### Classifiers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Classifier</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/gutti/</td>
<td>'bunch' (used with natural objects)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/guTe pullOgutti/</td>
<td>'a bunch of flower'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/dannogutti/</td>
<td>'a bunch of paddy plant'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/jutal/</td>
<td>'bunch' (used with human body parts)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/balOjutal/</td>
<td>'a bunch of hair'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Verb

In Relli, the verb stems are formed either with vowel or consonant that is either in open syllable or in close syllable. Below are exemplified the verb stems:

#### VC
- /a y/: 'come'
- /u/: 'shake'
- /ug/: 'stagger'
- /uT/: 'climb/wake up'
- /uD/: 'fly'
- /up/: 'nod'
- /agi/: 'step on'
- /Os/: 'laugh'
- /uTa/: 'raise'
- /uduk/: 'wash'
- /user/: 'alight'
- /usup/: 'feed'

#### VCV
- /Opukin/: 'deny'
- /uhineig/: 'imagine'
- /acc/anc/: 'become'
- /antic/: 'tie' (make a net)/anciD/
- /del/: 'give/offfer/pay'/je/
- /pil/: 'drink'
- /siil/: 'embroider'
- /kai/: 'eat'/kOi/
- /kai/: 'answer'
- /sui/: 'knit/sew'/pÕOr/
- /sOy/: 'sleep'
- /kor/: 'continue/do'/pak/
- /nap/: 'measure'/ras/
- /sin/: 'hear'/gin/

#### CVV
- /KOugil/: 'embrace'
- /maDeii/: 'chase'/paTaul/
- /cOraul/: 'graze'/bOnau/
- /suseil/: 'soak'
- /voTur/: 'shrink'/dari/
- /masipl/: 'erase'/misig/
- /nacc/: 'act/play'/tapr/
- /vOne/: 'bend/stoop'/bandle/
- /tull/: 'pick'/gucc/
- /dondr/: 'bark/chirp'

#### CVVCC

### Auxiliary verb base

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Present Form</th>
<th>Past Form</th>
<th>Future/Conditional Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>-anc</td>
<td>-tam</td>
<td>-tone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II/III</td>
<td>-acc</td>
<td>-tav</td>
<td>-tos</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Past</th>
<th>Future/conditional</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I Person</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II Person</td>
<td>-u</td>
<td>-u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III Person</td>
<td>-o</td>
<td>-o</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Auxiliary verb**
/ancuvuaro/

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Past</th>
<th>Future/conditional</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I Person</td>
<td>-an.ci</td>
<td>-tam.mi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II Person</td>
<td>-accu</td>
<td>-tavu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III Person</td>
<td>-acci</td>
<td>-tavi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Negative auxiliary**
It is marked by -ni

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present/Past</th>
<th>Future/conditional</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I Person</td>
<td>ni--φ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II Person</td>
<td>nim- φ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III Person</td>
<td>ni - φ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**System of negativization**

In the context of negativization, the negative marker *ni* and its paradigmatic sets are used invariably in the sentence final position and after the verb. Below are exemplified the system of negativization:

/imi korinci/ > /me kernani/
'I did/I have done’ > ‘I did not do/I have not done’

/se gOre acci/ > /se gOre ni/
'he is in the house’ > ‘he is not in the house’

/se pyadenTa/ > /se pyadenTu ni/
‘he is poor’ > ‘he is not poor’

/korra telivileTa/ > /korra telivileTa nil/
‘the boy is intelligent’ > ‘the boy is not intelligent’

**Finite verb**

The finite verbs receive (a) the tense markers as -i-(present tense singular), -φ (present tense plural), -li- (past tense singular), -pi (past tense plural), -u- (future tense singular), -pu (future tense plural), -int- (conditional singular), -taint/-tait- (conditional tense plural) and (b) the aspect markers as -i- (perfect), -u/-kunTa- (imperfect).
The tenses and the aspects are realised in three persons (first, second and third) each divided into singular and plural. The person markers are -i and -u (in first person singular and plural), -u and -O (in second person singular and plural) and -i and -e (in third person singular and plural) with exception only to the conditional perfect marker in the third person singular which is -a instead of -i.

The tenses when added with aspect markers form periphrastic tenses and are very much dependent on the use of auxiliary verb in the construction. Below are presented a set of auxiliary verbs used in different tenses and in different persons:

**Auxiliary verb**

I Person-
Present, past, future
- *ne-
Past perfect, future perfect
- *ane-
II and III Person-present, past
Future
Past perfect future perfect
- *s-

I Person present, imperfect
- *ace-
II and II Person present, imperfect
Conditional imperfect
II and III Person future imperfect
- *tonc-
- *tos-
II Person past perfect
- *tam-
II and III past perfect
- *tall-
Person
- *tav-

**Verb paradigm**

Since gender is not a grammatical category, it is not marked in finite verbs. Verb base *kor* ‘to do’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Past</th>
<th>Present/Future</th>
<th>Future</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I Sing</td>
<td>kor-li-ne-i</td>
<td>kor-i-ne-i</td>
<td>kor-u-ne-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I Plur</td>
<td>kor-li-ne-u</td>
<td>kor-i-ne-u</td>
<td>kor-u-ne-u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II Sing</td>
<td>kor-li-s-u</td>
<td>kor-i-s-u</td>
<td>kor-u-s-u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II Plur</td>
<td>kor-li-s-o</td>
<td>kor-i-s-o</td>
<td>kor-u-s-o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III Sing</td>
<td>kor-li-s-i</td>
<td>kor-i-s-i</td>
<td>kor-u-s-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Conditional</td>
<td>Present</td>
<td>Future</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I Sing</td>
<td>kor-int-ϕ-i</td>
<td>kor-i-pi-ne-i</td>
<td>kor-i-pu-ne-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I Plur</td>
<td>kor-int-ϕ-u</td>
<td>kor-i-pi-ne-u</td>
<td>kor-i-pu-ne-u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I Sing</td>
<td>kor-int-ϕ-u</td>
<td>kor-i-pi-s-u</td>
<td>kor-i-pu-s-u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II Plur</td>
<td>kor-int-ϕ-o</td>
<td>kor-i-pi-s-o</td>
<td>kor-i-pu-s-o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III Sing</td>
<td>kor-int-ϕ-i</td>
<td>kor-i-pi-s-i</td>
<td>kor-i-pu-s-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III Plur</td>
<td>kor-int-ϕ-e</td>
<td>kor-i-pi-s-e</td>
<td>kor-i-pu-s-e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Conditional perfect</td>
<td>Present imperfect</td>
<td>Future perfect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I Sing</td>
<td>kor-i-pi-taint-i</td>
<td>kor-ϕ-u-kunta-acc-i</td>
<td>kor-ϕ-u-kunta-acc-i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I Plur</td>
<td>kor-i-pi-taint-u</td>
<td>kor-ϕ-u-kunta-acc-u</td>
<td>kor-ϕ-u-kunta-acc-u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II Sing</td>
<td>kor-i-pi-ta-u</td>
<td>kor-ϕ-u-kunta-acc-u</td>
<td>kor-ϕ-u-kunta-acc-u</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Non-finite verb

Non-finite verbs comprise of infinitive, verbal noun, gerund and participle of which the last is realised in three terms:
1. present participle, 2. past participle and 3. relative participle

Below are exemplified the non-finite verbal types:

Infinitive -iva, -uva, -ite.

a) -iva
/siiva/ ‘to knit’ /masigiva/ ‘to mix’
/kadigiva/ ‘to take’ /darigiva/ ‘to hold’

b) -uva
/naccuva/ ‘to act’ /koruva/ ‘to do’
/vOncuva/ ‘to bend’ /ioguva/ ‘to push’

c) -ite
/accu pustakum cadivite sulu/ ‘printed books are easy to read’
/guTe pustukum se dellapana korte taku mi pocerlincl/ ‘I ask him to make her give a book’

Verbal noun -uva (infinitive) – rO; -iva (infinitive) – rO

a) -ivarO
/siivarO/ ‘act of knitting’ /masigivarO/ ‘act of mixing’
/gimivarO/ ‘act of buying’ /bosivarO/ ‘act of sitting’

b) -uvarO
/naccuvarO/ ‘act of acting’ /koruvarO/ ‘act of doing’
/pusuvarO/ ‘act of growing’ /diguvarO/ ‘act of watching’

Gerund

Gerundial marker -valasi- conveys the sense of nominal or adjectival use of the verb:
/mi aivalasi ancel/ ‘I ought to come’
/se goDo bikkavalasi acci/ ‘that horse is to be sold’
/yaDa kaivalasi ni/ ‘this water is not drinkable’
/mete patti koravalasi ni/ ‘I do not have to work’
Participle

The participles are realised in three terms - present participle, past participle and relative participle. Below are exemplified the formation:

Present participle -i
/perru dari Dakku/ 'call him by name'
/gOrOku jei terraga al/ 'go home and come back'

Past participle -a, -i, -kiri
/mi taku digite jalabele se soykunTa talla/ 'he was sleeping when I went to see him'
/katti se taita kani se jobbu poDijesi/ 'she would have been there yesterday but she fell sick'
/kukoro billiku dikkiri dondurlisi/ 'the dog barked at the cat'

Relative participle -la
/yebbe aylalenke kese/ 'who are these men who came just now'
/tu Dakkelalenkala aise/ 'all of whom you called have come'

Compound verbs

Compound verbs are formed of a) noun – verb and b) participle – verb. Below are exemplified the formation of compound verbs.

a) Noun – Verb /kOr/
/boka kOr/ 'bore / rebound / dig'
/mokalu kOr/ 'demolish / wreck / destroy'
/istiri kOr/ 'iron / press (clothes)'
/Oyar kOr/ 'make, prepare'

b) Participle – Verb /kOr/
/gaTTi kOr/ 'collect / gather'
/sariga kOr/ 'set upright, erect'
/munigi kOr/ 'drawn'

Participle – Verb /je /
/munigi je/ 'sink'
/serri je/ 'settle (out of a liquid)'
/roki je/ 'stop (cease doing something)'
/poDi je/ 'stumble, collapse'

System of relativization

The relative participle marker -la is added with verb to give a sense of relativization.

/mi digila mOnusO seTe acci/ 'the man I saw was present there'
/to kOtalaila korra guTe DakTaru/ 'the boy you talked is a doctor'
/mete sayOmu kOrLaTa seyaka/ 'he is that man who helped me'
/mo pakku ailalenke mete yarakani/ 'those who have come to me are not known to me'
/me kOtalailanta ta ma/ 'the lady I talked is her mother'
Passivization
Passive form is not generally used. However, below are presented a few sentences reflecting the sense of passivization.

\[
\begin{align*}
/mi\ paiTi\ korlinei/ & > /vaDa\ paiTi\ mo\ attore\ morO\ vaDisi/ \\
'I\ do\ the\ work' & 'the\ work\ is\ done\ by\ me' \\
/se\ pustukuma\ cadivillis/ & > /se\ pustukumuta\ dwOra\ cadavOvaDisi/ \\
'she\ reads\ the\ book' & 'the\ book\ is\ read\ by\ her' \\
/se\ cellakaku/paksiku\ marikaisi/ & > /se\ cellaka/paksita\ altore\ marikainDisi/ \\
'he\ killed\ the\ bird' & 'the\ bird\ is\ killed\ by\ him'
\end{align*}
\]

Reflexivization
Sense of reflexivization is conveyed by the use of -aka with the pronominal base:

\[
\begin{align*}
/miaka\ sOyumukiri\ yaDa\ korinei/ & 'I\ did\ it\ myself' \\
/seyaka\ sOyukukiri\ yaDa\ digisi/ & 'she\ saw\ it\ herself' \\
/seyaka\ sOyumukiri\ bi\ dunzisi/ & 'he\ ploughs\ the\ field\ himself' \\
/seyaka\ sOyumukiri\ anikiri\ sOyumukiri\ bikilisi/ & 'he\ brings\ the\ fruits\ and\ sells\ himself'
\end{align*}
\]

Causativization
Causatives are formed of main verb – subsidiary verb /de/ wherein the causative base is often a reduced base. That is,

\[
\begin{align*}
pilla\ duddo\ kailisi/ & > /ma\ pilluku\ duddu\ kucidellisi/ \\
'the\ child\ drinks\ milk' & 'mother\ feeds\ the\ child' \\
/se\ baiTo\ digitisi/ & > /mi\ taku\ baiTo\ digei\ dinci/ \\
'he\ sees\ the\ way' & 'I\ am\ showing\ him\ the\ way'
\end{align*}
\]

Moods
Moods are three – indicative, imperative and optative. Indicative mood is any simple sentence. Below are exemplified the two other moods.

Imperative mood
\[
\begin{align*}
/sette\ yekkwO\ sepu\ kOta\ laita/ & 'do\ not\ speak\ for\ so\ long\ period' \\
/sette\ gaTTikiri\ kOta\ laitan/ & 'do\ not\ speak\ so\ loudly'
\end{align*}
\]

Optative mood
\[
\begin{align*}
/bagO\ mOntuDu\ taku\ mellu\ sayumu\ korOmane/ & 'may\ God\ help\ him' \\
/se\ gOroku/goTTiki\ bajemuru/ & 'let\ him\ go\ home'
\end{align*}
\]

Adverb
Adverbs are modifiers of verbs. These precede the verbs in the construction. Semantically, adverbs are categorised as adverb of time, adverb of place and adverb of manner.

Below are presented the formative affixes helping in the formation of adverb.

Adverbial affix -i
\[
\begin{align*}
/nimpadi/ & 'slowly' \\
/dusi/ & 'day\ time'
\end{align*}
\]

Adverbial affix -e
\[
\begin{align*}
/tefe/ & 'as\ much\ as' \\
/yebbe/ & 'now' \\
/alsumine/ & 'late'
\end{align*}
\]
Adverbial affix -a /torga/bega/ ‘quick’ /ganTa/ ‘hour’

Adverbial affix -auka /kebbauka/ ‘sometimes’

Adverbial affix -alla /rojalla/ ‘daily/all the day’

Adverbial affix -u /sulu/ ‘easy’ /sOkalu/ ‘morning’

Adverbial affix -o /sonjo/ ‘evening’ /pakko/ ‘fortnight’

Adverbial affix -tu /aguntu/ ‘before’

Adverbial affix -Ta /pounaTa/ ‘yonder’ /tondorga/ ‘fast (quick)’

Adverbial affix -ki /kalliki/ ‘tomorrow’ /seTTiki/ ‘where’

Adverbial affix -kiri /gaTTikiri/ ‘loudly’

Adverbial affix -ka /inka/ ‘still’

Adverbial affix -ku /yaDuku saduku/ ‘here and there’ /varuku/ ‘still’

Adverbial affix -ga /subrumuga/ ‘neatly’ /aDgu/ ‘across’

Adverbial affix -mu /vormu/ ‘week’

**Particle**
1. Connective /inka/ ‘and’ /ni/ ‘or’ /je/ ‘that’
2. Adversative /kanti/ ‘but’ /inkaru/ ‘still’
3. Exceptional /syakiri noyTa/ ‘otherwise’ /noykarTa/ ‘without’
4. Concessive /ayne/ ‘so’ /tapakunda/ ‘thus’
5. Adverbial /varaku/ ‘till’ /knamu/ ‘untill’
6. Causal /vaijas/ ‘due to/on account of’
7. Relative /jese/ ‘which’

**Clitics**
1. Definite -Ta /paTa pullo/ ‘five flowers’ /paTa gayi/ ‘five cows’
2. Indefinite -se /se rOja/ ‘a king’ /se manamal/ ‘a man’ /se pauimOnusOmanawa/ ‘servant’

**Echo-formation in nouns and verbs**
Consonant +Vowel in the first syllable is replaced by gi- to form the echo words as shown in the examples below.
Nominal word
/cOulOgilO/ ‘rice, etc.’ /pennO ginnO/ ‘pen, etc.’
/polisgilis/ ‘police, etc.’ /pani gini/ ‘water, etc.’

Verbal word
/jelliligili/ ‘going and the like’
/dikkigikiki/ ‘seeing and the like’
/kOivarO givarO/ ‘convincing and the like’
/telsi gisili/ ‘being convinced and the like’

Syntax

A simple sentence is constituted of subject + predicate. A subject may be nominal (noun + pronoun) or noun phrase that represents the head of the construction while the predicates may be finite verbs alone or verb phrases nominals, noun phrase, adjective, adjectival phrase and a pronominal adverb that follow the head of the construction.

Below is presented the order of words and phrases of a simple sentence

Construction: noun + verb
/kukoro dondurusi/ ‘the dog barks’
/celakane uDlise/ ‘the birds fly’

Construction: noun + noun (object) + verb
/gayi gassso kailisi/ ‘the cow grazes’
/gayine duudo delise/ ‘the cows give milk’

Construction: noun + adjective + verb
/akume pacca acci/ ‘the leaves are green’
/poroto yetiki acci/ ‘the wall is high’

Construction: noun + adverb + verb
/sappO yaDuku saDuku kadulusi/ ‘the snake moves zig zag’
/akume gOccorOtaI poDilisi/ ‘leaves fall from the tree’

Construction: noun + noun + adverbial phrase + verb
/celaka gOcco umpare bOirisI/ ‘the bird sits on the tree’

Construction: noun + noun (object) + participle + verb
/kukoro biliIku dikkiri dondurIisi/ ‘the dog barks at the cat’

Construction: noun (pronoun) + adverb + verb
/se gOre acci/ ‘he is in the house’
/se yeTe acci/ ‘she is here’

Construction: noun (pronoun) + verb
/tu bajesu/ ‘you went away’

Construction of adjectival phrases
Noun + adjective + adjective:
/korra boda telivilata/ ‘very clever boy’

Adjective + noun + adjective:
/titra pilla boda somanipOta/ ‘very lazy girl’

Adjective + adjective + noun:
/boDa tan kathi/ ‘very hard wood’
/boDa bollo pilla/ ‘very good boy’
/boDa daTTumila mego/ ‘very dark cloud’ (heap of dark cloud)
Description of types of sentences

Interrogative sentences

Subject + interrogative (object) + verb-
/tu kera bolisu/kOisw/ ‘what did you say?’
/tete kera kovala/ ‘what do you want?’

Subject + interrogative + adverb + verb
/tu kebbuku uTuw/ ‘when do you get up?’
/tu kebbuku jellisu/ ‘when are you going?’

Imperative sentence

Verb- /tando/ ‘stand up’
/bosu/ ‘sit down’

Noun (object) + verb-
/yadabangu/ ‘break it’
/gassokaDapu/ ‘remove the grass’
/talapupiti/kadu/ ‘open the door’
/talapumusipO/ ‘close the door’

Complementary object + object + verb
/guTe kOta lagu/ ‘speak a word’
/tume dilenke pani pilisO/ ‘you both drink water’

Negative sentence

Subject + noun (object) + verb + negation
/mi paiTi kornani/ ‘I did not do the work’
/mi roTTi kayva/ ‘I have not eaten the bread’
/hobonolenke mOso kayninte/ ‘brahmins did not eat meat’

Causative sentence

Subject + object + relative + participle + causative + aspect + verb
/mi godo dOunDila pani korukunTa acci/ ‘I am making the horse run’

Subject + object + relative participle + causative + verb
/mi godo dOunDila pani korunTa/ ‘I have made the horse run’

Subject + object + object + relative participle + causative + aspect + verb
/tauke paudealune gOdong dOunDila pani korukunTa acci/ ‘they are making the horse run in the races’

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BHATRI
Tapati Ghosh

Introduction

Family affiliation

Bhatri is spoken essentially in the Chhattisgarhi* belt. The tribe name is Bhatta in Madhya Pradesh whereas they are known as Bhattada or Dhotada. Grierson found the affiliation of Bhatri more with Oriya than with Chhattisgarhi variety of Hindi and hence he treated Bhatri as a dialect of Oriya.

Location

The mother tongue Bhatri is returned from the Koraput district of Orissa and from the adjoining district of Bastar of Madhya Pradesh.

Speaker’s Strength

Bhatri as a mother tongue is returned by 218,073 speakers in 1991 census. The demographic composition of the mother tongue as per 1991 census is like the below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Persons</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>INDIA</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T</td>
<td>218,073</td>
<td>108,658</td>
<td>109,415</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R</td>
<td>211,329</td>
<td>105,317</td>
<td>106,012</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U</td>
<td>6,744</td>
<td>3,341</td>
<td>3,403</td>
</tr>
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<td>ORISSA</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>T</td>
<td>64,032</td>
<td>32,078</td>
<td>31,954</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R</td>
<td>62,344</td>
<td>31,272</td>
<td>31,072</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U</td>
<td>1,688</td>
<td>806</td>
<td>882</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Phonemic inventory
Segmentals
vowels

\[\begin{array}{c|c|c}
\text{i} & \text{u} \\
\text{e} & \text{O} \\
\text{a} & \\
\end{array}\]

* Bhatri returns from Madhya Pradesh in 1991 census is 153,978

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### Supra segmental

Nasalization / ~ / of vowel is phonemic.

### Consonants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>p</th>
<th>b</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>d</th>
<th>T</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>k</th>
<th>g</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ph</td>
<td>bh</td>
<td>th</td>
<td>dh</td>
<td>Th</td>
<td>Dh</td>
<td>kh</td>
<td>gh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>J</td>
<td>Ch</td>
<td>Jh</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| m | n | l | r | h | M | y |

### Phonology

#### Vowels

Bhatri is basically a five-vowel dialect. The basic vowel phonemes are / i, e, a, u and O /. The vowel ‘o’ of standard Oriya mostly corresponds to ‘O’. Only in a few examples ‘o’ occurs as exception to the system. Such examples are

- /dhobi/ ‘wahserman’
- /Tokil/ ‘girl’
- /lok/ ‘man’
- /lora/ ‘brook’ etc.

#### Phonemic distribution

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>/i/</th>
<th>/le/</th>
<th>/al/</th>
<th>/ul/</th>
<th>/O/</th>
<th>/~/</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/iTal/ ‘this’</td>
<td>/ethane/ ‘here’</td>
<td>/aT/ ‘eight’</td>
<td>/utren/ ‘sloae’</td>
<td>/Od/A/ ‘ginger’</td>
<td>/ākuT/ ‘toe’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/iguDa/ ‘those’</td>
<td>/egasus/ ‘eleven’</td>
<td>/aKas/ ‘sky’</td>
<td>/uTr/ ‘camel’</td>
<td>/Oda/ ‘mother’s father’</td>
<td>/ānDra/ ‘young ones’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/pi/</td>
<td>/Deria/ ‘left handed’</td>
<td>/maTi/ ‘eight’</td>
<td>/Tura/ ‘sloae’</td>
<td>/gOla/ ‘mother’</td>
<td>/pōkh/ ‘feather’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/i/</td>
<td>/phen/ ‘foam’</td>
<td>/maTi/ ‘eight’</td>
<td>/sur/ ‘orphan’</td>
<td>/bOrsa/ ‘rain’</td>
<td>/pōkh/ ‘feather’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/OrI/</td>
<td>/Jhas/ ‘flame’</td>
<td>/ka/ ‘bone’</td>
<td>/pOs/ ‘beast’</td>
<td>/dhaNgra/ ‘bachelor’</td>
<td>/mOrubhū/ ‘desert’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/OrI/</td>
<td>/haD/ ‘bone’</td>
<td>/OtaguDa/ ‘flour’</td>
<td>/bur/ ‘bud’</td>
<td>/bOrsa/ ‘rain’</td>
<td>/I/ ‘I’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Consonants

Bhatra has altogether 28 consonant phonemes including one semi-vowel as /y/. Among the consonants, 16 are stops, 4 affricates, 2 fricatives, 3 nasals and one each in lateral and trill sounds.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Initial</th>
<th>Medial</th>
<th>Final</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><code>/p/</code></td>
<td><code>/pap/</code></td>
<td>'sin'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>/pani/</code></td>
<td><code>/papuli/</code></td>
<td>'claw'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>/pOkhOn/</code></td>
<td><code>/pāpOD/</code></td>
<td>'papad'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>/ph/</code></td>
<td><code>/phusli/</code></td>
<td>'blister'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>/phOri/</code></td>
<td><code>/phirphiri/</code></td>
<td>'spindle'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>/bl/</code></td>
<td><code>/ba/</code></td>
<td>'fruit'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>/bOra/</code></td>
<td><code>/lephapa/</code></td>
<td>'envelop'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>/beTal/</code></td>
<td><code>/son/</code></td>
<td>'swamp'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>/sabun/</code></td>
<td><code>/gOrOb/</code></td>
<td>'soap'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>/bh/</code></td>
<td><code>/bhul/</code></td>
<td>'smell'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>/sObhel/</code></td>
<td><code>/all/</code></td>
<td>'tongue'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>/tl/</code></td>
<td><code>/tara/</code></td>
<td>'star'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>/sOtha/</code></td>
<td><code>/ata/</code></td>
<td>'mother's'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>/tell/</code></td>
<td><code>/nati/</code></td>
<td>'seven'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>/th/</code></td>
<td><code>/thuk/</code></td>
<td>'oil'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>/ThOli/</code></td>
<td><code>/bOtha/</code></td>
<td>'grandson'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>/d/</code></td>
<td><code>/doisi/</code></td>
<td>'accused'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>/nOdi/</code></td>
<td><code>/river/</code></td>
<td>'tooth'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>/dal/</code></td>
<td><code>/gora/</code></td>
<td>'elder brother'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>/gOda/</code></td>
<td><code>/club/</code></td>
<td>'chariot'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>/dh/</code></td>
<td><code>/dhuli/</code></td>
<td>'dust'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>/gOdhOli/</code></td>
<td><code>/donkey/</code></td>
<td>'nose ornament'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>/T/</code></td>
<td><code>/Toki/</code></td>
<td>'girl'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>/kTrA/</code></td>
<td><code>/antelope/</code></td>
<td>'interest'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>/Th/</code></td>
<td><code>/Thul/</code></td>
<td>'hornet'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>/kTrA/</code></td>
<td><code>/low-tide/</code></td>
<td>'island'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>/kl/</code></td>
<td><code>/kan/</code></td>
<td>'bed bug'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>/kakal/</code></td>
<td><code>/sky/</code></td>
<td>'letter'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>/kado/</code></td>
<td><code>/mud/</code></td>
<td>'fog, mist'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>/kakOri/</code></td>
<td><code>/father's younger brother/</code></td>
<td>'back'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>/kho/</code></td>
<td><code>/khOni/</code></td>
<td>'mines'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>/pOkhOn/</code></td>
<td><code>/stone/</code></td>
<td>'dew'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>/khOra/</code></td>
<td><code>/sunshines/</code></td>
<td>'dusk'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>/ukha/</code></td>
<td><code>/suguard poprice/</code></td>
<td>'pain'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>/gl/</code></td>
<td><code>/gorOl/</code></td>
<td>'poison'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>/yad/</code></td>
<td><code>/yard/</code></td>
<td>'waist'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>/gar/</code></td>
<td><code>'egg'0</code></td>
<td>'turban'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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/gh/  /ghOr/  ‘room’  /ghuTghuTe/  ‘suspicion’  /bgh/  ‘tiger’
/ghuNghOT/  ‘veil’  /gh/  ‘grass’

/Cl/  /COl/  ‘thief’  /peCa/  ‘owl’  /pâC/  ‘five’
/Clal/  ‘sparrow’  /aCar/  ‘pickle’  /CamOC/  ‘spoon’

/Ch/  /Chel/  ‘goat’  /maChu/  ‘fisherman’  /gOCh/  ‘tree’
/Châel/  ‘shade’

/Ji/  /Ji/  ‘alive’  /rai/  ‘kingdom’

/JOnOml/  ‘birth’  /kOJOL/  ‘collyrium’

/Jh/  /Jhas/  ‘ray, flame’  /sâJh/  ‘evening’
/JhaDa/  ‘diarrhoea’

/sI/  /sala/  ‘brother-in-law’  /bOrsa/  ‘rain’  /sâs/  ‘breath’
/si/  ‘moss’  /Jhas/  ‘flame’

/h/  /hat/  ‘hand’  /bO/  ‘daughter-in-law’

/hâûdar/  ‘hyena’

/m/  /mOroD/  ‘husband’  /mania/  ‘mother’s brother’  /kuTum/  ‘relative’
/manus/  ‘man’  /bemari/  ‘diseases’  /ghuliJam/  ‘berry’

/n/  /nak/  ‘nose’  /Cimni/  ‘small bat’  /gOrhOn/  ‘eclipse’
/natem/  ‘grand daughter’  /kuhani/  ‘elbow’  /Dhekun/  ‘bed bug’

/M/  /aMT/  ‘ring’  /siM/  ‘horn’

/ll/  /lal/  ‘red’  /balT/  ‘bucket’  /Jal/  ‘net’
/oto/  ‘creeper’  /tala/  ‘lock’  /dOlal/  ‘broker’

/r/  /rOktani/  ‘mistress’  /tara/  ‘star’  /Jor/  ‘stream’

/t/  /tanDi/  ‘widow’  /para/  ‘green pigeon’  /bhOOr/  ‘black’

bee’  /rasi/  ‘linseed’

/y/  /boya/  ‘insanity’  /âyl/  ‘he/she’
/âmOn/  ‘they’  /ekday/  ‘in one breath’
/maya/  ‘love, compassion’  /ayl/  ‘be’
/kOleya/  ‘fox’

Allophonic distribution

Bhatari has got allophonic variations in consonantal system, such as, /l/ > [l], /n/ > [N], etc.
/ll/ and /n/ are some what retroflexed phonemes when they are preceded by a retroflex phoneme. Example

/ulTa/  ‘opposite’  /gelTi/  ‘aluminium’
/bhenDi/  ‘lady’s finger’  /rOndal/  ‘widower’
Diphthongs

Diphthongs in Bhatri are available in a number of words as follows

\(/\text{ae}/\) /\text{baele}/ ‘woman’ /\text{Chäe}/ ‘shade’
\(/\text{ai}/\) /\text{rai J}/ ‘kingdom’ /\text{eklai}/ ‘alone’
\(/\text{Oe}/\) /\text{Oela}/ ‘myrobalm’ /\text{pOela}/ ‘first’ /\text{kÖe}/ ‘tamarind’
\(/\text{Ou}/\) /\text{sOukin}/ ‘narrow’ /\text{OuteTa}/ ‘stepson’ /\text{mOusi}/ ‘aunt/mother’s sister’
\(/\text{eu}/\) /\text{seu}/ ‘apple’ /\text{deur}/ ‘husband’s younger brother’
\(/\text{ei}/\) /\text{bODhei}/ ‘carpenter’ /\text{miThei}/ ‘sweet’
\(/\text{u}/\) /\text{bhu}/ ‘ground’
\(/\text{ue}/\) /\text{Jue}/ ‘son-in-law’ /\text{Jue}/ ‘light, fire’

Consonant clusters

Among the types of homogenous and heterogenous clusters, Bhatri has got the latter type only. Following are the instances.

\(/\text{pl}/\) /\text{tOpola}/ ‘heat’
\(/\text{bJl}/\) /\text{kObJa}/ ‘hinge’
\(/\text{tl}/\) /\text{kettle}/ ‘kettle’ /\text{putli}/ ‘toy’
\(/\text{tr}/\) /\text{mOrti din}/ ‘full moon light’ /\text{sOtra}/ ‘mother-in-law’
\(/\text{th}/\) /\text{hOthra}/ ‘hammer’
\(/\text{dl}/\) /\text{badIl}/ ‘bat’
\(/\text{dr}/\) /\text{bOdri}/ ‘cloud’ /\text{padri}/ ‘clergy man’
\(/\text{Tr}/\) /\text{kuTra}/ ‘antelope’ /\text{peTril}/ ‘pregnancy’
\(/\text{Dr}/\) /\text{gODra}/ ‘ram’ /\text{peDril}/ ‘leopard’
\(/\text{kr}/\) /\text{kukra}/ ‘chicken’ /\text{kÖkra}/ ‘crab’
\(/\text{Dl}/\) /\text{rakDil}/ ‘ash’ /\text{sÖkDil}/ ‘defiled rice’
\(/\text{ls}/\) /\text{baksal}/ ‘box’ /\text{maksal}/ ‘spider’
\(/\text{hr}/\) /\text{gokhrat}/ ‘cobra’
\(/\text{mdh}/\) /\text{sOsmdhl}/ ‘daughter-in-law’s father’
\(/\text{mn}/\) /\text{Cimmil}/ ‘small bat’ /\text{kammi}/ ‘jasmine’
\(/\text{mr}/\) /\text{Omrut phOr}/ ‘papaya’ /\text{Camrl}/ ‘skim’
\(/\text{nd}/\) /\text{sendul}/ ‘vermillion’
\(/\text{ndh}/\) /\text{kOndh}/ ‘shoulder’ /\text{andhar}/ ‘dark’
\(/\text{Nd}/\) /\text{CanDil}/ ‘ant’ /\text{ranDil}/ ‘widow’
\(/\text{ng}/\) /\text{rgengal}/ ‘sal’ /\text{dhangra}/ ‘young man, bachelor’
\(/\text{sr}/\) /\text{susral}/ ‘wife’s elder brother’ /\text{ghusal}/ ‘pig’

Syllabic structure

In Bhatri all the three types of words belonging to mono-syllabic, disyllabic and polysyllabic structure are characterised by closed and open variety.

Mono-syllabic closed-syllable

\(/\text{JOr}/\) /\text{brouk}/ ‘brook’ /\text{sOr}/ ‘current’
\(/\text{Jhas}/\) /\text{flame}/ /\text{kud}/ ‘island’
Mono-syllabic open-syllable
/ba/ ‘father’ /gha/ ‘wound’

Disyllabic closed-syllable
/kakOr/ ‘dew’ /gOrhOn/ ‘eclipse’
/juar/ ‘high tide’

Disyllabic open-syllable
/bODhi/ ‘flood’ /Dungri/ ‘hill’
/kado/ ‘mud’

Polysyllabic closed-syllable
/nOnaher/ ‘childhood’ /musakOll/ ‘trap’
/ghODahal/ ‘mane’

Polysyllabic open-syllable
/kOThughODAl/ ‘pony’ /kuhuDil/ ‘fog, mist’
/TeTengal/ ‘grasshopper’ /maikukral/ ‘hen’

Morphophonemics
Morphophonemic changes in Bhatri word structures are found in (i) some nominal words such as:
/nOnah/ ‘male child’ – -i > /nOni/ ‘female child’
/kubal/ ‘hunchback male’ – -i > /kubil/ ‘hunchback female’ etc.

(ii) in some verbal forms in past tense.
/oRh > ro -il > -el - -i > rOeli > rOli
/kOr - -il > el > -l - -a > kOrla > kOlla > kOla
/kOr - ib > -bi > -b - -i > kOribi
‘I am’
‘he did’
‘I shall do’

Morphology
Noun
Bhatri nouns are distinguished by (i) gender, (ii) number and (iii) case.

Gender
The Bhatri nouns are characterised by two-tier genders viz. masculine and feminine. The markers used are
a) -i (added to the word ending in vowel -a ).
b) -ani (added to an open syllabic word ending in -a and to a closed syllabic word).
c) -n (added to a word ending in vowel -i for having their female counterpart).

a) -i
Masculine
/nOna/ ‘child’
/Tura/ ‘orphan’
/Dengal/ ‘tall’
/thOtra/ ‘stammerer’

Feminine
/nOni/ ‘child’
/Turi/ ‘orphan’
/Dengi/ ‘tall’
/thOtri/ ‘stammerer’
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/JeTh/</td>
<td>/JeThani/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'brother-in-law(elder)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/deur/</td>
<td>/deuran/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'brother-in-law(younger)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/guDia/</td>
<td>/guDiani/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'sweet maker'(m)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/halial/</td>
<td>/haliani/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'labourer'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/budhial/</td>
<td>/budhiani/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'wise'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

b) -ani

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/sunnari/</td>
<td>/sunarini/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'goldsmith'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/natil/</td>
<td>/natin/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'grand son'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/malil/</td>
<td>/malin/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'gardener'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/dhohil/</td>
<td>/dhobin/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'washerwoman'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/sOmDhi/</td>
<td>/sOmdhin/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'son-in-law’s mother'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The other type is seen in natural pairs.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/OJa/</td>
<td>/ayil/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'grand father'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/bual/</td>
<td>/aya/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'father'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/bhai/</td>
<td>/bOhin/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'brother'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/dua/</td>
<td>/bae/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'bridegroom'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/pila/</td>
<td>/TOki/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'boy'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/sanD/</td>
<td>/gai/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'bull, ox'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/gOJa/</td>
<td>/kukDa/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'cock'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/buka/</td>
<td>/chelia/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'biligoat'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The nominals in Bhatri are distinct with two-tier numbers, viz.: i) singular, and ii) plural. The singular number has -∅ marker, while, for pluralization, two-tier markers, viz., a) -guDa, and b) -mOn are added to the base.

a) -guDa is added in case of non-human beings. Example

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/gOCh guDa/</td>
<td>/ghOr guDa/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'the trees'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/hatguDa/</td>
<td>/CeDe guDa/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'the handi'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/gae guDa/</td>
<td>/cows'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

b) -mOn is added to the base to denote the plural form for human base. Example

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masculine</th>
<th>Feminine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/beTamOn/</td>
<td>/beTimOn/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'sons'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/nOnamOn/</td>
<td>/nOnamOn/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'children'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thus, the plural forms of Bhatri nouns are exemplified below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/nOa/</td>
<td>/nOnamOn/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'child'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/beTa/</td>
<td>/beTamOn/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'son'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/TOki/</td>
<td>/TOkimOn/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'girl'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/Ok/</td>
<td>/OkmOn/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>'man'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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