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LANGUAGES OF TAMIL NADU

LAMBADI
AN INDO-ARYAN DIALECT

Investigation
&
Report :
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Foreword

In the history of Indian Census for the first time in 1961 Census, an attempt was made to classify all the language returns either to a parent language or to group them as dialects of a language. Such a classification had been possible with almost all language returns of 1961 Census in Tamil Nadu. But there remained some which could not be grouped under any major language for want of detailed investigations into those languages. Though all such languages were reckoned as genuine for the purpose of 1961 Census, it was felt that a few languages which were not widely known would be the subject of interest for a scientific field-study among the people speaking those languages. Following is the list of such languages in Tamil Nadu.

- | | |
|------------|------------|
| 1. Lambadi | 3. Erukula |
| 2. Toda | 4. Korava |

The list as such was sent to Shri R. C. Nigam, Assistant Registrar General, Office of the Registrar General, India, for charting out the language-survey programme of this State. Among the languages he felt that the study of Lambadi would present quite a good deal of linguistic interest. And as a forerunner of the language-survey, the study of Lambadi was taken up by this office in 1967. Though both the field-work and write-up of the report have been completed in 1969, the publication of the same could be brought out only now owing to the pressure of 1971 Census work.

I acknowledge the good work done by Shri S. Boopathy, Senior Technical Assistant of this office who conducted the field investigation and prepared the grammar of Lambadi and brought out this volume.

I am happy to place this work before the linguists and scholars of related disciplines.

Madras-600086 }
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Preface

The tabulation and classification of mother-tongues of India became the focus of interest in the 1961 Census as it was felt by A. Mitra, then Registrar General, India, that post-Grierson linguistic work on scientific enumeration of languages and a further step on grouping them under affiliated language families has not been extensively carried out after 1901. So the work was undertaken in 1961, the main task being to enumerate all the mother-tongues spoken in India and to classify them according to the family each language belongs to. For this G. A. Grierson's classification was taken as basis on which the variety of language/dialect/sub-dialect was distinguished and classified, pending attestation. Even then there were language returns of 1961 Census which could neither be systematically accommodated within the frame work of classified List¹ nor could tentatively be classified for want of data. Such languages which cry out for more research from the view point of classifying and grouping them under common parent languages have the need for extensive research on the pattern of modern descriptive techniques. While listing the major important linguistic studies in India which have not been tackled in a systematic and organised manner, Shri R. C. Nigam, Assistant Registrar General, stresses the value of such studies as follows. 'Specific language areas which have either a wide spread in contiguous geographical areas or which are scattered in various parts of the country need specially be taken up. The areas of Konkani, Bhili, Gondi, Banjari and Gujari may be cited as illustrations. Systematic area studies along the entire spread of the languages would bring to surface much valuable information on language change and bilingualism etc.'²

From this stand point, Lambadi, one of the most problematic yet linguistically interesting languages—has been taken up for special study under 1961 Census.

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1. Grierson G. A. Linguistic Survey of India - Vol. I part 1 Appendix 1, pages 389-410.
 2. Mitra A. Census of India - Vol. I Part C (ii) Language Tables - Page ccxxv

A survey of Lamani/Lambadi or Banjari should necessarily include all the dialects of it including all the mother-tongue returns grouped under it in 1961 Census. The process of such a wide and pioneering survey covering every corner of this vast land, no matter if even one Lambadi speaker be found in an area, will have to be for convenient purposes conducted at different stages i.e., (1) selection of the major area where the survey is to be initially launched taking into consideration the linguistic (such as other languages spoken in a particular area etc.) and extra-linguistic (such as anthropological, social and historical background of the people) information available, (2) preparation of questionnaire by collecting data from that particular area, (3) collection of additional data from a few other convenient points in each region to compare and judge the uniformity and mutual-intelligibility among dialects (or language), as the case may be, with the help of isoglosses drawn for this purpose.

The above mentioned rough sketch of the intended survey will be elaborated and modified depending upon the language area under study.

The present study is a pilot survey of the envisaged bigger survey of Lambadi/Banjari group. The area of study has been restricted to Tamil Nadu only. An attempt is here made to bring out a descriptive analysis of the Lambadi language spoken in Tamil Nadu. The report falls into four main sections i.e., Phonology, Noun, Verb and Syntax with additional dialectic information on Lambadi spoken in Coimbatore District. A Comparative word-list showing the forms found in G. A. Grierson's Linguistic Survey of India with their equivalent forms collected for this survey is also presented.

The data was collected in about 100 hours, over a period of ten weeks during my field trip to Hosur Taluk, Dharmapuri District in Tamil Nadu. It consists of words, phrases, sentences and two short texts.

The material was collected using the informant method on the basis of the Field-work Book prepared for this purpose in the Language Division of the Office of the Registrar General, India. The informant from whom most of the data for the analysis was collected is one Mr. Krishnan who hails from Anchetty, a small forest-village in Hosur Taluk, Dharmapuri District. He is 35 years old and knows Tamil, Telugu, Kannada and Urdu. I can not forget his valuable co-operation during the spot study.

The language is described here basing the analysis on material collected by me. The scope of survey being limited to the collection of such data as would bring out broadly the main characteristics of the speech, in the present treatment no claim regarding a free or complete presentation of Lambadi grammar is being made.

Now remains the pleasant task of expressing my gratitude to those who helped me in bringing out this volume in fine shape. I offer my profound gratitude to my Director Shri K. Chockalingam, I.A.S. who has always encouraged me in my assignment and in fact provided me with an atmosphere of academic freedom under him. But for his keen interest and encouragement I would not have been in a position to bring out this volume. Also, I can not but feel grateful to Shri V. R. Chandran, Deputy Director, for the interest he took in the publication of this volume.

I record my sincere gratitude to Shri R. C. Nigam, Assistant Registrar General, for offering me constructive suggestions and guidelines throughout the period from field-work till write-up of the report. I also thank Dr. M. R. Renganatha, Linguist, who took a special interest in the project and was very kind enough to go through the whole report and offer me many useful suggestions.

I am indebted to Dr. G. Srinivasa Varma of the Department of Linguistics, Annamalai University for his valuable suggestions. My discussions with him were very useful to me and his profound knowledge on Indo-Aryan languages has always been an enlightening help to me.

I was assisted by Shri V. Kasinathan, L.D.C., in the proof-reading work of this report and I record my thanks to him. Lastly my thanks are also due to Messrs Alamu Printing Works, Madras for the good printing of this report.

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INTRODUCTION

History of the People

Lambadis—also known as Labhanis, Banjaris or Brinjaris, Sukalis—are a wandering band of people found in many parts of India's Southern States. The three appellations Lambadi, Sukali and Brinjari are derived from lavana 'salt', su-gwala 'good cowherd' and banijar 'traders' respectively. About the origin of this people G.A. Grierson writes that, "the tribe has been known in India for centuries. It appeared to be a mixed race and to owe its origin and organisation to the wars of the Delhi Emperors in Southern India, where they carried the commissariat of the armies". About the Banjaris of the Deccan he further states that "Banjaris of the Deccan claim descent from the great Brahmins and Rajput tribes of Northern India, and this is partly borne out by the fact that their language is certainly connected with that spoken at the present day in Western Rajputana".¹

Detailed recorded information on this people is not available in history but there are legends which, to some extent, draw the origin of Lambadis. Noteworthy is A. Aiyappan's 'Report on the Socio Economic conditions of the aboriginal tribes of the Province of Madras', which enlightens as follows: "The Brinjari division of this tribe living in the Nizam's dominions is called Vadatya or Northern divisions. They are divided into four main classes. There are the Vadatya above mentioned, Chavan, Panchar and Bhutya classes. The last three were the descendants of three sons of an ancestor called Mola; with his brothers Mota was a descendant of Sugriva of the Ramayana. Mota's progeny became Laban, Gurjera and Marwadi class. There were Gotrams within each of the four classes and the names of the Gotras in Vadatya class show that they were the latter immigrants from Central India, e.g. Ajmaira. Among Chavans, Panchars and Bhutyas, the Bhutyas form the principal class and this tribe exists in Rayalaseema".² Regarding the Lambadis in Andhra, Dr. Roy Burman, in his field-work conducted during the ethnographic study-camp held at Hyderabad in 1961, has stated that, 'As in other parts of India, the Banjaras found near Nagarjunakonda hold tradition of migration from Rajasthan'.

1 Grierson G.A. Linguistic Survey of India, Volume IX, Part III Page 256

2 Aiyappan A, 'Report on the Socio Economic conditions of the aboriginal tribes of the Province of Madras' Page 164-165.

Lambadi community was engaged in the trade of salt, grain and other commodities in remote villages. Because of the fact that they were nomadic tribes, they used to cover great distances to places most in need of their merchandise. Distance never fatigued them. They went to battle-field as warriors alongside English Military Personnel in their war against the Sultan of Mysore. In olden times, they had the wicked custom of kidnapping children and selling them to tribal people. Lambadis in Mysore State, as per information recorded in the Mysore Census Report 1891, carried out the occupation of transporting grain and other commodities on pack-bullocks, especially on the hill and forest tracts. "The tribe existed and practised the vocation of grain-carriers long before this is certain, and it is possible that the Sanskrit writer Daṇḍiṇ had them in his mind though he did not distinctly mention them,"¹ writes G.A. Grierson about their earlier trade.

Lambadis of Tamil Nadu

It has been noted in the Madras Census Report of 1891 that Lambadis and Sukalis are the same people. Nevertheless some distinction between these two people has been noted. For instance, H.A. Stuart, writing on the Lambadis found in North Arcot District states that, "the Sukalis are those who have permanently settled in this district, the Lambadis are those who commonly pass through from the coast of Mysore; and the Brinjaris appear to be those who come down from Hyderabad or the Central Province".²

There is no legend or detailed information available, one which would illustrate the event and exact place from where Lambadis migrated to other areas. Lambadis found in Tamil Nadu are generally believed to have migrated from Bombay and Saurashtra and from Shimoga or Mysore during the reign of Aurangzeb, the reason being fear of conversion to Islam.

Lambadis, in Tamil Nadu³ are found in the districts of Salem, Coimbatore and Chingleput. The Lambadi speaking population in this State is recorded as 3,345 in 1961 Census. They were of wandering type and were

1 Grierson G.A. Linguistic Survey of India—Volume IX—Part III Page 256.

2 Thurston E. Castes and Tribes of Southern India—Volume IV—Page 210.

3 Population of Lambadi speaking people in the districts of Salem, Coimbatore and Chingleput are as follows :

	<i>Persons</i>	<i>Males</i>	<i>Females</i>
Salem District (Rural)	2,763	1,346	1,417
Coimbatore District (Rural)	510	241	269
Chingleput District (Urban)	72	27	45

originally roaming all over Tamil Nadu. But in recent times they have been made to settle down in some areas such as Hosur taluk in Dharmapuri District. From what period Lambadis began settling down in these areas is not known, but it is assumed that these people have existed in these areas from about the seventeenth century. No legends, folk-tales or sagas are current about this tribe except those found in Thurston's 'Castes and tribes of Southern India—Volume IV.'

About the characteristic features of this folk, F. S. Mullaly writes : 'The men are strong, and muscular. Their ordinary dress is dhoty with short trousers'.¹ Women are fond of colourful garments. They wear various jewels characteristic of the people. Lambadi women are hard working. They have no patent religion but worship Hindu Gods.

Lambadis little prefer to mix with other people. They always live in a village of their own. It will be of interesting to note an account about the Lambadi's encampment given by S. R. Rice, as follows, "A Lambadi's hut generally consists of only one small room, with no aperture except the doorway. Here are huddled together the men, women and children, the same room doing duty as kitchen, dining and bed room. The cattle are generally tied up outside in any available spot of the village site, so that the whole village is a sort of cattle pen interspersed with huts in whatever places may have seemed convenient to the particular individual. Dotted here and there are a few shrines of a modest description, where I was told that fires are lighted every night in honour of the deity. The roofs are generally sloping and made of thatch, unlike the majority of houses in the Deccan, which are almost always terraced or flat roofed. I have been in one or two houses rather larger than those described, where I found a buffalo or two, after the usual Canarese fashion. There is an air of encampment about the village, which suggests a gipsy life'.²

The findings of the writer regarding the encampment and the way of life that the Lambadis lead in some of the areas of Dharmapuri District fit in with the descriptions given above.

Language of the People

The mother-tongue of this sect of people who are vastly found (either settled or wandering) in various parts of this Sub-continent right from Himachal Pradesh to Tamil Nadu has got different terms under which it is referred to.

1 Thurston E. Castes and Tribes of Southern India—Volume IV Page 217.

2 Thurston E. Castes and Tribes of Southern India—Volume IV Pages 216-217.

in a particular area. R. C. Nigam, Linguist, in his Introductory Note written for the Census of India 1961, Language Tables, rightly observes the availability of a variety of returns for their mother-tongue in 1961 Census and the preferential use of one name in a particular area. 'According to the Linguistic Survey, Lamani or Lambadi is only another name for Banjari. Yet on account of quite a large number of returns having been received against Banjari and Lamani/Lambadi separately, it was decided to retain both. Moreover, it was noticed that Lamani/Lambadi returns were maximum from Andhra Pradesh i.e. 559,326 out of a total of 679,363 while Banjari returns were only 11,456. Maharashtra and Mysore returned the maximum number of Banjari speakers; a total of 530,058 from these two States alone out of the all-India total for Banjari of 592,654. This showed the preferential use of one name in a particular area.* The above mentioned findings of the Linguist gives an idea of how the speakers of this language inherited one or another name for this language in an area.

The returns Lambadi, Lamani or Banjari so long as they do not give way to differences of speech habits in the grammatical organism of each pose no problem in the overall linguistic assessment of family wise language classification. To what parent language or to a common pattern of language-variety this Lamani/Lambadi or Banjari of South India is to be grouped? This question has not been adequately solved by G. A. Grierson in his Linguistic Survey of India, because of the mere fact that his survey was not extended to the Southern Provinces of India where also the dialect was found to be spoken. But about the various dialects of this language spoken in the Northern and Central Parts of India, he was able to present an over-all picture of the language situation and trace its origin to some extent. Here is given a brief account of G. A. Grierson's remarks over this language in the interest of the reader.

'Banjārī falls into two main dialects that of the Punjab and Gujarat and that of elsewhere (of which we may take the Labhānī of Berar as the standard). To these we may add the Labānki of Muzzaffargarh in the Punjab, which differs from that spoken in the rest of the province. The dialects of Kabērs, or comb-makers, of Jhansi in the United Provinces and of Bahrūpias of the Punjab have also, on examination, turned out to be the same as the Labhānī of Berar.'

'All these different dialects are ultimately to be referred to the language of Western Rajputana. The few speakers of Labānki in Muzzaffargarh employ ordinary Bikanēri, and my only reason for entering this language above is that it is not the vernacular of Muzzaffargarh, which is Lahndā.'

* Mitra A. Census of India, Volume I, Part II-c (ii) Language Tables page ccxix

‘For the other Banjārī dialects, we must take the Labhānī of Berar as the standard. It is in this locality that the tribe has most strongly preserved its racial characteristics, and employs the purest form of its speech. Elsewhere (except in the Punjab and Gujarat) the same dialect is spoken, but more and more corrupt as we go eastwards, westwards or northwards from Berar. I have little information regarding the Banjārī of Hyderabad and the rest of Southern India as the Linguistic Survey does not touch these tracts but from what I have learnt concerning it, it appears to me that the dialect of Hyderabad closely resembles that of Berar while that of Madras is more mixed with surrounding Dravidian languages.’

‘The Labhānī of Berar possesses the characteristics of an old form of speech, which has been preserved unchanged for some centuries. It may be said to be based partly on Mārwarī and partly on Northern Gujarātī, and gives one the idea of being derived from the original language from which these closely connected forms of speech have sprung in comparatively late times.’

‘It should be observed that nowhere, not even in Berar, is Banjārī a pure language. It is everywhere mixed, to a greater or less extent, with the vernacular of the country in which its speakers dwell. The amount of the mixture varies greatly, and is probably, in each case, much dependent on the personal equation of the speakers.’*

* Grierson, G.A. Linguistic Survey of India—Volume IX, Part III pages 259-260.

1. PHONOLOGY

1.1. The following chart represents the inventory of segmental phonemes in Lambadi language.

Vowels :

<i>Front</i>	<i>Central</i>	<i>Back</i>
i	ɪ	u
e		o
ɛ	a	

Length /:/, Nasalization /~/

Consonants :

	<i>Labial</i>	<i>Dental</i>	<i>Alveolar</i>	<i>Retroflex</i>	<i>Palatal</i>	<i>Velar</i>	<i>Glottal</i>
<i>Obstruents</i>							
Stops	p	t		ɖ	c	k	
	ph	th		ɖh	ch	kh	
	b	d		ɖ	j	g	
	bh	dh		ɖh	jh	gh	
Fricatives			s				h
<i>Sonorants</i>							
Nasal	m		n				
Lateral			l	ɭ			
Trill			r	ɽ			
Semi-vowels	v				y		

1.2. The general vowel pattern is that there are two vowels in the front category and two in the back category which again fall into two in high and two in mid categories plus a central vowel which is low. The description of the vowels given above excludes the two phonemes /ɛ/ and /ɪ/. Since the frequency of the occurrence of these two phonemes is very low they have not been included in the pattern. But for this, in all other instances /ɛ/ and /ɪ/ are treated as separate phonemes because of the fact that they maintain clear contrast with other vowel phonemes.

1.2.1. /i/ and /u/ are high front and high back respectively, and they are as close as cardinal vowels in their quality.

1.2.2. /e/, /o/. Mid vowels of both front and back categories are phonetically higher in quality. They are higher than the cardinal /e/ and /o/.

1.2.3. /a/ is low central vowel. Especially /a/ is higher in quality.

1.2.4. /ɛ/ is a front vowel. It is lower than the cardinal /e/. The occurrence of this is restricted only to the final position of a word.

1.2.5. /I/ is high central unrounded vowel. This maintains distinct contrast with the high back vowel /u/, as well as with the high front vowel /i/.

1.2.6. Length occurs with all the vowels except /ɛ/ and /I/. There are no words in which either /ɛ/ or /I/ is lengthened. That is /ɛ/ and /I/ do not have longer counterparts. Short and long vowels occur in contrast in initial and medial positions. Finally the contrast is neutralised. Vowels in this position, that is before pause, are only short in quantity. Though morphologically some noun and verb bases are set up ending in short vowels, phonemically they may be considered either short or long. Here they are phonemically written short.

1.2.7. Vowels are distinguished as short and long contrasting in examples like

/gini/	‘parrot’	vs	/gi:d/	‘song’
/undrI/	‘mouse’	vs	/u:nɖu/	‘deep’
/vetuɖI/	‘bridegroom’	vs	/pe:ɽɽa/	‘turban’
/osoɭo/	‘dust’	vs	/o:s/	‘dew’
/ara/	‘file’	vs	/a:rsi/	‘mirror’

1.2.8. Nasalization occurs with long vowels as well as with short vowels except /ɛ/ and /I/. Following are the examples to show contrast of nasalized vowels with oral vowels.

/khĩ:s/	‘pull’	vs	/ɽi:s/	‘angry’
/ba:yã/	‘servant’	vs	/a:gya/	‘butterfly’
/ɽũ/	‘cotton’	vs	/lu/	‘wipe’
/bẽ:sa/	‘buffaloe’	vs	/pe:ɽ/	‘belly’
/khõ:sla/	‘snatch’	vs	/ho:ɽɽI/	‘lip’

1.2.9. Examples for all vowels in order of their distribution in initial, medial and final positions are given below. (Wherever forms in the given positions are not available the space is left blank).

<i>Phoneme</i>	<i>Initial</i>	<i>Medial</i>	<i>Final</i>
/i/	/inḍa/ 'egg'	/biḷji/ 'breast'	/khi:ḍi/ 'ant'
/u/	/undrI/ 'mouse'	/munḍo/ 'face'	/moḷḷu/ 'sand'
/e/	/ettI/ 'here'	/vetuḍI/ 'bride-groom'	/li:mbe/ 'neem'
/o/	/osoḷo/ 'dust'	/nokkI/ 'nail'	/bhe:jo/ 'brain'
/a/	/ara/ 'file'	/haḍakka/ 'bone'	/ḍo:kkra/ 'old man'
/ɛ/			/dɛ/ 'give'
/I/		/sa:dIrI/ 'mat'	/ha:ṭṭI/ 'hand'
/i:/		/bi:r/ 'woman'	The contrast between short and long vowels is neutralised in the final position. Here, vowels in the final position are written short.
/u:/	/u:nḍu/ 'deep'	/pu:ṭṭo/ 'back'	
/e:/	/e:k/ 'one'	/be:pṭa/ 'child'	
/o:/	/o:s/ 'dew'	/cho:ri/ 'girl'	
/a:/	/a:nki/ 'eye'	/ka:n/ 'ear'	
/ĩ/			
/ũ/			/ṛũ/ 'cotton'
/ẽ/			/di:yẽ/ 'day'
/õ/			
/ã/			/ja:yã/ 'guava'
/ĩ:/		/khĩ:s/ 'snatch'	
/ũ:/		/jhũ:mpḍi/ 'hut'	
/ẽ:/			
/ã:/		/mã:y/ 'in'	

1.3. The consonantal phonemes of Lambadi language may be divided into two major groups i.e. (i) obstruents and (ii) sonorants. The former group includes the stop series and fricatives. In the stop series all phonemes have voiceless unaspirated, voiceless aspirated, voiced unaspirated and voiced aspirated counterparts. The two fricative phonemes are voiceless. The latter includes the nasal, lateral, trill and semi-vowel phonemes all of which are voiced.

1.3.1. Details of each phoneme (phonetic description, occurrence etc.) are given below.

The consonants of the first row (in the chart given above) are voiceless unaspirated stops.

<i>Phoneme</i>	<i>Phonetic description</i>	<i>Occurrence</i>
/p/	Voiceless unaspirated labial stop /pe:t/ 'belly'	This phoneme occurs in all positions, initially, medially and finally.
/t/	Voiceless unaspirated dental stop /ta:la/ 'latch'	This phoneme occurs in all positions, initially, medially and finally.
/ʈ/	Voiceless unaspirated retroflex stop /ʈapa:ro/ 'box'	This phoneme occurs in all positions, initially, medially and finally.
/c/	Voiceless unaspirated palatal stop /ca:ʈtu/ 'ladle'	Examples for the occurrence in inter-vocallic position are not found. Elsewhere it occurs.
/k/	Voiceless unaspirated velar stop /ka:n/ 'ear'	Examples for the occurrence in inter-vocallic position are not found. Elsewhere it occurs.

1.3.2. The second row in the chart consists of voiceless aspirated stops.

<i>Phoneme</i>	<i>Phonetic description</i>	<i>Occurrence</i>
/ph/	Voiceless aspirated labial stop /phaɪ/ 'fruit'	This phoneme occurs only in the initial position.
/th/	Voiceless aspirated dental stop /tharus/ 'thirsty'	do
/ṭh/	Voiceless aspirated retroflex stop	
/ch/	Voiceless aspirated palatal stop /chaɪ/ 'climb'	
/kh/	Voiceless aspirated velar stop /khaɪo/ 'field'	

1.3.3. The third row consists of voiced unaspirated stops.

<i>Phoneme</i>	<i>Phonetic description</i>	<i>Occurrence</i>
/b/	Voiced unaspirated labial stop /bijji/ 'breast'	This phoneme occurs in all positions except intervocallically.
/d/	Voiced unaspirated dental stop /da:ntu/ 'tooth'	This phoneme occurs in all positions.
/ḍ/	Voiced unaspirated retroflex stop /ḍo:kkra/ 'old man'	This phoneme occurs in all positions.

<i>Phoneme</i>	<i>Phonetic description</i>	<i>Occurrence</i>
/j/	Voiced unaspirated palatal stop /ja:l/ 'net'	This phoneme occurs in all positions.
/g/	Voiced unaspirated velar stop /gavi/ 'cave'	This phoneme occurs in all positions.

1.3.4. The fourth row consists of voiced aspirated stops.

<i>Phoneme</i>	<i>Phonetic description</i>	<i>Occurrence</i>
/bh/	Voiced aspirated labial stop /bha:tta/ 'stone'	This phoneme occurs only in the initial position.
/dh/	Voiced aspirated dental stop /dhû/ 'smoke'	This phoneme occurs only in the initial position.
/ḍh/	Voiced aspirated retro- flex stop /ḍhe:rI/ 'enough'	This phoneme occurs only in the initial position.
/jh/	Voiced aspirated palatal stop /jhemī/ 'earth'	This phoneme occurs only in the initial position.
/gh/	Voiced aspirated velar stop /gho:ḍo/ 'horse'	This phoneme occurs only in the initial position.

1.3.5. The fifth row of the chart consists of fricatives which are voiceless.

<i>Phoneme</i>	<i>Phonetic description</i>	<i>Occurrence</i>
/s/	Voiceless alveolar fricative /si/ 'cold'	This phoneme occurs in all positions except in gemination.

<i>Phoneme</i>	<i>Phonetic description</i>	<i>Occurrence</i>
/h/	Voiceless glottal fricative	This phoneme occurs initially and with clusters only.
	/ha:t/ 'arm'	

1.3.6. The sixth row consists of nasals. There are only two nasal phonemes (bilabial and alveolar) found in this language.

<i>Phoneme</i>	<i>Phonetic description</i>	<i>Occurrence</i>
/m/	Voiced bilabial nasal	This phoneme occurs in all positions except in gemination.
	/ma:r/ 'beat'	
/n/	Voiced alveolar nasal. It has four allophones.	This phoneme occurs in all positions.

Examples

[ŋ]	a retroflex nasal	when followed by retroflex stops	[iŋɖa]	'egg'
[ɲ]	a palatal nasal	when followed by palatal stop	[a:ɲci]	'flame'
[ŋ]	a velar nasal	when followed by velar stops	[a:ŋki]	'eye'
[n]	an alveolar nasal	elsewhere	[nokkɪ]	'nail'

1.3.7. The seventh row consists of lateral phonemes.

<i>Phoneme</i>	<i>Phonetic description</i>	<i>Occurrence</i>
/l/	Alveolar lateral /laɽta/ 'hair'	It occurs in all positions.
/ɭ/	Retroflex lateral /o:ɭda/ 'basket'	Examples for the occur- rence in the initial position are not found. Elsewhere it occurs.

1.3.8. The eighth row consists of trill consonants.

<i>Phoneme</i>	<i>Phonetic description</i>	<i>Occurrence</i>
/r/	Voiced alveolar trill	Except in gemination it occurs in all other positions.
	/ras/ 'juice'	
/ɾ/	Retroflex lateral trill	This phoneme occurs initially and intervocally.
	/ɾam/ 'play'	

1.3.9. The last row consists of semi-vowels.

<i>Phoneme</i>	<i>Phonetic description</i>	<i>Occurrence</i>
/v/	Labial continuant	It occurs in all positions.
	/va:jal/ 'cloud'	
/y/	Palatal continuant	Except in gemination it occurs in all other positions.

1.3.10. The diphthongs ai, ei, au and eu are considered phonemically as sequences of vowels plus y or v respectively since there is no contrast between diphthongs and sequences of vowels plus semi-vowels.

1.3.11. Examples of consonantal phonemes in order of their distribution are given at the end of this chapter.

1.4. *Consonant clusters*: Clusters in the initial position are not found in this language. But they occur in the medial and final positions. Consonant clusters of two and three numbers are observed in our data.

1.4.1. Clusters of two consonants which we have hitherto collected are listed in the chart. The consonants listed vertically in the chart occur as first member of a cluster. The consonants in the horizontal column occur as second member of a cluster.

e.g.	/be:p̌ta/	‘child’
	/da:ntu/	‘tooth’
	/sa:ňti/	‘naval’
	/a:nci/	‘flame’

1.4.2. Three consonant clusters are listed below :

mpl	: /mumpli/	‘ground-nut’
mbli	: /a:mbli jha:ḍI/	‘tamarind tree’
mbr	: /khaṭṭu:mbrI/	‘bed bug’
ndr	: /sandra/	‘moon’
nky	: /na:nkya/	‘small’
ngḍ	: /langḍi/	‘crippled’ (she)
kkṛ	: /ḍo:kkṛa/	‘old man’

1.5. *Syllable pattern* : In this language disyllabic words are greater in number. Next come trisyllabic words. The number of mono-syllabic words is considerably very low.

1.5.1. Type of open syllables are given below.

cv	e.g.	/ca-ra/	‘graze’
cv		/ku:-ni/	‘elbow’

1.5.2. In the variety of closed syllables the following are the types which begin with vowels.

v̌c	e.g.	/ap-la/	‘papad’
v̌cc		/und-rI/	‘mouse’
v̄c		/a:t/	‘eight’
v̄cc		/a:ng-li/	‘finger’

Following are the other types of closed syllables which begin with consonants.

cvc	e.g.	/bad-na/	‘rope’
cvc		/pe:t-ṭa/	‘turban’
cṽcc		/mump-li/	‘ground-nut’
cṽcc		/mu:ng/	‘green gram’

1.5.3. Following are the syllabic-patterns occurring with mono-syllabic words.

v	e.g.	/a/	‘come’
vc		/a:j/	‘today’
cvc		/pa:n/	‘leaf’
cvc		/tam/	‘you’
cṽcc		/chi:mp/	‘touch’
cvcc		/karc/	‘spending’

DISTRIBUTION OF THE CONSONANTAL PHONEMES

<i>Phoneme</i>	<i>Initial</i>	<i>vcv</i>	<i>Medial gem</i>	<i>Cluster</i>	<i>Final</i>
/p/	/pu:ṭṭo/ ‘back’	/sapa:ri/ ‘betelnut’	/doppe:rI/ ‘noon’	/be:pṭa/ ‘child’	/ba:p/ ‘father’
/t/	/te:ḍḍu/ ‘oar’	/ta:to/ ‘heat’	/cha:tti/ ‘chest’	/da:ntu/ ‘tooth’	/ra:t/ ‘night’
/ṭ/	/ṭa:ngI/ ‘leg’	/mu:ṭi/ ‘fist’	/pu:ṭṭo/ ‘back’	/su:nṭi/ ‘navel’	/pe:t/ ‘belly’
/c/	/ca:ṭṭu/ ‘ladle’		/muccɛ/ ‘moustache’	/a:nci/ ‘flame’	/pa:nc/ ‘five’
/k/	/ka:n/ ‘ear’		/ḍo:kkra/ ‘old man’	/pa:kṭi/ ‘rib’	/malk/ ‘country’
/ph/	/phu:l/ ‘flower’				

DISTRIBUTION OF THE CONSONANTAL PHONEMES

<i>Phoneme</i>	<i>Initial</i>	<i>vcv</i>	<i>Medial gem</i>	<i>Cluster</i>	<i>Final</i>
/th/	/tharus/ 'thirty'				
/ṭh/					
/ch/	/cho:ra/ 'boy'				
/kh/	/khaḷo/ 'field'				
/b/	/bijji/ 'breast'		/sibba/ 'cat(he)'	/ba:bni/ 'eyelash'	/gari:b/ 'poor'
/d/	/da:ntu/ 'tooth'	/bi:di/ 'street'	/gu:ddI/ 'fat'	/sandra/ 'moon'	/mard/ 'man'
/ḍ/	/ḍo:kkra/ 'old man'	/ḍa:ḍi/ 'chin'	/guḍḍa/ 'hill'	/munḍo/ 'face'	/pho:ḍ/ 'break'
/j/	/ja:ngI/ 'thigh'	/bhe:jo/ 'brain'	/bajji/ 'breast'	/sa:njI/ 'evening'	/na:kke:r ve:j/ 'nostrill'
/g/	/gavi/ 'cave'	/na:gar/ 'plough'	/moggI/ 'bud'	/a:ngli/ 'finger'	/ba:g/ 'garden'
/bh/	/bhe:jo/ 'brain'				
/dh/	/dhaḍi:ya/ 'mountain'				
/ḍh/	/ḍhe:rI/ 'enough'				
/jh/	/jhemi/ 'earth'				

<i>Phoneme</i>	<i>Initial</i>	<i>v cv</i>	<i>Medial gem</i>	<i>Cluster</i>	<i>Final</i>
/gh/	/gho:ḍo/ 'horse'				
/s/	/si/ 'cold'	/osoḷo/ 'dust'		/panse:r jha:ḍI/ 'jack tree'	/ma:s/ 'flesh'
/h/	/ha:t/ 'arm'			/ghuhri/ 'bracelet'	
/m/	/ma:tto/ 'heart'	/jhemī/ 'earth'		/ta:mbo/ 'copper'	/gha:m/ 'village'
/n/	/nokkI/ 'nail'	/ku:ni/ 'elbow'	/ba:nni/ 'broom'	/a:nki/ 'eye'	/ka:n/ 'ear'
/l/	/lo:y/ 'blood'	/hatta:li/ 'palm'	/kukḍi pilla/ 'chicken'	/balrI/ 'beans'	/va:jal/ 'sky'
/l/		/taḷavo/ 'lake'	/moḷḷu/ 'sand'	/kha:ḷḍo/ 'skin'	/aba:liya ca:val/ 'boiled rice'
/r/	/ro:ja/ 'rose'	/cho:ri/ 'girl'		/sandra/ 'moon'	/bi:r/ 'woman'
/ṛ/	/ṛa:nḍiya/ 'widower'	/haṛo/ 'green'			
/v/	/va:jal/ 'cloud'	/lovo/ 'iron'	/navvo/ 'new'	/ga:vḍi/ 'cow'	/da:v/ 'place'
/y/	/ya:ḍi/ 'mother'	/di:yē/ 'day'		/ko:lya/ 'charcoal'	/lo:y/ 'blood'

CHART SHOWING TWO CONSONANT CLUSTERS

	p	t	t̪	c	k	ph	th	ch	kh	b	d	ɖ	j	ɟ	bh
p	*	*	*	*								*			
t		*		*										*	
t̪			*	*	*										
c				*											
k	*	*			*						*	*			
ph															
th															
ch															
kh															
b										*					
d											*				
ɖ												*			
j													*		
ɟ												*		*	

CHART SHOWING TWO CONSONANT CLUSTERS--(Contd.)

	dh	ɖh	jh	gh	m	n	l	r	ɾ	v	y	s	h	l
p						*								*
t								*			*			*
t̪											*			*
c											*			*
k						*	*	*		*	*			*
ph														
th														
ch														
kh														
b						*		*				*		
d					*	*								
ɖ								*						
j														
g							*					*		

bh

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Note :— /l/ is shown in the central position in the phonemic chart since the vowel is more centralised than being a front vowel. Please see section 1.2.5. for the phonemic description of this vowel.

2. NOUN

2.1 Linguistic forms which enter into construction with case suffixes belong to the morpheme class called 'Noun' in Lambadi. By this definition pronouns of this language also form a sub-class of noun, since they are also declinable with case suffixes. Nouns are also classified into two groups viz. animate and the rest. The former is further classified into masculine and feminine. All the nouns including pronouns have number distinction. The nouns and pronouns are described below.

2.2. *Number*

2.2.1. There are two numbers in Lambadi i.e. singular and plural. Generally the singular denotes a person or a thing and the plural many. The suffix -u stands as a plural marker to form the plural of nouns. This way of pluralization is found in very few words, all of which have been listed below.

<i>Singular</i>		<i>Plural</i>	
be:ṭṭi	'daughter'	be:ṭṭiyu	'daughters'
ḍo:li	'branch'	ḍo:liyu	'branches'
la:vi	'bird'	la:viyu	'birds'
mard	'man'	mardu	'men'
cho:ri	'girl'	cho:riyu	'girls'

2.2.2. Majority of the nouns generally make no change in the absolute plural. But when such nouns are used in the plural sense in syntactic constructions they are compulsorily preceded by any one of the numerical adjectives, e.g. java:d citla 'many deer', ti:n bi:r 'three women', and se bha:ṭṭa 'a few stones'.

2.3. *Gender*

2.3.1. The above said two fold classification of nouns is found in Lambadi. Nouns consisting of the names of living beings clearly distinguish the gender. This set of nouns has both the genders, i.e. masculine and feminine. The remaining nouns have no gender distinction.

2.3.2. Following are the possible methods by which gender distinction is maintained among the nouns denoting living beings. No phonological or morphological rule can be formulated to show the limit within which each pattern is valid. So these are rules with exception since a few nouns in each category are impossible of being brought under the scheme.

2.3.3. (I) The very large class of masculine nouns ending in (i) -a, (ii) -o, (iii) -I form the feminine by changing that termination into -i.
(e.g.)

<i>Masculine</i>		<i>Feminine</i>	
(i)			
bē:sa	‘he-buffaloe’	bē:si	‘she-buffaloe’
sibba	‘he-cat’	sibbi	‘she-cat’
kotra	‘he-dog’	kotri	‘she-dog’
bakra	‘he-goat’	bakri	‘she-goat’
cho:ra	‘boy’	cho:ri	‘girl’
ḍo:kkra	‘old man’	ḍo:kkri	‘old woman’
be:ṭṭa	‘son’	be:ṭṭi	‘daughter’
pu:ppa	‘father’s sister’s husband’	pu:ppi	‘father’s sister’
da:da	‘father’s father’	da:di	‘father’s mother’
ma:ma	‘mother’s brother’	ma:mi	‘mother’s brother’s wife’
na:na	‘mother’s father’	na:ni	‘mother’s mother’
ma:sa	‘mother’s younger sister’s husband’	ma:si	‘mother’s younger sister’
(ii)			
bo:tro	‘son’s son’	bo:tri	‘son’s daughter’
kha:no	‘blind man’	kha:ni	‘blind woman’
langḍo	‘crippled man’	langḍi	‘crippled woman’
bhe:ro	‘deaf man’	bhe:ri	‘deaf woman’

*Masculine**Feminine*

(ii)

gu:ngo	'dumb man'	gu:ngi	'dumb woman'
sa:lo	'wife's brother'	sa:li	'wife's sister'

(iii)

su:rI	'he-pig'	su:ri	'she-pig'
sa:vka:r	'rich man'	sa:yka:ri	'rich woman'
sa:mbar	'he-deer'	sa:mbri	'she-deer'
va:ndar	'he-monkey'	va:ndri	'she-monkey'

2.3.4. The following are the exceptional forms which, though end with one of these terminations -a, -o, or -I, do not follow the above given rule.

*Masculine**Feminine*

ra:ndiya	'widower'	ra:ndI bi:r	'widow'
mard ka:gla	'he-crow'	bi:r ka:gla	'she-crow'
mard sa:liya	'he-fox'	bi:r sa:liya	'she-fox'
mard sasiya	'he-hare'	bi:r sasiya	'she-hare'

2.3.5. Gender is also indicated by attributing separate words* before the nouns.

*Masculine**Feminine*

mard ka:gla	'he-crow'	bi:r ka:gla	'she-crow'
mard ha:tti	'he-elephant'	bi:r ha:tti	'she-elephant'
mard sa:liya	'he-fox'	bi:r sa:liya	'she-fox'
mard sasiya	'he-hare'	bi:r sasiya	'she-hare'
mard jana:var	'tiger'	bi:r jana:var	'tigress'

* These words, mard 'man' and bi:r 'woman' are nouns by themselves. They can also be used as attributes before some nouns to determine the gender of that particular noun.

e.g.	mard sa:liya	'he-fox'
	bi:r sa:liya	'she-fox'

2.3.6. Feminine is formed in the following words from an entirely different root.

<i>Masculine</i>		<i>Feminine</i>	
bhi:ya	'elder brother'	ba:y	'elder sister'
bha:yi	'younger brother'	bhe:n	'younger sister'

2.3.7. In the form given below feminine is formed in an irregular manner.

<i>Masculine</i>		<i>Feminine</i>	
ra:nḍiya	'widower'	ra:nḍI bi:r	'widow'

2.3.8. Almost all the forms which distinguish gender have been classified under the respective formula governing them and listed above, since none of the formula can be conditioned either phonologically or morphologically.

2.3.9. The following two morphophonemic rules are applicable when the nouns enter into construction either with plural suffixes or with feminine suffixes.

2.3.9.1 (i) Stem final -i followed by the plural suffix -u gets the semi-vowel -y before the suffix.

e.g.

be:tti + u > be:tṭiyu

2.3.9.2 (ii) Stem final -r followed by the feminine suffix -i loses the vowel in the final syllable of the stem if it is a short vowel.

e.g.

sa:mbar + i > sa-mbri

2.4. Case inflections

2.4.1. There are six cases in this language. The case suffixes are added to noun stems. Same set of case suffixes are used for singular and plural. All the nouns in their basic forms are in the nominative, i.e. nominative is unmarked. The suffixes for other cases with their allomorphs are listed below.

2.4.2. Accusative and dative: -n ~ -e:n

A single case marker is used for both accusative and dative.

These two allomorphs are phonologically conditioned. /-n/ occurs after stems ending in vowels. This allomorph is in free-variation with -inl. /-e:n/ occurs after stems ending in consonants.

2.4.3. Instrumental

/-ti ~ -e:ti/ are the two allomorphs of the instrumental suffixal morpheme. They are phonologically conditioned.

/-ti/ occurs after stems ending in vowels.

/-e:ti/ occurs after stems ending in consonants.

2.4.4. Possessive :

/-r ~ -e:r/ are phonologically conditioned allomorphs.

/-r/ occurs after stems ending in vowels.

/-e:r/ occurs after stems ending in consonants.

2.4.5. Locative :

/-ma ~ -e:ma/ are the two allomorphs of the locative case suffix.

/-ma/ occurs after stems ending in vowels.

/-e:ma/ occurs after stems ending in consonants.

2.4.6. The following morphophonemic rules are applicable when the noun stems enter into construction with case suffixes.

2.4.6.1. The final vowel of a noun which is always short in this language becomes long when any suffix is added.

e.g.

cho:riyu + n > cho:riyu:n

lakḍi + ti > lakḍi:ti

kotra + r > kotra:r

2.4.6.2. Final stop phoneme (except the retroflex stop) gets doubled when a case suffix is added.

e.g.

sa:p + e:n > sa:ppe:n

banduk + e:ti > bandukke:ti

pa:p + e:r > pa:ppe:r

2.5. *Postpositions :*

2.5.1. In addition to the case-suffixes there are a few linguistic markers which function as postpositions. Association and location are also indicated by postpositional markers. All postpositions require the word they govern in order to have the postpositional form. The postpositional forms are added usually with the nouns which are already declined with possessive case suffixes.

- | | |
|------------|---------------------------------|
| 1. la:r | 'with' (Associative) |
| 2. kan | 'with' (Locative), 'near', 'at' |
| 3. pa:ccI | 'behind' |
| 4. muḍa:gl | 'before' |
| 5. uppar | 'above', 'up' |
| 6. he:ṭ | 'below' |
| 7. bagal | 'by' |
| 8. mā:y | 'in', 'inside' |
| 9. e:ttI | 'under' |
| 10. pharI | 'beyond' |

2.6. *Sample paradigms*

Some case forms of nouns found in the data are given below as examples.

2.6.1. Accusative and dative : /-n ~ -e:n/

<i>Nominative</i>		<i>Accusative and dative</i>
cho:riyu	'girls'	cho:riyu:n
be:ṭṭiyu	'daughters'	be:ṭṭiyu:n
kotri	'she-dog'	kotri:n
cha:nd	'moon'	cha:nde:n
phu:l	'flower'	phu:le:n

2.6.2. Instrumental : /-ti ~ -e:ti/

<i>Nominative</i>		<i>Instrumental</i>
lakḍi	'stick'	lakḍi:ti
banduk	'rifle'	bandukke:ti
jha:ḍ	'tree'	jha:ḍe:ti

2.6.3. Possessive : /-r ~ -e:r/

<i>Nominative</i>		<i>Possessive</i>
kotra	'he-dog'	kotra:r
ba:p	'father'	ba:ppe:r
ka:gla	'crow'	ka:gla:r
be:ṭṭa	'son'	be:ṭṭa:r

2.6.4. Locative : /-ma ~ -e:ma/

<i>Nominative</i>		<i>Locative</i>
gha:m	'village'	gha:me:ma
na:k	'nose'	na:kke:ma

2.6.5. Postposition :

pa:ni:r uppar	'on the water'
pa:ni:r ma:y	'in the water'
bha:ṭṭa:r kan	'near the stone'
bha:ṭṭa:r he:ṭ	'below the stone'
o:r kan	'at him'

2.7. *Pronouns* :

2.7.1. Pronouns of Lambadi denote neither gender nor class. The only denoted feature in the pronouns is number. The pronouns are as follows.

<i>Singular</i>			<i>Plural</i>	
i.	ma	'I'	ham	'we'
ii.	tũ	'you'	tam	'you'
iii.	remote			
	u	'he', 'she', 'it'	o	'they'
	proximate			
	i	'he', 'she', 'it'	e	'they'

The remote and proximate pronouns can also be used as demonstrative adjectives.

2.8. *The declension of pronouns :*

Pronoun	Nominative	Accusative and dative	Instru- mental	Possessive
i. sg.	ma	man		ma:r
i. pl.	ham	hame:n		hama:r
ii. sg.	tũ	to:n		ta:r
ii. pl.	tam	tame:n		tama:r
iii. sg. remote	u	o:n		o:r
iii. pl. remote	o	one:n		one:r
iii. sg. proxi	i	e:n		e:r
iii. pl. proxi	e	ene:n		ene:r

2.8.1. Pronominal bases and their allomorphic variations can be classified as follows.

<i>Pronoun</i>	<i>nom. sg.</i>	<i>obl. sg.</i>	<i>nom. pl.</i>	<i>obli. pl.</i>
i	ma	ma-	ham	ham-
ii	tũ	to- ~ ta-	tam	tam-
iii remote	u	o-	o	on-
iii proxi	i	e-	e	en-

2.8.2. Additional allomorphic rules explaining the allomorphic variations :

2.8.2.1. (i) The high front and high back vowels occurring in the final position in the oblique stem change into mid front and mid back vowels respectively.

e.g.

$tũ + n > to:n$

$i + n > e:n$

2.8.2.2. (ii) An inflectional increment '-n-' appears when the final vowel in the nominative is a mid vowel. Then it takes the suitable case suffix.

e.g.

$e + e:n > en-e:n$

$o + e:n > on-e:n$

2.8.3. In the possessive before the oblique plural stems /tam-/ and /ham-/ the case suffix allomorph /-e:r/ becomes /-a:r/

e.g.

ham + e:r > *hame:r > hama:r

tam + e:r > *tame:r > tama:r

2.8.4. The loss of length in the final vowel of the first person oblique singular when it is declined is unaccountable. This is an exception to the morphophonemic rule framed in 2.4.6.1 earlier.

2.9. Besides these first, second and third personal pronouns certain other pronominals found in the data are as follows :—

2.9.1. Interrogative :

ku:n	‘who’
kã:yi	‘what’
kunIsI	‘which’
ke:nI	‘whom’
ke:rI	‘whose’
ka	‘why’

2.9.2. The forms found in the following main groups are considered here as pronouns but they are adverbial in their syntactic construction.

1. Locational
2. Material (quantity)
3. Manner

2.9.3. Following is the list of such forms

(1) *Locational*

<i>demonstrative</i>		<i>interrogative</i>	
atta	‘here’	katta	‘where’
otta	‘there’		

(2) *Material (quantity)*

<i>demonstrative</i>		<i>interrogative</i>	
atra	‘this much’	katra	‘how much’
otra	‘that much’		

(3) *Manner*

<i>demonstrative</i>	<i>interrogative</i>
hayyũ 'in this manner'	ki:yũ 'how'
hiyyũ 'in that manner'	

2.9.4. The following are the forms of adverbs found in the data. Here are also included a few forms which are considered adverbial in their syntactic construction though they have been grouped under other categories.

(1) *Time*

pacca	'after'
munḍa:gI	'before'
eṭke:si	'early'
abbI	'now'
sarke:si	'suddenly'

(2) *Place*

uppar	'above'
atta	'here'
mã:y	'outside'
otta	'there'

(3) *Interrogative*

karã	'when'
katta	'where'
ki:yũ	'how'

2.9.5. There are a few number of phrases in Lambadi which do the work of adverbs and therefore called *adverbial phrases*. Such a phrase consists of an adverb preceded by an adjective and a verb.

e.g.

ra:s ve:la	'long time'
------------	-------------

2.10. *Adjectives*

2.10.1. Forms which function as attributes in construction with nouns are called Adjectives. Adjectives of Lambadi are not in concordance with the gender or number of the following nouns.

The formation of the adjectives is done by adding the forms before the nouns except for interrogative adjectives which occur either before or after the nouns.

2.10.2. The following are the types of adjectives found in this language.

1. *Adjectives of quality*

e:k mo:tto cho:ra	'one big boy'
ti:n haɾo pa:n	'three green leaves'

2. *Adjectives of quantity*

se mard	'all the men'
ra:s bi:r	'many women'

3. *Adjectives of number*

di bha:tta	'two stones'
ti:n kotra	'three dogs'

Among the definite numeral adjectives the ordinals are formed by adding an additional form /ne/ with the adjectives of number before they are attributed with nouns.

e.g.

e: kne	'first'
de ne	'second'

4. *Demonstrative Adjectives*

i ca:kkt	'this knife'
u ghar	'that house'

5. *List of Adjectives*

ka:lo	'black'
ni:lo	'blue'
haɾo	'green'
ra:ttIɔo	'red'
dho:lo	'white'
da:se:k	'few'
java:d	'many'

5. *List of Adjectives—(contd.)*

se	'all'
a:cco	'good'
balla	'bad'
mo:tto	'big'
la:mbo	'long'
na:nkya	'short', 'small'
navvo	'new'
jhu:no	'old'
gi:lo	'soft'
jo:r	'strong'
ta:to	'warm'
kã:yi	'what'
ke:r	'whose'
kunIsI	'which'

2.11. *Numerals*

2.11.1. The basic numerals are listed here.

e:k	'one'
di	'two'
ti:n	'three'
cha:r	'four'
pa:nc	'five'
cho	'six'
sa:t	'seven'
a:t	'eight'
nav	'nine'
das	'ten'
agya:re	'eleven'
ba:re	'twelve'
te:re	'thirteen'
chavde	'fourteen'
pandre	'fifteen'

so:le	‘sixteen’
satre	‘seventeen’
aṭṭa:re	‘eighteen’
ognis	‘nineteen’
vi:sI	‘twenty’
ti:s	‘thirty’
cha:lis	‘fourty’
pacca:s	‘fifty’
sa:ttI	‘sixty’
sattar	‘seventy’
asi	‘eighty’
nev	‘ninety’
so	‘hundred’
haja:r	‘thousand’
la:k	‘lakh’
koṭṭi	‘crore’
caṭṭa:kkI	$1\frac{1}{6}$
pa:v	$\frac{1}{4}$
a:do	$\frac{1}{2}$
sava	$1\frac{1}{4}$
ḍo:ḍI	$1\frac{1}{2}$

2.11.2. List of morphemes with allomorphs :

<i>morphemes</i>	<i>allomorphs</i>	<i>environments</i>
/vi:sI/	/vi:sIn/ /vi:sI	-e:k, -di, etc. elsewhere
/ti:s/	/ti:sIn/ /ti:s/	-e:k, -di, etc. elsewhere
/sattar/	/satre:/ /sattar/	-e:k, -di, etc. elsewhere
/asi/	/asi:/ /asi/	-e:k, -di, etc. elsewhere

2.11.3. All other numeral expressions are formed by the following types of combinations.

- (1) Additive type
- (2) Multiple type
- (3) Suppletive type

2.11.3.1. *Additive type :*

ti:sIn -e:k	30	+	1
ti:sIn -di	30	+	2
e:k so-e:k	100	+	1
e:k so-di	100	+	2
e:k so-ti:n	100	+	3
e:k haja:r -e:k	1000	+	1
e:k haja:r -di	1000	+	2

2.11.3.2. *Multiple type :*

di - se	2 x 100
ti:n - se	3 x 100
cha:v - se	4 x 100
di - haja:r	2 x 1000
ti:n - haja:r	3 x 1000

2.11.4. Two sequences involving both additive and multiple types of formation are illustrated below.

(1) nev - se - nevpar - nav $9 \times 100 + 90 + 9 = 999$

(2) asi:par - nav - la:k - pand-re - haja:r-
-cha:r-se-cha:lisIn - a:t

$$80 + 9 \times 1,00,000 + (5+10) \times 1000 + 4 \times 100 + 40 + 8 = 89,15,448.$$

Notice that nev-se 9×100 is formed by multiple type and nevse - nevpar $900 + 90$ is formed by additive type.

2.11.5. *Fractions :*

pa:v $\frac{1}{4}$

a:do $\frac{1}{2}$

a:do - pa:v $\frac{1}{2} \times \frac{1}{4} = \frac{1}{8}$ is formed by multiple type.

caṭṭa:kkI $1/16$

3. VERB

3.1. Linguistic forms which are capable of being conjugated with tense markers belong to the category of verb in Lambadi. There are non-conjugated forms which enter into the constructions as predicate also are treated as verbs. There are three tenses viz., present, past and future obviously present in the data. However there are many verbal constructions which cannot be brought under the fold of any of these three tenses. Since the present analysis is undertaken on the basis of the data collected hitherto only an outline of the verbal system is presented here with reference to the three tenses. The other forms of the verbs are also presented as found in the data. Tense markers are added immediately after the verb stems.

3.2. *Verb stems :*

3.2.1. The verbal base is identical with the imperative form and that form is considered as basic because the other stem alternants can be explained either by morphophonemics or by allomorphs with reference to the imperative form. Mainly the verb bases are of two types (1) imperative forms ending in the vowel and (2) imperative forms ending in the consonant.

3.3. *Imperative forms ending in the vowel :*

There are two types of canonical patterns noted among the verbal stems ending in the vowel. They are (a) cv, and (b) cvcv.

e.g.

(a)	bo	'scatter'
	lu	'wipe'
(b)	hala	'shake'
	cara	'graze'
	khora	'feed'
	cho:ra	'steal'

3.3.1. When the verbal bases of the above category (that is bases ending with the vowel) are conjugated with the tense markers the following omorphophonemic changes are found to happen.

3.3.2. The final vowel of the verbal base which is short gets lengthened when any tense marker is added. This rule is general for the language.

e.g.

cho:ra	'steal'
ma cho:ra:ro:ccũ	'I steal'
ham cho:ra:re:ccã	'We steal'

3.3.3. If the tense marker is either a vowel or a morph beginning with a vowel there appears a glide -y- between the base and the tense markers.

e.g.

bo	'scatter'
ma bo:yo	'I scattered'
ma bo:yã	'I will scatter'
tũ bo:yo	'you (sg) scattered'
tũ bo:ysis	'you (sg) will scatter'

3.4. Imperative forms ending in consonants :

Bases ending in consonants have been classified under four categories on the basis of the syllabic pattern the verbal bases in each group have in the imperative forms as well as in their conjugated forms.

3.5. Bases belonging to the four syllabic patterns are discussed below.

3.5.1. (a) Roots of the type cvc.

(e.g.)

ɾam	'dance'
lak	'draw'
*pu:c	'ask for'

3.5.2. Roots of this type do not have any change when the tense markers are added except in instances where the verbal stem ends either with -m, or-c, or-k. It is doubled when a tense marker beginning with a vowel is added.

e.g.

ɾam	'dance'
ma ɾammo	'I danced'
ma ɾammiyũ	'I will dance'

* pu:c 'ask for' is the only verbal base which does not agree with the general conjugational system of this class. It takes the 1st person singular present tense marker u:ncũ unlike all other verbal bases which take ro:ccũ as their 1st person singular present tense marker.

3.5.3. (b) Roots of the type (c) $vcc\bar{v}c$.

Verbal bases of this type do not make any change when the tense markers are added.

e.g.

oṭṭa:ḍ	'awake'
dakka:l	'show'

3.5.4. (c) Roots of the type $c \bar{v} c_2 c_3 v_2 c_4$

Verbal bases of this canonical pattern have two stem alternants.

$c_1 \bar{v}_1 c_2 c_3 v_2 c_4$	in present tense
$c_1 \bar{v}_1 c_2 c_3 c_4$	in past and future tenses

e.g.

$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{sa:mbal} \end{array} \right\}$	'listen'
/sa:mbal-/	in present tense
/sa:mbɪ-/	in past and future tenses

3.5.5. (d) Roots of the type (c) $v_1 c_1 c_1 v_2 c_2$

change into (c) $v_1 c_1 c_2$.

e.g.	kattar	>	katr-
	uttar	>	utr-

3.5.6. The following morphophonemic rule operates when the above given set of verbal bases is conjugated.

$$c_1 c_2 - c_2 > c_1 - c_2$$

e.g.

uttar 'climb'	*utr-ro:ccũ > utro:ccũ	'I climb'
kattar 'chop'	*katr-ro:ccũ > katro:ccũ	'I chop'

3.5.7. In the verb ubbar¹ 'stand' the stem alternant ubr- undergoes an assimilation process. Here r is assimilated with b before it occurs with tense markers which have only one vowel phoneme.

$$/ubr-/ [-o > ubbo$$

1 This verb is an exception to the general conjugational system explained here. It takes u:ncũ as the 1st person singular present tense marker instead of the regular marker ro:ccũ.

(e.g.)

ma ubbo	'I stood'
ham ubbe	'We stood'

3.6. There are a few irregular verbs found in this language which do not agree with the general processes by which various inflected forms are derived from underlying bases. Those verbs belonging to the *irregular conjugation type* are discussed here. Bases of these verbs appear in a special alternant type which cannot be conditioned by the general rules formulated in former sections of this chapter. Therefore each verb of the *irregular conjugation type* is analysed and described separately below.

3.6.1. kho 'eat'. This verbal base has got two allomorphs.

/kha:d-/	before past tense suffixes
/kha:-/	elsewhere

3.6.2. ka 'tell'. The three allomorphs of this verbal base with their environments are described below.

/ke:-/	before present tense marker
/k-/	before past tense marker
/ki:-/	before future tense marker

3.6.3. jo 'go'. This form has two allomorphs.

*/go:d-/	before past tense marker
/ja-/	elsewhere

3.7. Tense markers :

Here, we list the morphemes that function as tense suffixes and their morpheme alternants.

The three tense markers are listed below.

3.7.1. Present tense markers :

	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
First person	-ro:ccũ ∞ -u:ncũ	-re:ccã
Second person	-ro:cci	-re:cco
Third person	-ro:cca	-re:cca

* In the morpheme alternant go:d-, the vowel o changes to e if the tense marker has the vowel e. It changes to i if the tense marker has the vowel i. This change may be due to the influence of the vowel in the second syllable.

go:d-e > *go:de > ge:de
go:d-i > *go:di > gi:di

3.7.1.1. Following are the two allomorphs of the first person singular present tense morpheme.

/-u:ncu/ occurs with the two verbal bases pu:c
'ask for' and uttar 'climb down'

/-ro:ccũ/ elsewhere

3.7.2. Past tense markers :

	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
First person	-o	-e
Second person	-o	-e
Third person feminine	-i	-e
Third person masculine	-o	

3.7.3. Future tense markers :

	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
First person	-ũ ∞ -iyũ	-ã ∞ -iyã
Second person	-is ∞ -iyus	-o ∞ -iyo
Third person	-e ∞ -iye	-e ∞ -iye

3.7.3.1. Future tense allomorphs

First person singular :	/-iyũ/	occurs with consonant ending bases
	/-ũ/	occurs with vowel ending bases
First person plural :	/-iyã/	with consonant ending bases
	/-ã/	with vowel ending bases
Second person singular :	/-oyis/	with consonant ending bases
	/-is/	with vowel ending bases
Second person plural :	/-iyo/	with consonant ending bases
Third person singular and plural	/-iye/	with consonant ending bases
	/-e/	with vowel ending bases

3.8. Sample paradigms showing present, past and future forms of some verbs.

3.8.1. lu 'wipe'

<i>Present</i>	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
i	lu:ro:ccũ	lu:ro:ccã
ii	lu:ro:cci	lu:re:cco
iii	lu:ro:cca	lu:re:cca
<i>Past</i>		
i	lu:yo	lu:ye
ii	lu:yo	lu:ye
iii	lu:yi (fem.) lu:yo (mas.)	lu:ye
<i>Future</i>		
i	lu:yũ	lu:yã
ii	lu:yis	lu:yo
iii	lu:ye	lu:ye

3.8.2. ɾam 'dance'

<i>Present</i>		
i	ɾamro:ccũ	ɾamre:ccã
ii	ɾamro:cci	ɾamre:cco
iii	ɾamro:cca	ɾamre:cca
<i>Past</i>		
i	ɾammo	ɾamme
ii	ɾammo	ɾamme
iii	ɾammi (fem.) ɾammo (mas.)	ɾammiye
<i>Future</i>		
i	ɾammiyũ	ɾammiyã
ii	ɾammiyis	ɾammiyis
iii	ɾammiye	ɾammiye

3.8.3. dakka:l 'show'

<i>Present</i>	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
i	dakka:lro:ccũ	dakka:lre:ccã
ii	dakka:lro:cci	dakka:lre:cco
iii	dakka:lro:cca	dakka:lre:cca
<i>Past</i>		
i	dakka:lo	dakka:le
ii	dakka:lo	dakka:le
iii	dakka:li (fem.) dakka:lo (mas.)	dakka:le
<i>Future</i>		
i	dakka:liyũ	dakka:liyã
ii	dakka:liyis	dakka:liyo
iii	dakka:liye	dakka:liye

3.8.4. sa:mbal 'listen'

<i>Present</i>		
i	sa:mbalro:ccũ	sa:mbalre:ccã
ii	sa:mbalro:cci	sa:mbalre:cco
iii	sa:mbalro:cca	sa:mbalre:cca
<i>Past</i>		
i	sa:mblo	sa:mble
ii	sa:mblo	sa:mble
iii	sa:mbli (fem.) sa:mblo (mas.)	sa:mble
<i>Future</i>		
i	sa:mbliyũ	sa:mbliyã
ii	sa:mbliyis	sa:mbliyo
iii	sa:mbliye	sa:mbliye

3.8.5. *uttar* 'climb down'

<i>Present</i>	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
i	utro:ccũ	utre:ccã
ii	utro:cci	utre:cco
iii	utro:cca	utre:cca

Past

i	utro	utre
ii	utro	utre
iii	utri (fem.) utro (mas.)	utre

Future

i	utriyũ	utriyã
ii	utriyis	utriyo
iii	utriye	utriye

3.8.6. *kho* 'eat'*Present*

i	kha:ro:ccũ	ka:re:ccã
ii	kha:ro:cci	kha:re:cco
iii	kha:ro:cca	kha:re:cca

Past

i	kha:do	kha:de
ii	kha:do	kha:de
iii	kha:di (fem.) kha:do (mas.)	kha:de

Future

i	kha:yũ	kha:yã
ii	kha:yis	kha:yo
iii	kha:ye	kha:ye

3.8.7. ka 'tell'

<i>Present</i>	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
i	ke:ro:ccũ	ke:re:ccã
ii	ke:ro:cci	ke:re:cco
iii	ke:ro:cca	ke:re:cca
<i>Past</i>		
i	ko	ke
ii	ko	ke
iii	ki (fem.) ko (mas.)	ke
<i>Future</i>		
i	ki:yũ	ki:yã
ii	ki:yiis	ki:yo
iii	ki:ye	ki:ye

3.8.8. jo 'go'

<i>Present</i>		
i	ja:ro:ccũ	ja:re:ccã
ii	ja:ro:cci	ja:re:cco
iii	ja:ro:cca	ja:re:cca
<i>Past</i>		
i	go:do	go:de
ii	go:do	go:de
iii	go:di (fem.) go:do (mas.)	go:de
<i>Future</i>		
i	ja:yũ	ja:yã
ii	ja:yiis	ja:yo
iii	ja:ye	ja:ye

3.9. Besides the three main categories of present, past and future tense verbs mentioned above, there are many other forms of verbs found in the data. As the present data is small it may be expected that more data may provide for yet more different forms of verbs. It would then be probable to present a more comprehensive analysis of the verbal system. At present the remaining forms of the verbs are presented below as they are found in the data.

3.10. The verb 'to be' has irregular forms in the present, past and future as follows.

3.10.1. *Present tense :*

	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
First person	cũ	cã
Second person	ci	ca
Third person	ca	ca

3.10.2. *Past Tense :*

First, Second and Third person (Mas.)	vo:to	vo:te:te
First, Second and Third person (Fem.)	vo:ti:ti	vo:te:te

3.10.3. *Future tense :**

First person	ri:yũ	ri:yã
Second person	ri:s	
Third person	ri:ye	ri:ye

3.11. There are some verbs as karri:ti, de:kro:to and gha:li:ti which indicate present continuous tense, karri:ti and gha:li:ti being in the Third person singular feminine and de:kro:to being in third person singular masculine.

3.12. The other verbs found are of the following types.

3.12.1. *Potential verbs :*

Potential verbs are formed by adding -e:ja to the verbal bases.

e.g. dakwa:le:ja
 ubre:ja
 sa:mble:ja

* The future tense forms appear to be forms of the verb root ra 'to live' which is different from the verb 'to be' found in the present and past tense forms. No form for the second person plural tense is found in the data.

3.12.2. *Subjunctive* :

By suffixing the morph -atto to the verbal bases, this class of verbal bases is formed.

e.g. pu:ccatto
 ubratto
 lu:vatto

3.12.3. *Desiderative* :

ca:vno
de:kno

3.12.4. *Negative* :

The suffix —ko:ni is added with the verbs which are already conjugated.

a:yo:ko:ni 'did not come'
ki:de:ko:ni 'did not make'

3.12.5. *Negative imperative* :

The word used is mat, occurring directly after the imperative base.

me:l mat 'do not send'
kar mat 'do not do'

3.13. *Non-finite verbs* :

While the verbs given above are all finite verbs or verbs of complete predication, there are certain other verbs of incomplete predication called here as non-finite verbs.

They are as follows.

1. *Conditional*

paḍo:to
de:kko:to
me:lo:to

2. *Gerund*

utrIn
kare:n

4. SYNTAX

4.1. In this chapter the formation of phrases and sentences by joining words into natural utterances is discussed.

In sentence level, the following three main functional slots for the language are set up. viz. Subject. Predicate and Object. Each may consist of only one word or more than one, that is it may be a phrase.

4.2. Subject

Syntactically the subject is the head of a sentence. It indicates the 'agent, or the 'doer of the action'. Noun fills up the subject slot. Noun in the nominative can only function as a subject. There may be more than one noun in the subject. In such case a conjunctive is used to tie the two nouns.

ma ka:l ra:t go:do	'I went last night'
ma ma:r ba:ppe:r a:ngI ghare:n ja:yũ	'I will go home before father'
kotra dhã:sgo	'The dog ran away'
tũ:n ma etcã	'you and I are here'

A noun phrase can also be used as a subject. In such instances the phrase usually consists of a noun in the nominative as the head preceded by an attribute or an attributive phrase. The various types of such phrases found in Lambadi are as follows :

4.2.1. Adjective + Noun

Adjectives do not concord with the noun.

di mardu	'two men'
ra:s bi:r	'many women'
ra:s a:cco ghar	'many good houses'
a:cco di kotra	'two good dogs'

4.2.2. A noun in the genitive as an attribute

Genitive noun + noun

ma:r ghar	'my house'
-----------	------------

4.2.3. A demonstrative adjective as an attribute

i ja:ggl	'this place'
----------	--------------

4.3. Predicate :

The predicate indicates the 'state' or the 'action' done by the subject. It can either be a single verb or a verbal phrase.

pu:nk ma:r	'Blow the horn'
(la:viyu) oḍIgo	'(Birds) flew up'
(i kotra) dhā:sgo	'(The dog) ran away'

A verb phrase consists of a finite verb as the head with any of the following modifiers.

4.3.1. Adverb + Verb

(u) laṭke:si hā:so	'(He) laughed a long time'
(i mard) jho:re:ti ja:vocci	'(The man) goes quickly'
(o bi:r) otti ubre:ko:ni	'(The women) are not standing there'

4.3.2. Adverbial phrase + Verb

An adverbial phrase consists of an adverb preceded by an adjective.

(u) ra:s vē:la hā:so	'(He) laughed a long time'
(da:se:k ma:ccaḷi) i va:vḍi:ma:ca	'(Some fish) are in the pond'

4.3.3. Postpositional phrase + Verb

A postpositional phrase consists of a postposition preceded by a genitive noun.

va:vḍi:r ka ubbar	'Stand near the wall'
ghare:r mā:y be:s	'Sit inside the house'

4.3.4. The number of adverbs and adverbial phrases preceding the verb as modifiers need not necessarily be one.

phallI jha:de:r uppare:ti he:t phoḍo	'The fruit fell down from the tree'
i jha:de:r phallI laṭke:si ma:r he:t phodo	'The fruit of this tree suddenly fell on me'

4.4. Object :

The object indicates the 'receiver' or the 'object' of the action done by the subject.

4.4.1. A noun or noun phrase that can be the subject of a sentence can also be the object.

ma e:k kora:ḍi karro:ccū 'I make an axe'

4.4.2. The noun or the head of a noun phrase can take the oblique form in order to function in the object slot.

i kotra u chora:n ka:tto 'The dog bit the boy'

4.4.3. The head noun in the oblique, followed either by case suffixes or by postpositions.

ti:n dha:ḍe:r pa:ni paḍro:cca 'It has been raining for three days'

tn mannI u:vo mo:tto sosi:n de:n me:l mat 'Don't send me these
big plants'

ma:r kan u bi:r ettI gha:se:ka 'Will she wait for me here?'

i ghar kha:liya:r kanca 'The house is by the river'

4.5. Sentence types

4.5.1. In a sentence all the three syntactic categories of subject, predicate and object need not be present. A sentence may be classified as belonging to any one of the following types.

4.5.1.1. The subject only :

e.g.

i e:k kotra 'This is a dog'

i e:k ghar 'This is a house'

4.5.1.2. Subject and Predicate :

e.g.

i kotra barka:ro:cca 'The dog barks'

tu kho 'you eat'

4.5.1.3. Subject, Predicate and Object :

e.g.

ma jha:ḍe:ppre:ti paḍIgo 'I fell from a tree'

mannI a:cco kora:ḍi ca:vno 'I want a good axe'

5. REGIONAL DIFFERENCES OF LAMBADI DIALECTS IN TAMIL NADU

5.1. We have been in the earlier chapters, dealing with the descriptive analysis of Lambadi language, giving linguistic details about the design of the language of this people found in Dharmapuri District, ignoring intergroup differences. But as we may be aware, the most fascinating point in a language study is their diversity—differences that exist in the speech habits of the people from one region to another though they speak one and the same language. The differing speech habits found in Lambadi spoken in Dharmapuri District (hereafter called DDL) with those of Coimbatore District (hereafter called CDL) are dealt with here. Totally this chapter attempts to give a synchronic comparison of DDL and CDL in the sound system as well as in the grammatical organism of this language.

5.2. DDL has 7 short vowels, 5 long vowels and 28 consonants as distinctive phonemes.* CDL differs from DDL in having an extra vowel, the central mid unrounded vowel /ə/ as a phoneme. Except this, all the phonetic and phonemic features are commonly shared by DDL and CDL.

5.3. *Phonological differences :*

5.3.1. The phonological correspondences and the clusters beginning with the concerned phonemes are set up in the chart district-wise. In Chart I, the vowel correspondences are given and in Chart II the consonants. The phonological correspondences are not regular. They are confined to a few items and hence no condition could be given for these differences.

5.3.2. *Chart I, vowel correspondences :*

	DDL	CDL	
1. a- > a:-	ara	a:ra	'file'
2. -a- > -I-	haḍakka	haḍIkka	'bone'
-a- > -a:-	sandra	ca:nda	'moon'
3. -a > -ə	cho:ra	cho:r	'boy'
4. -a:- > a-	a:rsi	arsi	'mirror'
5. -a:- > -u-	sa:nṭi	suṭṭi	'navel'
-a:- > -a-	da:da	dadda	'father's father'

* Refer to the chapter 'phonology'

	DDL	CDL	
	mā:ma	mamma	'mother's brother'
	ṇa:na	nanna	'mother's father'
	ka:kka	kakka	'father's younger brother'
6. -ā:- > -a:-	khā:s	kha:si	'cough'
7. -i- > -I-	sasiya	sasIni	'hare'
-i- > -ø-	ki:yū	kyū	'how'
-i- > -i:-	miṭki	miṭki	'frog'
8. -ĩ:- > -o:-	khĩ:s	kho:s	'snatch'
-ĩ:- > -i:-	khĩ:ḍi	ki:ḍi	'ant'
9. u- > u:-	undri	u:ndar	'mouse'
10. u:- > u-	u:ṇḍo	uṇḍo	'deep'
11. -u- > -a-	tharus	tharas	'thirsty'
12. -u:- > -u-	pu:ṭṭo	puṭṭo	'back'
	ku:ni	kuni	'elbow'
	pu:ppa	puppa	'father's sister's husband'
	pu:ppi	puppi	'father's sister'
	gu:ngo	gungo	'dumb man'
	gu:ngi	gungi	'dumb woman'
	pu:ncidi	puccidi	'tail of animal'
13. -ũ:- > -u:-	jhũ:mpdi	jhu:pḍi	'hut'
14. -ẽ:- > -e:-	bẽ:si	be:si	'she-buffaloe'
15. -o- > va-	osoḷo	vasaḷo	'dust'
	ognis	vagnis	'nineteen'

	DDL	CDL	
16. -o- > -a-	oso o	vasa o	'dust'
	nokkI	nak	'nail'
	khora	khara	'feed'
-o- > -u-	koḍi	kuḍi	'bitter'
17. -o:- > -o-	ṭo:pi	ṭoppi	'cap'
18. -ō:- > -o:-	khō:sla	ko:sla	'snatch'

5.3.4. *Chart II, Consonant correspondences :*

1. -p- > -pp-	ṭapa:ro	ṭappa:ro	'box'
2. bh- > b-	bhe:ro	be:ro	'deaf man'
3. -tr- > -tt-	bo:tro	bo:tto	'sons son'
4. -d- > -dd-	da:da	dadda	'father's father'
5. -jj- > -cc-	bijji	bicci	'breast'
6. -jh- > j-	jhemī	jəmmi	'floor, earth, land'
7. kh- > k-	kha:no	ka:no	'blind man'
8. -kk- > -kr-	ḍo:kkra	ḍo:kra	'old man'
9. -m- > -mm-	jhemī kama	jəmmi kamma	'floor, land, earth 'earn'
10. -mp > -b	chi:mp	chi:b	'touch'
11. -mpḍ- > -pḍ-	jhū:mpḍi	jhu:pḍi	'hut'
12. -mpl- > -pl-	mumpli	mupli	'ground nut'
13. -n- > -nn-	na:na	nanna	'mother's father'
14. -nt- > -t	da:ntu	da:t	'tooth'
15. -ndr- > -nd-	sandra	ca:nda	'moon'
16. -nṭ- > -ṭṭ-	sa:nṭi	suṭṭi	'navel'
17. -nk- > -kk-	a:nki	a:kki	'eye'
18. -nk > -k	thu:nk	thu:k	'spit'
19. -l- > -ll-	ha a	halla	'shake, swing'
20. -lḍ- > -l l-	o:lḍa	o a	'basket'

5.4. An observation into the above given chart would bring certain tentative conclusions. Consonantal clusters are reduced with the minimum number of consonants in CDL. For instance three consonantal clusters of DDL are systematically reduced to two consonantal clusters in CDL. Assimilations of both the types (progressive and regressive) are found in CDL. Aspirated consonants become unaspirated in good many a number of forms in CDL. The differences found in the sound system of CDL from DDL is unaccountable for the mere reasons that they are irregular and do not have any clear-cut environmental calculations.

5.5. *Grammatical differences:*

5.5.1. The methods by which gender and number distinctions are maintained in CDL do not differ from DDL almost in all classes of nouns. But in a few forms there are differences in distinguishing gender in CDL. Such forms are dealt with here. In DDL gender is indicated by attributing separate words before the nouns.* In DDL nouns like /ha:tti/ and /sasiya/ do take either the masculine attribute /mard/ or the feminine attribute /bi:r/ to indicate the sex respectively. Whereas in CDL these nouns have different forms in masculine and feminine as follows :—

<i>Masculine</i>		<i>Feminine</i>	
ha:tti	'he-elephant'	ha:ttini	'she-elephant'
sasiya	'he-hare'	sasIni	'she-hare'

5.5.2. Regarding the conjugational system the differences between DDL and CDL are noted down here. The tense marks of both DDL and CDL are given below for comparison.

	DDL		CDL	
	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
<i>Present tense.</i>				
I P.	-ro:ccũ∞u:ncũ	-re:ccã	-u:ncũ	-a:ccã∞a:ncã
II P.	-ro:cci	-re:cco	-ro:cci	-re:cco
III P.	-ro:cca	-re:cca	Mas.-ro:ccə Fem.-ri:ccə	-re:ccə

* Please refer to section 2.3.6(3) in the chapter 'Noun'

	DDL		CDL	
	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
<i>Past tense</i>				
I P.	-o	-e	-o	-e
II P.	-o	-e	-o	-e
III P. Mas.	-o	-e	Mas. -o	-e
Fem.	-i		Fem. -i	

Future tense

I P.	-ũ∞-iyũ	-ã∞-iyã	-ũ	-ã
II P.	-is∞-iyis	-o∞-iyo	-is	-o
III P.	-e-∞-iye	-e-∞-iye	-e	-e-

5.5.3. The differing tense markers used in DDL as well as in CDL can clearly be noted from the chart given above. The first person plural present tense morpheme in CDL has two markers viz., -a:ccã∞-a:ncã. the occurrence of each marker could not be accounted. CDL has got two tense markers to indicate masculine singular and feminine singular in the third person.

5.5.4. The assimilation process operates in some verbal forms when they are conjugated with the tense markers in DDL.

e.g. (mas) ɾammu:ccũ '(We) dance'

In the verbal form given above the first person singular present tense marker -u:ncũ becomes -u:ccũ when it takes the verbal base ɾam 'dance'.

5.6. Here listed are the words both from DDL and CDL in their phonemic form with corresponding meaning to facilitate the reader to mark out the dialectic differences in the phonemic level.

DDL	CDL	
abbI	abbə	'now'
a:gya	pu:nti	'butterfly'
a:nki	a:kki	'eye'
a:rsi	arsi	'mirror'
uppar	ucco	'on', 'above'
u:nɖu	unɖo	'deep'

DDL	CDL	
ottI	otta	'there'
ognis	vagnis	'nineteen'
ot̃ta:ḍ	vaṭ̃ta:ḍ	'awake'
o:l̃ḍa	oḷḷa	'basket'
pu:p̃pa	pup̃pa	'father's sister's 'husband'
pu:p̃pi	pup̃pi	'father's sister'
pu:t̃to	puṭ̃to	'back'
pu:nciḍi	pucciḍi	'tail of animal'
pe:t̃ṭa	ṛu:ma:l	'turban'
phu:t̃to	pissa	'coin'
badna	badana	'rope'
bijji	bicci	'breast'
bo:tro	bo:tto	'son's son'
bo:tri	bo:tti	'son's daughter'
bhe:ri	be:ri	'deaf woman'
bhe:ro	be:ro	'deaf man'
ci:ñkI	ci:kkI	'sneeze'
cum	cu:m	'kiss'
chaḍI	chaḍa	'climb'
cha:r	ciya:r	'four'
chi:mp	chi:b	'touch'
jhū:mpḍi	jhu:pḍi	'hut'
j̃hemi	j̃əm̃mi	'floor', 'land' 'earth'
thu:ñk	thu:k	'spit'
da:da	daddi	'father's father'
da:ntu	da:t	'tooth'
ṭapa:ro	ṭappa:ro	'box'
ḍo:kkra	ḍo:kri	'old man'
ḍo:kkri	ḍo:kri	'old woman'

DDL	CDL	
ḍo:li	ḍo:li ~ va:d	‘branch’
katta	kattə	‘where’
kama	kamma	‘earn’
karpu:r	kappu:r	‘camphor’
ka:kka	kakka	‘fathers’ younger brother’
khĩ:s	kho:s ~ ki:c	‘pull’
ku:ni	kuni	‘elbow’
kunIsI	kunIso	‘which’
ke:nI	ke:na	‘whom’
ke:rI	ke:ro	‘whose’
koḍi	kuḍi	‘bitter’
khaṭṭu:mbri	kaṭṭImu:r	‘bed-bug’
kha:ni	ka:ni	‘blind woman’
kha:no	ka:no	‘blind man’
khā:s	ka:si	‘cough’
khĩ:ḍi	ki:ḍi	‘ant’
khora	khara	‘feed’
khō:sla	ko:sla	‘snatch’
gungi	gungi	‘dumb woman’
gungo	gungo	‘dumb man’
hatta:li	hattaḷi	‘palm’
haḍakka	haḍIkka	‘bone’
hala	halia	‘shake’
hā:s	ha:s	‘laughter’ ‘laugh’ (V)
ma:ccar	boṭjya ma:ccar	‘mosquito’

DDL	CDL	
ma:ccili	ma:li	'fish'
ma:ma	mamma	'mother's brother'
miṭki	mi:ṭki	'frog'
mumpli	bhugIḍa	'ground-nut'
navvo	navo	'new'
na:na	nanna	'mother's father'
sandra	ca:nda	'moon'
sa:dIrI	sa:dlri	'mat'
sa:nṭi	suṭṭi	'navel'
vā:sa	va:si	'bamboo'
vā:sḷi	va:sḷi	'flute'

6. COMPARATIVE WORD-LIST

The comparative list given below comprises of standard words in Labhānī found in the Linguistic Survey of India by G.A. Grierson and their equivalent forms collected during the field work for the present report. Grierson's list consists of forms both from Labhānī of Berar and Labhānkī of Punjab. Those forms are just reprinted from L.S.I. without altering their phonetic notation.

Labhānkī of Punjab	Labhānī of Berar	Lambadi of Tamil Nadu	
Ēk	Ēkā	e:k	'one'
Dō, dū	Dī	di	'two'
Tīn	Tīn	ti:n	'three'
Chār	Chār	cha:r	'four'
~ Pā ch	~ Pā ch	pa:nc	'five'
Chhau, Chiō	Chhō	cho	'six'
~ Sā t	Sāt	sa:t	'seven'
Ath	Āṭ	a:ṭ	'eight'
Naw	Naw	nav	'nine'
Das	Das	das	'ten'
Vīs	Vis	vi:sI	'twenty'
Pachās	Pachās	pacca:s	'fifty'
Sau	Sō	so	'hundred'
Maī	Ma, mē, may	ma	'I'
Mhārō	Māro, mhārō	ma:r	'mine'
Ham	Ham	ham	'we'
Tū, thū	Tū, tū	tū	'thou'
Tam	Tam, tamō	tam	'you' (pl)
Ō, woh	Ū, ō	u, i	'he'
Ū-go, ū-ko	Ō-rō	o:r	'his'
Ve, Veh	Ō	o, e	'they'
Ū-gō, ūn-ko	Ānō-rō, anu-rō	one:r	'their'

Labhānkī of Punjab Labhānī of Berar Lambadi of Tamil Nadu

Hāth	Hāt	ha:ttf	‘hand’
Nāk	Nāk	na:kkf	‘nose’
Akh	Akhi	a:nki	‘eye’
~ Mūh	Muṇḍo	muṇḍo	‘mouth’
~ dā t	~ Dā t	da:nta	‘tooth’
Kān	Kān	ka:n	‘ear’
Kēs	Laṭṭa	laṭṭa	‘hair’
Māthō	Māthō	ma:tto	‘head’
Jīb	Jībh	jī:b	‘tongue’
Pēt	Pēt	pe:t	‘belly’
~ Kā ḍ, magar	Putthō, pūthō	pu:ṭto	‘back’
Lōh	Lōhō	lovo	‘iron’
Soino	Sono	so:no	‘gold’
Bāpū	Bāpū	ba:p	‘father’
Bāi	Yādi	ya:ḍi	‘mother’
Bhāū	Bhāi	bha:yi	‘brother’
Bhaini	Bēhēn	bhe:n	‘sister’
Bandō	Mīnas	mard	‘man’
Jātak	Chhōrā	cho:ra	‘boy’
Jimidār	Khētēwālō	khe:t gare:va:lo	‘cultivator’
Wāh-guru	Dēw	bagava:n	‘god’
Sūraj	Dan	su:riya	‘sun’
~ Chā d	~ Chā dā	sandra	‘moon’
Ag	Agar	anga:r	‘fire’
Pāṇi	Pāṇi	pa:ni	‘water’
Ghar	Ghar	ghar	‘house’
Ghōṛō	Ghōḍō	gho:ḍo	‘horse’
Gauṛi	Gowāḍi	ga:vḍi	‘cow’

Labhānki or Punjab	Labhānī of Berar	Lambadi of Tamil Nadu	
Kutharō, Kutrō	Kwatrā	kotra	‘dog’
Billī	Bīlī	sibba	‘cat’
Kukkar, Kūk ^a rō	Kuk ^a dō	kukḍo	‘cock’
Jā	Jō	jo	‘go’
Khā	Khō	kho	‘eat’
Ā	Ā	a	‘come’
Mār	Mār	ma:r	‘beat’
khalō-jā	Ubhōrah	ubbar	‘stand’
Dē	Da	dε	‘give’
upar	uppar	uppar	‘up’
Āgē	Aghē	munḍa:gI	‘before’
Pāchhē	Pāchhē, Pachhē	pa:ccI	‘behind’
Kaun, Kēh ^a ṛo	Kūṇ	ku:n	‘who’
Kā, Kāē	Kā i	kā:yi	‘what’
Kiū	Kasā-na	ka	‘why’
Hā	Hāw	ha:v	‘yes’
Chhōrī	Bēṭī	be:ṭṭi	‘daughter’
Ḍhēr chhōrī	Bēṭiyā	be:ṭṭi:yu	‘daughters’
Chaṅgo bandō	Bhalō, āchhō	a:cco	‘good’
Sād	Baḷad	baldI	‘bull’
Kuth ^a rō	Kwatrā	kotra	‘dog’
Bōk ^a rō	Bak ^a rā	bakra	‘he-goat’
Bōk ^a rī	Bak ^a ri, Chhēlī	bakri~che:li	‘she-goat’

With the presented few number of words the sound change which has operated in the Lambadi language can be ascertained to some extent.

The final vowel of a word which is always long in the Labhānī of Berar has systematically become short in all the corresponding forms in the Lambadi of Tamil Nadu with one or two exceptions when the final long vowel is lost. (i.e. mārō > ma:r 'mine')

e.g. Ēkā > e:k 'one'

Chhō > cho 'six'

The long nasalised vowel which occurs medially has lost the nasalization but with a formation of an alveolar nasal phoneme followed by it.

e.g. Pāch > Pa:no 'fine'

Dāt > da:ntu 'tooth'

Two consonant cluster in which the second member has undergone the progressive assimilation becomes a consonantal gemination.

e.g. ubhōrah > ubbar 'stand'

Pachās > Pacca:s 'twenty'

CONCLUSION

The analysis presented heretofore acquaints us with the different functional units of Lambadi language spoken in Tamil Nadu. The distinct characteristics of this language have been dealt with at the outset of their functional constitution but many a minute yet worthy linguistic detail have not been pursued thoroughly. One such is the verb 'to be' which needs elaborate study and our limited materials did not permit the same.

While dealing with the various dialects of this language in the Linguistic Survey of India, G.A. Grierson classifies Banjari as having two main dialects. He ultimately brings all those dialects under the fold of Rajasthani. From our field materials it was found that the items in 'Comparative Word-list' of L.S.I. volume comprising of standard words of Labhānī and their equivalent forms currently in use among Lambadi speakers in this state have a resemblance. The vocabulary is found almost same save a few phonetic changes. Moreover the main functional features of Banjari of that period observed by G.A. Grierson are represented in the Lambadi language of Tamil Nadu but for the grammatical differences assimilated from the neighbouring language groups of their settlements. The present study substantiates the findings of R.C. Nigam, that though this language was returned under various names such as Lamani, Lambadi and Banjari in 1961 Census they all refer to one matrix of speech namely Lambadi/Banjari.

The study of Lambadi as adverted in the introductory chapter should cover all its dialects including the mother-tongue returns grouped under it in 1961 Census. The present survey however, was intended to be only a pilot study, so attempt has been made to give a descriptive account of Lambadi spoken in this State. It constitutes only a spade work for the envisaged intensive area study of Lambadi/Banjari language group in future date.

A linguistic investigation, especially one like Lambadi/Banjari survey confronts with new problems that arise during the course of the programme. For, the task of the linguist does not end with merely presenting the structural description of one dialect of this particular language group while the allied groups of dialects are spread out in various geographical locations. Take for instance the Lambadi of Tamil Nadu which by its identifiable constitution and by the common genetic origin shows its historical link with Lambadi/Banjari in general. But the new phonetic laws and the grammatical developments which made have inroads into Lambadi must also be brought into consideration. Thus the linguist will have to give an account of the actual dialects, their description and historical delineation.

Having described and analysed all the number of dialects in that format, the problem of grouping the identifiable dialects comes up. With the field-data and the results derived from the relatively unknown dialects of this group the task of comparing and classifying them under a parent language may finally be carried out.

APPENDIX—1

TEXT—I

e:k gha:me:ma e:k dho:kkri vaḍe karri:ti / u
 one village (loc) one old woman vadai was preparing that

vaḍe:nI tha:lima gha:li:ti / o:nI e:k ka:gla de:kro:to /
 vadai (accu) tray (loc) was putting that (accu) one crow was noticing

faṭke:si utrInnI e:k vaḍe:n pa:le:nI vaḍIn jha:ḍe:ruppar
 suddenly stooping one vadai (accu) picking (after) flying tree-on

be:sgo / u ka:gla u vaḍe:nI na:kke:ma cha:ble:nI vaḍInnI
 sat that crow that vadai (accu) beak (loc) picking (after) flying

jha:ḍi:nI dh:āsgo / ja:nI e:k jha:ḍe:ruppar be:sgo / o:nI
 forest (dat) ran going (after) one tree-on sat that (accu)

e:k sa:liya de:kro:to / u sa:liya:nI u vaḍe:nI kho:sle:no
 one fox noticed that fox (dat) that vadai (accu) snatch

karIn o:r dhalle:ma dha:ro:to / o:r pacca u sa:liya
 doing that (poss) mind (loc) was running that (poss) after that fox

u jha:ḍe:r he:ṭ ubrIgo / jana i sa:liya ka:gla:nI de:knI
 that tree (poss) below stood then this fox crow (accu) looking

“ka:gla: tū gi:d bo:lo:to emma:lca.” u ka:gla:nI u ko:joko
 crow: you song sing - if goods - is that crow (dat) that saying

sa:mblInnI jabbar santo:s ve:go / sa:liya e:nI arta karlido /
 hearing much joy came crow this (accu) meaning understood

abbl, “tū gi:d bo:lo:to mannI santo:s vaccl / o:r ka:n tū e:k gi:d
 now, “you song sing-if me(dat) joy comes so you one song

bo:l,” hayyū sa:liya kho / o:nI sa:mblInnI ka:gla ‘ka-ka’ karnI
 sing” thus fox said that (accu) hearing crow ka-ka doing

barka:yo / ka:gla:r na:kke:ma otto:jeko vaḍe he:ṭ padIgo / faṭke:si
 cried crow (poss) beak (loc) vadai below fell suddenly

sa:liya u vaḍe:n pa:lido / ka:gla e:ma:rgo /
 fox that vadai (accu) picked crow was deceived

‘THE CUNNING FOX’

In a village an old woman was preparing vadai. She had some of them on a tray. A crow was noticing this. Suddenly it stooped down, picked up a vadai and perched on a tree. It flew far off to a forest, holding the vadai in its beak and sat on a tree again.

A fox noted the crow. It flashed on its mind to snatch away the vadai from the crow. The fox went and stood down below the tree. It flattered the crow saying “Crow, it will be pleasing if you sing a song”. The crow felt much happy. The fox understood that his cunningness started working. He told again “Crow, I will be pleased if you sing a song”. The crow immediately opened its mouth and cried ‘ka-ka’. Alas! the vadai fell from the beak of the crow. The fox immediately took it up and ran away. Poor crow was deceived.

TEXT—II

e:k ra:ja:nI cha:r be:tta
one king(dat) four boys

e:k ra:ja:nI cha:r be:tta / cha:r be:tta:nI cha:r akkII / cha:r
one king (dat) four boys four boys (dat) four quality four
be:tta:r akkII:e:n de:kno / osa:ru go:ni:nI "tũ so:jo" karInI
boys(poss) quality (accu) look therefore wife (accu) you sleep thus
sova:r dino / "be:tta a:vatto 'ta:r ba:p ma:r dino karIn u:t
sleeping made boys come-if your father beat made doing get-up
mat kha:no ga:l mat" / mo:tto be:tta a:yo / 'ya:di, pa:ni la' hãý
don't food serve don't big boy came mother water bring thus
karIn pu:cco / "be:tta, ta:r ba:p mannI ma:r dino / ma
asked boy your (Poss) father me(accu) beat made I
u:tte ja:yni," hãý karIn ki / 'u ve:la:prI ma ro:vatto ta:nkI
to get up cannot thus said that time I if-being leg
pakdIn jhemi:ppar ma:r de:to' u:j kha:no ga:lle:n
catching ground-on beat wili beat he (himself) food serving-after
kha:le:n dargo / o:tti na:nikya be:tta a:yo / 'ya:di, pa:ni la' -
eating-after went to him small boy came mother water bring
hãý karIn pu:cco / "be:tta, ta:r ba:p man ma:r dino / ma
thus asked boy your (poss) father me (accu) that made I
u:tte ja:yni" hãý karIn ki / 'u ve:la:prI ma ro:vatto ma:r
to get up cannot thus said that time I if being my(poss)
ba:ppe:nI khu:nd na:kto,' hãý karIn ke:de:n u:j
father(accu) will stamp thus saying (after) he (himself)
kha:no ga:lle:n kha:le:n dargo / o:tti na:nikya be:tta a:yo /
food serving (after) eating(after) went to him small boy came
'pa:ni la:ya:di,' hãý karIn pu:cco / "be:tta, ta:r ba:p ma:r
water bring mother thus asked boy your (poss) father beat
dino / ma u:tte ja:yni," hãý karIn ki / 'u ve:la:prI ma ro:vatto
made I get up cannot thus said that time I if-being
o:nI ci:r na:kto,' hãý karIn ke:de:n u:j kha:no
him(accu) will split thus saying(after) he-himself food
ga:lle:n dargo / se:tti na:nikya be:tta a:yo / 'pa:ni la:ya:di',
serving (after) went to-all small boy came water bring mother

karIn pu:cco / "be:tta, ta:r ba:p ma:r dino ma u:tte ja:yni",
thus asked boy your (poss) father beat made I get-up cannot

hãy karIn ki / 'to:nI kase:n ma:ro, tappI ki:di:cci, osa:ri
thus said your(accu) why beat mistake had-done therefore

ma:ro:cca', hây, karIn u be:tta ko / 'u:t, u:t, tama:r
had beaten thus that boy said get up get up your(accu)

laða:yi mannI ka:mat / mannI kha:no ga:l, ga:lli:cci, ga:lli:si:ni,
quarrel me (dat) say-not me(dat) food serve serve serve-not

ma:r ba:ppe:nI ke:n mara:vũ:ncu', hây karIn na:nikya
my (poss) father (dat) saying(after) get beating thus small

be:tta ko / hayyu ko jana ba:p a:n be:ttar ha:t
boy said thus said then father coming (after) boy(poss) hand

pakðIn, "be:tta, akle:da:ri tũ," hây, karIn ke:de:n ti:n be:ttan
catching boy clever you thus saying three boys (accu)

bala:n, "tam na:li ja:vo", karIn jo:yde:n o:ne:nI me:ldino/
calling you separate go saying partisan-giving their(accu) send-gave

na:nikya be:ttanI me:lle:n one:nI me:ldino/
small boy (accu) keeping their (accu) send-gave

A KING AND HIS FOUR SONS

A King had four sons. Each had different characteristics. Let us see the characteristics of these four.

The King wanted to test the affection of these towards him. So he told his wife, 'Pretend as if you are sleeping when your children arrive and tell them that I beat you and you cannot get up and serve them food'. Soon after the eldest son arrived and asked his mother for a cup of water. The mother replied that she was not able to get up as his father beat her. The son retorted that had he been there at that time he would have pulled his father by his leg and dashed him against the ground. So saying he had his food served by himself and went out.

Next came the younger to him. 'Mother, give me water', told the boy. Mother replied that she was not able to get up as his father had beaten her. The son replied that had he been there he would have stamped his father down. He had his food and went off.

The third son came and asked his mother for a cup of water. She replied the same way. To this the son said that had he been there he would have shorn him. He also had his meal himself and went off.

Lastly came the youngest of all and wanted a cup of water. His mother told the same answer. In reply, he interrogated his mother why his father beat her and said that probably she would have committed some mistake and so he beat her. He further demanded his mother saying 'get up! Get up! Don't tell me your quarrel. Serve me food. Will you or not? If not I will tell father to beat you again'. At that moment the father came, caught hold of the son's hand and told him affectionately 'Son, you are wise'. So saying he kept the youngest son in the house with him and drove the other three away.

2. PHRASES AND SENTENCES

1	This is a dog.	i e:k kotra
2	There are two dogs.	ottI di kotra:vu:cca
3	There are three dogs.	ottI ti:n kotra:vu:cca
4	The dog barks.	i kotra barka:rocca
5	All dogs bark.	o kotra se barka:re:cca
6	This is a house.	i e:k ghar
7	This is my house.	i ma:r ghar~i ghar ma:r
8	Go to my house.	ma:r ghare:n jo
9	This is my book.	i pustaka ma:r~i ma:r pustaka
10	I have two books.	ma:r kan di pustaka:ca~di pustaka ma:r kanca
11	My son is in the house.	ma:r be:ṭṭa ghare:ma:ca ~ ghare:ma ma:r be:ṭṭa:ca
12	Is she your sister?	i ta:r bhe:n ka
13	No, she is my daughter.	ko:ni, u ma:r be:ṭṭi
14	Where are your children?	ta:r be:pṭa se kattI ~ ta:r se be:pṭa kattI
15	I see you.	man to:n de:kro:ccū
16	We see you.	ham to:n de:kre:ccā
17	You (sg.) see me.	tū man de:kro:cci
18	What do you eat?	tū ka:yi kha:cci
19	You eat.	tū kho
20	How many children you have?	to:n katra be:pṭa:ca
21	What is your name?	ta:r na:m kā:yi
22	My house is good.	ma:r ghar a:cco:ca
23	I want a good axe.	mannI a:cco kora:ḍi ca:vno
24	The boy will grow tall.	i cho:ra la:mbo oddiye
25	That cloth is not yellow.	u latta pi:lo che:ni
26	This flower is red.	i phu:l ṛa:ttIḍo:ca
27	Our baskets are different.	appan o:lḍa e:ktra che:ni
28	You are going today.	tū a:j ja:yai

- 29 Are you coming tomorrow? tũ sava:r a:ycika
 30 I went last night. ma ka:l ra:t go:do
 31 It will be cold tomorrow. sava:r si la:gye
 32 I hit him often. o:n ma ra:s vana ma:ro
 33 Why did you not go home yesterday? tũ ka:l ka ghare:n go:ko:ni
 34 When did you go home? tũ kar ghare:n go:do
 35 Where did you see him? tũ o:n kattI diṭṭo
 36 The women are not standing there. o bi:ru ottI ubre:ko:ni
 37 I am here. ma etcũ
 38 You and I are here. tũ:n ma etcã
 39 He and I are here. u:n ma etcã
 40 The bear lives in the woods. ri:ncI jha:ḍima:r osoro:cca
 41 The house is by the river. i ghar kha:liya:r kanca
 42 Wood floats on the water. pa:ni:r uppar lakḍi te:lro:cca
 43 The fruit fell down from the tree. phalI jha:ḍe:r uppare:ti
 he:ṭ phoḍo
 44 The dog ran away. kotra dhã:sgo
 45 The river is far away. kha:liya ghanumca
 46 Put my axe on the ground. ma:r kora:ḍi jhame:ppar me:l
 47 Don't look at the basket. u o:lḍa:n de:kmat
 48 Sit inside the house. ghare:r mâ:y be:s
 49 Don't wait outside the hut. tũ jhũ:mpḍi:r munda:gI mat
 50 Stand near the wall. va:vḍi: kan ubbar
 51 I came here to see my mother. ma ma:r ya:ḍi:n de:kke:n ettI a:yo
 52 He did not come to see you. u to:n de:kke:nI a:yoko:ni
 53 Boy came back to drink water. cho:ra pa:ni pi:ynI pharIn a:yō
 54 The woman will go well. i bi:r emma:l ja:ye
 55 The boy cannot walk fast. i cho:ra laṭke:si ca:le:n ve:ni
 56 This girl can walk faster. i cho:ri jho:re:ti ca:liye
 57 It rains now. abbI pa:ni paḍro:cca
 58 It will rain tomorrow. sava:r pa:ni paḍiye

- 59 If it rains to-night I shall not go. a:j ra:t pa:ni paḍo:to ma ja:vni
 60 A dog will not see a mouse in e:k kotra anda:re:ma unda:re:n
 dark. dekka:yni
 61 Can you see me? tū mannI de:kke viyeka
 62 Did your father see you in the ta:r ba:p to:n ta:nḍe:me diṭṭo:ka
 village?
 63 Where do you see him. o:n tū katti de:kko:cci
 64 I saw it myself. ma:j o:n diṭṭo
 65 I will send the girl to the field. ma u cho:ri:nnI ge:na:n me:lyu
 66 Why did he give him his axe? u o:r kora:ḍi:n e:nI kase:n dino
 67 Where did you see him? tū o:n katti diṭṭo
 68 Father will give me some more. ba:p mannI ajji da:se:k di:ye
 69 The women do not carry e bi:ru gaḍḍa:nI se:rseko:ni
 firewood.
 70 Men did not gather fruits. e mardu phale:nI se:rseko:ni
 71 When did you tell me? tū mannI karo ko
 72 Yesterday we all told you. ka:l ham se:jjI to:n ke
 73 Did the men push you. o mardu tame:n dakle:ka
 74 A snake cannot hear sound. e:k sa:ppe:nI ka:n a:ṭṭI sa:mble:ni
 75 Which fruit do you like most? to:nI kunIs phalI java:d
 pakḍa:vuncI
 76 Can you break the stick? tū i lakḍi:n bha:nje:n vi:yeka
 77 Have you finished drinking water? tū pa:ni pi:to:ka
 78 Yes, but I want some more. ha:v, ujji da:se:k pa:ni cha:vno
 79 What is his name? o:r na:m kā:yi
 80 Where is your village? tama:r ta:nḍo kattIca
 81 What do you want? to:n kā:yi ca:vno
 82 Is that true? u sa:sika
 83 How do you know? to:n kyu ma:lam
 84 Where did you hear that? tū kattI pu:cco
 85 Who did this? i ku:n ki:do
 86 How did you come here? tū atta kyu a:yo
 87 What did you say? tū ka:yi ko

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| 88 | What is your father's name? | ta:r ba:ppē:r na:m kã:yi |
| 89 | How many children have you? | to:n ka:ra be:pja:ca |
| 90 | I fell from a tree. | ma jha:ḍe:ppre:ti paḍlgo |
| 91 | Where did you sleep last night? | ka:l ra:t tũ kattl ni:ndt ki:do |
| 92 | What does he want? | o:nl kã:yi cha:vno |
| 93 | Who is that man? | u mard ku:nl |
| 94 | Did that dog bite you? | u kotra to:nl ka:ṭto:ka |
| 95 | Why did you not come to us. | tũ ka hama:r kan a:yoko:ni |
| 96 | You cannot speak to her. | tũ o:r kan va:te kare:n ve:ni |
| 97 | I hit him once. | o:n ma ek vana ma:ro |

3. VOCABULARY

The alphabetical order used is as follows :

a, at, i, it, u, ut, e, et, o, ot, p, ph, b, bh, c, ch, j, jh, t, th, d, dh, t, th, d, dh, k, kh, g, gh, h, l, l, m, n, r, r, s, v, y.

a	'come'
apla	'papad'
aba:liya ca:val	'boiled rice'
abbI	'now'
aḍa:y	'two and a half'
adIka:rni cho:dI	'belch'
addoccl	'centre', 'between'
addo:y	'white ant'
akkal	'clever'
ala:ncI	'cardamom'
anda:ro	'dark'
anga:r	'fire'
angu:tṭa	'thumb (hand)'
ara	'file'
aṭṭa:re	'eighteen'
adIkkI jo	'lean'
asi	'eighty'
a:bda kar	'hurry'
a:cco	'good'
a:do	' $\frac{1}{2}$ '
a:do pa:v	' $\frac{1}{8}$ '
a:gya	'butterfly'
a:j	'today'
a:lu	'potato'
a:lṭI	'roll (intran) as owdn as hill'
a:mba:r jha:ḍI	'mango tree'
a:mbli jha:ḍI	'tamarind tree'

a:mli	'turmeric'
a:nci	'flame'
a:ngli	'finger'
a:nki	'eye'
a:nđi	'pan'
a:rsi	'mirror'
a:t	'eight'
a:t kar	'shout', 'cry'
a:t̥l	'noise'
a:t̥to	'flour'
i	'she' 'he'
	'this', 'it' (proximate)
ikla	'tongs'
iṇḍa	'egg'
u	'he' 'it'
.	'that', 'she' (proximate)
uppar	'on', 'above'
uppar ha:t̥l	'west'
upre:r kapḍa	'roof'
ubbar	'stand', 'stop'
uttar	'climb down'
umbar	'age'
undrI	'mouse'
u:t	'rise', 'get up'
u:nḍu	'deep'
e	'these' (ones)
eṭke:si	'early'
e:k	'one'
e:k ne	'first'
o	'those' (ones)

otta	'there'
oṭṭa:ḍ	'awake'
o:ḍa	'boat'
oḍad	'blackgram'
osoḷo	'dust'
osoḷo ba:r	'clean'
oli	'slow'
ohḍIn de:kkI	'peep'
one:r	'their'
one:n	(to) 'them'
ongo:li kar	'bathe'
o:l	'melt' (as fat in fire)
o:ḷḍa	'basket'
o:n	(to) 'him' (to) 'her'
o:r	'his', 'her'
o:r pacca	'then'
o:s	'dew'
pacca	'after'
pacca:s	'fifty'
patya:r	'creed'
patya:rI	'hope'
panse:r jha:ḍ	'jack tree'
paraba:t:i	'morning'
pa:d	'take', 'carry', 'lift'
pa:ccI	'behind'
pa:kpu:ro	'fullmoon night'
pa:kti	'rib'
pa:n	'leaf'
pa:ni	'water'
pa:nima ḍub	'dive'

pa:nc	'five'
pa:v	'1'
pi	'drink'
pikka:s	'spade'
pi:lo	'yellow'
pu:ppa	'father's sister's husband'
pu:ppi	'father's sister'
pu:ppi:r be:ṭṭa	'father's sister's son'
pu:ppi:r be:ṭṭi	'father's sister's daughter'
pu:c	'ask'
pu:ṭṭo	'back'
pu:ncidi	'tail of animal'
pu:nk ma:r	'blow (with mouth)'
pe:ṭ	'belly'
pe:ṭṭa	'turban'
pe:s	'enter'
pe:r	'swim', 'wear'
phall	'fruit'
pharḷ	'return'
pharḷn a	'come back'
pha:ni:r dha:ḍḷ	'rainy season'
phu:ṭṭe:ruppar jo	'follow'
phu:ṭṭo	'coin'
pho:ḍ	'break', 'smash'
phu:l	'flower'
phelke dha:ḍḷ	'day before yesterday'
phe:r	'stir'
bajji ~ bijji	'breast'
batya:n pakḍḷ	'embrace'
banna	'rope'
bakra	'he-goat'

bakri~che:li	'she-goat'
baga	'throw'
bagal	'by'
bagava:n	'god'
balade:r bandi	'bullock cart'
balla	'taboo', 'bad'
banca:d	'save'
banduk ke:tti ma:r	'shoot'
banguḍi	'bangle'
barji	'spear'
ba:p	'father'
ba:ppl	'sin'
ba:bni	'eyelash'
ba:kkal	'door'
ba:g	'garden'
ba:ge:r va:lo	'gardener'
ba:l	'burn'
ba:nni	'broom'
ba:r	'outside'
ba:r	'sweep'
ba:re haja:r	'12000'
ba:r jo	'go out'
ba:yā	'servant'
ba:ja	'seed'
bi:di	'street'
bi:ga:r esal	'pay'
bi:r	'woman'
bi:r jana:var	'tigress'
bi:r ka:gla	'she-crow'
bi:r ha:tti	'she-elephant'
bi:r sasiya	'she-hare'

bi:r sa:liya	'she-fox'
bu:r	'sheer-up'
bu:rl	'shut'
be:l ma:r	'ring' (a bell)
be:p̥ta	'child', 'baby'
be:t̥ta	'son'
be:t̥ta:r be:t̥ta/bo:tro	'son's son'
be:t̥ta:r be:t̥ti/bo:tri	'son's daughter'
be:t̥ti	'daughter'
be:t̥ti:r be:t̥ti/bo:tri	'daughter's daughter'
be:l ma:r	'right'
bẽ:s	'sit'
bẽ:sa	'he-buffaloe'
bẽ:si	'she-buffaloe'
bo	'scatter'
bo:t̥ti	'book'
bo:t̥ti	'meat' (flesh)
bo:ḍi	'elder brother's wife'
bo:kkaɾ	'vomit'
bo:ll	'sing'
bha:t̥ta	'stone'
bha:yi	'younger brother'
bha:yi:r be:t̥ta	'younger brother's son'
bha:yi:r be:t̥ti	'younger brother's daughter'
bhi:k ma:ngl	'beg'
bhi:no	'wet'
bhi:ya	'elder brother'
bhi:ya:r be:t̥ta	'elder brother's son'
bhi:ya:r be:t̥ti	'elder brother's daughter'
bhu:t	'ghost'
bhu:kkl	'hungry'

bhu:II	'forget'
bhu:r	'shut, clase'
bhu:riya	'rose ring'
bhene:vi	'sister's husband'
bhe:jo	'brain'
bhe:n	'younger sister'
bhe:ne:r be:tta	'younger sister's son'
bhe:ne:r be:tti	'younger sister's daughter'
bhe:l	'mix'
bhe:ri	'deaf woman'
bhe:ro	'deaf man'
caṭṭa:kkI	'1/16'
caḍa:vo	'shoe'
carko	'pungent'
cara	'graze'
ca:b	'chew', 'bite'
ca:t	'lick'
ca:tṭu	'ladle'
ca:kkI	'knife'
ca:l	'walk'
cikno dhu:dI	'clay'
ci:ppa	'shoval'
ci:nkI	'sneeze'
cum	'kiss'
cunḍa:ḍI	'chase'
culo	'oven'
culo kar	'cook'
coṭṭa/co:r	'thief'
chaḍI	'climb'
chavde	'fourteen'
cha:tti	'chest'

cha:lis	'forty'
cha:r	'four'
cha:r haja:r	'4000'
chi:mp	'touch'
cha:vno	'need'
che:li	'sheep'
cho	'six'
cho:d	'uncover'
cho:l	'point'
cho:r	'steal'
cho:ra	'boy'
cho:ri	'girl'
jaɖI	'root'
jana:var	'tiger'
java:d	'many'
ja:ttar	'festival'
ja:ngI	'thigh'
ja:nvar	'wild animal'
ja:l	'net'
ja:r	'maize'
ji:b	'tongue'
ji:vɖa	'body'
ju	'louse'
je:ttu	'husband's elder brother'
jo	'go'
jo:r	'strong'
jhammanI	'right side'
jha:ɖi	'woods'
jha:de:r paṭṭa	'bark'
jha:de:r jha:ɖI	'trunk'
jha:ɖI	'tree'

jhu:no	'old'
jhũ:mpɔi	'hut'
jhemi	'floor', 'land', 'earth'
jheyil	'prison'
jho:re:ti	'quick'
tappa:l	'escape'
tappI	'mistake'
tappI kar	'make a mistake'
tam	'you' (pl.)
tama:kku	'tobacco'
tama:r	'your' (hon)
tattu:ra	'trumpet'
tala ha:tɬl	'east'
talava	'foot'
taɭavo	'lake'
tarla:ri	'vegetable'
taya:r kar	'begin'
ta:ɭa	'latch'
ta:to	'warm'
ta:mbo	'copper'
ta:r	'your'
ta:v	'sick'
ti:ko	'sharp'
ti:n	'three'
ti:s	'thirty'
ti:s la:k	'30,00,000'
te:ɖɖu	'oar'
te:l	'oil'
to:n	'(to) you'
tharus	'thirsty'
tha:m	'forbid'

thu:nkI	'spit'
dakka:l	'show'
dalka:r	'scold'
das	'ten'
dakkal	'push'
day	'curd'
da:bI	'dip'
da:da	'father's father'
·da:di	'father's mother'
da:kkal	'as'
da:ntu	'tooth'
da:ru	'wine'
da:s e:k	'few'
da:v	'place'
da:y o:di	'left side'
di	'two'
di se	'two hundred'
di:yē	'day'
du:d	'milk'
dese	'second'
de:kkI	'see'
de:var	'husband's younger brother'
doppe:r	'afternoon'
doppe:rI	'noon'
dokku	'difficult'
dokkI	'pain'
dhaḍi:ya	'mountain'
dhāl	'pea'
dhani	'husband'
dha:de:r dha:ḍI	'summer'
dhā:s	'run'

dhũ	‘smoke’
dhu:j	‘tremble’
dhu:nd	‘search for’
dho	‘wash’
dho:ti	‘dhoti’
dho:lo	‘white’
ṭapa:ro	‘box’
ṭa:ngI	‘leg’
ṭo:pi	‘cap’
ḍabbo	‘funeral’
ḍar	‘fear’
ḍa:ḍi	‘chin’
da:u ha:ttI	‘left hand’
ḍubbi	‘sink’
ḍhe:rI	‘enough’
ka	‘say’, ‘answer’
ka	‘why’
kaccini	‘prostitute’
kappa:lo	‘forehead’
kattar	‘chop’ (wood)
katta	‘where’
kaṭṭuḍa	‘building’
kaṭI	‘bed stead’
kaḍI	‘waist’
kama	‘earn’
kama:r	‘potter’
kamba	‘pillar’
kambe:ḍi la:vi	‘pigeon’
kar	‘do’
kara:ḍo	‘bank of river’
karā	‘when’
karā:y	‘always’

kəpu:r	'camphor'
karə kar	'spend'
karna:k	'finish'
ka:ɕbo	'tortoise'
ka:ɕco baṭṭa:ni	'green pea'
ka:ɕco dhaniya	'green coriander'
ka:d	'open'
ka:kka	'father's younger brother'
ka:kka:r be:ṭṭi	'father's younger brother's daughter'
ka:kka:r be:ṭṭa	'father's younger brother's son'
ka:l	'yesterday'
ka:l khi:ḍi	'black ant'
ka:l rat	'last night'
ka:ḷi marce	'black pepper'
ka:ḷo	'black'
ka:m kar	'work'
ka:n	'ear'
ka:n	'onion'
ka:ngIsI	'comb'
ka:maṭi	'carpenter'
kā:yi	'what'
ki:yū	'how'
ki:ḍa	'worm'
ki:ncl	'mud'
kukḍi pillā	'chicken'
kukḍo	'cock'
ku:ni	'elbow'
ku:n	'who'
kunIsI	'which'
ku:li a:ɖmi	'labourer'
ke:la jha:ḍI	'plantain tree'
ke:ḷḍa	'calf'

ke:nl	'whom'
ke:nguḍe	'crab'
ke:rI	'whose'
koccar	'pinch'
kotra	'he-dog'
kotri	'she-dog'
koḍi	'bitter'
koḍitti	'gram'
koḷḍa	'bracelet'
kora:ḍi	'aze'
ko:tta	'fort'
ko:tta	'sickle'
ko:tṭi	'crore'
ko:lya	'charcoal'
khaṭṭu:mbri	'bed bug'
khaḍI	'grass'
khaḷo	'field'
kha:j	'worse'
kha:tṭo	'sour'
kha:liya	'river'
kha:lḍo	'skin'
kha:ni	'blind woman'
kha:no	'blind man'
kh:ās	'cough'
khĩ:s	'pull'
khu:nd	'trample'
khe:t	'land'
khe:t gare:va:llo	'farmer'
khe:la	'plantain'
kho	'eat'
khoja	'snatch'

khora	'feed'
kho:dl	'dig'
kho:r	'hoof'
khõ:sla	'snatch'
gal	'swallow'
galo:l	'arrow'
galle:ri	'squirrel'
gani	'count'
gari:b	'poor'
garIdapanki	'kite'
gavi	'cave'
ga:d	'bury'
ga:s	'wait'
ga:vdi	'cow'
gi	'ghee'
gini	'parrot'
gi:d	'song'
gi:lo	'soft'
gi:ni	'saddle'
gut̪t̪l	'secret'
guḍḍa	'hill'
guhra	'anklet'
gu:d	'fat'
gu:ngi	'dumb woman'
gu:ngo	'dumb man'
ge:n kar	'find', 'think'
goppo:l	'stab'
gobar	'manure'
go:lri pilla	'lamb'
go:nni	'wife'

ghaṭca	'rough'
ghanlm	'distant'
ghar	'house'
gharmI	'hot'
ghavū	'wheat'
gha:nt ba:nd	'tie'
gha:s	'wait'
ghunguḍi	'wool'
gho:ḍo	'horse'
hatta:li	'palm'
haja:r	'thousand'
haḍakka	'bone'
hala	'shake', 'swing'
ham	'we'
hanka:r	'call'
haṇo	'green'
ha:i	'arm'
ha:ṭ chorḍ	'desert'
ha:tti	'elephant'
ha:li	'waste'
ha:r	'garland'
hā:s	'laughter', 'laugh' (v)
he:ṭ	'below'
he:t me:l	'put'
he:va kar	'tame'
ho:ṭṭI	'lip'
la	'buy'
labba:ri	'false'
labba:ri kar	'lie'
laṭṭa	'hair'

lada:y padI	'fight'
lak	'draw'
laga	'skirt'
langdi	'crippled woman'
langdo	'crippled man'
lasan	'garlic'
lava:r	'blacksmith'
la:mbo	'high', 'long'
la:te:ti ma:r	'kick'
la:var	'bring'
la:vi lu:va	'bind'
la:vi na:kki	'beak, 'bill'
limbu	'lemon'
li:mbe	'neem'
lu	'wipe'
lovo	'iron'
lo:y	'blood'
ma	'I'
mat kar	'refuse'
malk	'country'
man	(to) 'me'
manda	'cattle'
manga:lo	'honey'
manga:lo ma:kki	'bee'
mard	'man'
mard jana:var	'tiger'
mard ka:gla	'he-crow'
mard ha:tti	'he-elephant'
mard sasiya	'he-hare'

mard sa:liya	'he-fox'
marki	'ear ring'
ma:ccar	'mosquito'
ma:ccili	'fish'
ma:tto	'heart'
ma:lo	'nest'
ma:ma	'mother's brother'
ma:ma:r beṭṭa	'mother's brother's son'
ma:ma:r beṭṭi	'mother's brother's daughter'
ma:mi	'mother's brother's wife'
ma:n la	'accept'
ma:ngl	'get'
ma:r	'my', 'mine'
ma:r	'beat'
ma:rg	'road'
ma:r na:	'kill'
ma:s	'flesh'
ma:sa	'mother's younger sister's husband'
mã:y	'in'
miṭki	'frog'
mi:tṭo	'sweet'
mi:na	'month'
muccε	'moustache'
mumpli	'ground-nut'
mumpli te:l	'ground-nut oil'
munḍa:gl	'before'
munḍi	'neck'
munḍo	'face', 'mouth'
mundome:lan khĩ:s	'such'
mu:ṭi	'fist'
mu:la	'reddish', 'corner'
mu:ng	'green gram'

me:l	'send'
me:l	'dirty'
moṭya:ḍi	'mother's elder sister'
moṭya:ḍi:r be:ṭṭa	'mother's elder sister's son'
moṭya:r cho:ra	'young man'
moṭya:r cho:ri	'young lady'
moggI	'bud'
mollu	'sand'
mo:tti	'pearl'
mo:ṭṭo	'big'
mo:ṭṭo ba:ppa:r be:ṭṭa	'father's elder brother's son'
mo:ṭṭo ba:ppa:r be:ṭṭi	'father's elder brother's daughter'
mo:l	'price'
mo:r	'peacock'
nanga:ro	'drum'
naḷḍi	'throat'
nav	'nine'
navvo	'new'
navle:ri	'bride'
nav se ha:ja:r	'ninety thousand'
na:c	'jump'
na:kkI	'nose'
na:kke:r ve:j	'nostril'
na:gar	'plough'
na:m	'name'
na:na	'mother's father'
na:ni	'mother's mother'
na:nkya	'small', 'short'
na:le:r	'coconut'
na:rangi	'orange'
ni:nd kar	'sleep'
ni:lo	'blue'

nu:n	'salt'
nu:ni	'butter.'
ncv	'ninety'
nocca	'squeeze'
nokkI	'nail'
noga	'yoke'
no:liya	'mongoose'
rappiya	'money'
ratto:y	'but', 'although'
ras	'juice'
ra:ja	'owl'
ra:s mard	'many men'
ra:y	'mustard'
ri:ncI	'bear'
ro:ja	'rose'
ramti	'drama'
ramti va:lo	'actor'
ram	'play', 'dance'
ra:kkI	'ashes'
ra:nḍiya	'widower'
ra:ndI bi:r	'widow'
ri:s	'angry'
ri:s kar	'get angry'
ruppo	'silver'
rū	'cotton'
re:tta:lu	'sweet potato'
sapa:ri	'betelnut'
sapni	'lizard'
sakkar	'sugar'
sana:r	'goldsmith'
sandra	'moon'
sara:niya	'pillow'

sarke:si	'suddenly'
sararo	'father-in-law'
sasiya	'hare'
sava	' $1\frac{1}{4}$ '
sava:d de:kkI	'taste'
sava:r	'tomorrow'
sa:p	'snake'
sa:dIrI	'mat'
sa:kkI	'story'
sa:s	'true'
sa:mbar	'he-deer'
sa:mbri	'she-deer'
sa:mbal	'listen to'
sa:n̄ta	'sugar cane'
sa:n̄I	'evening'
sa:l	'paddy'
sa:li	'wife's sister'
sa:liya	'fox'
sa:lo	'wife's brother'
sa:r	'seven'
sa:vka:r	'rich man'
sa:vka:ri	'rich woman'
sã:so	'sorrow'
si	'cold'
sibba	'he-cat'
sibbi	'she-cat'
sika	'teach'
sinko	'chisel'
si:koje:ko	'habit'
si:ngu	'horn'
si:ye:r dha:ḍI	'winter'

su:do	‘straight’
su:n̥t̥i ~ sa:n̥t̥i	‘navel’
su:riya	‘sun’
su:ri	‘she-pig’
su:r̥l̥	‘he-pig’
se:j	‘all’
so	‘hundred’
sod kar	‘repair’
somo:r	‘right’ (correct)
so:gánkho	‘promise’
so:no	‘gold’
vaja:lo	‘bright’
vala	‘rub’
varIsI	‘year’
vas	‘poison’
vayri	‘hostile’
va:jal	‘sky’, ‘cloud’
va:t kar	‘speak’
va:t	‘track’
va:l	‘fold’
va:lkha:yar	‘fan’
va:ndar	‘he-monkey’
va:ndri	‘she-monkey’
va:n̥t̥	‘grind’
va:ra	‘week’
va:r kar	‘cure’ (sick person)
va:v̥d̥i	‘well’
vã:sa	‘bamboo’
vã:s pak̥d̥l̥	‘smell’
vã:s la	‘breath’
vã:s̥li	‘flute’

vi:s

'twenty'

vi:ncu

'scorpion'

vetuɖl

'bridegroom'

ve:c

'sell'

ve:ngan

'brinjal'

ve:la

'time'

ve:s

'clothing'

ya:ɖi

'mother'

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Errata

<i>Page</i>	<i>Line</i>	<i>Error</i>	<i>Correction</i>
8	11	haɬɬI	ha:t
16	3	‘thirty’	‘thirsty’
21	Note	phonomic	phonemic
31	17	mã:y	ba:r
32	20	ca:kkt	ca:kkI
67	13	hey	hãy
73	16	angu:tta	angu:tta
76	12	pu:ncidi	pu:nciɖi
84	18	ka:n	ka:nda
90	8	mollu	moɭlu