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<th>Year</th>
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KHARIA
S. Rajendran

Introduction
Family affiliation

The language ‘Kharia’ belongs to Munda group of Austro-Asiatic family.

Location

The people belonging to the scheduled tribe Kharia, speaking Kharia language as their mother tongue, are found in the hilly districts of Mayurbhanj, Sundargarh and Sambalpur of Orissa. They are found in Madhya Pradesh as well.

Earlier works on Kharia

Taking the LSI of Grierson as the focal point and stretching it to both ends of the time scale we come across a number of works on Kharia.
(2) G.C. Banerjee Introduction to Kharia language.
(3) H.Floor and V.Gheyseun; English-Kharia Dictionary.
(4) G. Druott (1934) Kharia-English dictionary.
(5) Saw Pinnow “Vensuch einen Historichen Lauble here der Kharia-Sprache (1959). Pinnow has traced the history of Phonology of Kharia giving an outline on its phonetic system. Pinnow also edited a volume of Kharia text.
(6) H.S.Biligiri (1965) Kharia Phonology. grammar and vocabulary.

The present work on Kharia is based on the data collected in Orissa during 1983 and 1985. The present study shows that Dudhkharia spoken in Orissa is not much different from the DudhKharia spoken in Bihar described by H.S. Biligiri, except that the one spoken in Orissa has borrowed a number of Oriya lexical items replacing Kharia items. DudhKharia is known as the representative dialect in comparison to the Dhelki Kharia.
### Statistical Data: Language, Mother tongue and Bilingualism – 1991 Census

#### KHARIA (LANGUAGE)

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#### KHARIA (MOTHER TONGUE)

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### Bilingualism:

#### Total Number of Speakers

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373
Phonology
Phonemic inventory

Segmentals

Vowels
Front Central Back
High i u
Mid e A o
Low a

Consonants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bilabial</th>
<th>Dental</th>
<th>Alveolar</th>
<th>Retroflex</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Glottal</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stop</td>
<td>p ph</td>
<td>t th</td>
<td>T Th</td>
<td>k kh</td>
<td>?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>b bh</td>
<td>d dh</td>
<td>D Dh</td>
<td>g gh</td>
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<tr>
<td>Affricate</td>
<td>c ch</td>
<td>j jh</td>
<td>-----------</td>
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<td>Nasal</td>
<td>m n</td>
<td>n N</td>
<td>M M’ M</td>
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<tr>
<td>Liquid</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>R Rh</td>
<td>h</td>
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<td>y</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Supra-segmentals

Nasalization: Nasalization is a supra-segmental phoneme. It occurs with all vowels.
Example, /~~/

/ghàRi/ ‘scent’ /ghòRi/ ‘mare’

Juncture: Juncture is a supra-segmental phoneme to make utterance differ and to predict stress and certain allophonic variations. Example

/# ho # ka/?/ ‘that bow’ /hokaR/ ‘he’

Phonemic contrast

Vowel contrast

i, e, A, o, u /i?[na/ ‘to cut a rope’ /tej?[na/ ‘to carry’
/i?na/ ‘to serve food’ /Toj?[na/ ‘to pull out’
(tolna/ ‘to find’ /tulna/ ‘to compare’
/jhòRi/ ‘storm’ /jhòAr/ ‘cholera’
/jhàRi/ ‘all’
/i, A, a, o /baru/ ‘good’ /biru/ ‘mountain’
/i, A /chA ni/ ‘strainer’ /cini/ ‘sugar’
/e, o /somoM/ ‘skull’ /soreM/ ‘stone’
/a, o /karom/ ‘bracelet’ /kòRom/ ‘fish’
/a, u /dhuRi/ ‘dust’ /dàRi/ ‘beard’

Consonant contrast

/ p ~ ph / /pata/ ‘tail’ /pèRa na/ ‘to split’
/ b ~ bh / /bùRha/ ‘old’ /bèRa/ ‘ram’
/ t ~ th / /teloM/ ‘roof’ /thòlna/ ‘to foster’
/ d ~ dh / /dàRhi/ ‘bread’ /dùlRi/ ‘dust’
/ T ~ Th / /Tòpi/ ‘cap’ /Thòli/ ‘chain’
Major allophonic variations

Allophonic distribution of vowels

(i) All the vowels except /a/ and /A/ become long in monosyllabic words in the environment / (c₁) - (c₂) / where c₂ is not /?/. Except the environment / i:/, [i:], [i] and /i/.

(ii) All the vowels except /a/ and /A/ become half-long word finally (except the environment / # c - # and after a vowel ) and in tri-syllabic words in the environment #(c₁) vc₂ - c₃ v (c₄) # (where (c₂) is not / y/ or /w/ in the case of / i/ and / u/ respectively ) and in disyllabic words in the environment // (c₁) - c₂ v //

(iii) All the vowels except /a/ and /A/ are extra-short before /b/, /d/, /j/ followed by /?/, or simply before /?/. Except the environments: (c) - // and v- # (c₁) - c₂ v # # (c₁) vc₂ - c₃ v (c₄) # where c₂ is not /y/. Example

/ i: / [i:] 'what' / jil / [jhi:1] 'lake'

/ i / [i:] - //, except the environments: (c) - // and v- # (c₁) - c₂ v # # (c₁) vc₂ - c₃ v (c₄) # where c₂ is not /y/. Example

/dhuRi/ [dhuRi] 'dust' /jTa/ [itə] 'break'

/biru/ [bi 'ru'] 'mountain' /bijili/ [bijili:] 'lightning'

/i / [i] \{b, d, j \}

Example
/tib'ru / [tib'ru'] 'six' /t̪i/ [t̪] 'hand'

Example
/sinkom/ [sinkom] 'star' /kimin/[kimin] 'daughter-in-law'

/e / mid front unrounded vowel, has five allophones [ e: ], [ e ' ], [ E ], [ E y ] and [ e ]
/e/ [e:] # (c₁) - (c₂) # where (c₂) is not /?/.

Example
/pheN/ [phe:N] 'cobra-hood' /ber / [be:r] 'who'
/e/ → [e'] - # except the environment c- # and v-
  # (c1) - (c2) #
  # (c1) v c2 - c3 v (c4)
Example
   /bele/ [be're']  'feather'/eri/ [eR'I] 'calf of leg'
   /lARena/ [lARen'a]  'fight'
/e/ → [E] - f
   [D]
   /Deb'n/a/ [D E b' na]  'climb' /be'tona/ [bE'tona]  'meet'
   /kole'/ [kole']  'parrot'
e/ → [E'] - f
   /orej'/ [orE'j']  'cow' /kej'n/a/ [k E'j' na]  'pluck'
e/ → [e] occurs elsewhere.
   /ler A/ [ler A]  'moon'/teteMga/ [teteMga]  'chameleon',
/A/ a slightly backed lower- mid central unrounded short vowel, has two allophones [ y ] and [ A]
/A/ → [ A'] - f
Example
   /lA]/ [lA'j']  'stomach' /tA'j'na/ [tA'j' na]  'serve food'
/A/ → [ A ] elsewhere. Example
   /Apa/ [Apa]  'father' /bA da/ [bAda]  'father’s elder brother'
a/ a fairly back low unrounded long vowel, occurs everywhere as [ a ] only. Example
   /da]/ [da']  'water' /āc/ [ā c]  'flame'
o/ mid back unrounded vowel, has five allophones [ o : ] [ o ] [ o ] [ o ] and [ o ].
o/ [o]: (c1) - (c2) #, where c2 is not / ? /
Example
   /kom/ [ko:m]  'arrow' /jo/ [jo:]  'also'(emphatic particle)
o/ [o: ] 'also'
o/ → [ o ] - #, except the environment (c) # and v-
  # (c1) - (c2) v #
  # (c1) - v c2 - c3 v (c4) #
Example
   /koyo/ [ko'yo]  'air' /kokoro/ [kokoro']  'rooster'
Example

\[
/\text{tob}^{\text{D}}/ \quad \text{[tob}^{\text{D}}/ \quad \text{uM]} \quad \text{‘top’} \\
/\text{tud}^{\text{D}}/ \quad \text{[tud}^{\text{D}}/ \quad \text{uL]} \quad \text{‘threshing floor’}
\]

\[
/o/ \rightarrow \text{[ o] } \quad \text{[ b] } \\
\]

\[
/\text{gol}^{\text{D}}/ \quad \text{[gol}^{\text{D}}/ \quad \text{]) } \\
\]

\[
/o/ \rightarrow \text{[ o]. elsewhere} \\
/\text{rGo}^{\text{D}}/ \quad \text{[rGo}^{\text{D}}/ \quad \text{]) } \\
\]

\[
/u/, \text{high back rounded vowel, has five allophones} \\
[\text{u}^{\text{D}}], \text{[ u’]}, \text{[ U]}, \text{[ U’]}, \text{[ u]} \\
/u/ \rightarrow \text{[ u:]} (c_1) - (c_2), \text{where c_2 is not / ? /}. \text{Example} \\
\]

\[
/\text{ud}/ \quad \text{[u:d]} \quad \text{‘other’} \\
/\text{BuT}/ \quad \text{[Bu:T]} \quad \text{‘gram’}
\]

\[
/u/ \rightarrow \text{[ u:]} \quad \# \text{except the environment ( c ) - # and v -} \\
(c_1) \cdot c_2\nu \quad (c_1) \cdot v c_2 \quad c_3 \cdot v (c_4), \text{where c_3 is not / w /}. \text{Example} \\
\]

\[
/\text{bru}/ \quad \text{[bri’ru’]} \quad \text{‘mountain’} \\
/\text{kuhu}^{\text{D}}/ \quad \text{[kuhu:ri’]} \quad \text{‘frog’} \\
/\text{hru}^{\text{D}}/ \quad \text{[hu:ri’]} \quad \text{‘dust’} \\
/\text{Amu}^{\text{D}}/ \quad \text{[Amu:ri’]} \quad \text{‘ocean’}
\]

\[
/u/ \rightarrow \text{[ U’] } \quad \# \{ \begin{array}{c} b \end{array} \} \\
\]

\[
/\text{surub’}^{\text{D}}/ \quad \text{[surub’]} \quad \text{‘sucking’} \\
/\text{cu’}^{\text{D}}/ \quad \text{[cu’]} \quad \text{‘needle’}
\]

\[
/u/ \rightarrow \text{[ U’] } \quad \# \\
\]

\[
/guj’/ \quad \text{[gju’]} \quad \text{‘wash’} \\
/kuj’/ \quad \text{[ku’]} \quad \text{‘dance’}
\]

\[
/u/ \rightarrow \text{[ u] elsewhere.} \\
\text{Example} \\
/\text{DuM}^{\text{D}}/ \quad \text{[DuM]} \quad \text{‘a kind of fish’} \\
/\text{u}^{\text{D}}/ \quad \text{[u]} \quad \text{‘leaf’}
\]

\[
\text{Allophonic distribution of consonants} \\
(i) \quad \text{/ b / , / D / , / j / , are checked and weak before / ? /} \\
(ii) \quad \text{/ j / is a stop before / ? /, elsewhere it is an affricate.} \\
(iii) \quad \text{/ ? / is nasalized at the word final position.} \\
(iv) \quad \text{/ R / / is a stop initially and after a consonant, elsewhere it is a flap and before a consonant it freely varies.} \\
(v) \quad \text{/ n / is a dental before dental stops, elsewhere it is alveolar:} \\
\quad \text{/ b / has two allophones [ b ] , a checked and weak voiced bilabial stop and [ b ], a voiced bilabial stop.} \\
\]

377
Example
/bokob/  [bokobʰ]  ‘head’
/dobʰ/  [dobʰ]  ‘white ant’
/b/  →  [b] elsewhere.

Example
/beTa/  [beTa]  ‘boy’
/lebu/  [lebu]  ‘man’

/ʔ/ has two allophones [ʔ], nasalized glottal stop and [ʔ], glottal stop.

/ʔ/  →  [ʔn]  - #

Example
/Denji/  [DenEjʰ]  ‘axe(big)’
/uDʰ/  [uDʰ]  ‘mushroom’

/j/ has two allophones, [jʰ], a checked and weak voiced palatal stop and [j], voiced palatal affricate.

/j/  →  [j’]  /-ʔ?

Example
/dAbAj/  [dAbAjʰ]  ‘eighteen’
/pij³n/  [pij³n]  ‘to break’

/j/  →  [j] elsewhere.

Example
/jono/  [jonoʰ]  ‘broom’
/khajar/  [khajar]  ‘deer’

/n/ has two allophones, [n], dental nasal and [n] alveolar nasal.

/n/  →  [n]  - Dental stops.

Example
/konteD/  [konteDʰ]  ‘bird’
/bandra/  [bandra]  ‘baboon’

/n/  →  [n] elsewhere.

Example
/kinir/  [kinir]  ‘forest’
/kimín/  [kimín]  ‘bride’

/Rh/ has two allophones, [Dh], voiced aspirated retroflex post alveolar stop, and [Rh], voiced alveolar fricative.

/Rh/  →  [Dh] elsewhere.

Example
/hARha/  [hARha³]  ‘wolf’
/cumRha³/  [cumRha³]  ‘well’

/y/ has two allophones, [iy] palatal frictionless continuant with an on set /i/ and [y] frictionless continuant.

Example
/ayo/  [ayo³]  ‘mother’
/uluy/  [uluy]  ‘hair’
Phonemic distribution
Distribution of vowels

(i) All the vowels occur initially, medially and finally.
(ii) Clusters of vowels occur initially, medially and finally.

Distribution of consonants

(i) All the consonants occur, with a few exception, initially, medially and finally.
(ii) /?/, /M/, /R/ and /w/ do not occur initially.
(iii) /th/, /d/ and /D/ do not occur finally.
(iv) All the consonants form consonant clusters at least with any one of the others.

Diphthongs

Diphthongs found in the data are /eu/, /Au/, /oi/, /ua/ and /ui/. Example
/eu/ /neura/ 'mongoose'
/Au/ /bhAuri/ 'whirlpool'
/oi/ /bois/ 'she-buffalo'
/ua/ /ua'na/ 'to bathe'
/ui/ /buni/ 'hog'

Triphthongs

In Kharia, there is only one instance of triphthongs.

Example
/cheua/ 'jaw'

Consonant clusters

Two consonant clusters

The two consonant clusters attested are the following
/pt/ /hApta/ 'week'
/pk/ /dapkAy/ 'to boil'
/pl/ /papla/ 'butterfly'
/pr/ /kopRu?/ 'male'
/ps/ /kopsor/ 'to dry'
/ph/ /duphni/ 'bowl'
/bD/ /kubDo/ 'hunch back'
/b'/ /tirib/ 'cloud'
/br/ /Abra/ 'stripe'
/tk/ /bhAtkAyati/ 'right arm'
/tn/ /pattun/ 'short'
/tr/ /strAm/ 'thread'
/dm/ /lodma/ 'a kind of muscle of the leg'
/dR/ /badRi/ 'bat'
/dhR/ /bodhRe/ 'blunt'
/Tk/ /kuTkuTi/ 'mosquito (small)'
/mn/ /keTna/ 'sting'
/TL/ /cheTLa/ 'bald'
/Tr/ /ciTra/ 'squirrel'
/Thk/ /LAthkAna/ 'clinging to'
/D'/ /De'DoM/ 'stalk'
/Dr/ /geDra/ 'dwarf'
/kth/ /sAkthAyna/ 'to tighten'

379
Three consonant clusters
(i) A number of three consonant clusters are found as /b/ or /D/ as first member and /ʔ/ as the second member.
(ii) There are clusters when the first two of the members are homorganic nasal plus stop and the third member is /r/. Example

‘always’
‘I ride’
‘to cause to cook’
‘to cause to knock’
‘white ant’
‘yoke’
‘to cause to burn’
‘to come out’
‘to pull up’
‘to feed’
‘to creep’
‘to extinguish’
‘to remove’
’a kind of plant’
‘bird (accusative)’
‘thirst’
‘to bite’
‘rock’
‘fibre’
‘you are’
‘leaf’

Four consonant clusters
Four consonant clusters are very rare.
Example
/bʔMh/ /kebʔMhelne/ ‘to load’
/bʔMgh/ /sebʔMghorna/ ‘to strengthen’

Morphophonemics
An overall picture of the morphophonemic rules in morphemic alternation is given in the following. The rules can be posited to account for the changes in the phonemic shapes of morphemes due to internal sandhi rule:

1. \[
\begin{array}{c}
\{ b \\ d \\ j \} \\
? \Rightarrow \{ b \\ d \\ j \}
\end{array} \phi / - V
\]

Example
/uDʔ / e / pe \rightarrow uDepe/ ‘you (plural) will drink’
/Dejʔ / e / pe \rightarrow Dejepe/ ‘you (plural) will cut’
2. \( ? \rightarrow g / - V \)
Example

\[ /M'o? - e - pe \rightarrow M'ogepe/ \]
\('you\text{(plural)} \text{will eat}'\)

3. \( e \rightarrow i / - M' \)
Example

\[ /uDo^2 - te - M' \rightarrow uDo^2 tiM'/ \]
\('I \text{drunk}'\)
\[ /M'o - e - M' \rightarrow M'ogiM'/ \]
\('I \text{will eat}'\)

4. \( \begin{cases} \{ i \} \\ \{ e \} \\ \{ a \} \\ \{ o \} \\ \{ u \} \end{cases} \rightarrow \begin{cases} \{ i \} \\ \{ e \} \\ \{ a \} \\ \{ o \} \\ \{ u \} \end{cases} \ll y \rightarrow \{ o \} \)
Example
\[ /si - o' - pe \rightarrow siyo^2 pe/ \]
\('you \text{(plural) cultivated}'\)
\[ /maRe + o^2 - pe \rightarrow maReyo^2 pe/ \]
\('you \text{(plural) commenced}'\)
\[ /joha - o' - pe \rightarrow johaya^2 pe/ \]
\('you\text{(plural) watched}'\)
\[ /yo - o' - pe \rightarrow yoyo^2 pe/ \]
\('you\text{(plural) saw}'\)
\[ /su - o' - pe \rightarrow suyo^2 pe/ \]
\('you\text{(plural) wore}'\)
\[ /si - e - pe \rightarrow siyepe/ \]
\('you\text{(plural) will cultivate}'\)

5. \( \begin{cases} b \} \\ j \end{cases} \rightarrow \begin{cases} ph \\ Th \\ ch \\ kh \end{cases} \rightarrow o? \)
Example
\[ /jab - o? \rightarrow japho?/ \]
\('joined'\)
\[ /eD - o? \rightarrow eTho?/ \]
\('measured'\)
\[ /Dej - o? \rightarrow Decho?/ \]
\('ant'\)
\[ /M'og - o? \rightarrow M'okho?/ \]
\('ate'\)

6. \( D \rightarrow R / -e \)
Example
\[ /melaygoD - e \rightarrow melaygoRe/ \]
\('will give up'\)
\[ /obgoj?goD - e \rightarrow obgoj?goRa/ \]
\('will kill away'\)

7. \( s \rightarrow ch / j? - \)
Example
\[ /goj? - si? \rightarrow Goj?ch?/ \]
\('has died'\)
\[ /kaj - si? \rightarrow Kaj? Ch??/ \]
\('has put off'\)

8. \( ui \rightarrow uy / -v \)
Example
\[ /jüü - o? \rightarrow jüyo?/ \]
\('swelled'\)
\[ /kui - o? \rightarrow kuyo/ \]
\('found'\)

Morphology

Nouns

Nouns are distinguished by number, gender and cases.
Numbers

Numbers are three-tier - singular, dual and plural. Singular is unmarked, dual is marked by kiyar and plural by -ki. Example

/moD? - kiyar/ 'two eyes' /moD? -ki/ 'eyes'
/kuRu - kiyar/ 'two children' /kuRu - ki/ 'children'

Gender

Gender is not grammatical. But the following types of changes are attested in the nominal stems. Change of final vowel \( \left\{ \begin{array}{c} u \\ o \end{array} \right\} \# \rightarrow i \# \)

Example

/namu/ 'mother’s brother' /ma-mi/ 'mother’s brother’s wife'
/dada/ 'elder brother' /didi/ 'elder sister'
/beTa/ 'son' /beTi/ 'daughter'
/kaka/ 'father’s brother’ /kaki/ 'father’s brother’s wife'
/buRha/ 'old man' /buRhi/ 'old lady'
/bheRa/ 'male-ram' /bheRi/ 'female-ram'

Adding -in / -n to the male form to get female form

/batij/ 'nephew' /batijn/ 'niece'
/sAmdhi/ 'daughter-in-law’s father’
/sAmdhin/ 'daughter-in-law’s mother’

Adding -Ray to the male form to get female form

/kulAm/ 'uncle’s son' /kulAmRay/ 'uncle’s daughter'

Use of different suffixes

-gerh ~ -er is suffixed to the base to forms male form and -sel is used to create female forms.

Example

/kon - gher/ 'young man' /kon sel/ 'young woman’
/bok - er/ 'brother-in-law' /bok-sel/ 'sister-in-law’

Possessor

Personal possessor suffixes are added to the possessed noun to concord with the possessor. The following are the suffixes.

I person II person III person
-M’ - nam’ -nom -Dom -Ram
(Ram occurs after apa- father and -Dom elsewhere)

Example

/(ina) sawRA ynaM’/ 'my wife'
/(ina) beTaM’/ 'my son'
/(hokar) beD-Dom/ 'his son'
/(jma) beT-nom/ 'your son'
/(hokra) ap-Rom/ 'his father'

383
Cases and postpositions

Oblique case

Noun stems are either oblique or non-oblique. Oblique stems are marked whereas non-oblique stems are unmarked. Oblique case stem without postpositions can function as genitive case stem.

-a? is the oblique case marker.

Example

/orej-ab abarThAM DeRen Aj?/ ‘the bull has two horns’
bull -obl. two horn has.
-a? has four allomorphs /-wa/, /-ya?/, /?-/, /-a?/, /-a?/ /-wa?/-ya?/-a?/
-wa occurs after /u/ and /o/.
Example

/kũRu-wa?/ ‘childs’ /ayo-wa?/ ‘mothers’

-ya? occurs after /i/ and /e/.
Example

/nani -ya!/ ‘grand mothers’ /geRe-ya!/ ‘ducks’
-pocans occur after /a/.
Example

/gAdha -?/ ‘donkeys’ /dada-?/ ‘elder brothers’
-a? occurs elsewhere.
Example

/buMam -a?/ ‘snakes’ /kon-sel -a?/ ‘girls’

Postpositions

The following postpositions denote different case relations between noun phrase (NP) and verb phrase (VP). Postpositions are added either to the oblique stem or directly to the non-oblique stems.

te: It is added to the non-oblique stem. It denotes accusative, dative and locative case relations.

Example

/hokaR kontheD? -te taro?/ ‘he killed the bird’
he bird'acc. killed
/iM’ hokaR -te gamo?M’ / ‘I told him’
I he -dat. told.
/uslo-te Dokona/ ground -loc. sit
boM It is added to the oblique as well as non-oblique stems. It denotes causal and instrumental case relations.

Example

/daRa’ boM/ ‘with stick’ /churiboM/ ‘with knife’
/dayaboM/ ‘with mercy’

tAy: It is added to the oblique as well as non-oblique stems. It denotes ablative case-relations. Example

/iskul -tAyDenAm/ ‘come from the school’
school -abl. come.
/hokaR kiRki -tAy gurki/ ‘he fell down from the window’
he window-abl. fell -down