

**A DESCRIPTIVE GRAMMAR
&
VOCABULARY OF CHINALI**

Dr. D.D. Sharma

**HIMACHAL ACADEMY OF ARTS, CULTURE AND
LANGUAGES, CLIFF END ESTATE, SHIMLA-171001**

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A DESCRIPTIVE GRAMMAR & VOCABULARY OF CHINALI

By Dr. D.D.Sharma

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FOREWORD

Chinali is an Indo-Aryan dialect spoken in Lahul region of Himachal Pradesh. The Chinal are also called 'Sippi' by the local people and they are mainly non-agriculturists having their separate identity by way of dress and language. Chinal are called Chanals in other parts of the state but in Pattan valley of Lahul, they speak a dialect which is closely related to Sanskrit. The linguistic features and characteristics of spoken Sanskrit were brought to light by Dr. D.D. Sharma, a well known authority on Himalayan Studies and Linguistics. The present monograph on this distinct and very important Indo-Aryan dialect surrounded by Tibeto-Himalayan speaking communities of land locked area of Lahul, is an outcome of the pursuits of Dr. D.D. Sharma. In order to highlight the phenomena and to make the material available to the scholars and researchers, the governing body of the Academy in its meeting held on January 18, 1989 decided to take up the publication of this book. It contains considerable material which can successfully be exploited for the historical analysis of the dialect and also to trace the history and the socio-cultural background of its speakers. The Academy will venture to take up projects relating to preservation, detailed survey, study and documentation of this dialect and cultural background of the community.

We are indebted to Dr. D.D. Sharma for having agreed to get the monograph published by the Academy and wish him to take up further researches in salient linguistic and sociological features of Himalayan dialects. The staff of the academy including Technical Officer Smt. Saroj Sankhyaayn and Technical Assistants Dr. Karam Singh, Smt. Sumrita Gautam, Miss Shyama Thakur have gone through the Manuscript and proofs of the book for which they deserve appreciation. Our thanks are due to Shri Man Mohan Lal, M/s Print-o-Bind, Darya ganj, New Delhi for nice get up and layout of this publication.

Dr. B.R.Sharma
Secretary
Himachal Academy of
Arts, Culture and
Languages, Shimla-171001.

PREFACE

The man, even though, has moved far into the space and depths of ocean, yet there is much more for him to explore nearer home. A meaningful exploration of the multi-splendourous facets of the great Himalayas is still a challenge to him. It is not only a unique gift of Nature on the surface of this planet, and a repository of snow, but also of various cultural remnants of the races that at one time or the other occupied these regions in the hoary past, but have totally disappeared now. No doubt, considerable exploration of the Himalayas is being done by the Geologists, Zoologists, Botanists and Anthropologists to unearth the hidden treasures of their respective fields of study, but very little has been done towards the exploration of linguistic, historical and cultural elements lying many layers deep in the sub-strata of the languages and socio-religious practices of the people inhabiting these inhospitable regions. However, a researcher with an eye on these points is also sure to come across many relics pertaining to these aspects of ancient tribes which once flourished here though have now either completely disappeared or have totally merged into the folds of successive occupants of these holy lands.

So far as I am concerned I may say that there has always been an irresistible mystic call for me from the Himalayas, may be because of my birth and bringing up in its sweet lap. Although I had visited the lower ranges of it many times, yet an intense longing to have a closest view of the diverse facets of the lofty Himalayas still coaxed me to find one or the other excuse for my visits to these regions. Consequently, in the mid of 1978 I decided to say good by to my research schemes pertaining to lower Himalayan regions and take up the linguistic and cultural explorations in the Higher Himalayas. Lahul, the wonderland of the Himalayas about which I had heard much at Chandigarh was selected as the first target of my visit to the mid-Himalayan regions, in the context of my research project—A Survey of Tibeto-Himalayan Languages. My dream to visit this land of gods (Lha-yul), lying on the other side of the dreaded Rohtang (the land of deads) Pass was realized on June 18, 1980 when I crossed this Pass (13,050') and reached Kye-long, the headquarters of the district Lahul and Spiti in H.P. The Nature has bestowed its bounty to this land of gods too, but with a difference. The grandeur of snow covered pinnacled peaks rising straight to the blue on the one hand and the narrow gorges of Chandra and Bhaga on the other hand have no parallels elsewhere.

Anyway, I started collecting necessary material for the dialects of different Valleys of this sub-division. After a couple of days when I was recording material for the Tibeto-Himalayan dialect of the Pattan Valley my Mongoloid Buddhist informant told me that in their village there is a speech community called Chahns who in their inter-community communications use a language which is quite unintelligible to the people of other communities, though all of them have been living there for time immemorial. This statement of his, naturally, aroused a curiosity in my mind and I requested him to bring me in contact with a speaker of this language to enable

me to have a specimen of it. He was kind enough to bring a person of this community to me the very next day. After a brief conversation in Hindi I, in order to find out the nature and the family relationship of their language, asked him to render a Hindi sentence into his own dialect. The meaning of which was 'Don't go out in the cold' (as it was already cold enough outside) which he readily rendered as *šīte bahirā mā gaccha*. My surprise knew no bounds to hear this. In fact, I could not believe my ears, for what I was hearing was nothing but Sanskrit. I really, felt like jumping and dancing. No body had ever heard of or talked of the existence of an Indo-Aryan dialect of antiquity in these snow bound Tibeto-Himalayan, language speaking regions.

My further enquiry into the nature of this dialect made me believe that it was a direct descendent of Sanskrit which though in the absence of education and favourable circumstances has not been able to preserve its original character fully. Consequently, I suspended my work on the project in hand and started working with this gentleman and one more person for three days consecutively. The material being presented in the following pages of this monograph is based on the recordings of this very data.

On my return to Chandigarh the news of this discovery was flashed by UNI and was covered by all national media. Besides, a number of articles and interviews also appeared subsequently, on it. But all this was not enough to present a fulfilled picture of the precious linguistic preserves of this community. The factor that actually prompted me to prepare this monograph was the fear of its possible loss to posterity, in case it was not preserved immediately. For, the socio-cultural compulsions under which the community is living presently are sure to bring tremendous changes in their socio-cultural as well as linguistic behaviour. I was told that the new generation of educated people of this caste is giving up the use of this language, in order to conceal their identity, because of a social stigma associated with it. As such, it is most likely that the precious linguistic heritage, so dearly preserved by their forefathers might be lost to us for ever, as we see in the case of many languages and linguistic families of by gone days, which have been irrevocably lost to us, in the absence of any recording of their material for the posterity.

All other things, that I have to say about the language and its speakers are being given in the Introduction of this work. Here I have only to express my gratefulness to Himachal Academy of Arts Culture and Languages, Shimla, for bringing out this volume which I am sure will add to the already colourful heritage of Himachal Pradesh.

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TRANSCRIPTION AND PHONETIC SYMBOLS

Although phonetic values of all the phonemes used for the transcription of the dialect concerned have been indicated in their phonemic inventories, yet for the convenience of the general readership the scheme of transliteration and the nearest values of the symbols in Devanagari script is being given below:

Vowels: ə (अ), a (आ), i:ī (ई), u (उ), u:ū (ऊ), e (ए), E (ऐ), o (ओ),
o (औ).

Consonants: K (क्), Kh (ख), X (ख़), g (ग), gh (घ), ñ (ङ), C (च्), č (च़),
ch (छ), čh (छ़), j (ज), Z (ज़), Ž (झ), jh (झ़), ñ (ञ), t̪ (ट), th (ठ), ḍ (ड़), ṛ (ड़),
dh (ढ), ṛh (ढ़), ṇ (ण), t̪ (त्), th (थ), d (द्), dh (ध), n (न्), p (प्), ph (फ़),
b (ब्), bh (भ), m (म्), y (य), r (र्), L (ल्), l̪ (ळ), Lh (ल्ह), w (व), ś (श्),
ṣ (ष्), S (स्), h (ह)

The phonetic sign used in this study may be interpreted as under:

- : = in relation to.
- < = comes from; is derived from.
- > = becomes; develops into.
- / - = or; alternate form.
- ~ = nasalization (above the vowel).
- " = centralization (above the vowel).
- ~ = in free variation; free form (after the morph).
- [] = phonetic form.
- // = phonemic form.
- = rewritten as.
- + = added to, plus juncture (pause).

0.1 INTRODUCTION

0.1 **Linguistic Area:** The speakers of Chinali are scattered all over the lower valleys of Chandra and Chandra-Bhaga, right from Shuling in Gondhala to Udaipur on the borders of the district Chamba. But their main concentration is in the valley of Chandra-Bhaga, particularly in Gondhala, Yawen (Jalma), Kirting, Shansha, Lot, Malang and Junda in a descending order from 150 to 30 souls. The other villages in which one or two families of this community are found are Khangsar, Tholang, Tandi, Shuling, Jobrang, Baring, Nalda, and Šhakoli. There are no families of this community settled in the Bhaga valley.

0.2 **Linguistic Status of Chinali:** Chinali is a totally class dialect and its use is confined to the inter-community communications of a particular community only which is locally termed as Chahns, Dags or Domba, but the members of which prefer to be termed as Chinals. Keeping in view their sentiments in this analysis this dialect has been termed as Chinali, the bilingual Chinals are proficient enough in the use of the tongue of the Mongoloid Buddhist and Hindu Swanglas and have rather full command over it, yet their language is quite unintelligible to the members of any other community, except the Gara or Lohar community which speaks a variety of Indo-Aryan, spoken in the areas of Kullu and Kangra on this side of the Rohtang Pass.

0.3 **Literature:** It may be stated that prior to 1980 no scholar ever took any notice of the existence of this dialect in this area, due to the social status of the speakers of this language. As such the question of availability of any record of this language earlier to 1980, when the author of these lines drew the attention of scholars and linguists to the existence of this language in this mid-Himalayan area of Tibeto-Himalayan languages, does not arise.

0.4 **Sources of Data:** The linguistic data presented in this study was personally recorded by this investigator in 1980 at Keylong and Shansha from Shri Chiv Chand of Tandi and Shri Prem Chand of Lot. And the data for Lohari was recorded from Shri Ram Singh of Shansha.

0.5 **Linguistic background:** Although the frame-work of the present study does not allow us to discuss the historical aspect of a language being presented in this volume, yet the unique preservations of elements that this language has made under the most adverse circumstances, makes it imperative to show some of the glimpses of this wonderful preservations, which in other languages have either become obsolete or have undergone tremendous phonetic changes, sometimes beyond recogni-

tion. Some of the OIA elements which forcibly draw our attention towards them may be presented below:

0.6 **Vocabulary items:** Some of the OIA vocabulary items which may be called unique preservations of this dialect are—

/præsd/<prasveda perspiration, /mchi/<mahiṣi buffalo, /mækkur/<markaṭa monkey, /kæmər/<kandhara shoulder, /rækta/<rakta red, /ræpə/<raupya silver, /janu/<janu knee, /əmlə/<amla sour, /dar/<daru wood material for building, /grij/<gṛdhra vulture, /pipi/<pippali long pepper, /megha/<megha snow, /gatri/<gatrika bodice, jamatra/<jamatraṣon-in-law, /bāhirā/<bahir outside, /dure/<dure away, /kurāru/<karapatram saw, /osit/<ausadhi~ausadham medicine, /buka/<bukka kidney, /garka/<guruka heavy, load, bun/<budhana downward, /dotē/<doṣante morning, /pəutha/<prahasta palm, /hyūd/<hemanta winter, /kane/<kankati, comb, /tarku/<tarkuṭi a spindle, /cak/<kicaka bamboo, /kəl/<khalina rein of horse, /gappa/<galpa a talk, /ghai/<ghaṭika pitcher, /dhōri/<dhumrika fog, /kukur/<kukuraputra dog, /badil/<balivarda ox, /dugha/<dirgha deep, /dal/<vidara flood.

0.7 **Preservation of Morphological Structure:** Apart from preserving typical vocabulary items of Old-Indo-Aryan, it has wonderfully preserved, to a great extent, its synthetic grammatical structure as well. From among seven cases of nominal and pronominal inflection it has still preserved the synthetic character of OIA in the Nominative, Accusative, Agentive, Dative and Genitive cases. Besides, in nominal declension, though the forms of dual and plural have been amalgamated, yet in pronominal declensions the distinction for all the three numbers is still maintained, e.g. *se* he, *sendui* they two, *sene* they (for details see section on pronouns).

Here it may be particularly noted that prevalence of *sa* stem (3rd person pronoun) in all the three numbers of the nominative/direct case is a pointer to the fact that there was a period in the history of evolution of the Sanskrit language, prior to its codification by Panini in 500 B.C. when this stem had a full flection for all the form of the third person pronoun, and there was no amalgamation of the forms of *tad* with the forms of *sa* i.e., both were inflected independently for all the cases, as is confirmed by Vedic forms like *sasmat* and *sasmin* also. But much before the emergence of Panini, perhaps owing to their wider use or higher frequency, the forms of *tad* got supremacy and replaced all the forms of *sa*, except the Nom. Sg. This phenomenon of development seems to have already taken place when the actual usage in the language were recorded for *Aṣṭadhayayi*. In this dialect, too, it seems to have lost its independent declension and the Nom. forms are the remnant of the earlier fuller declension of this pronominal stem.

In pronominal stems replacement of *as* < *asmad* (1st person) and of *sa* < *tad* (3rd person) by *ta* in singular forms of non-nominative cases is another faithful preservation of the OIA structure by this dialect, e.g., first person Nom. *haū* (sg.): *ədui* (du.): *əse* (Pl.). Acc. *mū*: *əndui*: *ena*: Ag. *mi*: *ədui*: *əse*: 3rd person. Nom. Sg. *se* (sg.): *sendui* (du.): *sene* (pl.), Agentive—*tene*: *endui*: *tene*, etc.

In verbal conjugation, though the distinction of number is, at present, attested in the singular and plural number only, yet the distinction of all the three persons is maintained in many cases. For instance, all the forms of the present tense of the verb root $\sqrt{\text{as}}$ —‘to be’ are as follows:

	Singular	Dual	Plural
3rd person	$\text{astas}/ \sqrt{\text{as}}$	$\text{astes}/ \text{asti}$	$\text{astes}/ \text{asti}$
2nd person	as	astesu	astesu
1st person	$-\text{bhāũ}$	bhāũ	bhāũ

Here in the first person the root $\sqrt{\text{as}}$ — ‘to be’ is replaced by the root $\sqrt{\text{bhu-}}$, to become’, to exist. Similarly, in the future tense forms also the root $\sqrt{\text{as-}}$ is replaced by the root $\sqrt{\text{bhu-}}$, as we find in Sanskrit.

Another notable peculiarity about the verbal conjugation of this dialect is generalization of second person singular suffix—**hi** of the imperative mood in all vowel ending stems., as in **nihi** (sg.), **nehe** (pl.) $<\sqrt{\text{ni}}$ ‘to lead’, to carry’, **pihi** $<\sqrt{\text{pi}}$ to drink’. This is done apparently on the analogy of **dehi** ‘give’ $<\sqrt{\text{de}}$ ‘to give’, though presently the pronunciation of -h- has become very weak.

Its syntactic structure, too, is very close to that of the Sanskrit language. A few typical sentences from this language alongwith their Sanskrit equivalents will make the point clear.

1. Chinali: / $\text{ʃite bəhir}^{\text{ā}}$ ma $\text{gəch}/$
Sanskrit: **ṣite bahir mā gaccha.**
Don’t go out in the cold.
2. / $\text{me ʃukul bəthur me deh}/$
me $\text{ʃuklam vastram me dehi.}$
give my white clothe to me.
3. / $\text{mu prəsed nə aidis}/$
mām prasveda na āyāti.
I Don’t perspire.
4. / $\text{teser ropər aũthi tṛuṭi gei}/$
tasya raupyasya anguṣṭhikā tṛuṭitam gatavati.
his silver ring is broken.
5. / $\text{tramer bhā dūdh əmlə bhōdəs}/$ (*bhu + as*):
tamrasya bhāṇḍe dugdham amlam bhavati (+asti).
milk turns sour in a copper pot.
6. / $\text{se bhara beis}/$
sah bhāram vahati.
he carries the load.
7. / $\text{se əgre nəgəri bəstəs}/$
sah agre nagaryam vasati.
he lives in the next village.

0.8 A direct descendent of OIA

The above noted linguistic feature of Chinali indicates, beyond doubt, that it is

a direct descendent of the Old Indo Aryan language. Moreover, most of its developed forms, too, prove that it, like Kashmiri, did not pass through various stages of MIA, i.e., these forms have developed directly from their Sanskrit stems, belonging to the dialects of their forefathers. Some of the notable non-Prakrit features of this dialect are:

(1) Unlike MIA most of OIA consonant clusters are maintained in all positions, i.e. have not undergone assimilation, for instance:-

initial position: /trai/ 'three' /drad/ 'to beat', /trut/ 'to break', (intrans.), /troḍ/ to break/ (trans.), /swad/ 'taste', /griz/<griddhra 'vulture', /bragh/<vyāghra 'leopard', /prased/<prasveda 'perspiration', /tris/<triṣā 'thirst', etc.

Medial Position: /əstəs/ 'is', /əsti/ 'are', /nistər/ nis + √tr- 'to flow out', /kərtəs/ 'does', /rəkta/ 'red', /əmlə/ 'sour', /əgre/ 'ahead', /chetra/<ksetra 'field', /gəchtəs/ 'goes', /bəsət/ 'dwells', /jamatra/ 'son-in-law' etc.

Final Position: /bisurt/<vi+smṛta 'to forget', /nərk/ 'hell', /svərg/ 'heaven', /murkh/ 'idiot', etc.

(2) Normally, most of medial voiced consonants do not show elision, as we find in MIA forms, e.g. /nəgər/ 'village', /kadi/ 'when', /əkħur/<aṣru 'tears', etc.

(3) The Prakrit tendency of retroflexion before -r is also not attested, e.g. /vət/<vartman 'path'.

(4) Inter-vocalic semi-consonants are also maintained considerably, as in /tava/ 'thy', 'yours', /bhyās/<abhyās 'habit' /dehi/ 'give' (imp.) etc.

Further, though there are certain developed forms in it, the development of which seems to coincide with the linguistic tendencies developed at MIA stage, yet this fallacy disappears when we further analyse the phonetic environments under which these changes have occurred, e.g. words like /hyūd/<hemanta 'winter', /cinda/<cintā 'anxiety', /cunju/<cañcu 'beak', /səngurə/<samkirna 'narrow', /bənd/ vant 'to distribute', etc. indicate the Prakrit tendency of voicing of an inter-vocalic unvoiced plosive, but here the phenomenon of voicing can better be attributed to nasality diffusing from the preceding nasal consonant, this being a common phenomenon of this dialect.

Besides this, some of the notable sound changes attested in vocables in this dialect are as follows: /kritha/<kṛṣṇa 'black', /rutha/<variṣṭha 'superior', /məkkər/<markaṭa 'monkey', /məḍukə/<mandūka 'frog', /aūṭhi/<aṅguṣṭhika 'a ring', /haldur/<haridrā 'turmeric', /chetra/<ksetra 'field', /baudu/<vāta 'wind', /bəgu/ bhakta 'cooked rice', /punchə/ <puccha, 'tail', /oṣit/<auśadhi 'medicine', /hitro/<hirto<hirdo<hṛdaya 'heart', /ghit/<gīth<gītam 'song', etc. Such changes however, in the absence of proper training for correct pronunciation, were bound to occur and successive generations helped widening the gap between the original forms and their developed forms.

But the reason for these changes is not far to seek. Under the circumstances, both linguistic and social, in which the speakers of this dialect were placed, the super-

structure of the language could not remain undisturbed and consequently a gap was created between the forms of OIA and Chinali at various levels, i.e. in the absence of literary tradition among the speakers of this dialect, and social position given to them, it was hardly possible for them to preserve the purity of the language for many generations. On the other hand, they not only lost their contact with the speakers of the standard form of the Sanskrit language, but also were constantly exposed to the influence of non-Aryan languages which they had to learn to communicate with their **ghyats** (lords). In such an environment, linguistic mixture and consequent linguistic changes were bound to occur. As a result of this, Chinali, in the long history of its survival, has developed certain linguistic phenomena which have led to structural changes in the original language.

The same factors seem to have contributed to the loss of certain grammatical forms as well, for instance, in verbal conjugations forms of the dual and plural, or in certain cases forms of second and first persons have been amalgamated. Similarly, in nominal declension, there is a loss of distinctive suffixes in the dual forms, and the numeral /*dui*/*<dvi* has taken its place.

0.9 Other sources of Chinali

Although the North-Western Variety of Old Indo-Aryan is the main receptacle of the linguistic sub-stratum of Chinali, yet, out of necessity and long association, it has freely drawn upon the Tibeto-Himalayan sources for its vocabulary (for examples see p. 21.)

Besides, there is a sizeable vocabulary in Chinali which, perhaps belongs to aboriginal languages that were spoken by the people inhabiting these areas before they were driven away by the people of Mongoloid race, invading from the north, or were merged in the hords of invaders.

Moreover, it has also drawn upon the vocabulary of New-Indo-Aryan with which the speakers of Chinali had been coming into contact for quite a long time, but the percentage of this vocabulary is very low.

Thus though the dialect has undergone various types of phonological and morphological changes during the course of a long history of its development and isolation from the main stream of the parent language, yet it still bears an unmistakable stamp of the fact that in the past the mother tongue of these people was Sanskrit and it was a language of masses when their fore-fathers migrated to these mid-Himalayan regions of Lahul. These speakers of the Sanskrit language, since then, perhaps for many centuries, could not have any contact with the people living on the other sides of the passes, and as mentioned above, the language, in the absence of proper methods of preservation of the purity of its pronunciation, deviated from its ideal form and this difference went on increasing with the coming generations. The form of the language that we get today is a skeleton of the magnificent infrastructure of the OIA which was then being spoken by the masses in the North-West India nearly more than two thousand years ago.

I. SOUND SYSTEM

A detailed analysis of Chinali sounds attests the following sets of segmental phonemes. The phonemic segments presented in their respective classifying tables also indicate their broad phonetic features as pointed out there.

1.0 Vowels:

Tongue position	Front	Central	Back
Horizontal →			
Vertical ↓			
Nearly close/high	i(ī)		u(ū)
semiclose/ mid higher	e(Ē)		o(ɔ)
Nearly open			a
<hr/>			
Lip position	Spread	Neutral	Rounded/ unrounded

1.1 Comparable Contrasts of Vowels

It may, however, be noted that all the vowel phonemes do not attest contrasts of all types and in all positions. It is very limited in the initial and final positions. Various minimal pairs of these comparable contrasts of the vocalic segments may be illustrated as under:

- ə: a — /bəs/ lungs, /rət/ blood, /məhu/ honey
/bas/ odour, /rat/ night, /mahu/ human being.
- ə: i — /gər/ river, /ghəu/ hill, /badəl/ cloud,
/gir/ to melt, /ghiu/ ghee, /badil/ bullocks.
- ɛ: e — /dəʃ/ ten; /deʃ/ country; /phəl/ fruit; /phel/ failure.
- ɛ: u — /tərka/ ear ring; /turka/ seasoning.
- ɛ: o — /pətra/ furrow; /potra/ grandson.
- a : i — /potra/ grandson, /potri/ granddaughter, /conza/ pocket, /canji/ pointed.
- a : e — /kas/ cough, /keʃ/ hair, /bas/ odour, /bes/ to dwell, /bhā/ utensil, /bhē/ sister.
- a : u — /garka/ heavy, /garku/ load, /dakh/ grapes, /dukh/ sorrow, /dar/ beam of wood,
/dur/ distance.
- a : o — /gatri/ waist band, /ath/ eight, /pola/ light in weight,
/gotri/ gayatri mantra, /oth/ lip, /polo/ ball.
- u : o — /suna/ wound, /trut/ to break (Intrans.) /coppu/ quiet,
/sona/ gold, /trod/ to break (trans.), /coppu/ window.

- u : i — /bahu/ thigh, /puṭhi/ above, /kau/ a crow
 /bahi/ arm, /piṭhi/ back, /kai/ any
- i : e — /sir/ sand, /biṣ/ poison, /ni/ from
 /ser/ lion, /beṣ/ to dwell, /ne/ rivulet, stream.
- i : ī — /bi/ also, /nīla/ forehead
 /bī/ twenty, /nīla/ blue, green
- i : o — /i/ this, it, /iṭhe/ here
 /o/ and, /oṭhe/ there

No minimal pair of /u/ and /ū/ could be attested.

1.2 Positional distribution

Vowels	Initial	Medial	Final
/ə/—	/əs/ to be /əmlə/ sour	/kəmər/ shoulder /rakəs/ demon	/mitrə/ friend /kanə/ arrow
/a/	/aṅa/ courtyard /alla/ wet	/kau/ a crow /sal/ corn	/ya/ mother /aša/ hope
/i/	/i/ this /iṭhe/ here	/hitro/ heart piṭhi/ back	/potri/ grand daughter /hi/ yesterday
/u/	/uḍu/ to fly /uttar/ answer	/dui/ two /puṭhi/ above	/goru/ cattle /bahu/ thigh
/e/	/ekela/ alone /erkhun/ elbow	/sela/ cold /sche/ the same	/kotre/ where /dure/ at a distance
/o/	/osit/ medicine /oṭh/ lip	/goru/ cattle /potra/ grandson	/menzo/ mind /hitro/ heart

1.3 Allophonic Variants:

These vowel phonemes attest both qualitative and quantitative allophonic variants in various phonetic environments and syllabic positions, but the most notable of these are quantitative variants of the phoneme /i/ and /u/, and the qualitative variants of the phoneme /e/ and /o/.

1.3.1 Quantitative variants of /i/ and /u/:

Both these vowels when occurring in a non-final position are realized with a short quantity and in the final position with a comparatively long quantity (for examples see above 1.7).

1.3.2 Qualitative variants of /e/ and /o/

Phonemes /e/ and /o/ attest their opener variants when accompanied with nasality, /bhẽ/ = [bhẽ̃] sister, /lõ/ = [lõ̃] salt, /dhõri/ = [dhõ̃ri] fog, Sporadic example of /E/ and /ɔ/ are also attested in borrowed vocables from Perso-Arabic or English stocks, as in /phɔj/ army, /phEsla/ ‘justices’, /tEm/ time, but these phones nowhere attest

a contrast with /c/ and /o/, hence have not been recognized as independent phonemes for this dialect.

1.4 Vocalic Sequences

There are no diphthongs in Chinali. However, the following type of vocalic sequences are attested within a word boundary.

1.4.1 Two Member Sequences:

Back/ Central + Front

- ui- /sui/ dream, /dui/ two, /trakui/ spindle, /kui/ daughter.
- ai- /trai/ three, /birai/ cat, /aiba/ to come
- oi- /əgroi/ before, in front of, /dhoiba/ to wash, /joili/ woman
- əi- /kəiñā/ girl, daughter, /bəhirā/ outside
- əi- /kakəi/ elder brother's wife, /erəi/ lunch, /səi/ mustard
- oc- /dəboc/ coins, /roc/ for, /ghoc/ horses
- oə- /ləəŋ/ a swing.

Central + back

- əu- /səuñā/ father-in-law, /cəur/ four, /həus/ noise, /pəutha/ palm, /kəuñi/ a corn, /əũ̃thi/ a ring, /həũ̃/ I

Front + Back

- iu- /ghiu/ purified butter, /thiu/ was, /hiũd/ winter
- ia- /siatur/ pillow, /thia/ was/were
- co- /mcora/ mixture
- cu- /trcuñā/ three fold, /leur/ pine tree, /šcura/ shadow.

Front + Central

- iə- /diə/ day

Front + Front

- ei- /bei/ to carry, /leiba/ to take, /theiba/ to place, /keit/ key.
- ic- /thic/ were.

Back + Back

- au- /āuli/ finger, /nau/ name, /kau/ a crow, /ʔaunā/ deaf, /mutrau/ uninc, /baudu/ wind, /jerhau/ women, /paule/ shoes.
- oa- /loa/ iron, /səñjoa/ lamp, /lōa/ salted, /ghoa/ horse,
- ua- /duar/ door, /picua/ final, last, /rətuari/ cowherd.

1.4.2 Three member sequences:

There are only a few examples of three member sequence, showing a sequence

of front + back or back + front vowels, as in /kəic/ anyone, /loui/ stick, rod, /təui/ a pan (təwa), /bhoui/ daughter-in-law, /ciaiba/ to roast, /jauc/ whoever. It may, however, further be noted that all the sequences noted above are pure sequences, no element of diphthongization or glidialization being realized in their pronunciation.

2.0 CONSONANTS

In Chinali, the number of consonants, established on the basis of their phonemic contrasts is 32. All of them show a binary division based on their place of articulation and manner of articulation. The classes of plosives further attest the opposition of the presence vs. absence of voice and also of the presence vs. absence of aspiration. All the consonants with their phonetic characteristics may schemetically, be presented as under:

Process (place of Articulation)	Stops				Spirants			
	unvoiced		Voiced		unvoiced		Voiced	
	unaspir- ated	aspir- ated	unaspir- ated	aspir- ated	Nasals	Semi vowels		
Velar	k	kh	g	gh	(ŋ)		ɸ	h
Palatal	c	ch	j	jh	(ɲ)	y	ʃ	
Affricates	č	čh	ž	-	-			
Retroflex	ɖ	ɖh	ɗ(r)	ɗh	ɳ		(ʂ)	
Dental	t	th	d	dh	n		s	(z)
Labial	p	ph	b	bh	m	w		
Vibrant			r					
Lateral			l(l)					

Note: Segments placed in parentheses are of limited occurrence and are of doubtful phonemic status.

2.1 Phonemic Contrasts: With regard to phonemic contrasts of consonants in Chinali, it may be mentioned that though minimal pairs of consonants showing contrast of their phonetic features are copiously attested in the initial position, yet in non-initial positions there are only a few which attest these contrasts. The phonemic contrast of consonant phonemes attested in our data may be illustrated as under:

2.1.1. Contrast in the manner of articulation:

Bilabials /p, ph, b, bh/.

/p/ : /ph/ — /kəpa/ forehead, /ʃup/ winnowing basket

/kəpha/ cotton, /ʃuph/ scath

/p/ : /b/ — /pʌn/ virtuous deed; /bʌn/ down below.

/b/ : /ph/ — /buka/ kidney : /phuk/ body.

/ph/ : /bh/ — /bhu/ to become : /phu/ puff of air from mouth.

Dentals: /t, th, d, dh/.

/t/ : /d/ — /tar/ wire, /patra/ furrow
 /dar/ beam of wood /padra/ plain
 /th/ : /d/ — /thur/ heel : /dur/ away.
 /t/ : /th/ — /torā/ bags for load : /thorā/ a few
 /d/ : /dh/ — /dar/ beam of wood : /dhar/ a ridge.

Retroflex: /ṭ, ṭh, ḍ, ḍh/

/ṭ/ : /ṭh/ — /truṭora/ breakable, /ṭū/ camel
 /tuṭhōra/ satisfied, /uṭh/ stand up
 /ṭ/ : /ḍ/ — /truṭ/to break (intrans) : /troḍ/ to break (trans.).
 /ṭh/ : /ḍ/ — /uṭh/ stand up : /uḍ-/ fly,
 /ḍ/ : /ḍh/ — /ḍal/ flood : /ḍhal/ salutation
 /ṭ/ : /ṇ/ — /mṛ/ corpse, /kaṛka/ bitter
 /mṇ/ 40 scer, /kṇṇak/ flour.

Palatal: /c, ch, j, /

/č/ : /ch/ — /ca/ tea, /kacca/ row, unripe.
 /cha/ butter milk, /kaccha/ near.
 /c/ : /j/ — /cak/ bamboo, /cəl/ to flow
 /jakh/ dirty, /jəl/ to burn
 /c/ : /š/ — /nəc/ to dance, /ca/ tea.
 /nəš/ nail of finger, /ša/ breath
 /j/ : /y/ — /ja/ to be born : /ya/ mother

Palatal affricates: /č, ž/.

/c/ : /ž/ — /harči/ towards : /hyarži/ defeat

Postpalatals: /k, kh, g, gh/.

/k/ : /kh/ — /kan/ car, /cak/ bamboo
 /khan/ mine, quarry /jakh/ dirty
 /kh/ : /g/ — /kharka/ new, /dakh/ grapes
 /garka/ heavy /dag/ cremation
 /k/ : /g/ — /kaṇ/ arrow : /gəṇ/ to count
 /g/ : /gh/ — /ga/ cow : /gha/ wound.

2.1.2 Phonemes showing contrast in the point of articulation:

Nasals: /m, n, ṇ, ṇ/

/ṇ/ : /m/ — /gṇ/ winter : /gum/ box.
 /ṇ/ : /m/ — /thaṇ/ walnut : /tham/ pillar.

- /n/ : /n̄/ — /gun/ winter : /gun̄/ virtues.
 /m/ : /m̄/ — /rəm/ brandi : /rəm̄/ colour,
 /n/ : /n̄/ — /ənar/ pomegranate : /ənar̄/ live coal
 /ñ/ : /n̄/ — /kaña/ comb : /kaña/ blind.
 /ñ/ does not contrast with any nasal phoneme.

Fricatives: /ʃ, ʒ, s, h/

- /ʃ/ : /s/ — /ʃe/ apple, /nəʃ/ nail of finger:
 /se/ he, tha/ /nəs/ to escape
 /ʃ/ : /h/ — /ʃa/ breath : /hā/ yes.
 /ʒ/ : /-/ — /biʒ/ poison, /oʒ/ dew:
 /bi/ also, /o/ and

Lateral, flapped and trilled (l, r, r̄, l̄)

- /l/ : /r̄/ --- /nila/ blue, /alu/ potato, /kūl/ water channel:
 /nira/ near, /aru/ peach, /kūr/ cave
 /l/ : /l̄/ --- /dhal/ shield : /dhāl/ salutation.
 /l/ : /r/ --- /həl/ a plough : /har/ garland
 /r/ : /r̄/ --- /thuri/ heel, /mər/ to die,
 /thuru/ leg, /mər/ corpse.
 /r̄/ : /l/ --- /mər/ corpse : /məl/ manure

Dental vs. retroflex (t, t̄, d, d̄, n, n̄).

- /t/ : /t̄/ — /tɛra/ thirteen, /katba/ to spin:
 /t̄ɛra/ eye, /kat̄ba/ to cut.
 /d/ : /d̄/ — /dwar/ panel of doors
 /d̄war/ hole, cave
 /n/ : /n̄/ --- /kan/ car, /gun/ winter:
 /kañ/ arrow, /gun̄/ virtues.

2.1.3 Semi-vowels /y, w/

In the present data no distinctive pairs of /y/ and /w/ could be attested. As such there is no clear case for their phonemic status, but in this analysis these have been treated as segmental phonemes because the presence and absence of these sounds is significant, for instance, /kyəmər/ butter ; /kəmər/ shoulder, /dwar/ door, panel: /dar/ beam of wood, /tyar/ festival : /tar/ wire.

2.2 Distribution: Positional distribution of consonants in Chinali may be illustrated as under:

Bilabials:	Initial	Medial	Final
/p/	/pi/ to drink	/kəpa/ forehead	/jətap/ fever
	/pota/ grandson	/ropoca/ musk deer	/ʃup/ winnowing basket
/ph/—	/phūl/ flower	/kəpha/ cotton	/ʃuph/ scath

	/phu/ puff of air	/cophu/ window	/saph/ clean
/b/—	/bəhīrā/ outside	/dārba/ to be afraid	/purb/ east
	/bragh/ leopard	/brəbu/ a bear	/pub/ pus
/bh/—	/bhu/ to become,	x	x
	/bhəur/ husband	x	x
/m/—	/mchi/ buffalo	/trama/ copper	/əntim/ last
	/mā!/ manure	/lama/ tall	/jum/ yoke

Dentals:

/t/—	/tətu/ hot	/kutu/ dog	/bat/ path
	/trai/ three	/rəkta/ red	/osit/ medicine
/th/—	/thuri/ heel	/kətha/ story	/hath/ hand
	/tham/ pillar	/bəthur/ cloth	/tirh/ sacred place
/d/—	/dwar/ door	/badil/ ox	/cind/ anxiety
	/dui/ two	/pədra/ plain	/prəsd/ perspiration
/dh/—	/dhōri/ fog	/buddhi/ intelligence	x
	/dhū/ smoke	/ayodhya/ birth place of Rama	x
/n/—	/nira/ near	/janu/ knee	/trapin/ skin
	/nəs/ to escape	/ghəni/ wife	/sərn/ roof.

Palatals:

/c/—	/cəl/ to flow	/nəciba/ to dance	/nac/ dance
	/cak/ bamboo	/cucu/ nipple	x
/ch/—	/chani/ shed	/kəccha/ by the side	/məch/ fish
	/cha/ butter milk	/bachru/ calf	/gəch/ to go
/j/—	/janu/ knee		/grij/ vulture
	/jatu/ traveller		/cunj/ beak
/z/—	x	/canzi/ sharp	/cinz/ roof
	x	/canza/ pocket	x
/jh/—	/jhərh/ dirty	x	x
/ñ/—	/ñotolo/ a month (Aṣādh)	/kəñia/ daughter	/jañ/ vain

Retroflex

/ṭ/—	/ṭaṇṇa/ deaf	/həṭṭa/ bone	/həṭ/ to roam
	/ṭipu/ drop	/kəṭba/ to cut	/ruṭ/ to break
/ṭh/—	/ṭhik/ right	/kriṭha/ black	/oṭh/ lip
	/ṭhəg/ a thug	/tuṭhōra/ satisfied	/aṭh/ eight
/ḍ/—	/ḍaṭhi/ jaw	/uḍu-/ to fly	/troḍ-/ to break (trans.)
	/ḍəṇṇu/ punishment	/məḍuk/ frog	/draḍ/ to beat
/ḍh/—	/ḍhabu/ money	x	x
	/ḍhal/ salutation	x	x
/ṇ/—	x	/kəṇṇu/ bangle	/trakhuṇ/ carpenter

/r/—	x	/kə̀nə/ one eyed	/thə̀n/ walnut
		/nirə/ near	/makkur/ monkey
		/kə̀rka/ bitter	/rūr/ famine
/l/—	x	/ʃelə/ cold	/ʃyal/ jackal
		/niːlə/ forehead	/məːl/ manure

Post Palatal:

/k/—	/keʃ/ hair	/ʃuka/ dry	/mutik/ pearl
	/kaʃ/ cough	/kə̀rka/ bitter	/cak/ bamboo
/kh/—	/kha/ to cat	/trə̀khun/ carpenter	/dakh/ grapes
/g/—	/gatri/ belt	/ə̀groi/ ahead	/sə̀g/ vegetable
	/goru/ cattle	/uɡə̀r/ to open	/svə̀rg/ heaven
/gh/—	/ghə̀n/ hammer	/duɡhə̀/ deep	/brə̀gh/ leopard
	/ghə̀rni/ wife	/teŋghə̀/ like that	/meɡh/ snow
/ñ/—	/ñukaiba/ to hide	/ə̀ña/ courtyard	/ʃiːn/ peak
		/kaːnə/ comb	/phucaːn/ leftside

Liquids and semivowels:

/l/—	/loa/ iron	/niːlə/ blue	/kūːl/ water channel
	/lō/ salt	/alla/ wet	/mul /price
/r/—	/roʃ/ anger	/dure/ away	/kutor/ dog
	/rin/ loan	/goru/ cattle	/kə̀mə̀r/ shoulder
/y/—	/ya/ mother	/baya/ aunt	x
	/yoci/ early	/pə̀yadi/ evening	x
/w/—	x	/awəs/ moonless night	x
		/jewa/ tongue	/nə̀w/ new
			/paw/ a quarter

Fricatives:

/ʃ/—	/ʃuka/ dry	/aʃa/ hope	/nə̀ʃ/ nail of finger
	/ʃyal/ jackal	/ubʃba/ to swell	/keʃ/ hair
/ʂ/—	x	/oʃit/ medicine	/roʃ/ anger
	x		/muʃ/ mouse
/s/—	/sat/ seven	/jesun/ moon light	/əs/ to be
	/somar/ Monday	/prəsəd/ perspiration	/həs/ to laugh
/h/—	/hyūd/ winter	/prə̀huna/ guest	/mah/ month
	/har/ garland	/mə̀hu/ honey	/muh/ mouth

Distributionally all consonants, but *n*, *l*, *r*, *w* and *ʂ* can occur in the initial position of a word and all but voiced aspirate plosives and */y/* can occur in the final position of it.

2.3 Consonant Clusters:

The following type of consonant clusters are attested, in different syllabic positions of a word, within the word boundary.

2.3.1 Initial Syllable: A cluster of the following consonants is attested in the initial syllable of a monosyllabic or a polysyllabic word of this dialect.

(i) **/r/ as a second member:** /traɪ/ three, /trama/ copper, /tris/ thirst; /drad/ to beat, /drau/ quarrel, /drati/ sickle; /bragh/ leopard, /bran/ steam, /bresput/ Thursday, /prased/ perspiration, /pragu/ light, /prauna/ guest; /bhrauji/ husband's sister, /kriṭha/ black, /khrīca/ loom, /griṭ/ vulture, /ghraciba/ to trample; /drakphi/ victory, /droṅ/ rainbow; /thrugpi/ complaint.

(ii) **/y/, /w/, /h/ as a second member:** /pyaj/ onion, /bya/ marriage, /byahuthri/ bride, /byali/ dinner, /bhyas/ practice, habit, /tyar/ festival; /kyəmər/ butter, /kyugca/ chicken, /hyūd/ winter, /hyurna/ early; /ṣyal/ jackal, /ṣya/ breath; /dwar/ a panel of door, /chwa/ a jump; /swad/ taste, /swərg/ heaven; /gwakṣi/ an embrace; /gyədun/ a trumpet; /dhyari/ wages; /dwar/ hole, cave, /mhəs/ very.

From the above examples it may be clear that in the initial syllable the second component is invariably a continuant. The first can be a plosive or non-plosive, but it cannot be a semi-consonant or a nasal, except /m/.

2.3.2 Non-initial syllable: In a Non-initial syllable, however, the following types of combinations are, usually, attested.

(i) **/r/ as a second member:** The most common cluster of this type is attested in the form of a dental + r:

/gatri/ belt, /hitro/ heart, /jamatra/ son-in-law; /pədra/ plain, /nindra/ asleep, /bāṅdra/ bull, /bachru/ calf, /nəphrət/ hatred, /byahuthri/ bride, /əgre/ əgroi/ before, a head, /aproba/ to reach.

(ii) **/r/ as a first member:** /gərka/ heavy, /nərk/ hell, /erkuṅ/ elbow, /murkh/ dunce; /khərgos/ rabbit, /swərg/ heaven, /dərɡa/ enough; /zerzerāda/ rough; /zəṭap/ fever, /dhəṭ/ the earth, /mərd/ male; /herba/ to see, /purb/ east, /dərba/ to be afraid, /churpa/ cheese, /phəpiting/ butterfly, /ghəni/ wife, /hyurna/ early, /ərsi/ mirror, /kursi/ chair, /jerhau/ women, /kurhai/ an axe.

(iii) **/l/ as a first member:** /həldur/ turmeric; /səlba/ rose, /soltage/ table, /thəlza/ rope, /kalja/ liver;

(iv) **Nasal as a first member:** /əntim/ last, final, /jinda/ alive, /dand/ teeth, /pencep/ needle, /kəṅṭhi/ necklace, /taṅc/ waist, /ghəṅḍi/ bell; /chanzi/ pointed, sharp, /cinj/ hoop, /menzo/ mind, /choncha/ beak of bird; /səṅgənu/ narrow, /truṅguṅ/ weak; /kaṅṅu/ bangle, /saṅno/ chain of iron; /gūnsa/ ~ /gūncha/ winter-room, /nimbu/ lemon, /thombu/ ladle, /amīḷ/ sour; /cimṭi/ chin; /baṅṭi/ beauty; /rəṅga/ poor fellow;

(v) **Sibilant as a first member:** /məst/ much, /bresput/ Thursday, /duṣmən/ enemy, /pəṣwai/ rib, /thusra/ second, another.

(vi) **Sibilant as a second member:** /hapṣi/ a lie, /ubṣa/ swelling; /dikṣa/ wife's brother and sister's husband; /gwakṣi/ an embrace, /taksa/ a gift, /pokṣa/ ceiling; /mogsa/ mushroom.

(vii) **Plosive + plosive:** /thrugpi/ complaint, /gogpa/ garlic; /tərka/ car ring, /turka-/ seasoning, /kərka/ bitter; /morba/ elder father, /girba/ to melt; /səṭi/ bark of tree;

/kurikca/ ant, /rækta/ red; /ləkpi/ to change; /migcəm/ eyebrow, /chobca/ spoon, /dækba/ to tremble, /ʃukba/ to be dry, /jhətkə/ a jerk.

(viii) **Nasal + Nasal:** /oŋna/ bend; /puŋm/ to grow.

(ix) **Plosive + Semivowel/continuant:** /khirkyak/ droppings of birds, /aitwar/ Sunday, /pipli/ pepper; /dɔgla/ cooking pan; /gorla/ sweet.

2.3.3 Three member clusters: There are only a few three member clusters which occur in the non-initial position only, comprising of the elements attested in the two member clusters, in which the first and the third members are non-plosive and the medial is invariably a plosive: /khirkyak/ droppings of birds; /antre/ intestine; /kundra/ idol, /mændri/ mat; /bəndra/ bull; /nindra/ a sleep; /indri/ penis; /turpya/ bat; /tighlig/ egg.

2.4 Gemination: In Chinali, Gemination, which is a non-phonemic feature, is attested both in plosive and non-plosive consonants: /uttar/ answer, /tittar/ partridge, /batti/ wick, /həttə/ bone, /ləttə/ dumb, /guttī/ kernel; /succu/ pure, /hikki/ hiccup, /cəkki/ water mill, /mækkur/ monkey, /kəccha/ by the side, /iccha/ desire; /alla/ wet, /billa/ wide, /rəŋŋi/ widow, /daŋŋu/ punishment, /ruṭṭha~/~ruṭṭha/ good, kind; /gappa/ talk, conversation, /cuppu/ quiet, /coppu/ window, /saŋŋəŋə/ chain of iron, /oŋna/ low, /runŋ/ stone.

3.0 Supra-segmental phonemes: In the absence of historical records it is difficult to say anything about the phonemic position of supra-segmental elements of a language in the past. However, the present data of Chinali indicates that the supra-segmental elements such as stress, tone, nasality or length were part of its sound system in the past as well. A few pairs of these linguistic elements may be illustrated as under:

3.1 Tone/stress:

/ghà/ grass	/nέ/ carry (imp.)
/gha/ wound	/ne/ river

3.2 Nasality

/lōa/ salted : /leə/ iron

3.3 Length:

/bi/ also : /nilā/ forehead
/bī/ twenty : /nīla/ blue, green.

3.4 Pitch: In a normal course of speech three levels, viz., high, mid, low, of pitches are noticed. It is more or less a syntactic peculiarity attestable at the syntactic level alone. In our data we could not find any pairs of pitches showing significant contrast in the above mentioned three levels in isolated items.

4.0 THE WORD AND THE SYLLABUS

4.1 **A Word in Chinali:** From the foregoing distribution of phonemes in Chinali, it can safely be concluded that in it a minimal meaningful unit or a word can begin with any vowel or a consonant, except /n, r, l/ and /s/.

From the point of occurrence of word final phones it has been noted that though there is no restriction on the occurrence of any vowel in the word final position, yet there are a number of consonants, particularly voiced aspirates and semivowels, which are rarely attested in this position.

4.2 **Structure of syllabic Units:** As in most other languages, in Chinali, too, a syllable is a vocalic unit or a combination of a vocalic unit preceded or/and followed by a consonantal margin. In the latter case the vocalic unit constitutes as 'peak' or 'nucleus' of the syllable and all peripheral consonantal or semi-consonantal phonemes are its 'margins'. In this analysis the pre-nuclear margin has been termed as 'onset margin' and the post-nuclear margin as 'coda margin'. It can be both simple or complex (conjunction). A consonant or consonants occurring in inter-vocalic position has been termed as 'interlude', simple or complex. It may also be mentioned here that in this dialect all syllable peaks are simple, owing to complete absence of diphthongs, but a syllable peak, however, can be a nasalized one.

4.3 Positional Co-occurrence of Syllabic Constituents:

4.3.1 **Syllable nucleus:** A notable aspect of the syllable peaks in this dialect is this that in it all the vowels can singly form a syllable peak and can freely occur at both the ends of a word boundary, quantitative restrictions notwithstanding.

4.3.2 **Syllable Margins:** Besides restrictions noted above with respect to the occurrence of certain consonants in the beginning of a word, all consonants but the voiced aspirates and semi-consonants can form the onset margin and coda margin of a syllable. All the voiced aspirates, though can occur as onset margin, yet the same is not the case with regard to coda margin. In the present data only /gh/ is attested in this position. Occurrence of /y/ and /w/ as syllable margin is also extremely limited in this dialect.

All the consonants can occur singly or otherwise as an onset margin of all the syllable peaks, except the /y/ which is never followed by a front vowel, either singly or in cluster.

4.4 **Patterns of syllable units:** 'V' represents a syllable peak (including 'VN', i.e. nasalized peak) and 'C', (including aspirates) a syllable peak margin. The following syllable types are, normally, attested in this dialect, /V/, /VC/, /CV/, /CVC/, /CVCC/, /CCVC/, /CCV/. These may be termed as monophonic, diaphonic, triphonic and quadriphonic. No syllable of pentaphonic pattern is attested in the present data of it. From among these the most common syllabic patterns are /CVC/ and /CV/, followed by

/CCV/ in the initial syllable. Any one of the above mentioned syllable types may occur independently as a monosyllabic word or may function as a constituent syllable in a polysyllabic word.

The monosyllabic patterns of these syllabic units may be illustrated as follows:

/V/—	/i/ this, /o/ and.
/VC/—	/oʰ/ lip, /aʰ/ eight.
/CṼ/—	/lō/ salt, /bhē/ sister, /ya/ mother, /ne/ river.
/CVC/—	/cik/ ankle, /phuk/ body, /kaʃ/ cough, /gər/ river.
/CVCC/—	/cind/ anxiety, /purb/ east.
/CCVC/—	/mhəs/ very, much, /bragh/ leopard, /bhyas/ habit.
/CCV/—	/bʏa/ marriage, /ʃya/ breath.

4.5 Permissible Peak—Margin sequences in Monosyllabics:

A detailed analysis of the sequences of phones occurring in monosyllabic patterns of Chinali shows that consonantal margins in certain types of monosyllabic patterns have certain restrictions on their occurrences as sequences or as onset and coda margins.

A notable restriction in a triphonic unit of /CVC/ type is this that in it both the margins, onset and coda, cannot be aspirate consonants. One of them must be unaspirate. Another restriction in a triphonic syllable of a 'CCV' pattern is this that there the second 'C' is invariably a non-plosive.

4.6 Permissible number of syllables within a word: Normally, the range of syllables within a lexical word is from monosyllabic to trisyllabic. From the point of frequency, words of the disyllabic pattern constitute the main corpus of the vocabulary of the dialect. Quadri-syllabic words are very few. These may, however, be attested in morphological constructions.

4.6.1 Permissible syllabic sequences within a di-syllabic pattern:

Normally, the following types of syllabic sequences are attested in a disyllabic word pattern of it.

/(C)VCV/—	/puʰhi/ above, /baya/ aunt, /aʱa/ courtyard.
/(C)VCVC/—	/bhəʱar/ husband, /mədum/ bad, /oʃit/ medicine.
/CVV(C)/—	/sui/ dream, /ghau/ hill, /cəʱr/ four.
/(C)VCCV/—	/bənʰhi/ beauty, /hitro/ heart, /ərsi/ mirror, /rəkta/ blood.
/CCV(C)V/—	/brəbu/ a bear, /pragu/ light, /syəu/ hundred.
/(C)VCCVC/—	/məkkur/ monkey, /nindur/ a sleep, /ərkhun/ elbow.
/CCVCCV/—	/troɖba/ to break, /drakphi/ victory, /hyurna/ early.
/CCVCVC/—	/prəsəd/ perspiration, /kyəməʱr/ butter, /trakhun/ carpenter.
/CCVCCVC/—	/trəŋgun/ weak, lean and thin.
/(C)VCCCV/—	/bənɖra/ bull, /turpya/ bat, /antre/ intestine.
/CVCCVC/—	/tighig/ egg, /khirkyak/ dropping of birds.

4.6.2 Permissible syllabic sequences in a trisyllabic pattern:

The number of trisyllabic words is not very large. The syllabic sequences of this pattern attested in the present data are as under:

/CVVCV/	/baudū/air, /scura/shadow, /səura/father-in-law.
/VCCVCV/	/andəre/inward, /həʃpita/a liar, /səngənu/narrow.
/CVCVCV/	/pəyadi/evening, /ghitaru/singer, /ropoca/muskdeer.
/CVCVCCV/	/sənondu/dusk.
/CVCVV/	/kakai/elder brother's wife, /purai/earlier.
/CVCCVCV/	/phərpitig/butterfly.
/CVCVCCV/	/kərutru/a saw.
/CCVCVCCV/	/byəhuthri/bride.
/(C)CVVCV/	/prauna/a guest, /mcora/mixture.
/VVCV/	/āuli/finger, /aiba/to come.
/(C)VVCV/	/sənjoa/lamp, /əgroi/ahead.
/CVCCVCV/	/saññaṇo/iron chain.
/CVCCVCCV/	/əñtunza/kite (bird).

4.6.3. **Quadri-syllabic sequences:** Basically, Chinali has no quadrisyllabic or pentasyllabic stems. Such words are attested only in morphological constructions, which is, mostly, an extension of trisyllabic words. The only examples of quadri-syllabic words, attested in the present data are of a /CVCVVCV/ and /CVCVCCVCV/, /CCVCVVCV/ patterns, e.g. /sukaiba/ to make dry, /riṛikcali/ slippery, /brikuṇuba/ to sell.

4.7 **Syllabification:** The syllabic division within a juncture to juncture stretch of segments in this dialect is based on internal juncture or openness of transition between preceding and succeeding syllables, further accelerated by the accent. The mechanism of syllabic division operative in a disyllabic pattern is equally applicable to a polysyllabic structure as well. In case of compound and other grammatical constructions, some times, particularly in Sandhi and synthetic construction, the syllabic division at the boundary of the basic components is not clearly maintained.

4.8 **Syllabic groupings in polysyllabic patterns:** In all non-monosyllabic patterns of Chinali the grouping of syllabic components is conventionally based on the following principles:

Other things being equal, consonantal onset margin or margins, of the initial syllable peak are grouped with it, e.g. /bhətar/ husband, /trakhun/ carpenter. In these examples the pre-peak consonants, /bh-/ and /tr-/ are grouped with their syllable peaks. /ə/- and /a/ and the succeeding interludes, alongwith their coda margins, go with the succeeding syllable peaks, viz. /-a-/ and /-u/. Thus the syllabic division in these cases would be realized as /bhə-tar/ and tra-khun/.

In the case of a two member complex interlude, however, the most conventional rule is that the first member of the consonant cluster goes with the preceding

syllable peak and the second member with the succeeding syllable peak: /hyurnə/ = /hyur-na/ early, /brəspʊt/ = /brəs-put/ Thursday.

However, in the case of ambisyllabic segments it may be difficult to put a demarcating line of syllable cuts between the preceding and succeeding syllables so clearly. It can only conventionally be put in between the two, particularly when the succeeding syllable has a complex onset margin in which the second component is a non-plosive consonant, e.g. in a segment like /bachru/, /pɒtrə/ it is difficult to indicate a clear cut division of the two syllables, the onset of the succeeding syllable is realized as a coda margin of the preceding syllable-peak /a/ or /o/ and the coda of /-ch- or /-t-/ as onset complex margin of the succeeding syllable peak /-u-/ and /-ə-/.

In case of a three member interlude, the first member goes with the preceding syllable peak and the second and third with the succeeding syllable peaks, e.g. /turpya/ = /tur-pya/ bat, /tɪglhɪg/ = /tɪg-lhɪg/ egg, /antre/ = /an-tre/ intestines.

Grammatical Structure

5.0 **Word-classes:** The word classes found in Chinali are—noun, pronoun, modifier, verb and function words. As in I.A. languages in this dialect too, word classes belonging to noun, pronoun, verb and modifiers are variable and are inflected for various morphological categories.

5.1 **Word formation:** In it a word can be radical, derived or compounded. The processes, normally, employed for the formation of a word are—juxtaposition, prefixation, suffixation, reduplication and compounding. Of these the device of suffixation and compounding is the most common. Various structural and morphological elements, involving various grammatical categories of these classes of words are as follows:

5.2 **Noun:** In Chinali a noun may function as a subject, an object or a complement of a verb. The morphological categories attested with regard to noun are—number, gender and case forms. In casual relationship it, besides the case markers, can be followed by post-positions as well.

5.2.1 **Noun-classes:** On the basis of gender and certain casual relations this class of words can be divided into two groups, viz. animate and inanimate. The nouns of animate class are inflected for the gender category, but not the others. Similarly, in case of a transitive verb the object, if an animate noun, is inflected for the objective case, but not the inanimate object:

/se məθus draqtəʒ/ he beats the child, but
/se buta kattəs/ he cuts down the tree.

In these sentences the object /məθu-s/ in the first sentence takes the objective marker /-s/, but not the term for 'tree' in the second sentence. Similarly, in case of a verb having two objects the indirect object which is invariably an animate being takes the case marker, but not the direct object, if it is an inanimate object, as in /ya məθus dud dendis/ mother gives milk to the child, (for gender features see below).

5.2.2 **Nominal stems:** Nominal stems are either primary or derived or compounded. Historically, their relationship can be established with three linguistic groups of this sub-continent, they are Indo-Aryan, Tibeto-Burman and Indigenous, including Austro-Asiatic. Basically, Chinali being an I.A. language the number of nominal or even verbal stems is the largest, nearly 95%.

A few stems belonging to T.B. sources or indigenous sources are as follows:
 /d̥abu/ clothes, /diñ-mo/ lake, /pakhla/ stranger, /keiṭ/ key, /kulik/ lock, /kyəmər/ butter,
 /haci/ much, /bōrca/ bush, /runṅə~ runḥə/ stone, /konza/ foot, /kara/ ass, /ṭirə/ eye,
 /ṭhuṛu/ leg, /pazu/ bridge, /pizura/ square, /baba/ uncle, /baya/ aunt, /ṭhəñ-zəd/ barley,
 /diksa/ brother-in-law, /sucəñ/ rightside, /phucəñ/ left side, /kyugca/ chicken, /sənda/
 rain, mig-cəm/ eyebrow, /turpya/ bat, /ḍrugdirpi/ thunder, /mēbzō/ glowworm, /ropoca/
 musk deer, /brəbu/ a bear.

5.2.3 Stem Formation: The normal mechanism of stem formation in it is suffixation, compounding and reduplication. Some of these may be illustrated as under:

(1) **Suffixation:** It is the most common device of stem formation. These formative suffixes are, usually, bound forms and the resultant form functions as a derived stem to which are affixed the suffixes belonging to number, gender and case categories. These may be illustrated as under:

- (i) -li - /joi-li/ wife.
- (ii) -ka- /piu-ka/ paternal home of woman.
- (iii) -u- /byahu/ bridegroom.
- (iv) -ṭhri- /byahu-ṭhri/ bride.
- (v) -ca- /kyug-ca/ chicken, /nyuk-ca/ a knife.
- (vi) -zura- /pi-zura/ square-four cornered < /pi/ four, /sum-zura/ triangular = three cornered < /sum/ three.
- (vii) -mo- /din-mo/ lake.
- (viii) -šək- /səmya-šək/ sons/daughter's mother-in law < /səmya/ father-in-law.
- (ix) -sak- /lok-sak/ asthma.
- (x) -ta- /mañ-ta/ beggar, /naci-ta/ dancer.
- (xi) -ru- /ḥəch-ru/ calf.
- (xii) -ra- /mco-ra/ mixture, /dukho-ra/ patient, sick.
- (xiii) -ṭa- /ḥəpši-ṭa/ liar, /corə-ṭa/ thief.
- (xiv) -har~ ar- /bunihar~ bunihar/ weaver, spider.
- (xv) -i- /tcl-i/ oilman.

(2) **Reduplication:** The phenomenon of reduplication, is attested with regard to syllables as well as stems. Moreover, echo formations, too, are a part of reduplication, e.g. /ghughu/ pigeon, /ṭaṭa/ dumb, /kir-kir/ round.

(3) **Compound stems:** In a compound stem, both types of combinations, viz. free + free, and free + bound are attested in a good number. In case of compounding of free forms both the constituents may be nominal, or adjective + nominal, conveying a copulative meaning. The following type of compound stems are attested in it.

(1) Noun + noun = Noun.

/mē/ fire + /bzō/ worm = /mēbzō/ glowworm.

/mig/ eye + /cəm/ hair = /mig-cəm/ eyebrow (Tibetan).

/jəɾ/ fever + */təp/* fever = */jəɾtəp/* fever (hybride).

/kəçpəç/ armpit.

(iv) Noun + Verb = Noun.

/bhunul/ = */bhū/* earth, */nūl/* moving = earth quake.

/drugdirpi/ = */drug/* dragen + */dirpi/* flash = thunder.

(ii) Adjective + Noun = Noun.

/baya/ = */ba/* younger + */ya/* mother = aunt.

/baba/ = */ba/* younger + */ba/* father = uncle.

/pizura/ = */pi/* four + */zura/* corner = square.

/moɾba/ = */moɾc/* elder + */ba/* father = elder uncle.

/morya/ = */moɾc/* elder + */ya/* mother = elder aunt.

/taturdhyara/ = */tatur/* hot + */dhyara/* days = summer.

/khor- brimza/ = thumb.

5.3 Nominal Inflection: In Chinali, as in I.A. nominal inflection takes place for number, gender and case categories. Consequently, in it a nominal stem, particularly belonging to human class, is inflected for 2 numbers; 2 genders and 7 cases.

5.3.1 Gender: Nominal stems belonging to animate class are inflected for two genders, viz. masculine and feminine, but other stems are usually treated as epicene or genderless. The gender category affects not only the modifiers of a noun but also the verb form constituting the verb phrase, as in */ba dendəs/* father gives, but */ya dendis/* mother gives; */sohru aibe lagura əstəs/* the young boy is coming, but */sohri aibe laguri əstis/* the young girl is coming.

Like NIA inflection for gender category is attested in a few types of stems only. The mechanism adopted in this case is the replacement of the masculine stem final vowel/zero with the feminine marker *-i*, e.g.

<i>/dagu/</i> grandfather	:	<i>/dagi/</i> grandmother (paternal)
<i>/nana/</i> grandfather	:	<i>/nani/</i> grandmother (maternal)
<i>/potra/</i> grand son	:	<i>/pouri/</i> grand daughter
<i>/ghoa/</i> horse	:	<i>/ghoi/</i> mare
<i>/koa/</i> son	:	<i>/kui/</i> daughter
<i>/bura/</i> old man	:	<i>/buri/</i> old woman
<i>/məkur/</i> monkey	:	<i>/məkuri/</i> (she) monkey
<i>/kutor/</i> dog	:	<i>/kutori/</i> bitch
<i>/kukur/</i> cock	:	<i>/kukuri/</i> hen
<i>/sohra~sohru/</i> lad	:	<i>/sohri/</i> lass
<i>/bhanij/</i> sister's son	:	<i>/bhaniji/</i> sister's daughter

We have also come across a few instances in which recognition of a grammatical gender also is attested, e.g. */dhūp tət̪ti əs/* the sun-shine is hot, but */pani tət̪ta əs/* water is hot.

In this, like Hindi, the term */dhūp/* has been treated as feminine and the term */pañi/* ~ */pāi/* as masculine. However, the gender of inanimate nouns is determined partly by form, but mainly by uses, reflected in the forms of modifiers and verbs.

For morphological constructions feminine nouns derived from masculine ones acquire an independent status, similar to that as is attested with regard to masculine nouns.

5.3.2 Number: In nominal and verbal stems, a synchronic analysis of Chinali shows inflection for two numbers only, viz. singular and plural.

Singular: A singular number, standing for a single individual being or object has only a zero morpheme. Infact, it is inherent in the base form of a noun, as in /ghoa/ horse, /cai/ bird, /buṭa/ tree, /baya/ aunt.

Plural: Plurality is expressed in four ways, (1) by suffixing a plural marker to the stem/singular form of the noun, (2) by replacing the stem final vowel, (3) by prefixing a modifier, (4) by suffixing a particle. These may be illustrated as under:

(1) Stems ending in a vowel, other /han /a/, and some stems ending in a consonant take the suffix /e/ to make a plural from the singular, e.g. /ḍabo/ rupee: /ḍaboc/ rupees, /sohru/ lad: /sohrue/ lads, /kətab/ book: /kətabe/ books.

In feminine stems it is attested as /-i/, as in /bhē/ sister /bhēṭ/ sisters, e.g. /me ck bhē ḍasti/ I have one sister, but /me trai bhēṭ ḍasti/ I have three sisters.

(2) Masculine nouns, ending in /a/~u/ change this vowel to /e/, e.g. /mṭha/~mṭhu child : /mṭhe/ children, /ghoa/ horse : /ghoe/ horses, /kara/ ass : /kare/ asses, /ḍaba/ clothe : /ḍabc/ clothes, /ram ek gəppa puchəs/ Ram asked one thing, /ram hači gəppe puches/ Ram asked many things.

(3) Plurality is also expressed by prefixing terms, indicative of things numbering in more than one, such as /haci/, /dərğa/, /bigun/, /mhə / etc. as in /haci kutur/ many dogs, /dərğa cai/ many birds, /bigun sohru/ many boys.

(4) Besides, plurality is also expressed by suffixing the term /ṭhroh/~ṭthroha/ to a noun. It is equivalent to Hindi term /log/ people, and is appended to nouns denoting human beings only, as in /ya-ṭhroh/ mothers, /sohriṭroha/ girls, etc.

But, usually, nouns ending in a vowel other than /-a/ or a consonant are not inflected, in a formal way, to indicate their plural forms. In such cases the plurality is inferred from the verbal forms or adjectival forms, if any:

/mṭhu roṭi khāḍus/ a boy is eating a loaf of bread.

/mṭhe roṭi khāḍes/ boys are eating loaves of bread.

/məkur buta puṭhi ḍasti/ Monkeys live on trees.

/ṭəukəṭi ketuk gōru ləch ḍasti/ how many cows/sheep have you?

/oser ketuk bakri ḍasti/ how many goats has he?

5.4 Case: In Chinali, case category, besides expressing the relationship of noun or pronoun with the verb in general, also expresses a relationship between two nouns or a pronoun and a noun, particularly when the relationship of a possessor and possessed is intended.

The grammatical relations expressed by cases are varied and numerous, such as subject, object, means, purpose, separation, possession, origin, composition, place, time, etc. All these casual relationships are expressed (i) either by means of suffixes, affixed to bare stems of substantives in the singular and after number suffixes in the dual (pron.) and plural, or (ii) by means of postpositions which follow specific inflected bases of nominal and pronominal stems. In some cases the case signs are tied up with number suffixes and in some kept apart. Schemetically all the case suffixes and postpositions of Chinali may be presented as below:

Case	Sg.	Pl.
Direct	ϕ	-e/-i/-ē
Acc./Oblique	-s/-es/-ϕ	-a/-ϕ
Ergative	-i/-e	-ē
Agentive	-ləi/kəili (p.p.)	-ləi/kəili (p.p.)
Dative	-re/-roe (p.p.)	-re
Ablative	-li/kəili	-ləi/kəili (p.p.)
Genitive	-r/-er	-ke (p.p.)
Locative	-i/-ā (bica)	-i/-ā-

5.4.1 Syntactic Correlations: Various syntactic correlations expressed by these case forms, and distribution of various case markers may be explained as under:

(a) **Direct Case:** Morphologically, the direct case (i.e. the unmodified and ending less form) has no separate case marker. It has only number suffixes which represent the case also. Syntactically, it is used to indicate the following grammatical relations:

(i) It is subject of a verb:

/məṭhu kam kərtəs/ the child is doing work.

/ya dud dendis/ mother gives milk.

/makur buṭa puṭhi bəstes/ monkeys live on threes.

/həũ nə gəchu/ I shall not go.

(ii) Inanimate object of transitive verb:

/se buṭa kaṭtəs/ he cuts down a tree.

/məṭhui kəṭab pəṛhtus/ a boy reads a book.

/məṭhe kəṭabc pəṛhtes/ boys read books.

(iii) Direct object of a verb, having two objects (viz. direct and indirect):

/ya məṭhus dud dēdis/ mother gives milk to the child.

/ghois paĩ o gha dehi/ give water and grass to the horse.

/mũ maũ babe-re ḍak likṭha bhəũ/ I have to write a letter to my uncle.

(iv) Of a predicative noun, referring to a subject/object.

/mē ek bhē əstis/ I have a sister.

/yi me ghər bhə/ This is my house.

/tē koṅ (Kowā) koṭhe əs/ where is your son?

(v) Of direct address or vocation:

/Sita! tē baba koṭhe əs/Sita! Where is your uncle.

/ram! təpī koṭhe-ni āī dəs/ Ram! where are you coming from?

(b) **Oblique Case:** Chinali, like Hindi, has inflected forms which are used with post-positional case signs. These are identical to accusative case forms discussed below: For the purpose of case categories these forms, may be designated as oblique case forms. Consequently, from the inflectional view-point there are only 5 cases in it. They are: Nominative, Accusative/Oblique, Ergative, Dative and Genitive. In this dative too has a dual character.

(c) **Accusative Case:** Accusative is the case of animate object of a transitive verb and indirect object of a transitive verb, having two objects. The markers of this case are— /s/ -es/-φ in the singular and -a/-φ in the plural. Their distribution is as follows:

(i) /s/: It is used with animate objects ending in a vowel:

/ya məṭhus dud dēdis/ mother gives milk to the child.

/se məṭhus draṭtəs/ he beats the child.

/ghois gha dei/ give grass to the horse.

/məṭhui sohris herus/ boy looked at the girls.

/mē maū bhais bolus/ I told my brother.

(ii) /-es/: It is used with stems ending in a consonant: /kutures roti dei/ give loaves of bread to the dogs. /ləces ~ bheḍes ləp dēdis/ she gives leaves to the sheep.

(iii) -φ. It occurs with inanimate objects, e.g. see above sentences.

(iv) /-a/: It is a plural suffix occurring with consonant ending stems, as in /kutura roti dei/ give loaves of bread to the dogs. /bheṛa ghā an/ bring grass for the ewes.

(v) /ya məṭhur ḍabē dhondis/ mother washes child's clothes, /sohriē sōru hérés/ girls look at boys.

/məṭhē kətabe pəres/ boys read books.

The subject of the compulsive verb, with the sense of 'has to/have to' also is placed in the accusative case:

/tes iṭhe aiba-bhua/ he had to come here (Hindi -ana pəṛa), /məṭhus aū ba-sate gəchba əs/ the boy has to go with his father. /mū ḍak likhta bhāū/ I have to write a letter.

(d) **Ergative case:** It is a case of the subject of a transitive verb in the past tense: The suffixal case markers of this case are: /-i/ (sg.) and /-ē/ (pl.):

/mṭhu-i kətab pəṛhus/ the boy has read the book.

/məṭhu-i sohris herus/ the boy saw the girl.

məṭhē kətabe pəṛhes/ boys have read books.

/sohriē sohrus heres/ girls saw boys

/rame mohānəs kəili ek gəṛṇa puchəs/

Ram asked one thing from Mohan.

(e) **Instrumental:** The instrumental aspect of an agentive case is expressed (i) with the agentive suffix *-e*, and (ii) with post-positions /*lai/* and /*kāi-li/*. Out of these *-e* and *lai* can occur in free variation, but *kāi-le* which is basically an ablative marker occurs with animate objects when acting as an agent of a causative verb: /*kane~kane lai gəppa sun, ʈire~ʈirelai her/* listen with ears and see with eyes.
 /*se kurhai lai buta kattəs/* he cuts down the tree with an axe.
 /*cai pakhe lai urdes/* birds fly with wings.
 /*hate lai bəgut khādəs/* eats with hands.
 /*se məthus kāile kam kəraltəs/*
 he gets the work done from the child.

(f) **Sociative:** The sociative case is expressed with post-position /*sathe/~sate/* 'with':
 /*təū sate aik kəū thia/* who was the other (person) with you?
 /*tes aū ba sate gəchba əs/* he has to go with his father.
 /*kutura sathe/* with dogs, /*koa sathe/* with sons, etc.

(g) **Dative:** The dative case takes (i) the suffix /*-re/* which is added to the oblique base of the noun/pronoun and (ii) the post-position /*roe/~rue/* which follows the inflected base in the genitive case (both for sg. and pl.)

(i) /*kuture-re rig ane/* bring a stick for the dog.
 /*mū maū babe-re ɖak likhta bhəū/*
 I have to write a letter for my uncle.
 /*məthe-re ca tacae/* heat the tea for children. Also /*mū-re/* for me, /*əsā-re/* for us, /*tusā-re/* for you (pl.) (ii) /*mē roe/* for me, /*tē roe/* for you, /*maher roe/* for a month, as in /*mū ek maher roe ghəṛē gəchiwe dehe/*. Please let me go home for a month; /*drebur roe/* for the brother-in-law, /*bhair roe/* for the brother, /*əsū roe/* for us, /*tusū roe/* for you (pl.), etc.

(h) **Ablative:** It is a post-positional case. In this case the post-positions attested with reference to the point of separation are /*li/*, /*kāi-li/* and /*ni/* for both the numbers. Distributionally, the former two occur with nominal and pronominal stems and the latter with adverbial stems.

(i) /*li/* follows the oblique base:
 /*tē dilli-li mē roe khī ātus/* what have you brought for me from Delhi.
 /*bute-li ləp jhərtəs/* leaves fall from the tree.
 /*ghəwa-li ~ ghəwa kāili ne nistis/* River flows from the mountain.

(ii) The p.p. /*kāi-li/* is usually attested with human beings. It follows the accusative base:

/*rame mohənəs kāili ek gəppa puchəs/*
 Ram asked one thing from Mohan.
 /*site raməs kāili vət puchis/*
 Sita asked about the way from Ram.

(iii) Occurrence of /ni/ in the sense of 'from' is attested with adverbial stems only.
 /tethi ni khī ātus/ what did (you) bring from there?
 /təpī kothe-ni aīdās/ where are you coming from?
 /tes iṭhini gāchba bhua/ he had to go from here.

(i) **Genitive:** The genitive case which expresses mutual relationship between two substantives or a noun and a pronoun takes the suffix /-r/~-er/ in the singular and /-ke/ in the plural, both following the inflected oblique form of the substantive. It also serves as a base for certain post-positional case markers.

(i) In singular the suffix /-r/ is attested with stems ending in a vowel other than the /-a/, which is modified into /-e/ before the suffix, and /-er/ is attested with stems ending in a consonant. But it may be nearer the truth that in both the cases the real suffix may be recognized as /-r/ which is added to oblique form of the substantive. /māṭhur/ of the boy, /cair/ of the bird, /mamer/ of maternal uncle, /māther/ of the boy < /mātha/ boy, /hater/ of the hand, /kuturer/ of the dog, /tramer/ of copper, /oṭhe me naner nagur bho/ that is my maternal grand father's village.
 /oser khī naw bho/ what is his name?
 /teser roper āuthi truṭi gāi/ his silver ring is broken.
 /tramer bhā dud əmla bhōdās/ milk turns sour in a pot of copper.
 /ya māṭhur ḍabe dhondis/ mother washes child's clothes.

(ii) But the post-position used with plural forms is /-ke/ which is indeclinable and follows the oblique plural base of the substantives.

/ya māthāi ke ḍabi dhondis/ mother washes children's cloth.
 /goru-ke/ of cows, /sohri-ke/ of girls, /bhai-ke/ of brothers, /tate ke/ of dumbs, /diksa-ke/ of brothers-in-law, /ya-throhe-ke/ of mothers, /ba-throhe-ke/ of fathers.

(j) **Locative:** In the declension of the locative case inanimate nouns take suffixes and animate post-positions. The suffixes taken by inanimate nouns in this case are /-i~ -e~ a/: Their distribution is as under:

(i) /-i/: It occurs with stems ending in a vowel. In case of a front vowel /i/ it is merged into it, but in case of /e/ it is maintained:

/māch paī bica əsti/ fish lives in water.
 /os naguri ketuk māū əsti/ how many persons are there in that village.
 /hāū chetrari gāchta bhāū/ I have to go to the field.
 /i nei mach əsti/ there are fish in this river, /agi/ in the fire.

(ii) /-e/: It is attested with stems ending in /-a/, as such it may be taken as a sandhi form of $a + i > e$, as in /sī te bāhirā ma gācch/ don't go out in the cold; /kāmre gācch/ go in the room.

(iii) /-a/: It is attested with stems ending in a consonant, /əse inge ke ghārā aīde ti/ we used to visit their home. /sərgā māstsə tare əsti/ there are many stars in the sky.
 /bātā ek kukur thia/ there was dog in the way.

Various allocative relations are, however, expressed with the help of various post-positions: For instance, the surfaceive spatial relationship is expressed with p.p. /puṭhi/ on, upon etc. It follows the inflected oblique base of the substantive: /buṭa puṭhi ek cai beṭhori aṣti/ a bird is seated on the tree; /se ghoe puṭhi ti/ he was on the horse back. /se mənji puṭhi bəstəs/ he is seated on the cot. The allocative relation in respect of location in animate beings is expressed with /kəi/ 'in', which follows the oblique base, as in /məṭhus kəi/ in the child, /cais kəi/ in the bird, /kaṇes kəi/ in the blind man, /mū kəi/ in me, etc.

(k) **Post-positions:** Besides the case suffixes, there are some post-positions as well which are used to express some of the casual relations. These follow the inflected oblique base of the substantive. The most commonly used post-positions of Chinali are—/lai/ with, /kəile/ through, with (Instrumental case), /sate/ with (sociative case), /roc/ 'for, for the sake of', (Dative), /li/ from, /kəi li/ 'from, from the possession of, (Abl.), /ke/ of (genitive), /puṭhi/ on (Loc.) (for their uses see respective sections, above):

5.5 Models of Nominal Inflection

(1) /məṭhu/ child.

Case	Sg.	Du.	Pl.
Direct	məṭhu	mərdui	məṭhe
Oblique	məṭhu	mərdui	məṭhe
Acc.	məṭhus	mərdui	məṭhe
Erga.	məṭhui	mərduie	məthe
Dative	məṭhure	mərduie	məṭhēre
Ablative	məṭhus kəili	mərdui kəili	məṭhē kəili
Genitive	məṭhur	mərduike	məṭhē ke
Locative	məṭhus kəi	mərdui kəi	məṭhē kəi

(2) /bhē/ sister:

Direct	bhē	—	bhēiē
Acc.	bhēis	—	bhēiē
Erga.	bhēi	—	bhēiē
Dative	bhēire	—	bhēire
Ablative	bhēis-kəili	—	bhēi-kəili
Genitive	bhēir	—	bhēir

(3) /hat/ hand.

Case	Sg.	Du.	Pl.
Direct	hat	—	hat
Oblique	hate	—	hate
Acc.	hata	—	hata
Ergative	hate-lai	—	hate-lai
Dative	hate-re	—	hate-re

Ablative	hate-kəili	—	hate-kəili
Genitive	hater	—	hater
Locative	hata	—	hata

6.0 PRONOUNS

Pronouns which substitute nouns have the same syntactic position as is held by a noun. However, morphologically a special feature of this class of words is this that these are inflected regularly for all the three numbers.

Semantically, pronominal stems are divisible into six groups, viz. (1) Personal, (2) Demonstrative, (3) Interrogative, (4) Indefinitive, (5) Reflexive and (6) Relative. Of these the pronouns belonging to 1, 2 and 5 categories are inflected for all the three numbers and seven cases, but others for singular number and a few cases only.

Morphologically, no stutable distinction is attested between personal and demonstrative pronouns, but syntactically the latter can function as a modifier to a substantive which the former cannot, though they too, can be used as pronominal adjectives, in genitive case forms only.

6.1 Personal Pronouns. Personal pronouns standing for 'the person speaking', 'the person spoken to' and 'the person spoken of' are clearly distinguishable from their distinctive stems.

(i) **First Person:** The pronouns indicating 'the person speaking' are designated as 1st person. In Chinali these are /hə -/ and /mə -/ in the singular number and /əs/ in the plural.

Case	Sg.	Du.	Pl.
Direct	haũ	ədui	əse
Acc. (oblique)	mũ	əndui	əsā
Erg.	mi	əduie	əsẽ
Dat.	mure/mcroe	ədui-re	əsāre
Abl.	mũ (kəĩli)	ədui (kəĩli)	əsā (kəĩli)
Gen.	mẽ	ədui-ke	əsāũ-ke
Loc.	mu (kəi)	ədui (kəi)	əsā(kəi)

Some of the syntactic uses of these forms may be seen as below:

/haũ ckel əstəs/ I am alone.

/ədui bhaidui jāĩ bhəũ/ we are two brothers.

/əsc haci bhai əstesu/ we are many brothers.

/se mũ heribe sate rolie/ she wept on seeing me

/se əsā heribe sate rolbe cəmki/ she started weeping on seeing us.

/mi kesa bolũ ti/ to whom did I say?

/tẽ dilli-li meroe~mure khĩ ātus/ what have you brought for me from Delhi.

/yi mẽ ghər bho/ this is my house.

/əsc əsaũ ke kam kəri muke/ we have done our work.

/mc ek bhẽ əstis/ I have one sister.

(ii) **Second Person:** The pronoun indicating the 'person spoken to' is designated as second person. In this dialect it is represented by stems, /tu/ (sg.) and /tus-/ (pl.). Their paradigmatic presentation is as under:

Case	Sg.	Du.	Pl.
Direct	/tu/təpi	/tuidi/tubdui	tuse/tupse
Acc. (Oblique)	/təũ/ təpũ	/tuidi/tubdui	tusā/tupsā
Erg.	/tuĩ/təpĩ	tuidiẽ/tubduiẽ	tusẽi/tupsẽi
Dat.	/təure/təpure	tuidire/tubduire	tusāre/tupsāre
Abl.	/təũ (kəĩ li)	tuidi-/tubdui(kəĩ li)	tusā-/tupsu kəĩ li
Gen.	/tẽ/təũ/təpũ	/tudu-ke/tubduike	tusũ ke/tupsuke
Loc.	/təu(kəĩ)/təpũ-	/tuidi-/tubdu-(kəĩ)	tusākəĩ/tupsukəĩ

The alternate forms stand for honorific 2nd person pronoun. Some of the syntactic uses of this pronoun are:

- /tẽ koa kothe əs/ where is your son?
 /mi tẽ-roe dabue ātus/ I have brought clothes for you.
 /təũ kəĩ ketuk goru əsti/ how many kine have you?
 /təpĩ kothe bestəs/ where do you (hon.) live?
 /çok (tak), təu bi deũ/ wait, I will give to you as well.
 /tuĩ dabe kothe chaure thie/ where had you put the clothes.
 /tu kəs bōlti ti/ whom were you calling to?
 /təu tethe gəchba loind thia/ you should have gone there.
 /təpĩ hebe ethe ala/ when will you (hon.) come here?
 /tupsũ khĩ naũ bho/ what is your (hon.) name?

(iii) **3rd Person:** Pronouns referring to the person or thing spoken about are called third person pronouns. In this dialect, the pronominal stems representing this class of pronouns are /ye/ he, she, it (proximate) and /se/ he, she, that (remote). Paradigmatically these may be illustrated as under:

/ye/ it, he, she.

Case	Sg.	Du.	Pl.
Direct	ye/e	endui	ene
Acc.(Oblique)	es	endui	ena
Erg.	eni	endui	enẽ
Dat.	es-re	endui-re	enere
Abl.	es(kəili)	endui(kəili)	enā(kəili)
Gen.	eser	endui ke	enige-ke
Loa.	es kəi	endui-kəi	ena-kəi

/se/ that, he, she

Direct	se	sendui	sene/tene
Acc.(Oblique)	tes	tendui	tena
Erg.	seni/teni	senduie/tenduie	senẽ/tenẽ

Dat.	tesre	tendui-re	tena-re
Abl.	tes(kāili)	tendui(kāili)	tena(kāili)
Gen.	teser	tendui ke	teṅge ke
Loc.	tes (kai)	tendui (kai)	tena (kai)

From the above it may be evident that Chinali, like Sanskrit, has a replacive tendency in the 3rd person pronominal stems, i.e. like Sanskrit in it too the 3rd person stem /se/ is replaced with the stem /tət/ for certain numbers and cases. In classical Sanskrit the stem *sa* has survived in nominative singular only, but in Chinali, like Vedic Sanskrit, it has survived for all the numbers of Nominative and Agentive (Egrative) cases as well.

The syntactic uses of these pronouns may be illustrated as follows:

/ye mət̪hus draḍt̪əs/ this fellow beats the child.

/se kam k̪ərt̪əs/ he is doing work/working.

/eṅc mahū bi iṭhe b̪əst̪əs/ these, those people also live here.

/tuĩ tes holoru bholu/ you may have told him.

/teni k̪āĩ/ he said, /eni k̪āĩ/ they said.

/tes aũ ba sate g̪əchba bho/ he has to go with his father.

/teser koa koṭhe əs/ where is his son?

/əse roj iṅge ke gh̪əṛā aĩde ti/ we used to come their house daily.

6.2 Reflexive Pronoun: Reflexive pronouns which substitute and refer to a pronoun or noun, which as a rule is the logical object in the sentence, have respective independent stems for all the personal pronouns. These are:

Case	Sg.	Pl.
1st Person	haũ/mi > maũ	əse > əsāũ
2nd person	tu > t̪ũ	tuse > tusāũ
3rd person	se > aũ	tene > tenaũ

/se aũ d̪ab̪e api̪e dhond̪əs/ he himself washes his clothes.

/teni aũ bhais k̪eĩ/ he said to his brother.

/mi maũ bhais bolus/ I asked my brother.

/haũ aj maũ gh̪əṛā g̪əcht̪əs/ I am going my home today.

/əse əsaũ ke kam k̪əri muke/ We have done our work.

/t̪e t̪aũ kam api̪e k̪əre/ you yourself do your work.

6.3 Demonstrative: Usually, the 3rd person pronouns when used for 'pointing out' a relatively remote or proximate person or thing are called demonstrative pronouns. In a syntactic string whether these stems are to be treated as personal pronouns or demonstrative pronouns can be ascertained from the context only. i.e. when there is definite 'pointing out' then these are to be treated as demonstrative pronouns, and when they merely substitute a noun head then these are to be taken as personal pronouns. However, in Chinali, besides the common stems we also find distinct stems like /yi/ this (proximate) and /o/ that, (remote, but within the sight), and /se/ that (out of the sight). The paradigms of /i/ and /o/ may be presented as under:

(i) /i/ ~ /yi/ this (proximate)

Case	Sg.	Du.	Pl.
Direct	i	indui	ine
Acc./Oblique	is	indui	ina
Erg.	ini	indui	inē
Dat.	isre	indui-re	ine-re
Abl.	is (kəili)	indui (kəili)	ina (kəili)
Gen.	iser	indui-ke	iŋge-ke
Loc.	is-kəi	indui-kəi	ina-kəi

(ii) /o/ that (remote): It is inflected for singular number only. In plural it has identical forms with person pron.

Direct	o	—	tene
Acc./Oblique	os	—	tena
Erg.	uni/oni	—	tene
Dat.	os-re	—	tena-re
Abl.	os (kəili)	—	tena(kəili)
Gen.	oser	—	teŋge-ke
Loc.	os (kəi)	—	tena (kəi)

Some of the syntactic uses of this class of pronouns may be illustrated as follows:

/yi me għar bho/ this is my house.

/os nagəri ketik mahū əsti/ how many people are in that village.

/tē yi khī kəri theus/ what have you done this?

6.4 **Interrogative:** The interrogative pronominal stems, attested in Chinali are: /kəũ/ who and /khĩ/ what? Between these only /kəũ/ is inflected for singular number only.

The forms obtained for various cases are:

Direct /kəũ/, Acc. /obl. -/kəs~kis/, Erg. /kes/,

Dat. /kes-re/, Abl. /kes/, Gen. /keser/, Loc. /kes~kis/:

/təũ sate aik kəũ thia/ who was the other (person) with you?

/tu kes bolti ti/ to whom were you calling?

/inc ɖabē kes-re ātus/ for whom did you bring these clothes?

/yi għoa keser bho/ whose horse is this?

/tupsū khī nāũ bho/ what is your (hon.) name?

/tupsi khī kam kərtesu/ what work do you do?

6.5 **Indefinitive:** The indefinite pronouns attested in this dialect are—/kəi/ any, someone, and /khĩ/ some, /jaũe/ whosoever. Among these /kəi/ is inflected for singular number forms but not /khĩ/: The forms of /kəi/ are—Direct. /kəi/, Acc. /kese/, Erg. /kese/, Dat. /kesere/, Abl. /kese/, Gen. /keser/, Loc. /keser/. Some of these forms are identical with interrogative forms.

/kəi pəkai lagia, kəi khai lagia/ some are cooking, some are eating,
/tser khī ruppya thie/ he had some money.
/site raməs khī gəppa puchəs/ Sita asked Ram a few things.
 Also */koi bi/* anyone, */h ɔkaie/* anything.

6.6 Relative Pronouns: The relative pronouns in it are—*/je/* and */se/* which are inflected for singular only.

Different inflectional forms of */je/* are—1. */je/*, 2. */jes/~jis/*, 3. */jini/*, 4. */jesre/*, 5. */jes/*, 6. */jeser/*, 7. */jes~jis/*.

Inflected forms of */sc/* are identical with the forms of personal pronominal stem.
/je bi māgeli, deũ/ I shall give, whatever you ask for.

/je ala, se gəchela/ whosoever will come, he will go.

7.0 ADJECTIVES

As in other languages in this too, adjectives are qualifying or intensifying words, occurring with nouns, pronouns, and adjectives. Unlike I.A. in it, adjective are used both, attributively and predicatively, though predominantly occurring as attributes. The main function of an adjective in an expression is either to describe the quality/quantity of the object qualified by it or to distinguish it from others. Thus broadly speaking they are either describing or distinguishing, though traditionally grouped as qualitative, quantitative, demonstrative, interrogative and possessive/pronominal. The sphere of describing adjectives is to denote a quality such as good, bad, red, black etc. or quantity, such as enough, plenty, how much? etc. or number such as three, five, how many? etc. or some state or condition such as happy, sad, cold, hot, etc. And the sphere of distinguishing adjectives, i.e. pointing out a person or a thing as distinct from others of their own class, is to particularize an object, such as 'this boy, that girl, my house, your horse,' etc. or to ask question, such as which (boy/-book)? etc.

7.1 Formation of an Adjectives: Adjectives, in Chinali, are both radical and derived. Radical adjectives are monomorphemic and derived polymorphemic. The mechanism of the formation of derived adjectives is as follows:

(a) Derived from nominal stems:

(i) */-t̥ho/* : */sərg/* sky + */t̥ho/* like = */sərgert̥ho/* blue/green.

(ii) */-e/* : */bukur/* hunger + */-e/* = *bukure/* hungry.

(iii) */-ra/* : */dukh/* trouble + */-ra/* = */dukhora/* sick, ill.

/triʃ/ thirst + */-ra/* = */triʃora/* thirsty.

(iv) */-i/* : */ghəmənd/* pride + */-i/* = */ghəməndi/* proud.

(v) */-a/* : */lō/* salt + */-a/* = */lōa/* salted.

(b) Derived from numerals:

(i) */pi/* four + */zura/* corner = */pi-zura/* square (Tib.)

/sum/ three + zura/ = /sum zura/ triangular (Tib.)

/ek/ one + /la/ = /ekla/ alone.

/dui/ two + /uṅa/ = /dugūṅa/ two times.

/traī/ three + /uṅa/ = /triūṅa/ three times.

(c) Derived from verbal roots:

(i) /-ra/ : /ruṭh/ to be angry + /ora/ = /ruṭhōra/ angry.

/tuṭh-/ to be happy + /ora/ = /tuṭhōra/ happy.

/pak-/ to ripen + /ora/ = /pākōra/ ripened.

/šuk-/ to be dried + /ora/ = /šukōra/ dried.

/bhār-/ to be filled + /ora/ = /bhārōra/ full.

/-ri/ : /jāl-/ to burn + /ori/ = /jālōri/ burnt.

/-ru/ : /cām-/ to shine + /oru/ = /cāmōru/ shining.

(d) Negative + Adj.

/mā/ not + /dum/ good = /mādum/ bad.

/nā/ not + /jata/ knower = /nājata/ ignorant.

(e) **Reduplication:** There are a few adjective in which reduplication of stems also is attested:

/ḍugḍug/ blunt, /kir-kiranda/ round, /zəzəzəranda/ rough.

Some of the commonly used mono-morphemic/radical adjective in Chinali are—
/bantī/ beautiful, /moda/ big, /bāc/ younger, /kriṭha/ black, /rākta/ red, /šukula/ white,
/pila/ yellow, /nila/ blue, /sull/ dull, /bādde/ every, all, /gārka/ heavy, /lama/ high,
long, /latu/ hot, /šeḷa/ cold, cool, /aid/ little, small, /agura/ next, /khiā/ some, any,
/kōṅu/ soft, /māst/ very, /mhās/ very, much, /ruṭha/ good, /thula/ fat, thick, /thōra/
a little, /haci/ much, /dārgah/ very, /chita/ thin, /māṭṭha/ small, /bhātte/ all, /keti/ how
many, /ketuk/ how much, /kāũ/ which, /i/ this, /o/ that.

7.2 Agreement with the noun head: The only pattern of adjectives showing complete agreement both in number and gender with the noun head qualified by them is the class of adjectives ending in /-a/:

In this the stem final /a/ which is inherently masculine, is replaced with /-i/ in case the noun head is feminine (both sg. and pl.), and with /-e/ in case it is a masculine plural:

/kriṭha kutur/ black dog, /kriṭhi birai/ black cat/cats, /kriṭhe kuture/ black dogs. /ruṭṭha māṭhu/ good boy, /ruṭṭhi kui/ good girl, /ruṭṭhe māṭhe/ good boys. /təṭṭa pāi/ hot water, /ṭṭi dhup/ hot sunshine. /māṭṭha buṭa/ small tree, /māṭṭhi cai/ small bird. Otherwise /tej mahũ/ swift man, /tej jolāhũ/ swift woman. However, demonstrative adjectives show an agreement with the case also, by taking oblique case forms:

/is kam hyurna kārē/ do this work quickly.

/os nagəri ketuk māũ āsti/ how many persons are there in that village?

/i ḍak/ this letter, /tene mahũ/ those people.

/is bhā khī chaura əs/ what is there in this pot?

7.3 Placement of Adjectives: Although in a normal course a qualifier precedes the noun head qualified by it, yet as stated above, in it it can be used both as attributively and predicatively, e.g. /kriṭhi birai/ black cat : /birai kriṭhi əs/ the cat is black. /ədui bhai dui jāi bhāṁ/ we are two brothers (pred.). /haṁ rat puri ceora thia/ I kept awakened for the whole night. /əse haci bhai estesu/ we are many brothers (Attri.). /me trai bheī əsti/ I have three sisters. (Attri.)

However, in a noun phrase having more than one adjective the syntactic position of these attributives is as follows:

(i) In case of a numeral it precedes all others:

/buṭa puṭhi ek məṭṭhi cai beṭhori əs/ a small bird is seated on the tree.

(ii) In case of a demonstrative it precedes others, pronominal or non-pronominal:

/yi me maṁ ghər bho/ this is my own house.

/se me mamer nagur bho/ that is my maternal uncle's village.

/yi thula məṭhu kəṁ bho/ who is this fat boy?

(iii) In case a pronominal adjective it precedes the adjective of quality /mi maṁ kenṭha-məṭha bhais bolus/ I told my younger brother.

(iv) In case of an intensifier, it is placed immediately before the qualifier, the quality of which is intensified by it: /buṭa puṭhi haci məṭṭhi məṭṭhi rəkti cai beṭhore əsti/ There are many small red birds seated on the tree.

(v) From the above example (iv) it may also be noted that the attribute denoting quality or size precedes the attribute denoting colour.

7.4 Degrees of Comparison: As in the case of many I.A. languages in it too the comparison of degree of adjective is non-suffixal. In comparing two objects it is affected by placing the object of comparison in the oblique case and the object being compared in the nominative case along with the term /-ar/, as in /is-ar moḍa/ bigger than this, /təṁ-ar thula/ fatter than you.

In case of comparison among more than two objects, i.e. the superlative degree, the particle of comparison, viz. /mḥəs/, /bədde/, /bhətte/ 'of all' is prepositioned to the modifier in question:

/yi bhətte ruṭhe əs/ this is very good = best.

/se naguri mḥəs moḍa bho/ that village is very big = biggest.

/cna bica ram bhətte moḍa thia/ Ram was the eldest among them.

7.5 Adjective used as a Noun: Adjectives denoting quality, quantity and number can be used as a noun as well. In this case they are governed by case and number categories in the same way as are governed. The nominal stems.

/təṁ sate aik kəṁ thia/ who was the other (person) with you?

/məṭhue iṭhe aiba loinda ti/youngsters should have come here.

8.0 NUMERALS

Syntactically, numerals share the position of qualifiers and are therefore a sub-category of adjectives. Formal classes of this class of words are—(1) Cardinals, (2) Ordinals, (3) Aggregatives, (4) Fractionals, (5) Multiplicatives, and (6) Approximatives.

8.1 Cardinals: The commonly used forms of cardinals from one to twenty are as under:

ek	one	gyara	eleven
dui/dvi	two	bara	twelve
traī	three	tera	thirteen
cāur	four	cāud	fourteen
pañj	five	pāhara	fifteen
cha	six	sola	sixteen
sāt	seven	sātara	seventeen
āth	eight	thara	eighteen
nāu	nine	unī	nineteen
dāṣ	ten	bī	twenty

From the above it is evident that the numerals from one to ten are basic and from eleven to nineteen compounded, formed by combining appropriate allomorphs of ten and involved lower numbers.

For counting higher numbers above twenty this dialect too follows, the vigesimal system, which is followed in the languages of Tibeto-Himalayan group spoken in this valley, e.g. 30 is /bi-o-dāṣ/, 40 /duibī/, 50 /dui-bī-o-dāṣ/, 60 /traī bī/, 70 /traī bī-o-dāṣ/, 80 /cāu-bī/, 90 /cāubi-o-dāṣ/.

Similarly, 28 /bī-o-āth/, 33 /bī-o-tera/, 47 /dui-bī-o-sāt/, 75 /traī bī-o-pāhara/, 89 /cāu-bī-o-nāu/ etc. The term for hundred is /sāu/. Counting above hundred is done by adding the desired number to the number of hundred in question, e.g. 104 is /ek sā-o-cāur/, 332 is /traī sā-o-bi-o-bara/ so on and so forth. The term for thousand, ten thousand etc. are the same as found in modern Indo-Aryan dialects.

8.2 Ordinals: Terms for ordinals could not be obtained in our data.

8.3 Multiplicatives: Multiplicatives are obtained by suffixing the term for 'times', viz. /uṇa/ OIA **guna**, to the desired number, as in /duṇa/ two times, /tre uṇa/ three times, /cāuṇa/ four times, /sāt uṇa/ seven times etc.

The terms for once, twice etc. are—/ekdhayai/ once, /dwidhyai/ twice, /tredhyai/ etc. These are obtainable by adding /dhyai/ 'turn' to the desired number.

8.4 Aggregatives: The numerals of this class denote the number of persons or things put together or collectively. In Chinali these are obtained by suffixing /-o/ to the number in question as in /dui-o/>/dwiyo/ both, /traī-o/>/trayo/ all the three, /cāur-o/ /cāuro/ all the four, etc.

8.5 Approximatives: The sense of approximation is expressed by suffixing the term /ek/ to the approximately desired number, e.g. /dui-ek/ about two, /traī-ek/ approximately three, /pənj-ek/ : /oṭhe pənj-ek mahū thie/ there were about five persons.

Besides, approximation is also expressed by using a set of two numerals in a consecutive order, as in /əṭh-dāṣ/ nearly eight to ten, /pənj-sət/ approximately five to seven, etc.

8.6 Fractionals: The commonly used fractionals in Chinali are /adh/ half, /səwa/ one and a quarter, /eko-adh/ one and a half, /dwi-o-adh/ two and a half. Others are obtained by prefixing /səwa/ and suffixing /-o-adh/ to any desired number, as in /səwa-sət/ $7\frac{1}{4}$, and /sət-o-adh/ $7\frac{1}{2}$.

9.0 VERBAL SYSTEM

The verbal system of Chinali is not so elaborate as we find in the other languages of this region, though involvement of various grammatical categories is very much there.

9.1 Classification of verb roots: Structurally, it has two types of roots: primary and derived. Semantically, both of them are classifiable as transitive and intransitive. In the transitive group there may be certain stems which take two objects, direct and indirect. Such stems, for example, are the verbs meaning 'to give', 'to tell', 'to ask', etc.

Besides transitive and intransitive classes, there are verb roots which are termed as 'Verbs of Incomplete Predication' because these require a predicative word (usually a noun or an adjective) for completing the sense of the utterance in question, as in /tene os raja bəṇaia/ they made him king.

Here the term for the 'king' is not the object of the verb 'made', for it is not the king who has been made something, but it is 'him' (the real object) who has been made king. Hence, the term for the 'king' here is a predicate which refers to the object of the verb, but without which the indicated sense of the verb is incomplete; Similarly, in a sentence like /me bhai dukhora əs/ 'my brother is ill', the word /dukhora/ an adjective referring to the subject /bhai/ is a predicative word, the use of which (or any other term belonging to this category) is a must to make the sense of the statement clear.

9.2 Transitivity: Chinali, like Indo-Aryan has an inbuilt system of making transitives from intransitive roots or vice-versa by slightly modifying their forms. In case of transitive roots this modification signifies causation of action as well. The morphophonemic mechanism followed in this respect may be explained as under:

(i) The most commonly followed mechanism of transitivity /first causativization is the use of transitive marker /-ai/ suffixed to the verb root, transitive or intransitive, e.g. /sun-ba/ to listen; /sun-ai-ba/ to tell, to narrate, /nəc-ba/ to dance: /nəc-ai-ba/ to make to dance, /uṭh-ba/ to stand up: /uṭh-ai-ba/ to make to stand, /bes-ba/ to sit: /bes-ai-ba/ to make to sit.

(ii) Another formative suffix, usually, employed to effect a transitive/causative stem is /al/: /her-ba/ to see : /her-al-ba/ to make to see; /həs-ba/ to laugh : /həs-al-ba/ to make to laugh; /həɫ-ba/ to move; to walk: /həɫ-al-ba/ to make to walk; /pəɾ-ba/ to read; /pəɾ-al-ba/ to teach; also /-lai/ as in /pi-ba/ to drink: /pi-lai-ba/ to make to drink.

(iii) It is also affected by modifying the stem vowel itself;

(i) ə→a : /mər-ba/ to die : /mar-ba/ to kill.

(ii) u→o : /tɾuɫ-ba/ to be broken : /troð-ba/ to break.

(iii) u→a : /uɖur-ba/ to fly : /uɖar-ba/ to make to fly.

9.3 Derived roots: The number of derived roots is very small in it. The usual sources of these roots are nominal and adjectival stems, e.g. /hous/ noise > /hausau-ba/ to cry, to make sound, /kəmai/ earning > /kəmai-ba/ to earn; /kaʃ/ cough > /kaʃ-ba/ to cough; /tʰəg/ a cheat > /tʰəgai-ba/ to cheat, to deceive; /onnu/ kneeling > /onnu-ba/ to kneel; /kʰed/ play; game > /kʰed-ba/ to play; > /phul/ > flower, /phul-ba/ to bloom.

9.4 Compound verb: Composition of compound verb roots in Chinali is fairly good. It is both (i) verb + verb, and (ii) noun/adjective + verb, though the number of constituent roots in both the cases is normally two. In the combination of verbal stems the first component is the stem of the main verb and the second or the final is/are subsidiaries or auxiliaries conveying some modal aspects, and all grammatical categories are carried by the final constituent itself.

In this type of constructions the most commonly used subsidiaries are—/əs/ to be, /bhu-/ to become, /gəch-/ to go, /de-/ to give, /muk-/ to finish, /cəmk-/ to start, etc. These may be illustrated as under:

/i iṭhe besbe dehe/ leave it here itself. (Imperative)

/mu gəchibe dehe/ (please) let me go. (Subjunctive)

/me kam bhui geas/ my work is over. (Completive)

/tene khai mukore bhōdcre/ they may have eaten. (Presumptive)

/əsi əsaũ kam kəri mukesu/ we have finished our work. (Completive)

/chetra payĩ bhərui geəs/ water is filled in fields. (Completive)

/ene haci dhyai šite kam kərbe lagore əsti/ They are working for a long time in the cold. (Continuative)

/se khaibe lagorac bhōdəs/ he is always eating. (Habitual).

/se pəre iṭhe aiba loinda thia/ he wanted to come here day-before yesterday. (Desiderative).

/tes iṭheni gəchba-bhua/ he had to go from here (Compulsive).

/se əsā heribe sate rolbe cəmkɪ/ she started weeping on seeing us. (Simultaneity).

/se ebe khaibe cəmkola bhola/ he may be eating (Presumption).

/təũ tethc zəruri gəchba lionda thia/ you must have gone there. (Desiderative).

9.5 Verbs compounded with nouns and adjectives

The device of compounding certain nouns and adjectives with certain verb stems to express a single verbal idea too is usually attested in it.

/gali diiba/ to abuse (lit. to give abuse), /šya leiba/ to breath = to take breath; /nac-ba/ to dance < /nac/ dance; /tata kərba/ to heat = to make hot; /gha diba/ to hit = to give wound; /chwa diba/ to jump = to give a jump; /tar diba/ to swim; /kəsum khai ba/ = to swear = to eat swearing; /hit bhū-/ to remember = to become to heart; / swad herba/ to taste = to see taste, etc.

In this type of constructions we see that the noun or the adjective when combined with the verb stem foregoes its own meaning and becomes a part of the verb.

9.6 Verbal Conjugation: In Chinali a verb is conjugated for the grammatical categories of number, gender, person, tense, mood and aspects. Normally, in it a verb is conjugated for active voice only. Consequently, all passive and impersonal structures of other languages are rendered in active voice by the speakers, e.g. Hindi sentence like 'it is said', it can not be sat by me (= Hindi — /*mujh se beṭha nāhi jata*/) will be transformed as 'they say' and 'I cannot sit' etc. as in /həũ besī nətʊ/ 'I cannot sit' for a Hindi sentence like 'sitting cannot be done by me'. Similarly, a Hindi sentence /*gharē mē pañī bhār diya gəya nē*/ is rendered as /*ghere mē pañi bhāi diya hē*/.

From the point of temporal conjugation too it attests a three way distinction only, viz. present, past and future. Similarly, from the point of aspects, too no clear distinction is maintained between progressive and non-progressive or perfective and non-perfective forms, i.e. in a colloquial speech these are freely used for one another. As a result of this indefinite tense forms are indiscriminately used for their continuous and habitual tense forms as well.

9.7 Verb substantives: There are two sets of verb substantive in it. One of them is /əs-/ 'to be' and the other is /bhu-/ to exist, to become; occurring in complementary distribution. The differences in their uses may be illustrated as follows:

/me ek bhē əstis/ I have a sister.

/yi me bhē bhə/ This is my sister.

Both of these can be used independently in copulative sentences or as 'verbs of incomplete predication', and can occur as constituents of a compound verb as well. Their use as an auxiliary to express the progressive aspect or perfective aspect is also commonly attested, as in /*buṭa puṭhi cai beṭhori əs*/ a bird is seated on the tree. /*tui dābē koṭhe chaure thic*/ where had you put clothes
/tes iṭheni gāchba bhua/ he had to go from here (aux.)

All the forms of the verb sub-stantives attested in Chinali are as follows:

/əs/ 'to be'

(i) Present tense: (only 3rd and 2nd persons)

Person	Sg.	Pl.
3rd	əs/ əstis (f.)	əsti
2nd	əs/ əstis (f.)	əstesu

In the 1st person the stem /əs-/ is replaced by the stem /bhu-/ (for its forms see below).

OR

(All persons) əstəs/əstis (f.) əstes/əstis (f.)

This second form is used to indicate assertion of a fact.)

(ii) **Past tense:** In the past tense the distinction is available for two forms only. viz. /thia/ was (for all the persons) or /ti/ was, were (a free form).

(iii) **Future tense:** In future tense the stem /əs-/ is replaced by the stem /bhu-/ to become, to exist, as in sanskrit.

(iv) **Present tense:** The present tense forms of this stem attested in our data are—/bho~/bhōdās/ is, becomes (2nd and 3rd person sg.); /bhōdes/ are, become (2nd and 3rd pl.) /bhos/ (2nd sg.) : /bhoē/ (2nd pl.); /bhəu/ am, are, (1st person sg. & pl.) It is not conjugated for the past.

(v) **Future tense:** The future tense forms are—/bhola/ will be, become (3rd & 2nd sg.); /bholc~/bhōdcre/ will be, will become, (3rd & 2nd pl.); /bhəũ/ (I) will be (1st sg.) and bhəũle/ (we) shall be/will become (1st pl.).

/yi me koa bho/ this is my son.

/oscr khī nāũ bho/ what is his name?

/təpī kothe bhōdes/ where do you live (lit. become)?

/ene mahũ ithe bhōdes/ these people live here.

/se khanda bhola/ he may be eating (=will be eating).

/tene khai mukore bhōdere/ they may (=will) have eaten.

9.8 **Sub-systems:** The verbal conjugation of Chinali attests two types of sub-systems having their respective conjugational patterns. These are—(1) Affirmative, (2) Causative. Of these the range of the affirmative sub-system is wider.

9.8.1 **Affirmative sub-system:** Under this system all verb roots are inflected for all tenses and moods. The prefixo-suffixal mechanism operative in the indicative mood of it may be presented as follows:

9.9 **Mechanism of tense formation:** In a verbal conjugation its various temporal categories are obtained by means of respective temporal suffixes. As such the normal order of various constituents in a finite verb form is—root + tense + person + number + gender suffixes. In some cases the root is partially replaced in the past tense.

9.10 **Person-number-gender suffixes:** All verbal roots are conjugated for three persons, two numbers and two genders though the total number of distinct forms in all the tenses is limited. In some cases, as in the past tense a single form stand for all the persons and numbers. Moreover, the suffixes for persons and numbers have merged into one. The gender distinction is, however, maintained with the modification of the suffixal vowels: /-ə-, -a-, -e-/ into /-i/. as in /dendəs/ he gives; /dendis/ she gives, /her-la/ he will see; /her-li/ she will see, /her-le/ they will see.

9.11 **Present tense:** The present tense of a finite verb, besides the indefinite or indicative sense of an action taking place in the present time, also denotes an action

in progress, which may be, technically, termed as present continuous. It is also used to denote a habitual action or an action of universal character, e.g. /khandəs/ means he eats, he is eating or he is in the habit of eating.

9.11.1 **Present Indefinite:** The inflectional base of the present indefinite is the bare root itself, both for singular as well as for plural, as in /her-təs/ he sees; /her-tes/ they see. The formative suffixes employed to affect different person and number forms are attested as under:

Person	Sg.	Pl.
3rd	-təs/-dəs	-tes/des
2nd	-təs/-dəs	-tesu/-desu
1st	-təs/-dəs	-tesu/-desu

Distributionally, the first form is attested with stems ending in a consonant, particularly voiceless and the second with stems ending in a vowel or a voiced consonant, as in /her-təs/ he sees, but /khādəs/ he eats. However, in case of feminine gender these forms are replaced with /-tis/ and /dis/ for both the number, as in /dhōdəs/ he washes, /dhōdis/ she washes. In the forms of present indefinite (3rd sg.) it also makes a distinction between honorific and non-honorific forms, consequently, the formative suffixes, /-təs/ and /-dəs/ are replaced with /tus/ and /dus/ — as in /her-təs/ (he) sees (hon.) and /her-tus/ (he) sees (non-hon.), /ātus/ (he) brought (non-hon.): /ātis/ he brought (hon.).

The use of present indefinite is attested to indicate immediate future as well, as in /hāũ aj pəyadi maũ ghəre gəchtəs/ I am going to my home to day evening.

However, a habitual action can be expressed periphrastically with the help of the aux. /lag-/ and /bhu/ which follow the present participle form of the main verb:
/se khaibe lagorae bhōdəs/ he is always eating.
/se kam lagori bhōdis/ she is always working.

9.11.2 **Present Continuous:** Normally, the speakers of Chinali do not make a distinction between present indefinite and present continuous but, if necessary, it can be affected with the use of auxiliaries, /lag-/ and /əs-/ which follow the verbal noun base of the principal verb:

/enc haci dhyai šite kam kərbe lagore əsti/ they are working for a long time in the cold.
otherwise— /təpĩ kotheni āĩdəs/ where are you coming from?
/hāũ aj pəyadi maũ ghəre gəchtəs/ I am going to my home to-day in the evening.

9.11.3 **Present perfect:** Although present perfect is affected with the use of various helping verbs, such as /əs-, bhu-, muk-, bi-etc./, yet in a colloquial speech it is expressed by simple past tense forms as well, e.g.

/tē tetheni mure khĩ ātus/ what have you brought for me from there.
/mi tēroe tetheni dābē ātis/ I have brought clothes for you from there.
otherwise— /buta puṭhi ek cai bethori əs/ a bird is seated on the tree.

/me kam bhui geyas/ my work is done.
 /əse saũ kam kəri mukesu/ we have finished our work.
 /chetra paĩ bhərui geəs/ water is filled in the fields.

In the above examples, the first and the last sentences also represent the tense category termed as static present (present perfect continuous) /se ayəs/ he has reached.

9.12 Past tense: The inflectional base of the past tense is the verb root itself, to which are added the past tense markers, /-əs, -us, -is/ in the singular and /es, -us, -is/ in the plural. It has identical forms for all the persons.

As in the present indefinite in this too, the indefinite forms also denote a progressive or a perfective aspect in the past.

/məthui kətab pərhəs~pərhis/ the boy read, has read the book.
 /məthui sohris herus/heris/ the boy saw the girl.
 /rame ek gəppa puchəs/ Ram asked one thing (=H. *bāt*).
 /rame həc gəppe puches/ Ram asked many things (=bātē).

9.12.1 Past Continuous: Besides the above, the progressive aspect in the past is also affected, periphrastically, with the help of the past tense forms of the verb substantive /əs/, which follow the present participle form of the principal verb.

/tu ke's, bolti ti/ whom you were calling for?
 /se ekela aĩdu ti/ he was coming alone.
 /ene duijāĩ aĩnde ti/ they two persons were coming.

From the above examples it may be noted that in these constructions the agreement in number, with the subject, is attested in respect of participle form only.

9.12.2 Past perfect; The perfective aspect, too, besides the indefinite forms, is affected with the help of past tense forms of the verb substantive /əs/ which follow the past participle form of the main verb.

/tui dāhē koṭhe chaure thie/ where had you put the clothes?
 /baya hi ithe ai ti/ aunt had come here yesterday.
 /se ithe bethora thia/ he was seated here.

9.12.3 Habitual past: The aspect of habitual past is also expressed with the help of the past tense forms of the verb substantive /əs/, which follows the present participial form of the main verb: /əse roj enge ke ghərā aĩnde ti/ we use to come to their house daily.

9.13 Future tense: Besides denoting the meaning of absolute future or progress of an action taking place in future, the future tense forms also provide a base for various person-number forms of the subjunctive mood (see 10.4). Moreover, it also denotes the possibility or condition of an action taking place in future or even the possibility of an action that is supposed to have taken place in the past or completed by the time the statement is made:

/tuc bolori bhola/ you alone may have said.

/entacek tene mahũ bağut khai mukore bhödere/ by now they (people) may have finished eating meals.

The inflectional base of the future indefinite is the bare root itself and different person-number suffixes are affixed to it. The person-number markers suffixed to these bases are as follows:

Person	Sg.	Pl.
3rd person	-la/-ela/-li	-dere/-tere/dire
2nd person	-la/-ela/-li	-le
1st person	-ũ	-le /ile

9.13.1 Distributions: Distributionally, the allomorphs of the first alternate occur with masculine subjects with stems ending in a vowel, of the second alternate with masculine stems ending in a consonant, and of the third with subjects in the feminine gender. For examples see model conjugations and the following:

/je bi māgeli, deũ/ whatever you (will) ask, I will give.

/je ala, se gāchela/ whosoever (will) comes, he will go.

/tu asaitə mu bi aiba lagela/ (if) you come, I will also have to come.

/həũ kədi oŋhe nəgəchu/ I shall never go there.

/kədi tacek inhe rolbe besela (masc.) ~beseli (f.) for how long will you go on weeping.

/sui kakai iŋhe ali/ sister-in-law (BW) will come here tomorrow.

In the 3rd person a nasai element, leading to a consonantal release intrudes in between a vowel ending stem and the plural suffix /-dere/, as in /bhödere/ will become, /pindere/ they will drink, /aindere/ (they will come, otherwise /her-tere/(they) will see.

9.14 Causative sub-system: Since 'causing something to be done' is an action which must be directed towards somebody, all causative verbs are invariably transitive. The mechanism employed for affecting the first causative is the same as has been explained in the context of transitivization (see 9.2). But Chinali, like Hindi favours derivations of the second causative nature as well. For this the causative suffixes, viz. /-al~ -lal~i/ are suffixed to the basic roots. The distribution of these allomorphs is attested as under:

- (i) /-al/ : It is affixed to stems ending in a consonant:
 /kər-/ to do>/kər-al-ba/ to make to do; to cause to do.
 /pər-/ to read, to study>/pər-al-ba/ to cause to be read/study.
 /jəl-/ to be burnt>/jəl-al-ba/ to cause to be burnt.
 /kət-/ to chop>/kət-al-ba/ to cause to be chopped.
- (ii) /-lal/ : It is affixed to stems ending in a vowel:
 /pi-/ to drink>/pi-lal-ba/ to make to drink.
 /di-/ to give>/di-lal-ba/ to cause to give.
 /dho-/ to wash>/dhu-lal-ba/ to cause to wash.

- (iii) /-i/ It is added to first causative bases to make the second causative:
 ləg-/>/ləga-/>/ləgaiba/ to cause to begin .
 /puch-/ to ask>/pucha-/ to make to ask>/puchai-ba/ to cause to ask.
 /likh-/ to write>/likha-/ to make to write>/likhai-ba/ to cause to write.
 /ghis-/ to rub>/ghisa-/ to make to rub>/ghisai-ba/ to cause to rub.

It may, however, be mentioned that the second causal form is restricted to such verbs whose first causals denote real activity on the part of the doer, as in /pərh-ba/ to read > /pərh-al-ba/ to teach. Here to teach is a real activity on the part of the teacher, not merely making the learner to learn something. As such it has a fair scope for the second causative formations.

10 MOODS AND ASPECTS

Besides the temporal conjugation, there are other categories of verbal conjugation in which there is only partial inflection of verbal stems for particular moods or mental states of the speaker and for a particular point of time.

10.1 Modal Conjugation: Modal conjugation deals with the inflected forms of a verb indicating the manner of an action, whether it is ordered to be done, or is dependent upon a condition, etc. The three types of moods which are, normally, attested in it are—Indicative, Imperative and Subjunctive, with further divisions and subdivisions. The forms and functions of the Indicative mood have already been discussed in the foregoing pages. Now, we shall take up the cases of the other two.

10.2 Imperative mood: Imperative mood is a form of verb expressing an action as an order, a polite command or a request, a warning, prohibition, etc. In these cases the subject is always the second person pronoun, which is usually left out in a conversation. But by its very nature the imperative cannot refer to the past. As such its use and forms are restricted to the present and future times only. But in Chinali it is confined to the present time only. The suffixes used to affect this mood are—/Ø/(sg.) and /-e/ (pl.).

10.2.1 Inflectional base: The inflectional base of this mood is the basic root itself.

- /kəɾ/ do (sg.) : /kəre/ do (pl.), /her/ see (sg.) : /here/ see (pl.)
 /is gəch-be dɛh/ let this go (sg.)
 /ena gəch-be dɛhe/ let these go (pl.)
 /cok, tɔ̃ bi deũ/ wait, I shall give to you as well.
 /is iʰe besbe dɛh/ leave it at this very place.
 /iʰe ai bes/ having come here, sit down.
 /is kam hyurna kəre/ (please), do this work quickly (pl.).

10.3 Prohibitive Imperative: The prohibitive Imperative is affected with the use of the prohibitive particle /mə/ 'don't' which is prepositioned to the imperative form

of the verb in question, as in /gəcch/ go; but /mə gəcch/ don't go.
/her/ look, see; but /mə her/ don't see.

But in a prohibitive statement implying the application of the action in future times, the prohibitive particle is placed at the end of the statement.
/sui iṭhe aiba bisros·mə/ don't forget to come here tomorrow.

10.4 Subjunctive Mood: The subjunctive mood and its various forms are used to express a variety of mental states and attitudes of the speaker which can broadly be grouped as under:

10.4.1 Optative: It represents the action mainly as a desire, wish, request, purpose, supposition, possibility etc., almost always with an implied reference to future. There the sense of desirability or obligation is expressed with simple future tense forms: /tene mahū jene kətere/ they may (will) do whatever they like.

The sense of possibility of occurrence of an action is also expressed with simple future forms of the verb concerned, e.g., /pəyadi se iṭhe ali/ he may come here in the evening.

The formative suffix of the permissive aspect of the optative is /a/, with interrogative intonation which is added to the future tense forms of the verb in question: /gəch-la/ should he go?: /gəch-terea/ should they go?
/gəchu-a/ may/should I go? : /gəile-a/ may we go?

10.4.2 Presumptive: Presumptive aspect of the subjunctive primarily denotes possibility of the occurrence of an action with reference to the present and the past. It is expressed by appending respective future tense forms of the verb substantive /bhu-/ to the present/past participial base of the main/helping verb:

/se bəgūt khanda-khaibe cəmkola bhola/ he may be eating.
/entacek, tene mahū bəgūt khai mukore bhōdere/ by now, those people may have finished eating.
/tuṅ bolori bholu/ you may have said.

10.4.3 Potential: The potential aspect also mainly denotes possibility of the occurrence of an action with reference to the present and the past, as in /se ainda bho/ he may be coming. It is expressed by adding present tense forms of the verb substantive /bhu-/ to the present and the past participle forms of the main verb.

10.4.4 Contingent: The contingent or conditional mood mainly denotes a condition which is contrary to fact. It also implies a wish which cannot be fulfilled. In this both the clauses, the principal as well as the subordinate, are placed in participle forms.

/tu ani tə hāṅ bi sate andi/ (if) you had come, I would have accompanied you.
/se anəi tə əuṭhu bhonrəi/ It would have been so good, if he had come.

There are many other aspects of modal conjugations, such as Desiderative, compulsive, Abilitative, Inceptive, etc., which are expressed with the help of various subsidiaries combined with main verbs (For examples see 9.4 compound verb roots).

11.0 VERBAL DERIVETIVES

Besides the regular finite forms which are the essential constituents of the predicate and regularly take the tense, person, number and gender suffixes, there are also some verbal elements which are derived for the grammatical categories of a finite verb. These non-finite verb forms, on account of conveying an incomplete sense, do not serve independently as a predicate in a sentence. In Chinali their formation is attested as under:

11.1 **Infinitive:** Infinitive is that form of a verb which expresses simply the action of the verb without predicating it of any subject. In Chinali it is obtained by suffixing /-ba/ to the bare root as in /her-ba/ to see, /ai-ba/ to come, /gəch-ba/ to go, /pi-ba/ to drink, /bes-ba/ to sit, etc. Syntactically, it can occur both as a noun and adjective. When used as a noun it takes the place of an object or complement:

/iθe aiba bisros mə/ don't forget to come here.
/təũ tethe gəch-ba loinda θia/ you should have gone there.
/tes iθeni gəch-ba bhua/ he had to go from here.

As a verbal noun it can be followed by postpositions as well: /mi tes aibe roc bolus/ I asked him to come (for coming).

/bhat pəkaiibe roc cau loi/ rice is needed to cook *bhāt*.
/se mu heribe sate-c rolbe cəmki/ she started weeping as soon as she saw us.

11.2 **Participles:** Participles are verbal adjectives qualifying noun/pronoun but retaining some properties of the verb. There are two kinds of participles in Chinali, viz. present and past, which as an adjective are affected by the number and gender of the noun/pronouns which they qualify.

11.2.1 **Present participle:** It is formed by suffixing /-da/, /-nda/ to the verb root, the former occurring with stems ending in a consonant, e.g. /her-da/ seeing, /kər-da/ doing, and the latter with stems ending in a vowel, as in /ainda/ coming, /pinda/ drinking, etc.

/se khāda bhola/ he may be in the state of eating.
/mi jhərda buṭa heris/ I saw a falling tree.
/kam kərde mahū/ working people, /həsdi sohri/ smiling girl.

11.2.2 **Past/perfect participle:** Like present participle the past participle or past-perfect participle also qualifies a noun, though indicating the completed state of the action related to the term modified by it. In Chinali, it is obtained by suffixing /-i/ or /-ra/ to the verb root: In these /-ra/ shows concord in number and gender with the noun qualified by it.

/tes gəchi keti dhyara bhuaṣ/ how many days have passed since he departed.
/šəmi ek cai beṭhori əs/ a bird is seated on the roof.
/mi ek mura brəbu heris/ I saw a dead bear.
/oθhe hacc šukore bute θic/ there were many dried trees.

11.3 Conjunctive Participle: The primary function of this class of participles is to denote that the action indicated by it has either been already performed before the action indicated by the finite verb or still continues in the state completed earlier. Syntactically, it is used to connect one clause with another, but the sense of the clause which contains it remains incomplete until the clause containing a finite verb is added to it. In Chinali it is obtained by suffixing /-i/ to the verb root.

/se bisurt bhui jhəri gea/ having become unconscious he fell down.

/tes məjbūr bhui iṭhe aiba bhua/ having being compelled he had to come here.

/hyurma iṭhe ai bes/ having come here, sit down.

11.4 Some Model Conjugations:

(1) /gəch-ba/ to go

Present tense	Sg.	Pl.
3rd person	gəch-təs	gəch-tes
2nd person	"	gəch-tesu
1st person	"	" "
Past tense		
All persons	gea	gea
Past Perfect		
All person	gəi-ti	gəe-ti
Future tense		
3rd person	gəch-la/gəchela	gəch-tere
2nd person	"	gəch-le/gəile
1st person	gəchu	gəile
Imperative		
(2nd person)	gəch	gəche
Subjunctive		
3rd person	gəchla?	gəch-terea?
2nd person	"	gəileca?
1st person	gəchua	"?

(2) /ai-ba/ to come.

Present tense		
3rd person	ai-dəs	ai-des
2nd person	"	ai-desu
1st person	"	" "
Past tense		
3rd person	ayəs	ayes
2nd person	"	acsu
1st person	"	asu

Past perfect

	ayəs	ayes
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Future tense

3rd person	ala	aindäre
2nd person	"	aile
1st person	ayu	"

Imperative

2nd person	ai	aie
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Subjunctive

1st person (3) /her-ba/ to see	ayaa?	
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Present tense

3rd person	her-təs	her-tes
2nd person	"	her-tesu
1st person	"	"

Past tense

All persons	her-us/her-is	her-us/her-es
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Past perfect

All persons	her-u-ti	her-u-ti
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Future

3rd person	her-ela	her-tere
2nd person	" "	her-le
1st person	her-u	" "

Imperative

2nd person	her	here
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Subjunctive

3rd person	herelea?	her-terea?
2nd person	"	her-lea?
1st person	her-u-a	her-lea?

(Note: Future + a?)
(4) /pi-ba/ to drink

Present tense

3rd person	pī-dəs	pī-des
2nd person	"	pī-desu
1st person	"	"

Past tense

All persons	pi-is/pius	pi-os
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Future tense

3rd person	pi-ela	pi-ndere
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2nd person	pila	pile
1st person	pi-u	pile
Imperative		
2nd person	pih	pihe
Subjunctive		
(1st person)	pi-wa	piu-le
(Similarly, /ni-/ to take, /kha-/ to eat, /di-/ to give, etc.)		
(5) /bes-ba/ to sit, to live.		
Present tense		
3rd person	bes-tas	bes-tes
2nd person	"	bes-tesu
1st person	"	" "
Past tense		
All persons	bes-u	bes-u
Past perfect		
Future tense		
3rd person	bes-ela	bes-tere
2nd person	"	bes-le
1st person	besu-u	"
Imperative		
(2nd person)	bes	bese
Subjunctive		
(1st person)	besu-a?	bes-lea?

12. INDECLINABLES

There are certain classes of words which do not undergo any change for any grammatical category. They are all termed as indeclinables, though on account of their syntactic functions they have been designated as adverbs, particles, conjunctions and interjections, etc. Various forms and functions of these indeclinables, as attested in Chinali, are as under:

12.1 Adverb: Adverb is a word that modifies a verb, or restricts it in some way with respect to place, time or manner of the action referred to by the verb in question. Syntactically, the position of an adverb or verbal modifier, in the string of the components of a sentence, is immediately before the finite verb form modified by it or before another adverb or just after the subject, according to the semantic connotation.

12.1.1 Formation of Adverb: Adverbs in Chinali are both radical and derived. Broadly these can be divided into two classes, (i) those formed from pronouns, and (ii) the rest. Semantically all these are further divisible into following groups:

(1) Spatial or adverb of place and direction, (2) Temporal or adverb time, (3) Modal or adverb of manner, (4) Intensifiers or adverb of degree. All classes of these adverbs have basic and derived categories. Some of these commonly used in Chinali are as under:

12.1.2 Pronominal Adverbs: Pronominal adverbs like pronominal adjectives are derived from Demonstrative, Relative and Interrogative Pronouns:

/tɛ̃tʰe/	there, thither	< /tɛ/	he (Demo.)
/ĩtʰe/	hère, hither	< /i/	this (Demo.)
/kə̃di/	when?	< /kə̃ũ/	who
/kõtʰe/	where?	< /kə̃ũ/	which
/jə̃khẽ/	when	< /jɛ/	which, what
/tə̃khẽ/	then	< /tɛ/	that, he
/tɛ̃nc/	in that manner	< /tɛ/	that, he
/ɛ̃nc/	in this manner	< /i/	this
/kɛ̃nc/	how?	< /kʰi/	what?

Of the pronominal adverbs listed above, /tɛ̃tʰe/, /ĩtʰe/ and /kõtʰe/ are adverbs of place, and /kə̃di/, /jə̃khẽ/, /tə̃khẽ/ adverbs of time and /kɛ̃nc/, /tɛ̃nc/ and /ɛ̃nc/ adverb of manner:

/təu tɛ̃tʰe gə̃chba loinda thia/ you should have gone there.

/baya hi ĩtʰe ai ti/ aunt had come here yesterday.

/təpĩ kõtʰe bhōdəs/ where do you (hon.) live?

/kə̃di təc̃ek ĩtʰe bəsela/ till what time will (you) remain here?

/jə̃khẽ kam mukas tək̃hẽ dhale khaiba khas/ (we) took meals then, when the work was finished.

/kə̃di təc̃ek ɛ̃nc rolbe bəseli/ till what time will you (f) go on weeping like this.

/ɛ̃nc təc̃ek tene mahũ bə̃gət khai mukore bhōdere/ by this time those people must have taken their meals.

The above noted forms are also capable of carrying additional emphasis by means of higher accent on the initial syllables of them, without the emphatic particle /ɛ̃/:

/həũ ə̃bẽ̃ .chetrari gə̃chta bhəu/ I have to go to the field just now.

/həũ kə̃di õtʰe nə̃ gə̃chu/ I shall never go there.

/is bhā̃ ĩtʰe bɛ̃sbe deh/ leave this pot at this very place.

/sɛ̃ õtʰe bə̃stəs/ he lives at that very place.

All the pronominal adverbs, excluding those denoting manner, can be followed by post-positional case markers, particularly /ni/ 'from', 'since', etc.

/mi t̃ɛ̃roc tetheni d̃abẽ̃ ātus/ I have brought clothes for you from there.

/tes ĩtʰeni gə̃chba bhua/ he had to go from there.

Various types of adverbs belonging to non-pronominal groups can be illustrated as under:

12.1.3 Adverbs of place: Some of the commonly used adverbs of place, besides the above, are—/əndur/ inside, /lhezē/ under, /kəcha/ by the side of, close to, /pichu/ behind, /əgroi/ ahead, /əndərə/ in ward, /bahirā/ outside, /dure/ far, at a distance, /būn/ below, /phera puri/ around, /bādde ṭhari/ everywhere.

12.1.4 Adverbs of time: A few more adverbs of time, not covered under the category of pronominal adverbs are—/aj/ today, /hi/ yesterday, /ṣui/ tomorrow, /pəre/ day before yesterday, /pərṣui/ day after tomorrow, /phiri/ again, /ebē/ now, /təcek/ till, until, /həmeṣa/ always, /roj/ daily, /əgroic/ already, before hand, /phiri-pichu/ afterwards, /dārga dhyai təcek/ for a long time, /rat puri/ for the whole night, /haci dhyai/ for long, /jelukbi/ as soon as, /ekke tende/ always, /pəyadi/ evening.

12.1.5 Adverbs of manner: Some of the commonly used adverbs of this class are—/hyurna/ quickly, at once, /ruṭhe/ nicely, properly, /əcanək/ suddenly, /cuppu/ quietly, /sulc/ slowly, /ṭhik/ exactly.

12.1.6 Intensifiers: Intensifiers or adverbs of degree are the modifiers of other adverbs/ adjectives, and occupy a place immediately before the adverb/adjective modified by them. The number of this class of words is not large in it. The commonly used terms are—/mhās/ very, /hačī/ very, many, /etuk/ this much, /māst-dārga/ so much, /bigun/ very:

- /həũ dārga chapikiās/ I am very much tired today.
- /həũ etuk hyurna apri nɔṭu/ I cannot come so quickly.
- /se dārga dhyai təcek hāste ti/ he laughed for a long time.
- /byana tesar dārga bessi kyuri əs/ wind became stronger at that time.
- /həũ hačī ruṭtha tar diiba jāũ/ I know swimming very well.
- /həṭ, ai thora jai əgre gəchile/ come, let us go ahead a little more.

12.1.7 Syntactic order of Adverbs: As stated above, in a sentence the place of an adverb is immediately before the finite verb. /se sule sule aidəs/ he is coming slowly, but this is more true of the adverb of manner only. In case of an adverb of place and time, occurrence of these is more frequently attested immediately after the subject, e.g.

- /lē meroe tēṭheni khī ātus/ what have you brought for me from there.
- /ene haci dhyai ṣite kam kərbe lagore əṣti/ They are working (doing work) in the cold for a long time.

However, the syntactic order of different classes of adverbs in a string of utterance is attested as under:

(i) In case of adverb of place and time, then the adverb of time will precede the adverb of place.

- /se pəre iṭhe aiba loinda thia/ he wanted to come here day-before yesterday.
- /baya hi iṭhe ai ti/ aunt had come here yesterday.
- /həũ kədi bi oṭhe nə gəchu/ I shall never go there.

(ii) In case of adverb of manner and adverb of place, the adv. of manner precedes the adv. of place.

/hyurna i:the ai bes/ sit down, having come here quickly.

(iii) In case of adv. of time and manner occurring together, the adv. of time precedes the adv. of manner:

/kədi tæcek ine rolbe bescla/ for how long will you go on weeping.

(iv) In case of occurrence of more than one adv. of the same class then the specific term precedes the general term:

/həū aj pəyadi maū ghəre gəchtəs/ I am going my home today in the evening.

In this case the term for day precedes the term for specific time, similar is the case of adverbial phrases as well.

12.1.8 Overlapping with Adjectives: There are some adverbs, particularly intensifiers, which formly overlap with adjectives. They are /mhəs/, /haci/, /ruṭha/ etc. For instance, in the utterance /haci ruṭha maḥhu/ a very good boy, the term for very is an intensifier of the adj. 'good' hence an adj. but in /se haci tej pərtəs/ he reads very fast, it is an adv. because it modifies the adv. 'fast'.

/həū ruṭṭha tar diiba jaū/ I know swimming well (Adv.).

/həū khiā ruṭṭha kam kəruboli cətus/ I want to do some good deeds. (Adj.)

/dərga chapis/ very much tired, but /dərga dhyara/ many days.

12.2 Particles

Particles or indeclinable function words, are grouped as connectives, emphatics, negatives, and interjections, on the basis of their functions and syntactic positions. These may be illustrated as under:

12.2.1 Connectives: The primary function of this class of particles is to conjoin the two elements of the same type, maybe words, clauses or sentences. In Chinali the number of words belonging to this class is very small. In many instances the purpose of a connective is served by a mere pause itself. Semantically, the particles of this class may be designated as additive, alternative, contrastive, coordinative and differentiative:

12.2.2 Additive: The additive particles or conjunctions joining two mutually independent sentences are called coordinative, and those joining one or more subordinate sentences to the principal sentence are called subordinative.

12.2.3 Coordinative: In Chinali, the coordinative additive particles is /o/ as in /ram-o-šyam/ Ram and Shyam, /ghois pai-ō gha dēh/give water and grass to the horse. But in a colloquial speech its function is served by a mere pause juncture between the two statements /os dendəp † həū pīdəs/ he gives (and) I drink.

12.2.4 **Subordinative:** As in T.H. in this too the subordinative connective is not used, it is affected with a pause juncture only: /eni kəĩ † hāũ bhukre əstəs/ he said, I am hungry. /se puchəs † tē koa koṭhe əs/ he asked, where is your son?

12.2.5 **Alternative:** The pairs of alternative particles are—/ya....ya/ 'either... or' and /nə.... nə/ neither... nor, placed at the head of each element linked by them. /nə se api kərtəs † nə məṭhus kəili kərandəs/ neither he himself does, not gets done through the child. /ya tu bes † ya mu besbe dēh/ either you sit or let me sit.

12.2.6 **Contrastive:** The contrastive particles in Chinali are—/nətə/ otherwise, /pər/ but., as in /iṭhe bes, nətə gəch/ sit here, otherwise go, /hāũ tēṭhe gea, pər se tēṭhe nə thia/ I went there, but he was not there.

12.2.7 **Conditional:** In subordinative sentences the particles expressing condition is, usually, left out in a colloquial speech, as in /tu asai tə, hāũ bi sate anəi/ (If) you had come, then I would also have accompanied you.

12.2.8 **Emphatic particle:** In an utterance, normally, it is the prominent stress/pitch on the particular syllable, usually the initial, that marks the intended emphasis in this dialect, as in /se 'iṭhe bəstəs/ he lives at this very place (emphasis on *iṭhe*)

But to make it more pertinent a few particles or vocalic elements, too, are used with them. The most commonly attested emphatic particles are—/e, bi/

(i) /-e/ : /tũē bolori ḃhola/ you alone may have told.
/təuē deũ/ (I) will give to you only.

(ii) /-bi/ : /ene mahũ bi iṭhe bəstəs/ those (persons) also live very much here, /coktək † təũ bi deũ/ wait, (I) will give to you as well.

12.2.9 **Negative Particle:** Chinali has two negative particles, viz. /nə/ and /mə/. Distributionally, the former negates the presence of anything in general and the latter prohibits the execution of an action. The usual position of a negative particle in an utterance is immediately before the element negated by it:

(i) /nə/ : /gəchu/ I will go: /nəgəchu/ I will not go.
/se oṭhe nə thia/ he was not there.
/yi dūd nə bho/ this is not milk.
/deũ/ I will give: /nə deũ/ I will not give.

(ii) /mə/ : /mə gəch/ don't go.
/mə kər/ don't do.
/sui iṭhe aiba bisros mə/ don't forget to come here tomorrow.

12.3 **Interjections:** Interjections are complete sentences, which carry the sentence intonation. They are only a few in it. The commonly attested interjections are /sabaš/ bravo, /oi/ yes, /ei/ well gentleman, /əcha/ is it so? /heram/~/he bhəgwan/ Oh God. /oho!/ surprise etc.

13.0 SYNTAX

In a way we have already discussed in the foregoing sections various aspects of morphosyntax in Chinali. Here to complete the formality of a descriptive analysis we shall take up only a few aspect of it. Accordingly, the nature and the structure of various types of sentences in Chinali may be illustrated as follow:

13.1 Types of sentences: Normally, this dialect favours simple sentences only. Consequently, as far as possible the speakers of the language avoid the use of complex sentences, they are rendered into more than one simple sentences. In compound sentences too the use of the connective particle is usually left out (see. 12.2.3-4) as such they become two independent sentences. But if so necessary these can be expressed by combining together these simple sentences by means of a connector or by a simple pause juncture. As such construction of compound and complex sentences also is possible.

13.2 Constituents of a simple sentence: The essential components of a simple sentence in it are—a noun phrase, constituting the subject and its extension and a verb phrase constituting the pradicate. The normal order of occurrences of these elements in a simple sentence is—subject + object + verb. As such syntactically this language⁴ belongs to the SOV group.

/se khādās/ he eats/ is eating.

/se bāgut khādās/ he is taking food.

In transitive sentences, containing more than one object, the indirect object precedes the direct object.

/ya māthus dud dēdis/ mother gives milk to the child.

/se ghois pāi dēdās/ he gives water to the horse.

13.2.1 Noun phrase: The constituents of a subject or noun phrase, can be a simple unqualified pronoun/noun 'head', or a noun head plus one or more attributes, usually preceding the noun/pronoun head, as in /kriṭha ghoa/ black horse, /māṭṭhi cai/ small bird.

13.2.1.1 Extension of noun phrase: A noun phrase is extendable in the form of various types of modifiers of the noun head, which may precede or follow it. The syntactic order of various classes of qualifiers, in a simple sentence is, more or less, fixed. Normally, they are attested in the following order:

± demonstrative ± pronominal adj. ± numeral ± intensifier ± qualitative:

/i cai əs/ this is a bird.

/buṭa puṭhi ek cai əs/ there is a bird on the tree.

/buṭa puṭhi ek māṭṭhi cai əs/ there is a small bird on the tree.

/buṭa puṭhi ek māṭṭhi rəkti cai əs/ there is a small red bird on the tree.

From the above examples it is evident that in case of an extension of an NP, a numeral qualifier precedes the qualitative modifier. But in case of more than one qualitative modifiers referring to 'colour' and 'size', the one referring to size precedes the one referring to colour. However, an intensifier invariably precedes the element intensified by it, as in /buta puṭhi ek mhās rākti cai bethori əs/ a very red bird is seated on the tree.

13.2.2 Verb Phrase: A simple VP. contains either a simple finite or a copulative verb form with all morphological markers or a main verb plus one or more subsidiaries. In case of a finite verb the VP can stand by itself, but in case of a copulative or an incomplete predicative verb, it needs a complement to complete it, which can be a noun, an adjective or an adverb.

/se khādəs/ he eats/ is eating.

/i mē ghər bho/ this is my house.

/i ghoa kriṭha bho/ This horse is black.

13.3 Components of a composite verb phrase: The components of a composite verb phrase are:—principal verb stem ± one or more full verb stem ± auxiliary/ auxiliaries. Syntactically, the place of an auxiliary is always at the end of the verb phrase and it is the real bearer of all morphological markers of the VP concerned, /se əsā heribe sate rolbe cəmki/ she started weeping as soon as she saw us.

/me kam bhui gəs/ my work is over.

/tene khai mukore bhōdere/ they may have eaten.

13.3.1 Extension of verb phrase: A verb phrase can normally, be expanded by augmentation of an adverb an adverb phrase or a complement:

(i) /rame kətab pərhis/ Ram read book.

/rame hi kətab pərhis/ Ram read book yesterday.

/rama hi pəyadi kətab pərhis/ Ram read book yesterday evening.

(ii) /həũ chapiki əs/ I am tired.

/həũ aj chapiki əs/ I am tired today.

/həũ aj dərga chapiki əs/ I am very much tired today.

13.4 Concord: Chinali, unlike other languages of the area shows a concord with the subject in subjectible constructions and with the object in objectival constructions:

In subjectival constructions the agreement between the subject and the verb is attested both in number and gender; irrespective of the fact whether the subject is in the direct case or ergative case:

/həũ əstəs/ I am : /əse əstəs/ we are

/məṭhui herus/ (the) boy saw : /məṭhe heres/ boys saw.

In objectival constructions, however, the agreement takes place between the object and the verb.

/mc ek bhē əstis/ I have one sister.

/mc trai bhē əsti/ I have three sisters.

/sohrue sohri heris/ boy looked at the girls.

/sohrie sohru heres/ girls looked at boys.

13.5 Types of simple sentences: Semantically and structurally, too a sentence can be designated as affirmative, negative, interrogative, imperative etc. And an affirmative sentence can further be classified as active, passive, impersonal or causative etc. All these aspect of a sentence correlated with the morphosyntactic character of a verb¹ have already been dealt with in respect of various verbal sub-systems and modal formations. These may be seen there itself.

13.6 Compound sentences: Compound sentences are a combination of two independent sentences, joined together by a coordinative conjunction or an additive conjunction, but in **Chinali**, in most of the cases, only a pause takes places instead.

/se dēdās † hāū pīdās/ he gives (and) I drink.

/se pəkai lagia † əse khai lagiū/ he went on cooking and we went on eating.

13.6.1 Coordinative sentences: The sentences belonging to this category are joined by coordinative conjunctions; like 'either..... or' and 'neither.... nor' (for example see 12.2.5)

13.7 Complex sentences: Complex sentences, too, are a combination of more than one clause/sentence, but in this one of the constituent sentence is subordinate or dependent to the other. The number of dependent clauses can be more than one. The clause to which the other clauses/sentences are subordinate is called the principal clause. This clause may or may not have other phrases, except the subject and verb. The following type of complex sentences have been noted for **Chinali**.

13.7.1 Conditional: In this type of syntactic constructions the constituent clauses are bound together with condition markers, viz. 'if' or 'when' and, 'then' (expressed or inexpressed). In which the 'if' or 'when' clause is a subordinate clause and the 'then' clause is a principal clause. Positionally, the subordinate clause precedes the principal clause.

/tu ani tə, hāū hī sate anəi/ (if) you had come, I too would have accompanied you.

/jəkhē kam mukas, təkhe dhale khaiba khas/ when work was finished then food was taken.

13.7.2 Complemental: In this type of complex sentences the subordinate clause functions as a complement or complementary object of the principal clause. In this the cojoining conjunct is, normally, left out and its function is discharged by a pause juncture.

/eni kəĩ † həũ bhukre əstəs/ he said, I am hungry.

/rame puchəs † tẽ koa kothe əs/ Ram asked where is your son?

13.7.3 **Relative:** In this type of complex sentences the relative clause which is introduced by a relative pronoun functions as a subject or a complement of the principal clause. Positionally, it precedes the principal clause:

/je bi māgela † deũ/ I shall give whatever you ask for.

/je ala † se gəchela/ who soever comes, will go.

VOCABULARY

VOCABULARY OF CHINALI

a

akal	intellect	anāru	darkness
agre	ahead, forward	andur	inside
agroī	before	andurgach	to enter
aūli	finger	amla	saur
aūth	thumb	arikari	except
ath	eight	arsi	mirror
athāra	eighteen	awās	moonless night
atik	lid		
antim	last, final	as-	to be
antre	intestine	azīb	strange

ā

āitwar	Sunday	āgruā	next
āid	little	ānā	courtyard
āibā	to come, arrive	ānār	live coal
āibol	to summon	āj	today
āuthi	a ring	āru	peach
āuli	finger	āru	chisel
āg	fire	ānbā	to bring
ākhiri	last	āllā	wet
ākhur	tears	āśā	hope

i

i	this, it	indri	male genetic organ
icchā	desire	imā	like this
iṭhe	here	iśārā	backning

u

ugār bā	to open	uttar	north
uñcr bā	to swallow	ūṇ	wool
uṭhbā	to rise, to get up	ubš	swelling
uṭhāibā	to raise	ubšbā	to swell
uṭhārā	height	umur	age, life
uḍubā	to fly	ūrnu	lamb

Note: In this section the phonetic value of vowels is as follows:

ā = अ, ā = आ, i = इ, ī = ई, u = उ, ū = ऊ e = ए, ē = ऐ, o = ओ, ॠ = औ,
 ॡ = ॢ

ek	one	erāike	noon
ekke	similar	erāi	lunch
ekelā	alone, single	erkhun	elbow
ene	like this	etwar	Sunday
e			
o	and	onnā	low
oḥ	lip, mouth	oṣ	dew
oḥe	there	oṣit	drug, medicine
onnā	bend	osiba	to ascend, climb
onnokar	to blend		
o			
k			
kākāi	elder brother's wife	kaṭbā	to cut (trans.)
kaccā	raw, unripe	kārā	peas
kacchā	near, beside	kaṇānu	bangle
kachpāc	armpit	kānā	blind, one eyed
kañiyā	girl, daughter	kātibā	to slay
kaṛkā	bitter	kāna	ear
kaṇak	flour	katur	cloak
kaṭ-bā	to cut, to clip	kān	arrow
kāṭho	wood	kārā	ass
kaṭbā	to spin	kās	cough
kal	reins	kāsba	to cough
kalam	pen	kālajā	liver
kasum	swearing	kirkir	round
kasturi	musk	kui/koi	daughter
kāi	nay	kukri	hen
kāu	a crow	kuṛ	cave
kāū	who, which	kunṇu	pitcher
kaupā	to recognize	kutur	dog
kākā	elder brother	kudāli	hoe
kākal	lizard	kundrā	idol (stone)
kathā	story	kurigcā	ant
kadi	when	kurchāi	axe
kanthi	necklace	kūl	water channel
kapā	head, skull	kulik	lock
kaphā	cotton	kulli	labourer
kamar	shoulder	kusumja	mortar
kamrā	room	keti	how many
kamābā	to earn	keṭ	key
karbā	to do	ketuk	how much
karutru	a saw	kentha	younger
kaṇe	comb	keṣ	hair on the body

kene
kehi
koā
koñānā
kōlu
kotre
kotheni

how
spade
son, boy
to bend
soft
why
no where

konioni
konzā
kriṭhā
krimlhog
kyamar
kyugcā

cause
foot
black
pigeon
butter
chicken

khareṣṭhu
khand
khaturbā
khatorbā
kharā
kharkā
khargoṣ
khalābā
khalwā
khāibā
khāji
khaṇzāṭi
khanbā
khanṇi

to stand
sugar
to scratch
to spend
oven
new
hare
to feed
threshing floor
to eat, to bite
a boil
mosquito
to dig
a part, a piece

kh

kharku
khān
khālaṭā
khi
khiā
khirkyak
khimbeni
kheḍbā
khorbrimzā
khorā
khorlo
kholatā
kholāibā
khricā

new
quarry
rind
what
some
droppings of bird
nothing
to play
thumb
fire place
bolt
bark of fruit
to snatch
loom

gachbā
gar
ganbā
gadi
gappā
gappāṣkar
gappāphāsā
garkā
garku
garīb
galat
galū
gāi
gāi dibā
gār (caṅgāra)
gaibā
gātri
gār
gāhari
gāw/gā
girbā
girālbā

to go
stream, rivulet
to count
shepherd
talk, affair
to talk
conversation
heavy
weight, load
poor
wrong
mistake
abuse
to abuse
live coal
to sing
waist band
mud
lane
cow
to melt (intran.)
to melt (trans.)

g

gitāru
gutti
gun
guncā
gum
guru
gurbañ
gūh
geu
gogpā
gorā
gorlā
gobur
gomba
goru
goli
gohā
gyaduñ
grij
gwākṣi
gwākṣibā

singer
kernel
winter
apartment for
winter
box
teacher, preacher
to cowl
excreta
what
garlic
a grain
sweet
cow dung
a Buddhist temple
cattle, animal
bullet
horse
trumpet
eagle, vulture
an embrance
to embrace

gh			
ghau	rock/hill	ghā	wound
ghāt	water-mill	ghāṭi bijibā	to shut
ghan	hammer	ghādibā	to hit
ghaṇḍi	bell	ghiu	ghee
ghamaṇḍi	proud	ghit	song
ghar	home, house	ghughu	pigeon
ghasāibā	to rub	gherā	paralysis
ghāh	grass	ghrācibā	to trample
ñ			
nukaibā	to hide, to conceal		
c			
cau bi daš	ninety	cinz	hoof
caud	fourteen	cind	worry, anxiety
caur	four	cind āi-	anxious
cakki	hand mill	cimṭi	chīn
camkoru	bright	cir	apricot
carni	temple, cheek	ciribuṭh	pine tree
calbā	to flow	cukṣi kyure	beginning
cā	tea	cucu	nipple
cāi	bird	cufj	beak
cāu	rice	cuppu	quite
cāk	bamboo	curba	to squeeze
canji	sharp	cuṣiba	to suck
cam	skin	curbikar	to twist
cānji	blunt	ceerā	to awaken
cādur	showl	cetroi	the month of Chaitra
cānzā	pocket	cesi kar-	to lean against
cānzi	sharp, pointed	coi	a cloak
cāpbā	to chew	cok	wait
cārbā	to graze	cokba	to await, to stop
ciāibā	to roast, fry	coppu/còphu	window, niche
cik	ankle	cokāibā	to stop (trans.)
cikbā	to press, to pounce	corba	to steal
cigā	saddle	como	Buddhist nun
cāku	knife	corestas	theft
ch			
cha	six	chāni	hut, thatch
chā(h)	butter milk	chār	ashes
chāibā	to put	chāppi āibā	to bind
chāicarbā	to keep	chitā	thin

chiki	miser	chokrā	young boy
chappi kiurā	tired	choṭā	short
chālbā	to split	chonchā	beak
chuibā	to touch	chori	buttocks, vagina
chuṭbā	to be left	cholani	a swing
cheḷu	kid	cholani dibā	to swing (trans.)
cherbā	to stir	cholani leibā	to swing (intrans.)

j/z

jari	herb	zigdañ	jealousy
zat/zad	barley	jindā	alive
jan	clay	jinebi	anyhow
zarkā	race	jikhē-tekhē	when
zarzcrādā	rough	zilbi kar-	to wrap
zartāp	fever	jū	louse
jalbā	to burn (intrans.)	jubāb	answer
jalāibā	to burn (trans.)	jum	yoke
jāibā	to give birth	jetuk	as much
jāū	birth	zer	nail of iron
jāūba	to know	zewā	tongue
jāūe	whoever	jog	leech
jāuru	tamed	jondu	twines
jāñ	vain	joili	wife
jātur	traveller	jelhāū/jolahū	woman, female
jāngaler	wild	gorā	strength
jāṇḍabā	to nourish	josun	moon
jāmātrā	son-in-law	jori	pair
jibā	to live		

jh

jhakh	dirt	jharbā	to fall
jhagruiḃā	to quarrel	zhakāli	ugly
jhatkā	jerk	jhirke	scolding

ṭ

tāunā	deaf	ṭipu	a drop
tatṭa/tata	dumb	ṭerā/ṭir	eye
tābur	family	ṭotto	throat
tali	patch	ṭopū	cap
ṭighig	egg		

th

ṭhag	a cheat	ṭhār	place
ṭhagāibā	to cheat	ṭhik	right, correct.
ṭhakkan	tight	ṭhūru	leg

ṭhelu
ṭhokkar√kar

hammer
to collect

ṭhrugpi

complaint

ḍakbā
ḍakālu
ḍannu
ḍannuībā
ḍar
ḍarbā
ḍarālā
ḍel
ḍāi
ḍāk
ḍāthi
ḍādorā
ḍāb
ḍāboe
ḍābu

to tremble
greedy
punishment
to punish
fear, danger
to be afraid
terrible, dangerous
enclosure for cattle
branch
letter
jaws
hollow
seath
coins
bedding

ḍ

ḍāl
ḍugḍug
ḍubbā
ḍumṣu
ḍekār
ḍeṣikarbā
ḍeṣikarāibā
ḍoglā
ḍrakphibā
ḍrakphi
ḍrugdirpi
ḍroṅ
ḍwārā
ḍwārā (nāker)

flood
blund, hard
to sink
a blow
belching
to sleep
to make to sleep
cooking pan
to win, conquer
victory
thunder
rainbow
hole
nosestril

ḍhabbā
ḍhāboe
ḍhābāi
ḍhabū

rupee
money
lukewarm
clothes

ḍh

ḍhal
ḍhāl
ḍhīlā

salutation
shield
loose

t

takṣā
tarkā
tanḍe
tapī
tarwār
tratāibā
takui
takrā
tācibā
tācci
tācek
tārbā
tāṅbā
tātu
tātur dhyārā
tār
tārā
tāridibā

gift
seasoning
waist
you (hon)
sword
to scold
spindle
brave
to lend
credit
till
to scatter
to stretch, to pull
hot, warm
summer
wire
star
to swim

trāi
trāiyo
trāi bi
trāibio daṣ
trākorā
trākhun
trāngun
trāpin
tyār
tittar
tir
triṣ
triṣorā
tu
turkā
tuṭhorā
turbā
turpyā

three
all the three
sixty
seventy
rotten
carpenter
lean, thin, weak
skin
Festival
partridge
bolt
thirst
thirsty
thou
seasoning
happy, satisfied
to season
bat

turāibā	to drive away	trakari	balances
tuṅmīkar	to connect	treunā	three fold
tetpichāi	after that	trorbā	to break, to smash.
tulā	balance	te	fold
truṭbā	to be broken	te thappan	to fold
tet	that	tē	your
tel	oil	tōn/toan	a swing
teli	oilmen	torā	bags for load
teṅghaṭe	like that	totā	parrot
tera	thirteen	trapī	skin

th

Thaṅzad	barley	thuri	heel
than	walnut	thulā	thick
tham	pillar	theibā	to place
thalzā	rope	theṣu	then
thān	chestnut	thelā	bag
thūk	spittle	thore	a few
thukbā	spit	thorba	to pour

d

dand	punishment	diksā	wife's brother,
dand	teeth		sister's husband
dal	boundary	digcu	a pot
dargā	plenty, enough	diṅmo	lake
dac	sickle	dui	two
dargi moḍā	huge, great	dui or adh	two and half
dahle	just now	dui bi	forty
darmir bāi	friend	dui bio das	fifty
daš	ten	dukh	sorrow, morning
drārbā	to beat	dukhāi	pain, illness, trouble
drārā	beaten	dukhōrā	sick, patient
dā	love, compassion	dud	milk
dākh	grapes	dud duibā	to milk
dāgu	grand father	dupur	two storeyed
dāgi	grand mother	duphāri	breakfast
dānā	grain	dūr	away, distance
dādā	elder sister	dušmun	enemy
dābbā	to burry	dusrā	second, another
dāyālo	lovely, kind	deibā	to give
dār	beam of house	deš	country
drāti	sickle	dotē	morning
dwār	door	dotē rāti	early morning
dibā	to give	dyukha	bath

dreu	husband's younger brother	dreṛbā	to drag
------	---------------------------	--------	---------

dh

dharam	religion, virtue	dheotrī	daughter's daughter
dhart	the Earth	dhoibā	to wash, to clean
dhāgā	thread	dhoyoibā	to get washed
dhū	smoke	dhokh	deceit
dhūp	sun	dhōri	fog, frost
dhūp	incense	dhyāi (t̄hu)	to be late
dhusbā	to wipe	dhyāri	wages
dhcotrā	daughter's son		

n

naũ/nav	new	nāni	grand mother
nacbā	to dance	nār	smoke, smoking pipe
najātā	ignorant	nāh/nāhā	naval
nadibā	to refuse	ni	from
naphrat	hatred	nikerbā	to sweep
nark	hell	nirā	near
nāš	nail of finger	nitāre	4th day from today
nasi gach	run away	nindrā/nindur	sleep
nasibā	to escape	nimbu	citron
nāidu	naughty	nilā	forehead
naũ	name	nilā	bleu, green
nāk	nose	nisibā	to leak
nākar	refuse	nisbā	to arrive
nāgur	village	nišā	drum
nāglik	lizard	nuksān	loss, damage
nañtā	bald	ne/noī	river, stream of water
nāc	dance		
nācita	dancer	neulā	mangoose
nātā	relation	noste	is not
nānā	grand father	nyukcā	a long knife

p

pauthā	palm	patl	slab
pairhi	a step	patās	to apply
pakāibā	to cook, to boil	parbā	to read
pakkā	strong	piukā	woman's parental home
pakh	wing		
pagri	turban	piubā	to suck
paz/pāzu	bridge	pakhalā	stranger
pachim	west	pichu	afterward

pichorā	behind	pub	pus
pīzurā	square	pubu	father's sister
pīthi	back	pur	storey
pippī	pepper	purā	old
pībā	to drink	purāi	earlier, stale
pībā	to grind	purpibā	to sprinkle
pīlā	yellow	purb	cast
pilāibā	to make to drink	pulā	straw shoes
patā	address, knowledge	puñju	tail
parāibā	to teach	purmyō	full moon day
patarā	thin	peukā	woman's natal home
patrā	furrow		
padrā	plain	peṭ	belley, stomach
payādi	evening	peṭāli	pregnant
pare	day before yesterday	pe:ta	metal plate
		pencep	needle
parigrāmi	nursing	peṣwai	rib
paršui	day after tomorrow	pok	woolen pattu
palakh	a moment	pōka	ground floor
palāl	staw of paddy	poksā	ceiling
palāibā	to sharpen	poki	a kiss
pāharā	fifteen	poñ	cattle shed, ground floor
pakbā	to be cooked		
pakurbā	to catch, to hold	polā	light in weight
pakorā	ripe, cooked, boiled	polo	ball
pañj	five	potrā	grandson, nephew
pañi	water	potri	grand daughter
pādur	field	pyāj	onion
pāp	sin	prased	perspiration
pāpi	sinner	prased āi	to sweat
pāw	one fourth	prayāibā	to recognize
picundbā	to pinch	prayāū	recognition
puñmi	to grow	prāuñā	guest
pujā	worship	prāgu	light
puṭhi	on, up, above	priuwā	pissu
puñbā	winnowing	pret	dead, ghost

ph

phacetu	bags for load	phiri	again, afterwards
phaṭāibā	to throw	phū	puff of air
phaṭāibā	to fell	phuk	body
pharj	duty	phucañ	reverse, leftside
pharpiṭig	butterfly	phūl	flower
phal	fruit	phulbā	to bloom
phāti	slope	phuli	nose screw
phirāu	wommit	pherā	circle

pherāpur pheriāibā	around to come back	pheslā phoj	decision army
<i>b</i>			
bakari	goat		
bagut	meal	bicā	between
bañ	nest	biccā	centre
bacāibā	to save	bijli	lightening
bachru/bachrā	calf	bijibā	to sent
batu	to be able	birāi	(she) cat
bathur	clothes	bilā	(he) cat
barli	basket	billā	wide
ban	forest	biṣ	poison
banāibā	to make	bisurbā	to forget
bandbā	to divide	biṣwās	trust
batte/badde	whole, every	bun	down, below
baddethāri	every where	bunāro	to climb down
barābur	equal	buneli	from below
baridi	year	buhār/būar	broom
baś	lungs	buā	oldage
bahorā	mad	bukā	kidney
bā	father	bukur	hunger
bāibā	to plough, to sow	bukure	hungry
bāudū	air, wind	buj	birch tree
bat	path, way	buth	tree
bādil	bullocks, ox	burhā	old man
bādul	cloud	burhi	old woman
banṭhi	beautiful	bunbā	to weave
bandbā	to tie	bunihār	spider
bābā	uncle	buddh	intellect
bāyā	mother's sister, aunt	bēar	upward
bāydā	promise	beibā	to carry
bārā	twelve	bejā	seed
bārc	about	beñj	flute
bāśha	to chirp, to crow	besba	to dwell
bāhi	arm	besibā	to sit
bāhu	thigh	borca	bush
bās	smell, odour	bolba	to tell, call, speak, say
baskat	jacket	boli	language, dialect
bāg	garden	byā	marriage
banḍra	bullocks	byāli	dinner
bācā	oil cake	byahu	bridegroom
bātā	bowl	byahutri	bride
bi	also	byākeurā	married
bigun	much, many	byē/bēh	up
bī	twenty	bohru	marigold

bran	steam	brikunubā	to sell
brabu	bear (n.)	bresput	Thursday
brāgh	leopard	bressi	bed bug
brān	branch	brogarā	hybrid

bh

Bhagwān	god	bhuñāl	earthquake
bhatār	husband	bhuj	birch (tree)
bhatrā	brother's son (ws)	bhure	brown
bhatrāsak	brother's daughter	bhullu	owl
bhaneji	sister's daughter	bhus	husks, chaff
bhanej	sister's son	bhed/bher	sheep, ewe
bharbā	to fill	bhē	sister
bharorā	full	bhoui	son's wife
bhāi	brother	bayās	habit
bhā	utensil, pot	bhrajji	husband's sister
bhāe	to play on	bhres	buck wheat
bhit	wall	bhru	eye brows
bhuibā	to become		

m

makkur	monkey	mālik	husband's brother
mangal	Tuesday	māsā	flesh, meat
maṭha	small	māh	month
maṭhu	child, boy	mā	black gram
maḍuka	frog	māhu	man
mani	eyebal	migcam	eye brow
madum	bad	migcoa	twinkling
madum bol-	to speak ill of	mīz	fat (N.)
manji	cot	mitra	friend
mandri	mat	milāibā	to mix
mard	man, male	muar maṭhā	younger brother
marbā	to die	muar moḍa	elder brother
mal	manure	mukāibā	to finish
masālā	spices	mukha	corner
mast	very much	mucche	moustache
mahiṣi/mehi	she buffalo	mutik	pearl
makui	axe (small)	muturbā	to urinate
mañbā	to beg	mutraū	urine
mañtā	begger	munni	top, peak
māch	fish	mūrkh	idiot
māchi	a fly	mūrti	waterspring idol
māmā	maternal uncle	mul	price, cost
māmi	maternal aunt	muli	radish
mahu	bee	muṣ/mušā	mouse
mahe/mehi	buffalo	mūh	face
mārbā	to kill	meorā	mixture

megh menzo	snow brain, mind	modā/morā	big great, elder
y			
yā yākā ye	mother chest/breast he, this, that	yoci- yoñ yappa	early pond of water quickly
r			
rakt rañ rañgā rañni rañnu rat ratuāri rasi rākas/rāgas rāji rāt rikh riṅkibā riṅkātī riñ	red colour poor fellow widow widower blood cowherd rope devil, demon agree night a bear to slip slippery loan	ruthbā rutthā rutthu ruthorā rūr runn/runh rokbā rog roe roti ropā ropocā rolbā roṣ	to be happy pleasant, good, kind good, pure angry drought stone to stop (trans) disease for loaves of bread silver musk deer to cry, to weep anger
l			
lach-goru lap/lapp lākh lāj lāibā lāntuñzā lāttā lāthi lāmā likhbā lichā lukāibā lurlā	cattle leaf sealing wax shyness to wear kite (bird) dumb stick long, tall, high to write lice to shake worm	leibā leurer buṭh lekpibā lejiurā leksāk lō lōā loā loibā loñ lwār lheze	to take, to get, to buy deodar tree to change shy asthama salt salted iron to want nose screw ironsmith under, bottom
ṣ			
ṣaurā ṣaṅsā ṣanjur/ṣanjar ṣapti	father-in-law tongs Saturday bark of a tree	ṣaru ṣart ṣarn/ṣarnī ṣel	hail stone bet roof dysentery

šã	breath, sound	šukkur	Friday
šai	mustard	šucañ	rightside
šag	vegetable	šuccu	clean/pious
šāñpo	active	šunbā	to hear, to listen
šāñno	chain	šunṭh/šund	mouth
šacibā	to cling, to stick	šup	winnowing basket
šarkā	father-in-law's house	šuph	seath
šasu	mother-in-law	šumzurā	triangular
šiuḷ	basket (big)	še	apple
šikār	hunt	šeura	shadow
šikurbā	to learn	šer	lion
šiñ	ladder	šelā	cool
šir	sand, desert, stain	šelcā	summer room
širā	hair	šow	sixteen
šinātur	pillow	šyā	breath
šui/šwi	tomorrow	šyāleihā	to breathe
šukul	white	šogci	to weed
šukorā	dry, dried	šohrā	father-in-law
šukbā	to dry (intrans)	šohru	a lad, boy, son
šukāibā	to make to dry		

s

sākhug	bag	suē	a dream
sañkhu	wolf	suñur	pig
sarg	heaven/season	sunbā	to listen
saccā	truthful	sūtar	thread
sacāi	truth	suthanu	trousers
sandā	rain	suthuñ	trousers
samajbā	to understand	siddā	steep
sarā	wine	sinātur	pillow
saral	straight	šī baru	pomegranate
sarsire	at down	sire	roof
sawāl	question	sunā	wound
sastu	cheap	sural	a month (jeṣṭha)
sāñā	ladder	sule	slow, dull
sañganu	narrow	sumā	musical pipe (sahnai)
sāte	with	se	he, that
sātikribā	to assist	sed	honey
sanondus	dusk, evening	sem	heart
sanjoā	lamp	sesu	bug
sāma	a post death ritual	sehe	same
sārmodā	than	sehṇa	chief, leader
sāl	corn	socbā	to think
siubā	to sew	sonā	gold
siñ	horn	somār	Monday
sucañ	rightside		

syau
syaḷ
swaṅg

hundred
fox
heaven

swād
swād her-

taste
to taste

h

hak
hajār
haṭbā
hāth
hapši
hapšibā
hapšitā
hamešā
harkāie
ham
hal
haḷdur
hāci
hāti
hātuibā
hār
hārci
hallā
has
hasbā

claim
thousand
to walk
hand
false, lie
to tell a lie
liar, pretender
always
anything
deer
a plough
turmeric
much, many
elephant
to meet
garland
towards
shouting
laughter
to laugh

hā
hāuš
hāušobā
haṭṭā
hi
hikki
hit
hitbhu
hit-kar
hitro
hisāb
hisālbā
hud
heñju
hebe
herbā
horke
hyarzi
hyūd
hyurnā

yes
noise
to cry, to bark
bone
yesterday
hiccup
memory
to remember
to recollect
heart
account
to extinguish
ewe
heart
now
to see, to hold
other
defeat
winter
early, quickly

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Dr. D.D. Sharma (b. 1928), at present Professor Emeritus in the University of Kurukshetra, served as Professor and Head of the Department of Sanskrit in the Punjab University, Chandigarh for a pretty long time. He obtained Ph.D. in Sanskrit from the Banaras Hindu University, Varanasi and a Ph.D. and D. Litt. in Linguistics from the Punjab University, Chandigarh.

Dr. Sharma is fully conversant with a number of ancient and modern Indian and foreign languages and has to his credit 20 research volumes and scores of research papers published in national and international journals of repute. Besides the original contributions, he has also translated into Hindi two classics of Linguistics, viz. *Phonetic Observations of Ancient Indian Grammarians* by Dr. Siddheswar Varma, and *General Linguistics* by Prof. R.H. Robins.

Dr. Sharma was awarded the Jawaharlal Nehru Fellowship in 1984 for conducting a detailed survey of the Himalayan Languages, currently being spoken from Ladakh in the West to Bhutan in the East. This monumental work of Dr. Sharma is to be published in 10 volumes and has been serialized as "Studies in Tibeto-Himalayan Languages", three volumes of which have already been released.

Now, on his retirement he has been offered Emeritus Fellowship by the University Grants Commission (1989) to complete the publication of the remaining volumes of this series, which are to follow in quick succession in the ensuing years.



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