radhi-I comprising Burdwan, Nadia, 24 Parganas of West Bengal State  
Radhi-II comprising Howrah & Hoogly of West Bengal State

These three dialects have been studied for the present volume along with Standard Bengali. The Kamrupi variety of Bengali will be studied when the present *Linguistic Survey of India Project* is extended to the state of Assam.

### *Bengali language in Indian Census*

In Indian Census Bengali is presented at the all India level as Bengali language inclusive of the following mother tongues.

Bengali	-	82,462,437
Chakma	-	176,458
Rajbangshi	-	82,570
Haijong/Hajong	-	63,188
Malpahariya-		did not qualify to appear after 1971 following the criterion of a minimal speaker strength of 10,000.

Out of these names Rajbangshi, concentrated in the northern part of present West Bengal, has been included in this study. Malpahariya, spoken mostly in Jharkhand (formerly part of Bihar), has been simultaneously surveyed under LSI-Bihar & Jharkhand Volume. Chakma, being mostly concentrated in Mizoram and Tripura, and Haijong/Hajong, being mainly concentrated in Meghalaya and Assam, have been surveyed with documentation in Mizoram and Meghalaya respectively under *Mother Tongue Survey of India Project*. Survey result for Chakma is ready. Thus, when the LSI-Bihar & Jharkhand, LSI-Mizoram, LSI-Meghalaya will be published the full description of Malpahariya, Chakma and Haijong/Hajong will be available in public domain.

### *Convergence in Bengali dialects*

In the sub-systems of the Bengali language, it is clear that the Rarhi dialect has greatly contributed to the formation of the satellite dialects as well as the Standard. The satellite dialects have undergone some degree of convergence with Oriya (Southern dialect), Hindi and Munda languages (Western dialect), Assamese (Northern dialect). The isogloss maps given in this volume also corroborate the features of variation that can be observed in the dialectal varieties.

The languages, dialects and mother tongues spoken in the state of West Bengal belong to three different language families, which are further subject to convergence from the adjoining states where different languages are spoken. One has to bear in mind the fact that Bengal on the map of the pre-Independence India included the present republic of Bangladesh and for a longer time what are now Orissa and Jharkhand were also included in the territory of

pre-Independence Bengal. Hence, the influence of Oriya, Hindi and Munda languages in the South and the West and that of Assamese-Bodo-Mech Bhasha of Tibeto-Burman family in the North and the East can be established. The incidence of bilingualism in West Bengal is due to factors like the status of Bengali as a superposed variety being the language of administration and education in the state, which has increased its prestige as well as the status of Calcutta as the capital of pre-Independence India upto 1911.

The result of survey of Bengali in West Bengal has been presented on the basis of Standard Bengali with simultaneous attention to its dialects, namely, 1. Radhi-I (Burdwan, Nadia, 24 Parganas) ; Radhi-II (Howrah & Hoogly), 2. Jharkhandi, 3. Varendri,

## 2. RAJBANGSHI

This dialect of Bengali is spoken in the Northern part of Bengal (mainly in Coochbehar) and extends upto Goalpara district of Assam where it merges into Assamese. This dialect is usually referred to as the speech of the *Rajbansi* caste or community of West Bengal. The language closely resembles the Eastern dialect of Bengali. [*LSI- Vol. V, Pt-i*]

## 3. BODO

Bodo refers to a language group in the Tibeto-Burman sub-family of languages. It refers to the group of tribes also. Bodo has been included in the list of 22 Scheduled Languages of India in 2001 Census. Though Assamese script was used earlier, the language currently uses Devanagari script.

Bodo is popularly known by three names

1. Bodo / Boro
2. Kachari
3. Mech

The name 'Bodo' was assigned by Hodgson (1847). Endle (1884) named it Kachari. Grierson called it Bodo or more precisely Bora (Boro) or Plains Kachari. Burton Page (1955) preferred to call the language Boro; the name Kachari was preferred by Burling (1959). Bhattacharya (1977) referred to the language as Bodo. Of course, the name 'Plains Kachari' was used by Grierson to distinguish it from Dimasa, which he designated as 'Hill Kachari'.

Bodo is referred to as Bara, Bodo or Plains Kachari by Grierson (1903, 1927). The language belongs to the Bara group of the Assam-Burmese branch of the Tibeto-Burman sub-family of Tibeto-Chinese languages. Mech or Mes is treated as a dialect of Bara, Bodo being spoken in the Cooch Behar and Jalpaiguri districts of West Bengal. [*LSI – Vol.III, pt.II, 1903 , LSI – Vol.I, pt.I, 1927; pp- 2, 4, 5, 11, 132, 195*]. This language group includes Bodo proper, Kachari, Dimasa, Garo, Tripuri, Koch, Rabha, Lalung, Chutiya and Moran. According to Grierson (1903), Mech and Kachari (Bodo/Boro) are the well-known dialects of Bodo.

Subsequent to Grierson the scheme of classification followed by Robert Shafer for Tibeto-Burman languages (1963) was followed by Paul Benedict (1972) and shows Bodo as Bodo–Gara–Chutiya.

However, for the present survey, Bodo has been so presented as to cover the linguistic features of Bodo as well as of Mech since West Bengal shows a preponderance of ‘Mech’ returns. Further, Mech and Bodo are synonymous in West Bengal. Kachari being mostly concentrated in the state of Assam has been the subject matter of the survey under LSI-Assam. The survey of Kachari has been completed along with documentation in the state of Assam under *Mother Tongue Survey of India Project*. Once, the survey result of Kachari is prepared, the same will be available with full linguistic description under LSI-Assam Volume.

#### 4. NEPALI

Nepali - an Indo-Aryan language - has been included in the list of 22 Scheduled Languages of India. This is one of the official languages of the West Bengal state along with Bengali and Santali. It is the national language of Nepal. Nepali occupies a very significant position in the state of Sikkim being the numerically dominant language in the state and being taught at the primary school, secondary school and graduate levels. Nepali is written in the Devanagari script.

Nepali is designated in Grierson (1916, 1927) as Khaskura, Eastern Pahari or Naipali and belongs to the Pahari group of the Inner sub-branch of Indo-Aryan language family. [*LSI – Vol.IX, pt.IV (1916) LSI – Vol.I, pt.I, (1927); pp-1, 17, 18, 21 (Grammar), 82*]

Nepali being most populous language in the state of Sikkim followed by the State of West Bengal, and also being spoken in the State of Himachal Pradesh with remarkable population has been surveyed in all the three states. In the already published Volume of LSI-Sikkim, Part-II Volume the Nepali of Sikkim has been presented with contrastive features of Nepali of West Bengal and Himachal Pradesh. The full description of Nepali, spoken in West Bengal, is presented with detailed elaboration in the present Volume of LSI-West Bengal.

#### 5. BHOTIA

‘Bhotia’ is used by Grierson (1909) as the general name for the group of Himalayan dialects of which Bhotia of Tibet or Tibetan, Bhotia of Sikkim or *Danjong-ka* and Bhotia of Bhutan or Lhoke etc. are individual dialects. [*LSI – Vol.III, Pt.I, (1909) and LSI - Vol.I, Pt.I, (1927); pp- 14, 72, 119, 129, 141, 143*]. In the present Volume Bhotia as spoken in the Darjeeling district of West Bengal, being adjacent to the State of Sikkim has been surveyed and the full description of the same is revealed here. Pertinent to mention, in the LSI-Sikkim Part-I Volume the complete description of Bhotia spoken in Sikkim State along with its comparison with Tibetan has already been presented in the public domain.



## 6. MUNDARI

Mundari is an Austro-Asiatic language. Mundari is written in Devanagari or in the Bengali script in West Bengal. Mundari is treated by Grierson as a dialect of the Kherwari language of the Munda branch of the Austro-Asiatic language family. [*LSI – Vol.IV, Pt.I, 1906 LSI - Vol.I, Pt.I, 1927; pp- 21, 28, 79, 240*]. Present Mundari, being the mostly concentrated in Jharkhand and Orissa, has also been studied in Odisha and Jharkhand State. The Survey result of Mundari, as spoken in Odisha has been published in LSI-Orissa Volume. The survey result of Mundari, as spoken in Jharkhand, is ready. The same also will be available in public domain where LSI-Bihar & Jharkhand will be published.

The language has been named after the Munda tribal community in India and South and West part of Ranchi district of present Jharkhand state as well as West Bengal.

Mundari literally means the language of Mundas. In fact Mundari and Santali are two distinct Munda languages. The two languages differ in their vocabulary and some grammatical features borrowed from neighbouring Aryan languages.

## 7. KODA/KORA

The Koda/Kora language belongs to the Austro-Asiatic family of languages. The Koda/Kora language has been named after the tribal community 'Kora' of West Bengal and the name of a profession. Koda/Kora is mostly concentrated in West Bengal and is close to Mundari.

Grierson in *LSI-Vol-I Pt-I and LSI-Vol-IV (pp- 83, 107, 406, 410, 427)* has mentioned (1906 & 1927) to the term 'Koda' three times:

- Koda as a dialect of the Kherwari language of the Munda branch spoken in Western Bengal, South Chota Nagpur and North Orissa. Kora is the alternative spelling of Koda;
- Koda as a name used in the Birbhum district of Bengal for the Mundari language;
- Koda as a name wrongly used sometimes for Kurukh (Kurukh is a Dravidian language).

For the purposes of the current study conducted in West Bengal, Koda has been presented as a language of the Austro-Asiatic family as revealed from the linguistic features.

## 8. TOTO

In the inventory of *Vol-I Pt-I (pp- 178, 180, 250, 255)* of Grierson's LSI, Toto has been mentioned as a member of the Tibeto-Himalayan branch of the Tibeto-Burman languages, but

Grierson did not affiliate this language with any particular Tibeto-Burman language since the numeral system is like Tibetan (a member of the Bhotia group of Tibeto-Himalayan Branch of Tibeto-Burman languages) [*LSI-VOL-I Pt-I; pp-510*] whereas the pronominal system is like Dhimal (an eastern pronominalised Himalayan Tibeto-Burman language) [*LSI-VOL-I Pt-I; pp-446*]. The present study treats Toto as a non-pronominalised Himalayan language under Tibeto-Burman Language Family based on the data collected from the field.

## 9. LODHA

Though it is not mentioned in Grierson's study under LSI, Lodha has been covered under the present volume as a language spoken by one tribal community of West Bengal known as Lodha, Kheria, Kharia. It has been referred to in the district gazetteer of Midnapore 1931. The present study describes it as an Austro-Asiatic language, since it shares the features akin to Austro-Asiatic language.

# VIII

## *THE APPROACH OF THE PRESENT VOLUME*

The present volume on Linguistic Survey of India – West Bengal is to be read as a supplement to Grierson's study of Bengali and its dialects in Linguistic Survey of India, Vol.V, Part-I. In contrast to Grierson's brief grammatical sketch of Bengali and scanty reference to the dialects, the present study provides a linguistic description of Standard Bengali and presents individual studies of altogether four more dialects of Bengali, namely, Rajbangshi, Radhi, Varendri, Jharkhandi, based on the field surveys conducted by the contributors. When compared to those of Grierson, the presentation of Survey results in the present volume is based on the descriptive analysis of data collected by means of a common questionnaire devised for the Linguistic Survey of India Project.

Besides Bengali and its dialects, the present volume includes descriptive studies of altogether eight languages of which one belongs to the Indo-Aryan family, three belong to Austro-Asiatic and three belong to Tibeto-Burman. Lodha is not included in Grierson's LSI but has been referred to by scholars and in Government notifications.

At the end of the grammatical description of all the languages of the volume, a language family wise comparative presentation of 500 lexical items has been presented for each of the languages.

The overall findings of Linguistic Survey of West Bengal scheme in this provisional formulation by some linguists of the Language Division are now being published by way of a modest attempt to give a glimpse of the linguistic scenario prevailing in West Bengal state. The volume also tries to delineate the linguistic contact among the tribals and non-tribals living in West Bengal which has a long tradition of peaceful co-existence of diverse social groups in

close fraternity; it is this context that helps us to understand the notions of “India as a linguistic area” due to M.B. Emeneau (1956) and of “South Asian Convergence” due to Colin Masica (1976).

## *IX*

### *BRIEF SOCIO-LINGUISTIC INFORMATION ON THE LANGUAGES SURVEYED*

#### BENGALI

1. Bengali is the superposed language variety. It is taught up to the university level and is used for a full range of social functions.
2. Bengali is a developed language, endowed with a rich literary heritage.
3. Bengali is regularly used on radio and television channels in West Bengal.
4. Bengali is recognized by the legal system in West Bengal; it is used in administration at all levels.
5. The Bengali script is used.

#### NEPALI

1. Nepali is taught up to the university level in the Darjeeling district of West Bengal.
2. Nepali is one of India’s national languages and has a rich literary heritage.
3. Nepali is regularly used in All India Radio broadcasts and Doordarshan telecasts.
4. Nepali is used for administrative purposes at police stations, courts and offices in the Darjeeling district of West Bengal.
5. Nepali is recognized by the legal system in West Bengal.
6. Nepali is written in the Devanagari script.

#### BODO

1. Bodo is neither taught as a subject nor used as a medium of instruction in West Bengal state.
2. Bodo is written in the Devanagari script or the Roman script.
3. There is a Bodo literature; primers in Bodo have been prepared in order to promote it.
4. Bodo is not used for broadcasts or telecasts.
5. Bodo is not used for administrative purposes in West Bengal.
6. No legal recognition has been accorded to the Bodo language in West Bengal.

#### BHOTIA

1. Bhotia is neither taught as a subject nor used as a medium of instruction in West Bengal.
2. Bhotia uses a modified version of the Tibetan script.

3. The folk culture of Bhotia is showcased in some broadcasts and telecasts on specific occasions in the Darjeeling district of West Bengal.
4. Bhotia is not used for administrative purposes.
5. Bhotia is not used as a literary language in West Bengal.
6. Bhotia is not recognized in West Bengal's legal system.

#### MUNDARI

1. Mundari has not been introduced in the educational system of West Bengal.
2. The literary output in Mundari is not regarded as being highly developed. Some poems and stories have been published, as have a few books of non-narrative prose, but nothing of significance. As for periodicals, only two are appearing regularly (one from Orissa and one from Jharkhand).
3. All India Radio broadcasts cultural programmes in Mundari on specific occasions.
4. Mundari is written in the Bengali script in West Bengal.
5. At the administrative level Mundari is not used.
6. No legal recognition has been accorded to the Mundari Language in West Bengal.

#### TOTO

1. Toto is neither taught as a subject nor used as a medium of instruction in West Bengal.
2. Toto is not used in broadcasts or telecasts in West Bengal.
3. Toto is written in the Bengali script.
4. Toto has a rich oral literature but no written literature.
5. At the administrative level Toto is not used in West Bengal.
6. Toto is not recognized in West Bengal's legal system.

#### LODHA

1. Lodha is not available as a subject or as a medium of instruction in West Bengal's educational system.
2. Lodha has no written literature.
3. Lodha is not used in broadcasts or telecasts in West Bengal.
4. Lodha is written in the Devanagari script.
5. Administrative instructions such as the courts or the police do not use Lodha.
6. Lodha is not recognized in West Bengal's legal system.

## X

#### *BEYOND THE PRESENT VOLUME*

**Santali, being the 3<sup>rd</sup> populous language as well as one of the Official languages of West Bengal state has not been covered in the present Volume *LSI-West Bengal (Part-I)*.**

**The same has been surveyed under *LSI-Orissa* (published) and *LSI-Bihar & Jharkhand* (to be published). The survey of Santali in West Bengal has been taken up with documentation under 12<sup>th</sup> Five Year Plan Project – *Mother Tongue Survey of India*. The detailed description of the Santali spoken in West Bengal along with comprehensive and comparative study of Santali, surveyed in other States, will be presented in *LSI-West Bengal (Part-II) Volume*.**

The data of the Bengali Standard language and dialects have been collected and analyzed; the major linguistic features of each dialect have been presented in this volume. However, a comparative study of the points of convergence and divergence among the major regional dialects and the standard dialect has not been presented in this Survey. It may be taken up as a task for future research on the basis of the findings provided here.

The influence of social variables such as age, education, economic status and other social parameters on the speech behaviour of the population may be taken up for future study which will bring to light the range of sociolects available within Bengali. As discussed earlier, languages belonging to three language families - Indo-Aryan, Tibeto-Burman and Austro-Asiatic – are spoken in West Bengal. The co-existence of various linguistic communities in a given region over a long period of time brings about some mingling of their linguistic traits. Such traffic of linguistic features across language families may be taken up for future study towards identification of specific linguistic traits indicating the influence of particular language family on others. The extent of language maintenance and shift among the languages spoken in the state of West Bengal is another topic awaiting extensive investigation.

Last but not the least, languages like Mundari, Bhotia and so on which have surveyed across West Bengal State also deserve to invite a new study as follow-up volume showing the contrast of the varieties of Mundari, Bhotia and others as spoken in different states to carve out the sub-stratum of these languages.

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# BENGALI

SIBASIS MUKHERJEE

## 1. INTRODUCTION

Bengali is the official language of the state of West Bengal and is specified in the VIIIth Schedule to the Constitution of India. It is a well-developed language and almost all the activities are done in this language. It also has a long rich literary tradition developed from 12<sup>th</sup> century A.D. As per 2001 Census, Bengali is a language with 4 specified mother tongues namely Bengali, Chakma, Hajong/Hajong and Rajbangsi and 1 category of others.

The history of Bangla and its literature is divided into three periods: old Bangla (c 1000-1350 AD), middle Bangla (1350-1800) and modern Bangla (1800-present). In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the *Bengali Renaissance* produced many great modern Bengali writers, centered in Kolkata, then the colonial capital. The best-known figure is Rabindranath Tagore (1861-1941), who won the Nobel Prize for literature in 1913. There is a literary form of Bangla called *sadhu bhasa*, "refined language." Although literature today is no longer written in *sadhu bhasa*, it continues to be employed for official documents in Bangladesh. Bengalis take great pride in their language and literature. The struggle for independence of Bangladesh may be traced to the Language Movement (*bhasa andolan*), and the most significant date for the movement is February 21, 1952. UNESCO has declared February 21 as the International Mother Language Day to promote linguistic and cultural diversity and multilingualism.

### 1.1 FAMILY AFFILIATION

Bengali is a part of the Indic group of the Indo-Aryan (IA) branch of the Indo-European family of languages. It belongs to the Eastern group of Indo-Aryan family and having much similarity with the other languages of this family namely Oriya and Assamese.

### 1.2 LOCATION

Bengali is the official language of the state of West Bengal. It is also spoken in the neighbouring states of West Bengal, namely, Assam to the North East, Bihar to the West and Orissa to the South West and other states of India with a significant speakers' strength.



### 1.3 SPEAKERS STRENGTH : LANGUAGE-MOTHER TONGUE- BILINGUALISM

#### Major distribution of Bengali as Language in India and West Bengal

Language	India/states/union territory	Person	Male	Female	Rural	Urban
BENGALI	INDIA	83,369,769	42,889,519	40,480,250	63,291,897	20,077,872
	West Bengal	68,369,255	35,075,010	33,294,245	51,865,095	16,504,160
	Assam	7,343,338	3,790,950	3,552,388	6,187,018	1,156,320
	Jharkhand	2,607,601	1,343,970	1,263,631	1,961,333	646,268
	Tripura	2,147,994	1,097,900	1,050,094	1,647,135	500,859

Language	States/Districts	Person	Male	Female	Rural	Urban
BENGALI	WEST BENGAL	68369255	35075010	33294245	51865095	16504160
	Medinipur	8694662	4453222	4241440	7899817	794845
	North Twenty Four Parganas	7851646	4025647	3825999	4032448	3819198
	South Twenty Four Parganas	6762970	3481784	3281186	5779423	983547
	Murshidabad	5764774	2950671	2814103	5050200	714574
	Bardhaman	5508382	2841512	2666870	3952359	1556023
	Nadia	4510775	2315221	2195554	3564535	946240
	Hugli	4354426	2207358	2147068	3147932	1206494
	Haora	3608578	1850784	1757794	2103707	1504871
	Maldah	2906526	1493789	1412737	2685457	221069
	Bankura	2869746	1471727	1398019	2642637	227109
	Kolkata	2836674	1462178	1374496	0	2836674
	Birbhum	2772232	1422928	1349304	2537551	234681
	Koch Bihar	2406090	1230639	1175451	2207890	198200
	Jalpaiguri	2207149	1135517	1071632	1734801	472348
	Puruliya	1943888	996203	947685	1751382	192506
	Uttar Dinajpur	1675374	864735	810639	1437654	237720
Dakshin Dinajpur	1237983	634668	603315	1056059	181924	
Darjiling	457380	236427	220953	281243	176137	

#### Major distribution of Bengali as Mother Tongue

Mother Tongue	India/states/union territory	Person	Male	Female	Rural	Urban
BENGALI	INDIA	82,462,437	42,421,466	40,040,971	62,406,257	20,056,180
	West Bengal	67,766,217	34,763,480	33,002,737	51,275,632	16,490,585
	Assam	7,255,880	3,745,963	3,509,917	6,101,606	1,154,274
	Jharkhand	2,606,863	1,343,601	1,263,262	1,960,697	646,166
	Tripura	2,083,257	1,064,725	1,018,532	1,583,483	499,774

Mother Tongue	States/District	Person	Male	Female	Rural	Urban
BENGALI	WEST BENGAL	67766217	34763480	33002737	51275632	16490585

Medinipur	8694651	4453214	4241437	7899815	794836
North Twenty Four Parganas	7851246	4025372	3825874	4032121	3819125
South Twenty Four Parganas	6762967	3481783	3281184	5779420	983547
Murshidabad	5764762	2950665	2814097	5050188	714574
Bardhaman	5508302	2841473	2666829	3952301	1556001
Nadia	4510072	2314862	2195210	3563837	946235
Hugli	4354407	2207344	2147063	3147921	1206486
Haora	3608569	1850778	1757791	2103707	1504862
Maldah	2900489	1490731	1409758	2679432	221057
Bankura	2869745	1471726	1398019	2642636	227109
Kolkata	2836647	1462161	1374486	0	2836647
Birbhum	2772232	1422928	1349304	2537551	234681
Koch Bihar	2239155	1144580	1094575	2042961	196194
Puruliya	1943822	996169	947653	1751316	192506
Jalpaiguri	1897125	975207	921918	1434537	462588
Uttar Dinajpur	1631149	841892	789257	1393736	237413
Dakshin Dinajpur *	1235156	633246	601910	1053240	181916
Darjiling	385721	199349	186372	210913	174808

### Major Distribution of Bengali as a language of Bilingualism and Trilingualism

Language	India/States	Total Speakers	Mono Linguals	Total	Bi- Linguals Language of bilingulism	Strength	Total	Tri-Linguals Language of Tri lingualism	Strength
<b>BENGALI</b>	<b>India</b>	<b>83369769</b>	<b>66359163</b>	<b>17010606</b>			<b>5434085</b>		
					ASSAMESE	2074530			
								HINDI	518437
								ENGLISH	116617
								NEPALI	4469
								ARABIC/ARBI	2556
								BODO	1876
								URDU	1849
								GARO	1603
								ORIYA	466
								KARBI / MIKIR	406
								OTHERS	397
								MIRI/MISHING	184
								MANIPURI	156
								SANSKRIT	106
								SANTALI	89
								KHASI	81
								RABHA	45
								DIMASA	34
								MUNDA	29
								PUNJABI	25
								LUSHAI/MIZO	24
								GUJARATI	21
								MALAYALAM	18
								LALUNG	14

		ANGAMI	12
		KHEZHA	11
		KURUKH/ORAOON	10
		CHAKRU/CHOKRI	9
		NISSI/DAFLA	9
		TELUGU	8
		TAMIL	6
		AO	6
		SINDHI	5
		CHANG	5
		LOTHA	4
		MUNDARI	4
		TRIPURI	4
		MARATHI	3
		ADI	3
		BISHNUPURIYA	2
		DEORI	2
		GONDI	2
		HMAR	2
		KOCH	2
		MAITHILI	1
		BHIL/BHILODI	1
		KHARIA	1
		KONYAK	1
		KUKI	1
		MISHMI	1
		NICOBARESE	1
		RENGMA	1
		SEMA	1
		TANGSA	1
		TIBETAN	1
HINDI	5031643		
		ENGLISH	1423064
		ASSAMESE	114675
		ORIYA	35631
		URDU	31212
		NEPALI	27821
		MARATHI	23529
		SANTALI	11571
		ARABIC/ARBI	5354
		GUJARATI	3782
		TELUGU	3049
		LUSHAI/MIZO	2375
		PUNJABI	2080
		KANNADA	1847
		MANIPURI	1826
		SANSKRIT	1756
		GARO	1711
		OTHERS	1193
		KHASI	1017
		HO	949
		TAMIL	744
		MUNDARI	648
		TRIPURI	425
		GONDI	351
		MAITHILI	245
		HALABI	198
		KONKANI	194
		MALAYALAM	162

	KURUKH/ORAOON	118
	BODO	111
	BISHNUPURIYA	97
	DIMASA	95
	MUNDA	94
	PERSIAN	47
	ADI	38
	SINDHI	37
	MALTO	32
	HMAR	25
	CHANG	21
	KASHMIRI	18
	KARBI / MIKIR	15
	KHARIA	15
	ANGAMI	13
	COORGI/KODAGU	13
	SAVARA	11
	DOGRI	10
	KOYA	9
	TIBETAN	8
	BHILI/BHILODI	7
	MOGH	7
	NICOBARESE	6
	TULU	6
	BHUMIJ	5
	HALAM	5
	KOCH	5
	MIRI/MISHING	5
	AO	4
	BHOTIA	4
	KODA/KORA	4
	MISHMI	4
	NISSI/DAFLA	4
	RABHA	4
	TANGKHUL	4
	AFGHANI/KABULI/PASHTO	3
	LAKHER	3
	ZELIANG	3
	KORKU	2
	KUKI	2
	MONPA	2
	RENGMA	2
	CHAKRU/CHOKRI	1
	GADABA	1
	KONYAK	1
	LAHAULI	1
	LEPCHA	1
	LOTHA	1
	NOCTE	1
	PARJI	1
	PAWI	1
	SANGTAM	1
	SEMA	1
	VAIPHEI	1
	WANCHO	1
	YIMCHUNGRE	1
SANTALI	55891	
	HINDI	2756
	ENGLISH	834

		ORIYA	208
		MUNDARI	40
		HO	29
		MALTO	18
		MUNDA	17
		ASSAMESE	16
		NEPALI	15
		KODA/KORA	10
		URDU	8
		BODO	5
		OTHERS	5
		KURUKH/ORAOON	3
		SANSKRIT	2
		ARABIC/ARBI	1
		BHUMIJ	1
		KHARIA	1
		MOGH	1
		RABHA	1
URDU	108863		
		HINDI	23668
		ARABIC/ARBI	8062
		ENGLISH	4846
		ORIYA	171
		PERSIAN	131
		ASSAMESE	115
		GUJARATI	70
		NEPALI	35
		KANNADA	24
		SANTALI	20
		MARATHI	17
		OTHERS	15
		PUNJABI	11
		SINDHI	11
		TELUGU	10
		KASHMIRI	9
		TIBETAN	7
		MUNDARI	6
		SANSKRIT	5
		DOGRI	4
		TAMIL	3
		KONKANI	1
		MALAYALAM	1
		BHUMIJ	1
		GONDI	1
		KARBI / MIKIR	1
		KHARIA	1
		KHASI	1
ARABIC/ARBI	105416		
		URDU	8466
		ENGLISH	8216
		HINDI	3735
		ASSAMESE	250
		PERSIAN	138
		GUJARATI	83
		SANSKRIT	15
		OTHERS	12
		ORIYA	9
		NEPALI	4
		SANTALI	4

		TELUGU	4
		MARATHI	3
		PUNJABI	3
		KARBI / MIKIR	3
		BODO	2
		KANNADA	1
		MALAYALAM	1
		MANIPURI	1
		TAMIL	1
		MUNDA	1
		MUNDARI	1
		TIBETAN	1
		TRIPURI	1
ENGLISH	9242019		
		HINDI	2731820
		ASSAMESE	57659
		ARABIC/ARBI	40912
		SANSKRIT	25747
		ORIYA	16632
		URDU	8510
		NEPALI	3123
		OTHERS	2526
		MARATHI	2251
		TELUGU	1308
		SANTALI	1100
		GUJARATI	905
		TAMIL	806
		KANNADA	693
		GARO	603
		PUNJABI	566
		PERSIAN	553
		TRIPURI	438
		KHASI	404
		LUSHAI/MIZO	393
		MANIPURI	377
		MALAYALAM	102
		KONKANI	49
		MUNDARI	35
		SINDHI	34
		DOGRI	33
		BISHNUPURIYA	31
		BODO	25
		MUNDA	25
		MOGH	22
		MAITHILI	18
		KURUKH/ORAOON	18
		DIMASA	17
		BHUMIJ	14
		KARBI / MIKIR	10
		CHANG	8
		KASHMIRI	7
		COORGI/KODAGU	7
		HO	6
		SAVARA	6
		ANGAMI	4
		KODA/KORA	4
		MISHMI	4
		ADI	3
		BHOTIA	3

					PAITE	3
					MONPA	2
					RABHA	2
					SANGTAM	2
					THADO	2
					TIBETAN	2
					AO	1
					CHAKRU/CHOKRI	1
					HALABI	1
					HALAM	1
					KABUI	1
					KOCH	1
					KOYA	1
					LOTHA	1
					MIRI/MISHING	1
					NISSI/DAFLA	1
					RENGMA	1
					SEMA	1
					YIMCHUNGRE	1
					ZELIANG	1
					ZOU	1
<b>BENGALI</b>	West Bengal	68369255	57394468	10974787	<b>3188202</b>	
				HINDI	2386095	
					ENGLISH	718060
					NEPALI	25591
					URDU	12318
					ORIYA	8419
					ASSAMESE	4777
					ARABIC/ARBI	3744
					SANTALI	1576
					PUNJABI	988
					TELUGU	969
					GUJARATI	918
					OTHERS	851
					MARATHI	722
					SANSKRIT	633
					TAMIL	287
					MUNDA	55
					BODO	50
					KURUKH/ORAOON	50
					MALAYALAM	46
					MANIPURI	38
					KANNADA	33
					PERSIAN	32
					MAITHILI	28
					MUNDARI	22
					GARO	21
					KASHMIRI	6
					KHARIA	6
					KHASI	6
					SINDHI	4
					BHOTIA	4
					KODA/KORA	4
					TRIPURI	4
					AFGHANI/KABULI/PASHTO	3
					LUSHAI/MIZO	3
					ANGAMI	2
					BHILI/BHILODI	2
					DIMASA	2

		KOCH	2
		RABHA	2
		BHUMIJ	1
		COORGI/KODAGU	1
		GADABA	1
		GONDI	1
		HALAM	1
		LEPCHA	1
		MALTO	1
		SAVARA	1
		TIBETAN	1
		TULU	1
NEPALI	15571		
		HINDI	7503
		ENGLISH	1028
		OTHERS	107
		ASSAMESE	83
		ORIYA	19
		BODO	14
		KURUKH/ORAOON	14
		SANTALI	13
		PUNJABI	9
		URDU	8
		BHOTIA	5
		GUJARATI	3
		MARATHI	3
		TELUGU	3
		ARABIC/ARBI	3
		SANSKRIT	1
		GARO	1
		RABHA	1
		TIBETAN	1
ORIYA	37023		
		HINDI	3836
		ENGLISH	1973
		SANTALI	121
		TELUGU	23
		URDU	21
		ASSAMESE	13
		SANSKRIT	12
		OTHERS	12
		ARABIC/ARBI	8
		NEPALI	7
		GUJARATI	6
		PUNJABI	6
		TAMIL	4
		MARATHI	3
		MUNDA	3
		MALAYALAM	1
		HALAM	1
		KODA/KORA	1
SANTALI	46929		
		HINDI	919
		ENGLISH	809
		ORIYA	134
		MUNDA	13
		NEPALI	11
		KODA/KORA	9
		URDU	5



		KURUKH/ORAOON	3
		OTHERS	3
		SANSKRIT	2
		MUNDARI	2
		ASSAMESE	1
		ARABIC/ARBI	1
		BHUMIJ	1
		KHARIA	1
		MOGH	1
URDU	60391		
		HINDI	7538
		ARABIC/ARBI	5692
		ENGLISH	3741
		PERSIAN	87
		ORIYA	30
		GUJARATI	15
		SINDHI	10
		NEPALI	8
		TELUGU	7
		ASSAMESE	6
		OTHERS	6
		PUNJABI	5
		SANSKRIT	5
		SANTALI	3
		TAMIL	3
		KASHMIRI	1
		MARATHI	1
		KHASI	1
ARABIC/ARBI	96368		
		ENGLISH	7594
		URDU	7102
		HINDI	2873
		PERSIAN	110
		GUJARATI	15
		SANSKRIT	15
		OTHERS	10
		ORIYA	7
		NEPALI	4
		SANTALI	4
		TELUGU	4
		ASSAMESE	3
		PUNJABI	3
		BODO	2
		MARATHI	2
		MALAYALAM	1
		TAMIL	1
		MUNDA	1
ENGLISH	8293397		
		HINDI	2259777
		ARABIC/ARBI	38744
		SANSKRIT	23295
		URDU	7679
		ORIYA	4569
		ASSAMESE	3159
		NEPALI	2744
		OTHERS	2093
		SANTALI	1076
		TELUGU	686
		PERSIAN	496

MARATHI	331
TAMIL	285
GUJARATI	277
PUNJABI	228
KANNADA	56
MALAYALAM	45
MUNDA	21
MANIPURI	20
GARO	18
KURUKH/ORAOON	17
BHUMIJ	14
MAITHILI	10
BODO	9
MUNDARI	9
SINDHI	6
KHASI	5
KODA/KORA	4
LUSHAI/MIZO	4
BHOTIA	3
KASHMIRI	2
TRIPURI	2
DOGRI	1
ADI	1
DIMASA	1
HO	1
KOCH	1
MIRI/MISHING	1
RABHA	1
THADO	1

#### 1.4 SOCIOLINGUISTIC INFORMATION

Bengali is the official language of the state of West-Bengal. There are different dialectal varieties of Bengali spoken in West Bengal such as Jharkhandi, Radhi, Barendri etc. The language Bengali is also divided vertically, into codes, classifiable in terms of a High vs. Low dichotomy. The H(igh) and L(ow) codes are differentiated in terms of the way the inflectional and pronominal systems in the Sadhu or H code of standard written Bengali contrast with those in the Colit or L code of standard spoken Bengali. For example, the Sadhu and Colit versions of the sentence ‘They are going’ */tahara jaiteche/* and */tara jacche/* respectively. The use of the H form for written prose became the norm for Bengali in the early nineteenth century as a result of that period’s process of Sanskritization. It is rarely in use now.

Use of Bengali in the home domain - In the home domain Bengali is used as a mother tongue in all over the state of West Bengal by the native speakers.

Bengali in other than home domain - Bengali used by the native speakers in the public places of the locality, Judiciary, in the market everywhere through out the state. Except this,

many people across the state residing in West Bengal also adopted the Bengali in the aforesaid situations. In the state governmental level the use of Bengali is universal and frequent.

Use of Bengali in Education- As Bengali is the state official language, it is used, throughout the state, as the medium of education in schools, colleges, universities etc. Text books, Literary magazines, Story books, various news papers, Dictionaries etc. are largely available in the language.

Bangiya Sahitya Parishad, Kolkata is the first academic institution on matters pertaining to Bengali language. It endeavored to compile standard Bengali dictionary, grammar and terminologies, both philosophical and scientific, to collect and publish old and medieval Bengali manuscripts, and to carry out translation from other language into Bengali and research on history, philosophy and science. After the partition of India in 1947, the people of East Pakistan (now Bangladesh) felt a need for a new Bengali linguistic body suiting their new nationality. As a result, Bangla Academy in Dhaka was established in 1955. Except West Bengal, Bengali is used as medium of education in Assam, Bihar and Tripura states. Bengali is also taught internationally in the Universities of London etc.

Use of Bengali in Mass Media - All India Radio as well as Doordarshan Kendra, Kolkata broadcasts all types of the programs like serials, news, cultural programmes etc in Bengali language. The use of Bengali on media is wide spread and it is broadcasted from Kolkata, Silchar, Agartala, Siliguri and Karseong radio stations. The productions of Bengali movies are fairly rich. Kolkata doordarshan started telecasteing Bengali in the year of 1975. In case of recod and cassette productions Bengali has a large stock. Regarding newspapers some of the newspapers to be named for vastly covering news, advertisement etc. for example, Anandabazar Patrika, Bartaman, Statesman (Bengali version) etc.

There exists a rich and vibratant tradition of performance in Bengali primarily theater, music and cinema. Bengali directors like Satyajit Roy, Ritwik Ghatak, Mrinal Sen, Aparna Sen and Rituparna Ghosh have enriched the cinematic medium. Shambhuh Mitra, Sisir Kumar Bhaduri, Utpal Dutta etc. remain important influences to theater. It is worth mentioning the

contribution of music compositions of Rabindranath Tagore, Kazi Nazrul Islam, Dwijendralal Ray, etc. and the contribution of Bengali School of Art in the related fields.

Bengali is having its own script originated from Brahmi script. The same script is also used by Assamese and Manipuris with few variations.

## **1.5 REVIEW OF EARLIER LITERATURE**

A good number of authors have contributed on the development of Bengali language and literature. Starting from Sir. G.A. Grierson, we get the remarkable contributions by Md. Abdul Hai, Shri Punya Sloka Roy, Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee, Md. Shahidulla, Chales Furgusson, Sukumar Sen etc. Bengali grammar was produced even two centuries earlier by J.Beams (1891) and William Carry (1843).

Sir.G.A. Grierson made a pioneer work in his *Linguistic Survey of India*, not only on Bengali but on various Indian languages also. At the onset, the first hand information on Bengali and its dialects are furnished in *Linguistics Survey of India* (1903).

In the field of Bengali Phonetics ‘A Bengali Phonetic Reader’ by Prof.S.K.Chatterjee (1906) is the pioneering work. The elaborated work on Bengali Phonetics was done by Md. Abdul Hai from UK gives us the basic ideas of the use of various instruments in the field of Phonetics.

The book written by Dr.S.K. Chatterjee *Origin and Development of Bengali Language* published in 1926 is considered to be the only comprehensive and all covering work on Bengali and cognate languages along with dialects.

The Bengali Language Handbook written by Shri.P.S.Roy in 1966 still serves the purpose of enriching one’s knowledge regarding the structure of Bengali language.

The information regarding the Bengali dialects are available from the voluminous work prepared by Md. Shahidulla in 1965 from the Bengali department of Dacca University, Bangladesh. Till today this is the only work having the comparative vocabulary of various Bengali dialects.

Except above works, the research done by Charles Furgusson in his thesis on *Phonology and Morphology of Standard Colloquial Bengali*, Ph.D dissertation from the University of Pennsylvania, 1945, the book *bhaS'ar itibritto*, 1979 and the *Bengali Etymological Dictionary* (2 Vols.), 1971 by Prof.Sukumar Sen are worth mentioning.

In Bangiya Sahitya Parishad, Sir. Romesh Chunder Dutt served as the first president and Rabindranath Tagore and Navinchandra Sen as vice presidents during 1894. That same year saw the first publication of the society's journal, previously in English as most business of the society was, in Bengali. 1900 saw Rabindranath Tagore's brother, Satyendranath Tagore, made President. The society, which moved into its permanent home in 1909, rapidly expanded to over 30 branch offices. Its notable members have included Debendra Prasad Ghosh, Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar, Romesh Chunder Dutt and Ramendra Sundar Tribedi.

Outside India the various research works on Bengali language were also produced by different linguists from Bengali Academy, Dacca and the universities of Bangladesh; Institute of the People of Asia in Academy of Science, Moscow; U.K and Universities of Pennsylvania, Chicago and Texas in U.S.A. etc. University of London also maintains a successful department of Bengali. Established in 1953, the department of Bengali at the University of Karachi, Pakistan offers a regular program of studies at the Bachelors and at the Masters levels.

In the recent day Dr.Pabitra Sircar, Prof.Probal Dasgupta and above all Prof.Paresh Chandra Majumder from Kolkata as well as Md.Mansur Musa, Rafikul Islam from Bangladesh produced a good number of research materials as well as books covering the fields of Sociolinguistics, Syntax, grammar etc. which are largely use by the scholars.

Another book worth mentioning regarding the Bengali language is 'Introduction to Bengali' Part I by Edward Dimock, Somdev Bhattacharji, Suhas Chatterjee (1964, 1997), New Delhi. In this book the structure of the Bengali language is very lucidly described and exemplified.

Dictionaries (i.e Bengali-Bengali, Bengali-English, English-Bengali etc.), various teaching materials, Bibliographical dictionaries etc. are also produced in a large numbers from time to time on the language. Shri.Asutosh Dev is pioneering in this field.

The language which will be described in the following chapters is the ‘Standard Colloquial Bengali’. This is the form of the language spoken through out both West Bengal and Bangladesh. This form of Bengali includes the elements peculiar to West Bengali speech – spoken in or around the city of Calcutta – and elements of other dialect groups like Radhi, Barendri, Jharkhandi broadly and narrowly the dialects of Howrah, Hooghly, Burdwan, Nadia, Murshidabad, Medinipur, Malda districts of West Bengal and the dialects of Dacca, Chittagong etc. This Standard Colloquial Bengali’ or otherwise known as ‘Colit Bhasha’ is spoken and understood by educated people at both extremes.

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## 2. PHONOLOGY

The segmental and non-segmental phonemes of Bengali and their distributions and phonetic variations are presented in the following sections

### 2.1 PHONEMIC INVENTORY

Standard Bengali language is having 35 segmental phonemes out of which 7 are vowels and 28 are consonants.

#### 2.1.1 SEGMENTAL PHONEMES

Vowels

There are altogether seven vowels phonemes available in Bengali. They are

	Front	Back
Close	<i>i</i>	<i>u</i>
Half Close	<i>e</i>	<i>o</i>
Half Open	<i>E</i>	<i>O</i>
Open		<i>a</i>

Consonants

There are altogether twenty-eight consonantal phonemes available in Bengali. The inventory of them is as follows

	Bilabial	Dental	Palatal	Retroflex	Velar	Glottal
Stop	<i>p b</i>	<i>t d</i>	<i>c j</i>	<i>T D</i>	<i>k g</i>	
Aspirated	<i>ph bh</i>	<i>th dh</i>	<i>ch jh</i>	<i>Th Dh</i>	<i>kh gh</i>	
Nasal	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>			<i>M</i>	
Lateral		<i>l</i>				
Trill						
Flapped		<i>r</i>		<i>R</i>		
Fricative			<i>S'</i>			<i>h</i>

### 2.1.2 SUPRASEGMENTAL PHONEMES

#### Nasalisation

Nasalisation is phonemic but no phonologically nasalized vowel occurs before or after a nasal consonant: */nacon/* ‘dance’, */bondhu/* ‘friend’. But the nasalization occurs in the following way.

Ex., */kaca/* ‘washing’ vs. */kāca/* ‘unripe’ ; */baca/* ‘distinguish’ vs. */bāca/* ‘survive’ etc.

#### Length

Vowel length is not phonologically significant. In monosyllabic contexts vowels can be phonetically long as the vowel */a/* in */ma:/* ‘Mother’ as opposed to */manuS'/* ‘human’.



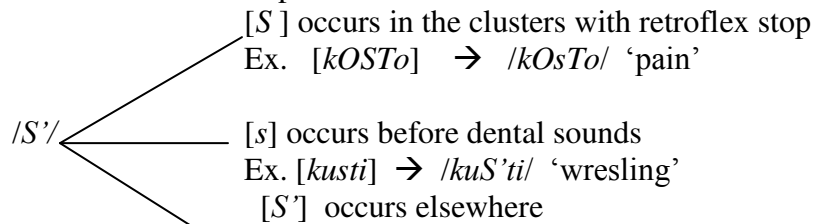
### 2.1.3 MAJOR ALLOPHONIC DISTRIBUTIONS

#### Vowels

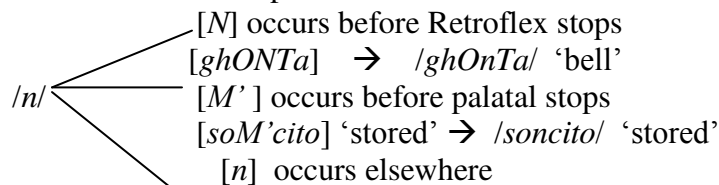
All the vowels are short in length in interconsonantal position. Ex. /pata/ 'leaf', /jadu/ 'magic', /deri/ 'late', /Onek/ 'many', /amar/ 'mine' etc. Here, the lengths of interconsonantal /a/, /e/ are shorter than word initial /O/, /a/ and word final /a/, /u/ and /i/. So, V > (V) CV.C(V)

#### Consonants

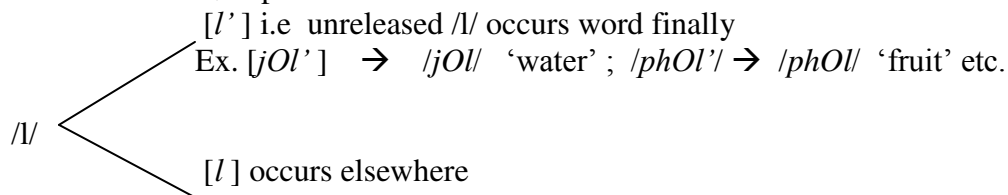
1. /S'/ has three allophones



2. /n/ has three allophones



3. /l/ has two allophones



### 2.1.4 DESCRIPTIONS AND DISTRIBUTIONS OF PHONEMES

Vowels	Descriptions
/i/	High front Vowel
/e/	Mid high front vowel
/E/	Mid Low front vowel
/a/	Low back vowel
/O/	Mid low back vowel
/o/	Mid high back vowel
/u/	High back vowel

## Consonants

<i>/p/</i>	Voiceless unaspirated bilabial stop
<i>/ph/</i>	Voiceless aspirated bilabial stop
<i>/b/</i>	Voiced unaspirated bilabial stop
<i>/bh/</i>	Voiced aspirated bilabial stop
<i>/t/</i>	Voiceless unaspirated alveolar stop
<i>/th/</i>	Voiceless aspirated alveolar stop
<i>/d/</i>	Voiced unaspirated alveolar stop
<i>/dh/</i>	Voiced aspirated alveolar stop
<i>/c/</i>	Voiceless unaspirated palatal stop
<i>/ch/</i>	Voiceless aspirated palatal stop
<i>/j/</i>	Voiced unaspirated palatal stop
<i>/jh/</i>	Voiced aspirated palatal stop
<i>/T/</i>	Voiceless unaspirated retroflex stop
<i>/Th/</i>	Voiceless aspirated retroflex stop
<i>/D/</i>	Voiced unaspirated retroflex stop
<i>/Dh/</i>	Voiced aspirated retroflex stop.
<i>/k/</i>	Voiceless unaspirated velar stop
<i>/kh/</i>	Voiceless aspirated velar stop
<i>/g/</i>	Voiced unaspirated velar stop
<i>/gh/</i>	Voiced aspirated velar stop
<i>/m/</i>	Voiced bilabial nasal
<i>/n/</i>	Voiced alveolar nasal
<i>/M/</i>	Voiced velar Nasal
<i>/r/</i>	Voiced alveolar trill
<i>/l/</i>	Voiced alveolar lateral
<i>/R/</i>	Voiced retroflex flap
<i>/S'/</i>	Voiceless palatal fricative
<i>/h/</i>	Voiceless glottal fricative

Vowels	Distributions			
	Phonemes	Initial	Medial	Final
	/i/	√	√	√
	/e/	√	√	√
	/E/	√	√	√
	/a/	√	√	√
	/O/	√	√	√
	/o/	√	√	√
	/u/	√	√	√
Consonants				
	/p/	√	√	√
	/ph/	√	√	√
	/b/	√	√	√
	/bh/	√	√	√
	/t/	√	√	√
	/th/	√	√	√
	/d/	√	√	√
	/dh/	√	√	√
	/c/	√	√	√
	/ch/	√	√	√
	/j/	√	√	√
	/jh/	√	√	√
	/T/	√	√	√
	/Th/	√	√	√
	/D/	√	√	√
	/Dh/	√	√	√
	/k/	√	√	√
	/kh/	√	√	√
	/g/	√	√	√
	/gh/	√	√	√
	/m/	√	√	√
	/n/	√	√	√

/M/	--	√	√
/S'/	√	√	√
/h/	√	√	√
/r/	√	√	√
/R/	--	√	√
/l/	√	√	√

In the above chart of phonemic distribution, the √ sign is posted to indicate the presence of the phonemes. In the respective positions.

### Examples

#### Vowels

Phonemes	Initial	Medial	Final
/i/	/icche/ 'wish'	/din/ 'day'	/moti/ 'pearl'
/e/	/ei/ 'this'	/anek/ 'many'	/de/ 'give'
/E/	/Ek/ 'one'	/dEkha/ 'to see'	----
/a/	/aj/ 'today'	/dam/ 'price'	/ma/ 'mother'
/O/	/Olpo/ 'little'	/pOddo/ 'lotus'	/S'O/ 'hundred'
/o/	/obbheS'/ 'habit'	/gol/ 'round'	/S'o/ 'sleep'
/u/	/unnoti/ 'development'	/mukh/ 'face'	/jadu/ 'magic'

#### Consonants

Phonemes	Initial	Medial	Final
/p/	/pakhi/ 'bird'	/capa/ 'ride'	/S'ap/ 'snake'
/ph/	/phera/ 'to return'	/aphiM/ 'morphine'	/laph/ 'jump'
/b/	/baba/ 'father'	/haba/ 'dumb'	/Dab/ 'green coconut'
/bh/	/bhumil/ 'ground'	/S'Obha/ 'gathering'	/labh/ 'profit'
/t/	/tar/ 'his'	/pata/ 'leaf'	/jat/ 'race'
/th/	/thala/ 'plate'	/matha/ 'head'	/S'ath/ 'together'
/d/	/dam/ 'price'	/S'ada/ 'white'	/bad/ 'disqualified'
/dh/	/dhar/ 'credit'	/S'udhu/ 'only'	/S'adh/ 'wish'
/T/	/Taka/ 'money'	/moTa/ 'fat'	/paT/ 'jute'
/Th/	/ThanDa/ 'cold'	/aTha/ 'gum'	/kaTh/ 'wood'
/D/	/Dana/ 'wing'	/kanDo/ 'trunk'	/khAnD/ 'piece'
/Dh/	/Dhakna/ 'lid'	/beDhOp/ 'size less'	/beDh/ 'outer circle of a wheel'
/c/	/caka/ 'wheel'	/nicu/ 'down'	/nac/ 'dance'
/ch/	/chani/ 'cataract'	/mocha/ 'to wipe'	/gach/ 'tree'
/j/	/jama/ 'shirt'	/moja/ 'socks'	/aj/ 'today'
/jh/	/jhuRi/ 'basket'	/bojha/ 'burden'	/majh/ 'middle'
/k/	/kak/ 'crow'	/paka/ 'ripe'	/nak/ 'nose'
/kh/	/khabar/ 'food'	/dEkha/ 'to see'	/nokh/ 'nail'
/g/	/gan/ 'song'	/bhoga/ 'to suffer'	/bhog/ 'offerings'

/gh/	/gham/ ‘sweat’	/jOghonno/ ‘nasty’	/bagh/ ‘tiger’
/m/	/ma/ ‘mother’	/jama/ ‘shirt’	/am/ ‘mango’
/n/	/nak/ ‘nose’	/S’ona/ ‘gold’	/pan/ ‘beetle nut’
/M /	---	/aMTi/ ‘ring’	/rOM/ ‘colour’
/S’/	/S’ada/ ‘white’	/maS’i/ ‘mother’s sister’	/maS’/ ‘month’
/h/	/hat/ ‘hand’	/bahari/ ‘decorated’	---
/r/	/raja/ ‘king’	/kOra/ ‘to do’	/har/ ‘necklace’
/R/	---	/pORa/ ‘to study’	/haR/ ‘bone’
/l/	/labh/ ‘profit’	/kOla/ ‘banana’	/jOl/ ‘water’
/y/	---	/meye/ ‘girl’	---

### 2.1.5 DIPHTHONGS

What effort we give to utter one vowel, if with the same effort two vowels are pronounced simultaneously. We call them Diphthongs. In Standard Bengali, the following diphthongs are available –

/ie/	as in	/nie/	‘after taking’
/ia/	as in	/Tia/	‘parrot’
/io/	as in	/nio/	‘take’
/ai/	as in	/pai/	‘I get’
/ae/	as in	/pae /	‘on foot’
/au/	as in	/kauke/	‘somebody’
/eu/	as in	/keu/	‘someone’
/eo/	as in	/jeo/	‘please go’
/ei/	as in	/ei/	‘this’
/ea/	as in	/nea/	‘to take’
/Oe/	as in	/bOe/	‘he carries’
/Ee/	as in	/nEe/	‘he takes’
/Eo/	as in	/nEoTa/	‘attached’
/oi/	as in	/oi/	‘that’
/ou/	as in	/pouS’/	‘a Bengali month’
/oe/	as in	/doe/	‘he milks’
/uo/	as in	/juo/	‘gambling’
/ui/	as in	/ui/	‘white ant’

### 2.1.6 CLUSTERS

Clusters are the combinations of two or more sounds. If both the sounds are same it is called germination and if different called clusters. Native Bengali (*tOdbhObo*) words do not allow initial consonant clusters; the maximum syllabic structure is *CVC* (i.e. one vowel takes a consonant on each side). Many speakers of Bengali restrict their phonology to this pattern, even when using Sanskrit or English borrowings, such as /*geram*/ (*CV.CVC*) for /*gram*/ (*CCVC*) ‘village’ or /*iS’kul*/ (*VC.CVC*) for /*S’kul*/ (*CCVC*) ‘school’.

Sanskrit (*tOtS’hOmo*) words borrowed into Bengali, however, possess a wide range of clusters, expanding the maximum syllable structure to *CCCVC*. Some of these clusters, such as the /-mr/ in /*mrittu*/ ‘death’ or the /-sp/ in /*spOshTo*/ ‘clear’, have become extremely common, and can be considered legal consonant clusters in Bengali. English and other foreign (*bideshi*) borrowings add even more cluster types into the Bengali inventory as commonly-used loanwords such as /*Tren*/ ‘train’ and /*glash*/ ‘glass’ are now even included in leading Bengali dictionaries.

Final consonant clusters are rare in Bengali. Most final consonant clusters were borrowed into Bengali from English, as in /*lifT*/ ‘lift’, elevator” and /*bEMk*/ ‘bank’. However, final clusters do exist in some native Bengali words, although rarely in standard pronunciation. One example of a final cluster in a standard Bengali word would be /*gOnj*/ ‘market place’, which is found in names of hundreds of cities and towns across Bengal, including *nObabgOnj* and *manikgOnj* etc. Some nonstandard varieties of Bengali make use of final clusters quite often. For example, in some dialects, final consonant clusters consisting of a nasal and its corresponding oral stop are common, as in *chand* “moon”. The Standard Bengali equivalent of *chand* would be *chãd*, with a nasalized vowel instead of the final cluster.

Germinations		The following germinations are available
<i>k + k</i>	/ <i>oikko</i> /	‘unity’
<i>g + g</i>	/ <i>joggo</i> /	‘suitable’
<i>j + j</i>	/ <i>bibhajjo</i> /	‘divisible’
<i>p + p</i>	/ <i>thappoR</i> /	‘slap’
<i>n + n</i>	/ <i>bhinno</i> /	‘different’
<i>t + t</i>	/ <i>bitto</i> /	‘wealth’
<i>d + d</i>	/ <i>addi</i> /	‘a kind of cloth’

<i>l + l</i>	<i>/tullo/</i>	‘comparable’
<i>S' + S'</i>	<i>/puS'S'i/</i>	‘adopted’
Consonant clusters		
<i>k+ kh</i>	<i>/pokkho/</i>	‘fortnight’
<i>k + r</i>	<i>/bikri/</i>	‘sell’
<i>g + r</i>	<i>/agroho/</i>	‘interest’
<i>t + r</i>	<i>/tran/</i>	‘rescue’
<i>p + r</i>	<i>/pran/</i>	‘life’
<i>d + r</i>	<i>/bidroho/</i>	‘revolution’
<i>p + r</i>	<i>/pran/</i>	‘life’
<i>m + r</i>	<i>/tamro/</i>	‘copper’
<i>S'+ r</i>	<i>/biS'ri/</i>	‘bad’
<i>h + r</i>	<i>/hridOe/</i>	‘heart’
<i>g + l</i>	<i>/glani/</i>	‘fatigue’
	<i>/pagli/</i>	‘mad woman’
<i>k + n</i>	<i>/sukno/</i>	‘dry’
<i>p + l</i>	<i>/plabon/</i>	‘flood’
	<i>/biplab/</i>	‘revolution’
<i>p+R</i>	<i>/jhopRi/</i>	‘slum’
<i>k + t</i>	<i>/tikto/</i>	‘biter’
<i>S' + l</i>	<i>/S'lok/</i>	‘hymn’
<i>t + n</i>	<i>/jOtno/</i>	‘care’
<i>S' + n</i>	<i>/S'nan/</i>	‘bath’
<i>S' + Th</i>	<i>/biS'Tha/</i>	‘excreta of a bird’
<i>n + m</i>	<i>/jOnmo/</i>	‘birth’
<i>r + k</i>	<i>/tOrko/</i>	‘argument’
<i>r + n</i>	<i>/bOrno/</i>	‘colour’
<i>r + th</i>	<i>/Ortho/</i>	‘money’
<i>r + m</i>	<i>/kOrmo/</i>	‘deed’
<i>M + k</i>	<i>/Omko/</i>	‘mathematics’
<i>M + g</i>	<i>/Omgol/</i>	‘body’

<i>N + T</i>	<i>/ghONTa/</i>	‘bell’
<i>N+ D</i>	<i>/poNDit/</i>	‘scholar’
<i>d + dh</i>	<i>/juddho/</i>	‘war’
<i>n + t</i>	<i>/Onto/</i>	‘end’
<i>n + d</i>	<i>/sundor/</i>	‘nice’
<i>b + d</i>	<i>/S’Obdo/</i>	‘sound’
<i>l + p</i>	<i>/Olpo/</i>	‘little’
<i>S’ + c</i>	<i>/poS’cim/</i>	‘west’
<i>S’ + T</i>	<i>/kOS’To/</i>	‘pain’
<i>S’ + t</i>	<i>/bES’to/</i>	‘busy’
<i>g + dh</i>	<i>/dOgdho/</i>	‘burnt’
<i>b + j</i>	<i>/kobji/</i>	‘wrist’
<i>r + d</i>	<i>/nirdeS’/</i>	‘instruction’

Tri-Consonantal clusters –

A very few Tri-consonantal clusters (mainly *tatshOmo* words) are available. Ex.

<i>N + d + r</i>	<i>/kendro/</i>	‘center’
<i>S’ + T + r</i>	<i>/raS’Tro/</i>	‘country’
<i>S’ + t + r</i>	<i>/S’aS’tro/</i>	‘books’ etc.

### 2.1.7 SYLLABLE

A syllable is pronounced in one breath. Syllables can be both open and close. Open syllables end in vowels whereas close syllables end in consonants. The unit of pronunciation of a syllable is called ‘more. Therefore, one syllable can be of one mora, two morae, three morae etc.

Words shaving one syllable are called monosyllabic words; similarly we get di-syllabic words (words consisting of two syllables), tri-syllabic words (words consisting of three syllables) etc.

Monosyllabic words

<i>CV</i>	-	<i>/ke/</i>	‘who’	<i>CVC</i>	-	<i>/Dan/</i>	‘right’
<i>VC</i>	-	<i>/or/</i>	‘his/her’	<i>V</i>	-	<i>/o/</i>	‘that’ etc.



Di-syllabic words

<i>CVC-CV</i>	-	<i>/S'uk - no/</i>	'dry'
<i>CVV - CV</i>	-	<i>/keu - Te/</i>	'a type of poisonous snake'
<i>CVV-CVC</i>	-	<i>/S'au - kar/</i>	'rich man'
<i>VCV - CVC</i>	-	<i>/Oka - ron/</i>	'unnecessarily'
<i>CVCV - CVCV</i>	-	<i>/taRa - taRi/</i>	'quickly' etc.

Tri-syllabic words

<i>CVC - CV - CV</i>	-	<i>/bik - ri - to/</i>	'shapeless'
<i>VC-CVC-CV</i>	-	<i>/ac - chon - no/</i>	'covered' etc.

It is observed in Standard Bengali that the tendency of pronouncing each and every syllable into two morae (Bi-morism) i.e. the tendency of pronouncing each word into two syllables is observed as it is in other South-East Asian Languages. For example,

<i>/bidda-lOe/</i>	'school'	
<i>/S'uk-no/</i>	'dry'	
<i>/bOM-S'o/</i>	'family'	
<i>/jhOr-na/</i>	'fountain'	etc.

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### 3. MORPHOPHONEMICS

The followings are the Morphophonemic rules available in Bengali.

- (i) The morphophonemic alternation raises a low/ mid vowel by one if the first vowel after it is high with matching roundedness value. *Ek* ‘one’ → *ekuS* ‘twenty one’. The same type of alternation for the verbal paradigm is absolute. *ken* → *kini* ‘I buy’, *lekh* → *likhi* ‘I write’
- (ii) Phonemic alternation turns /a/ into /o/ in a verb stem if the first preceding vowel is high. *bila* → *bilo* ‘(you) distribute’      *douRa* → *douRo* ‘(you) run’  
Phonemic alternation for the non-verbal cases turns /a/ to /o/ and /e/ as well. *puja* → *pujo* ‘worship’      *mula* → *mulo* ‘radish’      *iccha* → *icche* ‘desire etc.
- (iii) The morphophonemic changes takes place either across word boundaries or within a single word. *jak ge* → *jagge* ‘let it go’, *Dak ghOr* → *DagghOr* ‘post office’, *tar jonno* → *tajjono* ‘for him/ that’, *murcha* → *muccha* ‘faint’ etc.
- (iv) Changing of de-aspiration to assimilation. *rOth+ tOla* → *rOttOla* ‘festival place where decorated carts are drawn’, *mukh +khani* → *mukkhani* ‘that face’, *kaTh + phaTa* → *kaTphaTa* ‘wood-splitting (spoken of strong sunshine)’, *pãc S’o* → *pãS’S’o* ‘five hundred’ etc.
- (vi) Bilabial nasal changes into Velar nasal i.e *m* > *M* if followed by a consonant as in *S’Om + bad* > *S’OMbad* ‘news’
- (vii) Dental nasal changes into Velar nasal before /S’/ or /h/ i.e. *n* > *M* / - *S’* / *h*.      *S’in + hO* > *S’iMhO*,      *hin + S’a* > *hiMS’a* ‘violence’
- (viii) If /r/ is followed by a consonant, it gets deleted and the consonant gets doubled. This is of course a process of assimilation.      *Dur + din* > *duddin* ‘bad days’
- (ix) Dental nasal changes into Bilabial nasal before Bilabial stops i.e. *n* > *m* / - *p*.      *kOn + pOn* > *kOmpOn* ‘shivering’
- (x) There are a few examples of Morphophonemic alternations are available in Bengali.  
*o + e* > *e*      as in      *Ortho + e* > *Orthe*      ‘in meaning’  
*o + i* > *i*      as in      *Ekotro + ito* > *Ekottrito*      ‘united’

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## 4. MORPHOLOGY

### 4.1 WORD FORMATION

The words are form classes in different grammatical categories. By taking different formative suffixes word-formation takes place in Bengali in the following ways

i) [-e] denotes action of nouns and participial from the verbal roots.

Ex. /dEkh-/ > /dEkhe/ 'seeing/seen', /kOr-/ > /kOre/ 'doing' etc.

ii) [-ola] and [-uli] used in masculine and feminine respectively signifying profession.

/baDiola/ , /baDiuli/ 'Landlord', 'Landlady'

iii) [-Te] sometimes used to form adjectives. Ex. /tama/ > /tamaTe/, 'copperish' /roga/ > /rogaTe/ 'sickly' etc.

iv) [-o] commonly used as adjectives - /jOl/ > /jolo/ 'watery' /TAkt/ > /Toko/ 'soury'

v) [-ni] denoted feminine counterpart of the caste or profession. /gOela/ > /gOelani/ , 'milkman > milk woman' /dhopa/ > /dhopani/ 'washerman' > washerwoman'

vi) [-i] makes adjectives from nouns and feminine from masculine. Ex. /mama/ >

/mami/ uncle > aunt, /rag/ > /ragi/ 'anger' > 'angry'

vii) [-e] indicates profession. /jal/ > /jele/ 'net' > fisherman /cakor/ > /cakre/ servant > maidservant.

viii) [Ta-Ti] forms definite particles indicating bigness and smallness in size. /machTa/ 'The fish (big) /machTi/ The fish (small) etc. Also plural [gula] – [guli] /machgula/ fish (big)~ /machguli/ 'fishes'.

### 4.2 WORD CLASS

The words available in this language are divided into following grammatical categories namely 1. Noun 2. Pronouns 3. Adjectives 4. Post-Positions 5. Conjunctions 6. Verbs 7.

Adverbs. These seven word classes are broadly grouped into two categories- Declinable and Indeclinable. Declinable are those, which are declined for numbers-genders-persons-cases etc., for example, nouns, pronouns, adjectives and verbs. And the post-positions, conjunctions, adverbs belong to the Indeclinable.

### 4.3 NOUN MORPHOLOGY

The noun morphology includes – the descriptions of nouns along with their gender, number and cases. It also includes the morphology of Pronouns, Adjectives etc.

#### 4.3.1 NOUN

A noun can be defined as a class of word which syntactically functions as a subject or an object of a finite verb and can take number and case suffixes with assigned gender and also can be followed by postpositions.

Nouns can be both Animates (living things) for example, /chele/ ‘son’, /mee/ ‘daughter’, /lok/ ‘person’ etc.

And Inanimates (non living things) like /boil/ ‘book’, /baRil/ ‘home’, /pathor/ ‘stone’ etc.

Nouns can be both simple and derived also.

Simple nouns are like /chele/ ‘boy’, /boil/ ‘book’, /baRil/ ‘house’, /hati/ ‘elephant’ etc.

Derived nouns are formed with the help of prefixes like /O-/ , /pOra-/ , /S’Omo-/ , /anu-/ , /nir-/ , /dur-/ etc.

For example, /O-/ , /a-/ , /ni-/ , /Opo-/ etc. are prefixed to the words to convey the sense of negativeness/oppositeness. Ex. /debota/ ‘god’ > /Opodebota/ ‘demon’ , /dhormol/ ‘religion/norm’ > /OdhOrmO/ ‘against religion’/ ‘norm’ etc.

#### 4.3.1.1. GENDER

Gender is a lexical category. It may be lexically derived also.

Ex. Lexically Selective -	/baba/ ‘father’	/ma/ ‘mother’
	/chele/ ‘boy’	/meye/ ‘girl’
Lexically Derived -	/jele/ ‘fisherman’	/jelenil/ ‘fisherwoman’
	/pagla/ ‘madman’	/pagli/ ‘mad woman’

So, /-a/ , /-il/ , /-nil/ , /-anil/ , /-inil/ etc. suffixes are added to the masculine to make them feminines. /bETA chele/ ‘boy’ - /meye chele/- ‘girl’ /mOdda kukur/ ‘dog’ /madi kukur/ ‘bitch’ etc.

#### 4.3.1.2 NUMBER

Number distinction is twofold – Singular and Plural. Number is a lexical category not grammatical. The plural markers are generally added to the singular nouns to make them plurals. Ex. /ami/ ‘I’ /amra/ ‘we’ ; /lok/ ‘one person’, /lokgulo/ ‘people’ etc. So, /-ra/, /-era/, /-gula/, /-gulo/, /guli/ etc. are added to the singular base to make them plural.

Dual number is absent. Sometimes the terms like /bohu/ /Onek/ etc. precede the singular number to indicate plurality. /Onek lok/ ‘many persons’. Pronouns, adjectives, Verbs do not inflect for numbers.

#### 4.3.1.3 CASE

The following are the cases available in Bengali

##### Nominative

The Nominative case marker is zero. /baRi/ ‘house’, /lok/ ‘person’ etc.

/bariTa bhalo/ ‘The house is nice’, /lokTa amake dekhche/ ‘The person is seeing me’ (here ‘house’ and ‘person’ are having Nominative cases)

##### Accusative-Dative (Objective)

The marker for accusative case is /-ke/, /-e/ etc. /dokan-e/ ‘to the shop’, /chele-ke/ ‘to son’. /-e/ is used with consonant ending and /-te/ is used with the vowel ending words.

/S’e dokan-e gEche/ ‘he/she has gone to the shop’, /tomar chele-ke eTa dao/ ‘give this to your son’.

##### Instrumental

The case marker for Instrumental case is /-dara/, /-diya/, /-S’athe/, /-sAMge/ etc. Ex. /ami amar babar S’athe jacchi/ ‘I am going with my father’, /lebu Ta churi diye kaTo/ ‘cut the lemon with knife’ etc.

##### Ablative

The ablative case markers /theke/, /hote/ indicate the meaning ‘from’. /bari-theke/ ‘from home’ as in /ami bari-theke aS’chi/ ‘I am coming from home’, /kotha hote ele/ ‘where (are you) from coming?’

##### Genitive

The genitive case suffix is /-r/ and /-er/. The suffix is /-er/ when the noun ends in a consonant as in /bon-er/ ‘sister’s’ and /-r/ when the noun ends in a vowel as in /baRi-r/ ‘of house’. /ama-r bon-er chele kal aS’be/ ‘my sister’s son will come tomorrow’.

#### Locative

The Locative case marker is /-te/. /baRi-te/ ‘in house’. The Locative suffix is /-e/ can be either /-e/ or /-te/ when the noun ends in a consonant and when the noun ends in a non-high vowel as in /Tebil-e/ ‘on/ in the table’ and /alo-e/ or /alo-te/ ‘in the light’ respectively.

/jOn bari-te nei/ ‘John is not at home, /ami ghar-e giye take dekhte pelam/ ‘I saw him when I entered the room’.

Non-human nouns, and non-honorific human nouns generally take a Nominative (zero), Objective /-ke/, Genitive /-(e)r/, or Locative /-(t)e/ suffix after the pluralizer /-gulo/, if any - /tak-gulo-te/ ‘on the shelves’. But human nouns even here resist the Locative plural; /chele-gulo-te/ for ‘among the boys’, is not possible.

#### Agreement

Bengali exhibits no case or number agreement, and no grammatical gender phenomena at all. Thus, dependents like demonstratives and adjectives do not agree with the head noun on any grammatical dimension; they carry no inflectional features:

*ei/ oi lOmba chele* ‘this/that tall boy’                      *ei/oi lOmba meye* ‘this/that tall girl’  
*ei/oi lOmba gach* ‘this/that tall tree’

#### 4.3.1.4 POST-POSITIONS

Postpositions are indeclinable. They can be either free or bound. The post-positions available in Bengali are as follows

##### Nominal Post Positions

<i>/age/</i>	as in	<i>/amar age/</i>	‘before me’
<i>/kache/</i>	as in	<i>/amar kache/</i>	‘near me’
<i>/chaDda/</i>	as in	<i>/amake chaDa/</i>	‘without me’
<i>/S’athe or S’OMge/</i>	as in	<i>/amar S’athe- or S’OMge/</i>	‘with me’
<i>/jonne/</i>	as in	<i>/tomar jonne/</i>	‘for you’
<i>/pore/</i>	as in	<i>/tar pore/</i>	‘after him/ that’

##### Verbal Post Positions

<i>/ceye/</i>	as in	<i>/amar ceye/</i>	‘than me’
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<i>/theke/</i>	as in	<i>/kotha theke/</i>	‘from where’
<i>/dhore/</i>	as in	<i>/sat din dhore/</i>	‘since seven days’

### 4.3.2 PRONOUN

The first personal pronominal paradigm is as follows

	Singular	Plural
nom.	<i>ami</i>	<i>amra</i>
acc./dat.	<i>amake/ amay</i>	<i>amader</i>
gen.	<i>amar</i>	<i>amader</i>

The second personal pronominal paradigm is as follows

	Singular/Plural	Singular/Plural	Singular/Plural
Nom	<i>apni/ apnara</i>	<i>tumi/ tomra</i>	<i>tui/ tora</i>
Acc/Dat	<i>apnake/ apnader</i>	<i>tomake/ tomader</i>	<i>toke/ toder</i>
Gen	<i>apnar/ apnader</i>	<i>tomar/ tomader</i>	<i>tor/ toder</i>

The third personal pronominal paradigm is as follows

Correlative	Formal	Neutral
	Singular/Plural	Singular/Plural
Nom	<i>tini/tāra</i>	<i>S'e/ tara</i>
Acc/Dat	<i>tāke/ta~der</i>	<i>take/tader</i>
Gen	<i>tār/tāder</i>	<i>tar/ tader</i>

Distant

Nom	<i>uni/o~ra</i>	<i>o/ ora</i>
Acc/Dat	<i>ōke/o~der</i>	<i>oke/oder</i>
Gen	<i>ōr/o~der</i>	<i>or/ oder</i>

Proximal

Nom	<i>ini/ ěra</i>	<i>e/ era</i>
Acc/Dat	<i>ěke/ ěder</i>	<i>eke/ eder</i>
Gen	<i>ěr/ e~der</i>	<i>er/ eder</i>

These words have an emphatic this-function, one of pointing at people at my (our) orbit as opposed to yours. Distals point at people in your orbit. Correlatives refer to absent people.

### 4.3.3 ADJECTIVES

Adjectives do not inflect for gender, number and case. They are indeclinable.

<i>/roga/</i>	‘thin’	<i>/lOmba/</i>	‘tall’	<i>/bhalo/</i>	‘good’
<i>/moTa/</i>	‘fat’	<i>/khaTo/</i>	‘short’	<i>/lal/</i>	‘red’
<i>/S’oru/</i>	‘narrow’	<i>/S’oja/</i>	‘straight’	<i>/ũcu/</i>	‘high’
<i>/S’okto/</i>	‘hard’	<i>/halka/</i>	‘light’	<i>/nicu/</i>	‘low’

Comparison of Adjectives denoted by */-tOro/* and */-tOmo/*. */-tOro/* is used for comparative and */-tOmo/* is used for superlative degrees respectively.

<i>/khudro/</i>	‘short/small’	<i>/khudrotOro/</i>	‘shorter’	<i>/khudrotOmo/</i>	‘shortest’
<i>/brihat/</i>	‘big’	<i>/brihattamo/</i>	‘bigger’	<i>/brihattamo/</i>	‘biggest’

Adjectives do not inflect for Number, Gender and Cases.

<i>/Ekta bhalo meyer boil</i>	‘book of one good girl’
<i>/dOS’Ta bhalo chaoalke ano/</i>	‘bring ten good boys’
<i>/EkTa bhalo chaoaler boil</i>	‘book of one good boy’
<i>/dOS’Ta bhalo meyeke ano/</i>	‘bring ten good girls’

#### 4.3.3.1 NUMERALS

Two types of numerals available – Cardinals and Ordinals.

Cardinals

Cardinals include the numerals available in the language. It describes the basic numerical system of a language. *Ek/* ‘one’, */dui/* ‘two’, */tin/* ‘three’, */dOS’/* ‘ten’, */kuRi* or *biS’/* ‘twenty’, */colliS’/* ‘forty’, */EkS’o/* ‘hundred’, */chOS’o/* ‘six hundred’, */hajar/* ‘one thousand’.

The numeral after ten are formed as follows

<i>/Ek/</i> ‘one’	>	Base <i>/Eg-/</i>	as in	<i>/Egaro/</i>	‘eleven’
<i>/dui/</i> ‘two’	>	Base <i>/ba-/</i>	as in	<i>/baro/</i>	‘twelve’
<i>/tin/</i> ‘three’	>	Base <i>/tE-/</i>	as in	<i>/tEro/</i>	‘thirteen’
<i>/car/</i> ‘four’	>	Base <i>/co-/</i>	as in	<i>/coddol/</i>	‘forteen’
<i>/pãc/</i> ‘five’	>	Base <i>/pon-/</i>	as in	<i>/ponero/</i>	‘fifteen’



*/chAe/* ‘six’ > Base */S’ol-/* as in */S’olo/* ‘sixteen’  
*/S’at/* ‘seven’ > Base */S’At-/* as in */S’Aterol/* ‘seventeen’  
*/aT/* ‘eight’ > Base */aTh/* as in */aTharol/* ‘eighteen’  
*/nOe/* ‘nine’ > Base */un-/* ‘before’. So */un-/* + */biS’/* ‘twenty’ > */uniS’/* ‘nineteen’

Twenty onwards the numerals are formed as usual with the original bases only as in */Ek/* + */biS’/* > */ekuS’/* ‘twenty one’, */baiS’/* ‘twenty two’, */chAtriS’/* ‘thirty six’, */S’atcolliS’/* ‘forty seven’, */unocolliS’/* ‘thirty nine’ etc.

Numerals after hundred are counted as */Ek hajar dui S’o tin/* ‘one thousand two hundred and three’ etc. Except this, twenty to thirty is counted on the basis of twenty, thirty to forty is counted on the basis of thirty etc.

### Ordinals

Ordinals are formed by adding inflectional suffixes to cardinals. Ex. */Ek-/* ‘one’ (Suppletion) > */pEh-la/*, */dui/* ‘two’ > */ditiyo/* ‘second’, */tin/* ‘three’ > */tritiyo/* ‘third’ etc.

The Fractionals are as follows

*/S’aRe/* ‘half’, */S’Ooa/* ‘one forth’, */pouna/* ‘three forth’. */Der/* ‘one and half’, */aRai/* ‘two and half’ etc. These terms quantify the numbers and that is why they are called Quantifiers.

### 4.3.3.2 CLASSIFIERS

The relation of a number word to the noun it counts, is mediated by a classifier like the human classifier */-jon/* as in */du-jon montri/* ‘Two ministers’. The other two important classifiers are the general classifier */-Ta/* and the piece-classifier */-khana/* which signal single objects. Compare */Ek-Ta mach/* and */Ek-khana mach/* for ‘a fish’. Only the former can refer to a living fish. */-Ti/*, a slightly literary version of */-Ta/*, carries diminutive overtones. */-To/* and */-Te/* are conditioned variants of */-Ta/*. The followings are the classifiers available

<i>/gulo/</i>	‘many’
<i>/S’Ob/</i>	‘all’
<i>/kOtok/</i>	‘somewhat’
<i>/kichul/</i>	‘some’

<i>/khanik/</i>	‘a bit’
<i>/Olpol/</i>	‘a little’
<i>/prottek/</i>	‘every other’
<i>/Onek/</i>	‘a lot’
<i>/kOtol/</i>	‘how/so much’
<i>/Otol/</i>	‘so much’
<i>/kOek/</i>	‘a few’

#### 4.4 VERB MORPHOLOGY

Verb morphology deals with the conjugation of verbs available in the language. Verbs can be of two types – Finite and Non-finite.

##### 4.4.1 FINITE VERB

Verbs can be of two types – finite and non-finite. Finite verb consists of a stem followed by mood, tense and aspect markers, which are further, followed by person, gender and number markers. These person, gender and number markers maintain a concord with the subject or object in a sentence and vary according to their person, gender and number markers. The inflected form of a verb for different mood, tense and aspect come under finite verbs.

##### 4.4.1.1 TENSE

The tenses are basically of three types – Present tense, Past tense and Future tense.

##### Present Tense

Present Tense indicates the act on the action which is going on at present. The three main types of present tense are Simple Present, Present Perfect and Present Continuous. The conjugations of the verb root */nac-/* ‘to dance’ are as follows

##### Simple Present

Person	Singular	Plural
First	<i>naci</i> ‘I dance’	<i>naci</i> ‘we dance’
Second	<i>naco</i> ‘you dance’	<i>naco</i> ‘you dance’

Third	<i>nace</i>	‘he/she dance’	<i>nace</i>	‘they dance’
Present Perfect				
First	<i>necechi</i>	‘I have danced’	<i>necechi</i>	‘we have danced’
Second	<i>nececho</i>	‘you have dance’	<i>nececho</i>	‘you have danced’
Third	<i>neceche</i>	‘he/she has danced’	<i>neceche</i>	‘they have danced’
Present Continuous				
First	<i>nacchi</i>	‘I am eating’	<i>nacchi</i>	‘we are eating’
Second	<i>naccho</i>	‘you are eating’	<i>naccho</i>	‘you are eating’
Third	<i>nacche</i>	‘he/she is eating’	<i>nacche</i>	‘they are eating’

### Past Tense

Past tense indicates the action of the verb which was done in past. The three main types of the past tense are Simple Past, Past Perfect and Past Continuous.

#### Simple Past

First	<i>naclam</i>	‘I danced’	<i>naclam</i>	‘we danced’
Second	<i>nacle</i>	‘you danced’	<i>nacle</i>	‘you danced’
Third	<i>naclo</i>	‘he/she danced’	<i>naclo</i>	‘they danced’

#### Past Perfect

First	<i>necechilam</i>	‘I had danced’	<i>necechilam</i>	‘we had danced’
Second	<i>necechile</i>	‘you had danced’	<i>necechile</i>	‘you had danced’
Third	<i>necechilo</i>	‘he/she had danced’	<i>necechilo</i>	‘they had danced’

#### Past Continuous

First	<i>nacchilam</i>	‘I was dancing’	<i>nacchilam</i>	‘we were dancing’
Second	<i>nacchile</i>	‘you were dancing’	<i>nacchile</i>	‘you were dancing’
Third	<i>nacchilo</i>	‘he/she was dancing’	<i>nacchilo</i>	‘they were dancing’

### Future Tense

Future Tense indicates the action of the verb which will take place in future. Simple future, Future Perfect and Future Continuous are the three main types of future Tense. Conjugations are as follows

Simple Future		
First	<i>nacbo</i> ‘I shall dance’	<i>nacbo</i> ‘We shall dance’
Second	<i>nacbe</i> ‘You will dance’	<i>nacbe</i> ‘You will dance’
Third	<i>nacbe</i> ‘He/She will dance’	<i>nacbe</i> ‘hey will dance’
Future Perfect		
First	<i>nece thakbo</i> ‘I might have danced’	<i>nece thakbo</i> ‘We might have danced’
Second	<i>nece thakbe</i> ‘You might have danced’	<i>nece thakbe</i> ‘You might have danced’
Third	<i>nece thakbe</i> ‘He She might have danced’	<i>nece thakbe</i> ‘They might have danced’
Future Continuous		
First	<i>nacte thakbo</i> ‘I shall be dancing’	<i>nacte thakbo</i> ‘We shall be dancing’
Second	<i>nacte thakbe</i> ‘You will be dancing’	<i>nacte thakbe</i> ‘You will be dancing’
Third	<i>nacte thakbe</i> ‘He/She will be dancing’	<i>nacte thakbe</i> ‘They will dancing’

#### 4.4.1.2 ASPECT

Two aspects are available. These are Habitual and Perfect.

##### Habitual aspect

Habitual aspect indicates the regular action of the verb. Simple present tense verbal form is used to indicate the habitual aspect. Ex. */S'e jae/* ‘he goes’, */S'e dEkhe/* ‘he sees’ etc.

##### Perfect aspect

Perfect aspect indicates the action of the verb just completed. Perfect form of the verbs are used to indicate the Perfect aspect. */S'e gEchel/* ‘he has gone’, */S'e dekhechel/* ‘he has seen’ etc.

#### 4.4.1.3 MOODS

Three moods are available – These are Imperative, Subjunctive and Permissive.

##### Imperative mood

Imperative mood indicates orders, request etc. The Imperative moods are realized in the second person. */khao/* ‘eat’, */dEkho-/* ‘see’ etc.

#### Permissive mood

Permissive mood indicates the act of seeking permission. As in English 'Let' is used, as in other Bengali dialects, the subsidiary verb /*de-*/ 'to give' is used with the main verb. /*khete de*/ 'Let me eat' /*sute de*/ 'Let me sleep' etc.

#### Subjunctive mood

Subjunctive mood indicates the act of possibility. In English, the auxiliary verbs may/can is used to express this mood. Here the subsidiary verb /*para*/ 'can/may' is used after the main verb. /*jete pari*/ 'I may go', /*jete paro*/ 'you may go' etc.

### 4.4.2 NON-FINITE VERBS

The non-finite Verbs consist of a stem followed by mood, tense and aspect markers only. The inflected forms of verbs for Participles, Gerund and Infinitive come under the non-finite verbs.

#### 4.4.2.1 INFINITIVE

Infinitives decline like substantives. They are formed by adding infinitive markers to different bases like Transitive, Intransitive, Causative, Passive etc. The infinitive is marked by /-*te*/ suffixing to the verbal roots. /*khe-te*/ 'to eat', /*dhor-te*/ 'to catch' etc.

#### 4.4.2.2 THE VERBAL NOUN/GERUND

The gerund are formed by adding /-*a*/ /-*oa*/ to the verbal roots. When verbs are used as nouns they are called gerunds. The Examples are as follows :-

/*dud khaoa bhalo*/

'drinking milk is good'

/*hãTa S'aS'ther pokkhe upokari*/

'walking is good for health'

#### 4.4.2.3 PARTICIPLE

Participles decline like nouns or adjectives and inflect like verbs. Therefore, the participials can take both the inflection as well as the case suffixes. Three types of participles available - Present, Past and Perfect.

### Present Participle

While one action is on, if simultaneously another action is taking place, the present participial verbal forms are used. /*awaj S'une cheleTa uThe porlo*/ 'hearing the noise the boy woke up', /*dArjae joRe dhakka diye S'e Dhukte cailo*/ 'Loudly knocking at the door he demanded admission' etc.

### Past participle

While one action is going on, if simultaneously another action is performed, the past participial verbal forms are used. /*amra phAl e bhorti EkTa gach dekhte pelam*/ 'we saw a tree laden with fruit', /*bondhuder kach theke Thoke S'e S'Ab aS'a hariye pheleche*/ 'Cheated by his friends, he lost all the hopes' etc.

### Perfect Participle

The Perfect Participle represents an action as completed at some time past. For example, /*biS'ram niye amra jatra S'uru korlam*/ 'Having rested, we started our journey', /*kheye niye ami S'ute gelam*/ 'Having eaten, I went to sleep' etc.

### 4.4.3 CAUSATIVE VERB

The causative can be formed in the following manner:

(i) by adding the affix *-a* to the root as in *kOr* 'to do' > *kOra* 'to cause to do', *de* > *dewa* 'to cause to give' etc.

(ii) *-ano* as the passive participle affix for causative and denominative roots: *janano* 'cause to be informed' from *jana* 'to know'.

(iii) Periphrastically with the verbal noun in *-a-* and the verb *kOrano* 'to cause to do' is common in standard Bengali as in /*S'nan kOrano*/ 'to cause to take bath'.

### 4.4.4 NEGATIVE VERB

The basic negative elements are *-/na/* and */ni/*. */na/* is further divided into */noi/*, */nOo/* and */nOe/* which are having agreement with the persons *-/ami noi/* 'not I' (1<sup>st</sup> person), */tumi nOo/* 'not you' (2<sup>nd</sup> person) and */S'e nOe/* 'not he/she' (3<sup>rd</sup> person).

The negative */ni/* is used with all the three persons. */ami jai ni/* 'I did not go', */tumi jao ni/* 'you did not go', */S'e jae ni/* 'he/she did not go' etc.

In English, the negative elements are used before the verbs but in Standard Bengali, negations follow the verbs in a sentence.

<i>/ami khabo na/</i>	‘I will not eat’
<i>/amar bhai nei/</i>	‘I do not have brothers’

#### 4.4.5 PASSIVE FORMATIONS

The passive is usually formed by the affix *-a* and the auxiliary verb *ja* ‘to go’. Although a proper passive voice with a nominative object is not natural in the language. The *ja*-passive form an impersonal construction, e.g., with the verb ‘to see’: *dekha jay* ‘it is seen’. If a promoted object is used, it is in the Dative: *ama-ke dEkha jay* ‘I am seen’ (= to me is seen)

A few cases of idiomatic passive formation take place with the verb root */pOR/* ‘to fall’, */gElo/* ‘went’, */cAl/* ‘to go’, */hOe/* ‘to happen’ etc instead of */mara pORe gElo /* ‘gets killed’; */khawa cOle/* ‘can be eaten’, */ki dEkha hOe/* is the passive form of */ki dEkho/* ‘what do you see’ etc.

A recent passive form with the auxiliary */ach/* is also available for inanimate nouns. */e boi amar pOra ache/* ‘this book has been read by me’.

Sometimes the impersonal passive is employed for politeness when the use of a particular pronominal form can be avoided: */ki kOra hOe/* ‘What is done (by you) = */ki kOro/* ‘What do you do?’

#### 4.4.6 TRANSITIVITY

Transitivity is a verbal property. When an intransitive verb gets transitivity it is used as a transitive one. For example, */jOla/* ‘to burn’ is an intransitive verb and when used as */ami jali/* ‘I burn’ it becomes a transitive one or we can say it gets transitivity because */jali/* takes an object to complete the sentence (which is the characteristics of a transitive verb) as in */ami alo jali/* ‘I burn a light’. Similarly, */bhaS’i/* ‘to float’ (intransitive) > */bhaS’ai/* ‘to make something float’ (transitive), */phoTa/* ‘to boil’ (intransitive) > */phoTai/* ‘to boil something’ (transitive) etc.

#### 4.4.7 AUXILIARY VERBS

Auxiliary verbs modify the action of the main Verbs. The auxiliary verbs generally follow the main verbs and denote

action (different degree of continuity)  
time (past, present)  
mode (condition, doubt)

In English, Auxiliary Verbs occur before the main verbs, but in Indian languages they follow the main verbs. Therefore, they are the subsidiary verbs (also called helping verbs).

Ex. */ami jete pari/* 'I can go' */S'e korte pare/* 'he can do'  
*/bOS'a/*, */hOoa/*, */neoa/* etc. which also act as the auxiliary verbs. Ex. */khetē bOS'a/* 'to sit for eating', */dEkha hOoa/* 'to see/meet', */kore neoa/* 'to complete, etc.

#### 4.4.8 COMPOUND VERBS

Compounds are formed by the addition of a verb root or an auxiliary to a noun in accusative or locative (nominal) or an unaffected verbal conjunctive or a participle (verbal). The verb root/ Auxiliary take the agreement morphemes.

- (i) Nominals: (i) With Accusative: *jOl dewa* 'to water (lit: water giving)';  
(ii) With Locative: *ga-e makha* 'to smear on the body';  
(iii) Locative verbal noun in *-te*: *korte laga* 'to start doing (lit: do-and attaching)'; (iv) With verbal noun in *-i/-a*: *muRe dewa* 'to wrap oneself up', *hama dewa* 'to crawl' etc.
- (ii) Verbals: (i) With conjunctive in *-e*: *kheye phEla* 'to eat up (Lit: eat-and drop)';  
(ii) With present participle in *-ite*: *dite thaka* 'to keep giving (Lit: give-and stay)'

There are a large number of compound verbal formations available, which are formed by combining two or more verbal forms. */cole giye thakbe/* 'might have left'



Among the compound Verbs, two different types of groupings are possible – In one group, the main verb (generally the first one) receive the inflectional suffix while the operator (the remaining verb) doesn't.

In other group, both the main verb and the operator receive the inflectional suffixes. The second type of the compound verbal formations are known as 'serial verbs' and mainly found in South-Asian languages. The following are the examples

<i>/laph deoa/</i>	'to give jump'	<i>/douD deoa/</i>	'to (give a) run'
<i>/khete deoa/</i>	'to give food'	<i>/sorie phElal/</i>	'to move'
<i>/S'ore bOS'al/</i>	'to move and sit'	<i>/mere phElal/</i>	'to kill'
<i>/likhe rakhal/</i>	'to write and keep'	<i>/lOjja deoa/</i>	'to (give a) shy'

#### 4.5 ADVERBS

Adverbs can be simple or derived. Simple adverbs are monomorphemic and derived adverbs are polymorphemic in nature. Ex.

Simple Adverbs - */aj/* 'today' */kal/* 'yesterday or tomorrow'

Derived Adverbs - */e-khane/* 'here', */ko – thae/* 'where' */o – khane/* 'there' etc.

There is another type of adverb called compound adverb where both the elements from the same class is used. Ex. */jene S'une/* 'knowingly' (*/jana/* 'to know', */sona/* 'to hear')  
*/taDa taDi/* 'Quickly' */taDa/* 'Quick' etc.

Adverbs occur in three different ways in Bengali, namely

##### 1. Adverb of Manner

Ex. */aS'te/* 'slowly', */jore/* 'speedily'

##### 2. Adverb of Place

Ex. */dure/* 'far', */age/* 'before', */moddhe/* 'middle'

##### 3. Adverb of Time

Ex. */aj/* 'today', */kal/* 'yesterday/tomorrow', */muhurte/* 'in a second'

#### 4.6 PARTICLES

Conjunction and Interjections are called particles.

##### 4.6.1 CONJUNCTIONS

Conjunctions are used for combining the two sentences, words, phrases etc. The following are the types of conjunctions

1) Conjunctive	:	<i>/ar/</i>	‘and’
2) Adversative	:	<i>/kintul/</i>	‘but’
3) Disjunctive	:	<i>/ba/</i>	‘or’
4) Correlative	:	<i>/jodi/.../to/</i>	‘if.....then’
5) Casual	:	<i>/karOn/</i>	‘because’
6) Complementary	:	<i>/ki/</i>	‘what’
7) Emphatic	:	<i>/i/</i> as in <i>/jabo-i/</i>	‘I must go’
8) Conditional	:	<i>/tahole/</i> as in <i>/coli tahole/</i>	‘I may go then’ etc.

Sometimes particles can be indicated by a ‘stress’ also like */kOk’khono na/* ‘never’, */ek’khuni/* ‘just now/ immediately’ etc.

#### 4.6.2 INTERJECTIONS

Interjections are of two types – Basic and Functional. Basic interjections are used only as interjections –as in - */bah bah/* ‘well well’ */hae hae/* ‘alas’ etc.

Functional interjections are those which are originally from other parts of speech but act as interjections –

- a. Noun : */ram ram eTa ki/* ‘Oh God ! what is this?’
- b. Pronoun : */ki ami bhalo nOe/* ‘What am I not good?’
- c. Adjective: */bhalo kObe aS’be/* ‘Good, when will you come?’

#### 4.6.3 ECHO FORMATIONS

Echo words resemble compound words where the second component of the words are almost the repetition of the first one and seems to be an echo – The meaning is basically retained by the first component and the echo part means ‘etc’. Ex. */bhat Tat/* ‘rice etc’. */jama Tama/* ‘shirt etc’. The second component begins with and the rest part of the component */T/* remains same as the first component. Also, instead of */T/*, */f/* is used when spoken with anger. Ex. */ami bhat fat khabo na/* ‘I will not eat rice etc’ (spoken with anger).

----XXX----

## 5. SYNTAX

Syntax of a language deals with the order of words and how the words are sequenced in sentences.

### 5.1 ORDER OF WORDS IN SENTENCES

The basic order of major constituents in Bengali are as follows:

Subject – Object – Verb as in */ami bhat khai/* ‘I eat rice’

To be more precise we can analyse the above formula in the following ways

- a) Subject + Predicate Adjunct + Indirect Object + Direct Object + (Dependents of the complement verb) Complement Verb + Finite Main Verb + Negative as in */ram joduke boiTa dEe/* ‘Ram gives the book to Jodu’, */ram joduke biota dEe na/* ‘Ram does not give the book to Jodu’ etc.
- b) Noun Phrase: Possessive + dem. + numeral/ quantifier + Classifier + Adjective + Noun as in */ram er baRi/* ‘Ram’s house’, */ramer carTe baRi/* ‘Ram has four houses’, */ramer carTe bhala baRi/* ‘Ram has four good houses’ etc.

### DESCRIPTION OF TYPES OF SENTENCES

#### Interrogative

Interrogative sentences are question sentences only. Wh-words i.e. *K*-words (*ke, kon, kAkhon, kAbe, kAto, kar, etc.*) are used in the sentences for making the interrogative sentences. In English, ‘yes/no’ types of sentences are also used as Interrogative sentences in Bengali. Example, */tumi jabe ki/* ‘will you go?’ */ke eS’eche/* ‘who has come?’

#### Imperative

The imperative sentences basically denote ‘order’ etc. The second person forms of the verbs are used in this purpose. The sense of imperative is marked in the verb itself.

Example, */baire ja/* ‘go out’, */(tui) bhat kha/* ‘(you) eat rice’. In this type of sentence the subject may or may not be present.

#### Negative

Negation is used in postverbal in finite and preverbal in non-finites:

*/robin aS’e na/* ‘Robin does not come’ (Finite) versus

*/robin na ele/* ‘If Robin doesn’t come’ (Conditional)

*/robin-er na aS'a/* 'Robin's not coming' (Gerund)

*/robin cae probin na aS'e/* 'Robin wants that Probin doesn't come' (Subjunctive)

### Causative

The causative sentences are formed with the help of causative verbs which are formed by adding /-oa, no/ to the main verbs .

*/ami take tajmohol dekhiechi/* 'I showed him Taj Mahal'

*/ami ramke bhat khaoacchi/* 'I am feeding rice to Ram' etc.

Here, */dEkhano/* 'to show' > */dEkhacchi/* 'I showed'

*/khaoano/* 'to feed' > */khaoacchi/* 'I feed'

### Optional

The verb(s) used in Optional sentences are having both the senses of assertive and negative actions. Ex. */ami jeteo pari na jeteo pari/* 'I may or may not go'; */ami dekhteo pari na dekhteo pari/* 'I may or may not see' etc. So here 'my going' and 'my seeing' actions are optional.

### Conditional

These types of sentences are formed on the basis of some condition expressed in verb used in the sentence. */ami gele S'e asbe/* 'If I go he/she will come'. Here, 'his/her coming' is depending on 'my going'. Another example is */tumi bolle ami phone korbo/* 'If you say I shall phone' etc.

### Co-ordination

The simple sentences may contain a single clause. Where a sentence contains more than one clause, they may be considered of equal grammatical importance. If this is so, these are coordinate clauses. They are joined by a coordinating conjunction, such as 'and' */ar/*, */ebAM/* or 'but' */kintu/*. Some grammarians call the first clause of the sentence the main clause, and the others coordinate clauses. Here are some examples. Apart from the conjunctions (or, so etc. everything else is a main/coordinate clause):

Example, */amar duTo kukur ar tinTe beRal ache/* 'I have two dogs and a cat'

*/amar baRi ebAM gaRi duToi ache/* 'I have both the house and car'

### 5.3 DESCRIPTION OF PATTERN OF SENTENCES

#### Simple sentences

The simple sentences are those where one main clause is used to form the sentence. There is one subject and one predicate along with a finite verb. The structure of a simple sentence will be

S (entence) = N (oun) P (hrase) + V (erb) P (hrase)

Example,            */ami baRi jabo/*            ‘I shall go home’  
                         */tumi boi poRbe/*            ‘you will read the book’            etc.

#### Complex sentences

A complex sentence contains one principal clause and one or more subordinate clause(s). In Complex sentences either there will be no finite verb or even if finite verb is there it is preceded or followed by */je/* ‘that’, */jEmon/* ‘like that’ etc. So there can be Noun clause, Adjectival clause, Adverbial clause etc. Examples are as follows

1. */ami jantam na je tumi ekhane acho/*            ‘I did not know that you are here’
2. */S’e bollo je kal amar baba aS’be/*            ‘he said that tomorrow my father will come’
3. */je boi kal kena hoechilo aj ta chiRe gEche/*            ‘The book which was purchased yesterday is torn today’

The embedded clauses can also be used as complex sentences.

*/toiri hole eS’o/* ‘come when you are ready’

A complex sentence can be formed with non-finite verb also. Example, */jama poRe ami baire gelam/* ‘I went out after wearing shirt’.

#### Compound sentences

Compound sentences are formed when two or more simple/complex sentences are added with the help of ‘and’. Examples,

*/amar duTo kukur ar EkTa beRal ache/*            ‘I have two dogs and a cat’  
*/tumi okhane chile kintu kAtha bAlo ni/*            ‘You were there but did not talk’

Both Simple sentences

*/ram bone jaben ar lOkkhon ke sAMge neben/* ‘Ram will go to forest and will take Laksman with him’

Simple and Complex sentences

*/tara dujon khub jhagRa kOre bATe kintu Ekjon Jodi kichu khabar jinis pae dujone bhag kore khael/* ‘ though both of them quarrel much but if any one of them gets something to eat both of them share and eat’

----xxx----

## BENGALI

### TEXT

*madi kakTa ki kore kalo S'apTake marlo*  
the crow hen how black to the snake killed  
How the Crow Hen killed the Black Snake

*EkTa bAT gacher chARano Dalpala-r moddhe EkTa kak ar tar stri madi-kak thakto.*  
A banyan tree spreading of branches among a crow and his wife crow-hen lived  
Among the spreading branches of a banyan tree lived a crow and his wife, the crow-hen.

*baS'ar moddhe carTe choTo Dim chilo jeguloke baba-ma khub jAtner sAMge S'amle rakhto*  
nest in the four little eggs were which the parents great care with guarded  
In the nest were four little eggs which the parents guarded with great care.

*oi gacher gũRir Ek koTor-e EkTa kalo S'ap thakto jake kakgulo bhiS'on bhAe peto*  
that tree-of trunk-of a hollow-in a black snake lived whom the crows greatly feared  
In a hollow of that tree-trunk lived a black snake whom the crows feared greatly.

*prottek bar madi kak Ta Dim dile S'ap TA baS'a-te gũRi mere baS'ae asto ar oiguli*  
every time crow-hen the eggs laid snake the nest-in crawled nest upto came and them  
*khee nito*  
ate up.  
Every time the crow-hen laid eggs the snake crawled up to the nest and ate them up.

*"jodi kalo S'apTa ebaro amar Dimguli khee nEe, ami ei gache ar*  
if black snake this time also my eggs eats up I this tree anymore  
*thakte parbo na.*  
will not be able to

"If the black snake eats up my eggs this time also, I will refuse to live in this tree any longer.

*amra amader onno kothao baS'a toiri korbo," ma pakhi tar S'ami-ke bollo*  
We our somewhere else nest builds must mother bird to her husband-to said

We must build our nest somewhere else,” said the mother bird to her husband.

*“amra ekhane Anek din baS’ korchhi, ami amar ghAr khali kore onno jaegae*  
we here a long time lived I my home to desert elsewhere

*thakte parbo na,” kak bollo.*

live cannot crow said

“We have lived here a long time. I can’t bears to desert my home and go to live elsewhere,”  
said the crow.

*jAkhon tara kAtha bolchilo, tader nice EkTa hiss S’Abdo tara S’unte pelo.*

While they were talking they below a hiss sound they heard

While they were talking, they heard a hissing sound just below them.

*tara ei S’Abder mane ki janto.*

they this sound meaning what know

They know what the sound meant.

*tara AS’ohae bhabe tader baS’a-e boS’e tader Dimgulo rokkha kArar cesTa*

They helplessly their nest-in sat their eggs protect do try

*korchilo*

do be-ing

They sat helplessly in their nest trying to protect their eggs.

*kalo S’ap Ta gūRi mere opore baS’ar kache elo.*

black snake the crept above of nest closer came

The black snake crept higher and closer to the nest.

*tarpar EkTA joRe hiss S’Abdo kore pakhigulo-ke S’e marar cesTa korte tara*

then a loud hiss sound did Birds - at he killed tried they in

*bhAe uRe gElo.*

fear flew away



Then with a loud hiss he tried to strike at the birds who flew away in terror.

*EkTa EkTa kore kalo S'ap-Ta Dimgulo gile phello.*

one by one, black snake-the the eggs swallowed

One by one, the black snake swallowed the eggs.

*baba ma dukkher S'AMge tader baS'ae phire elo bhalobhabe jene je baS'a*

parents sadly their in nest came back well know that nest

*khali hAbe.*

empty would be

The parents came back sadly to their nest, knowing well that they would find it empty.

*kak bollo, "amake ei khuni S'apke marar EkTa rasta khũjite hAbe."*

crow said to me this murderous snake-to to kill a way must find

The crow said, "I must find a way to destroy this murderous snake."

*"tumi tar S'AMge kEmon kore maramari korbe? tar phAna khub bhAanok,"*

you his with how do fight will do his sting very deadly

*tar stri nirupae hoe bollo.*

his wife in despair said

"How can you ever fight him? His sting is so deadly," said his wife in despair.

*"bhAe peo na, prio, amar EkTa bondhu ache je*

fear get not dear my a friend have who

*S'Abtheke biS'odhAr S'apeder marte jAthesTo dokkho," kaka bollo,*

most poisonous snakes to kill enough cunning crow said

*ebAM S'e onno gache uRe gElo jar nice tar prio bondhu, S'eal thakto.*

And he another tree flew off which under his dear friend jackal lived

“Don’t you worry, my dear, I’ve got a friend who is cunning enough to destroy the most poisonous of snakes,” said the crow, and off he flew to another tree under which lived his dear friend, the jackal.

*S’éal jAkhon S’unlo kEmon kore S’ap -Ta Dimgulo kheeniechilo , S’e bollo, “amar*  
Jackal when heard how snake-the eggs ate up he said my  
*bondhu,*  
friend

*jara niSThur ar jedi S’Arboda tader S’eS’ kharap hAe.*  
who cruel and greedy always their end bad to be  
“When the jackal heard how the snake always ate up the eggs,he said,”My friend,those who are  
cruel and greedy always meet with a bad end.

*bhAe peona, ami take dhAN”S’o korte EkTa mAtlob bhebe-i rekhechi.”*  
have no fear I to him to destroy a plan thought-already have kept

“have no fear, I’ve already thought of a plan to destroy him.”

*“oh, eTa ki amake bAlo,” kak bollo.*

oh this what to me tell me crow said

“Oh,do tell me what it is,” said the crow.

*tarpAr S’éal keu bhAe take S’une phEle, tar bondhuke phiS’ phiS’ kore bollo*  
then jackal somebody him overheard his to friend to whisper told

*S’ap-Ta-ke dhAMS’o korte ki kAra ucit.*

Snake-the-to to destroy what to do should

Then the jackal, fearing the might be overhead, whispered to his friend what he should do to destroy the snake.

*kak tar S’trir kache uRe phire gElo ar take mAtlob- Ta S’Ambandhe bollo.*

crow his wife near to fly back to go –pt. and to her plan - the about said

The crew flew back to his wife and told her about the plan.

*“eTa bipodjAnok,” kak bollo. “ amader khub S’Atorko hote hAbe.*

This risky crow said “We very careful to be will have  
“It is rather risky,” said the crow.” “We’ll have to be very careful.”

*ami amar Dimguloke rokkha korte S’Abkichu korbo,” ma pakhi S’ahoS’er S’AMge*

I my to my eggs to save everything will do mother bird bravely  
*bollo.*

said

“I’ll do anything to save my eggs,”said the either bird bravely.

*tarpaAr tara deS’er rajar praS’ader dike uRe gElo.*

then they of country of king of palace towards flew off

So off they flew towards the palace of the king of the country.

*tara praS’ader bagane EkTa bARo S’ArobArer dike uRe gElo jekhane tara*

they of palace garden a big pond towards to fly went where they

*dekhlo*

saw

*rajrAmonira S’nan korche.*

royal ladies bath doing

They approached a big pond in the garden where they saw the royal ladies having bath.

*tara tader S’onar har, muktora necklace ar onno gAhAna S’ArobArer paRe khule  
rekhele-chilo.*

they their golden chain of pearl necklace and other jewellery of pond edge remove  
keep-pt.

They had laid their golden chains, pearl necklaces and other jewellery on the edge of the pond.

*ma pakhi uRe nice gElo, tar ThōT-e S’onar har tullo ar dhire dhire  
je*

mother bird to fly down went her beak-in of gold chain picked up and slowly  
which

*gache tara baS' korto S'edike uRte laglo.*

Tree they lived towards started flying

The mother bird flew down, picked up a gold chain in her beak and started flying slowly towards the tree in which she lived.

*jAkhon praS'ad rokkhira dekhlo pakhiTa S'onar har nie uRe jacche, tara*  
when palace guards saw the bird of gold chain to carry flying away they  
*tader*

their

*AS'tro nilo ar pakhi-Ta-ke taRa korlo.*

clubs to take and bird-the-to chased

When the palace guards saw the bird flying off with the gold chain, they took up their clubs and chased bird.

*tara dekhlo pakhi-Ta har-Ta gach-er koTo-re pheledilo.*

they saw bird-the chain- the tree-of hollow-in dropped

They saw the bird drop the chain into the hollow of a tree.

*rokkhider Ekjon har-Ta pete gache coRlo. jei S'e S'ona-r har nite*  
of guards one chain-the to get on tree climbed as he gold-of chain to take

*koTor-e tar hat Dhokalo,*

hole-in his hand inserted

One of the guards climbed in the tree to get the chain. As he put his hand inside the hole to get the chain

*S'e dekhlo EkTa kalo S'ap S'ekthane guTie roeche. Tar AS'tr-er EkTa S'Akto*  
he saw one black snake there curled up his club-of one hard

*aghate S'e take mere phello ar S'ei chilo kalo S'ap-er S'eS'*  
stroke he to him killed and that was black snake-of end

he saw a black snake curled up there with one hard stroke of his club he killed it and that was the end of the black snake.

*kak ar madi kak oi gach-e pare S'ukhe baS' korechilo ar tader*  
crow and female crow that tree-in afterwards happily stayed and their

*Anek*

many

*baccha kak hoechilo.*

baby crow had

The crow and the crow hen lived in that tree happily afterwards and had many little baby crows.

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**RADHI - I**  
**SIBASIS MUKHERJEE**

**1. INTRODUCTION**

**1.1 FAMILY AFFILIATION**

Radhi, a dialect of Bengali which is considered to be the regional dialect of Bengali that is linguistically closest to the standard language, belongs to the Eastern Indo-Aryan family. It originates from Magadhi Prakrit which in turn originated from Old Indo-Aryan (Sanskrit).

**1.2 LOCATION**

Radhi is spoken in the central part of West Bengal also known as ‘Radh anchal’ and the name ‘Radhi’ comes from Radh. The districts where this dialect is spoken include Howrah, Hooghly, Burdwan, Nadia, Birbhum. The present survey was conducted in the aforesaid areas under the *Linguistic Survey of India*, West Bengal Scheme.

**1.3 SPEAKERS STRENGTH : LANGUAGE-MOTHER TONGUE-BILINGUALISM**

Census Returns - Since Radhi is a regional variety of Bengali it is enumerated under Bengali (A Scheduled Language) returns.

Bilingualism – Generally, those Radhi dialect speakers who speak an additional language speak either English or Hindi or both. The dialect is mutually intelligible with Standard Bengali. Among all the dialectal varieties of Bengali, Radhi is the closest to Standard Bengali; these varieties share many common features.

**1.4 SOCIOLINGUISTIC SITUATION / INFORMATION**

The Radhi dialectal area, comprising the districts of Hooghly, Howrah, Nadia, is situated in the central part of Bengal. Only a few specific features distinguish this variety from the standard variety of Bengali. Radhi has also kept its uniqueness among people of the older generation. Speakers of the younger generation generally speak the standard variety of Bengali; at the same time they are also conversant with Hindi and English.

### 1.5 REVIEW OF EARLIER LITERATURE AVAILABLE :-

The earlier literature available on this dialect is as follows:

Jogesh Ch. Roy – ‘*Bangla bhasa : Radher Bhasa*’. Sapapa, 15, pages 1-33.

Sudhansu Halder – ‘*Radhi upobhas’ar ekTi DayalekT boiS’iS’To*; cotuS’kon, 9<sup>th</sup> year,  
7<sup>th</sup> Vol. Kartik 1376.

Shyamaprasad Dutta – ‘*A dialectal study of the Sub-division of Uluberia*’.

Unpublished research work, Calcutta University 1973.

- ‘*uluberia mohokumar S’OMkhipto bhas’atattik boiS’iS’To*’. In  
bhas’a, 1<sup>st</sup> year, Vol.I.

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# 1. PHONOLOGY

## 2.1 PHONEMIC INVENTORY

### 2.1.1 SEGMENTAL PHONEMES

There are altogether seven vowels and thirty consonantal phonemes available in Radhi.

The inventories are as follows

Vowels

	Front	Central	Back
High	<i>i</i>		<i>u</i>
High – Mid	<i>e</i>		<i>o</i>
Low – Mid	<i>E</i>		<i>O</i>
Low	<i>a</i>		

Consonants

	Bilabial		Alveolar/ Dental		Palatal		Retroflex		Velar		Glottal
Plosives	<i>p</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>j</i>	<i>T</i>	<i>D</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>g</i>	
	<i>ph</i>	<i>bh</i>	<i>th</i>	<i>dh</i>	<i>ch</i>	<i>jh</i>	<i>th</i>	<i>Dh</i>	<i>kh</i>	<i>gh</i>	
Nasals	<i>m</i>		<i>n</i>							<i>M</i>	
Fricatives						<i>S'</i>					<i>h</i>
Glide						<i>y</i>					
Trilled/Rolled				<i>r</i>							
Tap/Flap								<i>R</i>			
Lateral				<i>l</i>							

### 2.1.2 SUPRASEGMENTAL PHONEME

Nasalization is phonemic. Ex. /*kada*/ ‘mud’ vs. /*kãda*/ ‘to cry’; /*puti*/ ‘rotten’ vs. /*pũti*/ ‘imitation stone’; /*pota*/ ‘brush’ vs. /*põta*/ ‘to plant’; /*ba*/ ‘or’ vs. /*bã*/ ‘left’ etc

## 2.2 PHONEMIC DESCRIPTION AND DISTRIBUTION - VOWELS

<i>i</i>	-	High front vowel
<i>e</i>	-	Mid-high front vowel
<i>E</i>	-	Mid low front vowel
<i>a</i>	-	Low back vowel
<i>O</i>	-	Mid-low back vowel
<i>o</i>	-	Mid-high back vowel
<i>u</i>	-	High back vowel

### Consonants

<i>/p/</i>	-	Voiceless bilabial plosive	unaspirated
<i>/ph/</i>	-	Voiceless bilabial plosive	aspirated
<i>/b/</i>	-	Voiced bilabial plosive	unaspirated
<i>/bh/</i>	-	Voiced bilabial plosive	aspirated
<i>/t/</i>	-	Voiceless dental plosive	unaspirated
<i>/th/</i>	-	Voiceless dental plosive	aspirated
<i>/d/</i>	-	Voiced dental plosive	unaspirated
<i>/dh/</i>	-	Voiced dental plosive	aspirated
<i>/c/</i>	-	Voiceless palatal affricate	unaspirated
<i>/ch/</i>	-	Voiceless palatal affricate	aspirated
<i>/j/</i>	-	Voiced palatal affricate	unaspirated
<i>/jh/</i>	-	Voiced palatal affricate	aspirated
<i>/T/</i>	-	Voiceless retroflex plosive	unaspirated
<i>/Th/</i>	-	Voiceless retroflex plosive	aspirated
<i>/D/</i>	-	Voiced retroflex plosive	unaspirated
<i>/Dh/</i>	-	Voiced retroflex plosive	aspirated
<i>/k/</i>	-	Voiceless velar plosive	unaspirated
<i>/kh/</i>	-	Voiceless velar plosive	aspirated
<i>/g/</i>	-	Voiced velar plosive	unaspirated
<i>/gh/</i>	-	Voiced velar plosive	aspirated

<i>/m/</i>	-	Voiced bilabial nasal
<i>/n/</i>	-	Voiced alveolar nasal
<i>/M/</i>	-	Voiced velar nasal
<i>/S'/</i>	-	Voiceless palatal fricative
<i>/y/</i>	-	Palatal glide (semivowel)
<i>/h/</i>	-	Voiceless glottal fricative
<i>/r/</i>	-	Alveolar trill
<i>/R/</i>	-	Retroflex flap
<i>/l/</i>	-	Alveolar lateral

### Distributions

#### Vowels

Phonemes	Initial	Medial	Final
<i>/i/</i>	√	√	√
<i>/e/</i>	√	√	√
<i>/E/</i>	√	√	√
<i>/a/</i>	√	√	√
<i>/O/</i>	√	√	√
<i>/u/</i>	√	√	√

#### Consonants

Phonemes	Initial	Medial	Final
<i>/p/</i>	√	√	√
<i>/ph/</i>	√	√	√
<i>/b/</i>	√	√	√
<i>/bh/</i>	√	√	√
<i>/t/</i>	√	√	√
<i>/th/</i>	√	√	√
<i>/d/</i>	√	√	√
<i>/dh/</i>	√	√	√
<i>/c/</i>	√	√	√

/ch/	√	√	√
/j/	√	√	√
/jh/	√	√	√
/T/	√	√	√
/Th/	√	√	√
/D/	√	√	√
/Dh/	√	√	√
/k/	√	√	√
/kh/	√	√	√
/g/	√	√	√
/gh/	√	√	√
/m/	√	√	√
/n/	√	√	√
/M/		√	√
/S'/	√	√	√
/y/		√	
/h/	√	√	√
/r/	√	√	√
/R/	√	√	√
/l/	√	√	√

[The “√” signs in the chart above indicate the presence of the consonant and vowel phonemes respectively.]

### 2.3 MAJOR ALLOPHONIC DISTRIBUTIONS

Vowels

Vowels are short in length in the inter-consonantal position.  $V > CV.C$

Consonants

1. /S'/ has three allophones – [s] occurs with the dental stops  
[osthi] - /oS'thi/ 'bones'

[S] occurs with the retroflex stops

[kOSTo] - /kOS'To/ 'pain'

[S'] occurs elsewhere.

2. /n/ has two allophones – [N] occurs with the retroflex stops.

[bONTon] - /bOnTon/ 'distribution'

[n] occurs elsewhere.

## 2.4 DIPHTHONGS

When two vowels are uttered with the same syllable that is known as a diphthong. Similarly, when three vowels are pronounced with the same syllable, the result is called a triphthong. In general, triphthongs are very limited in a language in comparison to diphthongs. Radhi has a series of diphthongs which are as follows

/ia/	as	in	/Tia/	'parrot'
/au/	as	in	/lau/	'bottle gourd'
/eu/	as	in	/Dheu/	'wave'
/ea/	as	in	/peara/	'guava'
/ei/	as	in	/ei/	'this'
/Oe/	as	in	/mOela/	'dirt'
/Eo/	as	in	/nEoTa/	'attached'
/oi/	as	in	/doi/	'curd'
/ou/	as	in	/chou/	'a type of dance'
/ui/	as	in	/dui/	'two'

## 2.5 CONSONANT CLUSTERS

The following bi-consonantal clusters are available in the Radhi dialect:

Gemination - Doubling of consonantal sound

/kk/ - /bakko/ 'sentence'

<i>/gg/</i>	-	<i>/bhaggo/</i>	‘luck’
<i>/tt/</i>	-	<i>/S’otto/</i>	‘truth’
<i>/dd/</i>	-	<i>/baddo/</i>	‘band’
<i>/cc/</i>	-	<i>/S’acca/</i>	‘proper’
<i>/jj/</i>	-	<i>/lOjja/</i>	‘shame’
<i>/TT/</i>	-	<i>/naTTo/</i>	‘drama’
<i>/DD/</i>	-	<i>/aDDa/</i>	‘gossip’
<i>/pp/</i>	-	<i>/appayOn/</i>	‘invitation’
<i>/bb/</i>	-	<i>/nabbo/</i>	‘navigable’
<i>/mm/</i>	-	<i>/kammo/</i>	‘expected’
<i>/nn/</i>	-	<i>/manno/</i>	‘regard’
<i>/S’S’/</i>	-	<i>/OboS’S’o/</i>	‘in fact’
<i>/rr/</i>	-	<i>/chOrra/</i>	‘non-stop laughter’
<i>/ll/</i>	-	<i>/mullo/</i>	‘price’

Clusters – Joining of two different consonants –

<i>/kr/</i>	-	<i>/krOe/</i>	‘to purchase’
<i>/gr/</i>	-	<i>/gram/</i>	‘village’
<i>/tr/</i>	-	<i>/tran/</i>	‘relief’
<i>/dr/</i>	-	<i>/bhOdro/</i>	‘gentle’
<i>/pr/</i>	-	<i>/pran/</i>	‘life’
<i>/mr/</i>	-	<i>/mrito/</i>	‘dead’
<i>/S’r/</i>	-	<i>/biS’ram/</i>	‘rest’
<i>/chl/</i>	-	<i>/pechla/</i>	‘slippery’
<i>/gl/</i>	-	<i>/glani/</i>	‘tiredness’

<i>/pl/</i>	-	<i>/plabon/</i>	‘flood’
<i>/S'l/</i>	-	<i>/S'lok/</i>	‘sloka’
<i>/tn/</i>	-	<i>/rOtno/</i>	‘gem’
<i>/S'n/</i>	-	<i>/S'nan/</i>	‘bath’
<i>/nm/</i>	-	<i>/jOnmo/</i>	‘birth’
<i>/rk/</i>	-	<i>/tOrko/</i>	‘argument’
<i>/rkh/</i>	-	<i>/murkho/</i>	‘foolish’
<i>/rn/</i>	-	<i>/jhOrna/</i>	‘fountain’
<i>/rth/</i>	-	<i>/tirtho/</i>	‘sacred place’
<i>/rt/</i>	-	<i>/kOrta/</i>	‘head of the family’
<i>/rm/</i>	-	<i>/dhOrmo/</i>	‘religion’
<i>/Mk/</i>	-	<i>/OMko/</i>	‘mathematics’
<i>/Mr/</i>	-	<i>/noMra/</i>	‘dirt’
<i>/MS'/</i>	-	<i>/bOMS'o/</i>	‘family’
<i>/nT/</i>	-	<i>/ghOnTa/</i>	‘bell’
<i>/gn/</i>	-	<i>/bhOgno/</i>	‘broken’
<i>/ndh/</i>	-	<i>/gOndho/</i>	‘smell’
<i>/nD/</i>	-	<i>/kanDo/</i>	‘trunk (of tree)’
<i>/ddh/</i>	-	<i>/kruddho/</i>	‘angry’
<i>/cch/</i>	-	<i>/baccha/</i>	‘child’
<i>/jjh/</i>	-	<i>/S'ojjho/</i>	‘tolerate’
<i>/nt/</i>	-	<i>/Onto/</i>	‘end’
<i>/nd/</i>	-	<i>/bOndo/</i>	‘close’
<i>/bd/</i>	-	<i>/S'Obdo/</i>	‘sound’

<i>/lp/</i>	-	<i>/gOlpo/</i>	‘story’
<i>/S’c/</i>	-	<i>/niS’cOe/</i>	‘sure’
<i>/S’T/</i>	-	<i>/OS’Tom/</i>	‘eighth’
<i>/S’th/</i>	-	<i>/S’uS’tho/</i>	‘cure’

Tri-Consonantal clusters – there are very few commonly used tri-consonantal clusters in Radhi - */ndr/* - */cOndro/* ‘moon’ ; */ntr/* - */jOntro/* ‘machine’ ; */S’Tr/* - */raS’Tro/* ‘country’ ; */Mkr/* - */sOMkramOk/* ‘infectious’.

## 2.6 SYLLABLE

A syllable may end either in a vowel or in a consonant. A syllable ending in a vowel is called an ‘open syllable’ and one ending in a consonant is called a ‘closed syllable’. Actually, by syllable, we mean that part of a word which is pronounced in one breath. Words having one syllable are called mono-syllabic words, those having two syllables are called disyllabic and those having more than one syllable are in general called polysyllabic words. The following are the syllable patterns commonly available in this dialect.

Monosyllabic words:

<i>V</i>	-	<i>/o/</i>	‘and’
<i>CV</i>	-	<i>/S’e/</i>	‘he/she’
<i>VC</i>	-	<i>/aj/</i>	‘today’
<i>CVC</i>	-	<i>/kal/</i>	‘tomorrow/yesterday’

Disyllabic words :

<i>CVC-CV</i>	-	<i>/duk-kho/</i>	‘sorrow’
<i>CV-CV</i>	-	<i>/kobi/</i>	‘poet’
<i>CVV-CV</i>	-	<i>/keu-Te/</i>	‘a snake’ (cobra)
<i>CVC-CCV</i>	-	<i>/bOj- jro/</i>	‘thunder’



<i>CVV-CV</i>	-	<i>/nou-ka/</i>	‘boat’
<i>CCVC-CVC</i>	-	<i>/proS'-than/</i>	‘departure’

Trisyllabic words:

<i>CV-CCVC-CV</i>	-	<i>/cO-kran-to/</i>	‘conspiracy’
<i>V-CCVC-CV</i>	-	<i>/a-kran-to/</i>	‘attacked’
<i>V-CCV-CV</i>	-	<i>/a-kri-ti/</i>	‘shape’

The tendency for most words to be disyllabic is called bimorism; it is a specific feature of this dialect also.

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### 3. MORPHOPHONEMICS

The following morphophonemic rules are available in Radhi:

1. Addition of */-i/* makes adjectives from nouns. The vowel */e/* in the preceding syllable is replaced with the vowel */i/*.

*/deS'/* ‘country’ > */diS'i/* ‘country made’,  
*/bilet/* ‘foreign’ > */bilet-i/* > */bilit-i/* ‘foreign made’

2. Word initial */O/* > */o/* due to raising of the vowel height in particular morphological environments.

*/Otul/* > */otul/* ‘which cannot be compared’, */Oti/* > */oti/* ‘very’

3. Aspirated consonants are deaspirated word-finally.

*/dudh/* > */dud/* ‘milk’, */mach/* > */mac/* ‘fish’ etc.

4. Voiceless consonants are voiced word-finally.

*/chat/* > */chad/* ‘roof’, */kak/* > */kag/* ‘crow’, */S'ak/* > */S'ag/* ‘green leaf’ etc.

5. Intervocalic *l* > *n*

*/lokgulo/* > *lokguno/*, */boigulo/* > */boiguno/*

6. The numeral */Ek-/* ‘one’ exhibits an alternate base */Eka-/* when added to */dOS'/* ‘ten’

*Ek + dOS' > EkadOS'* ‘eleven’ etc

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## 4. MORPHOLOGY

### 4.1 WORD-FORMATION

Words are form-classes and they take various types of affixes (also known as formative affixes) which are responsible for various formations of words. The formative suffixes used in this dialect are as follows:

- /-a/* - forms the participial form of the verbal roots.  
*/bOla/* ‘telling/told’, */hãS’a/* ‘laughing/laughed/ etc.
- /i/* - forms abstract nouns as well as feminine from masculine  
*calak* > *calaki* ‘clever’ *kaka* ‘uncle’ > *kaki* ‘aunt’ etc.
- /o/* - forms adjectives from nouns.  
*/jOl/* > */jolo/* ‘watery’ *mach* > *mecho* ‘fishy’ etc.
- /Te/* - also used to form adjectives. */tama /* > */tamaTe/* ‘copper like’ ,  
*/ghola/* > */gholaTe/* ‘not clear’ etc.
- /ola/ uli/* - used in the masculine/feminine gender to indicate professions.  
*/machola/ machuli/* ‘fisherman/fisherwoman’  
*/baDiola/* ‘house owner’ */baDiuli/* ‘lady house owner’ etc.
- /ni/* - also indicates the feminine counterpart of a profession term.  
*/napit/* ‘barber’ - */naptani/* ; */gOela/* ‘milkman’ - */gOelani/* etc.
- /e/* - sometimes also indicates a profession concerning objects of a particular category.  
Ex. */jal/* - */jele/* (concern with net).
- /Ti ~ Ta/* - forms definite article */gachTi/* - */gachTa/* ‘The tree’  
*/gula ~ guli/* plural form of the above. */gach gulo /* ~ */ gach guli/* ‘trees’



Sometimes, feminine marker words are added before the masculines to make them feminines.

*/bETa chele/* ‘man’ - */mee chele/* ‘woman’,  
*/mOdda cil/* ‘male kite’ - */madi cil/* ‘female kite’ etc.

#### 4.3.1.2 NUMBER

With respect to the Number feature, Radhi distinguishes Singular from Plural. Number in this dialect is a lexical category, it is not a grammatical category, in the sense that number in Radhi is marked only on the noun word, not on words (like verbs, adjectives, determiners) that in other languages agree with nouns for number. The plural markers are added to the singular nouns to make them plurals. Ex. */ami/* ‘I’ - */amra/* ‘we’, */lok/* ‘one person’ - */lokgulo/* ‘people’, */boi/* ‘book’ - */boiguno/* ‘books’ etc. Therefore, */-ra/*, */-era/*, */-gulo/*, */-guno/* etc. are the plural markers in this dialect. Dual number is not available. When it is necessary to make it explicit how many items are involved, a cardinal numeral is used before the noun: */dui chele/* ‘two boys’, */car chele/* ‘four boys’ etc.; ‘many’, ‘much’ etc. are indicated by */bohu/*, */Onek/* and ‘few’ is indicated by */kichu/*, etc. The fact that verbs, adjectives etc. do not inflect for number agreement is clear in examples like */boita bhalo/* ‘The book is good’, */boigulo bhalo/* ‘The books are good’; */cheleTa jacche/* ‘The boy is going’, */cheleguno jacche/* ‘The boys are going’.

#### 4.3.1.3 CASE

Nouns are inflected for the following cases in this dialect

Nominative	-	zero as in <i>/boi/</i> ‘book’
Accusative	-	<i>-/ke/</i> as in <i>/take/</i> ‘to him’
Instrumental	-	<i>/-dara/</i> , <i>/-diya/</i> , <i>/-S’athe/</i> as in <i>/tar dara/</i> ‘by him’, <i>/tar S’athe/</i> ‘with him’ etc.
Genitive	-	<i>/-r/</i> , <i>/-er/</i> as in <i>/boi-er/</i> ‘of books’, <i>/tar/</i> ‘his’ etc.
Locative	-	<i>/-tel/</i> as in <i>/ghOrete/</i> ‘in the room’ also <i>/-e/</i> as in <i>/ghOre/</i> ‘in the room’

#### 4.3.1.4. POSTPOSITIONS

Postpositions are indeclinable. Nominal and verbal postpositions available in this dialect are as follows:

Nominal Postpositions –

<i>/age/</i>	as	in	<i>/amar age/</i>	‘before me’
<i>/kache/</i>	as	in	<i>/amar kache/</i>	‘near me’
<i>/chaRa/</i>	as	in	<i>/amake chaRa/</i>	‘without me’
<i>/bhor/</i>	as	in	<i>/din bhor/</i>	‘whole day’
<i>/majhe/</i>	as	in	<i>/tader majhe/</i>	‘between them’
<i>/S’athe/</i>	as	in	<i>/tar S’athe/</i>	‘with him’
<i>/jonne/</i>	as	in	<i>/tomar jonne/</i>	‘because of you’/ ‘for you’
<i>/karone/</i>	as	in	<i>/S’ei karone/</i>	‘because of that’
<i>/nikOTe/</i>	as	in	<i>/gacher nikOTe/</i>	‘near the tree’
<i>/pOre/</i>	as	in	<i>/tar pOre/</i>	‘after that’
<i>/S’OMge/</i>	as	in	<i>/amar S’OMge/</i>	‘with me’
<i>/cee/</i>	as	in	<i>/amar cee/</i>	‘than me’
<i>/theke/</i>	as	in	<i>/kotha theke/</i>	‘from where’
<i>/dhore/</i>	as	in	<i>/hat dhore/</i>	‘holding hand’

#### 4.3.2 PRONOUN

The following is the inventory of pronouns in Radhi dialect of Bengali.

Person	Singular	Plural
First	<i>/ami/</i> ‘I’	<i>/amra/</i> ‘we’

Second	<i>/tumi/</i> ‘you’	<i>/tomra/</i> ‘you’
hon.	<i>/apni/</i> ‘you’	<i>/apnara/</i> ‘you’
Third	<i>/S’e/</i> ‘he/she’	<i>/tara/</i> ‘they’
hon.	<i>/tini/</i> ‘he/she’	<i>/tāra/</i> ‘they’
Demonstrative		
Proximate	<i>/ei/</i> ‘this’	<i>/eigulo/eiguno/</i> ‘these’
Demonstrative		
Remote	<i>/oi/</i> ‘that’	<i>/oigulo/oiguno/</i> ‘those’
Relative		
Inclusive	<i>/jei/</i> ‘whoever’	<i>/jara-i/</i> ‘whoever’
Interrogative		
Animate	<i>/ke/</i> ‘who’	<i>/kara/</i> ‘who’
Inanimate	<i>/ki/</i> ‘what’	
Indefinite	<i>/keu/</i> ‘someone’	
Collective	<i>/S’Ob/</i> ‘all’	

### 4.3.3 ADJECTIVES

Adjectives do not inflect for gender, number and case. Given below is a list of a few adjectives available in this dialect.

<i>/roga/</i>	‘thin’	<i>/dhoni/</i>	‘rich’
<i>/moTa/</i>	‘fat’	<i>/gorib/</i>	‘poor’
<i>/S’oru/</i>	‘narrow’	<i>/bORo/</i>	‘big’
<i>/lOmba/</i>	‘tall’	<i>/halka/</i>	‘light’

<i>/S'ada/</i>	'white'	<i>/bhari/</i>	'heavy'
<i>/kalo/</i>	'black'	<i>/choTo/</i>	'small'

Comparison of adjective is indicated by */-tOro/* and */-tOmo/*. */-tOro/* is used for comparative degree and */-tOmo/* is used for superlative degree.

<i>/brihOt/</i>	'big'	<i>/brihOttOro/</i>	'bigger'	<i>/brihOttOmo/</i>	'biggest'
<i>/loghu/</i>	'light'	<i>/loghutOro/</i>	'lighter'	<i>/loghutOmo/</i>	'lightest' etc.

Adjectives, as mentioned earlier, do not inflect for gender, number and case.

<i>/EkTa bhalo chele jacchel</i>	'one good boy is going'
<i>/EkTa bhalo meye jacchel</i>	'one good girl is going'
<i>/dOS'Ta bhalo chele jacchel</i>	'ten good boys are going'
<i>/dOS'Ta bhalo meye jacchel</i>	'ten good girls are going'
<i>/EkTa bhalo meyer boi/</i>	'book of one good girl'
<i>/dOS'Ta bhalo meyer boi/</i>	'book of ten good girls etc.'

Sometimes, adjectives are reduplicated to indicate plurality.

<i>/bhalo bhalo chele/</i>	'good good boy'	i.e.	'good boys'
<i>/bORo bORo gach/</i>	'big big tree'	i.e.	'big trees' etc.

#### 4.3.3.1 NUMERALS

Two types of numerals are available – Cardinals and Ordinals.

Cardinals

The basic Cardinal numerals are - */Ek/* 'one', */dui/* 'two', */tin/* 'three', */car/* 'four', */pāc/* 'five', */chOe/* 'six', */S'at/* 'seven', */aT/* 'eight', */nOe/* 'nine', */dOS'/* 'ten', */kuRi/* also */biS'/*



‘twenty’, /tiriS/ ‘thirty’, /colliS/ ‘forty’, /pOncaS/ ‘fifty’, /S’aT/ ‘sixty’, /S’ottor/ ‘seventy’, /aS’i/ ‘eighty’, /nobboi/ ‘ninety’, /S’O/ ‘hundred’, /pãcS’o/ ‘five hundred’, /hajar/ ‘thousand’, etc.

Twenty to thirty is counted on the basis of twenty, thirty to forty is counted on the basis of thirty, forty to fifty is counted on the basis of forty and so on. Numerals after hundred are counted as follows: /Ek hajar Ek S’o dOS/ ‘one thousand one hundred ten’, /pãc hajar tinS’o car/ ‘five thousand three hundred four’, etc.

### Ordinals

Ordinals are formed from the cardinals by adding suffixes to them. /Ek-/ ‘one’ has the suppletive base /pOe-/ as in /pOela/ ‘first’. Likewise, /dui/ > /ditio/ ‘second’, /tin/ ‘three’ > /tritio/ ‘third’, /car/ ‘four’ > /coturtho/ ‘fourth’ etc.

The quantifiers used in this dialect are /S’Ooa/ ‘one and one fourth’, /pounel/ ‘three fourths’, /Der/ ‘one and a half’ etc.; these terms quantify the numbers and that is why they are called quantifiers.

### 4.3.3.2 CLASSIFIERS

The following classifiers are available in this dialect. These are used after cardinal/ordinal numerals. /muTho/ ‘a handful of’, /jhãk/ ‘a flock of’, /guccho/ ‘a bunch of’, /dOl/ ‘a group of’, /S’ari/ ‘a line of’, /raS/ ‘a bunch of’ etc.

Now, the important fact to be noted is that these classifiers have selectional restrictions. For example /Ek raS’ cul/ ‘a bunch of hair’ but we cannot say /Ek raS’ gai/ ‘a bunch of cows’. Here /Ek dOl gai/ is correct. Similarly, /Ek jhãk pakhi/ ‘a flock of birds’, but /Ek jhãkkukur/ is incorrect. Anyway a native speaker intuitively knows the use of these classifiers as list classifiers. Those who are learning the language they have to learn from lists made of the classifiers. Like adjectives, if the quantifiers are repeated then they indicate a bigger amount. For example: /raS’i raS’i phul/ ‘bunches and bunches of flowers’, /muTho muTho cal/ ‘many fistfuls of rice’ etc.

## 4.4 VERB: MORPHOLOGY

### 4.4.1 FINITE VERB

A finite verb consists of a stem followed by mood, tense and aspect markers, which are further followed by person, gender and number markers.

#### 4.4.1.1 TENSE

Three tenses are available – Present, Past and Future.

Present Tense – Present tense indicates the action going on at present time. Similarly for past and future action takes place in past time and future time respectively. Simple Present, Present Perfect and Present Continuous are the three main types of the Present Tense. Ex. /ja/ ‘to go’

##### Simple Present

Person	Singular	Plural
First	<i>jai</i> ‘I go’	<i>jai</i> ‘we go’
Second	<i>jao</i> ‘you go’	<i>jao</i> ‘you go’
Third	<i>jae</i> ‘he/she goes’	<i>jae</i> ‘they go’

##### Present Perfect

First	<i>gechi</i> ‘I have gone’	<i>gechi</i> ‘we have gone’
Second	<i>gEcho</i> ‘you have gone’	<i>gEcho</i> ‘you have gone’
Third	<i>gEche</i> ‘he/she has gone’	<i>gEche</i> ‘they have gone’

##### Present Continuous

First	<i>jacchi</i> ‘I am going’	<i>jacchi</i> ‘we are going’
Second	<i>jaccho</i> ‘you are going’	<i>jaccho</i> ‘you are going’
Third	<i>jacche</i> ‘he/she is going’	<i>jacche</i> ‘they are going’

##### Past Tense

Three main types of the past tense are Simple Past, Past Perfect and Past Continuous.

### Simple Past

First	<i>gelam</i>	‘I went’	<i>gelam</i>	‘we went’
Second	<i>gele</i>	‘you went’	<i>gele</i>	‘you went’
Third	<i>gElo</i>	‘he/she went’	<i>gElo</i>	‘they went’

### Past Perfect

First	<i>giechilam</i>	‘I had gone’	<i>giechilam</i>	‘we had gone’
Second	<i>giechile</i>	‘you had gone’	<i>giechile</i>	‘you had gone’
Third	<i>giechilo</i>	‘he/she had gone’	<i>giechilo</i>	‘they had gone’

### Past Continuous

First	<i>jacchilam</i>	‘I was going’	<i>jacchilam</i>	‘we were going’
Second	<i>jacchile</i>	‘you were going’	<i>jacchile</i>	‘you were going’
Third	<i>jacchilo</i>	‘he/she was going’	<i>jacchilo</i>	‘they were going’

### Future Tense

Simple Future, Future Perfect and Future Continuous are the three main types of Future Tense. Conjugations are as follows:

#### Simple Future

First	<i>jabo</i>	‘I shall go’	<i>jabo</i>	‘we shall go’
Second	<i>jabe</i>	‘you will go’	<i>jabe</i>	‘you will go’
Third	<i>jabe</i>	‘he/she will go’	<i>jabe</i>	‘they will go’

#### Future Perfect

First	<i>gie thakbo</i>	‘I shall have gone’	<i>gie thakbo</i>	‘we shall have gone’
Second	<i>gie thakbe</i>	‘you will have gone’	<i>gie thakbe</i>	‘you will have gone’
Third	<i>gie thakbe</i>	‘he/she will have gone’	<i>gie thakbe</i>	‘they will have gone’

[Verb root /-ja/ ‘to go’ + Subsidiary /thak/ to remain’]

#### Future Continuous

First	<i>jete thakbo</i>	‘I shall be going’	<i>jete thakbo</i>	‘we shall be going’
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Second    *jete thakbe* ‘you will be going’    *jete thakbe* ‘you will be going’  
Third      *jete thakbe* ‘he/she will be going’ *jete thakbe* ‘they will be going’  
[Verb root /-ja/ ‘to go’ + Subsidiary /thak/ to remain’]

#### 4.4.1.2 ASPECT

Two aspects are found in this dialect – Habitual and Perfect.

##### Habitual Aspect

Habitual aspect indicates the regular action of the verb. Ex. /*S’e khae*/ ‘he eats’. /*S’e jae*/ ‘he goes’ etc. The verbal form used here is generally the simple present tense form.

##### Perfect Aspect

Perfect aspect indicates the action of the verb which has been completed recently. Ex. /*S’egEche*/ ‘he has gone’; /*S’e enechel*/ ‘he has brought’ etc. The verbal form used here is generally the Perfect Tense form.

#### 4.4.1.3 MOODS

Three moods are available – Imperative, Subjunctive and Permissive.

##### Imperative Mood

Imperative mood indicates orders, requests etc. The second person singular form of a verb is used to indicate this mood. Ex. /*jao*/ ‘go’, /*eso*/ ‘come’, /*khaol*/ ‘eat’ etc.

##### Permissive Mood

The act of seeking permission is indicated by the permissive mood. In English the word ‘let’ is used as in ‘Let him go’. In this dialect, the subsidiary verb /-de/ ‘give’ is used. Ex. /*jete de ~ dao*/ ‘Let him go’; /*khete de ~ dao*/ ‘Let him eat’; /*S’ute de ~ dao*/ ‘Let him sleep’.

##### Subjunctive Mood

The subjunctive mood expresses a verb form used when talking about hypothetical, wishful, unreal, uncertain, imaginary, improbable, impossible, or untrue situations and one subordinate clause is required to complete the desire or wish of the subject of the main clause.

Examples - /S'Ombhob hole ami jetam/ 'If possible, I may go', /Sé ekhane thakle ami cole jetam/ 'If he/she were here, I may go'.

#### 4.4.2 NON-FINITE VERBS

A non-finite verb that does not show or exhibit tense and number in an independent clause or sentence. As it does not show any tense, it cannot stand on its own. It can never serve the purpose of the main verb in the sentence. The verb forms are known as Infinitives (indicated by 'to'), Participles and Gerunds come under the category of non-finite verbs.

##### 4.4.2.1 INFINITIVE

Infinitive verbal forms are formed by adding infinitive markers to different bases like transitives, intransitives, causatives, passives etc. In this dialect, as in Standard Bengali, the infinitive is marked by /-te/ suffixed to the verbal root, ex. /dhortē/ 'to hold/to catch' /ami oke dhortē cāi/ 'I want to catch him', /khetē/ 'to eat'/ami khetē bhalobāS'i/ 'I love to eat', /S'ute/ 'to sleep' /mari S'ute caē/ 'Mari wants to sleep', /morte/ 'to die' /ami mortecāinā/ 'I do not want to die', /marte/ 'to kill' /jOn oke marte caēni/ 'John do not want to kill him' etc.

##### 4.4.2.2. THE VERBAL NOUN/GERUND

The gerunds are formed by adding the /-a- ~ oa/ suffix to the verbal roots. Actually when verbs are used as nouns they are called gerunds. Therefore, the examples are as follows.

/S'ātar kaT-a bhalo bEeam/ 'swimming is good exercise'

/dudh kha-oa bhalo/ 'drinking milk is good'

##### 4.4.2.3 PARTICIPLE

Participles are verb forms used as adjectives. There are three kinds of participles: the present participle, the past participle, and the perfect participle.

###### 1. Present participle

The present participle is often used when we want to express an active action. In English we add /-ing/ to the infinitive of the verb. Ex. /je lokTi inglis bOlche uni amader S'ikhOk/

‘The man speaking English is our teacher’ in */inglis bOla lok/* ‘English speaking man’, */amar bondhu ekTi pORua chele/* ‘my friend is a studying boy (the boy always study did no other job)’ in */pORua chele/* ‘Studying boy’ etc.

## 2. Past participle

The past participle is often used when we want to express a passive action. In English we add */-ed/* to the infinitive of regular verbs. Ex. */gari Ta jeTi dhoa hoeche S’eTi nil/* ‘The car washed yesterday is blue’ in */dhOa gari/* ‘cleaned car’, */ami aj amader bagane sabjhOra pata gulo phellam/* ‘Today in my garden I threw (cleaned) all the fallen leaves’ in */jhOra pata/* ‘fallen leaves’ etc.

## 3. Perfect participle

The combination (Present and Past participle) is also known as perfect participle. It is used to form an active sentence with the past participle. There is a time gap between the actions.

### Present participle

*/cheleTi boi pOrte pOrte gherer baire elo/* ‘The boy came reading out of the room’

Both actions happened at the same time etc.

### Past participle and having

*/boi pOre cheleTi gharer baire elo/* ‘Having read the book the boy came out of the room’

One action happened after the other.

## 4.4.3 CAUSATIVE VERB

Causatives are formed by adding the */-a ~ -ano/* suffix to the main verb. Ex. */khaoa/* ‘to eat’, */khaoano/* ‘to feed’, */dEkha/* ‘to see’, */dEkhano/* ‘to show’, */pORa/* ‘to read’, */pORano/* ‘to teach’ etc. The term causation is associated with the sense of ‘causing/making somebody do the work or making someone perform the job’.

#### 4.4.4 NEGATIVE VERB

Negation is expressed in this dialect by using one of the following particles: /na, nei, nOe/. These negative elements used after the verb. Ex. /tumi baRi jabe na/ ‘you will not go home’, /eTa tomarboi nOe/ ‘this is not your book’, /amar Taka nei/ ‘I do not have money’ etc.

#### 4.4.5 AUXILIARY VERB

Auxiliary Verbs help to perform the action of the main verbs. That is why they are also called ‘Helping Verbs’. They generally follow the main verbs in Indo-Aryan Languages but in languages like English, they precede the main verbs. Auxiliary verbs denote action (degrees of continuity), time (past, present) and mode(condition, doubt).

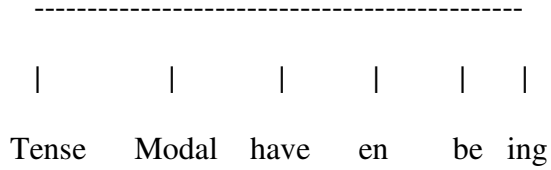
Examples – Generally the auxiliary verbs used in this dialect are /hOoa/ ‘to be’, /para/ ‘can/may’, /boS’a/ ‘to sit’, /neoa/ ‘to take’ etc.

/ami korte pari/ ‘I can do’,      /ami jete pari/      ‘I may go’  
/S’e kore nilo/      ‘he has done’,      /ami khete boS’i/      ‘I sit to eat’  
/amake jete holo/ ‘I had to go’ etc.

Therefore, the tree diagram for the expansion of Auxiliary in English is

AUX

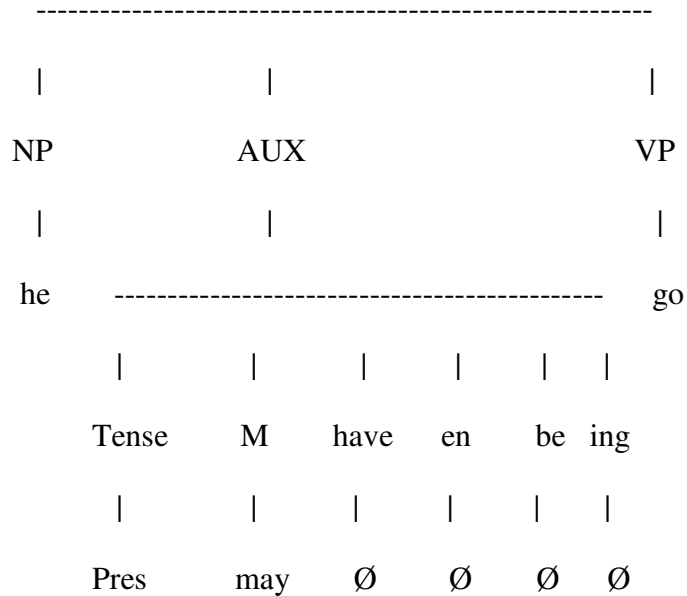
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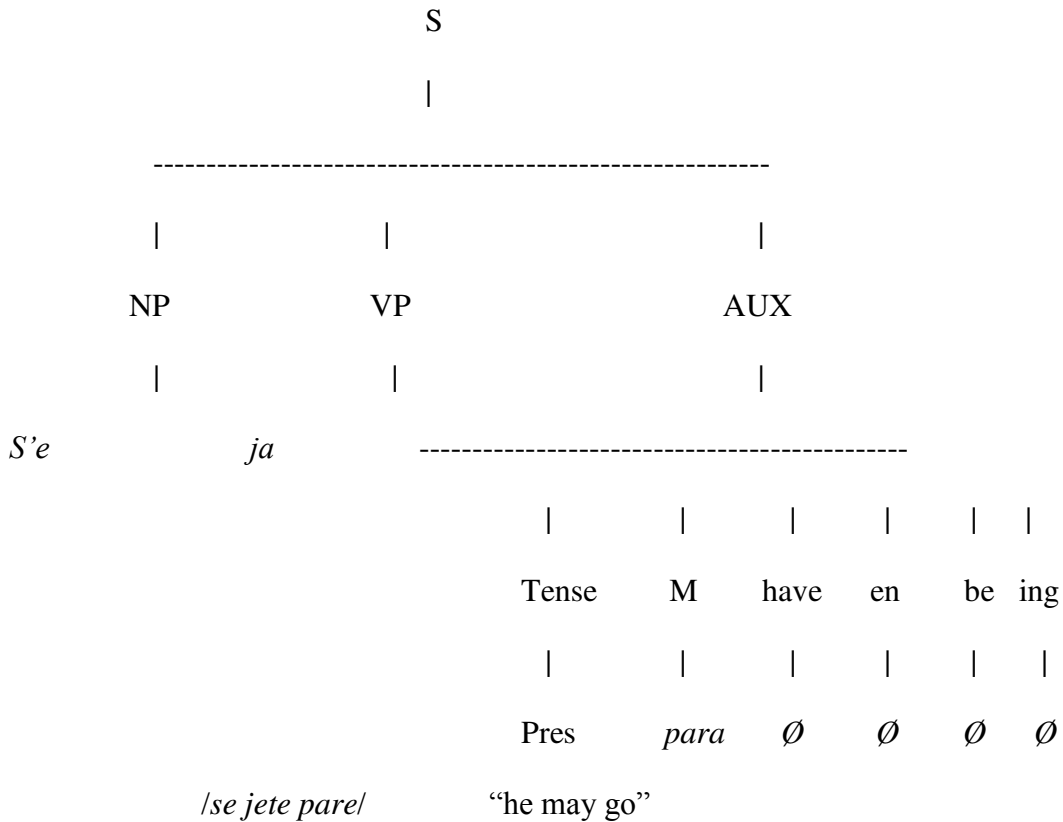
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‘he may go’

After the transformation called Affix-Hopping, and taking into account derivations in which *have*, *en*, *be*, *ing* do not go to null, we can also handle other sentences like ‘he might have been going’ etc. In the present sentence /*S’e jete pare*/ ‘He may go’ the tree diagram can be as follows:





Here the VP comes before AUX.

[S= Sentence, NP= Noun Phrase, VP= Verb Phrase, AUX = Auxiliary, M= Modal Verb]

Thus, Radhi is realized with SOV word order.

#### 4.4.6 PASSIVE FORMATION

Passive is formed from the active sentences in the following way:

- i) The subject moves out of its original position
- ii) The object goes to the subject position but retains its object case marking
- iii) A ‘by’ element is attached to the subject
- iv) The passive form of the verb is used.

Active Sentences

*/ami pakhi dekhi/*                      ‘I see the bird’ (Present)

*/ami pakhi dekhechilam/*                      ‘I saw the bird’ (Past)

*/ami pakhi dekhbo/* 'I shall see the bird' (Future)

Passive Formations –

*/amar (dara) pakhi dEkha hOel/* 'The bird is seen by me'

*/amar (dara) pakhi dEkha hoechilo/* 'The bird was seen by me'

*/amar (dara) pakhi dEkha hObel/* 'The bird will be seen by me'

Therefore, adding 'by' i.e. */dara/* is optional here and in these types of formations, the verb */hOoa/* 'to be' is added to the main verb and is inflected.

#### 4.4.7 TRANSITIVITY

Transitivity is a verbal property that has to do with taking an object. Some intransitive verbs have transitive counterparts that cannot be derived by any systematic process that belongs to the contemporary grammatical system of the dialect. For example, */jOle/* 'to burn, to shine' is an intransitive verb; but its transitive counterpart */jali/* takes an object to complete the sentence, as in */ami dhupjali/* 'I light incense'. In some cases, there is a derivational process involved, e.g.

*/bhaS'a/* 'to float' (intransitive) > */bhaS'ai/* 'I make something float' (transitive),  
*/phoTa/* 'to boil' (intransitive) > */phoTai/* 'I boil something' (transitive) etc.

#### 4.4.8 COMPOUND VERBS

Radhi dialect has a rich tradition of compound verbs which are combinations of two or more verbal forms. We can divide these large numbers of compound verbs into two groups – in the first group, the first verb takes the inflectional suffix and the other one does not. In the second group, both the verbs take the inflectional suffixes. These second type of verbs are mainly available in South Asian Languages and they are known as 'Serial Verbs'. Given below are a few examples of compound verbs which are most commonly used in this dialect:

*/kOtha bOla/* 'to speak'                      */bole oTha/* 'to start speaking'

*/boS'e pORa/* 'to sit down'                      */muche phEla/* 'to wipe out'

*/dhulo deoa/* ‘to abscond’                      */S’ātar deoa/* ‘to swim’

*/phāki deoa/* ‘to cheat’    */jal deoa/* ‘to cast a net for catching fish’, ‘to boil milk’

*/likhe deoa/* ‘to write for someone’ */keTe phEla/* ‘to cut’

*/bole phEla/* ‘to speak suddenly’    */nece oTha/* ‘to start dancing’

#### 4.5. ADVERBS

Adverbs can be simple or derived. Simple adverbs are monomorphemic (i.e. they consist of a single morpheme); derived adverbs consist of more than one morpheme.

Simple adverbs - */aj/* ‘today’, */kal/* ‘yesterday/ ‘tomorrow’ etc.

Derived adverbs - */e-khane/* ‘here’, */ko-tha/* ‘where’ (adverb of place), */aste/* ‘slowly’, */taRa-taRi/* ‘quickly’; */jani S’uni/* ‘knowingly’ ( */jani/* ‘having known’) is a type of compound adverb.

#### 4.6 PARTICLES – Conjunctions and Interjections are called particles.

##### 4.6.1 CONJUNCTIONS

Conjunctions connect two sentences, words, phrases etc. They can be of the following types –

- |    |               |   |                 |           |
|----|---------------|---|-----------------|-----------|
| 1) | Conjunctive   | : | <i>/ar/</i>     | ‘and’     |
| 2) | Adversative   | : | <i>/kintu/</i>  | ‘but’     |
| 3) | Disjunctive   | : | <i>/ba/</i>     | ‘or’      |
| 4) | Conditional   | : | <i>/jodi/</i>   | ‘if’      |
| 5) | Causal        | : | <i>/karon /</i> | ‘because’ |
| 6) | Adverbial     | : | <i>/to/</i>     | ‘then’    |
| 7) | Complementary | : | <i>/ki/</i>     | ‘what’    |

Examples in the context of a sentence - */ami jabo ar tumi aS’be/* ‘I will go and you will come’; */ami ar tumi/* ‘me and you’.

#### 4.6.2 INTERJECTIONS

Interjections are of two types – basic and functional. Basic interjections are those which are used only as interjections. Ex. */bah bah/* ‘well done’, */hay hay/* ‘alas’ etc. Functional interjections are those which belong to other parts of speech but act as interjections in their use. Examples are as follows:

- a) Substantive : */ram ram eTa ki/* ‘Oh God! What is this?’
- b) Pronoun : */ki tumi jabe na/* ‘What? You won’t go?’
- c) Adjective : */bhalo, kObe jaccho /* ‘Good, when are you going?’

The placement of */ki/* for example in initial, medial and final positions give different meanings.

Ex. */ami ki baDi jabo/* ‘should I go home/other place?’

*/ki ami baDi jabo/* ‘What? Will I go home?’

*/ami baDi jabo ki/* ‘should I go home?’

#### 4.7 ECHO WORDS / REDUPLICATION

Echo words are similar to compound words where the second component of the word is almost a repetition of the sounds of the first component of the word and thus form an ‘echo word’. The meaning of the first component of the word remains constant, and the echo means ‘etc.’ Ex. */bhat Tat/* ‘rice etc.’, */gan Tan/* ‘song etc.’, */jama Tama/* ‘shirt etc.’. Generally */T/* is used in this dialect as the initial sound of the echo word. If one wishes to express anger, */f/* is used instead of */T/*. Ex. */ganTan/* -- */amar gan Tan bhalo lage na/* ‘I do not like music/song etc.’ But */Ekhon gan-fan bOndho kOro/* ‘stop music/song etc.’ (said with irritation).

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## 5. SYNTAX

### 5.1 ORDER OF WORDS IN SENTENCES

The actual way to position different words of different parts of speech in a sentence is called word order. Proper word-order is required for a sentence to be grammatical and it varies from language to language. Radhi word order is Subject – Object –Verb or S O V. Generally, the subject is assigned nominative case and the object is oblique.

<i>/ami</i>	<i>kag ke</i>	<i>dekhi/</i>	'I see the crow'
I -nom	crow-acc	see-pres.	

This is an assertive sentence. In order to get other types of possible sentences from this structure, we may apply transformational rules.

### 5.2 DESCRIPTION OF TYPES OF SENTENCES

#### Interrogative

Interrogative sentences denote questions asked by speakers to listeners. Ex. */ami baRi jabo/* 'I will go home' – assertive and */ami baRi jabo ki/* 'shall I go home?' -- interrogative. Also the wh-words like */ki/*, */ke/*, */kothae/*, */kEno/* etc. make the sentence interrogative.

#### Imperative

Imperative sentences indicate orders. The verbal form of second person singular is used in this type of sentence. Ex. */baRi ja/* 'go home', */berie ja/* 'get out' etc.

#### Negative

Formations of negative sentences are similar to those in standard Bengali, i.e. the negative element comes after the verb.

Ex. <i>/ami khabo na/</i>	'I shall not eat'
<i>/S'e na gele bhalo/</i>	'It is good if he/she does not go'

Affirmation of negativity- whenever the negative marker /na/ comes first, it affirms the negative in following string as well. /na, S'e baRi nei/ 'no, he is not at home'

### Causative

Causative sentences are formed with the causative forms of the verbs. These sentences follow the structures of assertive sentences except that instead of simple verbal forms the causal forms of the verbs are used. By extending simple verbs *dEkha* 'to see' > *dEkhano* 'cause to see' the valiancy of the simple verb is increased by one and a causative verb is created.

/ami chobi dekhi/ 'I see the picture'

/ami chobi dEkhai/ 'I show the picture'

Below is a selection of simple verbs with their commonly used causative counter parts :

#### Simple verbs

#### Causative verbs

/oTha/ 'to get up' > /ami uThi/ 'I get up'

/oThano/ 'to lift' > /ami take oThai/ 'I lift him'

/kOra/ 'to do'

/kOrano/ 'to cause to do'

Other Examples, /sui/ 'to lie down' > /sOai/ (>causative verb /sOano/) 'to make somebody to lie down', /poDi/ 'to read' > /pODai/ (>causative verb /pODano/) 'to make somebody to read' etc.

### Coordination

Coordination is the process of joining two or more sentences together. In this dialect /ar/, /o/, /ebOM/ are the elements used for co-ordination. Ex. /tomader baRi ar/o/ebOM amader bagan/ 'your house and our garden'.

## 5.3 DESCRIPTION OF PATTERNS OF SENTENCES

The patterns of sentences may be of three types – Simple, Complex and Compound.

### Simple sentences

Simple sentences are those where simple SOV (Subject Object Verb) is maintained. Ex. */ami maThe kheli/* ‘I play on the playground’, */S’e baRi jae/* ‘he goes home’.

### Complex Sentences

In Complex sentences, the subordinate clauses are attached to the main clauses with the help of particles and together they make a complex structure.

For example,

*/S’e baRitheke beriye S’ei dokane gElo je dokane bhalo jiniS’ paoa jae/*

‘he came out of the house and went to that shop where good materials are available’.

### Compound Sentences

Compound sentences are those where the main and the subordinate clauses are joined together with the help of ‘and’ i.e. */ar/*, */o/*, */ebOM/*. Ex. */S’e iS’kul theke elo ar poRte boS’lo/* ‘he came from school and started studying’, */ami baRi gelam ar take dekhte pelam/* ‘I went home and saw him’.

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## TEXT

### RADHI

*madi kakTa ki kore kalo S'apTake marlo*  
the crow hen how black to the snake killed

How the Crow Hen killed the Black Snake

*EkTa bOT gacher chORano Dalpala-r moddhe EkTa kak ar tar stri madi-kak thakto*  
A banyan tree spreading of branches among a crow and his wife crow-hen lived  
Among the spreading branches of a banyan tree lived a crow and his wife, the crow-hen.

*baS'ar moddhe carTe choTo Dim chilo jeguloke baba-ma khub jOtner S'OMge S'amle rakhto*  
nest in the four little eggs were which the parents great care with guarded  
In the nest were four little eggs which the parents guarded with great care.

*oi gacher gũRir Ek koTor-e EkTa kalo S'ap thakto jake kakgulo bhiS'on*  
that tree-of trunk-of a hollow-in a black snake lived whom the crows greatly  
*bhOe peto*  
feared

In a hollow of that tree-trunk lived a black snake whom the crows feared greatly.

*prottek bar madi kak Ta Dim dile S'ap Ta baS'a-te gũRi mere baS'ae aS'to ar oiguli*  
every time crow-hen the eggs laid snake the nest-in crawled nest upto came and them

*khee nito*

ate up.

Every time the crow-hen laid eggs the snake crawled up to the nest and ate them up.

*“jodi kalo S'apTa ebaro amar Dimguli khee nEe, ami ei gache ar*  
if black snake this time also my eggs eats up I this tree anymore  
*thakte parbo na.*  
will not be able to live

“If the black snake eats up my eggs this time also, I will refuse to live in this tree any longer.



*amra amader onno kothao baS'a toiri korbo," ma pakhi tar S'ami-ke bollo*  
We our somewhere else nest builds will-do mother bird to her husband-to said  
We must build our nest somewhere else," said the mother bird to her husband.

*"amra ekhane Onek din baS' korchhi, ami amar ghOr khali kore onno jaegae*  
we here a long time lived I my home to desert elsewhere

*thakte parbo na," kak bollo*  
live cannot crow said

"We have been living here a long time. I can't bear to desert my home and go to live elsewhere," said the crow.

*jOkhon tara kOtha bolchilo, tader nice EkTa hiss S'Obdo tara S'unte pelo*  
While they were talking they below a hiss sound they heard  
While they were talking, they heard a hissing sound just below them.

*tara ei S'Obder mane ki janto*  
they this sound meaning what know  
They knew what the sound meant.

*tara OS'ohae bhabe tader baS'a-e boS'e tader Dimgulo rokkha kOrar ceS'Ta kor*  
They helplessly their nest-in sat their eggs protect do try  
*chilo*

do be-ing  
They sat helplessly in their nest trying to protect their eggs.

*kalo S'ap Ta gūRi mere opore baS'ar kache elo*  
black snake the crept above of nest closer came  
The black snake crept higher and came closer to the nest.

*tarpAr EkTA joRe hiss S'Obdo kore pakhigulo-ke S'e marar ceS'Ta korte tara*  
then a loud hiss sound did birds - at he killed tried they

*bhOe*

in fear

*uRe gElo*

flew away

Then with a loud hiss he tried to strike at the birds who flew away in terror.

*EkTa EkTa kore kalo S'ap-Ta Dimgulo gile phello*

one by one, black snake-the the eggs swallowed

One by one, the black snake swallowed the eggs.

*baba ma dukkher S'OMge tader baS'ae phire elo bhalobhabe jene je baS'a khali*

parents sadly their in nest came back well know that nest  
empty

*hObe*

would be

The parents came back sadly to their nest, knowing fully well that they would find it empty.

*kak bollo, "amake ei khuni S'apke marar EkTa rasta khũjte hObe."*

crow said to me this murderous snake-to to kill a way must find

The crow said, "I must find a way to kill this murderous snake."

*"tumi tar S'OMge kEmon kore maramari korbe? tar phOna khub*

you his with how do fight will do his sting very

*bhOeanok,"*

deadly

*tar stri nirupae hoe bollo*

his wife in despair said

"How can you ever fight him? His sting is so deadly," said his wife in despair.

*“bhOe peo na, prio, amar EkTa bondhu ache je*  
fear get not dear my a friend have who

*S’Obtheke biS’odhAr S’apeder marte jOtheS’To dokkho,” kak bollo,*  
most poisonous snakes to kill enough cunning crow said

*ebOM S’e onno gache uRe gElo jar nice tar prio bondhu, S’eal thakto.*

And he another tree flew off which under his dear friend jackal lived

“Don’t you worry, my dear, I’ve got a friend who is cunning enough to kill the most poisonous of snakes,” said the crow, and off he flew to another tree under which lived his dear friend, the jackal.

*S’eal jOkhon S’unlo kEmon kore S’ap-Ta Dimgulo kheeniechilo , S’e bollo, “amar*  
Jackal when heard how snake-the eggs ate up he said my  
*bondhu,*  
friend

*jara niSThur ar jedi S’Orboda tader S’eS’ kharap hOe.*

who cruel and greedy always their end bad to be

“When the jackal heard how the snake always ate up the eggs, he said,”My friend, those who are cruel and greedy always meet with a bad end.

*bhOe peona, ami take dhOMS’o korte EkTa mOtlob bhebe-i*  
have no fear I to him to destroy a plan thought-already  
*rekhechi.”*

have kept

Have no fear, I’ve already thought of a plan to destroy him.”

*“o, eTa ki amake bOlo,” kak bollo.*

oh this what to me tell me crow said

“Oh,do tell me what that is,” said the crow.

*tarpOr S’eal keu bhOe take S’une phEle, tar bondhuke phiS’ phiS’ kore bollo*  
then jackal somebody him overheard his to friend to whisper told

*S'ap-Ta-ke dhOMS'o korte ki kOra ucit.*

Snake-the-to to destroy what to do should

Then the jackal, fearing that he might be overhead, whispered to his friend what he should do to destroy the snake.

*kak tar strir kache uRe phire gElo ar take mOtlOb- Ta S'Ombondhe*

crow his wife near to fly back to go -pt. and to her plan - the about

*bollo.*

said

The crew flew back to his wife and told her about the plan.

*"eTa bipodjOnok," kak bollo. "amader khub S'Otorko hote hObe.*

This risky crow said "We very careful to be will have

"It is rather risky," said the crow." "We'll have to be very careful."

*ami amar Dimguloke rokkha korte S'Obkichu korbo," ma pakhi S'ahoS'er S'OMge*

I my to my eggs to save everything will do mother bird bravely

*bollo.*

said

"I'll do anything to save my eggs," said the mother bird bravely.

*tarpOr tara deS'er rajar praS'ader dike uRe gElo.*

then they of country of king of palace towards flew off

So off they flew towards the palace of the king of the country.

*tara praS'ader bagane EkTa bORo S'OrobOrer dike uRe gElo jekhane*

they of palace garden a big pond towards to fly went where

*tara dekhlo rajrOmonira S'nan korche.*

they saw royal ladies bath doing

They approached a big pond in the garden where they saw the royal ladies taking their bath.

*tara tader S'onar har, muktora necklace ar onno gOhona S'OrobOrer paRe khule rekhe-*  
they their golden chain of pearl necklace and other jewellery of pond edge remove  
*chilo.*

keep-pt.

They had laid their golden chains, pearl necklaces and other jewellery on the edge of the pond.

*ma pakhi uRe nice gElo, tar ThōT-e S'onar har tullo ar dhire dhire*  
mother bird to fly down went her beak-in of gold chain picked up and slowly

*je*

which

*gache tara baS' korto S'edike uRte laglo*

Tree they lived towards started flying

The mother bird flew down, picked up a gold chain in her beak and started flying slowly towards the tree in which she lived.

*jOkhon praS'ad rokkhira dekhlo pakhiTa S'onar har niye uRe jacche, tara*  
when palace guards saw the bird of gold chain to carry flying away they

*tader*

their

*OS'tro nilo ar pakhi-Ta-ke taRa korlo*

clubs to take and bird-the-to chased

When the palace guards saw the bird flying off with the gold chain, they took up their clubs and chased the bird.

*tara dekhlo pakhi-Ta har-Ta gach-er koTo-re pheledilo*

they saw bird-the chain- the tree-of hollow-in dropped

They saw the bird drop the chain into the hollow of a tree.

*rokkhider Ekjon har-Ta pete gache coRlo. jei S'e S'ona-r har nite*

of guards one chain-the to get on tree climbed as he gold-of chain to take

*koTor-e tar hat Dhokalo*

hole-in his hand inserted

One of the guards climbed onto the tree to get the chain. As he put his hand inside the hole to get the chain

*S'e dekhlo EkTa kalo S'ap S'ekhane guTie roeche. tar OS'tr-er EkTa*

he saw one black snake there curled up his club-of one

*S'Okto*

hard

*aghate S'e take mere phello ar S'ei chilo kalo S'ap-er S'eS'*

stroke he to himkilled and that was black snake-of end

He saw a black snake curled up there. With one hard stroke of his club he killed it and that was the end of the black snake.

*kak ar madi kak oi gach-e pare S'ukhe baS' korechilo ar tader*

crow and female crow that tree-in afterwards happily stayed and their

*Onek*

many

*baccha kak hoechilo*

baby crow had

The crow and the crow-hen lived in that tree happily afterwards and had many little baby crows.

----XXX----



**RADHI - II**  
**HOWRAH & HOOGHLY**

**S. P. DATTA**

**1. PHONOLOGY**

**1.1. SEGMENTAL PHONEMES**

**Vowels**

<i>i</i>	<i>u</i>
<i>e</i>	<i>o</i>
<i>E</i>	<i>O</i>
<i>a</i>	

Supra-segmental phonemes

/ ~ / - Nasalization is phonemic.

**Consonants**

	Bilabial	Dental	Alveolar	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stops	<i>p b</i> <i>ph bh</i>	<i>t d</i> <i>th dh</i>		<i>T D</i> <i>Th Dh</i>		<i>k g</i> <i>kh gh</i>	
Affricates					<i>C J</i> <i>Ch Jh</i>		
Fricatives					<i>S'</i>		<i>h</i>
Nasals	<i>m</i>		<i>n</i>				<i>M</i>
Flap			<i>r</i>				
Lateral			<i>l</i>				
Semivowel	<i>w</i>				<i>y</i>		



## 1.2. MAJOR ALLOPHONIC VARIATIONS

### Vowels

The vowel phoneme /i/ /e/ /u/ and /o/ have the following allophones [y], [Y], [w] and [W] respectively. Phonetically, they occur in the following situations :

1. The semi-vowels occur as the non-syllabic component of the diphthongs.
2. The semi-vowels occur as the second-member of the diphthongs.
3. The semi-vowels occur in the word-medial and word-final position.

For Example

/i/	→	[y]	/ey/ ‘this’	/ney/ ‘is not’
/e/	→	[Y]	/khay/ ‘he eats’	/day/ ‘responsibility’
/u/	→	[w]	/phaw/ ‘extra’ /awDa/ ‘husk’ /chawra/ ‘shadow / shade’	
/o/	→	[W]	/cowDa/ ‘wide’	/khaw/ ‘you eat’

### Consonants

The consonant phonemes /D//Dh/ /S/ /n//r/ and /l/ have the following allophonic variations.

/D/	>	[D]	word – initially and with nasal : /Dab/ ‘green coconut’; /DEna/ ‘wing’ [dONDo] ‘punishment’ [ThaNDa] ‘cold’ Also, [D] occurs in the syllable final position when the onset of the second – syllable is the same consonant forming gemination eg : [aDDa] ‘gossip’ [bODDo] ‘heavy, too much’
	>	[R]	Intervocalic and word-final position : [bhaRa] ‘on rent / hire’, [jhOgRa] ‘quarrel’, [jhoR] ‘storm’. [baR] ‘increase’
/Dh/	>	[Dh]	1. Word- initially eg : [Dhak] ‘cover’ [DhOp] ‘style’ 2. Word –medially when followed by a open syllable [gaDDha] ‘drain hole’
	>	[Rh]	1. Word –medially always preceded by a open syllable [gaRho] ‘thick’ [gaRha] ‘to make enter into the earth forcibly’.

			Word –finally and syllable – finally [ <i>S'ăRh</i> ] 'bull' [ <i>aS'aRh</i> ] 'a month'
/S'/	>	[ <i>s</i> ]	1. word-initially and word-medially as first member of cluster with dental and alveolar stands. [ <i>srot</i> ] 'current', [ <i>esti</i> ] 'wife' [ <i>sthir</i> ] 'calm'. 2. Syllable –finally and word-medially when forming cluster with dental alveolar [ <i>Osthir</i> ] 'restless' [ <i>S'asti</i> ] 'punishment' [ <i>posno</i> ] 'question'
	>	[ <i>S</i> ]	1. Word-medially and syllable-finally when forming cluster with retroflex sounds : [ <i>pOSTo</i> ] 'clear' [ <i>koSTo</i> ] 'trouble / pain' [ <i>nOSTo</i> ] 'lost'.
	>	[ <i>S'</i> ]	In all other situations: [ <i>S'pOrso</i> ] 'touch' [ <i>puS'S'i</i> ] 'adopted' [ <i>poS'</i> ] 'a month' [ <i>S'oS'</i> ] 'infected' [ <i>apS'oS'</i> ] 'repentance'.
/n/	>	[ <i>n̄</i> ]	1. Syllable initially but word-medially when following a syllable ending in dental sounds : [ <i>jOtno</i> ] 'care' [ <i>rotno</i> ] 'wealth / jewel' 2. Syllable –finally but word medially when followed by a syllable beginning with dental sounds : [ <i>S'antno</i> ] 'clam' [ <i>gOndho</i> ] 'smell' [ <i>akklantno</i> ] 'tired'
	>	[ <i>M'</i> ]	Syllable-finally when preceding an alveolar – palatal sound : [ <i>jhOM'jha</i> ] 'rain and storm' [ <i>gOM'jona</i> ] 'touting' [ <i>OM'col</i> ] 'area /locality'
	>	[ <i>N</i> ]	Syllable-finally and word-medially when followed by retroflex sound: [ <i>kuNTha</i> ] 'hesitation' [ <i>dONDo</i> ] 'punishment' [ <i>poNDit</i> ] 'learned man'
	>	[ <i>n</i> ]	In all other situations: [ <i>pan</i> ] 'beetle' [ <i>can</i> ] 'bath' [ <i>napit</i> ] 'barber' [ <i>kani</i> ] 'torn cloth'
/r/	>	[ <i>r̄</i> ]	The alveolar – trill variety occurs only syllable initially [ <i>rOg</i> ] 'side-forehead' [ <i>rag</i> ] 'anger' [ <i>roj</i> ] 'daily' [ <i>biram</i> ] 'rest' [ <i>arohi</i> ] 'passenger / traveller'.
	>	[ <i>r</i> ]	The alveolar flap variety occurs in all other situations. [ <i>kar</i> ] 'whose' [ <i>tar</i> ] 'his' [ <i>dhar</i> ] 'debt' [ <i>khabar</i> ] 'food'.

/l/	>	[L]	Retroflex [L] occurs before retroflex sounds : [uLTɔ] ‘opposite’ [pOLTɔn] ‘soldier’.
	>	[l̪]	Dental [l̪] occurs before dental sounds. [alt̪a] ‘lac-dye’ [cal̪ta] ‘a fruit’
	>	[l]	Alveolar lateral [l] occurring in all other situations : [lal] ‘red’ [phal] ‘plough share’ [alla] ‘God’ [palla] ‘grains five-share in weight’.

### 1.3. PHONOTACTICS

The distribution of vowels in the consecutive syllables bring out the following phonotactic peculiarities:

1. Low vowels do not occur after high vowels except in borrowed words and in proper names:  
/S’ita / ‘a proper name’ / likha / ‘to write / written’ / bicar / ‘judgement’
2. The vowel /E / occurs after vowels / i , u , O / in words borrowed from Sanskrit. Also, it occurs after E in repetitive words :  
/ bikkhEto / ‘famous’ / kukkhEto / ‘notorious’ / OggEn / ‘ignorant’
3. The vowel / O / occurs in free variation with /o / when it occurs after /i, e , o, u /.  
e.g. / jibon / ‘life’ / khepon / ‘throwing’ / phoRon / ‘spice’ / phuron / ‘contract’.
4. The vowels / i / and / u / when occurring after /O / changes / O / > / o / eg :  
/ Obhik / > / obhik / ‘a name’ ; / O muk / > / omuk / ‘some one / any one’

The distribution of consonants in consecutive syllable point out the following phonotactic peculiarities :

1. Two aspirated stops occur in consecutive syllables only in the Deshi Words or in the monosyllabic words when occurring in repetition:  
/ dhOpdhOpe / ‘all white’ ; / chOTphOTe / ‘restless’ / DhuDhu / ‘useless’  
/ khākhā / ‘lonliness’ / thoithoi / ‘vast expanse of water’
2. The glottal fricative /h / occurs in repetition in the monosyllabic words and never after aspirated consonant. /hu hu/ ‘dejection’ /ha ha/ ‘loud noise of laughter’ /huT huT/

*/ huT haT /* ‘frequently without any notice’

3. Two retroflex stops can occur in consecutive syllable. eg : */ ThũTo /* ‘handless’

*/ TETon /* ‘naughty’

#### 1.4. PHONEMIC CONTRAST

##### A. Contrast of vowels

<i>/i ÷ e/</i>	<i>/bil/</i> <i>/tali/</i>	‘tank’ ‘patch’	÷	<i>/bel/</i> <i>/tale/</i>	‘a fruit’ ‘in time’
<i>/e ÷ E/</i>	<i>/S’el/</i> <i>/beS’/</i>	‘thunder, shock’ ‘dress’	÷	<i>/S’El/</i> <i>/bES’/</i>	‘jackal’ ‘all fulfilled’
<i>/E ÷ a/</i>	<i>/Ek/</i> <i>/bEla/</i>	‘one’ ‘time’	÷	<i>/a k/</i> <i>/bala/</i>	‘sugar cane’ ‘bangle’
<i>/i ÷ u/</i>	<i>/i dik/</i> <i>/nil/</i>	‘this side’ ‘similarly’	÷	<i>/udik/</i> <i>/nul/</i>	‘that side’ ‘root’; ‘cause’
<i>/u ÷ o/</i>	<i>/ul/</i> <i>/jhul/</i>	‘wool’ ‘sort’	÷	<i>/ol/</i> <i>/jhol/</i>	‘arum’ ‘soup’
<i>/e ÷ o/</i>	<i>/e/</i> <i>/Thel/</i>	‘this one’ ‘support’	÷	<i>/o/</i> <i>/Thol/</i>	‘that one’ ‘cover’
<i>/o ÷ O/</i>	<i>/opor/</i> <i>/jol/</i>	‘up’ ‘plough share’	÷	<i>/Opor/</i> <i>/jOl/</i>	‘other’ ‘water’

##### B. Contrast of consonants

<i>/p ÷ ph/</i>	<i>/pal/</i> <i>/pala/</i> <i>/S’ap/</i>	‘sail’ ‘turn’ ‘snake’	÷	<i>/phal/</i> <i>/phala/</i> <i>/S’aph/</i>	‘plough share’ ‘piece’ ‘clean’
<i>/p ÷ b/</i>	<i>/pali/</i> <i>/pala/</i> <i>/bhap/</i>	‘measure of grains’ ‘turn’ ‘vapour’	÷	<i>/bali/</i> <i>/bala/</i> <i>/bhab/</i>	‘sand’ ‘bangle’ ‘idea’
<i>/ph ÷ bh/</i>	<i>/phola/</i>	‘to swell’	÷	<i>/bhola/</i>	‘to forget’

	/ phul /	‘flower’	÷	/ bhul /	‘mistake’
	/ laph /	‘jump’	÷	/ labh /	‘profit’
/ t ÷ th /	/ tala /	‘lock’	÷	/ thala /	‘dish’
	/ toD /	‘current’	÷	/ thoD /	‘inside stem of plaintain tree’
	/ tama /	‘copper’	÷	/ thama /	‘to stop’
/ t ÷ d /	/ tin /	‘three’	÷	/ din /	‘day’
	/ tor /	‘your’	÷	/ dor /	‘door’
	/ bat /	‘gout’	÷	/ bad /	‘deduction’
/ th ÷ dh /	/ thama /	‘to stop’	÷	/ dhama /	‘wicker basket’
	/ than /	‘piece of cloth without coloured border’.	÷	/ dhan /	‘paddy’
	/ thEbDa /	‘flat’	÷	/ dhEbDa /	‘smudgy’
/ T ÷ Th /	/ TEla /	‘foolish’	÷	/ ThEla /	‘push’
	/ Tok /	‘sour’	÷	/ Thok /	‘cheat’
	/ paTa /	‘threshing wood’	÷	/ paTha /	‘goat’, ‘send’
/ T ÷ D /	/ Tan /	‘drag’	÷	/ Dan /	‘right (hand)’
	/ aTTa /	‘eight o – clock’	÷	/ aDDa /	‘gossip’
	/ kaT /	‘wood’	÷	/ kaD /	‘card’
/ Th ÷ Dh /	/ ThEla /	‘push’	÷	/ DhEla /	‘lump of mud’
	/ Thol /	‘cover’	÷	/ Dhol /	‘drum’
	/ ThOk /	‘cheat’	÷	/ DhOk /	‘sound of swallowing some liquid’
/ k ÷ kh /	/ kol /	‘lap’	÷	/ khol /	‘cover’
	/ kali /	‘ink’	÷	/ khali /	‘empty’
	/ paka /	‘ripe’	÷	/ pakha /	‘fan’
/ k ÷ g /	/ kal /	‘time’		/ gal /	‘cheek’
	/ kan /	‘ear’	÷	/ gan /	‘song’
	/ rok /	‘obstinacy’	÷	/ rog /	‘disease’
/ kh ÷ gh /	/ khōj /	‘search’	÷	/ ghōj /	‘corner’
	/ khaT /	‘bed stead’	÷	/ ghaT /	‘bathing place’
	/ khola /	‘tile’	÷	/ ghola /	‘muddy’
/ c ÷ ch /	/ cal /	‘rice’	÷	/ chal /	‘bark’
	/ cala /	‘shade’	÷	/ chala /	‘sack’
	/ kaca /	‘to wash’	÷	/ kacha /	‘hem of the loin cloth’

<i>/c ÷ j/</i>	<i>/cam/</i>	‘skin’	÷	<i>/jam/</i>	‘black berry’
	<i>/mac/</i>	‘fish’	÷	<i>/maj/</i>	‘middle’
	<i>/kac/</i>	‘wash’	÷	<i>/kaj/</i>	‘work’
<i>/ch ÷ jh/</i>	<i>/churi/</i>	‘knife’	÷	<i>/jhuri/</i>	‘basket’
	<i>/chal/</i>	‘bark’	÷	<i>/jhal/</i>	‘hot’
	<i>/chuli/</i>	‘skin disease’	÷	<i>/jhuli/</i>	‘small bag’
<i>/S’ ÷ h/</i>	<i>/S’al/</i>	‘warm cloth’	÷	<i>/hal/</i>	‘plough condition’
	<i>/S’at/</i>	‘seven’	÷	<i>/hat/</i>	‘hand’
	<i>/baS’/</i>	‘scent’	÷	<i>/bah/</i>	‘well’
<i>/r ÷ l/</i>	<i>/rol/</i>	‘obstinacy’	÷	<i>/lok/</i>	‘man’
	<i>/rag/</i>	‘anger’	÷	<i>/lag/</i>	‘involve’
	<i>/kora/</i>	‘to do’	÷	<i>/kola/</i>	‘plantain’
<i>/m ÷ n/</i>	<i>/mama/</i>	‘maternal uncle’	÷	<i>/nama/</i>	‘descend’
	<i>/am/</i>	‘mango’	÷	<i>/an/</i>	‘bring’
	<i>/kam/</i>	‘desire’	÷	<i>/kan/</i>	‘ear’

## 1.5. PHONEMIC DISTRIBUTION

### Vowels

	<b>Initial</b>	<b>Medial</b>	<b>Final</b>
<i>/i/</i>	<i>/irS’a/</i> ‘envy’ <i>/icche/</i> ‘wish’	<i>/him/</i> ‘dew’ <i>/nim/</i> ‘neem’	<i>/maTi/</i> ‘clay’ <i>/ghaTi/</i> ‘kingdom’
<i>/e/</i>	<i>/egno/</i> ‘courtyard’ <i>/ekhen/</i> ‘here’	<i>/meg/</i> ‘cloud’ <i>/tej/</i> ‘strength’	<i>/meye/</i> ‘daughter’ <i>/be/</i> ‘marriage’
<i>/E/</i>	<i>/Eto/</i> ‘so much’ <i>/Ekhon/</i> ‘now’	<i>/cEM/</i> ‘infant’ <i>/bEM/</i> ‘frog’	<i>/hE/</i> ‘yes’
<i>/a/</i>	<i>/agute/</i> ‘before’ <i>/ak/</i> ‘sugar cane’	<i>/caS’a/</i> ‘cultivator’ <i>/baS’a/</i> ‘abode’	<i>/kaka/</i> ‘uncle’ <i>/bacha/</i> ‘dear one’
<i>/u/</i>	<i>/ul/</i> ‘wool’  <i>/uh/</i> ‘pain’	<i>/agukOrar/</i> ‘previous one’  <i>/gotor/</i> ‘health’	<i>/kicu/</i> ‘some, a little’  <i>/deho/</i> ‘body’
<i>/o/</i>	<i>/ol/</i> ‘arum’	<i>/kOto/</i> ‘how much’	<i>/S’O/</i> ‘tolerate’
<i>/O/</i>	<i>/Oto/</i> ‘so much’		<i>/bO/</i> ‘carry’

### Consonants

	<b>Initial</b>	<b>Medial</b>	<b>Final</b>
<i>/p/</i>	<i>/pēj/</i> ‘onion’ <i>/picaS’/</i> ‘sucker’	<i>/ghapTi/</i> ‘hidden’ <i>/gOppo/</i> ‘story’	<i>/khap/</i> ‘sheath’ <i>/jhāp/</i> ‘door’

/ph/	/phul/ 'flower' /phOl/ 'fruit'	/S'aphai/ 'excuse' /dOpha/ 'condition'	/S'aph/ 'clean' /laph/ 'jump'
/b/	/bar/ 'date' /bat/ 'gout'	/abar/ 'again' /Dabor/ 'pot for bettle'	/nab/ 'get down' /jab/ 'food for domestic animals'
/bh/	/bhab/ 'friendship' /bhebno/ 'moisture'	/abha/ 'light' /gombhir/ 'deep'	/lobh/ 'greed' /labh/ 'profit'
/t/	/tal/ 'a fruit' /tat/ 'heat'	/gOtto/ 'hole' /nEta/ 'washing cloth piece'	/aghat/ 'wound' /bat/ 'gout'
/th/	/thole/ 'bag' /tham/ 'pillar'	/lathi/ 'kick' /mitthe/ 'false'	/pOth/ 'path' /nOth/ 'nose-ring'
/d/	/doi/ 'card'	/ada/ 'ginger' /goda/ 'fat'	/pad/ 'frating' /khad/ 'edge of mine'
/dh/	/dhan/ 'paddy' /dhone/ 'coriander seed' /TEna/ 'cloth torn in pieces'	/S'adha/ 'practise' /gadha/ 'ass' /peTa/ 'well-built'	/bādh/ 'dam' /S'adh/ 'desire' /bāT/ 'udder'
/T/	/TaMa/ 'fix'	/peT/ 'belly'	/DāT/ 'pride, vanity'
/Th/	/Thik/ 'right' /Thegno/ 'support'	/koThin/ 'hard' /piThe/ 'rice-cake'	
/D/	/Dimre/ 'small' /DāS/ 'dragonfly'	/S'uDol/ 'well-shaped' /caDDi/ 'some'	/bOD/ 'banyan tree' /khOD/ 'straw'
/Dh/	/DhEla/ 'lump of mud' /Dhime/ 'slow'	/beDhop/ 'ugly' /DhOlDhOle/ 'very loose'	
/c/	/cal/ 'style, rice' /cana/ 'dal'	/nicu/ 'low' /ācol/ 'lesh'	/cōc/ 'sharp-edge' /mac/ 'fish'
/ch/	/chal/ 'bark' /chap/ 'stamp mark'	/bacha/ 'poor one' /pacha/ 'hip'	
/j/	/ja/ 'husbands brother's wife'	/S'aja/ 'punishment' /maja/ 'waist'	/nEj/ 'tail' /S'āj/ 'evening'
/jh/	/jhuDi/ 'basket' /jhola/ 'bag'	/ojha/ 'witch-doctor' /jhājhala/ 'pungent'	/bujh/ 'understand, close' /cok/ 'eye'
/k/	/kil/ 'kick' /kal/ 'season'	/dukur/ 'noon' /coka/ 'sharp'	/kak/ 'waist'
/kl/	/khal/ 'skin' /khoS'a/ 'spil'	/ekhene/ 'here' /jOkhon/ 'when'	
/g/	/gul/ 'false' /gal/ 'cheek'	/bOgol/ 'armpit' /agun/ 'fire'	/kag/ 'crow' /bag/ 'tiger'
/gh/	/ghol/ 'whey' /ghaD/ 'shoulder'	/bagha/ 'fierce' /aghat/ 'wound'	
/m/	/mon/ 'mind'	/kumDo/ 'ground'	/nam/ 'name'

	<i>/ma/</i> ‘mother’	<i>/S’oman/</i> ‘plain’	<i>/kham/</i> ‘envelop’
<i>/n/</i>	<i>/nac/</i> ‘dance’	<i>/bhenno/</i> ‘different, separate’	<i>/dhan/</i> ‘paddy’
	<i>/nETa/</i> ‘left handed’	<i>/dheno/</i> ‘rice-beer’	<i>/ban/</i> ‘flood’
<i>/M/</i>		<i>/S’oMe/</i> ‘with’	<i>/rOM/</i> ‘colour’
		<i>/S’EMat/</i> ‘friend’	<i>/S’iM/</i> ‘horn’
<i>/l/</i>	<i>/lal/</i> ‘red’	<i>/ala/</i> ‘tired’	<i>/al/</i> ‘border’
	<i>/lEMoT/</i> ‘loin cloth’	<i>/kala/</i> ‘dumb’	<i>/nal/</i> ‘saliva’
<i>/r/</i>	<i>/ra/</i> ‘sound, answer’	<i>/S’Ora/</i> ‘earthen pot’	<i>/jOr/</i> ‘fever’
	<i>/raM/</i> ‘silver’	<i>/khOra/</i> ‘no rains’	<i>/S’Or/</i> ‘cream’
<i>/S’/</i>	<i>/S’at/</i> ‘seven’	<i>/aS’a/</i> ‘hope’	<i>/ãS’/</i> ‘fibre’
	<i>/S’ona/</i> ‘gold’	<i>/baS’i/</i> ‘stale’	<i>/bãS’/</i> ‘bamboo’
<i>/h/</i>	<i>/hai/</i> ‘yawn’	<i>/aha/</i> ‘alas!’	<i>/uh/</i> ‘expression of pain’
	<i>/hat/</i> ‘hand’	<i>/jahir/</i> ‘propagate’	<i>/ah/</i> ‘expression of satisfaction’

## 1.6. CLUSTERS

### Vowel Clusters

The following are the vowel clusters :

<i>/eu/</i>	<i>/keu/</i>	‘some one’	<i>/Dheu/</i>	‘wave’
<i>/Eo/</i>	<i>/S’Eola/</i>	‘moss’	<i>/mEo/</i>	‘mewing sound of a cat’
<i>/eo/</i>	<i>/eo/</i>	‘a married lady’	<i>/gheo/</i>	‘sore bodied’
<i>/ai/</i>	<i>/hai/</i>	‘yawn’	<i>/tai/</i>	‘that- very’
<i>/au/</i>	<i>/nau/</i>	‘gourd’	<i>/hanu hou/</i>	‘intense crying’
<i>/ou/</i>	<i>/bou/</i>	‘wife’	<i>/mou/</i>	‘honey’
			<i>/nouko/</i>	‘boat’
<i>/oi/</i>	<i>/oi/</i>	‘that one’	<i>/koi/</i>	‘a fish’
			<i>/boi/</i>	‘book’
			<i>/moi/</i>	‘ladder’
<i>/ie/</i>	<i>/bie/</i>	‘marriage’	<i>/die/</i>	‘having given’
<i>/ia/</i>	<i>/dial/</i>	‘wall’	<i>/Tia/</i>	‘a bird’
	<i>/sial/</i>	‘jackal’		
<i>/io/</i>	<i>/dio/</i>	‘you give’	<i>/niotok/</i>	‘always’
<i>/iu/</i>	<i>/S’iuli/</i>	‘autumnflower’	<i>/piu/</i>	‘a bird variety’
<i>/ui/</i>	<i>/ui/</i>	‘white ant’	<i>/rui/</i>	‘a fish variety’
<i>/ue/</i>	<i>/due/</i>	‘having milked’	<i>/nue/</i>	‘having bent down’
<i>/ua/</i>	<i>/dua/</i>	‘to milk’	<i>/jua/</i>	‘gambling’
<i>/uo/</i>	<i>/nuo/</i>	‘iron –bangle’	<i>/kuo/</i>	‘well’
	<i>/puo/</i>	‘one fourth of a seer’	<i>/puoti/</i>	‘pregnant (woman)’
	<i>/juo/</i>	‘gambling’		



/ea/	/dea/	'to give'	/khea/	'ferry- boat'
/Oa/	/S'Oa/	'to bear with'	/kOa/	'to speak out'
/oa/	/doa/	'to milk'	/doat/	'ink-pot'
			/moa/	'sweet-meat'

### Consonantal clusters

The consonantal clusters are of two types – identical and non – identical. The identical clusters consist of two members occurring intervocally while the non-identicals may take a third member and can occur both initially and medially or intervocally. The first member of a medial cluster closes the preceding syllable:

### Geminations

<i>k + k</i>	>	<i>jhokki</i>	'trouble'	<i>phokkoR</i>	'joker'	<i>cOkkor</i>	'round movement'
<i>g + g</i>	>	<i>Ōggo</i>	'ignorant'	<i>biggo</i>	'wise'	<i>S'Oggo</i>	'heaven'
<i>c + c</i>	>	<i>gOcca</i>	'loss'	<i>incca</i>	'loafer'	<i>khOccor</i>	'wicked'
<i>j + j</i>	>	<i>kojjo</i>	'loan'	<i>bojjat</i>	'wicked'	<i>lOjja</i>	'shame'
<i>t + t</i>	>	<i>gOtto</i>	'hole'	<i>S'otti</i>	'true'	<i>motto</i>	'pre-occupied'
<i>d + d</i>	>	<i>vOdda</i>	'heavy blow'	<i>gOddan</i>	'neck'	<i>mOdda</i>	'male'
<i>T + T</i>	>	<i>gāTTa</i>	'fist'	<i>paTTa</i>	'deed'	<i>choTTo</i>	'little'
<i>D + D</i>	>	<i>baDDa</i>	'stroke'	<i>caDDi</i>	'some'	<i>uDDin</i>	'flying'
<i>p + p</i>	>	<i>keppon</i>	'miser'	<i>gOppo</i>	'story'	<i>thappoR</i>	'slap'
<i>b + b</i>	>	<i>dibbi</i>	'swear'	<i>S'Obbai</i>	'all'	<i>jObbor</i>	'all'
<i>m + m</i>	>	<i>dhOmmo</i>	'religion'	<i>kOmmo</i>	'work'	<i>jOmmo</i>	'birth'
<i>n + n</i>	>	<i>ginni</i>	'housewife'	<i>bahanno</i>	'52'	<i>konnu</i>	'I did'
<i>l + l</i>	>	<i>kollum</i>	'I did'	<i>bollam</i>	'spear'	<i>hOlla</i>	'noise'

### Intial consonant cluster

<i>p + r</i>	>	<i>pran</i>	'life'
<i>k + r</i>	>	<i>krisno</i>	'Lord Krishna'
<i>b + r</i>	>	<i>brOto</i>	'ritual'
<i>g + r</i>	>	<i>gram</i>	'village'
<i>t + r</i>	>	<i>tran</i>	'save / relief'
<i>d + r</i>	>	<i>drobbo</i>	'thing'
<i>s + r</i>	>	<i>srabon</i>	'a month'
<i>k + l</i>	>	<i>klanto</i>	'tired'
<i>g + l</i>	>	<i>glani</i>	'grief'
<i>m + l</i>	>	<i>mlan</i>	'fade'
<i>s + l</i>	>	<i>sleS'S'a</i>	'cough'
<i>s + th</i>	>	<i>sthir</i>	'still'
<i>s + t</i>	>	<i>stOmbho</i>	'pillar'

Medial consonant cluster

<i>k + kh</i>	>	<i>rokkhe</i>	‘save / escape’
<i>c + ch</i>	>	<i>kOcchop</i>	‘tortoise’
<i>t + th</i>	>	<i>thutthure</i>	‘very old’
<i>g + gh</i>	>	<i>OgghEn</i>	‘a month’
<i>d + dh</i>	>	<i>uddhar</i>	‘escape / save’
<i>b + dh</i>	>	<i>khubdho</i>	‘annoyed’
<i>j + jh</i>	>	<i>sojjho</i>	‘tolerance’
<i>T + k</i>	>	<i>muTka</i>	‘fatty ( man )’
<i>k + t</i>	>	<i>S’okti</i>	‘strength’
<i>t + k</i>	>	<i>kōtka</i>	‘trouble’
<i>g + D</i>	>	<i>agDum bagDum</i>	‘a nonsense game’
<i>g + d</i>	>	<i>bagda</i>	‘a fish’
<i>b + d</i>	>	<i>abdar</i>	‘a claim of affection’
<i>g + gh</i>	>	<i>nigghat</i>	‘truly’
<i>m + b</i>	>	<i>lOmba</i>	‘tall’
<i>m + l</i>	>	<i>hamla</i>	‘trouble’
<i>n + m</i>	>	<i>jOnmo</i>	‘birth’
<i>n + t</i>	>	<i>jontu</i>	‘animal’
<i>n + d</i>	>	<i>S’OndeS’</i>	‘sweet meat’
<i>n + dh</i>	>	<i>S’ondhi</i>	‘joint’
<i>n + c</i>	>	<i>konci</i>	‘branch of a bamboo’
<i>n + ch</i>	>	<i>bancha</i>	‘desire’
<i>n + D</i>	>	<i>muNDu</i>	‘head’
<i>n + j</i>	>	<i>onjuli</i>	‘worship’
<i>M + k</i>	>	<i>kOnkal</i>	‘skeleton’
<i>M+Th</i>	>	<i>aMThi</i>	‘ring’
<i>M+S’</i>	>	<i>maMS’o</i>	‘meat’
<i>M + l</i>	>	<i>kEMla</i>	‘needy’
<i>r + m</i>	>	<i>kOrmo</i>	‘work’
<i>r + th</i>	>	<i>pirthibi</i>	‘earth’
<i>r + k</i>	>	<i>tOrko</i>	‘debate’
<i>r + kh</i>	>	<i>cOrkha</i>	‘spinning wheel’
<i>r + g</i>	>	<i>S’Orgo</i>	‘heaven’
<i>r + j</i>	>	<i>gOrjon</i>	‘stormy sound / thunder’
<i>l + k</i>	>	<i>halka</i>	‘light’
<i>l + p</i>	>	<i>alpona</i>	‘white decoration’
<i>l + n</i>	>	<i>Dalna</i>	‘a curry’
<i>l + t</i>	>	<i>pOlta</i>	‘a vegetable’
<i>t + n</i>	>	<i>jOtno</i>	‘care’
<i>t + l</i>	>	<i>patla</i>	‘light / diluted’
<i>k + r</i>	>	<i>Takra</i>	‘palate’
<i>k +S’</i>	>	<i>mOkS’o</i>	‘copying’
<i>k + l</i>	>	<i>aklanto</i>	‘much tired’
<i>g + r</i>	>	<i>udgrib</i>	‘anxious’

<i>g + R</i>	>	<i>agRa</i>	‘chaff of paddy’
<i>S' + c</i>	>	<i>niS'cOy</i>	‘of course’
<i>S' + k</i>	>	<i>mOS'kOra</i>	‘joke’
<i>j + r</i>	>	<i>bOjra</i>	‘large boat’
<i>jh + r</i>	>	<i>jhājhra</i>	‘wornout’

Three member cluster - medial.

<i>n + t + r</i>	>	<i>jOntro</i>	‘machine’
		<i>montrona</i>	‘advice’
		<i>jontrona</i>	‘pain’

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## 2. MORPHOPHONEMICS

Morphophonemics deals with basic sandhi rules resulted from the combination of vowels or consonants. With regard to combination of vowels various types of changes are seen which may be due to their phonetic behavior or due to stress or bimorison and as result of that the internal vowel is either dropped or gets changed.

Loss of vowel

*gamocha* > *gamcha* 'native towel'

Insertion of vowel

*Rasgolla* > *rasogolla* 'a juicy sweet'

Vowel harmony

The low vowel is heightened if followed by high vowel

<i>Oci</i>	>	<i>oci</i>	:	<i>Oti</i>	>	<i>oti</i>		'much'
<i>Ocuc</i>	>	<i>ocuc</i>	:	<i>Omuk</i>	>	<i>omuk</i>		'some one'
<i>cOci</i>	>	<i>coci</i>	:	<i>cOli</i>	>	<i>coli</i>		'I go'
<i>cOcuc</i>	>	<i>cocuc</i>	:	<i>cOlun</i>	>	<i>colun</i>		'you please go'

Exception

<i>cOce</i> /-a/ o	:	<i>cOle</i> /cOla /cOlo	'he goes / to go / you go'
<i>cOci</i> > <i>cocir</i>	:	<i>S'Om</i> ir > <i>S'om</i> ir	'a name'
<i>cOccO</i> > <i>cocco</i>	:	<i>potthO</i> > <i>pottho</i>	'diet'
<i>cOcco</i> > <i>cocco</i>	:	<i>lOkkho</i> > <i>lokkho</i>	'aim'

Exception

The high vowel is lowered when it is followlowed by low vowel

<i>Oci</i> /-Oc	:	<i>Odh</i> ir 'restless' ; <i>OS'ukh</i> 'ill/ disease'	<i>OkkhOm</i> 'unable'
<i>cica</i> > <i>ceca</i>	:	<i>gila</i> > <i>gela</i>	'to swallow'
<i>cice</i> > <i>cece</i>	:	<i>gile</i> > <i>gele</i>	'he swallows'
		<i>mise</i> > <i>meS'e</i>	'he mixes'
		<i>likhe</i> > <i>lekhe</i>	'he writes'

Exception

<i>cici</i>	:	<i>gili</i> 'I swallow' ; <i>miS'i</i> 'I mix'
<i>cuca</i> /-e > <i>coca</i> /-e		<i>S'una</i> > <i>S'ona</i> 'to hear'
		<i>S'une</i> > <i>S'one</i> 'he hears'



### 3. MORPHOLOGY

#### 3.1. NOUNS

##### Gender

Genders are two – masculine and feminine and are differentiated by the use of *-ni* or *-i* markers in the feminine or by the use of distinct terms denoting femininity. There is no grammatical gender in this language. Genders are essentially lexical and sometimes bear concordance with the adjectives preceding the nouns.

with *-ni*

<i>gOyla</i>	‘milkman’	<i>gOylani</i>	‘milkman’s wife’
<i>jele</i>	‘fisherman’	<i>jeleni</i>	‘fisherman’s wife’
<i>dhopa</i>	‘washerman’	<i>dhopani</i>	‘washerman’s wife’

with *-i*

<i>pagol</i>	‘mad’	<i>pagli</i>	‘mad-woman’
<i>mama</i>	‘maternal uncle’	<i>mami</i>	‘maternal aunt’

Feminine terms are prefixed or suffixed

<i>goru, S’ãD</i>	‘cow, bull in general’	<i>gai goru</i>	‘cow’
<i>chagol</i>	‘goat in general’	<i>madi chagol</i>	‘she –goat’
<i>Daktar</i>	‘doctor’	<i>meye Daktar</i>	‘lady doctor’
<i>nati</i>	‘grandson’	<i>nadbou</i>	‘wife of grandson’

Separate words denoting femininity ( in sisterhood or wifhood relationship )

<i>baba</i>	‘father’	<i>ma</i>	‘mother’
<i>bhai</i>	‘brother’	<i>bon</i>	‘sister’
<i>chele</i>	‘son’	<i>meye</i>	‘daughter’

Masculine forms derived from feminine bases by adding *-ai* or by separate word

<i>bon</i>	‘sister’	<i>bonai</i>	‘sister’s husband’
<i>nOnod</i>	‘husband’s sister’	<i>nOnda</i>	‘husband’s sister’s husband’
<i>bhagni</i>	‘sister’s daughter’	<i>bhagin jamai</i>	‘sister’s daughter’s husband’

A few example of lexical gender realised in adjectival level.

<i>S’undor chele</i>	‘handsome boy’	<i>S’undori meye</i>	‘beautiful girl’
<i>kalo goru</i>	‘black cow’	<i>kali gai</i>	‘black cow’

## Number

Numbers are two, singular and plural. Singular is the base itself the plural marker is - *era*, - *ara* and *ra*. The markers are used for human plurals.

- <i>era</i>			
<i>lok</i>	‘man’	<i>lokera</i>	‘men’
- <i>ra</i>			
<i>chele</i>	‘son, boy’	<i>chelera</i>	‘son’s, boys’
- <i>ara</i>			
<i>apni</i>	‘you (hon.)’	<i>apnara</i>	‘you (hon. pl.)’

Of the pl. markers while -*era* and -*ara* occur after close syllable -*ra* occurs in an open – syllable.

Plurality is also denoted by certain collective terms like *gulo*, *guno* and *S’Ob*. Examples:

<i>chele</i>	‘boy’	<i>chelegulo / -guno</i>	}	‘boys’
<i>bhai</i>	‘brother’	<i>bhaigulo / guno</i>		‘all the brothers’
		<i>bhaisOb</i>		
<i>pata</i>	‘leaf’	<i>pata gulo / guno</i>	}	‘all the leaves’
		<i>S’Ob pata</i>		

Adjectival plurality is determined by reduplication.

<i>bODo</i>	‘large’	<i>bODo bODo</i>	‘large ones’
<i>ũcu</i>	‘tall’	<i>ũcu ũcu</i>	‘tall ones’
<i>choTo</i>	‘small’	<i>choTo choTo</i>	‘small ones’
<i>nicu</i>	‘low’	<i>nicu nicu</i>	‘low / small ones’

## Cases and postpositions

Nominals ( i.e Nouns and pronouns ) are followed by suffixes.

Four cases as nominative, accutative, genitive and locative have individual suffixes used in singular and plural.

The plural suffixes in the accusative are the compounds of plural suffixes in the genitive as in { -*der* } ‘of’ etc.

Examples :

Nominative  
Singular

{ -∅ }	<i>ami bhat khabo</i>	‘ I shall take rice’ (sg)
{ - te }	<i>gorute gach khay</i>	‘The cow eats tree’ (sg)
{ - y }	<i>cheley korece</i>	‘Boy has done’ (sg)
{ - ke }	<i>ajke tar dEkha paini</i>	‘I have not met him today’ (sg)

Plural

{ -ra }	<i>chelera khEla kOre</i>	‘The boys play (pl)
{ -era }	<i>bhutera mac bhalobaS’e</i>	‘The ghosts are fond of fish’ (pl)
{ - e }	<i>loke bole</i>	‘Men say / people say’ (pl)

Accusative

Singular

{ - ke }	<i>ramke Dako</i>	‘Call Ram’ (sg)
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Plural

{ - der – (ke) }	<i>meyeder(ke) Dako</i>	‘Call the girls’ (pl)
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Genitive

Singular

{ -r }	<i>eTa cheler chobi</i>	‘This is son’s photo (sg)’
{ -er }	<i>ami ramer baDi jaboni</i>	‘I shall not go to Ram’s house (sg)’

Plural

{ -der }	<i>eTa cheleder iskul</i>	‘This is boys school (pl)’
{ -kar }	<i>agukar dine EmunTi cheloni</i>	‘Previously such thing was not in vogue (pl)’

Locative

{ -te }	<i>S’e baDite nei</i>	‘He is not at home’ (sg)
{ -∅ }	<i>S’e baDi nei</i>	‘He is not at home’ (sg)
{ -e }	<i>mac jOle ( te ) thake</i>	‘ Fish lives in water’ (sg)
{ ~ete }	<i>bag bone / bonete thake</i>	‘Tiger lives in the forest’ (sg)
{ - e }	<i>ghODae jOl nei</i>	‘There is no water in the pitcher (sg)
	<i>gadae khOD thake</i>	‘ These are straws in the hay stack’ (sg )
{ -ke }	<i>ghOrke cOl dekei</i>	‘Come home, I shall see you( teach you lesson )(sg)



Post position

Nominal

*age / ageṭe / agu / agute* ‘before’  
*bhetor / bhetre / bhitra / bhitri* ‘inside’  
 house’ (also *ghOr bhitri*)  
*kace* ‘to’  
*kaj* ‘use’  
*kaje* ‘for’  
*S’ate* ‘with / from’

*amar age / ageṭe / agu / agute* ‘before me’  
*ghOrer bhetor / bhetre / bhitre / bhitri* ‘inside the’  
*amar kace* ‘to me’ *gocer kace* ‘near the tree’  
*ki kaj* ‘what is the use?’  
*kon kaje* ‘for what use’.  
*kar S’ate* ‘with whom’

*pane / pine / pEne / pene* ‘at’

*muk pane* ‘at the face’  
*S’edik pine* ‘at the direction’

*tar pane* ‘at him / her’

*bagu* ‘at’  
*peS’e* ‘side’  
*paS’e* ‘beside / by the side of’

*idik pine / pene* ‘at this direction’  
*muk bagu* ‘at the face’  
*Ek peS’e* ‘aisle’  
*amar paS’e* ‘beside me’  
*ghOr er paS’ee* ‘by the side of the house’  
*tumiboi* ‘besides you / without you’  
*maTer maje* ‘in the middle of the field’  
*babar thane* ‘to the place of the Lord’.  
*or upor* ‘upon him’  
*tar pOre (te)* ‘after that’  
*bamuner ghOre* ‘in the family of Brahmin’  
*gacer nice / nicute* ‘under the tree’  
*amar pecone / pōde* ‘after me / against me’  
*ghOrer pecone* ‘in the rearside of the house’  
*amar pecu / pecu pecu* ‘just after me’  
*kar Thaĩ* ‘from whom’  
*taTheme* ‘from him’  
*oke S’uddo / S’uddu* ‘him aslo’  
*or S’oMe* ‘with him’  
*Ek mail Ontor* ‘at every alternate mile’  
*ki karone* ‘for what’  
*pukurer dike / dige* ‘towards the pond’  
*kar jonne* ‘for whom’  
*dine pOr (e) din* ‘day after day’  
*ghOrer S’umne die / de* ‘in front of the house’  
*baRir S’umuke* ‘in front of the house’  
*coker aRale* ‘out of sight’

*boi* ‘without , except, besides’  
*maje* ‘in the middle’  
*thane* ‘towards, to (the place)’  
*upur* ‘upon, against’  
*pOre (te)* ‘after’  
*ghOre* ‘in’  
*nice / nicute* ‘below / under’  
*pecone / after /*  
*pōde* ‘against’  
*pecu / pecu pecu* ‘after/ just after’  
*Thaĩ /*  
*TheMe*  
*S’uddo / S’uddu* ‘also’  
*S’oMe* ‘with’  
*Ontor* ‘at every alternate’  
*karone* ‘for / because’  
*dike / dige* ‘towards’  
*jonne* ‘for’  
*pOr(e)* ‘after’  
*S’amine ( die / de)* ‘in front’  
*S’umuke* ‘in front / before’  
*aRale ( abDale )* ‘at the back’  
*aRale abDale kOta* ‘talking at the back’

*upri* ‘above all / best

*amar aRale* ‘at the hind portion of house’  
*gāer upri chele* ‘best boy of the village’

<i>boodle / bodle / bodule / bade</i>	‘after / besides’	<i>amar bodole / bodle / bodule</i>	‘instead of me’
<i>bade</i>	‘after / besides’	<i>ekTu bade</i>	‘after a while’
		<i>S’e bade</i>	‘besides him’
<i>bOrabor</i>	‘at the direction’	<i>nak bOrabor nakerside</i>	‘in straight direction of nose’
<i>khatire</i>	‘for’	<i>tar khatire</i>	‘for him’
<i>tore</i>	‘for’	<i>tottOre</i>	‘for you’

### Participial

<i>chaRa</i>	‘without’	<i>kanu chaRa</i>	‘without Kanu’
<i>naboe</i>	‘under’	<i>gacer naboe</i>	‘under the tree’
<i>lege / nege</i>	‘for’	<i>kar lege / nege</i>	‘for whom’
<i>cece / caite</i>	‘than’	<i>ramer cece /caite</i>	‘than Ram’
<i>kotte</i>	‘than’	<i>ta kotte</i>	‘than that’
<i>baRa</i>	‘(more) than’	<i>mOrar baRa</i>	‘(more) than death’
<i>kore</i>	‘with’ (adverbial)	<i>jor kore</i>	‘forcibly’; <i>Tan kore</i> tightly’
		<i>nOram kore</i>	‘softly’
		<i>bhalo kore</i>	‘well’
		<i>kEman kore</i>	‘how’
		<i>Thik kore</i>	‘correctly’
		<i>bORo kore</i>	‘largely’
		<i>hate kore</i>	‘by hand’
<i>theke / theMe / then / thekon / thike</i>	‘inside’	<i>bhetor theke / theken / then</i>	‘from
		<i>taTTheMe</i>	‘from him’
		<i>gacTheMe</i>	‘from the tree’
		<i>tatthike</i>	‘from him’
<i>die / de</i>	‘from / by’	<i>nak die / de</i>	‘from the nose’
		<i>hat de</i>	‘by hand’
		<i>bōTide</i>	‘by the vegetable-cutter’
		<i>bhetorde</i>	‘through inside’
<i>dhore</i>	‘throughout’	<i>S’ara rat bhore</i>	‘throughout the night’
		<i>copor din dhore</i>	‘throughout the day’
<i>bole</i>	‘for’	<i>ta bole</i>	‘for what’
		<i>tumibole chere dile</i>	‘you only allowed him to go’
<i>hote</i>	‘due to’	<i>chele hote tar baRbaRonto</i>	‘His prosperity is due to his son’
		<i>ghor hote</i>	‘from the room’
<i>nie / ne</i>	‘with’	<i>bou nie / ne</i>	‘with wife’
		<i>take ne ar parini</i>	‘I am fade up with him’
<i>noile / nale</i>	‘without’	<i>take noile</i>	‘without him’
		<i>apni nale hObe ni</i>	‘It won’t do without you’
<i>bhor</i>	‘during / throughout’	<i>din bhor khaTni poS’ae ne</i>	‘I am not fit for work all the daylong’

### 3.2. PRONOUNS

Pronouns are of five categories – personal, demonstrative, relative, interrogative and reflexive of the pronouns – personal pronouns are distinguished for three persons – 1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup> and

3<sup>rd</sup> of which the 2<sup>nd</sup> person has three – tier social variations – ordinary, inferior and honorific ; the demonstrative pronouns are distinguished for proximate and remote – types ; the relative and interrogative pronouns are subject – specific and object – specific. Except personal pronouns the rest others also function as pronominal adjectives and pronominal adverbs. The pronouns are inflected like nouns to denote case relations.

Below are presented the declensional pattern of the pronouns:

### Personal pronouns

#### Ist personal pronouns

Nom.	<i>am - i</i>	‘I’	<i>am - ra - ϕ -</i>	‘we’
	<i>mu - i</i>	‘I’	<i>mo - ra - ϕ -</i>	‘we’
Acc	<i>ama - ke -</i>	‘me’	<i>ama - der - ke -</i>	‘us’
	<i>ama - y -</i>	‘me’	<i>ama - der - ke -</i>	‘us’
Instr.	<i>ama - ke die</i>	‘by me’	<i>ama - der - ke die</i>	‘by us’
			<i>ama - di - ke die</i>	‘by us’
Dat.	<i>ama - r jonne</i>	‘for me’	<i>ama - der jonne</i>	‘for us’
	<i>ama - r lege</i>	‘for me’	<i>ama - der - lege</i>	‘for us’
	<i>ama - r tore</i>	‘for me’	<i>ama - der - tore</i>	‘for us’
	<i>mo - r lege</i>	‘for me’	<i>mo - der lege</i>	‘for us’
	<i>mo - r tEre</i>	‘for me’	<i>mo - der txre</i>	‘for us’
Abl.	<i>ama - r - theke</i>	‘from me’	<i>ama - der theke</i>	‘from us’
	<i>ama - r thike</i>	‘from me’	<i>ama - der thike</i>	‘from us’
	<i>ama - r TheMe</i>	‘from me’	<i>ama - der TheMe</i>	‘from us’
	<i>mo - r TheMe</i>	‘from me’	<i>mo - der TheMe</i>	‘from us’
Gen.	<i>ama - r</i>	‘my’	<i>ama - der</i>	‘our’
	<i>mo - r</i>	‘my’	<i>mo - der</i>	‘our’
Loc.	<i>ama - te</i>	‘at me’	<i>ama - der dike</i>	‘at us’
	<i>ama - y</i>	‘at me’	<i>mo - der dike</i>	‘at us’
	<i>ama - r dike</i>	‘at me’		
	<i>mo - r dike</i>	‘at me’		

#### 2<sup>nd</sup> personal pronouns - ordinary

	Sg	Pl.	
Nominative	<i>tumi</i>	<i>tomra</i>	
Accusative	<i>toma-ke</i>	<i>toma (der) ke</i>	and so on

2<sup>nd</sup> personal pronouns -- Inferior ( In endearment or disregard )

	Sg.	Pl.	
Nominative	<i>tui</i>	<i>tora</i>	
Accusative	<i>to-ke</i>	<i>tode</i>	and so on

2<sup>nd</sup> personal pronouns --- Honorific

	Sg.	Pl.	
Nominative	<i>apni</i>	<i>apnara</i>	
Accusative	<i>apnake</i>	<i>apna(der) ke</i>	and so on

3<sup>rd</sup> personal pronouns -- ordinary

	Sg.	Pl.	
Nominative	<i>S'e, e, o</i>	<i>tara, era, ora</i>	
Accusative	<i>take, eke, oke</i>	<i>ta(der)ke, ederke, oderke</i>	and so on

3<sup>rd</sup> personal pronoun - Honorific.

	Sg.	Pl.	
Nominative	<i>tini, ini, uni</i>	<i>tara, enara, onara</i>	
Accusative	<i>tāke, enake, onake</i>	<i>tāderke, enaderke, onaderke</i>	and so on

Demonstrative pronouns - Proximate

Sg.	Pl.
<i>e, i-</i>	<i>e -</i>
<i>in -</i>	<i>ẽ -</i>

Demonstrative nouns : Remote

Sg.	Pl.
<i>o -</i>	<i>o-</i>
<i>un -</i>	<i>õ</i>

### Relative pronouns

Sg.	Pl.	
<i>je</i>	<i>jara, jāra</i>	
<i>jake</i>	<i>jaderke, jāderke</i>	etc.

### Interrogative pronouns

Sg.	Pl.	
<i>ke</i>	<i>kara</i>	
<i>kake</i>	<i>kaderke</i>	and so on

### Reflexive pronouns

Sg.	Pl.
<i>nije -</i>	<i>nije –</i>
<i>apn -</i>	<i>apna –</i>

### Pronominal Adjectives

Sometimes adjectives are formed from pronominal forms by addition of derivational suffixes

<i>S'e -S'ei</i>	→	<i>S'ei lokTa</i>	‘that very man , such a man’
<i>e - ei</i>	→	<i>ei lokTa</i>	‘this very man’
<i>ke - kon</i>	→	<i>kon lokTa</i>	‘which man’ etc.

Sometimes, the replatives of the base forms are used as pronominal adjectives :

<i>e - Eto</i>	‘so much , this much’
<i>je - jOto</i>	‘as such’ etc.

### Pronominal adverbs

A number of adverbs are followed with the help of pronominal bases ;

<i>kon</i>	-	<i>konkhane</i>	‘where’
<i>S'e</i>	-	<i>S'ekhene</i>	‘there’
<i>e</i>	-	<i>ekhene</i>	‘here’
<i>e</i>	-	<i>Ekhun</i>	‘now’
<i>S'e</i>	-	<i>tOkhun</i>	‘then’
		<i>tOkhuni</i>	‘then and then’
		<i>tEmun</i>	‘such , so’

<i>je</i>	-	<i>jEmun</i>	‘as’
<i>ke</i>	-	<i>kOkhun</i>	‘when’
<i>je</i>	-	<i>jai</i>	‘as’
<i>S’e</i>	-	<i>tai</i>	‘so’, ‘hence’ ‘thus’

### 3.3. ADJECTIVES

Adjectives precede nouns in the construction – various types of adjectives are presented below with examples:

1. Adjective of quality: *lal phul* ‘red flower’ *kalo beral* ‘black cat’ *bODO gach* ‘big tree’ *ThanDa jOl* ‘cold water’ *gOrum bhat* ‘hot rice’ *teto / titkuTe oS’ud* ‘bitter medicine’ *S’Ob lok* ‘all men’ *gheo kukur* ‘a dog with sore’ *gẽo lok* ‘villager’ ‘village people’
2. Adjective of kind : *meTe kolS’i* ‘earthen pot’ , *S’onar thala* ‘golden plate’ *rupor camoc* ‘silver spoon’ *taS’er ghor* ‘house made of cards’ *kãcer gelaS* ‘a glass made of optical fibre’
3. Adjective of quantity and number : *car hat* ‘four hands’ *car,pãc jon lok* ‘five men’ *tiriS’ khaboi* ‘thirty books’, *Ek bigha jome* ‘one bigha of land’; *Onek chele* ‘many boys’
4. Ordinal adjective : *pothom* ‘first’ *ditio* ‘second’ *pOyla* ‘first’ *S’atui* ‘7<sup>th</sup> day’ *tiriS’e* ‘thirtieth day of the month’
5. Pronominal adjective : *ei cheleti* ‘this very boy’ *jejon* ‘which person’

Morphologically, adjectives in general , belong to three categories

- ( I ) Mono – morphemic : *bODO* ‘big’ , *bhalo* ‘good’, *choTo* ‘little’, *kharap* ‘bad’

The mono – morphemic adjectives are again three types :

Indigenous - *bODO* ‘big’, *choTo* ‘little’, *notun* ‘new’, *purono* ‘old’, *bhalo* ‘good’

Derivative : *Dhakai* ‘made of Dacca’ , *kaTki* ‘saleable’, *gẽo* ‘villager’, *S’atoi* ‘7<sup>th</sup> day’, *poitik* ‘ancestral’

Prefixed *behaya* ‘one without shame’, *nikhorce* ‘one who is very miser’

- ( II ) Compound Adjective :

- (a) Indigenous: *ma mOra chele* ‘ a child whose mother is dead’, *mon mOra meye* ‘a daughter extremely moroshed’

- (b) Non-indigenous: *kOmjor* ‘weak’ *dildoria* ‘broad minded hearted’, *dilkhola* ‘open hearted’
- ( III ) Sentential or phrasal : *kuDie pawa chele* ‘A child got in the street’, *namke waste* ‘for names stake’ *tiriS’ diner din* ‘exactly on the 30<sup>th</sup> day’

### 3.4. NUMERALS

Numerals are adjectives that precede nouns in the construction. Cardinal numerals when enters into larger construction receive genitive case marker *-er*. eg *eker pata* ‘page No I’ *tiner ghOr* ‘multiplication of three’, *car barer bar* ‘in 4<sup>th</sup> chance’ *S’at bhager bhag* ‘in fraction of seven’, *aT joner jon* ‘every eighth person’.

Below are presented the cardinal, ordinal and fractional numerals used in Howrah and Hooghly:

( I ) Cardinal numerals

<i>Ek</i>	‘one’
<i>dui, du</i>	‘two’
<i>tin</i>	‘three’
<i>car</i>	‘four’
<i>pāc</i>	‘five’
<i>chOy</i>	‘six’
<i>S’at</i>	‘seven’
<i>aT</i>	‘eight’
<i>noy</i>	‘nine’
<i>dos</i>	‘ten’

The higher numbers are formed in the following way

<i>uniS’</i>	‘nineteen
<i>biS’</i>	‘twenty
<i>Ekus’</i>	‘twenty-one.

( II ) Ordinal numerals : Denote ranking of the cardinals

<i>prothom / pothom</i>	‘first’
<i>ditio</i>	‘second’
<i>titio</i>	‘third’
<i>coturtho</i>	‘fourth’

## Fractional numerals

Fractional numerals are measured in quantity. Genitive case marker – er is used in fractional numerals: for Example

$\frac{1}{4}$	<i>poa</i>	‘one - fourth’
$\frac{1}{3}$	<i>tiner Ek / tin bhager Ekbhag</i>	‘one third in share’
$\frac{1}{2}$	ad; <i>Oddek</i>	‘half’
$\frac{1}{4}$	less <i>poune</i>	‘one quarter less than one’
$\frac{1}{4}$	more <i>S’Oa</i>	‘one quarter more than one’
$\frac{1}{2}$	more <i>S’aDe</i>	‘a half’
$1\frac{1}{2}$	less $\frac{1}{2}$ than 2 <i>deD</i>	‘one and a half’
$2\frac{1}{2}$	less $\frac{1}{2}$ than 3 <i>aDai</i>	‘two and a half’
$2\frac{1}{4}$	<i>S’Oadui</i>	‘two and a quarter’
$4\frac{1}{4}$	<i>S’Oa car</i>	‘a quarter more than four’
$3\frac{3}{4}$	<i>poune car</i>	‘a quarter less than four’
$\frac{2}{3}$	<i>tiner dui</i>	‘two shares out of three’
$\frac{4}{5}$	<i>pācer car</i>	‘four shares out of five’
$\frac{6}{7}$	<i>S’ater chOy</i>	‘six shares out of seven’

### 3.5. CLASSIFIERS

The nominals are grouped on the basis of count and mass nouns giving out senses variedly as of bunch, part, size, shape, liquid and solid substances, tender and hardness, living and non-livingness and also sense of inferiority or insignificance of the object so classed.

Below are referred to certain use of classifiers:

1. *thoka* ‘bunch’ → used with *phul* ‘flower’ *phOl* ‘fruits’ like *aMur* ‘grapes’ and *am* ‘mango’.
2. *jhāk* ‘in flock’ → used with living beings like *payra* ‘pigeon’ *mach* ‘fish’ *machi* ‘fly’.
3. *jhaD* ‘good many number together’ → used with *bāS* ‘bamboo’.
4. *khana* ‘The definite article being used with *boi* ‘book’ *dhuti* ‘dhoti’. Equally, the feminine form *khani* is used with *S’asi* ‘sari’ being used by the women.
5. *diste* ‘a dista’ → used with *kagoj* ‘paper’. Again, *diste khanek kagoj* convey sense of ‘approximation of quantity of paper’



6. *kādi* ‘in cluster’ → used with fruits like *kola* ‘plantain’ *tal* ‘plum’ *narkol* ‘coconut’. Again, *kādi khanek* ‘give a sense of approximation of the quantity’.
7. *phalli* ‘a portion / part’ → used with fruit like *am* ‘mango’ *kumDo* ‘sweet gourd’ and the natural object like *cād* ‘moon’.
8. *kōcoD* ‘a quantity accommodatable to waist cloth’ → used with vegetables like *S’ak* ‘green vegetable’ *phOl* ‘fruit’ and food – item *muDi* ‘fried rice’.
9. *tal* ‘a lumpsum quantity accommodatable in ones handgrip’ → used with *kada* ‘mud’ *mOyda* ‘flour’.
10. *than* ‘a full length of’ → used with *kapoD* ‘cloth’.
11. *āTi* ‘a bunch’ → used with *khOD* ‘straw’ *S’ag* ‘vegetable (green) tightly tied together’.
12. *muTho* ‘a handful quantity’ → used with *dhan* ‘paddy’ *bhat* ‘cooked rice’ *cal* ‘rice’. Again, *muTho khanek* ‘give sense of approximation’.
13. *dOl* ‘in a good number together’ → used with living beings like *chele* ‘boy’ *meye* ‘girl’ *Dakat* ‘robber’.
14. *Tugro* ‘a part or portion’ → used with fruits like *am* ‘mango’ *phol* ‘fruit’.
15. *Tugri* ‘a quantity accommodated in basket’ → used with *am* ‘mango’ *phol* ‘fruit’.
16. *khonDo* ‘a portion / part’ → used with *kapoD* ‘cloth’ *kagoj* ‘paper’ *phol* ‘fruit’ *maMS’o* ‘meat’.
17. *pal* ‘in flock together’ → used with living beings like *goru* ‘cows’ *chele* ‘boys’.
18. *gacha* ‘a number together’ → used with *bala* ‘bangle’ *DāTa* ‘vegetable stick’.
19. *gachi* ‘a good number together’ → used with *cul* ‘hair’ *cuDi* ‘bangle’ *doDi* ‘rope’.
20. *guccho* ‘a bunch’ -- used with *phul* ‘flower’.

21. *kāDi* ‘a good quantity’ → used with *bhat* ‘cooked rice’ *aTa* ‘flour’. The formations *kāDikkhettok* or *kāDiguceher* ‘give sense of definiteness of the Quantity in question’.

### 3.6. VERBS

The verbs denoting ‘action or motion of the doer’ and the state of completion of the action are realised through different categories as auxiliary, finite and non-finite. The finite category comprises of simple and causative types.

The Verbs are conjugated with the help of four sets of markers as of tense, aspect, mood and person.

#### Tenses

The tenses are four – present, past, future and habitual. The present tense is unmarked { -  $\phi$  } and its personal markers are :

Ist P.	2 <sup>nd</sup> P.	3 <sup>rd</sup> P.
- i	- o (ord.) - n - en (hon.) - S' (inf.)	- e (ord.) - n, - en (hon.)

Note - n in Hon. is used with open - syllabic verb base and - en in close - syllabic verb base. - n, - en are allomorphs.

The future tense marker is { - b - } and the past tense markers { - il, - l } are in allomorphic distribution. Below are noted the context of use of { - il - } and { - l - }.

{ - il - } → occurs after the main verb { ach - } ( ch – being in use in the past tense ) and the auxiliary { - ( c ) ch - }.

{ - l - } → occurs elsewhere’  
The habitual tense marker is - { - t - }.

The personal markers for the last three tenses are as follows :

## Past

Ist P.	2 <sup>nd</sup> P.	3 <sup>rd</sup> P.
- <i>u m</i>	- <i>e</i> ( ord. )	- <i>o</i> ( ord. )
- <i>u n</i>	- <i>en</i> ( hon )	- <i>en</i> ( hon. )
	- <i>i</i> ( inf )	

## Future

- <i>o</i>	- <i>e</i> ( ord. )	- <i>e</i> ( ord. )
	- <i>en</i> ( hon. )	- <i>en</i> ( hon. )
- <i>i</i> ( inf )		

## Habitual

- <i>u m</i>		- <i>e</i> ( ord. )
		- <i>o</i> ( ord. )
- <i>u n</i>	- <i>en</i> ( hon. )	- <i>en</i> ( hon. )
	- <i>iS'</i> ( inf. )	

## Aspects

The two tier aspects are – imperfect and perfect and these are realised in three tenses – present, past and future. Below are mentioned the aspect markers.

{ - $\phi$  } → imperfect                      { - *e* - } → perfect.

## Moods

Moods are three – indicative, imperative and optative. Indicative mood is any simple sentence with *s + ( o ) + - v* construction realised in three persons in the present, past and future tenses and the modal marker is { -  $\phi$  } .

An imperative mood is realised in the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> person in present and future tenses. Below are presented the imperative markers.

Present tense

2 <sup>nd</sup> P.	ord.	{ Root + - o }
2 <sup>nd</sup> P.	fem. / inf.	{ Root+ Ø }
2 <sup>nd</sup> P.	hon.	
3 <sup>rd</sup> P. hon.		{ Root+ - uk } → occurring in close syllable.
3 <sup>rd</sup> P. ord.		{ Root+ - k } → occurring in open syllable.

Future tense

The 2<sup>nd</sup> person ordinary form is distinguished from the present imperative form by different stem allomorph with a high vowel followed by the same affix { - o }. The 2<sup>nd</sup> person feminine form is similar to the present simple form and the 2<sup>nd</sup> honorific form is similar to the future simple form.

Personal markers and their allomorphs

The personal markers and their allomorphic variations in different tenses are presented below

	Present	Past	Future	Habitual
1st P.	- i	- un ~ ( in close syllable)	- o	- um / - u n ( in open syllable)
2 <sup>nd</sup> per. ord.	- o	- e	- e	- e
2 <sup>nd</sup> per. hon. ( in close syllable)	- en ~-u n	- en	- e n	- e n
	- n (in open syllable)			
fem / inf.	- iS' (in close syllable) - S' (in open syllable)	- i	- i	- iS'
3 <sup>rd</sup> per. ord.	- e	- o	- e	- o
hon.	- en (in close syllable)	- en	- en	- en
	- n (in open syllable)			

Verb Paradigm.

Auxiliary verbs √ *hO* 'to be'

Present Root + -  $\Phi$  - + per.m. PastRoot +- *l-l-n-n* - + per.m.Future Root + - *b* - + per.m.

Ist per.	<i>hoi</i> 'am / are'	<i>holam / holum</i> 'was / were' honu (n)	<i>hobo</i> 'shall be / will be'
2 <sup>nd</sup> per. ord.	<i>hOo</i> 'are'	<i>hole</i> 'were'	<i>hObe</i> 'will be'
inf.	<i>hoS'</i> 'art / are'	<i>holi</i> 'wart / were'	<i>hObi</i> 'will be / will be'.
3 <sup>rd</sup> per. ord.	hon. <i>hOn</i> 'are'	<i>holen</i> 'were'	<i>hOben</i> 'will be'
	<i>hOy</i> 'is / are'	<i>holo</i> 'was / were'	<i>hObe</i> 'will be'
	hon. <i>hOn</i> 'is / are'	<i>holen</i> 'was / were'	<i>hOben</i> 'will be'

Habitual Root + - *t* - + per.m.

Ist per.	<i>hotam</i> 'I / we used to be'
	<i>hotum</i>
	<i>hotun</i>
2 <sup>nd</sup> per. ord.	<i>hote</i> 'you used to be'
inf.	<i>hotiS'</i> 'Thou usest to be / You used to be.'
hon.	<i>hoten</i> 'you used to be'
3 <sup>rd</sup> per. ord.	<i>hoto</i> 'He / she used to be . They used to be'.
hon.	<i>hoten</i> 'He / she used to be They used to be'.

Auxiliary verb √ *ac* 'to remain'.

Present Root + -  $\Phi$  - + PM Past Root + - *l* - / - *n* - + per.m. Future Root + *b* + per. m..

Ist per.	<i>aci</i>	<i>chilam</i> <i>chilum</i> <i>chinu (n)</i> <i>thagbo</i>
2 <sup>nd</sup> per. ord.	<i>aco</i>	<i>chile</i> <i>thagbe</i>
Inf.	<i>aciS'</i>	<i>chili</i> <i>thagbi.</i>

hon.	<i>acen</i>	<i>chilen</i> <i>thagben.</i>
3 <sup>rd</sup> per. ord.	<i>ace</i>	<i>chilo</i> <i>thagbe</i>
hon.	<i>acen</i>	<i>chilen</i> <i>thagben</i>

Finite verb.  
Simple

Present	Root + - $\Phi$ - + per .m.	Past	Root + - l - / - n + per. m.
Ist per.	<i>kori</i>	‘I do / we do’	<i>korlam</i> <i>korlum</i> <i>konnu (n)</i>
2 <sup>nd</sup> per. ord.	<i>koro</i>	‘You do’	<i>korley</i>
inf.	<i>koriS’</i>	‘Thou does/ ye do’	<i>korli</i>
hon.	<i>kOren</i>	‘You do’	<i>korlen</i>
3 <sup>rd</sup> per. ord.	<i>kOre</i>	‘He / She does / They do’	<i>korlo</i>
hon.	<i>kOren</i>	‘He / She does They do.	<i>korlen</i>

Future	Root + - b - + per.m.	Habitual (past)	Root + - t - + per.m.
Ist per.	<i>korbo</i>	‘I shall do; we will do’	Ist per <i>kortum, kottum</i>
2 <sup>nd</sup> per. ord.	<i>korbe</i>	‘You will do’	2 <sup>nd</sup> ord. <i>kortun, kottun</i>
inf.	<i>korbi</i>	‘Thou will do’	inf. <i>kortiS’, kottiS’</i>
hon.	<i>korben</i>	‘You will do’	hon. <i>korten, kotten</i>
3 <sup>rd</sup> per. ord.	<i>korbe</i>	‘He / She will do They will do’	3 <sup>rd</sup> per. ord. <i>korto, kotto</i>
hon.	<i>korben</i>	‘He / She will do ; They will do’	hon. <i>korten, kotten</i>

Imperfect

Root + -  $\Phi$  - + - c - + per.m.

Present Perfect Present

Root + -  $\Phi$  - + - c - + per.m.

Ist per.	<i>kocci</i>	‘I am doing , We are doing’	<i>koreci</i>	‘I have done; we have done’
2 <sup>nd</sup> per. ord.	<i>koceo</i>	‘You are doing’	<i>koreco</i>	‘You have done’
inf.	<i>kocciS’</i>	‘Thou art doing’	<i>koreciS’</i>	‘Thou havst done ; Ye have done’
Hon. 3 <sup>rd</sup> per. ord.	<i>koccen</i> <i>kocce</i>	‘You are doing’ ‘He / She is doing’ ‘They are doing’	<i>korecen</i> <i>korece</i>	‘You have done’ ‘He / She has done ; They have done’.
hon.	<i>koccen</i>	‘He / She is doing They are doing’	<i>korecen</i>	‘He / She has done They have done’.

#### Past Imperfect

#### Past Perfect

	Root +- c - + - l - / - n - + per.m.		Root + - e - + - c - + il / - in - + per.m.
Ist per.	<i>koccilam</i> <i>koccilum</i> <i>koccinu</i> (n)	‘I was doing We were doing’	<i>kore cilam</i> <i>kore cilum</i> <i>korecinu</i> (n)
2 <sup>nd</sup> per. ord.	<i>koccile</i>	‘You were doing’	<i>korecile</i>
inf.	<i>koceili</i>	‘Thou want doing; Ye were doing’	<i>korecili</i>
hon.	<i>koccilen</i>	‘You were doing’	<i>korecilen</i>
3 <sup>rd</sup> per. ord.	<i>koccolo</i>	‘He / she was doing’ ‘They were doing’	<i>korecolo</i>
hon.	<i>koccilen</i>	‘He / she was doing’ ‘They were doing’	<i>korecilen</i>

#### Future Imperfect

#### Future Perfect

	Root +- te - + sub. v. thak + - b - + per.m.		Root + - e + sub. v. thak - + - b - + per.m.
Ist per.	<i>korte thagbo</i>	‘I shall be doing’ ; ‘We will be doing’	<i>kore thagbo</i>
2 <sup>nd</sup> per. ord.	<i>korte thagbe</i>	‘You will be doing’	<i>kore thagbe</i>
2 <sup>nd</sup> per.	<i>korte thagbi</i>	‘Thou will be doing’ ;	<i>kore thagbi</i>

inf.		‘Ye will be doing’		done’ ‘Ye would have done’
Hon.	<i>korte thagben</i>	‘You will be doing’	<i>kore thagben</i>	‘You would have done’
3 <sup>rd</sup> . per.ord.	<i>korte thagbe</i>	‘He /she will be doing’ ‘They will be doing’	<i>kore thagbe</i>	‘He / she would have done’ ‘They would have done’
hon.	<i>korte thagben</i>	‘He / She will be doing’ ‘They will be doing’	<i>kore thagben</i>	‘He / She would have done’ ‘They would have done’

Causative Verbs                    - a -                    √ *kOra* ‘to make to do’

Present            Root + - a - + -  $\Phi$  - + per.m.    PastRoot +- a - + - l - / - n - + per.m.

Ist per.	<i>kOrai</i>	‘I / We make to do’	<i>kOralam</i> <i>kOralum</i> <i>kOranu</i> (n)	‘I / We made to do’
2 <sup>nd</sup> per. ord.	<i>kOrao</i>	‘You make to do’	<i>kOrale</i>	‘You made to do’
inf.	<i>kOraS’</i>	‘Thou makest to do’ ‘Ye make to do’	<i>kOrali</i>	‘Thou madest to do’ ‘Ye made to do’
hon.	<i>kOran</i>	‘You make to do’	<i>kOralen</i>	‘You made to do’
3 <sup>rd</sup> . per. ord.	<i>kOray</i>	‘He / She / they make to do’	<i>kOralo</i>	‘He / She / They made to do’
Hon.	<i>kOran</i>	‘He / She / They make to do’	<i>kOralen</i>	‘He / She / They made to do’

Future            Root + - a - + - b - + P                    Habitual (past)            Root + - a - + - t - + per.m

Ist per.	<i>kOrabo</i>	‘I / We shall make to do’	<i>kOratum</i> <i>kOratun</i>	‘I / We used to make to do’
2 <sup>nd</sup> per. ord.	<i>kOrabe</i>	‘You will make to do’	<i>kOrate</i>	‘You used to make to do’
inf.	<i>kOrabi</i>	‘Thou will make to do’ ‘Ye will make to do’	<i>kOratiS’</i>	‘Thou usest to make to do’ ‘You used to make to do’



hon.	<i>kOraben</i>	‘You will make to do’	<i>kOraten</i>	do’ ‘You used to make to do’
3 <sup>rd</sup> . per. ord.	<i>kOrabe</i>	‘He / She / They will maketo do’	<i>kOrato</i>	‘He/She/They used to make to do’
hon.	<i>kOraben</i>	‘He / She / They will make to do’	<i>kOraten</i>	‘He/She/They used to make to do’

Present imperfect

Present perfect

Root +- a - + -  $\Phi$  - + - c - + per.m.

Root +- ie - + -  $\Phi$  - + - c + per.m.

Ist per.	<i>kOracci</i>	‘I am / We are making to do’	<i>korieci</i>	‘I / We have made to do’
2 <sup>nd</sup> per.ord.	<i>kOracco</i>	‘You are making to do’	<i>korieco</i>	‘You have made to do’
Inf.	<i>kOracciS’</i>	‘Thou art / ye are making to do’	<i>korieciS’</i>	‘Thou havst /ye have made to do’
hon	<i>kOraccen</i>	‘You are making to do’	<i>koriecen</i>	‘You have made to do’
3 <sup>rd</sup> per.ord.	<i>kOracce</i>	‘He/She /They is /are making to do’	<i>koriece</i>	‘He/She has /They have made to do’
hon.	<i>kOraccen</i>	‘He/She is/They are making to do’	<i>koriecen</i>	‘He/She has;They have made to do’

Past imperfect

Past perfect

Root + - a - + - c - + - il - / - in - + per.m.

Root + - ie - + - c - + - il / - in - + per.m

Ist per.	<i>kOraccilam</i> ,	‘I was/ we were making to do’	<i>koriecilam / -um</i>	‘I / we had made to do’
2 <sup>nd</sup> . per. ord.	<i>kOraccinu</i> (1) <i>kOraccile</i>	‘You were making to do’	<i>koriecinu</i> (n) <i>kOrlecile</i>	‘You had made to do’
inf.	<i>kOraccili</i>	‘Thou wart / ye were making to do’	<i>koriecili</i>	‘Thou hadst / Ye had made to do’
hon.	<i>kOraccilen</i>	‘You were making to do’	<i>koriecilen</i>	‘You hade made to do’
3 <sup>rd</sup> P.ord.	<i>kOraccilo</i>	‘He / She was ; They were making to do’	<i>koriecilo</i>	‘He /She/They had made to do’
hon.	<i>kOraccilen</i>	‘He/She ; They were making to do’	<i>koriecilen</i>	‘He /She / They had made to do’





*kOrge* 'go and do' ( i. e do )

(d) Non – Finite + → when non – finite predominates :

<i>poDe na</i>	→	<i>poDe nao</i>	'complete reading'.
<i>bole da</i>	→	<i>bole dao</i>	'speak out'.
<i>S'une ja</i>	→	<i>S'une jao</i>	'Listen to me'.
<i>kore bOS'</i>	→	<i>kore bosle</i>	'had done'.

compound verbs get geminated : *neS'be* < *nie aS'be* 'will bring'

(e) Finite + Non – Finite + Finite.

<i>khe ge ja</i>	<	<i>kha ge ja</i>	'go to eat' ( inferior )
<i>su ge ja</i>	<	<i>S'o ge ja</i>	'go to sleep' (inferior)
<i>bol ge ja</i>	<	<i>bOlge ja</i>	'speak out / go and tell (inferior)
<i>die ga ja</i>	<	<i>dao ge jao</i>	'go and give / give away (inferior)
<i>ni ge ja</i>	<	<i>nao ge jao</i>	'go and take / take away (inferior)

(f) Non – Finite + Non- Finite.

<i>kheye nao ge</i>	'take your meal' (endearing)
<i>S'ue pODo ge</i>	'lie down' (endearing)
<i>kore nao ge</i>	'do' (impersonal / personal)
<i>bose pODo ge</i>	'sit down for meal'
<i>die dao ge</i>	'give away'

(g) Non – Finite + Finite + Non - Finite + Finite.

<i>S'ue pOD ge ja</i>	'go and lie down straight' (inferior)
<i>kheye nige ja</i>	'eat up straight'
<i>kore nige ja</i>	'do by self'
<i>core khege ja</i>	'earn by self'
<i>nie aS'ge ja / neS'ge ja</i>	'bring immediately'

(h) Non – Finite + Non – Finite + Finite + Non – Finite ( + Finite )

<i>bēde die aS'ge ja</i>	'( go and ) fasten up straight'
<i>cheDe de ayge ja</i>	'( go and ) leave out straight'

Compound Verbs

(a) Noun + verb

<i>S'ay da -</i>	'to agree / admit'.
<i>mar de</i>	'to beat'
<i>kOsTo pa</i>	'to suffer'
<i>ghurpak kha</i>	'to get harrassed'

*ThaTTa kOr* 'to cut joke'

(b) (i) Adjective + verbs (onomatopoetic)

*ghEnor ghEnor kOra* 'to whine'  
*bhEnbhEn kOra* 'to buzz'  
*ghur ghur kOra* 'to move about'

(ii) Adjective + verbs (general)

*heyo kOra* 'to neglect'      *raji hOwa* 'to agree'  
*raji kOra* 'to make to agree'  
*paji hOwa* 'to become obstinate'

Negative verb

Negative verbs are formed by way of affixation and by use of post position. In the former the negative marker *n* – is added to the affirmative verb root  $\sqrt{nO}$  'be' Example

*noi* 'I am not / we are not'  
*nOo* 'You are not'  
*noS'* 'Thou are not / ye are not'  
*nOn* 'You are not / he or she is not / they are not.'

The conjugation is restricted to simple present only. Such verb has a single non – finite form eg. *nahole / nahale* 'without'.

Another negative form *nei* is used in all three persons.

For Example

*ami nei / amra nei* 'I am not / we are not'.  
*tumi nei / tui nei / apni nei* 'You / thou / you (Hon) are / art / are not'  
*tomra nei / tora nei / apnara nei* 'You are not'  
*S'e nei / tini nei / uni nei* 'He / she is not'  
*tara nei / ora nei / tāra nei / ōra nei* 'They are not'

The form *-ni* is used as postposition to finite verb to mean negation. In Hooghly, the same is *-ne*.

Ist P.	{	<i>ami khai ni</i>	'I did not eat'	→ in Past tense.
		<i>ami khai ni</i>	'I do not eat'	→ in Habitual present tense.
		<i>ami khabo ni</i>	'I shall not eat'	→ in Future tense.
		<i>ami gelumni</i>	'I did not go'	→ in Past tense.
		<i>ami khelum ni</i>	'I did not eat'	→ in Past tense.

2 <sup>nd</sup> P.	{	<i>tumi khabe ni ?</i>	‘Will not you eat’	→ in Future tense.
		<i>tumi bOloni</i>	‘You have not told’	→ in Present Perfect.
		<i>tumi koroni</i>	‘You have not done’	→ in Present Perfect
3 <sup>rd</sup> P.		<i>S’e aS’be ni</i>	‘He will not come’	→ in Future tense

Negative expletive - *ne* is used in 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> person. In simple Present and simple Future tenses eg :

2 <sup>nd</sup> P.	<i>tumi asbe ne ?</i>	‘will not you come’	in simple Future tense
3 <sup>rd</sup> P.	<i>S’e khay ne</i>	‘He does not eat’	in simple Present tense
	<i>S’e jay ne</i>	‘He does not go’	in simple Present tense
	<i>S’e jabe ne</i>	‘He will not go’	in simple Future tense
	<i>S’e khabene</i>	‘He will not eat’	in simple Future tense

### 3.7. ADVERBS

Adverbs precede verbs in the construction. The adverbs may or may not receive case markers. Below are explained different types of adverbs.

#### 1. Adverbs without case markers

*taDi (k) taDa jao* ‘go quickly’ *kOkhun bolbe* ‘when will you tell’ *khali bOke* ‘always scolds’ *hOtat ele* ‘suddenly came’ *jenOtenO polare* ‘by any means’.

#### 2. Adverbs formed with instrumental or locative - *e*

*dhire* ‘slowly’, *bege* ‘in force’, *S’oMge* ‘with’, *ubre* ‘above’ *nicute* ‘below’  
*S’amne* ‘in front’, *S’umukhe* ‘in front’, *pOre / pōde* ‘afterwards’ *dhure* ‘in far’ *kace* ‘near’, *okhene* ‘there’, *ekhene* ‘here’, *age / agute* ‘before’, *bhitore /*  
*bhidre* ‘inside’, *baire* ‘outside’, *kerme kerme* ‘in turu’.

#### 3. Adverbs with non – finite *kore*

*bhalo kore* ‘properly’, *tOTo kore* ‘aimlessly’, *hOnhonie* ‘in rapid step’,  
*kOc mocie* ‘with noise of cracking’, *jene sune* ‘being well – conversant’,

4. *nece muce* ‘dancingly’, *nece kude* ‘in the mode of dancing’.  
Adverbs formed with indeclinable *matro* ‘only’.

*jawa mattor* ‘immediately aftergoing’, *S’owa matto* ‘immediately after lying down in bed’, *Dhuka matto* ‘immediately with entering’.

5. *moton / motun* ‘like’

*thik moton* ‘properly’  
*bhalo moton* ‘like wise / thus’, *eimoton* ‘like this’, *S’ei moton / motun* ‘like wise / thus’.

6. Adverbs formed by reduplication.

*kOkhuno kOkhuno* ‘sometimes’, *dhire dhire* ‘slowly’, *aste aste* ‘slowly’,  
*dekte dekte* ‘in rapid speed’, *jeta seta* ‘here and there’, *jEmun tEmun* ‘somehow / anyhow’.

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## 4. SYNTAX

### 4.1 WORD ORDER

The word order in Howrah and Hooghly dialects is as follows.

<i>S'e</i>	<i>bhat</i>	<i>khay</i>	'She eats rice'
she	rice	eats	
subject	object	verb	

Simple sentence

<i>kukurTa gheu gheu kore</i>	'The dog barks'
<i>baccaTa ekhane aS'e</i>	'The child comes here'
<i>amra ghoDay coDi</i>	'We ride horses'

### 4.2. DESCRIPTION OF TYPES OF SENTENCES

Imperative sentences

<i>take Dako</i>	'Call him'
<i>boiTa pODo</i>	'Read the book'
<i>eTake dhOro</i>	'Hold it'

Interrogative Sentence

<i>tumi kE no jabe</i>	'Why should you go?'
<i>S'e kOkun elo</i>	'When did he come?'
<i>tumi kOkun asbe</i>	'When will you come?'

Negative sentence

<i>ami jabo ni</i>	'I shall not go'
<i>ami jacei ni</i>	'I am not going'
<i>tomar ekene thaka Thik nOy</i>	'You should not stay here'
<i>ami eTake kotte parini</i>	'I could not do it'
<i>keu kajTa kotte pare ne</i>	'Nobody could do this work'

Complex Sentence

A complex sentence is composed of one or more subordinate clauses and one main or principal clause. A principal clause is a simple sentence. While a subordinate clause is an



incomplete sentence which may be a Noun clause, Adjective clause, Adverbial clause and conditional clause. Below are exemplified the constructions:

*tumi je S'ekene chileta ami jani* 'That you stayed there I knew'

Herein, *ta ami jani* is principal clause and *tumi je S'ekene chele* is subordinate Noun clause.

*je S'Okoler bhalo cay S'e nijero bhalo cay* 'One who wishes welfare of others attains his welfare too'. Herein, *S'e nijero bhalo cay* is principal clause and *je S'Okoler bhalo cay* is subordinate adjective clause.

*ami je ghOrTay thaki S'eTa choto* 'The house I live in is small one'.

Herein, *S'eTa choTo* is principal clause and *ami je ghOrTay thaki* is subordinate adjective clause.

*tomar aS'ar age ami elum* 'I came before you came'

Herein, *ami elum* is principal clause and *tomar aS'ar age* is subordinate adverbial clause.

### Compound Sentence

A compound sentence is composed of more than one main or principal clauses. The principal clauses are compounded by the connectives or adversatives. Below are exemplified the construction of compound sentences:

#### Without indeclinables

*eTa nOy oTa* 'This one is not that one'.

Herein, *eTa nOy* is principal clause No.1 and *oTa* is principal clause No.2.

*kOTa notun kOTa purono* 'Some are new some are old'.

Herein, *kOTa notun* is principal clause No.1 and *kOTa purono* is principal clause No.2.

#### With connectives

*jao ar phire eS'o* 'Go and come back'.

Herein, *jao* is principal clause No.1 and *phire eS'o* is principal clause No.2 (*ar* is connective).

*ami kal aste pattun kintun S'orir kharap bole* 'I could have come yesterday but  
*aslum ni* I did not come'.

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## **BARENDRI**

**SIBASIS MUKHERJEE**

### **I. INTRODUCTION**

#### **1.1 FAMILY AFFILIATION**

Barendri is a dialect of Bengali language of the Eastern Magadhan group of Indo-Aryan family. Earlier Radhi and Berendri both the dialects were known as Radhi only. But in later period due to the influence of Hindi and Bangali (a dialect of Bengali spoken in present Bangladesh), as the spoken share the boundary with both Bihar in the west and Bangladesh in east, Barendri is considered to be a separate dialect.

#### **1.2 LOCATION**

This variety of Bengali language is spoken in the districts of Malda, West Dinajpur, Murshidabad. As per Dr. S. Sen, Barendri dialect spoken in Malda and West Dinajpur and Murshidabad are considered as greater Barendri area because of structural similarity. The name 'Barendri' came from the 'Barendra Bhumi'. The field work for the present survey was conducted in the above mentioned districts under Linguistic Survey of India, West Bengal scheme.

#### **1.3 SPEAKERS STRENGTH : LANGUAGE-MOTHER TONGUE- BILINGUALISM**

Since Barendri is a regional variety of Bengali it is not returned in Census. It is enumerated under Bengali (A Scheduled Language) returns.

##### **Bi-lingualism**

Barendri speakers are mainly bi-linguals in Hindi and English. Though the older generation people and uneducated people speak only in Barendri, the new generation people speak both in Hindi and English. This is essentially due to mobility from one place to another and exposure to the people of other region.

#### 1.4 SOCIO-LINGUISTIC INFORMATION

The greater Barendri area extends to the following districts of West Bengal, namely Malda, West-Dinajpur (both North and South), Murshidabad and northern part of Birbhum. Among these districts, Malda and West-Dinajpur are having border with Bihar. So, a mixture of Hindi vocabulary in the bordering areas is obvious. In the three Northern districts viz. Darjeeling, Jalpaiguri and Coochbehar, Barendri has shared features with both the Rajbangsi and Kamtapuri Mother Tongues. Therefore, the pure Barendri speech is available in Murshidabad, Malda and West-Dinajpur districts and in the rest three districts (Darjeeling, Jalpaiguri and Coochbehar) Barendri has got acculturated with the neighbouring Rajbanshi and Kamtapuri.

#### 1.5 REVIEW OF EARLIER LITERATURE

A few earlier literatures are available which are as follows –

1. Chakravarty, Chintaharan - ‘*nodiar bhaS’a*’, S’ahitto poris’Od potrika, 51<sup>st</sup> Vol., No.1-2. pp.40-42.
2. Sinha, Sisir Kumar - ‘*murshidabad OncOler kottho bhaS’ar boiS’iS’To*’ – cotuskon, Phalgun, 1382.
3. Salit, Haridas - ‘*maldar polli bhaS’a*’, S’ahitto poris’Od potrika 18<sup>th</sup> Vol., No.3. p. 137-179.
4. Jolil, Alamgir - ‘*dinajpurer lokobhaS’a*’, mohommodi, coitro, 1370.
5. Solayman, Mohammad - ‘*dinajpurer ancolik bhaS’ar ruprekha*’, Nasik purbali, 1971.

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## 2. PHONOLOGY

Phonology deals with the sound pattern of a language.

### 2.1 PHONEMIC INVENTORY

The inventories of the segmental and suprasegmental phonemes are as follows

#### 2.1.1 SEGMENTAL PHONEMES

There are altogether 7 vowels and 28 consonantal phonemes available in Barendri. The inventories are as follows

Vowels										
	Front			Central			Back			
High	<i>i</i>						<i>u</i>			
Mid-High	<i>e</i>						<i>o</i>			
Mid-Low	<i>E</i>						<i>O</i>			
Low							<i>a</i>			

Consonants											
	Bilabials		Dental		Palatal		Retroflex		Velar		Glottal
Plosives											
Un-aspirated	<i>p</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>j</i>	<i>T</i>	<i>D</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>g</i>	
Aspirated	<i>ph</i>	<i>bh</i>	<i>th</i>	<i>dh</i>	<i>ch</i>	<i>jh</i>	<i>Th</i>	<i>Dh</i>	<i>kh</i>	<i>gh</i>	
Nasals	<i>m</i>		<i>n</i>						<i>M</i>		
Fricatives			<i>s</i>								<i>h</i>
Rolled/Trilled			<i>r</i>								
Flapped							<i>R</i>				
Lateral			<i>l</i>								

#### 2.1.2 SUPRASEGMENTAL PHONEMES

The supra segmental phonemes Length and Nasalisation are not phonemic though in nasalization some examples of the positional variations are available as in /hãS'patal/ 'hospital', /hãS'i/ 'laugh' etc.

## 2.2 PHONEMIC DESCRIPTIONS AND DISTRIBUTIONS

### Descriptions

#### Vowels

<i>/i/</i>	High front Vowel
<i>/e/</i>	Mid high front vowel
<i>/E/</i>	Mid Low front vowel
<i>/a/</i>	Low back vowel
<i>/O/</i>	Mid low back vowel
<i>/o/</i>	Mid high back vowel
<i>/u/</i>	High back vowel

#### Consonants

<i>/p/</i>	Voiceless unaspirated Bilabial stop.
<i>/ph/</i>	Voiceless aspirated Bilabial stop.
<i>/b/</i>	Voiced unaspirated Bilabial stop.
<i>/bh/</i>	Voiced aspirated Bilabial stop
<i>/t/</i>	Voiceless unaspirated Dental stop
<i>/th/</i>	Voiceless aspirated Dental stop.
<i>/d/</i>	Voiced unaspirated Dental stop.
<i>/dh/</i>	Voiced aspirated Dental stop
<i>/c/</i>	Voiceless unaspirated Palatal stop
<i>/ch/</i>	Voiceless aspirated Palatal stop
<i>/j/</i>	Voiced unaspirated Palatal stop
<i>/jh/</i>	Voiced aspirated Palatal stop
<i>/T/</i>	Voiceless usnaspirated Retroflex stop
<i>/Th/</i>	Voiceless aspirated Retroflex stop
<i>/D/</i>	Voiced unaspirated Retroflex stop
<i>/Dh/</i>	Voiced aspirated Retroflex stop.
<i>/k/</i>	Voiceless unaspirated Velar stop
<i>/kh/</i>	Voiceless aspirated Velar stop.
<i>/g/</i>	Voiced unaspirated Velar stop.

- /gh/* Voiced aspirated Velar stop.
- /m/* Voiced Bilabial Nasal
- /n/* Voiced Alveolar Nasal
- /M/* Voiced Velar Nasal
- /S'/* Voiceless Palatal Fricative
- /h/* Voiceless Glotal Fricative
- /r/* Voiced Alveolar Trill
- /R/* Voiced Retroflex Tap/Flap
- /l/* Voiced Alveolar Lateral

### Distributions (Phonemic)

#### Vowels

<i>/i/</i>	√	√	√
<i>/e/</i>	√	√	√
<i>/E/</i>	√	√	√
<i>/a/</i>	√	√	√
<i>/O/</i>	√	√	√
<i>/o/</i>	√	√	√
<i>/u/</i>	√	√	√

#### Consonants

Phonemes	Initial	Medial	Final
<i>/p/</i>	√	√	√
<i>/ph/</i>	√	√	√
<i>/b/</i>	√	√	√
<i>/bh/</i>	√	√	√
<i>/t/</i>	√	√	√
<i>/th/</i>	√	√	√
<i>/d/</i>	√	√	√
<i>/dh/</i>	√	√	√
<i>/c/</i>	√	√	√

/ch/	√	√	√
/j/	√	√	√
/jh/	√	√	√
/T/	√	√	√
/Th/	√	√	√
/D/	√	√	√
/Dh/	√	√	√
/k/	√	√	√
/kh/	√	√	√
/g/	√	√	√
/gh/	√	√	√
/m/	√	√	√
/n/	√	√	√
/M/		√	√
/S'/	√	√	√
/h/	√	√	√
/r/	√	√	√
/R/	√	√	√
/l/	√	√	√

In the above chart of phonemic distribution, the √ sign is posted to indicate the presence of the phonemes in the respective positions.

### 2.3 MAJOR ALLOPHONIC DISTRIBUTIONS

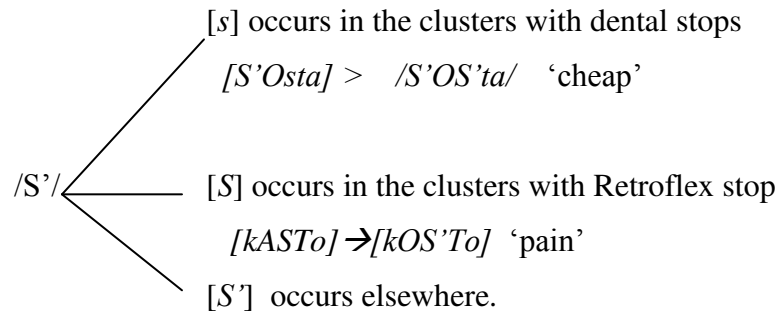
#### Vowels

Vowels are short in length (V.) in the inter-consonantal position.  $V > CV.C$

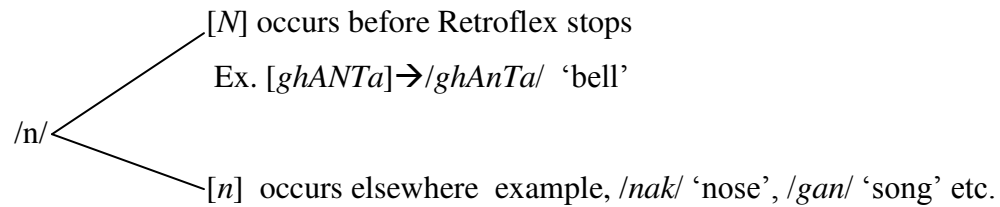
Example :        /ga.n/    ‘song’ compare /am/ ‘mango’ and /mO.ra/ ‘to die’ etc.

## Consonants

1. /S'/ has three allophones



2. /n/ has two allophones



## 2.4 DIPHTHONGS

A diphthong refers to two adjacent vowel sounds occurring within the same syllable (one ligature). The followings are the examples,

/iu/	as in	/S'iuli/	'a kind of flower'
/ia/	as in	/Tia/	'parrot'
/ai/	as in	/gai/	'sing'
/ae/	as in	/gae/	'he sings' (as opposed to /ga-e/ 'on body')
/au/	as in	/lau/	'gourd'
/ei/	as in	/nei/	'not'
/Oe/	as in	/S'Oe/	'he bears'
/Eo/	as in	/S'Eola/	'moss'
/oi/	as in	/moi/	'ladder'
/ou/	as in	/mou/	'honey'



## 2.5 CLUSTERS

Clusters are the combinations of two or more sounds. If both the sounds are same it is called gemination and if different called clusters. The Examples are as follows :

### Geminations

The following geminations are available in Barendri –

<i>g + g</i>	<i>/bhaggO/</i>	‘fortune’
<i>j + j</i>	<i>/rAjjO/</i>	‘kingdom’
<i>n + n</i>	<i>/OnnO/</i>	‘food’
<i>t + t</i>	<i>/S’ottO/</i>	‘truth’
<i>d + d</i>	<i>/baddO/</i>	‘musical instrument’
<i>l + l</i>	<i>/mullO/</i>	‘price’
<i>S’ + S’</i>	<i>/beS’S’a/</i>	‘prostitute’

### Clusters

<i>k+ kh</i>	<i>/mukkhO/</i>	‘main’
<i>g + r</i>	<i>/bigroho/</i>	‘idol’
<i>t + r</i>	<i>/chatro/</i>	‘student’
<i>d + r</i>	<i>/mudra/</i>	‘coin’
<i>p + r</i>	<i>/pran/</i>	‘life’
<i>m + r</i>	<i>/S’OmraT/</i>	‘emperor’
<i>S’ + r</i>	<i>/miS’ro/</i>	‘mixed/
<i>g + l</i>	<i>/gla/</i>	‘plural number indicating suffix’
<i>k + n</i>	<i>/S’ukna/</i>	‘dry’
<i>p + l</i>	<i>/biplab/</i>	‘revolution’
<i>S’ + l</i>	<i>/S’lok/</i>	‘hymn’
<i>t + n</i>	<i>/jOtno/</i>	‘care’
<i>S’ + n</i>	<i>/S’nan/</i>	‘bath’
<i>S’+ Th</i>	<i>/biS’Tha/</i>	‘birds’ excreta’
<i>n + m</i>	<i>/jOnmo/</i>	‘birth’
<i>r + k</i>	<i>/tOrko/</i>	‘argument’

<i>r + n</i>	<i>/jhOrna/</i>	‘fountain’
<i>r + th</i>	<i>/OrthO/</i>	‘money’
<i>r + m</i>	<i>/kOrmo/</i>	‘deed’
<i>M + k</i>	<i>/OMko/</i>	‘mathematics’
<i>M + g</i>	<i>/OMgo/</i>	‘body’
<i>n + T</i>	<i>/ghOnTa/</i>	‘bell’
<i>n + D</i>	<i>/ponDit/</i>	‘scholar’
<i>d + dh</i>	<i>/juddho/</i>	‘war’
<i>n + t</i>	<i>/OntO/</i>	‘end’
<i>n + d</i>	<i>/S’undOr/</i>	‘nice’
<i>b + d</i>	<i>/S’ObdO/</i>	‘sound’
<i>l + p</i>	<i>/Olpo/</i>	‘little’
<i>S’ + c</i>	<i>/poS’cim/</i>	‘west’
<i>S’ + T</i>	<i>/kOS’TO/</i>	‘pain’
<i>S’ + th</i>	<i>/S’uS’tho/</i>	‘cure’
<i>g + dh</i>	<i>/dOgdho/</i>	‘burnt’
<i>b + j</i>	<i>/S’Objil/</i>	‘vegetables’
<i>r + d</i>	<i>/nirdeS’/</i>	‘instruction’

Tri-Consonantal clusters –

A very few Tri-consonantal clusters are available in this dialect which are as follows

*n + d + r*     */cOndrO/*     ‘moon’

*S’ + T + r*     */raS’Trol/*     ‘country’ etc.

## 2.6 Syllable

A syllable is pronounced in one breath. Syllables can be both open and close. Open syllables end in vowels whereas close syllables end in consonants.

Words having one syllable are called mono-syllabic words, similarly we get di-syllabic words (words consisting of two syllables), tri-syllabic words (words consisting of three syllables) etc.

Monosyllabic words : -

<i>V</i>	-	<i>/o/</i>	‘that’
<i>CV</i>	-	<i>/S'e/</i>	‘he’
<i>VC</i>	-	<i>/am/</i>	‘mango’
<i>CVC</i>	-	<i>/gan/</i>	‘song’
<i>CCCV</i>	-	<i>/S'tri/</i>	‘wife’

Di-syllabic words

<i>CVC-CV</i>	-	<i>/duk-kho/</i>	‘sorrow’
<i>VCV-CVC</i>	-	<i>/Oka – ron/</i>	‘unnecessarily’
<i>CVCV-CVCV</i>	-	<i>/paS'a – paS'i/</i>	‘side by side’

Tri-syllabic words –

<i>VC-CVC-V</i>	-	<i>/ac – hOn – o/</i>	‘covered’
<i>CV-V-CV</i>	-	<i>/ke-u – Te/</i>	‘cobra’

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### 3. MORPHOPHONEMICS

The Morphophonemic rules available in this dialect are as follows.

1. The Phonemic alternations found are as follows

Word initially /e/ > /E/.      /ek/ 'one' > /Ek/

Word medially /i/ > /E/.      /din/ 'to give' > /dEn/

2. /O + i/      >      /i/      as in      /ekOtrO/ 'one' + /-ito/      >  
/ekottrito/      'united'

3. Sometimes the vowels get deleted if it is followed by a Consonant -  
Ex. /bhaga/ 'to move' + /douD/ 'to run' > /bhagdouD/ 'moving here and there'

4. The word medial /h/ sound is either weak or omitted. Ex. /tahader/ 'their' > /tader/,  
/tahate/ 'for this' > /tate/ etc.

5. If /r/ is followed by a consonant, it gets deleted and the consonant gets doubled.  
This is of course a process of assimilation. *dur* 'far' + /din/ 'days' > /duddin/  
'bad days'

6. The Aspirated sounds changes into unaspirated sounds word finally. Ex. /labh/  
'profit' > /lab/, /bagh/ 'tiger' > //bag/ etc.

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## 4. MORPHOLOGY

Morphology deals with the formation of the words and their use in the language.

### 4.1 WORD FORMATION

The word formation in Barendri takes place in the following three ways:

Suffixation

Reduplication

Compounding

Suffixation - /-o/ commonly used to form adjectives.

i. /jOl/ 'water' > /jolo/ 'water like', /mach/ 'fish' > /mecho/ 'fish like' etc.

ii. /-Te/ also sometimes used to form adjectives.

/tama/ 'copper' > /tamaTe/ 'copper type', /ghola/ 'not clear' > /gholaTe/ 'not clear type' etc.

iii. /-ola/ and /-uli/ used in masculine and feminine respectively signifying profession. /baDiola/ 'house owner' /baDiuli/ 'lady house owner', /machola/ 'fish seller' /machuli/ 'lady fish seller' etc.

Reduplication - /jete jetel/ 'while going', /paS'e paS'e/ 'side by side' etc.

Compounding – Two words are combined together to get a compound word which is having a specific meaning. Ex. /kalo/ 'black' + /manik/ 'precious stone' > /kalomanik/ 'diamond', /nil/ 'blue' + /kanThO/ 'throat' > /nilkanThO/ 'Lord Shiva' etc.

### 4.2 WORD CLASS

The words available in this dialect are divided into following grammatical categories namely 1. Noun 2. Pronouns 3. Adjectives 4. Post-Positions 5. Conjunctions 6. Verbs 7.

Adverbs. These seven word classes are broadly grouped into two categories- Declinables and Indeclinables. Declinables are those, which are declined for numbers- genders-persons-cases etc., for example, nouns, pronouns, adjectives and verbs. And the post-positions, conjunctions, adverbs belong to the Indeclinables.



Genitive     - /-r/, /-er/ as in /hamar/ ‘mine’ /amer rOs/ ‘juice of Mango’  
 Locative     - /Ot/ as in /ghOrOt/ ‘in the house’

#### 4.3.1.4 POST-POSITIONS

The post-positions available in this dialect are as follows:

##### Nominal Post Positions

<i>/age/</i>	as in	<i>/tomar age/</i>	‘before you’
<i>/kache/</i>	as in	<i>/barir kache/</i>	‘near house’
<i>/chaDa/</i>	as in	<i>/tomake chaDa/</i>	‘without you’
<i>/sathe or sOMge/</i>	as in	<i>/amar sathe- or sOMge/</i>	‘with me’
<i>/jonnel/</i>	as in	<i>/tomar jonnel/</i>	‘for you’
<i>/pore/</i>	as in	<i>/tar pore/</i>	‘after him’/ ‘after that’
<i>/ceyel/</i>	as in	<i>/amar ceel/</i>	‘than me’
<i>/theke/</i>	as in	<i>/kotha theke/</i>	‘from where’
<i>/dhore/</i>	as in	<i>/S’at din dhore/</i>	‘since seven days’

#### 4.3.2 PRONOUN

The following is the inventory of the Barendri Pronouns

Person	Singular		Plural	
First	<i>/ami, hami/</i>	‘I’	<i>/hamra/</i>	‘we’
Second	<i>/tumi/</i>	‘you’	<i>/tomra/</i>	‘you’
Third	<i>/S’e/</i>	‘he/she’	<i>/tara/</i>	‘they’
Demonstrative				
Proximate	<i>/ei/</i>	‘this’	<i>/eigula/</i>	‘these’
Demonstrative				
Remote	<i>/oi/</i>	‘that’	<i>/oigula/</i>	‘those’
Relative				
Inclusive	<i>/je-i/</i>	‘whoever’	<i>/jara-i/</i>	‘whoever’
Interrogative				
Animate	<i>/ke/</i>	‘who’	<i>/kara/</i>	‘who’
Interrogative				
Inanimate	<i>/ki/</i>	‘what’		
Indefinite	<i>/keu/</i>	‘someone’		
Collective	<i>/S’ob/</i>	‘all’		

### 4.3.3 ADJECTIVES

Adjectives do not inflect for gender, number and case. They are indeclinables. Below are the adjectives available

<i>/roga/</i>	‘thin’	<i>/lOmba/</i>	‘tall’	<i>/bhalo/</i>	‘good’
<i>/moTa/</i>	‘fat’	<i>/khaTo/</i>	‘short’	<i>/lal/</i>	‘red’
<i>/S’oru/</i>	‘narrow’	<i>/S’oja/</i>	‘straight’	<i>/ũcu/</i>	‘high’
<i>/S’okto/</i>	‘hard’	<i>/halka/</i>	‘light’	<i>/nicu/</i>	‘low’

Comparison of Adjectives denoted by */-tOro/* and */-tOmo/*. */-tOro/* is used for comparative and */-tOmo/* is used for superlative degrees respectively.

*/khudro/* ‘short/small’ */khudro tOro/* ‘shorter’ */khudro tOmo/* ‘shortest’.

Adjectives do not inflect for Number, Gender and Cases.

<i>/Ekta bhalo meyer boil</i>	‘book of one good girl’
<i>/dOS’Ta bhalo chaoalke anol</i>	‘bring ten good boys’
<i>/EkTa bhalo chaoaler boil</i>	‘book of one good boy’
<i>/dOS’Ta bhalo meyeke anol</i>	‘bring ten good girls’

#### 4.3.3.1 NUMERALS

Two types of numerals available – Cardinals and Ordinals.

Cardinals

The basic Cardinal numerals are */Ek/* ‘one’, */dui/* ‘two’, */tin/* ‘three’, */dOS’/* ‘ten’, */kuRi or biS’/* ‘twenty’ */colliS’/* ‘forty’, */EkS’o/* ‘hundred’, */chOS’o/* ‘six hundred’, */hajar/* ‘one thousand’.

Numerals after hundred are counted as */Ek shajar dui so tin/* ‘one thousand two hundred and three’ etc. Except this, twenty to thirty is counted on the basis of twenty, thirty to forty is counted on the basis of thirty etc.



## Ordinals

Ordinals are formed by adding inflectional suffixes to cardinals.

Ex.	<i>/Ek/</i> ‘one’	> Suppletion	<i>/pEh-la/</i> ‘first’
	<i>/dui/</i> ‘two’		<i>/ditio/</i> ‘second’
	<i>/tin/</i> ‘three’		<i>/tritiyo/</i> ‘third’ etc.

The quantifiers used in this dialect are as follows -

*/S’aDe/* ‘half’, */S’Ooa/* ‘one and one forth’, */pouna/* ‘three forth’. */Der/* ‘one and half’, */aDai/* ‘two and half’ etc.

These terms quantify the numbers and that is why they are called quantifiers.

### 4.3.3.2 CLASSIFIERS

The following classifiers are available in this dialect which are used after cardinal/ordinal numerals. */muTho/* ‘a handful of’ */jhãk/* ‘a flock of’ , */dOl/* ‘a group of’ , */gocha/* ‘a bunch of’ etc. as in */Ek muTho cal/* ‘a handful of rice’, */Ek dOl goru/* ‘a group of cows’ etc. These classifiers are having selectional restrictions regarding with which particular noun they will occur. For Ex. */Ek dOl mach/* ‘a group of fish is incorrect and it should be */Ek jhãk mach/* ‘a flock of fish’.

## 4.4 VERB MORPHOLOGY

### 4.4.1 FINITE VERB

Finite verb consists of a stem followed by mood, tense and aspect markers, which are further, followed by person, gender and number markers.

#### 4.4.1.1 TENSE

The tenses are three types – Present tense, Past tense and Future tense.

##### Present Tense

Present Tense indicates the act on the action which is going on at present. The three main types of present tense are Simple Present, Present Perfect and Present Continuous. Ex. */ja-/* ‘to go’

### Simple Present

Person	Singular	Plural
First	<i>jai</i> 'I go'	<i>jai</i> 'we go'
Second	<i>jao</i> 'you go'	<i>jao</i> 'you go'
Third	<i>jae</i> 'he/she go'	<i>jae</i> 'they go'

### Present Perfect

First	<i>geichi</i> 'I have gone'	<i>geichi</i> 'we have gone'
Second	<i>geicho</i> 'you have gone'	<i>geicho</i> 'you have gone'
Third	<i>geiche</i> 'he/she has gone'	<i>geiche</i> 'they have gone'

### Present Continuous

First	<i>jacchi</i> 'I am going'	<i>jacchi</i> 'we are going'
Second	<i>jaccho</i> 'you are going'	<i>jaccho</i> 'you are going'
Third	<i>jacche</i> 'he/she is going'	<i>jacche</i> 'they are going'

### Past Tense

Past tense indicates the action of the verb which was done in past. The three main types of the past tense are Simple Past, Past Perfect and Past Continuous.

#### Simple Past

First	<i>gelam</i>	'I went'	<i>gelam</i>	'we went'
Second	<i>gele</i>	'you went'	<i>gele</i>	'you went'
Third	<i>gelo</i>	'he/she went'	<i>gelo</i>	'they went'

#### Past Perfect

First	<i>geichilam</i>	'I had gone'	<i>geichilam</i>	'we had gone'
Second	<i>geichile</i>	'you had gone'	<i>geichile</i>	'you had gone'
Third	<i>geichilo</i>	'he/she had gone'	<i>geichilo</i>	'they had gone'

### Past Continuous

First	<i>jacchilam</i>	‘I was going’	<i>jacchilam</i>	‘we were going’
Second	<i>jacchile</i>	‘you were going’	<i>jacchile</i>	‘you were going’
Third	<i>jacchilo</i>	‘he/she was going’	<i>jacchilo</i>	‘they were going’

### Future Tense

Future Tense indicates the action of the verb which will take place in future. Simple future, Future Perfect and Future Continuous are the three main types of future Tense.

Conjugations are as follows

#### Simple Future

First	<i>jabo</i>	‘I shall go’	<i>jabo</i>	‘we shall go’
Second	<i>jabe</i>	‘you will go’	<i>jabe</i>	‘you will go’
Third	<i>jabe</i>	‘he/she will go’	<i>jabe</i>	‘they will go’

#### Future Perfect

First	<i>gie thakbo</i>	‘I shall have gone’	<i>gie thakbo</i>	‘we shall have gone’
Second	<i>gie thakbe</i>	‘you will have gone’	<i>gie thakbe</i>	‘you will have gone’
Third	<i>gie thakbe</i>	‘he/she will have gone’	<i>gie thakbe</i>	‘they will have’ gone’

#### Future Continuous

First	<i>jeite thakbo</i>	‘I shall be going’	<i>jeite thakbo</i>	‘we shall be going’
Second	<i>jeite thakbe</i>	‘you will be going’	<i>jeite thakbe</i>	‘you will be going’
Third	<i>jeite thakbe</i>	‘he/she will be going’	<i>jeite thakbe</i>	‘they will be going’

### 4.4.1.2 ASPECT

Two aspects are available - Habitual and Perfect.

#### Habitual Aspect

Habitual aspect indicates the regular action of the verb. Ex. */S'e jae/* ‘he goes’, */S'e dEkhe/* ‘he sees’ etc. Simple present tense verbal form is used to indicate the habitual aspect.

### Perfect Aspect

Perfect aspect indicates the action of the verb just completed. Ex. /S'e gEche/ 'he has gone', /S'e dekheche/ 'he has seen' etc. Perfect form of the verbs are used to indicate the Perfect aspect.

### 4.4.1.3 MOOD

In Barendri, three types of moods are available – Imperative, Permissive and Subjunctive.

#### Imperative

Imperative mood indicates the command/request etc. Generally, the second person singular form of the verb conjugation is used to indicate this mood. Ex. /asun/eso/ae/ '(you-respect/friendly ) come' , /bOS'un/bOS'o/bOS'/ '(you- respect/friendly) sit' etc.

#### Permissive

The permissive mood expresses the act of seeking permission. In English, the word 'let' is used to express this mood which is expressed by the use of verb /-de/ 'to give' Ex. /jete de/ 'Let me go', /khetē de/ 'Let me eat' /S'ute de/ 'Let me sleep' etc. /S'unte de/ 'Let me hear'.

#### Subjunctive

A verb is in the subjunctive mood when it expresses a condition which is doubtful or not factual. It is most often found in a clause beginning with the word /jOdi/ 'if'. It is also found in clauses following a verb that expresses a doubt, a wish, regret, request, demand, or proposal. Ex. /bus aS'le ami jetam/ 'If the bus comes then I may go', / Sé ekhane thakle ami thaktam na/ 'If he/she were here then I was absent (not to be here)' etc.

## 4.3.2 NON-FINITE VERBS

### 4.3.2.1 INFINITIVE

Infinitives are formed by adding the infinitive morpheme to different basis i.e. intransitive, transitive, causative etc. In Barendri dialect, the infinitive is marked by */-te/* suffixing to the verbal root. Examples, */dhOr-/* ‘hold’ (trn). */dhor-te/* ‘to hold’ (inf.), */mOr-/* ‘die’ (intran.)/ */mOr-te/* ‘to die’ (inf.) etc.

### 4.3.2.2 GERUND / VERBAL NOUN

When verbs are used as nouns, they are called the Gerunds. Ex., */tamak kha-oa* *S’aS’ther jOnnO khOtikOr/* ‘chewing tobacco is injurious to health’, */hãT-a bhalO/* ‘walking is good’ etc. Therefore, */-a/ /-oa/* are the Gerund morphemes used in this dialect. Verbal noun also behave same in this dialect.

### 4.3.2.3 PARTICIPLE

Participial verbal stems inflect as a verb and decline as a noun or as an adjective. Therefore, two types of participles available in this dialect namely Present Participle and Past Participle.

#### Present Participle

While one action is going on, simultaneously if the other action is performed by the agent, the present participial form of the verb is used. Ex. */S’inema dekha chele/* ‘cinema/ film watching boy’ as in */or moto S’inema dekha chele ke amar bhalo lagena/* ‘I do not like the cinema/film watching boy (who always sees the movies)’, */inglish bOla lok/* ‘English speaking person’ as in */amit er moto inglish bOla lok ke amar bhalo lage/* ‘I like the English speaking person (who always speak English) like Amit’.

#### Past Participle

While one action was completed, the other action was performed by the agent the past participial verbal form is used. Ex. */S’ona gan/* ‘songs already been heard’ as in */ei ganta amar S’ona gan/* ‘this song was I already been heard’

#### 4.4.3 CAUSATIVE VERB

Causatives are formed by suffixing /-a/-oa/ + /-no/ to the main verbs.

Ex. Verb stem with consonant ending :

/dEkh-/ > /dEkh-a/ 'to see' > /dEkha-no/ 'cause one to show'

/kOr-/ > /kOr-a/ 'to do' > /kOra-no/ 'cause one to do'

Verb stem with vowel ending :

/ja-/ > /ja-oa/ 'to go' > /jaoa-no/ 'cause one to sleep'

/kha-/ > /kha-oa/ 'to eat' > /khaoa-no/ 'cause one to eat'

#### 4.4.4 NEGATIVE VERB

Negative elements used in this dialect are - /na/ , /nei /. In English, the negative elements are used before the verbs but in Standard Bengali, (also in this dialect) negations follow the verbs in a sentence.

Ex. /ami khabo na/ 'I will not eat'

/amar bhai nei/ 'I do not have brothers'

#### 4.4.5 AUXILIARY VERB

Auxiliary verbs modify the action of the main Verbs. The auxiliary verbs generally follow the main verbs and denote

action (different degree of continuity)

time (past, present)

mode (condition, doubt)

Examples – In English, Auxiliary Verbs occur before the main verbs, but in Indian Languages (also in this dialect) they follow the main verbs. Therefore, they are the subsidiary verbs (also called helping verbs).

Ex. /ami jete pari/ 'I can go'

/S'e korte pare/ 'he can do'

/boS'a/, /neoa/ etc. which also act as the auxiliary verbs, /hOoa/ 'to be' also act as auxiliary verb.

#### 4.4.6 PASSIVE FORMATIONS

Passive formations are opposite to active formations. In Passive formation – subject comes to the object position and object goes to the subject position with case marking suffixes, ‘by’ being added and the verbal forms thus reduced to periphrastic type construction with the verb */hOe/* ‘is’ being added after the verb.

Ex. Active -	<i>/ami bhat khail</i>	‘I eat rice’
	<i>/amar dara bhat khaoa hOe/</i>	‘Rice is eaten by me’
	<i>/ma amake mare/</i>	‘mother beats me’
	<i>/mar dara amake mara hOe/</i>	‘I am beaten by mother’

Such passive formations are not used in the day to day speech.

#### 4.4.7 TRANSITIVITY

Transitivity is a verbal property. Transitivity depends on whether the verb is taking any object or not. If the verb takes an object it is transitive verb, while absence of an object make the verb intransitive.

When an intransitive verb gets transitivity it is used as a transitive one. For example, */jOla/* ‘to burn’ is an intransitive verb and when used as */ami jali/* ‘I burn’ it becomes a transitive one or we can say it gets transitivity because */jali/* takes an object to complete the sentence (which is the characteristics of a transitive verb) as in */ami bati jali/* ‘I burn a candle’. Similarly, */bhaS’i/* ‘to float’ (intransitive) > */bhaS’ai/* ‘to make something float’ (transitive), */phoTal/* ‘to boil’ (intransitive) > */phoTai/* ‘to boil something’ (transitive) etc.

#### 4.4.8 COMPOUND

There are a large number of compound verbal formation available in this dialect which are formed by combining two or more verbal forms.

Among the compound Verbs, two different types of groupings are possible – In one group, the main verb (generally the first one) receive the inflectional suffix while the operator (the remaining verb) doesn’t.

In other group, both the main verb and the operator receive the inflectional suffixes. The second type of the compound verbal formations are known as ‘serial verbs’ and mainly found in South-Asian languages. The following are the examples –

<i>/laph deoa/</i>	‘to give jump’	<i>/douR deoa/</i>	‘to (give a) run’
<i>/khete deoa/</i>	‘to give food’	<i>/S’orie phEla/</i>	‘to move’
<i>/S’ore bOsa/</i>	‘to move and sit’	<i>/mere phEla/</i>	‘to kioll’
<i>/likhe rakha/</i>	‘to write and keep’	<i>/lOjja deoa/</i>	‘to (give a) shy’

## 4.5 ADVERBS

Adverbs can be simple or derived. Simple adverbs are monomorphemic and derived adverbs are polymorphemic in nature.

Simple Adverbs - */aj/* ‘today’ */kal/* ‘yesterday or tomorrow’

Derived adverbs - */e-khane/* ‘here’, */kO-tha/* ‘where’ etc. (adverb of place), */aj/* ‘today’, */kal/* ‘tomorrow or yesterday’ (adverb of time), */aste/* ‘slowly’, */taDa taDi/* ‘quick’ etc., */jani suni/* ‘knowingly’ (*/jani/* ‘having known’) is a type of Compound adverb.

In compound adverb both the elements from the same class is used. Ex. */jani S’uni/* ‘knowingly (*/jana/* ‘to know’) */S’ona/* ‘to hear’, */taDa taDi/* ‘quickly’ (*taDa/* ‘quick’) etc.

## 4.6 PARTICLES

Conjunction and Interjections are called particles.

### 4.6.1 CONJUNCTIONS

Conjunctions are used for combining the two sentences, words, phrases etc. The following are the types of conjunctions used in this dialect.

1) Conjunctive	:	<i>/ar/</i>	‘and’
2) Adversative	:	<i>/kintu/</i>	‘but’
3) Disjunctive	:	<i>/ba/</i>	‘or’
4) Conditional	:	<i>/jodi/</i>	‘if’
5) Casual	:	<i>/karon/</i>	‘because’
6) Adverbial	:	<i>/to/</i>	‘then’
7) Complementary	:	<i>/ki/</i>	‘what’

Ex. in a sentence - */hami ba tumi okhane jabo/* ‘you or me will go there’



#### 4.6.2 INTERJECTIONS

Interjections are of two types – Basic and Functional. Basic interjections are used only as interjections –as in - /*bah bah*/ ‘well well’ /*hae hae*/ ‘alas’ etc.

Functional interjections are those which are originally from other parts of speech but act as interjections –

- a. Noun :        /*ram ram eTa ki*/        ‘Oh God ! what is this?’
- b. Pronoun :    /*ki ami bhalo nOe*/    ‘What, am I not good?’
- c. Adjective:   /*bah kObe aS’be*/       ‘Nice ! when will you come?’

#### 4.7 ECHO WORDS

Echo words resemble compound words where the second component of the words are almost the repetition of the first one and seems to be an echo – The meaning is basically retained by the first component and the echo part means ‘etc’. Ex. /*bhat Tat*/ ‘rice etc’. /*jama Tama*/ ‘shirt etc’. The second component begins with and the rest part of the component /T/ remains same as the first component. Also, instead of /T/, /f/ is used when spoken with anger. Ex. /*ami bhat fat khabo na*/ ‘I will not eat rice etc’ (spoken with anger).

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## 5. SYNTAX

Syntax deals with the structure of sentences in a language.

### 5.1 ORDER OF WORDS IN SENTENCES

As in other Bengali dialects, the word-order in the Barendri dialect is Subject – Object - Verb or SOV. Subject is assigned the Nominative case and the object takes the accusative case.

<i>/ami</i>	<i>skul-e</i>	<i>jai/</i>
I	school	go
(S)ub.(Nom.)	(O)bj.(Acccu.)	(V) erb

### 5.2 DESCRIPTION OF TYPES OF SENTENCES

The followings are the types of sentences available :

Interrogative

There are two ways to form an interrogative sentence.

- I. The sentence begins with helping verbs (am, is, are, was, were, have, had) or modal auxiliaries (shall, should, will, would, can, could, may, might etc.).

Ex. */am Ta ki bhalo/* ‘is the mango good

*/ami ki duTor S’Omae bari giechilam/* ‘did I go to house at 2 o’clock?’

*/S’e gāe jabe ki/* ‘will he go to the village?’

- II. The sentence begins with some specific words like */ke/* ‘who’, */ki/* ‘what’, */kabe/* ‘when (day)’, */kOkhon/* ‘when (time)’, */kothae/* ‘where’, */kEno/* ‘why’, */kOto/* ‘how much’, */kake/* ‘whom’ etc. These are known as ‘k’ questions.

Ex. */kOkhon jabo/* ‘When we should go?’  
*/kEno jabo/* ‘Why should I go?’  
*/eTa kOto dam/* ‘What is the cost of this?’

Imperative

Imperative sentences denote the order or request. Generally, in the second person the verbal forms are used to give out this type of formation.

Ex. */Ekhon jao/* ‘(you) go now’  
*/ethae bOS’o/* ‘sit here’ etc.  
*/ghOrOt eS’o/* ‘come inside the room’

### Negative

In the negative formation, the negative elements occur after the verb. Ex. /ram hamake dEn na/ 'Ram does not give me', /amer rOS'-e cini nai/ 'there is no sugar in mango juice' etc

### Passive

The Passive sentences are formed from the assertive sentences by

- 1) bringing the object to the subject position. (with nominative marking)
- 2) bringing the subject to the object position, (with oblique case marking)
- 3) adding 'by' before object (*dara*)
- 4) changing the verbal form to its past-participial form.

Ex. Active -	/ami bhat khai/	'I eat rice'
Passive-	/amar dara bhat khaoa hOe/	'Rice is eaten by me'
Active-	/ma amake mare/	'Mother beats me'
Passive-	/mar dara amake mara hOe/	'I am beaten by mother'

### Causative

Causative sentences are formed with the help of causative verbs. In these types of sentences everything remain same as in the assertive sentences only the causal form of the verbs are used. Ex. /ami phOl khai/ 'I eat fruit' (ass.) /amar phOl khaOai/ 'I feed rice' (caus.) /S'e pakhi dEkhe/ 'he sees the bird (ass.) /S'e pakhi dEkhae/ 'he shows the bird (to somebody) (caus.) etc.

### Co-ordination

Co-ordination is the process of joining two or more sentences together. In Bengali language, in general, co-ordination is done by adding /eBOM/ , /ar/ , /o/ etc. between the two sentences such example from Barendri is :/amader bhaS'a baMgla ar iTa khub bhalO S'unte/ 'our language is Bengali and it is very soothing to listen the language.

## 5.2 DESCRIPTIONS OF THE PATTERNS OF SENTENCES

### Simple sentences

Simple sentences are formed with the following formulae –

S → NP VP → /hami jai/ 'I go'

S → NP AUX VP (in English) → NP VP AUX (In Indian languages)

→ I can eat → *ami khetta pari*

This type of formations include only the main clause.

[S=Sentence, NP=Noun Phrase, VP= Verb Phrase and AUX = Auxiliary]

### Complex Sentences

Complex Sentences are formed with the help of main clauses along with the subordinate clauses.

Ex. /hami randura gla marte biS' anlam kintu astae hamar chaoal koilo jOdi hami randura gla bis di mari tObe u rag korrE cole jabe/

'I brought poison to kill the rats but on the way my son told we if I kill the rats he will be angry and go away (from home)

Here many clauses are joined together with the help of the different conjunctions.

### Compound Sentences

The Compound Sentences are formed with 'and which is /ebOM/, /O/, /ar/ etc. in this dialect. Here at least one main and one subordinate clause are attached.

Ex. /amake dEn ar oeo dEn/ 'give me and give him also'

/ami ghOrOt bOsi ar jhOne jhOne pOisa bāTi/

'I sit in the room and distribute money to person to person' etc.

## BARENDRI

### TEXT

*madi kakTa ki kore kalo S'apTake marlo*  
the crow hen how black to the snake killed

How the Crow Hen killed the Black Snake

*EkTa bAT gacher chARano Dalpala-r moddhe EkTa kak ar tar S'tri madi-kak*  
A banyan tree spreading of branches among a crow and his wife crow-hen  
*thakto.*

lived

Among the spreading branches of a banyan tree lived a crow and his wife, the crow-hen.

*baS'ar moddhe carTe choTo Dim chilo jeguloke baba-ma khub jAtner S'AMge*  
nest in the four little eggs were which the parents great care with  
*S'amle rakhto*

guarded

In the nest were four little eggs which the parents guarded with great care.

*oi gacher gũRir Ek koTor-e EkTa kalo S'ap thakto jake kakgulo bhiS'on*  
that tree-of trunk-of a hollow-in a black snake lived whom the crows greatly  
*bhAe peto*

feared

In a hollow of that tree-trunk lived a black snake whom the crows feared greatly.

*prottek bar madi kakTa Dim dile S'ap TA baS'a-te gũRi mere baS'ae asto ar oiguli*  
every time crow-hen the eggs laid snake the nest-in crawled nest upto came and them  
*khee nito*

ate up.

Every time the crow-hen laid eggs the snake crawled up to the nest and ate them up.

*“jodi kalo S'apTa ebaro amar Dimguli khee nEe, ami ei gache ar*  
if black snake this time also my eggs eats up I this tree anymore

*thakte parbo na.*

will not be able to

“If the black snake eats up my eggs this time also, I will refuse to live in this tree any longer.

*amra amader onno kothao baS'a toiri korbo,” ma pakhi tar S'ami-ke*

We our somewhere else nest builds must mother bird to her husband-to

*bollo*

said

We must build our nest somewhere else,” said the mother bird to her husband.

*“amra ekhane Anek din baS' korchhi, ami amar ghAr khali kore onno jaegae*

we here a long time lived I my home to desert elsewhere

*thakte parbo na,” kak bollo.*

live cannot crow said

“We have lived here a long time. I can't bear to desert my home and go to live elsewhere,” said the crow.

*jAkhon tara kAtha bolchilo, taeder nice EkTa hiss S'Abdo tara S'unte pelo.*

While they were talking they below a hiss sound they heard

While they were talking, they heard a hissing sound just below them.

*tara ei S'Abder mane ki janto.*

they this sound meaning what know

They know what the sound meant.

*tara AS'ohae bhabe taeder baS'a-e boS'e taeder Dimgulo rokkha kArar cesTa*

They helplessly their nest-in sat their eggs protect do try

*kor chilo*

do be-ing

They sat helplessly in their nest trying to protect their eggs.

*kalo S'ap Ta gũRi mere opore baS'ar kache elo.*  
black snake the crept above of nest closer came  
The black snake crept higher and closer to the nest.

*tarpar EkTA joRe hiss S'Abdo kore pakhigulo-ke S'e marar cesTa korte tara*  
then a loud hiss sound did Birds - at he killed tried they  
*bhAe uRe gElo.*  
in fear flew away  
Then with a loud hiss he tried to strike at the birds who flew away in terror.

*EkTa EkTa kore kalo S'ap-Ta Dimgulo gile phello.*  
one by one, black snake-the the eggs swallowed  
One by one, the black snake swallowed the eggs.

*baba ma dukkher S'AMge tader baS'ae phire elo bhalobhabe jene je baS'a*  
parents sadly their in nest came back well know that nest  
*khali hAbe.*  
empty would be  
The parents came back sadly to their nest, knowing well that they would find it empty.

*kak bollo, "amake ei khuni S'apke marar EkTa rasta khũjte hAbe."*  
crow said to me this murderous snake-to to kill a way must find  
The crow said, "I must find a way to destroy this murderous snake."

*"tumi tar S'AMge kEmon kore maramari korbe? tar phAna khub*  
you his with how do fight will do his sting very  
*bhAanok,"*  
deadly

*tar S'tri nirupae hoye bollo.*  
his wife in despair said  
"How can you ever fight him? His sting is so deadly," said his wife in despair.

*“bhAe peo na, prio, amar EkTa bondhu ache je*  
fear get not dear my a friend have who

*S’Abtheke biS’odhAr S’apeder marte jAthesTo dokkho,” kaka bollo,*  
most poisonous snakes to kill enough cunning crow said

*ebAM S’e onno gache uRe gElo jar nice tar prio bondhu, S’eal thakto.*  
And he another tree flew off which under his dear friend jackal lived

“Don’t you worry, my dear, I’ve got a friend who is cunning enough to destroy the most poisonous of snakes,” said the crow, and off he flew to another tree under which lived his dear friend, the jackal.

*S’eal jAkhon S’unlo kEmon kore S’ap -Ta Dimgulo kheeniechilo ,S’e bollo, “amar*  
Jackal when heard how snake-the eggs ate up he said my  
*bondhu,*  
friend

*jara niSThur ar jedi sArboda tader S’eS’ kharap hAe.*  
who cruel and greedy always their end bad to be

“When the jackal heard how the snake always ate up the eggs,he said,”My friend,those who are cruel and greedy always meet with a bad end.

*bhAe peona, ami take dhAN”S’o korte EkTa mAtlob behebe-i rekhechi.”*  
have no fear I to him to destroy a plan thought-already have kept  
have no fear, I’ve already thought of a plan to destroy him.”

*“oh, eTa ki amake bAlo,” kak bollo.*  
oh this what to me tell me crow said

“Oh, do tell me what it is,” said the crow.

*tarpar S’eal keu bhAe take S’une phEle, tar bondhuke phiS’ phiS’ kore bollo*  
then jackal somebody him overheard his to friend to whisper told



*S'ap-Ta-ke dhAMS'o korte ki kAra ucit.*

Snake-the-to to destroy what to do should

Then the jackal, fearing the might be overhead, whispered to his friend what he should do to destroy the snake.

*kak tar strir kache uRe phire gElo ar take mAtlob- Ta S'Ambandhe*  
crow his wife near to fly back to go -pt. and to her plan - the about  
*bollo.*

said

The crew flew back to his wife and told her about the plan.

*"eTa bipodjAnok," kak bollo. "amader khub S'Atorko hote hAbe.*

This risky crow said "We very careful to be will have  
"It is rather risky," said the crow." "We'll have to be very careful."

*ami amar Dimguloke rokkha korte S'Abkichu korbo," ma pakhi S'ahoS'er S'AMge*  
I my to my eggs to save everything will do mother bird bravely  
*bollo.*

said

"I'll do anything to save my eggs", said the either bird bravely.

*tarpar tara deS'er rajar praS'ader dike uRe gElo.*

then they of country of king of palace towards flew off

So off they flew towards the palace of the king of the country.

*tara praS'ader bagane EkTa bARo S'ArobArer dike uRe gElo jekhane tara*  
they of palace garden a big pond towards to fly went where they  
*dekhlo*

saw

*rajrAmonira S'nan korche.*

royal ladies bath doing

They approached a big pond in the garden where they saw the royal ladies having bath.

*tara tader S'onar har, muktora necklace ar onno gAhAna S'Arobarer paRe khule*  
they their golden chain of pearl necklace and other jewellery of pond edge remove  
*rekhele-chilo.*

keep-pt.

They had laid their golden chains, pearl necklaces and other jewellery on the edge of the pond.

*ma pakhi uRe nice gElo, tar ThōT-e S'onar har tullo ar dhire dhire*  
mother bird to fly down went her beak-in of gold chain picked up and slowly  
*je*  
which

*gache tara baS' korto S'edike uRte laglo.*

Tree they lived towards started flying

The mother bird flew down, picked up a gold chain in her beak and started flying slowly towards the tree in which she lived.

*jAkhon praS'ad rokkhira dekhlo pakhiTa S'onar har niye uRe jacche,*  
when palace guards saw the bird of gold chain to carry flying away  
*tara tader*  
they their

*AS'tro nilo ar pakhi-Ta-ke taRa korlo.*

clubs to take and bird-the-to chased

When the palace guards saw the bird flying off with the gold chain, they took up their clubs and chased bird.

*tara dekhlo pakhi-Ta har-Ta gach-er koTo-re pheledilo.*

they saw bird-the chain- the tree-of hollow-in dropped

They saw the bird drop the chain into the hollow of a tree.

*rokkhider Ekjon har-Ta pete gache coRlo. jei S'e S'ona-r har nite*  
of guards one chain-the to get on tree climbed as he gold-of chain to take

*koTor-e tar hat Dhokalo,*

hole-in his hand inserted

One of the guards climbed in the tree to get the chain. As he put his hand inside the hole to get the chain

*S'e dekhlo EkTa kalo S'ap S'ekhane guTie roeche. Tar AS'tr-er EkTa*

he saw one black snake there curled up his club-of one

*S'Akto*

hard

*aghate S'e take mere phello ar S'ei chilo kalo S'ap-er S'eS'*

stroke he to him killed and that was black snake-of end

he saw a black snake curled up there with one hard stroke of his club he killed it and that was the end of the black snake.

*kak ar madi kak oi gach-e pare S'ukhe baS' korechilo ar tader*

crow and female crow that tree-in afterwards happily stayed and their

*Anek*

many

*baccha kak hoechilo.*

baby crow had

The crow and the crow hen lived in that tree happily afterwards and had many little baby crows.

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**JHARKHANDI**  
**SIBASIS MUKHERJEE**

**1. INTRODUCTION**

The name Jharkhandi was the nomenclature given by the eminent Linguist Professor Sukumar Sen. But as per Shri Sudhir Kumar Karan (ref: South-Western Bengali, IL Vol XV (1955-1956) the name should be the frontier Radhi, because of its similarity with Radhi and spoken in the West Bengal-Jharkhand and West Bengal-Orissa bordering areas. As per S.K. Chatterjee the name should be '*sumbhOdeshiyo / SumbhOk baMla*' i.e Bengali spoken in 'Sumhadesh' (ref: *baMla bhasha prosOMge*, pp.285-298).

**1.1 FAMILY AFFILIATION**

The Jharkhandi dialect of Bengali language belongs to the Eastern Indo-Aryan language group that originates from the Magadhi Prakrit of the Old Indo-Aryan (i.e. Sanskrit).

**1.2 LOCATION**

Jharkhandi is spoken in the districts of Midnapore, Bankura and Purulia of West Bengal. The present survey was conducted in the following areas under Linguistic Survey of India, West Bengal Scheme.

1. Midnapore proper
2. Midnapore – Bankura Border
3. Bankura proper
4. Bankura – Purulia Border
5. Purulia Border
6. Purulia – Bihar Border.

**1.6 SPEAKERS STRENGTH : LANGUAGE-MOTHER TONGUE- BILINGUALISM**

Since Jharkhandi is a regional variety of Bengali it is not returned in Census. It is enumerated under Bengali (A Scheduled Language) returns.

## Bilingualism

To the speakers of Jharkhandi dialect Standard Bengali is mutually intelligible and they are bilinguals in Hindi, Oriya and also in English. They became more proficient in Hindi and English, because of the regular mobility of the people to the cities/towns and also because of the impact of education.

### **1.7 SOCIO-LINGUISTIC INFORMATION**

The area of Jharkhandi dialect consists of three districts Midnapore, Bankura and Purulia. Among these three districts, Purulia and Bankura are adjacent to the state of Bihar (presently Jharkhand) and Midnapore to the state of Orissa. Therefore, in the vocabulary of this dialect spoken in those three districts, there has been a lot of influx from the Hindi and Oriya languages. Presently, the Jharkhandi features are essentially maintained by the older generation people and new generation people maximally part with the standard variety of Bengali language. The variety is only used in home domain.

### **1.8 REVIEW OF EARLIER LITERATURE AVAILABLE**

A few reference literature on Jharkhandi dialect are available like – South Western Bengali, IL Vol XV (1955-1956) pp.690-95 by S.K. Karan, Jharkhandi Upobhasa by Dhriendra Nath Saha etc.

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## 2. PHONOLOGY

### 2.1 PHONEMIC INVENTORY

#### 2.1.1 SEGMENTAL PHONEMES

There are altogether seven vowels and twenty eight consonantal phonemes available in Jharkhandi. The inventories are as follows

Vowels

	Front	Back
High	<i>i</i>	<i>u</i>
Mid-high	<i>e</i>	<i>o</i>
Mid-Low	<i>E</i>	<i>O</i>
Low		<i>a</i>

Consonants

	Bilabial		Dental		Palatal		Retroflex		Velar		Glottal
Plosives	<i>p</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>j</i>	<i>T</i>	<i>D</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>g</i>	
	<i>ph</i>	<i>bh</i>	<i>th</i>	<i>dh</i>	<i>ch</i>	<i>jh</i>	<i>Th</i>	<i>Dh</i>	<i>kh</i>	<i>gh</i>	
Nasals	<i>m</i>		<i>n</i>						<i>M</i>		
Fricatives					<i>S'</i>						<i>h</i>
Trill/Rolled			<i>r</i>				<i>R</i>				
Lateral			<i>l</i>								

#### 2.1.2 SUPRASEGMENTAL PHONEME

Nasalization

Nasalization is phonemic. Ex. /kada/ 'mud' vs. /kãda/ 'to cry'; /puti/ 'rotten' vs. /pũti/ 'garland'; /pota/ 'brush' vs. /põta/ 'to plant'; /ba/ 'or' vs. /bã/ 'left' etc.

### 2.2 PHONEMIC DESCRIPTION AND DISTRIBUTION

Vowels

<i>i</i>	-	High front unrounded vowel
<i>e</i>	-	Mid-high unrounded front vowel
<i>E</i>	-	Mid-Low unrounded front vowel

<i>a</i>	-	Low-central unrounded vowel
<i>o</i>	-	Mid-Low rounded back vowel
<i>o</i>	-	Mid-high rounded back vowel
<i>u</i>	-	High back rounded vowel

### Consonants

<i>p</i>	-	Unaspirated Voiceless Bilabial Plosive
<i>ph</i>	-	Aspirated Voiceless Bilabial Plosive
<i>b</i>	-	Unaspirated Voiced Bilabial Plosive
<i>bh</i>	-	Aspirated Voiced Bilabial Plosive
<i>t</i>	-	Unaspirated Alveolar Voiceless Plosive
<i>th</i>	-	Aspirated Alveolar Voiceless Plosive
<i>d</i>	-	Unaspirated Alveolar Voiced Plosive
<i>dh</i>	-	Aspirated Alveolar Voiced Plosive
<i>c</i>	-	Unaspirated Palatal Voiceless Stop
<i>ch</i>	-	Aspirated Palatal Voiceless Stop
<i>j</i>	-	Unaspirated Palatal Voiced Stop
<i>jh</i>	-	Aspirated Palatal voiced Stop
<i>T</i>	-	Unaspirated Retroflex Voiceless Plosive
<i>Th</i>	-	Aspired Retroflex Voiceless Plosive
<i>D</i>	-	Unaspirated Retroflex voiced Plosive
<i>Dh</i>	-	Aspirated Retroflex Voiced Plosive
<i>k</i>	-	Unaspirated Voiceless Velar Plosive
<i>kh</i>	-	Aspirated Voiceless Velar Plosive
<i>g</i>	-	Unaspirated Voiced Velar Plosive
<i>gh</i>	-	Aspirated Voiced Velar Plosive
<i>m</i>	-	Bilabial Nasal
<i>n</i>	-	Alveolar Nasal
<i>M</i>	-	Velar Nasal
<i>S'</i>	-	Voiceless Palatal Fricative
<i>h</i>	-	Voiceless Glottal Fricative



- r* - Alveolar Trill
- R*- Retroflex Flap
- l* - Alveolar Lateral

### Phonemic Distribution

#### Vowels

Phonemes	Initial	Medial	Final
<i>/i/</i>	√	√	√
<i>/e/</i>	√	√	√
<i>/E/</i>	√	√	√
<i>/a/</i>	√	√	√
<i>/O/</i>	√	√	--
<i>/o/</i>	√	√	√
<i>/u/</i>	√	√	√

#### Consonants

<i>/p/</i>	√	√	√
<i>/ph/</i>	√	√	√
<i>/b/</i>	√	√	√
<i>/bh/</i>	√	√	√
<i>/t/</i>	√	√	√
<i>/th/</i>	√	√	√
<i>/d/</i>	√	√	√
<i>/dh/</i>	√	√	√
<i>/c/</i>	√	√	√
<i>/ch/</i>	√	√	√
<i>/j/</i>	√	√	√
<i>/jh/</i>	√	√	√
<i>/T/</i>	√	√	√
<i>/Th/</i>	√	√	√
<i>/D/</i>	√	√	√

/Dh/	√	√	√
/k/	√	√	√
/kh/	√	√	√
/g/	√	√	√
/gh/	√	√	√
/m/	√	√	√
/n/	√	√	√
/M/	--	√	√
/S'/	√	√	√
/h/	√	√	√
/r/	√	√	√
/R/	--	√	√
/l/	√	√	√

(In the above chart of phonemic distribution, the √ is posted to indicate the presence of the phonemes.)

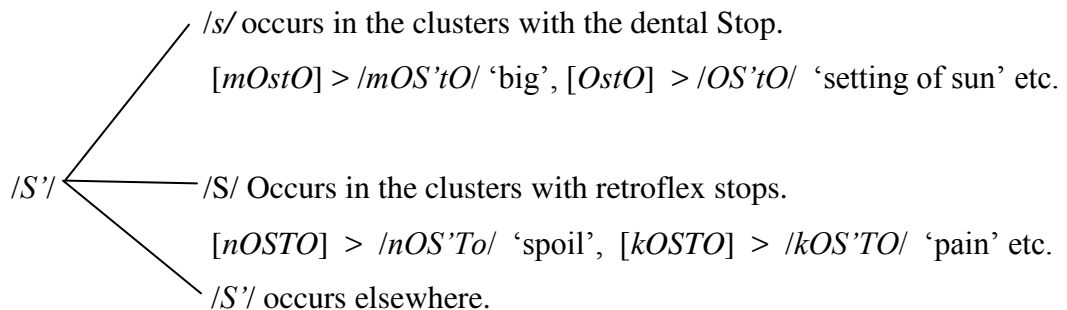
### 2.3 MAJOR ALLOPHONIC DISTRIBUTIONS

Vowels

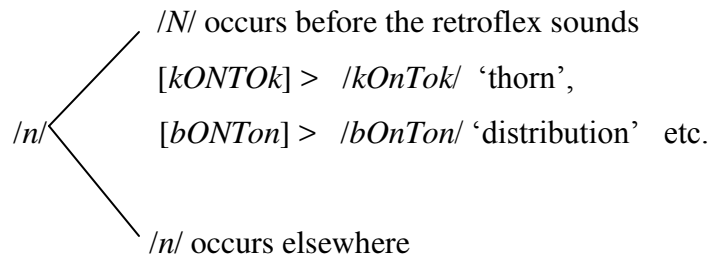
Vowels are short in length in the inter-consonantal position.  $V > CV.C$

Consonants

/S'/ has three allophones



*/n/* has two allophones



## 2.4 DIPHTHONGS

Vowels (two/three) which are pronounced in a single syllable (in one ligature) are called diphthongs/triphthongs etc. and if the vowels (two/three) are pronounced in different syllable are called vowel clusters (e.g. */ne-a/* ‘to take’, */de-a/* ‘to give’ etc.).

In Jharkhandi, some of the following occurrences of diphthongs are observed:

<i>/ia/</i>	as in	<i>/S'ial/</i>	‘jackal’
<i>/eu/</i>	as in	<i>/dheul/</i>	‘waves’
<i>/ei/</i>	as in	<i>/nei/</i>	‘not’
<i>/Oel/</i>	as in	<i>/mOela/</i>	‘dirt’
<i>/ea/</i>	as in	<i>/keal/</i>	‘a kind of flower’
<i>/oi/</i>	as in	<i>/doi/</i>	‘curd’
<i>/ou/</i>	as in	<i>/Dour/</i>	‘run’

## 2.5 CONSONANT CLUSTER

The following bi-consonantal clusters are available in Jharkhandi dialect.

Gemination - Joining / doubling of the same consonantal sound

<i>/kk/</i>	as in	<i>/baikkO/</i>	‘sentence’
<i>/gg/</i>	as in	<i>/bhaiggO/</i>	‘fortune’
<i>/tt/</i>	as in	<i>/S'oitto/</i>	‘truth’
<i>/dd/</i>	as in	<i>/bOiddO/</i>	‘doctor’
<i>/cc/</i>	as in	<i>/S'aiccal/</i>	‘proper’
<i>/jj/</i>	as in	<i>/raiijjO/</i>	‘kingdom’
<i>/TT/</i>	as in	<i>/laiTTu/</i>	‘playing instrument’
<i>/DD/</i>	as in	<i>/aiDDa/</i>	‘gossip’

<i>/pp/</i>	as in	<i>/aippaOn/</i>	‘invitation’
<i>/bb/</i>	as in	<i>/Dibba/</i>	‘a box’
<i>/mm/</i>	as in	<i>/cuimma/</i>	‘a kiss’
<i>/nn/</i>	as in	<i>/OinnO/</i>	‘rice’
<i>/S’S’/</i>	as in	<i>/ObOS’S’O/</i>	‘in fact’
<i>/rr/</i>	as in	<i>/chOrra/</i>	‘roll’
<i>/ll/</i>	as in	<i>/muillO/</i>	‘price’

Clusters                      Joining of the two different consonantal sounds.

<i>/kr/</i>	as in	<i>/bikrOe/</i>	‘sell’
<i>/gr/</i>	as in	<i>/ghagra/</i>	‘a kind of dresses’
<i>/tr/</i>	as in	<i>/maitro/</i>	‘only’
<i>/dr/</i>	as in	<i>/cAindra/</i>	‘moon’
<i>/pr/</i>	as in	<i>/priO/</i>	‘dear’
<i>/mr/</i>	as in	<i>/taimro/</i>	‘copper’
<i>/chl/</i>	as in	<i>/pichla/</i>	‘slippery’
<i>/pl/</i>	as in	<i>/biplOb/</i>	‘revolution’
<i>/S’l/</i>	as in	<i>/S’lok/</i>	‘sloka’
<i>/tn/</i>	as in	<i>/jOitnO/</i>	‘care’
<i>/S’n/</i>	as in	<i>/proiS’nO/</i>	‘question’
<i>/nm/</i>	as in	<i>/jOinmo/</i>	‘birth’
<i>/rk/</i>	as in	<i>/tOrkO/</i>	‘argument’
<i>/rn/</i>	as in	<i>/bOrnO/</i>	‘colour’
<i>/rth/</i>	as in	<i>/OrthO/</i>	‘money’
<i>/rm/</i>	as in	<i>/dhOrmO/</i>	‘religion’
<i>/Mk/</i>	as in	<i>/OiMkO/</i>	‘mathematics’
<i>/Mg/</i>	as in	<i>/aMgul/</i>	‘finger’
<i>/MS’/</i>	as in	<i>/bOiMS’O/</i>	‘family’
<i>/nT/</i>	as in	<i>/ghOinTa/</i>	‘bell’
<i>/nD/</i>	as in	<i>/ponDit/</i>	‘scholar’
<i>/ddh/</i>	as in	<i>/juiddhO/</i>	‘war’

<i>/nt/</i>	as in	<i>/S'aintO/</i>	'calm'
<i>/nd/</i>	as in	<i>/moindir/</i>	'temple'
<i>/bd/</i>	as in	<i>/S'ObdO/</i>	'sound'
<i>/lp/</i>	as in	<i>/gOilpO/</i>	'story'
<i>/S'c/</i>	as in	<i>/aS'corjO/</i>	'surprise'
<i>/S'T/</i>	as in	<i>/nOS'TO/</i>	'spoil'
<i>/S'th/</i>	as in	<i>/OS'usthO/</i>	'sick'

Tri-Consonantal Clusters – A very few tri-consonantal clusters are available in this dialect which are as follows : -

<i>n+d+r</i>	-	<i>cOndrO</i>	'moon'
<i>S'+T+r</i>	-	<i>raS'TrO</i>	'country'
<i>M+k+r</i>	-	<i>soMkramOk</i>	'infectious' etc.

## 2.6 SYLLABLE

A syllable is pronounced in one breath. Syllables can be both open (which ends in vowels) and closed (which ends in consonants). The unit of pronunciation of a syllable is called Mora. So, syllables can be of one morae, two or more morae etc. The words having one syllable are called monosyllabic words. Similarly, we get disyllabic (words with two syllables), and polysyllabic (words with many syllables) words also. The followings are the syllables available in Jharkhandi dialect of Bengali

Monosyllabic words

<i>CV</i>	-	<i>/ki/</i>	'what'
<i>VC</i>	-	<i>/am/</i>	'mango'
<i>CVC</i>	-	<i>/ram/</i>	'a proper name'

Disyllabic words –

<i>CV</i>	-	<i>CVC</i>	-	<i>/bi-S'es/</i>	'Special'
<i>VCV</i>	-	<i>CVC</i>	-	<i>/Oka-rOn/</i>	'unnecessarily'
<i>CVVC</i>	-	<i>CV</i>	-	<i>/S'uik-na/</i>	'dry'

Tri-Syllable Words –

<i>CVC</i>	-	<i>CV-</i>	<i>CV</i>	-	<i>/bik-ri-to/</i>	‘unnatural’
<i>CVV</i>	-	<i>CV</i>		-	<i>/de-u-le/</i>	‘penniless’
<i>CVV</i>	-	<i>CVC</i>		-	<i>/S’a-u-kar/</i>	‘richman’

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### 3. MORPHOPHONEMICS

The Morphophonemic alternations available in this dialect are as follows : -

1. The consonant gets doubled if it is followed and preceded by a vowel in the next syllable.

*/lOk/* ‘man’ + */-er/* (genitive marker) > */lOkker/* ‘of man’  
*/dui/* ‘two’ + */-Ta/* (classifier) > */duTTa/* ‘two’  
*/bhitOr/* ‘inside’ + */-e/* (locative marker) > */bhittre/* ‘in’

2. Sometimes the vowels get deleted if it is followed by a consonant

Ex- *ghoRa* + *douR* > *ghoRdouR* ‘horse race’

3. Word final */ia/* > */E/*. Ex. */koria/* > */korrE/* ‘having done’, */coRia/* > */corrE/* ‘having climbed’

4. In disyllabic words the syllable nucleus */o-/* becomes */O-/*. */boka/* ‘fool’ > */bOkal*, */roga/* ‘thin’ > */rOga/* ‘thin’ etc.

5. Dental nasal */n/* becomes Bilabial nasal */m/* if followed by Voiceless Bilabial Plosive. Ex. *kOn* + *pOn* > *kOmpOn* ‘shivering’

6. Other Assimilation

The germination mainly occurs because of assimilation in Standard Bengali. The vowel */-i/* is inserted before the germination if there is a following */y/*.

Skt. *rajyO* > *raijjO*  
*j + y* > *jj*  
Skt. *S’unyO* > *S’uinnO*  
*n + y* > *nn*  
Skt. *bhagyO* > *bhaiggO*  
*g + y* > *gg* etc.

## 4. MORPHOLOGY

### 4.1 WORD FORMATION

The words are the form classes and they are used or rather formed in different grammatical categories by taking different formative suffixes which are responsible in other way for the word formation. The formative suffixes used in this dialect are as follows:

- i) /-a/ indicates action noun and participial verbal root.  
*/dEkha/* ‘to see’, */bOla/* ‘to tell’ etc.
- ii) /-i/ forms the abstract nouns from the adjectives.  
*/calak/* ‘clever’ > */calaki/* ‘cleverness’, */bOjjat/* ‘wicked’ > */bOjjati/* ‘wickedness’ etc.
- iii) /-O/ commonly used as adjectives.  
*/jOl/* ‘water’ > */jolO/* ‘water like’, */mach/* ‘fish’ > */mechO/* ‘fish like’ etc.
- iv) /-Te/ also sometimes used to form adjectives.  
*/tama/* ‘copper’ > */tamaTe/* ‘copper type’, */ghola/* ‘not clear’ > */gholaTe/* ‘not clear type’ etc.
- v) /-ola/ and /-uli/ used in masculine and feminine respectively signifying profession. */baDiola/* ‘house owner’ */baDiuli/* ‘lady house owner’, */machola/* ‘fish seller’ */machuli/* ‘lady fish seller’ etc.
- vi) Sometimes /-e/ also indicates profession. */jal/* ‘net’ */jele/* ‘fisher man’, */cakor/* ‘servant’ */cakre/* ‘job of servant’ etc.
- vii) /-ni/ indicates feminine counterpart of the profession or Caste.  
*/lapit/* ‘barber’ */laptani/* ‘lady barber’ ; */gOela/* ‘milk man’ */gOelani/* ‘milk maid’ etc.
- viii) /-i/ makes adjectives from nouns and feminines from masculines.  
*/deS’/* ‘country’ > */diS’i/* ‘country made’, */dam/* ‘cost’ > */damil/* ‘costly’ and */kaka/* ‘uncle’ */kaki/* ‘aunty’, */mama/* ‘maternal uncle’ > */mami/* ‘maternal aunt’ etc.



- ix) /-Ta/, /-Ti/ forms definite particles - /gachTa/ /gachTi/ ‘the tree’ /mane/ indicate plurality- /lok/ /lokmane/ (as in Oriya) ‘many people’  
/gula/ , /gulan/ forms plural number. /baDi/ ‘house’ /baDigula/ /baRigulan/ ‘houses’

## 4.2 NOUN MORPHOLOGY

### 4.2.1 NOUN

#### 4.2.1.1 GENDER

Gender distinction is lexical not grammatical. So, here gender is lexically selective category. Ex. /baba/ ‘father’ (mas.) vs. /ma/ ‘mother’ (fem.) ; /bhai/ ‘brother’ (masc.) vs. /bOn/ ‘sister’ (fem.) etc. Sometimes, derived lexical genders are also available. Ex. /lapit/ ‘barber’ vs /laptani/ ‘lady barber’ /gOela/ ‘milkman’ vs. /gOelani/ ‘milkmaid’. Generally, /-i/, /-a/, /-ni/, /-ini/, /-ani/ suffixes are added after the masculine form to form their respective feminine counterparts. Pronouns, Adjectives, Verbs do not inflect for gender.

<i>S'e</i>	<i>jae</i>	<i>bhalo</i>	<i>cheliel</i>	<i>mee</i>	
he/she	goes	good	boy	/	girl
<i>oi</i>	<i>bhalO</i>	<i>chelieta</i>	<i>jaiche</i>		
that	good	boy	is going		
<i>oi</i>	<i>bhalO</i>	<i>meeTa</i>	<i>jaiche</i>		etc.
that	good	girl	is going		

#### 4.2.1.2 NUMBER

Number distinction is two fold – Singular and Plural. It is not grammatical but plural suffixes are added to the singular forms to make them plural. Ex. /cheliel/ ‘one boy’ (sg.) vs. /cheliel gulam/ ‘boys’ (pl.) /gach/ ‘tree’ (sg.) vs. /gachgula/ ‘trees’ (pl.) The plural marking suffixes are /-ra/, /-era/. /-gula/, /-gular/ , /-mane/ etc. Dual number is absent here. Number therefore is a lexical category not grammatical. It is also indicated by uttering the numerals before the noun. Ex. /dui cheliel/ or /dui cheliel/ ‘two boys’ /tin cheliel/ or /tinTi cheliel/ ‘three boys’ etc.

### 4.2.1.3 CASE

Nouns are inflected for the following cases in Jharkhandi

Nominative	-	/-Ø/	as in /lOk/	‘person’	
Accusative	-	/-ke/	as /O-ke/	‘to the person’	
Instrumental	-	/-dara/ , /dia/ , /-sath/	etc. as in /lOk die/	‘by the people’ /tar Sathel/	‘with him’
Genitive	-	/-r/ , /-er/	as in /tOk-er/	‘of the person’	
Locative	-	/-te/	as in /baDi-te/	‘in the house’	

Specific feature of Ablative case - /-le/ as in /bãd le/ ‘from dam’

### 4.2.1.4 POST-POSITIONS

Generally, post-positions are indeclinable. Jharkhandi post-positions fall into two classes namely Nominal and Verbal.

#### Nominal Post-Positions

1. /age/ ‘before’ as in /tOmar age/ ‘before you’
2. /kache/ ‘near’ as in /tOr kache/ ‘near you’
3. /bina/ ‘without’ as in /muibina tOr S’ukh lai/ ‘without me you have no happiness’
4. /bhOr/ ‘whole’ as in /din bhOr/ ‘whole day’
5. /majhe/ ‘between’ as in /tOder majhe/ ‘between you (pl.)’
6. /sathel/ ‘with’ as in /tOr S’athel/ ‘with you’
7. /jonne/ ‘for’ as in /tOr jonne/ ‘for you’
8. /karOn/ ‘because of’ as in /tOr karon/ ‘because of you’
9. /nikOTe/ ‘near’ as in /ghOrer nikOTe/ ‘near home’
10. /pOre/ ‘after’ as in /diner pOre din jael/ ‘day goes after day’
11. /sOMge/ ‘with’ as in /tar S’Omge/ ‘with him’
12. /cee/ ‘to (comparative)’ as in /S’e tOmar cee bOrO/ ‘he is elder to you’
13. /hOte/ ‘from’ as in /kotha hOte asO?/ ‘from where do you come?’

#### 4.2.2. PRONOUN

The following is the list of Pronouns available in Jharkhandi dialect of Bengali.

Person	Singular		Plural	
First	<i>mui / ham</i>	‘I’	<i>amra / hamra</i>	‘We’
Second	<i>tu /tumi</i>	‘you’	<i>tOra / tOmra</i>	‘you’
Third	<i>S’e / u</i>	‘he/she’	<i>tara / ura/ Ora</i>	‘they’
Demonstrative Proximate	<i>i</i>	‘this’	<i>ei-gulan</i>	‘these’
Demonstrative Remote	<i>u</i>	‘that’	<i>u-gulan</i>	‘those’
Relative Inclusive	<i>jei</i>	‘whoever’		
Interrogative Animate	<i>kei</i>	‘who’		
Interrogative Inanimate	<i>kie</i>	‘what’		
Indefinite	<i>keu</i>	‘someone’		
Collective	<i>S’Ob</i>	‘all’		

#### 4.2.2 ADJECTIVES

Adjectives are indeclinable, they do not inflect for gender, number and cases. Below are the list of some adjectives available in this dialect.

<i>/bhalO/</i>	‘good’	<i>/choTO/</i>	‘small’
<i>/kharab/</i>	‘bad’	<i>/bORO/</i>	‘big’
<i>/patOl/</i>	‘thin’	<i>/moTa/</i>	‘fat’
<i>/nOrOm/</i>	‘soft’	<i>/gOrib/</i>	‘poor’
<i>/kalO/</i>	‘black’	<i>/saukar/</i>	‘rich’
<i>/gOrOm/</i>	‘hot’	<i>/lOmba/</i>	‘tall’
<i>/thaNDa/</i>	‘cold’	<i>/choTO/</i>	‘short’

Adjectives are used in comparison – */brihat/* ‘big’ – */brihOttOrO/* ‘bigger’ – */brihOttOmO/* ‘biggest’, */khudrO/* ‘small’ – */khuddrOtOrO/* ‘smaller’ – */khuddrOtOmO/* ‘smallest’ etc. So, */-tOrO/* and */-tOmO/* suffixes indicate the comparative and superlative degrees respectively. Adjectives can also be used as participles which are called participial

adjectives. */thOkla baccha/* ‘tired child’ */-la/* is added as */bhukla bagh/* ‘hungry tiger’ etc. This is a special feature of Jharkhandi dialect which is not available in Standard Bengali.

#### 4.2.2.1 NUMERALS

Numerals are of two types – Cardinals and Ordinals.

Basic Cardinal numbers are - */ek/* ‘one’, */dui/* ‘two’ */tin/* ‘three’, */car/* ‘four’ */panc/* ‘five’, */chO/* ‘six’, */S’at/* ‘seven’ */aT/* ‘eight’ */nO/* ‘nine’, */dOs/* ‘ten’, */kuRi/* ‘twenty’, */tiriS’/* ‘thirty’, */caliS’/* ‘forty’ */S’O/* ‘one hundred’, */hajar/* ‘one thousand’ etc. Thirty to thirty-nine counted on the basis of ‘one + thirty’. Similarly, twenty to twenty-nine is counted on the basis of twenty, forty to forty-nine is counted on the basis of forty etc. Cardinals after hundred are formed as */ek S’O ek/* ‘one hundred and one’, */du hajar duS’Otin/* ‘two thousand two hundred three’ etc.

Ordinals are formed from the cardinals by adding inflectional suffixes to them. */Ek-/* ‘one’ has suppletive base */pEh-/* as in */pEhla/* ‘first’. Likewise, */dui/* > */ditiyO/* ‘second’, */tin/* ‘three’ > */tritio/* ‘third’, */car/* ‘four’ > */coturthO/* ‘forth’ etc.

The fractions / Quantifiers are - */saRe/* ‘half’, */adha/* ‘half’, */S’O/* ‘one and one forth’, */poune/* ‘three forth’, */Dir/* ‘one and half’ etc. These terms generally quantify the members so they are called quantifiers.

#### 4.2.2.2 CLASSIFIERS

The following are the classifiers available which are generally used after a numeral (cardinal/ordinal).

1. */muThO/* - */Ek muThO/* ‘a handful of’
2. */jhak/* - */Ek jhak/* ‘a flock of’
3. */dOI/* - */Ek dOI/* ‘a group of’
4. */ras/* - */Ek raS’/* ‘a bunch of’
5. */gocha/* - */Ek gocha/* ‘a bunch of’

These classifiers are specifically used with the following nouns – */Ek jhāṅk pakhi/* ‘a flock of birds’ but we cannot say */Ek jhāṅk gai/* ‘a flock of cows’ (*/jhāṅk/* is used for flying creatures only). Similarly */Ek muTho cal/* ‘a handful of rice’ but we cannot say */Ek muTho lOk/* ‘a handful of people’ (*/muTho/* is used for non living things only’). Therefore, these classifiers have selectional restrictions. Also, if we double them, a huge amount will be indicated – Ex. */muTho muTho/* ‘many handful of’ */dOle dOle/* ‘group after group’ etc.

### 4.3 VERB MORPHOLOGY

Verb Morphology deals with finite and non finite verbs along with the tense, aspect, mood, gerund, participles etc.

#### 4.3.1 FINITE VERB

Finite verbs denote where the action of the verb is over. It is divided into three – Tense, Aspect and Mood.

##### 4.3.1.1 TENSE

Three tenses are available – Present, Past and Future.

Present tense indicates the action of the verbs which is continuing. The basic three-tier present tenses are Simple Present, Present Perfect and Present Continuous. Conjugations in the present tenses may be exemplified with */-kha/* ‘to eat’ as below:

Simple Present	Singular	Plural
Ist Person	<i>khai</i>	<i>khai</i>
IInd Person	<i>khaO</i>	<i>khaO</i>
IIIrd Person	<i>khae</i>	<i>khae</i>
Present Perfect	Singular	Plural
Ist Person	<i>kheiechi</i>	<i>kheiechi</i>
IInd Person	<i>kheiecho</i>	<i>kheiecho</i>
IIIrd Person	<i>kheieche</i>	<i>kheieche</i>

Present Continuous	Singular	Plural
Ist Person	<i>khaichi</i>	<i>khaichi</i>
IInd Person	<i>khaichO</i>	<i>khaichO</i>
IIIrd Person	<i>khaiche</i>	<i>khaiche</i>

Past tense indicates the action of the verb which was done in past,. The basic three-tier past tenses are Simple Past, Past Perfect and Past Continuous.

Conjugations are as follows : -

Simple Past	Singular	Plural
Ist Person	<i>khelam</i>	<i>khelam</i>
IInd Person	<i>khele</i>	<i>khele</i>
IIIrd Person	<i>khelO</i>	<i>khelO</i>
Past Perfect	Singular	Plural
Ist Person	<i>kheiechilam</i>	<i>kheiechilam</i>
IInd peson	<i>kheiechile</i>	<i>kheiechile</i>
IIIrd Person	<i>kheiachilO</i>	<i>kheiachilO</i>
Past continuous	Singular	Plural
Ist Person	<i>khaichilam</i>	<i>khaichilam</i>
IInd Person	<i>khaichile</i>	<i>khaichile</i>
IIIrd Person	<i>khaichilO</i>	<i>khaichilO</i>

Future tense indicates the action of the verb which will be done in future. Simple future, Future perfect and Future continuous are the three main types of future tense. Conjugations are as follows : -

Simple future	Singular	Plural
Ist Person	<i>khabO</i>	<i>khabO</i>
IInd Person	<i>khabe</i>	<i>khabe</i>
IIIrd Person	<i>khabe</i>	<i>khabe</i>







#### 4.3.1.2 ASPECT

Two aspects are found in this dialect, namely, Imperfect aspect and Perfect aspect.

Imperfect aspect indicates the continuity of action of the verb. Ex. /*S'e aS'che/* 'he is coming' /*S'e khacche/* 'he is eating' /*S'e jae/* 'he goes etc. Generally Simple present tense form of the verb is used.

Perfect aspect indicates that action of the verb which has completed recently. Ex. /*S'e eS'ieche/* 'he has come (just now)', /*S'e kheieche/* 'he has eaten' /*S'e gieche/* 'he has gone' etc. Generally perfect form of the verb is used.

#### 4.3.1.3 MOOD

Three types of moods are available – Imperative, Permissive and Subjunctive.

##### Imperative

Imperative mood indicates the command, request etc. Generally, the second person singular form of the verb is used to indicate this mood. Ex. /*jan-jao-ja/* '(you-respect/friendly) go' , /*khan-khao-kha/* '(you- respect/friendly) eat' etc.

##### Permissive

The permissive mood expresses the act of seeking permission. In English, the word 'let' is used to express this mood which is expressed by the use of verb /-*de/* 'to give' Ex. /*jaite de/* 'Let me go', /*kheite de/* 'Let me eat' /*S'uite de/* 'Let me sleep' etc. /*S'uinte de/* 'Let me hear'.

##### Subjunctive

A verb is in the subjunctive mood when it expresses a condition which is doubtful or not factual and expresses the act of possibility. In English generally the auxiliary verb 'may' is used before the verb to express this mood. Ex. /*bus aS'le mui jeite partem/* 'If the bus comes, I may go', /*Sé ekhane thakle mui kheite partem/* 'If he/she were here, I may eat' etc.

## 4.3.2 NON-FINITE VERBS

### 4.3.2.1 INFINITIVE

Infinitive forms decline like substantives. They are formed by adding the infinitive morpheme to different basis i.e. intransitive, transitive, causative etc. In Jharkhandi dialect, the infinitive is marked by */-te/* suffixing to the verbal root. Examples, */dhOr-/* ‘hold’ (trn). */dhOr-te/* ‘to hold’ (inf.), */mOr-/* ‘die’ (intran.)/ */mOr-te/* ‘to die’ (inf.) , */S’un-/* ‘to listen’ */S’uinte/* as in */S’e gan S’uinte eseche/* ‘he comes to listen song’.

### 4.3.2.2 GERUND / VERBAL NOUN

When verbs are used as nouns, they are called the Gerunds. Ex., */S’igareT kha-oa S’aS’ther jOnnO khOtikOr/* ‘smoking is injurious to health’, */hãT-a bhalO/* ‘walking is good’ etc. Therefore, */-a/ /-oa/* are the Gerund morphemes used in this dialect. In this dialect the verbal Noun and the Gerund formations are same.

### 4.3.2.3 PARTICIPLE

Participial verbal stems inflect as a verb and decline as a noun or as an adjective. Therefore, Two types of participles available in this dialect namely Present Participle and Past Participle.

#### Present Participle

While one action is going on, simultaneously if the other action is performed by the agent, the present participial form of the verb is used. Ex. */S’inema dekha chele/* ‘the boy who sees the cinemas’ as in */or moto S’inema dekha chele ke amar bhalo lagenal/* ‘I do not like that boy who always sees the movies’

#### Past Participle

While one action was completed, simultaneously if the other action was performed by the agent, the past participial verbal form is used. Ex. */bhanga kap/* ‘broken cup’ as in */bhanga kap e ca khaoa jaenal/* ‘(one) cannot drink tea in the broken cup’

### 4.3.3 CAUSATIVE VERB

Causative verbs are formed by suffixing /-oa, -a/ + /-no/ to the verbal bases.

/kha-/ ‘to eat’ > /kha-oa/ ‘act of eating’ > /khaono/ ‘to feed’

/dekh-/ ‘to see’ > /dEkh-a/ ‘act of seeing’ > /dEkhano/ ‘to show’

/mar-/ ‘to kill’ > /mar-a/ ‘act of killing’ /marano/ ‘cause one to kill’

Jharkhandi also has the periphrastic use of the causatives. In this case, /-kOr/ ‘to do’ is added (suffixed) to the main verb. Ex. /S’ua kOrano/ ‘cause one to sleep’, /aS’a kOrano/ ‘cause one to come’ etc.

### 4.3.4 AUXILIARY VERB

Auxiliary Verbs modify the action of the main verbs. In Indian Languages, the auxiliary verbs generally follow the main verbs and denote action of the main verbs and denote action (different degrees of continuity) time (past, present) mode (condition, doubt). As in English we find the auxiliary verbs come before the main verb, here in this dialect as in other Indian Languages, the auxiliary comes after the main verb (i.e. the subsidiary verb follows the main verb).

/S’e jeite pare/ ‘he may go’ /para/ ‘may, can’

he go may

/S’e kOrte pare/ ‘he can do’ etc.

/bOsa/ , /neal/ , /tola/ etc. which also act as the auxiliary verbs. These verbs are also called helping verbs because they help the main verb to finish its action. /hO/ ‘to be’ also act an auxiliary verb. The Position of Auxiliary in a sentence S = NP –AUX – VP in English and in India languages S= NP – VP – AUX.

[S-Sentence, NP- Noun Phrase, VP – Verb Phrase, AUX- Auxiliary]

### 4.3.5 NEGATIVE VERB

Negative elements used in this dialect are /na ~ la/ , /nOe ~ lOe/ , /nei ~ lei/ or /nai ~ lai/ etc. Generally the negations are used before the verbs, which is totally opposite as in the case of Standard Bengali. In standard Bengali, negations follow the verbs in a sentence. Ex. /mui ghOr na jabo/ ‘I will not go home’ /se bhat na khabe/ ‘he will not eat rice’ , /u mOr cheile lOe/ ‘he is not my son’ etc.

#### 4.3.6 COMPOUND VERB

In this dialect, there are a large number of compound verbal formations available which are formed by combining two or sometimes more verbal forms. Among the compound verbs, two different types of groupings are found. In one group, the main verb (generally the first verb) takes the inflectional suffix while the operator (the remaining verb) does not take it. In the other group, both the main verb and the operator receive the inflectional suffixes. This second type of the compound verbal formations are known as ‘Serial verbs’ and they are mainly found in South-Asian languages. The following are the compound verbs available in this dialect which are most commonly used.

<i>/jhāp deoa/</i>	‘to give a jump’	<i>/douR mara/</i>	‘to start running’
<i>/sātar kaTa/</i>	‘to swim’	<i>/sātar deoa/</i>	‘to give a swim’
<i>/boS’e pORa/</i>	‘to say suddenly’	<i>/gee oTha/</i>	‘to start singing’
<i>/ūki mara/</i>	‘to peep’	<i>/jORo kOra/</i>	‘to do collection’
<i>/likhe phela/</i>	‘to write immediately’	<i>/lOjja kOra/</i>	‘to feel shy’
<i>/dEkha deoa/</i>	‘to appear’	<i>/lagie deoa/</i>	‘to paste’

#### 4.3.7 PASSIVE FORMATION

Passive formations are opposite to the active formations. In this formation, the subject comes to the object position with case suffixes, object shifts to the subject position with case marking suffixes, ‘by’ is added and the verb form changes to its perfect form.

Active -	<i>/mui cād dekhi/</i>	‘I see the moon’
Passive -	<i>/mOr cād dekha hOe/</i>	‘Moon is seen by me’
Verb -	<i>/hOe / hOoa/</i>	‘to be’

But Passive formations are very rarely used in day to day speech.

#### 4.3.8 TRANSITIVITY

Transitivity is a property of a verb. The verb having transitivity is */+tran/* and not having transitivity is */-tran/*. The property transitivity is denoted on the basis of whether the verb is taking any object or not. The verb takes a object is called transitive verb and does not take object is called in transitive verb. When an intransitive verb gets transitivity it is used as a

transitive one. For example, /bhaS'a/ 'to float' is an intransitive verb and when used as /ami bhaS'ai/ 'I make something float' (as opposed to /ami bhaS'i/ 'I float') it becomes a transitive one or we can say it gets transitivity because /bhaS'ai/ takes an object to complete the sentence (which is the characteristics of a transitive verb) as in /ami nouka bhaS'ai/ 'I make a boat to float'. Similarly, /phoTa/ 'to boil' (intransitive) > /phoTai/ 'to boil something' (transitive) etc.

#### 4.3.9 DENOMINATIVE VERB

When a noun or an adjective is used as a verb, it is called denominative verb. This is a specific characteristic of Jharkhandi dialect, the denominative verbs are very frequent.

/jaR/ 'cold' > /jaRa-/ as in /aj jaRabel/ 'today it will be cold'  
 /baS'/ 'smell' > /baS'a-/ as in /jOl Ta baS'ache/ 'water is smelling'  
 /gond/ 'odour' > /gõda-/ as in /bhat Ta gõdacchel/ 'The rice smells' etc.

The suffix /-a/ is added to the nouns or adjectives to make to get the verb roots.

#### 4.4 ADVERB

Adverbs can be simple or derived.

Simple adverbs are mono-morphemic i.e. they consist of single morpheme and derived adverbs consist more than one morpheme. Examples, - /aj/ 'today', /kal/ 'yesterday / tomorrow' etc.

Derived adverbs - /e-khane/ 'here', /kO-tha/ 'where' etc. (adverb of place), /aj/ 'today', /kal/ 'tomorrow or yesterday' (adverb of time), /aste/ 'slowly', /taDa taDi/ 'quick' etc.

/jaine suine/ 'knowingly' (/jaine/ 'having known') is a type of Compound adverb.

#### 4.5 PARTICLES

Conjunctions and Interjections are called particles.

##### 4.5.1 CONJUNCTIONS

Conjunctions make the link between two words, phrases or sentences. Ex. /iTa ekTa chelie ar uTa meie bOte/ 'This is a boy and that is a girl'. The following are the different types of particles.

Conjunctive	:	<i>/ar/</i>	‘and’
Adversative	:	<i>/kintu/</i>	‘but’
Disjunctive	:	<i>/ba/</i>	‘or’
Conditional	:	<i>/jOdi/</i>	‘if’
Casual	:	<i>/karOn/</i>	‘because’
Adverbial	:	<i>/to/</i>	‘then’
Complementary	:	<i>/ki/</i>	‘that’

#### 4.5.2 INTERJECTIONS

Interjections are of two types – Basic and functional.

Basic interjections are those which occur only as interjections e.g. */bah bah/* ‘well done’, */hae hae/* ‘alas!’ etc.

Functional interjections are those which belong to other parts of speech but functions as interjections in the use. e.g.

- a. Substantive : */ram ram, iTa ki/* ‘oh God What is this?’
- b. Pronoun : */ki u aS’i achilO/* ‘what? He came?’
- c. Adjective : */bhalO mui jaichi/* ‘well, I am going etc.

#### 4.6 ECHO WORD / REDUPLICATION

The echo words are like compound words where the second component of the word is almost like the first one and seems to be an echo formation. The meaning of that echo is ‘etc.’ Ex. */bhat Tat/* ‘rice etc.’ */gan Tan/* ‘song etc.’ */bOi Toi/* ‘books etc.’ here, the second part is almost like reduplication with a little change in it. The Second component begins with */T-/*.

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## 5. SYNTAX

Syntax deals with the pattern of sentences available in a language.

### 5.1 ORDER OF WORDS IN SENTENCES

Word order is the proper placement of the words of different grammatical categories in a sentence. Proper Word-order only can make a sentence grammatical and it varies from language to language. Jharkhandi word order is as in other Indian languages. Subject – Object – Verb or S O V. Generally, subject as assigned nominative case and object is oblique.

<i>/ram joduke marie/</i>	‘Ram hits Jodu’
Sub. Obj. Verb	
<i>/hami baRi jabO/</i>	‘I will go home’
Sub. Obj. Verb	

### 5.2 DESCRIPTION OF TYPES OF SENTENCES

#### Interrogative

Interrogative sentences denote the question asked by the speakers to the listeners. Ex. */u baDi jabe/* ‘he will go home’ - Assertive */u Badi jabe ki/* ‘Will he go home?’

Wh-words make the sentence Interrogative.

*/ki khabOr/* ‘what news’ */kEmOn achO/* ‘how are you’ etc.

#### Imperative

Imperative sentence denote the order or request. Generally, the second person singular form of the verb is used in this type of sentences.

Ex. */tumi jaO/* ‘you go’. */ikhane bOS'O/* ‘sit here’ etc.

#### Negative

In the negative formation in this dialect, the negative element occurs before the verb.

Ex */mui nai jabO/* ‘I will not go’, */oi loker po na thailO/* ‘that man does not have son’ etc.

### Causative

Causative sentences are formed with the help of causative verbs. In these types of sentences everything remain same as in the assertive sentences only the causal form of the verbs are used.

Ex. */mui bhat khai/* 'I eat rice' (ass.) */mui bhatkhaOai/* 'I feed rice' (caus.) */u nOdi dEkhie/* 'he sees the river (ass.) */u nOdi dEkhae/* 'he shows the river (to somebody) (caus.) etc.

### Co-ordination

Co-ordination is the process of joining two or more sentences together. In this dialect */ar/*, */o/* are used between two sentences to co-ordinate.

Ex. */hamader bhaS'a baMla bOTe ar iTa suinte bhalO/* 'our language is indeed Bengali and it is good to hear?.'

## 5.3 DESCRIPTION OF PATTERNS OF SENTENCES

### Simple Sentences

Simple Sentences are those where the simple word order i.e. sov is maintained. Ex. */ram bhalO chelie/* 'Ram is a good boy' */mui ghOre jai/* 'I go home' etc. Here one (main) clause is used.

### Complex sentences

Complex Sentences are those where a complete structure is made with the help of different subordinate clauses and generally they are attached to the main clause, with the help of particles (mainly conjugations).

Ex. */S'e eLO ar hamake ei bole gElo ki kal hami/ mui na aiS'be kintu jOdi aiS'i tObe khee jabO/* 'he came and left by telling that he will not come tomorrow but in case he comes he will have food with us.'

### Compound Sentences

Compound Sentences are those where two main clauses are joined with the help of the word */and/* i.e. */ar/* , */o/* in this dialect.

Ex. */ura eILO ar hami tader sathe geilam/* 'they came and I went with them'. */S'e boiTā pORIO ar S'ui gEIO/* 'he/she read the book and went to sleep'.



**JHARKHANDI  
TEXT**

*madi kakTa ki kore kalo S'apTake marlo*  
the crow hen how black to the snake killed

How the Crow Hen killed the Black Snake

*EkTa bAT gacher chARano Dal-r moddhe EkTa kak ar ur S'tri madi-kak*  
A banyan tree spreading of branches among a crow and his wife crow-hen  
*thaikto.*

Lived

Among the spreading branches of a banyan tree lived a crow and his wife, the crow-hen.

*baS'ar moddhe cairTa choTO Dim chilO jeguloke baba-ma khub jAtner S'AMge*  
nest in the four little eggs were which the parents great care with  
*S'amle raikhtO*

guarded

In the nest were four little eggs which the parents guarded with great care.

*Oi gacher gūRir Ek koTO-r-e EkTa kelea S'ap thakto jake kakgulO bhiS'on*  
that tree-of trunk-of a hollow-in a black snake lived whom the crows greatly  
*bhAe petO*

feared

In a hollow of that tree-trunk lived a black snake whom the crows feared greatly.

*Ek Ek bar madi kakTa Dim dile S'ap TA baS'a-te gūRi mere baS'ae asto ar oiguli*  
every time crow-hen the eggs laid snake the nest-in crawled nest upto came and them  
*kheie nitO*

ate up.

Every time the crow-hen laid eggs the snake crawled up to the nest and ate them up.

*"jOti kelea S'apTa abarO hamar Dimguli kheie nEe, hami ei gache ar*  
if black snake this time also my eggs eats up I this tree anymore

*haikte pairbO na*

will not be able to

“If the black snake eats up my eggs this time also, I will refuse to live in this tree any longer.

*hamra hamader oinnO kothaO baS'a toiri korbO,” ma pakhi tar S'ami-ke*

We our somewhere else nest builds must mother bird to her husband-to

*boillo*

said

We must build our nest somewhere else,” said the mother bird to her husband.

*“hamra ekhane Anek din baS' korchhi, hami hamar ghAr khali korie oinnO thane*

we here a long time lived I my home to desert elsewhere

*thaikte pairbO na,” kak boillo.*

live cannot crow said

“We have lived here a long time. I can't bear to desert my home and go to live elsewhere,” said the crow.

*jAkhon tara kAtha bolchilo, tader nice EkTa hiss S'Abdo tara S'unte pelO.*

While they were talking they below a hiss sound they heard

While they were talking, they heard a hissing sound just below them.

*ura ei S'Abder mane ki jaintO*

They this sound meaning what know

They know what the sound meant.

*ura AS'ohae bhabe tader baS'a-e boS'e uder Dimgulo rOkkha kArar cesTa*

They helplessly their nest-in sat their eggs protect do try

*korchilo*

do be-ing

They sat helplessly in their nest trying to protect their eggs.

*keleya S'ap Ta gūRi mere opore baS'ar kache elO.*

Black snake the crept above of nest closer came

The black snake crept higher and closer to the nest.

*upAr EkTA joRe hiss S'Abdo kore pakhigulo-ke S'e marar cesTa korte tara*  
then a loud hiss sound did Birds - at he killed tried they  
*bhAe uRie gElO.*

in fear flew away

Then with a loud hiss he tried to strike at the birds who flew away in terror.

*EkTa EkTa kore keleya S'ap-Ta Dimgulo gile pheillo.*

One by one, black snake-the the eggs swallowed

One by one, the black snake swallowed the eggs.

*baba ma dukkher S'Amge tader baS'ae phire elo bhalo jene je baS'a*  
parents sadly their in nest came back well know that nest  
*khali hAbe.*

empty would be

The parents came back sadly to their nest, knowing well that they would find it empty.

*kak bollo, "hamake ei khuni S'apke marar EkTa rasta khũjite hAbe."*

Crow said to me this murderous snake-to to kill a way must find

The crow said, "I must find a way to destroy this murderous snake."

*"tumi tar S'Amge kEmon kore maramari korbe ur phAna khub*  
you his with how do fight will do his sting very  
*bhAanok,"*

deadly

*ur stri nirupae hoe bollo.*

His wife in despair said

"How can you ever fight him? His sting is so deadly," said his wife in despair.

*"bhAe peo na, priyo, hamar EkTa bondhu ache je*  
fear get not dear my a friend have who

*S'Abtheke biS'odhAr S'apeder marte jAthesTo dokkhO," kaka boillo,*  
most poisonous snakes to kill enough cunning crow said

*ebAM S'e oinnO gache uRe gElo jar nice tar priO bondhu, S'eal*  
And he another tree flew off which under his dear friend jackal  
*thalktO.*

lived

“Don’t you worry, my dear, I’ve got a friend who is cunning enough to destroy the most poisonous of snakes,” said the crow, and off he flew to another tree under which lived his dear friend, the jackal.

*S'eal jAkhon S'uinlO kEmon kore S'ap-Ta Dimgulo kheeniechilO, u boillo, "hamar*  
Jackal when heard how snake-the eggs ate up he said my  
*bondhu,*  
friend

*jara niSThur ar jedi S'Arboda tader S'eS' kharap hAe.*

Who cruel and greedy always their end bad to be

“When the jackal heard how the snake always ate up the eggs, he said,” My friend, those who are cruel and greedy always meet with a bad end.

*bhAe peiOna, hami uke dhAMS'o korte EkTa mAtlob bhebe-I*

Have no fear I to him to destroy a plan thought-already  
*rekhechi."*

have kept

have no fear, I’ve already thought of a plan to destroy him.”

*"oh, eTa ki hamake bAlO," kak boillo.*

Oh this what to me tell me crow said

“Oh, do tell me what it is,” said the crow.

*urpAr S'eal keu bhAe take S'une phEle, tar bondhuke phiS' phiS' kore boillo*  
then jackal somebody him overheard his to friend to whisper told

*S'ap-Ta-ke dhAMS'o korte ki kAra ucit.*

Snake-the-to to destroy what to do should

Then the jackal, fearing the might be overhead, whispered to his friend what he should do to destroy the snake.

*kak ur strir kache uRe phire gEIO ar take mAtlob- Ta S'Ambandhe*  
Crow his wife near to fly back to go -pt. and to her plan - the about  
*boillo.*

said

The crew flew back to his wife and told her about the plan.

*"eTa bipodjAnok," kak boillo. "hamader khub S'Atorko hote hAbe.*

This risky crow said "We very careful to be will have  
"It is rather risky," said the crow." "We'll have to be very careful."

*hami hamar Dimguloke rokkha korte S'Abkichu korbo" ma pakhi S'ahoS'er S'Amge*  
I my to my eggs to save everything will do mother bird bravely  
*boillo.*

said

"I'll do anything to save my eggs," said the either bird bravely.

*urpAr ura deS'er rajar praS'adier dike uRie gEIO.*

Then they of country of king of palace towards flew off

So off they flew towards the palace of the king of the country.

*ura praS'ader bagane EkTa bARO S'ArobArer dike uRie gEIO jekhane ura*  
they of palace garden a big pond towards to fly went where they  
*diekhlo rajrAmonira S'nan korche*

saw royal ladies bath

They approached a big pond in the garden where they saw the royal ladies having bath.

*ura uder S'onar har, muktur necklace ar onno gAhAna S'ArobArer pare*  
they their golden chain of pearl necklace and other jewellery of pond edge

*khule rekhie-chilO.*

remove keep-pt.

They had laid their golden chains, pearl necklaces and other jewellery on the edge of the pond.

*ma pakhi uRe nice gElo, ur ThōT-e S'onar har tuillo ar dhire dhire*  
mother bird to fly down went her beak-in of gold chain picked up and slowly  
*je gache ura baS' koirtO S'edike uRte laiglO.*

which Tree they lived towards started flying

The mother bird flew down, picked up a gold chain in her beak and started flying slowly towards the tree in which she lived.

*jAkhon praS'ad rokkhira deikhlo pakhiTa S'onar har niye uRe jacche,*  
when palace guards saw the bird of gold chain to carry flying away  
*ura uder AS'tro nilo ar pakhi-Ta-ke taRa koirlO.*

they their Clubs to take and bird-the-to chased

When the palace guards saw the bird flying off with the gold chain, they took up their clubs and chased bird.

*ura deikhlo pakhi-Ta har-Ta gach-er koTo-re pheiledilo.*

They saw bird-the chain- the tree-of hollow-in dropped

They saw the bird drop the chain into the hollow of a tree.

*Rokkhider Ekjon har-Ta pete gache coRlo. Jei S'e S'ona-r har nite*  
of guards one chain-the to get on tree climbed as he gold-of chain to take  
*koTOre ur hait DhokalO,*

hole-in his hand inserted

One of the guards climbed in the tree to get the chain. As he put his hand inside the hole to get the chain

*u dekhlo EkTa kalo S'ap S'ekhane guTiye roeche. Tar AS'tr-er EkTa*  
he saw one black snake there curled up his club-of one

*S'Akto aghate u uke mere pheillo ar uTai chilO kalO S'ap-er*  
hard stroke he to him killed and that was black snake-of  
*S'eS'*

end

he saw a black snake curled up there with one hard stroke of his club he killed it and that was the end of the black snake.

*kak ar madi kak oi gachie pare S'ukhe baS' korechilo ar tader*  
crow and female crow that tree-in afterwards happily stayed and their  
*Anek baccha kak hoiyechilO*  
many baby crow had

The crow and the crow hen lived in that tree happily afterwards and had many little baby crows.

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**COMPARATIVE CHART OF BENGALI DIALECTAL FEATURES**

<b>Standard Bengali</b>	<b>Radhi</b>	<b>Barendri</b>	<b>Jharkhandi</b>
Phonological			
Word initial /r/ and /a/ retains	Word initial /r/ and /a/ retains	Word initial /r/ > /a/ and /a/ > /r/. <i>/raS'ta</i> > <i>/aS'ta/</i> 'road', <i>/am</i> > <i>/ram/</i> 'mango' etc.	Word initial /r/ and /a/ retains
Word initial /n/ and /l/ retains	Word initial /n/ and /l/ retains	Word initial /n/ and /l/ retains	Word initial /n/ > /l/ and /l/ > /n/. <i>/nil/</i> 'blue' > <i>/lil/, /lal/</i> 'red' > <i>/nal/</i> etc.
Word final /o/ retains	Word final /o/ retains	Word final /o/ retains	Word final /o/ > /O/. <i>/jabo-</i> 'I shall go' > <i>/jabO/, /eS'o/</i> 'please come' > <i>/eS'O/</i>
Vowels /i/ > /e/ and /u/ > /o/. <i>/S'ikol/</i> > <i>/S'ekol/</i> 'chain', <i>/upor/</i> > <i>/opor/</i> 'up'	Vowels /i/ > /e/ and /u/ > /o/. <i>/S'ikol/</i> > <i>/S'ekol/</i> 'chain', <i>/upor/</i> > <i>/opor/</i> 'up'	Vowels /i/ and /u/ retain. <i>/S'ikol/, /upor/</i>	Vowels /i/ and /u/ retain. <i>/S'ikol/, /upor/</i>
Intervocalic /h/ retains	Intervocalic /h/ retains	Intervocalic /h/ weakened. <i>/tahader/</i> 'their' > <i>/tayer/</i>	Intervocalic /h/ retains
Word final aspiration gets lost. <i>/dudh/</i> 'milk' > <i>/dud/, /mach/</i> 'fish' > <i>/mac/</i> .	Word final aspiration gets lost. <i>/dudh/</i> 'milk' > <i>/dud/, /mach/</i> 'fish' > <i>/mac/</i> .	Word final aspiration retains.	Word final aspiration retains.
Voicing of final consonants. <i>/kak/</i> > <i>/kag/</i> 'crow', <i>/S'ak/</i> > <i>/S'ag/</i> 'green leaf'	Voicing of final consonants. <i>/kak/</i> > <i>/kag/</i> 'crow', <i>/S'ak/</i> > <i>/S'ag/</i> 'green leaf'	Final voiceless consonants retain	Final voiceless consonants retain

Standard Bengali	Radhi	Barendri	Jharkhandi
Morphological			
Negation follows the verbs	Negation follows the verbs	Negation follows the verbs	Negation generally precedes the verbs. /na jabO/ 'shall not go'.
Does not have Denominative verbal use	Does not have Denominative verbal use	Does not have Denominative verbal use	Use of Denominative Verbs. /aj jaRabe/ 'today it will be cold'. (/jaR/ 'cold')
Ablative case is indicated by /-theke/. /bādh theke/ 'from dam'	Ablative case is indicated by /theke/. /bādh theke/ 'from dam'	Ablative case is indicated by /theke/. /bādh theke/ 'from dam'	Ablative case is indicated by /-le/. /bādh le/ 'from dam'
Locative case is indicated by /-e/, /-te/. /ghOr-e/ 'in the room'	Locative case is indicated by /-e/, /-te/. /ghOr-e/ 'in the room'	Locative case is indicated by /-At/. /ghOrAt/ 'in the room'	Locative case is indicated by /-e/, /-te/. /ghOr-e/ 'in the room'
Accusative case marker is /-ke/. /amake dao/ 'give it to me'	Accusative case marker is /-ke/. /amake dao/ 'give it to me'	Accusative case marker is /-k/. /hamak dao/ 'give it to me'	Accusative case marker is /-ke/. /amake dao/ 'give it to me'
In past tense first personal marker is /-lam~ lum/ as in /korlam ~ korlum/ 'I did'	In past tense first personal marker is /-lam~ lum/ as in /korlam ~ korlum/ 'I did'	In past tense first personal marker is /-lam/ as in /korlam/ 'I did'	In past tense first personal marker is /-lam/ as in /korlam/ 'I did'
/-lo/ suffix added to the transitive verbs in past tense. /S'e dilo/ 'he gave'.	/-le/ suffix added to the transitive verbs in past tense. /S'e dile/ 'he gave'.	/-lo/ suffix added to the transitive verbs in past tense. /S'e dilo/ 'he gave'.	/-lO/ suffix added to the transitive verbs in past tense. /S'e dilO/ 'he gave'.

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# **RAJBANGSI**

**TAPATI GHOSH**

## **1. INTRODUCTION**

Rajbangsi speech is synonymous to its caste name *Rajbanshi* [Ref: List of Scheduled Castes and Tribes, 2001] which is the Scheduled Caste Community in the State of West Bengal. The community is concentrated in the northern districts of Cooch Behar – (715,373), Jalpaiguri (513,551), West Dinajpur (371,602), Malda (61,761) and Darjeeling (62,794) as per 1981 Census record [Ref. D.C.H. West Bengal 1981, pp.158]

Present Investigator has been assigned to study Rajbangsi speech under LSI - West Bengal. Accordingly, the data have been collected as per the questionnaire from the district of Cooch Behar in West Bengal.

### **1.1 FAMILY AFFILIATION**

As history goes back, Rajbangsi speech may be placed during the age of 366-338 B.C. when a branch of the Aryans was driven out from Magadha by king Mahapadma Nanda and they took shelter in the eastern direction. i.e. present North Bengal and Assam, by the name of Rajbangsi by caste. The other view holds that after the Koch invasion in North-Bengal and Assam in the 16<sup>th</sup> Century, the Koch kings had accepted the Rajbangsi dialect as their court language and later on it became the lingua-franca of the area. [Ref: G.A. Grierson's *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol-V, Part-I, 1903, (Reprint 1968) Motilal Banarasi Dass, New Delhi].

Since Rajbangsi speech has its focal area infested with North-Eastern dialects of Bengali language, specifically east-Bengali dialects, it follows mainly the Bengali language in its sentence structure and mostly in its lexicons, Rajbangsi is much influenced by the neighbouring Tibeto-Burman Languages like Rabha, Koch etc. Still the Rajbangsi speech maintains its characteristics at phonological and morphological levels. For instance,

1) Rajbangsi often loses nasalization. e.g

<i>bāsi</i>	(Ben.)	>	basi (Rajbangsi)	‘flute’
<i>hās</i>	(Ben.)	>	has (Rajbangsi)	‘swan’
<i>pāc</i>	(Ben.)	>	pac (Rajbangsi)	‘five’
<i>āś</i>	(Ben.)	>	as (Rajbangsi)	‘flame’

2) /e/ often replaced by /E/ in Rajbangsi. e.g

<i>kerasin</i>	(Ben.)	‘kerosin’	>	<i>kErasin</i>	(Rajbangsi)
<i>tel</i>	(Ben.)	‘oil’	>	<i>tEl</i>	(Rajbangsi)

3) c, ch, j, jh > C, Ch, J, Jh in Rajbangsi.

4) The retroflex trill, i.e., R is often replaced by alveolar trill ‘r’.

5) At morphological level, the pronominal forms of Rajbangsi are, more or less, similar to those of Maithili dialect of Bihari Language group, e.g.,

<i>mui, mok</i>	1 <sup>st</sup> personal pronoun
<i>tui, tok</i> etc	in 2 <sup>nd</sup> personal pronoun
<i>kal, kak</i> etc	in interrogative pronoun etc.

6) In the verbal system, Rajbangsi speech has the following features.

e.g.

-m (for future)	<i>mui kOrim</i>	‘I shall do’
-it (cont.M. – E.Bg)	>	-ir (cont.M.Raj)
<i>kOritechi</i>	>	<i>kOrtEchi</i> (E. Bg) > <i>kOrir lagiOM</i> (Raj)

7) -OM, -uM (I. pre.) in Rajbangsi may be traced back into Tibeto-Burman dialects like Koch, Rabha, Mogh etc.

In fine, Rajbangsi speech inspite of having its indigenous peculiarities, is much similar to Bengali language, and the opinion of Grierson that Rajbangsi claims to be north-Bengali dialect having been influenced by Eastern-Bengali dialect mostly.

In Indian Census Rajbangsi is classified and presented as one of the mother tongue grouped under Bengali, one of 22 Scheduled Languages.

## 1.2. LOCATION

The speech area of Rajbangsi is bounded in the north-east by Goalpara district of Assam where gradually it merges into Assamese, in the Southern direction it is bounded by East Bengali dialect of Bangladesh, in the north-west side the speech area of Rajbangsi merges into Maithili dialect of Bihari.

## 1.3. SPEAKERS' STRENGTH

The major distribution of Rajbangsi as a mother tongue of Bengali is presented below as per 2001 Census for India as well as West Bengal and its districts.

Mother Tongue	India/States/Union territory	Person	Male	Female	Rural	Urban
Rajbangshi	INDIA	82,570	42,387	40,183	77,955	4,615
	Assam	51,225	26,306	24,919	50,058	1,167
	West Bengal	30,551	15,627	14,924	27,198	3,353

Mother Tongue	States/Districts	Person	Male	Female	Rural	Urban
Rajbangshi	WEST BENGAL	30551	15627	14924	27198	3353
	Jalpaiguri	18251	9360	8891	15564	2687
	Darjiling	9716	4923	4793	9311	405
	Koch Bihar	1122	585	537	984	138
	Uttar Dinajpur	1073	556	517	1015	58

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## 2. PHONOLOGY

The phonological structure of Rajbangsi based on collected data is presented bellow.

### 2.1. PHONEMIC INVENTORY

The Phonemic inventory comprises 36 segmental phonemes, 7 vowels and 29 consonants.

#### 2.1.1. SEGMENTAL PHONEMES

Vowels

	Front	Central	Back
	<i>i</i>		<i>u</i>
	<i>e</i>		<i>o</i>
	<i>E</i>		<i>O</i>
		<i>a</i>	

Consonants

Rajbangsi has got altogether 29 consonant phonemes of which 16 are of stop category, affricates are 4, fricatives are of 2, Nasals are 3 and trill and lateral are each one in number; and, lastly semi-vowels are two. Following are the chart showing the group.

Place of articulation	Labial		Dental		Alveolar		Alveo-palatal		Retroflex		Velar		Glottal
	Voiceless	Voiceless	Voiceless	Voiceless	Voiceless	Voiceless	Voiceless	Voiceless	Voiceless	Voiceless	Voiceless	Voiceless	
Manner of articulation													
Stop													
Asp.	<i>p</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>d</i>					<i>T</i>	<i>D</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>g</i>	
Non-Asp.	<i>ph</i>	<i>bh</i>	<i>th</i>	<i>dh</i>					<i>Th</i>	<i>Dh</i>	<i>kh</i>	<i>gh</i>	
Affricate													
Asp.							<i>C</i>	<i>J</i>					
Non-Asp.							<i>Ch</i>	<i>Jh</i>					
Fricative						<i>s</i>							<i>h</i>
Nasal		<i>m</i>		<i>n</i>								<i>M</i>	
Trill						<i>r</i>							
Lateral						<i>l</i>							
Semi-vowel	<i>w</i>									<i>y</i>			

### 2.1.2. SUPRA-SEGMENTAL PHONEME

Unlike other Indo-Aryan languages Rajbangsi does rarely use nasalization.

### 2.1.3. PHONEMIC CONTRAST

#### Vowels

<i>/i/</i>	<i>/u/</i>	<i>/iT/</i>	brick	<i>/uT/</i>	camel
		<i>/miThei/</i>	sweet	<i>/muThi/</i>	fist
		<i>/baji/</i>	fireworks	<i>/baju/</i>	armlet
<i>/e/</i>	<i>/o/</i>	<i>/khejur/</i>	datepalm	<i>/khoja/</i>	search
		<i>/phera/</i>	to return	<i>/phora/</i>	tumour, boil
		<i>/Deli/</i>	basket	<i>/dola/</i>	palanquin
<i>/E/</i>	<i>/a/</i>	<i>/phEna/</i>	cobra's hood	<i>/pana/</i>	reeds
		<i>/bEM/</i>	toad	<i>/bhaM/</i>	narcotic
		<i>/chEp/</i>	spit	<i>/chap/</i>	stamp
<i>/O/</i>	<i>/a/</i>	<i>/bOn/</i>	forest	<i>/ban/</i>	flood
		<i>/jOl/</i>	water	<i>/jal/</i>	net
		<i>/nOkh/</i>	nail	<i>/nak/</i>	nose
<i>/u/</i>	<i>/o/</i>	<i>/sut/</i>	thread	<i>/sot/</i>	current
		<i>/dul/</i>	earning	<i>/dol/</i>	swing

#### Consonants

<i>/p/</i>	<i>/b/</i>	<i>/pap/</i>	sin	<i>/bap/</i>	father
		<i>/poka/</i>	worm	<i>/boka/</i>	idiot
		<i>/pan/</i>	bettel-leaf	<i>/ban/</i>	flood
<i>/p/</i>	<i>/ph/</i>	<i>/pora/</i>	burn	<i>/phora/</i>	boil
<i>/ph/</i>	<i>/b/</i>	<i>/phOl/</i>	fruit	<i>/bOl/</i>	strength
<i>/b/</i>	<i>/bh/</i>	<i>/bati/</i>	lamp	<i>/bhaTi/</i>	brewery
		<i>/baj/</i>	thunder bolt	<i>/bhaj/</i>	fold
		<i>/bEra/</i>	fence	<i>/bhEra/</i>	ram, sheep
<i>/c/</i>	<i>/j/</i>	<i>/coku/</i>	eye	<i>/jok/</i>	leech
		<i>/cOr/</i>	island, bank of the river	<i>/jOr/</i>	fever
<i>/c/</i>	<i>/ch/</i>	<i>/cakor/</i>	servant	<i>/chagOl/</i>	goat
		<i>/curi/</i>	theft	<i>/churi/</i>	penknife

		<i>/kaca/</i>	to wash	<i>/kacha/</i>	back tuck
<i>/j/</i>	<i>/jh/</i>	<i>/jOr/</i>	fever	<i>/jhOr/</i>	storm
		<i>/jal/</i>	net	<i>/jhal/</i>	hot, spicy
<i>/t/</i>	<i>/th/</i>	<i>/tala/</i>	lock	<i>/thal/</i>	dish
		<i>/tOcla/</i>	frypan	<i>/thOcla/</i>	stammer
<i>/d/</i>	<i>/dh/</i>	<i>/dola/</i>	swing	<i>/dhula/</i>	dust
		<i>/gada/</i>	dumping	<i>/gadha/</i>	donkey
<i>/T/</i>	<i>/Th/</i>	<i>/bhiTa/</i>	house	<i>/miTha/</i>	sweet
		<i>/Tika/</i>	vaccine	<i>/Thika/</i>	temporary
<i>/D/</i>	<i>/Dh/</i>	<i>/Dab/</i>	green coconut	<i>/DhEp/</i>	lily flower
		<i>/Doba/</i>	pond	<i>/Dhoka/</i>	step relation
<i>/m/</i>	<i>/n/</i>	<i>/kam/</i>	work	<i>/kan/</i>	ear
		<i>/mai/</i>	mother	<i>/nai/</i>	navel
<i>/n/</i>	<i>/M/</i>	<i>/dan/</i>	gift	<i>/DaM/</i>	stick
		<i>/DEna/</i>	wing	<i>/DEMa/</i>	land
		<i>/DhEna/</i>	widower	<i>/DhaMa/</i>	tall
		<i>/nisan/</i>	flag	<i>/misaM/</i>	false
<i>/r/</i>	<i>/l/</i>	<i>/jOr/</i>	fever	<i>/jOl/</i>	water
		<i>/haria/</i>	beer (rice)	<i>/halia/</i>	bullock used for ploughing
		<i>/sari/</i>	saree	<i>/sali/</i>	sister-in-law (wife's sister)
<i>/s/</i>	<i>/h/</i>	<i>/sas/</i>	breath	<i>/has/</i>	duck
		<i>/sar/</i>	fertilizer	<i>/har/</i>	necklace
<i>/w/</i>	<i>/y/</i>	<i>/chawa/</i>	baby	<i>/chaya/</i>	shade

#### Distribution of Vowels

	Initial		medial		final	
<i>/i/</i>	<i>/iT/</i>	brick	<i>/sit/</i>	cold, winter	<i>/nodi/</i>	river
	<i>/injin/</i>	engine	<i>/sil/</i>	hailstone	<i>/dighi/</i>	lake
			<i>/didi/</i>	elder sister	<i>/jiTi/</i>	lizard



<i>/e/</i>	<i>/elaic/</i> cinnamon <i>/eTa/</i> this, it	<i>/beTi/</i> daughter <i>/deho/</i> body <i>/lebu/</i> lemon	<i>/pakhe/</i> near <i>/oTe/</i> there <i>/nije/</i> self
<i>/E/</i>	<i>/Egaro/</i> eleven <i>/Ek/</i> one	<i>/bETa/</i> son <i>/phEna/</i> cobra's hood	
<i>/O/</i>	<i>/Ondho/</i> blind <i>/Obhyas/</i> practice <i>/Okumari/</i> spinister	<i>/gOrOl/</i> eclipse <i>/bOn/</i> forest <i>/bhOmra/</i> gnat	
<i>/a/</i>	<i>/aji/</i> today <i>/alo/</i> light <i>/ac/</i> heat	<i>/baba/</i> father <i>/pap/</i> sin <i>/par/</i> bank of the river	<i>/moTa/</i> fat <i>/kana/</i> blind by one eye <i>/dhula/</i> dust
<i>/u/</i>	<i>/uT/</i> camel <i>/uri/</i> white ant	<i>/tui/</i> you <i>/sujjo/</i> sun <i>/jhul/</i> maw	<i>/Dheu/</i> wave <i>/coku/</i> eye <i>/coru/</i> thigh
<i>/o/</i>	<i>/oi/</i> that <i>/oros/</i> beding	<i>/sot/</i> current <i>/pokhi/</i> bird  <i>/bokdul/</i> bat	<i>/kado/</i> mud <i>/jao/</i> husband's brother's wife <i>/jETo/</i> father's elder brother <i>/biao/</i> marriage

#### 2.1.4. VOWEL SEQUENCE

Two members initial

medial

final

<i>/ia/</i>		<i>/biani/</i> daughter-in-law's/ son-in-law's mother <i>/sial/</i> jackal <i>/pias/</i> thirst	<i>/Tia/</i> parrot <i>/jaMia/</i> panty <i>/sikia/</i> sling
<i>/ai/</i>	<i>/ailsa/</i> lazy  <i>/aio/</i> mother	<i>/maia/</i> wife  <i>/gaie/</i> singer <i>/chaic/</i> metal cast	<i>/cOrai/</i> sparrow <i>/hotlai/</i> chin <i>/nai/</i> nave  <i>/biai/</i> daughter's/ son-in-law's father
<i>/ei/</i>	<i>/eiTa/</i> this		<i>/bilei/</i> cat <i>/miThei/</i> sweet sugar candy

<i>/Oi/</i>		<i>/kOitOr/</i> pigeon		
		<i>/kOila/</i> coal		
<i>/iO/</i>		<i>/piOn/</i> peon		
<i>/ea/</i>		<i>/cear/</i> chair	<i>/bea/</i> bad	
			<i>/kea/</i> ketaki	
<i>/eu/</i>			<i>/Dheu/</i> wave	
<i>/iu/</i>			<i>/ghiu/</i> ghee	
			<i>/jiu/</i> life	
<i>/ui/</i>			<i>/bhui/</i> ground	
			<i>/juil/</i> fire	
			<i>/rui/</i> rohifish	
<i>/ua/</i>	<i>/uak/</i> to her	<i>/juari/</i> gambler	<i>/kua/</i> mist, fog	
		<i>/juan/</i> ajowan	<i>/gua/</i> nut	
			<i>/kOcua/</i> baby	
			<i>/nerua/</i> left-handed	
<i>/au/</i>		<i>/mausa/</i> mother's sister's husband		
		<i>/bhauji/</i> elder brother's wife		
		<i>/mauria/</i> orphan		
<i>/ao/</i>			<i>/nao/</i> boat	
			<i>/jao/</i> husband's brother's wife	
<i>/oa/</i>			<i>/thoa/</i> put	
			<i>/poa/</i> one-fourth	
<i>/ou/</i>		<i>/mouTa/</i> horse		
Three member vowel sequence				
<i>/iai/</i>			<i>/biai/</i> daughter-in-law's father	
<i>/iao/</i>			<i>/biao/</i> marriage	
<i>/aua/</i>			<i>/kaua/</i> crow	

<i>/Eoa/</i>	<i>/dEoa/</i> wall	<i>/dEoa/</i> to give
<i>/aoa/</i>		<i>/jaoa/</i> to go <i>/dhaoa/</i> to chase
<i>/Ooa/</i>		<i>/kOoa/</i> to talk <i>/hOoa/</i> to be

### 2.1.5. CONSONANT CLUSTERS

The consonant clusters in Rajbangsi are of two types. viz., i) homogenous and ii) heterogenous

#### Homogenous

The homogenous clusters are realized in medial position only.

Medial		
<i>/-jj-/</i>	<i>/sujjo/</i> <i>/rajjo/</i>	sun kingdom
<i>/-tt-/</i>	<i>/pitto/</i>	bile
<i>/-cc-/</i>	<i>/bacca/</i>	baby
<i>/-ddh-/</i>	<i>/juddho/</i> <i>/modde/</i>	war middle
<i>/-pp-/</i>	<i>/kOppur/</i>	camphor
<i>/-ll-/</i>	<i>/bOllOm/</i>	spear
<i>/-ss-/</i>	<i>/Ossikar/</i>	denial

#### Heterogenous

Like homogenous the heterogenous clusters are also realized medially mostly.

Medial		
<i>/-mb-/</i>	<i>/kOmbOI/</i>	rug
<i>/-mp-/</i>	<i>/bhuikOmpOI/</i>	earthquake
<i>/-nk-/</i>	<i>/kankasi/</i>	jaggary

<i>/-nd-/</i>	<i>/endur/</i>	rat
<i>/-lp-/</i>	<i>/jOlpan/</i>	tiffin
<i>/-lk-/</i>	<i>/camcilka/</i>	bat
<i>/-ln-/</i>	<i>/bElna/</i>	rolling pin
<i>/-rg-/</i>	<i>/khOrgos/</i>	rabbit
<i>/-tl-/</i>	<i>/hotlai/</i>	chin
<i>/-kt-/</i>	<i>/rOkto/</i>	blood
<i>/-br-/</i>	<i>/nEbrai/</i>	eye sand
<i>/-bj-/</i>	<i>/kobji/</i>	wrist
<i>/-sr-/</i>	<i>/khusri/</i>	itch
<i>/-nT-/</i>	<i>/ghOnTa/</i>	bell
<i>/-Mkh- /</i>	<i>/sOMkho/</i>	shell
<i>/-Mg-/</i>	<i>/cEMgra/</i>	boy
	<i>/aMgOn/</i>	courtyard
<i>/-mr-/</i>	<i>/panikumra/</i>	pumpkin
<i>/-ml-/</i>	<i>/kamlā/</i>	artisan

### 2.1.6. PHONOTACTICS

The following are the phonotactics of the occurrence of phonemes in Rajbangsi.

- 1) In disyllabic or polysyllabic open words the ultimate 'o' is changed to 'O'. e.g.

<i>siMho</i>	>	<i>siMhO</i>	'lion'
<i>sOtero</i>	>	<i>sOterO</i>	'seventeen'
<i>Okto</i>	>	<i>rOkto</i>	'blood'

- 2) In south-west of Cooch-Bihar district initial 'r' gets deleted. e.g.

<i>rOkto</i>	>	<i>Okto</i>	'blood'
<i>rOs</i>	>	<i>Os</i>	'juice'

- 3) In eastern part of Cooch Bihar district initial 'r' changes to 'n' e.g.

<i>rag</i>	>	<i>nag</i>	'anger'		
<i>pronam</i>	>	<i>pOrnam</i>	>	<i>pOnnam</i>	'salute'
<i>rasta</i>	>	<i>nasta</i>			'road'

- 4) The initial consonant cluster with alveolar trill is often having a metathetic change with nasal e.g.

<i>prOnam</i>	>	<i>pOrnam</i>	>	<i>pOnnam</i>	‘salute’
<i>ghrina</i>	>	<i>ghirna</i>	>	<i>ghinna</i>	‘hate’

- 5) In the medial conjunct as ‘*rt*’, ‘*rn*’ etc. where ‘*r*’ being the first member is often assimilated with the second member of the cluster. e.g.

<i>sOrta</i>	>	<i>sOtta</i>	‘nut cracker’
<i>kOrta</i>	>	<i>kOtta</i>	‘guardian’ ‘head of the family’
<i>pOrnam</i>	>	<i>pOnnam</i>	‘salute’
<i>ghrina</i>	>	<i>ghinna</i>	‘hate’

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### 3. MORPHOLOGY

Morphology deals with the nominal and verbal structure of Rajbangsi based on the field data.

#### 3.1. NOUN MORPHOLOGY

##### 3.1.1. NOUN

Like Bengali, Rajbangsi has got nominal features bearing the characteristics of number, gender and case.

##### 3.1.1.1 NUMBER

Rajbangsi Noun has got two numbers, viz., singular and plural.

The marker for singular number in ‘-Ø-’ and the plural markers are *-la* and *-gula*

e.g.	Singular	Plural
<i>chawa</i>	‘baby’	<i>chawala</i> ‘babies’
<i>mansi</i>	‘man’	<i>mansi gula</i> ‘men’
<i>bETa</i>	‘son’	<i>bETa gula / bETala</i> ‘sons’

##### 3.1.1.2 GENDER

As for gender, the nouns may be grouped under two heads, viz. i) Natural Gender and ii) Grammatical Gender having different forms for masculine and feminine gender

###### i) Natural Gender

###### Masculine

<i>baba</i>	‘father’
<i>bhatar</i>	‘husband’
<i>DhEna</i>	‘widower’
<i>jamai</i>	‘son-in-law’
<i>bOr</i>	‘bridegroom’
<i>aju</i>	‘grand father’

###### Feminine

<i>ma, ayo</i>	‘mother’
<i>maiya</i>	‘wife’
<i>bidua</i>	‘widow’
<i>bou/bouma</i>	‘daughter-in-law’
<i>koina</i>	‘bride’
<i>abo</i>	‘grand mother’

###### ii) List Gender

Following markers are affixed to the nouns to have feminine counterparts e.g.

<i>/-i-/</i>	<i>cEMgra</i> <i>bETa</i> <i>mousa</i>	‘boy’ ‘son’ ‘husband of mother’s sister’	<i>ceMgri</i> <i>beTi</i> <i>mousi</i>	‘girl’ ‘daughter’ ‘mother’s sister’
<i>/-ni/</i>	<i>TOsa</i> <i>biai</i>	‘deafman’ ‘daughter-in-law’s/ son-in-law’s father’	<i>Tosi</i> <i>biani</i>	‘deaf woman’ ‘daughter-in-law’s/ son-in-law’s Mother’
	<i>nati</i> <i>puti</i>	‘grandson’ ‘great grandson’	<i>natni</i> <i>putni</i>	‘grand daughter’ ‘great grand daughter’

### 3.1.1.3. CASE

Rajbangsi speech has six cases in its declensional system, viz., Nominative, Accusative, Instrumental, Ablative, Genitive and Locative. The declension for cases in Rajbangsi runs as follows

Case	marker	examples
Nominative	-∅	<i>gobindo</i> ‘a name’ <i>sOnatOn</i> ‘a name’ <i>akas</i> ‘Sky’
Accusative	-k	<i>tor beTik DEkao</i> ‘Call your daughter’ <i>mui chawaTak dEkhOM</i> ‘I see the child’
Instrumental	-dia	<i>tui caku dia tOrkari kaTis</i> ‘You cut the vegetables with a knife’  <i>amra ei rasta dia acci/asci</i> ‘We come by this road’
Ablative	-thaki	<i>gOch thaki pata pOrijabar dhOrce</i> ‘The leaves are falling from the tree’  <i>muiga thaki kali asim</i> ‘(I) shall come from the village tomorrow’
Genitive	-r,-er	<i>sitar boiTā an</i> ‘Bring the book of Sita’  <i>gOcher patagula pOre</i> ‘The leaves of the tree are falling’

*pOkhir bacca*  
 ‘The kiddies of bird’

*sarer duiTa siM ace*  
 ‘The bull has two horns’

In genitive case the markers [-r ~ -er] are in allomorphic condition i.e. [-r] occurs after open-syllabic-base, while [-er] occurs with closed-syllabic base only. e.g

*[gorur gari]* bullock-cart      *[ghorar dana]* food for horses ; horse peas  
*[Thakurer than]* holy place, temple      *[saper sosani]* hissing sound of the snake

Locative                      -t                      *mui ghorOt cOrOM*  
 ‘I ride on the horse’

*gOruTa Dabrit khaebar dhOrce*  
 ‘Cow is grazing in the field’

#### 3.1.1.4. POST-POSITIONS

Post-positions in Rajbangsi may be categorized into three broad groups, viz., i) Nominal, ii) Adverbial and iii) Verbal.

##### i) Nominal Post position

*/mOto/*                      *tor mOto mansi*                      ‘a person like you’  
*/sathe/sOte/*                      *tor sathe*                      ‘with you’  
    *mor sOte*                      ‘with me’

*/jOnne/*                      *tor jOnne*                      ‘for you’  
    *eiTar jOnne*                      ‘for this’

*/caya/*                      *sitar caya uae dekhir besi bhal*  
 ‘She looks better than Sita looks’

*/dia/*                      *hat dia*                      ‘by the hand’  
    *dhOnu dia*                      ‘with the arrow’

*/nakan/*                      *mor nakan*                      ‘like me’



ii) Adjectival/ Adverbial Post Position

<i>/mOddhOt/</i>	<i>rastar mOddhOt</i> <i>rajdhanir mOddhOt</i>	‘in the middle of the road’ ‘within the periphery of the capital’
<i>/DhOk /</i>	<i>kEmon DhOker kaj</i> <i>ei DhOka</i>	‘which type of work’ ‘thus’, ‘such a way’
<i>/bade/</i>	<i>eiTa bade</i>	‘besides this’
<i>/agOt/</i>	<i>mor agOt tui ja</i>	‘go before I (go)’
<i>/pOre/</i>	<i>sat din pOre</i>	‘after seven days’
<i>/konal/</i>	<i>oTekona</i>	‘there’
<i>/thaki/</i>	‘from’ <i>ga thaki</i> <i>sOgar thaki bOro bETA</i>	‘from the village’ ‘The eldest son’

iii) Verbal Post position

<i>/jOnne/</i>	‘for’ <i>khabar jOnne</i> <i>sasOn KORir jOnne</i>	‘for eating’ ‘for ruling over’
<i>/bade/</i>	‘for’ <i>bhOkti kOrir bade</i> <i>jal na dEkhar bade</i>	‘for showing respect’ ‘because of not finding the net’
<i>/dhOri/</i>	‘by’ <i>nam dhOri Dak</i>	‘Call by name’

### 3.1.2. PRONOUN

Pronominal system in Rajbangsi is realized in 4 tier groupings, viz., i) Personal Pronoun, ii) Demonstrative Pronoun, iii) Relative Pronoun, and iv) Interrogative Pronoun.

i) Personal Pronouns

Personal Pronouns in Rajbangsi are inflected in five cases, viz., Nominative, Accusative / Dative, Instrumental, Ablative and Genitive; in three cases like 1<sup>st</sup> person, 2<sup>nd</sup> person and 3<sup>rd</sup> person and, in two numbers as singular and plural. The declension for Personal Pronoun goes as follows:

Case	1 <sup>st</sup> Person		2 <sup>nd</sup> Person		3 <sup>rd</sup> Person	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
Nominative	<i>mui</i>	<i>amra ~ ahamra</i>	<i>tui</i>	<i>tomra, tumra</i>	<i>uae</i>	<i>umrae</i>
Accusative/ Dative	<i>mok</i>	<i>amrak~ hamrak</i>	<i>tok</i>	<i>tumrak</i>	<i>uak~ uMak</i>	<i>umrak</i>
Instrumental	<i>mor</i>	<i>hamrak-dia/ sathe~ hamar sathe sOte, mok dia</i>	<i>tok dia tor sathe</i>	<i>tumrak dia tumrar sathe</i>	<i>uak dia uMak dia uar/uMar sathe</i>	<i>umrak dia umrar sathe</i>
Ablative	<i>mor</i>	<i>hamar /amar thaki thaki</i>	<i>tor thaki</i>	<i>tumar thaki tumrar thaki</i>	<i>uMar thaki</i>	<i>umrar thaki</i>
Genitive	<i>mor</i>	<i>amrar~ hamar</i>	<i>tor</i>	<i>tumar/ tumrar/ tumra</i>	<i>uMar~ uar</i>	<i>umrar</i>

## ii) Demonstrative Pronoun

Demonstrative Pronouns in Rajbangsi are realized in two broad groups, viz, Proximate and Remote, each type being declined in three varieties of cases as Nominative, Oblique and Genitive. The declension for Demonstrative goes as follows.

	Proximate		Remote	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
Nominative	<i>eiTa</i>	<i>eigula/Ela</i>	<i>oiTa</i>	<i>oigula</i>
Oblique	<i>eTak</i>	<i>egulak/Elak</i>	<i>oTak</i>	<i>oigulak</i>
Genitive	<i>eTar</i>	<i>egular</i>	<i>oTar, oiTar</i>	<i>oigular</i>

## iii) Relative Pronoun

The Relative Pronouns are inflected for three cases, viz., Nominative, Oblique and Genitive.

Nominative	<i>je, jeiTa / jeTa</i>	<i>oTa</i>
Genitive	<i>jar</i>	<i>uar / uMar</i>

iv) Interrogative Pronoun

Interrogative pronouns in Rajbangsi are declined in three cases viz., Nominative, Oblique and Genitive, the markers –e for nominative, –k for oblique case and –r for genitive.

**Cases**

Nominative	-	<i>kE</i>	‘who’	<i>kon</i>	‘which’	<i>ki</i>	‘what’
Genitive	-	<i>kar</i>					

**3.1.3. ADJECTIVES**

Adjectives in Rajbangsi may semantically be categorized into two groups, such as, i) Qualitative and ii) Quantitative

i) Qualitative

<i>dami</i>	‘costly’	<i>bhija</i>	‘drenched’	<i>sukna</i>	‘dry’
<i>sOt</i>	‘honest’	<i>bhal</i>	‘good’	<i>TaTka</i>	‘fresh’
<i>bhajua</i>	‘crooked’	<i>soru</i>	‘narrow’	<i>nOya</i>	‘new’
<i>khola</i>	‘open’	<i>dhoni</i>	‘rich’	<i>DhaMa</i>	‘long’
<i>moTa</i>	‘thick’	<i>patla</i>	‘thin’	<i>bhari</i>	‘heavy’
		<i>nirihO/sada</i>	‘innocent’	<i>kharap/bea</i>	‘bad’
		<i>sida</i>			
		<i>moilE /</i>	‘dirty’	<i>calak /</i>	‘clever’
		<i>moila</i>		<i>catura</i>	
		<i>osar/cOora</i>	‘wide’		

ii) Quantitative      *mEla* ‘much’      *Onekgula* ‘many’

**3.1.4. NUMERALS**

Numerals in Rajbangsi are of three types like other I.A. languages, viz.,

i) Cardinals, ii) Ordinals and iii) Fractions.

i) Cardinals      Cardinal numbers in Rajbangsi are as follows

*Ek* ‘one’; *dui* ‘two’; *tin* ‘three’; *cair* ‘four’; *pac* ‘five’; *chOe* ‘six’; *sat* ‘seve’; *aT* ‘eight’; *nOo* ‘nine’; *dOs* ‘ten’;

*Egaro* ‘eleven’; *baro* ‘twelve’; *tEro* ‘thirteen’; *coudO* ‘fourteen’; *pOndrO* ‘fifteen’; *solo* ‘sixteen’; *sOtOro* ‘seventeen’; *aTharo* ‘eighteen’ *unis* ‘nineteen’ *bis/kuri* ‘twenty’; *sOo* ‘hundred’.

ii) Ordinals *poila* ‘first’ *dosra* ‘second’ *tesra* ‘third’ *coutha* ‘fourth’

iii) Fractions *poa* ‘quarter’ *adha/Oddhek* ‘half’ *tin poa* ‘three-fourth’  
*soa* ‘one and quarter’ *dEr* ‘one and half’

In Rajbangsi ‘*kuri*’ is the unit of counting the number across twenty.

e.g. *Ek kuri Ek* ‘twenty-one’  
*Ek kuri dOs* ‘thirty’  
*dui kuri* ‘forty’  
*dui kuri dOs/pOcas* ‘fifty’

### 3.1.5. CLASSIFIER

Classifier in Rajbangsi are used in two variant forms, viz., /*Ta~jOn*/. *-Ta* is used for both personal and impersonal object, but *-jOn* is used for personal object only.

*-Ta* is affixed to the nouns, where as, *-jOn* is affixed to numerals preceding to noun.

E.g.

<i>phOlTa</i>	‘the fruit’	<i>bileiTa</i>	‘the cat’
<i>kukurTa</i>	‘the dog’	<i>beTa chawaTa</i>	‘the boy’
<i>EkjOn mansi</i>	‘one man’	<i>dui jOn beTichawa</i>	‘two girls’

## 3.2. VERB MORPHOLOGY

The verbal system in Rajbangsi is distinguished by six categories, viz., i) Finite Verb, ii) Auxiliary, iii) Causative Verb, iv) Negative Verb, v) Non-finite Verb and vi) Compound Verb.

### 3.2.1. FINITE VERB

The regular verbal system in the category of Finite Verb is realized in 2-tier numbers. 3-tier persons, 4-tier tenses and 2-tier aspects.

Person markers

	Singular	Plural
1 <sup>st</sup> Person	- <i>OM</i> (present) - <i>uM</i> (past)	- <i>i</i> (present) - <i>O</i> (future)
2 <sup>nd</sup> Person	- <i>is</i> (present) - <i>u</i> (future, past)	- <i>en</i> (present) - <i>e</i> (future)
3 <sup>rd</sup> Person	- <i>e</i> (present, future) - <i>ek</i> (past)	- <i>en</i> (present) - <i>e</i> (future) - <i>ek</i> (past)

Tense Markers

Present	- $\emptyset$
Past	- <i>l</i>
Future	- <i>m</i> (I per.) - <i>b</i> (II and III per.)
Conditional	- <i>lek</i> - <i>hOe</i>

The paradigmatic set for the finite verb base *kOr* 'to do' is as follows

Present Indefinite

*kOr* 'to do'                      base + *ten.m.* -  $\emptyset$  + *per.m.* - *num.m.*

Person	Singular	Plural
1 <sup>ST</sup>	<i>kOr</i> - $\emptyset$ - <i>OM</i> > <i>kOrOM</i> 'I do'	<i>kOr</i> - $\emptyset$ - <i>i</i> > <i>kOri</i> 'we do'
2 <sup>nd</sup>	<i>kOr</i> - $\emptyset$ - <i>is</i> > <i>kOris</i> 'you(sg) do'	<i>kOr</i> - $\emptyset$ - <i>en</i> > <i>kOren</i> 'you (pl) do'
3 <sup>rd</sup>	<i>kOr</i> - $\emptyset$ - <i>e</i> > <i>kOre</i> 'he does'	<i>kOr</i> - $\emptyset$ - <i>en</i> > <i>kOren</i> 'they do'

Present Continuous

base + *inf.* + *vb.* *subst.* + *asp.m.* + *tem.m.* + *per.m.* - *num.m.* 'I am doing'

Person	Singular	Plural
1 <sup>st</sup>	<i>kOr-ir-lag/dhOr-</i> <i>c-</i> $\emptyset$ + <i>OM</i> > <i>kOrillagcOM</i> 'I am doing'	<i>kOr-ir-lag-</i> <i>c-</i> $\emptyset$ - <i>i</i> > <i>kOrillagci</i> 'we are eating'
2 <sup>nd</sup>	<i>kOr-ir-lag-</i> <i>c-</i> $\emptyset$ - <i>is</i> > <i>kOrillagcis</i> 'You (sg) are doing'	<i>kOr-ir-lag-</i> <i>c-</i> $\emptyset$ - <i>en</i> > <i>kOrillagcen</i> 'You (pl) are doing'



2 <sup>nd</sup>	<i>kOril lagcilu</i> < <i>kOr-il-lag-c-il-u</i> 'You (sg) were doing'	<i>kOril lagcilen</i> < <i>kOr-il-lag-c-it-in</i> 'You (pl) were doing'
3 <sup>rd</sup>	<i>kOril lagcilo</i> < <i>kOr-il-lag-c-il-O</i> 'He was doing'	<i>kOril lagcilo/lagcilen</i> < <i>kOr-il-lag-c-il-o/en</i> 'They were doing'

The continuity is expressed by the auxiliary element *-lag-*  
Past Perfect

Past perfect form is found in use without the *-lag-* element. Thus,

Person	Singular	Plural
1 <sup>st</sup>	<i>kOril cilOM</i> < <i>kOr-il-c-il-lOM</i> 'I had done'	<i>kOril cilOM</i> < <i>kOr-il-c-il-OM</i> 'We had done'
2 <sup>nd</sup>	<i>kOril cilu</i> < <i>kOr-il-c-il-u</i> 'You (sg) had done'	<i>kOril cilen</i> < <i>kOr-il-c-it-in</i> 'You (pl) had done'
3 <sup>rd</sup>	<i>kOril cilO</i> < <i>kOr-il-c-il-O</i> 'He had done'	<i>kOril cilO/cilen</i> < <i>kOr-il-c-il-o/en</i> 'They had done'

Future Indefinite

*kOr* 'to do' base + ten.m. -b- + per.m. - num.m. 'I shall do'

Person	Singular	Plural
1 <sup>ST</sup>	<i>kOr-im-Ø</i> > <i>kOrim</i> 'I shall do'	<i>kOr-im-O</i> > <i>kO(i) rmO</i> 'We will do'
2 <sup>nd</sup>	<i>kOr-b-u</i> > <i>kOrbu</i> 'You (sg) will do'	<i>kOr-(i)b-en</i> > <i>kO(i) rben</i> 'You (pl) will do'
3 <sup>rd</sup>	<i>kOr-ir-b-e</i> > <i>kO(i) rbe</i> 'He will do'	<i>kOr-ir-b-e</i> > <i>kO(i) rbe</i> 'They will do'

Future continuous

*kOr* 'to do' base + asp.m. + subst.vb.+ ten.m. +per.m. - num.m. 'I shall be doing'

Person	Singular	Plural
1 <sup>st</sup>	<i>kOr-ir-dhOr-im</i> > <i>kOrir dhOrim</i> 'I shall be doing'	<i>kOr-ir-dhOr-im-O</i> > <i>kOrir dhOrimO/dhOr(i) mO</i> 'We will be doing'
2 <sup>nd</sup>	<i>kOr-ir-dhOr-ib-u</i> > <i>kOrir dhOribu</i> 'you (sg) will be doing'	<i>kOr-ir-shOr- b-en</i> > <i>kOrir dhOrben</i> 'You (pl) will be doing'
3 <sup>rd</sup>	<i>kOrir-dhOr-ib-e</i> > <i>kOrir dhO(i)r be</i> 'he will be doing'	<i>kOr-ir-dhOr(i)b-e</i> > <i>kOrir dhOr(i)be</i> <i>dhO (i) r be</i> 'They will be doing'

#### Future Perfect

Person	Singular	Plural
1 <sup>st</sup>	<i>kOrir dhOrimcilOM</i> < <i>kOr-ir-dhOr-im-c-i-lOM</i> 'I shall have done'	<i>kOrir dhOrimcilOM</i> < <i>kOr-ir-dhOr-im-c-il-OM</i> 'We will have done'
2 <sup>nd</sup>	<i>kOrir dhOribcilu</i> < <i>kOr-ir-dhOr-ib-c-il-u</i> 'You (sg) will have done'	<i>kOrir dhOribcilen</i> < <i>kOr-ir-dhOr-ib-c-it-in</i> 'You (pl) will have done'
3 <sup>rd</sup>	<i>kOrir dhOribcilo</i> < <i>kOr-ir- dhOr-ib--c-il-O</i> 'He will have done'	<i>kOrir dhOribcilo/ cilen</i> < <i>kOr-ir-dhOr-ib-c-il-o/en</i> 'They will have done'

### 3.10.1. CAUSATIVE VERB

*dEkhabar* 'to show' base+caus.m.+ten.m.+num.m.

#### Present Indefinite

Person	Singular	Plural
1 <sup>st</sup>	<i>dEkh-a-ϕ -OM</i> > <i>dEkhaOM</i> 'I show'	<i>dEkha- ϕ -i</i> > <i>dEkhai</i> 'We show'
2 <sup>nd</sup>	<i>dEkh-a-ϕ -is</i> > <i>dEkhais</i> 'You (sg.) show'	<i>dEkha- ϕ -en</i> > <i>dEkhaen</i> 'You (pl) show'
3 <sup>rd</sup>	<i>dEkh-a-ϕ -e</i> > <i>dEkhae</i> 'He shows'	<i>dEkh-a- ϕ -en</i> > <i>dEkhaen</i> 'They show'



### Past Indefinite

*dEkhabar* ‘to show’ base+caus.m+ten.m.+per.m.-num.m.

Person	Singular	Plural
1 <sup>st</sup>	<i>dEkh-a-(o)-uM</i> > <i>dEkhaoluM</i> ‘I showed’	<i>dEkh-a-(o)-l-OM</i> > <i>dEkhaolOM</i> ‘We showed’
2 <sup>nd</sup>	<i>dEkh-a-l-u</i> > <i>dEkhalu</i> ‘You (sg) showed’	<i>dEkh-a-l-en</i> > <i>dEkhalen</i> ‘You (pl) showed’
3 <sup>rd</sup>	<i>dEkh-a-l-ek</i> > <i>dEkhalek</i> ‘He showed’	<i>dEkh-a-l-ek/en</i> > <i>dEkhalek/en</i> ‘They showed’

### Future Indefinite

*DEkhabao* ‘to show’ base+caus.m-a-+ten.m.+per.m.-num.m. ‘I shall show’

Person	Singular	Plural
1 <sup>st</sup>	<i>dEkh-aa-im</i> > <i>dEkhaim</i> ‘I shall show’	<i>dEkh-a-im-O</i> > <i>dEkhaimO</i> ‘We will show’
2 <sup>nd</sup>	<i>dEkh-a-ib-u</i> > <i>dEkhaibu</i> ‘You (sg) will show’	<i>dEkh-a-ib-en</i> > <i>dEkhaiben</i> ‘You (pl) will show’
3 <sup>rd</sup>	<i>dEkh-a-ib-e</i> > <i>dEkhaibe</i> ‘He will show’	<i>dEkh-a-ib-e/en</i> > <i>dEkhaiben</i> ‘They will show’

### 3.2.3. NEGATIVE VERB

The negative markers /*na* ~ *nai* ~ *nu*/ are added to the verb base to make negative verbs in Rajbangsi. /*na* ~ *nai*/ are freely variant in use of posting, i.e. in preceding or following the base verb, while, /*nu*-/ always precedes the auxiliary verb in Rajbangsi.

The conjugation of negative verbs is realized in three persons, two numbers and four tenses. e.g.

Present	<i>ja</i>	‘to go’	(1) neg.m.+base+ten.m.+per.m.-num.m.
	<i>kOr</i>	‘to do’	(2) base+ten.m.+per.m.-num.m.+neg.m.

Persons	Singular	Plural
1 <sup>st</sup>	<i>na jaM / jaM na/jaM nai</i> 'I don't go'	<i>na jai / jai na / jai nai</i> 'We don't go'
	<i>kOrOM na</i> 'I don't do'	<i>kOri na</i> 'We don't do'
2 <sup>nd</sup>	<i>na jais/jais nai/jais na</i> 'You(sg.) don't go'	<i>na jaof/jao na/jao nai</i> 'You (pl.) don't go'
	<i>kOris na</i> 'You (sg.) don't do'	<i>kOren na</i> 'You(pl.) don't do'
3 <sup>rd</sup>	<i>na jae/ jae na /jae nai/</i> 'He does not go'	<i>na jae / jae na / jae nai</i> 'They don't go'
	<i>kOre na</i> 'He does not do'	<i>kOren na / kOre na</i> 'They don't do'
Past	<i>ja</i> 'to go'	
Person	Singular	Plural
1 <sup>st</sup>	<i>geluM na / gelOM nai</i> 'I didn't go'	<i>gelOM na/gelOM nai</i> 'We didn't go'
	<i>kOrluM na</i> 'I did not do'	<i>kOrlOM na</i> 'We did not do'
2 <sup>nd</sup>	<i>gelu nai</i> 'You(sg.) did not go'	<i>gelen na /gelen nai</i> 'You(pl.) did not go'
	<i>kOrlu na</i> 'You(sg.)did not do'	<i>kOrlen na</i> 'You(pl.) did not do'
3 <sup>rd</sup>	<i>na gel / gel nai /</i> 'He/she did not go'	<i>gelen na/nai</i> 'They did not go'
	<i>kOrlek nai</i> 'He did not do'	<i>kOrelen na</i> 'They did not do'
Future		
<i>ja</i>	'to go'	(i) neg+base + ten.m.-m-b+per.m.-num.m. (ii) base+ten.m.+per.m.-num.m.+neg.m.

Person	Singular	Plural
1 <sup>st</sup>	<i>na jaim /jaim nai</i> 'I shall not go'	<i>na jamO / jamO na</i> 'We shall not go'
2 <sup>nd</sup>	<i>na jabu / jabu na</i> 'You(sg.) will not go'	<i>na jabe / jaben / jabe na</i> 'You (pl.) will not go'
3 <sup>rd</sup>	<i>na jabe / jabe na</i> 'He/she will not go'	<i>na jabe / jabe na</i> 'They will not go'

#### Conditional

*kOr* 'to do' base+ten.m.-l-+per.m.-num.m.-neg.m. + aux.vb.

Person	Singular	Plural
1 <sup>st</sup>	<i>kOrluM na hOe</i> 'I would not have done'	<i>kOrlOM na hOe</i> 'we would not have done'
2 <sup>nd</sup>	<i>kOrlu na hOe</i> 'you(sg.) would not have done'	<i>kOrlen na hOe</i> 'you(pl.) would not have done'
3 <sup>rd</sup>	<i>kOrlek na hOe</i> 'he/she would not have done'	<i>kOrlek na hOe / kOrlen na hOe</i> 'they would not have done'

#### Negative Auxiliary

neg. + *ho* 'to be' neg.m. +base+ten.m. +per.m.-num.m.

#### Present

Person	Singular	Plural
1 <sup>st</sup>	<i>na hOM / hOM nai</i> 'I am not'	<i>hOimo na / na hOimo</i> 'We are not'
2 <sup>nd</sup>	<i>na hois / hois na</i> 'You(sg.) are not'	<i>na hOn</i> 'You(pl.) are not'
3 <sup>rd</sup>	<i>na hOe / nu ae</i> 'He/she is not'	<i>na hOe / nu ae</i> 'They are not'

Past

<i>ho</i>	‘to be’	neg.+base+ten.m.-num.m.	
Person		Singular	Plural
1 <sup>st</sup>		<i>hoiluM/aciluM/ciluM na</i> ‘I was not’	<i>hoilOM/acilOM/cilOM na</i> ‘We were not’
2 <sup>nd</sup>		<i>hoilu/acilu/ cilu na</i> ‘You(sg.) were not’	<i>hoilen / acilen / cilen na</i> ‘You (pl.) were not’
3 <sup>rd</sup>		<i>hOilek / acilek /cilek na</i> ‘He/she was not’	<i>hoilek / hoilen / acilen/cilen na</i> ‘They were not’

Future

<i>ho</i>	‘to be’		
Person		Singular	Plural
1 <sup>st</sup>		<i>na hOim / hOim na</i> ‘I shall not be’	<i>hOimu na</i> ‘We shall not be’
2 <sup>nd</sup>		<i>hObu na</i> ‘You(sg.) will not be’	<i>hoiben na</i> ‘You(pl.) will not be’
3 <sup>rd</sup>		<i>hObe na</i> ‘He/She will not be’	<i>hoibe na</i> ‘They will not be’

### 3.2.3. NON-FINITE VERB

Infinitive

The Infinitive markers in Rajbangsi are as follows

- |     |            |               |           |              |           |
|-----|------------|---------------|-----------|--------------|-----------|
| i)  | <i>-ir</i> | <i>kOrir</i>  | ‘to do’   | <i>asir</i>  | ‘to come’ |
| ii) | <i>-ar</i> | <i>aisar</i>  | ‘to come’ | <i>jabar</i> | ‘to go’   |
|     |            | <i>dEkhar</i> | ‘to see’  |              |           |

Verbal Noun

- |     |             |               |              |              |                |            |          |
|-----|-------------|---------------|--------------|--------------|----------------|------------|----------|
| i)  | <i>-a</i>   | <i>khaoa</i>  | ‘eating’     | <i>jaoa</i>  | ‘going’        | <i>asa</i> | ‘coming’ |
| ii) | <i>-bar</i> | <i>khabar</i> | ‘for eating’ | <i>anbar</i> | ‘for bringing’ |            |          |

## Participle

It is of two types viz., i) Present and ii) Past

### i) Present Participle

*-i dekhi* 'seeing'    *kOri* 'doing'    *thaki* 'lying'    *bOsi* 'sitting'  
*-a khara* 'standing'    *caya* 'looking'

### ii) Past Participle

*-te uae asate* 'having come'    *lagaite* 'having engaged'  
*-at dEkhat bhal* 'having been looked good'  
*-ia dhOria* 'having continued'    *maria* 'having killed'

## Gerund

*-be asbe buli* 'scheduled to come'  
*-bar mui asibar agOt* 'before my coming'  
*khavar* 'eating'  
*jabar* 'going'  
*-na mui bOisna nahOile* 'without my sitting'  
*-a Taka nEoa* 'taking of money'

### 3.2.4 COMPOUND VERB

Compound verb in Rajbangsi are formed in two ways, viz,

- i) Noun + Verb (finite)
- ii) Infinitive Verb + Finite Verb

#### i) Noun + Finite Verb

*pOsOndO kOra* 'to like'  
*kamai kOra* 'to earn'  
*kaj kOra* 'to work'  
*kOtha kOoa* 'to talk'  
*gan gaoa* 'to sing'  
*tiari hOoa* 'to be ready'

#### ii) Participle + Finite Verb

*chari dEoa* 'to forsake / to leave'  
*khujj paoa* 'to search out'  
*douri jaoa* 'to run'

### 3.2.5. ADVERBS

Rajbangsi is enriched with three types of adverbial forms, viz.,

- i) Adverb of time     *dinaM* ‘daily’     *sOdae* ‘always’     *aji/aij* ‘today’  
                                 *kali/kail* ‘tomorrow’     *kOkhOn* ‘when’
- iii) Adverb of Place     *oTe/oTekona* ‘there’     *pakhe* ‘near’     *eTe* ‘here’  
                                 *pachOt* ‘behind’     *nice* ‘down’     *upre* ‘upwords’
- iii) Adverb of manner     *aste aste* ‘gradually’     *pOc kOri* ‘fast, quick’  
                                 *Top kOri* ‘soon’     *kEMkOri* ‘how’  
                                 *barbar* ‘again’

### 3.2.6. PARTICLES

Following are the particles used in Rajbangsi speech. e.g.

- i) Negative     *na ~ nai ~ nu* ‘not’  
ii) Affirmative     *hE* ‘yes’  
iii) Additive     *ar* ‘and’     *kintuk* ‘but’     *jodi/jedu* ‘if’     *taile* ‘then’  
iv) Emphatic     *-O* ‘also’     *mohit* ‘at all’     *-i* ‘definitely, surely’  
v) Adverbial     *mOddhyOt* ‘within’     *bhitOrOt* ‘in’     *bair* ‘out’  
                                 *upre* ‘over’     *pore* ‘after’  
                                 *pachOt* ‘behind’     *dike* ‘towards’

### 3.2.7. INTERJECTION

The use of interjection in Rajbangsi is very much in vogue. Following are the words denoting interjection.

- uh!*     ‘a note of sorrow’  
*accha!*     ‘well/good’  
*kijun!*     ‘what else’  
*is!*     ‘a sound of grief’  
*huna!*     ‘indeed’  
*bahe!*     ‘you fellow’  
*ah!*     ‘note of irritation’  
*vaccat!*     ‘suddenly’

### 3.2.8 ONOMATOPOETIC WORDS

The Interjectional words denoting onomatopoeic are as follows

<i>sipsipani jhOri</i>	‘dizzling rain’
<i>TOnTOna rod</i>	‘hot sunshine’
<i>hulhula batas</i>	‘wind blowing forcefully’
<i>bhoi bhoia jonak</i>	‘very bright moonlight’
<i>hukhukia kanda</i>	‘cry loudly on separation’

### 3.2.9. BALANCE WORDS

Following are balanced words available in Rajbangsi speech into i) Nominal, ii) Adjectival and iii) verbal

i) Nominal -	<i>ghOrbari/barighOr</i>	‘house’
	<i>gOynagati</i>	‘ornaments’
	<i>kaj kam</i>	‘works’
	<i>bari ghOr</i>	‘house’
	<i>Taka pOisa</i>	‘money’
	<i>kacca bacca</i>	‘babies’
	<i>mansi dunsu</i>	‘men’
	<i>phOl pakOr</i>	‘fruits’
	<i>dOya maya</i>	‘mercy, kindness, sympathy’
ii) Adjectival	<i>mEnmEna lok</i>	‘very timid’
	<i>bhalo mOndo</i>	‘good and bad’
iii) Verbal	<i>ana gona</i>	‘coming and going’
	<i>dEoa thoa</i>	‘giving’
	<i>cOlacOl</i>	‘coming to and fro’
	<i>khonda khundi</i>	‘to show anger’
	<i>hulahuli</i>	‘dashing and pushing’ with one another

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## 4. SYNTAX

Rajbangsi sentences may be categorized into the following groups:

i) Simple, (ii) Compound and (iii) Complex.

### 4.1. SIMPLE SENTENCE

Simple sentence in Rajbangsi is comprised of Subject + Predicate (S+V) where the subject being represented by nominals, i.e., noun, pronoun or noun phrase, heads the sentence while the predicate is having finite verb, adverb, verb phrase, adjective and adjectival phrase, noun phrase as the constituents follow the subject.

Below are presented the order of words and phrases of simple sentences

	Subject (n:n+n)	+	Predicate (v:n +v)	
Pattern I	n	+	v	
	<i>kukur</i>		<i>bhuke</i>	‘the dog barks’
	<i>chawaTa</i>		<i>dEkhe</i>	‘the child sees’
Pattern II	N/Pronoun (PN)(+nu) + n/adj. + n		+	n.
	<i>maiaTar</i>	<i>khāca</i>		‘wife’s basket’
	<i>eiTa</i>	<i>EkTa kukur</i>		‘this is a dog’
Pattern III	adv.+(nu+) n/PN	+	v	
	<i>eTe EkTa kukur</i>		<i>ace</i>	‘Here is a dog’
	<i>oTe Ekjura bilei</i>		<i>ace</i>	‘There are two cats’
Pattern IV	n/PN + n	+	v	
	<i>mui ghOrOt</i>		<i>acOM</i>	‘I am in the house’
	<i>bETa chawaTa boi</i>		<i>pOre</i>	‘The boy reads the book’
Pattern V	n/PN + adv.	+	v	
	<i>gariTa aste aste</i>		<i>cOle</i>	‘The car moves slowly’
	<i>mui dinaM gai</i>	<i>seki</i>		‘I milk the cow everyday’
Pattern VI	n.ph./n +	vp.		
	<i>gOch thaki pata</i>	<i>pORi jabar dhOrce</i>		‘The leaves fall from the tree’
	<i>gOchOt pOkhi</i>	<i>bOse</i>		‘the bird sits on the tree’



## 4.2. COMPOUND SENTENCE

Like other Indo-Aryan speech, in Rajbangsi also the compound sentences are formed with the use of additive particles, where, two or more independent clauses are conjoined by additive markers such as /-ar-/ ‘and’ and /-kintuk-/ ‘but’

*kauani dekTa sunar mala ThoTOt kOri gOchOt aste aste uri gel, ar, malaTa oi saper khalOt rakhil.*

‘The mother crow taking the golden chain by beak slowly flew to that tree and kept the necklace in the pit of the snake.’

*bhodai ghOriialTa bandorTak barit nei gel, ar, bandorTa Ek jhape gOchOt cOrlek.*

‘The fool crocodile took the monkey to home and the monkey jumped up on the tree’.

*ei jamgula khabar bhal, kintuk, mui suncuM bandorer kOlIjaTa eMar caea khub bhal*

‘The berries are good in taste, but, I heard that the heart of the monkey is far more better than there’.

## 4.3. COMPLEX SENTENCE

Complex sentences in Rajbangsi consist of two or more clauses of which one is principal clause, and remaining being dependent clauses.

The dependent clauses may be grouped under three heads such as, i) Nominal clause, ii) Adverbial clause and iii) Adjectival clause.

Nominal clause

Where dependent clause acts as a noun for example,

uae asate                      hamra khub khusi hOicOM:  
n. cl.                              p. cl.

‘That he came made us happy’

mui suncuM                      uae EkjOn ponDit  
p. cl.                              n. cl.

‘I heard that he is a teacher’

*mui* janOM *kae* *kae* *jaibe*  
 p. cl. n. cl.  
 ‘I know who will go’

### Adverbial Clause

Where dependent clause serves as an adverb for example,

*mui* *boisna* *na* *hoile* *eTa* *kOrir* *paluM* *na* *hOe*  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 adv. cl. p. cl.  
 ‘If I had not sat upon, I would not have done this work’

*mui* *jOkhOn* *gecuM* *uae* *tOkhOn* *nind* *dhOrcilO*  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 adv. cl. p. cl.  
 ‘When I went there he then started sleeping’

*jedu* *nae* *pORlek,* *ta’le* *uae* *pas* *kORlek* *hOe*  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 adv. cl. p. cl.  
 ‘If he would study, he would succeed’

### Adjectival Clause

Where the dependent clause acts as an adjective for example,

*uae* *jeTa* *dhOri* *ace* *OTa* *mor*  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 adj. cl. p. cl.  
 ‘The thing which he is holding is mine’

*je* *cEmra* *Ta* *khabar* *lagce* *uae* *mor* *bETa*  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 adj. cl. p. cl.  
 ‘The boy who is eating is my son’

*mui* *jak* *Taka* *diluM* *uae* *tomar* *bETa*  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 adj. cl. p. cl.  
 ‘He whom I gave the money is your son’

*TebuOr* *upOrOt* *je* *boiTa* *ace* *oTa* *mor*  
 ‘The book which is on the table is mine’

## PATTERN OF SENTENCES

### 4.4. NEGATIVE SENTENCES

The negative sentences in Rajbangsi are formed as the following.  
Example

i) NP + neg.m. + v.

*oTa mor kaj nu ay* 'It is not my work'  
NP neg.m. v.

*jodi umrae oTa na cae taile mok dEn*  
NP neg.m. v. NP pr.v.  
'If they do not want that give it to me'

*mui boisna na hoile eTa kOrir paluM na hOe*  
NP neg.m. v. pron. inf.vb. neg.m. ft. vb.  
'If I had not sat upon, I would not have done this work.'

*mor kaj kOrir na lage*  
NP inf.vb. neg.m. ft. vb.  
'I do not have to work'.

iii) NP + ft. vb. + neg.m.

*ei kamai nae kOre na*  
NP ft. vb. neg.m.  
'He has not done the work'.

*mui aela paM na*  
NP vb. neg.m.  
'I am not ready'

*kaMOe eTa kOrir paibe na*  
NP inf.vb. ft. vb. neg.m.  
'Nobody can do this work'

*mui ei kamaI kOrOM na*  
 NP ft. vb. neg.m.  
 ‘I do not do this work’

*amar jabar kOtha chilo, kintuk hamra jai nai*  
 NP ft. vb. neg.m.  
 ‘We had to go but we did not go.’

*mui jaim na*  
 pr. ft.vb. neg.m.  
 ‘I shall not go.’

iii) NP + neg.m.  
*mor sOte kichui nai*  
 NP neg.m.  
 ‘I have nothing with me’

*tor kag kOrir dOrkar nai*  
 NP neg.m.  
 ‘You (sg.) do not have to work’.

#### 4.5. INTERROGATIVE SENTENCES

Interrogative sentences in Rajbangsi are formed with the addition of interrogative markers to the simple sentences. Interrogative markers, as a whole, are used in three varieties viz.,

Nominal *kae* ‘who’, *ki* ‘what’, *kar* ‘whose’  
 Adjectival *konTa*  
 Adverbial *koTe*, *kEn*, *kOkhOn*, *kEM kOri/kEmne*

The occurrences of Nominal interrogative markers are generally found in final position and in medial position.

<i>oiTa ki ?</i>	‘what is that?’
<i>uMae kae ?</i>	‘who is he?’
<i>umrae barit ace ki ?</i>	‘Are they at home?’
<i>tor nam ki ?</i>	‘What is your name?’
<i>tor ki barighOr nai ?</i>	‘Have you got no house?’
<i>tor mOto mansik kae Taka dibe ?</i>	‘Who will give money to a man like you?’
<i>eiTak ki kOe?</i>	‘What is this called?’

The Adjectival and the adverbial interrogative markers generally occur medially in a sentence. e.g.

*tui kon amTa khabu ?*  
Which mango will you eat ?

*mor bade kon jamaTa tui kinlis ?*  
Which frock you purchased for me ?

*uMae koTe thaki acce ?*  
Where has he come from ?

*tui koTe thakis ?*  
Where do you live ?

*uMae kOkhOn asce ?*  
When did he come ?

*tui kEne jabar dhOrcis ?*  
Why are you going ?

*mui kaene jaim ?*  
Why should I go ?

#### 4.6. IMPERATIVE SENTENCES

Imperative sentences in Rajbangsi speech as in other Indo-Aryan languages, are formed in second person denoting order, instruction, request etc. where subject is generally embedded in the sentence itself. e.g.

- i) On instruction / order

*juir kacOt jaisna*  
'Do not go near fire'

*mor agOt khara hobu na*  
'Don't stand in front of me'

*micaM kois na*  
'Do not tell a lie'

- ii) On request

*mok dOya kOri Ek gelas jOl dEn*  
'Please give me a glass of water'.

#### 4.7. CAUSATIVE SENTENCES

Causative sentences in Rajbangsi are formed by using causative verbs derived from simple verb. Following are the causative sentences. For instance

*mui uMak / uak dia gan kOraM*  
'I make her sing a song.'

*tui for chawaTak kuaibar lagcis*  
'You are feeding your child.'

*uae mok rasta dEkhae*  
'He shows me the way'.

#### 4.8. PASSIVE SENTENCES

Passive sentences in Rajbangsi are of two types viz.,

- i) Passive sentences with the use of *dara / dia* 'by'
- ii) Passive sentences without *dara / dia* 'by'

For example

- i) *ei kamaiTa mor dara / mok dia hoybe na*  
'This work will not be done by me'

*uMar dara bioTa pOrar hOoat dhora*  
'The book is being read by him'

*uMar kOlsiTa uMar boiner dara nEoa hoyl*  
'Her water pot is lifted by her sister'.

- ii) *ganTa gaoa hOe*  
'The song is sung'

*uMar pOkhiTak mara lage*  
'He should kill the bird'.

*tor jaoa lage*  
'You are to go / you should go'

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*The report has been updated and finalized by Dr. Kakali Mukherjee, Assistant Registrar General (L) based on the devised LSI-Report writing format.*

**RAJBANGSI  
TEXT**

*kEM kori kaua ar kauani kala sapTak maril*  
How the Crow and she Crow black snake killed

*EkTa kaua ar EkTa kauani EkTa bOro bOTgOchOt bhasa bandhia rOe.*  
one crow and one wife crow on a big banyan tree nest make and lived.  
'Among the spreading branches of a banyan tree lived a crow and his wife.'

*oi bhasat cariTa Dimagula khub bhalo kOria pOhOra dEe.*  
that nest four Eggs great care fully guarded.  
'In the nest were four little eggs, which the parents guarded with great care'

*oiTa bOTgOcher gorOt EkTa kala sap rOe kauagula jak dekhile hatas khae*  
that banyan tree hollow a black snake lived the crows whom see feared greatly  
'In a hollow of that tree-trunk lived a black snake whom the crows feared greatly'

*pOtyekbare sapTa sOlsOl kOria jaea oi kauar Dimagula khae.*  
every time the snake crawled up go that crow's eggs ate.  
'Every time the crow-hen laid their eggs the snake crawled up to the nest and ate them up'

*tOkhOn kauani kauaTak kOe "ebar jodi Dimagula sapTa khae,*  
that time she crow husband told "this time if eggs snake eat

*hamra bhasaTae nO reya OnyO gOchOt bhasa bandhimu."*  
we in the nest not live another tree nest will build.  
'If the black snake eats up my eggs this time also, we must build our nest somewhere else'

*tOkhOn kaua kauanik kOe, "hamra kOto din dhOria eTekona aCi,*  
That time Crow she crow told, "we how many days here lived

*mui ar konoThe jaim na."*  
I further elsewhere will don't go  
'We have lived here a long time, I can't bear to go live elsewhere –"said the crow to the female crow".'

*umra duijOne jOkhOn eila kOtha kOe tOkhOn umra phosphosani sObdO*  
we two while this words talking that time we hissing sound

*pael*  
heard  
'While they were talking, they heard a hissing sound just below them'

*umra bujhil eiTa saper sosani.*  
they knew this is snake sound  
'They knew what the sound meant'

*umra bhOe paia bhasat Dimagula pOh Ora dEe.*  
they in feared in nest eggs trying to protect.  
'They sat helplessly in their nest trying to protect their eggs'

*oi kala sapTa sOlsOl kOria jaea kaua duTak Thokae.*  
that black snake higher and closer went to crow tried to strike.  
'The black snake crept higher and closer to the nest and tried to strike at the birds.'

*kauala tOkhOn uri gel, ar, oi kala sapTa EkTa EkTa kOri Dimala khae phElal.*  
then that time flew away, and, that black snake one by one eggs swallowed.  
'The the birds flew away and one by one, the black snake swallowed all the eggs.'

*kauaTa asia dekhilek je bhasa khali tOkhOn kauaTa cinta kOril je*  
the crow came back saw that nest empty that time the crow thought that

*sapTak je kono rastae mari phEla lagbe.*  
to snake any way it destroyed to be  
'The parents came back sadly to their nest knowing well that they would find it empty. The crow said, 'I must find a way to destroy this murderous snake'.

*kauani bhOe kOe, "kEM kOri tui maribu, mui disae paMna."*  
she crow with feared said, "how do you killed I cannot understand"  
'How can you ever fight him?' said the female crow in fear'

*kaua kOe, "tui cinta kOris na, mor EkTa bOndhu aCe uae une mari pabe."*  
crow said "you don't worry, my one friend has he it's can destroyed  
'Don't worry, my dear, I've got a friend who can destroy this snake' - said the crow'

*ei kOtha kOya/kOea uMae uar bOndhu sialer Te gel*  
this fact telling he his friend jackel flew away  
'Telling this he flew off to his friend, to the Jackal'

*sial sObgula kOtha sunel ar kOil, "bOndhu! tui kono cinta koris na.*  
Jackel all fact heard and he said, My friend, you don't worried

*jegular dOyamaya nai umar sEse khub kharap hOe, mui Ekta rasta bair kOrcuM."*  
who kind not they end very bad will, I've a plan decided.  
'The jackal heard all fact and told-'my friend, don't worry, who are cruel always meet with a bad end.'



*kauTa tOkhOn sialOk kOil, "mok sei rastar kOthaTa kOo"*  
the crow then to Jackel said me that plan tell  
'Oh do tell me what it is' – said the crow'

*sial tOkhOn kauaTak phusphus kOria kanOt koil kEM kOria sapTak marib.*  
jackel then to crow whispered to his ear said how snake destroy.  
'Then the jackal whispered to his friend what he should do to destroy the snake'

*kauaTa tOkhOn ghuri jaea kauanitak sapTak maribar buddhi kOil.*  
the crow then flew back wife crow the snake to destroy plan told  
'The crow flew back to his wife and told her about the plan'

*kauaTa kauaniTak kOe, "eiTa EkTa bhOer kOtha. khub cinta kOria*  
he crow wife crow told it is a risky plan with great thought

*kajTa kOra lagbe."*  
this work will done  
'It is rather risky' – said the crow to wife, 'we will have to be very careful'

*kauaniTa tOkhOn kauaTak kOil, "mor Dimagula bacabar lagi mok jeTa*  
she crow that time he crow said my eggs to save for me which

*kOribar kOn mui sEiTai kOrim."*  
done anything I that will do.  
'I will do anything to save my eggs – said the mother bird brvely'

*tOkhOn umra rajar barit uria gel.*  
that time they palace towards flew away  
'So off hey flew towards the palace of the king of the country'.

*umra jei gOchTat thake, rajarbari tar OlpOkena dur.*  
they that tree lived the palace was little distance.  
'The palace was not far from the tree in which they lived'

*umra rajarbarir pachpakhe phulbarit jaea dekhil je rajarbarir ceMrigula*  
they palace near garden went saw where palace royal ladies

*dighit gao dhoe.*  
big pond having bath  
'They approached a big pond in the palace garden where they saw the royal ladies having a bath'

*oila ceMrila gOinagaTi dighir parOt rakhia gao dhoe.*  
that royal ladies jewelery pond edge laid and had bath

‘They had laid their golden chains, pearl necklaces and other jewellery on the edge of the pond’.

*tOkhOn kauani EkTa sunar mala ThoTOt kOri gOchOt aste aste uri gel,*  
hat time she crow one golden chain picked up beak slowly flew away

*ar, malaTa oi saper khalOt rakhil.*

and, chain that snake hollow was kept.

‘The mother bird flew down, picked up a gold chain in her beak and started flying slowly towards the tree in which she lived’

*pOhOradar dekhia kauaTar paCe paCe dourail ar khalTat*  
Guard saw crow hen following and running and hollow.

‘When the palace guards saw the bird flying off with the gold chain they took up their clubs and chased the bird.’

*jOkhOn hat Dhukail tOkhOn Ekta kala sap phos kOria uThil.*  
when hand putting inside that time one black snake with hissing sound came out

*tOkhOn pOhOradar laThi dia sapTak maria phElail.*

that time guard stick by the snake killed

‘When he put his hand inside the hole to get the chain he saw a black snake curled up and with one stroke of stick the snake was killed’

*TarpOre kaua ar kauani chawagula nia sukhe rOe / din kaTae.*

After he crow and she crow with children lived happily there days.

‘The crow and crow hen lived in that tree happily afterwards and had many little baby crows’.

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**NEPALI**  
**S.P. SRIVASTAVA**

**1. INTRODUCTION**

Nepali is one of the 22 Scheduled languages of the Indian Republic. It is spoken mainly in West Bengal, Assam, Sikkim and other states of India.

**1.1 FAMILY AFFILIATION**

According to G.A. Grierson's *Linguistic Survey of India* (Vol-III, Part-I), Nepali belongs to the Indo-Aryan subfamily, and within this subfamily to the Eastern Pahari group of languages.

**1.2 LOCATION**

In India, the major concentration of Nepali speakers is in the state of West Bengal; to be precise, they are dominant in strength in three sub-divisions – namely, Darjeeling, Kalimpong and Kurseong – of Darjeeling District of West Bengal, apart from their presence (not insignificant) all over the country. Of course Nepali is the first major language in the state of Sikkim.

**1.3 SPEAKERS' STRENGTH: LANGUAGE – MOTHER TONGUE**

As stated above, the Nepali language is mainly spoken in Darjeeling district of West Bengal, strength-wise, followed by Assam and Sikkim, the two contiguous regions. In other states of the country, they have a reasonable numerical strength. Besides the states of West Bengal, Assam and Sikkim, their strength is quite appreciable in Uttar Pradesh and Bihar also. Their strength as available in different Censuses of India has been charted below.

Major distributioin of Speakers of Nepali as a Language, as a Mother Tongue and as a Language of Bilingualism in India as a whole and in other States as well as in West Bengal and its districts is presented as per 2001 Census data on Language.

## Nepali as a Language

Language	India/states/union territory	Person	Male	Female	<u>Rural</u>	Urban
Nepali	INDIA	2,871,749	1,534,746	1,337,003	2,130,528	741,221
	West Bengal	1,022,725	514,596	508,129	776,257	246,468
	Assam	564,790	293,122	271,668	503,057	61,733
	Sikkim	338,606	174,068	164,538	307,545	31,061
	Uttar Pradesh	263,982	145,106	118,876	204,364	59,618
	Arunachal Pradesh	94,919	52,276	42,643	70,186	24,733
	Uttaranchal	91,047	54,655	36,392	58,059	32,988
	Himachal Pradesh	70,272	42,346	27,926	57,682	12,590
	Maharashtra	63,480	41,028	22,452	7,279	56,201
	Meghalaya	52,155	28,385	23,770	21,095	31,060
	Manipur	45,998	24,539	21,459	41,763	4,235
	Delhi#	44,367	27,997	16,370	3,042	41,325
	Nagaland	34,222	19,347	14,875	19,938	14,284
	Haryana	20,362	13,899	6,463	8,394	11,968
	Punjab	19,778	13,328	6,450	7,556	12,222
	Bihar	18,763	9,861	8,902	13,592	5,171
	Jharkhand	17,326	9,558	7,768	2,065	15,261
	Gujarat	17,123	11,336	5,787	3,813	13,310
	Madhya Pradesh	10,923	6,778	4,145	983	9,940
	Rajasthan	10,569	7,225	3,344	2,913	7,656
Karnataka	10,038	6,661	3,377	2,987	7,051	

Language	<u>States/Districts</u>	Person	Male	Female	<u>Rural</u>	Urban
Nepali	WEST BENGAL	1022725	514596	508129	776257	246468
	Darjiling	739830	370330	369500	559766	180064
	Jalpaiguri	234500	116839	117661	204908	29592
	Kolkata	12492	7249	5243	0	12492

## Nepali as a Mother Tongue

Mother Tongue	India/states/union territory	Person	Male	Female	<u>Rural</u>	Urban
Nepali	INDIA	2,867,922	1,532,651	1,335,271	2,127,795	740,127
	West Bengal	1,022,683	514,577	508,106	776,225	246,458
	Assam	564,734	293,091	271,643	503,013	61,721
	Sikkim	338,603	174,066	164,537	307,542	31,061
	Uttar Pradesh	263,935	145,073	118,862	204,343	59,592
	Arunachal Pradesh	94,895	52,264	42,631	70,167	24,728
	Uttaranchal	91,032	54,648	36,384	58,052	32,980
	Himachal Pradesh	70,013	42,232	27,781	57,427	12,586

Maharashtra	63,263	40,918	22,345	7,246	56,017
Meghalaya	52,154	28,385	23,769	21,095	31,059
Manipur	45,995	24,536	21,459	41,760	4,235
Delhi#	44,295	27,953	16,342	3,032	41,263
Nagaland	34,205	19,336	14,869	19,938	14,267
Haryana	20,342	13,889	6,453	8,383	11,959
Punjab	19,767	13,322	6,445	7,545	12,222
Jharkhand	17,176	9,478	7,698	1,929	15,247
Gujarat	17,102	11,323	5,779	3,807	13,295
Bihar	16,003	8,331	7,672	11,489	4,514
Madhya Pradesh	10,891	6,757	4,134	972	9,919
Rajasthan	10,557	7,217	3,340	2,907	7,650
Karnataka	10,032	6,656	3,376	2,983	7,049

Mother Tongue	States/Districts	Person	Male	Female	<u>Rural</u>	Urban
Nepali	WEST BENGAL	1022683	514577	508106	776225	246458
	Darjiling	739821	370326	369495	559757	180064
	Jalpaiguri	234489	116833	117656	204898	29591
	Kolkata	12484	7246	5238	0	12484

#### 1.4. Nepali as a language of bilingualism and trilingualism.

The incidence of bilingualism among the Nepali speakers is very prominent, maybe because of their being one of the most moveable communities in the country, in search of employment. The facts available on record noted during census of India 1971, 1981, 1991 and 2001 (Bilingualism Tables shown below) suggest that the Nepalese are by and large bilinguals in Hindi followed by Assamese, Bengali and English respectively.

The latest figures available record that the Nepalese are at the fifth position among the bilingual speakers at the national level. 52.81% of their total strength registered as bilinguals and 22.54% as trilinguals at the pan-Indian level; in West Bengal, 44.51% of their strength registered as bilinguals and 18.29% as trilinguals.

Language	India/State	Total Speakers	Bi- Linguals			Tri-Linguals		
			Mono-Linguals	Total	Language of bilingualism	of Strength	Total	Language of Trilingualism
NEPALI	India	2871749	1355057	1516692			647297	
				ASSAMESE	325989			
							HINDI	149797
							ENGLISH	10187
							BENGALI	4083
							BODO	581
							KARBI / MIKIR	242
							OTHERS	194
							SANSKRIT	155
							KHASI	136
							MIRI/MISHING	120
							GARO	78
							ORIYA	40
							MANIPURI	29
							AO	29
							ANGAMI	18
							CHAKRU/CHOKRI	18
							LALUNG	12
							LOTHA	11
							SANTALI	9
							RENGMA	9
							URDU	7
							ADI	7
							TANGSA	7
							SEMA	6
							RABHA	5
							ZELIANG	5
							KURUKH/ORAOON	4
							LUSHAI/MIZO	4
							MONPA	4
							KONKANI	3
							CHANG	3
							KONYAK	3
							MUNDA	3
							KANNADA	2
							PUNJABI	2
							TELUGU	2
							DEORI	2
							DIMASA	2
							LIMBU	2
							NISSI/DAFLA	2

		PHOM	2
		TAMANG	2
		GUJARATI	1
		BISHNUPURIYA	1
		KUKI	1
		LAHNDA	1
		MISHMI	1
		MUNDARI	1
BENGALI	57705		
		HINDI	28167
		ENGLISH	3938
		ASSAMESE	794
		OTHERS	72
		TRIPURI	42
		GARO	35
		BODO	30
		ORIYA	24
		PUNJABI	21
		KHASI	21
		LUSHAI/MIZO	15
		URDU	7
		TELUGU	6
		MANIPURI	5
		MARATHI	4
		SANTALI	4
		BHOTIA	3
		TIBETAN	3
		MALAYALAM	2
		SANSKRIT	2
		TAMIL	2
		KARBI / MIKIR	2
		KURUKH/ORAOON	2
		LEPCHA	2
		LIMBU	2
		TAMANG	2
		ARABIC/ARBI	1
		BISHNUPURIYA	1
		DIMASA	1
		SHERPA	1
HINDI	869261		
		ENGLISH	145017
		ASSAMESE	53606
		BENGALI	47834
		MARATHI	7728
		MANIPURI	6854
		GUJARATI	2244
		PUNJABI	1976
		KHASI	1906



ORIYA	1603
LUSHAI/MIZO	1441
OTHERS	1186
TELUGU	927
SANSKRIT	677
KANNADA	637
GARO	514
TAMIL	430
URDU	419
TIBETAN	221
BHOTIA	212
KONKANI	205
TAMANG	200
DOGRI	177
MALAYALAM	173
LEPCHA	146
MAITHILI	126
LIMBU	121
ADI	119
RAI	117
SHERPA	114
MONPA	100
BODO	89
KARBI / MIKIR	66
ARABIC/ARBI	46
NISSI/DAFLA	38
KURUKH/ORAOON	24
DIMASA	21
GONDI	16
KASHMIRI	15
SANTALI	15
MISHMI	15
ANGAMI	14
LADAKHI	13
AO	12
CHANG	11
SINDHI	10
HO	10
LOTHA	10
MUNDARI	10
MUNDA	9
MIRI/MISHING	6
SANGTAM	6
TANGKHUL	6
LALUNG	5
PARJI	5
PHOM	5
KONYAK	4

		KUKI	4
		VAIPHEI	4
		WANCHO	4
		YIMCHUNGRE	4
		KINNAURI	3
		LAHAULI	3
		NICOBARESE	3
		RABHA	3
		RENGMA	3
		SEMA	3
		BALTI	2
		BHILI/BHILODI	2
		CHAKHESANG	2
		KHARIA	2
		TANGSA	2
		THADO	2
		TRIPURI	2
		CHAKRU/CHOKRI	1
		KHEZHA	1
		KHOND/KONDH	1
		MALTO	1
		MARAM	1
		NOCTE	1
		PAITE	1
		TULU	1
		ZEMI	1
MANIPURI	9500		
		HINDI	4989
		ENGLISH	678
		ASSAMESE	21
		TANGKHUL	14
		KUKI	12
		THADO	12
		BENGALI	8
		LUSHAI/MIZO	4
		MARAM	4
		KOM	2
		PAITE	2
		VAIPHEI	2
		GUJARATI	1
		ORIYA	1
		ANAL	1
		HMAR	1
		LIANGMEI	1
		OTHERS	1
BHOTIA	1001		
		HINDI	234
		ENGLISH	92

		LEPCHA	17
		LIMBU	3
		SHERPA	3
		TAMANG	3
		TIBETAN	3
		BENGALI	2
		RAI	2
		ASSAMESE	1
		BODO	1
		OTHERS	1
ENGLISH	211211		
		HINDI	129613
		BENGALI	4613
		ASSAMESE	4394
		SANSKRIT	2789
		MANIPURI	900
		KHASI	439
		URDU	316
		LUSHAI/MIZO	250
		PUNJABI	229
		MARATHI	151
		LIMBU	142
		TELUGU	133
		TAMIL	124
		ORIYA	103
		KANNADA	97
		OTHERS	95
		BHOTIA	86
		GARO	76
		LEPCHA	71
		TIBETAN	50
		GUJARATI	35
		MALAYALAM	34
		TAMANG	30
		DOGRI	23
		MAITHILI	20
		RAI	17
		KONKANI	15
		SINDHI	15
		SHERPA	15
		BODO	13
		CHANG	12
		LOTHA	12
		ANGAMI	9
		ARABIC/ARBI	9
		SANTALI	7
		AO	6
		ZELIANG	6

		SANGTAM	5
		KARBI / MIKIR	4
		KASHMIRI	3
		CHAKRU/CHOKRI	3
		ADI	2
		HMAR	2
		MARAM	2
		TANGKHUL	2
		KUKI	1
		MISHMI	1
		MUNDA	1
		MUNDARI	1
		RABHA	1
		SEMA	1
		TRIPURI	1
		VAIPHEI	1
		YIMCHUNGRE	1
LIMBU	2663		
		HINDI	305
		ENGLISH	184
		LEPCHA	10
		BHOTIA	9
		BENGALI	6
		RAI	5
		ORIYA	3
		TAMANG	3
		ASSAMESE	2
		SHERPA	2
		SANSKRIT	1
LUSHAI/MIZO	2961		
		HINDI	1415
		ENGLISH	203
		BENGALI	23
		ASSAMESE	8
		LAKHER	3
		TRIPURI	2
		MANIPURI	1
		GARO	1
		HMAR	1
		PAWI	1
		OTHERS	1
RAI	1557		
		HINDI	137
		LIMBU	10
		ENGLISH	9
		MANIPURI	2
		BHOTIA	2
		BENGALI	1

						TAMANG	1
				SHERPA	1088	HINDI	156
						ENGLISH	25
						BHOTIA	23
						TAMANG	3
						TIBETAN	3
						BENGALI	1
						LEPCHA	1
				TAMANG	1728	HINDI	327
						ENGLISH	38
						LIMBU	6
						BENGALI	5
						BHOTIA	3
						TIBETAN	3
						LEPCHA	2
						SHERPA	2
				TIBETAN	1232	HINDI	564
						ENGLISH	95
						ASSAMESE	3
						KANNADA	2
						LEPCHA	2
						URDU	1
						BHOTIA	1
						RAI	1
						SHERPA	1
						OTHERS	1
<b>NEPALI</b>	<u>West Bengal</u>	<b>1022725</b>	<b>567493</b>	<b>455232</b>			<b>187056</b>
				ASSAMESE	264	HINDI	138
						BENGALI	44
						ENGLISH	11
				BENGALI	50551	HINDI	25384
						ENGLISH	3584
						OTHERS	68
						ASSAMESE	56
						BODO	21
						PUNJABI	15
						ORIYA	5
						SANTALI	4
						URDU	4
						TELUGU	3
						MALAYALAM	2
						TAMIL	2
						KURUKH/ORAOON	2

		LIMBU	2
		TAMANG	2
		MANIPURI	1
		MARATHI	1
		SANSKRIT	1
		ARABIC/ARBI	1
		BHOTIA	1
		LEPCHA	1
		SHERPA	1
		TIBETAN	1
HINDI	316881		
		ENGLISH	54612
		BENGALI	42582
		OTHERS	961
		ASSAMESE	211
		TELUGU	91
		TAMANG	90
		LEPCHA	84
		TIBETAN	83
		PUNJABI	74
		URDU	59
		ORIYA	56
		MANIPURI	54
		BHOTIA	54
		SANSKRIT	48
		SHERPA	36
		RAI	32
		LIMBU	27
		KURUKH/ORAOON	20
		MARATHI	14
		GUJARATI	12
		KHASI	11
		LUSHAI/MIZO	9
		SANTALI	8
		MUNDA	8
		KANNADA	7
		TAMIL	7
		BODO	6
		GONDI	5
		ARABIC/ARBI	4
		NICOBARESE	3
		MAITHILI	2
		MALAYALAM	2
		KASHMIRI	1
		ADI	1
		HO	1
		KHARIA	1
BHOTIA	321		

		HINDI	58
		ENGLISH	46
		BENGALI	2
		LEPCHA	2
		OTHERS	1
ENGLISH	82038		
		HINDI	52669
		BENGALI	4131
		OTHERS	48
		LEPCHA	37
		TELUGU	29
		BHOTIA	27
		TIBETAN	25
		URDU	19
		ASSAMESE	15
		LIMBU	11
		SANSKRIT	8
		SHERPA	8
		SANTALI	7
		KHASI	7
		GUJARATI	5
		RAI	4
		MANIPURI	3
		MARATHI	3
		PUNJABI	3
		ORIYA	2
		TAMANG	2
		KANNADA	1
		MALAYALAM	1
		SINDHI	1
		GARO	1
		LUSHAI/MIZO	1
		MUNDA	1
LEPCHA	1142		
		HINDI	131
		ENGLISH	46
		BENGALI	2
		BHOTIA	2
		LIMBU	1
		TAMANG	1
LIMBU	527		
		HINDI	50
		ENGLISH	9
		BENGALI	1
		RAI	1
		TAMANG	1
RAI	777		
		HINDI	52

		BENGALI	1
		ENGLISH	1
SHERPA	504	HINDI	48
		ENGLISH	12
		BENGALI	1
		TAMANG	1
		TIBETAN	1
TAMANG	572	HINDI	156
		ENGLISH	12
		BENGALI	4
		SHERPA	1
		TIBETAN	1
TIBETAN	240	HINDI	83
		ENGLISH	28
		ASSAMESE	1
		URDU	1
		LEPCHA	1
		RAI	1
		SHERPA	1
		OTHERS	1

### 1.5. SOCIOLINGUISTIC INFORMATION

Nepali, the national language of Nepal and one of the twenty-two Scheduled Languages of India (vide 71<sup>st</sup> Amendment to the Constitution of India in 1992 and issuance of Govt. of India Notification No.55 dated 01.09.92), belongs to the Eastern Pahari group of the Indo-Aryan branch of Indo-Iranian under the Indo-European family.

Looking at its presence in India through records available in the Indian Census literature, it is quite evident that the language has slowly but steadily stabilized, though returned in India under various nomenclatures like Nepali, Gorkhali, Gorkhali/Nepali, Khas, Khaskura, Parbatiya etc. These nomenclatures were assigned and used by scholars like Grierson and other western explorers or scholars around the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. We can refer to Kirkpatrick (1811) and B.H. Hodgson (1843) who referred to the language in question using terms like ‘Purbuti’, Khas Bhasha or Parbatiya Bhasha (Hodgson 1874).



According to historical tradition the Rajput warriors, who hailed from India earlier and occupied Western Nepal, later moved to the town of Gorkha towards the north-west of Kathmandu and adopted the name Gorkha for themselves and Gorkhali for their speech. Later the term Gorkhali for the Khasa or Nepali language came to be accepted by the Nepali people through a ruler's decree or preference.

The then rulers of Nepal like Rana Jang Bahadur of Nepal in early 19<sup>th</sup> Century had decreed that the word 'Khas' was to be dropped and replaced by 'Chetri' or 'Gorkha' (Clark, 1969). His successor Rana Udit Singh (1874) contributed very positively giving impetus and encouragement for translation from English to Gorkhali Bhasha (in the Nagari script). Here was the beginning for the writing up of the grammatical anthologies using the term Gorkhali, Gorkhali Bhasha, Gurkha or Gurkha Bhasha. In 1920, the setting up of an official committee on official language and censorship, the '*Gorkhali Bhasha Prakashini Samiti*' (Committee for Gorkha Language Publication), is evidence that the terms Gorkha Bhasha or Gorkhali Bhasha were, by that time, fully accepted by the Government of Nepal. The name Nepali was, however, not under any official disapproval as several grammatical works like those of J.A. Ayton and A. Turnbull did attest to the currency of term in use. Further R.L. Turner's monumental *Nepali Dictionary* was in progress in the 1920s. Incidentally the name of literary and censorship committee was changed from 'Gorkha Bhasha Prakashini Samiti' to 'Nepali Bhasha Prakashini Samiti' within a decade, creating a positive background and enabling Nepali to receive full authentication for the language by 1930.

In Nepal, the history of the Nepali Language, its origin and steady growth had been, historically, and still is, a subject matter of fascination and interest among the historians, linguists and other scholars as evidenced by Pokhrel's monumental works namely *Nepali Bhashar Sahitya* (1964) and *Rashtra Bhasha* (1965), clearly spelling out the historical growth of Nepali into old Nepali (14<sup>th</sup>-15<sup>th</sup> century), Medieval Nepali (15<sup>th</sup>-19<sup>th</sup> century) and Modern Nepali (after 1900). He also classified the regional dialects of the Nepali language as Western, Central and Eastern. T.W. Clark considers Pokhrel's work as a commendable advance in the field of Nepali historical studies. Parallel to it in India, in the University of Calcutta, a Ph.D. thesis entitled '*The Origin and Development of Nepali Language*' was prepared and published in the early 1960s. The two old Universities viz. Benaras Hindu

University and the University of Calcutta promoted the cause of Nepali language and literature by including it in their syllabi many decades back. At later dates, North Bengal University set up a Nepali Department along with other modern Indian Languages, and its affiliated graduate and post-graduate colleges in Sikkim, Siliguri, Darjeeling and Kalimpong accelerated its growth and processes of standardization for which debates and discussions among the scholars in Nepal as well as in India have been going on since 1950, primarily in the field of spelling and vocabulary.

One very remarkable phenomenon is apparent in the spread of Nepali not only in Nepal but also in India. It is the acceptance of Nepali by the speakers of other languages like Newari, Limbu, Rai and others and their preference for its use at the cost of their own mother tongues in day-to-day life activities in several broader and necessary domains. T.W. Clark has rightly observed, “This is not to say that Nepal will in foreseeable future become a one language state, but it is clear that Nepali is increasing at the expense of the Pahari (Tibeto-Burman) languages. Its primacy is incontestable and virtually uncontested” (1969).

The situation of Nepali in India, as seen in West Bengal (especially in its northern district of Darjeeling) and Sikkim, is very bright and encouraging as this language plays an important role in schools, colleges, print and broadcasting media, courts, trade and industry. The Govt. of West Bengal (vide ‘West Bengal Official Language Act XXIV of 1961, 11-11-1961) recognized Nepali as an official language of the state along with Bengali – the relevant passage reads: “In three hill sub-divisions of the District of Darjeeling (Darjeeling, Kalimpong and Kurseong), the Bengali language and Nepali language shall be used for official purposes of the state of West Bengal.”

The Sikkim Official Language Act, 1977 (Act No.5/LL/77 dated 25.10.1977) also stipulated the recognition of Nepali in the state along with Bhutia and Lepcha.

Thus Nepali is the official language in three sub-divisions of West Bengal viz. Darjeeling, Kurseong and Kalimpong. The literary variety is usually considered as standard Nepali. It is the superposed variety and is a prestigious language now used on all formal occasions, literature, classrooms and in administration for all practical purposes of

communication. Nevertheless, Nepali has yet to travel many miles on the road of development and standardization. The happy thing to note here is that quite wide ranging efforts have been initiated not only in Nepal but also in India for the balanced and healthy growth of Nepali.

The recent works on the Nepali language in Nepal and India especially on the finer aspects of the language like the Nepali sound system, semantics and its verbal complexities would definitely go a long way to giving a perfect shape to this language. In different Indian Universities and Research Institutes, several works on Nepali language are reported in progress. The role of the Royal Nepal Academy of Nepal is particularly worth mentioning in this direction for the inspiration and zeal the Academy has generated among the young linguists of both the countries through its regular publications and grants.

Enough literature and other published inputs in Nepali were reported from India (Sikkim, West Bengal, Assam and Bihar) even during 1980-90. Quite good coverage of the topics of different subjects have been reported from All India Radio, Gangtok, devoting more than 35 minutes per day (1980). In trade and industry (both manufacturing and services) Nepali is being used extensively. Like Sikkim and West Bengal, the picture in Meghalaya and Assam also for the promotion of Nepali is quite encouraging.

During the last decade, the Nepali Department of North Bengal University of West Bengal had launched several projects of translation, the compilation of tri-lingual dictionaries, writing books (mostly critical evaluation) on historical literatry and grammatical studies etc. The successful completion of those on-going projects would certainly enrich Nepali language and literature and take it to enviable heights in the near future. As such, the importance of Nepali as a language in India cannot be underrated.

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## 2. PHONOLOGY

The Phonology of the Nepali language is discussed at length in the following section. Based on the field data collected from Darjeeling district of West Bengal the Phonology of the Nepali language is presented below.

### 2.1 PHONEMIC INVENTORY

There are (38) thirty-eight segmental phonemes in Nepali. Of them 6 (six) are vowels, 31 (thirty-one) are consonants and 1 (one) is suprasegmental.

#### 2.1.1. SEGMENTAL PHONEMES

Vowels

	Front	Central	Back
High	<i>i</i>		<i>u</i>
Mid	<i>e</i>	<i>A</i>	<i>o</i>
Low		<i>a</i>	

Consonants

	Bilabial	Dental	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stops	<i>p   b</i>	<i>t   d</i>	<i>T   D</i>	<i>c   j</i>	<i>k   g</i>	
	<i>ph   bh</i>	<i>th   dh</i>	<i>Th   Dh</i>	<i>ch   jh</i>	<i>kh   gh</i>	
Nasals	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>			<i>M</i>	
	<i>mh</i>	<i>nh</i>				
Fricative		<i>s</i>				<i>h</i>
Lateral		<i>l</i>				
Trill		<i>r</i>				
Approximants	<i>w</i>			<i>y</i>		

### 2.1.2. SUPRA-SEGMENTAL PHONEME

Nasalisation /~/

Nasalisation of the vowel is phonemic and is treated as a supra-segmental feature co-occurring with vowels in all the positions - initial, medial and final -

/ĩ/ , /i/	/kAhĩ/	‘somewhere’
	/kAhi/	‘said’
	/ĩT/	‘bricks’
	/iTa/	‘this one’
/ẽ/ , /e/	/bẽTi/	‘handle of the instrument’
	/beTi/	‘daughter’
	/hẽ/	‘exclamation of surprise’
	/he/	‘address – vocative to near one’
	/bayẽ/	‘left’
	/baye/	‘open’, ‘may open’
/ã/ , /a/	/ãTa/	‘flour’
	/aTa/	‘bundle of grass’
	/bas/	‘smell’
	/bãs/	‘bamboo’
/Ã/ , /A/	/phÃss /	‘entangled’
	/phAss /	‘airless’, ‘slow’
/õ/ , /o/	/kõDhi /	‘bud’
	/koDhi /	‘leprosy’
	/khõT/	‘dirt in the ear’
	/khoT/	‘deception’
/ũ/ , /u/	/bũd/	‘drop’
	/bud/	‘intoxicated’
	/ũTh/	‘camel’
	/uTh/	‘rise’

## 2.2. PHONEMIC CONTRASTS AND DISTRIBUTION

### Vowels

<i>/i/ , /e/</i>	Initial		Medial		Final
	<i>/i/</i>	‘this’	<i>/piT/</i>	‘back’	<i>/gAri/</i> ‘done’
	<i>/e/</i>	‘hey’	<i>/peT/</i>	‘belly’	<i>/gAre/</i> ‘while doing’
<i>/e/ , /a/</i>	<i>/ek/</i>	‘one’	<i>/khel/</i>	‘play’, ‘game’	<i>/ke/</i> ‘who’
	<i>/ak/</i>	‘vomit’	<i>/khal/</i>	‘skin’	<i>/ka/</i> ‘what’
<i>/e/ , /A/</i>	<i>/ber/</i>	‘time’	<i>/mel/</i>	‘mix’, ‘meet’	
	<i>/bAr/</i>	‘groom’	<i>/mAl/</i>	‘dirt’	
<i>/a/ , /o/</i>	<i>/aTh/</i>	‘eight’	<i>/mal/</i>	‘goods’	
	<i>/oTh/</i>	‘lips’	<i>/mol/</i>	‘buy’	
<i>/o/ , /u/</i>	<i>/oTh/</i>	‘lips’	<i>/cori/</i>	‘theft’	
	<i>/uTh/</i>	‘rise’	<i>/curi/</i>	‘bangle’	
			<i>/moD/</i>	‘turning place’	
			<i>/muD/</i>	‘head’	
<i>/a/ , /A/</i>	<i>/an/</i>	‘honour’	<i>/man/</i>	‘pride’	
	<i>/An/</i>	‘corn’	<i>/mAn/</i>	‘desire’	

### Consonants

<i>/p/ , /b/</i>	<i>/pan/</i>	‘battle’	<i>/pap/</i>	‘sin’	
	<i>/ban/</i>	‘arrow’	<i>/bap/</i>	‘father’	
	<i>/paT/</i>	‘fill’			
	<i>/baT/</i>	‘narrow lane’			
<i>/p/ , /ph/</i>	<i>/pAl/</i>	‘moment’	<i>/kApi/</i>	‘monkey’	<i>/sap/</i> ‘curse’
	<i>/phAl/</i>	‘fruit’	<i>/kAphi/</i>	‘coffee’	<i>/saph/</i> ‘clean’

<i>/b/ , /bh/</i>	<i>/bat/</i> ‘talk’ <i>/bhat/</i> ‘cooked rice’	<i>/rob/</i> ‘anger’ <i>/lobh/</i> ‘greed’
<i>/ph/ , /bh/</i>	<i>/phul/</i> ‘flower’ <i>/bhul/</i> ‘error’, ‘mistake’	<i>/laph/</i> ‘jump’ <i>/labh/</i> ‘profit’
<i>/t/ , /d/</i>	<i>/til/</i> ‘oilseed’ <i>/dil/</i> ‘heart’	<i>/sAtAr/</i> ‘live’ <i>/sAdAr/</i> ‘head office’
		<i>/mAt/</i> ‘opinion’ <i>/mAd/</i> ‘pride’
<i>/t/ , /th/</i>	<i>/tal/</i> ‘pond’ <i>/thal/</i> ‘metal dish’	<i>/sat/</i> ‘seven’ <i>/sath/</i> ‘with’
<i>/d/ , /dh/</i>	<i>/dam/</i> ‘price’ <i>/dham/</i> ‘holy place’	<i>/bad/</i> ‘after’, ‘rebate’ <i>/badh/</i> ‘tie’, ‘dam’
<i>/th/ , /dh/</i>	<i>/than/</i> ‘one piece’ <i>/dhan/</i> ‘paddy’	<i>/sath/</i> ‘with, together’ <i>/sadh/</i> ‘internal longing’
<i>/T/ , /D/</i>	<i>/Tola/</i> ‘small settlement’ <i>/Dola/</i> ‘move’	<i>/haT/</i> ‘local market’ <i>/haD/</i> ‘bone’
<i>/T/ , /Th/</i>	<i>/Tika/</i> ‘fix’ <i>/Theka/</i> ‘contact’, ‘support’	<i>/piT/</i> ‘strike’ <i>/pith/</i> ‘back’
<i>/D/ , /Dh/</i>	<i>/Dak/</i> ‘post’, ‘letters’ (official) <i>/Dhak/</i> ‘big drum’	
<i>/Th/ , /Dh/</i>	<i>/Theh/</i> ‘push’ <i>/Dhal/</i> ‘pour’	





<i>/m/ , /mh/</i>	<i>/jAmai/</i>	‘son-in-law’		
	<i>/jAmhai/</i>	‘yawning’		
	<i>/kumar/</i>	‘unmarried boy’		
	<i>/kumhar/</i>	‘potter’		
<i>/n/ , /nh/</i>	<i>/kAn/</i>	‘particle’		
	<i>/kAnh/</i>	‘groan’		
	<i>/bon/</i>	‘arrow’		
	<i>/banh/</i>	‘dam’		
<i>/n/ , /M/</i>	<i>/Anar/</i>	‘a fruit’	<i>/An/</i>	‘corn’
	<i>/AMar/</i>	‘glowing ember’	<i>/AM/</i>	‘part of the body’
	<i>/ApAn/</i>	‘self’		
	<i>/ApAM/</i>	‘crippled’		
<i>/s/ , /h/</i>	<i>/sonnu/</i>	‘sleep’	<i>/khos/</i>	‘insert’
	<i>/honnul/</i>	‘to become’	<i>/khoh/</i>	‘cave’
	<i>/sath/</i>	‘to company’		
	<i>/hath/</i>	‘hand’		
<i>/l/ , /r/</i>	<i>/lam/</i>	‘big’, ‘battle’	<i>/bil/</i>	‘hole’
	<i>/ram/</i>	‘good’, ‘a name’	<i>/bir/</i>	‘brave’
	<i>/lat/</i>	‘leg’		
	<i>/rat/</i>	‘night’		
<i>/w/ , /y/</i>	<i>/war/</i>	‘attack’	<i>/dAwa/</i>	‘medicine’
	<i>/yar/</i>	‘friend’	<i>/dAya/</i>	‘kindness’
			<i>/haw/</i>	‘acting’
			<i>/hay/</i>	‘lame’

### 2.3. MAJOR ALLOPHONIC DISTRIBUTION

#### Vowels

/i/ high, front, unrounded short vowel. It has two allophones - [i:] and [i]:

[i:]	(C) – (C)		
	(C) V (C)(C)(C)-(C) ---		
	[pi:Th]	/piTh/	‘back’
	[boli:]	/boli/	‘speech’
[i ]	occurs elsewhere		
	[ima:n]	/iman/	‘honesty’
	[bima:r]	/bimar/	‘sick’
	[sAwa:ri]	/sAwari/	‘passenger’

/e/ mid, front, unrounded vowel. It has two allophones - [e:] and [e]:

[e:]	[e:]	/e/	‘hey’
	[pe:T]	/peT/	‘belly’
	[guDe:]	/guDe/	‘nests’
[e]	occurs elsewhere		
	[erA:ni]	/erAni/	‘ear ring’
	[Thepi:]	/Thepi/	‘shuttle’
	[bAnele]	/bAnele/	‘wild animals’

/a/ low, central, unrounded short vowel. It has two allophones - [a:] and [a]:

[a:]	[a:n]	/an/	‘honour’
	[la:m]	/lam/	‘battlefield’
	[aba:]	/aba/	‘father’
	[suna:ri]	/sunari/	‘golden’

<i>[a]</i>	occurs elsewhere		
	<i>[akhi:r]</i>	<i>/akhir/</i>	‘end’
	<i>[badA:r]</i>	<i>/badAr/</i>	‘cloud’
	<i>[khA:To:la]</i>	<i>/khATola/</i>	‘small’

*/A/* mid central, unrounded short vowel. It has two allophones – *[A:]* and *[A]*:

<i>[A:]</i>	<i>[A:b]</i>	<i>/Ab/</i>	‘now’
	<i>[dA:m]</i>	<i>/dAm/</i>	‘respiration’

<i>[A]</i>	occurs elsewhere		
	<i>[jAba:b]</i>	<i>/jAbab/</i>	‘answer’
	<i>[bAkhAri]</i>	<i>/bAkhAri/</i>	‘grammar’

*/o/* mid back rounded vowel. It has two allophones - *[o:]* and *[o]*:

<i>[o:]</i>	<i>[o:Th]</i>	<i>/oTh/</i>	‘lips’
	<i>[bho:j]</i>	<i>/bhoj/</i>	‘feast’
	<i>[alo:]</i>	<i>/alo/</i>	‘light’

<i>[o]</i>	occurs elsewhere		
	<i>[pothi:]</i>	<i>/pothi/</i>	‘holy book’
	<i>[bohA:rni]</i>	<i>/bohArni/</i>	‘broom’
	<i>[sAgA:ro]</i>	<i>/sAgAro/</i>	‘all’

*/u/* high back rounded short vowel. It has two allophones - *[u:]* and *[u]*:

<i>[u:]</i>	<i>[ũ:Th]</i>	<i>/ũTh/</i>	‘camel’
	<i>[du:dh]</i>	<i>/dudh/</i>	‘milk’
	<i>[mirtu:]</i>	<i>/mirtu/</i>	‘death’

<i>[u]</i>	Occurs elsewhere		
	<i>[uda:s]</i>	<i>/udas/</i>	‘sad’
	<i>[guha:r]</i>	<i>/guhar/</i>	‘call of alarm’
	<i>[phuTa:ri]</i>	<i>/phuTari/</i>	‘ripened corn’
	<i>[bAja:ru]</i>	<i>/bAjaru/</i>	‘commonly sold items’

## Consonants

*/p/* bilabial voiceless unaspirated stop. It has two allophones - *[pʼ]* and *[p]*:

<i>[pʼ]</i>	<i>/-C, - #</i>		
	<i>[kupʼpi:]</i>	<i>/kuppi/</i>	‘tunnel’
	<i>[pa:pʼ]</i>	<i>/pap/</i>	‘sin’

*[p]* occurs elsewhere

	<i>[pi:Th]</i>	<i>/pith/</i>	‘back’
	<i>[puja:]</i>	<i>/puja/</i>	‘worship’
	<i>[sApA:na]</i>	<i>/sApAna/</i>	‘dream’

*/b/* bilabial voiced unaspirated stop. It has two allophones - *[bʼ]* and *[b]*:

<i>[bʼ]</i>	<i>/-C, - #</i>		
	<i>[sAbʼji:]</i>	<i>/sAbji/</i>	‘cooked vegetables’
	<i>[sA:bʼ]</i>	<i>/sAb/</i>	‘all’
	<i>[jAba:bʼ]</i>	<i>/jAbab/</i>	‘answer’

*[b]* occurs elsewhere

	<i>[bi:n]</i>	<i>/bin/</i>	‘beans’
	<i>[subi:l]</i>	<i>/subil/</i>	‘facility’

*/ph/* bilabial voiceless aspirated stop. It has two allophones - *[phʼ]* and *[ph]*:

<i>[phʼ]</i>	<i>/-C, - #</i>		
	<i>[kA:phʼ]</i>	<i>/kAph/</i>	‘phlegm’
	<i>[DAphʼla:]</i>	<i>/DAphla/</i>	‘a band’

<i>[ph]</i>	occurs elsewhere		
	<i>[phu:l]</i>	<i>/phul/</i>	‘flower’
	<i>[sAphA:l]</i>	<i>/sAphAl/</i>	‘successful’

*/bh/* bilabial voiced aspirated stop. It has two allophones - *[bhʼ]* and *[bh]*:

<i>[bhʼ]</i>	<i>/-C, - #</i>		
	<i>[bhAbʼhka:]</i>	<i>/bhAbhka/</i>	‘glowing fire’
	<i>[lo:bhʼ]</i>	<i>/lobh/</i>	‘greed’

<i>[bh]</i>	occurs elsewhere		
	<i>[bha:t]</i>	<i>/bhat/</i>	‘cooked rice’
	<i>[gAbhi:l]</i>	<i>/gAbhil/</i>	‘pregnant’
	<i>[gobhi:]</i>	<i>/gobhi/</i>	‘cauliflower’

*/t/* dental voiceless unaspirated stop. It has two allophones - *[tʼ]* and *[t]*:

<i>[tʼ]</i>	<i>/-C, - #</i>		
	<i>[jatʼri:]</i>	<i>/jatri/</i>	‘pilgrims’
	<i>[bha:tʼ]</i>	<i>/bhat/</i>	‘cooked rice’

<i>[t]</i>	occurs elsewhere		
	<i>[tAra:ju]</i>	<i>/tAraju/</i>	‘weighty instrument’
	<i>[bAta:sa]</i>	<i>/batasa/</i>	‘sweet’
	<i>[mAta:l]</i>	<i>/mAtal/</i>	‘mad’, ‘drunk’

/d/ dental voiced unaspirated stop. It has two allomorph-[d'] and [d]:

[d']	/-C, - #		
	[gid'dho:r]	/giddhar/	'vulture'
	[mA:d']	/mAd/	'wine'

[d]	occurs elsewhere		
	[dew]	/dew/	'god'
	[mAdA:t]	/mAdAt/	'help'

/th/ dental voiceless aspirated stop. It has two allophones - [th'] and [th]:

[th']	/-C, - #		
	[mAth'ni:]	/mAthni/	'butter milk'
	[sa:th']	/sath/	'company'

[th]	occurs elsewhere		
	[thati:]	/thati/	'capital money', 'saving'
	[Authi:]	/cAuthi/	'one fourth'

/dh/ dental voiced aspirated stop. It has two allophones - [dh'] and [dh]:

[dh']	/-C, - #		
	[Adh'mA:ra]	/AdhmAra/	'almost dead'
	[ba:dh']	/badh/	'rope for the cot'

[dh]	occurs elsewhere		
	[dha:n]	/dhan/	'paddy'
	[sudha:r]	/sudhar/	'improvement'

*/T/* retroflex voiceless unaspirated stop. It has two allophones - *[Tʻ]* and *[T]*:

<i>[Tʻ]</i>	<i>/-C, - #</i>		
	<i>[kATʻka:]</i>	<i>/kATka/</i>	‘entanglement’ ‘quarrel’
	<i>[ka:Tʻ]</i>	<i>/kaT/</i>	‘bite’
	<i>[ha:Tʻ]</i>	<i>/haT/</i>	‘market’

<i>[T]</i>	occurs elsewhere		
	<i>[To:p]</i>	<i>/Top/</i>	‘temptation’
	<i>[ATari:]</i>	<i>/ATari/</i>	‘good house of bricks’

*/Th/* retroflex voiceless aspirated stop. It has two allophones - *[Thʻ]* and *[Th]*:

<i>[Thʻ]</i>	<i>/-C, - #</i>		
	<i>[uThʻnu:]</i>	<i>/uThnu/</i>	‘to rise’
	<i>[sõ:Thʻ]</i>	<i>/sõth/</i>	‘dried singer’

<i>[Th]</i>	occurs elsewhere		
	<i>[The:Th]</i>	<i>/TheTh/</i>	‘pure’ ‘uncorrupted’
	<i>[ThA:g]</i>	<i>/ThAg/</i>	‘cheat’
	<i>[kATHi:n]</i>	<i>/kATHin/</i>	‘difficult’

*/D/* retroflex voiced unaspirated stop. It has three allophones- *[R]*, *[Dʻ]* and *[D]*:

<i>[R]</i>	<i>/V – V, - #</i>		
	<i>[sARA:k]</i>	<i>/sADAK/</i>	‘path’ , ‘road’
	<i>[koRa:]</i>	<i>/koDa/</i>	‘hunter’
	<i>[bu:R]</i>	<i>/buD/</i>	‘dip’ , ‘sink’

<i>[Dʻ]</i>	<i>/-C</i>		
	<i>[hADʻDi:]</i>	<i>/hADDi/</i>	‘bones’

[D] occurs elsewhere

[Da:l]	/Dal/	‘branch’
[DA:r]	/DAr/	‘fear’

[Dh] retroflex voiced aspirated stop. It also has two allophones - [Rh] and [Dh]:

[Rh] / V – V, - #

[buRha:]	/buDha/	‘old’
[mu:Rh]	/muDh/	‘fool’

[Dh] occurs elsewhere

[Dha:k]	/Dhak/	‘band’
[DhA:b]	/DhAb/	‘manner’

[c] palatal voiceless unaspirated affricate. It has two allophones - [c'] and [c]:

[c'] /-C, - #

[sAc'ca:]	/sAcCa/	‘honest’
[mo:c']	/moc/	‘sprain’

[c] occurs elsewhere

[co:T]	/coT/	‘wound’
[mAca:n]	/mAcan/	‘wooden platform’
[cAra:]	/cAra/	‘birds’

[ch] palatal voiceless aspirated affricate. It has two allophones – [ch'] and [ch]:

[ch'] /-C, - #

[kAch'ra:]	/kAchara/	‘brink’, ‘threshold’
[chu:ch']	/chuch/	‘empty’



[ch] occurs elsewhere

[che:d]	/ched/	‘hole’
[chati:]	/chati/	‘chest’

/j/ palatal voiced unaspirated affricate. It has two allophones - [jʼ] and [j]:

[jʼ]	/-C, - #		
[ujʼro:]		/ujro/	‘deserted’
[ga:jʼ]		/gaj/	‘foam’

[j] occurs elsewhere

[juwa:]	/juwa/	‘gambling’
[kũjo:]	/kũjo/	‘crippled’
[mÅju:r]	/mÅjur/	‘labour’

/jh/ palatal voiced aspirated affricate. It has two allophones - [jhʼ] and [jh]:

[jhʼ]	/-C, - #		
[sÅjhʼlo:]		/sÅjhlo/	‘third one in the line’
[bu:jhʼ]		/bujh/	‘understand’

[jh] occurs elsewhere

[jhuTo]	/jhuTo/	‘bundle’
[ba:jh]	/bãjh/	‘unproductive woman’

[k] velar voiceless unaspirated stop. It has two allophones - [kʼ] and [k]:

[kʼ]	/-C, - #		
[cAkʼka:]		/cAkka /	‘wheel’
[na:kʼ]		/nak/	‘nose’

[k] occurs elsewhere

[ka:g]	/kag/	‘crow’
[duka:n]	/dukan/	‘shop’
[ro:k]	/rok/	‘stopping’, ‘forbidden’

[g] velar voiced unaspirated stop. It has two allophones -[gʻ] and [g]:

[gʻ]	/-C, - #	
[jugʻmo:]	/jugmo/	‘twin’
[ka:gʻ]	/kag/	‘crow’

[g] occurs elsewhere

[gũ:g]	/gũg/	‘dumb’
[gA:r]	/gAr/	‘do’
[DagA:r]	/DagAr/	‘run’

/kh/velar voiceless aspirated stop. It has two allophones - [x] and[kh]:

[x]	/-C, - #	
[du:x]	/dukh/	‘misery’, ‘sorrow’
[jAxmi]	/jAkhmi/	‘wounded’

[kh] occurs elsewhere

[kha:nu]	/khanu/	‘teat’
[kho:h]	/khoh/	‘pit’, ‘hole’
[bAkhAt]	/bAkhAt/	‘blessings’, ‘good time’

[gh] velar voiced aspirated stop. It has two allophones [ghʻ] and [gh]:

[ghʻ]	/-C, - #	
[mughʻri:]	/mughri/	‘wooden club’
[ma:ghʻ]	/magh/	‘a cold month of the year’

<i>[gh]</i>	occurs elsewhere			
		<i>[ghA:r]</i>	<i>/ghAr/</i>	‘house’
		<i>[ghoRi:]</i>	<i>/ghoRi/</i>	‘mare’
<i>/M/</i>	velar nasal. It occurs medially and finally.			
		<i>/AMar/</i>	‘glowing ember’	<i>/ApAM/</i> ‘crippled’
				<i>/AM/</i> ‘part of the body’
<i>/m/</i>	bilabial nasal. It has only one allophone <i>[m]</i>			
		<i>[mi:t]</i>	<i>/mit/</i>	‘fried’
		<i>[kAma:n]</i>	<i>/kAman/</i>	‘soldiers’ troop’
		<i>[da:m]</i>	<i>/dam/</i>	‘price’
<i>/mh/</i>	bilabial aspirated nasal. It has only one allophone <i>[mh]</i> . It occurs medially and finally.			
		<i>[jAmhura]</i>	<i>/jAmhura/</i>	‘yawning’
		<i>[dA:mh]</i>	<i>/dAmh/</i>	‘pride’
<i>/n/</i>	dental nasal. It has four allophones - <i>[n̥]</i> , <i>[Mʰ]</i> , <i>[N]</i> and <i>[n]</i> :			
<i>[n̥]</i>	/ - dental stop.			
		<i>[cAn̥da:]</i>	<i>/cAn̥da/</i>	‘donation’, ‘subscription’
<i>[Mʰ]</i>	/ - palatal stop.			
		<i>[rA: Mʰj]</i>	<i>/rAnj/</i>	‘grumbling’, ‘anger, displeasure’
		<i>[A Mʰcar]</i>	<i>/Ancar/</i>	‘pickles’
<i>[N]</i>	/ - retroflex stop.			
		<i>[guNDa:]</i>	<i>/gunDa/</i>	‘lampoons’
		<i>[ghANTi:]</i>	<i>/ghAnTi/</i>	‘bell’

*[n]* occurs elsewhere  
*[nu:n]* /*nun/* ‘salt’  
*[nArA:m]* /*nArAm/* ‘soft’  
*[nutA:n]* /*nutAn /* ‘new’

*/nh/* dental aspirated nasal. It occurs finally.

*/kAnh/* ‘groan’  
*/banh/* ‘dam’

*/l/* dental lateral. It has two allophones - *[L]* and *[l]*:

*[L]* / - retroflex stop.  
*[ulTa:]* /*ulTa/* ‘opposite’

*[l]* occurs elsewhere  
*[lobhi:]* /*lobhi/* ‘greedy’

*/r/* dental trill (phonetically alveolar):

*[rA:kt]* /*rAkt/* ‘blood’  
*[ro:g]* /*rog/* ‘disease’  
*[mA:r]* /*mAr/* ‘die’  
*[usro:]* /*usro/* ‘his’

*/s/* dental voiceless fricative (phonetically alveolar). It has only one allophone - *[s]*:

*[s]* *[sasu:]* /*sasu/* ‘mother-in-law’  
*[sisa:]* /*sisA/* ‘glass’  
*[cu:s]* /*cus/* ‘suck’

*/h/* is a glottal voiced fricative. It has only one allophone - *[h]*:

*[h]* *[ha:th]* /*hath/* ‘hand’  
*[mAhA:k]* /*mAhAk/* ‘smell’  
*[mu:h]* /*muh/* ‘mouth’

/w/ It is an approximant (bilabial). It has only one allophone [w]:

[w]	[wa:r]	/war/	‘battle’ , ‘flight’ , ‘attack’
	[jAwa:n]	/jAwan/	‘young man’
	[ha:w]	/haw/	‘acting manner’

/y/ It is an approximant (lateral). It has only one allophone:

[y]	[ya:d]	/yad/	‘memory’ , ‘remembrance’
	[payA:l]	/payAl/	‘ornament’
	[ha:y]	/hay/	‘lament’

## 2.4 CLUSTERS

The clusters are formed both by vowels and consonants. There are no diphthongs available in Nepali.

### Vowel Clusters

The vowel clusters occur in all the positions viz. initial, medial and final. The permissible vowel clusters in the initial and final positions are only a few. In the medial position the clusters are comparatively more in number within a morpheme and some examples of vowel clusters are found across a morpheme boundary.

#### Initial

Ae-	AerAni	‘ear ring’
Ae-	Aena	‘looking glass’

#### Medial and Final

In normal Nepali speech, /vhv/ sequences are maintained only in slow and careful speech. Such /vv/ sequences, formed as a result of the elision of intervocalic /h/, are many. In fact any two Nepali vowels can combine, in either order, to form such a sequence, e.g.

/Ai/	/bAini/	/bAhini/	‘younger sister’
/ei/	/kei/	/kehi/	‘someone’, ‘something’
/oi/	/koi/	/kohi/	‘someone’

<i>/Au/</i>	<i>/gAũ/</i>	<i>/gAhũ/</i>	‘wheat’
<i>/au/</i>	<i>/sau/</i>	<i>/sahu/</i>	‘merchant’
<i>/ie/</i>	<i>/mienAti/</i>	<i>/mihenAti/</i>	‘hard-working’
	<i>/menAti/</i>		
<i>/ue/</i>	<i>/kueko/</i>	<i>/kuheko/</i>	‘rotten’
<i>/aA/</i>	<i>/saAs/</i>	<i>/sahAs/</i>	‘courage’
<i>/oA/</i>	<i>/poAr/</i>	<i>/pohAr/</i>	‘last year’
<i>/ia/</i>	<i>/bianA/</i>	<i>/bihanA/</i>	‘morning’
<i>/ua/</i>	<i>/buari/</i>	<i>/buhari/</i>	‘daughter-in-law’

Again as a result of the loss of intervocalic /y/ or /w/ similar sequences may also be formed. But there are very few in number or in frequency of use.

<i>/Ae/</i>	<i>/sAe/</i>	<i>/sAye/</i>	‘hundred’
<i>/ae/</i>	<i>/saed/</i>	<i>/sayed/</i>	‘possibly’, ‘perhaps’
<i>/us/</i>	<i>/jua/</i>	<i>/juwa/</i>	‘gambling’
<i>/uA/</i>	<i>/kũAr/</i>	<i>/kũwAr/</i>	‘a surname’

Now a few examples, as charted below, occur across morpheme boundaries especially in verbal formations (conjugations etc.)

<i>/ii/</i>	<i>/thiin/</i>	‘(she) was’
<i>/ie/</i>	<i>/die/</i>	‘they gave’
<i>/ae/</i>	<i>/gae/</i>	‘they went’
<i>/io/</i>	<i>/pios/</i>	‘let us drink’
<i>/ao/</i>	<i>/khaos/</i>	‘let (someone) eat’
<i>/ou/</i>	<i>/rou/</i>	‘weep’
<i>/oe/</i>	<i>/roe/</i>	‘they wept’
<i>/ae/</i>	<i>/khae/</i>	‘they ate’
<i>/eo/</i>	<i>/deos/</i>	‘let (someone) give’
<i>/oo/</i>	<i>/roos/</i>	‘let (someone) weep’

Apart from all these /vv/ sequences, Nepali has the following common, genuine /vv/ sequences and /vvv/ sequences mainly occurring in passive verb phrases.

I	M	F
<i>/Ai/</i> <i>/ai/</i>	<i>/Aile/</i> ‘now’ <i>/kAile/</i>	‘now’, ‘how’ <i>/thorAi/</i> ‘few’, ‘little’ <i>/sukdai dinu/</i> ‘finish’
		<i>/bhai/</i> ‘brother’
<i>/au/</i>	<i>/baun/</i>	‘brahmin’ <i>/ghArau/</i> ‘heavy’ <i>/gau/</i> ‘village’
<i>/ia/</i>		<i>/jia/</i> ‘feeling’ <i>/bia/</i> ‘seed’
<i>/iu/</i>	<i>/siunu/</i>	‘sew’
<i>/io/</i>		<i>/balio/</i> ‘strong’
<i>/oe/</i>	<i>/moera/</i>	‘dead’
<i>/uie/</i>		<i>/kuie/</i> ‘rotten’
<i>/ua/</i>		<i>/bua/</i> ‘grandfather’
<i>/Au/</i>		<i>/bAu/</i> ‘bride’
<i>/io/</i>		<i>/hArio/</i> ‘green’

### Consonant Clusters

The word initial consonant clusters are available in Sanskrit words adopted in Nepali and are rarely used in spoken or colloquial speech but with insertion of vowel. They have adopted a few English words also for the items which have no equivalent in any Indo-Aryan languages.

### Initial Clusters

<i>/spr/</i>	<i>/spriM/</i>	<i>[isp.priM]</i>	‘spring’, ‘a device’
<i>/skr/</i>	<i>/skrin/</i>	<i>[is.krin]</i>	‘screen’
<i>/str/</i>	<i>/stri/</i>	<i>[is.tri]</i>	‘woman’, ‘iron device’
<i>/smr/</i>	<i>/smriti/</i>	<i>[is.mri.ti]</i>	‘memory’
<i>/sp/</i>	<i>/spAsTA/</i>	<i>[is.pasta]</i>	‘clear’, ‘lucid’
<i>/st/</i>	<i>/star/</i>	<i>[AstAr]</i>	‘standard’
<i>/sk/</i>	<i>/is.kul/</i>	<i>[is.kul]</i>	‘school’
<i>/sth/</i>	<i>/sthan/</i>	<i>[As.than]</i>	‘place’

### Medial Clusters

<i>/lm/</i>	<i>/philmi/</i>	‘related to film’
<i>/lk/</i>	<i>/silki/</i>	‘related to silk’
<i>/rg/</i>	<i>/birgAnj/</i>	‘name of a town’
<i>/rs/</i>	<i>/bArsa/</i>	‘rain’
<i>/mr/</i>	<i>/timro/</i>	‘your’
<i>/sk/</i>	<i>/usko/</i>	‘his’
<i>/mt/</i>	<i>/kAmti/</i>	‘little’
<i>/nch/</i>	<i>/manche/</i>	‘person’
<i>/mr/</i>	<i>/jumro/</i>	‘louse’
<i>/rp/</i>	<i>/sArpo/</i>	‘snake’
<i>/kr/</i>	<i>/bokro/</i>	‘bark’
<i>/dd/</i>	<i>/mAddo/</i>	‘dull’
<i>/dd/</i>	<i>/hAddi/</i>	‘bones’
<i>/tl/</i>	<i>/bhutla/</i>	‘feather’
<i>/br/</i>	<i>/jibro/</i>	‘tongue’
<i>/nj/</i>	<i>/pAnjo/</i>	‘claw’
<i>/TT/</i>	<i>/khuTTo/</i>	‘leg’
	<i>/muTT/</i>	‘heart’
<i>/rd/</i>	<i>/gArdAn/</i>	‘neck’
<i>/ry/</i>	<i>/suryo/</i>	‘Sun’



<i>/dr/</i>	<i>/cAndro/</i>	‘Moon’
<i>/khn/</i>	<i>/dekhnu/</i>	‘see’
<i>/nn/</i>	<i>/sunnu/</i>	‘hear’
<i>/tn/</i>	<i>/sutnu/</i>	‘sleep’
<i>/rn/</i>	<i>/mArnu/</i>	‘die’
<i>/Tn/</i>	<i>/kaTnu/</i>	‘cut’
<i>/Dn/</i>	<i>/uDnu/</i>	‘fly’
<i>/ln/</i>	<i>/Dulnu/</i>	‘walk, move’
<i>/lk/</i>	<i>/DhAlknu/</i>	‘lie’
<i>/sn/</i>	<i>/bAsnu/</i>	‘sit’
	<i>/cusnu/</i>	‘suck’
	<i>/khAsnu/</i>	‘fall’
<i>/kd/</i>	<i>/sikdAnu/</i>	‘finish’
<i>/rk/</i>	<i>/hirkaunu/</i>	‘hit/beat’
<i>/cn/</i>	<i>/bhācnu/</i>	‘split’
<i>/ghn/</i>	<i>/sūghnu/</i>	‘smell’
<i>/tt/</i>	<i>/uttAr/</i>	‘answer’
<i>/pt/</i>	<i>/hApta/</i>	‘week’

#### Final Clusters

<i>/nt/</i>	<i>/Ant/</i>	‘end’
<i>/nd/</i>	<i>/mAnd/</i>	‘dull’
<i>/ndh/</i>	<i>/gAndh/</i>	‘smell’ bad one
<i>/nj/</i>	<i>/kArAnj/</i>	‘ornament’
<i>/sm/</i>	<i>/usm/</i>	‘warm’
<i>/sn/</i>	<i>/krisn/</i>	‘Krishna – a name’, ‘God’s name’

## 2.5. SYLLABLES

The normal Nepali syllables contain a vowel as nucleus followed or preceded by a peripheral consonant (onset and coda) or consonants.

The word level analysis of Nepali reveals that a word contains at least one syllable and at the most four syllables. Thus mono-syllabic, di-syllabic, tri-syllabic and a few tetra-syllabic words are found in the language.

The syllabic pattern of mono-syllabic words is given below

<i>v</i>	<i>/u/</i>	‘that’
<i>cv</i>	<i>/nu/</i>	‘not’
<i>vc</i>	<i>/ubh/</i>	‘rise’
<i>cvc</i>	<i>/ghAr/</i>	‘house’
<i>vcc</i>	<i>/usm/</i>	‘worm’
<i>cvcc</i>	<i>/kArm/</i>	‘rituals’
<i>ccv</i>	<i>/kyũ/</i>	‘why’
	<i>/jyũ/</i>	‘as’
<i>ccvc</i>	<i>/pran/</i>	‘life’
	<i>/tran/</i>	‘suffering’
<i>ccvcc</i>	<i>/klant/</i>	‘tired’
	<i>/prant/</i>	‘state’

#### Di-syllabic Words

<i>cv-v</i>	<i>/hi-ũ/</i>	‘ice’
	<i>/jo-i/</i>	‘wife’
<i>cv-cv</i>	<i>/hA-wa/</i>	‘air’
	<i>/Ta-pu/</i>	‘island’
<i>vc-cv</i>	<i>/Ab-ro/</i>	‘weak’
	<i>/An-dho/</i>	‘blind’
<i>v-cvc</i>	<i>/a-kas/</i>	‘sky’
<i>cvc-cvc</i>	<i>/cAb-bAr/</i>	‘bitting prone’
	<i>/pit-tAl/</i>	‘brass’
	<i>/Tap-pAr/</i>	‘tin-shade’
<i>cvc-cv</i>	<i>/jAm-no/</i>	‘taking root’ , ‘sprouting’

	<i>/gAr-no/</i>	‘blowing’
	<i>/bAc-ca/</i>	‘child’
<i>cv-cvc</i>	<i>/mAu-sAm/</i>	‘weaker’
	<i>/phA-lAm/</i>	‘iron’
	<i>/ku-kur/</i>	‘dog’
	<i>/du-kan/</i>	‘shop’

In Nepali di-syllabic words are more in comparison to mono-syllabic and tetra-syllabic.

#### Tri-syllabic Words

<i>v-cv-cv</i>	<i>/A-Tha-ro/</i>	‘eighteen’
	<i>/A-ga-Ri/</i>	‘ahead’
<i>cv-cv-cv</i>	<i>/bhe-ya-ro/</i>	‘fox’
	<i>/ku-hi-ro/</i>	‘fog’
	<i>/sA-tA-ro/</i>	‘seventeen’
<i>cv-cvc-cvc</i>	<i>/du-kan-dar/</i>	‘shopkeeper’
<i>cv-cvc-cvc</i>	<i>/sA-mun-dAr/</i>	‘sea’

#### Tetra-syllabic Words

In comparison to di-syllabic and tri-syllabic words the tetra-syllabic words are far less in Nepali. The available types have been given below.

<i>cv-cv-cv-cv</i>	<i>/ku-khu-ra-ko/</i>	‘big cock’
	<i>/dhA-lA-kA-nu/</i>	‘leaning’
	<i>/ke-Ta-pA-na/</i>	‘childhood’
	<i>/phe-ra-ki-lo/</i>	‘wide’
	<i>/chu-Ta-na-ma/</i>	‘divorce’

## 2.6. JUNCTURE

Both the usual types of juncture – open juncture and close juncture (internal juncture) are found in Nepali.

### Open Juncture

Open juncture is an external juncture or word juncture occurring between two words which are intervened by a potential pause. It is marked here with space. In other words, it is unmarked by a symbol.

*dhobi bADo cAlak thiyo.*      ‘The washerman was very clever’

### Close Juncture

Close juncture is an internal juncture occurring between two morphemes and between two words, which are compounded into one form. This juncture is marked with /+/

*/lekh + ne + chũ/*      ‘I will write’

----XXX----

### 3.MORPHOLOGY

This section deals with the words and their formation both in declension and conjugation.

#### 3.1. WORD-FORMATION

A word in Nepali is a phoneme in isolation or a sequence of two or more phonemes between two successive junctures. A word may contain one morpheme, which may be a bare root. If it contains more than one morpheme, either it a root (with the option of taking one or more affixes) or it is a compound word.

<i>DhuMa</i>	‘stone’
<i>camAl</i>	‘uncooked rice’

#### 3.2. WORD CLASSES

Established on morphological and syntactic criteria, the word classes of Nepali are nouns, noun substitutes, noun attributes, verbs, adverbs, postpositions, particles and certain types of function words. Of these, the nouns and the verbs are established on the basis of morphological considerations and the rest of the word classes on syntactic criteria.

Again functionally, noun attributes includes adjectives and numerals. Syntactically, they precede nouns and formally take formative affixes like nouns do. Hence they constitute a sub-group within the noun class but they have been treated here quite separately for the convenience of description.

The pronouns also form a sub-class of nouns. They are also declined for cases. Syntactically, they (nouns and pronouns) behave alike, i.e. both of them can occur as subject or object (direct or indirect). Nevertheless, they form a separate subclass as they differ morphologically in a number of ways.

The adverbs are established on the basis of morphological considerations but many words originally belonging to other classes also function as adverbs at the syntactic level.

The prominent morphological processes employed by Nepali are prefixation, suffixation, reduplication, suppletion and compounding.

### 3.3. NOUNS

The noun is a class of forms that takes number, gender and case markers. As far as person is concerned, all nouns are in the third person. Nouns function as subject or object in a construction designating a person, place, thing or quality.

In Nepali the noun-forms may be grouped under following categories:

- a. Simple forms
- b. Derived forms
- c. Compound forms

#### 3.3.1. SIMPLE FORMS

The simple noun items or bases are generally monomorphemic in nature. They end in vowels or consonants. They are abundant in the corpus. A few of them have been given below for example. Clark (1963) mentions that the forms of the bases of nouns are invariable i.e. they are the same irrespective of number or case.

<i>ai</i>	‘mother’
<i>manis</i>	‘man’
<i>keTo</i>	‘boy’
<i>choro</i>	‘boy’
<i>keTi</i>	‘girl’
<i>gai</i>	‘cow’
<i>pustAk</i>	‘book’
<i>ghAr</i>	‘house’
<i>phul</i>	‘flower’
<i>pothi</i>	‘wife’
<i>rukH</i>	‘tree’
<i>kira</i>	‘worm’
<i>pat</i>	‘leaf’
<i>boko</i>	‘goat’
<i>bAr</i>	‘groom’
<i>logne</i>	‘husband’
<i>mit</i>	‘tried’

<i>Thaw</i>	‘place’
<i>jal</i>	‘net’
<i>dan</i>	‘alms’
<i>muR</i>	‘head’
<i>pAriwar</i>	‘family’
<i>bojh</i>	‘load’
<i>kam</i>	‘work’
<i>lobh</i>	‘greed’
<i>hath</i>	‘hand’
<i>pap</i>	‘sin’
<i>bau</i>	‘father’
<i>dhAn</i>	‘wealth’
<i>man</i>	‘honour’
<i>Tupi</i>	‘cap’
<i>jAra</i>	‘habitation’,
<i>Tauko</i>	‘head’
<i>pasni</i>	‘rice eating ceremony’
<i>bhakAl</i>	‘determination’
<i>lAmi</i>	‘marriage negotiator’
<i>dAsna</i>	‘cotton bed’
<i>thAkali</i>	‘elderly person of the society’

### 3.3.2. DERIVED FORMS

The derived nouns are those which are formed from other form-classes with the help of affixes (prefixes or suffixes) serving as nominalizers.

Nouns derived by adding prefixes

Prefixes	Noun - stem	Derived Nouns
<i>pAr-</i>	‘other’	<i>des</i> ‘country’ <i>pArdes</i> ‘foreign country’
<i>Aw-</i>	‘bad’	<i>gun</i> ‘merit’ <i>Awgun</i> ‘demerits’
<i>a-</i>	‘till’	<i>jAnm</i> ‘birth’ <i>ajAnm</i> ‘till life’

<i>sAhA-</i>	‘with’	<i>yog</i>	‘union’	<i>sAhAyog</i>	‘co-operation’
<i>sAhA-</i>	‘with’	<i>mAt</i>	‘opinion’	<i>sAhAmAt</i>	‘of one opinion’
<i>swA-</i>	‘self’	<i>des</i>	‘country’	<i>swAdes</i>	‘own land’
<i>pAra-</i>	‘opposite’	<i>jAy</i>	‘victory’	<i>pArajAy</i>	‘defeat’
<i>dur-</i>	‘bad’	<i>dAsa</i>	‘condition’	<i>durdAsa</i>	‘annihilation’
<i>Abhi-</i>	‘extreme’	<i>man</i>	‘honour’	<i>Abhiman</i>	‘pride’
<i>up-</i>	‘near’	<i>des</i>	‘country’	<i>upAdes</i>	‘sermon’
<i>Anu-</i>	‘equal’	<i>rup</i>	‘form’	<i>Anurup</i>	‘equal form’

### 3.3.3. NOUNS DERIVED BY ADDING SUFFIXES

Noun Stem		Suffixes	Derived Nouns	
<i>nokAr</i>	‘servant’	- <i>i</i> (action)	<i>nokAri</i>	‘service’
<i>khet</i>	‘field’	- <i>i</i> (action)	<i>kheti</i>	‘cultivation’
<i>sAlam</i>	‘salute’	- <i>i</i> (action)	<i>sAlami</i>	‘salutation’
<i>dukan</i>	‘shop’	- <i>dar</i> (agent)	<i>dukanda</i>	‘shopkeeper’
<i>mal</i>	‘wealth’	- <i>dar</i> (agent)	<i>maldar</i>	‘rich person’
<i>mukh</i>	‘mouth’	- <i>ia</i> (belonging)	<i>mukhia</i>	‘headman’, spokesman’
<i>dukh</i>	‘sorrow’	- <i>ia</i> (belonging)	<i>dukhia</i>	‘sufferer’
<i>bhai</i>	‘brother’	- <i>aro</i> (relation)	<i>bhAiyaro</i>	‘blood relation’
<i>keTa</i>	‘child’	- <i>pAn, pAna</i>	<i>keTa pAna</i>	‘child like’ (condition)
<i>dāt</i>	‘teeth’	- <i>iun</i> (condition)	<i>dĀtiun</i>	‘tooth brush’
<i>mit</i>	‘friend’	- <i>eri</i> (condition)	<i>miteri</i>	‘friendship’
<i>hAl</i>	‘plough’	- <i>waha</i> (agent)	<i>hAlwaha</i>	‘ploughman’
<i>cara</i>	‘fodder’	- <i>waha</i> (agent)	<i>cArwaha</i>	‘grazer’
<i>kAbi</i>	‘poet’	- <i>ta</i> (agent)	<i>kabita</i>	‘poem’
<i>prAbhu</i>	‘great’	- <i>ta</i> (agent)	<i>prAbhuTa</i>	‘greatness’
<i>chap</i>	‘print’	- <i>a</i>	<i>chapa</i>	‘newspaper’



### 3.3.4. NOUNS DERIVED FROM VERB ROOTS

Verb roots	Suffixes	Derived Nouns
<i>gher (nu)</i> ‘to encircle’	-a	<i>ghera</i> ‘fence’ ‘circle’
<i>cAl (nu)</i> ‘to move’	-Ani	<i>cAlni</i> ‘filter’
<i>Dhak (nu)</i> ‘to cover’	-Ani	<i>DhAkni</i> ‘cover’
<i>lekh (nu)</i> ‘to write’	-ai	<i>lekhai</i> ‘writing’
<i>pARh (nu)</i> ‘to read’	-ai	<i>pARhai</i> ‘reading’ ‘study’
<i>has (nu)</i> ‘to laugh’	-ai	<i>hasai</i> ‘laughter’
<i>nac (nu)</i> ‘to dance’	-ai	<i>nAcai</i> ‘dance’
<i>uR (nu)</i> ‘to fly’	-an	<i>uRan</i> ‘flight’
<i>lekh (nu)</i> ‘to write’	-oT	<i>lekhoT</i> ‘written document’
<i>mis (nu)</i> ‘to mix’	-awAT	<i>misawAT</i> ‘mixture’
<i>thAk</i> ‘to get tired’	-awAT	<i>thAkawAT</i> ‘tiredness’
<i>khel (nu)</i> ‘to play’	-Auna	<i>khelAuna</i> ‘plaything’

There are abundantly many verb roots which can be made into nominals with the help of these formative suffixes.

### 3.3.5. NOUNS DERIVED FROM ADJECTIVES

Adjectives	Suffixes	Derived Nouns
<i>khus</i> ‘happy’	- i	<i>khusi</i> ‘happiness’
<i>khArab</i> ‘bad’	- i	<i>khArabi</i> ‘wickedness’
<i>gArib</i> ‘poor’	- i	<i>gAribi</i> ‘poverty’
<i>cAlakh</i> ‘intelligent’	- i	<i>cAlakhi</i> ‘smartness’, ‘wisdom’
<i>Amir</i> ‘rich’	- i	<i>Amiri</i> ‘richness’
<i>jAwan</i> ‘young’	- i	<i>jAwani</i> ‘youth’
<i>ramro</i> ‘good’	- pAn	<i>ramropAn</i> ‘goodness’
<i>suro</i> ‘worried’	- pAna	<i>suropAna</i> ‘worries’
<i>lucco</i> ‘liar’	- pAne	<i>lucopAna</i> ‘flirting’
<i>miTho</i> ‘sweet’	- pAna	<i>miThopAna</i> ‘sweetness’
<i>murkho</i> ‘fool’	- yaĩ	<i>murkhyaiĩ</i> ‘foolishness’

<i>buRho</i>	‘old’	- <i>yaĩ</i>	<i>buRyaĩ</i>	‘old age’
<i>hAriyo</i>	‘green’	- <i>ali</i>	<i>hAriyali</i>	‘greenary’
<i>gol</i>	‘round’	- <i>ai</i>	<i>golai</i>	‘roundness’
<i>lamo</i>	‘long’	- <i>ai</i>	<i>lAmai</i>	‘length’
<i>moTo</i>	‘fat’	- <i>ai</i>	<i>moTai</i>	‘fatness’
<i>gAhiro</i>	‘deep’	- <i>ai</i>	<i>gAhirai</i>	‘depth’

### 3.3.6. COMPOUND NOUNS

The Compound Nouns share almost all the features of a phrase, but they function as a single unit semantically. The processes of compounding and reduplication are quite distinct and frequent in Nepali. The examples of three categories of compounding are cited below.

#### 1) Copulative Compound

In copulative compound the meaning of each component part is retained as such.

<i>dal-bhat</i>	‘pulse and rice’
<i>jiwan-mArAn</i>	‘life and death’
<i>Arji-binAti</i>	‘petition and prayer’
<i>sukh-dukh</i>	‘joy and sorrow’
<i>raja-rani</i>	‘king and queen’
<i>keTa-keTi</i>	‘off-spring’, ‘son and daughter’
<i>nak-kan</i>	‘nose and ear’
<i>Adhi-pAchi</i>	‘front and back’
<i>bAs-uThA</i>	‘sit and get up’
<i>au-jau</i>	‘come and go’
<i>nac-gan</i>	‘dance and song’
<i>lin-din</i>	‘take and give’

#### 2) Here the two noun components give birth to a third noun

<i>cuma-chana</i>	‘kiss and licking’	=	‘fondling’
<i>boli-bani</i>	‘speech and saying’	=	‘vocal behaviour’
<i>dhArm-kArm</i>	‘religion and deed’	=	‘charities’
<i>Ann-pani</i>	‘corn and water’	=	‘food stocks’

<i>log-bagh</i>	‘people and tiger’	=	‘people’
<i>ai-mai</i>	‘mother and woman’	=	‘old ladies’
<i>mAd-Andho</i>	‘wine and blind’	=	‘proud’
<i>bagh-cal</i>	‘tiger and speed’	=	‘brave man’s gait’
<i>ghAr-bhARus</i>	‘home and impotent’	=	‘one who does not get out of home’

### 3) Attributive Compound

<i>bhAlo-admi</i>	‘good man’, ‘decent person’
<i>nilo-akas</i>	‘blue sky’
<i>ghoR-muh</i>	‘horse-mouth’, ‘person having face like horse’
<i>ghAr-khArcA</i>	‘home expense’, ‘everyday spending’
<i>nAdhArm</i>	‘not religion’, ‘sin’

### 4) Determinative Compound

Here the second part is qualified by the first one.

<i>raj hAnso</i>	‘white big crane’
<i>ghAr-jAwai</i>	‘son-in-law’
<i>bAn-manukh</i>	‘wild people’
<i>nAs-dani</i>	‘box for snuff’

## 3.4. GENDER

Gender in Nepali is not grammatical. It is realized at the lexical level only. The feminine gender has /-i/, /-ni/, /-ini/ or /-eni/ and /ika/ markers. Further certain oppositional pairs, mostly of kinship relationship, have independent lexemes to denote gender distinction.

Replacement of /-a, -o/ by /-i/

The word denoting masculine gender in this group ends in -a or -o. The feminine forms are marked categories. The final vowels -a and -o are replaced by /-i/ for making feminine gender.

Masculine		Feminine	
<i>keT-o</i>	‘boy’	<i>keT-i</i>	‘girl’
<i>paTh-o</i>	‘goat’	<i>paTh-i</i>	‘she-goat’

<i>kAmar-o</i>	‘bachelor’	<i>kAmar-i</i>	‘unmarried girl’
<i>sal-o</i>	‘brother-in-law’	<i>sal-i</i>	‘sister-in-law’
<i>bhēR-o</i>	‘sheep’ ‘ram’	<i>bhēR-i</i>	‘sheep’ ‘ewe’
<i>aj-a</i>	‘grandfather’	<i>aj-i</i>	‘grandmother’
<i>kak-a</i>	‘uncle’	<i>kak-i</i>	‘aunt’
<i>paR-o</i>	‘he-buffalo’	<i>paR-i</i>	‘she-buffalo’
<i>bach-o</i>	‘calf’	<i>bach-i</i>	‘female calf’
<i>pArew-a</i>	‘pigeon’	<i>pArew-i</i>	‘female pigeon’

Adding of /-ini/ or /-eni/

/-ini/ is added to the masculine words for making feminine gender,

Masculine		Feminine	
<i>thapa</i>	‘a caste’	<i>thApini, thApeni</i>	‘thapa’s wife’, ‘lady’
<i>lama</i>	‘a caste’	<i>lAmini, lAmeni</i>	‘lama’s wife’, ‘lady’
<i>bagh</i>	‘tiger’	<i>baghini</i>	‘tigress’
<i>lapce</i>	‘lepcha’	<i>lApcini or lApceni</i>	‘lepcha’s wife’

Adding of /-ni/

<i>nati</i>	‘grandson’	<i>natini</i>	‘granddaughter’
<i>chetri</i>	‘a caste’	<i>chetrini</i>	‘chetri’s wife’
<i>newar</i>	‘a caste’	<i>newarni</i>	‘newar’s wife’
<i>bohora</i>		<i>bohorni</i>	
<i>bAral</i>		<i>bAralni</i>	

Adding of /-ika/

<i>balAk</i>	‘boy’	<i>balika</i>	‘girl’
<i>gayAk</i>	‘singer’	<i>gayika</i>	‘female singer’
<i>lekhAk</i>	‘writer’	<i>lekhika</i>	‘female writer’
<i>nayAk</i>	‘hero’	<i>nayika</i>	‘heroine’

Again, the following are oppositional pairs having independent lexemes to signify gender distinction.

Masculine		Feminine	
<i>boko</i>	‘he-goat’	<i>bakhri</i>	‘she-goat’

<i>mama</i>	‘maternal uncle’	<i>mAiju</i>	‘maternal aunt’
<i>saRh</i>	‘male ox’	<i>mAlla</i>	‘female ox’
<i>bhale</i>	‘male bird’	<i>pothi</i>	‘female bird’
<i>bAhAr</i>	‘bull’	<i>gai</i>	‘cow’
<i>logne</i>	‘husband’	<i>swasni</i>	‘wife’
<i>bir</i>	‘male pig’	<i>bhuni</i>	‘female pig’
<i>bhai</i>	‘brother’	<i>buhari</i>	‘sister-in-law’
<i>juwai</i>	‘son-in-law’	<i>chori</i>	‘daughter’
<i>bAr</i>	‘bridegroom’	<i>kAnyA</i>	‘bride’
<i>bhinajyu</i>	‘brother-in-law’	<i>didi</i>	‘sister’ (elder)
<i>babu</i>	‘father’	<i>ama</i>	‘mother’
<i>rago</i>	‘male buffalo’	<i>bhAisi</i>	‘female buffalo’

### 3.5. NUMBER

There are two numbers in Nepali viz., Singular and Plural. The singular number remains unmarked and plurality is expressed periphrastically. The animate and inanimate both take the */-hAru/* marker to express their plurality.

Singular		Plural	
<i>manis</i>	‘man’	<i>manis hAru</i>	‘men’
<i>keTo</i>	‘boy’	<i>keTa hAru</i>	‘boys’
<i>ghoRo</i>	‘horse’	<i>ghora hAru</i>	‘horses’
<i>sadhu</i>	‘monk’	<i>sadhu hAru</i>	‘monks’
<i>dewAta</i>	‘god’	<i>dewAta hAru</i>	‘gods’
<i>kAlAm</i>	‘pen’	<i>kAlAm hAru</i>	‘pens’

But in case a numeral of any kind is used before a noun, the plural marker */-hAru/* is not affixed.

*mAsAM dAs rupia chAn*  
‘with me ten rupees are’

For all practical purposes of making nouns/pronouns plural the */-hAru/* marker is extensively used.

### 3.6. CASE

The case suffixes are added to the noun stems to establish relationship between the noun and the verb in a sentence. Genitive case establishes a relationship between nouns. In Nepali, the noun stems take specific case markers or postpositions in order to participate in larger constructions.

Practically, there are Direct and Oblique cases.

Direct	Nominative	$\emptyset$ , <i>le</i>
Oblique Cases :		
	1) Accusative/Dative	<i>lai</i>
	2) Instrumental	<i>le</i>
	3) Ablative	<i>dekhi, baT</i>
	4) Genitive	<i>ko, -ki, -ka</i>
	5) Sociative	<i>sAMa</i>
	6) Locative	<i>mã</i>

It has been found, in the corpus, that words other than nouns/pronouns also use case markers.

*yAhã ko* = of this place.

#### Nominative Case

Practically, nominative has no marker. In most of the cases, the nominal bases function as nominative. But subject of the verb (if transitive) may take the */-le/* marker. The unmarked feature and the marked feature with *-le* is due to the difference between transitive and intransitive verbs.

Transitive	Intransitive
<i>usle khayo</i> 'he ate'	<i>bhai royo</i> 'brother wept'
<i>time le lekhyo</i> 'you work'	<i>bhai runchA</i> 'brother weeps'

#### Accusative / Dative Case

The accusative / dative cases are mainly used to mark the direct object of the transitive verb, by using the case morpheme */-lai/*:

*SikchAk le chatra lai path pARhayē*

‘The teacher taught the students his lessons’.

*hami gai lai manchAũ*

‘We/I worship the cow’ or ‘we respect the cow’

*timi khalalai ayo*

‘you came for eating’

#### Instrumental case

The instrumental case is realized as */-le~se/*. Both are in free variation to denote instrumental case. But */-se/* is not generally found in common usage. */-se/* is apparently from a Hindi source.

*mAnle sōc* ‘Thing with your mind’.

*kan le sun* ‘Hear with your ear’

*mA pultAk pAisa le kin yo* ‘I purchase the book with money’

#### Ablative Case

The ablative case is realized by the marker – *dekhi~*, *dekhin~*, *baT* to show separation or extraction.

*mA aj dekhi ghAr janchũ* ‘I go to house / I am going home from today’

*mA dekhin sbAi risaye* ‘everybody became angry from me’

*murkh dekhi nA Darau* ‘don’t fear from fools’.

*guru baT guan painchA* ‘you get knowledge from the guru (teacher)’

#### Genitive Case

The Genitive case is realized by *–ko*, *–ki* and *–ka*:

*bhArAt ko choro murkhA chA* ‘Bharat’s son is illiterate’

*jAnAk ki chori sita hAn* ‘Janak’s daughter is Sita’

*Syam ka sathi hAru aye* ‘Shyam’s friends came’

#### Sociative case

The sociative case is realized by the marker – *sAMe~sAMa*, meaning ‘with’ or ‘company’:

*hAmi sAMa au* ‘come with me’

## Locative Case

The Locative case is realized by the marker *-mã* and also by a number of post-positions like *-bhistAr*, *agu*, *pAchi*; which have been discussed separately below.

<i>tyo ghAr ma bAschA</i>	‘he sits in your house’
<i>tyo pARhAnama mAn chA</i>	‘he has interest in reading’

### 3.7. POST-POSITIONS

The following postpositions are available in the data. They occur, immediately after nominal and pronominal bases, as free forms, and it is observed that the preceding bases generally (with a few exceptions) take the genitive case marker */-ko/* or */-ka/* or */-ke/*. Semantically grouped, they have been shown below:

#### Postpositions of Place, Location

<i>AgaRi</i>	-	ahead, before	
		<i>rukH ko AgaRi</i>	‘a head of the tree’
<i>aghi</i>	-	in front of	
		<i>mor aghi</i>	‘in front of me’
<i>nAjik</i>	-	near	
		<i>bAsti ko nAjik</i>	‘near the settlement’
<i>pAcchi</i>	-	after	
		<i>ghArko pAcchi</i>	‘after the home’
<i>pAchaRi</i>	-	behind	
		<i>mero pAchaRi au</i>	‘come behind me’
<i>pari</i>	-	on the other side of	
		<i>pAhaR pari gãw</i>	‘village on the other side of mountain’
<i>tAla</i>	-	below	
		<i>rukH tAla</i>	‘below the tree’
<i>tira</i>	-	towards	
		<i>nAdi ko tira</i>	‘towards the river’
<i>thai</i>	-	to	
		<i>mor thai awa</i>	‘come to me’



*pATi* - at  
*mor pATi hera* 'look at me'

#### Post-Positions of Cause, Purpose

*nimti* - for - *khanuko nimti* 'for eating'  
*januko nimti* 'for going'

*chēw* - close to - *aba chēw jau* 'go close to  
your father'

*lagi* - for the sake of - *paise lagi kaj gAr* 'work for money'

#### Double Post-positions:

*dekhi ūdho* - *ghAr dekhi ūdho* - 'down below the house'

*dekhi umbho* - *baTA dekhi umbho* - 'quite above the path'

### 3.8. PRONOUNS

Pronouns are a closed group of words, which can substitute nouns and take case suffixes. Here they have been treated separately from nouns for two specific reasons viz (i) they distinguish person and (ii) in higher constructions while nouns are preceded by adjectives, the pronouns follow the adjective. Pronouns cover a wider range, on the semantic level, as they stand for nouns, adjectives and adverbs too. In some cases, the pronouns function as relativizers above clause level constructions. The pronoun /u/ 'that', /yo/ 'this' are to be treated pronouns in one situation but as adjectives in another situation.

*/yo kam/* 'this work' and */u manis/* 'that person'

Further /ko/ or /ke/ or /ka/ 'what' are pronouns (interrogative) and adjectives both when used situation wise.

The pronouns in Nepali fall into six groups. They are:

1. Personal Pronouns
2. Demonstrative Pronouns
3. Reflexive Pronouns
4. Relative Pronouns
5. Interrogative Pronouns
6. Indefinite Pronouns

The Pronouns in Nepali have no overt gender markers. However relatives, interrogative and indefinite pronouns have separate forms for human and non-human. Pronouns show the distinction of number by using a different stem, by adding *-hAru* or by reduplication.

#### Personal Pronouns

The Pronouns are distinguished into three persons, - First, Second and Third person; two numbers – Singular and Plural. The distinction between singular and plural is made periphrastically by using the plural form */-hAru/*. The gender sign is neutralized.

First Person	Singular Forms	<i>/mĀ/</i> and <i>/hami/</i>
Nominative	<i>mĀ</i> <i>hami</i>	‘I’
Instrumental	<i>mĀile</i> <i>hamile</i>	‘by me’
Accusative/Dative	<i>mĀlai</i> <i>hamilai</i>	‘to me’, ‘for me’
Genitive	<i>mero</i> <i>hamro</i>	‘my’
Locative	<i>mĀmā</i> <i>hamima</i>	‘in me’, ‘to me’

First Person	Plural Form	
Nominative	<i>hamihAru</i>	‘we’
Instrumental	<i>hamihArule</i>	‘by us’
Accusative/Dative	<i>hamihArulai</i>	‘to us’, ‘for us’
Genitive	<i>hamihAruko</i>	‘our’
Locative	<i>hamihArumā</i>	‘among’, ‘in us’, ‘to us’

Second Person	Singular Forms	
Nominative	<i>tĀ</i> <i>timi</i> <i>tApai</i>	‘you’
Instrumental	<i>tĀile</i> <i>timile</i> <i>tApaile</i>	‘by you’
Accusative/Dative	<i>tĀlai</i> <i>timilai</i> <i>tApailai</i>	‘to you’, ‘for you’
Genitive	<i>tero</i> <i>timro</i> <i>tApaiko</i>	‘your’
Locative	<i>tĀmā</i> <i>timimā</i> <i>tApaimā</i>	‘in you’, ‘to you’

Second Person	Plural Forms	
Nominative	<i>timihAru</i> <i>tApaihAru</i>	‘you (pl.)’

Instrumental	<i>timihArule tApaihArule</i>	‘by you all’
Accusative/Dative	<i>timihArulai tApaihArulai</i>	‘to you all’, ‘for you all’
Genitive	<i>timihAruko tApaihAruko</i>	‘yours’, ‘of all of you’
Locative	<i>timihArumã tApaihArumã</i>	‘among you all’, ‘to all of you’

Third Person Singular Forms

Nominative	<i>yo tyo u</i>	‘he, it, this’
Instrumental	<i>yAsle tyAsle usle</i>	‘by him’, ‘by it’/this’
Accusative/Dative	<i>yAslai tyAslai uslai</i>	‘to him, for him’ ‘for it, for this’
Genitive	<i>yAsko tyAsko usko</i>	‘his, its’
Locative	<i>yAsma tyAsmã usma</i>	‘in him’ ‘in it’ ‘in this’ ‘to him’

Third Person Plural Forms

Nominative	<i>yinihAru tinihAru unihAru</i>	‘they, those’
Instrumental	<i>yinihArule tinihArule unihArule</i>	‘by them’
Accusative/Dative	<i>yinihArulai tinihArulai unihArulai</i>	‘for them’
Genitive	<i>yinihAruko tinihAruko unihAruko</i>	‘their’
Locative	<i>yinihArumã tinihAruma unihArumã</i>	‘in them’ ‘to them’
First Person	<i>mÃ ~ hami</i>	

*mÃ* - is used in most general terms by the speaker.

*hami* - it is used by the person who is speaking as a member of a group in most cases, usually a family.

Second Person

*TÃ ~ timi ~ tÃpai ~ tã*

*tÃ* -is a low grade honorific or a general term for the second person singular.

*timi* is considered a middle grade honorific.

*tApai* it is a high grade honorific used for very elderly, respectable persons of the society or for strangers of high status.

*tã* - is used in familiar situations to address children or friends of very close intimacy or to juniors including servants in thehouse.

Third Person Pronouns /u/ 'he, she'

*-u-* is used for 'he', 'she', and it is treated as a respectable term for the third person Singular. /yo/ and /tyo/ are used for demonstrative Pronouns. Virtually, the pronouns categorized under third Person (Singular & Plural) are Demonstrative Pronouns also, by their functions.

#### Reflexive Pronoun

<i>aphu</i>	-	self		
Nominative	-	<i>aphu</i>		
Accusative/ Dative	-	<i>aphulai</i>		
Instrumental	-	<i>aphule</i>		
Genitive	-	<i>aphnu</i>	<i>aphni</i>	<i>aphne</i>
		<i>aphuko</i>		
Locative	-	<i>aphumã</i>		

The plural forms are the same as those of the singular. Only in the Genitive case are the reflexive pronouns conditioned by Gender markers, *-i*, *-u*, and *-a*, respectively for feminine, general and specific masculine genders.

#### Relative Pronoun

/jo/, /jun/ = 'which, that, who'

##### Singular Forms

Nominative	-	<i>jo , jun</i>
Instrumental	-	<i>jAsle</i>
Accusative/Dative	-	<i>jAslai jun lai</i>
Genitive	-	<i>jAsko</i>
Locative	-	<i>jAsmã</i>

##### Plural Forms

Noun	-	<i>jo , junhAru</i>
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Accusative/ Dative - *jAslai , junhArulai*

The Plural marker *-hAru* is optionally used. Sometime, the plural oblique cases of */jo/* are made by doubling.

*jAsslai* 'to whom'  
Interrogative Pronouns */ko/ , /ke/* 'who' */kun/* is also in used by the common people.

Singular Forms

Nominative - *ko ~ kun* 'who', which, what'  
Accusative/ - *kAslai ~ kunlai* 'for whom'  
Instrumental - *kAsle ~ kunle* 'by whom'  
Genitive - *kAsko ~ kunko* 'of whom', 'whose'.  
*kAski* 'of whom' – (feminine)  
*kAska* 'of whom' – (general)

Plural Forms

Noun - *koko ~ kunhAru*  
Accusative/ - *kAslai ~ kunhAru lai*  
Dative *kAs kAsla*

Indefinite Pronoun */koi/* or */kei/* 'someone, anyone, something, anything'

Singular Forms

Nominative - *koi, kei*  
Accusative/Dative - *kAsAlai, kelai*  
Instrumental - *kAsAile*  
Genitive - *kAsAiko*  
Locative - *kAsAimã*

Plural Forms

*koikoi ~ keikei*

### 3.9. ADJECTIVES

Adjectives are words that are in an attributive construction with a noun. Nepali adjectives are, morphologically, of two types:

1. Simple Adjectives
2. Derived Adjectives

### 3.9.1. SIMPLE ADJECTIVES

The simple adjective forms are further grouped into three types viz.

1. Adjectives marked for gender
2. Adjectives of quality
3. Adjectives of quantity

#### Adjectives marked for gender

Only a few adjectival forms given below are marked for gender. The stems which can have masculine /-a/ or /-o/ or feminine /-i/ markers are the following;

<i>ramro keTa</i>	‘good boy’
<i>ramri keTi</i>	‘good girl’
<i>kalo baulaha</i>	‘black mad man’ (dead man) used emantically
<i>kali bAulahi</i>	‘black mad woman’
<i>gora bAr</i>	‘whitish groom’
<i>gori kAnya</i>	‘whitish bride’
<i>kano logne</i>	‘blind husband’
<i>kani swasni</i>	‘blind wife’
<i>sojho rukh</i>	‘straight tree’
<i>sojhi mAdi</i>	‘straight river’
<i>batho choro</i>	‘clever boy’
<i>bathi chori</i>	‘clever girl’
<i>dublo keTo</i>	‘weak boy’
<i>dubli keTi</i>	‘weak girl’
<i>sudho manis</i>	‘simple man’
<i>sudhi gai</i>	‘simple cow’
<i>cArko ghoRo</i>	‘spotted horse’
<i>cArki ghoRi</i>	‘spotted mare’

#### Adjectives of quality

These are simple adjectival forms which function as an inherent attribute to the noun expressing its qualities. The list is not exhaustive.

<i>gArib ..manis</i>	‘poor man’
<i>nAmiTho.. phAl</i>	‘sour fruit’
<i>nilo.. akas</i>	‘blue sky’
<i>AsAli ..sun</i>	‘pure gold’
<i>Thos ..rAcAns</i>	‘compact work’
<i>khulla.. ghAr</i>	‘open house’

<i>dirgh.. itihās</i>	‘sustained history’
<i>mAhan.. kam</i>	‘great work’
<i>cAmkilo ..tara</i>	‘bright stars’
<i>tito.. kArela</i>	‘bitter gourd’
<i>piro ..gAndhA</i>	‘pungent’
<i>Tarro ..lebu</i>	‘less sweet lemon’
<i>khasro.. luga</i>	‘crisp cloth’
<i>lucco ..manis</i>	‘tricky man’
<i>nunilo.. sAbji</i>	‘salted vegetables’
<i>laTo...manis</i>	‘mad man’
<i>seto.. phul</i>	‘white flowers’
<i>khArab...bat</i>	‘bad saying’

### Adjectives of Quantity

Under this heading we classify the adjectival forms like /yAti/, /uti/, /dherAi/, /thorAi/, /AlikAti/, /kehi/, /adha/ /sAbAi/ /thuprai/, /AlpA/ etc.

<i>yAti Ann</i>	‘this much corn’
<i>uti ...dhan</i>	‘that much paddy’
<i>dherA...manis</i>	‘many people’
<i>thorAi...pani</i>	‘little water’
<i>slikAti...dudh</i>	‘some milk’
<i>kehi...bat</i>	‘some talks’
<i>adha...kam</i>	‘half of the work’
<i>thuprA...chora</i>	‘many children’
<i>sAbAi...kukur</i>	‘all the dogs’
<i>AlpA...biram</i>	‘some rest’

### 3.9.2. DERIVED ADJECTIVES

There are a number of formative suffixes which are added to nouns in order to form adjectival forms. As will be apparent from the list given, not all the words that employ these formative suffixes are adjectives, strictly speaking; future research will disaggregate the distinct uses of these suffixes.

Nominal Base		Suffix	Derived Adjective	
<i>dam</i>	‘price’	<i>-i</i>	<i>dami</i>	‘costly’
<i>nam</i>	‘name’	<i>-i</i>	<i>nami</i>	‘popular’
<i>dan</i>	‘alms’	<i>-i</i>	<i>dani</i>	‘doner’
<i>lobh</i>	‘greed’	<i>-i</i>	<i>lobhi</i>	‘greedy’
<i>khun</i>	‘blood’	<i>-i</i>	<i>khuni</i>	‘murderer’
<i>bAl</i>	‘force’	<i>-i</i>	<i>bAli</i>	‘forceful’
<i>ghAs</i>	‘grass’	<i>-i</i>	<i>ghasi</i>	‘grass-cutter’
<i>kripa</i>	‘kindness’	<i>-alu</i>	<i>kripalu</i>	‘kind’
<i>dAya</i>	‘kindness’	<i>-alu</i>	<i>dAyalu</i>	‘kind’
<i>ris</i>	‘anger’	<i>-alu</i>	<i>risalu</i>	‘angry’
<i>bis</i>	‘poison’	<i>-alu</i>	<i>bisalu</i>	‘poisonous’
<i>ghAr</i>	‘house’	<i>-elu</i>	<i>ghArelu</i>	‘household’
<i>bAn</i>	‘forest’	<i>-elu</i>	<i>bAnelu</i>	‘wild’
<i>jos</i>	‘spirit’	<i>-ilo</i>	<i>josilo</i>	‘spirited’
<i>nun</i>	‘salt’	<i>-ilo</i>	<i>nunilo</i>	‘salted’
<i>rAs</i>	‘juice’	<i>-ilo</i>	<i>rAsilo</i>	‘juicy’
<i>khan</i>	‘moment’	<i>-ik</i>	<i>khAnik</i>	‘momentary’
<i>mul</i>	‘root’	<i>-ik</i>	<i>mAulik</i>	‘original’
<i>din</i>	‘day’	<i>-ik</i>	<i>dAnik</i>	‘daily’
<i>swArg</i>	‘heaven’	<i>-ik</i>	<i>swArgik</i>	‘heavenly’
<i>mal</i>	‘things’	<i>-dar</i>	<i>maldar</i>	‘rich’
<i>hos</i>	‘sense’	<i>-dar</i>	<i>hosdar</i>	‘wise’
<i>san</i>	‘grandeur’	<i>-dar</i>	<i>sandar</i>	‘grand’
<i>bAl</i>	‘force’	<i>-wan</i>	<i>bAlwan</i>	‘strong’

### 3.9.3. INTERROGATIVE ADJECTIVE

*/ka/, /ke/, /kun/* as and when they precede the noun serves as attributive expressions modifying them, and giving various shades of meaning.



<i>ke mAnis hAru chAn</i>	‘what people can they possibly be’
<i>ka keTo thiyo</i>	‘a boy of what nature was he’
<i>kun chori iyo chA</i>	‘what girl or who this girl is’.

### 3.9.4. COMPARISON OF ADJECTIVES

Apart from the simple attributive function adjectives have two more degrees viz. comparative and extensive.

#### Comparative Degree of Adjective

Some free forms like */bhAnda/* and */sAbAi bhAnda/* are used for showing comparison.

<i>pat bhAnda phul ramro chA</i>	‘flower is better than leaf’
<i>kag bhAnda koili cAMkh hunchA</i>	‘a cuckoo happens to be more dear (dearer) than a crow’

#### Extensive Degree of Adjectives

It expresses some fixed limits of comparison, extent, intensification etc. The markers are */dherAi/*, */thorAi/*, */kAm/*, */thuprAi/* etc.

<i>thuprAi</i>	<i>sukh</i>	‘much comfort and pleasure’
<i>dherAi</i>	<i>dukh</i>	‘enough sorrows, woes’
<i>thorAi</i>	<i>miTho</i>	‘less sweet’

### 3.10. NUMERAL

All the numerals in Nepali are adjectives, syntactically speaking. They function as attributes to nouns. For definite quantification objects are expressed in units, which are expressed by numerals.

There are the following sets of numerals but only two subsets viz. cardinal and ordinal extend to higher numbers. The cardinals have the potentiality of taking case-markers and can behave like nouns also. The ordinals are pure adjectives in Nepali.

1. Cardinals
2. Ordinals
3. Aggregatives
4. Multiplicatives
5. Collectives

### 3.10.1. CARDINAL -INTEGRALS

On the basis of the constituents, the Cardinal numerals take the form of (1) a construction with a single morpheme (base numerals) (2) a construction with two or more morphemes (derived numerals).

The numbers one to ten, hundred, thousand, lakh and crore are free forms, hence they serve as the base for all other derived numerals.

Numbers belonging to Class I (Base Numerals)

<i>ek</i>	‘one’
<i>dui</i>	‘two’
<i>tin</i>	‘three’
<i>car</i>	‘four’
<i>pac</i>	‘five’
<i>chA</i>	‘six’
<i>sat</i>	‘seven’
<i>aTh</i>	‘eight’
<i>nAu</i>	‘nine’
<i>dAs</i>	‘ten’
<i>sAu</i>	‘hundred’
<i>hAjar</i>	‘thousand’
<i>lakh</i>	‘lakh’
<i>kAroR</i>	‘crore’

Numerals belonging to Class II (Derived)

These numerals are formed by addition, subtraction and multiplication processes applied to the base numerals. Any one or a combination of the above-noted processes may be employed to form higher numerals.

Most of the numerals from eleven and above (except 19, 29, 39, 49, 59, 69, 79 and 99) and 20, 30, 40, 50, 60, 70, 80 and 90 are formed by the system of addition.

The numerals 11 to 18 are constructed by the combination of allomorphs of one to eight to the allmorph of 10 where the allomorph of 1 to 8 precedes that of 10. The construction of these numerals conforms to the following rules.

### Numerals by addition

<i>ek</i>	<i>ga</i>	
<i>dui</i>	<i>ba</i>	
<i>tin</i>	<i>te</i>	-yA/ro
<i>pāc</i>	<i>pAnd</i>	
<i>sat</i>	<i>sAt</i>	
<i>aTh</i>	<i>ATh</i>	
<i>car</i>	<i>cAw</i>	<i>dA</i>
<i>chA</i>	<i>so</i>	<i>lA~ rA</i>
<i>egaro~rA</i>		(1+10)
<i>baro~rA</i>		(2+10)
<i>tero~rA</i>		(3+10)
<i>cAwdo ~ dA</i>		(4+10)
<i>pAndro ~ rA</i>		(5+10)
<i>solo~soro~solA</i>		(6+10)
<i>sAtAro ~ sAtArA</i>		(7+10)
<i>Atāro~AThArA</i>		(8+10)

Likewise the numerals between 21 to 28, 31 to 38, 41 to 48, 51 to 58 , 61 to 68, 71 to 78, 81 to 88 and 91 to 98 are formed by adding proper bound forms of the base with corresponding bound forms of higher numbers.

### Numerals by Subtraction

In this class the numerals 19, 29, 39, 49, 59, 69, 79, 89, and 99 are formed by prefixing the allomorph of ‘nine’ viz. /un-/, /nAw-/ or /nina-/ to the respective higher numerals.

<i>unis~onis</i>	19	(-1 + 20)
<i>untalis</i>	39	(-1 + 40)
<i>onsATh</i>	59	(-1 + 60)
<i>nAwasi</i>	89	(-1 + 90)
<i>ninanAbe</i>	99	(-1 + 100)

### Numerals by multiplication

In this class, the numbers 20, 30, 40, 50, 60, 70, 80 and 90 are formed by multiplication of two base numerals. Some of the derivatives of these numbers are given below; for example:

20	<i>dui</i>	x	<i>dAs</i>	<i>bwis</i>	>	<i>bis</i>	(2 x10)
30	<i>tin</i>	x	<i>dAs</i>	<i>tiniAs</i>	>	<i>tiniAs&gt;tis</i>	(3 x 10)
40	<i>car</i>	x	<i>dAs</i>	<i>cariAs</i>	>	<i>caliAs&gt;calis</i>	(4 x10) etc.

The numbers greater than 100 are expressed on the phrasal level. The order of the constituents is shown below:

13945 is expressed as (13 x 1000 + 9 x 100 + 45)

'*tera hAjar nAu sAu pAētalis*' without adding any word for 'and' etc.

### 3.10.2. ORDINAL NUMBERS

The ordinal numbers express specification and fractional divisions. The ordinals in Nepali are formed by adding the suffix /-wa/ to the cardinal base. /-wa/ has the following four bound alternants with restricted distribution as given below:

-lo occurs after *ek* → (*ek pAhi*) > *pAhi lo* (first)  
 -sAro occurs after two, three (*dui* → *du/do*) (*dusAro* ~ *dosro*) (second)

(*tin* → *ti/te*) *tisro* ~ *tesro* (third)

-tho occurs after 4 (*car*) (*car* → *cAw* → *cAwtho*) (fourth)

-wa occurs elsewhere *pāc pācwa* 'fifth'

### 3.10.3. AGGREGATIVES

Aggregatives are formed by adding -ō

*donō* both the two

*tinō* all the three

*carō* all the four

*hajarō* all the thousands, a very big number.

### 3.10.4. MULTIPLICATIVES

The multiplicatives are formed by adding suffixes:

/-guna/ or /-hAra/

*dugunano* 'two times'

*dohAra -o* 'two folds'

*DeRhguna -o* '1½ times'

*TehAra -o* 'three folds'

### 3.10.5. COLLECTIVES

The collective numbers are many numbers expressed in group terms.

<i>'gahi'</i>	'collection of five going together'
<i>'pAnjo'</i>	'collection of five'
<i>'joRa'</i>	'collection of two'
<i>'dArjAn'</i>	'collection of twelve'
<i>'sAtto'</i>	'collection of seven'

### 3.10.6. FRACTIONAL NUMBERS

The fractional numbers are expressed (1) by single words (2) by phrases.

#### Single Words

$(\frac{1}{4})$	<i>'paw'</i>
$(\frac{1}{2})$	<i>'adha'</i>
$(\frac{3}{4})$	<i>'pon'</i>
$(\frac{1}{3})$	<i>'tihai'</i>
$(\frac{1}{4})$	<i>'sAwa, sawa'</i>
$(\frac{1}{2})$	<i>'DeRh'</i>
$(\frac{2}{2})$	<i>'aRhai'</i>

#### Phrases

$(\frac{2}{4})$	<i>'pone tin'</i>	
$(\frac{3}{2})$	<i>'saRhe tin'</i>	<i>etc.</i>

### 3.10.7. NUMERAL AUGMENTATION

All cardinal numerals (base or derived) can optionally add an augment of the form /jAna/:

<i>dui jAna manis</i>	'two men'
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### 3.11. ADVERBS

The adverbs are words that co-occur with and modify verbs.

The adverbs in Nepali belong to the following types

- 1) Adverb of time
- 2) Adverbs of place
- 3) Adverbs of manner

The Adverbs of time

<i>hijo</i>	‘yesterday’
<i>aju</i>	‘today’
<i>Asti</i>	‘day before yesterday’
<i>aghu</i>	‘earlier’
<i>Ab</i>	‘now’
<i>Ahile</i>	‘so’
<i>jAhile</i>	‘therefore’
<i>bholi</i>	‘tomorrow’
<i>pArsi</i>	‘day after tomorrow’
<i>kAb</i>	‘when’
<i>turAnt</i>	‘at once’
<i>rojinda</i>	‘everyday’
<i>bArsAni</i>	‘yearly’
<i>jAgAn</i>	‘age-wise’
<i>mathi</i>	‘above’
<i>ihã</i>	‘here’
<i>uhã</i>	‘there’
<i>hyã</i>	‘here’
<i>bahi</i>	‘outside’
<i>ty ahã</i>	‘at that place’
<i>Aghi</i>	‘ahead’
<i>pAchidur</i>	‘distant’, ‘behind’
<i>sojhyo</i>	‘front’, ‘straight’
<i>tAl</i>	‘down’

Adverbs of manner

<i>besAri</i>	‘more’
<i>ramri</i>	‘rightly’
<i>kAsAri</i>	‘how’
<i>jAsAri</i>	‘like that’
<i>jAsAi</i>	‘like’
<i>tAhile</i>	‘like that’

Certain nouns combined with the instrumental suffix *-le* function as adverbial phrases.

<i>jor</i>	<i>le</i>	‘with force’ or ‘with loudness, loudly’
<i>der</i>	<i>le</i>	‘late, with delay’

### 3.12. VERBS

A verb is a type of stem that takes the categories of Tense, Aspect and Mood, Person and Number. The verb in Nepali is, with few exceptions, quite regular and shows a full-blown system in respect of Tense, Aspect and Mood.

The Nepali verb forms are made of verb bases which function as the stem of a verb form. Morphologically, the verb bases are of three types – Simple, Complex and Compound. It is the base by which one verb is distinguished from another.

#### 3.12.1. SIMPLE VERB-BASE

A simple verb base consists of a bare root. The simple verb bases are further subdivided into

i) Verb roots with a simple structure (monomorphemic form) that ends with a vowel or a consonant and can be conjugated

ii) Verbs which can be derived from Nominal and Adjectival bases with a  $\emptyset$  (zero) verbalizer.

Both these groups behave alike in the conjugation. Group (I) is underived while group (II) is derived from other form-classes.

Group I. Bare roots as Verb bases

<i>gAr</i>	‘do’
<i>bAs</i>	‘sit’
<i>dAgur</i>	‘run’
<i>dekh</i>	‘see’
<i>sun</i>	‘hear’
<i>bhAn</i>	‘speak’
<i>khAs</i>	‘drop’
<i>la</i>	‘take away’
<i>di</i>	‘give’
<i>li</i>	‘take’
<i>kha</i>	‘eat’
<i>birsi</i>	‘forget’
<i>siu</i>	‘stitch’
<i>ja</i>	‘go’
<i>pADh</i>	‘read’
<i>mar</i>	‘beat’

(The list is not exhaustive)

Group II Verbs derived from Nominal and Adjectival bases with  $\emptyset$  markers.

A good number of Nouns (nominals) function as Simple Verb bases in Nepali.

	Nominals	Verb
<i>bhēT</i>	meeting	meet
<i>DAr</i>	fear	fear
<i>bhul</i>	error	forget
<i>khel</i>	game	play
<i>nāc</i>	dance	to dance
<i>sikh</i>	lessons	learn
<i>sōc</i>	worry	think

T.W. Clark has classified the Nepali verb bases into three categories:

i) bases, ending in a consonant, with only one form

<i>gAr</i>	‘do’
<i>bAs</i>	‘sit’
<i>sun</i>	‘hear’ etc.

ii) bases ending in a vowel, with only one form

<i>la</i>	‘take away’
<i>di</i>	‘give’
<i>li</i>	‘take’
<i>kha</i>	‘eat’
<i>ubhi</i>	‘stand’
<i>umbhi</i>	‘boil’

iii) bases ending in a vowel but having two forms, which he calls. primary and secondary

Primary		Secondary	
<i>au</i>	‘come’	<i>a</i>	‘come’
<i>dhu</i>	‘wash’	<i>dho</i>	‘wash’
<i>pau</i>	‘get’	<i>pa</i>	‘get’
<i>pATHau</i>	‘send’	<i>pATha</i>	‘send’
<i>umla</i>	‘boil’	<i>uml</i>	‘boil’
<i>ru</i>	‘weep’	<i>ro</i>	‘weep’
<i>duhu</i>	‘milk’	<i>duh</i>	‘milk’



### 3.12.2 COMPLEX VERB BASES

A complex verb base consists of a simple verb base + formative suffix and it is derived from noun, adjective and adverbs etc. Thus, the complex verb bases seem to consist of three sub-groups:

- i) Verb bases derived from other form classes (nouns, adjectives, adverbs, onomatopoeics etc.);
- ii) Simple verb base + formative suffixes (Roots + *-a*) serving as a transitive verb base;
- iii) Causative formations (Roots + */au/*, e.g. */launu/*)

### 3.12.3. VERB BASES DERIVED FROM NOUNS, ADJECTIVES ETC.

Nouns		Suffix	root (base)	Infinitive	
<i>maTo-</i>	'soil'	<i>i</i>	<i>mATi</i>	<i>mATinu</i>	'to soil'
<i>DAr-</i>	'fear'	<i>au</i>	<i>DAr<u>au</u></i>	<i>Daraunu</i>	'to make someone fear'
<i>laj -</i>	'shame'		<i>au laj<u>au</u></i>	<i>lAj<u>au</u></i>	'to be ashamed'
<i>rog-</i>	'disease'	<i>au</i>	<i>rog<u>au</u></i>	<i>rog<u>au</u></i>	'to weaken' 'to become sick'

Adjectives		Suffix	base	Infinitives	
<i>lamo</i>	'long'	<i>-i</i>	<i>lAmi</i>	<i>lAminu</i>	'to make something long'
<i>jill -</i>	'shining'	<i>-i</i>	<i>jilli</i>	<i>jillinu</i>	'to focus light'
<i>sAmm -</i>	'equal'	<i>-i</i>	<i>sAmmi</i>	<i>sAmminu</i>	'to equalize'

Adverbs		Suffix	base	Infinitives	
<i>bhitrA</i>	-(inside)	<i>-i</i>	<i>bhitri</i>	<i>bhitrinu</i>	'to go inside' 'to remain inside'
<i>bahir</i>	-(outside)	<i>-i</i>	<i>bahiri</i>	<i>bahirinu</i>	to go, to move or to roam outside'

### Onomatopoeic formations

<i>cArcAr</i>	‘screeching sound’- <i>a cArcAra</i>	<i>‘cArcAranu’</i>	‘screech’
<i>hArhAr</i>	- ‘whirling sound’- <i>a hArhAra</i>	<i>‘hArhAranu’</i>	‘to make whirling sound’
<i>gAdgAd</i>	- ‘thundering sound’- <i>a gADgADa</i>	<i>‘gADgADanu’</i>	‘roaring’
<i>TanTAn</i>	- ‘noise like metal’ - <i>a TanTAna</i>	<i>‘TanTAnanu’</i>	‘to make bell sound’
<i>bhAnbhAn</i>	- ‘humming sound’ - <i>a bhAnbhAna</i>	<i>‘bhAnbhAnanu’</i>	‘to make humming’ (bee sound)

The transitives (derived) and causatives are formed by adding derivational morphemes to intransitive and transitive verb bases respectively. E.g.

Intransitive		suffix	Transitive base
<i>uTh</i>	‘rise’	- <i>a</i>	<i>uTha</i>
<i>uD</i>	‘fly’	- <i>a</i>	<i>uDa</i>
<i>bAn</i>	‘become’	- <i>a</i>	<i>bAna</i>
<i>oDh</i>	‘wrap’	- <i>a</i>	<i>oDha</i>
<i>bAs</i>	‘sit’	- <i>a</i>	<i>basa</i>

Besides, there are a number of intransitive / reflexive bases which can be transformed into transitive bases by internal changes.

#### Reflexive base

<i>TuT</i>	‘be broken’	<i>ToD</i>	‘break’
<i>nikAl</i>	‘come out’	<i>nikal</i>	‘take out’
<i>utAr</i>	‘alright’	<i>utar</i>	‘bring down’, ‘get down’
<i>khul</i>	‘be open’	<i>khul</i>	‘open’, ‘untie’

### 3.12.4. COMPOUND VERB BASE

The compound verb base consists of more than one root. On the basis of the constituents of the compound verb bases they are grouped under three types:

a) Noun + Verb -	<i>ghAr honu</i>	‘to marry’
	<i>bhul gArnu</i>	‘to make a mistake’
b) Adjective + Verb -	<i>gArAm gAr</i>	‘heat’
	<i>lal gAr</i>	‘burn’
c) Verb + Verb -	<i>khoj linu</i>	‘find out’
	<i>phēk dinu</i>	‘throw away’

Actually, in Nepali a compound verb is a combination of a verb with another verb to modify its meaning. It is only the modifying verb that is conjugated.

### 3.12.5. SYNTACTIC CLASSIFICATION OF VERB-BASES

Nepali verb bases can be broadly divided into Intransitive and Transitive depending upon whether they require an object or not to give complete sense to a sentence. However substantive verbs are treated separately.

#### Intransitive verb bases

The verbs classified as intransitive do not take any object (direct or indirect). These intransitive are further divided into (1) inherent intransitives that do not take suffixes to become transitive bases, and (2) intransitives which take the formative suffix – *a* to become transitive bases.

#### Inherent intransitives

<i>hunu</i>	‘be’
<i>au</i>	‘come’
<i>ja</i>	‘go’
<i>pichAr</i>	‘slip’
<i>rAh</i>	‘live’
<i>khAs</i>	‘die’ etc.

Intransitives which take the formative suffix –*ato* become transitive bases or which admit internal changes:

<i>bAs</i>	‘sit’	<i>bAs + a</i>	<i>bAsa</i>	‘make sit’
<i>uTh</i>	‘rise’	<i>uTh + a</i>	<i>uTha</i>	‘lift’
<i>sut</i>	‘sleep’	<i>sut + a</i>	<i>suta</i>	‘make sleep’
<i>jAl</i>	‘burn’	<i>jAl + a</i>	<i>jAla</i>	‘set fire’ etc.

## TRANSITIVE VERB BASES

The verb bases classified as transitive require objects (direct, indirect or sometimes both). Transitive verb bases also can be sub-grouped into two categories (i) transitives derived from intransitives and (ii) inherent transitive verb bases.

Inherent transitive verb bases are exemplified below. The list is not exhaustive.

<i>lan</i>	‘bring’
<i>pi</i>	‘drink’
<i>pekh</i>	‘stare’
<i>li</i>	‘take’
<i>di</i>	‘give’
<i>lekh</i>	‘write’
<i>pADh</i>	‘read’
<i>sun</i>	‘hear’
<i>jac</i>	‘enquire’
<i>rakh</i>	‘keep’
<i>cakh</i>	‘taste’
<i>chhu</i>	‘touch’
<i>gAn</i>	‘count’
<i>jan</i>	‘know’
<i>sodh</i>	‘think’
<i>kha</i>	‘eat’
<i>dekh</i>	‘see’
<i>mol</i>	‘buy’
<i>kAh</i>	‘say’

### 3.12.6. CAUSATIVES

A causative verb base is a verb root extended by adding a causative suffix. A number of causative stems are derived from both transitive and intransitive verb bases by additional derivational suffixes – *au* and *-lau*.

It may be mentioned that causative formation is not uniformly applicable to all bases. Some bases have only one causative formation; the majority of bases are of this type; but some give rise to both single and double causatives.

A list of causal examples is given below. The list is not exhaustive.

Inherent Transitives	Suffixes	Causative Forms	
<i>nāc</i>	‘dance’ + <i>au</i>	<i>nAcau</i>	‘make dance’
<i>bAs</i>	‘sit’ + <i>au</i>	<i>bAsau</i>	‘make sit’

<i>khel</i>	‘play’ + <i>au</i>	<i>khelau</i>	‘make play’
<i>pADh</i>	‘read’ + <i>au</i>	<i>pADhau</i>	‘make read, teach’
<i>gAr</i>	‘do’ + <i>au</i>	<i>gArau</i>	‘make do’
<i>sut</i>	‘sleep’ + <i>au</i>	<i>sutau</i>	‘make sleep’

Instances of double causative formations are very rare. Where no causal forms exist, the causal sense may be obtained by the use of *gArai dinnu* after the base.

<i>dinnu</i>	<i>gArai dinnu</i>	‘to cause to be given’
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With some bases like *ja* (go) *hun* (be), *pATha* (send), *Than* (determine), *par*, *bAs* etc. (the number is limited), the causative suffix – *lau* is used, e.g.

<i>jinu</i>	+ <i>launu</i>	=	<i>janu launu</i>	‘make someone go’
<i>hunu</i>	+ <i>launu</i>	=	<i>hunu launu</i>	‘make someone become’
<i>paTha</i>	+ <i>launu</i>	=	<i>paThaunu launu</i>	‘make someone send’

### 3.12.7. FINITE VERBS

Finite Verb and Non-Finite Verb are mutually exclusive categories. These two types of verbs are distinguished from one another by their suffixes. The finite verbs have suffixes that have certain formal elements in order to make distinctions of person (first, second and third) whereas non-finite suffixes contain no person instruction whatsoever.

The finite verbs are identified according to their suffixes in a number of paradigms known as Tenses. In Nepali, we find, within any tense, regular distinctions of two genders, three persons and two numbers (singular and plural). But there is no formal distinction of gender in verbs of the first person. It is to be borne in mind that in spoken Nepali the distinctions of person and number are not always consistently maintained.

Present Tense	Conjugation of the Verb		‘Be’, Substantive Verb	
	Singular		Plural	
Person				
First	<i>/mA hũ~ chũ/</i>	‘I am’	<i>/hAmi hAõ~ chAõ/</i>	‘we are’
Second	<i>/timi hAo~ chAo/</i>	‘you are’	<i>/timi hAru hAo~chAo/</i>	‘you(Pl.) are’
Third	<i>/u chA/</i>	‘he is’		
	<i>/u che/</i>	‘she is’	<i>/tini hAru chAn/</i>	‘they are’
	<i>/tyo chA/</i>	‘it is’		

Past Tense

Person

First	<i>/mA thiyẽ/</i>	‘I was’	<i>/hAmi thiyAõ/</i>	‘we were’
Second	<i>/timi thiyAo/</i>	‘you were’	<i>/timi hAru thiyAo/</i>	‘you(Pl.) were’
Third	<i>/u thiyo/</i>	‘he was’		
	<i>/u thiyi/</i>	‘she was’	<i>/tiniharu thiye/</i>	‘they were’
	<i>/tyo thiye/</i>	‘it was’		

Future Tense

Person

First	<i>/mA hunechu/</i>	<i>/hami hAru hune chAõ/</i>
	‘I shall be there’	‘we shall be there’
Second	<i>/timi hune chAo/</i>	<i>/timihAru hune chAo/</i>
	‘you will be there’	‘you(Pl.) will be there’
Third	<i>/u hune chA/</i>	<i>/timihAru hune chAu/</i>
	‘he/she/it will be there’	‘they will be there’

Verb ‘*dekh*’ ‘see’

Present Tense  
Person

First	<i>dekh - chu</i>	<i>dekh-chAũ</i>
Second	<i>dekh - chAo ~ chAs</i>	<i>dekh - chAo</i>
Third	<i>dekh - chA ~ che (fem)</i>	<i>dekh chAn</i>

Past Tense

Person

First	<i>dekhẽ</i>	<i>dekhyõ ~ dekhyAũ</i>
Second	<i>dekhyAu</i>	<i>dekhyAu</i>
Third	<i>dekhyo</i>	<i>dekhe</i>

Subjects take the *-le* case marker only in the Past Tense. But in the Future Tense the case marker for the First Person remains absent.

Future Tense	Singular	Plural
Person		
First	<i>/dekhne chu/</i> ‘I will see’	<i>/dekhne chAo/</i> ‘we will see’
Second	<i>/dekhne chAo/</i> ‘you will see’	<i>/dekhne chAo/</i> ‘you(Pl) will see’
Third	<i>/dekhne chA/</i> ‘he/she/it will see’	<i>/dekhne chAn/</i> ‘they will see’

### Aspect Formation

The aspect system in Nepali uses periphrastic constructions. The structure for all the three tenses is given below:

Structure: Verb stem + *rAh / dAi* (marker) + Tense marker + PNG

#### Present Imperfect

*/mA jadAi chũ/*

‘I am going’

*/mA jarAhi chũ/*

#### Past Imperfect

*/mA jadAi thiyO/*

‘I was going’

*/tã jadAi thiAu/*

‘you were going’

#### Future Imperfect

*/mã jado hunechũ/*

‘I will be going’

#### Present Perfect

Verb stem + *le* (compound formation) + Tense marker + PNG

*/mã khaliyo chũ/*

‘I have eaten’

#### Past Perfect

*/mã bajar gAyeko thiyẽ/*

‘I had gone to market’

#### Future Perfect

*/mã gAyeko hune chu/*

‘I would have gone’

### 3.12.8. MOOD

There are two explicit moods viz. Indicative and Imperative in vogue in Nepali. Subjunctive and Optative have merged into a single mood and it is realized with the help of tense auxiliaries chosen on a semantic basis.

#### Imperative Mood

The simple base form of the verb is used in the sense of order or command.

<i>/lekh/</i>	or	<i>/likh/</i>	‘write’
<i>/khel/</i>			‘play’
<i>/lAga/</i>			‘keep’
<i>/Topi lAga/</i>			‘keep your hat’

For the honorific sense the *-u* suffix is added to the base forms.

<i>/dekh<u>u</u>/</i>	‘please see’
<i>/gA<u>ru</u>/</i>	‘please do’

#### Subjunctive Mood

The Subjunctive Mood is marked clearly for Past (Simple). The Present Simple and Future Simple too are realized uniformly without any modifications.

<i>/ti mor kam kAri/</i>	‘She would do my work’
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### 3.12.9. COMPOUND VERBS

A good number of Compound Verbs are available in Nepali.

<i>-i</i> ending	Main Verb	Auxiliary	
<i>bhAni</i>	+	<i>rAhAnu</i>	- <i>bhAnirAhAnu</i> ‘to say’
<i>gAri</i>	+	<i>dinu</i>	- <i>gAridinu</i> ‘to do’
<i>-nu</i> ending:			
<i>gArnu</i>	+	<i>khojnu</i>	- <i>gArn khojnu</i> ‘to accomplish something’
<i>gArnu</i>	+	<i>launu</i>	- <i>gArn launu</i> ‘go and accomplish the work’
<i>gArnu</i>	+	<i>parch</i>	- <i>gArnupArch</i> ‘certainly to do’

Likewise the *hũdAen*, *pArne*, *hal* auxiliaries are also added.



### 3.12.10. NEGATIVE VERBS

*/nA/*, the negative particle, is added to the right of the verb.

*/manis le phAl hAru jAmmA gArennA/* ‘Men did not gather fruits’

*/euta manche rA euta aimai le dhaki hAru bAnaennA/*

‘A man and a woman are not making baskets’

### 3.13. NON-FINITE VERBS

There are two categories of non-finite verbs viz.

- 1) Infinitive
- 2) Participle

These two categories are distinguished by their suffixes. The Infinitive suffixes are :

*-nu*                      *bAsnu*                      ‘to sit’

*-nA*                      *rAkhnu*                      ‘to keep’

*-na*                      *gArna sAkh chu* (this expresses a purposive sense)

The suffixes – *nu* and –*na* are in free variation.

*/kinnu/*                      ‘to buy’

*/kinna/*                      ‘to buy’

*/Tipnu/*                      ‘to pluck’

*/Tipna/*                      ‘to pluck’

Participle

The participle suffixes (which are more numerous) are

*-e, -era, -eko, -da, -i, -ne* etc.

It has been observed that the non-finite verbs (Infinitives and Participles) make no distinction (of course formal) of Person. But in written Nepali there is a formal distinction of number and gender.

Conjunctive Participle

The Conjunctive participle has three forms

*-era*

*-i*

*-ikana*

but the form –*era* is used widely:

*gAr -era* -                      having,                      *kha -era*

*gAr -i* -                      *gAr -i*

*a -i*

*dho -i*

*/sunera bhAnyA/* -                      ‘told having heard’

*/bAsera khayol/* -                      ‘ate while sitting’

*/rudAi ayo/* -                      ‘came weeping’

### 3.14. ECHO WORDS / REDUPLICATION

The first component, a noun, is echoed as a second component, thus forming a compound noun giving a different meaning. The second member never occurs independently:

<i>khArAc-bArAc</i>	‘spending’
<i>ujur-majur</i>	‘protest’
<i>baja-gaja</i>	‘pomp and show’
<i>kuRo-kAbra</i>	‘garbage’
<i>ArAk-mArAk</i>	‘beverage’

#### Nouns Formed by Reduplication

The reduplicated noun forms express iteration or intensification. This process is found in the case of adjectives, adverbs and verbs also. E.g.

<i>ghAr-ghAr</i>	‘every house’
<i>din-din</i>	‘continuously’ , ‘every day’
<i>bat-bat</i>	‘conversation’
<i>khusi-khusi</i>	‘happily’
<i>jAb-jAb</i>	‘whenever’
<i>hAsi-hAsi</i>	‘in fun’ (manner)
<i>gArde-gArde</i>	‘while doing’
<i>ni-ni</i>	‘refusal’
<i>sito-sito</i>	‘every rice (cooked)’
<i>TAr-TAr</i>	‘useless talk’
<i>lamo-lamo</i>	‘tall ones’
<i>pAchi-pAchi</i>	‘following’
<i>cori-cori</i>	‘silently’

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## 4. SYNTAX

Syntax is the study of structuring of words into phrases, phrases into clauses and clauses into sentences. In Nepali, a sentence is an utterance which occurs in absolute position. There are, as such, various type of sentences viz.

1. Simple Sentence
2. Complex Sentence
3. Compound Sentence

### PATTERNS OF SENTENCES

1. Indicative Sentence
2. Imperative Sentence
3. Interrogative Sentence
4. Negative Sentence

Among the sentences some are basic and cannot be further divided into smaller sentences. Such sentences may be treated as kernel sentences in Nepali.

<i>/bhai ayo/</i>	‘brother came’
<i>/bAhini ayi ai/</i>	‘sister came’
<i>/nani royo/</i>	‘child (female) wept’

### SIMPLE SENTENCES

The surface structure of a Nepali Simple Sentence can be described as follows. Basically Nepali being an Indo-Aryan language follows the S-O-V pattern of formation of the sentence.

(Adsentential) + Subject + (circumstantial) + complement

(if any) + main verb (+ operator) + auxiliary.

*sAk-e + mÃ + bholi + ghArA + pug-i-sAk-e-ko-hu-n-ch-u*

‘Perhaps+I+tomorrow+home+reach-have-done-with-become-am’

= ‘Perhaps I will have reached home tomorrow’.

### Basic Structure Types

- i) Sub + Predicate + Complement + Verb (copulative)

*hAri me -r -o bhai + ho*

Hari my brother is = Hari is my brother

- ii) Sub + Adverbial + Complement + Verb (intransitive)

*mA + ghArA + pug -ch + u*

I + home reach = I reach home

Sub + Verb - intransitive

*manis + mAr -ch -A*

Man + dies = Man dies

- iii) Sub + Object - Complement + Verb (transitive)

*nani dudh pi -n -chA*

'The child milk drinks'

- iv) Sub + Object – Complement + Predicative – Complement + Verb (transitive)

*jAnAta -le -mõ -lai + net -a + chAn -e*

people + me + leader + chose

'The people chose me the leader'

- v) Sub + Verb (intransitive)

*u + hAns - ch - A*

'He laughs'

### Imperative

Obj Locative + Verb Stem

*/ghArA ja/* 'go home'

*/dudh pi/* 'drink milk'

*/bhat kha/* 'eat rice'

### Locative + Postposition + Verb + u marker

Honorific */ghAr ma bAsAu bAsu/* = Please sit at home

## Interrogative

The interrogatives are formed with several interrogative pronouns according to the purposes or intentions of the speakers. The interrogative terms can occur anywhere in the sentence.

<i>/timro naũ ke ho/</i>	‘What is your name?’
<i>/pustAk kAhã chA/</i>	‘Where is the book?’
<i>/kal kAti thArika hunchAn/</i>	‘How many are tenses?’
<i>/ke kek ayo/</i>	‘Who also came?’

## Negative

*/nA/* is added to the base form:

<i>/mA janchunnA/</i>	‘I do not go’
<i>/tini janchAnnA/</i>	‘they do not go’
<i>/gAr-d-A-ina/</i>	‘he does not do’
<i>/gAr-e-nA/</i>	‘he did not do’

## COMPLEX SENTENCES

The complex sentences are formed with the help of subordinate clauses which are extensions of noun phrases, adjective phrases and adverbial phrases with a finite verb in them and added with subordinating conjunctions like */jAs le/*, */usle/*, */jo/*, */uhi/*, */tya/*, */ki/*, etc.

*/timi jau ki mÃ janchũ/*  
‘I know that (you pl.) are to go / may go’

*/hAmi nepal gAyAũ tyãhã pAndrA din bAyAũ/*  
‘we went to Nepal where we lived for fifteen days’

*/jAsle padheko chA, tyAs ko sAda kAdAr hunchA/*  
‘one who is literate, gets honour ever’

## COMPOUND SENTENCES

The compound sentences are formed with the help of coordinating conjunctions. Both the clauses should be independent of each other. They should express addition, copulation, choice or adverse nature in their behaviour. The prominent conjunctions for the making of compound sentences are – *rA*, *tAr*, and they sometimes function with the help of a comma (,) also, e.g.

*tyo manis dhAni thiyo tAr bobhi thiyo*  
'That man was rich but he was greedy'

*tyo manche gAribchA, tAr imandar chA*  
'That man is poor but is honest'

*gham Dubyo, sãjh pAnyo*  
'The sun set and the evening set in'

*timi jau Ar mÃ janchu*  
'You may go and I am going'

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*The report has been updated and finalized by Dr. Kakali Mukherjee, Assistant Registrar General (L) based on the devised LSI-Report writing format.*

**NEPALI  
TEXT**

*kAsAri kag ko pothi le kalo sap lai mari/maryo*  
[How crow of feminine (Nom.) black snake (obj.) killed]  
“How the crow-hen killed the black snake”

*phAilieka ~ phĩjieka bArko rukh ko hãgahAru mAdhe euTa*  
spreading spreading banyan of tree of branches among one

*hãgama euTa kag rA usko pothi bAsdAthe.*  
branch on one crow and his wife lived.

“Among the spreading branches of banyan tree lived a crow and his wife.”

*tini hAru ka gũR ma car wATA AnDa thiye jAslai*  
their of nest in four units eggs were which for

*tini hAru le Ati jAtnA ewAm sawdhani sAha rakheka thiye thiye.*  
they (nom.) great care and precaution with kept guarded  
“In the nest were four little eggs, which the parents guarded with great care.”

*-tyAsAi rukh ko Dhulo ma euTa kalo sap bAsthyo.*  
of that tree of hollow in one black snake lived  
“In a hollow of that tree-trunk lived a black snake whom the crows feared greatly.”

*yAsko karAnle gArds bhale kag rA pothi kag (kag joRi)*  
of this reason male crow and wife crow

*Ati / ekdAme Daraeko thiyo / Darau the. prAtyek pAITA pothi kag le*  
greatly feared feared every time crow-hen

*AnDe pareNAchi / dinchA tyo sap ghAsrer mathi aer*  
eggs laid / gave that snake coming up crawling

*AnDa hAru khaidinthyo.*  
eggs ate them up

“Every time the crow-hen laid her eggs the snake crawled up to the nest and ate them up.”

*“yo pAITA pAni tyo sap le aer mero*  
this time also that snake coming my

*hamro AnDahAru khaidiema khayo bhAne mA*  
our eggs (on eating) ate them I

*yo Thaũ ma lamo bAsnA cAhAnna.*  
this place at anu longer live desire not .

“If the black snake eats up my eggs this time also, I will refuse to live in this tree any longer.”

*hami le Arke / ArkAi Thaũ ma gũR bAnaunupArchA” poth kag le*  
we (non) somewhere else place at nest have to build female crow

*bhale kag lai bhAni.*  
male crow to said.

“We must build our nest somewhere else”, said the other bird to her husband.

*“hami dherAi sAmAy dekhi yAhã bAsyo,*  
we long time seen here have lived

*mA yõ ghAr lai ujaR bhAeko sAhAn sAkidAnna”.*  
I this home desert on becoming wear cannot do.

“We have lived here for a long time, I can’t bear to desert my home and go to live elsewhere”,  
said the female crow.

*bhale kag le bhAnyo jAb unihAru bat kari rAheka*  
female crow told when they both talk doing

*thiye byAtikher tini hAru dekhi tAl tir*  
continued in the mean time they saw just below  
While they were talking, they heard a hissing sound just below them

*sĩ sĩ awaj sunẽ tini hArule tyo awaj ko Anuman lAgae.*  
hissing sound heard they both that sound of guess (mean.) did.  
They knew what the sound meant.

*tini hAru AsAhay AwAstha ma Anda hAru lai surAksit parne jAtnA*  
they both helplessly condition in eggs for protected making effort

*ma lagirAhe.*  
in remained.

They sat helplessly in their nest trying to protect their eggs.

*kalo sap ghAsrermathi pugyo rA gũRko nAjik pugyo.*  
black snake creeping ahead reached and of the nest nearer reached.  
The black snake crept higher and closer to the nest.

*Thulo phũs-phãs (sĩ-sĩ) awaj nikaler tyAsle ti cAra hAru lai*  
loud sound releasing it (snake) these birds for

*ThuMnA khojyo jAsko karAN le.*  
strike sought for reason.

Then with a loud hiss the snake tried to strike at the birds.



*tini hAru Daraer, uRe.*  
they (in terror) feared flew away .  
“The birds flew away in terror.”

*tyAs pAchi ek-ek wATa gArde sAbe AnDe hAru sap le nilyo.*  
After that one by one doing all eggs black snake swallowed.  
“One by one, the black snake swallowed all the eggs.”

*pAriwar hAru dukhi bhAir gũR ma phArke tini hAru le*  
the parents sad becoming nest into came back they both

*ramri jandthe ki gũR riktA / ritto chA.*  
well knowing that nest vacant empty is  
“The parents came back sadly to their nest knowing well that they would find it empty.”

*kag le bhAnyo “mAi le yo khuni sap lai marnko lagi*  
crow (Noun) said I this murderous snake to kill purpose

*kehi upay socnu pArchA”.*  
some way to think have to do.  
The crow said, “I must find a way to destroy this murderous snake.”

*“timi kAsAri usit lARAn sAkchAu usko tyo bhAyAnkAr*  
you how with that fight can do he that deadly

*Das sit”.* *pothi kag le aphno*  
sting possessed(has) crow hen her

*pAti lai bhAnyo*  
husband to said.  
“How can you ever fight him? His sting is so deadly,” said his wife in despair.

*“timi Surta nA gAr meri priya, mA sit mero ekjAna dhurtA*  
you worry don't do my dear me have my oneperson cunning

*sathi chA tyo bisalusap lai marnko lagi usit dherdi buddhi chA.”*  
friend is that poisonous snake to for kill purpose he with enough skill is”.

*bhale kag le bhAnyo. tyAs pAchi tini hAru uRer*  
male crow said. after that flying

*Arko rukh ma bAse jAsko tAl tir usko aphno priyA sathi*  
another tree on sat of which down/under his self dear friend

*syal bAsthyo.*  
jackal lived.

“Don’t worry, my dear, I’ve got a friend who is cunning enough to destroy the most poisonous snakes,” said the crow, and off he flew to another tree under which lived his dear friend, the jackal.

*jAb syal le tyo saple kAsAri tini hAru ka*  
when jackal that snake how their of

*AnDa khai din thyo barema sunyo, tAb usle bhAnyo*  
eggs used to eat about heard then he said

*“mero sathi, jo krur rA lobhi hunchA usko Ant pAni nA*  
my friend, who cruel and greedy becomes/is his end also not

*yamrAi hunchA. DAraune kam chAin nA. tyAs lai*  
good happens fear reason(work) is not him for

*marnko lagi mAi le euTa upay soci sAkeko chũ”.*  
to kill purpose I one plan think (have been able) (am in position).

When the jackal heard how the snake always ate up the eggs, he said, “My friend, those who are cruel and greedy always meet with a bad end, please don’t have fear.

*“Oh mA lai bhAn, tyo ke ho”? kag le bhAnyo.*  
Oh to me tell that what is crow said.

“I’ve already thought of a plan to destroy him”.

*syal le Arule sundAchA bhAni DAraer kan ma*  
Jackal someone may hear telling fearing ear into

*bistarAi.*  
in detail.

“Oh, do tell me what it is”, said the crow.

*tyo sap lai marn ke gArn pArchA bhAni sAmjhayo.*  
that snake for kill do telling described.

“So the jackal whispered to his friend what he should do to destroy the snake.”

*kag uRer usko pothik hã pugyo Ani (kurah Aru) yojAna bare bAtayo.*  
crow flying his wife to reached and about the plans narrated.

“The crow flew back to his wife and told her about the plan.

*“yo Ati jokhimpurnA chA”. kag le bhAnyo.*  
This great risky is crow told

“It is rather risky,” said the crow.

*“hami le yAs ma dhArAi sAtArk bAnnupArdAchA.”*  
we in this too much cautious have to remain.

“We’ll have to be very careful.”

*“mo mero AnDe hAru lai rAkcha gArnko nimti je pAni*  
I my eggs for protection doing for whatever

*gArn sAkchũ”. niDAR bhAer pothi cora le bhAni.*  
do can. fearlessly becoming hen-crow crow told.  
“I’ll do anything to save my eggs,” said the mother bird bravely.

*tyAs pAchi tini hAru des ka raj mAhAl tir uRe.*  
After that they country of king palace towards flew.  
“So off they flew towards the palace of the king of the country.”

*uni hAru bAseka rukh dekhi raj mAhAl TaRa thiem.*  
flew of them living tree from royal palace near happened.  
“The palace was not far from the tree they lived.”

*tini hAru rajmAhAl ko euTa Thulo pokhAri ko mathi puge. tyo*  
They both royal palace of one big pond of near reached that

*pokhAri ma rani hAru le nwairAheka dekhe.*  
pond in royal ladies while bathing seen.  
“They approached a big pond in the palace garden where they saw the royal ladies having a bath.”

*tini hAru le sunko sikri hAru, moti ka mala hAru rA*  
They of gold chains, pearl of garlands and

*Aru gAhAna hAru pokhAri ko Dil ma phuka ler rakhe ka thiye.*  
other jewellery pond of edge at spread had kept.

“They had laid their golden chains, pearl necklaces and other jewellery on the edge of the pond”.

*pothi cAra tAl hōco uRer gAer euTa sikri(sunko) uRaer lyai*  
female bird down towards flying going one chain of gold picked up

*Ani aphu bAseki tyo rukh komathi bistarAi uRAnthali.*  
and her living that tree towardas slowly flying did.

“The mother bird flew down, picked up a gold chain in her beak and started flying slowly towards the tree in which she lived.”

*jab dArbarka sipahi hAru le sun ko sikri lier uRirAheko*  
when palace of guards gold of chain carrying flying

*dekhe, tAb tini hAru le aphna lAuro lie Ani picha gArn thale.*

seen then they their sticks/clubs carrying and chase do continued.

“When the palace guards saw the bird flying off with the gold chain, they took up their clubs and chased the bird.”

*tini hAru le dekhe, cAra le tyo sikri rukh ko ToRko ma chirayo.*  
them seeing bird that chain tree of hollow dropped.

“They saw the bird drop the chain into the hollow of a tree.”

*sipahi hAru madhe ekjAna le tyo rukh waT(baT) Sikri*  
guards among one person that tree from chain

*nikalneko nimti cARhyo.*

getting out purpose climbed.

“One of the guards climbed up the tree to get the chain.”

*jaise usle aphna hat sikri nikalneko nimtiDhulo ma chirayo,*  
as he his hand chain taking out for hollow inside thrashed

*usle dekhyo, euTa kalo sapgũRulo bhAer bAseko dekhyo.*

he saw one black snake curled up sitting saw.

*lAuro ko ekAi ramro ghat le usle tyAs lai maryo*  
stick of only one good strike he him hit.

“As he put his hand inside the hole to get the chain, he saw a black snake curled up and he gave one hard stroke with his club and he killed the snake.”

*tyo kalo sap ko Ant thiyo.*

this black snake of end happened/was/had been.

“And that was the end of the black snake.”

*tyAspAchi kag Ani pothi kag le tyAsAi*  
after that crow and crow hen that only

*rukh ma dherAi bAcca hAru liyer anAndsit*  
tree in many issues taking happiness with

*bAsnA thale*  
continued living.

“The crow and the crow hen lived in that tree happily afterwards and they had many little baby crows.”

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# **MUNDARI**

**SIBASIS MUKHERJEE**

## **1. INTRODUCTION**

Mundari is one of the Non-Scheduled languages of India. The language is named after the name of a tribe 'Munda'. Munda' is a Scheduled Tribe in West Bengal (ref: List of SC/ST West Bengal, 2001 Census) with the speakers strength of 341542 (as per 2001 Census) and the languages they speak is known as Mundari. According to Grierson (Linguistic Survey of India, Vol.IV, pp.79-81) the name Munda is of Sanskrit origin and the meaning is 'headman of the village'. The language spoken by the tribe who call themselves *haRa-ko* means 'men'. As a linguistic community Mundari is majorly concentrated in Jharkhand, Orissa, Assam and West Bengal as per the Census publication, 2001.

The present study has been conducted in West Bengal state under Linguistic Survey of India - West Bengal Scheme. The informants located in Jhargram of Midnapore district were identified by the Competent Authority of West Bengal State for collection of elicited data. Accordingly, the informants named Hari and Phagua Mundari were contacted for field data collection during the period August, 1995.

In 2001 Census, Mundari has appeared as a language with 2 mother tongues, spoken by 10000 or more speakers at all India level, namely Mundari and Mura (majority of the speakers are from Assam) and 1 category of others.

### **1.1 FAMILY AFFILIATION**

Mundari is one of the languages of the 'Kherwari group' of the Northern Munda sub – branch of Austro-Asiatic language family.

### **1.2 LOCATION**

Pertaining to the present study under LSI – West Bengal the Mundari speakers are majorly concentrated in the districts of Midnapore and Jalpaiguri of West Bengal. The present study is based on the data collected from Midnapore district of West Bengal.

### 1.3 SPEAKERS STRENGTH : LANGUAGE-MOTHER TONGUE- BILINGUALISM

As per 2001 census, the speakers' strength of Mundari, as a Language- as a Mother Tongue- as a language of bilingualism, in India and major concentrated states as well as in West Bengal and its districts for Mundari: -

#### Major distribution of Mundari as Language

Language	India/States/Union territory	Person	Male	Female	Rural	Urban
MUNDARI	India	1061352	533924	527428	964364	96988
	Assam	32718	16709	16009	32455	263
	West Bengal	32571	16330	16241	30896	1675
	Jharkhand	860275	431698	428577	775256	85019
	Orissa	119573	60245	59319	112440	7133
	Bihar	9937	5241	4696	8277	1660

Language	States/Districts	Person	Male	Female	Rural	Urban
MUNDARI	WEST BENGAL	32571	16330	16241	30896	1675
	Medinipur	19998	10016	9982	19889	109
	Jalpaiguri	5931	2978	2953	4830	1101
	Dakshin Dinajpur *	1879	935	944	1876	3
	Puruliya	1780	900	880	1764	16
	Darjiling	745	367	378	739	6
	Barddhaman	405	201	204	195	210
	Bankura	398	207	191	398	0

#### Major Distribution of Mundari as Mother Tongue

Mother Tongue	India/States/Union territory	Person	Male	Female	Rural	Urban
MUNDARI	INDIA	1,046,951	526,569	520,382	950,081	96,870
	Jharkhand	860,167	431,654	428,513	775,159	85,008
	Orissa	119,573	60,254	59,319	112,440	7,133
	West Bengal	32,246	16,164	16,082	30,579	1,667
	Assam	20,045	10,260	9,785	19,841	204
	Bihar	9,937	5,241	4,696	8,277	1,660

Mother Tongue	States/Districts	Person	Male	Female	Rural	Urban
MUNDARI	WEST BENGAL	32246	16164	16082	30579	1667
	Medinipur	19997	10015	9982	19888	109
	Jalpaiguri	5839	2925	2914	4738	1101
	Dakshin Dinajpur *	1785	889	896	1782	3
	Puruliya	1765	899	866	1749	16



Darjiling	695	340	355	689	6
Barddhaman	405	201	204	195	210
Bankura	398	207	191	398	0

### Major distribution of Mundari as a Language of Bilingualism

The Bilingualism and Trilingualism in respect of Mundari language in India as well as West Bengal as per 2001 Census is presented below.

Language	India/S	Total Speakers	Mono Linguals	Bi- Linguals		Tri-Linguals	
				Total	Language of bilingualism	Total	Language of Tri lingualism
MUNDARI	Indi:	1061352		574434		76768	
				ASSAMESE	14470		
							HINDI 4895
							BENGALI 217
							NEPALI 179
							ENGLISH 148
							BODO 44
							OTHERS 25
							ORIYA 15
							PUNJABI 10
							SANTALI 3
							KURUKH/ORAOON 2
							MANIPURI 1
							MARATHI 1
							MUNDA 1
				BENGALI	42094		
							HINDI 5931
							ORIYA 849
							SANTALI 613
							ENGLISH 523
							HO 175
							ASSAMESE 99
							BHUMIJ 8
							TRIPURI 6
							KHASI 4
							KODA/KORA 2
							KURUKH/ORAOON 2
							BODO 1
							BISHNUPURIYA 1
				HINDI	432198		
							ENGLISH 26433
							BENGALI 6073
							ORIYA 4364
							ASSAMESE 1460

		HO	1049
		KHARIA	407
		SANTALI	395
		KURUKH/ORAN	218
		PUNJABI	157
		MARATHI	112
		SANSKRIT	97
		NEPALI	94
		MUNDA	40
		URDU	28
		MAITHILI	27
		OTHERS	24
		ARABIC/ARBI	20
		GUJARATI	5
		BODO	2
		MALAYALAM	2
		KHASI	2
		KONKANI	1
		MANIPURI	1
		TAMIL	1
		ADI	1
		KARBI / MIKIR	1
		KODA/KORA	1
		LUSHAI/MIZO	1
		PERSIAN	1
ORIYA	71638		
		HINDI	8078
		ENGLISH	4883
		BENGALI	1193
		SANTALI	1028
		HO	60
		OTHERS	11
		SAVARA	10
		SANSKRIT	4
		MUNDA	4
		ASSAMESE	3
		KISAN	3
		TAMIL	1
		URDU	1
		KHARIA	1
		KUI	1
SANTALI	2175		
		BENGALI	600
		ORIYA	212
		HINDI	134

		HO	66
		ENGLISH	8
ENGLISH	8127		
		HINDI	2971
		ORIYA	593
		SANSKRIT	538
		BENGALI	84
		ASSAMESE	44
		URDU	18
		MAITHILI	8
		PUNJABI	6
		HO	5
		KURUKH/ORAOON	4
		NEPALI	2
		BODO	1
		KANNADA	1
		MARATHI	1
		SANTALI	1
		TAMIL	1
		TELUGU	1
		ARABIC/ARBI	1
		GARO	1
		KHARIA	1
		KHASI	1
		MUNDA	1
		OTHERS	1
HO	1711		
		HINDI	279
		SANTALI	108
		BENGALI	105
		ORIYA	53
		ENGLISH	4
		ARABIC/ARBI	1
KHARIA	211		
		HINDI	181
		ENGLISH	1
KURUKH/ORAOON	299		
		HINDI	156
		ENGLISH	12
		NEPALI	1
		SANTALI	1
MUNDA	99		
		HINDI	56
		BENGALI	10
		ORIYA	1

				SAVARA	38		
						HINDI	12
						ENGLISH	4
						ORIYA	2
<b>MUNDARI</b>	<b>West Bengal</b>	<b>32571</b>	<b>9858</b>	<b>22713</b>		<b>2057</b>	
				BENGALI	17953		
						ENGLISH	441
						HINDI	430
						ORIYA	132
						SANTALI	79
						KODA/KORA	2
						ASSAMESE	1
						BODO	1
				HINDI	4322		
						BENGALI	463
						ENGLISH	139
						NEPALI	79
						MUNDA	7
						ORIYA	6
						MARATHI	4
						ASSAMESE	1
						SANTALI	1
				ORIYA	43		
						BENGALI	12
						ENGLISH	3
						HINDI	1
				SANTALI	90		
						BENGALI	63
						HINDI	1
				ENGLISH	211		
						HINDI	98
						BENGALI	44
						ORIYA	3
						NEPALI	2
						MUNDA	1
				KURUKH/ORAOON	10		
						HINDI	6
				MUNDA	15		
						BENGALI	10

The Mundari speakers are spread mainly in the four states i.e. West Bengal, Jharkhand, Assam and Orissa. Therefore, the Mundari spoken in the above mentioned states, will not remain same because of the influence of respective states' official languages on it.

Among the bilinguals, Mundari gets influenced by Oriya, Bengali, Hindi and Assamese languages as per the respective states.

#### **1.4 SOCIO LINGUISTIC INFORMATION**

As per the study conducted by the Division on *The Written languages of the World, India 2* (H.Kloss, Mc.Connell & B.P.Mahapatra, 1989) the literary output so far in Mundari is noted to be somewhat on the low side i.e. only about 30 publications in Mundari has been published so far which includes poetry, short stories, novels etc. and 8 books of non-narrative prose types on different subjects. Among the periodicals, only one from Orissa ‘Darpan’ and the other from Jharkhand ‘Juhan’ are reported to be in print and in circulation. No information on the school could be traced in Mundari.

As per the present Survey conducted in West Bengal the following facts are revealed.

Use of Mundari in the home domain - In the home domain Mundari is used as a mother tongue. But the language has started getting modifications (with the major language spoken in the respective states) among the younger generations.

Mundari in other than home domain - Mundari is also used in the public places of the locality and in the market in semi formal situations.

Use of Mundari in Education- The use of Mundari in education maintains the same position during the period of present survey, as the information available in *The Written languages of the World, India 2* (H.Kloss, Mc.Connell & B.P.Mahapatra, 1989), ‘Mundari is in the process of being standardized. It has been introduced in the schools. Text books and other publications are being produced. All India Radio regularly broadcasts in Mundari. A few magazines are appearing in the language. Some standard dictionaries and grammars are available in the language.’

Use of Mundari in Mass Media - All India Radio broadcasts different cultural programmes on Mundari in West Bengal, Jharkhand, Assam and Orissa states. Specific schedules accommodated by the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India.

Script - There is no specific script used for this language. Devnagari script is used for this language in Jharkhand and Assam, Oriya script is used in Orissa and Bengali script in West Bengal.

The present survey was conducted / carried out in the Midnapore district of West Bengal. The main area of the research done in a Mundari village under Jhargram Bloc, which was about 20km. away from the main town. These Mundaris since they are a part of the West Bengal Midnapore district, very much conversant in Bengali, which is the official language of the state. The young generation speaks Hindi as well as English as they get education in local school / colleges and mixes with other students who come from outside. Since the area is closer to Jharkhand than Orissa, the impact to the Hindi is found more. But among the family members the spoken language is Mundari and also the phenomenon such as code switching and code mixing between Bengali and Hindi are visible in the conversation.

### **1.5 REVIEW OF EARLIER LITERATURE AVAILABLE ON THE LANGUAGE/DIALECT MOTHER TONGUES**

A number of works have been done on Mundari which are available both in the form of book or as published articles in different journals. The first work we get on Mundari is in 1871 by Rakhal Das in the journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal (An introduction to the Mundari Language) where a brief description on Mundari Languages is available. Besides that a number of works also have been done by Gumperz & Biligiri (On Mundari phonology , 1956 , IL - 17) , George Grierson (Linguistic Survey of India, Vol.IV, 1906), Sten Konow (Mundari phonology and Linguistic Survey JASIB, 1911), R .D . Munda (Aspects of Mundari Verbs, IL -32, 1971), Norman Zide (Munda and Non Munda A. A. Languages, Current trends in Linguistics, 1969). Sudhibhushan Bhattacharya (Studies in comparative Munda Linguistics, IIAS, Shimla, 1975) etc. All these works give a clear view in both linguistically as well as historically of Mundari language.

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## 2. PHONOLOGY

Based on the field data collected from Jhargram, Medinipur district, West Bengal, the followings are the details of Phonological features of Mundari.

### 2.1 PHONEMIC INVENTORY

Both the segmental and supra-segmental phonemes of Mundari are presented in the following inventory

#### 2.1.1 SEGMENTAL PHONEMES

Vowels - Mundari has the following 5 vowel segmental phonemes

	Front	Central	Back
High	<i>i</i>		<i>u</i>
High – Mid	<i>e</i>		<i>o</i>
Low			<i>a</i>

Consonants - Mundari has the following 21 segmental phonemes

	Bilabial	Dental	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Plosive	<i>p b</i>	<i>t d</i>	<i>T D</i>	<i>c j</i>	<i>k g</i>	?
Nasal	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>N</i>		<i>M</i>	
Fricative		<i>s</i>				<i>h</i>
Trill		<i>r</i>				
Flap			<i>R</i>			
Lateral		<i>l</i>				
Approximant				<i>y</i>		

#### 2.1.2 SUPRASEGMENTAL PHONEMES

Suprasegmental phonemes like Nasalization though realized but not phonemic in Mundari. Only among the onomatopoeic words, the feature ‘nasalization’ is realized. For example, /*soe soel*/ ‘to sit slovenly’, /*sõẽl*/ ‘sound of water while boiling’. Length is not realized in Mundari.

## 2.2 PHONEMIC DISTRIBUTION

The phonemic distributions of the consonants and the vowels in Mundari are as follows:

- a. all the vowels occur initially, medially and finally.
- b. all the consonants except /N/, /M/, /R/ and /?/ occur initially, medially and finally. /N/, /M/, /R/ and /?/ do not occur word initially.

Examples

Vowels	Initially		Medially		Finally	
/i/	/ipil/	‘star’	/sim/	‘cock’	/uri/	‘cow’
/e/	/eta/	‘second’	/seta?/	‘dog’	/ate/	‘from’
/a/	/aril/	‘ice’	/han De/	‘there’	/da/	‘rain’
/o/	/okoy/	‘who’	/DoNDo /	‘fool’	/moTo/	‘fat’
/u/	/u?p/	‘hair’	/pusi/	‘cat’	/gucu/	‘moustache’

Consonants	Initially		Medially		Finally	
/p/	/peDe/	‘strength’	/ipil /	‘star’	/u?p/	‘hair’
/b/	/bir/	‘forest’	/nuba/	‘darkness’	/Dub/	‘to drip’
/t/	/toroe/	‘ashes’	/gitil/	‘sand’	/ja?t/	‘race’
/d/	/da/	‘rain’	/sadam/	‘horse’	/birid/	‘to wake up’
/T/	/Tin/	‘tin’	/kata/	‘leg’	/caT/	‘lick’
/D/	/Dub/	‘to drip’	/peDe/	‘strength’	/peD/	‘a type of fruit’
/c/	/can/	‘moon’	/moca/	‘face’	/koc/	‘a type of fish’
/j/	/jo/	‘fruit’	/genji/	‘banian’	/baj/	‘a bird’
/k/	/kuhuRa/	‘fog’	/sukul/	‘smoke’	/pak/	‘wing’
/g/	/gitil/	‘sand’	/laga/	‘tired’	/na?g/	‘snake’
/?/			/u?p/	‘hair’	/mu?/	‘nose’
/m/	/mayaM /	‘waist’	/kami/	‘work’	/mapam/	‘to meet’
/n/	/neDe/	‘here’	/hanako /	‘those’	/saM gin /	‘far’
/N/			/siaNi/	‘spine’	/seaN/	‘clever’



<i>/M/</i>			<i>/koMka/</i>	‘dumb’	<i>/buluM/</i>	‘salt’
<i>/s/</i>	<i>/seta?/</i>	‘dog’	<i>/tusiM/</i>	‘wear’	<i>/Dans/</i>	‘gnat’
<i>/h/</i>	<i>/hoyo/</i>	‘air’	<i>/kuhuRa/</i>	‘fog’	<i>/sandeh/</i>	‘doubt’
<i>/r/</i>	<i>/rimbil/</i>	‘sky’	<i>/buru/</i>	‘hill’	<i>/bir/</i>	‘forest’
<i>/R/</i>			<i>/oRo/</i>	‘and’	<i>/ruaR/</i>	‘repay’
<i>/l/</i>	<i>/laco/</i>	‘lip’	<i>/iralia/</i>	‘eight’	<i>/gitil/</i>	‘sand’
<i>/y/</i>			<i>/mayaM/</i>	‘waist’	<i>/goy/</i>	‘to die’

The above motioned distribution can also be shown in the following chart:

	Initial	Medial	Final		Initial	Medial	
Final	<i>/i/</i>	+	+	+	<i>/k/</i>	+	+
+							
	<i>/e/</i>	+	+	+	<i>/g/</i>	+	+
	<i>/a/</i>	+	+	+	<i>/ʔ/</i>	+	+
	<i>/o/</i>	+	+	+	<i>/m/</i>	+	+
+							
	<i>/u/</i>	+	+	+	<i>/n/</i>	+	+
+							
	<i>/p/</i>	+	+	+	<i>/N/</i>	-	+
+							
	<i>/b/</i>	+	+	+	<i>/M/</i>	-	+
+							
	<i>/t/</i>	+	+	+	<i>/s/</i>	+	+
+							
	<i>/d/</i>	+	+	+	<i>/h/</i>	+	+
-							
	<i>/T/</i>	+	+	+	<i>/r/</i>	+	+
+							

	/D/	+	+	+	/R/	-	+
+							
	/c/	+	+	+	//	+	+
+							
	/j/	+	+	+	/y/	-	+
+							

### 2.3 MAJOR ALLOPHONIC DISTRIBUTIONS

The vowel and consonantal allophonic distributions are as follows

#### Vowels

The vowels of Mundari have two types of allophonic variations.

- They are short in length in the initial positions,
- They are long elsewhere i. e. in the medial and final positions.

/ V / → [ V ] initially [ V stands for any vowel ]

→ [ V : ] medially and finally

/ i /	→	[ i ]	[ ipi:l ]	→	/ ipil /	‘star’
	→	[ i: ]	[ gi:t ]	→	/ git /	‘song’
/ e /	→	[ e ]	[ eta: ]	→	/ e t a /	‘second’
		[ e: ]	[ se : ta : ]	→	/ seta /	‘dog’
/ a /	→	[ a ]	[ ari:l ]	→	/ aril /	‘ice’
		[ a ]	[ da: ]	→	/ da /	‘rain’
/ o /	→	[ o ]	[ oko:y ]	→	/ okoy /	‘who’
	→	[ o: ]	[ mo:To ]	→	/ moTo /	‘fat’
/ u /	→	[ u ]	[ u p ]	→	/ up /	‘hair’
	→	[ u: ]	[ gu:cu: ]	→	/ gucu /	‘moustache’

#### Consonants

The followings are allophones available among the consonants of Mundari,

- The voiced velar fricative / h / is -
  - Voiced in the word – medial position

ii. Voiceless elsewhere.

<i>/h/</i>	→	<i>[h]</i> in the word – medial positions.
	→	<i>[h]</i> in the word – final and the word – initial positions.
<i>[ku:h u:Ra]</i>	→	<i>/kuhuRa/</i> ‘fog’
<i>[ho:yo:]</i>	→	<i>/hoyo/</i> ‘air’

b. The stops and the nasals show two common types of allophonic variations – they are

i . Checked in the word final positions.

ii . Open elsewhere.

[Consonants followed by ’ are checked]

<i>/p/</i>	→	<i>[p’]</i> word – finally	<i>[up’]</i>	→	<i>/up/</i> ‘hair’
	→	<i>[p]</i> elsewhere	<i>[ipi:l]</i>	→	<i>/ipil/</i> ‘star’
<i>/b/</i>	→	<i>[b’]</i> word - finally	<i>[Du :b’]</i>	→	<i>/Dub/</i> ‘to drip’
	→	<i>[b]</i> elsewhere	<i>[nu:ba:]</i>	→	<i>/nuba/</i> ‘darkness’
<i>/d/</i>	→	<i>[d’]</i> word – finally	<i>[bi:ri:d’]</i>	→	<i>/birid/</i> ‘to wake up’
	→	<i>[d]</i> elsewhere	<i>[sa :do :m’]</i>	→	<i>/sadam/</i> ‘horse’
<i>/T/</i>	→	<i>[T’]</i> word – finally	<i>[ca :T’]</i>	→	<i>/caT/</i> ‘to lick’
	→	<i>[T]</i> elsewhere	<i>[ka :Ta :]</i>	→	<i>/kaTa/</i> ‘leg’
<i>/m/</i>	→	<i>[m’]</i> word - finally	<i>[ma:pa:m’]</i>	→	<i>/mapam/</i> ‘to meet’
	→	<i>[m]</i> elsewhere	<i>[ka :mi :]</i>	→	<i>/kami/</i> ‘work’
<i>/n/</i>	→	<i>[n’]</i> word – finally	<i>[sa:Mgi:n’]</i>	→	<i>/saMgin/</i> ‘for’
	→	<i>[n]</i> elsewhere	<i>[ha:na:ko:]</i>	→	<i>/hanako/</i> ‘those’
<i>/M/</i>	→	<i>[M’]</i> word – finally	<i>[bu:l u:M’]</i>	→	<i>/buluM/</i> ‘salt’
	→	<i>[M]</i> elsewhere	<i>[ko:Mka:]</i>	→	<i>/koMka/</i> ‘dumb’

## 2.4 DIPHTHONGS

Diphthongs are the combination of two vowels pronouncing together. The followings are the diphthongs available in Mundari

*/ae/* → */tarae/* ‘ashes’, */ea/* → */deae/* ‘back’, */au/* → */cauli/* ‘uncooked rice’, */ia/* → */jhiaRi/* ‘niece’, */ai/* → */lai/* ‘belly’, */ao/* → */arjao/* ‘to earn’, */ui/* → */mui/* ‘ant’, */oa/* → */toa/* ‘milk’, */ua/* → */ruaR/* ‘to repay’, */ei/* → */punei/* ‘full moon day’.

## 2.5 CONSONANT CLUSTERS

Clusters are the combination of two consonants which can be within a morphemic boundary or across the morpheme boundary. The consonantal clusters can be classified according to the places of occurrences because they show maximum variations in this regard. In Mundari, the word – initial and word – final clusters are not available which are generally in

frequent in occurrences in those positions. The clusters which are available in the intervocalic / the medial positions are as follows:

Medial Clusters - Bi – consonantal

<i>/pl/</i>	:	<i>/dipli/</i>	‘time’	<i>/rg/</i>	:	<i>/urgum/</i>	‘warm’
<i>/bt/</i>		<i>/kabta/</i>	‘to make foolish’	<i>/rm/</i>	:	<i>/sirma/</i>	‘year’
<i>/tr/</i>		<i>/catro/</i>	‘student’	<i>/lp/</i>		<i>/alpuM/</i>	‘wave’
<i>/tk/</i>		<i>/gitkid/</i>	‘to itch’	<i>/lb/</i>		<i>/balbal/</i>	‘sweat’
<i>/dk/</i>		<i>/tudka/</i>	‘tape’	<i>/lt/</i>		<i>/helte/</i>	‘bamboo shoot’
<i>/dl/</i>		<i>/kadlom/</i>	‘tail’	<i>/lc/</i>		<i>/peloa ?/</i>	‘ring worm’
<i>/ds/</i>		<i>/kadsom/</i>	‘cotton’	<i>/lk/</i>		<i>/talka/</i>	‘palm’
<i>/dr/</i>		<i>/bindri/</i>	‘spider’	<i>/Mk/</i>		<i>/aiMke/</i>	‘to me’
<i>/Tk/</i>		<i>/aTkar/</i>	‘to feel’	<i>/lg/</i>		<i>/kulgia/</i>	‘husband & wife’
<i>/kl/</i>		<i>/kokla/</i>	‘to shout’	<i>/mp/</i>		<i>/campa/</i>	‘campa flower’
<i>/kr/</i>		<i>/kakri/</i>	‘cucumber’	<i>/mb/</i>		<i>/rimbil/</i>	‘cloud’
<i>/kR/</i>		<i>/bakRi/</i>	‘a hedge’	<i>/mT/</i>		<i>/cemTa/</i>	‘jealous’
<i>/gR/</i>		<i>/bagRo/</i>	‘to be broken’	<i>/mk/</i>		<i>/amke/</i>	‘to you’
<i>/rp/</i>		<i>/surpud/</i>	‘to suck’	<i>/nd/</i>		<i>/landa/</i>	‘smile’
<i>/rb/</i>		<i>/surbud/</i>	‘to tuck’	<i>/NT/</i>		<i>/kuNTa/</i>	‘a post’
<i>/rt/</i>		<i>/sarte/</i>	‘truth’	<i>/ND/</i>		<i>/DoNDo/</i>	‘fool’
<i>/rd/</i>		<i>/sardar/</i>	‘leader’	<i>/Mg/</i>		<i>/saM gin/</i>	‘far’
<i>/rc/</i>		<i>/parci/</i>	‘clean’	<i>/mt/</i>		<i>/cimTaM/</i>	‘when’

Tri – consonantal

Very few tri – consonantal clusters are available in Mundari, which is a common phenomenon. The clusters are as follows :

<i>/MgR/</i>	:	<i>/deMgRa/</i>	‘boy’
<i>/mbR/</i>	:	<i>/jambRi/</i>	‘miser’

## 2.6 SYLLABLE

A syllable is pronounced in one breath. Syllables can be either open (ends in vowels) or closed (ends in consonants). The words having one syllable is called Mono syllabic word, having two syllables is called di-syllabic word, having three syllables is called tri syllabic etc. The followings are the types of syllables available in Mundari.

### Mono – syllabic

<i>CV</i>	-	<i>/ da /</i>	‘rain’
<i>VC</i>	-	<i>/ oM /</i>	‘to blow’
<i>VCV</i>	-	<i>/ oRa /</i>	‘house’

### Di – syllabic

<i>CVC - CV</i>	-	<i>/ put - ra /</i>	‘nephew’
<i>CVV - CV</i>	-	<i>/ jhia - Ri /</i>	‘niece’
<i>CV - CVC</i>	-	<i>/ ma - raM /</i>	‘big’
<i>VC - CVC</i>	-	<i>/ ak - riM /</i>	‘to sell’
<i>CV - CV</i>	-	<i>/ ge - sa /</i>	‘to rub’

### Tri – Syllabic Words

In Mundari, most of the words are di – syllabic and few are mono syllabic. Tri – syllabic words are very rare. For Ex. - *VC VC CV* - */ok-oy-ke/* ‘whom’ etc.

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### 3. MORPHOPHONEMICS

When a stem is combined with a suffix or when two or more stems are combined with each other, there are often changes in the shape of the combined stem. Such types of changes take place within a word depend on the environment in which the occurrence takes place. These changes are either combined by the phonological environment, or morphological (applicable to a relatively smaller number of item) and are called Morphophonemic changes.

The Morphophonemic changes occurring in Mundari are as follows

1. / ? / regularly alternates with / -g- / morphophonologically.  
Example, /ra?a / + /-a/ > /raga / ‘anger’, /bu?/ + /-in / > /bugin / ‘to bathe’ etc.
2. Vowel glide / y / is introduced between the vowels when the vowels occur simultaneously.  
Example, / ko / + / -o / > /koyo / ‘where from’ , /ho/ + /o/ > /hoyo/ ‘air’ etc.
3. The word – final / M / gets deleted if it is followed by a vowel having glottal stop.  
Vowel. Example, / aiM / + / -a? / > /aia?/ ‘including me’ , / ciM / + / -e? / > /cie?/ ‘or else’ etc.
4. When / te / , ‘an instrumental case marker’ is added to the preceding word, immediately / a / of the preceding word is dropped.  
Example, / hora / + / -te / > /horate / > /hortel / ‘all’ , / mulia / + / -te / > /mulate / > /mulite / ‘snatch’ etc.
5. When the two different vowels come together, a glottal stop is freely introduced for the previous vowel. Example, / ta- / + / -e / > /ta?e/ ‘to try’ , /bago/ + /ata / > /bago?ata / ‘impossible’ etc.

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## 4. MORPHOLOGY

Morphology deals with the formation of the words and their use in the language.

### 4.1 WORD FORMATION

The word formation in Mundari takes place in the following three ways:

Suffixation  
Infixation                      and  
Compounding

#### Suffixation

*/a?/* is suffixed to the adjective to derive noun form. Ex., */bugi/* ‘good’ > */bugia?/* ‘something which is good’. In the process of Nominalization */-ea?/* is added to the verb root. */jom/* ‘to eat’ > */jomea?/* ‘edible’ etc.

#### Infixation

*/-no-/* is infixed to the verb root to get a derived noun. Ex., */jo?/* ‘to sweep’ */jono?/* ‘broom’. */tol/* ‘to bind’ > */tonol/* ‘banded thing’ etc.

#### Compounding

Here two word, one denotes action and another non-action are combined together to get a compound word in Mundari. Ex., */siMgi/* ‘sun’ + */tur/* ‘to rise’ > */siMgitur/* ‘east’, */susun/* ‘dance’ + */hoRa/* ‘man’ > */susunhoRa/* ‘male dancer’

### 4.2 WORD CLASS

The words available in this language are divided into following grammatical categories namely 1. Noun 2. Pronouns 3. Adjectives 4. Post-Positions 5. Conjunctions 6. Verbs 7. Adverbs. These seven word classes are broadly grouped into two categories- Declinables and Indeclinable. Declinable are those, which are declined for numbers- genders-persons-cases etc., for example, nouns, pronouns, adjectives and verbs. And the post-positions, conjunctions, adverbs belong to the Indeclinable.

### 4.3 NOUN – MORPHOLOGY

The noun morphology includes – the descriptions of nouns along with their gender, number and cases. It also includes the morphology of Pronouns, Adjectives etc.

### 4.3.1 NOUNS

Nouns show distinction for three grammatical categories namely Gender, Number and Cases.

#### 4.3.1.1 GENDER

Gender distinction is twofold : Masculine and Feminine. The distinction between masculine and feminine can be shown

- (i) by adding the feminine suffix / - I / to the masculine base.

*/koR - a /* 'man'    */koR -i/* 'woman'  
*/kak - a /* 'uncle'                      */kak - i /* 'aunt'

- (ii) by using separate words for masculine and feminine to the same base.

*/seta /* 'dog'    */saNDi seta /* or */koRa seta /* 'he - dog / dog'  
*/eM - ga seta /* or */koRi seta /* 'she - dog / bitch'

- (iii) by using separate words for both masculine and feminine.

*/herel /* 'husband'            */era /* 'wife'  
*/ara /* 'son - in - law'    */kimin /* 'daughter - in - law' etc.

#### 4.3.1.2 NUMBER

Number distinction in Mundari is three fold - Singular, Dual and Plural.

Singular number is generally unmarked

Dual number is marked by / -kin / suffix adding to the base.

Plural number is marked by / ko / suffix adding to the base.

*/hon /* 'child'    */hon -kin /* 'two children'    */hon -ko /* 'children' (more than two)  
*/kitab /* 'book'    */kitab -kin /* 'two books'    */kitab - ko /* 'books' (more than two)

#### 4.3.1.3 CASES AND POST - POSITIONS

Nouns are inflected for the following five cases

Nominative

The suffix for this case is /- $\Phi$ /. This case is generally assigned to the subject of a sentence and referred as 'prathama' in Indian case system. Example, */aiM kami tan-i/* 'I do the work'. Here */aiM/* 'I' is assigned Nominative case the marker for which is / $\Phi$ /.



### Accusative

The accusative case denotes the action which is taking place to the object / matter / things. It is one of the prime cases in a language system. The accusative case marker is denoted by /-te/ in Mundari. Ex. /sa?/ ‘side / edge’ + /-te/ > /sa?te/ or /sagte/ ‘to the side’, /hon/ ‘child’ > /honte/ ‘to the child’ etc.

### Instrumental

The suffix which denotes the instrumental case is /-te/  
 /nia daru – hake – te – pema? – ke – d – a /  
 this tree axe by cut - Aspect Marker – Tense Marker – Pred.

‘(You) cut this tree with an axe’

### Ablative

The ablative case indicates that the action is taking place from a certain object /things.

The suffix for the ablative case marker is /-ate/.

/sa?/ + /-ate/ > /sa?ate/ or /sagate/ ‘from the side’.

### Genitive

The genitive suffix in Mundari is /-a?/  
 /diri/ ‘stone’ /diri – re – a?/ ‘of the stone’  
 /aiM/ ‘I’ /aiM – a/ ‘my’ ; /ranci – rea hon/ ‘boy (of / from) Ranchi’

If the above three examples are compared it can be found that three genitive suffixes coming into use in Mundari ; /-rea?/ and /-ren/. Among /rea?/ and /-ren/, the earlier one is used with inanimates and later is used with animates only. Further analysis shows that /re -/ may be considered as the post –position with which /-a?/, the original genitive case marker and /-n/ the nominal / pronominal modifier are added.

## 4.3.2. PRONOUNS

Pronouns are used as substitutions of Nouns in a language. The following is the inventory of Mundari Pronouns

Personal Pronouns	Singular	Dual	Plural
First	/aiM/ ‘I’	/alaM/ ‘We(two)’	/ale/ ‘We(pl.)’
Second	/am/ ‘you’	/aben/ ‘you (two)’	/ape/ ‘you(pl.)’
Third	/ay/ ‘he / she’	/akiM/ ‘they (two)’	/ako/ ‘they (pl.)’
Demonstrative Pronouns			
Demonstrative Proximate	/ne/ (animate), /neal/ (inanimate) ‘this’		
Demonstrative Remote	/anal/ (animate), /hana/ (inanimate) ‘that’		
Correlative Pronoun	/saran/ ‘all’		

Inclusive Pronouns are also available in Mundari which is a special feature of Austro-Asiatic group of languages. For example, /aliM/ ‘We (inclusive)’, /ale/ ‘We (exclusive)’ etc.

### 4.3.3 ADJECTIVES

Adjectives qualify nouns. In Mundari, an adjective precedes a noun without agreeing with it in number, gender and case. /juda maraM/ ‘bad boy’, /jondra maraM/ ‘dirty boy’ etc.

The common used adjectives available in Mundari are as follows:

/soben/	‘all’	/juda/	‘bad’	/jondra/	‘dirty’
/roR/	‘dry’	/pere/	‘full’	/bugi/	‘good’
/sarte/	‘honest’	/saM-giM/	‘long’	/isu/	‘many’
/huriM/	‘narrow’	/naoa/	‘new’	/purna/	‘old’
/berel/	‘raw’	/soya/	‘rotten’	/koM-ka/	‘dull’
/leser/	‘sharp’	/huRiM/	‘short’	/soje/	‘straight’
/moTo/	‘thick’	/etang/	‘thin’	/laga/	‘weak’
/lot/	‘wet’	/ituan/	‘wise’		

### 4.3.4 NUMERALS

Numerals can be either cardinals or ordinals. Cardinal numerals are as follows:

/mod/	‘one’	/baria/	‘two’	/apia/	‘three’	/upuinia/	‘four’
/moNea/	‘five’	/turia/	‘six’	/iya/	‘seven’	/iralia/	‘eight’
/area/	‘nine’	/gelea/	‘ten’	/hisi/	‘twenty’		

Among the numerals used in Mundari, the numerals beyond ‘ten’ (upto nineteen) are counted by using TEN as the unit. Twenty onwards are counted by using TWENTY as the unit. This is one of the common phenomena in Munda group of languages.

/mod-gel-turui/	‘sixteen’	/mod-hisi/	‘twenty’	/bar-hisi/	‘forty’
one - ten - six		one - twenty		two - twenty	

Among the ordinals, the fractions are used in Mundari are :

/tala/	‘half’	/modia tala/	‘one and half’	/mod keca tala/	‘one forth’
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The other ordinals are :

/maraM/	‘first’	/tayom/	‘second’	/huRim/	‘third’ etc.’
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Generally, ordinals are formed by adding the inflectional suffixes to the cardinals. But as we have seen in Mundari, this is not the case. Here the ordinals are from totally different base.

### 4.3.5 CLASSIFIERS

Classifiers are those which classify a definite grammatical category. In Mundari, there are a few gender – words which are generally prefixed to the main words. /*kora*/ ‘man’ /*kuri*/ ‘woman’ /*eM – ga*/ ‘female’ /*sanDi* / ‘male’.

/ *koRa/sanDi seta*/ ‘male dog’                      / *kuRi/eM – ga seta* / ‘female dog / bitch’

### 4.4 VERB – MORPHOLOGY

The verb morphology includes the description of the finite and non-finite verbs along with the Tense, Aspect, Mood, Infinitives, Gerund, Participle, Causation, Passive Formation, Compound Verbs, Transitivity etc. as applicable to the verbs.

#### 4.4.1. FINITE VERBS

Verbs can be of two types – finite and non-finite. Finite verb consists of a stem followed by mood, tense and aspect markers, which are further, followed by person, gender and number markers.

##### 4.4.1.1 TENSE

Specifically in Mundari, there is no tense marker. But the concept of time in Past, Present and Future are determined by the Aspect markers and the situational occurrences of the verbal forms. Therefore the aspect markers have both way functions in Mundari.

- (a) They can be used as the aspect markers.
- (b) They can be used as the tense markers.

The two perfect aspect markers / *le* /, / *je* / and one imperfect aspect marker / *ta?*/ are used in the following ways as the tense markers

Person/ Number	Simple Present	Gloss	Simple Past	Gloss	Simple Future	Gloss
Ist Person Singular (I)	<i>kamino? aiM</i>	(to work)	<i>kami jan aiM</i>	(worked)	<i>kami aiM</i>	(shall/will work)
Ist Person Dual (We- two)	<i>kamino? alaM</i>	(to work)	<i>kami jan alaM</i>	(worked)	<i>kami alaM</i>	(shall/will work)
Ist Person Plural (We- plural)	<i>kamino? ale</i>	(to work)	<i>kami jan ale</i>	(worked)	<i>kami ale</i>	(shall/will work)

IInd Person Singular (You)	<i>kamino? am</i>	(to work)	<i>kami jan am</i>	(worked)	<i>kami am</i>	(shall/will work)
IInd Person Dual (You-two)	<i>kamino? aben</i>	(to work)	<i>kami jan aben</i>	(worked)	<i>kami aben</i>	(shall/will work)
IInd Person Plural (You-plural)	<i>kamino? ape</i>	(to work)	<i>kami jan ape</i>	(worked)	<i>kami ape</i>	(shall/will work)
IIIRD Person Singular (He/She)	<i>kamino? ay</i>	(to work)	<i>kami jan ay</i>	(worked)	<i>kami ay</i>	(shall/will work)
IIIRD Person Dual (They-two)	<i>kamino? akiM</i>	(to work)	<i>kami jan akiM</i>	(worked)	<i>kami akiM</i>	(shall/will work)
IIIRD Person Plural (They-plural)	<i>kamino? ako</i>	(to work)	<i>kami jan ako</i>	(worked)	<i>kami ako</i>	(shall/will work)

Person/Number	Present Continuous	Gloss	Past Continuous	Gloss	Future Continuous	Gloss
Ist Person Singular (I)	<i>kami tan aiM</i>	(is/am/are doing work)	<i>kami taiken aiM</i>	(was/were working)	<i>kami ta? iM</i>	(shall/will be working)
Ist Person Dual (We-two)	<i>kami tan alaM</i>	(is/am/are doing work)	<i>kami taiken alaM</i>	(was/were working)	<i>kami ta? laM</i>	(shall/will be working)
Ist Person Plural (We-plural)	<i>kami tan ale</i>	(is/am/are doing work)	<i>kami taiken ale</i>	(was/were working)	<i>kami ta? le</i>	(shall/will be working)
IInd Person Singular (You)	<i>kami tan am</i>	(is/am/are doing work)	<i>kami taiken am</i>	(was/were working)	<i>kami ta? m</i>	(shall/will be working)
IInd Person Dual (You-two)	<i>kami tan aben</i>	(is/am/are doing work)	<i>kami taiken aben</i>	(was/were working)	<i>kami ta? ben</i>	(shall/will be working)
IInd Person Plural (You-	<i>kami tan ape</i>	(is/am/are doing work)	<i>kami taiken ape</i>	(was/were working)	<i>kami ta? pe</i>	(shall/will be working)

plural)						
IIIrd Person Singular (He/She)	<i>kami tan ay</i>	(is/am/are doing work)	<i>kami taiken ay</i>	(was/were working)	<i>kami ta? y</i>	(shall/will be working)
IIIrd Person Dual (They-two)	<i>kami tan akiM</i>	(is/am/are doing work)	<i>kami taiken akiM</i>	(was/were working)	<i>kami ta?kiM</i>	(shall/will be working)
IIIrd Person Plural (They-plural)	<i>kami tan ako</i>	(is/am/are doing work)	<i>kami taiken ako</i>	(was/were working)	<i>kami ta?ko</i>	(shall/will be working)

Person/Number	Present Perfect	Gloss	Past Perfect	Gloss	Future Perfect	Gloss
Ist Person Singular (I)	<i>kami kan aiM</i>	(have worked)	<i>kami len aiM</i>	(had worked)	<i>kami kano aiM</i>	(shall/will have worked)
Ist Person Dual (We-two)	<i>kami kan alaM</i>	(have worked)	<i>kami len alaM</i>	(had worked)	<i>kami kano alaM</i>	(shall/will have worked)
Ist Person Plural (We-plural)	<i>kami kan ale</i>	(have worked)	<i>kami len ale</i>	(had worked)	<i>kami kano ale</i>	(shall/will have worked)
IInd Person Singular (You)	<i>kami kan am</i>	(have worked)	<i>kami len am</i>	(had worked)	<i>kami kano am</i>	(shall/will have worked)
IInd Person Dual (You-two)	<i>kami kan aben</i>	(have worked)	<i>kami len aben</i>	(had worked)	<i>kami kano aben</i>	(shall/will have worked)
IInd Person Plural (You-plural)	<i>kami kan ape</i>	(have worked)	<i>kami len ape</i>	(had worked)	<i>kami kano ape</i>	(shall/will have worked)
IIIrd Person Singular (He/She)	<i>kami kan ay</i>	(have worked)	<i>kami len ay</i>	(had worked)	<i>kami kano ay</i>	(shall/will have worked)

IIIrd Person Dual (They- two)	<i>kami kan akiM</i>	(have worked)	<i>kami len akiM</i>	(had worked)	<i>kami kano akiM</i>	(shall/will have worked)
IIIrd Person Plural (They- plural)	<i>kami kan ako</i>	(have worked)	<i>kami len ako</i>	(had worked)	<i>kami kano ako</i>	(shall/will have worked)

From the above chart, it is found that the agreement between the subject and the verb in person and number is visible which is a common characteristic in all the languages of the Munda family.

#### 4.4.1.2 ASPECT

Two aspects are available in Mundari: Perfect and Imperfect.

Perfect aspect refers to a past situation which has the present relevance. The markers for the perfect aspect are /ka/, /ja/, /le/ etc.

*/kolkata - te - aiM - sen - ka - n - a /*  
Calcutta – to - Isg. To go - Aspect Marker - Tense Marker - Pred.  
'I have gone to Calcutta'  
*/manDi - ako - jom - le - n - a /*  
food - IIIpl to eat - Aspect Marker - Tense Marker - Pred.  
'They had eaten the food'  
*/durum - ja - n - a - y /*  
to sleep - Aspect Marker - Tense Marker - Pred. - IIIsg.  
'He slept'

Imperfect aspect has two parts: Progressive and Continuous.

Progressive denotes the action which is in process and continuous is the manifestation of the progressiveness. So, the progressive equates the situation of the continuous. Examples

*/dub - ta - n - a - ko /*  
sit - Aspect Marker - Tense Marker - Pred. - IIIpl.  
'They are sitting' (in the process of sitting)  
*/dub - aka - n - a - ko /*  
sit - Aspect Marker - Tense Marker - Pred. - IIIpl.  
'They have sat' (the process is over)

Therefore, the imperfect aspect has two markers: /ta/ and /aka/. The former is the progressive aspect marker and the latter is the continuous aspect marker.

### 4.4.1.3 MOODS

There are three moods available in Mundari: Imperative, Optative and Permissive.  
Imperative mood

Imperative mood denotes action of order. This mood does not have any inflectional marker and the second person singular form is used to denote this mood. Ex. / *senko?*/ ‘go’, /*hiju*/ ‘come’ etc.

Optative mood

Optative mood denotes the politeness of any action. The marker for this mood is /-k-/ which is infix between the base and the tense marker. Ex.

<i>/sen</i>	-	<i>k</i>	-	<i>o?</i>	<i>aiM/</i>	‘May I go (please)’
to go-	mood-	Tense	Marker	Isg.		
<i>/hiju</i>	-	<i>k</i>	-	<i>o?</i>	<i>am/</i>	‘(you) please come’
to come	-	mood	-	Tense	Marker	IIsg.

Permissive Mood

This mood pertains to the first and the third person and expresses desire and permission. Semantically, those expressions correspond to the English ‘let’ formations. The marker for this mood is /-ko?/. e.g. / *senko?ay*/ ‘Let him go’ , /*hijuko?ay*/ ‘Let him come’ etc.

### 4.4.2 NON FINITE VERBS

The non-finite Verbs consist of a stem followed by mood, tense and aspect markers only. The inflected forms of verbs for Participles, Gerund and Infinitive come under the non-finite verbs.

#### 4.4.2.1 INFINITIVES

Infinitives forms decline as substantives. They are generally formed by adding ‘infinitive morphemes’ to different bases i. e. intransitive, transitive, causative etc, In Mundari, there is no separate ‘infinitive’ marker, it is - $\Phi$ - and it is marked by the positional occurrence of the verbal base. Examples, /*jom* + - $\Phi$ / > /*jom*/ ‘to eat’, /*jal* + - $\Phi$ / > /*jal*/ ‘to lick’, /*dul* + - $\Phi$ / > /*dul*/ ‘to pour ( water )’ etc.

#### 4.4.2.2. VERBAL NOUN

Formations in which the verbs act as the nouns are called the verbal noun formations. Here the verbal noun marker is /*nu*/. In Mundari, the formation of the verbal noun is as follows

/ *nu da* / ‘drinkable water’, / *nu toa* / ‘drinkable milk ‘ etc.

#### 4.4.2.3. GERUND

When the verbs act as adjectives, the formations are called as ‘gerundial formations’ or simple ‘gerunds’. The marker for gerund is /*nu*/. Example,

/ *toa nu hoRmo rea bugin ge* / ‘drinking milk is good for health’  
milk drink health for good emphatic

So, in the case of Verbal Noun and Gerund markers are same /*nu*/.

#### 4.4.2.4. PARTICIPLES

Participle stems inflect as a verbs and decline as nouns/ adjectives. Therefore these stems can have inflectional suffixes as well as case suffixes. Participles are of two types: Past participles formations, the perfect forms of the verbs are used as the participial forms. The aspect marker / *led* / is used as the participial forms. The aspect marker / *led* / is used in Mundari as the Past participle marker. Examples: / *kami led* / ‘having done the work’ etc.

In the Present participles formations, the emphatic / *ge* / is used with the marker / *akan* / to denote the continuity of the verbal forms. Here, the present form the verb is used as the participial form ( which is called the ‘Present participle’ ). For example,

/ *sen akan ge ay* / ‘He keeps on going’  
to go pres.pl. emphatic IIIsg.

#### 4.4.3. CAUSATIVE VERB

The causative is formed by adding / *a -* / prefixed to the verbal base. Example, /*jom*/ ‘to eat’ > /*a-jom*/ ‘to feed. / *kiring* / ‘to buy’ > /*a-kiring* / ‘to make somebody buy’ etc. Besides prefixing / *a -* / to the verbal base, suffixing / *-iri* / is also alternative process of causative formation. Ex., / *jom* / ‘to eat’ > / *jom-iri* / ‘to feed’ etc.





sentence (which is the characteristics of a transitive verb) as in */aiM ayke goiri/* ‘I kill him’ etc.

#### 4.4.8. COMPOUND VERBS

The phenomenon of Compound verbal formations which are formed by combining two or more verbal forms are very common in the South – East Asian languages. The first verbal element in a compound verb is called the main verb and second one is operator.

Now, the compound verbs in Mundari are formed by adding two verbs having their own meanings which change to another related meaning after being combined. Examples:

*/kaji/+ /deM ga/ > /kajideM ga/* ‘to plead’

Where */kaji/* means ‘to say’ and */deM - ga/* means ‘to help’

The first verb of the compound is the secondary and the second verb is the primary/principal verbs. However, the secondary verbs may change their positions in respect of the principal verbs. Examples, */caba siba/* ‘to finish ploughing’, */heta ruaR/* ‘to look forward’ etc.

#### 4.5 ADVERBS

Adverbs are indeclinable. They can be either simple or derived. Simple adverbs are monomorphemic whereas derived adverbs consists of more than one morpheme. Examples

Simple Adverb  
*/tisiM/* ‘today’  
*/isu/* ‘very’  
*/eskar/* ‘only’

Derived Adverb

*/oiom/* ‘expectedly’  
*/suku/* ‘glad’  
*/rabal/* ‘easy’

*/ka-oiom/ > /koiom/* ‘unexpectedly’  
*/suku - te/* ‘gladly’  
*/rabal - te/* ‘easily’

#### 4.6 PARTICLES

Generally, conjunctions and interjections are known as particles.

Conjunctions connect the link between the two words, phrases and sentences. The followings are the different types of Conjunctions –

Conjunctive	-	<i>/oRo/</i>	‘and’
Disjunctive	-	<i>/ci/</i>	‘or’
Conditional	-	<i>/yodi/</i>	‘if’

In Mundari, particles have different types of functions in the sentence formations.

A. Particle as the Emphatic marker

The Emphatic marker Particle is / *ge* /

/ *aiM*                    *ge - n*     *seno?* - *a* /

1p. sg.                    Particle-Isg. To go – pred.

‘It is I who will go’

B. Particle as the Topic marker

The Topic marker Particle is / *do* /

/ *aiM*                    *do - n*                    *seno?* - *a* /

I sg.                    Particle- Isg.                    To go - pred.

‘I will go’

The other Particles are

/ *o* /     ‘too’

/ *jaa?* /     ‘perhaps’ etc.

Example, / *am-o* /     ‘you too’, / *am - jaa?* /     ‘perhaps you’                    etc.

#### 4.6.1 INTERJECTIONS

Interjections are of two types : Basic and Functional.

Basic interjections are those which originally express the state of mind. Ex . / *baba* / ‘very good’, / *ela* /     ‘hallo’ etc.

Functional interjections are those, which originally belong to other parts of speeches but as the situation requires they function as the interjections. Ex.

Verb :                    / *ju* /     ‘to go away’     / *ju am* /     ‘You go away’

Adjective :                    / *heina* /     ‘alas’

/ *heina merom tolime karedoe nira* /     ‘Alas ! either tie the goat or it will run away’ etc.  
alas !     goat     tie     will run     or

#### 4.6.2 ECHO WORDS

The Echo words are the kind of onomatopoeic words but in echo words the main form and the echoed form has a kind of phonetic similarity where in the echoed form, the same homorganic form of the main form is used.

Example : / *tiri riri* / 'sound of a flute', / *boro soro* / 'cowardice', / *roka toka* / 'quickly', / *cali bali* / 'trickiness' etc.

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## 5. SYNTAX

Syntax deals with the structure of the sentences i.e. how the different types of sentences are formed and spoken in different languages. Words from different grammatical categories join one after another with proper combinations we get the various types of sentences in a language. So every language must be having a Word order. In Mundari as in other Indian languages the word order is of SOV i.e. Subject Object type.– Verb type.

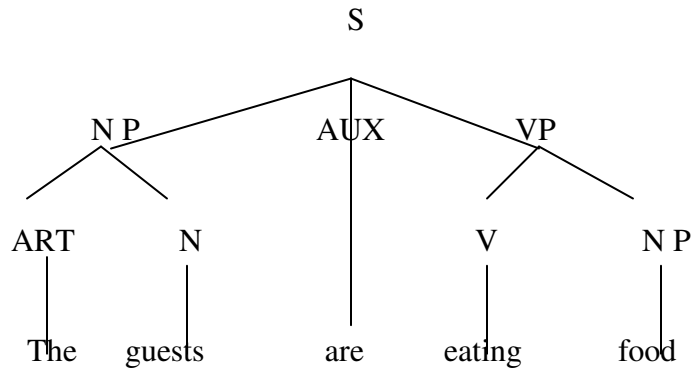
### 5.1 ORDER OF WORDS AND PHRASES IN A SIMPLE SENTENCE

In Mundari, the word – order in a simple sentence is as follows:

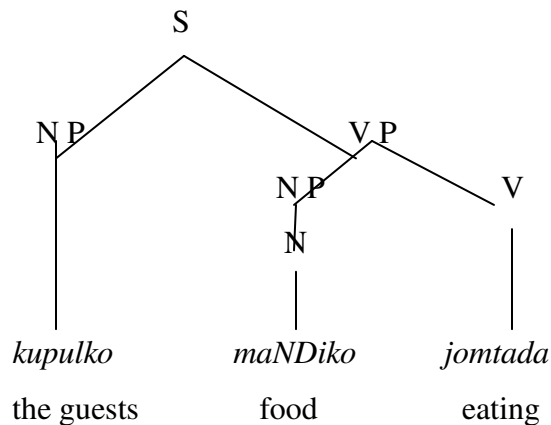
Subject + Object + Verb or S O V type, as it is seen in other Indian languages.

Example : / *kupul - ko maNDi - ko jom - ta - n - a* /  
          guest - pl.      food - agr. Eat - AM - TM - PM  
          ‘The guests are eating food’

On the other hand in English, the word order is of SVO or Subject – Verb – Object type. For example, the phrases are formed in the following way:



Here the word – order is of S V O type i. e. the Noun phrase always precedes the Verb phrase taking the auxiliary in the middle. But the Mundari S V O type of structure will be just the reverse :



So, the above is the order of the words and the phrases in a simple sentence but in the case of the complex and the compound sentences, the structure will be different.

## 5.2 DESCRIPTION OF TYPES OF SENTENCES

### Interrogative

Interrogative sentences are formed either with the help of the WH – words (i.e. bringing a WH – word in the Topic position by the transformation WH- Fronting), and with the help of the transformation Inversion (i.e. bringing the verb to – be of an assertive sentence in the Topic position). Example : */cilka - mena? - me - a /* ‘how are you’.

How - copula - IIsg. - pred.

*/cilka - mena? - len - ay /* ‘how is he?’

How - copula - IIIsg. - pred.

### Negative

The negative marker is */ka/*. It is lexical as well as sentential negation and is a bound morpheme.

*/kolkatta - te ka - n sen - ka - n - a /*

Calcutta - to neg.- Isg. Go - Aspect Marker - Tense Marker - Pred.

‘I have not gone to Calcutta’

*/manDi - ka - n jom - a /*  
 food - neg. - Isg. Eat - pred.  
 ‘I do not eat food’

### Imperative

Imperative sentences denote the sense of ordering. Generally, the imperative sentence is formed by the second person singular verbal form used in the sentence. For this, the zero suffix is added to the verbal root, for its imperative form.

Example : */hiju/* ‘to come’ and also the imperative form of the verb ‘to come’ as in  
*/kolkatta hiju/* ‘Come to Calcutta’. */kolkatta sen/* ‘Go to Kolkata’  
*/nētē hijū mē/* ‘Come here’ etc.

### Causative

The formation of a causative sentence is as like as an affirmative sentence. In Mundari, the causative is formed by prefixing */ a - /* before the verbal root. Example: */jom /* ‘to eat’  
 > */ a - jom /* ‘to feed’ ; */ dal /* to beat */ hit /* > */ a - dal /* ‘to make somebody beat / hit’ etc. But sometimes the post – position */ -iri /* can also be used to mark a causative form of a verb. Example: *- / jom - iri /* ‘to feed’ etc. Ex., */aiM jomiri/* ‘I feed you’, */aiM manDin jomiri/* ‘I don’t feed you’ etc.

### Co-ordination

Co – ordination of a sentence is done by adding */ oRo /* ‘and’ between the two words / sentences whether simple/ complex. Example, */ hoyo + oRo + rimbil /* ‘air and cloud’.

Another part of co – ordination which is to be considered as the subordination, is done by adding */ ci /* ‘or’ between the words / sentences. Example , */hoyo ci rimbil /* ‘air or cloud’. */koRa ci koRi/* ‘boy or girl’ etc.

<i>/ koRa oRo koRi - ko</i>	<i>maNDi - ko</i>	<i>jom - ta - n - a /</i>
boy and girl- pl.	food - agr.	Eat - AM - TM - PM

‘The boys and the girls are eating food’

### 5.3 DESCRIPTION OF PATTERNS OF SENTENCES

#### Simple sentences

A simple sentence is the basis form of a sentence consists of a Noun phrase and a verb phrase. For example, / *aiM salake seno?* / 'I go to school', /*am salake seno?* / 'You go to school'.

#### Complex sentences

Complex sentences can be constructed by adding one or more subordinate clauses (s) to the main clause. So, there are main clause and embedding clause (s). Example : - / *da? pere koRa* / 'the boy who fills the water' ( main clause 'the boy' and subordinate clause 'who fills the water' ).

*/ isupeRe mena alaloam cikalekate dariam/*  
poisonous snake must to destroy find way  
'I must find a way to destroy the poisonous snake'

#### Compound sentences

Compound sentences are formed when two or more simple/complex sentences added with the help of 'and'. For example : / *moyon bare darure moyon kooa oRo eMga kooa dai ena* / 'On one big tree, one male crow and one female crow used to live together'.

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## MUNDARI

### TEXT

*moyon bare darure moyon kaoa oRo eMga kaoa tailena*  
one big banyan tree one crow and his female crow lived  
*akoa take upunia peTalu taikena akoa peTalukoke*  
those the nest four little eggs be – past those little eggs  
*doyako besle kate daru Dhorare*  
which guarded with care

Among the spreading branches of a banyan tree lived a crow and his wife, the crow – hen. In the nest were four little eggs which the parents guarded with great care.

*mayon biM menakoa bin menyodi ay soben peTaluko*  
big tree hollow trunk lived one black snake who crawled all the eggs  
*jomledakin cintaM kaoa aya peTalu keda*  
use to eat when the crow-hen her eggs lay

In a hollow of that tree – trunk lived a black stake. Every time the crow-hen laid her eggs the snake crawled up to the nest and ate them up.

*mo'd siMgi kuRi kaoa kaoako men'keda*  
How we stay male crow female crow to say – past.  
*neneka bin menyodi soben peTaluko jomkeda enate*  
to say past by the snake crawled all eggs eats therefore  
*nera taioa sombog bano kaoa menkeda*  
we nest some other to build the crow say past

'If the black snake eats up my eggs this time also, I refuse to live in this tree any longer. We must build our nest somewhere else,' said the mother bird to her husband.

*aliM neRe isu singi taika oRo okate senai akoa jabga*  
we living long days to desert & go and other place to go while were  
talking  
*somoyere biMrea 'hiss' sari ayomkeda bin hikate*  
hear – past heard hissing sound below which know

We have lived here a longtime. I can't bear to desert my home and go to live elsewhere,' said the crow. While they were talking, they heard a hissing sound just below them. They knew what the sound meant.

*ako nirane hoiMua akoa peTaluko tarkare kosis kartana bin menyodi*  
they helplessly sat their eggs to save trying to do the black snake  
*ucu oRo dhanure tuke araogora hiss gojorea kaa darke*  
higher and closer to the nest crept with a loud hiss the crows out of fear  
*uRuMkeda sab peTahluke akoa bin menyodi peTaluko iMtan iMtan jomkeda*  
flew away all the eggs hose the black snake eggs one by one to eat – pt

They sat helplessly in their nest trying to protect their eggs the black snake crept higher and closer to the nest. Then with a loud hiss he tried to strike the birds who flew away in terror. One by one, the black snake swallowed the eggs.

*men'keda isupeRe mena alaloam cikalekate dariam*  
to say-past poisonous snake must to destroy find way

The crow said, 'I must find a way to destroy this murderous snake'.

*kaa menkeda alom boroya' iya moMon suMtimena*  
Female crow say – past how to fight him that hood deadly

'How can you ever fight him?. His sting is so deadly,' said his wife.

*na Dor priye, mayAn ituana dost biMke cikalekate gojoa ina*  
*menkate*  
not worry, Dear one of my friend can to destroy to have after  
telling

*toyo japate sear apir senojana*  
that one a friend jackal to a place went & sat there

'Don't you worry, my dear, I've got a friend who can destroy the most poisonous of snakes,' said the crow, and off he flew to another tree under which lived his dear friend, the jackal.

*ina ayoM kate tuyuTa kaoake men'keda akoy dost jalua*  
after the story hearing to crow say – past my friend plan  
*akoa gojo sekRage hijua*  
one mind destroy to come

When the jackal heard the story, he said, 'My friend, those who are cruel and greedy always meet with a lead end. Have no fear, I've already thought of a plan to destroy him'.

*kaoa men<sup>?</sup>keda aīke upayTa menen bin cikalekete*  
 the crow say – past to me the process tell which to destroy  
*gojoa tuyuTa kaoake upay men<sup>?</sup>keda kaoa apirkate*  
 in mind having to the process to stay – pt the crow flew  
*budiTa eMga kaoake men<sup>?</sup>keda kaoaTa men<sup>?</sup>keda*  
 the plan having to crow to say – past the crow say – past  
*nīa oRe bipod*  
 matter and risk

‘Oh, do tell me what it is,’ said the crow. Then the jackal whispered to his friend what he should do to destroy the snake. The crow flew back to his wife and told her about the plan. ‘It is rather risky, said the crow’ ‘we will have to be very careful’.

*aiM aiMya peTaluke tarka re sab kar tana kaoa sasre men<sup>?</sup>keda*  
 I mine eggs to save anything to do the crow bravely said.  
 ‘I’ll do anything to save my eggs,’ said the mother bird bravely.  
*kaoaTa apirkaTe raja oRare senakana raja*  
 crow country king palace went king  
*oRarea bādare raja kuRihonko har mala ocokate reaR tanako*  
 palace tanks king princess golden chain removed to take bath

So off they flew towards the palace of the king of country. They approached a big pond in the palace garden where they saw the royal ladies having a bath. They had laid their golden chains, pearl neck less and the other jewellery on the edge of the pond.

*kaoa nic gudi moyon harmala idikate darurea dorare giRikeda*  
 crow down flew one chain snatched trees hollow hole to drop  
*raja oRateya kaoa hoRoko oRo ina lelKate mala tayente*  
 king soldiers crow gun and flying to follow the chain for

The mother bird flew down, picked up a gold chain in their beak and started flying. When the palace guards saw the bird flying off with the gold chain, they took up their clubs and chased the bird.

*eka oRateya daur tadako ako ina harmala idia komente*  
 one guard tree climbed to that chain then to get

*doRare*      *tiomiya*      *komente*      *biM*      *lelkeda*      *oRo*      *ayke*  
 tree's hollow hole    there      curled up      black one    hard      and      him  
*bondukte*      *goykiyako*  
 by club              killed

One of the guards climbed up the tree to get the chain. As he put his hand inside the hole to get the chain, he saw a black snake curled up there. With one hard stroke of his club he killed it and that was the end of the black snake.

*ina*      *tayonate*      *kaoa*      *koda*      *honlo*      *besle*      *kate*      *tayjanako*  
 after      lived      the crow & his wife    there      happily      live - past  
*oRo*      *sare*      *kaoa*                      *hui*  
 and    many little baby crows      had

The crow and the crow – hen lived in that tree happily afterwards and had many little baby – crows.

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## **KODA/ KORA**

### **R. SENKUTTUVAN**

#### **1. INTRODUCTION**

Koda/ Kora is a language of the Austro-Asiatic language family. In Indian Census, Koda/ Kora is treated as one of the Non-Scheduled languages being spoken mainly in West Bengal. The language is named after the name of Scheduled tribe ‘KORA’ in West Bengal as per the Sl.No. 20 in the list of Scheduled Tribes in Census of India, 2001. [Census of India: 2001, *List of Scheduled Caste and Scheduled Tribe*]

#### **1.1 FAMILY AFFILIATION**

In the Linguistic Survey of India (LSI) by Sir George Abraham Grierson, Koda as well as Kora is a dialect of Kherwari spoken in West Bengal, South Chotanagpur and North Orissa (LSI vol. 1.pt – I. P.469). As per Grierson Koda/ Kora language is named after the profession of the tribe, namely the profession of ‘digging’. The tribe Kora in West Bengal speaks the variety of Koda/Kora which is more close to Mundari. In other area, like Orissa, Madhya Pradesh the Koras speak the language which is very close to Kurukh/Oraon. The name Kora is the Bengali way of pronouncing Koda and the meaning of the word is ‘bay’. And in West Bengal the Koda speech has a close affinity with Mundari. (LSI – Vol - IV : 1906 : pp- 107-110 ).

#### **1.2. LOCATION**

As per the latest Census of India, i.e. 2001 the Koda/ Kora, as a Linguistic Community, is mainly concentrated in West Bengal followed by Jharkhand, Orissa. The detailed distribution of Koda/ Kora returns is furnished under speaker’s strength section. The present study has been conducted in the Midnapore district of West Bengal state.

#### **1.3. SPEAKERS’ STRENGTH : LANGUAGE-MOTHER TONGUE – BILINGUALISM**

According to Grierson the estimated Population of Koda/ Kora is 8949. According to 1921Census the Koda/Kora speakers were 19,690 (LSI vol. 1.pt-1.p.38). However, as per the latest Census of India i.e. 2001 the major distribution of Koda/ Kora as a language as well as

mother tongue along with a language of bilingualism in India and West Bengal is presented below.

### **Koda/ Kora as language**

<b>Language</b>	<b>India/States/Union territory</b>	<b>Person</b>	<b>Male</b>	<b>Female</b>	<b>Rural</b>	<b>Urban</b>
<b>Koda/Kora</b>	INDIA	43,030	21,552	21,478	37,839	5,191
	West Bengal	33,218	16,616	16,602	28,887	4,331
	Jharkhand	4,972	2,486	2,486	4,732	240
	Orissa	3,145	1,571	1,574	2,985	160

<b>Language</b>	<b>States/Districts</b>	<b>Person</b>	<b>Male</b>	<b>Female</b>	<b>Rural</b>	<b>Urban</b>
<b>Koda/Kora</b>	WEST BENGAL	33218	16616	16602	28887	4331
	Medinipur	10639	5357	5282	10298	341
	Barddhaman	10432	5228	5204	7024	3408
	Birbhum	5506	2721	2785	5127	379
	Maldah	2810	1414	1396	2810	0
	Hugli	1111	557	554	940	171
	Uttar Dinajpur	880	438	442	880	0
	Dakshin Dinajpur	779	374	405	779	0

### **Koda/ Kora as Mother Tongue**

<b>Mother Tongue</b>	<b>India/States/Union territory</b>	<b>Person</b>	<b>Male</b>	<b>Female</b>	<b>Rural</b>	<b>Urban</b>
<b>Koda/Kora</b>	INDIA	36,528	18,317	18,211	31,783	4,745
	West Bengal	32,491	16,258	16,233	28,172	4,319
	Jharkhand	1,988	1,025	963	1,955	33
	Orissa	866	423	443	859	7

<b>Mother Tongue</b>	<b>States/Districts</b>	<b>Person</b>	<b>Male</b>	<b>Female</b>	<b>Rural</b>	<b>Urban</b>
<b>Koda/Kora</b>	WEST BENGAL	33218	16616	16602	28887	4331
	Medinipur	10639	5357	5282	10298	341
	Barddhaman	10432	5228	5204	7024	3408
	Birbhum	5506	2721	2785	5127	379
	Maldah	2810	1414	1396	2810	0
	Hugli	1111	557	554	940	171
	Uttar Dinajpur	880	438	442	880	0
	Dakshin Dinajpur	779	374	405	779	0

## Koda /Kora as a language of Bilingualism and Trilingualism

Language	India/ States	Total Speakers	Mono Linguals	Total	Language of Bilingualism	SpeakersSt rength	Total	Language of Trilingualism	Speakers Strength
KODA/ KORA	West Bengal	43030	12517	30513			3015		
					ASSAMESE	108			
								HINDI	<b>42</b>
								ENGLISH	6
								BENGALI	1
					BENGALI	24102			
								HINDI	641
								SANTALI	378
								ENGLISH	359
								ORIYA	11
								NEPALI	1
								PUNJABI	1
								URDU	1
								MUNDARI	1
					HINDI	3098			
								BENGALI	294
								ENGLISH	178
								ORIYA	63
								SANTALI	30
								MUNDARI	15
								ASSAMESE	14
								MARATHI	3
								NEPALI	3
								KANNADA	2
								MALAYALAM	1
								TELUGU	1
								MUNDA	1
					ORIYA	2008			
								HINDI	270
								ENGLISH	88
								TELUGU	13
								MUNDA	9
								SANTALI	4
								BENGALI	2



						HO	1
						OTHERS	1
				SANTALI	229		
						BENGALI	109
						HINDI	22
						ORIYA	4
				ENGLISH	254	ENGLISH	2
						HINDI	107
						BENGALI	61
						KANNADA	9
						ORIYA	7
						TAMIL	5
						SANSKRIT	2
						ASSAMESE	1
						MALAYALAM	1
				MUNDARI	52		
						HINDI	21
						BENGALI	11
<b>KODA/ KORA</b>	<b>West Bengal</b>	<b>33218</b>	<b>8578</b>	<b>24640</b>		<b>1804</b>	
				BENGALI	23879		
						HINDI	605
						SANTALI	360
						ENGLISH	359
						ORIYA	9
						NEPALI	1
						PUNJABI	1
						URDU	1
				HINDI	527		
						BENGALI	280
						ENGLISH	12
						NEPALI	2
						SANTALI	2
						TELUGU	1
				ORIYA	4		
						BENGALI	1
						SANTALI	1
				SANTALI	81		

ENGLISH

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BENGALI	72
ENGLISH	1
BENGALI	60
HINDI	27
ASSAMESE	1

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## 2. PHONOLOGY

Based on the field data collected from Midnapore district of West Bengal the phonology of Koda/Kora is presented herewith.

### 2.1. PHONEMIC INVENTORY

There are 29 phonemes in Koda/Kora of which 5 are vowel phonemes and 24 are consonants.

#### Segmental Phonemes

##### Vowels

Koda/ Kora has five short Vowels of which two are front, two are back and one is central. Each short vowel has corresponding long vowel. Here the feature of length may be separated out as a distinctive phoneme. Thus regarding Vowels, we may have five vowels and two co-occurring features - length and nasalization.

	Front	Central	Back
High	<i>i</i>		<i>u</i>
Mid	<i>e</i>		<i>o</i>
Low		<i>a</i>	

##### Consonants

	Bilabial	Dental	Alveolar	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stop	<i>p b</i>	<i>t d</i>		<i>T D</i>		<i>k g</i>	?
Affricate					<i>c j</i>		
Fricative		<i>s</i>		<i>S</i>			<i>h</i>
Nasal	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>		<i>N</i>	<i>M'</i>	<i>M</i>	
Lateral			<i>l</i>				
Flap			<i>r</i>	<i>R</i>			
Semi-vowel	<i>v</i>				<i>y</i>		

##### Supra Segmental features

Length marker	<i>:/</i>
Nasalization	<i>/ ~ /</i>

## 2.2 CONTRASTS OF PHONEMES

### Vowels

/i/ ~ /i:/	<i>iMku</i>	‘they’
	<i>iM</i>	‘I’
	<i>iñe</i>	‘come’
	<i>i:njaerra</i>	‘wife’
/e/ ~ /e:/	<i>erũ</i>	‘ant hill’
	<i>e:rũ</i>	‘snake hill’
/a/ ~ /a:/	<i>arimsu</i>	‘tiger’
	<i>a:rkki</i>	‘wine’
/u/ ~ /u:/	<i>uni</i>	‘we’
	<i>u:nku:</i>	‘they’
/o/ ~ /o/	<i>oDe</i>	‘bird’
	<i>o:De</i>	‘house’

All the five vowels occur in the initial position, medial and in final position.

### Consonants

/p/ ~ /b/	<i>pa:n</i>	‘pan’
	<i>ba:n</i>	‘flood’
/t/ ~ /d/	<i>ta:ra:s</i>	‘heat’
	<i>darõho:n</i>	‘adopted child’
/T/ ~ /D/	<i>TaTTa</i>	‘tooth’
	<i>Dakku</i>	‘grand’
/k/ ~ /g/	<i>kottam</i>	‘butter’
	<i>gottam</i>	‘ghee’
/c/ ~ /j/	<i>catta: ma:di</i>	‘morningfood’
	<i>jatta</i>	‘umbrella’
/m/ ~ /n/	<i>mu:y</i>	‘ant’
	<i>nu:y</i>	‘it’
	<i>mayã:</i>	‘blood’
	<i>niyã:</i>	‘had’
/s/ ~ /s/	<i>serma:da</i>	‘rain’
	<i>Serma:</i>	‘sky’
	<i>sabo:n</i>	‘soap’
	<i>Saga:n</i>	‘wood’

<i>/n/ ~ /N/</i>	<i>koya:ndi</i>	‘potter’
	<i>nama ča:NDi</i>	‘full moon’
	<i>candri</i>	‘affection’
	<i>amca:ndri</i>	‘cock’
<i>/n/~ /M/</i>	<i>sabo:n</i>	‘soap’
	<i>rabo:M</i>	‘cold’
	<i>alo:ni</i>	‘cough’
	<i>mora:nsil</i>	‘mortal’
	<i>alo:M</i>	‘tongue’
	<i>mara:M</i>	‘big’
<i>/ñ/~ /M/</i>	<i>tinañ</i>	‘cold’
	<i>tanaM</i>	‘done’
	<i>i:njaerra</i>	‘wife’
	<i>i:M</i>	‘I’
<i>/l/ ~ /r/</i>	<i>lu:TTi</i>	‘tip’
	<i>ruTTi</i>	‘roti’ (eatable)
	<i>tuli</i>	‘bag’
	<i>turi</i>	‘fur’ (animal small hair)
	<i>tiri</i>	‘stone’
<i>/r/ ~ /R/</i>	<i>bo:rkoDa</i>	‘bride’
	<i>eRRo:ko:n</i>	‘female’
	<i>vabo:M</i>	‘clay’
	<i>ra:nasa:r</i>	‘rain bow’

### 2.3. DISTRIBUTION OF PHONEMES

#### Vowels

All the ten vowels occur in initial, Medial and final positions: Following is positional distribution of vowel phonemes.

Phonemes	Initial	Medial	Final
<i>/i /</i>	<i>iMku</i> ‘they’	<i>arimsu</i> ‘tiger’	<i>a:rkki</i> ‘wine’
<i>/i: /</i>	<i>i:M</i> ‘I’	<i>laki:t</i> ‘for’	<i>su:ri:</i> ‘near’

/e/	/erro:ko:n 'female'	Serma:da 'rain'	otte 'earth'
/e:/	e:rNa 'carry'	bulbe:Da 'friend'	ale: 'we'
/a/	aručoMka: 'valley'	kaDam 'old man'	či:da 'flame'
/a:/	a:m 'where'	sa:dikkicei 'sari'	jatta: 'umbrella'
O/	ode 'bird'	oTTodi 'blanket'	mero 'goat'
/O:/	O:la: 'day before yesterday'	mo:laM 'bald head'	ho:yo: 'air'
/u/	uriččllu 'beef'	paDukatta 'thumb'	duyu 'fox'
/u:/	hu:p 'hair'	cu:TTi 'tip'	bru: 'hill'

### Consonants

Among the consonant phonemes in Koda/Kora retroflex nasal *N*, palatal nasal  $\tilde{n}$ , velaric nasal *M*, labial semi vowel *v* and retroflex flap *R* do not occur initially. Remaining consonant phonemes occur medial position. Among the consonants phonemes bilabial stop *b*, alveolar stop *d* velar stop *g*, palatal affricate *c*, *j* retroflex fricative *S* retroflex nasal *N* and retroflex flap *R* do not occurs in the final position. Illustration is given below:

Phonemes	Initial	Medial	Final
/p/	pukkiri 'lake'	ko:na:po:n 'family'	di:p 'island'
/b/	ba: 'father'	bulbe:Da 'friend'	
/t/	ta:ra:s 'heat'	otte earth	loca:T clay

/d/	<i>doroy</i> 'ashes'	<i>či:da</i> 'flame'	
/T/	<i>TaTTa</i> 'tooth'	<i>kaTTu</i> 'finger'	<i>belT</i> 'belt'
/D/	<i>Dakkuda:da</i> 'grand father'	<i>aDu</i> 'urine'	<i>canD</i> 'bullock'
/k/	<i>kaDa</i> 'river'	<i>pukkiri</i> 'pond'	<i>balik</i> 'sand'
/g/	<i>gottam</i> 'ghee'	<i>kagū</i> 'cow'	
/c/	<i>cim</i> 'hen'	<i>mo:cca</i> 'mouth'	
/j/	<i>jatta</i> 'umbrella'	<i>bijili</i> 'lightering'	
/S/	<i>Serma</i> 'sky'	<i>ca:NDu marSa:l</i> 'Moonlight'	
/s/	<i>sunū</i> 'oil'	<i>masi</i> 'mother's sister'	<i>ta: ra: s</i> 'heat'
/m/	<i>mako:n</i> 'butter'	<i>cattama:di</i> 'morning food'	<i>koda:m</i> 'chest'
/n/	<i>ni:ta</i> 'darkness'	<i>honerel</i> 'male'	<i>ba:n</i> 'flood'
/N/		<i>nama:ča: NDi</i> 'full moon'	
/l/	<i>lu:TTi</i> 'lip'	<i>tuli</i> 'bag'	<i>rimi:l</i> 'cloud'
/ñ/		<i>koM'j:oriMko:nō</i> 'daughter in law's father'	<i>tinañ</i> 'cold'
/M/		<i>mara:M boku</i> 'brother's wife'	<i>tanaM</i> 'done'

/v/		<i>bavkudiho:n</i> 'bride groom'	<i>dha:vde: v</i> 'wave'
/R/		<i>eRRo:ko:n</i> 'female'	
/r/	<i>rabo:M</i> 'clay'	<i>borkoDa</i> 'bride'	<i>ra:masa: r</i> 'rainbow'
/y/	<i>ya:rkki</i> 'funny'	<i>ho:yo</i> 'air'	<i>doroy</i> 'ashes'

## 2.4. MAJOR ALLOPHONIC DISTRIBUTION

Chart of Allophones

	Unrounded	Rounded
High	$\underset{\lambda}{i}$ i: $\underset{\lambda}{i}$ i : I i:	$\underset{\lambda}{u}$ u : $\underset{\lambda}{u}$ : u:
Lower High	$\underset{\lambda}{i}$ I I <sup>a</sup> I	$\underset{\lambda}{u}$ U u
High Mid	$\underset{\lambda}{i}$ e E: e :	$\underset{\lambda}{u}$ o O: o:
Mean Mid	$\underset{\lambda}{i}$ E E: E:	$\underset{\lambda}{u}$ $\underset{\lambda}{\gamma}$ O o
Lower Mid	$\underset{\lambda}{?}$ $\underset{\lambda}{d}$ $\underset{\lambda}{d}$ : $\underset{\lambda}{d}$ :	$\underset{\lambda}{?}$ $\underset{\lambda}{\Lambda}$ $\underset{\lambda}{\Lambda}$
Low		

/i/ has three allophones.

[i i] palatal on glide occurs initially.

[i?IMkn] /IM kn/ 'they'

[iĩnc ] /iĩnc/ 'come'

[ I ] oral vocoid occurs finally.

[ a:rkkI ] /a:rkki/ 'wine'

[ ūnI ] /uni/ 'we'

[ I ] occurs elsewhere.



[arɪmsu] /arɪmsu/ 'tiger'  
 [vɪmi:l] /vimi:l/ 'clay'

/i/ has four allophones.

[i i:], [i I:], [ĩ I:] [i :]

[i i:] - not followed by retroflex consonants.

[b ɪjili] /bijili/ 'lightening'

[ĩ i:M] /i:M/ 'I'

[ĩ i:ni] /i:ni/ 'he'

[ĩ I:] followed by retroflex consonants.

[nĩ Ta:] /ni:Ta:/ 'night'

[I:] occurs Medially.

[mĩ i:Tkari] /mi:Tkari/ 'moment'

[lakI:t] /laki:t/ 'for'

[jutI:k] /juti:k/ 'if'

[I:] occurs elsewhere.

[su:ri:] /su:ri:/ 'near'

[apni:t] /apni:t/ 'self'

/e/ has three allophones

[ĩ E], [E] and [E]

[ĩ E] occurs initially.

[ĩ Erro:ko:n] /erro:ko:n/ 'female'

[E] occurs followed by retroflex consonants.

[ku: D E] /ku:De/ 'fog'

[E] occurs elsewhere.

[ʌ bE] /abe/ 'you'

[ott E] /otte/ 'earth'

[ʌ lE] /ale/ 'we'

/e:/ has three allophones.

[i e], [E:] and [e:]

[ĩ e] occurs initially.

[ĩ e:m] /e:m/ 'hen'

[ĩ e:rnn] /e:rNa/ 'carry'

[ E:] medially followed by retroflex consonants.  
 [bulbE:Da] /bulbe:Da/ ‘friend’

[ e:] occurs elsewhere.  
 [re:m] /re:m/ ‘stay’  
 [be:nttʌ] /be:ntta/ ‘bullock’  
 [d̄le:] /ale:/ ‘we’

/ a / has three allophones.

[ ?ʌ ] [ ʌ ] and [ʌ ]  
 [ ?ʌ ] not followed by retroflex consonants.  
 [ ?ʌMkʌ:gʌ:na] /aMka:ga:na/ ‘dawn’  
 [ ?ʌručoMkʌ:] /aručoMka:/ ‘valley’

[ ʌ ] Medially followed by retroflex consonants.  
 [daTʌ] /daTi/ ‘dust’  
 [k ʌDam] /kaDam/ ‘old man’

[ ʌ ] occurs elsewhere.  
 [ni:tʌ] /ni:ta/ ‘darkness’  
 [č i:dʌ] /či:da/ ‘flame’

/a:/ has three allophones.

[ ^d̄:] [ d̄:] and [ d̄:]  
 [ ^d̄:] occurs initially when not followed by retroflex consonants.  
 [ ^a:m] /a:m/ ‘where’  
 [ ^a:r] /a:r/ʌ/ ‘and’  
 [ ^d̄:Mka:ga:na] /a:Mka:ga:na/ ‘dawn’

[ d̄:] medially when followed by retroflex consonants.  
 [t d̄:Diya:ko:meSin] /ta:Diya:ko:meSin/ ‘razor’  
 [Sd̄:Di kicci] /sa:Dikkicei/ ‘sari’

[ d̄:] occurs elsewhere.  
 [jʌm d̄:] /jama:/ ‘shirt’  
 [p d̄:kkeT] /pa:kkeT/ ‘pocket’  
 [jʌtt d̄:] /jatta:/ ‘umbrella’

/ O / has three allophones.

[ γ ] [ O ] and [ o ]  
 [ γ ] occurs initially when followed by dental stops [ γ D e ]  
 / o D e / ‘bird’  
 [ γ D e ] / o D / ‘camel’

[O] medially when followed by retroflex consonants.  
 [OTTodi] /oTToDi/ 'blanket'  
 [nOykODΛ] /noykoDa/ 'bank of river'

[o] occurs elsewhere.  
 [koda:m] /koda:m/ 'chest'  
 [otte] /otte/ 'earth'  
 [loca:t] /loca:t/ 'clay'

/O:/ has three allophones.

[uo:] [Q:] and [O:]

[u o:] initially when not followed by retroflex consonants.

[uo:la:] /o:la:/ 'day before yesterday'

[Q:] Medially when followed by retroflex consonants.  
 [kQ:Da:kO:n ] /kO:DakO:n / 'boy'  
 [mQ:LAM] /mO:LaM / 'bald head'

[O:] occurs elsewhere.  
 [ko:ytΛ] /ko:yta/ 'cyclone'  
 [ho:yo:] /ho:yo:/ 'air'

/u/ has three allophones.

[u u] [u :] [v]

[uu] not followed by retroflex consonants .

[cuuri] /curi / 'knife'  
 [uuričuillu] /uriccillu / 'beef'  
 [puuluM] /puluM / 'salt'

[u] followed by retroflex consonants.  
 [puDakATTu] /puDakaTTu / 'thumb'

[ v ] occurs elsewhere.  
 [pukktri] /pukkiri/ 'lake'  
 [brvučoMka:] /bruučoMka:/ 'valley'  
 [dvyv] /duyu/ 'fox'

/u:/ has three allophones

[u u:] [U:] and [u:]

[u u:] not followed retroflex consonants .

[uu:p] /u:p/ 'hair'

[ <i>ɥu:ttu</i> ]	/ <i>u: ttu</i> /	‘curry’	
[ <i>U:</i> ] medially when followed by retroflex consonants.			
[ <i>lU:TTi</i> ]	/ <i>lu:TTi</i> /	‘lip’	
[ <i>dU:TrA</i> ]	/ <i>du:Tra</i> /	‘neck’	
[ <i>u:</i> ] occurs elsewhere.			
[ <i>ADu:</i> ]	/ <i>aDU:</i> /	‘urine’	[ <i>mu:y</i> ]
/ <i>mu:y</i> /	‘ant’		
[ <i>bru:</i> ]	/ <i>bru:</i> /	‘hill’	

## 2.5 CLUSTER

In Koda/Kora Language there is no successive occurrence of vowels. But initial, medial and final consonant clusters are possible.

### Initial consonant clusters

In the initial position only two consonants will occur as sequence. They form part of a single syllable as on set.

<i>br -</i>	/ <i>bru:</i> /	‘mountain’
	/ <i>bra:yike:</i> /	‘often’

### Medial consonant clusters

In the medial position up to a maximum of three consonants will occur in a sequence. If there are two consonants in a medial sequence there they will have abutting relation.

- <i>kp -</i>	<i>bela:ro: akptane</i>	‘ day after tomorrow’
- <i>mt -</i>	<i>jaya:m ti</i>	‘right arm’
- <i>ND-</i>	<i>cimsa:NDi</i>	‘cock’
- <i>rk-</i>	<i>a:rkki</i>	‘urine’
- <i>rT-</i>	<i>harTta</i>	‘skin’

### Final consonant cluster

Final clusters are generally not realised in Koda/Kora except a few loan words like

- <i>lT</i>	<i>belT</i>	‘belt’
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Abutting relation of consonants will occur only in the medial position. If there are two consonants in a sequence they will be either identical (or) non-identical sequence of consonants.

## Gemination of Consonants

If there is sequence of two identical consonants, the same will be treated as geminated consonants and the rest will have cluster relation.

- <i>pp</i> -	<i>eppil</i>	‘star’
- <i>kk</i> -	<i>kikkite</i>	‘fox’
- <i>tt</i> -	<i>cette</i>	‘dog’
- <i>TT</i> -	<i>aTTodi</i>	‘blanket’
- <i>cc</i> -	<i>saDikicci</i>	‘sari’
- <i>rr</i> -	<i>erro:ko:n</i>	‘female’

## Clusters of Non Identical Sequence

- <i>rk</i> -	<i>parko:r</i>	‘two’
- <i>km</i> -	<i>makmuti</i>	‘nose ring’
- <i>Mb</i> -	<i>mara:Mboku</i>	‘brother’s wife’
- <i>ñj</i> -	<i>koñja: riMkanõ</i>	‘daughter-in-laws father’
- <i>vv</i> -	<i>balaivve</i>	‘son-in-laws mother’
- <i>rb</i> -	<i>koñarba</i>	‘father-in law’
- <i>lb</i> -	<i>bulbe: Da</i>	‘friend’
- <i>rS</i> -	<i>ca:Nd umarSa:d</i>	‘moonlight’
- <i>rm</i> -	<i>serma:</i>	‘sky’
- <i>ls</i> -	<i>rimilsada: ta:na:</i>	‘thunder’
- <i>ng</i> -	<i>lenga: ti</i>	‘left arm’
- <i>md</i> -	<i>kada: mduva</i>	‘breast ( female )
- <i>mk</i> -	<i>cimko: n</i>	‘chicken’
- <i>ms</i> -	<i>cim Sa: NDi</i>	‘cock’

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### 3. MORPHOPHONEMICS

Morphophonemics in general deals with the change of sounds occurring in sequence either within a Morpheme (or) across Morphemes. The changes taken place across the Morphemes are something more which includes addition, deletion, etc.

- (i)             $\tau$          $\emptyset$         before velar stop *k*
- k oDikoNDa*                    ‘girl falls’
- koDikoNDa a:kku*                ‘girls fall’
- koDikoNDaku*                    ‘girls falls.

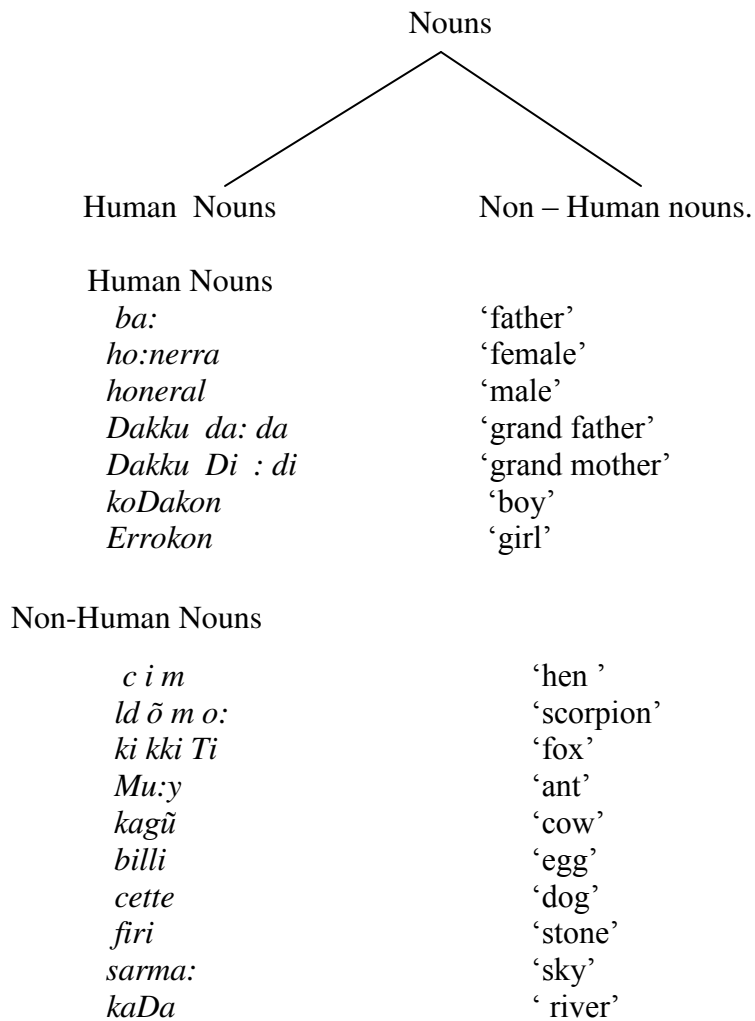
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## 4. MORPHOLOGY

Morphology deals with this words or class of words available in a language. The word in Koda/Kora is formed as all independent forms.

### 4.1. NOUN

Nouns are those forms or class of words which can take or are capable of taking case marker.



### 4.1.2 .GENDER

The Koda/ Kora Language shows the list gender system without having any concord with the verb grammatically. The list gender are shown below under Human and non-Human category.

(1) Human

(a) Masculine

<i>ko: Da: ko: n</i>	‘boy’
<i>daM ko: ko: Da: ko: n</i>	‘young man’
<i>ba:</i>	‘father’
<i>kona: rba:</i>	‘father in Law’
<i>Dakkuda: da</i>	‘grand father’
<i>honer al</i>	‘male’
<i>ka Dam KoDa</i>	‘old man’
<i>ho: n erral</i>	‘son’

(b) Feminine

<i>erro: ko: n</i>	‘girl’ or ‘female’
<i>Da kku Di: di</i>	‘grand mother’
<i>bala irre:</i>	‘son – in Law’s Mother’
<i>ba hu ko: ne: ra:</i>	‘daughter in Law’
<i>mara: M boku</i>	‘brother’s wife’
<i>tai</i>	‘elder sister’
<i>kuDim poka: yiM kuDi</i>	‘younger sister’
<i>ma:</i>	‘Mother’
<i>masi</i>	‘Mother’s sister’.
<i>ho n erra:</i>	‘Mother- Sister daughter’
<i>erra</i>	‘wife’.
<i>bo: tti Konera</i>	‘pregnant woman’

(2) Non- Human

Those nouns which do not come under any of the above masculine or feminine categories can be grouped under Non-Human.

<i>korin</i>	‘deer’
<i>ette c:</i>	‘dog’
<i>Cim ko: n</i>	‘chicken’
<i>oD</i>	‘camel’
<i>caND</i>	‘bullock’

**4.1.3. NUMBER**

( i ) Nominal numbers

Singular

<i>cetta</i>	‘dog’
<i>o: Da</i>	‘house’
<i>uri</i>	‘cow’

Plural                      suffix    - *ko:* -                      plural markers.



<i>cetta ko:</i>	‘dogs’
<i>barriyo: o: Da</i>	‘two house’
<i>appiya: cetta.</i>	‘three dogs’
<i>uri ko</i>	‘cows’
<i>barriya: uri</i>	‘two cows’
<i>appiya: uri</i>	‘three cows’

### Pronouns

#### Singular:

<i>i:M</i>	‘I’ ( I person )
<i>uni</i>	‘he’ ( III person )
<i>uniKodi ko: n</i>	‘she’ ( III person )
<i>nu yi</i>	‘it’ ( III person ) neuter
<i>amo:M</i>	‘you’ ( II person )
<i>ni ya:</i>	‘this’ ( III person) neuter

#### Plural

<i>alen</i>	‘we’ ( I person )
<i>aliM</i>	‘we’ ( dl ) ( I person dual )
<i>inku</i>	‘they’ ( III person )
<i>abin</i>	‘you’ ( II person )

### 4.1.4. CASE AND POSTPOSITIONS

Cases are a category of suffixes, which established syntactic relationship between nouns and verbs.

Nominative case

Nominative is singular complete form of the noun. It has no overt marker.

<i>ba:</i>	‘father’
<i>ma:</i>	‘mother’
<i>ko:nea:</i>	‘daughter’
<i>tiri</i>	‘stone’
<i>kaDa</i>	‘river’
<i>bella</i>	‘sun’
<i>saga:n</i>	‘wood’
<i>hoyo:</i>	‘wind’
<i>bukkiri</i>	‘pond’

Accusative case

Accusative suffix denotes the direct object of the verb.

Accusative	<i>ni:</i>	‘to’
	<i>ni ya tta: o:Ta</i>	‘to this house’
	<i>ni: bo:y</i>	‘to the book’

<i>ni: Te:bL e</i>	‘to the table’
<i>ni: puDi catam</i>	‘to the white house’
<i>ni: k koDi koNDa:</i>	‘to the girl’
<i>ni: ko:NDa:</i>	‘to the boy’

### Instrumental case

The Instrumental case expresses the capability of the noun with the assistance of the instrument. The same is indicated by {ke:}

<i>/uL ta: seje: ke: ya:/</i>	‘The mangoes are being eaten by me.’
<i>/sarka:r yokke: nomi ya:/</i>	‘Money was given by the govt. to the poor.’

### Sociative case

<i>soe</i>	>	[ { e } : ]	-	human
<i>ta: bbe: na ka: tric ro: be: na:</i>				‘trouble with the servant’

### Dative case

The dative marks the indirect object. The principal meaning of the dative case is that of an oblique object to which the action is directed.

<i>sarka:r yokke: nomoya</i>	‘govt. gave the money to poor’
<i>sarkar yokke: roTTi nomiya:</i>	‘govt. gave the rotti to poor’

### Genitive case

Genitive case is the case of possession.

Gen – case	<i>e iyyā :</i>	‘ my’
	<i>ā ame</i>	‘ your’

### Locative case

Locative is that denotes the location of an action ( or ) place of occurrence of an event. The locative case is unmarked in this language. It is determined contextually.

<i>mina:ya:</i>	‘ near’
<i>I:M ta ru buTTare mina: ya:</i>	‘I am near the tree’

## Ablative case

Ablative case is used to denote an object from which an action is directed on the place from which some one came , the means by which some things was done.

*corna: da bručo Mka:* ‘Water falls from the valley’

### 4.1.5. PERSONAL PRONOUN

	I	“ I : M ”
We		“ ale ” / aliM
He		“ uni ”
She		“ unikoD kon ”
it		“ nuyi ”
They		“ inku ”
You		“ ame ”
		“abi: n / ( phe )”

### 4.1.6. ADJECTIVE

The usage of Adjectives in Koda/Kora are realised in the following way. The\_Adjective precedes the noun

*kaDam KoDa* ‘old man’  
old man

*kuDDiM o: Da* ‘small house’  
small house

## 4.2 VERBS

Verbs are those forms which are capable of taking tense marker. In Koda/ Kora both finite and non – finite verbal forms are realized.

#### 4.2.1. FINITE VERBS

Finite is represented by one marker “La” past tense marker.

- |     |                                      |                     |
|-----|--------------------------------------|---------------------|
| (1) | <i>I M do: kami <u>la</u> aỸ</i>     | “ I did the work”   |
| (2) | <i>aliM barko kami <u>la</u> liM</i> | “ We did the work”  |
| (3) | <i>a: m kami <u>la</u> m</i>         | “ you did the work” |

Tense

In the Language of Koda/ Kora three way tense are available.

Present tense, past tense and future tense.

Tense wise finite verb formations are exemplified below.

Present tense

- |                                  |                       |
|----------------------------------|-----------------------|
| <i>I M do: kami aỸ</i>           | ‘I do the work’       |
| Past tense <i>_ l a</i>          |                       |
| <i>I M do: kami la aỸ</i>        | ‘I did the work’      |
| Future tense “ <i>ya</i> ”       |                       |
| <i>I M do: kami <u>ya</u>: M</i> | ‘I shall do the work’ |

Negative verb formation

The negative Morpheme is *-na* and it occurs in the sentences final position, it is common system in Koda/ Kora language.

- |  |                        |
|--|------------------------|
| <i>indo:kumuDu hain tahile: <u>na</u></i>    | ‘I was not a thief’    |
| <i>abe kumuDu tabe tahile: <u>na</u></i>     | ‘You were not a thief’ |
| <i>ayk do:kumuDu hai te he le: <u>na</u></i> | ‘He was not a thief’   |

#### 4.2.2 NON - FINITE VERBS

Non-finite is represented by one marker *ya*. The infinitive morpheme is in the common system in the Language.

- |                         |                         |
|-------------------------|-------------------------|
| <i>I:Mdo: kami ya:M</i> | ‘I shall do the work’   |
| <i>am kami ya:M</i>     | ‘You shall do the work’ |
| <i>mi kami ya:M</i>     | ‘He is doing’           |

### 4.2.3 ADVERBS

Adverbs can be identified by their functions attributes to verbs. They always precede the verbs which they modify. Adverbs in Koda/ Kora are inherent.

<i>noyi</i>	‘here’
<i>inkin</i>	‘there’
<i>niya:</i>	‘this’
<i>mina:ya</i>	‘near’

### 4.2.4. INTERJECTIONS

Interjection is autonomous Linguistic units known minor sentences. They are words (Simple or Compound) or phrases which generally begin utterances followed by sentences. (Bh. Krishnamurthy 1969: 324).

In Koda/Kora the following interjections are found in practice, which are grouped under the emotions and for which they use Bengal terms.

Surprise	<i>oh</i>	“oh !”
pain	<i>ma:</i>	“oh “ma !”
joy	<i>bah</i>	“bah !”

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## 5. SYNTAX

In all natural Languages we find many kinds of sentences and it is assumed that they have two levels of grammatical structures, deep structure and surface structures. The meaning of sentence is conveyed by its deep structure, the form of sentence is always given by in surface structure. Grammatical elements may be arranged quite differently in these two structures. The surface structure is obtained from the deep structure by the process called transformation. It is beyond the scope of the present work to study the various transformations in Koda/ Kora Language. However an attempt has been made to study the types of sentences present in Koda/ Kora Language.

### 5.1. ORDER OF WORDS AND PHRASES IN SIMPLE SENTENCE

<i>iM oDa: seno: tanai</i>	‘I go to the house’
<i>ni:yi ko:ND a:nu: ra ka:ne:</i>	‘The boy falls’
<i>iM battre kami ayi</i>	‘I eat bread’
<i>i:M naTe me:na: na:</i>	‘I work in the field’

### 5.2. DESCRIPTION OF PHRASES

There are five main types of phrases found in KoDa/ Kora, namely

- (1) Noun phrase
- (2) Case phrase
- (3) Verb phrase
- (4) Adjectival phrase
- (5) Adverbial phrase

#### Noun phrase

Noun phrases are of endocentric construction type. These have nouns as their heads. The first constituent is attribute.

<i>koDam koDa</i>	‘old man’
<i>daMko: ko:Da ho:n</i>	‘young man’

### 5.3. SENTENCES

Bloomfield defines a sentence as an independent linguistic unit, not included by virtue of any grammatical construction in any Larger Linguistic form. (pp 184-206, 1933)

Sentences can be classified into different types on two grounds, according to their function and according to their structure

According to function, sentences can be classified in to

(1) Statements

*nigi inle ko: yon torã* 'He sees me'

(2) Questions

*a ppiya: o:Da?* 'Your house?'  
*am ã: ko:n kotta:n rikkuva:* 'Where are your children?'

(3) Commands

*a mdo: kami dam* 'you do the work'  
*ini kami dam* 'let him do the work'  
*iM ku barko:r kami dam* 'let them two do the work'

(4) Causative

*I:M kami: Mtana:M* 'I am making to do'  
*abe: kami tana: be:* 'You are making to do'  
*uni kodi ko:n kami tane* 'She is making to do'

(5) Negation

*iMdo: kumuDu nai* 'I am not thief'  
*abe kumuDu tabe tahile: na:* 'you were not a thief'  
*ale: do: kumuDu kale take: na:* 'We shall not be a thief'

According to the structure, sentences of Koda/Kora can be classified into simple, complex and compound sentences.

#### 5.3.1. SIMPLE SENTENCES

Simple sentence is one which has only one subject and one predicate.

*nigi inle ko:yon torã* 'He sees me'

*I:M ja:me a:M* 'I eat'

### 5.3.2. COMPLEX SENTENCE

A complex sentence consists of one main clause and one or more subordinate clauses.

*I:M o:Da seno: ta nai abiln ko: kuma:č*

‘I came to your house, when you were asleep’

*koDakon sku:l jala:tao na: Mini binda: talnai*

‘The boy is going to school who falls’

### 5.3.3. COMPOUND SENTENCE

*i:M oda: seno: tanai ini seno: eno: na*

‘I went to the house he went away’

*i:M oda: seno: tanas ini bakadse: noe: ne*

‘I went to the house, he went down the hill’

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**KODA/KORA  
TEXT**

**How the Crow --- Hen killed The Black` Snake**

<i>Ini ya: r</i>	among the spreading
<i>ba: d e</i>	branches of
<i>tarure</i>	banayan tree
<i>tagile: na: kin</i>	lived a cow
<i>takku: ka: tte</i>	and his wife the crow - hen
<i>ta ke ke : na kin</i>	In the nest were four little eggs .
<i>de le ka:</i>	In the hollow of that.
<i>miya: ka : tte:</i>	every time the crow hen laid her eggs.
<i>akken tukko: mina: kina: kin</i>	If the black snake eats up my egg this time
	also.
<i>Sano: ke: na</i>	We must build our nest somewhere.
<i>duyu kamkki</i>	The parents.
<i>kana kaNDa me: na : ro: ja</i>	came back sadly to their nest.
<i>ma: na:</i>	king of the country.
<i>a: rkki – katri niro: go</i>	The palace was not far from the tree in
	which they lived
<i>Miya: miya: to ra: nitte:</i>	They approached a big pond in the palace
	garden.
<i>to: ke: kitta</i>	They had laid that edge of pond.
<i>co: na ba: na kku –</i>	when the palace guard saw the bird flying
<i>tar buse kaju</i>	with the gold chain.
<i>ta ru ku ru – neli tusu</i>	They book up their clubs.
<i>bi: yin Conna kko: uduM ko</i>	One of the guards climbed up the tree to get
	the chain
<i>conna: na: m kutte: ru ma: nDunu:</i>	The crow and the crow hen lived in that tree
<i>kagu a: r ka: gu Kanaru Cu: tati kin</i>	happily afterwards and had many little baby
	crows.

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# **LODHA**

**P. EDWARD VEDAMANICKAM**

## **1. INTRODUCTION**

Lodha is a Munda language spoken as a mother tongue by a tribe known as Lodha in the state of West Bengal. According to the Census of India, 1901, the Lodhas originally migrated from central provinces where an agricultural tribe named 'Lodh' or 'Nodh' or 'Ludhi' are found in large numbers.

The District Gazetteer of Midnapur (1931) contains some interesting remarks about their criminal habits. It reads as follows. "Midnapur has long been notorious for the number of dacoities committed within its borders. These are largely the work of the Lodhas -an -aboriginal tribe mainly found in the Narayangarh and the neighboring Thanas.

According to ' The Census of India 1951, District Hand Book Midnapur, Calcutta' Lodhas live along the western border now known as Jungle Mahals and are a tribe of hunters as their name implies. The people belonging to the scheduled tribe Lodha, speak Lodha language as their mother tongue.

As per the "Language Handbook on Mother tongues in Census- Census of India 1971" Lodha refers to a speech of the tribe of the same name.

### **1.1 FAMILY AFFILIATION**

Grierson's study in Linguistics Survey of India did not cover Lodha language as such. The Lodha language belongs to Austro- Asiatic family of Indian languages as per the present study.

### **1.2 LOCATION**

The Lodhas live scattered in the western jungle covered tracts of Midnapore. The Lodhas are found in the Narayangarh block of the Midnapore District in West Bengal. The villages namely, Sankari danga, Birkar, Patli and Talai are inhabited mostly by Lodhas. The present study has been conducted during the period of November and December, 2002 in the Phulgeria village of Narayangarh block in Midnapore District, west Bengal.

### **1.3 SPEAKERS' STRENGTH & BILINGUALISM**

In Indian Census Lodha appeared in 1961 Census with 5 speakers only. Prior to that in 1951 census, 6,040 people returned Lodha as their native language. The speakers' strength of Lodha could not appear in Census publication later to 1961 Census following the decision of Government of India.

### **1.4 SOCIOLINGUISTIC SITUATION**

Lodha is often spoken in multi-lingual communities, where its speakers are in daily contact with speakers of Kharia, Bhumij and the Bengali language, the official language of West Bengal. All most all the speakers of Lodha are bilingual and speak Bengali.

Since Lodhas live amidst the other communities like Kharia and Bhumij the usage of their mother tongue, Lodha, is restricted only within the family. It is mostly used for interaction in the inter-tribal situation and that too among the older generations. The younger generation is more fluent in Bengali; the maintenance of the Lodha could be seen only among the elder generation. Since they live in a multi lingual situation they use Bengali in most of the domains. In the local market they use Kharia language also.

The Lodha language is neither being taught as a subject nor as a medium of instruction in any of the schools. It is not used in the judicial system too. In the religious and cultural ceremonies, the Lodha language is sparingly used. In the rest of the domains the State language, Bengali, is being used by the Lodha community.

Lodha has rarely been used in its written form. Since education is generally through Bengali medium, Devnagri script is used virtually by all Lodha speakers, when the need arises to put something down in writing.

### **1.5 REVIEW OF LITERATURE**

Lodha being a mother tongue spoken by a lesser number of persons have no record of earlier written documents.

## **1.6 DEVELOPMENTAL ACTIVITIES**

Some measures were taken up by the Home Department, West Bengal as Lodhas were considered to be a 'Criminal Tribe' till the revocation of Criminal Tribe Act in 1952. Some voluntarily organizations initiated few rehabilitations colonies for the tribal groups. One such colony was initiated at Auligeria in the Police station of Jhargram under the stewardship of late Prof. Priyaranjan Sen, who was the Secretary of the Harijan Sevak Sangha, Bengal Branch. A full fledged colony was started at Dholkat Pukuria under the direct supervision of Bharat Sevashram Sangh. One Junior Ashram hostel was started for Lodha boys in 1964.

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## 2. PHONOLOGY

### 2.1 PHONEMIC INVENTORY

Phonology is the branch of linguistics, which deals with the patterns, and organizations of a language in terms of the phonetic features and categories involved; the phonemic analysis is assigning different symbols to all the indefinite number of sounds occurring in utterances. Accordingly, the phonemic inventory of Lodha language is given below and it shows all distinctive sound units occurring in the Lodha language.

#### Segmental Phonemes

The 'Lodha' language consists of thirty-seven segmental phonemes. Among these five are vowels and thirty-two are consonants.

#### Vowels

	Front unrounded	Central neutral	Back rounded
High	i		u
High mid	e		o
Low		a	

#### Consonants

	Bilabial		Dental		Alveolar	Retroflex		Palatal		Velar	Glottal	
	vl.	vd	vl.	vd		vl,	vd	vl.	vd.	vl.vd		
Unaspirated Stop	<i>p</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>d</i>		<i>T</i>	<i>D</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>j</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>g</i>	?
Aspirated stop	<i>ph</i>	<i>bh</i>	<i>th</i>	<i>dh</i>		<i>Th</i>	<i>Dh</i>	<i>ch</i>	<i>jh</i>	<i>kh</i>	<i>gh</i>	
Fricatives					<i>s</i>							<i>h</i>
Nasals		<i>m</i>			<i>n</i>		<i>N</i>			<i>M</i>		
Flap					<i>r</i>		<i>R</i>					
Laterals/Approximants.		<i>w</i>			<i>l</i>			<i>y</i>				

## Supra segmental Phonemes

The vowels become long in the word final position and that length is not phonemic in this language.

<i>arkhi:</i>	‘liquor from a tree’
<i>bairi:</i>	‘enemy’
<i>bharu</i>	‘bark of a tree’
<i>goTi:</i>	‘small pox’

## 2.2 PHONEMIC DESCRIPTION

The vowel phonemes occur in all three positions of a word namely, initially, medially and finally.

*/i/* high front unrounded short vowel. It occurs in the initial, medial and final position

<i>ikhRa</i>	‘dancing arena’
<i>igur</i>	‘wait’
<i>asintay</i>	‘next year’
<i>akhiyay</i>	‘to wink’
<i>anargi</i>	‘stick for cleaning the teeth’
<i>abanghi</i>	‘net’

*/e/* high mid front unrounded short vowel. It occurs initially, medially and finally

<i>er</i>	‘of this’
<i>emga</i>	‘step mother’
<i>koleN</i>	‘King’
<i>konsel</i>	‘young woman’
<i>gone</i>	‘tooth’
<i>kone</i>	‘mouse’

*/a/* low central unrounded short vowel. It occurs initially, medially and finally.

<i>acaka</i>	‘suddenly’
<i>akhar</i>	‘dense’
<i>abhitar</i>	‘inside’
<i>bairi</i>	‘enemy’
<i>baha</i>	‘shoulder’
<i>komta</i>	‘chew’

*/o/* High mid back rounded short vowel which occurs initially, medially and finally.

<i>or</i>	‘of that person’
<i>orgo?</i>	‘bamboo stick’
<i>ghorna</i>	‘hedge, fence’

<i>goTa</i>	‘whole’
<i>iro</i>	‘ridge between paddy fields’
<i>karco</i>	‘jackal’

*/u/* High back rounded short vowel. It occurs initially medially and finally.

<i>uT</i>	‘camel’
<i>kondur?</i>	‘child’
<i>kunTo</i>	‘wooden post’
<i>tobu</i>	‘yet’
<i>kurku</i>	‘dove’

#### Consonants

*/p/* Bilabial voiceless un aspirated stop. It occurs initially, medially and finally.

<i>pakhi</i>	‘bird’
<i>pajhre</i>	‘fountain’
<i>kupug</i>	‘seed’
<i>aphat</i>	‘trouble’
<i>sap</i>	‘snake’

*/ph /* Bilabial voiceless aspirated stop. It occurs initially, medially and finally.

<i>phak</i>	‘gap’
<i>tapher</i>	‘clap’
<i>aphat</i>	‘trouble’
<i>saph</i>	‘clean’
<i>baph</i>	‘bright’

*/b /* Bilabial voiced un aspirated stop. It occurs in all the three positions.

<i>bakSo</i>	‘box’
<i>burondi</i>	‘spine’
<i>karba</i>	‘plough’
<i>barabir?</i>	‘often’
<i>dab</i>	‘green coconut’
<i>lotob</i>	‘chaff’



/bh/ Bilabial voiced aspirated stop. It occurs in all the three positions.

<i>bhulu</i>	‘thigh’
<i>bhais</i>	‘female buffalo’
<i>sobhar</i>	‘meeting’
<i>bhabhru</i>	‘to bark’
<i>burkibh</i>	‘bubble’

/t/ alveolar voiceless unaspirated stop. It occurs in all the three positions.

<i>tamras</i>	‘guava fruit’
<i>batay?</i>	‘explain’
<i>maDtiri</i>	‘basket maker’
<i>khonta</i>	‘spade’
<i>bhu:t</i>	‘ghost’

/th/ alveolar voiceless aspirated stop. It occurs in all the three positions.

<i>thama</i>	‘to stop’
<i>matha</i>	‘head’
<i>jhutha</i>	‘falsehood’
<i>rath</i>	‘chariot’

/d/ alveolar voiced unaspirated stop. It occurs in all the three positions.

<i>duar</i>	‘door’
<i>madur</i>	‘mat’
<i>banduk</i>	‘gun’
<i>alad</i>	‘different’
<i>maind</i>	‘manure’

/dh/ alveolar voiced un aspirated stop. It occurs in all the three positions.

<i>dhan</i>	‘paddy’
<i>andha</i>	‘blind’
<i>sadh</i>	‘desire’

/ *T* / Retroflex voiceless un aspirated stop. It occurs in all the three positions.

<i>Tok</i>	‘sour’
<i>Tobdir</i>	‘white ant’
<i>aTa</i>	‘flour’
<i>aTkena</i>	‘bowels’
<i>paT</i>	‘jute’
<i>uT</i>	‘camel’

/ *Th* / Retroflex voiceless aspirated stop. It occurs in all the three positions.

<i>Thok</i>	‘acheat’
<i>aTha</i>	‘glue’
<i>paTh</i>	‘lesson’
<i>bainth</i>	‘knife fixed to a wooden plank’

/ *D* / Retroflex voiced unaspirated stop. It occurs in all the three positions.

<i>Dala</i>	‘basket’
<i>banDa</i>	‘a feast in November’
<i>alamDa?</i>	‘dew’
<i>amoD</i>	‘to wash one’s face’

/ *Dh* / Retroflex voiced aspirated stop. It occurs in all the three positions.

<i>Dhak</i>	‘drum’
<i>anDhur</i>	‘patience’
<i>la ?Dh</i>	‘load’

/ *c* / palatal voiceless un aspirated stop. It occurs in all three positions.

<i>cakar</i>	‘wide’
<i>cehra</i>	‘face’
<i>cu ?ci</i>	‘needle’
<i>kocro</i>	‘rice prepared for making beer’

*/ch/* palatal voiceless unaspirated stop. It occurs in all three positions.

<i>chakar</i>	‘round’
<i>chala</i>	‘leather’
<i>kuch</i>	‘something’

*/j/* palatal voiced un aspirated stop. It occurs in all three positions.

<i>japti</i>	‘sharp’
<i>jalag</i>	‘long’
<i>ajur</i>	‘empty the vessel’
<i>horoje</i>	‘begin’
<i>horoj</i>	‘sorry’
<i>ij</i>	‘dung’

*/jh/* palatal voiced aspirated stop. It occurs in all three positions.

<i>jhalob</i>	‘stretch’
<i>jharna</i>	‘mountain’
<i>banjhi</i>	‘barren women’
<i>junjhuna</i>	‘necessarily’

*/k/* velar voiceless unaspirated stop. It occurs in all three positions.

<i>kanhar</i>	‘vulture’
<i>kana ?si</i>	‘comb’
<i>camke</i>	‘shine’
<i>karkar</i>	‘bitter’
<i>bairak</i>	‘triangular flag’

*/kh/* velar voiceless aspirated stop. It occurs in all three positions.

<i>khand</i>	‘shoulder’
<i>khagkara</i>	‘crab’
<i>camkha</i>	‘lamp holder’
<i>khaskhas</i>	‘rough’
<i>akhiyay</i>	‘wink’

	<i>korakh</i>	‘sweet pumpkin’
/g/	velar voiced unaspirated stop. It occurs in all three positions.	
	<i>guj</i>	‘wash’
	<i>aguwa</i>	‘mediator’
	<i>agri</i>	‘finger’
	<i>kog</i>	‘recognize’
	<i>kupug</i>	‘seed of a tree called Mohua’
/gh/	velar voiced aspirated stop. It occurs in all three positions.	
	<i>ghuj</i>	‘light a fire’
	<i>jughay</i>	‘more’
	<i>oghurDa?</i>	‘rainy season’
	<i>tagh</i>	‘cow dung’
/s/	alveolar voiceless fricative. It occurs in all three positions.	
	<i>spruha</i>	‘desire’
	<i>asul</i>	‘take care’
	<i>bansi</i>	‘fish hook’
	<i>balpos</i>	‘adopt’
	<i>khis</i>	‘anger’
/m/	bilabial, nasal. It occurs in all the three positions.	
	<i>madur</i>	‘mat’
	<i>bamhan</i>	‘brahmin’
	<i>camkha</i>	‘lamp holder’
	<i>bhagom</i>	‘refuse’
	<i>belom</i>	‘ripe’
/n/	alveolar, nasal. It occurs in all the three positions.	
	<i>caini</i>	‘sieve’
	<i>jontu</i>	‘animal’
	<i>kinir</i>	‘jungle’
	<i>baiman</i>	‘scoundrel’
	<i>koyen</i>	‘perhaps’

- /N/ retroflex, nasal. It occurs in all the three positions.
- |                |                         |
|----------------|-------------------------|
| <i>Nahiyar</i> | ‘wife’s parents’ house’ |
| <i>Naygom</i>  | ‘black smith’           |
| <i>baNDay</i>  | ‘feast’                 |
| <i>nuksaN</i>  | ‘damage’                |
| <i>juDuN</i>   | ‘dawn’                  |
- /M/ velar, nasal. It occurs in all the three positions.
- |                |                     |
|----------------|---------------------|
| <i>Manda?</i>  | ‘boiled rice water’ |
| <i>arMarai</i> | ‘gasp for breadth’  |
| <i>hodoM</i>   | ‘other’             |
- /r/ alveolar flap. It occurs in all the three positions.
- |                  |                   |
|------------------|-------------------|
| <i>rob ? kon</i> | ‘yoke’            |
| <i>bairak</i>    | ‘triangular flag’ |
| <i>korra</i>     | ‘whip’            |
| <i>kongher</i>   | ‘young man’       |
- /R/ retroflex flap. It occurs in two positions.
- |              |                          |
|--------------|--------------------------|
| <i>baR</i>   | ‘large’                  |
| <i>baRa</i>  | ‘father’s elder brother’ |
| <i>bigRe</i> | ‘spoiled’                |
- // alveolar lateral. It occurs in all the three positions.
- |                |          |
|----------------|----------|
| <i>lemu</i>    | ‘soft’   |
| <i>lere?</i>   | ‘glad’   |
| <i>alamda?</i> | ‘dew’    |
| <i>koleg</i>   | ‘bread’  |
| <i>jorel</i>   | ‘roof’   |
| <i>bel</i>     | ‘spread’ |
- /y/ palatal continuant. It occurs in all the three positions.
- |              |               |
|--------------|---------------|
| <i>ya:ya</i> | ‘grandmother’ |
|--------------|---------------|

<i>yam</i>	‘cry, weep’
<i>benhiyar</i>	‘worker’
<i>keniya</i>	‘a girl who marries without parent’s consent’
<i>ighay</i>	‘how’
<i>baNDay</i>	‘feast’

/ʔ/ glottal stop. It occurs in medial and final positions.

<i>bayʔni</i>	‘blue’
<i>iʔcho</i>	‘depart’
<i>malaʔ</i>	‘to like a person’
<i>agaʔ</i>	‘floor’
<i>hojeʔ</i>	‘that one’

### 2.3 DIPHTHONGS

The following diphthongs are found in Lodha language.

/eu/	/oi/	/ua/	and	/ui/
/e u/		<i>neura</i>		‘mongoose’
/oi/		<i>bois</i>		‘female buffalo’
/u a/		<i>uana</i>		‘to bathe’
/u i/		<i>bunui</i>		‘hog’

### 2.4 CONSONANT CLUSTERS

Two consonant clusters

	p	b	t	d	T	D	c	j	k	g	ph	bh	th	Dh	jh	kh	gh	s	h	m	n	N	M	r	R	l	y	ʔ
P																								*				
b						*																		*				
t			*						*													*		*				
d																								*				
T									*																			
D	*																											
c									*																			*
j										*																		
k																										*		
g									*	*																		

Dh																					*	*				
ch																						*				
kh																							*			
s			*																			*		*		
h																						*				
m		*	*																			*		*		
n	*			*	*	*		*		*	*	*		*										*		
N			*																							
r		*		*		*		*	*													*				
R								*																		
l				*				*		*												*				
y																						*			*	
?			*				*	*																		

<i>rp</i>	<i>harpa</i>	‘sandals’
<i>bD</i>	<i>arabDu</i>	‘orphan’
<i>br</i>	<i>debra</i>	‘dwarf’
<i>hn</i>	<i>kehni</i>	‘elbow’
<i>dr</i>	<i>adrak</i>	‘ginger’
<i>sR</i>	<i>kisRo</i>	‘rich man’
<i>st</i>	<i>dastur</i>	‘custom’
<i>sn</i>	<i>kosna</i>	‘curse’
<i>Dp</i>	<i>koDpoRu</i>	‘person’
<i>Dhr</i>	<i>DheDhrel</i>	‘thunder’
<i>DhR</i>	<i>aDhro</i>	‘child’
<i>cy</i>	<i>kecy</i>	‘one anna’
<i>ck</i>	<i>kickica?</i>	‘dirty’
<i>jg</i>	<i>ajgar</i>	‘python’
<i>?k</i>	<i>ke?ke</i>	‘rope’
<i>kR</i>	<i>cikRo</i>	‘smooth’
<i>khR</i>	<i>akha</i>	‘dancing arena’
<i>mT</i>	<i>cimTi</i>	‘ant’
<i>mr</i>	<i>kumryna</i>	‘turn around’
<i>mb</i>	<i>Dimbu</i>	‘a kind of fruit’
<i>ms</i>	<i>dhimsa</i>	‘horse dung’
<i>mt</i>	<i>dimtag</i>	‘cattle shed’
<i>tk</i>	<i>catkan</i>	‘slap’
<i>Tk</i>	<i>chaTka</i>	‘big bamboo basket’
<i>lk</i>	<i>dhelki</i>	‘sub tribe’
<i>np</i>	<i>konpati</i>	‘temple’
<i>nt</i>	<i>aintain</i>	‘twist’

<i>nth</i>	<i>konthe</i>	‘bird’
<i>nT</i>	<i>kunTi</i>	‘propel the boat with a pole’
<i>nD</i>	<i>kunDu</i>	‘baby chick’
<i>nd</i>	<i>kinderaga</i>	‘day after tomorrow’
<i>nk</i>	<i>konke</i>	‘thin’
<i>nbh</i>	<i>kinbhar</i>	‘courtyard of a house’
<i>nDh</i>	<i>kinDhel</i>	‘heavy’
<i>ngh</i>	<i>kongher</i>	‘young man’
<i>ls</i>	<i>alsi</i>	‘tool used in carpentry’
<i>ld</i>	<i>kolda</i>	‘leaf plate’
<i>lbh</i>	<i>kolbheTa</i>	‘meet’
<i>lg</i>	<i>Dhalge</i>	‘to lie on one’s back’
<i>rb</i>	<i>cerberay</i>	‘chirp’
<i>rd</i>	<i>cougurdi</i>	‘around’
<i>rD</i>	<i>DerDega</i>	‘tree snake’
<i>rk</i>	<i>kherka</i>	‘pins used to stitch the leaf cups’
<i>rg</i>	<i>anargi</i>	‘tooth brush’
<i>gk</i>	<i>agkal</i>	‘property’
<i>gg</i>	<i>cuggi</i>	‘small pipe used for smoking cigar’
<i>Rk</i>	<i>kaRkaR</i>	‘bitter’
<i>rs</i>	<i>kharsa</i>	‘itch’
<i>?t</i>	<i>ka?ti?te</i>	‘when’
<i>?c</i>	<i>ko?ca</i>	‘corner’
<i>tr</i>	<i>katra</i>	‘danger’
<i>tt</i>	<i>cotto</i>	‘louse’
<i>tn</i>	<i>chatna</i>	‘bee hive’
<i>yn</i>	<i>koyna</i>	‘who knows’
<i>yl</i>	<i>koyla</i>	‘charcoal’

Three consonantal clusters

<i>nsR</i>	<i>kinsRo</i>	‘rich’
<i>nRh</i>	<i>konRha</i>	‘husk’
<i>spr</i>	<i>spriha</i>	‘desire’
<i>b?k</i>	<i>rob?kon</i>	‘yoke’
<i>b?n</i>	<i>oreb?na</i>	‘to pull up’
<i>b?y</i>	<i>ob?yarna</i>	‘to remove’
<i>?tn</i>	<i>ca?tni</i>	‘rock’

----xxx----



### 3. MORPHOPHONEMICS

1. Before the past, active marker /-o?/ stem-final plosive is devoiced and aspirated.

<i>oj</i>		‘drive’
<i>ocho?</i>		‘she drove’

2. Before the past, active marker /-o?/ stem-final /g/ is realized as [kh]

<i>og</i>		‘eat’
<i>okho?</i>		‘she ate’

3. When an enclitic beginning with a vowel attaches to a word ending in a vowel, -y- is inserted.

<i>u</i>	‘this’	<i>uya</i>	‘of this’
<i>yo</i>	‘see’	<i>yoye</i>	‘s/he will see’

4. The consonants degeminate at morpheme boundaries.

<i>oton</i>	+	<i>na</i>	>	<i>otona:</i>
press		infinitive		press on

<i>betoD</i>	+	<i>Da?</i>	>	<i>betoD:a?</i>
hunger		water		thirst

5. The vowel ‘e’ is dropped when the same vowel is followed in the following word or grammatical feature.

<i>karaye + em</i>	>	<i>karayem</i>
do		I will do
<i>tere + em</i>	>	<i>terem</i>
		I will give

----xxx----

## 4. MORPHOLOGY

### 4.1. NOUN- MORPHOLOGY

#### 4.1.1 WORD FORMATION

The Lodha lexicon may be divided into two broad groups- one open group whose members may all function as predicates, complements of predicates and as modifiers, and a much smaller, closed group whose members cannot serve in any of these three functions. These two groups can be termed as “lexical” and “functional” morphemes, respectively.

Lexical morphemes are those morphemes which refer to some *real world phenomenon* such as an entity, an event, or a state of affairs. These can all be used as a predicate, its complement, or (with few exceptions) in attributive function. This class includes all morphemes which are potentially referential, such as *table*, *notebook*, or *dog*, as well as events and states such as *run*, *eat* and *(be) beautiful*. This holds true of all lexical morphemes in Lodha language too. In addition, as deictic elements such as "pronouns" and demonstratives refer to real-world entities.

Any morpheme which cannot refer to a real-world entity or state of affairs cannot be used as a predicate, an attribute, nor as the complement of a predicate. This group consists of *functional* or *grammatical morphemes* and can perhaps best be defined negatively: Its members can never be used referentially, deictically (in the sense of referring to an event or state of affairs), anaphorically, or to denote an entity, event or state of affairs. This group includes markers for tense, aspect, mood, person marking, case (including postpositions), etc., i.e., those elements which provide the framework or grounding of the clause within a particular setting or which integrate the various constituents into the clause by indicating the function of a constituent.

#### 4.1.2. NOUNS

A noun is word that refers to a person, place, thing, event, substance or quality. Nouns are distinguished by number gender and cases. It can be used as the head of a predicate phrase only. The nouns in Lodha can be classified into two categories broadly, namely, animate and inanimate nouns.



## Plural

In addition to denoting more than two of a particular entity, the plural is also often found to denote approximation (a thing that is similar to something else, but is not exactly the same).

*hoki hepaha kitega okokimay*  
that+Plural vicinity sit.down Past Tense Personal marker  
'They settled in the (general) vicinity.'

*iaki* 'yesterday or so',  
*tuaki* 'tomorrow or so':  
*hoka iaki elki.*  
He / she yesterday+plural marker come+.Past Tense  
'S/he came yesterday (or so).'

The plural can also be used to designate someone and his or her family members as a kind of collective:

*gomke ki ya tho konke romkubya pe duiyo sa'jh isinna laki*  
Master+Plural +case for slender husked.rice+case two evening cooked cook  
'For the master [and his wife and brother], [a servant] cooked rice at two o'clock in the afternoon.'

### 4.1.2.2. GENDER

Gender is not grammatical in Lodha language. There are several means of expressing whether a male or female person or animal is being referred to.

One means is by indicating sex lexically:

<i>kōpuu</i>	'man'
<i>konselu</i>	'woman'
<i>kongher</i>	'boy'
<i>konsel</i>	'girl'
<i>kokro sikoy</i>	'cock'
<i>kitu sikoy</i>	'hen'

Another means is through the addition of the morpheme *-ay* 'woman',

<i>saw</i>	'husband'
<i>saway</i>	'wife'
<i>kulam</i>	'brother'
<i>kulamay</i>	'sister'

Neuter gender

The objects, which come under this, are inanimate things and any overt markers do not mark them.

<i>dhaRu</i>	‘tree’
<i>sakam</i>	‘leaf’

#### 4.1.2.3. CASE

The semantic relation between a subject and predicate is expressed by a grammatical category called as Case. The following three case markers are found in Lodha language.

- (1) Nominative: The nominative is unmarked.

<i>dharu</i>	‘tree’
<i>bi : or</i>	‘jungle’

- (2) Locative case

The locative case expresses the place whose an action had occurred.

The marker is > / - te /

<i>/ o? /</i>	‘house’
<i>/ o?te /</i>	‘in the house’

<i>kongher</i>	<i>o?te</i>	<i>awna la?ki</i>
boy	house +case	reside +Past tense
‘The boy lived in the house.’		

- (3) Possessive case: These are the three different suffixes to express the possessive cases.

For first person - *-i m*

Second person - *-m*

Third person - *-te*

<i>emga</i>	‘mother’
<i>emga im</i>	‘my mother’
<i>emgam</i>	‘your mother’
<i>emgate</i>	‘his mother’

#### 4.1.2.4 POSTPOSITIONS

The most common post positions in Lodha language are given below.

<i>bahart</i>		‘outside of’
<i>mugamte</i>		‘in front of’
<i>kunabte</i>		‘behind’
<i>toblute</i>		‘on top of, above’
<i>mo jhite</i>		‘amidst, among’
<i>tutate</i>		‘under, below’
<i>sadhukiya jhite or mo jhite</i>		‘amongst the holy men’
<i>tunbo mojhite</i>		‘in the middle of the day’
<i>mudui ki ya mo jhi te</i>		‘amongst the enemies’
<i>kinir mo jhi</i>		‘in the middle of the forest’

#### 4.1.3. PRONOUN

Personal pronouns. The following is the list of personal pronouns used in Lodha language.

First person			
<i>in</i>	-	I	
<i>injar</i>	-	we (exclusive)	} dual
<i>anam</i>	-	we (inclusive)	
<i>ele</i>	-	we (exclusive)	} plural
<i>ani</i>	-	we (inclusive)	
Second person			
<i>am</i>	-	you (singular)	
<i>ambar</i>	-	you (dual)	
<i>ampe</i>	-	you (plural)	

The second personal pronouns contain the common elements /am/ ‘You’ (singular). The dual is formed by suffixing /-bar/ and the plural is formed by suffixing /pe/

Third person

<i>hokar</i>	-	he / she
<i>hokiyar</i>	-	they (dual)
<i>hoki</i>	-	they (plural)

Interrogative pronouns

<i>/ a kar /</i>	which person
<i>/ akiyar /</i>	which two persons
<i>/a lebu /</i>	which man
<i>/a betal</i>	which boy

#### 4.1.4. ADJECTIVES

Adjectives in Lodha language can be classified into two broad categories, namely, simple adjectives and derived adjectives.

Simple adjectives are mono-morphophonemic in nature.

<i>gulai</i>	‘circle’
<i>poNde</i>	‘damp’

Derived adjectives are derived from any base by the following process. The adjectives are formed (1) by adding the suffix “- i” to the nouns.

<i>des</i>	‘country’
<i>desi</i>	‘indigenous’
<i>dam</i>	‘price’
<i>dami</i>	‘costly’

(2) By adding the suffix “-e” to the nouns.

<i>begun</i>	‘brinjal’
<i>begune</i>	‘the color of brinjal’
<i>mati</i>	‘earth’
<i>matie</i>	‘earthen’

(3) By adding the suffix “- te” to the nouns.

<i>dhoa</i>	‘smoke’
<i>dhoate</i>	‘smoky’
<i>tama</i>	‘copper’
<i>tamate</i>	‘copper coloured’

#### 4.1.5. NUMERALS

Three types of numerals are found in this language. They are Cardinals, ordinals and fractionals.

Cardinals

One	<i>mon</i>
Two	<i>ubar</i>
Three	<i>uphe</i>
Four	<i>iphon</i>
Five	<i>moloy</i>
Six	<i>tibru</i>
Seven	<i>tham</i>
Eight	<i>a:Th</i>
Nine	<i>thomsin</i>
Ten	<i>ghal</i>
Eleven	<i>gol</i>

The higher numerals are denoted by means of the multiples of the lower one.

Twenty	<i>ubaghal</i> (2 x 10)
Forty	<i>i phoghal</i> (4 x 10)

For Hundred, they adopt the word from Hindi.

chaw	100
------	-----

Ordinals:

<i>meson</i>	'first'
<i>bersom</i>	'second'
<i>uphethar</i>	'Third'
	'Fractionals'
adha	'Half'

## 4.2 VERB – MORPHOLOGY

### 4.2.1. VERB

A verb is a word or phrase that describes an action, condition or experience and can be used as the head of a predicate phrase only and is inflected for the tense markers. The verbs ending in personal suffix are finite Verbs and those which do not end in personal suffix and which carry participle suffix or infinitive suffix are non-finite Verbs.

In Lodha language the verbs contains aspect and/ or tense or imperative suffixes or the gerundial suffix.

Finite verbs

A finite Verb is a verb that is inflected for person and for tense according to the rules and categories of the languages in which it occurs. It is also a form of a verb that can occur on its own in a main clause and permits variations in tense, number, and mood. It is one whose form changes in order to match the form of the subject. It can be the main verb in the predicate part of a sentence (whose form is governed by the subject of the sentence). Finite verb is a verb or verb form that makes a complete assertion and may thus serve as a predicate.

Tense

There are three tense in this language. They are past, present & future. The markers are as follows.

Past	/ -te /
Present	/ -o? /
Future	/ -e /



<i>ud? o? im</i>	'I drink'
<i>ud? t e i m</i>	'I drank'
<i>ud? e i m</i>	'I will drink'
<i>lebu o? lki</i>	'the man come'
<i>lebu tel ki</i>	'the man came'
<i>lebu e lki</i>	'the man will come'

Continuous tense marker

The continuous tense marker is /-j- /

<i>u d ? o ? i m</i>	'I drink'
<i>u d ? o ? j i m</i>	'I am drinking'
<i>ud? t e i m</i>	'I drank'
<i>ud? t e j i m</i>	'I was drinking'
<i>u d ? e i m</i>	'I will drink'
<i>u d ? e j i m</i>	'I will be drinking'
<i>lebu o? lki</i>	'the man comes'
<i>lebu o? jlki</i>	'the man is coming'
<i>lebu te lki</i>	'the man came'
<i>lebu tej lki</i>	'the man was coming'
<i>lebu e lki</i>	'the man will come'
<i>lebu e jlki</i>	'the man will be coming'

## MOOD

Imperative mood

The imperative mood is used for second person only. It is marked by / - na - /

<i>com</i>	'go'
<i>conam</i>	'you go'
<i>de m</i>	'come'
<i>denam</i>	'you must come'

Non finite Verbs

Perfect Participle

The marker	is	/ - kon /
<i>co</i>		'go' "the base"
<i>cokon</i>		'having gone'

Infinitive Marker

The marker	is	/ - na /
<i>co</i>		'go'
<i>cona</i>		'to go'

## Verbal noun

A verbal noun is noun which is derived from a verb by the addition of some markers. Here in this language the verbal nouns are formed by infixing the element *-nv-* to the verb roots whose 'v' is the vowel of the verb root.

<i>dej?</i>	'cut'
<i>denej?</i>	'axe'
<i>rab?</i>	'die'
<i>ranab?</i>	'burial ground'

In the above examples, the verb *dej?* 'cut' when takes the infix *-ne-* becomes *denej* 'axe' which is a noun. In the same way, the verb *rab* 'die' when it takes an infix *-na-* becomes *ranab?* 'Burial ground' which is a noun.

Verb + infix = Noun [verbal Noun]

## Causative Verb

The causative verbs are formed by the addition of the causative markers to the verb root. There are two causative markers in Lodha language. They are the prefix *ob-* and the infix *-b-*. The prefix *ob-* is added to the monosyllabic roots where as for oily syllabic roots the infix *-b-* is added to the root to form the causative verb.

### Mono syllabic root

<i>nog</i>	'eat'	>	<i>obnog</i>	'feed'
<i>yo</i>	'see'	>	<i>obyoy</i>	'show'
<i>uD</i>	'drink'	>	<i>obud</i>	'cause to drink'
<i>ol</i>	'bring'	>	<i>obol</i>	'cause to bring'

### Poly syllabic root

<i>bore</i>	'full'	>	<i>bobre</i>	'get it full'
<i>doko</i>	'sit'	>	<i>dobko</i>	'make it to sit'
<i>remag</i>	'call'	>	<i>rebmag</i>	'make it call'

## Negative Verb

Negative markers are two in number. One of them is used before the non-imperative verbs and the other before the imperative verbs. The negative marker used before the non-imperative verb is *um* and the negative marker used before the imperative verbs is *ag*

#### Non imperative verbs

<i>in cona</i>	‘I will go’
<i>umin cona</i>	‘I will not go’

<i>nok og</i>	‘he ate’
<i>um nok og</i>	‘he did not eat’

#### Imperative verbs

<i>cona</i>	‘you go’
<i>agcona</i>	‘you don’t go’
<i>agbar cona</i>	‘you (dual) don’t go’
<i>agpe cona</i>	‘you (plural) don’t go’

#### Compound Verb

The compound verbs are formed by juxtaposing two verb roots.

<i>pad</i>	‘jump’
<i>paro</i>	‘cross’
<i>padparo</i>	‘jump and cross’
<i>geb</i>	‘burn’
<i>goj</i>	‘die’
<i>gebgoj</i>	‘burn and die’
<i>tar</i>	‘beat’
<i>obgoj</i>	‘kill’
<i>tarobgoj</i>	‘beat and kill’

#### Passive formation

The passive formation is formed by adding the suffix *-dom* to the verb root. In Lodha language *-dom* is the passive formation marker.

<i>nog</i>	‘eat’	+	<i>dom</i>	>	<i>nogdom</i>	‘eaten’
<i>yo</i>	‘see’	+	<i>dom</i>	>	<i>yodom</i>	‘seen’
<i>puD</i>	‘jump’	+	<i>dom</i>	>	<i>puDdom</i>	‘jumping was done’

#### 4.2.2 ADVERB

Adverbs are the lexicons that qualify the verb and in Lodha language they are formed in the following ways:

1. By adding the morpheme */-gay/* ‘manner’, to the demonstratives.

<i>ho</i>	‘that’	<i>hogay</i>	‘that manner’
<i>u</i>	‘this’	<i>ugay</i>	‘this manner’

2. By adding the morpheme /broN/ to the demonstratives

<i>ho</i>	‘that’	<i>hobroN</i>	‘that days’
<i>u</i>	‘this’	<i>ubroN</i>	‘now a days’

#### 4.2.3 PARTICLES / CLITIC

Clitics:

In Lodha language the general focus marker ‘ga’ is a clitic. The emphasis or the focus of a sentence depends upon the place the clitic appears. Take for instance a phrase. “In that red house” if the focus marker ‘ga’ appears before ‘ho’, then it can be well assumed that there are so many red houses and the speaker is pointing to the house on that side. If the focus marker ‘ga’ appears before red, then it can be understood that there are many coloured houses that side and the speaker points out to the red house. If the focus marker ‘ga’ appears before house then it can be inferred that there are many red objects and the speaker is pointing out to the house.

*ho rusu o? te* ‘in that red house’

that red house in

ga *ho rusu o? te* ‘in that red house’

focus marker

In the above sentence the focus is on THAT red house.

*ho ga rusu o? te* ‘in that red house’

focus marker

In the above sentence the focus is on the RED house.

*ho rusu ga o? te* ‘in that red house’

focus marker

In the above sentence the focus is on the HOUSE.

#### 4.2.4 ECHO-WORDS

Echo words are the words which contain two lexical items in which the second lexical item is almost similar to the first one and is formed by an element which has no independent meaning and can not stand on its own but which modifies the meaning of the first element, generally indicating something akin to the English "etc.". The Echo word the one in which

there is a productive construction with a type of reduplication in which one element, usually the second, is a reduplication of the first, but phonologically somewhat different.

The "echo-word" construction in Lodha is given below.

<i>bi</i>	‘pour out; sow’	<i>bi bia</i>	‘pour out completely; sow everything’
<i>cipa</i>	‘squeeze out’	<i>cipa cipi</i>	‘squeeze out everything’
<i>col</i>	‘go’	<i>col cila</i>	‘go away’
<i>el</i>	‘come’	<i>el ila</i>	‘arrive, come all the way’
<i>ubay</i>	‘press down, deplete’	<i>ubayubi</i>	‘completely deplete’
<i>gam</i>	‘say’	<i>gam gim</i>	‘say all there is to say’

Reduplication:

Reduplication is purely phonological factor in Lodha language. The following presents a few examples.

Simple root Free-standing form

<i>bay</i>	‘make’	<i>bay bay</i>
<i>ru</i>	‘open’	<i>ru ru</i>
<i>so</i>	‘buy’	<i>so so</i>
<i>yo</i>	‘see’	<i>yo-yo</i>

<i>i a yoyo lebu</i>	‘the person <i>I</i> saw /see / will see / should see ...’
<i>i te yo yo lebu</i>	‘the person <i>who</i> saw /sees / will see / should see ... <i>me</i> ’
<i>i a dura te ru ru ku ji</i>	‘the key <i>I</i> opened / open / will open / should open ... <i>the door with</i> ’

*ola?a bay bay umi ba\_jta.*

house build- neg like ‘I don't like (the act of) building houses’

*hokaa ter ter yoyo*

that .human give- ‘I saw him give / his (act of) giving’

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## 5. SYNTAX

Syntax is the study about the formation words in the sentences. The sentences are of two main types namely major sentence and minor sentence.

A major sentence must have a main clause as one of its constituents or as the only constituent; where as a minor sentence does not contain a main clause.

Major sentences are further divided into simple, complex and compound sentences. These are classified on the basis of the types of clauses that occur as parts of sentences.

Simple sentences contain a single main clause. The difference between the main clause and a simple sentence is that a simple can occur in isolation where as the main clause cannot.

*juNog*                      'he asked'

*hojeg    lebuki gotiya peg gamtemoy*                      'people call that thing guest food'  
that one people guest food they call

*mon kirog lebu boNtel merom beri odog orejkite obgojna lagaki*  
'A tiger was killing men, buffaloes, goats, sheep and cattle'.

Complex sentences contain main clause and one or more sub ordinate clause proceeding to it. In complex sentence one sentence is independent one and the other cannot stand on its own.

*Mon kirog kinirtay mugkon mon tolate diyarkon kinir eNki*  
'Tiger came out of the forest, having entered the village returned to the forest'

*raja je kuc karayog sob jeg beTa yoyog*  
'The boy saw everything which the king did'

Compound sentences are built up of two or more man clauses. The two main clauses are connected by a connector. When or more simple sentences are connected to form a sentences are called as compound sentences. In compound sentences, the connective markers are used. The following are the connective markers used in the Lodha language in the formation of the compound sentences.

<i>ro</i>	'and'
<i>cahe</i>	'or'
<i>magar</i>	'but'
<i>kahe hi</i>	'because'

*inag aban og?te colki odog nogna uDna ebogna lagki*  
'My father went to the house and he was eating , drinking and playing'

In the above sentence there are two simple sentences. The first sentence is

*inag aban ogte colki* 'my father went to the house'  
and the second one is  
*nogna odog uDna ebongna lagki* 'he was eating drinking and playing'

Both the sentences are connected by the additive marker *odog* 'and'

*bakute yoyog odog hokat nog rocob paroki*  
'He saw the bear and he crossed to the right side'

In the same way the additive marker is used in the above sentence to connect the two simple sentences.

Minor sentences are those, which do not contain a main clause. Any sub ordinate clause or a word that occurs in isolation is a minor sentence.

*i nimi* 'what name' 'what name?'

## 5.2 DESCRIPTION OF TYPES OF SENTENCES

### 5.2.1 INTERROGATIVE

Interrogatives, which generally appear as the complement of a predicate, can also appear in attributive function or as the semantic head of a predicate with no derivational marking.

*ina?* what  
*iyem?* what

Complement of the predicate

*i karayo bo?* 'What did you do?'  
What do

Predicative function

*be otega tirib ale la i gh ay na?*  
sun cloud cover then whatway

‘If a cloud covers the sun, then how will it be?’

*gamepe iyeni?*

Say what

‘Tell [me], what shall we do?’

As noted above, this is only true of dynamic predicates. If a state is described, then the copula is used and the interrogative appears in the form of a complement phrase.

*i heke?*

what

‘What is [that]?’

### 5.2.2 NEGATIVE

Negative markers are two in number. One of them is used before the non-imperative and the other before the imperative verbs. The negative marker used before the non-imperative verb is /um/ and the negative marker used before the imperative verbs is /agu/.

<i>umin cona</i>	‘I will not go’
<i>um nok og</i>	‘he did not eat’
<i>umpe nok og</i>	‘you did not eat’
<i>um karaykon</i>	‘not having done’
<i>abu conam</i>	‘do not go’
<i>abu noge</i>	‘do not eat’

### 5.2.3. IMPERATIVE

The imperative marker in Lodha language is / day/

It is used before the complete verbs containing the future tense marker.

<i>day paronaniN</i>	‘let us cross’
<i>day conamoy</i>	‘let them go’



## CONCLUSION

The languages in India are classified into different families. Each family has its own characteristics. The most important traits of Austro-Asiatic family are the presence of glottal stop and the three way system of number distinction namely singular, plural and dual.

The present study reveals the presence of the glottal stop and the three way system of number distinction in Lodha language. Lodha language can be very well grouped under the Austro- Asiatic family of languages.

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**LODHA  
TEXT**

*Ighay kawa ?ray buNam ki taro ?may*  
how crowhen snake case marker killed  
'How crow hen killed the snake'

*moN kinirte kisim kisim ya? kontheD ro hoDom*  
one forest + in different different types birds and other  
*jiwjantu ki awnala? kimay*  
animals together live + case  
'In a forest lived many different types of birds and other animals'.

*moN kawa? ro sawray moN bara daRu te awnala ?ki*  
one crow and spouse one big tree in lived.  
'One crow lived with its spouse in a big tree'.

*sadhu ayo or aba dom ko moN gesul? bay si ?may*  
simple parents one nest make tense personal marker  
'The simple parents made a nest'.

*gesul ?te iphon anDe la ?may*  
nest + case four eggs lie + past tense  
'In the nest were four eggs'.

*daruN te gahRu te moN buNam la ?kimay*  
tree in hole in one snake was  
'In the hollow of the tree on snake was there'.

*u daRu ki bohut dinu awki*  
they tree in many days lived.  
'They lived in the tree for a long time'.

*diyoga buNam anDe uDna ld ?dho aDi*  
day by day snake egg drink after

*ho daRu tuta te ga delki*  
that tree bottom + case come + tense  
'Every day the snake used to drink the eggs and come back to the bottom of the tree'

*kawa? du?kho bun iku?d jughay go?dki*  
crow sorrow very much been.  
'The crow become very much depressed'

*ho rocho? buNam Dam del sikh o? ro anDe uDna*  
that while snake arrive come past tense and eggs ate  
'That time the snake arrived and ate the eggs.'

*kawa? kiyar ya? madom ro apadom ho te*  
crow dual marker mother and father that place itself

*puDpuD Tay Tay toro?D taj ki*  
jumping onomatopoeic sound cry + present continuous  
'Both the mother and father in fear jumping and crying helplessly'

*ani jaha tij colta niN uteko kawa? batay o?*  
come some where go I person inclusive let crow tell + tense  
'Come let us go some where, the crow said'

*howa? lekhe su?kho ThaRo atuga ro? kuy enaw re*  
that + case like happy place where find  
'Where we will find a happy place like this?'

*daru ki bohut dinu awki*  
tree in many days live + past tense  
We have lived in this tree for many days.

*ghaD aDite kawa? baRu kharab la?ki*  
therefore crow big sad become  
Therefore the crow became very sad. (Hopelessness)

*Ld?dho kawa? armarai bhersak anDe*  
after that crow gasping for breath by any means eggs

*paltamay batay o?*  
able to save tell + tense  
After some time the crow gasping for breath told I should by any means save the eggs.

*batay o ?may kawa? hepaD colki ro doko*  
 telling this crow vicinity go + tense and sat down  
 Telling this the crow went near the vicinity and sat down.

*ro sango doma? bo ?te colki*  
 and friend possessive case residence + case go + tense  
 And he went to his friend's house.

*tuju hanta ?i uti? tuta toblun najeir dom te*  
 Jackal that side this side bottom top glance + tense  
*ghumray o? dhirombo? batay o?*  
 turn around + tense slowly asked

*amte iki*  
 what happened to you

The jackal looking here and there and asked the crow, what happened to you?

*kawa? sango dom te sob kayom te utun o?*  
 crow friend + case marker entire matter + case related + tense  
 Crow narrated the entire matter to his friend.

*u kayom andor kon*  
 that matter listened  
 having listened to that matter

*u may kharab khagani tuyu doko maha no konan*  
 hearing sad story jackal sat down big or small

*berae? cinta na umpe lan te boton tape*  
 matter worry negative have + tense marker fear  
 that  
*hoki iNko laRe naiN upay may*  
 person to fight + tense technique there.

The Jackal after hearing the sad story of the crow, looking this side and that side told the crow not to worry, because there is a technique to fight with kind of persons.

*iN lere ?ta iNno kawa? batay o? ro la?*  
 is joy + present continuous crow tell + tense and then

*kawa?ki rajiki may dhayl ham daru bo?te*  
 crow accept + tense hurry that tree place + case  
 The crow accepted the plan and said I am happy and reached the tree hurriedly.

*gam e pe iye niN? sawray gam o?ki*  
 say personal marker what shall to do spouse enquired.  
 Tell me, what shall we do, the spouse enquired.

*ampe iN gam sikh o?j hoghayga*  
 second person is say + perfect + tense that was

*ambar leNna bar raja ki mahal*  
 you fly and reach palace.  
 You fly and reach the palace.

*ampe colki pe*  
 second person go + tense personal marker.  
 You go just as I had told you.

*hoDom dinu kawa? raja ki mahal ho rocho?kiM*  
 next day crow palace that side move  
 Next day the crow moved towards the palace.

*kawa? hantij uti?j leNlen*  
 Crow this side that side keep flying  
 The crow was flying this side and that side.

*kawa? sonate ma:la dho?na ya? ro daRu te Dam delsikho?*  
 crow golden ornament picked up and tree arrive come + tense  
 The crow picked up one golden chain and moved and arrived the tree.

*maal ki juwan lebuki kawa? kuday ki may*  
 palace guards persons crow chase + tense  
 The palace guards started chasing after the crow.

*lo?dho si? ki may hoki yoyoki sonate ma:la o?gurte iN*  
 after tense that see + tense gold chain cause fall is  
*daru ki gahRu*  
 tree hole  
 Those who followed the crow saw the chain is being dropped in the hole of a tree.

*Jahay konga ho daru bo?te Damne ro gahRu te buNam kui ki*  
Same people that tree place arrived and hole in snake find tense  
The people arrived near the tree and found a snake in the hole of the tree.

*jume kari?b kon socay oki ho buNam te*  
assemble gather think tense that snake case  
*igudga tar o? gur ciniN*  
what like kill cause fall first person inclusive  
They for a moment thought how to kill that snake.

*moN konga daRuNte su?b da? yo? ro buNam mu?kimay*  
one person tree of in reach hand and snake emerged.  
One person put his hand in the hole of the tree and the snake emerged.

*tay lamna lamna hoki ho jiniste buNam kuyo?ki ro taro?may*  
then searching that insect case snake found and killed.  
As the found the snake emerging they killed it.

*akhir kawa? ro sawray beTa ro beTi lere?ta awkimay*  
finally crow and it spouse son and daughter happily had  
Finally the crow had many children happily

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# BODO

P. PERUMAL SAMY

## 1. INTRODUCTION

Bodo is one of the scheduled language recognized in the eighth schedule of the constitution along with other twenty one languages. It is appearing as one of the scheduled language in 2001 census. It is spoken mainly in Assam, West Bengal, Nagaland, Arunachal Pradesh and Meghalaya states.

The Bodo speakers were referred as Barafisa i.e. Mech and Kacharis earlier (Grierson, 1903 : 01). The cognate languages akin to Bodo language are spoken by the tribes : Rabha, Lalung, Dimasa, Garo, Tipura and Chutiya. In West Bengal, the tribal name is returned as *Mech* in the scheduled tribe list.

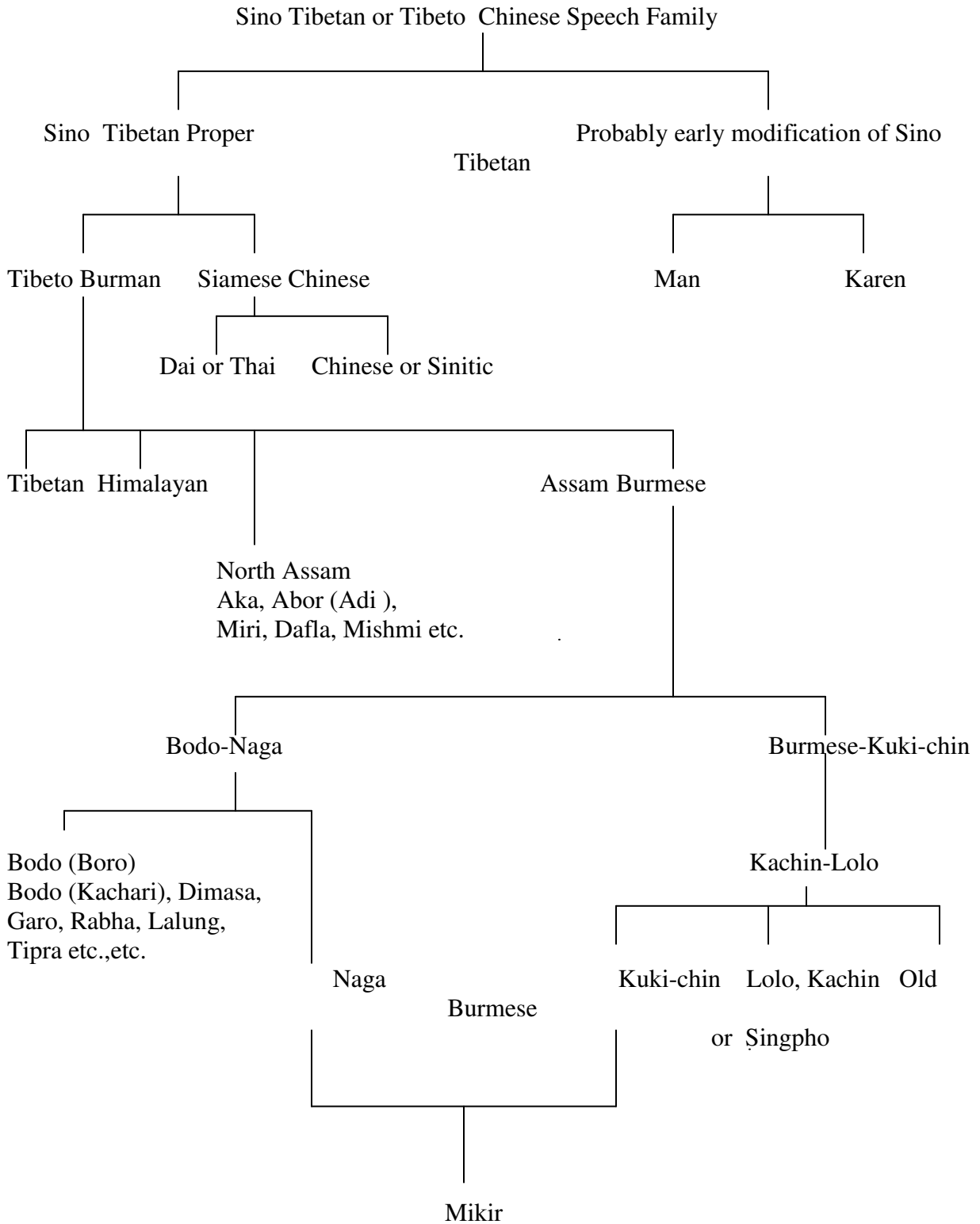
### 1.1 FAMILY AFFILIATION

The people who speak Bodo language in West Bengal state is referred as *Mech(me:ch)* by other people. However, they call themselves as Bodo now. The Linguistic Survey of India, Vol.III, Pt.II (1903) states that ‘the generic name Bodo was first applied by Hodgson to this group of languages. It is represented as *Bada or Bara*. Like other tribal names in Assam, the name probably meant a male member of the tribe (e.g. Tripura – *Bara (k) = a man* ).

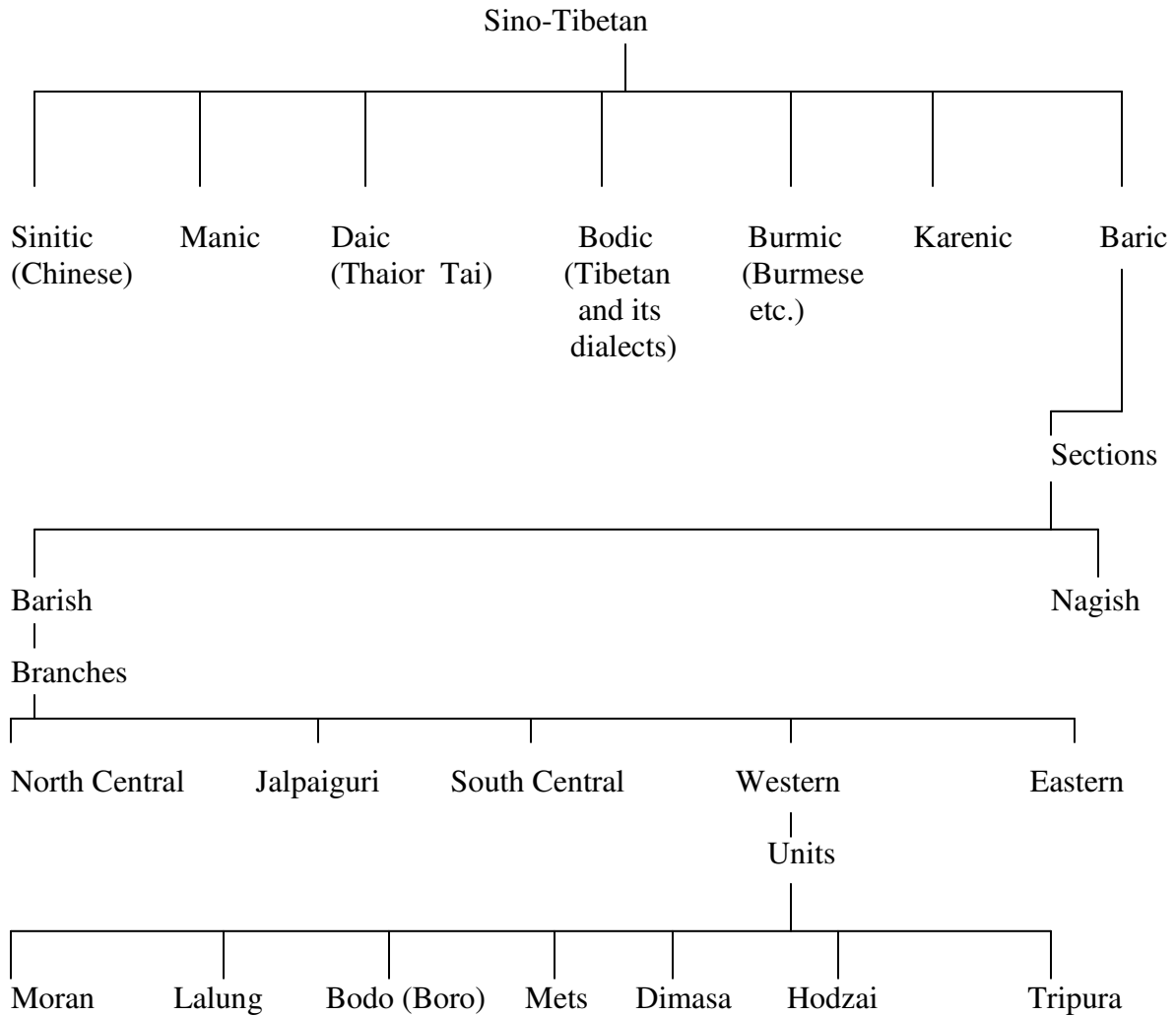
Wolfenden (1929) explains the tribal name *Barafisa* consisting of *Bâra* and *fisa* (son and children) in relation to the Tibetan languages and equates to *hbrog – pa* ‘inhabitants of the steppes , the nomadic Tibetans’. He also opines that the reconstructed form of *Bâra –fisa* should be *hbrog-bu-tsa* (descendants (sons) of the steppes’. Grierson called these speakers and their speech Bara – Bodo or plains Kachari : primarily on the basis of Endle’s grammar.

The following format is a tabular representation of Sino-Tibetan family of languages as described in Linguistic Survey of India by Sir George Abraham Grierson.





Subsequently the Sino-Tibetan languages have been divided into following groups by Robert Shafer.



Thus, it is evident from Grierson's grouping of languages and Robert Shafer's classification, that Bodo language belongs to the sub-group of Tibeto Burman of Sino-Tibetan family. Again, it is close to Naga group of languages. The other Bodo (Boro) group of languages are : Bodo Kachari, Dimasa, Garo, Rabha, Lalung, Tipra etc. Robert Shafer clearly mentions about *Mech* as *Mets* in his classification.

## 1.2 LOCATION

The Bodo population is mainly distributed in the following states : Assam, West Bengal, Arunachal Pradesh, Nagaland and Meghalaya. Only scanty figures come from other states.

In West Bengal, Bodo people live predominantly in Jalpaiguri district followed by Darjeeling district. The other districts have only small number of population. In Jalpaiguri district, the Bodo people are concentrated in Alipurduar, Kumargram, Kalchini, Falakata and Madarihat areas. They found sporadically in Bamarhat, Mal, Darjeeling, Naxalbari areas as well.

This report is written on the basis of data collected from Kalchini block of Alipurduar subdivision in Jalpaiguri district. The data were collected during the period from December, 1994 to January, 1995.

### 1.3 SPEAKERS STRENGTH

#### Statistical Data : Language, Mother-Tongue and Bilingualism

As per the 2001 Census, Bodo speakers are 13,50,478 in all India level. Assam state has the maximum number of speakers i.e. 12,96,162, followed by West Bengal having the strength of 37,654 speakers.

The major distribution of Bodo as a language, as a mother tongue and as a language of Bilingualism in 2001 Census at all India level as well as in West Bengal and its districts is presented below:

#### Bodo as a Language

Language	India/States/Union territory	Person	Male	Female	Rural	Urban
BODO	INDIA	1,350,478	683,191	667,287	1,303,005	47,473
	Assam	1,296,162	655,032	641,130	1,254,416	41,746
	<b>West Bengal</b>	37,654	19,076	18,578	36,546	1,108
	Arunachal Pradesh	6,515	3,337	3,178	5,092	1,423
	Nagaland	4,874	2,516	2,358	3,949	925
	Meghalaya	3,470	1,869	1,601	2,364	1,106
	Jammu & Kashmir	296	276	20	72	224
	Delhi#	222	154	68	12	210
	Mizoram	145	95	50	46	99
	Maharashtra	145	110	35	33	112
	Karnataka	112	80	32	26	86
	Punjab	104	85	19	30	74

Language	States/Districts	Person	Male	Female	Rural	Urban
BODO	WEST BENGAL	37654	19076	18578	36546	1108
	Jalpaiguri	34801	17567	17234	34053	748
	Darjiling	2375	1240	1135	2300	75
	Koch Bihar	178	88	90	66	112
	North Twenty Four Parganas	71	41	30	9	62
	Medinipur	61	39	22	47	14
	Kolkata	50	29	21	0	50
	Uttar Dinajpur	33	18	15	26	7
	Maldah	23	10	13	14	9
	Nadia	22	15	7	21	1
	Barddhaman	19	17	2	3	16
	South Twenty Four Parganas	7	4	3	1	6
	Puruliya	4	1	3	0	4
	Dakshin Dinajpur *	3	3	0	3	0
	Haora	3	2	1	2	1
	Murshidabad	2	1	1	1	1
	Hugli	2	1	1	0	2

### Bodo as a Mother Tongue

Mother Tongue	India/States/Union territory	Person	Male	Female	Rural	Urban
BODO	INDIA	1,330,775	673,087	657,688	1,285,708	45,067
	Assam	1,292,950	653,379	639,571	1,251,819	41,131
	West Bengal	27,823	14,048	13,775	27,170	653
	Arunachal Pradesh	4,000	2,071	1,929	2,876	1,124
	Meghalaya	3,262	1,742	1,520	2,238	1,024
	Nagaland	1,201	645	556	1,042	159
	Jammu & Kashmir	278	261	17	62	216
	Delhi#	212	145	67	12	200
	Maharashtra	116	90	26	32	84
	Punjab	104	85	19	30	74

Mother Tongue	States/Districts	Person	Male	Female	Rural	Urban
BODO	WEST BENGAL	27823	14048	13775	27170	653
	Darjiling	869	460	409	814	55
	<b>Jalpaiguri</b>	26595	13377	13218	26191	404
	Koch Bihar	116	60	56	57	59
	Uttar Dinajpur	58	33	25	9	49
	Dakshin Dinajpur *	46	30	16	37	9
	Maldah	37	23	14	0	37
	Murshidabad	33	18	15	26	7
	Barddhaman	20	10	10	11	9
	Nadia	18	13	5	17	1

North Twenty Four Parganas	15	14	1	2	13
Hugli	7	4	3	1	6
Medinipur	3	2	1	2	1
Haora	2	2	0	2	0
Kolkata	2	1	1	1	1
South Twenty Four Parganas	2	1	1	0	2

#### 1.4.1 BODO AS A LANGUAGE OF BILINGUALISM AND TRILINGUALISM

Out of the total 13,50,478 Bodo speakers, 7,74,925 persons are speaking two or more languages, which constitutes the 57.38 percentage of the total Bodo speaking population in India. Among them, 2,51,704 speakers speak one more language in addition to the two, i.e. they are trilinguals.

The Bodo speakers speak Assamese as a second language in Assam. The strength of Bodo speakers knowing Assamese language are 6,27,207. Similarly, the Bodo speakers speak Bengali language also overwhelmingly in Assam. The strength of Bodo speakers speaking Bengali language are 52,874. Along with Assamese and Bengali, the two national official languages namely English and Hindi are also spoken by the Bodo people sizably.

The strength of Hindi and Assamese languages are observed among the Bodo population as they are speaking them as a third language.

In West Bengal, out of 37,654 Bodo speakers, 26,736 speakers are bilinguals i.e. 71%. 23,658 people i.e. 88.5% are speaking Bengali as a second language. The Bodo speakers also speak Hindi as a third language. The strength of such speakers are 4,179.

Language	India/State	Total Speakers	Mono Linguals	Bi- Linguals		Tri-Linguals			
				Total	Language of bilingualism	Total	Language of Tri lingualism	Strength	
BODO	India	1350478		774925		251704			
					ASSAMESE		627207	HINDI	93928
					BENGALI		52874	HINDI	6252
					ENGLISH		47818	HINDI	25921
					HINDI		42599	ASSAMESE	14452
	West Bengal	37654	10918	26736		9045			
					ASSAMESE	71			
							BENGALI	20	
							HINDI	16	

		ENGLISH	9
		NEPALI	1
BENGALI	23658	HINDI	4179
		ENGLISH	1960
		NEPALI	888
		KURUKH/ORAOON	49
		ASSAMESE	35
		OTHERS	20
		SANTALI	15
		RABHA	9
		MAITHILI	1
		TELUGU	1
		GARO	1
HINDI	1814	BENGALI	682
		NEPALI	201
		ENGLISH	166
		ASSAMESE	27
		GUJARATI	4
		TELUGU	1
		MUNDA	1
		OTHERS	1
NEPALI	650	BENGALI	189
		HINDI	154
		ENGLISH	4
		OTHERS	4
		SANTALI	1
ENGLISH	493	BENGALI	210
		HINDI	155
		NEPALI	11
		ASSAMESE	10

## 1.5 SOCIOLINGUISTIC SITUATION

The Bodo people speak Bodo language among themselves. It is used in home domain and with relatives. When they come into contact with the other tribal and non-tribal people, they use other languages depending upon the language group to which they belong. Thus, Bengali, Hindi (Sadri) and Nepali are used by them frequently.

Bodo language spoken in Jalpaiguri district of West Bengal has rich oral tradition. It has its own folk songs and tales. During festival occasions and ceremonies, Bodo language is used extensively with kith and kin. The agencies involved in promoting Bodo language for

educational purposes are making efforts to familiarize the scripts of Bodo language among the Bodo people of this region. The primers prepared in Bodo language in Assam is used for this purpose.

Jalpaiguri, the border district of West Bengal is a gateway of Assam state and Bhutan country. As it is very near to Nepal, Nepalese are also found to be settled well here. Moreover, as this district has a number of tea gardens, it attracted the tribal people such as Oraon, Munda, Santal etc. from Bihar and Orissa to come over here and work as tea garden labourers. They all speak in Sadri (Sadan/Sadri), a variety of Hindi having basic syntactic structure of Hindi but lexicals chosen from their respective mother tongue. Besides the above mentioned people, Bengali and Bihari language speakers are also found to be staying here.

From the above situation, it emerges that a number of languages are being spoken in this region. The Bodo speaking people live amidst them. The main communities live in this region are- *Oraon, Munda, Nepali, Santal, Rabha, Garo, Rajbangshi, Bihari and Bengali*-.

A good number of Bodo speakers who belonged to the aged category are reported to be multilingual and they communicate in the following languages while interacting in the inter-community communication network as :

	<i>Community</i>	<i>Language / Dialect</i>
Ego Bodo (Mech)	Within the community	Bodo
	With the Oraons	Sadri
	With the Nepalese	Nepali
	With the Bengalese	Bengali
	With the Santals	Sadri
	With the Biharis	Hindi
	With the Rabhas	Rajbangsi /Bodo
	With the Garos	Rajbangsi /Bodo
	With the Mundas	Sadri
	With the Rajbangsis	Rajbangsi

## LANGUAGE USE

The medium of instruction in school is Bengali. The Bodo people listen Bengali programmes in radio and view the same in television. Bengali is used as a communicating language in the government offices and in the court . Bengali , Hindi and Sadri are the languages for communication in the market place. Thus, Bodo people living in West Bengal state are exposed to bi and trilingual situations.

## 1.6 REVIEW OF EARLIER LITERATURE

Grierson (1903) brought out a volume on Bodo, Naga and Kachin group of languages of Tibeto Burman family in his monumental Linguistic Survey of India work. While comparing the speech of Mech with Kachari of Darrang, he feels that these two varieties are closely related but varies as a dialect. Hodgson (1847) emphasizes that Bodo and Mech are same and the name ‘Mech’ is imposed by strangers. Sanyal (1972) has brought out the lexical items and the simple sentences of Mech in his book.



P.C. Bhattacharjee (1977) brought out an elaborate and extensive description on Bodo language spoken in Assam. It was a pioneering attempt to describe the Bodo language, using modern descriptive linguistic principles. However, various scholars attempted to describe this language from different linguistic perspectives later on. It is an ongoing process and hence not listed separately in this review.

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## 2. PHONOLOGY

The phonology of Bodo is presented below based on the data collected from the field.

### 2.1. PHONEMIC INVENTORY

Bodo language comprises of twenty-six segmental phonemes out of which six are vowels and twenty are consonants.

#### 2.1.1. SEGMENTAL PHONEMES

##### Vowels

Front	Central	Back
<i>i</i>		<i>u</i>
<i>e</i>		<i>o</i>
	<i>A</i>	
	<i>a</i>	

The above said vowels may occur with or without tone.

##### Consonants

	Bilabial	Alveolar		Retroflex		Palatal		Velar		Glottal
Plosive	<i>p</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>T</i>	<i>D</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>j</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>g</i>
Fricative			<i>s</i>	<i>z</i>						<i>h</i>
Nasal		<i>m</i>		<i>n</i>					<i>M</i>	
Semi Vowel		<i>w</i>						<i>y</i>		
Flap				<i>r</i>						
Lateral				<i>l</i>						

## 2.1.2. MAJOR ALLOPHONIC DISTRIBUTION

### Vowels

Among the vowels, the following vowels are identified with their allophonic variations.

/e/

[E] Lower-mid, front unrounded vowel occurs interconsonantly in monosyllabic words and sometimes in word final syllable

[e] Mid front unrounded vowel occurs elsewhere

[bEr]	/ber/	‘blessing’
[jhEr]	/jer/	‘umblical cord’
[bEYE]	/beye/	‘honey bee’
[bElachE]	/belace/	‘evening’
[gEkhai]	/gekai/	‘sour’
[gilihEnai]	/gilihennai/	‘dilute’
[elaMji]	/elaMji/	‘snake gourd’

/o/

[O] Higher-mid, back rounded vowel occurs after bilabial and in between two bilabial sounds

[o] Lower-mid, back rounded vowel elsewhere

It may be noted here that the higher mid back rounded vowel [O] get lowered in its articulated position, when it is followed by the vowel *a* in the next syllable.

[ abO]	/abo/	‘elder sister’
[abOy]	/aboy/	‘mother’s mother’
[ji bOw]	/jibow/	‘cobra’
[copOibai]	/copoibai/	‘approached’
[ noka]	/noka/	‘rain’

/A/

[ɘ] The mean-mid, central unrounded vowel slightly rounded and front when it occurs before semi vowels

[A] The mean mid central unrounded vowel occurs elsewhere

crop'	<i>[n ə wulay]</i>	<i>/nAwulay/</i>	'mongoose'
	<i>[y ə wnay]</i>	<i>/yAwnay/</i>	'cultivate young'
	<i>[ch ə yma]</i>	<i>/cAyma/</i>	'dog'
	<i>[AmbE]</i>	<i>/Ambe/</i>	'this'
	<i>[jhAr]</i>	<i>/jAr/</i>	'umbilical cord'

## Consonants

All the unaspirated stops get their aspirated variants in the syllable-initial position.

*/p/*

*[ph]* Voiceless aspirated bilabial stop occurs in syllable-initial position generally occurs before vowels

*[p]* Elsewhere

<i>[hatabphla]</i>	<i>/hatabpla/</i>	'ashes'
<i>[phisajha]</i>	<i>/pisaja/</i>	'daughter'
<i>[apha]</i>	<i>/apa/</i>	'father'
<i>[pheMphana]</i>	<i>/peMpana/</i>	'foam'
<i>[phombay]</i>	<i>/pombay/</i>	'father's sister's son'
<i>[aMkhamp]</i>	<i>/aMkamp/</i>	'boiled rice'
<i>[moijikap]</i>	<i>/moijikap/</i>	'straw'

*/t/*

*[th]* Voiceless alveolar aspirated plosive occurs before vowels

*[t]* Elsewhere

<i>[hathoTki]</i>	<i>/hatoTki/</i>	'star'
<i>[aphet]</i>	<i>/apet/</i>	'maid'
<i>[uthumay]</i>	<i>/utumay/</i>	'navel'
<i>[ramjilit]</i>	<i>/ramjilit/</i>	'rain bow'
<i>[halantri]</i>	<i>/halantri/</i>	'pasture'
<i>[inti]</i>	<i>/inti/</i>	'ear ring'

*/T/*

*[Th]* Voiceless aspirated retroflex stop occurs in syllable initial position

*[T]* Elsewhere

<i>[Tham]</i>	<i>/Tam/</i>	‘guava’
<i>[Thipunai]</i>	<i>/Tipunai/</i>	‘tumour’
<i>[ThepaT]</i>	<i>/TepaT/</i>	‘body lice’
<i>[phikoT]</i>	<i>/pikoT/</i>	‘seed’

*/c/*

*[ch]* Voiceless aspirated palatal stop occurs in the syllable – initial position

*[c]* Elsewhere

<i>[chinnai]</i>	<i>/cinnai/</i>	‘shave’
<i>[khecche]</i>	<i>/kecce/</i>	‘few’
<i>[phecha]</i>	<i>/peca/</i>	‘owl’
<i>[chikkani]</i>	<i>/cikkani/</i>	‘bolt of the door’
<i>[chandrEi]</i>	<i>/candreii/</i>	‘winnowing basket’

*/k/*

*[kh]* Voiceless aspirated velar stop occurs in the syllable – initial position

*[k]* Elsewhere

<i>[khana]</i>	<i>/kana/</i>	‘blind male’
<i>[dhukku]</i>	<i>/dukku/</i>	‘grief’
<i>[jhakla]</i>	<i>/jakla/</i>	‘stair case’
<i>[jakhEnEi]</i>	<i>/jakenei/</i>	‘feed’

*/b/*

*[bh]* The voiced aspirated bilabial stop occurs in the syllable – initial position

*[b]* Elsewhere

<i>[bhara]</i>	<i>/bara/</i>	‘metal cooking pot’
<i>[bhala]</i>	<i>/bala/</i>	‘strength’
<i>[S’omob]</i>	<i>/Somob/</i>	‘during’
<i>[thamb]</i>	<i>/tamb/</i>	‘tree’

*/d/*

*[dh]* Voiced aspirated alveolar stop occurs in syllable – initial position

*[d]* Elsewhere

<i>[dhagra]</i>	<i>/dagra/</i>	‘weaver’
<i>[adha]</i>	<i>/ada/</i>	‘elder brother’
<i>[bhitad]</i>	<i>/bitad/</i>	‘flesh’

/D/

*[Dh]* Voiced aspirated retroflex stop occurs in syllable – initial position

*[D]* Elsewhere

<i>[Dhenta]</i>	<i>/Denta/</i>	‘sing’
<i>[Dhain]</i>	<i>/Dain/</i>	‘eight’

/g/

*[gh]* Voiced aspirated velar stop occurs in syllable – initial position

*[g]* Elsewhere

<i>[aghai phOMbai]</i>	<i>/agai poMbai/</i>	‘younger brother’
<i>[ghatay mathum]</i>	<i>/gatay matum/</i>	‘dead body’
<i>[ghiko]</i>	<i>/giko/</i>	‘timid’

/j/

*[jh]* The voiced aspirated retroflex stop occurs in syllable – initial position

*[j]* Elsewhere

<i>[jihihira]</i>	<i>/jijira/</i>	‘spring of water’
<i>[jhakla]</i>	<i>/jakla/</i>	‘staircase’
<i>[jho bra]</i>	<i>/jobra/</i>	‘gargle’
<i>[ghejereS’i]</i>	<i>/gejereSi/</i>	‘middle’

/s/

*[S’]* Voiceless palatal fricative occurs in the syllable – initial position

*[s]* Elsewhere

<i>[S’isugra/]</i>	<i>/sisugra/</i>	‘tailor’
<i>[S’yal]</i>	<i>/syal/</i>	‘fox’
<i>[S’an]</i>	<i>/san/</i>	‘sun’
<i>[bakkos]</i>	<i>/bakkos/</i>	‘box’

/n/

[n] The dental nasal occurs before the dental plosive

[M'] The palatal nasal occurs before palatal plosive

[n] Elsewhere

[pant]	[pant]	'trap: mouse'
[halantri]	/halantri/	'pasture'
[jaM'ji]	/janji/	'hip'
[iM'jur]	/injur/	'wall'
[ninay]	/ninay/	'blow : nose'
[ojon]	/ojon/	'weight'

### 2.1.3. THE DISTRIBUTION OF PHONEMES

#### Vowels

The occurrences of vowels in word initial, medial and final positions are exemplified below

/i/		Medial		Final	
Initial					
/inti/	'ear ring'	/akigra/	'painter'	/asi/	'finger'
/injur/	'wall'	/bicinay/	'tear cloth'	/papli/	shoulder'
/e/					
Initial					
/empaw/	'caterpillar'	/paMtenay/	'close a bag'	/bere/	'honey bee'
/elanji/	'snake gourd'	/ateM/	'leg'	/belace/	'evening'
/A/					
Initial					
/Ambe/	'this'	/cAyma/	'dog'		
		/nAwulay/	'mongoose'		
		/jAr/	'umbilical cord'		
		/yAwnay/	'cultivate young crops'		
		/cAti/	'first'		

<i>/a/</i>					
Initial		Medial		Final	
<i>/abo/</i>	‘elder sister’	<i>/berapnay /</i>	‘anger’	<i>/ ada/</i>	‘elder brother’
<i>/ aboy /</i>	‘mother’s mother’	<i>/ badahanay /</i>	‘forbid’	<i>/ akai kaba /</i>	‘ fold arms’
<i>/acan /</i>	‘anklet’				

<i>/o/</i>					
Initial		Medial		Final	
<i>/ oma /</i>	‘pig’	<i>/ ayoM/</i>	‘father’s mother’	<i>/okto /</i>	‘date’
<i>/ ojanay /</i>	‘eat’	<i>/ bikoT /</i>	‘seed’	<i>/ abo /</i>	‘elder sister’
<i>/ onnay /</i>	‘affection’				

<i>/u/</i>					
Initial		Medial		Final	
<i>/uday /</i>	‘belly’	<i>/ bikur /</i>	‘leather’	<i>/ oMjalu /</i>	‘dear’
<i>/ utumay /</i>	‘naval’	<i>/ undunay /</i>	‘lie down’	<i>/ bibu /</i>	‘intestine’

### Consonants

The occurrences of consonant phonemes in word initial, medial and final positions are exemplified as below.

<i>/p/</i>					
Initial		Medial		Final	
<i>/pitai/</i>	‘fruit’	<i>/papli/</i>	‘shoulder’	<i>/dautap/</i>	‘oven’
<i>/pisa/</i>	‘interest’	<i>/pasapnaM/</i>	‘clear the field for planting’	<i>/kaukap/</i>	‘jaw’

<i>/t/</i>					
Initial		Medial		Final	
<i>/tir/</i>	‘arrow’	<i>/ceti/</i>	‘first’	<i>/dausit/</i>	‘sparrow’
<i>/telli/</i>	‘oil man’	<i>/jitnai/</i>	‘peel’	<i>/apet/</i>	‘maid’

<i>/T/</i>					
Initial		Medial		Final	
<i>/Turupi/</i>	‘bud’	<i>/katoTai/</i>	‘tie : hair’	<i>/tepaT/</i>	‘body lice’



<i>/Tiya/</i>	'parrot'	<i>/kanTal pitai/</i>	'jack fruit'	<i>/goboT/</i>	'white'
<i>/c/</i>					
Initial		Medial		Final	
<i>/cabi/</i>	'key'	<i>/kecce/</i>	'few'		
<i>/candrei/</i>	'winnowing basket'	<i>/gaccam/</i>	'black'		
<i>/k/</i>					
Initial		Medial		Final	
<i>/kibutai/</i>	'buttock'	<i>/kaklo/</i>	'pumpkin'	<i>/cumbuk/</i>	'magnet'
<i>/keksiyal/</i>	'jackal'	<i>/gakka/</i>	'bitter'	<i>/Tik/</i>	'right'
<i>/b/</i>					
Initial		Medial		Final	
<i>/bibar /</i>	'flower'	<i>/borbiM/</i>	'banyan'	<i>/shomob/</i>	'during'
<i>/bibanaM/</i>	'wife's younger sister'	<i>/bibauni no/</i>	'mother's father's home'		
<i>/d/</i>					
Initial		Medial		Final	
<i>/duar/</i>	'door'	<i>/dudaijala/</i>	'peacock male'	<i>/mosa bitad/</i>	'beef'
<i>/deikaMnai/</i>	'pick the fruit'	<i>/dudu daka/</i>	'curd'		
<i>/D/</i>					
Initial		Medial		Final	
<i>/Denta/</i>	'stalk'	<i>/lama kanDay/</i>	'chameleon'		
<i>/Dain</i>	'eight'	<i>/lergaDi/</i>	'train'		
<i>/j/</i>					
Initial		Medial		Final	
<i>/jobra/</i>	'gargle'	<i>/guji/</i>	'ninety'		
<i>/jamlapnai/</i>	'shine'	<i>/gejerashi/</i>	'middle'		
<i>/g/</i>					
Initial		Medial		Final	
<i>/giko/</i>	'timid'	<i>/gesgeMnai/</i>	'remember'	<i>/norag/</i>	'hell'

<i>/girija/</i>	‘mistress’	<i>/unai/</i>	‘choke:difficulty in swallow’		
<i>/s/</i>					
Initial		Medial		Final	
<i>/sirinai/</i>	‘wither’	<i>/pisajha/</i>	‘daughter’	<i>/anaros/</i>	‘pineapple’
<i>/sitop/</i>	‘urinary bladder’	<i>/ssisugra/</i>	‘tailor’	<i>/bakkos/</i>	‘box’
<i>/z/</i>					
Initial		Medial		Final	
<i>/zaini/</i>	‘which’	<i>/hazam/</i>	‘barbar’		
<i>/gazam/</i>	‘winter’	<i>/lazigusu/</i>	‘shy’		
		<i>/gazanaw/</i>	‘away from’		
<i>/m/</i>					
Initial		Medial		Final	
<i>/mitnay/</i>	‘know’	<i>/pombay/</i>	‘father’s sister’s son’	<i>/molom/</i>	‘ointment’
<i>/maTlaMnay/</i>	‘hiccup’	<i>/bigumoy/</i>	‘wife’s elder brother’	<i>/ukum/</i>	‘terrace’
<i>/n/</i>					
Initial		Medial		Final	
<i>/nAwulay/</i>	‘mongoose’	<i>/binigunay/</i>	‘intention’	<i>/acan/</i>	‘anklet’
<i>/ninay/</i>	‘blow : nose’	<i>/tannay/</i>	‘command’	<i>/ojon/</i>	‘weight’
<i>/M/</i>					
Initial		Medial		Final	
<i>/Mabla/</i>	‘or’	<i>/naMni/</i>	‘your’	<i>/naM/</i>	‘you’
		<i>/pheMphana/</i>	‘foam’	<i>/puM/</i>	‘dawn’
				<i>/bibanaM/</i>	‘wife’s younger’ sister’
<i>/w/</i>					
Initial		Medial		Final	
<i>/waccalai/</i>	‘flame’	<i>/uwa/</i>	‘bamboo’	<i>/aMnaw/</i>	‘true’
<i>/wajabnai/</i>	‘shut-mouth’	<i>/yawnay/</i>	‘frying pan’	<i>/panTaw/</i>	‘brinjal’

<i>/y/</i>					
Initial		Medial		Final	
<i>/yawṇay/</i>	‘cultivate’	<i>/ayoy/</i>	‘mother’	<i>/onṬay/</i>	‘stone’
<i>/yuṬṇay/</i>	‘stir while’	<i>/janjayaw/</i>	‘carry a baby’	<i>/aboy/</i>	‘mother’s mother’
<i>/r/</i>					
Initial		Medial		Final	
<i>/rada/</i>	‘vein’	<i>/nagarinai/</i>	‘hunt:for game’	<i>/gawar/</i>	‘wide’
<i>/ranṬeM/</i>	‘thin’	<i>/mosaram/</i>	‘eye brow’	<i>/mupur/</i>	‘bear’
<i>/h/</i>					
Initial		Medial		Final	
<i>/haMsha/</i>	‘duck’	<i>/bihamja/</i>	‘daughter-in- law’		
<i>/hanṬu/</i>	‘knee’	<i>/biharansi/</i>	‘wife’s elder sister’		
<i>/ʌ/</i>					
Initial		Medial		Final	
<i>/laMTi/</i>	‘baldness’	<i>/goleinay/</i>	‘dissolve’	<i>/puṬṬul/</i>	‘toy’
<i>/lamakanDay/</i>	‘chameleon’	<i>/golkap/</i>	‘chin’	<i>/bokdal/</i>	‘bat’

#### 2.1.4 PHONEMIC CONTRASTS

##### Vowel

The contrasting pairs available among vowels are listed below.

*i ~ e*

<i>inti</i>	‘ear ring’
<i>enDi</i>	‘castor’
<i>nìnay</i>	‘blow : nose’
<i>nènay</i>	‘wait for’

*i ~ a*

<i>aMni</i>	‘my’
<i>aMna</i>	‘to me’
<i>tàlà</i>	‘story’
<i>tali</i>	‘tile’

<i>i ~ o</i>	<i>ciMnay</i> <i>coMnay</i>	'cut : hair' 'reach for'
<i>i ~ u</i>	<i>jitney</i> <i>junai</i>	'twelve' 'wrap up'
<i>e ~ a</i>	<i>èbà</i> <i>àbò</i>	'or' 'elder sister'
	<i>cepnay</i> <i>capnay</i>	'squeeze' 'suck'
	<i>cè</i> <i>cà</i>	'one' 'north'
	<i>jenay</i> <i>janay</i>	'kick' 'happen'
<i>a ~ o</i>	<i>nà</i> <i>nò</i>	'fish' 'hinge'
	<i>tainay</i> <i>toinay</i>	'die' 'bear : fruit'
	<i>capainay</i> <i>copainay</i>	'break : pot' 'arrived : at a place'
	<i>ainà</i> <i>oinay</i>	'mirror' 'plough'
<i>o ~ u</i>	<i>odàsi</i> <i>udày</i>	'bitter gourd' 'belly'
	<i>jònay</i> <i>jùnay</i>	'rape' 'wrap up'
<i>i ~ u</i>	<i>jìnei</i> <i>junay</i>	'twelve' 'wrap up'
	<i>tai jaw</i> <i>dauja</i>	'mango' 'hen'

## Consonant

The contrasting pairs available among consonants are listed below.

*p ~ b*

<i>poreinay</i>	‘study’
<i>boreinay</i>	‘greet’
<i>pitai</i>	‘fruit’
<i>bidai</i>	‘sugarcane juice’
<i>pujinay</i>	‘worship’
<i>bùjinay</i>	‘understand’
<i>pùnay</i>	‘weed’
<i>bùnay</i>	‘strike with stick’

*t ~ d*

<i>taMnay</i>	‘go’
<i>daMnay</i>	‘keep, retain’
<i>tannay</i>	‘command’
<i>dannay</i>	‘touch’
<i>tainay</i>	‘die’
<i>dainay</i>	‘treat an illness’

*c ~ j*

<i>camnay</i>	‘dip up’
<i>jàmnyay</i>	‘decrease’
<i>cinciri</i>	‘hunch back’
<i>jinjiri</i>	‘sickle’
<i>corà</i>	‘dagger’
<i>jòrà</i>	‘joint’
<i>càlà</i>	‘thunder’
<i>jòla</i>	‘bag’

*k ~ g*

<i>kànyay</i>	‘tie : dhoti’
<i>gànyay</i>	‘get well from disease’
<i>kaMnay</i>	‘collect : debt’
<i>gaMnay</i>	‘thirst’

<i>kamaM</i>	‘hair’
<i>gàman</i>	‘ripe’
<i>kaga</i>	‘muscle’
<i>gaga</i>	‘health’
<i>m ~ n</i>	
<i>mà</i>	‘what’
<i>nà</i>	‘fish’
<i>mujà</i>	‘socks’
<i>nujà</i>	‘disappear’
<i>mòkra</i>	‘monkey’
<i>nokran</i>	‘sky’
<i>n ~ M</i>	
<i>pannay</i>	‘spin : thread’
<i>paMnay</i>	‘shut : door’
<i>tannay</i>	‘command’
<i>taMnay</i>	‘go’
<i>bùnay</i>	‘strike with stick’
<i>buMnay</i>	‘say’
<i>pombay</i>	‘father’s sister’s son’
<i>poMbay</i>	‘mother’s sister’s son’
<i>s ~ z</i>	
<i>saM</i>	‘ask a question’
<i>zaM</i>	‘through’
<i>sigam</i>	‘first / before’
<i>zigàm</i>	‘get up : rise’
<i>y</i>	
<i>tànay</i>	‘live at’
<i>tàynay</i>	‘die’
<i>Doknà</i>	‘saree’
<i>Tokaynay</i>	‘false’
<i>cànà</i>	‘grain’
<i>cànay</i>	‘pain’
<i>calànay</i>	‘lick’

	<i>calaynay</i>	‘lie : recline’
	<i>nàgrà</i> <i>naygrà</i>	‘drum’ ‘spectator’
w	<i>capnay</i> <i>cawnay</i>	‘smoke’ ‘chew : tobacco’
	<i>jànay</i> <i>jàwnay</i>	‘happen’ ‘dig a hole’

### 2.1.5. CLUSTERS

The presence of vowels or consonants contiguously in a word is called clusters. If vowels are contiguous, then it is vowel clusters and consonants follow, then it is consonant clusters.

#### Vowel

Vowel clusters such as *-au*, *-oi*, *-ai*, *-ei* are frequent in the medial and Final position. Examples of the occurrences are given below.

<i>-au</i>	<i>mauji</i> <i>daudai</i>	‘cat’ ‘egg’
<i>-oi</i>	<i>doikor</i> <i>moi</i>	‘well water’ ‘paddy’
<i>-ai</i>	<i>pitai</i> <i>maigom</i>	‘fruit’ ‘vegetable’
<i>-ei</i>	<i>brei</i> <i>gegleinai</i>	‘four’ ‘fall’
<i>-ui</i>	<i>ukuinai</i>	‘hungry’

#### Consonant

The consonant clusters are found in initial, medial and final positions.

#### Initial

<i>grisTi</i>	‘family’
<i>brei</i>	‘four’
<i>sniji</i>	‘seventy’

However, it should be stated that the initial consonant clusters are of very limited occurrence in this language.

### Medial

The medial two consonant clusters are more frequent in this language. The following are the examples.

stop + stop	
<i>okto</i>	‘date’
<i>brapglinai</i>	‘temper’
stop + nasal	
<i>pasapnaM</i>	‘clear’
<i>paw DinTigri</i>	‘actor’
<i>birnai</i>	‘fly: as bird’
<i>batoTnai</i>	‘jump across’
<i>barma</i>	‘goat’
stop + others	
<i>akigra</i>	‘painter’
<i>akilgajri</i>	‘aduteracy’
<i>angabla</i>	‘otherwise’
<i>arbaw</i>	‘again’
<i>petlai</i>	‘brass’
<i>papli</i>	‘shoulder’
<i>plepa</i>	‘whistle’
<i>binipray</i>	‘them’
<i>bisalty</i>	‘wife’s sister’s husband’
<i>baglaMnai</i>	‘stretch oneself’
nasal + nasal	
<i>aMni</i>	‘my’
<i>aMna</i>	‘to me’
nasal + stop	
<i>injur</i>	‘wall’
<i>iMkam</i>	‘cooked rice’
others	
<i>ahTam</i>	‘ring’
<i>ahda</i>	‘right’
<i>alsia</i>	‘lazy’
<i>uLta</i>	‘opposite’
<i>parba</i>	‘festival’
<i>bisramkalamnai</i>	‘rest’



<i>bardan</i>	‘pot’
<i>barsitnai</i>	‘fan’
<i>barda</i>	‘curtain’
<i>barhanai</i>	‘bless’
<i>baltiM</i>	‘bucket’
<i>bokra</i>	‘carpet’
<i>bokdal</i>	‘bat’

Gemination

<i>onnai</i>	‘affection’
<i>puTTul</i>	‘toy’
<i>bakkos</i>	‘box’

Three Consonant clusters are found in the word medial position.

<i>M + s + r</i>	<i>kaMsray</i>	‘earthworm’
<i>m + b + l</i>	<i>mamblema</i>	‘house lizard’

### 2.1.6. PHONOTACTIC OBSERVATIONS

The voiceless stops generally do not occur in the final position. Similarly, the voiced stops occur very rarely in the final position. The fricatives and continuants are also very rarely found in the word-final position. The semi vowels *w* and *y*, and the velar nasal generally *M* do not occur in the initial position.

The voiceless stops *p t k* and the fricative *s* do not form cluster with their voiced counterparts. The two consonant clusters generally have a morphemic boundary in between them. Examples:

<i>baruM + ka</i>	‘cyclone’
<i>ram + jilit</i>	‘rainbow’
<i>pom + bay</i>	‘father’s sister’s son’

However, exceptions are found in the following situations :

- i) in identical two consonant clusters
- ii) in clusters like *stop + r*  
*stop + l* etc.

Examples:

<i>kammihara</i>	‘rib’
<i>mannei</i>	‘itch’
<i>bakkos</i>	‘box’
<i>musri</i>	‘mosquito net’
<i>jakla</i>	‘ladder’

## 2.2. SUPRA SEGMENTAL PHONEMES

Tone is realized in Bodo as Supra segmental phoneme. Though nasalisation is also realized in Bodo but this is not phonemic. It is a realized in phonetic level only.

### *Tone*

The distinction of tone is two fold. These are – Rising tone [ ´ ] and Falling Tone [ ` ]. Below are exemplified the use of Tones.

<i>[bini´]</i>	<i>/bini´/</i>	‘her’
<i>[bini]</i>	<i>/bini/</i>	‘veena’
<i>[pishə´]</i>	<i>/pisa´/</i>	‘interest’
<i>[pisha]</i>	<i>/piša/</i>	‘young animal’
<i>[pa´nnay]</i>	<i>/pa´nnay/</i>	‘spin thread’
<i>[pànnay]</i>	<i>/pànnay/</i>	‘sell’
<i>[chóMnay]</i>	<i>/cómnay/</i>	‘reach for’
<i>[chòMnay]</i>	<i>/còmnay/</i>	‘cook’

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### 3. MORPHOPHONEMICS

#### 1. Addition of *y* or *w*

When a vowel is followed by another vowel, the following changes take place

a. If the second vowel of the sequence is *i* or *A*, a semi vowel *y* is inserted in between the two vowels.

<i>hayi</i>	‘failing like’	<i>hai</i>	‘to fail’
<i>hamjayi</i>	‘dislikeness’	<i>hamjai</i>	‘to dislike’

b. If the second vowel of the sequence is *u*, *a* or *o*, the semi vowel *w* is inserted in between the two vowels.

<i>mauwa</i>	‘I did’	<i>mau</i>	‘to do’
<i>jibauwa</i>	‘snake nom.’	<i>jibau</i>	‘snake’

#### 2. Regressive assimilation

The voiced consonant *b* becomes voiceless *p* when the suffix *-pa* is added resulting to regressive assimilation.

a.	<i>gab</i>	‘to cry’
	<i>gappa</i>	‘to go on crying’
b.	<i>habnai</i>	‘pay’
	<i>happinai</i>	‘repay’

#### 3. Shifting of tone

When a monosyllabic word with rising tone forms the initial syllable of a polysyllabic word, it loses its rising tone. Instead, the tone will be shifted to the following syllable.

<i>zá</i>	‘to eat’
<i>zadÁM</i>	‘eats’
<i>za</i>	‘to eat’
<i>zanáy</i>	‘eatable’

#### 4. Vowel harmony

The prefix *g + V* (voiced velar consonant + vowel) is used to get adjectives from verbal roots. Herein, the vowel in first syllable always depend upon the presence of vowel in the second syllable.

<i>gaman</i>	'ripe'	<i>mannai</i>	'to ripe'
<i>gilit</i>	'heavyness'	<i>lit</i>	'heavy'

Thus, *ga-* / *gi-* depends on the presence of the vowel in the second syllable. Furthermore examples available in this language, related with the occurrence of same vowel in successive syllables are as follow:

<i>gedet</i>	'big'
<i>gucum</i>	'short'
<i>gilit</i>	'heavy'
<i>gupum</i>	'stout'
<i>gAbaM</i>	'many'
<i>gubun</i>	'separate'
<i>guSu</i>	'soft'
<i>gechep</i>	'narrow'
<i>gutum</i>	'hot'

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## 4. MORPHOLOGY

### 4.1. WORD FORMATION

The word formation in Bodo language is generally taken place through suffixation. The suffixes such as *-car* 'denoting plural', *-ni* 'expressing possessiveness' etc. are added to the word to have added meanings.

Examples:

<i>naM</i>	'You (sg)'
<i>naMcar</i>	'You (pl)'
<i>biya</i>	'he / she'
<i>bicar</i>	'they'
<i>bicarni</i>	'their'

Apart from suffixation there are in some instances where prefixation and reduplication/ echo formation are also observed in word formation process.

#### Prefixation

The classifiers such as *- paM*, *-ce* etc are added before counting nouns based on the following nouns. Example:

<i>ce</i>	'one'
<i>paMce</i>	'one tree'
<i>mace</i>	'one crow'
<i>paMce bar biMpaM</i>	'one banyan tree'
<i>mace dauka</i>	'one crow'

Similarly to express negative sense, sometimes *-da* is added before affirmative verbs. Example:

<i>dataM</i>	'Don't go'
not go	
<i>dabuM</i>	'Don't say'
not say	

#### Reduplication/ Echo formation

The words are also formed with the repetition of the same word or first syllable i.e. partial redublication. On rare occasions, echo formation is also used in forming the words.

Example:

## Reduplication

<i>deipa deipa</i>	‘one by one’
<i>taw taw</i>	‘so deadly’
<i>lasai lasai</i>	‘slowly’
<i>gezar gezar</i>	‘through’
<i>jajabma</i>	‘ate up’
<i>jirjira</i>	‘spring of water’
<i>gusgas</i>	‘hissing’

## Echo formation

<i>culDum mulDum</i>	‘empty’
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## 4.2 NOUN MORPHOLOGY

### 4.2.0. NOUN

#### Classification of Nouns

There are two types of nouns namely basic and derived.

#### Basic nouns

Basic nouns are nouns that are not derived from another noun.

<i>mupur</i>	‘bear’
<i>dausa</i>	‘chicken’
<i>mamblema</i>	‘lizard’
<i>peca</i>	‘owl’
<i>Sigun</i>	‘vulture’
<i>talit</i>	‘flower’

Basic nouns are further divided into two as mass nouns and count nouns.

#### Mass nouns

<i>bar</i>	‘air’
<i>jemoy</i>	‘cloud’
<i>dahisa</i>	‘river’
<i>nokran</i>	‘sky’
<i>bala</i>	‘sand’

## Count

<i>ceMra</i>	‘boy’
<i>mauji</i>	‘cat’
<i>ceyma</i>	‘dog’
<i>lokra</i>	‘tiger’
<i>Daba</i>	‘knife’
<i>Dokna</i>	‘saree’

Human nouns further classified into masculine and feminine.

<i>ceMra</i>	‘boy’
<i>huagdan</i>	‘bride groom’
<i>jogalao</i>	‘young man’
<i>apa/ bipa</i>	‘father’
<i>aymousa</i>	‘female’
<i>sikla</i>	‘young woman’
<i>bima/ayoy</i>	‘mother’
<i>bisaja</i>	‘daughter’

## Young ones

human	‘goto’
non human	‘piSa’
bird	‘Sa’

## Derived ones

### Human

<i>mauria ceMra</i>	‘orphan: male’
<i>mauri ceMri</i>	‘orphan: female’
<i>biyadoi hua</i>	‘nephew’
<i>biyadoi hinjau</i>	‘niece’
<i>bisaja</i>	‘daughter’
<i>bisajala</i>	‘son’

### Non human

<i>basur dambra</i>	‘calf: male’
<i>basur dambri</i>	‘calf : female’
<i>daujala</i>	‘cock’
<i>dauja</i>	‘hen’
<i>ceyma</i>	‘dog’
<i>ceyma saMkri</i>	‘bitch’
<i>moidat bunDa</i>	‘elephant : male’
<i>moidat bunDi</i>	‘elephant : female’





<i>batuapar</i>	‘servants’
<i>doM</i>	‘basket’
<i>doMpra</i>	‘baskets’
<i>biMpaMparni</i>	‘tree’s from’
<i>bilaipra</i>	‘leaves’
<i>biya</i>	‘he’
<i>bichara</i>	‘they’
<i>be</i>	‘this’
<i>bepra</i>	‘these’

The plural marker *-par* is often changed to *-pra* in the bigger constructions. Thus the marker *-pra* may be considered as a variant/substitute for *-par* in the sentential construction.

1.       *aMni*   *bibopra*   *biyauna*   *daM*  
my       sisters       here       are  
‘My sisters are here’
2.       *naMni*   *galipra / bisa pra / pisa pra*   *mohai ?*  
your       children       where  
‘Where are your children ?’
3.       *aMni*   *bisa jalapra*   *poraisa liya o taMbay*  
my       sons       school to go + pre.perf.  
‘My sons have gone to the school’.
4.       *aMni*   *bijabpara*   *biya uhai*  
my       books       here       are  
‘My books are here’

#### 4.2.3 CASES AND POST POSITIONS

There are eight cases realized in Bodo language such as

1. Nominative
2. Accusative
3. Instrumental
4. Dative
5. Genitive
6. Locative
7. Ablative and

## 8. Vocative

### Nominative

-*ya* is used as a marker for nominative

<i>ceymaya</i>	<i>maujikau</i>	<i>cuMga</i>	‘The dog barks at the cat’
dog nom.	cat at	barks	

### Accusative

-*kau* is used as a marker for accusative.

- |    |              |                 |             |                      |
|----|--------------|-----------------|-------------|----------------------|
| 1. | <i>godwa</i> | <i>bikau</i>    | <i>nuye</i> | ‘The child sees her’ |
|    | child        | her             | sees        |                      |
| 2. | <i>biya</i>  | <i>godwakau</i> | <i>nuye</i> | ‘She sees the child’ |
|    | she          | child acc.      | Sees        |                      |

### Instrumental

-*jaM* is used as a marker for instrumental.

- |    |                 |              |                   |            |                                |
|----|-----------------|--------------|-------------------|------------|--------------------------------|
| 1. | <i>kamaniya</i> | <i>aMjaM</i> | <i>mauja</i>      | <i>nai</i> | ‘The work will be done by me’  |
|    | work            | me by        | done              | fut.       |                                |
| 2. | <i>bijabma</i>  | <i>bijaM</i> | <i>poreijanei</i> |            | ‘The book will be read by him’ |
|    | book            | him by       | read              | fut.       |                                |

### Dative

-*waw* / -*yaw* / -*aw* are used as the markers of dative.

- |   |                     |             |              |             |                      |
|---|---------------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|----------------------|
| 1 | <i>naM</i>          | <i>aMni</i> | <i>nuwaw</i> | <i>thaM</i> | ‘You go to my house’ |
|   | you                 | my          | house        | to go       |                      |
| 2 | <i>poreisaliyaw</i> | <i>poi</i>  |              |             | ‘Come to the school’ |
|   | school to           | come        |              |             |                      |
| 3 | <i>skulaw</i>       | <i>taM</i>  |              |             | ‘Go to the school’   |
|   | school              | go          |              |             |                      |

### Locative

-*yaw* / -*aw* is used as a locative marker.

- |    |                 |                |               |                           |
|----|-----------------|----------------|---------------|---------------------------|
| 1. | <i>aM</i>       | <i>gamiyaw</i> | <i>taye</i>   | ‘I live in the village’   |
|    | I               | village in     | live          |                           |
| 2. | <i>daucenna</i> | <i>ba sa</i>   | <i>siMgaw</i> | ‘The bird is in the nest’ |
|    | bird            | nest in        | is            |                           |

### Genitive

*-ni* is used as marker for genitive.

1. *bini bisajupra biyauna* 'His daughters are here'  
His daughters here are
2. *aM aMni jeyakaw nuwakcey akena aM danei taMgakcey*  
I my net not find past so I today not go past  
'I did not find my net so I didn't go today'

### Ablative

*-prai* is used as a marker for ablative.

1. *biya aMni kirkiniprai gagleiyalman*  
he my window from fell down  
'He fell down from my window'
2. *moMgalwar horgezar niprai baspra kaTnakai*  
Tuesday midnight from buses stopped working  
'From Tuesday midnight the buses stopped working'

### Vocative

*hoi, goi, nei* are used as markers for vocative case.

- nei manSi* 'O, man'  
o man  
*nei manSipar* 'O, men'  
o men

## 4.3 PRONOUNS

The pronouns are of six types - personal, possessive, demonstrative, interrogative indefinite and reflexive.

### Personal pronouns

Based on the persons, the use of pronouns are varying. They vary according to number as well. However there is no gender denoting pronouns in Bodo language.

- aM biyawhai* 'I am here'  
*jaM biyawhai* 'We are here'  
*naM biyawhai* 'You (sg) are here'

<i>naMcar</i>	<i>biyawhai</i>	‘You (pl) are here’
<i>biya</i>	<i>biyawhai</i>	‘He is here’
<i>biya</i>	<i>biyawhai</i>	‘She is here’
<i>biya</i>	<i>biyawhai</i>	‘It is here’
<i>bicar</i>	<i>biyawhai</i>	‘They are here’
<i>bicar</i>	<i>biyawhai</i>	‘They (men) are here’
<i>bicar</i>	<i>biyawhai</i>	‘They (women) here’

Pronouns are inflecting to case marking. Examples:

<i>aM</i>	<i>naMkau nuye</i>	‘I see you’
<i>jaM</i>	<i>naMkau nuye</i>	‘We see you’
<i>naM</i>	<i>aMkau nuye</i>	‘You (sg) see me’
<i>naMcara</i>	<i>bicarkau nuye</i>	‘You (pl) see them’
<i>biya</i>	<i>godwakau nuye</i>	‘He sees the child’
<i>biya</i>	<i>godwakau nuye</i>	‘She sees the child’

Possessive pronouns

<i>bini no</i>	‘his house’
<i>bicarni no</i>	‘their house’

Demonstrative pronouns

<i>be</i>	<i>bijab</i>	<i>a aMni</i>	‘This is my book’
this	book	is my	
<i>becar</i>	<i>manSipra</i>	<i>gazaw</i>	‘These men are tall’
these	men	tall	
<i>hobe</i>	<i>manuSiya</i>	<i>gahai</i>	‘That man is short’
that	man	short	
<i>hobecar</i>	<i>mansipra</i>	<i>gazaw</i>	‘Those men are tall’
those	men	tall	

Interrogative pronouns

1. <i>Sadabma</i>	<i>ma buMdan</i>	<i>bicira</i>	<i>mitiybai</i>
sound	what knew	they	meant

‘They knew the sound what it meant’

2. *bi DoMpaMni dondrowaw mace gacam jibaw tayeman*  
 that tree's hollow one black snake lived  
*dawkapra mojen giyamen*  
 birds very feared  
 'I that tree's hole one black snake lived for which the birds feared a lot'

#### Indefinite pronouns

1. *gabaMin maugrapra kamanimannay* 'Many workers are to be employed' many workers work will get
2. *be ceMra Sanei Mgabla Satamma nuwaw taMa*  
 these boys two or three house-to go  
 'These two or three boys go home'
3. *boiba biyaw taMbai* 'Everyone went there'  
 everyone there went
4. *gacenba gamajebbai* 'Everything is lost'  
 everything lost is
5. *naM liMhoTnayya gacenba poiiebbai*  
 you called all those come have  
 'All of those you called have come'

#### Reflexive pronoun

*bekaw aM gawna banaya* 'I did it myself'  
 it I myself did

#### 4.4 ADJECTIVES

In Bodo, the adjectives precede nouns. Example:

*majaM ceMgra* 'The good boy'  
 good boy

*majaM ceMgri* 'The good girl'  
 good girl

<i>majaM</i> good	<i>godow</i> child	‘The good child’
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Adjectives are not inflected to number. While denoting plural sense, the plural marker is added with nouns only.

<i>majaM</i> good	<i>ceMgrapar</i> boy	‘The good boys’
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<i>majaM</i> good	<i>ceMgripar</i> girls	‘The good girls’
----------------------	---------------------------	------------------

<i>majaM</i> good	<i>godowpar</i> children	‘The good children’
----------------------	-----------------------------	---------------------

Oppositional adjectives are available in Bodo language.

<i>galei</i>	<i>godo</i>	‘The small child’
--------------	-------------	-------------------

<i>galei</i>	<i>godopar</i>	‘The small children’
--------------	----------------	----------------------

<i>getaT</i>	<i>godo</i>	‘The big child’
--------------	-------------	-----------------

<i>galei</i>	<i>godopar</i>	‘The big children’
--------------	----------------	--------------------

Qualitative Adjectives

<i>gupuM</i> stout	<i>mansi</i> man	‘The stout man’
-----------------------	---------------------	-----------------

<i>gateT</i> big	<i>bijappar</i> books	‘The big books’
---------------------	--------------------------	-----------------

<i>gacam</i> dark	<i>jamai</i> clouds	‘The dark clouds’
----------------------	------------------------	-------------------

<i>gopoT</i> white	<i>gorai</i> horse	‘The white horse’
-----------------------	-----------------------	-------------------

Quantitative adjectives

<i>galei galei</i> little	<i>daibrei</i> four	<i>bidei</i> eggs	‘Four little eggs’
------------------------------	------------------------	----------------------	--------------------

<i>Sukkidar parni</i> guards among	<i>gejaraw</i> one	<i>caceya</i> one	‘One among the guards’
---------------------------------------	-----------------------	----------------------	------------------------

*kice naMbaw gaw* 'I need some more'  
 some need more

*Sance man unDudaMman* '(I) was sleeping all the day'  
 day all

Predicative adjective

*aM be solokaMakau hamjaye* 'I like that story'  
 I that story- acc like

#### 4.5 NUMERALS

The numerals in Bodo are of three types : cardinals, ordinals and fractionals. Below are exemplified the numeral types.

Cardinal Numerals

<i>ce</i>	'one'
<i>ney</i>	'two'
<i>tamb</i>	'three'
<i>brei</i>	'four'
<i>ba</i>	'five'
<i>Do</i>	'six'
<i>sni</i>	'seven'
<i>Dain</i>	'eight'
<i>gu</i>	'nine'
<i>ji</i>	'ten'

The numerals above 'ten' and upto 'nineteen' are formed by ten + one = eleven, ten + two = twelve etc. Beyond 'nineteen' the numerals are formed by way of multiplication and addition.

<i>ji</i>	<i>ce</i>	'eleven'
ten	one	
<i>ji</i>	<i>nei</i>	'twelve'
ten	two	

Twenty will be said as

<i>nei</i>	<i>ji</i>	'literally two ten (2X10)'	Twenty one
two	ten		
<i>nei ji</i>	<i>che</i>	'Two ten one ( 2X10+1)'	
two ten	one		

Hundred *ce jau*  
 one hundred

Two hundred	<i>nei jau</i>
	two hundred
One thousand	<i>ce hajar</i>
	one thousand
One lakh	<i>ce lak</i>
	one lakh

### Ordinal Numerals

The suffix *-ti* is added with the base of the cardinal numbers to form the ordinal numerals : Thus, the formation is cardinal base + *-ti*.

<i>ceti</i>	‘first’
one	
<i>neiti</i>	‘second’
two	
<i>thumti</i>	‘third’
three	

The first is also said as *sigam* or *agoT*

In the linear order, first or front position is called as *sigam*, middle as *gejer* and the last one is *yun*.

The half is referred as *kauce* whereas one and half is said as *mance kauce*.

### Classifiers

Classifiers are very much found in Bodo language. While counting the different things, objects, the use of classifiers differ. Thus , for books paper, leaf, cloth , feather *-gam* is added before the number.

<i>gaMce</i>	‘one leaf’
one	
<i>gaMnei</i>	‘two leaves’
two	

The other classifiers with reference to

- |                           |            |
|---------------------------|------------|
| 1. stone, money, fruits   | <i>tay</i> |
| 2. stick, horn, furniture | <i>goM</i> |
| 3. trees, bananas         | <i>paM</i> |
| 4. men, children          | <i>sa</i>  |



5. animals, birds	<i>ma</i>
6. stings, threads, songs	<i>DaM</i>
7. drops, liquids, hollow shaped	<i>tot</i>
8. folds	<i>pin</i>
9. time	<i>kep / ga / kon</i>
10. months	<i>dan</i>
11. year	<i>bacar</i>
12. jumping	<i>baDka</i>
13. boiling	<i>gadawga</i>
14. walking	<i>gidiMga</i>
15. garland	<i>raM</i>
16. sleeping	<i>maga</i>
17. piece of meat, fish	<i>dot / Duma</i>
18. beetle nut	<i>kanDey</i>
19. diving in the water	<i>lAhapga</i>
20. bundle, pocket	<i>Topla</i>
21. weeks	<i>kuM</i>

Thus, it is evident that based on the things / articles / events, the use of numeral classifiers in Bodo language varies.

## 4.6 VERB MORPHOLOGY

### 4.6.0 VERB

Verbs of Bodo language do not vary to person, number and gender.

Finite Verbs

The verbs take tense markers. According to the change of tense, the markers vary.

### 4.6.1 TENSE

#### a. Simple Present

The simple present tense marker is *-we /-ye* and it is added to the the verb base.

Person			
	I	<i>aM mauwe</i>	‘I do’
		<i>jaM mauwe</i>	‘we do’
		<i>aM naMkau nuye</i>	‘I see you’

	<i>jaM naMkau nuye</i>	‘We see you’
II	<i>naM mauwe</i>	‘You (sg.)do’
	<i>naM bicarkaw nuye</i>	‘You (sg) see them’
	<i>naMcar mauwe</i>	‘You(pl.) do’
	<i>naMcara bicarkau nuye</i>	‘You (pl) see them’
III	<i>biya mauwe</i>	‘He/she does’
	<i>biya aMkau nuye</i>	‘He sees me’
	<i>biya aMkau nuye</i>	‘She sees me’
	<i>bicar mauwe</i>	‘They do’
	<i>bicara aMkau nuye</i>	‘They see me’

#### Simple Past

*-wá* is the past tense marker in Bodo / Boro

<i>aM</i> I	<i>màuwá</i> do – pt.	‘ I did’
<i>jaM</i> we	<i>mauwa</i> do – pt.	‘We did’
<i>naM</i> you (sg.)	<i>mauwa</i> do – pt.	‘You did’
<i>naMcar</i> you (pl.)	<i>mauwa</i> do – pt.	‘You ( pl. ) did’
<i>biya</i> He/she/it	<i>mauwa</i> do – pt.	‘He / she / it did’

Sometimes,- *bai* marker is also used to denote past tense. Examples:

<i>aM gagleibai</i>	‘I fell down’
<i>jaM taMbai</i>	‘We went away’
<i>biya hajaw gakubai</i>	‘He went up the hill’

## Future

*-nei* is the marker for future tense.

<i>aM</i>	<i>maunei</i>	‘I shall do’
I	do – fut.	
<i>jaM</i>	<i>maunei</i>	‘We shall do’
we	do – fut.	
<i>naM</i>	<i>maunei</i>	‘You shall do’
you (sg.)	do – fut.	
<i>naMcar</i>	<i>maunei</i>	‘You ( pl. ) shall do’
you (pl.)	do – fut.	
<i>biya</i>	<i>maunei</i>	‘He / she/ it will do’
he/she/it	do – fut.	
<i>bicarr</i>	<i>maunei</i>	‘They will do’
they	do – fut.	

## Present continuous

*-daM* is the marker of Present continuous tense.

<i>aM</i>	<i>maudaM</i>	‘I am doing’
I	do – pre. cont.	
<i>jaM</i>	<i>maudaM</i>	‘We are doing’
we	do – pre. cont.	
<i>naM</i>	<i>maudaM</i>	‘You are doing’
you (sg.)	do – pre. cont.	
<i>naMcar</i>	<i>maudaM</i>	‘You ( pl. ) are doing’
you (pl.)	do – pre. cont.	
<i>biya</i>	<i>maudaM</i>	‘He / she / it is doing’
he/she/it	do – pre. cont.	
<i>bicar</i>	<i>maudaM</i>	‘They are doing’
they	do – pre. cont.	

## Past continuous

*-daMman* is the marker for past continuous tense.

<i>aM</i>	<i>maudaMman</i>	‘I was doing’
I	do – pt. cont.	
<i>jaM</i>	<i>maudaMman</i>	‘We were doing’
we	do – pt. cont.	
<i>naM</i>	<i>maudaMman</i>	‘You were doing’
you (sg.)	do – pt. cont.	
<i>naMcar</i>	<i>maudaMman</i>	‘You ( pl ) were doing’
you (pl.)	do – pt. cont.	
<i>biya</i>	<i>maudaMman</i>	‘He /she / it was doing’
he/she/it	do – pt. cont.	

<i>becar</i> they	<i>maudaMman</i> do – pt. cont.	‘They were doing’
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### Future Continuous

*-intanay* is the marker of future continuous tense in Bodo . Herein, *-nay* is the future tense marker (variant *nei*) and *-inta* is the continuous marker.

<i>aM</i> I	<i>mauintanay</i> do – fut. cont.	‘I shall be doing’
<i>jaM</i> we	<i>mauintanay</i> do – fut. cont.	‘We shall be doing’
<i>naM</i> you (sg.)	<i>mauintanay</i> do – fut. cont.	‘You shall be doing’
<i>naMcar</i> you (pl.)	<i>mauintanay</i> do – fut. cont.	‘You ( pl. ) shall be doing’
<i>biya</i> he/she/it	<i>mauintanay</i> do – fut. cont.	‘He / she / it will be doing’
<i>bicar</i> they	<i>mauintanay</i> do – fut. cont.	‘They will be doing’

### Perfect

#### Present perfect

*-bai* is the marker of present perfect tense.

<i>aM</i> I	<i>maubai</i> do – pre. perf.	‘I have done’
<i>jaM</i> we	<i>maubai</i> do – pre. perf.k	‘We have done’
<i>naM</i> you (sg.)	<i>maubai</i> do – pre. perf.	‘You have done’
<i>naMcar</i> you (pl.)	<i>maubai</i> do – pre. perf.	‘You ( pl ) have done’
<i>biya</i> he/she/it	<i>maubai</i> do – pre. perf	‘He/She/It has done’
<i>bicar</i> they	<i>maubai</i> do – pre. perf.	‘They have done’

#### Past perfect

*-kaMbaiman / - baiman* is the past perfect marker.

1. <i>aM</i> I	<i>maukaMbaiman</i> do – pt. perf.	‘I had done’
-------------------	---------------------------------------	--------------

2. *aM kulkattayaw mance no banaibaiman* 'I had built a house in Kolkata'  
 I Kolkata in one house built had

#### Future Perfect

*-kaMnai / -janei* is the marker of future perfect tense ( herein perfect marker *-kaM* + future marker *-nai* )

1. *aM maukaMnai* 'I shall have done'  
 I do – fut. perf.

2. *bijabma bijam poreijanei* 'The book will be read by him'

#### Perfect Continuous

##### Present perfect

*-gacentadaM* Herein the perfect marker is *gach-* and the continuous marker is *enta* ( a variant of *-inta* ).

*aM maugacentadaM* 'I have been doing'  
 I do – pre. perf.

##### Past perfect continuous

*-gacentayaman* is the marker of past perfect continuous tense.

*aM maugacentayaman* 'I had been doing'  
 I do – pt. perf. cont.

##### Future Perfect Continuous

*-gacentaney* is the marker of future perfect continuous tense. ( herein, perfect marker *gac-* + continuous *-enta* +future *-ney* )

*aM maugacentaney* 'I will have been doing'  
 I do – fut. perf. cont.

## 4.6.2 CAUSATIVE

The causative marker in Bodo is *-ke* 'to make to do'

#### Simple causative

Present	<i>aM</i>	<i>maukewe</i>	‘I make to do ‘
	I	do-caus.pre.ten.	
Past	<i>aM</i>	<i>maukea</i>	‘I made to do’
	I	do-caus.pt.ten	
Future	<i>aM</i>	<i>maukenai</i>	‘I will make to do’
	I	do-caus.fut.ten	
Continuous causative			
Present	<i>aM</i>	<i>maukedaM</i>	‘I am making to do’
	I	do-caus.pre.cont.	
Past	<i>aM</i>	<i>maukedaMman</i>	‘I was making to do’
	I	do-caus.pt.cont.	
Future	<i>aM</i>	<i>maukenai</i>	‘I shall be making to do’
	I	do-caus.fut.con.	
Perfect Causative			
Present	<i>aM</i>	<i>maukebai</i>	‘I have made to do’
	I	do-caus. pre.perf.ten.	
Past	<i>aM</i>	<i>maukekaMbaiman</i>	‘I had made to’
	I	do-caus.pt. perf.ten.	
Future	<i>aM</i>	<i>maukekaMnai</i>	‘I shall have done’
	I	do-caus.fut perf.ten.	

#### 4.6.3 NEGATIVE

-*ya* marker is used to refer negative sense in this language.

1.	<i>aM</i>	<i>poreidaM</i>	‘I am reading’
	I	read-pre.con	
2.	<i>aM</i>	<i>poreiyakhai</i>	‘I am not reading’
	I	read- not pre.con	
3.	<i>aM</i>	<i>poreidaMman</i>	‘I was reading’
	I	read-pt.con	
4.	<i>aM</i>	<i>poreiyakhaiman</i>	‘I was not reading’
	I	read- not pt.con	

However, the negativeness is expressed by some other affixes such as *-Ma*, *-ba*, *-le*, *-da* as well in this language on some other situations

1.	<i>Ma, biyo</i>	<i>aMni</i>	<i>bisaja</i>	‘No, she is my daughter’
	No she	my	daughter	

2.	<i>be aMni kamani aMa</i> It my work not	‘It is not my work’
3.	<i>gabrab darai</i> loudly not speak	‘Don’t speak loudly’
4.	<i>biya jrowba gaiyya</i> he no where	‘He is no where’
5.	<i>aM danei phoile</i> I today come not	‘I am not coming today’
6.	<i>aM maMba buMa kay</i> I nothing said	‘I nothing said’
7.	<i>bin kamaniyakaw maunaMgaman</i> he work – to do not should	‘He should not do the work’

## MOOD

Mood expresses the occurrence of an event from the speaker’s point of view. It may be a statement, a command, a question or doubt.

### Indicative

It is unmarked.

Examples :

1.	<i>bicar mahajaM</i> they merchant	‘They are merchants’
2.	<i>bina biSajala giwi</i> he son eldest	‘He is the eldest son’
3.	<i>biya aMni</i> it mine	‘It is mine’
4.	<i>biya gahaiyaw uNDunan poredaM</i> he down lying reading	‘He is lying down and reading’

### Interrogative

It is also unmarked. Examples :

1.	<i>dai kice labe</i> water some bring	‘Bring some water’
----	--	--------------------

- |  |                     |
|--|---------------------|
| 2. <i>bikaw liMhoT</i><br>him call       | ‘Call him’          |
| 3. <i>huwaw poi</i><br>field to come     | ‘Come to the field’ |
| 4. <i>gahayaw jiray</i><br>ground on sit | ‘Sit on the ground’ |

#### Probability

*-nay, -hagaw* are the markers of expressing the probability mood. Examples :

- |   |                         |
|---|-------------------------|
| 1. <i>aM gabaM poinei</i><br>I tomorrow come may                  | ‘I shall come tomorrow’ |
| 2. <i>biya daucennakaw SitaTna hagaw</i><br>he bird acc. kill may | ‘He may kill the bird’  |

#### Obligatory mood

*-naMgaw, naMgawman* are the markers of expressing the obligatory mood. Examples :

- |  |                             |
|--|-----------------------------|
| 1. <i>naMne Tam tainei janaMgawman</i><br>You guava two eat should | ‘You should eat two guavas’ |
| 2. <i>bine daucenkaw SiaTnaMgaw</i><br>He bird acc. kill should    | ‘He should kill the bird’   |
| 3. <i>aMne poitar naMgaw</i><br>I come ought                       | ‘I ought to come’           |

#### Optative mood

*-taM* is the marker for optative mood. Example :

- |   |                     |
|---|---------------------|
| 1. <i>bicar gacenba poitaM</i><br>them all come let | ‘Let them all come’ |
|---|---------------------|

#### Desirative mood

*-ye* is the marker for desirative mood. Examples :

- |  |                             |
|--|-----------------------------|
| 1. <i>biya pitay jana hamjayeman</i><br>He fruit eat liked | ‘He liked to eat the fruit’ |
| 2. <i>biye kicu raM lubaiye</i><br>he some money wants     | ‘He wants some money’       |



## 4.7. NON FINTE VERB

### Infinitive

The suffix *-na* is added to the verbal root form infinitives.

1. *jaM sàgaraw nà homna taMà* 'We go to the sea to catch fish'  
we sea to fish catch to go
2. *aM goraiyakaw tukaina daisayaw lama* 'I used to take the horse to  
I horse-acc. bath to small river take the river to wash'

### Verbal Noun

The suffix *-nai* is added to the verbal root to have verbal nouns.

<i>sibinai / pujinai</i>	'worship'
<i>bokkonai</i>	'bail'
<i>yawnai</i>	'frying pan'

### Gerund

The verb receives *-ya* suffix to form a gerund. Examples

1. *haTnayya goReijaM jadaM*  
running horse by do – pre.perf.

'Running is done by the horse'

2. *haTnayya goReijaM jayaman*  
running horse by do – pt. perf.

'Running was done by the horse'

### Participles

*-na, -wa* is participle marker in this language

1. *jebla aM bikaw naina taMga biya unDu taMman*  
when I him see to want he sleep pt.con.  
'He was sleeping when I went to see him'
2. *jebla aM bikaw nuwa biya gahaiyaw unDu daMman*  
when I him saw he ground lying was  
'He was lying on the ground when I saw him'

## 4.8 AUXILIARY

The auxiliary verb supports the main verb. In this language, the auxiliary form ‘to be’ able to express the present continuous form is marked by *-daM*. Below are presented the present continuous tense forms :

<i>aM</i>	<i>maudaM</i>	‘I am doing’
I	do – aux.	
<i>jaM</i>	<i>maudaM</i>	‘We are doing’
we	do – aux.	
<i>naM</i>	<i>maudaM</i>	‘You are doing’
you (sg.)	do – aux.	
<i>naMcar</i>	<i>maudaM</i>	‘You ( pl. ) are doing’
you (pl.)	do – aux.	
<i>biya</i>	<i>maudaM</i>	‘He / She / It is doing’
he/she/it	do – aux.	
<i>bicar</i>	<i>maudaM</i>	‘They are doing’
they	do – aux.	

### Other auxiliary Verbs

1. *naMne* *taMtarnaMgaw* ‘You must go’  
you go must
2. *naMne* *bekaw* *buMnaMga* ‘You should say this’  
you this say should
3. *aM* *mana* *taMnaMgaw* ‘Why should I go?’  
I why go should
4. *bine* *bijab* *gaMce* *litarnaMgaw* ‘He ought to write a book’  
he book one right ought
5. *jaikhiya be* *khamanikaw* *maunaha* *gowman* ‘Anybody could do this work’  
anybody this work- acc. do- could

## 4.9 COMPOUND VERBS

The two different words come together as a one word to convey a new meaning is termed as compound verb.

1. *raika* ‘protect’  
*kalamna* ‘to do’

	<i>raika kalamna</i>		‘to save’
2.	<i>ginanay</i>		‘terror’
	<i>birlaMbai</i>		‘flew’
	<i>ginanay birlaMbai</i>		‘flew away in fear’

#### 4.10 ADVERBS

The adverbs are marked by *-ai/-ei*, *-in / -ein* and *-iM* are also expressed by the repeat of the same word. They precede the verb generally.

1	<i>sadrapma kau</i> words	<i>majaMgai</i> neatly	<i>liT</i> write	‘Write the words neatly’
2	<i>rama</i> Rama	<i>gakrei</i> quickly	<i>kaTna</i> run	‘Rama runs quickly’
3.	<i>reil gaDiya</i> train	<i>gagrein</i> shortly	<i>poinai</i> come fut.	‘The train will come shortly’
4.	<i>biya lasa lasa</i> he slowly	<i>poiya</i> came		‘He came slowly’
5.	<i>biya saransriM</i> she	<i>nindiya</i> openly	<i>nindiya</i> criticized	‘She criticized openly’

Adverbs are also classified on the basis of manner, time and place.

##### Manner adverbs

<i>onnanai</i>	‘kindly’
<i>gabrabyin</i>	‘loudly’
<i>huser/majaMnin</i>	‘carefully’
<i>bala bandinanai</i>	‘bravely’

##### Time adverbs

<i>belace</i>	‘afternoon’
<i>puM</i>	‘morning’
<i>Tik somob</i>	‘in time’
<i>sampramba</i>	‘daily’
<i>arbaw</i>	‘again’
<i>miya</i>	‘yesterday’
<i>konebla</i>	‘some times’

#### Direction adverbs

<i>sanja</i>	‘east’
<i>gazan tar</i>	‘far away’
<i>gezar</i>	‘middle’
<i>baira</i>	‘out’
<i>gazaw pasi</i>	‘upwards’

Sometimes, adverbs are also added after main verbs. Examples:

1. *bijabmakau labopin* ‘Bring the book back’  
book acc. bring back

2. *nowaw taMnan poypin* ‘Go home and come back’  
home to go come back

#### 4.11 PARTICLES

The particles are of three types – adjectival particles, adverbial particles and conjunctive particles. Below are exemplified the particle-classes.

##### 1. Adjectival Particles

1. *deipa deipa* ‘one by one’  
one by one  
*deipa deipa gacam jibuwwa bidaipar kaw moloMjabbai*  
one by one place snake eggs acc. swallowed  
‘one by one the black snake swallowed the eggs’
2. *galei galei* ‘small’  
*gaba Min galei galei dauka pisa manna cey*  
many small crow babies had  
‘ ( It ) had many small crow baby ( afterwards )’

##### Adverbial Particle

1. *lasa lasa* ‘slowly’  
slowly  
*‘daucen bimaya lasa lasa birna hombai’*  
bird mother slowly flying started  
‘ The mother bird started flying slowly’

## Conjunctive Particles

1.     *aru*           ‘and’  
      *cace ceMgra aru cace ceMgri hamjajaleidaMman*  
      one    boy       and   one    girl     love     were  
  
      ‘A boy and a girl were in love’
2.     *jebla*           ‘when’  
      *jebla aM bikaw nuwa biya gahaiyaw unDudaMman*  
      when I   him    saw   he   ground in   lying was  
  
      ‘When I saw him he was lying on the ground’
3.     *nate*           ‘but’  
      *biya biyaw naman nate gagrei taMbai*  
      she   there   was     but   soon   went  
  
      ‘She was there but went soon’

## 4.12 INTERJECTIONS

The following words are used to express the joy, sympathy, surprise, negation etc in Bodo language.

<i>ayo</i>	‘to express sympathy in a painful context’
<i>aydoy</i>	‘to express pain’
<i>o</i>	‘surprise’
<i>Ma</i>	‘to express negative’
<i>noy</i>	‘to address’

## 4.13 ECHO WORD

The echo word ‘*culDum mulDum*’ to express emptiness is found to be used in this language.

<i>bicara</i>	<i>bikaw</i>	<i>culDum</i>	<i>mulDum</i>	<i>nunanai</i>	<i>majaMnin</i>
they	it	empty	find	well	

*mitinanai bima bibaya makaM cam cam janantai*  
knowing parents sadly belonging

*gausarni basayaw pinbai*  
their nest to came

‘Knowing well that ( in their nest it would be empty ) they came to their nest very sadly.’

Here, in the second word, the initial consonant is changed i. e. *c* becomes *m*.

-----XXX-----

## 5. SYNTAX

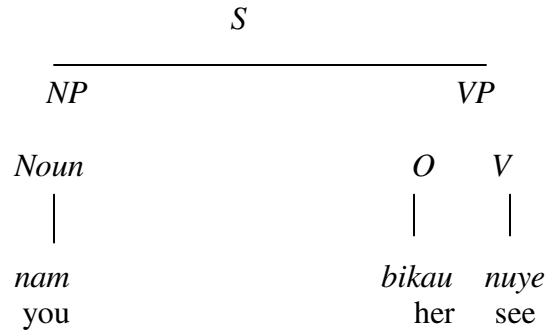
The sentence of Bodo language consists of the words expressing noun as well as verb. In noun phrase the string of words may be noun and noun, noun and numeral and so on. The verb phrase may consist of adverb and noun, mood and verb and so on.

### 5.1 ORDER OF WORDS

The word order of Bodo is subject, object and verb (SOV).

<i>naM</i>	<i>bikau</i>	<i>nuye</i>	‘You see her’
you	her	see	

The object takes case marker and the verb takes tense marker.

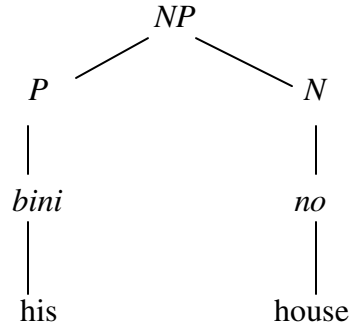


### 5.2 DESCRIPTION OF NOUN PHRASE

In noun phrase, the combination of words may be pronoun and noun, noun and numeral and noun and adjective.

Pronoun + Noun

- |    |                    |                            |             |
|----|--------------------|----------------------------|-------------|
| 1. | <i>bini</i><br>his | <i>no</i><br>house         | ‘His house’ |
| 2. | <i>bini</i><br>his | <i>bisajalapar</i><br>sons | ‘His sons’  |



Noun + Numeral

<i>cengra</i>	<i>sanei</i>	'two boys'
boys	two	

The numeral noun follows the head nouns here

3. Adjective + Noun

a.	<i>mance</i>	<i>galei</i>	<i>koTla</i>	'A small room'
	a	small	room	
b.	<i>mannei</i>	<i>galei</i>	<i>koTla</i>	'Two small rooms'
	two	small	rooms	

The adjective precedes the head noun 'room' in the above examples.

4. Noun + Adjective

a.	<i>akai</i>	<i>moila</i>	'Dirty hand'
	hand	dirty	
b.	<i>gacam</i>	<i>jamai</i>	'The dark cloud'
	dark	cloud	

The noun precedes the adjective in the example cited above.

5. Verbal Noun + Noun

a.	<i>cuMneyya</i>	<i>ceyma</i>	'barking dog'
	barking	dog	
b.	<i>haTnayya</i>	<i>gorei</i>	'Running horse'
	running	horse	

6. Onomatopoetic word + Noun

<i>gusgas</i>	<i>sadab</i>	'hissing sound'
hissing	sound	



7. Noun + Noun + Noun

*dauka aru daukajAha aru dauka pisa*  
crow and crow hen crow baby  
'crow, crow hen and crow baby'

### 5.3 ADJECTIVAL PHRASE

a. *basayaw galei galei daibrei biday doMgoman*  
nest in small classifier four eggs were

'Four small small eggs were in the nest'

b. *mace gacam jibaw tayAman*  
classifier one black snake live + pt.

'One black snake was lived'

In the above adjectival phrases, it is found that adjectives such as small, black precede the noun.

### 5.4 VERB PHRASE

In verb phrase, the verb comes after the object or in the sentence final position.

a. *be bijabmakau pórei* 'Read this book'  
this book acc. read

b. *poreisaliyaw poi* 'Come to school'  
school to come

c. *nuwaw taM* 'Go home'  
home to go

d. *nuwaw poi* 'Come home'  
home to come

The adverb precedes the verb in verb phrase.

a. *gureiyai rai* 'Speak slowly'  
slowly speak

b. *gabrab da rai* 'Do not speak loudly'  
loudly not speak

- c. *shadropmakaw* *majaMgai* *liT* 'Write the words neatly'  
 words acc. neatly write

The above said examples clearly indicate that the adverb precedes the main verb.

### 5.5 POST POSITIONAL PHRASE

The post positional affixes such as *-aw*, *-prai* are added on the objects. These words ( i. e. object + post position ) sometimes precede the verb and sometimes, after the noun only.

<i>-yaw</i>	'on'		
<i>gahayaw</i>	table on	<i>jiray</i>	sit
			'Sit on the table'
<i>gazaw</i>	'above'		
<i>nokraMga</i>	sky	<i>gazawaw</i>	above is
			'The sky is above'
<i>gahail</i>	'below'		
<i>buma</i>	earth	<i>gahaiyaw</i>	below is
			'The earth is below'
<i>kaTTi</i>	'near'		
<i>aM</i>	<i>biMpaMni</i>	<i>kaTTiyaw</i>	
I	tree from	near am	'I am near the tree'
<i>gazan</i>	'far'		
<i>aM</i>	<i>binpaMni</i>	<i>gazannaw</i>	
I	tree from	far am	'I am far from the tree'
<i>yaw</i>	'up'		
<i>biya</i>	<i>hajayaw</i>	<i>gakubai</i>	
he	hill up	went	'He went up the hill'
<i>namai</i>	'down'		
<i>biya</i>	<i>hajaniprai</i>	<i>namai</i>	<i>piMbai</i>
he	hill from	down	came
			'He came down the hill'



- b. *bini galpaiya becegrap gitawtaw*  
 his sting so deadly  
 ‘His sting is so deadly’
- c. *dauka aru daukajAha biniprai bi biMpaMkawna gazan taycey*  
 crow and crow hen afterwards this tree happily lived  
 ‘Crow and crow hen lived happily in this tree afterwards’

## 5.7 TYPES OF SENTENCES

### 1. Interrogative sentences

The interrogatives markers usually come in between the noun and the verb in the construction.

- a. *naM ma janay ?* ‘What will you eat?’  
 you (sg.) what eat fut.
- b. *naM mabla jikaTna ?* ‘When do you get up?’  
 you (sg.) when get up
- c. *naM mohoy taye?* ‘Where do you live?’  
 you (sg.) where live
- d. *naM siniprai mana poiya ?* ‘Why did you come from inside?’  
 you (sg.) inside from why come + pt.

However, the marker denoting *-pse* ‘how many’ invariably follow the noun in the construction.

- a. *naMne godopra sapse ?* ‘How many children have you?’  
 you children how many
- b. *naM bocarpse jaku ?* ‘How old are you?’  
 you years how many happened

The marker *-a* is used to transfer a declarative sentence into an interrogative one.

- a. *biyo aMni binanau* ‘She is my sister’  
 she my sister
- b. *biyo naMni binanau nama?* ‘Is she your sister?’  
 she your sister is
- c. *naMne Tik somow ponaini soro doMda?* ‘Are you in the habit of coming on time?’  
 you on time coming habit are inter. time?’

## 5.8 NEGATIVE SENTENCES

The negative sentences are formed by the use of negative markers such as *-Mga*, *-a*, *-le*, *-da*, *-wa*

- |    |                |                     |              |                  |            |                                |
|----|----------------|---------------------|--------------|------------------|------------|--------------------------------|
| a. | <i>Mga</i>     | <i>biyo</i>         | <i>aMni</i>  | <i>bisaja</i>    |            | 'No, she is my daughter'       |
|    | no             | she                 | my           | daughter is      |            |                                |
| b. | <i>aMne</i>    | <i>taMnangawman</i> | <i>nate</i>  | <i>taMgakcey</i> |            | 'I had to go but I did not go' |
|    | I              | go – pt. perf.      | but          | go not           |            |                                |
| c. | <i>aM</i>      | <i>gaban</i>        | <i>poile</i> |                  |            | ' I shall not come tommorrow'  |
|    | I              | tomorrow            | come not     |                  |            |                                |
| d. | <i>bebaiti</i> | <i>dabuM</i>        |              |                  |            | 'Do not say thus'              |
|    | thus           | not say             |              |                  |            |                                |
| e. | <i>biya</i>    | <i>behaw</i>        | <i>mauna</i> | <i>hanay</i>     | <i>Mga</i> | 'He cannot do it'              |
|    | he             | it                  | do – to      | can              | not        |                                |
| f. | <i>naM</i>     | <i>biyaw</i>        | <i>data</i>  |                  |            | 'You must not remain here'     |
|    | you            | here                | not remain   |                  |            |                                |
| g. | <i>jaM</i>     | <i>gusTi</i>        | <i>jaya</i>  |                  |            | 'We are not related'           |
|    | we             | relation            | not          |                  |            |                                |
| h. | <i>be</i>      | <i>jatawwa</i>      |              |                  |            | 'This is not eatable'          |
|    | this           | eat not             |              |                  |            |                                |

## 5.9 IMPERATIVE SENTENCES

The imperative is formed by dropping *-nai* in the verb. For example, come and go are said as *poinai*, *taMnai* respectively. In imperative situation, *-nai* is dropped and remaining portion of verb takes place as such.

- |    |              |              |                    |
|----|--------------|--------------|--------------------|
| a. | <i>jirài</i> |              | 'Sit down'         |
|    | sit down     |              |                    |
| b. | <i>haw</i>   | <i>jirài</i> | 'Sit on the floor' |
|    | floor        | sit down     |                    |
| c. | <i>cikaM</i> |              | 'Rise'             |
|    | rise         |              |                    |

d.	<i>solokDaMce</i> story	<i>kata</i> tell		‘Tell a story’
e.	<i>bijabmakaw</i> bring	<i>labopin</i>		‘Bring the book back’
f.	<i>nowaw</i> home to	<i>taMnan</i> go	<i>poypin</i> come back	‘Go home and come back’
g.	<i>naMni</i> your	<i>poMbaiyakaw</i> brother – acc.	<i>liMhoT</i> call	‘Call your brother’

### 5.10 PASSIVE SENTENCES

The passive sentence is formed as follows in the Bodo language.

1. The object of active voice becomes subject of passive .
2. The instrumental case marker *-jaM* is added to the subject of active voice to make it a passive one.
3. The present tense marker of active changes into present perfect in the passive construction.

The active form of the sentences are given below:

a.	<i>sarkarra</i> govt.	<i>gaizayiparna</i> poor	<i>paisa</i> money	<i>haiya</i> gives
----	--------------------------	-----------------------------	-----------------------	-----------------------

‘The Government gives money to the poor’

b.	<i>bamanpra</i> brahmins	<i>bidoT</i> meat	<i>jaya</i> eat not
----	-----------------------------	----------------------	------------------------

‘Brahmins do not eat meat’

The passive form of the above sentences are as follows.

a.	<i>paisaya</i> money – obj.	<i>sarkarjaM</i> govt. by	<i>gaizayiparna</i> poor people to	<i>hazadaM</i> give pt. perf.
----	--------------------------------	------------------------------	---------------------------------------	----------------------------------

‘ The money was given to the poor by the Government’

- b. *bidoTna bamanparjaM jajanai Mga*  
meat obj. brahmins by eat pre.perf. not

‘The meat is not eaten by the Brahmins’

### 5.11 CAUSATIVE SENTENCES

The causation is determined by the use of *-ke* marker in verb (It is, in other words, one can say that the infix *-ke* is used to make a causative sentence).

- a. *aM goreikaw kaTkebai* ‘I have made the horse run’  
I horse acc. run pt. perf.
- b. *aM bikaw maMtay DaMce rajabkedam* ‘I am making her sing a song’  
I her song one sing make pre.cont.
- c. *aM malaijaM naMna raM hakedam* ‘I am making someone give you money’  
I some one you give make pre.cont.

### 5.12 RELATIVE CLAUSE

The relative clause is formed by adding the relativizers *jei, jai, jiraw* for which, where etc. between the two clauses of sentence.

- a. *basayaw galei galei daibrei bidai doMgoman*  
nest in small classifier four eggs was  
*jeikaw bima bibaya majaMnin niyeman*  
which to mother father care with guarded
- ‘There were four small eggs in the nest for which the parents guarded with much care’.

- b. *biya daucanparkaw cawna ajabay jaipra ginanay bir laMbay/ katlaMbai*  
he birds acc. strike to tried whom terror in  
flew away

‘The snake (he) tried to strike the birds to whom they feared and flew away’

- c. *bicar rajandar baraini mance gAteT bilayaw copoibai jiraw*  
they palace garden one big pond in approached where

*rajandarni aimowpar dukoineikaw bicar nubai*  
 palace's ladies having bath they saw

'They approached one big pond in the palace garden where they saw the palace's ladies having a bath'

### 5.13 PATTERN OF SENTENCES

In Bodo language, the sentences may be simple, complex and compound.

#### Simple sentences

A simple sentence may consists of the subject and verb as its components i.e. without object.

*ceymaya cuMà* 'The dog barks'  
 dog barks

Sometimes, the simple sentence may consist of object as well.

*aM sikawwakaw hombai* 'I caught the robber'  
 I robber caught

A simple sentence may stretch into a big one also as cited below.

*paMce bâr biMpaMni boglaMnai Dalaiyaw mace*  
 tree one banyan tree spreading branches one  
*dauka aru bini hinjaw daukaza tayEman*  
 crow and his wife crow hen lived

'In one of the branches of banyan tree one crow and his wife crow hen lived.'

#### Complex Sentences

The words such as *manbla* 'if', *jebla* 'when' are used to have a complex sentences in this language.

a. *nokaya Tik somoyaw manne manbla maya majaMtar janaMgawman*  
 rain right time in received if paddy good very could have been

'The paddy crops could have been very good if the rains were received in time'



b. *jebla aM bikaw nuwa biya gahaiyaw unDudaMman*  
 when I him see+pt. he ground on lying was

‘He was lying on the ground when I saw him’

There are other words also which are used to make a complex sentence. Examples are:  
*aMgabla* ‘otherwise’ *nate* ‘yet’ and so on.

### Compound sentences

A connector compound two simple sentences into one sentence. The words such as *nate* ‘but’ *onpran* ‘and’ are used to connect the two sentences.

a. *binemiya biyawhai tanankawman nate biya luMjabai*  
 yesterday there stay would have been but she sick was

‘She would have been there yesterday but she felt sick’

b. *aM saDe das bajje puMgaw railaw gaya*  
 I half ten o’clock morning train caught

*onpran saDe egara bajje offisaw copoiya*  
 and half eleven o’clock office to came

‘I caught the train at 10-30 a.m and came to the office at 11.30 a.m.’

c. *rama kirusnakaw poikena ajaya nate krisnane som gayya*  
 Rama Krishna acc. come make but Krishna time has not

‘Rama makes Krishna come but Krishna has no time’.

----xxx----

**BODO  
TEXT**

*dauka jAa gacem jibow kaw bArei sitaTna*  
 crow hen black snake acc how killed.  
 (“How the crow-hen killed the black snake”)

*paMce bàr biMpaMni bo glaMnai Dalaiyaw*  
 tree one banyan tree spreading branches

*mace dauka aru bini hinjaw daukaza tayAman.*  
 one crow and his wife crow-hen lived.

“Among the spreading branches of a banyan tree lived a crow and his wife, the crow-hen”.

*basayaw galei galei daibrei bidei doMgoman jAikaw*  
 nest - in small small four eggs was which –to

*bima bibaya majaMnin niyÁman.*  
 mother father care with guarded.

“In the nest were four little eggs, which the parents guarded with great care.”

*bi DoMpaMni dondrowaw mace gacam jibaw*  
 that tree’s hollow one black snake

*tayAman jAikaw dawkapra mojen giyeman.*  
 lived which to birds very feared.

“In a hollow of that tree-trunk lived a black snake whom the crows feared greatly.”

*daukajAa jeblaina bidai daiye amblana jibowa bassayaw*  
 crow- hen while egg laid then snake nest - to

*mankananoi bichar kaw / biparkaw jajabma.*  
 crawling up them ate-up.

“Every time the crow-hen laid her eggs the snake crawled up to the nest and ate them up”.

*be bàraw gacam jabuwwa aMni bidaiparkaw jabawbla*  
 this time black snake my eggs eat this time

*be biMpaMgaw aM ar tatarle.*  
this tree - in I never stay-no more.

“If the black snake eats up my eggs this time also, I will refuse to live in this tree any longer”.

*jaMne gubunaw basa lutarnaMkaw cey” bima daukaya gawni*  
our some other else nest build must mother bird her

*bisaykaw buMbay.*  
husband-to told.

“We must build our nest somewhere else”, said the mother bird to her husband.”

*jaM gabaw soMni praina biyaw tabudaM aM gawni nokaw*  
we long since from here living I my own house

*nagarnanai gubunaw jAruba taina hatarnai Mga daukaya*  
live some where else live to tolerate not crow

*bumbay.”*  
told.

“We have lived here a long time, I can’t bear to desert my home and go to live elsewhere”, said the crow.”

*reizleipunai somow bicara gahaiyaw gus gas sadab kanabay*  
while talking time they below hissing sound heard.

“While they were talking, they heard a hissing sound just below them.”

*sadabma ma buMgdan bicara mitiybai.*  
sound what meant they knew.

“They knew what the sound meant.”

*bicara haya gara bidaikaw raika kalamna basayaw tabay.*  
they helplessly eggs-acc protect to do nest-in sat.

“They sat helplessly in their nest trying to protect their eggs.”

*gacam jibuwwa gazaw sinaw aru basani kaTisinaw mankalaMbai*  
black snake higher higher and nest closer crept.

“The black snake crept higher and closer to the nest.”

<i>biniprai</i> then	<i>gabrab</i> loud	<i>gus gas</i> hiss	<i>sadabjaM</i> sound	<i>biya</i> he	<i>daucanpar</i> birds	<i>kaw</i> to
<i>cawna</i> strike	<i>ajabay</i> tried	<i>jaipra/daucanpra</i> whom	<i>ginanay</i> in terror	<i>birlaMbay / birnan</i> flew	<i>katlaMbay</i> away.	

“Then with a loud hiss he tried to strike at the birds, which flew away in terror.”

<i>deipa</i> one	<i>deipa</i> by one	<i>gacam</i> black	<i>jibuwwa</i> snake	<i>bidaiparkaw</i> eggs - acc	<i>moloMjabbai</i> swallowed.
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“One by one, the black snake swallowed all the eggs.”

<i>bicara</i> they	<i>bikaw</i> it	<i>culDum</i>	<i>mulDum</i> empty	<i>nunanai</i> find	<i>majaMnin</i> well		
<i>mitinana</i> knowing	<i>bima</i>	<i>bibaya</i> parents	<i>makaMcam</i> sadly	<i>cam</i>	<i>jananai</i> belonging	<i>gausarni</i> their	<i>basayaw</i> nest - to

*piMbai* .  
came.

“The parents came back sadly to their nest knowing well that they would find it empty.”

<i>daukaya</i> the crow	<i>buMbai,</i> said	<i>be</i> this	<i>sitatsula</i> murderous	<i>jibawkaw</i> snake-acc	<i>pajabna</i> destroy-to	<i>(sitatna)</i> kill-to	<i>aM</i> I
<i>mance</i> one	<i>lama</i> way	<i>doiyontartnai</i> must find out.					

“The crow said, “I must find a way to destroy this murderous snake.”

<i>naM</i> you	<i>brei</i> how	<i>bijaM</i> him-with	<i>raM</i> fight	<i>naMklainai</i> ever	<i>bini</i> his	<i>galpaiya</i> sting
<i>bècegrap</i> so	<i>gitawtaw”</i> deadly	<i>gasasirojaM</i> despair-in	<i>bini</i> his	<i>hinjawua</i> wife	<i>buMbai</i> said.	

“How can you ever fight him? His sting is so deadly”, said his wife in despair.”

<i>naM</i> you	<i>da</i> Don't	<i>gi</i> worry	<i>sona,</i> my dear	<i>aMne</i> my	<i>sache</i> one	<i>bisigi</i> friend	<i>daM</i> got	<i>jayya</i> who
-------------------	--------------------	--------------------	-------------------------	-------------------	---------------------	-------------------------	-------------------	---------------------

<i>bisganaM</i> poisonous	<i>jibuprakaw</i> snakes	<i>pajabna</i> destroy-to	<i>sipa</i> cunning	<i>lutar</i> ” enough	<i>daukaya</i> crow
<i>buMbai,</i> said	<i>aru</i> and	<i>birlaMnanai</i> flew	<i>gubun</i> another	<i>paMce</i> one	<i>biMpaMkaw</i> tree - to
<i>baiyacay</i> sat	<i>zainigahaiyaw</i> which under	<i>bini</i> his	<i>oce</i> dear	<i>bisigi</i> friend	<i>mace</i> one

*sil*      *tayAman.*  
jackal      lived.

“Don’t worry, my dear, I’ve got a friend who is cunning enough to destroy the most poisonous snakes,” said the crow, and off he flew to another tree under which lived his dear friend, the jackal.”

<i>jibuwwa</i> snake	<i>jAblaiba</i> always	<i>jAbaidi</i> how	<i>bidaiparkaw</i> eggs	<i>jayAman</i> eat up	<i>bikaw</i> them	<i>kananai,</i> hearing,	
<i>sialla</i> jackal	<i>buMbai</i> said	<i>‘suki,</i> friend	<i>jaipra</i> those	<i>onneigAya</i> cruel	<i>aru</i> and	<i>habar tiya</i> greedy	<i>bicara</i> they

*yunaw*      *daga*      *manne.*  
end      bad      meet.

“When the jackal heard how the snake always ate up the eggs, he said, “My friend, those who are cruel and greedy always meet with a bad end.”

<i>ginaMgaw</i> fear	<i>gaiya,</i> no	<i>aM</i> I	<i>sigamNa</i> already	<i>bikaw</i> him	<i>pajabna</i> destroy	<i>mance</i> one
<i>lama / raha</i> plan	<i>sankaMg</i> thought	<i>kabay.</i> already.				

“Have no fear, I’ve already thought of a plan to destroy him.”

“*oho,*      *biya*      *ma*      *de*      *aMha*      *katado’*      *daukaya*      *buMbay.*  
o      it      what      do      me      tell      crow      said.  
“Oh, do tell me what it is,” said the crow.

<i>sAyla</i> jackal	<i>kánanjana / knajoMjana</i> over heard	<i>ginanai</i> fearing	<i>prei</i> how	<i>jibuwwakaw</i> snake - to	<i>pajábna</i> destroy
<i>hanai</i> possible	<i>bikaw</i> that	<i>bisigina</i> to his friend	<i>katá kamabay / buMkamabay</i> secretly whispered.		

“Then the jackal, fearing he might be overheard, whispered to his friend what he should do to destroy the snake.”

*daukaya*    *birnanai*    *gawni*    *hinjanaw*    *poipinbay*    *aru*    *sanjalainaiyakaw*    *katabay*  
crow        flying        his        wife – to        come back    and        plan about        told.

“The crow flew back to his wife and told her about the plan.”

“*be*            *nate*            *kice*            *ginaMgaw*”        *daukaya*        *buMbai*.  
this            rather        little bit            risky            crow            said.

*bini gunai*                    *jaMne*                    *mojAn*                    *huser*                    *tanaMgaw*.”  
his for                            very                            carefully                    stay – to be

“It is rather risky,” said the crow.” “We’ll have to be very careful.”

“*aMni*            *bidaiparkaw*                    *raikani*                    *gunai*                    *aM*                    *jAba*  
my                    eggs                    protect-to                    for                    I                    anything

*maunai*”            *bala bandinanai*                    *buMbai*                    *bima*                    *daucenna* .  
do-well                    bravely                    said                    mother                    bird.

“I’ll do anything to save my eggs,” said the mother bird bravely.”

*onpran*                    *rajani*                    *rajáandar*                    *pasi*                    *bicar*                    *birlaMbai*.  
so                    country’s                    palace                    towards                    they                    flew.

“So off they flew towards the palace of the king of the country.”

*raj andàra*            *bicar*                    *tanai*                    *biMpaMniprai*                    *baDa*                    *gazan*                    *Mgaman*.  
palace                    their                    living                    tree - from                    much                    far                    not.

“The palace was not far the from the tree in which they lived.”

*bicar*            *rajandar*            *baraini*            *mance*            *geteT*            *bilayaw*            *copoibai*            *jiraw*  
they            palace            garden            one            big            pond-in            approached            where

*raj andarni*            *aimowpar*                    *dukoineikaw*                    *bicar*                    *nubay*.  
palace’s                    ladies                    having bath                    they                    saw.

“They approached a big pond in the palace garden where they saw the royal ladies having a bath.”

*bicar*    *bilàni*    *ardaMgaw / bila*    *ardaMgaw*    *sonani*    *jinjiri*    *muktani*  
 they    pond of    edge       golden    chain    pearl

*mala*    *aru*    *baitisna*    *gaina*    *dandaMman\_*  
 necklace and    other ornaments had laid.

“They had laid their golden chains, pearl necklaces and other jewellery on the edge of the pond.”

*daucen*    *bimaya*    *bagleinanai*    *raMce*    *sonni*    *jinjirikaw*    *gusuTi*    *jaM*  
 bird    mother    coming down    one    golden    chain    beak    with

*kepkaMbai*    *aru*    *gaw*    *tagra*    *binpaM*    *pasi*    *lasa lasa*    *birna*    *hombai*.  
 picked    and    herself lived    tree    towards    slowly    flying    started.

“The mother bird flew down, picked up a gold chain in her beak and started flying slowly towards the tree in which she lived.”

*jaAbla*    *rajandarni*    *cukkidarpra*    *nuwacey*    *daucenna*    *sonani*  
 when    palace    guards    saw    bird    golden

*jinjiri*    *lananai*    *birlaMbai*    *ambla*    *bicara*    *lauTi*    *layace*  
 necklace    taking    flew    then    they    club    took

*aru*    *daucenkaw*    *hecaacey*.  
 and    birds-acc    chased .

“When the palace guards saw the bird flying off with the gold chain, they took up their clubs and chased the bird.”

*bicar*    *nuwacey*    *daucenna*    *jinjirikaw*    *mance*    *DoMpaMni*    *dondrawaw*    *kaklei*  
 then    saw    bird    chain-acc    one    tree’s    hollow    dropping

*sonbai*.  
 inside.

“They saw the bird drop the chain into the hollow of a tree.”

*cukkidarparni*    *gejaraw*    *caceya*    *jinjirikaw*    *boyonna*  
 guards - of    among    one    chain – acc    take out – to

*biMpaMgaw*    *gakabày*.  
 tree    climbed .

“One of the guards climbed up the tree to get the chain.”

*jAbla*      *biya*      *jinjirikaw*      *boyanna*      *dondra /*      *siMkaw*      *akai*  
 when      he      chain      take out – to      hole      inside      hand

*cohoTna*      *ambla*      *biya*      *nuye*      *biyawhay*      *gacam*      *jibbaw*      *mace*  
 put inside      then      he      saw      there      black      snake      one

*pesTay*      *kananai*      *tadaM.*  
 curled      stayed.

“As he put his hand inside the hole to get the chain, he saw a black snake curled up there.”

*gawni*      *lawTijaM*      *mojAn*      *konce*      *bunanai*      *biya*      *bikaw*  
 his      stick with      hard      one      hitting      he      it

*sitaTnacey*      *aru*      *gacam*      *jibawne*      *biyawna*      *jabmacey.*  
 killed      and      black      snake’s      this      ended.

“With one hard stroke of his club he killed it and that was the end of the black snake.”

*dawka*      *aru*      *daukajAha*      *biniprai*      *bi*      *biMpaMkawna*  
 crow      and      crow hen      afterwards      this      tree-in

*gazan*      *tayacey*      *aru*      *gabaMgin*      *galei*      *galei*      *dauka*  
 happily      lived      and      many      small      crow

*pisa*      *mannacey.*  
 baby      had

“The crow and the crow hen lived in that tree happily afterwards and had many little baby crows.”

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# **BHOTIA**

**S. GANESH BASKARAN**

## **1. INTRODUCTION**

Bhotia is one of the non-scheduled languages of India and states of Indian union. Bhotia language named after the community 'Bhutia' which is one of the scheduled tribes in West Bengal. The present study gives out the grammatical sketch of Bhotia language spoken in West Bengal state based on the data collected during the field investigation from November 1994 to January 1995 in Darjeeling district of West Bengal with the help of the Bhotia speaker Ms.Chimi Angmu Lama News Reader, All India Radio, Kurseong and cross checked with some other native speakers.

### **1.1 FAMILY AFFILIATION**

According to the classification given by Grierson in Linguistic Survey of India Vol.III part-I, pp.14 - 18, Bhotia is a non-pronominalised dialect of Himalyan Languages of Tibeto – Burman sub family of Tibeto-Chinese family.

### **1.2 LOCATION**

According to Census of India the Bhotia speakers are majorly concentrated in Sikkim, West Bengal, Himachal Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh. In West Bengal the major concentration is in Kalimpong and Kurseong subdivisions of Darjeeling District. Subsequently, two groups, one in Orissa and another in Karnataka have been resettled.

### **1.3 SPEAKERS' STRENGTH: LANGUAGE – MOTHER TONGUE-BILINGUALISM**

In Indian Census Bhotia has been appearing since beginning. And as per the latest Census of India, that is 2001 the major distribution of speakers of Bhotia as language as well as Bhotia as mother tongues along with Bhotia as a language of Bilingualism is presented below for India and states as well as West Bengal and districts.

### Bhotia as Language in India

Language	India/States/Union territory	Person	Male	Female	Rural	Urban
BHOTIA	India	81012	41118	39894	70011	11001
	Jammu & Kashmir	12930	6599	6331	12859	71
	Sikkim	41825	21479	20346	36488	5337
	Himachal Pradesh	8975	4381	4594	8686	289
	West Bengal	6508	3291	3217	3593	2915
	Uttaranchal	6217	2954	3263	4444	1773

### Bhotia as language in West Bengal

Language	States/Districts	Person	Male	Female	Rural	Urban
BHOTIA	West Bengal	6508	3291	3217	3593	2915
	Darjeeling	5636	2811	2825	3052	2584
	Jalpaiguri	679	364	315	464	215

### Bhotia as Mother Tongue in India

Mother Tongue	India/States/Union territory	Person	Male	Female	Rural	Urban
BHOTIA	India	68800	34837	33963	58003	10797
	Sikkim	41823	21478	20345	36486	5337
	Himachal Pradesh	8975	4381	4594	8686	289
	Uttaranchal	6217	2954	3263	4444	1773
	West Bengal	6030	3025	3005	3274	2756
	Mizoram	3254	1678	1576	3251	3
	Jammu & Kashmir	1487	745	742	1416	71

### Bhotia as Mother tongue in West Bengal

Mother Tongue	States/Districts	Person	Male	Female	Rural	Urban
BHOTIA	West Bengal	6030	3025	3005	3274	2756
	Darjeeling	5559	2767	2792	3023	2536
	Jalpaiguri	285	146	139	174	111
	Kolkata	51	32	19	0	51

### Bhotia as a language of Bilingualism and Trilingualism

Language	India/State	Total Speakers	Mono Linguals	Bi- Linguals			Tri-Linguals		
				Total	Language of bilingualism	Strength	Total	Language of Tri lingualism	Strength
BHOTIA	India	81012	27214	53798			24469		
					Nepali	24048		Hindi	4376
					Hindi	16444		English	4250

				English	10033		Nepali	4247
				Urdu	2095		English	997
West Bengal	<b>6508</b>	<b>1689</b>	<b>4819</b>			<b>2245</b>		
			BENGALI	100				
							HINDI	43
							NEPALI	9
							ENGLISH	4
			HINDI	880				
							NEPALI	290
							ENGLISH	249
							BENGALI	34
							OTHERS	2
			NEPALI	3011				
							HINDI	544
							ENGLISH	392
							BENGALI	22
							TIBETAN	3
							TELUGU	1
			ENGLISH	818				
							NEPALI	326
							HINDI	302
							BENGALI	16
							TIBETAN	1
							OTHERS	1

## 1.4 SOCIOLINGUISTIC INFORMATION

### 1.4.1 USE OF BHOTIA AS MOTHER TONGUE AND OTHER TONGUE

The sociolinguistic picture of Bhotia of West Bengal can be explained by the extent of the use of Bhotia as a mother tongue and the extent of the use of Bhotia as other tongue. The Bhotia as mother tongue is used in different domains like home, kin and community. In the home domain the use of mother tongue is necessarily prevalent in three-degree generation of descending relation, which is ego children relationship. In the extra home and extra kin situation that is in the locality also use of mother tongue is quite popular. In the parent ego children relationship in the home domain, the parents invariably interact in Bhotia language with their children as also with the aged people. But while interacting with the children out side home many a time the use of language comes down to Nepali, English, Hindi and Bengali. As the children of these days are exposed to others languages through education, most often their speech is mixed with Nepali, Hindi and also English. So in the interaction network the inter location of the parent ego-children is fixed that is the use of mother tongue is more among the

aged people, and among the young the extent of the use of the mother tongue is comparatively less. Among the women folk the use of mother tongue is more popular in comparison to the menfolk. In the kin and community domain too the picture is almost same.

In the formal domains of education administration, judiciary and mass media the role of mother tongue is not even in the oral communication level. That is, the classrooms domain between the teachers and taught and out side the classroom the oral interaction network is done by Nepali. The written communications are all made through the Nepali, Hindi and English. In the administrative level all written correspondences are done through Nepali and English.

In the level of local Judiciary also Nepali is informally used that is during the cross examination to the convict by the lawyer. In the domain of mass media the State Government broadcast Bhotia language programmes in a fixed time. Bhotia has a script modified from the Tibetan Language.

#### **1.4.2 SOCIO-CULTURAL INFORMATION**

*Denjongke* or Sikkim Bhotia is spoken by the people in Sikkim who are the descendents of Tibetan and their language has developed or lines of their own since the time (that is more than 350 years ago) they over ruled Sikkim as a ruling race. The Tibetan calls Sikkim as *Denjongke*. The District of Darjeeling of West Bengal was in Sikkim state and it ceded from Sikkim when Sikkimese king presented Darjeeling to the British as a sanitorium for the British troops. The original settlement of Bhutias in Darjeeling is called Bhotia busty. The Bhotia busty is the village concentrated by the Sikkim Bhotias. The ethnic group of Bhotia busty called it '*Dochuk*' means 'erect stones', *do* 'stone' *chuk* 'erect'

In West Bengal, Bhotia people are concentrated in Kalimpong Sub-division, and Kurseong sub division of Darjeeling District. They also live in Jalpaiguri, West Dinajpur, Malda, and Calcutta Districts in West Bengal.

The Bhotias basically are agriculturalists and their food habit is bit interesting to notice. They love mushroom, bamboo shoot (fermented in bamboo pipe which is very sour). They also love to have cane shoot which is bit bitter. They are fond of dish made of milk such as; fermented cheese, chewing gum with milky taste etc. They prefer to have millet beer, rice

pancake with flowery pattern fried in pork fat and corn cake. Above all this rice is nevertheless, their staple food.

How so ever economically, socially and educationally developed, they love putting on their traditional dresses in the villages. Their men folk wear a pyjama and shirt, which is long and loose robe called '*cho*'. '*gho*' in the women folks dress which is similar to that of the men folk. The shirt is contrasted with the pyjama in colour. Traditionally they are involved in weaving and woodcarving. They make their traditional auspicious emblem known as '*tashi thegay*' beautifully in home.

They follow Buddhisam. The monastery is found in every village. The priest of the monastery is called 'lama'. All social and festive occasions are observed in the monastery. The priest is given more importance and treated as the first person in the society. The harvest festival is one of the most important festivals and is called '*sonam loasar*' which is celebrated following the Tibetan calender year. They also celebrate the festival 'pang Lhabsol' 'swearing oath of blood'. The whole village gathers around the courtyard of the Bhotia busty monastery to witness the prayer and offering at the monastery meant for peace and prosperity along with others. The Buddha Jayanti is also celebrated very interestingly on the 15<sup>th</sup> day of the 4<sup>th</sup> month of Tibetan Bhuddist calendar year and a colourful procession is organized by the Bhotia busty.

## **1.5. REVIEW OF LITERATURE**

Grierson (1906) in LSI vol III part –I, gives a short account of the language besides Graham Sand Berg – a British Missionary – introduces the grammar of Sikkim Bhotia in his manual of Sikkim Bhotia, published from Asiatic Society, Calcutta, 1895. The linguistic description of Bhotia has been comprehensively presented along with its comparision with Tibetan in the LSI – Sikkim volume of ORGI, New Delhi.

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## 2. PHONOLOGY

The speech sounds of Bhotia language can be divided into two broad types namely segmental and suprasegmental. The segmental sounds are further categorised into two sub-types namely vowels and consonants. The suprasegmentals are divided into two sub-types that is tone and nasalization, which are significant feature in Bhotia language.

### 2.1 PHONEMIC INVENTORY

There are 38 phonemes in Bhotia language of which 32 are consonants and 6 are vowels. The suprasegmental phonemes are Tone and Nasalisation.

#### 2.1.1 SEGMENTAL PHONEMES

Vowels

high	<i>i</i>	<i>ʌ</i>	<i>u</i>
mid	<i>e</i>		<i>o</i>
low	<i>a*</i>		

The phoneme /a/ is actually supposed to be symbolised as /a/. But by way of italicization of the linguistic data /a/ is getting changed into /a/. Accordingly /a/ is actually /a/ only.

Consonants

Point / Manner	Bilabial	Labio dental	Alveolar	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stops	p   b		t   d	T   D	c   j	k   g	ʔ
Aspirants	p <sup>h</sup>		t <sup>h</sup>	T <sup>h</sup>	c <sup>h</sup>	k <sup>h</sup>	
Affricates					C   J		
Fricatives		f	s   z		S'		h
Nasals	m		n		M'	M	
Laterals			l				
Trills			r				
Flaps				R			
Semi vowels		w			y		



### 2.1.2 VOWELS

The vowels in Bhotia can be described from the three dimensions, jaw height, tongue position and lip position. There are six segmental vowel phonemes (i, e, a, o, ʉ, u) in Bhotia.

Contrasting pairs (Vowels)

*/i~e/*

<i>isó</i>	‘envelope’
<i>sé</i>	‘lean’
<i>kí pu</i>	‘wives’ brother’
<i>ké po</i>	‘waist’
<i>M’i</i>	‘two’
<i>Me</i>	‘my’

*/e~a/*

<i>esé</i>	‘lean’
<i>ac<sup>h</sup>o</i>	‘sister’s husband’
<i>téta</i>	‘stick’
<i>tata</i>	‘bridal’
<i>k<sup>h</sup>é</i>	‘tax’
<i>k<sup>h</sup>á</i>	‘mouth’

*/a~u/*

<i>ac<sup>h</sup>u</i>	‘husband’s sister’s husband’
<i>uc<sup>h</sup>u</i>	‘insist’
<i>lám</i>	‘road’
<i>lúm</i>	‘air’
<i>c<sup>h</sup>úba</i>	‘third’
<i>c<sup>h</sup>úbu</i>	‘dragonfly’

*/a~o/*

<i>aM’i</i>	‘mother’s brother’s wife’
<i>oMé</i>	‘child’
<i>k<sup>h</sup>ápú</i>	‘moustache’
<i>kópa</i>	‘morning’
<i>c<sup>h</sup>a</i>	‘salt’
<i>c<sup>h</sup>ó</i>	‘pond’

*/u ~ ʉ/*

<i>rúbe</i>	‘tortoise’
<i>rʉTa</i>	‘skeleton’
<i>alui</i>	‘potato’
<i>alʉ</i>	‘cat’

### 2.1.3 DIPHTHONG

There are four diphthongs in Bhotia. In diphthongs the tongue moves from the position of one vowel (starting vowel) towards another vowel (terminal vowel). Usually the starting vowel will have the fall quality but the (terminal vowel) will not have the full quality.

The Diphthong */ui/* occurs in both the places of medial and final and the */au* and *ou/* occur in the final position where as the diphthong */ai/* occur in all three positions. Among the diphthongs */ui/* occurs more in frequency than */au* and *ou/* and */ai/* is having the least frequency of occurrence.

<i>/ai/</i>	<i>laimi</i>	‘mother’s sister’s daughter’
	<i>haitóba</i>	‘nostril’
<i>/ui/</i>	<i>pakìne</i>	‘ringworm’
	<i>kipuì</i>	‘husband’s brother’
<i>/au/</i>	<i>da`u</i>	‘moon’
<i>/ou/</i>	<i>yóu</i>	‘baboon’

### 2.1.4 CONSONANTS

There are 32 consonantal phonemes in Bhotia language. On the basis of point of articulation Bhotia has 7 way opposition, these are Bilabial, Labio- Dental, Alveolar, Retroflex, Palatal, Velar and Glottal. On the basis of the manner of articulations it has 10 way oppositions. There are stops, Aspirants, Affricates, Fricatives, Nasals, Laterals, Trills, Flaps and semi vowels.

In addition to the above-mentioned interclass opposition there are intra – class opposition that is stops */p, t, T, k/* including the voiceless palatal stop */c/* have the opposition of aspiration. However, the Bhotia has palatal affricate with its voiced counter parts. All Fricatives have not voiced counter parts except Alveolar Fricativés.

Contrasting pairs

(Consonants)

/p~b/

<i>pàr</i>	‘picture’
<i>bàr</i>	‘jackfruit’
<i>kepó</i>	‘waist’
<i>kéba</i>	‘third’
<i>tàp</i>	‘hot-plate’
<i>t<sup>h</sup>ab</i>	‘oven’

/p~ph/

<i>pàkó</i>	‘skin’
<i>p<sup>h</sup>ákó</i>	‘pig’
<i>Táp<sup>h</sup>u</i>	‘cane’
<i>Tãpu</i>	‘true’

/t~d/

<i>tìku</i>	‘hiccough’
<i>dìko</i>	‘sin’
<i>katik</i>	‘heel’
<i>kadìk</i>	‘stammerer’

/t~th/

<i>tàmu</i>	‘quarrel’
<i>t<sup>h</sup>àma</i>	‘last’
<i>ti<sup>h</sup>ì</i>	‘navel’
<i>tèta</i>	‘stick’

/t~D/

<i>Tuk</i>	‘six’
<i>Dùm</i>	‘spear’
<i>TàTu</i>	‘pincer leg of a crab’
<i>tàDi</i>	‘ready’

/t~Th/

<i>Tibú</i>	‘bell’
<i>T<sup>h</sup>ìp</i>	‘bile’
<i>c<sup>h</sup>aTa</i>	‘fibre’
<i>caT<sup>h</sup>a</i>	‘hot’

/k~g/

<i>kàbo</i>	‘cotton’
<i>gòdo</i>	‘testicle’
<i>pákò</i>	‘pig’
<i>p<sup>h</sup>àgui</i>	‘decendents’

/k~ʔ/

<i>ʔ ya</i>	‘surprise’
<i>kyá</i>	‘blood’
<i>ʔ yu</i>	‘brook’
<i>kyú</i>	‘laddle’

/c~j/

<i>cèkse</i>	‘ride’
<i>jèkse</i>	‘climb, a hill’
<i>kènca</i>	‘jewel’
<i>kènja</i>	‘fat’

/c~c<sup>h</sup>/

<i>coto</i>	‘trunk of elephant’
<i>c<sup>h</sup>òtó</i>	‘small bat’
<i>pìcàm</i>	‘afternoon’
<i>pìc<sup>h</sup>u</i>	‘chicken’

/C ~J/

<i>Cú</i>	‘body’
<i>Ju</i>	‘last’
<i>aCó</i>	‘grand father’
<i>aJyã</i>	‘mother’s brother’

/p~f/

<i>pàpcu</i>	‘water fall’
<i>fācú</i>	‘take down’
<i>nàfa</i>	‘jungle pig’
<i>nàbu</i>	‘elephant’
<i>lèflef</i>	‘flat’
<i>paplèp</i>	‘greedy’

/s~z/

<i>sìba</i>	‘third’
<i>zíkě</i>	‘heavy’
<i>p<sup>h</sup>asé</i>	‘strike’
<i>pàzi</i>	‘shephard’

/s~S’ /

<i>sèw</i>	‘hailstone’
<i>S’lèw</i>	‘antelope’
<i>nàse</i>	‘ill’
<i>nìsú</i>	‘fuel’

/k~h/

<i>kìm</i>	‘house’
<i>hìm</i>	‘deer’

/p~M/

<i>pàkó</i>	‘skin’
<i>Màk<sup>h</sup>o</i>	‘sister Husband’

/M’~m/

<i>M’ì</i>	‘two’ (numerals)
<i>ma</i>	‘I’
<i>aM’ì</i>	‘mother’s Brother’s wife’
<i>oM’ě</i>	‘child’
<i>sòm</i>	‘strong’

/l~r~R/

<i>la</i>	‘fee’
<i>ró?</i>	‘friend’
<i>cakoR</i>	‘butterfly’
<i>Dàkar</i>	‘moon light’

/w~y/

<i>swèm</i>	‘cockroach’
<i>byemkàrim</i>	‘mosquito’
<i>sèw</i>	‘antelop’
<i>siM’</i>	‘wood’

/y~c/

<i>yãTa</i>	‘light’
<i>cúra</i>	‘canal’
<i>yàMTa</i>	‘light weight’
<i>cokTa</i>	‘dirty’

## 2.2 PHONEMIC DESCRIPTION AND DISTRIBUTION

Out of 38 phonemes in Bhotia all sounds except the LabioDental Semivowel /w/ and retroflex flap /R/ occur in the initial position. Likewise, the Palatal Affricates both voiceless and voiced *C* and *J* do not occur in the final position. Although very few consonants /p, k, f, m, M, l, r, R, w/ occur in the final position, the bilabial stop consonant /p/ only gets its voiced counterpart /b/ in the final position, whereas the palatal semivowel /y/ does not occur in the final position.

### 2.2.1 VOWELS

/i/ High front unrounded short vowel occurs in all positions.

<i>igí</i>	‘letter’
<i>acìm</i>	‘little’
<i>ací</i>	‘amusement’

/e/ High mid front unrounded short vowel occurs in all positions.

<i>ese</i>	‘lean’
<i>emèm</i>	‘dim’
<i>emsé</i>	‘float’

/a/ Low front unrounded short vowel occurs in all positions.

<i>atsó</i>	‘grand father’
<i>akàr</i>	‘chilly’
<i>agyá</i>	‘elder brother’

/o/ Mid back rounded short vowel occurs in all positions.

<i>ocùm</i>	‘onion’
<i>ocòMba</i>	‘milk man’
<i>aco</i>	‘sister’s husband’

/u/ High back rounded short vowel occurs in all positions.

<i>ùr</i>	‘noise’
<i>ukùsáre</i>	‘owl’
<i>pic<sup>h</sup>ú</i>	‘chicken’

/ʉ/ High central rounded short vowel occurs in the middle and final positions.

<i>kʉyú</i>	‘kuckoo’
<i>alú</i>	‘cat’

### 2.2.2. CONSONANTS

/p/ Voiceless bilabial stop occurs in all positions.

<i>picàm</i>	‘after’
<i>upyáse</i>	‘bounce’
<i>pemlip</i>	‘butterfly’

/b/ Voiced bilabial stop occurs in all positions.

<i>bènda</i>	‘tomato’
<i>tobákē</i>	‘porter’
<i>t<sup>h</sup>àb</i>	‘over’

/t/ Voiceless alveolar stop occurs in all positions.

<i>tikú</i>	‘hiccough’
<i>tènte</i>	‘dempo’
<i>c<sup>h</sup>ùit</i>	‘flood’

/d/ Voiced alveolar stop occurs in the initial and middle positions.

<i>diko</i>	‘sin’
<i>dodàpse</i>	‘stamp’

/T/ Voiceless retroflex stop occurs in the initial and middle positions.

<i>Tíse</i>	‘write’
<i>Tèpsi</i>	‘miser’
<i>tokTa</i>	‘narrow’
<i>tùgTa</i>	‘venom’

/D/ Voiced retroflex stop occurs in the initial and middle positions.

<i>De</i>	‘enemy’
<i>Delùm</i>	‘cyclone’

<i>Dudìbo</i>	‘old woman’
<i>DiDiyo</i>	‘tickle’

/k/ Voiceless velar stop occurs in all positions.

<i>kipú</i>	‘wifes Brother’
<i>kicùm</i>	‘blade’
<i>Dòkse</i>	‘reap’
<i>Tùkba</i>	‘third’
<i>Tuk</i>	‘six’
<i>kátik</i>	‘heel’

/g/ Voiced velar stop occurs in the initial and middle positions.

<i>geldár</i>	‘flag’
<i>gã</i>	‘ginger’
<i>kàgyáse</i>	‘open’
<i>ceágui</i>	‘examination’

/ʔ/ Voiced glottal stop occurs in the initial and middle positions.

<i>ʔ u</i>	‘breath’
<i>ʔ ú</i>	‘blotting paper’
<i>ʔ yu</i>	‘brook’
<i>mitókàpu</i>	‘cataract’
<i>lotòpse</i>	‘recover’

/pʰ/ Voiceless bilabial aspirant occurs in the initial and middle positions.

<i>pʰáko</i>	‘pig’
<i>Tápʰu</i>	‘cane’

/tʰ/ Voiceless alveolar aspirant occurs in the initial and middle positions.

<i>tʰèm</i>	‘scene’
<i>koʰèw</i>	‘ashes’

/Tʰ/ Voiceless retroflex aspirant occurs in the initial and middle positions.

<i>Tʰìp</i>	‘bile’
<i>CaTʰá</i>	‘hot’

/kʰ/ Voiceless velar aspirant occurs in the initial and middle positions.

<i>kʰi</i>	‘dog’
<i>boʰá</i>	‘foam’



/c/ Voiceless palatal stop occurs in the initial and middle positions.

<i>cok</i>	‘joint’
<i>ocùm</i>	‘onion’

/j/ Voiced palatal stop occurs in the initial and middle positions.

<i>jó</i>	‘foot’
<i>jànda</i>	‘equal’
<i>majóse</i>	‘wound’

/C/ Voiceless palatal affricate occurs in the initial and middle positions.

<i>Coyáse</i>	‘escape’
<i>Cúse</i>	‘fear’
<i>pumúCùkse</i>	‘kneel’

/J/ Voiced palatal affricate occurs in the initial and middle positions.

<i>jà</i>	‘rainbow’
<i>jònka</i>	‘district’
<i>MikJe</i>	‘pupil’
<i>MaJúJu</i>	‘ghee’

/c<sup>h</sup>/ Voiceless palatal aspirant occurs in the initial and middle positions.

<i>c<sup>h</sup>ik</i>	‘one’
<i>c<sup>h</sup>im</i>	‘games’
<i>sác<sup>h</sup>a</i>	‘family’
<i>sác<sup>h</sup>àm</i>	‘boundary’

/f/ Voiceless labio dental fricative occurs in all positions.

<i>fàcu</i>	‘take down’
<i>nàfa</i>	‘Jungle pig’
<i>lèflef</i>	‘flat’

/s/ Voiceless alveolar fricative occurs in the initial and middle positions.

<i>sàyo</i>	‘earth quake’
<i>saló</i>	‘wall’
<i>sosé</i>	‘warm’

/z/ Voiced alveolar fricative occurs in the initial and middle positions.

<i>zikē</i>	‘heavy’
<i>pàzi</i>	‘shepherd’
<i>sàza</i>	‘far’

/S/ Voiceless palatal fricative occurs only in the initial position.

<i>S’èw</i>	‘ill’
<i>S’òko</i>	‘wing’

/h/ Voiceless glottal fricative occurs in all positions.

<i>hē</i>	‘net’
<i>hé</i>	‘mangopit’
<i>cihē</i>	‘music’
<i>leléh</i>	‘unchaste woman’

/m/ Voiced bilabial nasal occurs in all positions.

<i>miS’óso</i>	‘earth’
<i>bamdùì</i>	‘exaggerate’
<i>num</i>	‘oil’

/n/ Voiced alveolar nasal occurs in all positions.

<i>nyámri</i>	‘proud’
<i>tisámìnda</i>	‘jasmine’
<i>nyen</i>	‘grass hopper’

/M/ Voiced palatal nasal occurs only in the initial position.

<i>M’ése</i>	‘laidown’
<i>M’yán</i>	‘dried fish’
<i>M’isu</i>	‘twenty’

/M/ Voiced velar nasal occurs in the middle and final positions.

<i>mèMka</i>	‘hospital’
<i>máMgàse</i>	‘dislike’
<i>nimwésiM</i>	‘daily’

// Voiced alveolar lateral occurs in all positions.

<i>lisi</i>	‘cloves’
<i>leplèp</i>	‘flat’

<i>gyúnol</i>	‘wealth’
<i>nariwal</i>	‘coconut’

/r/ Voiced alveolar trill occurs in all positions.

<i>ro</i>	‘friend’
<i>gouri</i>	‘bold head’
<i>jámadár</i>	‘practise’

/R/ Voiced retroflex flap occurs in the final position.

<i>cakóR</i>	‘butterfly’
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/w/ Voiceless labio dental semi vowel occurs in the middle and final positions.

<i>swèm</i>	‘cookroach’
<i>sèw</i>	‘antelope’

/y/ Voiceless palatal semi vowel occurs in the initial position.

<i>yãta</i>	‘light’
<i>yàMTa</i>	‘light weight’

## 2.3 MAJOR ALLOPHONIC DISTRIBUTION

The vowels /i, e, a and u/ are getting lowered from its vowel quality in between consonants.

### 2.3.1 VOWELS

/i/ The high front unrounded short vowel has two allophones [I] and [i]

[I] lower-high front unrounded vowel occurs in between consonants.

<i>[bIpsóse]</i>	<i>/bipsóse/</i>	‘sneeze’
<i>[t<sup>h</sup> Im]</i>	<i>/t<sup>h</sup>im/</i>	‘smell’

[i] High front unrounded vowel occurs elsewhere.

/e/ The mid front unrounded short vowel has two allophones [E] and [e]

[E] mean mid front unrounded vowel occurs in between consonants.

<i>[S'Ew]</i>	/S'ew/	'ill'
<i>[gEldár]</i>	/geldár/	'flag'

[e] higher mid front unrounded vowel occurs elsewhere.

/a/ Low front unrounded short vowel has two allophone [ʌ] and [a]

[ʌ] Lower mid back unrounded vowel occurs in between consonants.

<i>[Sʌm]</i>	/sam/	'meal'
<i>[kʌptí]</i>	/kaptí/	'bitter gourd'

[a] Low front unrounded vowel occurs elsewhere.

/u/ high back rounded vowel has two allophones [U] and [u]

[U] Lower high back rounded vowel occurs in between consonants

<i>[kUrdIM']</i>	/kursim/	'sugarcane'
<i>[dUm]</i>	/dum/	'spear'

[u] high back rounded vowel occurs elsewhere.

### 2.3.2 CONSONANT

There are three consonant /p, n and l/ got the allophonic variations.

/p/ voiceless bilabial stop has two allophones [p·] and [p]

[p·] voiceless bilabial stop get lowered before the velar stop

<i>[halóp·ki]</i>	/halópki/	'sound'
<i>[siláp·ki]</i>	/silápki/	'flew'

[p] voiceless bilabial stop occurs elsewhere

// voiced retroflex lateral has two allophones [L] and [l]

[L] voiced retroflex lateral occurs after voiceless bilabial stop and the voiceless labiodental fricative

<i>[papLèp]</i>	/paplèp/	'greedy'
<i>[lefLef]</i>	/leflef/	'flat'

[l] voiced retroflex lateral occurs elsewhere

/n/      voiced alveolar nasal as two allophone [N] and [n]

[N]      voiced retroflex nasal occurs in the final position of a single syllabic words.

[gyEN]	/gyen/	‘heard’
[nyEN]	/nyen/	‘muscle’

## 2.4 CLUSTERS

A sequence of two identical or non-identical sounds are called cluster. In Bhotia, there are sequences of vowels but not of identical vowels. Among consonants also identical clusters are found.

### 2.4.1 VOWEL CLUSTER

With regard to the vowel cluster at the most two vowels are getting clustered and each vowel has its own tonal variations. Generally the first vowel get rising tone and the next is level tone. The vowel clusters are /óu,úe,éó/ and /óe / occur in the middle positions.

<i>góuta</i>	‘boldness’
<i>yúela</i>	‘raven’
<i>c<sup>h</sup>óese</i>	‘ripen’
<i>yéó</i>	‘work’
<i>cagúe</i>	‘vulture’

### 2.4.2 CONSONANT CLUSTER

In consonant clusters different combinations are possible. But the nasal occurs as a first member in variably in two or three consonant clusters in the middle position. The palatal semivowel /y/ occurs more as a second member in the initial clusters and as a third member in the three consonant clusters in the middle position.

Initial Two consonant cluster

<i>py -</i>	<i>pya</i>	‘bird’
<i>by -</i>	<i>byájú</i>	‘barn’
<i>tw -</i>	<i>twènkě</i>	‘become’
<i>dy -</i>	<i>dyúnse</i>	‘alight’
<i>ky -</i>	<i>kyatòkě</i>	‘barber’
<i>gy -</i>	<i>gyèn</i>	‘heard’
<i>my -</i>	<i>myũ</i>	‘chew’
<i>ny -</i>	<i>nyèn</i>	‘muscle’

Medial Two consonant clusters

-pt-	<i>kàpti</i>	‘bitter guard’
-pT-	<i>làpTá</i>	‘school’
-pc-	<i>pàpcu</i>	‘water fall’
-ps-	<i>càpsa</i>	‘privy’
-pl-	<i>jyáple</i>	‘afterward’
-bj-	<i>tùbji</i>	‘button’
-by-	<i>jyábyu</i>	‘cobra’
-kT-	<i>tukTa</i>	‘venom’
-Kc-	<i>jukcu</i>	‘river’
-kC-	<i>pikCě</i>	‘pupil’
-ks-	<i>nàksu</i>	‘dark’
-ky-	<i>sěkyu</i>	‘cholera’
-gy-	<i>agyá</i>	‘elder brother’
-mp-	<i>hèmpu</i>	‘bee’
-mb-	<i>yèmbo</i>	‘arm’
-mt-	<i>pamtápse</i>	‘embrace’
-md-	<i>pyámdi</i>	‘hen’
-mk-	<i>càmkyō</i>	‘affection’
-mg-	<i>sèmgau</i>	‘happiness’
-mk <sup>h</sup> -	<i>dàm<sup>h</sup>i</i>	‘swamp’
-mc-	<i>nàmca</i>	‘lightening’
-ms-	<i>k<sup>h</sup>àmse</i>	‘dry in sun’
-mz-	<i>Tìmza</i>	‘scent’
-mn-	<i>Dùmne</i>	‘small pox’
-ml-	<i>hamló</i>	‘hated’
-mr-	<i>dùmra</i>	‘garden’
-my-	<i>pùm<sup>h</sup>yam</i>	‘step daughter’
-nt-	<i>minto</i>	‘flower’
-nd-	<i>bàndagóbi</i>	‘cabbage’
-nd-	<i>pèndo</i>	‘feather’
-nk-	<i>p<sup>h</sup>ànka</i>	‘fan’
-nc-	<i>kenca</i>	‘jewel’
-nj-	<i>ninjin</i>	‘solaredipse’
-my-	<i>camyon</i>	‘balance’
-mp-	<i>pumpo</i>	‘shoulder’
-Mt-	<i>siMta kollo</i>	‘bullock cart’
-MD-	<i>suMDe</i>	‘stripoff’
-Mk-	<i>teMka</i>	‘upon’
-Mh-	<i>numcoMě</i>	‘oilman’
-Ms-	<i>naMsya</i>	‘banian’
-Mm-	<i>raMmi</i>	‘relatives’
-Ml-	<i>siMlem</i>	‘wooden sandals’
-lc-	<i>dalcini</i>	‘cinnamum’
-lr-	<i>dalri</i>	‘grass’
-rd-	<i>karda</i>	‘comet’

-rk-	<i>saburkise</i>	‘tumour’
-rl-	<i>korlo</i>	‘wheel’
-rh-	<i>korhěkòrlo</i>	‘spinning wheel’
-rs-	<i>kursiM</i>	‘sugarcane’

Medial three consonant cluster

-kpy-	<i>kyákpya</i>	‘sweeper’
-gdy-	<i>rìgdyeM</i>	‘flora’
-msy-	<i>nimsyábo</i>	‘sunshine’
-mky-	<i>càmkyō</i>	‘love’
-mpy-	<i>nùmpyá</i>	‘flattery’
-msy-	<i>namsya</i>	‘banian’
-rky-	<i>màrkya</i>	‘rosy’
-rby-	<i>kàrbya</i>	‘black bird’

## 2.5. SUPRASEGMENTAL PHONEMES

Among the supra-segmental features nasalization is significant. Another supra-segmental feature is tone wherein the tones to show three way opposition. Those are Rising, Falling and level tones.

### 2.5.1 NASALIZATION

Except the central unrounded vowel all the five vowel get nasalized. The nasalized vowels occur in the middle and the final position.

#### Contrastive Pairs

/i ~ ĩ/

<i>sise</i>	‘die’
<i>S'ĩsé</i>	‘endure’
<i>déso</i>	‘sitting board’
<i>dési</i>	‘bed bug’

/e ~ ě/

<i>cèpa</i>	‘heat’
<i>c<sup>h</sup>ěpo</i>	‘winnowing basket’
<i>hé</i>	‘mangopit’
<i>hě</i>	‘net’

/a~ã/

<i>kadík</i>	‘stammerer’
<i>kãtik</i>	‘hell’
<i>sókó</i>	‘wing’
<i>sókã</i>	‘gum’

/o ~õ/

<i>c<sup>h</sup>óto</i>	‘trunk of elephant’
<i>c<sup>h</sup>õto</i>	‘small bat’
<i>seló</i>	‘insult’
<i>lasõ</i>	‘million’

/u~ũ/

<i>buk<sup>h</sup>im</i>	‘hall’
<i>bũk</i>	‘heetle’
<i>c<sup>h</sup>u</i>	‘ten’
<i>c<sup>h</sup>ũ</i>	‘brood’

/ẽ~ã~õ/

<i>hẽ</i>	‘net’
<i>hã</i>	‘nose’
<i>hõ</i>	‘grass’

## 2.5.2 TONE

Tone is a feature of a syllable, and it is marked on the vowel of the syllable. Thus in a tonal language meaning distinction between words can be determined by the use of tones.

The Bhotia has three tones, which are contrastive viz, level tone, Rising tone and Falling tone. Level tone is the same on the pitch level of the normal speech. In the rising tone, the pitch suddenly rises from the level. In the falling tone there is a sudden fall of the pitch from the level.

In Bhotia every vowel possesses any one of the above mentioned three tones occurring in different position in the words. Falling tone doesnot occur in the initial position of the word.



Rising /Falling	<i>pé</i> <i>pé</i> <i>pákó</i> <i>pákó</i>	‘fade’ ‘wool’ ‘skin’ ‘pig’
Level /Rising	<i>u</i> <i>ú</i> <i>ara</i> <i>ará</i>	‘breath’ ‘blotting paper’ ‘saw’ ‘liquor’
Level/Falling	<i>pyu</i> <i>pyù</i>	‘baboon’ ‘fall of’
Level/Falling/Rising	<i>pe</i> <i>pé</i> <i>pé</i> <i>pakó</i> <i>pakó</i> <i>pákó</i>	‘meet’ ‘fade’ ‘wool’ ‘barks’ ‘skin’ ‘pig’

## 2.6 SYLLABLE

In Bhotia, each vowel is a peak of the Syllable co-occurring with one of the three tones that is rising, falling and level. Hence, there is no syllabic vowel in Bhotia. The number of syllables in a word is equal to the number of vowels in it. This language has maximum five syllabic words as said above, being a tonal language all vowels carry one tone. Vowels that carry a tone constitute a minimal syllable. A vowel may be preceded by one or more consonants or followed by one or more consonants or sequences of consonants at the beginning of a vowel is called onset of the first syllable. Consonants of sequences of consonants at the end of the vowel constitute coda of the last syllable.

### 2.6.1 MONOSYLLABIC (OPEN)

<i>u</i>	v	‘breath’
<i>ú</i>	v	‘blotting paper’
<i>S’a</i>	cv	‘least’

<i>rí</i>	cv	‘cliff’
<i>Dã</i>	cĩ	‘tune’
<i>dâu</i>	cvv	‘moon’
<i>bya</i>	ccv	‘bird’

### 2.6.1.1 MONOSYLLABIC (CLOSED)

<i>S’èw</i>	cvc	‘antelope’
<i>lùm</i>	cvc	‘air’
<i>gyèp</i>	ccvc	‘hip’

### 2.6.2 DISYLLABIC (OPEN)

<i>a-kùn</i>	v-cvc	
<i>ki-pu</i>	cv-cv	‘wifes brother’
<i>fo-gya</i>	cv-ccv	‘husband’
<i>ka-dã</i>	cv-cĩ	‘fig’
<i>si-rìp</i>	cv-cvc	‘shade’
<i>dàm-pa</i>	cvc-cv	‘clay’
<i>mìk-sou</i>	cvc-cvv	‘blind’
<i>gyú-byu</i>	ccv-ccv	‘cobra’
<i>gyòm-pu</i>	ccvc-cv	‘brown’
<i>kyàg-pya</i>	ccvc-ccv	‘sparrow’
<i>nyèn-cẽ</i>	ccvc-cĩ	‘insult’

### 2.6.2.1 DISYLLABIC (CLOSED)

<i>Đe-lum</i>	cv-cvc	‘cyclone’
<i>luM-cùk</i>	cvc-cvc	‘storm’
<i>pyá-cuM</i>	ccv-cvc	‘swing’

### 2.6.3 TRISYLLABIC (OPEN)

<i>am-gèn-gẽ</i>	vc-cvc-cv	‘mangofit’
<i>mi-gyá-Ta</i>	cv-ccv-cv	‘fat’
<i>pu-Jó-bo</i>	cv-ccv-cv	‘child hood’
<i>sam-có-kẽ</i>	cvc-cv-cĩ	‘cook’
<i>nim-syá-bo</i>	cvc-ccu-cv	‘sunshine’
<i>kyó-ma-cã</i>	ccv-cv-cĩ	‘ant hill’

**2.6.3.1 TRISYLLABIC (CLOSED)**

<i>co-cá-pyùm</i>	cv-cv-ccvc	‘great grand daughter’
<i>bú-ka-rìm</i>	cv-cv-cvc	‘harmless’
<i>ma-cìk-nam</i>	cv-cvc-cvc	‘sister in law’
<i>pòm-pú-cem</i>	cvc-cv-cvc	‘pregnant woman’
<i>CyáM-sùp-siM</i>	cccvc-cvc-cvc	‘banyan tree’
<i>cèn-dě-siM</i>	cvc-cĩ-cvc	‘sandal tree’

**2.6.4 TETRA SYLLABIC (OPEN)**

<i>ka-má-dwìm-po</i>	cv-cv-ccvc-cv	‘mothers sisters daughter’
<i>ri-dã-dìm-cẽ</i>	cv-cv-cvc-cĩ	‘wild animal’
<i>kí-pui-mó-wi</i>	cv-cv-cv-cv	‘husband’s brothers wife’
<i>p<sup>h</sup>i-nik-ní-kõ</i>	cv-cvc-cv-cĩ	‘served food’
<i>dìg-po-rá ja</i>	cvc-cv-cv-cv	‘scorpion’
<i>kyó-ma-ká-pu</i>	ccv-cv-cv-cv	‘white ant’
<i>ké-lo-tá-kẽ</i>	cv-cv-cv-cĩ	‘banana leaf cutter’

**2.6.4.1 TETRA SYLLABIC (CLOSED)**

<i>Mé-so-pá-laM</i>	cv-cv-cv-cvc	‘bed’
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**2.6.5. PENTA SYLLABIC (OPEN)**

<i>nam- cu-lo-ta-kẽ</i>	cvc-cv-cv-cv-cv	‘oilman’
<i>lum-na-bã-ba-bo</i>	cvc-cv-cĩ-cv-cv	‘path’
<i>mig- teM-kẽ-kor-lo</i>	cvc-cvc-cĩ-cvc-cv	‘rick shaw’

**2.6.5.1 PENTA SYLLABIC (CLOSED)**

<i>mi-S’ě-pú-tim-kát</i>	cv-cv-cv-cvc-cvc	‘hill people’
<i>bé-lai-tí-sa-kìm</i>	cv-cv-cv-cv-cvc	‘bud’

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### 3. MORPHOPHONEMICS

The morphemes when they occur with various kinds of suffixes or morphemes, the phonological variations take place within the morphemes are called Morphophonemics. A few such kinds of changes are realized in Bhotia.

- i) Negative marker *ma* becomes *mi*. when it occurs as a final component.

<i>malem</i>	‘do not’
not + do	

<i>komi</i>	‘not in use’
use+not	

The low front unrounded vowel /a/ becomes low front high vowel /i/ to denote negation on some occasions.

- ii) The suffix /*dõ* / locative case marker is deleted when it occurs in the middle position.

<i>S'iM</i>	‘tree’
<i>c<sup>h</sup>úle</i>	‘from’
<i>dõ</i>	‘locative marker’

The word /*SiM dõ c<sup>h</sup>u'le*/ becomes / *siMc<sup>h</sup>ule*/ to denote the meaning ‘from the tree’ which indicates the loss of locative marker. In such occasion the location is understood by the context.

- iii) Loss of /-*cu*/ the plural marker is added with the numeral number ‘two’.

Generally in Bhotia the phoneme /-*m*/ occurs as a feminine marker in the word final positions. To denote plural /-*cu*/ is added to the base noun. In case of addition of the numeral marker /*M'i*/ ‘two’ to the base noun the plural marker /-*cu*/ is absent.

<i>pom</i>	‘daughter’
<i>pomcu</i>	‘daughters’
<i>M'i</i>	‘two’

Instead of /*pomM'icu*/ to denote ‘two daughters’ /*pomM'i*/ is used.

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## 4. MORPHOLOGY

Morphology deals with the internal structure of words. It deals with both derivational and inflectional aspects of words on the basis of potential pause a word is identified as any segment of a sentence bounded by successive points at which pausing is possible. A word may be defined as the union of a particular meaning with a particular grammatical employment.

### Definition of words

In Bhotia a simple word can be defined as one, which is pronounced with a potential pause and after it.

A word must contain atleast one stem which is free form and which is capable of taking in flectional or derivational affixes. In Bhotia a stem by itself can be a word.

<i>pom</i>	‘daughter’
<i>pomcu</i>	‘daughters’

### 4.1. NOUN

A noun in Bhotia is defined on morphological and or syntactical grounds as, any stem that can take a number marker, any stem that can take a gender word or marker, any stem that can take a case marker or other post positions, any stem that can take an article, any stem that can be preceded by the genitive or followed by the noun attributes such as adjectives, and numarals.

The Bhotia has two types of nouns that is Basic nouns and Derived nouns. Basic nouns. Nouns, which are not derived from another noun or anyother word class, are called basic nouns

<i>oMe</i>	‘child’
<i>pocó</i>	‘boy’
<i>aba</i>	‘father’
<i>fogya</i>	‘husband’
<i>Mo</i>	‘cow’
<i>al#</i>	‘cat’
<i>pya</i>	‘bird’
<i>pyápu</i>	‘cock’
<i>pyem</i>	‘hen’
<i>supó</i>	‘belly’
<i>ritó</i>	‘bone’

The basic nouns further can be divided in two categories. That is the Mass nouns and count nouns. Mass nouns are always used in singular and count nouns are those which can be counted or used in plural.

Mass nouns

<i>lum</i>	‘air’
<i>mi</i>	‘five’
<i>silú</i>	‘flood’
<i>kyák</i>	‘ice’
<i>c<sup>h</sup>àpa</i>	‘rain’
<i>p<sup>h</sup>em</i>	‘sand’

Count nouns

<i>fógya</i>	‘husband’
<i>mówi</i>	‘wife’
<i>k<sup>h</sup>i</i>	‘dog’
<i>Mo</i>	‘caw’
<i>pocó</i>	‘boy’

Derived nouns

The derived nouns further can be divided into verbal noun, abstract nouns and word compounding.

Verbal nouns

<i>dèkse</i>	‘push into’
<i>kaMliMpúse</i>	‘fill a jar with water’

Abstract nouns

<i>lum</i>	‘air’
<i>càkyõ</i>	‘love’

Word compounding

<i>supó+na+se</i> stomach +pain+vb	<i>suponáse</i>	‘stomach ache’
<i>ma+JuJu</i> butter+extract	<i>maJuJu</i>	‘ghee’
<i>sa+num</i> sand+oil	<i>sanum</i>	‘kerosene’
<i>pya+pu</i> bird +male	<i>pyápu</i>	‘cock’

### 4.1.1 NUMBER

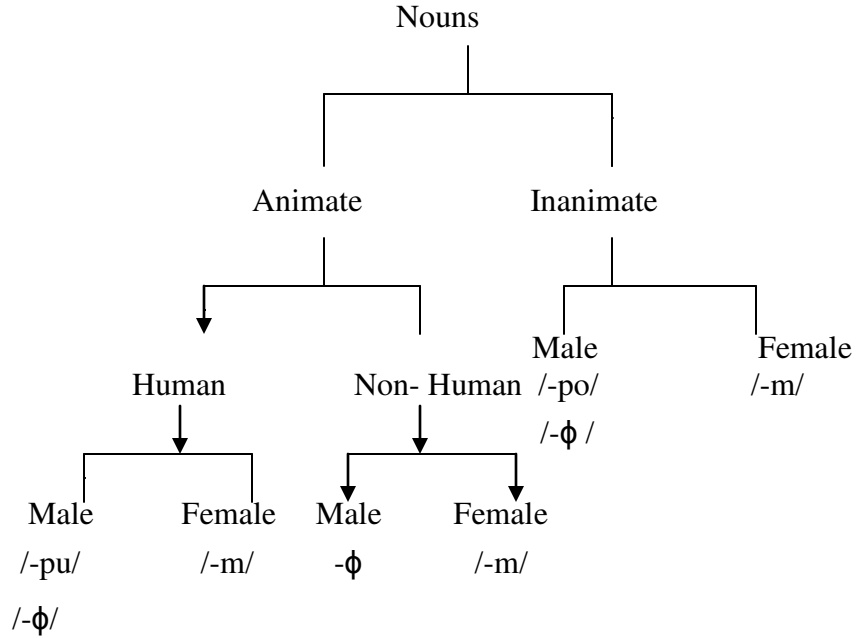
In Bhotia, nouns are inflected for number. Plural is indicated by the suffix */-cu/*. Whereas singular is unmarked.

<i>pum</i>	‘daughter’
<i>k<sup>h</sup>im</i>	‘house’
<i>pumcu</i>	‘daughters’
<i>k<sup>h</sup>imcu</i>	‘houses’
<i>pumM’i</i>	‘two daughters’
<i>k<sup>h</sup>imM’i</i>	‘two houses’

<i>mu</i>	<i>Me</i>	<i>pum</i>	<i>yin</i>	‘She is my daughter’
my	she	daughter	is	
<i>kui</i>	<i>pumcu</i>	<i>dik<sup>h</sup>a</i>	<i>yue</i>	‘His daughters are here’
his	daughter	here	are	
<i>Malo</i>	<i>pumcu</i>	<i>M’i</i>	<i>yue</i>	‘I have two daughters’
I have	daughters	two	are	
<i>di</i>	<i>k<sup>h</sup>im</i>	<i>be</i>		‘This is house’
this	house	is		
<i>k<sup>h</sup>imcu</i>	<i>ok<sup>h</sup>a</i>	<i>yue</i>		‘Houses are there’
houses	there	are		
<i>di</i>	<i>k<sup>h</sup>im</i>	<i>M’i</i>	<i>du</i>	‘These are two houses’
these	house	two	are	

### 4.1.2. GENDER

Nouns in Bhotia can broadly be divided into two groups that is Animate and Inanimate. The animate nouns can further be divided into Human and Non – Human. These are Human and Non-Human nouns, which have two-way distinction of gender as Masculine and Feminine likewise; the inanimate nouns have also male and female distinction.



The table presented above shows that the Animate, Inanimate Nouns. For both Animate and Inanimate nouns have separate markers for masculine gender whereas the feminine counterpart has only one suffix /-m/.

#### Human

<i>pu</i>	‘male’
<i>ro</i>	‘female’
<i>mówi</i>	‘wife’
<i>fógya</i>	‘husband’
<i>aJo</i>	‘grand father’
<i>aM’jom</i>	‘grand mother’
<i>pámi</i>	‘brother’
<i>pum</i>	‘sister’
<i>poco</i>	‘son’
<i>pam</i>	‘daughter’

#### Non-Human

<i>pya</i>	‘cock’
<i>pyem</i>	‘hen’
<i>k<sup>h</sup>i</i>	‘dog’
<i>cam</i>	‘bitch’
<i>pa</i>	‘calf male’
<i>po</i>	‘calf female’



## Inanimate

<i>humpo</i>	‘fog’
<i>lum</i>	‘air’
<i>cèpo</i>	‘sweet’
<i>sam</i>	‘food’
<i>súpo</i>	‘belly’
<i>t<sup>h</sup>am</i>	‘thumb’
<i>púmu</i>	‘khee’
<i>kam</i>	‘leg’
<i>mamcu</i>	‘lip’
<i>cìmpo</i>	‘liver’
<i>me</i>	‘medicine’
<i>páko</i>	‘skin’
<i>kwèm</i>	‘throat’

### 4.1.3. CASE

Case is a grammatical category, which expresses the semantic relations between a noun phrase and the predicate. Case relations are expressed in two ways

1. By the addition of case markers.
2. By the absence of case markers.

The Dative, Genitive, Locative, Ablative and Possessive cases are identified by the addition of case markers whereas the Instrumental and Accusative cases do not receive case markers.

#### Nominative case

<i>rama</i>	<i>Me</i>	<i>yebo</i>	<i>yin</i>	‘Raman is my father’
rama	my	father	is	
<i>sita</i>	<i>Me</i>	<i>ai</i>	<i>yin</i>	‘Sita is my sister’
sita	my	sister	is	
<i>di</i>	<i>Me</i>	<i>Mo</i>	<i>be</i>	‘This is my cow’
this	my	cow	is	

#### Dative case

This case is expressed by the marker */-naM/*

<i>Me</i>	<i>k<sup>h</sup>im</i>	<i>namsõ</i>	‘Go to my house’
my	house	to go	

*ku MećaMan Modó be* 'He comes to us'  
 he to us come

#### Locative case

This case is expressed by the marker /- na /

*Me pu k<sup>h</sup>im na yue* 'My son is in the house'  
 my son house in is

*Ma Me S'ìMtakòlló na yue* 'I am in my cart'  
 I my cart in am

#### Ablative case

This case is expressed by the marker / -le /

*Ma siMdõ le p<sup>h</sup>áte yue* 'I am far from the tree'  
 I tree + case far am

*ku k<sup>h</sup>im tenká le húpyábo be* 'He jumped from the top of the house'  
 he house top from jump aux-vb

#### Possessive case

This case is expressed by the marker / -lo/

*M'álo d<sup>h</sup>ép M'i du* 'I have two books '  
 I have book two aux-vb

*M'álo puicik yue* 'I have one son'  
 I have son one aux-vb

#### Genitive case

This case is expressed by the marker /-i/

*kui k<sup>h</sup>im* 'His house'  
 his+case house

*kui pumcu* 'His daughters'  
 he+ case daughters

#### 4.1.4 POST POSITION

Post position is realized by a single morpheme that is /teMká/ ‘at’, ‘on’ in Bhotia.

<i>c<sup>h</sup>òpc<sup>h</sup>i teMka deouc<sup>h</sup>i</i>	‘Sit on the table’
table on sit	
<i>d<sup>h</sup>ép di c<sup>h</sup>òpc<sup>h</sup>i teMká du</i>	‘The book is on the table’
book the table on aux-vb	
<i>k<sup>h</sup>i alwi teMká hapó be</i>	‘The dog barks at the cat’
dog cat at barks aux-vb	
<i>ku ga teMká jèkc<sup>h</sup>i</i>	‘He climbs up the hill’
he hill up climb	
<i>rau teMkále húpyábo</i>	‘Jump over the fence’
fence over jump	
<i>ku ga teMká sōc<sup>h</sup>a</i>	‘He went up the hill’
he hill up went	

#### 4.1.5. PRONOUNS

In Bhotia, a pronoun is a word, which is used in the place of nouns, and it can take a number marker, gender marker and case marker. The plurality is expressed by adding plural suffixes with the pronoun markers. There are four types of pronouns realised namely, Personal pronoun, Demonstrative pronoun, Interrogative pronoun, and Reflexive pronoun.

##### 4.1.5.1 PERSONAL PRONOUN

The personal pronouns in Bhotia are distinguished for three persons and two numbers. Three-tier gender distinction is found only in the third person.

1 <sup>st</sup> person	singular	plural
	<i>Ma</i> ‘I’	<i>Maca</i> ‘we’
2 <sup>nd</sup> person	<i>cue</i> you (sl)	<i>kucia</i> ‘you (pl)’

3 <sup>rd</sup> person	he	<i>ku</i>	<i>koMcu</i>	‘they (male)’	
	she	<i>mo</i>	<i>koMcu</i>	‘they (female)’	
	it	<i>di</i>	<i>dicu</i>	‘they (neuter)’	
<i>Ma</i>	<i>Me</i>	<i>siMtakollo</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>yue</i>	‘I am in my house’
I	my	cart	in	am	
<i>Maca</i>	<i>kamcùkti</i>	<i>Mobo</i>	<i>yin</i>		‘We came on foot’
we	foot on	came	aux-vb		
<i>cue</i>	<i>gyúgo</i>	<i>be</i>			‘You (sl) shall go’
you(sl)	go shall	aux-vb			
<i>kucia</i>	<i>gyúgo</i>	<i>be</i>			‘You (pl) shall go’
you(pl)	go shall	aux-vb			
<i>ku</i>	<i>ok<sup>h</sup>a</i>	<i>loMdyóto</i>	<i>be</i>		‘He stands there’
he	there	stands	aux-vb		
<i>mu</i>	<i>ok<sup>h</sup>a</i>	<i>loMdyóto</i>	<i>be</i>		‘She stands there’
she	there	stands	aux-vb		
<i>di</i>	<i>k<sup>h</sup>im</i>	<i>be</i>			‘This is my house’
this	house	aux-vb			
<i>koMcu</i>	<i>pu</i>	<i>be</i>			‘Their son’
they	son	aux-vb			
<i>k<sup>h</sup>icu</i>	<i>mám</i>	<i>be</i>			‘Dogs barks’
dogs	barks	aux-vb			

#### 4.1.5.2 DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS

The Demonstrative Pronoun in Bhotia distinguishes for two tier special distances that is Proximate and Remote with reference to the speaker and hearer. There is no separate marker for Demonstrative Pronoun. But the Remoteness is expressed by the addition of the suffix */-a/* before the article */di/* ‘this’. The plural is expressed by the addition of the suffix */-cu/*.

<i>di</i>	‘this’	proximate
<i>adi</i>	‘that’	(remote)
<i>dicu</i>	‘these’	proximate

<i>adicu</i>			‘those’	(remote)
<i>di</i>	<i>k<sup>h</sup>im</i>	<i>be</i>		‘This is house’
this	house	is		
<i>adi</i>	<i>k<sup>h</sup>i</i>	<i>be</i>		‘That is dog’
that	dog	is		
<i>dicu</i>	<i>Mo</i>	<i>be</i>		‘These are cows’
these	cow	are		
<i>adicu</i>	<i>Mo</i>	<i>be</i>		‘Those are cow’
those	cow	are		

#### 4.1.5.3 INTERROGATIVE PRONOUNS

The interrogation is expressed by intonation and suffix /-a/ and /ka/

<i>mo</i>	<i>cui</i>	<i>aiMa</i>		‘Is she your sister?’
she	your	sister		
<i>cue</i>	<i>pyácu</i>	<i>ka</i>		‘Can you do it?’
you	do	can		
<i>koMcu</i>	<i>k<sup>h</sup>im</i>	<i>na yue</i>	<i>ka</i>	‘Are they at home?’
they	home	at	available int.marker	

#### 4.1.5.4 REFLEXIVE PRONOUN

The Pronoun of Reflexive type is realized by the use of the marker /-raM/ with the subject.

<i>dari k<sup>h</sup>olam</i>	<i>MaraM</i>	<i>Dugi</i>	<i>yue</i>	
shirt	myself	washed	aux.vb	
‘I myself washed my shirt’				
<i>Maca mentok</i>	<i>MaraM</i>	<i>c<sup>h</sup>ek<sup>h</sup>i</i>	<i>yue</i>	
we	flower	ourselves	plucked	aux.vb
‘We ourselves plucked the flower’				
<i>ku</i>	<i>k<sup>h</sup>usu</i>	<i>c<sup>h</sup>amya</i>	<i>kuraM</i>	<i>sésuM</i>
he	mango	all	himself	consumed
‘He himself consumed all mangoes’				

#### 4.1.6 ADJECTIVE

In Bhotia, the Adjective follows the noun.

*mo riMku yue*            ‘She is tall’  
she tall is

*ku riMku yue*            ‘He is tall’  
he tall is

*poco riMku yue*           ‘The child is tall’  
child tall is

If a quantifier of number marker is added, it will be added to the noun not with the adjective for human nouns. But for non-human it is reversed.

*pócacu lem du*           ‘The good boys’  
boys good aux-vb

*k<sup>h</sup>im pomlu cu*           ‘The large house’  
house large plural

#### 4.1.7 NUMERAL

The basic numerals in Bhotia are the numbers from one to ten, hundred, thousand, lakh, crore, and the million.

##### 4.1.7.1 CARDINAL NUMERALS

The Cardinal numerals are as follows

<i>cik</i>	one
<i>M'i</i>	two
<i>sum</i>	three
<i>si</i>	four
<i>Ma</i>	five
<i>Tuk</i>	six
<i>duin</i>	seven
<i>k<sup>h</sup>e</i>	eight
<i>due</i>	nine
<i>cú</i>	ten

The cardinal numerals from eleven to nineteen are formed by adding the Numerral stem /-cu/ to the basic numural from one to nine.

<i>cú</i>	<i>cik</i>	‘eleven’
10 +	1	

<i>cú</i>	<i>M'i</i>	‘twelve’
10 +	2	

The numbers for twenty, thirty, forty, fifty, sixty, seventy, eighty and ninety are formed by multiplication of the numeral /-cu / with the respective numeral adjective.

<i>M'i</i>	<i>cú</i>	‘Twenty’
<i>sum</i>	<i>cú</i>	‘Thirty’
<i>si</i>	<i>cú</i>	‘Forty’

#### 4.1.7.2 ORDINALS

While forming the ordinals, the suffix /-ba/ is added to the cardinal base, except the base for first, because the carodinal case. /-taM/ ‘first’

<i>taM</i>	<i>ba</i>	‘first’
<i>M'i</i>	<i>ba</i>	‘second’
<i>sum</i>	<i>ba</i>	‘third’ etc.

#### 4.2. VERB

Verb can be defined on the basis of certain suffixes with which it occurs. On the basis a verb can be defined in Bhotia as a stem capable of receiving the tense, aspect and mood markers. In Bhotia verb is not marked for gender and number.

<i>ku</i>	<i>dik<sup>h</sup>a</i>	<i>Modõ</i>	<i>be</i>	‘He comes here’
he	here	come	aux-vb	

<i>mu</i>	<i>dik<sup>h</sup>a</i>	<i>Modo</i>	<i>be</i>	‘She comes here’
she	here	comes		

Verb is also not marked for person.

*Ma hu sado yin* 'I eat rice'  
I bread eat+ pr.t aux vb

*Maca hu sado yin* 'We eat bread'  
We bread eat +pr.t aux. vb

#### 4.2.1 CLASSIFICATION OF VERB

Verb stems can be classified into simple and compound. A simple verb is composed of single root with or without a suffix and a compound verb consists of more than one root and may include one or more suffixes.

*gyu* 'go'  
*cùkto* 'cause to make'

Verb stems can also be divided into three classes on the basis of their morphological and syntactic function. They are Intransitive, Transitive and Causative verb.

##### 4.2.1.1 INTRANSITIVE VERB

Intransitive verbs are those verbs, which do not take a direct object.

*Ma gyúse yin* 'I shall go'  
I go+shall aux vb

##### 4.2.1.2 TRANSITIVE VERB

Transitive verbs are those, which are used with a direct object.

*Ma hu sa do yin* 'I eat bread'  
I bread eat +prt aux vb

##### 4.2.1.3 CAUSATIVE VERB

The causativeness is reflected through the use of the suffix */-cuk/* with the verb.

*Ma múlo d<sup>h</sup>ép piMcùko yin*  
I she+case book give+caus aux.vb  
'I am making her give a book'



*Ma kúlo lapti mu lo d<sup>h</sup>ép piMcùkse yin*  
 I he+case ask she+case book give+ caus aux.vb  
 ‘I ask him to make her give a book’

*Ma múlo làpti lúci kyep cùkto yin*  
 I she+case asking sing song case +vb aux vb  
 ‘I am asking her sing a song’

#### 4.2.1.4 AUXILIARY VERB

An auxiliary is a verb used to form the tenses, moods, voices etc. In Bhotia, the auxiliary verb occurs after noun and the verb when it is a statement. If the adjective follows the noun it occurs after the adjective. There are four auxiliary forms found in this language.

*di k<sup>h</sup>i be* ‘This is dog’  
 this dog aux.vb

*Malo k<sup>h</sup>im cuMcuM yue* ‘I have small house’  
 I+case house small aux.vb

*ku Me pu yin* ‘He is my son’  
 he my son aux.vb

*ok<sup>h</sup>a k<sup>h</sup>i sum du* ‘There are there dogs’  
 there dog three aux.vb

#### 4.2.1.5 NEGATION

In Bhotia, negation is expressed by the addition of negative suffixes to the verb. There are three markers to indicate the negation such as */-mem, -ma, mi /*.

According to the occurrence of the suffixes */-ma and mi/* are bound forms; whereas the suffix */-mem/* is a free form the suffixes for negation occurs before the verb.

*Ma tariM mi yō* ‘I am not coming today’  
 I today not come

*Madi pya micu* ‘I cannot do this’  
 I this work not do can

<i>Ma kare malèp</i> I everything not say	‘I said nothing’
<i>depdi malèp</i> thus +this not +say	‘Do not say thus’
<i>di sakẽ mem be</i> This eatable not+vb	‘This is not eatable’
<i>adi membe di be</i> that not +is this+is	‘Not that one but this’

#### 4.2.1.6 CONDITIONAL VERB

The conditional form is used when a certain condition is to be fulfilled for an action to take place. The conditional form is formed by adding the suffix /-ne / with the verbal stem.

*Ma ok<sup>h</sup>a diyu ne pyayúdi myúse be*  
I there available if work done aux.vb  
‘If I shall sit upon the work will be done’

*Ma ok<sup>h</sup>a diyu ne mi tòpya mimyúse be*  
I there available if not work not done aux.vb  
‘If I do not sit upon the work will not be done’

#### 4.2.2 TENSE AND ASPECT

Verbs in Bhotia are marked morphologically for tense. Bhotia verb shows three-way opposition for tense namely, Present, Past and Future. Tense markers occur at the end of the verb. The progressive and perfectness are expressed by simple present and vice versa.

##### 4.2.2.1 PRESENT TENSE

The present tense marker is /-do/ it gives the meaning of both present indefinite as well as continuous.

<i>Ma dik<sup>h</sup>a Modo</i>	<i>yin</i>	‘I come here’
I here come	aux.vb	

*Maca ok<sup>h</sup>a gyú do yin* 'We go there'  
 we there go aux.vb

*ku d<sup>h</sup>ep Ti do du* 'He is writing a book'  
 he book write aux.vb

#### 4.2.2.2 PAST TENSE

Past tense refers to an event, which happened before the time of the utterance. Past Tense marker is /-bo/

*Ma gébo yin* 'I fell down'  
 I fall+prt aux.vb

*Ma kuncélo sébo yin* 'I caught the robber'  
 I robber caught aux.vb

*ku S'áká lo dyóbo du* 'He was lying on the ground'  
 he ground lye aux.vb

#### 4.2.2.3 FUTURE TENSE

Future tense indicates the time subsequent to the time of utterance. Future tense marker /-se/.

*tōra Ma kyōlo gyúse yin* 'Tomorrow I shall go to the village'  
 tomorrow I village go will aux.vb

*tōra Ma kyōle Móse yin* 'I shall come from the village tomorrow'  
 tomorrow I village come will aux.vb

*di gyúse yin* 'It will go'  
 it go will aux.vb

#### 4.2.3 MOOD

Mood expresses the speaker's point of view about the occurrence of the event. It is the mode or manner, which is used to express a statement, command, question or doubt. In Bhotia there are five moods are realized.

#### 4.2.3.1 INDICATIVE MOOD

Simple declarative sentence indicates this mood. There is no marker realised.

*di k<sup>h</sup>i be* 'This is a dog'  
This dog is

*di k<sup>h</sup>im be* 'This is a house'  
This house is

#### 4.2.3.2 IMPERATIVE MOOD

The command is realized by this mood. There is no marker realised

*dik<sup>h</sup>a S'o* 'come here'

*lõc<sup>h</sup>i* 'stand up'

#### 4.2.3.3 INTERROGATIVE MOOD

Interrogation is realised by a separate morpheme, which occurs after the pronoun.

*c<sup>h</sup>eu kar sado bo?* 'What do you eat?'  
you what eat+ aux.vb

*Ma kar sase* 'What shall I eat?'  
I what eat +will

#### 4.2.3.4 PROBABILITY MOOD

The probability of the action is realised by asuffix /-ló/ which occur in the pronoun.

*koMcu Málo ticu* 'They may ask'  
they us may ask

#### 4.2.3.5 OPTATIVE MOOD

This mood expresses the desire, the suffix/ ti/ expresses the desire of the person.

*koMcu t<sup>h</sup>an tí c<sup>h</sup>èlo Moc<sup>h</sup>u* 'Let them all come'  
they let all come

*k<sup>h</sup>u c<sup>h</sup>iya gyú ti bakso* 'Let some of you go and fetch'  
some of you go let fetch



#### 4.4.2. GERUND

Gerund is the form of the verb, which has the force of a noun, and a verb.

*Cúse yuódo t<sup>h</sup>a gi pyòu be*  
 run + ing horse by done aux.vb  
 ‘Running is done by the horse’

*Dayu suljédo yakápo be*  
 morning reading good aux.vb  
 ‘Reading in the morning is good’

#### 4.5. COMPOUND VERB

Either two verbs or noun +verb jointly making a single sense can be called as compound verb.

<i>yue</i> ‘exist’	}	<i>yue poDibe</i>	‘lived’
<i>poDi</i> ‘life’			
<i>be</i> ‘aux.vb’			
<i>dopa</i> ‘already’	}	<i>dopa sō bo be</i>	‘eaten’
<i>sōbo</i> ‘eat’			
<i>be</i> ‘aux.vb’			
<i>caka</i> ‘move’	}	<i>cakarajai go de</i>	‘started’
<i>rajaigo</i> ‘about’			
<i>be</i> ‘aux.vb’			

#### 4.6. VOICE

The passiveness is expressed by the addition of the suffix /-gi / with the object.

<i>gyódi</i>	<i>lopTúcu</i>	<i>gi</i>	<i>pyác<sup>h</sup>a</i>	‘This work is used by students’
art work	students	by	done	
<i>gyódi</i>	<i>kagiyã</i>	<i>peryòu</i>	<i>mi</i>	‘His work cannot be done by anybody’
work	by anybody	can +do not		
<i>Cuse</i>	<i>yuódi t<sup>h</sup>agi</i>	<i>pyòu</i>	<i>be</i>	‘Running is done by the horse’
horse+by	done +aux.vb			



*tariM yoku tã acim nyònTa tyónle*  
 today some servant with trouble  
 ‘Today there was some trouble with the servant’

*Ma dã obõ yin* ‘I came yesterday’  
 I yesterday came aux.vb

### 4.8.3 ADVERB OF MANNER

*kála* ‘slowly’  
*jáTa* ‘loudly’  
*séTa* ‘neatly’

*kùli kála* ‘Speak slowly’  
 slow speak

*jáTa ma gyèp* ‘Do not speak loudly’  
 loud not speak

*cik seTáTìci* ‘Write the words neatly’  
 neat write

### 4.9. PARTICLES

The words grouped by their function as coordinating and subordinating conjunctions. They do not occur independently unlike nouns and verbs.

*tam* ‘and’  
*tisã* ‘but’  
*irũ* ‘or’

*ku dã sõca tam nõdi* ‘He came yesterday and went’  
 he yesterday came and went

*poco di M’i irũ sum irũ k<sup>h</sup>imna S’õ* ‘These two or three boys go home’  
 boys these two or three or house go

### 4.10. INTERJECTION

An Interjection is a word, which expresses sudden feeling or emotion such as joy, surprise, grief and shame etc. In Bhotia feeling is expressed by intonation; which is short or longer from the normal speech.



<i>pyá</i>	‘surprise’
<i>yaho ho</i>	‘anger’
<i>ací</i>	‘amusement’
<i>hu kyu</i>	‘grief’

#### 4.11 ECHO FORMATION

The phoneme /-s/ begins as initial phoneme of a second component of the word following the original noun and it gives out the meaning of ‘etc’ which is called Echo formations.

<i>pic<sup>h</sup>u</i>	-	<i>sic<sup>h</sup>u</i>	‘chicken etc’	
<i>p<sup>h</sup>yu</i>	-	<i>syu</i>	‘monkey etc’	
<i>t<sup>h</sup>a</i>	-	<i>sa</i>	‘horse etc’	
<i>kedõ</i>	-	<i>sedõ</i>	‘banana etc’	
<i>kẽcoM</i>	-	<i>secoM</i>	‘maize’	etc.

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## 5. SYNTAX

The various constituents of the basic types and patterns of sentences and word order of the Bhotia language are discussed in the chapter of syntax.

### 5.1. WORD ORDER

The normal order of words in a sentence is sov that is subject +object +verb. The following sentences show the order of words in Bhotia.

*Ma kuto dumpo yin* 'I see him'  
I him see  
Subject object verb aux.vb

*Me pum dumrá lo yue* 'My daughter is in the garden'  
my daughter garden in aux.vb  
subject object verb

*Ma kuncé lo sebo yin* 'I caught the robber'  
I robber acc.case caught aux.vb  
subject object verb

### 5.2. DESCRIPTION OF TYPES OF SENTENCES

There are five types of sentences realised in Bhotia language. Such as, affirmative, imperative, interrogative, negative and causative sentences.

#### 5.2.1 AFFIRMATIVE SENTENCE

The affirmation is expressed by the normal verb.

*Ma ok<sup>h</sup>a gyúdo yin* 'I go there'  
I there go aux.vb

*Me d<sup>h</sup>ép dik<sup>h</sup>a du* 'My book is here'  
my book here aux.vb

*dik<sup>h</sup>a al# yue* 'There is a cat'  
there cat aux.vb

### 5.2.2 IMPERATIVE SENTENCE

The command and request is expressed by the intonation. There is no particular marker for the same.

<i>Me k<sup>h</sup>imnàM S'õ</i> my house to go	'Go to my house'
<i>Me d<sup>h</sup>ép dik<sup>h</sup>a bakS'õ</i> my book here bring	'Bring my book here'
<i>dèu</i>	'Sit down'
<i>kuló po</i>	'Call him'
<i>saha dèu</i>	'Sit on the floor'
<i>lóci</i>	'Stand up'

### 5.2.3 INTERROGATIVE SENTENCES

The Interrogation is marked by use of morpheme /-a / either with noun or with the verb.

<i>mo cui aiMa</i> she your sister	'Is she your sister?'
<i>cue kar sadó be</i> you what eat aux.vb	'What do you eat?'
<i>cue pocócu kaJu yue</i> you children how many aux.vb	'How many children you have?'
<i>cue nam lòMto</i> you when get up	'When do you get up?'
<i>cue kaká detó be</i> you where live aux.vb	'Where do you live?'
<i>cue pyácu ka</i> you work can	'Can you do it?'
<i>koMcu k<sup>h</sup>im na yue ka</i> they house at are intran.vb	'Are they at Home?'

*religáDi kadína guìse be* 'Which train will you get?'  
 train which get will aux.vb

#### 5.2.4 CAUSATIVE SENTENCES

The causativeness is reflected through the use of the suffix /-cuk/ with the verb.

*Ma múlo d<sup>h</sup>ép piMcúko yin*  
 I she+case book give+caus.vb aux.vb  
 'I am making her give a book'

*Ma kúlo lapti múlo d<sup>h</sup>ép piMcùkse yin*  
 I he+case ask she+case book give+ caus.vb aux.vb  
 'I ask him to make her give a book'

*Ma múlo lapti lúci kyèp cùkto yin*  
 I she+case asking sing song case +vb aux vb  
 'I am asking her sing a song'

#### 5.2.5 NEGATIVE SENTENCES

In Bhotia, negation is expressed by the addition of negative suffixes to the verb. There are three markers to indicate the negation such as /-mem, -ma, mi/.

According to the occurrence of the suffixes /-ma and mi/ are bound forms; whereas the suffix /-mem/ is a free form the suffixes for negation occurs before the verb.

*Ma tariM mi yõ* 'I am not coming today'  
 I today not come

*Madi pya mícu* 'I cannot do this'  
 I this work not do can

*Ma kare málep* 'I said nothing'  
 I everything not say

*depdi málep* 'Do not say thus'  
 thus +this not +say

*di sakẽ mem be* 'This is not eatable'  
 This eatable not+vb

*adi membe di be*  
that not +is this+is

‘Not that one But this’

### 5.3. DESCRIPTION OF PATTERNS OF SENTENCES

Based on the structural configuration the sentences may be classified into simple, complex and compound. The simple sentence may have one main clause consisting of a subject and predicate. The complex sentence has one main clause and one or more subordinate clauses. The compound sentence has two or more main classes conjoined by a morphological or syntactic marker.

#### 5.3.1 SIMPLE SENTENCES

*di k<sup>h</sup>i be*  
this dog aux.vb

‘This is a dog’

*Me d<sup>h</sup>ép dik<sup>h</sup>a du*  
my books here aux.vb

‘My books are here’

*Me lap<sup>h</sup>o*  
my hand

‘My hand’

*Ma kuto dumópo yin*  
I him see aux.vb

‘I see him’

*Me k<sup>h</sup>imnaM S’õ*  
my house to go

‘Go to my house’

*Me d<sup>h</sup>ép dik<sup>h</sup>a bak S’õ*  
my book here bring

‘Bring my book here’

*di komi yin*  
this use+not aux.vb

‘Is it of no use’

*cue rak<sup>h</sup>im mik<sup>h</sup>a*  
you have+house not

‘Have you got no house?’

*d<sup>h</sup>ép di málep*  
say +this not+ this

‘Do not say this’

*Me kare málep*  
I said not +this

‘I said nothing’

### 5.3.2 COMPOUND SENTENCES

*Ma yúgopo yopo yin tisã Ma maS'õ*  
I go to had aux.vb but I not go  
'I had to go but I did not go'

*cue dik<sup>h</sup>a dui Ma gyúse yin*  
you here stay I go shall aux.vb  
'You stay here I shall go'

*Ma Me kě matópo tariM Ma maS'õ yin*  
I my not+find today I not go aux.vb  
'I couldnot find my net so I did not go today'

### 5.3.3 COMPLEX SENTENCES

*Ma ok<sup>h</sup>a diyune pya yudi myuse be*  
I there if work this done+will aux.vb  
'If I shall sit upon the work will be done'

*rad<sup>h</sup>a lapk<sup>h</sup>èm bhòmc<sup>h</sup>e c<sup>h</sup>àmna gyúTiki c<sup>h</sup>em nyo'be*  
Radha said girl market in going vegetable purchase to go

*kàpna róniyèmpu k<sup>h</sup>àme naMdépe*  
with friend old discussion

'Radha went to the market to purchase vegetable where she met her old friends and had a discussion'

*nimc<sup>h</sup>e mic<sup>h</sup>ik làmk<sup>h</sup>a gyúbe kàtna diyu S'isu c<sup>h</sup>ik k<sup>h</sup>etóbe*  
one day man one walking on road snake dead one saw

*k<sup>h</sup>úgi lept<sup>h</sup>éra késud<sup>h</sup>ípe onáley mílep jambó be*  
shouted after shouting man all gather

'Walking along the road the farmer saw a dead cobra and shouted, people gathered hearing his voice'

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**BHOTIA  
TEXT**

*topónàbu cacó siMócinálo yulócaco dipóbe sindõ tarácina yúena.*  
A banyan tree with branches exists once the crow hen and its existed

‘Among the spreading branches of a banayan tree lived a crow and his wife’.

*kìJa JídiM Modújidéki kidìM yuépoDide yúena komòmindáki pak<sup>h</sup>ine byáki do*  
eggs with crow hen & crow nest lived the children-eggs carefully  
guarded

‘In the nest were four little eggs, which the parents guarded with great care’.

*SiMdõ adu kidówácina byúnàkpúciya detóbe byúdile yúena*  
the crow and that hollow of that black snake lived snake –seing the existed

*pumuM’ ìMa Júki tí?kyóbe.*  
the crow hen and husband feared

‘In a hollow of that tree-trunk lived a black snake whom the crows feared greatly’.

*yúena módiki kaju Módòki yúena kúìiki sàDákire detódi diyúena kudiki*  
the female crow egg everytime in the nest laid was the black snake

*nekúdèprósàni*  
if eats up.

‘Every time the crow-hen laid her eggs the snake crawled up to the nest and ate them up’.

*Ma siMdúidina mindũ Maca sò MkarsáJoke aùdúka yúela podiki lapóbe Maca*  
I any longer live–donot we build must some where husband crow informed we

*Dikáyu rìMku dépdepóyin*  
here long time lived

‘If the black snake eats up my eggs this time also, I will refuse to live in this tree any longer we must build our nest somewhere else, said the mother bird to her husband’.

*kaM ácik siMtári Jóka gyõ bomi’lóm silápi Mapóbe*  
I myself my nest destroy go+not nowhere will+live

‘Destroying my own house I will not go anywhere and stay’

*audík rã byúidi kúdi pyáyàsékti taléyuelàp halópki tiki ModóCùkóbe*  
while talking the snake that itself hissing sound start heard

‘While they were talking, they heard a hissing sound just below them’

*audíka yúela mó hódikilá pòbe taMá katéM’irũ byúnakúdirũ serásèsiM.*  
they the crow hen and crow helplessly sat themselves together snake-from protecting

‘They knew what the sound meant. They sat helplessly in their nest trying to protect their eggs’.

*audíka módikilapóbe ràMi byúnakú tara audíki siMcúsi*  
that+time helplessly sitting while the black snake close the nest crept

‘The black snake crept higher and closer to the nest’

*audíki dúdi hòmmè kyèMsisìM audíka yúela podíki lapóbe.*  
then the snake strike tried so that the crows went

‘Then with a loud hiss the snake tried to strike at the birds’.

*Sulisindúmayã dùkci byókatiMnúya yepétJu yopònerùci silápiki yúela*  
one by one (the eggs) swallowed snake –by the parents come back to nest they

*podíki siMdúnág rasócitèMka dópasòbòbe.*  
them selves the eggs by snake found eaten

‘The birds flew away in terror. One by one, the black snake swallowed all the eggs’.

*aùdiMále amdíki dúnákùdi yúela Módo apárã sò uJútumópàtã amdíki lapobe*  
because of that the snake the back parents came sadly with empty hand

‘The parents came back sadly to their nest knowing well that they would find it empty’.

*Malèm pyási siMírũ Júninga MakùlòsesìM kùlosérẽ cacirciJúu káryu Málo MasúMa*  
do not feel sorry dear I-poss friend cunning who destroy I have myself

*tokùrsilápki yúela podíki lapóbe audíka Jómèki tomúsilápki amdíki yúela namcónaM*  
friend he known is so as such the crow hen flew the near live

*hasùp lapóbe .*  
jackal was

‘Don’t worry, my dear, I’ve got a friend who is cunning enough to destroy the most poisonous snakes, said the crow, and of he flew to another tree under which lived his dear friend jackal’.

*audíkyèple yúela fúdi rãMóca sò pyátikicàrjidi lapóbe carjidi kaTádur rikógìndo*  
hearing that the friend those cruel meet hardships said destroy to plan have



*si yúelàki lapóbe.*  
one already is.

‘When the jackal heard how the snake always ate up the eggs, he said, my friend, those who are cruel and greedy always meet with a bad end, please don’t have fear. I’ve already thought of a plan to destroy him’.

*MáMe Módo sindõpyáse tème kanúCupy ácu yúela modiki lapóbe.*  
I myself to my children save anything do the mother bird said

‘I’ll do anything to save my eggs, said the mother bird bravely’.

*Júgyèple yúela pomu niMa pudiki kyépuikóDa resóna sobóbe.*  
then the crow hen and crow kings palace went

‘They flew towards the palace of the king of the country’.

*fodági pocu dóse siMdóle tárinkú Mepóbe.*  
the royal ladies pond-in bathe was taking

‘They saw the royal ladies having a bath’.

*kocúkúdi póRa tùmracína kúpe cukíCóJ ona sobóbe ok<sup>h</sup>a gipùigemútã*  
their chains necklaces ornaments and other things laid had there the

*serèmcuCúse Madóbe hocúrànki sertàmpìnki kyénca mmce cumcùm cakára jàigóbe.*  
mother bird back took then fly towards slowly started

‘They had laid their golden chains, pearl neckless and other jewellery on the edge of the pond. The mother bird flew down, picked up a gold chain in her beak and started flying slowly towards the tree in which she lived’.

*yúela modiki kudi gèmui sìrgi gèncà tuDiki rã tèse siMdũ pumcèpur sobõbe.*  
the crow hen guards clubs and tools followed with where the crow hen lived went

‘When the place guards saw the bird flying off with the gold chain, they took up their clubs and chased the bird’s

*gebùì MesìMmanìki yúelàki gémi sìrgi gèncà bahõko tuMóti tetápàkti.*  
the guard who followed the chains ornaments other jewels ornaments hollow dropped

‘They saw the bird drop the chain into the hollow of a tree’.

*yúelao pyèptépohe kucùnki yúelagi sìrgikenca siMdõki dówa pampúnag nokòr tumópobe.*  
they saw to take the ornaments crows help big snake found available

‘One of the guards climbed up the tree to get the chain. As he put his hand inside the hole to get the chain, he saw a black snake curled up’.

*byúnaku okha nyèdépo M’ya tumópòbe tetáki byúnakùdíloyã okará sètíki*  
the snake there putting hand by was one stroke-by the black snake there –itself

*baùbe diyro dyápyu nakúki sùrbe.*  
died that the snake cruel was died

‘The guard gave one hard stroke with his club and he killed the snake. And that was the end of the black snake’.

*yúela pomónìMa siMdo àùdína kipú bya yúela poco mám kidíki dyepóbe.*  
the crow and hen crow their relatives birds there children many there got

‘The crow and crow hen lived in that tree happily afterwards and they had many little baby crows’.

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# INTRODUCTION

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# INDO-ARYAN LANGUAGES

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# AUSTRO-ASIATIC LANGUAGES

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# TIBETO-BURMAN LANGUAGES

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# **TOTO**

**P. PERUMALSAMY**

## **1. INTRODUCTION**

In the sub Himalayan region of West Bengal, bordering with Bhutan country, a small Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Group named Toto, has been living for generations. Toto has been listed as a scheduled tribe in West Bengal along with Bhutia, Sherpa and Dukpa communities (Ref: State/ Union Territory- wise list of Scheduled Tribes in India).

Toto, the language name is returned after the tribal name. Totos are having Mangoloid features. The village Totopara, where they inhabit, is mostly dominated by Totos among others. Since Toto is a Particularly Vulnerable Tribal Group, it attracted various scholars belonging to the disciplines of sociology, anthropology, ethnography and so on to know about its features.

The studies were mainly concentrated on their beliefs and practices and the changes that are taking place in the community (Roy Burman, 1959; Chakraborty, P. and Chattopadhyay, 1964; Das, A. K. 1969; Sarkar, Amitava, 1993). The present work is a pioneering attempt to describe the Toto language using the modern linguistic techniques.

### **1.1 FAMILY AFFILIATION**

In Grierson's Linguistic Survey of India Vol. III part. I (1909, page nos. 177 – 250) Toto language has been classified as a non pronominalized Himalayan language of Tibeto Burman sub family of Tibeto-Chinese language family. Grierson (1909 : 181) mentions that although the materials are so imperfect to identify and affiliate this language with any particular group, he identified the following three features to place Toto language in non pronominalized group along with other languages such as Gurung , Murmi (Tamang) , Māgari, Newari and Rong or Lepcha.

- a) numerals are pure Tibetan
- b) personal pronouns are like Dhimal and
- c) higher numbers are counted in twenties



## **1.2. LOCATION**

In West Bengal, the Toto tribe is concentrated in Totopara village as per the Census of India 1961. This village comes under Totopara – Ballalguri gram panchayat. The nearest township is Madarihat , twenty one kilometers away from this village. The village is surrounded by hills bordering Bhutan country. The river Torsha and the stream Hauri are very close to this village.

In Totopara village, Totos are living in different Gaons (hamlets). There are six such hamlets called as:

1. Dhumchi gaon
2. Puja gaon
3. Mitrang gaon
4. Subba gaon
5. Mandal gaon and
6. Panchayat gaon

## **1.3. SPEAKER’S STRENGTH**

Census of India (1901) as quoted by Grierson mentions that the strength of Toto speakers were 170 (Grierson, 1909 : pp 250). They were returned from Jalpaiguri area. As per the Census of India 1961, there are 383 speakers returned Toto as their mother tongue [Male-205 and female –178]. During the field work, the researcher has observed that the strength of Toto population has increased sizably (approximately 1200 persons) in Totopara.

## **1.4. BILINGUALISM**

In West Bengal, Totos are mainly living in Totopara village. In the family domain, Toto language is used to communicate with family members. Similarly, Toto language is used with relatives primarily for the communication purpose.

When they interact with other community people, Totos use mostly Nepali language for their communication . Similarly, they use Nepali language in bazar and market (*hat*).

In the school, the medium of instruction is in Bengali language. Hence they study through Bengali language. The educated Toto people use Bengali language for official communication, to converse with development officials and so on. The other Toto people use Toto and Nepali languages mostly for their inter personal communication. This is because they are exposed to the outer world very less. Hence they communicate within the community.

### **1.5. SOCIOLINGUISTIC SITUATION**

As discussed earlier, Totos speak Toto language in home domain and with kith and kin. Outside home, they are exposed to Nepali and Bengali. In Totopara, a village in the district of Jalpaiguri of West Bengal state, people speaking the languages of Nepali, Garo, Bhutia, Limbu, Tamang, Rajbangsi, Rai, Gurung, Bengali and Bihari also reside with Totos. Totos use Nepali language with above mentioned communities when they interact with them. It is generally observed that most of the non Nepali communities residing in this region understand and speak Nepali language. It appears Nepali is the prestigious language of this region. Totos are also no exception. They speak Nepali language.

Totos are having a rich oral tradition. They have folk songs, folk tales and rituals. They have their own music instruments. On festival occasions, they sing songs and dance for the tunes. They drink home brewed liquor called *iyu* on marriage and festival occasions. Their important festivals are : *Ongchu, Ngoyu and Sorde*.

As mentioned earlier, Bengali is the medium of instruction in school. Hence the young age group of Toto population study through this language. Bengali, being the official language of this region, is used in all official communications. It is seen that the young and educated group uses Bengali language for their creative literary skill. This is because they learnt Bengali as the first language in school and hence they can read and write only in Bengali language. They view and listen Bengali programmes in the television and radio respectively.

## 1.6. REVIEW OF EARLIER LITERATURE

In spite of difficulty in collection of data on Toto, Grierson (1909) presented a report on Toto language in the Linguistic Survey of India volume. The material provided in the report was a connected text and a list of words having nouns and verbs.

Charu Chandra Sanyal (1972) had a pioneering attempt to study the Toto language and brought out a book on them along with another one tribal language called *Mech*, spoken in this area.

Sanyal described the Toto language in three broad headings : numerals, outline grammar and vocabulary. Few conversational sentences were also given in his book. In the appended page, he had given the lexicals spoken by the related tribal communities for comparison. Although this work is lacking the application of modern linguistic techniques, this is the first attempt to study the aspect of Toto language (The lexicals on days, months, times, directions, colours, body , environment, relations, housing pattern, animals, food and drink, weight and measurements, pronouns, temperament, nature, God and country, dress, metal, disease, profession, adjectives and adverbs have been collected).

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## 2. PHONOLOGY

### 2.1. PHONEMIC INVENTORY

#### Segmental Phonemes

Six vowels and twenty three consonants are realised in Toto.

#### Vowels

Among the six vowels, four are front vowels and two are back vowels.

	front	central	back
close	<i>i</i>	-	<i>u</i>
close mid	<i>e</i>	-	<i>o</i>
open mid	<i>E'</i>	-	-
open	<i>a</i>	-	-

#### Consonants

The twenty three consonants are classified in the following manner :

	Bilabial		Alveolar		Retroflex		Palatal		Velar		Glottal
plosive	<i>p</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>T</i>	<i>D</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>j</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>g</i>	
nasal		<i>m</i>		<i>n</i>		<i>N</i>				<i>M</i>	
flap				<i>r</i>		<i>R</i>					
fricative			<i>s</i>	<i>z</i>			<i>S'</i>				<i>h</i>
lateral				<i>l</i>							
semi vowel		<i>w</i>						<i>y</i>			

### 2.2. MAJOR ALLOPHONIC DISTRIBUTION

The allophones found in this language are discussed below:

/e/

[E] The front open mid unrounded vowel occurs after the bilabials , semi vowels and lateral sounds

[e] The front close mid vowel occurs elsewhere

Examples:

<i>/mE/</i>	<i>/me/</i>	‘fire’
<i>/apE/</i>	<i>/ape/</i>	‘baby’
<i>/bEro/</i>	<i>/bero/</i>	‘friend’
<i>/yEmE/</i>	<i>/yeme/</i>	‘paternal uncle’s daughter’
<i>/lEpa/</i>	<i>/lepa/</i>	‘brain’
<i>/debE/</i>	<i>/debe/</i>	‘porcupine’

/gera/	/gera/	‘parrot’
/nEbE/	/nebe/	‘nose’
/sebE/	/sebe/	‘testicle’

/o/

- [O] Open mid, back vowel occurs in the word final positions, after velar stops and nasals, laterals and semi vowels  
 [o] The close mid back vowel occurs elsewhere

Examples :

[lɛO]	/leo/	‘moss’
[jitO]	/jito/	‘father’s elder brother’
[yagOi]	/yagoi/	‘hill’
[biyOw]	/biyow/	‘marriage’
[ohOiwa]	/ohoiwa/	‘dawn’
[MOka]	/Moka/	‘monkey’
[MOi S’aM]	/MoisaM/	‘earthworm’
[gOza]	/goza/	‘beak’
[lOMupa]	/loMupa/	‘camel’
[wOra]	/wora/	‘wasp’
[soka]	/soka/	‘rabbit’
[kotO]	/koto/	‘chin’
[porO]	/poro/	‘head’
[poroi]	/poroi/	‘pigeon’
[toki]	/toki/	‘snail’
[doya]	/doya/	‘snail (river)’
[boMai]	/boMai/	‘white ant’
[boto]	/boto/	‘arm pit’
[c <sup>h</sup> tow]	/ctow/	‘ankle’
[c <sup>h</sup> owbE]	/cowbe/	‘fat’

### 2.3. PHONEMIC DISTRIBUTION

Vowels

/i/

The front, close vowel /i/ occurs in the initial, medial and final positions.

Examples :

Initial		Medial		Final	
<i>iyu</i>	‘brew’	<i>pika</i>	‘cow’	<i>ti</i>	‘water’
<i>ico</i>	‘one’	<i>gibe</i>	‘deer’	<i>sani</i>	‘sun’
<i>ibi</i>	‘these’	<i>piTo</i>	‘flour’	<i>pesi</i>	‘cow dung’
<i>ita</i>	‘here’	<i>siMpa</i>	‘twig’	<i>ji</i>	‘leopard’

/e/

The front close mid vowel /e/ occurs in initial, medial and final positions.

Examples :

Initial		Medial		Final	
<i>eM</i>	‘ginger’	<i>nebe</i>	‘nose’	<i>dabe</i>	‘root’
<i>ebri</i>	‘vegetable’	<i>peta</i>	‘worm’	<i>labe</i>	‘gesture’
<i>ewa</i>	‘nausea’	<i>pema</i>	‘liver’	<i>gibe</i>	‘deer’
		<i>ketu</i>	‘egg’	<i>cebe</i>	‘window’

/E’/

The lower front open mid vowel /E’/ falls in between close mid *e* and open mid *ε* occurs only in the medial position. Examples :

<i>pE’ko</i>	‘finger joint’
<i>nE’gu</i>	‘cave’
<i>pE’to</i>	‘toad’

/a/

The front open vowel /a/ occurs in the initial, medial and final positions.

Examples :

Initial		Medial		Final	
<i>ape</i>	‘baby’	<i>tari</i>	‘moon’	<i>paTTa</i>	‘jute’
<i>ayu</i>	‘mother’	<i>yago</i>	‘hill’	<i>lepa</i>	‘brain’
<i>ako</i>	‘shoot an animal’	<i>waTi</i>	‘rain’	<i>pema</i>	‘liver’
<i>apa</i>	‘father’	<i>taya</i>	‘frog’	<i>cua</i>	‘spring of water’

/o/

The back close mid vowel /o/ occurs in the initial, medial and final positions.

Examples :

Initial		Medial		Final	
<i>oMTe</i>	‘tiffin’	<i>kore</i>	‘finger’	<i>muMto</i>	‘earth’
<i>owwa</i>	‘howl’	<i>poja</i>	‘boy’	<i>hato</i>	‘cough’
<i>oraM</i>	‘old’	<i>boto</i>	‘armpit’	<i>poro</i>	‘head’
<i>o hoiwa</i>	‘dawn’	<i>soka</i>	‘hare’	<i>gapo</i>	‘dress’

/u/

The back rounded close vowel /u/ occurs in the initial, medial and final positions.

Initial		Medial		Final	
<i>uMwa</i>	‘boil’	<i>muwa</i>	‘cloud’	<i>suru</i>	‘lung’
<i>ubi</i>	‘nose’	<i>luMTui</i>	‘stone’	<i>Tezu</i>	‘squirrel’
<i>uhuMwa</i>	‘hum’	<i>guja</i>	‘hawk’	<i>namu</i>	‘face’

<i>urawa</i>	‘roll’	<i>luka</i>	‘sheep’	<i>yipu</i>	‘python’
		<i>zupa</i>	‘body’		

### Consonants

/p/

The voiceless bilabial plosive *p* occurs in the initial, medial and final positions.  
Examples :

Initial		Medial		Final	
<i>peMko</i>	‘peacock’	<i>kupu</i>	‘thumb’	<i>skrup</i>	‘nail’
<i>puriM</i>	‘hair’	<i>lapuM</i>	‘door’	<i>paip</i>	‘tap’
<i>pari</i>	‘turban’	<i>japa</i>	‘erect’	<i>nip</i>	‘nib’
<i>pori</i>	‘fairy’	<i>kempra</i>	‘wood’		

/b/

The voiced bilabial plosive /b/ occurs in the initial and medial positions generally.  
It’s occurrence in the final position is very rare.

Initial		Medial		Final	
<i>biMa</i>	‘air’	<i>nebe</i>	‘nose’	<i>kitab</i>	‘book’
<i>baro</i>	‘friend’	<i>debe</i>	‘porcupine’		
<i>bubisi</i>	‘butterfly’	<i>DiMba</i>	‘sky’		
<i>biya</i>	‘flesh’	<i>lebe</i>	‘tongue’		

/t/

The voiceless alveolar plosive /t/ occurs in initial, medial and final positions.

Initial		Medial		Final	
<i>taya</i>	‘frog’	<i>puti</i>	‘honey’	<i>rat</i>	‘charriot’
<i>taMza</i>	‘raven’	<i>perti</i>	‘rope’	<i>Dekayi</i>	‘dacoit’
<i>tewa</i>	‘sweet’	<i>staM</i>	‘tooth’	<i>barut</i>	‘sulphur’
<i>tori</i>	‘cucumber’	<i>bati</i>	‘lamp’		

/d/

The voiced alveolar plosive /d/ occurs in the initial and medial positions.  
Examples:

Initial		Medial		Final	
<i>de</i>	‘stick’	<i>bida</i>	‘comb’		
<i>dori</i>	‘mat’	<i>saMdi</i>	‘loom’		
<i>da Mte M</i>	‘jackfruit tree’	<i>zindu</i>	‘lace’		
<i>debe</i>	‘porcupine’	<i>badam</i>	‘cashew nut’		

/T/

The voiceless retroflex plosive /T/ occurs in the word initial, medial and final positions. Examples :

Initial		Medial		Final	
<i>Tuwa</i>	‘appeal’	<i>wiT<i>im</i></i>	‘pillar’	<i>maT</i>	‘ground’
<i>TuMsiM</i>	‘conscience’	<i>piT<i>to</i></i>	‘powder’	<i>mukuT</i>	‘crown’
<i>Tewa</i>	‘hanging’	<i>maTa</i>	‘trunk’	<i>koT</i>	‘court’
<i>Tika</i>	‘contract’	<i>naTiMwa</i>	‘darkness’		

/D/

The voiced retroflex plosive /D/ occurs in the word initial and medial positions. Examples :

Initial		Medial		Final
<i>Dua</i>	‘elder brother’	<i>aMDuM</i>	‘cloth’	
<i>DiMba</i>	‘sky’	<i>benDi</i>	‘ladie’s finger’	
<i>Dupe</i>	‘axe’	<i>ziMDu</i>	‘bed’	
<i>Duin</i>	‘cricket’			

/c/

The voiceless palatal plosive /c/ occurs in initial and medial positions. its occurrence is very rare in final position. Examples :

Initial		Medial		Final	
<i>cipei</i>	‘floor’	<i>keici</i>	‘scissors’	<i>kakoc</i>	‘paper’
<i>cirikini</i>	‘latch’	<i>picua</i>	‘hawker’		
<i>ceM</i>	‘child’	<i>pica</i>	‘give’		
<i>cumca</i>	‘forest’	<i>acar</i>	‘pickle’		

/j/

The voiced palatal plosive *j* occurs in the word initial and medial positions. Examples :

Initial		Medial		Final
<i>jora</i>	‘river’	<i>poja</i>	‘male’	
<i>jito</i>	‘father’s elder brother’	<i>aja</i>	‘crow’	
<i>jua</i>	‘father in law’	<i>guja</i>	‘hawk’	
<i>judu</i>	‘crutch’	<i>cuiji</i>	‘fourteen’	



/k/

The voiceless velar plosive /k/ occurs in initial, medial and final positions of the word. Examples :

Initial		Medial		Final	
<i>keya</i>	‘crab’	<i>aMku</i>	‘uncooked rice’	<i>S’irak</i>	‘quilt’
<i>kiya</i>	‘dog’	<i>siMke</i>	‘firewood’	<i>naTak</i>	‘drama’
<i>kaMu</i>	‘beard’	<i>pokuDi</i>	‘dam’	<i>cambuk</i>	‘magnet’
<i>kupu</i>	‘thumb’	<i>nakiwa</i>	‘sneeze’		

/g/

The voiced velar plosive /g/ occurs in the word initial and medial positions. Examples :

Initial		Medial		Final	
<i>gera</i>	‘parrot’	<i>yagoi</i>	‘hill’		
<i>gamla</i>	‘bowl’	<i>S’iguM</i>	‘vulture’		
<i>gobreM</i>	‘bread’	<i>bagaiM</i>	‘plant’		
<i>guiM</i>	‘mist’	<i>cigu</i>	‘nineteen’		

/m/

The bilabial nasal /m/ occurs in initial, medial and final positions of the word. Examples :

Initial		Medial		Final	
<i>me</i>	‘fire’	<i>ama</i>	‘cooked rice’	<i>badam</i>	‘cashew nut’
<i>mai</i>	‘butter’	<i>timma</i>	‘leech’	<i>Tram</i>	‘tram’
<i>miMki</i>	‘cat’	<i>teme</i>	‘grave’	<i>bom</i>	‘bomb’
<i>MuS’a</i>	‘feather’	<i>kamui</i>	‘whisker’		
<i>mawa</i>	‘daughter in law’				

/n/

The alveolar nasal /n/ occurs in the initial, medial and final positions.

Initial		Medial		Final	
<i>nagu</i>	‘puss’	<i>ana</i>	‘elder sister’	<i>S’aigun</i>	‘teak’
<i>nanTa</i>	‘road’	<i>sani</i>	‘sun’	<i>ingin</i>	‘engine’
<i>nanuM</i>	‘ear’	<i>Dakni</i>	‘lid’	<i>bagain</i>	‘garden’
<i>namu</i>	‘face’	<i>zindu</i>	‘lace’		

/N/

The retroflex nasal /N/ occurs in the initial position mainly but found to be present in the medial position rarely. Examples :

Initial		Medial	
<i>Noi</i>	‘boat’	<i>yoNiwa</i>	‘blue’
<i>Nawa</i>	‘aim at’		
<i>Nuwa</i>	‘bend down’		
<i>No</i>	‘decide’		
<i>Nowa</i>	‘hear’		
<i>Ni</i>	‘salt’		

/M/

The presence of velar nasal /M/ is found abundant in initial, medial and final positions.

Initial		Medial		Final	
<i>MiMa</i>	‘earth quake’	<i>kaMru</i>	‘pot’	<i>gura</i>	‘gur’
<i>Miwa</i>	‘blow : nose’	<i>biMa</i>	‘wind’	<i>bekoM</i>	‘fur’
<i>Mowa</i>	‘carry on head’	<i>deMa</i>	‘man’	<i>mauM</i>	‘paddy’
<i>Moka</i>	‘monkey’	<i>ToMS’a</i>	‘hut’	<i>maiM</i>	‘venom’

/r/

The alveolar flap /r/ occurs in the initial, medial and final positions.

Initial		Medial		Final	
<i>raja</i>	‘king’	<i>ira</i>	‘bow’	<i>sur</i>	‘raga’
<i>rajya</i>	‘province’	<i>bra</i>	‘fort’	<i>tor</i>	‘skim’
<i>rajyapal</i>	‘governor’	<i>ara</i>	‘blade’	<i>hombar</i>	‘hammer’
		<i>aru</i>	‘eighteen’	<i>kor</i>	‘tax’
		<i>beMri</i>	‘brinjal’		

/R/

The retroflex flap /R/ occurs in the medial position only.

Medial	
<i>boRi</i>	‘beans’
<i>mapaRewa</i>	‘illiterate’
<i>paRewadiMa</i>	‘literature’
<i>parRewadeMa</i>	‘pupil’
<i>paRewa S’a</i>	‘study room’

/s/

The voiceless alveolar fricative /s/ occurs in the initial, medial and final positions. In the final position, it seems to be present only in borrowed lexical items.

Initial		Medial		Final	
<i>suru</i>	‘lung’	<i>lasu</i>	‘shirt’	<i>mains</i>	‘mine field’
<i>sebe</i>	‘testicle’	<i>haMsu</i>	‘who’	<i>apis</i>	‘office’
<i>sutti</i>	‘oil’	<i>tuMsiM</i>	‘chest’	<i>gilas</i>	‘glass’
<i>staM</i>	‘tooth’	<i>asi</i>	‘human excreta’		

/z/

The voiced alveolar fricative /z/ occurs in the initial and medial positions frequently but rare in the final position.

Initial		Medial		Final	
<i>zimS’aM</i>	‘satan’	<i>ziziM</i>	‘cheap’		
<i>zupa</i>	‘body’	<i>taMza</i>	‘raven’	<i>praiz</i>	‘prize’
<i>zitui</i>	‘buffed rice’	<i>Tezu</i>	‘squirrel (small)’		
<i>zuwa</i>	‘enter in’	<i>ziziwa</i>	‘blunt’		
<i>zinewa</i>	‘look at’				

/S’/

The palatal fricative /S’/ occurs in the initial, medial and final positions.

Initial		Medial		Final	
<i>S’osua</i>	‘trade’	<i>MaS’a</i>	‘shed : as a skin’	<i>doS’</i>	‘accused’
<i>S’aMwa</i>	‘purify’	<i>niS’o</i>	‘twenty’	<i>DiS’</i>	‘gambling’
<i>S’aMdi</i>	‘thread’	<i>miS’ai</i>	‘mix’		
		<i>kuS’iM</i>	‘finger nail’		

/h/

The glottal fricative /h/ occurs in the initial and medial positions only.

Initial		Medial	
<i>haraMri</i>	‘street’	<i>boha</i>	‘goitre’
<i>hiyuM</i>	‘ice’	<i>ohoiwa</i>	‘dawn’
<i>hatti</i>	‘elephant’	<i>sara hewa</i>	‘hunter’
<i>hato</i>	‘cough’	<i>abiha</i>	‘they’
<i>harisi</i>	‘yoke’		

/l/

The alveolar lateral /l/ occurs in the initial, medial and final positions.

Initial		Medial		Final	
<i>leo</i>	‘moss’	<i>balua</i>	‘sand’	<i>mol</i>	‘manure’
<i>ladiM</i>	‘clay’	<i>jowla</i>	‘bag’	<i>putul</i>	‘doll’
<i>lodaM</i>	‘shade’	<i>guali</i>	‘cow-shed’	<i>kamal</i>	‘lotus’
<i>lutu</i>	‘bat’	<i>kulo</i>	‘canal’	<i>nariwal</i>	‘coconut’

/w/

The bilabial approximant /w/ occurs in the initial, medial and final positions.

Initial		Medial		Final	
<i>waTi</i>	‘rain’	<i>jowa</i>	‘burning rod’	<i>cstow</i>	‘joint’
<i>wora</i>	‘wasp’	<i>yuwai</i>	‘jaw’	<i>biyow</i>	‘marriage’
<i>wiTeM</i>	‘beam’	<i>mewa</i>	‘papaya’	<i>giyaw</i>	‘wheat’
<i>woMTa</i>	‘hand husking instrument’	<i>Tyuwa</i>	‘athlete’		
		<i>kawri</i>	‘chalk’		

/y/

The palatal approximant /y/ occurs in the initial, medial and final positions.

Initial		Medial		Final	
<i>yaMmu</i>	‘caterpillar’	<i>taya</i>	‘frog’	<i>kokoy</i>	‘leg’
<i>yipu</i>	‘python’	<i>yuiya</i>	‘tortoise’	<i>tasray</i>	‘fry pan’
<i>yeMa</i>	‘horse’	<i>biya</i>	‘flesh’	<i>curey</i>	‘lime’
<i>yiM</i>	‘husband’s younger brother’s wife’	<i>dyu</i>	‘mustard oil lamp’	<i>piS’ey</i>	‘paternal aunt’

## 2.4. PHONEMIC CONTRASTS

### Vowels

/i/

<i>picua</i>	‘hawker’
<i>pecua</i>	‘wipe off’
<i>pika</i>	‘cow’
<i>pE’ko</i>	‘finger joint’
<i>pika</i>	‘cow’
<i>paka</i>	‘pig’

	<i>i</i>	‘it’
	<i>u</i>	‘that’
<i>/e/</i>	<i>apa</i>	‘father’
	<i>ape</i>	‘baby’
	<i>keke</i>	‘tusk’
	<i>keka</i>	‘hen’
<i>/E’/</i>	<i>peko</i>	‘second’
	<i>pE’ko</i>	‘finger joint’
	<i>piTo</i>	‘flour’
	<i>pE’to</i>	‘toad’
	<i>nagu</i>	‘puss’
	<i>nE’gu</i>	‘cave’
<i>/a/</i>	<i>uMwa</i>	‘boil as water’;
	<i>aMwa</i>	‘ask’
	<i>poima</i>	‘belly’
	<i>paima</i>	‘star’
	<i>peMwa</i>	‘nurse : a baby’
	<i>paMwa</i>	‘costly’
	<i>maT</i>	‘ground’
	<i>maTa</i>	‘trunk’
<i>/o/</i>	<i>uiwa</i>	‘follow a person’
	<i>oiwa</i>	‘open’
	<i>dui</i>	‘verandah’
	<i>doi</i>	‘curd’
	<i>peiwa</i>	‘divorce’
	<i>poiwa</i>	‘weed’

/w/  
*keciM* 'chicken'  
*kuS'iM* 'claw'

*japa* 'erect'  
*jupa* 'back'

### Consonants

/p/ ~ /b/  
*piM* 'spinning wheel'  
*biMa* 'air'

*pari* 'turban'  
*baro* 'friend'

*peMko* 'peacock'  
*biMa* 'air'

/t/ ~ /d/  
*tori* 'cucumber'  
*dori* 'mat'

*taya* 'frog'  
*doya* 'snail'

/t/ ~ /T/  
*tewa* 'sweet'  
*Tuwa* 'appeal'

*koto* 'chin'  
*koTa* 'room'

*to* 'matted chair'  
*Toi* 'trunk'

/T/ ~ /D/  
*Toi* 'trunk'  
*Duin* 'cricket'

/d/ ~ /D/  
*doya* 'snail'  
*Doya* 'cow fly'

/c/ ~ /j/

*cua* 'spring of water'  
*jua* 'daughter in law's father'

*ceme* 'daughter'  
*jume* 'daughter in law's mother'

/k/ ~ /g/

*kei* 'ear ring'  
*goi* 'crocodile'

*kuja* 'pigeon'  
*goza* 'beak'

/m ~ /n/

*mara* 'ant : small'  
*nara* 'procession'  
*ama* 'cooked rice'  
*ana* 'husband's sister'

/n/ ~ /M/

*naya* 'bear'  
*Maya* 'fish'

*nico* 'two'  
*Mico* 'seven'

/y/ ~ /ʌ/

*yawa* 'dancer'  
*lawa* 'examinee'

/c / ~ /s/

*ctow* 'ankle'  
*stow* 'stove'

/c/ ~ /s/

*csta* 'umbrella'  
*sta* 'whip'

**Other contrasting pairs:**

*muwa* 'cloud'  
*muywa* 'concert'

<i>nowa</i>	‘idea’
<i>noMwa</i>	‘greeting’
<i>Dua</i>	‘brother : elder’
<i>Duwwa</i>	‘grief’
<i>ico</i>	‘one’
<i>nico</i>	‘two’
<i>laja</i>	‘king’
<i>lawa</i>	‘examinee’
<i>ara</i>	‘blade’
<i>gera</i>	‘parrot’
<i>zua</i>	‘mouse’
<i>zupa</i>	‘back’
<i>loi</i>	‘government’
<i>doi</i>	‘curd’
<i>asi</i>	‘excreta: human’
<i>pasi</i>	‘excreta: pig’
<i>leda</i>	‘palate’
<i>lera</i>	‘train’
<i>Tuwa</i>	‘appeal’
<i>Tyuwa</i>	‘athlete’
<i>uti</i>	‘milk’
<i>sutti</i>	‘oil’
<i>cutti</i>	‘dew’
<i>sutti</i>	‘oil’
<i>ca</i>	‘iron’
<i>ja</i>	‘caste’
<i>S’a</i>	‘shed’
<i>ja</i>	‘caste’
<i>ua</i>	‘husband’
<i>Dua</i>	‘brother : elder’



<i>mai</i>	‘butter’
<i>maiM</i>	‘venom’
<i>ma wa</i>	‘daughter in law’
<i>Nawa</i>	‘aim at’
<i>mai</i>	‘butter’
<i>Noi</i>	‘boat’

## 2.5.CLUSTERS

### 2.5.1 VOWEL

Vowel clusters are present in the initial, medial and final positions of the lexicals. The vowel clusters obtained are: *-ei, -ai, -oi, -ui, -ao, -au, -eo, -ou* etc.

Examples :

Initial

<i>aibita</i>	‘coast’
<i>eita</i>	‘goat’
<i>aina</i>	‘mirror’
<i>aikiya</i>	‘alas’
<i>ain</i>	‘law’
<i>oiwa</i>	‘open’
<i>uiwa</i>	‘follow a person’
<i>eiwa</i>	‘swim’
<i>oiMpa</i>	‘remove’
<i>uidaM</i>	‘deep’
<i>aibi</i>	‘near’
<i>ainji</i>	‘yesterday’
<i>aoMa</i>	‘ass’

## Medial

<i>ohoiwa</i>	‘dawn’
<i>aluiwa</i>	‘red’
<i>ahaiwa</i>	‘yawn’
<i>puima</i>	‘star’
<i>huime</i>	‘younger wife’
<i>mausi</i>	‘mother’s sister’
<i>puisa</i>	‘maternal uncle’
<i>nuiko</i>	‘hind leg’
<i>moipa</i>	‘wild pig’
<i>poima</i>	‘belly’
<i>luito</i>	‘bone’
<i>yeoTi</i>	‘cooking pot’
<i>soube</i>	‘fat’
<i>saiti</i>	‘fruit juice’

## Final

<i>mai</i>	‘butter’
<i>madui</i>	‘flame’
<i>leo</i>	‘moss’
<i>balua</i>	‘sand’
<i>piS’ei</i>	‘father’s sister’
<i>kui</i>	‘hand’
<i>zua</i>	‘mouse’
<i>goi</i>	‘crocodile’
<i>S’ia</i>	‘louse’
<i>Toi</i>	‘trunk’
<i>poRoi</i>	‘pigeon’
<i>kamui</i>	‘whiskers’
<i>yuwai</i>	‘cheek’
<i>locua</i>	‘heat’
<i>zitui</i>	‘buffed rice’

## Consonant

Consonant clusters are found more in the medial position. They are not traced in final position but their limited occurrences are noticed in initial position.

## Initial

<i>snehawa</i>	‘cholera’
<i>kya</i>	‘dog’
<i>csto</i>	‘first’

<i>staM</i>	‘tooth’
<i>csta</i>	‘turban’
<i>sta</i>	‘whip’
<i>skrup</i>	‘nail’
<i>bra</i>	‘wall’

## Medial

### Consonant + Consonant

<i>berceM</i>	‘calf’
<i>bekriM</i>	‘wing’
<i>tasray</i>	‘frying pan’
<i>gaitri</i>	‘kettle’
<i>TiTraiwa</i>	‘lightening’
<i>bardoM</i>	‘wood pecker’
<i>bisku</i>	‘biscuit’
<i>yebri</i>	‘vegetable curry’
<i>botra</i>	‘bottle’
<i>gobreM</i>	‘bread’
<i>katri</i>	‘nut cracker’
<i>tapro</i>	‘cap’
<i>cadri</i>	‘bed sheet (covered over a dead body)’
<i>cirkini</i>	‘bolt’
<i>balti</i>	‘bucket’
<i>kapja</i>	‘hinge’
<i>jowan mosra</i>	‘ajowan’
<i>barli</i>	‘barley’
<i>liS’atroi</i>	‘pick up’

### Nasal + Consonant

<i>muMTo</i>	‘earth’
<i>cumca</i>	‘forest’
<i>nanTa</i>	‘road’
<i>sansar</i>	‘universe’
<i>miMki</i>	‘cat’
<i>taMza</i>	‘raven’
<i>leMba</i>	‘dumb’
<i>liMS’e</i>	‘kidney’
<i>caMke</i>	‘chameleon’
<i>namsiri</i>	‘fox’
<i>naMja</i>	‘kernel of coconut’
<i>aMDuM</i>	‘cloth’
<i>Debo nuMTu</i>	‘rock’

<i>haMsa</i>	‘duck’
<i>domoMdi</i>	‘grass hopper’
<i>jaMka</i>	‘mosquito’
<i>dumkowa</i>	‘lazy’
<i>nati empowa</i>	‘mucus’
<i>gamla</i>	‘bowl’
<i>gaMru</i>	‘jar’
<i>camci</i>	‘spoon’
<i>wancu</i>	‘cloth without hand sleeves’
<i>sandi</i>	‘loom’
<i>kadamsai</i>	‘bitter gourd’
<i>S’uMrai</i>	‘three fourth’

#### Consonat + Nasal

<i>kepna</i>	‘elephant’
<i>yutimatna</i>	‘anaemia’
<i>luipna</i>	‘cataract’
<i>Dakni</i>	‘lid’
<i>sasma</i>	‘spectacles’
<i>dodopna</i>	‘shiver’

#### Consonant + Semi-vowel

<i>TeS’wa</i>	‘twin’
<i>balwa biri</i>	‘desert’
<i>cikuMwa</i>	‘cold’
<i>jaMka</i>	‘mosquito’
<i>jitwa</i>	‘great grandson’
<i>bedyu</i>	‘navel’

#### Semi-vowel + Consonant

<i>cowbe</i>	‘fat’
<i>jowla</i>	‘belly’
<i>cowki</i>	‘cot’

#### Consonant + Consonant (Geminated)

<i>cutti</i>	‘dew’
<i>hatti</i>	‘elephant’
<i>timma</i>	‘lark’
<i>bassa</i>	‘nest’
<i>lakka</i>	‘rhinoceros’
<i>kaTTi</i>	‘match stick’

<i>sutti</i>	‘oil’
<i>piTTo</i>	‘powder’
<i>owwa</i>	‘uncover’
<i>yoppu</i>	‘nipple’
<i>koTTa</i>	‘lizard; tree’
<i>cekka</i>	‘ashes’
<i>aTTa</i>	‘grand father’
<i>appuju</i>	‘husband’ elder brother’
<i>Dissi</i>	‘bed bug’
<i>lottowa</i>	‘dwarf’
<i>dussa</i>	‘blanket’
<i>jutta</i>	‘shoe’
<i>luwwa</i>	‘wear’
<i>powwa</i>	‘whip’

### Three Consonants

<i>DiMsrai</i>	‘rainbow’
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## 2.6. SYLLABLES

The syllabic structures of Toto language are : monosyllabic, disyllabic, trisyllabic and tetrasyllabic.

### Monosyllabic

The monosyllabic structure is as follow :

<i>V</i>	<i>u</i>	‘that’
<i>CV</i>	<i>me</i>	‘fire’
	<i>ye</i>	‘brother: younger’

Other examples :

<i>Ti</i>	‘water’
<i>ji</i>	‘leopard’
<i>du</i>	‘wash : clothes’
<i>pi</i>	‘weave : basket’
<i>jaM</i>	‘answer a question’
<i>le</i>	‘call a person’

## Disyllabic

The disyllabic structure of Toto is as follow:

CV-V	<i>le-o</i>	‘moss’
	<i>cu-a</i>	‘grand son’
	<i>Du-a</i>	‘brother :elder’
CV-CV	<i>oM-Te</i>	‘tiffin’
	<i>ni-ru</i>	‘seventeen’

Other examples :

<i>nE'-gu</i>	‘cave’
<i>mu – wa</i>	‘cloud’
<i>muM – to</i>	‘earth’
<i>wa – Ti</i>	‘rain’
<i>jo – ra</i>	‘river’
<i>jit – me</i>	‘great grand daughter’
<i>ku – ku</i>	‘mother’s brother’
<i>bar – doM</i>	‘wood pecker’
<i>pe – ta</i>	‘worm’
<i>to – ti</i>	‘saliva’
<i>lui – to</i>	‘skeleton’

## Trisyllabic

The trisyllabic structure is as follow:

CV-CV-CV	<i>jo-la-we</i>	‘open : a bag’
	<i>pi-ka-tu</i>	‘pick : a fruit’

CVC-CV-CV	<i>kun-no-wa</i>	‘suspicious’
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Other examples:

<i>ke-ke- reM</i>	‘left handed’
<i>ceM -buM -wa</i>	‘pregnancy’
<i>saM- paM- wa</i>	‘treatment’
<i>gam-ca-ri</i>	‘towel’

## Tetrasyllabic

The tetra syllabic structure is as follow :

CV-CVC-CV-CV

<i>si-taM-pu-na</i>	‘temper’
<i>cu-cuM-pu-na</i>	‘timid’

Other examples:

<i>ju- pai- ya- to</i>	‘lizard’
<i>S’aM -ko-S’iM- teM</i>	‘cotton plant’

## 2.7. PHONOTACTIC FEATURES

### Aspiration

1. There is no phonemic contrast between aspirated and non aspirated.
2. Phonetically the distinction between *k* and *kh*, *d* and *dh*, *t* and *th*, *j* and *jh* are getting lost. Hence the occurrence of aspiration is visible in very few examples of the sounds such as *ch,th,dh,jh* in the data.

<i>cic<sup>h</sup>cipa</i>	‘smooth’
<i>cic<sup>h</sup>ihuiwa</i>	‘urinate’
<i>cic<sup>h</sup>aiwa</i>	‘chirp : as a bird’
<i>c<sup>h</sup>ekka</i>	‘ashes’
<i>c<sup>h</sup>ua</i>	‘spring of water’
<i>c<sup>h</sup>eM</i>	‘child’
<i>c<sup>h</sup>umc<sup>h</sup>a</i>	‘forest’
<i>c<sup>h</sup>sto</i>	‘wrist’
<i>cuc<sup>h</sup>i</i>	‘bamboo/pin’
<i>kec<sup>h</sup>iM</i>	‘chicken’
<i>puc<sup>h</sup>ua</i>	‘pig tail’
<i>pic<sup>h</sup>ua</i>	‘hawker’
<i>c<sup>h</sup>ati</i>	‘vein’
<i>j<sup>h</sup>ola</i>	‘bag’
<i>j<sup>h</sup>ume</i>	‘mother- in -law’
<i>k<sup>h</sup>et<sup>h</sup>u</i>	‘egg’
<i>kuk<sup>h</sup>u</i>	‘maternal uncle’
<i>d<sup>h</sup>am</i>	‘horn’
<i>guj<sup>h</sup>a</i>	‘owl’
<i>nok<sup>h</sup>okiya</i>	‘scorpion’
<i>mit<sup>h</sup>umri</i>	‘buttock’

## Length

The presence of length in vowels has been observed in some of the lexicals. However, a phonemic contrast between a short vowel and a long vowel has not been found. Hence, at this juncture, length is not considered as a phoneme in this language.

<i>hu:wa</i>	‘bathe’
<i>ke:wa</i>	‘bear: give birth’
<i>yu:jru</i>	‘help’
<i>li:wa</i>	‘scrape’
<i>ke:mpra</i>	‘wood’
<i>la:su</i>	‘blouse’
<i>la:mbi</i>	‘clerk’
<i>pu:l</i>	‘bridge’
<i>le:ra</i>	‘white’

## Nasalization

Nasalization of the phonemes in some cases have been observed in this language. As they do not yield contrasting phonemic pairs, they have not been considered as a separate phoneme. Examples:

<i>koĩTi</i>	‘crow bar’
<i>giyãw</i>	‘wheat’
<i>keĩç<sup>h</sup>i</i>	‘barbar’
<i>pãu uwa</i>	‘cowardice’
<i>Tõisuwa</i>	‘march’
<i>oĩpowwa</i>	‘transplant’
<i>luã</i>	‘husband’s elder brother’s wife’
<i>duĩn</i>	‘cricket’

The occurrence of nasalization is observed in the medial and final positions of the lexical items.

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### 3. MORPHOPHONEMICS

#### 1. Vowel harmony in between two words

The marker *-ki / -ke* is used as a classifier denoting the young ones of animals or birds. The marker *ki- / ke-* is determined according to the first syllable of the preceding word. Example :

- |    |               |              |           |
|----|---------------|--------------|-----------|
| a. | <i>kiyako</i> | <i>kiceM</i> | ‘puppy’   |
|    | dog – poss.   | y. one       |           |
| b. | <i>kekako</i> | <i>keceM</i> | ‘chicken’ |
|    | hen –poss.    | y. one       |           |

Thus, the dog’s young one is *kiceM* whereas the hen’s young one is *keceM*.

#### 2. Loss of consonant in word final position

When two words have velar nasal consonant sounds in their word final positions and come for compounding as one word, then one may notice the loss of velar consonant /M/ in the first word.

- |             |             |                            |
|-------------|-------------|----------------------------|
| <i>akua</i> | <i>kuiM</i> | ‘She is my sister’         |
| she is      | my sister   |                            |
| <i>kuM</i>  |             | ‘my’                       |
| <i>iM</i>   |             | ‘husband’s brother’s wife’ |

Here, one can notice /M/ in *kuM* ‘my’ is lost due to the impact of following word’s velar nasal presence.

#### 3. Loss of vowel *o* in negative marker *-mo*

The loss of vowel *-o* in negative marker *-mo* is observed when it is followed by the marker containing *-o* in its syllable. Example :

- |                              |               |                           |
|------------------------------|---------------|---------------------------|
| <i>ka nati</i>               | <i>icodaM</i> | <i>lemkoro</i>            |
| I you                        | alone         | leave no pre. cont.       |
| ‘I am not leaving you alone’ |               |                           |
| <i>le</i>                    | -             | to leave                  |
| <i>mo</i>                    | -             | not                       |
| <i>koro</i>                  | -             | present continuous marker |

## 4. MORPHOLOGY

### 4.1. WORD FORMATION

The word formation in Toto language is observed in the following ways:

- a) by prefixation
- b) by suffixation
- c) by partial repetition of initial syllables and
- d) by agglutination

#### Prefixation

The negative marker *ma-/ me-/ mo-* is added before the verb to bring the negative sense. Example:

<i>hadana</i>	‘coming’
<i>mahadana</i>	‘not coming’
<i>jaM</i>	‘say’
<i>majaM</i>	‘don’t say’

Other examples:

<i>neSeso mejiM</i>	‘Don’t go bed so soon’
so soon not sleep	
<i>ka kam mojjana</i>	‘I don’t work’
I work not do	
<i>ka kampako mato</i>	‘I don’t have the work’
I work don’t have	
<i>ka maM kaimi</i>	‘We are not related’
I not we related	

It is interesting to observe that the *-ta* form retained in all adverbial words to convey the meaning of time or direction but the prefixes vary to convey different meanings. For instance,

<i>ita</i>	‘here’
<i>akota</i>	‘there’

<i>lita</i>	‘down’
<i>netta</i>	‘moment’
<i>purata</i>	‘top’
<i>nutta</i>	‘east’
<i>tanangta</i>	‘far away’
<i>daMta</i>	‘north’
<i>ditta</i>	‘west’
<i>maMta</i>	‘south’

### Suffixation

The plural marker, case marker etc are added after the nouns to make sense of plural number and case marking. Examples:

<i>dambe pika</i> bull	<i>yacoina</i> graze- pre con	‘The bull is grazing’	
<i>dambe pikabi</i> bulls	<i>yacoina</i>	‘Bulls are grazing’	
<i>apeko</i> child poss.mar	<i>kui</i> hand	‘Child’s hand’	
<i>apebiko</i> children poss.mar	<i>kuibi</i> <i>apecimi</i>	‘The children’s hands are small’	
<i>apebi</i> children	<i>bagainta</i> garden to	<i>woMna</i> come	‘The children come to garden’

### Repetition

The words are formed by repetition of the same syllables either fully or partially.

#### Full Repetition

<i>wawa</i>	‘bark as a dog’
<i>keke</i>	‘tusk’
<i>jaijai</i>	‘wasp’
<i>SeMke SeMke</i>	‘lame’

#### Partial Repetition

The first syllable of the word will repeat partly in the second syllable also to form a word. Examples :

<i>duduwa</i>	‘beat: heart’
<i>yoyowa haiwa</i>	‘jaundice’
<i>dodowa haiwa</i>	‘malaria’
<i>cucuMko</i>	‘terrible’
<i>ziziwa</i>	‘sharp’
<i>dadappa</i>	‘equal’
<i>dadawwa</i>	‘flat’
<i>cicihuiwa</i>	‘urinate’
<i>SuSua</i>	‘collide’
<i>yeiyeiwa</i>	‘breadth’
<i>doMdoMtapna</i>	‘refresh’
<i>tatawa</i>	‘taste’
<i>kekeuwa</i>	‘cacle: as hen’

### Derived

One can understand the form of derivational suffixes when we compare the related words. The following words bring different conjugal forms used in Toto language:

<i>rajya</i>	‘state/ province/ kingdom’
<i>rajdani</i>	‘capital’
<i>raja</i>	‘emperor’
<i>luiswa</i>	‘battle’
<i>luispuwa</i>	‘collision’
<i>kiwa</i>	‘debt’
<i>kipowwa</i>	‘debtor’
<i>kuiwa</i>	‘thief’
<i>kucpuna</i>	‘theft’

### Agglutination

Group of words are added together to form a word to convey a specific meaning. Examples:

<i>lita zimS’a nawa</i>	‘lie down : to take a position’
<i>turi mim S’e gawa</i>	‘kneeling position’
<i>naM pok nu waM</i>	‘conspire : plan evil together’

## 4.2 NOUN MORPHOLOGY

### 4.2.1 NOUN

Nouns are two types, one is basic and the other is derived.

Basic

<i>biMa</i>	‘air’
<i>jora</i>	‘river’
<i>pika</i>	‘cow’
<i>miMki</i>	‘cat’
<i>lE’pa</i>	‘brain’

The basic nouns, which are not derived, belong to two types. They are :

1. mass nouns and
2. count nouns

Mass

<i>Ti</i>	‘water’
<i>DiMba</i>	‘sky’

Count

<i>naya</i>	‘bear’
<i>hatti</i>	‘elephant’
<i>bubisi</i>	‘butterfly’

Compound

<i>Ti</i>	‘water’
<i>waTi</i>	‘rain’
<i>yuTi</i>	‘blood’

*Ti* which refers water, is extended to *waTi* ‘rain’ and *yuTi* ‘blood’ respectively. Here one should observe that *Ti* is retained in both the lexicals but with the variation in the first syllable to make variations in their respective meanings.

### 4.2.2 NUMBER

The plural suffix *-bi* is included with the noun to express the plural number.

<i>S’a</i>	‘house’
<i>S’abi</i>	‘houses’
<i>pika</i>	‘cow’
<i>pikabi</i>	‘cows’

Sometimes, *-bi* suffix is added before some other markers.

<i>yiha</i>	‘this’
<i>yibiha</i>	‘these’

When numerical definiteness is present in the word, then *-bi* marker is absent.

example:

<i>ku</i>	<i>ico</i>	<i>ceMwa</i>	<i>nyo</i>	
my	one	son	have	‘I have one son’

<i>ku</i>	<i>niS’o</i>	<i>ceMwa</i>	<i>nyo</i>	
	two			‘I have two sons’

When the numerical definiteness is not present, then plural marker is added.

<i>kuM</i>	<i>ceMwabi</i>	<i>S’eta</i>	<i>nyo</i>	
	sons			‘My sons are in the house’

<i>ako</i>	<i>ceMwabi</i>	<i>ita</i>	<i>nina</i>	
his	sons	here	are	‘His sons are here’

When case marker is to be included, then it is added only after plural marker.

<i>akobiko</i>	<i>ceMwa</i>	
their	son	‘Their son’

### 4.2.3 GENDER

Gender is realised in Toto in two ways :

1. Lexical
2. Grammatical

Lexical

In human, the gender distinction is expressed by using different lexicals to different genders. Examples :

Masculine		Feminine	
<i>deMa</i>	‘man’	<i>meme</i>	‘woman’
<i>Dua</i>	‘brother’	<i>iM</i>	‘sister’
<i>apa</i>	‘father’	<i>ayu</i>	‘mother’
<i>ceMwa</i>	‘son’	<i>cemi</i>	‘daughter’

<i>ua</i>	‘husband’	<i>me</i>	‘wife’
<i>cua</i>	‘grand son’	<i>cume</i>	‘grand daughter’

### Grammatical

The markers *-a/-o* or *-wa* are used for masculine gender in general and *-me*, *-i* or *-ei* are used for feminine gender.

### Masculine

<i>apa</i>	‘father’
<i>jua</i>	‘daughter in law’s father’
<i>eraMwa</i>	‘husband’s younger brother’
<i>jitwa</i>	‘great grand son’
<i>poja</i>	‘boy’

### Feminine

<i>jitme</i>	‘great grand daughter’
<i>piS’ei</i>	‘father’s sister’
<i>mami</i>	‘maternal uncle’s wife’
<i>mausi</i>	‘mother’s sister’
<i>jitei</i>	‘great grand mother’

In non-human beings, the words such as *dambe* for masculine gender and *cabe* for feminine gender are used to distinct the gender identity . Example :

<i>dambe</i>	<i>pika</i>	‘bull’
<i>cabe</i>	<i>pika</i>	‘cow’

### 4.2.4 CASE

Eight types of cases are available in Toto. They are : 1. Nominative 2. Accusative 3. Instrumental 4. Dative 5. Ablative 6. Locative 7. Genitive and 8. Vocative. These eight types of cases are on the basis of meaning. However, on the basis of forms, it is only six. They are: -  $\emptyset$ , *-hi*, *-so*, *-ta*, *-ko* and *O!*, *ah*.

### Nominative

Nominative case marker is  $\emptyset$  . Example :

*pradip ToTo jaMmi ka madarita haro*  
Pradeep Toto said I Madarihat to go fut.

‘Pradeep Toto said I will go to Madarihat’

*wajpayi jaMna pakistanhi ajipa baratS'o haire mojaro*  
Vajpayee said Pakistan acc. assure India from no disturb-fut

‘Shri Vajpayee assured to Pakistan that India will not strike (first)’

### Accusative

The accusative marker is *-hi*. Examples :

*deMgabi kuiwa diMgahi hatita poina*  
people thief acc. market at caught

‘People caught the thief at market’

*ako bagainS'o pi kohi gipuna*  
he garden from bullock acc. chased

‘He chased the bullock from the garden’

*kibiha pikahi pomi*  
they cow-acc beat

‘They beat the cows’

Sometimes, the *o* marker is added to indicate accusative case. Example:

*ako zia SadaMna* ‘He is killing a bird’  
he bird kill pre con

### Instrumental

Instrumental marker is *-so*. Examples :

*akua salko keMbraso S'a banaina*  
he sal tree by house built

‘He built the house with Sal wood’

*akua akohiM luMTuso tona*  
he him stone by hit

‘He hit him by a stone’



## Dative

The dative marker is *-ta*. Examples:

*skulta woM* 'come to school'  
school to come

*skulta hatu* 'go to the school'  
school go to

*ka bagainta haruwa asua kam paruwa oMti tiMaruwa*  
I garden to go and work seeds drop on

'I go to the garden and work on the plants'

*kuM Seta hatu* 'go to my house'  
my house to go

## Locative

The locative marker is *-ta*. Examples:

*SeMceMbi barita nina* 'The animals are in the field'  
animals field-in are

*kibi loita yuMna* 'We live in a village'  
We village at live

*zia basata bayena* 'The bird is in the bird'  
bird nest-in sit

## Ablative

The ablative marker is *-so*. Examples:

*moMgalbar liSuMso diMabaywa gari kampawa bandujana*  
Tuesday night from passenger bus working stopped

'From Tuesday midnight the buses stopped working'

*ako kuM cebeso huina*  
he my window from fell

'He fell down from my window'

*ka*            *SiMeso*            *tanaMta*            *nina*  
I            tree from            far away            stand

‘I stand far from the tree’

### Genitive

The genitive marker is *-ko*. Examples:

*sureS' ko*    *moTorbaika*    *akta*    *japam*    *sena*  
Suresh's    motorbike    there    stand    pre.cont.

‘Suresh’s motorbike is standing there’

*kruS'nako*    *Dambe*    *pikaha*    *nE'Tata*    *baM dihe*  
Krishna's    bullock    street on    run    pre.cont.

‘Krishna’s bullock is running on the street’

### Vocative

*O!* *ah* are used as vocative markers. Examples:

*o pe mayaM*    *kare*    *woMpana*  
wait    I also    come

‘O! brother! please wait, I will also come’

*ah* , *ca* , *ita*    *tuMcna!*  
here    pains

‘Ah ! it is paining here’

*cayi* ,    *kiyaha* ,    *haTuiso*  
dogs            go away

‘Go away from here (dogs eat the food)’

### 4.2.5 POST POSITIONS

The nominal post-positions such as *-raM* ‘also’ , *-sa* ‘both’ etc. are added after nouns. Examples :

*akoko ceMwa biraM ita nina* 'Their sons are also here'  
 their sons also here are

*natibi niS'osa kampana* 'You both work'  
 you two both work

Similarly, *-ko* 'by', *-so* 'or' are also used as post positions in nominal endings.

*kibiha cabe pika biso dinkodin utiyena*  
 we cows acc. daily milk

'We milk the cows every day'

*nabi niS'oso S'umco ico muMTota mauM cayna*  
 you two or three together paddy cut

'You two or three together cut the paddy crop'

The other nominal post positions are :

*ka natiMpa kampako haro* 'I will go with you to work'  
 with

*pojako pekota gaccara* 'Take your seat amongst the boys'  
 boys middle seat take

*kuM namkaita maja* 'Don't stand in front of me'  
 my front don't stand

*kunnoita kya woMna* 'The dog came behind me'  
 my back dog came

*porako toiS'o zia buipuna* 'The bird flew over my head'  
 head over bird flew

*ka bepa akoiM tiMmi* 'He looks like me'  
 I like he looks

*kibiko kokoiko lita moMTo nina* 'The earth is under our feet'  
 our feet under earth is

*kuM aibiS'O ga* 'Take a seat by my side'  
 my side sit

*ako kuM S'ako aibita yuMna* 'He stays near my house'  
 he my house near stays

#### 4.2.6 PRONOUN

The pronouns are classified as follows : personal, possessive, indefinite, interrogative and demonstrative.

##### Personal pronouns

Person	Singular	Plural
First	<i>ka</i> 'I'	<i>kibi</i> 'we'
Second	<i>nati</i> 'you (sg.)'	<i>natibi</i> 'you (pl)'
Third	<i>ako /aku</i> 'he/she'	<i>akobiha/abiha</i> 'they'
	<i>ape</i> 'child'	<i>apebi</i> 'children'
	<i>i</i> 'it'	<i>yibi</i> 'these'

##### Possessive pronouns

Person	Singular	Plural
First	<i>kuM</i> 'my'	<i>kibiko</i> 'our'
Second	<i>nako</i> 'your (sg.)'	<i>nako ko</i> 'your (pl)'
Third	<i>akoko</i> 'his/her'	<i>akobiko</i> 'their'

##### Indefinite pronouns

*aS'e* 'some', *naMS'u* 'some', *haMS'u* 'anybody' etc. are some of the indefinite pronouns used in this language.

*aS'eso*      *cube*    *aS'eso jabe*  
 some are    new            old

'Some are new and some are old'

*aS'eDewa*    *M'aya aso*    *cecewwa*    *M'aya*  
 Big            fish    and    small        fish

'Some fish are big and some are small'

*haMS'ujiMdo ikam jokoirwa*  
anybody this work do can

‘Anybody can do this work’

*i kam haMS'ure mucuruwa*  
this work anybody not do can

‘Nobody can do this work’

*ka naMS'u iM jiMdo taMka kaipurwa*  
I some one money make give

‘I am making someone to give you money’

### Interrogative pronouns

The interrogative pronouns *who, what, which* and *whose* are found to be used in this language.

*kaiMpa haMS'u hakoga?* ‘Who will come with me?’  
I with who come will

*i haiM ham jaMga?* ‘What is this called?’  
this what told

*nati hani reil muMcakoga?* ‘Which train will you get?’  
you which train get will

*u haMsuko eMa?* ‘Whose horse is that?’  
that whose horse

### Demonstrative pronouns

The demonstrative pronouns *i* ‘this’ *u* ‘that’, *uta* ‘there’, *ita* ‘here’ are used in this language.

*i kuM eMa* ‘This horse is mine’  
this my horse

*u eMa picko eMa* ‘That horse is to be sold’  
that horse sale to horse

<i>ita</i>	<i>ipu</i>	<i>kya</i>	<i>ipu</i>	<i>miMki</i>	<i>nina</i>	
here	one	dog	one	cat	is	‘Here is one dog and one cat’

<i>uta</i>	<i>niS'o</i>	<i>meMtawa</i>	<i>loi</i>			
there	two	bad	village			‘There are two bad villages’

### Reciprocal pronouns

<i>karaM</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>pimi</i>			
myself	it	made			‘I made it myself’

<i>abiha</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>apnibiraM</i>	<i>pimi</i>		
they	it	themselves	made		‘They made it themselves’

<i>ako</i>	<i>tetraM</i>	<i>Sa</i>	<i>banaimi</i>		
he	himself	house	made		‘He made the house himself’

<i>ako</i>	<i>apniraM</i>	<i>putul</i>	<i>banaimi</i>		
she	herself	toy	made		‘She made the toy herself’

<i>netraM</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>menji</i>	<i>lami</i>		
yourself	this	story	created		‘Yourself this story created’

### 4.2.7 ADJECTIVE

An adjective qualifies the noun and it precedes the noun in the construction.

<i>entawa</i>	<i>poja</i>	
good	boy	‘The good boy’

<i>apecua</i>	<i>ape</i>	
small	child	‘The small child’

The adjectives are not inflected to plural. Instead, the plural suffix is added to the noun only.

<i>entawa</i>	<i>poja</i>	
good	boy	‘The good boy’

<i>entawa</i>	<i>pojabi</i>	'The good boys'
good	boys	

### Classification of adjectives

Toto adjectives can be classified as qualitative, quantitative and predicative.

#### Qualitative adjectives

<i>Tabo</i>	'big'
<i>gewwa</i>	'clever'
<i>menawwa</i>	'dirty'
<i>ziziwa</i>	'blunt'
<i>tuipeM</i>	'crooked'
<i>megewa/IE'Ta</i>	'foolish'
<i>S'oicua</i>	'kind'

#### Quantitative adjectives

<i>oiS'e</i>	'many'
<i>a S'ise</i>	'few'
<i>ta M S'a</i>	'all'
<i>apecua</i> <i>keitu</i> <i>diDu</i>	'Four little eggs'
little      eggs      four	

#### Predicative adjectives

The adjectives are used as predicatives in some sentences.

<i>ka</i>	<i>meMci</i>	<i>parewa</i>	<i>eMtana</i>
I	story	read to	good

'I like this story'

<i>uta</i>	<i>niS'o</i>	<i>loi</i>	<i>eMtawa</i>
there	two	villages	good

'There are two good villages'

#### 4.2.8 NUMERALS

The basic cardinals in Toto language is number specific. However, it is observed that a unit - *co* is added at the end of each numeral . In ordinal system, only first, middle and last is available.

##### Cardinal numbers

<i>i or ic<sup>h</sup>o</i>	‘one’
<i>ni or nico</i>	‘two’
<i>S’uM or S’uMco</i>	‘three’
<i>di or dico</i>	‘four’
<i>Ma or Maco</i>	‘five’
<i>ta or taco</i>	‘six’
<i>Mi or Mico</i>	‘seven’
<i>ye or yeco</i>	‘eight’
<i>ku or kuco</i>	‘nine’
<i>te or teco</i>	‘ten’

##### Higher Numbers

Some of the higher numbers are borrowed from the neighbouring languages and the unit -*co* is added in the final position.

<i>egaraco</i>	‘eleven’
<i>barco</i>	‘twelve’

But in some of the higher numbers, the basic cardinal numbers are retained in the word final position .

<i>tui S’oM</i> three	‘thirteen’
<i>ceMa</i> five	‘fifteen’
<i>cigu</i> nine	‘nineteen’

##### Multiplication

The higher numbers, say tens and twenties are formed in the following way:



<i>niS'o</i>	'twenty'
<i>e kaS'o teco</i> one twenty ten	'thirty'
<i>ni kai</i> two twenty	'forty'
<i>ni ka S'o teco</i> two twenty ten	'fifty'
<i>S'uM kai</i> three twenty	'sixty'
<i>S'uM kai S'o teco</i> three twenty ten	'seventy'
<i>Di kai</i> four twenty	'eighty'
<i>Di kai S'o teco</i> four twenty ten	'ninety'
<i>Ma kai</i> five twenty	'hundred'

Thus, in multiplication, one can see the higher numbers are counted in twenties (even) and for odds tens are added along with even numbers.

#### Ordinals

In Toto language, the ordinals are expressed as first, middle and last instead of first, second and third.

<i>naMkai</i>	'first'
<i>peko</i>	'middle'
<i>nuko</i>	'last'

#### Fractions

The following fractions are available in Toto :

<i>irai</i>	'quarter'
<i>nirai</i>	'half'
<i>S'uMrai</i>	'three fourth'
<i>Dirai</i>	'full'

### 4.2.9 CLASSIFIER

It has been observed that Toto language has classifiers such as *ke-*, *ki-*, *ber-* and so on. Examples :

1. The young ones of an animal or bird are referred with different markers. *ceM* is a common word to refer the young ones.

<i>berceM</i>	‘young animal of cow’
<i>keceM</i>	‘young bird of hen’
<i>kiceM</i>	‘young animal of dog’

2. The excrement varieties are also marked with different classifiers.

<i>asi</i>	‘human excreta’
<i>pesi</i>	‘cow dung’
<i>pasi</i>	‘pig excreta’
<i>kesi</i>	‘cock excreta’
<i>esi</i>	‘goat dung’

Here one can observe that *-si* is a common form to denote excreta but the classifiers vary according to the human, animal or bird.

3. Based on the following nouns the numeral classifiers also vary.

<i>nipu kya</i>	‘two dogs’
<i>nisa S’a</i>	‘two houses’
<i>nigri gari</i>	‘two bullock carts’
<i>niso iga</i>	‘two books’

### 4.3 VERB MORPHOLOGY

#### VERB

The Toto verb is, with all certainty, having the tendency of inflecting to tense, aspect and mood markers. Person, number and gender systems generally do not influence the verbal base in this language.

### 4.3.1 TENSE

In tense system of Toto, future and non future distinction is found.

#### Simple Present

The present tense is marked with *-na* marker. Example :

<i>ka</i> I	<i>ita</i> here	<i>woMna</i> come-pre.	'I come here'
<i>kibi</i> we	<i>ita</i> here	<i>woMna</i> come-pre.	'We come here'
<i>nati</i> you (sg)	<i>ita</i> here	<i>woMna</i> come-pre.	'You (sg.)come here'
<i>natibi</i> you (pl)	<i>ita</i> here	<i>woMna</i> come-pre.	'You (pl.)come here'
<i>ako</i> he	<i>ita</i> here	<i>woMna</i> come-pre.	'He comes here'
<i>ako</i> she	<i>ita</i> here	<i>woMna</i> come-pre.	'She comes here'
<i>akobi</i> they	<i>ita</i> here	<i>woMna</i> come-pre.	'They comes here'
<i>apε</i> child	<i>ita</i> here	<i>woMna</i> come-pre.	'Child come here'
<i>apeci</i> children	<i>ita</i> here	<i>woMna</i> come-pre.	'Children come here'

#### Simple Past

<i>ka</i> I	<i>ipuna</i> fell down		'I fell down'
<i>ka</i> we	<i>dakathi</i> robber-acc.	<i>poicirana</i> caught	'I caught the robber'
<i>kibire</i> we	<i>hapuna</i> went		'We went away'

*nati hapuna*  
you (sg) went

‘You (sg) went away’

*kunno ita kya woMna*  
my back dog came

‘The dog came behind me’

*porako toiS’o zia buipuna*  
head over bird flew

‘The bird flew over my head’

### Simple Future

-ro suffix is used to indicate the future tense.

*ka juguM loita honero*  
I tomorrow village go+fut.

‘Tomorrow I shall go to the village’

*kibi juguM loita honero*  
we tomorrow village go+fut.

‘Tomorrow We shall go to the village’

*nati juguM loita honero*  
you(sg) tomorrow village go+fut.

‘Tomorrow you(sg) will go to the village’

*natibi juguM loita honero*  
you(pl) tomorrow village go+fut.

‘Tomorrow you(pl) will go to the village’

*ako juguM loita honero*  
he tomorrow village go+fut.

‘Tomorrow he will go to the village’

*ako juguM loita honero*  
she tomorrow village go+fut.

‘Tomorrow she will go to the village’

*abire juguM loita honero*  
they tomorrow village go+fut.

‘Tomorrow they will go to the village’

### Continuous

#### Present

-diMna/ -daMna affix is used to express present continuous form.

*ka paRei diMi*  
I read am

‘I am reading’

*kibi ici toiS’i cadaMna*  
we one mango eat pre – cont.

‘We are eating a mango’

<i>nati ice toiS'i cadaMna</i> you(sg) one mango eat pre – cont.	'You(sg) are eating a mango'
<i>ako ice toiS'i cadiMna</i> he one mango eat pre – cont.	'He is eating a mango'
<i>ako ice toiS'i cadiMna</i> she one mango eat pre – cont.	'She eating a mango'
<i>abi ice toiS'i cadiMnahe</i> they one mango eat pre – cont.	'They are eating a mango'

## Past

*-danu/ -daMnu* affix is used to express past continuous form.

<i>ka paRei danu</i> I read past.cont.	'I was reading'
<i>kibi paRei danu</i> we read past.cont.	'We were reading'
<i>nati paRei danu</i> you(sg) read past.cont.	'You(sg) were reading'
<i>natibi paRei danu</i> you(pl) read past.cont.	'You(pl) were reading'
<i>ako paRei danu</i> he read past.cont.	'He was reading'
<i>ako paRei danu</i> she read past.cont.	'She was reading'

## Future

*-iro* affix is used to express future continuous form.

<i>ka hatita haniero</i> I market go+fut.+cont.	'Tomorrow I shall be going to the market'
--	---

## Perfect tense

### Simple:Present

*-puMte* affix is used to express the present perfect tense.

<i>ka</i>	<i>ici</i>	<i>toiS'i</i>	<i>capuMtana</i>	'I have eaten a mango'
I	one	mango	eat+pre.+perf.	
<i>kibi</i>	<i>ici</i>	<i>toiS'i</i>	<i>capuMtena</i>	'We have eaten a mango'
we	one	mango	eat+pre.+perf.	
<i>nati</i>	<i>ici</i>	<i>toiS'i</i>	<i>capuMtena</i>	'You(sg) have eaten a mango'
you(sg)	one	mango	eat+pre.+perf.	
<i>natibi</i>	<i>ici</i>	<i>toiS'i</i>	<i>capuMtena</i>	'You(pl) have eaten a mango'
you(pl)	one	mango	eat+pre.+perf.	
<i>ako</i>	<i>ici</i>	<i>toiS'i</i>	<i>capuMtena</i>	'He has eaten a mango'
he	one	mango	eat+pre.+perf.	
<i>ako</i>	<i>ici</i>	<i>toiS'i</i>	<i>capuMtena</i>	'She has eaten a mango'
she	one	mango	eat+pre.+perf.	
<i>ako</i>	<i>ici</i>	<i>toiS'i</i>	<i>capuMtena</i>	'It has eaten a mango'
it	one	mango	eat+pre.+perf.	
<i>abi</i>	<i>ici</i>	<i>toiS'i</i>	<i>capuMtena</i>	'They have eaten a mango'
they	one	mango	eat+pre.+perf.	

#### Past

The past perfect tense marker is *-puMte*

<i>ToToparata ico S'a baneipuMtena</i>	'I had built a building in Totopara'
totopara-in one home build+pst.+perf.	

#### Future

*-neko* suffix is used to express future perfect tense.

<i>ka</i>	<i>ako</i>	<i>kam</i>	<i>jakotami</i>	'I would have done the work'
I	that	work	do+fut+perf.	
<i>nati</i>	<i>kam</i>	<i>janeke</i>		'You(sg) would have done the work'
you(sg)	work	do+fut+perf.		
<i>ako</i>	<i>kam</i>	<i>janeke</i>		'She would have done the work'
she	work	do+fut+perf.		

*nati belata woMna ha kibi i kaM koiko*  
you(sg) time-in come had we this see would have

‘Had you come in time we would have seen this’

### Perfect continuous

Present

-*caMmi* is used to express present perfect continuous tense.

*ka hatita hanecaMmi* ‘I have been going to the market’

Past

-*daMmi* is the marker for past perfect continuous tense.

*ka hatita hodaMmi* ‘I had been going to the market’

Future

-*erwa* is the marker for future perfect continuous tense.

*ka hatita haerwa* ‘I should have been going to the market’

### Mood

Indicative : Statement

-*na* suffix is added with the verbal base to express indicative mood.

*kibiha cabe pikabiso dinko din utiyena*  
we cows from daily milk

‘We milk the cows daily’

*ka panc baji lomi / lona*  
I five O'clock get up

‘I get up at five o'clock’

### Imperative

The verbal base is not inflected to any suffix in imperative mood.

*lo* ‘Rise’

*ja* ‘Stand up’

<i>Ti pa</i> Bring		‘Bring water’
<i>lapuM we</i> open		‘Open the door’
<i>lapuM mei</i> close		‘Close the door’
<i>akoiM mow</i> call		‘Call him’
<i>sokaipa jaM</i> speak		‘Speak slowly’
<i>cecoipa muye</i> not speak		‘Don’t speak loudly’

### Probablity Mood

*-koir/- kor* marker is used to express probability mood.

<i>akone</i> he still	<i>woM koirwa</i> come may	‘He may still come’
<i>i</i> it	<i>jiMkoro</i> happen may	‘It may happen’

### Obligatory Mood

*-ner/-nek* marker is used to express obligatory mood.

<i>ka</i> I	<i>woM nero</i> come should	‘I should come’
<i>akohi</i> he	<i>zia S’aneruwa</i> bird kill should	‘He should kill the bird’
<i>akohi</i> he	<i>kampako mojanepako</i> work not do should	‘He should not do the work’

### Optative Mood

*-ko* marker is used to express optative mood.



*taMcepu*      *woMpuiko*      ‘Let them all come’  
all              come let

*lera*   *kampako*      *mokoiko*      *haneruwa*      ‘One should go to find a job’  
anyone work      find to      go should

### Desirative

-*car/- coM* marker is used to express desirative mood.

*ka woM caro*                      ‘I want to come’  
I   come want

*ka*      *woMcoMko*      *tami*              ‘I like to come’  
I      come to      like

### Conditional

The condition is expressed with the suffix *-nina*.

*eMabiko*      *bekreMnina*      *eMabi*      *buipumS’a*      *hako*  
horses      wings if      horses      fly      would have

‘If horses had wings they would have flown’

*ako*      *keimpa*              *nina*      *eMtapu*      *jiMko*  
he      with              was if      better      would have

‘If he were with me, it would have been better’

*kaiM*      *aS’esopa*      *yacna*              ‘I want some more’  
I      some more      want

*aS’iS’etab*      *epna*      *kahiM*      *lada pica*  
besides      this      me      something give

‘Besides this give me something else’

### 4.3.3 NON-FINITE VERB

#### Infinitive

The infinitive marker *-ko* is added to the verbal base to obtain infinitive verb.

*kibi*    *Maya*    *S'akako*    *yorata*    *hena*  
 we    fish    catch for    river to    go

‘We go to the river to catch fish’

*ka*    *woMcokko*    *tami*    ‘I like to come’  
 I    come    to    like

*nati*    *woMko*    *naMkai ka*    *woMmi*  
 you    came    before I    came

‘You came before I came’

### Participle

*-wa* suffix is added to the verbal base to form the participle.

*tamcepu*    *lenanako*    *mowadeMa*  
 all    have come you    called persons

‘All those you called have come’

*lawa*    *igabi*    *poReiko*    *eMtami*  
 printed books read to    easy

‘Printed books are easy to read’

### Gerund

*-wa* suffix is added to the verbal base to form gerund.

*baMwahi*    *eMaso*    *meMci*  
 running    horse    is done

‘Running is done by the horse’

*wawwaha*    *ipu*    *kiyaso*    *jiMna*  
 barking    one    dog by    is being made

‘Barking is being done by a dog’

### 4.3.4 CAUSATIVE VERB

*-pa* is a causative marker which is affixed after the verbal base.

*ka eMahi bamparuwa*  
I horse acc run make

‘I make the horse to run’

*ako pojahim ka miTay caparuwa*  
that boy acc. I sweet eat make

‘I make the boy to eat sweets’

*einte biya lakRahiM boTta jioparuwa*  
we Lakra – acc election in win make

‘We will make Mr. Lakra to win in the election’

#### 4.3.5 AUXILIARY VERB

Auxiliary verbs follow the main verb in Toto.

*-pumi/-puina* ‘have/had’

*ka baireko S’eta ha pumi*  
I friend’s house to go pt. perf. ten.

‘I had gone to my friend’s house’

*ako meime barako S’eta hapuina*  
she friend’s house go pt. perf. ten.

‘She has gone to her friend’s house’

*ka woMko naMgai abi hapumteimko*  
I came before they go pt. perf. Ten

‘They had gone before I came’

Other examples:

*ako zia S’edaMna* ‘He may kill the bird’  
he bird kill may

*ka woMruwa* ‘I ought to come’  
I come ought

<i>ako</i>	<i>ajipraM</i>	<i>ico iga</i>	<i>laruwa</i>	'He ought to write a book'
He	certainly	one book	write ought	

#### 4.3.6 NEGATIVE VERB

The affix *-ma* is prefixed before the verb to form negative verb. Sometimes *-ma* becomes *-me* also.

<i>jaM</i>	'say'
<i>majaM</i>	'don't say'
<i>meMtawa</i>	'not good'

There are some instances where *-m* is alone infix to make negative sense in the verbal base.

<i>i</i>	<i>Ti</i>	<i>amtua</i>	'This water is not drinkable'
this	water	drink+not	
<i>amtu</i>		'to drink'	
<i>amtua</i>		'not drink'	

#### 4.3.7 COMPOUND VERB

Compound verbs are formed by joining the two individual verbs into one to express an action in Toto language. Examples :

<i>bemS'e</i>	<i>yuMnahe</i>	'sat (helplessly) to protect'
to protect	sat	
<i>codaMnehe</i>		'tried to strike'
to strike	tried	
<i>lawomS'a</i>	<i>woMnahe</i>	'came back'
to return	came	
<i>buibumS'a</i>	<i>hapune</i>	'flying back'
to fly	back	
<i>yuMwa</i>	<i>tiMnahe</i>	'saw curled (up snake)'
to lie	saw	

### 4.3.8 PASSIVE FORMATION

-*wa* or -*ye* suffix is added to the verbal stem to have passivization. –*so* marker is added to the object. Examples :

*iga kuMso paReiwa jiMna*  
book me by read

‘The book is read by me’

*taS'e TaMka picaye lakkanhi ramko kuiS'o*  
ten rupees was given lakshmanan Ram's hand

Ten rupees was given to Lakshmana by Rama’

*juguM kekako biya cawwaha kuMso jiMruwa*  
tomorrow chicken meat eaten me by will be

‘Chicken meat will be eaten by me tomorrow’

### 4.3.9 TRANSITIVE VERBS

The Vowel /*a*/ in the intransitive verbs changes into *e* or *o* in the transitive verbs.

#### Intransitive

*hatu* ‘to go’

*S'ako* ‘to kill’

*nati hanero* ‘You (sg) shall go’  
you (sg) go fut.

*nati bi hanero* ‘You (pl) shall go’  
you pl go fut.

*ako hanero* ‘He will go’  
he go fut.

*ako zia S'adaMna* ‘He is killing the bird’  
he bird kill pre.cont.

## Transitive

*kibi Maya S'akako jorata hena*  
we fish catch to river go

'We go to the river to catch fish'

*ako sadaibari ziabi S'ec<sup>h</sup>aMna*  
he always birds kills

'He always kills the birds'

*ako ainji zia S'eyna*  
he yesterday bird killed

'He killed the bird yesterday'

## 4.4 ADVERBS

Adverbs precede the verb in Toto. *-pa* is the adverbial suffix affixed to the noun.  
Example :

<i>sokaipa</i> slowly	<i>jaM</i> speak		'Speak slowly'
<i>cecoipa</i> loudly	<i>muye</i> no speak		'Don't speak loudly'
<i>lawabi</i> words	<i>eMtap</i> neatly	<i>la</i> write	'Write the words neatly'
<i>rama</i> rama	<i>S'ene</i> quickly	<i>S'enepatuina</i> runs	'Rama runs quickly'

Adverbs are classified on the basis of time, direction or place and manner.

### Time adverbs

<i>sani yuda Mwa</i>	'after noon'
<i>epraM</i>	'again'
<i>dine</i>	'daily'
<i>jeroM</i>	'evening'
<i>aku bella</i>	'in time'
<i>ainji</i>	'yesterday'

<i>aimpu</i>	‘day before yesterday’
<i>hapta</i>	‘week’
<i>tatriMpa</i>	‘suddenly’

#### Direction Adverbs

<i>tanaMta</i>	‘far away’
<i>kekriMta</i>	‘left side’
<i>daMta</i>	‘north’
<i>lE’wa</i>	‘upwards’
<i>(aS’iS’o) noi</i>	‘span’
<i>gawwa</i>	‘edge’
<i>nutta</i>	‘east’
<i>debe</i>	‘bottom of’

#### Manner adverbs

<i>aS’iS’iyujru</i>	‘kindly’
<i>cecoiwa</i>	‘loudly’
<i>S’okepa</i>	‘slowly’
<i>ajipraM</i>	‘truly’
<i>munE’pa</i>	‘foolishly’

#### Reduplication

The first word repeats as such in the second word as well. Example:

<i>S’eMke S’eMke</i>	‘lame’
<i>wa wa</i>	‘back’

Some of the following words take the suffixes or post positions such as *-i*, *-wa* etc. Example:

<i>itu itui</i>	‘one by one’
<i>ue ue uwa</i>	‘wave’
<i>du du wa</i>	‘beat (heart pulse)’
<i>goM goMwa</i>	‘hunch back’

The first syllable of the word or the second syllable repeated in the following word. .  
Examples:

<i>ke kereM</i>	‘left handed’
<i>doM doMtapna</i>	‘refresh’
<i>aM duM duMbi</i>	‘washerman’

#### 4.5 VARIOUS TYPES OF VERBS IN TOTO

Since this is a pioneering attempt to study the Toto language it has been decided to provide various types of verbal bases along with the verbal endings which will be much helpful for the future studies.

<i>Nawa</i>	‘aim at’
<i>miywa</i>	‘break : stick’
<i>koMwa</i>	‘carry the baby in the customary manner’
<i>Mowa</i>	‘carry on head’
<i>taiwa</i>	‘itch’
<i>to</i>	‘knock (on a door)’
<i>ceiko</i>	‘chop the firewood’
<i>doMko</i>	‘pound the grain’
<i>coMko</i>	‘cut : the meat’
<i>tatriMpa</i>	‘attack’
<i>luiS’wa</i>	‘fight’
<i>bako</i>	‘pierce’
<i>bewa</i>	‘beat the drum’
<i>ledi lewa</i>	‘sing : a song’
<i>muyyuwa</i>	‘blow : flute’
<i>dadapa</i>	‘accompany’
<i>lekawa</i>	‘climb’
<i>i puwa</i>	‘fall down’
<i>jowa</i>	‘float’
<i>lo o</i>	‘get up’
<i>tuiwa</i>	‘run’
<i>koyuwa</i>	‘travel’
<i>Urawa</i>	‘wander’
<i>lacewa</i>	‘graze’
<i>yewa</i>	‘milk a cow’
<i>naiyuwa</i>	‘paint’
<i>ti</i>	‘weave’
<i>odoiwa</i>	‘belch’
<i>uMwa</i>	‘boil’
<i>cawwa</i>	‘eat’
<i>aMwa</i>	‘smoke’
<i>hyuwa</i>	‘swallow’
<i>jewa</i>	‘comb : hair’
<i>ludaMna</i>	‘wear : cloth’
<i>giwa</i>	‘put on : ornaments’
<i>oi</i>	‘answer : a call’
<i>jaM</i>	‘answer : a question’
<i>hiMpawwa</i>	‘complain’



<i>leiwa</i>	‘describe’
<i>mocua</i>	‘invite’
<i>yei</i>	‘check : flow of blood’
<i>mei</i>	‘stop water in a pipe’
<i>goiro</i>	‘need’
<i>sawa</i>	‘rest’
<i>ga</i>	‘sit’
<i>poe</i>	‘stop’
<i>kuiko</i>	‘wait’
<i>(roM) hapna</i>	‘bleach’
<i>(yuti) Mopna</i>	‘bleed’
<i>(meibe) maimi</i>	‘bloom : as a flower’
<i>S’eMpa</i>	‘dry in sun’
<i>maMbuiwa</i>	‘dream’
<i>ceMwa</i>	‘count’
<i>gemmi</i>	‘know a person’
<i>zinewa</i>	‘learn’
<i>luMlaiwa</i>	‘breathe’
<i>hiMwa</i>	‘hear’
<i>leMwa</i>	‘laugh’
<i>nen</i>	‘see’
<i>S’uwa</i>	‘touch’
<i>tucna</i>	‘pain’
<i>nuwa</i>	‘kiss’
<i>ackapuwa</i>	‘hate’
<i>yaMtana</i>	‘rejoice’
<i>gairo</i>	‘desire’
<i>epraM</i>	‘avenge’
<i>huwa</i>	‘bathe’
<i>jiMko</i>	‘decrease’
<i>turaiwa</i>	‘encourage’
<i>gurgaiwa</i>	‘gargle’
<i>yeMwa</i>	‘ridicule’

Thus the Toto verbal bases, sometimes end with the suffixes *-wa*, *-ko*, *-na* etc. and other times with consonant or vowel endings.

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## 5. SYNTAX

In Toto language, different types of sentences are found. Sometimes, it is as simple as follow :

<i>kiya</i>	<i>wami</i>	‘The dog barks’
dog	barks	

The above said sentence consists of the subject and verb (intransitive) only to form a sentence.

Sentences are possible without the subject as well in Toto language. Examples are given below:

<i>kuM</i>	<i>pikko</i>	<i>garita</i>	<i>hatu</i>	‘Go to my cart’
my	bullock	cart	go	

<i>kuM</i>	<i>iga</i>	<i>ita</i>	<i>pa</i>	‘Bring my book here’
my	book	here	bring	

The sentence is also possible without the obvious verb as shown in the examples below:

<i>yiya</i>	<i>ipu</i>	<i>kiya</i>	‘This is a dog’
this	one	dog	

<i>yiya</i>	<i>ipu</i>	<i>pika</i>	‘This is a cow’
this	one	cow	

<i>i</i>	<i>S’abi</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>S’a</i>	‘These are two houses’
these	house +pl	two	houses	

Sometimes, two different phrases or sentences are joined together to form one large sentence. The example is as follow:

<i>ako</i>	<i>mal patra</i>	<i>picako</i>	<i>tamS’a</i>
his	luggage	make to	give

<i>yudaMmi</i>	<i>ado</i>	<i>akodiMa</i>	<i>acka</i>	<i>matana</i>
attempt	but	that man	like	not does

‘He makes him give the luggage to him but he does not feel like’

## 5.1 ORDER OF WORDS IN SENTENCES

In Toto sentences , the subject comes first followed by the object and verb. Hence the structure of the sentence pattern is

*Subject + Object + Verb (SOV)*

Example :

<i>ape</i>	<i>natiM</i>	<i>netina</i>	‘The child sees you’
child	you acc	see pre ten	
<i>subject</i>	<i>object</i>	<i>verb</i>	

The object noun takes the case marker whereas the verbal base takes the tense marker. The verbal base most of the time takes the tense marker. It does not inflect with person, number and gender suffixes. That is, these markers are not obligatory in this language.

## 1.2 DESCRIPTION OF TYPES OF PHRASES AND SENTENCES

The Toto sentences are made up of noun and phrases and verb phrases.

Noun phrase

In noun phrases, pronouns or adjectives precede the head nouns.

<i>ako</i>	<i>ceMwa</i>	‘His son’
his	son	
<i>ako</i>	<i>ceMwabi</i>	‘His sons’
his	sons	
<i>entawa</i>	<i>poja</i>	‘The good boy’
good	boy	
<i>entawa</i>	<i>meime</i>	‘The good girl’
good	girl	
<i>Tabo</i>	<i>iga</i>	‘The big book’
big	book	
<i>Tabo</i>	<i>igabi</i>	‘The big books’
big	books	

## Predicate phrase

The predicate phrase consists of a verb as a nucleus and may be preceded or followed by a noun, or an adverb or other markers such as tense, aspect or mood.

*nako S'eta hatu* 'Go to your house'  
your house to go

*kuM piko garita hatu* 'Go to my cart'  
my bullock cart go

In adverbial phrase, the adverbs precede the verb.

*sokaipa jaM* 'Speak slowly'  
slowly speak

*lawabi entapa la* 'Write the words neatly'  
words neatly write

## 1.3 DESCRIPTION OF TYPES OF SENTENCES

### Interrogative

*w/h* words are used to make interrogative sentences. These words start with the syllable *ha-* in Toto language. Examples :

*nati haM cadaMa?* 'What do you eat?'  
what  
*nati hase bela lomga?* 'When do you get up?'  
when  
*nati hanta yuMa?* 'Where do you live?'  
where  
*kaiMpa haMS'u hakoga?* 'Who will come with me?'  
who  
*nati hamS'a adaMa?* 'Why are you going?'  
why  
*ka happajamS'a jaMko ga?* 'How shall I speak?'  
how  
*u haMsuko eMa?* 'Whose horse is that?'  
whose

## Imperative

The verbal base is used to make imperative sentences. No markers are used.  
Example :

<i>akoiM</i>	<i>mow</i>			‘Call him’
	call			
<i>cipeita</i>	<i>ga</i>			‘Sit on the floor’
	sit			
<i>ja</i>				‘Stand up’
<i>lo</i>				‘Rise’
<i>car</i>	<i>bajjeko</i>	<i>noita</i>	<i>waM</i>	‘Come after four o’clock’
	after	come		
<i>abi</i>	<i>meimihi</i>	<i>ico</i>	<i>meMci la</i>	‘Tell a story to these ladies’
			tell	
<i>S’eta</i>	<i>hatu</i>	<i>aso</i>	<i>woM</i>	‘Go home and come back’
	go		come	

## Negative

The negative marker *-m* is added with the verbal base preferably as a prefix, to make negative sentences. Some times *ah*, *mm* words are used to make negative sense.

Examples :

<i>ah,</i>	<i>kuM</i>	<i>ceme</i>	<i>matana</i>
no	I	daughter	not have

‘No, I don’t have a daughter’

<i>mm</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>gawha</i>	<i>miMtawa</i>
no	this	village	bad is

‘No, this is a bad village’

<i>ako</i>	<i>deMaya</i>	<i>haMtare</i>	<i>madasna</i>
that	man	where	no found

‘I found the man no where’

*akua kam jako mogaiko*  
 he work not should do

‘He should not do the work’

Sometimes, *-m* affix which expresses negative, is added to the first element of the compound verbal base. The verbal bases are *bampowa* ‘drive’, *yawa* ‘ask’.

*ako sunipa bampam koina*  
 speed not drive

‘He cannot do the driving fast’

*i kam jowwako paisa yamkorwa*  
 this work money ask not may

‘He may not ask money for this work’

### Causative

*-pa* marker is used to make causative sentences.

*ka akuiso ico iga picpadaMna*  
 book give make pre.cont.

‘I am making her to give a book’

*ka akohi jae akomeime iga lapiko*  
 I him ask her book give make

‘I ask him to make her give a book’

*ako malpatro picako tamsa yudaMmi ado*  
 he luggage make give attempt but

*ako diMa a cka matana*  
 that man like not

‘He makes him give the luggage to him but he does not feel like it’

## Coordinate sentences

The words such as *naMkai* 'before', *aso* 'and' are used to make coordinate sentences. Examples :

*ako*    *haniko*            *naMkai*            *hapuintena*  
he    might have    before            gone

*abikota*            *dekako*            *nankai*  
them            reach            before

'He might have gone before I reach them'

*aT*    *bajita*            *cucuM*            *kowa*            *sairan*  
eight   o'clock at    sound            alert  
*impana*            *aso*    *deMabi*            *kampako*            *taleina*  
heard            and    people            working            started

'The siren blew at eight O'clock and people started working'

## 5.4 DESCRIPTION OF PATTERN OF SENTENCES

### Simple Sentence

subject + predicate  
*kiya*            *wami*            'The dog barks'  
dog            barks

subject + predicate  
/verb + object/  
*nako*    *S'eta*            *hatu*            'You go to the house'  
you    house -to    go

subject +    predicate  
enlargement /verb + extension/  
*ibi*    *niS'oso*            *S'uMco*            *pojabi*            *S'ako*  
these   two or            three            boys            houses

*naMpota*            *hatu*  
inside            go  
  
'These two or three boys go into the house'

### Complex sentence

<i>hatraMto</i>	<i>keitu</i>	<i>tuipuMkonoita</i>	<i>daS'a</i>
everytime	egg	lay after	black
<i>puiwaha</i>	<i>ajako</i>	<i>keitui</i>	<i>uipucamehe</i>
snake	crow's	egg	swallowed

'Every time the crow hen laid her eggs the black snake ate them up'.

<i>epraM</i>	<i>keitui</i>	<i>puiya</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>punaha</i>	<i>ka</i>
again	eggs	snake	like	eat	I
<i>i</i>	<i>siMeko</i>	<i>basata</i>	<i>yumoiwa</i>		
this	tree's	nest	live not		

'If the snake eats up my eggs this time also, I refuse to live in this nest any longer'

### Compound sentence

<i>akonoita</i>	<i>aja</i>	<i>dambe</i>	<i>cabehaako</i>	
afterwords	crow	male	female	that
<i>siMeta</i>	<i>gagrupa</i>	<i>yumS'a</i>	<i>aS'ua</i>	<i>oiS'e</i>
tree in	happily	lived	and	many
<i>apecua</i>	<i>ceMbi</i>	<i>ceMpanehe</i>		
small	children	had		

'The crow and the crow-hen lived in that tree happily afterwards and had many little baby crows'

<i>ka</i>	<i>caDe das</i>	<i>baji</i>	<i>reilta</i>	<i>baina</i>	<i>aso</i>	<i>caDe</i>	<i>egaro</i>	<i>baji</i>
I	thirty ten	hour	train	caught	and	thirty	eleven	hour

<i>afista</i>	<i>dewoMna</i>
office	came

'I caught the train at 10.30 a.m. and came to the office at 11.30 a.m.'



## CONCLUSION

Toto language spoken by Totos in West Bengal has the following features:

- a. The tonal and pronominalizing features are not found in the Toto language
- b. The higher numbers are counted in twenties
- c. The basic vocabularies in Toto language are more similar with the non pronominalized group of languages such as Gurung, Murmi (Tamang), Mangar, Sunwar and so on

The collected Toto words are compared with the list of words given in the Grierson's LSI volume and the words those are similar in line with Toto language only shown in the above chart.

<b>Lexical</b>	<b>Toto</b>	<b>Gurung</b>	<b>Murmi</b>	<b>Mangar</b>	<b>Sunwar</b>
two	<i>nico</i>	-	-	<i>Nis</i>	<i>NiS'i</i>
three	<i>S'uM</i>	<i>S'õ</i>	<i>S'om</i>	-	<i>S'aM</i>
five	<i>macho</i>	<i>Ma:</i>	<i>Ma:</i>	<i>banga</i>	<i>Mo:</i>
six	<i>tu</i>	<i>Tu</i>	<i>Tu</i>	-	-
eight	<i>ye</i>	-	-	-	<i>yoh</i>
nine	<i>ku</i>	<i>ku</i>	<i>ku</i>	-	-
twenty	<i>nisu</i>	<i>Nhi siu</i>	-	-	-
I	<i>ka</i>	<i>Ma</i>	<i>Ma</i>	<i>Ma</i>	-
he	<i>aku</i>	-	-	<i>asko</i>	-
eye	<i>mico</i>	<i>Mi</i>	<i>Mi</i>	<i>Mik</i>	<i>Michi</i>
hand	<i>kui</i>	-	-	-	<i>gui</i>
tongue	<i>lebe</i>	<i>Le</i>	<i>Le</i>	-	<i>Le</i>
belly	<i>poima</i>	<i>pho</i>	<i>pho</i>	-	-

The above said features indicate that the Toto language shares some of the features of non-pronominalized group of languages such as Gurung, Murmi (Tamang), Mangar, Sunwar and so on.

However, its close proximity or distance among the Himalayan groups of languages will only be determined by undertaking a future research.

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**TOTO  
TEXT**

*heppa jamS'a*      *cabe aja daS'ua*      *puyahiM*      *S'aena*  
how                      crow hen black      snake-acc.      killed

‘How crow hen killed black snake’?

*iyuM borko siMtenko*      *gebeta*      *ipu dambe ajaso*  
one banyan tree's      branch      one crow and

*cabe*      *yuMmihe.*      *abiko*      *bassata*      *apecua*      *keitu*  
hen      lived      their      nest in      small      egg

*diDu*      *nimihe*      *abiya*      *ako*      *keitubihiM*      *eMtapu*  
four      were      they      that      eggs acc      very

*kamusa enahe. ako siMeko*      *oMbeta*      *ipu daS'ua*  
guarded      that tree's      hole in      one black

*puyare*      *yuMmihe*      *ako*      *puya so aja dambe c<sup>h</sup>abe biya*  
snake      lived      that      snake for crow husband wife

*cucuMpa*      *yuMcnamihe.*      *hatraMto*      *keitu*      *tuipuMko*      *noita*  
feared      sit greatly      everytime      egg lay      after

*daS'ua puiwaha*      *ajako keitui*      *upu camehe*  
black snake      crow's egg      swallowed

“Among the spreading branches of a banyan tree lived a crow and his wife, the crow-hen. In the nest were four little eggs which the parents guarded with great care. In a hollow of that tree-trunk lived a black snake whom the crows feared greatly. Every time the crow-hen laid her eggs the snake crawled up to the nest and ate them up”.

*“epraM*      *keitui puiya i*      *punaha*      *ka*      *i*      *siMeko*  
again      eggs snake this      eat      I      this      tree on

*bassata*      *yumkoirwa*      *tamS'a*      *cabe ajaha*      *ako*  
nest in      live not fut.      hen      crow      his

*dambe ajahe*      *jaMnahe.*      *epraM*      *jaMnahe*      *i*      *siMe*  
husband bird to      told      then      told      this      tree

*witimS'a*      *dosra siMeta*      *bassa*      *bane*      *neruwa''*  
 leave            other tree in            nest            build            must

“If the black snake eats up my eggs this time also, I refuse to live in this tree any longer. We must build our nest somewhere else” said the mother bird to her husband”.

*eintiya*            *ita*      *yuMwaha*      *oiS'e lohae. ka*      *i*      *S'a*  
 we            have lived            many years I            this house

*witimS'a*      *hako*      *tuMSiMso*      *macana*      *dambe aja*  
 desert            heart by            don't like            crow-hen

*jaMnehe.*      *abiyesmi*      *kokoita*      *'his'*      *tamS'a*      *abiko*  
 told            (while) they were talking            hiss sound            their

*liS'o*      *kayna he.*      *haMkaime akua*      *abi Mainahe*      *haijakomacudo*  
 under sound heard what is that they knew            helplessly

*aja*      *cabeha*            *bassata*            *keitu*      *bemS'e*      *yuMnahe.*  
 crow      hen            nest at            egg            protecting            sat

*daS'ua pueha*      *hombeso*            *MomS'a*      *eimpuMS'a ajako*      *bassako aibita*  
 black snake hole from            out            crept            bird's nest            near

*hamS'a*            *poro*      *bupenehe.*            *akonoitaha*            *ajabihiM*            *codaMnehe*  
                   head            lifted            afterwards            birds            tried to strike

*aja*      *ako timS'a*            *buipuMS'a*            *hapunaye.*            *itui itui*            *jamS'a*  
 bird            that seen            flew            away            one by one

*diTuiS'a*            *daS'ua*            *puiha*      *yupuinahe.*  
 four            black            snake swallowed

“We have lived here a long time. I can't bear to desert my home and go to live elsewhere” said the crow. While they were talking they heard a hissing sound just below them. They knew what the sound meant. They sat helplessly in their nest trying to protect their eggs. The black snake crept higher and closer to the nest. Then with a loud hiss he tried to strike at the birds who flew away in terror. One by one, the black snake swallowed the eggs.”

*aja*      *dambe*      *cabe*            *lawomS'a*            *woMnahe*            *ado*      *abi*      *gemmi*  
 crow            parents            returned            came            but            they            know

*abigo*      *bassata*      *haire*            *matto.*      *dambe aja*      *jaMnahe*            “ i  
 their nest in            nothing available male crow said            this

*puya hiM keito aMcaMwa hepay jamS'a jiMdo S'eruwa*  
 snake acc egg swallow any how must kill

“The parents came back sadly to their nest, knowing well that they would find it empty. The crow said, “I must find a way to destroy this murderous snake.”

*cabe aja S'aS'imsa jaMnahe puyako cowwa*  
 female bird despair told snake's sting (is)

*S'ipkaro akuimpa hepayamS'a luiS'koikoga*  
 deadly with him how fight can

“How can you ever fight him? His sting is so deadly”, said his wife in despair.”

*dambe aja jaMnahe “mucuMko mereM, kuM ico*  
 crow bird told don't worry dear my one

*gewwa bero nyo ako puyahiM S'ekoruwa” aS'e*  
 cunning friend is that snake acc. kill definitely like

*jamS'a aja dosra siMeta buipumS'a haNihe aS'wa*  
 told (and) bird another tree flew where that

*siMeko lita ako bero mamsirita daspanihe*  
 tree's under his friend jackal meet past

“Don't you worry, my dear, I have got a friend who is cunning enough to destroy the most poisonous of snakes” said the crow, and off he flew to another tree under which lived his dear friend, the jackal”.

*mamsiritaha bero ajaso taMcepu heppajamS'a pueha keitu*  
 jackal friend crow from all how snake egg

*aMcame hiMnahe. akso mamsiri jaMnahe “epajiMwa*  
 swallowed heard after jackal told like this

*kamjombiha tuMsiM matwaso lobi abikowa noitaha*  
 doing heart no(cruel) and greedy they later

*eMtap mejiMme” mucuMkoi, ka ico gewwa*  
 good not live don't fear I one plan

*jaruwa akoiya heppajamS'a S'ap koiruwa*  
 tell fut. that (snake) how killed be

“When the jackal heard how the snake always ate up the eggs, he said, “my friend, those who are cruel and greedy always meet with a bad end. Have no fear, I have already thought of a plan to destroy him”.

<i>a ha</i>	<i>tamS'a</i>	<i>aja</i>	<i>jaMnehe</i>	<i>“i</i>	<i>hapa</i>	<i>jiMkoga?”</i>
O	expressing	crow	told	it	how	happen fut.
<i>mamsiriha</i>	<i>cucuMpa</i>	<i>jaMnehe</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>nwaMhiM</i>	<i>baireta</i>	
jackal	fear	told	this	story	outside	
<i>mihimcipa</i>	<i>nanuko</i>	<i>aibita</i>	<i>S'ukaipa</i>	<i>heppajamS'a</i>		
not hear	ear's	near to	whisper	how		
<i>puya hiM</i>	<i>S'ekome</i>	<i>jaMnahe.</i>	<i>dambe aja</i>	<i>buimpumS'a</i>		
snake acc.	kill	told	crow	flew		
<i>takome</i>	<i>cabe</i>	<i>ajakota</i>	<i>hamS'a</i>	<i>taMcepu</i>		
his wife	crow	hen	went	all		
<i>lainahe.</i>	<i>“iha</i>	<i>aS'iS'e</i>	<i>cucum</i>	<i>newaga</i>	<i>ado</i>	
(story)opened	this	somewhat	risky	plan	but	
<i>eintih</i>	<i>eMtpa</i>	<i>jamS'a</i>	<i>yuMneruwa”</i>	<i>dabe</i>	<i>aja</i>	<i>jaMnahe</i>
we	much	careful	stay fut.	crow	told	

“Oh, do tell me what it is”, said the crow. Then the jackal, fearing he might be over heard, whispered to his friend what he should do to destroy the snake. The crow flew back to his wife and told her about the plan. “It is rather risky”, said the crow. “We shall have to be very careful”.

<i>aja</i>	<i>cabe</i>	<i>jaMnahe</i>	<i>“ka</i>	<i>mucuMro</i>	<i>heppajamS'a</i>	<i>jiMdo</i>
crow	female	told	I	bravely	any how	do
<i>keituhiM</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>wamS'a</i>	<i>ero”.</i>			
eggs acc	I	save fut.				

‘I shall do anything to save my eggs’, said the mother bird bravely.

<i>ako noita</i>	<i>abiha</i>	<i>ako</i>	<i>rajako</i>	<i>rajdarbar</i>	<i>S'ata</i>	<i>buipumS'a</i>
afterwards	they	that	king's	palace	house	flew
<i>hapune</i>	<i>taibi</i>	<i>yuMwa</i>	<i>siMeso</i>	<i>rajdarbar</i>	<i>S'aha</i>	
off	where(they)	live	tree from	palace	house	
<i>tanaM</i>	<i>mattamihe.</i>	<i>ako</i>	<i>rajdarbarko</i>	<i>naMpota</i>	<i>ico</i>	
distance	not is	that	palace's	inside	one	

*bagainso*    *ico*    *Tabo*    *pokori*    *nimihe*    *abiha*    *kaMnuwa*  
garden    one    big    pond    was    they    saw

*rajdarbarko*    *meimebi*    *tihua*    *tiMnahe.*    *meimebiha*    *taibiko*  
palace's    ladies    bathing    saw    ladies    their

*MetuMko*    *giwatise*    *nanuMta*    *suMwa*    *sun*    *asua*  
chain    mala    ear    wearing    golden    like

*ladakei*    *pokiriko*    *doindita*    *yemihe*    *cabe/aima*  
ornaments    pond's    edge at    kept    mother

*ajaha*    *liS'o*    *buipumS'a*    *ico*    *sunkokei*    *namuS'o*    *yomuS'a*  
bird    down    flew    one    necklace    beak by    picked

*S'uka-S'ukapa*    *abiko*    *yuMcaMwa*    *siMeta*    *buipumS'a*    *hanahe*    *rajdarbarko*  
slowly    their    living    tree to    fly    returned    palace's

*kaMwa*    *diMabiha*    *ajako*    *sunkokei*    *paicpuwa*    *tiMna*    *aS'ua*  
guards    bird    necklace    taking    saw    then

*abiha*    *decuM*    *pumS'a*    *ajako*    *nununui*    *gipnahe.*    *kaMwa*    *diMabi*  
they    club    taking    bird's    behind    ran    guards

*ajaha*    *ako*    *siMeko*    *hombeta*    *sunkokei*    *huikapne*    *tiMnahe.*  
crow    that    tree's    hole in    necklace    drop    saw

*kaMwa*    *diMaso*    *icoha*    *siMeta*    *sunkokei*    *uipako*  
guards    among    one    tree on    necklace    take out

*lokanehe.*    *sunkokei*    *yokako*    *tamS'a*    *siMeko*    *hombeta*    *kuiwa*    *kadanu*  
climbed    necklace    bring out    for    tree's    hole in    hand put inside

*ipu*    *daS'ua*    *puiha*    *petakoimS'a*    *yuMwa*    *tiMnahe.*  
one    black    snake    ring like curled    lie    saw

*S'etiMpa*    *jamuS'a*    *doeS'o*    *bapunihe*    *aS'ua*    *daS'ua*    *puiha*  
strong    stroke    stick    pierce    that    black    snake

*akota*    *sipunahe*    *aso*    *ako*    *daS'ua*    *puihako*    *meinci*  
there    died    and    that    black    snake's    story

*taMcepu*    *itaraM*    *S'ipuna.*  
all    like this    dead

“So off they flew towards the palace of the king of the country. The palace was not far from the tree in which they lived. They approached a big pond in the palace garden where they saw the royal ladies having a bath. They had laid their golden chains, pearl necklaces and other jewellery on the edge of the pond. The mother bird flew down, picked up a gold chain in her beak and started flying slowly towards the tree in which she lived. When the palace guards saw the bird flying off with the gold chain, they took up their clubs and chased the bird. They saw the bird drop the chain into the hollow of a tree. One of the guards climbed up the tree to get the chain. As he put his hand inside the hole to get the chain, he saw a black snake curled up there. With one hard stroke of his club he killed it and that was the end of the black snake”.

*akonoita*      *aja*    *dambe*            *cabehaako*    *siMeta*    *gagrupa*  
 afterwards    crow    male            female      that    tree in    happily

*yumS'a*            *asua*    *oiS'e*    *apecua* *ceMbi*            *ceMpanehe*  
 lived              and    many    little              children      had

‘The crow and the crow-hen lived in that tree happily afterwards and had many little baby crows’.

*lapaM*            *leje*

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INDO-ARYAN LANGUAGES				
Sl.No.	ENGLISH GLOSS	BENGALI	RAJBANGSI	NEPALI
<b>I. Earth, Sky and Water etc.</b>				
1	air	<i>haoa, bataS'</i>	<i>batas</i>	<i>hAwe/hawa</i>
2	ashes	<i>chai</i>	<i>chai</i>	<i>khArani</i>
3	cloud	<i>meg</i>	<i>mEgh</i>	<i>badAl</i>
4	cold	<i>ThanDa</i>	<i>jar</i>	<i>ThAnDo</i>
5	darkness	<i>Ondhokar</i>	<i>andhar</i>	<i>Andhar</i>
6	earth	<i>prithibi</i>	<i>bhui, pirthibi</i>	<i>maTi dhArti, bhu</i>
7	eclipse	<i>grohon</i>	<i>gOrOl</i>	<i>graham</i>
8	fire	<i>agun</i>	<i>jui</i>	<i>agi - Agni - ago</i>
9	fog	<i>kuaS'a</i>	<i>kua</i>	<i>kuhiro</i>
10	forest	<i>bon</i>	<i>bOn</i>	<i>bAn</i>
11	hill	<i>pahaR</i>	<i>pahar</i>	<i>ghumko</i>
12	ice	<i>bOrop</i>	<i>bOrOp</i>	<i>hiũ</i>
13	island	<i>dip</i>	<i>dip</i>	<i>Tapu</i>
14	path	<i>rasta</i>	-	<i>goTa</i>
15	moon	<i>cãd</i>	<i>caN</i>	<i>jun</i>
16	mountain	<i>pOrbot, pahaR</i>	<i>pOrbOt, bOrpahar</i>	<i>pArbAt</i>
17	rain	<i>briS'Ti</i>	<i>brisTi</i>	<i>jhAri</i>
18	river	<i>nodi</i>	<i>nodi</i>	<i>nAdi</i>
19	road	<i>rasta</i>	<i>sOROk, rasta</i>	<i>rAsta, sARAk</i>
20	sand	<i>bali</i>	<i>bala</i>	<i>balu , bAlue</i>

INDO-ARYAN LANGUAGES				
Sl.No.	ENGLISH GLOSS	BENGALI	RAJBANGSI	NEPALI
21	sea	<i>sagor, somudro</i>	<i>sagor</i>	<i>sAmundr</i>
22	sky	<i>akaS'</i>	<i>akas</i>	<i>Akas, gAgAn</i>
23	snow	<i>tuS'ar</i>	<i>bOrOp</i>	<i>hiũ</i>
24	star	<i>tara</i>	<i>tara</i>	<i>jonhi, tara</i>
25	stone	<i>pathor</i>	<i>pathor, sil</i>	<i>DhuMa, pathAr</i>
26	storm	<i>jhOR</i>	<i>jhOr</i>	<i>behAri, ādhi</i>
27	sun	<i>S'urjo</i>	<i>sujjo</i>	<i>ghum surAj</i>
28	water	<i>jOl</i>	<i>jOl</i>	<i>pani</i>
29	weather	<i>abohaoa</i>	<i>jOl batas</i>	<i>mAusAm</i>
30	wind	<i>haoa</i>	<i>batas</i>	<i>hAwa , bAtas</i>
31	wood	<i>kaTh</i>	<i>bOn</i>	<i>pipa, kaTh</i>
<b>II. Mankind, Sex, Family and Relationships etc.</b>				
32	baby	<i>S'iS'u</i>	<i>kacua chawa</i>	<i>bAcca, nano, nani</i>
33	boy	<i>chele</i>	<i>cEMgra</i>	<i>keTo/ThiTo</i>
34	bride	<i>kone</i>	<i>koyna</i>	<i>behuli, dulhi</i>
35	bride-groom	<i>bOr</i>	<i>bOr</i>	<i>behulo/dulho</i>
36	brother /elder(e.)/younger(y.)	<i>bhai - bORo (elder), choTo (younger)</i>	<i>dada (elder) , choTo bhai (younger)</i>	<i>daju,jeThadaju (elder) , chota bhai (younger)</i>
37	child	<i>baccha</i>	<i>chawa</i>	<i>nani, nano</i>
38	daughter	<i>mee, konna</i>	<i>beTi</i>	<i>chori, keTi</i>
39	father	<i>baba</i>	<i>baba / bap</i>	<i>ba, bua, pita, buba</i>

INDO-ARYAN LANGUAGES				
Sl.No.	ENGLISH GLOSS	BENGALI	RAJBANGSI	NEPALI
40	friend	<i>bondhu</i>	<i>sOkha, mitae</i>	<i>sathi</i>
41	girl	<i>mee</i>	<i>ceMgri</i>	-
42	husband	<i>S'ami</i>	<i>bhatar, swami</i>	<i>logne</i>
43	male	<i>puruS'</i>	<i>bETa chawa</i>	<i>purus / malekAr</i>
44	man	<i>lok</i>	<i>manse / mansi , purus , lOk</i>	<i>manche</i>
45	marriage	<i>bie, bibaho</i>	<i>biao</i>	<i>bibAha</i>
46	maternal uncle	<i>mama</i>	<i>mama</i>	<i>mama</i>
47	maternal uncle's daughter	<i>mamar mee</i>	<i>mamato boin / mamar beTi boin</i>	<i>mama ko chori</i>
48	mother	<i>ma</i>	<i>ayo / ma</i>	<i>ama, mata</i>
49	nephew	<i>bhaipo, bhagna</i>	<i>bhaista , bhagna</i>	<i>bhAtija</i>
50	niece	<i>bhaijhi, bhagni</i>	<i>bhaisti , bhagni</i>	<i>bhAtij, bhanji</i>
51	old man	<i>buRo lok</i>	<i>bura</i>	<i>buRho manis</i>
52	person	<i>puruS'</i>	<i>lOk , mansi</i>	<i>manis admi</i>
53	tall	<i>lOmba</i>	<i>DhaMa / DhaMga</i>	<i>lamo, Aglo</i>
54	lean	<i>roga</i>	<i>sinsina</i>	<i>dublo, DhAlkAnu</i>
55	fat	<i>moTa</i>	<i>moTa / moTka</i>	<i>moTo</i>
56	dumb	<i>boba</i>	<i>boba</i>	<i>laTo, gũgo</i>
57	blind	<i>Ondho</i>	<i>kana</i>	<i>Andho</i>

INDO-ARYAN LANGUAGES				
Sl.No.	ENGLISH GLOSS	BENGALI	RAJBANGSI	NEPALI
58	sister /elder(e.) /younger(y.)	<i>bon</i>	<i>didid , boin</i>	<i>bAini,bAhini</i>
59	sister-in-law	<i>nonod, boudi</i>	<i>bhauji</i>	<i>sali</i>
60	son	<i>putro, chele</i>	<i>bETA</i>	<i>choro, chora</i>
61	widow	<i>bidhoba</i>	<i>bidua , ari</i>	<i>rãDi, bidhAwa</i>
62	wife	<i>S'tri</i>	<i>maya</i>	<i>swasni, joi</i>
63	woman	<i>mohila</i>	<i>maya / maya lOk</i>	<i>aimai</i>
<b>III. Animals, Birds, etc.</b>				
64	ant	<i>pĩpRe</i>	<i>pikirya</i>	<i>kAmila</i>
65	bird	<i>pakhi</i>	<i>pOkhi</i>	<i>cAra,cAro</i>
66	cat	<i>beRal</i>	<i>bilei</i>	<i>biralo</i>
67	claw	<i>nok</i>	<i>thabra</i>	<i>nAMra, pAnja</i>
68	cock	<i>morog</i>	<i>morga</i>	<i>kukhra, kukhurako</i>
69	cow	<i>goru</i>	<i>gai, goru</i>	<i>gai</i>
70	crab	<i>kãkRa</i>	<i>kakra</i>	<i>gAgÃTa</i>
71	dog	<i>kukur</i>	<i>kukur</i>	<i>kukur</i>
72	egg	<i>Dim</i>	<i>Dima</i>	<i>phul, AnDo</i>
73	feather	<i>palok</i>	<i>pakhna</i>	<i>pwakh</i>
74	fish	<i>mac</i>	<i>mac / maC</i>	<i>macha</i>
75	fly	<i>machi</i>	<i>maci / maCi</i>	<i>makhi</i>
76	fox	<i>S'eal</i>	<i>khEk sial</i>	<i>pheauro , phevaro</i>

INDO-ARYAN LANGUAGES				
Sl.No.	ENGLISH GLOSS	BENGALI	RAJBANGSI	NEPALI
77	goat	<i>chagol</i>	<i>chagOl / ChagOl</i>	-
78	grease	<i>corbi</i>	<i>cOrbi</i>	<i>boso</i>
79	guts	<i>naribhuri</i>	<i>naribhuri</i>	<i>đt andro</i>
80	horn	<i>S'iM</i>	<i>siM</i>	<i>siM</i>
81	horse	<i>ghoRa</i>	<i>ghora</i>	<i>ghoRa</i>
82	lion	<i>S'iMho</i>	<i>siMhO</i>	<i>siMh</i>
83	louse	<i>ukun</i>	<i>ghOr</i>	<i>jumra</i>
84	monkey	<i>banor</i>	<i>bandOr</i>	<i>bādAr</i>
85	nest	<i>(pakhir)baS'a</i>	<i>bhasa</i>	<i>gūr, cArako</i>
86	tail	<i>lEj</i>	<i>lej / neTu</i>	<i>pucchAr</i>
87	tiger	<i>bagh</i>	<i>bagh</i>	<i>bagh</i>
88	tortoise	<i>kOcchop</i>	<i>durE , panimach</i>	<i>kAchuwa</i>
<b>IV. Body parts, Bodily functions and conditions, etc.</b>				
89	wing	<i>Dana</i>	<i>DEna , pakh</i>	<i>pAkheTa</i>
90	work	<i>kaj</i>	<i>kam , kaj</i>	<i>kam</i>
91	back	<i>piT</i>	<i>piTh</i>	<i>piTh</i>
92	belly	<i>tOl peT</i>	<i>pET</i>	<i>peT</i>
93	blood	<i>rOkto</i>	<i>rOkto</i>	<i>rAgAt</i>
94	body	<i>deho, S'orir</i>	<i>soril , deho</i>	<i>aR, tAn, jiu</i>
95	bone	<i>haR</i>	<i>haDDi</i>	<i>haR, hADDi</i>
96	breast	<i>buk</i>	<i>buk</i>	<i>chati, sina</i>

INDO-ARYAN LANGUAGES				
Sl.No.	ENGLISH GLOSS	BENGALI	RAJBANGSI	NEPALI
97	chest	<i>buk</i>	<i>chati</i>	<i>chati, sina</i>
98	ear	<i>kan</i>	<i>kan</i>	<i>kan</i>
99	eye	<i>cok</i>	<i>coku</i>	<i>ākhi</i>
100	face	<i>muk</i>	<i>mukh</i>	<i>cehra, muhar</i>
101	fever	<i>jOr</i>	<i>jOr / JOr</i>	<i>jAro</i>
102	finger	<i>aMul</i>	<i>nogul</i>	<i>Aula</i>
103	flesh	<i>maMS'o</i>	<i>mas</i>	<i>masu</i>
104	foot	<i>paer pata</i>	<i>tOlipa</i>	<i>khuTTA</i>
105	hair	<i>cul</i>	<i>cul / Cul</i>	<i>bal, kes</i>
106	hand	<i>hat</i>	<i>hat</i>	<i>hat</i>
107	head	<i>matha</i>	<i>mata</i>	<i>Tauko, khopARi</i>
108	heart	<i>hridOe</i>	<i>kOelja</i>	<i>muTu, kAlejo</i>
109	leg	<i>pa</i>	<i>pao , ThEm</i>	<i>pāsula</i>
110	lip	<i>ThōT</i>	<i>ThoT</i>	<i>OTh</i>
111	liver	<i>jOkkrit</i>	<i>pEtol</i>	<i>kAlejo</i>
112	lung	<i>phuS'phuS'</i>	<i>phusphus</i>	<i>phokso</i>
113	mouth	<i>muk</i>	<i>mukh</i>	<i>mukh</i>
114	neck	<i>ghaR</i>	<i>gOrdan, ghar</i>	<i>ghāTi , ghicro</i>
115	nose	<i>nak</i>	<i>nak</i>	<i>nak</i>
116	spine	<i>merudOnDo</i>	<i>sirdara</i>	<i>meru</i>
117	tongue	<i>jib</i>	<i>jibha</i>	<i>jibro</i>



INDO-ARYAN LANGUAGES				
Sl.No.	ENGLISH GLOSS	BENGALI	RAJBANGSI	NEPALI
118	tooth	<i>dāt</i>	<i>dat</i>	<i>dāt</i>
119	waist	<i>komor</i>	<i>kOmOr</i>	<i>kAmmAR</i>
<b>V. Foods Drinks, Cooking and Utencils etc.</b>				
120	fruit	<i>phOl</i>	<i>phOl</i>	<i>phAl</i>
121	liquor	<i>mOd</i>	<i>mOd</i>	<i>khAsi</i>
122	milk	<i>dud</i>	<i>khauda , dudh</i>	<i>dud</i>
123	salt	<i>nun</i>	<i>lObOn , nun</i>	<i>nun</i>
124	smoke	<i>dhōa</i>	<i>dhua</i>	<i>dhūgo , dhūa</i>
125	rice- uncooked (uc.)/ cooked(c.)	<i>cal</i>	<i>Caul</i>	<i>camAl</i>
<b>VI. Clothing, House, Parts of House etc.</b>				
126	banian	<i>genji</i>	<i>pirEn</i>	<i>Suti</i>
127	cloth	<i>kapoR</i>	<i>kapOr</i>	<i>luga, kApARo</i>
128	cotton	<i>S'uti</i>	<i>suta / tula</i>	<i>rui, kApas</i>
129	front tuck	<i>kūci</i>	<i>kuci</i>	-
130	flute	<i>bāS'i</i>	<i>basi</i>	<i>bAnsuri</i>
131	frock	<i>jama</i>	<i>jama</i>	<i>jama</i>
132	loom	<i>S'ūc</i>	<i>tat</i>	<i>dhago</i>
133	stick	<i>laThi</i>	<i>DaM</i>	<i>lAuro</i>
134	bed	<i>bichana</i>	<i>biCna</i>	<i>Disno</i>

INDO-ARYAN LANGUAGES				
Sl.No.	ENGLISH GLOSS	BENGALI	RAJBANGSI	NEPALI
135	door	<i>dOrja</i>	<i>duar , kOpaT</i>	<i>doka, dAelo</i>
136	house	<i>baRi</i>	<i>bari</i>	<i>ghAr</i>
137	roof	<i>chat</i>	<i>chat</i>	<i>chana, chAppAr, chAtta</i>
138	rope	<i>doRi</i>	<i>dori</i>	<i>dori</i>
139	wall	<i>deoal</i>	<i>dEoal, bEra</i>	<i>bhitta, pArkhal</i>
140	well water	<i>kuor jOl</i>	<i>kua pani</i>	<i>(miTho) kuwa ko pani</i>
141	window	<i>janla</i>	<i>janla / janala</i>	<i>khiRki</i>
<b>VII. Trees, Vegetables, Fruits and Flowers etc.</b>				
142	bamboo	<i>bāS'</i>	<i>bas</i>	<i>bās</i>
143	banana	<i>kOla</i>	<i>kOla</i>	<i>kerā</i>
144	barks	<i>chal</i>	<i>chal</i>	<i>bokro</i>
145	brinjal	<i>begun</i>	<i>baigOn</i>	<i>begun</i>
146	chilly	<i>lOMka</i>	<i>moruc</i>	<i>khorsani</i>
147	coconut	<i>narkol</i>	<i>naerkeL , narikel</i>	<i>nAriwal</i>
148	creeper	<i>lOta</i>	<i>lOta</i>	<i>lAhAra, bAlAri, beil</i>
149	flower	<i>phul</i>	<i>phul</i>	<i>phul</i>
150	fruit	<i>phOl</i>	<i>phOl</i>	<i>phAl</i>
151	garden	<i>bagan</i>	<i>phulbari</i>	<i>bag, bAgAica</i>
152	grass	<i>ghaS'</i>	<i>ghas</i>	<i>ghās</i>
153	guava	<i>peara</i>	<i>supari</i>	<i>AmbAk</i>
154	jack fruit	<i>kāThal</i>	<i>kaTal</i>	<i>rukH, kaTihAr</i>

INDO-ARYAN LANGUAGES				
Sl.No.	ENGLISH GLOSS	BENGALI	RAJBANGSI	NEPALI
155	leaf	<i>pata</i>	<i>pata</i>	<i>pan, pat</i>
156	lily	<i>lili</i>	<i>DhEp</i>	<i>lili</i>
157	mango	<i>am</i>	<i>am</i>	<i>ãp, ambo</i>
158	paddy	<i>dhan</i>	<i>dhan</i>	<i>dhãn</i>
159	plough	<i>hal</i>	<i>naMol</i>	<i>hAl</i>
160	potato	<i>alu</i>	<i>alu</i>	<i>alu</i>
161	root	<i>mul</i>	<i>sipE / siprE</i>	<i>sor, jAra</i>
162	sweet	<i>miSTi</i>	<i>miThEi</i>	<i>gulitho</i>
163	tree	<i>gac</i>	<i>gOC</i>	<i>boT, rukh</i>
164	vegetable	<i>saksobji</i>	<i>tOrkari</i>	<i>sag</i>
165	wheel	<i>caka</i>	<i>caka</i>	<i>cAkka, cAkri</i>
166	gum	<i>aTha</i>	<i>aTa</i>	<i>gija</i>
<b>VIII. Profession and Professional equipments etc.</b>				
167	labourer	<i>mojur</i>	<i>kamla</i>	<i>kAmia</i>
168	farm land	<i>kheti baRi</i>	<i>abadi</i>	<i>khet</i>
169	mid –wife	<i>dai</i>	<i>dhairaini</i>	<i>dhai, ama</i>
170	money lender	<i>mohajon</i>	<i>mOhajOn</i>	<i>sahukar</i>
171	net	<i>jal</i>	<i>jal</i>	<i>jal</i>
172	potter	<i>kumor</i>	<i>kumar , mali</i>	<i>kumale</i>
173	weaver	<i>tãti</i>	<i>tati</i>	<i>jolAha</i>
174	bullock cart	<i>gorur gaRi</i>	<i>gOrur gari</i>	<i>goru gaRi</i>

INDO-ARYAN LANGUAGES				
Sl.No.	ENGLISH GLOSS	BENGALI	RAJBANGSI	NEPALI
175	bus	<i>baS'</i>	<i>bas</i>	<i>bahAn</i>
<b>IX. Sense perception, Emotion and temperament etc.</b>				
176	bitter	<i>teto</i>	<i>tita</i>	<i>tito</i>
177	black	<i>kalo</i>	<i>kala</i>	<i>kalo</i>
178	blind	<i>Ondho</i>	<i>kana</i>	<i>Andho</i>
179	blue	<i>nil</i>	<i>nila / akasi</i>	<i>nilo</i>
180	bright	<i>ujjOl</i>	<i>cOkcOka</i>	<i>ujyalo , cATAkilo</i>
181	brown	<i>dhuS'Or</i>	<i>maTia</i>	<i>khAero</i>
182	coldness	<i>ThanDa bhab</i>	<i>jar</i>	<i>Tharo</i>
183	green	<i>S'obuj</i>	<i>sObjE</i>	<i>hAriyo</i>
184	hot	<i>gOrom</i>	<i>tap, gOrom , usna</i>	<i>Topi</i>
185	light	<i>halka</i>	<i>halka</i>	<i>joti, rosin</i>
186	red	<i>lal</i>	<i>nal / lal</i>	<i>rato</i>
187	sour	<i>TOk</i>	<i>TEMa</i>	<i>Amilo</i>
188	sweet	<i>miSTi</i>	<i>miThEi</i>	<i>gulitho</i>
189	white	<i>sada</i>	<i>sada</i>	<i>seto</i>
190	yellow	<i>holde</i>	<i>hOldi</i>	<i>pAhel0</i>
191	hungry	<i>khudharto</i>	<i>bhokhi</i>	<i>bhuko</i>
192	love	<i>prem, bhalobaS'a</i>	<i>bhalobasa</i>	<i>prem</i>
193	pain	<i>bEtha</i>	<i>bis / bEtha / TonTOna</i>	<i>piRa, dArd</i>
194	TRUE	<i>S'otto</i>	<i>sOtyO / sOca</i>	<i>sāco</i>

INDO-ARYAN LANGUAGES				
Sl.No.	ENGLISH GLOSS	BENGALI	RAJBANGSI	NEPALI
195	wish	<i>iccha</i>	<i>iccha / khusi</i>	<i>iccho, cahi</i>
<b>X. Education</b>				
196	ink	<i>kali</i>	<i>kali</i>	<i>mAsi</i>
197	school	<i>bidyalOe</i>	<i>iskul , paThsal</i>	<i>paTh sala</i>
198	student	<i>chatro</i>	<i>chatro , porua</i>	<i>chatro</i>
199	teacher	<i>S'ikkhOk</i>	<i>masTar</i>	<i>guru</i>
<b>XI. War &amp; Law</b>				
200	bullet	<i>guli</i>	<i>guli</i>	<i>goli</i>
201	drum trumpet	<i>madol, bāS'i</i>	<i>Dhak</i>	<i>Dhol, turuhi</i>
202	enemy	<i>S'otru</i>	<i>sOtru</i>	<i>dusmAn</i>
203	debt	<i>jama</i>	<i>dhar , haolat</i>	<i>riN</i>
204	divorce	<i>bicchod</i>	<i>talak , CharidEoa</i>	<i>chuTanama</i>
205	theft	<i>curi</i>	<i>Curi / curi</i>	<i>cori</i>
<b>XII. Religion, Entertainment and Metals etc.</b>				
206	festival	<i>utS'Ob</i>	<i>pOrOb</i>	<i>caR, pArbo</i>
207	garland	<i>mala</i>	<i>mala</i>	<i>mala</i>
208	heaven	<i>S'Orgo</i>	<i>sOrgo</i>	<i>sArgo</i>
209	hell	<i>nOrok</i>	<i>nOrOk</i>	<i>nArAk</i>
210	worship	<i>pujo</i>	<i>puja</i>	<i>puja</i>
211	games	<i>khEla</i>	<i>khEla</i>	<i>khel</i>
212	flute	<i>bāS'i</i>	<i>sanaI / basi</i>	<i>murli</i>

INDO-ARYAN LANGUAGES				
Sl.No.	ENGLISH GLOSS	BENGALI	RAJBANGSI	NEPALI
213	brass	<i>petol</i>	<i>pitOl</i>	<i>pittAl</i>
214	gold	<i>S'ona</i>	<i>sunā / sonā</i>	<i>sun</i>
215	iron	<i>loha</i>	<i>loha</i>	<i>phAlam</i>
216	lime	<i>cun</i>	<i>cun</i>	<i>cun, nimbu</i>
217	money	<i>Taka</i>	<i>Taka / TEka</i>	<i>dhAn, rupia, pAesa</i>
218	silver	<i>rupo</i>	<i>rupa</i>	<i>cādi</i>
<b>XIII. Numerals</b>				
219	first	<i>prothom</i>	<i>pOila , pOrthOm</i>	<i>pAhilo</i>
220	second	<i>ditio</i>	<i>dosra , ditiO</i>	<i>dosro</i>
221	third	<i>tritio</i>	<i>tesra , tirtiO</i>	<i>tesro</i>
222	one	<i>Ek</i>	<i>Ek</i>	<i>ek</i>
223	two	<i>dui</i>	<i>dui</i>	<i>dui</i>
224	three	<i>tin</i>	<i>tin</i>	<i>tin</i>
225	four	<i>car</i>	<i>Cayr , Cayro</i>	<i>car</i>
226	five	<i>pāc</i>	<i>pac</i>	<i>pāc</i>
227	six	<i>chOe</i>	<i>chOe</i>	<i>chA</i>
228	seven	<i>S'at</i>	<i>sat</i>	<i>sat</i>
229	eight	<i>aT</i>	<i>aT</i>	<i>aTh</i>
230	nine	<i>nOe</i>	<i>nOo</i>	<i>nAŨ</i>
231	ten	<i>dOS'</i>	<i>dOs</i>	<i>dAs</i>
232	sixteen	<i>S'olo</i>	<i>solo</i>	<i>sola, solAh</i>

INDO-ARYAN LANGUAGES				
Sl.No.	ENGLISH GLOSS	BENGALI	RAJBANGSI	NEPALI
233	twenty	<i>kuRi</i>	<i>bis , kuri</i>	<i>bis</i>
234	forty	<i>colliS'</i>	<i>dui kuri</i>	<i>calis</i>
<b>XIV. Physical activities verbs etc.</b>				
235	bind	<i>bādh(a)</i>	<i>giTo dEoa</i>	<i>bādhnu</i>
236	blow	<i>phū de(a)</i>	<i>phokano</i>	<i>phuknu</i>
237	break (stick,pot, etc.)	<i>bhaM(a)</i>	1. <i>bhaMgi phEla</i> (stick & pot) 2. <i>chiri phEla</i> (rope)	<i>TuThu, bhācnu</i>
238	burn	<i>poR(a)</i>	<i>puri jaoa / pora</i>	<i>jAlaunu, jAlnu</i>
239	carry (on head, in hand, on shoulder)	<i>bo(a)</i>	1. <i>mathat nEoa</i> 2. <i>hatOt dhOra /</i> <i>nEoa</i> 3. <i>gharOt</i> <i>nEoa</i>	<i>lei janu</i>
240	catch (chase and catch an animal, something thrown)	<i>dhOr(a)</i>	1. <i>phan pati dhOra</i> (chase and catch an animal) 2. <i>dhOri</i> <i>nEoa</i> (something thrown)	<i>pAkrAnu</i>
241	clean	<i>poriS'kar kOr(a)</i>	<i>jhari phEla</i>	<i>DhAlkAnu</i>

INDO-ARYAN LANGUAGES				
Sl.No.	ENGLISH GLOSS	BENGALI	RAJBANGSI	NEPALI
242	do (non-specific verb)	<i>kOr(a)</i>	<i>kOra</i>	<i>gArnu</i>
243	fall	<i>pOR(a)</i>	<i>pori jaoa</i>	<i>khAsnu , jhArnu</i>
244	float	<i>bhaS'(a)</i>	<i>bhasa</i>	<i>uttArnu , ternu</i>
245	flow	<i>bO(a)</i>	<i>gOri jaoa</i>	<i>bAgnu , bAhnu</i>
246	hit	<i>mar(a)</i>	<i>mara, bari mara</i>	<i>hikaunū , prAhar, gArnu</i>
247	hold	<i>dhOr(a)</i>	<i>dhOra</i>	<i>sAmaunu</i>
248	lean (against something)	<i>jhōk(a)</i>	<i>hElan dEoa</i>	<i>DhAlkAnu</i>
249	lick	<i>caTa</i>	<i>caTa</i>	<i>caTnu</i>
250	make	<i>toiri kOr(a)</i>	<i>tOiar kOra</i>	<i>bAnaunu</i>
251	mix	<i>meS'a(no)</i>	<i>misal dEoa</i>	<i>milaunu</i>
252	open (a door, eyes, bag)	<i>khol(a)</i>	<i>khola</i>	<i>kholnu</i>
253	pick	<i>tol(a)</i>	<i>kurano , tula</i>	<i>Tipnu</i>
254	play	<i>khEl(a)</i>	<i>khEla kOra</i>	<i>khelnu</i>
255	pull	<i>Tan(a)</i>	<i>Tana</i>	<i>tannu , khicnu</i>
256	push	<i>ThEl(a)</i>	<i>dhakka dEoa / Theli phEla</i>	<i>Thelnu , DhAkelnu</i>
257	put	<i>rakh(a)</i>	<i>thoa</i>	<i>halnu , rakhnu</i>



INDO-ARYAN LANGUAGES				
Sl.No.	ENGLISH GLOSS	BENGALI	RAJBANGSI	NEPALI
258	rub	<i>ghOS'(a)</i>	<i>ghOsa</i>	<i>dAlnu</i>
259	sell	<i>bEc(a)</i>	<i>bEcei phEla</i>	<i>bēcnu , bikri gArnu</i>
260	shut	<i>bOndho kOr(a)</i>	<i>bOndO kOra</i>	<i>band gArnu</i>
261	sink	<i>Dob(a)</i>	<i>Dubi jaoa</i>	<i>Dubnu , Dubaunu</i>
262	sprinkle	<i>cheTa(no)</i>	<i>jOler chiTa dEoa</i>	<i>chArnu , chArknu</i>
263	squeeze	<i>neMRa(no)</i>	<i>cipa</i>	<i>nicornu</i>
264	spit	<i>thutu phEl(a)</i>	<i>chEp phEla</i>	<i>thuknu</i>
265	swell	<i>phol(a)</i>	<i>phola , phuli jaoa</i>	<i>suninu , phulnu</i>
266	tear	<i>chëR(a)</i>	<i>phari phEla</i>	<i>ciRnu , phaRnu</i>
267	throw	<i>chõRa</i>	<i>phika, phele dEoa</i>	<i>phyaknu , phyeknu , ghalnu</i>
268	wash	<i>dho(a)</i>	<i>dhoa / dhua / maja</i>	<i>dhonu , dhunnu</i>
269	wipe	<i>moc(a)</i>	<i>muchhi phEla</i>	<i>puchnu</i>
270	work	<i>kaj kOr(a)</i>	<i>kam kOra</i>	<i>kam , gArnu</i>
<b>XV. Instrument Verbs</b>				
271	cut	<i>kaT(a)</i>	<i>kaTa</i>	<i>kaTnu</i>
272	dig (dig up)	<i>khõR(a)</i>	<i>khal kOra</i>	<i>khAnnu</i>
273	hunt	<i>S'ikar kOr(a)</i>	<i>sikar kOra</i>	<i>sikar, gArnu</i>
274	pound	<i>pukur</i>	<i>gura kOra</i>	<i>kuTnu, ThuThnu</i>
275	shoot	<i>guli mar(a)</i>	<i>guli mara / tir mara / bayn mara</i>	<i>goli, marnu</i>

INDO-ARYAN LANGUAGES				
Sl.No.	ENGLISH GLOSS	BENGALI	RAJBANGSI	NEPALI
276	split (wood)	<i>cer(a)</i>	<i>kaTh pharai kOra</i>	<i>cirnu, phaRnu</i>
<b>XVI. Verbs of Fighting</b>				
277	fight	<i>maramari kAr(a)</i>	<i>jujjo / juddho kOra</i>	<i>lARnu, lARai gArnu</i>
278	kill	<i>mar(a)</i>	<i>mari phEla</i>	<i>hAtya gArnu, jan marnu</i>
279	quarrel	<i>jhOgRa kAr(a)</i>	<i>jhOgra kOra / kondOl kOra</i>	<i>jhAgARnu, jhAgARa gArnu</i>
280	stab	<i>churi mar(a)</i>	<i>caku mara / bhujali mara</i>	<i>churi ghocnu</i>
<b>XVII. Music Verbs</b>				
281	beat (a drum )	<i>(Dhak) baja(no)</i>	<i>Dhak bajano</i>	<i>piTnu</i>
282	sing	<i>gan kOr(a)</i>	<i>gan kOra</i>	<i>gaunu</i>
<b>XVIII. Motion Verbs</b>				
283	arrive	<i>põucho(no)</i>	<i>pOuchano</i>	<i>pugnu</i>
284	ascend	<i>oTh(a)</i>	<i>paharOt cOra</i>	<i>cARhnu, mathi janu</i>
285	bring	<i>an(a)</i>	<i>ana / nia asa</i>	<i>lyaunu</i>
286	climb	<i>cOR(a)</i>	<i>cOra</i>	<i>cARhnu</i>
287	come	<i>aS'a</i>	<i>aysa</i>	<i>aunu</i>
288	dance	<i>nac(a)</i>	<i>naca</i>	<i>načnu</i>
289	drag	<i>Tan(a)</i>	<i>Tana</i>	<i>ghisarnu, khīcnu</i>
290	enter	<i>Dhok(a)</i>	<i>bhitOrOt sondano</i>	<i>pAsnu, bhitAr</i>

INDO-ARYAN LANGUAGES				
Sl.No.	ENGLISH GLOSS	BENGALI	RAJBANGSI	NEPALI
291	escape	<i>pala(no)</i>	<i>paley jaoa / baci jaoa</i>	<i>bhutkAn</i>
292	fly (as a bird)	<i>oR(a)</i>	<i>uri jaoa</i>	<i>uRnu</i>
293	get	<i>pa(oa)</i>	<i>paoa</i>	<i>paunu</i>
294	get up	<i>oTh(a)</i>	<i>uTa</i>	<i>uThnu</i>
295	give	<i>de(oa)</i>	<i>dEoa</i>	<i>dinu</i>
296	go	<i>ja(oa)</i>	<i>jaoa</i>	<i>janu</i>
297	jump	<i>lapha(no)</i>	<i>jhapei jaoa</i>	<i>uphranu</i>
298	move (tram )	<i>ghor(a)</i>	<i>sOrano</i>	<i>sArnu, sarnu</i>
299	run	<i>douRo(no)</i>	<i>dourano</i>	<i>kudnu, dAgurnu</i>
300	send	<i>paTha(no)</i>	<i>paThei dEoa</i>	<i>pAThaunu</i>
301	slip	<i>pechla(no)</i>	<i>pichli jaoa</i>	<i>ciplAnu</i>
302	stand up	<i>dãRa(no)</i>	<i>khara hOoa</i>	<i>ubhinu, pAuRnu</i>
303	swim	<i>S'ãtar kaT(a)</i>	<i>satar kaTa</i>	<i>poRi khelnu / pAuRnu</i>
304	swing	<i>dol(a)</i>	<i>dola</i>	<i>hAllinu, hAllaunu</i>
305	take	<i>ne(oa)</i>	<i>nEoa</i>	<i>linu</i>
306	vomit	<i>bomi kAr(a)</i>	<i>bomi kOra</i>	<i>ulTi gArnu</i>
307	walk	<i>cOl(a)</i>	<i>haTa</i>	<i>hiRnu</i>
<b>XIX. Occupational Verbs</b>				
308	cultivate	<i>caS' kOr(a)</i>	<i>cas kOra / abad kOra</i>	<i>kheti gArnu</i>

INDO-ARYAN LANGUAGES				
Sl.No.	ENGLISH GLOSS	BENGALI	RAJBANGSI	NEPALI
309	comb	<i>ãcRa</i>	<i>aCrano / kakano</i>	<i>hernu</i>
310	graze	<i>cOra</i>	<i>cOra</i>	<i>cArranu</i>
311	harvest	<i>phOsol kaTa</i>	<i>phOsOl kaTa</i>	<i>phAsAl kaTu</i>
312	lend	<i>dhar de(oa)</i>	<i>dhar dEoa</i>	<i>udhar dinnu</i>
313	milk	<i>dudh do(a)</i>	<i>dudh chEka</i>	<i>duhnu</i>
314	plant	<i>põt(a)</i>	<i>ukhrano</i>	<i>ropnu, kaTnu</i>
315	reap	<i>nikano</i>	<i>nikano / nElano</i>	<i>bali</i>
316	saw	<i>S'elai kOra</i>	<i>silei kOra</i>	<i>cirnu</i>
317	sow (seed )	<i>bij bon(a)</i>	<i>bij phEla</i>	<i>ropnu</i>
<b>XX. Culinari Verbs</b>				
318	bark	<i>gheu gheu kOr(a), bhõk(a)</i>	<i>bhoka</i>	<i>bhũknu</i>
319	bite	<i>kamRa(no)</i>	<i>kamrano</i>	<i>kaTnu, Toknu</i>
320	cook	<i>rãdh(a)</i>	<i>randa</i>	<i>pAkaunu</i>
321	drink	<i>kha(oa)</i>	<i>jOl khaoa</i>	<i>piunnu</i>
322	eat	<i>kha(oa)</i>	<i>khaoa</i>	<i>khanu</i>
323	feed	<i>khaoa(no)</i>	<i>khuano</i>	<i>khuwaunu</i>
324	suck	<i>coS'(a)</i>	<i>cosa</i>	<i>cusnu</i>
325	tie	<i>bãdh(a)</i>	<i>bandha</i>	<i>bãdhnu</i>
326	wear	<i>pOr(a)</i>	<i>pendha</i>	<i>pAhirnu</i>
<b>XXI. Communication Verbs</b>				

INDO-ARYAN LANGUAGES				
Sl.No.	ENGLISH GLOSS	BENGALI	RAJBANGSI	NEPALI
327	answer	<i>uttor de(oa)</i>	<i>uttOr dEoa</i>	<i>jAwab</i>
328	ask	<i>jigeS' kOr(a)</i>	<i>puch kOra</i>	<i>sodhnu, dinu</i>
329	call	<i>Dak(a)</i>	<i>Daka</i>	<i>hāknu,</i>
330	say	<i>bOl(a)</i>	<i>kOoa</i>	<i>bhAnnu</i>
331	shout	<i>citkar kOr(a)</i>	<i>cikkir para / cikkur para / cik para /cEcano</i>	<i>kAraunu</i>
332	write	<i>lekh(a)</i>	<i>lEkha</i>	<i>lekhnu, likhnu</i>
<b>XXII. Stationary Verbs</b>				
333	burn	<i>poR(a)</i>	<i>puri jaoa</i>	<i>jAlnu, jAlaunu</i>
334	choose	<i>bach(a)</i>	<i>pOsOndo kOra</i>	<i>chhannu</i>
335	die	<i>mOr(a)</i>	<i>mOra / mOri jaoa</i>	<i>mArnu</i>
336	live (at )	<i>thak(a), baS' kOr(a)</i>	<i>thaka , rOoa</i>	<i>bAsnu</i>
337	earn	<i>rojgar kOr(a)</i>	<i>kamano</i>	<i>kAmaunu</i>
338	hide	<i>luko</i>	<i>nukano</i>	<i>luknu rodhnu</i>
339	keep	<i>rakh(a)</i>	<i>rakha</i>	<i>rakhnu</i>
340	turn	<i>ghora</i>	<i>ghuri jaoa</i>	<i>phernu, ghumnu</i>
341	sit	<i>bOS'(a)</i>	<i>bOisa</i>	<i>bAsnu</i>
342	stop	<i>tham(a)</i>	<i>thama</i>	<i>rokinu</i>
<b>XXIII. In cohative Verbs</b>				
343	change	<i>palTa(no)</i>	<i>bOdOl kOra</i>	<i>bAdAlnu</i>

INDO-ARYAN LANGUAGES				
Sl.No.	ENGLISH GLOSS	BENGALI	RAJBANGSI	NEPALI
344	freeze	<i>jOm(a)</i>	<i>jomi jaoa</i>	<i>jAmaunu</i>
345	swell	<i>phol(a)</i>	<i>phuli jaoa</i>	<i>suninu</i>
346	wet (mskr wet)	<i>bhej(a)</i>	<i>bhijano</i>	<i>bijhnu,</i>
<b>XXIV. Cognitive Verbs</b>				
347	count	<i>gon(a)</i>	<i>gOna</i>	<i>mojnu gAnnu</i>
348	know	<i>jan(a)</i>	<i>jana</i>	<i>jannu</i>
349	learn	<i>S'ekh(a)</i>	<i>sekha</i>	<i>sikhnu</i>
350	think	<i>bhab(a)</i>	<i>bhaba</i>	<i>sōcnu</i>
351	break	<i>bhaM(a)</i>	<i>bhaMga</i>	<i>TuTnu, toRnu</i>
<b>XXV. Sensory and Emotive Verbs</b>				
352	cry (weep )	<i>kād(a), phōpa(no)</i>	<i>kanda</i>	<i>ronu, runu</i>
353	fear	<i>bhOe pa(oa)</i>	<i>bhOy paoa</i>	<i>Darnu, Daraunu</i>
354	hear	<i>S'on(a)</i>	<i>sona / suna</i>	<i>sunnu</i>
355	laugh/ smile	<i>hāS'(a), mucki hāS'(a)</i>	i) <i>hasa</i> ; ii) <i>mucki hasa</i>	<i>hasnu,</i>
356	read	<i>pAR(a)</i>	<i>pOra</i>	<i>bācnu, pARhnu</i>
357	sleep, lie	<i>ghumo (no),</i>	<i>nind jaoa , ghumano</i>	<i>sutnu</i>
358	smell	<i>S'o(a)</i>	<i>soMa suMga</i>	<i>sūghnu</i>
359	taste	<i>S'ad ne(oa)</i>	<i>cakha</i>	<i>cAkhnu</i>
360	touch	<i>chō(a)</i>	<i>chua</i>	<i>chunnu</i>
361	wake up	<i>jag(a), oTha</i>	<i>jaga , uTha</i>	<i>biujhAnū jagnu</i>

INDO-ARYAN LANGUAGES				
SI.No.	ENGLISH GLOSS	BENGALI	RAJBANGSI	NEPALI
362	annoy	<i>rag(a)</i>	<i>raga</i>	<i>risnu</i>
363	kiss	<i>cumu kha(oa)</i>	<i>chuma dEoa</i>	<i>mwai khanu</i>
364	love	<i>bhalobaS'(a)</i>	<i>bhalobasa kOra</i>	<i>prem gArnu</i>
365	tired	<i>klanto hO(oa)</i>	<i>klanto hOoa ; dOm nEoa</i>	<i>thAkit</i>
<b>XXVI. Other Verbs</b>				
366	bathe	<i>can/S'nan kOr(a)</i>	<i>ga dhoo</i>	<i>nAhaunu</i>
367	buy	<i>ken(a)</i>	<i>kina</i>	<i>kinnu</i>
368	drip	<i>cōano</i>	<i>jOler phoTo kaTa</i>	<i>tApkinu</i>
369	meet	<i>dEkha kOra</i>	<i>dEkha hOoa , sakkhet paoa</i>	<i>bhēTnu</i>
370	repay	<i>pherot de(oa)</i>	<i>dEna sodh kOra</i>	<i>pAisa wapAs gArnu</i>
371	ridicule , joke	<i>mOja kOr(a) ThaTTA kOr(a)</i>	<i>phajilami kOra, ThaTTa kOra</i>	<i>TATTha gArnu</i>
372	show	<i>dEkha(no)</i>	<i>dEkhano</i>	<i>dekhaunu</i>
373	scratch	<i>ācoR kaT(a)</i>	<i>aCrano</i>	<i>kopArnu</i>
374	stick	<i>juRe thak(a)</i>	<i>lagi thaka</i>	<i>ghusarnu</i>
375	vomit	<i>bomi kOr(a)</i>	<i>bomi kOra</i>	<i>chadnu, wanta gArnu</i>
376	wean ( a child)	<i>dol de(oa)</i>	<i>nind para</i>	<i>dudh chuTaunu</i>
377	wipe	<i>pōch(a), moch(a)</i>	<i>muchi phEla</i>	<i>puchnu</i>

INDO-ARYAN LANGUAGES				
Sl.No.	ENGLISH GLOSS	BENGALI	RAJBANGSI	NEPALI
378	name	<i>nam</i>	<i>nam</i>	<i>nāw / nam</i>
<b>XXVII. Adjectives</b>				
379	all	<i>S'Ob</i>	<i>sOgae, sOug, kulle</i>	<i>sAbe, SAb</i>
380	bad	<i>kharap</i>	<i>kharap / bea</i>	<i>nAramro (not good)</i>
381	big	<i>bORo</i>	<i>bOro</i>	<i>Thulo</i>
382	dirty	<i>noMRa</i>	<i>moyle</i>	<i>phohAr</i>
383	dry	<i>S'ukno</i>	<i>sukna</i>	<i>sukhano</i>
384	few	<i>kichu</i>	<i>kOm</i>	<i>thore</i>
385	full	<i>bhorti</i>	<i>pura , bhOrti</i>	<i>puro</i>
386	good	<i>bhalo</i>	<i>bhal</i>	<i>ramro, AsAl</i>
387	hard	<i>hat</i>	<i>sOkto</i>	<i>hat</i>
388	honest	<i>S'Ot</i>	<i>sOt , bhal</i>	<i>sAcca, imandar</i>
389	long	<i>lOmba</i>	<i>uca</i>	<i>lamo</i>
390	many	<i>Onek</i>	<i>mEla</i>	<i>dherAi</i>
391	narrow	<i>S'oru</i>	<i>soru</i>	<i>saguro</i>
392	new	<i>notun</i>	<i>nOya , notun</i>	<i>nAya</i>
393	old	<i>purona</i>	<i>purna , bura</i>	<i>purano</i>
394	raw	<i>kāca</i>	<i>kaca</i>	<i>kāco</i>
395	rotten	<i>pOca</i>	<i>pOca</i>	<i>sAReko</i>
396	right	<i>Thik</i>	<i>Thik</i>	<i>sāco</i>
397	dull	<i>boda/boka</i>	<i>boka , haba</i>	<i>bhute, bodho</i>



INDO-ARYAN LANGUAGES				
SI.No.	ENGLISH GLOSS	BENGALI	RAJBANGSI	NEPALI
398	lie	<i>mittha</i>	<i>micha</i>	<i>jhuTo</i>
399	sharp	<i>dharao</i>	<i>coka</i>	<i>dharilo</i>
400	short	<i>khaTo</i>	<i>khaTo</i>	<i>choTo</i>
401	some	<i>kichu</i>	<i>kichu</i>	<i>kehi, dhore</i>
402	small	<i>choTo</i>	<i>choTo</i>	<i>sano</i>
403	smart	<i>coukhos</i>	<i>catura</i>	<i>ciTikka</i>
404	smooth	<i>molayem</i>	<i>sOman</i>	<i>sAmm</i>
405	soft	<i>nOrom</i>	<i>nOrOm</i>	<i>kAlilo</i>
406	straight	<i>S'oja</i>	<i>soja</i>	<i>sojho, sArAl</i>
407	strength	<i>bOl, S'okti</i>	<i>sokti</i>	<i>bAl</i>
408	thick	<i>moTa</i>	<i>moTa</i>	<i>moTo</i>
409	thin	<i>patla</i>	<i>patla</i>	<i>patlo</i>
410	ugly	<i>kutsit</i>	<i>beDhOk</i>	<i>kurup</i>
411	vice	<i>pap</i>	<i>pap , dos</i>	<i>kup, burai</i>
412	virtue	<i>punno</i>	<i>punno</i>	<i>guN</i>
413	warm	<i>uS'no, gOrom</i>	<i>usna</i>	<i>nyano</i>
414	weak	<i>durbal</i>	<i>durbOl , rugna</i>	<i>nirbal</i>
415	wet	<i>bhije</i>	<i>bhija</i>	<i>bhijeko</i>
416	wide	<i>cOoRa</i>	<i>cOora / osar</i>	<i>phArakilo</i>
417	wild	<i>bonno, joMli</i>	<i>joMgli</i>	<i>jAMli</i>
418	wise	<i>gEni</i>	<i>ponDit</i>	<i>husiyar</i>

INDO-ARYAN LANGUAGES				
Sl.No.	ENGLISH GLOSS	BENGALI	RAJBANGSI	NEPALI
<b>XXVIII. Functional Words</b>				
419	east	<i>pub, purbo</i>	<i>pub</i>	<i>purAb</i>
420	end	<i>S'eS'</i>	<i>sEs</i>	<i>khAtmA</i>
421	far	<i>dur</i>	<i>dur</i>	<i>TaRo</i>
422	left side	<i>bā dik</i>	<i>bam pakhe</i>	<i>debre pAtti</i>
423	middle	<i>majhe, majhkhan</i>	<i>modde</i>	<i>bīcko</i>
424	near	<i>kach</i>	<i>pakhe / bOgOlOt</i>	<i>nAjik</i>
425	north	<i>uttor</i>	<i>uttOr pakh / ujan</i>	<i>uttAr</i>
426	out	<i>baire</i>	<i>bair</i>	<i>bahir</i>
427	right side/hand	<i>Dan dik/Dan hat</i>	i) <i>Dain pakh</i> ii) <i>bhat khaoa hat</i>	<i>dahine</i>
428	south	<i>dokkhin</i>	<i>bhaTi / dOkkhin</i>	<i>dAkkhin</i>
429	again	<i>abar</i>	<i>aro / barbar</i>	<i>pheri</i>
430	always	<i>sOrboda, S'ObS'omOe</i>	<i>sOdae</i>	<i>sAda, sAnghe</i>
431	before	<i>age</i>	<i>age</i>	<i>Adhi, samne</i>
432	daily	<i>roj</i>	<i>dinaM</i>	<i>roj</i>
433	day	<i>din</i>	<i>din</i>	<i>din</i>
434	evening	<i>S'ondha</i>	<i>sOnda</i>	<i>sājh</i>
435	fast/quick	<i>taRataRi</i>	<i>pOch kOri</i>	<i>cāRo</i>
436	full moon day	<i>purnima</i>	<i>punnima</i>	<i>purnima</i>

INDO-ARYAN LANGUAGES				
Sl.No.	ENGLISH GLOSS	BENGALI	RAJBANGSI	NEPALI
437	late	<i>deri</i>	<i>deri</i>	<i>Aber, Dilo</i>
438	month	<i>maS'</i>	<i>mas</i>	<i>mAhina</i>
439	morning	<i>S'Okal</i>	<i>sakal / sakhal</i>	<i>bihan</i>
440	night	<i>rat</i>	<i>rait / atti</i>	<i>rat</i>
441	season	<i>ritu</i>	<i>kal</i>	<i>ritu</i>
442	today	<i>aj</i>	<i>aji / aij</i>	<i>aju</i>
443	tomorrow	<i>agamikal, kal</i>	<i>kali / kayl</i>	<i>bholi</i>
444	yesterday	<i>gOtokal, kal</i>	<i>kali</i>	<i>hijo</i>
445	after/afterwards	<i>pOre</i>	<i>pOre</i>	<i>pAre, bade</i>
446	behind	<i>pechone</i>	<i>pachot</i>	<i>pAchi</i>
447	between	<i>moddhe</i>	<i>modde</i>	<i>ma, majh ma</i>
448	by	<i>dara, diya</i>	<i>dia</i>	<i>le</i>
449	down	<i>nice</i>	<i>nice</i>	<i>tAl</i>
450	for	<i>jonne</i>	<i>jOnne</i>	<i>lagi, tir</i>
451	from	<i>theke</i>	<i>thaki</i>	<i>waT dekhi</i>
452	he/she	<i>S'e</i>	<i>uae / uMae</i>	<i>u ulle (nominative)</i>
453	to her, to him	<i>take, take(hon.)</i>	<i>uak / uMak</i>	<i>ullai uslai</i>
454	here	<i>ekhane</i>	<i>eTe</i>	<i>ihã</i>
455	his/her	<i>tar, tãr(hon.)</i>	<i>uar / uMar</i>	<i>usko</i>
456	how	<i>kEmon</i>	<i>kEM kori / kEmne</i>	<i>kAsto</i>
457	I	<i>ami</i>	<i>mui</i>	<i>mA</i>

INDO-ARYAN LANGUAGES				
Sl.No.	ENGLISH GLOSS	BENGALI	RAJBANGSI	NEPALI
458	it / this	<i>ei, eTa</i>	<i>eTa</i>	<i>yo</i>
459	to it / to this	<i>eke, eTake</i>	<i>eTak</i>	<i>yAsko lagi</i>
460	its / of this	<i>er, eTar</i>	<i>eTar</i>	<i>yAsko</i>
461	like	<i>moto</i>	<i>nakan</i>	<i>jAsto, jAste</i>
462	to me	<i>amake</i>	<i>mok</i>	<i>mAlai</i>
463	my	<i>amar</i>	<i>mor</i>	<i>mero</i>
464	our	<i>amader</i>	<i>amar / amrar / hamrar</i>	<i>hamro</i>
465	not	<i>na, nAe</i>	<i>nai , na</i>	<i>hoinnA</i>
466	so / thus	<i>sutoraM, tai, S'ejonne</i>	<i>sutOraM ; tayle</i>	<i>yAsri</i>
467	that	<i>oi</i>	<i>ioTa</i>	<i>tyo</i>
468	to them	<i>oderke, onaderke(hon.)</i>	<i>umrak</i>	<i>unihArulai</i>
469	then	<i>tOkhon</i>	<i>tOkhOn</i>	<i>tAb</i>
470	those	<i>oigulo, ogulo</i>	<i>oigula / oila / ola</i>	<i>unihAru</i>
471	there	<i>okhane</i>	<i>oTe</i>	<i>huwã tyAhã</i>
472	they	<i>ora, onara(hon.), tara</i>	<i>umrae</i>	<i>unihAru</i>
473	their	<i>oder, onader(hon.), tader</i>	<i>umrar</i>	<i>unihAruko</i>
474	these	<i>eigulo, egulo</i>	<i>eigula / ela</i>	<i>yini hAru</i>
475	to us	<i>amaderke</i>	<i>amrak / amra gulak</i>	<i>hami hAru lai</i>
476	we	<i>amra</i>	<i>amra / hamra</i>	<i>hami</i>
477	what	<i>ki</i>	<i>ki</i>	<i>ke</i>

INDO-ARYAN LANGUAGES				
Sl.No.	ENGLISH GLOSS	BENGALI	RAJBANGSI	NEPALI
478	when	<i>kOkhon</i>	<i>kOkhOn, kObe</i>	<i>kAhile</i>
479	where	<i>kothae</i>	<i>koTe</i>	<i>kAhā</i>
480	who	<i>ke</i>	<i>kae</i>	<i>ko</i>
481	whose	<i>kar</i>	<i>kar</i>	<i>ko kAslai</i>
482	whom	<i>kake</i>	<i>kak</i>	<i>kAsko</i>
483	you	<i>tui, tumi, apni(hon.)</i>	<i>tui</i>	<i>timi, tA, tApai</i>
484	to you	<i>toke, tomake, apnake(hon.)</i>	<i>tok</i>	<i>timi lai</i>
485	your	<i>tor, tomar, apnar(hon.)</i>	<i>tor</i>	<i>timro</i>
486	year	<i>bOchor</i>	<i>bOrOs / bOchor / sal</i>	<i>sal</i>
487	and	<i>ebOM</i>	<i>ar</i>	<i>Ani, Ani</i>
488	at	<i>-ke, -dike</i>	<i>Ot / uat</i>	<i>ma, tir</i>
489	if	<i>jodi</i>	<i>jodi</i>	<i>yAdi</i>
490	in	<i>bhetor</i>	<i>bhitOrOt</i>	<i>ma, bhitrA</i>
<b>XXIX. Mixed Words</b>				
491	wave	<i>Dheu</i>	<i>Dheu</i>	<i>lAhAr</i>
492	ancester	<i>purbopuruS'</i>	<i>coddo purus / coddo gusTi</i>	<i>purkha</i>
493	brother-in-Law	<i>dEor, S'ala, bhaera bhai, bhasur,</i>	<i>sala / dEora</i>	<i>sala jeThan</i>

INDO-ARYAN LANGUAGES				
Sl.No.	ENGLISH GLOSS	BENGALI	RAJBANGSI	NEPALI
494	sister-in-Law	<i>nonod , boudi , S'ali , bhaj</i>	<i>sali /nOnon</i>	<i>sali jeThani</i>
495	mouse	<i>ĩdur</i>	<i>indur / endur</i>	<i>muso</i>
496	spider	<i>makoRS'a</i>	<i>makra</i>	<i>makura</i>
497	beard	<i>daRi</i>	<i>dari</i>	<i>daRhi</i>
498	moustache	<i>gõph</i>	<i>moc</i>	<i>jũdha</i>
499	navel	<i>nai</i>	<i>nai</i>	<i>naiTo, nabhi</i>
500	mirror	<i>aena</i>	<i>ayna</i>	<i>Aena</i>

AUSTRO-ASIATIC LANGUAGES				
Sl.No.	ENGLISH GLOSS	MUNDARI	KODA/KORA	LODHA
<b>I. Earth, Sky and Water etc.</b>				
1	air	<i>hoyo</i>	<i>ho:yo</i>	<i>koyo</i>
2	ashes	<i>tarae</i>	<i>doroy</i>	<i>kharom</i>
3	cloud	<i>rimbil</i>	<i>vimi : l</i>	<i>tirib?</i>
4	cold	<i>rear</i>	-	<i>theNDa / raNGa</i>
5	darkness	<i>nuba</i>	<i>ni : ta</i>	<i>melom</i>
6	earth	<i>dhorti</i>	<i>otte</i>	<i>dharthi/ uslog</i>
7	eclipse	<i>g<sup>h</sup> ornu</i>	-	<i>grahon</i>
8	fire	<i>seMgel</i>	<i>Sengal</i>	<i>timsom</i>
9	fog	<i>kuhurA</i>	<i>ku: De kaliyer</i>	<i>kuhas</i>
10	forest	<i>bir</i>	<i>beer</i>	<i>kinir</i>
11	hill	<i>buru</i>	<i>bru:</i>	<i>biru /toNri</i>
12	ice	<i>aril</i>	<i>skiri: m</i>	<i>bharaph</i>
13	island	-	<i>di: p</i>	<i>di:p</i>
14	path	<i>hora</i>	-	-
15	moon	<i>cã</i>	<i>aiv ča: Ndu</i>	<i>caNd</i>
16	mountain	<i>buru</i>	<i>bru:</i>	<i>biru</i>
17	rain	<i>da</i>	<i>serma: da</i>	<i>Da?gim</i>
18	river	<i>gaDa</i>	<i>ka Da</i>	<i>Dhodha</i>
19	road	<i>hora</i>	<i>hora</i>	<i>go?jum</i>
20	sand	<i>gitil</i>	<i>balik</i>	<i>roked?</i>

AUSTRO-ASIATIC LANGUAGES				
Sl.No.	ENGLISH GLOSS	MUNDARI	KODA/KORA	LODHA
21	sea	<i>maray gaDa</i>	-	<i>somdor</i>
22	sky	<i>rimbil</i>	<i>se rma:</i>	<i>tobluN</i>
23	snow	<i>aril</i>	-	<i>alamDag?</i>
24	star	<i>ipil</i>	<i>eppil</i>	<i>tergan</i>
25	stone	<i>diri</i>	<i>ti ri</i>	<i>soreN</i>
26	storm	<i>hoyo gama</i>	<i>koy lko:</i>	<i>nuDum</i>
27	sun	<i>siMgi</i>	<i>bella</i>	<i>bero</i>
28	water	<i>da</i>	<i>dha:</i>	<i>da?</i>
29	weather	<i>hoyo</i>	-	<i>kotasi</i>
30	wind	<i>hoyo</i>	<i>ho: yo:</i>	<i>koyo</i>
31	wood	<i>sab</i>	<i>saga: n</i>	<i>somgal</i>
<b>II. Mankind, Sex, Family</b>				
32	baby	<i>hon</i>	<i>hon</i>	<i>kuRu</i>
33	boy	<i>maraM</i>	<i>ko: Da: ko: n</i>	<i>kulam</i>
34	bride	<i>koniya</i>	<i>bo : rk o D a</i>	<i>kimin</i>
35	bride-groom	<i>bor</i>	<i>bowkesDi ho: n</i>	<i>aram</i>
36	brother /elder(e.)/younger(y.)	<i>maraM dada</i> (elder) , <i>huRiM dada</i> (younger)	<i>Marõ da: da:</i> (elder) , <i>kuDiM pokko: yin</i> (younger)	<i>dada</i> (elder) , <i>bhai</i> (younger)
37	child	<i>hon</i>	-	<i>aDhRo</i>
38	daughter	<i>kuRi hon</i>	<i>k o: ne: ra:</i>	<i>beTi</i>



AUSTRO-ASIATIC LANGUAGES				
Sl.No.	ENGLISH GLOSS	MUNDARI	KODA/KORA	LODHA
39	father	<i>aba / apo</i>	<i>ba:</i>	<i>aba</i>
40	friend	<i>suMti</i>	<i>bulbe: Da</i>	<i>sango</i>
41	girl	<i>kuRi hon</i>	<i>erro: ko: n</i>	<i>konsel</i>
42	husband	<i>kisan</i>	-	<i>keNdor</i>
43	male	<i>hoRo</i>	<i>honerai</i>	<i>lebu</i>
44	man	<i>hoRo</i>	-	<i>lebu</i>
45	marriage	<i>aNdi</i>	<i>dhutto: mo: Da:</i>	<i>bihadoM</i>
46	maternal uncle	<i>mamu</i>	-	<i>mama</i>
47	maternal uncle's daughter	<i>mamu hon beTi</i>	-	<i>mamar beTi</i>
48	mother	<i>eMga</i>	-	<i>ayo, mai</i>
49	nephew	<i>putra</i>	-	<i>batig?</i>
50	niece	<i>jhiaRi</i>	-	<i>batigin</i>
51	old man	<i>haRam hoRo</i>	<i>kadam noDa</i>	<i>kedorbo?</i>
52	person	<i>hoRo</i>	-	<i>lebu</i>
53	tall	<i>jiliM</i>	-	<i>jhelob</i>
54	lean	<i>etaM</i>	-	<i>regreta</i>
55	fat	<i>moTho</i>	-	<i>dhamahusra</i>
56	dumb	<i>koMka</i>	-	<i>bohira</i>
57	blind	<i>kaNa</i>	<i>ka: ha / ka: ni</i>	<i>andhro</i>

AUSTRO-ASIATIC LANGUAGES				
Sl.No.	ENGLISH GLOSS	MUNDARI	KODA/KORA	LODHA
58	sister /elder(e.) /younger(y.)	<i>misi</i>	<i>kuDiM pokka: yly</i> <i>kuDi</i>	<i>didi / kulan day / bhuyñ</i>
59	sister-in-law	<i>sali</i>	-	<i>aji</i>
60	son	<i>hon beta</i>	<i>ho: n erral</i>	<i>beTa</i>
61	widow	<i>ipayti hoRo</i>	-	<i>raRikonsel</i>
62	wife	<i>kimin</i>	<i>iwja erra</i>	<i>Da:j</i>
63	woman	<i>hoRi</i>	<i>ho: n erra</i>	<i>konsel</i>
<b>III. Animals, Birds, etc.</b>				
64	ant	<i>mui</i>	<i>mu: y</i>	<i>umpya / demTa</i>
65	bird	<i>cēNe</i>	<i>oDe</i>	<i>gerya</i>
66	cat	<i>pusi</i>	<i>pussi</i>	<i>biloi</i>
67	claw	<i>sarsar</i>	-	<i>rapaj</i>
68	cock	<i>sim</i>	-	<i>kokro sikoy</i>
69	cow	<i>uri</i>	<i>kagũ</i>	<i>ga:y</i>
70	crab	<i>kaTom</i>	-	<i>bucu?</i>
71	dog	<i>seta</i>	<i>cette:</i>	<i>solo?</i>
72	egg	<i>peTalu</i>	<i>billi</i>	<i>enDa</i>
73	feather	<i>ip</i>	-	<i>pudga /beleD</i>
74	fish	<i>hai</i>	<i>hakku</i>	<i>kadog / baranda</i>
75	fly	<i>ro</i>	-	<i>uRe</i>
76	fox	<i>tuyu</i>	<i>kikkiti</i>	<i>tuyu</i>

AUSTRO-ASIATIC LANGUAGES				
Sl.No.	ENGLISH GLOSS	MUNDARI	KODA/KORA	LODHA
77	goat	<i>meroM</i>	<i>merō</i>	<i>paTiru</i>
78	grease	-	-	<i>kowa</i>
79	guts	-	-	<i>okhri</i>
80	horn	<i>diriM</i>	-	<i>kitusikoy</i>
81	horse	<i>sadom</i>	-	<i>ghoRa</i>
82	lion	<i>siM</i>	-	<i>siMha</i>
83	louse	<i>si</i>	-	<i>O?</i>
84	monkey	<i>gaRi</i>	-	<i>badra?</i>
85	nest	<i>tuka</i>	-	<i>pijra</i>
86	tail	<i>calom</i>	-	<i>pata</i>
87	tiger	<i>tarup</i>	-	<i>lakra / kiro?</i>
88	tortoise	<i>horo</i>	-	<i>kulu</i>
<b>IV. Body parts, Bodily</b>				
89	wing	<i>pak</i>	-	<i>koyo</i>
90	work	<i>kami</i>	-	<i>sagod</i>
91	back	<i>dea</i>	<i>daya</i>	<i>piche</i>
92	belly	<i>lai</i>	<i>lagi</i>	<i>laj</i>
93	blood	<i>mayom</i>	<i>mayã :</i>	<i>ijam</i>
94	body	<i>hoRmo</i>	<i>koDa mo:</i>	<i>sarir</i>
95	bone	<i>jaM</i>	<i>ja: M</i>	<i>haDDi</i>
96	breast	<i>boba</i>	<i>koda: mduva</i>	<i>ma:yog</i>

AUSTRO-ASIATIC LANGUAGES				
Sl.No.	ENGLISH GLOSS	MUNDARI	KODA/KORA	LODHA
97	chest	<i>alaM</i>	<i>tottana</i>	<i>ma:yog</i>
98	ear	<i>lutu</i>	<i>luttar</i>	<i>lutur</i>
99	eye	<i>ak</i>	<i>met</i>	<i>mo?D</i>
100	face	<i>moca</i>	<i>mo:čča</i>	<i>ce:hra</i>
101	fever	<i>hasu</i>	-	<i>sartog</i>
102	finger	<i>DaRo</i>	<i>kaTTu</i>	<i>cunDul/ agri</i>
103	flesh	<i>jilu</i>	-	<i>kumag</i>
104	foot	<i>talka</i>	-	<i>keTa</i>
105	hair	<i>u<sup>?</sup> p</i>	<i>u: p</i>	<i>jariya</i>
106	hand	<i>ti</i>	-	<i>ti?</i>
107	head	<i>bo<sup>?</sup></i>	<i>bo: ho:</i>	<i>sir</i>
108	heart	<i>jil</i>	-	<i>kRudhay</i>
109	leg	<i>kaTa</i>	-	<i>keTa</i>
110	lip	<i>laco</i>	<i>uTTil</i>	<i>laco?</i>
111	liver	-	-	-
112	lung	-	-	-
113	mouth	<i>moca</i>	<i>mo: cca:</i>	<i>mukh</i>
114	neck	<i>hoTo</i>	<i>du: T ha:</i>	<i>Dhetu / konko</i>
115	nose	<i>mu<sup>?</sup></i>	<i>mu:</i>	<i>na:k</i>
116	spine	<i>siaNi</i>	-	<i>burondi</i>
117	tongue	<i>alaM</i>	<i>alo: M</i>	<i>laN</i>

AUSTRO-ASIATIC LANGUAGES				
Sl.No.	ENGLISH GLOSS	MUNDARI	KODA/KORA	LODHA
118	tooth	<i>DaTa</i>	<i>ta TTa</i>	<i>gone</i>
119	waist	<i>mayam</i>	-	<i>Da?ni</i>
<b>V. Foods Drinks, Cooking</b>				
120	fruit	<i>jo</i>	<i>jo: vile</i>	<i>jo</i>
121	liquor	<i>arki</i>		<i>arki</i>
122	milk	<i>toa</i>	<i>durva :</i>	<i>tomleN</i>
123	salt	<i>buluM</i>	<i>puluM'</i>	<i>biluN</i>
124	smoke	<i>sukul</i>		<i>mo?</i>
125	rice- uncooked (uc.)/ cooked(c.)	<i>cauli</i>	<i>čavli</i>	<i>ba?</i>
<b>VI. Clothing, House, Parts</b>				
126	banian	<i>genji</i>	<i>jama</i>	<i>latte?</i>
127	cloth	<i>kicRi</i>	<i>faTikiji</i>	<i>pechari</i>
128	cotton	<i>lugam</i>	<i>koram jama pittu</i>	<i>siDij</i>
129	front tuck	<i>gutam</i>	-	-
130	flute	<i>rutu</i>	-	<i>pereD</i>
131	frock	<i>sono</i>	-	<i>phira:k</i>
132	loom	<i>suta</i>	-	<i>khatiya</i>
133	stick	<i>DaRa</i>	-	<i>Danda?</i>
134	bed	<i>Theko</i>	<i>biččune :</i>	<i>parkom / khaTiya</i>

AUSTRO-ASIATIC LANGUAGES				
Sl.No.	ENGLISH GLOSS	MUNDARI	KODA/KORA	LODHA
135	door	<i>silpiM</i>	<i>duva: rt</i>	<i>perTol</i>
136	house	<i>oRa</i>	<i>ko: Da</i>	<i>ola?</i>
137	roof	<i>cat</i>	<i>sA: t</i>	<i>dabni</i>
138	rope	<i>bayar</i>	-	<i>ke?ke</i>
139	wall	<i>kat</i>	-	<i>bhit</i>
140	well water	<i>cuareda</i>	-	<i>cugDa?</i>
141	window	<i>jali</i>	-	<i>khiRki</i>
<b>VII. Trees, Vegetables,</b>				
142	bamboo	<i>ma<sup>?</sup> d</i>	-	<i>argo?</i>
143	banana	<i>kadla</i>	-	<i>khera / konDog</i>
144	barks	<i>darurea harta</i>	-	<i>chal</i>
145	brinjal	<i>beMgaR</i>	-	<i>batta</i>
146	chilly	<i>mirci</i>	-	<i>mircha</i>
147	coconut	<i>naRia</i>	-	<i>naRiyal</i>
148	creeper	<i>naRi</i>	-	<i>henDugri</i>
149	flower	<i>ba</i>	<i>a: TTer</i>	<i>phu:lga</i>
150	fruit	<i>jo</i>	<i>pospekker</i>	<i>jo</i>
151	garden	<i>bagan</i>	-	<i>bagica</i>
152	grass	<i>tasa</i>	-	<i>gha:s</i>
153	guava	<i>peru</i>	-	<i>tamras</i>
154	jack fruit	<i>kaNTal</i>	-	<i>kaThar</i>

AUSTRO-ASIATIC LANGUAGES				
Sl.No.	ENGLISH GLOSS	MUNDARI	KODA/KORA	LODHA
155	leaf	<i>sakam</i>	-	<i>sakam</i>
156	lily	<i>lili</i>	-	
157	mango	<i>uli</i>	-	<i>kayar</i>
158	paddy	<i>baba</i>	-	<i>ba?</i>
159	plough	<i>nal</i>	-	<i>bidhay</i>
160	potato	<i>saMga</i>	-	<i>a:lu</i>
161	root	<i>ret</i>	-	<i>juD</i>
162	sweet	<i>sibil</i>	-	<i>urumdag</i>
163	tree	<i>daru</i>	-	<i>daru</i>
164	vegetable	<i>utuia</i>	-	<i>taRga:ri</i>
165	wheel	<i>caka</i>	-	<i>carkha</i>
166	gum	-	-	<i>lasa</i>
<b>VIII. Profession and</b>				
167	labourer	<i>mulia</i>	-	<i>bhutivar</i>
168	farm land	<i>aRi</i>	-	<i>ba?lo?</i>
169	mid –wife	<i>hirum</i>	-	<i>a:ya</i>
170	money lender	<i>khoTTa</i>	-	<i>kinsRo</i>
171	net	<i>jalom</i>	-	<i>jal</i>
172	potter	<i>kumhan / kuMkal</i>	-	<i>kumhar</i>
173	weaver	<i>peNai</i>	-	<i>ci ? ko</i>
174	bullock cart	<i>uR gaRi</i>	-	<i>baraD gaRi</i>

AUSTRO-ASIATIC LANGUAGES				
Sl.No.	ENGLISH GLOSS	MUNDARI	KODA/KORA	LODHA
175	bus	<i>bas</i>	-	<i>ga:Ri</i>
<b>IX. Sense perception,</b>				
176	bitter	<i>haRad</i>	-	<i>pita</i>
177	black	<i>hende</i>	-	<i>ka:lo</i>
178	blind	<i>ond</i>	<i>ka: ha / ka: ni</i>	
179	blue	<i>lil</i>	-	<i>bay?ni</i>
180	bright	<i>julot</i>	-	<i>ba:ph</i>
181	brown	<i>buirā</i>	-	<i>halke?</i>
182	coldness	<i>jaRa</i>	-	<i>ThenDa</i>
183	green	<i>hali</i>	-	<i>hariar</i>
184	hot	<i>Dali</i>	-	<i>phen</i>
185	light	<i>alo</i>	-	<i>to?</i>
186	red	<i>raMga</i>	-	<i>rusu</i>
187	sour	<i>jojo</i>	-	<i>rojoD</i>
188	sweet	<i>miTa</i>	-	<i>urumdag</i>
189	white	<i>phūRi</i>	-	<i>saphed</i>
190	yellow	<i>sasaM</i>	-	<i>piar</i>
191	hungry	<i>reMgetia</i>	-	<i>betoD</i>
192	love	<i>sukualia</i>	-	
193	pain	<i>hasunia</i>	-	<i>kusu?</i>
194	TRUE	<i>sarte</i>	-	<i>sogoy</i>



AUSTRO-ASIATIC LANGUAGES				
Sl.No.	ENGLISH GLOSS	MUNDARI	KODA/KORA	LODHA
195	wish	<i>iccha</i>	-	<i>iccha</i>
<b>X. Education</b>				
196	ink	<i>kali</i>	-	<i>dhak</i>
197	school	<i>iskul</i>	-	<i>isko:l</i>
198	student	<i>inkul hon</i>	-	<i>bidyarthi</i>
199	teacher	<i>master</i>	-	<i>ma:sTir</i>
<b>XI. War &amp; Law</b>				
200	bullet	<i>goli</i>	<i>mu: kki</i>	<i>kuTil</i>
201	drum trumpet	<i>Dhol, koRkha,</i>	<i>damu:r</i>	<i>caggu</i>
202	enemy	<i>dusman</i>	<i>vivri, dusmu: n</i>	<i>bairi</i>
203	debt	<i>sondeh</i>	-	<i>saka</i>
204	divorce	<i>caDiri</i>	-	
205	theft	<i>kumru / tada</i>	<i>kumDu</i>	<i>chori</i>
<b>XII. Religion,</b>				
206	festival	<i>ura</i>	<i>titta: l</i>	<i>kuDhig</i>
207	garland	<i>har</i>	<i>sahe: b</i>	<i>ma:la</i>
208	heaven	<i>sarg</i>	-	<i>swarg</i>
209	hell	<i>nark</i>	-	<i>narag</i>
210	worship	<i>boMga</i>	<i>ra: jko: n</i>	<i>pu;ja</i>
211	games	<i>kel</i>	-	<i>ke:la</i>
212	flute	<i>rutu</i>	-	<i>pansuri</i>

AUSTRO-ASIATIC LANGUAGES				
Sl.No.	ENGLISH GLOSS	MUNDARI	KODA/KORA	LODHA
213	brass	<i>pitOl</i>	-	<i>pitel?</i>
214	gold	<i>sona</i>	-	<i>sona</i>
215	iron	<i>meRod</i>	-	<i>loha</i>
216	lime	<i>cun</i>	-	<i>cuna</i>
217	money	<i>kerom</i>	-	<i>dan</i>
218	silver	<i>candi</i>	-	<i>candi</i>
<b>XIII. Numerals</b>				
219	first	<i>maRaM</i>	-	<i>meson</i>
220	second	<i>tayom</i>	-	<i>bersom</i>
221	third	<i>huRiM</i>	-	<i>uphethar</i>
222	one	<i>mod</i>	-	<i>mon</i>
223	two	<i>baria</i>	-	<i>ubar</i>
224	three	<i>apia</i>	-	<i>u?phe</i>
225	four	<i>upunio</i>	-	<i>iphon</i>
226	five	<i>moNea</i>	-	<i>moloy</i>
227	six	<i>turia</i>	-	<i>tibru</i>
228	seven	<i>iya</i>	-	<i>tham</i>
229	eight	<i>iralia</i>	-	<i>a:Th</i>
230	nine	<i>area</i>	-	<i>thomsin</i>
231	ten	<i>gelea</i>	-	<i>ghal</i>
232	sixteen	<i>mod gel turui</i>	-	<i>solla</i>

AUSTRO-ASIATIC LANGUAGES				
Sl.No.	ENGLISH GLOSS	MUNDARI	KODA/KORA	LODHA
233	twenty	<i>mod hīsi</i>	-	<i>ubaghal</i>
234	forty	<i>bar hisi</i>	-	<i>i phoghal</i>
<b>XIV. Physical activities</b>				
235	bind	<i>tol</i>	-	<i>tor</i>
236	blow	<i>oM</i>	-	<i>ped / upuN</i>
237	break (stick,pot, etc.)	<i>dipil, gemer, go?</i>	-	<i>pikaj</i>
238	burn	<i>jul</i>	-	<i>geb</i>
239	carry (on head, in hand, on shoulder)	<i>dipil, gemer, go?</i>	-	<i>tej?</i>
240	catch (chase and catch an animal, something thrown)	<i>sab</i>	-	<i>dho?</i>
241	clean	<i>parci</i>	-	<i>pheriya</i>
242	do (non-specific verb)	<i>tana</i>	-	<i>karay</i>
243	fall	<i>uyu</i>	-	<i>ubgur</i>
244	float	<i>atu</i>	-	<i>Tudag</i>

AUSTRO-ASIATIC LANGUAGES				
Sl.No.	ENGLISH GLOSS	MUNDARI	KODA/KORA	LODHA
245	flow	<i>lima</i>	-	<i>lege</i>
246	hit	<i>dal</i>	-	<i>sej</i>
247	hold	<i>sab</i>	-	<i>tuphag</i>
248	lean (against something)	<i>banka</i>	-	<i>semghor</i>
249	lick	<i>caTe</i>	-	<i>jal</i>
250	make	<i>bai</i>	-	<i>bay</i>
251	mix	<i>mesa</i>	-	<i>sire</i>
252	open (a door, eyes, bag)	<i>ni / oco</i>	-	<i>yug</i>
253	pick	<i>halaM</i>	-	<i>ram / kay</i>
254	play	<i>inuM</i>	-	<i>sogkoy</i>
255	pull	<i>raca</i>	-	<i>Teleg</i>
256	push	<i>udur</i>	-	<i>dhela?</i>
257	put	<i>do</i>	-	<i>da:l</i>
258	rub	<i>gesa</i>	-	<i>ragday</i>
259	sell	<i>aliriM</i>	-	<i>bike?</i>
260	shut	<i>have</i>	-	<i>benDa?</i>
261	sink	<i>Dubuo</i>	-	<i>bhut</i>
262	sprinkle	<i>hiRci</i>	-	<i>udhiyay</i>
263	squeeze	<i>belga</i>	-	<i>tunica</i>

AUSTRO-ASIATIC LANGUAGES				
Sl.No.	ENGLISH GLOSS	MUNDARI	KODA/KORA	LODHA
264	spit	<i>be</i>	-	<i>phare</i>
265	swell	<i>mo</i>	-	
266	tear	<i>me da joro</i>	-	<i>romoDa?</i>
267	throw	<i>huray</i>	-	<i>ghal</i>
268	wash	<i>habuy</i>	-	<i>guguj?</i>
269	wipe	<i>eNe</i>	-	
270	work	<i>kam</i>	-	<i>kam</i>
<b>XV. Instrument Verbs</b>				
271	cut	<i>ma<sup>?</sup></i>	-	<i>sej?/gad</i>
272	dig (dig up)	<i>ur</i>	-	<i>lay</i>
273	hunt	<i>sendra</i>	-	<i>lam</i>
274	pound	-	-	<i>Durug</i>
275	shoot	<i>goli mar-</i>	-	<i>Tog</i>
276	split (wood)	-	-	<i>dail</i>
<b>XVI. Verbs of Fighting</b>				
277	fight	<i>gopoy</i>	-	<i>laRe</i>
278	kill	<i>dal</i>	-	<i>sombo?</i>
279	quarrel	<i>epraM</i>	-	<i>laRe / kole</i>
280	stab	-	-	<i>perya</i>
<b>XVII. Music Verbs</b>				
281	beat (a drum )	<i>bad</i>	<i>ta: ra: s</i>	<i>bu?</i>

AUSTRO-ASIATIC LANGUAGES				
Sl.No.	ENGLISH GLOSS	MUNDARI	KODA/KORA	LODHA
282	sing	<i>duraM</i>	-	<i>aloM /durag</i>
<b>XVIII. Motion Verbs</b>				
283	arrive	<i>seTe<sup>?</sup></i>	-	<i>dam</i>
284	ascend	<i>haddiR</i>	-	<i>abre?</i>
285	bring	<i>au</i>	-	
286	climb	<i>rakab</i>	-	<i>Deb</i>
287	come	<i>hiju</i>	-	<i>delbha</i>
288	dance	<i>susun</i>	-	<i>lohosua</i>
289	drag	<i>sab</i>	-	<i>ghisray</i>
290	enter	<i>bolo</i>	-	<i>diyar</i>
291	escape	<i>nir</i>	-	<i>gogea</i>
292	fly (as a bird)	<i>apir</i>	-	<i>uRe</i>
293	get	<i>nam</i>	-	<i>lu?</i>
294	get up	<i>birid<sup>?</sup></i>	-	<i>bebro?</i>
295	give	<i>om</i>	-	<i>ter</i>
296	go	<i>sen<sup>?</sup> o</i>	-	<i>conam</i>
297	jump	<i>kuDil</i>	-	<i>puDa?</i>
298	move (tram )	<i>holiri</i>	-	<i>hile</i>
299	run	<i>duR</i>	-	<i>batke</i>
300	send	<i>kul</i>	-	<i>Dagod</i>
301	slip	<i>gilat<sup>?</sup></i>	-	<i>rog</i>

AUSTRO-ASIATIC LANGUAGES				
Sl.No.	ENGLISH GLOSS	MUNDARI	KODA/KORA	LODHA
302	stand up	<i>tiMgu</i>	-	<i>berod</i>
303	swim	<i>pōhor</i>	-	<i>paore</i>
304	swing	<i>jhul</i>	-	<i>jhule</i>
305	take	<i>hatao</i>	-	<i>disa?</i>
306	vomit	<i>ula</i>	-	<i>baja?</i>
307	walk	<i>sen</i>	-	<i>saNgod</i>
<b>XIX. Occupational Verbs</b>				
308	cultivate	<i>cas</i>		<i>rahaR</i>
309	comb	<i>naki tana</i>	<i>haki</i>	<i>kana:si</i>
310	graze	<i>jom</i>	-	<i>core / gupa</i>
311	harvest	<i>cas</i>	-	<i>gaD</i>
312	lend	<i>udhar</i>	-	<i>uDra</i>
313	milk	<i>tai</i>	-	<i>duDh</i>
314	plant	<i>road</i>	-	<i>biRa</i>
315	reap	<i>her</i>	-	<i>Dam</i>
316	saw	-	-	<i>a:ri</i>
317	sow (seed )	-	-	<i>bi:d</i>
<b>XX. Culinari Verbs</b>				
318	bark	-	-	<i>bakla</i>
319	bite	<i>hua</i>	-	<i>hapkay</i>
320	cook	<i>tiki</i>	-	<i>isin</i>

AUSTRO-ASIATIC LANGUAGES				
Sl.No.	ENGLISH GLOSS	MUNDARI	KODA/KORA	LODHA
321	drink	<i>nu</i>	-	<i>uDa</i>
322	eat	<i>jom</i>	-	<i>nog</i>
323	feed	<i>jomiri</i>	-	<i>obnog</i>
324	suck	<i>rac</i>	-	<i>ud?</i>
325	tie	-	-	<i>tol / ghomse</i>
326	wear	<i>tusiM</i>	-	<i>lutui</i>
<b>XXI. Communication Verbs</b>				
327	answer	<i>utor</i>	-	<i>kupe?</i>
328	ask	<i>kuli</i>	-	<i>gajgaj</i>
329	call	<i>ra</i>	-	<i>remag</i>
330	say	<i>mein</i>	-	<i>gam</i>
331	shout	<i>kakla</i>	-	<i>liwa</i>
332	write	<i>olo</i>	-	<i>likhay</i>
<b>XXII. Stationary Verbs</b>				
333	burn	<i>jul</i>	-	<i>ge?b</i>
334	choose	<i>suku</i>	-	<i>kapoy</i>
335	die	<i>goy</i>	-	<i>rab?/ goj</i>
336	live (at )	<i>tayu</i>	-	<i>niar</i>
337	earn	<i>arja</i>	-	<i>ka:ku</i>
338	hide	<i>ukun</i>	-	<i>ukub?</i>
339	keep	<i>do</i>	-	<i>da:l</i>



AUSTRO-ASIATIC LANGUAGES				
Sl.No.	ENGLISH GLOSS	MUNDARI	KODA/KORA	LODHA
340	turn	<i>ruaR</i>	-	<i>ulray</i>
341	sit	<i>dub?</i>	-	<i>doko</i>
342	stop	<i>tiMgu</i>	-	<i>Tahre</i>
<b>XXIII. In cohative Verbs</b>				
343	change	-	-	<i>badlay</i>
344	freeze	-	-	<i>jame</i>
345	swell	<i>suj</i>	-	<i>ghardmad</i>
346	wet (mskr wet)	-	-	<i>pe?ca</i>
<b>XXIV. Cognitive Verbs</b>				
347	count	<i>leka</i>	-	<i>kol</i>
348	know	<i>itu</i>	-	<i>kog</i>
349	learn	<i>itujed</i>	-	<i>soj</i>
350	think	<i>uru?</i>	-	<i>socay</i>
351	break	<i>rapud</i>	-	<i>pag</i>
<b>XXV. Sensory and Emotive</b>				
352	cry (weep )	<i>yam</i>	-	<i>torog</i>
353	fear	<i>boro</i>	-	<i>botog</i>
354	hear	<i>ayom</i>	-	<i>sogkay</i>
355	laugh/ smile	<i>land</i>	-	<i>eThod / lada</i>
356	read	<i>paR</i>	-	<i>akhar</i>
357	sleep, lie	<i>durum</i>	-	<i>lemeD</i>

AUSTRO-ASIATIC LANGUAGES				
Sl.No.	ENGLISH GLOSS	MUNDARI	KODA/KORA	LODHA
358	smell	<i>soaM</i>	-	<i>mahke</i>
359	taste	-	-	<i>jal</i>
360	touch	<i>ja</i>	-	<i>jib</i>
361	wake up	<i>birid</i>	-	<i>pasa</i>
362	annoy	-	-	<i>ragoy / khis</i>
363	kiss	<i>co?</i>	-	<i>cuma</i>
364	love	-	-	<i>parek</i>
365	tired	<i>lag</i>	-	<i>loyo?</i>
<b>XXVI. Other Verbs</b>				
366	bathe	<i>reaR</i>	-	<i>utag</i>
367	buy	<i>kiriM</i>	-	<i>phaba?</i>
368	drip	<i>Dub</i>	-	<i>joTob</i>
369	meet	<i>napun</i>	-	<i>kolbhera</i>
370	repay	<i>ruaR</i>	-	<i>dobray</i>
371	ridicule , joke	<i>maja</i>	-	<i>rema?</i>
372	show	<i>leliri</i>	-	<i>utuD</i>
373	scratch	<i>bag?ta</i>	-	<i>rapoj / cerayna</i>
374	stick	<i>laT</i>	-	<i>paTpaTay</i>
375	vomit	<i>ula</i>	-	<i>baja?</i>
376	wean ( a child)	-	-	<i>kankaTho</i>
377	wipe	<i>nik</i>	-	<i>uDum</i>

AUSTRO-ASIATIC LANGUAGES				
Sl.No.	ENGLISH GLOSS	MUNDARI	KODA/KORA	LODHA
378	name	<i>nutum</i>	-	<i>nimi</i>
<b>XXVII. Adjectives</b>				
379	all	<i>sOb</i>	<i>jo: tto:</i>	<i>jhaRi</i>
380	bad	<i>juda</i>	<i>kara: l</i>	<i>khara:b</i>
381	big	<i>jaR</i>	<i>mara: M</i>	<i>boR</i>
382	dirty	<i>jondra</i>	-	<i>kote?</i>
383	dry	<i>roR</i>	-	<i>jorel</i>
384	few	<i>huRi / nimnuM</i>	-	<i>takhTa</i>
385	full	<i>pere</i>	<i>pere: kkiya:</i>	<i>bharek</i>
386	good	<i>bugi</i>	-	<i>bes / kelom</i>
387	hard	<i>ti</i>	-	<i>ti</i>
388	honest	<i>sarke</i>	-	<i>kabaj</i>
389	long	<i>saMgiM</i>	-	<i>lamba</i>
390	many	<i>isu</i>	-	<i>aneT</i>
391	narrow	<i>huRiM</i>	-	<i>cu?ci</i>
392	new	<i>naoa</i>	-	<i>tumsi</i>
393	old	<i>purna</i>	-	<i>babir</i>
394	raw	<i>berel</i>	-	<i>borol</i>
395	rotten	<i>seya</i>	-	<i>loro?</i>
396	right	<i>sarte</i>	-	<i>janoM</i>
397	dull	<i>kOMka</i>	-	-

AUSTRO-ASIATIC LANGUAGES				
Sl.No.	ENGLISH GLOSS	MUNDARI	KODA/KORA	LODHA
398	lie	<i>ipay</i>	-	<i>ulnDe</i>
399	sharp	<i>leser</i>	-	<i>dhei? /cokh</i>
400	short	<i>huRiM</i>	-	<i>raguj</i>
401	some	<i>huRi</i>	-	<i>kaTij</i>
402	small	<i>huRiM</i>	-	<i>raguj</i>
403	smart	-	-	<i>mu?rel</i>
404	smooth	-	-	<i>ludur</i>
405	soft	<i>lebe</i>	-	<i>Dhilo</i>
406	straight	<i>soje</i>	-	<i>soj</i>
407	strength	<i>peDe</i>	-	<i>sawaM</i>
408	thick	<i>moTho</i>	-	<i>hindug</i>
409	thin	<i>etaM</i>	-	<i>Rogoy</i>
410	ugly	<i>jondra</i>	-	<i>jigrey</i>
411	vice	-	-	<i>sarer</i>
412	virtue	-	-	<i>imandar</i>
413	warm	-	-	<i>urum</i>
414	weak	<i>laga</i>	-	<i>rogay / kamjor</i>
415	wet	<i>laot</i>	-	-
416	wide	-	-	<i>usar</i>
417	wild	-	-	<i>jono?</i>
418	wise	<i>ituan</i>	-	<i>niga</i>

AUSTRO-ASIATIC LANGUAGES				
Sl.No.	ENGLISH GLOSS	MUNDARI	KODA/KORA	LODHA
<b>XXVIII. Functional Words</b>				
419	east	<i>baDa rakab</i>	-	<i>munu?</i>
420	end	-	-	<i>sitil</i>
421	far	<i>saMgin</i>	-	<i>desa?</i>
422	left side	<i>laMga</i>	-	<i>cenko?</i>
423	middle	<i>tal</i>	-	<i>mujhi</i>
424	near	<i>japa</i>	-	<i>a:se</i>
425	north	<i>uttar sai</i>	-	<i>uttar</i>
426	out	<i>bar</i>	-	<i>upul</i>
427	right side/hand	<i>jom</i>	-	<i>bhujum</i>
428	south	<i>dakhin</i>	-	<i>dakhsin</i>
429	again	<i>oromosa</i>	-	<i>od?ga?</i>
430	always	<i>saraghoRi</i>	-	<i>sob?ere</i>
431	before	<i>maRaM</i>	-	<i>a:ge</i>
432	daily	<i>siMgi te</i>	-	<i>dioga?</i>
433	day	<i>siMgi</i>	-	<i>unbog</i>
434	evening	<i>ayub</i>	-	<i>idibi</i>
435	fast/quick	<i>sekRa sekRa/ bode</i>	-	<i>jeldhi</i>
436	full moon day	<i>punei</i>	-	<i>puni din</i>
437	late	-	-	<i>deri</i>
438	month	<i>canru</i>	-	<i>ma:s</i>

AUSTRO-ASIATIC LANGUAGES				
Sl.No.	ENGLISH GLOSS	MUNDARI	KODA/KORA	LODHA
439	morning	<i>seta</i>	-	<i>subra?</i>
440	night	<i>nida</i>	-	<i>idib</i>
441	season	<i>rut</i>	-	<i>mousam</i>
442	today	<i>tisiM</i>	-	<i>kuRa</i>
443	tomorrow	<i>gapa</i>	-	<i>tuDa</i>
444	yesterday	<i>hola</i>	-	<i>koDa</i>
445	after/afterwards	<i>tayom</i>	-	<i>lo?dho</i>
446	behind	<i>tayom</i>	-	<i>kunabte</i>
447	between	<i>tal</i>	<i>barko:T mo: tire:</i>	<i>mujhi</i>
448	by	<i>-te</i>	<i>kotte: tte:</i>	<i>bom</i>
449	down	<i>lat</i>	<i>latta: r yse:</i>	<i>tuta</i>
450	for	<i>-nagin</i>	<i>lakit</i>	<i>thoM</i>
451	from	<i>-teya</i>	<i>kona:</i>	<i>lay</i>
452	he/she	<i>ay</i>	<i>uni koDkon</i>	<i>hokar</i>
453	to her, to him	<i>ayke</i>	-	<i>nokeRute</i>
454	here	<i>neDe</i>	-	<i>bo? / ute</i>
455	his/her	<i>aya</i>	<i>uniya:</i>	<i>apan?</i>
456	how	<i>cilka</i>	-	<i>henkeRa</i>
457	I	<i>aiM</i>	<i>i : M</i>	<i>iM</i>
458	it / this	<i>e</i>	<i>nuyi</i>	<i>iM?</i>
459	to it / to this	<i>eke</i>	-	<i>nena</i>

AUSTRO-ASIATIC LANGUAGES				
Sl.No.	ENGLISH GLOSS	MUNDARI	KODA/KORA	LODHA
460	its / of this	<i>eya</i>	<i>nikkiniya:</i>	<i>neye</i>
461	like	<i>sArka</i>	<i>lekke:</i>	<i>hinka / majur</i>
462	to me	<i>aiMke</i>	<i>inDen</i>	<i>imte</i>
463	my	<i>aiMa</i>	<i>iñ a: M</i>	<i>ima?</i>
464	our	<i>alea</i>	<i>ale:ya:</i>	<i>imara?</i>
465	not	<i>kage</i>	<i>ba:n</i>	<i>eniha?</i>
466	so / thus	<i>inate</i>	-	<i>ughay</i>
467	that	<i>hana</i>	-	<i>hokeR</i>
468	to them	<i>akoke</i>	-	<i>ukiyaRte</i>
469	then	<i>imtaM</i>	-	<i>eredo</i>
470	those	<i>hanako</i>	-	<i>hokiyar</i>
471	there	<i>hanDe</i>	-	<i>uki</i>
472	they	<i>ako</i>	<i>inku</i>	<i>ukiyaR</i>
473	their	<i>akoa</i>	-	<i>ukiyaRa</i>
474	these	<i>niako</i>	-	<i>uki</i>
475	to us	<i>aleke</i>	-	<i>te</i>
476	we	<i>ale</i>	<i>ale:</i>	<i>injar</i>
477	what	<i>kanaci</i>	<i>se: t</i>	<i>?i</i>
478	when	<i>cimtaM</i>	<i>ti:rire: ?</i>	<i>bhere</i>
479	where	<i>okare</i>	<i>okko: nRRe:</i>	<i>aTi</i>
480	who	<i>okoy</i>	<i>akko: nkam</i>	<i>behar</i>

AUSTRO-ASIATIC LANGUAGES				
Sl.No.	ENGLISH GLOSS	MUNDARI	KODA/KORA	LODHA
481	whose	<i>okoya</i>	-	<i>behelu</i>
482	whom	<i>okoyke</i>	<i>akko: nden</i>	<i>behucuc</i>
483	you	<i>am</i>	<i>a:m</i>	<i>am</i>
484	to you	<i>amke</i>	<i>a:m se: t</i>	<i>amte</i>
485	your	<i>ama</i>	<i>abe: se</i>	<i>ama?</i>
486	year	<i>sirma</i>	-	<i>su?da?</i>
487	and	<i>oRo</i>	-	<i>ro</i>
488	at	<i>sai</i>	-	<i>tu</i>
489	if	<i>yadi</i>	<i>ju ti: k</i>	<i>magar</i>
490	in	<i>bitar</i>	<i>te: y</i>	<i>bhiteR</i>
<b>XXIX. Mixed Words</b>				
491	wave	-	-	<i>udge</i>
492	ancestor	-	-	<i>pu:Rwo</i>
493	brother-in-Law	<i>bohanai</i>	-	<i>sala / bao</i>
494	sister-in-Law	<i>sali, aji</i>	-	<i>aji</i>
495	mouse	<i>guDu</i>	-	<i>kone/cunDi / cuTiya</i>
496	spider	<i>bindri</i>	-	<i>binDu</i>
497	beard	<i>daDi</i>	-	<i>da:Dhi</i>
498	moustache	<i>gucu</i>	-	<i>goco</i>
499	navel	<i>nai</i>	-	<i>copi/ sunruj</i>
500	mirror	<i>arsi</i>	-	<i>parkala</i>



TIBETO-BURMAN LANGUAGES				
Sl.No.	ENGLISH GLOSS	BODO	BHOTIA	TOTO
<b>I. Earth, Sky and Water etc.</b>				
1	air	<i>bar</i>	<i>lum</i>	<i>biMa</i>
2	ashes	<i>hatabpla</i>	<i>koṭew</i>	<i>cekka</i>
3	cloud	<i>jemoy</i>	<i>humpo</i>	<i>muwa</i>
4	cold	<i>gusu</i>	<i>kyāta</i>	<i>cikuMwa</i>
5	darkness	<i>kamsi</i>	<i>nāksu</i>	<i>naTiMwa</i>
6	earth	<i>bùm</i>	<i>Sa</i>	<i>muMto</i>
7	eclipse	<i>goleyar moloMnay</i>	<i>niñjin</i>	-
8	fire	<i>waT</i>	<i>mí</i>	<i>me</i>
9	fog	<i>kuha</i>	<i>humpo</i>	<i>guiMTua</i>
10	forest	<i>hagra</i>	<i>ḍoMē</i>	<i>chumcha</i>
11	hill	<i>hajur</i>	<i>gã</i>	<i>iyago</i>
12	ice	<i>koratay</i>	<i>kyàk</i>	<i>hiyuM</i>
13	island	-	<i>limTē</i>	-
14	path	-	<i>c<sup>h</sup>o</i>	-
15	moon	<i>nukapar</i>	<i>dou</i>	<i>tari</i>
16	mountain	<i>hajau</i>	<i>kāRi</i>	<i>Tebo yagoi</i>
17	rain	<i>noka</i>	<i>c<sup>h</sup>àp</i>	<i>waTi</i>
18	river	<i>dahisa, daima (big river)</i>	<i>gyúk c<sup>h</sup>u</i>	<i>jora</i>
19	road	<i>làma</i>	<i>lam</i>	<i>nanTa</i>

TIBETO-BURMAN LANGUAGES				
Sl.No.	ENGLISH GLOSS	BODO	BHOTIA	TOTO
20	sand	<i>bàla</i>	<i>p<sup>h</sup> em</i>	<i>balua</i>
21	sea	-	<i>samũdar</i>	<i>samudro</i>
22	sky	<i>nokran</i>	<i>topúkàma</i>	<i>diMba</i>
23	snow	-	<i>kau</i>	-
24	star	<i>hatotki</i>	<i>Ja</i>	<i>puima</i>
25	stone	<i>onTay</i>	<i>doc<sup>h</sup> èm</i>	<i>uMTuil</i>
26	storm	<i>bar nokka</i>	<i>luMc<sup>h</sup> ùk</i>	<i>biMa</i>
27	sun	<i>san</i>	<i>nim</i>	<i>sani</i>
28	water	<i>dai</i>	<i>c<sup>h</sup> ap</i>	<i>ti</i>
29	weather	-	<i>namíla</i>	-
30	wind	<i>bar</i>	<i>lum</i>	<i>biMa</i>
31	wood	<i>doMpaM</i>	<i>sim</i>	<i>kempra</i>
<b>II. Mankind, Sex, Family and Relationships etc.</b>				
32	baby	<i>goto</i>	<i>oMẽ</i>	<i>ape</i>
33	boy	<i>ceMgra</i>	<i>poc<sup>h</sup> o</i>	<i>poja</i>
34	bride	<i>hinjaugdan</i>	<i>namsápu</i>	-
35	bride-groom	<i>huagdan</i>	<i>mako</i>	-
36	brother /elder(e.)/younger(y.)	<i>ada / bida</i> (elder), <i>Agai</i> / <i>poMbai</i> (younger)	<i>agya</i> (elder), <i>p<sup>h</sup> ami</i> (younger)	<i>Dua</i> (elder), <i>ye</i> (younger)

TIBETO-BURMAN LANGUAGES				
Sl.No.	ENGLISH GLOSS	BODO	BHOTIA	TOTO
37	child	<i>goto</i>	<i>omě</i>	<i>cem.</i>
38	daughter	<i>bisaja</i>	<i>p<sup>h</sup> um</i>	<i>ceme</i>
39	father	<i>apa / bipa</i>	<i>aba</i>	<i>apa</i>
40	friend	<i>bisigi / lAga</i>	<i>ràmmi</i>	<i>baro</i>
41	girl	<i>ceMri</i>	<i>p<sup>h</sup> um</i>	<i>meme</i>
42	husband	<i>hauwa</i>	<i>fógya</i>	<i>ua</i>
43	male	<i>huasa</i>	<i>pu</i>	<i>poja</i>
44	man	<i>mansi</i>	<i>mi</i>	<i>deMa</i>
45	marriage	<i>habagadan / juli</i>	<i>nyen</i>	<i>biyow</i>
46	maternal uncle	<i>amai / bimai</i>	<i>aJya</i>	<i>kuku</i>
47	maternal uncle's daughter	-	<i>him</i>	<i>ana, yeme</i>
48	mother	<i>ayoy / bima</i>	<i>amla</i>	<i>ayu</i>
49	nephew	<i>biyadoi hua</i>	<i>mi</i>	<i>piS'ey uwa, da</i>
50	niece	<i>biyadoi hinjau</i>	<i>c<sup>h</sup> am</i>	<i>piS'eyme, dame</i>
51	old man	<i>bray mansi</i>	<i>aba geMě</i>	<i>OraMpa</i>
52	person		<i>mi</i>	<i>diMa</i>
53	tall	<i>jaublaM deblaM (male), haiTu (female)</i>	<i>riMku</i>	<i>ukuwa (male), ukuwa (female)</i>
54	lean	<i>raMTon</i>	<i>sapsap</i>	<i>kottawwa</i>
55	fat	<i>gupuM</i>	<i>gyáTa</i>	<i>buccua</i>
56	dumb	-	<i>sempo</i>	<i>IE'Mba</i>

TIBETO-BURMAN LANGUAGES				
Sl.No.	ENGLISH GLOSS	BODO	BHOTIA	TOTO
57	blind	<i>kana</i> (male) , <i>kani</i> (female)	<i>sigódou</i>	<i>matiMwa</i> (male) , <i>matiMwa</i> (female)
58	sister /elder(e.) /younger(y.)	<i>abo / bibo</i> (elder) , <i>binano</i> (younger)	<i>pyu</i>	<i>ana</i> (elder) , <i>yeme</i> (younger)
59	sister-in-law	<i>bajay</i> (elder) , <i>bibanaM</i> (younger)	<i>byem karim</i>	<i>eraMme</i>
60	son	<i>bisajala / hua</i>	<i>p<sup>h</sup> ocou</i>	<i>ceMwa</i>
61	widow	<i>raNDi/ baloNDi</i>	<i>p<sup>h</sup> ako</i>	<i>muriM</i>
62	wife	<i>hinjau / buroy</i>	<i>Tac<sup>h</sup> um</i>	<i>me</i>
63	woman	<i>bijajali</i>	<i>byuc<sup>h</sup> e</i>	<i>meme</i>
<b>III. Animals, Birds, etc.</b>				
64	ant	<i>màcaram</i>	<i>kasik</i>	<i>muTa</i>
65	bird	<i>daucen</i>	<i>pya</i>	<i>alua zia</i>
66	cat	<i>mauji</i>	<i>al ʈ</i>	<i>miMki</i>
67	claw	<i>asigur</i>	<i>semo</i>	<i>kusiM</i>
68	cock	<i>daujala</i>	<i>pyápu</i>	<i>keka</i>
69	cow	<i>mòsaugày</i>	<i>ga</i>	<i>pikako cabe</i>
70	crab	<i>kaMkray</i>	<i>dik̀siMbu</i>	<i>keya</i>
71	dog	<i>cèymà</i>	<i>k<sup>h</sup> i</i>	<i>kiya</i>
72	egg	<i>daudai / bidai</i>	<i>godo</i>	<i>ketu</i>

TIBETO-BURMAN LANGUAGES				
Sl.No.	ENGLISH GLOSS	BODO	BHOTIA	TOTO
73	feather	<i>gaM</i>	<i>penDo</i>	<i>muS'a</i>
74	fish	<i>na</i>	<i>Mya</i>	<i>Maya</i>
75	fly	<i>tampai</i>	<i>byaM</i>	<i>peta</i>
76	fox	<i>siyal</i>	<i>ham</i>	<i>mamsiri</i>
77	goat	<i>bàrmá</i>	<i>ra</i>	<i>eita</i>
78	grease	-	<i>num</i>	-
79	guts	-	<i>supõ</i>	-
80	horn	<i>goM</i>	<i>roCo</i>	<i>daM</i>
81	horse	<i>gorei</i>	<i>t<sup>h</sup>a</i>	<i>yeMa</i>
82	lion	<i>siMgo</i>	<i>S'iMi</i>	<i>S'iMo</i>
83	louse	<i>no</i>	<i>roCocu</i>	<i>S'ia</i>
84	monkey	<i>mokra</i>	<i>pyã</i>	<i>Moka</i>
85	nest	<i>dausen bassa</i>	<i>c<sup>h</sup>ã</i>	<i>bassa</i>
86	tail	<i>lancay</i>	<i>Cuma</i>	<i>meroM</i>
87	tiger	<i>lokra</i>	<i>tak</i>	<i>kuMwa</i>
88	tortoise	<i>kaucum</i>	<i>rube</i>	<i>yuiya</i>
<b>IV. Body parts, Bodily functions and conditions, etc.</b>				
89	wing	<i>gaMkoM</i>	<i>S'oko</i>	<i>bekriM</i>
90	work	<i>maujabnai</i>	<i>bu</i>	<i>peta</i>
91	back	<i>bikun</i>	<i>gyàp</i>	<i>jupa</i>
92	belly	<i>udây</i>	<i>supõ</i>	<i>poima</i>

TIBETO-BURMAN LANGUAGES				
Sl.No.	ENGLISH GLOSS	BODO	BHOTIA	TOTO
93	blood	<i>toy</i>	<i>k<sup>h</sup>ya</i>	<i>yuti</i>
94	body	<i>màdam</i>	<i>Ca</i>	<i>zupa</i>
95	bone	<i>bAgAM</i>	<i>rito</i>	<i>luito</i>
96	breast	<i>abù</i>	<i>pyaMo</i>	<i>yoa</i>
97	chest	<i>jerba</i>	<i>pyaM</i>	<i>tuMsiM</i>
98	ear	<i>kama</i>	<i>namc<sup>h</sup>u</i>	<i>nanuM</i>
99	eye	<i>mògon</i>	<i>mi</i>	<i>miccho</i>
100	face	<i>makaM</i>	<i>dũ</i>	<i>namu</i>
101	fever	<i>lumjanai</i>	<i>twéba</i>	<i>haiwa</i>
102	finger	<i>asi</i>	<i>Jumu</i>	<i>kore</i>
103	flesh	<i>bidoT</i>	<i>S'a</i>	<i>biya</i>
104	foot	<i>aTen tarka</i>	<i>TaMa</i>	<i>taMba</i>
105	hair	<i>kanayi / kamaM</i>	<i>kya</i>	-
106	hand	<i>akai</i>	<i>lako</i>	<i>kui</i>
107	head	<i>koro</i>	<i>gou</i>	<i>poro</i>
108	heart	<i>moikun</i>	<i>Tumi</i>	<i>tuMsiM</i>
109	leg	<i>àTeM</i>	<i>kam</i>	<i>kokoy</i>
110	lip	<i>kusuTTi</i>	<i>naMc<sup>h</sup>u</i>	<i>namu</i>
111	liver	<i>bika</i>	<i>c<sup>h</sup>impo</i>	<i>pema</i>
112	lung	<i>somplo</i>	<i>lou</i>	<i>suru</i>

TIBETO-BURMAN LANGUAGES				
Sl.No.	ENGLISH GLOSS	BODO	BHOTIA	TOTO
113	mouth	-	<i>k<sup>h</sup>a</i>	<i>nwaM</i>
114	neck	<i>gadana</i>	<i>k<sup>h</sup>e</i>	<i>MoMTo</i>
115	nose	<i>gunTuM</i>	<i>hã</i>	<i>nebe</i>
116	spine	<i>cinsiDi</i>	<i>gyèpci</i>	<i>keinu</i>
117	tongue	<i>calei</i>	<i>c<sup>h</sup>e</i>	<i>lebe</i>
118	tooth	<i>hatai</i>	<i>so</i>	<i>staM</i>
119	waist	<i>jaMji</i>	<i>kepo</i>	<i>keinu</i>
<b>V. Foods Drinks, Cooking and Utencils etc.</b>				
120	fruit	<i>pitai</i>	<i>S'iMt<sup>h</sup>o</i>	<i>sebe</i>
121	liquor	<i>jew</i>	<i>aràk</i>	<i>iyu</i>
122	milk	<i>dudu</i>	<i>oc<sup>h</sup>oM</i>	<i>uti</i>
123	salt	<i>saMgrai</i>	<i>c<sup>h</sup>a</i>	<i>Ni</i>
124	smoke	<i>ákundài</i>	<i>duwã</i>	<i>mudui</i>
125	rice- uncooked (uc.)/ cooked(c.)	<i>mairoM</i>	<i>c<sup>h</sup>um</i>	<i>aMku</i>
<b>VI. Clothing, House, Parts of House etc.</b>				
126	banian	<i>genji</i>	<i>baniyen</i>	<i>genji</i>
127	cloth	<i>si</i>	<i>kóla</i>	<i>aMDuM</i>
128	cotton	<i>gunTum</i>	<i>re</i>	<i>S'aMbu</i>

TIBETO-BURMAN LANGUAGES				
Sl.No.	ENGLISH GLOSS	BODO	BHOTIA	TOTO
129	front tuck	-	<i>Tuk</i>	-
130	flute	<i>cipum</i>	<i>fluT</i>	<i>curiM</i>
131	frock	-	<i>frok</i>	<i>jama</i>
132	loom	-	<i>ta</i>	<i>saMdi</i>
133	stick	<i>lauTi</i>	<i>tet<sup>h</sup> a</i>	<i>de</i>
134	bed	<i>bisna</i>	<i>Mesópālā</i>	<i>nE'gu</i>
135	door	<i>duar</i>	<i>gom</i>	<i>Mlapu</i>
136	house	<i>no</i>	<i>k<sup>h</sup> im</i>	<i>S'a</i>
137	roof	<i>ukum</i>	<i>kum</i>	<i>keimbu</i>
138	rope	<i>dauDuM</i>	<i>tako</i>	<i>perti</i>
139	wall	<i>injur</i>	<i>salō</i>	<i>bra</i>
140	well water	<i>daikor</i>	<i>c<sup>h</sup>ukō</i>	<i>aMwati</i>
141	window	<i>janla</i>	<i>gek<sup>h</sup> a</i>	<i>cebe</i>
<b>VII. Trees, Vegetables, Fruits and Flowers etc.</b>				
142	bamboo	<i>uwa</i>	<i>passim</i>	<i>paS'iM</i>
143	banana	<i>talit</i>	<i>kedō</i>	<i>yuMpi</i>
144	barks	-	<i>pako</i>	<i>pakru seko S'iMdi</i>
145	brinjal	<i>panTaw</i>	<i>dolom</i>	<i>beMri</i>
146	chilly	<i>panjur</i>	<i>akèr</i>	<i>muri</i>
147	coconut	<i>narel</i>	<i>nariwol</i>	<i>nariwal</i>



<b>TIBETO-BURMAN LANGUAGES</b>				
<b>Sl.No.</b>	<b>ENGLISH GLOSS</b>	<b>BODO</b>	<b>BHOTIA</b>	<b>TOTO</b>
148	creeper	<i>binDaM</i>	<i>c<sup>h</sup>ári</i>	<i>S'aMti</i>
149	flower	<i>talit</i>	<i>mentòk</i>	<i>maibe</i>
150	fruit	<i>pitai</i>	<i>c<sup>h</sup>o</i>	<i>sebe</i>
151	garden	<i>barei</i>	<i>dumra</i>	<i>bagain</i>
152	grass	<i>kaMsu</i>	<i>hõ</i>	<i>laMpa</i>
153	guava	<i>Tam</i>	<i>amba</i>	<i>tampro S'e</i>
154	jack fruit	<i>kaNTal pitai</i>	<i>bar</i>	<i>daMS'e</i>
155	leaf	<i>bilai</i>	<i>dama</i>	<i>lappa</i>
156	lily	-	<i>lily</i>	-
157	mango	<i>taijaw</i>	<i>ambi</i>	<i>toiS'e</i>
158	paddy	<i>moi</i>	<i>samóse</i>	<i>mauMari</i>
159	plough	<i>oinai / hal oinai</i>	<i>samosẽ</i>	<i>cu</i>
160	potato	<i>alu</i>	<i>alui</i>	<i>betaru, alu</i>
161	root	<i>rùda</i>	<i>rac<sup>h</sup>a</i>	<i>dabe</i>
162	sweet	<i>gaday</i>	<i>Mam</i>	<i>tewa</i>
163	tree	<i>DompaM</i>	<i>siM</i>	<i>siMe</i>
164	vegetable	<i>maigom</i>	<i>Moc<sup>h</sup>u</i>	<i>ebri</i>
165	wheel	-	<i>korlo</i>	<i>cakka</i>
166	gum	-	<i>puákẽ</i>	<i>tepowa</i>
<b>VIII. Profession and Professional equipments etc.</b>				
167	labourer	<i>habaumagrar</i>	<i>lapo</i>	<i>kambambi</i>

TIBETO-BURMAN LANGUAGES				
Sl.No.	ENGLISH GLOSS	BODO	BHOTIA	TOTO
168	farm land	<i>barai</i>	<i>siMlápòmi</i>	-
169	mid –wife	<i>aya</i>	<i>mo?om mìkyúr pa</i>	<i>narsini kambi</i>
170	money lender	<i>raMcalawhagra</i>	<i>muikèpa</i>	<i>majeM</i>
171	net	<i>musri</i>	<i>hě</i>	<i>jare (fish net)</i>
172	potter	-	<i>sahzópa</i>	<i>yoTi banewa</i>
173	weaver	<i>dagra</i>	<i>kola?tàkne</i>	<i>timbi</i>
174	bullock cart	<i>mosugaDi</i>	<i>siMtakollo</i>	<i>piko gari</i>
175	bus	<i>bas</i>	<i>bas</i>	<i>bas gari</i>
<b>IX. Sense perception, Emotion and temperament etc.</b>				
176	bitter	<i>gakka</i>	<i>kakúr</i>	<i>kawwa</i>
177	black	<i>gacam</i>	<i>nakúr</i>	<i>daS'iwa</i>
178	blind	<i>kana</i>	<i>mikàp</i>	<i>matiMwa</i>
179	blue	<i>camker</i>	<i>hyènpu</i>	<i>yoNiwa</i>
180	bright	<i>gajaM / sraM</i>	<i>yuécikci</i>	<i>tetaraiwa</i>
181	brown	<i>jaràM / jaram</i>	<i>gyámu</i>	<i>dadaMwa</i>
182	coldness	<i>gussu</i>	<i>kyàmpa</i>	<i>cawanwa</i>
183	green	<i>maTTaM</i>	<i>c<sup>h</sup>àla</i>	<i>yoNiwa</i>
184	hot	<i>gut<u>u</u>M / alaunai ( taste of chilli)</i>	<i>c<sup>h</sup>áta</i>	<i>kawwa</i>
185	light	<i>rèjaM</i>	<i>yãta</i>	<i>momowwa</i>
186	red	<i>gaja</i>	<i>Mápu</i>	<i>aluiwa</i>

TIBETO-BURMAN LANGUAGES				
Sl.No.	ENGLISH GLOSS	BODO	BHOTIA	TOTO
187	sour	<i>gAkai</i>	<i>kyúm</i>	<i>yewa</i>
188	sweet	<i>gadai</i>	<i>MaM</i>	<i>tewa</i>
189	white	<i>goboT</i>	<i>yãTa</i>	<i>haMpowa</i>
190	yellow	<i>gumu</i>	<i>sěpu</i>	<i>yoyowa</i>
191	hungry	<i>ukuinai</i>	<i>tolàplap</i>	<i>jataMpuna</i>
192	love	<i>hamjanei</i>	<i>c<sup>h</sup>amkyõ</i>	<i>entawa</i>
193	pain	<i>canai</i>	<i>nase</i>	<i>tuchua</i>
194	TRUE	<i>aMgaw / seita</i>	<i>Tãpu</i>	<i>ajipa</i>
195	wish	<i>lubaiya</i>	<i>c<sup>h</sup>amkyo</i>	<i>nowa</i>
<b>X. Education</b>				
196	ink	<i>kàli</i>	<i>sogó</i>	<i>moS'i</i>
197	school	<i>poraisali</i>	<i>lopTála</i>	<i>pa Reiwa S'a</i>
198	student	<i>poraigra</i>	<i>lopTu</i>	<i>pa Reiwa DeMa</i>
199	teacher	<i>poraMgra / poraMgiri</i>	<i>lobui</i>	<i>pa Rei powwa masTar</i>
<b>XI. War &amp; Law</b>				
200	bullet	<i>silaiguli</i>	<i>di</i>	<i>guli</i>
201	drum trumpet	<i>nagara, kornet</i>	<i>Ma</i>	<i>bakuM (drum) biyugul</i>
202	enemy	<i>dusmun</i>	<i>da</i>	<i>dusman</i>
203	debt	<i>dardenai</i>	<i>púloM</i>	<i>kiwa</i>
204	divorce	<i>nakarjalainai</i>	<i>kakése</i>	<i>peipuwa</i>
205	theft	<i>kaunei</i>	<i>kumkyàpse</i>	<i>kucpuna</i>

TIBETO-BURMAN LANGUAGES				
Sl.No.	ENGLISH GLOSS	BODO	BHOTIA	TOTO
<b>XII. Religion, Entertainment and Metals etc.</b>				
206	festival	<i>porba</i>	<i>tuic<sup>h</sup>ẽ</i>	<i>ceima ucua</i>
207	garland	<i>mala</i>	<i>c<sup>h</sup>ukyõ</i>	<i>Tise</i>
208	heaven	<i>sorga</i>	<i>siMèm</i>	<i>dimba</i>
209	hell	<i>norag</i>	<i>Myála</i>	<i>moMTokoli</i>
210	worship	<i>sibinai / pujinai</i>	<i>tepópyáse</i>	<i>ziS'aM hyuwa</i>
211	games	<i>galAnai</i>	<i>c<sup>h</sup> im</i>	<i>kelaiyuwa</i>
212	flute	<i>cipuM</i>	<i>flut</i>	<i>curiM</i>
213	brass	<i>petlai</i>	<i>ra</i>	-
214	gold	<i>sona</i>	<i>sóna</i>	<i>S'un</i>
215	iron	<i>sar</i>	<i>c<sup>h</sup> ak</i>	<i>ca</i>
216	lime	<i>cúnai</i>	<i>sakàr</i>	<i>curey</i>
217	money	<i>ràM / paisa / betlapnai</i>	<i>mui</i>	<i>TaMka</i>
218	silver	<i>silwor</i>	<i>M'ui</i>	<i>caindi</i>
<b>XIII. Numerals</b>				
219	first	<i>ceti</i>	<i>tamba</i>	<i>naMkai</i>
220	second	<i>naiti</i>	<i>M'iba</i>	<i>peko</i>
221	third	<i>tumti</i>	<i>sumba</i>	<i>nuko</i>
222	one	<i>ce</i>	<i>cik</i>	<i>icho</i>
223	two	<i>nay</i>	<i>M'i</i>	<i>nico</i>

TIBETO-BURMAN LANGUAGES				
Sl.No.	ENGLISH GLOSS	BODO	BHOTIA	TOTO
224	three	<i>tamb</i>	<i>sum</i>	<i>S'uMco</i>
225	four	<i>brei</i>	<i>si</i>	<i>dico</i>
226	five	<i>ba</i>	<i>Ma</i>	<i>Maco</i>
227	six	<i>Do</i>	<i>Tuk</i>	<i>tuco</i>
228	seven	<i>sni</i>	<i>duin</i>	<i>Mico</i>
229	eight	<i>Dain</i>	<i>k<sup>h</sup>e</i>	<i>yeco</i>
230	nine	<i>gu</i>	<i>due</i>	<i>kuco</i>
231	ten	<i>ji</i>	<i>cú</i>	<i>teco</i>
232	sixteen	<i>jiDo</i>	<i>cúTuk</i>	<i>curu</i>
233	twenty	<i>naiji</i>	<i>M'icu</i>	<i>niS'o</i>
234	forty	<i>breiji</i>	<i>sicú</i>	<i>Nikai</i>
	<b>XIV. Physical activities verbs etc.</b>			
235	bind	<i>kanai</i>	<i>tumse</i>	<i>koipowa</i>
236	blow	<i>cunai</i>	<i>fuse</i>	<i>muiwa</i> (mouth) <i>Miwa</i> (nose)
237	break (stick,pot, etc.)	<i>cipai</i>	<i>c<sup>h</sup>akse</i>	<i>miywa</i> (stick)
238	burn	<i>jaMnai</i>	<i>c<sup>h</sup>eya</i>	
239	carry (on head, in hand, on shoulder)	<i>rujunnai, rahanai</i>	<i>tuse</i>	<i>Mowa</i> (head)

TIBETO-BURMAN LANGUAGES				
Sl.No.	ENGLISH GLOSS	BODO	BHOTIA	TOTO
240	catch (chase and catch an animal, something thrown)	<i>homnai</i>	<i>sese</i>	<i>pekawa</i>
241	clean	<i>pAsapnai</i>	<i>ese</i>	<i>S'ai</i>
242	do (non-specific verb)	<i>mawnai</i>	<i>pya</i>	<i>jo</i>
243	fall	<i>gegleinai</i>	<i>pyu</i>	<i>huiwa</i>
244	float	<i>gazawnai</i>	<i>yem</i>	<i>jowa</i>
245	flow	<i>bahainai</i>	<i>Cuk</i>	<i>duMwa</i>
246	hit	<i>cawnai</i>	<i>dum</i>	-
247	hold	<i>hontanai</i>	<i>gu</i>	<i>cuM</i>
248	lean (against something)	<i>senatnai</i>	<i>ye</i>	<i>be uwa</i>
249	lick	<i>calanai</i>	<i>p<sup>h</sup>itak</i>	<i>Necua</i>
250	make	<i>banainai</i>	<i>twen</i>	<i>piuwa</i>
251	mix	<i>goleinai</i>	<i>lasi</i>	<i>miS'aiwa</i>
252	open (a door, eyes, bag)	<i>kennai, mogAn, kewnai</i>	<i>p<sup>h</sup>i</i>	<i>oiwa</i>
253	pick	<i>deikaMnai</i>	<i>tok</i>	<i>pikatu</i>
254	play	<i>gAlAnai</i>	<i>c<sup>h</sup>im</i>	<i>kelaiwa</i>
255	pull	<i>banai</i>	<i>tem</i>	<i>deiwa</i>
256	push	<i>naTnai</i>	<i>loh</i>	<i>pipuwa</i>

TIBETO-BURMAN LANGUAGES				
Sl.No.	ENGLISH GLOSS	BODO	BHOTIA	TOTO
257	put	<i>dannai</i>	<i>S'yák</i>	<i>e</i>
258	rub	<i>hunai</i>	<i>Te</i>	<i>S'uS'awa</i>
259	sell	<i>pànnai</i>	<i>c<sup>h</sup>om</i>	<i>picwa</i>
260	shut	<i>paMnai</i>	<i>c<sup>h</sup>e</i>	<i>tuM / mei (door)</i>
261	sink	<i>Dabainai</i>	<i>nup</i>	<i>naM pota howa</i>
262	sprinkle	<i>saTsrawnai</i>	<i>to</i>	<i>miwa</i>
263	squeeze	<i>cepnai</i>	<i>c<sup>h</sup>i</i>	<i>merewa</i>
264	spit	<i>mujunai</i>	<i>tuk</i>	-
265	swell	-	<i>bóse</i>	-
266	tear	<i>bicinai</i>	<i>re</i>	<i>ciwa</i>
267	throw	<i>kuboinai</i>	<i>túko</i>	<i>to</i>
268	wash	<i>cunai / manjinai (wash utensils)</i>	<i>kyu</i>	<i>duwa</i>
269	wipe	<i>hugarnai</i>	<i>tyàk</i>	<i>pecua</i>
270	work	<i>kamani maunai</i>	<i>yeo</i>	<i>kam paro</i>
	<b>XV. Instrument Verbs</b>			
271	cut	<i>hacinai</i>	<i>tuk</i>	<i>ciko (cloth)</i>
272	dig (dig up)	<i>jawnai</i>	<i>ko</i>	<i>limu daiko</i>
273	hunt	<i>nagarinay</i>	<i>kyèp</i>	<i>mokowwa</i>
274	pound	<i>cunai</i>	<i>dum</i>	<i>doM wapako ko</i>
275	shoot	<i>gawnai</i>	<i>kyàp</i>	<i>ako</i>

TIBETO-BURMAN LANGUAGES				
Sl.No.	ENGLISH GLOSS	BODO	BHOTIA	TOTO
276	split (wood)	<i>hakawnai</i>	<i>ka</i>	-
<b>XVI. Verbs of Fighting</b>				
277	fight	<i>konjeleinai</i>	<i>màkya</i>	<i>luiS'wa</i>
278	kill	<i>sitaTnai</i>	<i>sik</i>	<i>S'ako</i>
279	quarrel	<i>naMjalainai</i>	<i>tamú</i>	<i>S'asuko</i>
280	stab	<i>sunai</i>	<i>g<sup>h</sup> icup</i>	<i>bako</i>
<b>XVII. Music Verbs</b>				
281	beat (a drum )	<i>damnai</i>	<i>mí</i>	<i>bewa</i>
282	sing	<i>rAzapnai</i>	<i>liM</i>	<i>ledi lewa</i>
<b>XVIII. Motion Verbs</b>				
283	arrive	<i>copoinai</i>	<i>lep</i>	<i>dekkanero</i>
284	ascend	<i>gakanai</i>	<i>jek</i>	<i>laga lewa</i>
285	bring	<i>labànai</i>	<i>baõ</i>	<i>pake</i>
286	climb	<i>gakanai</i>	<i>jek</i>	<i>lekawa</i>
287	come	<i>poMnai</i>	<i>kap</i>	<i>lei</i>
288	dance	<i>masanai</i>	<i>sapse</i>	<i>yawa</i>
289	drag	<i>budrunai</i>	<i>duk</i>	<i>deiwa</i>
290	enter	<i>hapnai</i>	<i>jui</i>	<i>zuwa</i>
291	escape	<i>kaTkamanai</i>	<i>Coya</i>	<i>kepuwa</i>
292	fly (as a bird)	<i>birnai</i>	<i>pur</i>	<i>buiwa</i>
293	get	<i>lainai</i>	<i>t<sup>h</sup> op</i>	<i>lacatu</i>



TIBETO-BURMAN LANGUAGES				
Sl.No.	ENGLISH GLOSS	BODO	BHOTIA	TOTO
294	get up	<i>zigaMnai</i>	<i>yorlum</i>	<i>loo</i>
295	give	<i>hanay</i>	<i>pinse</i>	<i>pica</i>
296	go	<i>taMnai</i>	<i>gyúk</i>	<i>hatu</i>
297	jump	<i>batoTnai</i>	<i>c<sup>h</sup>om</i>	<i>toiMwa</i>
298	move (tram )	<i>taMnai</i>	<i>gui</i>	<i>hawa</i>
299	run	<i>kaTnai</i>	<i>gyúk</i>	<i>tuiwa</i>
300	send	<i>tankoTnai</i>	<i>tā</i>	<i>niMpuwa</i>
301	slip	<i>nàgapaTnai</i>	<i>gikse</i>	<i>huiwa</i>
302	stand up	<i>gocaMnay</i>	<i>lumse</i>	<i>jake</i>
303	swim	<i>santrinai</i>	<i>tu</i>	<i>eiwa</i>
304	swing	<i>sipnai</i>	<i>yùkse</i>	<i>yawwa</i>
305	take	<i>nagannai</i>	<i>tase</i>	<i>goyatu</i>
306	vomit	<i>gobanai</i>	<i>kukse</i>	-
307	walk	<i>tabainai</i>	<i>uligui</i>	<i>teiwa</i>
	<b>XIX. Occupational Verbs</b>			
308	cultivate	<i>yewnai</i>	<i>tuMkètyon</i>	<i>cewa moMTo</i>
309	comb	<i>kannai</i>	<i>peke</i>	<i>jewa</i>
310	graze	<i>gumnai</i>	<i>Càkyap</i>	<i>lacewa</i>
311	harvest	<i>maihanai</i>	<i>lotùkse</i>	<i>diywa</i>
312	lend	<i>calawhAnai</i>	<i>namwa</i>	<i>kicko</i>
313	milk	<i>caraTnai</i>	<i>yomse</i>	<i>yewa</i>

TIBETO-BURMAN LANGUAGES				
Sl.No.	ENGLISH GLOSS	BODO	BHOTIA	TOTO
314	plant	<i>gaisonai</i>	<i>senkàmse</i>	<i>tiMwa</i>
315	reap	<i>hanai</i>	<i>c<sup>h</sup>ó</i>	<i>piuwa</i>
316	saw	<i>(dan) conay</i>	<i>sulo</i>	<i>ceMwa</i>
317	sow (seed )	<i>pànai</i>	<i>tap</i>	<i>miywa</i>
<b>XX. Culinari Verbs</b>				
318	bark	<i>cuMnai</i>	<i>hapo</i>	<i>wawa</i>
319	bite	<i>waTnai</i>	<i>sotàpse</i>	<i>maMpuwa</i>
320	cook	<i>coMnai</i>	<i>c<sup>h</sup>o</i>	<i>leiwa</i>
321	drink	<i>laMnai</i>	<i>tumse</i>	<i>aMwa</i>
322	eat	<i>ojanai</i>	<i>sase</i>	<i>cawwa</i>
323	feed	<i>jakenai</i>	<i>tombinS'e</i>	<i>piyaMwa</i>
324	suck	<i>capnai</i>	<i>j<sup>h</sup> ipse</i>	<i>jiwa</i>
325	tie	<i>kanai</i>	<i>daMse</i>	<i>ludaMna, jiMwa</i>
326	wear	<i>gannai</i>	<i>gyèense</i>	<i>ludaMna</i>
<b>XXI. Communication Verbs</b>				
327	answer	<i>barnainai</i>	<i>inlòkse</i>	<i>oi</i>
328	ask	<i>saMnai</i>	<i>kyàpse</i>	<i>wi</i>
329	call	<i>liMhoTnai</i>	<i>kekyap</i>	<i>le</i>
330	say	<i>buMnai</i>	<i>kek</i>	<i>aS'isejaM</i>
331	shout	<i>gabzirinai</i>	<i>kesou</i>	<i>ciriMwa</i>
332	write	<i>liTnai</i>	<i>bisi</i>	<i>lawa</i>

TIBETO-BURMAN LANGUAGES				
Sl.No.	ENGLISH GLOSS	BODO	BHOTIA	TOTO
<b>XXII. Stationary Verbs</b>				
333	burn	<i>jaMnai</i>	<i>sinse</i>	<i>meoMpuwa</i>
334	choose	<i>saikonai</i>	<i>ese</i>	<i>jeM</i>
335	die	<i>tainai</i>	<i>drése</i>	<i>S'ipua</i>
336	live (at )	<i>tanai</i>	<i>depo</i>	<i>yuMwa</i>
337	earn	<i>kamainai</i>	<i>drúppose</i>	<i>daMwa</i>
338	hide	<i>sikmanai</i>	<i>buse</i>	<i>meyuwa</i>
339	keep	<i>daMnai / awtainai</i>	<i>sakse</i>	<i>ye</i>
340	turn	<i>gidiMnai</i>	<i>kagèrse</i>	-
341	sit	<i>jirainai</i>	<i>sákese</i>	<i>ga</i>
342	stop	<i>tamainai</i>	<i>ok</i>	<i>poe</i>
<b>XXIII. In cohative Verbs</b>				
343	change	<i>galainai</i>	<i>'akse</i>	<i>sowa</i>
344	freeze	-	<i>Càkse</i>	<i>duMna</i>
345	swell	-	<i>buse</i>	<i>bupawa</i>
346	wet (mskr wet)	<i>camnai</i>	<i>banse</i>	<i>dujupna</i>
<b>XXIV. Cognitive Verbs</b>				
347	count	<i>sannai</i>	<i>kyap̀se</i>	<i>ceMwa</i>
348	know	<i>mitinay</i>	<i>tamgèse</i>	<i>gewwa</i>
349	learn	<i>calaMnai</i>	<i>lapse</i>	<i>zinewa</i>
350	think	<i>sannai</i>	<i>nose</i>	<i>nowa</i>

TIBETO-BURMAN LANGUAGES				
Sl.No.	ENGLISH GLOSS	BODO	BHOTIA	TOTO
351	break	<i>haMglanai</i>	<i>c<sup>h</sup> ase</i>	<i>luMlaiwa</i>
<b>XXV. Sensory and Emotive Verbs</b>				
352	cry (weep )	<i>gapnai</i>	<i>uMse</i>	<i>kaiwa</i>
353	fear	<i>ginai</i>	<i>juse</i>	<i>cucuMwa</i>
354	hear	<i>kannanai</i>	<i>myèñse</i>	<i>hiMwa</i>
355	laugh/ smile	<i>mininai</i>	<i>gawáse</i>	<i>leMwa</i>
356	read	<i>poreinai</i>	<i>dyúkse</i>	<i>poReina</i>
357	sleep, lie	<i>unDunai</i>	<i>jinse</i>	<i>jiMna</i>
358	smell	<i>manamcunai</i>	<i>humse</i>	<i>Nuna</i>
359	taste	<i>cakinai</i>	<i>byókomse</i>	<i>tatawa / Newa</i>
360	touch	<i>dannai</i>	<i>dopóse</i>	<i>S'uwa</i>
361	wake up	<i>pajanai</i>	<i>myésise</i>	<i>tuwa</i>
362	annoy	<i>naMpoi naMpoi kalamnai</i>	<i>cikúse</i>	<i>moS'uMna</i>
363	kiss	<i>kawduMnai</i>	<i>byáse</i>	<i>nuwa</i>
364	love	<i>hamjanai</i>	<i>sampyáse</i>	<i>memedes'ua</i>
365	tired	<i>meMnai</i>	<i>cancàpo</i>	<i>yapuna</i>
<b>XXVI. Other Verbs</b>				
366	bathe	<i>dugainai</i>	<i>cusise</i>	<i>huwa</i>
367	buy	<i>bainai</i>	<i>myóse</i>	<i>coiyuwa</i>
368	drip	<i>daisatnai</i>	<i>tepóse</i>	<i>zuiwa</i>

TIBETO-BURMAN LANGUAGES				
Sl.No.	ENGLISH GLOSS	BODO	BHOTIA	TOTO
369	meet	<i>lagamannai</i>	<i>p<sup>h</sup> ikse</i>	<i>daspako</i>
370	repay	<i>happinai</i>	<i>lukse</i>	<i>lanero</i>
371	ridicule , joke	<i>kaidawnai</i>	<i>kasòpse</i>	<i>yeMwa</i>
372	show	<i>DinTinai</i>	<i>p<sup>h</sup>ilòse</i>	<i>tiMpa</i>
373	scratch	<i>hudleTnai</i>	<i>brèkse</i>	-
374	stick	<i>siTapnai</i>	<i>jarpa</i>	<i>doeS'o</i>
375	vomit	<i>gobanai</i>	<i>kyúse</i>	-
376	wean ( a child)	<i>jahenai</i>	<i>cìkso</i>	<i>aMwa / chawa</i>
377	wipe	<i>hugarnai</i>	<i>natí<sup>h</sup>ise</i>	<i>payeca</i>
378	name	<i>maMdaMnai</i>	<i>mim</i>	-
	<b>XXVII. Adjectives</b>			
379	all	<i>gacen</i>	<i>tamse</i>	<i>taMS'a</i>
380	bad	<i>gazri / sapma</i>	<i>malèmse</i>	<i>meMtawa</i>
381	big	<i>gAdet</i>	<i>bompo</i>	<i>Tabo</i>
382	dirty	<i>maila</i>	<i>cokTa</i>	<i>menawwa</i>
383	dry	<i>gran</i>	<i>kampo</i>	<i>S'eMwa</i>
384	few	<i>kecce</i>	<i>myon</i>	<i>aS'ise</i>
385	full	<i>buMjacei</i>	<i>gúme</i>	<i>gaina</i>
386	good	<i>majaM</i>	<i>lem</i>	<i>eMtawa</i>
387	hard	<i>gara</i>	<i>lako</i>	<i>S'etinewa</i>
388	honest	-	<i>tapúdem</i>	<i>eMtawa</i>

TIBETO-BURMAN LANGUAGES				
Sl.No.	ENGLISH GLOSS	BODO	BHOTIA	TOTO
389	long	<i>galaw</i>	<i>riMko</i>	<i>uidaM</i>
390	many	<i>gabaM</i>	<i>kepo</i>	<i>oiS'e</i>
391	narrow	<i>gaccep</i>	<i>tokTa</i>	<i>cekoiwa</i>
392	new	<i>gadaM</i>	<i>CuMe</i>	<i>cube</i>
393	old	<i>berei</i>	<i>myènku</i>	<i>jabe</i>
394	raw	<i>gaTaM</i>	<i>jempu</i>	<i>S'iMti</i>
395	rotten	<i>gAcaw</i>	<i>rúwa</i>	<i>goMpuna</i>
396	right	<i>tik</i>	<i>temtë</i>	<i>tuwa</i>
397	dull	-	<i>S'empo</i>	-
398	lie	-	<i>yonpo</i>	-
399	sharp	<i>gipat</i>	<i>Muo</i>	<i>ziziwa</i>
400	short	<i>gucum / gahay</i>	<i>t<sup>h</sup> uMpo</i>	<i>bottawwa</i>
401	some	-	<i>acik</i>	-
402	small	<i>galley / undai</i>	<i>c<sup>h</sup> umc<sup>h</sup> um</i>	<i>apecua</i>
403	smart	<i>gaharam</i>	<i>tenláyopo</i>	-
404	smooth	-	<i>sop</i>	<i>cicipa</i>
405	soft	<i>gusu</i>	<i>sopsop</i>	<i>yaMS'owa</i>
406	straight	<i>gaTaM</i>	<i>tāpu</i>	<i>geMwa</i>
407	strength	<i>bala</i>	<i>S'uk</i>	<i>saDdiMwa</i>
408	thick	<i>raja</i>	<i>juk</i>	<i>bunDuwa</i>
409	thin	<i>ranTeM</i>	<i>sap</i>	<i>deMdeMwa</i>

TIBETO-BURMAN LANGUAGES				
Sl.No.	ENGLISH GLOSS	BODO	BHOTIA	TOTO
410	ugly	<i>gaziri</i>	<i>S'okci</i>	<i>meMtawa</i>
411	vice	-	<i>diku</i>	-
412	virtue	-	<i>càylem</i>	<i>gun</i>
413	warm	-	<i>midrem</i>	-
414	weak	<i>balageiya</i>	<i>Mipo</i>	<i>duipuwa</i>
415	wet	<i>gicci</i>	<i>luMpo</i>	<i>japuwa</i>
416	wide	<i>guwar</i>	<i>sar</i>	<i>haraMgaraM</i>
417	wild	<i>hagrani</i>	<i>mátol</i>	<i>tuMca</i>
418	wise	<i>giyangnaM</i>	<i>k<sup>h</sup> ita</i>	<i>gewa</i>
<b>XXVIII. Functional Words</b>				
419	east	<i>sanja</i>	<i>sar</i>	<i>nutta</i>
420	end	<i>jabnai</i>	<i>ju</i>	<i>nowiniS'i</i>
421	far	<i>gàzan</i>	<i>tàkrim</i>	<i>tanaM</i>
422	left side	<i>agci ziMg</i>	<i>yoncok</i>	<i>kekriMta</i>
423	middle	<i>gAzar</i>	<i>barm</i>	<i>peko</i>
424	near	<i>kaTTai</i>	<i>t<sup>h</sup> ami</i>	<i>aibi</i>
425	north	<i>caha</i>	<i>jyòm</i>	<i>daMta</i>
426	out	<i>baira</i>	<i>nale</i>	<i>baire</i>
427	right side/hand	<i>agDa ziM / akai</i>	<i>S'ole</i>	<i>daMkriM / kui</i>
428	south	<i>kala</i>	<i>nimsemka</i>	<i>maMta</i>
429	again	<i>arbaw</i>	<i>lokti</i>	<i>epraM</i>

TIBETO-BURMAN LANGUAGES				
Sl.No.	ENGLISH GLOSS	BODO	BHOTIA	TOTO
430	always	<i>jAblaiba</i>	<i>atàM</i>	<i>diney</i>
431	before	<i>sigam</i>	<i>m̃yemli</i>	<i>laMkay</i>
432	daily	<i>sampramba</i>	<i>nimrésim</i>	<i>dine</i>
433	day	<i>san</i>	<i>Mim</i>	<i>jeS'uM</i>
434	evening	<i>belace</i>	<i>sole</i>	<i>jeroM</i>
435	fast/quick	<i>gakrei / biliramarama</i>	<i>gyop</i>	<i>S'inepa</i>
436	full moon day	<i>nukapar doloT</i>	<i>sícem</i>	<i>ceMa</i>
437	late	-	<i>p<sup>h</sup> iTa</i>	<i>leipoi</i>
438	month	-	<i>deu</i>	<i>tari</i>
439	morning	<i>puM</i>	<i>kópa</i>	<i>hapkoM</i>
440	night	<i>hor</i>	<i>cē</i>	<i>leiS'uM</i>
441	season	<i>batar</i>	<i>tūise</i>	<i>tari</i>
442	today	<i>danei</i>	<i>tarim</i>	<i>hini</i>
443	tomorrow	<i>gaban</i>	<i>torã</i>	<i>juguM</i>
444	yesterday	<i>miya</i>	<i>dã</i>	<i>ainji</i>
445	after/afterwards	<i>yunaw</i>	<i>gyàple</i>	<i>noiS'o</i>
446	behind	<i>yunaw</i>	<i>gyápmóle</i>	<i>noy</i>
447	between	<i>gAzAraw</i>	<i>bana</i>	<i>pekota</i>
448	by	<i>jaMk</i>	<i>gi</i>	<i>S'a</i>
449	down	<i>gahay</i>	<i>mèdlo</i>	<i>lita</i>
450	for	<i>gunai</i>	<i>dyùnle</i>	<i>lagi</i>



TIBETO-BURMAN LANGUAGES				
Sl.No.	ENGLISH GLOSS	BODO	BHOTIA	TOTO
451	from	<i>prai</i>	<i>le</i>	<i>S'o</i>
452	he/she	<i>biya</i>	<i>k<sup>h</sup> u</i>	<i>aku</i>
453	to her, to him	<i>bina</i>	<i>múram</i>	<i>akohiM</i>
454	here	<i>bAyaw / bAha</i>	<i>dik<sup>h</sup> a</i>	<i>ita</i>
455	his/her	<i>bini</i>	<i>k<sup>h</sup> ómi</i>	<i>ako</i>
456	how	<i>mabrei / brei</i>	<i>g<sup>h</sup> áte</i>	<i>hepaS'a</i>
457	I	<i>aM</i>	<i>Ma</i>	<i>ka</i>
458	it / this	<i>biya</i>	<i>di</i>	<i>i</i>
459	to it / to this	<i>bina</i>	<i>dilo</i>	<i>ihim</i>
460	its / of this	<i>bini</i>	<i>diyo</i>	<i>iko</i>
461	like	<i>baidi</i>	<i>drábo</i>	<i>hepa</i>
462	to me	<i>aMna</i>	<i>Málo</i>	<i>ka hiM</i>
463	my	<i>aMni</i>	<i>Me</i>	<i>kuM</i>
464	our	<i>jaMni</i>	<i>Màci</i>	<i>yaMko</i>
465	not	<i>aMga</i>	<i>ma</i>	<i>mukuna</i>
466	so / thus	<i>akena</i>	<i>diyi</i>	<i>akoS'ta</i>
467	that	<i>hobe</i>	<i>adi</i>	<i>u</i>
468	to them	<i>bicarna</i>	<i>k<sup>h</sup> òmlo</i>	<i>abihim</i>
469	then	<i>binipray</i>	<i>odiyi</i>	<i>akonoita</i>
470	those	<i>hobecar</i>	<i>adícu</i>	<i>ibi</i>

TIBETO-BURMAN LANGUAGES				
Sl.No.	ENGLISH GLOSS	BODO	BHOTIA	TOTO
471	there	<i>biyaw</i>	<i>ok<sup>h</sup> a</i>	<i>akuta</i>
472	they	<i>bicar</i>	<i>kòmca</i>	<i>abiha</i>
473	their	<i>bicarni</i>	<i>koMi</i>	<i>abiko</i>
474	these	<i>becar</i>	<i>dicu</i>	<i>ubi</i>
475	to us	<i>jaMna</i>	<i>Macálo</i>	<i>kibihiM</i>
476	we	<i>jaM</i>	<i>Maca</i>	<i>kibi</i>
477	what	<i>ma</i>	<i>kan</i>	<i>haMa</i>
478	when	<i>jebia / mabla</i>	<i>nam</i>	<i>hatruM</i>
479	where	<i>mohai</i>	<i>gana</i>	<i>haMta</i>
480	who	<i>car</i>	<i>ka</i>	<i>haMsu</i>
481	whose	-	<i>k<sup>h</sup> a</i>	-
482	whom	<i>carkaw</i>	<i>kála</i>	<i>haMsuhiM</i>
483	you	<i>naM</i>	<i>cue</i>	<i>nati</i>
484	to you	<i>naMna</i>	<i>cuelo</i>	<i>natihim</i>
485	your	<i>naMni</i>	<i>Ceyi</i>	<i>natiko</i>
486	year	<i>bacar</i>	<i>lóh</i>	<i>loyini</i>
487	and	<i>aru</i>	<i>dam</i>	<i>aso</i>
488	at	<i>yaw</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>aku</i>
489	if	- <i>bla</i>	<i>gesi</i>	<i>epa</i>
490	in	- <i>aw / yaw</i>	<i>namlo</i>	<i>naMpota</i>
<b>XXIX. Mixed Words</b>				

TIBETO-BURMAN LANGUAGES				
Sl.No.	ENGLISH GLOSS	BODO	BHOTIA	TOTO
491	wave	<i>daujalakuMjur</i>	<i>bálop</i>	<i>ue ue uwa</i>
492	ancestor	<i>- kerai</i>	<i>jóp<sup>h</sup>am</i>	-
493	brother-in-Law	<i>bigumoy / bibanaM</i> (younger)	<i>aju</i>	-
494	sister-in-Law	<i>biharansi / bibanaM</i>	<i>ahi</i>	<i>eraMme</i>
495	mouse	<i>injoT iMgni</i>	<i>bicu</i>	<i>zua</i>
496	spider	-	<i>bàra</i>	<i>makura</i>
497	beard	<i>dari</i>	<i>gya</i>	<i>kamu</i>
498	moustache	<i>dari</i>	<i>gyaru</i>	<i>kamui</i>
499	navel	<i>utumai</i>	<i>tihó</i>	<i>bedyu</i>
500	mirror	<i>aina</i>	<i>mìlam</i>	<i>aina</i>

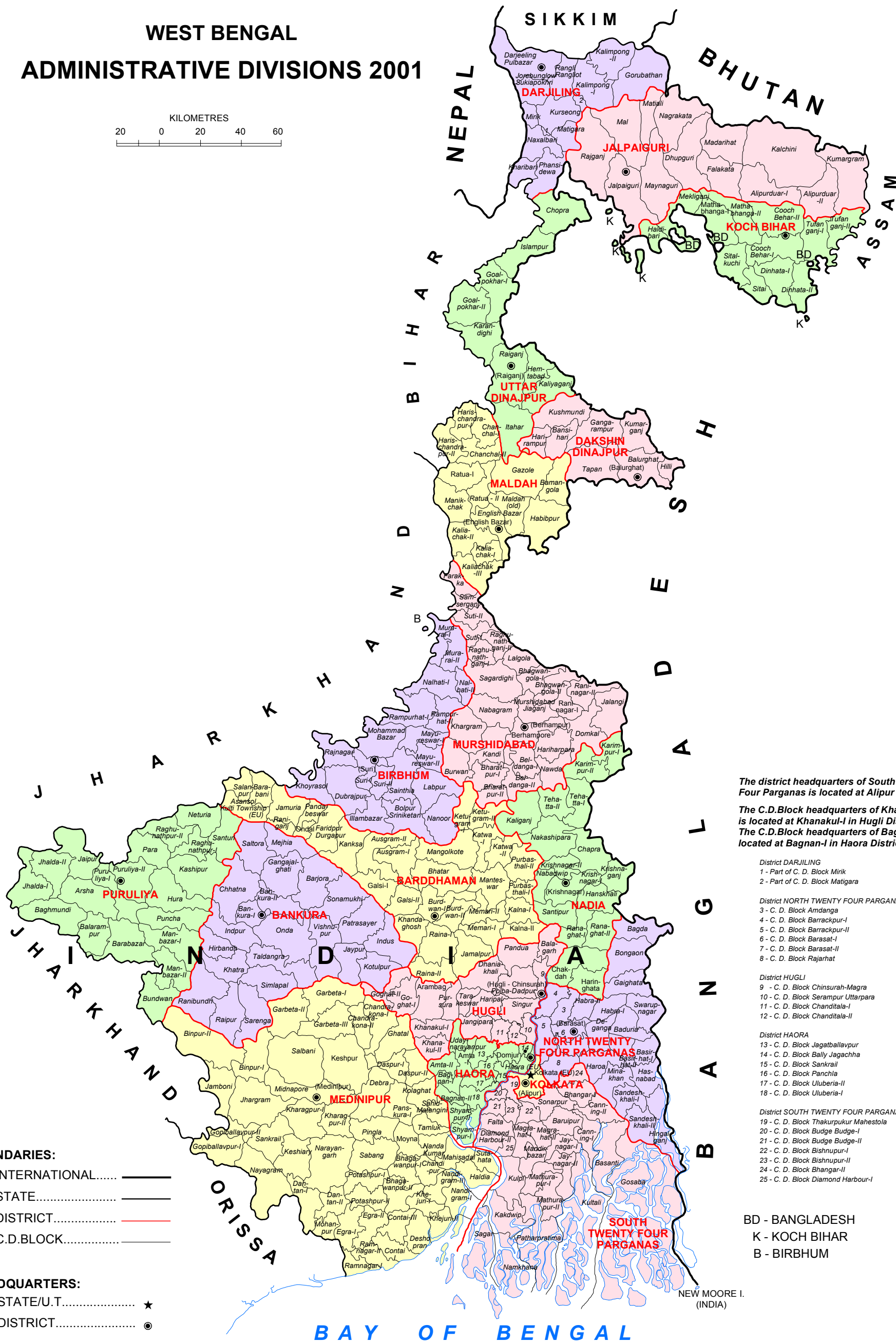
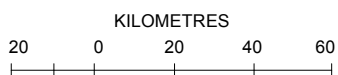
**COMPARATIVE LEXICON – SELECTED  
500 LEXICAL ITEMS**

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**INDO-ARYAN, AUSTRO-ASIATIC,  
TIBETO-BURMAN LANGUAGES IN  
WEST BENGAL**

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# WEST BENGAL ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISIONS 2001



**BOUNDARIES:**  
 INTERNATIONAL.....  
 STATE.....  
 DISTRICT.....  
 C.D.BLOCK.....

**HEADQUARTERS:**  
 STATE/U.T..... ★  
 DISTRICT..... ●

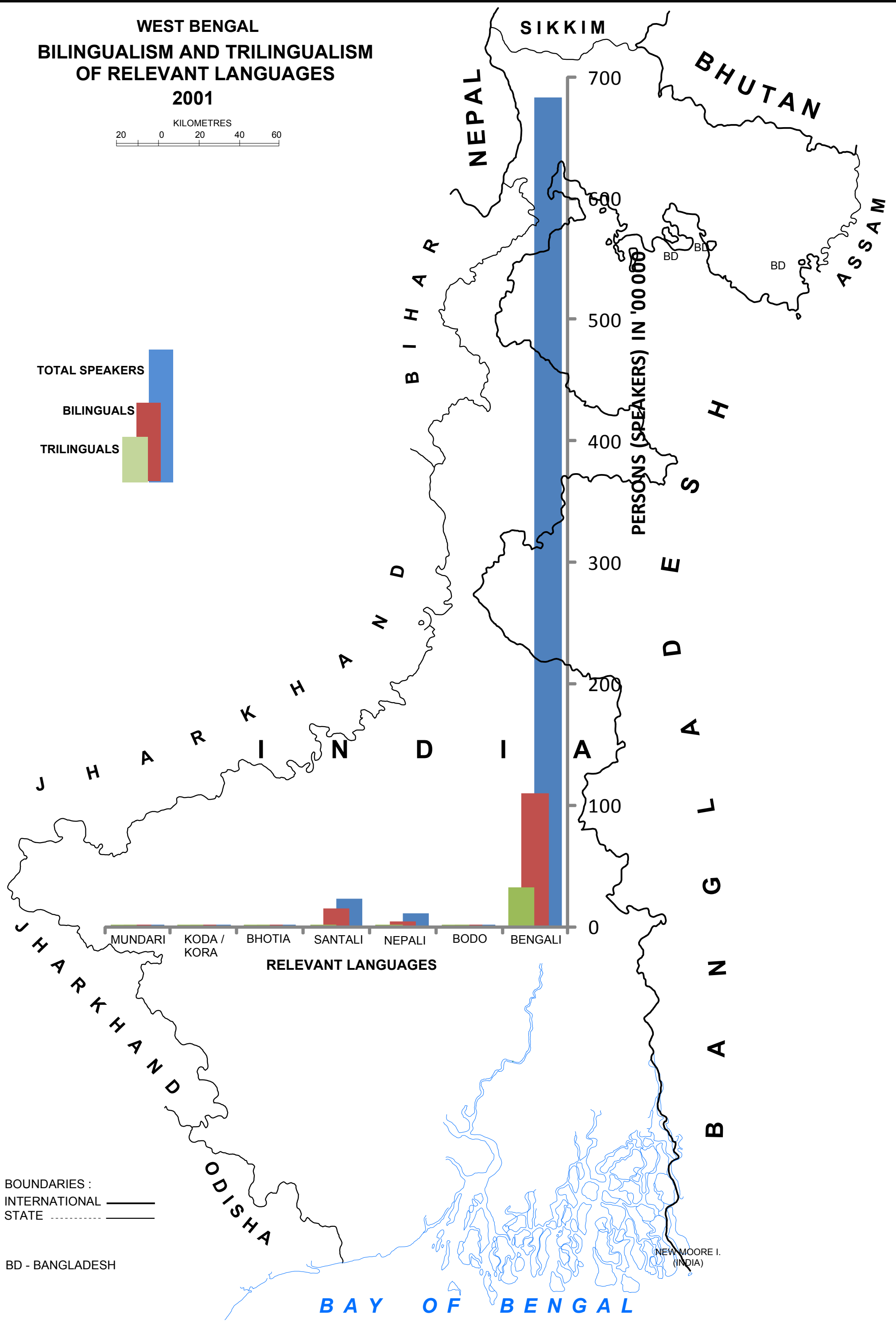
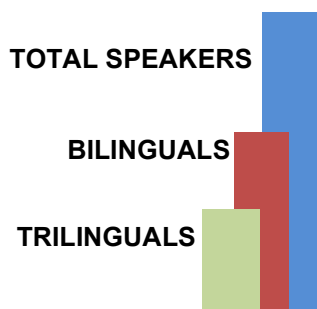
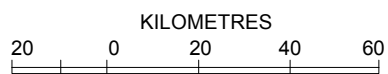
The district headquarters of South Twenty Four Parganas is located at Alipur (Kolkata).  
 The C.D.Block headquarters of Khanakut-II is located at Khanakul-I in Hugli District.  
 The C.D.Block headquarters of Bagan-II is located at Bagan-I in Haora District.

- District DARJILING
- 1 - Part of C. D. Block Mirik
- 2 - Part of C. D. Block Matigara
- District NORTH TWENTY FOUR PARGANAS
- 3 - C. D. Block Amdanga
- 4 - C. D. Block Barrackpur-I
- 5 - C. D. Block Barrackpur-II
- 6 - C. D. Block Barasat-I
- 7 - C. D. Block Barasat-II
- 8 - C. D. Block Rajarhat
- District HUGLI
- 9 - C. D. Block Chinsurah-Magra
- 10 - C. D. Block Serampur Uttarpara
- 11 - C. D. Block Chanditala-I
- 12 - C. D. Block Chanditala-II
- District HAORA
- 13 - C. D. Block Jagatballavpur
- 14 - C. D. Block Bally Jagachha
- 15 - C. D. Block Sankrail
- 16 - C. D. Block Panchla
- 17 - C. D. Block Uluberia-I
- 18 - C. D. Block Uluberia-II
- District SOUTH TWENTY FOUR PARGANAS
- 19 - C. D. Block Thakurpukur Mahestola
- 20 - C. D. Block Budge Budge-I
- 21 - C. D. Block Budge Budge-II
- 22 - C. D. Block Bishnupur-I
- 23 - C. D. Block Bishnupur-II
- 24 - C. D. Block Bhangar-II
- 25 - C. D. Block Diamond Harbour-I

BD - BANGLADESH  
 K - KOCH BIHAR  
 B - BIRBHUM

Where the district name differs from its headquarters name, the latter is given within brackets.

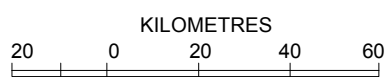
# WEST BENGAL BILINGUALISM AND TRILINGUALISM OF RELEVANT LANGUAGES 2001



BOUNDARIES :  
INTERNATIONAL ———  
STATE - - - - -

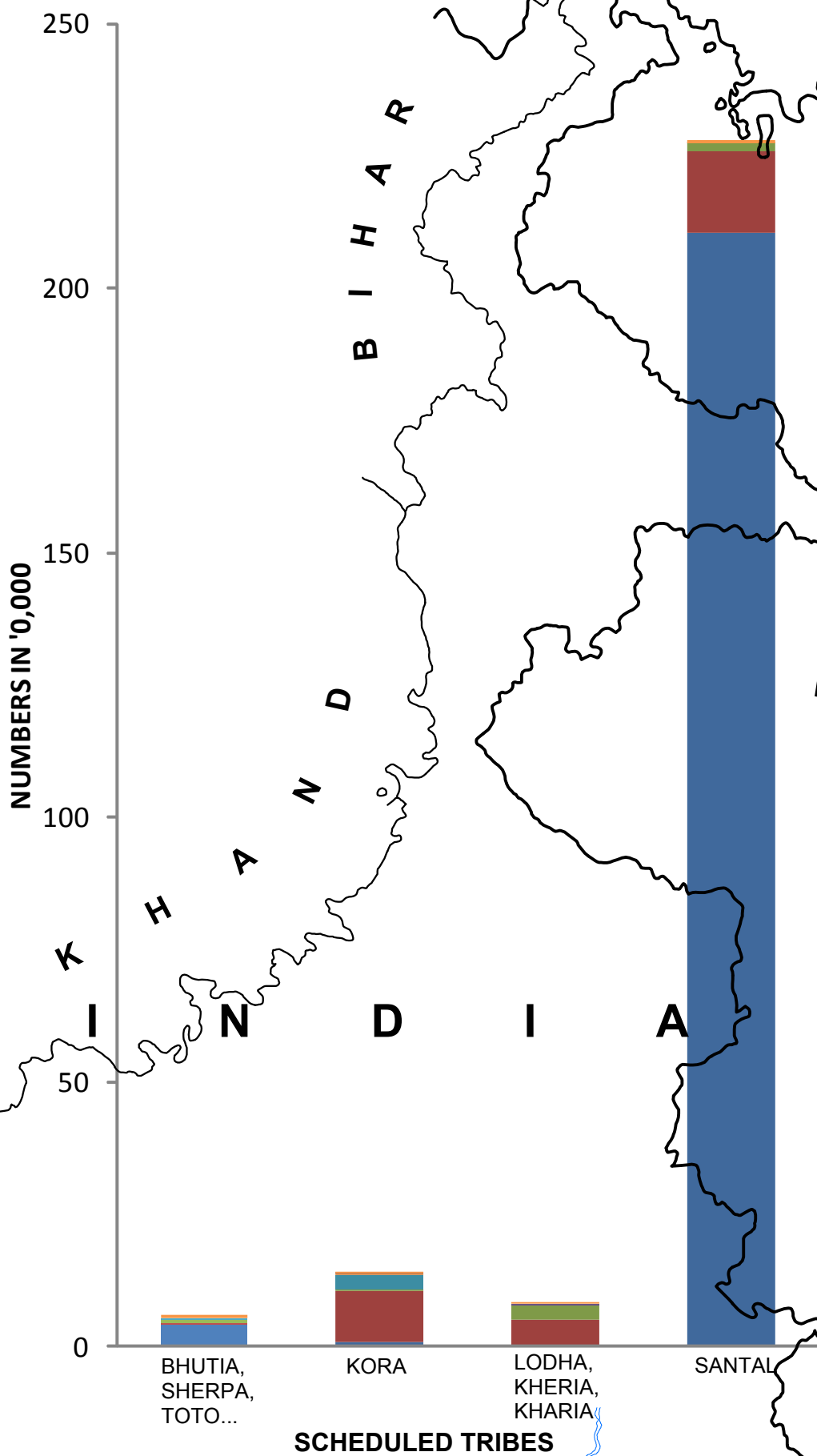
BD - BANGLADESH

# WEST BENGAL DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION OF RELEVANT LANGUAGES NAMED AFTER SCHEDULED TRIBES 2001



## LANGUAGES NAMED

- OTHERS
- HINDI
- BENGALI
- SANTALI
- KHARIA



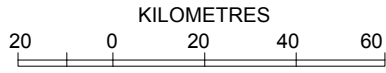
### SCHEDULED TRIBES

BOUNDARIES :  
INTERNATIONAL ———  
STATE - - - - -

BD - BANGLADESH

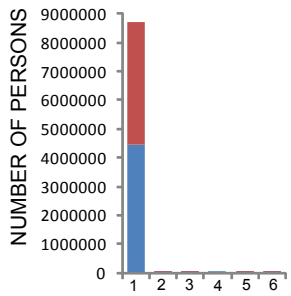
NEW MOORE I.  
(INDIA)

# WEST BENGAL DISTRICT WISE DISTRIBUTION OF THE RELEVANT LANGUAGES 2001



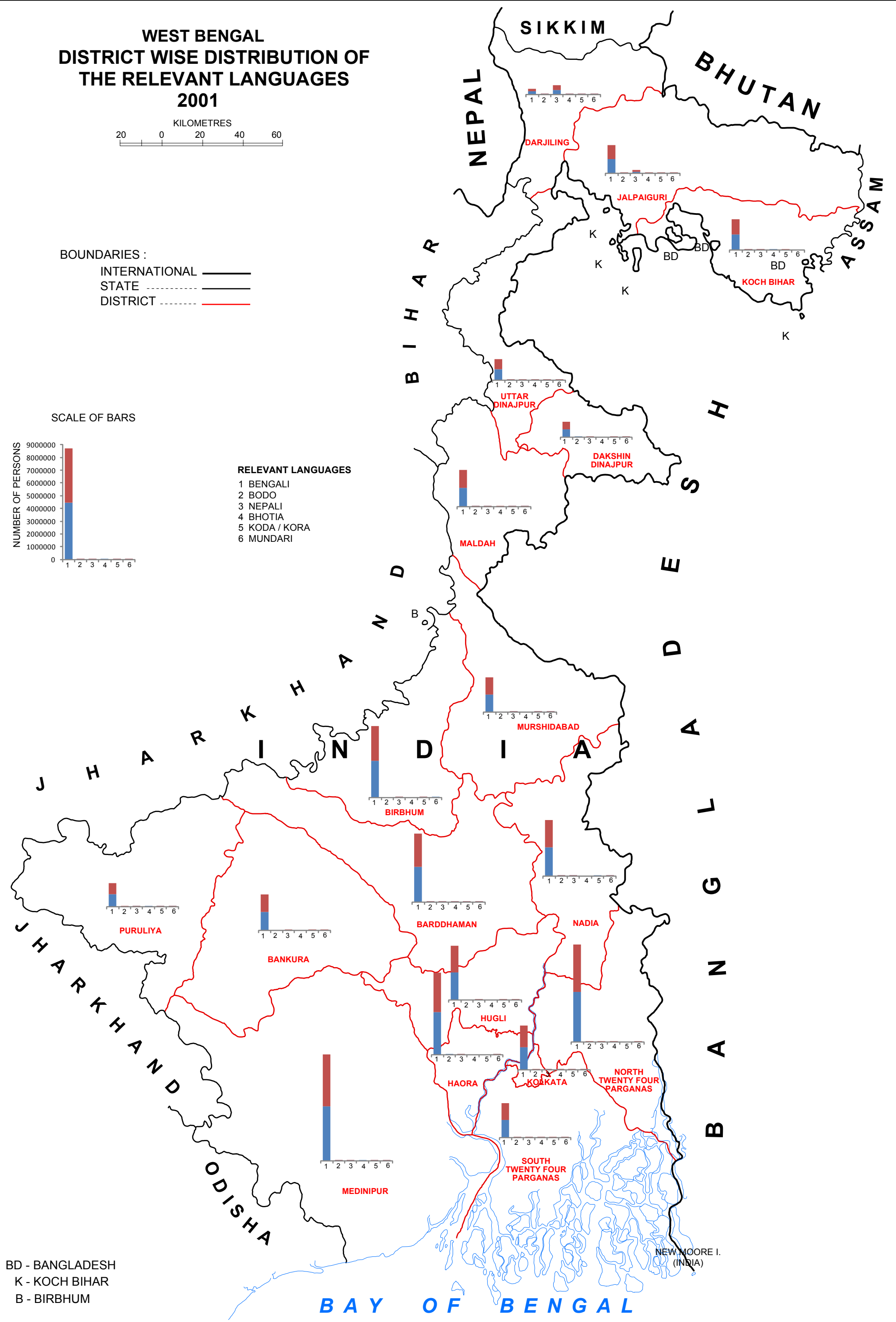
BOUNDARIES :  
INTERNATIONAL ———  
STATE - - - - -  
DISTRICT - - - - -

SCALE OF BARS



**RELEVANT LANGUAGES**

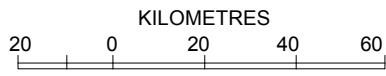
- 1 BENGALI
- 2 BODO
- 3 NEPALI
- 4 BHOTIA
- 5 KODA / KORA
- 6 MUNDARI



BD - BANGLADESH  
K - KOCH BIHAR  
B - BIRBHUM

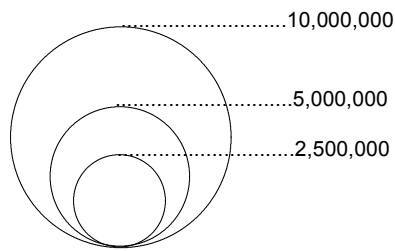


# WEST BENGAL DISTRICT WISE DISTRIBUTION OF THE RELEVANT MOTHER TONGUES 2001



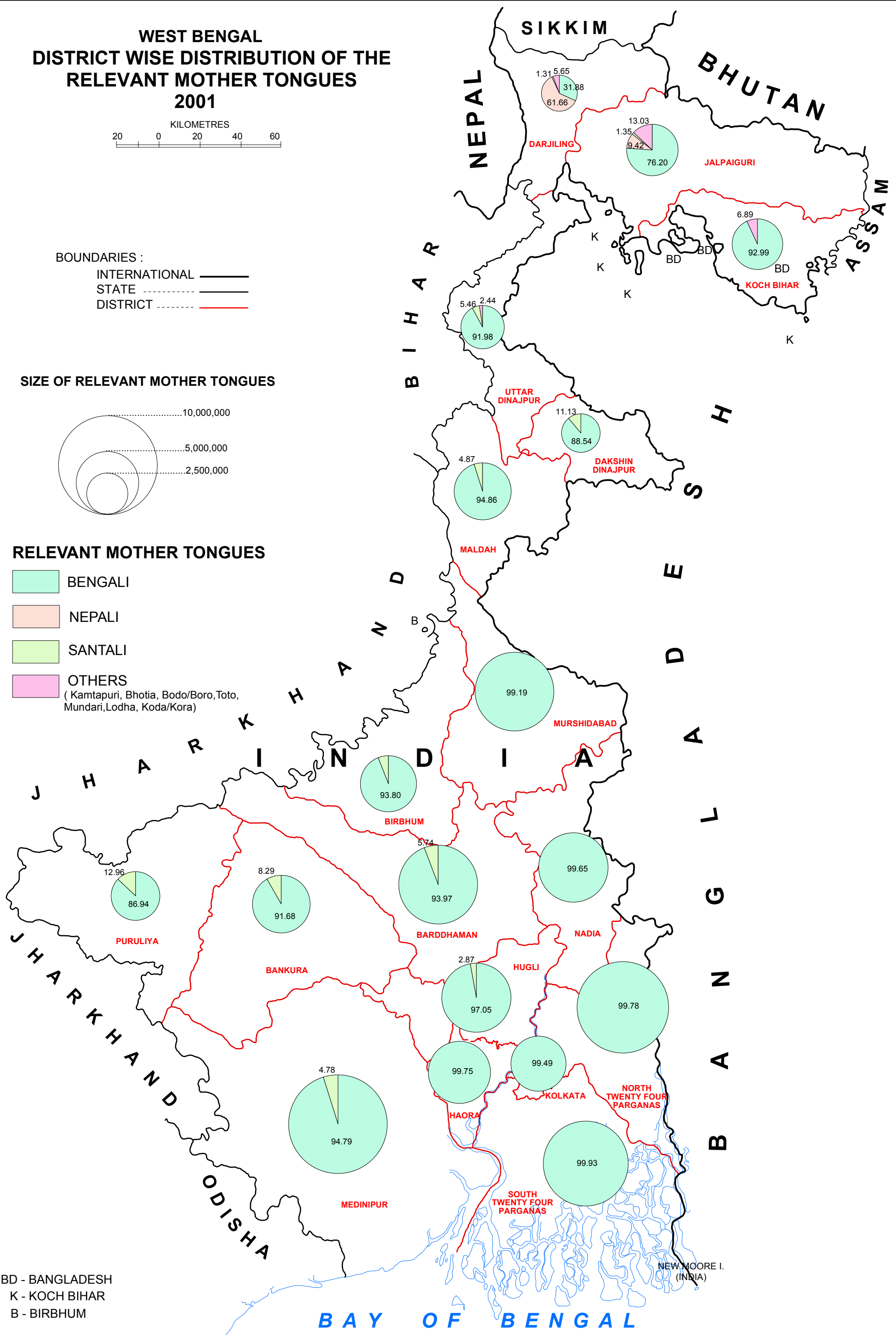
BOUNDARIES :  
INTERNATIONAL ———  
STATE - - - - -  
DISTRICT - - - - -

### SIZE OF RELEVANT MOTHER TONGUES



### RELEVANT MOTHER TONGUES

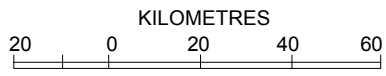
- BENGALI
- NEPALI
- SANTALI
- OTHERS  
(Kamtapuri, Bhotia, Bodo/Boro, Toto, Mundari, Lodha, Koda/Kora)





BD - BANGLADESH  
K - KOCH BIHAR  
B - BIRBHUM

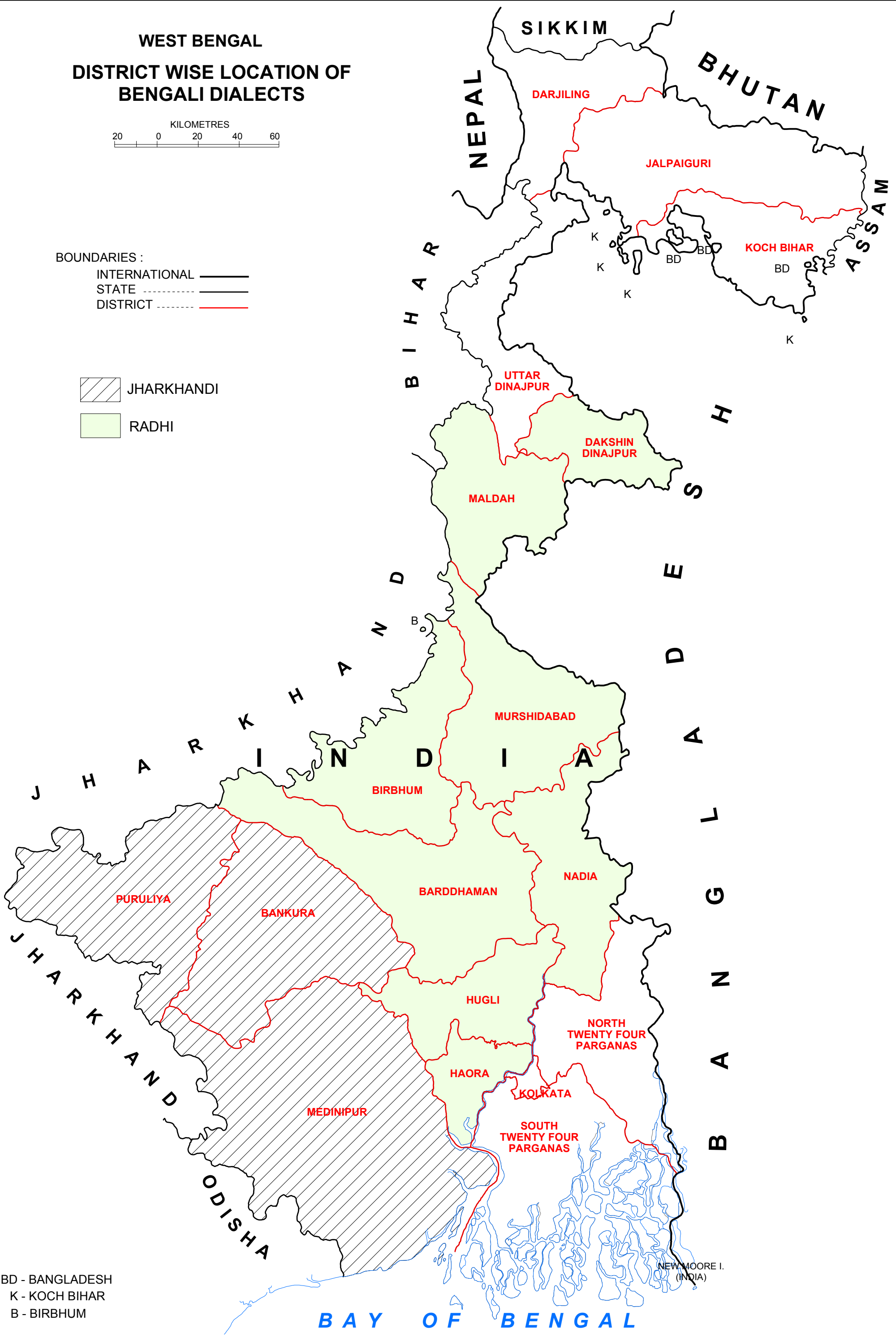
BAY OF BENGAL

# WEST BENGAL DISTRICT WISE LOCATION OF BENGALI DIALECTS



BOUNDARIES :  
INTERNATIONAL ———  
STATE - - - - -  
DISTRICT - - - - -

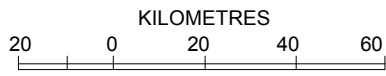
 JHARKHANDI  
 RADHI



BD - BANGLADESH  
K - KOCH BIHAR  
B - BIRBHUM

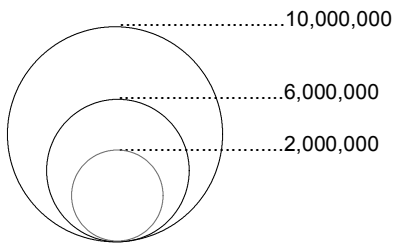
BAY OF BENGAL

# WEST BENGAL FAMILY WISE DISTRIBUTION OF RELEVANT LANGUAGES 2001



BOUNDARIES :  
INTERNATIONAL ———  
STATE - - - - -  
DISTRICT - - - - -

### SIZE OF RELEVANT LANGUAGES



### FAMILY WISE RELEVANT LANGUAGES

#### INDO-ARYAN

- BENGALI
- NEPALI

#### TIBETO-BURMESE

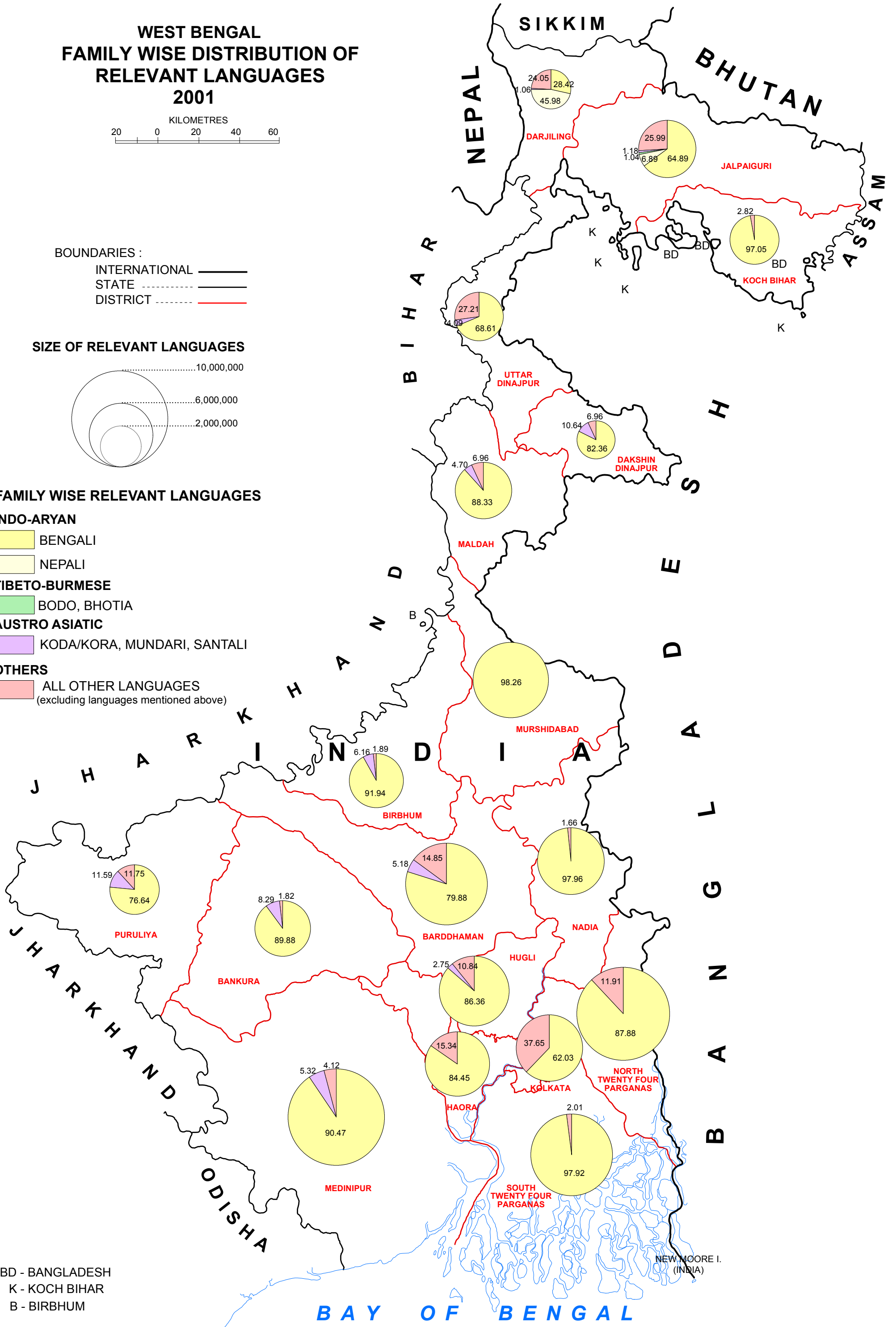
- BODO, BHOTIA

#### AUSTRO ASIATIC

- KODA/KORA, MUNDARI, SANTALI

#### OTHERS

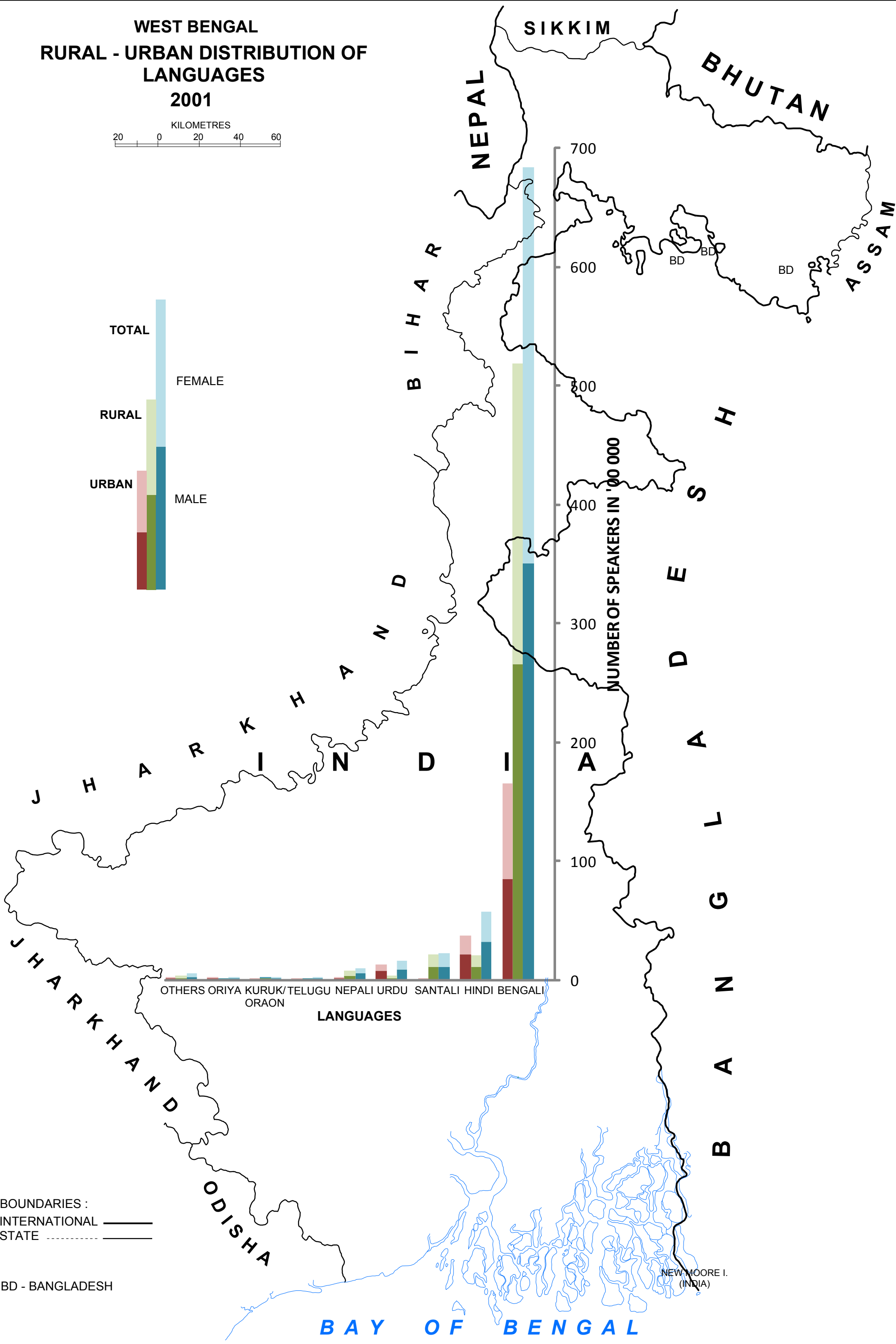
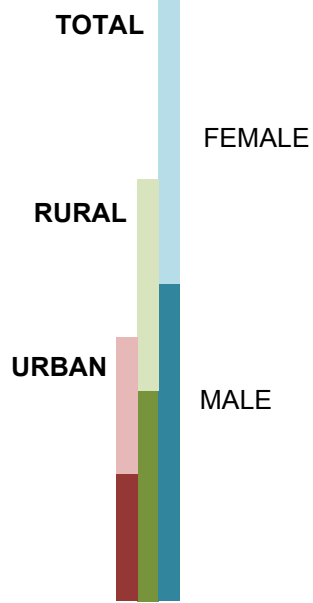
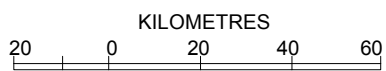
- ALL OTHER LANGUAGES  
(excluding languages mentioned above)



BD - BANGLADESH  
K - KOCH BIHAR  
B - BIRBHUM

BAY OF BENGAL

# WEST BENGAL RURAL - URBAN DISTRIBUTION OF LANGUAGES 2001

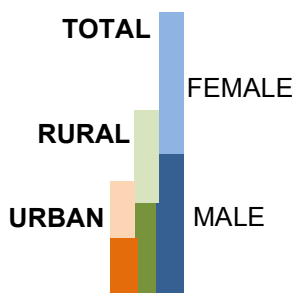
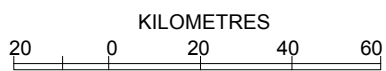


BOUNDARIES :  
INTERNATIONAL ———  
STATE - - - - -  
BD - BANGLADESH

NEW MOORE I.  
(INDIA)

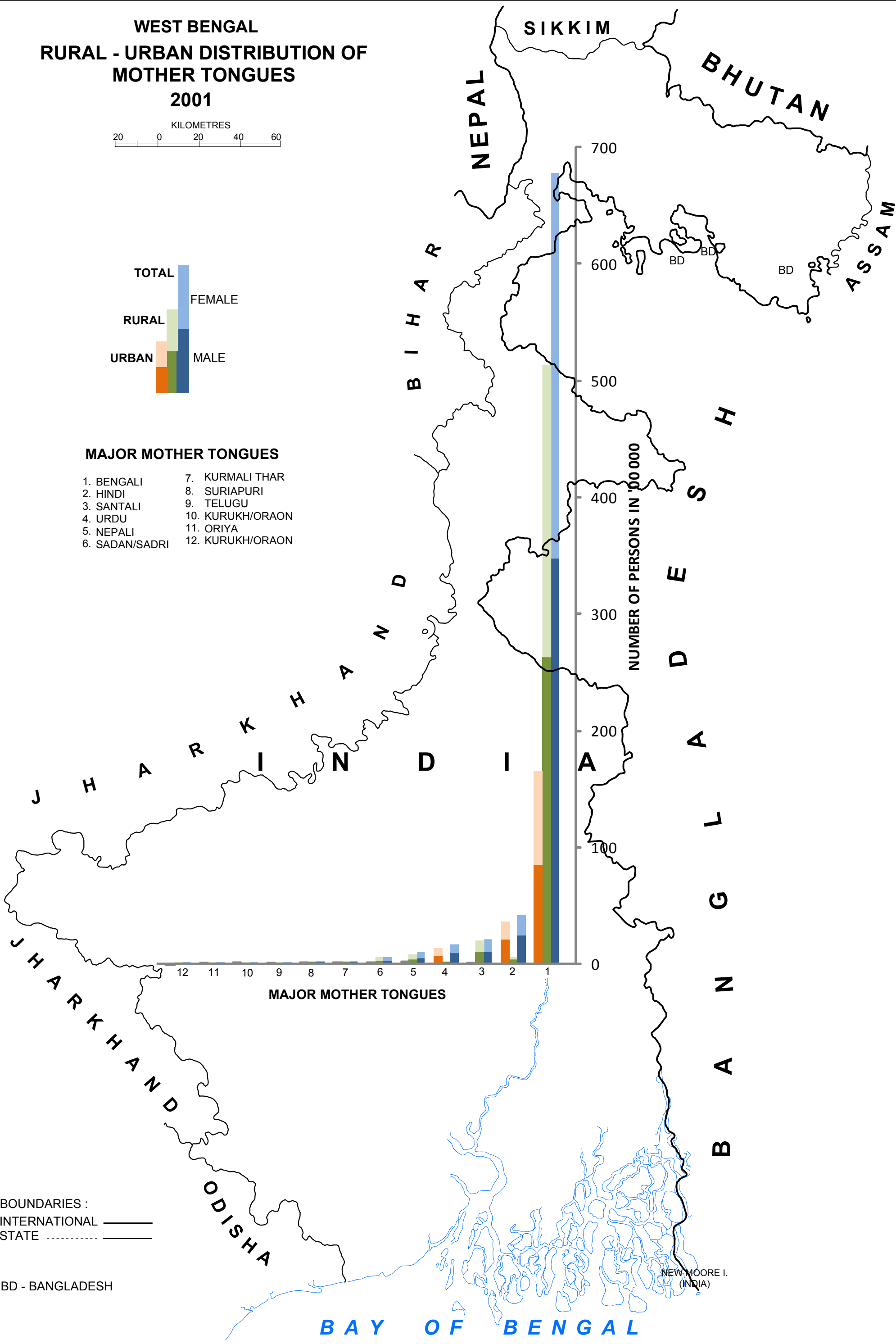
BAY OF BENGAL

# WEST BENGAL RURAL - URBAN DISTRIBUTION OF MOTHER TONGUES 2001



## MAJOR MOTHER TONGUES

- |                |                   |
|----------------|-------------------|
| 1. BENGALI     | 7. KURMALI THAR   |
| 2. HINDI       | 8. SURIAPURI      |
| 3. SANTALI     | 9. TELUGU         |
| 4. URDU        | 10. KURUKH/ORAOON |
| 5. NEPALI      | 11. ORIYA         |
| 6. SADAN/SADRI | 12. KURUKH/ORAOON |

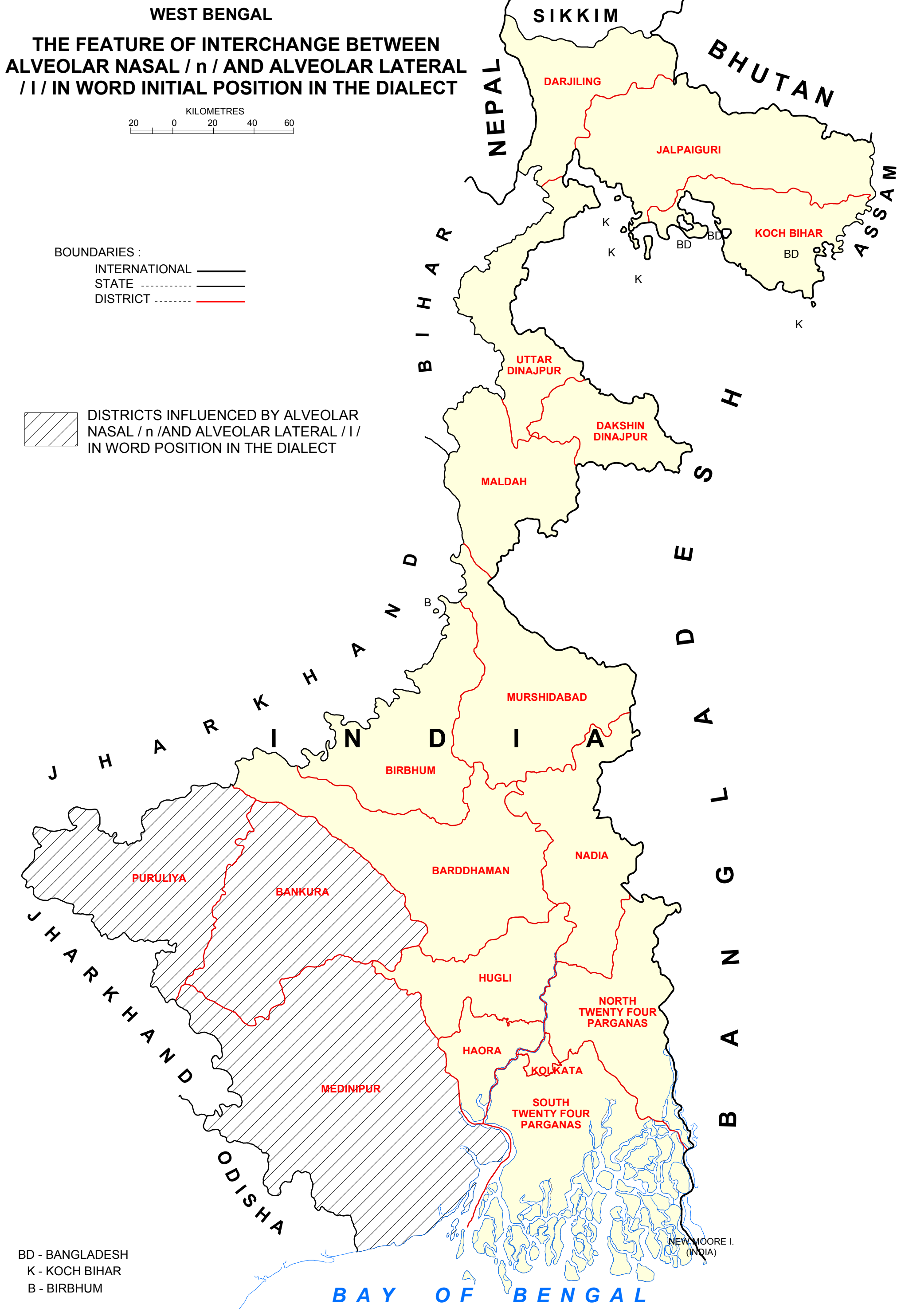


BOUNDARIES :  
INTERNATIONAL ———  
STATE - - - - -  
BD - BANGLADESH

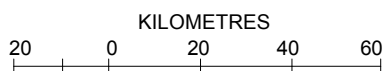
NEW MOORE I.  
(INDIA)

BAY OF BENGAL




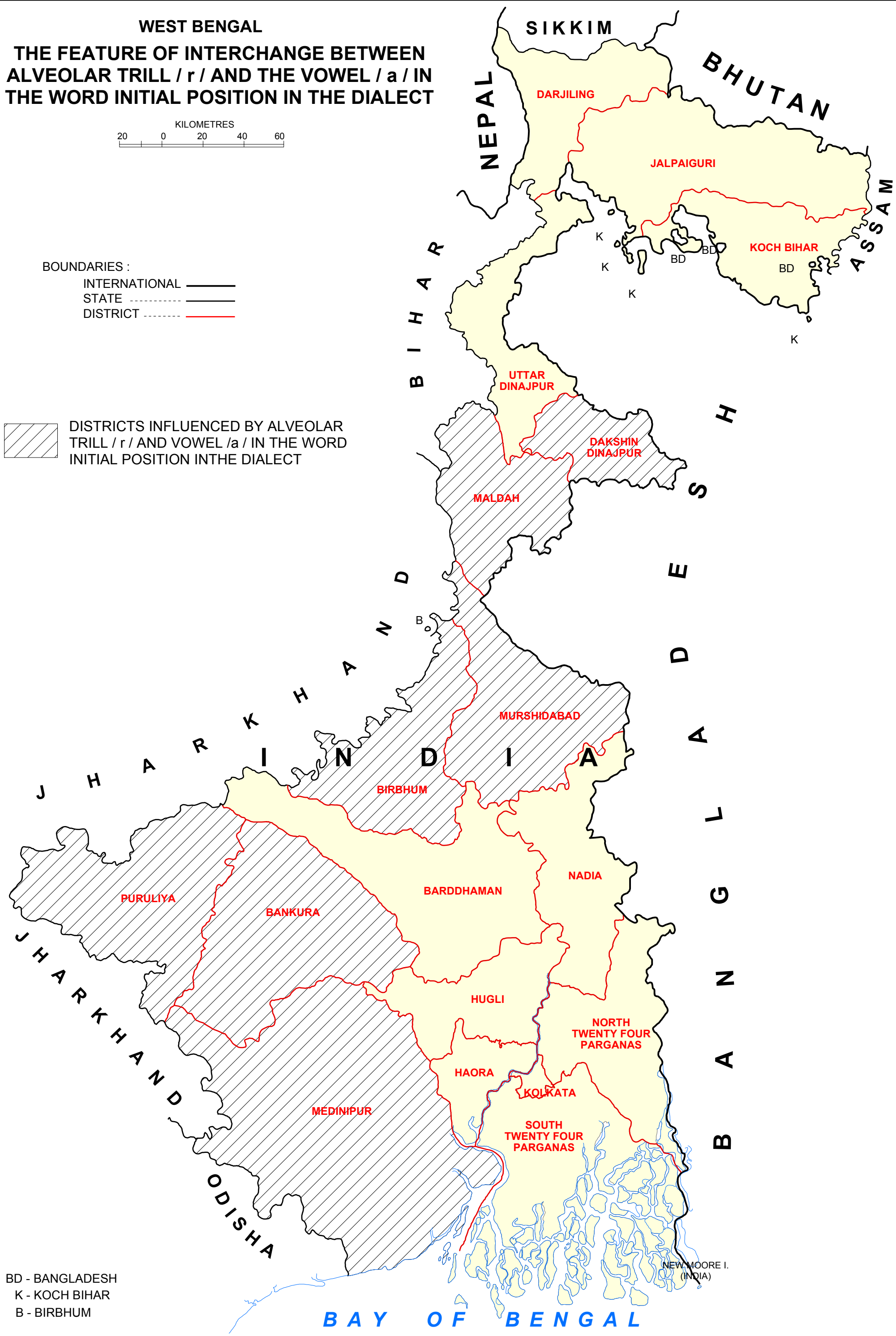


# WEST BENGAL THE FEATURE OF INTERCHANGE BETWEEN ALVEOLAR TRILL /r/ AND THE VOWEL /a/ IN THE WORD INITIAL POSITION IN THE DIALECT



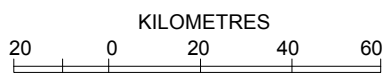
BOUNDARIES :  
INTERNATIONAL ———  
STATE - - - - -  
DISTRICT - - - - -

 DISTRICTS INFLUENCED BY ALVEOLAR TRILL /r/ AND VOWEL /a/ IN THE WORD INITIAL POSITION IN THE DIALECT

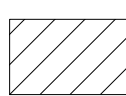


BD - BANGLADESH  
K - KOCH BIHAR  
B - BIRBHUM

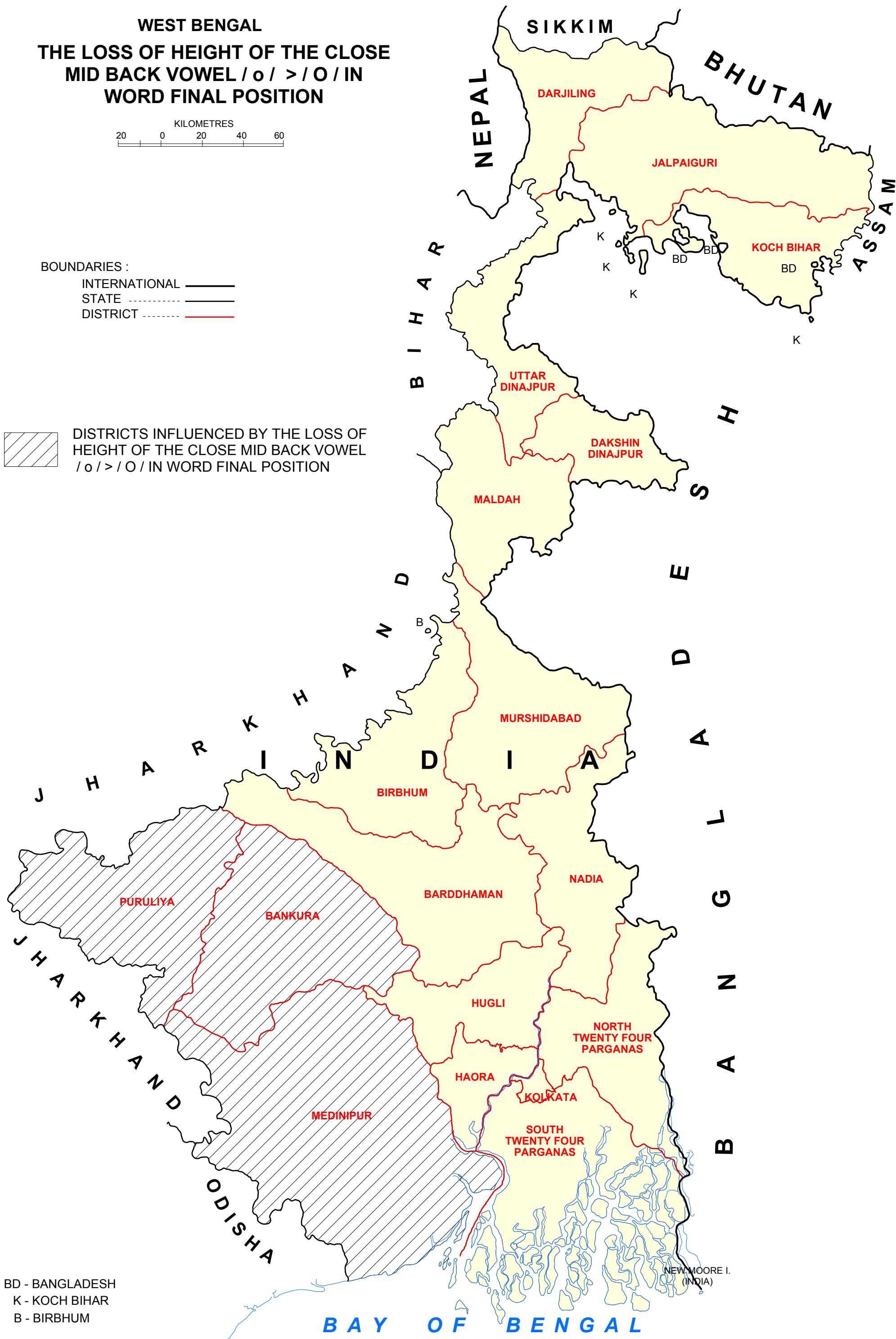
# WEST BENGAL THE LOSS OF HEIGHT OF THE CLOSE MID BACK VOWEL /o/ > /O/ IN WORD FINAL POSITION



BOUNDARIES :  
INTERNATIONAL ———  
STATE - - - - -  
DISTRICT - - - - -



DISTRICTS INFLUENCED BY THE LOSS OF  
HEIGHT OF THE CLOSE MID BACK VOWEL  
/o/ > /O/ IN WORD FINAL POSITION

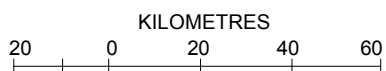


BD - BANGLADESH  
K - KOCH BIHAR  
B - BIRBHUM

BAY OF BENGAL

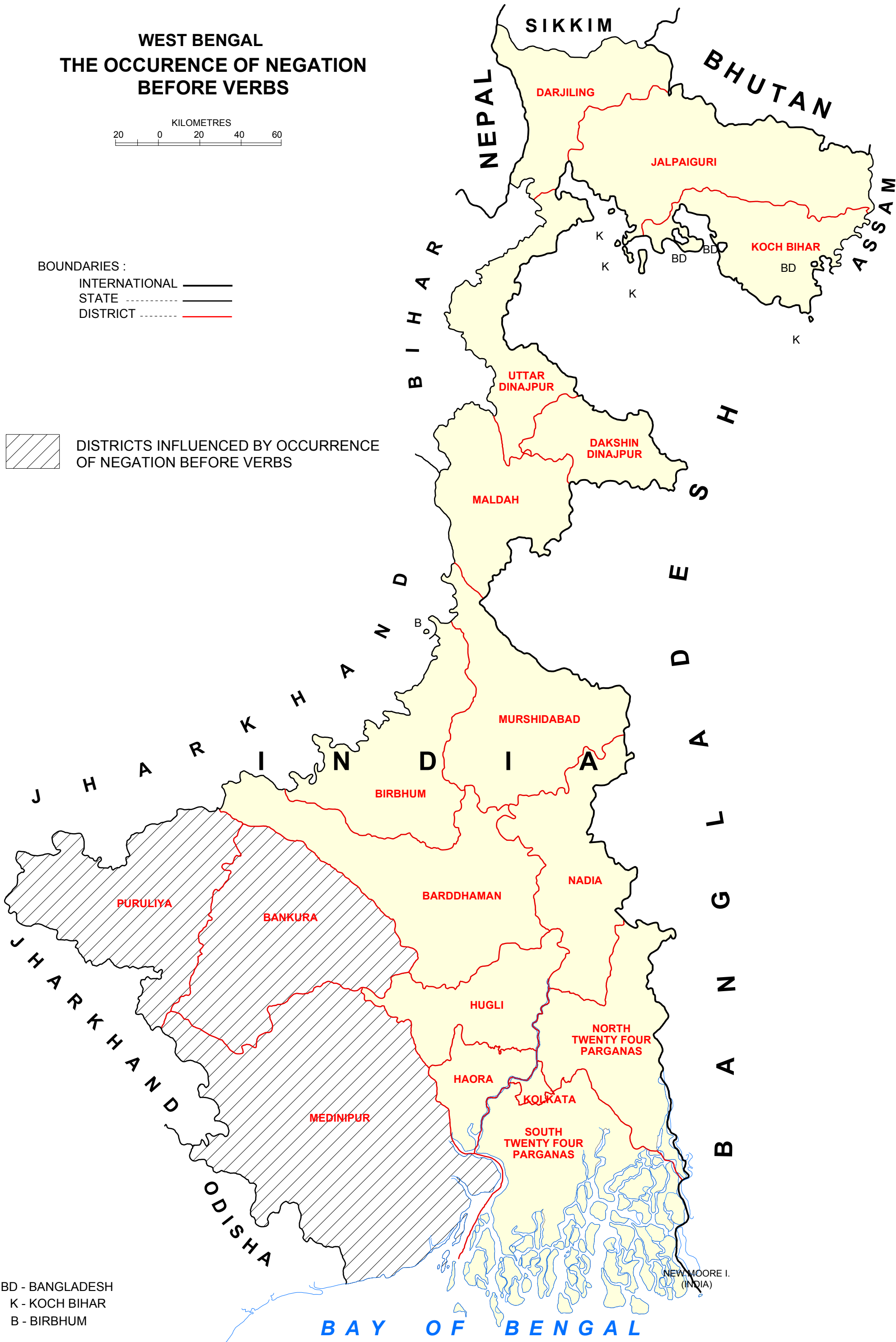


# WEST BENGAL THE OCCURENCE OF NEGATION BEFORE VERBS



BOUNDARIES :  
INTERNATIONAL ———  
STATE - - - - -  
DISTRICT - - - - -

 DISTRICTS INFLUENCED BY OCCURENCE  
OF NEGATION BEFORE VERBS



BD - BANGLADESH  
K - KOCH BIHAR  
B - BIRBHUM