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University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Ph.D., 1968
Language and Literature, linguistics

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A GRAMMATICAL SKETCH
OF REMO:
A MUNDA LANGUAGE

by

Frank Fernandez

A thesis submitted to the faculty of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Department of Anthropology

CHAPEL HILL

1967

Approved by:

Adviser

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I owe a debt of gratitude to those persons and institutions who, directly and indirectly, have made this dissertation possible:

I am indebted to Dr. Lewis Levine, who directed this dissertation, for much of what I have learned about anthropology and linguistics. Without his guidance, interest, and patient criticism, this work could never have been successfully completed.

I also wish to thank Dr. Norman H. Zide of the University of Chicago and director of the Munḍa Language Research Project, who made it possible for me to go to India. He gave generously of his time and knowledge of the Munḍa languages in discussing the progress of my work.

My studies at the University of North Carolina were made possible by a Title IV Fellowship under the National Defense Education Act and by a pre-doctoral grant from the American Council of Learned Societies. Field work in 1962 and 1963 was made financially possible by a grant-in-aid from the United States Department of State.

I would like to thank my co-workers during the 1962 and 1963 field seasons: Sri S. Bhattacharya, Senior Linguist of the Anthropological Survey of India, whose friendliness

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helped to smoothe my entry among the Hill Bondo; Mr Robert D. King (now Assistant Professor at the University of Texas) who generously permitted me to use the data we both gathered in any way I saw proper; T. Misra and T. K. Chakravarty, my translators, whose assistance was invaluable; the many Indian officials at the district and village levels who helped make my stay among the Hill Bondo a rewarding one; and the Hill Bondo who took me into their villages and without whose help the research for this dissertation could not have been carried out.

Finally, my very grateful thanks to my wife Toni and to my children, who suffered through several revisions of this manuscript.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS ii

LIST OF TABLES ix

Chapter

I. INTRODUCTION 1

1. The Language 1

1.2. The Field Work 3

1.3. The Literature on Remo 5

1.4. Inventory of Phonemes 8

1.41. Abbreviations 8

1.42. Consonant Phonemes 8

1.43. Vowel Phonemes 11

1.44. Nasalization 13

II. MORPHOLOGY 15

1. General: Form Classes 15

1.1. Verb Morphophonology 15

1.11. Verb Root Modification 15

1.111. Root Finals 16

1.112. Reduplication 20

1.12. Verb Affix Modification 25

1.2. Finite Verb Morphology 30

1.21. Verbal Affixes 31

1.211. Personal Ending Morphemes 31

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1.212. Tense-Aspect Morphemes 32
1.213. Roots 34
1.214. Mode 41
1.215. Causative, Negative, and Interrogative 43
1.22. Finite Verb Canons 44
1.221. Simple (Non-modal) 46
1.222. Simple (Modal) 46
1.223. Compound (Modal) 47
1.224. Causative and Negative Constructions 48
1.225. Interrogative 51
1.23. Finite Verb Paradigms 52
1.3. Nonfinite Verbs 58
1.31. Imperatives 58
1.32. Other Nonfinite Constructions 60
1.4. Restricted and Limited Roots 63
2. Nouns and Pronouns 64
2.1. Plural and Possessive Affixes 64
2.11. The Plural Suffix 65
2.12. The Possessive Suffix 65
2.2. The Object Prefix 65
2.21. Mandatory Use of Object Prefix ... 66
2.22. Optional Use of Object Prefix 68
2.23. Object Prefix Not Used 68
2.24. Object Prefix With Pronouns 69

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2.3. Pronoun Numerical Qualifiers 69
2.4. The Structure of Nouns 70
2.41. Simple Roots 71
2.42. Complex Stems 72
2.43. Compound Stems 73
2.5. Pre- and Postbase Affixes 74
2.51. Prebases 74
2.52. Postbases 75
2.6. Derivation of Nouns 78
2.61. Verb Derivatives 78
2.62. Nominalized Verb Roots 79
2.63. Verb-Words 79
2.64. Causative Verb 80
2.65. Adjectives 80
2.7. Pronouns 80
2.71. Personal Pronouns 81
2.72. Demonstrative Pronouns 81
2.73. Interrogative Pronouns 83
2.74. Possessive Pronouns 83
2.75. Object and Reflexive Pronouns 84
2.76. Indefinite Pronouns 85
3. Adjectivals 86
3.1. Derivational Affixes 86
3.11. Prebases 86
3.12. Postbases 87

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3.2. Structure of Adjectivals 89
3.21. Simple Roots 90
3.22. Complex Stems 90
3.23. Compound Stems 91
3.24. Root Allomorphs 92
3.3. Adjectival Subclasses 93
4. Particles 96
4.1. Bound Particles 96
4.11. Postpositional Particles 96
4.12. Clause Marking Enclitics 99
4.2. Free Particles 101
4.21. Adverbs 101
4.211. Manner Adverbs 101
4.212. Temporal Adverbs 102
4.213. Locative Adverbs 106
4.22. Interrogative Particles 107
4.23. Comparative Particles 108
4.24. Miscellaneous Particles 108
III. SYNTAX 110
1. Introduction 110
2. Sentences 110
2.1. Sentence Types 111
2.2. Phrase Structure 114
2.21. Noun Phrases 115
2.211. Noun Phrases as Subjects.. 116
2.212. Noun Phrases as Object Nominals 118

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2.213. Impersonal Subjects..... 120
2.22. Verb Phrases 121
3. Agreement 123
3.1. Cross-Reference Concord 123
3.2. Government 124
4. Word Order 127
4.1. Noun Phrases 127
4.2. Verb Phrases 128
4.3. Clauses 128
4.4. Order of Attributives 129

APPENDIX: Lexicon 131
BIBLIOGRAPHY 160

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LIST OF TABLES

Table		Page
I.	Consonant Phonemes	7
II.	Vowel Phonemes	7
III.	Verbs Classified by Reduplicative Pattern	23
IV.	Exceptions to Reduplicative Pattern Rules	24
V.	Verb Tense-Aspect	33

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1. The Language

This dissertation will present a sketch of the grammar of the 'Mundlipada' dialect of Remo, a language spoken by about 2600 people called the Hill Bondo[1] in the Indian state of Orissa. These people are found in the Jeypore (or Bondo) Hills in the extreme southeastern portion of Koraput District, surrounded by people such as the Gadaba and Didey all of whom speak related languages. Some Remo speakers also live below the hills on the Malkangiri plain among Oriya-speaking Hindu peasants.

Remo is a member of the Koraput section of the South Munda division of the Munda family of languages. The relationship between Remo and the various other Munda languages, which are found in various areas of the east central part of India, can be schematically charted as shown by the following diagram:[2]

---

[1]The 1951 Census of India, District Census Handbook, (Koraput, Orissa, vol. VI, p. 100) gives a total population figure of 2568, of which 1415 were males and 1153 were females.

[2]David L. Stampe, Jr. University of Chicago, South Asia Language and Culture Center. Personal communication, July, 1965.

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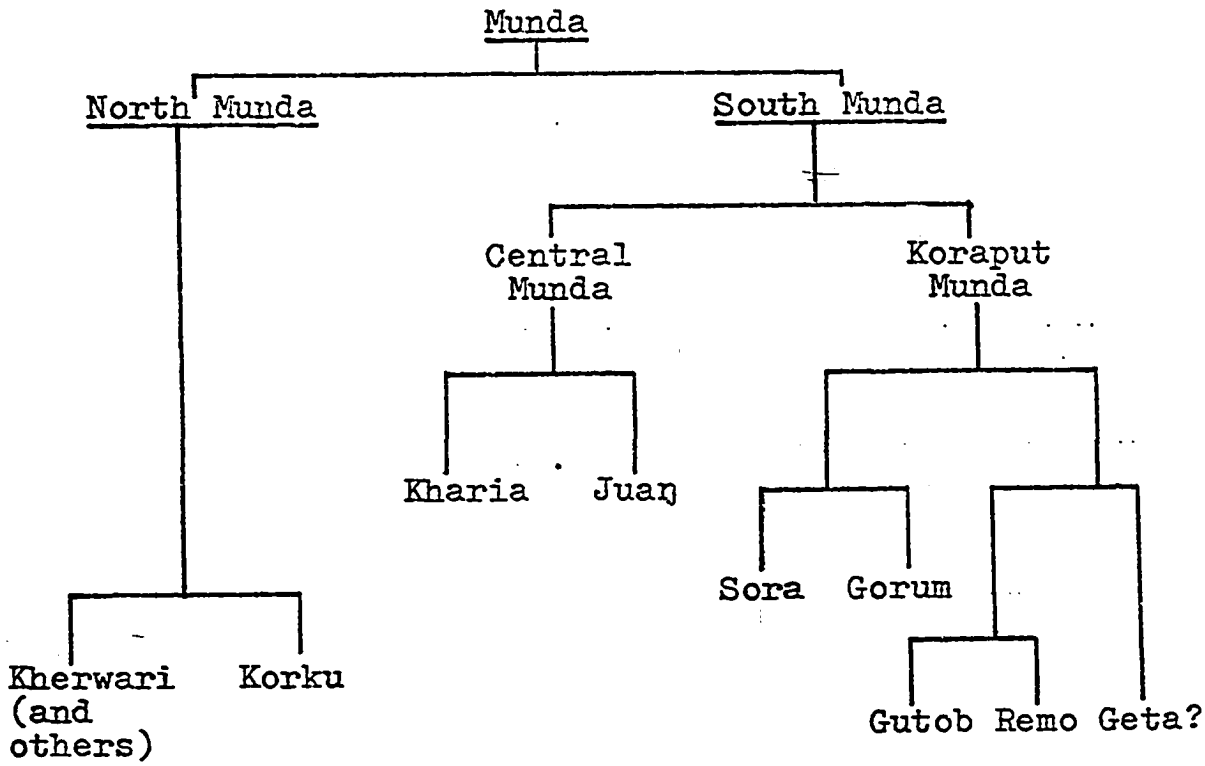

Remo, as spoken in the Bondo Hills region, may have several dialects. There is evidence of at least three geographically demarcated dialects, two in the hills and one on the plains.

The grammatical sketch presented here will be restricted to only one of these, namely the 'Mundlipada' dialect[3], which is spoken in the region centering around the Bondo village of Mundlipada where most of the field work was carried out. It was not possible, in the time available, to gather much data on the other dialects.

---

[3]As far as I am aware, the dialects of Remo have no native names; however, for ease of reference I have called the dialect under study after the name of the village in which I worked.

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1.2. The Field Work

This sketch is based upon field work conducted in Koraput District, Orissa, in July and August, 1962 and in June, July, August, and part of September, 1963.

Field work was undertaken as part of a research project on the South Munda languages by the South Asia Language and Culture Center of the University of Chicago, supported by grant-in-aid funds from the U. S. Department of State. The project's purpose was to gather extensive data on the South Munda languages for comparative reconstruction.

In June of 1962, I worked with S. Bhattacharya, senior linguist with the Anthropological Survey of India, at a government Adibasi Ashram on the plains near the town of Govindapalli, and then spent the remainder of the season alone in Mundlipada village in the Bondo Hills, some twenty miles from the school.

In 1963, I worked with another linguist, Mr. Robert D. King (now Assistant Professor at the University of Texas). Both of us lived at Mundlipada village for most of the field work season, except for the month of September which was spent working with one of our informants in Puri, Orissa and in Calcutta, West Bengal.

The informants, both in 1962 and 1963, were Buda Dangramanji (about 16 years old in 1962) and Adi Salan (about 30 years old in 1962), both residents of Mundlipada village. Other residents of the village were used intermit-

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tently as occasion arose as checks on the primary informants.

Data gathered consisted of utterances in the form of single words (following an elicitation schedule prepared for the project members), verb paradigms, sentences, and some texts.

All eliciting was carried on in English and Oriya with the aid of translators. None of our informants spoke English but they were bilingual, speaking both Remo and Desiya Oriya (a dialect of Oriya). Difficulties were occasioned by the necessity of obtaining information about the target language through both Desiya and English. Questions were put in English, rephrased in Desiya, and answered in Remo. Glosses for forms passed from Remo through Desiya to English and are, therefore, not necessarily accurate translations of the Remo forms. Toward the end of the second field season, I was able to elicit data from informants by asking simple questions in Remo. The translator was then used only when glossing forms elicited without his assistance. Texts were collected in two ways. Informants were asked to describe their activities or things that had recently happened to them, or they were asked to make spontaneous remarks about a series of photographs in Verrier Elwin's monograph Bondo Highlander.[4] These photographs

---

[4]Verrier Elwin, Bondo Highlander (Bombay: Oxford University Press, 1950).

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illustrate Hill Bondos in various daily activities, both secular and ritual, and show a variety of implements used by them. These texts were tape-recorded and then transcribed and edited in the presence of the informants, who supplied translations and corrected any errors while listening to playbacks of the tapes.

1.3. The Literature on Remo

There is relatively little in the linguistic literature relating specifically to the Remo language. The following list covers most of the relevant material and includes some of the unpublished papers which resulted from the work of the Munda Language Research Project:

Census of India. Volume I, Part III, B, 1935.

Elwin, Verrier. Bondo Highlander. Bombay: Oxford University Press, 1950.

Fernandez, Frank. "Remo (Hill Bondo) Lexical List." Chicago: The University of Chicago, South Asia Language and Culture Center, 1963. (Mimeographed).

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Grierson, G. A. (Ed.) Linguistic Survey of India. Vol. I, part 1, "Introductory." Calcutta, 1927.

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Zide, Norman H. "Gutob-Remo Vocalism and Glottalized Vowels in Proto-Munda." Lingua, 14, 1965.

Zide, Norman H. "Papers on South Munda Phonology II: Gutob Revised Monosyllabic Verb List (incorporating Remo Monosyllabic Verb List." Chicago: The University of Chicago, South Asia Language and Culture Center, April, 1965. (Mimeographed).

Zide, Norman H. "Papers on South Munda Phonology IV: Remo Verbal Morpheme and Morpheme Candidate Inventory From Verb Lists." Chicago: The University of Chicago, South Asia Language and Culture Center, July, 1965. (Mimeographed).

Zide, Norman H. "Papers on South Munda Phonology V: Gutob-Remo Verbstems." Chicago: The University of Chicago, South Asia Language and Culture Center, August, 1965. (Mimeographed).

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Table I

Consonant Phonemes

	Labial		Dental		Alveolar		Retroflex		Fronto-palatal		Velar		Glottal	
	Vd	Vl	Vd	Vl	Vd	Vl	Vd	Vl	Vd	Vl	Vd	Vl	Vd	Vl
Stops	b	p	d	t			ḍ	ṭ	ǰ		g	k		?
Spirants	_				z	s								
Nasals	m		n				ṇ		ñ		ŋ			
Laterals			l											
Trill			r											
Semi-consonant	w								y					

Table II

Vowel Phonemes

	Front Unrounded	Central Unrounded	Back Rounded
High	i		u
Higher-mid	e	ə	o
Low		a	

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1.4. Inventory of Phonemes[5]

1.41. Abbreviations:

C	consonant	V__V	intervocalically
C^H	homorganic consonant	Bf.	before
V	vowel	Flg.	following
N	nasal continuant	E.	environment of...
#	silence (either end of utterance)	FV	free variant, freely varying
Init.	initially (i.e., after #)	( )	may or may not occur
Med.	medially	C__C	interconsonantal
Fin.	finally (i.e., before #)	Bet.	between

1.42. Consonant Phonemes (see Table I):

Phoneme	Environment	Allophones	
Voiceless Stops:			
/p/	(1) Med. Bf. C; Fin.	[$p^{\urcorner}$]	unreleased
	(2) elsewhere	[p^c]	aspirated
/t/	(3) Med. Bf. /b,r/; Fin.	[$t^{\urcorner}$]	unreleased
	(4) elsewhere	[t^c]	aspirated
/ṭ/	(5) Med. Bf. /k,l,r/	[$ṭ^{\urcorner}$]	unreleased, apico-palatal retroflex

[5]The inventory presented in this dissertation constitutes a major revision of Remo phonology as presented in the writer's Master's Thesis. See Frank Fernandez, A Phonology of Remo: The Language of the Hill Bondo (unpublished Master's Thesis, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, 1963).

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Phoneme	Environment	Allophones	
	(6) elsewhere	[ṭ^{c}]	aspirated apico-palatal retroflex
/k/	(7) E. front V	[k̠^{c}]	aspirated dorso-prevelar
	(8) E. central V; and once bet. #__/r/	[k^{c}]	aspirated dorso-velar
	(9) E. back V; Flg. /n,ŋ/ Bf. #	[k̡^{c}]	aspirated dorso-postvelar
/?/	(10) V__V	[ɋ]	lenis glottal
	(11) elsewhere	[?]	glottal stop

Voiced Stops:

/b/	(12) Med. Bf. /r,ḍ/	[b$^{\urcorner}$]	unreleased
	(13) V__V; Flg. /?/	[b̞]	lax bilabial
	(14) elsewhere	[b]	bilabial
/d/	(15) except Fin. (only found in loans)	[d]	apico-dental
/ḍ/	(16) V__V; Flg. /?,b,g,m/	[ṛ]	apico-palatal retroflex flap
	(17) elsewhere	[ḍ]	apico-palatal retroflex stop
/ǰ/	(18) except Fin.	[ǰ̞]	lax fronto-palatal affricate
/g/	(19) E. front V	[g̠]	dorso-prevelar
	(20) E. central V	[g]	dorso-velar
	(21) E. back V	[g̡]	dorso-postvelar

Spirants:

/s/	(22) Init. Bf. /i/ in unstressed syllables	[ṣ]	voiceless apico-postalveolar groove spirant

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Phoneme	Environment	Allophones	
	(23) elsewhere[6]	[s]	voiceless apico-alveolar groove spirant
/z/	(24) except Fin.	[z]	voiced apico-alveolar groove spirant
Nasals:			
/m/	(25) E. #__C^{H}	[m̥]	vocalic
	(26) elsewhere	[m]	bilabial nasal
/n/	(27) E. #__C$^{(H)}$	[n̥]	vocalic apico-dental
	(28) elsewhere	[n]	apico-dental
/ṇ/	(29) E. #__C^{H}	[ṇ̥]	vocalic apico-postalveolar
	(30) elsewhere	[ṇ]	apico-postalveolar
/ñ/	(31) all	[ñ]	fronto-palatal nasal
/ŋ/	(32) E. #__C^{H}	[ŋ̥]	vocalic dorso-velar
	(33) elsewhere	[ŋ]	dorso-velar
Laterals:			
/l/	(34) all	[l]	voiced apico-dental lateral
/r/	(35) Bf. # (i.e., Fin.)	[r]	voiceless apico-alveolar trill
	(36) elsewhere	[r]	voiced apico-alveolar trill

---

[6] In final position, [s] varies freely with [š] in one word, i.e., [bois] vs. [boiš] 'moiety'; however there is one apparent contrast between [s] and [š] in the words [boiš] and [ois-] 'to harvest'. More data is needed to decide on the phonemic status of the segment [š].

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Phoneme	Environment	Allophones	
Semi-Consonants:[7]			
/w/	(37) Med. and Fin. Flg. V	[^{u}]	high-back glide with lip rounding
	(38) elsewhere	[w]	high- or mid-back resonant with strong lip rounding
/y/	(39) Med. and Fin. Flg. V	[^{i}]	high-front palatal glide
	(40) #__/u/	[y]	high-front palatal resonant

1.43. Vowel Phonemes (see Table II):

Front Vowels:

/i/	(1) Init. and Med. Bf. C in unstressed syllables	[I]	lower-high front unrounded
	(2) elsewhere[8](i.e., init., Med., Fin. in stressed syllables)	[i]	high front unrounded

---

[7]Structurally, the phonemes /w/ and /y/ can be treated as prevocalic allophones of the vowel phonemes /u/ and /i/, respectively. In this study, we choose to treat them as semi-consonants instead so that we may more easily represent diphthongs within a syllable in contrast to cross-syllable vowel clusters. Thus, the phonetic clusters [i^{i}] and [a^{u}], for example, are represented phonemically as /iy/ and /aw/, respectively, instead of as /ii/ and /au/.

[8]In final position, but often also in initial and medial positions, the segment [i] occurs with a fairly strong high-front palatal glide, i.e., it occurs as a diphthongal vowel cluster. It can thus be represented as [i^{i}]. It is possible that these two segments occur in free variation in these positions. We choose here to use the single segment for both possibilities, assuming for the time being that both segments are in free variation.

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Phoneme	Environment	Allophones	
/e/[9]	(3) Flg. /ñ/	[æ]	higher-low front unrounded
	(4) Bf. /?/	[ɛ˃]	backed lower-mid front unrounded
	(5) elsewhere	[ɛ̝]	tense lower-mid front unrounded
/ə/[10]	(6) Med. C__C, only in unstressed syllables	[ə]	mean-mid central unrounded
/a/	(7) Med. Bf. /y/	[a˂]	fronted, low-central unrounded
	(8) Med. Bf. /w/	[a˃]	backed, low-central unrounded
	(9) elsewhere	[a]	low-central unrounded
/o/	(10) E. of N.	[ɔ]	lower-mid back rounded
	(11) elsewhere	[o]	high-mid back rounded

---

[9] The symbol /e/ is used in this inventory to represent [æ], [ɛ˃], and [ɛ] merely as a typographical convenience.

[10] The phoneme /ə/ has a very restricted distribution in our corpus, occurring only in unstressed syllables. Strictly speaking /ə/ occurs in complementary distribution with all other vowels, except for one apparent contrast with /a/, i.e., /pəsay/ 'bitter' and /pasəlatanǰa/ 'type of axe'. This apparent contrast may well disappear when the stress system of Remo is better known. However, since it is unclear at present to what vowel the 'schwa' should be assigned and, since there is at least one case of contrast, it seems least arbitrary for the present to assign the 'schwa' phonemic status of its own.

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Phoneme	Environment	Allophones
/u/	(12) all	[u] high-back rounded

1.44. Nasalization:

/˜/ (1) Med. /ẽỹ/ Bf. /ñ/

(2) /i, a, o, u/ and diphthongs /ay, oy/ Bf. # (i.e., Fin.)

(a) In six utterances (1 init., 3 med., and 2 fin.), a nasalized V occurs in FV with utterances containing a nasal continuant. The freely varying differences are due, apparently, to either the loss of nasality of the palatal nasal resulting in nasalization of the preceding V [see examples 1, 2, and 5], or to the loss of the nasal continuant also resulting in nasalization of the preceding V [see examples 3, 4, and 6].

(1) /ãyuŋ/ in FV with /añuŋ/ 'common fly'

(2) /kĩyar/ " " " /kiñar/ 'WiSi'

(3) /ñõḍa?/ " " " /ñoṇḍa?/ 'honey'

(4) /sõk/ " " " /sonk/ 'throat'

(5) /orõỹ/ " " " /oroyñ/ 'sickle'

(6) /ŋger-sũ/ " " " /ŋger-suŋ/ 'boy's dormitory'

(b) In three utterances, nasalized and non-nasalized /ey/ diphthongs occur. In two of these, /ẽỹ/ constrasts with /ey/ Bf. /ñ/, i.e.,

/tẽỹño/ 'anthill' : /geyñ-o?/ 'chewed' (3 per. sg., past tense)

/leympuŋ/ 'waist'

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(c) Bf. # (i.e., in utterance-final position), nasalized vowels and diphthongs contrast with corresponding oral vowels and diphthongs, except for /ey/ which does not occur Bf. # in our corpus:

/ĩ/ : /i/ in E. /kw/__#	/nkwĩ/ 'Fa-in-law'; /nkwi/ 'YoSi'	
	/ḍoŋkwĩ/ 'HuBrWi'; /ḍioŋkwi/ 'married woman'	
/ã/ : /a/ in E. /s/__#	/busã/ 'GrFa'; /usa/ 'skin'	
/ũ/ : /u/	/ŋger-sũ/ 'boy's dorm'; /nsu/ 'knife'	
/õ/ : /o/ in E. /g/__#	/batu?gõ/ 'twins'; /tumuŋgo/ 'night'	
/õỹ/ : /oy/ in E. /r/__#	/orõỹ/ 'sickle'; /suŋroy/ 'bracelet'	
/ãỹ/ : /ay/ in E. /ḍ/__#	/o?õnḍãỹ/ 'baby'; /nsonḍay/ 'squirrel'	

(d) In two utterances, the diphthongs /ãw̃/ and /aw/ both occur before silence, i.e., /ḍumãw̃/ 'little', and /ḍaw-/ 'little' [as in /ḍaw-bay/ 'little' (adj)].

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CHAPTER II

MORPHOLOGY

1. General: Form Classes

There are four major form classes in the Mundlipada dialect of Remo: Verbs, Nominals, Adjectivals, and Particles.

1. Verbs consist of unrestricted finite and nonfinite verbs and restricted finite verbs, as well as of words based on verb roots which are used nominally.

2. Nominals consist of nouns and pronouns.

3. Adjectivals consist of adjectives and numerals.

4. Particles consist of postpositionals, clause-marking clitics, adverbials, and miscellaneous particles.

1.1. Verb Morphophonology

In the following description, the root form of the verb is the form preceding 'past tense' affixes. These roots undergo regular morphophonemic changes in other constructions.

1.11. Verb Root Modifications:

Every verb has at least one and as many as three allomorphs, (1) the verb root itself, (2) the root modified for tense-aspect markers other than the past tense, and (3) the root modified and reduplicated before certain mode markers.

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1.111. Root Finals:

Verb roots end in the following consonants /b, ḍ, g, m, n, ñ, ŋ, s, r, l/, and in the following vowel monophthongs and diphthongs /i, e, a, o, u, iy, ay, oy/, with consonant-final roots constituting the majority. Monophthong-final roots remain unchanged before affixes, e.g., /su?u/ 'to blossom (of flowers)': /su?u-ta/ 'it blossoms'; /wa/ 'to swim, fly (of animals, birds)': /wa-ta/ 'it swims'. Diphthong-final roots ending in /ay, oy/ remain unchanged before affixes, e.g., /way/ 'to call': /way-o?-niŋ/ 'I called' /way-t-iŋ/ 'I call'; /goy/ 'to die': /goy-ga/ 'he died', /goy-ta/ 'he dies'. One exception occurs: the root /bosay/ 'to set aside (offer)' substitutes /e/ before the 'nonpast imperfect' morpheme /t/, e.g., /bosay-o?-niŋ/ 'I set aside (offered)', /bose-t-iŋ/ 'I set aside (offer)'. Diphthong-final roots ending in /iy/ lose the glide element of the diphthong before consonant-initial affixes, e.g., /kwiy/ 'to derrogate': /kwiy-o?-niŋ/ 'I derrogated', /kwi-tiŋ/ 'I derrogate'; /iy/ 'to return': /o-iy-o?-niŋ/ 'I caused to return', /i-t-iŋ/ 'I return', /i-g-niŋ/ 'I returned'.

Roots ending in /n/ and /ŋ/ undergo no change of final consonant in any environment, e.g., /len/ 'to thresh': /len-o?-niŋ/ 'I threshed', /len-t-iŋ/ 'I thresh'; /toŋ/ 'to wash': /toŋ-o?-niŋ/ 'I washed, /toŋ-t-iŋ/ 'I wash'.

Roots ending in /ñ/ lose the palatalization of the final consonant in preconsonantal environments, but retain

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it in prevocalic environments, e.g., /ḍwiñ/ 'to cook': /ḍwiñ-o?-niŋ/ 'I cooked', /ḍwin-t-iŋ/ 'I cook'.

Roots ending in /m/ retain the /m/ in all but two environments: (1) /m/ becomes /ŋ/ before initial /g/ of the 'past tense' morpheme, e.g., /ta?mi-bam/ 'to sneeze': /ta?mi-baŋ-gə-ta/ 'he has sneezed' (i.e., assimilation of the bilabial articulation to a velar articulation takes place)

(2) when /m/ occurs as the final consonant of a reduplicative verb prefix, it becomes /n/ if the initial consonant of the root (thus, the first consonant of the second syllable of the reduplicated root) is not a bilabial, but remains /m/ if the root-initial consonant is a bilabial, e.g., /ḍem/ 'to do' : /ḍin-ḍem-/; /bam/ 'to get' : /bəm-bam-/.

Root-final nasals of a group of verbs later to be identified as Class II verbs become /ŋ/ by assimilation of the nasal to the initial velar consonant of the past tense morpheme when this morpheme, in turn, is followed by a morpheme signaling the 'personal marker' which begins with a nasal, e.g., /baŋ-niŋ/ 'I got' from /bam/ 'to get' + /-g/ 'past tense' + /-niŋ/ 'I', 1. per. sg.; /toŋ-niŋ/ 'I stood up' from /ton/ 'to stand up' + /-g/ + /-niŋ/; /sənsayŋ-niŋ/ 'I was ahead' from /sənsayñ/ 'to be ahead' + /-g/ + /-niŋ/.

Roots ending in /r/ undergo no change of final consonant in any environment, e.g., /gar/ 'to rip': /gar-o?-niŋ/ 'I ripped', /gar-t-iŋ/ 'I rip'; /ur/ 'to run': /ur-o?-niŋ/

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'I ran', /ur-t-iŋ/ 'I run'.

Roots ending in /ḍ, s, l/ lose their final consonants when the root is in word-final position or when the root precedes consonant-initial affixes, e.g., /baḍ/ 'to slap': /ba/ 'slap!', /ba-t-iŋ/ 'I slap', /baḍ-o?-niŋ/ 'I slapped'; /bal/ 'to burn': /ba/ 'burn!', /ba-t-iŋ/ 'I burn', /bal-o?-niŋ/ 'I burned'; /sayks/ 'to sift': /sayk/ 'sift!', /sayk-t-iŋ/ 'I sift', /sayks-o?-niŋ/ 'I sifted'.

In both Class I and Class II verbs, roots ending in /b/ and /g/ change the final consonants to /p/ and /k/, respectively, before the initial consonant of the -tV 'nonpast' morpheme, e.g., /ḍab/ 'to pound': /ḍap-t-iŋ/ 'I pound' (Cl. I); /rug/ 'to open': /ruk-t-iŋ/ 'I open' (Cl. I); /lob/ 'to cure': /lop-t-iŋ/ 'I cure' (Cl. II); /gigeb/ 'to be hot': /gigep-ta/ 'it is hot' (Cl. II); /lug/ 'to set (of the sun)': /luk-ta/ 'the sun sets' (Cl. II); /log/ 'to fall': /lok-t-iŋ/ 'I fall' (Cl. II).

The /b/ and /g/ of Class II roots both become /k/ before the initial consonant of a 'personal ending' morpheme, e.g., /lob/ 'to cure': /lok-niŋ/ 'I cured', /lok-pa/ 'you (dual) cured'; /sab/ 'to come': /sak-niŋ/ 'I came', /sak-pa/ 'you (dual) came'; /sog/ 'to hold': /sok-niŋ/ 'I held', /sok-pe/ 'you (pl) held'; /ḍiḍig/ 'to lie down': /ḍiḍik-niŋ/ 'I laid down', /ḍiḍik-pa/ 'you (dual) laid down'.

Class II roots lose root-final /b/ and /g/ before

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the initial /g/ of the 'past tense' morpheme in the 3rd. person singular, dual, and plural, e.g., /lob/ 'to cure': /lo-ga/ 'he cured'; /sog/ 'to hold': /so-ga/ 'he held'; /ḍiḍig/ 'to lie down': /ḍiḍi-ga/ 'he laid down'; /malab-/ 'to bellow': /mala-ga/ 'it bellowed'; /lug/ 'to set (of the sun)': /lu-ga/ 'the sun sets'; /lubḍag/ 'to drown': /lubḍa-ga/ 'he drowned'.

The 'causative' prefix /o-/ in effect "causes" Class II roots ending in /b/ and /g/ to behave like Class I roots, instead of following the above rules, e.g., /lob/ 'to cure': /o-lob-o?-niŋ/ 'I caused to cure', /o-lop-t-iŋ/ 'I cause to cure'; /lubḍag/ 'to drown': /o-lubḍag-o?-niŋ/ 'I caused to drown', /o-lubḍak-t-iŋ/ 'I cause to drown'.

Finally, mention must be made of the fact that the verb /sab/ 'to come' (Class II) is irregular, in that it changes its final /b/ to /k/ when followed directly by various 'clause-marking' morphemes, e.g., /sak-seta/ 'having come', /sak-ṇa/ 'if we come...'.

No regular pattern of verb root vowel or root-initial consonant alternation occurs as part of the morphophonology of Remo verbs.

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1.112. Reduplication:

A reduplicated form of the root based on the simple verb root occurs before the morphemes /ḍen/, /goŋ/, and /ḍuso?/, which respectively signify the 'continuative' aspect and the 'abilitative' and 'desiderative' modes. All monosyllabic roots beginning with consonants (with certain exceptions, to be discussed later) undergo this modification, but monosyllabic vowel-initial roots (with certain exceptions, to be discussed later) and polysyllabic roots of all kinds do not reduplicate before these morphemes.

In reduplication, a syllable beginning with the simple root's consonant is prefixed to the simple root. The vowel of this syllable, always a monophthong, is determined by vowel harmony, as follows:

If the simple root's vowel is either high- or mid-front or /ey/, the prefix contains /i/. If the simple root's vowel is high- or mid-high back or is /oy/, /wi/, or /wo/, the prefixed syllable contains /u/. Finally, if the simple root's vowel is /a/ or /ay/, the prefixed syllable contains /ə/.

The language is not perfectly regular and the following exceptions occur as regards the vowel of the prefixed reduplicative syllable:

(a) /leḍ/ 'to squeeze' is reduplicated as /lə-le-/.

(b) /lag/ 'to smoothe' and /tag/ 'to strip' have /lak-lak-/ and /tak-tak-/, respectively.

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(c) /bam/ 'to get' has either /bum-bam-/ or /bəm-bam-/ in free variation.

(d) /log/ 'to fall', /tog/ 'to pick up', /yoŋ/ 'to yoke' and /zog/ 'to trample' have /lok-lok-/, /tok-tok-/, /yoŋ-yoŋ-/, and /zok-zok-/, respectively.

The reduplicative prefix is an open syllable, i.e., ends in a vowel, if the root ends in /ḍ/, /l/, /s/, or /b/, e.g., /baḍ/ 'to slap': /bə-ba-/; /bal/ 'to burn': /bə-ba-/; /gays/ 'to fry': /gə-gay-/; /kwi/ 'to derrogate': /ku-kwi-/; ḍab/ 'to pound': /ḍə-ḍap-/. Note that in the case of roots ending in /ḍ/, /l/, /s/, and /b/, the root-final consonants undergo the changes noted in Section 1.111., before undergoing reduplication. In all examples but one, roots ending in /r/ reduplicate with open prefixes (the exception is /tur/ 'to search for'). In all examples but two, roots ending in /m/ reduplicate with open syllables (the exceptions are /ḍem/ 'to do' and /bam/ 'to get'.

If the root ends in /ñ/ or /ŋ/, the reduplicative syllable is closed, i.e., ends in a consonant (as might be expected from Section 1.111.); furthermore /ñ/ becomes /n/ in this syllable (again, as might be expected from the preceding section). Examples are: /ḍwiñ/ 'to cook': /ḍun-ḍwin-/; /ḍuŋ/ 'to go away': /ḍuŋ-ḍuŋ-/. In the case of roots ending in /g/ and /n/, both open and closed prefixes occur. Structural rules have not yet been inferred by which the case of a particular verb ending in /g/ and /n/ can be pre-

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dicted. Table III "Verbs Classified by Reduplication Pattern", below, shows these data with the exceptions that exist. Where there are only one or two exceptions to a rule in Table III, the exceptions are shown in square brackets. The symbol (R) indicates 'restricted' verbs (c.f., pp. 63ff). One may guess that Remo is in some sort of transition at present; whether it is moving toward or away from a condition in which some phonological rule predicts whether a root reduplicates with an open or closed syllable is not known.

Several verb roots, both monosyllabic consonant-initial and monosyllabic vowel-initial, do not reduplicate in the above manner before the morphemes /ḍen/, /goŋ/, and /ḍuso?/. A "cranberry" morph is either suffixed or prefixed to the root when the verb is used with the 'continuative', 'abilitative' or 'desiderative' morphemes. See Table IV, below, for a list of these verb roots.

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TABLE III

Verbs Classified by Reduplicative Pattern

Roots ending in:		Reduplicative Syllable	
		Open	Closed
1. /b, ḍ, l, s/		all	[/ǰinl/ 'to win']
2. /ñ, ŋ/			all
3. /m/		all	[/ḍem/ 'to do'; /bam/ 'to get']
4. /r/		all	[/tur/ 'to search for']
5. /g/	/bug/ 'to beat'		/ǰug/ 'to lift'
	(R) /gug/ 'to peck'		/lag/ 'to smoothe'
	/mag/ 'to know'		/lug/ 'to dig'
	/rag/ 'to tear'		/pug/ 'to cut'
	/rug/ 'to open'		/sug/ 'to sweep'
	/lug/ 'to set'		/tag/ 'to strip'
	/sig/ 'to be finished'		/tog/ 'to pick up'
	/sog/ 'to hold'		/zug/ 'to trample'
			/log/ 'to fall'
		(R)	/wag/ 'to break'
6. /n/	/len/ 'to thresh'		/bon/ 'to copulate'
	/sun/ 'to listen'		/ḍon/ 'to carry'
	/wan/ 'to pull'		/gen/ 'to fill'
			/sin/ 'to measure'
			/ton/ 'to wash'
			/ṭun/ 'to wear'
			/ḍen/ 'to be, become'
			/ton/ 'to stand up'

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TABLE IV

Exceptions to Reduplicative Pattern Rules

The following verb roots take a prefixed or suffixed "cranberry" morph before the 'continuative', 'abilitative', and 'desiderative' morphemes:

Class I:

/banl/ 'to tie (L)' : /ban-ba-/

/ǰagl/ 'to keep watch' : /ǰag-bar-/ (L)?

/oñ/ 'to hear' : /o?-on-/

/raŋ/ 'to cook' : /n̥-raŋ-/

/raŋ/ 'to pull' : /n̥-raŋ-/

/rim/ 'to fight' : /n̥-rim-/

/ruŋ/ 'to bring' : /n̥-ruŋ-/

/un/ 'to transplant seedlings' : /un-ker-/ [/-ker/ from /keroŋ/ 'rice' (noun)]

/yon/ 'to chase away' : /ño-yon-/

Class II:

/ǰaglo/ 'to guard' : /ǰag-bar-/

/ruŋ/ 'to take' : /n̥-ruŋ-/

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1.12. Verb Affix Modification:

The following paradigms for the verbs /ǰul/ 'to see', /layks/ 'to sit', /wiy/ 'to go', and /sab/ 'to come', show the allomorphic changes that occur in certain verb affixes:

/ǰul/ 'to see', 'nonpast imperfect' tense-aspect:

1 per. sing.	ǰu-t-iŋ	I see
1 per. dual	ǰu-tə-naŋ	we (two) see
1 per. pl.	ǰu-tə-nay	we (all) see
2 per. sing.	ǰu-to-no	you see
2 per. dual	ǰu-tə-pa	you (two) see
2 per. pl.	ǰu-te-pe	you (all) see
3 per. sing.	ǰu-to-Ø	he sees
3 per. dual	ǰu-to-Ø	they (two) see
3 per. pl.	ǰu-to-Ø	they (all) see

/layks/ 'to sit', 'nonpast imperfect' tense-aspect:

1 per. sing.	layk-t-iŋ	I sit
1 per. dual	layk-tə-naŋ	we (two) sit
1 per. pl.	layk-tə-nay	we (all) sit
2 per. sing.	layk-to-no	you sit
2 per. dual	layk-tə-pa	you (two) sit
2 per. pl.	layk-te-pe	you (all) sit
3 per. sing.	layk-ta-Ø	he sits
3 per. dual	layk-ta-Ø	they (two) sit
3 per. pl.	layk-ta-Ø	they (all) sit

/wiy/ 'to go', 'past' tense:

1 per. sing.	wi-g-niŋ	I go
1 per. dual	wi-g-naŋ	we (two) go
1 per. pl.	wi-g-nay	we (all) go
2 per. sing.	wi-g-no	you go
2 per. dual	wi-g-pa	you (two) go
2 per. pl.	wi-g-pe	you (all) go

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3 per. sing.	wi-ga-Ø	he goes
3 per. dual	wi-ga-Ø	they (two) go
3 per. pl.	wi-ga-Ø	they (all) go

/sab/ 'to come', 'present perfect' tense-aspect:

1 per. sing.	sap-gi-t-iŋ	I have come
1 per. dual	sap-gə-tə-naŋ	we (two) have come
1 per. pl.	sap-gə-tə-nay	we (all) have come
2 per. sing.	sap-go-to-no	you have come
2 per. dual	sap-gə-tə-pa	you (two) have come
2 per. pl.	sap-ge-te-pe	you (all) have come
3 per. sing.	sap-gə-ta-Ø	he has come
3 per. dual	sap-gə-ta-Ø	they (two) have come
3 per. pl.	sap-gə-ta-Ø	they (all) have come

/sum/ 'to eat', 'past perfect' tense-aspect:

1 per. sing.	sum-o?-ki-niŋ	I had eaten
1 per. dual	sum-o?-kə-naŋ	we (two) had eaten
1 per. pl.	sum-o?-kə-nay	we (all) had eaten
2 per. sing.	sum-o?-ko-no	you had eaten
2 per. dual	sum-o?-kə-pa	you (two) had eaten
2 per. pl.	sum-o?-ke-pe	you (all) had eaten
3 per. sing.	sum-o?-kə-ga	he had eaten
3 per. dual	sum-o?-kə-ga	they (two) had eaten
3 per. pl.	sum-o?-kə-ga	they (all) had eaten

/sab/ 'to come', 'past perfect' tense-aspect:

1 per. sing.	sap-ki-niŋ	I had come
1 per. dual	sap-kə-naŋ	we (two) had come
1 per. pl.	sap-kə-nay	we (all) had come
2 per. sing.	sap-ko-no	you had come
2 per. dual	sap-kə-pa	you (two) had come
2 per. pl.	sap-ke-pe	you (all) had come
3 per. sing.	sap-kə-ga	he had come
3 per. dual	sap-kə-ga	they (two) had come
3 per. pl.	sap-kə-ga	they (all) had come

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The occurrence of vowel harmony in the morphophonemics of the reduplicative prefix of verb roots has already been described. Vowel harmony also occurs in the allomorphs of the affix morphemes which make up various tense, aspect, and mode constructions. (Vowel harmony also occurs in the construction of nominalized verbs used as nouns in Remo, to be described later).

All Remo verbs can be divided into two large classes, called Class I and Class II verbs, on the basis of the occurrence of certain verb roots with certain morphophonemically defined allomorphs of (a) the 'nonpast imperfect' morpheme and (b) the simple 'past' tense morpheme.

Class I roots are defined as those which take the /tO/ allomorph of the 'nonpast imperfect' morpheme and the /-o?/ allomorph of the 'past' morpheme. Class II roots are defined as those which take the /tA/ allomorph of the 'nonpast imperfect' morpheme and the /gI/ (and/or /Ø/) allomorphs of the 'past' morpheme.

This division into Class I and Class II verbs corresponds roughly to a "transitive-intransitive" semantic distinction, common among the languages of the Munda Family. In Remo, however, this semantic distinction does not fit perfectly the structurally defined categories which are here labeled Class I and Class II.

The allomorphs of the 'nonpast imperfect' morpheme,

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the 'past' morpheme, and also the 'perfect' morpheme (which has only one morphemic shape) exhibit the feature of vowel harmony. In order to describe the phonemic variation in these allomorphs and morphemes, it is convenient to posit three vowel morphophonemes: /O/, /A/, and /I/ which occur in the morphemes mentioned as follows:

Morpheme	Verb Class[1]	
	I	II
nonpast imperfect	-tO	-tA
past		-gI
perfect	-kI	-kI

In all cases, the phonemic status of the vowel is determined as follows:

1. The morphophonemes /O/ and /A/ are phonemically:
   a. /Ø/ before a vowel-initial affix
   b. /e/ when the vowel of the following affix is /e/
   c. /o/ when the vowel of the following affix is /o/
   d. /ə/ when the vowel of the following affix is /a/
   e. /O/ and /A/ are /o/ and /a/, respectively, before silence (i.e., before the 'zero' allomorph of the 3rd person 'personal ending' morpheme).
2. The morphophoneme /I/, in the Class II allomorph /-gI/ of the 'past' tense morpheme, is phonemically:

---

[1]The Class I allomorph /-o?/ of the 'past' tense morpheme is not included in this table because it undergoes no morphophonemic changes in any of its occurrences.

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a. /Ø/ before the 1st and 2nd person 'personal ending' morphemes

b. /a/ before silence (i.e., before the 'zero' allomorph of the 3rd person 'personal ending' morpheme)

c. /i/ before the /-tO/ allomorph of the 'nonpast imperfect' when the latter is followed by a vowel-initial affix

d. /e/ when the vowel of the following affix is /e/

e. /o/ when the vowel of the following affix is /o/

f. /ə/ when the vowel of the following affix is /a/

3. The morphophoneme /I/, in the 'perfect' aspect morpheme is phonemically: /i/, /e/, /ə/, or /o/ when the vowel of the following affix is /i/, /e/, /ə/, or /o/, respectively.

This yields the following morphemes and allomorphs:

1. {tV} 'nonpast imperfect' morpheme:
   /-tO/ for Class I roots and /-tA/ for Class II roots

2. {gV} 'past' tense morpheme:
   /-gI/ for Class II roots, /-Ø/ for Class II roots before the 'perfect' morpheme, and /-o?/ for Class I roots

3. {kI} 'perfect' aspect morpheme:
   /-kI/ for both Class I and Class II roots.

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1.2. Finite Verb Morphology

Every simple finite 'verb-word' (i.e., a construction which can occur as a simple sentence) consists of a sequence of morphemes conforming to the following basic formula:

$$+ \text{ROOT} + \left(\pm \text{MODE} + \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \pm \text{TENSE} \\ \pm \text{ASPECT} \\ \pm \text{TENSE} + \text{ASPECT} \end{array} \right\} \right) + \text{PERSON}$$

From this basic formula the following simple constructions can be derived (one of these, number 4, does not occur in our data):

1. Root + Tense + Person
2. Root + Aspect + Person
3. Root + Tense + Aspect + Person
*4. Root + Mode + Tense + Person
5. Root + Mode + Aspect + Person
6. Root + Mode + Tense + Aspect + Person

Compound finite verb-word constructions are made with the 'completive' morpheme {-suŋ}, or its reduplicated allomorph /-suŋ-suŋ/, in the following manner:

1. Root + Tense + suŋ + Tense + Person
2. Root + Tense + suŋ + Aspect + Person
3. Root + Tense + suŋ + Mode + Aspect + Person

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Thus, compound constructions are combinations of a verb root plus a tense morpheme prefixed to either the first, the second, or the fifth simple construction listed above. The root of these simple constructions is always -suŋ , the 'completive' morpheme which functions as a modal in these compound constructions, although it never occurs alone as a verb root in simple verb-word constructions. Compound constructions using -suŋ with either constructions three or six do not occur in our data. It is possible that these may turn up with further work on Remo verb morphology.

1.21. Verbal Affixes:

Remo verb roots occur with various affix morphemes (i.e., non-root morphemes) signifying tense, aspect, modality, and person-number. For convenience in describing these affixes we will depart from the order in which the morphemes occur in the canonical formula and begin with the personal ending morphemes, then tense and aspect morphemes, roots, mode, and finally, we will describe the 'causative', 'negation', and 'interrogative' morphemes.

1.211. Personal Ending Morphemes:

The first, second, and third persons in the singular, dual, and plural numbers are denoted by seven morphemes, one of which must occur obligatorily with every finite verb-word. These morphemes and their allomorphs are:

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{1st person singular} = /-iŋ, -niŋ/:

/-iŋ/ following the 'nonpast imperfect' morpheme {tV} in the first person;

/-niŋ/ following all other tense-aspect morphemes in the first person.

{1st person dual} = /-naŋ/: following all tense-aspect morphemes.

{1st person plural} = /-nay/: following all tense-aspect morphemes.

{2nd person singular} = /-no/: following all tense-aspect morphemes.

{2nd person dual} = /-pa/: following all tense-aspect morphemes.

{2nd person plural} = /-pe/: following all tense-aspect morphemes

{3rd person} = /-Ø, -ga/ (no distinction made for the singular, dual, or plural):

/-Ø/ following the 'nonpast imperfect' morpheme {tV} in the first person, and following the 'past' morpheme {gI}.

/-ga/ following the 'perfect' morpheme {kI}.

1.212. Tense-Aspect Morphemes:

In Remo, a morphologically marked 'past' tense and a morphologically unmarked 'nonpast' tense occur. With respect to what may be called 'aspect', a morphological distinction is made between a 'perfect' and an 'imperfect' aspect.

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Tense and aspect morphemes combine to form the basic finite verb-word constructions called (a) the simple 'past', unmarked for aspect, (b) the 'nonpast imperfect' tense-aspect, (c) the 'past imperfect' tense-aspect, and (d) the 'past perfect' tense-aspect, as shown in Table V, below:

TABLE V

Verb Tense-Aspect

ASPECT	nonpast (unmarked)	past (marked)
non-perfect (unmarked)	----	gV
imperfect (marked)	tV	gV + tV
perfect (marked)	kI	gV + kI

TENSE

The tense-aspects shown above enter into one or another of the remaining finite verb constructions occurring in our data. Note that {kI} 'nonpast perfect' has a defective distribution, appearing only when tense is unmarked, with Class II verbs, with or without the 'completive' or, with verbs of both classes, following the 'desiderative'. The following is a list of the tense and aspect morphemes:

1. 'Past': {gV} = /-o?, -Ø, and -gI/

/-o?/ following the roots called Class I; following the 'completive' morpheme {suŋ} in the 'past completive' for

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both Class I and II roots:

/-Ø/ following Class II roots when preceding the 'perfect' morpheme {kI}, or the 'completive' morpheme {-suŋ}; following the 'desiderative' morpheme {ḍuso?} before {kI} for Class I and II roots;

/-gI/ following Class II roots; following the 'continuous' morpheme {ḍen} and the 'desiderative' morpheme {ḍuso?} before {tV}, for both Class I and II roots.

2. 'Imperfect': {tV} = /-tO, -tA/

/-tO/ following all Class I roots in the 'nonpast imperfect';

/-tA/ following all Class II roots in the 'nonpast imperfect'; and, in other 'imperfect' constructions, following the Class I and II 'past' as well as the 'abilitative' {goŋ}, the 'continuous' {ḍen}, and the 'completive' {suŋ}.

3. 'Perfect': {kI} = /-kI/

In all 'perfect' constructions, following Class I and II 'past'; and following the 'continuous' {ḍen}, and 'abilitative' {goŋ}, and the 'desiderative' {ḍuso?}.

1.213. Roots:

Roots occurring in verb-words may be either monomorphemic--"simple roots" or polymorphemic--"compound roots". These latter are sequences of actual simple roots, or of a simple root plus a non-root, or of a noun or adjective plus a simple root.

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A. Simple Roots: As described in Section 1.1. and following, roots--whether mono- or polysyllabic--occur in verb-words in one of three allomorphic forms, namely, an unmodified root occurring before vowel-initial verb affixes, a modified root occurring before consonant-initial affixes, and a reduplicated root occurring before the morphemes {ḍen}, {goŋ}, and {ḍuso?}, signifying the 'continuous', 'abilitative', and the 'desiderative', respectively. Thus, for example, the verb root /baḍ/ 'to slap' occurs as: /baḍ-o?-niŋ/ 'I slapped', /ba-t-iŋ/ 'I slap', and /bə-ba-ḍen-t-iŋ/ 'I am slapping'. Monosyllabic vowel-initial roots and polysyllabic roots do not have a reduplicated allomorph but retain their root form before {ḍen}, {goŋ}, and {ḍuso?}.

B. Complex Roots: in the case of polymorphemic sequences of roots, the component roots often occur as simple verb roots in other verb contexts. The only known exceptions to this are the roots /bam/ 'to get, have', /suŋ/ 'to throw away', and /sur/ '?'. These three roots occur only in compounds such as /kukup-bam/ 'to have a cough', /bulo-suŋ/ 'to boil over', and /gugu-sur/ 'to level ground (for planting)'.

The class membership of a complex root is, like simple roots, a function of the affixes it takes in verb-words, and is determined by the second member of the complex root. Thus, a complex root belongs to Class I if its second member takes the /-tO/ allomorph of the 'nonpast imperfect' and the /-o?/ allomorph of the 'past'; similarly, the complex root belongs

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to Class II if its second member takes the /-tA/ allomorph of the 'nonpast imperfect' and the /-gI/ allomorph of the 'past'.

Complex roots may be grouped in terms of their internal makeup as follows:

1. Root + Root:

/bana-wiy/ 'to forget' < /bana/ '?' [prob. 'to forget', cf., Gutob /bana/ 'to forget'][2] + /wiy/ 'to go'(II).

/biba-ḍem/ 'to perform a marriage' < /bibal/ 'to marry' (II) + /ḍem/ 'to do' (I)

/bulo-suŋ/ 'to boil over' < /bulo/ '?' [prob. 'to boil', cf., Gutob /bui/ 'to boil over'] + /suŋ/ 'to throw away' (?) or 'intensifier' (?) (I).

/goy-iy/ 'to die, be dead' < /goys/ 'to die' (II) + /iy/ 'to return' (II).

/gugu-sur/ 'to level ground' < /gu-guḍ/ 'to strip' (I) + /sur/ '?'.

/gwoyti-gwisuŋ-wiy/ 'to wash hands and feet' < /gwoytil/ 'to wash hands' (II) + /gwisuŋ/ 'to wash feet' (II) + /wiy/ 'to go' (II).

/kukup-bam/ 'to have a cough' < /ku-kub/ 'to cough' (I) + /bam/ 'to get' (II).

---

[2]Notes on Gutob cognates from data in Norman H. Zide, Papers on South Munda Phonology, II-V. (University of Chicago; mimeographed, April, July, August, 1965).

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/lubḍa?-goy/ 'to drown' < /lubḍag/ 'to drown' (II) + /goys/ 'to die' (II).

2. Root + /o?/ + Root: most of these stems translate into English as two verbs connected by 'and' (in contrast to the first set in which the meaning of the whole stem is not necessarily the meaning of its separate elements), although this is not always true of all these forms.
/aǰur-o?-wiy/ 'to leap over' < /aǰur/ 'to leap' (I) + /wiy/ 'to go' (II).
/gen-o?-ruŋ/ 'to fill and bring (as a pot of water)' < /gen/ 'to fill' (I) + /ruŋ/ 'to bring' (I).
/raŋ-o?-sum/ 'to cook and eat' < /raŋ/ 'to cook' (I) + /sum/ 'to eat' (I).
/ruŋ-o?-be/ 'to bring and give' < /ruŋ/ 'to bring' (I) + /beḍ/ 'to give' (I).
/sum-o?-sag/ 'to come and eat' < /sum/ 'to eat' (I) + /sab/ 'to come' (II).

3. Root + /o?/ + Root + /o?/: only one example occurs in our data, i.e., /pug-o?-ruŋ-o?/ 'to cut and bring' < /pug/ 'to cut' (I) + /ruŋ/ 'to bring' (I).

4. (Root + Root) + Root: only one example occurs in our data, i.e., /biba-ḍem- ǰinl/ 'to perform a marriage ceremony' < /bibal/ 'to marry' (II) + /ḍem/ 'to do' (I) + /ǰinl/ 'to win' (II).

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5. Noun (Adjective) + Root: the forms which occur in this group function as simple roots:[3]

/bol-ḍem/ 'to cure' (I) < /bol/ 'good, pretty' (adj) + /ḍem/ 'to do' (I).

/ḍərak-ǰul/ 'to read a palm' (I) < /ḍərak/ 'palm (of hand)' (noun) + /ǰul/ 'to see' (I).

/ik-taŋ-suŋ/ 'to throw away cowdung' (I) < /ik-taŋ/ 'cow-dung' (noun) [from /ig/ 'feces' + /-taŋ/ short form of 'cow' /goy-taŋ/] + /suŋ/ 'to throw away' (?) (I).

/su?u-lil/ 'to extract oil' < /su?u/ 'Oil' (noun) + /lil/ 'to press' (I)[4].

/karaḅ-ḍem/ 'to spoil' < /karab/ '?' + /ḍem/ 'to do' (I).

/kosṭo-beḍ/ 'to hurt' < /kosṭo/ '?' + /beḍ/ 'to give' (I).

/naŋa-ḍi/ 'to be naked' < /naŋa/ '?' + /ḍi/ 'to be, have' (II)

/nasṭo-ḍem/ 'to spoil' < /nasṭo/ '?' + /ḍem/ 'to do' (I).

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[3]Several forms in this set have been tentatively classed as nouns. It is possible that these are not nouns but in reality verb roots. However, these particular forms do not occur elsewhere in our data, whether as nouns or verbs. No cognate forms were found for these forms in Zide, Op. Cit.

[4]It is possible that the form /su?u/ 'oil' (noun) is really the verb root /su?ug/ 'to blossom', although unlikely.

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C. Derivation of Polysyllabic Roots: polysyllabic roots are also in many cases polymorphemic, yet cannot be said to be complex roots of the type discussed previously. The following list describes the morphemic composition of those roots which are both polysyllabic and polymorphemic:

1. Reduplicative Allomorph used as Root:

For example: /gu-goḍ/ 'to cut' (I) < /goḍ/ 'to cut' (I); /tok-tog/ 'to wind yarn' (I) < /tog/ 'to wind' (I); /gi-geb/ 'to be hot' (II) < /geb/ 'to heat' (I).

2. Root + Bound Noun: in these roots, the polymorphemic root consists of a root (sometimes monosyllabic, sometimes polysyllabic) and a bound form of a noun (i.e., that morpheme alternant of noun morphemes which occurs only with other morphemes, never in isolation), e.g., /ale-ḍag/ 'to squeeze water' (I) < /aleḍ/ 'to squeeze' (I) + /-ḍag/ 'water', bound form of /ḍa?/ 'water'; /ḅuk-taḍ/ 'to pound fibre' (I) < /bug/ 'to beat' (I) + /-taḍ/ 'thread, fibre', bound form of /suta/ 'thread'; /su-sug-bog/ 'to comb' (II) < /sug/ 'to sweep' (I) + /-bog/ 'head', bound form of /ḅop/ 'head'.

3. Root + root: the few examples of this type in our corpus differ from examples of complex roots in two ways: (a) at least one member of the form is a bound verb root, i.e., a root which does not, in our data, occur as a root in isolation; this form may be either the first or the second member of the polysyllabic root, and (b) the com-

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ponents of the root never occur with tense affixes after the first member. Examples are: /roŋ-ǰug/ 'to dam water' (I) < /roŋ- 'to dam' (?) + /ǰug/ 'to build' (I) (L)[5]; /raŋ-ḍal/ 'to cook' (II) < /raŋ/ 'to cook' (I) + /ḍal- 'to cover' (?).

4. Causative Stem: all members of this group have in common the use of either a modified or reduplicated allomorph of a verb root with a preposed 'causative' morpheme--both used together as a verb root, e.g., /o-gi-geb/ 'to heat' (I) < /o-/ 'caus' + /geb/ 'to heat' (I); /o-log/ 'to pluck' (I) < /o-/ 'caus' + /log/ 'to fall' (II); /o-rayks/ 'to take up' (I) < /o-/ 'caus' + /ḍayks/ 'to climb' (II); /o-lub/ 'to put on' (II) < /o-/ 'caus' + /lub- 'to put on' (?).

5. Nominalized Roots: roots in this group have in common the fact that in all cases the 'nominalizing' infix {-Vn-} (showing vowel harmony with the vowel of the root) occurs. In effect, a verb root is nominalized by the addition of the infix, and then re-made into a verb root (often with the addition of the 'causative' prefix), e.g., /s-s-un-ob/ 'to cause to embrace' (I) < /o-/ 'caus' + /-Vn-/ 'nominal' + /sob/ 'to catch' (I); /o-b-un-ug/ 'to fight' (II) < /o-/ 'caus' + /-Vn-/ 'nominal' + /bug/ 'to beat' (I); /s-in-ig/ 'to flatulate' (I) < /sig- 'to flatulate' (?) +

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[5]The symbol /‾‾‾ refers to roots which occur only as bound forms in our corpus.

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1.214. Mode:

The term 'mode' is used to cover all constructions using morphemes at least some of which appear to be or to have been simple roots, i.e., {ḍen}, {suŋ}, {goŋ}, and {ḍuso?}.

1. 'Continuous' {ḍen} = /-ḍen/: following the reduplicated root of all Class I and II verbs. The forms /-nen/ and /-e/ also occur as free variants (probably dialectal variants). Informants accepted all as equivalent morphs. Since /-ḍen/ is the form more frequently used by both informants and other Remo speakers, it will be used as the class symbol for the morpheme.

2. 'Completive' {suŋ} = /-suŋ, -suŋ-suŋ/:

/-suŋ/ following all Class I and II allomorphs of the 'past' morpheme in 'completive' constructions;

/-suŋ-suŋ/ following the Class I and II 'past' in 'continuous completive' constructions before the 'continuous' morpheme ḍen .

The 'completive' seems to signify action completed. Occasionally it seemed to signify the 'intensification' of an action rather than merely its completion. Often used as semantically equivalent to a 'nonpast imperfect' construction. Semantic restrictions on the use of the 'completive' with certain verbs apparently exist, e.g., the sentence */niŋ goy-suŋ-t-iŋ/ *'I finish dying' was not accepted by any informant.

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Although it has been treated in the mode category, the 'completive' seems to function as if it were a verb root in the compound constructions in which it occurs; this is especially true in view of the fact that in certain of these constructions, it occurs in its reduplicated root form.

3. 'Abilitative' {gon} = /-gon/: following the reduplicative allomorph of all Class I and II verbs in the 'abilitative' constructions; following the 'causative' and 'negation' morphemes in the 'causative' and 'negative' abilitative constructions.

4. 'Desiderative' {ḍuso?} = /-ḍuso?/: following the reduplicated root allomorph of all Class I and II verbs in the 3rd person impersonal 'desiderative' construction before the Class II 'past' allomorph.

/-ḍuso?/ occurs in apparent free variation with the form /-luḍa-ḍen/. Informants seem to use the /-ḍuso?/ form more readily. There is doubt, at present, about the status of these two forms because informants, although accepting either as a substitute for the other, seemed not completely satisfied that they were semantically identical. However, none of my informants could state precisely wherein the difference lay.[6]

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[6]/-luḍa-ḍen/ is similar to the root /luḍ/ 'to borrow, beg, want'. Thus, it is possible that /-ḍuso?/ means 'desire' or 'wish', while the former may indicate the act of 'begging for something'. At present, however, this is just conjecture.

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1.215. Causative, Negative, and Interrogative:

The following morphemes differ from those already considered because two of them, the 'causative' and the 'negative' enter into construction with verb roots which then become 'causative' and 'negative' stems. Such stems thereafter function like vowel-initial roots, i.e., they do not reduplicate before the morphemes {ḍen}, {goŋ}, and {ḍuso?} (see Section 1.1. Verb Morphophonology). The 'interrogative' morpheme, however, is always postposed to an entire verb-word, i.e., it occurs after the closing 'personal ending' morpheme.

1. 'Causative' { o } = /o-/: prefixed to all Class I and Class II roots in 'causative' constructions; in constructions containing the 'abilitative' morpheme, /o-/ is prefixed to the 'abilitative' morpheme. Class II roots with the 'causative' become Class I stems and take Class I affix allomorphs. Class I and II 'causative' stems function like vowel-initial roots and do not reduplicate in 'continuous' constructions.

2. 'Negation' { a } = /a-/: prefixed to all Class I and Class II roots in 'negative' constructions; in 'abilitative' constructions, /a-/ is prefixed to the 'abilitative' morpheme. Class I and II 'negative' stems function like vowel-initial roots and do not reduplicate in 'continuous' constructions.

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3. 'Interrogative' {ki} = /-ki/: postposed, when necessary, to verb-words after the closing 'personal ending' morpheme. It can occur with most verb constructions in our corpus and causes no changes in the form of any construction. It is here classified as an 'enclitic' particle.

1.22. Finite Verb Canons:

From the basic formula given in Section 1.2., eight canonical formulae can be derived. Each of these canons can be described morphologically and these, in turn, taking into account the distinction between Class I and Class II verb roots, can be further described phonemically. From the eight canonical formulae, fifteen morphological formulae can be derived and from these, twenty-three phonemic constructions are possible from our data.

In addition, the 'causative' and 'negation' morphemes occur with nine of the fifteen morphological formulae, thus yielding another set of derivative constructions called 'causative' and 'negative' verb-words, respectively. Finally, all constructions can occur with the 'interrogative' to form another set called 'interrogative' constructions.

Two broad classes of canons are considered: non-modal and modal (the former are those which use only tense and/or aspect morphemes; the latter are those which use the mode morphemes as well). Within these two broad classes, two

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types of formulae are presented: First, a canonical formula for the construction class as a whole, which is a derivation from the basic formula for finite verb-words. Second, a morphological formula is given which represents the morphemic constitution of members of the construction class. There may be only one member in a construction class (and thus, only one morphological formula) or there may be more than one (in which case, several morphological formulae will occur under one construction class canon).

For the reader's convenience, a third formula will be shown. In this formula, class symbols will be used to represent the various types of morphemes entering into a construction, e.g., {caus} will be replaced by {o}, etc.

The following abbreviations will be used in the morphological formulae:

1. per	= 'personal ending'	{per} = /p/
2. imperf	= 'imperfect'	{tV} = /-tO, -tA/
3. perf	= 'perfect'	{kI} = /-kI/
4. compl	= 'completive'	{suŋ} = /-suŋ, -suŋ-sunŋ/
5. past	= 'past'	{gI} = /-o?, -Ø, gI/
6. cont	= 'continuous'	{ḍen} = /-ḍen/
7. abil	= 'abilitative'	{goŋ} = /-goŋ/
8. desid	= 'desiderative'	{ḍuso?} = /-ḍuso?/
9. caus	= 'causative'	{o} = /o-/
10. neg	= 'negation'	{a} = /a-/
11. interrog	= 'interrogative'	{ki} = /-ki/

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1.221. Simple (Non-modal):

1. ROOT + TENSE + PERSON

{root} + {past} + {per} — Past
/root/ + /gV/ + /p/

Class I: /root/ + /-o?/ + /p/[7]
Class II: /root/ + /-gI/ + /p/

2. ROOT + ASPECT + PERSON

{root} + {imperf} + {per} — Nonpast Imperfect
/root/ + /tV/ + /p/

Class I: /root/ + /-tO/ + /p/
Class II: /root/ + /-tA/ + /p/

3. ROOT + TENSE + ASPECT + PERSON

3a. {root} + {past} + {imperf} + {per} — Past Imperfect
/root/ + /gV/ + /tV/ + /p/

3b. {root} + {past} + {perf} + {per} — Past Perfect
/root/ + /gV/ + /kI/ + /p/

1.222. Simple (Modal):

4. ROOT + MODE + ASPECT + PERSON

4a. {root} + {abil} + {imperf} + {per} — Nonpast imperfect Abilitative
/root/ + /goŋ/ + /tV/ + /p/

4b. {root} + {abil} + {perf} + {per} — Perfect Abilitative
/root/ + /goŋ/ + /kI/ + /p/

---

[7]The phonemic statements labeled Class I and II in construction classes 1 and 2 show the Class I and Class II allomorphs of the affix morphemes. Similar statements can be written for each of the remaining constructions.

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4c. {root} + {cont} + {imperf} + {per} — Nonpast Imperfect Continuous
/root/ + /ḍen/ + /tV/ + /p/

4d. {root} + {cont} + {perf} + {per} — Perfect Continuous
/root/ + /ḍen/ + /kI/ + /p/

5. ROOT + MODE + TENSE + ASPECT + PERSON[8]

5a. {root} + {cont} + {past} + {imperf} + {per}
/root/ + /ḍen/ + /gV/ + /tV/ + /p/ — Past Imperfect Continuous

5b. {root} + {desid} + {past} + {imperf} + {per}
/root/ + /ḍuso?/ + /gV/ + /tV/ + /p/ — Past Imperfect Desiderative

5c. {root} + {desid} + {past} + {perf} + {per}
/root/ + /ḍuso?/ + /gV/ + /kI/ + /p/ — Past Perfect Desiderative

1.223. Compound (Modal):

6. ROOT + TENSE + ROOT + TENSE + PERSON

{root} + {past} + {compl} + {past} + {per} — Past Completive
/root/ + /gV/ + /suŋ/ + /gV/ + /p/

---

[8]Numbers 5b and 5c are 'desiderative' constructions which occur only in the 3rd person in an impersonal construction, i.e., regardless of the person and number of the subject of the sentence, the verb-word is always in the 3rd person.

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7. ROOT + TENSE + ROOT + ASPECT + PERSON

root + past + compl + imperf + per — Past Imperfect Completive

8. ROOT + TENSE + ROOT + MODE + ASPECT + PERSON

8a. root = past + compl + cont + imperf + per

/root/ + /gV/ + /suŋ/ + /ḍen/ + /tV/ + /p/

Past Imperfect Continuous Completive

8b. root + past + compl + cont + perf + per

/root/ + /gV/ + /suŋ/ + /ḍen/ + /kI/ + /p/

Past Perfect Continuous Completive

1.224. Causative and Negative Constructions:

The 'causative' and 'negation' morphemes o and a , respectively, enter into construction with finite verb roots to form two sets of derivative constructions.

a. Causative:

Class I and II roots in construction with the prefixed 'causative' morpheme function like vowel-initial roots, i.e., no reduplication occurs in 'continuous' constructions. In 'abilitative' constructions, the 'causative' morpheme enters into construction with the 'abilitative' morpheme rather than with the main verb of the verb-word. Finally, all Class II 'past' tense and 'imperfect' aspect allomorphs are replaced by their respective Class I 'past' and 'imperfect' allomorphs.

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b. Negation:

In like manner, Class I and II roots in construction with the prefixed 'negation' morpheme function like vowel-initial roots, i.e., no reduplication occurs in 'continuous' constructions. In the 'abilitative' constructions, the negative enters into construction with the 'abilitative' morpheme rather than with the main verb of the verb-word.

The following verbword constructions occur with 'causative' and 'negative' stems:[9]

1. Past

caus/neg + root + past + per

/o/ + /root/ + /gV/ + /p/

/a/ + /root/ + /gV/ + /p/

Class I: /o-/ + /root/ + /-o?/ + /p/

Class II: /o-/ + /root/ + /-o?/ + /p/

Class I: /a-/ + /root/ + /-o?/ + /p/

Class II: /a-/ + /root/ + /-gI/ + /p/

2. Nonpast Imperfect

caus/neg + root + imperf + per

/o/ + /root/ + /tV/ + /p/

---

[9]Complete morphemic and phonemic breakdowns are shown for the first two constructions only. However, it should be noted that the 'personal ending' morphemes are indicated only by the symbol /p/ since it is not possible in such formulaic representations to show each of the seven 'personal ending' morphemes.

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/a/ + /root/ + /tV/ + /p/

Class I: /o-/ + /root/ + /-tO/ + /p/

Class II: /o-/ + /root/ + /-tO/ + /p/

Class I: /a-/ + /root/ + /-tO/ + /p/

Class II: /a-/ + /root/ + /-tA/ + /p/

3a. Past Imperfect

{caus/neg} + {root} + {past} + {imperf} + {per}

/o/ + /root/ + /gV/ + /tV/ + /p/

/a/ + /root/ + /gV/ + /tV/ + /p/

3b. Past Perfect

{caus/neg} + {root} + {past} + {perf} + {per}

/o/ + /root/ + /gV/ + /kI/ + /p/

/a/ + /root/ + /gV/ + /kI/ + /p/

4a. Nonpast Imperfect Abilitative

{root} + {caus/neg} + {abil} + {imperf} + {per}

/root/ + /o/ + /goŋ/ + /tV/ + /p/

/root/ + /a/ + /goŋ/ + /tV/ + /p/

4b. Perfect Abilitative

{root} + {caus/neg} + {abil} + {perf} + {per}

/root/ + /o/ + /goŋ/ + /kI/ + /p/

/root/ + /a/ + /goŋ/ + /kI/ + /p/

4c. Nonpast Imperfect Continuous

{caus/neg} + {root} + {cont} + {imperf} + {per}

/o/ + /root/ + /ḍen/ + /tV/ + /p/

/a/ + /root/ + /ḍen/ + /tV/ + /p/

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4d. Perfect Continuous

{caus/neg} + {root} + {cont} + {perf} + {per}

/o/ + /root/ + /ḍen/ + /kI/ + /p/

/a/ + /root/ + /ḍen/ + /kI/ + /p/

5a. Past Imperfect Continuous

{neg} + {root} + {cont} + {past} + {imperf} + {per}

/a/ + /root/ + /ḍen/ + /gV/ + /tV/ + /p/

1.225. Interrogative:

The 'interrogative' morpheme occurs postposed to any of the verb-words described in the preceding sections. Nothing within these constructions is changed by the addition of the 'interrogative' suffix. Since this is so, we will not list each of the constructions with which this morpheme can occur; only the following examples will be included to show the nature of these interrogative constructions:

1. Interrogative Past (unmarked)

{root} + {past} + {per} + {interrog}

/root/ + /gV/ + /p/ + /ki/

E.g., /sum-o?-no-ki/ 'Did you eat?'

2. Interrogative Nonpast Imperfect

{root} + {imperf} + {per} + {interrog}

/root/ + /tV/ + /p/ + /ki/

E.g., /sum-to-no-ki/ 'Do you eat?'

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1.23. Finite Verb Paradigms:

In this section are presented paradigms of a Class I and a Class II verb in order to illustrate the above sets of verb-word constructions. The paradigms will be numbered to correspond with the numbering system used for the constructions in the previous section.

The paradigms for the basic set of simple (non-modal) and for one of the simple (modal) finite verb-words will be presented complete in all persons and numbers. But, for brevity, the paradigms for the remaining simple (modal) and compound (modal), as well as those for the causative and negative constructions will be presented in abbreviated form with only the singular form of the first and third persons listed. The remaining persons and numbers can be easily derived from these and from the complete sets of simple verb-words.

Class I		Class II	
/baḍ/ 'to slap'		/gay/ 'to enter'	
1. Past (unmarked)			
baḍ-o?-niŋ	I slapped	gay-g-niŋ	I entered
baḍ-o?-naŋ	we slapped	gay-g-naŋ	we entered
baḍ-o?-nay	we all slapped	gay-g-nay	we all entered
baḍ-o?-no	you slapped	gay-g-no	you entered
baḍ-o?-pa	you slapped	gay-g-pa	you entered
baḍ-o?-pe	you all slapped	gay-g-pe	you all entered
baḍ-o?	he, they (d., pl.) slapped	gay-ga	he, they (d., pl.) entered

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2. Nonpast Imperfect

ba-t-iŋ	I slap	gay-t-iŋ	I enter
ba-tə-naŋ	we slap	gay-tə-naŋ	we enter
ba-tə-nay	we all slap	gay-tə-nay	we all enter
ba-to-no	you slap	gay-to-no	you enter
ba-tə-pa	you slap	gay-tə-pa	you enter
ba-te-pe	you all slap	gay-te-pe	you all enter
ba-to	he, they (d., pl.) slap(s)	gay-ta	he, they (d., pl.) enter(s)

3a. Past Imperfect

baḍ-o?-t-iŋ	I have slapped	gay-gi-t-iŋ	I have entered
baḍ-o?-tə-naŋ	we have slapped	gay-gə-tə-naŋ	we have entered
baḍ-o?-tə-nay	we have slapped	gay-gə-tə-nay	we have entered
baḍ-o?-to-no	you have slapped	gay-go-to-no	you have entered
baḍ-o?-tə-pa	you have slapped	gay-gə-tə-pa	you have entered
baḍ-o?-te-pe	you have slapped	gay-ge-te-pe	you have entered
baḍ-o?-ta	he, they (d., pl.) have slapped	gay-gə-ta	he, they (d., pl.) have entered

3b. Past Perfect

baḍ-o?-ki-niŋ	I had slapped	gay-ki-niŋ	I had entered
baḍ-o?-kə-naŋ	we had slapped	gay-kə-naŋ	we had entered
baḍ-o?-kə-nay	we had slapped	gay-kə-nay	we had entered
baḍ-o?-ko-no	you had slapped	gay-ko-no	you had entered
baḍ-o?-kə-pa	you had slapped	gay-kə-pa	you had entered
baḍ-o?-ke-pe	you had slapped	gay-ke-pe	you had entered
baḍ-o?-kə-ga	he, they (d., pl.) had slapped	gay-kə-ga	he, they (d., pl.) had entered

4a. Nonpast Imperfect Abilitative

bə-ba-goŋ-t-iŋ	I can slap	gə-gay-goŋ-t-iŋ	I can enter
bə-ba-goŋ-tə-naŋ	we can slap	gə-gay-goŋ-tə-naŋ	we can enter
bə-ba-goŋ-tə-nay	we can slap	gə-gay-goŋ-tə-nay	we can enter

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bə-ba-goŋ-to-no	you can slap	gə-gay-goŋ-to-no	you can enter
bə-ba-goŋ-tə-pa	you can slap	gə-gay-goŋ-tə-pa	you can enter
bə-ba-goŋ-te-pe	you can slap	gə-gay-goŋ-te-pe	you can enter
bə-ba-goŋ-ta	he, they (d., pl.) can slap	gə-gay-goŋ-ta	he, they (d., pl.) can enter

4b. Perfect Abilitative

bə-ba-goŋ-ki-niŋ	I could slap	gə-gay-goŋ-ki-niŋ	I could enter
bə-ba-goŋ-kə-ga	He, they (d., pl.) could slap	gə-gay-goŋ-kə-ga	he, they (d., pl.) could enter

4c. Nonpast Imperfect Continuous

bə-ba-ḍen-t-iŋ	I am slapping	gə-gay-ḍen-t-iŋ	I am entering
bə-ba-ḍen-ta	he, they (d. pl.) are slapping	gə-gay-ḍen-ta	he, they (d., pl.) are entering

4d. Perfect Continuous

bə-ba-ḍen-ki-niŋ	I was slapping	gə-gay-ḍen-ki-niŋ	I was entering
bə-ba-ḍen-kə-ga	he, they (d. pl.) were slapping	gə-gay-ḍen-kə-ga	he, they (d., pl.) were entering

5a. Past Imperfect Continuous

bə-ba-ḍen-gi-t-iŋ	I have been slapping	gə-gay-ḍen-gi-t-iŋ	I have been entering
bə-ba-ḍen-gə-ta	he, they (d., pl.) have been slapping	gə-gay-ḍen-gə-ta	he, they (d., pl.) have been entering

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5b. Nonpast Imperfect Desiderative[10]

bə-ba-ḍuso?-gə-ta he, they (d., pl.) wish to slap	gə-gay-ḍuso?-gə-ta he, they (d., pl.) wish to enter

5c. Perfect Desiderative

bə-ba-ḍuso?-kə-ga he, they (d., pl.) wished to slap	gə-gay-ḍuso?-kə-ga he, they (d., pl.) wished to enter

6. Past Completive

baḍ-o?-suŋ-o?-niŋ I finished slapping	gay-suŋ-o?-niŋ I finished entering
baḍ-o?-suŋ-o? he, they (d., pl.) finished slapping	gay-suŋ-o? he, they (d., pl.) finished entering

7. Past Imperfect Completive

baḍ-o?-suŋ-t-iŋ I finish slapping	gay-suŋ-t-iŋ I finish entering
baḍ-o?-suŋ-ta he, they (d., pl.) finish slapping	gay-suŋ-ta he, they (d., pl.) finish entering

8a. Past Imperfect Continuous Completive

baḍ-o?-suŋ-suŋ-ḍen-t-iŋ I am finishing slapping	gay-suŋ-suŋ-ḍen-t-iŋ I am finishing entering
baḍ-o?-suŋ-suŋ-ḍen-ta he, they (d., pl.) are finishing slapping	gay-suŋ-suŋ-ḍen-ta-Ø he, they (d., pl.) are finishing entering

[10]The 'nonpast imperfect desiderative' and the 'perfect' desiderative' occur only in the 3rd person in an impersonal construction using a morphological object (either noun or pronoun) as subject of the sentence. E.g., /a-niŋ a-remo bə-ba-ḍuso?-gə-ta/ 'I wish to slap the man' [literally: to-me the-man wish-to-slap].

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8b. Past Perfect Continuous Completive

baḍ-o?-suŋ-suŋ-ḍen-ki-niŋ I was finishing slapping	gay-suŋ-suŋ-ḍen-ki-niŋ I was finishing entering
baḍ-o?-suŋ-suŋ-ḍen-kə-ga he, they were finishing slapping	gay-suŋ-suŋ-ḍen-kə-ga he, they were finishing entering

Causative and Negative Paradigms

Class I /sum/ 'to eat'		Class II /sab/ 'to come'	
1. Past (unmarked)			
o-sum-o?-niŋ	I caused to eat	o-sab-o?-niŋ	I caused to come
o-sum-o?	he, they...	o-sab-o?	he, they...
a-sum-o?-niŋ	I didn't eat	a-sak-niŋ [/a/+/sab/+/gI/+/p/]	I didn't come
a-sum-o?	he, they...	a-sa-ga [/a/+/sab/+/gI/+/p/]	he, they...
2. Nonpast Imperfect			
o-sum-t-iŋ	I cause to eat	o-sap-t-iŋ	I cause to come
o-sum-to	he, they...	o-sap-to	he, they...
a-sum-t-iŋ	I don't eat	a-sap-t-iŋ	I don't come
a-sum-to	he, they...	a-sap-ta	he, they...
3a. Past Imperfect			
o-sum-o?-t-iŋ	I have caused to eat	o-sab-o?-t-iŋ	I have caused to come
o-sum-o?-ta	he, they...	o-sab-o?-ta	he, they...
a-sum-o?-t-iŋ	I have not eaten	a-sab-o?-t-iŋ	I have not come
a-sum-o?-ta	he, they...	a-sab-o?-ta	he, they...

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3b. Past Perfect

o-sum-o?-ki-niŋ	I had caused to eat	o-sap -ki-niŋ	I had caused to come
o-sum-o?-kə-ga	he, they...	o-sap -kə-ga	he, they...
a-sum-o?-ki-niŋ	I had not eaten	o-sap -ki-niŋ	I had not come
a-sum-o?-kə-ga	he, they...	o-sap -kə-ga	he, they...

4a. Nonpast Imperfect Abilitative

su-sum-o-goŋ-t-iŋ	I can cause to eat	sə-sap-o-goŋ-t-iŋ	I can cause to come
su-sum-o-goŋ-ta	he, they...	sə-sap-o-goŋ-ta	he, they...
su-sum-a-goŋ-t-iŋ	I cannot eat	sə-sap-a-goŋ-t-iŋ	I cannot come
su-sum-a-goŋ-ta	he, they...	sə-sap-a-goŋ-ta	he, they...

4b. Perfect Abilitative

su-sum-o-goŋ-ki-niŋ	I could cause to eat	sə-sap-o-goŋ-ki-niŋ	I could cause to come
su-sum-o-goŋ-kə-ga	he, they	sə-sap-o-goŋ-kə-ga	he, they
su-sum-a-goŋ-ki-niŋ	I could not eat	sə-sap-a-goŋ-ki-niŋ	I could not come
su-sum-a-goŋ-kə-ga	he, they	sə-sap-a-goŋ-kə-ga	he, they

4c. Nonpast Imperfect Continuous

o-sum-ḍen-t-iŋ	I am causing to eat	o-sap-ḍen-t-iŋ	I am causing to come
o-sum-ḍen-ta	he, they...	o-sap-ḍen-ta	he, they...
a-sum-ḍen-t-iŋ	I am not eating	a-sap-ḍen-t-iŋ	I am not coming
a-sum-ḍen-ta	he, they...	a-sap-ḍen-ta	he, they...

4d. Perfect Continuous

o-sum-ḍen-ki-niŋ	I was causing to eat	o-sap-ḍen-ki-niŋ	I was causing to come
o-sum-ḍen-kə-ga	he, they...	o-sap-ḍen-kə-ga	he, they...

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a-sum-ḍen-ki-niŋ	I was not eating	a-sap-ḍen-ki-niŋ	I was not coming
a-sum-ḍen-kə-ga	he, they...	a-sap-ḍen-kə-ga	he, they...

5a. Past Imperfect Continuous

(Occurs only in a negative construction)

a-sum-ḍen-gi-t-iŋ	I have not been eating	a-sap-ḍen-gi-t-iŋ	I have not been coming
a-sum-ḍen-gə-ta	he, they...	a-sap-ḍen-gə-ta	he, they...

1.3. Nonfinite Verbs

Nonfinite verb constructions are those constructions which, in contrast to finite verb-words, lack obligatory tense, aspect, or personal ending morphemes. Three types of nonfinite constructions occur in Remo: (1) 'imperative' roots (in both 'affirmative' and 'negative' forms), (2) verb roots used as 'gerunds', and (3) verb roots used in syntactic subordinate clauses.

1.31. Imperatives:

Imperative constructions occur in the 'affirmative' and in the 'negative'. In both cases, such constructions can occur in the 1st. person, singular, dual, and plural, and in the 2nd. person and 3rd. person without specification of number. Our data do not show any examples of 3rd. person 'negative' imperative constructions.

The 'imperative' morpheme {ay} = /-a, -ay, -Ø/:

/-a/ follows the root form of Class II verbs in the 1st. person (singular, dual, and plural) and in the 2nd. person.

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/-ay/ follows the Class I and Class II roots in the 3rd. person.

/-Ø/ follows Class I roots in the 1st. person (singular, dual, and plural) and in the 2nd. person; follows the 'past' tense morpheme in 'negative' imperative constructions.

The following formulae describe the composition of affirmative and negative imperative constructions:

1. Affirmative: {root} + {imp} + {per}
   /root/ + /ay/ + /p/
2. Negative: {neg} + {root} + {past} + {imp} + {per}
   /a/ + /root/ + /gI/ + /ay/ + /p/

The following paradigms will illustrate the composition of imperative constructions:

Class I		Class II	
/sum/ 'to eat'		/ḍayks/ 'to climb'	
1. Affirmative:			
sum-Ø-niŋ	let me eat!	ḍayks-a-niŋ	let me climb!
sum-Ø-naŋ	let us eat!	ḍayks-a-naŋ	let us climb!
sum-Ø-nay	let us all eat!	ḍayks-a-nay	let us all climb!
sum-Ø-Ø	(you) eat!	ḍayks-a-Ø	(you) climb!
sum-ay-Ø	let him, them...	ḍayks-ay-Ø	let him, them...
2. Negative:			
a-sum-o?-niŋ	don't let me eat!	a-ḍayk-gi-niŋ	don't let me climb!
a-sum-o?-naŋ	don't let us eat!	a-ḍayk-gə-naŋ	don't let us climb!

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a-sum-o?-nay	don't let us eat!	a-ḍayk-gə-nay	don't let us climb!
a-sum-o?-Ø	don't (you) eat!	a-ḍayk-ga-Ø	don't (you) climb!

The use of complex roots in imperative constructions also occurs in our data. Only two examples of this type of imperative construction occur, i.e., /a-niŋ samba-muy sob-o?-be/ '(you) buy and give me an armband!' [literally: to-me armband-one (you) bought, give!]; and /a-nay sokal-e sob-o?-be/ '(you) buy and give us shirts!' [literally: to-us shirts (you) bought, give!].

1.32. Other Nonfinite Constructions:

The sample of Remo speech upon which our analysis rests is not terribly representative of adult prose. It is possible that in many cases what passes for adult prose may, in reality, be the Remo equivalent of our "baby talk" used by them to communicate with those who are not fluent in Remo. What we have called 'gerunds', for example, are quite rare in our corpus; thus, little more than listing can be done. Were our corpus based upon a wider sample of Remo speech between adults (rather than between an informant and the linguist), there is little doubt that more such forms and, in general, a richer corpus, would have come to light. This caution holds true for the remainder of our corpus of data as well.

1. 'Gerund' Constructions: nonfinite constructions occur, which will be called 'gerunds', because verb roots are

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used as the basis for words which syntactically are used as nouns. In Remo two morphemes occur which identify the preceding verb root as a 'gerund':

(a) the enclitic {ṇa} , which otherwise is the morpheme marking the 'conditional--if' clause, and

(b) the postpositional particle (which generally occurs only with nouns) {pəlay} 'for'.

The utterances which occur are the following:

/sunu?bo? tug-o?-ta su-sug-bo?-ṇa/ 'he has tied a comb [to his waist] for haircombing' [literally: comb has-tied-he sweeping-head-for]

/gor-boy suta ruŋ-o?-ta kəǰa-pəlay bodobel-bo?/ 'A Dom woman at Bodoballe (village) has brought thread for bartering' [literally: Dom-female thread has-brought-she bartering-for Bodoballe (village)-at]

/gurume-ṇ ŋgom remo bire ḍon-o?-ta gunom ǰuk-ǰuk-pəlay/ 'The men of Andrahal have carried a stone for building a memorial' [literally: Andrahal-of village men stone have-carried-they memorial building-for].

2. Subordinate Clause Verb Roots:

Nonfinite verb constructions lacking tense, aspect, or personal ending morphemes occur in syntactic subordinate clauses. These roots occur with several 'clause-marking' affixes, /seta/, /sa?/, /ḍo/, /ḍo-ṇa/, /ṇa/ and /lo/, which are classified as enclitic particles (cf., section on Particles).

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The following subordinate clause constructions using nonfinite verbs occur in our corpus:

1. /root/ + /cl/: e.g., /buŋ-set/ 'having kept...' < /buŋ/ 'to keep' (I); /wi-lo/ 'while going...' < /wiy/ 'to go' (II) /butuŋ-sa?/ 'being in fear of...' < /butuŋ/ 'to fear' (II).

2. /root/ + /past/ + /cl/: e.g., /len-o?-seta/ 'having threshed...' < /len/ 'to thresh' (I); /o-gay-o?-sit/ 'having caused to insert...' < /gay/ 'to enter' (II); /wi-g-seta/ 'having gone...' < /wiy/ 'to go' (II).

3. /root/ + /perf/ + /cl/: e.g., /ḍi-ki-ṇa/ 'if we had...' < /ḍi/ 'to be, have' (IIR).

4. /root/ + /cont/ + /cl/: e.g., /kuma-ḍen-sa?/ 'having bathed, while bathing...' < /kumal/ 'to bathe' (II).

5. /root/ + /past/ + /compl/ + /past/ + /cl/: e.g., /len-o?-suŋ-o?-sit/ 'having finished threshing...' < /len/ 'to thresh' (I).

6. Complex Roots:

   a. (/root/ + /root/) + /compl/ + /past/+ /cl/: e.g., /gwoyti-gwisuŋ-suŋ-o?-sit/ 'having finished washing hands and feet...' < /gwoytil/ 'to wash hands' (II) and /gwisuŋ/ 'to wash feet' (II).

   b. (/noun/ + /root/) + /cl/: e.g., /mime-ṇ be-lo/ 'while dancing...' < /mime/ 'dance', /-ṇ/ 'possessive', and /beḍ/ 'to give' (I).

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1.4. Restricted and Limited Roots

The most important characteristic about most Remo verb roots is that they can occur in either finite verb-words or in nonfinite verb constructions. There is, however, a group of forty-one roots which do not occur with this freedom. This group of roots may be classified as:

1. Restricted 'impersonal', i.e., roots which can occur in any finite verb-word but only in the 3rd person singular, e.g., /guso? bubob-to/ 'the dog barks'; /ma per-to/ 'the curry is spicy'.

2. Limited, i.e., roots which can occur in any person or number but not in all finite verb-words, e.g., the roots /ḍi/ 'to be, have' (II) and /goŋ/ 'to be able' (II) [which is homonymous with the 'abilitative' morpheme {goŋ}], can occur only in the 'nonpast imperfect' and in the 'past perfect'.

3. Restricted and Limited, i.e., roots which can occur only in the 3rd person singular 'impersonal' and only in certain finite verb-words, e.g., the roots /ta?mi/ 'to sneeze' (II), /uskob/ 'to have hiccoughs' (II), and /kukub/ 'to have a cough' (II) can occur only in the 3rd person singular 'impersonal' form and only in the 'past imperfect' verb construction.

Verb roots which are restricted, or limited, or both will be marked by an (R), an (Li), or by an (R,Li), respectively, in the lexicon (cf., Appendix).

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2. Nouns and Pronouns

Nouns and pronouns are distinguished from other form classes, and from each other, by their shape and by the inflectional and derivational affixes which may occur with them. Both may be distinguished from other form classes because both can take a proclitic particle indicating the syntactic 'object' of a verb-word. Nouns take inflectional affixes indicating plurality and possession (although some nouns do not take the plural affix). They also take derivational affixes to be discussed below. Pronouns take only the possessive affix.

2.1. Plural and Possessive Inflectional Affixes:

There seem to be the following classes of nouns:

1. Nouns taking both plural and possessive affixes
2. Nouns taking only the possessive affix
3. Nouns taking neither affix

The majority of nouns in group 1 seem to be 'count' nouns, i.e., nouns which can enter into construction with numeral adjectives or with the plural morpheme (but, in general, not with both at the same time). Nouns in group 2 seem to be restricted primarily to personal names and to names of villages. Nouns in group 3 include kinship terms and 'mass' nouns (and, for the present, many nouns about which data are lacking with respect to their affixal restrictions.

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2.11. The Plural Suffix:

{e} = /-e, -ʔe, -o/:

/-e/ occurs with noun roots that can be counted, e.g., /remol-e/ 'men', /kutom-e/ 'mallets', /bileg-e/ 'feathers', /biǰaŋ-e/ 'siblings', /bop-e/ [bobe] 'heads'.

/-ʔe/ occurs only in one utterance, i.e., /oʔon-ḍay-ʔe/ 'daughters, sons' from the singular noun /oʔon-ḍay/ 'son, daughter'.

/-o/ occurs in one compound noun only, i.e., the word /sela-n-o-ŋ-ger-o/ 'girls and boys'[there is no compound singular form in our data, i.e.,*/sela-n-ŋ-ger/ does not occur; note also that in this word, the final vowel of the postbase of each member of the compound is either lost or assimilated when the /-o/ is suffixed](see p. 75ff).

2.12. The Possessive Suffix:

{ṇa} = /-ṇa/ [with the free variant /-ṉ/]: occurs, in general, with any noun that can also take the plural affix; also with personal names and with names of villages, e.g., /sik-saŋ-ṇa/ 'the bone's...', /remol-e-ṇa/ 'the men's...', /buda-ṉ ǰoṇ/ 'Buda's mother', /ḍatipaḍa-ṉ remol-e/ 'the men of Dattipada'.

It also occurs with pronouns to form the 'possessive pronouns'.

2.2. The Object Prefix:

{a} = /a-/: a proclitic particle prefixed to nouns, to pronouns (and, occasionally, also to noun phrases); signals

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the syntactic 'object' of a verb-word. It is also the feature which distinguishes nouns and pronouns as a class from other form classes.

2.21. Mandatory Use of Object Prefix:

The 'object' proclitic is mandatory with nominals in the following situations:

a. In all clause- or sentence-long utterances having two nominals acting as direct and indirect objects of the finite verb-word, the /a-/ is preposed to the indirect object, e.g., /niŋ a-remo kiyaŋ bibe-ḍen-t-iŋ/ 'I am giving the man rice' [I to-man rice I-am-giving]; /sela-ne aḍoŋ a-le?-siŋ poḍik-gə-ta/ 'the girl has put fish in the basket' [girl fish to-basket she-has-put].

b. In sentence-long utterances in which only one nominal occurs as object of the verb-word:

i. nominals taking the affix in utterances having both direct and indirect objects, also take the proclitic in utterances having only one nominal object.

ii. nominals which do not take the affix in utterances having both direct and indirect objects, do not take the affix in utterances containing only one object noun.

c. In causative finite verb-words, the nominal acting as direct object always takes the proclitic, e.g., /niŋ a-remo kiyaŋ ŋruŋ-o-mak-t-iŋ/ 'I teach (i.e., cause to learn) the man to cook rice([I to-man rice to-cook-caus-I-learn]; /niŋ a-niŋ o-ǰul-o?-niŋ/ 'I saw myself' [I to-me

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caus-saw-I].

d. Pronouns acting as direct objects to Class I finite verb-words take the proclitic, e.g., /remo a-niŋ ǰul-o?-ta/ 'the man sees me' [man to-me he-has-seen]; /may a-may-?e tuŋsaŋ-to/ 'he derrogates them' [he to-they-pl he-derrogates].

e. Desiderative and Impersonal finite verb-words always take a nominal with the proclitic when such nominals function as logical subjects of the sentence, e.g., /a-niŋ lulor-ḍuso?-gə-ta/ 'I wish to vomit' [to-me to-vomit-have-desire]; /a-o?on ñeri si-ta/ 'the baby hurts' [to-baby body it-hurts]; /a-semu? su?u-ḍay ḍi-ta/ '(there) is raw fruit on the tree' [to-tree raw-fruit it-is].

f. Nominals (and noun phrases) occurring with certain verbs in nonfinite imperative or in finite interrogative constructions take the proclitic, e.g., /a-kon bire kur/ 'roll down this stone!' [to-that-stone roll down]; /a-kon soka oyǰa dabu ḍi-ta/ 'how much money does this shirt cost?' [to-that-shirt how-much money is-it]; /a-remo ǰul-o?-no-ki/ 'have you seen the man?' [to-man have-seen-you-interrog].

g. Possessive noun phrases acting as objects of finite verb-words, e.g., /niŋ a-niŋ-na dio uriŋ-t-iŋ/ 'I will walk to my house' [I to-me-poss-house walk-I]; /a-nay-n dio ḍi-ki-ŋa sum-nay/ 'if we had gone to our house, we would have eaten' [to-our-pl-house had-if eat-we-pl].

h. In clauses of comparison, the nominal being compared takes the proclitic, e.g., /a-sela-ne-n upre may

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tiur-bay/ 'he is taller than the girl' [to-girl-poss over he tall-adj]; /may a-gulay-ḍo-n upre oli-aṇra/ 'he is the worst of all' [he to-all-human-poss over bad].

2.22. Optional Use of Object Prefix:

In any utterance containing a nominal object, a speaker may use optionally either the object prefix or a postpositional particle. He cannot, however, use both with the same object nominal. This is true of the following postpositional particles: /-bo?/ 'to, at, on'; /-bag-bo?/ 'on'; /-bitre/ 'in'; /-uṇder/ 'against'. Examples are: /niŋ (a-) ḍio-bo? gay-t-iŋ/ 'I enter the house'; /niŋ (a-) korǰi-bag-bo? layk-t-iŋ/ 'I sit on the chair'; /o?om (a-)guso?-bitre ḍi-ta/ 'the arrow is in the dog'; /umpor-ãỹ (a-)bire-uṇder layk-gə-ta/ 'the husband sat against the stone'.

The use of /a-/ is also optional with nominals in finite verb-words using the root /ḍi/ 'to be, have' (IIR), e.g., /(a-?guso? gi-si ḍi-ta/ 'there are lice on the dog'; /(a-)remo-ṇ bop gi-si ḍi-ta/ 'there are lice on the man's head'.

2.23. Object Prefix Not Used:

a. the noun /gi-ge/ 'festival' [< /gel/ 'to offer' (I)] when used as object (with locative meaning) of a finite verb word, takes no proclitic, i.e., /niŋ gi-ge wi-t-iŋ/ 'I will go to the festival'. All other cases of nouns used locatively require the proclitic, e.g., /niŋ a-muṇḍlipaḍa wi-t-iŋ/ 'I will go to Mundlipada'.

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b. The proclitic does not occur with nominals either preceded or followed by numerical qualifiers, e.g., /remo ŋ-soŋ-muy luk-to/ 'the man digs with a hoe'.

c. Noun phrases consisting of coordinate nouns do not take the proclitic, e.g., /samba z-un-uŋ-lu tuŋ-o?-ta/ 'he has worn an armband and an earring' [armband earring he-has-worn].

2.24. Object Prefix with Pronouns:

In addition to occurrences of the proclitic with pronouns described above, the proclitic also occurs with pronouns to form to identical sets--object pronouns and reflexive pronouns. The former occur with all finite verb-words; the latter only with causative finite verb-words (cf., Pronouns).

2.3. Pronoun Numerical Qualifiers:

The adjectives /m-bay-yo/ 'two-human' and /gulay-ḍo/ 'all-human' occur occasionally as postpositional numerical qualifiers for pronouns of the 1st person and the 2nd person in the dual and plural numbeers, respectively.

These are not consistently used by Remo speakers. For example, either of the following forms were acceptable to informants: /naŋ a-muṇḍlipaḍa wi-tə-naŋ/ or /naŋ-m-bay-yo a-muṇḍlipaḍa wi-tə-naŋ/ both 'we (dual) go to Mundlipada'. Similarly, /nay miṇḍip kiyaŋ sum-tə-nay/ or /nay-gulay-ḍo miṇḍip kiyaŋ sum-tə-nay/ both 'we (plural) eat rice in the evening'.

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Informants rarely used /gulay-ḍo/ with the 3rd person plural pronoun, but /m-bay-yo/ was never used with the 3rd person dual pronoun. Thus, for example, either /may-?e-gulay-ḍo iskul-bo? sa-ga/ or /may-?e iskul-bo? sa-ga/ both 'they (plural) came to school', but only /may-pa iskul-bo? sa-ga/ 'they (dual) came to school'.

2.4. The Structure of Nouns:

The elements occurring before the plural or possessive affixes are either noun roots or noun stems. Noun stems are either complex or compound forms.

The base root, where a noun may have two or more root allomorphs, will be considered to be that form which occurs before the plural morpheme. Roots whose final consonants are /b/ or /g/ change the final consonant in the singular to /p/ and /?/, respectively. Those ending in /ḍ/ and /l/ lose the final consonant in the singular. Finally, roots ending in /m, ŋ, r/ remain the same in the singular form. Noun roots and stems end in other consonants also, but in our data only the ones ending in the consonants mentioned undergo final consonant changes. Nouns also end in nasal and non-nasal vowel monopthongs and diphthongs. It is possible that many roots which now end in vowels actually have final consonant endings. However, for many nouns ending in vowels there is no data presently available about their plural form (in many cases, no plural forms occur at all) and, therefore, no way to tell whether they do, in fact,

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have consonant finals.

All roots and stems occur either as 'free' or 'bound' forms. Free nouns are those which can occur in isolation. Bound forms, often short forms of free nouns, cannot occur except as components of noun stems; such bound forms are always simple roots. All free forms, simple, complex, or compound, may occur with or without inflectional affixes, e.g., /mo?/ 'eye', /mog-e/ 'eyes', /tik-suŋ/ 'leg', /ḍiŋǰa-buruŋ/ 'house fence', /remol-e-ṇa/ 'of the men's...'.

2.41. Simple Roots:

Monosyllabic roots are always monomorphemic. Polysyllabic roots, however, are not always polymorphemic. In the category of simple roots are included all noun forms which are polysyllabic but for which clear-cut morphemic boundaries have not yet been established.[11] The following occur in our data:

A. Monosyllabic and Monomorphemic: E.g., /bop/ 'head', /mo?/ 'eye', /sõk/ 'throat', /ons/ 'duck, swan', /ǰal/ 'fish net' (L), /kuṭ/ 'cot' (L), /ñer/ 'mango pit'.

B. Polysyllabic:

i) Monomorphemic: E.g., /gari/ 'footpath', /biṛe/ 'stone', /ola?/ 'leaf, paper', /reḍi/ 'spine', /debi/ 'god-

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[11] Noun forms with tentative morphemic cuts are marked by bracketed hyphens, (-), where the suspected break occurs. All other polysyllabic, polymorphemic stems are hyphenated at morphemic boundaries.

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dess' (L), /ñarom/ 'vein, nerve', /suti?/ 'clitoris'.

ii) Polymorphemic: E.g., /leym(-)puŋ/ 'waist', /siy(-)e/ 'colored thread', /su(-)za/ 'needle', /lə-lap/ 'butterfly', /si-ser/ 'song', /ti-ti/ 'hand, arm', /p-in-e/ 'flute', /y-un-oŋ/ 'yoke', /rim-o?-ta/ 'quarrel'.

2.42. Complex Stems:

Complex stems consist of combinations of simple stems and preposed or postposed elements called Prebases and Postbases (described in Section 2.5., below). Two basic combinations occur: (1) simple root + postbase, and (2) prebase + simple root.[12]

A. Root + Postbase

i) root + postbase

ii) (root + postbase) + postbase

iii) (prebase + root) + postbase

B. Prebase + Root

i) prebase + root

ii) prebase + (prebase + root)

The following are some examples of nouns conforming to the above patterns:

Ai: /o?on-ḍay/ 'daughter, son', /pari-goy/ 'hieffer', /sik-saŋ/ 'bone, skeleton', /a?a-ḍiŋ/ 'bamboo ideochord', /salag-boy/ 'marriagable girl', /suŋ-om/ 'arrow shaft', /kuṇḍa?-i/

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[12]In the examples of complex stems, underlined roots are bound stems.

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'buttock, rectum', /ǰoŋ-rem/ 'she-cat', /su-sum-ti/ 'right hand'.

Aii: /teṇḍar-bo?-kuŋ/ 'peacock's comb', /e-taŋ-goy/ 'cow's rope halter', /kiṇ-ḍiŋ-sar/ 'small drum', /tum-na-so?/ 'dog's snout'.

Aiii: /gi-siŋ-mo?/ 'eyeglasses'[chicken eye], /n-se?-mi/ 'nose', /n-sak-pi/ 'bird nest', /gi-be-so?/ 'bear', /ŋ-ger-sũ/ 'boy's dormitory'.

Bi: /gi-siŋ/ 'chicken', /ŋ-gom/ 'village', /ŋ-gere/ 'adolescent boy', /gu-so?/ 'dog', /ŋ-ber/ 'slingshot', /ka-gilas/ 'cup, glass' (L), /so-ma/ 'curry', /ŋ-kuswī/ 'jackfruit'.

Bii: /bay?-ŋ-gre/ 'cradle' [only this utterance occurs].

2.43. Compound Stems:

Compound stems are combinations of two simple roots or of a complex stem and simple root. Either member of the compound may occur separately as a free form, and either member of a compound may be a bound form. Compound stems are analogous to such English compound nouns as bluebird and often, they contrast with a noun phrase made up of identical components. The majority of compound stems in Remo are composed of two simple roots; only one example occurs of a complex stem followed by a simple root, i.e., /ŋ-ger-sela/ 'unmarried female' [(prebase + root) + root].

Examples of compound stems are: /suku-baṭi/ 'heart', /ḍiŋǰa-buruŋ/ 'house fence', /taŋgi-mali/ 'brass necklace', /sagur-tanka/ 'afternoon' (L), /tes-sagur/ 'type of feast'.

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2.5. Pre- and Postbase Affixes:

Prebases and postbases are derivational affixes which occur with noun roots forming thereby more complex nouns.

Most of these derivational affixes seem to be relatively unproductive, i.e., few roots seem to occur with any particular affix; in some cases the affix occurs only with one root. The most productive, relatively, seem to be the postbases called 'short forms' (abbreviated s.f.).

2.51. Prebases:

The following prebases occur with simple roots to form stems of types Bi and Bii:

1. {gV} = /gi-, gə-, gu-/ 'animal and bird nominalizing morpheme'. The vowel of the prebase is determined by the vowel of the following root, in the following manner:

{gV} = /gi-/ if the vowel of the root is /i/ or /e/

{gV} = /gə-/ if the vowel of the root is /a/

{gV} = /gu-/ if the vowel of the root is /u/ or /o/.

For example: /gi-siŋ/ 'chicken', /gi-se/ 'grasshopper', /gə-ga/ 'crow', /gə-lay?/ 'castrated bull', /gu-bu/ 'hog', and /gu-so?/ 'dog'.

2. {N} = /m-, n-, n̤-, ŋ-/ 'nominalizing' morpheme. The occurrence of one or the other allomorph is determined by the initial consonant of the following stem (phonetically, these allomorphs are vocalic nasals, cf., Section 1.42.). For example: /m-bur/ 'iron bar', /n-su/ 'knife', /n̤-rem/ [n̤drem] 'bird wing', /ŋ-gom/ 'village'.

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Several apparent exceptions to the rule that the allomorph of the 'nominalizing' morpheme assimilates to the following root consonant may be due to erroneous transcription, i.e., /ŋ-ber/ 'slingshot', /ŋ-soŋ/ 'spade', and /ŋ-raŋgay?/ 'rib'. It is, of course, possible that these forms just do not conform to the rule of assimilation.

3. The following prebases are unique in their distribution, i.e., they occur only once in our corpus:

{so} '?' in /so-maˌ/ 'curry' [see /ma/ 'curry']

{ka} '?' in /ka-gilas/ 'cup, glass' [see /gilas/ 'cup, glass' (L)]

{su} '?' in /su-tubu?/ 'earth, soil' [see /tubu?/ 'earth, soil']

{bay?} '?' in /bay?-ŋ-gre/ 'cradle' [see /ŋ-gere/ 'adolescent boy']

{la?} '?' in /la?-go-mar/ 'type of scorpion'

{oli} 'ugly' (adj) in /oli-aṇra/ 'ugly, bad' and in /oli-aṇra-rem/ 'bad man'.

2.52. Postbases:

The following postbases occur with simple roots to form nouns of types Ai, Aii, and Aiii:

1. Noun Short Forms: these morphs may be viewed as allomorphs of simple noun roots, or as simply derivational affixes (derived from nouns). All noun short forms will be listed in the lexicon after their respective noun stems. Some of the more common short forms are: /-rem/ < /remo/

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'man', as in /ḍuŋga-rem/ 'thief', /e-rem/ 'evil magician', /buso-rem/ 'adult', /sio-rem/ 'human testicles', /sakar-rem/ 'rich man'.

/-ti/ < /ti-ti/ 'hand, arm' as in /kirim-ti/ 'fist', /gəta-ti/ 'palm of hand', /basa?-ti/ 'left hand', /su-sum-ti/ 'right hand', /s-un-uku-ti/ 'elbow', /t-ən-aŋ-ti/ 'arrow nock'.

/-ḍa, -ḍa?/ < /ḍa?/ 'water' as in /bo-ḍa?/ 'natural spring', /ñon-ḍa?/ 'honey', /gay-ḍa/ 'large clay pot', /lumu-ḍa?/ 'dew', /ñur-ḍa?/ 'cloud', /o-lo?g-ḍa?/ 'water-fall', /kiŋ-ḍa?/ 'river', /liŋ-ḍa?/ 'rain'.

/-siŋ/ < /gi-siŋ/ 'chicken' as in /kurlak-siŋ/ 'chicken wattles', /ǰoŋ-siŋ/ 'hen', /o?on-siŋ/ 'chick', /gupa-siŋ/ 'type of ceremony' [in which a chicken figures prominently], /r-uŋ-uk-siŋ/ 'courtyard', /n-to?-siŋ/ 'egg'.

Of less common occurrence are s.f. postbases such as:

/-buŋ/ < /buŋte/ 'buffalo' as in /se-buŋ/ 'type of marriage feast' [in which a buffalo bull is slaughtered], /ǰoŋ-buŋ/ 'buffalo cow', /lay?-buŋ/ 'bull buffalo'.

/-mo?/ < /mo?/ 'eye, mouth' as in /n-sa?-mo?/ 'eyelash', /gi-siŋ-mo?/ 'eyeglasses', /ḍa?-mo?/ 'tears', /sar-mo?/ 'face', /tu-mo?/ 'mouth, beak'.

2. Postbases of Restricted Distribution:

The following affixes occur as postbases, but are very unproductive because they occur with only a very few forms; in some cases, with only one or two particular roots:

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{-boy} = /-boy/ 'feminine' noun marker, i.e., /salag-boy/ 'marriagable girl', /gor-boy/ 'Dom female', /lu-boy-ḍa/ 'woman's bead necklace', /n-boy-bu/ 'adolescent (female) pig', /liy-boy/ 'Hu Yo Si'.

{-ḍay} = /-ḍay/ 'kinship reference' morpheme. Three allomorphs occur, but no conditioning statements can be given: /-ḍay, -ḍẽỹ, -ãỹ/. For example: /o?on-ḍay/ 'daughter or son' [when speaking of another's children], /kuni-ḍẽỹ/ 'wife' [Hu speaking], /umpor-ãỹ/ 'husband' [Wi speaking].

{ne} = /-ne/ 'nominalizer'; very unproductive, occurring only twice, i.e., in /sela-ne/ 'girl, woman', and /gulay-ne/ 'boy'.

{ṇa} = /-ṇa/ 'possessive' morpheme. Normally, this morpheme occurs only as an inflectional suffix; in two cases, however, it occurs as a postbase to which another postbase is suffixed, and in one case, as the final postbase in a complex stem, i.e., /su-sup-ṇa/ 'round pot handle', /tu-ṇa-so?/ 'dog's snout' and /tu-ṇa-goy/ 'cow's snout'.

3. Gender Postbases:

{gend} = /-a, -i/ 'gender' morpheme. Occurs as a postbase affix with certain nominals and adjectives. It's use seems restricted to three personal nouns and two kinship terms (it is also very restricted in its occurrence with adjectives). It is possible that these are a borrowing from Desiya Oriya or Hindi:

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a. With personal names:

/sunkr-a/ (masc) : /sunkr-i/ (fem)

/muŋl-a/ (masc) : /muŋl-i/ (fem)

/bud-a/ (masc) : /buda-i/ (fem)

b. With kinship terms:

/banz-a/ 'Yo Br Si' : /banǰ-i/ 'Yo Si Da'

Except for these forms, gender is not marked in Remo for nouns. Most often, gender distinctions are made by using different nouns, e.g., /lay?-buŋ/ 'bull buffalo', /ǰoŋ-buŋ/ 'buffalo cow'; /lay?-bu/ 'boar', /ǰoŋ-bu/ 'sow'; /gulay-ne/ 'boy', /sela-ne/ 'girl'.

2.6. Derivation of Nouns:

Little can be said about the derivation of many noun roots, especially the derivation of monosyllabic roots and some polysyllabic ones. However, many polysyllabic roots are obviously derived from either adjective or verb roots. Short form postbases, discussed above, are of course derived from noun roots.

2.61. Verb Derivatives:

Noun roots may be derived from verb root morphemes using any of their common allomorphs as the base for the noun root. In most cases, either the modified root or the reduplicated root is used, e.g., /e-rem/ 'evil magician' < /el/ 'to charm (with magic)' (I); /ḍuŋga-rem/ 'thief' < /ḍuŋgal/ 'to steal' (I); /oy-rig/ 'ripe Sua Millet' < /oys/ 'to harvest' (I); /su-sum-ti/ 'right hand' < /sum/

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'to eat' (I); /ṇ-rim/ 'quarrel' < /rim/ 'to quarrel' (I); si-ṣer/ 'song' < /ser/ 'to sing' (I); /mi-me/ 'dance' < /meḍ/ 'to dance' (I); /ku-kup/ 'cough' < /kub/ 'to cough'(I).

2.62. Nominalized Verb Roots: with infix

Many nouns are formed by infixing the 'nominalizer' morpheme {Vn} = /-Vn-/, to a verb root. The vowel of the nominalizer is determined by rules of vowel harmony in the same way as occurs in the 'animal, bird' nominalizer gV (see Section 2.51.). Examples are: /s-un-u?/ 'broom' < /sug/ 'to sweep' (I); /ḍ-ən-ay/ 'ghat' < /ḍayks/ 'to climb' (II); /s-in-ia/ 'fish hook' < /siaḍ/ 'to fish' (I); /s-in-i/ 'bird trap' < /si(ḍ)-/ 'to snare birds'; /p-in-e/ 'flute' < /peḍ/ 'to play a musical instrument' (I); /g-in-e/ 'tooth' < /geyñ/ 'to chew' (I); /g-un-ura?/ 'spindle' < /gurag/ 'to spin' (I); /ḍ-ən-aray/ 'metal lid' < /ḍərayñ/ 'to cover'(a pot) (I); /t-ən-ab/ 'thatched roof' < /tab-/ 'to remove'(?).

2.63. Nominalized Verb Roots: without infix

Third person finite verb-words are often used as nouns. Such nouns usually consist of a verb root with tense and/or aspect morphemes and, in one case, with a final personal ending morpheme. Examples are: /re-gə-ta/ 'wound' < /re-/ 'to cut' (?); /si-ta/ 'pain, sickness' < /sil/ 'to be sick' (II); /ǰur-gə-ta/ 'chill' < /ǰur/ 'to be chilled' (IIR); /aŋ-to/ 'taboo' < /aŋ/ 'to be taboo' (I); /el-o?-ta/ 'magic' < /el/ 'to charm by magic' (I); /suṇro-t-iŋ/ 'hello' < /suṇrol/ 'to greet' (II).

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2.64: Causative Verb:

One noun in our corpus is apparently derived from a verb root and a causative prefix, i.e., /o-lo?g-ḍa?/ 'waterfall' < /log/ 'to fall' (II) + /ḍa?/ 'water' + /o-/ 'caus'.

2.65. Adjectives:

Several nouns are derived from adjectives. Many of these recur in noun phrases as adjectives occurring as attributives to nouns. Examples are: /buso-rem/ 'adult man'; < /buso-bay/ 'adult' (adj); /sakar-rem/ 'rich man' < /sakar-bay/ 'rich' (adj); /bol-rem/ 'good man' < /bol-bay/ 'good, pretty'; /tali-rosuno/ 'garlic' < /tuluy-bay/ 'white' /saŋ-saŋ/ 'tumeric' < /saŋ-saŋ-bay/ 'yellow'; /mona?-ŋ-gom/ 'town' < /mona?-bay/ 'big, fat' (adj) [ultimately from the verb /monaḍ/ 'to grow big' (I)].

2.7. Pronouns:

Remo pronouns occur in three persons and in three numbers:

1st person singular, 1st person dual, 1st person plural
2nd person singular, 2nd person dual, 2nd person plural
3rd person singular, 3rd person dual, 3rd person plural

In terms of their function in sentences, pronouns may be classed as (a) personal pronouns, (b) possessive pronouns, (c) object/reflexive pronouns, (d) demonstrative pronouns, (e) interrogative pronouns, and (f) indefinite pronouns.

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2.71. Personal Pronouns:

Of the nine pronouns in Remo, seven are simple roots and monosyllabic, and two are complex, polysyllabic stems consisting of a root plus a postbase (this postbase is a s.f. form of a root).

1. Simple Roots:

{1st per. sg.}	=	/niŋ/	'I'
{1st per. d.}	=	/naŋ/	'we (two)'
{1st per. pl.}	=	/nay/	'we (all)'
{2nd per. sg.}	=	/no/	'you'
{2nd per. d.}	=	/pa/	'you (two)'
{2nd per. pl.}	=	/pe/	'you (all)'
{3rd per. sg.}	=	/may/	'he, she, it'

2. Complex (Root + Postbase):

{3rd per. d.}	=	/may-pa/	'they (two)'
{3rd per. pl.}	=	/may-ʔe/	'they (all)'

Note that the 1st and 2nd person pronouns in the singular, dual, and plural are almost identical with the personal ending morphemes discussed in Section 1.211. The 3rd person morphemes do not recur in the personal endings.

2.72. Demonstrative Pronouns:

In Remo, demonstrative pronouns generally indicate, refer, or point to persons and things standing in positions of relative nearness to or distance from a speaker. For the most part, demonstratives distinguish between four relative distances from a speaker: foreground, i.e., near or

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close by; two middle distances--one closer, the other farther from the speaker; and one far distance, i.e., farthest from the speaker.

Structurally, demonstratives exhibit the same type of structures--roots and postbases--found in nouns; they may be either monosyllabic or polysyllabic, monomorphemic or polymorphemic.

A. Simple Roots:

i) monosyllabic:

/kon/ 'this, these': points to or refers to persons and things, but does not indicate relative distance, e.g., /kon gi-siŋ niŋ-ṇa/ 'this chicken is mine'; /kon remo/ 'this man'; /kon m-ba?ar bire/ 'these two stones'.

/ro/ 'that': indicates the further middle distance from the speaker, e.g., /no-ṇa taŋǰa ro/ 'that axe [further away] is yours'.

ii) Disyllabic:

/gitin/ 'that, those': indicates foreground distance from speaker, e.g., /gitin gu-so?/ 'that dog [near by], /gitin remol-e/ 'those men [near by]'.

/gusu/ 'that, those': indicates nearer middle distance from speaker, e.g., /gusu gi-be-so? ñon-ḍa su-sum-ḍen-ta/ 'that bear [far away] is eating honey'.

/geta/ 'that': indicates furthest distance from speaker, e.g., /geta gi-siŋ/ 'that chicken [furthest away]; /geta remo kon remo aṇra/ 'that man, not this man'.

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B. Complex Stems:

i) Root + postbase

/kon-e/ 'these' < /kon/ 'this, that' + /-e/ 's.f. of /pe/ '2nd per. pl. pronoun'.

/gitin-a/ 'these' < /gitin/ 'that, those' + /-a/ 's.f. of /pa/ 2nd per. dual pronoun'.

ii) (Root + postbase) + root

/kon-oŋ-pa/ 'these (two)' < /kon/ 'this, that' + /-oŋ/ '?' + /pa/ '2nd per. dual' pronoun.

2.73. Interrogative Pronouns:

Four interrogative pronouns occur in our data; three are simple monosyllabic roots and one is an inflected simple root:

/arn/ 'what', e.g., /arn ŋ-gom remo sa-ga/ 'from which village does the man come?'

/ma/ 'what', e.g., /ro-ṇ ma/ 'what is that?'; /no-ṇ imi ma/ 'what is your name?'.

/ǰa/ 'who', e.g., /gitin remo ǰa/ 'who is that man?'; /kon ǰa/ 'who is this?'.

/ǰa-ṇa/ [free variant /ǰa-ṇ/] 'whose', e.g., /kon ǰa-ṇ taŋǰa/ 'whose axe is this?'; /gitin ǰa-ṇa o?on-ḍay/ 'whose child is that?'.

2.74. Possessive Pronouns:

Formed by suffixing the 'possessive' morpheme to the personal pronouns, as follows:

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{1st per. sg.} = /niŋ-ṇa/ 'my, mine'
{1st per. d.} = /naŋ-ṇa/ 'our, ours'
{1st per. pl.} = /nay-ṇa/ 'our, ours'
{2nd per. sg.} = /no-ṇa/ 'you, yours'
{2nd per. d.} = /pa-ṇa/ 'your, yours'
{2nd per. pl.} = /pe-ṇa/ 'your, yours'
{3rd per. sg.} = /may-ṇa/ 'his, hers, its'
{3rd per. d.} = /may-pa-ṇa/ 'their, theirs'
{3rd per. pl.} = /may-ʔe-ṇa/ 'their, theirs'

2.75. Object and Reflexive Pronouns:

This set of semantically distinct, but morphologically identical, pronouns are formed by prefixing the 'object' morpheme to the personal pronouns. Object pronouns always occur with finite verb-words, while reflexive pronouns are restricted to causative finite verb constructions.

{1st per. sg.} = /a-niŋ/ 'me, myself'
{1st per. d.} = /a-naŋ/ 'us, ourselves'
{1st per. pl.} = /a-nay/ 'us, ourselves'
{2nd per. sg.} = /a-no/ 'you, yourself'
{2nd per. d.} = /a-pa/ 'you, yourselves'
{2nd per. pl.} = /a-pe/ 'you, yourselves'
{3rd per. sg.} = /a-may/ 'him, himself; her, herself'
{3rd per. d.} = /a-may-pa/ 'them, themselves'
{3rd per. pl.} = /a-may-ʔe/ 'them, themselves'

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2.76. Indefinite Pronouns:

These are adjectivals with an affixed 'human qualifier' morpheme {ḍo}, which function as indefinite pronouns when used as syntactic 'subject' of a finite verb-word.

/gulay-ḍo/ 'all', e.g., /gulay-ḍo ḍay-ga/ 'all climbed'

/ṭaṭe-ḍo/ 'all' (L), e.g., /ṭaṭe-ḍo ḍio-bo? wi-ga/ 'all went home'

/soman-ḍo/ 'everyone', e.g., /soman-ḍo a-ḍio wi-ga/ 'everyone went home'

/rapte-ḍo/ 'many', e.g., /rapte-ḍo i-ḍen-ta/ 'many are returning'

/una-ḍo/ 'few', e.g., /una-ḍo a-muṇḍlipaḍa wi-ga/ 'few went to Mundlipada'.

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3. Adjectivals

Adjectivals are an uninflected form class which can be divided into two subclasses: adjectives and numerals. Adjectives and numerals consist of roots alone, or roots in combination with derivational prebases and postbases, or two or more roots.

3.1. Derivational Affixes:

Adjectival stems are formed by pre- or postposing derivational affixes to adjectival roots. In the case of numerals, postbases are either short forms of adjectival roots or the root itself; more often numeral postbases are phonemic sequences resembling 3rd person 'perfect' finite verb endings. It is possible that these postbases are, in fact, modified verb endings.

3.11. Prebases:

Only the following two prebase morphemes occur:

{n} = /m-, n-, ŋ-/ 'nominalizer':

/m-/ before bilabial nasals, e.g., /m-ba?ar/ 'two'

/n-/ before dentals, e.g., /n-tera?-bay/ 'green, blue'

/ŋ-/ before velars, e.g., /ŋ-gi?i/ 'three'

{di} = /di-/ 'two' [this is the prebase allomorph of the morpheme /dwi/ 'two' (L)], e.g., /di-kori-dos/ 'fifty'; /di-kori/ 'thirty'.

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3.12. Postbases:

With the exception of the first postbase listed, the majority of the items classed as postbases are very unproductive, occurring, for the most part, with one or two roots only.

1. {bay} = /-bay/ 'adjectival' suffix. Many adjectival roots take this suffix as a postbase. Roots taking /-bay/ are generally, although not always, derived from verb roots, e.g., /gi-geb-bay/ 'hot' < /geb/ 'to be hot' (I); /zu-zur-bay/ 'weak' < /ǰur/ 'to be chilled' (IIR)?; /mona?-bay/ 'big, fat' < /monaḍ/ 'to grow big' (II); /tiur-bay/ 'tall' < /tiur/ 'to grow tall' (II); /saŋ-saŋ-bay/ 'yellow' < /saŋ-saŋ/ 'tumeric'(noun)?; /bu-bay/ 'multicolored'.

2. {ḍo} = /-ḍa, -yo, -o, -ḍo, -lok/ 'human' classifier morpheme; allomorphs morphologically conditioned in their occurrence as follows:

/-ḍa/ occurs with /miṇ-/ (only once) 'one'.

/-yo/ occurs with /m-bay-/ (only once) 'two'

/-o/ occurs with /witi-/ 'few' and /soman-/ 'straight'

/-ḍo/ occurs with /moloy-/ 'five', /ŋ-geṇ-/ 'three', /u?uṇ-/ 'four'; /rapte/ 'many', /gulay/ 'all', /ṭaṭe/ 'all', and /una/ 'few'.

/-lok/ occurs with numerals above six, but not consistently; borrowed from the Indic languages.

The following are examples of the use of the 'human' classifier morpheme:

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Human	Nonhuman
miṇ-ḍa remo 'one man'	muy gi-siŋ 'one chicken'
m-bay-yo sela-ne 'two girls'	m-ba?ar bire 'two stones'
ŋ-geṇ-ḍo ŋ-gere 'three boys'	ŋ-gi?i gu-so? 'three dogs'
witi-o ŋ-gere 'few boys'	witi gi-siŋ 'few dogs'
ti?iri-lok remo 'six men'	ti?iri goy-taŋ 'six cows'

Note that certain adjectival roots taking the 'human' classifier morpheme can belong to both the Nominal and Adjectival form classes. In the former, they occur as 'indefinite' pronouns; in the latter, as adjectives (see Section 2.76.).

3. {i} = /-i, -a, -u/ 'masculine/feminine' morpheme; unproductive, morphologically conditioned allomorphs, occurring only with the following adjectival roots: /sut/ 'lame', /boyr/ 'deaf', /kuṇḍ, koṇḍ/, 'mute', /kan/ 'blind', and /paṇḍr/ 'fair complected'. For example: /sut-i-bay/ 'lame' (fem): /sut-a-bay/ 'lame' (masc); /kuṇḍ-i-bay/ 'mute' (fem): /koṇḍ-a-bay/ 'mute' (masc).

These masculine-feminine allomorphs also occur with a few nouns (see Section 2.523.). It seems possible that this morpheme is a relatively recent borrowing from one of the Indic languages.

4. {gə} = /-gə, -ə, -u/ 'numeral marker' morpheme; occurs in the 'nonhuman' form of numeral adjectives for stems from six to eighteen, as follows:

/-gə/ with numeral roots /so/ '6', /sat/ '7', /aṭ/

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'8', /no/ '9', and /dos/ '10'.

/-ə/ occurs with the numeral roots /bar/ '12', /ter/ '13', /pondr/ '15', /sol/ '16', /sotr/ '17' and /otr/ '18'.

/-u/ occurs only with /sod/ '14'.

5. {ṭa} = /-ṭa/ 'numeral final marker' morpheme; occurs in the 'nonhuman' form of numeral adjectives from six to twenty, after the 'numeral marker' morpheme. Examples are: /onis-ṭa/ '19', /sol-ə-ṭa/ '16'.

6. {ḍa} = /-ḍa/ '?'; one occurrence only, in /gi-geb-ḍa/ 'hot'.

7. {ṭa} = /ṭa/ '?'; one occurrence only, in /bol-ṭa/ 'pretty, good' [possibly the same as 5 above?]

8. {bo?} = /-bo?/ '?'; one occurrence only, in /tiki-bo?/ 'solid' [possibly the same as the postpositional particle /bo?/ 'on, at, in, from'?].

9. {ti} = /-ti/ 'hand'; s.f. of /ti-ti/ 'hand, arm' (noun); one occurrence only, in /basa?-ti-bay/ 'left-handed'.

10. {lu} = /-lu/ '?'; one occurrence only, in /goy-lu-bay/ 'dead'.

3.2. Structure of Adjectivals:

The structure of adjectives and numerals parallels the structure of Nominals. Moreover, in terms of privilege of occurrence with one or another morpheme, adjectives, like nouns, may be grouped into subclasses.

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3.21. Simple Roots:

A. Monosyllabic: occur as either 'free' or 'bound' roots, with or without pre- and postbases:

i) Free: /ñap/ 'lightweight', /mis/ 'false', /kal/ 'deep' (L), /bol/ 'pretty' (L), /muy/ 'one', /dwi/ 'two'(L), /tin/ 'three' (L).

ii) Bound: /ḍokr-/ 'old', /kan-/ 'blind', /koṇḍ-, kuṇḍ-/ 'mute', /boyr-/ 'deaf', /ṣut-/ 'lame', /paṇr-/ 'fair complected', /ur-/ 'smart', /beṇḍ-/ 'young', /ḍeŋg-/ 'tall'.

B. Disyllabic: occur as either 'free' or 'bound' forms:

i) Free: /gaygo?/ 'dense', /liŋgi/ 'heavy', /mona?/ 'big, fat', /soman/ 'everyone', /ṭaṭe/ 'all', /baṇi/ 'good', /u?u/ 'four', /moloy/ 'five'.

ii) Bound: /sero?-/ 'dirty', /rentem-/ 'lean', /ruklaŋ-/ 'stammerer', /soro?-/ 'dark', /ḍəlay?-/ 'short', /tiur-/ 'tall'.

C. Polysyllabic: it is possible that some of these apparently monomorphemic forms will prove to be stems with derivational affixes; all occur as free forms, e.g., /ono-lubo?/ 'muddied', /mabisom/ 'severe, very', /sutaysa/ 'true' and /poloŋka/ 'hollow'.

3.22. Complex Stems:

These consist of free or bound simple roots in combination with either pre- or postposed affixes.

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A. Root + postbase

i) root + postbase: E.g., /saŋ-saŋ-bay/ 'yellow', /zu-zur-bay/ 'weak', /gi-geb-bay/ 'hot', /mona?-bay/ 'big, fat', /səlayn-bay/ 'long', /ḍaw-bay/ 'little', /miṇ-ḍa/ 'one (human)', /ti?iri-lok/ 'six (human)'.

ii) (root + postbase) + postbase: E.g., /sut-a-bay/ 'lame (masc)', /beṇḍ-i-bay/ 'young (fem)', /kan-a-bay/ 'blind (masc)'.

iii) (prebase + root) + postbase: E.g., /n-tera?-bay/ 'green, blue', /ŋ-geṇ-ḍo/ 'three (human)', /m-bay-yo/ 'two (nonhuman)'.

B. Prebase + root

Only the following numerals occur in this form, i.e., /di-kori/ 'forty', /ŋ-gi?i/ 'three', /m-ba?ar/ 'two'.

3.23. Compound Stems:

Compound stems consist of two (rarely more) simple roots, or of one root and one complex stem (having one of the shapes listed above). Only numeral adjectives occur as compound stems.

A. Root + root

E.g., /kore-onis/ 'thirty-nine', /kore-dos/ 'thirty' /kore-u?u/ 'twenty-four'.

B. Root + (prebase + root)

Only the following occur, i.e., /kore-ŋ-gi?i/ 'twenty-three', /kore-m-ba?ar/ 'twenty-two'.

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C. Root + (root + postbase)

E.g., /kore-otər-o/ 'thirty-eight', /kore-sotər-o/ 'thirty-seven', /kore-pondr-o/ 'thirty-five', /kore-sol-o/ 'thirty-six'.

D. Root + ([root + postbase] + postbase)

Only one example exists: i.e., /kore-so-gə-ṭa/ 'twenty-six'.

E. (Prebase + root) + root

E.g., /di-kore-dos/ 'fifty', /di-kore-sat/ 'forty-nine', /di-kore-pans/ 'forty-five'.

3.24. Root Allomorphs:

Some adjectivals have two or more root allomorphs. Such allomorphs are apparently morphologically conditioned variants. The conditioning factor seems to be either occurrence with particular roots, or with particular pre- or postbase affixes, or in some cases, the allomorph selected will depend upon its use as a pre- or postbase or root. The following roots have allomorphs:

{dwi} = /dwi, di-/: e.g., /dwi/ 'two' (nonhuman), /di-kori/ 'forty'.

{gi?i} = /-gi?i, -geṇ-/: e.g., /ŋ-gi?i/ 'three' (nonhuman), /ŋ-geṇ-ḍo/ 'three' (human).

{ba?ar} = /-ba?ar, -bar, -bay-/: e.g., /m-ba?ar/ 'two' (nonhuman), /m-bar/ 'two' (object of a verb), /m-bay-yo/ 'two' (human).

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{sol} = /sol, so-, -sop/: e.g., /sol-ə-ṭa/ 'sixteen', /so-gə-ṭa/ 'six', /di-kori-sop/ 'forty-six', /kore-sol-o/ 'thirty-six'.

{sat} = /sat-, sotr-, -sotər, -sat/: e.g., /sat-gə-ṭa/ 'seven', /sotr-ə-ṭa/ 'seventeen', /kore-sotər-o/ 'thirty-seven', /di-kori-sat/ 'forty-seven'.

3.3. Adjectival Subclasses:

Adjectivals in our corpus can be grouped into the following subclasses:

1. All adjective roots taking {-bay} as final post-base, e.g., /mona?-bay/ 'big, fat', /kaṇ-a-bay/ 'blind'.

2. Free adjective roots which take no pre- or post-base affixes, e.g., /mis/ 'false', /ñap/ 'lightweight', /subu/ 'sweet', /odig/ 'much, more' (L).

3. Roots taking the 'human' classifier, and which may also on occasion occur without the classifier, e.g., /soman/ and /soman-ḍo/ 'everyone', /ṭaṭe/ and /ṭaṭe-ḍo/ 'all', /una/ and /una-ḍo/ 'few', /rapte/ and /rapte-ḍo/ 'many'.

4. A small group of roots taking unique postbases or none at all, e.g., /bol/ 'pretty', /bol-ṭa/ 'pretty, good', /tiki-bo?/ 'solid', /oli-aṇra/ 'bad, ugly', /rapte-mul/ 'expensive'.

5. Numerals which, in Remo, consist of a medly of borrowed and native forms. The numbers from one to six are native forms, although used interchangably with the corresponding loan forms from Oriya. All numerals above six are

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loans from Oriya and are often compound stems consisting of Oriya and Remo roots. The list below gives the Remo forms and the corresponding Oriya loans in use [starred Oriya forms are the Remo equivalents of the original Oriya loans].

Remo			Oriya
human	nonhuman		
/miṇ-ḍa/	/muy/	'one'	ek
/m-bay-yo/	/m-ba?ar/	'two'	dwi
/ŋ-geṇ-ḍo/	/ŋ-gi?i/	'three'	tin
/u?un-ḍo/	/u?ũ/	'four'	*sar [čar]
/moloy-ḍo/	/moloy/	'five'	*pans [păč]
/ti?iri-lok/	/ti?iri/	'six'	*so-gə-ṭa

The remainder, from seven upwards, have complex or compound stems based on Oriya loans. The numerals from twenty to thirty-nine are formed by compounding /kore/ with the numerals (both Remo and Oriya) from one to nineteen, e.g., /kore-muy/ 'twenty-one' [twenty plus one]. Numerals from forty to fifty consist of a preposed /di-/ 'two', the root /kore/ plus the numbers from one to ten, e.g., /di-kore-muy/ 'forty-one' [two times twenty plus one].

A. Complex Stems:

/sat-gə-ṭa/ '7'	/bar-ə-ṭa/ '12'	/sotr-ə-ṭa/ '17'
/aṭ-gə-ṭa/ '8'	/ter-ə-ṭa/ '13'	/otr-ə-ṭa/ '18'
/no-gə-ṭa/ '9'	/sod-u-ṭa/ '14'	/onis-ṭa/ '19'
/dos-gə-ṭa/ '10'	/pondr-ə-ṭa/ '15'	/kore-ṭa/ '20'
/egar-ṭa/ '11'	/sol-ə-ṭa/ '16'	

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B. Compound Stems:

/kore-muy/	'21'	/kore-sol-o/	'36'
/kore-dwi/	'22'	/kore-sotr-o/	'37'
/kore-tin/	'23'	/kore-otr-o/	'38'
/kore-sar/	'24'	/kore-onis/	'39'
/kore-pans/	'25'	/di-kori/	'40'
/kore-so-gə-ṭa/	'26'	/di-kori-muy/	'41'
/kore-saṭ/	'27'	/di-kori-dwi/	'42'
/kore-aṭ/	'28'	/di-kori-tin/	'43'
/kore-no/	'29'	/di-kori-sar/	'44'
/kore-dos/	'30'	/di-kori-pans/	'45'
/kore-egar-o/	'31'	/di-kori-sop/	'46'
/kore-bar-o/	'32'	/di-kori-saṭ/	'47'
/kore-ter-o/	'33'	/di-kori-aṭ/	'48'
/kore-sod-u/	'34'	/di-kori-no/	'49'
/kore-pondr-o/	'35'	/di-kori-dos/	'50'

/pans-kori/ '100'

Occasionally, informants used the Remo numbers from two to six in place of the Oriya forms listed above with the compound numerals from 22 to 26 and from 42 to 46, e.g., instead of /kore-sar/ '24', they used /kore-u?ũ/; instead of /di-kori-pans/ '45', they used /di-kori-moloy/; and so forth.

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4. Particles

Two groups of Particles are distinguished in this form class: free and bound. Bound particles are those which occur only with nominals and verbs and which can never occur in isolation. Free particles can occur alone and include adverbs proper, temporals, locatives, interrogatives, and comparatives. Free particles tend to have more syntactic positional freedom than any other form class.

4.1. Bound Particles:

The two types of bound particles which occur in Remo are the postpositional particles and the enclitic 'clause-marker' particles. Both are morphologically bound to the forms they follow, but function primarily as syntactic forms.

4.11. Postpositional Particles:

The use of postpositional particles may be a borrowing from the Indic languages, since in these languages postpositional morphemes of this sort are common. M. B. Emeneau has stated that there is no class of prepositions in the Indic languages; the analogous construction consisting of morphemes which are "adverbs in immediate constituency with nouns...".[13] Postposed particles, in immediate constituency with (i.e., suffixed to) nominals, noun phrases, and verbs are common in Remo.

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[13] M. B. Emeneau, "India as a Linguistic Area", Language 32, 1:1-16 (1956).

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Postpositional particles usually translate as approximate equivalents of English 'prepositions', although some postpositionals may translate more accurately as adverbs.

The following are the postpositional particles which occur in our data and the form classes with which they ordinarily occur. The use of postpositionals with noun, pronouns, and noun phrases are subsumed under nominals.

Particle	Gloss	Nominals	Verbs
1. /-aluŋ/	under, beneath	x	x
2. /-bag-bo?/	on, upon	x	x
3. /-bitre/	in	x	
4. /-boroŋ/	with	x	
5. /-boroŋ-tere/	near, with, next to	x	
6. /-bo?/	on, at, in, from	x	
7. /-ḍəri/	in line (L)	x (one occur.)	
8. /-e/	in the (?) (L)	x (one occur.)	
9. /-gəri/	from	x	
10. /-ge/	on (?), in (L)	x	
11. /-ǰe/	(this) one (of many) (L)	x	
12. /-kondekto/	about (L)	x	
13. /-nande/	through	x	
14. /n-tu/	near	x	
15. /-pəlay/	for	x	x
16. /-pake/	near	x	
17. /siŋurom/	near	x	
18. /-taŋom/	with	x	
19. /-uṇḍer/	against	x	

The following sentences illustrate the use of these postpositional particles. All translations are word for word:

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1. /gitin remo semu?-aluŋ layk-gə-ta/ 'that man tree-under he-has-sat'

2. /saybl-e ǰoman-ǰimin ḍay-ga-aluŋ/ 'sahib-pl policeman they-climbed-beneath'

3. /sela-ne a-remo-bag-bo? layk-gə-ta/ 'girl obj-man-upon she-has-sat'

4. /a-remo o?om-bitre ḍi-ta/ 'obj-man arrow-in it-is'

5. /may guso?-boroŋ-tere layk-gə-ta/ 'he dog-near he-has-sat'

6. niŋ bire-boroŋ a-remo tul-o?-niŋ/ 'I stone-with obj-man I-hit'

7. /niŋ a-gubu suŋo-bo? sur-t-iŋ/ 'I obj-pig fire-on I-will-roast'

8. /ḍamuŋ-e-ḍeri buŋ-go-to/ 'basket-pl-in-line he-has-kept'

9. /miṇḍa buda iskul-e paṭ-sig-bar-ḍen-ta/ 'one Buda (human) school-in he-reading-finishing-is'

10. /niŋ aṭ-gəri i-ḍen-t-iŋ/ 'I market-from I-am-returning'

11./ate paṭkaṇḍa-bo?-ge.../ 'there Sacred Sword-at...'

12. /kon-ǰe kulor tug-o?-gə-ta/ 'this-one bell he-has-tied'

13./ba?soŋ-kwi at-kondekto suta gurak-er-ḍen-ta/ 'Baksong-wife cubit-about thread she-is-spinning'

14. /t-ən-ayn-tur-nande kukusa gay-ga/ 'fence-through tiger it-entered'

15. /ḍio-n-tu ḍaṇḍor-bo? kon sela-ne og-o?-seta layk-gə-ta/ 'house-near door-on this girl having-held (a baby) she-has-sat'

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16. /ḍio-pəlay may tubu? onsin-o?-suŋ-o?-seta/ 'house-for she earth she-having-finished preparing...'

17. /gurume-ṇ-ŋ-gom remo bire ḍon-o?-ta gunom ǰuk-ǰuk-pəlay/ 'Andrahal-poss-village man stone they-have-carried memorial building-for'

18. /t-ən-ayn-tur-siŋurom toŋ-seta/ 'fence-near while standing...'

19. /may remo-pake layk-gə-ta/ 'he man-near he-has-sat'

20. /ŋ-tin miṇḍip tin-ta-bo? soman mwira-bəḍəṇa-taŋom sakḍo-ṇa/ 'in-the evening third-(hour)-at everyone flute-drum-with having come...'

21. /niŋ a-kuṭ-uṇder layk-gi-t-iŋ/ I obj-cot-against I-have-been-sitting'

4.12. Clause Marking Enclitics:

The following sets of morphemes operate as 'clause-marking' enclitics, i.e., they are elements which are phonologically bound to the forms with which they occur, whose syntactic function is the separation of clauses in complex sentences. These morphemes occur as phonologically-bound, morphological elements postposed to finite and nonfinite verb constructions. In general, they tend to occur most often in nonfinite verb constructions. These enclitics are:

1. {seta} = /-seta, -set/: 'having, being, after, or since'

2. {sita} = /-sita, -sit/: 'having, being, after, or

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since'

3. {sa?} = /-sa?/: 'having, being, after, or since'

4. {ḍo} = /-ḍo/: 'desire' or 'wanting to'

5. {ṇa} = /-ṇa/: 'if' (conditional)

6. {ḍo-ṇa} = /-ḍo-ṇa, -ṇ-ḍo-ṇa/: 'having, being, after, or since'

7. {ḍo-seta} = /-ḍo-seta, -ḍo-sa?/: 'having'

8. {lo} = /-lo/: 'while'

The impression gained from informants would seem to indicate that all these morphemes, with the exception of {ḍo}, {ṇa}, and {lo}, are in free variation (certainly all of the allomorphs of a given morpheme are in free variation). Dialect variation may account for observed phonemic differences. Although there are insufficient data to be certain, it appears that {seta} and {sita} are in contrast with each other and with {sa?}, as well as with {ḍo-ṇa} and {ḍo-seta}. The latter two seem to be in complementary distribution with each other. {seta}, {sa?}, and {ḍo-seta} occur with both finite verb-words and nonfinite constructions; the remainder occur only with nonfinite constructions. Examples are:

/sum-o?-nay-seta/ 'we, having eaten...'

/len-o?-suŋ-o?-seta/ 'having finished threshing...'

/o-gay-o?-sit/ 'having inserted it...'

/ṇ-ruŋ-ḍen-kə-ga-sa?/ 'while they were bringing him...'

/butūŋ-sa?/ 'being in fear of...', or 'fearing...'

/tek-ḍo-seta/ 'having heaped [grain]...'

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/a-nay-ŋ ḍio ḍi-ki-ṇa ma losuna sum-niŋ/ 'if we had food in our house, I would have eaten'

/gulay-ne kiyaŋ a-sum-o?-ṇa goy-g-wi-ta/ 'if the boy does not eat, he will die'

/niŋ wi-lo gi-siŋ goy-wi-ga/ 'while I was going, the chicken died'

/ara saul bosay-o?-no niŋ-ḍo maṇra/ 'let me set aside (for you) a pot of rice, says the Chief Priest'

4.2. Free Particles:

4.21. Adverbs:

Adverbial particles may be native or borrowed forms. Many of these adverbs show simple roots which are reduplicated or modified by "echo" formations.[14] Reduplicated and simple adverbs seem to be in free variation, although it is possible that reduplication serves to imply greater 'intensity'. Some adverb roots, on occasion, may take the adjective marker and are, therefore, members of more than one form class.

4.211. Manner Adverbs:

1. /baṇi-baṇi/ 'well' [redupl.], e.g., /gulay-ne o?om baṇi-baṇi twin-to/ 'the boy shoots the arrow well'.

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[14] M. B. Emeneau, Ibid., pp. 8-9, defines an "echo construction as one in which the base morpheme, of the form VX is followed by an "echo-morpheme" in which the C or CV is repeated by another morpheme and X (or VX) echos the base morpheme.

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2. /baŋṭi-ṭuŋṭi/ 'crookedly'(L) [echo], e.g., /remo baŋṭi-ṭuŋṭi uriŋ-o?-ta/ 'the man has been walking crookedly'

3. /dire-dire/ 'slowly' (L) [redupl.], e.g., /remo dire-dire wi-ḍen-ta/ 'the man goes slowly'

4. /enke-ṭenke/ 'crookedly' (L) [echo], e.g., /remo enke-ṭenke uriŋ-o?/ 'the man walked crookedly'

5. /kole-kole/ 'softly' [redupl.], e.g.,/remo kole-kole wi-ḍen-ta/ 'the man goes softly'

6. /ru-ma-ru/ 'and-what-not' (in the sense of 'etc.'), e.g., /may sapuŋ uḍ-o? ru-ma-ru/ 'he had taken wine and-what-not'

7. /siru?bra/ 'firmly', e.g., /niŋ a-buḍuŋ siru?bra sog-o?-t-iŋ/ 'I have the stick firmly'

8. /soro-soro/ 'loosely' [redupl.], e.g., /niŋ a-taŋja soro-soro sog-o?-t-iŋ/ 'I have held the axe loosely'

9. /suḍoŋ-bay/ 'hard', e.g., /may suḍoŋ-bay kub-o?-ta/ 'he has coughed hard'

10. /suri-suri/ 'quickly' [redupl.], e.g., /sela-ne a-may-ŋ ḍio suri-suri uriŋ-o?-ta/ 'the girl walks quickly to her house'

11. /toŋ-ro-toŋ/ 'crookedly', e.g., /remo toŋ-ro-toŋ uriŋ-to/ 'the man walks crookedly'

4.212. Temporal Adverbs:

Temporals may be grouped into three classes based on their privileges of occurrence with finite verb-words. These classes may be called: Present Temporals, Past Tem-

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porals, and Future Temporals. Although the future does not occur as a morphological verb construction, whenever a future temporal occurs in a 'nonpast' finite verb-word, it is used as implying future action. One form /oy?/ 'now' occurs in all three subclasses.

A. Present Temporals:

1. /isa/ 'daily', e.g., /niŋ isa n-tra u-t-iŋ/ 'I drink gruel daily'

2. /ǰoŋ/ 'now', e.g., /kon remol-e ǰuŋ gunom-bo? kiyaŋ gulay-ḍo bi-be-wi-ḍen-ta/ 'now these men are all giving rice at the gunom (memorial).

3. /miṇḍip/ 'evening, in the evening', e.g., /niŋ miṇḍip ḍio-gəri a-wi-t-iŋ/ 'in the evening, I do not go from the house'

4. /ṇ-zur/ 'dawn', e.g., /ṇ-zur ḍi-ta/ 'it is morning'

5. /ñaŋ-zur/ 'morning, in the morning',, e.g., /ñaŋ-zur a-biri wi-t-iŋ/ 'in the morning, I go to the forest'

6. /oy?/ 'now', e.g., /may oy? wi-ta/ 'now he goes'

7. /tumuŋgo/ 'at night', e.g., /tumuŋgo kukusa sa-ga/ 'at night the tiger came'

B. Past Temporals:

1. /oy?/ 'now', e.g., /nay oy? bubu ǰul-o?-nay/ 'now, we saw the snake'

2. /porop-turugu/ 'afterwards', e.g., /porop-turuŋu ǰoman layk-ga/ 'afterwards, the policeman sat'

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3. /turugu/ 'afterward', e.g., /turugu niŋ a-muṇḍ-lipaḍa wi-g-niŋ/ 'afterward, I went to Mundlipada'

4. /tugola/ 'yesterday', e.g., /tugola niŋ bop-ṇa naŋ-buk gorog-o?-niŋ/ 'yesterday, I cut off the snake's head'

C. Future Temporals:

1. /oy?/ 'now', e.g., /may oy? aṭ wi-ta/ 'now, he will go to the market'

2. /ero?-ga/ 'tomorrow', e.g., /ero?-ga niŋ ŋ-kuswĩ sum-t-iŋ/ 'I will eat jackfruit tomorrow'

3. /oy?-ka/ 'today', e.g., /oy?-ka nay-gulay-ḍo a-muṇḍlipaḍa wi-tə-nay/ 'today we will all go to Mundlipada'

D. Miscellaneous Temporals:

In this group we include all temporal adverbs which either do not seem to have tense-aspect restrictions or which do not occur frequently:

1. /dos-mi-bo/ 'tenth day before the full moon' (L), /mag arke dos-mi-bo ara saul bose-tə-nay/ 'in the month of Magh, on the tenth day of the full moon, we set aside a pot of rice'

2. /puni-bo/ 'day of the full moon' (L), e.g., /ara saul bose-ta [bose-seta] atin aṭ puni-bo/ 'having set aside a pot of rice for the coming market day on the day of the full moon'

3. /mi-siŋ/ 'one day' < /muy/ 'one' + s.f. of /siŋi/ 'sun'

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4. /bar-si/ 'two days' < /m-ba?ar/ 'two' + /-si/ s.f. of /siŋi/ 'sun'

5. /er-si/ 'three days' < /er/ '?' + /-si/ s.f. of /siŋi/ 'sun'

6. /bar-to-ga/ 'day before yesterday' < /m-ba?ar/ 'two' + /-to/ s.f. /tugola/ 'yesterday' + /-ga/ 'time marker'

7. /ba(-)ur-to-ga/ 'day before the day before yesterday' < /m-ba?ar/ 'two' + /ur/ '?' + /-to/ s.f. /tugola/ 'yesterday' + /-ga/ 'time marker'

8. /inlo/ 'fifth day before yesterday, fifth day after tomorrow'

9. /mar-to-ga/ 'day after tomorrow' < /mar/ '?' + /-to/ + /-ga/

10. /mu-to-ga/ 'day after the day after tomorrow' < /mu/ '?' + /-to/ + /-ga/

11. /boros/ 'year' (L)

12. /bors-ek/ 'one year' < /ek/ 'one' (L) + /boros/ 'year'

13. /di-boros/ 'two years' < /dwi/ 'two' (L) + /boros/ 'year'

14. /pa?ar/ 'the coming year' (?) < /pa?ar/ 'to dawn (of the sun)' (II) [or poss. from Oriya pahiba 'the coming year' and influenced by Remo /pa?ar/]

15. /oy-mo/ 'this year' < /oy?/ 'now' + /mo/ 'year'?

16. /n-di-mo/ 'lat year' < /n/ '?' + /di/ s.f. of

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/din/ 'day' (L) + /mo/ 'year' (?)

4.213. Locative Adverbs:

1. /aka/ 'here' [free var. /ak/], e.g., /remo aka ḍi-ta/ 'the man is here'

2. /ate/ 'there' (middle distance), e.g., /ate ŋ-ku-swĩ sum-o?-nay/ 'there we ate the jackfruit'

3. /guraŋ-gəri/ 'back from', e.g., /ḍereŋ may-ṇ guraŋ-gəri m-ba?ar buŋ-gə-ta/ 'his two cowbells he has kept back from' [nominal postpositional phrase used as an adverbial, i.e., /guraŋ/ 'back' (noun) /-gəri/ 'from'.

4. /iŋ-gəri/ 'from here', e.g., /niŋ iŋ-gəri ḍuŋ-ḍuŋ-ḍen-t-iŋ/ 'I am going away from here'

5. /iŋ-ka/ 'from here', e.g., /iŋ-ka niŋ sənsayno ḍayk-niŋ/ 'from here I climbed ahead...'

6. /iŋ-miṇ-ḍa/ 'this side, one...', e.g., /konoŋ-pa o-b-un-uk-ḍen-ta ṇ-ro-miṇḍa iŋ-miṇ-ḍa lagayḍ-o?-ta/ 'these two are fighting, on this side--one, on that side--the other, they are hitting'

7. /ǰokto/ 'below', e.g., /may ǰokto lay-ga/ 'he sat below'

8. /keto/ 'here' (near distance), e.g., /gulay-ne keto ḍi-ta/ 'the boy is here'

9. /monza/ 'in the middle' (L), e.g., /kon gulay-ne monza gari ruŋ-seta kon sapuŋ-rem-e gi-gə-ḍen-ta/ 'this boy, in the middle of the road, having brought this Sago Palm branch, is making an offering'

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10. /ŋ-tin/ 'in the', e.g., /ŋ-tin miṇḍip niŋ lem-o?-t-iŋ/ 'in the evening I go to sleep'

11. /ṇ-ro-miṇ-ḍa/ 'that side, one...', e.g., see item 6.

12. /səsayno/ 'ahead' [< /sənsayñ/ 'to be ahead' (II) + /-o/ '?', poss. Class I 'past'], e.g., see item 5.

13. /sarberti/ 'all around' (L), e.g., /katamguḍa oṇḍi sarberti bire ǰug-o?-suŋ-o?-seta/ 'having finished placing stones all around the Katamguda "earth goddess"...'

14. /tiŋgu/ 'behind', e.g., /niŋ a-remo ŋ-ku tiŋgu ṇ-ruŋ-ḍen-t-iŋ/ 'I am carrying rice [while walking] behind the man'

15. /turugu/ 'after' [FV /turugu-mar/], e.g., /turugu-mar ǰoman ḍay-ga/ 'after the policeman climbed...'

4.22. Interrogative Particles:

1. /ari/ 'where', e.g., /remo ari ḍi-ta/ 'where is the man?'

2. /ma-sa/ 'why' [< /ma/ 'what'], e.g., /ma-sa remo wi-ḍen-ta-ki/ 'why is the man going?'

3. /miri/ 'how', e.g., /no miri wi-to-no/ 'how will you go?'

4. /mir-bay/ 'how did' [FV /mir/], e.g., /no mir-bay wa? ḍem-o?-no/ 'how did you make the bow?'

5. /oyǰa/ 'how much', e.g., /no-ṇa soka oyǰa dabu-ḍen-ta/ 'how much did your shirt cost?'

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6. /oyǰa-bele/ 'when' [< /oyǰa/ 'how much' + /bele/ 'time' (L)], e.g., /no oyǰa-bele lem-o?-wi-to-no/ 'when will you go to sleep?'

7. /tor/ 'where', e.g., /goy-taŋ tor wi-ḍen-ta/ 'where is the cow going?'

4.23. Comparative Particles:

1. /mir/ 'as' [FV /miri/], e.g., /niŋ mir ḍaw may losuna ḍitino ḍaw/ 'he is as small as I am'

2. /losuna/ 'also', e.g., /niŋ miri ḍaw-t-iŋ may losuna ḍitino ḍaw-ḍi-ta/ 'as small as I am, he is also [i.e. still] smaller'

3. /upre/ 'over, than', e.g., /may a-niŋ upre odig mona?-bay ḍio-bo? ḍi-ta/ 'he lives in a bigger house over [i.e., than] I'

4.24. Miscellaneous Particles:

The following particles occur scattered throughout our corpus:

1. /aṇra/ 'no, not', e.g., /ǰoŋ aṇra ḍo-sun-o?-ta/ 'the mother said, no!'

2. /ansa/ 'no', e.g., /sum-to-no-ki...ansa/ 'will you eat? No!'

3. /oy/ 'hey' [vocative], e.g., /oy remo ak sab-a/ 'hey man! Come here!'

4. /lo/ 'hey' [vocative], e.g., /lo sunkri ak sab-a/ 'hey Sunkri! Come here!'

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5. /ele/ 'if it is...' (L), e.g., /buda-bar ele budai guru-bar ele lasma sukru-bar ele sunkri.../ 'if it is Wednesday [the child is called] Budai; if it is Thursday [the child is called] Laksmi; if it is Friday [the child is called] Sunkri...'

6. /o?on/ 'yes' [FV /o?õ/]; used primarily as a one-word sentence answer to a question, e.g., /a-remo ǰu-to-no-ki...o?on/ 'did you see the man? Yes!'

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CHAPTER III

SYNTAX

1. Introduction

This chapter will provide a summary discussion of Remo syntax. The basic syntactic structures--sentences, clauses, phrases, and words will be discussed.

In the material to be cited, only the constructions noted below will be hyphenated. In all other cases, no hyphens will be used within "words". A blank space will be used to demarcate words in any utterance, e.g., /mabisom ñato/ 'very hot (of the sun)', /remo a-ḍio wita/ 'the man goes home', /mona?bay selane/ 'the fat girl'.

1. Postpositional phrases, e.g., /remo-ntu/ 'near the man', /a-niŋ-pəlay/ 'for me', /susum-pəlay/ 'for eating'.

2. Verbs followed by 'clause-marking' morphemes, e.g., /ṇruŋ-seta/ 'having cooked...', /susum-seta/ 'having been eating...'.

3. Nominals preceded by the 'object' morpheme, e.g., /a-remo/ 'to the man', /a-may/ 'to him', /a-ḍio/ 'to the house'. These will be called 'object nominals'.

2. Sentences

A sentence, in Remo, is an utterance containing one or more clauses. A clause is an utterance containing a finite

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or a nonfinite verb. The simplest Remo sentence consists of but one clause. Thus, a clause and a sentence may be identical. The most complex sentence structurally consists of several clauses. Clauses containing finite verbs are always independent; those containing nonfinite verbs may be dependent, imperative, or comparative. There are also clauses, called 'equational', which either contain a copula verb, /di/ 'to be, have', or which have no copula at all.

Clauses (or sentences) may consist of a single verb-word, or they may consist of a verb-word and a number of other words and/or phrases, each in a specifiable relationship to the verb.

Sentences may be simple or complex, i.e., containing one clause or more than one clause. Where more than one clause occurs, the clauses may be both independent and coordinate, or one or more of the clauses may be independent coupled with one or more dependent subordinate clauses. Such dependent subordinate clauses are marked by 'clause-marking' morphemes postposed to either a finite or nonfinite verb-word.

2.1. Sentence Types:

Sentences may be grouped in terms of their clause structure and by their semantic type, as follows:

A. Single Clause:

1. Actor-Action: two types of single-clause actor-action sentences occur:

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a. without a subject nominal; this is the simplest sentence possible because it consists of only a finite verb-word, e.g., /sumto/ 'he eats', /saknin/ 'I came'.

b. with a subject nominal; this is the normal expansion of Type 1a., e.g., /may sumto/ 'he eats', /nin saknin/ 'I came'.

2. Action-Goal: a clause containing an 'impersonal' verb form, e.g., /a-nin kurugeta/ 'I am hungry', /a-may ta?-mibangeta/ 'he is sneezing', /a-nin mabisom runo?geta/ 'I feel very cold'.

3. Equational: two forms occur--one with a finite verb-word, the other without a verb-word, e.g., /remo bani ḍita/ or /remo bani/ both 'the man is good'; /ḍio sero? ḍita/ or /ḍio sero?/ both 'the house is dirty'.

4. Interrogative: two forms occur--one with a finite verb-word, the other without a verb-word. Some occur with the 'interrogative' morpheme and/or an 'interrogative' particle or pronoun. Others occur with only the pronoun or adverb particle. E.g., /no ero?ga kiyan sumtonoki/ 'will you eat rice tomorrow?', /arn ngom remo saga/ 'from which village does the man come?', /kon ma/ 'what [is] this?', /gitin remo ǰa/ 'who [is] that man?', /kon ǰan tanǰa/ 'whose axe [is] this?'.

5. Imperative: characterized by the presence of a verb in the imperative, e.g., /sum/ 'eat!', /a-ḍio wiya/ 'go home!', /a-nin kiyan be/ 'give me rice!'.

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B. Multiple Clauses:

Sentences containing more than one clause. These usually have at least one independent clause (often of the actor-action type). The other clause (or clauses) characteristically have the 'clause-marking' morpheme setting them off as dependent. Examples of dependent, clause-marked, clauses are: /a-ŋkwirẽỹ sok-seta/ 'holding her younger sister...', /sarga-sa?/ 'having finished...', /aḍi asak-ṇa/ 'if Aḍi doesn't come...' /muṇḍiguḍa awig-ṇa/ 'if I don't go to Mundiguda...'

1. Independent-Coordinate: all clauses in the sentence are parallel and independent, e.g., /niŋ sagniŋ a-remo ǰulo?niŋ/ 'I came (and) saw the man', /niŋ muṇḍlipaḍa witiŋ sapuŋ soptiŋ a-pe ruŋo?betiŋ/ 'I will go to Mundlipada (and) I will buy salop wine (and) I will bring (and) give it to you'.

2. Independent-Subordinate: two types occur--a dependent clause type and a conditional clause type:

a. Dependent-Independent: E.g., /niŋ sak-seta a-remo ǰulo?tiŋ/ 'I, having come, saw the man'; /may sak-seta a-semu? ḍaykta/ 'he, having come, will climb the tree', /niŋ a-guso? bugo?beḍoniŋ-sa? obo?beḍo?/ 'I, having hit the dog, was bitten'.

b. Conditional-Independent: E.g., /a-nayṇ ḍio kiyaŋ ḍiki-ṇa may losuna sumnay/ 'if we had food in the house we would have eaten', /ñado?-ṇa goŋtono/ 'if the sunshine

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[comes], you can', /pion sak-n̤ kobor sopta/ 'if the peon comes, he will bring news', /niŋ d̤io-bo? wi-n̤d̤oṇa niŋṇa kuni ntra outo/ 'if I go home, my wife will give me gruel to drink'.

3. Independent-Paratactic: an independent clause with one or more single-word clauses; the latter usually having no verb-word, e.g., /niŋ obagoŋtiŋ gine aṇra/ 'I cannot bite [because I have] no teeth', /niŋ mund̤iguḍa witiŋ isa aṇra/ 'I do not go to Mundiguda today' [literally: I Mundiguda I-go--today--no].

C. Comparative:

Two types of comparative clauses occur, a zero-grade comparative, and a comparative-grade. The former has only a verb root with no tense-aspect or personal endings; the latter has no verb at all, substituting instead an adjective as clause head. Examples are: /may niŋ sugo d̤aw/ 'he is small like me', /niŋ mir d̤aw may losuna d̤itino d̤aw/ 'he is as small as I'; /a-selaneṇ upre may tiurbay/ 'he [is] taller than the woman', /may a-gulayd̤oṇ upre baṇisuŋor/ 'she [is] the prettiest of all'.

2.2. Phrase Structure:

Sentences (or clauses) consist of, at least, a subject and a predicate. For example, in the sentence /niŋ sumtiŋ/ 'I eat', /niŋ/ '1st per. sg.' pronoun is the subject and /sumtiŋ/ '1st per. sg. finite verb, I-eat' is the predicate. The subject of a sentence need not always be overtly expres-

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sed, in any given sentence, because of cross-reference concord. Subject and predicate constructions are called noun phrases and verb phrases, respectively. But, while every subject construction is a noun phrase, not every noun phrase is a subject. With a preposed 'object' morpheme, a noun phrase may function as part of the expansion of a verb phrase.

The expansion of phrases implies the use of word classes other than nominals (i.e., nouns and pronouns) and verbs, such as adjectivals (i.e., adjectives and numerals) and adverbials. All word classes used in the expansion of a noun or verb phrase will be called attributives[1], defined as an endocentric function class whose members, when occurring in expansions of noun or verb phrases, are endocentric to the head of the construction, i.e., to the noun or verb of the phrase.

2.21. Noun Phrases:

A noun phrase may be a noun, a pronoun, or a combination of attributives and a noun or pronoun. Whether used in a subject or predicate construction, a noun phrase may be simple or multiple, endocentric or exocentric. For the most part, any noun or pronoun may occur as the head constituent

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[1]See E. A. Nida, A Synopsis of English Syntax (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1960) for definitions of attributive, endocentric, exocentric, and paratactic.

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(depending upon the limitations imposed by rules of concord and agreement). Noun phrases may also differ in the type of attributive which can occur with the head depending upon the use of the phrase as a subject or predicate.

2.211. Noun Phrases as Subjects:

When occurring as the subject of a sentence, a noun phrase may be a noun or a pronoun, or a noun or pronoun with attributives. All nouns and pronouns may occur without attributives as subject expressions and, when occurring alone, are exocentric to the remainder of the clause in which they occur, e.g., /remo (kiyaŋ sumto)/ 'the man (eats rice)', /niŋ (witiŋ)/ 'I (go, will go)'.[2]

Nouns and pronouns may occur as heads of subject expressions with several types of attributive modifiers. Attributives may be adjectives, adjectives preceded by adverbial particles, or determiners (i.e., possessives, demonstratives and numerical adjectives). Pronouns may have only possessive determiner attributives.

A. Endocentric:

1. Adjectival Attributives: E.g., /kaṇabay remo (diredire uriŋo?)/ 'the blind man (walked slowly)'; /mona?-bay selane (sumo?)/ 'the fat girl (ate)'.

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[2]Parentheses will be used in all the following examples to separate those portions of an utterance which are irrelevant to the point under discussion.

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2. Adverb-Adjective Attributives: E.g., /surisuri uriŋbay remo (ḍio-bo? wita)/ 'the fast-walking man (goes home)'.

3. Possessive Determiners: the only determiner that can occur with pronoun heads. E.g., /ḍatipaḍaŋ remo (erḍenta)/ 'the man of Dattipada (is threshing)', /niŋŋa tiksuŋ (sita)/ 'my foot (hurts)', /niŋŋa kuni (ḍio-bo? wiga)/ 'my wife (went home)'.

4. Demonstrative Determiners: E.g., /kon gulayne (ḍa? kumaḍenta)/ 'this boy (bathes in water)', /gitin selane (baṇi ḍita)/ 'that girl (is pretty)'.

5. Numerical Determiner: when placed before a noun, numerical determiners generally translate as numbers; when placed behind the noun (if the determiner is /muy/ 'one' or /miṇḍa/ 'one (human)') it generally translates as an 'indefinite' article. E.g., /miṇḍa remo (ŋkuswĩ-aluŋ ḍita)/ 'one man (is beneath the jackfruit tree)', /bire muy (gari-bo? ḍita)/ 'a stone (is on the path)', /ŋgi?i gisiŋ (aka ḍita)/ 'three chickens (are here)', /selane u?uṇḍo (a-kiṇḍa? kumaḍenta)/ 'four girls (are bathing in the river)'.

6. Determiner-Adjectival Attributives: E.g., /mbayyo mona?bay selanele (erḍenta)/ 'two big girls (are threshing)'.

7. Adjectival-Possessive Attributives: /kon mona?bay selaneṇ ḍio (sero?bay ḍita)/ 'this big girl's house (is dirty)'.

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8. Indefinite Pronouns: E.g., /gulayḍo (ḍayga)/ 'all (climbed)', /uṇaḍo (aka ḍita)/ 'few (are here)'.

B. Exocentric:

Noun phrases with exocentric expansions do not occur frequently in our data. Only the following have been observed: /kon gulayne monza gari.../ 'the boy, in the middle of the road...', /may?e sayble tinlok.../ 'they, the three sahibs...', /nay guloŋgoloŋ ṭaṭeḍo ǰomanǰimin ṭaṭeḍo (ḍayga)/ 'we, foreigners and policeman all, (climbed)'.

C. Multiple Heads:

Endocentric phrases with coordinate multiple heads occur as subject expressions in some utterances. These may be two or more single nouns, or two or more noun heads with attributives (it seems likely that any of the foregoing attributive patterns may occur in such phrases as coordinate immediate constituents of the noun phrase).
E.g., /sonki munḡli (iktaŋsuŋsuŋḍenta)/ 'Sonki and Mungli (are throwing away cowdung)', /kiṇḍri? miṇḍa sunkri miṇḍa (sunu? gugoḍenta)/ 'Kindri and Sunkri (are tying brooms)'.

2.212. Noun Phrases as Object Nominals:

Object nominals are noun phrases which occur as attributives to verbs to form verb phrases (i.e., predicate constructions). Object nominals may be nouns or pronouns, endocentric expansions of nouns or pronouns, or nouns or pronouns followed by postpositional particles.

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Noun phrases functioning as indirect objects are preceded by the 'object' morpheme. Noun phrases functioning as direct objects may or may not be preceded by the 'object' morpheme, under the conditions outlined in Chapter 2, section 2.2. In the 'impersonal' verb construction, pronouns preceded by the 'object' morpheme, and thus object nominals, function as subjects of the impersonal clause.

A. Single Object Nominal:

A single object nominal may consist of a noun or a pronoun, or it may be one of three kinds of endocentric expansion--adjectival, postpositional, or determiner.

Noun heads may or may not be preceded by the 'object' morpheme. Pronouns in object position (or in subject position in impersonal clauses) always take the 'object' morpheme. Nouns or pronouns followed by postpositional particles are variable--some nouns may take the object and a postposition, some take only the object, and some take only the postposition.

1. Adjectival Expansions: E.g., /(gitin remo) a-mona?bay selane (kiyaŋ beḍo?)/ '(that man) the-fat-girl (rice he-gave)', /(rem) a-kayla?bay guso? (o?om twiño?)/ '(the man) the-black-dog (arrow he-shot)'.

2. Postpositional Expansions: E.g., /(selane) a-remo-bagbo? (laykgəta)/ '(the girl) on-the-man (she-is-sitting)', /(niŋ) nsoŋ-boroŋ (lukburḍenta)/ '(I) with-a-spade (I-am-digging)', /(niŋ) no-boroŋtere (wiḍenta)/ '(I)

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near-you (I-go)'.

B. Double Object Nominals:

Object nominals may occur in pairs in sentences and both object nominals will be attributive to the verb. These paired object nominals may be called the direct and indirect objects of the verb.

When both occur, the indirect object is marked by the 'object' morpheme; the direct object is not marked, e.g., /(niŋ) a-guso? kiyaŋ (susum betiŋ)/ '(I) the-dog (ind. obj) rice (dir. obj) (I-give)'; /(may) a-niŋ saɒuŋ (ubeto)/ '(he) to-me (ind. obj) salop wine (dir. obj) (he-gives-to-drink)'.

Paired object expressions in which one member of the pair is an instrumental or locative expansion of a noun head occur. The object morpheme is preposed to the noun phrase which is the direct object of the action expressed by the verb and the instrumental or locative. E.g., /(niŋ) a-remo bire-boroŋ (tutuɖenta)/ '(I) the-man (dir. obj) stone-with (I-am-hitting)'.

2.213. Impersonal Subjects:

The subject noun phrase of an impersonal finite verb-word is always an object nominal and, in these constructions is almost always an object pronouu. E.g., /a-niŋ (kurugə-ta)/ 'I (am-hungry)' [to-me (has-been-hunger)], /a-may (us-kopgəta)/ 'he (has the hiccoughs)' [to-him (has-been-hic-coughs)].

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2.22. Verb Phrases:

Verb phrases have, as their head constituents, either finite verb-words or nonfinite verb constructions. Finite verb-words may be simple (i.e., just the verb-word), or they may be expanded using adverbial attributives or object nominals. Nonfinite verb heads may also be simple, i.e., imperative heads, or verb heads with clause-markers indicating the dependent clause, or 'infinitive' and 'gerund' expansions.

1. Simple Verb Head: E.g., /(niŋ) witiŋ/ '(I) go, will go', /(nay) gaytənay/ 'we (pl) enter'; /soka be/ 'give [me] a shirt!', /kobor ruŋ/ 'bring [me] news!'.

2. Attributives + Verb Head:

a. Adverbial: E.g., /(remo) diredire uriŋo?ta/ '(the man) walks slowly', /(remole) aka ḍita/ '(the men) are here', /(niŋ) ero?ga witiŋ/ '(I) will go tomorrow', /tugola (nay gulayḍo) ntra uḍo?nay/ 'yesterday (we all) drank gruel', /(remoŋ tiksuŋe) mabisom sita/ '(the man's bones) hurt severely'.

b. Object Nominals: verb phrase expansions using object nominals were discussed above, section 2.212. Some examples are: /(may) a-remo ǰuto/ '(he) sees the man', /(selane) a-liuŋ keroŋ unkerḍenta/ '(the girl) is planting paddy in the field', /(niŋ) remo-boroŋ a-kuṭ layktiŋ/ '(I) am sitting on the bed near the man'.

3. Clause-marked Verb Heads: indicating dependent clause in a sentence, e.g., /a-ŋkwirẽỹ sok-seta (kon miŋḍa

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toŋtoŋḍenta)/ 'having held her younger sister (this one is pounding)', /(nay) sumo?-sa? (a-ḍio wignay)/ '(we) having eaten (go home)'.

4. Infinitive Expansions: an exocentric construction using only a reduplicated verb root, e.g., /(arn bire niŋ) təntayn/ '(which stone am I) to carry?', /a-niŋ kiyaŋ susum baṇi/ 'I would like to eat rice' [(to-me) rice to-eat good].

5. Gerund Expansions: an exocentric construction consisting of a reduplicated verb root preceding (usually) a finite verb-word, e.g., /(niŋ) tutu maktiŋ/ '(I) know [how] to throw'. Sometimes the preceding reduplicated root itself is expanded by the addition of the postpositional particle /pəlay/ 'for', e.g., /(gisiŋmo?) ǰuǰu-pəlay ḍita/ '(eyeglasses) are for seeing'.

6. Endocentric Coordinate Expansions: verb phrases having two or more finite verb-words both of which are coordinate in the predicate, e.g., /(gulayne) sumo? saga/ '(the boy) came [and] ate', /(remo) raŋo? susumḍenta/ '(the man) is cooking and has eaten', /(niŋ muṇḍlipaḍa witiŋ sapuŋ soptiŋ) a-pe ruŋo? betiŋ/ '(I will go to Mundlipada, buy salop wine) and bring it and give it to you'.

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3. Agreement

Two forms of agreement occur in Remo sentences--one is grammatical, the other semantic. The former we call cross-reference concord; the latter we call government. Informants were inconsistent in their use of both of these forms of agreement.

3.1. Cross-Reference Concord:

In cross-reference concord, the subject must agree with the predicate in a clause with respect to person and number, by means of a "substitute form".[3] All Remo verbs must show concord with the actor-subject of an actor-action clause, i.e., "if the actor is a form of subclass A, the action must be a form of subclass A".[4] Concord is shown morphologically by personal ending morphemes suffixed to verbs, e.g., /niŋ witiŋ/ 'I go' [/niŋ/ '1st per. sg.' pronoun which agrees with /-iŋ/ '1st per. sg.' personal ending].

Clauses with finite verb-words may occur without a subject, e.g., /niŋ sumtiŋ/ and /sumtiŋ/ both mean 'I eat'. In such clauses, cross-reference, as defined by Bloomfield, occurs, i.e., that "the subclasses contain an actual mention of the forms with which they are joined...in the shape of a substitute-form, resembling...pronouns".[5] The allo-

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[3] L. Bloomfield, Language (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1933), pp. 191-93. We are combining "concord" and "cross-reference" since both are handled by the same mechanism.

[4] Ibid., p. 191 [5] Ibid., p. 193

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morphs of the personal ending morphemes mention the actor-subject of a clause.

3.2. Government:

Selection by government operates in choosing forms for the subject and object positions in a clause. Nouns and pronouns can all occur, as far as our data show, in both the subject and object positions in a clause, e.g., /remo a-gisiŋ ǰuto/ 'the man sees the chicken' and /gisiŋ a-remo ǰuto/ 'the chicken sees the man'.

Government operates in two ways in Remo sentences. First, there are the semantic restrictions upon the association of certain nominals with certain verbs in sentences. Second, there is the use of the 'object' morpheme in order to reduce ambiguity in sentences.

With respect to semantic restrictions, a sentence such as " the house sees the man" is as semantically impossible in Remo as it is in English (this is not to say, however, that such a sentence would not be grammatically well-formed in Remo). In similar fashion, although grammatically well-formed, the sentence */niŋ tugola goyga/ 'yesterday I died' is semantically unacceptable in Remo. Insufficient work has been done to decide what context restrictions occur for nominals and verbs in Remo. Some data, suggestive of the sorts of restrictions implied by the above comments, were accumulated. However, they cannot be regarded as anything more than highly tentative and impressionistic. Two examples must suffice to illustrate the type of contextual

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restriction referred to: the verb /pid̤/ 'to remove thatch' (I) occurs with /loŋ/ 'thatch' (n), as in /may d̤io-bo? pi-pid̤enta/ 'he is removing thatch from the house'. No informant, however, would accept */may d̤io-bo? lod̤i pipid̤enta/ 'he is removing mud from the house'. The verb /og/ 'to carry' (I) connotes carrying something by means of a sling draped diagonally across the torso from one shoulder to the opposite hip, and is restricted in grammatical usage to the carrying of infants in this fashion, e.g., /kunid̤ẽỹ a-d̤aŋ-d̤or-ntu ogo? laykgəta/ 'the wife has sat near the doorway holding [a baby]'; note that the semantic restrictions are such that what the wife is holding needs no mention in a Remo sentence--it can only be a baby when this verb is used.

Pronouns occur as subjects of actor-action clauses as do nouns. The 'object' morpheme occurs preposed to such nominals when they are used as object nominals in verb expansions. Thus, in /niŋ ǰutiŋ/ 'I see', the pronoun /niŋ/ occupies the subject slot; with a preposed 'object', /a-niŋ/ can occur in, e.g., /niŋ a-niŋ ǰutiŋ/ 'I see myself' or in /may a-niŋ ǰuto/ 'he sees me'. When the actor and goal are not identical, ambiguity may result. For example, */may remo ǰuto/ would be ambiguous for, without some form of selection, it could mean either 'he sees the man' or 'the man sees him'. Use of the 'object' morpheme acts as a form of redundancy to obviate possible ambiguity. Since the form of the verb tells us only that the subject must be a 3rd per-

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son, there is no way to tell whether /may/ or /remo/ is the subject. The 'object' morpheme clearly indicates which of two competing forms is the object nominal. Thus, if we have /may a-remo ǰuto/, the sentence is rendered as 'he sees the man'; if we have /remo a-may ǰuto/, the sentence means 'the man sees him'.

Generally speaking, when a sentence contains two substantives which admit of no semantic ambiguity, the object morpheme does not occur, e.g., /remo ḍio oroyndenta/ 'the man is building a house'. Nor is it necessary in a sentence containing a possessive noun phrase as object nominal, e.g., /niŋ remoŋ tumo? ontiŋ/ 'I hear the man's mouth' (i.e., his noise), or /selane goytaŋŋa ḍatukwi rwito/ 'the girl milks the cow's teats'.

The 'object' morpheme is used, generally, in the following situations:

1. when a sentence contains two potentially ambiguous forms, either of which may be the subject or the object of the sentence.

2. when a sentence contains two nominal expressions, one of which may, as an object nominal, optionally take a postpositional particle; the 'object' morpheme occurs if the particle does not and vice-versa, e.g., /niŋ a-ḍio witiŋ/ 'I go home' or /niŋ ḍio-bo? witiŋ/ 'I go home'; /may a-korǰi laykto/ or /may korǰi-bagbo? laykto/ both 'he sits on the chair'.

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3. when a sentence contains two nominals, one of which is a locative object, e.g., /remo a-tepul lorto/ 'the man vomits on the table'.

4. when a sentence contains a nominal expression as a verbal complement, e.g., /niŋ a-bire aǰuro?tiŋ/ 'I leaped over the stone'.

4. Word Order

Remo word order tends to be somewhat flexible, although clear preferences are expressed for certain patterns in noun and verb phrases and in sentences.

4.1. Noun Phrases:

The following word order patterns for noun phrases occur; the first pattern listed is preferred:

1. Attrib + Head: e.g., {mona?bay remo} 'big man'

2. Head + Attrib: e.g., {remo mona?bay} 'big man'

Noun phrases having more than one attributive show the following patterns; the first pattern is preferred:

3. Lim Attrib + Attrib + Head: e.g., {muy kaylabay gisiŋ} 'a, one black chicken'

4. Lim Attrib + Head + Attrib: e.g., {muy gisiŋ kaylabay} 'a, one black chicken'

5. Poss Nom + Head: e.g., {nokiŋa kiyaŋ} 'a rice pot'

6. Loc + Head: e.g., {kon remo} 'this man'

Informants consistently refused to accept as well-formed any noun phrase in which the head preceded all the attributives.

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4.2. Verb Phrases:

The preferred word order pattern for verb phrases is:

Attrib + Head.

Attributives of a verb head may be adverbs, noun phrases, or object nominals. For example:

diredire uriŋo?ta	'walked slowly'
baṇi twinto	'shoots well'
gugoybay naŋ toktiŋ	'pick up the dead snake'
mabisom sit-sa?	'being very sick...'
a-remo ǰutiŋ	'see the man'
a-remo kiyaŋ beḍo?	'give the man rice'

4.3. Clauses:

The preferred word order pattern for clauses is:

Subj + Pred

which may be re-written as: Noun Phrase + Verb Phrase. The preferred patterns for noun and verb phrases have been discussed above in sections 4.1 and 4.2. In general, the predicate verb occupies the final position in a clause. However, textual materials indicate that there is considerable leeway with regard to its placement, especially in sentences with several clauses. For example, following the main verb of the second clause, i.e., /a-may butuŋ-sa? gaygniŋ a-ḍio/ 'fearing her, I entered the house', one finds the object of the verb. Occasionally the subject follows the predicate verb as in /a-bire-unḍer laykgəta bubu ŋgom umporāỹ/ 'the husband from Bodoballe has sat

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against the stone'. However, in general, informants refused to accept sentences in which the predicate verb was not in final position.

4.4. Order of Attributives:

The following are the preferred patterns for attributives in a single clause:

1. NP + Temp + IO + Instr + Adv + DO + VP

e.g., /niŋ ero?ga a-mona?bay remo titi-boroŋ surisuri kiyaŋ betiŋ/ [I tomorrow obj-fat-man hand-with quickly rice will-give-I]

2. Temp + IO + NP + Lim + DO + VP

e.g., /ero?ga niŋ a-minda remo ǰutiŋ/ [tomorrow I obj-one-man will-see-I]

3. NP + Temp + Lim + Adv + IO + DO + VP

e.g., /niŋ ero?ga muy surisuri a-remo nokina kiyaŋ betiŋ/ [I tomorrow a quickly obj-man pot-poss rice will-give-I]

4. NP + Temp + IO + Adv + Lim + DO + VP

e.g., /niŋ ero?ga a-remo surisuri muy nokina kiyaŋ betiŋ/ [I tomorrow obj-man quickly a-pot-poss rice will-give-I]

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APPENDIX

LEXICON

This lexical list is based on a standard word-list compiled by the "Cooperative Indo-American Munda Language Project", which was used as an eliciting guide in the field.

All lexical items are listed in the following alphabetical order: /a w ə b d ḍ e g i ǰ k l m n ñ ṇ ŋ o p r s t ṭ u ? y z/.[1] An asterisk to the left of an entry indicates that it is spelled correctly but incorrectly alphabetized. Hyphens indicate morphemic boundaries within words; parenthesized hyphens indicate tentative morphemic boundaries. Before a form, a hyphen indicates a postpositional particle. A hyphen following a form indicates that form to be a verb root. Glosses are followed, whenever appropriate, by abbreviations indicating the form class to which the item belongs; within the verb form class, the subclasses I and II will also be marked.

The following abbreviations are used:

n.	'noun'	uncl.	'unclassified'
pron.	'pronoun'	restr.	'restricted'
adj.	'adjective'	per.	'person'
adv.	'adverb'	sg.	'singular'
pp.	'postposition'	d.	'dual'
c.v.	'compound verb'	pl.	'plural'

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[1]This is order used by N. H. Zide in his Papers on South Munda Phonology V: Gutob-Remo Verb Stems (Chicago: University of Chicago. Mimeographed. August, 1965).

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temp. 'temporal'
(L) 'loan'
Lim. 'limited'
loc. 'locative'
obj. 'object'
? 'uncertain'

aborl- to fight, (L?), II
aḍoŋ fish, n.
ager unripe mango, n.
aǰur- to leap over, I
aǰuro-ḍuŋ- to cross over, c.v., I
aka here, loc. adv.
al- to thatch, I
ale-ḍag- to squeeze out water, I
aleḍ- to squeeze, I
-aluŋ beneath, under, pp.
am- to pick up, I
a-may 3 per. sg. obj. pron., he, himself; she, herself; it, itself
a-may-?ẽ 3 per. pl. obj. pron. they, themselves
a-may-pa 3 per. d. obj. pron. they, themselves
ampirig-moḍ- to blink, II
a-nay 1 per. pl. pron. obj. us, ourselves
a-niŋ 1 per. sg. obj. pron. me, myself
a-no 2 per. sg. obj. pron. you, yourself
añuŋ common fly, n.
aŋ- to be taboo, I
aṇḍuŋ- to tie, I
aṇra no, not, adv.
aŋob-ḍag- to yawn, II
aŋob-ḍa? yawn, n.
aŋ-to taboo, n.
a-pa 2 per. d. obj. pron. you, yourself
a-pe 2 per. pl. obj. pron. you, yourselves
ar- to burn out, I
ara bamboo pot, n (L)
arḍ- to shave, I
are hail, n.
ari where, adv.
ari-siŋ dew claw, n.
ar(-)ke moon, month, n.
ar(-)ke-to? moonlight, n.
arlam brass plate, n.
arlay?-suŋ charcoal, n.
arn which, interrog. pron.
arzũ YoSiHu, n.
asar June-July (L), n.
at unit of length, cubit, n. (L?)
ate there (middle distance) adv.
ati elephant, n. (L)
aṭ market, n. (L)
aṭ-gə-ta eight, adj. (L)
aṭ-lok eight (human), adj.
au? edible red ant, n.
a?a bamboo, n.

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a?a-ḍiŋ bamboo ideochord, n.
wag- to break, II
wag-bog- to cut off a head, I
wan- to pull, I
waṇduŋ- to pull, I
waŋ FaSi, n.
warlim- to scoop, scratch earth, I
wa? bow, n.
way-ser- to drive away by yelling, I
way-ser-o?-ñon- to drive away by making a yelling noise, c.v. I
way- to call, marry, I
ways- to distribute, I
wia? brass dancing bells, n.
wiḍa? wind, n.
witio few, adj.
wi- to go, II
ba father, n.
babu honorific title, n.
ba-bur wood, n.
baḍ- to slap, I
bag tiger, n. (L)
-bag-bo? on, upon, pp.
bagor- to beat one's breast, II
bal- to burn, I
bali sand, n.
balsa thatch leanto over pyre, n.
balu bear, n. (L?)
bam- to get, II
bandapun July-August, n.
banǰ-i YoSiDa, n.
banl- to tie (L), I
banz-a YoSiSo, n.
baṇi good, adj.
baṇi-baṇi well, good, adj.
baṇi-bay pretty, adj.
baṇṭal- to share, I
baṇṭi-tuṇṭi crookedly, adv.
bara-kuŋ peacock's tail, ceremonial fan, n.
bari man's name, n.
barik Dōm caste, n.
bar-o-ṭa twelve, adj. (L)
bar-si two days, adv.
bartayntom Gray Hornbill, n.
bar-to-ga day before yesterday, adv.
bar-tog-mo year before last, adv.
bartug- to cut wood, I
basa?-ti left hand, left arm, n.
basa?-ti-bay left-handed, adj.
base? corpse, n.
batur- to spin fibre against thigh, I
batu? twins, n.
ba(-)ur-to-ga day before the day before yesterday, temp. adv.
ba?soŋ-kwi Baksong's wife, poss. n.
baylo? friend, n.
bay?-ŋ-gre cradle, n.

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beḍ- to give, I
beǰa tomato, n.
bela-pasəlga afternoon, temp. adv.
bendi ocra, n. (L)
bene? earthworm, n.
beṇḍia young, adj. (L)
beṇḍi-bay immature, adj.
besag- to spread a cloth, to go to bed, I
besəra falcon, n.
biba-ḍem- to perform a marriage ceremony, II
bibal- to marry, II
bibeḍ- to place yarn on warp of loom, I
biḍ- to sow (e.g., paddy), I
biḍiŋ bedding, n. (L)
biǰaŋ male sibling, n.
bilet porcelain cup, plate, n.
bile? feather, n.
bili thigh, n.
bilil-e thighs, pl. n.
bili-siŋ chicken's thigh, n.
b-in-iǰaŋ-e sibling group, pl. n.
bire stone, n.
birel-e stones, pl. n.
biri forest, n.
biseb- to suck, I
biseb-ḍag- to suck milk, I (R,Li)
biti salt, n.
-bitre in, pp.
bo Mahua tree, n.
boḍ- to build (wall), to scoop out, I
bo-ḍa? natural spring, n.
bodnayk Bodnaik clan, n.
boguḍa Ravaliguda village, n.
bokor- to chat, I
bokuynlu wasp. n.
bol-bay-rem good man, n. (L)
bol-ḍem- to cure, I
bol-rem good man, n.(L)
bol-ta pretty, adj. (L)
boluk(-)sam griddle, bkaing, n.
bon- to copulate, I
boni blood, n.
boṇḍu cloth headband, n.
boŋka-rem tomcat, n.
boŋka-so? he dog, n.
bop head, n.
bob-e heads, pl. n.
bora gunny sack, n. (L)
bora-pi Purple Sunbird, n.
borol- to nurture, I
-boroŋ with, pp.
-boroŋ-tere near, with, pp.
boros year, n. (L)
bors-ek one year, adv. temp.
bosay- to set aside, (L), I
-bo? on, at, in, from, pp.
boy-ǰal fish net, n. (L)

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boyr-a-bay deaf, adj.
boyr-i-bay deaf, adj. (feminine)
boysag April-May, n.
boys sib, moiety ?, n.
bu-bay multicolored, adj.
bubob- to bark, I (R)
bubu snake, n. (L)
bu-bul-ãỹ foam, n.
bubuŋe Bodoballe village, n.
budar-din Wednesday, n. (L)
buḍ- to smoke (cigar), suck blood, I (R)
buḍa-bay old, adj. (L)
buḍuŋ stick, n.
bug- to beat, I
bug-wi- to get lost, II
buk-taḍ- to pound (fibre), I
bul- to get drunk, II
bulayñ- to ball yarn, I
bulo-suŋ- to boil over, c.v. uncl.
bulul- to ripen, II (R)
bumbo sexual intercourse, n.
b-un-i-tur saliva, n.
buŋḍguḍa Muŋḍlipaḍa hamlet, n.
buŋ- to keep, I
buŋ(-)bi dragonfly, n.
buŋguḍa Muŋḍlipaḍa hamlet, n.
buŋka-me billy goat, n.
buŋri whirlwind, n. (L?)
*buntaŋa nickname "Worthless Fellow", n.
buŋte buffalo, n.
buŋte-ḍe? bullfrog, toad, n.
burgãõ Muŋḍlipaḍa hamlet, n.
bursa pubic hair, n.
buru? lung, n.
busã FaFaFa, MoMoMo, n.
buso intestinal worm, n.
buso-rem adult, n.
buti-kuŋ penis, n.
butuŋ- to fear, II
buyḍe-ḍo?gri wrinkled old woman, n.
buyturo-suŋ- to spit, uncl.
daŋramaǰi Clan name, n.
daŋḍor doorway, n. (L)
dasra August-September, n. (L)
dwi two, adj. (L)
debi goddess, n. (L)
deul shrine, n. (L)
dial October-November n. (L)
di-boros two years, temp. adv.
di-kori forty, adj. (L)
di-kori-aṭ forty-eight, adj. (L)
di-kori-dos fifty, adj. (L)
di-kori-dwi forty-two, adj. (L)
di-kori-muy forty-one, adj. (L)
di-kori-no forty-nine, adj. (L)
di-kori-pans forty-five, adj. (L)

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di-kori-sar forty-four, adj. (L)
di-kori-sat forty-seven, adj. (L)
di-kori-sop forty-six, adj. (L)
di-kori-tin forty-three, adj. (L)
din day, n. (L)
dire slowly, adv. (L)
dire-dire slowly, adv. (L)
doŋga dugout canoe, n. (L?)
dora Clan name (L?)
dorpon mirror, n. (L)
dos-gə-ṭa ten, adj. (L)
dos-mibo tenth day before full moon, adv. temp.
duarbun door lintel, n. (L)
duli dust, n.
dumba ghost, n. (L?)
dumri mist, n. (L)
dup incense, n. (L)
dup-dumni incense, n. (L)
ḍaw-bay little, adj.
ḍaw-saḍu YoSiHu, n.
ḍab- to pound, I
ḍabali belt, n.
ḍabri round wicker basket, n.
ḍabu money, n. (L)
ḍabu- to cost IIuncl. (L)
ḍagḍor doctor, n. (L)
ḍagwi? evil spirit, n.
ḍagwi?-gige ceremonial rite to a spirit, n.
ḍaktor milk, n.
ḍaluḍ- to cover with palm of hand, I
ḍamay drum, n.
ḍamuŋ plaited fibre basket, n.
ḍamuŋ-ǰaŋ type of marriage feast, n.
ḍ-əṇ-ay ghat, n.
ḍərayñ- to cover (a pot) I
ḍasuŋ drum, n.
ḍatu-kwi breast, n.
ḍaul- to grow thin, II
ḍa? water, n.
ḍa?-iḍ-o? adulterous elopement, n.
ḍa?-kumal- to deliver a child, II R, Li
ḍa?-mo? tears, n.
ḍaybor driver (of a car) n. (L)
ḍayks- to climb, II
ḍwiñ- to cook, I
ḍwoyn-ḍar- to cook (something bought), I
ḍəlay?-bay short, adj.
ḍəlayks- to grow short, II
ḍ-ən-aray metal pot lid, n.
-ḍəri in line, pp (L)
ḍeḍarup snail, n.
ḍel- to arrive, I
ḍem- to do, I
ḍen- to be, become, II
ḍeŋga-bay tall, adj. (L)
ḍerak-ǰul- to read a palm, I
ḍereŋ brass cow bell, n.

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ḍeruŋ animal's horn, n.

ḍiḍig- to lie down, II

ḍikl- to be, have, IIuncl.(Li)

ḍiŋgo house, n. (Andrahal dialect)

ḍiŋya tobacco, n.

ḍiŋya-bur fence, n.

ḍiŋya-buruŋ house fence, n.

ḍio house, n.

ḍiol-o houses, pl. n.

ḍiol- to live as husband and wife, II

ḍio-ŋ-kwi married woman, n.

ḍio-t-be married (i.e., to be living as husband and wife), n.

ḍisari shaman, n.

ḍitino that, demonstrative sg. pron.

ḍomo? finished, empty, no more, adj.

ḍon- to carry (on shoulder) I

ḍoṇsuka camel ?, n.

ḍoŋ-kwi HuBrWi, n.

ḍorkaŋ-ganalu large red ant, n.

ḍruka leopard, n.

ḍug- to beat (of heart), II R, Li

ḍugura?-pi Collared Bushchat, n.

ḍuma ancestor, n.

ḍumãw̃ little, tiny, adj.

ḍuŋ- to go away, run away II

ḍuŋ-ḍuŋ- cowskin drumhead, n.

ḍuŋgal- to steal, I

ḍuŋga-rem thief, n.

ḍurga wooden cow bell, n.

ḍuruŋ- to pour into a pot, I

ḍusa sheet, n.

ḍusog- to want, desire, II

-e in the, pp. (L)

egar-ṭa eleven, adj.

eg-lu ear wax, n.

ek one, adj. (L)

el- to charm (by magic), I

el-o?-ta magic, charm, n.

ele if it is...(L), particle

enke-tenke crookedly, adv. (L)

entur- to spin yarn against thigh, I

er- to winnow, I

e-rem evil magician, n.

ere HuYoBr, n.

ero?-ga tomorrow, temp. adv.

ero?g-mo next year, temp. adv.

er-si three days, temp. adv.

e-taŋ-goy cow's rope halter, n.

e-taŋ-me goat's rope halter, n.

gagri waterjar, n. (L)

ganalu small red ant, n.

gar- to rip (cloth) I

gari footpath, n.

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-gəri from, pp.
ga?aŋ black gram, n.
gay-wi- to sink, fall into water, II
gay-ḍa large brass pot, n.
gaygo? dense, adj.
gay-murig- to dive, duck into water, II
gays- to fry, I
gay-seḍ- to perform funeral rites, II
gay?-bi-bay salty, adj.
gay- to enter, II
gwi-ḍag- to wash, II
gwi-moḍ- to wash one's face, II
gwi-soŋ- to kindle, I
gwi-suŋ- to wash one's feet, II
gwoy-til- to wash one's hands, II
gəwal- to be ashamed, II (L)
gərego egg yolk, n.
gəsag- to chew, I
gə-ga Jungle Crow, n.
gə-lay? castrated bull, n.
g-ən-ap roof cross beams, n.
gəŋ-ḍa?-kwĩ large clay jar, n.
gə-rap kind of small mouse, n.
gərayle Basupada village, n.
gə-rem-pwi cat, n.
gə-sa monkey, n.
gə-saŋ Bulbul bird, n.
*gərego egg yolk, n.
gəta-ti palm (of hand), n.
gəta-til-e palms (of hands) pl. n.
gə-taynla type of grasshopper, n.
-ge in, at, pp. (L?)
geb- to burn, I R (Li)
gel- to offer, II
gen- to fill (a pot), I
geta that (farthest away) demonstrative pron. sg.
geta-ŋ those (farthest away) demonstrative pron. pl.
geyñ- to chew, I
gibe-gaŋ black gram, n.
gi-be-so? bear, n.
giḍ- to chew, I
giḍ- to be sticky, I uncl. (Li)
gi-ḍe? frog, toad, n.
gigeb- to heat, II (Li)
gi-geb-ḍa hot, adj.
gi-ge-gelo?-ta leaf cup (as an offering to god Mapru), n.
gi-gep-bay hot, adj.
gilas cup, glass, n. (L)
gile-ker seed rice, n.
gi-me goat, n.
g-in-e tooth, n.
g-in-el-e teeth, pl. n.
g-in-iŋ dowry, n.
ginǰi undershirt, n. (L)
giŋ-gim cheek, n.
giŋi leech, n.
gire? liver, n.

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giriŋ WiBr, n.

giriŋ-boy WiYoSi, n.

gi-se type of grass hopper, n.

gi-si head louse, flea, n.

gi-siŋ chicken, n.

gi-siŋ-mo? eyeglasses, n.

gi-siŋ-re porcupine, hedge-hog, n.

gi-siŋ-se fowl, n.

git eagle, falcon, clan name (L), n.

gi-tilok-pi Wren-warbler, n.

gitin that, these, sg., pl. demonstrative pron.

giye rope, n.

giyeḍ- to scratch, II

giyu Ghee oil (L), n.

gobig- to wear a lungi, II

goḍ- to sweep; cut cloth; slay an animal; tie a broom, I

goḍog- to cut (as a finger) II

golori Dōm caste, n.

goŋ- to be able, II (Li)

gor Dōm caste, n.

gora horse, n. (L)

gor-boy Dōm female, n.

gore Salanpada village, n.

goru cow, n. (L)

goswi- to whistle, chirp, I

gosi loincloth, n.

gosil- to wear a loincloth, II

goy-bur-goy- to chop wood, c.v. II uncl.

goyla Drongo bird, n.

goy-lu-bay dead, adj.

goys- to die, II

goy-suŋ-kwi widow remarriage n.

goy-taŋ cattle, cow, n.

gran small deer, wolf?, n.

gray? thorn, n.

gub- to graze, tie (wood), I

gu-boy-guḍ-o?-ruŋ-o?-niŋ marriage-by-capture [verb phrase used as n.]

gu-bu hog, pig, n.

gubu-laŋ type of bat, n.

guḍ- to pull, I

gug- to peck (of chickens), I (R)

gugob- to wrap, I

gugoḍ- to cut (cloth), I

gu-goy-bay dead, adj.

gugud- to strip (fibre), to level ground, I

gugu-sur- to level ground, I

guk-rom man's neckband, n.

gul- to dig, I

gulay all, adj.

gulay-ḍo all (human), indefinite pron.

guloŋ foreigner, non-speaker of Remo, n.

guloŋ-e foreigners, pl. n.

guloŋ-ola book, n.

gu-lu rabbit, n.

gulu-gu? neck, n.

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gu-luñar Whiteye Bird, n.

gum- to winnow, I

gum-wi-tek unthreshed paddy, n.

gumari dung beetle, n.

g-un-om stone dolmen, n.

gunor brass ring necklace, n.

g-un-ura? spindle, n.

g-un-u chisel, n.

guŋrone Bodopada village, n.

gupaḍ- to join in marriage, I

gupa-siŋ type of marriage ceremony, n.

gur- to rain, I (R)

gurag- to spin thread, I

guraŋ back (of body), n.

guraŋ-ar-ǰul- to look back, c.v., I

guraŋ-bulay roof, n.

guraŋ-gəri back from, loc. adv.

guraŋ-siŋ corner of house, n.

guru-bar-din Thursday, n. (L)

gurume Andrahal village, n.

gusane Dumiripada village, n.

gu-so? dog, n.

gu-sog-e dogs, pl. n.

gusu out there, loc. adv.

gu-sua dogfish, n.

gusube Kirsanipada village, n.

gusu-ṇ that, those (far away), demonstrative pron.

gu-suḍa fox, n.

gu-suŋ-ḍa rooster, Jungle Fowl, n.

gusuŋgere Bandiguda village, n.

gusup kichchipoda village, n.

gutu-moŋ forehead, n.

gu?uŋ- to hunt, I

igĩẽỹ SoSo, DaDa, n.

ig-sam- to defecate, I

ik-taŋ-suŋ- to throw away cowdung, c.v. uncl.

ilṭa mud brick, n.

imi name, n.

inlo 5th day before yesterday; 5th day after yesterday, temp. adv.

-iŋ-gəri from here, loc. adv.

-iŋ-ka from here, loc. adv.

iŋ-miṇḍa this side, one... loc. adv.

ipur- to marry (woman speaking), II

ipur-bay twice-married, adj.

isa- daily, temp. adv.

iskul school, n. (L)

i? feces, n.

ǰa FaMo, MoMo, n.

ǰa who, interrog. pron.

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ǰag- to guard, I (L)
ǰagl- to keep watch, I
ǰakǰag- to shake something, I
ǰal fish net, n. (L)
ǰambali temple (parietal), n.
ǰanta grinding stone, n. (L)
ǰa-ṇa whose, interrog. possessive pron.
ǰaŋ-zaŋ goatskin drumhead, n.
-ǰe (this) one (of many), pp. (L)
ǰigiri clan name, n.
ǰinl- to win, II
ǰira fish trap, n.
ǰiral- to fish with a trap, I
ǰokpur bellows, n.
ǰokto below, loc. adv.
ǰolka-dem- to perform the lifting of taboo rite, c.v., I
ǰolkal- to lift a taboo, I
ǰoman policeman, n. (L)
-ǰimin echo construction, e.g., /ǰoman-ǰimin/ 'policeman'
ǰona maize, n.
ǰoŋ mother, n.
ǰoŋ now, temp. adv.
ǰoŋ-bu sow (female pig), n.
ǰoŋ-buŋ buffalo cow, n.
ǰoŋ-goy cow (female), n.
ǰoŋ-me nanny goat, n.
ǰoŋ-rem she cat, n.
ǰoŋ-siŋ hen, n.
ǰoŋ-so? bitch, n.
ǰoŋ-suŋ big toe, n.
ǰoŋ-ti thumb, n.
ǰor- to get down, II
ǰug- to net (fish), I to lift (net), I to build, I (L)
ǰugǰug- to pick up, lift I
ǰul- to see, look I to hang up II (R)
ǰuŋ-ḍag- to soak, I
ǰur- to be chilled, II R, uncl.
ǰurayk cemetary (burning pyre), n.
ǰur-gə-ta chill, n.
ka-gilas cup, glass, n. (L)
kakos-potor paper, n. (L)
kal deep, adj. (L); age, n. (L)
kam work, n. (L)
kanil- to shut the eyes, II
kaṇ-a-lu earhole, n.
kaṇ-a-luḍ-e earholes, pl. n.
kaṇ-a-mi nostril, n.
kaṇ-a-mil-e nostrils, pl. n.
kaṇ blind, adj.
kaṇa hole, n. (L)
kaṇ-a-bay blind, adj.
kaṇ-i-bay blind (feminine), adj.
kaṇa-pay vaginal orifice, n.

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kaŋ corner of house, n.
kaŋḍa? funerary sacrifice, n.
kapi coffee, tea, n.
karab-ḍem- to spoil, c.v. I
karo Sarus Crane, n.
kataŋe Katamguda village, n.
kayla-bay black, adj. (L)
kwi YoSi, n.
kwi? turtle, n.
kwi- to derrogate, I
kəka FaYoBr, n.
kərăў grass, n.
kəri pen, pencil, n.
keǰa exchange, barter, n.
keǰal- to exchange, barter I
keloŋ- to jump up and down, II
kembuŋ Dhemna snake, n.
ken-awm double-pointed arrow head, n.
keṇḍa branch ?, n.
keroŋ paddy rice, n.
keroŋ-ǰaŋ cooked rice-millet mixture, n.
ke-se type of tree, n.
kesup winnowing basket, n.
ke (over) here (near distance) loc. adv.
kete...sete as many as...so many... adv. (L)
ke?-tuŋ sky, n.
kib- to irrigate, pour water, I
ki-kep deer, n.
kila grindstone handle, n.
kilo tiger (used only in re: Tiger Sib) n.
kimi YoBrWi, n.
kintik-bu worm ?, n.
kiṇ-ḍa? river, n.
kiṇ-ḍiŋ double-faced drum, n.
kiṇ-ḍiŋ-sar small drum, n.
kiṇ-ḍuŋ type of beetle, n.
kiṇ-gu-bo-ḍa? sacred Sita pool at Muṇḍli-paḍa, n.
kiṇ-ra guitar-like one-stringed instrument, n.
kirim Sparrowhawk, n.
kirime fingernail, bird's claw, n.
kirimel-e fingernails, pl. n.
kirime-ku tiger claw, n.
kirim-ti fist, n.
kirim-til-e fists, pl. n.
kiriŋe mosquito, n.
kirol- to shout, II (L)
kirsani clan name, n. (L?)
kirsanipaḍa Kirsanipada village, n.
kiyaŋ boiled rice, n.
kiyaŋ-gar north, n.
kiyaŋ-pi Sparrow, n.
kiñar WiSi, n.
kole-kole softly, adv.
kombol blanket, n.
komti Crow-Pheasant, n.

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kon this, these, demonstrative pron.

kon-e these, pl. demonstrative pron.

kon-e?e these, pl. demonstrative pron.

kon-ṇa this, demonstrative possessive pron.

konti mud wall, n.

koṇḍ-a-bay mute, adj.

koṇḍekto about, adv. (L)

kore-aṭ twenty-eight, adj.

kore-bar-o thirty-two, adj.

kore-dwi twenty-two, adj.

kore-dos thirty, adj.

kore-egar-o thirty-one, adj.

kore-ek twenty-one, adj.

kore-m-ba?ar twenty-two, adj.

kore-moloy twenty-five, adj.

kore-muy twenty-one, adj.

kore-no twenty-nine, adj.

kore-ŋ-gi?i twenty-three, adj.

kore-onis thirty-nine, adj.

kore-otr-o thirty-eight, adj.

kore-pans twenty-five, adj.

kore-pondr-o thirty-five, adj.

kore-sar twenty-four, adj.

kore-sat twenty-seven, adj.

kore-sod-u thirty-four, adj.

kore-so-gə-ṭa twenty-six, adj.

kore-sol-o thirty-six, adj.

kore-sotr-o thirty-seven, adj.

kore-ṭa twenty, adj. (L)

kore-ter-o thirty-three, adj.

kore-tin twenty-three, adj.

kore-ti?iri twenty-six, adj.

kore-u?u twenty-four, adj.

korǰi chair, n. (L)

korǰil-e chairs, pl. n.

kosṭo-beḍ- to hurt, c.v. I

koyla jackel, n.

kraka padlock, n.

kub- to cough, I

kubra bent-over, adj.

kubuŋ-bay thick, adj.

kuḍa clan, patri-sib ?, n.

kuḍo wall, n.

kukwi- to wrap, cover with cloth, II

ku-kup cough, n.

kukup-bam- to hiccough, c.v. II (R, Li)

ku-kuŋ peacock, n.

ku-kur-pa plant, n.

ku-kur-pi pigeon, dove, n.

ku-ku-sa tiger, n.

kuli-so? adolescent dog, n.

kulom(-)pari all relations (used to refer to members of a village), n.

kulor ceremonial bells, n.

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kumal- to bathe, II

kum-bog- to wash hair, II

kumḍa pumpkin, n. (L)

kunti iron nail, n. (L)

kuntuŋa arrow quiver, n.

k-un-uŋ this, demonstrative pron.

k-un-uŋ-pa these two, demonstrative pron.

k-un-u?-po? weaving frame, n.

kunḍa mountain, n.

kunḍap hip, n.

kunḍa?-i buttock, rectum, n.

kunḍ-i-bay mute (feminine) adj.

kuŋga sickle-shaped grass cutting knife, n.

kupi wick lamp, n.

kur(-)druŋga Gray Shrike, n.

kure type of sour berry, n.

kur-goy cow's hoof, n.

kurko lizard, chameleon, n.

kurlak-siŋ chicken wattles, n.

kurla? chin, n.

kurob- to belch, I

kurtom beard, n.

kuru- to be hungry, II(R,Li)

kuruma owl, n.

kuruŋ-ḍa testicle (animal) n.

kuruŋ tree stump, n.

kusa silkworm coccoon, bird or rabbit snare, arrow-binding string (made from coccoon), n.

kusi key, n.

kūso small bamboo jar, pot, n.

kutom mallet, n.

kuṭ bed, cot, n. (L)

kuṭru sandy-field harrow, n.

lag- to smoothe, I

lagayḍ- to hit, I (L)

lag-lag cave, n.

laka each, adv. (L)

lakar- to tire physically II

lam- to drive away, I

lantor kerosene lantern, n. (L)

laṇḍu Siari plant, flower, n.

laŋ-bur bat, n.

lar- to cut down the middle, I

laṭi big stick, n. (L)

lau gourd, gourd jar, n.

la?-go-mar type of scorpion, n.

la?g-rom bamboo carrying-pole, n.

lay?-bu boar, n.

lay?-buŋ buffalo bull, n.

lə-lap butterfly, moth, n.

leaŋ tongue, n.

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leḍ- to squeeze, I

leḍuŋ-bay lazy, adj. (L)

legl- to write, I (L)

lemoḍ- to sleep, II

len- to thresh, I

le?-siŋ round-mouth fish basket, n.

leympuŋ waist, n.

liertom lip, n.

liertom-e lips, pl. n.

liki-mo? pupil (of eye), n.

lileḍ- to press, massage, I

limbi-lu earring, n.

liŋ-ḍa? rain, n.

liŋgi heavy, adj.

liŋoremo Tulaguram village, n.

lisoŋ- to extinguish, II R

liuŋ paddy field, garden, n.

l?y-boy HuYoSi, n.

lo hey! vocative particle

lowa iron, n. (L)

lob- to cure, II

lobl- to love, II (L?)

loḍi swamp, mud, n. (L)

lograyks- to fall down, II

loklog- to give birth, II

lokpa- to droop (of flowers) II uncl. (R)

lok-tap water from tree leaves, n.

lom- to hold in mouth, I

lombo? gnat, n.

loŋ thatch, thatch roof, n.

lor- to vomit, I

losim-bar-din Thursday, n. (L)

losun also, adv.

loyn road, n.

lub- to swallow, I

lu-boy-ḍa woman's bead necklace, n.

lub-ḍag- to drown, II

lub-ḍa?-goys- to drown, II

luḍ- to borrow, beg, I

lug- to dig, sow, hoe I; to set (of the sun) II R

lug-bur- to dig, II

luklãỹ field, n.

lukur-sam mandia flour, n.

lumwi? soft, adj.

lumu-ḍa? dew, n.

lundi May-June, n.

luntur ear, n.

luntur-e ears, pl. n.

l-un-ug-ḍa type of harrow, n.

luŋ-luŋ-ḍa? thunder, n.

luṇdiŋ navel, n.

lusu pus, n.

luy-goy cow hair, n.

luy-me goat hair, n.

ma what, interrog. pron.

ma vegetable curry, n.

mabisom severe, adj; very adv.

mag January-February n.

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mag- to know, I

mak-to-bay knowing, knowledgable, adj.

malab- to bellow, II R

mali-remo Dattipada village, n.

malu man's name, n.

momay-ḍag- to knead flour, I

monaḍ- to grow fat, II

morag- to wake up, II

mar-to-ga day after tomorrow, temp. adv.

ma-sa why, interrog. adv.

mata smallpox, n. (L?)

mamuŋ MoBr, n.

man unit of measure, n. (L)

maṇra chief priest, clan name, n.

maŋ ElBr, n.

maray roundheaded axe, n.

ma? curry, n.

ma?a-po? leaf cup, n.

may he, she, it, 3 person sg. pron.

may-ṇ his, hers, its, 3 person sg. possessive pron.

may-pa they (two), 3 person d. pron.

may-pa-ṇa their, 3 person d. possessive pron.

may-?ẽ they (all), 3 person pl. pron.

may-?ẽ-ṇa theirs, 3 person pl. possessive pron.

mwira-beḍəṇa flutes and drums, n.

m-baŋ ElSiHu, n.

m-ba?ar two, adj.

m-bay-yo two (human), adj.

m-biŋ ElBrWi, n.

m-bo? any of ?, particle

m-bur iron bar, crow bar, n.

m-bu? MoYoSi, n.

meṇḍa sheep, n. (L)

metoŋ-bay thin, adj.

me? YoBr, n.

me?etep Scarlet Minivet, n.

mi-me dance, n.

miṇ-ḍa one (human), adj.

miṇḍip evening, n.

miŋ ElSi, n.

mir as, adv; how did, interrog adv.

miri how, interrog. adv.

mis false, adj.

misa mixed, adj. (L)

mi-siŋ one day, temp. adv.

moloy five, adj.

moloy-ḍo five (human), adj.

momar rust, n.

mona?-bay big, fat, adj.

mona?-ŋ-gom big village, town, n.

mona-saḍu ElSiHu, n.

monza in the middle, loc. adv. (L)

moray sweet, adj.

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morsi chili pepper, n.
mo? eye, n.
mog-e eyes, pl. n.
moyna Hill Myna, n.
m-pu Coppersmith Bird, n.
muk-siŋ smoke, n.
mu-mor-to? star, n.
muṇa pocket, bag, n. (L)
muṇḍi clay pot lid, n.
muṇḍi-bela noon, temp. adv. (L)
muṇḍiguḍa Mundaguda village, n.
muṇḍi-tanǰa hammer-headed axe, n.
muṇḍli clan name, n.
munǰi seed, n. (L)
muŋgur crocodile ?, (L?), n.
muŋlu-bar-din Tuesday, n. (L)
mur neck (L?), n.
mu(-)sug(-)dim dream, n.
muta small brass pot, n.
mute-mute handfuls, n. (L)
mutla hammer, n. (L)
mu-to-ga day after the day after tomorrow, temp. adv.
m-un-ug-sin storm, n.
muy one, adj.
-naṇḍe through, pp.
naŋ cobra, Cobra sib, n. (L)
naŋa-ḍi- to be naked, I
*naŋ we (two), 1 person d. pron.
naŋ-ṇa our, 1 person d. pron. possessive
nar sticky-field harrow, n.
nasṭo-ḍem- to spoil, c.v. I
na?laŋ kite, hawk, n.
nay we (all), 1 person pl. pron.
nayḍa coconut, n. (L)
nay-ṇa ours, 1 person pl. possessive pron.
nayk village headman, n. (L)
naykl-e village headmen, pl. n. (L)
n-boy-bu adolescent pig, n.
n-di-mo last year, temp. adv.
n-ḍoyn-ḍa woman's date palm leaf headband, large date palm tree, ?, n.
n-kwĩ clay pot, n.
n-kuku?-ra heron, egret, n.
neli-bay blue, green, adj. (L)
nep gong, n.
ne?tuŋ aluminum neck chain, n.
niw-bo? razor, n.
niŋ I, 1 person sg. pron.
niŋ-ṇa me, my, mine, 1 person sg. possessive pron.
niyu cigarette, beedie n.

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no you, 2 person sg. pron.
no-gə-ʈa nine, adj.
no-ɳa your, 2 person sg. possessive pron.
noki pot, n.
nori woman's skirt, n.
no?g-ɖa winding frame, n.
n-sak-pi nest, n.
n-saŋ no, I refuse, particle
n-sa?-mo? eyelash, n.
n-say? soot, n.
n-ser tree trunk, n.
n-se?-mi nose, n.
n-son-ɖay squirrel, n.
n-soŋ-gu? woman's brass neck-bands, n.
n-su knife, n.
n-sur-lu earring, n.
n-su?g(-)ra plantain, n.
ntaga Takavada village, n.
n-tãỹ type of bee, n.
n-twi mushroom, n.
n-tera?-bay green blue, adj.
ntoŋber Antamguda village, n.
n-toŋ-bo? brain, n.
n-to?-siŋ egg, n.
n-tra gruel, n.
-ntu near, pp.
n-tuŋ cattle tick, n.
ñaɖ- to shine (of the sun), I uncl. (R,Li)
ñaŋa this morning, temp. adv.
ñaŋ-zur morning, temp. adv.
ñap light weight, adj.
ñarom nerve, blood vessel, n.
ñelam spotted deer, n.
ñelem type of bee, n.
ñer mango pit, n.
ñeri body, n.
ñeril-e bodies, pl. n.
ñom brinjal, n.
ñon- to drive away, I
ñoɳ-ɖa? honey, n.
ñur-ɖa? cloud, n.
ɳ-ɖig- to cut paper, I
ɳ-ɖoy-losuna-aɳra never, adv.
ɳ-ɖoy?-sa never, adv.
ɳ-raŋ-gay? rib, n.
ɳ-rem wing, n.
ɳ-rim quarrel, n.
ɳ-ro-miɳ-ɖa that side, one... loc. adv.
ɳ-ruay-suŋ toe, n.
ɳ-ruay-ti finger, n.
ɳ-zur dawn, n.
ŋ-ber slingshot, n.
ŋ-gen-ɖo three (human) adj.
ŋ-gere adolescent boy, n.
ŋ-gerel-e adolescent boys, pl. n.
ŋ-ger-sela unmarried female, n.
ŋ-ger-suŋ boy's dormitory, n.

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ŋ-gi?i three, adj.
ŋ-go crab, n.
ŋ-gom village, n.
ŋ-go-mar type of scorpion, n.
ŋ-gom-rem relative [village man], n.
ŋ-gor-ga centipede, n.
ŋ-guŋ-ra small date palm ?, n.
ŋ-guŋ-ra-pi Redbreasted Flycatcher, n.
ŋ-kwĩ WiFa, n.
ŋ-kuswĩ jackfruit tree, its fruit, n.
ŋ-saŋ- to refuse II
ŋ-soŋ spade, hoe, n.
-ŋ-tin in the, loc. adv.
ob- to bite, I
o-b-un-ug- to fight, II
odig much, more, adj. (L)
o-ḍayks- to take up, I
og- to carry a child in a sling, I
ograg- to wind yarn on a frame, I
okon-boros so many years, temp. adv. (L)
oḷaḍ- to spread (of a cobra's hood, I R
olan- to bend from the waist, II
ola? leaf, paper, n.
olay- to heat water, I
ole pair, n. (L)
oli-aṇ-bay ugly, adj.
oli-aṇra-bay bad, ugly, adj.
oli-aṇra-rem bad man, n.
olog- to pluck, I
o-lo?g-ḍa? waterfall, n.
olsi cil seed, n. (L)
oluḍ- to harrow, I
olug- to put on, II
om- to hatch eggs, I R
onis-ṭa nineteen, adj.
onolubo? muddied, adj.
ons duck, swan, n. (L)
onsin- to prepare, I
ontur- to leave, divorce I
oñ- to hear, understand, I
oṇḍi Hundi, name of Earth Goddess, n.
or Satreng plant, n.
orab- to kill, I
orag- to tear, I
orib- to carry on head, to put on top of the head, I
orig- to wear, wrap (a skirt), II
orlay-siŋ Paradise Flycatcher, n.
orle parrot, n.
orle-ra Blossom-headed Parakeet, n.
orok-suŋ- to throw away, c.v. uncl.
orom- to finish, I
orȍȳ sickle, n.
oroyn-goy castrated bull, n.
oroyñ- to build, string a bow, I

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orti ring, n.
o-s-un-ob- to embrace, I
otr-o-ṭa eighteen, adj.
otur- to bring to sell, I
o?-a-ḍiŋ- to fight, II
o?-a-ḍiŋ fight, n.
o?om arrow, n.
o?on yes, particle
o?ŏn child, baby, n.
o?ŏn-bu piglet, n.
o?ŏn-buŋ buffalo calf, n.
o?ŏn-ḍay So, Da, [kinship term of reference], n.
o?ŏn-ḍay-?e daughters, sons? n. pl.
o?ŏn-gila small dāl pot, n.
o?ŏn-goy calf, n.
o?ŏn-me kid, n.
o?ŏn-rem kitten, n.
o?ŏn-si nit, n.
o?ŏn-siŋ chick, n.
o?ŏn-so? dog pup, n.
o?ŏn-suŋ little toe, n.
o?ŏn-ti little finger, n.
ŏỹ story, n.
oy hey! vocative particle
oyǰa how much? interrog. adv.
oyǰa-bele when, interrog. adv.
oy-ker ripe paddy, n.
oy-mo this year, temp. adv.
oy-rig ripe Sua millet, n.
oys- to harvest paddy, I
oy? now, temp. adv.
oy?-ka today, temp. adv.
pa you (two) 2 person d. pron.
pada field, n. (L)
paḍ- to prepare a threshing place, I
paḍa fountain, n.
paḍu shrub, n.
pak side, n. (L)
-pake near, pp.
pala paddy seedlings, n. (L)
pandri girl's name, n.
pans five, adj. (L)
pans-kori one hundred, adj. (L)
pans-ṭa five, adj. (L)
pa-ṇa your, 2 person d. possessive pron.
paṇḍ November-December, n.
paṇḍr-i-bay fair complected (feminine), adj. (L)
paṇḍr-u-bay fair complected (masculine), adj. (L)
paŋluŋ orange, n.
pari-goy hieffer, n.
pasəla-tanǰa broadbladed axe n.
paṭa plank, door, n. (L)
paṭkaṇḍa sacred Great Sword (name of a god), n. (L)

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paṭkaṇḍa-mapru Great Sword God, (name), n.
pa?ar the coming year, temp. adv.
pa?ar- to dawn (of sun), IIR
payti work, n. (L)
pwoḍ- to cross, jump across, II
-pəlay for, pp.
pəra? animal's tail, n.
pəra?-pi Large Pied Wagtail, n.
pəsay bitter, adj.
pe you (all), 2 person pl. pron.
peḍ- to play (as music), I
pe-ṇ your, 2 person pl. possessive pron.
peṇḍom rice beer, n.
per- to be spicy, I
piḍ- to remove thatch, I
pinday verandah, n.
p-in-e flute, n.
piri bird, n.
piril-e birds, pl. n.
piri-gu? occiput, n.
piriŋtaŋ bamboo storage tray, n.
poḍ- to jump over, threaten, I
poḍig- to put, I
pokon February-March, n.
poli wrist ?, n.
poloŋka hollow, adj.
pomwi leaf cup, n.
pondr-o-ṭa fifteen, adj.
poṇḍoy shoes ?, n.
po-pay female genitalia n.
poreyguḍa Muṇḍlipaḍa hamlet, n.
pori unit of measure, n. (L)
poroga evening, adv.
porop-turugu afterwards, temp. adv.
potanla woman's necklace, n.
poṭaso? stomach, n.
poyta belt buckle, n.
pug- to cut, break, I
pug-laŋ- to bend wood, I
pugurub- to break, I
puǰa-beḍ- to offer to the gods, c.v. I
pul flower, n. (L)
punwi kind of millet, n.
puneri stone grinder, n.
puni-bo day of the full moon, temp. adv.
pura-puni-bo day of the full moon, temp. adv.
puri metal mug, n.
purna old, adj. (L)
pus December-January, n. (L)
puswi-ti blister, n.
puṭay- to break, I
puto-suŋ sparks, n.
puza(-)ri priest, n. (L)
rab- to snatch, I

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rag- to tear (cloth), I

rambi Blackheaded Munia, n.

ramon vulture, n.

raŋ-ḍa-ḍio kitchen, n.

raŋḍal- to cook, II

ṛaŋ- to pull (a bow), I

raŋ- to cook, I (L)

raŋ-bog- to wear, put on the head, II

raŋ-ḍa? rafters, n.

raŋla python, n.

rapte many, much, adj.

rapte-ḍo many (human) adj.

rapte-mul expensive, adj.

rasi herd, n.

rasi-buŋ buffalo herd, n.

rasi-goy cattle herd, n.

ray-bar-din Sunday, n. (L)

ray-saŋ-bo? burning place, n.

rwis- to milk an animal, I

reb- to gnaw, I

reḍi spine, n.

regəta wound, n.

regi root, n.

rekuḍ- to paint, I

remil- to blow one's nose II

remo man, Hill Bondo, n.

remol-e men, Hill Bondos, pl. n.

remo-sam Remo speech, Bondo tribal language, n.

rentem-bay lean (used of humans only) adj.

rer-naŋ-bo? palm leaf headband, turban, n.

rer-naŋ-bo?-lu-boy-ḍa woman's palm fibre headband, n.

riḍ- to grind flour, I

rieḍ- to have wrinkles I

rig-ḍar Sua millet, n.

rim- to fight, I

rim-o?-ta argument, quarrel, n.

ro that (farther away) demonstrative pron.; over there [in that place--middle distance] loc. adv.

roŋ-ǰug- to dam a stream I

rosani black pigment, n.

ro?g-ra eagle (falcon ?), n.

rug- to open, I

ruk(-)sag- to cover, hide, I

rugsop paddy seedlings, n.

ruklaŋ-bay stammerer, adj.

ru-ma-ru and-what-not (in sense of etc.), adv.

r-uṇ-uk-bor sacred stone wall n.

r-uṇ-uk-siŋ courtyard, n.

ruŋ- to bring, I; to take, II; to be cold, II R,Li

ruŋ-tur-goy cowpath, n.

rusuno onion, n. (L)

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sab- to come, II

sa-buk grinding hole in verandah floor, n.

sadu WiSiHu, n.

sae-tay type of grasshopper, n.

sago like, adj.

sagmu-a type of prawn, n.

sa(-)gur Mahua Tree liquor, n.

sagur-tanka brideprice, n.

sakar-bay rich, adj. (L)

sakar-rem rich man, n. (L)

saku-su? knife, bolo-type, n.

salag- to court a girl, I

salag-boy marriagable girl, n.

salan man's name, clan name, n.

salap leaf rain cape, n.

saleb- to taste something, I

sam- to take off a pot, I

samba man's upper arm bracelet, n.

samba-suŋroy upper arm bracelet, n.

sam-buḍ- to suck blood, I

sani-bar-din Saturday, n. (L)

sankul- to embrace, I

saŋo?-siŋ eggshell, n.

saŋ-saŋ tumeric, n.

saŋ-saŋ-bay yellow, adj.

saŋ-saŋ-ber brown stone mortar and pestle for grinding tumeric, n.

saŋ-saŋ-ga-pi Oriole, n.

saŋ-saŋ-lə-lap Yellow-colored butterfly, moth, n.

sapa all, adj.

sa(-)puŋ sago palm wine, n.

sapuŋ-ram sago palm branch, n.

sapuŋ-ram-e sago palm branches, pl. n.

sarage Pinnaǰangar village, n.

sarom Sambar deer, n.

saraŋ(-)gulu(-)guy spider, n.

sarayñe Muṇḍlipaḍa village, n.

sarberti all around, loc. adv. (L)

sari flower, n.

sarkayra Pied Kingfisher, n.

sar-lok four people, adj. four (human) adj.

sar-mo? face, n.

sar-mog-e faces, pl. n.

sar-ṭa four, adj.

sata umbrella, n. (L)

sat-gə-ṭa seven, adj.

saul rice, n. (L)

sa?-me Mandia millet, n.

sayb sahib, n. (L)

saybl-e sahibs, pl. n. (L)

sayḍa grassmat ?, n.

say-ḍe human ashes, n.

sayks- to sift ashes, I

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sayk-soka trousers, n.
say?e-ku ghost of man killed by tiger, n.
say?e-rem type of ghost, n.
say?e-sun protective ghost, n.
səlayŋ-bay long, adj.
s-ən-a?-ḍay bowstring, n.
s-ən-a?-sagra window, n.
sən-sayn-o ahead, loc. adv.
sənsayñ- to be ahead, II
səsal- to lick something, I
səb- to kill a buffalo, to marry I
se-buŋ type of marriage feast, n.
sel- to plow, I
sela friend (between girls), n.
sela-ne woman, girl, n.
sela-nel-e women, girls, pl. n.
sela-n-o-ŋ-ger-o girls [and] boys, compound n. pl.
selaŋ-bay red, brown, adj.
sema? bedbug, n.
sempu-tap mist, fog, n.
semu? tree, n.
semug-e trees, pl. n.
senla bamboo mat, n.
senlag-e bamboo mats, pl. n.
ser- to sing, I
sero?-bay dirty, adj.
setug- to pluck, I
se?-rem Praying Mantis, n.

siaḍ- to fish, I
si-baŋ-ga fever, n.
sibḍa parched rice, n.
siḍ- to harvest (mandia), I
si(-)ḍa ink, n.
sig- to be finished, II R uncl.
siga finish, n.
sik-saŋ skeleton, bone, n.
sik-saŋ-e skeletons, bones, pl. n.
sil- to be sick, to finish, II
silayguḍa Bondo village, n.
sili meat, flesh, n.
simi day ?, n.
simṭa tongs, n. (L)
sin- to measure, I
s-in-e plow, n.
s-in-e-laŋ plowshare tip (of metal), n.
sini sugur, n. (L)
s-in-i jackfruit sap, bird trap, n.
s-in-ia fish hook, n.
sinig- to flatulate, I
sinkli lock, n. (L)
siṇḍi-bor sacred stone platform in village, n.
siŋ- to attach, to make a drum, I
siŋere cricket, n.
siŋi sun, n.
siŋgri-a type of prawn, n.

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siŋorom near, loc. adv.
sio-rem testicle (human), n.
sio-rem-e testicles (human), pl. n.
sip Weaver Bird, n.
sipli leaf cup, n.
sira?gansi woman's name, n.
sirle?-mi nasal mucous, n.
siru?bra firmly, adv.
sisa priest, n.
sisa-guraŋ-pi Yellowcheeked Tit, n.
si-sam ripe Mandia millet, n.
si-ser song, n.
si-ta sickness, pain, n.
sita piece of something, n. (L)
sita name of Hindu goddess, n. (L)
sitra mixed color, adj.
siy(-)e colored thread, n.
sob- to catch, buy, I
sodu-ṭa fourteen, adj.
sog- to hold, II
sogon- to fish, I
so-gə-ṭa six, adj.
sŏk throat, n.
soka shirt, n.
sokul- to sew, I
sol-o-ṭa sixteen, adj.
soman everyone, adj. (L)
soman-ḍo everyone, indefinite pron. (L)
somano straight, adj. (L)
so-ma? curry, n.
som-bar-din Monday, n.
som(-)di relative, n.
somo- to know, (to recognize), II
somo-ḍo- to know a person (to recognize a person), II
sompu rat, n.
soṇḍ-goy bull, n. (L)
sorguṇa-pi Goldenbacked Woodpecker, n.
sor bridge, n.
soro empty, adj.
soro-soro loosely, adv.
soro?-bay dark complected, adj.
soru-ǰaŋ cooked ceremonial rice or millet mixture, n.
sotr-o-ṭa seventeen, adj.
soṭli male genitalia, penis, n.
soyt March-April, n.
soytaŋar kathchampa flower n. (L ?)
subu sweet, adj.
suḍ- to gather, I
suḍoŋ hard, adj.
suḍoŋ-bay strong, adj.
sug- to sweep, to string (as beads) I
sugur- to feel hot, II
suksug- to draw, I
suku ladle, n.
suku-baṭi -heart, n.
sukru-bar-din Friday, n.
sul- to crow, rub, II

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sulo slippery, adj.
suloy? intestines, n.
suluŋ deep, adj.
sulup type of deer, n.
sum- to eat, feed (an animal) I
sun- to speak, ask, answer, I
s-un-un-bo? stalk, trunk (of plants), n.
s-un-up-se plow handle, n.
s-un-u? broom, n.
s-un-ug-e brooms, pl. n.
s-un-u?-bo? comb, n.
s-un-u?ku-ti elbow, n.
s-un-u?ku-til-e elbows, pl. n.
sunrol- to greet, II
sunro-t-iŋ greeting, n.
sunru rain hat, n.
suŋ- to sell, I
suŋo fire, n.
suŋo wood, n.
suŋ-om arrow shaft, n.
suŋroy wrist bracelet, n.
sur- to dry, roast, burn, I
suri quick, quickly, adv.
suri-suri quickly, adv.
surlop muddy, adj.
suroŋ- to plunge (into water), I
suroŋ medicine, n.
suroy?-ber gravel, n.
surpa?ga small black ant, n.
suru cockroach, n.
su-sop-na round pot handle, n.
susud- to wipe, I
susug-bog- to comb (head) II
su-sum-ti right arm, right hand, n.
suta cotton, thread, n. (L); spider's web, n.
sut-a-bay lame (masculine) adj.
sutaysa true, adj. (L)
sut-i-bay lame (feminine) adj.
suti? clitoris, n.
sutop wooden-headed bird arrow, n.
su-tubu? earth, n.
su?u oil, n.
su?ug- to blossom, II
su?u-lil- to press, extract oil, I
suza needle, n.
tag- to strip (as corn), I
tagdani evil spirit, n. (L)
tamakilip firefly (glow-worm), n.
tanke small fibre basket, n.
tandal- to hold in the palm, I
taŋgi axe, n.
*tanja axe, n.

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taŋgi-mali man's brass necklace, n.
-taŋom with, pp.
tara- to be bright (of the sun) II uncl.
ta?mi-bam- to have a cough, II (R, Li)
tayluk-siŋ Yellowheaded Wagtail, n.
tayñ- to weave, build, I
tays- to feed (an animal) I
twiñ- to pierce, shoot, I
t-ən-aŋ-taŋ loom uprights, n.
t-ən-aŋ-ti arrow nock, n.
t-ən-ap thatched roof, open sided roof, shed, n.
t-ən-a-rom shoulder, n.
t-ən-a-rom-e shoulders, pl. n.
t-ən-ayn-tur bamboo fence, n.
təram- to touch, I
təta FaFa, MoFa, n.
tekl- to pile up, I
tenḍar-bo?-siŋ chicken's comb, n.
tenḍar-bo?-kuŋ peacock's comb, n.
-teŋgu behind, pp.
ter- to distribute, I
terlem quail, n.
ter-o-ṭa thirteen, adj.
tes-sagur type of marriage feast, n.
*ta?mi sneeze, n.
tẽỹño anthill, n.
tiäḍ- to send, I
tigrim- to chew, I
tiki-bo? solid, adj.
tik-suŋ leg, n.
tik-suŋ-e legs, pl. n.
tilok-pi Tailor Bird, n.
tin three, adj. (L)
tingu behind, adv.
tin-ta-bo 3 o'clock, temp. adv.
tin-tim tamarind, n.
tiñe wooden pestle, n.
tiŋkur-mo? eyebrow, n.
tiŋkur-mog-e eyebrows, pl. n.
tioḍ- to weed, I
tipaḍ- to hide, II
tite(-)gəraŋ- to stand on tiptoe, II (L ?)
ti-ti hand, n.
ti-til-e hands, pl. n.
tiur-bay tall (human) adj.
tiur- to grow tall, II
ti?iri six, adj.
ti?iri-lok six (human), adj.
toḍa jaw, n.
toḍal-e jaws, pl. n.
toḍa-saŋ jawbone, n.
toḍa-saŋ-e jawbones, pl. n.
tog- to wind thread, pick up, take I
togar Banyan tree, n.
togram-bur half-burned wooden pieces, n.

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toktog- to wind yarn, I
ton- to scour, wash, I
ton- to wash, to stand, to offer, II
ton-ḍag- to wash a shirt, I
toŋ- to pound, I
toŋ-bog- to hit one's head, II
toŋ-re west, n.
toŋ-ro-toŋ crookedly, adv.
toŋ-sur south, n.
toŋ-te east, n.
tor where, interrog. adv.
tosiri iron wire, n.
to?g-ḍa? well (of water), n.
tu-bog- to put on head (as a turban), II
tubu? earth, soil, floor, n.
tug- to weed, I
tugola yesterday, temp. adv.
tugor- to beat, II
tugug- to wear around neck, II
tuk each, adj.
tul- to throw, fix (in the ground), I; to hang, tie, II
tuli-rusuno garlic, n.
tuluy-bay white, adj.
tumba small gourd pot, n. (L)
tumbo basket, n.
tum-ḍag- to wash cloth, I
tum-na-goy cow's snout, n.
tum-na-so? dog's snout, n.
tu-mo? mouth, bird beak, n.
tumpu-saŋ marrow, n.
tumsil- to forge, I
tumuŋgo night, n.
tun- to wear (on the upper arm), I
tuna HuBr, n.
t-un-ie waist string, n.
tunkura chicken's egg-laying basket, n.
tuno-beḍ- to push, shove, c.v. I
tunton- to rub, I
tunton-o?-suŋ- to rub clean, II
t-un-u roof posts, pillars, n.
t-un-u-ḍa? urine, n.
t-un-uŋ-go axe, plowshare, handle, plowshare cross-piece, n.
t-un-uŋ-tu loom cross-piece, n.
t-un-u-gu brass neckband with clasp, n.
t-un-ur-kum rat cage, trap, n.
tuṇḍor beehive, n.
tuṇḍor fish trap ?, n.
tuŋ- to wear, I
tuŋk flying ant, n.
tuŋ-saŋ- to abuse physically, I
tur- to search for, I to sprout, II
turabu woman's date palm headband, n.

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tura-bu pig trough, n.
turag- to urinate, I
turguḍ- to be behind, II
turñuŋ large black ant, n.
turuk-soŋ clay pot supports, n.
turu?-soŋ oven, n.
tusoyse Tusayipada village, n.
tu-tur-la Palm Swift, n.
turugoṇ-ḍa spring (of water) n.
turugu after, loc. adv.
turugu-mar after, loc. adv.
tutari prod, goad, n.
ṭamo? small drum, n.
ṭaṭe all, adj.
ṭaṭe-ḍo all, indefinite pron.
uḍ- to tell, to scrape wood, to drink, I
uḍ-la-ruŋ-o?-niŋ elopement, n.
u-ḍa?-wi-g-niŋ adulterous elopement, n.
ug- to cry, II
ug-bo? head hair, fur, n.
ug-seḍ- to cry, II
ug-soŋ ashes (of a fire) n.
ula? leaf, n.
ulag-e leaves, pl. n.
uli mango, n.
ulil-e mangos, pl. n.
umpar- to blow a fire, I
um-po? cloth, woman's dress, n.
un- to transplant rice seedlings, I
uṇa few, adj. (L)
uṇa-ḍo few, indefinite pron.
-uṇder against, pp.
upre over, adj. (L)
ur- to run, I
uranǰan airplane, n.
urãỹ mouse, n.
ur-bay smart, adj.
uriŋ- to walk, I
uriŋ-bay walking, adj.
usa skin, hide, n.
usal-e skins, hides, pl. n.
usa August-September, n.
u-sar-am story, n.
u-sar-am-e stories, pl. n.
u-sar-am- to tell a story, II
uskob- to hiccough, I
uskob hiccough, n.
uskop-bam- to cough, have hiccoughs, IIR,Li
u?ũ four, adj.
u?ũn-ḍo four (human), adj.
yon- to chase away, I
yoŋ- to yoke, I
y-un-oŋ yoke, n.
y-un-oŋ-gu nape of neck, n.
y-un-oy wood roof beams, n.
zog- to trample, I
z-uṇ-uŋ-lu earring, n.
zu-zur-bay weak, adj.

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