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STRUCTURE OF MALTO

A. SISIR KUMAR DAS



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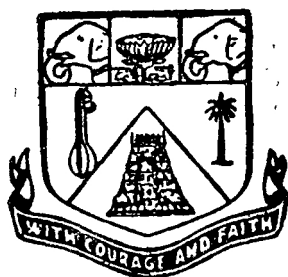
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FOREWORD

Malto is one of the three languages that constitute the Northern sub-group of the Dravidian family, the other two being Kūṛukh and Brahui. It is spoken by about 89,000 people (according to the 1951 census) who call themselves *maler*. They live in the area near the Rajmahal Hills in Bihar. Although the language is very important for Dravidian studies, scholars had to depend so far only on the small book entitled *Introduction to the Malto Language*, written by Ernest Droese in 1884. An up-to date study of Malto using the techniques of modern linguistics was a desideratum since a long time. Dr. Sisir Kumar Das took the initiative to fulfil this long felt need. He has collected the material by doing field work on the language and has presented in the following pages for the first time, a scientific analysis of the structure of Malto language.

I am very happy to get it published under the publication programme of the C.A.S in Linguistics, Annamalai University Annamalinagar. I hope this book will be of great help to scholars who are interested in Malto and in Dravidian studies and also to Linguists in general.

Annamalai University }
Annamalainagar }
21-9-1973 }

S. Agesthalingom
DIRECTOR
Centre of Advanced Study in
Linguistics

PREFACE

The present monograph, which is incidentally one of the first descriptions of Malto, owes its inspiration to Professor Bh. Krishnamurthy. In 1967, I presented a small paper on this little known Dravidian language in a seminar conducted by Prof. Krishnamurthy at Cornell University. He praised the paper more than it deserved and encouraged me to study the language in greater detail.

I am thankful to the University of Delhi for bearing a part of the expenses for my field-work in the Santal Parganas in Bihar. I am also grateful to Prof. R. K. Das Gupta, Professor of Bengali, University of Delhi; late Professor Nirmal Kumar Bose who was the Commissioner of Tribal Welfare and Scheduled Caste, Government of India; Mr. R. K. Srivastav, Deputy Commissioner, Santal Parganas; Mr. Suddhadev Jha Utpal, President, Bihar Harijan Sevak Sangha; Mr. Shivdas Pandey, B. D. O., Amrapara, Santal Parganas; Mr. Dipankar Dasgupta and Mr. S. C. Panchbhai, both of Anthropological Survey of India, and Prof. Subodh Chandra Majumdar of Krishnanagar College, West Bengal for their help and encouragement. I am deeply indebted to Mr. Barnwas Malto, the first graduate, among the *Maler* and to the little boys of Pahariya schools at Hiranpur and Banjhi and to many villagers of Simul Kundi

for their co-operation in collecting data. I remember them today with a deep sense of gratitude. I also remember the hospitality I received at several villages and particularly from the Head Master, Fabariya School, Banjhi and from Mr. Divakanta Chaudhuri.

I am extremely thankful to the Centre of Advanced Study in Linguistics, Annamalai University, and to its able Director Professor S. Agesthialingom for publishing the book. Needless to say, for all blemishes in this book I alone am responsible. If this book is of some help to the study of Indian languages in general and Dravidian in particular, I should consider myself amply rewarded.

University of Delhi
April 1973.

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P. Sisir Kumar Das.

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Introduction

0. MALTO, a Dravidian language, is spoken by one of the primitive races of India who call themselves *maler* 'men.'¹ Grierson suggested that *malto* like *malayalam* is derived from the common Dravidian word *mala* 'mountain', so that the original meaning of *maler* would be 'hill-men'.² The *maler* tribe lives in the area near the Rajmahal Hills in the Santal Parganas in Bihar. Among the six sub-divisions of the Santal Parganas, the *maler* live mostly in the Sahibganj and Godda sub-divisions. There is also a large concentration of the *maler* in Kunjbana in the Pkor sub-division. The land of the *maler* is a succession of hills — most of them are not very high — and valleys. They live mostly on the hills surrounded by lovely woods which look magnificent in spring when flowers of various colours blossom. Hills and forests are intimately related to their life and culture. To the hills they owe their name *maler* and local people call them

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1. *male* is the word for 'man' in Malto. *maler* is the plural of *male*. And *malto*, the language of the *maler*, means I presume, 'manly' — *-to* is a suffix, rather unproductive, in Malto, for example, *pelto*, 'womanish.'
 2. Grierson, G. A. *Linguistic Survey of India*, IV, Calcutta 1906. Tamil *malai*, Telugu *mala*, Kannada *male* Malayalam *mala*: See also Burrow and Emeneau, *A Dravidian Etymological Dictionary*, 1961.

pahariya which also means hill-men. And to the forest they are indebted for their economic life. The economy of the *maler* is essentially, if not entirely, forest based.

0.1. The *maler* are very poor and economically very much under-developed. They are generally care-free, impulsive and demonstrative people, fond of music and dance and wine, and believers in supernatural forces. Their villages consist of small huts surrounded by *madgi* trees. In Christian villages one can find a *girija-adḍa* 'church' where the Christians assemble on sundays. The non-Christians are mainly animistic or polytheistic of a kind so far as their religious faith is concerned. They worship several gods most of them are nature gods, such as *beru* 'sun', *bilpu* 'moon'. In one of the dialects of Malto the word for God is *beru-bilpu*, literally, sun-moon. For a detailed account of the *maler* social, economic and religious life one may look at Dr. L. P. Vidyarthi's *The Maler* (Calcutta, 1963). It is not possible to say with certainty how and when the *maler* came to the Rajmahal Hills. E. T. Dalton in his *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal* (Calcutta, 1872) describes a legend which has been also referred by the Reverend E. Droese. The legend says that seven progenitors of human races descended from heaven. They were seven brothers and they were originators of the Hindus, the Muslims, the British, etc. The seventh brother *malsir* was the creator of the *maler* race. According to the tradition of the Oraons, a group of a speaker of another Dravidian language related to Malto, the ancestors of the hill-men lived in a country far west and they moved towards east and settled in *Rhotas*. Later being driven out by the Hindus they migrated from that place: one group went to Jharkhand and another group settled on the hills near the

Ganges. Whether this story has some truth in it is yet to be ascertained by the historians.

However, it seems that the *maler* had always trouble with their neighbours. Grierson includes a passage in the *Linguistic Survey of India*, IV, which describes the good old days when the *maler* were happy and they had plenty of land to cultivate but at last the Hindus came and overpowered them and took their lands from them. In pre-British days the Muslims failed to subjugate them and the British Government too had great difficulties in bringing them to terms until Augustus Cleveland, Collector and Magistrate of Bhagalpur came to the Rajmahal Hills. In the eighteenth century the British Government recognized their right and granted them land free of rent for cultivation. The *maler* has frequent strife with the Santals, which is common even today. The *maler* often plundered their lands and ultimately the vigorous Santals were able to occupy the low-land and the *maler* retired to higher lands.

0.2. The *maler* are also known as *pahāṛiyas* but this term embraces other tribes too. In fact there are three different *pahāṛiyas*: *mal-pahāṛiya*, *kumarbhag pahāṛiya* and the *sauriya* (also spelt as *sauvaria*.) The *sauriya pahāṛiya* are Malto speaking. It is often thought that the *mal pahāṛiya* also speak Malto. But they speak an Indo-Aryan dialect, or to be precise, a dialect of Bengali. In a recent analysis it has been pointed out that "Malpahāṛiya dialect shows greater affinity with Kharia Thar (a form of Bengali spoken by the Hill Kharias of Manbhum)". The language of the *mal pahāṛiyas* would be interesting to the students of Indo-Aryan in general, and of Bengali in particular since "in phonology and morphology many archaic features are

present, some of which date back to proto-Bengali period".³ The language of the *kumarbhag pakariya* is related to Malto and the difference between the two is very little. Both are mutually understandable. I should consider *kumarbhagi*, as it is often called, a dialect of Malto. (See appendix I).

0.3. The Malto language has been also referred as *Rajmahali* in some early works. It forms a linguistic island surrounded by Bengali, Santali and the languages of Bihar (Bhagalpuri or Angika, Bhojpuria and Maghi). Geographically it is completely isolated from the main area of the Dravidian languages. It is close to Oraon or Kurukh spoken in Bihar. The geographical proximity of the areas where Santali, Bengali and several dialects of Bihari are spoken, is mainly responsible for a large number of borrowed items in the Malto vocabulary. Several English words too have been treated into Malto. The borrowed words have undergone phonological changes and have been naturalised. But what is most interesting to note is that the Malto native system of numerals has been completely replaced, except the words for *one* and *two*, by the Indo-Aryan system. The original system of counting is a system of twenties and that is still there. Any counting beyond 20 is 20 plus the units or the tens, e.g. 33 is *der kori tin* i.e. 20 - half-twenty - 3. This is one of the few instances in the history of languages where a community has retained its language but has accepted the numerals from an alien language.

3. Dasgupta, Dipankar, "Notes on the Malpahariya Dialect of the Santal Parganas" Unpublished paper presented in the Seminar on Research Programme in Cultural Anthropology and Related Disciplines, Anthropological Survey of India, 1967.

The *maler* are a bilingual community: they speak Malto only in their villages and speak either Santali or a dialect of Hindi or Bengali in their intercourse with the outer world. And as a result the process of borrowing is almost continuous in Malto and the people frequently use Hindi or Bengali words in their every day conversations. A large number of religious words, for example, have come from Indo-Aryan as well as from English, thanks to the missionaries.

0.4. The figures of Malto speaking population of 1911, 1921 and 1931 census years respectively as compared with the figures of 1951 show a sharp decline. The figures are, however, very doubtful. The number of speakers of Malto in 1921 and 1931 exceed the total number of *sauriya pahariyas*. It is quite possible that in earlier census some *mal-pahariyas* were wrongly counted as the speakers of Malto. Nevertheless, the decline in the Malto speaking community is a fact.

<i>Year</i>	<i>No. Sauriya Pahariya</i>	<i>No. of Malto Speaker</i>
1911	62, 734	62, 651
1921	55, 600	60, 920
1931	59, 891	67, 052
1941	57, 212	not available
1951	not available	23, 774

The District Gazetteer (1965) gave three reasons for the gradual decrease in the number of Malto speakers. First.

because of their habit of living on the hill tops some of them might have escaped enumeration. Second, it is also possible that in 1951 census some of the Malto speakers have been enumerated as speakers of other languages. Third, the *maler* speak more than one language and some of them have already accepted either Hindi or Santali as their own language.

I have met several *maler* who speak Malto only in home and their children do not know any Malto. Those who live in the plains where one has to come in contact with the Santals and the Biharis they find that their children seldom use Malto. The Government of Bihar has established several schools, for the *pahariyas*, for example one in Banjhi and one in Hiranpur, where they receive free education. Unfortunately there is no arrangement for teaching Malto to the *maler*. The Government is trying to improve their economic and social conditions but it is entirely indifferent to their language which is sure to perish and to be replaced by Hindi.

0.5. Malto has no written literature. The Christian missionaries are the pioneers, as they are for many Indian languages, of written literature in Malto. The Psalms and the four Gospels were translated as early as 1884 and they were printed in Roman. The translation of the Bible has run through several editions since that time. The available printed materials that I have been able to collect are *Kalisiyaki Sumbrarpo Ketabe* (Benagaria, 1926, pp 246), *Darm Ketabe* (Bhagalpur, 1963, pp 239) and *Bachareki Pawu* (Bangalore, date not mentioned, pp. 22). These are all Christian literature. *Darm Ketabe* is a complete translation of the Old Testament.

No serious attempt has been made to collect the songs and tales current among the *maler*. Probably Rev. F. T. Col

is one of the first workers in this field. His paper on The Rajmahal Hillmen's Songs was published in 1876 in the *Indian Antiquary*, V. The little that I could collect show certain interesting features. The songs consist of one line and when they have more than one line they do not rhyme. There are songs of different types: prayers, lullaby, love-songs, marriage songs and so on. Certain songs, the marriage songs in particular, are inevitably accompanied by dance and music. These songs are simple and straight forward: imageries are vivid and homely and the locale is inevitably the hills and the forests. The tales are very stylised. There are frequent repetitions of certain set of phrases and clauses and they are marked by intonational features accompanied by predicatable gestures. The structures of these tales are simple — generally beginning with a poor boy ending in a happy note. But there are two types of happy stories: one, which end like fairy-tales where the hero lives happily ever after (appendix I) and two, where the hero finds happiness at the end of the day only to face more suffering in the days to come (appendix II). The second group of stories reflect the *maler* life more faithfully but it is doubtful whether any world-view discovered in them is exclusively of the *maler* as an anthropologist tends to suggest.

0.6. There has been very little work on the Malto language. The following papers and books are in Grierson's *Linguistic Survey*.

- 1799 R. E. Roberts, "Specimens of the Language of the people inhabiting the hills in the vicinity of Bhagalpur", *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. 5.
- 1872 E. T. Dalton, *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, Calcutta.

- 1876 F. T. Col, "The Rajmahal Hillmen's Song", *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. 5.
- 1878 R. Swinton, "Rajmahali Words", *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. 7.
- 1879 ———, *Paryen Sikatra Maltono i kochi*, Agra.
- 1884 E. Droese, *Introduction to the Malto Language*, Agra.

Most of these writings are of little help to the students of Malto. Swinton's paper is, though very short (pp. 130-32) is interesting since it tries to compare Malto with other Dravidian languages. He draws his material from Hunter's *Comparative Dictionary of the Languages of India and High Asia* and *Specimens of Language in India* published by the Government of Bengal, 1874. Of all these papers and books Droese's⁴ book is the most important and valuable. It has an useful introduction (pp. i-iv) containing information about the *maler*, a detailed account of the language (pp. 1-117) and a vocabulary (pp. 1-69). Grierson's description of Malto is based entirely on Droese's book. I have checked his materials with the speakers of Malto and found them correct in most of the cases and where they differ from the present usage they, I think, represent the older

4 Droese was a member of the Church Mission Society. The present principal of the C. M. S. Higher Secondary School Bhagalpur, writes me (letter dated 21 March 1970), "around the year 1848 the local Christians of Bhagalpur wrote to the Bishop in Calcutta for finding a dedicated missionary and Rev. Droese was the first missionary who came to Bhagalpur and worked among the Santhals and Pahariyas for 49 years. He founded one of the most famous schools in Bhagalpur in the year 1854."

forms which must have changed during the last ninety years. L. P. Vidyarthi in his *The Maler* gives a list of lexical items and two tales collected and translated by Edward Toppo but the recording is not scientific since it is evident that they have no training in linguistics. The present description of the Malto language is made from the materials collected by me during my stay in the Santal Pargana in March 1970. I have also used some of the materials available in Droese's excellent work. I have collected some material from the villagers of Simul Kundi (Hiranpur), the students of the Pahaṛiya school both at Hiranpur and at Banjhi but mostly from Mr. Barnwas Malto, an inhabitant of Kusumghati in Godda. There are some minor differences in the speeches of Rajmahal, Banjhi, Godda but the differences are only at the lexical level, for example in Banjhi *sitri* 'dew' and in Rajmahal *tistri* 'dew'; in Godda *musanti* 'an ornament for nose' and in Rajmahal *munyanti*. I did not notice any difference in the phonology and morphology of Malto spoken in different areas. A short note on Kumarbhagi has been added in the appendix but any detailed comparison is beyond the scope of this monograph.

1. Phonology

1.1. Phonemic Inventory

1.1.1. CONSONANTS

		<i>Lab.</i>	<i>Den.</i>	<i>Ret.</i>	<i>Pal.</i>	<i>Vel.</i>	<i>Uvl.</i>	<i>Glt.</i>
Stops	Vl.	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>ʈ</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>q</i>	
	Vd.	<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>ɖ</i>	<i>j</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>ḡ</i>	
Fricatives			<i>θ</i>					<i>h</i>
			<i>s</i>					
Nasals		<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>				<i>ɳ</i>	
Trill			<i>r</i>					
Lateral			<i>l</i>					
Flap				<i>ɾ</i>				
Semi-vowels	<i>w</i>				<i>y</i>			

1.1.2. VOWELS

	Front	Back
High	<i>i</i>	<i>u</i>
Mid	<i>e</i>	<i>o</i>
Low		<i>a</i>
Co-vowel	-	

1.1.3. SUPRA-SEGMENTALS

/ - / / / / / || /

Final Contours

/ \ \ \ /

1.2. Distribution and Contrasts

1.2.1. VOWELS:

Malto vowels present a three fold contrast as to the height and three fold contrast as to the tongue position: front, central and back. All vowels have a long counter-part and they contrast with each other in all position except finally. All vowels occur in all positions but the long vowels do not occur in final positions.

1.2.11. Contrast between long vowel and short vowel

<i>i</i> : <i>ī</i>	<i>ine</i>	today	<i>īne</i>	to do
	<i>bje</i>	dawn	<i>bije</i>	to expand
<i>u</i> : <i>ū</i>	<i>uje</i>	to live	<i>ūje</i>	to collect tax
	<i>pule</i>	to be jealous	<i>pūle</i>	a bridge
<i>e</i> : <i>ē</i>	<i>ere</i>	to sweep	<i>ēre</i>	to see
	<i>beku</i>	the stalk	<i>bēku</i>	salt
<i>o</i> : <i>ō</i>	<i>oje</i>	to bring forth	<i>ōje</i>	to twist
	<i>kose</i>	lion	<i>kōse</i>	two miles
<i>a</i> : <i>ā</i>	<i>aʃe</i>	to be spread	<i>āʃe</i>	market
	<i>came</i>	skin	<i>cāme</i>	song

1.2.12. Contrast between high vowel and low vowel

<i>i : e</i>	<i>ete</i>	to go down
	<i>ite</i>	to divide
	<i>tise</i>	sour
	<i>tese</i>	to sift (rice)
	<i>ite</i>	to divide
	<i>apre</i>	small (boy)
	<i>opri</i>	small (girl)
<i>e : a</i>	<i>ēge</i>	to throw away
	<i>āge</i>	you know
	<i>ḍeṅga</i>	a log
	<i>ḍaṅga</i>	elevation
	<i>male</i>	man
	<i>mala</i>	not
<i>u : o</i>	<i>ute</i>	blood-sucking lizard
	<i>ote</i>	to sip
	<i>mōce</i>	to chop
	<i>mūce</i>	to close
	<i>margu</i>	horns
	<i>margo</i>	male-dress
<i>o : a</i>	<i>onde</i>	to cause to drink
	<i>ande</i>	then
	<i>mōqe</i>	to eat
	<i>maqe</i>	boy
	<i>paṭo</i>	worms
	<i>paṭa</i>	honey-comb

1.2.2. CONSONANTS

Consonants in Malto are divided into seven contrastive groups: stops, fricatives, nasals, trill, lateral, flap, and semi-vowels. Stops show a six way contrast in place of their articulation: labial, dental, retroflex, palatal, velar and uvular. They have also a contrast of voicing and unvoicing. Malto has no aspirated stop except in one item *cha* 'six', which is borrowed from Indo-Aryan. [θ] is a dental voiceless fricative. The corresponding voiced sound is absent in the language. [G] is a fortis pronounced deep from the throat. All phonemes have one allophone except [ɳ] and [ɽ].

Pho- neme	Allo- phone.	Description	Environment
<i>p</i>	[p]	bilabial voiceless stop	# - V <i>puju</i> bird V - V <i>lupe</i> to eat V - # <i>kitp</i> rotten
<i>b</i>	[b]	bilabial voiced stop	# - V <i>bālu</i> sand V - V <i>labe</i> better
<i>t</i>	[t]	dental voiceless stop	# - V <i>tūdu</i> tiger V - V <i>āta</i> wear V - # <i>malet</i> by the man
<i>d</i>	[d]	dental voiced stop	# - V <i>dude</i> breast V - V <i>bede</i> to seek V - # <i>dinond</i> oneday
<i>ʈ</i>	[ʈ]	retroflex voiceless stop	# - V <i>ʈuɖi</i> wine V - V <i>gaʈa</i> rope V - # <i>ʈeʈ</i> hand
<i>ɖ</i>	[ɖ]	retroflex voiced stop	# - V <i>ɖaɖe</i> fore V - V <i>beɖo</i> large V - # <i>ɖeɖ</i> one and half

<i>c</i> [c] palatal voiceless stop	#-V	<i>cāme</i>	song
	V-V	<i>pace</i>	old
	V-#	<i>pac</i>	five
<i>j</i> [j] palatal voiced stop	#-V	<i>jagu</i>	rice
	V-V	<i>baje</i>	to strike
	V-#	<i>sajbaj</i>	ornaments
<i>k</i> [k] velar voiceless stop	#-V	<i>kage</i>	comb
	V-V	<i>mūke</i>	knee
	V-#	<i>nodik</i>	to the river
<i>g</i> [g] velar voiced stop	#-V	<i>gole</i>	foreigner
	V-V	<i>muge</i>	baboon
	V-#	<i>aṭig</i>	here
<i>q</i> [q] uvular voiceless stop	#-V	<i>qage</i>	crow
	V-V	<i>muge</i>	frog
	V-#	<i>qoq</i>	back
<i>G</i> [G] uvular voiced stop	V-V	<i>qosGe</i>	thigh
<i>θ</i> [θ] apico-dental voiceless fricative pronounced with the tip of the tongue against the edge of the upper teeth	V-V	<i>maθgi</i>	name of a tree
	V-#	<i>caheθ</i>	tea
<i>s</i> [s] dental voiceless fricative	#-V	<i>saṅgal</i>	with
	V-V	<i>pisi</i>	down
	V-#	<i>iwres</i>	two

<i>h</i>	[<i>h</i>] glottal voiced fricative	#-V	<i>hati</i>	elephant
		V-V	<i>bahano</i>	beside
		V-#	<i>maqeh</i>	the child
<i>m</i>	[<i>m</i>] bilabial nasal	#-V	<i>mēca</i>	wine
		V-V	<i>ēmi</i>	we ourselves
		V-#	<i>tam</i>	they
<i>n</i>	[<i>ṇ</i>] retroflex nasal occurring before a retroflex stop		<i>guṇḍi</i>	dust
	[<i>n</i>] dental nasal occurs elsewhere		<i>nuna</i>	child
			<i>manu</i>	tree
			<i>e ken</i>	I shall go
<i>ṅ</i>	[<i>ṅ</i>] palatal nasal occurring medially when followed by palatals and also finally in mono-syllabic words		<i>gosaṅyi</i>	God
			<i>hoṅ</i>	also
	[<i>ṅ</i>] velar nasal occurs elsewhere		<i>aṅḷ</i>	finger
			<i>paṭraṅ</i>	the wooden slab
<i>r</i>	[<i>r</i>] voiced alveolar trill	#-V	<i>raje</i>	country
		V-V	<i>mēru</i>	illness
		V-#	<i>maler</i>	men
	[<i>R</i>] voiced uvular trill		medially in presence of]G] and]q]	
			<i>oRGu</i>	nail

<i>l</i>	[<i>l</i>] voiced alveolar lateral	# - V	<i>lape</i>	to eat
		V - V	<i>duleli</i>	love
		V - #	<i>saṅgal</i>	with
<i>ɽ</i>	[<i>ɽ</i>] voiced retroflex flap	# - V	<i>eɽu</i>	good
		V - V	<i>baɽ</i>	strong
<i>w</i>	[<i>w</i>] voiced labial	# - V	<i>wa</i>	or
		V - V	<i>bāwn</i>	road
		V - #	<i>cow</i>	like
<i>y</i>	[<i>y</i>] voiced palatal	# - V	<i>yoṅ</i>	yes(interro- gatively)
		V - V	<i>qayr</i>	cock
		V - #	<i>aṅy</i>	thus

Note:- /θ G ṅ ɽ/ do not occur initially and /b G/ do not occur finally. The frequency of occurrence of /h w y/ in initial position and of /ɽ q y d/ in final position is indeed very low. /ṅ/ does not occur intervocally: it contrasts with /m n/ in final position and in medial clusters. For example

<i>ange</i>	to seize tightly
<i>aṅga</i>	shirt
<i>kanku</i>	wood
<i>kaṅcu</i>	tortoise
<i>jamga</i>	a string to hang clothes
<i>jaṅga</i>	part of woman's clothes

1.3. Clusters

1.3.1. GEMINATION

<i>pp</i>	<i>kappe</i>	touched
<i>bb</i>	<i>abba</i>	father
<i>tt</i>	<i>batti</i>	lamp
<i>ɖɖ</i>	<i>aɖɖa</i>	house
<i>cc</i>	<i>kiecca</i>	die
<i>jj</i>	<i>ejju</i>	bear
<i>kk</i>	<i>kakku</i>	head
<i>qq</i>	<i>maqqi</i>	of the girl
<i>ss</i>	<i>unisso</i>	nineteen hundred
<i>ɾɾ</i>	<i>maɾɾo</i>	black
<i>nn</i>	<i>ikonno</i>	when
<i>ll</i>	<i>ulle</i>	day
<i>yy</i>	<i>ayya</i>	mother

1.3.2. CLUSTER OF $C_1 C_2$

1.3.21. Initial Clusters

There is no initial cluster in Malto except in one item which is borrowed from English.

<i>kr-</i>	<i>kristanin</i>	a Christian
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1.3.22. Medial Clusters

All consonants occur as the first member of two consonant-cluster and all except θ and η occur as the second member. $|h|$ very rarely occurs as the second member of the cluster.

<i>pt</i>	<i>laptiren</i>	I cause to eat
<i>pʈ</i>	<i>capʈa</i>	foot

<i>pc</i>	<i>ḍupci</i>	forceibly
<i>pn</i>	<i>capna</i>	shoulder
<i>pr</i>	<i>capri-manu</i>	guava-tree
<i>pr̥</i>	<i>apre</i>	small
<i>pl</i>	<i>paplare</i>	to lie on the back
<i>py</i>	<i>lēpye</i>	to smear
<i>bt</i>	<i>sabte</i>	Sabath
<i>bq</i>	<i>bobqa</i>	jug
<i>bn</i>	<i>gabni</i>	pregnant
<i>br</i>	<i>ḍabri</i>	vat
<i>bs</i>	<i>qobsare</i>	to be disheartened
<i>by</i>	<i>abyasi</i>	custom, habit
<i>tk</i>	<i>etke</i>	having come
<i>tg</i>	<i>putgi</i>	an insect
<i>tG</i>	<i>ātGe</i>	leaf
<i>tn</i>	<i>ketnu</i>	basket
<i>tm</i>	<i>satma</i>	seventh
<i>tr</i>	<i>posietre saba</i>	lies
<i>tl</i>	<i>patli</i>	cooking pan
<i>tw</i>	<i>butwaha</i>	possessed of spirit
<i>ty</i>	<i>jotype</i>	to yoke
<i>dk</i>	<i>padkare</i>	to prattle
<i>dG</i>	<i>nudGo</i>	straight
<i>dm</i>	<i>cowdma</i>	fourteenth
<i>dr</i>	<i>mudra</i>	face
<i>dr̥</i>	<i>qodri</i>	clumsey one

<i>dl</i>	<i>adli</i>	half-rupee coin
<i>dy</i>	<i>adyare</i>	to be excited
<i>tp</i>	<i>ātpo</i>	bed
<i>tk</i>	<i>poṭka</i>	sore
<i>tg</i>	<i>aṭge</i>	near
<i>tG</i>	<i>ṭaṭGe</i>	mango
<i>tn</i>	<i>car qoṭno</i>	four O' clock
<i>tm</i>	<i>aṭma</i>	eighth
<i>tt</i>	<i>ṭeṭtre</i>	to try to be clever
<i>tl</i>	<i>gaṭlen</i>	had I churn (it)
<i>tw</i>	<i>coṭwa</i>	illness
<i>ty</i>	<i>cuṭya</i>	throw (it)
<i>dp</i>	<i>koḍpe</i>	lying down
<i>dk</i>	<i>tuḍki</i>	of the tiger
<i>dn</i>	<i>koḍni</i>	she sleeps
<i>dr</i>	<i>guḍri</i>	ankle
<i>dl</i>	<i>koḍle</i>	past participle of <i>koḍe</i> - to lie down
<i>dw</i>	<i>beḍwa</i>	grand-son
<i>dy</i>	<i>aḍye</i>	male nurse
<i>ct</i>	<i>mecten</i>	superficially
<i>ck</i>	<i>mackare</i>	to be dislocated (bones)
<i>cg</i>	<i>mecge</i>	height
<i>cG</i>	<i>pacGe</i>	old
<i>cn</i>	<i>mocna</i>	pincers
<i>cm</i>	<i>pacma</i>	fifth

<i>cr</i>	<i>acru</i>	thorns
<i>cl</i>	<i>ecle</i>	past participle of <i>eye</i> -to bind
<i>cw</i>	<i>pacwa</i>	fifth
<i>cy</i>	<i>pucya</i>	to undress
<i>jp</i>	<i>bajpeh</i>	the one who has been struck
<i>jn</i>	<i>ujni</i>	alive
<i>jr</i>	<i>ejre</i>	to be awake
<i>jl</i>	<i>menjle</i>	past participle of <i>mene</i> - to be
<i>jw</i>	<i>lajwaha</i>	blushing
<i>jy</i>	<i>jejya</i>	to catch
<i>kp</i>	<i>ekpeh</i>	the one who is going
<i>kb</i>	<i>bakbakre</i>	to prattle
<i>kt</i>	<i>dukta</i>	helpless
<i>kṭ</i>	<i>ukṭare</i>	to engendered
<i>kc</i>	<i>ūkcah</i>	he terrified
<i>kn</i>	<i>cikni</i>	name of an evil spirit
<i>km</i>	<i>ukme</i>	commandment
<i>kr</i>	<i>ḍokrah</i>	bad
<i>kṛ</i>	<i>ukṛa</i>	sweet and dried rice
<i>kl</i>	<i>kakli</i>	affliction
<i>ky</i>	<i>lekye</i>	to count
<i>gd</i>	<i>agdu</i>	in front of
<i>gḍ</i>	<i>mugḍo</i>	leprosy
<i>gc</i>	<i>bagcan</i>	garden
<i>gj</i>	<i>cagje</i>	to divide
<i>gk</i>	<i>lagki</i>	on account of

<i>gn</i>	<i>jagno</i>	in the rice
<i>gr</i>	<i>ɖagraha</i>	wicked
<i>gr</i>	<i>digru</i>	tall
<i>gs</i>	<i>lagsi</i>	to be stopped while falling
<i>gl</i>	<i>agla</i>	first
<i>gy</i>	<i>ʔagye</i>	to deceive
<i>qp</i>	<i>mōqpe</i>	dried leaves of tobacco
<i>qb</i>	<i>maqbalə</i>	childless
<i>qt</i>	<i>maqti</i>	nocturnal
<i>qn</i>	<i>maqno</i>	in the child (locative of <i>maqu</i>)
<i>qm</i>	<i>maqmaqo</i>	small ones
<i>qr</i>	<i>ēqre</i>	to be astonished
<i>qr</i>	<i>coqro</i>	narrow
<i>ql</i>	<i>qeqluθ</i>	earth
<i>qs</i>	<i>maqsa</i>	picture
<i>Gp</i>	<i>puGpe</i>	boiled grain
<i>Gʔ</i>	<i>pūGʔo</i>	swelling
<i>Gj</i>	<i>moGje</i>	to fumigate
<i>Gn</i>	<i>moGnawe</i>	steam-boat
<i>Gr</i>	<i>meGri</i>	elder daughter
<i>Gl</i>	<i>ceGlu</i>	small branches, twigs
<i>Gs</i>	<i>baGse</i>	to give away
<i>Gy</i>	<i>nēGye</i>	to breathe
<i>θk</i>	<i>kiθke</i>	to mince
<i>θg</i>	<i>biθge</i>	to expand
<i>θq</i>	<i>poθqe</i>	to be soft

<i>θr</i>	<i>mōθre</i>	to forget
<i>θw</i>	<i>taθwe</i>	to quench thirst or to put off the fire
<i>θy</i>	<i>puθye</i>	to pour in a vessel
<i>mb</i>	<i>ambe</i>	to leave
<i>mt</i>	<i>amte</i>	to bathe (some one)
<i>mđ</i>	<i>qemđe</i>	to carry
<i>mc</i>	<i>kamci</i>	name of a tree
<i>mj</i>	<i>amjore</i>	water moving downwards, fountain
<i>mk</i>	<i>umku</i>	chaff
<i>mg</i>	<i>paṃge</i>	to keep legs apart
<i>mq</i>	<i>cumqe</i>	to kiss
<i>mn</i>	<i>amno</i>	in water
<i>mr</i>	<i>diṃdimra</i>	a kind of noise
<i>mṛ</i>	<i>umṛara</i>	stifling weather
<i>ml</i>	<i>ḍamla</i>	buttocks
<i>my</i>	<i>amye</i>	to bathe (one self)
<i>np</i>	<i>jinpe</i>	to be clear
<i>nd</i>	<i>ponda</i>	wrist
<i>nṭ</i>	<i>kaṇṭa</i>	necklace made of glass beads
<i>nđ</i>	<i>unḍare</i>	fox
<i>nc</i>	<i>qanceqri</i>	squint-eyed
<i>nj</i>	<i>menja</i>	to be
<i>nk</i>	<i>kanku</i>	wood
<i>ng</i>	<i>atlonge</i>	to acquire

<i>nq</i>	<i>qonqe</i>	the bend the knees
<i>nG</i>	<i>tunGe</i>	to collect
<i>nl</i>	<i>inle</i>	thus
<i>nw</i>	<i>janwaren</i>	animals
<i>ny</i>	<i>munyo</i>	nose
<i>ñd</i>	<i>bañda</i>	sugar-cane
<i>ñc</i>	<i>kañou</i>	tortoise
<i>ñk</i>	<i>tañki</i>	own
<i>ñg</i>	<i>añgli</i>	finger
<i>ñq</i>	<i>deñqu</i>	nanther
<i>ñG</i>	<i>teñGe</i>	to relate
<i>ñl</i>	<i>popoñlare</i>	to float
<i>ñr</i>	<i>joñra</i>	miser
<i>ñs</i>	<i>sañsi</i>	marrow of bones
<i>ñh</i>	<i>qoñhe</i>	to cut down
<i>ñw</i>	<i>tañwaya</i>	elder brother
<i>ñy</i>	<i>munye</i>	rabbit
<i>rp</i>	<i>erpo</i>	broom-stick
<i>rb</i>	<i>orbe</i>	to fall in shower
<i>rt</i>	<i>ortaqadi</i>	only one
<i>rd</i>	<i>dordo</i>	thick, condensed
<i>rc</i>	<i>parce</i>	to shine brightly
<i>rj</i>	<i>perjeri</i>	name of a bird
<i>rk</i>	<i>kirki</i>	window
<i>rg</i>	<i>arge</i>	to climb
<i>rq</i>	<i>porqe</i>	soft

<i>rG</i>	<i>orGu</i>	nail
<i>rm</i>	<i>kurmi</i>	hot
<i>rl</i>	<i>śorlare</i>	to fall down to go far
<i>rr</i>	<i>carcarre</i>	a noise caused by fire
<i>rs</i>	<i>murse</i>	man
<i>rh</i>	<i>nerhe</i>	breath
<i>rw</i>	<i>tarwali</i>	sword
<i>ry</i>	<i>suryo</i>	top
<i>rp</i>	<i>sarpa</i>	big
<i>rb</i>	<i>barbalo</i>	weak
<i>rt</i>	<i>ertu</i>	bow
<i>rd</i>	<i>urde</i>	to satisfy
<i>rt</i>	<i>tar̥ta</i>	tongue
<i>rk</i>	<i>orka</i>	the first in a row
<i>rg</i>	<i>narge</i>	a bug
<i>rq</i>	<i>qarqe</i>	bitter
<i>rG</i>	<i>qorGo</i>	the comb of a cock
<i>rm</i>	<i>kar̥me</i>	waist
<i>rl</i>	<i>or̥la</i>	the chief in a row
<i>rs</i>	<i>ar̥si</i>	hard
<i>rw</i>	<i>er̥we</i>	to worship
<i>ry</i>	<i>er̥ye</i>	to parch grain
<i>rh</i>	<i>ber̥he</i>	cat
<i>sp</i>	<i>ispe</i>	torn
<i>st</i>	<i>pisti</i>	the lower
<i>sc</i>	<i>asca</i>	he chiseled

<i>sk</i>	<i>teski</i>	clever
<i>sg</i>	<i>musga</i>	rub
<i>sq</i>	<i>qesqere</i>	to be provoked (Literally : to have the blood heated)
<i>sG</i>	<i>nisGe</i>	to smooth
<i>sn</i>	<i>nasnu</i>	garlic
<i>sm</i>	<i>dasma</i>	tenth
<i>sr</i>	<i>qosre</i>	thigh
<i>sl</i>	<i>paslaha</i>	false, lie
<i>sw</i>	<i>uswe</i>	foot-prints
<i>sy</i>	<i>asye</i>	to chisel
<i>lp</i>	<i>bilpu</i>	moon
<i>lt</i>	<i>malto</i>	Malto language
<i>ld</i>	<i>dadaldo</i>	marshy land
<i>lʃ</i>	<i>ulʃi</i>	inside
<i>lc</i>	<i>elce</i>	to fear
<i>lk</i>	<i>kalkase</i>	to covet
<i>lg</i>	<i>ulgare</i>	to recur (illness)
<i>lq</i>	<i>melqe</i>	throat
<i>lG</i>	<i>malGe</i>	to draw water
<i>ln</i>	<i>kalni</i>	she goes
<i>lm</i>	<i>talmi</i>	palm-tree
<i>lr</i>	<i>tilra</i>	walk
<i>lw</i>	<i>alwaha</i>	restless
<i>ly</i>	<i>mālye</i>	to rub
<i>hp</i>	<i>behpore</i>	Thursday

<i>hj</i>	<i>sohjare</i>	to be turned round to the face
<i>hn</i>	<i>gahna</i>	eclipse
<i>hm</i>	<i>mahmare</i>	to smell sweet
<i>hl</i>	<i>mahla</i>	name of an animal
<i>hr</i>	<i>a pahrano</i>	at that time
<i>hɽ</i>	<i>lahɽa</i>	straw
<i>hw</i>	<i>cahwa</i>	chin
<i>hy</i>	<i>dahyaro</i>	name of a bird
<i>wt</i>	<i>cowta</i>	fourth
<i>wd</i>	<i>pawdare</i>	village official, watchman
<i>wk</i>	<i>dawke</i>	glory
<i>wg</i>	<i>kawge</i>	to bend
<i>wq</i>	<i>ɖawqe</i>	the abdomen
<i>wG</i>	<i>awGe</i>	to expose to heat
<i>wn</i>	<i>pawno</i>	in the road
<i>wm</i>	<i>nawma</i>	ninth
<i>wl</i>	<i>bawlaha</i>	mad
<i>wr</i>	<i>cawru</i>	the entrails
<i>wɽ</i>	<i>jawɽa</i>	a string
<i>ws</i>	<i>qawse</i>	to jingle
<i>wy</i>	<i>cāwye</i>	to cover with leather
<i>yp</i>	<i>cuype</i>	women's dress
<i>yk</i>	<i>keyku</i>	die (a curse)
<i>yr</i>	<i>qoyru</i>	cock
<i>yl</i>	<i>koyla</i>	coal

1.3.23. *Final Clusters.*

<i>tp</i>	<i>kaɪp</i>	exceedingly
<i>ql</i>	<i>qeql</i>	earth
<i>nd</i>	<i>banhond</i>	one
<i>nj</i>	<i>menj</i>	to make
<i>nθ</i>	<i>manθ</i>	the tree
<i>mθ</i>	<i>amθ</i>	the water
<i>ŋg</i>	<i>niŋg</i>	your
<i>ŋy</i>	<i>āŋy</i>	thus
<i>rG</i>	<i>merG</i>	sky
<i>ɾs</i>	<i>muɾs</i>	male

1.3.3. CLUSTERS OF $C_1 C_2 C_3$ 1.3.31. *Medial Clusters*

<i>ptr</i>	<i>laptre</i>	to feed
<i>btr</i>	<i>ɖibtre</i>	to strike
<i>ttr</i>	<i>ettre</i>	to bring
<i>tck</i>	<i>jotcke behe</i>	to be in readiness
<i>trp</i>	<i>banatrpən</i>	made
<i>ʃkr</i>	<i>pɪʃkri</i>	alum
<i>ʃGr</i>	<i>eʃGre</i>	to be broken
<i>ʃgn</i>	<i>baʃgni</i>	a virgin
<i>ʃtr</i>	<i>uʃtre</i>	to cause to fall
<i>ɖtr</i>	<i>biɖtre</i>	to couse to shoot forth
<i>cGr</i>	<i>ɪcGre</i>	to get loose
<i>cGl</i>	<i>picGlo</i>	loosely dressed
<i>clk</i>	<i>qoclkī</i>	of bone
<i>crk</i>	<i>bicrke</i>	to let go

<i>jtr</i>	<i>majtra</i>	the middle one
<i>jry</i>	<i>ejryah</i>	woke up
<i>ktr</i>	<i>ḡcktraθ</i>	made one to live
<i>gtr</i>	<i>cigtre</i>	to creep
<i>gck</i>	<i>lagcki</i>	for
<i>qtr</i>	<i>moqtraθ</i>	(he) caused (me) to eat
<i>qln</i>	<i>qeqlno</i>	in the earth
<i>qwr</i>	<i>qaqwreniθ</i>	she took
<i>Gtr</i>	<i>eGtre</i>	to make cool
<i>θgr</i>	<i>caθgre</i>	to sip
<i>θGr</i>	<i>poθGre</i>	to come out
<i>θql</i>	<i>poθqlare</i>	to become soft
<i>θkr</i>	<i>kiθkre</i>	to blossom
<i>npr</i>	<i>jinpro</i>	bright
<i>ntr</i>	<i>pantre</i>	a lonely place
<i>ndk</i>	<i>qendke</i>	taking with
<i>ndr</i>	<i>kandra</i>	sleep
<i>ndy</i>	<i>mandyah</i>	he hurried
<i>nḡb</i>	<i>ḡenḡbari</i>	carelessly
<i>nḡk</i>	<i>bijn-binḡke</i>	morning star
<i>nḡg</i>	<i>ganḡgohari</i>	name of a snake
<i>nḡr</i>	<i>anḡr-naqah</i>	he met
<i>nḡw</i>	<i>kanḡware</i>	a manger
<i>nḡy</i>	<i>ganḡyo</i>	body
<i>njp</i>	<i>kanjpe</i>	fruit
<i>njr</i>	<i>qanjre</i>	to spit

<i>njy</i>	<i>menjyaθ</i>	he created
<i>ngr</i>	<i>tungre</i>	to assemble
<i>nqr</i>	<i>inqrese</i>	to force phlegm from the throat
<i>nGj</i>	<i>palanGje</i>	cucumber
<i>nGl</i>	<i>unGlare</i>	to feel nausea
<i>n Gr</i>	<i>canGro</i>	rotten
<i>mbl</i>	<i>bemblaha</i>	stupid
<i>mbr</i>	<i>bombro</i>	deep-toned
<i>mbr̥</i>	<i>ɖambɾare</i>	to widen
<i>mtr</i>	<i>jimtre</i>	to bring into danger
<i>mdr</i>	<i>samdreki</i>	of sea
<i>mkr</i>	<i>ɖemkro</i>	half-ripe
<i>mgr</i>	<i>umgro</i>	humble
<i>mgl</i>	<i>bimglu</i>	name of a tree
<i>mGr</i>	<i>namGre</i>	to cherish revenge
<i>ṇdr</i>	<i>goṇdraṇɾe</i>	the yolk of an egg
<i>ṇɿy</i>	<i>bāṇɿye</i>	to divide
<i>ṇɖr</i>	<i>kūṇɖre</i>	to scratch oneself
<i>ṇjq</i>	<i>iṇjqotre</i>	to break by pelting
<i>ṇgp</i>	<i>teṇgpeth</i>	which has been said
<i>ṇgɿ</i>	<i>gaṇgɿi</i>	gravel
<i>ṇgɖ</i>	<i>eṇgɖo</i>	my younger brother
<i>ṇgk</i>	<i>eṇgken</i>	me
<i>ṇgl</i>	<i>aṇgle</i>	to gape
<i>ṇgs</i>	<i>ɖeṇgseye</i>	to jest

<i>ngr</i>	<i>ciṅgret</i>	holding with the tip of the fingers
<i>ṅgr</i>	<i>laṅgre</i>	an anchor
<i>ṅgw</i>	<i>laṅgwa</i>	an adulterer
<i>ṅgy</i>	<i>laṅgye</i>	to leap over
<i>ṅGp</i>	<i>boṅGponti</i>	in one run
<i>ṅGj</i>	<i>ceṅGje</i>	to show mercy
<i>ṅGl</i>	<i>bāṅGlu</i>	leisure
<i>ṅGr</i>	<i>eṅGrīya</i>	a kind of lizard
<i>ṅrp</i>	<i>daṅrpi</i>	mouse-trap
<i>ṅrt</i>	<i>guṅrta</i>	a kind of bow
<i>ṅrc</i>	<i>kuṅrci</i>	a name of a tree
<i>ṅrk</i>	<i>caṅrke</i>	lightening
<i>ṅrq</i>	<i>ciṅrqo</i>	a bat
<i>ṅrs</i>	<i>paṅrsa</i>	jack-fruit
<i>ṅrh</i>	<i>gaṅrhin</i>	very much
<i>ṅry</i>	<i>kuṅrya</i>	a miser
<i>ṅyt</i>	<i>kaṅyt-qote</i>	the wood-apple
<i>ṅyr</i>	<i>ceṅyro</i>	scented
<i>spr</i>	<i>espro</i>	a fan
<i>str</i>	<i>kastre</i>	to crush
<i>skr</i>	<i>laskre</i>	an army
<i>sgr</i>	<i>musgre</i>	to be closed up
<i>sGr</i>	<i>bisGre</i>	to rest when tired
<i>swr</i>	<i>eswre</i>	to fan
<i>ltr</i>	<i>baltre</i>	to cut

<i>lgr</i>	<i>ēlgre</i>	to be left behind
<i>lqr</i>	<i>lulqre</i>	to disappear
<i>lGr</i>	<i>ēlGre</i>	to show the back side
<i>lGp</i>	<i>olGpuru</i>	a child constantly crying
<i>lnd</i>	<i>silnda</i>	name of a fish
<i>lŋg</i>	<i>palŋgare</i>	to jump over
<i>lqq</i>	<i>olqqe</i>	weeping
<i>rtr</i>	<i>kirtre</i>	to give back
<i>rtn</i>	<i>martni</i>	bad one (woman)
<i>rck</i>	<i>darcke</i>	holding
<i>rkr</i>	<i>murkre</i>	to cross a river, to cut
<i>rgr</i>	<i>nurgre</i>	to move onwards
<i>rgy</i>	<i>argyah</i>	he climbed
<i>rqq</i>	<i>merqqi</i>	of sky
<i>rGr</i>	<i>hirGre</i>	to be mixed
<i>rŋg</i>	<i>borŋga</i>	onion
<i>rmp</i>	<i>gurmbi</i>	wild melon
<i>rwr</i>	<i>qarwre</i>	to be bruished or hurt
<i>rpl</i>	<i>jurplu</i>	a bush
<i>rck</i>	<i>ercki</i>	brilliantly
<i>rɕy</i>	<i>orɕya</i>	roasted
<i>rkr</i>	<i>karkre</i>	to lighten
<i>rgr</i>	<i>kurgre</i>	to be gathered up
<i>rGp</i>	<i>erGpo</i>	a bar to fasten a mat-door
<i>rGr</i>	<i>qarGrandeθ</i>	fermented
<i>rsm</i>	<i>murɕmaqe</i>	male child
<i>ryp</i>	<i>jurype</i>	betrothed

<i>htr</i>	<i>pehtre</i>	to lift
<i>hnd</i>	<i>gahnḡin</i>	all, many
<i>wtr</i>	<i>ewtre</i>	to loose
<i>wgr</i>	<i>kawgre</i>	to be built
<i>wGl</i>	<i>ewGleṭe</i>	to cause wonder
<i>ytr</i>	<i>keytre</i>	to let die

1.3. 4. CLUSTERS OF $C_1C_2C_3C_4$

1.3.41. Medial Clusters

In four consonant clusters $\dot{d} g q \theta n \dot{n} m l r r$ and w can occur in the first position, $n l r y$ and all stops except \dot{t} occur in the second position, $\dot{t} g q G r$ and y occur in the third position and $k n m l r$ and y occur in the fourth position.

<i>\dot{d}grl</i>	<i>a\dot{d}grlor</i>	shall not perish
<i>\dot{d}ytr</i>	<i>bi\dot{d}ytre</i>	to cause to shine
<i>grtr</i>	<i>\bar{e}grtre</i>	to overfill
<i>qtrk</i>	<i>piq-piqtrke</i>	tightly
<i>qltr</i>	<i>caqltre</i>	to cause the legs to be stretched apart
<i>\theta qtr</i>	<i>co\theta qtre</i>	to melt
<i>\theta Gtr</i>	<i>po\theta Gtroti</i>	having come out
<i>\theta rtr</i>	<i>mu\theta rtre</i>	to scorch
<i>nptr</i>	<i>jinp̄tre</i>	to clean
<i>ndGr</i>	<i>mundGre</i>	to be lost
<i>ndrm</i>	<i>pandrma</i>	fifteenth
<i>ndry</i>	<i>kandryah</i>	he slept

<i>nḍtr</i>	<i>pinḍtre</i>	to play musical instrument
<i>nḍGl</i>	<i>unḍGler</i>	brothers
<i>njqł</i>	<i>junjqłu</i>	a small bush
<i>njyn</i>	<i>banjyne</i>	barren (woman)
<i>ṅgtr</i>	<i>ciṅgtre</i>	to make a wry face
<i>ṅgry</i>	<i>oṅgryaθ</i>	finished
<i>mbtr</i>	<i>embtre</i>	to habituate to a taste
<i>mbgr</i>	<i>cumbgro</i>	closed
<i>mbGr</i>	<i>lembGre</i>	to crawl
<i>mkrn</i>	<i>kamkrni</i>	maid-servant
<i>mqtr</i>	<i>umqtre</i>	to cause fruits to ripe
<i>łtr</i>	<i>elłtre</i>	to terrify
<i>łGtr</i>	<i>olGtru</i>	a kind of moth
<i>rctr</i>	<i>perctre</i>	to squash
<i>rgtr</i>	<i>cargtrot</i>	to cause you to climb
<i>rqtr</i>	<i>jarqtre</i>	to drop
<i>rGtr</i>	<i>erGtre</i>	to force another to pay his debts
<i>rytr</i>	<i>carytre</i>	to teach to walk
<i>rktr</i>	<i>orktre</i>	to satisfy
<i>rqtr</i>	<i>carqtre</i>	to throw down
<i>řGrp</i>	<i>qařGrpeno</i>	in the firmament
<i>wqtr</i>	<i>řawqtre</i>	to swallow up

1.3.5. CLUSTERS OF C₁ C₂ C₃ C₄ C₅

1.3.51. Medial Clusters

<i>trwrp</i>	<i>otrwrpeθ</i>	taken out, made of
<i>ndrtr</i>	<i>qandrtre</i>	to cause to sleep

<i>ñGjtr</i>	<i>ceñGjtre</i>	to cause to feel pity
<i>rñgtr</i>	<i>sirñgtre</i>	to speak in a high pitched voice

1.4. Transition Features

Internal open transition]- | separates phonological words within a phonological phrase. Normal transition from one segmental phoneme to another in a phonological word is unmarked.

Phrase-final pause /|/

Utterance initial and final silence /||/

Eg.

tuḍki - elcet | ēn kanke gohen ambkien ||

tiger's fear I wood cutting left

I have given up cutting wood because of the fear of tiger

1.5. Final contours

↘ Mid-falling *ayyaki duleliḥ eñge qaqaraloḥ*
I did not get mother's love

↓ Low-rising *niñki namiḥ indruḥ*
What is your name

↑ High-falling *aṛe gobinde bartin mena*
Oh, Gobinda, come here.

1.6. Stress

Stress is not phonemic in Malto. A syllable containing a long vowel is always stressed e.g. *qēn* 'guiltless'. In two consecutive syllables when both have long vowels then the last one is stressed.

1.7. Syllable

1.7.1. SYLLABLE TYPES

V	<i>a-ta</i>	wear
CV	<i>ja-ra</i>	rain-water
VC	<i>ik-ko</i>	where
CVC	<i>jar-mar ki en</i>	I was born
CCV	<i>arg-tro-ti</i>	to cause to climb
VCC	<i>arg-tro-ti</i>	to cause to climb
CVCC	<i>tund-ni</i>	you pour water
CCVC	<i>kand-ryah</i>	he slept
VCCC	<i>undG-ler</i>	brothers
CVCCC	<i>pandr-ma</i>	fifteenth
VCCCC	<i>otrwr-peθ</i>	taken out, made of

The last one is extremely rare.

1.7.2. SYLLABIFICATION

1. If a V follows a C in a word then forms syllable.
2. In words with $C_1 C_2$ cluster the syllable division falls between C_1 and C_2 .
3. In words with $C_1 C_2 C_3$ cluster the syllable division falls after C_2 .
4. In words with $C_1 C_2 C_3 C_4$ the syllable division falls after C_3 but if C_4 is *r y* then after C_2 .
5. In five consonant cluster, which are very few indeed, the syllable boundary is after the fourth consonant if the fifth is not a *r*.

2. Morphophonemics

2.1. Phonologically Conditioned

2.1.1. ... $\left[\begin{smallmatrix} q \\ G \end{smallmatrix} \right] + k \rightarrow .. qq$

maq + *ki* → *maqqi* of the boy

merG + *ki* → *merqqi* of the sky

2.1.2. ... $V_1CV_2 + r \rightarrow Cer$

$V_2 \rightarrow e$

peei + *r* *peler* women

maqi + *r* *maqer* boys

but *male* + *r* *maler* men

malni + *r* *malnir* women

2.2. Morphologically Conditioned

2.2.1. - V + any suffix → ϕ + any suffix.

- When -V is not preceded by a consonant cluster.

māqe + *ti* → *māqti* nocturnal

pupu + *cow* → *pupcow* flower-like

Limitations: if the V is *a* V is not lost

aḡa + *tāwe* → *aḡatāwe* master of a house

2.2.2. DECLENSION

1. Non-masculine inanimate nouns ending in *u* lose the last vowel during declension.

.... *u* + case-endings $\rightarrow \phi$ + case endings

manu + *kī* \rightarrow *manki* of the tree

2.2.3. CONJUGATION

2.2.31. *Present Tense*

Stem + *i* + *u* $\left[\begin{array}{c} i \\ e \end{array} \right] \rightarrow$ stem + zero + *n* $\left[\begin{array}{c} l \\ e \end{array} \right]$

nin *tunḍne* you see

tunḍni you (female) see

but *ēn* *tunḍin* I see

2.2.32. *Past Tense*

1. Past morpheme *-k-* \rightarrow zero when followed by *a*

2. *-k-* + *er* \rightarrow *ar*

band + *k* + *er* \rightarrow *bandar* they pulled

2.2.33. *Optative Mood*

Second person singular

-o- + *ne* \rightarrow *o* + ϕ

tunḍ + *o* + *ne* \rightarrow *tunḍo* had you seen

3. Nominals

The nominal system includes Substantives, Adjectives and Pronouns.

3.1. Substantives

3.1.1. SUBSTANTIVES ARE CLASSIFIED INTO TWO CLASSES

- i. Masculine
- ii. Non-masculine.

Masculine substantives are marked by *-h* in nominative case singular and non-masculine substantives are marked by \emptyset in nominative singular.

Non-masculine substantives can be further sub-divided into

- a. feminine
- b. neuter.

Feminine substantives take *-r* as plural marker while non-feminine substantives do not take *-r* as plural marker.

E.g.	i.	<i>maleh</i>	the man
	ii.	<i>peli\emptyset</i>	the woman
		<i>tuδu\emptyset</i>	the tiger
	a.	<i>peler</i>	women
	b.	<i>cac gahnηi</i>	many stones

3.1.2. PLURALISATION

Substantives take part in a system of two numbers: singular and plural. Substantives are pluralised by adding *-r* to the stem. Neuter nouns have no plurals. They take certain suffixes to denote the sense of many.

$\{-r\} \infty -r, \infty -ri$

-r in nominative and genitive case stems.

-ri in other stems.

3.1 3. CASE

There are seven cases in Malto,

In nominative the case morpheme for masculine stems is $\{-h\}$ and for non-masculine stems $\{\emptyset\}$

$\{\emptyset\} \quad \emptyset \infty \emptyset$

\emptyset after vowels.

\emptyset after consonants

For other cases the followings are the case-morphemes,

Genitive	<i>-ki</i>
Accusative	<i>-n \infty -en</i>
Dative	<i>-k \infty -ik</i>
Instrumental	<i>-t \infty -et</i>
Ablative	<i>-nte \infty ente</i>
Locative	<i>-no \infty eno</i>

Forms beginning in a vowel are added to stems ending in a consonant.

Stems in plural for oblique cases, except genitive. is

Stem + ri-

e.g. *malerit* by the man

3.1.31. Examples of cases

<i>Nominative</i>	<i>ort maleh dokyah</i> here lived a man
<i>Genitive</i>	<i>ayyaki duleliθ enge qaqorlaθ</i> I did not get mother's love
<i>Accusative</i>	<i>i maleh enge a toqen etar</i> this man showed me that hill
<i>Dative</i>	<i>ēn nadik ekin</i> I go to the river
<i>Instrumental</i>	<i>a maqe caret maqond pujeθ piṭiyah</i> that boy killek one bird by an arrow
<i>Ablative</i>	<i>tigeθ manmecante uṭraθ</i> the monkey fell from the tree
<i>Locative</i>	<i>eṅg aḍḍano dudeθ malla</i> I have no milk in the house

3.2. Pronouns

The sub-classes of pronouns are : personal, demonstrative, interrogative, indefinite and reflexive.

3.2.1. PERSONAL PRONOUNS

Pronouns which are exclusively personal refer to first and second person. In the first person plural there is a distinction between inclusive and exclusive. In singular both first person and second person pronouns has two shapes.

{ *ēn* } *ēn* ∞ *eŋ-*

{ *nīn* } *nīn* ∞ *niŋ*

The first shape occurs in nominative and the second is the base for oblique cases.

In plural there is only one shape for all cases.

First person : *ēm* (exclusive)

nām (inclusive)

Second person : *nīm*

Personal pronouns take all the case-markers of a substantive except that in dative it takes *-e*.

3.2.11. Examples

ēn kusumghaṭi qepno jarmaṛkien

I was born in Kusumghati village

eŋg abbaṭ a joka aḍḍano ḍokih

My father lives in that small house

eŋgki namiṭ deba

My name is Deba

nīm aḍḍano ḍokku ēm ḍaḍek ekem

You stay in the house, we will go to the jungle

nām puju piṭoti eket

We (all) go to kill birds

nām iwreṭ eket

We (two) will go

niŋge ēn kuḍ oken aṇṇsro nanin

I shall greatly multiply your sorrow

niŋgki namiṭ indruṭ

What is your name?

i maleh enġen a toġen etar

his man showed me that hill.

nin sahebġanjek ekene?

Will you go to Shahibġang ?

eġgente beġo bayi doġih

I have an elder sister.

3.2.111. Notes

In genitive two forms are in free variation: the oblique base form e.g. *eġ*, *niġ* etc. and the base form plus the genitive case marker *-ki*. e.g. *eġki*, *niġki* etc.,

In the nominative base form the vowel in the pronominal form is long. It changes to a corresponding short vowel in oblique case. For example *ēn* 'I' *eġ* 'me'.

3.2.2. DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUN

Demonstrative pronouns are of two types.

a. Proximal : *ī* this

b. Distant : *ā* that

They have gender distinction in nominative singular only.

<i>ih</i>	<i>maleh</i>	this man
<i>ā0</i>	<i>peli0</i>	that woman

ī and *ā* have two different shapes in nominatives and in other cases.

<i>ī-</i>	<i>īhi-</i>
<i>ā</i>	<i>āhi-</i>

<i>ī</i> and <i>ā-</i>	for nominative
<i>ihī</i> and <i>āhī</i>	for other cases

In plural *ī-* and *ā-* for nominative and
iri- and *āri-* for other cases.

In genitive both the base form and the base form plus genitive case marker are in free variation. e.g.

<i>ihiki</i>	of this one
<i>ihī</i>	of this one

Like the personal pronouns *ī* and *ā* lose their vowel length in oblique case stems.

3.2.21. *Derivative Demonstrative Pronouns*

Three more pronominal forms can be derived from *ī* and *ā* by prefixation and suffixation.

<i>Prefix</i>	<i>Demonstrative Pronouns</i>	<i>Suffix</i>
<i>n-</i>	<i>ī-</i> <i>ā-</i>	<i>-w</i>

n- can be prefixed with *ā* only.

-w can be suffixed with both but not with any if it is prefixed with *n-*

- a. *nā* is emphatic and usually it is employed when the person or persons referred to is or are present.
- b. *īw* and *āw* suggest most near or further relations but usually they are in free variation with *ī* and *ā*. They are usually doubled and the case marker is put at the end.

3.2.22. *Notes and examples:*

Unlike personal pronouns demonstrative pronouns take all the case-markers that substantives take.

<i>āh goṛo meca okih</i>	he (that man) sits on a horse
<i>ahik i ʃakan ciya</i>	give this rupee to him
<i>ahiki taṅgbaya</i>	his brother
<i>iθ moqjokereθ</i>	it was good for food
<i>āθ tunḍiθ</i>	she it sees
<i>ahi teho</i>	his mother
<i>iθ eṅgeki qoclki qocl</i>	this (she) is bone of my bone
<i>nāh awḍyah</i>	that one said
<i>āw āwen piṭku</i>	kill those (animals)

3.2.3. INTERROGATIVE PRONOUNS

The interrogative pronouns are *nēre* 'who', *indru* 'what', *ike* 'which'.

nēre has three forms in the nominative, *nēre-*, *nēri-* and *nē-*.

The first one is masculine and the other two are non-masculines.

In oblique they have only one form *nēk-*.

ike has three forms *ike-*, *iki-* and *iku-* in nominative.

ike- is masculine and the other two are non-masculines.

Non-masculines can be divided into feminine and neuter. *ne-* and *iku-* are neuters.

3.2.31. *Pluralisation*

nēre is pluralised by adding *-r* in nominative. *nēre-* in oblique and *indru-* and *ike-* in all cases are pluralised by doubling the base and then adding *-r*.

3.2.32. *Examples*

<i>nereh barcah ?</i>	who has come?
<i>ninki namiθ indruθ?</i>	what is your name?
<i>neθ ekeniθ?</i>	who will go?
<i>ik maqeh coṭwaryah?</i>	which boy has fallen ill?
<i>are raja, nimaḍḍano neken</i> <i>ḍoktrine?</i>	Oh king, whom do you keep in your house?
<i>ikik maqer?</i>	which boys?

3.2.33. *Notes*

ik and *ikik* in the sentences above are adjectively employed. They are pronouns because they can substitute the phrases *ik maqeh* and *ikik maqeh* and when they do so they will take the case markers of the substantive *ikeh* and *ikiker*.

3.2.4. INDEFINITE PRONOUNS

The indefinite pronouns are formed by adding *goṭe* and *beḍi* to *nēre*, *indru* and *ike*. Base with *goṭe* means 'any one' and the pronominal base with *beḍi* means 'some one'. The structure of the indefinite pronouns are shown below.

Nominative singular and plural

Interrogative pronouns + case markers + *goṭe/beḍi*

In oblique cases

Interrogative pronouns + case markers + *goṭe*

Interrogative pronouns + *beḍi* + case-markers

It is difficult to decide whether these forms are to be treated rather as adjective phrases or pronominal phrases. In certain cases they clearly are adjectivals, e.g.

ik pawuṭ goṭe aḡg malaṭ

any road (is) near not

ikiṭ goṭe is not a pronominal: *ik* is an adjective and *goṭe* is a suffix denoting indefiniteness. But in cases where *beḍi* forms the part of the stem e. g. *ikibeḍin* to some of them but *beḍi* is not only used after the case markers in nominative but also in other cases i.e. *ikibeḍin* and *iken beḍi* both are in free-variation

3.2.41. Examples

ikebeḍi maleh barcah

some body came

indrubeḍi jagu

some rice

ēn neken goṭe ṭuṇḍleken

I did not see any one

aleṭ ike beḍi aḍḍante māke

the dog from some

qadekiṭ ondraṭ

house has stolen
the piece meat and
brought it.

3.2.42. Notes

Droese in his grammar mentioned of possessive pronouns and reflexive pronouns in Malto. None of these occur in this language. What Droese described as possessive pronoun is the genitive forms of the personal pronouns and also of the demonstratives.

The so-called reflexive pronouns *ēni* 'myself' *nini* 'yourself' *ēmi* 'ourselves' *nāmi* 'ourselves' (inclusive) *nimi* 'yourselves' are, I consider, the personal pronominal forms plus an emphatic particle *-i*. *ēn-i* means 'I'

ēn-i i taṭGen ondrkien I brought this mango

Droese also refers to *tāni* 'himself' and *tāmi* 'themselves'. This is very interesting. In modern Malto *-tani* is a suffix meaning 'possessed of, possessor'. But *tani* or *tami* are probably out of use. According to Droese *tani* and *tam* have *taṅg* and *tam* in genitive. In certain contexts I found *taṅg* 'his'. For example *taṅbaya* 'elder brother', *taṅḍo* 'younger brother', *ionki aḍḍak* 'to his house'. It is historically interesting because it seems there was a forum *tan* 'he' and *tam* 'they' (compare *er/em*, *nir/nim*), at some stage of the language vestiges of which still linger. *tāni* and *tāmi*, I consider, as combination of *tān-i* and *tām-i* and can be translated as 'he himself' and 'they themselves' respectively.

3.3. Adjectives

Adjectives in Malto are syntactic class of words. Structurally they are of two types:

- a. substantive base e.g. *bana* 'bad'
- b. derived base
 - b.i. derived from substantives e.g. *qeso* 'bloody' or 'red'
 - b.ii. derived from verbs e.g. *bajpeh* (*malch*) '(the men) who has been struck'
 - b.iii. derived from pronominals. e.g. *merGani* 'heavenly'.

a. These can be used both attributively and predicatively

For example *qeso aṅga* red shirt
 ḍero barino in the crooked hand
 qeqlu tunḍno qeqlu arsi
 looking at the earth the earth
 (seems) a hard place
 i peliṭ sundriṭ this girl is pretty.

In predicative position the adjective takes the case-marker while in attributive position it undergoes no change.

Adjectives in this class include several substantives, the cardinal numerals, and the pronominals.

b.i., ii., iii. Adjectives can be derived from substantives, verbs and pronominals by employing the following suffixes.

-o	<i>quesu</i>	blood	<i>qeso</i>	red
-ta	<i>duke</i>	distress	<i>dukta</i>	poor
-ti	<i>māqi</i>	night	<i>māqti</i>	nocturnal
-balo	<i>toro</i>	mouth	<i>torobalo</i>	mouthless
-wa	<i>cōṭe</i>	illness	<i>cōṭwa</i>	ill

-awe -tawe (-awe after consonants and -tawe after vowels)
aḍḍatawe 'house-possessing' i.e. some who has a house.

qepawe '(one who) belongs to a village'

-ani -tani (-ani after consonants and -tani after vowels)
merGu 'sky' *merGani* 'heavenly'

(*merGani dute* 'angel')

akil 'knowledge' *akiltani* 'wise'

Both -awe -tawe and -ani -tani mean 'belonging to possessed of' and both are derived from pronominals. The only distinction between -awe and -ani is that one is masculine and the other is feminine.

-cow	<i>pup</i>	flower	<i>pupcow</i>	flower-like
	<i>iθi</i>	of this	<i>iθicow</i>	of this kind
	<i>iθicow</i>	<i>cijen ondra</i>	bring things of this kind	

The following two suffixes are used to form adjective participles (see participles 4.9.31) from verbs.

-u	<i>baje</i>	to strike	<i>baju</i>	the striking one
-pe			<i>bajpe</i>	the struck one
	<i>onpe amu</i>		the water	which has been drunk
	<i>hongu goɾoθ</i>		the running	horse
	<i>boŋpe maqer</i>		the runaway	boys
	<i>(boŋgp maqer)</i>			

Note: infinitives are sometimes used adjectivally:

<i>kudpo kajeθ</i>	the work to be done
<i>one (on) kale</i>	the leaf for drinking

3.3.1. *Adjectives derived from pronoun can be of different types as shown below.*

Pronominal base

	Deictic/Demonstrative		Interrogative	
	<i>i</i>	this	<i>indru</i>	what
	<i>a</i>	that	<i>ik-</i>	which
qualitative	<i>iθcow</i>	like this	<i>ikcow</i>	like what
	<i>aθcow</i>	like that		
quantitative	<i>inond</i>	this much	<i>ikond</i>	how much
	<i>anond</i>	that much	<i>ekond</i>	how much

The suffix *-ond* will be discussed in the section of numerals.

3.3.11. *Examples*

<i>iθicow cijē ōndra</i>	bring this kind of things
<i>itinte amarapaɽaθ enōnd gecceθ</i>	from here Amarapara how much far?
<i>inōnd jagu lapa</i>	eat this much of rice
<i>i qawrno garhiθ</i>	in this forest many roads are.

3.3.2. *Additional members of the sub-class of 3.3.1*

quantitative	<i>garhi</i> many; <i>gahnɔ</i> many; <i>goɽer</i> all; <i>jokā</i> a title, few; <i>ado</i> more.
qualitative	<i>ikni</i> how, in what manner; <i>inkithis</i> manner

3.3.3. NUMERALS

It has been already said (0.3.) that the modern Malto numerals are borrowed from the Indo-Aryan with few exceptions. The words for one, two and twenty (*ort*, *iwr* and *koɽi* respectively) are probably the vestiges of the original Malto numeral system. Among these *koɽi* 'twenty' is used in Bengali (*/kuɽi/*) which is considered as an Austric word. It is difficult to decide whether this is a borrowing from Austric or whether a word from some other language. Malto numerals, as they are today, can be classified as cardinals and ordinals.

3.3.31. *Cardinals*

Malto numeral system is basically a system of twenty i.e. this language has numbers from one to twenty and when it reaches twenty and still is in need for higher numbers they are formed by adding the numbers one to nineteen with twenty. Therefore forty in this language is two-twenty or sixty-four is three-twenty-four.

3.3.311. *Basic Cardinals*1 *ort* ∞ *-ond*2 *iwr* ∞ *-is*

3 *tin* 4 *car* 5 *pac* 6 *cha* 7 *sat* 8 *aṭ* 9 *naw* 10 *das*
 11 *egara* 12 *bara* 13 *tera* 14 *cawda* 15 *pandra* 16 *sola*
 17 *satra* 18 *aṭra* 19 *unis* 20 *koṛi* (*koṛyond* 'one twenty')

ort 'one' appears also as *orti* 'one' as feminine.

ort male 'one man' *ort peli* 'one woman'.

But *orteh* 'the one' *ortiṭ* 'the one (woman)'

ort has another allomorph *-ond* which is used after certain substantives referring to living things and inanimate objects of various kinds which will be discussed later (3.3.35). *iwr* like *ort* is also employed with reference to persons and in declension it follows that *odf* substantives in plural. It has an allomorph *-is* which freely varies with *-es* which when added to *iwr* it is pleonastic put like *-ond* it is also employed in other contexts to be discussed later (3.3.35).

For other numerals the following structures are noticed.

a. *Multiplicative*a.i. *Multiplication by cardinals*

20 × 2	<i>koṛyis</i>	forty
3 × 20	<i>tin koṛy</i>	sixty
4 × 20	<i>car koṛy</i>	eighty
5 × 20	<i>pac koṛy</i>	hundred

a.ii. *Multiplication by fractionals*

$1\frac{1}{2} \times 20$	<i>ḍeṛ koṛy</i>	thirty
$2\frac{1}{4} \times 20$	<i>aṛay koṛy</i>	fifty

b. *Additive*

All other numbers between 21 and 99 barring those are multiplicative, are additive. They have the following structure.

T + *ante* + BC

T stands for decade numbers i.e. 20, 30, 40, 50, etc.

ante is a conjunction meaning and BC is abbreviation of Basic Cardinals

E. g.

<i>koryond ante ort</i>	20 and 1
<i>koryond ante naw</i>	20 and 9
<i>der kori ante car</i>	30 and 4
<i>koryis ante tin</i>	40 and 3
<i>tin kory ante das</i>	60 and 10 i.e. 70
<i>tin kory ante pandra</i>	60 and 15 i.e. 75
<i>car kory ante das</i>	80 and 10 i.e. 90
<i>car kory ante unis</i>	80 and 19 i.e. 99

It must be noted that in multiplicative structure the basic cardinals, except the words for one and two are prefixed to *kory* 'twenty' *koryond* and *koryis* would mean 'twenty times one' and 'twenty times two' respectively while *tin kory* means 'three times twenty'.

3.3.312. *Notes*

ort and *iwr* are generally employed as adjectives. In usual counting they are generally replaced by *ek* and *do* 'one' and 'two' respectively. Both are borrowed from Indo-Aryan. Similarly *bis* 'twenty' also used in place of *kory*. This is a borrowing from Hindi. For thirty and fifty it is also found

that *koṛy das* 'three times twenty plus ten' and *du koṛy das* 'two times twenty plus ten' are used. In usual conversation *ante* is often dropped.

3.3.32 *Ordinals*

1st *pahla*, 2nd *dusra*, 3rd *tisra*, 4th *cowta*. From 5th to 20th ordinals are formed according to the following rules.

1. Final vowels of the cardinals are dropped.
2. *-ma* is added.

Examples: *pacma* 5th, *barma* twelveth, *solma* sixteenth

Exception: *chaṭma* sixth

The structure of other ordinals is

$$\left[\begin{array}{l} ek \\ du \\ tin \\ car \\ etc. \end{array} \right] + koṛy + 0 (1-19)$$

0(1-19) means ordinals from 1-19 i.e. *pahala*, *dusra*, etc.

Examples	<i>ek</i>	<i>koṛi</i>	<i>dusra</i>	22nd
	<i>ek</i>	<i>koṛi</i>	<i>terma</i>	33rd
	<i>du</i>	<i>koṛi</i>	<i>pacma</i>	45th
	<i>car</i>	<i>koṛi</i>	<i>dasma</i>	90th

3 3.33. *Fractionals*

<i>paw-ond</i>	one-fourth
<i>ad</i>	half
<i>pawis deṛ</i>	one and half
<i>aṛai</i>	two and half

3.3.34. *Numeral Classifiers*

The following classifiers are used after numerals.

-*jen* specification of persons

pac jen maler five persons

-*goṭa* specification of number of animals and inanimate objects

car goṭa cace four stones

tin goṭa ṭuḍu three tigers

-*ḍaṅra* specification of length or used for objects distinguished for length

car ḍaṅra pawu four roads

-*paṭa* for objects distinguished for flatness

car paṭa tari four plates

-*kaḍa* for objects of the appearance of tendrils

tin kaḍa three wires

3.3.35. Use of *-ond* and *-is*

-ond is affixed to certain items as *maqu*, *paṭa* etc and forms *maqond*, *paṭond* etc., which are used with certain substantives only.

maqond used with animals

maqond ēṛe one goat, *maqond puju* one bird

paṭond used with objects with flat surface

paṭond paṭraṅ one leaf of the door

paṭond kaṭi one bedstead

- kaḍond* used with objects of the tendril like appearance
kaḍond punu one necklace
kaḍond meru one thread
- eṇḍond* used with tall and long objects
eṇḍond piple one pillar
eṇḍond manu one tree
- baṇond* used with large objects
baṇond toke one hill
baṇond nawi one boat
- darond* used with objects distinguished for length. It overlaps *eṇḍond* in certain cases.
darond masu one bamboo
- paṇṇond* used with objects which are small and round
paṇṇond panu one egg

-ond is also used with several other words which are repeated optionally. For example, *manond manu* 'one tree' *dinond dine* 'one day'. *-is* is a dualizing suffix and it can be similarly used for example *dinis* 'two days' *kepond bargu* 'come once' *kepis bargu* 'come two times'. Forms like *maqis*, *kaḍis*, etc. are formed in analogy to *maqond*, *kaḍond* etc.

4. Verbals

The following is the structure of Malto finite verb.

$$R + \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{Causative} \\ \text{Transitive} \\ \text{Intransitive} \end{array} \right] \text{Negative} + \left[\begin{array}{l} \text{Tense} \\ \text{Mood} \end{array} \right] + \text{Personal inflection}$$

4.1. Verb-roots

Verb roots are of two types: unmodified and modified.

4.1.1. MODIFIED *R*

Roots of this type have two shapes: formed either by addition of a consonant or by replacing one of the consonants of the root.

4.1.11. $R_{ci} \infty R_{cicii}$ (addition of another consonant symbolised as *cii*)

men- ∞ *menj-*

on- ∞ *ond-*

The second shape appears in past tense.

4.1.12. $R_{ci} \infty R_{cii}$ (replacement of consonant *ci* by *cii*)

There are five sub-classes

1. $R_{-y} \infty R_{-c}$

asy- ∞ *asc-* to chisel

bahy- ∞ *bahc-* to plough

aŋy- ∞ *aŋc-* to be fit

2. *R*_{-y} ∞ *R*_{-s}

There are two such roots

qoy- ∞ *qos-* to reap

poy- ∞ *pos-* to rain

3. *R*_{-r/-h} *R*_{-c}

bar- ∞ *bare-* to come

beh- ∞ *bec-* to exist

4. *R*_{-ñh/-h} ∞ *R*_{-t}

añh- ∞ *at-* to beat the drum

peh ∞ *pet-* to pick up

5. *R*_{-h/-y} ∞ *R*_{-j}

iñh- ∞ *iñj-* to pelt

qoy- ∞ *qoj-* to measure

The second shape in all these sub-classes appear in past tense. Root ending in *-y* changes to *-c* and sub-class 1. includes a large number of verbs. Other sub-classes contain few verbs only

4.1.2. UNMODIFIED *R*

All other verb-roots are included in this group. Roots ending in a consonant cluster, however, optionally take *-e* in past tense.

4.2. Tense and Mood

There are three tenses and four moods in Malto

Tense: *Present, Past, and Future*

Mood: *Indicative, Optative, Subjunctive and Imperative.*

4.2.1. TENSE MORPHEMES

Present {-i-} -i- ∞ -∅-

-∅- before -ne and -ni

Past {-k-} -k- ∞ -y-

-y- when followed by -ah and -ar

Future {-e-}

4.2.2. MOODS

Indicative unmarked

Optative -o-

Subjunctive -l-

Imperative

General	Reference to proximity	Ref. to distance
---------	------------------------	------------------

Present	-a	-owa	-oka
---------	----	------	------

Future	-ku		
--------	-----	--	--

4.3. Personal Inflection

4.3.1. SINGULAR

1st person	2nd person		3rd Person	
	Mas.	Non-mas	Mas.	Non-mas
-n~ -en	-ne ∞ -e ∞ -φ	-ni ∞ -i	-h ∞ -ah	-θ ∞ -aθ
			∞ -eh	-niθ ∞ -iθ

1st person: -n //V
 -en //C

2nd person:

Mas	-ne	in present and future
	-e	in past and in subjunctive
	-Ø	in optative
Non-mas	-ni	in present and future
	-i	in past and subjunctive

3rd person:

Mas	-h	in present and future and optative
	-ah	in past
	-eh	in subjunctive
Non-mas	-θ	in present and optative
	-aθ	in past
	-niθ	in future
	-iθ	in subjunctive

These allomorphs are phonologically conditioned as well. Since this is a simpler statement the phonological conditions are not stated here.

4.3.2. PLURAL

1st person

Exclusive	Inclusive	Conditions
-m	-t	//V
-em	-et	//C

2nd person	3rd person	Conditions
-ner	-ner	// C in present
-er		// k,l is past and subjunctive
-r	-r	// V in future and optative
	-ar	// y in past
	-er	// l in subjunctive

5.4. Causative

$$R + \begin{bmatrix} -tr- \\ -tir- \end{bmatrix} + -tit-$$

-tr- in free variation with -tir- (derived from -tr- by the intrusion of a vowel, a feature known as *svarabhakti* is the causative morpheme. Roots ending in *tr-* takes -tit to make causatives.

<i>mēnje</i>	to make	<i>menjtre</i>	to cause to make
<i>aḍḍan mēnja</i>	to make a house		
<i>aḍḍan mēnjtiren</i>	to make a house (by others)		
<i>niṅ mane qobtirke</i>	you caused the tree to be cut down		
<i>uṭtre</i>	to fall down		
<i>uṭtrtite</i>	to cause to fall down		
<i>nin enḡen uṭtrtitke boṅgre</i>	You causing me to fall down ran away		

Causatives are construed with one accusative e. g. *ēn jagum lapitiren* 'I feed rice'. But two accusatives are also employed e. g.

tehoṭ tambakon qōron pāktiriṭ

'the mother to the father the child causes to carry' i. e. the mother causes the father to carry the child.

4.4.1. *formation of causatives*

There are few verbs to be treated differently because of their causative formation.

- a. certain verbs, mostly intransitives, ending in *-r* drop *r* and then *-tr-* is added.
- b. there are few more verbs which take *-d* to form causative.

Examples: a. *dukrare* to suffer

dukratre to cause to suffer

b. *one* to drink, *onde* to cause to drink,

pune to put on, *punde* to make one to put on

4.5. Formation of Transitive and Intransitives

Transitive Verb roots *-Gr-* ∞ *-r-*

Intransitive Verb-roots *-tr-*

Examples:

Transitive to Intransitive

ise to tear *isGre* to be to torn

teqe to bring out *teqqre* to break out

Intransitive to transitive

These overlap with causatives

becare to be saved *bactre* to save

dukrare to suffer *dukratre* to afflict

4.6. Negative verbs

Negative verbs in Malto can be conjugated in three tenses and three moods. Optative mood does not exist in negative verbal conjugation.

4.6.1. Structure of Negative Verb

In present, past and in imperative mood the negative marker is affixed to the verb-root to which personal inflection are added.

In future tense and in subjunctive mood negative marker follows the personal inflections. These two structures can be symbolically presented as follows:

$R + Neg + Per. Inf.$

$R + Per. Inf. + Neg.$

Example: $tund- + lek + en \rightarrow tundleken$ I did not see
 $ek- + en + ala \rightarrow ekenala$ I shall not go

4.6.2. The Negative marker

The form *mala* 'not, no' (in free variation with *malla* which is possibly more emphatic) is used as the negative marker but its variants are more commonly used. The following table shows the variants of *mala* as used in different tense and mood and their functional meaning.

Present	Past	Future	Subjunctive		Imperative	
-lak-	-lek-	-ala	-la	-lo	-ma	-maku
do not	did not	will not	if not		don't	don't (future.)

In future *-ala* occurs after *C* and *-la* occurs after *V*.

In future *mala* is also used along with *ala*. Therefore, both *tundenmala* and *tundenmala* 'I will not see' are possible.

4.6.3. Roots and Personal Inflections:

Unlike the non-negative verb-roots the negative verb-root have one shape only. The personal inflections are given below.

4.6.31 Singular

1st person		2nd person		3rd person	
		Mas.	Non-mas	Mas.	Non-mas
-n~-en	-e~-ne	-i~-ni	-h~-ah	-θ~-aθ∞-niθ	
-n V	-en C	-e C	-ne V	-i C	-ni V, -h V -ah C
-θ V	-aθ C	-niθ occurs in future discontinuously,			
e. g. <i>tund-ni-la-θ</i> she it will see					

4.6.32 Plural

1st person		2nd person		3rd person	
excl.	incl.				
-m~-	-t~-	-r~-er		-r~-er ∞ -ar	
-em	-et				
-m	-em	-r	V		
-t V	-et C	-er C	-ar occurs in present and pas		

4.6.4. Examples of 4.2. to 4.6.32

<i>ēn niŋgen duleteŋrin</i>	I love you
<i>peliθ jagun bitiθ</i>	the woman cooks rice
<i>ēm ekem</i>	we (excl) will go
<i>nām eket</i>	we (incl) will go
<i>peler barnar</i>	women are coming
<i>ekonno barene</i>	when will you come ?
<i>ēnu sole baceri baŋganin badken</i>	
I have married a girl of sixteen years	
<i>ēn gorono okken toqqek eken</i>	
riding on a horse I shall go to the hill	
<i>nīn indru lapen</i>	what will you eat?
<i>ēn jogun lapenla</i>	I will not eat rice

nin sahebganj ekene? will you go to Sahibganj?

malla ekenala No I will not go

nāh amih he is taking bath

ah dotonaryah he brushed his teeth

niṛud oṅgorno ēn baharek urugen after sun-set I will go out

eṅgadeh ine kirleh aṭe ēn maṛen

my son today may return that I wish.

qalweh boṅgah ate ēm ahin darylem

the thief ran away otherwise we should have
caught him.

o eṅge jaḍi maṇqod menir tani enu gaṛhi apokarlen

oh if I had a son I would have very happy

oṅg pondeṛ tunduṭi ēn man ujon

o that I lived to see my children

lapa eat

lapoka go (there and) eat

lapowa come (here and) eat

ondra bring

ona drink

lapoma don't eat (now)

pitomaku don't kill (even later)

4.6.5. NOTES

The present tense forms though translated here as continuous (*lapin* 'I am eating') are in fact not continuous tense. The continuous forms will fall under compound verbs.

Among the moods the subjunctive has the function of both subjunctive and conditional. The structure of clause in which subjunctive occurs is : *subjunctive clause* + *particles* + *indicative clause*. These particles are *aθe* 'that', *tani* 'if' etc.

<i>āh anond boingleh</i>	<i>aθik</i>	<i>ēn ahik ŋakan ciceken</i>
subjunctive clause	particle	indicative clause
he would run that far that's why I gave him money.		

The optative in negative verbs must be very rare. Droeese has cited forms like *ēn ādomāndon* in optative in the 1st person singular but I checked with several speakers and found that negative optatives are found only in 3rd person. The following example is most probably from the Malto version of the Bible.

eŋgen ambki niŋge neθ goŋe gosariyin menomandeeθ
 me- without to you none God should not be
 No one should be considered God to you except me.

4.8. Passive

R+ ur + personal inflections
lap+ur+ i-θ → lapuriθ it is eaten

In passive verb-roots remain unmodified through out the conjugation. Passive voice is construed with the instrumental case.

āh caret puren man-mecente inj-uŋtryah
 he by the arrow the bird from the tree caused to fall

but

āh ahit caret puren man-mecente inj-uŋruryah
 he by him by the arrow the bird from the tree was fallen

i.e. The bird was fallen (killed) by him by the arrow.

āh in this sentence occurs optionally.

Sentences in which the agent is not indicated the passive voice is determined by the verb. But at times it is difficult to decide whether the passive voice has been used reflexively e. g. *āh pinet bajurah* 'he was struck by a stick or he struck himself by a stick'. In such cases the context determines the meaning.

4.9. Non-finite Verbals

Non-finite verbals are of three kinds: Infinitives, Gerunds and Participles.

4.9.1. INFINITIVES

$R + oti$

tund + oti → *tundoti* to pour water

Examples: *ante puju piṭoti ekyah* then (he) went to kill birds
a mageh camā pāṛoti lāgāryah
 that boy started to sing

4.9.2. GERUNDS

Gerunds are formed by two ways:

$R + e$ → *tunde* pouring (the water)

$R + po$ → *tunpo* have to pour

Forms with *-po* implies necessity and certainty. Examples will make their differences clear.

goṭ malerik keypo

to all men to have die i. e. Men are mortals

mine kinḍeṭ chopping the fish

make moqet by the eating of meat

mine moqet by the eating of fish

magen bortpoθ (the duty of) attending the child
qale kudpo the time for cultivation i.e. the time when
 cultivation have to be made

4.9.3. PARTICIPLES

4.9.31. *Adjective Participles* (see 3.3)

These participles are formed by adding *-u* and *-pe* to the root in present and past respectively. When they are used attributively they undergo no declensional changes but when they are the heads of nominal construction they are declined like substantives.

Examples:

<i>ṭaḍet piṭurp maleh</i>	by-tiger killed man i.e. man killed by tiger
<i>ṭeṭuki menjp</i>	of hand made i.e. hand-made
<i>baju meleh</i>	the striking man i.e. the striker
<i>uḍyaru puju</i>	the flying bird
<i>alqu maqeh</i>	the smiling boy

4.9.32. *Conditional Participles*

-ke / *-ki* : They occur in the following slots

$N_1 N_2$ — FV (Finite Verbs)

$N_1 N_2$ — NP + FV (NP = Nominal Phrase)

ēn jagun lapken eken 'I rice having-eaten will go'
ante nāh kalsənd ṭaken pehrke boṇtrah Then he one
 pitcherfull money having taken ran away

The participle agrees with the following verb in number and gender *-ki* is used in non-masculine.

The meaning of *-ke* can be translated as 'having' or 'having been'.

There are three more participle forming suffixes which also have the same meaning.

-e : It occurs in positions similar to *-ke*.

nāh buṛan baje kalgyah

he the old man having beaten broke his teeth

āhi teho nadin kaṭe ekiaθ

his mother the river having crossed went

The difference between *-ke* and *-e* is that *-ke* is inflected while *-e* is not inflected. Secondly *-ke* suggests more quick actions while *-e* suggests actions which are prolonged.

-le : This particle also is similar to all these except that it is also non-inflected and suggests more habitual actions.

āhi toho ort raja aḍḍek ekle dinani kamcle a maben poscaθ

his mother to one king's palace going every-day
having earned (used to) rear that boy

i. e. His mother used to go to a palace every-day
and earned (money) and supported the child

However, it must be noted that such distinction *-ke*, *-e* and *-le* are not always kept. For example

anle āmaqen pusyatrile ocyaθ

thus the boy cajoling (she) took

i. e. She cajoled and took the boy away.

-i : This is an adverbial participle occurring before the main verb in a verbal phrase

maler ame tundī ocar men carried the water spilling
i peliθ alqi lerwa murkiθ his woman smilingly straw cuts

There are two more participle suffix **-ko** and **-ne**. **-ko** is also uninflected and it suggests the meaning 'because of' 'since it has been'. **-ne** is inflected and suggests the meaning of 'while doing'.

jaṛaθ posako maler teqalon cagoti ekyar
 rain since has fallen men corn to sow went
 i.e. Since rain has started men went to sow
ēn ṭuḍe piṣnen uṛaken I the tiger while killing wounded

-ne contrasts with **-ne**, 2nd person pronominal inflection in two ways: it is inflected and it precedes a finite verb.

4.9.32I Doubling of participles and infinitives

Participles **-e** and **-i** and infinitives in **-oti** are often doubled suggesting continuity of action. The following examples will make the meaning clear.

ekte ekte raja aḍḍak aṛsyar
 going going palace (they) reached i.e. Thus going
 for some time they reached the palace.

olG-olGe kiryah weeping weeping (he) was returning
āh baje ēṛen akrih he beating beating the sheep drive
 i.e. He drives away the sheep by beating

cama paṛa paṛa āh cara menjkeh while singing he made
 an arrow

4.10. COMPOUND VERBS

Compound verbs in Malto are of three types

- i. *Substantive + Verb*
- ii. *Participle + Verb*
- iii. $V_b + V_b$ ($V_b = \text{Verb}$)

4.10.1. *Substantive + V_b*

pelbede to marry (*peli* 'woman' *bede* 'to seek')

qeḍuṭre to ask for pardon (*qeḍu* 'foot' *uṭre* 'to fall down')

4.10.2. *Participle + V_b*

4.10.21. *Continuative*: The verb *ḍoke* 'to remain, to stay' is added with the participle. The participial suffix is often lost if *-e* is used. It is possible to have both *bande dokin* 'I am pulling' and *band ḍokin* 'I am pulling'

4.10.22. *Completives*:

oṅge 'to make an end' *qace* 'to remove' *oje* 'to possess' are the main verbs which are added to participles mostly ending in *-e*.

maqer jagun lapeqacar the boys have finished eating rice

maqer boṅg oṅgrar the boys had run

4.10.23. *Reciprocal*

The verb *naqe* 'to act to one another' is added to the participle.

ā gahnḍir bajr naqer

this (group of) people are beating one another

The verb *naqe* is employed with verbs ending in *r* and when verbs do not end in *r*, an *r* is added.

akr naqe to chase one another

bajr naqe to beat one another, *baje* 'to beat'

There are few exceptions. With some verbs such as *darya* 'to catch' *inhe* 'to pelt' etc. Where *naqe* is used with their forms in past i.e. *darc-*, *inj-* etc. In such cases *r* is added to the root but again with some exception such as *darc naqe* 'to catch one another'. But in all other cases *r* is added to the participle. For example, *ar awdr naqar* 'they said one to another'

4.10.24. *Frequentative and habitual*

Verbal root in past + *siŋge/senqe* 'to do often'

pōsyē 'to support, to keep' + *siŋge* → *posc-siŋge* 'to use to support'

aii teno a maqen poscsiŋgvaθ

his mother used to support the child

a qeso-tani pakrsiŋgyah that reddish one was glittering

4.10.25. *Intensitives*

Verbal root in past + $\left[\begin{array}{l} kede \\ maɖye \end{array} \right]$ 'to do away with'
'to trample'

darckede to seize upon

cape maɖye to trample down

4.11. VERBAL COMPOUNDS

In Malto two verbs combine to form a different verb different in their semantic value as well as in their morphological structure. The whole construction is used as the root and conjugated accordingly.

<i>awed</i> to say	<i>qawe</i> to speak	<i>awdekawe</i> to answer
<i>alqe</i> to laugh	<i>olGe</i> to cry	<i>alqolGe</i> to cry historically
<i>bege</i> to jump	<i>cøye</i> to get up	<i>begcøye</i> to bounce
<i>lade</i> to dance	<i>bije</i> to dawn	<i>ladbije</i> to dance
<i>kase</i> to message	<i>qondrtre</i> to cause to sleep	<i>kaseqandrtre</i> to message to sleep

5. Functors

Functors which are free forms morphologically, belong either to the nominals or to the verbals. They, however show a restricted distribution and are syntactically bound. They can be grouped into several classes.

5.1. Post Positions : are sub-class of nominals. They occur after substantives in two ways: (a) after substantive_s in nominative case and (b) after substantives in oblique case. The first occurrence has been treated as compound (6.2.1.)

- | | | |
|-----|-----------------|------------------|
| (a) | <i>man-meca</i> | on the tree |
| (b) | <i>jaʃek</i> | before the storm |

In Malto every post-positions occur after a substantive with case marker, they generally form compounds with the preceding substantives.

5.2. Conjunctions

5.2.1. Conjunction occurring between two nominals or verbals or clauses:

aro 'and' *kuʃni aro eʃu* 'hot and good'

ante 'and then'

puren anʒeke ante ā maqeh cama paʃoti lagaryah
seeing the bird then the boy started singing

ani 'therefore' it occurs between two clauses but it does not occur if any one of them contains a verb in future tense.

rajah kecyah ani rajki maler olGar

the king died and therefore the people of the kingdom wept.

lagki 'therefore, for this' This can be inflected.

rajah kecyah alagkem em dukrarem menim

the king died for this we are troubled

lagki can be prefixed by *ā* and *i* the two pronominals.

ate 'otherwise' *malatani* 'if not' *tani* 'if' *tanigoṭe* 'yet' and *male* 'or (interrogatively)' all these conjunctions occur between clauses. And so are *ki* 'that' and *je* 'but'

Examples

nin duden onene male ame onene

will you drink milk or water?

enu kajet kudoti kosis menjeken tanigoṭe hi keje mella

I worked hard to do yet I could not do

qalweh lugaṇ aṇḍlah ate āh qalleh

the thief did not find the clothes otherwise he would have stolen (them)

ante teho awḍyaṭ ki nuna ika

then the mother said that, child, go

ēn tuḍek tuṇḍeken je ā maqeh tuṇḍlah

I saw the tiger but the boy did not

āh barih tani eṅge gaṇhi apakaremener

if he comes much happiness will be to me
i.e. I will be very happy

tani also means 'in that case, then'

o eṅge jadi maqod menir tani enu gaṇhi apakarlen

If I had a son I would be very happy

tuðθ eŋgen piŋeniθ malatani ēn tuðe piŋen

the tiger will kill me if not will kill it i.e. Either the
tiger will kill me or will kill the tiger

5.2.2. Conjunction used enclitically

ceri 'otherwise': used at the end of the second clause

amnte okri urqa panyeθ daryeniθceri

come out of the water quickly otherwise you will
catch cold

5. 3. Adverbials

A class of adverbials are formed on the basis of *i* and *ā* pronominals. They are of three groups: adverbs of place, of time and of manner

5.3.1. Adverbs of Manner

andeke 'that way' *indeke* 'this way'

anki 'thus, that way' *inki* 'thus' this way'

5.3.2. Adverbs of Place

ano 'there' *ino* 'here'

aŋino 'in that place' *iŋino* 'in this place'

5.3.3. Adverbs of Time

aneke 'then' *ine* 'now, today' *anko* 'then'

5.3.4. Adverbial words

ðokno ðokno 'gradually'

urmuri 'quickly'

kanabeli 'accidentally'

dūre 'only' *baru* 'for this'

5. 4. Particles

-qadi 'only one' *ortqadi* male 'only one man'. In Malto Bibles the only begotten son is translated as *ortaqadi taṅgade*. In Bible one frequently finds, though I could not find that in speech, *maloqadi* 'man one' i. e. man as one (mankind), *saboqadi* 'only one speech'

There are several particles which can be called emphatic. They are *-hi*, *-i*, *-o*, *-ga*, *-jahañ*, *-jani*, etc.

There is also *-u* an emphatic particle which is frequently used with pronouns.

Examples:

ḍawehga banakajen kudi aro ḍaniṯga moqeri lagki eṛu kajon kudiṯ

while husband does bad work the wife does good work for the children.

malerga maloqadir the mankind is one

ayya duleliṯ enu inopan beḍo leharken

I have become so big (by) mother's affection

aṯ aḡdihi jahañ rokarp menjaṯ

she was already angered

andekihi duket ā maqen poscsinḡiyaṯ

In this way with distress she used to rear the child

5.41 Particles occurring after the clause

āñ ~ jañ the former when clause ends in a consonant and the latter when it ends in a vowel. This is interrogative particle

aḥ aṛsyah añ 'he has come.?'

oñ ~ yoñ the former occurs after consonant and the latter after vowel. This is affirmative: 'yes'

anta 'is it not so?'

i qepno ort giriḡa - aḡaḡ behih anta

There is one church in this village, is it not?

6. Compounds

In Malto compounds can be of five types. They contrast with phrases in two ways: their structure is close-knit which cannot be interrupted by any other element, case markers of the first element is lost after compounding and in certain cases there is a semantic change.

6.1. Co-ordinative

N+N	<i>ullimaqi</i>	day and night
	<i>berubilpu</i>	sun and moon
	<i>ayyaabbar</i>	mother and father
N+Vb	<i>pelbede</i>	marriage
	<i>peḷi</i>	woman
	<i>peḍq</i>	to seek
	<i>muṛsbede</i>	the man who stays in his father-in-law's house after marriage
	<i>muṛs</i>	male
	<i>pelkire</i>	(sex) hunger of man
	<i>muṛskire</i>	(sex) hunger of women
	<i>kire</i>	to feel hungry

N+N has another Sub-Type

where the second element is the generic words like tree, fish, flower and so on. The first element is often the particular names of tree, fish, flower, bird and so on.

<i>maθgi manu</i>	the madgi tree
<i>golpuju</i>	the sparrow
<i>makarage</i>	meat-curry
<i>gendariṭup</i>	marygold
<i>tiyaqal meca</i>	liquor made from rice

6.2. Descriptive

N + N *masbali* bamboo-door

It contrasts with *maski bali* 'door of bamboos'

nadiamu river-water

It contrasts with *nadiki amu* 'water of the river' (i. e. water which has been brought from the river). *nadiamu* is the flowing water in the river.

A + N *qenmale* green man i. e. fool

bana saba bad word

darm ketabe holy book

Vb + N *coydine* rising day i.e. the day of judgment

ogamu water enough for swimming

6.2.1. Post-positional compound

N + Pp *toqmeci* on the hill

nodi bahano beside the river

jagu saṅgal with rice

aḍḍa ula in the house

7. Syntax

7.0. Clause constituent classes

7.1. Nominals occur in the following positions

1. subject of a clause:
a maqeh puju piñih that boy kills birds
2. object of a transitive verb:
ēn jagun lapin I eat rice
3. predicator of an equational clause:
nahu eñgki unđole he is my brother

Nominals include nominal phrases.

7.11. Nominals may be divided into three classes

7.12. *Simple nominals*: are nouns or pronouns or numeratives which serve as nominal substitutes.

7.13. *Co-ordinate nominals*

They can be of two types:

- a. additive: $N_1 + \begin{bmatrix} \text{awro} \\ \text{ante} \end{bmatrix} + N_2 + \dots\dots\dots N_n$
tañbaya awro tañdo elder brother and younger sister

- b. alternative: $N_1 + \begin{bmatrix} \text{ate} \\ \text{ba} \end{bmatrix} + N_2 + \dots\dots\dots N_n$
qalekuduh ba ađđaniduh
the field-worker or the house-builder

N_1 *mennohoñ* N_2 *mennohoñ*
gen mennohoñ panjek mennohoñ
 be if green or ripe

7.14. Composite Nominals

- a. attributive
- b. non-attributive

7.14.1. Attributive Nominal Phrases (NP) occur either prenominally or post-nominally. The constituent structure of this class can be represented as follows:

Pre-nominal modifiers → NH ← Post-nominal modifiers

Pre-nominal modifiers are described under several classes and their distribution can be represented as follows:

iv	iii	ii	i
D	Q I A	N ADJ	Pr.N NH

(D - demonstrative, Q - quantifiers, I - intensifiers,
 A - adjectives, N ADJ - noun adjunct, Pr.N - pronoun
 NH - noun head)

Order class(i): Proper noun may occupy this position
gol maqer Hindu boys

Order class(ii): Noun adjunct i.e.

- a. the stem form of a substantive as modifier of NH
pahr mulukek 'to the hill country'
- b. categorizing adjectives: i.e. ordinals
tisra klasmat 'upto third class'
- c. genitive case nominals as categorizing adjectivals
nadiki amu 'of the river water'
 (water brought from river)

Order class(iii): to this position belongs A I and Q which constitutes the major adjectival slot. This can be treated as a macro-phrase within the major nominal phrase structure.

A: more than one can occur in this position in which case their order is variable and the relation between them is co-ordinate.

I: these occur immediately preceding A

Q: these occur before I

All these can be reduplicated.

<i>garhe garya peliθ</i>	very idle woman
<i>pacenḍo pace ketabe</i>	five old books
<i>beḍo beḍo tig gahnḍiθ</i>	big big monkeys
<i>careḍo gar-garhi pace giriḍa aḍḍa</i>	four very very old churches
<i>kapənḍ garhen kṛni awro eṛu eaheθ</i>	one cup very hot and good tea
<i>joṛa joṛa basali</i>	pair pair flutes (flutes in pair)

Order class (iv): demonstrative adjectives occur in this place

<i>iθ qeso pupuθ</i>	this red flower
<i>i gahnḍi pacenḍo pace ketabe</i>	these five old book

Among these classes class (i) and (ii) are interchangeable for example it is possible to say

<i>bihar mulukek</i>	to the country of Bihar
<i>bihar pahar mulukek</i>	to the hilly country of Bihar

but not

pahar bihar mulukek

When (ii) and (i) both occur in a phrase the order should be (iii) NH.

QIA has also the order of IAQ in certain cases, for example

qeso eḡond cije red-one ihing (one red thing)

7.14.2. Other types of attributive phrases

Another types of attribution which may be called as transformationally derived since they reveal the subject object, verb relationship of the underlying structure.

A sentence of a *mage puju piṭih* (N_1N_2V) can be nominalize in two ways:

- N_1N_2V a. $N_2V_{adj}N_1$ *puju piṭu maqe* bird killing boy
 b. $N_{1accusative}V_{adj}$ passive past N_2
maqet piṭurp pujuṭ by the killed bird

In finitive phrases can also occur as attributive phrases, for example

puren bitoti patli aḡḡano mella

bird to cook pot in the house not

(there was no pot to cook the bird)

puren bitoti occurs attributively to *patli* 'pot'

7 14.3. Post-nominal modifiers

Their order can be represented as follows

NH ← numeral phrase
 post-positional phrase
 adjective phrase

Numerals:

- words denoting plurality e.g. *gahnḡi*
- numeral classifier *-ond*, *-is* etc.

Post-positional phrase:

qawɾula ɬuðu ɖokir in forest tigers live

ɬuðθ kohr atgi sumbino ɖokiθ

tiger cavern-near in a den lives

Adjective phrase:

- a. in predicative position in equational clauses

a peliθ pupcow sundriθ

this woman flower-like pretty

- b. $N_{\text{oblique}}-V_{\text{adjective}}$ in *-no*

ēn tigen mannte uɬrno tunɖken

I the monkey from the tree falling saw

(I saw the monkey falling from the tree)

ēn ahikn Toqek argno tunɖken

I saw him climbing the hill

- c. N_{ablative} I A

In place of I generally words denoting 'more', 'less' etc

i amuθ a aminte besi qibeθ

this water from that water more cold (that water is colder than this water)

goɬente A

i ɬoqe goɬente mecgeθ this hill from all high
(this hill is the highest)

This phrase occurs predicatively in equational sentences.

7.2. Verbs and verb phrases make a major constituent class.

Verb phrases (VP) have the following shape

$$\left[\begin{array}{l} \text{Verb stem} \\ \text{Nominal stem} \end{array} \right] + \text{Verb}$$

Nominal stems include NP as object of transitive verb.

Verb stem + verb have been already discussed (4.10.)

7.3. An adverbial occurs attributively to the predicator of a clause. This constituent class includes:

1. case-marked nominals
ah ḍaḍeno ondryah he to the jungle went
2. post-positional phrases
nadi parexo beḍiḥ carariḥ
 the sheep grazes across the river

7.4. Classification of Clauses

Clauses are either dependent or independent. Independent clauses are those which are not constituent of another clause.

ayyaḥ maqeriko duduḥ cijiḥ
 mother to children milk gives

Other clauses are dependent.

a maqe awdyah ki rajarga malen mocner
 that boy said that the kings cut men

7.4.1. A clause basically has the structure of NP + VP. NP is a nominal phrase which includes substantive, pronominals and adjectives. Types of clauses in Malto are shown below.

deliḥ jagun bi:iḥ 'the woman cooks rice'
 NP VP (object verb)

peler barner 'woman come'
 NP VP NP is a noun and VP contains one verb

eñki namiḥ deba 'my name (is) Deba'
 NP₁ NP₂

In this type of sentence verb is deleted in present tense.

niñki namiθ indruθ

NP₁ NP₂ NP₁ is a pronominal or pronominal adjective.

iñinte amṛaparaθ enand gecceθ from here Amrapara
how far (is) ?

NP₁ NP₂ NP₃ NP₁ (Adverbial)
NP₂ (Proper name)
NP₃ (Adjective phrase)

ayyaki duleliθ eñge qaqaṛluθ mother's love I did not get
NP₁ NP₂ VP NP₂ is object of VP

ēn ikni eken how shall I go
NP VP VP contains *ikni*, an adverb and *eken*,
a verb

ṭuḍki elcet eñ kajen ambiken by the fear of tiger I
have left the work

NP₁ NP₂ VP NP₁ (adverbial)

sabunet nuṣga wash with soap
VP VP contains noun in instrumental.

The clause is subjectless.

7.4 2. Clause combination

Two or more clauses can be combined to form one clause. This is made by means of conjunctions which has been already noticed. This can also be done by embedding one clause in the other.

1. A clause becomes direct object:

clause 1. *añ anyah* 'he said'

clause 2. *eñ baren* 'I shall come'

añ eñ baren anyah he 'I shall come' said

2. When the subject is identical one of them is deleted

nin barni you come
nin ekni you go
nin barni ekni you come and go

3. Use of *aθ* / *aθe* 'that'

eṅgadeh ine kirleh may my son return today
en maṛim 'I wish'
eṅgadeh ine kirleh aθn en maṛim
 I wish that my son return today

4. Use of verbal participle

en lapen I will eat
ante en qandren Then I will sleep
en laple qandren I having-eaten will sleep

APPENDIX - I

A Short Note on Kumarbhagi Pahariya

Pronominals

<i>henu</i>	I	also <i>enu</i>
<i>nin</i>	you	
<i>emu</i>	we	
<i>nim</i>	you	
<i>aho</i>	he	
<i>aθ</i>	she	

Verb

<i>en lapin</i>	I eat	<i>en lap-la-in</i>	I do not eat
<i>nin lapne</i>	you eat	<i>nin lap-la-ine</i>	you do not eat
<i>aho lapina</i>	he eats	<i>aho lap-lā-ina</i>	he does not eat
<i>en laptan</i>	I did eat	<i>en lap-la-in</i>	I did not eat
<i>nin laptaine</i>	you ate		
<i>aholabina</i>	he ate		
<i>en lapari</i>	I will eat	<i>en lapla</i>	I will not eat
<i>aho lapana</i>	he will eat		
<i>aθ lapeni</i>	she will eat		

Sentences

<i>lapa</i>	eat
<i>lapke at erka</i>	after eating go to the market
<i>e lappo mala</i>	this is not eatable
<i>i indr padni</i>	what is this
<i>i indr ranḡe</i>	which colour is this
<i>nin ekei</i>	who are you

<i>henu coprukumar</i>	I am Chopru Kumar
<i>duḍin onin</i>	I drink milk
<i>ihik amacia</i>	give him water
<i>i maek amica</i>	give water to this boy
<i>maeki aṅgraka</i>	boy's shirt
<i>pupḍu dikeri</i>	many flowers
<i>puju dikeri</i>	many birds
<i>manante</i>	from the tree
<i>manodi</i>	one tree
<i>manse</i>	two trees
<i>tini gaca</i>	three trees
<i>hortedi</i>	one man
<i>iorode</i>	two men (pair)
<i>tine jene</i>	three men
<i>kaḍodi aṅraka</i>	one shirt
<i>kaṛse aṅraka</i>	two shirts

Lexicons

<i>bis</i>	twenty	<i>koṛio</i>	<i>das</i>	thirty	<i>pac koṛi</i>	hundred
<i>tāli</i>	hair	<i>kuklu</i>		head	<i>āndu</i>	eye
<i>eldu</i>	ear	<i>muṣo</i>		nose	<i>paltu</i>	tooth
<i>mudra</i>	face	<i>tebre</i>		lips	<i>baṛi</i>	hand
<i>orGdu</i>	nails	<i>dape</i>		back	<i>mūke</i>	knee
<i>hugu</i>	father	<i>dudu</i>		mother	<i>hua</i>	elder brother
<i>hiṇḍo</i>	younger brother	<i>bai</i>		elder sister	<i>oro</i>	son
<i>male</i>	man	<i>mae</i>	boy	<i>pelmōyi</i>	woman	<i>hamdu</i> water
<i>jagu</i>	rice	<i>mandu</i>	tree	<i>turdu</i>	tiger	<i>berdu</i> sun
<i>biḷḷḍu</i>	moon	<i>herdu</i>	God	<i>bute</i>	ghost	<i>samsa</i> Greeting word
<i>heṛe</i>	goat	<i>gōṛo</i>	horse	<i>berhe</i>	cat	<i>kuco</i> dog
<i>tumbe</i>	bee	<i>puju</i>	bird	<i>pandu</i>	egg	<i>muē</i> frog
<i>muge</i>	monkey	<i>eḍṛdu</i>	parrot	<i>batoke</i>	swan	<i>kurni</i> hot
<i>qibe</i>	cold	<i>ona</i>	drink	<i>bara</i>	come	

APPENDIX - II

SONGS

- 1 *bāṭṭgu māqo āmāqeli māde ālqe*
 young girl is drawing water (and) a boy is laughing
 qolye to take up water
2. *pupā-ātā āmāqola kujie ēroti*
 you adorned with flower, take up water to peep at
 your shadow
 ate to wear
 kujie shadow
 ēre to peep, to spy
3. *niṅgen oyen ā pāw pāpa-bāgica*
 1 shall take you (to) the flower-garden in that road
 oye to take away
 ā pāw that road
4. *iṭi māqond ayu ikko goyāle*
 here is one bull (but) where is the shepherd
 iṭi here
 ikko where
 ayu bull
5. *bāburcāu caqniṭ ḍanḍāk etaku*
 do not go down the plains, babul thorns will pierce
 (in your foot)
 bāburācu thorns of Babur (mimosa) tree
 caqe to pierce

ḍanḍak plain land near the hills
ete to go down
etku go down (imperative)
etaku do not go down

The expected negative form is *etmaku* which is used in speech

6. *ācu goṣa caqla bāte joṛono*

thorns will not pierce (nor) the words of love

goṣa an affix used with numerals, also means 'even, also'.

bāte words

jōṛe pair, metaphorical meaning is 'love'
 'to unite', 'to couple'

7. *jōṛe jōṛe sāṅgalo jōṛe sāṅgalo*

(let us move) in pairs, (with) one's beloved

sāṅgalo friend, companion

8. *jōṛa jōṛa bāsali jōṛa muṛali*

the *basalis* in twos and *muṛalis* in twos

bāsali and *muṛali* are different kinds of flute.

9. *sāṅgaloṛe kāsa kāḍu atiya ḍēro bāṛino*

friend, the crooked (curve of your) hand adorned with bracelets

kāsa kāḍu bracelet

ate to wear

The form *atiya* is difficult to explain. It may be a variant of *atiya* 'wear' (imp.) or *atwa* 'wearing.'

10. *ṭōkkūre ekōkure ṭōke kājeni*
do not go on the edge of the hill, it might fall
ṭōke hill
kūre edge of the hill
eke to go
kāje to fall upon
11. *ānekese kira pāwn kukku caṛanih*
but (now) on the way back (my) head is reeling
āneke now
se but, however
kire to return
caṛare to tremble
12. *lājar lājar barcke lājarelāke*
she came bashfully (yet) she did not blush
bare to come
lājar shame
13. *basgalo moqen qōro ṭaṭGen*
I will eat the green mangoes without peeling them
basage to peel
qōro young
ṭaṭGe mango
14. *jāra posa idrya kuhe uṭrya*
it has rained (and) mist dispelled
jāra fountain, water which falls down
posa past tense 3 person from *poye* 'to rain'
idrya from *iḡre* 'to cease'
uṭre to drop down
kuhe mist, fog

15. *qēso qeḍu oḍeken ayya qar̥yeni*
 (her) red foot is hurt, mother will scold
qeso red
qeḍu foot
oḍe to stumble
āyya mother
qar̥ye to scold
16. *qēso āṅga qēso juta golar āneken*
 one in red shirt and red shoes is foreigner, I
 thought
ane to think
17. *ṭokeno cirqen āḍḍano ālqen*
 I shall shout on the hill and smile in home
cirqe to shout
ṭokeno on the hill
18. *āḍḍa meca āḍḍan iden sipit ārgen*
 I will make a house on house and climb by stairs
ide to build
arge to climb
meca on
sipi stairs
19. *keyen uyyen āGlen bareti āmbilen*
 if I knew that I will live and die then
 I would not have come
keye to die
uje to live
aGe to know
bare to come
ambe to forsake

20. *niŋki pārani jibe nin ih jogehyku*

The soul is yours (and) you have to save it.

pārani soul

jibe life

jogyē to keep in safty, to take care of

ih this

21. *rām rām sitarā mbern sēwyen*

I will worship the sun (saying) Ram Ram Sita Ram

beru sun

sēwyē to worship

22. *bāra bāra kāṇḍo qeθwu kacwa*

bara bara kāṇḍo qeθu kacki oyewa

i nūna ikni qandola a lagki nin barcke

ihin meca pākki niŋg bāhak oyewa

come, come, o moon, pull my child's ear

come, come, o moon, take away his ear

why don't you sleep, my baby, so you come moon,

take him on your lap and take him near you.

kāṇḍo a baby-word for 'moon'

qace to break, to take away

ikni why

ā lagki for this

ihin to him

pākki side, lap

23. *ō nunare qandra*

niŋgābbo āro niŋgāyya deisk ekiyar

lēla māqonḍi baren ānyar

25. *undimundi nāmki beḍa ābba boṅga mēnja*
tani goṭe gosayi āṇbba nāmen ceṅGjeh
lugan ḍāban qāṭker nāmen sājatriya
tani goṭe nāmki gosāṇyi ābba nāmen āmbola
lēga goṭmaler jamārkēt mundote gosāṇyi ābban uḡlāreṭ
ā gosāṇyi ābbase nāmen mēnja

our grand-father has ran away (i.e die d) long ago
 still Lord is merciful to us
 you dress us and give us clothes
 you do not leave us still
 let us come, all men, and assemble God of old
 days that God has created us
undimundi old days
ceṅgjeḥ to show mercy
goṭe to give
lēga let us go

These songs have been collected from different sources. I have collected eight songs (2,3,8 9,13,14,18,19) from Ramnath Malto (Bandarkola,Borio), four songs (10,12. 13,16) from Locan Malto and four songs (22,23,24,25) from his brother Govinda Malto--both of them students of the Pahariya School. Hiranpur; three songs (5,6,11) from Rupnarayan Malto (Jurgoda,Kusumghati) and two each from Harihar Malto (Kort-ka,Buarjuri--song.no. 20,21) and Jetha Malto (Barhwa--song.no. 4,17) Songs 1 and 7 were collected from a youngman in the village Simulkundi on the top of a hill two miles away from Hiranpur Block.

APPENDIX - III

TALES

1

*iwr undgl tañbaya awro tañdo ðokyar. toho awro
tambako irwerhi kecyā. tabñaya awro tañdo irwer
sāñgal sāñgal ðokyar. dinond tañbayak meḐu kōrcad.
ullond-inlis ēṛuhi kāṭi meca keḍyah awro tañbayaho
kecyā. tañdo olg-oloqe tañbayan māsāni gāṛeno ōceke
ante mandyah. ante mandke añki aḍḍak kiryah. dinond
kiṛen takarke ante puja piṭoti ekyah. āh ḍaḍeno ḍarond
simbari man-meca moqond puren anḍah. puren anḍske
ante ah mage cāma pāroti lāgāryah..*

ōka ōka purere loha eṛta menjen

ōka ōka purere loha cāra menjen

*cāma pāṛa pāṛa eṛta awro cāra menjah. ante cāret
puren man-mecente inj-uṣtryah.*

*puren inj-aṣtrike ante ā mageh tañbayan uglecle. awrohi
cāma paṛoti lāgāryah.*

puren piṣken āto piṣken pehowa-re baya

pehtreken āto pehtreken kuṛowa-re baya

kuṣeken āto kuṣeken bitowa-re baya

bitaken āto bitaken lolowa-re baya

lolken āto lolken lāpowa-re baya

lāpken āto lāpken tārin noṛowa-re baya

noṛken āto noṛken tārin kortowa-re baya

*indkehi cāma pāṛa pāṛa uglecle kāṭi meca pur-māka
moqqe qandryah.*

<i>iwr</i>	two
<i>undGl</i>	brothers
<i>tañbaya</i>	elder brother
<i>tañḍo</i>	younger brother
<i>kecyā</i>	died
<i>sāṅgal</i>	with
<i>meṭu</i>	illness
<i>olge</i>	to weep
<i>māsāni</i>	to the cemetery
<i>gaṛeno</i>	in a pit
<i>mande</i>	to burrā
<i>kiṛen</i>	by hunger
<i>takare</i>	to be weary
<i>puja</i>	bird
<i>piṭe</i>	to kill
<i>ḍaḍeno</i>	in a forest
<i>puren</i>	a kind of bird known as <i>paṇḍuk</i> in Sanskrit
<i>cāma</i>	song
<i>aṇḍe</i>	to see
<i>eṛta</i>	bow
<i>cāra</i>	arrow
<i>loha</i>	iron
<i>menjah</i>	he made
<i>uṭtre</i>	to cause to fall
<i>uglecle</i>	conjunctive form of <i>ugleye</i> to think
<i>pehowa</i>	imp. of <i>pehtre</i> 'to lift
<i>kuṛowa</i>	imp. of <i>kuṛe</i> 'to cook' to roast
<i>bite</i>	to cook
<i>lole</i>	to make food ready on the table
<i>lāpe</i>	to eat (mainly rice)

<i>noꝛe</i>	to wash
<i>kortre</i>	to keep things inside something
<i>māka</i>	meat
<i>moqe</i>	to eat

Two brothers - the elder and the younger - used to live. Both their mother and father died. The two brothers used to live together. One day the elder brother fell ill. A day or two passed well then he lied down on a cot and he died. The younger brother wept and took him to the cemetery and burried him in a pit. After that he returned home. One day being tired of hunger he went to kill bird. He saw a *puran* on a *simlari* tree in a forest. Seeing the bird the boy started singing. "sit, Oh bird, I will make an iron-bow; sit, Oh bird I will make an iron-arrow". While singing he made a bow and an arrow. Then he caused the bird to fall down by his arrow. Having caused the bird to fall the boy started singing thinking of his brother (as if he was alive).

I have killed a bird, come and lift it, brother

I have lifted it, come and roast it, brother

I have cooked it, come cook it with spices, brother

I have cooked it with spice, now put it

• (on a plate)

I have kept it (on a plate), now eat it, brother

I have eaten it, come wash the plate, brother

I have washed it, keep it inside, brother

Thus thinking he ate the meat of the bird and slept on the cot.

* According to the informant (Govinda Malto, Hiranpur Pahariya School) the younger brother thinks that his elder brother replies. I have indented the replies of the elder brother.

ort mābe dōkyah. āhēki toho tambakor mela.
 āh inj-qadeθ menja. ante dinond kīret takarke dadek
 puja piṭoti ekyah. dadeṇo puren piṭke ondryah. puren
 bitoti pātli aḍḍano m'la. ante āh qep-maler guni pātlin
 qēGati ekyah. qeq-meler guni āh awḍyah ciya qolan. mala
 āte ciylen. ante awrohi dosra aḍḍa mālre guni qēGah.
 āṭino qaqla. olG-olG kiriya pāwno ḍabri guni anḍr-
 naqah. ḍapriθ awḍyah ādin indri olGne nuna. āh maqe
 awḍyah qolan qalaken olGin. ante ḍabri awḍyah eka ēme
 āt meca aṅlken oken nin eṅki toro meca puren bitane. ante
 eṅge ada qaṭane āṭinte saṅgalihi ḍabri awro ā māqe
 ba-car. ante puren kuṛwake ḍreya noṛke biath. ḍabri
 qandryah. āhiki bākranoho mōqah. ḍabri ejryah. antr
 taṅki bēkran qēGah. āh māqe awḍyah niṅge bākran
 moqqen (moqeken) ante ḍabri rōkarke awḍyah niṅgenhi
 māqen. akroti jejyah ḍ'ri māqe boṅḡori suru nanyah.
 pāwnihi arbāhu guni anḍr-naqah. arbāhu awḍyah boṅgoma
 ēn nadin tekiyen. pahrondeṭi ḍabri ārsyah arbāhu ḍabrin
 anḍake elciyah. ante āh māqe boṅgoti awḍyah. āh māqe
 ahinte boṅgah. māqond tige teteli manmeca okaḍokyah.
 āh māqe poṅga ahin anḍake aawḍyah indrik boṅne nuna.
 anḍe maqe awḍyah ḍabri akrih anise boṅgen. tige awḍyah
 eṅki qoli darke arga āh māqe arGyah ḍabriθ oho ārsyah
 manmeca argoti becayah tiget awḍyah niṅge moṭo ēn
 argtroti polen. tānni goṭe ḍabri awḍyah eṅgen argtrane
 tiget awḍyah cda mulik argtren awro qoli qacre anen nin
 bierketeyah. ḍapriθ murvah ante. tigeḱi qolin darke argteh.
 ada mulinihi tige qole qacariθ anyah ḍabriθ bierketeyah.
 ante uṛki qoṭriyaθ ante āh māqe manmecante etke
 awroḥ cacen beṭrake ḍ'ri in injqoṭriyah. ante aṭinte taṅgi
 aḍḍa kiriyah.

<i>inj-qadeθ</i>	orphan
<i>mela mela</i>	not
<i>patli</i>	pot
<i>qep-maler</i>	villagers
<i>guni</i>	near,
<i>ciye</i>	to give
<i>qolan</i>	pot
<i>qēGe</i>	to ask
<i>qaqe</i>	to receive
<i>ḍabri</i>	the vat used for feeding couse
<i>andṛ-naqe</i>	to meet
<i>āt</i>	fire-place
<i>aṅGle</i>	to gape
<i>toro</i>	mouth
<i>qate</i>	to give
<i>bākran</i>	share
<i>ejryah</i>	woke up
<i>rōkare</i>	to be angry
<i>akre</i>	to chase
<i>jeje</i>	to begin
<i>arbāhu</i>	cultivator
<i>ṭeke</i>	to check
<i>āṛsiyah</i>	reached,
<i>ṭige</i>	monkey
<i>teteli</i>	tamarind
<i>goli</i>	tail
<i>darye</i>	to catch
<i>arGe</i>	to climb
<i>bece</i>	to wish
<i>moṭo</i>	fat

<i>pole</i>	to be unable
<i>mulī</i>	root (of the tree)
<i>bicre</i>	to let go
<i>mure</i>	to say yes or no to agree
<i>qoŋre</i>	to break
<i>cace</i>	pelbble
<i>iñhe</i>	to pelt

There was a boy. He had neither father nor mother. He was an orphan. One day being tired of hunger he went to a forest to kill birds. After killing a puren bird he brought it (home). (But) there was no pot to cook. So he went to the villagers to ask for a pot. He said to the villagers, give me a pot. (They replied) we have none, otherwise we could give. Then he went to a second house. There, too, he did not get any. While he was weeping and returning he met a vat on the way. The vat asked him, "Why are you weeping, my child?" The boy said, "I weep (because of) not-getting a pot (to cook)". Then the vat said, "Come on, I will sit on the fire-place opening my mouth and you will cook the bird on my mouth. And you will give me half of it. They returned together. And the boy roasted and cooked the bird. The vat went to sleep. The boy ate his share too. The vat got up and asked for his share. The boy said, 'I have eaten your share'. Then the vat said in anger, 'I will eat you up and he started chasing him. The boy started running. On the way he met a farmer. He asked him, 'don't run, I will check it.. At that time the vat reached there. Seeing the vat the farmer was afraid. He asked the boy to run. And the boy ran away from him. One monkey was sitting on

the tamarind tree. He asked, 'why do you run, dear? The boy replied, 'The vat is chasing me and that's why I am running.' The monkey told him, 'Hold my tail and climb (on the tree). The boy climbed up. The vat reached. It wanted to climb. The monkey said,, 'you are fat. I cannot bring you up'. Eevn then the vat, help me to climb'. The monkey said, 'I will help you to climb half the height of the tree. When I say my tail is breaking you give it up., The vat agreed. It cought the tail of the monkey and climbed. When it reached (near) the middle of the tree, the monkey said, 'my tail is breaking'. The vat gave up the tail and fell and broke. The boy came down from the tree and broke it by pelting stones and he returned his home.

* This tale has been collected from Locan Malto (Hiranpur Pahariya School), an inhabitant of Sitapahar Rajmahal, which he heard from his mother. Locan told this story with various gestures — corporal and oral which from a part of the total structure.

