

Grammar Sketch
OF
Southern Gondi

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ABBREVIATIONS

1	1st Person
2	2nd Person
3	3rd Person
ACC	Accusative
ABL	Ablative
ABS	Absolutive Participle
ACC	Accusative
ACCOMP	Accompaniment
BENEF	Benefactive
COMP	Completive participle
COND	Condition
CONT	Continuous
DAT	Dative
DIST	Distal
EMP	Emphatic
EX	Exclusive
FUT	Future
GEN	Gerund
GER	Gerund
HAB	Habitual
HORT	Hortatory
IMP	Imperative
INCL	Inclusive
INF	Infinitive
INT	Interrogative
LOC	Locative
M	Masculine
N	Non-Masculine
NEG	Negation
NOM	Nominative
OBL	Oblique
P	Plural
PAST	Past
PRES	Present
PRO	Prohibitive
PROX	Proximal
PUR	Purposive
S	Singular
SUBJ	Subjunctive

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1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Name of Language

Gondi is the language spoken by the Gond tribals spread out in four states in central India. The people call themselves *Koitor* but others refer to them as Gonds. Since they are spread over a very wide region comprising the states of Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh, Andhra Pradesh and Orissa it naturally has a large number of dialects, some of which show a great deal of divergence among themselves. *Southern Gondi* is spoken by the Gonds living towards the south west of the whole Gondi region as can be seen from the map. It is the name given by the researchers of a socio-linguistic survey (Beine, Dave. 1992).

1.2 Classification

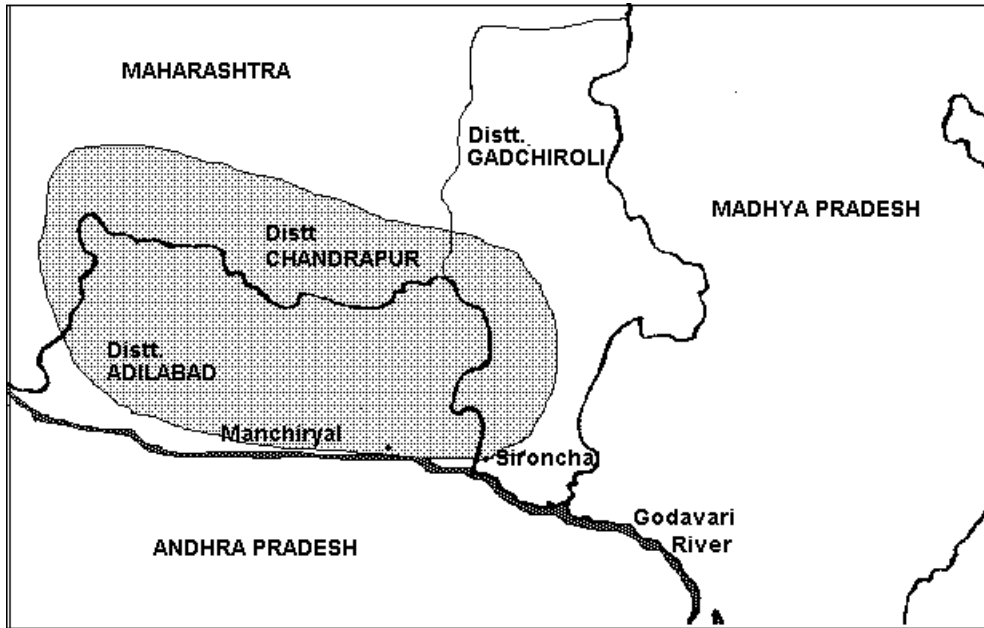
Southern Gondi belongs to the central group of the Dravidian family of languages.

1.3 Demographic Information

The Gond tribals of India are a diverse group of people, spread over four states in the central part of India. The total number of Gondi speakers is about 1.38 million (census of India 1961)

Southern Gondi is spoken by the Gonds living in Gadchiroli and Chandrapur districts of Maharashtra State and Adilabad district of Andhra Pradesh. It is spoken by Gonds numbering about 1.5 lakhs.

1.4 Map of Southern Gondi Speaking Area



1.5 Sociolinguistic Situation

1.5.1 Multilingualism

Throughout the Gondi area speakers of the different languages have intermingled with each other as well as with speakers of the state languages Marathi (Maharashtra), Telugu (Andhra Pradesh), and Hindi (Madhya Pradesh). This has led to extensive bilingualism. However, those who reside in the isolated forest regions tend to be monolingual as they have little interaction with others (Beine, Dave. 1992).

1.5.2 Context of Language Use

The Gondi language is spoken exclusively in the home and village settings. Those who have frequent contact with speakers of other languages, such as Hindi, Marathi, and Telugu, will use the respective state languages in the public domain. Most school-goers will be taught in the state language, however mother tongue learning is being promoted in most areas.

1.5.3 Viability Factors

Because of the interaction with other languages and peoples nearby, most of the Gondi languages have borrowed many words and some structures from other languages. However, the mother-tongue remains highly-regarded, and Adilabad District has tribal schools for which Gondi primers have been written in the Devanagari script (Lincoln, 1969: 2). In the

more isolated regions the people keep to traditional customs and beliefs, likewise preserving their languages.

1.6 Dialects

Up to nine dialects have been identified as being spoken by Gond tribes, including Southern Gondi, Northern Gondi, Hill Maria, Bison Horn Maria, Muria, Koya, and Dorla (Beine, Dave. 1992).

1.7 Previous Research on the Language

Benny and Mary Kurian, have lived in the Southern Gondi speaking area of Gadchiroli District since 1998 and they have recently completed a report on the Phonology of Southern Gondi (unpublished).

Research has also been done in many of the languages related to Southern Gondi, but only the Adilabad variety of Gondi is close enough to be a useful resource. Whilst the morphemes and words are often quite different between the two dialects, there are many similarities in the grammatical structures. The following two dissertations assisted us in identifying some of the features to look for in the language:

Lincoln, N.J. 1969, *A Descriptive Analysis of the Adilabad Dialect of Gondi*, PhD.
dissertation, Cornell University: Ann Arbor, Michigan.

Subrahmanyam, P.S. 1968, *A Descriptive Grammar of Gondi*, Annamalai University
Department of Linguistics: Ann Arbor, Michigan.

The following sociolinguistic survey of the region gave additional details on the culture and setting of the Gond people, and identified the related languages in the area:

Beine, Dave, 1992, *A Sociolinguistic Survey of the Gondi Speaking Communities* Ms IICCC.

2 PHONEMIC SUMMARY

2.1 Vowels and Consonants

The consonants and vowels that are needed to write the Southern Gondi language are shown below in the form of a table

Consonant chart

	Labials	Coronals	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Plosive vl	p	t	ʈ	c	k	
Plosive vd	b	d	ɖ	j	g	
Nasal	m	n				
Fricative	v	s				h
Lateral		l				
Trill		r				
Approximant				y		

Vowel chart

i	i:	ĩ		u	u:	ũ
e	e:	ẽ		o	o:	õ
			ə			
			a	ã		

2.2 Orthography

The Southern Gonds are spread over in two states - Maharashtra and Andhra Pradesh. In Maharashtra, Marathi is being promoted using the Devanagiri script. In Andhra Pradesh, the medium used is Telugu, which uses the Telugu script. It means that two alphabets Devanagiri and Telugu need to be used so as to reach all the Gonds living in the two states.

The Gonds have also developed a script of their own and are also promoting it among themselves. The Gondi script can also be used to write the language.

2.2.1 Devanagari Script

Devanagari script assigned to each phoneme for the Gondi spoken in Maharashtra is as shown in the table below.

2.2.1.1 Consonants

The Devanagari script character assigned to each consonant phoneme as follows.

p	प	t	त	ʈ	ट	c	च	k	क
b	ब	d	द	ɖ	ड	j	ज	g	ग
m	म	n	न						
v	व	s	स					h	ह
		l	ल						
		r	र	ʁ					
						y	य		

2.2.1.2 Vowels

The Devanagari script character assigned to each vowel phoneme as follows.

i	इ	i:	ई	ĩ	इं	u	उ	u:	ऊ	ũ	उं
e	ए	e:	एऽ	ẽ	एं	o	ओ	o:	ओ	õ	ओं
						ə	अ				
						a	आ	ã	आं		

2.2.2 Telugu Script

Telugu script assigned to each phoneme for the Gondi speakers of Adilabad Dist. in Andhra Pradesh is as shown below.

2.2.2.1 Consonants

The Telugu scripts assigned to each consonant phoneme is as follows

p	ప	t	త	t̪	ట	c	చ	k	క
b	బ	d	ద	d̪	డ	j	జ	g	గ
m	మ	n	న						
v	వ వ్	s	స					h	హ
		l	ల						
		r	ర						
				y	య				

2.2.2.2 Vowels

The Telugu script character assigned to each vowel phoneme as follows

i	ఇ	i:	ఈ	ĩ	ఇం	u	ఉ	u:	ఊ	ũ	ఊం
e	ఎ	e:	ఏ	ẽ	ఎం	o	ఒ	o:	ఓ	õ	ఒం
				ə	అ						
				a	ఆ	ã	ఆం				

2.3 Sandhi

The initial syllable structure in Southern Gondi is (C)V(C) and the medial are CV(C) or (C)VC. The final syllables are usually open.

Euphonic addition

To the consonant ending roots an euphonic vowel -u / -a is added if there is no suffix. Some e.g. are as follows.

hon'n-u	'go'
tīn-u	'eat'
mīṇḍ-a	'sleep'

Epenthesis

An approximant -y is introduced between two vowels at a morpheme boundary

vā-y-ākōm	'come' (HORT)
tā-y-ānā	'give' (INF)

3 MORPHOLOGY

3.1 Nominal Morphology

3.1.1 Nouns

The majority of Southern Gondi nouns are bisyllabic in their singular forms. Examples include *mārā* 'tree', *kondā* 'cow', and *mīyaḍ* 'woman'.

3.1.1.1 Types Of Nouns

3.1.1.1.1 Proper names

Words that refer to specific *places* (town, country, etc.), *languages*, or *people* are proper names. For example, *suddaguḍām* 'Suddagudam (name of a village)' and *rāmas geḍām* 'Ramesh Gedam (name of a person)'.

Capitalisation of the first letter of the word, as is done in English, is not possible for Gondi proper names as the state scripts, Devanagari (in the States of Madhya Pradesh and Maharashtra) and Telugu (in Andhra Pradesh), have no capital letters.

3.1.1.1.2 Count vs. mass nouns

While count nouns take the respective masculine or non-masculine plural markers when more than one is referred to, mass nouns such as *yer* 'water' and *jādī* 'grass' cannot be pluralised.

However, some mass nouns can be plural in their natural form, as in *parī-hku* 'rice-pl.'. When the singular form *parī* is used in this case, it means 'a grain of rice', or 'seed'.

3.1.1.1.3 Concrete Nouns vs. Abstract Nouns

The examples given in section 3.1.1.1.2 are concrete nouns. Abstract nouns in Gondi are non-masculine in gender.

- (1) *ōnaku hongu vātā*
ōn-ku hongu vā-t-ā
 3MS-DAT anger come-PAST-3NS

'He is angry.'

Z 001

3.1.1.2 Structure Of The Noun Word

The noun word is inflected for gender, number and case. With some cases nouns take an oblique marker. Thus,

$N_{\text{word}} \rightarrow \text{stem. (Honorific) (Gender) (Number) (Oblique) (Case)}$

The morphemes in parentheses are optional. A nominative case singular noun will take no inflection, for example, whilst a dative plural noun may be fully inflected:

- (2) *bābā* *bābālor-kunku*
 bābā-0 *bābā-l-or-ku-n-ku*
 father-S *father-honorific-3MP-P-OBL-DAT*
 'father to the fathers'

Z 002

3.1.1.3 Honorifics

The majority of masculine nouns refer to people and take the honorific suffix *-l* in their nominal forms, to express respect for the one spoken about. For non-masculine nouns, the honorific marker can only occur for a singular noun in the nominative case, i.e. the honorific does not occur for non-masculine plural or non-masculine cases other than nominative.

- (3) *yāvā-l* *'mother'* (NOM)
 yāvā-h-kū *'mothers'* (NOM)
 yāvā-n *'mother'* (ACC)
 yāvā-h-ku-n-kū *'to the mothers'* (DAT)

3.1.1.4 Number

Nouns can be singular or plural in number. In Gondi, singular nouns are unmarked.

Singular masculine nouns are suffixed by *-lōr*, where *-l* is the honorific suffix, and *-ōr* is third person masculine singular agreement; plural masculine nouns have the additional morpheme *-kū* indicating plural. Irregular plural masculine nouns include the words for *'kings'* and *'sons'* as shown in Table 1 below.

Non-masculine nouns are of three types;

1. Those ending in an alveolar (or retroflex) consonant drop the final consonant and replace it with *h*, followed by the suffix *-kū*, some vowel ending nouns also follow this pattern.
2. Those for which the final vowel (*ā* or *ī*) is nasalised,
3. Irregular plural forms (which take only the plural suffix *-kū*).

Table 1: Pluralisation

		Singular		Plural	
Masculine	with	manakal	'man'	manakalōrkū	'men'
	-l	dādāl	'elder brother'	dādālōrkū	'elder brothers'
	-ōr	pēḍāl	'boy'	pēḍālōrkū	'boys'
	-kū	kumāl	'potter'	kumālōrkū	'potters'
		bēstāl	'fisherman'	bēstālōrkū	'fishermen'
	irreg.	rājul	'king'	rājulkū	'kings'
	mārī	'son'	mārkū	'sons'	
Non-Masculine	with	murtāḍ	'woman'	murtāhkū	'women'
	-hku	mīyad	'daughter'	mīyahkū	'daughters'
		lon	'house'	lohkū	'houses'
		nār	'village'	nāhkū	'villages'
		burkāḷ	'tiger'	burkāhkū	'tigers'
		mārā	'tree'	mārāhkū	'trees'
		pēgīḍī	'girl'	pēgīhkū	'girls'
	with	pātā	'song'	pātām	'songs'
	nasal	kondā	'bullock'	kondām	'bullocks'
		pāṇḍī	'fruit (sg.)'	pāṇḍīm	'fruit (pl.)'
		jim'mā	'fish (sg.)'	jim'mām	'fish (pl.)'
		eṣṭī	'bus'	eṣṭīm	'buses'
	irreg.	kāḍu	'eye'	kāḍukū	'eyes'
	-kū	kītāb	'book'	kītābkū	'books'
	goḍu	'cow'	goḍ(u)kū	'cows'	

3.1.1.5 Gender/Class

Nouns can be divided into two genders: masculine and non-masculine. For animate objects, the gender is innate. For inanimate objects there are no common ending in the base form, so gender is not predictable.

Table 2: Unpredictability of Gender

	Masculine		non-Masculine	
Animate	dādāl	'older brother'	ākāl	'older sister'
Inanimate	kītāb	'book'	mārā	'tree'

Where there are masculine - non-masculine correlations for a single species the Gondi forms are irregular. There is no pattern as in English, e.g. 'lion (m)', 'lioness (f)'. Names of tribal groups and castes such as *Gondi*, *Maria*, and *fisherman* (name of a caste) are masculine in gender. Borrowed words tend to be non-masculine in gender.

3.1.1.6 Definiteness/Referentiality

Demonstratives are used to show definiteness or proximity (see e.g. (16) below). Compare example (4) with (5) and (6) below.

(4) **mārā peddagā mantā** Z 008
 mārā pedda-gā ma-nt-ā
 tree big-ish be-PRES-3NS
 'tree is big.'

(5) **idu mārā peddagā mantā.** Z 009
 idu mārā pedda-gā ma-nt-ā
 this tree big-ish be-PRES-3NS
 'This tree is big.'

(6) **adu mārā peddagā mantā.** Z 010
 adu mārā pedda-gā ma-nt-ā
 that tree big-ish be-PRES-3NS
 'That tree is big.'

The indefinite forms of the demonstrative are used mainly at a discourse level to introduce a new participant. To refer back to the participant later in the text the definite pronouns (demonstratives) will be used.

Table 3: Indefinite Demonstratives

	Singular		Plural	
Masculine	vārōr	'there was a...'	īcōr (PROX.) ācōr (DIST)	'there were some...'
Non-Masculine	undī	'there was a...'	īcōm (PROX.) ācōm (DIST)	'there were some...'

Location words **īge** 'here' and **āgā** 'there' and direction words **hīke** 'hither' and **heke** 'thither' can also be used for anaphoric reference.

3.1.1.7 Case

Examples of the following cases were found in the data: nominative, accusative, dative, genitive, locative, ablative, allative, instrument/accompaniment, benefactive, and vocative. In most of these cases the oblique form of the noun is used.

The **oblique** has two allomorphs, **-t**, and **-n**:

-t occurs with singular non-human nouns.

-n occurs elsewhere, for human nouns and all plurals.

There is phonological conditioning on words ending in **r** or retroflex **ḍ** when the oblique is added, e.g., **nār** 'village' → **nāṭe-n-e** (Locative) and **mīyaḍ** 'daughter' → **mīyaṭ-ā** (Genitive), so

the oblique may not appear.

Nominative and **vocative** cases are not marked for case. The nominative case may take the honorific marker *-l*, but the vocative case does not. Examples are shown in Table 4.

Marking the **accusative case** is optional, as word order also indicates the object. Human nouns, and also *gōḍū* 'cow' take the accusative suffix *-n*. For those ending in retroflex *ḍ* devoicing occurs and epenthetic *u* is inserted before the accusative suffix (*mīyaḍ* → *mīyaḍ-un* 'daughter'). Non-human objects are not marked in the accusative case unless referring to a specific object, *pātā* 'song' → *pātā-n* 'the/this song'. For non-human singular nouns taking accusative case, the oblique *-t* must precede case. Again epenthetic *u* will be inserted (*kōndā* → *kōndā-t-un* 'cow'). Words ending in *n* follow this pattern, but word-final *n* is deleted. See Table 4.

The **dative** case suffix is *-kū*. Human nouns must take the oblique with dative case.

- (7) *nānā yāvānku undi sāri hītan* Z 029
nānā yāvā-n-ku undi sāri hī-t-an
 1S_NOM mother-OBL-DAT one.N saree give-PAST-1S
'I gave a sari to mother.'

Forms of the **genitive** case are discussed in the following section 3.1.1.8 on possession.

The **locative** *-e*, **ablative** *-āl/-agāṭāl* and **allative** *-eke* cases suffix onto the oblique noun forms. The suffix *-āl* comes on nouns that denote a specific location. The suffix *-agāṭāl* indicates proximity (*'from near, from the vicinity of'*, *-agā* literally means *'there'* in its free form). In practice *-agā* and *-agāṭāl* are used interchangeably with non-human entities. Human nouns can only take *-agāṭāl*, not *-āl*. The oblique forms are used. Animate entities do not normally take the locative case; thus locative case is not included in Table 4. Example (8) below shows its usage.

- (8) *ahērite ico kabaḍ matā.* T 005
ahēri-te ico kabaḍ man-t-ā
 Aheri-LOC some work be-PAST-3NS
'Has some work to do in Aheri.'
- (9) *nanā mārātagātāl puy tātan* Z 030
nanā mārā-n-agā-ṭāl puy tā-t-an
 1S.NOM tree-OBL-Prox-from flower bring-PAST-1S
'I took flowers from the trees.'
- (10) *rames sironcātāl vāsāntor* Z 031
rames sironcā-ṭāl vāsā-nt-or
 Ramesh Sironcha-from come-PRES-3MS
'Ramesh is coming from Sironca.'

To show **instrument** or **accompaniment** the suffix *-ōnī* is added to the oblique form of the

noun.

The **benefactive** suffix is **-hātī**.

Table 4: Case Marking on Nouns

CASE	Nominative	Accusative	Dative	Gloss
Human S.	dādāl	dādān	dādānkū	'elder bro.'
	yāvāl	yāvān	yāvānkū	'mother'
	mīyaḍ	mīyaḍun	mīyaḍaku	'daughter'
Human P.	dādālōrkū	dādālōrkūn	dādālōrkūnkū	
	yāvāhkunkū	yāvāhkun	yāvāhkunkū	
	mīyahkunkū	mīyahkun	mīyahkunkū	
Non-human S	mārā	mārātun	mārākū	'tree'
	lōn	lōtun	lōtakū	'house'
	kōndā	kōndātun	kōndākū	'bullock'
Non-human P	mārāhkū	mārāhkun	mārāhkūnku	
	lōhkū	lōhkun	lōhkūnku	
	kōndām	kōndān	kōndānku	

CASE	Ablative	Allative	Accompaniment	Benefactive
Human S.	dādānagāṭāl	dādānteke	dādāntōnī	dādānhātī
	yāvānagāṭāl	yāvānteke	yāvāntōnī	yāvānhātī
	mīyaṭagāṭāl	mīyaṭateke	mīyaṭatōnī	mīyaṭahātī
Human P.	dādālōrkūnagāṭāl	dādālōrkunteke	dādālōrkuntōnī	dādālōrkūnhātī
	yāvāhkunagāṭāl	yāvāhkunkunteke	yāvāhkunkuntōnī	yāvāhkūnhātī
	mīyahkunagāṭāl	mīyahkunteke	mīyahkuntōnī	mīyahkūnhātī
Non-human S	mārātāgāṭāl	mārāteke	mārātōnī	mārātahātī
	lōtagāṭāl	lōteke	lōtōnī	lōtahātī
	kōndātāgāṭāl	kōndāteke	kōndātōnī	kōndātahātī
Non-human P	mārāhkunagāṭāl	mārāhkunteke	mārāhkuntōnī	mārāhkūnhātī
	lōhkunagāṭāl	lōhkunteke	lōhkuntōnī	lōhkūnhātī
	kōndānagāṭāl	kōndānteke	kōndāntōnī	kōndānhātī

3.1.1.8 Possession

The noun can mark possession in three ways. First the oblique suffix **-n** or **-t** comes, then

1. the adjectival form takes the genitive case marker **-ā**, as in example (10).
2. the nominal form takes the genitive case marker **-ā** plus the nominaliser **-d**, thus forming the suffix **-ad**, as in (12).
3. another nominal form takes the particle **-agā** (lit. *'there'*) that indicates proximity. This is called the temporary possessive particle. See example (13).

For example,

- (11) **pegitā kapḍī mancīga mantā**
pegit-ā kapḍī mancīga ma-nt-ā
 girl-GEN cloth good be-PRES-3NS

'The girl's dress is nice.'

Z 004

- (12) idū lōn ramesanād Z 006
 idū lōn rames-n-ā-d
 this house Ramesh-OBL-GEN-NOM_S
'This house is Ramesh's.'
- (13) ōnā kītāb ā pēḍālorkunagā mantā Z 007
 ōn-ā kītāb-0 adu pēḍā-l-or-ku-n-agā ma-nt-ā
 3MS-GEN book-S that son-honorific-3MP-P-OBL-PROX be-PRES-3NS
'His book is with those boys / Those boys have got his book.'

3.1.2 Pronouns and Anaphoric Clitics

3.1.2.1 Personal Pronouns

Pronouns in Gondi are differentiated according to *person* and *number*. First person plural pronouns can also be specified for inclusive and exclusive of hearer. Third person pronouns have a three-way distinction according to *gender* (masculine, non-masculine), *number* (singular, plural) and *proximity* (proximal, distal).

Pronoun forms vary according to the following cases: nominative, accusative, dative, genitive, accompaniment, ablative, and benefactive. The case markers are of the same forms as their noun counterparts. Pronoun paradigms are given in Table 5 below; genitive forms are in shown in Table 6.

Table 5: Personal Pronouns

P	G	N	-	NOM.	ACC.	DAT.	ACCOMP.	ABL.	BENEF
1		S.		nanā	nākun	nākū	nātonī	nāhagaṭāl	nāvāhātī
			EX.	momoṭu	mākun	mākū	mātonī	māhagaṭāl	māvāhātī
			INCL	manam	manākun	manākū	mānātonī	manāgaṭāl	manāhātī
2		S.		nime	nīkun	nīkū	nītonī	nīhagaṭāl	nīvāhātī
			P.	mīmeṭu	mīkun	mīkū	mītonī	mīhagaṭāl	mīvāhātī
3	M	S.	DIST	ōru	ōn	ōnkū	ōnatōni	ōnagaṭāl	ōnahātī
			PROX	īru	īn	īnkū	īnatōni	īnagaṭāl	īnahātī
			P	DIST	ōru	ōrkun	ōrkū	ōratōni	ōragaṭāl
	NS	S.	PROX	īru	īrkun	īrkū	īratōni	īragaṭāl	īrahātī
			DIST	adu	dān	dānakū	dānatōni	dānagaṭāl	dānahātī
			PROX	īdu	dīn	dīnaku	dīnatōni	dīnagaṭāl	dīnahātī
	P.	DIST	āvu	āvun	āvunkū	āvunatōni	āvunagaṭāl	āvunahātī	
		PROX	īvu	īvun	īvunku	īvunatōni	īvunagaṭāl	īvunahātī	

As described in section 3.1.1.8, possessive pronouns are of three forms: adjectival, taking the genitive case marker *-Cā*, and nominal, taking the nominalising suffix (genitive case plus nominaliser) *-Cad*, where *C* is any consonant. A third form, the temporary possessive, *-(h)agā* indicates possession in the sense that the object is with or on the person although s/he may not have ownership of it. For example,

Table 6: Possessive Pronouns

P	G	N	-	Adjectival PRO GEN Case	NOM PRO. NOM/ACC Case	Temporary Possessives
1		S		nāvā	nāvad	nāhagā
	P	EX		māvā	māvad	māhagā
			INCL	manā	manad	managā
2		S		nīvā	nīvad	nīhagā
	P			mīvā	mīvad	mīhagā
3	M	S	DIST	onā	onad	ōnagā
			PROX	īnā	īnad	īnagā
	P	DIST		orā	orad	ōragā
			PROX	īrā	īrad	īragā
	M	S	DIST	dānā	dānad	dānagā
			PROX	dīnā	dīnad	dīnagā
	P	DIST		avunā	avunad	avunagā
			PROX	ivunā	ivunad	ivunagā

Examples of usage include the following,

- (14) idu nāvā mārā Z 019
 idu nāv-ā mārā
 this 1S-GEN tree
'This is my tree.'
- (15) idu mārā nāvād Z 020
 idu mārā nāv-ā-d
 this tree 1S-GEN-NOM_S
'This tree is mine.'
- (16) idu mārā yāvānād Z 021
 idu mārā yāvā-n-ā-d
 this tree mother-OBL-GEN-NOM_S
'This tree is mother's.'

3.1.2.2 Demonstrative Pronouns

Demonstratives take the form of the third person (non-masculine) pronouns. The reduced forms *ī* and *ā* can also be used, disguising the gender and number of the referent.

Table 7: Demonstratives

		Proximal		Distal	
S	M	idu	'this'	ādu	'that'
	M	īru		ōru	
P	M	ivu	'these'	āvu	'those'
	M	īru		ōru	

Demonstratives can either stand alone or act as a modifier in the noun phrase, as shown in examples (11) and (12) above. The indefinite forms are *vārōr* when introducing a masculine participant and *undī* when introducing a non-masculine participant (roughly translates as 'there was a ...') See discussion in section 3.1.1.6 above.

3.1.2.3 Reflexive Pronouns

Reflexive pronouns are formed by suffixing the emphatic particle *-e* to the respective nominal pronouns except the first person which takes *vārōr*.

The following example shows a way of emphasising the subject as the one doing the action.

- (17) *nanā vārōne kītan.*
nanā vārōn-e kī-t-an
 1S.NOM one.M-EMP make-PAST-1S
 'I did it myself.'

Z 011

See also section 4.4.2.1 for reflexive verb forms.

Reflexive actions are expressed by the morpheme *-ūkū* within the verb. Compare the examples below,

- (18) *oru gōḍūn tantor*
oru gōḍū-n tana-t-or
 3MS cow-ACC beat-PAST-3MS
 'He beat the cow.'

Z 037

- (19) *ōnād ore tanukutor*
ōn-ā-d or-e tana-uku-t-or
 3MS-GEN-NOM_Sg 3MS-EMP beat-reflexive-PAST-3MS
 'He beat himself.'

Z 038

The verb is inflected for reflexive, tense, person, and number in that order as shown in the following paradigm for the verb 'to beat'.

Table 8: Reflexive Verb Forms

	S	S
1	tanūkūtan	tanūkūtōm
2	tanūkūtīn	tanūkūtīr
3 M	tanūkūtōr	tanūkūtūr
M	tanūkūtā	tanūkūtām

3.1.2.4 Interrogative Pronouns

Interrogative pronouns usually occur sentence initially and they all take **b** word initially. They may agree in gender and number with the human noun they refer to. See section 4.6.3.1 for examples of usage.

(20)	'what / which'	bātāl
	'when'	baske
	'where (what place)'	bagā
	'where (to what place)'	beke
	'where (from what place)'	bagāṭāl ◆ bendāl
	'why'	bārī(nkū)
	'how'	balahā
	'how much'	bacōr
	'with what'	baduntōnī

Table 9: Interrogative Pronouns

	Masculine term		Non-Masculine term	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
'who'	bōn (1P,2P)	bōr (3P)	bādun	bāvūn
'whose (adj)'	bōnā	bōrā	bādūnā	bāvūnā
'whose (nom)'	bōnad	bōrad	bādūnad	bāvūnad
'with whom'	bōnāgā	bōrāgā	bādūnāgā	bāvūnāgā
'for whom'	bōnāhātī	bōrahātī	bādūnāhātī	bāvūnāhātī
'from whom'	bōnāgāṭāl	bōrāgāṭāl	bādūnāgāṭāl	bāvūnāgāṭāl

3.1.2.5 Indefinite Pronouns

The following pronoun forms portray the sense of indefiniteness. See also section (16).

Table 10: Indefinite Pronouns

general term		Non-Masculine term	
		S	P
'anyone'	bōrānā	bādānā	bāvūnā
'someone'	bōrō	bādō	bāvō
'anything'	bātālanā		
'something'	bātālō		

3.1.2.6 Quantitative pronouns

Gondi has the following quantitative pronouns which can act as nouns or adjectives.

- (21) gōḍacū 'some'
 velle 'much'
 an'nī 'all'
 āṅṭōr 'they all'
 āṅṭōrām 'we all'

For example,

- (22) ramesanāv an'nī manci pedda kitābku gāyab
 rames-n-ā-v an'nī manci pedda kitāb-ku gāyab
 Ramesh-OBL-GEN-NOM_P all good big book-P lost

Z 015

ātām.
 ā-t-ām
 happen-PAST-3NS

'All the good big books of Ramesh went missing.'

3.1.3 Numerals

Southern Gondi has numerals one to seven (which agree in gender with head noun) and also 'one hundred' and 'hundreds'. Other numerals are borrowed from Telugu, and have no gender distinction. The forms are different for the direct and the oblique case.

Table 11: Numerals

	Gender	Direct	Oblique
'one'	M	vārōr	vārōn
	M	undī	undān
'two'	M	īvur	īvurūkun
	M	rōṇḍū	rōṇḍūn
'three'	M	mūvūr	mūvūrkun
	M	mūḍū	mūḍun
'four'	M	nālūr	nālūrkun
	M	nālūrṁ	nālūrṁn
'five'	M	heyūr	heyūrkun
	M	heyūrṁ	heyūrṁn
'six'	M	hārūr	hārūrkun
	M	hārūrṁ	hārūrṁn
'seven'	M	eḍūr	eḍūrkun
	M	eḍūrṁ	eḍūrṁn
'one hundred'		nūhū	
'hundreds'		nūhūkū	nūhūkūn

Gondi and Telugu numbers can be combined to form a greater number. In the following example the words for '*hundreds*' and '*five*' are Gondi words, '*two*' and '*thirty*' are in common with other Dravidian languages. For example,

- (23) reṇḍunuhukunāmupayaheyūrṁ
 reṇḍu-nuhuku-nā-mupaya-heyūrṁ
 two-hundreds-and-thirty-five
 'two hundred and thirty five'

Z 027

The ordinal number for 'first' is mōḍāṭā. No other ordinals exist in Gondi.

3.1.4 Adjectives

Adjectives of age, dimension, value, colour, and shape are present in Gondi. *velle* meaning '*much*' or '*very*' is used as an intensifier. There is no agreement marked on the adjective.

- (24) Age padā 'elderly'
 Dimension ḍōḍū 'fat'
 etū 'thin'
 Value mancī 'these'
 Colour ākipācī 'green' (lit. leaf green)
 pāspūpācā 'yellow' (lit. turmeric green)
 Shape gūndarāgā 'roundish'

Adjectives of characteristic tend to be nouns, like hōngū '*anger*', which stand alone or form a compound noun, like hōngū manakal '*anger man*'. It is difficult to say whether these are nouns or really adjectives. Adjectives are used in the following ways. They precede the head noun in the noun phrase.

- (25) oru doḍu mantor. Z 012
 oru doḍu ma-nt-or
 3MS fat be-PRES-3MS

'He is fat.'

- (26) orū doḍu manakal mantor. Z 013
 orū doḍu manaka-l ma-nt-or
 3MS fat man-honorific be-PRES-3MS

'He is a fat man.'

3.1.5 Nominal Categorises

Southern Gondi does not appear to have augmentatives or diminutives. When terms of endearment are used the suffixes attach only to the verb, not the noun. For example, *vāy-īne* 'come!' is used for spouse or mother, *vāy-ihō* 'come!' carries less intensity and is used for a child or females (other than spouse or mother).

3.2 Verbal Morphology

3.2.1 Verb Structure

Verbs in Southern Gondi are those that indicate states and events. They are capable of taking tense-aspect-mood and interrogative clitics. Tense and person-number-gender markers are obligatory components of the finite verb. The structure of a verb can be explained as follows.

Verb → stem • (Aspect/Mood) • Tense • Person-Number-Gender • (Clitic)

This can be seen in the example below.

- (27) nime gāṭo tinjāmantinā? Z 039
 nime gāṭo tin-jā-ma-t-in-ā
 2S_NOM food eat-CONT-be-PAST-2S-INT

'Are you eating food?'

3.2.2 Compound Verbs

3.2.2.1 Verb Verb Compounds

The following compound verbs are found.

- (28) pīsī vā (catch come) 'bring (imp.)'
 pikūn'nū (catch go) 'hold (imp.)'

For example,

- (29) cāhā pīsi vā
 cāhā pī-si vā-0
 tea catch-ABS come-IMP_S
'Bring the tea!'

Z 044

3.2.2.2 Conjunct Verbs

Conjunct verbs are made up of either noun and verb or adjective and verb.

Noun + verb constructions include:

- | | | | |
|------|---------------|---------------|------------------|
| (30) | rēppā tanā | (eyelid beat) | 'blink (imp.)' |
| | kade tanā | (leg beat) | 'kick (imp.)' |
| | yer tungā | (water wash) | 'bathe (imp.)' |
| | piḍūgū vāṭaṭā | (light pour) | 'thunder (imp.)' |

For example,

- (31) oru reppā tantor
 oru reppā tana-t-or
 3MS eyelid beat-PAST-3MS
'He blinked.'

Z 045

Adjective + verb constructions include:

- | | | | |
|------|--------------------|--------------|--------------|
| (32) | gūsagūsa vāḍakāmaḍ | (slow speak) | 'to whisper' |
| | sā kīyūmaḍ | (clean do) | 'to clean' |
| | iṣṭām kīyūmaḍ | (like do) | 'to like' |

For example,

- (33) gusā gusā vaḍakā
 gusā gusā vaḍakā-0
 slowly slowly speak-IMP_S
'Whisper!'

Z 046

3.2.3 Verb Classes

At least three verb classes can be found. These can be divided primarily on the basis of the verb's phonology (verb stem endings, syllable structure), but classes must be set up to describe those verbs that do not conform to the general pattern. The verb stem is the same as the imperative form of the verb. Each class takes on different forms of the aspectual morphemes as is explained below.

3.2.3.1 Class 1

Class 1 consists of those monosyllabic verb stems that have a nasal final consonant as in *tin* 'eat', *hōn* 'go', and bisyllabic stems such as *tanā* 'beat'. An example is shown below. Class 1

verbs take aspectual morphemes beginning in *-j*, as in *-jeke* (continuous suffix), *-jī* (absolute participle / perceptive suffix), and *-jā* (present marker). Verbs of this class do not have a present perfect form. Present continuous form is used instead.

- (34) *nime gāṭo tinjāmantinā?*
nime gāṭo tinjā-ma-nt-in-ā
 2S_NOM food eat-be-PRES-2S-INT

Z 039

'Are you eating food?'

3.2.3.2 Class 2

Class 2 consists of those verb roots that end in *-hā* as in *dohā 'build'*, *vehā 'say'* and *rēhā 'unload'*. An example is shown below. These verbs take aspectual morphemes beginning in *-c*, as in *-ceke* (continuous suffix), *-cī* (absolute participle / perceptive suffix), and *-cā* (present marker).

- (35) *nānā lon dohaṭāmantan.*
nānā lon doh-cā-ma-t-an
 1S_NOM house made-CONT-be-PAST-1S

Z 040

'I am building a house.'

3.2.3.3 Class 3

The rest of the verbs belong to this class. An example is shown below. These verbs take aspectual morphemes beginning in *-s*, as in *-seke* (continuous suffix), *-sī* (absolute participle / perceptive suffix), and *-sā* (present marker).

- (36) *nānā bes pulleṃ vaḍakaṣāntan.*
nānā bes pulleṃ vaḍak-sā-nt-an
 1S_NOM good news speak-CONT-PRES-1S

Z 041

'I am telling good things.'

3.2.4 Agreement

The head verb always agrees in person, number and gender with the subject. All these features are contained in the one morpheme that comes after the tense suffix on the verb. The following person, number, and gender markers are the commonly used agreement suffixes.

Gondi has the gender distinction of masculine and non-masculine. Gender distinction on a marker can be observed only for the 3rd person. Please refer to section 3.1.1.5 above on gender in Gondi.

Table 12: Person-Gender-Number Marking

		Singular	Plural
1		-an	-om
2		-in	-ir
3	M	-or	-or
	NM	-o	-om

3.2.4.1 Agreement for Past Habitual Forms

Past habitual tenses take the following forms for the person, number, and gender suffixes.

Table 13 Person-Gender-Number marking for Past Habitual Tenses.

		Singular	Plural
1		-un	-um
2		-in	-ir
3	M	-ūr	-ūr
	NM.	-ū	-ūm

For example,

- (37) *māvā nāṭenā lokulku kallu* Z 047
māvā nātu-n-ā loku-n-ku kallu
 1P_EX village-OBL-GEN people-OBL-DAT liquor
unjekemanundur
 un-jeke-ma-nd-ur
 drink-CONT-be-Past_HAB-3M
'People of our village used to drink liquor.'

3.2.4.2 Agreement for Subjunctives

Subjunctives take the following forms for the person, number, and gender suffixes as shown in the table below. For example, *tāken* 'I would have walked'.

Table 14 Person Gender Number markers for Subjunctives

Person	Gender	Singular	Plural
1		-en	-em
2		-en	-er
3	M	-er	-er
	N.M.	-uvaḍu	-uvahaku

3.2.5 TAM-System

3.2.5.1 Tense

Southern Gondi has markers on verbs denoting past, present and future tense. These markers are obligatory on the head verb.

Verb stems are the imperative forms of the verb. For bisyllabic stems ending in a vowel, the

final vowel drops off (or is shortened). For present tense stems the allomorphs **-jā** for Class 1 verbs, **-cā** for Class 2 verbs, and **-sā** for Class 3 verbs are added to the stem

The past tense marker is **-t**, except for past habitual tenses that take **-(ū)nd** (see Table 18). Table 15 gives examples of simple past tense verbs in the three verb classes.

The present tense marker is **-nt**. Table 15 gives examples of simple present tense verbs in the three-verb classes. Note that the verb stems that end in **-sā** as in *asā* 'buy', and *tāsā* 'keep' do not have a simple present tense form.

The future tense marker is **-ant**. Table 15 gives examples of simple future tense verbs in the three verb classes.

Table 15: Tense Marking

	gloss	Stem	Past Simple	Present Simple	Future Simple
I	'beat'	tan	tan- <u>t</u> -an	tanjā- <u>nt</u> -an	tan- <u>ant</u> -an
II	'unload'	rēh	reh- <u>t</u> -an	rehcā- <u>nt</u> -an	reh- <u>ant</u> -an
III	'walk'	tāk	tāk- <u>t</u> -an	tākasā- <u>nt</u> -an	tāk- <u>ant</u> -an

All the examples are given for first person singular number.

3.2.5.2 Aspect

Southern Gondi has the following aspects: perfect, continuous, complete, and habitual.

3.2.5.2.1 Simple Aspect

The simple aspect has no marking, but for the present simple the verb has an extra morpheme, the function of which is presently unclear. (This is a subject for further research.) Present simple verbs take the stem of the verb followed by **-jā** for Class 1 verbs, **-cā** for Class 2 verbs, and **-sā** for Class 3 verbs. Thus,

$V_{\text{simple}} \rightarrow \text{stem} . (-jā / -cā / -sā) . \text{TNS} . \text{PGN}$

See Table 15: Tense Marking for examples.

3.2.5.2.2 Continuous Aspect

The continuous aspect takes the following morphemes for Class 1, Class 2, and Class 3 respectively, and also the verb *man* 'to be'.

$V_{\text{continuous}} \rightarrow \text{stem} . (-jeke / -ceke / -seke) . \text{ma}(n) . \text{TNS} . \text{PGN}$

Table 16 illustrates this. All examples are given for 1st person singular number.

Table 16: Continuous Aspect Marking

	Gloss	Stem	Past Progressive	Present Progressive	Future Progressive
I	'beat'	tan	tanjekematan	tanjekemantan	tanjekemanāntan
II	'unload'	rēh	rehacekematan	rehacekemantan	rehacekemanāntan
III	'walk'	tāk	tāksekematan	tāksekemantan	tāksekemanāntan

3.2.5.2.3 Perfect Aspect

The perfect aspect takes the absolute adverbial participle form followed by the verb *man* 'to be'. Unlike the continuous aspect the participle form can appear independently (see section 4.5.3.12). Allomorphs are listed for Class 1, Class 2, and Class 3 respectively.

Perfect → stem . (-jī / -cī / -sī) . ma(n) . TNS . PGN

Table 17: Perfect Aspect Marking

Examples are given for 1st person singular number.

	Gloss	Root	Past Perfect	Present Perfect	Future Perfect
I	'beat'	tan	tanjīmatan	tanjīmantan	tanjī manāntan
II	'unload'	rēh	rehaçīmatan	rehaçīmantan	rehaçī manāntan
III	'walk'	tāk	tākṣīmatan	tākṣīmantan	tākṣī manāntan

3.2.5.2.4 Habitual Aspect

The habitual aspect occurs in the past and future tenses. The future habitual is of the same form as future perfect (see Table 15). Past habitual tak-s different tense (i.e. -(ū)nd instead of -t) and agreement markers (see section 3.2.4.1 above), demonstrated by the examples in Table 18. The p-ogressive morpheme is the same as for the other tenses, -jeke, -ceke, -seke, for Class 1, 2, and 3 respectively.

Table 18: Habitual Aspect Marking

	Gloss	Past Habitual	Past Prog. Habitual
I	'used to beat / be beating'	tan-ūnd-ūn	tan-jeke manūnd-ūn
II	'used to unload / be unloading'	reh-ūnd-ūn	reha-ceke manūnd-ūn
III	'used to walk / be walking'	tāk-ūnd-ūn	tāka-seke manūnd-ūn

To denote past negative habitual the negative suffix -ko comes before the tense marker and after the imperative stem. For example.

	Past Negative Habitual	Gloss
I	tana-ko-ndūn	<i>'I didn't use to beat'</i>
II	reha-ko-ndūn	<i>'I didn't use to unload'</i>
III	tāka-ko-ndūn	<i>'I didn't use to walk'</i>

3.2.5.3 Mode

3.2.5.3.1 Imperative and Prohibitive

Imperative and prohibitive mood occurs only in the second person. The singular form is unmarked. The plural form takes *-tu*. The imperative is the verb stem. The prohibitive suffix is *-mā*. This is shown as in the table below.

Table 19: Imperative and Prohibitive Moods

	Number	Imperative	Prohibitive
I	Singular	tanā	tanamā
	Plural	tanātu	tanamātu
II	Singular	rehā	rehamā
	Plural	rehātu	rehamātu
III	Singular	tākā	tākamā
	Plural	tākātu	tākamātu

3.2.5.3.2 Subjunctive

The subjunctive suffix meaning *'would have'* is *-en*. The final vowel of the imperative stem is dropped before adding subjunctive mood.

Table 20: Subjunctive Mood

	Stem	Subjunctive	gloss
I	tan	tan-en	<i>'I would have beaten'</i>
II	rēh	reh-en	<i>'I would have unloaded'</i>
III	tāk	tāk-en	<i>'I would have walked'</i>

3.2.5.3.3 Admonitive

The Admonitive suffix meaning *'should'* is *-gom* or *-goṭi* interchangeably. Examples are shown in the table below.

Table 21: Admonitive Mood

	Imperative.	Admonitive	gloss
I	tanā	tana-gom tana-gotj	'We should beat'
II	rēhā	reha-gom reha-gotj	'We should unload'
III	tākā	tāka-gom tāka-gotj	'We should walk'

3.2.5.3.4 Hortatory

The hortatory suffix meaning *'let us do'* is *-kom* it comes after the verb stem. The person-gender-number marker is always first person plural. Examples are shown below.

Table 22: Hortatory Mood

	Imperative.	Hortatory	gloss
I	tanā	tana-kom	'let us beat'
II	rēhā	reha-kom	'let us unload'
III	tākā	tāka-kom	'let us walk'

3.2.6 Derivational Morphology Involving Verbs

3.2.6.1 Valence Changing Morphology: Causatives

Some verbs take the causative marker *-hā / -cā* as shown in the following table.

Table 23: Causative Marking

	Imperative (non-causative)		Imperative (causative)	
I	tin	'eat'	ti-hā	'feed'
II	reyā	'descend'	re-hā	'unload'
III	tākā	'walk/go'	tāki-cā	'drive'

3.2.6.2 Deriving Verbs from Other Parts of Speech

No examples were found of nouns or adjectives being verbalised.

3.2.6.3 Verbal Nominalisation

Verbs are nominalised in three ways: gerund formation, infinitive and agent nominalisation.

Gerund suffixes are *-maḍ* (Gondi) and *-uḍu* (same as in Telugu). Both are allomorphs and all verb classes take the same markers. The infinitive suffix is *-ānā*.

Table 24: Gerund and Infinitive Formation

	Gloss	Infinitive	Gerund Forms	
I	'beat'	tan-ānā	tana-mad	tan-udu
II	'unload'	reh-ānā	reha-mad	reh-udu
III	'walk'	tāk-ānā	tāka-mad	tāk-udu

This nominaliser can go on the verb to mean *'the one which does the action'*. The suffix goes on the infinitive form of the verb, as shown in the following table. The nominaliser can be both masculine *-or* and non-masculine *-ad* depending on the gender of the actor.

Table 25: Nominalising Suffixes (one who/which does)

	Gloss	Stem	Masculine	Non-Masculine
I	'beat'	tan	tanān-or	tanān-ad
II	'unload'	reh	rehān-or	rehān-ad
III	'walk'	tāk	tākān-or	tākān-ad

3.2.7 Non-Finite Verbs

The non-finite verbs take on different types of participles as shown below. See the section on adverbial clauses 4.5.3 below for examples of complete (time adverbial), absolute, and simultaneous non-finite verb forms.

Table 26: Non-Finite Verbs

	Gloss	Infinitive	Relative	Complete	Absolute	Simultaneous
I	'beat'	tan-ānā	tan-ānor	tanatā-rite	tan-jī	tan-enke
II	'unload'	rēh-ānā	reh-anor	rehatā-rite	reha-cī	reh-enke
III	'walk'	tāk-ānā	tāk-ānor	tākatā-rite	tāk-sī	tāk-enke

3.3 Adverbs

Adverbs of time include:

īndīke	'now'
nīn'ne	'yesterday'
īyālā	'today'
nāḍī	'tomorrow'
man'netāḍī	'day after tomorrow'
aske	'then' (remote past)
nangā	'then, recently' (near past)

For example,

- (38) oru nangā vātor
 oru nangā vā-t-or
 3MS recently come-PAST-3MS
 'He came recently.'

Z 032

Adverbs of manner include:

bīrānā	'quickly'
mellagā	'slowly'
barōbar	'properly'

For example,

- (39) adu barobar vaḍi dalago
 adu barobar vadi dalag-o
 that properly wind blow-NEG

Z 028

'It doesn't blow wind properly.'

Evidential adverbs were not found in the data. Location demonstratives such as ige 'here' and heke 'hither' serve the function of adverbs.

3.4 Conjunctions

3.4.1 Co-ordinating and Subordinating

Gondi has a co-ordinating conjunction āni 'and' and a subordinating conjunction gāni 'but'. One use of the subordinating conjunction is given in (92) below

- (40) dūlāiku āni vāsām tēka mārātāv
 dūlam-n-ku āni vāsām tēka mārā-n-ā-v
 beam-Obl-DAT and Secondary_beams teak tree-OBL-GEN-NOM_P
 kāvālē
 kāvālē
 need

H 007

'The main beam and secondary beam should be of teak wood.'

No word for 'or' is included in expressions like rōṇḍū mūḍū 'two or three', and ḍōḍū etū 'fat or thin'. The final vowel of adjectives can be changed to -ō though, to denote exclusion, as discussed in section 4.5.5.2.

3.4.2 Intersentential Conjunctions

Intersentential conjunctions are sentence initial. bārīte 'because', alahane 'similarly, in this way', and askene 'then' are used this way, when referring back to a previous event (in the preceding sentence).

- (41) bārītē piru bāga vātā, eṣṭi bēndav hēkēnē āgtā.
 bārītē piru bāga vā-t-ā eṣṭi bendav hēkē-nēāg-t-ā
 because rain much come-PAST-3NS bus wherevr there-EMP stop-PAST-3NS

T 002

'Because much rains came and the bus remained where it was.'

- (42) *alahanē* ico kankā narakāṭu, lot porō baḍa
 alahanē ico kankā narakā-ṭu lon-n porō baḍa
 similarly some branch cut-IMPV_P house-OBL above batten

H 008

tanalēyi
 tana-lēyi
 beat-for

āntā.
 ā-nt-ā
 happen-FUT-3NS

'Similarly cut some bamboo to serve as battens.'

3.5 Clitics

The emphatic clitic *-e* is used to emphasise the noun it attaches to.

- (43) *ōnād* *orē* tanukutor
 ōn-ā-d or-e tana-uku-t-or
 3MS-GEN-NOM_SG 3MS-EMP beat-reflexive-PAST-3MS

Z 038

'He beat himself.'

The interrogative clitic *-ā* comes on the head verb of the clause. This is discussed in section 4.6.3.1.

3.6 Interjections

Interjections resemble those in other Dravidian languages, such as *āyō!* used to express surprise. *hūḍā*, literally meaning *'look'* is used when explaining or describing something.

4 SYNTAX

4.1 Simple Sentences

4.1.1 Verbal Clauses

4.1.1.1 Order of Clause Constituents

Southern Gondi is an SOV language. Intransitive, transitive and ditransitive clauses exist in the language.

4.1.1.2 Intransitive

Intransitive sentences have no object.

- (44) nānā mīṇṭan Z 035
 nānā mīṇṭ-t-an
 1S_NOM sleep-PAST-1S
'I slept.'

- (45) pilāḷku karasator Z 036
 pilār-ku karasa-t-or
 child-P play-PAST-3MS
'The children played.'

4.1.1.3 Transitive

Transitive verbs can be inherent or derived. A causative marker is used to make an intransitive verb transitive (section 3.2.6.1).

- (46) kūmāl āḍkāṁ kīntor Z 048
 kūmā-l-0 āḍkāṁ kī-nt-or
 potter-honorific-S pot_p make-FUT-3MS
'The potter makes pots.'

- (47) yāvāl gāṭo titā Z 064
 yāvā-l gāṭo tin-t-ā
 mother-honorific food eat-PAST-3NS
'Mother ate food.'

4.1.1.4 Ditransitive

A direct (accusative case) and an indirect (dative case) object must be present. They are marked for case differently. The indirect object normally precedes the direct object.

- (48) nānā yāvānku undi sāri hītan Z 029
 nānā yāvā-n-ku undi sāri hī-t-an
 1S_NOM mother-OBL-DAT one.NM saree give-PAST-1S
'I gave a sari to mother.'

4.1.2 Other Clause Types

4.1.2.1 Equative

In Southern Gondi an equative sentence acts as a predicate nominal, that is, it has a subject and object but no verb.

- (49) [nāvā poro] [rames gēdām]. F 001
 [nāvā poro] [rames gēdām]
 IS_POSS name Ramesh Gedam
'My name is Ramesh Gedam.'

- (50) [nanā] [ḍāktar] Z 022
 [nanā] [ḍāktar]
 1S.NOM doctor
'I am a doctor.'

4.1.2.2 Attributive / Descriptive

Attributive clauses must take the verb *man* 'to be'.

- (51) oru manci manakal Z 024
 oru manci manaka-l
 3MS good man-honorific
'He is a good man.'

- (52) pilārkunku gam'mat mantā Z 025
 pilār-ku-n-ku gam'mat ma-nt-ā
 child-P-OBL-DAT happiness be-PRES-3NS
'The children are happy.'

4.1.2.3 Existential / Locative

Existential and locative clauses have the same structure. In the locative example below the verb *man* 'to be' is obligatory.

- (53) *sosājte umānūrte manāntā.* F 012
sosājte umānūr-te man-ānt-ā
co-op_society Umanur-IOC be-FUT-3NS
'Coop society is in Umanur'

4.1.2.4 Possessive

In possessive clauses the verb is optional. The word *āndu* acts as a copula.

- (54) *idu nāvā lon āndu* Z 034
idu nāvā lon āndu
this IS-GEN house is
'This is my house.'

4.2 Clause Constituents

4.2.1 Noun Phrase

4.2.1.1 Order of Noun Phrase Constituents

The noun phrase in Southern Gondi can take the following modifiers in the given order. All elements but the noun are optional. Southern Gondi is a head-final language, thus the modifiers precede the noun they modify.

NP → Poss. Pronoun + Demonstrative + Numeral / Quantifier + Adjective + Head Noun

Numbers and quantifiers cannot co-exist. Two adjectives may be present, or one adjective may be reduplicated for emphasis. No examples with more than two adjectives in the noun phrase were found in the data.

Examples of simple noun phrases are,

- (55) *nāvām [rōṇḍū kitābku].* Z 014
nāvām [rōṇḍū kitāb-ku]
1S-GEN two.N book-P
'my two books.'

- (56) [ramesanāv an'nī manci pedda kitābku] gāyab Z 015
 rames-n-ā-v an'nī manci pedda kitāb-ku gāyab
 Ramesh-OBL-GEN-NOM_P all good big book-P lost
 ātām.
 ā-t-ām
 happen-PAST-3NS

'All the good big books of Ramesh went missing.'

A complex noun phrase takes the conjunction *āni* 'and' for listing and co-ordination.

- (57) [oru parihku, jim'mām] āni [paṇḍīm] astor. Z 016
 [oru parihku jim'mām] āni [paṇḍīm] as-t-or
 3MS rice_P fish and fruit_P buy-PAST-3MS

'He bought rice, fish, and fruit.'

For associative phrases indicating accompaniment *ivuru* '(two) together, both' is used.

- (58) oru ivuru kabaḍ kītor. Z 018
 oru ivuru kabaḍ kī-t-or
 3MS two_3M work make-PAST-3MS

'The two of them did the job.'

Appositional phrases mention the two nouns in sequence example *ōrū rājāne* 'he, the king'.

4.2.1.2 Relative Clauses

The most common relative pronoun is *gadā* meaning '(the one) who / which'; *ādū* meaning 'that' is also used. They come at the end of the clause they modify.

- (59) rāmūnā irū cīn'na tam'mūru mantor gadā irū Z 017
 rāmū-n-ā irū cīn'na tam'mūru ma-nt-or gadā irū
 Ramu-OBL-GEN this small brother be-PRES-3MS who/which this
 bāga pedda badmās mantor
 bāga pedda badmās ma-nt-or
 much big naughty be-PRES-3MS

'This one who is the younger brother of Ramu is a naughty man.'

The example above shows the relativising of the subject of the sentence. The following example shows the relativising of the direct object.

- (60) nānā badu kapḍī hūktan adu yāvānād Z 084
 nānā badu kapḍī hūk-t-an adu yāvā-n-ā-d
 1S_NOM what_3N cloth wash-PAST-1S that mother-OBL-GEN-NOM_S

'The clothes which I washed are mother's.'

The following co-relative clauses were also found. Following example illustrates this feature.

- (61) beke tiyagā mantā heke vīsī vāntām
 beke tiyagā ma-nt-ā heke vīsī vā-nt-ām
 where sweet be-Pres-3NS there flies come-FUT-3NS

Z 042

'The flies come where there is something sweet.'

4.2.2 Verb Phrase

4.2.2.1 Order of Verb Phrase Constituents

The verb phrase consists of the head verb followed by any auxiliary verbs.

VP → Head Verb + (Auxiliary)

4.2.2.2 Simple Verb Phrase

4.2.2.2.1 Head

A simple verb phrase consists of only the head verb that is inflected for tense, aspect, mood, and person-gender-number agreement.

4.2.2.2.2 Modifiers of Verb Phrase

Adverbial clauses are the most common modifiers of the verb phrase. These can be participle forms of the verb, or adverbials of time, location, purpose, reason, condition, or concession.

4.2.2.3 Complex Verb Phrase

Participle forms of the verbs can occur along with an auxiliary. In this case the semantically main verb is the participle form and the auxiliary (usually *'to be'* verb) takes the inflection.

- (62) orū honji mandagom bāre
 orū honu-ji manda-gom bāre
 3MS Go-ABS be-PAST-should may

Z 059

'They might have gone.'

4.2.3 Postpositional Phrase

Southern Gondi has postpositional phrases of location.

loppo	'in (side)'
pālāte	'out (side)'
mun'ne	'in front of'
pājo	'behind'
poro	'on'
hiḍ	'under'

These can occur independently or take ablative and allative case markers. Compare the following two examples.

- (63) panḍi loppo pūḍi mantā Z 085
 panḍi loppo pūḍi ma-nt-ā
 fruit in worm be-PRES-3NS

'In the fruit is a worm.'

- (64) yāvāl lotā loppetāl vātā Z 086
 yāvā-l lon-n-ā loppo-ṭāl vā-t-ā
 mother-honorific house-OBL-GEN in-from come-PAST-3NS

'Mother came from inside the house.'

mun'ne can also be used to refer to time, for example, kīyān mun'ne 'before doing'.

4.3 Grammatical Relations

4.3.1 Subject

Finite verbs in Southern Gondi always take person-gender-number agreement as the final suffix on the verb. This morpheme will always agree with the subject of the sentence. Thus,

- (65) kūmāl āḍkāṁ kīntor Z 048
 kūmā-l-0 āḍkāṁ kī-nt-or
 potter-honorific-S pot_P make-FUT-3MS

'The potter makes pots.'

Dative subjects occur with certain verbs of perception, cognition, emotion, feeling, and experience, as in the examples shown below.

- (66) pilārkunku gam'mat mantā Z 025
 pilār-ku-n-ku gam'mat ma-nt-ā
 child-P -OBL-DAT happiness be-PRES-3NS

'The children are happy.'

- (67) **māku** bāgā kārvēseke matā Z 065
 māku bāgā kārvē-seke man-t-ā
 1P_EX_DAT much hunger-CONT be-PAST-3NS
'We were hungry.'

Usually the subject in an adverbial clause is the same as the subject in the main clause. If the subject isn't mentioned it is assumed to be co-referential. For switch reference (section 4.5.6 below) the subjects must be explicitly stated as shown.

- (68) **momoṭū** kēḍāte honānenke veḍijūn hūḍatom Z 066
 momoṭū kēḍā-te honu-ēnkē veḍijū-n hūḍ-t-om
 1P_Ex_NOM forest-LOC Go-while bear-ACC look-PAST-1P
'While going to the forest we saw a bear.'

The subject (**momoṭū** 'we' in the above example) can come subordinate clause initially or main clause initially. Adverbial clauses are not marked for person-gender-number whilst the verb in the main clause is.

4.3.2 Direct Object

In a prototypical sentence the grammatical subject is also the semantic agent, but when the sentence is formed using a passive construction, the grammatical subject will be the object (patient). If an agent is stated it will take case marking. Compare the two examples below.

- (69) **kūmāl** āḍkāṁ kīntor Z 048
 kūmā-l-0 āḍkāṁ kī-nt-or
 potter-honorific-S pot_P make-FUT-3MS
'The potter makes pots.'

- (70) **āḍkāṁ** kūmāntoni āntāṁ Z 049
 āḍkāṁ kūmā-0-n-toni ā-nt-āṁ
 pot_P potter-S -OBL-ACCOMP happen-FUT-3NS
'Pots are made by the potter.'

Now the verb agrees not with the agent but with the patient that is in the subject position in the sentence.

4.3.3 Indirect Object

In ditransitive clauses the indirect object takes obligatory dative case marking. The indirect object is the recipient of the semantic theme (direct object).

- (71) **nānā** yāvānku undi sāri hītan Z 029
 nānā yāvā-n-ku undi sāri hī-t-an
 1S_NOM mother-OBL-DAT one.N saree give-PAST-1S
'I gave a sari to mother.'

The order of clause constituents is:

$$S \quad \text{IO} \quad \text{DO}$$

$$S \rightarrow \text{NP}_{\text{nom}} + \text{NP}_{\text{dat}} + \text{NP}_{\text{acc}} + \text{VP}$$

4.4 Valence and Voice

4.4.1 Valence Increasing Operations (participant addition)

The causative suffix can be added to an intransitive or a transitive verb to make it ditransitive, thus adding another participant to the argument, as shown in section 3.2.6.1.

4.4.2 Valence Decreasing Operations (participant reduction)

4.4.2.1 Reflexive

Reflexive actions are expressed by the morpheme *-ūkū* within the verb. Compare the examples below,

(72) *oru gōḍūn tantor* Z 037
oru gōḍū-n tana-t-or
 3MS cow-ACC beat-PAST-3MS

'He beat the cow.'

(73) *ōnād ore tanukutor* Z 038
ōn-ā-d or-e tana-uku-t-or
 3MS-GEN-NOM_S 3MS-EMP beat-reflexive-PAST-3MS

'He beat himself.'

The verb is inflected for reflexive, tense, person, and number in that order as shown in the following paradigm for the verb *'to beat'*.

Table 27: Reflexive Verb Forms

	S	P
1	<i>tanūkūtān</i>	<i>tanūkūtōm</i>
2	<i>tanūkūtīn</i>	<i>tanūkūtīr</i>
3 M	<i>tanūkūtōr</i>	<i>tanūkūtūr</i>
N	<i>tanūkūtā</i>	<i>tanūkūtām</i>

4.4.2.2 Reciprocal

The indefinite demonstrative pronoun *vārōr* is used to denote reciprocal action.

(74) *pīlālkū varonku varor tanukunjāntur* Z 052
pīlālkū varo-n-ku varo-or tana-ukujā-nt-ur
 children one_M-OBL-DAT one_M-3MS beat-reflexive-PRES-3MP

'The children hit each other.'

- (75) orū varonku varor citi lohatur
 orū varo-n-ku varo-or citi loha-t-ur
 3MS one_M-OBL-DAT one_M-3MS letters send-PAST-3MP

Z 053

'They wrote letters to each other.'

4.4.2.3 Passives

There is no difference in verb form between the active and passive constructions. As with active verbs, in the example below the passive verb takes the stem, the tense suffix, and the person-gender-number suffix that agrees with the subject.

Some verbs are inherently passive, while others cannot be passivised. The example below demonstrates the active and passive clauses referring to a single event.

- (76) kēḍāte nānā yenegū hūḍatan
 kēḍā-te nānā yenegū-0 hūḍ-t-an
 forest-LOC 1S_NOM elephant-S look-PAST-1S

Z 050

'In the jungle I saw an elephant.'

- (77) kēḍāte yenegū dīstā
 kēḍā-te yenegū-0 dīs-t-ā
 forest-LOC elephant-S see-PAST-3NS

Z 051

'In the jungle an elephant was seen.'

4.5 Clause Combinations

4.5.1 Serial Verbs

The compound verb *pīsī vā* meaning *'bring (imp.)'* (literally, *'catch come'*) may be classified as a serial verb.

- (78) gāṭo pīsi lon vā
 gāṭo pi-si lon vā
 food catch ABS house come-IMP-S

'Take food and come home'

4.5.2 Complement Clauses

4.5.2.1 Speech Embedding

In reporting direct speech the verb can precede or follow the quote, i.e. the embedded clause and the the main clause are interchangeable.

- (79) or itor ◆nāvā porol rāmū āndu◆ Z 080
 or i-t-or nāvā porol rāmū āndu
 3MS say-PAST-3MS 1S_Poss name Ramu is

'He said, "My name is Ramu."'

- (80) orū nākun ◆vā◆ itor Z 082
 orū nā-ku-n vā-0 i-t-or
 3MS 1S-DAT-ACC come-IMP_S say-PAST-3MS

"Come." he said'.

In reported speech the embedded clause precedes the main clause

- (81) on karvesantā inji itor
 on karves-ā-nt-ā in-ji i-t-or
 3MS hunger-happen-PRES-3NS say-ABS say-PAST-3MS

'He said that he was hungry'

4.5.2.2 Other Types Of Complements

Complement clauses can be finite or non-finite, and typically refer to the notions of cognition, desire, and probability. (See respective examples below.) For complement clauses relating to speech or cognition, the complementiser *inji* is commonly used.

Cognition:

- (82) nānā dāntan inji inukunjāntan Z 060
 nānā dā-nt-an in-ji in-ukunjā-nt-an
 1S_NOM go-FUT-1S say-ABS say-reflexive-PRES-1S

'I am thinking I will go.'

Desire:

- (83) nānā hondagom injeke Z 061
 nānā honda-gom in-jeke
 1S_NOM go-should say-CONT

'I am saying I will go./ I am considering to go.'

4.5.3 Adverbial Clauses

Adverbial clauses typically precede the main clause in Southern Gondi. However, the subject can be moved to the front of the sentence before the adverbial clause, thus splitting the main clause. The subordinator usually comes at the end of the adverbial clause.

4.5.3.1 Time

The complete participle *-rite* 'after' is added to the infinitive form of the verb, as shown:

- (84) marakā paṇḍi paṇḍatārite momoṭu tintom Z 043
 marakā paṇḍi paṇḍa-t-ā-rite momoṭu tin-nt-om
 mango fruit ripen-PAST-3NS-COMPL 1P_Ex eat-FUT-1P
'After the mango ripens we will eat it.'

4.5.3.2 Location

The question word *beke* meaning 'where (to what place)' can function as a location adverbial.

- (85) varor manakal hūḍator pēgīḍi beke hotā Z 067
 varo-or manaka-l hūḍ-t-or pēgīḍi beke honu-t-ā
 one_M-3MS man-honorific look-PAST-3MS girl where Go-PAST-3NS
 inji
 in-ji
 say-ABS
'He saw where the girl went.'

4.5.3.3 Manner

The adverbial for manner is *balahā*. This usually occurs along with *ālahā*, making it a co-relative clause structure (*ālahāne* is the oblique form with *-e* the emphatic clitic). For example,

- (86) balahā yāvāl vehatā alahāne rāmū gāṭo Z 087
 balahā yāvā-l veh-t-ā alaha-n-e rāmū gāṭo
 how mother-honorific say-PAST-3NS likethat-OBL-EMP Ramu food
 aṭatā
 aṭ-t-ā
 cook-PAST-3NS
'Ramu cooked food in the way her mother asked her to do.'

4.5.3.4 Purpose

The morphemes *-lāsī* and *-leyī* 'for, in order to' are used interchangeably to indicate purpose. They are suffixed to the infinitive form of the verb as illustrated in the following two examples.

- (87) ige nanā gonḍi bāsā vehalāsi vātan. N 003
 ige nanā gonḍi bāsā veh-leyī vā-t-an
 here 1S.NOM Gondi language say-for come-PAST-1S
'I came here to teach Gondi language.'

- (88) momoṭū mārā narakālēyi marsune ūpayog kīntom Z 068
 momoṭū mārā narakā-lēyi marsu-n-e ūpayog kī-nt-om
 1P_EX_NOM tree cut-for axe-OBL-EMP use make-FUT-1P
'We use an axe for cutting the tree.'

4.5.3.5 Reason

The adverbial indicating reason is *dānhātī* 'because'.

- (89) bāgā kārvēseke matā dānhātī velle gāṭo Z 069
 bāgā kārvē-seke man-t-ā dān-hātī velle gāṭo
 `much hunger-CONT be-PAST-3NS 3NS-ACC-BENEF much food
 titom
 tin-t-om
 eat-PAST-1P
'Because we were very hungry, we ate a lot of food.'

4.5.3.6 Simultaneous

The adverbial participle *-enke* indicates the simultaneous occurrence of two events.

- (90) momoṭū kēḍāte honānenke veḍijūn hūḍatom Z 066
 momoṭū kēḍā-te honu-ēnkē veḍijū-n hūḍ-t-om
 1P_EX_NOM forest-LOC Go-while bear-ACC look-PAST-1P
'While going to the forest we saw a bear.'

4.5.3.7 Circumstantial

There are no unique adverbials with the specific function of indicating circumstance. The simultaneous adverbial participle *-enke* can be used to provide the circumstance for the main event to occur; see the example (91). For the negative circumstantial adverbial a negative form of the verb may be used in combination with *gānī* 'but'; see example (92)

- (91) bāgā titenke peḍāl bāgā doḍu ātor Z 070
 bāgā tin-ēnkē pēḍā-I-0 bāgā doḍu ā-t-or
 much eat-while son-honorific-SG much fat happen-PAST-3MS
'By eating a lot, the child became very fat.'
- (92) oru eko tinakondūr gānī doḍu ātor Z 071
 oru eko tin-ko-nd-ur gānī doḍu ā-t-or
 3MS more eat-NEG-PAST_HAB-3M but fat happen-PAST-3MS
'He did not used to eat much; still he became fat.'

4.5.3.8 Conditional

4.5.3.8.1 Simple Conditional

The conditional adverbial in a simple conditional clause is *āyte*.

- (93) *oru vāyānā āyte nānā dāntan* Z 072
oru vā-nā ā-te nānā dā-nt-an
 3MS come-INF happen-COND 1S_NOM go-FUT-1S
'If he comes, then I'll go.'

4.5.3.8.2 Counterfactual Conditional

Counterfactual conditionals can be positive (94) or negative *-te* is the conditional adverbial in a counterfactual conditional clause.

- (94) *pōḍudu honji nānā lōn vāsi manji mate dongān* Z 062
pōḍudu honu-ji nānā lōn vā-si man-ji man-te dongā-n
sun Go-ABS 1S_NOM house come-ABS be-ABS be-COND thief-ACC

pīsi manen
pī-si man-en
catch-ABS be-1S_SUBJ

'If I had reached home in the evening I would have been able to catch the thief.'

- (95) *nānā honakunṭe oru vāyākoner*
nā-nā hona-kunṭe oru vāyā-kon-er
 1S-NOM go-CT_COND 3MS come-neg-3MS_SUBJ
'Had I not gone he would not have come.'

4.5.3.8.3 Concessive Conditional

Concessive conditionals use *gāni* 'but' and the subordinate clause takes the infinitive form of the verb, as shown.

- (96) *monoṭu karvune manā gāni kabaḍ kīntom*
monoṭu karvu-n-e manā gāni kabaḍ ki-nt-om
 1P_EX hunger-OBL-EMP be but work do-FUT-1P
'Even if we have to remain hungry we will work.'

4.5.3.8.4 Hypothetical Conditional

Hypothetical constructions use *mānjī-māte* which is literally '*having been - was*'.

- (97) *nānā ginṭā rājān mānji mate lokulkunku* Z 074
nānā ginṭā rājā-n man-ji man-te loku-l-ku-n-ku
 1S_NOM Hypo king-OBL be-ABS be-COND people-honorific-P-OBL-DAT
- alahā karvu arā hiyākonen*
alaha karvu arā hī-ko-en
 likethat hunger fall give-NEG-1S_SUBJ
- 'If I were a king, I would not have left the people hungry.'*

4.5.3.9 Concessive Clause

The subordinating conjunction *kūn'nā* '*Concc*' *gānī* '*but*' acts as a concessive adverbial in the following example:

- (98) *nāku hārīm iṣṭam hille kūn'nā gānī nānā tintan* Z 075
nā-ku hārīm iṣṭam hillerṁ kun'nā gānī nānā tin-nt-an
 1S-DAT chappati-P like not CONCC but 1S_NOM eat-FUT-1S
- 'Although I don't like chapattis I eat them.'*

4.5.3.10 Substitutive

bādle meaning '*instead of*' is the adverbial indicating substitution.

- (99) *iyālā māku gāṭote bādle sirp hārīm dorktām* Z 076
iyālā māku gāṭo-te bādle sirp hārīm dork-t-ām
 today 1P_EX_DAT food-of instead only chappati-P get-PAST-3NS
- 'Today we got only chapattis instead of rice.'*

4.5.3.11 Additive

The adverbial indicating additive is *īnkā* '*also*', as illustrated.

- (100) *gāṭotoni inka iyālā māku pāyāsim dorktām* Z 077
gāṭo-toni inka iyālā māku pāyāsim dork-t-ām
 food-ACCOMP and today 1P_Ex_DAT porridge get-PAST-3NS
- 'Today with the food we also got payasam.'*

4.5.3.12 Absolute

The absolute participle *-sī* (and its allomorphs *-cī*, *-jī*) are used frequently in discourse. See the following section on clause chaining also.

- (101) *lota sāmān purā ātārite* H 011
lon-n sāmān purā ā-t-ā-rite
 house-OBL materials all happen-PAST-3NS-COMP
- nāṭenorkun kēysj*

nātu-n-or-ku-n kēy-si
village-OBL-3MS-DAT-ACC call-ABS

tāci lota sārē vehā.
tā-ci lon-n sārē veh-0
bring-ABS house-OBL measurement say-IMP_SG

'After the materials are ready, ask the village folks to take appropriate measurements.'

4.5.4 Clause Chaining

Clause chaining is done by using the absolute participle *-jī, -cī, ōr -sī* on the verb stem indicating a chain of events that occur one after the other.

- (102) nānā kabaḍ kīsi lon honji gāṭo tinji mīnḍāntan Z 067
nānā kabaḍ ki-si lon hon-ji gāṭo tin-ji mīnḍ-ānt-an
1S_NOM work do-ABS house go-ABS food eat-ABS sleep-FUT-1S

'After doing work I will go home, eat food and sleep.'

4.5.5 Co-ordination

4.5.5.1 Simple Conjunction

Clauses of equal rank can be linked by conjunctions *ani 'and'* and *'but'* in the same way as two noun phrases or a subordinate and main clause are linked (refer to the examples in section 3.4). However, the use of adverbials is preferred.

- (103) oru nāntor ani kabaḍ kītor N 005
oru nān-t-or ani kabaḍ ki-t-or
3SM-NOM wet-PAST-3MP and work do-PAST-3MP

'They became wet and they worked.'

- (104) oru nānjī kabaḍ kītor N 005
oru nān-ji kabaḍ ki-t-or
3SM-NOM wet-ABS work do-PAST-3MP

'Being wet they worked.'

4.5.5.2 Disjunction

There is no Gondi word with the meaning *'or'*. To show exclusive disjunction, as in the example below, the following construction is used:

- (105) ā pēḍāl ronḍo mūḍo varsānor Z 055
ā pēḍā-l-0 rōnḍū-o mūḍu-o varsā-n-or
that son-honorific-SG two_N-or three_N-or years-OBL-3MS
mantor

ma-nt-or
be-PRES-3MS

"That child is two or three years old!"

The suffix *-ō* can be attached to the dubious factors in each clause. There was no evidence in the data of this marker being used on verbs or nouns.

4.5.5.3 Comparatives

The comparative conjunction *-kanā* acts as a clitic on the oblique form of the standard. The quality adjective has no special marking in comparative constructions. The examples below show comparison of an attribute and an action respectively.

- (106) *abī tīyonkanā etu mantā* Z 057
abī tīyo-n-kanā etu ma-nt-ā
 Aby Theo-OBL-than height be-PRES-3NS

'Abi is taller than Theo.'

- (107) *joyel abīnkanā eko tintor* Z 058
joyel abī-n-kanā eko tin-nt-or
 Joel Aby-OBL-than more eat-FUT-3MS

'Joel eats more than Abi.'

4.5.6 Switch Reference

To show switch reference the participants must be explicitly stated. For example,

- (108) *marī bāgā karvune mator dānāhāṭi yāvāl* Z 083
marī bāgā karvu-ne man-t-or dānā-hāṭi yāvā-l
 son much hunger-in be-PAST-3MS 3S_N-BENEF mother-honorific

onku gāṭo hītā
on-ku gāṭo hī-t-ā
 3MS-ACC-DAT food give-PAST-3NS

'Because her son was very hungry, mother gave him food.'

In the above sentence the subject of the adverbial clause is co-referential with the main clause.

4.6 Pragmatically Marked Structures

4.6.1 Focus Constructions and Emphasis

To show emphasis, the emphatic marker *-e* is used as in the e.g. below

- (109) *ore* *ī* *kabaḍ* *kītor*
 or-e *i* *kabaḍ* *ki-t-or*
 3MS-EMP work do-PAST-3MS

'It is he who did this work.'

4.6.2 Negation

4.6.2.1 To negate a past tense action

The word *hīllē* is used after the verb to denote negation of a past action.

- (110) *nānā* *kiyā* *hille*
nānā *kiyā* *hille*
 1S-NOM do not

'I did not do'

4.6.2.2 To negate clauses and nouns and adjectives

Negation marker that agrees with the subject is used with the verb root.

- (111) *orū* *doḍu* *āyor*
oru *doḍu* *āy-or*
 3MS fat happen-NEG_3M

'He is not fat'

4.6.3 Non-declarative Speech Acts

4.6.3.1 Interrogatives

4.6.3.1.1 Yes/No Questions

Questions which expect an answer of 'yes' or 'no' are formed by attaching the clitic *-ā* to the verb word. It can be seen from the following examples.

- (112) *anṭur* *honjāmantiṛā?*
anṭur *honjā-ma-nt-ir-ā*
 All Go-be-PRES-2P-INT

'Did you all go?'

Q 003

- (113) *nime* *varone* *honjāmantinā?*
nime *varo-n-e* *honjā-ma-nt-in-ā*
 2S_NOM one_M-OBL-EMP Go-be-PRES-2S-INT

'Did you go alone?'

Q 004

4.6.3.1.2 Content Questions

These types of questions anticipates a response giving specific information rather a simple

'yes' or 'no'. The question word is normally sentence initial as can be seen from the following examples.

- (114) *beke honjāmantin?* Q 001
beke honjā-ma-nt-in
where Go-be-PAST-2S
'Where are you going?'
- (115) *bāri honjāmantin?* Q 002
bāri honjā-ma-t-in
why Go-be-PAST-2S
'Why are you going?'

4.6.3.2 Imperatives

Imperatives are those expressing commands or orders. In Gondi, there are two forms. Second person singular form uses the verb stem with out any affixation as can be seen from example (116) The second person plural form takes the suffix *-tu* as can be seen from the example (117)

- (116) *nimē varon manakan pīsi kēḍāte honu.* H 003
ni-mē varo-n manaka-n pī-si kēḍā-te honu-0
2S-NOM one_M-OBL man-OBL catch-ABS forest-IOC Go-IMP_S
'Please call one man and go to the forest.'
- (117) *kēḍāte lotahāṭi sāmān narakātu.* H 004
kēḍā-te lon-n-hāṭi sāmān narakā-tu
forest-LOC house-OBL-BENEF materials cut-IMP_P
'Chop down the materials(wood) necessary to build a house.'

5 SAMPLE TEXT

The following text illustrates the way a Gondi person would give instructions to build a house. Text has been divided into numbered sentences. Each sentence is followed by three lines. The first line is the text in phonemic transcription. Second line shows the morpheme breaks, and the third line is the gloss morpheme by morpheme. Fourth line is the free translation in English.

- (118) nāku pūna lōn kīyana mantā. H 001
 nā-ku pūna lōn kī-ana ma-nt-ā
 1S-DAT new house make-INF be-PRES-3NS
'I need to make a new house.'
- (119) dānāhāṭi nanā nīkūn kēytan. H 002
 dānā-hāṭi nanā ni-kūn kēy-t-an
 3S_NM-BENEF. 1S.NOM 2S-ACC call-PAST-1S
'I have called you for that reason'
- (120) nimē varon manakan pīsi kēḍāte honu. H 003
 ni-mē varo-n manaka-n pī-si kēḍā-te honu-0
 2S-NOM one_M-OBL man-OBL catch-ABS forest-LOC Go-IMP_S
'Call one person and go to the forest. '
- (121) kēḍāte lotahāṭi sāmān narakāṭu. H 004
 kēḍā-te lon-n-hāṭi sāmān narakā-ṭu
 forest-IOC house-OBL-BENEF materials cut-IMP_P
'Chop down the materials(wood) necessary for the house.'
- (122) gunjām sanḍarā mārāhakunāv narakānā, H 005
 gunjām sanḍarā mārā-h-ku-n-ā-v narakā-nā
 pillar Sandra tree-epenthetic-P-Obl-GEN-NOM_PI cut-INF
 bāritē sanḍarā
 bāritē sanḍarā
 because Sandra
 mārāhkunku velle sēga manāntā.
 mārā-h-ku-n-ku velle sēga man-ānt-ā
 tree-epenthetic-P-OBL-DAT much core be-FUT-3NS
'Pillars should be of 'sandra' tree because 'sandra' wood would have lot of core. .'
- (123) dūlālku āni vāsām tēka mārātāv H 007
 dūlam-n-ku āni vāsām tēka mārā-n-ā-v
 beam-OBL-DAT and Secondary_beams teak tree-OBL-GEN-NOM_P
 kāvālē.
 kāvālē
 need
'The main beam and secondary beam should be of teak wood.'

- (124) *alahanē ico kankā narakāṭu, lot porō baḍa* H 008
alahanē ico kankā narakā-ṭu lon-n porō baḍa
 similarly some branch cut-IMP_PL house-OBL above batten
 tanalēyi
 tana-lēyi
 beat-for
 āntā.
 ā-nt-ā
 happen-FUT-3NS
'Similarly cut some bamboo to serve as batten.'
- (125) *purā narakuḍu ātārite varor vaḍlan* H 009
purā narakā-uḍu ā-t-ā-rite varo-or vaḍl-n
 all cut-GER happen-PAST-3NS-COMP one_M-3MS carpenter-OBL
 pīsi tāci
 pī-si tā-ci
 catch-ABS bring-ABS
 vaḍlanku dūlāiku vāsām
 vaḍl-n-ku dūlam-l-ku vāsām
 carpenter-OBL-DAT beam-honorific-P Secondary_beams
 seka vehā.
 sekka-0 veh-0
 smoothen-IMP_S say-IMP_S
'After all the chopping down is done, call a carpenter and ask him to smoothen the wood.'
- (126) *sekatārite ā dūlāikunku tulīm* H 010
sekka-t-ā-rite adu dūlam-l-ku-n-ku tulīm
 smoothen-PAST-3NS-COMP that beam-honorific-P-OBL-DAT hole
 tanā vehā āni
 tana-0 veh-0 āni
 beat-IMP_S say-IMP_S and
 gunjānku kusim kiyā vehā.
 gunjām-n-ku kusim kī-ā veh-0
 pillar-OBL-DAT point make-INF say-IMP_S
'After smoothening, ask him to make holes in the main beam, and a pointed end on the pillar'
- (127) *lota sāmān purā ātārite* H 011
lon-n sāmān purā ā-t-ā-rite
 house-OBL materials all happen-PAST-3NS-COMP
 nāṭenorkun kēysi
 nātu-n-or-ku-n kēy-si
 village-OBL-3MS-DAT-ACC call-ABS

tāci lota sārē vehā.
 tā-ci lon-n sārē veh-0
 bring-ABS house-OBL measurement say-IMP_SG

'After the materials are ready, ask the village folks to take appropriate measurements.'

- (128) lōn poḍugu iruvay mūrām āni aḍam panēṇḍu mūrām H 012
 lōn poḍugu iruvay mūrām āni aḍam panēṇḍu mūrām
 house height twenty feet and breadth twelve yard-P

manā pīntā.
 manā pī-nt-ā
 our catch-FUT-3NS

'The length of the house should be twenty yards and breadth twelve yards.'

- (129) sārē piyālāsi undi nonḍē orku hīm. H 013
 sārē pī-lēyi undi nonḍē or-ku hī-0
 measurement catch-for one.N rope 3MS-DAT give-IMP_S

'Give them a rope so as to take appropriate measurements.'

- (130) bagā bagā gunjām vāṭāntiro aga aga nonḍēku H 014
 bagā bagā gunjām vāṭā-nt-iro aga aga nonḍē-ku
 where where pillar fix-FUT-3MP there there rope-DAT

pēgulku
 pēgul-ku
 piece-P

tāsi sārē piyā vehā.
 tā-si sārē pī-0 veh-0
 bring-ABS measurement catch-IMP_S say-IMP_S

'Ask them to fix small pieces of wood wherever the pillars have to be inserted'

- (131) sārē piyānenke pēgulku bagā bagā manāntām, aga H 015
 sārē pī-ēnkē pēgul-ku bagā bagā man-ānt-ām aga
 measurement catch-while piece-P where where be-FUT-3NS there

yerka
 yerka
 knowledge

tāsi āyānkā agane gunjān hāṭim pokām
 tā-si ā-ānkā aga-n-e gunjām-n hāṭim pokām
 bring-ABS happen-AFTER there-OBL-EMP pillar-OBL Purposive hole

tavālāsi vehā.
 tavā-lēyi veh-0
 dig-for say-IMP_SG

'Ask them to make holes wherever the 'small pieces of wood' had been placed after the measurements were done.'

- (132) pūna lota kabaḍ ite nāṭenor undi roju H 016
 pūna lon-n kabaḍ ite nātu-n-or undi roju
 new house-OBL work means village-OBL-3MS one_N day

anṭure

anṭur-e
All-EMP

madad kīntur; oru hāṭi gāṭo aṭa
madad kī-nt-ur oru hāṭi gāṭo aṭ-0
help make-FUT-3MP he Purposive food cook-IMP_S

vehā.
veh-0
say-IMP_S

'All the village people would help since it is a new house; do arrange to cook food for them.'

- (133) pōḍadu honji anṭuraku gāṭo tihaci lohacīm.
pōḍadu honu-ji anṭur-ku gāṭo tiha-ci loha-cīm
sun Go-ABS All-DAT food feed-ABS send-ABS

H 017

'Give food for every one in the evening and send them home.'

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