Present participle - -er, -il, -el, -ke, -tel.

Examples
/sunar ni paris/ ‘he could not hear’
/imaril parhÔ)/ ‘you can kill’ /se asel pare/ ‘he can come’
/majke hohi/ ‘will have to go’
/semOne uDtel uDtel guin/ ‘they went away flying’

Past participle -ke, -un, -Ø, -Ø, -i, -ie, -ek.

Examples
/saTeDha bengTa hOgke caI 10k/ ‘snake moved zig zag’
/oOObO od sumun/ ‘having heard the noise’
/TaTila hiTe del/ ‘open the door’
/pODguis/ ‘fallen’
/phuig dete/ ‘having beaten’ /loTageraKO ghici del/ ‘remove the grass’
/hOøja au gharie abeI ‘you go and come back’
/buukOMmplagir ghOgerakO dhOsekguis/ ‘the houses collapsed due to earthquake’

Conditional participle -le

Examples
/se aqle mOø jahaI ‘if he comes I shall go’
/se roHele gulmalhOhi ‘if he stays there will be a quarrel’

Particles

Particles are of three types. These are-

Interrogative particle nO, ka

Examples
/ham bipOdnu par hOgOgOøOøI/ ‘have not we come out of danger’
/li baqir kOtha hOø parI kaI/ ‘Is such a thing possible’

Conjunctive particle- je ‘but/that ki ‘that’ hele ‘then’ bhi ‘also’

Examples
/kaøI mOø asil parerje mor-dehO khOrap rOhije mOø asilni pareI/ ‘I could have come yesterday but I was not physically well that I could not come’
/kua kOhis kaI/ ‘the crow told that’
/semOne jodi ilamOn ni nebar hele mOla dedO/ ‘if they don’t want then give it to me’
/se asel bhi pareI/ ‘he may come also’

Adverbial particle - 10k ‘till/up to/uptil’

Example-
/leb 10k/ ‘till now’ /ekhentOk/ ‘till now’
/agitOk/ ‘till today’
Phonology

Phonemic inventory
Segmental phonemes

Vowels: (6-vowel system)

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
i & u \\
e & o \\
A & A \\
\end{array}
\]

Supra-segmental phoneme

Nasalization of vowels: /v/

Consonants: (29-consonant system)

\[
\begin{array}{llllllllll}
p & b & t & d & T & D & k & g & c & f \\
ph & bh & th & dh & Th & Dh & kh & gh & ch & jh \\
s & l & r & M & M \\
w & y & \\
\end{array}
\]

The basic phonological features of Binjhia in comparison to standard Oriya (Std.O) are following-

1. Use of metathetic -g-

Examples

/āḍkh < Std.O ākhi/ ‘eye’ /bOgD < Std.O boRhi/ ‘flood’
/baṇī < Std.O baLī/ ‘sand’ /mOgśna < Std.O mOsiNa/ ‘mattress’ etc.

2. Use of anaptyctic vowel:

Examples

/rOkoI < Std.O roKtO/ ‘blood’ /gupOti < Std.O gupto/ ‘secret’
/dhOrOm < Std.O dhOrmO/ ‘religion’ etc.

3. Nasal consonant nasalises the preceding vowel: Examples

/kāthi < Std.O kanthO/ ‘wall’ /gōpī < Std.O gumphO/ ‘moustache’
/bātī < Std.O bātī/ ‘vomit’ /pāpOD < Std.O pompORO/ ‘papad’
/kōca < Std.O kOnca/ ‘unripe/raw’ etc.

4. Use of spontaneous nasalization

Examples

/gōCh < Std.O gOChO/ ‘tree’ hāth < Std.O hato/ ‘hand’
/khās < Std.O khāso/ ‘cough’ ŌTh < Std.O oThO/ ‘lip’ etc.

5. Insertion of -n-

Examples

/baingOni < Std.O baigONO – -i/ ‘violet colour’

/OnOndO < Std.O nONODO / ‘husband’s sister’ etc.

6. Dropping of -h-, -w-

Examples

/siuli < Std.O sihuLi/ ‘flower’ (autumn) variety.
/mOu < Std.O mOhu/ ‘honey’ /sās < Std.O swasO/ ‘breath’
7. Change of /t/ to /r/ and /n/  
/mOchri/ ≡ /Std.O mOchLil/ ‘fish’ /OmgOl/ ≡ /Std.O nOmgOLO/ ‘plough share’  
/hOrdi/ ≡ /Std.O hOLODi/ ‘termeric’ /thari/ ≡ /Std.O thaLi/ ‘plate’ etc.

Morphology

Nouns

1. Pluralisation

The plural markers used with the nominal bases are – /mAn/ (for human beings) and -/gra/ (for non-humans and objects).

Examples

lok/admi ‘man’  lok/admi mAn ‘men’  
beTa/chora ‘son/boy’  beTa mAn/choramAn ‘sons/boys’

chori ‘daughter/girl’  chori mAn ‘daughter/girl’
AnDa ‘egg’  AnDagra ‘eggs’
cirei ‘bird’  cerei-gra ‘birds’
pAtAr ‘leaf’  pAtAr-gra ‘leaves’

2. Gender system

Gender is morphologically significant and is realised by the use of two different words or by change of -/a/ to -/i/ in the feminine.

Example

/bhA/me/ ‘brother’  /bAh/en/ ‘sister’
/poDi/ ‘he buffaloe’  /bhAis/ ‘she buffaloe’
/dulha/ ‘husband’  /dulhin/ ‘wife’
/ghēšal/ ‘lame’ (male)  /ghēsr/ ‘lame’ (female)
/chora/ ‘boy’  /chori/ ‘girl’

3. Case system

The cases are six of which nominative is the base itself and rest have the following markers:

- Nominative - / (Base)
- Accusative - /ke/
- Instrumental - /se, -dei/
- Ablative - /le, -lek, -Thu
- Genitive - /r, -Ar, -kAr, -ker/
- Locative - /e, -ne, -me/

Examples

Nominative

/ghA/r/ ‘house’  /chora/ ‘boy’

Accusative

/chorake/ ‘to the boy’

Instrumental

/kAlamse/kAlder/ ‘by the pen’

Ablative

/gAchule/ ‘from the tree’  /bAndle/ ‘from the pond’

Genitive

/mor/ ‘my’  /AkAr/ ‘his/her’

/gAchAr/ ‘of the tree’  /rAjaker/ ‘of the king’
Locative
/lsAbkAr ghAre/ ‘in everybody’s house’
/lrupAnTa ghari me ahe/ ‘the pigeon is in the cage’
/DAngagra khTine bAdha ahe/ ‘boats are tied with the anchor’

Pronouns
Pronouns are of five types. These are – personal, demonstrative, relative, interrogative and reflexive. The pronouns are declined in two numbers – singular (sg.) and plural (pl.) and six cases – nominative (nom.), accusative (acc), instrumental (instr.), ablative (abl.), genitive (gen.) and locative (loc.). The personal pronouns are the three – first personal pronoun, second personal pronoun and third personal pronoun. Below are presented the pronouns –

Personal pronouns
I person mA (nom.sg.) mo (acc/gen.sg.) hAm/Amre (nom,acc,gen.pl)
II person tA (nom.sg.) to (acc/gen.sg.) tAm/tohAre(nom,acc,gen.-pl)
III person u (nom. sg. –pl.) A (acc,gen.-sg,-pl.)

The pronominal bases when declined take the following case markers-
Nominative- φ , -e , -he Accusative- -ke ,
Instrumental- -dei Ablative- -lek
Genitive- -r , -Ar , -kAr , -ker and Locative- -aDe.
(In the instrumental, ablative and locative cases the declensional pattern is base –
genitive case marker – respective case markers).
The four other classes of pronouns have the following pronominal bases.
Demonstrative i ‘this’(proximate) u ‘that’ (remote)
Relative je ‘who’ (person) jAu ‘which’ (object)
Interrogative ke ‘who’ (person) · ka, kAun ‘what/which’(object)
Reflexive Apne/ni ‘self’
The pronominal bases receive the mAn (for human). -gra (non-humans and objects) as
the pluralisers. The case markers added to the bases (or bases – pluralisers) are the same as those of
the personal pronouns.

Adjectives
The adjectives precede the nouns in the construction and these are distinguished for gender
– masculine and feminine. The gender markers for the adjectives are – -a (masculine) -i
(feminine) Examples
/Dengal/ ‘tall’ /Dengi/ ‘tall’ (feminine)
/pAtal/ ‘lean’ /pAtli/ ‘lean’ (feminine)
/kunda/ ‘deaf’ /kundi/ ‘deaf’ (feminine)

Classifiers
The following are some of the classifiers available in Binjha:
jhAn used for human nouns refering to non-definite type nouns-
/ekjhAn admi/ ‘one man’
Ta used for humans, non-humans and objects of definite type nouns-
/chora Ta/ ‘the boy’ /rupOTA/ ‘the pigeon’
/DAAlaTa/ ‘the basket’
-go,-goD used with definite human and non-human nouns
/ego/ ‘one’ /dugoD/ ‘two’
/ego admil/ ‘one man’ /ego cireil/ ‘one bird’
/dugoD admil/ ‘two men’

hAr used with definite human nouns with honour
/rAjahAr/ ‘the king’

Verbs
Verbs are of auxiliary, finite and non-finite types. The finite verbs are classified into simple and compound. The verbs are distinguished for four tenses – present, past, future and conditional which are realised in three persons (first, second and third) and two numbers: singular and plural. Below are discussed the verbal formations
Verb bases Auxiliar- ah Finite- kAr ‘do’
k Ara ‘to make to do’

Tense formation
Tense markers
Present - φ past- -l,-Al- future- -m,-Am,-Ab-
Conditional -l,-Al-
Aspect markers imperfect - -th,- -l-
Perfect- -l-

Non-finite formations
The non-finite verbs consist of infinitive, verbal noun and participle. Below are noted the formation of the non-finite verbs.
Infinitive - ek (used with close syllabic base) - wek (used with open syllabic base)
/kAhekl/ ‘to speak’ /lwekl/ ‘to come’

Verbal noun
-ek
/iTa piek nihe/ ‘it is not eatable’
/iTa mor hAr rojAr khaek ahe/ ‘it is my daily food’

Participle
Participles are present participle and past participle and their respective markers are - -ek, -eke (present participle) - -i, -l - ke, - ke, -kAn, (past participle).
Present participle
ek, eke
/sunek ni pare/ ‘he/she cannot hear’
/moke iTa KAreeke cahi/ ‘I should do this’
/jaśke hohi/ ‘will have to go’
/sāp TeDha benTa hośke caite/ ‘The snake moves zigzag’

Past participle
-i, -l - ke, -ke, -kAn
/mAdi sagArmē jaike millAk/ ‘the river met the sea’
/tu suike pADHAtel/ ‘he was reading lying down’
/ghAr jaθAn u suit gelAk/ ‘having reached home he fell asleep’
/phiğidel/ ‘threw away’
/tuphan lagir DAngagra Dhuib gelAk/ ‘on account of cyclone the boats drowned’
Particles

Particles are of two types – interrogative and conjunctive and their respective markers are -
ka (interrogative),  je, to, pAr, bhi, hAle, nAhele (conjunctive).
Interrogative particle-
ka
//i bhAlia kAtha hoek pari kal ‘is such a talk possible’
Conjunctive particle-
je ‘that/but’
/A@g lAm awoke partO je mor tAbiYAt Thik ni rAhAlAk ‘yesterday I could have come but my health was not alright’
to ‘then’
/u ja@ to mA@ rAhimu ‘if he goes then I shall stay’
pAr ‘but’
/AkAr jao k cahi pAr u ni gelAk ‘he should have gone
‘but he did not go’
bhi ‘also’
/u awokebhii pare ‘he may come also’
hele ‘then’
/semAne jodi iTAke ni nbe hle moke diA ‘if they do not take it then give it to me’
nAhele ‘otherwise’
/ruAmAyi pheri delAk nAhele uke lomAne marAk ‘he gave back the money otherwise people would have beaten him’

Negativization

Negatives precede the verbs in the construction. The negative particle  ni is used in all
types of construction except interrogative where it is  nai. Example
/lA@g i kamTa ni kArbis/ ‘you won’t do the work’
/mA@g AkAr gHAr ni jimul ‘I shall not go to his house’
/to r gHAr nai kal ‘do’nt you have any shelter?’
SADAN / SADRI
S. P. Ahirwal

Phonology
Phonemic inventory
Segmental phonemes

Vowels: (9-vowel system)

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
  i & I & u \\
  e & o & A \\
  E & O & a
\end{array}
\]

Supra-segmental phonemes

\[
/\tilde{V}/
\]

Diphthongs are four- \(ei, ui, ou, ai\) of which \(ei, ui\) and \(ou\) are medially occurring and \(-ui\) and \(ui\) are finally occurring sounds.

Consonants

\[
\begin{array}{cccccc}
p & b & t & d & T & D \\
ph & bh & th & dh & Th & Dh \\
k & g & \text{ch} & \text{jh} & \text{kh} & \text{gh} \\
m & n & & & M \\
l & & & \text{h} & & \\
w & r & & & y
\end{array}
\]

Morphology

Nouns

Nouns are inflected for two numbers (singular and plural) and seven cases (nominative, accusative, dative, instrumental, ablative, genitive and locative) and two genders (masculine marked by -\(a\) and feminine marked by -\(i\)).

Numbers

Singular -\(a\), -\(i\) and -\(u\) change to -\(e\), -\(io\) and -\(uo\) respectively in plural. Examples

\[
\begin{array}{lll}
/\text{goRa}/ & \text{‘horse’} & /\text{goRe}/ \\
/\text{citi}/ & \text{‘leopard’} & /\text{cito}/ \\
/\text{bhalu}/ & \text{‘bear’} & /\text{bhaluo}/
\end{array}
\]

‘horses’

‘leopards’

‘bears’

Genders

Masculine -\(a\) changes to -\(i\) in feminine. Example

\[
\begin{array}{lll}
/\text{goRa}/ & \text{‘horse’} & /\text{goRi}/ \\
/\text{cital}/ & \text{‘leopard’} & /\text{cito}/ \\
/\text{choral}/ & \text{‘boy’} & /\text{chori}/
\end{array}
\]

‘mare’

‘she leopard’

‘girl’
Cases

The case markers are -𝜙 (nominative), -ke (accusative/dative), -se (instrumental/ablative), -ker (genitive), and -me (locative) which are added to the nominal bases to form nominal declension. Example

/chora/ 'boy' /chorake/ 'to the boy'
/chorase/ 'by/from the boy' /choraker/ 'of the boy'
/chorame/ 'in the boy'

Pronoun

Pronouns are classified into four types—personal, demonstrative, relative and interrogative. Below are discussed the pronouns.

Personal pronouns

Pronominal bases

I person /můh/ 'I' /HAmAre/ 'we'
II person /tůh/ 'thou' /roure/ 'you'(hon.)
/čůhAre/ 'you'(pl)
III person /u, se/ 'he/she' /umAn/ 'they'

The case markers added with the pronominal bases are -ke (accusative/dative), -se (instrumental/ablative), -r, -Ar, -ker (genitive) and -𝜙 (locative) to form personal pronominal declension.

Demonstrative, relative and interrogative pronouns

The pronominal bases of these three classes of pronouns are

Demonstrative

i 'this' u 'that'
(proximate) (remote)

Relative

je 'who' (person-specific)
jou 'which' (object/person specific)

Interrogative

ke 'who' (person-specific)
kou 'which' (object/person-specific)

The bases receive the same case markers as the personal pronouns, such as -𝜙 (nominative), -ke (accusative/dative), -se (instrumental/ablative), -ker (genitive) and -𝜙 (locative) after the number marker -mAn (for person-specific bases) and -ga (for object-specific bases).

Postposition

Postpositions used with the nominals and the pronominals are of two types—nominal postposition and verbal postposition. Below are exemplified the postpositions.

Nominal postposition

/pache/ 'after' /Ogin/ 'for' /hitre/ 'into'
/laika/ 'out of' /Odhe/ 'with' /bigOr/ 'without'

Verbal postposition

kOri/kOn ui jaikOri/kOn 'having gone'
Verbs

Verbs may be categorised as auxiliary, finite and non-finite types of which the auxiliary-type is structured as base – tense marker – person-number marker (in the present and future tenses) and base – tense marker -φ – person – number marker (in the past tense).

The finite verbs are constructed of base – tense marker – auxiliary – person – number marker.

Tense markers

1. Present - At - > - i -
2. Past - l -

Person – number markers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>present</th>
<th>past</th>
<th>future</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>- Ā</td>
<td>- Ā</td>
<td>- u,  - φ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- i</td>
<td>- i</td>
<td>- e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>- is</td>
<td>- is</td>
<td>- e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- A</td>
<td>- A</td>
<td>-  ē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>- e</td>
<td>- A</td>
<td>-  ē</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Ē</td>
<td>- Ē</td>
<td>-  ē</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The verbal bases when forming paradigmatic sets make use of the respective tense and person – number markers.

The non-finite category of verbs have (i) infinitives and (ii) participles. Below are exemplified the non-finite categories. Example

Infinitive - ek, - e
/pi – ek > piekl/ ‘to drink’
/kha – ek > khael/ ‘to eat’ /dekhe cahel/ ‘wanted to see’

Participle - t - - i - - Al - - kAn
/lit rAHAl/ ‘keep going’ /dei delAl/ ‘gave away’
/lthAlahe/ ‘got tired’ /ghAr jaekAn/ ‘having gone home’

Mood

Besides indicative there is imperative mood.

Imperative mood - φ

Examples
/bAksa bATE mAIT dekh/ ‘don’t look at the basket’
lja ghAr bhitre bAIThbe/ ‘go and sit in the room’

Causative verb - aw -

Example
/dekhwAthAl/ ‘I make to see’ /dekhwAthIs/ ‘thou make to see’
/khiawthĀl/ ‘I feed’ etc.

Compound verb participle – finite verb bAIThja ‘sit down’ etc.

Particles particles are three and these are exemplified below
Affirmative /hā/ ‘yes’ Negative - /ni / ‘not’
Emphatic - e as in /sAbh-e/ ‘all’ /kuch-e/ ‘some’

249
AUSTRO-ASIATIC FAMILY
BHUMIJ
J. Suresh

Family affiliation

Bhumij is considered as a dialect of Kherwari (Munda) of the Austro-Asiatic family in *Linguistic Survey of India* by Sir G.A. Grierson. Subsequent investigations among the Bhumij in parts of West Bengal and Orissa showed their switch over to Bengali or Oriya and the study revealed that Bhumij is different from Mundari.

Location

The Bhumij speakers are located essentially in the states of Orissa, Bihar and West Bengal.

Statistical Data: Language, Mother Tongue and Bilingualism – 1991 Census

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BHUMIJ (LANGUAGE)</th>
<th>BHUMIJ (MOTHER TONGUE)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>INDIA</strong></td>
<td><strong>INDIA</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Persons</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T</td>
<td>45,302</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R</td>
<td>43,143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U</td>
<td>2,159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ORISSA</strong></td>
<td><strong>ORISSA</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Persons</td>
<td>Male</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T</td>
<td>27,669</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R</td>
<td>26,191</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U</td>
<td>1,478</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Bilingualism:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total Number of speakers</th>
<th>Total Numbers of Bilinguals</th>
<th>Major Languages of Bilingualism</th>
<th>Total Number of Trilinguals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Persons</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Female</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>India</strong></td>
<td>45,302</td>
<td>22,485</td>
<td>12,712</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Orissa</strong></td>
<td>27,669</td>
<td>12,742</td>
<td>7,390</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Earlier works on Bhumij

Risley in his book *The tribes and castes of Bengal* (published in 1891) considered Bhumij as nothing more than a branch of the Mundas who spread to the East and mingled with the Hindus.

Information available in *Linguistic Survey of India* by Grierson (1906) has been that the Bhumij speakers numbering about 79,075 speak a language almost identical with Mundari. Grierson was also convinced that in several districts of Bengal, Orissa and Chhotanagpur Tributary states there was a considerable number of the Bhumij who spoke the speeches of their neighbours.
Regarding ‘Manbhum Bhumij’ T.C. Das (1931) indicated that percentage of Mundari speaking Bhumij was the lowest in that district and that the bulk of Bhumij population had adopted Bengali.

T.C. Roy Chowdhury (1929) in his article “The Bhumij of Mayurbhanj” published in *Man in India* Vol-IX No. 2, 1929, says ‘whatever might have been the original language of the Bhumij, they now speak a kind of broken Oriya in which they have borrowed considerably from Bengali’.

Swarnalatha Prasad (1962) in her article ‘Linguistic affinity of Bhumij dialect’ opined that the Bhumij tribe speak a dialect allied to Bengali as well as a speech called “Thar”.

Hodgson (1850) meant Ho speech data as the data of the Bhumij.

Nigam and Dasgupta (1964) in the article “Mundari and the speech of the Bhumij- A study in bilingualism” absolved that the speech of the Bhumij was a case of gradual shading off of Mundari language into Bengali in the dimension of space and time and it indicated the results of language shift whereby at some stage due to reasons mainly socio-cultural, the Bhumij switched over from their Mundari, a Munda speech, to a structurally different speech, viz. Bengali. The same tendency of switching over to local variety of Oriya by the Bhumij Speakers has been observed during the present study.

**Phonology**

**Segmentals**

There are altogether thirty segmental phonemes in Bhumij of which ten are vowels and twenty are consonants.

**Vowels**

The ten vowel phonemes include five short vowels /i, e, a, o, and u/ and their corresponding long counterparts. The short and long vowels contrast in the initial, medial and final positions. They show qualitative as well as quantitative contrast. The five vowels include the front, central and back vowels.

Alternatively the five short vowels contrast with their corresponding long vowels and length is abstracted as a supra-segmental phoneme, a co-occurring feature of the short vowels.

Below are presented the phonemic inventory chart of vowels.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Front</th>
<th>Central</th>
<th>Back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>/i/</td>
<td>/iː/</td>
<td>/u/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Higher mid</td>
<td>/e/</td>
<td>/eː/</td>
<td>/uː/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>/a/</td>
<td>/aː/</td>
<td>/o/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Consonants**

There are twenty consonant phonemes in Bhumij of which eleven are stops, four nasals, two fricatives, two laterals and one flap. The palatal stops /c, j/ are phonetically affricates. Since there is a gap in the stop series under the palatal column and as there are no other affricates except the palatal affricate, these palatal affricates have been taken phonemically as palatal stops in order to maintain the neatness of pattern and pattern congruity. The various consonant phonemes present in Bhumij are tabulated as below.
Phonemic inventory chart of consonants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bilabial</th>
<th>Dental</th>
<th>Alveolar</th>
<th>Retroflex</th>
<th>Palatal</th>
<th>Velar</th>
<th>Glottal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stop</td>
<td>$p$</td>
<td>$b$</td>
<td>$t$</td>
<td>$d$</td>
<td>$c$</td>
<td>$j$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$D$</td>
<td>$N$</td>
<td>$k$</td>
<td>$g$</td>
<td>$\theta$</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasal</td>
<td>$m$</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fricative</td>
<td>$s$</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lateral</td>
<td>$l$</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flap</td>
<td>$r$</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Phonemic distribution

The five long and short vowels occur initially, medially and finally.

Among the 11 stop consonants the phoneme /?/ does not occur initially. All the other stops with the exception of /D/ occur initially, medially and finally. The nasals /m, n/ occur initially, medially and finally while /N/ occurs always intervocally and /M/ always medially and finally. The fricative /h/ occurs initially and in a few instances medially but never finally. The lateral phoneme /l/ occurs in all the three places while /l/ occurs medially and finally. The flap /r/ occurs in all the three positions.

Nasalization

Nasalization in Bhumij is both a redundant and non-redundant feature. In the latter case, it occurs as a supra-segmental phoneme. Thus, we have instances where the nasalization co-occurring with a vowel is realised as the nasal phonemes /m/ or /n/ as the case may be depending upon the vowel. After a back vowel it is realised as /m/ and after a front vowel it is realised as /n/. Example

\[
\begin{align*}
t\ddot{a}\ddot{o} & \rightarrow \text{atom} & \text{side} \\
m\ddot{u}\ddot{i} & \rightarrow \text{mu:in} & \text{ant}
\end{align*}
\]

On the other hand we have instances where certain vowels occur with nasalization even though the following consonant is not a nasal phoneme. Such nasalized vowels always occur in free variation with non-nasalized vowels and both the words carry the same meaning and accepted by the native speakers as the same.

Example

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{[ce N\ddot{e}]} & \rightarrow /ce N\ddot{e}/ & \text{bird} \\
\text{[ce Ne]} & \rightarrow /ce Ne/ & \text{tuberculosis} \\
\text{[s\ddot{a}:si]} & \rightarrow /s\ddot{a}:si/ & \text{faint/swoon}
\end{align*}
\]

Diphthongs

**Initial diphthongs**

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ia-} & \rightarrow \text{iam} & \text{'cry/weep'} \\
\text{ai-} & \rightarrow \text{ai:ori} & \text{‘officer'} \\
\text{au-} & \rightarrow \text{au:b} & \text{‘evening'}
\end{align*}
\]

**Medial diphthongs**

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{-ia-} & \rightarrow \text{kamiako} & \text{‘member'} \\
\text{-iu-} & \rightarrow \text{ka:TtiuL} & \text{‘fox'} \\
\text{-iu-} & \rightarrow \text{ka:TTiuL} & \text{‘fox'} \\
\text{-iu-} & \rightarrow \text{ka:TTiuL} & \text{‘fox'} \\
\text{-eu-} & \rightarrow \text{neula} & \text{‘mangoose'} \\
\text{-au-} & \rightarrow \text{au:sail} & \text{‘bison'} \\
\text{-au-} & \rightarrow \text{au:sail} & \text{‘bison'} \\
\text{-a:i-} & \rightarrow \text{ja:iba} & \text{‘jasmine'} \\
\text{-a:u-} & \rightarrow \text{ca:uli} & \text{‘rice'} \\
\text{-oi-} & \rightarrow \text{moisii} & \text{‘she-buffalo'} \\
\text{-ua-} & \rightarrow \text{Tu\ddot{a}r} & \text{‘orphan'} \\
\end{align*}
\]

252
### Final diphthongs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>-ia</th>
<th>ba:rDguDia</th>
<th>'bat'</th>
<th>-ia:</th>
<th>gia:</th>
<th>'continue'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-io</td>
<td>joto</td>
<td>'even though'</td>
<td>-ei</td>
<td>dorea</td>
<td>'bay'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-eo</td>
<td>keo</td>
<td>'brushing'</td>
<td>-iu</td>
<td>giu</td>
<td>'shame/shy'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ei</td>
<td>paVeis</td>
<td>'weaver'</td>
<td>-au</td>
<td>gau</td>
<td>'blister'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ai</td>
<td>dai</td>
<td>'sister'</td>
<td>-au:</td>
<td>ha:au</td>
<td>'defeat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-a:i</td>
<td>jama:ia</td>
<td>'son-in-law'</td>
<td>-oe</td>
<td>goe</td>
<td>'death'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-oi</td>
<td>toroi</td>
<td>'ashes'</td>
<td>-ui</td>
<td>ha:sui</td>
<td>'ache/pain'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-oa</td>
<td>joa</td>
<td>'cheek'</td>
<td>-ua</td>
<td>cotua:</td>
<td>'fluffed rice'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ua</td>
<td>Da:Mgua</td>
<td>'bachelor'</td>
<td>-ui</td>
<td>cu:i</td>
<td>'calf'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Triphthongs

#### Medial triphthongs

- -aie: | baier | 'rope' | -auo- | porkauomni | 'examinee' |

#### Final triphthongs

- -ieu | siu | 'cultivate/tend crops' |
| -aiu | taui: | 'dwell/live at' |
| -aea | uyihae | 'passion' |
| -oo | hoeo | 'air' |
| -net | guei | 'kill' |

### Consonant clusters

#### Medial identical two consonant clusters – c1c1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>-pp-</th>
<th>goppo</th>
<th>'story'</th>
<th>-bb-</th>
<th>babbu</th>
<th>'penis'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-tt-</td>
<td>otte</td>
<td>'earth/ground'</td>
<td>-dd-</td>
<td>odda:</td>
<td>'ginger'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-CC-</td>
<td>moTTo</td>
<td>'fat'</td>
<td>-DD-</td>
<td>beDDoM</td>
<td>'gaint'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-kk-</td>
<td>hicir</td>
<td>'lightening'</td>
<td>-jj-</td>
<td>uju</td>
<td>'boil/wound'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-mm-</td>
<td>ukku</td>
<td>'hide'</td>
<td>-gg-</td>
<td>buggi</td>
<td>'merit'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-MM-a:MMu:r</td>
<td>kamma:ri</td>
<td>'injure a person'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-LL-</td>
<td>lollo</td>
<td>'heat'</td>
<td>-LL-</td>
<td>pilLei</td>
<td>'bladder'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### Medial non-identical two constant clusters

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>-pt-</th>
<th>ha:pTa:</th>
<th>'week'</th>
<th>-pD-</th>
<th>ipDipium</th>
<th>'firefly'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-pk-</td>
<td>hupkai uDum</td>
<td>'appear' (come into sight)</td>
<td>-ps-</td>
<td>lupsurdaru</td>
<td>'herb'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-pn-</td>
<td>olca:pt</td>
<td>'printer'</td>
<td>-pr-</td>
<td>hapra:u</td>
<td>'race'(engage in a contest)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-pl-</td>
<td>apiop</td>
<td>'wing'</td>
<td>-br-</td>
<td>abrok</td>
<td>'teacher'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-bg-</td>
<td>sakabgi</td>
<td>'seduce'</td>
<td>-bj-</td>
<td>olugubne?</td>
<td>'mica'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-bl-</td>
<td>meNeTgalba:</td>
<td>'breast plate'</td>
<td>-br-</td>
<td>abrok</td>
<td>'message'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ts-</td>
<td>pottsTa:</td>
<td>'purity'</td>
<td>-jr-</td>
<td>battru:</td>
<td>'moss'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-dk-</td>
<td>jadka:</td>
<td>'enough'</td>
<td>-dl-</td>
<td>godlad</td>
<td>'feel/sense internally'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-dr-</td>
<td>godra:</td>
<td>'elephantiasis'</td>
<td>-Tk-</td>
<td>aTkarn</td>
<td>'wolf'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-dk-</td>
<td>budki</td>
<td>'first wife'</td>
<td>-Dg-</td>
<td>haDga:</td>
<td>'diarrhoea'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-Dh-</td>
<td>be:Dhon</td>
<td>'ugly'</td>
<td>-Ds-</td>
<td>podSa:</td>
<td>'bed'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-Dr-</td>
<td>kuDruM</td>
<td>'on the back'</td>
<td>-cn-</td>
<td>bitena:</td>
<td>'acquit'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-jm-</td>
<td>iMa:li</td>
<td>'general'</td>
<td>-jn-</td>
<td>kaojni</td>
<td>'strong'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-jr-</td>
<td>ba:Jra:</td>
<td>'spiked millet'</td>
<td>-kt-</td>
<td>sokto</td>
<td>'lung'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-Kt-</td>
<td>cokTa:w</td>
<td>'mold'(shape plastic material)</td>
<td>-ks-</td>
<td>poksa:</td>
<td>'gesture' (as when talking)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| -kr- | akriM | 'sell' | -gD- | ba:goduM | 'gesture' (as when talking) |
-gn-  ogNbaron  'arch'
-mp-  kata:camp  'claw'
-nt-  sam:tul  'plain'
-mT-  citTa:  'pincers'
-mc-  gonomci:Da:u  'bargain'
-mn-  porkauomni?  'examinee'
-ms-  jomsai  'right side'
-np-  senparam  'pass by'
-nd-  joronga?:  'stream'
-nc-  manci  'chair'
-nm-  ma:nni  'man'
-nl-  senlala:i:ke  'infantry'
-NT-  TuNTa:  'cripple'
-MT-  ja:MTuli  'small pox'
-Mk-  Da:MKu  'tall'
-Mn-  sakam haTIMni  'postman'
-sp-  ispat  'steel'
-st-  gosTom  'flatter'
-sg-  arda:sgi  'pray'
-sl-  be:seke:lel  'examine'(closely)
-lp-  kulpu  'bolt'
-lld-  duldal?  'waterfall'
-lk-  helka:v  'wave'
-lm-  ti:limi:M  'linseed'
-li-  olhon  'student'
-Lp-  solplo  'road'
-rp-  carpaTu  'cockroach'
-rt-  Darti  'world'
-rT-  sarTuMgii  'quiver'
-rf-  garja:u  'grouch'
-rg-  girgiN?um  'centipedes'
-rn-  jarna:  'brook'
-rh-  birhoLo  'baboone'

-GL-  dugLu  'jerk'(pull suddenly)
-mb-  ombol  'shade'
-md-  sumdi  'daughter-in-law's parents'
-mD-  camDa:  'pandal'
-mk-  potracakma:  'timid'
-mN-  samNom  'gold'
-mr-  omrua:r  'collect'(debts)
-nb-  dinba:r  'date'
-nT-  ja:NTi  'fence'
-nj-  honja:r  'father-in-law'
-nh-  senhora:  'path'
-ns-  kua:nsi  'fog/mist'
-ND-  caNDa:m  'one step'
-MD-  leMDa:  'left handed person'
-Mg-  goMgor  'cave'
-Mr-  roMrasika:  'merry'

Medial non-identical three consonant clusters – c1c2c3

-ml-  pampLa:d  'butterfly'
-mdr-  da:ndri  'cave'
-NK-  hoNKkir  'snore'
-Mkc-  kuMka:v  'shrink'
-Mgr-  ta:MGra:  'baldness'

Final non-identical two consonant clusters –c1c2

-nt  ja:nt  'crusher'
-nc  ca:nc  'metal cast'
-nT  u:NT  'camel'

-bokcond  'wonder'
-ha:ns  'goose'
-soND  'trunk of elephant'
Morphology

Noun

In Bhumij noun stems may be broadly classified into three classes, namely 1) substantives, 2) pronouns and 3) numerals. Below are presented the classification of noun stems.

**Noun stem classification**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun Stem</th>
<th>Substantives</th>
<th>Pronouns</th>
<th>Numerals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Inherent Noun</td>
<td>Derived Noun</td>
<td>Personal Pronouns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Stems</td>
<td>First person</td>
<td>Second person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Animate Nouns</td>
<td>Inanimate Nouns</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Animate nouns**

All those noun stems which in addition to the genitive suffixes and postpositions, can take dual and plural number suffixes /kin/ and /ko/ respectively belong to the category of animate nouns. These number suffixes are also marked in the verb phrase in the case of third person subject or object.

Example

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{seta} & \quad \text{‘dog’} \\
\text{holoko} & \quad \text{‘men’} \\
\text{ceNe} & \quad \text{‘bird’} \\
\text{hai} & \quad \text{‘fish’} \\
\text{sadom} & \quad \text{‘horse’}
\end{align*}
\]

**Inanimate nouns**

The inanimate noun stems differ from the animates by not taking suffixes for number and are not marked in the verbal phrase. In cases, where the duality or plurality is to be emphasised upon, they may take such suffixes.

Example

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{daru} & \quad \text{‘tree’} \\
\text{lolo} & \quad \text{‘heat’} \\
\text{sakam} & \quad \text{‘leaf’} \\
\text{diri} & \quad \text{‘stone’} \\
\text{maskal} & \quad \text{‘lightning’}
\end{align*}
\]

**Pronoun**

The pronouns in Bhumij are of two types, namely, 1) personal pronouns and 2) non-personal pronouns.

There are three personal pronouns in Bhumij, namely, first, second and third person and they show a three way number distinction, namely, singular, dual and plural. The first person dual and plural also show inclusive and exclusive distinction. Pronouns denoting the inanimates do not have dual and plural. The forms of personal pronouns are tabulated below.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First person</td>
<td>-in</td>
<td>-laM ‘we’ (inclusive)</td>
<td>-bu ‘we’ (inclusive)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-liM ‘we’ (exclusive)</td>
<td>-le ‘we’ (exclusive)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second person</td>
<td>-m</td>
<td>-bin ‘you’ (N Hon)</td>
<td>-pe ‘you’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘you’</td>
<td>-ben ‘you’ (Hon)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third person</td>
<td>a:i</td>
<td>-kin ‘he/she’</td>
<td>-ko ‘they’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hon</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N Hon</td>
<td>nia</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hon</td>
<td>‘he/she’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N Hon</td>
<td>‘it’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Hon= Honorific, N Hon=Non Honorific

**Demonstratives**

The demonstrative pronouns in Bhumij are classified into definite demonstrative and indefinite demonstrative.

**Definite demonstratives**

The following are the definite demonstrative forms.

- *ne* ‘this’
- *en* ‘that’
- *han* ‘yonder that’
- *nimin* ‘this much of’
- *niminaM* ‘just this much’
- *imin* ‘that much’
- *niminaM* ‘just that much’

The forms *nimin* and *imin* qualify noun denoting living beings, where as *niminaM* and *iminay* qualify nouns denoting inanimate objects.

Example

- *ne* sadom ‘this horse’
- *en* sețakin ‘these two dogs’
- *han* daru ‘yonder tree’
- *niminuM* buluM ‘this much of salt’
- *imin* ipil ‘just so many stars’

**Indefinite demonstratives**

The indefinite demonstrative pronouns are as follows

- *oko* ‘some’
- *ja* ‘any’
- *jeta* ‘same’

These receive number and case markers.

The form /oko/ qualifies both the animate and inanimate forms. The forms /ja/ and /jeta/ take the suffix /-n/ for qualifying the inanimates. /ja/ and /jeta/ are also compounded to mean ‘some one’

*ja/jeta* = -n → *jan/jetan*

The enclitic /gel/ is always suffixed to the above demonstratives in short replies to questions, where the noun specified by the interrogatives in the question is understood, but not expressed in the answer.

- *cimin* hoLoko *senako*? ‘how many men will go?*
- *purage* ‘many’
- *oLo* caulin omamea? ‘shall I give you more rice?’
- *oLoge* ‘yes, more’