

Interrogative

The common interrogative form is /oko/ but the exclusive root for this is /ci/ which is also used as a question marker as well as connective in sense of 'that' in a sentence. There are four exclusive suffixes in Bhumij which are added to the root form /ci/ to get the corresponding derived forms. They are 1)-kan 'kind or sort', 2) -lekan 'like', 3)-imin 'so much (animate)', 4)-iminaM 'so much'(inanimate). From /oko/ the forms /okoe/ and /okoa/ are derived by suffixing -a? and -I?

oko - a ? okoa (inanimate)

oko - i ? okoe (animate)

These forms can also be used as interrogatives.

The form /ci/ is an interrogative particle used both as suffix and prefix. When suffixed to the last word of a proposition, it transforms that proposition into an interrogative one.

hoLoko hijutanakoci? 'are the men coming?'

hoLoko hijutanako 'the men are coming'

As prefix, it is used only to form interrogative compounds.

In the case of definite interrogative pronouns the suffixes /i?/ for the animate and /a?/ for the inanimate are suffixed to /cikan/ and /cilkan/ respectively. These two suffixes are for the personal and impersonal pronouns respectively.

Number

Bhumij shows a three way distinction with regard to number, namely, singular, dual and plural. The singular is unmarked - ϕ ; dual is marked by -kin and plural is marked by -ko. The number system in Bhumij is illustrated below:

Noun	Singular (<i>mod sakam</i>)	Dual (<i>bar sakam</i>)	Plural (<i>asu sakam</i>)	Meaning
seta	seta- ϕ	seta-kin	seta-ko	'dog'
ipil	ipil- ϕ	ipil-kin ipil-ko		'star'
holo	hoLo- ϕ	hoLo-kin	hoLo-ko	'man'
hai	hai - ϕ	hai-kin	hai-ko	'fish'
pusi	pusi- ϕ	pusi-kin	pusi-ko	'cat'
da:ru	da:ru- ϕ	da:ru-kin	da:ru-ko	'tree'
a:i	a:i- ϕ	a-kin	a-ko	'he/she'
nia	nia- ϕ	nia-kin nia-ko		'it/this'
hana	hana- ϕ	hana-kin	hana-ko	'that'(far)
ina	ina- ϕ	ina-kin ina-ko		'that'(near)

ni? moeon gai 'this is a cow'
 nikin gai-kin 'two cows'
 niku gai -ko 'these are cows'
 hanku seta - ko 'those are dogs'

Gender

In Bhumij, the gender system is based mainly on the meaning of the word. Meaning is basically sex-based. It divides the objects into masculine, feminine and neuter. In Bhumij, there are common genders which stand for both male and female. Besides this, in Bhumij there are morphological and syntactic gender categories. The various gender categories are discussed below.

Sex based classification of gender

The objects which come under this class do not carry either a morphological gender marker or a syntactic gender marker but the gender is inferred from the meaning of the word itself.

Example

	Masculine		Feminine
<i>seṭa:</i>	'dog'	<i>bulli</i>	'bitch'
<i>keDa:</i>	'he-buffallo'	<i>moisi</i>	'she-buffallo'
<i>jama:i</i>	'son-in-law'	<i>honkuLi</i>	'daughter-in-law'
<i>honja:r</i>	'father-in-law'	<i>hana:r</i>	'mother-in-law'
<i>apum</i>	'your father'	<i>eMgam</i>	'your mother'
<i>ma:mu</i>	'maternal uncle'	<i>haṭam</i>	'maternal aunt'
<i>haga:</i>	'brother'	<i>misi</i>	'sister'
<i>da:da:</i>	'brother'(elder)	<i>bu:</i>	'sister'(elder)

Neuter gender

The objects which come under this class are inanimate things and they are not marked by any overt marker. Gender is inferred from the meaning of the word which stands for the object.

Example

<i>daru</i>	'tree'	<i>diri</i>	'stone'
<i>oLa:</i>	'house'	<i>caTu</i>	'mud pot'
<i>sakam</i>	'leaf'		

Common gender

Common gender is the one which may refer either to masculine or feminine. There will not be any specific gender markers in it. Some examples are given below.

<i>merom</i>	'goat' (he and she)	<i>hoLo</i>	'human being'
<i>uri</i>	'cattle'	<i>bi:M</i>	'snake'
<i>hai</i>	'fish'	<i>ceNe</i>	'bird'

Morphologically marked gender

The forms which are grouped under this category are characterised by definite gender markers, namely, masculine and feminine. The suffix for the masculine is { -a: } and the suffix for the feminine is { -i }. The stems which take the masculine suffix { -a: } and feminine suffix { -i } are listed below.

Example

<i>pis-</i>	'uncle/aunt'	<i>ba:gin-</i>	'nephew/niece'
<i>beD-</i>	'sheep'	<i>dul-</i>	'young man/woman'
<i>coT-</i>	'lame'	<i>ka:l-</i>	'deaf'
<i>ka:N-</i>	'blind'	<i>koL-</i>	'male/female'
<i>ku:b-</i>	'hunch back'	<i>ko:nd-</i>	'dumb'
<i>ma:m-</i>	'uncle/aunt'	<i>mos-</i>	'uncle/aunt'(paternal)
<i>ra:ND-</i>	'widower/widow'		

Syntactically marked gender

In Bhumij, there are two forms for masculine and feminine namely, *sa:nDi* (masculine) and *eMga:* (feminine) which are placed before the nouns to show their gender. In the case of birds *sa:NDi* and for higher animal *a:NDia* are used for masculine and *eMga* for feminine.

Example

Masculine	Feminine	
<i>sa:NdDi si:m</i>	<i>eMga: si:m</i>	'cock/hen'
<i>sa:NDi si:m</i>	<i>eMga: mara:i</i>	'peacock/peahen'

<i>sa:NDi para:i</i>	<i>eMga:para:i</i>	'pigeon'
<i>a:NDia kula:</i>	<i>eMga: kula:</i>	'tiger'
<i>a:NDia tuyu</i>	<i>eMga: tuyu</i>	'jackal'
<i>a:NDia ha:ti</i>	<i>eMga: ha:ti</i>	'elephant'

Case

In Bhumij there are six cases which are marked by distinct case markers and the rest are unmarked explicitly and in some cases conveyed implicitly by placement in the construction. Nominative, accusative and dative cases belong to the later category.

Nominative

The nominative case is unmarked in Bhumij. The nominal base in the free form itself conveys the meaning.

Example

<i>daru- φ</i>	'tree'	<i>bi:r -φ</i>	'jungle'
<i>jiki - φ</i>	'porcupine'	<i>sukri -φ</i>	'boar'
<i>kurid -φ</i>	'kite'		
<i>ma: tiki isin keda</i>	'mother cooked the rice'		
<i>seta: kin ma: Di jom keda</i>	'the dog ate rice'		

Instrumental

The instrumental case is marked by *-te* and it is used to express the meaning with, by, through, the medium of, etc.

{ *-te* } ∞ *-te*

∞ *-te* occurs with all nominal bases to give the meaning of with, by, etc.

<i>sabur-te</i>	'with soap'
<i>jalam -te</i>	'with net'
<i>a:i laukate gaDa: param jana</i>	'he crossed the river with the boat'
<i>a:i jalamte hai saptana</i>	'I am fishing with the net'
<i>ain moeOD daru curite ma? kedain</i>	'I cut the tree with a knife'
<i>ain gaDa da? ten naTu tan-a</i>	'I am carried off by flood'

Genitive

The genitive forms generally indicate a possessor-possessed relationship between a pronoun and a noun, or a noun and a noun. Bhumij has six distinct genitive markers to express the various relationships. They are *-φ*, *-a ?/-a*, *-ren*, *-ra ?/-rea?*, *-ta? ren* and *renik/rinik*. They occur in complementary distribution.

{ *-ren* }

∞ *-a ? ~ -a? ~ -φ*, *-ra? ~ -rea?*, *-ta? ren*, *renik~ rinik*,

∞ *-ren* is used to express the relation of an inanimate object with an animate being.

ra:nci-ren 'of Ranchi' *daru-ren* 'of the tree'

ra:nciren urayko hoDote ko jagra 'the Uraons of Ranchi speak Mundari'

~ *-ra ? ~-rea?* expresses the relationship of an inanimate object with another inanimate object.

bi:r -ra? 'of the forest' *ruka -rea?* 'of the chisel'

bi:r -ra? daru 'the trees of the forest'

∞ *-ra ? ren* expresses the relationship of a person with his off spring and domestic animals.

pasnata ? ren honko sengel lekteojana 'pasna's children went to see the fire'

∞ *renik ~ -rinik* shows the relation of a man with wife when suffixed to the name of the man.

ra:mrenik sita: etaikena 'Ram's wife is Sitā'

mucra: irinik suma: etaikena 'Muchrai's wife is suma'

∞ *-φ* is used to relate a person and his inanimate possession when the person is expressed by name.

ain hari -φ oDa ? re tainme 'I stay in Hari's house'

∞ -a ? , -a occurs elsewhere.

Harua ? seta 'Haru's dog'
 Sukrama ? ote 'Sukram's land' noboa ? honko 'Nobo's children'

Locative

The locative case expresses the place where an action had occurred or tell about a place or location. It is marked by -e, and -re in Bhumij.

{ ∞ -re }

∞ -re / ∞ - e

∞-re / ∞ - e occurs after all nominal bases.

oDa ? - re 'in the house'
 oDa ? - e
 ne banduk -re 'on this gun'
 ain a:i - ke bustiMkujaigare lelliain 'I saw her at the bus stand'
 pokkarTre ta:Laiba: ? puTa:va 'the lotus flower will blossom in the water'
 raguna:t kalikata:re tayutanare 'Ragunath is staying in Calcutta'

Ablative and comparative

In Bhumij, the ablative and comparative are expressed by the same case marker. The meaning is ascertained from the context. The markers are -ete, -ate, -a:te

{ ∞ - ete }

∞ - ete / ∞ -ate / ∞ -a:te

nia + ete > niate 'from here'
 jeTe + ate jeTete 'from the heat/due to heat'
 bau - te koDa misi - ete -e salaMgi -a
 'his brother is taller than his sister'

Vocative

Vocative case is expressed in three ways.

- (i) To address junior male members/servants.
- (ii) To address female members/servants.
- (iii) To address ladies, gentlemen, superiors and foreigner.

The respective markers are i) a: and hai ii) na: and iii) ga: The distribution is shown below.

{ ∞ ga: }

∞ - a: / -hai ; ∞ - na: , ∞ -ga:

∞ -a: / -hai occurs with names of junior male members and servants

sukram - a: 'oh! Sukram' ra: m - a: 'oh! Ram'

pasna - a: > pasna: 'oh! Pasna'

∞ - na is used with names of female members and servants.

mar, na: ! birsi miad leka dura:M lem

"here, Birsi sing one or two songs"

∞ -ga: is used to address ladies and gentlemen, superiors and foreigners.

a ba ga: ko tem tana ? 'oh! Father, where are you going?'

mar ga: dub ? -pe 'oh! (sir) please take your seat'

Possessive

There are three different suffixes to express possessive cases of family relations. For first person the possessive case suffix is *-iM*, for second person it is *-m* and for the third person it is *-te*.

<i>eMga-iM</i>	'my mother'	<i>eMga-m</i>	'your mother'
<i>eMga-te</i>	'his/her mother'	<i>apu-iM</i>	'my father'
<i>apu-m</i>	'your father'	<i>apu-te</i>	'his/her father'
<i>hili-iM</i>	'my elder brother's wife'		
<i>hili-m</i>	'your elder brother's wife'		
<i>hili-te</i>	'his/her elder brother's wife'		

Numerals

The numerals in Bhumij may be classified into (1)cardinals, (2) ordinals, (3)proportionals, (4)distributives and (5)fractionals.

Cardinals

The basic numerals found in Bhumij are from one to ten and for the number twenty. The numbers from eleven to nineteen are formed by adding the first nine numbers respectively to the word *gel* meaning ten. No Bhumij word exists for any number higher than twenty. The higher numbers are counted in stages of twenties. The 'forty' is called *bar hisi* meaning two twenties; sixty is *api hisi* meaning three twenties; eighty is *upun hisi* four twenties and so on.

The numbers from twenty to forty are formed by adding the first nineteen numbers respectively to the word for twenty. The basic numerals are

<i>moeon</i> - (1)	<i>bari-a</i> - (2)	<i>api-a</i> - (3)
<i>upun-ia</i> - (4)	<i>moNe-a</i> - (5)	<i>tu:ri-a</i> - (6)
<i>irai-a</i> - (7)	<i>are-a</i> - (8)	<i>irayil-ia</i> - (9)
<i>gel-is</i> - (10)	<i>hisi</i> - (20)	

The Bhumij numerals are being displaced more and more by Hindi in districts where Hindi is understood and in other areas by Oriya. Thus the word for hundred is not *moNehisi* 5x20 but *so* or *sau*. Similarly the word for thousand is *hazar* and not *gel so*. In Sambalpuri dialect of Bhumij the influence is too much that even the word *hisi* is replaced by *bi:s*.

The suffix *-a/-ia* occurring after the numerals from two to ten are usually dropped when they are placed before higher numerals.

Adjectives

Adjectives in Bhumij may be classified into two broad categories, 1) simple adjectives and 2) derived adjectives.

Simple adjectives

Simple adjectives are mono-morphemic in nature and when placed before a noun they perform the function of an adjective.

Example

<i>eskar</i>	'alone/lonely'	<i>poNDe</i>	'damp'
<i>gulai</i>	'circle'	<i>sakoT</i>	'crooked'
<i>sakoT</i>	'narrow'	<i>lum</i>	'drenched'
<i>rokka:</i>	'fresh'		

Derived adjectives

Derived adjectives are generally bi-or polymorphemic depending upon the nature of the derivation process. In Bhumij, however, we have come across only bimorphemic adjectives in this category.

1) Derivation with /-n/

The demonstrative /-n/ is suffixed to a noun root to get the corresponding adjectival form.

Example

bugi - - *n* > *bugin* 'good' *eke* - - *n* > *eken* 'empty'
bogi - - *n* > *bogin* 'charming'

2) Derivation with /-an/

/ -an / is suffixed to words denoting animate, and inanimate nouns as well as certain qualities.

When these words end in the vowel -a the suffix is simply -n.

bilka - - *an* > *bilkan* 'kind' *boro* - - *an* > *boroan* 'fearful'
giu - - *an* > *giun* 'shy'

3) The perfect participle form /-akan/ is suffixed to the verb root and as such is used as adjectives.

Example

nu - - *akan* > *nuakan* 'drunk'

4) Derivation with /-p- /

-p- is infix into qualitatives denoting dimensions to form their superlatives.

mara: M - -p- *mapra: M* 'very great'

5) Numeral adjectives

Simple form of numerical adjectives are derived by deleting the vowel(s)- (v) a occurring finally with these numbers and sometimes by deleting that occurring medially.

Example

miad > *mid* *baria* > *bar* *apia* > *api* *upunia* > *upun*
turia > *turi* *iralia* > *irali* *gelea* > *gel*

The shortened forms as stated above are used to form further cardinal numbers, when they are prefixed to the number which they multiply.

upun hisi three x twenty = sixty
bar hisi two x twenty = forty

In the case of distributive numerals used adjectively, the first syllable of the numeral is reduplicated.

baria > *ba - baria* 'in two's'

In the case of proportional numerals, the form /sa?/ is added to the shortened form of the numeral.

miad - sa? > *mid sa?* 'once'
baria - sa? > *bar sa?* 'twice'
apia - sa? > *apisa?* 'thrice'

Verbs

The verbs in Bhumij may be of finite and non-finite types.

Finite verbs

Tenses

In Bhumij there is no specific tense-marker. However, there are the concepts of time dimension as in past, present and future.

/ *tan* /, the 'definite present' marker may first appear to be the only tense-marker in Bhumij.

The notion of past, present and future in various degrees and dimensions are used as follows.

In the present tense, the non-completive indeterminate is used as an action going on or an event continuing at the present time as well. The marker / *tan* / is used for definite present and is very frequent.

Present definite

verb = <i>seno</i>	'to go away' (from a place)
<i>ain senotana</i>	'I am going'
<i>aliM-liM seno tana</i>	'we (two) are going'
<i>abu (n) senotana</i>	'we are going'
<i>ale - le senotana</i>	'we are going'
<i>aben senotana</i>	'you(two) are going'
<i>ape -pe senotana</i>	'you are all going'
<i>ako - ko senotana</i>	'they are going'

Present perfect

<i>ain sena-kana</i>	'I have gone'
<i>aliM-liM sena-kana</i>	'we have gone'
<i>am sena-kana</i>	'you have gone'
<i>akin - kin sena-kana</i>	'they have gone'

Present perfect continuous

<i>ain senautana</i>	'I have been going'
<i>aliM-liM senautana</i>	'we have been going'
<i>am senautana</i>	'you have been going'
<i>akin - kin senautana</i>	'they have been going'
<i>ako - ko senautana</i>	'they have been going'

Present indefinite

<i>ain seno?</i>	'I go'
<i>am seno?</i>	'you go'
<i>akin - kin seno?</i>	'they(two) go'
<i>ako -ko seno?</i>	'they(all) go'

Past indefinite

<i>ain seno jana</i>	'I went'
<i>aliM-liM seno jana</i>	'we went'
<i>ale - le seno jana</i>	'we(all) went'
<i>abin - bin seno jana</i>	'you(two) went'
<i>ape- pe seno jana</i>	'you(all) went'

Past imperfect

<i>ain seno tantai kena</i>	'I was going'
<i>aliM-liM senotan tai kena</i>	'we were going'
<i>abin-bin senotantai kena</i>	'you were going'
<i>akin-kin senotan tai kena</i>	'they (two) were going'
<i>ako -ko senotan tai kena</i>	'they were going'

Past perfect

<i>ain sen kena/lena</i>	'I had gone'
<i>a liM-liM senkena/lena</i>	'we had gone'
<i>akin - kin senkena/lena</i>	'they(two) had gone'
<i>ako - ko senkena/lena</i>	'they (all) gone'

Past perfect continuous

<i>ain senautan taikena</i>	'I had been going'
<i>aliM-liM senautan taikena</i>	'we had been going'
<i>ale-ale-le senautantaikena</i>	'we had been going'
<i>ako-ko senautantaikena</i>	'they had been going'

Future tense

Future definite

Future tense has no marker at all and the simple addition of copula to the root as in the case of indeterminate present denotes the simple future.

Example

<i>ain seno-a</i>	'I shall go'	<i>aliM-liM seño-a</i>	'we shall go'
<i>ale-le seno-a</i>	'we shall go'	<i>akin-kin seno-a</i>	'they will go'
<i>ako-ko seno-a</i>	they will go'		

Future imperfect

<i>ain senta?</i>	'I will be going'	<i>aliM-liM senta?</i>	'we(all) will be going'
<i>akin-kin senta?</i>	'they will be going'	<i>ako-ko senta?</i>	'they will be going'

Future perfect

<i>ain senokanoa</i>	'I shall have gone'
<i>aliM-liM senokanoa</i>	'we shall have gone'
<i>akin-kin senokanoa</i>	'they (two) shall have gone'
<i>ako-ko seno kanoa</i>	'they (all) shall have gone'

Future perfect continuous

<i>ain senauakanaua</i>	'I shall have been going'
<i>aliM-liM senauakanaua</i>	'we shall have been going'
<i>ale - le senaua kanaua</i>	'we shall have been going'
<i>akin- kin senaua kanaua</i>	'they (two) shall have been going'
<i>ako - ko senaua kanaua</i>	'they (all) shall have been going'

Syntax

In Bhumij, the sentences are of two types. These are 1) Major sentences and 2) Minor sentences. Major sentences can be divided into three sub-types, viz., 1) Simple sentences, 2) Compound sentences and 3) Complex sentences. The non-verbal sentences are also known as appositional sentences.

The major sentences can be analysed into one or more than one constituents called clauses. Simple sentences contain a single main clause. Compound sentences are built up of two or more main clauses. In addition to main clauses the compound sentences may contain one or more than one subordinate clauses. The clauses can be further analysed into one or more constituents which are called phrases. The phrases are of different types like noun phrase, verb phrase, and so on.

Phrases: noun phrase

Noun phrases are endocentric constructions. The noun phrases are divided into attributive and co-ordinate noun phrase.

Attributive noun phrase

Attributive noun phrase has a noun as the head of the construction. The preceding constituents, that is, demonstratives, numerals, adjectives, nouns or genitivals serve as the attributes. The following are the examples of attributive noun phrases. Example

<i>ne sadom</i>	'this horse'	<i>en honko</i>	'those children'
<i>oko koLa</i>	'which boy'	<i>han daru</i>	'that(yonder) tree'

Adjectival phrase

The adjectival phrases are of three main types viz., that which takes genitival bound morphemes, single or compound, that which has participle form and one with intensifiers and emphatic particles.

Example

<i>ne daMgaLa kuLi</i>	'girl of this young man'
<i>sarilia? kasur</i>	'the guilt of Sarili'
<i>bir - ra? daru</i>	'tree of the jungle'
<i>bir - rea? daru</i>	
<i>daru -ra? -jo</i>	'the fruit of the tree'

The genitive suffix *-ren* is generally suffixed to the animate or inanimate nouns but is governed by the animate noun only.

Example

<i>da? ren bi:M</i>	'the snake of the water'
<i>moeon sirmaren kuLi</i>	'girl of one year'
<i>cuDki kuL iren honko</i>	'children of the first wife'
<i>mucra:iren kuLi</i>	'wife of Muchray'

Adverb phrase

The adverbial phrases use *-re*, *-te*, *-ta?*, *-ete* and *sa?* and in compounds are *ta?te*, *ta?ete*, *sa?te* and *sa?ete* as the relators for the locatives.

Example

<i>sirma - re - rakab</i>	'to climb on a height'
<i>bi:r - te - nino?</i>	'to flee to the forests'
<i>kami - ete - ruDa</i>	'to return from the work'

Temporal phrases

Three suffixes *-re*, *-te* and *ete* which function as relators for the locatives, are also used for the adverbs of time and they are suffixed to nouns or even to adjectives.

Example

<i>reMge?re</i>	'while hungry'
<i>seta?te</i>	'since morning'
<i>hola ete</i>	'since yesterday'

Verb phrases

Bhumij has very few types of verb phrases: 1) with imperatives, 2) with infinitives and 3) with intensifiers.

1) The two common imperative markers */dola/* and */mar/* may be used in preceding position with any verb and with all the three persons.

Example

<i>mar - seno- pe</i>	'you may go'
<i>dola - dub - aiM</i>	'let me sit'

2) The most common intensifier */ge/* is used with a verb in the tense, in order to constitute present continuous, differentiating them from pure perfects.

<i>dub - kaMge - a - e</i>	'(he) keeps on sitting'
<i>nira - kadgea - e</i>	'(he) keeps on running'

3) There are certain verb compounds in Bhumij which are quite different from compound verbs. The combining verbs generally lose their semantic identity and may stand neutral in action. Example-

<i>nir tab</i>	'to hasten to flee'	<i>jom eTe</i>	'to begin to eat'
<i>kami taba</i>	'to continue to work'		

Brief sociolinguistic information

According to Risley, Bhumij is a non-Aryan tribe closely allied to, if not identical with, the Mundas. The Bhumij people have formed themselves into a number of groups. In Orissa, they are called Tamaria, Bara-Bhumiya, Matia, Desi, Teli, Haldi Pokharia and Sahara-Bhumij. Each of these sections is again divided into a number of exogamous sub-groups.

The main occupation of this people is settled cultivation. They employ themselves in wage-earning, collection of jungle products and hunting.

According to Grierson, the Bhumij language is almost similar to Mundari, but it has undergone modification according to the area of their migration.

This language is spoken by one of the scheduled tribes of Orissa having no orthographic system of its own and consequently it has no written literary output at all.

As per the 1981 census the tribal population of Bhumij in Bihar is 136,109, in Orissa 157,614 and in West Bengal 233,906. Out of which Bhumij is returned as mother tongue by 7,815, 32,360 and 1,774 respectively.

Word list follows:

Sl. No.	English	Bhumij	Sl. No.	English	Bhumij
1	air	<i>hoeo</i>	44	widow	<i>bewa</i>
2	ashes	<i>torey</i>	45	wife	<i>tiri</i>
3	cloud	<i>lahari</i>	46	woman	<i>kuLiko</i>
4	cold	<i>reya:D</i>	47	ant	<i>ta:NTo</i>
5	darkness	<i>nuvaba?</i>	48	bird	<i>che:ne:</i>
6	earth	<i>otte</i>	49	cat	<i>pu:si</i>
7	eclipse	<i>goron</i>	50	claw	<i>panja:</i>
8	fire	<i>ipiyum</i>	51	cock	<i>saNDisi:m</i>
9	fog	<i>kuhuLa</i>	52	cow	<i>gai</i>
10	forest	<i>bi:r</i>	53	dog	<i>seta</i>
11	hill	<i>buru</i>	54	egg	<i>peTTa:li</i>
12	ice	<i>aril</i>	55	feather	<i>i:l</i>
13	moon	<i>ca:nDu</i>	56	fish	<i>hai/haisap</i>
14	mountain	<i>maRaMg buru</i>	57	fly	<i>apir</i>
15	rain	<i>gama</i>	58	fox	<i>ka:TTiul</i>
16	river	<i>gaDa</i>	59	goat	<i>merOn</i>
17	road	<i>ro:D</i>	60	grease	<i>ittil</i>
18	sand	<i>gittil</i>	61	guts	<i>lay</i>
19	wing	<i>hoyo</i>	62	horn	<i>diriMg</i>
20	wood	<i>sa:n</i>	63	back	<i>deya:</i>
21	baby	<i>hon</i>	64	belly	<i>lay</i>
22	boy	<i>kala:hon</i>	65	blood	<i>mayom</i>
23	bride	<i>kOnya:</i>	66	body	<i>holomo</i>
24	bride groom	<i>bo:r</i>	67	bone	<i>ja:n</i>
25	brother	<i>haga:</i>	68	breast	<i>cupru</i>
26	child	<i>ho:n</i>	69	chest	<i>kulam</i>
27	daughter	<i>kuDi</i>	70	ear	<i>lattur</i>
28	father	<i>aba:</i>	71	eye	<i>men</i>
29	friend	<i>suMgutti</i>	72	face	<i>me?mocca:</i>
30	girl	<i>kuLi</i>	73	fever	<i>ha:su</i>
31	husband	<i>kisa:n</i>	74	finger	<i>Da:Do:</i>
32	male	<i>koLa:</i>	75	flesh	<i>ji:lu</i>
33	man	<i>hoLo/ma:nmi</i>	76	foot	<i>kaTTa:talka:</i>
34	marriage	<i>aNandi</i>	77	hair	<i>u:b</i>
35	maternal uncle	<i>mamu:</i>	78	hand	<i>ti:</i>
36	maternal uncle's daughter	<i>misi:</i>	79	head	<i>bo?</i>
37	mother	<i>ma:</i>	80	heart	<i>kalja:</i>
38	nephew	<i>putra:</i>	81	leg	<i>kaTTa:</i>
39	niece	<i>jhiya:ri</i>	82	lip	<i>lacco</i>
40	old man	<i>purna hoLo</i>	83	liver	<i>karja:</i>
41	sister	<i>misi:</i>	84	lung	<i>puspus</i>
42	sister-in-law	<i>buw</i>	85	mouth	<i>mocha:</i>
43	son	<i>hon koLa</i>	86	neck	<i>haTTO</i>
			87	nose	<i>mu:(n)</i>

88	spine	<i>mrudoNDa</i>	136	white	<i>pu:NDi</i>
89	tongue	<i>alla:Mg</i>	137	yellow	<i>sasan</i>
90	tooth	<i>DaTTa</i>	138	hungry	<i>reMge</i>
91	waist	<i>mayaMg</i>	139	love	<i>be:sno:m</i>
92	fruit	<i>jo</i>	140	pain	<i>ha:su</i>
93	liquor	<i>illi:/arki(rice)</i>	141	true	<i>sartte</i>
94	milk	<i>ta:i/toa</i>	142	wish	<i>a:s</i>
95	salt	<i>buluMg</i>	143	ink	<i>kaDi</i>
96	smoke	<i>sukkul</i>	144	school	<i>oloLa:</i>
97	uncooked rice	<i>cha:wuli</i>	145	student	<i>isku:l ho:n</i>
98	bed	<i>parkom</i>	146	teacher	<i>oludubni?</i>
99	door	<i>dua:r</i>	147	bullet	<i>guli</i>
100	house	<i>O:Ra</i>	148	first	<i>maNaMg/moyaMg</i>
101	roof	<i>saDima:</i>	149	second	<i>baria</i>
102	rope	<i>ba:yar</i>	150	third	<i>apia</i>
103	wall	<i>kant</i>	151	one	<i>moeon</i>
104	well	<i>Da:Di</i>	152	two	<i>bari</i>
105	window	<i>jorka:</i>	153	three	<i>api</i>
106	flower	<i>ba:?</i>	154	four	<i>upun</i>
107	fruit	<i>jo</i>	155	five	<i>moNe</i>
108	garden	<i>baga:n</i>	156	ten	<i>gel</i>
109	grass	<i>tasa:d</i>	157	sixteen	<i>ge:l turu:y</i>
110	guava	<i>peRa:</i>	158	twenty	<i>his</i>
111	jack fruit	<i>kanTal</i>	159	forty	<i>ba:r hissi</i>
112	leaf	<i>sakam</i>	160	do	<i>kami ine</i>
113	lily	<i>salki:tba</i>			
114	mango	<i>ulli</i>	161	pull	<i>o:r</i>
115	paddy	<i>ba:ba:</i>	162	push	<i>udur</i>
116	plough	<i>siyu:</i>	163	put	<i>do</i>
117	potato	<i>saMga:</i>	164	rub	<i>gessa:</i>
118	root	<i>red</i>	165	sell	<i>a:kriMg</i>
119	sweet	<i>sibil/heLem</i>	166	wash	<i>pakaLa:u/hebuMg</i>
120	tree	<i>daru</i>	167	work	<i>kami</i>
121	vegetable	<i>uttuaLa:</i>	168	sing	<i>du:reMgem</i>
122	wheel	<i>cakka:</i>	169	bring	<i>au</i>
123	bitter	<i>ha:Lad</i>	170	climb	<i>de:</i>
124	black	<i>hende</i>	171	come	<i>hiju</i>
125	blind	<i>ka:na:</i>	172	give	<i>omiya:</i>
126	blue	<i>koisa:hende</i>	173	go	<i>ju</i>
127	bright	<i>maskal</i>	1741	jump	<i>khu:Dil</i>
128	brown	<i>dusaro</i>	75	vomit	<i>ulla:</i>
129	coldness	<i>realu</i>	176	say	<i>ka:ji</i>
130	green	<i>sagua</i>	177	write	<i>o:le:n</i>
131	hot	<i>lalo</i>	178	touch	<i>jutid</i>
132	light	<i>rabal</i>	179	bathe	<i>re:a:L</i>
133	red	<i>raMga:</i>	180	all	<i>goben/jotto</i>
134	sour	<i>jojo</i>	181	bad	<i>kara:p</i>
135	sweet	<i>sibil</i>	182	big	<i>maraMg</i>

183	dirty	<i>Oskara:</i>	219	for	<i>natin</i>
184	dry	<i>ro:L</i>	220	from	<i>tea</i>
185	few	<i>huDi</i>	221	he,she	<i>a:i</i>
186	full	<i>pere</i>	222	to her, to him	<i>a:ike</i>
187	good	<i>be:s/suga:L</i>	223	here	<i>nere</i>
188	hand	<i>ti:</i>	224	his/her	<i>aya:</i>
189	honest	<i>sa:du</i>	225	how	<i>cikka:lekka:</i>
190	long	<i>yimkihon</i>	226	I	<i>aiMg</i>
191	many	<i>kosiyā:</i>	227	it/this	<i>nia:</i>
192	narrow	<i>pucu?</i>	228	to it/to this	<i>niya:tte</i>
193	new	<i>na:va:</i>	229	its/of this	<i>nia:rea</i>
194	old	<i>pu:rna</i>	230	like	<i>likka:</i>
195	raw	<i>ro:D</i>	231	to me	<i>ainke</i>
196	rotten	<i>soa</i>	232	my	<i>aīma</i>
197	east	<i>pūru:b</i>	233	our	<i>abuā:</i>
198	end	<i>cheba</i>	234	not	<i>ka:ge/ka</i>
199	far	<i>saMgi:</i>	235	so/thus	<i>innate</i>
200	left	<i>leMga:</i>	236	that	<i>hana</i>
201	middle	<i>ta:la:</i>	237	to them	<i>akkoke</i>
202	near	<i>jappa:</i>	238	then	<i>innatayom</i>
203	north	<i>uttar</i>	239	those	<i>hana:ko</i>
204	out	<i>ba:har</i>	240	there	<i>haNDe</i>
205	right/side/hand	<i>jomti/jomsai</i>	241	they	<i>akko</i>
206	south	<i>dokkin</i>	242	their	<i>akkoa</i>
207	again	<i>ODomisa:</i>	243	these	<i>nia:ko</i>
208	always	<i>sobendiMg</i>	244	to us	<i>abuke</i>
209	before	<i>pail/manaMg pail</i>	245	we	<i>abu</i>
210	daily	<i>di:nge</i>	246	what	<i>kana:</i>
211	day	<i>maka/singi</i>	247	when	<i>cimtaMg</i>
212	evening	<i>au:b</i>	248	where	<i>okkoRe</i>
213	fast/quick	<i>sekeLa:</i>	249	who	<i>okkoi</i>
214	afterwards	<i>tayamte</i>	250	why	<i>okkua:</i>
215	behind	<i>ta:yOm</i>			
216	between	<i>talare</i>			
217	by	<i>te:</i>			
218	down	<i>latta:r</i>			

Bibliography

1. Akmajian A.
Banner Jea, Biren. 1930 On the Munda languages of India, *Magyar Nyelvor* (in Hungarian) Vol. 64, 99-102-124-30
2. Bhattacharya, S. 1975 *Studies in Comparative Munda Linguistics*, Simla: IAS.
3. Bhattacharya, S.S. 1988. *Reference Book on Minor Languages of India*. (unpublished) ORGI, Language Division, Calcutta.
4. Campbell, Sir George 1866 The Ethnology of India, *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. XXXV Part ii, Supplementary Numbr Contains Bhumij Vocabulary by R.G. Latham.
5. Choudhury, T.N.Roy 1929 "The Bhumij of Mayurbhanj" (Orissa), *Man In India* Vol. 9, pp.99-115.
6. Das, Tarak Chandra 1931 "The Bhumij as of Seraikella" *Anthropological papers*, University of Calcutta, NS No.2 and 3pp.61
7. Demers, R. and Harnish, R. 1979 *Linguistics*, Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press.
8. Dhall, G.B. 1957 "The languages and dialects spoken in Orissa", *IL*, Vol. 17. 39-43.
9. Ghosh, Nari Nath 1916 "The Bhumij of Chhota Nagpur", *JBORS* Vol.13: 265-82.
10. Grierson, G.A. 1967 *Linguistic survey of India*, Vol. 4Dravidian and Munda. New Delhi, Motilal Banarsi Das (reprinted).
11. Hodgson, B.H. 1880 "The Aborigines of Central India", *Journal of The Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol.XVII Part ii,London, Contains a list of Bhumij vocabulary by J.C. Hutson.
12. Prasad, Swarnalatha. 1962 "Linguistic Affinity of Bhumij Dailect" in *Bulletin of the Bihar Tribal Research Institute*, Ranchi. Vol.IV, no-1.

BONDA

N. Gopalakrishnan

Family affiliation

Bonda, also known as Remo, belongs to the South-Munda group of the Austro-Asiatic family of languages.

Location

The Bonda tribe is found in Malkangiri of the Koraput district of Orissa state. The Bondas call themselves as *Remo* 'man' and their language as *Rem-sam*. So far in census returns of Bonda as mother tongue is concerned the last census where the bonda appeared is 1951 census, and the speakers strength in India as well as in Orissa was 2568.

Phonology

Segmentals

Vowels

	Front	Central	Back
High	<i>i</i>		<i>u</i>
Mid	<i>e</i>		<i>o</i>
Lower-mid			<i>ɔ</i>
Low		<i>a</i>	

Consonants

	Labial	Alveolar	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stop.						
Vl.	<i>p</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>T</i>	<i>(c)</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>ʔ</i>
Vd.	<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>D</i>	<i>j</i>	<i>g</i>	
Fricative		<i>s</i>				
Nasal vd.	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>		<i>M'</i>	<i>M</i>	
Trill vd.		<i>r</i>				
Lateral vd.		<i>l</i>				
Continuants	<i>w</i>			<i>y</i>		

In Bonda language, the vowels are mostly short vowels. Because of the influence of local language Desia the loan words have got lengthened character. Example *a:T / ha:T* 'weakly village market.

Phonemic distribution

All the vowel phonemes occur in all three places – initial, medial, final. Among consonant phonemes / *c, j, d* / occur in word-initial and word-medial positions while / *W* /, / *M'* / occur only word medially. Rest of the consonant phonemes / *p, b, t, T, D, k, g, ʔ, m, n, M', M, l, r, s, y* / occur in all three positions –initial, medial and final.

Diphthongs

The Bonda has following diphthongs occurring mainly in the final position. These are *ia, oi, oĩ, ui, ei, ai, eo, uo* but in the medial position –*ea-*, –*ai-*, –*ui-*, –*eo-* occurs infrequently .

Examples

	Medial		Final	
<i>ia</i>	-		<i>trikDia</i>	'cloud'
<i>oi</i>	-		<i>doboi</i>	'washer woman'
<i>oĩ</i>	-		<i>kimi-boĩ</i>	'bride'
<i>ui</i>			<i>niMkui</i>	'sister'
<i>ei</i>	-		<i>krimei</i>	'claw'
<i>ai</i>	<i>paiTTi</i>	'work'	<i>nilibai</i>	'blue'
<i>ea</i>	<i>iglearju</i>	'maternal uncle's daughter'	<i>mOrea</i>	'brown'
<i>eo</i>	<i>deobo</i>	'(the) house'	<i>DeO</i>	'house'
<i>uo</i>			<i>juO</i>	'fruit'

Consonant cluster

Clusters available are essentially two consonant clusters occurring in the word-initial and word-medial position. However, three consonant clusters are also possible.

The initial two consonant clusters are / *pl, br, mb, tr* / Example

<i>pla</i>	'tail'	<i>bri</i>	'stone'
<i>umba?Yon</i>	'two' (super)	<i>trikDia</i>	'cloud'

The medially occurring two consonant clusters are / *pT, pk, pn, pr, bs, tt, TT, Tr, Dy, ss, kp, kt, KD, ks, kk, kl, kr, gb, gt, gD, gs, gm, gn, gl, ?p, ?t, ?T, ?s, ?k, ?l, ?r, ?y, mb, mt, mD, mk, ,ml, nt, ns, nj, nk, Mb, MT, MD, Ms, Mg, Mn, Ml, lk, ln, ll, rD, rs, rk, rg, rl, rr, wr, yt, yg* / Example,

<i>apTa - aPTi</i>	'grappling'	<i>upkar</i>	'benefit, aid'
<i>tipni</i>	'small basket'	<i>dapre</i>	'suddenly'
<i>anabson</i>	'husk fire'	<i>titti</i>	'hand'
<i>tiTTi surgunan</i>	'wood pecker'	<i>gulay aTrem</i>	'all people in the market'
<i>doDya</i>	'bad'	<i>assin`a</i>	'month'
<i>bokpiri</i>	'duck'	<i>daktor</i>	'milk'
<i>trikDia</i>	'cloud'	<i>okser</i>	'to hang up'
<i>Tukka</i>	'inner part of an ant hill'	<i>junkle</i>	'lift'
<i>DOkragisey</i>	'male monkey'	<i>ugbOk</i>	'hair'
<i>pugto</i>	'horn'	<i>atugDen</i>	'to be tired'
<i>ugsoM</i>	'ashes'	<i>Dagmo?</i>	'tears'
<i>semugni?ta alumjora</i>	'come down from the tree'	<i>igluk</i>	'ear-wax'
<i>bile?pi</i>	'bird's feather'	<i>da?tor</i>	'milk'
<i>Mayntiti ni`te</i>	'from his hand'	<i>ti?sun</i>	'leg'
<i>bile ?kunno</i>	'peacock's feather'	<i>mO?loi</i>	'five'
<i>ti?ram</i>	'six'	<i>umbar</i>	'two'
<i>somtiN</i>	'nine'	<i>sOmDin/</i>	'son's father--law'
<i>inrimkura</i>	'a quarrel some man'	<i>emlay</i>	'push'
<i>untu</i>	'near'	<i>ansiM ju</i>	'to squint'
<i>Dau manjea maM</i>	'third elder brother'	<i>dinke</i>	'daily, always'
<i>un?ber</i>	'caterpillar'	<i>amTi</i>	'finger of hand'