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**Additional Words:**
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- igge
- u:nDke
- we:la
- na:NNa
- id
- id
- id
- lekke
- na:k
- nawa
- mawad
- ille
- adink
- ad
- o:rke
- payye
- au
- agga
- u:r
- u:rwa
- ad
- na:k
- mamma
- ba:ta
- beppoD
- begge
- benonD
- ba:ta:nk
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<td>1991</td>
<td><em>Koya, Academy of Tribal Dialects and Culture</em>, Bhubaneswar.</td>
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<td>Bhattacharya, S. S.</td>
<td>1988</td>
<td><em>A Reference Book on the Minority Languages of India</em>, (unpublished manuscript), Language Division, Calcutta.</td>
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<td>Grierson, G.A.</td>
<td>1906</td>
<td><em>LSI, Vol.IV Munda and Dravidian</em>,</td>
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<td>Subrahmanyam P.S.</td>
<td>1991</td>
<td><em>Dravidian verb morphology (A Comparative Study)</em>, Annamalai university, Annamalainagar.</td>
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531
KUI
S.Rajendran and S. Boopathy

Family affiliation
The language Kui belongs to the central group or intermediate group of Dravidian family of languages.

The people
Kui, Kuvi, Kandh, Kandhi, Kondh, Khond, Khondi, Kodu and Kond are the terms used to refer to the Kond people or their language. The people living in the north-western part of Orissa call themselves Kuvinga and their language as Kui and those in the north-eastern part call themselves as Ku:vinga and their language as Ku:vi.

Location
Kui people are concentrated in the districts of Koraput, Kalahandi, Baudh Khondmals and Ganjam in Orissa.

Earlier studies on Kui language
The grammatical sketch of Kui language found in Grierson’s LSI (Vol.No. IV, pp-457-71) is based on Latchmayee’s (1902) An introduction to the grammar of the Kui or Kandh language. The dialect spoken in Gunsur has been considered to be a standard one by Latchmayee and Smith in LSI. The same dialect has been studied by scholars namely Frye (1851), Friend Pereira (1909) and Winfield (1928-29). A fullfledged grammar and dictionary of Kui are found in Winfield’s works, A grammar of the Kui language and A vocabulary of the Kui language (Kui-English). His grammar regards the Kui of the Gunupur-Udayagiri Taluk as the standard. Winfield’s work was used as the basic source for Kui in DED. Gopinath Mohanty’s book on Ku:bi also includes some Kui material. Chandra Sekhar (1958) published a book entitled, Material for a Kui grammar, containing Kui texts.

Statistical data: Language, Mother tongue and Bilingualism – 1991 Census

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532
Bilingualism

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Phonology

Phonemic inventory

Segmentals

Vowels
Front \( i, i^{/} \), \( u, u^{/} \)
Central \( e, e^{/} \), \( o, o^{/} \)
Back \( a, a^{/} \)

Consonants

Stops Bilabial Dental Alveolar Retroflex Palatal Velar Glottal
\( p, b \) \( t, d \) \( T, D \) \( j, k \) \( g, ? \)
Nasals \( m, n \)
Laterals \( l \) \( R \)
Flap \( r \)
Fricatives \( s \)
Continuants \( y \)

Suprasegmentals
Vowel length is phonemic. Length is denoted by the co-vowel \( / : / \). Nasalization is not phonemic though nasalized vowels are found in the speech of some Kui speakers which may be attributed to the influence of Oriya.

Major allophonic distribution

Vowel
Vowels are pronounced with their value in all their environments. Short vowels are half long at the final position.

Consonant
\(/ n/ \) is a dental before a dental stop, palatal before palatal affricate, a velar before velar stops and elsewhere alveolar.
Consonants are sharply pronounced at the initial position. The consonants occurring intervocally when followed by a short vowel are longer than those appearing in the other positions.
Phonemic distribution

All the vowels occur word initially, medially and finally. Among the consonants /h/, /y/, /ʔ/ and /N/ do not occur word-initially. All the consonants occur medially. There is no word ending in a consonant. All the words end in a vowel and sometimes final vowel is glided when followed by a word beginning with a vowel. The final vowel is reduplicated in the speech.

Diphthongs

There is no diphthong in Kui.

Consonant cluster

Only two-consonant clusters occur word-initially. Consonant clusters do not occur word-finally.

/ʔ/ and /N/ do not cluster with another consonant.

The two consonant clusters occurring initially are restricted to the type given below

\[ C_1 + \left\{ \begin{array}{c} L \\ r \\ R \end{array} \right\} \]

Where \( C_1 \) may be any consonant except /ʔ/, /n/, /N/, /l/, /r/, /R/, /h/ and /y/

Three-consonant clusters are few in number and are of the following types

(i) \( \left\{ \begin{array}{c} r \\ R \end{array} \right\} + \) Homorganic nasal + stop

(ii) Homorganic nasal + stop + \( \left\{ \begin{array}{c} l \\ r \\ R \end{array} \right\} \)

The language Kui does not permit voiceless stop + voiced stop and voiced stop + voiceless stop combination. Stops being an initial member can combine with /l/ /r/ /R/ and /s/

Homorganic nasal – voiced stop is quite frequent. /m/, /n/ and /N/ contrast before /b/. Syllables

Kui syllable carries a vowel as nucleus and may be followed by an onset or preceded by a coda. The syllable may be of the following types.

(i) \( V - \) (ii) \( CV - \) (iii) \( CCV- \) (iv) \( VC- \)

All the eight types can occur word-initially but only the first three can occur word-finally. Kui has mono-syllabic, di-syllabic, tri-syllabic and tetra-syllabic words.

Morphophonemics

The following rules are operated when plural markers are added to the nouns

- \( u \rightarrow \phi \) /-ka/
- /Doru – ka/ \rightarrow /Dorka/ ‘ropes’
- /pe:nu – ka/ \rightarrow /pe:nga/ ‘louse’
- /mi:nu – ka/ \rightarrow /mi:nga/ ‘fishes’
- /sra:su – ka/ \rightarrow /sra:ska/ ‘snakes’
- /ka:nu – ka/ \rightarrow /kanga/ ‘eyes’
Exceptions
/a:ku/ → /a:ka/ ‘leaves’
/kiru/ → /kri:ka/ ‘ears’
/Dabu/ → /Dabunga/ ‘moneys’

This rule is restricted to words with more than two syllables
/si pa: li - ka/ → /sipa:laka/ ‘deers’
/kise: Ri - ka/ → /kise:Raka/ ‘ear-rings’
nahoRi - ka → /nahoRaka/ ‘dogs’

\[ (N) \begin{align*}
\{ b \} & \quad \{ p \} \\
\{ d \} & \quad \{ t \} \\
\{ D \} & \quad \{ T \} \\
\{ j \} & \quad \{ s \} \\
\{ g \} & \quad \{ k \}
\end{align*} \] → \[ \begin{align*}
\phi & \quad \phi / - ka \\
\end{align*} \] (N=nasal consonant)

Exceptions
/go:bu - ka/ → /go:pka/ ‘branches’
/iDu - ka/ → /iTka/ ‘houses’
/paDu - ka/ → /paTka/ ‘teeth’
/ku:ndu - ka/ → /ku:Tka/ ‘funguses’
/ko:ju - ka/ → /ko:eka/ ‘horns’

 Exceptions
/sra:ngu/ → /sra:kaka/ ‘breasts’
/vanju / → /vaska/ ‘fingers’
/DunDu/ → /DunDuka/ ‘large ants’

\(k \rightarrow g / n-\)

/kanu - ka/ → /kanga/ ‘eyes’
/pe:nu - ka/ → /pe:nka/ ‘houses’

Morphology
The grammatical categories in Kui are nouns, pronouns, adjectives, numerals, verbs and adverbs.

Noun
Nouns are inflected for case. Nouns have gender (masculine and non-masculine) and number (singular and plural) distinctions. Of the two types of nouns simple nouns are not overtly marked for gender and number and the composite nouns are overtly marked for gender and number.

Simple nouns
Simple nouns are divided into rational and non-rational types. The rational nouns belong to masculine or feminine gender and the non-rational nouns refer to non-human gender.

Gender-number marking with simple nouns
(1) Simple masculine nouns with \(ru\) as the plural marker.
/aba/ ‘father’ /aba-ru/ ‘fathers’
/a:po/ ‘son’ /a:po-ru/ ‘sons’

(2) Simple feminine nouns with \(-ska\) as the plural marker.
/aja/ ‘mother’ /aja-ska/ ‘mothers’
Simple non-human nouns with -ka and -nka as the plural marker

/mrau/ ‘daugther’
/kor/ ‘buffalo’
/sor/ ‘hill’
/mrah -ka/ ‘trees’

Composite nouns

Composite nouns are formed from bound nominal roots denoting certain abstract sense or, pronouns, adjectives, numerals and verbs by adding gender – number marker (GN).

Abstract nominal root + GN

/mReh -enju/ ‘man’
/mReh -engi/ ‘men’

/mReh -ah/ ‘woman’
/mReh -ali-ka/ ‘women’

Noun + GN

/pRe:ki/ ‘adultery’
/pRe:ko-ri/ ‘adulterer’

/pRe:ko-ra-nga/ ‘adulterers’
/pRe:ko-ri/ ‘adulteress’

First, second and third person reflexive pronominal root + GN

These terms are used only to indicate masculine persons and neuter things,

Pronoun

/ia:n/ ‘I’
/ia:mu/ ‘we’
/i: mu/ ‘you(sg)’
/i:ru/ ‘you’ (ord/hon)
/i:ri/ ‘he’

Inflected base

/na: - /na: -anju/ ‘my man’
/mi: - /ma: -anju/ ‘our man’
/n: - /ni: -anju/ ‘thy man’
/mi: - /mi: -anju/ ‘your man’
/n: - /ta: -anju/ ‘his man’

/ma: - /ma: -aru/ ‘my men’
/mi: - /ma: -aru/ ‘our men’
/n: - /ni: -aru/ ‘your men’
/mi: - /mi: -aru/ ‘your men’
/n: - /ta: -aru/ ‘his men’

Third person pronoun inflected base + GN

Pronoun

/ia:ni/ ‘his things’
/ia:ri/ ‘their things’
/i:ma:/ ‘her thing’
/i:ma:/ ‘their things’

Composite nouns formed out of the reflexive base tan-(~ta-) + GN

masculine /ia:ni:ju/ ‘person’
/femine /ia:ri/ ‘person’
/neuter /ia:ri/ ‘thing’

/ta-ka/ ‘people’
/ta-i/ ‘people’
/ta-i/ ‘things’

Adjective + GN

/neg- /neg- anju/ ‘good man’
/meg-ari/ ‘good woman’
/pun- /pun- anju/ ‘new man’
/pun-ari/ ‘new woman’

/neg-aru/ ‘good men’
/neg-ai/ ‘good women’
/pun-aru/ ‘new men’
/pun-ai/ ‘new women’
Numeral adjective + GN

/ro/ 'one' /ro-anju/ 'one man'
/ri: / 'two' /ri:-aru/ 'two men'

Relative participle form of verb + GN

In Kui there is no relative pronoun. But Kui has relative participial nouns instead.
/va:n -anju/ 'the man who will come'
/va:n -aru/ 'the men who will come'
/va:t -anju/ 'the man who comes'
/va:t -aru/ 'the men who come'

Verb root + GN

/pang-e/ 'to spit' /pang-eRi/ 'planks'
/pang-eRa-ka/ 'planks'
/kO/- 'to reap' /ko:-eri/ 'harvest'
/st/- 'to give' /si:p -oRi/ 'ladle'
/si:p-oRa -ka/ 'ladders' /drung/- 'to sway'
/drung-oli/ 'swing' /drung-ola-ka/ 'swings'

Pronouns

Pronouns are of four types, namely, personal, demonstrative, interrogative and reflexive. The pronouns are also composite in nature having a bound root + GN

Personal pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Base</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>a:-</td>
<td>a: nu</td>
<td>a:mu (exclusive)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>a:ju (inclusive)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>i:-</td>
<td>i:nu</td>
<td>i:ru</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Third person/demonstrative pronouns

Masculine Singular Plural
proximate /tanju/ /iaru/
intermediate /oanju/ /oaru/
remote /e:anju/ /earu/

Non-masculine (feminine/neuter)
proximate /i:ri/ /i:vi/
intermediate /o:ri/ /o:vi/
remote /e:ri/ /e:vi/

Herein (i) demonstrative bases are i ~ i: -(proximate), o ~ o: -(intermediate), e ~ e: -(yonder)
(ii) GN markers are: -anju (masculine singular) -aru (masculine plural) -ri (non-masculine singular), -vi (non-masculine plural)

Interrogative pronouns

Interrogative bases: an-, est- – GN

Definite Singular Plural
Masculine /est-anju/ 'which man' /est-aru/ 'which men'

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Non-masculine /est-ari/ ‘which woman/thing’ /est-ai/ ‘which women/things’

The commonly used interrogative words are: imbai/embai/ambai ‘who’

**Reflexive pronouns**

Reflexive base ta: - - GN

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Masculine</td>
<td>/ta:mu/</td>
<td>/ta:ru/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-masculine</td>
<td>/ta:mu/</td>
<td>/ta:i/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Herein, ta: is reflexive, -mu is singular, -ru is masculine and -i is non-masculine.

**Cases**

Cases are six, namely, genitive, accusative, dative, sociative, locative and ablative. These are expressed by case inflections added to nouns and pronouns. Nouns inflect for genitive to attribute another noun whereas nouns inflect for other cases to relate with the verb.

**Nominative**

The nominative is uninflected and is subject of a sentence or clause.

**Genitive**

The genitive is the same as the inflectional base. The inflections are -i, -ni and for some neuter nouns -a. Genitive case indicates ‘possession’. Below are explained the contexts where the genitive inflections are added:

Masculine singular nouns marked by -nju and masculine plural nouns marked by -ru receive inflectional increment -i by dropping -ju and -u.

/naganju/ ‘good man’
/va:nanju/ ‘the man who will come’
/va:nan i/ ‘of the man who will come’
/a:bara/ ‘father’
/a:bar i/ ‘of the father’

Composite masculine nouns with plural marker -nga as well as feminine nouns (both simple and composite) receive -ni as the inflectional increment.

/mRehenga/ ‘men’
/aja/ ‘mother’
/ajaska/ ‘mothers’
/mRehali/ ‘women’

Feminine plural nouns marked by -i replaces -i by -saka by the addition of the inflectional increments-ni.

/negai/ ‘woman’

In neuter nouns, the nominative form itself is the genitive form. The case suffixes are added to the post-position tin-. Sometimes, neuter plurals that end in -nga are declined like masculine nouns.

/korw/ ‘buffalo’
/kor:Dinga/ ‘buffaloes’

Demonstrative pronouns are declined like appellative nouns. (Herein, in the oblique cases of the feminine singular pronouns the -r of the gender suffix is changed to -R for some reasons).

/tanju/ ‘he’
/tarw/ ‘they (masculine)’
Accusative case is formed by adding -i to the inflectional base.

Accusative forms of the personal pronouns are

- /ni/-ni/ ‘me’
- /mi/-ni/ ‘you’

Alternative forms for the accusative (also dative) are

- /na/-nge/ ‘me’
- /mi/-nge/ ‘you’

Accusative case is used for the direct object of a verb:

- /a:nu e:r marosani pu:NDitee/ ‘I met my daughters’
- /ciktenju/ ‘he opened his mouth’

Dative case is formed by adding -ki to the inflectional base. In feminine nouns, the final -i of the inflectional base is glided and the case-marker becomes -gi whereas in case of neuter nouns, the dative case is usually expressed by the postposition tingi (tin - gi).

- /aba - ki/ ‘to father’
- /ma/-ki/ ‘to fathers’
- /mReheni -ki/ ‘to man’
- /mRehengani-ki/ ‘to men’
- /ajan-gi/ ‘to mother’
- /negasakam-gi/ ‘to good women’

In case of personal pronouns -ngi is added to the inflectional base.

- /na/-ngi/ ‘to me’
- /mi/-ngi/ ‘to us’

Alternative forms of the accusative and dative case are

- /na/-nge/ ‘me/to me’
- /ma/-nge/ ‘us/to us’
- /ni/-nge/ ‘thhee/to thee’
- /mi/-nge/ ‘you/to you’

Sociative

Oblique base – -ke

- /a:nu ram -ke sake/ ‘I went to Ram’
- /aDasaka maru sakan -ge sasu/ ‘the mothers went to the daughters’

Pronominal base – -ke

- /na/-ke/ ‘with me’
- /ma/-ke/ ‘with us’
- /ni/-ke/ ‘with thee’
- /mi/-ke/ ‘with you’
Locative
Postposition tani ‘in, (also, -ta or -ni ) is used with the base:
/a:ru jo:Ritani Do:nga oiner// ‘they are sailing in a boat on the river’
/a:nu ko:Di:ti nuNDatani si: tumiste/ ‘I washed the cows in the tank’

Ablative -Rai ‘from’ is used with the base.
/a:nu baliguRa -Rai ba:i mo:i/ ‘I am coming from Baliguda’
/a:mu so:ru -Rai ja:pinamu/ ‘we are descending from the mountain’

Numerals
Numerals available in Kui are ro ‘one’ and ri: ‘two’. Beyond this, Kui men use Oriya numerals upto ‘twenty’ and women upto ‘ten’.

Below are explained the use of cardinal, ordinal and adverbial numerals.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cardinals</th>
<th>Ordinals</th>
<th>Adverbials</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/ro/ ‘one’</td>
<td>/ve:letari/ ‘first’</td>
<td>/so:teka/ ‘once’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ri:/ ‘two’</td>
<td>/ri:hetari/ ‘second’</td>
<td>/ti:he/ ‘twice’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ti:nili/ ‘three’</td>
<td>/ti:nitari/ ‘third’</td>
<td>/ti:nitu/ ‘thrice’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/pa:nso/’five hundred’</td>
<td>/pa:nsotari/ ‘fifth’</td>
<td>/pa:sopal:a/ ‘fifth time’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/pondoro/’fifteen’</td>
<td>/pondorotari/ ‘fifteenth’</td>
<td>/pondoropal:a/’fifteenth time’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ko:Rie/’twenty’</td>
<td>/ko:rietari/ ‘twentieth’</td>
<td>/ko:riepal:a/’twentieth time’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Adjectives
Adjectives precede the nouns they qualify. As such, there are a few words which are used exclusively as adjectives. Besides these, adjectival expressions are also formed from nouns, verbs and other words. Below are explained the adjectivals.

1. Words exclusively used as adjectives
   /deri/ ‘large’
   /kageri/ ‘small’
   /pu:ni/ ‘new’

2. Nouns used as adjectives
   /meReha mi:da/ ‘male child’
   /vaDi vi:ra/ ‘stoney earth’

3. Nouns used in the genitive case often become adjective.
   /la:veni  Dei/ ‘youthful days’

4. Infinitive used as adjectives
   /uRba si:Dru/ ‘drinking water’

5. Relative participle used as adjective.
   /vai monikRa:Dli/ ‘the tiger that is coming’

Verbs

Verb stem
The verb stems are simple (that is one verb root) complex (that is verb root - derivational morphemes) and compound (that is more than one verb root + one or more derivational or inflectional suffixes). The transitive verb stem governs the direct or indirect object and the intransitive does not.
Transitive and causative stem

The intransitive verb stems end in voiced stop or homorganic nasal + voiced stop and their corresponding transitives end in voiceless stop or k, s, t, p. This inter-relationship is due to morphophonemic change of transitive stem + covert allomorph of the transitive marker.

(i) -(m) g → ( φ ) k : /e:g/-
     /ning/- ‘be open’ /e:k/- ‘open’
(ii) -(n) j → ( φ ) s : /aj/-
     /e:j/- ‘rise’ /nik/- ‘raise’
     /nenj/- ‘be separated’ /e:s/- ‘cause to fear’
(iii) /aD/- ‘be joined’ /aT/- ‘join’
     /bra:D/- ‘be scattered’ /bra:t/ ‘scatter’
(iv) mb → φ p : /kamb/- ‘be burnt’ /kap/- ‘scorch’

A small class of verbs take one of the transitives as shown below.

(1) VR - φ /e/- ‘arrive’ /e -p/ ‘to cause to arrive’
     /ja/- ‘descend’ /ja:-p/ ‘bring down’
(2) VR - s /mi:-/ ‘bathe’ /mi:-s/ ‘cause to bathe’
     /no:-/ ‘pain’ /no:-s/ ‘cause to pain’
(3) VR - k /ve:-/ ‘swell’ /ve:-k/ ‘cause to expand’
(4) - {n} → φ +φ /uN/- ‘drink’ /u: -T/- -u: -R/ ‘cause to drink’
     /sa:l/- ‘enter’ /so:-R/ ‘cause to enter’
(5) Peripherically the verb -gi ‘make’ is added to the infinitive form of the main verb to convey the transitive or causative.
     /eanju sogoDi hisagitenju/ ‘he made the cart to stop’
     /a:nu eani pada po:nga gipkimai/ ‘I am making to spread his name abroad’

Motion

The actor undergoes a motion towards the location of action before performing the action.

The structure is verb stem + the motion suffix ka.
/meh -φ -i/ ‘I will look’ /meh -ka- φ -i/ ‘I will go and look’
/meh - ka - t - e/ ‘I went and looked’

Motion suffix is not added to the verb that has already incorporated the transition suffix.

Transference

The transference suffix is added to the verb root expressing transition or carrying over the action indicated by the verb from the subject to the object.

The transference suffix has the allomorphs as -a ~ -ba- ~ da ~ Da ~ ja.
/a:nu ni:ngi pehai/ ‘I will drive you away’
/a:nu ni:ngi ve:tau/ ‘I shall strike you’
/a:nu tu-da -i/ ‘I will fasten for you’

Negative

The negative suffix negates the statement made by the verb. The negative suffix has two allomorphs -pa- ~ - - - - - -pa- occurs before the past tense suffix and - - - - before non-past suffix- φ -.
/tin - p - φ -enju/ 'I will not eat'
/tin - ? - φ -ai/ 'you will not eat'
/tin - ? - φ -enju/ 'he will not eat'

Tense

Tenses are two - non-past and past.

Non-past tense

The non-past tense morpheme has the alternants as - -d- (~ -id-)~ - n – (-in) ~ - φ -. -d- occurs before second personal suffix (both singular and plural), -n- occurs elsewhere except before first person singular suffix where - φ - (or glottal stop ) occurs. The following morphophonemic changes take place with verbs ending in l, N and n.

(i) In three monosyllabic verbs containing a long vowel l-d > D
(ii) In three monosyllabic verbs containing a short vowel l-d > j
(iii) N – d > ND
(iv) N – d > nj
(v) \[ \{ N \} - n > φ n \]
(vi) \[ \{ N \} - n > φφ / -i (first person singular) \]
/aT -id -i/ 'you will boil'
/kō: -d -i/ 'you will reap'
/tin – d -l tin –j -i/ 'you will eat'
/aT–in -e njju/ 'he will boil'
/kō: -n- enju/ 'he will reap'
/pa:n - -φ - i > pa: - φ - i 'I will obtain'
/tin – φ - t > ti - φ -i/ 'I will eat'

Past tense

The past tense morpheme has the alternants -it-, -t-, -d-. The following morphophonemic changes take place when -t- occurs after verb ending in a consonant.

(i) \[ \{ N \} + t > \{ T \} \]
(ii) vl + t > T
(iii) vl1 + t > s
(iv) vl2 + t > T (optional).

Example
/iT -it -enju/ 'he put'
/ita:k -it -enju/ 'he walked'
/nog -d -enju/ 'he washed'
/sug -d -enju/ 'he roasted'
/uN – t -enju/ > /u-T-enju/ 'he drank'
Person – number

The person-number suffixes that occur with the verbs are

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I person</td>
<td>-i ~ -e ~ -enu (exclusive)</td>
<td>-amu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(inclusive)</td>
<td>-asu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II person</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>-eru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III person (masculine)</td>
<td>-enju</td>
<td>-eru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III person (non-masculine)</td>
<td>-e</td>
<td>-u ~ -o</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Among the allomorphs of the first person singular, -i occurs after future tense marker -φ; -e after past tense marker -it and -eru after the negative suffix.

Among the allomorphs of the third person non-masculine plural morpheme -o occurs after negative non-past and -u elsewhere.

Inflection of ta:ki ‘to walk’ showing person –number markers.

/a:nu ta: ki/    ‘I shall walk/ I walk’
/a:mu ta:kin -amu/ ‘we (exclusive) shall walk/we walk’
/a:ju ta:kin -asu/ ‘we (inclusive) walk/we walk’
/i:nu ta:ki -di/ ‘you will walk/you walk’
/i:ru ta:ki -deru/ ‘you will walk/you walk’

Mood

Imperative

The imperative suffixes are -mu and -du. -mu is used when the subject is second person singular; -du is used when the subject is second person plural. -mu alternates with -amu/-umu, -du alternates with -aTu. The following morphophonemic changes operate

1. \[
\begin{aligned}
\{ vL \} - du & \rightarrow \{ vDu \} \\
\{ vL \} - n & \rightarrow \{ nju \}
\end{aligned}
\]

2. \[
\begin{aligned}
\{ vL \} - du & \rightarrow \{ nju \}
\end{aligned}
\]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/e:nd -a mu/</td>
<td>/e:nd -atu/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/nog -umu/</td>
<td>/nog -du/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ko: -mu/</td>
<td>/ko: -du/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Also, the suffix -i:ke occurs as imperative marker when the personal ending is omitted.

/ve su mu – i: ke/  ‘speak’
/ta: mu – i: ke/    ‘bring’

Prohibitive

The markers indicating prohibition are: -φ for second person singular; -Tu for second person plural. They come after negative - ? a -

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/e:nd - ? a/</td>
<td>/e:nd - ?a -Tu/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ko: - ? a/</td>
<td>/ko: - ? a -Tu/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘do not dance’
‘do not reap’

Optative

The optative markers have the following alternants -k ~ -ak ~ -pak ~ -bak- . Imperative is followed by apellative endings
/ta:k -ʔ a -k a mu/ 'let me not walk'
/ja: -pak -a mu/ 'let me beg'
/kO: -pak -a mu/ 'let me reap'

Non-finite

Past participle
The markers are -a ~ -sa ~ -ja. One suffix is added to the verb stem.
/a-fi /a:ji/ 'having cooled down'

Present participle
The markers are -ai ~ ki ~ pki ~ pi ~ i ~ bi ~ ji
/aT -ki/ 'joining' /as-ki / 'fearing'
/deg -ai/ 'running' /ta:t -ai/ 'walking'
/a:r -pi/ 'calling' /e:s -pi/ 'separating'

Relative participle
It is formed by adding the adjective marker -i to the past tense stem of the verb.
/munji - it - i/ 'that immersed' /pu: - t - i/ 'that blossomed'
/ni - T- i/ 'that stood' /ti - s - i/ 'that ate'
/la:k - in - i/ 'that sacrifices/that will sacrifice'

Infinitive
The infinitive markers are -a ~ -pa ~ -va ~ -ba
/iT -a / 'to place' /pand -a/ 'to send'
/ve: -pa/ 'to strike'

Conditional and concessive
The conditional marker -eka is added to the past stem of a verb. It has a variant -aka after the past negative stem.
/ta: k-it -eka/ 'if (subject) walk (s)'
The concessive is formed by adding the emphatic particle -ve to the conditional.
/sah - t -ekave/ 'even though (subject) beat (s)'

Verbal compounding
Present, imperfect, perfect and plu-perfect tenses are formed by verbal compounding.

Present tense
The present adverbial form of the main verb followed by the future tense form of the auxiliary verb man- 'be' forms the present tense periphrastically.
/ta: k-a : ma- φ -i/ 'I am walking'
/De:s -pi man- φ -amu/ 'we are building'
/Ru: -i ma - φ -i/ 'I am ploughing'
The negative mood is brought out by replacing the verb man- by the negative verb siD-
/ta: k -ai siD - φ -enu/ 'I am not walking'